BAYLE's

DICTIONARY.

Volume the Third.

H—O

Hiſtorical *and* Critical
DICTIONARY.

BY

MONSIEUR *BAYLE.*

Tranſlated into Engliſh, *with many* ADDITIONS *and* CORRECTIONS, *made by the Author himſelf, that are not in the* French *Editions.*

VOLUME *the* THIRD.

H—O.

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H.

HACKER* (JAMES) Profeſſor of Divinity at *Friburg* in *Brisgaw*, about the beginning of the XVIIth Century. I only ſpeak of him, to have occaſion to bring to Light (*Z*) a pſeudonymous Writer, who has not yet appear'd that I know of, in the Catalogues of this kind of Authors.

* *And not* Hacker, *as* Konig.

HACKET (WILLIAM) an *Engliſh Fanatick* in the XVIth Century, was firſt Servant to one Mr. *Huſſey*, and expreſs'd his Fidelity to him (*A*) by an Action perfectly Brutal. He afterwards married a rich Widow, and ruin'd her in a little time by his voluptuous Expences. He had never ſtudied, but had a great Memory, which he abuſed in repeating the Miniſters Sermons over his Cups. This he did only to laugh at them, and had no deſign in hearing Sermons, but to furniſh his Memory with this ridiculous Exerciſe. He † was a prodigious Lover of Wine and Women; and he corrupted a Maid that came to his Houſe to ask his Council. He rob'd alſo upon the High-way. At laſt he ſet up for a Prophet, and declar'd, 1. That *England* ſhould feel the Scourges of Famine, Peſtilence and War, unleſs it eſtabliſh'd the Conſiſtorial Diſcipline: 2. That for the future there ſhould be no more Popes. He ſignify'd the time of this Deſolation of *England*, which according to him, was the ſame Year he threatned it. He began to propheſie at *York* and *Lincoln*, where in Puniſhment of his Boldneſs, he was publickly whipp'd, and condemn'd to be baniſh'd. He had a wonderful fluency at extemporary Prayer; and had choice and very pompous Phraſes, and this made the People believe it was an extraordinary Gift of the Holy Ghoſt. He had an exceſſive Aſſurance (*B*) in his Prayers, for he ſaid, that if all *England* ſhould pray for Rain, and he ſhould pray to the contrary, it ſhould not Rain. *Edmund Coppinger*, and *Henry Arthington*, two Perſons of moderate Learning, join'd with him: The firſt with the Title of the *Prophet of Mercy*; and the ſecond with the Title of the *Prophet of Judgment*. *Arthington* gave out, that they had an extraordinary Million,

† Potator ſcortatorque fuit enormis, virginiſque quæ ad eum a certâ cauſa acceſſit conſtuprator. *Fitz Simon ubi infra.*

(*Z*) *To bring to Light a pſeudonymous Writer.*] *Hacker* having publiſh'd a Diſpute (*a*) about Predeſtination, was anſwer'd by a Monk of *Mantua*, under the falſe Name of *Daniel Neidinger*. He defended himſelf, in a reply, with this Title, *Diſputationis de Prædeſtinationis cauſa falſo & mentito authore Dan. Neidingero, vero autem & germano ejus fabro Fr. And. Veranio Ord. Min. Obſ. reg. in urbe Mantuana nuper edita & ibidem a tredecim diverſorum Ord. Fratribus & patribus ſuſceptæ, in quatuor ex quibus coaluit clementa, mendacia, hæreſes, anacephaleoſes, ſordes Sermonis, Analyſis. Autore J. Hackero. Dorſchæus*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Strasburg*, (*b*) uſes this Example, to ſhew that the Roman Catholicks accuſe one another of *Hereſie*. He ſays, that this Reply of *Hacker* was printed in 1518, but ſince 'tis put in the *Oxford* Catalogue, printed at *Friburg* in 1614. I ſuppoſe the firſt Edition was not known to him. The ſame Catalogue mentions Two Volumes of this *Hacker*, upon *Thomas Aquinas*. They were printed at *Friburg*, the firſt in 1619, and the ſecond in 1621. Mr *Konig* does not diſtinguiſh that, and gives the Title wrong.

(*a*) *In the Year* 1600, *according to the* Oxford *Catalogue.*

(*b*) Dorſchæus in Hodegetico Catholico Cap. 10. Pag. 868, 869

(*A*) *Expreſs'd his Fidelity to him by an Action perfectly Brutal.*] An Artiſan of *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, did ſomething that cauſed an Enmity betwixt him and a Gentleman who had *Hacket* in his Service. Obſerve how this Servant reveng'd his Maſter. He familiarly and friendly accoſted this Tradeſman's Son (*c*) and was receiv'd in the ſame manner: Then ſuddenly took him by the Throat, threw him down, and tor off his Note, and inſtead of returning it to the Surgeon, who pretended to ſet it on again, eat it. (*d*) *Eique naſum dentibus evulſit, nec Chirurgo volenti reſtituere tradidit, ſed, ut fertur, barbara immanitate devoravit.* Camden does not relate this Fact with the ſame Circumſtances. He ſays, That *Hacket* enraging the School-Maſter, in Sign of Reconciliation, bit a piece of his Note off, and that it was the School-Maſter who deſired him to reſtore it, that it might be ſowed on while the Wound was freſh. (*e*) *Ad eas adidam adeo efforis* (Hacquetus) *ut ingenuo Ludimagiſtro, dum redintegrari amoris ſpecie amplecteretur, naſum morſicus abſederit, & coram miſero deformi ſupplicanti ut redderet, quo vulnere adhuc recente aſſuerctur, convomuerit* (*f*) *ſeque devoraverit.* The variety of theſe Circumſtances is not ſuch, as that we may conclude from it, that the Fact is falſe, we may only obſerve therein a Sign of the Laſneſs or Infirmity of an humane Memory. They that hear a Story, principally attend to the Foundation and Eſſence of the Fact, and this they beſt retain. But having not the ſame Attention to all the Circumſtances, for that would be too painful, they forget many of them. They are not at the trouble of loading their Memory with them, which tenders it not ſtrong enough to bear all the parts of the Burden, and therefore Hours or Days after, if they would tell the ſame Story, they are forc'd to ſupply the Circumſtances they have loſt. Every one makes this Supplement according to the particular Character of his Genius; and hence come infinite Variations, which creep into the very Accounts of the Hiſtorians.

(*c*) *He was School-maſter of the Peace.*

(*d*) *Henry Fitz Simon* Britannom. Miſcellan. cap. 6. lib. 2. pag. 202, 203.

(*e*) Camdenus infra pag. 618.

(*f*) *Note, That* Fitz Simon *uſes the ſame Reſerve; he ſays, it is ſaid,* ferunt.

(*B*) *An exceſſive aſſurance in his Prayers.*] That hath the Power, ſaid he, and I have the Faith, therefore the thing ſhall be done. He us'd Imprecations, in his Prayers, againſt himſelf, and pretended that the Efficacy of his Imprecations was certain. He boaſted, that in diſputing with a Papiſt, he propoſ'd to him this Condition; *I ſubmit inſtantly to eternal Damnation* (*g*), *do you do ſo too, and one of us ſhall change his Religion, according to the miſerable or happy Succeſs of our Imprecation.* This was very abſurd; for the effect of the Imprecation was to be the ſudden Death of one or the other, and conſequently, neither of them could change his Opinion. The Dead Man could not do it, and the Survivor would have been far from doing it, ſince the bad Succeſs of his Adverſary's Imprecation, had given ſo Authentick a Teſtimony to his Religion. But it muſt not be expected, that ſuch extravagant Viſionaries ſhould avoid Contradictions. *Hacket* having accuſ'd two great Lords of Treaſon, propoſ'd to them (*h*) alike Form of Prayer; for this was the Name he gave his execratory Oath. If after you have done it, ſays he, you don't die, I will ſubmit to the Law of Talion. But if you refuſe to do it, and I do it, without any Harm, you ſhall be condemn'd to loſe your Head. The Judges ſent him away as a Madman. He impoſed on abundance of People by theſe ſort of Prayer, and perſwaded them, that for the Sins of Men, the Devils and Conjurers had for two Months, inflicted on him the very Pains of Hell, or within a little of them (*i*). *Camden* relates, that by framing by his eternal Damnation, and with them ſeveral horrible Expreſſions, he ſeduc'd *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, and made them believe he ſo privily converſ'd with God, and that the Devil had ſtigmatiz'd him. He frequent and moſt fervent Prayer, the outward ſhew of an Holy Life, and the Confeſſion of Faith every Sunday, contributed to the perſwading the ſame things. (*k*) *Pectus humanum, quam magna ſunt tua arcana, nec bene ad eam rem ſatis explorata!*

(*g*) Abſolute damnation ſeveral things to be ſaid. *Fitz Simon ibi p.* 203.

(*h*) A ſtrange and inſolent way for a Madman to diſcourſe.

(*i*) Idem.

(*k*) Idem.

(*C*) *The*

† Pater, scis te non minus sæpe quam me dixisse Willelmum Hacket * Camden relates this in 1591. See the Remark D. at the end † Taken from Chapter 21. Book of the Britannomachia Monachorum of Henry Fitz Simon, who cites the Records which Sanderus (after many Archbishops of Canterbury) had had of this Business at London, 1592. a attested, Confpiratio pro pratenta disciplina.

Mission, and that after Jesus Christ, the next in Power was *William Hacket*. *Coppinger* declar'd, that *Hacket* was the sole Monarch of *Europe*. They afterwards went farther, and equall'd him in all things to Jesus Christ, without being oppos'd by *Hacket*; for he said in his Prayers, † *Father, I know thou lovest me equal with thy self.* They would have proceeded to the Ceremony of Unction, or Coronation, but he would not suffer them, being already anointed, he said, by the Holy Ghost in Heaven. They ask'd him at last, what he had to command them, and protested they would pay him an Obedience without Reserve. He ordered them to go and proclaim through all the Streets of *London*, that Jesus Christ was come to judge the World, and lodg'd in such an Inn, and that no Body could put him to Death. They obey'd with so much haste, that *Arthington* had not time to take his Gloves. They added this to their Master's Instructions, England, *repent, repent.* They drew together by their bawling, such a Concourse of People, that being come to a great Square, they could go no farther, nor be heard; but finding an empty Chariot, they got into it, and discours'd of the (C) important Commission of *William Hacket*. They return'd to him, and when they saw him, *Arthington* cried out before the People, *Behold the King of the Earth.* This happen'd the 16th. of *July*, * 1592. They were prosecuted and tried. *Hacket* was sentenc'd to be hang'd and quarter'd the 28th. of *July*, and the Sentence was accordingly executed. *Coppinger* famish'd himself in Prison: But *Arthington* was † pardoned. The Blasphemies contain'd in the Prayer that *Hacket* made upon the Scaffold, are so horrid, that I (D) shall only relate them in *Latin*. ‖ We shall see in the Remarks, some Particulars of his *Enthusiasm*, compli-cated with Rebellion. He perfectly hated (E) Queen *Elizabeth*. The truth of this ought not to be question'd, upon pretence that I have it from the Book of a Jesuit, for *Camden*'s Annals, contain most of the same Facts, and with greater Force.

HADRIAN (PUBLIUS ÆLIUS) Emperor, would furnish a very long Article, should we omit nothing of his principal Qualities and Actions. I will content my self with some of them, and repeat as little as may be, what we find in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, in which (A) this Article is not very full of Faults.

Hadrian

(C) *The Important Commission.*] William Hacket. They said, that he partook of the Nature of Glorified Bodies, and was to convert all *Europe* to the Confirmed Discipline; and that the Power of Judgment was committed to him. They added, that his Lot was dated to see him, should find him in such an Habit, and were to tell, that all who refuse to obey this King of all *Europe*, shall kill one another, and that the Queen shall be dethron'd. (a) Before they undertook this fond Design, they went to a Puritan Minister, call'd *Wiggington*, and protested to him, that the Night before, Jesus Christ appeared to them, not in Body, but by his principal Spirit, by which he dwelt in *William Hacket*, with greater Fulness than in any other, and that *Hacket* was the Angel who was to come before the end of the World, with a Crook in his Hand, to separate the Goats from the Sheep; that he was to trample Satan under his Feet, and totally overturn the Kingdom of Antichrist. (b) The Day they went to preach up this new Kingdom through the *London*-Streets, *Hacket* commanded them to say, that Jesus Christ was come with his Fan in his Hand, to judge the World, and that this was as true, as that God was in Heaven. They punctually discharged their Commission, and when they were in the Chariot, they declared, that *Hacket*, after dy glorified as to his Body, participated of Jesus Christ by his principal Spirit, and that he was there with the Fan to establish the Gospel in *Europe*.

(a) See Sect. 11 supra pag. 205.

(b) Camden ubi supra pag. 620.

(D) *Blasphemies——— that I shall only relate them in Latin.*] They exceed those of *Caligula*, and yet they were the Conclusion of a most devout Prayer, whence we may infer, that there is nothing so extravagant but the Heart of Man is capable of. "(d) *Hæc fui. ultima tua oratio.* Deus cœli, Potentissime Jehovah, Alpha & Omega, Dominus Dominorum, Rex Regum, æterne Deus. Tu me nôsti verum illum Jehovah quem misisti. Miraculum aliquod ex nubibus ostende his infidelibus, & Literæ me ab his minneis meis Simmis successorem, & te è throno detractum manibus meis lacerato. *Camden* relating the same Blasphemies, almost in the same Words, adds, that *Hacket* pronounc'd others still more execrable, (e) *Atque magis infandis, Conversus ad complures Lapicum admocentem*, Tune spurie, *inquit*, Hackettum Regem tuum subpendes? *Laqueo innodatus oculis in cœlum fulsatis*, Hoccine, *inquit frendens*, pro regno collato rependis? verbo ulturus. This Historian observes, that this Enthusiast and his two Companions, refus'd to take their Hats off before their Judges, and impudently answered, they were above the Magistrates; that at last, *Hacket* (f) own'd himself a Criminal, but answer'd in so blasphemous a manner, that all the Auditory was astonish'd. There was in this perhaps a great deal of Fraud; for who knows but that he had a mind to insinuate to his Judges, that he was distracted. However, his other Gestures and affected Gravity, shew'd no Sign of Madness. (g) This we have from *Camden*. Note, That *Arthington* printed a Book to retract his Repentance. (h)

(d) Fitz Simon ubi supra pag. 205. 206.

(e) Camden ubi supra pag. 622.

(f) Sed rerum ignorant. *Id. ib.*

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) Id. ibid. pag. 625.

(E) *He perfectly hated Queen* Elizabeth.] He could never pray for her, and his Design was to rob her of her Crown and Life, and change the Form of Government. He heard the Sermon bare-headed but he put on his Hat in the Prayers that mention'd the Queen. (i) He confess'd to the Judges before whom he was tried, That he had stabb'd the Effigies of this Prince's to the Heart, with an Iron Pin; that he never owned her for Queen. (k) *Julii* 20. & 23. *palam confessus est Hacketus Regnum ingressum se transfer stead con Pylo ferreo, eamque pro Regina non habuisse.* A little before he was hang'd (l) he curs'd her with all manner of Imprecations.

(i) Fitz Simon ibi pag. 204. (k) Id. ibi pag. 204. (l) Diri omnibus Regnum devovens. *Id. ibid.*

(A) *In which this Article is not very full of Faults.*] 'Tis one of the best. I have however observed, without entering into a general Discussion, some twelve things which I think can't be proved. I. That there was in *Italy*, a City call'd *Italica*. II. That *Hadrian* rebuilt *Adria*. III. That upon his return from *England*, he heard in *Languedoc* of *Plotina*'s Death. IV. That he built a Temple at *Nismes*. V. That *Quadratus* and *Aristides* were usher'd by *Severus* one of the Emperor's Lieutenants, *when they presented Books in Favour of the Christian Religion.* VI. That *Jerusalem* and *Alia* were two different Cities in *Judæa*. VII. That *Plutarch* was *Hadrian*'s Tutor. VIII. That *Hadrian* recall'd *Epictetus*, *Numenius*, and other Learned Men to *Rome*. IX. That he sent others to *Alexandria*, to teach the Sciences there, before he went himself to that City. X. That he understood the Mathematicks, and wrote Tracts of them. XI. That he died the 12th. of *July*, in the Year 138, having reign'd 20 Years, 10 Months, and 20 Days. XII. That *Phavorinus* was his Secretary. We see in my Article, that *Hadrian*, died the 10th. of *July*, and began his Reign in the 11th. of *August*. If he had died the 12th. of *July*, it must have been said, that he reigned 20 Years, 11 Months, and one Day. Let it be observed, that I will not deny that he received a Letter from *Serenus Granius*, Proconsul of *Asia*, exhorting him to Equity towards the Christians, and that he studied *Geometry*. *Spartian* (m) says it expressly, and Mr. *Moreri*

(m) *This ought to be understood only of the Study of* Geometry

Hadrian, who was born (*B*) at *Rome*, the 24th. of *January*, 76, loſt his Father (C) Ten Years after, and had for his Guardians, *Trajan* (*D*) his Relation, and *Cælius Tatianus* a *Roman* Knight. His Genius ſo enclin'd him to the Study † of the *Greek* Tongue, that it occaſion'd him to be jeſted on. He ſerved early in the Armies, and was Tribune of a Legion before the Death of *Domitian*. The Army of the lower *Moeſia* choſe him * to compliment *Trajan*, adopted by the Emperor *Nerva*, and it was he that brought *Trajan* the firſt News of *Nerva*'s Death. He regain'd the Favour of this Emperor, which he had almoſt loſt by his exceſſive Expences, which had brought him into Debt. He ‖ married (*E*) a grand Niece of this Prince; and he had in the Empreſs a great Patroneſs. The Speech he ſpoke before the Senate when he was *Queſtor*, ¶ was ſo dull, that he was hiſs'd for it: Upon which he apply'd himſelf hard to the ſtudy of the *Latin* Tongue, and became very ingenious and eloquent. He attended *Trajan* in the Expedition ** againſt the *Daci*; and to make his Court effectually to him, he drank ſtoutly, and was nobly rewarded for it. He had been Tribune of †† the People, before he went with *Trajan* to the ſecond *Dacian* War. He did ſome noble Actions there, and receiv'd ‡‡ a Preſent, which gave him ſome hopes ſucceeding to the Empire. He was made Prætor ſome time after, and afterwards commanded in the lower *Pannonia*, with ſo good a Conduct, as was worth him the Conſulſhip *. The Orations he compos'd (*F*) for *Trajan*, increas'd his Intereſt. After the raiſing of the Siege of *Atra* in *Arabia*, *Trajan* being ſick, and reſolved to return to *Rome*, left him the Command of the Army. He had before given him the Government of *Syria*; and finding himſelf near his end, adopted him. ‡ We examine in *Pliny*'s Article, Whether this Adoption was Fictitious. What is certain, is, that *Hadrian* receiving at *Antioch*, almoſt at the ſame time, the News of his Adoption, and of the Death of *Trajan*, caus'd himſelf to be declared Emperor the 11th. of *Auguſt* 117. One of the firſt things he did, was to abandon almoſt all the Conqueſts

† Imbutuſque impenſius Græcis ſtudiis pene ejus ſectatores decimante ut a nonnullis Græculus diceretur. *Spartian. in ejus Vit.*

* *In* 97.

‖ *In the Year* 100. ¶ Salust. *Sacer Arcan.*

** *In the Year* 101.

†† *In* 102.

‡‡ *In* 105. Ad-

* Pliny's *Article.*

Conquests of *Trajan*, and to be contented that (G) *Euphrates* should be the Bounds of the Empire. He did not return to *Rome* till 118. The Senate decreed him a Triumph, and the Title of Father of the Country *; but he refus'd it, and would have the Triumph given to *Trajan*'s Image. His Bounties to the People (H) were very extraordinary. The Year following he went into *Mœsia*, to repulse the *Sarmatæ* †. During his Absence, many Persons of the first Rank ‡ were put to Death; and it was to no purpose for him to protest it was not by his Orders, for he fail'd not to be loaded with all the Odium of these Violences. Never Prince travell'd so quick as he; there being hardly a Province in the Empire, but what he honour'd with his Presence. And as he was magnificent, and desir'd a Personal Knowledge of every thing, he every where left some Marks of his Liberality and Exactness, in examining the Conduct of the Governours. 'Tis suppos'd he began his Travels in the Year 120. He visited *France*, *Germany*, and *England*, where he built a Wall to hinder the Islanders under his Obedience from being ravaged by those that had revolted from the *Roman* Government. He return'd into *France* in 121, from whence he went to *Spain*; 'tis thought it was at that time, he went to *Mauritania*. His first Voyage to the East was pretty long; for he return'd not to *Greece* till the Year 125. He pass'd the Winter at *Athens*, and was initiated in the Mysteries of *Ceres*. He was at *Rome* in the beginning of the Year 129 ‖, and 'tis believ'd he went into *Africa* the same Year, and that after his Return to *Rome*, he set out again for the East in the Year 130. Having pass'd thro' *Asia*, where many Kings came to do him Homage, he went into *Egypt* in the Year 132. He spent the Winter at *Athens* in 135, and the Spring following came back to *Rome*. He adopted *Lucius Aurelius Annius Ceionius Commodus Verus*, who though he had Names enough already, took besides that of *Ælius*. After this Adoption, *Hadrian* (I) retir'd to *Tibur*, where he built sumptuous Edifices, and gave himself up to Effeminacy, and then to Cruelty; for he put many People to Death, either by open Violence, or Clandestine Ways, and spar'd not his own Brother-in-Law *Servianus*, of 90 Years of Age. *Lucius Verus* dying the first of *January* 138, *Hadrian* adopted *Titus Antoninus*, and charg'd him to adopt *Marcus Annius Verus*, and the Son of *Lucius Verus*. This

* *He afterwards accepted of this Title. See* Tillemont *Note* 1. *upon the History of* Adrian.

† Spart. ib.

‡ Id. ib. Dion. l. 69.

‖ Digestor. 5. *tom* 3. l. 20. pag. 174. *in* Tillemont's *History of* Adrian.

* Xiphilin *in* Hadrian.

† Xiphilin, *ib.*

STROS *parasset*. *Domitian* (l) had other Men to write his Letters, and make his Speeches and Edicts. It was not *Nero* but *Seneca*, that compos'd *Claudius*'s Funeral Oration, which he recited (m). 'Tis true, that the old Gentlemen, who had nothing to do but to make Comparisons betwixt the past and present times, amus'd themselves with observing, that before *Nero*, no Prince had need of a borrowed Eloquence: as we are told by *Tacitus*, in the Third Chapter of the Thirteenth Book of his Annals. *Adnotabant seniores, quibus otiosum est vetera & præsentia contendere, primum ex iis qui rerum potiti essent Neronem alienæ facundiæ egvisse.* M. *Spanheim* (n) observes, that the *Roman* Emperors, sometimes *imploy'd their Quæstors, not only in composing, but also in speaking for them their Orations, as* Suetonius *amongst them observes of* Nero, *and even of* Augustus: For the rest, if we believe the Emperor *Julian*, (o) it was not out of Ignorance, but Lazyness, that *Trajan* made use of *Sura*.

(l) Sueton. in ejus vit. cap. 20.

(m) Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 3.

(n) Spanh. *upon the Cæsars of* Julian. *pag.* 232.

(o) In Cæsarib. *See* Spanheim's *Notes.*

(G) Euphrates *should be the Bounds of the Empire.*] St. *Austin* urges this Action of *Hadrian*, to jeer the Idolaters, who said, the God *Terminus* would never give place to *Jove* himself, at the building of the Capitol, which was a Prelage, that the Limits of the *Roman* Empire should never shrink. 'Your God 'Terminus, says St. *Austin* pleasantly to them, (a) stood 'in greater fear of *Hadrian*, king of Men, than of *Jupiter* King of the Gods. *Postea in orientalibus partibus Hadriani voluntate mutati sunt termini imperii Romani. Ille namque tres provincias nobiles Armeniam, Mesopotamiam, Assyriam cum finium concessit imperio, ut Deus ille Terminus qui Romanos terminos secundum illos tuebatur, & per illud pulcherrimum auspicium loco non cesserat Jovi, plus Hadrianum regem hominum quam regem deorum timuisse videatur.* There is no probality, that the abandoning these Conquests was the effect (b) of any Envy *Hadrian* had to *Trajan*. For what greater Honour cou'd be done to the Memory of the late Emperor, than to shew, that things could not be maintain'd in the same height he had rais'd them to? We must say then, that the Impossibility of preserving these conquer'd Countries, induc'd *Hadrian* to this Sacrifice. (c) *Omnia trans Euphratem ac Tigrim reliquit exempto, ut dicebat, Catonis, qui Macedonas liberos pronunciavit quia teneri non poterant.* He chose rather to suffer in the Comparison betwixt him and his Predecessor, than expose his Empire to the Confusions that threatned it on all Parts. *Ammianus Marcellinus* says, that before *Jovian*, no Emperor or Consul, gave up an Inch of Ground to the Enemy. Mr. *Valois* (d) pretends he had reason to say it, and that *Casaubon* had no right to reflect on him for it. See the Remark D of the Article *JOVI'AN*.

(a) Augustin. de civit. Dei. l. 4. c. 29.

(b) Eutropius ubi supra pag. 90. says, notwithstanding: Trajani gloriæ invideus, latum Provincias tres reliquit quas Trajanus addiderat.

(c) Spartian. in Adriano.

(d) In Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 25. c. 9. pag. 339.

(H) *Bounties——were very extraordinary.*] "It seems, that he forgave in general, all that was "due from private Person in *Rome* and *Italy*, and "in all the Provinces, whatever was owing for "Sixteen Years, at least in the Imperial Provinces: "For *Spartian*, and an Inscription of this Year 118, "seem to restrain it to these——He burnt "in *Trajan*'s Place, the Bonds and Memorandums of all that he had forgiven, that no "body might fear being call'd to Account for it, "for the future——This Remission amounted to "immense Sums, and some Learned Men, who "have reduc'd it to the value of our Money, "make it rise to Twenty two Millions five "hundred thousand Crowns of Gold. This Generosity had no President before him: The Memorial of it, is not only preserv'd in Historians, but "also in famous Inscriptions of this Year, and the "following, in which it might be perfected, and in "Medals, representing *Hadrian* with a Torch in his "Hand, setting Fire to the Obligations he had remitted. I Copy this from Mr. *Tillemont* (c) in whose Remarks may be seen an Examination of many Difficulties concerning this. I do not enter into them; but only make this Reflection, That there is no Bonfire for a Town taken, or a Battle won, that can please the People so much as this of *Hadrian*. I have read somewhere, that the Venetian Ambassador, Burning before *Henry* IV. the Papers in which he own'd himself indebted for great Sums to that Republick, this Prince, who loved witty Sayings, said *he never saw a better Fire in his Life*. *Agesilaus*, one of the *Lacedæmonian* Ephori (f) made use of this Thought on a like Occasion.

(c) *History of the Emperors, to* 2. *pag.* 408, 409. Brussels *Edition.*

He cites Dion. *l.* 69. *pag.* 791. Spartian in vita Adriani.

(I) *After this Adoption, he retir'd to* Tibur, *where he built.*] *Aurelius Victor* (g) gives a lively Descrip-

(f) Plutarch. Apophthegm. Lacon. Agesilaus. Fabricii Bibliothec. Græc. l. 3. c. 6. Mauillon's Dissertation upon Polybius, p. 180. Spanheim, de numismat. pag. 811. (f) Καὶ τὸν πυρὸν τῶν χρημάτων μαντικὸν συνεπιτηδευσάντες οἱ ἔφοροι, ἅ ἐλαφρὰ κλέπτει, ἡμῶν συνδήσαντες ἐν ὑπνῳ, ἐπέστησαν. ἀρθέντος δὲ φλογὸς, εἰ μὲν πλείστας ἡ Συρακοῦσαι, περικατέστησε πολλὰς, ἢ δὲ Λεωνίδαν ἔστιν ἐμβρίζων, ὡς ἐκ λογισμῶν ἐφάνη ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κακὸν οὐδὲν ἐπῆλθεν. Ita congestas in forum debitorum syngraphas, quas claria appellant, omnes coacervatas concremaverunt. Sublata flamma pecuniosi & fœneratores, qui ibi deambulabant, digressi sunt. At Agesilaus, quasi illudens illis, negavit clarius se lumen vel ignem lucidiorem vidisse. Plut in Apide. pag. 801. B. *See the Remark E E of* Charles *the Fifth.*

(g) Aurel. Victor. in Cæsaribus, p. m. 129.

tion

This Emperor's Dropſie oppreſt and vex'd him to that degree, that he grew as it were (K) raging mad. All imaginable Remedies were employ'd to cure him. The Comfort that Magical Arts gave him, laſted * not long. Abundance of Phyſicians were ſent for, and ſome ſay, he attributed (L) his Death to them. To deliver him from his Deſpair, it was pretended to him, that he had done (M) miraculous Cures; but in ſpight of all theſe Artifices, he would have kill'd himſelf, had he not been hindred. † He ſought Death (N) and could not find it. It came at laſt the 10th. of *July*, 138. He died this Day at *Baiæ*, in the 63d. Year of his Age, having reign'd 21 Years, within 30 Days. The *Latin* Verſes ‡ he addreſs'd to his Soul, inform us of his Uncertainty as to the other World. He was a Prince who had both great Vertues and great Vices. He was liberal, laborious, † civil, exact; maintain'd Order and Diſcipline, eas'd the People, did Juſtice with a particular Application, and rigorouſly puniſh'd thoſe that did not well diſcharge their Duties. He had a vaſt deal of Wit, a great

* Xiphilin. *in* Hadrian.

† Xiphilin. ib. Spart. ibid.

† *See the Remark P. at the end.*

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*i*) Spartian in Adriano. c. 26. p. m. 215.

(*k*) Lamprid. in vita Commod. p. m. 809.

(*l*) Comment. Hiſtor. pag. 453.

(*a*) In epit. Dion, vit. Adriani.

(*b*) Ut de Tiburtina villa nihil dicam, quæ ita ædificiis omnium provinciarum locorumque nominibus exornata est, ut quidquid per orbem terrarum memorabile est, breviter videri possit. Cujus omnem operam sine ullo fructu posuisset, ab imperatore illud ludibrio habiti sum, usque adeo ut mordaci in illos epistola professionem ipsam artemque damnaret, ut quæ nihil de ægritudine sua extricare potuisset. *Epiphan. de ponder. & mens.* c. 14. *pag.* 170.

(*c*) Plin. lib. 29. Cap. 1. p. m. 667. *Father* Hardouin *ſays upon it:* [illegible] (*c*) Xiphilin. ib.

tion of the effeminate Life this Emperor led in his Retreat, whilſt *Lucius Ælius Cæſar* Governed at *Rome*, but he makes a groſs Blunder in Chronology. He ſays, that *Hadrian* plung'd himſelf into the infamous Amours of *Antinous*; which is not to know, that *Antinous*'s Death preceded the Adoption of *Ælius Verus*. As for his Buildings, theſe are his Words; (*b*) *Rus proprium Tibur ſeceſſit, permiſſa urbe Lucio Ælio Cæſari: ipſe uti beatis locupletibus mos, palatia exſtruere, curare epulas, ſigna, tabulas pictas.* Add to this a Paſſage of *Spartian* (*i*), *Tiburtinam villam mirè ædificavit, ita ut in ea & provinciarum & locorum celeberrima nomina inſcriberet: velut Lyceum, Academiam, Prytaneum, Canopum, Pœcilen, Tempe vocaret. Et ut nihil prætermitteret, etiam inferos finxit.*

(*K*) *That he grew as it were raging mad.*] To this time is to be referr'd what *Lampridius* ſays, that *Hadrian* impos'd his Name on a Town that was call'd *Oreſta*; and that by this means his Madneſs went off a little. He had this Advice from an Oracle (*k*) *Oreſtam quidem urbem Hadrianus ſuo nomini vindicari juſſit eo tempore quo furore cæperit laborare, ut ex reſponſo quum ei dictum eſſet ut in furioſi alicujus domum vel nomen irrepſeret. Nam ex eo emollitam inſaniam ferunt, per quam multos Senatores occidi juſſerat, quibus ſervatis Antoninus Pii nomen meruit, quod eos poſt ad Senatum adduxit, quos omnes juſſu principis interfectos credebant.* The Sieur *Triſtan* (*l*) fell into two groſs Miſtakes upon this Paſſage. He makes *Lampridius* ſay, that *Hadrian* recovered of his Phrenſie, after he had valued the Town of *Oreſta*, and that this happen'd at the beginning of *Hadrian*'s Reign. It was eaſie to perceive, that, *Lampridius* ſpeaks not of a Voyage of this Emperor, and that what he ſays, muſt relate to the time that *Antoninus* was already adopted; which was but a few Month's before this Prince's Death.

(*L*) *He attributed his Death to them.*] *Xiphilin* relates (*a*) that *Hadrian* died with theſe Words in his Mouth, *The Multitude of Phyſicians have kill'd the Monarch.* Ὁλοι γαρ ἰατροι βασιλεα ἀπεκτονασιν. He adds, that theſe Words were a kind of Proverb. *Pliny* aſſures us, that there was an Epitaph, which contained a parallel Propoſition: (*f*) *Hinc illa infelicis nomen nei inſcriptio TURBA SE MEDICORUM PERISSE.* I wonder that St. *Epiphanius* has not touch'd upon this Circumſtance of *Hadrian*'s laſt Hours, where he ſays, that he ſent for all the Phyſicians of his Empire, and expos'd them (*b*) after the Experiment of the Vanity of their Preſcriptions, and wrote a Satyrical Letter againſt this Art and Profeſſion. If this ancient Father was no better inform'd about the Fact it ſelf, than the Circumſtance of time, his Authority is nothing, for he ſays, that after he had written this Satyr, he departed from *Rome*, to go into *Egypt*, which is falſe. 'Tis certain, that after the Phyſicians had tried in vain all Experiments to cure his Dropſie, he only travell'd to *Baiæ*. It can't be doubted, but he had conceiv'd a great Contempt or Indignation againſt them, ſince at laſt, he (*c*) gave over all courſe of Diet, and eat whatever his Fancy led him to.

(*M*) *Miraculous Cures.*] Obſerve what *Spartian* relates: A Woman came to tell *Hadrian*, that ſhe had been admoniſh'd in a Dream to repreſent to him, that ſince he was to be cur'd, he ſhould have a care of killing himſelf; that ſhe had loſt her Sight, for not having obey'd the Inſtructions of her Dream; that ſhe had receiv'd a ſecond Order to come and tell him the ſame Things, with a Promiſe of recovering her Sight, by kiſſing his Knees. The Woman having executed this Command, and waſh'd her Eyes with the Water of a Temple, ſaw as well as before. Another Miracle: A Man born blind (*d*) came from the utmoſt part of *Pannonia*, and touch'd *Hadrian*, who had the Fever; which done, the Man came to his Sight, and *Hadrian* loſt his Fever. *Spartian* had the Prudence to add, that according to the Teſtimony of *Marius Maximus*, there was nothing but Counterfeiting in all this. 'Tis eaſie to conjecture as much, tho' we ſhould know nothing of what *Marius Maximus* ſaid. There's no difficulty in perceiving, that *Antonimus*, *Hadrian*'s adopted Son, uſed this Stratagem to give him ſome hope, and to remove his Melancholly that oppreſs'd him. How often have theſe Tricks been plaid ſince that, to foſter Superſtitions, and cover State Intrigues. Fallacies, you'll ſay, are lawful, upon Children and the Sick. That's an Argument upon the People, who are always Children, and diſtempered in ſome reſpects. But omitting theſe Reflections, which would fall on too many formidable Perſons, let us ſay a Word or two of *Grammatical Criticiſm*, to the great *Salmaſius*. He will not have the Man that came from *Pannonia*, to be blind from his Birth, but only for a long time; and therefore, inſtead of reading *Natus Cæcus*, he reads *Vetus Cæcus*. His reaſon is, that it can't be believ'd that People born blind, recovered their Sight, and that it is more credible, that this might happen to People blind for ſome Years. Obſerve, that in the following Note he confutes *Caſaubon*, who underſtood by the Word *Simulationem*, a Magical Charm, a Conjuration. This Senſe is unworthy of *Caſaubon*. *Simulatio* in that place only ſignifies a Counterfeiting. *Salmaſius* explains it ſo, and hits it right: but upon that Hypotheſis, what becomes of the difference he finds betwixt born blind, and one blind for a long time? Does it not ſee, that it was as eaſie for *Antonimus* to ſuborn one counterfeiting Blindneſs from his Birth, as for three Days, and that 'tis as eaſie for one as the other to obtain his Sight, by touching a Prince that had a Fever, and to cure this Fever at the ſame time? But what is this to the purpoſe? He had read *Vetus Cæcus* in the *Heidelberg* Manuſcript; he knew there was *Veteres Cæci* in *Juvenal*, and *antiqua cæcitas* in *Marcellus*; Would a Man loſe theſe Diſcoveries for the ſake of good reaſoning?

(*N*) *He ſought Death, and could not find it.*] So that *Severian*'s Prayer was heard, which he made in dying. (*e*) *Immortal Gods*, cry'd he, *ye Witneſſes of my Innocence, I have but one Favour to beg of you, which is, that* Hadrian *may paſſionately deſire to die, and yet may not die.* This Prayer beſpoke a Soul exceſſively vindicative; no Imprecation was ever more ſevere; witneſs theſe Words in the 9th. of the *Revelation*, and 6th. Verſe: *And in thoſe Days ſhall Men ſeek Death, and ſhall not find it, and ſhall deſire to die, and Death ſhall flee from them.* If we had *Hadrian*'s Letter (*g*) in which he deſcrib'd the deplorable Condition of a Man who could not die, tho' he deſir'd it, we ſhould ſee ſomething very Tragical; for a Pen ſo eloquent and learn'd as his, could not chuſe, but excellently repreſent the Miſeries he felt. He promis'd Impunity, and even a Reward to whoever ſhould kill him, and finding (*g*) no Body that could do him that good Office, he wept like a Child; that (*h*) he was able to cauſe the Death of others, and could not kill himſelf. His Diſcontents and Suſpicions, induc'd him to take off a great many Perſons, and 'twas perhaps on that occaſion, that perceiving the publick was not ſatisfied about the

(*d*) Caſpar à Reies quæſt. 24. n. 4. alledges Tacitus *for this Fact. A great Blunder.*

(*e*) Ὁ δε μεν ἀδριανος ἐπι πολυ ἐνοσησε, και ἐν τῳ νοσειν ἐπεβουλευσε μεν ἑαυτῳ, ἐκ ἐδυνηθη δε ἀποθανειν· ἐπεβουλευσε δε ἑαυτῳ, ἐπειδη ἐν τῳ νοσειν πολλους ἀπεκτεινε, και ἐδοκει ἐπι τουτοις ἀδικως ἀποθανειν. Nos, inquit, Dii immortales cujus hal.o innocentiæ meæ teſtes hoc unum rogo, ut Adrianus quam vis mortem obire percupiat, tamen non poſſit. *Xiphil. in Adriano p. m.* 265.

(*f*) Xiphilin. ib.

(*g*) *Compare with this* Nero's *Complaints in* Sueton. c. 47. & ſeq.

(*h*) Xiphilin. ibid.

a great Memory ‡, and perfectly underſtood Arts and Sciences, and wrote (O) many Books. He was on the other hand Cruel, Envious, Unchaſt, Superſtitious, and addicted to Magick. How much more abominable was his Paſſion for † *Antinous*. I omit his (P) exceſſive Curioſity. He publiſh'd no Edict againſt the Chriſtians; 'tis however fear'd, that his exceſſive Superſtition was the Cauſe of their Perſecution. The *Jews* riſing afreſh in his Reign, defended themſelves for three Years againſt the Arms he ſent into their Country: After which they were Worſted, and treated with the utmoſt Severity. They tell a ridiculous Fable, about a Queſtion they pretend was put by this Emperor to a *Rabbin*, upon the Article of the Reſurrection. I ſpeak of it in the Article *Barchochebas*, as alſo of the things done then in *Judæa*. Many particular Facts which Contribute to the filling up *Hadrian's* Character, his Jealouſie againſt thoſe that excell'd in Arts, *&c.* will be found in ſeveral places of this Dictionary as we have occaſion to ſpeak of the Perſons concern'd in them. The Alphabetical Index will point out every thing. The *Senate* only granted the Continuance of *Hadrian's* Acts, ‡ to the Tears and Intreaties of *Antoninus*; for they had reſolved to Repeal them. But when once this Reſolution was Evaded, *Antoninus* obtain'd whatever he had a mind to, *viz. Hadrian's Apotheoſis*. He built a Temple to him at *Puzzolo*, and Eſtabliſh'd there ſome Games with ſome Companies of Prieſts, and other Appertenances of Deification †. *Hadrian* had not waited till that time to taſt Divine Honours, having himſelf Seiſed on the Celeſtial Crown. He Conſecrated to himſelf an Altar in *Athens* in the Temple of *Olympick Jove*: And as he paſs'd † through many Cities of *Aſia*, he Multiplied the Temples he built to himſelf. There is no probability, that he deſign'd them

‡ See the Remark towards the end.

† See Article Antinous.

‡ See Tillemont. Hiſt. of Hadrian.

† Dion. Pag. 799. Spart. ſub fin. Eutropius, l. 8.

‡ Spart. ibid. Vide etiam Capitolinum in Antonino, p. 249.

† Spartian. p. m. 124.

(f) In Spart. Adrian. p. m. 252.

(g) Dion ſays they had ſtill the Force of a Law. See Valerian's Letter, and Vopiſcus in Prob. Caſſ. Dion. pag. 1215. Tour Criticiſes the Words of Dion.

(i) Marcus Aurelius ad Verum apud Vulcat. Gallicanum in vita Avidii Caſſii.

(k) Conditionem principum miſerrimam ajebat quibus de conjuratione compertum non crederetur niſi occiſis. Sueton. in Domit. c. 21.

(l) In the Catalecta Virgilii & aliorum, & in Spartian.

(m) Comment. in Spartian. Adrian. pag. 89.

(n) He was called Boryſthenes.

(o) Dion in ejus vita.

(p) De ſuis dilectis multa verſibus compoſuit. Spart. pag. 145. Apulejus apolog.

(q) Xiphilin. in Adrian.

(r) Joca ejus plurima extant nam fuit etiam dicaculus. Spart. pag. 187.

(a) Photius ſpeaks of 'em p. 270. (b) Conſider his diſpute with Favorinus in Spartian. 150. (c) Lib. 16. c. 13. (d.) Spart. p. 150. (e) Catacrianos libros obſcuriſſimos Antimachum imitando ſcripſit. Id. p. 152.

the Juſtice of his Miſtreſs: He ſaid that Princes were much to be pitied, ſince it was never believ'd, that their Lives were attempted till they were Kill'd. (i) *Scis ipſe quid avus tuus Adrianus dixerit, miſera conditio Imperatorum quibus de affectata tyrannide niſi occiſis non poteſt credi. Ejus autem exemplum ponere quam* (k) *Domitiani qui hoc primus dixiſſe fertur malui, tyrannorum enim etiam bona dicta non habent tantum auctoritatis quantum debent.*

(O) *And wrote many Books.*] He Writ both in Verſe and Proſe. There remain ſome Fragments (l) of his Latin Poems; and ſome of his Greek Verſes in the Anthology. You'll find in *Caſaubon* and *Salmaſius*, (m) the Epitaph of his Hunting-horſe, (n) in Latin Verſe. This Emperor had ſuch a Love for his Horſe, that he built (o) a Tomb for him. *St. Johannes Byzantinus* Cites twice a Poem intituled *Alexandreis*, whoſe Authors Name was *Adrian*: 'Tis not generally agreed that this is a Work of our Emperor. He wrote abundance of Verſes (p) upon his Amours. He made others alſo in the Praiſe (q) of *Plotina* his Benefactreſs. We can't tell whether a Collection of his witty ſayings were publiſh'd, ſince *Spartian's* Words (r) may only ſignifie, that many of them were remembred: But 'tis certain he publiſh'd ſome Diſcourſes, and ſome Orations, (a) we ſtill find them cited. We find in *Soſipater*, that he had ſaid in the firſt Book of his Diſcourſes, that *Auguſtus* was no very Learned Man. *Tametſi* Auguſtus *non peruditus homo fuerit, ut id adverbium* (Obiter) *ex uſu potius quam ratione protulerit.*

By the way here's an Authority for thoſe who in the Buſineſs of Languages would have Cuſtom ſubmit to Reaſon. Here's alſo a great Example for thoſe whoſe moſt ſerious Studies are a rigorous Examination of their native Tongue; for it appears by the Paſſage of *Soſipater* that our Emperor was (b) in Latin, what *Vaugelas* was in *French*. *Aulus Gellius* (c) quotes the Speech that *Hadrian* ſpoke before the Senate for the Inhabitants of *Italica* his Father's native Place. But this Emperors main Work was doubtleſs, the Hiſtory of his Life. He was willing it ſhould appear under another's Name, probably that he might have the more Liberty to commend himſelf. *Phlegon* (d) one of his freed Men, a Learned Man, put his Name to his Maſters Work. *Hadrian* compos'd ſome Books in imitation (e) of *Antimachus* a *Greek* Poet, of whom he was a great Admirer. Theſe Books were very obſcure. *Spartian* had preſerved the Title of them; but 'tis a Queſtion whether the Manuſcripts retain'd it right. So that this very Title is a Riddle, and a Rack to the Criticks. *Salmaſius* turns his Head an hundred Ways, to draw his Concluſion; and after he has fix'd the Reading that he thinks the only good one, he is as much at a loſs as before. *Solam eam* (*Historiam*) *eſſe veram* (*Lectionem*) *mihi perſuadeo; quomodo tamen explicanda ſit juxta cum ignotiſſimus Scio.* If this Work of *Hadrian* had been to be handed down to us, it might have been ſaid to the Author when he was Writing it: *You are going,*

To fabrick Racks for future Salmaſius's

The very Title will make them ſtoop and give up their arms. 'Tis not well determin'd whether *Hadrian* wrote concerning the Military Art. 'Tis certain he made ſome fine (g) Regulations, and eſtabliſh'd an excellent Diſcipline in his Troops. *Vegetius* owns that he made uſe of *Hadrian's* Regulations; but as he acknowledges the Imperfection of Reſpect to thoſe of *Trajan* and *Auguſtus*, which yet affords no grounds to pretend that theſe two Emperors writ Books upon this Subject, 'tis plain that *Geſner* (h) had no reaſon to ſay, by vertue of this Paſſage of *Vegetius*, that *Hadrian* writ concerning the Military Art. Some will have (i) him to have Written upon *Tacticks*, and that *Urbicus's* Work upon this Subject is *Hadrian's*, excepting *Urbicus's* additions. Mr. *Rigaut* has publiſh'd a Fragment of it.

(P) *His exceſſive Curioſity.*] I might give it this Name, tho' he had not deſired to penetrate into Futurity, ſo much as he did whether by Aſtrology or Magick. There are other Reaſons enough to make him thought of too inquiſitive a Spirit. He is call'd by *Tertullian* (k), *curioſitatum omnium explorator*; and by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *futurorum ſciſcitationi nimiæ deditus*. I ſhall not Examine whether it became a Prince to be ſo fond of beholding upon the Place, whatever he met with in Books concerning the ſeveral Countries of the World. (l) *Peregrinationis ita cupidus ut omnia quæ legerat de locis orbis, præſens vellet addiſcere.* The Voyages he undertook to ſatisfie himſelf in this Point, were not uſeleſs to the Provinces; therefore let us not Cavil him hereupon. Let us ſuffer him to aſcend *Mount Ætna* to ſee whether the Riſing Sun has the ſame Colours as the Rainbow, and to get upon Mount *Caſſius* (n) to ſee the ſame Luminary Ariſe: But who can pardon him for imploying numerous Spies, to inform him of all the Secrets of Families: What a Woman Writ to her Husband, what an Husband ſaid to his Wife. (o) *Erat curioſus non ſolum domûs ſuæ, ſed etiam amicorum, ita ut per frumentarios occulta omnia exploraret, nec adverterent amici ſciri ab Imperatore ſuam vitam priuſquam ipſe hoc Imperator offenderet.* 'Tis not to be doubted but that the intelligence the Spies gave him facilitated his Enterprizes of Gallantry; for he gave no better quarter to his Friends thereupon, than to indifferent People. 'Tis thus I could willingly underſtand the Words of *Spartian*. (p) *Et hoc quidem vitioſiſſimum putant* (he ſpeaks of his Spying) *atque huic adjungunt quæ de adulterum amore ac nuptarum adulteriis, quibus Adrianus labo[rare] dicitur, aſſerunt, jungentes quod ne amicis qui-*

(g) Dion ſays they had ſtill the Force of a Law. See Valerian's Letter, and Vopiſcus in Prob. Caſſ. Dion. pag. 1215. Tour Criticiſes the Words of Dion.

(i) Salmaſius in Spartian. pag. 83.

(k) In Apologet. cap. 63.

(l) Spartianus pag. m. 123. *Im Arcam monetam confendit, ut ſuis ortum videret arcus pluvie, ut dicitur, varium.* Id. p. 124. *That is to ſay according to* M. de Tillemont p. m. 423. *To ſee, ſay they, the Sun riſe with the Colours of the Bow. He ſhould have ſaid of the Rainbow.*

(n) Idem Spart. pag. 132.

(o) Idem Pag. 102.

(p) Pag. 109.

them (Q) for Jesus Christ; and we can't tell where *Lampridius* had what he says upon that Head. It does not appear that any other besides himself had any Knowledge of this Design.

HADRIAN, Cardinal, Priest of the Title of St. *Chrysogonus*, was a Native of *Cornetto*, in (A) *Tuscany*. He was Nuncio to *Innocent* VIII. (B) in *Scotland*, and then in *France*; and after he had been Clerk and Treasurer to the Apostolick Chamber, he was honoured with a Cardinal's Cap by Pope *Alexander* VI. whose Secretary he had been. This Cardinal's Life was a Scene of odd Changes, the end whereof was far from being honourable. He (C) narrowly escap'd it, the Day that *Alexander* VI. poison'd himself by Inadvertency. Afterwards he so incurr'd the Enmity of *Julius* II. that he was forc'd to hide himself in the Mountains of *Trent*, fulminated with the severe * Decrees of this Pontiff. Being recall'd by *Leo* X. he had so little Gratitude for this Favour, that he engaged in a Conspiracy (D) against him. This Pope forgave him this Fault; and expedited Letters of † Pardon for him. But the Cardinal did not (E) trust to them; or had not the Power to withstand the Remorse of Conscience, which the Presence of the Objects might render more importunate: He made his escape by Night, and it was never truly known (F) what was become of him. He was one of the first that attempted the Reformation of the *Latin* Tongue in a true way. He studied *Cicero* with excellent Success, and made abundance of admirable Discoveries concerning the Purity of this Language. The Treatise he wrote *de Sermone Latino*, during his absconding in the *Alps*, is a Proof of it. Whilst he was labouring upon this || he interrupted a very considerable Work, which was a *Latin* Translation of the *Old Testament*. Some † reckon it amongst the Works he compos'd. 'Tis pretended

(a) Pier. Valerian. de literat. infelicit. Oldoin. Athen. Roman. pag. 302.

(b) Vale. ib.

* Acerbissimis perculsus edictis annos aliquot in Germanicis Rhætorum Alpibus obscura & fordida peregrinatione delituit. Valerianus ibid.

† Id. ib.

|| Erat in animo prosequi captum jam pridem opus sacros veteris instrumenti libros ex Hebræo ad verbum in Latinum fermonem vertendi: sed cum me procellæ temporum in Tridentinas rupes, quo Judæi ob Simonis crudelitatem ne aliquid attentare quidem audent, detruserint, atque animus inquies mihi agere non posset, hoc tum adgressus. Hadrian. in præf. ad Carolum Principem Hispaniæ, de Sanct. Latino.

(c) Mezeray. Chronol. to 4. p. m. 434.

(d) *'Tis he who is the Subject of this Article, That was his Name, or rather* de Cornetto, *from his Country.*

(e) See Moreri, *in the Article* Castellesi. *Thus he calls our Cardinal. Under the Word* Adrian de Cornetto *refers to* Castellesi. *He* Castellen-

quit-

(g) Juvenal. Sat. 3. v. 113.

(h) Spart. pag. 146.

(i) Idem pag. 84. Aur. Victor. Epit. l. 5.

(k) Spart. pag. 163. 200.

(l) Idem pag. 201.

(m) Lamprid. in Alexandro Severo p. m. 993.

(x) *Picture of* Socinianism, *pag.* 511. *printed in* 1690.

(*Compare with this, what is said in the Remark* E. *of the Article* Lubieniezki.

(A) *Quidem servaverit fidem.* Sovereigns have so many other ways to make themselves formidable, that they ought to leave this to Parasites (g) *Scire volunt secreta domus, atque inde timeri*; and yet you see some in all Ages, who spare nothing to be exactly inform'd of all that is said in Houses. *Hadrian*'s Curiosity was doubtless the cause, that almost all his greatest Friends, and they that were raised to the greatest Dignities, incurr'd his Enmity. He greedily swallow'd all the Reports brought him concerning his Friends. (i) *Facile de amicis quid insusurrabatur audivit.* To conclude, since I have considered him in this Remark, as a curious Traveller, I will finish it, by saying, that he march'd on Foot (k) as a common Soldier, and that he never cover'd his Head in any Weather. He suffered by it at last.

(B) *In Scotland.*] I don't find he was Nuncio in *England*, but yet he gain'd the Affection of King *Henry* VII. who made him Bishop of *Hereford*, and of *Bath* and *Wells*. (b)

(C) *He escap'd it narrowly.*] There is something very observable in this Adventure. 'Tis thus related by our Historians: *Alexander* the VIth's *Bastard* (c) *longing for Cardinal* Hadrian *Cornet's* (d) *Spoils, had agreed with the Pope to go and sup with him in his Villa, and had order'd thither some Bottles of excellent Wine, prepared with a Mixture to poison their Host. Now it happen'd, that the Father and Son coming betimes, and being very thirsty by reason of the heat of the Season, ask'd for some Wine, and whilst the Servant who knew the Secret, was out of the way, another gave them some of this. The Father, who drank it pure, died the same Day, which was the 17th of* August, 1503. *The Son, who was more vigorous, and had dilated it with Water, had leisure to have recourse to Antidotes, and being wrapt up in a Mules Belly, he escap'd; but there hung upon him a Langor, that permitted him not to act in his most necessary Occasions. Hadrian* had not been promoted to the Cardinalship above two or three Months. *Guicciardin* deserves to be read (e) concerning this Pope's Death.

(D) *In a Conspiracy against him.*] Cardinal *Alfonso Petrucci* was the head of it; they aim'd at *Leo* X's Life. Some say, that our (f) *Hadrian* engaged not with the hope of being Pope, but that these hopes were grounded upon an Prediction which promis'd the Pontificate to one *Hadrian* of mean Birth, but of excellent Learning. As all this agreed to *Hadrian de Cornetto*, he applied himself to the fulfilling it, and thereby lost all his Honour, and the Repose of his Life. We may venture to say, that there are no greater Pests of Mankind, than those Pretenders to Predictions; for they find but too many ignorant and turbulent Spirits, whom they engage in fatal Enterprizes. A well govern'd State ought not to suffer such People, which way soever they boast to have consulted Heaven, whether by the Stars, or St. *John*'s Revelation. Most of them are Impostors, who have no other aim, than to disturb the publick Peace. He that deceiv'd Cardinal *de Cornetto*, was a Magician in the *Apennine* Mountains, as Mr. *Varillas* says, who tells this Story at large. See the 27th Page of his Secret History of *Florence*. But *Paul Jovius* says, it was a Sorceress. *Certam spem adipiscendi Pontificatus conceperunt ex oraculo fatidicæ Mulieris.* Thus he speaks about the beginning of the 4th. Book of the History of *Leo* X.

(E) *Did not trust to them.*] Mr. *Varillas* observes, that two things made Cardinal *Hadrian* diffident; one was, that Cardinal *Soderin* and he *were fin'd ten thousand Crowns apiece*, tho' they had prostrated themselves at the Pope's Feet, and the Pope had declared in a full Consistory, that *he would pardon the Cardinals, who were accomplices in the Conspiracy, if they confess'd their Crime immediately, and ask'd his Pardon before their Brethren.* The other was the Marks of his Indignation, *which in spight of his Endeavours, appear'd in* Leo's *Countenance.* See the 283, and 284 Pages of the Secret History of *Florence*.

(F) *What was become of him.*] 'Tis worth while to hear *Pierius Valerianus* upon it, who places our Cardinal at the head almost of his Catalogue of Learned Unfortunate Men. *Nostram fugam arri-*

but better have stop'd there. Oldoini *says* Hadrianus Castellensis.

pretended also, that his Tract *de Poetis* is still extant. As to his Treatise *de vera Philosophia*, there is no doubt it was printed at *Cologne*, in 1548. He dealt in (*G*) Poetry.

HADRIAN VI. was born (*A*) at *Utrecht*, in the Year * 1459. The Genius discovered in him in his Childhood, obliged (*B*) his Father to design him for Learning, though he had not wherewithal to maintain him in that Capacity. But the University of *Louvain*, supplied this Domestick Indigence. The young Man was admitted in a Colledge, where a certain Number of Scholars were maintained *Gratis*. We are told, that he us'd to read by Night, by the Light (*BA*) of the Lamps that were hung up in Churches, or the Corners of the Street: Which was both a sign of his Poverty and of his studious Temper. He made very great Progress in all kinds of Sciences, and if he was nor a Poet (*C*) nor a Polite Writer, it was because he did not value it. His Manners were exemplary; and no Man was ever known to intrigue less

* Valer. Andr. Bel. Biblioth. pag. 19.

(g) Sub Leone contumax spoliatus est purpura & sacerdotiis, quare necis metu perterritus in Thraciam fugit, ibique obscurus & latens diem clausit extremum incertum quo mense vel anno. Oldoin. ubi supra.

(h) Pag. 284.

(i) Hadrianus, trepido sufficacique ingenio vir, Leonis clementiæ diffidens, ab urbe messoris habitu profectus, usque ad vitæ exitum nullo persequente latebras mutavit. Jovius, lib. 4. Vitæ Leon. X.

(k) Guicc. lib. 13. fol. m 384. verso.

(l) See Oldoinus Athen. Roman. page 303.

(a) Bellarmin is one of 'em, in his Book de Script. Eccles.

(b) The Jesuit Foresti is one of those in the Mappamondo Illorico.

(c) See his Notes upon Gregorius Turon. tom 1. p. 75.

(d) In Chronico Rom. Pontif. ad ann. 1522.

fuit, neque quò abierit, neque uli sit quatuordecim jam annorum spatio quispiam potuit explorare. He adds, that it was thought his Servant kill'd him, for the sake of the Pistoles the Cardinal had sewed up in his Wastcoat. *Constans tamen opinio est eum insuto in interiorem thoracem auro onerato comitis famuli perfidia oppressum, auroque furtorio cadaver in solitarium aliquem locum abjectum occultari.* Father *Oldoini* observes, that he was divested of the Purple (*g*) and his Benefices; that he fled into *Turkey*, and died Clandestinly, on what Day or Year no Man knows. This agrees with *Leander Albertus*, in his Description of *Italy*, *Nostra insuper ætate*, says he, *magna illustrandæ patriæ principia jecerat Adrianus Cardinalis ex hac urbe* (Cornetto) *cum literarum studio, tum cæremoniarum, sed qui metu Leonis X. Pontif. Max. clam Roma profectus, exinde nunquam apparuit.* The Author of the Secret History of *Florence* says, (*h*) that Cardinal *Hadrian* went from *Rome* in the disguise of a Reaper; that he *travell'd only by Night till he came into his Country, where he spent the rest of his Days in changing hiding-places: So fully perswaded was he of the Magician's Prediction.* Here are two things borrowed from *Paul Jovius* (*i*); the rest is perhaps the Author's Invention. *Guicciardin* is still more particular than *Paul Jovius* (*k*) *Adriano partitosi occultamente, quello che s'avenisse di lui, non fu mai più, che si sapesse, nè trovato nè veduto in luogo alcuno.* He says this under the Year 1517. whence we may conclude, that *Pierius Valerianus*'s Dialogues *de infelicitate literatorum*, were compos'd in 1531. *Moreri* has plac'd our *Hadrian*'s Flight in the Year 1518. Why did he not follow *Guicciardin*'s Chronology? He sends this Fugitive to *Venice* and *Riva*, in the Diocese of *Trent*. I fear he confounds the Exile under *Julius* II. with that under *Leo* X.

(*G*) *He dealt in Poetry.*] We have his little Poem *de Venatione*, and that intitled *Ito Julii II. Pontificis Romani*, without reckoning the Verses in the Praise of the Holy Virgin, and the Description of the Palace he built near the Vatican, which is at present possess'd by the Family *Colonna*. 'Tis call'd the English Palace, because Cardinal *Hadrian* bequeath'd it to the King of *England* (*l*).

(*A*) *Born at* Utrecht.] This Town in *Latin*, is call'd *Trajectum ad Rhenum*, as *Maestrick* is called *Trajectum ad Mosam*. Some (*a*) only saying, that *Hadrian* was *Trajectensis*, have caus'd others to make him (*b*) a Native of *Maestricht*. So true it is, that the least Inaccuracy occasions some Author to trip. Probably Father *Labbe* perceiv'd *Bellarmin*'s Negligence; for in his Commentary upon this Jesuit's Ecclesiastical Writers, he does not use the Word *Trajectensis*, but *Ultrajectensis*. 'Tis so certain, that *Trajectum* alone rather signifies, *Maestricht* than *Utrecht*, that M. *de Marolles* is not excusable for (*c*) taking *Trajectensem urbem* for *Utrecht*, in the Second Book of *Gregorius Turonensis*. The Subject was concerning the retreat of S. *Servatius*, Bishop of *Tongres*, and that was another reason for his not mistaking *Maestricht*. I doubt not but the Learned *Onuphrius Panvinius* has taken *Trajectensis* here, for a Man born at *Maestricht*. *Adrianus* VI. says he (*d*), *Trajectensis, Flander vel Brabantinus.* An Error a Thousand times more pardonable than that of a *German* Writer, who says (*e*) *Adrianus* VI. *patria Derthusiensis Germanus.* Some make him born in *Italy*: (*f*) *Ut plane ridiculi sunt qui in suis ad Alphonsi Ciaconii historiam additionibus natales Adriani majoresve Italiæ vindicant. Jerome Niger*, an *Italian* Author, said of this Pope, (*g*) *He speaks Latin always well enough for a* Spaniard.

(*B*) *His Father.*] His Name was *Florent Boyens* (*h*) and he got his Living by Barge making, *Naupegus*. Others make him a Weaver, and others a Brewer. I think the first Opinion is the rightest, since *Valerius Andreas*, who has made a great many Enquiries concerning Pope *Hadrian* VI. says not a Word of the other Trades ascribed to his Father. As for the Son, he was call'd *Hadrianus Florentius*, that is, Hadrian, *Son of* Florent; 'Twas the Custom of the Country, and still remains amongst the Vulgar

(*BA*) *That he us'd to read by Night, by the Light of the Lamps.*] This I have from *Gabriel Naudæus*: *Non secus omnino*, says he, (*i*) *ac olim fecere maximi illi viri, Euclides dum nostu Megaris Athenas proficisceretur ad audiendum Socratem --- Adrianaque præterea ejus nomini Pontifex sextus, & Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus, quos inter luctandum cum suis & angustiis vitæ miseriis, sæpe videre fuit ad clylychnios nocu in templis aut comitiis colluentes legendi desiderio accessisse.*

(*C*) *And if he was not a Poet.*] One of the things that made him decried by the *Italians*, as his slighting of Poetry, and fineness of Style, two things by which a great many under *Leo* X. had made their Fortunes, and upon which they valued themselves most in that Country for Fifty or Sixty Years. *Hadrian* had his Reasons for it, for the Poets had produc'd the same ill Effects, that they afterwards (*k*) produc'd in *France*, (*l*) *Quod unum ei viri elegantes defuisse prædicant, eloquentiæ cultioris flores, & poetarum amanitates contemnere erat solitus, sive quod putaret eas sibi aliquid de gravissimorum studiorum autoritate detrahere, sive quod castis & viris ingeniis poetarum lusus pravos mores importare & religionibus officere arbitraretur.* He was so little dispos'd to favour them, that one of the Reasons of *Paul Jovius*'s experiencing his Kindness, was because he had not join'd Poetry to the Study of the Liberal Arts. (*m*) *Jovium omnino eo ——— sacerdotio esse perornandum, quem audivisset optimis disciplinis liberaliter eruditum, & scriptorem annalium valde elegantem, nec tamen esse poetam, ut cæteri qui cultiores literas sectarentur.* The Paganism that the Poets scatter'd in their Works, contributed not a little to this Pope's Coldness for them, for he understood not Raillery in this Point. He was (*n*) no complaisant Man upon these Matters. He turn'd away his Head when he was shewn the Statue of *Laocoon*, and said these were the Images of Impiety. *Ornamenta insignis picturæ & statuarum priscæ artis nequaquam magni fecit, adeo ut Vianesio Bonnensium legato commendante statuam Laocoontis, quam in Belvederii viridariis Julius ingenti pretio coemptam ad loci dignitatem collocarat, versis statim oculis tanquam impiæ gentis simulacra vituperaret. Paul Jovius* (*o*) informs us of this particular. Judge whether the Lovers of the fine Arts, whether the *Italians*, who admir'd this Masterpiece of Sculpture, could have a Relish for such a Pope. The Poets made him sensible, that it was not said without reason, *Genus Irritabile Vatum.* Here's an Epigram that *Sannazar* regales him with.

Classe, viresque potens, domitoque Oriente superbus
Barbarus in Latios dux quatit arma domos;
In Vaticano noster latet; hunc tamen alto,
Christe, vides cœlo, (proh dolor) & pateris.

I will

(*g*) See the Letters of Princes, collected by Ruscelli, fol. m. 91.

(*b*) Valer. Andr. ibid.

(*i*) Naudæus in pentade quæst. Catophilol. pag. m. 91.

(*k*) Thuanus l. 22. ad ann. 1559.

(*l*) Jovius in ejus vita. p. m. 223.

(*m*) Idem pag. 277.

(*n*) Suspecta habebat poetarum ingenia, utpote qui minus sincero animo de Christiana Religione sentirent & damnatæ falsorum Deorum nomina ad veterum imitationem studiose celebrare dicerentur. Id. ibid.

(*o*) Ubi supra pag 283.

(*e*) In continuatione Chronici Eusebiani, excusa Basileæ anno 1536. ad ann. 1522. Voiez Schoockius de fabula Hamelensi pag. 83. (*f*) Valer. Andr. Bibloth. Belg. p. 91.

leſs than he. A Benefice with Cure of Souls (*D*) was given him in *Holland*, without his expecting it. The meer Reputation of his Honeſty and Learning, canvaſs'd for him with thoſe that rais'd him. † He took his Doctor's Degrees at *Louvain*, the 21ſt of *June*, 1491. A little after he was made Canon of St. *Peter's*, and Divinity Profeſſor in the ſame Town, and afterwards Dean of St. *Peter's*, and Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity. He was remov'd from that Collegiate Life, to Court, in 1507, in order to be Preceptor to the Arch-Duke *Charles*, then Seven Years of Age ‖. He made no great Progreſs (*E*) in *Latin* under him; and 'twas ſaid, that † *Chievres*, this young Prince's Governour, was the cauſe of it. There is nothing commonly more diſagreeable to Children than Study; corporeal Exerciſes are much more their Delight. It was therefore ſaid, that *Chievres* deſiring to have the ſole Poſſeſſion of his Pupil, and all the Glory of his Progreſs, cultivated his Inclination and his Biaſs, and car'd little for his Improvement by the Leſſons of the *Louvain* Profeſſor. However, the Preceptor had as noble Recompences as any Man of that Employ ever had; for it was (*F*) *Charles* the Fifth's Intereſt that rais'd him to the Popedom. Before this he was ſent

† Paulus Jovius in vita Hadriani VI. † Val. Andreas ubi ſupra, & in faſtis Academ. Lovan. p. 96.

‖ Feunt Carolum Cevrum ——ut integra dolcſcentis poſſeſſione fruerentur, alumnum militares locos ſæpius ſolitum ſuis ſtudiis adhortari. Jovius in fine.

I will relate below, *Picrius Valerianus*'s Inveſtive. *Paſquin*'s Statue was continually hung with Satyrical Verſes againſt *Hadrian*. I ſhall ſay (*p*) in another Place, why he had it not demoliſh'd as he had reſolv'd.

(*p*) *At the end of this Work, in the Diſcourſe upon Defamatory Libels.* n. XII.

(*D*) *The Cure that was given him in* Holland.] *Paul Jovius* ſays, that *Margaret* (*q*), *Maximilian* the Emperor's Daughter, Governeſs of the *Netherlands*, gave him this Cure, and that a little after he was preferr'd to the Deanry of *Louvain*. He is miſtaken in making this Princeſs Governante of the *Netherlands* at this time: For ſhe was not ſo till after the Death of the Duke of *Savoy* her Second *actual* Husband. I uſe this Word, becauſe the firſt Prince (*r*) ſhe was betroth'd to, return'd her before the Conſummation of the Marriage, and becauſe I give no Credit to thoſe (*ſ*) who ſay the Duke of *Savoy* did not know her. At the moſt, ſince he died in 1504, it is clear, that *Margaret* of *Auſtria* was not Governeſs of the *Netherlands*, when *Hadrian* was promoted to the Deanry of *Louvain*, which was in the Year (*t*) 1497. *Paul Jovius* muſt have confounded this *Margaret*, with the Widow of *Charles* the *Hardy*, laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, Siſter to *Edward* the IVth. King of *England*. She was alſo call'd *Margaret*, and was at the Charge (*v*) of *Hadrian*'s Promotion to his Doctor of Divinity's Degree. They who tell us this, ſay indeed, that this Doctor had the Deanry of St. *Peter's* at *Louvain*; that of *Notredame* at *Antwerp*; a Canonry and Treſurer's Office at *Notredame le Grand* of *Utrecht*, and the Provoſtſhip of the *Holy Saviour* in the ſame Town; but they ſpeak not of any Benefice, with Cure of Souls, or any Parochial Church. This Parith is perhaps another Confuſion of *Paul Jovius*, Cardinal *Palla vicini* (*w*) has corrected nothing in this Narration of that Writer.

(*q*) Margarita Maximiliani Cæſaris filia, quæ tum Belgis imperabat, ſacerdotio parochiali in Hollandia liberaliter honeſtavit.

(*r*) Charles VIII. *King of* France.

(*ſ*) Fabert *Hiſt. of the Dukes of* Burgundy *pag.* 448. Heiſs *Hiſt. of the Empire. tom.* 1. *pag.* 372.

(*t*) Val. Andreas Faſt. Academ. p. 100.

(*v*) Idem p. 95. Bibl. Belg. pag. 19.

(*w*) Iſtor. del. Concil. l. 2. c. 2.

(*E*) *No great progreſs in* Latin.] Every Body has heard how this Emperor, upon hearing a Speech in *Latin*, and not underſtanding it, cry'd out with a Sigh, Hadrian *told me how it would be*. *Paul Jovius* ſpeaks of it, as of a thing that happen'd in his Preſence; (*x*) *Audivi ego Cæſarem, quum Genuæ Latinam orationem à quodam rectatam nequaquam præclarè intelligeret, ſuſpirantem hæc verba ore protuliſſe; agnoſce, inquit, nunc maximè & cum dolore quidem magiſtri mei divina monita, quum hos flores & elegantias Latini ſermonis percipere nequeam, & meminerim eum ſæpè prædixiſſe, me aliquando puerilis incuriæ pœnas daturum.* This Hiſtorian had been ſaying, that *Hadrian* not being capable of making his Party good againſt *Chievres*, contented himſelf with premoniſhing his young Scholar, that he would repent his Negligence hereafter. *Hadrianum authoritate imparem, & natura leniſſimum, officio facile deceſſiſſe, ita tamen ut diſcipulo ſæpiſſime diceret, futurum aliquando ut cum præſentis negligentiæ pœniteret.* *Charles* V. experienc'd it at *Genoa*, and honeſtly confeſs'd it. *Camerarius* (*a*) would have *Hadrian* reſponſible for this Emperor's uſing an Interpreter, when he heard a Speech in *Latin*, as if he had been more Sollicitous to inſtruct his Pupil in the Catholick Religion, than in good Letters; but this Confeſſion of the Emperor, is ſufficient to excuſe the Tutor. Mr. *Varillas* (*b*) enters into a long Diſpute againſt the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, pretending it is falſe, either that *Chievres* was guilty of what he is accus'd of with reſpect to his Pupil's *Latin*, or that *Charles* V. was ignorant of this Language, or that he was unluckily ſenſible of this Defect upon the hearing an Oration. As to the laſt Fact, which the *Spaniards*, as he ſays, ſuppoſe to have happen'd in *Germany*, he maintains, that it is not related in any Author of other Nations. Would he have ſpoke thus, had he known the Adventure of the Oration at *Gen.* 2, mentioned by *Paul Jovius*?

(*x*) Vid. Andr. Faſt. Academ. p. 100.

(*a*) Medit. hiſtor. 3. vol. l. 4. cap. 7. p. m. 282.

(*b*) *Practice of the Education of Princes, pag.* 26. & ſeq.

(*F*) *It was* Charles *the Fifth's Intereſt*] *Paul Jovius* obſerves, that *Hadrian* had a ſhare in (*c*) the numerous Promotions of the Year 1517. (*d*) In vertue of *Maximilian* the Emperor's Letters. He adds ſome other Reaſons. As to the Popedom, 'tis a very common Opinion, that *Hadrian* came off, by the ſtrong Canvaſſing of the Emperor *Charles* V. (*e*) *Cæſare urgente Leoni demortuo abſens (raro & imitato ſanè exemplo) Pontifex Max. unitaque haginta p. rum purpuratorum ſuffragiis creatus.* 'Tis ſaid, That *Amiot* owed the place of Grand Almoner of *France*, to a Table Diſcourſe (*f*) of *Charles* IX. upon the Subject of *Charles* V. "This Emperor "was prais'd for many things, but eſpecially for "making his Preceptor Pope——The merit of "this Action was ſo heightned, that it made an "Impreſſion on *Charles* IX. ſo as to ſay, that *if* "*occaſion offer'd, he would do as much for his*." 'Tis therefore a very general Opinion, that Pope *Hadrian* VI, was the Creature of *Charles* V. But yet it ſeems, that this Emperor procur'd him the Popedom, but indirectly, and by Accident. *Paul Jovius*, who has div'd well enough into the Intrigues of this Conclave, tells us, that *Julian de Medicis*, the Head of a Potent Faction, did not concern himſelf for *Hadrian*, till he found (*g*) he could do nothing for himſelf. 'Tis true, *Hadrian*'s Adhetion to the Intereſts of *Charles* V. made *Julian*'s Faction very favourable to him, when they could not carry it for the latter. They talk of an Inſcription (*h*) wherein *Hadrian* own'd himſelf obliged to the Imperial Majeſty for all his Greatneſs. This Inſcription was compoſ'd, ſay they, in theſe Words, *Ut trajectum plantavit, Lovanium rigavit, Cæſar vero incrementum dedit*; That is, Utrecht *planted*, Louvain *watered*, *but the Emperor gave the increaſe*; Upon which one ſaid, *God had no hand at all in it. Deo iſtic nec feritur, nec metitur.* But for all this, the Creation of this Pope, was only an effect of Chance and Spleen. Read theſe Verſes of *Picrius Valerianus*, which are as fine as Satyrical (*i*).

(*c*) *The Hiſtory of* Leo X. *in the Remark* (*E*).

(*d*) Tum præſertim Maximiliani Cæſaris literæ. Jovius pag. 240.

(*e*) Swertius Athen. Belg. pag. 95.

(*f*) *The Abbot* de St. Real *of the uſe of Hiſtory, ſee the Remark* (*E*).

(*g*) Itaque Medices ceſſantes vel nepotis de Pontificatu Adrianum nominat. Jovius pag. 240.

(*h*) Wolfius Lect. memorab. tom. 2. p. 102. *This, That this Inſcription appear'd upon a piece of Tapeſtry at* Louvain, *when Rejoycings were made for the Creation of this Pope.*

(*i*) *The author of the Notes upon* Sannazar's *Poems, printed at* Amſterdam *in* 1689. *has inſerted this in page* 236, 237.

Cum fluctuaret cymba, quæ magnos Deos,
Romæ penates quæ vehit,
Leone adempto: providam, vigilem, patrem
Optabat infeliæ ducem.
Dum tota is ora quæritur Iagnſtica,
Totoque Tyrrheno mari,
Per Adriatici omne littus, per Padi
Ripas, Lemani per juga.
Per Celtiberos, Gaditanos, Gallici
Vaſtos per Oceani ſinus,
Quaque aſſurgſum Sarmatas lambat ſonus,
Qua circuit Britannias:
Repente nobis hunc dedit recors ſuor
Regione Rheni ab ultimâ;
Nil tale Patribus facere ſe putantibus:
Nihil minus volentibus
Quam quem eligebant: nil minus poſcentibus
Quam quem vocabant: hinc!
O terra! totis Hadrianus omnium
Fit Pontifex; ſed omnibus,

sent Ambaſſador into *Spain*, to King *Ferdinand*, and ſome ſay he manag'd things (G) with much greater Addreſs than could be expected from a Man who had ſo long imbib'd the Univerſity Air. He ſoftned this Monarch, who was much diſſatisfied with his Son-in-Law's Treatment of him, and with the Zeal the Nobility expreſs'd for the *Auſtrian* Princes. *Hadrian* remov'd theſe ill Impreſſions, the Conſequences whereof were to be fear'd, and was honoured a little after with the Biſhoprick (H) of *Tortoſa*, and continued his Embaſſy notwithſtanding. He diſcharg'd the Functions of it till *Ferdinand*'s * Death. After which he divided the Regency with (I) Cardinal *Ximenes*†. 'Tis true, his ſhare was the leaſt, to ſay no worſe: but there came a Time when his Authority was much greater. *Ximenes* took too much upon him, for which Reaſon the Arch-Duke *Charles* ſent him Home, when he went in Perſon to take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Spain*; and ſometime after he gave the Government to *Hadrian* in a very honourable manner, I mean, when he departed for *Germany*, where the Imperial Crown call'd him. *Hadrian* found himſelf much perplex'd with the Government of ſo many Kingdoms, becauſe there aroſe a dangerous Sedition, which he could not have been able to ſurmount, had he not had two Collegues aſſigned him, *viz.* the Conſtable and Amirante of *Caſtile*. The Invaſion of *Navarre* by the French, was another great Perplexity in his Government. He came off with Honour, and enjoy'd the Satisfaction of recovering *Navarre*, when he receiv'd the News of his Election to the Popedom †. I have omitted to ſay, that *Leo* X. gave him a Cardinal's Cap in the Year 1517. After his Death, the ſeveral Factions of the Conclave, terminated in the Election of *Hadrian*†, which highly diſpleaſed the People of (K) *Rome*.

* *Happening the* 23*d. of* January, 1516.

† Jovius, ibid.

* *See* Varillas *Practice of the Education of Princes, pag.* 186. Holland *Edition.*

* Hadrianus cum imperio toti Hiſpaniæ præficitur tanta cum dignitate, ut Cæſar recuſantem & præoptantem ſequi humaniſſimis precibus ut manere vellet exorare cogeretur, quando rege abſente in Hiſpania præſide opus foret præclaræ dignitatis & famæ, qui, &c. Jovius pag. 231.

† Idem pag. 231.

† *The* 9*th. of* January 1522.

Quis credat? invitis. Deûm vis hæc, Deûm,
Deum abditum hoc arbitrium eſt.
Ut qui natantis deſpuunt regnum trabis,
Parere diſcant vipere:
Ut invicem qui ſe oderant Patres, ducem
Inviſum haberent omnibus,
Malarum ut eſſet ferus ultor mentium,
Acri ipſe mente in ſingulos.

Naude relates (k) that *Peter Martyr, not the Florentine Heretick, but the Apoſtolick Protonotary, a Native of a little Town of the Dutchy of* Milan, *ſaid, ſpeaking of* Hadrian *VI. Cardinalibus hoc loco accidit quod in fabula de Pardo ac Leone ſuper Aquo vitando ſcribitur; fortibus illis ſtrenuè ſe dilacerantibus, quodcumque quadrupes iners aliud prædæ ſe dominum fecit.* That is, according to *Lewis de May*'s Verſion, Author of the Notes upon *Naude*'s State Politicks. *The Cardinals on this Occaſion, were allegoriz'd by the Fable of the* Leopard *and the* Lion, *in contending for a* Lamb: *Whilſt theſe two courageous Creatures were tearing one another in conteſting the Prey, another of the moſt cowardly and brutiſh of Beaſts, made himſelf Maſter of it.*

(k) Naude's *State Politicks, pag.* 202.

(l) *See the Preface to the Practice of the Education.*

(m) Jovius pag. 232.

(n) Jovius ib. p. 228. Swert Athen. Belg. p. 95. Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 20.

(o) *Preface to the Practice. See alſo, pag.* 106.

(p) Fra. *of Education, pag.* 182.

(q) *Note, that after* Hadrian's *Promotion to the Cardinalſhip, he was called the Cardinal* de Tortoſa.

(r) *The Hiſtory of the Miniſtry of Cardinal* Ximenes, *by Mr.* Marſolier. (s) Pag. 372. Hol. *Edition.*

(G) *With much greater Addreſs.*] Mr. *Varillas* is of another Opinion. With him *Hadrian* (l) was fit for nothing but to dictate in a College; he underſtood not Politicks, nor Cabinet Councils, for which this is given amongſt other Proofs, that in his Embaſſy to *Aragon*, he did not anſwer *Chievres* Expectation. But who told *Varillas* that this was a ſign of his Inability? *Hadrian* (m) hated *Chievres* on many Accounts; and inſtead of Negotiating according to his Views, he did him ill Offices underhand. This no doubt was ill anſwering this Lord's Hopes, but was no ſign of Inability.

(H) *The Biſhoprick of* Tortoſa.] Many Authors (n) whom I have conſulted, agree, that *Ferdinand* gave *Hadrian* this Biſhoprick. But Mr. *Varillas* ſays, that it was given him after this Prince's Death (o) as an amends for the Power he was deprived of. We muſt know, that Cardinal *Ximenes* nominated Regent of the (p) Kingdom by *Ferdinand*'s Will, would ſeize on this Employ in ſpight of the Brevet that *Hadrian* had brought from *Flanders*, to be Regent of *Caſtile* and *Aragon*, in caſe of *Ferdinand*'s Death. The Cardinal was more reſolute than *Hadrian* in his Pretenſions; for the latter was brought to be content with part of the Regency, and Mr. *Varillas* ſuppoſes he was made Biſhop, to (q) make him amends. I have been looking in (r) a Book later than Mr. *Varillas*'s, where I find, that the Author ſuppoſes our *Hadrian* was not Biſhop at the time of the Diſpute about the Regency. Relating the Circumſtances of this Diſpute, he calls him only Dean of *Louvain*, and he ſays (s) that *Ximenes* pretended *that this Dean conſenting only to have it as a Second, the Dignity and Rank be bore in* Caſtile, *not permitting a ſimple Prieſt, as the Dean was, to pretend to a Precedency over a Cardinal Arch-Biſhop, he would allow him only what he thought fit.* The Biſhop of *Niſmes* ſays expreſly (t) that the Dean came not to the Biſhoprick of *Tortoſa*, but by *Ximenes*'s Recommendation after *Ferdinand*'s Death; and as he cites *Alvara Gomez* (u) and *Peter Martyr*, (w) 'tis probable that *Paul Jovius* and the Writers of the *Netherlands*, are miſtaken. The manner of *Ferdinand*'s receiving the Dean, does not intimate that he had made him Biſhop: *He had penetrated* (x) *the true Subject of his Embaſſy, he had treated him as a Spy, and when* Hadrian *ſolliciting for a Second Audience, he angrily anſwered* what would he have; does he deſire to know whether I am dying? Tell him I am not to be ſeen to Day. *However he ſaw him a few Days after, by the Advice of his Miniſters, and told him, that he was not well enough to treat with him about Buſineſs, and order'd him to retire to* Guadalupa, *to the Convent of St.* Jerome——*He gave him Officers in Appearance to ſerve him, but in effect to guard him, and to hinder ſuſpected People from having any Commerce with him.*

(l) *He divided the Regency.*] There is great Probability in one of the Circumſtances related by Mr. *Varillas*. He ſays, (f) that one of the Arguments urg'd to the Dean (g) of *Utrecht*, during his Diſpute with *Ximenes* about the Regency, was the repreſenting to him, "That if he attempted to execute the "Commiſſions he had brought from *Flanders*, he "would kindle a Civil-War in *Spain*, and be anſwerable to God for all the Murders and other "Crimes that ſhould be committed, as he himſelf "had previouſly confeſs'd in his excellent Commentary upon the Maſter of the Sentences, where he "had taught, that a Man raiſing Diſturbances in a "State, when he might forbear it, without "hazarding his Conſcience and his Honour, was "reſponſible for all the ſubſequent Calamities. We "have ſeen above, that the Dean was an Honeſt "Man, and that he was not well ſkill'd in the matter he pretended to. He was ſo charm'd with "the Deference that was paid him, in referring to himſelf an Affair wherein he was a Party, "and with the Honour done him in citing the Writings he had formerly dictated in the Univerſity "of *Louvain*, and afterwards printed, that he promiſed to ſubmit to what the Council of *Spain* "ſhould determine, provided an Expedient was "found to defend his Reputation, and hinder the "Arch-Duke's Commiſſions from being turn'd into ridicule. Here's exactly the Fable of the *Raven* and the *Fox*, only with this Difference, that the *Raven* loſt his Prey for future Praiſes, whereas poor *Hadrian* loſt his, for Praiſes given his ſinging in times paſt.

(t) Fleſchier *Hiſt. of Cardinal* Ximenes, *Book* 4. *pag.* 533. Hol. *Edition.*

(u) De rebus geſtis Ximen. lib. 6.

(w) Epiſt. 576. lib 20.

(x) Fleſchier. ib. l. 3. p. 492. ad. ann. 1515.

(f) Pag. 185.

(g) *'Tis thus they call'd Dodor* Hadrian Florent in Spain.

(h) Poſtquam Dijs ac hominibus placet. Jovius, pag. 250.

(K) *Which highly diſpleas'd the People of* Rome.] What they call in the Conclave, *being Elected by Inſpiration*, had a great ſhare in *Hadrian*'s Fortune. The Cardinal *de Medicis*, at the head of all the young Cardinals, a Faction more potent than that which is ſometimes call'd the *Flying Squadron*, had

nc

Rome. The New Pope embarking in *Catalonia* (*L*) arrived at *Rome* the 30th of *August*. He refus'd to change his Name; and in every thing expreſſed his Averſion to Pomp and Pleaſures, which was a thing againſt which Preſcription was very old. His Pontificate laſted but till the 14th of *September* 1623. He had a great Partiality for the Emperor *Charles* V. and very little Satisfaction (*M*) in his Triple Crown. It was perhaps his Diſcontent, that gave occaſion to ſuch a Behaviour, as made him paſs (*N*) for an Hater of Mankind. The *Italians* have publiſhed heinous (O) Calumnies againſt him; and even thoſe, that inſtead of defaming him in his Morals, acknowledge his Probity and Zeal, fail not to ſay, he was not fit (*P*) to

(*b*) Poſtquam Diis ac hominibus placet. Jovius pag. 250.

(*i*) Id populus adeò indignanter tulit, ut quamvis patefacto Conclavi Cardinales domum redirent, paſſim maledictis inceſſerentur, quod infamibus comitiis non modo urbem Romam ſuo miſſite orbarant prodidiſſent, ſed quod in ſummæ proximum videretur, Italiam etiam Pontificatus honore ſpoliaſſent Ibid.

(*k*) Idem pag. 251.

(*l*) Athen. Belg. p. 95.

(*m*) Nic. Antonio. Tom. 1. pag. 179.

(*n*) De Script. Eccleſ. tom 1. pag. 415.

(*a*) Neceſſe erat Pontificem rerum Italicarum penitus ignarum, & tum primum urbium ſuarum & provinciarum regulorumque nomina perdiſcentem, in ſolicitas conſiliis vehementiſſimè conturbari, adeo ut quum his curarum fluctibus jactaretur, aliquando ſtudiorum Chriſtianam rem publicam adminiſtrare. Jovius pag. 252.

no ſooner reſolved upon the Election of Cardinal *de Torroſa*, but he made his Party promiſe to give him their Voices all at once. This was done. The opening of the Billets, ſhewing that a Candidate was propoſed, upon whom it ſeem'd no Body had yet thought, caus'd a great Surprize. Cardinal *Cajetan* gave a freſh Lift, by adviſing thoſe that were neareſt him to take this Side, ſince (*b*) it was as he ſaid, that of God and Men. Immediately many of them eſpous'd his Intereſt with a good Grace, by I know not what Motive of Religion; others who knew not ſo much as the Cardinal of *Torroſa*'s Name, heſitated, but nevertheleſs followed the prevailing Opinion: the Torrent of Inſpiration hurried them along, and made them forget all their Intereſts. None but Cardinal *Uſin* reſiſted this Inſpiration of the Conclave. *Julian de Medicis* was overjoy'd, but the others fell into a ſad Dejection; and the People were ſo inrag'd at their Choice, (*i*) that they loaded them with a Thouſand Abuſes, upon the coming out of the Conclave. One of them thank'd the People, for ſuffering them to come off ſo cheap, whereas if they had their deſerts, they would have been ſton'd (*k*). *Adaperto conclavi quum globus Cardinalium Hadriani pontem eſſet prætervectus, & opifices pueriquè minacibus oculis vocesque & manibus obſtreperent, nec à fœdiſſimis probris abſtinerent, Sigiſmundus Gonzaga Cardinalis venidenti vultu his egit gratias, quod adverſus extrema ſupplicia meritos contumeliis eſſent contenti, nec lapidibus publicam injuriam vindicarent.* The Peoples Indignation was founded upon their having no regard to the ſtain of *Original Sin*, and the fear that the new Pope would keep his See elſewhere than in *Rome*.

(*L*) *Arrived at* Rome.] *Francis Swert* (*l*) ſays, that *Didacus Stunica* has made a Relation of this Voyage. I doubt it much; for *Nicholas Antonio* does not ſpeak of it, tho' he ſpeaks of another Relation of a Voyage written by this Author, of leſs Conſequence than this would be. The Relation mention'd by *Nicholas Antonio*, is that of a Voyage which *Stunica* made to *Rome* in 1520, which *Schottus* has inſerted in the end of his *Spaniſh Bibliotheque*. Inſtead of *Didacus Stunica*, it ſhould be ſaid, *Blaiſe Ortiz*, for 'tis he that compos'd a Relation of the Voyage of *Hadrian* VI. It was printed at *Toledo*, in the Year 1546. The Author went from *Spain* to *Rome* with this Pope (*m*).

(*M*) *Very little Satisfaction in his Triple Crown.*] This is ſignified in the Inſcription he would have engraven on his Tomb; *Adrianus VI. hic ſitus eſt, qui nihil ſibi infelicius in vita duxit quam quod imperaret.* Father *Labbe* (*n*) ſays, this Epitaph was put on his Tomb in the Church of St. *Mary dell' anima*, but he is miſtaken: The Cardinals, who erected him a Mauſoleum in this Church, put a much longer and more pompous Inſcription on it. It is to be ſeen in abundance of Authors. The other was only engraven on the Tomb where he was proviſionally depoſited in St. *Peter*'s Church. See *Paul Jovius* at the end of this Pope's Life. We need not wonder that *Hadrian* VI. thought the Papal Crown ſo heavy, for the general Affairs of *Chriſtendom* were in great Confuſion in his Pontificate, and he was not ſufficiently acquainted with the Genius of the *Italians*, to avoid offending them in a Thouſand Inſtances. The News he daily receiv'd of the Progreſſes and Menaces of the Otomans (*a*), and his little Experience in the Affairs of *Italy*, ſo diſturbed his Head, that he could not forbear ſaying, he had more Satisfaction in governing a College of *Louvain*, than in Governing all the Chriſtian Church. If he could not have known of his own Head, that his Irreſolutions and Delays caus'd Miſchief and Murmurs, he might have known it by the Reproaches offer'd by *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſador, to his Face, who began his Speech thus: *Fabius Maximus, Sanctiſſime pater, rem Romanam cunctando reſtituit, tu vero pariter cunctando rem Romanam ſimulque Europam perdere contendis.* Thus (*b*) Exordium ſo confounded the Pope, that, as the Cardinals hated him, they were ready to break out into Laughter.

(*N*) *For an Hater of Mankind.*] *Pierius Valerianus* (*c*) makes him a Man who avoided human Society, and who in the Cavalcades kept at as great a diſtance as poſſible from the Courtiers; he put Spurs to his Horſe when he ſaw others approach him. To ſee this Author's Satyr in all its Extent, we muſt chooſe certain Editions, for there are ſome that have been expung'd on this particular. That of *Baſil* of 1575, is not of this Number, as Father *Theophilus* (*d*) *Raynaud* has obſerved, who has taken this Pope's Part, againſt the Humaniſts of that time.

I don't mention the *Capitolo* of *Berna* againſt this Pope; I only ſay, that this Paſſage is not to be taken literally.

Baſta ch'egli hanno fatto un Papa ſanto,
Che dice ogni mattima la ſua Meſſa,
E non s'è tocca mai ſe non col guanto.

'Tis a Burleſque, familiar, and even a Proverbial Hyperbole amongſt the *Italians*, *Gli hippocriti*, ſays *Aretin Giorn. 1. della 2. parte, che non ſel toccano mai ſe non col guanto.* I owe this Obſervation to Mr. *de la Monnoye*.

(*O*) *Heinous Calumnies againſt him.*] They were not contented to ſcandalize him for prodigious Avarice, but gave out, that they had diſcover'd the Reaſon of his ſtaying ſeven Years in a Corner of the Vatican, where he ſuffer'd no Body to ſee him, that it was not like *Numa*, to converſe with his Nymph *Egeria*. They added, that the Diſeaſe he died of, proceeded from too much Luxury and Effeminacy, and that he was not contented to abuſe himſelf with Women, but muſt have Handſome Boys beſides (*e*). This was not all. They put forth that he was a Magician, and that his Friends deſiring to elude the Proofs that were taken from I know not how many Magical Inſtruments, that were found in his Chamber after his Death, ſaid that he found the Philoſopher's Stone. As it could not be denied, that he had the exteriour of Vertue, and was a lover of Reformation and Juſtice, they confin'd themſelves to ſay, that this was only Hypocriſie; and that this Fault is more common in *Germany*, than is imagin'd. See concerning all this, a Letter of *Chriſtopher Battus*, to *Jerome Saulius*, in the Second Volume of *Wolfius*. We read in the Supplement of (*b*) the Abbot of *Urſperg*'s Chronicle, that they found amongſt this Pope's ſecret Papers, ſome Magical Books, and that ſome pretend he came to the Popedom by this wicked Art.

Note, That *Gerard Moringus* obſerves, that this good Pope underſtanding that the *Italians* form'd evil Suſpicions upon his bringing ſome Youths from *Spain*, ſent them immediately back into their Country. (*f*) *Si quando antea, tum maximè ſpecium omnem impudicitiæ amovit. Loquè cum adoleſcentes aliquot honeſtæ tum indolis tum ſtirpis in gratiam parentum in familiam aſcitos, ex Hiſpaniis ſecum in urbem duxiſſet, intellexiſſetque Italos ex convictu illorum, neſcio quæ abominanda, noſtratibus muſitata ſuſpicari, ſtatim in Hiſpanias remiſit, in academia Salmanticenſi plenius literis imbuendos, quibus antea domi ipſius à pio ſimul & erudito viro Theodorico Hezio ſecretario ipſius utcumque imbuti fuerant eo jubente.* The ſame Writer expreſſes 1523.

(*b*) Idem pag. 276.

(*c*) Hieroglyph. lib. 19.

(*d*) Hoplotheca. pag. 346.

(*e*) Poſtea compertum eſt illic mulierem formoſa egregia clam habuiſſe, cujus amoris cauſâ eò tam frequenter iraſſe creditur ejus amplexu frui ſoliitum. Battus apud Wolfium, Lect. memorab. tom. 2. p. 192.

(*f*) Laboravit permultum antequam [illegible] ſolent qui coitu immodico utuntur ibid.

(*g*) Datum eſt hocintuper crimini quod puerorum amoribus delectaretur, quia inter cæteros Miniſtrorum nullos tenellæ ætatis & eximiæ formæ habebat. Ib.

(*b*) See John Creſpin. State of the Church. ad ann.

† Lib. 14. fol. m. 421.

* *Cardinal* Palavicin *confutes this*, l. 2. c. 2. *See the Article* Guicciardin, *Remark F.*

‡ Della quale estravaganza non potendo con ragione alcuna escusarsi, transferivano la causa nello Spirito Santo, solito secundo diceva-no à inspirare nella elettione de' Pontefici i cuori de' Cardinali.

‡ Jovius ubi supra. Val. Andr Bibl. Belg. Aub. Miraus, Elog. Belgic.

(*k*) Ger. Moringus in vita Hadriani VI.

(*k*) Id. ib. in præfat.

(*l*) Palavic. lib. 2. c. 9.

(*m*) Id. ib.

(*n*) *See* Palavicini l. 2. c. 7. p. m. 206.

(*o*) Epist. IV. 7.

(*p*) Jovius de piscibus Romanis c. 1.

(*q*) Mire favit Pogio seni Pogii Historici filio, itemque Moro nobili à gulæ intemperantia—— & Brandino Equiti, Marianoque Saniori cuculiato facetissimis helluonibus, & in omni genere popinalium delitiarum

(*P*) to be Pope. His very Sobriety has not escap'd (*Q*) Railleries. The Joy that was expres'd for his Death, was in Reality (*R*) a great Commendation of him. I can't tell whether they were Catholicks or Protestants, that gave out first that he permitted Sacrifices to be made to the Heathen Gods (*S*) in order to stop the Pestilence. *Guicciardin* has not spar'd him more than others; for he pretends † that they who elected this Barbarian to the Popedom, were led rather by a blind Fury, than by Choice * and Deliberation; and that being unable to assign any Reason for their extravagant Conduct, they excussed themselves on the Holy Ghost, who was us'd, as they said, to inspire the Cardinals, during the Election of the Popes ‡. *Hadrian*'s Body was deposited in the Vatican Church, betwixt those of *Pius* II. and *Pius* III. and remov'd afterwards to St. *Mary del l'Anima*. *William Enckevort*, the only Cardinal he had made, took all the care of it, and erected a Stately Monument to him ‡. Let it not be forgotten, that this Pope (*T*) was

eruditissimis. Nam inter alia portenta insanientis eorum gulæ hucusque concilis pavonum pulpis farciendi fuerant, quod obsonii genus mox successor Hadrianus, vir Batavæ frugalitatis, mirabundus expavit, quum sumptuarias rationes Leonis inspiceret. Jovius in vita Leonis X. p. 191. Varillas *Secret History of* Florence, p. 297. *says, that these Sausages were fill'd with nothing but the most delicious Parts of the Flesh of Pheasants. He takes a Peacock for a Pheasant.*

(*a*) Jovius in vit. Hadriani, pag. 283.

(*b*) Ubi mo inquirere punireque decreverat juventutis corruptores, ejus enim criminis non omnino falsa suspicione urbis ipsa connivent-ibus legibus infecta credebatur. Quo inopinatâ & gravi severissimæ legis veluti de-

presses an extream Indignation against the Author of the Letters, which *Wolfius* has inserted in the Second Volume of his Lectures. (*k*) *Rattus quidam Parmensis quondam de ejus defuncti relicta famæ epistolam edidit, Latinam quidem illam ac tersam, sed adeo impudenter mendacem, ut ipsa mentiendi imprudentia, dicam an insciția, vel atrui malevolos fidem sibi abroget. Quid os impurum eo impulerit, nihil esse aliud reor, quam id quod Comicus habet, Mala mens, malus animus.*

(*P*) *He was not fit to be Pope.*] Few will read this place, without perceiving, that Cardinal *Palavicini* is pointed at, and thinking of the new Gospel, in which many Maxims of his History of the Council of *Trent* have been so severely censur'd. *Hadrian* VI. was in the Cardinal's Opinion, an excellent Ecclesiastick, but an indifferent Pope. (*l*) *In Ecclesiastico ottimo, Pontefice in verità mediocre.* He descends even lower into the Temper of the People, who judge of things only by the Event; for in Consequence of the bad Success of his Reign, he was reckon'd so much as an indifferent Pope (*m*). This honest *Flemming*, not finding in *Italy* the Candour and Sincerity he had been trained up in, entred into a general Mistrust: he believ'd that Snares were laid for him in every thing; he durst only trust those of his own Country, who with their Oppenness without Experience, did him more Injury than the *Italians* would have done with their Dissimulation. The *Jansenist*, who wrote the new Gospel, has made a malicious use of all Cardinal *Palavicini*'s Concession concerning the good Qualities of this Pontiff; but at the bottom, the Cardinal was not so much in the Wrong, as might be pretended. 'Tis true, if the Christian Church were what it ought to be, the same Vertues which would furnish out a good Church-man, would suffice for a Pope (*n*); but in the State the *Roman* Church has long continued, under an Head whose Spiritual Power is so incorporated with the Temporal, that the Preservation of the one depends upon that of the other, 'tis a madness to pretend, that a Pope who understands not the Arts of Courts and the Slights of Politicks, can discharge his Duties. See the Remark *P* of the Article *Bellarmin*, at the end. To accomplish the Protestants Prophecies, there need be but Four or Five Popes successively, such as some have been, who were otherwise rigid Moralists. However, 'tis worth while to see (*o*) Mr. *de Launoi*'s Letter, wherein he makes out *Hadrian*'s Apology against Cardinal *Palavicini*.

(*Q*) *His very Sobriety has not escap'd Railleries.*] He was so little us'd to the Kickshaws of *Rome*, that there was no Fish he preferr'd before the *Melwel*; so that the Price of this Fish rise considerably in his Pontificate, not without the Laughter of all the Fish-Market. Instead of praising him for this, *Paul Jovius* has had the Boldness to say, that he had no better taste with respect to good Dishes, than Judgment for the Administration of Affairs. I so impoverish this Author's Latin, that 'tis necessary to translate it Word for Word (*p*) *Modo Mevinceic plebeio admodum pisci Hadrianus Pontifex, sicuti in administranda republica hebetis ingenii vel depravati judicii, ita in esculentis insulsissimi gustus supra mediocre pretium ridente toto foro piscario jam fecerat.* The Court of *Rome* went from one Extream to another; for never was there a Pope, whose Table was so delicate, as that of *Leo* X. Men got into his Favour by the Invention of Ragoos; and there were (*q*) four great Masters of Cookery, who became his Minions. They invented a sort of Sausage, which astonish'd *Hadrian* VI. when he examin'd the Expences of his Predecessor. For his part, he kept no such useless Officers as those, and was so much the reverse of *Leo* X. that his Charge was not above Twelve Crowns a Day. The *Romans* satyriz'd this great Frugality, and said, that the Vatican was grown like those Houses that the fear of Hobgoblins had made unfrequented. *Familiam adeò sordidam & exiguam alebat, ut sumptus quotidianus duodecim aureos non excederet. Quid plura? Vaticana domus non jam domus illa Pontificia, & ocellus urbis ut quondam, sed domus aliqua, ut poetæ tradunt, quæ propter lemurum formidinem vacua & deserta sit, præ solitudine videbatur.* Thus speaks *Christopher Battus*, whom I have cited above. *Paul Jovius*'s Words give us to understand, that there were some People at *Rome*, who in Complaisance to this Pope, made account of his Fish. We shall see in the Article of the Chancellor *du Prat*, that this was not the first time that Great Men have brought into Fashion some Dishes that were despis'd before. I believe likewise, that *Hadrian*'s Preference of Beer before Wine, was no less laugh'd at, than that of the *Melwel* before all other Fish. His common Drink was Beer, to which was attributed his last Sickness. He had a great care of his Health, and he dined at so constant an Hour, that he abruptly quitted the most important Affairs, when he had notice that Dinner was ready; but he eat little. (*a*) *Ferunt Hadrianum alioqui vegeta viridisque senectæ contraxisse morbum assiduo cervisiæ potu —— Nam per se cibi parcissimus erat, & in tucnda valetudine appriime diligens & morosus, tanta horarum definitione, ut denunciante Architriclino paratas esse epulas, vel maximarum rerum colloquia protinus abrumperet.*

(*R*) *Was in Reality a great Commendation.*] Because nothing rendred him more odious than his Desire to put a stop to the Crying Sins, and to imploy the severest Punishments against them. The Report was, that he was going to publish some terrible Bulls against *Judaizers*, Despisers of Holy Things, *Simonists*, *Usurers* and *Sodomites*. This last Article threw (*b*) such an Allarm into the Court and City, that there were young Men, who after his Death, fixt Festoons upon his Physician's Gate, with this Inscription in Capital Letters, *TO THE DELIVERER OF THE COUNTRY.* Could the Joy at such a Sovereign's Death, be any thing else than a Proof of his Vertue? *Paul Jovius* relates, that this Joy was excessively great. *Morte ejus plerique & præsertim veteris aulæ sectatores effusissime sunt lætati, & secundum eos nonnulli Romanorum qui detrimenta rerum suarum senserant.*

(*S*) *To the Heathen Gods in Order.*] I have not yet had time to proceed far in the search of the Original of this Lye. I have only trac'd it to a Book (*c*) printed at *Amsterdam*, in 1661, wherein are these Words. *Is* (Adrianus VI.) *ad avertendam pestem quæ gravissime in urbe sæviebat*, Mago Demetrio Græco concessit sylvestrem taurum Diis Gentilium ad placandam eorum iram mactare, *cessavitque lues.* The Author cites *Paul Jovius* in the Second Book of his History; but we must believe in Charity, and for his Honour that he had not read this Historian. Let us see what *Paul Jovius* says; the place deserves relating. He only says, that the Pope did not severely forbid the Communication of Pestilent

mentione, maculosos quosdam cum aulæ tum civitatis desperata publica securitate terruerat, adeo ut non defuerint petulantissimi juvenes, qui Joanni Antracino Pontificis Medico postes festa fronde per intempestam noctem protinus exornarent, cum titulo uncialibus literis inscripto in hæc verba, Liberatori Patriæ S. P. Q. R. Jovius pag. 281. (*c*) Compend. Historiæ, *by* John Lætus, *Professor at* Franeker.

Houses,

(I) was an Author. 'Tis somewhat strange, that a Man who owed his Advancement to his Learning, so little countenanc'd (K) good Wits. The Collection of the Letters of Princes, † contain some Particulars of this Pope's Humour, his Life has been amply written by *Gerard Moringus*, a Divine of *Louvain*.

† *In two Letters of* Jerome Niger, *to* Mark Anthony Muret, *fol.* m. 81. &c.

He did not dissemble the great Abuses he observed in the Church; he publickly acknowledged them, and that in a very emphatical Manner, in the Instruction (X) he gave the Nuncio who was to speak for him at the Diet of *Nuremberg*. He therein deplor'd the sad Life of the Clergy, and the Corruption of Morals that appear'd in the Persons of some Popes. He had long wish'd to introduce amongst Churchmen, a Reformation of Manners. He had labour'd to effect this, whilst he was Dean (Y) of *Louvain*, but the Insignificancy of his Pains had obliged him to desist from his Enterprize. One of the justest Reproaches he can be tax'd with, was the contradicting the fine

Houses, and that that Method, which was very different from the Customs of *Italy*, occasion'd the Death of abundance of People. He is not said to give leave to the Magitian to make the Sacrifice; 'tis only said in general, that no Body durst oppose the Populace, who countenanc'd this *Demetrius*: besides, it is not said that this Man pretended to Sacrifice the Bull to the Heathen Gods; and as to the Success, 'tis only said, the Plague diminish'd. What then do they think of, who cite *Paul Jovius*, when they vent so many Circumstances which he has not mentioned?

(l) Jovius Hist. lib. 21. fol. m. 11.

(d) *Exortæ in Urbe pestilentes lues, quæ quum se veris legibus more nostro Pontifici minimè coercendæ videretur, contactu ægrorum ita exarsit ut multa funera in compitis viderentur, apparerentque vestibula Urbem, haud multo dierum spatio, nisi Græculus quidam nomine Demetrius Smyrtanus, sedandæ pestilentiæ, favente ei turba hominum, negotium suscepisset, nemine superstitionem vetare ausso. Nam ferum taurum, cui vinum cornu dissecarat, magico carmine dextram in aurem prolato repente ita manusfactum reddiderat, ut injecto tenui filo ad integrum cornu, quo vellet perducens, pestilentiæ placando mimi ad Amphitheatrum immolaret. Nec credula multitudinis spem ex toto fefellit, quum ab ea inanis sacrificii prospera litatione, mitescere morbus cæpisset.*

(I) *That this Pope was an Author.*] His *Quæstiones* and *Expositiones* upon the Fourth Book of the Master of the Sentences, were printed at *Paris* in *Folio*, in the Year 1512, (e) and in 1516, and his *quæstiones quodlibeticæ duodecim* at *Louvain*, in *Octavo*, in 1515, and at *Paris* in *Folio*, the Year following. During his stay in *Spain*, he composed *Computum hominis agonizantis, & Sermonem de sæculo pertuso*. After his Pontificate, he publish'd *Regulas Cancellariæ Apostolicæ*, and writ many Letters to the Princes of *Germany*, &c. which were printed with the Councils, and elsewhere.

(e) *There are more Editions of it.*

I have something to observe concerning his Work upon the Master of the Sentences. The Sieur *Konig* deceiv'd by their Ambiguity, (f) who have said (g) *in* IV. *sententiarum quæstiones & expositiones*, affirms, that our *Hadrian* publish'd Questions upon the Four Books of the Sentences. Here is a new Proof of what is said in the First Remark of this Article, that an Author can't be ever so little unexact but he throws another into Falshood. Would it not have been better to have said *in quartum sententiarum*; or *in IV. librum sententiarum*, than to use the Number IV. which signifies as well *Quatuor*, as *Quartus*. Father *Oldoin* (h) has committed the same Error as the Sieur *Konig*. Mr. *Lamillas* deserves to be heard concerning this Book of *Hadrian*: *His Commentary*, says he, *upon the Master of the Sentences, was admir'd* (i) *and certainly if it is Book was not the subtillest of the same Nature, which were found in the Libraries; it was at least the clearest and most Methodical.* The Author had maintain'd (k) *in the most decisive manner imaginable*, that it *was certain the Pope might err even in Matters belonging to Faith*, and 'tis pretended he did not change his Opinion when he was Pope, as did *Pius* II. for he altered nothing in this part of his Book, in the Edition that was printed at *Rome*, during his Pontificate.

(f) Bibliotheca Vet. & nova.

(g) Swertius, Athenæ Belg. Valer. Andreas, Bibl. Belg.

(h) Athen. Roman. pag. 301.

(i) *Preface to the Practice concerning Education.*

(k) Maimbourg, *Treatise of the Church of* Rome, *pag.* 138.

(l) Notæ in Platinam, pag. 275. Platina *in* Guillet's *Hist. of* Mahomet *II. tom.* 1, *pag.* 255.

(K) So little countenanc'd good Wits.] We have seen in the Remark (C) his Notions of the Poets. This might earlier be pardon'd him than the sinking the Funds that had been imploy'd for the Maintenance of Learned Men, who came from *Greece* into *Italy*, to whom the West is indebted for the Resurrection of Learning. Cardinal *Bessarion* (l) *maintain'd at* Rome, *part of these great Genius's, and establish'd an Academy for them in the Vatican. But the greatest Number subsisted upon the Bounties of Pope* Nicolas V.—— (m) *Of all his Successors, there was none but* Hadrian VI. *who suppress'd these Gratifications, by an Oeconomy injurious to his Memory.* Let us see the Observation of another Author (n) "All the Learned of his time promised themselves "Advancement upon his coming to the Pontificate, "because he owed all his Fortune and Exaltation to "Learning. And therefore they could not but be "astonish'd to see him so ill dispos'd against all that "delight'd in good Literature, calling them *Terentians*, and treating them in that manner, that "'twas thought he would have brought in Barbarism "again, had he not died in the 2d. Year of his Supream Dignity. *Paul Jovius* says (1) handsomely, "that he thus ill treated the Muses of his Age, with "the same Sense and Judgment, as he prefer'd the "Low-Country *Melwel*, before all other Dishes, "and the best Fish that was eaten in *Italy*. *Paul Jovius* does not say this. See his Text in the Remark (I). The Reader will be glad to know where *La Mothe le Vayer* has taken what he relates, for that reason I shall give a fine Passage here, of *Ficinus Valerianus*. (a) *Fuit & fuit Hadriano VI. par bonarum omnium litterarum infortunium. Nam cum is Lovanii Decanus fuisset, ad quem utpote litterarum Universarum moderatus litteratorum numerus confluxerat, cum non minora de Hadriano illi quisque polliceretur, excedit humanarum & eloquentiæ, totiusque naturæ hostis acerrimus, qui litteratis omnibus inimicitias minitaretur, quoniam ut ipse dictitabat, Terentianos essent, quos tum odisse, atque etiam, persequi cæpisset. voluntarium alii exilium, alias atque alias alii latebras quærentes, tamdiu latuere, quoad Dei beneficio altero Imperii anno decessit, qui si aliquanto diutius vixisset, Gotica illa tempora adversus bonas litteras exhibitura fuisse.*

(m) Theodor. Spandug. apud eumdem Guill. ib.

(n) La Mothe le Vayer tom. 11. pag. 435.

(1) 7 Hist. Rom. *It should be* 1 *and not* 7.

(a) Pier. Valerianus de Infelicitate lib. 2. p. m. 90.

(X) He acknowledged them——in a very emphatical Manner, in the Instruction he gave the Nuncio.] This Nuncio's Name was *Francis Chieregat*. This was a part of his Instruction. *Dices nos ingenuè fatere, quod Deus hanc persecutionem à Lutheranis illatam, ecclesiæ suæ inferri permittit, propter peccata hominum, sacerdotum maximè, & ecclesiæ prælatorum. Clamant Scripturæ peccata populi derivari à peccatis sacerdotum, propterea que ut ait Chrysostomus, Salvator noster eu staturus infirmam civitatem Jerusalem, ingressus est primo templum, ut peccata sacerdotum primo castigaret instar boni medici, qui morbum à radice curat. Scimus in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, & omnia denique in perversum mutata, nec mirum, si egritudo à capite in membra, à summis Pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos descendit. Omnes nos prælati, videlicet ecclesiastici declinavimus, unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit jamdiu qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum.* A Protestant Writer imagines, that the Cardinals so strongly resented this Pope's dishonouring the Court of *Rome* in the Diet of the Empire, and burning a Man for the Crime of Beastiality, that they shortned the Pope's Life. (b) *Nec tamen tam felicibus ad perfectum Papatum rudimentis profecit, quo minus illi purpurata Patræ offensa, quod comitiis Norimbergensibus dedecoraſſet rem Romanam, & quod quendam jumento suo pro suo arbitratu usum, homo Batavus & ad Papalem venerem frigidus, tremuisset, filum illud diu regnandi, & videndi, abrumperent.*

(b) Navor. epitom. Hel gic. divisio pag. 70. Edit. 1570.

(Y) He had labour'd to effect this whilst he was Dean, but the Insignificancy of his pains.] As soon as he was rais'd to the Deanry of St. *Peters* at *Louvain*, which is a very considerable Preferment, with fine Privileges annext, He set himself more than ever to preach

fine Leſſons of his Pen, againſt (Z) the Plurality of Benefices. Note, that when he Canoniz'd *Antoninus* and *Benno*, he ſuffered not the Expences that were uſual in ſuch ſort of Ceremonies, * forbidding them, as a thing repugnant to the Sanctity of Canonization

* Tales ſumptus quaſi alienos à ſanctimonia & puritate canonizationis fieri vetuit. Blaſius Ortizius apud Papebrochium tom. 7. Maji pag. 555.

preach by Example; knowing that his Endeavours to bring his Collegues into the right Way, would be more effectual, if he himſelf practis'd the Duties of Temperance. He perſiſted to live frugally; there was more Neatneſs than Abundance at his Table; and when he entertain'd, he preſs'd no Body to Drink, and never began Healths to oblige the Company to drink round. Nor did he any more ſuffer his own Health to be drunk; he ſet himſelf above all this pretended *German* Civility. His Feaſts laſted but an Hour, and he caus'd ſome piece of Scripture to be read part of the time: He would have had it read during all the Meal, but for fear of diſguſting ſome Body or other of his Gueſts. (c) *Neque temere ultra horam accumbebat, etiamſi convivas magnos haberet, atque interim fere adhibito lectore, qui aliquid è literis ſacris recitaret, ut non minus mente, quam ventre convivæ delectarentur, ſed id tantum ad tempus, ne lectio longior cuiquam fortaſſis moleſtiæ eſſet.* He alſo continued a very Chaſt Life: There was nothing of Wantonneſs in his Geſtures or Diſcourſes: nor would he ſuffer any Obſcenity in his Preſence; though otherwiſe he delighted in a vertuous Facetiouſneſs. Nor did he only abſtain from all actual Impurities, but carefully avoided the Appearances and Suſpicions of it. He particularly made it his Duty to poſſeſs his Collegues with the ſame practical Morality. He vehemently exhorted them to it, in the Diſcourſes he made at the Chapter Meetings, and ſharply cenſur'd ſuch as he knew (d) addicted to Drinking and Gaming, and eſpecially thoſe that kept Concubines, omitting nothing that could oblige them to refrain from that evil Commerce. But he met with ſo many Obſtacles, becauſe ſome of the more aged and potent oppos'd his Deſign, that he renounc'd it. His Zeal had like to have coſt him his Life; he had been poiſon'd, if his Phyſician had not found a good Antidote againſt *Arſenick*. 'Twas thought this was done by a Canon's Concubine, were he was invited to Dinner. (e) *Sed in re longè honeſtiſſima tantum difficultatis habuit, obnitentibus quibuſdam è ſenioribus ac potentioribus, & præſertim non ſuppetente auxilio, ſine quo hujuſmodi non temerè confici queunt, ut negotium magna ex parte infectum relinquere debuerit. Quinimo parum abfuit, quin per eam ipſam cauſam, veneno periret. Id concubina unius è Canonicis, à quo ad prandium vocatus erat, holuſculo ejus, indidiſſe putabatur.* When he ſaw there was no hope of Reformation, and that his Endeavours procur'd him many Enemies, he totally deſiſted, and declared, that the Deans of Chapters were much leſs reſponſible for theſe Diſorders, than the Biſhops, for the Deans were obliged to receive thoſe whoſe Corruption was grown inveterate. But nothing oblig'd the Biſhops or their Vicars, to confer Orders and Benefices, as they did, upon infamous Debauchees. (f) *Dum ſpem nullam fructus conſpiceret, nihilque aliud ſibi quam odium & malevolentiam quæri intelligeret, in totum conatu ſuperſedit, ſatis habens, ſignificaſſe ſibi diſplicere, poſtquam aliud præterea non poſſet, prædicans tamen culpam eam non tam Decanis Collegiorum, qui jam obſtinatos & in ſordibus illis inveteratos exciperent, quam Epiſcopis, eorumque vicariis præſtandam, qui quoſcunque ſine delectu, quantumvis probroſos & infames, ad ordines & beneficia admitterent, nulla aut exigua, in retroactam vitam inquiſitione facta.* All this is taken from a Book written by a Prieſt. Let it not then be objected, that theſe are Proteſtant Reproaches.

(c) Gerardus Moringus in vita Hadriani VI.

(d) Arguebat graviter, ſi quos mulæ frugis, bibaces, aleones ſciret, & præſertim, qui amicas domi prope uxorum loco haberent, quos dirimere viribus omnibus contendebat. Id. ib.

(e) Id. ib.

(f) Id. ib.

'Tis certian, that the Dean hit the Nail on the Head. The Negligence of the Biſhops, or their Vicars, was the Source of the Diſorder. They did not examine whether they that were admitted to Benefices, had lived well, and given good Proofs of a Conſtitution that could abſtain from Bodily Pleaſures. This want of Enquiry was a Gate through which abundance entred into the Church, who were already bent towards Senſuality: A Bent that is difficultly rectified, which gathers Strength continually, till it grows into Habit, an almoſt incurable Diſeaſe. You ſee then why our *Hadrian*'s Exhortations could have no effect upon Canons long practis'd in Drunkenneſs, and the Pleaſures of Whoredom. They were ſo beſotted to this Courſe of Life, that they could not imagine how it was poſſible to live without it. 'Tis infinitely harder to perſwade a Batchellor of 45 or 50 Years to Marriage, than a Widower of 60, who has juſt loſt his Wife: So great is the Power of Cuſtom. The Concubine on her Part, finds it as hard to part with her Canon, after having been ſo many Years at Bed and Board with him. *Where ſhall I go,* ſays ſhe, *what ſhall I do? Where ſhall I find ſo good a Bed, ſo good a Table, ſo good a Fire?* And therefore you'll find her and her Companions very ready to oppoſe the Deſigns of a Reformer. The Dean of *Louvain* needed a more undaunted Courage; for the Poiſon of theſe Whores was as formidable as the Dagger of an Aſſaſſin. Not finding he had any Call to Martyrdom, he choſe rather to leave things as they were, than to expoſe himſelf to Hatred, and even Death, by going to reform them. *In magnis voluiſſe ſat eſt*, was doubtleſs his Maxim.

(Z) *Of having contradicted the fine Leſſons againſt the Plurality of Benefices.*] When he was only Profeſſor of *Louvain*, he maintain'd, that this Plurality was vicious; and that a Man who had once gotten a Living that was ſufficient to maintain him handſomely, ought to be content with it, and ſtop there. But when he was at the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*'s Court, he accepted many Preferments, and forgot his Doctrine. This Inconſtancy was a Scandal to ſome People. (a) *Honores & ſacerdotia quædam magnifica acceſſere, non ſine admiratione, & fortaſſis offenſione aliquorum, qui eum diverſum facere ineuſabant, atque aliquando docuiſſet. Docuiſſe quippe, non eſſe fas cuiquam multa habere beneficia, ſed uno aliquo ad honeſtam mundamque ſuſtentationem vitæ ſufficiente, quietum ac contentum eſſe debere.* The Author I borrow theſe Words from, declares he will not examine (b) whether this Conduct was cenſur'd juſtly or unjuſtly; but yet he undertakes to juſtify it, and uſes the moſt plauſible Argument that can be offered upon ſuch a Subject. He ſays, amongſt other things, that it ſhould not be thought ſtrange, that *Hadrian* thought that lawful in himſelf, which would have been unlawful in others, who had not the ſame extraordinary Qualities, or the ſame Employs at Court that he had. The great Talents that God has given a Prieſt, are much more ſerviceable to the Church, when they are accompanied with a large Revenue; and it can't be denied, but that an Eccleſiaſtick who is imploy'd at Court, is neceſſarily oblig'd to greater Expences. The Author adds to this, many other Arguments of the ſame Nature, and which have all the fault of being fit to be employ'd in an Apology of the *Caſuiſts*, like that of Father *Pirot*. I mean, they may ſerve to juſtify thoſe, who being in great Poſts, heap all the vacant Places upon their own Heads. May not it be ſaid in their Vindication, that they are able to make a better uſe of them than others, and that they are neceſſary for them, that their great Qualities may have Liberty to act in their whole Sphere, for the Profit and Advantage of the State. The Author adds, that it is falſe, that *Hadrian* oppos'd the Plurality of Benefices, either in his Books or Lectures. He has rather countenance'd it, continues he, as appears by his Commentary upon *Lombard*. (c) *Neque vero ipſe Hadrianus uſquam diverſum aut docuit, aut ſcripſit, ut ei falſo intendunt, ſed potius contra. Legas eum qui velit, in quartum Petri Lombardi ſcribentem, ubi de reſtitutione agens, quæſtionem illam ex profeſſo diſſerit.* All that this Author draws afterwards from this Commentary, is not much to his Purpoſe. If what he pretends might be inferr'd from it, it would only be by an oblique and very indirect Conſequence; and he ſays nothing of the *quodlibetick* Oration, that 'tis affirm'd *Hadrian* printed againſt the Plurality of Benefices. We'll cite a Proteſtant writer, who relates an Anſwer this Pope made to thoſe that ask'd him why he did not remove a Corruption, which he had ſo well condemned. (d) *Imò cum Lovanii olim edidiſſet Quodlibeticam Orationem contra pluralitatem beneficiorum, monentibus cur ipſe qui jam poteſtatem tollendi haberet, quod antè reprehendere tantum potuiſſet, omnia beneficia, maximè ex Inferiore Germania ſupplicantibus interciperet, reſpondit: cum parvuli eſſemus loquebamur, ſapiebamus, faciebamus ut parvuli, nunc autem poſtquam viri facti ſumus, reliquimus ea quæ ſunt parvuli. Sic homo Trajecti non ſolùm ex viliſſimis parentibus ortus, verum etiam uſque ad ipſum magiſterium, mendicitate, & eleemoſinariis ſump-*

(a) Id. Moringus ibid.

(b) [illegible] cum hiſtorici perſonam hic potius quam cenſoris agam. Id. ibid.

(c) Id. ib.

(d) Novor. epiſcop. Belgic. diviſ. pag. 78. 79.

lization. A learned Jesuit fell into Trouble (*AA*) for having cited this Fact. This Pope's Successor, were of another Judgment, who have tolerated worldly Pomp in Canonizations, to that excess (*BB*) as to offend the Vulgar by it.

HADRIAN (*Cornelius*) in *Dutch Hadrianſen*, a famous Preacher in the XVIth. Century, was of *Dort*: He became a *Cordelier*, and was Guardian of the Convent †, and Lecturer of Divinity. He understood *Latin* and *Greek*, and *Hebrew* well, and publickly ‖ taught these three Languages. He preach'd 30 Years at *Bruges*, and never was concern'd at the Slanders that were publish'd against him. He died at *Bruges*, at sixty Years of Age, the 14th. of *July*, 1581. He compos'd a Treatise concerning the Seven Sacraments. *John Lernutius* had seen in ϒ Manuscript many very learned Sermons of this Friar. The Works that came out under his Name, after his Death, were mingled with Buffoonry, and immodest Jests. *Sanderus* pretends, that the Hereticks foisted them in, to defame the Memory of this good and innocent Monk ♂. He ought to have proved it, or not mention'd it. The Protestants speak of this *Cordelier*, as of a violent ξ Declaimer; and there have been Books that say, he had introduc'd amongst Women, a new sort of Devotion, which was, that he appointed them certain Days, in which they ought to (*Y*) strip themselves stark naked before him, that he might give

† Swert. Athen. Belg.

‖ Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg.

♂ Swert. ibid.

♂ Apud Val. And. ibid.

ξ Temporis quo eximiam fiam eloquentiam celebratissimum nominis Franciscanus, Cornelius Adrianissen celebrat. Schookius Exercitat. Sacr. pag. 538.

tibus. Educatus, ad insuetæ Fortunæ pruritum exiliit, sic in illa sede promovit, hanc reformationem promisit. I imagine, the *Walloon* Minister I am going to cite, took the following Reflection from this *Latin*. "(*c*) Pope "*Hadrian* VI. preceded him. There were some that "wondred to see him act against a certain Oration he "had made at *Louvain*, being there *Magister Noster*, "disapproving the Multiplicity of Benefices, and "their crowding them under one Hat: When be-"ing Pope, he did the same thing, especially in the "*Netherlands*. He answer'd them in the Words of "St. *Paul*, *When I was a Child, I spoke as a Child, &c.* 1 Cor. 13. Mention is made of this, in the News (*f*) from the Republick of Learning, 1684.

(*c*) Jeremy Spencers, *Method of the Holy Psalmist.* p. 859.

(*f*) *In Novembr. art.* 6. *pag.* 931.

(*AA*) *Into Trouble for having cited this Fact.*] He found himself publickly accus'd of maintaining, that the Charges of Canonization are contrary to the Purity and Holiness of this Act. His Accuser's Name was *Sebastian de St. Paul*; he had been Divinity Professor at *Louvain*, and twice Provincial of the *Carmelites* in the *Netherlands*. Observe how this Jesuit defended himself. He (*g*) said, that he only reported what he had read in *Blasse Ortizius*, Canon of *Toledo*, and a Domestick of *Hadrian* VI. 2. That having cited this in *Italick*, and named his Author, he had reason to complain of being calumniated by his Critick, who has suppress'd these Circumstances; for an Accusation is not only unjust, when it urges a Falshood, but also when it conceals the Truth. (*h*) *An ignoras certam esse apud Theologos sententiam, quod accusatio esse possit graviter injusta, non tantum ex falsi impositione, sed etiam ex reticentia veri.* 3. That from his alledging a thing as glorious to *Hadrian* VI. it does not thence follow, that he taxes the other Popes with Error, who approve or appoint the great Expences of Canonization. 4. That he prais'd *Hadrian* as (*i*) a Pontiff moved with an honest Zeal, and acting according to the Instincts of Conscience, of which we may, and on many Occasions must, follow the innocent Error. 5. That he did not approve of *Hadrian's* Motive, which was, that these Expences were repugnant to the Purity and Holiness of Canonization. 6. That he doubts not but they are founded upon many weighty Reasons. 7. That *Hadrian* VI. might err in that point as a private Doctor, without prejudice to the Infallibility of Popes pronouncing *ex Cathedra*. 8. That *Baronius* relates some much more notable Errors of some Popes without being obnoxious, to be accus'd of injuring the Holy Apostolick See.

(*g*) Daniel Papebrochius respons. ad exhibitionem errorum, p. 62.

(*h*) Id. ib.

(*i*) Laudo Adrianum [illegible] quia ita fecit zelo bono & secundum conscientiam quam inculpabiliter errantem sequi cum laude possumus, & sæpe debemus.

Who does not see the fatal Marks of Engagement? A Roman Catholick is a true Slave in his Judgment. There are a Thousand Instances in which he must commend good Actions. Can any thing be more self-evident than that *Hadrian* VI. merits Approbation as to what he did, and the reason why he did it? And yet here's a Jesuit, who not being able to praise him without indirectly censuring the other Popes, is forc'd to tread upon Thorns in his Justification; nor can he clear himself but by supposing our *Hadrian* in an Error, but that his Error, being accompanied with a good Intention, excuses him. This is all the Glory a Pope can promise himself, who sets up to reform Corruptions. He shall be excus'd for the Errors of his Conscience, and be said to have err'd, not as a Pope, but as a Private Doctor. Thank you for that.

(*BB*) *To that excess as to offend the Vulgar of the People.*] Every Body was scandaliz'd in *Paris*, in 1622, to see the Pomp wherewith the Begging Friars celebrated the Canonization of St. *Theresa*. There came out the same Year a little Book, wherein 'tis feign'd the good Women murmur'd heartily. (*k*) *How did you do, Cousin, says a Young Married Woman, at this Fire? For my part, I never saw such Disorder, nor so much Mischief; one of my Brothers had his whole Face burnt, and there is no likelihood of his Recovery. But to what purpose are all these Superfluities, says a Toothless old Woman? In my younger Days I never heard of Canonizing Saints in this Fashion, 'tis rather Canonading than Canonizing. Softly, softly, Aunt, says a Merchant's Wife of St. Denis's Street, a great deal more has been done at Rome. They are publick Rejoicings; there is no danger sometimes in Superfluities, when we are induc'd to them by a pure and sincere Affection; and besides, what the Carmelites have done, was by the command of the Queen, who has supplied this Expence, because St. Theresa was a Spaniard. No matter for that, says a Citizen's Wife, living near Saint Leu, it had been a Thousand Times more offended than honoured by it; and I promise you, I don't at all approve of these things. How many Maids do you think have been run away with? All the Corn round about is beaten down and burnt: They have taken the Month of August for it, rather than July. For my part, says an Advocate's Wife of the great Council, I was of Opinion that all these Superfluities should go to the adorning their Church, they should have kept it themselves, and they would have been more esteem'd, than by evaporating so much Wealth into Smoak. This would have kindled the Fire of Devotion in their Hearts, who came to visit them; whereas on the contrary, all the Air and Fields round about have been set on Fire with their Fuses: I had a Ruff of Five Stories utterly spoil'd: if the Fire had been lighted at Eight of the Clock, so many Cloaks had not been lost; all the Scholars were there in Arms.* After all, it must be said here, as on many other Occasions, there is nothing but is good for something or other; the greatest Abuses have a fair Side. If Canonizations could be made without vast Expences, they would be more common: 'Tis well that the Impossibility of supplying the Expence is a Barrier to the Greediness of the Monastick Orders. Subjects of Canonization would never be wanting; every Commonalty would have as many of them as the others; and if the Charge was but little, the other Engines would easily be prepared.

(*k*) *See the Book intended, Guerre des Filles, Part* 5. *of the* 2d. *Dial.*

(*Y*) *Strip themselves stark naked before him.*] If *Gyges's* Maxim were true (*a*), that a Woman divests her self of her Modesty with her Cloaths, our *Hadrian's* Affairs had been in a good safe, supposing he was not such a Visionary as to imagine in earnest, that his giving some Lashes to the naked Bodies of the Penitents, would have a singular Vertue to expiate their Sins. The World is so ready to construe things perversly, that there are few that will attribute the Conduct of this Friar to any other Principle than what some Body calls an Inquisitiveness into the Pleasures of others (*b*). If it were true, as some Learned Men affirm, that in the Primitive Church, those who were Baptised, of what Age or Sex soever, were as naked as they came out of their

(*a*) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 8.

(*b*) Ἐκεῖνα μοιχεύειν, τὰ λουτρὰ τὰ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἰδόντα μὴ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, καὶ ἐπιθυμήσαντα μὴ ἐπιχειρῆσαι τῶν φοιτητῶν τοῦτον ἕκαστον. Videtur adulterium omnia in alterius voluptatem esse inquisitio curiosa, quæ absconduntur & penitus latent Plutarch. de curios. pag. 519.

give them gentle Correction, for the Expiation of their Faults. There's nothing but theſe People are (Z) able to perſwade Women to, under the ſpecious Pretence of Devotion, when they have the Talent of Prating, and are Celebrated for their Preaching. I have read ſomewhere, that *George Caſſander*, who (ZA) taught Polite Learning at *Bruges*, whilſt *Cornelius Hadrian* was teaching Divinity there, found himſelf obliged, in the Year 1554, to leave that City, in order to avoid the Calumnies of that Monk.

HAY, a Family of *Scotland*. It owes its firſt Nobility to a very famous Action. 'Tis ſaid, that the *Danes* invading *Scotland* in the Reign of *Kenneth* III. about the Year 980, there happen'd a Battle betwixt them and the *Scots*, in which the latter being put to Flight, retir'd towards *Perth*. They were oblig'd to paſs through a very narrow Way, betwixt the Mountains and the River *Tay*. A Countryman, who happened to be there with his Two Sons, all Men of undaunted Courage, made himſelf Maſter of the Defile, exhorted the Fliers to make head againſt the Enemy, and ſtopt the Paſſage againſt thoſe that endeavoured to continue their Flight. He did more, he armed himſelf with what came next to his Hands, and followed by his Two Sons, who were armed with a piece of their Plough, he fell with ſuch Fury upon the *Danes*, and ſo encouraged the Fliers by his Example, that Victory declar'd for the *Scots*. The Enemy was put to flight in his Turn, and *Scotland* was preſerv'd from the Slavery the *Danes* had deſign'd to reduce it to. This Peaſant, known afterwards by the Name of *Hay*, was the Founder of the Family I ſpeak of. He and his two Sons ſignaliz'd themſelves extraordinarily in the Fight; they caus'd a great Conſternation, and made a great Slaughter wherever they fought. This Noble Action, which ſav'd their Country, met with (A) a ſuitable Recompence, and ſince that time this Family has been one of the moſt eminent of the Kingdom. It has produc'd (B) ſeveral Branches, and many (C) Perſons of great Merit. The Earl of *Errol* is at preſent the Head of it. He is married to *Anne Drummond*, Siſter to the Earl of *Perth* ‡.

HAY (JOHN) a *Scotch* Jeſuit, entred into the Society in the Year † 1566. and made at *Rome* his Noviciate, and the Profeſſion of his Fourth Vow. He taught in ſeveral Places, in *Poland*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*. His chief Theatre was the College of *Tournen*, where he taught *Divinity*, *Mathematicks*, and *Hebrew*. He died the 21ſt. of *May*, 1607, at *Pontamouſſon*, where he was Chancellor of the Univerſity. He

† *See* Voetius Polit. Eccleſ. tom. 1. pag. 486.

† *Taken from a Memorial communicated to the Bookſeller.*

‡ *According to* Soruel, Bibliotheca Script. Societ. Jeſu. pag. 459. *For Father* Alegambe *puts* 1562, *and not* 1566.

their Mother's Belly, one might better apprehend how that Man, by his fine Tongue, and ſeeming Piety, might bring his Devotees to his Beck. The Sacrament of Penance, ſaid he perhaps to them, ought to be adminiſtred as formerly Baptiſm was; the Puniſhment of the Laſh, to which I condemn you, makes part of this Sacrament: Therefore, &c. (a) *Meteren* relates ſo fully, and with ſo many Circumſtances, what concerns the Women devoted to that Error, that one may believe it is true.

Henry Stephens tells a Story that has ſome Relation to that. *They went ſo far*, ſays he, (b), *as to require* (as I have read it) *that they ſhould be allowed in Confeſſion to handle the Parts that have been the Inſtruments of the ſin that is confeſt, and one of them who made that Requeſt, being told by a Biſhop that it would be a ſhameful thing, if Men and Women were obliged to ſhew them their Privy-Parts; he anſwered, that if a Confeſſor may honeſtly conſider with the Eyes of the Mind, not only the Members that have committed filthy Actions, but alſo the very Filthineſs committed by them, when 'tis diſcovered to him in Confeſſion; much leſs ought it to be thought an immodeſt thing to look upon thoſe very Members with the Eyes of the Body.* He further alledged, *that a Confeſſor, being a Spiritual Phyſician, ought to feel his Patient, as the Phyſician of the Body feels and handles a ſick Perſon. And mixing ſome Blaſphemies and Prophanations with his jeſting Diſcourſe, he brought in theſe Words of the Goſpel, Go, and ſhew thy ſelf to the Prieſt, as if it had been the Cuſtom to ſtrip, and ſhew one ſelf naked to the Prieſt.*

Doctor *Boileau* mentions what concerns our *Hadrian*——*Inter exempla*, ſays he (c), *tam infauſtæ notitiæ recenſere non pertimeſcam. Hiſtoriam hominis cucullati & cordigeri conventus Brugenſis anno circiter MDLXI. cui nomen erat Cornelio Hadrianſen* (d) *oriundo Dordracenſis, adverſus hæreticos Gueuios Stomachoſiſſimi Concionatoris; qui puellis cum fœminas quaſdam Sacramento fidelitatis & obedientiæ ſibi adſtringas, & ſpecie pietatis devotas non quidem aſperatis & nodoſis funibus verberabat, ſed nudatas earum femora nates inhoneſtis vibicibus vorantes virgis hederis aut vimineis iſtibus molliter inſtidis perſicabat, uti refert Emanuel Meteren Hiſtoriæ Belgicæ*, fol. clxii. & clxv. edit. *Amſtelodamenſis, anno*, 1570 (g). Theſe Words are to be found in his curious *Hiſtoria Flagellantium*.

(a) Joſephus Vicecomes de ritibus Baptiſmi. Voſſius in Theſibus de Baptiſmo.

(b) Meteren's *Hiſtory of the Netherlands, Book* 8. *fol.* 153. *at the* Hague. 1618.

(c) *Apology for* Herodotus, *Book* 1. *Chap.* 21. *pag.* 254, 255.

(d) Hiſtor. Flagellantium pag. 218, 219.

(d) *He ſhould have ſaid* Hadrianſen, *as* Meteren's *Tranſlator did.*

(g) *I don't believe that there is ſuch an Edition of* Meteren.

(Z) *But theſe People are able to perſwade.*] I have ſpoken elſewhere of the great Docility of the Sex. See the Remarks of the Articles *Franciſcelli* and *Guillemets*.

(ZA) *That* George Caſſander——*found himſelf oblig'd*——*to leave that City.*] The Paſſage which I am going to quote, as a proof of this, contains a Parentheſis, which concerns the whipping I ſpeak of above. *Quum ante annos circiter* XL. (They are the Words of *Vulcanius*, in (b) an Epiſtle Dedicatory, dated from *Leyden*, on New-Years-Day, 1595) *Georgius Caſſander vir doctiſſimus Brugis Flandrorum Communi utriuſque noſtrum patria publicum bonarum literarum profeſſorem ageret, ut Collegæ cujuſdam ſui qui ſacras ibidem literas docebat (illius inquam ſui oſi Theologi, à quo poſtea cum ſe in Servitutem famulam dediſſet, famoſa illa Gynopygica diſciplina Corneliana nomen invenit) Calumnias ederet, voluntarium hbi ipſi exilium indixiſſet.*

(b) *Preface to* Nilus's *Treatiſe de Primatu Papæ.*

(A) *This noble Action*——*met with a ſuitable Recompence.*] *Hay* was conducted by all the Army to the King's Palace, and receiv'd in the Aſſembly of Parliament the higheſt Degree of Nobility. The King gave him a conſiderable part of the Enemies Spoils, and the Flight of a Falcon in good Lands: That is, a Falcon was let looſe, and notice taken where he perch'd, and all the Lands ſituate betwixt his Riſe and his Fall, were given to *Hay*. The place where he ſtop'd, is ſtill call'd *Falcon-Stone*. By this means *Hay* was poſſeſs'd of the moſt Fertile Soil in *Scotland*, ſituate where the Battle was fought, along the River *Tay*. King *Kenneth* gave him a Coat of Arms, which were Argent, with three Scutcheons Gules, to ſignifie that the Courage of Three Men had ſaved the Kingdom (d).

(d) *Taken from the aforeſaid Memorial.*

(B) *It has produc'd ſeveral Branches.*] Which are ſpread not only in *Scotland*, and *England*, but alſo in *France* (e) and eſpecially in *Normandy*. I only mention the Branch of the Earls of *Tweedale* and *Kinnoul*, which ſtill ſubſiſts (f).

(e) Mr. Pelliſon *Pag.* 246 *of the* Hiſtory of the French Academy, *ſays this:* Paul Hay *Sieur du* Chateler, *was of the Ancient Family of* Hay *in* Bretagne, *which boaſts of being deſcended ſix hundred Years ago, from that of the Earls of* Carlile, *one of the moſt Illuſtrious Families in* Scotland.

(C) *And many Perſons of great Merit.*] Nothing can be ſaid of the State of this Family, from the Reign of *Kenneth* III. to the Reign of *Robert Bruce*; for *Edward* I. King of *England* taking Advantage of the Diviſions of *Scotland*, at the time that *Robert Bruce* and *John Balliol* were diſputing for the Crown, made an Irruption into the Kingdom, and carried away, not only the publick Acts, but alſo the Papers and Inſtruments of particular Families; by (f) *Taken from the ſame Memoria*

He imploy'd himself much in Controversie, and writ several Books (D) against the Protestants. He had also a verbal Dispute in *Strasburg*, with *Pappius*, and *John Sturmius* c. Father *Alegambe* γ deserves a little Censure. We must not confound *John Hay* (E) with a Jesuit of that Name, who was banish'd by a Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*. They both pretended to be of the Family of *Hay* †, mention'd in the foregoing Article.

β Taken from Alegambe Bibl. Scriptor. Societ. Jesu, pag. 248.

γ See the Remark D.

† See the Defence of John Hay's Queries.

HAILLAN (*Bernard de Girard*, Lord of) Historiographer of *France*, descended from an Ancient and (A) noble Family, was born at *Bourdeaux* about the Year 1535. He set up for an Author betimes, and after having appear'd in the Republick of Learning, in the quality of a (B) Poet and Translator, he applied himself to the Writing of History, and succeeded so well, that by the first Works of this Nature, he obtain'd of *Charles*

those of the Family of *Hay* were carried away, as well as others. During this Civil War, *Robert Hay* stuck to the Interests of *Robert Bruce* with an entire Fidelity, and did him so considerable Services, that he was rewarded for them with the Place of Hereditary High-Constable of *Scotland*, in the Year 1310, and that he might support that Honour with a suitable Figure, the same Prince gave him great Possessions in Land, in the County of *Aberdeen*. This Office still remains in the Family, and is enjoy'd at present by the Earl of *Errol*, who is reckon'd the 19th. of his Family, who has enjoy'd it. *Nicolas* Lord *Hay* was kill'd in 1332, with 280 Gentlemen of his Family, at the Battle of *Duplin*, taking the part of King *Bruce* against *Edward Balliol*. *David*, Lord *Hay*, his Successor, accompanied King *David Bruce* in the War against the *English*, and was kill'd in the Year 1344, at the Battle of *Durham*. *Thomas* Lord *Hay*, married King *Robert* II's Daughter, who brought him for her Dowry, the Barony of *Inchanthill*, in the County of *Perth*, about the Year 1370. *William* Lord *Hay* was deputed in the Year 1423, with some other Gentlemen, to deliberate about the Means of restoring King *James* I. to Liberty, who was kept in *England*. He succeeded in that Affair, and a little time after was created Earl of *Errol*. *William Hay*, Earl of *Errol*, High-Constable of *Scotland*, and Sheriff of the County of *Aberdeen*, accompanied *James* IV. to the Battle of *Floudon*, in the Year 1513, and was kill'd there with his Prince, together with 87 Gentlemen of his Name. *Francis Hay*, Earl of *Errol*, by his constant Adherence to Queen *Mary*, and the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, was expos'd to great Misfortunes, his Houses were demolish'd, his Estate pillaged, and himself imprison'd: But under King *James* VI. Son to Queen *Mary*, he was in Favour. He was one of the *Scotch* Lords, who was sent into *England* in 1604, to settle the Union of the two Crowns. His Son assisted at the Coronation of *Charles* I. in *Scotland*, in the Year 1633. *Gilbert Hay*, Earl of *Errol*, had a great Share in the Friendship of *Charles* the I. and made himself remarkable in the Parliament of *Edinburgh*, at the time of *Charles* the II's. Restoration. *John Hay*, Earl of *Errol*, at present

(a) Taken from the said Memorial.

High-Constable of *Scotland*, is his Son (a).

(D) *Writ several Books against the Protestants.*] *A Collection of Queries to the Ministers.* He Compos'd it it in *Scotch*, as Father *Alegambe* says: Who adds, that the French Translation was made by *Michael Coyssard*. *The Apology of* those *Queries*. He Writ it in *French*, according to Father *Alegambe*; but it is an Error: For *John Hay* affirms in his Preface that he Writ it in Latin, and that it was Translated into French by some of their Scholars. This Apology was made *against the Libel of* James Pineton de Chambrun, *Preacher at* Nismes, and printed at *Lions* in 1586. The Epistle Dedicatory, dated the 2d. of *July*, 1585, declares that the Author had read publickly Divinity for Five Years at *Tournon*. *Antimonium ad responsa Bezæ. Disputatio contra Ministrum Anonymum Nemausensem.* His *Helleborum Joanni Serrano*, found among his Papers (b) is preserv'd in the Archives of the Society at *Rome*. This is all we learn from the two *Bibliotheques* of the Jesuits. The Authors of them did not know that *John Hay* had actually publish'd a Book against *de Serres*, (viz.) an Answer to that Minister's 2d. *Anti-Jesuit*. (c) His other Works are *Scholia Brevia in Bibliothecam Sanctam Sixti Senensis*, and a *Latin* Translation of some Jesuitical Letters written from *Japan* and *Peru*. It was printed at *Antwerp*, in 1605. *in* 8. See Father *Allegambe*.

(b) Sotuel, Biblioth. Scrip. Societ. pag. 459.

(c) See the Defence of the Queries, at the end of the Answer to the Preface.

(E) *With a Jesuit of his Name, who was banish'd.*] His Name was *Alexander Hay*. "He was convict-"ed of some treasonable Words against the King, "after the Reduction of *Paris*, so far as to say, that "if he pass'd by their College, he would gladly "throw himself headlong out of the Window to "break his Neck that Way. This we read in *Mezerai*'s great History (d). The Author of the *Anticoton* will inform us of the Date of the Decree of Parliament. (e) *There were Informations given against* Alexander Hayns, *a Scotch Jesuit, who had taught publickly, that it was necessary to dissemble and obey the King for a time in Hypocrisy, frequently saying these Words,* Jesuita est omnis homo: *This Jesuit was moreover charg'd with saying often, that he wish'd, if the King pass'd by their College, he could fall upon him and break his Neck. For which Reason, by a Decree of Parliament, of the 10th. of* January, 1595. *the said* Hayns *was condemn'd to perpetual Banishment, and enjoin'd to continue it, upon pain of being hang'd and strangled, without any form of Process.* The Author of the *Thanks of the Butterwomen*, having said the same thing, adds (f) *that this Jesuit having afterwards repeated and confirm'd these Words in the City of* Prague, *upon which the Grandees of the Kingdom solliciting to have him brought back into* France, *it was answered, that he had eaten some peel'd Barly, not well boil'd, and he died as suddenly as the Provost of Mareschals of* Pluviers, ——*who was strangled at the Chatelet, with a String of his Drawers, which was not strong enough to bridle a Fly. Alexander Hayns,* if we believe (g) *Pasquier, in the time of the Troubles, was Teacher of the first Class of the Jesuits College at* Paris.

(d) Tom. 3. pag. 1135, 1136.

(e) Anti-Coton pag. m. 38.

(f) Pag. 19. *The Thanks were printed in* 1610.

(g) *The Jesuits Catechism Book* 2. *Chap.* 20. *p. m.* 472.

(A) *Descended from an Ancient and Noble Family.*] When he speaks of the Materials he collected to compose the History of *France*, he does not forget the Assistances of his Relations. Francis de Girard, *my Brother, Lord of* Haillan, says he, (h) *sent me from* Bourdeaux, *many Papers, concerning the Affairs of* Guienne, *collected by the late* Lewis de Girard, *our Father; and by* Giles, Mark, *and* Richard de Girard *our Ancestors; the two last whereof lived in* Bourdelois, *in honourable Posts, at the time that the City of* Bourdeaux, *and the Country of* Guyenne *were reduc'd to the Obedience of the* French *in* 1451. He tells us in another place (i), that his Father was a *Curious Man in the Antiquities of his Country, who for above Forty Five Years was Lieutenant in the Admiralty of* Guienne, *and afterwards,* adds he, Francis de Girard, *Lord of* Haillan, *my Brother, was for above Ten Years in the same Admiralty, under the late Kings of* Navarre, Henry *and* Antony.

(h) Du Haillan, *Preface to the History of France.*

(i) Idem, *of the State and Affairs of France, Book* 4. *Folio. m.* 321. verso.

(B) *In the quality of a Poet and Translator.*] In 1559, he publish'd a Poem at *Paris*, intituled, *The Union of the Princes, by the Marriages of* Philip *King of* Spain, *and the Lady* Elizabeth *of* France, *and of* Philbert Emanuel, *Duke of* Savoy, *and the Lady* Margaret *of* France (k). He publish'd in the same City, the same Year, another Poem, call'd *The Tomb of the most Christian King* Henry II. and a Latin Work, intitled, *Regum Gallorum Icones à Faramundo usque ad Franciscum* 2. *Item Ducum Lotharingorum à Carolo primo usque ad Carolum tertium versibus Latinis expressa* (l). I may take for a Translation, the Tract concerning the Duties of Men, which he printed at *Blois* in 1560, in Octavo; for he took it from *Tully*'s Offices. He publish'd the same Year at *Paris* (m) *The Roman History of* Eutropius, *containing in Ten Books, all the Transactions in Peace and War, from the beginning of* Rome, *to the Year M.C.XIX, of the same, translated from the* Latin. Eight Years after he printed (n) *the Lives of the Greatest, most Virtuous, and most Excellent Commanders, and other Illustrious Persons, both* Greeks *and* Barbarians, *written by* Æmilius Probus, *and Translated from the* Latin (o).

(k) La Croix du Maine pag. 31.

(l) Du Verdier Bibliotheque. pag. 117.

(m) *By* Frederic Morel, *in* 8.

(n) *At* Paris, *by* Peter l'Huillier. *in* 4.

(o) Du Verdier. ib. pag. 116.

He

Charles the IX. (C) the Title of *Hiſtoriographer* of *France*, in 1571. In 1576, he publiſh'd a Hiſtory, * which reaches from *Pharamond*, to the Death of *Charles* VII. *Henry* III. was well pleas'd with it, and ſhew'd his Satisfaction, by the Advantageous and Honourable (D) Gratifications he made the Author. He had him in his own Service † before his coming to the Crown. The Reaſons that induc'd *du Haillan* to end his Work

* *It was printed at* Paris, *by* Peter l'Huillier *in Folio & in* 8vo. *in* 1576. *the following Year it was printed by* Peter de St. André *at* Geneva, (*if I miſtake not*) *in* 2 *Vol. in* Octavo. *See the Remark* C.

(a) Du Haillan, *Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Hiſtory of* France.

(b) Viz. *that* du Haillan *was in the Duke of* Anjou's *Service.*

(c) Id. ib.

(d) Idem, *Epiſtle Dedicatory, of the State and Succeſs of the Affairs of* France. *to* Henry III. *in the Edition of* 1580.

(e) *That is to ſay, the Paſſage where he complains, that he was the only Perſon whom* Henry *III. had not advanced.*

(f) Du Verdier, ib.

(g) Id. ib.

(h) La Croix du Maine, pag. 30.

(i) *Of the State and Succeſs of the Affairs of* France.

(l) Du Haillan, *Epiſtle Dedicatory of the State and Succeſs of the Affairs of* France, *to* Henry *III. in the Edition of* 1580.

(C) *He obtain'd of* Charles *IX. the Title of Hiſtoriographer of* France, *in* 1571.] Thus he tells us himſelf, in an Epiſtle Dedicatory, dated at *Paris* in *July*, 1576, where he thus ſpeaks to *Henry* III. (*a*) *'Tis now five Years ſince the late King your Brother, your Self, Sir, and the Queen your Mother, having ſeen my Book concerning the State and Succeſs of the Affairs of* France, *which was printed, and the two firſt Books of the Hiſtory of* France, *only in Manuſcript, it pleas'd the late King, at yours, and the Queen your Mother's Requeſt, to Command me (and you, Sir, did the ſame) to write in* French *the Hiſtory of the Kings of* France, *your Predeceſſors, hitherto ill written by our Natives, and negligently or enviouſly handled by Strangers. And to furniſh me with Means and Courage to undertake this Work, it pleaſed the King your Brother (at the Inſtance and Requeſt of Mr.* de Villequier, *who always loved me, and my Writings, and who is at preſent almoſt the only worthy Witneſs of the long Services, which more ways than one I have done you ſince your Childhood,) to give me the Place of Hiſtoriographer of* France, *and to promiſe to raiſe and prefer me, which alſo, Sir, you aſſur'd me of on your part, and that my long and faithful Services, and my ordinary Labours, ſhould receive their Fruit.* As this Paſſage may ſerve for the proof of a thing (*b*) I have advanc'd in the Text of this Article, I was not willing to abbreviate it. But here's a ſtrong Proof ſtill. This Hiſtorian having ſaid (*c*) that *Henry* III. *I uſed always to hear and ſpeak the Truth, and gave Hopes to Men of Learning, that he would be their Support, and that ſometimes he would read and hear Hiſtories*, adds, " which I can truly ſay, as having " known him from your Infancy, at the time I had " the Honour to be near your Perſon, and in your " Service, ſometimes diſcourſing with you about many " fine Hiſtories, both of the Kings your Anceſtors, " and other Kingdoms and States. The Paſſage I take from the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his State and Succeſs of the Affairs of *France*, is ſtill more formal. (*d*) " I have learn'd, Sir, ſays he, addreſſing himſelf " to *Henry* III. by the Education I have had, and " the Courſe of Affairs I have ſeen, being near you, " for the ſpace of Twelve Years before your Acceſ- " ſion to the Throne; and by many Affairs which I " have manag'd and ſeen for the Service of the Kings " your Predeceſſors, and yours, both within and " without the Kingdom, how one ought to ſpeak " and write of Kings and their Affairs. See alſo what will be ſaid (*e*) in the Remark (*I.*).

Note, that he publiſh'd (*f*) at *Paris*, in 1571. *a brief Hiſtory of the Arts and Dukes of* Anjou, *from* Godfrey Griſegounelle, *to Monſeigneur* Henry, *Duke of* Anjou, Bourbonnois, *and* Auvergne. He alſo publiſh'd the ſame Year, *a Promiſe and Draught of the Hiſtory of* France. (*g*) *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, who tells me this, does not ſpeak of a Work that *Du Haillan* had publiſh'd in 1570, intituled, *Of the Fortune and Power of* France, *with a Summary Diſcourſe upon the Deſign of the Hiſtory of* France. (*h*) He publiſh'd the ſame Year a Book (*i*) which has been reprinted very often, which he dedicated to the Duke of *Anjou*. He ſays in his Advertiſement to the Reader (*l*). " This Book concerning the State " and Succeſs of the Affairs of *France*, which " I preſent to you, clad in new Accoutre- " ments, and much longer and finer than it was " formerly, was born ten Years ago, and was pre- " ſented to you at its Birth, being then very ſmall. " Two Years after I took it out of its Infancy, and " cloathing it in a longer Habit, I gave it, by your " Command, to the late King *Charles* your Brother. Thus he ſpeaks in an Epiſtle Dedicatory, of an Edition that brought forth this Work (*m*) *in a Dreſs entirely new, and much finer and richer than it was before.* The Author reviſ'd and enlarg'd it in 1594. and dedicated it to *Henry* IV. *Zeiller* ſays, (*n*) this Book is often cited and commended; and that he has, in his 190th Letter, given *d'Aubigne*'s Judgment about it. I have not ſeen that Letter, but I am certain it contains a Blunder: for *d'Aubigne* in the Preface (*o*) that *Zeiller* cites, paſſes no Judgment on *du Haillan*'s Writings, contenting himſelf only to harangue him. His Criticiſms fell only upon *la Popeliniere*, and *Thuanus*. *Martin Zeiller* did not know that *du Haillan* writ the Hiſtory of *France*, and *Konig* is ignorant of it too.

(*m*) Id. ib. (*n*) Zeillerus, Hiſtor. Chronol. &c. parte 2. pag. *III. in the Edition of* 1580.

(*o*) Aubigneus præfatione in hiſtoriarum ſuarum partem primam. Id. ibid

(D) *By the advantageous and honourable Gratifications he made the Author.*] *La Popeliniere*, omitting the Title of *Hiſtoriographer* of *France*, conferr'd on *Du Haillan* by *Charles* IX. touches only the Recompences of *Henry* III. This Omiſſion may be excuſed, conſidering the Difference betwixt a bare Title, and a Place ſettled, with a Salary annext to it. Now ſuch was the Employ that *Henry* III. conferr'd on him. However, let us ſee what (*a*) *la Popeliniere* ſays. (*p*) " *Henry* the Third, the Firſt of Princes " Ancient or Modern, not only gratified the Sieur " *du Haillan* of *Bourdeaux*, one of the Secretaries of " the Finances, with ſeveral Bounties he gave him, " as an Acknowledgment of the Pains he had taken " in the firſt Body of his French Hiſtory. But alſo " honour'd him afterwards with the firſt Place of " Hiſtoriographer of *France*, with a fix'd Salary " of 1200 Crowns *per Annum*, and made him one of " his Privy-Councellors, at the Inſtance of Chan- " cellor *Chiverny*, that he might be the better in- " ſtructed in the Knowledge of the moſt important " Affairs of the Kingdom. So that *Henry* III. was " the firſt that rais'd the bare and meer Title of " *Hiſtorian*, to the honourable Degree and Title of " *Hiſtoriographer* of *France*, in the Perſon of *Ber-* " *nard de Girard*, Sieur *du Haillan*, after his dedica- " ting and preſenting to him his Hiſtory of *France*, " collected from preceding Authors, as the firſt " Body of Hiſtory in a French Dreſs. We read in the *French Mercury*, (*q*) " that *Henry* III. as an Ac- " knowledgment of the Pains *du Haillan* had ta- " ken in the firſt Book of his *French* Hiſtory, " gratify'd him with the Place of Secretary of his " Finances. I don't know what this firſt Book of *French* Hiſtory is, that was recompenc'd in this manner: for *du Haillan* publiſh'd the Hiſtory of *France* all at once; and he does not ſay in his Epiſtle Dedicatory, that he had already obtain'd any Recompence. He only ſays, that *Charles* IX (*r*) had given him the Place of Hiſtoriographer, with fair Promiſes, and that *Henry* III. then Duke of *Anjou*, had alſo promiſed him ſome Benefactions. I fancy that the Compiler of the *Mercury* was afraid of being cenſur'd for tranſcribing the Paſſage of *la Popeliniere* Word for Word, and that to prevent it, he quoted him with ſome Alterations, but he did not ſucceed well in it. He chang'd *the Firſt Body of his French Hiſtory*, into *the Firſt Book of his French Hiſtory*. Theſe two Phraſes are widely different. The former ſignifies, that *du Haillan* was the firſt who publiſh'd a Body of French Hiſtory: The other ſignifies, that the Firſt Book of the French Hiſtory, written by *du Haillan*, was printed by it ſelf, before all the reſt. The Author of the *Mercury* ſuppoſes moreover, that this firſt Book procur'd him the Secretaryſhip of the Treaſury, from *Henry* III. but *la Popeliniere*, ſays no ſuch thing; he ſuppoſes that *du Haillan* was Secretary before the publiſhing of the Hiſtory of *France*. It muſt be however acknowledg'd, that his Narrative is ſomewhat confus'd: he has inſerted an *afterwards*, which is a Perplexity; it being a Term that does but ill agree with the following Words. The *Mercury* adds, 1. That after the Recompence for the firſt Book, the Hiſtorian obtain'd a better one, when he dedicated his Hiſtory of *France* to *Henry* III. for he was honour'd with the Title of *Counſellor* and *Hiſtoriographer* of *France*. 2. That *he afterwards wrote the State and Succeſs of the Affairs of* France: This is falſe, this Book was printed before the Death of *Charles* IX. (*f*) 3. That *he was made Genealogiſt of the Knights of the Order of the* Holy Ghoſt, *at the Creation of that Order.* He might have ſaid, that he had in *Commendam*, an Abby (*t*) which the famous *Abelard* had poſſeſs'd. Note, that in the firſt Edition of his Hiſtory

(*p*) La Popeliniere, *Book* 1. *of the new Hiſtory of the French*, p. 375.

(*q*) *French* Mercury, *tom.* 2. *p.* m. 61.

(*r*) *See his Words above, Letter* a.

(*f*) *See above, (Letter l) the Words of* du Haillan's *Epiſtle Dedicatory.*

(*t*) *That of* Ruys *in* Bretagne. *See* Francis d'Amboiſe *in the Apologetical Preface to* Abelard's *Works.*

Work with *Charles* VII's Death, are very good, and ſhew that he underſtood (*E*) the Duties

ſtory, he only ſtiles himſelf *Hiſtoriographer of* France, but in the latter he is ſtiled *Chancellor of the King, Secretary of the Treaſury and Chamber, and Hiſtoriographer of* France. Note alſo, that in 1584, he was not yet rewarded. We ſhall ſee his Complaint (*v*) below.

(*v*) *In the Remark F*

(*E*) *The Reaſons——ſhew, that he underſtood the Duties of an Hiſtorian.*] I mean chiefly, the Reflection he had made, that a Man muſt reſolve upon an unlucky Choice, that writes the Hiſtory of Monarchs lately dead. He muſt either diſſemble the Truth, or provoke ſome Perſons who are moſt to be fear'd. The firſt of theſe Inconveniencies ſtrikes an Hiſtorian's Honour and Conſcience, the other offends againſt his Prudence. 'Tis beſt therefore to ſay nothing. This was one of *du Haillan*'s Reaſons (*a*) with reſpect to the Reigns that followed *Lewis* XII. He adds a general Reaſon (*b*) of great Weight; *viz.* that there were already particular Hiſtories of all the Reigns after *Charles* VII. and that in the common Opinion it was almoſt impoſſible to equal the Writers of ſome of theſe Works. This Conſideration ought to affect an honeſt Man, and a famous Hiſtorian. He ought to ſave the Reader the Diſcontent of purchaſing twice the ſame thing. The reſpect he owes the publick, requires this, and Juſtice will not allow him to tranſcribe the Hiſtories that others have wrote: This is robbing another of his Property. His own Reputation and Prudence, oblige him to ſeek a more difficult and certain way to Glory. To Copy or give a new Form to the Writings of others, is too cheap a labour to be honourable, and expoſes you to the Infamy of Plagiaries. You'll be reckon'd a vain Man, if you pretend to equal their Glory who are thought incomparable, and you run the riſk of being ſtill accounted inferiour, though you ſhould match or exceed them. Ought a Wiſe Man to encounter the Prepoſſeſſions of the publick? 'Tis pity but ſuch Reaſons ſhould make as great Impreſſions on every Body, as they did (*c*) on *du Haillan*; the Libraries would not be ſo throng'd with Books, containing the ſame Things. Let us here give the Deſcription he has made of the Inconveniencies that the Authors of the Hiſtory of their own Age fall into. ' (*d*) For as much as all ' thoſe Hiſtories which treat of King *Francis* I. were ' written in his, or his Son *Henry*'s Time, the Au- ' thors have perhaps more enlarged on the Praiſes ' of this King, than was ſuitable to his Merit, ' (though he was a great and excellent King) or ' to the Duty of an Hiſtorian, or to Truth, which ' is the conſtant Fault of thoſe who write the Hi- ' ſtory of their time, and of the Princes under ' whom they live. For where's the Man that dares ' touch upon the Vices of his Prince, or blame his ' Actions or thoſe of his Miniſters, and relate the ' Plots, Impoſtures, and Treaſons that are acted in ' his Reign, or ſay, that his Prince did ſuch an In- ' juſtice, committed ſuch an Adultery; or that a ' certain Man ran away in a Battle, and that ano- ' ther committed a Treaſon, ſuch a one was guilty ' of a Robbery, and another of a Treachery, and ' a third of ſuch another Villany? There is no ' Body venturous enough to do this. And therefore ' they that write the Hiſtory of their own Times, ' are actuated with ſeveral Paſſions, and are obli- ' ged, either to lye openly, if they univerſally ' praiſe their Princes, if they favour their Nation, ' if they generally blame their Enemies; or to diſ- ' ſemble and palliate the Truth, and to gild over ' their Writings, and the Actions of their Princes ' with fine Words, or (if they reſolve to ſpeak the ' truth) they are forc'd to conceal their Names, and ' print their Works without them. They that ' write the Hiſtory of their Predeceſſors, may (if ' they will) avoid this Fault, and run boldly in the ' Field of Truth, with all Aſſurance and Liberty ' of Language. Many Readers will here call to mind the Words of the Emperor *Peſcennius Niger*. *Praiſe* Marius, *or* Hannibal, *or ſome other great General, who is under Ground*, ſaid he to an Orator, who deſir'd to ſpeak a Panegyrick to him. *For 'tis ridiculous to praiſe the Living, eſpecially if they be Emperors: Rewards are expected from them, they are feared, they can kill and baniſh.* (*e*) Quum imperatori facto quidam panegyricum recitare vellet, dixit ei, *Scribe laudes Marii vel Annibalis, vel alicujus ducis optimi vita functi, & dic quid ille fecerit ut eum nos imitemur. Nam viventes laudare irriſio eſt, maxime Imperatores, à quibus ſperatur, qui timentur, qui præſtare publicè poſſunt, qui poſſunt necare, qui proſcribere: ſe autem vivum placere velle, mortuum etiam laudari.*

(*a*) *See the Preface to his Hiſtory of* France.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) *At leaſt for ſome Years. See the following Remark.*

(*d*) Du Haillan's *Preface to the Hiſtory of* France. fol. 01 verſo edit. 1577

(*e*) Ælius Spartian. in Peſcennio Nigro c. 11. p. m. 672. tom. 2.

IN WHAT Caſes it is reaſonable to write Hiſtory, &c. already handled by others.

Let us ſay by the by, that we muſt not make *du Haillan*'s Second Reaſon a general Rule (*f*); for there are many Caſes, in which 'tis very reaſonable to write the Hiſtory of the ſame Reigns that have already been written by others. As 1. When a Man has a great many new things to ſay, or when he can illuſtrate and rectify the preceding Hiſtories in many Places. 2. When the deſign is to collect into one Body all the Facts belonging to an Hiſtory, ſome whereof lie in ſome Books, and others in others. 3. When the taſte of the Readers requires a new Language, and a new Turn. At preſent, for inſtance, moſt People would chuſe rather to be ignorant of Hiſtory, than to read the Authors that compoſed it, in the Fifteenth or Sixteenth Century. And therefore, tho' an Hiſtorian ſhould have nothing to ſay but what was already printed yet it would be commendable to publiſh an Hiſtory, provided the turn and the Stile could allure the Reader, and the Publick appeared altogether diſguſted with other Hiſtorians. Whence it appears, that if there are ſo many Books containing the ſame Things, it is not always the fault of the Authors, but frequently of the Readers, who will not be at the pains of ſeeking Hiſtorical Facts ſeparately, or turning over Books written in old French. 'Tis therefore for their Convenience and Profit, that ſome Authors publiſh Hiſtories, which teach nothing new, and only connect together in a better Stile, the different pieces of other Authors. If you have diſcover'd ſome new Facts, will it be ſaid to you, be contented to publiſh them, and nothing elſe, why do you from thence take occaſion to make a large Book, in which you crowd ſo many old Stories? This Cenſure is juſt on many Occaſions, but not when their new Diſcoveries may be diffus'd upon a very long Train of Events. They muſt then be incorporated with old Relations; the Intereſt and Convenience of the Reader requires it. We ſhall ſee by and by, that upon this Principle, our *du Haillan* chang'd his Reſolution.

(*f*) *It is the ſecond, not in his Book, but according to the Abſtract, I have given above of his Narrative*

What has been ſaid of Hiſtorical Books, may be applied to other Works. There are but too many which contain nothing but what is found in an hundred others; but on the other ſide, it would be a thing prejudicial to the Republick of Learning (*g*) not to dare to put in a Work, what other Books have already publiſh'd. A Divine of *Leiden* pretends, that 'tis of great uſe to publiſh ſeveral Books upon the ſame Subjects, when they are important; he aſſerts alſo, that 'tis an excellent way to leſſen the Multitude of Books which burden and oppreſs ſo many People. The reaſon of this Paradox is, that a conſiderable Number of Books upon certain Subjects, would imploy the publick, and then abundance of other Books would be neglected, and leap from the Bookſeller's to the Grocer's Shop. Let us ſee this Author's Words, in which we ſhall find an excellent Thought of St. *Auguſtin*. (*h*) *Id* (ſcribendi cacoëthes) *nunc his temporibus in immenſum eſt auctum, ut omnem medelam ſuperaſſe videatur, nec alio modo poſſit coerceri, quam ſi plures divulges libros; quam rationem agendi forte paradoxam aliquis dixerit, optimam tamen nemo jure negaverit. De multitudine librorum utilium immenſo numero non eſt quod jure conqueramur, qui non facile nimis augentur. Quamvis enim de rebus iiſdem ſcribunt plures, modo illæ ſint cognitu dignæ, nullum id nocumentum veritati videtur inferre, quæ ſic ad plures ſibi viam pandit, cùm lectorum alii his potius, quàm illis ſcriptoribus delectentur, quamvis de eodem argumento commentatis. Quod rectè obſervavit Auguſtinus lib. 1. de Trinitate cap. 3.* Neque enim omnia, quæ ab omnibus conſcribuntur, in omnium manus veniunt. Et fieri poteſt, ut nonnulli, qui etiam hæc noſtra intelligere valent, illos planiores non inveniant libros, & in iſtos ſaltem incidant. Ideoque utile eſt, plures à pluribus fieri diverſo ſtylo, non diverſa fide, etiam de quæſtionibus eiſdem,

(*g*) *See the Preface to the 1ſt. Edition of the ſeveral Thoughts upon Comets.*

(*h*) Chriſtophorus Wittichius in Præfat. conſenſus veritatis ſecundæ edit. præfixa.

Duties of an Historian. However, he promis'd *Henry* IV. to continue (*F*) this History to his Time: But he did not make this Promise good. The Reason that obliged him to continue it, was not for the Honour of † *Philip de Comines*. He had the Courage to confute many Traditions, that an indiscreet Zeal for the Glory of *France* had propagated, and to speak freely upon (*G*) some tender Points, as for Example, concerning the Maid of *Orleans*. This Liberty gave Offence to narrow Souls, and such as would have every thing sacrific'd to Policy. I don't know whether he did well to publish (*H*)

† *See the Remark F.*

eisdem, ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat, ad alios sic, alios autem sic. *Quâ ratione inutiles libri sensim eliminantur, ut alii postea non sit usui, quàm ut piperi & thuri involvendo inserviant.*

(*F*) *To continue this History to his time.*] I prove it by this Passage: (i) 'I have also written a Book 'concerning the Monarchy of *France*, which will 'quickly present it self to your Majesty, with a 'Description of all the Secrets and Affairs of the 'Establishment, Greatness and Power of your King-'dom, and of the Kings your Predecessors. Their 'History, which I have made and finish'd at the 'Death of *Charles* VII. will be quickly followed by 'those of the other succeeding Kings, down to your 'Majesty; then yours will come out, if you please, 'to have it publish'd. This is what *du Haillan* said to King *Henry* IV. in an Epistle Dedicatory, dated in *Octob.* 1594. He had acquainted his Readers with the change of his Resolution ten Years before; for dedicating to *Henry* III. the Second Edition of his History of *France*, corrected and enlarged in 1584. he speaks to him in this manner. 'Though in my Epistle Dedicatory to your Majesty, 'and in the Preface of the First Edition, I said, I 'would proceed no further, nor write the History of 'Lewis XI. because it was already done by *Philip* 'de Comines, Sieur d'Argenton; yet having since 'chang'd my Resolution, I have began it with hopes 'of finishing it this next Winter, if I find my La-'bour will be acceptable to you. 'Tis not amiss to see the reason of his Change; for besides that we shall see his Judgment concerning *Philip de Comines*, we shall find that he was under one of those Cases in which 'tis permitted to write a History after other Writers. 'That which has caus'd me, (1) *says he*, 'to alter my Resolution, and to treat of the said 'King *Lewis* was, that the Sieur *d'Argenton* be-'gan his History, call'd *Memoirs*, but from the Fifth 'Year of his Reign, and that all the Causes of the 'Wars, and of the great Affairs this King had, are 'compris'd betwixt the beginning of his Reign, 'and the time wherein *Philip de Comines* begins to 'write, and in that part of History which he has 'treated, he has conceal'd many Things, which I 'have discovered, and extracted from many Books, 'Memoirs, and Dispatches of that time, and from 'many secret Discourses, written either in his Reign, 'or a little after his Death, which are free from 'fear and Hatred, Flattery and Praise, into which 'they often fall who write the History of their own 'times, and into the last of which *Philip de Comines* 'has been carried, being moved to either by his great 'Affection towards his Master, or the Benefactions 'he had receiv'd from him, or the fear of his Suc-'cessor. And therefore he has not said what others 'might say, and what other Historians have said 'of the Actions, Vices, and Craft (*b*) of that 'King; and praising him more than he ought, he 'in many places acts the part of an Orator, and of 'a Paregyrist, and not of an Historian; and in his 'long Digressions upon the Affairs of Foreign Po-'tentates, he transgresses the Bounds of History. After all, none of the Promises *du Haillan* made, of continuing the History of *France*, came to any thing. Nothing of this was found (*c*) amongst his Papers after his Death; the Booksellers, who added a Continuation to his Work, as far as the Year (*d*) 1615, and afterwards as far as the Year 1627. took it from *Paulus Æmilius*, *Philip de Comines*, *Arnold Ferron*, *du Bellay*, &c.

(*G*) *Confute many Traditions——and speak freely——concerning the Maid of* Orleans.] Let the Reader be uneasie at the length of the Passage I am going to cite; it is instructive, and shews the true Character of an Historian, and the ridiculous Scandal that is taken by ill turn'd Heads, from his Boldness to prefer Truth before all things. This preposterous Humour is of all Times and Places. 'Tis worth while to observe, how some famous Authors have vilified and oppos'd him. These are *du Haillan*'s Words. (*e*) 'I have not acted the 'part of a Flatterer, nor of a Courtier, but that of 'an Historian, and I have spoken the Truth. I 'have not imitated Flattering Painters, who draw-'ing a Face, if it happen to have any Imperfection 'or Deformity in it, leave it out, or make it hand-'some. My Resolution was to praise the ugliest as 'well as the finest Features, and to speak boldly and 'freely of every thing with an unusual Liberty, 'which will be prais'd and admired by all good 'Readers; as I have formerly done in my History of 'the State and Success of the Affairs of *France*; 'in which I have boldly spoken many things, which 'before me no Body durst say, and possibly did not 'know. For both in that Work, and in this I have 'encountred many Things receiv'd in common Opi-'nion, as the coming of *Pharamond* into *Gaul*, the 'Institution of the Salick Law, attributed to him, the 'Creation of the Peers of *France*, ascribed to *Charle-'magne*, and other particular Points, having with 'Boldness and Truth affirmed, that *Pharamond* ne-'ver pass'd the *Rhine* to enter *Gaul*, and that he did 'not make the Salick Law to exclude the Daughters 'from the Succession of our Crown, because he ne-'ver came into our *France*. Whereupon, some who 'pretend to speak of every thing, and know nothing, 'and who think by their ill grounded Opinions to 'overturn those which are built upon Judgment 'and Reason, have said, that I went about to de-'stroy the Principles of our History, by denying the 'Institution of this Law by *Pharamond*. But, Sir, 'this is *not* my Design, but only to reject an anci-'ent Error, the Salick Law being, in my Opinion, 'ancient and approved enough, since it has been 'practis'd as a Law, from the beginning of our 'first Kings (as you may see at large at the begin-'ning of the first Book of the History in *Pharamond*'s Life) and my Opinion thereupon, can give 'no Advantage to Strangers, nor scandalize our Na-'tives, except such as are scandaliz'd with every 'thing but what themselves say and do. Some have 'found fault with my Liberty of Language in this 'particular, and in that of the Peers of *France*, 'and in others, saying, That I act against the Duty of 'an Historian, by robbing *France* of an ancient Opi-'nion she had of the coming of *Pharamond* into 'Gaul, of the Salick Law made by him, and the 'Institution of the Peers of *France*, and that 'tis 'a Crime to abrogate things grown old in Opinion, 'and written by ignorant People, who never read 'good Books, and believ'd by others as ignoram, 'who have neither Sense nor Understanding to read, 'or understand good and ancient Authors, but ra-'ther amuse themselves with old Trumpery, as ill 'wrought as their own Heads. Good Historians (Sir) ought not in their Words or Writings to 'follow the Opinions of the Vulgar, but only the 'true ones, and such as are approved by true Au-'thors, or good Arguments and Conjectures, which 'when they are numerous, and well argued, serve 'for a true and certain Testimony, and supply the 'Deficiency of Writings, when the direct Proof of 'the Truth is devour'd by the Malice of Time. I 'have therefore (Sir) in these things, and many 'others, rejected the common Opinion for the true. 'In which I presume I have done good Service to 'the History of *France*, disingaging it from many 'Forgeries and Fables, which render it disagreeable, 'and sometimes contradictory, delivering the Rea-'ders from the Uncertainty of many Points, which 'they found not the meaning of. In which I am 'certain to please Men of Judgment, which are 'those that I care to please, and not those who shall 'dislike my Opinions and Writings. If you would know what he says of the Maid of *Orleans*, read the following Passage. (*f*) 'The Miracle of this 'Maid, whether it was invented and feign'd, or true, 'rais'd the Courage of the Lords, the People, and 'the King, who had lost it; such is the force of 'Religion, and frequently of Superstition. For 'some

(i) Du Haillan's *Epistle Dedicatory of the State and Success of the Affairs of* France, *in the Edition of* 1594.

(a) Idem, *Epistle Dedicatory of the History of* France, *in the Edition of* 1584.

(b) *He had added in the Edition of* 1576. *and* Cruelties.

(c) *See the Advertisement of the Booksellers to the Readers, in the Editions of his History of* France *after his Death. I use that of* Paris, 1527. *in 2 Vol. in Fol.*

(d) Du Chesne *Biblioth. of the Historians of* France, *pag.* 55. *of the Edition of* 1618. *speaks only of this Edition, which is in two Volumes in Folio. Add to this the Criticism we have seen upon him in a like case, in the Article* Emilius.

(e) Du Haillan ubi supra.

(f) Idem, *in the second Book of the State and Success of the Affairs of* France, *pag.* 138. *& seq. of the* Paris *Edition,* 1619. Note, *That* Gabriel Naudé *is of the same Opinion. The English, says he, in the third Chapter of State Politicks, pag. m.* 328. *being Masters of all* France, *'twas necessary under* Charles VII. *to have recourse to some piece of State Policy to expel them, such was that of* Joan *the Maid, which was confess'd to be such by* Justus Lipsius, *in his Politicks, and by some other Foreign Historians but particularly by two of their own, to wit,* du Bellay *and* Langey, *in his Art Military, and by* du Haillan, *in his History, not to cite many other less considerable Writers.*

(H) some things, which he knew only by hear-say. He was much criticiſed, and he manifeſted how it vex'd him, by the Haughtineſs wherewith (I) he anſwered his Cenſurers. He has not been unjuſtly cenſur'd in every thing, as I ſhall ſhew by a Paſſage

' ſome ſay, that this *Joan* was a Whore to *John* Baſtard of *Orleans*, others to the Sieur *Baudricourt*, ' others to *Poton*, who being politick and prudent, ' and ſeeing the King at his Wits end, and the People ' ſo diſcouraged by continual Wars, that there was ' no raiſing their Hopes and Spirits, bethought ' themſelves of imploying a Miracle, made up of a ' falſe Religion, which of all things in the World is ' moſt apt to raiſe and animate People, and make 'em ' believe a Lye. And the People were very much ' diſpos'd to receive ſuch Superſtitions. They that ' believe ſhe was a Maid ſent from God, are not ' damn'd; neither are thoſe that don't believe it. ' Many think this laſt Article an Hereſie; but I ſhall ' ſuſpend my Belief on either Side. Theſe Lords ' for ſome Days together, inſtructed her in all ſhe ' was to anſwer to the King's Queſtions, and theirs, ' when ſhe ſhould come into his Preſence (for they ' themſelves were to make the Interrogatives) ' and that ſhe might know the King, when ſhe ' ſhould be brought to him (whom ſhe had never ' ſeen) they made her familiar with his Picture be- ' forehand. The Day deſign'd, in which ſhe was to ' come to his Chamber, which was by their Appoint- ' ment, they fail'd not to be there. When ſhe ' came in, the firſt that asked her what ſhe would ' have, were the Baſtard of *Orleans* and *Baudricourt*; ' who asking her what ſhe wanted, ſhe anſwered ' ſhe would ſpeak with the King. They ſhewed ' her one of the other Lords who were there, ſaying ' it was the King, but ſhe being before tutour'd in ' every thing that was to be ſaid and done, and ' what ſhe was to ſay and do, ſaid it was not the ' King, and that he was hid behind the Bed, (where ' indeed he was) and going to him, ſhe ſaid to him, ' what has been ſaid above. This feign'd and coun- ' terfeit Invention of Religion, was of that Ad- ' vantage to the Kingdom, as to raiſe its drooping ' and diſpirited Courage from Deſpair. At laſt ſhe ' was taken by the *Engliſh* before *Compiegne*, and ' carried to *Rouen*, where ſhe was tried and burnt. ' Some have been, and will be diſpleas'd at my ſaying ' this, and that I deprive our Countrymen of an O- ' pinion, which they have ſo long reckon'd a Sacred ' and miraculous thing, to turn it at preſent into a ' Fable. But I reſolv'd to ſay it, becauſe it has ' been thus diſcovered by Time, that diſcovers all ' Things; beſides, it is not a thing of that Impor- ' tance, that it ought to be believed as an Article of ' Faith.

(H) To publiſh ſome things which he knew only by hear-ſay.] 'Twas upon ſuch a Foundation he publiſh'd that *Charles* VIII. was ſupoſititious. See the *News from the Republick of Learning* (a). *Varillas* (b) confutes this Story.

(I) By the Haughtineſs wherewith he anſwered his Cenſurers. As the Works he had publiſh'd before the Hiſtory of *France*, had been criticiſed, he doubted not but they would have the ſame Fate. And therefore he ſhewed himſelf Supercilious before-hand, and placed on the backſide of the Title, a Sonnet, which has ſomething of a *Gaſcon* in it.

Mille & mille ignorans, ſuperbes envieux,
Meſdiſans, eſtourdis, vains & preſumptueux
Te voudront attaquer une indigne querelle.
Mais ne crains tout cela, ains paſſe hardiment,
Car leur preſumption, ny leur ſot jugement,
Ne pourront empeſcher ta carriere immortelle.

At the very beginning of this Preface, he makes this Obſervation. ' If this Hiſtory of *France* ' pleaſes not every Body, as I well know it will not ' pleaſe the faſtidious, the ignorant, and the envi- ' ous (and ſuch I will not pleaſe) who ſhall paſs ' their fooliſh, ignorant, and envious Judgment up- ' on it, I am certain it will pleaſe thoſe amongſt you ' who are Writers, who know by Experience what ' Labour is, who have a Judgment free from all Paſ- ' ſion, and who honeſtly excuſe the Faults and In- ' advertencies that may be met with in ſo great ' a Work. The laſt part of this Paſſage is conſidera- ble, and moſt true in certain Reſpects. None are ſo fervent Criticks, or ſo raſh and injuſt in their Cen- ſures, as they that write nothing. An Author has more reaſon to promiſe himſelf ſome Indulgence and Equity amongſt Authors, than amongſt ſuch as know not by Experience, the Difficulties of Writing. Provided only there be no Emulation in the caſe, as ſometimes there is not; for Authors don't always take the ſame Road: The Reputation of one, is not al- ways of the ſame kind with that of another. And in this caſe, it is better to fall into the Hands of a Laborious Author, than of a Lazy Reader. In the other caſe, a Reader proves more equitable. But to return to *du Haillan*, he ſpeaks thus towards the end of this Preface: ' In the mean time, I will con- ' ſider the Enviers and Slanderers of me and my ' Works, who ſhall caſt the Duſts of their Malice ' againſt both. Being able to ſay with Truth, Read- ' ers, that in my Fortune, Actions, and Writings, ' I have never been envied or hated by any, but by ' the Ignorant and the Wicked, and thoſe whoſe Re- ' putation has been tainted with ſome Vice. The Storm he foreſaw (c) actually happen'd. Let us ſee what he obſerves in the Epiſtle Dedicatory (d) of the (e) Second Edition. ' This Work was no ſooner ' born, but it was bark'd at, and bit by the Envy ' and Obloquy of all ſorts and Ranks of People, ' ſome openly my Enemies, and others my ' pretended Friends; nay, there were ſome, who ' carrying it fair with me, as they did in all their ' Actions, and courting your Favour by indirect and ' oblique Ways, of which they were extreamly gree ' dy, went about to purchaſe it by Impoſture and ' Calumny, at the expence of my own and my Hi- ' ſtory's Reputation, cenſuring it in your Preſence, ' for that, for which it has ſince been moſt eſteem'd, ' and which will give it the greateſt Honour and ' Favour with Poſterity; I mean the Truth and the ' Boldneſs of Language. He expreſſes ſtill more Re- ' ſentment, and Haughtineſs at the end of his Pre- face. ' They, ſays he, according to their uſual Ma- ' lice, were of the Number of my Adherents; but ' I have reſolved to deſpiſe their Envy, and ' laugh at it, covering my ſelf with the Veil of ' Truth, and the Benevolence of ſuch of my Rea- ' ders, as have read and ſhall read my Book with ' Judgment, and have approved, and ſhall approve ' it: For 'tis for you that 'tis made, and not for the ' envious, ignorant and malicious, who can't look ' upon any thing that's Good, and knew not how to ' judge of, or eſteem what is praiſe worthy. A- mongſt the things he ſaid to his Criticks, I have met with one that deſerves Conſideration. " (f) If ' ſometimes I name Men, whoſe Name the to ' tickliſh Reader will ſay, is not an Affair of State; ' I will anſwer him, that it ſeem'd to me, that I ' have a Judgment as well as he, and (let him be ' who he will) I know better what I write, than ' he knows how to judge of my Writings. This is what many other Authors may and ought to repre ſent to their Criticks. A Man that is imploy'd many Years upon one kind of Work, knows better than another what it requires. He has not, if you pleaſe, ſo good a Taſt and Judgment as another, generally ſpeaking; but ſince he has ſtudied certain Subjects, and applied himſelf to them for a long time, we ought to believe, that he judges better of their Nature, and the Ornaments that belong to them, than thoſe that have not made them their particular Study. And therefore we ought not to imagine, that certain Authors act imprudently, when on ſeve- ral Occaſions, they prefer their own Judgment, before that of their Friends, or their Enemies, though otherwiſe more knowing than themſelves. A Wri- ter leſs intelligent, ſpeaking Generally, than the Readers, will yet have more Views than they upon the Subjects he treats of; and whilſt they know not whether he had reaſon to ſay ſuch or ſuch things, he knows he was induced to it by ma- ny reaſonable Motives, grounded upon the Chara- of his Work. Hence ariſe infinite ill-gr Cenſures, and therefore it would be requiſite to dy well the Rules, by which Men pronounce wh a Work be good or bad. For Example, to judge well of this commended Hiſtory, which I call an *Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary*, a Man muſt have ſtudied the Rights and Privileges of an Hiſtorical Commentator; and hereupon I might ſay, as *du Haillan*, *I know better what I write than* [illegible] *know.*

(a) *Month of July, 1686. Art. 2. p. 825.*

(b) *Varillas's Hiſtory of Lewis XI. Book 10. p. 528. Holland Edition.*

WHETHER it be better to be judg'd by an Author, or by others.

(c) *Wherever ſpeaking of his Cenſurers, he made uſe of the Future-Tenſe, in the Preface to the firſt Edition, he made uſe of the Preter-tenſe in the ſecond.*

(d) *To Henry II. King of France.*

(e) *Printed in 1577.*

(f) *Idem in Preface to the Hiſtory of France, p. m. 15. I here make uſe of the Edition of 1577. in Octavo.*

WHY Authors ought ſometimes to prefer their own Judgments before the Judgments of others.

ſage (K) of *Sorel*. His manner of talking of himſelf, is a Teſtimony that he was not diſintereſted enough, either as to his Glory or Fortune. He vaunts too much his Labour, and the Succeſs (L) of his Books, their ſeveral Editions, Tranſlations, &c. and he too palpably manifeſts his Mercenary Deſires of Reward. I don't know whether we ought to believe that he † threatned with his Iron-Pen, thoſe who ſhould deſpiſe his Works, and that he judged it ſufficient to blaſt them, and pretended, that his Golden-Pen was capable of Eternizing the Merit of his Benefactors. He died * at *Paris* the 23d. of *November*, 1610. in his 76th. Year, and was buried at St. *Euſtache*. It muſt not be forgotten, that he had † attended *Francis de Noailles*, Biſhop of *Acqs* in his Embaſſies to *England* and *Venice*. We ſhall ſee in the Remarks, many pieces of his Epiſtles Dedicatory and Prefaces. They will diſpleaſe thoſe that deſire only a Superficial Knowledge of famous Men, but not ſuch as would know them *intus & in cute*. 'Tis for theſe latter that I labour, and I am certain they will acknowledge the Pains I take to ſhew them the Picture of the Heart, according to the Lineaments I find of it in Books, or as Authors have painted themſelves. Let this be ſaid once for all. We might make a great many Reflections upon this Picture of *du Haillan*, and therefore

* French *Mercury*, *tome* 2. *page* m. 61.

† Du Haillan's *Preface to the Hiſtory of France.*

† *See the Remark* L., *at the end.*

knows how to judge of my Writings. I have ſtudied the Nature and Properties of Compilations; if they every where pleas'd one kind of People, they would not be good. They that know not their Character, would only expect to find in them, what pleaſes their Palate.

Here are two other Paſſages of *du Haillan*, which will inform us that he was cenſur'd and vexed at it. (g) *My Works, Sir*——*have not been able to avoid the Barkings and Bitings of Calumny and Envy, and of Evil-ſpeakers and Slanderers, with whoſe Stings, not only my Writings have been prick'd, but alſo the Courſe of my Fortune, has been wounded, ulcerated and ſtopt; it ſeems that ſome Rays of Vertue and Ability, which my Enemies diſcover'd in me, were offenſive to the Eyes of their Ignorance and Malice, and that my Light could not be born by them. Nay, Sir, in your Preſence, I have been ſo ſlander'd and ill uſed, that 'tis not long of my Enemies, if I have not forfeited your Favour and good Opinion, in which alone I have ever fowed the Hopes of all my Happineſs, and the Seeds of my moſt humble and devoted Service. But your Goodneſs and wiſe Judgment, Sir, has made them appear Impoſtors, and deliver'd me from the Fears of the Miſchief with which they threatned me.* He ſpoke thus to *Henry* III. in 1580, dedicating a new Edition of one of his Books to him. The Preface of the ſame Book is very ſharp againſt *du Haillan*'s Criticks, from which I have taken what follows. (h) " There are ſome Phantaſtical Wits (the Number whereof is endleſs) accuſtom'd to ſlander and " abuſe every thing, becauſe they are full of Ignorance and Preſumption, which take away their " taſte, who did not approve of my Book. Of theſe " ſome are common Courtiers, others are Lawyers, " others Collegiates, others ſome young Coxcombs, " lately come from the Univerſity, with three Borders of Latin upon their Gowns, and a ſprinkling " of purchaſed Honour, who ferreting all ſorts of " Books, pretend to deſpiſe and reject them, if they " find a Letter miſplac'd, or don't find what they " know not how to look for. Others are profeſt Writers, who being ſwell'd up, and big with Books, " bring forth one every Week, fill the Book-Sellers " Stalls with them, talk boldly of every body, deſpiſe the Works of others, and approve none but " their own. Some of theſe are meer Apes, for if " they ſee another do a Work, at Thirty Paces diſtance from thence, they put forth another, to " which they give the ſame Name. All theſe ſorts " of People have attack'd, pinch'd, and bark'd at me, " but however they have not bitten me, nor done any " injury to my preſent Performance, or to my Hiſtory of *France*, being only like cold Cinders, " which blacken, without being able to burn: For " in ſpight of their Envy, Cavils, Pedantry, " Railling and Preſumption, my Works fly through " the World, have obtain'd a great Reputation, and " are tranſlated into ſeveral Languages——" As for the Courtiers who have ill ſpoken of my " Writings, and attempted to make them odious, " they are Men accuſtom'd to rob others of their " Honour, when they want Opportunities of pilla" ging anyhing elſe.

(g) Du Haillan's *Epiſtle Dedicatory of the State and Succeſs of the Affairs of France, in the Edition of* 1580.

(h) Idem, *Preface of the ſame Book, and ſame Edition.*

(K) *By a Paſſage of* Sorel.] It contains a reaſonable Cenſure of ſome of *du Haillan*'s Faults, and alſo ſome ſmall Commendations. (a) *He was deſirous to imitate the Elegance of the beſt Hiſtorians, but to avoid Pains, he has almoſt tranſlated Word for Word, all* Paulus Æmilius's *Orations, and has alſo copied him in his Narrations: 'Tis true, he has added a great many curious Obſervations, which he found elſewhere. He may be charg'd with giving a fabulous Exordium to his Hiſtory, intirely of his own Invention, making* Pharamond *and his Faithful Councellors deliberate, whether having the Power in his Hand, he ought to reduce the French to an Ariſtocratical, or Monarchical Government, and giving to each of them an Harangue for the backing his Opinion. We there find the Names of* Charimond *and* Quadrek, *imaginary Perſons. 'Tis a thing very ſurprizing: We have but little Aſſurance that there was ever ſuch a Man as* Pharamond *in the World, and though there was, yet 'tis an egregious Baldneſs to relate things of him, which have no Foundation. M.* Dupleix *cenſures* du Haillan *for it, ſaying he has taken his Speeches from* Amadis de Gaule; *but* Amadis *has none of theſe Political Diſcourſes. We muſt ſuppoſe* Dupleix *only meant, that* du Haillan *had invented this, as it were to write a kind of a Romance. However, if they are not found in* Amadis, *they are in many other Places. They are common Places, that are uſually met with in Books, that treat of ſo trivial a Subject, as the different Forms of Government.* Du Haillan *is accus'd on another Hand, of talking too freely of ſome Eccleſiaſticks; but he did it poſſibly to ſhew his Zeal for our Kings, and to maintain their Authority. Notwithſtanding all this, his Writings are more judicious and methodical than thoſe that preceded his. His Hiſtory inſtructs us in many Particulars of the French Government, which he underſtood well enough, as he has made farther appear in his Book, of the* State and Succeſs of the Affairs of *France. In fine, he is to be praiſed for having firſt attempted to put our Hiſtory in a good and agreeable Form, which he has effected according to the Light that wat in his time.*

(a) Sorel *French Bibliotheque, p.* m. 373, 374.

(L) *He vaunts too much his Labours, and the Succeſs of his Books.*] Let us begin with theſe Words of his Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Hiſtory of *France*. (b) *From that time* (c) *to the Year* 1576, *when it was firſt printed, I labour'd Night and Day upon this Hiſtory, with the Sweat and Pains of my Body, the Conſumption of my Years, the great Fatigue of my Mind, and Expence of my Purſe, in the procuring of Books, Titles, Charters, Memoirs, and other Monuments requiſite for the building ſo great a Work; and I have neglected my Affairs, and the means of improving them, at a time that every one in my Sight, was making his Fortune, and ſtriving more than in any Age, to get Wealth, and obtain Gifts and Bounties from your Majeſty, rather than write or read Books, that I might give my ſelf up intirely, and wholly to the Accompliſhment of this Work, which at laſt after Four Years imploy'd in raiſing it, I have finiſht; after many Days ſpent in Study, in Solitude, and in great Diſturbance of my Brain; after many Watchings, and after great Reading, Tumbling, Turning over, and Collating many* Latin, French, *and* Italian *Books, both ancient and modern, and many Monuments, Papers, Charters, old Writings, and muſty Manuſcripts, rummaged and turned over; I have been at ſo much Pains, Sir, that if, when I undertook this Work, I had known or imagin'd the Pains I was to take, and which I have taken, I ſhould have excus'd my ſelf to your Majeſty: and no Gift, or Promiſe, or Deſire, or Hope of Honour, Glory, or Advantage, could have induc'd me to engage in it.* He afterwards ſhews at large, the Imperfections (d) of the Hiſtorians he was

(b) Du Haillan's *Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Edition of* 1584.

(c) *That is, from* 1571, *when the King commanded him to write the Hiſtory of* France.

(d) *He ſhews 'em alſo in the Preface.*

Therefore I imagine, I shall not displease the Reader by making (*M*) some. This will give me an

was to consult, and then he adds: *From all these Confusions, Diversities, Prolixities, and Labyrinths, Sir, I have escap'd, and have written the History of* France, *and of the Kings your Ancestors, in the best manner that I could. I have not been able to do it so well as it deserves, or to give it its just Perfection; and I will not blame the Dead or their Works, to give the Praise and Advantage to my own. Only I will say, without Presumption and Boasting, that I have done a thing that was never yet effected or seen by any of our Kings. Having given to the History of* France, *a Dress it never appear'd in before——Some may be able to write the History of* France *as well, and better than my self, and others Worse; but if I obtain not the first Rank amongst them, I assure my self I shall not have the last. I have found the way of drawing the Quintessence out of these gross Masses of ancient Histories, and of reducing their Luxuriancy and Superfluity, and Prolixity, to things necessary, and not superfluous; and besides, not willing to rely upon Histories and Chronicles, I have extracted from Foreigners, and Registers of Courts of Parliaments, from the Chambers of Accounts, and Charters of Churches, and from some Books lent me by some of my Friends, the necessary Materials of my Subject. My sole Aim was Truth, which is the Eye of History.* He repeats a great deal of this in his Preface. *I have labour'd upon it,* says he, *for five Years, I have spent many whole Days, and half Nights; I have rummaged, read, and turn'd over and over, many Books, Charters, Monuments, old Writings, Papers, and Parchments; I have had many* Latin, French, *and* Italian *Books, treating of the Histories of* France, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Flanders, Scotland, Burgundy, Bretagne, Anjou, Berry, *and* Aquitain, *the Holy Wars in* Asia *and* Europe, *the Lives of Princes and Emperors, and abundance of others, with a World of old Writings and ancient Monuments. From all these I have extracted the Quintessence, distilling them in the Alembick of my Judgment and Inclinations, and I shew you my Extractions in my Book.*

(*e*) Du Haillan *Epist. Dedicat. of his Chronicle, 1st Edition of* 1584.

If you would know what he says of the Success of his Work, read what follows. (*e*) 'My 'History, which has vanquish'd their Envy, shall live 'as long as the French Tongue shall continue and 'prevail in these your Kingdoms. Since its first Edition, it has been often printed, both in your 'Kingdom, and out of it, in several Volumes and 'Characters, and turn'd into *Latin* by *Pata* (*f*) *Boulanger*, a Teacher in the College of *Loudun*, a 'Man of a good Life, and great Learning, and 'who in a *Latin* Stile, imitates, as much as any 'Man in *Europe*, the Purity and Softness of *Cicero*. 'But since, Sir, I have augmented and enlarg'd my 'History a new, having in some Places inserted two 'or three Leaves, in others less, he waits for this 'Impression to add to his *Latin* Version, what I 'have added to my *French* Composition. So that 'you'll quickly see, Sir, as also your Subjects and 'Strangers, this History in the *Latin* Tongue Add to this the beginning of his Preface. *I wish my History of* France *might be as agreeable to you, as I have taken Pains and Labour in its Complement. My desires have not been altogether vain; for it so pleased Men of Judgment, that since that time it has been frequently printed, and in divers Volumes, both within and without the Kingdom, and read over and over, by all the ingenious Men of* France, *and numerous Foreigners——Now, Reader, seeing my Work has so well succeeded, and been so well receiv'd, both by Foreigners and Frenchmen, and so often reprinted and desired, I have corrected and much enlarg'd it, and enrich'd it with many curious Discoveries.* Dedicating his Book of the State and Success of the Affairs of *France*, to *Henry* III. in 1580, he express'd himself in this manner. "(*a*) I am, Sir, the first of 'all the *French*, who have written the History of '*France*, and in a Polite Language shewn the Grandeur and Dignity of our Kings; for before there 'was nothing but the old Trash of Chronicles that 'spoke of them. My Works are seen and read by 'all *Christendom*, and translated into several Languages, particularly my History of *France*, is put into '*Latin*, by a very Learned Man of your Kingdom, 'and is ready to appear and present it self to your 'Majesty, cloathed in a *Latin* Dress. I am none of those 'ventrious and ignorant Writers, whose Brains daily 'teem with Books, and who in their benighted Studies, 'wherein they see not the Light of humane Affairs, 'speak and write confidently, right or wrong, of the 'present State Affairs, of your most secret and important Councils, judge of every thing, are partial for one, and prepossess'd against another, extol those that feed them with Money, make a meer 'Pretender of a great General, and Commander of 'an Army, and live only by the Sale of their presumptuous Writings. And therefore such Writers 'will see their Works expire, before themselves, 'and shamefully assist at their Funerals. I have 'learnt, Sir (*b*), Let us see the beginning of the Preface of the same Book. *Many of you (Readers) who shall see this present Work, which I newly review'd and much enlarged and enrich'd, have seen it before printed in several sorts of Volumes, and Characters, from its first Edition, of the Year* 1570. *For since that time,* (*c*) *there has not an Year past'd, but it has been reprinted, and given Satisfaction to all who have seen it, who like what is good.* When he dedicated the same Book to *Henry* IV. in 1594, he thus spoke to this Prince. *It has travel'd, and seen the World, and has been well receiv'd within and without the Kingdom, and Strangers have made it speak their Language.*

(*b*) You will find the Sequel of this Passage above.

(*c*) Lower he speaks thus: I'll tell you, that the Printer, who for Ten Years successively, has reprinted it every Year, design'd to reprint it again. *Note, that this Preface was written in* 1580.

As for his desire of Rewards, it may be clearly enough seen in the Passages I have already related, but it will more plainly shew it self in this, that follows. (*d*) *I have proposed this Work in four Winters, Seasons proper for Writing and Studying, and have spent but few Summers Days in it, which seem not fit for such a Fatigue, as the short and cold Days are which I have employ'd in it. So that I am apprehensive of being frozen, unless the Sun of your Majesty, by the Rays of your Liberalities and Bounties, afford some encouraging warmth. There's not a Man of Letters in your Kingdom, who excells in any Science, or has shewn any Performance, but you have rewarded him for it, and all your ancient Servants are rais'd to Honours and Preferments, and are full and rich with your Gifts and Benefactions. I am the first who have written the History of the Kings your Ancestors, and possibly the only Person that hath done it in a good Method, and fine Language, and I am one of the first and eldest of your Servants, and yet I am the only one and the last to be provided for, but not the last in Merit. I have labour'd, and labour generally, for the Publick, more than for my self; nor only have I been engaged in writing Books, but also sometimes imploy'd in Voyages to Foreign Countries; and by the Observation of Affairs for Twenty Nine Years together, whilst I have been a Courtier, I have learnt how Histories ought to be written, and how I am to speak of Kings, and treat and write of Affairs of State.* Here you see an Author Discontented, complaining that he is not enrich'd, nor advanc'd to Honours, by the Productions of his Pen, and asking when that Recompence of his Labours will come, so much desir'd, so well deserv'd. We find the same Complaint, in a Preface he publish'd in 1586. *I have taken this Pains,* says he, (*f*) *to serve the publick, which I think I advantage, and have advantag'd by my Labours: Which gives me a singular Satisfaction: for I have labour'd with that Design. And that is almost all the Recompence I have had: and I shall be very well satisfied with this last Labour, when I find it will be acceptable to you.* You may believe what you please of what I am going to relate, I'll quote my Author (*e*). 'Henry the Great——made one Day a 'Repartee to the Sieur *du Haillan*——for as *du Haillan*, a Man——vain——and given to his 'Belly——spake one Day to the late King too freely, 'complaining of the small Salary which he receiv'd 'from his Liberality, and had the Boldness to say to him, 'Sir, you know that I have two Pensions a publick Historian, a Title with which it has pleased your Majesty to honour me, one is of *Gold*, and the other of 'Iron: with my Golden Pen, I render those Immortal 'who honour me and do me good, and with my Iron one 'I tarnish the Reputation of those who don't take notice of the Merits of my Works. The King knowing by this Harangue, the Character of the Man, who was more valiant at a Meal, than he was in the Field, told him with a wonderful and royal Prefence of Mind. *M. du Haillan, I don't believe that you have a Golden Pen; for had you had one, you has swallowed it long ago.*

(*f*) Idem, Preface of the State and Success of the Affairs of France, in the Edition of 1580.

(*e*) Garasse Recherches *desrecherches, pag.* 941, 942

(*M*) *I imagine I shall not displease the Reader.*] 'Tis not safe to let this pass without some Reflexion. One that should ask whether those in publick Posts are as Mercenary, as the Servants of a private Gentleman,

(*a*) Du Haillan *Epist. Dedicat. of his Chronicle, 1st Edition of* 1584.

(*f*) *See his Eloge in* St. Marthe *lib.* 1. *p.* m. 44. *where he speaks of this Version. He was the Father of* Julius Cæsar Bulengerus.

(*g*) Id. *in the Preface of the same Edition.*

(*a*) Id. *Epistle Dedicatory of the State and Success of the Affairs of* France, *in the Edition of* 1580. *he had already said,* I have performed all those things, in the Body of my great History of *France*, which, Sir, I have dedicated to you, and which is known all over *Christendom*.

an occasion of praising the Modesty of Mr. *Descartes*.

A REFLECTION upon the mercenary Spirit of those, who serve the Publick.

tleman, would seem at first Sight to make an absurd Question; but upon Examination, we should find in it a just Subject of a Problem, and should declare for the affirmative. Consider a little the printed, or not printed Relations of News-Writers, and the Discourses of those that have a long time seen great People. Consult the Historians who enter most into Particulars: especially, read the Authors of Memoirs: Do this attentively, and I doubt not but you'll own, that a poor Foot-Boy is in Proportion, less Mercenary, and more disinterested, than most of those that possess great Employs, either in Princes Households, or in the Government. These are Persons never contented, always ready to beg new Honours, and greater Pensions, and to complain of the Smalness of their Recompences, to particularize Services, to murmur if they are forgotten, whilst others are thought on, to threaten to retire, and to manifest their Discontent, by surly and audacious Proceedings, &c. These Gentlemen imagine they have the greater Right to demand extravagant Rewards, because they perswade themselves that their Master, a King, or a Sovereign: in a Word, the publick will never come to want, though they have famish'd Leeches upon them continually sucking (g). Tell me not of such, or such an one, who are ruin'd in their Prince's Service, and of such a great Lord, whose Lands and Houses are under an Execution. These are not Examples of their Disinterestedness. 'Tis not Zeal for their Country, but a Mercenary Temper, or their great State and Debauchery, that are the cause of their Poverty. They thought, that if they appear'd at Court, or in the Army with great Equipages, really useless to the publick Good, they should the easier come to Preferments, and at last, if they are ruin'd, it is not for the Advantage of the State, but to gratify their Pomp and Pride, and other particular Passions. The *Aristides* and *Fabricii*, who after they had possess'd the greatest Posts, and spent all their Life in a wonderful Frugality, had hardly any thing to leave their Children, are good Examples of an Unmercenary Spirit; but where are such to be found?

(g) Nec missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo. *Hor. de Arte Poet. vers.*

But what is worse, is to see that Men of Learning can't cure themselves of this common Distemper. The Court and the Army being the Schools of Ambition and Luxury, and consequently of Avarice, 'tis no wonder they teach Men to do nothing *gratis*, and to desire large Recompences for their Services. And as this Passion is not easie to be satisfied, without Boasting of what they have done, and complaining of the want of a just Reward, there's no occasion to take so much Exception at this Conduct. But it will still be reasonably lamented, that Study and the Profession of Learning, should not have taught *du Haillan* the Prudence to avoid so much Ostentation of his Labours, and to forbear Complaints of the meanness of his Fortune. If he were the only Author of such a Conduct, there would be no occasion to be concern'd at it: but the Mischief of it is, that he herein copied a great Number of Writers, and an hundred others have copied, and still copy him. This is a great Injury to the Muses, and deprives them of the Glory they should enjoy, of inspiring their Attendants with a true Generosity, and a noble Contempt of Riches and publick Rewards. They are like other Men, you'll say, and no less subject to Ambition and Avarice, the two popular Diseases of an human Heart. 'Tis certain, that the desire of living at ease, by means of a good Revenue, is not the only reason of the Boastings and Complaints of *du Haillan*, and those that are like him; for Pride has a good part in it. They fancy, that the Publick will have a great esteem for their Persons and their Works, when 'tis known (a) they are preferr'd and rewarded for them; but in this there is great misreckoning: Some private Persons, I confess, may be surpriz'd by this Exteriour, and impose on themselves with this Fallacy: *Such an Author has gotten noble Employs, and rides in his Coach, therefore he has a great deal of Merit and his Works are good.* But the Publick is seldom caught thus; and however, 'tis a Charm but of short continuance. Posterity judges of Books by the Books themselves: If they are good, they are not despis'd, tho' it should be related at the Beginning of the Preface that the Author died with Hunger: If they are bad, they are despis'd, tho' it should appear in the very Title, that the Author was an Earl or a Marquis, and left a Million. What is it you fear? Why do you torment your self? Might one have been said to *du Haillan*: You may be allow'd to say that you have not spar'd your Pains or Care to render your Work perfect: Your Duty oblig'd you to great Fatigues, and 'tis a Civility to the Publick, to declare in a Preface, that you have done all you could to merit their Approbation. You ought to have stopt there, and not to have urged the Greatness and Price of your Labours, as a just Cause of demanding greater Recompences, and complaining you had not been sufficiently paid. Are you afraid that future Ages should know that your Studies and Lucubrations have put the History of *France* in a very fine Light, but have not enrich'd you? What Injury could that do your Memory? If it be be said that you was not sollicitous to heap up Riches, it will be supposed you wanted an ill Quality: Your Glory will not suffer by it: Sleep at Rest. If it be said that you had Ability sufficient to grow rich, but that you did not care to employ it, being content with your Books and your Studies, and to consecrate your time to the Instruction of the Publick: would not this be an excellent Elogy? Would it not be a favourable Prejudice for your Works? If the Contempt of Riches, and your continual Application to writing good Books, expose you to the danger of dying poor, you ought to desire this may be be put in the Epitaph on your Grave (b). This would be worth to you a good Title of Nobility in the Republick of Learning: This would be (c) a fine way to Immortality: Never fear the Judgment of Posterity upon it. If they are censured for their Ingratitude and Injustice, who were careless of recompencing your pains, what is that to you? 'tis a Censure that will not light upon you.

(a) Confer quæ supra.

(b) Tituli res digna sepulchri.

(c) *Hæc itur ad astra.*

A LAUDABLE Passage concerning Mr. *Descartes*.

It must be here said to the Glory of Mr. *Descartes*, that he preserv'd himself pure and untainted from this scandalous Disease, tho' one of his Friends had taken the most dangerous ways to infect him. Observe in what manner this zealous Friend excited him to boast himself, and make loud Demands of Recompence. '(d) Know, that to obtain any thing 'of the Publick, it is not enough to hint a Word or 'two by the bye, in the Preface of a Book, without 'saying expresly that you desire and expect it, and 'explaining the Reasons, to prove not only that 'you deserve it, but also that 'tis their greatest Interest to give it you, and that they ought to expect 'great Advantage from it. It is usual to see all 'those that imagine they have Merit, make such 'Proclamations, and so importunately assert their 'Pretensions, and promise so much above what 'they can do, that when any one speaks modestly 'of himself, and desires nothing of any body, nor 'makes any confident Promises, whatever Proofs he 'otherwise gives of his Ability, he will not be consider'd. You'll say perhaps that you are not of an 'Humour, either to ask any thing, or speak to your 'own Advantage; because the one seems to be a sign 'of Meanness, and the other of Pride. But I 'maintain that this Humour ought to be corrected, 'and that it proceeds from Error and Infirmity, rather than from an honest Bashfulness and Modesty.——You may say likewise that your Works 'speak sufficiently, and that you have no need to add 'Promises and Boastings, which being the Custom 'of cheating Quacks, seem not becoming a Man 'of Honour who only seeks the Truth. But that 'which makes these Pretenders inexcusable, is not 'their boasting great and good things of themselves, 'but only false ones, and such as cannot be proved: 'whereas those things I would have you say of your 'self, are so true, and so evidently prov'd by your 'Writings, that you may affirm them, by all the Laws 'of Decency, and Charity obliges you to it, because o'thers are concerned to know them. For tho' your 'Writings speak sufficiently to such as carefully peruse them, and are able to understand them; yet this 'is not enough for the Design I would put you upon, 'because every one can't read them, and the Managers of publick Affairs have hardly leisure. 'Tis 'probable that some who have read them, may 'speak to them about it: but whatever they may 'say, the little Noise you are known to make, and 'the great Modesty you always have observ'd in 'speaking of your self, hinders them from reflecting much upon it. Nay, because they are accustom'd to hear indifferent People set off to them in the 'most advantageous terms imaginable, they have no 'reason to take the most extraordinary Praises that 'should be given you by those that know you, for 'exact Truth. But when a Man speaks of himself,

(d) Letter 1. written to Mr. *Descartes*. 'Tis before his Treatise of the Passions.

and

HALI-BEIGH. firſt Dragoman at the Grand-Seignor's Court, in the XVIIth Century, was born a Chriſtian in *Poland*; but being taken very young by the Tartars, he was ſold to the Turks, who educated him in their Religion in the Seraglio. His Poliſh Name was *Albert* (*A*) *Bobowski*. He grew skill'd in a great Number (*B*) of Languages, and was able to Write (C) Books. He had a great Correſpondence with ſome Engliſhmen, † who engag'd him to tranſlate ſome Books into the Turkiſh Language. He was deſirous to return to the Boſom of Chriſtianity; but he died before he executed that noble Deſign. See Moreri's *Supplement*.

† *See the Remark* C.

HALICARNASSUS, the Capital City of the Kingdom of *Caria*, was (Z) a Colony of the *Argians*. It became famous under the two *Artemeſia*'s, and *Mauſolus* the Husband of the latter. This Prince's Tomb was a very great Ornament to it, being reckon'd one of the Seven Wonders of the World. The Fountain *Salmacis* was another Curioſity of *Halicarnaſſus*. There were few Towns on that ſide of the Sea, that reſiſted *Alexander* ſo much as this †; becauſe care had been taken to fortifie it well. *Vitruvius* tells us ſome ξ Particulars about its Conſtruction, and eſpecially concerning its Gates. *Meurſius*, as learned as he was, applied to the two Ports of *Rhodes*, what *Vitruvius* has only ſaid concerning thoſe of *Halicarnaſſus*. *Alexander* was obliged to burn the Town, whilſt the Garriſon ſtill vigorouſly defended it ſelf in the Fortreſſes. *Herodotus* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* were born in this City.

† Leipſick *Journal*, 1691. p. 220.

† Strab. l. 14. pag. 451. Pomp. Mela l. 1. c. 16.

ξ Freinſhem. Supplem. in Curt. l. 2. c. 9. & 10.

‖ Lib. 2. c. 8.

HALLE (*Peter*) Profeſſor of Canon-Law in the Univerſity of *Paris*, was born at *Bayeux* in *Normandy*, the 8th. of *September*, 1611. He ſtudied Philoſophy, and Law, and Divinity in the Univerſity of *Caen* for five Years. We muſt add, that he very ſtudiouſly cultivated Poetry, in which *Antony Halle* his Relation, and one of the great Poets of his Age, gave him good Inſtructions. He won his Affections, by publiſhing ſome Poems; and he made ſo good uſe of this illuſtrious Kinſman's Leſſons, that he carried the Prize at *Caen* and *Roüen*, in the Poetical Combats that are made * there every Year. He got ſuch a Reputation by it, that though he was very young, he had the Rhetorick Claſs given him in the Univerſity of *Caen*. Some time after, being Rector of the Univerſity, he harrangued Mr. *Seguier*, (*A*) Chancellor of *France*, at the head

In Rhodo. p. 30.

* *The in Hon in the Coll Conv and Pa Am*

(*c*) *See before the ſaid Treatiſe of Paſſions Mr.* Deſcartes's *Anſwer to his Friend's Letters.*

(*f*) *Cardinal* Richelieu *never did any good to* Mainard, *partly, becauſe he did not love that any thing ſhould be aſk'd of him, and that he might have the Glory of giving of his own free Will.* Pelliſ. *Hiſt. of the Academy, p.m.* 278.

(*g*) Ricaut, *preſent State of the Ottoman Empire, l. 2. p. m.* 405.

(*h*) *Curious Remarks, pag.* 667.

(*i*) *He was called* Btiot.

(*k*) *Pag.* 81. *of the* Holland *Edition.*

and ſays extraordinary Things, he is heard with greater Attention, eſpecially when he is well born, and is known not to be of a Temper or Condition to play the Mountebank. And becauſe he would make himſelf ridiculous by uſing Hyperboles on this occaſion, his Words are taken literally; and ſuch as won't believe them, are at leaſt excited by their Curioſity, or their Jealouſie, to examine into the truth of them———This is moſt certain, and ſince it can moſt eaſily be proved by the Writings you have already printed, you ought to ſpeak it aloud, to publiſh it ſo aſſiduouſly, and to put it ſo expreſly in all the Titles of your Books, that no Body for the future might be ignorant of it. Could Mr. *Deſcarte*'s Modeſty be attack'd by more ſpecious and ſtronger Arguments than theſe? Here's nothing omitted, all Excuſes foreſtall'd, and yet 'twas all to no purpoſe (*c*). Note, that the Gentleman had good Reaſon to advertiſe him, that the publick is us'd to be dunn'd with great Importunity and Boaſting: Becauſe the Petitioners know they ſhall otherwiſe obtain nothing. Woe to them that are diſheartned by the firſt Refuſal, and can't ſpeak out in their Requeſts. *Du Haillan* knew his Cue, when he acted in the manner we have ſeen above. A Man muſt complain, and petition often, to be once heard in a Court: If Cardinal *Richelieu* (*f*) was ſuch an one as he is repreſented (*f*) in the Hiſtory of the French Academy, he was a Phœnix.

(*A*) *Was* Albert Bobowsky.] Which has been latiniz'd by *Bobovius*; but moſt Authors are miſtaken in it. Sr. *Paul Ricaut* (*g*) calls this Polander *Albert Bobonius*. *Beſpier* his Tranſlator, corrects him, and puts (*h*) *Bobonius*, becauſe *Thomas Smith writ it ſo, pag* 39 *of his Epiſtle de Morib. Turc.* 'Tis true, that *in this place it is* Bozonius, *but* the Errata *ſhews, that it ſhould be read* Bohonius. Sr. *Paul Ricaut*'s firſt (*i*) Tranſlator has put *Robovius*.

(*B*) *In a great Number of Languages.*] Give me leave to cite here ſomewhat at large, the Author of the old and new *Lacedemon*: *Obſerve*, ſays he, (*k*) *Fornetti, Panagiotti, la Fontaine, and all the other Dragomans of the Port; how circumſpect they are when they treat with the Miniſters of Chriſtian Princes, or with thoſe of their Retinue.* Halybey, *the famous Poliſh Renegado, who, hating his Apoſtacy, and morally ſpeaking, is one of the honeſteſt Men in the World, does not better explain himſelf with the* Franks, *though he be their great Friend; who yet could do it very well, as ſpeaking Eighteen different Languages.*

(*C*) *Able to write Books.*] At Doctor *Thomas Smith*'s Requeſt, he writ a Treatiſe *de Turcatum liturgiâ, peregrinatione Meccanâ, circumciſione, agrotorum viſitatione, &c.* which Doctor *Hyde*, whom Doctor *Smith* gave it to, publiſh'd (*a*). *Hali-Beigh* tranſlated into Turkiſh, the Church of *England* Catechiſm, about th Year 1653, at Mr. *Baſire*'s Requeſt. He tranſlated all the Bible into the ſame Tongue, at the inſtance of *Levin Warnerus*, who ſent this Tranſlation to *Leiden*, that it might be printed. This is not as yet done, but the Manuſcript is kept in the *Leiden* Library. I don't mention a Turkiſh Grammar and Dictionary, written by the ſame *Dragoman*. Sr. *Paul Ricaut* confeſſes, he had many things from him, which he has related in his Book concerning the preſent State and Empire of the Turks. If he had conſulted him upon all that he has ſaid, he would not have advanc'd that the Mahometan Women had no hopes of entring into Paradice. *Hali-Beigh* maintains the contrary, in the Work that Doctor *Hyde* has publiſh'd. (*b*) *Rycautum refellit, docuitque mulieres Turcicas omnino ſperare ſe aliquando æque ac viros in Paradiſum receptum iri, quod iſte pag.* 271. *negaverat.* Sr. *Paul Ricaut*, amongſt other things, ſays, (*c*) that he learnt from this *Dragoman*, that there are ſome Turks who believe the Souls of dead Men enter into the Bodies of Beaſts, whoſe Conſtitution comes neareſt to that of the Bodies they have left. A Druggiſt one Day ſaid *Hali-Beigh*, *That he prayed to God, with his Fraternity of the ſame Profeſſion* (*d*), *that their Souls might have the Honour, after their Death, to enter the Bodies of ſome Camels, becauſe they are ſober, laborious, patient and gentle Creatures, and bring their Drugs from the remoteſt Countries of the Eaſt. That he doubted not, but after the Revolution of 2300 Years, whilſt his Soul would travel all the World over, and paſs ſucceſſively from Camel to Camel it would return once more into an human Body, much purer and more perfect than it had at the beginning. That was the Druggiſt's Creed. 'Tis ſaid, that moſt of the Chineſe are much addicted to this Opinion.* We have in Doctor *Barrow*'s poſthumous Works, an Engliſh Relation of a Conſpiracy that was form'd in the Seraglio, againſt *Kioſen*, Grandmother to *Mahomet* IV. Albert Bobovius, *Muſician of the Seraglio, and Eye-Witneſs of this Event*, has written that Relation (*e*).

(*a*) *In the Appendix of* Abraham Peritſol's Itinera Mundi, *at* Oxford, *1691. See the* Leipſick *Journal of* May, *1691 pag.* 226.

(*b*) Leipſick *Journal*, ib.

(*c*) Ubi ſupra, pag 406. 407.

(*d*) *That is, all thoſe that this Druggiſt was acquainted with at Conſtantinople, that believed the Tranſmigration of Souls, were Druggiſts.*

(*e*) *See the Univerſal* Bibliotheque, *tom.* 10. *pag.* 62.

(*Z*) *A Colony of* Argians.] The Conductor of this Colony was call'd *Anthes* (*f*), who departed from the Town of *Troezen*: *Pauſanias* calls him *Antha* (*g*), and makes him the Son of *Neptune*. He does not make him the Leader of this Colony but his Deſcendants. However, the *Halicarnaſſians* were call'd (*h*)

(*f*) Strab. l. 14. Callimachus apud Stephan.

(*g*) Lib. 2. pag. 73.

(*h*) Stephan. in

(*A*) *Mr. Seguier, Chancellor of France.*] He went into *Normandy* to pacifie popular Tumults, which cauſed great Diſorders in many Places of that Province.

head of the Four Faculties. His Speech was highly approved, and procured him the esteem and protection of that Chancellor, so far as to receive from him his Doctor's Cap in presence of the Great Council the 18*th* of *March* 1640, having first defended some Theses ‡ in that illustrious Assembly. He followed Mr. *Seguier* to *Paris*, and made himself so advantageously known by some Pieces, that he was offer'd some Regencies in 5 several Colledges, and was extraordinarily † admitted into the Body of the University the 14*th* of *August* 1641. He chose rather to teach in the College of *Harcourt* than in any other; where he had a great Croud of Auditors. He Publish'd from time to time some Latin Poems which increas'd his Reputation, and occasion'd his Patron to cause him to be made the King's Poet, and Reader in Latin and Greek in the College Royal the 18*th* of *December* 1646. His too violent application to Study having ruin'd his Health, he was forc'd to rest some years to restore it; when he was recover'd, he resolved to restore the Faculty of Law to some Credit, which was fallen to a very low Ebb, having but one Professor (*B*) in it. He was made *Regius* Professor of the Canon Law in 1655, and he used all his Endeavours to raise and encourage the Study of this Faculty, the Rights (C) whereof he strenuously supported, notwithstanding the oppositions he met with. It's to him especially, we ought to ascribe the advantage the (*D*) *Paris* Professors have enjoy'd since the Year 1679. He compos'd (*E*) some very good Books, and had the satisfaction to have the most famous Learned Men for his Friends, who were yet more charm'd with his Virtue than his Learning. He Died excellently (*F*) prepared the 27*th* of *December* 1689. *

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary I have read the Latin Encomium † that one of this Professor's Disciples consecrated to him: It's a well writ Piece, Printed at *Amsterdam* by *Henry Boon* 1692. The Readers will find in it a pleasing account of him.

HAMADRYADES: Thus they call'd the Nymphs whose Fate depended on certain Trees (*A*) with which they were Born and Died. 'Twas especially with the Oaks

‡ Propugnatis utriusque juris thesibus laurea doctorali in amplissimo Comitum Consistorianorum consessu die 18. Martii 1640. ab ipsomet Cancellario decorari meruit. *Vita Petri Hallæ de qua infra.*

† Abiens ab universitate extra ordinem—— cooptaretur. *Ibid.*

* *Taken from an Elogy written in Latin, by* John Halle *the King's Secretary, of which see* Pinsson des Riolles *Communicated a Manuscript Copy to me.*

† Daniel Last, Batavus (*i*) *Note also that he obtained the Professorship without disputing, which was a dispensation.* Ab eo (*suo Mæcenate*) Regii Consistorii placitum, quo Regiæ constitutionis antecessuras ad publici certaminis aleam ordinantis, remisso rigore, ad munus antecessorium promovebatur obtinuit. *Vita Hallæi.*

(*k*) Juris Canonici auditoribus postulandi munus—Hallæo potissimum procurante restitutum est *Ibid.* (*l*) *Ibid.* (*a*) *Ibid.*

(*b*) Legata primis Jurisutriusque Facultati ad sacrosanctum Missæ sacrificium statis diebus quater in anno celebrandum summa, ab Antecessoribus & Doctoribus utriusque ordinis præsentibus percipienda. *Ibid.*

(*c*) Stabat in his ingens annoso robore quercus Una, nemus . . mensuraque roboris ulnas quinque ter implebat. *Ovid. Metam. l. 8. v. 749.*

(*d*) *Id. ib. v. 703.*

(*e*) Scholiast. Apollon. Rhodii in lib. 2. v. 479. *p. m.* 192. *See also* Plutarch de Oraculor. defectu, *p.* 415. *where he relates these words of* Pindar.

(*f*) Callimach. hymno in Delum. v. 81.

(*g*) Apollon. Rhod. l. 2. v. 480. p. m. 193.

(*B*) *Having but one Professor.*] Which was Mr. *Dujat*. The Faculty had lost in a little time *Francis Florent*, and *John Doujat*, *In jus ideam deinde Johannem genuinato Francisci Florentis, & Joannis Doujatii funere afflictam ac prope desertam cum Joanne Doujatio Collega primario extra ordinem* (*i*) *accitus anno* 1655. Thus speaks Mr. *Pinsson des Riolles* in an inscription which he Publish'd in honour of our *Halle*.

(C) *The Rights whereof he*——*supported.*] Mr. *Pinsson* immediately adds: *Quam quidem posteà restituit, exornavit ac amplificavit magis ac magis*——*procuravit.* The Author of the Elogy descends to particulars, and says that *Halle* obtain'd by his sollicitations, that *Pompon. de Bellievre* first President in the Parliament of *Paris*, should restore to the Students of the Canon Law, the Privilege of Pleading. (*k*) Hence arose many Suits. (*l*) *Hinc obortæ lites: vicini Juris Collegia in eos acriter insurrexerunt, & eos tum ad Senatum, tum ad Regis consistorium traduxerunt. Ut tot malis succurrere Hallæus, viginti quatuor viros pietate & Doctrinâ commendatissimos, tanquam adjutores, in facultatem, re cum suis Collegis prius communicata, adscivit: facultate vix ab externo hoste quietâ, nonnulli ex Doctoribus honoratis, Collegarum discordias in suum commodum alentes, plurima Antecessorum Jura sibi arrogare tentabant. In hac temporum difficultate quâ facultas in partes scindi videbatur animum tantisper fustinuit, donec illâ invidiæ tempestate feliciter pactâ, & concordia facultati restitutâ, animum à negotio omni alieno revocans, sedulo summaque diligentia ad restituenda Juris studia totus incubuit.*

(*D*) *Paris Professors have enjoy'd since the Year* 1679.] Before that they did not Teach the Civil Law. (*a*) *Ab eo præcipuè docendi ritûs mutationem inchoatam à Rege probatam & confirmatam fusè affirmaverim. Studiis enim latinis efflorescentibus ab invictissimo Rege Ludovico Magno, promovente illustrissimo viro Michaële le Tellier Franciæ Cancellario, publica civilis Jurisprudentiæ professio Parisiensi Scholæ, quæ superiori sæculo male excideràt, restituta est, & assecta Antecessoribus Juris Civilis interpretandi autoritas mense aprili* 1679.

(*E*) *He compos'd very good Books.*] These are the Words of his Elogy: *In auditorum favorem præter institutiones canonicas quas in lucem anno* 1685. *vetut in fama testamentum emiserat, variis ad Jus Canonicum & Civile tractatus de Capitulis, de Summi Pontificis autoritate, de Regalia, de Simonia, de Usuris, de Censuris, de Regularibus, de Beneficiis Ecclesiasticis, de Matrimonio, de Testamentis, & alia plura reconditæ doctrinæ monumenta exaravit.* He Publish'd a Collection of Latin Poems and Orations in 1655. in 8vo.

(*F*) *He died excellently prepared.*] I refer to this the Legacy he left to the Faculty of Law, to have a Mass said four times a Year, wherein all the Professors and Doctors present receive a certain sum of Money (*b*)

(*A*) *On certain Trees with which they were Born and Died.*] See the Note of *Servius* the *Grammarian*, upon the 62. Verse of *Virgil*'s 10. Eclogue. *Hamadryades* says he, *Nymphæ quæ cum arboribus & nascuntur & pereunt,* ὁποῖαι καὶ ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένη *quales fuit illa, quam Eryfichton occidit: qui cum arborem incideret, & vox inde emanavit, & sanguis, sicut docet Ovidius. Ovid*, cited by this *Grammarian*, has elegantly describ'd the complaints and misfortune of the *Hamadryade* which the Impious *Eryfichthon* destroy'd. She lived in an old Oak of a prodigious bigness whom all the World Reverenc'd (*c*.) *Eryfichthon*'s Servants durst not obey his Order to cut the Tree: he was forc'd to do it himself.

Dixit (d) & obliquos dum telum librat in ictus,
Contremuit, gemitumque dedit Dodona quercus:
Et pariter frondes, pariter pallescere glandes
Cæpere, ac longi pallorem ducere rami.
Cujus ut in trunco fecit manus impia vulnus;
Haud aliter fluxit discusso cortice sanguis,
Quàm solet, ante aras ingens ubi victima taurus
Concidit, abrupta cruor è cervice profundi.

Editus è medio sonus est cum robore tali:
Nympha sub hoc ego sum, Cereri gratissima, ligno:
Quæ tibi factorum pœnas instare tuorum
Vaticinor moriens, nostri solatia leti.

Some Grammarians divide what *Servius* unites; they will have the *Hamadryades* to be so call'd, because they were either Born or Died with the Oaks. (*e*) Ἁμαδρυάδες νενόμισται μονογενεῖς μόναι, διὰ τὸ ἅμα τοῖς δένδροις γεννᾶσθαι. ἢ ἅμα συναπόλλυσθαι τοῖς δρυσὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφελομένων. This division ought to be rejected, because the general opinion is, that the Life of these Nymphs was precisely of the same continuance with that of their Trees. Hence *Pindar* in a Poem that is lost, said ἐπὶ δρυὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τέρμα, finem ætati æqualis arbori nasci. *Callimachus* has this expression (*f*); ἐν δρυὸς αἰθούσῃσι τανύφλοιον, coætaneam ingemiscens prope quercum, speaking of the *Hamadryad Melia*. *Apollonius* imitated him, when he introduc'd an *Hamadryad* intreating one not to cut down a certain Tree.

Ἦ (g) μὲν ὅ γε λισσόμενος μάλιστ' ἐπετόσσατο μύθῳ,
Μή τι μάχην ἐπέρεξε δρυὸς ἀκάματον, ἥτις ἑοῖσιν
Αἰῶσι προφέρεσκε γενεήν.

Quæ ipsi flens Hamadryas voce misericorde,
Ne ferream extirparet arborem, in qua multa
Usque sæcula degeret.

Ad

* Oaks they had this great dependence. 'Tis ſaid they were ſometimes extreamly grateful to thoſe (B) who preſerv'd them from Death, and that they who had no regard to their humble intreaties to ſpare the Trees they depended on, (C) were puniſh'd for it. There was nothing of a mortal Nature that lived ſo long (D) as this kind of Nymphs.

* *See Remark* A.

The

Add to theſe Teſtimonies the Authority of *Homer*. We read in one of his Hymns, that there were Trees whoſe Birth was Coincident with that of the Nymphs, and that theſe Died when the Trees decay'd.

(b) Homer. hymn. in Vener. p. m. 852.

Τῇσι (b) δ' ἅμ' ἃ θάλπεται ἠδὲ φύεται ὠκύμορος
Πανομφαίου ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωτιανείρῃ.

Ἀλλ' ὅτε καὶ δὴ μοῖραι ἐφεστήκουσι θανάτου,
Αἵ μιν πρώτιστον ἐπὶ χθονὶ δώσουσι καλὸν,
Φλοιὸς δ' ἀμφιθορὼν δρυὸς, πτελέωνες δ' ἀπὸ ἴξυος
Τὼ δή χ' ἅμα ψυχὰ λείπετ' φάος ἠελίοιο.

Simul autem cum his [*Nymphis*] *aut abietes, aut quercus altis capitibus prodita*
Naſcentibus naſcuntur ſuper terram alentem-viros,

. . . . . .

Sed quando jam parcæ aſtiterit mortis,
Siccantur quidem primum ſuper terram arbores pulchræ.
Cortex autem circum-circa corrumpitur, cadunt vero ab [*ipſis*] *rami.*
Harum autem ſimul anima relinquit lucem ſolis.

Statius makes mention of a Wood that had outlived the Nymphs and *Fauni*: But this does not contradict the Tradition concerning the *Hamadryades*. Beſides, who knows not that this Poet's Sallies had no reſpect for any thing: Therefore there is no reaſon to attend to them, as to things that may be oppos'd to the general opinion. You'll ſee his words in the Remark D. *Auſonius*, more remote than he from the Fountain Head, is yet more conformable to the old Tradition, *Non ſine Hamadryadis fato*, ſays he, (i) *cadit arborea trabs*.

(i) Auſon. Edyll. 12. p. m. 483. *Compare* Balzac's *Verſes recited in the Remark K of the Article* Thomas Pactl.

Note that *Pauſanias* expreſſes himſelf in a manner that ſeems to prove that the *Hamadryades* were younger than their Trees. Speaking of a Town call'd *Tithorea*, (k) he ſays, Τιθορέαν δὲ, ὡς ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσιν Φωκέων ἀπὸ Τιθορέως γενέσθαι, εἶναι τῆς ἀρχῆθεν λόγῳ τῆς πολίδος ἐφεστῶτα ἀπὸ τε ἄλλων δένδρων, καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῶν δρυῶν. *Tithoream incolæ vocatam eſſe dicunt à Tithorea Nympha, de iis unâ quas priſci poetarum ſermones, quam ex cæteris arboribus, tum verò è quercubus maximè genitas prodiderunt.* This is making the Trees the Mothers of the *Hamadryades*: And therefore 'tis not true that they were Born at the ſame time. But I dont think *Pauſanias*'s Expreſſions are to be much inſiſted on: It was not his buſineſs preciſely to deſcribe the Nature of theſe old Fables. Let us ſtick therefore to what the Poets affirm, that theſe Nymphs and Trees were Born at the ſame time. Obſerve that *Pauſanias* takes notice that they were eſpecially Born of an Oak. I don't ſee that this can be impugned by *Pherecydes*'s Authority; for what he ſays does not ſeem to Concern the *Hamadryades*, properly ſo call'd. He (l) relates that the Fig Tree was call'd συκῆ from a Daughter of *Oxylus*; and that this *Oxylus* having lain with *Hamadryade* his Siſter, begot eight Daughters, which were all call'd Nymphs *Hamadryades*; but they had each a particular Name, which was afterwards given to Trees. She that was call'd συκῆ, *Syce*, was the Etymology of the Name of the Fig Tree: It ſeems to me that *Hamadryade*, *Oxylus*'s Siſter, was not of the ſame kind with the Nymphs ſpoken of in this Article. Let this be ſaid with the leave of a (m) famous Author.

(k) Pauſan. *lib.* 10. *cap.* 32. *pag.* 879.

(l) Apud Athenæum lib. 3. p. 78.

(m) Vide Spanhem. in Callimach. hymno in Delum. v. 83. p. 378.

(B) *Extreamly grateful to thoſe that preſerved them from Death*] One *Rhacus* perceiving that an Oak was ready to fall, commanded his Children to prevent it, either by ſtrengthning it at the Root with Earth, or underpropping it. The Nymph who muſt have Periſh'd if the Oak had fallen, appear'd to *Rhacus* and thank'd him for ſaving her Life, offering him any recompence he deſired: he anſwer'd he deſir'd to enjoy her. The Nymph promis'd to grant his requeſt, and commanded him to abſtain from all other Women; She added that a Bee ſhould be the Meſſenger betwixt them: But the Bee happening to come whilſt *Rhacus* was Playing, he fell to giving hard Language, which provok'd the *Hamadryade*, in ſo much that he was maim'd for it. (a) This is the Relation of *Charon* of *Lampſacus*, if we believe the Scholiaſt of *Apollonius*. He told another Story with a better Concluſion: Which is this, as it is found in *Natalis Comes*, who does not cite the Author he had it from. *Æneas* the Son of *Jupiter* and *Calliſto*, Hunting in a Wood, met with an *Hamadryade* in great danger of Periſhing; for the Tree with which ſhe was Born, had been very much damaged in its Roots by the Stream of a River: She pray'd *Æneas* to ſave her Life; he granted her requeſt, by turning the Courſe of the River, and putting new Earth about the Tree. The Nymph was not ungrateful, ſhe granted him what we call the laſt favour, and had two Children by him; Her name was *Proſpelea* (b). We only find in *Pauſanias* (c) that *Arcas* was Married to a *Dryade* Nymph called *Erato*, by whom he had three Boys. We might conclude from this that though the *Hamadryades* could not ſurvive their Oak, or their Fir, &c. they might ſometimes leave them, and if this conſequence was doubtful, it might be confirm'd by a paſſage of *Homer*, where we find that the ſame Nymphs which had their Birth and Death with Trees, taſted the pleaſures of Love in Caves with the *Sileni*.

(a) Scholiaſt. Apoll. ubi ſupra.

Τοῖσι (d) δὲ Σιληνοί τε καὶ ἴουσιπόδ' Ἀργειφόντης
Μίσγοντ' ἐν φιλότητι μυχῷ σπείων ἐρατεινῶν.

Cùm his autem Silenique & bonus explorator Argicida,
Miſcentur in amore in receſſu ſpeluncarum amabilium.

(b) Taken from Natalis Comes Mythol. lib. 5. c. 11. p. m. 465. 466. *He ſays that* Charon *of* Lampſacus *writ this; but all this, Author's Writings being loſt,* Natalis Comes *ſhouldhave cited him, that cites* Charon Lampſacenus.

(C) *They that had no regard——to their intreaties——were puniſh'd for it.*] *Apollonius* relates that *Peribœa*'s Father drew an heavy Curſe on himſelf and his Children, becauſe he had cut down a Tree which a Nymph had intreated him to ſpare. She had lived many Ages in it, we have ſeen above her Supplication: here follows the Sequel.

(c) Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 4. p. 604.

(c) Αὐτὰρ ὁ τὴν γε
Ἀφραδίῃσι θυμὸν, ἀγάνορι πειθόμενον
Τῷ δ' ἄρα νηλειὴς νόμφη ποτέφατο ἐπιόσσω
Αὐτῷ τε γενεῇσιν.

Eam tamen ille
Incogitate ſuccidit per juvenilem petulantiam.
Quamobrem inutile deinde nanupretium nympha
Et ipſi perſolvit & generi.

(d) Homer. hymn. in Venet. p. m. 852.

(e) Apollon. ubi ſupra.

(D) *That lived ſo long as this kind of Nymphs.*] *Auſonius* tells us this in the following Verſes, which are a Verſion from *Heſiod*'s Greek.

Ter (f) *binos deciesque novem ſuper exit in annos,*
Juſta ſeneſcentum quos implet vita virorum.
Hos novies ſuperat vivendo garrula cornix:
Et quater egreditur cornicis ſecula cervus.
Alipedem cervum ter vincit corvus: & illum
Multiplicat novies Phœnix, reparabilis ales.
Quam vos perpetuo decies præveritis ævo
Nymphæ Hamadryades, quarum longiſſima vita eſt.
Hi cohibent fines vivacia fata animantum.
Cætera ſecreti novit Deus arbiter ævi
Tempora.

(f) Auſon. Edyll. 18. p. m. 533.

Heſiod's Poem that contain'd this Doctrine is loſt; but we may ſee a Fragment of it, in five Verſes in a Tract of *Plutarch*. Which Paſſage I will relate according to *Amiot*'s Verſion. We ſhall Learn from it, that ſome Heathens maintain'd the Mortality of the Deities of the 2d. Rank. (g) 'Heſiod is the firſt that 'clearly diſtinguiſh'd four kinds of reaſonable Na'tures; the Gods, the Demons, numerous and good 'Beings, the Demy-Gods and Men. He thinks that 'the Demons themſelves after ſome Revolutions of 'time, come to Die; for ſpeaking in the Perſon of a 'Naïd, he denotes the Period of their duration.

(g) Plutarch. de Oraculor. defectu. p. 415.

'*Neuf hommes vit la corneille criarde,*
'*Le cerf autant quatre fois vif ſe garde,*
'*Le corbeau noir ſi longuement vieillit,*
'*Que de trois cerfs les vies il emplit,*

The Poets have ſometimes taken the *Hamadryades* for the (E) *Naiades*: They did not confine themſelves ſo exactly to the Definitions of each Species, but that they confounded them when they thought fit.

HANNO, a *Carthaginian* General, was imploy'd * to make the Tour of *Africa*. He entred the Ocean by the † Straits of *Gibraltar*, and diſcovered many Countries. He would have continued his Navigation, (A) if Proviſions had not fail'd him. He writ the Relation

* *See the Remark* B.

† Pliny *and* Pomponius Mela, *cited in the Note* A.

' *Et le Phenix de neuf corbeaux egale*
' *Les jours, mais vous, progenie Royale*
' *De Jupiter, Nymphes aux chefs plaiſans.*
' *De dix Phenix vous fourniſſez les ans.*

' Now they that miſtake the Poets meaning in the ' Word *Genean*, that is, the Age of Man, make ' this Calculation of Time to amount to a vaſt Num- ' ber of Years; for it only ſignifies one Year, ſo that ' the Sum total amounts but to Nine thouſand ſeven ' hundred and twenty Years, which is the Age of ' Dæmons. And there are many Mathematicians, ' who make it ſhorter. Even *Pindar* has not made it ' greater, when he ſays, the Life of Nymphs is ap- ' pointed equal to that of Trees, and therefore they ' are call'd *Hamadryades*, becauſe they are born and ' die with Oaks. *Plutarch* deſerves ſome Cenſure, for not relating the Verſe in which *Heſiod* defin'd the Duration of human Life: for it was the Baſis of all the following Calculations. I may ſuppoſe that *Heſiod* defin'd this Duration, ſince his Tranſlator begins with ſaying, the Age of Man contain'd 96 Years. This Period being granted, 'tis eaſie to compute the Age of Stags, Ravens, *&c.* and we find, that the Crow lived 864 Year, the Stag 3456, the Raven 10368, the Phenix 93312, and the *Hamadryad* 933120. All this is ridiculous, and *Pliny* has reaſon to reject it as fabulous. (b) *De ſpatio atque longinquitate vitæ hominum, non locorum modo ſitus, verum exempla, ac ſua cuique ſors naſcendi incertum fecere. Heſiodus, qui primus aliqua de hoc prodidit, fabuloſe (ut reor) multa de hominum avo referens, cornici novem noſtras attribuit ætates, quadruplum ejus cervis, id triplicatum corvis. Et reliqua fabuloſius in phœnice, ac Nymphis.*

(b) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 48. pag. m. 73.

Upon the leaſt Computation, which is making *Heſiod*'s (i) Age to mean only an Year, his Doctrine would be falſe concerning the *Hamadryades*: they could not live longer than Trees, but there is no Tree that can laſt 9720 Years. What *Pliny* ſays of the long Life of ſome Trees (i), and others of the (k) Oak of *Mamre*, and an hundred Stories of this Nature, though they were as true as they are doubtful, make nothing againſt my Aſſertion.

(i) That is, *ſuppoſing, as in* Plutarch's *Paſſage, that* Heſiod, *by the Word* Genea, *meant a Year.*

(i) Plin. lib. 16. cap. 44.

(k) *See the Remark* G. *of the Article* Abraham *and* Barcochebas.

Note, That the Poet *Statius* ſuppoſes, that the mortal Demi-Gods live not ſo long as Trees. He mentions a Wood, that had ſeen the Re-production of its Dryads and *Fauni*, which might be compar'd to thoſe old Caſtles, that have ſerv'd for Habitations to Fathers, Sons, and Grandſons, *&c.*

(l) *Stat ſacra ſenecta*
Numine, nec ſolos hominum tranſgreſſa vetorno
Fertur avos, Nymphas etiam mutaſſe ſuperſtes,
Faunorumque greges.

(l) Statius Theb. lib. 6. v. 93.

He ſpeaks ſomewhat differently in another Place; for he ſuppoſes the Tree would die, upon the Deceaſe of the *Hamadryad*.

Quid (m) *te, quæ mediis ſervata penatibus, arbor,*
Tecta per & poſſes liquidas emergis in auras?
Quo non ſub domino ſavas paſſura bipennes?
Et nunc ignaro forſan vel lubrica Nais,
Vel non abruptos tibi demet Hamadryas annos.

(m) Idem ſilva 3. lib. 1. v. 59. pag. m. 14. 15.

For the reſt, it was not hard for the Gentiles to imagine ſuch a kind of Nymphs; for they had a Religious Veneration for Trees (n) which they believed to be very ancient, and whoſe extraordinary Bigneſs demonſtrated their long Life. 'Twas an eaſie Tranſition from hence to believe, they were the Abode of ſome Deity. They made a natural Idol of them, I mean, they fancied, that without the Help of Conſecration, which brought down the God into the Statues dedicated to him, a Nymph or Deity dwelt in the midſt of theſe Trees: The Oak that *Eryſichthon* fell'd, was reverenc'd for its Bulk and great Age, it was adorn'd as a conſecrated Place, it was hung with the Tokens of the Succeſs of one's Devotion, and with the Monuments of anſwer'd Vows.

(n) Ennium ſicut ſacros vetuſtate lucos adoremus in quibus grandia & antiqua robora jam non tantam habent ſpeciem, quantam religionem. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. pag. m. 471.

Stabat (a) *in his ingens annoſo robore quercus,*
Una, nemus: vittæ mediam memoreſque tabellæ,
Sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis.

(a) Ovid. Metam. lib. 8. v. 746.

Is it any wonder that it was taken for the Seat of an Hamadryad?

(E) *The Poets have ſometimes taken the Hamadryades for the Naiades.*] This *Propertius* (b) does, ſpeaking of the Nymphs that ſtole away *Hercules*'s Minion: He ſometimes calls them *Hamadryades*, ſometimes *Dryades*; yet they were Fountain Nymphs. *Ovid* on the contrary, calls the Nymphs whoſe Fate depended on a Tree, *Naiades*.

(b) Propert. Eleg. 20. lib. 1.

Naiada (c) *vulneribus fuccidit in arbore factis*
Illa perit: fatum Naiados arbor erat.

(c) Ovidius Faſt. lib. 4. p. m. 575.

I ſhall occaſionally obſerve, that it was ſtill more common to confound the *Hamadryades*, and the *Dryades* reciprocally. There's in *Hercules's Oeteus*, a Scene deſcribing the Effects of *Orpheus*'s Singing. Amongſt other things, 'tis ſaid, that the *Dryades* leaving their Trees ran after him.

Et (d) *quercum fugiens ſuam*
Ad vatem properat Dryas.

(d) Seneca in Herc. Oeteo v. 1051. p. m. 322.

There is ſome Probability, that the Nymphs are here meant, that were born and died with a Tree, and that properly ſpeaking, were call'd *Hamadryades*, and not *Dryades*. It was not a conſtant Tradition, that theſe Nymphs could not depart from their Trees: not for a few Moments. And therefore *Seneca* might ſuppoſe they left them to hear *Orpheus* ſing. Note, that *Servius* is miſtaken in thinking *Statius* ſpoke of the *Hamadryades*, in theſe Verſes of the 6th. Book of the *Thebaïs*.

(c) *Linquunt flentes dilecta locorum*
Otia, cana Pales, Silvamque arbiter umbræ,
Semideumque pecus, migrantibus adgemit illis
Silva, nec amplexæ dimittunt robora Nymphæ.

(e) Statius Theb. lib. 6. v. 110. p. m. 234.

'Tis certain, that the Nymphs he ſpeaks of, were thoſe that were properly call'd *Dryades*, and therefore *Servius* is to blame, to apply the *nec amplexæ dimittunt robora Nymphæ* to the *Hamadryades*, whoſe Character he had been giving in theſe Words. (f) *Hamadryades cum arboribus & naſcuntur & pereunt, unde plerumque, caſa arbore ſanguis emanat.* *Barthius* did not perceive this Grammarian's Error, tho' he produces a Paſſage, that was very proper to notifie it. *Pulcra notatio in Commentario antiquo*, ſays he, (g) *Dimittunt.*] *Non cum effectu intellige, dimittunt enim omnino, quamvis ſero dimittant. Sed diuturnitatem manifeſtat amoris, non abceſſiſſe Nymphas, niſi penitus proſtratis arboribus. Sic ſolemus dicere: Ille modum non facit plorandi, non facit alius finem videndi, cum diutius videat aut fleat.* Don't theſe Words plainly ſhew, that *Statius* does not ſpeak of the ſame kind of Nymphs defin'd by *Servius*, and that neceſſarily died when their Trees were cut down?

(f) Servius Æneid. lib. 3. v. 34.

(g) Barth. in Statii Theb. lib. 6. v. 113. pag. 389. tom. 3.

(A) *He would have continued his Navigation, if Proviſions had not fail'd him. Some ſay he accompliſh'd it.*] Two Paſſages, one of *Pomponius Mela*, the other of *Pliny*, will make this Commentary. (h) *Hanno Carthaginenſis exploratum miſſus à ſuis, cum per Oceani oſtium exiiſſet, magnam partem ejus circumvectus, non ſe mare ſed commeatum defeciſſe memoratu retulerat.* Let us ſee *Pliny*'s Words (i): *Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus à Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit ſcripto.* Salmaſius (k) ſuppoſes *Pliny* miſtaken, and that *Hanno* did not continue his Diſcoveries to the Red Sea, but only to the Iſland call'd *Gorgades*. *Iſaac Voſſius* (l) is much of the ſame Opinion, he thinks, that the Iſland, call'd at preſent St. *Anne*, was the Boundary of this General's Navigation.

(h) Pomponius Mela lib. 3. c. 9. pag. 63. edit. Iſaaci Voſſii.

(i) Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67. pag. m. 220. 221.

(k) Salmaſ. exercit. Plin. pag. 1242. 1244.

(l) Iſaac Voſſius in Melam lib. 3. c. 9. pag. 305.

(B) *He*

tion of his Voyage, which was often (*B*) quoted; but little Credit was given to it. There is something (*C*) of it remaining. It is not agreed at what time (*D*) he lived, and there is no Proof that the *Carthaginians* put him to Death. He hung up in *Juno*'s Temple, the Skins of some Savage Women who were flea'd by his Order. See the last Remark.

HARPALYCE, the most Beautiful young Woman of *Argos*. *Clymenus* her Father grew so much in love with her, that having used all Endeavours to conquer his Passion, and finding it still increas'd by them, he resolv'd on the means to satisfieit. He therefore corrupted his Daughter's Nurse, and thereby secretly had his fill of the beloved Object. Sometime after came the Son-in-Law, to whom he had promised his Daughter. Immediately all things were sumptuously prepared for the Wedding: The Marriage was consummated: The Husband departed with his Bride to return Home. Then *Clymenus* repented he had given Consent to the Match. His Love put him into such a Passion of Rage, that before they came to the end of their Journey, he made away with his Son-in-Law, and brought back his Daughter to *Argos*, where he carried himself publickly as her Husband. She at last reflected on the Indignites she had suffered

(*m*) Plinius lib. 5. cap. 1. pag. m. 523. 524.
(*n*) Athen. lib. 3. pag. 83. de cujus verbis Vide Vossium de Histor. Græcis p. 514.
(*o*) Salmasius ubi supra [illegible] 1242.
(*p*) Isaac Vossius ubi supra pag. 302.
(*q*) Hardouin. in Ind. auctor. Plinii pag. 133.
(*r*) *It may well be call'd so, for it doth not contain six half Pages in the* Oxford *Edition, in* 8vo. 1698.
(*s*) *Note, that in the Preface to the* Oxford *Edition, 'tis not said, that* Boecherus *publish'd that* Hanno *with Notes, in* 1661.
(*t*) Vossius ubi supra pag. 513.
(*u*) Neque illum factionis Barchinæ, de quo Livius libro de bello punico secundo. *Ibid. There is much Confusion in these Words of* Vossius: *after* Barchinæ, *he should have put* inimicum, *and after* libro, *there must be* 21 dum de, *or some such like Word.*
(*v*) Justin. lib. 20. cap. ult.
(*w*) Id ib. 21. c. 4.
(*x*) Id. ib. 22. c. 6.

(*B*) *He writ the Relation of his Voyage——but much Credit was not given to it.*] *Pliny* in other respects indulgent enough, as every body knows, forbears not to say, that this Author has vented a great many Fables. *Fuere*, says he, (*m*) *& Hannonis Carthaginensium ducis commentarii, Punicis rebus florentissimis explorare ambitum Africæ jussi: quem secuti plerique è Græcis nostrisque, & alia quædam fabulosa, & urbes multas ab eo conditas ibi prodidere, quarum nec memoria ulla nec vestigium exstat.* See also *Athenæus* (*n*).

(*C*) *There's something of it remaining.*] *Sigismund Gelenius* had it printed in *Greek*, at *Basil*, by *Frobenius*, in 1533. There came out a Second Edition of it in the same place, in 1559, with the *Latin* Version, and some Notes of *Conrad Gesner*: and yet *Salmasius* says, that this Work seems to have been unknown to the *Greeks*. (*o*) *Scriptum illud non videtur innotuisse. Etenim si venisset in notitiam ac manus Græcorum totam eam meridiani Oceani oram minime reliquisset intactam.* He knew not therefore of the Words of *Pliny*, cited in the foregoing Remark, and of the Passage of the Book Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, *de auditionibus admirandis*; in which *Hanno* is quoted. Mention is also made of it in *Artemidorus* the *Ephesian*'s Epitomy. Here are Instances that shew, that Men of the greatest Reading, and vastest Memory, are sometimes ignorant of things very easie to be known. *Isaac Vossius* (*p*) has not forgiven *Salmasius* this Mistake. Nor has Father *Hardouin* (*q*) omitted it. Note, That there was publish'd at *Leiden*, in 1674, what had been publish'd at *Basil* in 1559 I mean *Hanno*'s *Periplus*, with *Gesner*'s *Latin* Version and Notes, and *John Leo*'s *Africa*. But *Berkelius* added some Remarks to it, taken from the second Part of Mr. *Bochart*'s *Geographia sacra*. The same (*r*) *opusculum* of *Hanno* has been publish'd at *Oxford*, in 1698, by Mr. *Hudson*, with many other Writings of the same Nature, in the First Tome of *Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci Minores*. Mr. *Dodwell*'s Dissertations prefix'd to this Volume, which treat amply of those ancient *Greek* Authors, are full of Learning. That concerning *Hanno* is not the least important. Mr. *Dodwell* does not believe, that this *Carthaginian* Commander wrote the *Periplus* that goes under his Name. He ascribes it to a *Gracian* of *Sicily*, a great Admirer of the Glory of *Carthage*. He believes also, that the *Periplus* which goes at present under *Hanno*'s Name, is very different from that which the Ancients had. See the Margin (†).

(*D*) *At what time he lived.*] *Pliny* says, 'twas when the *Carthaginian* Affairs were at the highest. This is indefinite: nevertheless (*f*) *Vossius* finds there a just reason to conclude, that our *Hanno* was neither he that *Justin* speaks of in the Twentieth Book, nor he that *Pliny* mentions in the Sixteenth Chapter of the Eighth Book, nor he that was the Leader of a Faction (*t*) in *Carthage*, in the second Punick War: but he that was sent against *Agathocles*, as *Justin* informs us in the Twenty second Book. *Hanno* in the Twentieth Book of *Justin* was sent against the Tyrant *Dionysius*: The *Gauls* had then taken the City (*v*) of *Rome*, which they did in the 366th. Year from its Foundation. The same *Hanno* was kill'd some time after, with all his Family (*w*) for endeavouring to make himself Master of *Carthage*. I don't know but this City was in as flourishing a Condition at that time, as when another *Hanno* was sent (*x*) against *Agathocles*. He lost his Life in a Combat in the 443d. Year of *Rome*. I therefore see no certainty in *Vossius*'s Thought. Note, that *Pliny*'s Passage, alledg'd by him, is to be understood of one *Hanno*, who was condemn'd for having had the Art of taming a Lion; for they were perswaded, that the Liberty of their Country could not be safe in the Hands of a General, who could master the Cruelty of wild Beasts. (*a*) *Primus hominum leonem manu tractare ausus, & ostendere mansuefactum, Hanno è clarissimis Pœnorum traditur: damnatusque illo argumento, quoniam nihil non persuasurus vir tam artificis ingenii videbatur: & male credi libertas ei, cui in tantum cessisset etiam feritas.* *Vossius* observes, that *Plutarch* has spoken of the same *Hanno*. Indeed, he says, that the *Carthaginians* banish'd him, (*b*) because seeing him make a Lion carry his Baggage, they suspected he aspir'd to the Sovereignty. Neither *Pliny* nor *Plutarch* say any thing to denote the time this was done in, and 'tis difficult to conceive, what reason *Vossius* had to imagine they speak of a *Hanno* different from ours. Father *Hardouin* is of another Opinion, who thinks that the Voyager was the same that was condemn'd for taming a Lion. He cannot offer any proof of it; and we may conjecture he is mistaken; for 'tis somewhat probable, that if this was one and the same Person, *Pliny* would have touch'd upon this Circumstance. The surest way is to take neither Side, neither denying what *Vossius* denied, nor affirming what Father *Hardouin* affirms. Note, that he supposes *Pliny* to affirm (*c*) that *Hanno* was put to Death; but 'tis better to give a more indefinite Explication to the Word *damnatus*, since *Plutarch* specifies the Punishment of Banishment. This Objection may be made to *Vossius*. *Aristotle* has cited *Hanno* in his Book *de admirandis auditionibus*. Wherefore this *Carthaginian* General must have lived before *Agathocles*. But *Vossius* (*d*) answers, that *Aristotle* was not the Author of this Book. *Solinus* stands us in no stead, by saying, that *Xenophon* of *Lampsacus* has cited *Hanno*; for besides that, 'tis not known at what time this *Xenophon* lived, we have reason to believe, that *Solinus* is mistaken. These are his Words: (*e*) *Has* (Gorgades insulas) *incoluere Gorgones monstra, & jamque usque adhuc monstrosa gens habitat. Distant à continente bidui navigatione. Prodidit denique Xenophon Lampsacenus Hannonem Pœnorum regem in eas permeavisse, repertasque ibi fœminas alitis pernicitate, atque ex omnibus quæ apparuerant, duas captas tam hirto atque aspero corpore, ut ad argumentum spectandæ rei duarum cutes miraculi gratia inter donaria Junonis suspendent: quæ duravere usque in tempora excidii Carthaginensis.* 'Tis plain, that this Passage is a Transcript of this following. (*f*) *Contra hoc quoque promontorium Gorgades insulæ narrantur Gorgonum quondam domus bidui navigatione distantes à continente, ut tradit Xenophon Lampsacenus. Penetravit in eas Hanno Pœnorum Imperator, prodiditque hirta fœminarum corpora, viros pernicitate evasisse: duarumque Gorgonum cutes, argumenti & miraculi gratia in Junonis templo posuit, spectatas usque ad Carthaginem captam.* The Copy differs from the Original since *Pliny* does not, like *Solinus*, make *Xenophon* say, that *Hanno* penetrated into the *Gorgades*, &c. *Salmasius* supposes, that *Solinus* has [illegible]d this to prove, that *Xenophon* of *Lampsacus* lived after *Hanno*. (*g*) *Hoc obtinere vult Solinus ut finis illi respondeat principiis, & toto in cursu sibi constet. Hanno vetustior Xenophonte Lampsaceno. Quomodo igitur hic de illo prodere potuit?* I confess, this is an inexplicable Riddle

(*a*) Plin. lib. 8. 16. pag. 161.
(*b*) Plutarch. in præcept. de gerend. republ. circa init. pag. 799.
(*c*) De eo multa passim Plinius: de ejus præsertim obitu lib. 8. sect. 21. Hardum. ubi supra.
(*d*) Vossius ubi supra pag. 514.
(*e*) Solinus cap. ultimo.
(*f*) Plinius lib. 6. c. 31. p. 746.
(*g*) Salmasius ubi supra pag. 1297.

te

† *Taken from* Euphorion apud Parthenium *in chap.* 13. *of his Eroticks or amourous Stories.*

ſer'd from her Father; and to revenge her ſelf, ſhe kill'd her (*A*) young Brother, and regaled him with him; after which begging of the Gods to be taken out of the World, ſhe was (*B*) Chang'd into a Bird. *Clymenus* was ſo overwhelm'd with theſe Accidents that he kill'd himſelf †. We ſhall ſee other *Harpalices* in the Article of *Harpalicus*.

HARPALICUS King of the *Amymnians* * in *Thrace*, had a Daughter nam'd *Harpalice*, who was brought up with (*A*) Cows and Mares Milk, and whom he had accuſtom'd betimes to handle Arms. By this means he made a good Warriour of her, and found his account in it; for had not his Daughter come to his Reſcue when he was Aſſaulted and Wounded by (*B*) *Neoptolemus* the Son of *Achilles*, he had unavoidably loſt his Life; but *Harpalice* ſo ſeaſonably Charg'd the Enemy, as to put him to Flight. Her Father whom ſhe had ſo happily deliver'd from that Forcign War, ‖ loſt his Life ſome time after in a Civil one: His Subjects ? depos'd him and at laſt Kill'd him. *Harpalice* retir'd into the Woods and took to Robbing. She flew like Lightning; ſo that when ſhe was purſued by Horſemen to recover from her the Cattle ſhe had carry'd off, they could not overtake her. They had no way to take her but by laying Nets as they do for Staggs. They Kill'd her, but it coſt them dear that did it: For there immediately aroſe a diſpute in the Neighbourhood, who it was the Cattel ſhe had Stoln belong'd to: They Fought it out, and left many on both ſides Dead upon the Place. A Cuſtom was ſince Eſtabliſh'd of aſſembling at the Tomb of the Damſel to Expiate her Death with Turnaments. There was an *Harpalice* that was deſperately in Love with ‡ *Iphiclus*, and that Died with the regret of finding her ſelf ſlighted by him. From her it was that a certain Song was called *Harpalyce*.

* Hygin. cap. 183. Servius in l. 1. v. 317. *calls them* Amymonians.

‖ Hygin. ibid.

? Servius ibid.

‡ Turneb. Adverſar. l. 10. c. 11.

HARPALUS, a *Grecian* Aſtronomer, Corrected the Cycle of *Cleoſtratus* by an other Cycle which needed to be Corrected. 'Twas *Meton* that Corrected the New Cycle

to me, for I can't conceive that *Solinus* had any Intereſt to ſhew, that *Hanno* preceded that *Xenophon*. And I can ſtill leſs comprehend why, if *Xenophon* was after this *Carthaginian*, it had been impoſſible for him to cite him, as *Salmaſius*'s Interrogation ſuppoſes. I think it probable enough, that *Solinus* had reduc'd *Pliny*'s two Citations into one, by a Spirit of Confuſion peculiar to him; but I will not venture to affirm, that *Xenophon* of *Lampſacus* has not ſaid all that he aſcribes to him. You'll ſay, that if this were ſo, *Pliny* would not have cited two Writers, but would have been content with *Xenophon*'s Teſtimony. I anſwer, that's a miſtake: Order requires, that as for thoſe things that *Hanno* is known to have ſaid himſelf, he ſhould be quoted preferrably to thoſe that declare he has ſaid them.

(*h*) Iſaac Voſſius ubi ſupra p. 302. 303.

Iſaac Voſſius is very far from his Father's Opinion; for inſtead of ſaying, that our *Hanno* lived in the time of *Agathocles* (*h*) he makes him elder than *Homer* and *Heſiod*. He was not content to make him the Leader of the Expedition (*i*) the *Phenicians* made a little after the Ruin of *Troy*; he found afterwards, that this would not allow him Antiquity enough: He therefore ſuppos'd in another Work (*k*) that *Hanno* and *Perſeus* liv'd in the ſame time. Mr. *Dodwell* has learnedly and ſolidly confuted this Pretenſion, and all the Proofs brought to ſupport it. He makes a good Uſe of the Paſſage of *Pliny*'s Second Book, wherein it is remark'd, that *Himilco* and *Hanno* undertook long Voyages. (*l*) *Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus à Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit ſcripto: ſicut ad extera Europæ noſcenda miſſus eodem tempore Himilco.* We find, that in the *Carthaginian* War with *Agathocles*, they had two Generals (*m*) one call'd *Hanno*, and the other *Himilco*. We may moreover very probably ſuppoſe, that this flouriſhing State of the *Carthaginians*, mention'd by *Pliny*, preceded their firſt War with the *Romans*: for during this War, it is not likely they thought of diſcovering new Countries, and 'tis well known they concluded this War to their great Prejudice. Wherefore theſe two Chronological Characters of *Pliny*, lead us to ſuppoſe, that he ſpeaks of a *Hanno* that flouriſh'd in the time of *Agathocles*. You'll find in Mr. *Dodwell* (*n*) a fine Collection of Obſervations, that may convince us, that *Hanno* is to be plac'd betwixt the 92d, and 120th Olympiad.

(*i*) Strabo *ſpeaks of it in his* 1. *Book.*

(*k*) De magnitud. Carthaginis p. 52.

(*l*) Plin. lib. 2. c. 67.

(*m*) *See* Diodorus Siculus ad Olympiad. 118.

(*n*) Dodwell diſcertat. de Peripli Hannonis ætate in limine Geographiæ veteris Scriptorum Græci minorum Tom. 1. Edit. Oxon. 1698.

(*o*) Hygin. c. 206.

(*p*) Id. ib. &cap. 246. *There is in c.* 142. Cœneus *and not* Schœneus.

(*A*) *She kill'd her younger Brother.*] *Hyginus* (*o*) ſays ſhe kill'd her own Son which ſhe had by *Clymenus*, and he adds that ſhe made her Father Eat him, who when he knew it kill'd her. In the 206 Chapter of this Author the word *filiam* ought to be Corrected *filium*, agreeably to what he ſays in the 238. and 239. and 246. Chapter. Beſides this difference, I find another betwixt him and *Parthenius*. The latter ſays that *Harpalyce*'s Father was the Son of *Teleus*, and that he lived at *Argos*: The former (*p*) makes him Son of *Schæneus* and King of *Arcadia*. But whereas in the 238 Chapter he makes him the Son of *Oeneus*, we may be certain that inſtead of *Schæneus*, it ought every where to be read *Oeneus*; for we learn from *Apollodorus* (*q*) and *Antoninus Liberalis* (*r*), that *Oeneus* had a Son named *Clymenus*.

(*q*) Lib. 1.
(*r*) Cap. 2.

(*B*) *She was chang'd into a Bird.*] There Reign two great faults in the fabulous Inventions of the Ancient Greeks; one is, that they have not ſufficiently diverſified the Capital Incidents; the other is, that they have not been able to obſerve any kind of Uniformity in the Circumſtances. You'll ſcarce find two Authors who treating of the ſame Fact, are agreed about the Qualities and Names of Perſons, eſpecially about Times and Places. If they meant by that means to make oſtentation of their abundance, they were miſtaken; the Barrenneſs of the Principal is difficultly repair'd by diverſified Acceſſories. *Parthenius*'s *Euphorion* ſeems at firſt ſight to give us ſomething new: But take notice, it is only *Tereus* removed to another Scene with ſome Changes of the Actors.

FAULTS of the *Mythologiſts.*

(*A*) *With Cows and Mares Milk.*] *Servius* (*a*) applying theſe words of the 1 Book of the *Æneids* to her.

Qualis equos Threïſſa fatigat
Harpalyce, volucremque fuga prævertitur Hebrum,

ſays, ſhe was Nurſed in the ſame manner as *Virgil* makes (*b*) *Camilla* by her Father *Metabus*.

(*a*) *In Æneid. l.* 1. *v.* 317.

(*B*) *By Neoptolemus.*] The Father of this Damſel was already his Priſoner, according to *Servius*. Others ſay *Harpalyce* deliver'd him from the Hands of the *Getæ*. (*c*) *Quidam hujus patrem à Getis, ut alii volunt à Mirmidonibus captum, collecta multitudine aſſerunt liberaſſe celerius, quam de fœminis credi poteſt.* I know not where *Charles Stephens*, follow'd by *Lloyd* and *Hofman*, had read that the Father of our *Harpalice* was call'd *Lycurgus*, and that he was old when he became Priſoner of the *Getæ*.

(*b*) Hic natam in dumis interque horrentia luſtra
Armentalis equæ mammis, & lacte ferino
Nutribat, teneris immulgens ubera labris.
Virg. Æneid. l. 11. v. 576.

(*C*) *Another Cycle which needed to be Corrected.*] *Cleoſtratus*'s Cycle was call'd *Octaeteris*; It contain'd eight Years, at the end whereof the Sun and Moon return'd to the ſame Point. *Harpalus* finding that to be a miſtake invented a Cycle of nine Years.

Nam (d) quæ ſolem hiberna novem putat æthere volvi
Ut luna ſpatium redeat, vetus Harpalus, ipſam
Ocius in ſedem momentaque priſca reducat.
Illius ad numeros prolixa decennia rurſum
Adjeciſſe Meton Cecropia dicitur arte.
Inſeditque animis: tenuit rem Gracia ſolers
Protinus, & longos inventum miſit in annos.

(*c*) Servius ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Feſtus Avienus in Arateis Prognoſticis, pag. in. 65.

Meton finding that the Cycle of nine Years had ſucceeded no better than the reſt, intended the Cycle of 19 Years. This Cycle was ſtuck to, as *Feſtus Avienus*

Cycle of *Harpalus* in the 4*th* Year of the 86*th* Olympiad. *Cleostratus* discover'd the Signs of the *Zodiack*, after *Anaximander* had found out in the 58*th* Olympiad the Obliquity of that Circle. Judge by this of the time of *Harpalus*. What *Alvari* says is not true, that *Diodorus Siculus* makes mention of *Harpalus*. There is a great Confusion in (*D*) *Vossius* upon all this.

HARPALUS, a *Macedonian* * Lord and one of *Alexander's* Captains, Ruin'd himself by his prodigious Expences. He took the part of *Alexander* during the differences that arose betwixt that Prince and his Father *Philip*, and was disgrac'd on that account ‡. But when *Philip* was Dead, *Alexander* recall'd *Harpalus* and shew'd him an extraordinary Friendship; I believe that he gave him the Government of (*A*) *Cilicia*. As for that of *Babylon*, it is most certain he gave it him †, together with the Office of High-Treasurer. *Harpalus* imagining the King his Master would never return from his Expedition to the *Indies*, committed infinite Mismanagements, in order to support the excessive Expences of his Bed and Table. He plunged himself into all sorts of Pleasures, and (*B*) denied nothing to his Mistresses. Many other Governours fancying, as he did, that *Alexander* would never be in a Capacity of calling them to an account for their Extortions, had been Guilty of innumerable Acts of Injustice. The first thing *Alexander* did upon his Return from the *Indies*, was to Punish very severely some of these Governours. Which gave grounds to *Harpalus* to apprehend the same Treatment; so that to prevent it he Fled into *Greece* with immense Sums, which he took from the Royal Treasury which he had in Charge. He Levied also six thousand Men, which he Landed at *Tænarum* in the *Lacedemonian* Territories; from whence he went to *Athens* to try to engage them in a War against *Alexander* †. He gain'd some Orators to his side by his Money ‡; as knowing there is not a more potent instrument than the Tongue of this sort of Men to disturb the publick Tranquillity, and to excite the Populace to take up Arms. But as he knew on the one Hand what Power they have over the People, he was not Ignorant on the other, what Slaves they themselves are to a good Sum of Money. Wherefore finding himself well provided with Gold and Silver, he hop'd to bring

* Diodor. Siculus lib. 12. n. 36.
* Plinius lib. 2. c. 8. p. m. 148.
* Athen. l. 13 pag. 594. Pausanias l. 1. p. 35.
† Plutarch. in Alex. l. com. E.
† Diodor. Sicul. l. 17. c. 108.
† id. ib.
‡ Plut. in Phocione Fa. 755. in Demosthene p. 857.

vienus observes in the Verses above mention'd: It is still in Vogue and call'd the Golden Number.

(*D*) *Confusion in Vossius.*] I. After he had said in his (*e*) Thesis that *Aleton* Publish'd the *Enneadecaeteris* in the 1*st* Year of the 87. Olympiad, or in the Year before, he says in his Commentary upon his Thesis, that *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of this under the 3*d* Year of the 86. Olympiad. Is not this to produce a famous Evidence against his own Calculation? Is this very prudently done? This is the part of an honest Man, you'll say. I'll own it is, provided *Diodorus* made use of that Chronology: But it is certain that he places the Cycle of 19 Years in the last Year of the 86. Olympiad. II. He quotes *Pliny* Book 2. Chap. 12. Concerning *Cleostratus*, whereas he should have quoted the 8. Chap. III. He says that the *Octaeteris* of *Cleostratus* comprehended 2090. Years and 22. 'Tis plain that the Printer has confounded the Numbers, but the word *annorum* is doubtless a mistake in the Author: Change then these words, *introduxit octaeterida quæ erat annorum* CIↃ CIↃ XC XXII. into these, *introduxit octaeterida quæ erat dierum* CIↃ CIↃ CMXXII. For this Cycle contain'd 2922. Days. IV. He quotes the 12*th* Book of *Diodorus Siculus* concerning the *Octaeteris*. I have not found that word in it. V. This Phrase *hanc octaeteride desiderandum est rationem ab Harpalo commissum*, is ill express'd, as signifying quite contrary to what it is design'd for. There is no Reader but would believe *Harpalus* was deceiv'd in making that Cycle: and yet the meaning of *Vossius* is to let us know that *Harpalus* discover'd the fault which the author of the Cycle had committed. VI. He should not have said that instead of the *Octaeteris* of *Cleostratus*, the *Octaeteris* of *Harpalus* was made use of: For *Avienus's* Verses which *Vossius* immediately quotes, shew plainly that the invention of *Harpalus* was a Cycle of 9 Years.

(*e*) De Scient. Mathem. n. 150. vol.

(*A*) *I believe that he gave him the Government of Cilicia.*] I ground my Conjecture upon what *Athenæus* says (*f*) that *Harpalus* having lost his Mistress, caus'd another to come from *Athens*, and Lodg'd her in the Royal Palace of *Tarsus*. There she was ador'd by every Body and titled Queen. And all those that Crown'd *Harpalus* had Orders to Crown her also? This supposes that *Harpalus* lived at *Tarsus* with all sort of Authority. Now *Tarsus* was the principal (*g*) Town in *Cilicia*? I stand not upon the passage of *Athenæus* (*h*) where 'tis said that *Harpalus* erected a Brazen Statue to his Mistress *Glycera* in *Tarsus* a Town of *Syria* [illegible]. I doubt not but that Passage is corrupted: For besides that there was not in *Syria* any Royal or considerable Town that was named *Tarsus*, we find in the 586 Page of *Athenæus*, that the [illegible] *cera* was erected in *Rossus*, [illegible]. We see in the Margin of the 595. Page opposite to the place of the Text, where it is Printed [illegible]. That other Manuscripts have it [illegible] *Athenæus* quotes the same Author, *viz. Theopompus* in both these Passages; which shews that the Transcribers have confounded the name of the Town where that Statue was.

(*f*) Lib. 13. pag. 586.

(*g*) Τὴν τῶν Κιλίκων μητρόπολιν ταύτην, metropolis rationem obtinet. Strabo l. 14. p. 463.

(*h*) Lib. 13. pag. 595.

(*B*) *Denied nothing to his Mistresses.*] If any thing could ruin the conjecture I have advanced in the preceding Remark, it would be the Description that *Diodorus Siculus* has left us, of the Luxury *Harpalus* wallow'd in during *Alexander's* abode in the *Indies*. Whereby it appears that *Harpalus* gave himself up to the Debauching of Women, and other more abominable Pollutions; that he order'd great quantities of Fish to be brought from the Red Sea; that his ordinary Expences were Extravagant: and besides that he sent for a famous Courtezan from *Athens* nam'd *Pythonice*; that he made her presents of an ineffable Value; that when she was Dead he built her a noble Sepulcher, and sent for another Celebrated Courtezan named *Glycera*, from the same Country, with whom he lived in so Riotous a Voluptuousness as cannot be describ'd. All this happen'd, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, whilst *Harpalus* was Governour of *Babylon*, and High Treasurer, and whilst *Alexander* was taken up with his *Indian* Expedition. You'll say then I was in the wrong to mention his Government of *Cilicia*. It would be a strong objection, if there was not room to believe that *Diodorus*, in imitation of those who compose a general History, has too much huddled together particular Events, and too much neglected the distinction of times. The Authors, whom *Athenæus* quotes, are more credible than *Diodorus*; for they have treated particularly of the Debaucheries of *Harpalus*. It's presum'd therefore they have better deserved the Circumstances of them than *Diodorus*, who has only spoken of *Harpalus* in general, and who has not given the particular incidents with the greatest Exactness imaginable. That's the method of a General History. But what say *Athenæus's* Authors? Why, that after the Death of *Pythonice* whom *Harpalus* passionately loved, he sent for *Glycera*, and introduced her to the Royal Palace at *Tarsus*, causing the People to adore her, and treat her as a Queen. (*a*) [illegible] *Alio profectarum regna qui Tarsi fuit [illegible], ut alio trahent omnes regnam fabricent, &c.* If he had been Governour of *Babylon* when he sent for *Glycera*, he had conducted her to the Palace of *Babylon*, and at *Babylon* it must have been that he had order'd the Honours of Worship to be paid and the Title of Queen

(*a*) Theopompus apud Athen. l. 13. p. 586.
(*b*) Theopompus [illegible]

bring over the City of *Athens* to his intereſt. But he was deceiv'd; *Phocion* was (C) not to be Corrupted; beſides, * the Letters of *Antipater* Governour of *Macedonia* and thoſe of *Olympias* the Mother of *Alexander* kept the *Athenians* in reſpect. This oblig'd *Harpalus* to ſeek (D) another Refuge. He return'd to *Tenarum* where he had left his Troops, and paſs'd over from thence to *Crete*. But he was not there long before one of his Friends (E) Treacherouſly Kill'd him ‡. *Moreri*'s Supplement is faulty in that particular, as I ſhall make appear †. *Alexander* was ſo firmly perſwaded that *Harpalus* was an honeſt Man, that he caus'd thoſe who brought the firſt News of his Flight, to be put in Chains as falſe Accuſers *. The news he receiv'd that, that Traytor was expell'd

* Diodor. Siculus ubi ſupra.

‡ Id. ib.

† *In the Remark* D.

* Τὸν δὲ πεμψαντα τὸν Ἅρπαλον φυγὴν ἐπιβεβουλευκότα τῷ βασιλεῖ δήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν. Τοὺς δὲ κομίσαντας τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς.

Illos qui Harpali fugam primi nuntiaverunt in vincula conjecit, Ephialtem & Ciſſium, tanquam mendacia de eo nunciantes. *Plut. in Alexand. p.* 689. B.

to be given her. He did this at *Taſus*, therefore he was Governour of *Cilicia*, when *Pythionice* Died, and when *Glycera* ſupplied her place. Therefore *Diodorus* is miſtaken in the Circumſtances of Time, ſince he ſuppoſes that *Harpalus*'s Amours with *Pythionice* and afterwards with *Glycera* ſucceeded the time of *Harpalus*'s being made Governour of *Babylon*, and *Alexander*'s Expedition to the *Indies*. Let not the Sepulcher which *Harpalus* order'd to be Built for *Pythionice* in *Babylon* be objected to me; For that does not prove ſhe Died after his being preferr'd to the Government of *Babylon*. I know not whether we ought to reckon amongſt the inſtances of this Governour's Prodigality, the care he took to have all ſorts of Plants brought from *Greece* for the Ornament of the Gardens, and Walks of (c) *Babylon*; for if we may believe *Theophraſtus* (d), he did it by *Alexander*'s Order. If *Scaliger* had concluded from thence that *Harpalus* was Surveyor of the Royal Gardens and Orchards at *Babylon*, he could be blamed but for one thing; but he ſays that *Plutarch* aſcribes that imployment to him; he has therefore made two falſe ſteps. 1. He did not well remember that *Harpalus* was Governour of the Province of *Babylon*, and that therefore the Surveyſing of the Gardens was not his principal Office, but a ſmall dependance upon his great imploy. 2. It's falſe that *Plutarch* ſays what he imputes to him.

(C) *Phocion was not to be Corrupted.*] He it was that *Harpalus* aim'd principally to gain. To the other Orators that he ſaw come over to him, he gave but very moderate Gratuities; but he offer'd *Phocion* 700 Talents, and would have made him the abſolute manager of his affairs. (f) Τὸν δὲ Φωκίωνα μόνον ἐπὶ τῷ ξενισμῷ προσεκαλέσατο, καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐπηγγείλατο δώσειν ὅσα οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐδεξιώσατο πώποτε. *Concionalium hirudinum fuit certatim concurſatio operas ſuas ei venditantium. Medicam his ille ex multis obtulit & objecit eſcam, Phocioni vero per internuncios ſeptingenta talenta obtulit.* Phocion repuls'd him, and let him know that he would make him repent of his intriguing, if he went on to corrupt the Inhabitants. Hereupon *Harpalus* acted with more reſerve. He experienc'd that all thoſe Mercenary Tongues he had gain'd, op'os'd him openly, in order to remove all ſuſpicions, and that *Phocion* who had receiv'd nothing of him, was the leſs his Adverſary. This put him upon contriving new motives and temptations to gain him; but he found him impenetrable on every ſide. *Charicles*, *Phocion*'s Son-in-Law, could not imitate his integrity, but render'd himſelf ſo ſuſpected that his Father-in-Law refus'd to aſſiſt him when accus'd in open Court of Correſpondence with *Harpalus* (g). As for *Demoſthenes* he us'd *Harpalus* in a moſt diſingenuous manner; for when he had taken large ſums to ſpeak for him, and came to the Bar, he appear'd in the Aſſembly with his Throat muffled up, and complain'd he had a ſore Throat which depriv'd him of the uſe of Speech (h). Which occaſioned a Jeſt upon him, which was made in alluſion to the Squincy (i) Οἱ δὲ εἶπόντες χαριέστερον ἢ ὑπὲρ συνάγχης ἔφασαν ἐσπουδάκεναι αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀργυράγχης. *Ibi homines faceti cavillantes non anginâ dixerunt, ſed argentangina oratorem nocte correptum.* But he did not come off ſo cheap; for his tampering and Engagements with *Harpalus* were the cauſe of his Baniſhment (k). Note that *Pauſanias* believes him innocent (l). *Harpalus* and his Concubine *Glycera*, order'd great quantities of Wheat to be diſtributed in *Athens*. Which was one of the things for which he was Ridiculed in a Comedy that was Acted on the Banks of *Hydaſpes*, which ſome will have *Alexander* himſelf to be the Author of. 'Tis obſervable that after the Death of *Harpalus*, a Daughter he had by *Pythionice* was taken home by *Phocion*, and Educated with all poſſible care both by himſelf and his Son-in-Law *Charicles*. (n)

(D) *This oblig'd Harpalus to ſeek another Refuge.*] He receiv'd orders to depart from *Athens* as we learn from (o) *Plutarch* and *Quintus Curtius* (p). I believe the cauſe was pleaded with great Solemnity: For *Pollux* quotes an Oration of *Hyperides* ἐπὶ Ἁρπάλῳ. I will not take notice of *Dinarchus*'s Oration, entitled Κατὰ τῆς μὴ ἐνδόσεως Ἁρπάλου Ἀλλεξάνδρῳ, because it's thought ſuppoſititious. 'Tis however certain that that Orator actually pleaded in that cauſe: there were five of his Orations ἐπὶ Ἁρπάλῳ (q). That Tryal had great Conſequences; for after *Harpalus*'s Departure was reſolv'd upon in *Athens*, they were inform'd againſt, who had ſuffer'd themſelves to be brib'd by him. If he had not found ſuch as would be corrupted by his preſents, he had been deliver'd up to *Alexander* (r). One of that Prince's (ſ) Friends earneſtly ſollicited the *Athenians* that *Harpalus* might be given up, and having not obtain'd it, he ſhew'd them ſome time after to whom it was *Harpalus* had given Money and how much. He found that in the Papers of *Harpalus*'s Steward. (t)

LET us here place ſome critical Obſervations upon the Article of *Philoxenus* in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary. The Author of that Article aſſures us that *Philoxenus a* Macedonian *Captain*, *took* Harpalus *in* Candia, *who had rob'd* Alexander's *Exchequer*, *that he diſcover'd all thoſe to whom* Harpalus *had intruſted this Treaſure in* Athens: *that he ſent a Liſt of them to the Magiſtrates, to retrieve the Money out of their Hands, and to cauſe them to be Puniſh'd: But that he would not name* Demoſthenes, *though he had ſome difference with that famous Orator preferring on that occaſion, the eſteem he had for his Eloquence to his own reſentment. Pauſanias* is quoted for this. I find five faults in it. I. It is falſe that *Philoxenus* took *Harpalus* either in *Crete* or in any other place. He only took his Steward who had (a) eſcaped to the Iſle of *Rhodes*. The Author I animadvert upon, does not mention it. Let that omiſſion be his II. Fault. III. *Harpalus did not truſt his treaſure in Athens*, he only diſtributed ſome Sums to gain ſome People to his Intereſt. IV. The Liſt which *Philoxenus* ſent to the Magiſtrates did not contain the Names of the pretended Truſtees of this Treaſure, but the Names of thoſe whom *Harpalus* had brib'd. V. *Pauſanias* (b) does not ſay that *Philoxenus* had a deſire to retrieve that Money. VI. And ſo far is he from ſaying that this *Macedonian* ſuppreſs'd his *reſentment* in reſpect to *Demoſthenes*'s Eloquence, that he manifeſtly ſuppoſes that Orator would have appear'd in *Philoxenus*'s Catalogue, if his name had been found in the Papers of *Harpalus*'s Steward. *Pauſanias* Argues thus: If *Demoſthenes* had receiv'd any Bribe from *Harpalus*, he had been diſcover'd in the Papers of his Steward: And if he had been diſcover'd *Philoxenus* would have named him in the Catalogue he ſent to the *Athenians*: For he had particular Quarrels with *Demoſthenes*, and he knew that *Alexander* was to the laſt degree inrag'd againſt that famous Orator. But he makes no mention of *Demoſthenes* in imparting to the *Athenians* the Names of thoſe whom *Harpalus* had corrupted, and the particular Sums they had receiv'd. We muſt therefore conclude that *Demoſthenes* was guiltleſs. Who will truſt after this to ſuch Dictionary-makers? Who won't rather deplore the Fate of innumerable Readers, who have honeſtly believ'd that *Pauſanias* gives us here an Example of a very ſignal generoſity, a Man ſo full of admiration for *Demoſthenes*, his Enemy, that he ſtifles his reſentment in his behalf, when he has the moſt favourable opportunity of Revenge. So great is the force of Eloquence! Will the young Declamers Cry-out, who ſhall ſeek their Materials in this new *Polyanthea*, (c)

(E) *One of his Friends treacherouſly Kill'd him.*] He

(l) Ἀπαγγείλαντος δέ τινος ὅτι τὸν Ἅρπαλον ἀπολιπὼν ἡ τύχη, πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ χρήματα ἔχοντα, πολλοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἀναλαβόντα, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄλλον ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ἐπιφέρειν, ἀπεκρίνατο, Νῦν δὴ καιρὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις τὸν Δημοσθένη τοῖς τριακοσίοις τάλαντοις ἀποδόσθαι. Harpalo, qui regionis hujus relictus præfectus fuit, ſtudenti Græcis plantis regiam & ambulationes excolere, cætera reſponderunt, unam reſpuat tetros hederæ, quam ſemper corrupit impatientem ejus temperiei. *Plut. in Alexand. p.* 686. B.

(m) *Athen. l.* 13. *p.* 586. & 595.

(n) *Plutarch. in Phoc. pag.* 751.

(o) *Plut. in Demoſthene pag.* 875. E.

(p) *Lib.* 10. *c.* 2.

(q) Vid. Scaliger. animadverſ. in Euſebium n. 1691. p.m. 127.

(r) *Pauſanias l.* 1. *pag.* 35.

(ſ) Philoxenus a Macedonian, Pauſan. *l.* 2. *p.* 76.

(t) Id. ib.

FAULTS *of* Moreri's *Supplement.*

(a) Pauſanias ubi ſupra.

(b) Id. ib.

(c) *That is, in* Moreri's *Dictiona-*

He

Sympoſiac. l. 3. c. 2. f. 648. (e) Plutarchus in Sympoſiacis, qui inter alia ſcribit eum hortis regiis & viridariis Babyloniacis præpoſitum fuiſſe. *Scalig. animadverſ. in Euſebium n.* 1691. *pag.* 127. (f) Plut. in Phocione p. 751. B. (g) Id. ib. (h) Id. in Demoſthene p. 857. (i) Id. ib. (k) *Juſtin. l.* 12. *c.* 5. (l) *See the Remark* D. *at the end.*

pell'd from *Athens* and kill'd, broke the measures he had concerted for returning into *Europe* to humble the *Athenians*. He had imploy'd *Harpalus* to send him Books (G), when he saw there were none to be met with in the Provinces that were remote from *Greece*. The Sepulcher that *Harpalus* (H) erected to one of his Mistresses, was extraordinary magnificent. I don't think that a certain Complaint against (I) Providence, which *Cicero* has left us, respects our *Harpalus*.

If I am in the right, the Moral Reflections of Father *Lescalopier* are but ill applied. There is a Fault in *Eusebius*, which I shall take notice of (K).

HAR-

He was call'd *Thimbron*, as *Diodorus Siculus* says, and he was of *Lacedemon*, as *Arrian* informs us. He seiz'd upon all the Effects of *Harpalus*. Others (d) say it was a Traveller that committed this Murder; others (e) attribute it to *Harpalus*'s Domesticks; others to a *Macedonian*, nam'd *Pausanias* (f). These Disagreements make one out of Patience, and disgrace the Historians.

(d) Quint. Curtius l. 10. c. 2.
(e) Pausanias l. 2. pag. 76.
(f) Id. ib.

(F) *Broke the Measures he had concerted.*] This we are taught by *Quintus Curtius*. *His cognitis*, says he, *Rex Harpalo Athenienſibuſq; juxta infeſtus claſſem parari jubet; Athenas protinus petiturus. Quod conſilium dum agitat, clam literæ ei redduntur, Harpalum intraſſe quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliaſſe ſibi principum animos, nec conſilio plebis habito, juſſum urbe excedere, ad Græcos milites perveniſſe, à quibus interceptum & trucidatum à quodam viatore per inſidias. His lectis in Europam trajiciendi conſilium omiſit* (g). A Man must be stupid, not to perceive, that there is a great Gap betwixt the 1st and 2d Chapters of the 10th Book of *Quintus Curtius*. For is there any Historian so void of common Sense, as to speak of *Harpalus* in the manner *Quintus Curtius* does in the foregoing Passage, unless he had prefatorily explain'd, who that Person was, and what was the Enterprize he had formed? There is no need of saying more upon it. If any one is not sensible of it, he is not capable of comprehending the Reasons I should alledge to prove it.

(g) Quint. Curtius l. 10. c. 2.
(h) Plut. in Alex. p. 668. D.
(i) Posidonius l. 22. Historiar. apud Athen. lib. 13. p. 594.
(k) Ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀκόλαστος καὶ ἀκρατὴς ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας ἀσελγὴς καὶ ἀκόλαστος, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡδέσι δίαιταν ἀγαπῶν καὶ διώκων, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καὶ σπουδαίοις ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκτρεπόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν λόγων ἀποκλίνων. Ariſtus hic eſt qui de amicitia ita gloriatur, illi ædificium & templum conſecrare, ædemque illam & aram Pythionices Veneris nuncupare. Theopompus in Epiſt. ad Alexandrum, apud Athen. ib. pag. 595.

(G) He imploy'd Harpalus *to send him Books.*] *Plutarch* acquaints us with this matter. Read what follows, and you'll find they did not think they should displease that Prince by sending him Poetry. (h) Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐκ λόγων καὶ τέχνων εἰς τὰς ἀφροδισίους ἡδονὰς ἐπιμανέντων, Ἁρπάλου μάλιστα φιλαπεχθήμονος ἐπιμανῆ φύσιν πρὸς τὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων βίβλους, καὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντος, ἔπεμψε Θεόκριτος ὁ Λέσβιος τραγῳδίαν συγγράψας, καὶ Τελέστης ὁ Φιλαίδου διθυραμβοποιὸς ἐπιστείλας. *Aliorum librorum quum in ſuperioribus provinciis non eſſet ei facultas, mandavit Harpalo ut mitteret. Ille miſit ei Philiſti libros, Euripidisque & Sophoclis, & Æſchyli tragœdiarum magnum vim, Teleſtis quoque Philoxenique dithyrambos.*

(i) Posidonius l. 22. Historiar. apud Athen. lib. 13. p. 594.
(k) Ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀκόλαστος καὶ ἀκρατὴς ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας ἀσελγὴς καὶ ἀκόλαστος, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡδέσι δίαιταν ἀγαπῶν καὶ διώκων, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καὶ σπουδαίοις ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκτρεπόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν λόγων ἀποκλίνων. Ariſtus hic eſt qui de amicitia ita gloriatur, illi ædificium & templum conſecrare, ædemque illam & aram Pythionices Veneris nuncupare. Theopompus in Epiſt. ad Alexandrum, apud Athen. ib. pag. 595.

(H) The Sepulcher which Harpalus *erected.*] He had been at incredible Expences for *Pythionice*, whilst she lived, and he was not at less to bury her. The Funeral was solemniz'd with the most exquisite Consorts in the World. Whatever was fine in Musick, either Vocal or Instrumental, contributed to it. (1.) He erected to her Memory, two Stately Monuments, one at *Babylon*, the other near *Athens*. The Expence was above 200 Talents. He consecrated a Temple and a Grove to her, under the Name of *Venus Pythonice* (k). The Tomb that he caus'd to be built in *Attica*, in the way to *Eleusis*, exceeded all that were near it. One would have taken it for that of one of the greatest Men that had lived in *Athens*. What surprize then must it be to Strangers to understand, it was erected to a Strumpet? What Judgment would they pass upon the *Athenians*? 'Tis *Dicæarchus*'s (l) Reflection. An Author, who was well vers'd in these Matters, assures us, that *Pythionice*'s Tomb in the *Eleusian* way, was the finest of all the ancient Monuments that were to be seen in *Greece*. Τὸ μνῆμα ἀπέβαινε κάλλιστον πάντων ὅσα τότε Ἑλλὰς εἶχεν ἀρχαῖα, οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἑταίρας. *Ut mortuæ monumentum poſſuerint omnium quæ in Græcia veterum operum quod ſpectetur dignißimum* (m). 'Tis also true, that *Harpalus*'s Intentions were not faithfully executed. The whole Sum that he appointed for it, was not laid out upon that Monument. *Charocles*, *Phocion*'s Son-in-Law, undertook the supervising of that Work, at the Request of *Harpalus*, and did not lay out upon it the Thirty Talents deposited in his Hand. He disgrac'd himself two Ways: 1. In taking upon him the Direction of a Monument design'd for a Whore; 2. In appropriating to himself part of the Money deposited with him. Μνημεῖον δὲ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐπιδεὲς ἐπιτάξας ποιῆσαι τῇ Ἑταίρᾳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ἔσχε δὲ τὴν ἀπορρίπτου ταύτην χρείαν προσαγόμενος ὁ Φωκίων ἐπιτήδειος. ἔκτισε γὰρ τὸν ἐν Ἑρμείᾳ, ἢ βαδίζουσιν ἐξ ἄστεως εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα, μάλιστα τῶν περικλεῶν καλούντων ἄξιον, ὅτα τῇ Ἁρπάλῳ λογίζονται χαλεὶ εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τοῦ Χαροκλέους. *Quum Harpalus monumentum ſumptuoſum locare vellet faciendum, ejus rei demandavit Charicli curam. Hoc miniſterium per ſe turpe fœdavit inſuper ſepulcrum abſolutum. Extat enim & hac ætate in Hermia, qua Athenis Eleuſina itur, neque in eo exigenda talenta, quantam ſummam expenſam tuliſſe in id opus Harpalo autumant Charicles, comparent* (n). *Pausanias* confesses, that he knows nothing, either of the Country or Family of *Pythionice*, but only that she exercis'd the Calling of a Woman of Pleasure at *Athens* and *Corinth*. *Athenæus* knew a little more of her. He says, she had been a Servant of *Bacchis* a Piper, and that afterwards she listed herself under a Bawd of *Thrace*, who lived at *Ægina*, and that she follow'd her to *Athens*, whither she removed her Brother's House, so that *Pythionice* was a triple Slave, and a triple Prostitute; ὥστε τρὶς ἂν ἑταίρα γεγονέναι τὴν ἐκ τριῶν πραγμάτων, *Ut non ſolum ter mancipium, ſed etiam ter ſcortum fuerit* (o).

(l) Dicæarchus de vita Græciæ l. 3.
(m) Pausanias l. 1. 36.
(n) Plut. in Phocione p. 751. D.
(o) Athen. l. 13. pag. 595. ex Theopompo in epiſt. ad Alexandrum.

(I) Complaint against Providence reſpects our Harpalus.] The Words of *Cicero* are these (p) *Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere ſolebat, Harpalum qui temporibus illis prædo felix habebatur contra Deos teſtimonium dicere, quod in illa fortuna tam diu viveret.* I am of *Menage*'s Opinion. The *Harpalus* of *Cicero*, the *Scipalus* (q) of *Diogenes Laertius*, and the *Scopalus* of *Suidas* (r) seem to me to be one and the same Man. But the two latter were a famous Pirate, who took *Diogenes* the *Cynick*, and sold him. I believe then that the *Harpalus* of *Cicero* was a Pirate and not a Captain of *Alexander the Great*. The Character *Cicero* has given of *Harpalus*, by no means agrees with *Alexander*'s Captain. The *Harpalus* of *Cicero* was a famous Pirate, as well known for the good Luck that accompanied his Piracies, as for his Piracies themselves: His long Prosperity was well known, as appears from the Consequence *Diogenes* drew from it; since a Man would render himself ridiculous that should argue in that manner, in a Town where the Successes of a Pirate had not made a Noise above Four or Five Years. Add to this, that there is nothing tempts a Man more to make murmuring Reflections upon Providence, for the Prosperity of the wicked, than the seeing one self miserable by reason of their Prosperity. If therefore there was any Robber that could draw from *Diogenes*'s Mouth the Complaint which *Cicero* relates, 'twas doubtless he that made *Diogenes* his Slave. But since he became a Slave to a Pirate, and not to the Governour of *Babylon*, we must conclude, that the Testimony which he thought might be produc'd against the Existence of the Gods, was the Pirate who had taken him Captive.

(p) Cicero de Natura Deor. l. 3. pag. 683.
(q) Laert. in Diog. l. 6. p. 74.
(r) In voce Διογ.

'Tis to little purpose therefore, that Father *Lescalopier* represents to his Readers, that *Harpalus*, the Governour of (b) *Babylon*, continued not long unpunish'd, after he had carried off the Treasures of the King his Master. 'Tis in vain he shews, that this Robber fell from one Misfortune into another, and that he was miserably kill'd at the end of the Year. He does but reason against himself. The farther he advances towards his Design, the farther he deviates from his Subject. The Question is concerning a Robber, who had been a long time fortunate: This is the Objection; and here you alledge to us a Robber that was punish'd almost upon the Spot. This is not to answer; 'tis rather to labour unwarily to make of an inconsiderable Difficulty, a Rock of Offence for the Simple, who will be scandalized to see a profane Objection answer'd by overturning the whole State of the Question. And then is not this Conclusion of the Father Jesuit very edifying? *Omitte Harpalum, fume Diogenem: ne quærere quod regiæ pecuniæ prædo unum annum vivat in ſua fortuna: quærere quod prædo divinæ providentiæ in ſua impietate longam vitam vivat: ſed neque id certe conquerendum eſt, nam longa vita miſerrimi canis omnibus infeſti, omnibus exoſi, longum ſupplicium fuit, longius tamen ſupplicii breve præludium* (c).

(b) Lescalopier commentar. in Ciceron. de Natura Deor. l. 3 pag. 683.
(c) Lescalopier ibid. pag. 682.

HARRAVAD (*Isaac Ben*) a noted Rabbin towards the end of the 12th. Century. He has written ſomething, but we know not truly what it is. There are two wonderful Qualities aſcrib'd to him: one is, that he could diſcover by Peoples Faces, whether their Soul was tranſmitted from another Body, or began to exiſt at the Moment of its Union with their own; the other, that though he was blind, he certainly diſtinguiſh'd by the Smell, whether a Man were alive or not. * The Criticiſms of Father *Bartolocci* are ſomewhat dull on that occaſion (*A*).

HARTUNGUS (*John*) born at † *Miltemberg* in the Year 1505, ſtudied firſt in his own Country, and afterwards in the Univerſity of *Heidelberg*. He afterwards took Arms, which he bore in *Hungary* againſt the Turks, but ſometime after he ſet himſelf again to the gentle Service of the Muſes, and became Profeſſor of the *Greek* Tongue in the Univerſity of *Heidelberg*. He acquitted himſelf gloriouſly of that Profeſſion Fifteen Years together; nor would he have reſign'd it, had not the Proteſtant Religion been eſtabliſh'd in the Palatinate, in the Year 1546. That Change obliged him to ſeek another Employ; and he found one at *Friburg* in *Briſgaw*, with which he was ſo well contented, that he kept it as long as he lived. He held an Honourable Rank amongſt the Profeſſors at *Friburg*, and had many Scholars. He read Lectures upon *Homer*, and ſome other Poets, and he compos'd Books reputably good (*B*). He died in the ſame Town the 16th. of *June*, 1579, after a Philological Profeſſorſhip of 33 Years. The Epitaph he made for himſelf, teſtifies, that in the Inſtruction of Youth, he both ſuffer'd and learnt a great deal ‡.

HEBEDJESU, Patriarch of the *Neſtorians*, reunited to the Church of *Rome*, under *Pius* IV. in 1562. I have already ſpoken of him under another Name *, which has been given him by divers Authors: But what I have farther to ſay, I thought fit to be related in this Place. Since the printing of the Article *Abdiſſi*, I have obſerved in a very curious † Work, that after the Death of (*A*) *Simon Julacha*, a Monk of the Order of St. *Pachome*, who had been created Patriarch of the *Neſtorians* by *Julius* III. "*Abdiſu*, or, to retain the *Chaldee* Pronunciation, *Hebedjeſu* was made Patriarch in his "Room

* *Taken from* Bartolocci's Bibliotheca Rabbinica. tom. 3. p. 888, 889.

† *A Town in* Germany, *upon the* Mein.

‡ *Taken from* Melchior Adam, in vitis Philoſoph. Germ. p. 300, 301.

* *Viz.* Abdiſſi.

† *This is the Title of it:* Hiſtoire Critique de la creance & des coutumes des nations du Levant, traduite par le Sr. de Moni, a Francfort chez Frederic Arnaut (*for rather at* Rotterdam, *by* Reinier Leers) 1684. 'Tis believ'd that Father Simon is the Author of that Hiſtory.

‡ Pag. 85.

(*d*) In Juſtin. lib. 12. c. 5.

(*e*) Bartolocc. Biblioth. Rabbinica, tom. 3. pag. 889.

(*f*) R. Rekanati apud Bartolocc. ib. pag. 888.

(*K*) *There is a Fault in* Euſebius.] He ſays under the 3d. Year of the 113d. Olympiad, that *Harpalus* fled into *Aſia*. *Harpalus fugit in Aſiam*. *Scaliger* approves of that Chronology. But he corrects *Aſiam*, by *Atticam*, and it is certain, that if *Euſebius* did not ſay *Atticam*, he ought to have done it. *Bongars* (*d*) had corrected it, *fugit ex Aſia*.

(*A*) *The Criticiſms of Father* Bartolocci *are ſomewhat dull.*] Having quoted theſe Words of Rabbin *Rekanati*; *& licet fuiſſet cæcus, ſenſibiliter percipiebat cum aeris illa ſuiſſet vivus an vero mortuus*, he adds, (*e*) *cognoſcebat ergo ex olfactu mira res apud Judæos: qui cum Judæi male olentes inter ſe continuo verſentur, illorum olfaciendi ſenſus videtur depravatus, ut inter cadaveris & latrinarum malum odorem diſtinguere nequeant, ſi prodigium ſit.* 'Tis a ſilly piece of Raillery; and one that could reſolve againſt Cavilling and Captiouſneſs, might ſee that the Smell of that Rabbin had ſomething very particular in it, provided he had that Nicety of Senſe as is pretended. For it muſt not be ſuppos'd, the meaning of it is, that he could diſcern that a Man who had been dead ſome Days, was not alive. All blind Men can eaſily do this. But the meaning is, that the Change he perceiv'd in the Air as ſoon as a Man expir'd, gave him certainly to underſtand the Man was dead. Will it not be acknowledg'd, that that Change is imperceptible? Father *Bartolocci* has cenſur'd another thing. He aſks how that blind Rabbin could know the Age of the Soul, by looking on the Face? That Reflection cannot be ſolid, unleſs the ſame Authors, who have mention'd that Faculty of our Rabbin, have expreſly declar'd, that he was then blind, and that he made uſe of the Inſpection of the Face. Now there is no Appearance of any ſuch Declaration in them. (*f*) *Pius iſte Ben Harravad cognoſcebat ex vultu, utrum anima creata in ipſo actu infuſionis informaretur homo, an vero aliunde ex tranſmigratione animam haberet adventiciam*. Theſe Words of Rabbi *Rekanati*, ſhew indeed, that the other Rabbin knew by the Face, whether Peoples Souls were new, or not; but they don't determine whether he knew this, by looking on the Face, or touching it. Now either of theſe Ways is equally wonderful, and the latter even ſeems to be more difficult than the former. It will be objected to me in favour of *Bartolocci*, that *Rekanati* making mention of the other Faculty, obſerves, that Rabbin *Harravad* was blind; but I ſhall ſtill demand, whether he ſays, that this marvellous Phyſiognomiſt was blind at that time, when he could diſcern whether Souls were in the Place of their Nativity? For if he only meant that *Harravad* had that Faculty before he grew blind, what will become of the Railleries, Exclamations, and Invectives of *Bartolocci*? He had Reaſon enough to laugh at thoſe Tales, but it ought to have been upon other Motives. Exactneſs is neceſſary, what ever it be, that is to be confuted.

(*B*) *He compos'd Books.*] Some *Prolegomena*, and Notes upon the Three Firſt Books of the *Odyſſey*. *Chiliades locorum Homericorum*: *decuriæ* (*g*) *locorum quorundam memorabilium* (*h*). He tranſlated *Apollonius's* Poem upon the *Argonauts*, into *Latin*. That Verſion is not in Eſteem. This is the Judgment of a good Critick upon it. (*i*) *Miratus ſum hominem & eruditum, & in Græca præſertim lingua cum laude verſatum ita tranſtuliſſe* [Apollonium] *ut non paulo facilius ſit Apollonium ſui, hoc eſt Græcâ linguâ aſſequi, quam ea qua eam Hartungus loquentem fecit, latinâ*. He immediately ſhews ſome Errors of this Verſion, and lets us know, that he could point out abundance more (*k*).

(*C*) *The Epitaph he made upon himſelf.*] It deſerves to be ſet down here,

Πολλὰ παθὼν, & πολλὰ μαθὼν ἐν παιδοτριβίαις
Ἐνθάδε δὴ νέκυας κεῖμαι ἐγὼ Ἁρτόγγας.

(*l*) The *Latin* Verſion of it, which is found in *Melchior Adam*, is very naught; it no ways anſwers the Author's Intention, which was to ſhew, that his Profeſſorſhip had been a heavy Burden. 'I will not inſert here the other Epitaph which *Hartungus* made upon himſelf in *Greek*; it may be ſeen in *Melchior Adam*. I am ſure that *Lorenzo Craſſo* would have liſted him among the *Greek* Poets, if he had known as much as has been here ſaid of him. The Forgetfulneſs of That *Italian* puts me in mind, that Mr. *Baillet* has not afforded *Hartungus* a Place among the Criticks.

(*A*) *Simon Julacha.*] It ſhould be written *Sulacha*, as is done by *Aubertus Miræus* (*a*). We need not wonder that the Criticks can collect out of Manuſcripts an Infinity of *variæ Lectiones*, when printed Books are not exempt from them. The Sieur *de Moni* gives the Name *Caremit*, to a Town of *Meſopotamia*, which *Aubertus Miræus* calls *Charemet*. The latter calls him *Donha Simon*, whom the other Names *Denha Simon*. The one uſes the Word *Zeinalbach*, the other had rather ſay, *Zeinalbech*. They have both drawn from the ſame Fountain, *viz.* from *Peter Strozza's* Book *de Chaldæorum Dogmatibus*: Why therefore don't they agree? Is it eaſier to write *Sulacha*, than *Julacha*, *Donha*, than *Denha*? Mr. *Arnaud* from the ſame Original ſays (*b*) that *Simon Sulacha* eſtabliſh'd his See at *Caramit*. Mr. *Claude* (*c*) makes uſe of the Word *Sulak*. Father *Paul*, at the beginning of his Fifth Book (*d*) ſays, *One Simon Sultakam*. Mr. *Amelot* makes no Correction here. Theſe are Trifles I confeſs: but from ſuch Trifles as theſe, do often ariſe very conſiderable and important Diſputes

(*g*) *They have been inſerted by* Gruterus *in the 2d. Tome of the* Theſaurus Criticus, (*by* Melch. Adam. in vit. Philoſoph. pag. 301.

(*i*) Janus Rutgerſius variar. lect. lib. 6. cap. 6. pag. 562.

(*k*) Infinitum eſſet ea perſequi in quibus longiſſimè à ſententia Apollonii abiit. Id. ibid. pag. 566.

(*l*) *This is it.* Multa tuli, didici, docui dum fata ſinebant, Mortuus in ſummo nunc requieſco Deo.

(*a*) Polit. Eccleſ. p. 216.

(*b*) Perpet. defendue, l. 5. ch. 20.

(*c*) Reponſe à la Perp. defendue, l. 4. ch. 5.

(*d*) *Of the Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent.

" Room. *Abraham Ecchellenſis*, who has printed a little *Syriack* Treatiſe of (B) *Abdjeſu*, gives him the Title of Metropolitan of *Soba*, in the Preface he prefix'd to that " Work. He obſerves, that this *Hebedjeſu* had compos'd ſeveral Books in Defence of " the Religion of the *Neſtorians*; but that coming to *Rome* in *Julius* III's Pontificate, " he abjur'd *Neſtorianiſm*. 'Tis he that is ſpoken of in the Life of *Pius* IV. in whoſe " time he made a (C) ſecond Voyage to *Rome*, to obtain the Confirmation of his Patri- " archate; and he aſſiſted (D) at the Council of *Trent*. As he was a Man of Parts, " he had the Dexterity to bring over a great Number of *Neſtorians* to the Church of " *Rome*. But his Succeſſors could not retain them in it, having neither his Capacity, " nor his Addreſs. *Abathalla*, who was alſo a Monk of St. *Pachome*, ſucceeded " *Hebedjeſu*, and living but a little while, had *Denha Simon* for his Succeſſor, who was " before Arch-Biſhop of *Gelu*. But he was oblig'd to leave *Carenit* (E), and to retire " into the Province of *Zeinalbech*, at the Extremity of *Perſia*, having been forc'd " to ſubmit to the Power of the Patriarch of *Babylon*. His Succeſſor, whoſe Name al- " ſo was *Simon*, reſided at the ſame Place, which much diminiſh'd the Authority of " this ſecond Patriarch. This is what I have found in this Book. I was of Opinion, when I made the Article of *Abdiſſi*, that we might rely on the Narrative of Father *Paul*. But I ought not to paſs over in Silence, what I have ſince obſerv'd in Father *Pallavicino*, *viz.* that it is not true, that this Patriarch wrote Letters to the Council. The following Notes will give an Account of the Criticiſms on Father *Paul*'s Narrative (F).

‡ *See* Libanius in argum. Orat. Demoſth. pro Rhod. libertate.

† Athen. l. 20. c. 12. p. m. 444. ex Theopompo. Ἐκαστον τῶν κοσμίων ἐτῶν, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπεστέρησε. Ἡγησίλοχος ὁ Ῥόδιος. Teſſeris ſic luſerunt Rhodiorum quidam, ſed apertiſſime & ſæpiſſime Hegeſilochus ipſe. Id. p. 445.

HEGESILOCHUS, was one of thoſe who committed infinite Violences in the Iſle of *Rhodes*, when its Democratical Government was chang'd into an Ariſtocratical, by the Authority of *Mauſolus* † King of *Caria*. *Athenæus* † has preſerv'd us a Specimen of the Lewdneſs of theſe new Maſters. They debauch'd the Wives of the moſt eminent Citizens, and abus'd many Boys. In fine, they carried their Licentiouſneſs ſo far, as to ſtake the Honour of Women at the Game of Hazard (A). They made it a Rule, that the Loſer ſhould bring the Lady that was plaid for to him that had won her, and ſhould uſe all ſorts of Methods to convey her into his Arms. No Trick or Evaſion was allow'd; Perſwaſions and Violences were to ſucceed one another, according to the Exigence of the Caſe, till the Wager that was plaid for was actually paid. He * that moſt frequently, and moſt impudently put in Practice this new Method of Hazard, was *Hegeſilochus*. His Drunkenneſs and other Debaucheries, rendred him ſo incapable of Buſineſs, that he loſt his Honour, and was look'd upon by his Friends as an infamous Wretch. This *Hegeſilochus* ought not to be confounded with one

(e) Perpetuité de la foi defend. l. 5. ch. 5.

(f) Chap. 10.

(g) *Article* Ebedjeſu.

(h) Polit. Eccleſiaſt. pag. 219.

ſputes. *Hæ nugæ ſeria ducunt in mala.* The Republick of Learning would be better manag'd, if every one had ſuch a Sence of Duty, as to avoid even the leaſt Faults.

(B) *A little* Syriack *Treatiſe of* Abdjeſu.] I believe it is the ſame Treatiſe Mr. *Arnaud* ſpeaks of, when he cites the *Notes* (e) *of* Abraham Ecchellenſis *a* Maronite, *upon a Catalogue of* Chaldean *Books, made by* Abdjeſu, *or* Hebedjeſu, *a Neſtorian Biſhop, who came over to the Church of* Rome. Some (f) Pages after he touches upon ſome Circumſtances, which deſerve a Place here, as giving us a more particular Account what ſort of Man our *Hebedjeſu* was. *He had formerly been one of the moſt violent Neſtorians* (ſays Mr. *Arnaud*) *and written ſeveral Books whilſt he himſelf was in that Error, which he reckons up at the end of the Catalogue of the Chaldean Books he wrote, and which has been tranſlated by* Ecchellenſis. *It appears by that Catalogue, that the Book entituled* Margaritarum, *was compoſed by him whilſt he was yet a Neſtorian.* The Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary obſerves, (g) that the Catalogue of the *Syrian* Writers ('tis doubtleſs that whereof *Hebedjeſu* is the Author) was publiſh'd at *Rome*, in *Syriack*, by *Hebedjeſu*; That there are two Poems compos'd in *Syriack*, and written with his own Hand, preſerv'd in the Vatican, where he gives the Reaſons of his Reunion, &c. *Aubertus Miræus* relates (h) that the Picture of that Patriarch was plac'd in the Palace of the Vatican, amongſt the Cardinals and Prelates that accompanied *Alexander* the Third, when he receiv'd the Submiſſions of the Emperor *Frederick* at *Venice*.

(C) *A Second Voyage to* Rome.] I am ſurpriz'd, that neither Father *Paul*, nor his Cenſurer, Cardinal *Pallavicino*, or any one of the many Authors I have conſulted concerning *Hebedjeſu*, have mention'd his Voyage, which he made to *Rome* in *Julius* III's time. It had not been a ſuperfluous nor an uſeleſs Circumſtance; and I am perſwaded, they would not have omitted it, had they known it.

(D) *He aſſiſted at the Council of* Trent.] I have elſewhere refuted this Falſhood. It ſuffices to add here, that there is no Writer, though never ſo inconſiderable, who ſometimes does not cauſe the greateſt Authors to ſtumble. *Peter Strozza*, Secretary to *Paul* V. was very likely nulled by ſome ill Chronicler; and 'tis no doubt upon the Credit of that Secretary, that the Sieur de *Mons*, and Mr. *Arnaud*, have publiſhed it, that *Hebedjeſu* aſſiſted at that Council (i).

(i) Ubi ſupra, l. 5. chap. 10.

(k) See Aubert Miræus, pag. 218. & ſeq. *of his* Status Pontificiæ Eccleſiaſticæ, *printed at* Lions *in* 1620.

(l) Father Paul's *Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent, *l.* 6. *p.* 537. *of* Amſterdam's *Edition.*

(m) *Ibid. Article* Abdiſſi.

(n) Histor. Concil. Tridentini, l. 18. c. 9. n. 5.

(o) Sed hæc epiſtola non inveniri poterit, ſi non in Syriacis membranis quæ exhumata. Id. ib. n. 8.

(E) *To leave* Caremit.] This happen'd at (k) the time that *Leonard Abel*, Biſhop of *Sidon*, went to the *Levant* with the Character of Apoſtolick Nuncio. He was a Native of *Malta*, and underſtood perfectly the *Arabian* Tongue, which is as it were natural in that Iſland. He died in the Year 1607, or 1606. He compos'd a Work concerning the State of the Oriental Chriſtians, whence *Aubertus Miræus*, from whom I copy this whole Reflection, confeſſes he has taken many things, which are ſeen in his *Notitia Epiſcopatuum*. He adds, that this Work of *Leonard Abel*, is in Manuſcript in the Library of the deceas'd Cardinal *Ascanio Colonna*, Protector of the Churches of the Eaſt, and that this Library was wonderfully increas'd, by the Addition of the Books of Cardinal *William Sirlet*.

(F) *Criticiſms on Father* Paul's *Narrative.*] That Author relates, that the Letters of Cardinal *Amulius* were read, (l) *who in Quality of Protector of the Oriental Chriſtians, ſent the News to the Council of the Arrival of* Abdiſſi ——*He related, that the People under this Prelate's Juriſdiction, had been inſtructed in the Faith by St.* Thomas *and St.* Thaddæus, &c. (m) The Hiſtorian adds, that next the Patriarch's Confeſſion of Faith was read, and *laſtly, the Letters he addreſs'd to the Council to excuſe himſelf for not being able to come thither, &c.* Cardinal *Pallavicino* (n) tells the Story more at large, and with greater Exactneſs, not confounding what *Amulius* ſaid by the Pope's Order, with the Conſequences which he drew himſelf from the Narratives of the *Neſtorian* Prelate. It does not appear, that Father *Paul* has made that Diſtinction: But his principal Fault lies in his affirming, that *Abdiſſi*'s Letter to the Council was read; *Pallavicino* (o) maintains, that that Letter never has a being but in the Imagination of Father *Paul*.

(A) *At the Game of Hazard.*] The Abbot *Longuerue* of *Pongeas*, had here a fair Opportunity to explain the *Hegesidiani*; for I don't believe, that our

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one of that Name, who came (*B*) Ambaſſador from the *Rhodians* to *Rome*, after he had exercis'd the Principal Dignity (*C*) of their State. This Man liv'd in the time of *Perſeus* King of *Macedonia*, the other in the time of *Philip*, Father of *Alexander the Great*.

† Studioſi juvenes in partes diſtracti, & queſtionibus illis quotidianis agitati, ſæpe quoſe verterent neſcirent, & neglecto pietatis ſtudio ille doctiſſimus haberetur, qui de quinque illis articulis argute diſſereret & adverſarium argumentis irretire poſſet, ſecuri de reliquis fidei articulis cognoſcendis, quaſi in hoc ſolo omnis eruditionis culmen poſitum eſſet. Wittichius ubi infra.

HEIDANUS (*Abraham*) Divinity Profeſſor at *Leyden*, was born at *Frankenthal*, in the Palatinate, the 10th. of *Auguſt*, 1597. He began his Studies at *Amſterdam*, whither *Caſpar Heidanus* his Father was call'd to the Office of the Miniſtry. An Engliſhman, one *Matthew Sladus*, who was then Rector of the College of *Amſterdam*, took particular care of *Abraham Heidanus*, whom he ſaw to be a Youth of promiſing hopes. *Daniel Colonius* applied himſelf with no leſs Zeal to ſpeed the Progreſs of this his Diſciple, when he was committed to his Inſtruction at *Leiden*, in the *Walloon* College. *Colonius* was none of thoſe (*A*) fiery Spirits who were for carrying all things to the laſt Extremities, when the *Arminian* Diſputes began to riſe, which made him ſuſpected, as inclining that way; ſo that there were many Perſons who expreſs'd their diſlike at *Gaſpar Heidanus*'s ſuffering his Son to Study under ſuch a Tutor. But the Temerity of this ſort of Detraction, produc'd a contrary effect to what theſe hot Men aim'd at: The Miniſter of *Amſterdam* continu'd his Son with *Colonius* his old Friend, whoſe Orthodoxy he was aſſur'd of: He continued him, I ſay, that he might give his Friend an Authentick Proof of their Agreement in Opinion. This Scholar made good Progreſs under *Colonius*, not doing as the Generality did, who only ſtuffed their Heads † with the Diſpute about the five Articles of the Remonſtrants. He learn'd that and the reſt: He was made Proponent at the Synod of the *Walloon* Churches, in the Year 1618. and he preach'd in many *French* Churches, with great Applauſe of his Auditors. He preach'd alſo in ſome *Dutch* Churches with the like Succeſs. He travell'd two Years, and ſaw part of *Germany* and *Swiſſerland*, *France* and *England*. A little after his Return he was promoted to the Miniſtry, and he exercis'd his Function at *Naerden*, to the Year 1627, when he accepted a Call from the Conſiſtory of *Leiden*. He was contracted to a Daughter of one of the Principal Merchants in *Amſterdam*, when he took Poſſeſſion of his new Church, and a little after he celebrated his Marriage. He was a good Preacher, which in Conjunction with other good Qualities, both of Temper and Parts, procur'd him a fair Reputation.

He was fifty Years old, when the Province of *Guelderland*, having reſolv'd to eſtabliſh an Univerſity at *Harderwick*, offer'd him the Divinity Profeſſorſhip, upon very advantageous Conditions. The Church of *Leiden*, to keep him with them, offer'd him either the ſame Advantages, or in general, to giving him an honourable Recompence for his Refuſal. The Curators of the Univerſity, found moreover a better Expedient to prevent his Tranſlation to *Guelderland*; they gave him the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, which became vacant by the Death of *Conſtantine l'Empereur*. He was ſo well ſatisfied at *Leiden*, that he would not hearken to the Offers which the Elector Palatine made him, with all the Perſwaſives imaginable: And yet that Refuſal did not hinder

Age has ſeen in any Country of *Europe*, a Lewdneſs equal to that of theſe *Rhodians*. I have heard indeed, that the Footmen of a great Miniſter of State, who has not been many Years dead, us'd to play at Cards or Dice for Captains Commiſſions; but beſides the uncertainty of the thing, it may be reduced to a ſmall matter, *viz.* that each of theſe Footmen obtain'd for his New-Years Gift the Promiſe that ſuch a Number of Companies ſhould be given at his Recommendation: after which they play'd the whole Fund among them, and when any one loſt a Company, it was no longer in his Power, but the Winner's, to recommend any Body. In all this Diſorder it was ſtill eaſie to hinder the Commiſſions from being given to People unfit for Service. So that this is nothing comparable to the Debauchery of theſe Petty Tyrants at *Rhodes*, who ſlak'd down at play, the Honour of the choiceſt Virgins, and Wives of the City, and gave no reſpite to the Loſer, till he had deliver'd them their Prey. They were not content to ruine the Honour of the fineſt Women, which is inſeparable, as the World will have it, from that of their Husbands: They ruin'd alſo their own: for the Loſer was under a Neceſſity of turning Procurer. Here was reaſon with a Witneſs, to cry out, *O tempora! ô mores!*

(*a*) Excerpt. ex Legat. cap. 64. (*b*) Notis in ea Excerpta. (*c*) Titus Livius, l. 42. (*d*) *See* Meurſius de Rhodo pag. 65. (*e*) Ubi ſupra.

(*B*) *Ambaſſador——to* Rome.] This (*a*) we learn from *Polybius*. *Geſilochus* was the Word in the Manuſcripts; but *Fulvius Urſinus* (*b*) having obſerved in *Livy* (*c*) that this *Rhodian* was call'd *Hegeſilus*, corrected theſe two Authors by one another, and reſtor'd *Hegeſilochus* to both.

(C) *Dignity of their State.*] It was called (*d*) πρυτανεία, and the exerciſing of it was expreſs'd by the Verb πρυτανεύειν. The *Latines* call'd thoſe who exerciſed that Dignity, *Prytanes*. *Quadraginta navibus autore Hegeſilocho comparatis, Tyſ Livy, qui eum in ſummo magiſtratu eſſet (Prytanem ipſi vocant.)*

(*A*) *None of thoſe fiery Spirits——made him ſuſpected.*] This is one of the moſt fatal Inconveniencies that attend the Diſputes about Religion. They who either through their natural Temper, or an exact Knowledge of the true Intereſts of the Church, are for healing and uniting Things, and talk not of the Exciſion of corrupted Members, become ſuſpected of Heterodoxy. They of a hot, cholerick, and furious Spirit, thoſe Zealots, who have always at their Tongues end *Principiis obſta*, and this Maxim, *that Evil muſt be ſtifled in its Cradle*, cry down the Men of Moderation, and make them odious to the People; and this cauſes many who cannot kindle into Paſſion, to abandon however the ſhew of Moderation: They had rather offer ſome Violence to their Natures and Conſciences, than be regarded as baſe Prevaricators. The hot Men know well enough, that their Calumnies will have that effect, and therefore they ſcatter them might and main, both in Converſation and in the Pulpit, without any Scruple. This is what happen'd at the beginning of the *Arminian* Diſputes, if we will believe *Wittichius*. (*f*) *Vigebat, illo tempore ob diſcrepantes de prædeſtinatione ſententias non tantum inter diſſentientes magna contentio quæ animos à ſe invicem alienabat, & diſjungebat, ſed etiam inter eosdem ipſos, & idem de controverſia illa Sentientes obſcura quædam diffidentia, qua locus dabatur ſuſpicionibus quibus alii alios tanquam bona cauſa minus addictos differebant. Qui enim ferventioris erant ingenii, & omnia ſumma tentanda in initiis putabant, ut in herba opprimeretur malum, quoſcunque videbant moderatius & lentius agere, ac de reconciliatione animorum potius laborare ſi vulnus forte poſſet conſolidari, ac ſchiſma, quod ad opera carnis pertinet, evitari, eos tanquam prævaricatores bona cauſæ apud plebem criminabantur.* This ſeems to be a faithful Repreſentation. Theſe Diſputes cauſe a violent War without, and ſow the Seeds of evil Suſpicions within, which

(*f*) Wittich. in Oratione funebri Heidani.

hinder that Prince from making (*B*) much of him when he paſs'd through *Heidelberg* in the Year 1656, in the Journey he made to *Strasburg* with his Family. The Profeſſor *Smidius* (*C*) who invited him to a publick Diſputation, and deſired him to diſpute, did not come off honourably from the Opponent: But *Heidanus*'s Victory on that occaſion was not ſo plain as that in (*D*) the Jeſuits College at *Cologne*. This learned Man died at *Leiden* very piouſly, the 15th. of *October* 1678, having exceeded his 81ſt Year, which of all the Climacterick Years, is look'd upon as the moſt dangerous, and with good reaſon. He left Four Children, two Sons, and two Daughters, Thirteen Grand-Children, and Three Great Grand-Children. He had a great ſhare in Mr. *Deſcartes*'s Friendſhip, and by that means he finiſh'd the Work he had begun, under *Fachæus*, Philoſophy Profeſſor at *Leiden*, one of the moſt ſubtle Peripateticks then living. This *Fachæus* brought the Queſtion concerning Subſtantial Forms into great Repute in the Univerſity (*E*). The Young *Heidanus*, excited by the Noiſe it made, examin'd the Objections to the bottom, and compar'd them with the Anſwers of *Fachæus*. He found, that Philoſophizing upon theſe Principles, was but loſing Time, and he was in hopes, that ſome time or other there would appear a more certain Method*. He thought he had found it in the Converſation and Writings of *Deſcartes*. But if this was conducible to lead him to the Truth, it was not ſo commodious with Reſpect to his Fortune. For it expos'd him to (*F*) a thouſand Croſſes and Perſecutions, over which his Panegyriſt *Wittichius*, who ſupplies me with this Article, thought he ought to draw a Curtain. *Heidanus* was of a good Family

* *The Latin Oration of Heidanus, ſpoke at Leiden, the 20th. of October, 1675 by the Profeſſor Wittichius.*

(*g*) *See the Article* Ferrier [Jeremiah.]

(*b*) Juvenal. Satyr. 10. v. 140.

(*a*) Smidius ipſum palam non ſemel, ſed quia declinabat noſter ingratis viribus ad opponendum invitavit, quod cum non videretur ſibi ſalvo honore ſuo poſſe detrectare, e ſolidiore, ea efficacia Gratiam, quam Lutherani urgent, Univerſalem ita oppugnavit, ut omnium oculos in ſe converterit, & apud omnes præſentes magnam admirationem ſuæ conſummatæ eruditionis excitaverit, diſputationis vero præſes, authorum judicio patum honorificè ex illa diſputatione diceſſerit. Wittichius ibid.

(*b*) Dum Coloniæ initio itineris aliquot dies ſubſtitueret, in diverſorio inciderit in familiarizatem Malincrotii, viri elegantiſſimi ingenii qui inter literatos primatum jure merebatur, hominis Pontificiæ quidem religioni addicti, ſed religione moderati, qui etiam nunquam cum Heidano de ſermonem voluit cædere. Id. ibid.

which are wonderfully fruitful. They produce, amongſt other things, as I ſaid juſt now, a great change in thoſe whom Reaſon inſpires with a Spirit of Moderation. They are decried as ſecret Traitors, (*g*), and there are many to be found, who will not continue reaſonable at that Price, and who believe their Honeſty would coſt them them too dear, if they muſt loſe their Reputation for it; and therefore they turn Perſecutors, to refute the Calumny: (*b*) *Tanto major famæ ſitis eſt, quam virtutis.* This was the Conduct of a great many Catholicks in *France*, who had diſapprov'd the Rigour that was exerciſ'd againſt the Proteſtants under *Francis* I. and *Henry* II.

(*B*) *Making much of him.*] They who ſhall think it ſtrange in me to give the Particulars, will drop their Cenſure upon Mr. *Wittichius*, rather than on my ſelf. For there muſt be a greater Privilege to relate theſe things in a Dictionary of Two Volumes in *Folio*, when one meets with them in a Funeral Oration, than to diſplay them in a Funeral Oration, when they are only taken out of a Memorial in Manuſcript. Let it be how it will, Mr. *Wittichius* relates, that *Abraham Heidanus* was invited to Dinner every Day by a new Meſſenger, and he does not forget the Preſents he receiv'd. *Dum Heidelbergam appulit, nihil omiſit Sereniſſimus Elector quod non ferventiſſimum erga ipſum ſpiraret affectum. Ad menſam quotidie, novis ſemper miſſis nunciis, invitabat, in colloquiis benevole complectebatur, donabat medio cervo & aliquot leporibus, nunciato hanc omnem eſſe prædam quam illo die cepiſſet; quæcumque in diverſorio cum familia conſumpſerat liberaliſſimè ſolvit, & cum Bacheracum rediiſſet, ad ſuos Leidenſes reverſurus, magno dolio optimi & generoſiſſimi vini Bacheracenſis voluit donatum.*

(*C*) *The Profeſſor* Smidius——*did not come off honourably.*] After *Heidanus* had excus'd himſelf ſeveral times from entring the Liſts, he at laſt gave way to his repeated Civilities, and attacked him upon the Point of Univerſal Grace, which the *Lutherans* teach: Great was the Attention of the Auditors, and the Succeſs very glorious to the Opponent (*a*).

(*D*) Heidanus's *Victory*——*was not ſo plain as that in the Jeſuit's College at* Cologne.] If this laſt Victory was eaſier to be obſerved than the foregoing, it was not ſo honourable; for it conſiſted in a Jeſt, to which the Jeſuit, who had ſhewn him whatever was to be ſeen in the College of *Cologne*, and perhaps was a Lay-Brother, could not anſwer a Word. *Heidanus* ask'd the Jeſuit, whether Jeſus Chriſt had done and ſuffer'd all that was neceſſary for our Salvation? *Yes*, ſaid the Jeſuit: *Then*, reply'd he, *you are not his Companions.* The Jeſuit, confounded with Shame and Aſtoniſhment, had nothing to ſay for himſelf. *Malincrot*, Dean of *Munſter*, who heard this Diſcourſe, and had gain'd (*b*) Acquaintance with *Heidanus*, congratulated him upon that Victory, obtain'd, ſaid he, over my Enemies. *Wittichius*, who alſo heard the Diſcourſe, relates it in this Manner: *Accidit ut poſtquam Collegium inſpexerimus Jeſuitarum, & jam in area eramus conſtituti ut patribus valere diceremus, converſus Heidanus ad Jeſuitam qui nos ducebat, ex ipſo egregiè annoſo Jeſu omnia illa quæ ad ſalutem eſſent, ne dicam, eſſe & paſſus fuiſſet? At ille ſatis nihil ſuſpicatus metuens, reſpondiſſet, Omnia: Heidanus regeſſerit: Ergo vos non eſtis Socii Jeſu; atque ille in rubrum dictu & attonito ut ne verbum quidem reſpondere poſſet, diſceſſit noſter & nos cum ipſo, atque patribus valere dixit. Quod Malincrotium tanto affecit gaudio, ut hoc nomine gratias ſolemnes illi egerit, quod ſic Jeſu hoſtes (ita vocabat Jeſuitas) ad incitas ex improviſo redegiſſet.* I muſt confeſs, that hitherto I have fought in vain wherein the Jeſt lies. I can't gueſs at what he alluded, or what Rules of Logick he followed.

(*E*) *The Queſtion concerning Subſtantial Forms.*] There is no Queſtion in Natural Philoſophy, that is a clearer Proof of the Power of Prejudices than this. They muſt needs darken the Mind with reſpect to the moſt evident Notions, ſince there are ſo many People, who can't ſee the Impoſſibility of extracting a Subſtance from the Boſom of matter, unleſs it was there before, or unleſs it be produc'd by a true Creation. The Peripateticks tell you very coldly, or rather they paſſionately maintain, that Forms do not exiſt in their Subject, and that nevertheleſs they are produc'd by an Action which muſt not be call'd (*c*) Creation but Eduction. This Opinion would be the moſt monſtrous thing in the World, if it were not a more amazing Prodigy to ſee ſuch a Number of Learned and Ingenious Men, eſpouſe ſtill at this Day, the Doctrine of Subſtantial Forms. *Wittichius* could not better prepare his Auditors to ſee in *Heidanus*, a Diſciple of *Deſcartes*, than in telling them what *Heidanus*, as yet but a Scholar, judg'd of the Principles of the School, from the inexplicable Confuſion in which *Fachæus* was involved. (*d*) *Exorſus eſt in Academia quæſtio de formis ſubſtantialibus, earum que ex potentia materiæ productione, quæ miriſice non tantum Auditores, ſed & ipſum defenſorem earum acerrimum Fachæum vexabat & torquebat. Quam cum univerſi diſtinctionum ſuarum panoplia expedire non poſſet, & ad liquidum oſtendere quænam illæ formæ ſubſtantiales eſſent, à materia realiter diſtinctæ & tamen materiales, quænam illa potentia materiæ, an pars ejus quædam converſa in formam, an vero ejus cum producitur tantum ſuſtentaculum, an autem ut ex aſſervo figura ſcamni educitur, ita eodem modo præexiſteret in materia forma; cumque alia plurima ſupereſſent difficultates, nec ullum ſuppeditaretur filum ex hoc labyrintho emergendi, factum eſt ut auditores & perſpiciores diſcipuli, inter quos Heidanus primas obtinebat, de tota hac philoſophandi ratione quam intelligendo aſſequi ſe non poſſe videbant, plane deſperarent.*

(*F*) *A Thouſand Croſſes.*——] I don't know the Particularities [illegible] Page of his Conſideration, where he relates that he had made himſelf many Enemies, and had been expos'd to horrible Reproaches, for having always been averſe to too rigid Maxims. He had not declar'd War againſt Proteſtant Canonics. He had not believed

(*c*) *A Jeſuit would think himſelf affronted, if one ſhould call the Doctrine of Divinity in the Schools of Paris, or Montalban, printed at Paris in the Year 1670. two Diſputa treated de principiis rerum naturalium rerum corporearum, in which he rakes that Brutus a Thomiſt had times to proue againſt Father Mangan, that the Production of Forms is not a proper Creation. He took great Pains to no purpoſe.*

(*d*) *See the Article* Gorlæus.

owed in the Pulpit againſt Perrwigs; he was not of Opinion, that the Remonſtrants ought to be rigorouſly examin'd, who return'd to the Boſom of their ancient Mother. Hereupon he paſs'd for an Enemy to the new Model of Reformation, that was to be introduc'd; all his other Opinions were ſcann'd and ſifted; he was accus'd of being addicted to *Deſcartes*'s Opinions, and of contemning the *Lord's-Day*. But 'tis better to hear *Heidanus* himſelf. (a) *Æ item illam meam ancipitem duxi, modo tempeſtate, modo exoratus halcyonio, intra & extra nos pluſus adverſarios, hinc hoſtes, inde fratres, nec nunquam mordacis linguæ exceptus flagellis. Fuit, cum ſeſſam in partes chariſſimam hanc noſtram Eccleſiam metu procedimus: tum nobis ſed cum ſapientiam ſimul largitus eſt Deus, ut quidvis pati potius, quam ipſum fermittere, maluerimus: Hinc jam Mysteriarchas, ſed contemtum (ac ſi probroſum hoc nomen foret) ſubimus: Jam ut Cartſii plus ſatis addicti Philoſophiæ; hinc Sabbathi contemptores; inde novæ quæ nugæ quidam Reformationis hoſtes traduci jamus: quæ ſummatoribus trapezitis pluſculum illis ſonare videri, nec Campidoctum bellum indicere, neque de ſucceſſu in comis detonare, neque Eccleſiæ diſciplinam ſtrictiorem exercere, nec Remonſtrantes adhuc tranſeuntes recipere, illius examinare, & quæ ſunt id genus alia.* Things were driven ſo high, that he was turn'd out of his Divinity Profeſſorſhip, upon the following Account. The Curators of the Univerſity of *Leiden*, publiſh'd a Decree the 16th. of *January*, 1676, forbidding the Profeſſors to treat in any wiſe (b) of certain Propoſitions, that had for ſome time been the Subject of Diſpute, or of *Deſcartes*'s Metaphyſicks. *Heidanus* acted againſt that Decree, almoſt in the ſame manner as the *Janſeniſts* did againſt the late Archbiſhop of *Paris*, who forbade the reading of the New Teſtament of *Mons*. He animadverted upon it; and pretended to find Nullities and Irregularities in it: He maintain'd, that the Twenty Propoſitions which had been condemn'd, had not been diſcuſs'd in the Univerſity of *Leiden*, as the Curators affirm'd. He complain'd, that theſe Gentlemen had ſuffer'd themſelves to be impoſed on by unfaithful Extracts, and he made odious Compariſons between the Jeſuits, and the Furniſhers of theſe Extracts; the Jeſuits, I ſay, who had caus'd to be condemn'd *Janſenius*'s Propoſitions, what was not found in his Writings. He made another Compariſon: For he brought in *Giles Hunnius*, a Lutheran, who from the artificial Extracts out of the Works of *John Calvin*, pretended to convict him of *Judaiſm*. Laſtly, he illuſtrated the condemn'd Propoſitions, and try'd to ſhew, that in the Senſe of the Authors they were taken from, they were Orthodox. That Work of *Heidanus* was printed in *Dutch*, and afterwards in *Latin* (c). This offended the Curators to that degree, as to depoſe him. *Heidanus*'s Friends pretended, that nothing could more ſeaſonably happen to him; whilſt his great Age would not ſuffer him to acquire a new Reputation by his Lectures, nor even to ſupport that which he had already gain'd; and beſides that, his Depoſition render'd him more Dear and (d) Venerable to his own Party, and might call an Odium on the adverſe ſide.

(a) Heidanus, Conſideration. adres quaſdam nuper geſtas in Academia Patria, pag. 42.

(b) They were the Propoſitions of Thomas Aquinas, and Thomas Bradwardine.

(c) 'Tis this I have made uſe of, printed at Hamburg, 1678. in Octavo.

(d) Florus lib. 4. c. 4. expreſſes that by injuria favorabilis; & Tacitus Annal. lib 3. cap. 75. by commendatio ex injuria.

(G) Heidanus *was of a good Family.*] His Great Grandfather, *Gerhard vander Heyden*, was of *Mechlen* (e): So was his Grandfather, *Gaſpar vander Heyden*, who was expell'd his Father's Houſe on the account of Religion. He was Miniſter at *Antwerp*, from whence he retir'd to *Frankfort* by reaſon of the Perſecution. Here he found many Refugees, whom the rigid *Lutherans* would not ſuffer; which oblig'd them to Petition *Frederick* II. Elector Palatine, for a Place of Retreat. *Peter Dathenus* was at the head of them. The Elector granted them the Monaſtery of *Frankenthal*, the Monks being order'd to depart: Theſe Refugees perform'd their Religious Exerciſes in *Flemiſh*, and by Degrees enlarg'd that Monaſtery into a Town. *Dathenus* being call'd to *Heidelberg*, our *Gaſpar* ſucceeded him as Paſtor of that Church. He was deſign'd to be preſent at the National Synod of *Embden*, in the Year 1571, and he was choſen Preſident of that Aſſembly. There the Canons of Diſcipline were form'd. A little after, returning to the Palatinate, the Elector appointed him to attend his Son, whom he ſent with ſome Troops to the Aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants in the *Low-Countries*. Theſe Troops were beaten. *Vander Heyden* retir'd into *Holland*, and preſided in the National Synod aſſembled at *Dordrecht*, 1574. He ſerv'd for ſome time the Church of *Middleburg*; but then thinking himſelf ſafe under the Benefit of the Pacification of *Ghent*, he return'd to the Charge of his firſt Flock at *Antwerp*. When that Town was taken by the *Spaniards*, he return'd to the Palatinate, and was made Superintendant of the Churches about *Bacharac*. He was diſpos'd to quit that Imploy, to comply with the Deſires of the Church of *Frankenthal*, who would have him for their Miniſter again; when he died, leaving an only Son of the ſame Name, *Gaſpar* who was born in the Year 1566. The latter was firſt Miniſter at *Wolmerſheim*, afterwards at *Frankenthal*, and then at *Amſterdam*, where he died in the Year 1626. He married *Claire Vanden Borne*, a Daughter of the Baily of *Frankenthal*, by whom he had Six Sons, and Eight Daughters. Our *Abraham Heidanus* was one of his Sons (f).

(e) Proavus illi fuit Gerhardus vander Heyden, antiqua & honeſta familia natus Mechlinæ. Wittich, ibid.

(f) *Taken from* Wittichius's *Funeral Oration.*

(g) Wittichius Ibidem.

(h) *Month of* June, *in the Catalogue of new Books n.* 8. *p.* 729.

(i) Dares Phrygius, Cedrenus.

(k) Κάλλος ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐδανείσατο, τὸ δὲ ἔσωθεν.

Conſtantine Manaſſes, apud Meziriac *upon* Ovid, pag. 917.

(l) Cruribus optimis, ore pufillo. Dares Phrygius.

(m) Δειρὴ μακρὰ καὶ ἐλλιπαινομένη.

Conſtantine Manaſſes. *He adds, that on this account the Poets feign'd ſhe was born of a Swan.* Meziriac *was ignorant that that Thought came from* Lucian. *See the Remark* O.

(n) Cedrenus.

(o) Memoires des Dames Galantes, tom. 1. p. m. 275.

(H) *I ſhall ſpeak of his Writings below.*] He publiſh'd ſome Orations on divers Subjects; the Examination of the Remonſtrants Cathechiſm; a Book in *Quarto de Origine Erroris*, and a *Dutch* Book, where he maintains the Cauſe of God, againſt the *Pelagians*, and *Semi-Pelagians*, with ſuch force, that no Body has been able to anſwer it. (g) *Evolve ſolidiſſimum & nunquam ſatis laudandum Commentarium de Cauſa Dei Belgicæ ante plures annos conſcriptum (qui dignissimus videtur ut in Latinam linguam transferatur, ut ab exteris legi poſſit) in quo adeo nervoſe, adeo elegantes partes Dei defendit contra hominem, ut Pelagiani nihil in hunc uſque diem potuerint reperire quo vires ſuas plane attritas & fractas queant reſtaurare.* As to his *Corpus Theologiæ Chriſtianæ in quindecim locos digeſtum*, it was publiſh'd after his Death, in Two Volumes in *Quarto*, by the care of Mr. *Crucius* his Grandſon, in the Year 1686. See the *News* (h) *from the Republick of Learning.*

(A) *The fineſt Woman of her Age.*] There are ſome Authors who (i) have deſcrib'd the Particulars of *Helena*'s Beauty. He that has done it moſt largely, is *Conſtantine Manaſſes*: He has included in eleven *Greek* Verſes, a good number of Epithets, repreſenting the corporeal Perfections of this Woman. He does not forget to tell us, that her Beauty owed (k) nothing to Art, and that her Complexion, without the help of Waſhing, had a noble Luſtre. They have aſcrib'd to her Legs neatly made, a little Mouth (l), a long, and very white Neck (m), large Eyes, and a fine Breaſt (n). *Brantome* furniſhes me with a Paſſage upon that part. Helena, ſays he (o), *deſiring once to preſent to the Temple of* Diana *a handſome Cup, by reaſon of a Vow, employ'd a Goldſmith to make it for her, cauſing him to take the Pattern from one of her handſome Breaſts, and to make it of White Gold. In which it was hard to tell which was moſt to be admir'd, the Cup, or the Reſemblance of the Breaſt, which appear'd ſo pretty, and ſo like, that the Artificial one could not but create a deſire for the Natural.* Pliny *ſays this with great Admiration, and is very particular, where he diſcourſes that there is white Gold, which is very ſtrange, and that this Cup was made of it——He that would make Golden Cups by the great Udders of ſome Women, had need furniſh the Goldſmith with a great deal of Gold, and would not eſcape afterwards the Laughter of the World, when it ſhould be ſaid, Behold here Cups modell'd by the Breaſts of ſuch and ſuch Ladies. Theſe, inſtead of being like Cups, would reſemble your round Wooden Pails the Hogs are ſerv'd with, and the Nipple would imitate a rotten Cherry.* Brantome is miſtaken in two Things; for *Helena* did not conſecrate that Bowl to the Temple of *Diana*; nor is it true that *Plin.* ſays, it was made of white Gold. *Minervæ templum habet Lindos inſulæ Rhodiorum in quo Helena ſacravit calicem ex electro. Adjecit hiſtoria mammæ ſuæ menſuram.* Theſe are *Pliny*'s Words in the 4th. Chapter of the 33d. Book.

But to return to *Helena*, I ſay that the Deſcriptions which have been made of her Beauty, don't give a comparable Idea to what we form in reading a Line of the Iliad, which has nothing of a Deſcription in it. *Homer* is content to make the Councellors of *Priamus*

unhappy Adventures. There (*AΔ*) are ſome Authors, who have been ſo particular in deſcribing the Perfections of her Body, that they can by no means be excus'd, tho' they ſhould ſay in expreſs Terms, they only did it by way of Amuſement. She was courted by a great Number of Princes, and as her Father did not know what courſe to take, for fear of provoking thoſe that ſhould not obtain her; he was taught by *Ulyſſes* a very good Expedient, † which was to make all the Rivals ſwear they would approve the Choice he ſhould make of a Son-in-Law, and that they ſhould be ready to aſſiſt him againſt all Pretenders that would go about to diſturb his Daughter's Marriage: *Tyndarus* (*B*) thereupon diſpos'd of her to *Menelaus*. She had already been ſtole away by *Theſeus*; but it was honeſtly believ'd upon her Word, that ſhe diſinga'd her ſelf from that Affair (*C*), without the loſs of her Virginity. And yet there was nothing of Truth in it: *Theſeus* did not part with her, without ſo much Familiarity as to get her with Child, of which ſhe lay in at her Siſter's *. The thing was kept ſecret, becauſe her Siſter own'd the Child ‡ as hers †. The common Fate of young Women when they are ſtolen thus, is to change their Condition, whether they own it or deny it. The Handſomer they are, the more credible it is they have ſubmitted to that Law. One Romance-

† Apollodor. l. 3. Pauſanias l. 3. p. 103. obſerves, that they ſwore upon the Entrails (according to Amelius's Verſion upon the Teſtacles) of an Horſe, which was ſacrific'd, and [illegible]

See alſo Ecolampadius in Encom. Helenæ. * Certainly [illegible] Helena [illegible]

† See the Note (C).

Priamus ſay, as they happen'd to ſee *Helena* coming, whilſt they were deliberating about State Affairs with that Prince, that neither the *Grecians* nor the *Trojans* could be blam'd, for enduring ſuch Pains for the ſake of ſo Divine a Beauty.

(*p*) Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 156. See Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 188.

Οὐ (*p*) νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
Τοιῇδε περὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·
Αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇσι κρατὶ ἐοικεν.

Non eſt indigne ferendum, Trojanos & bene ocreatos Achivos
Tali de muliere longum tempus dolores pati:
Omnino immortalibus deabus vultu ſimilis eſt.

(*A*) *There are ſome Authors who have been ſo particular.*] A *Religious* of *Spain* obſerves, that the Beauty of this Woman was a Miracle of Nature; and that for a Multitude of Ages, it was a common Proverb, when any one meant to be exceſſive in the Praiſe of a Beauty, to ſay, *She is an* Helen. He adds, that *John Nevizan* ſaid, that of the Thirty Accompliſhments which muſt be united to the making a Woman perfectly handſome, not one was wanting in her. (*a*) *Nacio eſta tan aventajada, y enriquecida de hermoſura, que fue un portento, un prodigio, y milagro de naturaleza, quedando deſde aquel tiempo à eſſe, y aun para muchos ſiglos, en proverbio, ſu belleza, y gallardia: de tal ſuerte, que quando queremos ponderar, y encarecer la hermoſura de una muger, dezimos que es una Helena: y en tal lugar la pone, el* (*b*) *Nivernienſe, Natal Comite, Bartolome Caſaneo, Juan* (*c*) *Nemizano, el qual pone las treynta coſas, que ſe requieren para que una muger ſea perfectiſſima en ſu hermoſura: y dize que las tenia todas ſin faltar ninguna, la hermoſa Helena.* I believe he never ſaw the Work of *John Nevizan*, and he ſpeaks of it only upon the Credit of *Chaſſaneuve*, who not only quotes it, but alſo repeats the *Latin* Verſes, wherein are contain'd the Thirty Things, which as is ſaid, conſtitute a perfect Beauty, and which were all found in the Body of *Helena*. *Dicit* [illegible] *eſſ cuſtodire quæ plurimi amant*: (The *Chaſſaneuve* [illegible] that ſpeaks (*d*).) *ut ſcitis coliguntur ex dictis Jo. Lariſani Aſtenſis in ſua ſylva nuptiali, in ampliſſimo ſuo in verſus quinquaginta prædicta, ſi ſint duo. Et i ponit, quis operatur pulchritudo mulieris. Et i dicit, quod debet habere triginta quatuor, ad hoc, ut ſit pulchra, quæ his verſibus ibi poſitis continentur:*

Triginta hæc habeat, quæ vult formoſa vocari
Fœmina, ſic Helenam fama fuiſſe refert.
Alba tria, & totidem nigra, & tria rubra puella:
Tres habeat longas res, totidemque breves.
Tres craſſas, totidem graciles, tria ſtricta, tot amplà
Sint itidem huic formæ: ſint quoque parva tria
Alba cutis, nivei dentes, albique capilli.
Nigri oculi, &c.

(*a*) Balthaſar de Victoria Predicadore de San Auguſtin de Salamanca, Theatro de los Dioſes de la gentilidad lib. 2. cap. 19. pag. 181. Edit. of Salamanca, 1620.

(*b*) That is, Raviſius Textor.

(*c*) He ſhould ſay, Nevizano.

(*d*) Bartholomæus Chaſſaneus in Catalogo gloriæ mundi part 2. conſideration 22. pag. m. 168.

(*e*) It contains 18 Verſes.

I ſuppreſs the reſt of that ſmall (*e*) *Latin* Poem though *Chaſſaneuve*, who was the firſt Preſident in the Parliament of *Aix*, has not ſcrupled to inſert it intire in his Works. To which he adds, *Non alter hic inſiſto circa talia, cum ſatis, & ultra quam decens ſit, ponatur in dicta ſylva nuptiali.* I can aſſert with Reaſon, that they who thus cite *John Nevizan*, are not exact, ſince he himſelf is but the Copier of ſome other Writers, which he names. The Fountain-Head to which he reſorts, is a *French* Writer, whoſe Book has this Title, *De la beauté & beauté des Dames.* The 18 Verſes he mentions, and which *Chaſſaneuve* mentions after him, are a Tranſlation out of *French*, made by *Francis* [illegible]. He ſays it was not yet printed, but that there was an *Italian* Verſion of it in a publick Work of *Francis Calmeta*. *Et triginta requiſita*, ſays he (*f*), *enumerantur per Gallicum in lib. de la beauté & beauté des dames circa fin. quas Latinas fecit Franciſc. Coniger, quem nunc refero, quia non eſt impreſſus, ſed bene Vincentius Calmeta idem ponens in carm. vulgar. incip. dolce Flamma, & ecloga proxima ſeq. incip. perdare riſpoſta. Lege ergo verſus Conigeri:*

Triginta hæc habeat, &c.

If you conſult a Book, intituled, *Les neuf matrones du Seigneur de Chalieres*, you will find a Sonnet beginning thus, (*g*)

Celle qui veut paroir des belles la plus belle,
Ces dix fois trois beautez, trois longs, trois courts, trois blancs,
Trois rouges, & trois noirs, trois petis & trois grands,
Trois eſbroits & trois gros, trois menus ſont en elle.

and he ends with *levres, doigts & cheveux menus, tell' fut Helene.* The Concluſion is no leſs impertinent than all the preceding Verſes. For to know *Helena* to be thus made, it had not been enough to have ſeen her (*h*) doing her Exerciſes at *Lacedæmon*. No Man could have given this Account of her, beſides *Paris* or *Menelaus*, or ſome of her former Husbands or Gallants.

(*f*) [illegible] *See the Article* Lycurgus, *Remark* E.

(*g*) P. 167. of the Paris Edition, by John Richer. 1585 in 8.

(*h*) Inter quos Helene nudis capere arma papillis Fertur, nec fratres erubuiſſe Deos. Propert. Eleg. 13. lib. 3.

(*B*) Tyndarus——*diſpos'd of her to* Menelaus.] Some ſay that (*i*) *Tyndarus* did not chooſe his Son-in-Law himſelf, but left it to *Helena* to make choice of an Husband out of all her Lovers, and that ſhe preferr'd *Menelaus* before the reſt. *Apollodorus* (*k*) pretends, that *Tyndarus* reſign'd his Kingdom to him; but others ſay, (*l*) he only named him for his Succeſſor. What a Fortune then was *Helena*, who, with ſo incomparable a Beauty, brought alſo a Crown to her Husband!

(*i*) [illegible] *See the Article* Hyginus, *Remark* B.

(*k*) Hyginus, c. 78.

(*l*) Bibliot. lib. 3.

(*C*) *From that Affair without the loſs of her Virginity.*] *Plutarch* ſays, ſhe (*m*) was not yet marriagable when *Theſeus* ſtole her from the Temple of *Diana*, where ſhe was dancing. He committed her to his (*n*) Mother's Conduct, and put them both in the Cuſtody of one of his good Friends in *Aphidna*, and ſo went in purſuit of another Rape, with his Friend *Pirithous* (*o*). *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Helena*'s Brothers, loſt no time, but entred *Attica* with Sword in Hand, to demand their Siſter. The *Athenians* proteſted to them, they knew not where ſhe was. That Anſwer did not ſatisfie them, and they were ready to commit ſome Hoſtilities, when one (*p*) *Academus* acquainting them, that ſhe was at *Aphidna*, they aſſaulted that Town, and took it by Storm. The Gates of *Athens* were open'd to them: They entred the Town without making any Diſturbance; only deſiring to be initiated into their Myſteries. They carried *Helena* back to *Lacedæmon*; 'tis ſaid alſo, that they brought *Theſeus*'s Mother [illegible], and

(*m*) Plutarch, in Theſeo, pag. 15.

(*n*) Her Name was Æthra.

(*o*) That of Proſerpina, Daughter of Ai[illegible]neus, King of the Molofſi.

(*p*) Herodotus, lib. 9. c. [illegible] attributes this to the Decelians a Tribe of Athens, or to Decelius only.

that

Romance-makers (CΔ) have not obſerv'd this, or at leaſt they prefer the noiſe of Adventures, to probability. Every Body knows that *Helena* was Stole away by *Paris* the Son of *Priamus*, and that all *Greece* reſented the Injury *Menelaus* had receiv'd. Hence roſe the *Trojan* War, which has been ſo Celebrated by the Poets. *Paris* loſing his Life in the laſt Year of that War, his Brother *Deiphobus* ſupplied his place with *Helena*. The *Grecians* barbarouſly Murder'd him the Night that *Troy* was taken (D): in that that good Woman accompanied (q) *Helena* even to *Troy* (r).

Hellanicus makes (ſ) *Theſeus* to be 50 and *Helena* ſeven Years of (t) Age at the time of her being Stolen, and yet does not ſcruple to ſay that he deflour'd her. *Duris* the *Samian* (v) affirms that *Helena* was with Child of *Iphigenia*, when ſhe was recover'd from the Hands of the Raviſher. *Pauſanias* (w) ſays the ſame thing, and adds that ſhe lay in at *Argos*, at her Siſter *Clytemneſtra*'s, *Agamemnon*'s Wife, and that ſhe committed her Daughter's Education to her. He ſays that *Euphorion*, *Alexander Pleuronius*, and *Stesichorus* had teſtified in their Poems, that *Iphigenia* was the Daughter of *Theſeus* and *Helena*. The *Argians* were ſo far of this opinion as to believe that *Helena* caus'd a Temple to be built to *Lucina* in their City, after her lying in (x). A great many were impos'd upon on that occaſion. *Agamemnon* thought *Iphigenia* was his Daughter, for his Wife told him ſo. *Caſtor* and *Pollux* were perſwaded that their Siſter return'd a Maid: For when they queſtion'd her in that nice Particular, ſhe affirm'd that no Man had touch'd her (y). What ſhall we think then of *Menelaus*, who Married her ſome time after? He honeſtly believ'd he had bedded a pure Virgin, and yet he had Married a Mother.

When I ſaid *Helena* was queſtion'd by her Brothers, I followed the learn'd Mr. *Meziriac* (z) who underſtood the Greek in that Senſe: But others perhaps with more reaſon, ſay, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* adviſ'd their Siſter to give out that ſhe had preſerv'd her Honour. 'Twas a very wiſe advice, and which might have been well ſpared to *Helena* as young as ſhe was: ſhe would have boaſted of that advantage, without any one's ſuggeſtion. She declares in *Ovid* that *Theſeus* obtain'd only ſome Kiſſes of her by Force; and that ſhe came off clear, abating only her Fear.

Non (aa) tamen è facto fructum tulit ille petitum,
Excepto redii paſſa timore nihil:
Oſcula luctanti tantummodo pauca protervus
Abſtulit: ulterius nil habet ille mei.

She confeſſes however that *Theſeus* was very young (a). *Ovid* has obſerv'd a *Decorum* in making her ſpeak in that manner; nor has he obſerv'd it leſs, in introducing another Woman, who believ'd *Helena* told a Lye:

Illam (b) de patria Theſeus, (niſi nomine fallor)
Neſcio quis Theſeus, abſtulit ante ſuâ.
A juvene & cupido creditur reddita virgo.
Unde hoc compererim tam bene, quæris? amo.
Vim licet appelles, & culpam nomine velis;
Quæ toties rapta eſt, prabuit ipſa rapi.

The following Remark will ſerve for a Supplement to this.

(CΔ) *Our Romancers have not obſerv'd this.*] 'Tis certain that Mr. or Madam *de Scuderi* and the other Romancers their Contemporaries, have too violently ſhock'd probability, whilſt they have feign'd their Heroeſſes carried off, without permitting us to believe they granted any favour to their Lovers either by conſent or force. I confeſs they would be infinitely more inexcuſable, if they did not ſuppoſe as they do, that, they were Stolen, without any manner of conſent of theirs. There are Countries where there is no Puniſhment appointed for ſuch as Steal away young Women that are willing: Which is the cauſe that theſe ſorts of Thefts are very frequent: and there is no body that believes the Raviſhers are very dilatory in point of Enjoyment: The firſt Lodging they come to is the utmoſt, and even moſt are given to ſuſpect, that Enjoyment preceded the eſcape. However it be, that ſort of Rape is generally followed with Matrimony; becauſe if the Parents did not conſent to the Marriage, they would find themſelves burden'd with a Daughter that is defil'd in all Mens opinion, and who is not like to have any other Husband than what could be content with another's leavings. We confeſs then that Romancers ſecure themſelves from being laugh'd at, by the care they take to ſuppoſe that the Damſel oppoſes as much as poſſible her carrying off: But yet they can't come off clear; they overturn common notions to make a Syſtem diametrically oppoſite to the publick Judgement, and good Senſe. What motive have the Heroes when they carry off a Miſtreſs? Will they declare to her that they die with Love of her, and that her Cruelties throw them into deſpair? They have declar'd that over and over, and they have no recourſe to this violent Method, till they know ſhe is determin'd to make another Man happy, and to be for ever indifferent to them. Do they hope their Sighs ſo vainly waſted before they had provok'd her, will move her under the lively reſentment ſhe is in againſt her Raviſher? This is not probable: what they propoſe to themſelves muſt then be to take advantage of the condition, which ſubmits her to their diſcretion, and to bring her under ſuch Terms as ſhall make it her intereſt to be the firſt Proponent of Marriage: This is indeed one of the views of thoſe who have taken a young Woman againſt her Will. They perſwade themſelves that after ſhe has been ſome Months in their power, her Reputation will at leaſt begin to ſuffer, and will not be reſtor'd without the nuptial Benediction. And 'tis ſeen, that if others marry Women in this Capacity, they are ſuſpected to have taken up with the gleanings of the Raviſher. They are laugh'd at for it, and regarded as Men of no delicate Taſt: A new charge againſt the Romancers, whoſe Heroes are out of patience to Marry thoſe Miſtreſſes, which their Rivals had carried off more than once. You'll find Reflections upon all this in *Parnaſſus Reform'd*. *Cynus* complains there that *an Heroine had not been given him, that was of an unblameable Character. You will doubtleſs*, ſays he, *judge by this Diſcourſe, that I am not ſatisfied with* Mandana, *and truly what would you have me to think of her, after ſhe has been ſo often run away with? Should I believe that ſhe return'd untouch'd from the Hands of four Raviſhers? Or will thoſe that are the leaſt clear-ſighted in theſe Myſteries, queſtion whether you have given me another's leavings? Methinks you ſhould not have expoſed her Modeſty to ſuch violent Attempts, and* Mandana *was not a Fort that could withſtand ſo many Aſſaults? It may be ſhe had came off well from the firſt Attack: I am willing to believe her ſo Fortified with Virtue, as not to ſurrender at the firſt blow, and her Honour might be ſafe without a Miracle, in that unhappy incident? But Relapſes are Mortal in theſe matters: a ſecond Raviſhment ruins all: and an Heroine who has no more than the remains of a ſhaken Conſtancy, or perhaps leſs, makes but uſeleſs efforts to defend her ſelf.* *Apollo* lent an Ear to that complaint, and pronounc'd this Decree. "(d) We declare that we acknowledge "none for Heroes that are Cuckolds, nor for Hero- "eſſes, thoſe that have been carried off more than once. *Sarraſin*'s Ballad *upon the Stealing of Mademoiſelle de Bouteville by Monſieur de* (e) *Coligny*, is another Decree of Condemnation: Here is the opinion of that fine Wit.

Ce (f) gentil joli jeu d'amours
Chacun le pratique a ſa guiſe,
Qui par Rondeaux & beaux diſcours,
Chapeau de fleurs, gente cointiſe,
Tournoy, bal, feſtin, ou deviſe
Penſe les belles captiver;
Mais je penſe, quoy qu'on en diſe,
Qu'il n'eſt rien tel que d'enlever.
C'eſt bien des plus merveilleux tours
La paſſeroute & la maiſtriſe:
Au mal d'aimer, c'eſt bien touſiours
Une prompte & ſouefne criſe,
C'eſt au gaſteau de friandiſe
De Venus la fève trouver.
L'Amant eſt fol qui ne s'aviſe
Qu'il n'eſt rien tel que d'enlever.
Je ſcay bien que les premiers jours
Que Becaſſe eſt bridée & priſe,

Elle

(q) *See the Article* Acanus *Remark* A.
(r) Plutar. ib.
(ſ) Plut. ib. p. 14.
(t) Apud Tzetzen *in* Lycophronem.
(u) Apud Meziriac *upon* Ovid's *Epiſtles* p. 462.
(w) Pauſanias l. 2. p. 65.
(x) Id. ib.
(y) Θυσίαν δὲ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ τόκῳ τῷ Ἑλένης· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτῳ, φασὶν, ἐγένοντο αἱ Διὸς συνουσίαι τῇ μητρὶ τῇ Νεμέσεως· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην. Ἐλένῃ δὲ καὶ Θησεῖ παῖδα τὴν Ἀφειδαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἣν ἔκλεψεν πρὸ Ἑλένης Θησεύς.
Theſei & Helenæ, Jove natæ filia fuit Iphigenia, eamque ſoror Helenæ Clytemneſtra educavit, Agamemnoni dicens ſe eam peperiſſe: nam Helena fratribus auſultans virginem ſe à Theſeo diſceſſiſſe ajebat. Nicander l. 4. Alteratorum, apud Anton. Liberalem narrat. 27.
(z) Ubi ſupra p. 483.
(aa) Ovidius, epiſt. Helenæ ad Parid.
(a) Et juvenem facti pœnituiſſe patet. *Ib.*
(b) Ovid. in Epiſt. Oenones ad Parid.

REFLECTION *upon the Rapes of fair Damſels in Romances.*

(d) *Ib.* l. 187.
(e) *Not a Duel that Fought with the Duke of* Guiſe, *as the Author of the Galantries of the Kings of* France *would have it.* tom. 2. p. 223. *But his younger Brother.*
(f) Sarraſin, *Doëſie.* p. 59. 60.

(D): in which they were favour'd by *Helena* as much as they could wish. *Menelaus* behav'd himself like a good Husband, (E) he reconciled himself to his Wife without much difficulty, and conducted her lovingly home. After his Death she was forc'd to Fly, and to retire into the Isle of *Rhodes*, where she (F) came to a miserable end: For she was Hang'd on a Tree. (G) The Scandalous disorders of her Life did not prevent paying

Elle invoque Dieu au secours
Et ses parens à barbe grise:
Mais s'il' Amant qui l'a conquise
Sçait bien la Rose cultiver,
Elle chante en face d' Eglise
Qu'il n'est rien tel que d' enlever.

(D) *The Grecians barbarously Murder'd him,---favour'd by Helena.*] See in *Virgil* the horrible usage of *Deiphobus*'s Body, and the manner how his Wife betray'd him.

(g) Virg. Æneid. l. 6. v. 495.

Atque (g) hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora:
Ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhonesto vulnere naves.

(h) Ibid. v. 511.

. . . . . .
Sed (h) me fata mea, & scelus exitiale Lacænæ,
His mersêre malis: illa hæc monumenta reliquit.
. . . . . .

(i) Ibid. v. 518.

. . . . . (i) *Flammam media ipsa tenebat*
Ingentem, & summâ Danaos ex arce vocabat.
Tum me confectum curis, somnoque gravatum,
Infelix habuit thalamus; pressâque jacentem
Dulcis & alta quies, placidaque simillima morti.
Egregia interea conjux arma omnia tectis
Emovet, & fidum capiti subduxerat ensem:
Intra tecta vocat Menelaum, & limina pandit.
Scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
Et famam exstingui veterum sic posse malorum.

She thought that barbarous Sacrifice was necessary to appease the Fury of *Menelaus*: She would have made a better Judgment, if she had considered more the good Nature of that *Grecian* Prince, and reflected less on the guilt of her own Crimes.

(E) *Menelaus*——*reconciled himself &c.*] That poor Cuckold was so silly as to believe his Wife consum'd her self with Grief in *Priamus*'s House, (a) which was the principal Motive of his pushing on the Conquest of *Troy*. He has been handsomely Reproach'd for that his conjugal Flame, being almost extinct, rekindled upon *Helena*'s quitting him for another Husband.

(a) Μενελαος ἐδοκει διὰ τοῦτο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐρασθεὶς τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἑλένης. Maximè verò cupiebat animo ulcisci Helenæ raptumque gemitusque. Homer. Iliad. l. 2. v. 96. descript. *See the* Pensées sur les Cometes n. 237. pag. 717.

Acrius Hermionem idcò dilexit Oreste,
Esse quod alterius cæperat illa viri.
Quid Menelae dolos? ibas sine conjuge Creten,
Et poteras nupta latus abesse tua:
Ut Paris hanc rapuit, tum demum uxore carere
Non potes, alterius crevit amore tuus.

(b) Montagne Essais, *Book* 3. *Chap.* 5. *p.m.* 138.

Antiquity must needs be strongly possess'd with the good humour of Cuckolds, since it represents the God *Vulcan* so easy to his Wife. (b) "The God of our Poet, when he caught one of his "Wife's Gallants in Bed with her, was content only "to make them asham'd.——And for all that "grew warm with the soft Caresses which she "offer'd him, saying, that this should not make "her distrust his Affection.

"(1) *Quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit*
"*Quo tibi Diva mei?*

Nay, she makes a request for one of her Bastards, "(2) *Arma rogo genitrix nato*, which is generously granted her, and *Vulcan* makes honourable "mention of *Æneas*, (3) *Arma acri facienda viro*, "with an Humanity truly more than humane: And "such an Excess of Goodness, I am willing should be "left to the Gods, (4) *Nec divis homines componier "æquum est.* These Words of *Montagne* are too ingenious to displease the Judicious. But not to dissemble, I must needs own, there have been some so officious, as to do *Menelaus* the Honour, to arm him with Resentment against his unfaithful Wife. In the *Troades* of *Euripides*, he threatens to kill her; and she is forc'd to make use of all sorts of excuses to obtain her Pardon. She says amongst other things, that after the Death of *Paris* she often endeavour'd to make her escape from *Troy* to the *Grecian* Camp, and that the Sentinels surpriz'd her, endeavouring to come down the Walls by a Cord. She adds that *Deiphobus* Married her by force. *Pausanias* (c) makes mention of a Statue of *Menelaus*, pursuing *Helena* with his Sword in Hand, to kill her when *Troy* was taken. But others suppose he threw away his Sword when he saw her Breast, and suffer'd mutual Kisses and Caresses to pass betwixt him and that *Trayterous Bitch*.

(c) Pausanias lib. 5. pag. 166.

Ἐγὼ δ' (d) ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦλθον ἀναισχυντίας . . .
Οὐκ ἐλθεῖν γυναῖκα γυναικὸς λαθραίαν.
Ἀλλ' ἐς ἐμοὺς μαστοὺς, ἐς ἐλαφρὸν ἔρωτα
Φίλημ' ἐδίδουν, τερπόμην αἰσχρὰν πρᾶξιν

(i) Euripid. in Androm. v. 627. p. m. 520.

Capta autem Troja (nam & hoc tua causa veniam)
Non interfeci uxorem vocalem tu tuam potestatem
Sed postquam vidisti ubera, abjecto gladio,
Osculum accepisti, adulans canem proditricem.

(F) *Where she came to a miserable end.*] *Nicostratus* and *Megapenthus*, *Menelaus*'s Husbands, had expell'd her from *Lacedæmon*. She retir'd to *Polyxo* her Relation, the Widow of *Tlepolemus* King of *Rhodes*, and Regent of the Kingdom during her Son's Minority. *Polyxo* remembring that her Husband died at the Siege of *Troy*, and so looking upon *Helena* as the cause of her Widowship, resolv'd to be reveng'd of her; and to that end, when *Helena* was Bathing, sent Women dress'd in the habit of Furies, who Hang'd her on a Tree. The *Rhodians* desirous to immortalize that accident built a Temple which they call'd the Temple of *Helena Dendritis*. This (e) I have from *Pausanias*. The Author of the old and new *Athens*, has reason to say that a *Thousand People* (f) *who treat of the fair* Helena, *know nothing of her being Hang'd.* What is said in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, that *one of her Companions* was the cause of her Death, is not true. You'll find in *Photius* (g) that she Strangled her self, and that near the Oak on which she hung, there was an Herb, which they call'd *Helenion*, which made those People quarrelsome that Eat of it. *Pliny* attributes quite other Qualities to that Herb; it (h) beautified Women, and exhilatated those that took it in there Wine. He observes, that it was said (i) to spring from the Tears of *Helena*. You'll find in the same *Photius* (k) that *Thetis* caus'd *Helena* to Die, during the return of the *Greeks*: and according to others that she went with *Menelaus* into *Taurica Chersonesus* to seek *Orestes*, and that there they were both Sacrific'd by *Iphigenia*. I have read in *Vigenere* (l) that *Herodotus* reports that *Nicostratus* and *Megapenthus* expell'd *Helena*, and that she retir'd to *Rhodes* to *Polypo* the Widow of King *Tlepolemus*, and that *Polypo*'s Maids of Honour hating *Helena*, *because she had been the cause of their Lord's Death, as one Day she went out to Recreate her self in an Orchard without their Mistress, they hung her up and Strangled her on one of the Trees.* I find no such thing in *Herodotus*.

(e) Pausan. lib. 3. p. 102.
(f) Pag. m. 63.
(g) Photius pag. 479. ex Ptolem. Hephæstione.
(h) Plin. lib. 21. c. 21.
(i) Ibid. c. 10.
(k) Photius ibid.
(l) *Upon the* Protesilaus *of* Philostratus *fol.* 235. verso edit. *in* 4.

THE *Spanish* Monk whom I have above-cited, is grossly out about *Helena*'s Death. He says (m) that retreating to *Rhodes* to *Polyxena* Wife of *Ptetolemus* King of that Isle, she managed her self ill as she had always done from her Child-hood; that she became Amorous of the King, and was entirely at his Service. *Polyxena* enrag'd with Jealousy caus'd her to be Hang'd. *Pausanias*, he goes on, affirms that by reason of her having committed Adultery with *Ptetolemus* during the *Trojan* War, *Polyxena* put her to Death. Judge by this, if that *Spanish* Author is faithful, or skilful in his Citations.

(m) Mezitiac *upon* Ovid's *Epistles* p. 485. *and follow.*

(G) *The Scandalous disorders of her Life.*] Many Authors *have* (n) *blam'd her for her Lewdness, but especially* Lycophron *in his* Cassandra, *where he calls her* πορνοκλεπτρα, *that is to say, a Woman of five Husbands* (o) ——Euripides, *in his* Andromache, *makes* Hermione, Helena's *Daughter, thus to reproach the Vice of her Mother.*

(n) Viz. Theseus, Menelaus, Paris, Deiphobus, & Achilles.

Μὴτὴν τεκοῦσαν τὴν Θεονδρείαν μάχαν
Ζῆτει κατακτεῖναι.

(o) Ptole-

paying her (*H*) Divine Honours after her Death, and attributing Miracles to her. 'Tis not probable that *Paris* waited (*I*) to enjoy her, till they landed in an Island. Nevertheless, it is said, that he built in that Island a Monument of his first Enjoyment. 'Tis added, that (*K*) *Menelaus* did not ruine that Monument, but contented himself to shew, that he had Satisfaction for the Injury. A modern Author * does not seem to have

——Ptolemæus Hephæstion in Photius, *tells a very particular Story, which gives Testimony to* Helena's *Incontinence.* The Fact is, *that a certain* Arcadian, *call'd* Peritanus, *finding* Helena *with* Paris Alexander, *in the Country of* Arcadia, *had to do with her. But* Paris, *to chastise the Adulterer, cut off his Parts of Generation. And hence they that are castrated, are in* Arcadia, *call'd* Peritanes. *Lycophron* has us'd her more severely, than to call her a Wife of Five Husbands; 'tis said, he has call'd her Dove, because of her Lasciviousness, and Bitch because of her Impudence, or her promiscuous use of Men (*p*).

I don't see that those who would excuse *Helena*, alledge any other Reason than this, that she was fated by the Gods (*q*) to follow *Paris* (*r*). There is no Crime whatever, but may be justified by the same Apology. But I confess, that taking the Method of *Homer*'s Scholiast, one might make a good Apology. This is what he says, "Alexander, *Son of* Priamus, *travell'd out of* Asia *to* Lacedæmon, *where he* "*form'd the Design of stealing* Helena, *who had* "*lodg'd him in her Palace: But she who had been ver-*"*tuously educated, and lov'd her Husband very well,* "*would never consent to it, saying she lik'd a Law-*"*ful Marriage better than a shameful Adultery, and* "*that she had rather stay with* Menelaus. *So* "Paris *not being like to succeed, it is said, that* Venus *found out a Stratagem, which was to* "*Metamorphose* Alexander *into the Shape of* Menelaus, *and cheated her by that Means: For believing* "*him to be the true* Menelaus, *she made no scruple to* "*follow him, and to enter with him into his Ship; which she no sooner did, but* Paris *hois'd his Sails to* "*the Wind. Eustathius* also, upon the same Book "of *Homer*, touches upon the same Story, and observes, that *Penelope* govern'd her self more prudently: For though she thought she knew again "*Ulysses*, yet she would not venture to gratifie him "with any thing, and especially to lie with him, till he "had told her many Particulars, and given her "many Signs, to assure her, that he was her Husband indeed, and that she could not be mistaken (*t*).

(*H*) *Divine Honours——and attributing Miracles to her.*] I have already spoke of the Temple consecrated to her by the *Rhodians*. *Pausanias* (*v*) makes mention of that which was built to her in *Lacedæmon*. As to her Miracles, it suffices to observe, that she struck *Stesichorus* blind (*w*) who had ventur'd to speak ill of her in his Poems; and that she restored his Sight when he (*x*) had made his Recantation. She gave an extraordinary Beauty to an ugly Maid, which was every Day brought to her Temple (*y*). See the Article *Achillea*, where we have said, she was the Wife of *Achilles* in the other World; and that she knew how to make her self considerable there. See also *Isocrates*, in his Panegyrick on *Helena*. You will there find, that she not only obtain'd an Immortality, but also a Divine Power, which she imploy'd to the placing her Brothers and Husband in the Number of the Gods: So that if *Castor* and *Pollux* were capable of succouring those that in Tempests made their Prayers to them, 'twas because their Sister had communicated that Power to them, to prove to the World the Metamorphosis she had wrought upon them. They were in their Graves, when she made them Gods. And that which is laudable in it is, that conferring the same Bounty on *Menelaus*, she was resolv'd to live with him eternally (*a*). Τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἤδη κατεχομένας ὑπὸ τῆς Περσεμάνης, εἰς θεὰς ἀνήγαγε. βουλόμενη δὲ τιμᾶν τοιοῦτον τῶν μεγάλων, ὅτως αὐτοῖς τὰς τιμὰς ἐναργῶς ἔδωκεν, ὧν ἐρωμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κινδυνεύοντας σώζειν, οἱ τινες ἐν εὐσεβεῖ αὐτὰς ἐπικαλέσωνται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μενελάῳ τοσαύτην χάριν . . . ἔσχεν . . . μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν ἅπαντα . . . ἀποφῆναι. *Fratres, qui fato jam concesserant, . . . Deos retulit. Cui mutationi cum autoritatem . . . non afferre vellet, honores ita manifestos eis dedit, ut in mari conspecti, periclitantes servent, quicumque ipsos piè invocarint. Deinde Menelao tantam gratiam retulit, ut . . . non tantum . . . sed mortalem ejus sortem divinitate mutavit, eumque contubernalem sibi & assessorem in omne ævum constituerit.* *Isocrates* alledges, as a Proof, the Practice of the *Lacedemonians*, who offer'd Sacrifices to *Menelaus* and *Helena*, not as to Heroes, but as to Gods. The same Author observes, it was at *Therapnæ* these Divine Honours were paid them. But *Pausanias* does not say, that *Helena* had a Temple in that City; he only (*b*) says, that that of *Menelaus* was there, and it was believ'd that *Menelaus* and *Helena* were buried in it.

'Tis pity but *Theodoret* had built upon *Isocrates*, and not upon *Euripides*, to insult the Pagans with their numbring so famous an Adultress as *Helena* with the Gods. For though *Euripides* feign'd that she did not die, but was exalted to the Skies, by the Favour of the Gods, and immortaliz'd, it does not follow, that this was the Opinion of the Pagans. The Episodes of a Tragedy were so much at the Poets Disposal, that unless they were known to be true on other Grounds, they were look'd upon as the particular Fictions of the Tragedian. These are *Theodoret*'s Words: (*c*) Καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην δέ, μετὰ τὴν πολυθρύλλητον ἐκ παμπόλλων μοιχείαν, τῷ Μενέλεῳ χαρισάμενος, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἢ φησιν εὐκτίδης, ἀνήγαγον.

(*I*) *That* Paris *waited to enjoy her*] *Homer*, that gives him so much Patience, did not do him much Honour, according to the Principles of Gallantry (*d*). But see to what end he mentions that Circumstance of Place. *Paris*, beaten by *Menelaus*, was miserably reproach'd by *Helena*. He prays her not to insult him, but to go to Bed with him, pretending he never felt so much of the Fire of Love, not even when he enjoy'd her first in the Isle of *Cranae*. Hereupon he rose from his Seat to go to Bed, and was followed by *Helena*, without any Repugnance.

Οὐ (*e*) γὰρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὧδε ἔρος φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν,
Οὐδ' ὅτε σε πρῶτον λάκεδ' αἴμονα & ἐξ ἐρατεινῆς
Ἔπλεον ἀρπάξας ἐν ποσὶ πόρσαις νέεσσι,
Νήσῳ δ' ἐν Κρανῇ ἐμίγην φιλότητι & εὐνῇ·
Ὡς σέο νῦν ἔραμαι, καί μοι γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ.
Ἦ ῥα, & ἔζετο λίχ & δὲ κιὼν, ἅμα δ' ἕσπετ' ἄκοιτις.

Non enim unquam me sic amor mentem complexus est,
Ne tunc quidem quando te primùm Lacedæmone ex amabili
Navigabam rapta in transeuntibus pontum navibus,
Insula veroin Cranaë mistus sum amore & concubitu;
Sicut te nunc amo, & me dulce desiderium capit.
Dixit, & præibat in lectum ascendens, simul autem sequebatur uxor.

Jason has a Patience ascrib'd to him, more wonderful still than that of *Paris*; which makes it hard to discover, what it is wherein your Romancers imploy their Judgment. Ought they not above all things to stick to Probability? And don't they transgress it, when they suppose, on one hand, *Medea* so much in love with *Jason*, as to be carried by her Passion into the greatest Crimes, and on the other, spending many Months with him, without consummating the Marriage? Observe too, that it had not been consummated so soon, but for the Advice which was given by one to *Jason* (*f*).

(*K*) *That* Menelaus *did not ruine that Monument.*] Here is a Passage which would bring *Homer* off, if it were true. 'Tis pretended, (*g*) 'That on the Shore 'of the main Land, which is over-against the Isle 'of *Cranae*, there was a Temple, which *Paris* 'caus'd to be built to *Venus*, after that agreeable 'Conquest——to testifie the Transports of his 'Joy and Gratitude. He gave this *Venus* the Name 'Migonitis, and call'd the Territory Migonion, a 'Word signifying the amorous Mystery that had 'been acted there. *Menelaus*, the unfortunate Husband of that Princess, Eighteen Years after she had 'been stole, went to visit this Temple, the Ground 'whereof had been witness to his Misfortune, and 'the Infidelity of his Wife. He did not destroy it, 'but only plac'd on each side of the Statue of *Venus*, 'the Images of two other Goddesses; *viz.* *Thetis* and 'Praxidice, meaning by the Attributes of *Punishment*, to 'signifie

(*p*) Vid. Canterus *and* Meursius, *upon the* 87*th. Verse of* Lycophron.

(*q*) *See* Homer 23. Odiss. *and* Euripides *in his* Troades, *and in* Andromache apud Meziriac ib. pag. 486, 487.

(*r*) *See the Rem.* T.

(*s*) In 23. lib. Odyss. apud Meziriac pag. 487.

(*t*) *See in the Critical observations on* Maimbourg, *about the Adventure of* Alcmena. Nouvelles. Lettres, p. 284. *See also*, pag. 277. 278.

(*v*) Pausan. lib. 3. pag. 96.

(*w*) Id. ib. pag. 102.

(*x*) Suidas in Στησιχ. & ante ipsum Isocrates in Helenæ encomio.

(*y*) Herodot. lib. 6. c. 61.

(*a*) Isocrates in Helenæ encomio. pag. m. 320.

(*b*) Paus. lib. 3. pag. 102.

(*c*) Theodor. Therapeut. serm. 3.

(*d*) *See the News from the Republick of Learning*, Jan. 1687. p. 68.

(*e*) Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 442.

(*f*) Quem cum interrogaret Arete, quidnam esset judicaturus, respondit Alcinous, Si virgo fuerit Medea, parenti redditurum, si jam aut non virgo, conjugi. Hoc cum audivit Arete à connubio misit. nuncium ad Jasonem; & is Medeam noctu antro deflorinavit Hygin. cap. 23. p. m. 60.

(*g*) Guillet, *Old and New Athens*, pag. 63. Note, *that I use his own Words, not only because they are handsomely written, but also because they give occasion of Criticism. The Facts he mentions, are taken from* Pausanias.

have taken right *Menelaus*'s meaning. Some Authors say, that *Paris* (*I.*) hardly preserv'd his Booty. Many Fables (*M*) have been vented about the Birth of *Helena*, I mean

'signifie that he would not suffer the Affront to pass 'unrevenged. But he had not the good Fortune to 'see himself reveng'd of *Helena*; for she surviv'd him. The Author of the News from the Republick of Learning, having cited this Passage, adds this Reflection: (*b*) 'These last Words would furnish an 'occasion of criticizing to any one that would seek 'it. For it is certain, that Eighteen Years after '*Helena* was stolen, *Menelaus* had reveng'd himself, 'as amply as he could wish, by the Ruine of the 'Kingdom of *Priamus*, the Father of the Ravisher. 'Tis therefore very likely, that that Image of the 'Goddess *Praxilice*, had no reference to future Revenge, but to that which was past, and it is not 'apparent, that it had relation to any Design of 'punishing *Helena*. For if *Menelaus* was not reconcil'd to his Wife in Earnest, he would not have 'delay'd so long to punish her. The History of that 'Age assures us, that that artful Woman made her Peace with her Husband, the very Night the *Greeks* 'became Masters of the Town, which is very probable, considering the Character Good *Menelaus* 'has in the Iliad. Be it how it will, I will not maintain on one hand, that there was no Temple of *Venus* near the Ile of *Cranae*, nor acknowledge on the other, that *Paris* had it built for the reason that is given. I keep to Probability, which inclines one to a violent Presumption, that *Paris* enjoy'd *Helena* before he left *Lacedæmon*. What should hinder him? *Menelaus* was in the Ile of *Crete*; his Presence could not hinder *Helena* from countenancing her handsome Guest, that inveagled her; and his Absence must be left capable of doing it. See how *Paris* used and ridiculed his Absence:

Sed (*k*) *tibi & hoc suadet rebus, non voce, maritus,*
Neve sui furtis hospitis obstet, abest.
Non habuit tempus, quo Cressa regna videret,
Aptius, ô mira calliditate virum! &c.

He was not bashful with the Ladies: *Helena* confesses he was not so reserv'd as *Theseus*, who did no more than kiss her:

Quæ (*l*) *tua nequitia est, non his contenta fuisset.*
Di melius! similis non fuit illa tui,
Reddidit intactam.

Paris press'd her so urgingly one Day, that she ran away from him, and lost one of her Slippers. The Place she lost it in in *Sparta*, was call'd *Sandalion*, from that Slipper (*m*).

(*I.*) *That* Paris *hardly preserv'd his Booty.*] 'Tis (*n*) pretended that he sail'd towards *Ægypt*, and landed at the Mouth of the *Nile*, call'd *Canopus*, where there was a Temple of *Hercules*, which was a Sanctuary to Fugitive Slaves. Some of *Paris*'s Slaves having fled thither, acquainted the Priests with the Action of their Master; whereupon King *Proteus* order'd him to be seiz'd, gave him a great deal of hard Language, and afterwards commanded him immediately to depart. But he kept *Helena*, with all the other things that had been stole from *Menelaus*. 'Tis (*o*) added, that *Paris* did not enjoy that Woman, before his arrival in *Ægypt*; a Tale that I have already refuted. I don't know very well, how *Proteus* us'd her, and whether, whilst he waited to restore her to her proper Owner, he did not obtain some of the choicest Favours from her (*a*). I only know, that *Herodotus* (*b*) thinks it very probable, that she was never brought to *Troy*; for he could not perswade himself, that *Priamus* could be so stupid, as to choose rather to keep that Woman, than avoid the fatal Consequences of a Refusal. He thinks then, that the *Trojans* answer'd the *Grecian* Embassadors sincerely, that (*c*) *Helena* was not at *Troy*, and that she should be search'd for in *Ægypt*, where she was kept by King *Proteus*. The *Grecians* taking that Answer for a piece of sharp Raillery, prepar'd to besiege the Town, which when they had taken, without finding *Helena* in it, they were perswaded she was with King *Proteus*; whereupon *Menelaus* set sail for *Ægypt*, and recover'd his Wife from thence (*d*). There is such a prodigious Inconsistency of Variations in Mythological Authors, that I don't wonder to find *Servius* (*e*) relating, 1. That *Theseus*, after he had stolen *Helena*, gave her to *Proteus* King of *Ægypt*, and that *Menelaus* recover'd her out of *Proteus*'s Hands, after the War of *Troy*: So that that War was not kindled upon the account of *Paris* stealing *Helena*, but of the affront which the *Trojans* offer'd *Hercules*, in shutting the Gates against him, when he was in quest of *Hylas*. 2. That *Helena* was remov'd out of the Hands of *Proteus*, to whom *Theseus* had given her, into the Power of *Menelaus*, from whom *Paris* stole her.

I forgot to observe, that *Proteus* did not send *Paris* away, without some sort of Consolation; for he restored him the Lady's Picture (*f*). One of *Lycophron*'s Commentators applies to that very untowardly, what *Helena* says in *Euripides*, that *Juno*, to punish *Paris* for not giving her the Victory in the Contest of Beauty, gave him only a Living Image of *Helen*, instead of her real Person, which Image was form'd in the Air.

Πῆρε (*g*) δὲ μεμφθέσ', ὅτεκ' ἐ νικᾷ Θεάς,
Ἑ ξενήμασε τᾶμ' Ἀλεξάνδρε λέχη.
Δίδωσι δ' ἐκ ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁμοιώσασ' ἐμοὶ
Εἴδωλον ἔμπνευν, ἐρανὲ ξυνθεσ' ὑτο,
Πειθὼ τυρσενν παιδὶ, ᾧ δόκει μ' ἔχειν
Κενὴν δόκησιν ἐκ ἔχων.

Sed Juno molestè ferens, quo non occidisset Deas,
Irritum fecit meum conjugium Alexandro:
Dedit enim non me: sed assimilatam mihi
Imaginem vivam, sub cælo compactam,
Filio regis Priami: putavit autem se habere me,
Falsa opinione deceptus, cum non haberet.

'Tis manifest, that the Difference between these two things lies not in this, as *Canterus* would have it, that *Proteus* is the Actor in one, and *Juno* in the other. It appears likewise, that *Juno* forgot her Spirit of Revenge on that occasion: *Paris* was as happy with a Living Image of *Helena*, as he would have been with the Original. I remember I have read, that the Poet *Stesichorus* said, that the *Trojans* not knowing the true *Helena*, quarrell'd among themselves about her Picture. (*b*) Ὥσπερ τοὺς Τρῳαδας ... ἐριζειν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. *Quem admodum Stesichorus Trojanos, inquit, vera ignaros Helenæ de imagine ipsius inter se decertasse.* This is in the Notion of some *Libertines*, an Image of the Disputes about Religion.

(*M*) *Fables*——*about the Birth of* Helena.] It has not been thought enough to say, she was born of an Egg; 'tis added, that this Egg fell from the Orb of the Moon, and that the Women of that Region lay Eggs, that breed Men Fifteen times bigger than the Inhabitants of the Earth. This we learn from *Athenæus* (*i*), who says upon the Testimony of *Herodotus* of *Heraclea*, that *Nicocles* of *Cyprus* had publish'd it in one of his Works. Observe here some false Quotations about that Chimera. *Cœlius Rhodiginus* (*k*) instead of *Herodotus*, says *Herodotus*. That Fault has been copied by *Salmuth* (*l*). Who could forbear laughing to read this Passage in a *Spanish* Physician (*m*), *Nonne admirabilius adhuc in tota naturæ majestate varissimum, quod mulieres quasdam produxerit, quæ non more aliarum fœtus, sed ova edant & incubent, ex quibus homines nascantur, qui magnitudinem procerissimam excrescant? Et tamen hoc in Seleucidis mulieribus accidere referunt ex Lycosthene Rawisius Textor, & ex Herodoto Heracleotes, ut quoque testatur Rhodiginus, lib. 27. cap. 17. licet pro mera fabula hoc habeat Adrianus Junius, lib. 1. animad. cap. 15. citatus apud Pancirolum part. 2. memorab. titulo 2. histor. tamen cum nemo exhibet.* Does he not begin his Citations well, who sets out with *Lycosthenes*, who lived in the XVI. Century? Is it not a strange Blunder, to put *Rawisius Textor* after *Lycosthenes*, who was Junior and Abridger of the other? What a Leap is there immediately to *Herodotus*? What Confusion in taking *Herodotus* for *Heraclcotes*? What a Fiction to give us one *Heracleotes*, who has cited *Herodotus*! Is not this to make two Authors, where the Writer quoted gives but one? for *Cælius Rhodiginus* has said expressly, *Herodotus Heracleotes*. And what sort of reasoning is this? Though *Hadrian Junius* looks upon this as a meer Fable, *Lycosthenes*, *Rawisius Textor*, *Herodotus*, *Heracleotes*, *Rhodiginus* have nevertheless reported it. How was the Authority of *Junius* like to hinder them,

(*b*) *News from the Republick of Letters*, Jan. 1687. p. 67.
(*c*) Ovidius, Epist. Helenæ ad Paridem.
(*d*) Colluthus de rapt. Helenæ.
(*e*) Ovidius, Epist. Parid. ad Helen.
(*f*) *See* Canterus *and* Meursius *upon* Lycophron, ver. 113.
(*g*) Eurip. in Prologo Helenæ v. 31. pag. m. 308.
(*h*) Plato de republica lib. 9. p. m. 738.
(*i*) Athen. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 57.
(*k*) Lect. ant. lib. 27. c. 17.
(*l*) Salmuth. Commen. in Pancirolum de novis reperts. pag. 93.
(*m*) Caspar à Reies, in Elyho jucundarum quæst. campo, quæst. 47. n. 14. p. 6. m. 581.
(*l*) Id. in Epist. Helenæ ad Paridem.
(*m*) Ptolemæus Hephæst. apud Photium, pag. 480.
(*n*) *See* Natalis Comes, Mythol. lib. 6. cap. 23. p. m. 658. *He should have cited* Herodotus *and observed, that the Tempest forced* Paris *to put into* Ægypt.
(*o*) Quam deportavit in Ægyptum, atque ibi primum cum illa congressus fuit, Id. ibid.
(*a*) Helena *denies it in the Prologue of* Euripides's *Tragedy, entitled,* Helena, *but her Testimony is of no Account.*
(*b*) Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 120.
(*c*) Id. ib. cap. 118.
(*d*) Id. ib. & cap. 119.
(*e*) Servius in hæc verba Virgilii Æneid. lib. 11. vers. 262. Atrides Protei Menelaus ad usque columnas.

mean about the Egg from which 'tis pretended ſhe was Hatch'd. The inventions (*N*) that are attributed to her moſt faithful Maid, are a title of Infamy. If the Authors who have written of her were good Chronologers, her Beauty muſt have laſted (*O*) prodigiouſly; and we muſt ſay that the *Grecians* and *Trojans* had Fought ten Years for the poſſeſſion of an old Woman: Which would make them very Ridiculous; as they were however, tho' we allow her all the Beauty that the Poets aſcribe to her. See in *Herodotus* what one ought to think of a Woman that ſuffers her ſelf to be run away

them, who liv'd after them all except *Lycoſthenes*. But to return to *Helena*.

Some Ancient Poets have ſaid ſhe was the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Nemeſis*, and that *Nemeſis* to avoid the ardent purſuits of *Jupiter*, fled by Sea and Land, and diſguiſed her ſelf in all Shapes: But at laſt by an overpowering force *Jupiter* made her big with *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and afterwards with *Helena*;

Τὴν (*n*) φασι καλλίνυσον ὑμνοις ἀείδοντες πτερόεσσα
Ζηνὶ θοὸν βαστάσαι, πίλνα κεκρυφὼς ὑπ' ἀνθερεῶνος.

Auricomi hanc Nemeſis peperit compreſſa tonanti
Ab Jove vi.

We read in *Pauſanias* that (*o*) according to the vulgar opinion, *Helena* was the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Nemeſis*; and as for *Leda*, ſhe was but her Nurſe. *Phidias*, conſonant to this Tradition, repreſented *Leda* in ſuch a manner on the Baſis of *Nemeſis*'s Statue, that ſhe ſeem'd to lead *Helena* to that Goddeſs. Some ſay (*p*) that *Nemeſis*, being big by *Jupiter*, lay'd an Egg, and that *Leda* finding this Egg, ſat on it, and hatch'd *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, and *Helena*. Others ſay (*q*) that *Jupiter* not being able to compaſs *Nemeſis*, gave *Venus* the ſhape of an Eagle, and Metamorphos'd himſelf into a Swan, which Flew before the Eagle. He reſted himſelf in the Lap of *Nemeſis*, and was kindly receiv'd; the Lady embrac'd him and fell aſleep: The pretended Swan taking the advantage of that Sleep injoy'd her; becauſe he did it under the ſhape of a Bird, Order requir'd that *Nemeſis* ſhould lay an Egg. *Mercury* took this Egg, and carried it to *Lacedæmon*, and laid it in *Leda*'s Boſom. Hence came the fair *Helena*, which was the reaſon *Leda* adopted her for her Daughter (*r*) *Nemeſis autem ut quæ avium generi eſſet juncta menſibus actis ovum procreavit, quod Mercurius auferens, detulit Spartam, & Ledæ ſedenti in Gremium projecit, ex quo naſcitur Helena, cæteras corporis ſpecie præſtans, quam Leda ſuam filiam nominavit.* *Auſonius* has obſerv'd the diſtinction (*ſ*) betwixt *Nemeſis* and *Leda*.

Iſtos tergemino (t) naſci quos cernis ab ovo
Patribus ambiguis & matribus aſſere natos.
Hos genuit Nemeſis, ſed Leda puerpera fovit,
Tyndareus pater his, & Jupiter. Hic putat, hic ſcit.

So here many Authors of this opinion; and yet there are as many, who ſay *Leda* was the true Mother of *Helena*. The ſame *Hyginus* whom I have quoted, having ſaid there was alſo a Tradition that *Jupiter* had to do with *Leda* in the ſhape of a Swan, adds, he knew not what to pronounce concerning it, *De quo in medio relinquimus* (*u*), becauſe he ſaw equal Arguments on both ſides. *Theon* of *Alexandria* obſerves that *Jupiter*, transform'd into a Swan, lay with *Nemeſis* according to ſome, and with *Leda* according to others; and that *Helena*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* were produc'd from an Egg which *Leda* laid (*w*). *Pauſanias*, who, as we have ſeen, relates a Tradition concerning *Nemeſis*, reports another in another place (*x*) concerning *Leda*, and he moreover obſerves that there was a Memorial of it in a Temple of *Lacedæmon* (*y*); for there was to be ſeen in the Roof an Egg hang'd with Ribbons, which paſs'd for that of *Leda*. *Iſocrates* ſpeaks more poſitively. He mentions two Metamorphoſes of *Jupiter* into a Swan, one with regard to *Nemeſis*, the other to *Leda*. (*z*) Κύκνος ... ἐπὶ τὰς ... ὑπὸ ... *Oloris figura in ſinum Nemeſis ... atque iterum ejuſdem avis ſpeciem ... eſſe ſubiret ... effinxit.* Which being ſo, there is no ... ſuppos'd *Helena* proceeded from that ſecond Metamorphoſis. *Euripides* in his Tragedy of *Oreſtes* expreſly affirms that *Leda* was the Mother of *Helena*, and he gives *Helena* the Epithets ... and ..., which expreſs *Jupiter*'s Metamorphoſis into a Swan. I don't make uſe of *Plutarch*'s Authority, becauſe by the Egg of *Tyndarus* he might mean that which *Mercury* had caſt into *Leda*'s Lap: and indeed he Remarks that that Egg fell from Heaven: So that (*a*) *Hadrian Junius* ſhould not have brought *Plutarch* to countenance the ſecond Opinion. *Ovid* has been properly made a Witneſs in the Caſe, becauſe he introduces *Leda* in a *ſupine Poſture* under the Wings of a Swan, (*b*) *Ovidius quoque Ledam recubantem facit ſub olorinis alis.* *Junius* might have cited (*c*) *Lucian*, and the Scholiaſt (*d*) upon *Homer*. This latter ſays a thing which many others omit, *viz.* that the Egg which *Leda* laid, and put into a Cheſt, produc'd there *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, and *Helena*, without being Brooded.

To reconcile theſe two Opinions, *Junius* ſuppoſes that *Nemeſis* and *Leda* were one and the ſame Perſon, and for that he quotes *Lactantius* (*e*), and the Scholiaſt of *Euripides*, and *Germanicus*. The words of the laſt are very clear. (*f*) *Cygnum dicunt inter aſtra conſtitutum eo quod Jupiter in Cygnum transfiguratus evolaverit in Rhamnuntem Atticæ regionis, ibique compreſſerit Nemeſin quæ & Leda dicitur, ut refert Crates tragœdiarum ſcriptor, quæ enixa eſt ovum, unde nata eſt Helena.*

I will not end this Obſervation, without noting, that *Jupiter*, who acknowledg'd many Boys for his Sons, upon the Intrigues he had with Women, owned but one Daughter, which was *Helena*. I ſpeak of Daughters, which proceeded from his Love of Women; *Iſocrates* is my Author (*g*). I omit thoſe who pretend *Helena* (*h*) was the Daughter of *Venus*, or of the Sun and *Leda*.

(*N*) *The Inventions that are attributed.*] 'Tis pretended ſhe invented I know not what Poſtures, and that ſhe wrote upon that matter. I ſhall explain my ſelf clearer in *Latin*, in the Words of *Leonicus Thomæus*. *Aſtyanaſſa quædam nomine*, ſays he, (*i*) *inter Helenæ miniſtras & famulas fuiſſe commemoratur, quæ dominam à Theſeo primum, poſtea à Paride raptam ſemper proſequuta eſt: hanc in Venerea palæſtra primam complures reperiſſe ſigurarum modos omnis perhibet antiquitas. Voluminibus quinetiam quibuſdam editis de variis concubitus generibus perſcripſiſſe narratur, quam poſtmodum Philenis & Elephantis pervulgatiſſimæ mulieres ſunt inſequutæ, quæ hujuſmodi de rebus non minus accurate, quàm Jupiter conſcripta commentaria reliquere.* If that be true, it will caſt an indelible Stain on *Helena*'s Memory; for it is probable if that Servant read Lectures to her Miſtreſs, her Miſtreſs intruſted her with the ſecret of her practiſing them; and that thereby, they both clubb'd their aſſiſtance to perfect thoſe horrid inventions. I have read in *Photius* (*k*) that *Aſtyanaſſa* ſtole an imbroider'd Girdle, which *Juno* had obtain'd of *Venus* to give to *Helena*; but that *Venus* took it away from that Maid.

(*O*) *Her Beauty muſt have laſted prodigiouſly.*] 'Tis pretended that *Helena* and *Caſtor* were hatch'd from the ſame Egg: We may well ſuppoſe then that *Helena*, was a Woman grown when the *Argonauts* went to *Colchos*; for her two Brothers *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, ſignaliz'd themſelves in that famous Expedition. Let us allow her 20 Years at leaſt, which can't be too much. We will not make advantage of *Euſebius*'s Error; I will ſpeak of that hereafter. Let us uſe the Chronology that is moſt exact. About 30 Years are reckon'd betwixt that Expedition and that of *Troy*. *Helena* then was 50 years Old, under or over, when *Paris* ſtole her. The Siege of *Troy* laſted 10 Years, and 'twas the laſt Year of the Siege that *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* Quarrell'd. Now the Admiration *Priamus*'s Counſellors expreſs'd for the divine Beauty of *Helena*, muſt be computed to happen after that Quarrel (*l*). Thus *Helena*, at 60 years of Age, by the extraordinary Luſtre of her Beauty, obliged a whole Senate to confeſs that ſhe was a prize of Love, that was worth while for two powerful Nations to run one another in a ten Years War. Is not this very wonderful? *Paris* having been kill'd ſome time after, there aroſe a warm

Diſpute

(*n*) Taraſius five Staſinus in carmine de rebus Cypriacis, apud Hadrianum Junium, animadv. l. 1. c. 15.

(*o*) Pauſanias l. 1. p. 32.

(*p*) Interpres Callimachi apud Hadrian. Junium ibi.

(*q*) Hygin. Aſtronom. l. 2. c. 8.

(*r*) Hygin. ibid.

(*ſ*) Auſon. Epigram. 56.

(*t*) *That word ſhews that* Auſonius *ſpeaks alſo of* Helena, *and that* Hadrian Junius ubi ſupra, *ſhould not have ſaid* Conſentit & Auſonius poëta de Caſtore & Pollice loquens.

(*u*) Hygin. ibid.

(*w*) Theon Alexandrinus in Arateis commentariis, apud Hadr. Junium ibid.

(*x*) Lib. 3. pag. 97.

(*y*) Hadr. Junius *believes without reaſon that* Pauſanias *places that Temple in the Town of* Amyclæ.

(*z*) Iſocrat. in Helenæ encomio.

(*a*) Τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυνδάρεω τεθέντα ... ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν. Plutarch. Sympoſ. l. 2. c. 3. p. 637.

(*b*) Hadr. Junius ubi ſupra. Ovid's *words are* Fecit olorinis Ledam recubare ſub alis. Metam. l. 6.

(*c*) In Dearum judicio, p. m. 270. to. 1.

(*d*) In Odyſſ. l. ...

(*e*) Lactit. lib. 1. cap. 21.

(*f*) Germanicus Cæſar in Arati phænomenis, p. m. 115.

(*g*) In Encomio Helenæ.

(*h*) Ptol. Hephæſt. apud Photium pag. 480.

(*i*) Nicolaus Leonicus Thomæus, de varia Hiſtoria, lib. 3. cap. 31. *He ſhould have cited* Suidas.

(*k*) Photius ex Ptolem. Hephæſt. pag. 480.

(*l*) *I have related above what they ſaid, Note* A.

away with (P). Opinions vary concerning *Helena*'s Children: Some say † she had only Daughters, others assure * us that *Menelaus* had four Boys by her. A Son too has been mention'd that she had by *Achilles* ß. She had by *Menelaus* the beautiful *Hermione*; and by *Paris* a Daughter nam'd *Helena*, which *Hecuba* put to Death. The Father would have had her nam'd *Alexandra*; but as the Mother oppos'd it, they cast Lots ‡ who should give the name. *Helena* won, and gave her Daughter her own Name

† Stephanus voce Ἄργος.

* Scholiast. Homeri, & Eustathius in Iliad. lib. 3.

ß See the Article Achilles, pag. 61.

‡ Ptolem. Hephæst. apud Photium pag. 480.

(m) Ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ γάμου τοῦ Ἕλενου καὶ τῆς Ἑλένης, ἣν ἔσχεν ὁ Ἕλενος ἐκ τοῦ Μενελάου, ἐγένοντο τῷ Ἕλενῳ παῖδες τέσσαρες, Κέστριος καὶ Τληπόλεμος καὶ Γόργιθος καὶ Ἀνάξιππος. Scholiastes Homeri in Iliad. lib. ultimum, v. 251.

(n) His name was Helenus. See the Bibliotheque of Photius, in the extracts of Conon, p. 441.

(o) Lucian. in Gallo Oper. to 2. p. m. 251.

(p) Diod. Siculus, l. 4. c. 14.

(q) Τὸν μὲν φάσκειν ἰμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος. Nam & vetustæ hanc obtinuisse fama perhibetur. Quintus Calaber l. 10. v. 51.

(r) In the moral Reflexions of Father le Moine.

(s) La Motthe le Vayer, letter 114. vol. 8. edit. 12.

(t) He spoke of an ugly Woman grown handsome.

(u) Flet quoque ut in speculo rugas contemplata senectus exit anilis Tyndaris, & secum cur fit bis rapta, requirit. Ovid. Metamorph. lib. 15. v. 232.

(w) Euseb. in Chronic. p. m. 47

Dispute between his Brothers, who should Marry the Widow. (m) *Priamus*, appointed a Combat, and promis'd her to him who should obtain the Victory. *Deiphobus* had the best on't and carried *Helena*. One of (n) the Brothers was so enrag'd with his exclusion, that he departed from *Troy*, and contributed all he could to the ruin of his Country. Does not this prove that *Helena* at 60 years of Age was a prodigy of Beauty. *Lucian* proves that at the Siege of *Troy* she was an Old Woman, almost as Old as *Hecuba*. (o) Εἶδον γὰρ ἔγωγε μίαν τινὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους τὴν εἰς ἀκμὴν κάλλους ἀφικομένην, ἀλλὰ δὲ πάνυ πρεσβυτέραν ἀληθῶς γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλένης. *Siquidem vidi quandam candida & procera cervice ut cygno prognatam illam hinc conjicerent. Cæterum annum Hecubæ propemodum æquaverat.* She must have been much older than *Hecuba*, if that was true which (p) has been said, that *Hercules* was the last Child of *Jupiter*. Our admiration of so Aged a Beauty would cease, if we could believe the Story that is told, that *Helena* was Guarded by a notable priviledge from (q) growing Old; but every body does not give credit to it. "'Tis said of *Helena*, that in her latter Days, as "often as she saw her self in a Glass, she wonder'd "what was become of her self, and complain'd of "Time which had been her third Ravisher, and had "Stolen *Helena* from *Helena* her self. I have read that in the Book of (r) a Jesuit who has a very affected Stile. Another Modern tells the same Story, almost in the same manner (s). *She of whom you speak, deserves to be look'd on with such an Eye as yours. You'll quickly see in her a Change quite contrary to that which has given you (t) so much Astonishment. 'Tis that which a few Years will make you observe; that which made* Helena *Weep when she saw her self in her Glass, and obliged her to call Time her third or fourth Ravisher, for the number of 'em is not very certain. A strange sort of Rape, to see* Helena *Ravish'd from her self, to see* Helena, *whom three parts of the World, which then were all, acknowledged for the finest Woman of her Age, seeking for her Face in a Glass, which represented nothing but a frightful Object.* That thought Quadrates with two Verses of Ovid (u).

I must observe that if we follow *Eusebius*'s Chronology, we shall find that *Helena* had lived above an Age, when *Paris* stole her; for in his Calculation the expedition of the *Argonautæ*, was 89 Years before the taking of *Troy*. He had observ'd the miscreckoning of the *Greek* Authors, and therefore he objected to them: *Si inter Argonautas fuerunt Castor & Pollux, quomodo potest eorum soror Helena credi, quæ post multos annos virgo rapitur à Theseo* (w)? Observe here *Scaliger*'s Annotation upon this Latin. *In Græcis*, says he, (x) ἁμάρτημα μέγα τοῦτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφέων, quæ non multis post annis virgo capitur. *Sive culpa librariorum, sive quod verisimilius, Hieronymi properantis accidit, ut negatio in latina interpretatione expressa non sit, omnino ridicula sententia efficitur. Nam quo remotior fuerit raptus Helenæ eo credibilior erit. Contra quo propior his temporibus eo remotior à Trojæ excidio, eoque minus credibile Helenæ tempus in hujus fœrali vadum incidisse.* That Animadversion appears to me very false, and the more I examine it the more I am surpriz'd at it. I don't deny but the negative Particle, the omission whereof *Scaliger* thinks a fault in St *Jerome*, may make it good Sense; but I can't comprehend that the Sense would be Ridiculous if that Particle were suppress'd; and on the contrary *Eusebius*'s Objection seems more intelligible to all sorts of Readers, without that Negative Particle than with it. *Eusebius*'s Design is to prove that those who said *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helena*'s Brothers, were in the Voyage of the *Argonauts*, and that *Theseus* Stole *Helena* yet very young, have but ill concerted the Times. If *Castor* and *Pollux*, says he, were in the number of the *Argonautæ*, how can we believe they were the Brothers of *Helena*, who was Stole away young by *Theseus* many Years after? The most stupid Readers will perceive the force of the Objection, without any need of Reasoning, without any recourse but to the very Words of *Eusebius*: But if we suppose with *Scaliger*, that *Eusebius* express'd it in this manner. *If* Castor *and* Pollux *were in the number of the* Argonauts, *how can we believe they were the Brothers of* Helena, *who was Stole away young by* Theseus *a few Years after?* Every one sees, that to be sensible of this Objection, we must take our Eyes off from the Words that contain it, and recur to the Arguments and Calculations that are found in the following Pages; for if one only consider'd *Eusebius*'s Expressions, one would imagine that he reason'd ill, and brought a Proof directly contrary to what he pretended to assert.

Here are some other Words of *Scaliger* that to me seem unexact. *Ab hoc* (a) *tempore*, says he (b), *ad excidium Ilii, anni sunt LXXIX. ut Helenam admodum annum fuisse oporteat, si Argonautica hoc tempore contigerunt. Nam adultis Castoribus, Helenam quoque maturam viro fuisse necesse est. Quod si Argonautica hic collocentur, tempore excidii Iliaci Helena fuerit major annorum CXX. Hoc est quod objicit Eusebius & merito.* That is, if there was 79 Years betwixt the Voyage of the *Argonautæ* and the taking of *Troy*, *Helena* must needs be above 120 years Old when *Troy* was taken. What consequence is here? Is this worthy of the great *Scaliger*? Must a Maid be above 40 Years Old to be said to be Marriageable, *matura viro*? 'Tis that Expression of the Author which I confute.

(a) *That is from the number* 750. *of* Eusebius. *But I wonder that* Scaliger *did not mind, that* Eusebius *had already spoken of the* Argonautæ *under the number* 740.

(b) Ibid. pag. 40.

He has succeeded much better in his Animadversions upon *Eusebius*'s Calculations; for it is not true, that the Expedition of the *Argonautæ*, and that of *Troy*, were at such a distance from one another as *Eusebius* imagines. But it is certain that *Eusebius* follow'd the most famous Writers; and consequently I can maintain that if the Ancient Authors, which speak of *Helena*, were good Chronologers, her Beauty must have lasted a prodigious while; *viz.* above a Century! Let us view a little the Calculations, which *Clemens Alexandrinus* borrows from *Apollodorus*, and some other celebrated Historians. In one place (c) he says that there were 38 Years betwixt the beginning of *Hercules*'s Reign in *Argos*, (after the Expedition of the *Argonautæ*,) and his Deification; and that *Castor* and *Pollux* were Deified 53 Years after *Hercules*, about the time *Troy* was taken. Which is to reckon 91 Years betwixt the Voyage of the *Argonautæ*, and the taking of *Troy*, and to make *Helena* an Hundred years Old or thereabouts, at the time that *Paris* stole her, under the notion of an accomplish'd Beauty. In an other (d) place the same Father makes a computation, which puts 68 Years betwixt *Paris*'s stealing *Helena*, and the Expedition of the *Argonautæ*.

(c) Clemens Alexandr. l. 1. Stromat. 322. ex Apollodoro.

(d) Ibid. p. 330.

(P) *Of a Woman that suffers her self to be run away with.*] *Herodotus* (e) tracing up to their first Original, the long continued Wars betwixt *Europe* and *Asia*, owns the *Asiaticks* for the Aggressors, as having Stole away *Io* the Daughter of *Inachus* King of *Argos*. The *Europeans* who Stole away the (f) King of *Tyre*'s Daughter, only did it by way of Reprisal. But they did not stop there, they engag'd in a second adventure, the stealing *Medea*, Daughter to the King of *Colchos*. That Prince demanded satisfaction for the injury. 'Twas answer'd they would give him none, because they had never receiv'd any for the Rape of *Io*. The Stealing of *Helena* was undertaken by way of Reprisal upon the Greeks: redemanded her, it was answer'd that they would deal by them as they had dealt by the *Asiaticks*, when they demanded back *Medea*. They were not satisfied with that Answer, but raising a great Army fell to ruining the Kingdom of *Priamus*. See now what Pleas the *Persians* had to justify their Wars. They pretended that the Expedition to *Troy* gave them a right

(e) Herodot. lib. 1. init.

(f) *They were* Cretans.

(x) Animadv. in Eusebii n. n. 756.

† Id. ib. Name †. There has been much talk of *Helena*'s Necklace (*Q*), and of her (*R*) *Crater*, and of the *Nepenthes* which she made *Telemachus* the Son of *Ulysses* Drink. It is said also that

ught to hold the *Europeans* for Enemies, and to use them as such. They disliked the violence of such as stole a Woman, but they look'd upon those as Fools, who busied themselves about recovering her; for as much as no Women are Stolen but such as are willing. As for us, said they, we never minded the Women that were Stole from *Asia*: 'Twas the *Greeks* that began the War for the sake of a Woman of *Lacedæmon*. (*g*) Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας, ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲν ἧσσον νομίζοντας εἶναι τοὺς ἀρπαζομένων τοιούτων τυγχάνειν, ἀνόητον, τοὺς δὲ μηδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένους ἐκείνων, εἰ μὴ μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐθέλοιεν ἀπολαβεῖν, οὐ νοῦν ἔχειν. Ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἁρπασθείσας τῶν γυναικῶν. *Et quidem sentire injuriosum virorum fastum esse rapere feminas: amentium vero, raptis delictorum operam dare: prudentium autem, pro nulla habere rapti cum pulchritudinem: quippe quæ, si voluissent, haud dubie raptæ non fuissent. Eoque suarum fœminarum ex Asia raptarum Persæ negant ullam se habuisse rationem.* We must not omit *Isocrates*'s Observation here. The War of *Troy*, says he, was very advantageous to *Greece*: Many things were found out in it; and *Europe* began to have the Superiority over *Asia*. Before that War, the *Barbarians* made Conquests upon the *Grecians*. It was *Helena* that gave occasion to a new turn of Affairs; for after that War, the *Greeks* took Towns and Provinces from the *Barbarians* (*h*).

(*g*) Id. ib. ad. 4.

(*h*) Hecat. encomio Helenæ sub finem.

We must not forget that passage of *Euripides*, where *Helen* speaks such Home-truths to *Menelaus*. He blames him especially for two gross Faults: The first was for having acted by his Wife as if she had been an honest Woman; the second was for having rais'd an Army to recover her. You left her, says he, upon Parole, and Honour; you left your House without ordering your Doors to be lock'd, and your Servants to look after her, as if she, who was the Wickedest of Women, had been Chast and Honest.

(*i*) Eurip. in Andromacha v. 593. P. m. 518. (*k*) Id. ib. v. 607.

Ἄκλητ' (*i*) ἄδικα δώμαθ' ἱκόμενος τάδε,
Οὐ δόκησιν παρεῖς ἐν ἥσσοσι τέκνοις,
Πάτερ, ἔμοιγε.

Linquens domum non clausam, & sine servis,
Qui si haberes castam mulierem in ædibus,
Quæ omnium est pessima.

(*l*) *See the Note T at the beginning.*

She ran away with a young Fellow that was a Stranger; and you forsooth for the Love of her must make War with all *Greece*: You should have done the contrary; after you had found out her Infidelity, have left her where she was, and rather have paid a Tribute, than that she should e'er have set Foot in your House again.

(*m*) Eurip. v. 681. pag. 522.

(*n*) Meursius *instead of* πόνοις, *reads* πόροις, Plutarchi. *See his Treatise* de regno Laconico, p. 22. *where he refers us to his* Atticæ lectiones *Book* 2. *Chap.* 17. *concerning the two Epithets of* Minerva πρόμαχος & πρόνοος.

Ἦ (*k*) τάδ' ἐπιστρεπτὰ, γυναικεῖ δόρει,
Κεκμηκέναι χρὴ, δεῦρ' ἰοῦσ' ἐπὶ γῆν,
Μισθὸν τιθεῖσαν, μηδὲν εἰς οἴκους κομεῖν.

Quam oportebat te conspuentem non movere hastam,
Cum invenisses malam, sed sinere ibi manere,
Mercedemque dare præterea, ne unquam in ædes eam reciperes.

Menelaus answers in a soft manner, that the Misfortunes (*l*) of his Wife had been unvolantary; that it was a blow of Fate, which occasion'd great Advantages to the *Greeks* (*m*), who first began to learn the Art of War, at the Siege of *Troy*. This confirms *Isocrates*'s Observation.

(*Q*) *There has been much talk of* Helena's *Necklace.*] *Menelaus* preparing for the Expedition of *Troy*, went to *Delphi* with *Ulysses* to consult the Oracle, and to offer *Helena*'s Necklace. Τότε δὴ Μενέλαος μὲν τὸν (*n*) περόνην Ἀθηνᾷ τὸν τῆς Ἑλένης ἀνέθηκεν ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος. *Tunc sane Menelaus Providæ Minervæ monile Helenæ Delphis dedicavit* (*o*). The Oracle order'd him to do it, and promis'd by that means the Punishment of the Ravisher. *Athenæus* has (*p*) preserv'd the Oracle's answer: It contains only three Verses, shewing that this Necklace was made of Massy Gold, and that *Venus* gave it *Helena*: when the *Phoceans* pillag'd the Temple of *Delphi*, in the 105 Olympiad, this Necklace was one part of the Plunder; but it produc'd a strange effect; the Lady that wore it became

(*o*) Eustathius ad Odyss. l. lib. 3.

(*p*) Athen. l. 6. p. 232.

an infamous (*q*) Prostitute; she quitted her House to run all the World over, with a young Epirote that she was in Love with (*r*). 'Twas either a very active Contagion, or a manner of Punishment very unworthy of the Goddess to whom *Menelaus* had devoted it. Rather a natural than a moral Evil, should have been appointed the Punishment of that Womans Confidence, who durst appropriate to her self the Spoils of so Sacred a Place.

NOTE that there are some, who will have it that the Lady who had this Necklace, was a Lewd Woman before. 'Tis said that the Wives of those who plunder'd the Temple disputed who should have the Necklace of *Helena* and that of *Eriphile*, and they at last decided it by Lot. That of *Eriphile* fell to a grave, severe, wild Woman, who afterwards kill'd her Husband; the other fell to a very handsome Woman, but very lascivious (*s*).

(*q*) Quin & princeps in Phocide mulieres quæ aurea ex Delphis monilia sibi circumdederant, meritas impietatis pœnas incurrerunt. Namque Helenes torquem gestabat in turpitudinem meretriciam prolapsa, formæ elegantiam protervæ lascivorum libidini prostituit. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 16. c. 65.

(*R*) *And of her* Crater, *and the* Nepentes, *she made* Telemachus *drink.*] The *Crater* was a Work of *Vulcan*, and a Nuptial Present; for when *Pelops* married, *Vulcan* made him a present of it. *Menelaus* deriving his Pedigree from *Pelops*, succeeded to that part of the Inheritance, and lost it, when *Paris* stole *Helena*, with the Jewels and Moveables of his Entertainer. But 'tis pretended, that *Helena* threw this fine Present into the Sea, near the Isle of *Cos*; which being found in the Net of some Fishermen, there arose a Dispute, the Conclusion whereof was, that it should be consecrated to *Apollo*. According to the Author from (*a*) whom I have this, it was a *tripos*; nevertheless, the Interpreters (*b*) pretend, that *Lycophron*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Apuleius* and *Philostratus* have understood the same thing. Now *Lycophron* call'd it, (*c*) τρίποδον κρατῆρα, and these are the Words of *Apuleius*, (*d*) *Nunquam apud eum* (Homerum) *marino aliquo & piculento medicavit nec Proteus faciem, nec Ulysses scrotum, nec Æolus follem, nec Helena* Craterem, *nec Circe poculum, nec Venus cingulum.* As to *Philostratus*, this is what he says in the Epistle Dedicatory of the Life of the Sophists. Τὸν κρατῆρα τοῦτον ἄγαλμα ἔστιν, ᾧ τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ κεκλῶσθαι τὴν γνώμην, ὅσπερ ὁ κρατὴρ οὗτος ἐν τοῖς Λιμνητικοῖς φησιν. It does not seem to me, that either he, or *Apuleius*, spake of a particular Vessel which belong'd to *Helena*, as a piece of exquisite Work. 'Tis plain, that they allude to what *Homer* relates, in the 4th. Book of the *Odyssey*, touching the *Nepenthes*, which is, that *Helena*, to exhilarate *Telemachus*, the Son of *Ulysses*, and her other Guests, and to hinder them from attending to their Misfortunes, mingled in their Wine a little *Nepenthes*, which was I know not what, that had an extraordinary Virtue.

(*r*) Athen. ubi sup. a pag. 233. (*s*) Id. ib. (*a*) Diog. Laertius in Thalete, l. 1. n. 34. (*b*) Menag. in Laert. ib. Meursius in Lycophr. pag. 272. (*c*) In Cassandra, v. 854. (*d*) Apolog. p. m. 294.

Ἐνθ' (*e*) αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἤρτο θεὰ Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα.
Αὐτίκα δ' εἰς οἶνον βάλε φάρμακα, νήχε δ' ἄνωθεν,
Νηπενθὲς τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπιλήθεθ' ἁπάντων.
Ὃς τὸ καταβρόξειεν ἐπὴν κρητῆρι μιγῇσιν.

Ibi tum alia excogitavit Helena è Jove nata.
Protinus sane in vinum misit pharmacum unde bibebant.
Absque dolore & ira, malorum oblivionem inducens omnium,
Qui illud diglutierit postquam crateri mixtum erit.

(*e*) Homer. Odyss. lib. 4.

Helena had brought that wonderful Remedy from *Egypt*, which she had learnt of *Polydamna*, the Wife of *Thon*. *Homer* says nothing at all about the Vessel, containing the mixt Wine; and therefore *Apuleius* and *Philostratus* consider only the Virtue of the *Nepenthes*, and consequently speak not of that fine Vessel mentioned by *Diogenes Laertius*, I mean the Nuptial Present, which *Pelops* received from *Vulcan*, &c. Call to mind here, what I have said in the first Note, in mentioning the Cup which *Helena* offer'd to *Minerva*: And if you would know the reason why I have made use of the barbarous Word *Crater*, I must tell you, 'tis because the Words, Glass, Cup, Pot, Goblet, do not express what was meant by the Word *Crater* in *Homer*'s Time. (*f*) *The* Crater *was a great Vessel, which was not used to drink in, but only to mingle Wine with Water, from which Vessel they drew out the Wine thus mingled with Bowls, or they first pour'd it into Pots and Pints, and then into drinking Cups,*

(*f*) Mezeriac *upon* Ovid. p. 280. *where he proves this, and censures* Amiot *and* Vigenere *for Translating* Crater *by a drinking Cup.*

that when she was at the point of being sacrificed, she was saved by a Miracle (S): And an Excuse has been endeavoured for her Adulteries, by saying she was forc'd to them by the Gods (T). The Heathens have made use of such like Suppositions on so many Occasions, that it will not be unseasonable to enquire from what Motive it was that they reasoned in that manner. I design to bestow (T△) a Note upon this Head.

Some

Cups. Note, that the Vessel mentioned by *Diogenes Laertius*, was thrown into the Sea before the *Trojan* War, but that spoken of by the others, was in *Menelaus*'s Hands after that War.

I OUGHT not to forget, that some learned Men have made *Homer*'s *Nepenthes* the Subject of their Studies and Meditations; they have made many Conjectures, and have built several Hypotheses upon it. See *Peter Petit*'s Dissertation, intituled *Homeri Nepenthes*, and printed at *Utrecht* in the Year 1689. in *Octavo*. There is both Wit and Learning in it. The Author speaks of a *Neapolitan* Civilian, who has treated of the same matter, and has given himself up to all the Excesses of a rambling Humour. I mention this Picture of that Author, because it very fairly represents the Character of Affectation, to say out all that a Man has read; and because one may observe in it many frothy Imaginations, concerning the *Nepenthes*. (g) *Non morabor hic studiosos variis quæstionibus, ut Petrus in Sena, an Nepenthes ex eorum numero esset medicamentorum quæ chimica arte parantur, an simplex quid & solius naturæ proprietate efficax. Ut scilicet habeat occasionem, quæ de artis ejus origine & antiquitate legerat, effundendi: qua in disputatione plures onerat paginas, abutiturque patientia lectorum. Nec minus inanis & superflua opera arguendus, cum tam solliciti de gemmarum viribus differit, seu non satis ex Homeri descriptione constaret Nepenthes plantis esse annumerandum, quod ipse postea fatetur. Cum etiam professus non esse hominis frugis, tempus terere investigando an forte hac Helenæ potio (verba ejus refero) μαγικὸν, hujusmodi curationis efficaciam retinuerit, multa nihilo secius subjungit de Magia Ægyptiorum, veterumque Medicorum incantationibus, locaque Homeri profert ex Odyssea, quæ ad magiam pertinere existimantur, eorum scilicet testimonio, qui, ut Plinius lib. 30. cap. 50. refert, Protea & Sirenum cantus apud Homerum non aliter intelligi voluerunt. Tum multa interpunit de cratere Helenæ, captata occasione sermonis ex quodam Calii Rhodigini loco. Et quid magis ἀπροσδιόνυσον, quam de Clematide Ægyptia dicere, quæ fecundate Zenonem Cittiæum solitum peti, quod procero graciliique & fusco corpore esset, tradit Laertius? His igitur (inquam) quæ nihil ad rem attinent, prætermissis, aio Nepenthes fuisse unum è terra nascentibus; quoddam scilicet herbæ aut virgulti genus.* The Chevalier *de Meré* imagines, that the *Nepenthes* was nothing else but the Charms of *Helena*'s Conversation. See how he expresseth himself in a Treatise, where he addresses a Lady (b) "Though *Homer* doth not enlarge upon the Eloquence of *Helena*, "he who speaks so much of that of *Ulysses* and of *Nestor*, he omits not however, by a Mystery of Poetry, to make us sensible, that it was a Pleasure to "hear her speak; and here is in a few Words, what "gives me reason to think so. *Ulysses*, a long time "after the sacking of *Troy*, was not able to return "into his Isle of *Ithaca*; his Son *Telemachus* was "in pain about him, and to know whether he was "alive or dead, he made a visit to *Nestor*, who could "not inform him what was become of him. From "thence the young Gentleman continued his "Voyage, and came to *Menelaus*, where he had "a sight of *Helena*, and supt with her. He was "very melancholy, and that Princess having "pity on him, made use of a Charm to make him "forget all his Discontents. That Charm, saith "*Homer*, was a Liquor which she mingled with the "Wine, before she sate down to Table, which Potion was of such a Virtue, that after one had tasted it, it was impossible to shed a Tear all the Day "after. She had another excellent Secret, which "was given her by the Goddess of the Graces. You "know, Madam, that there is no Lady who can "imitate the Sound of your Words; but if she had "observed you, she had made her self so perfect "Mistress of your Voice and Manners, that she "would have been mistaken for you.

(S) *She was sav'd by a Miracle.*] The Miracle was this: A great Plague depopulated the Town of *Lacedæmon*: The Gods made it known it should become healthy again, provided they sacrificed every Year a Maid of Quality. The Lot fell once upon the fair *Helena*: but as she was led to the Altar, an Eagle stoopt, and took away the Knife, and put it on an Heifer; which was the reason that *Helena*'s Life was spared (i).

(T) *By saying she was forced to them by the Gods.*] I have touch't (k) upon this Point already; but there is something wanting. If some say, that *Venus* led the ordering of this Woman's Ravishment, to testifie her Gratitude to the Judge, who had determined the Cause in the Dispute of Beauty on her behalf; Others assure us, that she did it to revenge her self for an Affront. *Menelaus* had promised her a Hecatomb upon his obtaining *Helena*; but having accomplisht his Wishes, he took no care of his Vow. *Venus* took this heinously, and to punish him, caused *Paris* to run away with his Wife (l). Others date the Original of this higher: they pretend that *Tyndarus* left out *Venus* in a Sacrifice that he offered to all the Gods, and that in Punishment of this Contempt, *Venus* fated all the Daughters of that Prince to be Bigamists, Trigamists, and Elopers from their Husbands. The best of all is, that the same Goddess, who had spoiled *Tyndarus*'s Daughters, reproach'd him for their Adulteries. 'Tis said, that these Reproaches so sensibly touch'd him, that to be revenged of her, he put her Feet in Chains. *Pausanias* can't believe, that *Tyndarus* would have been so ridiculous, as to imagine he could revenge himself of *Venus*, by making a Statue, which he should call by her Name, tying it by the Legs. But in this the Historian was unacquainted with his own Religion. He did not know, that on many Occasions, (n) the Heathens discharged their Fury upon the Temple, and Statues of the Gods, whom they believ'd the Authors of their ill Success. And at the bottom, is it not affronting a Prince to abuse his Picture and Statues? Consider the Indignation of *Theodosius* against the City of *Antioch*; nothing moved him more sensibly, than the Violences which were offered the Statue of the Empress during the Sedition. See his History, writ by Mr. *Fleetier* (o). For the rest, I must advertise, that when I spoke of the Indignities which were offered *Venus* by *Tyndarus*, I have only reported the Opinion of some Moderns, who have blunder'd in the Translation of *Pausanias*. 'Tis certain, that the *Greek* Text does not import, that that Goddess had reproach'd *Tyndarus* in that manner: They who understand the *Greek* Tongue, will see that I am not mistaken. Τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον λόγον, ὡς ἐπ' ἴσῃ τιθεῖεν τιμωρεῖσθαι ὁ Τυνδάρεως γενεὰς ἐπιόντας ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα ὑπὸ Μενελάου, τὰ ὀνείδη, ἅτινα ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς πεποιήμασι, τὰς μὲν δὴ παλλακὰς ἔνιοι κλήθρα πεποιηκέναι μύθου ἕνεκα ἐπιτήδειον· ὄνομα Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ μάλιστα ἐπιτιθέασιν ἀμαυρὸν ἐπὶ θεᾷ. That is, according to *Amasæus*'s Translation; *Nam deam ulciscí voluisse compedibus (fuit enim qui hoc etiam memoriæ prodiderint) exprobrantem (a) illi filiarum adulteria, ut credam, adduci non possum.* (b) *Quam enim ridiculum, si putasset ab effigie, quam è cedro feciſſet Veneris nomine, injectis compedibus pœnas expeti posse.*

(T△) *I design to bestow a Note upon.*] *Menelaus* answering the harsh Reproaches of *Peleus*, declared, That the Will of *Helena* had not been the cause of those Adventures that had afflicted his Life, but that the Will of the Gods was to be found fault with.

Ἑλένη (c) δ' ἐμὸς οὐχὶ θυμὸς ἦν ἀλλὰ θεῶν.

Helena vero venit in ærumnas non volens, sed divinitus.

This Language was common enough among the *Pagans*. They imputed to Fortune, that is to say, to God, not only their ill Success, but also their Faults. That Excuse, or that milder Consolation, seemed to be always at Hand, and was immediately recurr'd to. *Plutarch* teaches us this, mentioning some Verses, which contain a thing a Father said to his Son, and the Son's Answer.

Sou.ent

A N INSTANCE *of a digressing Spirit of a Writer.*

(g) Petrus Petitus in Homeri Nepenthe cap. 3. init. pag. 6.

(b) Cheval. de Meré des agremens. p. 140. of the Dutch Edit.

(i) Plutarch in parallelis, p. 314

(k) *In the Rem.* G.

(l) Ptol. Hephæst. apud Photium, pag. 480.

(n) *See the Thoughts upon Comets.* p. 132.

(o) *At the Page* 341, 342, *ad Ann.* 387. *of the Dutch Edition.*

(a) *These equivocal Words, but which express more plainly the Reproaches made by* Venus, *than to* Venus, *have misled some Authors.*

REFLECTIONS *upon the Pagans saying the Gods forc'd them to Evil.*

(b) *See how* Sylburgius *would have this matter ed:* Nam profecto ridiculum omnino foret, facto è cedro simulachro, Veneris nomine ei indito, putare se hac ratione ulcisci.

(c) Eurip. in Androm. 680. p. 522.

Some ſay, that when ſhe cut off her Hair, on occaſion of Mourning, that did not at

Souvent, mon fils, les habitans des cieux
Font trebucher les hommes ſoucieux.

The Anſwer was,

Il n'y a rien pour ſa faute excuſer
Si à la main que les Dieux accuſer.

I make uſe of *Amiot*'s Verſion, and I obſerve by the by, that the Epithete *Soucieux* in the ſecond Verſe, is a Botch that the neceſſity of rhyming forced him to, and has no Foundation in the Original. Do but compare the *Greek* with the *French* Verſion, and you'll find that I am in the right.

(d) Plut. de audiendi Poetis, p. 22. E.

Ἡμεῖς (d) τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτήματα θεοῖς
προστίθεμεν, αἰτίους αὐτοὺς θεῶν ποιοῦντες.

Mutinam hominum vitia in rebus decipiunt dii,
Mea proles, nostra iniqua conciliant mala.
Ter. Dauid. nihil quo facilius dictu eſt, deos
Incuſamus.

You'll imagine perhaps, that the great Eaſe Men found in making Complaints againſt the Gods, inclin'd them to make uſe of that Subterfuge, without Conſideration and Reflection, and that it was one of thoſe firſt Motions that ariſe in our Minds, before we have time to prepare our ſelves to judge of things; but it is certain, that in many Inſtances this manner of Speech was imploy'd upon mature Conſideration. They who examine not to the bottom, what paſſes in their own Breaſts, eaſily perſwade themſelves that they are free, and that if their Will inclines them to Evil, it is their own Fault, as being by a choice of which they are Maſters. They, who paſs another Judgment, are Perſons that have carefully ſtudied the Springs and Circumſtances of their Actions, and have well conſider'd the Progreſs of the Motion of their Souls. Theſe Perſons for the moſt part doubt of their Free-Will; and proceed even to perſuade themſelves, that their Reaſon and their Underſtandings are Slaves, incapable of reſiſting the Force which drags them where they have no mind to go. Now 'tis this ſort of Perſons eſpecially who charged the Gods with the Blame of their Evil Actions. They call'd to mind, that they had well conſidered, that they kept on in a way pernicious to their Fortune, and ſcandalous to their Reputation, and that they had made many Endeavours to deſtroy the Paſſion that led 'em on; but they were very ſenſible, that all theſe Endeavours had been uſeleſs, and that Reaſon, though call'd to their Aſſiſtance a Thouſand Times, and Vows and Prayers had been utterly unavailable. They concluded then, that it muſt be an occult Cauſe, ſome Superiour Force, that drove and dragg'd them; in a Word, that the Gods were the cauſe of the Paſſions which they felt, and of the pernicious and criminal Conſequences of thoſe Paſſions. Lo then here the opening of the Plot: There is, ſaid they, ſomething Divine in it, juſt as it is in ſome bodily Diſtempers which Nonplus the Skill and Experience of the ableſt Phyſicians. We know what we ought to do, what is moſt uſeful, advantageous and honourable for us, and nevertheleſs we take a contrary Courſe. This is the doing of the Gods. The Poet *Perſius* addreſſes himſelf to *Jupiter*, to beg the Favour that he would be pleas'd to make Tyrants acknowledge the Power of Virtue, and feel the dreadful Laſhes of Conſcience, for not having purſu'd it.

(e) Perſius Sat. 3. v. 35. εἰ δὲ κακοῦργος ἀλλὰ σώφρων ἐν ἐμοὶ δόξειν ἔμπροσθεν, Ὅσσα τις ἐν ψυχῇ κρύπτει, θεὸς ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος. Eheu, malum mortalibus divinitus Venit, ut bonum videant, non utantur tamen. Plut. de audiend. Poetis, p. 33. E.

Magne (e) pater divum ſævos punire tyrannos
Haud alia ratione velis, cum dira libido
Moverit ingenium ferventi tincta veneno:
Virtutem videant, intabeſcantque relicta.

Plutarch relates a poetical Sentence, which ſhews that the Heathens reaſoned in this manner: *They who know good, do it not; therefore the Gods are in fault.* I put his Greek words in the Margin (*f*).

Medea argued in this manner, when ſhe found ſhe could not reſiſt the love ſhe entertain'd for *Jaſon*, when ſhe could not, I ſay, reſiſt it, though ſhe clearly ſaw the ſhameful and criminal conſequences of her Conduct, and that her own Reaſon Condemned them.

Concipit (g) interea validos Æetias ignes,
Et luctata diu, poſtquam ratione furorem
Vincere non poterat; Fruſtra Medea repugnas,
Neſcio quis deus obſtat, ait.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Excute (h) virgineo conceptas pectore flammas,
Si potes, infelix. Si poſſem, ſanior eſſem;
Sed trahit invitam nova vis: aliudque Cupido,
Mens aliud ſuadet. Video meliora, proboque,
Deteriora ſequor.

(g) Ovid. Metam.

(h) Id. ib. v. 67.

She uſed with her ſelf all the Arguments that might cure her of that Paſſion; ſhe repreſented to her ſelf the heinouſneſs of the fault that ſhe ſhould commit, and ſhe had ſome intervals, wherein theſe lively Images of Duty were ready to carry the Victory, but the ſight of *Jaſon* eaſily defeated all her Reſolutions.

Conjugiumne (i) putas? Speciosaque nomina culpæ
Imponis, Medea, tuæ? Quin aſpice quantum
Aggrediare nefas; & dum licet, effuge crimen.
Dixit, & ante oculos rectum pietaſque pudorque
Conſtiterant, & victa dabat jam terga Cupido.
Ibat ad antiquas Hecates Perſeidos aras,
Quas nemus umbroſum, ſecretaque ſylva tegebat:
Et jam fractus erat, pulſuſque reſederat ardor.
Cùm videt Æſonidem, extinctaque flamma reluxit.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Sic (k) jam lenis amor, quem jam languere putares,
Ut videt juvenem, ſpecie præſentis inarſit.

(i) Id. ib. v. 67.

(k) Id. ib. v. 82.

Abundance of People of both Sexes, which Hiſtory has made no mention of, have found themſelves in the ſame condition. Love has made them guilty of a thouſand faults whereof they have ſeen the ſhame and danger ſo clearly, as to have indeavoured to prevent them by calling Reaſon to their Succour, and making many wiſhes againſt their Paſſion. It was natural for them to conclude, that they were not the cauſe of their evil Conduct, inaſmuch as they had a reaſonable underſtanding, and a Soul that was free, and Miſtreſs of its Will. This firſt concluſion led them to another, which was that ſome cauſe that was External and Superiour to all their Forces, irreſiſtably ſway'd them. This ſecond concluſion drew from them a third, that God was this external and neceſſitating Cauſe. Thus you ſee the Original of the pretended Divinity of *Venus*, and *Cupid*; and becauſe 'tis experienc'd that Jealouſie, Envy, Avarice, Drunkenneſs, the deſire of Revenge, and many other Paſſions make Men commit a thouſand things which reaſon Condemns, and which are even contrary to the true intereſt of Self-love, and againſt a Man's own deſires, it has been believed that the Gods were the influencers of theſe things. The Heathens did not accuſe them therefore becauſe they made no Reflections, but rather becauſe they made a great many Obſervations upon what paſſed in their Souls. If the *Pagans* had had the juſt Idea of God that we have, which repreſents him as a Being perfectly Holy, they had ſecured themſelves from that raſh Judgment; but attributing to the Gods the ſame faults that Men are ſubject to, nothing hindered them from believing the Gods urg'd Men on to Evil, and rendered the light of Reaſon ineffectual, as well by a preventing delight which neceſſitated the Will, as by an uneaſineſs which had the ſame effect. *Paris* pleaſed *Helena*, *Jaſon* pleaſed *Medea*; thoſe Women could not think of their union with theſe Objects, without feeling before-hand, an incredible ſatisfaction; nor could they conſider themſelves as ſeparated from them, without being conſcious of as great a Torment. Theſe Impreſſions depended not on their Liberty, and were no more under its command, than the agreeable or diſagreeable ſatisfactions we feel upon our taſting Honey, or Gall. All that theſe two Women could do, was to oppoſe Reaſon and Duty to their two preventing ſenſations; feeble Weapons, if *Paris* and *Jaſon* continued to raiſe the ſame Ideas and the ſame impreſſions; ſince in that caſe their Will ſooner or later, would be captivated, and Conſent extorted from it, whatever deſire it had to be unmoved, and to change its Love into Indifference. Unleſs are the Vows, frivolous the *Velleities*, in the paſſions of

Hippo-

at all abate (I') of her Charms. A *French* (X) Author pretends * she had a great deal of Wit and Eloquence, and was as amiable for that as for her Beauty.

* See the Note (K) towards the End.

HE-

those Senſations I have ſpoke of, and whoſe cauſe proceeds not from our ſelves. Whence proceeds it then? The *Pagans* might in vain look for it, they could not find it upon the Earth, and for that reaſon they caſt it on the Gods. This they might do two ways, either by ſuppoſing a *Cupid* which wounded the Heart, or by ſuppoſing that the Author of humane Bodies had adjuſted the parts of them with ſuch an Artifice, that for example *Jaſon* ſhould excite in the Heart and Head of *Medea*, thoſe motions of the Spirits on which Love machinally and inevitably depends. According to this laſt Principle, if *Helena* or *Medea* fell in Love, he muſt be blam'd who faſhion'd and poſtur'd the parts of their Bodies; juſt as, if a Chimney ſhould ſmoke when the Wind blows, it muſt not be imputed to the Wind, but to the Maſon who made the Chimney.

HOW *moſt Paſſions and their Effects are involuntary.*

This was a Gulph the *Pagans* could not get out of, and they muſt needs fall into it, as often as they pretended to give a Reaſon of the contrariety that is found betwixt what we do and what we know; and conſequently they fell into it very often: for Humane Life is hardly any thing elſe than a continual Conflict betwixt the Paſſions and the Conſcience, in which the latter has generally the worſt of it. That which is the moſt ſtrange in this Battel, is, that the Victory moſt frequently declares for the Party, which ſhocks all at once the Ideas we have of Virtue and the Knowledge of our temporal Intereſts. I am willing to believe there are many ſo brutiſhly ſtupid, as not to ſee that their Life would be more happy, if they did not cheriſh in their Breaſts the Paſſions that they do: but I can't believe but that the greateſt part of the Jealous and Envious, are fully perſwaded that it would be an incomparable temporal Advantage to be exempt from Jealouſy and Envy, and worthy to be purchaſed at any Rate. A Woman jealous of her Huſband or Gallant, a Huſband jealous of his Wife or Miſtreſs, are the Perſons that have the moſt lively Senſe of their Miſery, and paſſionately wish to be deliver'd from this Tormenter. They do all that's poſſible to drive away this perſecuting Fury; they employ all the Reaſons their Mind is capable of to deceive or undeceive themſelves; but in ſpite of all theſe Efforts Jealouſy ſtands its ground, and they find to their great Torment, that they are more ingenious at inventing what can nouriſh it, than what can weaken or deſtroy it. The ſame almoſt may be ſaid of the Envious: they know very well that Self-Love would find its Account incomparably better, in being content with their condition, and looking on the Proſperity of another with Pleaſure, than in afflicting one ſelf becauſe a Neighbour is advanced and enrich'd above 'em; yet nevertheleſs they torment themſelves and are in a ſad condition (a), when they ſee the good fortune of others, and inſtead of Rejoycing as they ought to do for their own advantage, they are forc'd to ſeek ſome remedy in baſe and perfidious Actions. By Reproaches and ſecret Blows, they oppoſe their Neighbours ſucceſs, and thereby indeavour to mitigate the Malignant Fever that preys upon 'em. What could a *Heathen* Philoſopher ſay to this? Ought not he to acknowledge a ſuperiour Cauſe in it, and rank all this ſort of People in the number of Phanaticks, poſſeſt Enthuſiaſts, and of all thoſe in general that are believ'd to be acted with a divine *Impetus* (b)? Note, that *Ovid* (c) ſuppoſes that the Jealouſy which *Aglauros*, the Daughter of *Cecrops* King of *Athens*, conceiv'd againſt her Siſter, was of Divine Inſpiration. The Chriſtian Religion is the only Syſtem that can reſolve theſe Difficulties; it teaches us, that ſince the firſt Man fell from the State of Innocence, all his Poſterity have been ſo ſubjected to Corruption, that without a ſupernatural Grace they are neceſſarily Slaves of Impiety, (d) *inclin'd to do Evil, unprofitable to all Good.* Reaſon, Philoſophy, the Ideas of Virtue, the knowledge of the true intereſt of Self-love, all this is unable to reſiſt the Paſſions. The Empire which was given to the ſuperiour Faculty of the Soul, over the inferiour, was taken from Man, from the time of *Adam's* Sin.

Thus it is that Divines explain the Change which Sin introduc'd; but as the greateſt part of Metaphors muſt not be preſt beyond a certain Point, we muſt not abuſe this; for it would not be reaſonable to ſay, that in the State of Innocence, the inferiour Faculty was under the condition it is at preſent, and that no diſorder could ariſe from it, becauſe the ſuperiour could always jealouſly interpoſe to withſtand it. This would be to ſuppoſe that the Body of Man as proceeding from the Hands of his Creator, was actually turned towards Senſualities and damnable Paſſions, which would be caſting a blemiſh on the perfections of the ſupreme Being.

(a) Videt ingratos, intabeſcitque videndo Succeſſus hominum; carpitque & carpitur unà: Supplicium-que ſuum eſt. Ovidius Metam. lib. 2. v. 782. *He ſpeaks of Envy.*

(b) Eſt Deus in nobis, agitante calefcimus illo. Impetus hic ſacræ ſemina mentis habet. Ovidius Faſtor. l. 6. circa init. *He ſpeaks of the Poets.*

(c) Ovid. Metam. lib. 2. fab. 12.

(d) *See the* Geneva *Liturgy.*

(I') *When ſhe cut off her Hair.*] What I have to ſay upon this Point was communicated to me by a Profeſſor (e) of *Geneva*; I'll tranſcribe his Words. " The ſubject of the firſt Letter of *John Michael Brutus*'s Collection, is diverting. *Politus* who " Writes to *John della Caſa* pretends that *Helena*, " to expreſs her ſorrow for the death of her Siſter " *Clytemneſtra*, cut off her Hair to the Root, without prejudice to her Beauty; and *Monſignor della* " *Caſa* is of opinion, that ſhe only cut off the ends, " as is commonly done to hinder them from branching; and I find thereupon an ingenious " piece of Poetry of that Archbiſhop, Addreſs'd to " Count *Galeazzo de Florimont*, wherein the Prelate " makes an ingenious Confeſſion, that he has not " quitted the World altogether, and that he has " imitated *Helena*, who ſacrificed to her grief for " her Siſter only the Extremities of her Locks. " The Poetry of it is Noble.

(e) Mr. Muralti, *of whom before in the Notes* K *and* L *of the Article* Epicurus.

" *Ut captâ rediens Helena cum conjuge Troja*
" *Lento homine, atque animi lenis, nimiumque remiſſi,*
" *Incidit in eadem ipſam, & junus prope furoris,*
" *Quam præceps miſeri virtus jugulavit Oreſtis:*
" *Succiſam de more comam miſſis dedit ulmis*
" *Germanæ cineri ferrum demiſſa capillo*
" *Hæc tandem è ſummo faſtum, ne ſerva placeret*
" *Tam ſæmineæ metuens ſpectans impropria mœchæ.*
" *Haud aliter Galateæ mala invidia ſuadet*
" *Nuper ego, & Phrygios nautas Paridemque ſecutæ*
" *Aufugi longè, atque idem: redii tamen ut meus*
" *Adſeſſe, peregrè nimium memorata proterva*
" *Ornamenta Fugæ ſenſim lentèque reponi*, &c.

The Faſhions of Head-dreſſes may be ſo diverſified, that the agreeableneſs of a Face may not perhaps ſuffer any diminution by the loſs of Hair: but in general 'tis certain that loſs is reckoned a very formidable Diſaſter to Beauty. See the Note (G) in the Article *Anacreon.*

(X) *A French Author pretends ſhe had a great deal,* &c.] That *French* Author is the Chevalier *de Mere*. He proves by two great Examples (f) *that Women ought not to put too much confidence in their Beauty, nor often in their Genteel Mien, and that it is Addreſs and the Finery of Wit, which by's almoſt all in all, provided the Perſon has nothing diſguſtful in him.* The firſt Example is of *Cleopatra*: ſhe had no great Beauty in her, ſaith he, (g) " and as the World ſpoke of her, " ſhe was not ſo handſome as to ſurprize at the firſt " ſight: But when ſhe came to be converſed, ſhe " was charming to a Miracle, and it was by the Delicacy of her Carriage that ſhe kept *Cæſar* Inchanted three or four Years. ... For a certain proof " that it was her Wit that made that Princeſs to be " admired, We may obſerve that *Antony* who could " chuſe as well as *Cæſar*, did not ſee her till ſo in " Age, in which few Women retain their Beauty; " yet he became ſo deſperately in Love with her, as " rather to renounce the Empire of the World, than " loſe her out of his ſight. See here his ſecond Example.

(f) Chevalier de Mere, *Diſcours de Agrements* pag. 138. *of the Dutch Edition.*

(g) Id. ib.

" *Helene (1) fut meme voye*
" *Aux rayes beautez de ſon corps*
" *Joignant de l'eſprit les aimables threſors,*
" *Cauſa l'embraſement de Troye.*
" *Si ſon eſprit n'euſt eu des charmes,*
" *Ce peuple n'euſt jamais veuth,*
" *Contre le droit des gens à ſon pouvoir abſolu,*
" *Pour la garder prendre les armes.*
" *La Grece auſſi l'euſt oubliee*
" *Entre les bras de ſon amant,*
" *Mais elle ſe ſouvint de ſon eſprit charmant,*
" *Et la guerre fut publiee.*

(a) Id. ib. pag. 139.

HELIODORUS, a Native of * *Emesa* in *Phœnicia* is more known by the Romance he Compos'd in (*A*) his Youth, than by the Bishoprick of *Trica* † to which he was afterwards preferr'd. There are few that will believe he was Depos'd by a Synod (*B*) for not being willing to consent to the suppression of that Romance. *Nicephorus* is the only Author that says it. *Socrates* relates ‡ that *Heliodorus* introduc'd the Custom of Deposing Ecclesiasticks, who lay with their Wives after their Ordination. 'Tis a favourable prejudice for the Chastity of that Prelate. His Romance too shews him to be a Lover of that Virtue. For the Hero in the Story is of such a Modesty as has given (*C*) occasion to many biting Railleries. The Translation of *Photius* does not

* Heliodor. Æthiop. l. 10. sub finem.

† In Thessaly.

‡ Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 22.

* There is great Probability, Madam, that her Beauty was not alone, since all the Gods interess'd themselves to give her to their Favourites; and if she had no more than a good Face and a fine Shape, they had made 'em but an indifferent Present. I imagine that what they esteem'd most valuable in her, was the faculty she had to please, and to get the Love of others by her Conversation. Add to this the Words of the same Author, which I have related in mentioning the *Nepenthes* (*b*).

I don't examine whether he be in the right as to the particular of the beautiful *Helena*; but his Maxim in General seems to have truth in it (*c*). Beauty without the Charms of Wit and Language, is of no great Force: and if it makes any Conquests, 'tis after the manner of those brave Generals, who suddainly subdue a Province, but know not how to keep it: The Empire of Beauty is as much maintain'd by the Charms of Wit, as by those of the Face. They are two sorts of Graces that stand in need of one another, and mutually perform good Offices. Some insipid and ridiculous Discourses would be extreamly distasteful, if the Beauty of the Person did not invest them with I know not what sort of a taking Dress: And some Beauties of the Body would make no Impression, were they not set off with some agreeable Graces of the Mind. These are Assistances that are reciprocally given. But as Wit is most times the principal Instrument in preserving the Conquest, and very frequently in making it, it may be said to be that which contributes most to the Establishing the Dominion of Beauty. The Poet that assures us, there is no less force requir'd to preserve than to obtain a Conquest,

Non (*d*) *minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri:*
Casus inest illis: hic erit artis opus,

is one of the greatest Legislators in the Empire of Love; and he applies that Sentence to the Case we are upon. Nay, he goes further, he will have the Acquisition to be less difficult than the Preservation.

Nunc (*e*) *mihi, si quando, Puer & Cytherêa, favete:*
Nunc Erato: nam tu nomen amoris habes.
Magna para; quas possit Amor remanere per artes
Dicere, tam vasto pervagus orbe puer.

The Historians have the same thought concerning the progress of Arms. (*f*)

(*A*) *The Romance he compos'd in his Youth.*] The Title of it is *Æthiopica*, and it contains the Amours of *Theagenes* and *Chariclea*. We find an Extract of it in *Photius* (*g*). Mr. *Huet* judges that *Heliodorus* was with respect to Romancers, what *Homer* was with respect to the Poets; that is, his Work serv'd as an Original and Plan for a great number of succeeding Romances. (*h*) *Eum sibi sequentium temporum fabulatores Romanenses tanquam exemplum proposuerunt ad imitandum, & tam verè omnes dici possunt ex hoc fonte, quàm Poëtæ ex Homerico suas, ſit ut dicam, aquas hausisse.* The first Edition of this Book is, as I take it, that of *Basil* 1534. *Opsopœus*, who Dedicated it to the Senate of *Nuremberg*, assures us, that a Soldier sav'd the Manuscript, when the Library of *Buda* was pillaged (*i*). *Stanislaus Warszewiczius* a *Polish* Knight, is the Author of the Latin Translation, which was Printed at *Basil* with the Greek, in the Year 1551. *Amiot* began his *French* Version by this Work. *Melin* of St. *Gelais* Bishop of *Angouleme*, has turn'd a good part of it into *French* Verse (*k*). *John Boudelot*'s Notes upon this Romance are very Learned. They were Printed at *Paris* in the Year 1619. with the Greek of *Heliodorus* and the Translation of the *Polish* Knight.

(*B*) *That he was Depos'd by a Synod.*] *Nicephorus* (*l*) tells the Story, that a Synod giving *Heliodorus* his Choice, either to burn his Romance or renounce his Bishoprick, he chose the latter. This seems Fabulous; a thing so remarkable, would have been related by many Historians; and we should not have had it preserv'd only by *Nicephorus*, a Man of great Credulity and little Judgment. (*m*) *Quæ omnia eò me facilè reducunt, ut diffidam iis maximè quæ addit Nicephorus, scriptor credulus, sapientiæ & fidei non satis spectatæ, Synodum scilicet Provincialem cognito periculo, in quod lectio fabulæ hujus, cui autoris sui dignitas tantum ponderis & autoritatis dabat, juvenes suapte naturâ ad id propensos & quasi nutantes impelleret, eam ipsi conditionem obtulisse, ut aut opus suum flammis aboleret, aut suâ dignitate cederet; eumque, quod ultimum erat, prætulisse.* Would *Socrates* have been silent of it in a place where he remarks that *Heliodorus* compos'd some Books of Love in his young Days? Οὗ λόγοι πολλοὶ ἐρωτικὰ ἐμφαίνοντες, ἃ νέος ὢν ἔτι ὁ ἀνὴρ συνεγράψατο: *Cujus nomine circumferuntur amatorii libri quos ille dum juvenis esset composuit, & Æthiopicos inscripsit* (*n*). *Valasius*, not content to reject as a Fable *Nicephorus*'s Tale, won't so much as believe the Romance was made by *Heliodorus* the Bishop. See his Notes upon that place of *Socrates*. Let us hear what Mr *Sorel* says. *I can't believe that* Heliodorus *was a Bishop, and so foolish as to choose rather to lose his Bishoprick than to burn his Book, according to the Option that was given him. These are little Stories forg'd at Pleasure; for if his Book was so Scandalous, that it could not be suffer'd to be Publish'd, they would have forbidden it, tho' he had quitted his Dignity, so that he would have lost his Aim* (*o*). This Author had better have given his Judgment without any Reason; for the Reason he offers is good for nothing. The Condemnation of a Book by a Synod, does not hinder it from being read, known, and commended according to its Merit; and consequently *Heliodorus* would not have been defeated of his end, tho' the Bishops, who gave him his choice, had Condemn'd his Romance. Father *Vavasseur* has argued in a more solid manner, in saying it was no longer in *Heliodorus*'s power to suppress his Book; whence 'tis to be concluded that the Bishops did not give him that Option which is spoke of. What advantage could accrue to Morality from it? (*p*) *Neutrum, quantum opinio mea est, verè dicitur. Neque lata Episcopo conditio tam præpostera, tamque gravis: neque ab illo accepta, aut repudiata quoquo modo: quod ipse, qui narrat, abunde narratione sua refellit. An verò fuit in potestate Heliodori, ut aboleret ignı, ac perderet opus suum, aut omnino suppressum teneret, quod jam exisset in vulgus, & manibus omnium evolveretur, quodque juventus periculo aliquo, damnoque morum, ut vult Nicephorus, legendo contrivisset?* He adds, that *Petavius* did not believe the Narrative of *Nicephorus*.

(*C*) *Of such a Modesty as has given occasion to many biting Railleries.*] Observe a little this Passage of *Parnassus Reform'd*, where *Theagenes* speaks. 'If things had been faithfully reported as they were 'tranſacted, I should have no reason to complain, 'I should not find fault with my Romancer: But he 'represents me as an insensible Creature, and attributes to me such a ridiculous Modesty, as is offended with the most innocent Liberties; making 'me give my Mistress a Box on the Ear rather than 'permit her to salute me. 'Tis my part (*Chariclea* 'interrupts him) to complain of the Box on the 'Ear you speak of. If it be scandalous for you to 'have given it, it is much more so for me to have 'receiv'd it; and the Reparation you may pretend 'to expect from *Heliodorus*, belongs to me alone. Now observe *Heliodorus*'s Answer. *The Box on the Ear which disturbs you, is an Argument of your Modesty*, says he to Theagenes; *'tis the effect of a Virtue which is much to your Advantage, and thereby I have preserv'd that Decorum which the Dignity of my*

(*a*) *In the Rem.* R *at the end.*

(*b*) *See the new Letters against the History of Calvinism of* Maimbourg *p.* 591. *and* 774.

(*c*) Ovid. de arte amandi lib. 2. v. 13.

(*d*) Id. ib. v. 15.

(*e*) Plus est Provinciam retinere, quam facere. Flor. l. 2. cap. 17. Facilius est quædam vincere quam tueri. Q. Curtius lib. 4. c. 11. *See* Fremshemius's Commentaries *upon those two Passages.*

(*f*) Num. 73. p. 157. & seq.

(*g*) Huet. de origin. fabul. Roman. pag. 38.

(*h*) *See* Gesner's *Bibliotheque fol.* 301.

(*i*) Sorel's *Notes upon the* 13*th Book of the Extravagant Shepherd.* 685.

(*k*) Nicephor. Histor. l. 12. c. 34.

(*l*) Nicephor. Histor. l. 12. c. 34.

(*m*) Huetius ubi supra. pag. 36.

(*n*) Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 22.

(*o*) Sorel, *Remarks on the extravagant Shepherd.* l. 13. 685.

(*p*) Vavasseur. de Judicii dictione pag. 150

not well expreſs the Elogy that is given to the chaſt Amours of *Theagenes* and *Chariclea*; for (*D*) according to the Tranſlation, we ſhould believe that *Heliodorus* made a Romance upon the Amours of an Husband and his Wife, which would be very abſurd. Some one has pretended that *Heliodorus* was not a Chriſtian, but he goes upon (*E*) very weak Reaſons. Mr *Huet* * does not doubt that the Author of this Romance was Biſhop of *Trica*, in the Reign of *Theodoſius*; but he thinks it cannot be prov'd, that Biſhop *Heliodorus*, to whom St. *Jerom* wrote Letters, was Biſhop of *Trica*. He thinks likewiſe that they who ſhould affirm it, could not be ſolidly confuted. If the depoſing of *Heliodorus* was true, it would be a great Inſtance of the Fondneſs of Authors for their Words. A modern (*F*) Writer knew ſome Men who would have done what is attributed to the Biſhop of *Trica*.

* De origine fabulæ Romanæ Romanenſium, p. 28.

H E-

(a) Heliodorus *was not Biſhop when he compoſ'd his Romance. Socrates aſſures us he wrote it when he was young.*

my Character obliged me to. 'Tis true, replied Theagenes, *that for a Biſhop* (a), *you have repreſented your own Character well enough in that place, but you would have repreſented it better, if you had Burn'd your Romance, or if you had never thought of Writing it. Lovers have nothing to do with Epiſcopal Virtues, and Biſhops don't well agree with the liberties of Lovers. A veſtal Chaſtity ill becomes Heroes, whoſe Love ought to be diſingag'd from all thoſe ſcrupulous Formalities which check noble Tranſports and becoming Raptures.* 'Tis obſervable that the Author had nothing to anſwer to *Chariclea*'s Complaint. And indeed what could be ſaid to an accuſation ſo well grounded? Muſt not the Hercels of a Romance act a very ridiculous Part, who would Kiſs her Lover, but receives a Box on the Ear from him for her Pains.

THUS it is I finiſh'd that Remark, in the firſt Edition of this Dictionary. I ſuppos'd that Mr. *Gueret* having ſhewn a great deal of Wit and Judgment, in his *Parnaſſus Reform'd*, had not bottom'd his Railleries upon a falſhood of his own invention. For nothing could have more contradicted the Laws of Criticiſm and Satyr. Believing therefore he could not be guilty of ſuch a fault, I did not queſtion but the fact was ſo as he relates it; and for that Reaſon I was not at the pains of examining the Original. But Mr. *du Rondel* had no ſooner read the Note *C* of this Article, but he wrote me word, there was nothing in it like Mr. *Gueret*'s Tale; he ſhew'd me the circumſtances of the Action, and made it appear that *Theagenes* deſerv'd not to be blam'd. I have now been reading the place where *Heliodorus* recites that Adventure, and am convinc'd with my own Eyes that Mr *du Rondel* is in the right, and that the Author of *Parnaſſus Reform'd*, abuſes the publick, Licentiouſly ſporting in Railleries which ought rather to be called Impoſtures. *Theagenes* and *Chariclea*, ſeparated from each other by the Strokes of capricious Fortune, that are very frequent in Romances, happen'd to come near *Memphis* at the ſame time. They had made no Allignation, nor taken ſo much as the ſame Road; it fortun'd that *Chariclea* arriv'd near the Town, when *Theagenes* was walking about the Walls, on an occaſion which furniſh'd the Inhabitants with a noble Shew. She knew him at a diſtance; for, as *Heliodorus* obſerves (*c*), Lovers Eyes are very ſubtil. She was in ſuch a Rapture upon the ſight of that Object, that as if a Breeze had Stung her, ſhe flew immediately to *Theagenes*, and threw her Arms about his Neck without ſpeaking a word. She was in a ſorry Dreſs, and her Face all diſmear'd, which made him take her for a Proſtitute and caſt her from him: But not being able to get rid of her, he gave her a Box o' th' Ear. (*d*) Χαϊκλεια . . . . πόῤῥω ἑαυτὸν ἀναγκάσασα τὸν Θεαγένην . . . . . ὥσπερ οὖν ἐπληξάμενος τὴν ὄψιν, ἐμμανὴς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦλθεν, ἡ δὲ πεπεισμένη τὰ μυκτῆρι & βοτρυδὶ ἀγχέλῳ ἢ ἐξηγρίωτο, ἢ ζωοδήκτοις καθηπατέζετο θηρίοις. ὁ δὲ, τὸν ἔκπλουν, οὐδὲν τε ἐμπώσαν ἢ πρὸς τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐκπλῆξαι δύνασθαι ἰδὼν ἢ ἐκπλαγὲν τελευτῶντα ἢ καθεψιῶντα, ἀνῆκε τινὰ πληγὴν ἢ ἀλυπὸν ἀλλὰν, διωθῶν ἢ παίζοντα ἴσως ἢ τέλος ἐπειδὴ οὐ μᾶλλον ἀπεσοβήσατο ἢ τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸν αὐχένα Κολάσεως ἐμπορῶν ἐπεμένην, ἢ περιῤῥάπτουσαν Χαρίκλεια . . . . . *cum e longinquo cognoviſſet Theagenem . . . . . tanquam ictu illius aſpectu, furibunda ad ipſum fertur, & lacertis in amplexu, e collo nulla voce edita pendebat, lugubribuſque quibuſdam lamentis eum ſalutabat. Ille autem, ut eſt verisimile, cultum ſqualidum, & ex induſtria contaminatum & pollutum videns, & veſtem videlicet ad lacertum, tanti aliquam ex circumjacentibus, & proxime ingredientem repellebat, ac rejiciebat: & ad extremum, cum non deſineret, tanquam ſibi moleſtæ & ſuperfluum illud Calculo ſuo detrahi, ictum alapam infligit.* But when he underſtood it was his dear *Charicle*, he paſſionately embrac'd her (*e*). 'Tis eaſy to conclude from this Narration that the Retainer of *Pontus* has quite alter'd the matter of Fact, which makes all his Railleries inſipid and abſurd. *Chariclea*, I confeſs, receiv'd a box o' th' Ear; but it cannot with any colour of juſtice be affirm'd that *Theagenes* gave *Chariclea* a box o' th' Ear, ſince he believ'd he ſtruck one of thoſe Creatures which go by the name of Gypſies. Apply to this what the Civilians and Canoniſts have concerning the Ignorance that excuſes.

(*b*) Ὀφεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐρῶντα τὸ ὀξὺ, καὶ κίνημα, καὶ ἀκρίβεια καὶ ἐνθύμιον πᾶν ἐρωτικὸν ἐκκαλεῖται καὶ ἐξεύρισκει. Acris eſt enim in cognoſcendo amantium aſpectus, ſapiuſque motus tantum & habitus, quamvis è longinquo, aut etiam à tergo, ſimilitudinis opinionem præbuit. Heliodor. l. 7. p. 311. Edit. Pariſ. 1619.

(*c*) Id. ib.

(*d*) Vide Hiſt. p. 362.

(*e*) Vide Hiſt. p. 362.

(*D*) *According to the Tranſlation we ſhould have.*] Theſe are the Tranſlator's Words. *Dum ita ſunt argumentum auferre præſtare Theagenem & Charicleam, ſuſpicionesque inter ſe ac judicium eos, cum ullo conjugio jubet circumiri, & capi eum Charicleam, ſibi tamen* Conjugalem *conſtantiæ fœdus.* Here is *tamen*, which is good for nothing, and is an addition of the Tranſlator. *Plutus* has not ſaid ſo much as to ſay, that tho' a cruel Fortune ſeparated *Theagenes* and *Chariclea* Wedlock, and Chaſtity, yet they had no other Love on [illegible]. It is well known that the Wandering and unfortunate Life theſe two Lovers led, is rather a reaſon why the Hero ſhould not change his Miſtreſs, now he knew her manner, than that they ſhould alter the object of their Love. In ſhort it is a ſurprizing, in the loſtneſs of a Life, altogether Crimeful and Serene, and mixt with Adventures. But the Tranſlator's principal fault is his ſaying, they exactly obſerv'd the Conjugal Faith. How could that be, ſince they were not Married? They were not Marry, according to Cuſtom, till the end of the Book. 'Tis the conſtitution of *Heliodorus*'s Romance. I place in the Margin the true Verſion of *Plutus*'s Words. (*f*) *Off pass a long time* [illegible] the fault that I am cenſuring. *Conjugales enim ſuos affari & conſtantiæ pulchrum nomen tribuere in Theagene & Chariclea à familiaribus.*

(*e*) Ὀφεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐρῶντα τὸ ὀξὺ, καὶ κίνημα, καὶ ἀκρίβεια καὶ ἐνθύμιον πᾶν ἐρωτικὸν ἐκκαλεῖται καὶ ἐξεύρισκει. Acris eſt enim in cognoſcendo amantium aſpectus, ſapiuſque motus tantum & habitus, quamvis è longinquo, aut etiam à tergo, ſimilitudinis opinionem præbuit. Heliodor. l. 7. p. 311. Edit. Pariſ. 1619.

(*f*) Off.

(*E*) *He goes upon very weak Reaſons.*] The firſt is that (*b*) Amot ſays, *that Philoſtratus mentions a Sophiſt, called Heliodorus, a Native of Emeſa, that he might ſpeak of him.* The ſecond is, *that this Author putting in the mouth of his Hero, that he was a Phœnician, a Native of the City of Emeſa, one of the Race of the Sun, comes to all Ironical to ſuppoſe him being a Chriſtian. For there is no doubt but a Chriſtian and a Biſhop to boot, would be mad if he durſt ſay he was a Deſcendant of that Luminary.* I own not ſay, that the firſt Reaſon proves nothing; the ſecond has ſomething more in it: But it cannot be founded upon Proof. 'Tis certain, that in the Chronicons of the IVth. Century (*i*), mention is made of the Antiquity of their Family. Why then ſhould we not believe, that *Heliodorus* had mentioned his? He did not believe that he owed his Origin to the *Sun*; but he might think he ought to [illegible] it by it: 'Twas a Tale his Family willingly; and it did it Honour, and though the Foundation was falſe, yet advantageous Conſequences might be drawn from it, with Reſpect to the Antiquity of his Houſe, which might be a ſufficient Conſolation for a Chriſtian thus to deteſt the Nobleſs of his Extraction. Add to this, that *Heliodorus* was not a Biſhop when he compoſed his Romance. He wrote the firſt Vigour of Youth; and [illegible] not name himſelf, he might the more freely point out his Race, according to the ancient Tradition of his Family.

(*b*) Bibl. p. 362.

(*i*) Scaliger. [illegible] Prolegom. in Thes. Temporum. Petavius in Rationar. Temporum. Syncellus [illegible] Chronicon. Pagi in Critic. Baron. Gelenius [illegible] Jerome. *Paul of Emeſa* [illegible] *Jerome making* St. Paul *a Deſcendant of* Agamemnon, *and* Synelius *glorying in the Deſcent of the Emeſenes of* Hercules.

(*F*) *A Modern Writer knew ſome Men.*] This Modern, Writer is Father *Pacifique*. He thinks what Mr. *Huet*

HELOISA, Concubine, and afterwards Wife of *Peter Abelard*, a Nun, and afterwards Prioreſs of *Argenteuil*, and laſtly Abbeſs of the *Paraclet*, has occaſion'd too much Diſcourſe of her, not to deſerve an Article larger than ordinary in this Work. She had an Uncle (*A*) by her Mother's ſide, named *Fulbert*, who was Canon of *Paris*, and who loved her tenderly. He took an extraordinary Care of her good Education; and as ſhe had a great deal of Wit, ſhe in a little time grew ſo learned, that her Reputation was ſpread all over the Kingdom (*B*). And beſides, ſhe was a handſome Woman (*C*). There was at that time a famous Doctor in *Paris*, who read publick Lectures with wonderful Reputation. His Name was *Peter Abelard*, the moſt ſubtle Logician of his Age, who firſt brought the Scholaſtick Philoſophy and Divinity in Vogue. He liv'd with all the Figure that a Man of his Profeſſion could deſire; he had abundance of Scholars, was look'd upon as the ableſt Maſter, and got a great deal of Money; but he made no Love, which he thought was a conſiderable Flaw in his good Fortune. That nothing therefore might be wanting to his Happineſs, he reſolv'd to become a Lover, and choſe *Heloiſa* for his Miſtreſs. We have told * in another Place the Reaſons that led him to this Choice, and how he got in with the Canon, under the Notion of a Domeſtick Tutor. Poor honeſt *Fulbert* hoped, that under ſuch a Maſter, *Heloiſa* would make a wonderful Proficiency in the Sciences; but he found ſhe learnt only the Art of making Love. She had an incomparable Diſpoſition for it. She was taught to make ſo great Progreſs in a little Time, that her Maſter ſucceeded from the firſt

* *In the Article* Abelard.

vus reports to be ridiculous (*k*), and therefore can't believe it; Whether the Perſons propoſing ſuch an alternative be conſider'd, or the Choice that was made. Nevertheleſs, he aſſures us, that he knows People ſo fond of their Works, that they had rather loſe the beſt Benefices in the Kingdom, than give up the Praiſes they think they have merited by their Romances. *Cujus tamen factum ne magnopere vituperetur, aut ne reprehendatur ex toto, nonnulli obſtant, quos ego ſcio, ſi iſto loco eſſent, ſicretque poteſtas eligendi, hoc idem & amplius facturos; taleſque partus ingenii, qualia Heliodori Æthiopica ſunt, non Thraciæ modo, ſed omnis Galliæ ſacerdotiis omnibus antepoſituros, & loco graduque, & quavis dignitate ceſſuros potius, quam laboris, & induſtriæ, & bonæ exiſtimationis fructum hunc qualemcumque amitterent* (*a*).

(*k*) Lepida vero optio data præſuli, utrum ſalvum vellet, jocularemne librum, quem ſcripſiſſet olim, an ampliſſimum ſacerdotium, cui cum præcellet. Lepidius etiam judicium & electio epiſcopi, cum dignitatis ſacræ omnium & pervagatum ſcriptoris nomen redimentis. Vavaſſor. de ludicra dictione pag. 140.

(*a*) Vavaſſor. ibid. pag. 130.

(*A*) *An Uncle by her Mother's ſide, named* Fulbert.] This is all I have found of Certainty concerning *Heloiſa*'s Genealogy; and therefore I have not ſaid ſhe was legitimately deſcended from the ancient Houſe of *Montmorenci*. I have read this indeed, in the Apologetical Preface of *Francis d'Amboiſe* (*b*): but ſince he cites no Author for it, and *Andrew du Chêne* (*c*) makes no mention of it, I ſuſpect the Credit of it; and the more, becauſe *Heloiſa* owns in her Letters, that her Family (*d*) had been much honoured by her Marriage with *Abelard*, and that he had married much beneath himſelf (*e*). *Papyrius Maſſo* advances, that *Heloiſa* was the natural Daughter of one *John*, a Canon of *Paris*. *Andrew du Chêne* has reaſon not to be content with that, ſince he does not ſay where he had that curious Circumſtance; but he has no Reaſon to oppoſe againſt that Annaliſt, the Calendar of the *Paraclet*, where are theſe Words. VII. *Cal. Januar. Obiit* (*f*) *Hubertus Canonicus Dominæ Heloiſæ avunculus.* For what's eaſier than to reconcile *Papyrius Maſſo* with this Calendar? Can't the ſame Woman be the Baſtard of one Canon, and the Niece of another? But once more: he that ſhall ſay *Heloiſa* was the natural Daughter of one Canon *John*, and cites no Author for it, will not merit Credit. If any Canon were to be ſuſpected thereupon, it would rather be Canon *Fulbert* than any other. For that tender Affection which *Abelard* aſcribes to him for *Heloiſa* is ſo uncommon among Uncles (*g*), and ſo plainly reſembles the Affection of the beſt Parents, that there might be ſome Grounds to imagine, that *Fulbert* did as a great many others, who cannot be Fathers by the Canons: They conceal that Relation, under that of Uncle, and educate their Children under the Title of Nephews. This is what may be ſuppos'd. But a Suppoſition ought not to regulate the Style, nor hinder us from giving People the Titles, under which the Publick has known them. *Fulbert* in a Book, muſt be only an Uncle. Note, that according to *Papyrius Maſſo*, the Canon who caus'd *Heloiſa* to be brought up, and *Peter Abelard* to be caſtrated, was call'd *John*. Therefore that Hiſtorian does not pretend that ſhe was the Niece of one Canon, and the Natural Daughter of another. He pretends, that the Canon, whom all the other Authors name *Fulbert*, and whom they take to be the Uncle of *Heloiſa*, was her Father, and that his Name was *John* (*h*).

(*b*) Joannes habebat Canonicus Pariſinus Heloiſam naturalem filiam præſtanti ingenio formaque. Papyr. Maſſo, Annal. lib. 7. pag. m. 256

(*c*) Notis ad Hiſtor. calamitat. Abælardi.

(*d*) Quanto amplius te pro me humiliando ſatisfeceras, & me pariter & totum genus meum ſublimaveras, tanto remotius tam apud Deum, quam apud illos proditores obnoxium pœnæ reddideras. Pag. 57.

(*e*) Annal. lib. 3.

(*f*) *It ſhould be* Fulbertus.

(*g*) *See the Teſtimonies quoted by* Lambinus, *upon theſe Words of* Horace, Mettuentes patruæ verbera linguæ.

(*B*) *So learned, that her Reputation was ſpread.*] Let us hear *Abelard*. (*i*) *Qui* (*Fulbertus*) *eam quanto amplius diligebat, tanto diligentius in omnem quam poterat ſcientiam literarum promoveri ſtuduerat. Quæ cum per faciem non eſſet infima, per abundantiam literarum erat ſuprema. Nam quis bonum hoc, literatoriæ ſcilicet ſcientiæ, in mulieribus eſt rarius, eò amplius puellam commendabat, & in toto regno nominatiſſimam fecerat.* In that Age a young Woman of but indifferent Scholarſhip, might have paſs'd for a Miracle: which is to be well obſerv'd by thoſe who would not carry their Ideas of our *Heloiſa* beyond due Meaſures; and yet it muſt be granted that ſhe deſerves an honourable Place, among other Women that have been learned. She not only underſtood the *Latin* Tongue, but alſo the *Greek* and *Hebrew*: 'tis the ſame *Abelard* who witneſſes it in the Letter he wrote to the Nuns of the *Paraclet* (*k*). *Francis d'Amboiſe* tells us, (*l*) how ſhe cunningly ſatisfied St. *Bernard*, asking the Reaſon why in the Monaſtery of the *Paraclet*, when they repeated the Lord's Prayer, they did not ſay, *Panem noſtrum quotidianum*, but *panem noſtrum ſuperſubſtantialem*. She gave him a Reaſon taken from the Original, ſaying we muſt follow the *Greek* Verſion of the Goſpel, which St. *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*. I know not whether ſuch an Anſwer could pleaſe St. *Bernard*, but I doubt not but it was able to puzzle him; and I wiſh with all my Heart the Story were true; it would be an inſtance how a Woman did perplex a great Author in a Controverſial Point, by alledging the *Greek* Text. I was ſorry therefore, I confeſs, when conſulting (*m*) the Letter quoted by *Francis d'Amboiſe*, I found that *Heloiſa* had no hand in it, and that the whole Remark is *Abelard's*, who wrote thereupon to St. *Bernard*, after having known from *Heloiſa* the Exceptions that were made to *panem ſuperſubſtantialem*. Let this be ſaid without Prejudice to the Learning of that Abbeſs. But if any one ſhould imagine that ſhe got her Learning after ſhe became a Recluſe, I might refer him to a Letter of *Petrus Venerabilis*, Abbot of *Clugni*, which declares, that before that time ſhe had great Knowledge; *Necdum*, ſays he to her, (*n*) *ætas adoleſcentiæ exceſſeram, necdum in juveniles annos evaſeram, quando nomen non quidem adhuc religionis tuæ, ſed honeſtorum tamen & laudabilium ſtudiorum mihi fama innotuit. Audiebam tunc temporis mulierem, licet necdum ſæculi nexibus expeditam, literatoriæ ſcientiæ & ſtudio ſecularis ſapientiæ ſummam operam dare, quo efferendo ſtudio tuo & mulieres omnes eviciſti, & pene viros univerſos ſuperaſti.* The Monk of *Auxerre* ſays ſhe was well acquainted with *Latin* and *Hebrew*, and the Calendar of the *Paraclet* thus ſpeaks of her: *Heloiſe mere & premiere Abbeſſe de ceans, de doctrine & religion tres-reſplendiſſante* (*o*).

(*i*) Abæl. Oper. pag. 10.

(*k*) Magiſterium habeas in manu, quod ad omnia vobis ſufficere tam ad exemplum ſcilicet virtutum, quam ad doctrinam literarum poteſt, quæ non ſolum Latinæ, verum etiam tam Hebraicæ quam Græcæ non expers literaturæ, ſola hoc tempore aliam trium linguarum adepta peritiam videtur, quæ ab omnibus in beato Hieronymo tanquam ſingularis gratia prædicatur. Abælard. oper. pag. 260.

(*l*) Præfat. Apologet.

(*m*) *'Tis the* 5*th. of the* 2*d. Book.*

(*n*) Vide oper. Abælardi pag. 337.

(*o*) *See* Andrew du Chêne's *Notes upon* Abelard's *Letter de* Hiſtor. calamitat. pag. 1187.

(*C*) *Beſides, ſhe was a handſome Woman.*] I obſerve a great many Authors aſcribe to her a raviſhing Beauty; but are they more credible than *Abelard* himſelf, who having more reaſon to enlarge than diminiſh Things, contents himſelf to ſay, that ſhe was not the laſt of her Sex in Beauty, but that ſhe was the firſt in Erudition. *Cum per faciem non eſſet infima, per abundantiam literarum erat ſuprema.* Is it thus that a Man would ſpeak of an abſolute Beauty? Would

first Favour to the last, and that without any Thoughts of demanding a Promise of Marriage. *Abelard* so gave himself up (*D*) to his Pleasures with her, that he grew negligent of his Lectures. He confesses himself, that he kept no Measures, but plunged into those Pleasures, without Distinction of Times and Places; that is of Holy-Days, or Worky-Days, or of Holy and Profane Places, that he made no further Progress in Philosophy, and that all the Productions of his Thoughts dwindled into Sonnets (*F*) and Love-Verses. His Scholars quickly scented the matter, by enquiring into the Reasons of the Abatement of his Lectures. The Scandal was quickly propagated all over the Town, and at last (*G*) it reach'd the Ears of her Uncle, but found him at first

Would a Lover concern'd to justifie his Choice, and the Violence of his Passion, employ such a Figure of Rhetorick? Some observe (*p*) that *Heloisa* was Eighteen Years old when *Abelard* debauch'd her: I have not met with that Circumstance in any ancient Author. 'Tis true, the Word (*q*) *adolescentula*, which *Abelard* makes use of, is very applicable to the Age of 18; and so is that of *juvencula* (*r*), which she used; but nothing can be made out by such a Proof. 'Tis a meer whim to say, that *Abelard* (*f*) in his *Roman de la Rose*, drew the Picture of *Heloisa*, under the Name of *Beauty*. That Romance did not see the Light till after their Deaths.

(*D*) *So gave himself up to his Pleasures.*] We must hear him speak, if we would lose nothing of the force of his Expressions. (*a*) *Nullus à cupidis intermissus est gradus amoris, & si quid insolitum amor excogitare potuit, est additum. Et quo minus illa fueramus experti gaudia ardentius illis insistebamus, & minus in fastidium vertebantur.* He compares himself to those who have suffer'd a long Hunger, and come afterwards to a plentiful Table. A Man that has liv'd chastly, falls into a greater Excess with his Wife, than a Debauchee.

(*E*) *Without Distinction of Times and Places.*] We must still hear him speak, in a Letter he wrote to *Heloisa*, a long time after their Marriage-Engagement. He puts her a little in mind of their past Conduct, and how he caress'd her in a Corner of the Refectory of the Nuns of *Argenteuil*, finding no other convenient Place, and having no respect to the Holy Virgin, to whom that Place was consecrated. (*b*) *Nosti post nostri conjugii considerationem conjugii cum Argenteoli cum Sanctimonialibus in claustro conversabamur, ne die quadam privatim ad te visitandum venirem, & quæ ibi tecum meæ libidinis egerit intemperantia in quadam etiam parte ipsius refectorii, cum quo alias decreverimus non haberemus. Nosti, inquam, id impudentissime tunc actum esse, in tam reverendo loco & summæ Virginis consecrato——Quid tristitiæ fornicationes & impudentissimas referam pollutiones quæ conjugium præcesserunt?* A little after he tells her, that she knows very well, that neither the most solemn Feasts, nor even the *Passion-Day*, discouraged them from wallowing in that filthy Course; and that whenever she began to be scrupulous, he made use of Threatnings and Whipping to bring her to Consent (*c*). Behold a Man perfectly free from the Superstitions of those who observed Days and Feasts, New-Moons and Sabbaths. (†).

(*F*) *Dwindled into Sonnets and Love Verses.*] This we learn from himself. (*d*) *Ita negligentem & tepidum lecto tunc habebat ut jam nihil ex ingenio, sed ex usu cuncta proferrem, nec jam nisi recitator prostitutorum esset inventorum, & si qua invenire liceret, carmina essent amatoria, non philosophiæ secreta.* He adds, that these Verses were still sung in many Provinces, and especially amongst Persons that made Love: *Quorum etiam carminum plerique adhuc in multis, sicut & ipsa nosti, frequentantur & decantantur regionibus, ab his maxime quos vita similis oblectat.* *Heloisa* tells us more of it. She says, that he had two Qualifications which other Philosophers wanted, by which he could immediately become Master of all Womens Hearts: viz. he wrote finely, and sung well; his Love Verses were so pretty, and his Songs so agreeable, both as to the Words and Airs, that every Body was charm'd with them, and full of the Author's Praises. Women were not satisfied with being charm'd with *Abelard*'s Songs and Verses; they were as much taken with his Person, and loved him passionately; and as the greatest part of his Verses spoke only of his Love for *Heloisa*; the Name of that Mistress flew presently into the Provinces, and made infinite Ladies envy her good Fortune. I enervate much the Force of her Expressions, and I believe they ought not to be literally taken. As she lov'd *Abelard* even to Distraction, she fancied no Woman could look upon him, but must fall into the same Passion; which made her say, there was neither Wife nor Maid, but that in *Abelard*'s Ablence was desiring his Company, and in his Presence was all a Fire with Love; and that Queens and Princesses envied the Pleasures she reap'd in the Enjoyment of such a Man. See here the *Latin*, which speaks more significantly. (*e*) *Quæ conjugata, quæ virgo non concupiscebat absentem, & non exardebat in præsentem? Quæ Regina vel propotens femina gaudiis meis non invidebat vel thalamis? Duo autem, fateor, tibi specialiter inerant quibus feminarum quamlibet animos statim allicere poteras, dictandi videlicet & cantandi gratia, quæ cæteros minimè Philosophos affectare esse novimus. Quibus quidem quasi indo quodam laborum exercitii recreans philosophici, plerasque amatorio metro vel rithmo compositas reliquisti cantiones, quæ præ nimia suavitate tam dictaminis quam cantus sæpius frequentata, tuum inore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant, ut etiam illiteratos melodiæ dulcedo tui non fuerit immemores esse. Atque hinc maxime in amorem tui feminæ suspirabant. Et cum horum pars maxima carminum nostros decantaret amores, multis me (f) regionibus brevi tempore nuncupavi, & multarum in me feminarum accendit meditam.* If the *Roman de la Rose* had been *Abelard*'s Performance, and if he had Characterised his *Heloisa* under the Name of *Beauty*, she would not have been able to have conceal'd it; and here was the proper Place to speak of it. So that if we did not know that this Romance was written an hundred Years after *Abelard*, we might learn from *Heloisa*'s Silence, that there is no reason for ascribing it to him in the little Book I have quoted more than once (*g*). Much less has any one reason to make *Heloisa* the Author of this Report in the Translation of her Letter. But to return to our Subject: A Man would not believe, were it not for Experience, that Verses, Letters, and Sonnets, had the Power of advancing so much the Affairs of a Lover; but here is a Witness of it that is worth a Thousand. The Wits of this Age complain, that their Wares have not the same effect as in the time of our Ancestors. The Times are chang'd, I confess, but not entirely. See the new Letters against *Mamboug's* (*h*) History of *Calvinism*. As for what *Heloisa* relates, relating to the Weakness of those of her own Sex with respect to *Abelard*, 'tis confirm'd by a certain Prior named *Foulques*; it is necessary to read it.

(*G*) *At last it reach'd the Ears of her Uncle.*] That Word *at last* seems at first to signify something: but they that know the World, are not ignorant that on such Occasions, they who are most concern'd in a Piece of News, are the last that hear it. *Abelard* cites upon this Subject, a notable Passage (*i*) from a Letter of St. *Jerome* to *Sabinian*. *Solemnis mala domus nostræ scire novissimi, ac liberorum ac conjugum vitia vicinis canentibus ignorare.* The Disorders of our Wives and Children, are the Theam of all the Neighbourhood, when we know nothing as yet of these Disorders; but we come to know them at last, it being impossible a single Person should be ignorant of what is known by all the World besides. *Sed quod novissimè scitur, utique sciri (k) quandoque contingit, & quod omnes deprehendunt non est facile unum latere.* St. *Jerome*, in another place, has confirm'd this Maxim, by two great Examples; the first is that of *Sylla*, the second of *Pompey*. The Gallantries of *Metella*, the Wife of *Sylla*, were the Town-talk of *Athens* before her Husband heard any thing of her Lewdness. The Affronts of the *Athenians*, against whom he made War, taught him the first News of it. The Adulteries of *Mucia*, *Pompey*'s Wife, were so publick, that every one supposed he was acquainted with them. And yet he knew nothing of the matter, till told of it by a Man that serv'd under his Command. *L. Sylla (felicis si non Labuisset uxorem) Metella conjux palam erat impudica, & (quia novissimi mala nostra discimus) id Athenis cantabatur*

(*a*) The Story of *Heloisa* and *Abelard*, *abridg'd at the Hague*, 1693.
(*q*) Oper. pag. 10.
(*r*) Ibid. pag. 40.
(*f*) *The Author of the History abridged, before cited, says it.*
(*a*) Pag. 11.
(*b*) Pag. 69.
(*c*) Nosti quantis turpitudinibus immoderata mea libido corpora nostra addixerat, quantis etiam necessitatis vel Dei reverentia in ipsis etiam diebus Dominicæ passionis, vel festivitatum cunctæ Christianitatis, ab hujusmodi voluptatibus me revocaret. Sed & te nolentem & protinus retinentem & dissuadentem, quæ natura infirmior eras, frenius omnis ac flagellis ad consensum trahebam.
† *See* Colois. 2. 16.
(*d*) Pag. 12.

(*e*) Oper. Abelardi pag. 40.
(*f*) *See what she says, pag.* 48. Cum meadem temporales olim voluptates: teres cerebris me epistolis vitiabas, frequenti carmine tuum in ore omnium Heloissam ponebas: me plateæ omnes, me domus singulæ resonabant.
(*g*) *History of Heloisa and Abelard, printed at the Hague*, 1693.

(*h*) Pag. 590. &c. & pag. 746, &c

(*i*) Ex Hieron. epist. 48.

(*k*) *These Words are cited in the Edition of Abelard, as a sequel of what I have already quoted from St. Jerom's Letter to Sabinian, but they are not found in that Letter*

first incredulous, he depended so much upon the Modesty of *Abelard* and *Heloisa*; but at last his Incredulity was overpowered: The pretended Tutor left the Canon's House, from whence he removed *Heloisa*, when he found her with Child, and disguising her in the Habit of a Nun †, sent her into *Bretagne* to one of his Sisters, where she was brought to Bed of a Boy. *Fulbert* conceived a desperate Fury against *Abelard*, who stood upon his Guard, not without hopes that they durst not proceed to kill or dismember him, whilst they might fear Reprisals upon *Heloisa*. To get clear of all his Perplexity, he promis'd her Uncle to marry her, provided the Marriage might be kept secret. He had all the Difficulty in the World to bring *Heloisa* to consent to it, who brought a Thousand Arguments to put him out of Conceit with the Conjugal Knot (*H*). Her Passion for him was grown so Headstrong and licentious, that it stifled all (*I*) Sentiments of Honour in her Soul; it struck its Roots so deep, and made such Havock

† Nostu etiam quando te gravidam in meam transmisi patriam, sacro te habitu indutam Monialem te finxisse, & tali simulatione tuae quam nunc habes religioni irreverenter illusisse. Abelard. Epist. ad Hel. p. 20.

(*l*) St. Hierome against Jovinian.

(*m*) Dion Cassius Book 60. Juv. Satyr 10. *Said upon it*, Delectus ille domus fecit ultimus.

(*n*) Epigr. 96. Book 7.

(*o*) Sueton. in Vit. Caes. lib. 4.

(*p*) Jo. Michael Bruto in praeceptis conjugalibus pag. 708. edit. 1698.

(*q*) Id. ibid.

cantabatur & Sylla ignorabat, secretaque domus fuae primum hostium conscio didicit. Cn. Pompeio Mucianam uxorem impudicam quam Pontici Spadones & Mithridatica ambitiosa catervae, cum eum putarent caeteri secretum pati, indicavit in expeditione comminato, & vultum totius orbis tristi nuncio conservavit (*l*). The Emperor *Claudius* might be brought for a third Example, who (*m*) knew nothing of the Infamy of *Messalina*, when all the World knew she prostituted her self in the Stews, and had carried with her many Ladies, and to compleat her Impudence, had married another Man. Our Age has furnish'd us with one Instance of this kind, in the Mareschal *de la*———. 'Tis affirm'd (tho' I can scarce believe it) that he knew nothing of his Wife's Commerce with the Count *de*——, when the Son whom that Count had by Her, had been already naturaliz'd in full Parliament. Even moderate Fortunes are not exempt from this Irregularity. How many People are there that know all the News of the Town, except what dishonours their own Family? They resemble him whom *Martial* ridicules so pleasantly (*n*), and are little better for the ancient Proverb, (*o*) *Ædilus in nostris quae prava aut recta gerantur.* Men of Letters, I mean those that dwell much in their Closets, and have their Head always pregnant with some Composition, are often found in the Condition we are talking of. As familiar as they are with the domestick Misfortunes of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, who are dead many Years ago, they little think the same Trick is play'd them not far from their own Study. This is the way of the World.

A WRITER of the XVIth. Century, brings a famous Example to prove the Maxim he had laid down, That they who are most concern'd to know their Family Misfortunes, are the last that know them; whereas they are the first that learn the News of what does but little concern them. *Solet usu venire*, (says he) (*p*) *ut denegatur mala ultimi sint qui norint, quorum maxime interest ea non ignorare, eadem principes norint alieni, & quorum nullus ad eos pertinet sensus.* Having given some Reasons of that unaccountable Conduct, he says, that it was not long since a great King punish'd with Death the Dishonourers of his Nuptial Bed, and that the Execution was so sudden, that there did not intervene one Hour betwixt their Accusation and their Death; an Argument, that that Prince did not hear of that Debauchery sooner, whereas the News of it had spread far and wide into Foreign Countries. (*q*) *Accidit hoc quidem, me puero, in magna atque illustri Europae regia, quo minus diu obscura res esse posset, ut in regina, lasti pudoris fama prius apud exteras gentes longe lateque evagata emanaret, quam is, cujus in eo erat laesa majestas, maculam regio nomini impositam, eorum sanguine quorum erat scelere violata, eluerit. Satis quidem potuit indicis esse, postremum omnium resciisse, tam sumptum de vera supplicium, ut inter id, & delatam fontium nomen, ne hora quidem momentum intercedere sit passus.*

(*H*) *A Thousand Arguments to put him out of Conceit with the conjugal Knot.*] These Arguments may be reduc'd to two Heads; to the Danger and Dishonour to which Marriage would expose *Abelard*. I know my Uncle's Temper, (says she to him) nothing will appease his Rage against you; and then what Glory will it be to me to be your Wife, since I shall ruine your Reputation by it? What Curses have not I reason to fear, if I shall rob the World of so bright a Luminary in it? What Injury shall I not do the Church? What concern shall I not give the Philosophers? What a Shame and Injury will it be to you, whom Nature has form'd for the publick Good, to be monopoliz'd by a Woman? Consider these Words of St. *Paul*, *Art thou loosed from a Wife? seek not a Wife.* And if the Counsel of this great Apostle, and the Exhortations of the Holy Fathers cannot dissuade you from that heavy Burden; consider at least what the Philosophers have said. Hear *Theophrastus* proving by so many Reasons, that a Wise Man ought not to marry. Hear what *Cicero*, when he had divorc'd his Wife *Terentia*, answer'd to *Hirtius*, proposing a Match to him with his Sister; that he could not accept that Offer, because he could not divide his Thoughts betwixt Philosophy and a Wife. Besides, consider what Conformity there is betwixt Servant-maids and Scholars, Ink-horns and Cradles, Books and Distaffs, Pens and Spindles? How will you be able to bear in the midst of Theological (*e*) and Philosophical Meditations, the Bawlings of Children, the Stinks of Nurses, and the Dominance of House-keeping? I say nothing of the Stink and Nastiness that attends little Children. The Rich can screen all these Inconveniences from them, by the several Apartments in their Houses. The daily Cares and Expences cannot disturb them; but it is not so with Philosophers; and whoever would heap up Wealth, and engage in worldly Affairs, makes himself incapable of the Functions of Divinity and Philosophy. Observe the Conduct of the ancient Sages, both amongst the *Jews* and *Heathens*; if Pagans and Laymen have preferr'd Celibacy to Marriage, what a Disgrace would it be for a Clergy-man and a Canon to prefer sensual Pleasures before Divine Offices? But if you are but in little Concern for the Prerogative of your Priesthood, remember at least the Character and Dignity of a Philosopher. The Conclusion of her Sermon was, that he would shew more Honour to himself, and more Love to her in the quality of a Gallant, than of a Husband; that she desired to be united to him, not by the necessity of a conjugal Bond, but by the sole Affection of her Heart, and that their Pleasures would be infinitely more sensible, if they saw each other only from time to time. We shall speak of this last Reason in the *Rem.* (*f*). In the mean time, consider *Pope Eugenius*'s Thought upon *Heloisa*'s Discourse. *I will not* (says he) (*f*) *represent to you all the Reasons wherewith she tried to gain him; but I can assure you I never read in any Orator, so many fine Thoughts, and persuasive Sentences to gain her Point, as she us'd on this Account.* I must acquaint my Reader, that I have extreamly abridg'd this Lady's Remonstrance, and that I was surpriz'd, not to find one Reason borrowed (*g*) from her Lover's being in Orders. Does not this seem to prove, that it was not then believ'd that the Law of Celibacy was an Obligation on Ecclesiastick Persons?

(*I*) *all sentiments of Honour.*] It often happens that the passion of Love stifles or surmounts the sentiments of Conscience; but it is rarely observ'd to suppress the sense of Honour: And excepting a few People of mean Birth, who for most times have not had common Education, all the young Women that are overcome, put one or other of these four Strings to their Bow. They either hope they shall not conceive, or by some Medicine to procure Abortion, or to lie in privately, or to Marry their Gallant: And this shews that if Love be sometimes the strongest Tyrant in the World, 'tis a Tyrant that leaves Honour in possession of its Rights. See the famous Sonnet about *abortion*, where we see the power of Honour, and the power of Love, reciprocally Conquer'd and Victorious. Our *Heloisa* was so ragingly in Love, that she valued not her Honour or Reputation. For in the first place she was over-joyed with the sense (*b*) of being with Child; and in the second place she did all that was possible to prevent her Marriage with the Father of it. Two things, which are not only rarer than the most

(*e*) Quis facile vel philosophicis meditationibus intentus puerilles vagitus, nutricum cheiros insuavissimas nares, tumultuosam familiae turbam sustinere poterit? Quis enim inhonestas illas parvulorum sordes aequanimiter tolerare valebit. Oper. Abaelardi pag. 14.

(*f*) Recherch. de la France, l. 6. c. 17.

(*g*) *I mean that she did not allege that Marriage was forbid such as were in Orders.*

(*b*) Non multo autem post puella se concepisse comperit, & cum summa exultatione mihi super hoc illico scripsit, consulens quid de hoc ipse faciendum deliberarem. Abelard. pag. 13.

havock in her Soul, that she could never cure it (K). In vain poor *Abelard* lost his Virility (L), in vain she took the Vail upon her: There remain'd still a spice of the same Madness (M): And it is not from the *Portuguese* Letters that we first learn'd that it only belongs to Nuns to speak of Love. The Letters of *Heloisa* were a long time before a proof of the same truth. Be it how it will, that Amorous Creature in vain employ'd all her Wit and Eloquence to dissuade *Abelard* from the Marriage. They were Married in secret; but she always denied it with her Oath that she was his Wife *. That Conduct made her to be ill used by her Uncle, who to cover the Dishonour of his Family, Publish'd the Marriage in all places, tho' he had promis'd *Abelard* to the contrary. The ill Treatment *Heloisa* was expos'd to in the House of Canon *Fulbert*, made her Husband resolve to remove her from thence, and to put her into the Nunnery of *Argenteuil*, where she had been Educated. That second Escape put her Relations out of all manner of Patience, and inspir'd them with an exquisite piece of Revenge, which they Executed by the means of *Peter Abelard's* Servant. That Villain introduc'd by night into his Master's Chamber, the Executioners of the Mischief. They surpris'd him asleep, and cut of those Parts which are not to be named †. That Action made (N) a great noise; People went on the Morrow as in a procession to *Abe-*

* Avunculus ipsius atque domestici ejus ignominiæ sese totâ ratione quærentes, matrimonium divulgare & eidem multis perhorrescentibus violare cœperunt. Illa autem contrarium matrimonium & juravit, quia falsissimum erat. Idem, Historiæ calamitatum pag. 17.

† Crudelissima & pudendissima vindicta punientes, & quam turpissima admiratione mundus excepit, ejus videlicet corporis membri partibus amputatis, quibus id quod plangebant commiserant. Ibid.

most frightful Monsters, when they are join'd together, but such as the first alone is never found but in such Cases, where Love has little to do, and where the prospect is only of a good Maintenance, which could not be hop'd for without the noise of a great Belly. How many young Women are there that had rather have an Husband given them by a Decree of Court against his inclination, than to live with a stain'd Reputation. They are well satisfied that he will take his revenge with Usury, and that this Decree will cost them dear; but that signifies nothing, whilst the Title of Husband repairs the Breach which was made in their Honour. Our *Heloisa* had none of these Niceties. See the following Remark, and especially the Remark. *V.*

(K) *That she could never cure it.*] Is this to be envied, to say many years after she had renounced the World, and engag'd in a Monastick Life, *That she had rather be the Whore of* Peter Abelard, *than the lawful Wife of the Emperor of the whole World.* But this is what was said by *Heloisa*, when she was Abbess of *Paraclet*, and what she call'd God to Witness to. (a) *Deum testem invoco, si me Augustus universo præsidens mundo matrimonii honore dignaretur, totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuo præsidendum, charius mihi & dignius mihi videtur tua dici Meretrix, quam illius Imperatrix.* How can it be said that her Passion had left her in the Abbey of *Paraclet*, when she wrote an ingenuous Confession there of the bad state of her Soul, which shews that the fire of Love prey'd on her to the very Marrow. I dare not speak in French all that she accuses her self of: She confesses that the pleasures she tasted in the Embraces of *Abelard* were so delicious to her, that she thought of them Night and Day, Sleeping and Waking, and even at the Celebration of the Mass. She regretted the loss of them for ever, and for want of a better way repeated them in Idea. They that understand Latin may see with what force of Eloquence she could represent her Thoughts. (b) *In tantum vero illa, quas pariter exercuimus amantium voluptates, dulces mihi fuerunt, ut nec displicere mihi, nec vix à memoria labi possint. Quocunque loco me veniam semper se oculis meis cum suis ingerunt desideriis. Nec etiam dormienti suis illusionibus parcunt. Inter ipsa missarum solemnia ubi purior esse debet oratio, obscœna earum voluptatum fantasmata ita sibi penitus miserrimam captivant animam, ut turpitudinibus illis magis quàm orationi vacem. Quæ cum ingemiscere debeam de commissis, fustino potius de amissis. Nec solum quæ egimus, sed loca pariter & tempora in quibus hæc egimus itatecum nostro infixa sunt animo, ut in ipsis omnia tecum agam, nec dormiens etiam ab his quiescam. Nonnunquam & ipso motu corporis animi mei cogitationes deprehenduntur, nec à verbis temperant improvisis.* Which obliged her to cry out with St. *Paul.* (c) *O wretch that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of Death?* Would to God, continues she, I could truly add, *The Grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.* That Grace, says she, to her *Abelard*, has prevented you, my Dear, in delivering you from all the Incentives of Sensuality, by one stroke of a Knife which made you an Eunuch——But my Youth and Experience of past Pleasures kindle these fires in my Soul; and the weaker my Nature is, the more I am overpower'd by those violent Attacks. (d) *Hac te gratia, charissime, pravenit, & ab his tibi stimulis una corporis plaga medendo multas in anima sanavit. . . . nos autem in membris nostris hæc incentiva libidinis ipse juvenilis fervor ætatis & jucundiorum nobis experta voluptatum plurimum urendum, & tanto amplius sua me impugnatione oppugnant, quanto infirmior est natura quam oppugnant.* Lastly, she recommends her self to his Prayers with so much the more solicitude as it was the only Remedy that was left for her Incontinence. (e) *Time, alas, semper de me potius quam consilias, ut tua semper sollicitudine absolvar. Nunc vero præcipuè timendum est, ne malum incontinentiæ meæ super se in te revocatum.* Those who censur'd *Abelard's* (f) frequent Visits to the *Paraclet*, were guilty of a rash Judgment, since they knew not the internal Dispositions of *Heloisa*. But had they known them, they had been oblig'd to have gone on those Visits forbid; having reason to fear that it was impossible (Humanely speaking) that that Woman should not commit Acts of Impurity with that Man. The Holy Fathers never trusted to Mutations. They compar'd an Eunuch to an Ox that has lost his Horns, and yet does not leave off pushing with his Head. You may see a fine Passage of St. *Basil* upon it, in our Remarks upon the Article *Combabus*. But as Appearances are sometimes Fallacious, I should not approve of those, that, knowing what *Heloisa* had in her Heart, should imagine she transgress'd the bounds when she met her Husband, and that she had occasion to write to him, (g) *Si lubrica fuerim, quæritur deceptæ, nunc etiam languori tuo gratias ago, in umbra voluptatis diutius lusi.*

(L) *In vain poor* Abelard *lost his Virility.*] 'Twas an effectual remedy for Love, if we'll believe some Verses of *Cyrano de Bergerac* (h). They are address'd to a Man whom he had bespoke in this manner.

Je tiens que la diminutif
Qu'on fit de ton trop excessif
Sur votre flasque genitif,
Vous prohibe le corps oblif.
Then he adds,
O visage! ô portrait naif!
O souverain expedit if
Pour guerir tout sexe lascif
D'amour naissant, ou cheoif!
Gemeaux ronds, gemeaux motifs,
Qui n'etes homme qu'abstractifs,
Grace à votre sepulatif,
Qu'a rendu fort imperfectif
Le cruel tranchant d'un canif.

But as there is no Rule so general but has an Exception to it, the Love of *Heloisa* was proof against that violent Remedy. She had that in common with Queen *Stratonice* before mention'd (k).

(M) *A spice of that Madness.*] This appears in Passages I have cited in the Remark (K). They not only prove that the Love of Concupiscence prevailed in *Heloisa*, but also that she was somewhat besides her self: For a Person in her perfect Senses, would never have talk'd at that rate. 'Tis probable that Study be an first to disorder her, and Love made a great addition to the Breach. There appear in her Writings many instances of an irregular Imagination; something so Extravagant, and so many disproportions, that they are proofs of *Seneca's* Maxim, *Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ.*

(N) *That Action made a great Noise.*] See what *Abelard* says of it; (m) *Mane autem facto tota ad me*

(a) Pag. 45.

(b) Pag. 59.

(c) Rom. chap. 7.

(d) Pag. 60.

(e) Pag. 61.

(f) See the Article Abelard, Rem. R.

(g) Circe Polyæno, apud Pontanum.

(h) See the Play entitled, le Pedant joué.

(k) In the Article Combabus.

(m) Pag. 17.

Abelard's Chamber. His Scholars made ſtill greater Lamentations than the reſt. The Women (O) remarkably diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their doleful Complaints. Some wrote him very curious Letters of Conſolation (P). That Action was ſeverely (Q) Puniſh'd. But all that did not hinder *Abelard*, overwhelm'd with Shame, and Grief, from ſequeſtring himſelf from the World in the Monaſtery of St. *Denys*; after having order'd *Heloiſa* to become a Nun at *Argenteuil*. We have ſaid in another place what happen'd after he became a Monk, and how he was Condemn'd to burn with his own Hands a Book, he had written. The loſs of that Work afflicted him ſtill more than the loſs of his Virility (R): And yet the loſs of a Book may be made up by another, which cannot (S) be ſaid in the other Caſe. As for *Heloiſa*, ſhe was made Prioreſs of the Nuns at *Argenteuil*; but, as they behaved themſelves ill in that Monaſtery, (T) the Abbot of St. *Denys*, who claim'd the Juriſdiction of it, expell'd them all; and then *Heloiſa* ſtood in great need of her Husband. He had built an Oratory near *Troies*, to which he had given the Name of *Paraclet* *, and then he had accepted an Abbey in *Bretagne*. Underſtanding that his *Heloiſa* had neither Houſe nor Harbour after her Expulſion, he gave her that Oratory, with all its Dependencies, which Donation was confirm'd by Pope *Innocent* II. Thus you ſee the firſt Abbeſs of *Paraclet*. She obtain'd ſuch a Favour with all Ranks of Men, that ſhe was quickly loaded with Riches. The Biſhops loved her as their Daughter, the Abbots as their Siſter, and the Laity as their Mother †. However, ſhe was very ill ſatisfied with the Providence of God †, and Murmured much more than *Job*. She kept up a Correſpondence of Letters with *Abelard* (U), and deſired him to give her Rules for her Nuns, and the Solution of ſeveral Difficulties.

* See the Article Paraclet.

† All this is taken from Abelard's Letter, intituled, Hiſtoria Calamitatum, except a few things, whoſe Proofs I cite by themſelves. See the Article Foulques, Rem. I.

I don't

me civitas congregata quanta ſtuporet admiratione, quanta ſe affligeret lamentatione, quanto me clamore vexarent, quanto planctu perturbarent, difficile imo impoſſibile eſt exprimi. Maximè vero Clerici, ac præcipuè Scholares noſtri, intolerabilibus me lamentis & ejulatibus cruciabant. See the Article *Foulques*.

(O) *The Women remarkably diſtinguiſh'd themſelves.*] *Abelard* does not ſpeak of this: But we learn it from one of his Friends who wrote a Letter of Conſolation to him. See the Article *Foulques* (n).

(n) *Rem.* H.

(P) *Very curious Letters of Conſolation.*] *Foulques* Prior of *Deuil*, wrote him one which has been inſerted into the Edition of *Abelard*. We ſpeak of it in the Article of that Prior, and we refer thither many things belonging to *Heloiſa* and her Huſband, and which would make their Articles too long, if they were not ſeparated, to be plac'd elſewhere. They who ſay they had rather find it in the ſame place, are ſomewhat in the wrong.

(Q) *That Action was ſeverely puniſh'd.*] See the Article *Foulques* (s) to which I refer for the two laſt Notes.

(s) *Rem.* L.

(R) *Yet more than the loſs of his Virility.*] Authors have been ſufficiently Ridicul'd for their exceſſive fondneſs of their own Works: and Biſhop *Heliodorus* amongſt other inſtances, has been brought in, who chote rather to renounce his Biſhopriek than to Condemn his Romance of *Theagenes*. What *Sarazin* makes *Voiture* ſay, has alſo been alledg'd (e). I don't know that *Abelard* has been inſtanc'd upon this occaſion: yet there is ſomething more Emphatical in his Example; for *Job* was reſtor'd at laſt to his proſperous State; he begat Sons and Daughters, and 'tis certain that *Voiture* had rather have been a *Job* for ſome time, than *Abelard* to his Grave: and that he would gladly have thrown away all his Books and Muſes, if there had been a neceſſity for it, to preſerve the Fund of his Love-intrigues. Where are the Prelates who would refuſe to ſign the Reſignation of their Biſhopricks, ſhould they be threaten'd with Raſor in Hand with---in caſe of their refuſal. Doubtleſs *Heliodorus* would have conſented to the Condemnation of his Romance, had he fallen under that unlucky Alternative. But now here's a Man that declares he reckons the loſs of his Natural Parts, as an inconſiderable thing, in compariſon of the Writing which he was oblig'd to caſt into the Fire. But to judge impartially in this Caſe, we muſt not Attribute *Abelard's* whole grief, to the paternal Affection his Character of an Author inſpir'd him with for his Book. There was another thing which afflicted him more than that; which was, that the Sentence oblig'd him to burn his own Book, branded him with the mark of Herely, a Puniſhment equal to that of the hot Iron. His Murmurs againſt the Providence of God are another Teſtimony of his fondneſs. See his Words which, I ought to produce, that I may not be ſuſpected of enlarging things, to divert my Reader. (d) *Deus, qui judicas æquitatem, quanto tunc animi felle, quanta mentis amaritudine teipſum infamis arguebam, te ſu-*

(e) Apud S. Hieronym. in ejus vita.

(f) Papa Honorius vir gravis & leverus, juſtitiam noſtram de Monaſterio Argentoilenſi pudibundum miſerrima converſatione infamato, &c.

(e) Un Auteur qui dans ſon eſprit Comme moi reçoit une offenſe, Souffre plus que Job ne ſouffrit, Bien qu'il eut d'extremes ſouffrances Sarazin, poeſies pag. m. 87.

ſibundus accuſabam, ſæpius repetens illam beati Antonii (e) *conqueſtionem, Jeſu bone, ubi eras? Quanto autem dolore æſtuarem, quanta confuſione confunderer, quanta deſperatione perturberer ſentire tunc potui, proferre non poſſum. Conferebam cum his quæ in corpore paſſus olim fueram, quanta nunc ſuſtinerem, & omnium me æſtimabam miſerrimum. Parvam illam diuchim proditionem in Comparatione hujus injuriæ, & longè ampliùs famæ quam corporis detrimentum plangebam.*

(S) *Which can't be ſaid in the other Caſe.*] See the Article *Foulques*, Remark E.

(T) *Behav'd themſelves ill in that Monaſtery.*] *Sugger*, Abbot of St. *Denys*, took advantage of the diſorderly Life of the Nuns of *Argenteuil*, to be re-admitted into the Poſſeſſion of that Monaſtery. He ſent his Charters and Statutes to *Rome*, and receiv'd a favourable anſwer. See what he ſays of it in the Hiſtory of his Life under the Year 1127. *Nuntiis noſtris & chartis antiquas fundationis & donationis, & confirmationum privilegia bonæ memoriæ Papæ Honorio Romam delegavimus, poſtulantes ut juſtitiam noſtram canonicè inveſtigaret & reſtitueret ſcrutinio. Qui, ut erat in conſiliis & juſtitiæ tutor, tam pro noſtra juſtitia, quàm pro enormitate Monachorum ibidem male viventium, eundem nobis locum cum appendiciis ſuis, ut reformaretur ibi religionis ordo, reſtituit.* He ſays the ſame thing in the Life of *Lewis the Groſs* (f). They that are forward to judge ill of their Neighbour, will not Read this Paſſage without violent ſuſpicions about the Life of *Heloiſa*. She confeſſes (g) her ſelf ſubject to the raging heats of Luſt: and it is often ſeen, that the Abbeſs of a Convent governs herſelf amiſs, when ill Morals are prevalent in the (h) Society. From theſe two Principles, they who are pleaſed to be Cenſorious, may eaſily draw this conſequence, that the Prioreſs of *Argenteuil*, was no better than the Nuns. But as for me, who never read that ſhe was nominally comprehended in the Scandal her Monaſtery gave, I ſhall be cautious of fixing the leaſt blemiſh on her. We ſhould imitate our Lord, and make uſe of his Maxim (i), *Has any body Condemn'd, or accuſ'd thee? Neither do I Condemn* or Accuſe *thee*. And it is very true that Inferiours imitate the ill and not the good Life of their Superiours. The Court of *France* under *Lewis* XIII, was not Chaſter than under *Henry* IV.

(g) *See the Rem.* K. *Letters* b *and* d.

(h) 'Tis a common place upon this Head, Reges ad exemplum totus componitur orbis; &, Sequitur leviter filia matris iter.

(i) John 8. 10.

(V) *A Correſpondence of Letters with* Abelard.] That Correſpondence began but late, and it was a fortunate Adventure that occaſion'd it. *Abelard* had written to a Friend a long Relation of his Misfortunes, which fell into the Hands of *Heloiſa*, already Abbeſs of *Paraclet*. Having read it, ſhe immediately wrote him the Reflections ſhe had made upon it, and paſſionately importuned him to write to her, that ſhe might be no longer depriv'd of the Conſolation his Letters might afford her in his Abſence. She repreſented to him the diſintereſtedneſs of her Affection, and how ſhe neither ſought the honour of Marriage nor the advantages of a Dowry, nor her own Pleaſure, but the Sole ſatisfaction of *Abelard*.

(d) Oper. pag. 25.

I don't find, that the hope she had of seeing him dignified with the Mitre (X) was the Reason of her Reluctance against Marriage. When he died in the Monastery of *Clugni*, she requested his Corps of the Abbot, which obtaining, she interred it in the *Paraclet* *, and resolved to be buried in the same Tomb. They tell a most surprizing Miracle that happen'd, as is said, when the Sepulcher was open'd to lay in *Heloisa*'s Body, *viz.* that *Abelard* stretch'd out his Arms (Y) to receive her, and strictly embraced her; and yet he had been above Twenty Years dead: But that's no great matter; there are Instances (Z) brought of the like Cases. She died the 17th. of *May*, 1163. The Letters she wrote to her Husband, are to be met with in the Edition of *Abelard*'s Works. But what Mr. *Moreri* advances, is not true, *viz.* that *Andrew du Chesne* has made Reflections upon these Letters, and upon *Abelard*'s Answers. What he has done, is only upon the Letter where *Abelard* gives the History of his Misfortunes to a Friend. *John de* † *Meun* translated into *French* the Letters, which *Heloisa* and *Abelard* wrote to one another. Some time since a Book came out ‡, intituled, *The History of* Heloisa *and* Abelard, *with the passionate Letter she wrote to him, translated from the* Latin. That pretended Translation, is nothing else but a little Collection of Passages made at pleasure from that Woman's Letters, to which the Author has given what Form he thought fit, by suppressing what he did not like, and adding what he thought more convenient.

The Count *de Bussi Rabutin* translated into *French* some Letters, of *Abelard* and *Heloisa*, and that Translation was publish'd after his Death, in the Second Volume of Letters. *I never* * *saw*, (says he) *finer* Latin, *especially than that of* Heloisa, *nor greater Love and Wit than she was Mistress of.* If he had been as well vers'd in the *Latin* Style as he was in the *French*, he would not have made that Elogy on the Latinity of *Heloisa*.

HEL-

(*) *See the Rem. V. of the Artic.* Abelard.

† *See the President* Fauchet, *in the 12oth. Chapter of the ancient* French *Poets.*

‡ *Printed at the* Hague, *by* John Alberts 1693.

* Bussi, *Letter* 15. *of the 2d. Tome*, *f.* 40. Holland *Edition*, 1697.

(a) Pag. 45.

(b) Pag. 51.

(c) Pag. 53.

(d) Pag. 54.

Abelard. She tells him that though the name of Wife has something in it more Great and Sacred, she had always found more agreeable that of his Mistress, or Concubine, or Whore. (k) *Etsi uxoris nomen sanctius ac validius videtur, dulcius mihi semper extitit amicæ vocabulum, aut, si non indigneris, concubinæ vel scorti.* She adds, that he had related but one part of the Reasons she had represented to dissuade him from Marriage; but that he had almost suppress'd all those which were drawn from the Preference she gave to Love, before Matrimony, and to Liberty before Necessity (l). I know not how this Lady meant; but there lies in it one of the most Mysterious Refinements of Love. It has been many Ages believ'd, that Marriage destroys the principal Poinancy of that sort of Salt, and that when once a Man does a thing by Engagement, Duty, and Necessity, as a Task and Drudgery, He no longer finds the natural Charms in it: So that to use the Words of these nice Judges, a Man takes a Wife *ad honores*, and not *ad delicias*. (m) "Marriage "has on its side Profit, Justice, Honour, and Con- "stancy; a flat, but more universal Pleasure. Love "bottoms only upon Pleasure, which has then more "Sprightliness, Life and Pregnancy: A Pleasure "excited by Difficulty, must have a Relish and "Smartness in it. 'Tis no longer Love, if it be de- "stitute of Flame and Arrows. The Bounty of the "Ladies is too profuse in Marriage, it blunts the "edge of Affection and Desire. *Patere me*, said a *Roman* Emperor to his (n) Wife, *per alias exercere cupiditates meas, nam uxor nomen est dignitatis, non voluptatis* (o). One might therefore give an unlucky Interpretation to *Heloisa*'s Design of never being the Wife, but only the dear Mistress of *Peter Abelard*. One might suspect she was afraid lest Marriage should prove the Grave of Love, and hinder her from tasting so deliciously, as she did, the Caresses of her Friend. The Author, who has paraphrased some Pieces of our *Heloisa*'s (a) Letters, would have this Mind and Prospect to be at the bottom of her Design, though the Words are nicely managed. He makes her say, (b) *That she found nothing but what was dull and insipid in those publick Engagements which tye those Knots, which only Death can unloose, and which make a sad Necessity of Life and Love; that* (c) *this is not to love, to court Wealth and Honours, in the lukewarm Embraces of an insensible Husband; that she could never believe one could this way taste the sensible Pleasures of an agreeable Union, or feel the secret and charming Commotions of a pair of Hearts, which have a long time indeavour'd to be united; and that she is fully* (d) *satisfied, that if there be any such thing as Happiness in this World, 'tis only to be found in the Conjunction of two Persons, who love with Liberty, whom a secret Inclination has join'd, and a Reciprocal Enjoyment has rendred content and satisfied.* We shall see in the next place, that another Cause has been suppos'd in her Design not to marry *Abelard*.

(k) Rationes nonnullas quibus te à conjugio nostro infaustis thalamis revocare conabar exponere non es dedignatus, sed plerisque tacitis quibus amorem conjugio, libertatem vinculo præferebam. THE QUALITY of Mistress was more grateful than that of Wife to *Heloisa*.

(m) Montagne, Essais l. 3. chap. 5. p. m. 120.

(n) Ælius Verus apud Spartian. in ejus vita pag. m. 235.

(o) *See many Remarks of this Nature in the 9th. Letter of the Animadversions upon the* Calvinism *of* Maimbourg, *and in the* 21 *and* 22 *Letters of the Sequel of the Animadversions.*

(X) *The hope of seeing him dignified with the Mitre.*] The Sieur *d'Amboise* (e) makes mention of an ancient *French* Poet, who after having exhorted Men not to submit their Necks to the Yoke of Marriage, confirms his Opinion by that of our *Heloisa*, who, says he, most importunately begg'd and intreated of her Lover, that he would not marry her. She was much better satisfied to be loved by a Man, whom she should sometime see elevated to a good Bishoprick. *Satis esse dilectam si illa intimo pectoris amorem mutuum foveans, illum videret mitra & insulis Pontificalibus quibus dignus erat ornatum.* The Sieur *d'Amboise* observes, that this (f) Poet gives another turn to it, *viz.* that *Heloisa* insinuated, that the Embraces of married People are not attended with so delicious a Pleasure, as those that are illegitimate. 2. That 'tis credible that *Heloisa* did not prefer a licentious Concubinage, before the Condition of a Wife; but that her Love and Respect for her Gallant, enclin'd her rather to turn Recluse, than by her Marriage to hinder *Abelard* from receiving the Reward; (g) that were due to his Wit and Learning, as suppose a Cardinal's Cap. I have found no Footstep of this in *Heloisa*'s Letters, and for that Reason, I have made it the 6th. Fault of Mr. *Moreri*, in the Article of *Abelard*. That which gives Birth to these sorts of Falshoods, is the Liberty an Author takes to lend People those Thoughts, which he thinks agreeable to their Interests. There is sometimes more Advantage for a Woman to induce her Lover to rise to the Dignities of the Church, than to stop the way to them by Matrimony. But must we suppose therefore, that *Heloisa* had the like Views? Here is a Story sufficiently known. A Man that had a Prebend, quitted it to marry: The Day after the Wedding, he said to his Wife, *See, my Dear, how I love you, when I have left my Prebend for your sake. You are a Fool*, says she, *for your Pains: you ought to have kept your Prebend; and you might have had me notwithstanding.*

(e) Potius quam obvice & interventu tuarum nuptiarum, impedimento esse ne Abelardus factus uxoris fruitrare tur præmio excellentis ingenii admirabilisque doctrinæ, puta patriarchæ & episcopi. Ib.

(f) Sed poeta in alium sensum hoc detorquet, quasi illa tumere voluerit luxuriose, esse amantium, quam legitimorum connubiorum nexuum amplexus. Ibid.

(g) Potuit & Cardinalis galerus accedere. Ib.

(h) See a Book called Le moyen de parvenir, (*the way to preferment*) made by a Canon of Tours, *n.* Menagiana *says p.* 366. *of the* 2d. *Edition of* ad Histor. Apologet.

(l) Abelard *stretch'd out his Arms to receive her.*] A Manuscript Chronicle of Tours (i) relates this pretty Miracle. *Hæc*, (*Heloisa*) *sicut dicitur, magnitudine ultima posita præcepit ut mortua intra marmoreum tumulum poneretur, & sic eadem defuncta ad tumulum apertum deportata, maritus ejus qui multis diebus ante eam defunctus fuerat, elevatis brachiis illam recepit, & ita eam amplexatus brachia sua strinxit.* But how comes it then that they are not in the same Monument? *Francis d'Amboise*, who tells us, that he has seen at the *Paraclet*, the Tombs of the Founder and Foundress by one another, *contigua fundatoris fundatricis sepulchra*, should have solved that little Difficulty.

(i) Apud Andream Quercetanum notis calamitat. Abael. & apud Franc. Ambesium præfat.

(Z) *Instances brought of the like Cases.*] See here what *Gregorius Turonensis* relates concerning two married Persons, who always remain'd Virgins, and whom the Inhabitants of the Country call'd *the Two*

Holland.

HELVICUS (*Chriſtopher*) Profeſſor of *Divinity*, of *Greek*, and of the Oriental Languages in the Univerſity of *Gieſſen*, was born the 26th of *December*, 1581, at *Spendlingen* †, where his Father (*A*) was Miniſter. He was not one of thoſe tardy Wits, which are only produc'd in the latter Seaſon. He was capable before the Age of 20, to teach *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and even *Philoſophy*; and he had compos'd Abundance of *Greek* Verſes at the Age of 15 or 16. He ſtudied at *Marpurg*, and was made Maſter of Arts there in 1599. He might have obtain'd it ſooner if he would; for he was admitted Batchelor at 14 *. He made himſelf ſuch a Maſter of the *Hebrew*, that he could ſpeak it as his own Language. He read thoroughly abundance of *Greek* Authors. He ſtudied alſo *Phyſick* for ſome time, though he had conſecrated himſelf to the Church. In fine, he gave ſo many Teſtimonies of his Capacity, that he was choſen in the Year 1605, Teacher of *Greek* and *Hebrew* in the College the Landgrave † had lately built at *Giessen*. The Year following, the Emperor honoured that College with the Title of Univerſity, and the Privileges depending on it. *Helvicus* having for five Years acquitted himſelf in the Duties of his Employ with great Reputation, was made Profeſſor of *Divinity* in the Year 1610. He married the ſame Year. I know not whether he deferr'd his Marriage till he ſaw himſelf rais'd to a Preferment that might help him to a better Fortune, or whether he had other Reaſons that engaged him in a ſingle Life till that time; for the Author I refer to, ſays nothing of it; but he obſerves, that Marriage did not abate his Diligence in his Duties. He was offer'd a Church in *Moravia*, in the Year 1611, and a Profeſſorſhip at *Hamburg*, with a conſiderable Salary. However, he refuſed both theſe Preferments. He took the Degree of Doctor in Divinity, in the Year, 1613, the Landgrave deſiring it; as alſo, that he ſhould go and ſee the Libraries of the *Jews* at *Francfort*, who had been driven lately thence, by popular Commotions. *Helvicus*, who was much addicted to the reading of the Rabbins, purchas'd there many of their Books. He died in the Flower of his Age, *Sept.* 10. 1617. with many (*B*) Deſigns of Books in his Head, being look'd upon as a Man that had the fineſt Art (*C*), and beſt Method of teaching a Language ‖. He was not only a good Grammarian, but a good Chronologer. His Chronological Tables have been much

† *A Town but a League from* Francfort

* XIV. ætatis anno, perrato exemplo Baccalaureatus gradum conſecutus. Chriſtoph. Scheibelius in Programmate de funere Helvici.

A Batchelor of Arts Degree in Germany, is far different from what it is here.

† König is miſtaken; he makes him Profeſſor of Marpurg. He was then but in the Univerſity of it, & an Aſſiſtant to Jo. Wyckelmannus ubi infra.

† *Taken from his Funeral Oration, Pronounced by* John Wyckelman, *Profeſſor of Divinity at* Gieſſen.

(*k*) At *Clermont* in Auvergne.

(*l*) Hiſt. des François, liv. 1. chap. 41.

(*m*) *See the Notes of the abbot de Marolles, upon Gregor. Turon. Tom.* 2. *p.* 283.

(*a*) Ex oratione Funebri Chriſtoph. Helvici filii in Joannem Wyckelmannum.

Love (*k*). The Wife died firſt: The Husband in his Sermon, made uſe of this Thankſgiving: (*l*) *I thank thee, my Lord and my God, that I have returned thee thy Treaſure in the ſame Purity thou was pleas'd to commit it to me.* The Woman fell a ſmiling, and ſaid to him: *Why do you boaſt of a thing that was not equally of your Hands?* The Husband died a little after, and was buried over-againſt his Spouſe; but on the Morrow their Corps were found both in the ſame Grave. That ſtrict Interrogatory might give occaſion to ſome of the profane to think, that the Virgin Wife was not willing the World ſhould know her Husband had been ſo cold. She confin'd herſelf to the Merit of her Continence, without being willing to be expos'd to the Opinions, that might be form'd to the Prejudice of her Charms. 'Tis not thus that *Deputies* ought to be preſerv'd; 'tis not reſtoring it well, to render it juſt as we receiv'd it. 'Tis not for this that God inſtituted Marriage; *non hos quæſitum munus in uſus.* One may therefore be ſorry, that the Publick ſhould think one has not ſufficiently pleas'd the Depoſitary. But the Hiſtorian will remedy that Inconvenience, if you conſult the Thirty Second Chapter, concerning the Glory of Conſeſſors, where the Diſcourſe of the Deceaſed Wife is a little better turn'd. Ten Chapters after, he relates, that a Senator of *Dijon*, call'd *Hilary*, (*m*) having been buried a whole Year, lift up his Hand to embrace his Wife's Neck, when ſhe was laid in the ſame Tomb.

(*A*) *Where his Father was Miniſter.*] He was call'd *Chriſtopher* as his Son; he was in his younger Days, two Years tog ther, Director of the College of *Gerau*. After which he ſtudied *Divinity* at *Tubingen*, and was made Miniſter of the Church of *Gieſſhem*; but Prince *George*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*, preferr'd him a little after to *Spendlingen*; which Church he ſerv'd till his Death, and ſuffer'd many Afflictions. *Multa propter ſinceram confeſſionem perpeſſus, tandem ibidem vitam hanc terreſtrem cum cæleſti commutavit.* He was Son to *Quirinus Helvicus*, who ſignaliz'd himſelf in the Defence of *Darmſtat*, during the War of *Smalcalde*. One may ſee in *Sleidan*, and *Thuanus*, the Opinion which the Count *de Buren* had of him. Seeing no Proſpect of Relief, he went upon the Ramparts to Capitulate, but he receiv'd a Shot in his Right-Arm, after which the Place was taken by force. They had a mind to hang him, and perhaps they would have done it, if the Ranſome that was promiſed for him had not hindred them. He had attended the Landgrave *Philip* in almoſt all his Expeditions (*a*).

(*B*) *With many Deſigns of Books in his Head.*] He had publiſh'd many Grammars, one in *Latin*, another in *Greek*, a third in *Hebrew*, a fourth in *Chaldee*, and a fifth in *Syriack*: But (*b*) they were only Abridgments. His *Hebrew* and *Latin Lexicons*, were only a ſort of Eſſay in Favour of Youth. He had a great deſire to perfect all theſe *Grammars*, and to make his *Lexicons* of uſe to the Learned, and he begg'd of God to live ſo long as to finiſh theſe Undertakings. He moreover pray'd for a Life long enough to reduce the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtories into Order, and to animadvert upon *Piſcator*'s Tranſlation of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, and his Commentaries on the Scripture. He thought alſo it was requiſite to have a new Edition of *Luther*'s Bible, ſet out with a good Apology, and neceſſary Explications. The Edition of that Bible, which *Paul* (*c*) *Voſſius* had procured not long before, with Marginal Notes, containing the Opinions of *Calvin*, put *Helvicus* upon that Project, and gave him a vehement deſire to execute it (*d*).

(*C*) *Who had the fineſt Art, and beſt Method of teaching.*] He fought a Road rather than the common way us'd in the Schools to lead Youth to Learning. He was not at all diſcouraged, by the Obſtacles that were raiſed againſt his new Method. Being perſuaded, that it would ſave a great deal of Time and Pains to the Scholars; and, prompted by the Affection he had for his own Inventions, he endeavoured to introduce his Method into the Colleges. He put the Buſineſs in a good way; they ridiculed him, they wrangled with him, and calumniated him; which obliged him to defend himſelf, and to refute thoſe rude Aſſaults (*e*). I believe, that his Death happening before his Inventions took Effect, gave Opportunity to the Partiſans of the old Method, to maintain themſelves, or to recover their Ground. However, it was inſcrib'd in his Epitaph, that he had Invented a new Art of Teaching, *novæ Didacticæ author & informator felicissimus.* The thing deſerved it, *titulo res digna ſepulchri*, and merited to be copied more exactly than has been done by the Sieur *Freher*, who inſtead of *Didacticæ*, has put it *Dialecticæ*. One would think, that *Helvicus* had ſome Idea of a Project, which, they ſay, a very Learned Man is undertaking, which is to reduce Languages into ſuch common Principles, as may ſerve to teach them very eaſily all together; one might believe

(*b*) *He publiſh'd firſt a general Grammar*: Grammatica univerſalis, continens ea quæ omnibus linguis ſunt communia. *The* [illegible] *would be curious to compare it with Mr.* Arnauld's *Grammar.*

(*c*) Cum ante biennium Patrius Theſaurus Heidelbergenſis Doctor, verſionem Bibliam B. Lutheri Germanicam in lucem ediſſet, non ſolum variis notationibus marginalibus (quæ quales hinc inde ſint variis cordari ſe dicat) compoſitam, ſed etiam erroribus Calvinianis [illegible] ipſius Lectoris [illegible] & veteris tatem, proteſtemeritate & impudentia contaminatam, judicio but operæ pretium eſſe, ſi opus illud Bibliicum Lutheri cum ſolida ejus opus eſſet apologia, neceſſariis explicationibus, & maculatum quas Pontificii & Calvinianis aſperſerunt abſterſione in lucem prodiret. Ubi animadverti in ipſo ſingulare hoc ipſum præſentiæ deſiderium, ſi Domino ita viſum eſſet. Wyckelman. ibid.

(*d*) Ex eodem Wyckelm. ibid.

(*e*) *See* Spizelius in Templ honoris reſtaur. pag. 50.

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much (*D*) valued, tho' they are not entirely free from Errors (*E*). We may conjecture (*F*) by the Books we have of him, that if he had attain'd the Age of 60, his Works would have made many Volumes in *Folio*. As for the reſt, he was a Man of an unblamable Life; he ſtudied to have Peace with all Mankind †, and never had any Difference, either with his Collegues, or with other People: *Rara avis in terris*. He was in great Requeſt with many Princes of *Germany*, and receiv'd Letters from them, full of Civilities. *Anne Dorothy*, Dutcheſs of *Saxony*, did him the Honour to write frequently to him. He was lamented in an extraordinary manner; all the Poets of *Germany*, of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, were at the Pains of making Funeral Elegies, complaining of the Immaturity of his Death. A Collection of theſe Poems has been printed, with the Funeral Oration, and ſome other Pieces, under the Title of *Cippus memorialis*, by the care of *Wynckelman*, Collegue of the deceaſed. The Son of this *Wynckelman* had it reprinted in the Year 1650.

† Concordiam colebat cum omnibus nullo unquam tempore cum ullo ſive collega, ſive extraneo in diſcordia vixit Wynckel. ibid.

HERMELAR (*John*) Canon of *Antwerp*, born at the *Hague*, was a very Learned Man. He apply'd himſelf much more to the Study of Polite Learning, and the Science (*A*) of Medals, than to Theological Diſputes. He was both a Poet and an Orator. At *Rome* he made a Panegyrick upon *Clement* the VIII. with ſo great Succeſs, that the

(*a*) Valerius Andreas Biblioth. Belg. pag. 514.

(*f*) *This Title is to be found in* Spizelius, ibid. pag. 52.

ſieve this, I ſay, if we depended on this Title (*f*) of one of his Books: *Libri duo de Arte Grammatica univerſalis Latinæ, Græcæ, Hebraïcæ, Chaldaïcæ*: but 'tis plain by his Funeral Oration, that there is a Comma wanting after *Univerſalis*. See the Quotation (*b*).

(*D*) *His Chronological Tables*, &c.] I ſpeak of the Work which is intituled, *Theatrum Hiſtoricum, hoc Chronologiæ Syſtema novum*. He publiſh'd it in the Year 1609. *Sethus Calviſius*, who was a great Maſter of Hiſtory and Chronology, much approved of that Work, and found it of a new Invention and Advantage, ſince things are there ſeen altogether, and at one View: *Ut pote in quibus exemplo antehac non viſo omnia uno intuitu lectorum oculis ſubjecantur*. *Wynckelman* obſerves, that this Approbation is found in the Letter that *Sethus Calviſius* wrote to *Helvicus*, *September* the 7th. 1609. He adds, *the Work is at preſent reprinted, corrected, and enlarged by the author. Jam ſecundum emendatius & ex ipſius autoris auctius editur*. We muſt ſay then, that the firſt Edition of this Work was in the Year 1609, and the ſecond in the Year 1618. *John Steuber*, Profeſſor at *Giſſen*, had the care of the latter, and dedicated it to a *Daniſh* (*g*) Lord, a Patron of Learned Men, and who had honoured *Helvicus* with his Friendſhip. Twenty Years after a new Edition of this Book was publiſhed by the care of *John Ludolph Schuppius*, Son-in-Law to the Author, and Profeſſor of Oratory at *Marpurg*. He adviſes in his Preface, that he'll lay nothing of the *Engliſh* Edition. Since that time this *Chronological Theater* has been often reprinted. *Voſſius* hath not well obſerved the date of the firſt Edition, and hath given that for the Second Edition, which was not for *Anno* CIↃIↃCXII, ſaith he (*b*), *Chriſtophorus Helvicus edidit Syſtema chronologicum, æqualibus denariorum, quinquage narium, & centenariorum, intervallis. Id poſtea continuavit & recenſuit Joannes Balthaſar Schuppius* ——*Emiſit anno* CIↃIↃCXXXVIII. It cannot be objected to me in favour of *Voſſius*, that it is very true, that *Helvicus* made a Book of Chronology in the Year 1032, which was augmented by *Schuppius*, in 1638. for that is not the Book which *Voſſius* ſpeaks of; the Title of it is (*i*) *Chronologica Univerſalis ab origine mundi per quatuor Summa imperia, quas Monarchias appellant, ad annum usque* MDCXII. *deducta, cum præcipuis ſynchroniſmis illuſtrium, eventorum & poſteritatum cæterarum*. All is there accommodated to the ſecond and ſeventh Chapters of *Daniel*; which Character doth not agree with the *Theatrum Hiſtoricum*. On the other Hand, the Title and Character by which *Voſſius* repreſents the Book he ſpeaks of, agree perfectly with the *Theatrum Hiſtoricum ſive Chronologia ſyſtema novum*, where we ſee only Diviſions of Tens, Fifties, and Hundreds, which do not exceed one another. In fine, *John Juſtus Wynckelman*, the Son of him who pronounced the Funeral Oration, remarks (*a*) very expreſly, that *Schuppius* publiſhed two Works of his Father-in-Law *Helvicus*, with the Commutations until the Year 1639; one is, *Theatrum Hiſtoricum*, in Folio; the other *Chronologia Univerſalis in Quarto*. I omit to ſay, that *Helvicus* did not publiſh his Chronology himſelf, which he had continued to the Year 1612. It was done by his Collegue *Steuber* in the Year 1618.

(*g*) Olger Roſecrantz. *The Epiſtle Dedicatory of* Steuber, *dated the* 18. *of* March 1618.

(*b*) Deficient. Mathemat. pag. 404.

(*i*) Vide M. Endebitum Bohemum in epitome Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ Novi Teſtamenti, p. 72. & ſeqq. apud Joh. Juſtum Wynckelmannum, in Cippo memoriali Chriſtophoro Helvico reſtaurato. pag. 10.

(*a*) Wynckelm. ibid.

(*E*) *Entirely free from Errors.*] *Tanaquillus Faber*, doth not find them exact as to the Times that the Poets, Philoſophers, and other Learned Perſons flouriſh'd in (*b*). *Primum hoc mihi credas velim, Helvicum non facis locupletis eſſe fidei in hac Chronologiæ parte quæ eorum ſcriptis illuſtrium ætatem ſignat; dein hoc quoque habet Helvicus, quod ſere plerumque recentiores ſcriptores ſequatur, ut eclogarios, ballotecarios, &c. quale aliquid quoque in Calviſio reperias. Scaliger, quemadmodum ex Epiſtolis ejus apparet, quamvis Calviſii opus, ex quo totus eſt Helvicus, mihi dederit, Sed quod dedit, aliis infra exemplis ſtatim conſtat.* The Inſtances he produces, and afterwards gives, reſpect the Faults *Helvicus* made upon *Ithacius*, *Lucian*, *Juſtin* and *Hermogenes*.

(*F*) *By the Books we have of him.*] I have already noted Some of them, as I have alſo others. He publiſhed Chronological Diſſertations upon the Four Monarchies, upon the Seventy Weeks of *Daniel*, upon *Cyrus*, and the other Kings of *Perſia*, &c. He ſolidly confutes (*c*) the Opinions of *Angelocrator*, that nothing could be reſolved. And yet *Angelocrator* pretended to Inſpiration, declaring in the Front of his Book, that he had compoſ'd it, *Deo Illuminante* (*d*). That diminiſhes much the Glory of him that confuted him in being an echo that only repeated Truth and Common Senſe in the Writings of ſuch *Inſanifices*. Though they ſhould not be actually *Lunatick*, and had only in view, the ratum, the Paſtour, they would by them loſe of their Credit, as all needs fall under the Laſhes of the ſeverſt Critick. *Helvicus* wrote ſome Treatiſes, *de Dialecto Græca, de ratione carminis Græci conſtruendi, de Prophetia Babylonica Chaldaica*, a Latin Poem, *de Hiſtoria Rei, cum aliorum diſſertationum a deperditionem Judæorum, Calendariorum &c. Libri quatuor de variis annorum emendationibus: Synopſis hiſtoriæ univerſalis.* He had put to the Preſs the *Hebrew* Poetick, and had already written the Epiſtle Dedicatory, but he ſuppreſſed it (*e*) for ſome Reaſons. See the Sieur *Maire*, in his *Diarium Biographicum*: But eſpecially, for the Theatre of *Paul Freherus* (*f*), and the *Temple of honours* of *Spandius*. You will there find a long, and I think, exact Catalogue of *Helvicus*'s Works. Moſt of them are in *Latin*, the reſt in *High-Dutch*. Correct *Freherus* in the Epitaph (*g*) XXXVI. and IX. and put it XXXV. and IIX. The Stranger, that they who have corrected this great Book, ſhould not ſee, that a Man (*h*) who was born the 20th. of *December*, 1581, and died the 10th. of *September*, 1617, did not live Thirty Six Years, Nine Months, and a half. There are XXXV Years and IIX Months in the Epitaph reported by *Wynckelman* (*i*), which has been guilty of laying, in the Funeral Oration, that *Helvicus* died in the 37th. Year of his Age, *anno ætatis jam trigeſimo ſeptimo*. He writ the date at length, and not in Figures. He writ in like manner the Day of his Birth, and the Day of his Death; the firſt is, according to him, the 20th. of *December*, 1581, and the other is the 10th. of *September*, 1617. How then doth he reckon the Thirty Seven Years? The eaſier it is to avoid theſe Faults, the more a Man is obliged to avoid them.

(*A*) *The Science of Medals.*] He compoſ'd a Book upon that Science, and gave it to be Publiſh'd; but they did not put his Name to it (*k*). *Auctor eſt de poſitionis nummiſmatum Imperatorum Romanorum a Jul. Cæſare ad Heraclium quam optime ſuo Jac. Bircks ſubjecit, tanto, ut ſtipulatus erat, nomine. Aut ipſe ſcripſit, aut ſcripſit* 1614. Thus is that we find in *Labbe*

(*c*) Contra abſurdas Danielis Angelocratoris opinationes, ineptas infignis Chronologus Sethus Calviſius in Introit. ad Helvicum data indigitat, quem ita errorum convicit, ut ne centum quidem illi ſere tormenta. Wynckel. in orat. funebr.

(*d*) Apud Voſſium de Hiſtor. Mathemat. Lib. 4. &c.

(*e*) Quæ tandem fortuna contigerit Josephi Scaligeri de emendatione temporum. Wynckel. ibid.

(*f*) Pag. 324.

(*g*) M

(*h*) Paul Freher. *in Theatro*, pag. 323.

(*i*) *In the Epitaph reſtored by* Freher, p. eadem & 324.

(*k*) In Cippo memorialis, p. m. 10.

(*l*) Vad. Andr. Bibl. Belg. p. 514.

the Choice was given him of being Librarian at the Vatican, or of having a very good Benefice). He contented himself ‚ to be Canon of the Cathedral of *Antwerp*. He had a great share in the Esteem and Friendship of *Justus Lipsius* his Professor; which appears by the Letters that *Lipsius* wrote to him ‚, and the Testimony he gave him † in the Year 1600. *Hemelar* was then preparing himself for his Voyage to *Italy*. He lived * six Years at *Rome* with Cardinal *Cesi*. He was a Friend of *Grotius*, and publish'd some Verses, congratulating him about his deliverance out of Prison †. He was Brother to the Mother of *James Golius*, that learned Professor at *Leyden*, who purchased so great a Reputation by his profound Knowledge of the Oriental Tongues. He would doubtless have Prosélyted his Nephew to the Roman Communion, as he had done *Peter Golius* the Brother of *James*; but he would not have been able to accomplish this Design. *James Golius* was a good Protestant, who maintained all his Life † a grudge against his Uncle, for having changed his Brother's Religion. *Moreri*, who in the Article of *Golius*, advertizes, that he speaks elsewhere of our *John Hemelar*, gives us but a false Advice. I shall not imitate him in respect of the promise I have made in the same Article, of saying something concerning (*B*) *Peter Golius*.

HEMMINGIUS (*Nicolas*) Professor of Divinity at *Coppenhagen*, was Born in the Year 1513. in the Isle of *Laland* *. His first Education could not be very Advantageous to him, being under the direction of a Blacksmith, his Father's Brother. However he made some progress in Learning, and afterwards went to *Wittemberg*, where for five Years he was one of *Melanchthon's* most constant Auditors. As he was oblig'd to get his Living either by instructing Scholars or Writing for them, we must the more admire the Learning he gain'd. He returned to *Denmark*, and by *Melanchthon's* Recommendation, was taken into a Gentleman's House to instruct his Daughters. He was afterwards made Minister of the Church of the Holy Ghost at *Coppenhagen*, and then Professor of the Greek Tongue. He took his Doctor of Divinity's Degree in the Year 1557. and immediately was made Professor in the same Faculty at *Coppenhagen*. He discharg'd the Duties of it excellently well till the Year 1579. when he was declared *Emeritus*, and Vested with Canonry in the Church of *Roschild*. He peaceably enjoyed that Preferment to his Death; that is, to the 23 of *May* 1600. He was Blind the last year of his Life †, which is no surprising thing, when we consider that he was very Studious and lived 87 Years. It ought to be observ'd that he was not (*A*) a very Rigid Lutheran; and there is some probability, that if it had not been prevented, he would have shewn himself a good Calvinist. His inclination for the Opinions of *Geneva* was perceived: he was obliged to explain himself, (*B*) and even

) Joh. Fridericus Gronovius in orat. funebri Jacobi Golii p. 7.

‚ Id. ib.

‚ Id. p. 8.

† *It is full of Elogies; you may find it in* Swertius, Athen. Belg. pag. 430.

* Idem Swert. ib.

† Grotio aream & angelum cultodem luculento carmine gratulatus est. Gronov. ibid.

* Unum in eo non sine gemitu solebat accusare noster, quod fratrem Petrum revocasset ad religiones parentibus ejuratas. Id. ibid.

† *It belongs to the King of* Denmark.

‖ *Taken from* Paul Freher, Theatr. Viror. illustr. pag. 312. 313.

(*m*) Gronovius in orat. funebri Jac. Golii pag. 7. & 8.

(*n*) *Historical Miscellanies pag.* 78.

(*o*) *The 2d. is of the Year* 1627. *in* 4to. *and the third of the Year* 1654. *in Folio, both at* Antwerp. *See Father* Labbe Biblioth. nummar. pag. 262.

Andreas. What follows is something more particular. (*m*) *In Numismata Regum & Imp. Romanorum à C. Julio Cæsare usque ad Fl. Justinianum ex Caroli Arschot mi regali & Nic. Rocoxii consularis viri armaris deprompta commentarios edidit bonæ frugis plenos, in quibus quicquid in auro, argento, ære, flato percusso in urbe æterna, exquisitum, elegans, historiæ temporum & genio principum convenions, per notas, figuras, ambages breves & sirpos verborum significatur, acutissime paucis & planissime explicat, penu quoddam nummaria antiquitatis: & quo opere aliquis arrogantior fuerit is se miscere posset arbitrari, in eo nomen suum dissimulavit.* The words preceding these in *Gronovius's* Oration, are too fine to be omitted. *Mater* (Golii) *omni sexus laude prædita . . . . . vel unica Johannis Hemelarii fratris imagine sat nobilis est, viri & in veterum literarum tractatione cum primis exercitati, & portæ diserti, & probitate ac tranquillitate vitæ fugaque bonorum & negotiorum T. aliquem Pomponitium Atticum referentis. Panegyricum dixit votis tertiorum quinquennalium Clementis VIII. tam illustri gratia exceptum, ut Vaticanæ bibliothecæ præfecturam, aut opimum sacerdotium (Canonicatum vocant) optare jussus sit: sacerdotio Antwerpiæ contentus fuit.* Mr. *Colomiès* (*n*) assures us that *Hemelar's* Book upon Medals is not easy to come by. And yet there were three Editions of it (*o*). The other works of this Canon of *Antwerp*, are, *Gratulatio in inauguratione D. Christiani Michaëlii, D. Michaëlis apud Antverpienses Præmonstratensis Cœnobii Abbatis. Poëmata multa sparsim edita. Oratio in funere Joannis Malderi V. Antverpiensis Episcopi habita.*

(*B*) *Of saying something concerning* Peter Golius.] He had the same inclination as his Brother for the Eastern Voyages, and the Oriental Tongues. He made himself a bare-footed Fryar, and took the Name of *Celestin of Saint Liduina*. He sojourned many years upon Mount *Libanus*, and was made Professor of the Oriental Tongues at *Rome*. He Translated *Thomas a Kempis* into Arabick, and undertook at the Age of 74 a Voyage to the Coasts of *Malabar* to labour in the Conversion of the Infidels. The diversity of Religion or Profession, did not hinder the two Brothers from loving one another very Affectionately. *Peter* writ to *James* that he was beholden to him for the civil Treatment he received in . . sia. (*a*) *Frater Asceres è familia discalceatorum cum per vestra fratris in Oriente decurreret, scripsit ad nostrum diu jam reducem omnia sibi evenire præter expectationem: præsse se ad vincula, carceres, verbera, cruces, invenire amplexus, gratulationes, studia, gratias potentium ob nomen Golium: eam memoriam id desiderium sui reliquerat; ita gratiam absenti referebant.* The meaning of which is, that *Golius's* Name there was in such esteem after *James's* Travels, that a great deal of honour was paid him in the Person of *Peter*. We must not imagine that *Hemelar* had need of much Wit or Industry to bring over his Nephew to the Roman Communion; for he perswaded him to it when he was but a Child. *Peter Golius* was under his Government from eight years of Age. I will relate the words of *Gronovius*, upon which I ground my Opinion. They will shew that that Child had a very forward Wit. *Unum in eo* (Hemelario) *non sine gemitu solebat accusare noster, quod fratrem Petrum revocasset ad religiones parentibus ejuratas, virum alioquin egregium, & fraterno secum animo, nec minus quarum verum & linguarum Orientis, diuque in partibus iisdem versatum & Arabicæ linguæ Romæ Professorem: qui, quam præcoqui fuerit indole, testis est oratio, quam Christiano Michaëlio Abbati Præmonstratensi ab Hemelario scriptam gratulandi causa, puer octo annorum concinnaverit, & quasi fecisset, memoriter pronuntiavit.*

(*a*) Gronov. ubi supra pag. 19.

(*A*) *He was not a very rigid Lutheran.*] This one Proof will be sufficient for me. The Articles of Union, which the Divines of *Saxony* and their Adherents, endeavoured to Establish over all the *Lutheran* World, were rejected with great indignation in *Denmark*. King *Frederick* the Second forbad all his Subjects to sign them, and threatned all with Banishment that should contradict that Order, or bring Copies of that Book into his Dominions (*b*). Now *Hemmingius* was the principal (*c*) Promoter of that affair, as *Hospinian* observes, who upon that matter was not contradicted by *Hutter*.

(*B*) *He was obliged——to make a Recantation.*] *Hospinian* (*d*) relates that *Hemmingius* in his *Syntagma institutionum Christianarum*, Publish'd in the

(*b*) *This is taken from* Hospinian, de origine & progressu libri concordiæ cap. 35. p. 307.

(*c*) Promoventibus causam hanc D. Hemmingio, & aulico concionatore &c. Id. ib.

(*d*) Idem Hutter. Sacrament. parte 2. pag. 595.

even to make a Recantation. He gave a Confeſſion of the Lutheran Faith, and yet not long ſince there has been a Divine who has endeavoured to ſhew (C) that it agrees with that of the Reform'd. *Hemmingius* Publiſh'd many Books: His little Works of Divinity were ſo eſteemed by *Simon Goulart*, that he cauſed them to be Reprinted at *Geneva* in the Year 1586 (D).

HENAULT (N). A *French* Poet in the XVII. Century, "Author of the (A) "Sonnet upon *Mademoiſelle de Guerchi*, and Madam *des Houlieres*, had a great Stock of "Re-

the Year 1574. explained himſelf upon the real Preſence like a Calviniſt. Mr. *Maſius* do's not diſown it; but he adds that *Hemmingius* being admoniſh'd of his Error, ſolemnly retracted it. "(e) *Non diſſimulan-* "*dum eſſe* (ſays Maſius) *Calvini ſententiæ de S. Cœna* "*aliquandiu indulſiſſe, (Hemmingium)* ſed monitum "à cæteris Theologis ad meliorem mentem reverſum "depoſito errore palinodiam cecinisſe. *Quam in* "*rem* ejus confeſſionem, ipſius manu (f) ſcriptam "*ſibique à Viro Illuſtri D.* Engberg *Conſiliario Regis* "*& Judice Provinciali Seelandiæ dono datam, ſub-* "*jungit.* The Author from whom I borrow theſe Words, ſhews us by ſome Paſſages of the *Syntagma*, that *Hemmingius* impugned the Ubiquity, and beſtowed Elogies upon *Calvin* for accuſing, and on the Magiſtrates of *Geneva* for puniſhing *Servetus*. (g) *Cum his hæreſiarchis damnamus etiam impium nebulonem Michaelem Servetum, qui rabioſè contemtis ſanctorum Patrum Conciliis, Arii & aliorum fanaticorum hominum damnatas hæreſes revocare conatus eſt, quem juſtè accuſatum à D. Johanne Calvino, meritò Genevates affecere ſupplicio.*

(e) Samuel Andreas in epiſtola ad Antonium Borneck qua Danæ Orthodoxæ fidelis & pacificæ Autori reſpondetur pag. 62. Edit. Marpurg. 1690.

(f) *The 6th of* April 1576.

(g) Hemmingius in ſyntagm. inſtitutionum Chriſtianarum, loco de Deo, n. 38. apud Samuelem Andream ubi ſupra pag. 63.

(C) *To ſhew that it agrees with that of the Reform'd.*] Mr. *Maſius* Profeſſor of Divinity at *Coppenhagen*, has oblig'd the Publick with the Confeſſion that was required of *Hemmingius*. It imports that he firmly believed that Jeſus Chriſt, God and Man, is ſubſtantially preſent in the Lord's Supper, wherever it is Celebrated according to his Inſtitution; and that he conveys and delivers to all worthy and unworthy Communicants, his true Body and true Blood, which he has ſhed for us, for the Remiſſion of Sins; and that his Body and Blood are truly and really taken with the Bread and Wine by the Communicants, inſomuch that it is a true Meat, and a true Drink, with which Man is nouriſhed, refreſh'd and quickened to eternal Life. (h) *Se firmiter & firmiter credere totum Chriſtum Deum & hominem ſubſtantialiter eſſe præſentem in Cœna ſua ubicunque celebretur juxta ipſius ordinationem, ipſumque adeſſe & exhibere omnibus communicantibus dignis & indignis ſuum verum corpus & verum ſanguinem quem effudit pro nobis in remiſſionem peccatorum, & hoc corpus & hunc ſanguinem vere & realiter cum pane & vino à communicantibus ſumi, ita ut panis ſit cibus & potus quo homo paſcitur, reficitur & vivificatur ad vitam æternam.* Furthermore *Hemmingius* acknowledg'd that his Confeſſion was conformable to that of *Auſburg*, to the little Catechiſm of *Luther*, and to the Syſtem of the Doctrine of the *Saxon* Churches, and he declared that he revoked whatever in his *Syntagma* has offended the Churches, and is agreeable to *Calvin's* Opinion about the Holy Supper, or that is not conſiſtent with his preſent Confeſſion. (i) *Cum jam aliter in Syntagmate ſuo ſcripſerit juxta ſententiam Calvini de re ſacramentaria quo Eccleſiæ offenſa ſint, & quod cum hac ſua præſenti confeſſione pugnet, id quicquid ſit in univerſum revocare, & hoc ſuo ſcripto revocatum velle.* He (k) begs pardon of the King and of all thoſe whom his *Syntagma* had Scandaliz'd. 'Tis plain, that his Confeſſion is wholly *Lutheran*, and we muſt believe that the Doctors who obliged him to Retract, preſcribed him the Expreſſions that they thought moſt capable of taking away Equivocations and denoting preciſely and formally his Orthodoxy and the Abjuration of his Error. And yet it can't be believed how zealous the Divine, whom I cite, hath been to ſhew that *Hemmingius* did not make a Recantation. The *Parentheſes* and the *nota bene*, with which he intermixes the Words of the Confeſſion, in order to evade the Conſequences and Pretentions of Mr. *Maſius*, ſeem to him ſo ſolid, that he fears not to affirm that *Hemmingius* retracted but very little, and that the good Calviniſts might honeſtly ſign that Confeſſion, explained and underſtood in its true Senſe. (a) *Videt itaque rurſum vir clariſſimus, quantillum id ſit quod hac confeſſione ſua Hemmingius revocavit, cui & nos dummodo dicta intelliguntur & rectè explicentur poſſumus adſtipulari; & quam procul ille adhuc abfuerit tum cum collegis à fide pu ræ Lutherana.* From whence we may conclude how difficult it is to draw up any Formulary, that ſhall cut off all occaſion to a Diſpute. Men believe they have prevented all ſorts of Equivocations, but in the conſequence they perceive that an Adverſary finds a thouſand Evaſions, and would perſwade us, that we had quite other Thoughts than what we know very well we had. Which in certain Caſes is to undertake what *Pericles* undertook, and which he Accompliſh'd. As he was thrown upon the Ground in Wreſtling, (b) he perſwaded the Spectators that they were in an Error, if they thought he was fallen. An unlucky Obſervation will probably be remember'd here, which is read in the *Hiſtory of the Variations*. (c) "The "*Lutherans* aſſure us in their Book concerning Con- "cord, that *Luther* was led to that Expreſſion (d) "by the Subtilties of the Sacramentarians, who found "a way to accommodate to their moral Preſence, "what *Luther* expreſs'd in very emphatical and "preciſe Terms, for the real and ſubſtantial "Preſence; whereby we ſee once more, that we "are not to wonder if the Defenders of the figura- "tive Sence, find a way of drawing the Holy Fa- "thers to their ſide, ſince *Luther* himſelf, alive and "ſpeaking, who knew their Subtleties, and under- "took to confute them, was hard put to it to find "Words which they did not adapt to their own "Sence by their Interpretations: Being tired with "their Subtleties, he reſolv'd to find an Expreſſion "which they could no longer Elude, and therefore "compos'd the Article of *Smalcald* in the Form "that we have ſeen it. The Biſhop of *Meaux* might have found a great inſtance of all this in his own Church. The Bull of Innocent X. againſt the Opinions of *Janſenius* did not hinder the *Janſeniſts* from proceeding in their Diſputes. They Intrench'd themſelves in abundance of Subtilties and infinite Diſtinctions. To drive them from that Hold, *Alexander* VII. was adviſed to ſpeak in a more preciſe manner, and there was put into his Bull whatever was thought proper to ruin the Diſtinctions and Subterfuges of *Port Royal*. That ſignified nothing. The *Janſeniſts* continued to maintain, that the Doctrine of *Janſenius* was not yet Condemned. Mr. *Arnauld* (e) drew out a hundred Obſervations borrowed from the ſubtileſt Logick. The reading of ſuch a Paper might have admoniſh'd the Pope: He might have ſeen the vanity of his Precautions, and perceived that it could be proved to him, that he did not mean what he knew very well he meant. As far as I ſee (he might have ſaid) you know my Thoughts better than my ſelf. What a pretty thing is the (f) *Connotatum* of Cardinal *Lauræa!* And when we conſider the infinite Diſtinctions (g) that are neceſſary to explain what is ordained by the Bulls, and what is not, we eaſily perceive that the Infallibility of St. *Peter's* Chair is of no uſe, unleſs we ſuppoſe that every private Perſon is throughly acquainted with all the ſubtile Rules of Logick, or that every Curate is infallible.

(h) *See the Article* Pericles *Not.* C.

(c) *Biſhop of* Meaux, Hiſt. *of Variations Book* 4. *Num.* 37 *pag. m.* 181.

(d) Viz. *That the Bread was the true Body.*

(e) *See the writings that have been Publiſh'd pag.* 240. *and following of the* 4. *Tome of the* 12 *edition of* Dr. Chimeh *of* Rome *upon Grace, at* Liege 1705.

(f) *See the* 4. *Tome of the* 12 *edit. of* Dr. Chimeh *of* Rome *at Liege pag.* 138. *col.* 2.

(g) *See what's cited from* Melchior Canus *in the ſame Tome pag.* 120. &c.

(D) *He cauſed them to be reprinted at* Geneva *in the Year* 1586.] See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Edition which he procur'd. He advertiſes the Reader, that he has cleared ſome things which *Hemmingius* had not ſufficiently explain'd, and which offended many People.

(A) *Author of the Sonnet upon* Mademoiſelle de Guerchi.] Before I publiſh in the Remark *At the* Article of *Spinoza*, the Extract of the Letter where theſe Words are contained, I had already obſerved that the Sonnet about *Abortion* was thought to be Mr. *Henault's*, and that he had compos'd it upon *Mademoiſelle de Guerchi*. But aſſoon as my Dictionary appear'd at *London*, there was a learned *Engliſh*-man, who did me the Honour to write to me, that he knew originally, that that Sonnet came not from Mr. *Henault*, but two or three Years before the Death of *Mademoiſelle de Guerchi*; 2ly. that ſome Perſons who pretended to know it very well, aſſured him, that it was made by *Subligni* Author of the falſe *Clelia*. I communicated this to the ingenious Gentleman, who had written to me the Letter, whereof I had inſerted an Extract in the Article of *Spinoza*. He anſwer'd me

(i) Apud Samuel. Andream ib. p. 67.

(k) Ibid.

(a) Samuel Andreas ibid.

(b) *In the Article* Patin *I have left it out in this ſecond Edition.*

" Reputation in *Paris* whilſt he Lived, and it ſtill ſubſiſts, though he be now Dead
† *Viz.* in 1682. " theſe forty † Years. 'Tis true his Merit (*B*) was not in Print, to ſpeak as Mr. *Me-*
" *nage*, ſo that his Reputation could not ſpread it ſelf like that of ſome others, who at
" *Paris* never injoyed ſo great a one as himſelf. He was a Man of Wit and Learning,
" loving pleaſure with Refinement, and Debauchery with Art and Delicacy; But he
" had the greateſt fault a Man could be capable of. He pretended to be an *Atheiſt*,
" and made Oſtentation of his Sentiments with a Fury and Affectation that were abo-
" minable. He compos'd three (C) different Syſtems concerning the Mortality of
" the Soul, and made a Voyage to *Holland* on purpoſe to ſee *Spinoſa*, who yet made
" but little account of his Learning. At his Death there was a happy Change: He
" was converted, and would have carried things to exceſs: his Confeſſor was oblig'd
" to hinder him from Receiving the *Viaticum* in the midſt of his Chamber with a
" Halter about his Neck. *D' Henault* was of a mean Family, his Father was a Baker;
" and he himſelf was at firſt Receiver of the Taxes in *Forez*, where he did not
" manage his Affairs well. He taught Madam *des Houlieres* all that he knew. 'Tis
" pretended that he manifeſtly appears in the (*D*) Works of that Lady. This is the
Extract of a Letter which an ingenious Gentleman honoured me with the 27th of *April* 1696. He Writ to me another the 19th of *July* 1697. in which he gave me to underſtand, that Mr. *d' Henault* had *drawn up the Plea of Mr.* Clodoré *Governour of* Martinico, *againſt Mr.* de la Barre *Governour of the Iſles of* America, *and a Manifeſto of Mr.* de Gadagne, *about the Affair of* Gigeri. You will find in the *Furcteriana* an † Elogy and an * Eclogue of that Author. The Elogy is Uſher'd in with this Commendation, *Monſieur* d' Henault *was eſteemed by every Body. He was every way a Gentleman and amorous.*

(1) *He made himſelf eſteemed at the Bar. There are ſome Plays of his compoſure and ſome Critical Remarks upon* Andromacha.

(i) *See the* Amitiez, Amours, and Amourettes, *of Mr.* le Pays, *Book* 3. *Letter* 4.

(k) *See Father* Bouhour's *way of thinking well, pag.* 373. *Edit.* Holl.

(2) *Diſſertation upon the Works of St.* Eremont 1698. *in* 12 *at* Paris *by the* Sieur Dumont. *'Tis a falſe Name: 'Tis attributed to Mr.* Coronelli, *Author of* Allegriana; *Some think Mr.* Eraud, *a famous Advocate, had a good Hand in it.*

me, that Mr. Lucas *had aſſured him that the Sonnet about Abortion came out twenty Years before the Accident of Mademoiſelle* de Guerchi, *but that all other People with whom he had conſulted, ſaid, it was written upon a Miſcarriage of that handſome Woman, but not that which coſt her her Life.* He added, *Twenty of my Friends who lived with* Henault *have affirmed to me, that the Sonnet was poſitively his, and that he own'd it.* Subligni (*i*) *was ſtill in the College when that Piece was firſt Publiſh'd: His Widow and his Daughter have ſatisfied me*, that he was not the Author of it. Let us then take it for granted, that it was the Work of our *Henault*; for we ſhall ſee below, that it was put into the Collection of that Poet's Works: But we muſt queſtion its being made upon *Mademoiſelle de Guerchi*. It is look'd upon as a Maſter-piece, though it be againſt the Rules and has even one Barbariſm (*k*) in it.

(*B*) *His Merit was not in Print.*] That is found to be falſe " Mr. *d' Henault* himſelf in his Life-time " cauſed a little Collection of his Works to be Printed " at *Paris* by *Barbin* in 1670. in 12. *Oeuvres de verſes...par le Sieur D. H.* It is Dedicated to " Monſieur *Doort* without any other Title, it con- " tains Proſe and Verſe, and Letters in Proſe and " Verſe to *Sappho*, which might well be Madam " *des Houlieres*. The Sonnet about *Abortion* is there " ----We muſt not forget the firſt Piece of the Book " Intitled, *Conſolation to Olympus*. It will furniſh " me with two Critical Obſervations: one is, that " the Compilers of St. *Evremont*'s Works, being " perhaps deceived by ſome Body, or by a pretended " Conformity of Style, have taken this long Letter " for a true Piece of him. 'Tis an Example, which " you may add to thoſe which you have Collected " concerning the Errors, into which that like- " neſs of Style daily leads the Criticks. The ſecond " Obſervation falls directly upon a new Cenſor--- " who has pretended (2) to paſs a Judgment upon " the Works of St. *Evremont*..... That Man " has fallen into the Snare that was laid by " the Compiler. He attacks that Letter of *Con- ſolation to Olympus* in the Style, the Thoughts " and Sentiments, and he beſtows a fourth Part of " his Book upon that notable Reprehenſion. This is what I have found in a Collection of Remarks, that a young Advocate of the Parliament of *Paris* did me the favour to ſend me in the Year 1698. and which convinced me, that he has abundance of Wit, and an exact Knowledge of many curious matters of Fact, and ſuch as are very proper for this Dictionary.

(C) *Three different Syſtems concerning the Mortality of the Soul.*] Let me give one piece more of that Collection of Remarks before mentioned. " *He- nault* ſaith in his Epiſtle Dedicatory, *You know that I am a Man wholly by my ſelf, that I hardly glory in the Opinion of others, that my Maxims or my Errors are very different from thoſe of all the World beſides.* By that he begins to diſcover what " he was. Many of his Verſes are Imitations of " the Chorus's of *Seneca*, and amongſt others of the " ſecond Act of the *Troas*, where the Mortality of " the Soul is Eſtabliſhed: that Subject agreed with " his Palate.

' *Comme ſe perd en un moment*
' *Cette portion d'air dans les corps enfermée,*
' *Que le plus actif element*
' *Developpe & pouſſe en fumée.*
' *Comme au ſouffle des aquilons*
' *On voit bien-tôt evanouir*
' *Une groſſe nuée ou de gêle ou de pluie,*
' *Qui d'un deluge affreux menace les vallons;*
' *Ainſi s'eſpand cette ame vaine*
' *Qui meut tous les reſſorts de la machine hu-*
' *maine.*
' *Tout meurt en nous quand nous mourons:*
' *La mort ne laiſſe rien, & n'eſt rien elle-même,*
' *Du peu de tems que nous durons*
' *Ce n'eſt que le moment extrême, &c.*

" I am ſurpriz'd that this was Printed with Privi- " ledge. This Man had a tender Heart: he ſaid to " his Miſtreſs.

' *Sappho fit des vers comme vous,*
' *Faites l'amour comme elle.*

' He would have her to renounce Glory.

' *Pour moi je ne fuis point la dupe de la gloire,*
' *Je vous quitte ma place au Temple de memoire,*
' *Et je ne conçoi point que la loi du trepas*
' *Doive épargner mon nom & ne m'épargner*
' *pas.*
' *Je me mets au deſſus de cette erreur commune,*
' *On meurt, & ſans reſſource & ſans reſerve*
' *aucune.*
' *S'il eſt apres ma mort quelque reſte de moi,*
' *Ce reſte un peu plus tard ſuivra la même loi,*
' *Fera place à ſon tour à de nouvelles choſes,*
' *Et ſe replongera dans le ſein de ſes cauſes.*

' This is no Tranſlation, but an Original, and thus ' it is, that this Man ſcattered in his Works ' the Seeds of his Errors. In the two Pieces that ' have been put in the *Furetieriana*, you will find ' alſo the ſame Opinions which he endeavours to ' inſinuate every where. To his Impieties he added ' groſs Impurities. They are to be found in a Peice Intitled *le bail d'un cœur à Cloris, the leaſing of a Heart to* Chloris, which is in that Collection, and ' aſſuredly that *Chloris* might well be one of *la Fontaine's Jeannetons* (1). Theſe Verſes are bolder than ' any Story, and better deſerved the Cenſures of the ' Civil Government.

(*D*) *He appears in the Works of that Lady.*] It may be ſeen in the firſt Edition of this Dictionary pag. 1088. of the 2d Tome, that he, to whom the Words of this Text belong, immediately adds, *I will amongſt*

(1) Mais les gens de dela les monts Auront bientôt pleuré cet homme, Car il deffend les Jannetons, Choſe très neceſſaire à Rome. *La Fontaine* poſth. *Works ſpeaking of* Innocent XI. Quand l'objet en mon cœur a place Et qu'à mes yeux il eſt joli; Dono nomen quod libet illi. Id. ibid.

rous. He composed a Sonnet which (*E*) gave occasion to Mr. *Colbert* to do a handsome thing. He was Married and left one Daughter, who is a Pensionary in a Convent at *Paris*.

HENICHIUS (*John*) Professor of Divinity in the University of *Rinthel* in the Country of *Hesse*, was the Son of a Minister of *Winhusen*, and was Born in the Month of *January* 1616. He performed his Classes at *Zell* and *Lunenburg*, and then was sent to *Helmstad* in the Year 1634; where after he had Studied four Years, he was admitted Doctor of Philosophy. Having afterwards read some Lectures and moderated in some publick Disputations, he was received into the most particular Friendship of Dr. *Calixtus*, and Doctor *Horneius*, two Celebrated Divines. He went to *Hildesheim* towards the end of the Year 1639, and he lived there about three Years with a Gentleman of Merit. He made a Journey after that towards the *Rhine*, and then staid some time with *James Lampadius* at *Hanover*. He was made Professor of Metaphysicks and of the Hebrew Tongue in the University of *Rinthel* in the Year 1643. and at the end of a Year and a half he was called to *Bardewick* to be Super-intendent there. He Exercised the Functions of that Place five Years together with so much diligence, that *Augustus* Duke of *Brunswick* would have given him the Inspection of the whole Diocess of *Wolfenbuttel*; but he did not accept of it. He quitted his Employment, because the Fatigues he had gone through had brought on him a Fit of Sickness. He return'd to *Rinthel* in the Year 1651, to be Professor of Divinity there. He was solemnly invested with the honour of a Doctor's Degree in the same Faculty, and had soon a Place assigned him in the Ecclesiastical Consistory, and was made Inspector of the Churches of the County of † *Schawmburg*. He Manifested his Learning in the several Works he Published (*F*); he had a great deal of Candour and Moderation, and passionately desired

† Ad Novalis, atque præ-Eremum Virum D. Fridericum Wilhelmum GANSIUM se contulit, apud quem triennium fere lætis commodis exegit. Apud White ubi infra.

† *The Town of* Rinthel *is in that County.*

amongst others observe these Verses of the Idylle concerning a River (2).

(2) Pag. 164. Tome. I. de Madame des Houlieres *Ibens*: *you'll find it also in the* Courier Galant *of* May 1693. p. 352.

' *Coulez, ruisseau, coulez, fuyez & reportez*
' *Les ondes dans le sein des mers dont vous sortez*;
' *Tandis que pour remplir la dure destinée*
' *Qui nous fait vos esclaves*,
' *Nous irons, emportez le sort de notre infortunée*
' *Dans le sein du néant d'où nous sommes sortis.*

'Tis certain that a Person, who should speak Dogmatically after this manner, would deny the Immortality of the Soul. But for the honour of Madam *des Houlieres*, we will say that she only followed Poetical Idea's, which are not to be drawn into consequence. Thus in imitation of the Ancient Poets, she says in another place (3), that after our Death our Soul wanders upon the Shores of Hell. This could not have been her belief, if Mr. *de Hennault* had taught her his Impieties. We are not to pass a Judgment upon her from Poetical Phrases. Not but that abundance of Licentiousness may be conceal'd under the Privileges of Versification. The Advocate I have mentioned, has a Note upon this Passage. *You have related*, says he to me in his Letter, *some Verses of Madam* des Houlieres *that are suspected of Libertinism: But you have forgotten one* (3) *which is not the least Emphatical, and which is found in the Edition of her Poems. To speak the truth; there are many Moral, and even Christian and Holy Pieces in her Works which Correct that. And yet some did reckon her for a Libertine; for she complains of it in her Epistle to Father* la Chaise *upon the falsly Devout. She was a very great Wit, the honour of her Sex, and the shame of ours.*

(a) See the Article Plotinus *Remark* A

(3) Nous irons remporter la vie infortunée QUE LE HAZARD NOUS A DONNÉE Dans le sein du néant d'où nous sommes sortis.

Note, that under pretence that she says we are Produced out of nothing, it could not be presumed, that she believed the Creation; for Mr. *Hennault* shews plainly enough (*b*) that by the word *nothing*, he meant not the privation of Existence, but the meer privation of Life. In the former Sence he did not admit of the Creation.

(*b*) *See the Sonnet of Abortion.*

(*E*) *A Sonnet which gave occasion to Mr.* Colbert *to do a handsome thing.*] The Collection of Remarks before cited, furnishes me with another good Commentary. " To return to Mr. *Hennaut*, 'tis of him " Mr. *Despreaux* speaks in two Places of his ninth " Satyr: *Je le declare donc, Haynaut est un Virgile*; " *I declare then* (4) Haynault *is a Virgil*. But " Mr.——told me himself that he found him " a tolerable good Poet, and that his best Piece, not " for its matter, was a Sonnet against Mr. *Colbert*, " which began with this Verse, *Ministre avare &* " *lâche, esclave Malheureux*, i. e. O Griping base " Statesman, O miserable Slave. Mr. *Colbert* here- " upon did a noble thing; he was told of " this Sonnet, which made such a Noise at that " time. He ask'd whether there was nothing in it " against the King, he was told no: whereupon he " Answered, that he mattered it not, and would " not bear the Author an ill Will for it. Is not this " thing nobler than the Sonnet?

(4) *He calls him so to disguise him.*

(*F*) *In the several Works he Published.*] Here is the Catalogue that Mr. *White* has given of them. (a) *Dissertatio de Majestate Civili*: Rinth. 1653. *in* 4. *De cultu creaturarum & invocatione Dei.* ibid. 1653. *in* 4. *De Libertate Animi, imprimis de concursu causæ secundæ cum primâ*; ibid. 1654. *in* 4. *De officio boni Principis circa subditi*; ibid. 1661. *in* 12. *Dissertatio de Penitentia Lapsorum*: ibid. 1662. *in* 4. *De Gratia & Prædestinatione Disputatio*: ibid. 1663. *in* 4. *Compendium S. Theologiæ*: ibid. 1667. 1671. *in* 8. *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*: ibid. 1667. *in* 12. *Institutiones Theologicæ*: Brunsvigæ 1665. *in* 4. *Historia Ecclesiastica & Civilis*, Part I. Rinthel. 1669. Part II. 1670. Part III. 1674. *in* 4. *Disputationes aliquot ex jure pontificio habitæ, ex quibus est, de Mysteriis S. Trinitatis: De Confessione Augustini, de Fide & operibus*: &c.

(a) White, Memor. Theolog. Dec. 13. p. 1-20.

I have something to observe upon the Book *de Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, which is in this List. 'Tis a very good Supplement to that of *Grotius* on the same Subject; for *Henichius* explains, illustrates and Proves more at large the Arguments that *Grotius* had made use of. This is signified in the Title, where he hath it, *quo ea quæ viri illustres Hugo Grotius de hac materia commentatus est, aliquanto uberius exponuntur.* By the way let us observe, that *Grotius* has been accused of Plagiarism, and let us place here an Addition, which was at the end of the first Volume of this Dictionary in the first Edition, and which the Printer has not placed as it ought to be in the second.

It contains these Words: " To me there seems no- " thing more false, than what was said to Mr. *Wheeler* " and Dr. *Spon*, *That* (*b*) *Grotius had Stole his* " *principal Argument* for the truth of the Christian " Religion, *from an* Arabick *Author, and particu-* " *larly from the Works of an excellent Man, whom the* " *Latins held for an Arch-heretick, & whom the Orthodox* " *look upon as a Saint, who has Written an excellent* " *Book against the* Turks *and* Jews *for the truth of* " *the Christian Religion.* Note as to the three Volumes of our *Henichius*'s Ecclesiastical History, that they reach but to the end of the fifth Century; and though the Title promises the Civil as well as the Ecclesiastical History, the Author dwells principally on the latter. The first Volume contains the three first Ages; the second contains the Fourth, and the third the fifth. *Bosius* who had said in his *Schedasma de comparanda notitia scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, that *Henichius*'s Work comprehended the six first Centuries, was too rudely censured for it. He acknowledged his Errour, and Corrected it with his own Hand in the Copy of his Book. Such Faults

(*b*) Wheeler, *a Voyage to Dalmatia, &c.* lib. 2. pag. 103. *Edit. of* Holl. 1689.

desired an Union betwixt the (Z) *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, which probably expos'd him to thoſe Blows, that were laid upon him. He married in 1645, a very virtuous Woman, who did not prove barren; for he had Thirteen Children by her. He died at *Rinſhel* the 27th. of *June*, 1671 (e). His Epitaph, made by *Gerhard Walter Molan*, is very fine. You'll find it at the 338 and 339 Pages of a Book (f) of *Caſpar Sagittarius*.

HENRY VI. Emperor of *Germany*, Son of *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, was crowned by (A) Pope *Celeſtin* III. the 15th. Day of *April*, 1191. He (b) marched with a Potent Army to inherit the Succeſſion of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which fell to the Empreſs *Conſtantia* his Wife, after the Death of the Young *William*, King of *Sicily*. He found ſo many Oppoſitions to his taking Poſſeſſion, that we may almoſt ſay, that he obtain'd thoſe two Kingdoms by Conqueſt. He made himſelf ſo * feared, that the Emperor *Alexis* could not obtain Peace of him without paying Tribute. If he had only done that, his Valour might have been prais'd; but all the Applauſes he might have merited, on that Account, are ſwallowed up by the Cruelty and Treachery he ſhew'd, in exterminating under falſe Pretences, all that remain'd of the Race of the brave *Normans*, who had conquered that part of *Italy*, which the Empreſs his Wife, their Heireſs, gave him right to poſſeſs ‡. 'Tis ſaid, that that Princeſs, to puniſh him for it, made him ſwallow the Poiſon, whereof he died at *Meſſina*, in the Year 1198, being Thirty Two Years old †. He left a Son, who was Emperor, under the Name of *Frederick* II. *Conſtantia* was ſo old, when ſhe brought that Son into the World, that to avoid all Suſpicions of Impoſture, ſhe lay-in (B) publickly. Theſe Precautions (C) did not hinder the World from ſaying, that this Child was ſuppoſititious. There are Authors who maintain, that *Conſtantia* (D) was neither a Nun, nor very old when ſhe married *Henry* VI.

HENRY II. King of *France*, ſucceeded *Francis* I. his Father, the laſt of *March*, 1547. One of the firſt Things he did, was to deſpiſe the Order his Father gave him on his Death Bed. I mean, that aſſoon as he began his Reign, he recalled the

(e) *Taken from his Funeral* Programma, *inſerted by Mr.* Witte, *in the* 13. Decade memoriarum Theolog. noſtri ſæculi. p. 1716. & ſeq.

(f) *Entituled* Introductio in hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam: *and printed in* 1694.

(g) Chevreau *Hiſtory of the World, Book* 5. *Chap.* 2. pag. 75. *of the* 3d *Tome*, Holland *Edition*, 1687.

(h) Brantome *Gallant Ladies, Tome* 2. pag. 207.

‡ *See* Maimbourg, ibid.

† Id. ibid. pag. 477.

† Id. ibid, *citing the Abbot of* Urſperg.

(a) Caſpar Sagittarius Introd. in Hiſtor. Eccleſ. pag. 340.

(b) In Propylæo Hiſtoriæ Chriſtian. pag. 20.

(c) Id. Sagittar. ib.

(d) Witte ubi ſupra, pag. 1718.

(e) Id. ib. pag. 1719.

* *See* Maimbourg, ibid.

as theſe may be pointed out, but it ſhould be done without ill Nature and inſulting, remembring that it is very eaſie to commit them. (c) *Aberrationem agnovit, ac manu ſua in exemplari privato correxit: ut adeo acrem illam Clariſſimi* Sluteri *cenſuram* (1) *non videatur meruiſſe. Et quam faciles in his talibus ſit lapſus, unuſquiſque intelligit.* The Author that ſpeaks thus, obſerves, that *Henichius* gives the Subſtance of what is ſaid by the ancient Authors, and afterwards ſets down their Paſſages entire. There's reaſon to ſay, that this is a Commendation to his Work (d). *Caterum Henichianum opus vel eo etiam nomine meretur commendari, quod integra auctorum veterum teſtimonia adſcribat, quorum ſummam prius attulerat.*

(Z) *An Union betwixt the* Lutherans *and* Calviniſts.] He is prais'd for it in his Funeral *Programma* (e): *Pacis & concordiæ perpetuus ſtudioſus, nihilque magis in votis habebat, quàm ut ſchiſma inter Evangelicos funditus tolleretur, & togata prælia in ſuggeſtibus & Cathedris cum ſalutiferâ, Deo & hominibus gratâ pace, fauſto omine, commutarentur: qua de cauſa immortalem nominis gloriam apud omnes bonos adeptus eſt.* The Author of the *Progamma* ſays a little after (f), *Equidem invidia & malignitas, ut ſunt virtutis fata, non unum in eum jaculata fuit fulmen; ſed & illa, quæ viventi gravis fuit, mortui famæ, credo, favebit, ſuamque vel imperitiam vel livorem tandem profitebitur.* He doth not point out the Cauſes of that Envy and Malignity that perſecuted *Henichius*: but I conjecture, that the peaceable Inclination of that Profeſſor, furniſh'd Pretences to ſpeak ill of him.

(A) *Was crowned by Pope* Celeſtine III.] They tell this Circumſtance of that Coronation. As the Emperor (g) "was at his Feet, *Celeſtin*, who put the "Crown on his Head, lift up his Foot, and kick'd "it down, to ſhew, that he could give it and take it "away. *Baronius* praiſes that Action, but things "in my Opinion have changed their Aſpect ſince, "and there is not one Prince who would ſincerely "ſubſcribe to the Opinion of that Cardinal. I cite the Author that ſpeaks thus.

(B) *She lay-in publickly.*] Here is a Paſſage of *Brantome*, which deſerves to be read: (h) *Conſtantia, Queen of* Sicily, *who had never ſtir'd from the Cloyſter, leading all her Youth and Life in Veſtal Chaſtity, ſetting her ſelf at Liberty at the Age of Fifty, and being not handſome, but all decrepit, had a mind to taſt the Pleaſures of the Fleſh; ſhe married, and grew big with Child at the Age of Fifty two, which ſhe reſolv'd to be delivered of publickly in the Plains and Meadows of* Palermo. *Having caus'd a Tent and Pavilion to be erected, that no Body might diſtruſt the Legitimacy of her Fruit, which was one of the greateſt Miracles that has been ſeen ſince St.* Elizabeth. *The Hiſtory of* Naples *ſays, notwithſtanding, that he was reputed ſuppoſititious: however, he proved a very great Man: But moſt Baſtards are Brave, as a great Man once told me.*

(C) *Did not hinder the World from ſaying.*] *Brantome* has juſt told it us. But here is another Author, who will point to us the Proofs of it better. *It is verified* (ſaith he) (i) *that Women Fifty Years old and upwards, have been Children. We have an Example of it in that renowned Nun* Conſtantia, *the Mother of* Frederick II. *who being taken from a Cloiſter, was the only Heireſs and Queen of* Sicily. *She having conceived an Off-ſpring at the Age of Fifty Years and more, to take away all Suſpition, had a Pavilion ſet up in a publick place of a certain Town in* Sicily, *and in the preſence of the beſt qualified Ladies of the Country, lay-in in publick. Notwithſtanding which many diſputed that Adventure; amongſt others, the Marquis of* Ancona, *named* Marquardus, *who offered to teſtifie, that that Child was not the Iſſue of* Henry *and* Conſtantia, *as was ſuppoſed. This is ſaid by* Pandolfo (1) Collenuccio. If it may be ſaid, that the moſt exquiſite Precautions are uſeleſs againſt Love, we may ſay alſo, that they are ſo againſt Ambition. Do whatever you pleaſe to convince the Publick, that ſuch or ſuch a Child-Birth was not imaginary, but moſt real, you will always find Anſwers ready for you: The Expedient that cur'd St. *Thomas*'s Incredulity, is the only one that can be proof againſt theſe Cavils; *unleſs I put my Finger, &c.* will they ſay to you, as that Apoſtle did, *I will not believe* (a). Nay I know not but after that Teſtimony or Touch they would ſay, *I have ſeen and felt how it came in. Was your Husband capable of doing it?*

(D) *Was neither a Nun, nor very old.*] 'Tis the common Opinion, that ſhe was taken from a Cloyſter, and that ſhe was diſpens'd with to marry *Henry* VI. and that ſhe conceived about the Age of 55. But there are Hiſtorians who deny it. See the Sequel of the Paſſage of *Camerarius*, which I have cited. (b) *Poſſibly* John Michael Brutus (c) *took occaſion from this Story, flatly to deny, that* Conſtantia *was ever a Nun or Abbeſs, or that Pope* Celeſtin *diſpens'd with her Marriage, foraſmuch as according to his Calculation ſhe was then* 60 *Years old. On the contrary, he alledges* Hugo Falcandus *the Hiſtorian, who ſaith ſhe was then in the Flower of her Age, and married to* Henry, *in the Reign of* William, *ſirnamed* the Good, *when* Frederick Barbaroſſa *was yet alive: But that the Confuſion of Times was the cauſe of that Ambiguity. I am of Opinion,* ſays he, *that ſhe was conveyed from the Palace Royal to an Abbey of Nuns, when the People mutinying, impriſoned King* William, *ſirnamed* the Bad, *and that no more convenient Place could be found for her Security, during theſe Commotions. When theſe were appeaſed, that Princeſs, who had her Privileges, and was neither veil'd nor profeſt, liv'd among the Nuns, till ſhe married* Henry. (d)

(i) Camerarius, Meditat. Hiſtoriques, Vol. 2. Liv. 4. chap. 7. pag. 296. *of* Simon Goulart's *Tranſlation.*

(1) *Book* 4. *of the Hiſtory of* Naples.

(a) Joh. XX. 25.

(b) Camerarius ubi ſupra.

(c) Lib. 2. De inſtauratione Ital. *Thus* Comerarius *quotes him in the* Latin *Edition of* Francfort, 1658. *pag.* 276.

the (A) Conſtable *Montmorenci*, whom *Francis* I. had baniſh'd for ſome very good Reaſons. That Diſobedience coſt him (B) dear: For one may ſay, that the moſt miſchievous Events that were the Stain of his Reign, were owing to the Conſtable. 'Twas he that by his evil Conduct loſt the famous Battle † of St. *Quintin*; after which he was the Author ‡ of a Treaty of Peace (C) much more ſcandalous to the *French* Monarchy, than the loſs of that Battle. Poſſibly *Henry* II. would not ſo eaſily have conſented

† *The 10th of Aug. 1557.*

‡ *The Treaty of Chateau, in Cambreſis, concluded in the Year 1559.*

(A) *He recall'd the Conſtable* Montmorency.] (d) "His Father had ſeriouſly recommended to him *Annebaut* for his chief Miniſter, in whom he had "found great Experience, Wiſdom, and Zeal, and "no ſlain of Avarice or Ambition; but more-eſpecially adviſed him to take care (if he loved "the good of his Kingdom) how he recalled the "Conſtable of *Montmorenci*——Nevertheleſs, "although he had behaved himſelf reſpectfully, and "dutifully all his Life to his Father, he paid no "Deference to him after his Death. He took the "Adminiſtration of all Affairs, from *Annebaut* and "Cardinal *de Tournon*, to give it to *Montmorenci*. We ſhall ſee, that that *dutiful Reſpect* had its Exceptions, which will not permit Monſieur *de Mezeray* to give it ſo good a Character as he has done (e). *The Precaution of* Francis, *reach'd even to the forbidding moſt expreſly the* Dauphin, *who was afterwards King* Henry II. *from having any Communication with the Conſtable*——*But all that he could obtain of his Son, was to diſſemble for ſeven Years together, his Friendſhip for him. And yet he did not diſſemble with ſo much Artifice, but that the whole Court knew, that a Day did not paſs without receiving Letters from one another. But* Francis I. *did not trouble himſelf to break that Correſpondence, whether becauſe the* Dauphin, *and the Conſtable were equally ſucceſsful in concealing it from him; or that having no other Son, he was unwilling to diſoblige him.*

(d) *Mezeray, at the beginning of the Hiſtory of Henry II. Pag. 1057. of the 2d. Vol. of the Hiſtory of France.*

(e) *Varillas's Hiſtory of Henry II. Book 1. pag. 6.*

Theſe are Mr. *Varillas*'s Words, and they may be very juſtly cenſured; for firſt, if the *Dauphin* had diſſembled his Friendſhip ſeven Years together, he would not *ſo often have preſs'd* his Father *to recall The Conſtable*; and yet Mr. *Varillas* (f) aſſures us, he did this. 2dly, How ſhall we reconcile this Author's Diſjunctive, with what *Mezeray* gives out (g), that the King was much concern'd, *that the* Dauphin, *in Defiance of his Orders, correſponded with the Conſtable* Montmorenci.

(f) *Hiſtory of Francis I. Book 12. Pag. 295.*

(g) *Chronological Abridgment, Tom. 4. pag. 635.*

(B) *That Diſobedience coſt him dear.*] Mr. *Varillas* will furniſh me with a Commentary upon this Text. I will not only produce him for *Henry* the IId's Reign, but ſhall take his Words ſomething higher; *The Diſgraces of Conſtable* Montmorenci, ſays he, *of Admiral* Chabot, *and of Chancellor* Poyet, *are related in the Ninth Book ſo as not to ſurprize thoſe, who have read in* Bodin's *Republick, that* Francis I. *the older he grew, the worſe he was; that he was convinced by his own Experience, that he could not have made choice of two Men leſs fit for Cabinet Council, than* Montmorenci *and* Chabot; *and that tho'* Poyet *could not be charg'd with the ſame Defect, yet this Chancellor had another as great, which was to carry things too far; that it was the Source of all the Misfortunes that happened to his Majeſty, and that if he continued the ſame Miniſtry, he was not to expect a more favourable Succeſs. The Event prov'd, that the Three Miniſters, who ſucceeded to the Places of the diſgrac'd, were more capable of filling them than they; and that if* Henry II. *had not reſtored the Conſtable* Montmorenci, *he had not been obliged to give up, in order to retrieve himſelf,* 198 *Towns or Strong-Places, and almoſt as much Extent of Ground, as would make one Third of* France.

(h) *Mezer. Chronological Abridg. Tome 4. p. 715.*

(i) Id. *Hiſtory of France, Tome 2. pag. 1132.*

(C) *Of a Treaty of Peace much more ſcandalous.*] Mr. *de Mezeray*, though of all the Hiſtorians of *France*, he is the higheſt Favourer of the Subjects againſt the Court, yet he blames the Joy that the People expreſs'd for that Peace. *The People*, ſays he, (i) *who always deſire Peace at any Price, greatly rejoic'd at this*——*But the Party of the* Guiſes, *the wiſe Politicians, and all the Nobility, highly condemned it, as a piece of Baſeneſs, that loſt* France 198 *Strong-Places, only for three that were reſtored, which were* Ham, Catelet, *and St.* Quintin. He ſpeaks with greater force in his great Hiſtory (k). For in relating the Articles of that Peace, he inſerts after theſe Words, *that the more ſtrongly to unite the Hearts of the Princes*, this Parentheſis (but rather to cover with ſome honurable Pretence, the Shame and Loſs that *France* received by this unfortunate Treaty) and here's what he ſays towards the end of the ſame Page. "Theſe Articles being brought to "the King, and communicated by his Majeſty to the "Princes and Grandees of his Kingdom, there were "few but judg'd them entirely diſadvantageous, and "ſhameful to *France*; indeed they were univerſally condemn'd by their Murmurs. *Briſſac* having Advice "of it, though the Articles had been diſguiſed to "him, diſpatch'd *Boyvin-Villars* to Court, he that "has left us the Memoirs of the War of *Piedmont*, "with Inſtructions to lay before the King his moſt "humble Remonſtrances, and to diſſwade him from "ſo diſhonourable a Peace. Concluding, that if "his Majeſty was reſolv'd to give up what he poſſeſs'd in *Italy*, which was worth the beſt Province "of his Kingdom, and could bring him in, all Expences defray'd, 300000 Crowns Revenue, he only "begg'd for all the Recompence of his good Services, that he would pleaſe to baniſh him, together with all the Forces that were beyond the "*Alps*, as Rebels, and that he knew how to preſerve the Places which he held, at the Expence of "the *Milaneſe*, and the Republick of *Genoa*, or at "leaſt would die glorioufly, in a Country, where "all the Forces of *Europe* had not been able to force "him to loſe an Inch of Ground in the Ten Years "time that he had the Defence of it——The "King expreſs'd a good Liking to his Zeal, but "having his Heart wholly ſet upon Peace, "he anſwered, *that though he ſhould make it "upon the Conditions propoſed to him, he ſhould ſtill "retain enough to make himſelf fear'd by his Enemies* (l). Whereupon *Guiſe*, moved either by his "own Intereſt, or by a ſenſe of Honour and Conſcience, boldly interrupting him, ſaid, Sir, your "Majeſty will pardon me, if I ſay, that this is not "the right way to do it, and that though you ſhould "find for 25 Years to come, as contrary a Fortune as that of the laſt Year, you would not loſe "in all that time, what they would have you "give up in one Day. It did not coſt the late King, "when he was vanquiſh'd and a Priſoner, ten, *&c.* I omit all the Reaſons of the Duke of *Guiſe*, but no. what follows them in the Hiſtorian; *He* (a) *laid many other things with ſo much vehemence, as made the King often change his Colour, but not his Reſolution; the Dye was caſt, and whoever was the cauſe of it, either his Favourites, or his natural Temper, his Courage was ſo caſt down, that he could no longer bear the War: He therefore ratify'd the Treaty, and the Peace was publiſh'd the* 10th *of* April——*All the* French *Authors, who have written of that time, have all'd it an unfortunate and curſed Peace.* Briſſac *hearing that it was made, cry'd out often,* An miſerable *France*, what Evils——*He remained Governour of the Five Towns and Eight Caſtles which the King retain'd, with* 8000 *Foot and* 450 *Horſe, and reſtored all the other places, but he firſt demoliſh'd the greateſt part of them, and ſold the Ammunition according to the King's Command; not without much difficulty of receiving the Money, and Orders that were neceſſary from Court, becauſe the Conſtable favouring the Duke of* Savoy, *did all that he could to put the Places entire into his Hands, and even thoſe that the King had reſerved to himſelf.* We ſhall ſee below, (b) that the Court of *France* was ſo weak under *Charles* IX. and *Henry* III. as to ſuffer it ſelf to be perſwaded to evacuate that little it had reſerv'd; and there is no doubt but that in *Charles* the XIth's time, the Conſtable had a great Share in that Miſmanagement. When we conſider that immenſe Wealth he heap'd together, we can't ſay of him, as of ſo many others, that in managing his Maſter's Affairs well, he manag'd his own very well; but we muſt ſay, that in managing his own Affairs very well, he manged thoſe of his Maſter very ill. Did not he under *Charles* IX. enter into a League with the *Guiſes*? was not he the cauſe of that prodigious Power they roſe to, that was ſo fatal to the Monarchy, and had like to have given to *France* a Fourth Race of Kings? When

(l) *This brings to my Mind the Words of* Trebellius Pollio: Pudet numerare inter hæc tempora quum illa gererentur, quæ ſæpe Gallienus malo generis humani quaſi per jocum dixerit. Nam quum ei nunciatum eſſet, Ægyptum defeciſſe, dixiſſe fertur, Quid? ſine lino Ægyptio eſſe non poſſumus? Quum autem vaſtatam Aſiam & elementorum concurſionibus & Scytharum incurſionibus comperiſſet, Quid, inquit, ſine aphronitris eſſe non poſſumus? Perdita Gallia utilitate ac diviſſe perlibenter, Non ſine attributis legis tuæ Reipub. est? Sic denique de omnibus partibus mundi, quum eas amitteret, quaſi detrimentis vilium membrorum videretur affici, jocabatur. Trebell. Pollio in Gallienis duob. c. 6. p. m. 200. (a) *Mezer. ibid. pag. 1134.* (b) *Rem. 6 and 11. where are more Murmurs to be ſeen againſt the Peace of the Year* 1559.

consented to that disadvantageous Peace, had it not been for a Spirit of Persecution, which had got the Mastery (*D*) of that Prince. The Constable deserves also much Blame, for not having given better Advice to his Master, with Relation to the Dutchess *de Valentinois*, who in an Age disproportionate to that of *Henry* II. held him in her Chains, and made a very unjust Use of his Slavery. Instead of fortifying this Prince against the Snares of that Woman, he intrigued for her, and devoted himself to her Faction †. 'Tis pity the Reign of *Henry* II. had these Stains in it, for it was otherwise remarkable for glorious Actions, and for very noble Successes, which cruelly mortified *Charles* V. We cannot deny *Henry* II. the Glory of his being brave, and 'tis said

† *See the Article* Poitiers.

When *Francis* I. disgrac'd the Constable (*c*), *he charg'd him with Ignorance in the two principal Parts of his Employ, which was War and Policy.* See the Character that the Partisans of the *Guises* give of him in *Mezeray* (*d*).

Some Criticks will say perhaps, that Mr. *Mezeray* does too much extenuate the Advantages that accrued to *Henry* II. by the Treaty of *Chateau*. Why does he content himself with mentioning the Three Towns that were restored to *France*? Why doth he suppress the Conquest of *Calais*, *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*? But that Criticism would be a very bad one; for the Treaty of *Cateau* did not grant these Four Places to *Henry* II. It left the Empire at full Liberty to redemand the Restitution of the three last; and it solemnly engaged *France* to restore *Calais* to *England* at Eight Years end. Which is a thing not minded by an anonymous Historian, who speaks thus (*e*). "The King of *France* restored to the King of *Spain*, "all that he had conquered of him on both sides the "Mountains. *Item*, to the Prince of *Piedmont*, "*Bresse*, *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*, except Four Towns: "To *Genoa*, the Isle of *Corsica*; *Siena* to the Duke "of *Florence*; and retained nothing but *Calais*, with- "out gaining a Foot of any other Land in that long "and pernicious War, which had laid waste so many "Provinces, plundered, burnt, ruin'd so many Ci- "ties, Towns, Villages, and Castles, and that had "occasioned the Death of so many Princes, Lords, "Gentlemen, Captains, Soldiers, Citizens and Pea- "sants, caused the Rapes and Violations of so many "Women and Maids; in a Word, that had turned "all *Europe* topsyturvy. The King gave up above "200 (others say almost twice that Number of) Pla- "ces, for the Conquest whereof a Sea of his Sub- "jects Blood had been spilt, the Treasures of the "Kingdom exhausted, his own Demesns morgt- "ged, and himself indebted on all sides. This His- torian supposes, that *Henry* II. saw his Dominions enlarged at least by the Cession of *Calais*, but that's a Mistake: all the rest of his Discourse is solid. And as it is certain, that one might have represented to the King of *Spain*, what (*f*) *Annibal* represent- ed to the *Roman* General; what Thunderbolts does that Discourse level at the head of *Henry* II? It might have been said to the King of *Spain*, that the Coun- try as he had spoiled *France* of by the Treaty of Peace, were not worth the immense Summs that War had cost him, nor so many Soldiers and Officers as he had lost in it. If that was capable of lessening the Joy which an advantageous Peace gave him; what a heart-breaking must it be to the Monarch to whom it was disadvantageous? To return from a long War with empty Hands, is a Disgrace, said *Homer* (*g*): which might have been more forcibly said in such a Case as this.

(*c*) Varillas, *History of* Francis I. *Book* 2. *pag.* 397. Holland *Edition*, 1690. ad Ann. 1540.

(*d*) *History of* France, *pag.* 1135. tom. 2.

(*e*) *History of memorable things in* France, *from* 1547, *to the beginning of* 1597, *pag.* 61.

(*f*) *See the Article* Themistocles, *upon Comments*, n. 113. 658.

(*g*) Τὸν δ' αἰσχρὸν καὶ νωλεμὲς ἔστ' ἀκοῦσαι, ὃς τις ἀνὴρ πολεμοῖο κακὸς κρατερὸν μένος ἔχων, ἄλλους μὲν ῥύεται ἰὸν ἀπὸ κλισίας τε νέας τε, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν πόντῳ ἐπὶ νῆας ἐλάσσας, ἀπρήκτους ἐπὶ θῖνα θαλάσσης ἀφίκηται, ἐν δὲ τε χεῖρες ἔασιν ἀπήμονες· ἐν δὲ τε θυμὸς ἔμπεδος· ἀμφὶ δὲ λαὸς ἀπόλλυται. *Iliad.* lib. 2. v. 288.

(*h*) Maimbourg *History of* Calvinism l. 2. *pag.* 96.

(*i*) *Apply here the Sentence of* Seneca, *against those who complain of the ungrateful*, Multos experimur ingratos, plures facimus. Seneca de beneficiis lib. 1. c. 1.

(*k*) Maimbourg, *ib.* pag. 100.

(*l*) *See in the Rem.* K, *the Words of the Cardinal de Lorraine.*

(*m*) *Id. ibid.* pag. 114.

(*n*) *See the Article of* Francis I. *Rem.* N.

(*o*) *The King resolved to apply himself wholly to the great Affair of Religion, for which he had a mighty Zeal, which he never relax'd in all his Reign, not even when for purely political Interests, he made Alliance with the Protestant Princes of* Germany, *against the Emperor* Charles V. Mamb. *ib.* p. 119.

(*z*) *See Rem.* V.

(*a*) *See the Article of Queen* Elizabeth, *Rem.* G *and* P.

(*b*) *Addition to the Memoirs of* Castelnau, *Tome* 2. *pag.* 577.

(*c*) "Bodies, in the *Pre-aux-Clercs*, there to sing aloud "*Clement Marot's Psalms*. This ought to teach Princes, that their persecuting Edicts expose them to great Inconveniencies. This is the reason that their Bonfires afflict one part of their Subjects, and that the Successes of their Enemies afford them Consolation. If they complain they have evil Subjects, it ought to be answered, that 'tis they that make them (*i*) such; for to pretend that a persecuted Party will afflict themselves for the publick Calamities which are the Source of their Repose, and the Foundation of a very plausible hope of Prosperity, is to pretend, that the Primitive Ages of Christianity should return again; whereas those times will not come twice. 'Tis to expect, that Men should be like those of the *Millenium* if it ever comes. But let us return to *Henry* II. When he saw, "That the Protestants "thought to take Advantage (*k*) of the Lots that "was receiv'd in the Battel of St. *Quintin*, he pub- "lished a new Edict, forbidding all the Judges to "lessen the Punishment of Death, and the Confisca- "tion of Goods, towards all those who should be "found, not only guilty of Heresy, but convicted "of having brought into *France* Books, printed at "*Geneva*, against the Doctrine of the Catholick "Church. Thus the proceeding against the *Calvinists* "was more rigorous than before. But as that hun- dred does not from multiplying, nor even from en- gaging Persons of the first Quality in their Party, the King saw, that in order to extirpate them, he must make Peace with the House of Austria; and this doubtless was one of the great (*l*) Motives to the shutting his Eyes against the good Condition to which he had reduced his Affairs. He had stopt the Pro- gress of his Enemies, and had also taken well-forti- fied Places. But that signified nothing, he had ra- ther grant them all they had a mind to, than not to have his Hands at Liberty to exterminate the Protes- tants of his Kingdom. Thus we have seen the same Court, to let slip the most favourable Occasions of aggrandizing it self in the Year 1684, in order to apply it self solely to the Suppression of the Edict of *Nantes*. They who will be possest with this Spirit, must renounce the Title of Conquerors. If *Henry* II. had long survived the ignominious Peace he accepted, he would only have been taken up with Tournaments and Persecutions, but he died a little after it was signed. M. *Maimbourg* is an exceptio- nable Witness, as to the Joy he says the Heretick conceived upon it; his Words are these (*m*). *Thus he was lamented with most unfeigned Tears, and in- finitely regretted by all his Subjects, except the Protestants alone, who thinking themselves delivered by his Death, from what they call'd the Persecution of the Church, express'd in a most unworthy manner by their Words and Actions, and scandalous Writings, the excessive Joy they had thereupon.*

We may make with regard to *Henry* II. the same Observation as to *Francis* I (*n*). He attakt the Party weakly on one side, while he made it stronger on the other. He put to Death some particular inconsider- able Persons in *France*, and at the same time (*o*) en- tered into Alliance with the Protestants of *Germany* against *Charles* V, *&c.* And would fain be called the *Protector of the German Liberty*, which was to say at that time, the Protector of the Protestants (*z*). The other Catholick Princes observed the same Conduct (*a*). We find these remarkable Words in Mr. *de Labourer*: *To pluck the Tares from the Wheat*, (says he) (*b*), *God will only chuse Princes that are Innocent and of a good Life, and not employ Politick Hands, as were those of the Counsellors of all the Catholick Crowns of that Time, who only Weeded their own Fields to cast the Darnel into those of their Neighbours, and who Persecuted Heresy only as a Faction against Authority. Charles* V. and the Kings

said, that Queen *Elizabeth* (E) of *England*, admired him upon that Account. But after all, it will be an eternal Testimony of his Weakness, and of the Dominion which his Favourites had over him, that against the Advice of the wisest Heads of his Kingdom, he signed the Treaty of Peace of *Chateau* in *Cambresis* *. *A Peace, not less scandalous to* France *than that the Emperor* Jovinian *made with the King of* Persia, *so much decryed by all Antiquity:* A Peace, that by one Stroak of a Pen, lost in one Moment all the Labours and Conquests of many Years, and an Extent of Country, equalling one Third † of the Kingdom. No Body profited so much by that Disgrace of *France*, as the Duke of *Savoy*; for besides being restor'd to his Dominions, he Married (F) the Sister of *Henry II.* a Princess of great Merit, and who knew how to Bubble (G) the Court of *France* very Advantageously for her Husband. She was not Young when she Married; for which Reason the Murmurs against the Peace (H) reach'd even to her. 'Tis

* Pasquier's *Letters, Book* 15. *Tome* 2. *pag.* 221. *also Book* 4. *Tome* 1. *pag.* 471.

† Monluc Memoires lib. 4. pag. m. 789.

Kings of *Spain* his Successors have countenanced the Protestants of *Germany* and *France* on many Occasions. See the Proof of it in the 1st Tome of the Apology for the Catholicks (e), composed by Mr. *Arnauld*. The *Spanish* Embassadours sollicited Succours in *England* for the Duke of *Rohan*. What *Grotius* Writes upon it is Remarkable (d). *Validus est rumor, Gonthomerum, & qui in aula Anglica Hispanicæ sunt factionis, apertè profiteri, non debere à Rege Britanniarum deseri religionis consortes in Gallia, ne si quando vetera jura repetere ipsi fix animus, desint, qui partes Anglicas sequantur.* See in the Political Will of the Marquis (e) *de Louvois*, some Reflections upon the Violences Exercised in *Hungary* against the Protestants by Order of the same Court, which soon after so signally served the interests of the Protestants of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, whom *Lewis XIV.* and *James II.* were resolved, as they say, to Oppress.

(c) Pag. 78, &c.
(d) Grotius, Epist. 157. 1. Part. pag. 60.
(e) Pag. 367. Edit. Cologne 1695.

(E) *Queen* Elizabeth *of* England *admired him for his Bravery.*] *Brantome* will instruct us about this matter: *I have heard*, says he, (f) *the present Queen of* England *say, that he was a King and a Prince that she most desired to see of any in the World, for the good Report that she had heard of him, and that great Renown which he every where obtained———Being at Table discoursing Familiarly with her Nobles, she said these Words, (after having been much in the King's commendation) he was a Prince that I most desired to see of any, and I had already sent him Word that I would quickly see him, having commanded some Ships to be well fitted out, that I might go over to* France *on purpose to see him.* See the same Story in the Memoirs of the Gallant Ladies, where 'tis expressly observed that the Queen desired to see *Henry II.* because he was *Brave, Valiant, and Generous, and very Martial* (g).

(f) Brantome, Disc. of Henry II. Tom. 2. of his Memoires p. 60, 61.
(g) Tome 2. p. 261.

(F) *The Duke of* Savoy *Married the Sister of* Henry II.] Her Name was *Margaret*, as was her Aunt's the Queen of *Navarre*, and she was like her, much addicted to Study, and a Patroness of the Learned. She was suspected to have imbib'd the new Opinions (h), and to have Communicated something of them to *Catherine de Medicis*. See her Elogy in *Brantome* (i) and in Mr. *le Laboureur*. The latter tells us a Passage which deserves to be known. *Margaret of France*, says he (k), *was Married at 46* (l) *Years of age, and as she seemed to be too Old to bear Children, 'twas believed that the noise of her great Belly was a Stratagem, to oblige the King to restore her more willingly the Places he detained. Whereupon the* Sieur Huraut de Bois-Taillé, *Embassador* at *Venice, wrote a Letter the 27th of* July 1561. *to* Bernardin Bochetel *Bishop of* Rennes, *the* French *Embassadour in* Germany, *wherein he had these Words.* 'Tis said that the Dutchess of *Savoy* is big with Child, but I believe, that is done *ad aliquid. That Report was verified by the Birth of* Charles Emanuel *Grandfather to the present Duke of* Savoy (m).

(h) See le Laboureur, Addit. to the Memoirs of Castelnau, Tom. 1. pag. 750.
(i) Memoirs of the Illustrious Ladies.
(k) Le Laboureur ib. page 752.
(l) He mistakes; she was Born the 5th of June 1523. and Married in 1559.
(m) Mr. le Laboureur Publish'd his Book in 1659.

(G) *Bubble the Court of* France.] The Treaty of *Chateau* imported (n) *that in three Years the Rights the King pretended to upon the Territories of the Duke of* Savoy, *should be Examined and Regulated by Commissaries on both sides.* King *Francis II.* and the Duke nam'd Deputies for that purpose in the Year 1560. The King's Deputies made six very considerable Demands; but instead of obtaining any thing, *France* abandoned all the Towns she had reserved. She ordered by Letters Patents the 8th of *August* 1561. to Restore to the Duke, Turin, Chivas, Quiers *and* Asti, *excepting the Ammunition and Artillery, in exchange for* Pignerol, Savillan *and* Perouse, *with their Dependencies.* Imbert de la Platiere, Bourdillon, *the King's Lieutenant beyond the* Alps *formed many difficulties and sent great Remonstrances to the Council, to hinder the Execution of that Order; and would not obey it till after three Commands, and upon the most solemn Discharges imaginable.* The Dutchess plaid her part very well in that Negotiation; *her Prudence was praised for having obtained by her Address the Places that still remain'd behind, and which the Commissaries of the King could not Guard against her gentle way of raising an innocent Revolt in their Hearts, and forcing the most impenetrable Places.* 'Tis Mr. *le Laboureur* that says this (o). *Brantome* tells this at length, the diverse Sentiments of the Ministers, the Oppositions formed by *Bourdillon*, and the ways he suffered himself to be wrought upon. It cost the Duke and Dutchess of *Savoy* many Presents (p). There remain'd still three Places of *Piedmont* in the *French* Hands, viz. *Pignerol, Savillan* and *Perouse*. The Dutchess seconded her Husband wonderfully to regain them, when *Henry III.* pass'd by *Turin* in his return from *Poland*. I'll use the Words of Mr. *Varillas* (q). " The Duke " and Dutchess of *Savoy*, who proposed to do what " *Spain* never could when in the most flourishing " Condition, that is, to send the *French* beyond the " Alpes; put in practice an Artifice wholly New, " which was that of Diversions, and Feasts succeeding one another so fast that there was scarce time " left for Sleeping. Some Relations that come from " very good Hands, speak of a magnificent Collation " which cost 100000 Crowns; the Duke and Dutchess " were at the Expence of it, and to Reimburse " themselves they prest *Henry III.* to Restore to " them *Pignerol, Savillan* and *Perouse*. *Henry* promised to gratify their Requests, and kept his Word with them: for holding a Council at *Lyons* upon that Affair, the Evacuation of these three Places was there concluded on; notwithstanding the strong Reasons he that Commanded there, alleaged against it. It was the Duke of *Nevers* (r). " He had the " liberty of saying what he pleased, and the satisfaction that the Memorial he presented to second " his Speech, tho' very long, was read in the presence of *Henry* the Third; but the Restitution of " these three Places was nevertheless resolved on, " and his Majesty gave him Orders with his own " Mouth to Evacuate them. He should have stop'd " there, since all the World did him the Justice to " believe he had satisfied his Conscience and his " Honour; but he had Recourse to other Precautions, " which drew upon him the Aversion of the Court, " and hindered him a long time from entering the " Council of State. He obstinately sollicited that " the Order he had received from the King's Mouth " should be moreover Written with his own Hand; " that the Queen-mother, the Princes of the Blood " and the Officers of the Crown should Sign it, and " that it should be Registered in the Parliament together with the Writing, which he had made to " be dispensed with it, and that the principal Cities " of the Kingdom should inlert it into their Archives. All this was almost granted him, but " not without Reproaching him that he affected to " Signalize himself at his Masters Cost, and that he " ought to imitate the Mareschal *Brissac*, who was " content in the like case to repeat his humble Remonstrances and to desire they would send him a " Successor.

(o) Ubi supra pag. 751.
(p) See in the Addit. to Castelnau's Memoirs, Tom. 1. pag. 847. &c. what Brantome says upon all this in the Elogy of Imbert de la Platiere Seigneur de Bourdillon.
(q) Varillas Hist. of Henry III. Book 1. pag. 74.
(r) Id. ib. Pag. 84.

(H) *Against the Peace reach'd even unto her.*] *Brantome* who lived at that time, tells us some Circumstances of these Murmurs (a). " This Marriage——— " cost *France* dear, as being obliged to return in one " hour all that had been Conquered and Preserved in " *Piedmont* and *Savoy* for the space of 30 Years, so " much

(a) Memoirs of the Illustrious Women, p. m. 325.

'Tis without Reaſon that a Modern Author has attempted to juſtify (I) the Conduct of *Henry III.* who pay'd ſo dear for the Entertainment that Princeſs made him. The Peace of *Cateau* is not the only Monument of the too great Weakneſs of *Henry* the II. The Impunity of his Favourites after the prodigious Wealth they had got (K) by unjuſt ways, is another Monument of it. He Died with a Wound he received in a Tournament *. A ſtrange Adventure, and more extraordinary than diſmal, for I don't believe there ever were any Monarchs that loſt their Lives on ſuch occaſions. It would have been infinitely more glorious for him to have loſt his Life in a Battle, than in theſe mock Fights, or Combats of Friendſhip; where beſides, he behav'd himſelf

* *He was Wounded the* 30th *of* June 1559. *and Died the* 10th *of* July *following.*

" much King *Henry* deſired Peace and loved his " Siſter, that he would ſpare nothing in the World " to place her well, when yet the greateſt part of " *France* and *Piedmont* Murmured at it, and ſaid it " was a little too much. Others thought it very " ſtrange, and others very incredible, until they " had ſeen it with their own Eyes; and even Strangers " Laugh'd at us for it; and they who lov'd *France* " and its Intereſt, Wept and Lamented it, eſpecially " thoſe of *Piedmont*, who would not come over to " their firſt Maſter——As for the Soldiers who " had been a long time accuſtomed to the Garriſons, " and to the Eaſe and delicate Suſtenance of that " Country, we ſhould not ask what they ſaid, " how they Cried out, and Blab'd upon that occaſion; " not only the Gaſcons, but others. Hey-day, ſaid " they, muſt ſo many fine and large Territories be " given up for one little piece of Fleſh about a " Woman: others cried ſhe might well keep her " Virginity (*b*) for 45 Years to loſe it at laſt for " the Ruin of *France*. If they had been as Diſor- " derly, Seditious, and Mutinous at that time, as " we have ſeen them ſince in our Civil Wars, we " may be aſſured every one of them would have " taken a ſhare and have ſeiz'd thoſe Places, which " they would not eaſily have been driven out of. Is it not ſtrange that Mr. *le Labourer*, who had newly read theſe Words, ſhould come and tell us notwithſtanding, *that only a few Politicians found fault with her coſtly Marriage, and* ALL OTHERS *were glad that ſhe found a Recompence ſuitable to her Merit, and that ſhe had given her for her Dowry, the Eſtates that had been taken from her Husband.* This is the Language of an Elogy-maker: Such a Man without any Order for it, takes upon him notwithſtanding in the Name of the Publick, to make all the Steps neceſſary to a Panegyrick, and is not at all concern'd, tho' the Fact be refuted by the beſt inſtructed Authors. *Mezeray*, who wrote a Hiſtory, not a Panegyrick (*d*), agrees with the Teſtimony of *Brantome*.

(*b*) Mezeray Abridg. Tom. 4. pag. 722. *ſaith ſhe was in the* 37th *Year of her Age, he is in the right, ſhe was Born the* 5th *of* June 1523.

I can not read theſe Words (*e*), *and even Strangers Laugh'd at us for it*, without crying out, *What a happy time was this for the Low-Country Writers, and all others, that had no good will to* France? *What Inſults had they not a fair opportunity to make upon it? What Cracklings might they not have Publiſh'd?* For I ſuppoſe they were, or within a little, of the Humour of the preſent Time.

(*c*) *addit. to* Gaillenau *Tom.* 1. *pag.* 751.

(*d*) *See above Remark C.*

(*e*) Brantome ubi ſupra.

(I) *A Modern Author has attempted to juſtify the Conduct.*] That Modern is the Antagoniſt of *Coſtar*. The latter was offended that *l'Oiture* (*f*) was Cenſured for having ſaid by way of Raillery, *that he valued more a good Soop than the Panegyrick of* Pliny, *or the longeſt Oration of* Iſocrates. Monſieur de Girac, he goes on, *though that* Monſieur de Voiture *was as great a Fool as that profane Perſon, who Sold his Birth-right for a Meſs of Pottage, or that Prince of ours, who gave* Pignerol *for a good Meal.* Whether is not a Man carried, when in a Paſſion, in the heat of a Quarrel? The leaſt faults of one's Adverſary are converted into Crimes. *Girac*, who in another Man's Caſe, would probably have been content to have ſaid, that the word *Fool* was too ſtrong to be employed in ſignifying the fault of a Prince, turns Informer againſt *Coſtar* his Enemy, as guilty of a Treaſonable Crime. Conſider well all his Words (g) " He has Dared, ſays he, by a Villanous At- " tempt, that deſerves the ſevereſt Puniſhments, to " caſt his Venom and Malice upon the Sacred Perſon " of our Kings. Do's not he compare the Liberality " (1) of *Henry III.* to the Sottiſhneſs of *Eſau*, who " parted with his Birth-right for a Meſs of Pottage? " Do's he not call that great Prince a Fool for having " reſtored *Pignerol* to the Duke of *Savoy*, who had " the Honour to be his Uncle; and from whom he " expected great Succours in the preſſing neceſſity " of his Affairs? Was ever *Lewis XII.* taken for a " Fool who made a preſent of the Principality of " *Bearn* to the King of *Navarre*, and who diſmem- " bered his Kingdoms of a Part of that Importance? " Did any body accuſe the People of *Rome* of " Folly (2), tho' they frequently gave intire " Provinces and Kingdoms to Kings their Allies? " and if *Alexander*, as *Plutarch* ſays, willingly parted " with the Iſle of *Cyprus*, as a price for ſome Verſes " compoſed in his Praiſe, muſt a King of *France* be " look'd upon as a Mad-man amongſt any that have the " leaſt common Senſe, for having reſtor'd a Place to his " Relation, who had received him in his Dominions " with prodigious Coſt and Magnificence? A little after he ask'd whether Mr. *Coſtar did not apprehend being Puniſh'd under the Reign of a Prince that is a near Relation to* Henry, *who lived not long ago?* And he cites *Guicciardin* and *Paul Jovius* for the extreme Veneration the *French* have for their Monarchs. He returns often (*h*) to the ſame Accuſation; this muſt be attributed to the Symptoms of a ſort of Fever, which ſeizes Writers when they are upon their Replies and Rejoynders.

(*f*) *A continuation of* Voiture's *Vindication pag.* 172.

(g) *Reply to* Coſtar, Sect. 1. pag. 8.

(1) Pag. 173.

(2) *See* Val. Max. Lib. 4. Chap. 8. Tit. Liv. liv. 30. *&c.* Plut. *of the Fort. of* Alex. *Diſc.* 2.

Tho' he had Nam'd all the Soveraigns that gave up Cities, or Provinces, or even Kingdoms from the beginning of the World, he would never have perſwaded Men of Sence and Underſtanding, that any one ever made the like Preſents in the like Circumſtances of *Henry III.* without committing a Folly. *Louis XII.* [illegible]'d himſelf of *Pignerol* in favour of a Prince who ow'd his glorious Re-eſtabliſhment to the *Spaniards*, who in his Heart was a Violent (*i*) *Spaniard*, that is, always ready to countenance the moſt formidable Enemy *France* then had. It was to ſuch a Duke of *Savoy* that a place was deliver'd which opened the Kingdom to the Enemy, and which kept the ſame Duke in Fear, and hindered him from Leaguing with *Spain*. But, ſays one, that Duke had ſo nobly treated *Henry III.* and been at ſo vaſt Expences to Regale him at *Turin*, that it was juſt to regard him as a good and conſtant Friend. No, that does not follow, 'tis only the Ignorant that can reckon upon that Conſtancy and Friendſhip of Soveraigns. To ſee the Preſents they make and the Letters they Write in time of Peace to one another, one would Swear they are moſt hearty Friends and would continue ſo all their Life; but 'tis often true that they are Negotiating at the ſame time an Engagement for a Rupture, and have no deſign of ſerving one another any farther than they find occaſion of getting by their Hoſtilities. Which was never ſo true, as when *Henry III.* was ſo infinitely Careſs'd at the Court of *Savoy*. The Duke was entirely diſpos'd to take Advantage of the Confuſions he ſaw *France* in, and to make uſe of the *Spaniards* Aſſiſtance; And he left a Son who Inherited the ſame Paſſion and not only ſeiz'd the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, but alſo form'd Deſigns for the Diſmembring of *France* and totally ruining the Monarchy (*k*). Can we then ſufficiently blame this Blunder of *Henry III*? See the Remark F of his Article.

(*h*) See the Remark C.

(*i*) *As long as ſhe liv'd, ſhe always perſwaded and prevailed with the Duke her Husband to maintain the Peace, and not to engage againſt* France, *tho' he was a* Spaniard, *as he did after ſhe was Dead.* Brant. *Illuſtrious Women pag.* 328.

(*k*) *See the Article* Gontaut, *Remark D.*

(K) *They had got by unjuſt ways.*] Leſt I ſhould be accus'd of Aggravating things, I'll uſe *Mezeray's* Words (*l*). " The Expences the Managers of his " Favour and Affairs put him to, a good part whereof " they Converted to their own Advantage, were ſo " exceſſive, that he oppreſt the Kingdom with great " Impoſts, and ran above 40 Millions of Livers in " Debt. Beſides this they ruined abundance of " Families by their damnable Avarice. The inven- " tion of Farmings and Monopolies being not then as " much in uſe, they had another Method, that was " not leſs pernicious, namely, to Impeach thoſe that " were Richeſt under the pretence of Hereſy, and " other Crimes, and either to make them Guilty to " have

(*l*) *Hiſt. of* France *Tom.* 2. *p.* 1138.

self unsuitably to his Dignity, and in a way more becoming (K△) a Young Cavalier, than the Person of a King. Many Reflections were made upon that sad (K△△) Disaster. He never spoke (L) after he was Wounded, so that all the Discourses that are ascribed to him, are only Stories forg'd at Pleasure. The sincerity wherewith the *French* Historians have confest the Faults of this Monarch, and the Ignominy he brought upon the Nation in preferring the Counsels of (M) the Constable before the Remonstrances of the Duke of *Guise*, is scarce to be seen in other Historians. The Protestants thought they should be Gainers by his Death, but they experienced greater Severities still under *Francis II.* And Humanely speaking, there had been an end of them (N) in *France*,

" have their Estates, or to force them to Purchase " their Pardon at their Intercession. This Historian had just been saying that *Henry II.* was not *accused for any other Fault, than for being too easy and most capable of being Governed than Governing himself.* 'Tis one of the greatest Faults of a King, because generally they that Govern him in that Case do more mischief than if he Govern'd them.

(K△) *Unsuitably to his Dignity and in a way more becoming.*] This was the judgment of wise Persons, as we learn from an Author of that time. (a) " A Tournament was appointed in St. *Anthony's* " Street before the *Tournelles*, with all the Magni- " ficence and Pomp imaginable, for as much as the " King was one of the Challengers followed by the " Dukes of *Ferrara*, *Guise* and *Nemours*, which a " great many People of good Sence thought strange; " saying, the Majesty of a King ought to be judge " of the Blows and not enter the Lists. Likewise " that in the Old Romances, Kings on such Oc- " casions, never attempted Acts of meer Knights, " but disguised themselves, if they had a mind " to enter the Lists, or abstain'd wholly from it: " Yet such was the misfortune of the King, that he " would have the honour of the Juste. And I be- " lieve the reason he expresst for it was to shew " Strangers how dexterous he was at Arms, and " skill'd in the management of a Horse.

(a) Pasquier's Letters, Book 4.

(K△△) *Many Reflections were made upon that sad Disaster.*] I will not allege the Testimony of Protestant Writers; 'tis visible *Stephen Pasquier* will have greater force (b). " See how our good King " *Henry* Died. And as the common People natu- " rally fix their Eyes upon the Actions of their " King, so that Death did not happen without the " Commentaries and Interpretations of some People. " For to tell you at length how things happen'd in " *France*; as soon as the Peace was made, the Car- " dinal of *Lorrain*, who had been one of the prin- " cipal Mediators of it, declared in full Parliament, " that it was the King's Opinion to make it at what " Price and Condition soever, that he might be " more at Liberty from thence forward to extermi- " nate and banish the Heresy of *Calvin*. And on " the 10th day of *June* he came actually in Person " into Parliament to take the Opinion of every Senator " about the Punishment of the Hereticks. Where- " upon many gave it with great Liberty. Some " were of advice to suspend the Punishment till the " Decision of a general Council, which they said " was necessary. Whereupon the King was mov'd " with so great and just a Passion, that he com- " manded immediately *Montgommery* to Seize some of " the Company, who had given their Opinion more " freely than he would have them. They were " forthwith carried Prisoners to the Bastile. For " which Reason, said these new Commentators, this " Disaster fell by a just Judgment of God upon the " King, as a Vengeance upon him for these injust " Imprisonments. That Opinions ought to be free " and not Sounded by a King, that after hearing " them he may commit the Councellors to a close " Prison. That God had Chastis'd him by the " Hand of that Minister, who had assisted him in " making those Imprisonments. Likewise that as on " the 13th of *June*, he had given that Disgrace to " the Court of Parliament, so on the 10th of *July* " following Day for Day, he lost his Life. Thus " some of the People devis'd according to their par- " ticular Passions concerning that Death; being Ig- " norant at the same time, that the Mysterious Pro- " vidence of God is concealed from us, and is " such as by Reason of our Weakness, we often- " refer to our Opinions than to truth. *Anne du Bourg* was one of those the King shut up in the Bastile, and against whom he was most Enrag'd, *for amongst other Discourse* (c) *he said he would see him Burnt with both his Eyes* (d). Father *Paul* observes that *the Queen Mother was horribly Provok'd at the Lutherans Publishing in their Manifesto's, that the Wound of the King her Husband in the Eye was a Punishment of God for the Menaces he had made* Anne du Bourg *in saying that he would see him Burnt.*

(b) Id. ib. pag. 174. 175.

(c) La Place, comment. *of the State of Religion and Republick fol.* m. 10.

(d) *Father* Paul's *Hist. of the Council of* Trent *Book* 5. *pag.* 400. *of* Amelot's *Version* 1686.

(L) *He never spoke after he was Wounded.*] Most Historians say, that a Splinter of *Montgommery's* Lance flew into *Henry's* Eye, and wounded him Mortally; but what *Mezeray* says of it, seems more probable. *It happened*, says he, (e) *that* Montgommery *breaking his Lance in the Plastron, could not retain his Arm, so that he fell with the Trunk of it which remain'd in his Hand with so great Violence upon his Right Eye, that a Splinter of it past even to the hinder part of his Head.* In this manner *Montgommery* might appear infinitely more Criminal, tho' in truth he had not done it Voluntarily. The Historian adds, *it was not truly known at that time, whether the King spoke or not, after he had received the Wound, the truth being disguised by those that were about him, or render'd uncertain by the different Reports, that were spread by those who had different Interests. There are some who tell us, the fine Remonstrances he made to his Son; some others add that when he was carried out of the Lists, he look'd towards the Bastile where were the Prisoners of Parliament, saying with a great Sigh, that he was afraid, he had Punish'd wrongfully innocent Men, and that the Cardinal of* Lorrain *immediately taking him up, exhorted him to reject that Thought which was suggested to him by the Tempter. Others* (f) *maintain that he lost his Voice and all manner of Sence from the Moment he was Struck, which is confirm'd by the Arguments of many Physicians, who say that a Man becomes necessarily Dumb, when his Brain is Wounded or violently shaken.* Trust now after this to the Relations that are spread abroad concerning the last Words of dying Men.

(e) Mezeray, *Hist. of* France *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 1138.

(f) Mezeray Abr. Chronol *t.* 4. *p.* 721. *fixes upon this Opinion. That Blow was so great*, says he, *that it made him lose his Senses and Speech which he never recovered again. Whence we may be convinc'd of the falsity of the different Relations which were given out according to Mens different Interests and Passions.*

(M) *Preferring the Counsels of the Constable before the Remonstrances of the Duke of* Guise.] The Constable, who was Prisoner from the time of the Battle of St. *Quintin*, resolv'd to recover his Liberty at any Price. The *Guises* made too much advantage of his Absence. You see then the Reason, why he Negotiated a Treaty of Peace, in which he granted the *Spaniards* all they had a mind too. And he so well knew the blind side of his Master, that he easily perswaded him to consent to that Treaty. In vain the Duke of *Guise* imploy'd a thousand Demonstrations (b), to make him reject a Peace which did Sacrifice to the *Spaniards*, the Glory of the *French* Name, and more Places in one Day than they had been able to Conquer in an Age, the King was Deaf to all that. We must relate here an Observation of *Brantome* (i); he pretends that *Henry II.* tired and disgusted with the Insolence of the *Guises*, resolv'd to send 'em Home; for which end he was oblig'd to regain his Constable, and to terminate the War; he wrote to him therefore (k) and to the Marshal *de St. André* to *Mediate a Peace, which they did to our Disadvantage.* Let us not forget another Artifice; these two Prisoners and the Dutchess of *Valentinois* inrich'd themselves with the Spoils of the Hereticks: and no doubt but that to obtain a Peace they caus'd the King to accept of any Conditions, that they might more easily prosecute the same Business of the Inquisition. It is certain (l) that the Cabals of that Dutchess, seconded by the Constable, drew the King into that Precipice.

(b) Id. ib. pag. 174. 175.

(i) *Eloge of* Henry II. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 52.

(k) *He was Prisoner as well as the Constable.*

(l) See Belcarius *Book* 28. *n.* 17. &c.

(N) *There had been an end of them in* France, *if.*] 'Tis the Opinion of *Theodore Beza*; for, having drawn out all the Reasons that promis'd them a better time after *Henry's* Death, he adds (a). *But God had otherwise order'd it, as willing to have the honour that belongs to him, of Re-establishing his Church with his own Arm and Might, which is so much the more wonderful as the Resistance of the greatest Men had been most Furious against it.* 'Twas therefore in the Reign of Francis II. Successor to Henry, *that the Rage of Satan over-flow'd beyond all Bounds*

(a) Ecclesiast. *Hist. of the Reform'd Churches Book* 3. *p.* 212.

France, if he had liv'd two Years longer. They are accus'd (O) of having expreſs'd their Joy in a moſt inſulting manner upon the Tragical end of *Henry*; but nothing can be ſeen more Modeſt than *Theodorus Beza* *. I forgot that this Prince when he was Dauphin, liv'd in a Miſunderſtanding (P) with his Brother that coſt *France* dear, and had been more Fatal, if the Duke had not Died. Who knows (Q) but he might have Diſputed the Succeſſion. The Ladies had the boldneſs to ſpread Horoſcopes about, which could not but Foment the jealouſy of theſe two Brothers. They had ſhewn *Francis I.* (Q.) thoſe pretended Aſtrological Predictions. *Caſtellan* Confuted them, and the Event Refuted them ſtill more. Many Authors ſay; that a famous (R) Aſtrologer foretold that *Henry II.* ſhould be kill'd in a Duel. The different Accounts that

* See the Remark O at the End.

ſo that it might be ſaid of this Reign which laſted but Seventeen Months, what Jeſus Chriſt ſays in St. Matthew, *viz. that unleſs thoſe Days were ſhortened, no Man could be ſav'd: But they were ſhortened by reaſon of the Elect.* The Particulars of the Meaſures, that were taken to ruin that Party entirely, are to be ſeen in a few Pages of *Maimbourg* (b). Take notice of the Words (c) which he ſets at the Head of them.

(b) *Hiſt. of* Calviniſm *Book* 2. *p.* 157, 158, 159.

(c) *All things were then ſo diſpos'd for the entire ruin of* Calviniſm *in* France, *that it ſeemed to be utterly unavoidable.* Ibid. *pag.* 157.

(O) *They are Accus'd of having Expreſs'd, &c.*] I have already cited (d) *Maimbourg* upon this, and here are the Words of *Mezeray* (e). 'As he was 'a Prince of great Goodneſs, he was lamented by all 'his People, except the new Sectaries, who believed 'his Death would be their Liberty and Advance-'ment. They were ſo over-joyed at it, that they 'made Songs and Thankſgivings to God, or rather 'Blaſphemies, daring to ſay, that the Almighty had 'ſmitten him under the Walls of the *Baſtile*, where 'he kept the Innocent in Priſon. It muſt not be thought ſtrange that in ſo great a number of People, there are ſome that are indiſcreet; but 'tis a very laudable Thing, that the Hiſtorian of the Reform'd Churches has obſerv'd that Moderation which I am going to ſhew (f). *There remain'd nothing in all probability, but a moſt horrible Spectacle of extreme Deſolation, when the Lord prevented it. For King* Henry *in the midſt of his peaceful Triumphs, joined with a Marriage* ——— *Tilting in the Liſts* ——— *was Arreſted with a Counter-Blow of a Lance* ——— *and he Died the* 10th *of* July *following. Strange things were obſerv'd in the unexpected Death of that Prince, who in his own Nature was a good-humour'd Man, but neither ſaw nor heard but with the Eyes and Ears of thoſe, who Poſſeſt and Govern'd him at their Pleaſure.*

(d) *Remark* D.

(e) *Hiſt. of* France *Tom.* 2. *p.* 1139.

(f) Theodorus Beza, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Book* 2. *p.* 105.

(P) *A Miſunderſtanding which coſt* France *dear.*] The chief of the *Dauphin's* Faction was *Diana* of *Poitiers* who was his Miſtreſs. Which was the reaſon the Dutcheſs of *Etampes* took the ſide of the Duke of *Orleans*. I have ſpoke (g) elſewhere of the Prejudice the Intrigues of that Dutcheſs did to the Affairs of *Francis I.*

(g) *In the Remark* P. *of the Article* Francis I. *See alſo the Remark* E. *in the Article* Etampes.

(Q) *Whether the Duke of* Orleans *would not have diſputed the Succeſſion.*] *Tavanes*, who was at his Service, and who had an unreaſonable Paſſion for Greatneſs, hop'd much from the Ambition of that Prince, (h) "who thought of making himſelf Maſter 'during the Life of the *Dauphin* his Elder Brother. 'The Emperour *Charles* the Fifth flatter'd him 'very much with hopes which had exalted his 'Courage; wherefore being at the point of Death 'at *Fareumonſtier*, where he had Raſhly de-'fy'd it in a Peſtilent Houſe that he had choſen on 'purpoſe, *Tavanes* his Confident coming to tell him 'the News of the Exploit he had done againſt the 'Garriſon of *Calais*, whereof he had kill'd 800 'Men, and taken 400 Priſoners, he ſaid to him 'theſe Words; My Friend, I am Dead, our Deſigns 'are all broken, my great Sorrow is, that I cannot 'recompence your Merits.

(h) Le Laboureur, *Addit. to the Memoirs of* Caſtelnau, *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 572.

(Q.) *The Ladies had ſhewn* Francis I. *theſe Aſtrological Predictions.*] About two Years before the Death of that Prince ſome Ladies, who had a great ſhare in his Friendſhip, told him that the Stars promis'd the Duke of *Orleans* great Conqueſts, and Prognoſticated to the *Dauphin* nothing worthy of the Quality of a King of *France*. They held theſe Diſcourſes, knowing the particular Affection of *Francis I.* for the Duke, and hoping to Enrich themſelves by the Intereſt of that Young Prince. They prais'd him, they cry'd him up to the Skies, and decry'd the *Dauphin* (i) as a dull and heavy Man, and who had the moſt Unfortunate Nativity in the World. *Caſtellan* could not bear either their Flatteries or Reproaches: But turning to theſe Ladies with a ſtern Look, he told 'em that Aſtrology was a difficult thing to underſtand, and that it was ſtill more difficult to adjuſt Humane Events to it; he added, that the Vanity and Impudence of Aſtrologers render'd them unworthy of Credit; that he had formerly Studied thoſe things under *Turrean* and made as much Progreſs in them as another; that for a ſort of Amuſement and for the ſatisfaction of the Curious, he had erected the Schemes of the *Dauphin* and the Duke of *Orleans* with all poſſible exactneſs; and that according to the Rules of the Aſtrological Art, he had found that the Duke was to have a Good, Great and Warlike Soul; that he was to be ſupported with the Forces and Friendſhip of the Great, and (l) arrive to a very conſiderable Power; that the *Dauphin* would not be inferiour to him either with reſpect to Military Virtue, or thoſe other Qualities that are worthy of a Prince; and (m) that he ſhould Reign a moſt ſucceſsful Conqueror of his Enemies: But that all theſe ways of Predicting Futurities, being vain and dubious, the ſureſt way was to bottom upon the Morals, and Genius of theſe Princes reſpectively, to conjecture at their Fortunes. The King heard this Diſcourſe very favourably; the Flatterers of both Sexes were inrag'd with him. The *Dauphin* having heard what *Caſtellan* had ſaid, was extreamly pleas'd with it, not becauſe he had been prais'd, but becauſe his Innocence had been cleared before *Francis* the Firſt, which he (n) feated they endeavoured to render ſuſpected, *quem ne in ſuſpicionem aut odium traheretur metuebat* (o). Oh the curſed Peſts of a Court! Who can ſufficiently deteſt 'em? What Deviliſhneſs is it to Cheriſh by ſuch Artifices the Jealouſy of two Brothers! We muſt not forget that the Aſtrology of *Caſtellan* proved falſe with reſpect to the Duke of *Orleans*. He Died a little while after; and yet it had beſpoke him a very great Power, which *Caſtellan* conſidered as a thing to come; and he could not conſider it otherwiſe at that time; for this Prince Died 19 Months or thereabouts before his Father, and was not yet 24 Years Old.

(i) Animo lento & ſopito infelici quandam tyderum poſitu natum. Gallandius ubi infra pag. 73.

(l) Valde potentem futurum. *Id. ibid.*

(m) Suorum hoſtium late victorem feliciſſimum regnaturum comperiſſe. *Id. id.*

(n) *Life of* Peter Caſtellan *by* Gallandius *Chap.* 44. *p.* 72, &c.

(o) *Ibidib. pag.* 74.

(R) *That a famous Aſtrologer foretold.*] See what *Brantome* ſays of it (p). *I have heard, and I have it from good Hands, that ſome Years before he Died, (ſome ſay ſome Days) there was a Diviner who Calculated his Nativity and preſented him with it, in which he found, he muſt Die in a Duel and ſingle Combat. The Conſtable was preſent, to whom the King ſaid, ſee, Friend, what Death is deſtin'd for me; Ah, Sir, Anſwered the Conſtable, will you believe theſe Raſcals, who are only Liars and Braggadochio's? Throw it into the Fire. Why ſo, Friend, replied the King? They ſometimes ſpeak truth; I don't care whether I Die that Death or another, nay, I ſhould rather chuſe to Die by the Hand of any Man whatever, provided he was Brave and Valiant, and I ſhould purchaſe Glory by it; and without minding what the Conſtable ſaid to him, he Committed that Prophecy to* Monſieur de l'Aupeſpine, *to keep it, and Order'd him to look it up till he ask'd him for it* ——— (q) *Now the King was no ſooner Wounded, and carried to his Chamber, but the Conſtable remembring that Prophecy, call'd* Monſieur de l'Aupeſpine, *and order'd him to look it out, which he did, and aſſoon as he had ſeen and read it with Tears in his Eyes; Ah! ſays he, ſee here the Combat and the ſingle Duel he was to Die in, 'tis done, he is a Dead Man; it was not poſſible for a Diviner to ſpeak better and clearer than this, tho' by their Natural Temper or by the Inſpiration of their Familiar Spirit, they are always Ambiguous and Doubtful, and therefore always ſpeak Ambiguouſly, but here he ſpoke out very clearly. Curſed be the Aſtrologer, that Propheſied ſo truly and yet ſo Ill.* Mr. *de Thou* does not do like *Brantome*, who tells not the name of this Diviner: He calls him *Luke Gauric*, and adds that this Scheme was Erected at the requeſt of *Catherine de Medicis*, and that it was Laugh'd at till the King receiv'd his

(p) Brant. *Dife. of* Henry II. *ſecond, Tom.* 2. *of his Memoires p.* 50.

(q) *Ibid. pag.* 52.

that are given of that Prediction, were alone sufficient to make us doubt (R△) whether it was made by the Astrologers. He had ten Children Legitimate, and two Natural. They tell things very remarkable concerning (S) the Mothers of the latter.

Henry II. was born at St. *Germain in Laie*, the 31st. of *March*, 1519. he had the Title of Duke of *Orleans*, when he married *Catharine de Medicis*, at *Marseilles*, the Twenty Eighth of *October*, 1533. he was but Fourteen Years and some Months old: which made Pope *Clement* the Seventh, Uncle to *Catharine*, fear that the Marriage was not consummated the Wedding-Night; and some Authors pretend, that by the Curiosity

(*l*) He [illegible] have been [illegible]

his Wound. Mr. *de Thou* gives out this Prediction as a certain matter of Fact (*a*). But they who cite *Luke Gauric's* own Words taken from the Horoscope of *Henry II.* are more to be believed. Now 'tis certain by his Words that he promised a long Life to this Monarch, and never threatned him with a fatal Duel. *Gassendus* has cited this great Example, and adds that *Cardan* was no less mistaken in the Horoscope of this Prince than *Gauric* (*b*). *Constat ex Historiis Henricum II. Galliæ nostræ Regem obiisse anno ætatis quadragesimo completo, ex oculari vulnere: En autem de eo Gaurici vaticinium in Prognostico Anni MDLVI.* Quoniam in sui natalis pene divini schemate habuit solem sub gradibus suæ altitudinis Veneri ferè partiliter alligatum; cum & Lunam atque Venerem sub Arietis Asterismo, per Horoscopum progredientis, vivet fœlicissimus Annis LXX, deductis duobus mensibus, si nutu divino superaverit annos insalubreis LXIII. LXIV. & semper vivet in terris pientissimus. *Paria sunt quæ idem Gauricus anteà ediderat, quæque* (*c*) *à Sixto referuntur. En & vaticinium Cardani, cum de eodem Henrico loquens.* Erit certe, inquit, senecta tantò fœlicior quamò etiam plura fuerit expertus, &c. That matter is of such importance, that it deserves a second Witness; which shall be a Man, who doth not go upon a hear-say, but relates what he read in the very Writings of *Gauric*; where he saw the most fortunate Predictions that could be wish'd to *Henry II* (*d*). *Et memini me legere quasdam Ephemerides annuas Lucæ Gaurici* [illegible]*, in quibus cùm pro libertate* [illegible] *tunc cogebat, singulis principibus Europæ maximas felicitates aut gravissima damna minaretur, nihil postea perinde cecidit, ac ipse futurum prædixerat. Atque utinam Henricus secundus, quem ille extremâ tantum senectute, & morbo placidissimo fatis concessurum dixerat, non ætate potius florenti, & tam acerbo præcipitique fato nobis ereptus fuisset.*

(R△) *The different Accounts——were alone sufficient to make us doubt whether it was made by the Astrologers.*] See Stephen *Pasquier's* Account of it; wherein we find not the name of *Gauric*. It turns upon other People and other Circumstances (*e*). *It seems that a long time before this Disaster had been secretly Prognosticated to the King by* Hierome Cardan, *who in a Scheme that he erected at his Nativity, promised him all things easie at the beginning of his Reign, but assur'd him in the Decline of his Life of an unfortunate End, and such as for the Grandeur of the King he obliged himself to be silent of. There was likewise a Report spread at Court, that upon the Cardinal of* Lorrain's *return from his second Voyage to* Italy, *a Letter was presented to him from a Jew of* Rome, *that was greatly versed and Practic'd in these Fantastical Predictions, and Divinations, who admonish'd him carefully to avoid a single Combat. Which Letter, the King when he had heard it read, made no Account of, not imagining, considering the Quality he was of, that he should ever fight a Duel. That Letter was from that time lock'd up by Monsieur* de l'Aubespine, *who after the King's Death shew'd it to several Lords, as is reported. Besides it is added (I will not assert it for a truth) that the Queen remembring that Letter, and the time that had been Prognosticated, intreated him several times, that since the two preceding Days were past to his Honour and Contentment, he would for that third Day be absent from the Tournament to avoid all inconvenience, and substitute some other Lord in his room. To which however he would not condescend. And as on the very Day he was Wounded, the Queen had sent a Gentleman on purpose to intreat him in her Name to Acquiesce with what he had done, he made Answer, that he would Tilt but once more, in which as ill Fortune would have it he was Wounded.* Observe well that *Pasquier* tells this Story only upon an uncertain hear-say, of the truth whereof he was not himself perswaded. But take more particular notice, that it is not said, that *Cardan* brought to light that pretended Horoscope after the King's Death. And yet he was Vain enough and sufficiently Bigotted to Astrology, to have pretended to the Honour of so surprising a discovery. Nothing could have raised the Glory of his Art so much as that, he might have called to Witness the Constable [illegible] *Montmorenci*, *Catherine de Medicis*, [illegible] and other Persons of the highest Rank. Whence came it that he neglected the interests of his Glory, and those of his (*g*) Pocket, in so nice a Point as this? We have seen in the foregoing Remark, what *Gauric* promised *Henry II.* in the Year 1556. Let us see what he Predicted for him four Years before. [illegible] *Christianissimus Gallorum Rex*, this is what he put at the bottom of the Scheme of the King's Nativity in the *Venice* Edition, 1552. printed by *Curtius Troyanus* [illegible] *Henricus Christianissimus, erit Regum* [illegible] *dum Imperator, ante supremos* [illegible] *minu pervenire, felicissimusque* [illegible] *uti colligitur ex Sole Venere & Luna* [illegible] *& potissimum, Sole in fine* [illegible] *partiliter* [illegible] *Incivitatibus* [illegible] *subjectis maximum* [illegible] *minimum, si forte superaverit sua ætatis annos* [illegible] *64. ad annum* [illegible] *Menses 10. dies 12.* [illegible] *citramite productum* (*h*).

(S) *Things very remarkable concerning the Mothers of the two Natural Children.*] Read what [illegible] of *Brantome* (*i*) "*Henry* II. who was of an amorous Complexion, when he went to visit the Ladies, did it in the most secret and silent manner possible to prevent any Suspicion of their Dishonour; and if any of them were discovered, it was not by his Fault or Consent, but rather the Ladies, as I have heard say of one Madam *Flamin*, a *Scot* of a good Family, who being with Child by the King, did not mince the matter, but spoke boldly in her *French Scotch*, said, I have done all that I could, so that I am with Child by the King, which I take to be a great Honour and Happiness; there is something sweeter and more delicate in the Blood Royal, than in any other, I am so much the better for it, without reckoning the good Presents that [illegible]. A [illegible] that she had by him, was the Grand Prior of *France* [illegible] who was lately killed at *Aix* [illegible] very great Loss; for he was a very [illegible] brave, and valiant Lord. [illegible] the other Mistress, is a Comedy [illegible] "The *Dauphin*, afterwards King *Henry* II. fell in Love with a young Lady (*l*) of *Coni* in *Piedmont*, in the Journey that he made thither with the Constable of *Montmorenci*, his Servants set the House a Fire in the Night; and the [illegible] Access to all People, they ran there in great [illegible] ters, crying, *Salva la Donna*, and [illegible] they carried her to the *Dauphin* (*m*). He had a Daughter by her, called *Diana*, who had for her first Husband, *Horatius Farnese*, Duke of *Castro*, and for her Second, *Francis* Duke of *Montmorenci*, eldest Son to the Constable. The Second Marriage was begun (*n*) the 5th. of *May* 1557, and [illegible] the Death of her Husband, the [illegible] The only Son they had, died before his Father. This Widow lived to the 3d. of *January* [illegible], being above Eighty Years of Age. She mediated [illegible] Reconciliation between *Henry* III. and *Henry* IV. and had an affectionate Friendship for *Charles de Valois* her Nephew, natural Son to King *Charles* IX. She saved his Life, when *Henry* IV. would have involved him in the Cause of the Duke of *Biron*. She represented, that it was his Interest to render Sacred and inviolable the Heads of the natural Sons of Kings, and carefully to avoid the giving a fatal Example against them. She [illegible] her Nephew [illegible]

(*a*) Genus ac tempus mortis à Luca Gaurico Mathematico Pauli tertii perfamiliari prædictum CONSTAT, cum Catharina uxor futuri anxia fœmina eum super viri ac filiorum fato consuleret, fore nimirum ut in duello caderet, vulnere in oculo accepto: quod irrisum à multis ac pro tempore neglectum fuit, quasi regis condito supra duellum posita esset. Thuan. lib.22. sub finem.

(*b*) Gassendus, sect. 2. Physicæ. l. 6. p. 745. tome 1. Operum.

(*c*) He speaks of Sixtus ab Heminga, who hath shewn by the Example of 30 famous Nativities, how the Event belied them.

(*d*) Naudæus in judicio de Cardano.

(*e*) Pasquier Let. lib. 4. tom. 1. pag. 175.

[illegible] (*h*) Lucas Gauricus in Tract. Astrol. [illegible] (*i*) Memoirs of Gallant Ladies, Tome 2. pag. 372. [illegible] (*l*) [illegible]

[illegible] *still alive the first of July, 1572, and was* [illegible] *Peter Matthieu believed.* (*m*) Le Laboureur, Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, Tome 2. pag. 417. (*n*) [illegible]

(*o*) Le Laboureur, ibid. p. 418.

sity he had to be inform'd (T) he found such Proofs as settled the Disturbance of his Mind about it. This Young Husband came to be *Dauphin*, the 10th. of *April*, 1536, by the Death of his Elder Brother. We * have seen elsewhere, that his Wife was barren several Years, and afterwards brought him many Children. He persecuted his Subjects of the Reformed Religion, with the utmost Cruelty, and yet he forged those Arms himself, which aided them more (V) effectually to maintain themselves; for by his Means the Protestants of *Germany* put their Affairs in so good a Posture, as to be able to send great Succours to the *Calvinists* of *France*. The Comparison that has been made betwixt his Reign, and the latter Years of *Francis I.* teaches us, that a King too much enclin'd to bestow Favours, is more prejudicial to his Kingdoms (X) than a King

* *Article* Fernel, *Rem.* K.

lotte de Montmorenci, Niece of her Husband, *and left his Children Heirs of all her Estate, and of the Palace* (p) *of* Engouleme, *which she had at* Paris (q).

(T) *The Curiosity he had to be inform'd.*] I have read this only in Mr. *Varillas*, "The Interviews of "his Holiness, *saith he*, and of his (a) Majesty was at "*Marseilles*, and the Nuptials of the Duke of *Or-* "*leans*, and *Catherine* were there celebrated with "great Magnificence. As the Bridegroom was but "Sixteen Years old, and the Bride but 13, the King "who was unwilling to hazard his Son's Health, "would have had the Consummation of the Mar- "riage defer'd for Two or Three Years. But this "did not relish with the Pope; who feared, that if "he should happen to die before his Niece's Marri- "age was accomplished, she would be sent back to "*Italy*. And indeed, he would not be content, "says *Paul Jovius*, till he had seen certain Proofs of "the Consummation of the Marriage. If *Paul Jo-* "*vius* has made mention of such a Circumstance, 'tis not in the place of his History, where he speaks of that Interview of the Pope and *Francis* I. which yet was a most proper Place, and the most natural Occa- sion to touch upon that Particular, considering espe- cially, that the Author forgot not to remark, how extraordinry young the Duke of *Orleans* was, and to make many other Observations; and even to say, that the Marriage was consummated the first Night. (b) *Augebant suspicionem maturata nuptia, quæ im- pares regio sanguini viderentur. Siquidem nobi- lissimus adolescens Henricus, quanquam ætate te- nerior, Catharinam celebratis insigni ceremonia nuptiis, ex virgine mulierem prima nocte reddiderat.*

I confess then, that Mr. *Varillas* may be suspected to have cited *Paul Jovius* wrong. What he says of the Bridegrom's being 16 Years old, and the Bride 13, is not exact. For 'tis certain, that *Henry* II. was born (c) the 31st. of *March*, 1519, and that he married *Catherine de Medicis*, the 28th. of *Octo- ber* 1533. Father *Anselm*, who dates his Birth the 31st. of *March* 1518, adds, that it was before *Easter*, and consequently, that that Year was 1519, New Stile. He says also, that *Catherine* was born the 13th. of *April*, 1519. *Gauric* sets down the same Day and Year in that Lady's Horoscope. There was therefore but 14 Days Difference betwixt their Ages. *Spondanus* (d) is no less mistaken than *Varillas*, since he says, that *Catherine* was but 13 Years, and that *Henry* was Fifteen Years and Seven Months.

(V) *Which aided them more effectually to maintain themselves.*] See what I have said hereupon in the Remark (D), and join to it this Passage of *Stephen Pasquier*, (e) "We saw the Emperor *Charles* V. "make War upon his *German* Subjects for embracing "Heresie——His Affairs went on successful- "ly, which made them have Recourse to the beg- "ging of our Assistance. Could there be any thing "more plausible in point of Affairs of State, such "as a Courtier represents them, than to take their "Cause in Hand, not to suffer a great Prince to ag- "grandize himself at our very Gates, by the ruin "of all the Princes of *Germany*? But was there "any thing more unjust than to assist a Subject a- "gainst his Lawful Sovereign? And moreover to "take the part of a *Heretick*, against a *Catholick* "Emperor, who fought only for the Honour of "God, and the good of his Church? Our King was "a *Catholick* Prince, as also the Lords who had the "greatest Share in his Favour; notwithstanding "which we take upon us the Protection of the *Ger- "man* Hereticks; and the King in full Parliament "made himself proclaimed with a magnificent Ti- "tle *Protector of the* German *Liberty*, that is to "say, of the *German* Heresie; and as such caused "Money to be coined with that Inscription. "Under that specious Title he undertook to march "with a Potent Army; Wherein things succeeded "in such a manner, that upon the meer Fame of "our Enterprize, being upon the point of passing "the *Rhine*, the Emperor was forced to make things "up with his Subjects, and to grant them many "Priviledges against the Honour of God and his "Conscience, which he would not otherwise have "tolerated. As for my part, I am willing to believe, "that God had resolv'd to chastise us with the same "Rods, wherewith we afflicted the Emperor, per- "mitting, after *Henry*'s Decease, his Minor "Children to be battled by their Subjects for the "Maintenance of an Opinion more violent than that "of *Luther*, and that they should be aided by the "*German* Princes against us. And when God was "pleased to exercise his Vengeance upon us, it "was past all humane Power to redress our selves, "whence all the Remedies that we thought proper "to be apply'd, turned to our Destruction. *Pas- quier* makes another Remark, which I think not good. "At our return, *says he*, (f) from that fine "*German* Expedition, *Calvin* began to solicite one "and another by Letters, who yielded easily to be "over-reacht, thinking, as one may believe, that "since the King and his Council had taken the Pro- "tection of the *Lutherans*, they were in their "Hearts of the same Religion. Thus by little and "little a Seminary of a new Religion spread through "*France*, which [illegible] was entertain'd by Prin- "ces and great Lords. The Author here commits two Faults, he supposes, that *Calvin* did not begin to sollicite the *French* by Letters, till towards the end of the Year, 1552, which is false; for he had never ceased to do it since the Year 1536, and be- sides, it is not true, that the *French* could believe, that the King and his Council were *Lutherans* in their Hearts. The contrary could not be doubted, when he was seen to persecute with Fire and Sword, all that were of the new Religion in his Kingdom. The Protection that he granted, and the good Offi- ces he did the Protestants of *Germany*, were insig- nificant to elude that proof of his Aversion to their Sect. It was only seen by that, that he sacrificed the Interests of his Religion to the Political Interests of his State. 'Tis the common Course of Sove- reigns: Though they take sometimes another, and sacrifice to the Spirit of Persecution, not only the Conquests they might make, but even those they have already made, and the most solid Advantages of their Kingdom. *Henry* II. was an Instance of this, when he accepted the Peace of *Chateau*.

(X) *Is more prejudicial to his Kingdom, &c.*] A *French* Civilian has maintain'd (g) "that they are in a "great Error, who go on praising and adoring the "Bounty of a gentle, gracious, courteous, and sim- "ple Prince; for that Simplicity without Prudence, "is most dangerous and pernicious in a King, and "much more to be feared than the Cruelty of a se- "vere, morose, rough, covetous, and inaccessible "Prince. And it seems, that our Fore-fathers have "not us'd this Proverb without cause, *An* (h) *ill "Man makes a good King*: which may seem strange "to delicate Ears, and that are not accustomed "to weigh the Reasons on both sides. By "the Indulgence and Foolish Simplicity of too "good-natured a Prince, it comes to pass the Flatte- "rers and Parasites, and the worst of Men, get Of- "fices, Employments, Benefices, and Pensions, "draining the Exchequer of the Kingdom; by "which means the poor People are devoured to the "very Bone, and cruelly enslaved by the Great: So "that for one Tyrant you have Ten Thousand, *&c.* Being minded to confirm afterwards his Position by Examples, he speaks thus (i) *We have seen this Kingdom Great, Rich, and Flourishing in Arms and Laws towards the latter end of King* Francis I. *when he became morose and inaccessible, and no Body durst approach him to ask any thing of him; then Places, Offices*

(p) Henry III. *gave her the Dutchies of* Engouleme, *and* Chatelleraut, *the County of* Ponthieu, *and the Government of* Limosin. Le Laboureur. ibid.

(q) *Taken out of the Additions of Mr.* Le Laboureur. ib.

(a) Varillas, *Preface to Toni.* 5. *of the History of Heresie, fol.* **3. *Edition of* Holland.

(b) Jovius histor. lib. 31. fol. 230. edit. Basil. 1555.

(c) *See the* Fastes *of Father* du Londel, *pag.* 23, *and* 24, *and Father* Anselm's *Hist. Geneal. pag.* 137, *and* 139.

(d) Spondan. ad an. 1533, N. 7.

(e) Pasquier's *Letters, Book* 15. *pag.* 218, *of the* 2d. *Tome.*

(f) Id. ib. pag. 219.

(g) Bodin *of the Republick, Book* 2. *chap.* 4. *towards the end, pag. m.* 295. *See also, Book* 6. *chap.* 2. *p.* 895.

(h) *Note, that he gives not that Word its whole Signification: he only takes it in the Sense of Austere and rigorous.*

See the end of that chapter of the 2d. *Book of* Bodin.

(i) Id. ib. pag. 296.

a King that is in as great an excess the other way. *Henry* II's Defect, was the ill Management of his Revenues, by which Means he perverted the Administration of them, and ran prodigiously in Debt. Some have reckon'd, amongst the Disorders of his Reign, the Mischief * that the Poets caused. *Polygamy*, under the preceding Reigns, was not *an Hanging Matter*: *Henry* II. first made it a Capital Crime (Z.) You'll find in other Places of this Dictionary, what Laws he made against Clandestine † Marriages, and against ‡ Mothers that destroy their New-born Children.

HENRY III. King of *France*, Son of *Henry* II. and *Catherine de Medicis*, got so much Renown before he was King, even before he was Twenty Years old, that the *Poles* thought him worthy of their Crown; but they had quickly Reason to repent of that Election. The manner of his flying from *Cracow*, is one of the most scandalous Actions in the World. The Reason of that Flight, was his going to inherit the Crown of *France* after *Charles* IX. He actually reign'd after him, and in such a manner, that the *Poles*

* *See above, pag.* 1313. *col.* 2.

† *See one of the Remarks of the Article* Piene.

‡ *See the Remark C. of the Article* Patin.

Offices and Benefices were only given to Men of Merit and Honour; and Pensions were so retrench't, that there was found in his Treasury, when he died, a Million of Gold, and Seven Hundred Thousand Crowns, and the March *Quarter to receive, whilst there was nothing due, except a little to the* Grisons, *and to the Bank of* Lions, *which they did not pay, that they might keep them to their Duty: There was a settled Peace with all the Princes of the Earth; the Frontiers were extended even to the Gates of* Milan; *the Kingdom was full of great Commanders, and the learnedest Men in the World. It was afterwards seen in the Twelve Years that* Henry II. *reigned, (whose Bounty was so great, as not to be parallell'd by any Prince of his Age) that the State was almost quite changed; for as he was gentle, gracious, and good-humour'd, he could refuse no Body any thing: Thus the Treasures of his Father in a little time being exhausted, Places of Trust were more than ever expos'd to Sale, and Offices given to the Magistrates that offered most for them, and consequently to the most unworthy: the Imposts were greater than ever they were before; and yet when he died, his Exchequer was found charg'd with 42 Millions: after having lost* Piedmont, Savoy, Corsica, *and the Frontiers of the* Low-Countries. *And yet these Losses were but inconsiderable in respect of his Reputation and Honour. If the Gentleness of this great King had been accompanied with Severity; if his Goodness had been mix'd with Rigour; his Facility with Austerity, he had not so easily parted with every thing that was ask'd him.* The Opinion of this Learned Man seems a Paradox at first Sight, but if it be examin'd nearly, it will be found to be well-grounded.

(*X*) *He perverted the Administration of them, and ran in Debt prodigiously.*] (*a*) "There was an Ordinance of *Francis* I. confirm'd by his Successor, "importing, that there should be four Keys to the "*Exchequer*-Chest, whereof the King should have "one, and the others should be in the Hands of "Commissioners appointed by him; and the Disbursements of the Money should be made by Order "of the King, in Presence of the Treasurer and of "the Comptroller of the Exchequer. But King *Henry* II, by an Edict, discharged the Commissioners and "Officers of the Exchequer, that no Body for the "time to come might call them to an Account: Nay, "one of these Commissioners had purely as a "Gift, at one time, an Hundred Thousand Crowns, "given him, if the Report be true: which was "then a great deal. *Bodin* makes this Observation; and a little after adds, "that *Francis* I. (*b*) did not "make so many Largesses during a Reign of Thirty "Two Years, as his Successor did in two. (*c*) "*Francis* I. had scarce closed his Eyes, but the *Tillage*, which was then a prodigious Sum, was "given to a single Person. See how this is expressed in the *Latin* Translation: *Nondum justa* (*d*) *Parenti fecerat* (*Henricus Secundus*) *cum Hirudo quædam Palatina Pecuniæ vim infinitam, quam officiarii, decepta confirmatione, regibus initiatis fisco dependere, solent, uno absorbuit & eodem hausit.* This Prince's Prodigality was the cause doubtless of his imposing new Burdens on his Subjects, forgetting the Promises he had made, when he imposed them. Consider well these Words of *Bodin* (*e*), "When the "*Taillon* was laid on the Subjects in the Year "1549, the King promis'd not to imploy or appropriate it to any other Use besides the paying the "*Gendarmery*, without confounding this Revenue "with any other: as it was also said, when the "Soldiers Pay was impos'd, for Fifty Thousand Foot "in *Francis* I's Time, which was only to be "rais'd in Wall'd Towns, and their Suburbs, "which felt nothing of the Oppression of the "Soldiery; and yet since it has been extended "equally to Cities, Boroughs, and Villages, "in the Year 1555, by which the poor Countrymen are doubly oppress'd; for they pay "and are pillaged on all Sides. The ill Management of the same King, produced another Disorder, which was the borrowing great Sums at a prodigious Interest (*f*): "When King *Henry* had occa-"sion for Money, he borrowed at Ten, or Twelve, or "Sixteen *per Cent*; as he did in the Year 1554. "of the *Caponis*, the *Albicis*, and their Partners "in *Germany*; and the Interest was paid at the "Four Fairs, or became part of the Principal. The "Emperor did the like on his part; but 'tis true, he "gave but Ten or Twelve *per Cent*, at most; and the "same Year the King of *England* borrowed from the "*German* Merchants an Hundred Thousand Crowns, "at 12 *per Cent*. And whereas *Henry* thought, by "giving greater Interest than the Emperor, and the "King of *England*, to command a greater Supply, he "began to sink his Credit by it; for the wisest Ma-"nagers concluded, that at long run he could neither "pay Principal nor Interest; for as much as 16 *per* "*Cent*, would come to 18, by means of the Interest, which "he could not pay. Note, that he was not the Inventer of this Practice; it began in his Father's time "(*g*). This was also a Project brought into *France* in "the Year M.D.XLIII. by Cardinal *de Tournon*, when "he was in favour with *Francis* I. whom he gave "to understand by the Suggestion of some *Italians*, "that there was no way of having ready Money "from all Parts, and making a Fund for the time to "come, to frustrate the Enemies of *France*, but by "establishing a Bank at *Lyons*, and taking in "Money from all Hands, paying 8 *per Cent*: But "Indeed the Cardinal was willing to advance an "Hundred Thousand Crowns, which he had in his "Coffers, and receive as much Interest as he could "for it. The Letters-Patent having past the "Seals, and the Bank being open'd, as was said, the "*French*, *Germans*, and *Italians*, strove who shou'd "put into it: So that *Francis* I. when he died, "was indebted to the Bank Five Hundred Thousand "Crowns, which he had by him, and four times as "much; and there was a setled Peace with all the World? *Bodin* (*b*) condemns that Invention suggested to *Francis* I. He thinks that it ruins the Foundation of the Finances, and it proved the Origin of a Thousand Mischiefs. Let us cite him once more. *And* (*i*) *as to the Treasury*, says he, *it was so ill managed, that in less than* 12 *Years that* Henry II. *reigned, he* (*k*) *owed more Interest, than all his Predecessors, 40 Years before, had rais'd for all their Expences.*

(*a*) Bodin ibid. liv. 6. chap. 2. pag. 904.

(*b*) Id. ib. *p.* 1055. *of the* Latin *Edition* 1602. *in* 8.

(*c*) Id. ib. *p.* 905. *of the* French *Edition*, 1608, *in* 8.

(*d*) Item, *p.* 1055.

(*e*) Id. ib. *p.* 898.

(*f*) Id. ib. pag. 893. 894.

(*g*) Id. ib. pag. 893.

(*b*) Id. ib. pag. 896.

(*i*) Id. ib. pag. 595.

(*k*) *See the foregoing Rem.*

I dare say these Citations from *Bodin*, will not be disagreeable to such as desire to know the Dates of Imposts, and the Original of Customs.

(*Z*) Henry II. *made* Polygamy *a Capital Crime.*] This I find in *Bodin*, *Imperatores*, says he (*l*), *perpetua lege Polygamiæ infamiæ pœna subjecta vetuerunt* (2): *nostris vero legib. pœna capitalis Henrici* II. *principatu irrogari cœpit.* The Author of the *Miscellanies of History and Learning* was manifestly ignorant of that Particular. For see how he expresses himself (*m*). "Some Parlia-"ments here are in *France*, where they con-"demn to Death those who are convicted of *Po-"lygamy*, because 'tis suppos'd to be a Law of the "King-

(*l*) De Republ. lib. 5. cap. 1. pag. m. 793.

(2) L. neminem de incestis. Cod.

(*m*) Vigneul Marville, Melang. d'hist. & de litter. p. 175.

Poles had no reaſon to regret the Loſs of him. It may be ſaid of him, as it was (*A*) of *Galba*, that he would have been thought worthy of a Crown, if he had never wore one. His Life was ſo divided betwixt Debauch'eries and Devotions, that ſcarce an odder Mixture was ever ſeen. He gave himſelf into the Hands of his Minions, with ſo little reſerve, that all *France* was offended with it; more-eſpecially, becauſe the exceſſive Expences he was at for them (*B*) turn'd to the Charge of the poor People. He incurr'd (C) the Hatred of the Ladies, which was very prejudicial to him. The Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier* reveng'd her ſelf (*D*) terribly for ſomething the King had ſaid of her. The Duke of *Guiſe*, by this Conjuncture of Circumſtances, and by the Troubles of Religion, growing bolder than he would have been otherwiſe, to prepare his way to the Throne, found that the weakeſt Princes are ſometimes capable of a vigorous Reſolution. He was Maſſacred by the Orders of *Henry* III. I have ſpoke elſewhere † of the Conſequences of that Affair; but I have not ſaid, that without the Aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants, this Monarch would have been oppreſs'd at *Tours*, where the *League* attacked him, * ſome Months after he had put to Death the Duke and Cardinal *de Guiſe*. Being delivered from that Danger, he laid Siege to *Paris*, and had doubtleſs brought that ſeditious City to its Duty, had he not been aſſaſſinated by *James Clement*, a *Dominican*. He

† *In the Article* Guiſe (Henry)

* *In the Month of* May.

" Kingdom. Where is that Law to be found? " It lies upon our *French* Lawyers to tell us. " The Conſequence is very well worth the while. " As for me, I believe it is not for *Polygamy* they " ſend theſe People to the Gallows, but for the " Impoſtures, whereby they ſurprize the Women " which they thus trepan into Marriage.

(*A*) *It may be ſaid of him, as it was of* Galba.] 'Tis a very noted Sentence of *Tacitus* (*n*). *Major privato viſus* (*Galba*) *dum privatus fuit, & omnium conſenſu capax Imperii, niſi imperaſſet.* *Sueronius* ſays the ſame in other Words, (*o*) *Majore adhuc & favore & auctoritate adeptus eſt quam geſſit Imperium.* The ſame Judgment has been made of the Emperor *Jovian* (*p*); but the quite contrary was ſaid of *Marius* (*q*). Our *Henry* the Third verify'd to his Coſt, this judicious Maxim (*r*). *Magiſtratus virum prodit*: he ſhew'd by his wearing a Crown, that they were miſtaken, who thought him fit to wear it. The Words of *Caſſiodorus* cannot reaſonably be apply'd to him. *Hic eſt probata conſcientiæ gratiſſimus fructus, ut quamvis ſumma potuerit adipiſci; judicetur tamen ab omnibus plus meruiſſe* (*ſ*). Much leſs could it be ſaid of him, *magna eum præceſſerat fama, qua major inventus eſt* (*a*).

(*B*) *Exceſſive Expences he was at for them.*] (*b*) " The principal Employment, and greateſt Pleaſure " of the King, conſiſting in pleaſing two Favourites " (*c*), he ſhewed he could not be content till he made " them as great as himſelf, and render'd them, ſaid " he, ſo Potent, that it ſhould not be in the Power, " either of Envy or Fortune to deſtroy them. He " reſolv'd then, having no Daughters to beſtow on " them, to marry them with his Wive's Siſters, *Mar-* " *garet*, and *Chriſtierne*, though they were already " betrothed to two other Heireſſes——but in order to " honour them with ſome Title that might qualifie " them for ſuch an high Match, he reſolved to " make them both Dukes and Peers of *France*.

——In the mean time, the Duke of *Lorrain* " brought his Nieces with ſuch a Train and Magnifi- " cence, as if he had been to marry them to Kings. As " for *Chriſtierne*, being yet but very young, ſhe was " only betrothed to the Duke of *Epernon*; and yet " ſhe never married him, but choſe rather to take " the Holy Vail. As for *Margaret*, her Betrothing was " made at the *Louvre*, in the Queen's Chamber, and " the Nuptials were celebrated Eight Days after, in " the Church of St. *Germain de l'Auxerrois*. It " would be ſuperfluous to deſcribe the Maſquerades, " Balls, Tournaments, Feaſts and Muſick, and all " the other Pomps which Luxury invented, for the " Wedding. In a word, it laſted near ſix Weeks; " and *Paris*, the Theatre of Wonders, had never ſeen " any thing like it. The King, dreſs'd in the ſame " manner as his Favourite, led the Bride to Church

——after the Marriage he appointed Seventeen " Entertainments, which were made in order by then " Princes and Lords related to the Lady: The leaſt " of them came to more than a Hundred Thouſand " Livres: In all which, the Gueſts were dreſs'd in " ſo rich and precious Habits, that Gold and Sil- " ver Cloth could make no Figure there. There were " Suits which coſt Ten Thouſand Crowns. In fine, " the Expence was ſo prodigious, that the King " for his part only, ſpent no leſs than four " Millions of Livres; beſides, he promiſed to " pay the Husband for his Wive's Fortune, Four " Hundred Thouſand Crowns in two Years time; " and when it was told him, that theſe exceſſive " Profuſions would ruin him, he anſwered, that " after he had married his Two Children, he would " be frugal. He meant *Joyeuſe* and *Epernon* (*d*). The *Swiſs* Embaſſadors *coming to* Paris *to demand the Money that was due to them, and the Treaſurers anſwering, that the King had none, and they muſt have Patience, they reply'd according to the uſual Liberty of thei Nation, that it was not credible, that a Prince, ſo wiſe and ſo prudent, ſhould ſpend 1200000 Crowns for his Pleaſure at the Marriage of a Gentleman, and not have much more in his Coffers for the publick Occaſions of his Kingdom.*

See in the ſame Hiſtorian (*e*) the extravagant Affection this Prince expreſs'd for *Maugiron* and *Quelus*, when they had fought a Duel (*f*).

(C) *He incurr'd the Hatred of the Ladies, which was very prejudicial to him.*] (*g*) ' The Ladies ' whom the Minions told all, diſcovered to the Duke ' of *Guiſe*, all the Secrets of the Cabinet, to re- ' venge themſelves of the King, whom they hated ' for certain Reaſons, not to be mention'd. Theſe are Mr. *Maimbourg*'s Words, which ſhew plainly how much the Ladies prejudiced the King; but the Reaſons of their Hatred are intelligibly enough explain'd by many Hiſtorians. See in the Margin (*h*), the Words of *Mezeray*. The Reflection related by the Author of the *News from the Republick of Learning*, is a meer Cavil. *Some Criticks*, ſays he (*i*), *have found fault with* Maimbourg *for ſaying*, That the Ladies, whom the Minions told all, *&c. They ſay, theſe Words are highly affronting to the fair Sex, becauſe they inſinuate, that Women conceive an Averſion for Men, who let them alone. Now, ſay they, if they are modeſt, what is it to them, if they are neglected? They ought ſure to be very indifferent. If they are not ſo, 'tis a manifeſt ſign they don't deſire to be modeſt. But I think my ſelf obliged to take Mr.* Maimbourg's *part, againſt theſe unjuſt Judges: I ſay then, that* (*k*) *he ſpeaks only of the Ladies that were in the Intrigues of the Duke of* Guiſe; *and 'tis not to be doubted, but that Women of that Character do violently hate, having ſuch Reaſons for it as are here to be underſtood. Conclude as much as you pleaſe, that if they were virtuous, it would be indifferent to them. Say, if you will, that this Concluſion is diſobliging. Mr.* Maimbourg *has taken ſome Precautions, in his Preface, againſt ſuch ſort of Subtilties; he declares, that he ſeeks for Truth, and not for what may pleaſe, and that if any one finds fault with it, they muſt blame the Law-makers of the Hiſtorians, who command them to tell things as they are, and not as they ought to be.*

There is too much ſubtilty in that Reflection; 'tis natural for us to be pleaſed, that our Talents ſhould not fall into Contempt. This, I ſay, is natural, tho' we deſire not to make an ill Uſe of thoſe Qualities. The Raillery is carried too far in the Voyage of Mrs. *de la Chapelle* and *Baebaumont*, upon the Subject of the Anger that is aſcribed to the Ladies of *Montpelier*, againſt the unfortunate *Daſſouci*.

(*D*) *The Dutcheſs of* (*l*) *Monpenſier reveng'd*, &c.] ' (*m*) 'Twas told the King, that the *League* deſign'd ' him no leſs a Miſchief than the making him a Monk. ' and that the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier* ſhew'd the ' Cizars wherewith ſhe deſign'd to cut off his Hair.

' The

(*n*) Tacitus Hiſtor. l. 1. cap. 49.

(*o*) Sueton. in Galba, c. 14.

(*p*) Deceſſit ſuſceptо clarior apicequam geſto. Jo. Cluverus, Epit. hiſtoriarum mundi, p. m. 308.

(*q*) Marius in poteſtatibus eo modo agitavit, ut ampliore quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Salluſt. in bello Jugurth.

(*r*) *See* Ariſtotle de morib. lib. 5. cap. 3. pag. m. 44. G.

(*ſ*) Caſſiodor. variar. lect. lib. 1. Epiſt. 4.

(*a*) Plin. Epiſt. 3. lib. 2.

(*b*) Mezeray, Hiſt. de France, vol. 3. pag. 499. 500. ad ann. 1580.

(*c*) *They were the Dukes of* Joyeuſe *and of* Epernon.

(*d*) Mezeray, ib.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 451. ad ann. 1578.

(*f*) *Maugiron was killed upon the Place; Quelus receiv'd Nineteen Wounds and liv'd 33 Days.*

(*g*) Maimbourg *Hiſtory of the League.*

(*h*) *Since the Death of the Princeſs of Conde, Henry III. had little Affection for Women, and his Venice Adventure gave him another Indiſpoſition.* Mezeray abridg. Chronol. Tom. 5. pag. 251. ad ann. 1581.

(*i*) *Month of* April, 1684. *art.* 3. *p.* 435.

(*k*) *It is ſure he means the Ladies in general.*

(*l*) *She was Siſter to the Duke of* Guiſe, *kill'd at* Blois.

(*m*) Mezeray ibid. pag. 315. ad ann. 1588.

He died the second of August, 1589, *the Day after he was wounded* ‡. I have said in another Place †, that he has been justly blamed for yielding some Towns to the Duke of *Savoy*, who had accompanied him as far as the Bridge of *Beauvoisin* in *September* (E) 1574. He had reason to repent of that Concession; for it encouraged the Son of that Duke to form some Enterprises against *France* (E△). There scarce ever was a Prince born under a more capricious Planet than that of *Henry* III. His Whimsical Fortune made him experience a Fate, not unlike that of those Children, who are first educated by a tender Mother, and afterwards by a cruel Step-Mother. The Glory of his Youth was very shining, and purchased him the Kingdom of *Poland* with eminent Honour and Renown, but that dazling Light was quickly eclipsed: He abandoned that Crown a little after, more ignominiously than he gain'd it gloriously at his Election; for what could be seen more strange and scandalous, than a Monarch running away in the Darkness of the Night, and with that Celerity from his own Dominions, as if he had been a Criminal, that perceiv'd a Provost-Marshal at his Heels? Thus it was *Henry* III. abandoned *Poland* *. If that Evasion might be excused, upon the Interest he had to make haste to succeed to an Inheritance much better than the Scepter he wore; we cannot however chuse but say, that he must be born under a very unfortunate Constellation, and *Diis iratis*, since he found himself reduced to such Extremities, as not to be able to succeed his Brother, but upon those Terms. This would always be a sign, that his Fortune mischievously led him through perplex'd and entangled Ways. The World look'd for him in himself, after his Return to *France*, but could not find him. The Duke of *Anjou* †, who had acquired so great a Reputation, was quite lost in the Person

† Mezerai, abregé Chronol. Tom. 5. p. 355.

† *In the Article* Henry II.

* *See* Thuanus *in the beginning of Book* 58.

‡ *See the Article* Mariana *Remark* I.

' The reason was, that he had offended this Widow, ' by holding some Discourse, which discovered some ' secret Faults of hers; a more unpardonable Af- ' front to the fair Sex, than that which is offered to ' their Honour. That Affront was deeply rooted in that Dutchess's Heart, if we judge of it by the Movements she made to destroy *Henry* III. ' She ' brought a good (*n*) part of the Materials from ' the Invention of her genteel Wit, and the Labour ' of her Body to build the aforesaid League; so that ' after it had been well-formed, playing at Cards ' one Day at *Primero* (for she loved Gaming) one say- ' ing to her, that she should shuffle the Cards well, she ' answered before a great deal of Company, I have ' shuffled them so well, that it's impossible to shuffle, ' or unshuffle them better. This had been well, if ' her Relations had not died, the Loss of whom, ' without being dejected at it, she undertook to re- ' venge. As soon as she heard the News in *Paris*, ' without shutting her self up in her Chamber to ' lament and mourn for them, according to the Fa- ' shion of other Women, she departed from her Palace, ' with her Brother's Children in her Hands, and ' leading them through the City, she made her La- ' mentation before the People, animating them with ' Tears and Cries, with her pitiful and moving Dis- ' course, which she made to all, to take up Arms, ' to make a violent Insurrection, and to carry their ' Insolences to the Palace, and Picture of the King, ' as hath been seen, and I hope to shew in his Life, ' to renounce all Allegiance, and on the contrary, to ' enter into an Oath of Association of Rebellion, ' which was quickly followed by his Murther; from ' which we may know who are the Men and Wo- ' men who advised it, and are guilty of it. She prevailed most with *James Clement* to kill the King. She spared nothing, nor omitted, as is said, what they call the last Favour (*o*).

(*n*) Brantome, *Gallant Ladies Tom.* 2. *pag.* 316.

(*o*) *See* Thuanus, *quoted against* Maimbourg, ubi supra p. 43.

(*a*) Millet Piguerre, John le Frere, *and he that has made the Appendix to the Annals of* France.

(*b*) *A writing Publish'd at the time that* Henry IV. *obliged the Duke of* Savoy *to do him Justice as to the Marquisate of* Saluces.

(*c*) *The first* Savoisienne *p. m.* 16.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 17. & seq.

(*E*) *In* September, 1574.] The King arrived the 5th. of *September*, 1574, at the Bridge of *Beauvoisin*, and not on the 21st. of *September*, 1575, as is said by Two or Three Historians (*a*), whom *John Aymes de Chavigny* censures, in the 224th. Page of the first Face of his *French Janus*. Thus he calls his Explication of *Nostradamus*.

(*E△*) *To form Enterprizes against* France.] The Author of the first (*b*) *Savoisienne* reports (*c*), That when *Henry III.* returning from *Poland* pass'd by *Savoy*, he was ask'd *as a recompence for a Collation*, the Towns of *Pignerol* and *Savillan*, and *that this Prince, whose only fault was too much good Nature*, granted it; that the Duke of *Savoy*, Son of him who received this noble Present, (*d*) took Advantage of the Confusions of *France* in 1588. for seeing King *Henry III. out of his Capital City*, he Invaded the Marquisate of *Saluces*; after having sent an Embassadour to the King, *with promise to Restore all into his Hands*, he Degraded, all at one Stroke, *the Officers of his Majesty, and Establish'd thereby his Ducal Authority——and at the same Instant to signify in all Places the Trophies of his Victory, he caused a Stately Piece of Money to be Coined, impress with a Centaur trampling under Foot a Crown reverst, with this device*, Opportunè. Which was to shew (*e*) he knew how to take his Opportunity. We see in the second *Savoisienne*, that after the Death of *Henry III.* he made himself Master of many Places in *Provence*; which obliged *Henry IV.* to seize *Savoy*, to bring him to Reason. Observe *that to answer him in Point of Coin* (*f*), the King caused *another to be made, wherein was seen a* Hercules *Armed after the Antick way, Trampling a Centaur under Foot, over whom he Exalted his Club with his right Hand, and with his left a Crown, which he seems to have taken up; and the Device, which as a Soul was to animate this Body, was the Word*, Oportunitas; *to shew that he knew better, how to Seize an Opportunity, and more honourably than the other; since he had employ'd Force of Arms instead of Surprizes which the other had Practised with great Ingratitude* †. This repair'd the Mischief, which the Cession of *Pignerol* had occasioned; but the fault of *Henry III.* was never the more excusable.

(*e*) *See the second* Savoisienne *p.* 109.

(*f*) Ibid. 132.

(†) *See* Paquier's *Letters concerning the two Inscriptions* Opportunè, opportunius, *Book* 19. *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 453. *&c.*

The Author of a Piece that reflects very much on the present (*g*) Duke of Savoy, has mentioned that Affair, but not without some Errors. *Henry III.* says he (*h*), *being engaged in a War against a Potent League*, Charles Emanuel (*i*), *Grandfather to his Royal Highness, did much the same as he has done at present. He conceived great hopes, for his Fortune, if he took that Opportunity of Declaring against* France, *and in the Year* 1588. *he actually joyned his Arms with those of* Henry *the Third's Enemies, and having formed a powerful Party, whereof he declar'd himself the Head, he entered into* Provence, *and by Stratagem seiz'd on the Towns of* Marseilles, *and* Arles, *and grew so Haughty by his Conquests, as to Coin Money to serve as an everlasting Monument of his Victories. He caused himself to be represented under the Emblem of a Centaur, &c.* The Author adds, that *Henry IV. carrying the War into* Italy *in the Year* 1600. *made himself Master of almost all* Savoy and Piedmont, and that *he caused a Medal to be Coined in his turn &c.* This Narration is not Exact. The Conjunction of the Forces of *Savoy*, with the Enemies of *Henry III.* was not made in the Year 1588. nor was it any more that Year, but the Year 1590, that he enter'd into *Provence*. He did not strike the Medal of the *Centaur*, when he became Master of *Marseilles*, but after the Invasion of the Marquisate of *Saluces*. *Henry IV.* did not carry the War into *Italy* in the Year 1600, and he Conquered nothing in *Piedmont*. The Author perhaps is more judicious in Political Reflections than in Narrations of Things. *Henry IV.* says he (*k*), *after the Conquest of* Savoy *and* Piedmont, *suffered himself to be wrought upon by the Entreaties of* Pope Clement VIII. *who sought to Reconcile the poor Duke to the King's Favour; tho' the Opinion, of all the Politicians of that time was, that* Henry IV. *ought to keep* Savoy *and* Piedmont *to Chastise the Rashness of that imprudent Prince, and thereby to have a free Passage to enter* Italy *whenever he thought fit. This was the Counsel of Cardinal* d'Ossat, *one of the greatest*

(*g*) *This was written in* October 1697.

(*h*) *Memoirs of Mr.* D. F. L. *concerning the Transactions in* Italy *between Victor Amadeus* II. *Duke of* Savoy *and the most Christian King, pag.* 146. *This Book was Publish'd in* 1696.

(*i*) *He should say Great Grandfather.*

(*k*) Id. ib. pag. 148. 149.

Perſon of *Henry* III. There was nothing to be ſeen in him (F) beſides the Humour of a Man-hater. See here ſome other Caprices of this Monarch's Fortune. He had a Brother who was a heavy Burthen upon his Shoulders, which his Death delivered him from; he was wonderfully joy'd at that Deliverance, which in it ſelf ought to be reckon'd a Misfortune; for what can be more odd, than to be reduced to rejoice at the Death of an only Brother? However, it would be a ſort of Advantage, if a long benefit could be reap'd from it. This *Henry* III. did not experience; for he quickly found, that the Duke of *Alençon*'s Death (G) whatever Advantage it brought with it, was more prejudicial than uſeful to him, ſince it furniſhed a Pretext for Caballing, and fomented that dangerous Faction, which ſo terribly mortified the King, and afterwards overwhelmed him. The Joy he had to be rid of the Duke of *Guiſe*, was of the ſame Nature. It laſted but a little while; he immediately found, that that great Blow to the Party, which he thought abſolutely neceſſary to his own Repoſe and Safety, plung'd him into (H) new Troubles, and mortal Diſcontents. It muſt be confeſs'd, that he

greateſt Politicians of his Age; but Henry IV. *on that occaſion ſhew'd more Generoſity than Policy, and reſtored all again to* Charles Emanuel. What would Cardinal *d'Oſſat* have ſaid of the Imprudence of *Henry III.* diveſting himſelf of *Pignerol*, ſince he blamed *Henry IV.* for quitting *Savoy* at a time that he was a hundred times more capable of reſiſting his Neighbours, than ever was his Predeceſſor? *France* had been very unhappy, if ſhe had wanted *Pignerol* when the Duke of *Savoy* entered into the Alliance with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *England*, and *Holland* in 1690. She was forced to part with it ſix Years after, which is not a little Misfortune.

(i) Du Verdier Prodigy-praiſe Tom. 3. p. 2558.

(F) *The Humour of a Man-hater.*] (i) 'At his return from *Poland* he was almoſt inacceſſible, except to three or four, and would Eat in private, 'contrary to the Cuſtom of our Kings: But it was 'not liked: wherefore being forc'd, as it were, 'by Cuſtom to Eat in Publick, he Ordered 'great Rails to be ſet round his Table, which 'are ſtill in the Hall of the *Louvre* at *Paris*, and 'theſe Verſes were made and fix'd in ſeveral Places 'of the *Louvre*.

'*Pour qu' Henry Roy des François*
'*N'en ayme que quatre ou trois,*
'*Il faut que ces trois ou quatre,*
'*Allent ſe mettre combattre.*

'He ordered, that no Body ſhould enter into his 'Chamber without a Bonnet. I imagine, that the Motive of that Order, was, *that he wore himſelf a little Bonnet* (m) *like a Child's, that had a Rent on both Sides a-croſs, and upon it a Plume of Feathers before, with ſome fine Crotchet of Stones, and a great Perrwig, which he never pulled off, not even at Church, becauſe his Head was ſhaved.* There was a great deal of Humour in all this. This will make you underſtand the Words I am going to tranſcribe. (o) *Likewiſe his Turbant ſufficiently repreſented his Infidelity, being always covered like a* Turk, *which he never put off to do Honour to Jeſus Chriſt.* This the Author of the Book, intituled, *The Martyrdom of the two Brothers*, Reproaches to Henry III.

(m) Id. ib. p. 2560.

(o) *Martyrdom of the two Brothers fol.* G. 1) *verſo.*

(G) *The Duke of* Alenſon's *Death.*] I deſire not only to ſay nothing without Proof, but every where, as much as I can, to bring the Teſtimony of Contemporary Writers; and for that Reaſon, I ſhall here agreeably inſert the Words of *Stephen Paſquier*. (a) "He (b) "had ſtill a Thorn in his Foot, which in the midſt "of Peace (c) ſeemed to ſtop the Courſe of his "Satisfaction: For though in Appearance he was "in no ill Underſtanding with his Brother the "Duke, yet he was a ſecond King, who had "his Court and his Favourites apart, ſometimes "in the City of *Tours*, ſometimes in others Towns of "his Appennage; who had his Opinions ſo remote "from thoſe of the King, that he never would ſuffer "either himſelf, or any of his Friends, to be obliged "with the Order of the Holy Ghoſt; beſides the "greatneſs of his Appennage, which took up one "good part of *France*. He had his Chamber of Accounts "in *Tours*, his Exchequer at *Alenſon*, which judged Sovereignly of the Cauſes of the Dutchy, both "Civil and Criminal. Beſides, this Prince pre-"ferr'd to the Biſhopricks and Abbies of his Appen-"nage, whom he pleaſed to be nominated to the "Pope, by the King, according to the *Concordate*: All "theſe Grandeurs turning in ſome meaſure with thoſe "of the King, might cauſe Jealouſies in his Soul, but "that he prudently diſſembled them. Now it hap-"pened, that in the Year 1583, the Duke died, and "by his Death his Appennage was united to the "Crown. They who governed the King, made "Bonfires in their Hearts; and he himſelf ſufficiently expreſs'd, how much he thought his Grandeur was encreaſt, when he writ with his own "Hand, the Regulations of it, ordering, that the "Chancellor, ſitting in Counſel, ſhould be cloathed, "with a Gown, and long Robe of Crimſon-Velvet, "and the Counſellors of State with Purple Satin, "and that his Ushers and *Valets de Chambre* ſhou'd "have Velvet-Doublets, and upon them a thick "Chain of Gold hanging from the Neck. Then "..... a long Train "of Lords that were to walk before him, when "he went to Church. Indeed, that Death at firſt "Sight promiſed him a long Repoſe, and yet it "was the Conſummation of his and *France*'s "Miſery; for if the Duke had lived, all Pretences "had been cut off from the Undertakers of the "League——Suddenly after his Death, in the "Year 1584, the Princes of the League did not doubt "to hatch the Diſcontents they had brooded, cover-"ed with the Cloak of the Catholick, Apoſtolick, "*Roman* Religion. Note, that Love-Intrigues ſow-ed the Seeds of Diſcord betwixt the Brothers (d). *They met in loving the ſame Beauties: one of their Hearts would diſlodge the other, and not bearing Partners in Love, any more than in Authority, they changed the affection of Brothers into Hatred and implacable Anger.* I leave you to conſider whether that Two-fold Jealouſy one of Love, the other of Ambition, betwixt two Brothers, the one a King, and the other a preſumptive Heir of the Crown, who had their Intellects and Morals ill enough turn'd, was not capable of giving them a prodigious Antipathy for one another (†).

(d) Matthieu and Marcel, Hiſt. of France Tom. 4. p. 602.

(H) *Plung'd him into new Troubles and mortal Diſcontents.*] Paſquier ſhall ſtill be my Commentator. *As ſoon as the Duke of* Guiſe *was Dead*, ſays he (f), *never was King ſo ſatisfied as ours, ſpeaking out, and clearly to every Body, that he had no longer a Companion, nor conſequently a Maſter; and the next Day the Death of the Cardinal was the accompliſhment of his Wiſhes. With that eaſe and ſatisfaction of Mind, he carried himſelf ſome Days, diſpatching Letters to all parts, to manifeſt the motives of that Accident, but he reap'd little profit by them. Some eight or ten Days after receiving no News from Paris, he began to revolve things in his Mind, and to abate ſomething of that exceſſive Joy. And afterwards hearing of that general Revolt he earneſtly wiſh'd that that part was to begin again.——The King by degrees began to be diſpleaſed with every thing, even with himſelf. I can Write and Deſcribe it to you as one that has been a Spectatour. Diffidence more than ever took Poſſeſſion of his Heart, as you ſhall preſently underſtand.* Paſquier at the end of theſe Words gives four or five Examples that clearly Expreſs the unſpeakeable Confuſion which this Prince was under. He had a mind to convey to the Caſtle of *Amboiſe* the People he had ordered to be Arreſted after the Death of Mrs. *de Guiſe*, (g) *and he found no Body that he durſt truſt them with but himſelf. I will tell you Frankly*, adds *Paſquier*, *that the greateſt part of us, that were at* Blois, *almoſt burſt with Indignation, to ſee the Affairs of the King in ſo bad a Poſture, as that he was forc'd to be Marſhal to his own Priſoners. Scarce was he ſtirr'd, but he received the News that the Mareſchal* d'Aumont *having abandoned the Cittadel and raiſed the*

(a) Paſquier *Lett. Book* 14. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 140. *& ſeq.*

(b) *He means* Henry III.

(c) *Which was concluded in the Year* 1577.

† I was ſo great that Henry III. ſaid, *charged the King of* Navarre *to kill the Duke of* Alenſon. *See* Perefixe *Hiſt. of* Henry *the Great p.* m. 42. *ad ann.* 1575.

(f) Paſquier ib. lib. 13. p. 61. & ſeq. Tom. 2.

(g) Id. ib. pag. 64.

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he surpass'd himself (*I*) in the Execution of the Project of the Duke of *Guise*'s Death. He express'd a great deal of Prudence and Resolution in that Action, at least much more than in former Occasions, wherein he behaved himself in such a manner, as made him despicable (*K*) to the Pope. One of the greatest Oddnesses of his Destiny was, that he equally drew on himself the Enmity of the Papists, and Huguenots. These two Parties, that are opposite in all things both in Temporals and Spirituals, were unanimous in their Aversion for this Prince. He was a Centre of Unity for those People, that in every thing else found a Subject of Division. Humanely speaking, the *Huguenots* had just Reasons to hate him, for he persecuted them without Measure; and he was look'd upon as one of the great promoters of the *Paris* Massacre, † and he Gloried in it. This joined with his Zeal for the most Monastick Devotions, ought to have purchased him the Friendship of the Ecclesiasticks, and of the most vehement Bigots of the Roman Faith, and yet he was the Object of their Hatred more than can be imagined. This is one Instance of the whimsicalness of his Fate; and here is another still. Whatever he had most Ardently Loved, at last * turned to his Ruin. What we have already said concerning the disorders, which were bred by *Henry* the Second's Prodigality, agrees better still with the Reign of *Henry III*, an infinitely more squandering Prince than his Father. So that they saw under his Reign more Imposts, more Pecuniary Edicts, and more waste of the Treasury than was ever before known in the Kingdom. The Relief had still been vastly greater, if the King had obtained leave to Alienate the Crown Lands. But the States General (*L*) would not consent to it. Let us observe that *Henry III.* who in regard to his Favourites, was not jealous of his Authority, nor

† Thuan. lib. 60. Pasqu.

* Fatale erat ut quicquid ardentius dilexerat, id ut postea pernicies aspernaretur. Id. lib. 60. Init. pag. 1.

Siege of Orleans *by the coming of the Sieur de* Mayenne, *was terrify'd with her Troops to Rebellion. . . any of his Wonted Soldiers arrived at* Blois. *Then it was we all beheld, that the conducting of these Prisoners was a studied and premeditated pretence of the King to quit the Town with less dishonour. And I assuredly say that if the Sieur de* Mayenne *had fallen upon us, the fear was so great and general, that he would have met no Resistance, and being once Master of* Blois, *all the River* Loire *had been ours, consequently all the Towns, staggered, and the King would have been wonderfully at a loss to find a Place of Refuge. God was pleased to bestow a fairer Fortune.* The Author does not name (*b*), who *first possess'd the King with the Resolution of that Murther, which proved so unfortunate, but spoke favour with him.* Some Historians tell (*c*) how this Gentleman not thinking himself safe at Court, asked the King for a place to Retreat in, in order to secure himself from the resentments of the League. This was to make the King sensible, to what a wretched Condition his Affairs were reduced to be brought; the answer that is pretended he made to *Longnac*, is not unworthy of a great Monarch. I mention it in another place (*b*).

(*I*) *In the Execution of the project of the Duke of* Guise's *Death.*] His Heart had failed him on the Day of the *Barricadoes*, he had quitted his Post to his Rival, he had made his escape from *Paris*, and left the Duke of *Guise* all the Glory of the Triumph. His Heart returned to him again at *Blois*, and there he humbled his haughty Enemy. We may apply the Words of the *Æneid* to him (*l*): *Quondam etiam victis redit in præcordia virtus, Victoresque cedunt.* And then was verified a Sentence of *Homer*, I mean the Remonstrance that *Calchas* made to *Achilles*, that a King who is in a Rage against his Inferiour, has the better of him sooner or later.

Κρείσσων (*m*) μὲν βασιλεὺς ὅτε χόλον ἐνδὸν ἐέργῃ,
Πρόφρων τε λόγου γε καὶ αὐτοῦ κήδεται λαοῦ,
Ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει νόον ὅττι κε τέλσῃ
Ἦ καὶ τὸν ἔπειτα.

Potentior enim rex quando iracundiam suo infrenat animo,
Quamvis enim iram vel eodem die deposuerit,
Tamen & posthæc retinet simultatem donec perficerit
In pectoribus suis.

I have read in many Authors, the Relation of that Exploit of *Henry III*, but I have not seen any, where the Particulars are better connected and prosecuted, than in that which Mr. *Marcel* hath inserted in the Fourth Tome (*n*) of his History of *France*. There one may see all the Exactness of the Measures that were taken to facilitate that great Blow: The King discovered a great Vigilance and Resolution, and (*o*) a Soul so much Master of it self, as carefully to observe the nicest Things, that might do hurt. Consider well the Encouragement he gave to the Secretary of State, who was to make known to the Duke of *Guise*, that the King would speak with him (*p*). "Hereupon His Majesty hearing the Duke of *Guise* "was in the Council, told Monsieur *Revol*, Secretary "of State: Revol, go and tell Monsieur de Guise, *he is* "*must come and speak with me in my Cabinet.* The "Secretary Revol refusing him Passage, he returned to "the Duke with a frighted Countenance, because a "great Person, but unacquainted. *Go tell my Lord* "King, Revol, *what thou art to* [illegible] "*be so fain? you'll spoil the Ruby of your* [illegible] "*rub your Cheeks*, Revol: *He's not alone*, [illegible] "he, *only Monsieur de Nantouillet is with him at the* "*Door, because you Mercenary* [illegible] "The King cried him from the Door in Choler, "to let him come in, and so he [illegible] "two. I will occasionally here set down what I have read in the *Journal of the Council*, [illegible] *past at* Blois *touching the Protestants*, [illegible] *the Catholick Religion, how it* [illegible] *more Pelf than the generality of the Women* [illegible] *gone.*

(*K*) *He made himself despicable to the Pope.*] See the Critical Answer to *Mambourg*, [illegible] *of Calvinism*, you (*b*) will there find two Exclamations of Scaliger. One, regretting the Calamity he attributed to the Duke of *Guise*, and the other the Simplicity he ascribed to *Henry III.* He expressed himself thereupon. Some Authors (*q*) relate, that considering one Day the Conduct of this Monarch, *I know*, [illegible] *how all that was politic for him to get out of the Conclusion of a Match, and the wrath that is possible to fall into it.*

(*L*) *The States-General would not consent to it.*] Besides what I have already said of this in the Article (*c*) of *Renau*, I shall set down here a Passage of Mr. *de Thou* (*d*). "As to the point of Alienation of the Crown-Lands——*from* [illegible] "Order of the Assembly, answered *Bellievre*, who "the King had sent there, that the common Laws "and the Fundamental-Laws of the State [illegible] "forbad that Alienation; that the Crown-Lands re"sembled the Jointure of a Wife, which could [illegible] "ther be sold nor divided by her Husband; that "they were still more Sacred than those of the Church, "because they could not be alienated for any Reason "whatsoever, even with Solemnity; that it was a "thing unheard of, that Recourse was ever had to "that means, even in the greatest Necessities of "France, and when it was in greater Danger than it "was at that time: as in the Reign of King *John*, "for whose Deliverance, so much Money, so many "Towns, and Provinces were to be given: that in a "Word, they are one of the strongest Pillars that "support the Crown, upon which Portions, Dowries, "and Appannages were founded, and therefore that "the King's Demesn ought rather to be strengthened than weakned, and raised higher, rather than be laid "lower; that as for the rest of the Third State to instantly remonstrated the Consequences of that Alie"nation, it was because whatever should be taken from "the Crown-Lands, must be all'd up again at their Ex"pence, and the whole Loss would fall upon it alone, "and not on the other two, which for that Reason did "more easily consent to it. If you will see the Limitations of the Royal Authority in that respect, read what follows

(*b*) Id. ib. pag. 65.
(*c*) *See the Article* Longnac.
(*k*) *In the same Article.*
(*l*) Virg. *Æneid*, lib. 2. v. 367.
(*m*) Homer Iliad. lib. 1. v. 80. *See also the Reason Francus of* Nostradamus *to the same* Achilles, ib. v. 275.
(*n*) Pag. 621. & Seq.
(*o*) *What the Author of the Relation says of the Disturbances wherein the King was, is not contrary to that; for they hindered not his Application and his Vigilance.*
(*p*) Marcel. *Hist. of France, tom.* 4. Pag. 631.

(*q*) Scal. Epist. 2. pag. 38. & 39.
† St. Nat. de Thou, Hist. lib. 60. Init. pag. 1.
(*d*) Thuan. lib. 60. Init. pag. 1.
(*e*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*f*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*g*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*h*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*i*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*k*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*l*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*m*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*n*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*o*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*p*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*q*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*r*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*s*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*t*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*u*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*v*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*w*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*x*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*y*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*z*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*aa*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*bb*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*cc*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*dd*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*ee*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*ff*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*gg*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*hh*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*ii*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*jj*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*kk*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*ll*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*mm*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*nn*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*oo*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*pp*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*qq*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*rr*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*ss*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*tt*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*uu*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*vv*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*ww*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*xx*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*yy*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.
(*zz*) Pasquier, Recherches of France, lib. 8. ch. 1. pag. 678.

nor aſpired to Independence (*M*), was paſſionately deſirous to augment the Royal Power.

I will ſay ſomething of his (*N*) Devotions: And I will not forget, that he was Eloquent, a Lover of Learning, and a Man that was pleaſed in hearing the Diſcourſe of Learned Perſons; but he took an unſeaſonable (*O*) Time for that, as alſo for the Pains he took in ſtudying the *Latin* Tongue.

I

(*f*) Paſquier, ubi ſupra, liv. 6. tom. 1. pag. 341.

' follows (*f*). By the Edict that was made in the ' Year 1565, at *Moulins*, where all the Princes and ' great Lords were conven'd, with abundance of ' Preſidents and Counſellors of Sovereign Courts, ' it was enacted, That all the Alienations made, or ' to be made of the Crown-Lands, ſhould be null, ' except in two Caſes, namely, for Proviſion for the ' younger Children of our Kings, and for Mortgages ' neceſſary to raiſe ſufficient Sums for the Neceſſities ' of the War: and that in theſe two Caſes, Letters-' Patents ſhould be paſt and publiſhed, in the Courts ' of Parliament, it being expreſly forbid them to ' have any regard to ſuch Letters, for any other ' Cauſe or Time whatever, though it were but for a ' ſingle Year.

(*M*) Henry III. *who in regard to his Favourites, aſpired not to Independence, was paſſionately deſirous to augment the Royal Power.*] Here are two Points: I prove the firſt, by an Obſervation that was made upon the great Intereſt of the Duke of *Epernon*, and a *Fortune* of Gilt-Silver which the City of *Rouen* (*g*) preſented him. This Goddeſs ſtrictly embraced him in her Arms (*h*), *and below were theſe* Italian *Words*, E pur non laſciar ti. *A Device grounded upon the Equivocation of his Name; to ſhew, that that Grandeur could never have a Downfall, as indeed, the Truth is, that the King having an exceſſive Favour for him, had proteſted to him heretofore, that he would make him ſo great in the midſt of his Friends, that he himſelf ſhould not have the Power to leſſen him, tho' he ſhould never have ſo much a mind to it. This Paſſage we have from the Duke of* Epernon, *in a Letter that is well endited, which he writ to the King in his Diſgrace.* They who ſay, that Kings have no love for any Body, and look upon that as a great Fault, are in a double Error; for moſt Monarchs are ſubject to an exceſs of Friendſhip, which cauſes more Diſorders than could grow from an indifferent and inſenſible Heart. See above, the Compariſon that *Bodin* has made betwixt the latter Years of *Francis* I's Reign, and the Reign of *Henry* II. See alſo the Remark *B* of this Article. It were perhaps a thing to be deſired, that Kings ſhould be like the Stoicks Wiſe Man, without Love and Hatred. 'Tis at leaſt very certain, that the too kind, affectionate, beneficent and prodigal Temper of our *Henry*, was the cauſe of infinite Miſchiefs. Let us go on to the ſecond Point.

(*g*) *When he entered* Rouen *as Governour of* Normandy.

(*h*) Paſquier, *Letters*, *Book* 13. *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 72.

The States of the Kingdom, in 1576, had reſolved to name Twelve Deputies to aſſiſt at the King's Council, when the Papers ſhould be examined, which were preſented by the Three Orders to his Majeſty. That Reſolution was diſagreeable to *Henry* III. becauſe he feared theſe Deputies of the States would hinder him from diſpoſing of Affairs to the Advantage of his Power; but when he was made ſenſible, that he would thereby have a greater Authority, he was glad that the States had taken ſuch Meaſures, and he was ſorry that they changed their Mind, and was very angry with *Bodin*, who had been the cauſe of that ſecond Thought. It will not be amiſs to hear *Thuanus* ſpeak: (*k*) *Cum Bodinus tertium ordinem, ſi ulterius pergerent, interceſſurum diceret, ſacer ordo, ac mox nobilitas acquievit, ac commune ſuffragiorum votum fuit, ne ulli delegati, qui cum regiis conſiliariis de poſtulatis decernerent, ab Ordinib. eligerentur, contrarium cum initio placuiſſet, eaque re non mediocriter Rex animo commotus eſſet, ut ſupra oſtendimus, poſtea mutaverat, à Lugdunenſi Archiepiſcopo, ut putatur, indultus, qui principi POTENTIÆ SUÆ AMPLIFICANDÆ SUPRA MODUM CUPIDO, ex quo majeſtati regiæ decrementum metuebat, ex eo incrementum acceſſurum artificioſe perſuaſerat.* The Archbiſhop of *Lions* therein made uſe of a ſtratagem of Policy.

(*k*) Thuan. lib. 63. pag. 187.

(*N*) *Something of his Devotions.*] I will make uſe of the Words of *du Verdier Vau-prias* (*a*). ' His Devotions were extraordinary, going ſometimes ' at Ten a Clock at Night, to the *Carthuſian* Monaſtery, to hear Maſs. He inſtituted the Fraternity ' of the *White Penitents*, of the *Annunciation of our* ' *Lady* in the *Auguſtins* at *Paris*, and went in Proceſſion like the reſt, with his Sack-cloth, and Whip, ' and Girdle——— He would have many other ' Societies ſet up, as that of St. *Jerome*, called *the Blew* ' *Penitents*, in the College of *Marmoutier*, that of the ' *Crucifix* of the *Black Penitents*, in the College of St. ' *Michael*, that of the *Grey Penitents* of St. *Francis*, at St. *Eloy*. He brought in the *Feuillans*, which are certain Reformiſts of the Order of *Ciſteaux*, from the ' Abbey of *Feuillance*, near *Tholouſe*, which he ' lodged in the Suburb of St. *Honore*, and went often ' thither to perform his Devotions; he had made a ' Lodging near the *Capuchins*, where on certain ' Days he went in like manner to do his Spiritual Exerciſes. Every one was Porter, and had the other Offices in their Turn, and he was call'd ' within, *Brother* Henry; and if any one askt ' for him, he muſt ask for *Brother* Henry, as if any ' Courier came there, or any other matter happened ' whilſt he was in that Conclave. He made another ' Fraternity of *Hieronimitans* at *Vicennes*, and at St. ' Mary *of wholeſome Life*. He cauſed a great and noble ' Lodging to be built in the Horſe-Market, fantaſtically ordered, with certain little Cells, that he ' might go and be there ſome Days as a Monk.

(*a*) Du Verdier ubi ſupra, pag. 2559.

This Author has Reaſon to ſay, *That* (*c*) *many have look'd upon all theſe things as Fictions*; for the Writers of the League, and others, have much traduced him upon that ſcore. I will content myſelf with relating a Paſſage, which I find in a Libel of the Leaguers (*d*). *The Dungeons built by that Hypocrite, ſerved only for a Covert to his Laſciviouſneſs, his Ordures and Sodomies*; John d'Epernon *knows ſomething of them, who cannot contradict me. The wiſeſt People have well ſaid, that it was only an Amuſement, and a Cage deſigned for other ſort of Birds, and not a Religious Simplicity, which has always been the true Motive for all Princes and honeſt Men to ſequeſter themſelves, who were not (like that ſeeming Hermit) touched at their Heart with a Spirit of Hypocriſie.* *Du Verdier* obſerves, that the Preachers, and amongſt others, *Maurice Poncet* cry'd out againſt theſe Fraternities and Proceſſions of the King. He that he names, ſeems to me the moſt furious of them all. I will relate what *Peter Matthieu* has ſaid of him, by which you will ſee, that theſe external Acts of Devotion were look'd upon only as Grimaces, without any inward Amendment. (*e*) ' On *Sunday* the 27th. of *March*, 1583, the King impriſon'd *Poncet* the Friar, ' who preached in Lent at *Notredame*, for having preach'd the *Saturday* before, too freely ' againſt this new Fraternity, calling it *the* ' *Fraternity of Hypocrites and Atheiſts*, and ' uſing theſe very Words, I have been informed from very good Hands, that laſt Night, ' which was the *Friday* of their Proceſſion, the Spit ' was turning for the Supper of thoſe fat Penitents, ' and that after having eaten good Capons, they ' had for their Night-Collation, young Virgins that ' were made ready for them. Ah wretched Hypocrites, do you mock God then under a Mask, and ' carry a Whip at your Girdle, only for a Pretence? ' 'tis not there, by God, that you ought to carry it; ' but it ought to be laid on your Backs and Shoulders, ' and you ought to be thraſhed very well with it; for ' there is not one of you but hath well deſerved it. ' For which Words the King, without deſiring otherwiſe to ſpeak to him, ſaying he was an old Fool, ' ordered him to be conducted in his Coach by the ' Captain of the Watch, into his Abbey of S. *Pere* at ' *Melun*, without doing him any other Harm, than ' the fear they put him in, that they would caſt him ' into the River.

(*c*) Id. ib. pag. 2560.

(*d*) *Martyrdom of the two Brothers*, fol. 5. edit. 1589, in *Octavo*.

(*e*) Peter Matthieu, *Hiſtory of the laſt Troubles*, p. m. 15.

(*O*) *That he was eloquent, a Lover of Learning ——but he took an unſeaſonable Time.*] *Mezeray* reports the Subſtance of the Speech which this Prince made to the States of *Blois*, in the Year 1576, and he adds: (*g*) ' that fine Oration pronounc'd by the ' Mouth of a King, with an Action that was truly ' Majeſtick, and a wonderful Grace, was received ' by all the Auditory with a general Applauſe; but ' not without ſome concern to the wiſer Part; who ' admiring

(*f*) Which was that of the Penitents

(*g*) Mezeray *Hiſtory of France*, *Tome* 3. *pages* 422. *See alſo*, *pag.* 481.

I have received two very curious Memoirs: One reſpecting the Propoſal which he had been induced to approve of (P) declaring for his Succeſſor the Eldeſt Son of the

'admiring ſo many fine external Qualities in that 'Prince, lamented within themſelves, that his Edu- 'cation had not been anſwerable to his Birth, and 'they could not praiſe the natural Beauty of his 'Genius, without deteſting at the ſame time, 'thoſe who had miſerably corrupted it. He gives 'alſo a Summary of the Speech which the ſame 'Prince made at the opening of the States of *Blois*, 'in the Year 1588. and he prepares his Reader for it by theſe Words (*h*). *He made a fine Speech, in which he obſerved this Temper, that he was very willing to aſſure them, that he would bury all paſt Injuries in Oblivion; but it was upon this Condition, that all Factions being extinct, his Authority ſhould be reſtored to its full Force; which he enlarged upon with ſo much Art and Politeneſs, that if the Queſtion had been only whether he was a good Orator, he had doubtleſs carried his Point.* I'll confirm this Elogy, with a Letter written by one of the Deputies (*i*) of the States of *Blois*, (*k*) 'I. was the 'fineſt and learneſt Speech that was ever heard, not 'only from a King, but from one of the beſt Ora- 'tors in the World, and he had ſuch Grace, ſuch 'Aſſurance, ſuch Gravity and Sweetneſs in pronoun- 'cing it, that he drew Tears from the Eyes of many 'Perſons, from which Number I cannot exempt 'my ſelf; for I found in my Soul ſuch a Commotion 'in hearing this Prince ſpeak, that my Tears 'witneſs'd it, whether I would or no: he demonſtrated 'with ſo much Compaſſion the Miſeries of the 'Kingdom, ſet forth the Trouble he was in for them 'with ſo much Vivacity; compared the Felicity, &c. It would be in vain objected to me, that his Speeches were made for him, for that will not hinder the Character of his Eloquence, conſidering the manner with which he ſpoke. They who obtain the firſt Places in Parliaments, are nevertheleſs reckoned good Orators, tho' their Diſcourſes are compoſed by others for them, which they make at the opening of their Audiences, and how many excellent Preachers are there that do not make their own Sermons? But not to ſtand upon this, let us ſet down a Paſſage of *Mezeray*, which ſhews that this Monarch ſpoke very well off-hand. (*l*) 'He made himſelf ſo eloquent 'by the natural Diſpoſition that he had for it, that 'if there could be any exceſs in ſo fine a Thing, we 'might have Reaſon to ſay, that he had too much of 'it. He wonderfully delighted in great Aſſemblies, 'and in premeditated Speeches, where it was found, 'that his Speech was always the fineſt, and that 'even the Anſwers he made without Premeditation 'to the Deputies and Embaſſadors, were (*m*) much 'better than the Diſcourſes they had prepared with 'great Art and Pains. I do not know, whether that great Hiſtorian has ever inſinuated, that this Prince's Speeches were made by any body elſe. I know indeed, that *Thuanus* relates (*n*) that Mr. *Morulillier* was thought to be the Author of that which the King pronounc'd in the States of *Blois*, in the Year 1576. But I am ſure, that if that Prince did not compoſe thoſe Pieces himſelf, he at leaſt added his own Examination, Advice, and Corrections; which I am perſwaded to believe, from what I am going to ſay. He had a great Ambition to underſtand perfectly the *French* Tongue, and to ſpeak it politely and correctly. The Pains he took in it, had all the Succeſs that could be deſired. (*o*) *Noſter Gallia Rex Henricus III, elegantiæ ſermonis ſui ſtudioſus (aliquot præſertim ante obitum annis, quo tempore plura regia quam multi credunt, habebat) haud infelici & inutili Studio, fuit. In eo enim tandem excelluit, & ita quidem ut non minus caſtigatum quàm ornatum eſſe cuperet.* He could gueſs at an Author by the Stile of a Book, by which he judged, that *Henry Stephens* was the Author of a Work that had no Name to it (*p*), and he was not miſtaken. He was heartily zealous for the Advantages of his Language, and having commanded *Henry Stephens* to ſhew the Advantages and Excellencies of it, he preſt him ſo earneſtly to compoſe that Treatiſe that he quickly after would have a Copy of in print (*q*). I have ſaid ſomewhere elſe that he deſired that Learned Man to make a Parallel betwixt the *Ciceronians* of *Italy*, and the *Ciceronians* of *France*. I have ſaid alſo that he loved *Bodin* for the Learned Diſcourſes he heard from him. There were many other Learned Perſons, whoſe Converſation he loved. Note (*r*) That in the Year 1579, he gave three thouſand Livres to *Henry Stevens*, and a Penſion of 300 Livres per Annum.

It remains for me to prove, that it was the Opinion of ſome that he employed the time on thoſe things, which ought to have been employed on more urgent Affairs. (*v*) 'If ever any Prince had reaſon to 'fear, it was (*w*) then; nevertheleſs this new 'King, as if he had enjoyed a profound Peace, 'inſtead of putting on his Arms, fell to Learn- 'ing on one Hand Grammar, and the Latin 'Tongue of *Doron*, (whom he afterwards made 'Counſellor in the Great Council) and on the o- 'ther Hand, he had a kind of Converence, and 'Academical Meeting, with *Pibrac*, *Ronſard* 'and other Wits on certain Days, wherein every 'one Diſcours'd upon ſuch a Subject, which they 'had before agreed upon. A noble and worthy 'Exerciſe indeed, but not agreeable to the Buſineſs 'this Prince had then upon his Hands. Theſe new 'Leſſons of Grammar gave me occaſion to 'vent in a Paſſion theſe ſix Latin Verſes;

'*Gallia dum paſſim civilibus occidit armis,*
'*Et cinere obruitur ſemiſepulta ſuo.*
'*Grammaticam exercet media Rex noſter in aula,*
'*Dicere jamque poteſt vir generoſus, Amo.*
'*Declinare cupit, verè declinat & ille,*
'*Rex bis qui fuerat, fit modo Grammaticus.*

Mr. *de Pibrac* having told *Paſquier* one Day (*a*) that he had heard, that (*b*) *Marillac* was the Author of that Epigram, added, *that if he was ſure of it, he would make him Repent it*; for it (*c*), does not belong *to a Subject to play in that manner upon the Manners and Deportment of his Prince.* 'That would be well enough, reply'd *Peſquier* (*d*), 'in any one's Mouth but yours, who ought to con- 'ſider that if a King, that is expoſed to the view 'of all his Subjects, does not Guide his 'Actions, it will be very difficult for him, to 'prevent the Diſcontents of thoſe, that moſt re- 'ſpect him: I'll added, that ſuch Verſes proceeded 'not from one that was an Enemy to his Majeſty, 'but rather from one who adored him, but at the 'ſame time was troubled to ſee him fall by that 'means into the Contempt of all his People, and 'that we ought all to wiſh, as the Caſe then 'ſtood, that that Epigram had fallen into the Hands 'of our King, to be an Inſtruction to him not of 'Grammar, but of what he ought to do.

(P) *Of declaring for his Succeſſor the Eldeſt Son of the Duke of* Lorrain.] *Monſieur de Schomberg* warded off that Blow: I have a manuſcript Copy (*e*) of a Memorial which he made upon that Subject, and that deſerves very well to be inſerted at length.

Memorial of the Sieur de Schomberg.

'Sometime after the Death of *Meſſieurs de Guiſe* 'which happened at *Blois*, it was propoſed by the Car- 'dinal *de*——on the part of his Holineſs, that if his 'Majeſty would declare the Marquis *du Pont* his 'Nephew, Heir of the Crown, and get him acknow- 'ledged as ſuch with all the requiſite Solemnities; 'his Holineſs was ſure that the King of *Spain* 'would give the *Infanta* in Marriage to the ſaid 'Marquiſs, which would bring all the Troubles of 'France to an end. To which the King being 'ready to conſent, by the perſwaſion of ſome who 'were then about his Majeſty, Mr. *de Schomberg* 'broke the Deſign, by theſe Arguments: That 'this would be to invert the Order of *France*, 'aboliſh the Fundamental Laws, and leave to 'Poſterity a certain Monument of its Cowar- 'diſe, and Puſillanimity for which his Ma- 'jeſty would be juſtly blamed by Hiſtorians, and 'his Servants and Subjects branded with Treachery 'and Diſloyalty, with which Vice for his part he 'would not be tainted: That that War was betwixt 'the *French* againſt the *French*, who at firſt ſhew 'ſome Heat, but afterwards of themſelves return 'to Reaſon: That his Majeſty ſhould only be Soli- 'citous to Live, and to go Fine, and to be upon 'his Guard againſt any ſeditious Villain, who in 'theſe firſt Furies might undertake ſomething a- 'gainſt his Perſon, as a preſervation againſt which 'his Majeſty ſhould Command, that a Pink'd Waſt- 'coat

(*h*) Id. ib. pag. 714.

(*i*) In 1588.

(*k*) Marcel. *Hiſt. of* France, *Tome* 4. *pag.* 602.

(*l*) Mezeray, ubi ſupra, pag 799.

(*m*) *See* Mezeray, *pag.* 801.

(*n*) Thuan. lib. 63. pag. 179.

(*o*) Henricus Stephanus Epiſt. Dedicat. tractatus de Liſſii Latinitate p. 11.

(*p*) Id. ib.

(*q*) Ita ergo dioceſtuerit, ut intra breve temporis ſpatium non ſolum compoſitum ſed excuſum etiam afferre ad illum oportuerit. Id. ib.

(*r*) La Caille Hiſt. de l'imprimerie p. 135.

(*s*) Peſquier ubi ſupra, lib. 10. Tom 2 pag. 482.

(*v*) *That is at the time of the Civil War which the Duke of* Alenſon *and the King of* Navarre *raiſed againſt him at the beginning of his Reign.*

(*a*) Id. ib. pag. 483.

(*b*) *A young Advocate of great hopes* Id. ib.

(*c*) Id. ib. p. 484.

(*d*) Id. ib.

(*e*) *It was Communicated to me by Mr.* Mallet *an Advocate of the Parliament of* Paris, *to which he has added this Note; In the firſt Edition of* Henry III *by the Sieur* de la Croix *going to* Florence, *I find that Mr.* de Schomberg *is named Counſellor of his Majeſty in his Council of State and Mareſchal of his* German *Soldiery.*

the Duke of *Lorrain*: The other respecting what the Deputy of the *League* was ordered to represent to the Pope, after the King was Assassinated by *James Clement* a *Dominican* (Q).

That execrable Murther was Committed in the Town of *St. Clou*. Some Protestant Writers have Exaggerated that Circumstance, and have found some Mysteries in it. The Fact that they Alledge will appear very uncertain, whilst they leave the Observations

'coat should be made for him that he might ordinarily wear. A thing that was resolved upon but not Executed. The *Sieur Schomberg* having then altered the Kings Opinion by the aforesaid Remonstrance, his Majesty commanded him, to tell him, by what means he might appease these popular Commotions. To which the said *Sieur Schomberg* immediately giving a satisfactory Answer, he beseech'd the King not to insist any longer on the Maxims, that he had hitherto held, and not to imagine that this Affair could be accommodated by his usual Lenity and Indulgence; that he must resolve to make himself the strongest in the Field; that for that purpose he should Countermand Mr. *de Nevers*, who was then before *Garnache*, and give a Pledge to the King of *Navarre* to with-draw himself with all his Forces, and come to his Assistance, and that he should send into *Germany*, *Italy*, *England*, *Denmark*, and to all other Potentates, to let them know the Justice of his Cause, and the Consequences of it, and desire their Succours and Assistance to raise a great Army of Foreign Forces. This Proposal was violently contradicted, especially by Mr. *de Nevers*, so far as to say that it was Heretical; and that neither the Pope, nor any of the Catholick Princes would like it to see the King of *Navarre* so near His Majesty. On the Contrary, Mr. *de Schomberg* maintained that that War did not in any sort concern Religion, but the State, and that his Majesty could not so safely depend upon any Person in the World, as the said King, as being himself interested in the preservation of the said Kingdom, with many other Reasons which he added; which had so much weight, that from that time the Treaty with the said King was set on Foot at *Blois*, and was afterwards Executed at *Tours*, where the first interview was made betwixt these two Kings. 'Tis therefore with great Reason that the Service, which the *Sieur Schomberg* did then to *France* in these two Points, particularly to the House of *Bourbon*, was very much Celebrated. It was also the King's advice, that the said *Sieur de Schomberg* should write to the President *Jeannin*, to keep Mr. *de Mayenne* to his Duty: But his Majesty having heard of the departure of the said *Sieur de Mayenne* from *Lions*, and his coming this way, the said Letter was never sent, and it is still among my Papers in *Germany*, full of excellent Reasons and Perswasions, which since have accomplish'd the Reduction of the said Duke of *Mayenne*.

(f) Intituled *The Fatality of S. Clou. It was printed in the Year 1672. The Jesuit* Maimbourg *mentions and refutes it in few words, in the History of the League, lib* 3. pag. m. 353.

(g) *The same Mr.* Marais *communicated it to me.*

(Q) *What the Deputy of the* League *was Ordered to represent to the Pope, after the King was Assassinated by* James Clement *a Dominican.*] Those Pieces cannot be too carefully preserved, which are Authentic Proofs of the Fury, most of the *French* were seiz'd with in the Reign of *Henry III.* and some Years after his Death. Some People, will endeavour hereafter to darken the Truth of these Matters of Fact: We must prevent their design; for the farther Men are from the Age, these things were Acted in, the easier it is for them to wrangle. *Henry III.* had not been a hundred years Dead, when an Anonymous Author was so bold as to Publish a (f) Treatise, maintaining that *James Clement* did not Kill that Prince, which is to deny that it is Day at Noon. You will find some convincing Circumstances against that Monk in a Writing, of which I have received a (g) Copy, which I here insert intire.

'*The Extract of what was represented to the Pope by the Commander of* Diou, *Embassadour for the Union of the Catholicks at* Rome.

'*Twas* (h) then, most Holy Father, that the Evil appeared Extreme; and that the Prayers as well of the Clergy, as of the People, continued with greater Perseverance, and we must certainly believe, that they have forced the Divine Majesty to Commiseration, which would not leave so many good Men, and so Zealous for his Holy Cause, in a longer suspence of his Goodness and Mercy; but rather deliver them from their Misery, by so great and so wonderful an Event, that; the more it is considered, the more it raises our Thoughts to the Meditation and Admiration of God's incomprehensible Judgments. 'Tis the Death of the King that happened in so strange a manner, that the truth of the thing and the impossibility, that was objected against it, were long contending which should carry it. At last the News was confirmed by many concurrent Advices, and tho' your Holiness has had the particulars of it from other Hands, I presume you will not be impatient at the Discourse which I shall make about it. A Religious of the Order of St. *Dominick* of the Convent of *Paris*, named Brother *James Clement*, of 23 or 24 years of Age, a Native of the Village of *Sorbonne*, in the Diocese of *Sens*, and the last of 300 or 400 which are in the said Convent, yet divinely elected, and chosen for so generous an Exploit, which God has done by his Hands, had often boasted (i) amongst his Brethren even after the Rout of *Senlis*, when he saw the Enemies Affairs to prosper, that the King should never Die but by his Hands, at which the rest took occasion to Laugh at him, calling him by Derision Captain *Clement*. But this did not make him alter his Opinion, but on the contrary he confirm'd himself, and persisted in the desire of executing that Design, thinking only of the means whereby he might accomplish it. In that Enterprize he must resolve upon Death; and he was willing to suffer the most cruel that could be invented for him, which is a Constancy so admirable in the Capacity of a Religious, that no Instance can be found like it in this *Age*. To bring the matter to an Issue, he found the way to get very secretly the Letters of some Politicians, and concerted with them to inform the King of what was doing in the Town to the advantage of his Affairs. He received some Words of Credence from them, and obtained from the Count *de Brienne*, Prisoner in the Castle of the *Louvre*, a Passport for a more favourable Access into the Enemies Army. Now having all that was necessary for him, to go to the King, he left *Paris* the last Day of *July*, to go to St. *Cloud*, and took leave of all the Religious †, exhorting them to put up their Prayers for him, saying that he went for the Service of God, to deliver the People from Misery, without any Hopes of returning; and he did not desire it, provided God should give him the Grace not to fail in his Design of the Event, whereof they should hear in 24 Hours. The same Day arriving at St. *Cloud's*, he could not find a means to speak to the King; and the Night past over which might give him other Counsel. The next Day being the First of *August*, he address'd himself to the Sieur *de la Guesle*, the King's *Attorny-General*, in the Court of the Parliament of *Paris*, from which he had absented himself; and giving him to understand, that he was sent intrusted with Letters from the King's good Servants, and with some Words of Credence for things of Great Importance to the Service of his Majesty: he desired to be introduced by him to Discharge his Duty. The King having notice of it, commanded the *Monk* should be brought in, and retired aside into his Closet, where he talk'd more than a Quarter of an Hour with him, and in the mean time he gave him his Letters one by one to the last; and the King asking him if that was all, the *Monk* answer'd, I believe not, Sir, and that there must be some more behind; and putting his Hand farther into his Sleeve, he drew out the Knife he had in it, striking the King in the Belly, who perceiving himself wounded, cried out, and seized the Knife in the Hand of the *Dominican*, holding it in the Wound, with which he gave the *Monk* one Blow in the Face, who at the same Instant

(h) *He had represented the Murther of the Guises, and the Revolutions that followed it.*

(i) *NOTA BENE.*

† *NOTA BENE.*

Observations of *Peter Victor Cayet* unanswered (R).

' stant receiv'd abundance more from those who ran ' in at the Cry of the King; and whilst he was thus ' massacred, 'tis said, that he spoke these Words, ' *I thank God I die such a Death, for I could not ' hope to depart this Life in such a manner, and to ' come off at such a cheap Rate.* His Body was ' thrown into the open Street, and was afterwards ' burnt, as it was reported to Mr. *de Mayenne*. Thus ' the King died, the Night after his Wounds, at ' Two a-Clock in the Morning. Your Holiness may ' observe some of the most remarkable Circumstan- ' ces of that Fact. It happen'd on a Day that the ' Church celebrates the Feast of St. *Peter in Bonds*, ' whom God miraculously delivered by his Angel, ' from the Hands of *Herod*, and from all the Expe- ' ctation of the *Jews*, to whom he was to have been ' produc'd; The Catholicks may say, that on such a ' Day God has delivered them from the Hands of ' Heretick, and from the Yoak of a Prince, who ' design'd to desolate all *Christendom*. In what Day, ' most Holy Father, could the Monitory of your ' Holiness against an impenitent King, and a Despi- ' ser of the Holy Apostolical See, be better autho- ' rised with the Power of God? When Twenty ' four Hours after the Assassination of Monsieur *de ' Guise*, the said King, in cold Blood, caused the ' Cardinal his Brother to be [illegible]; it was ob- ' served, that the Word which he gave the Mur the ' rer, was St. *Clement*. While they were commit- ' ting that execrable Crime, he was in his Closet, ' talking merry with his Matrons, and Accomplices ' of the said Murther; and God has permitted a Re- ' ligious, named *Clement* †, to kill him in his Clo- ' set, in the midst of a great Army, which could ' not secure his detestable Life. Impiety had so pos- ' sess him, after Hypocrisie had made room for it, that ' he abhorred the Preachers who had publickly re- ' proved his Vices, and for that Reason he breathed ' nothing but Ruine and Revenge against them, ' which he protested commonly in his private Dis- ' courses, wherein every one was allowed to give his ' Opinion about the Punishment that should be in- ' flicted on them; but he has been prevented in his ' Barbarous Designs, by a poor Monk of the Order ' of the preaching Friars, who has inflicted upon him ' the Divine Punishment, that others had foretold him. ' These things, most Holy Father, are in my Opini- ' on of such Consequence, as your Holiness will ' judge worthy of Consideration. It is notorious, ' that this is not the Work of Men; God has ap- ' plied that Remedy to our Evils, by the Ministry of ' your Holiness. And 'tis to be hoped, that by your ' Interposition he will effectually cure them; and ' therefore I shall make most humble Requests and ' Supplications to you, as I am ordered to do by ' Mr. *de Mayenne*, and the aforesaid Lords of the Ge- ' neral Council, and I hope they will be acceptable to ' your Holiness.

† *NOTA-BENE.*

This Memorial, not only furnishes us with invincible Proofs against those, who would deny *James Clement* to have been the Assassin, but also against all those who undertake to justify his Brethren the *Dominicans* of *Paris*. Mr. *Varillas* relates the Reasons of those wretched Apologists, and says nothing to confute them. He draws out at length all that is said in Vindication of the *Dominicans* in general, and then he speaks thus: (*b*) *But one of them, who was Father* Bernard Guyart, *has printed a Book without putting his Name to it, wherein he offers to justify the Order of St.* Dominick *as to the Murther of* Henry III. The Word *but*, at the beginning of the Period, prepares the Reader for a particular Apology for *James Clement*; no Body can imagine, that *Bernard Guyart* design'd any thing else, and yet Mr. *Varillas* speaks only of a General Justification *of the Order of St.* Dominick. Let the *Grammarians* find fault with that Historian, for placing so ill the Particles that we call *Adversatives*; I leave that to them, and am contented to censure him upon another Point. The Treatise intituled, *La Fatalité de St.* Clou, is doubtless the same Work, which according to Mr. *Varillas*, was published by *Bernard Guyart*: now the principal Drift of that Book, is to shew that *James Clement* did not kill *Henry* III. Mr. *Varillas* is therefore very much in the wrong, not to represent that Work under that Idea, but under that of a general Apology for the *Dominicans*. This Fault appears to me more excusable, than that of omitting to say, that the Book, intituled *La Fatalité de St.* Clou, ought not to hinder one from holding the general Opinion. Mr. *Maimbourg* has done his Duty, in saying, that notwithstanding that Book, *James Clement* was certainly guilty of the Parricide (*c*), and that *'tis the best way, honestly to fall in with the publick Voice, whatever Profession one may be of.* What he adds, has not so much Reason in it. *Especially*, says he, *since the Honour of the* Dominicans *does not suffer by it; for after all, Faults are personal, and there is no Man of good Sense, who would lay the Crime of a private Person to the charge of an Order so holy as that of St.* Dominick. This Discourse has nothing of Solidity; the Crime of *James Clement* was not Personal, but the whole Convent of the *Dominicans* at *Paris*, were guilty of it. They knew his design (*d*), they did not discourage him from it, but approved of the Execution. The Prior of that Convent was punish'd with Death, being fully convicted by (*e*) many Witnesses of having made an Elogy of that Assassin in the Pulpit: And since the City of *Paris*, and the Preachers especially bestowed a Thousand Benedictions and Praises upon the Monk that killed the King, and all the other Cities of the Kingdom, that were in the Interest of the *League* (*f*), and even the Pope himself extoll'd that pernicious Action; we may be assured, that the Crime of *James Clement* was the Crime of the whole *League*, and of the Court of *Rome*; for the Authors, Abettors, and Approvers of an Action, are reputed to be under the same Predicament. This is demonstrate in some other place (*g*).

(*c*) Maim. *Hist. of the League* lib. 2. pag. m. 354.

(*d*) *See above the Memorial of the Deputy of the* League *to the Court of* Rome.

(*e*) Thuan. lib. 98. pag. 348.

(*f*) Thuan. lib. 95. pag. 302.

(*g*) *In the Article* Probus.

(R) *Whilst they leave the Observations of* Peter Victor Cayet *unanswered.*] [illegible] his Words. 'The *Huguenots* say (*b*) [illegible] *this King from this World into* [illegible] *(which is a notable Circumstance) the very Chamber where he believed he should be slain, was held for the furious Massacre on St.* Bartholomew's *Day, in the Year* 1572. *These Words are to be found in the additions to the* Inventaire de l'Histoire de France, *made by* Montliard. The Book, intituled, *Recueil des 5. Roys*, printed at *Geneva*, assures us of the same thing, almost in the same Words. And in the *State of the Church*, written by *John Taffin* a Minister, are these Words. *'Tis observed, that by the Providence of God, this happened in the same Chamber, in which in the Year* 1572, *that furious Massacre on St.* Bartholomew's *Day was resolved upon.* There are some *notable Circumstances*, and some *Reflections on the Providence of God*, rashly, and I will use that Word, fallly publish'd. For at the time of the *Paris* Massacre, the Place where the King was wounded, did belong to a Citizen of *Paris*, named *Chapelain*, and he possess'd it Two Years after, into which his Majesty never entered, whilst he was Duke of *Anjou*, nor a long time after his return from *Poland*. When the Queen his Mother bought it, it was after the Death of King *Charles*, with Intention to build there; but as she found that Place was too strait, she gave it in the Year 1577, to the Wife of the Sieur *Jerome de Gondy*, who pull'd down the House, and made it quite another thing, having adorned it with Grotto's and Fountains, and put it in such a Condition, that it was since frequented by Lords and Princes; but it was not so before: Now the Compiler of the aforesaid *Recueil des cinq Roys*, from which *Montliard* and *Taffin* have taken what they have put in their Books (for he wrote before them) has these Words, *It is said, that the Council for the Massacre was held in the same Chamber.* Behold a Hear-say, invented by the Author of the aforesaid Collection. This Story of his own Invention, was put into the Memoirs, and little Discourses printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1579, concerning what happen'd at the Massacre, where 'tis said, the thing was resolved upon at St. *Clou*, and at the *Tuilleries*. (*a*) Now to find some Colour for that Calumny, the Author of the said Collection, upon the King's being kill'd in *Condy's* House, draws this Conjecture from it, and cunningly slips in this Word; *'Tis said, that in the same Chamber, &c. Montliard*, who wrote after him, goes farther; and says, *'Tis believed, &c.* 'Tis not now a meer *Hear-say*; There are some that believe it: But *Taffin* the Minister, who wrote after them all, has a greater Confidence, and affirms.

(*a*) Varilla's *History of* Henry II. lib. 11. pag. 252. Edit. *of* Hol.

(*b*) Id. ib. pag. 253.

(*b*) [illegible] Massacre, and also in 1589. fol. 224. verso.

HENRY IV. King of *France*, was one of the greateſt Princes mentioned in the Hiſtory of theſe laſt Ages, and we may ſay, that if the Love of Women (*A*) had ſuffered him to diſplay all his fine Qualities in their whole Extent, he would have ſurpaſt, or at leaſt equall'd the Heroes that are moſt admired. If the firſt time that he debaucht the Daughter or Wife of his Neighbour, he had been (*B*) puniſh'd in the ſame manner as *Peter Abelard* was, he would have been capable of maſtering all *Europe*, and would have eclipſed the Glory of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*. In vain it would be objected to me,

' firms, that it was a *Providence of God*. What a ' Lye is this! The Attorney-General having made ' his Complaint at Court againſt *Montlhard*, theſe ' Words were ſtruck out of his Book, as were a ' great many others, and he himſelf was in great ' Trouble, exalting himſelf upon a Hear-ſay; but ' his Book being ſince reprinted at *Geneva*, all this ' was again inſerted in it, and is credited amongſt ' the People of that Party. If the Facts, which *Cayet* relates about the Houſe where *Henry III.* was aſſaſſinated, be true, there is no doubt but the Proteſtant Authors whom he confutes, were much in the Wrong, and that the Myſterious Circumſtances they have taken Pains to obſerve, are meer Illuſions, and the vain Imaginations of credulous Minds. But if they had been able to prove, that *Cayet* was miſtaken, it had been a commendable thing in them to reprint in the *Geneva* Edition, what *Montlhard* had been forc'd to ſuppreſs. 'Tis certain, that according to Order, and the Method of an exact Proceeding, the Publick ought to have been acquainted in the *Geneva* Edition, why that Amendment was made; that is to ſay, it ought to have been made out by ſtrong Proofs, that the Council about the Maſſacre, was held at St. *Clou*, in the ſame Chamber where the *Dominican* killed *Henry* III. My Edition of the *Inventaire* of *John de Setres*, is (*k*) of *Rouen*, 1612. and contains the place that the Attorney-General cauſed to be ſuppreſt. Mr. *de Mezeray* ſuppoſes, that the Reflections of the *Huguenots* deſcended into a more Myſterious Enumeration of Particulars. *They wrote*, ſaith he, (*c*) *That the King was wounded at the ſame Hour, and the ſame Day, in the ſame Place, and in the very Chamber where he had concluded the* Paris *Maſſacre.* He ſays nothing againſt it, he quotes no Body, and does not imitate *Peter Cayet* in any thing. That Myſterious Obſervation is ſtrongly urg'd in a Book, intituled, *A Journal of the remarkable Things that happened in the Reign of* Henry III. *King of* France *and* Poland, and which has been printed perhaps above Twenty times in *Holland*, with Three (*d*) or Four Satyrical Pieces; the laſt Edition, is that of 1699. The Journal is more large in it, than in the Edition of 1693. Now theſe Words are found at the end of the Additions. (*e*) *The farther we ſeek for Obſervations and Particularities, in ſo* (*f*) *miraculous a Thing, the more Wonders we find in it, ſo that to Poſterity that Death will appear a Miracle full of innumerable Wonders, amongſt which this has been obſerved, as being moſt worthy of Remark, and yet moſt true, that in the ſame Place, the ſame Houſe, the ſame Day, and at the ſame Hour, &c. the King having diſpatched his Affairs as he had done when he was kill'd, the* Paris *Maſſacre was concluded on: The late King (who then was called* Monſieur) *was Preſident of the Council, viz. in the Town of St.* Clou, *in* Gondy's *Houſe, the firſt Day of* Auguſt 1572, *in the ſame Chamber, at the ſame Hour, to wit, at Eight a Clock in the Morning, the Breakfaſt (which was three Spits of Partridges) being ready for the Conſpirators of that curſed Action.* Note, That this Addition was ſuperfluous; for all that is conſiderable in it, may be ſeen in the ſame Words, in the Journal of *Henry III.* printed in (*g*) 1693, and (*h*) 1699. and I believe it is alſo in the Editions that went before.

If we could be ſure, that this Journal, ſuch as the Booksellers of *Holland* have publiſhed it, was the work of a Catholick, it would be certain, that the Reflections of the Proteſtants upon the Circumſtances of *Henry IIIs* Death, would have leſs force than thoſe of a Writer of the other Party. The Three Proteſtant Authors which *Victor Cayet* confutes, go beyond one another; the firſt was contented with a *'Tis ſaid*, the ſecond was not ſatisfied with an Expreſſion ſo weak, he ſaid, *'Tis believed*; and the third expreſſeth himſelf ſtill more poſitively. This is the ordinary Method in telling of News; the laſt that ſpeaks is generally the moſt decitive, and fuller of Circumſtances and Facts. One would think it is a ſort of an Auction, where People are to bid one higher than another, becauſe the Goods are adjudged to him that bids moſt. Be it how it will, the Journaliſt of *Henry* III. goes farther than the Three Proteſtant Out-Bidders. He delivers the Fact, not only as *moſt worthy of Remark*, but alſo as *moſt true*. But the Author *Anſelme* (*i*) will have Mr. *Servin* to be the Author of that Journal; which agrees well enough with the initial Letters which have been put in the Editions (*k*) of that Book. But Mr. *Pelliſſon* affirms (*l*) that Mr. *de l'Eſtoille*, one of the Forty Members of the *French* Academy, was the Son of an *Audiencer* of Chancery at *Paris*, who had collected many Memoirs of the Affairs of his Time, from which one of his Friends, to whom he had lent them, took the Book, intituled, *The Journal of what happened in the Reign of* Henry III. The Queſtion is, to know, whether they who handled the Manuſcript, before it was publiſhed, and after it was publiſhed the firſt Time, have neither added to, cut off, nor altered any thing in it. However it be, thoſe who depend upon that part of the Journal, are obliged to anſwer the Reaſons of *Peter Cayet*.

(*A*) *If the Love of Women had ſuffered.*] It cannot be ſaid of him, as of ſome great Commanders (*m*) that were much addicted to their Pleaſures, that he renounc'd them, when the Exigency of his Affairs required it; for he loſt all the Advantages of the Victory of *Coutras*, to run after a Miſtreſs. Read what *Mezeray* ſays (*n*). ' The Valour of the King ' of *Navarre*, more eminently ſignalized it ſelf in ' that Battle, than his Conduct in reaping the Ad' vantages of it; for ſo far was he from marching ' directly towards the Foreign Army, as the Prince ' of *Conde* would have had him, promiſing if he would ' give him Troops, to go and poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſ' ſage of *Saumur*, that he ſuffered his victorious Army ' to ſeparate, being contented to take an Oath from his ' Officers, that they would be on the 20th. of *No*' *vember*, on the Confines of *Angoumois* and *Peri*' *gord*, in order to march towards the *Reiſters*. He ' only kept 500 Horſe, and taking the Count *de* ' *Soiſſons* along with him, entred into *Gaſcogne*, ' whether the violent Love he had for the Counteſs ' (*o*) *de Guiche*, drew him as it were by Force. One of the greateſt Affairs that *Henry* IV. had ever upon his Hands, was doubtleſs the Siege of *Amiens*; and yet he took along with him the fair *Gabrielle*, and lodged her cloſe by him; and would have kept her during all that difficult Expedition, had he had his own Deſires: (*p*) *But he was quickly obliged to remove that ſcandal from his Soldiers Eyes, not only becauſe of their Murmurs, that reached his Ears, but alſo by reaſon of the Reproaches of the Marſhal de* Biron. What I have ſaid at the beginning of this Remark, that there have been great Commanders, who though much addicted to their Pleaſures, knew how to quit them when there was occaſion, is not unknown to thoſe who know the Characters of *Alcibiades* and *Sylla*. See what *Salluſt* ſaith of the latter. *Sulla* ——— *animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, ſed gloriæ cupidior, otio luxurioſo eſſe, tamen ab negotiis nunquam voluptas remorata* (*q*). See what is ſaid of *Alcibiades*. *Quum tempus poſceret, laborioſus, (Alcibiades) patiens, liberalis, ſplendidus non minus in vita, quam victu; affabilis, blandus temporibus callidiſſime inſerviens. Idem ſimul ac ſe remiſerat, nec cauſa ſuberat, quare animi laborem perferret, luxurioſus, diſſolutus, libidinoſus, intemperans reperiebatur, ut omnes admirarentur in uno homine tantam ineſſe diſſimilitudinem, tamque diverſam naturam* (*a*).

(*B*) *He had been puniſh'd in the ſame manner as* Peter Abelard.] On the contrary, you will ſay, he would have grown a Slug and a Coward; for the ſame Spirits that inclin'd him to the Love of Women, made him Valiant, and we have ſeen few Warriours, but what have been Luſcivious. I anſwer, that though it be certain, that many great Generals have been of a very amorous Complexion, yet it does

(*b*) *There is in the Title*, ſe vendent à Rouen chez Eſtienne Verel dans la Court du Palais.
(*c*) Mezeray Hiſt. de France Tom. 3. pag. m. 799.
(*d*) *The* divorce ſatirique; *the* Amours du grand Alcandre; *the* confeſſion Catholique de Sanci; diſcours merveilleux de la vie de Catherine de Medicis.
(*e*) Journal de Henri III. pag. 316. 371. edit. 1699.
(*f*) *That is*, Henry III's *Death*
(*g*) Pag. 129.
(*h*) Pag. 129.

(*i*) Anſelme hiſtoire des grands Officiers pag. 375.
(*k*) *Theſe Words are to be ſeen on the Back of the Title Page*, Journal du regne de Henry III. compoſe par M. S. A. G. A. P. D. P. *Now theſe initial Letters are very well fill'd up with theſe Words*, Monſieur Servin Avocat General au Parlement de Paris.
(*l*) Pelliſſon hiſt. de l'Academie Francoiſe p. m. 320.
(*m*) *See the end of this Rem.*
(*n*) Mezeray, abreg. Chronolog. Tom. 3. pag. 363. ad ann. 1587.
(*o*) *See the Annotation upon the* Amours du grand Alcandre n. 3. *wherein the* 101 *Book of* Thuanus's *Hiſtory is quoted. See alſo the Remarks on the Catholick Confeſſion of* Sancy, *pag.* 552. *Edit.* 1693
(*p*) Mezeray, ibid. Tom. 6. p. 170. ad ann. 1595.
(*q*) Salluſt. in bello Jugurth. p. m. 352.
(*a*) Cornel. Nepos in Alcibiade.

me, that such (BZ) a Punishment would have taken away his Courage. 'Twas his prodigious

does not follow, that their Courage and Lust had the same Principle in their Constitution; each of those two Qualities had its Cause, and all that can be said is, that these two Causes concurr'd in forming the Constitutions of these Men. But it is easie to prove, that there is no Connexion between those two Qualities. How many Cowards are there, more timorous than Hares (k) that have a prodigious Vigour in the Acts of *Venus*? Was there ever a Man more brave and undaunted than the Maréchal *de Gassion*, who hated (c) Women mortally? The Count *de Tilly*, who lived chast all his Life (d) time, was one of the greatest Commanders of the XVIIth. Century. Did not Mr. *de Turenne*, though no Debauchee, match those Thunderbolts of War, who lived at the same time with him, and whose Lewdness made almost as much noise as their Triumphs? And to say something more material, don't we know, that the brave *Sigismund Bastori*, Prince of *Transylvania*, surnamed (e) *the Invincible*, for his great Exploits, *was as great a Poltroon in the Wars of* Venus, *as he was brave in those of* Mars, and that *having confest his Impotence* (f), his Marriage with *Mary Christina*, Daughter of *Charles* Archduke of *Gratz*, *was declared null*. Some Eunuchs have been very brave Generals of Armies; for not to go so high as the famous *Narses*, who lived under the Empire of *Justin* II, in the VIth. Century, do not we know, that one of the most valiant Generals of *Solyman*, was an Eunuch (g). He was not fortunate, I confess, in the Expedition of *Hungary*, in the Year 1550, and he died with Vexation, for not having maintained his Reputation, nor answered the Publick Expectation: But for all that, he had a great Courage, and his mortal Chagrin was a proof of it. See *Thuanus*, who tells a pleasant Humour of that Eunuch, when a piece of ill News was brought him; it was the taking of *Gran*. A great matter indeed, answered he to the Messenger; that is a small thing; behold here my great Lots, shewing him the lower Region of his Belly. *Ejus rei cum trepidus nuncius ad eum venisset, ipsa vultus consternatione magnum aliquod malum professus, purpuratus non sine circumstantium risu consternationi nuntii illudens, & Strigonii, quod nullo negotio recuperari posset, amissionem elevans; his verbis eum excepisse dicitur. Quam tu mihi cladem ingentem, fatue, quod tantum incommodum narras? ea demum mihi clades deplorandæ contigit, cum hinc (genitalium sedem ostentans) ea membra ademta sunt, quibus vir eram* (i). Let us conclude from all this, that if *Henry* IV. had been treated as *Abelard*, he would have lost nothing, either of his Courage, Prudence, or Wit. *Origen*, *Photius*, and *Abelard*, are a manifest Proof, that the loss of the Masculine Organs doth not in the least prejudice the natural Talents of the Soul.

(BZ) *That such a Punishment would have taken away his Courage.*] You will find in the preceding Remark, the Commentary or Proof, that this may require. However, I will add, by way of *appendix*, the following Observations. Was not *Annibal* one of the greatest Generals of Antiquity, a chast Man? (k) *Constat Annibalem——pudicitiam tantam inter tot captivas habuisse, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret.* We don't find, that *Scipio Africanus* was of a very amorous Constitution, and he gave a notable Example of his Chastity, in his Expedition in *Spain*; for which, (l) he is extremely praised by Historians. *Drusus*, the Brother of the Emperor *Tiberius*, and one of the greatest Commanders among the Ancients, was extremely reserved in respect to Women. The Bravery of the Emperor *Aurelian* was incomparable, and yet attended with the greatest Chastity. We should injure him, should we make the least Comparison betwixt his Bravery, and that of the Lascivious *Proculus*, who set up for a Tyrant; a Letter of whom *Flavius Vopiscus* has preserv'd us, which I shall carefully avoid Translating (n). *Tacendum non est, quod & ipse gloriatur in quadam sua epistola, quam infam melius est ponere quam de ea plurimum dicere.* Proculus Metiano affini S. D. Centum ex Sarmatia virgines cepi. Ex his una nocte decem inivi: omnes tamen quod in me erat, mulieres intra dies xv. reddidi. *Gloriatur (ut vides) rem ineptam & fatis libidinosam; atque inter fortes se habere credit si criminum densitate confecerit. Hic tamen quum etiam post honores militares se improbe & libidinose, tamen fortiter ageret——in imperium vocitatus est.* You see by this, that he was owned to be a good Soldier, but once more, his had not a Valour that came next that of *Aurelian*. What shall we say of *Alexander*, whose Courage was extraordinary? More Praises have been bestowed upon his Chastity, than he deserved; yet it must be confess'd, that by his Constitution he had more Indifference than Inclination for the fair Sex; which is enough to confute those who imagine I know not what Mechanical Connexion betwixt Lust and Valour. To the modern Examples (o) already alledged, I add one of a brave Man, who lived in the XVI. Century, and who deserved the Title of *Knight without Fear, and without Blame*. It will be easily understood, that I mean *Bayard*. Love never was his Master, but he was Master of it on some dangerous Occasions. See his Life. What a Catalogue might I not give, if I would reckon up all that have resembled *Sardanapalus*, Men that were only valiant in Bed, but Cowards and Poltroons every where else? Were *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Heliogabalus*, great Warriours? Did not they with the most infamous Excesses, plunge themselves into shameful Debaucheries? Was even *Domitian* (who was the Author of a new Name (p) for their base Exercises, wherein he signalized his Strength) reckoned for a good Soldier, or a good Commander? Those Sparks that were call'd formerly *Mignons de Couchette*, did sometimes pretend to make a Campaign, in order to avoid the Contempt to which the Suspicion of Cowardise exposed them with the brave; but they acquitted themselves so ill, that we may apply to them with a great deal of Reason, what *Jupiter* answered *Venus*, when she complained to him of the Wound she had received in an affisting her Son *Æneas* in a Battle. Do not you pretend to War, which is not your Province; your Business is Love.

Οὐ σοὶ (q) τ' αὖτ' ἐστὶν ἀρηϊφίλητος ἀοιδή·
Ἀλλὰ σὺ ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο δῶρα γάμοιο.

Non tibi filia mea commissa sunt bellica opera;
Quin tu desiderabilia ubi munera nuptiarum.

Helena gives *Paris* the like Advice, as I have observed in another Place, where I confute Mr. *de Mezeray*. That Historian fancies, that the Ladies love brave Men, because they suppose them no less vigorous in the Exercise of Love, than in War. He does not well know their Motives; Glory or Vanity are the great Spring of their Prepossession in behalf of the Brave. *Monluc* observes, that Women had rather be Widows, than see their Husbands return from the Army in good Health, but loaded with Shame and Dishonour. 'Tis plain, that Lust has no Share in that, and since this is a new Proof against *Mezeray*, I shall set down *Monluc*'s Words. He speaks to the Governours of a Place, and shews the Prejudice they will do themselves, if they do not defend it well. *Not only your Master*, continues he (s), *and Princes and Lords, will look upon you with an evil Eye, but also Women and Children. Nay, your own Wife, tho' she pretends to love you, will hate you, and esteem you less in her Heart. For 'tis the Nature of all Women to hate Mortally Cowards and Poltroons, tho' they be never so spruce Gallants. And they love the bold and courageous, tho' they be never so ugly and deformed. They partake of your Disgrace; and tho' whilst they are in your arms a-Bed, they pretend to be pleased with your Return; they had rather you had been strangled, or that a Bullet had taken you off. For as we think, that the greatest Shame of a Man is to have a Whore to his Wife; so the Women think, that their greatest Shame is to have Cowards for their Husbands. See then how you will come off, Mr. Governour, if you lose your Post, you will be curst in your own Bed for it.*

(k) *This Comparison puts me in mind, that there is no Creature more fearful, and more lascivious than a Hare.*
(c) *See his Life in the 4th. Tom. pag. 329. &. seq.*
(d) Veneris vinique expertem tota ætate se fuisse jactaverat. Puffendorf rerum Suecicarum lib. 4. p. 64. col. 2. *See also* Blanc hist. de Raviere, tom 4. pag. 381.
(e) Discours historique & politique sur les causes de la guerre de Hongrie, Cologne 1666. pag. 264.
(f) Ibid.
(g) Erat Halis eunuchus, sed corporis defectum animo pensabat: de cæteros statura brevi, sufflato corpore, colore buxeo, subtristi vultu, torvis oculis, & inter latos & eminentes humeros depresso capite, ac prominentibus ex ore duobus veluti aprugnis dentibus deformis. Thuanus lib. 17. p. 361. (h) Fractus ac inglorius Budam se contulit, ubi dux, qui tantam de se initio expectationem excitaverat, dolore atque ignominia expeditionis inauspicatæ invisam vitam cum morte commutavit. Id. ibid. (k) Justin. lib. 32. sub fin. (l) Livius lib. 26. sub fin. Valer. Maximus lib. 4. cap. 3. n. 1.

(n) Flavius Vopiscus in Proculo p. m. 736. tom. 2.
(o) *In the foregoing Remark.*
(f) Libidinis magis affluentem concubitus velut exercitationis genus Clinopalen Domit. vocaba, in Sueton. cap. 22.
(q) Homer. il. lib. 5. v. 428.
(s) Monluc comment. Book 3. pag. m. 500, 501.

prodigious (C) Incontinence, that hindered him from making himself as great as he might have done; but notwithstanding that Obstacle, he has justly deserved the Sirname * which he bears. To convince us whereof, we need only consider the astonishing Difficulties he surmounted, before he was settled on the Throne; and the flourishing Condition to which he restored his Kingdom, which he found in the most dismal Desolation that can be imagined. He inherited that Crown in a very remote Degree (D) of Relation. We should probably better know, and admire more his Merit, if he had lived Five or Six Years longer than he did; for he was just upon the Point of entring upon the Execution of a prodigious † Design, when he was killed in his Coach the 14th. of *May*, 1610, by *Ravaillac*. Some Historians say, that this was foretold him (E) the Day before; but those who have examined the matter to the bottom, have proved it false. He was so generous, that there is no Probability that

*He is stiled Henry the Great.

† See his History ad annum 1610. Written by Hardouin de Perefixe.

(C) *It was his prodigious Incontinence.*] I may well call it so, after the Stories *D'Aubigne* has published of him, especially after these Words of a very grave Historian (a). 'If History made Apologies, it might 'justifie him from the greatest part of these Reproaches, but not however from the Passion he had 'for Gaming . . . . . , much less could it excuse him for his Lewdness with Women, which 'was so Publick and Universal, from his Youth to 'his last Days, that we know not how to give it 'the Name of Love or Gallantry. Mr. *de Perefixe* tells us something that is very strange. (b) *It were to be wisht for the Honour of his Memory, that Gaming had been his only Fault. But his continual Love of the Fair Sex was another, much more blameable in a Christian Prince, in a Man of his Age, who was married, and whom God had so highly favoured, and who meditated in his Mind so great Undertakings. Sometimes he had Desires that were transient, and that stuck by him but for a Night; but when he met with Beauties that struck him to the Heart, he loved them extravagantly, and in those Fits and Transports, he appeared to be nothing less than* Henry the Great. *We are told, that* Hercules *took a Distaff, and Spun to please his fair* Omphale; Henry *did something meaner for his Mistresses. He dress'd himself one Day in the Habit of a Peasant, and carried a Burthen of Straw upon his Shoulders, to be able to accost Madam* Gabrielle; *and 'tis said the Marchioness of* Verneuil *has seen him more than once at her Feet, suffering her Disdains and Insults.* It must have been a cruel Mortification to the good *Huguenots*, to see their Chief lead so scandalous a Life, even in *Rochel*. He debauch'd there, the Daughter of a Magistrate of the Long Robe, and had a Son by her. (c) *The Church had often shewn him the greatness of his Fault, which he confest very ingenuously; but he would not be perswaded to make a publick Acknowledgment of it, till a little before the Battle of* Coutras. You will find the Circumstances of this, in the (d) Life of Mr. *du Plessis Mornai*.

(a) Mezeray ibid. pag. 392.

(b) Perefixe, hist. de Henri le Grand, p. m. 461. 462. ad ann. 1609.

(c) Vie de du Plessis Mornai, pag. 108.

(d) Ubi supra.

(D) *In a very remote Degree of Relation.*] It was '(e) doubtless an uncommon good Fortune, that the 'Crown of *France* devolved to him: There was never a more remote Succession in any Hereditary 'State than this: For there were Ten or Twelve Degrees of Distance betwixt *Henry* III. and him, 'and when he was born, there were Nine Princes of 'the Blood before him; namely, King *Henry* II. and 'his Five Sons; *Antony*, King of *Navarre* his Father, and his Two Sons, that were elder Brothers 'to our *Henry*. All these Princes died to make 'way for him to the Crown.

(e) Perefixe, hist. de Henri le Grand, p. m. 514.

(E) *This was fore-told him the Day before.*] We will begin this Remark with the Words of *Peter Matthieu* (f). 'Hereupon *Brosse*, a Learned Physician and Mathematician, said to the Duke of *Vendosme*, pursuing a large Discourse, that if the King 'could avoid an Accident wherewith he was threatned, he would live Thirty Years longer. No Body 'is willing to tell Kings any thing that may displease them: The Duke of *Vendosme* thinking it more proper that *la Brosse* should be the Messenger of his Advice, besought the King to hear him: The King 'ask'd him what he would have? At that Word 'the Duke of *Vendosme* was silent, his Silence increasing the King's Desire to know it, he press'd him, 'the other excus'd himself: At last, the King's 'Command drew from his Mouth what *la Brosse* had 'told him. You are a Fool, says the King, you 'believe him: Sir, answered the Duke of *Vendosme*, in these Cases, Credulity is a Fault, but not Fear; the Safety of your Majesty obliges every 'Body, and me more than all the rest, to make light 'of nothing: I most humbly beseech you to be 'pleased to hear him. The King refused it, and 'forbad him to speak of it: I can't, at least, says the Duke, but tell the Queen of it. The King reply'd to him twice, that if he mentioned it, he would never love him more. And so *la Brosse* was sent away. I have this Discourse Word for Word 'from the Duke of *Vendosme*. This is very positive; but here follows something that is no less so, which yet overthrows this Narrative of *Peter Matthieu*. *So true it is,* 'tis *a* (g) Philosopher who speaks, *that most Historians are Credulous and Lyars, and thereby they always confirm People in their Belief of Prognostications, when they report these Stories without confuting them. But without going farther, why should not the Antients have done it, when we often see it practised in our own Time? Has not one of our Historians, speaking of the Death of our* Henry the Great, *said, that being advised of it by a Prince that is yet alive, (whom it is not necessary to name) the Day before that Misfortune happened. his Majesty slighting the Information, answered him, that* la Brosse *was an old Fool of an Astrologer, &c. Which I being desirous to learn from the Mouth of this Prince above Thirty Years ago, in the Presence of a* (1) *Princess of great Worth, he did me the Honour to tell me, that it was false. And within these two Days only to be farther informed of it, and that I might publish nothing of that Consequence without being very sure of it, I had the Honour to speak to him about it again* (2) *in the Presence of many Persons of his Family, and he confirmed to me the same thing, adding besides, that the Historian* (3) *had confounded Times and Things; and that* la Brosse *had indeed told him, after that fatal Accident, that he had foreseen it by his Majesty's Horoscope, (as Astrologers always do when Things are come to pass) but that he had not given him Notice of it the Day before to acquaint his Majesty with it. This however is written by a French Author, who lived at the same time; who will not believe him then for the future? Will any one think, that a Man appointed and paid for writing History, durst say a thing of this Consequence, and even to a Prince then living who could witness it, if it were not true? And yet it is as I say. If any one doubts of it, he may inform himself, and I am not sorry that I have an Occasion here to mention it, as well to undeceive Posterity, as to shew that, there are a great many things of this Nature written, which deserve no sort of Credit.* Observe, that Mr. *Petit* doth not relate this altogether so faithfully as he should have done. He supposes that the Historian makes the King give this Answer, *La Brosse is an old Fool of an Astrologer*; but the Historian says not this; for according to him, it was to the Duke of *Vendome* that the King said, *You are a Fool.*

(f) Relation de la mort de Henri IV. p. m. 24.

(g) Pierre Petit. Intendant des fortifications, dissertation sur les Cometes, pag. 89.

(1) M. de Vandome.

(2) M. de Chevreuse

(3) Matthieu.

Let us produce a second Witness, with the Confutation of what he says. (h) "The Evening of the 'same Coronation, *la Brosse* an excellent Physician 'and Mathematician, said to the Duke of *Vendome*, 'that if the King could avoid a dangerous Accident, 'which threatned him, near at Hand, he would 'live Thirty Years longer, and desired him to 'bring him to his Majesty: But the King understanding what Subject he design'd to discourse upon, 'would neither see nor hear *la Brosse*. The Confutation of this, is contained in the Words of Mathieu. *Tis said that* la Brosse *desired to speak with the King; but if he had done it, the Answer that* Du Plein *has invented had been true, that the King would have scorned to speak with him, for he looks upon him as a Fool.* We find in

(h) Du Pleix, hist. de Henri IV. pag. 411.

(i) Remarques sur Du Pleix, pag. 172.

that he ever advised the Duke of *Alençon* to get rid (*F*) of *Catherine de Medicis*; yet some Memoirs affirm it. He had the usual Fate of great Men, which was to be unfortunate in his Family. The two Wives that he successively married, the latter in the former's Life-Time, gave him a Thousand (*G*) Discontents. He deserved it, since he had so little regard to the Sacred Laws of Marriage. His Second Wife was one of those † Princesses, against whom he had raised Objections in examining with *Rosni*, what sort of a Wife was proper for him. His Notions about Marriage (*H*) are very Curious, and there are scarce any Discourses more solid and more pleasant than that which he had upon that Subject. It plainly appear'd, that Religion was only a false Pretence of the *League*, and of the King of *Spain*; this, I say, plainly appear'd, from the Endeavours that were used to hinder the Pope from giving him Absolution. I have related in another Place [a] the pleasant Humour of *d'Aubigne*, about the Strokes of a Switch, which the

† See the Remark H.

[a] In the Article Rotero, Remark B.

in a Discourse upon the Death of *Henry* IV. printed at the end of the Memoirs of the Duke of *Nevers*, that the Duke of *Vendome* told several Persons, that *la Brosse* did not speak with him about it.

(*F*) *To get rid of* Catherine de Medicis.] Mr. *le Laboureur* (*a*) relates how this Queen, seeing *Charles* IX. near his end, was in fear lest the Duke of *Alençon* should be advised to pretend to Authority, and even to the Crown, to the prejudice of her Brother the King of *Poland*. She contrived upon this a former Design of a Conspiracy, which might give her Occasion to secure his Person, as also that of the King of *Navarre*: She sent them under a good Guard to *Bois de Vincennes*, till the King's Death, without declaring them Prisoners; in the mean time, she spread abroad the Noise of that Conspiracy, for which she caused the Marshals *de Montmorenci* and *de Cosse* to be arrested, and in order to remove all Occasions of doubting of it, she sacrificed to the Interest of State, two Favourites of the Duke *la Molle* and *Coconnas*——The Duke of *Alençon* himself betray'd his Cause, and his Companions, in the fear he was in; and he that kept up best the Character of an oppress King, who would not debase himself, was *Henry IV.* then King of *Navarre*. Not but that he feared he was undone, and it was with that Perswasion, as I have learnt from some Memoirs, that he was accused of having advised *Monsieur* to pretend to be sick, to oblige the Queen to come and see him, and under Pretence of having both something to say to her in particular, to cause her Retinue to withdraw, that they might strangle her. His Reasons for it were, their own Safety, the Opportunity of the King's Death, who was ready to expire, the Credit that time would afford to their Friends, and that the same Policy which made her renounce the Laws of Nature, to destroy her own Son, and her Son-in-Law, dispensed them, upon a stronger Motive than that of reigning, from abhorring an Action, which would preserve to the State two Princes that were necessary to it, by the Death of a Woman who disturbed the Peace, and caused the Ruin of it. He had neither the Courage to do it, nor the Discretion to conceal it some time after, which was the Reason of the mortal and implacable Hatred of *Catherine de Medicis*, against the King of *Navarre*; and therefore she did not scruple to have a hand in the Conspiracy against her own Son *Henry* III. and to embroil the State, when she saw that he had no Children, that she might hinder *Henry* IV. from succeeding him, and substitute in his room, *Henry* Duke of *Lorrain* her Grandson by her Daughter. According to these Memoirs, *Henry* IV. design'd to be one of the Murtherers of the Queen-Mother.

(*a*) Le Laboureur, Additions aux Memoires de Chastelnau, Tom. 2. pag. 381

(*G*) *Gave him a Thousand Discontents.*] There's no need of proving this with relation to *Margaret de Valois*. I will only allege the Proof respecting *Mary de Medicis* (*b*). 'The high Esteem and Affection 'the *French* had for him, prevented their being so 'much offended with his scandalous way of Living; 'but the Queen his Wife was extreamly disturbed 'about it, which occasion'd daily Bickerings be'twixt them, and made her disdainful and ill hu'mour'd. The Discontent and Uneasiness of these 'Domestick Quarrels, no doubt retarded the Ex'ecution of the great Design he had formed for the 'perpetual Happiness and Repose of *Christendom*, and 'for the Destruction of the Ottoman Power.

(*b*) Perefixe, hist. de Henri le Grand, p. m. 463. ad ann. 1609.

(*H*) *His Notions about Marriage are very Curious.*] I have a very long Passage to write, which yet I am confident will seem short to some curious Readers; for it contains a kind of a Censure upon many Princesses, and some very solid Thoughts of *Henry* IV. about the Choice of a Wife. Here is what he said to *Roni* his Favourite (*d*). 'So that nothing more 'seems wanting to the Accomplishment of this De'sign, but to see whether I can get another Wife, so 'well qualified, that I may not be exposed to the 'greatest Misfortune of this Life, which is (in my 'Opinion) to have an ugly, ill-humour'd, and quar'relsome Wife, instead of that Ease, Repose and 'Satisfaction I should propose to my self in that 'Condition. If a Wife could be had according to 'one's Wishes, that I might have no Cause to repent 'of so hazardous a Bargain, mine should be endowed, 'amongst other good Qualities, with these Seven; 'namely, Beauty in her Person, Chastity in her 'Life, Complaisance in her Humour, Ingenuity of 'Mind, Fruitfulness of Body, Eminence of Birth, 'and great Estate in Possession. But I believe, my 'Friend, that this Woman is dead, or rather she is 'not yet born, nor ready to be born, and therefore, 'let us consider a little, what Maids or Wo'men, which we have heard of, would be fit for me, 'either within or without the Kingdom. And for'asmuch as I have, in my Opinion, thought of it 'more than you, I will tell you briefly, that I could 'content my self with the Infanta of *Spain*, as old 'and ugly as she is, provided I could marry with her 'the *Low-Countries*, tho' it should be upon Condi'tion of restoring to you the County of *Bretune*; 'neither would I refuse the Princess *Rebella* (*e*) 'of *England*, if she was only declar'd Presumptive 'Heiress of the Kingdom, which is said to belong 'to her; but I must not expect either the one or 'the other, for the King of *Spain* and the Queen of '*England* are very far from having such a Design. 'Sometimes I have heard mentioned some Princesses 'of *Germany*, whose Names I do not remember; but 'the Women of that Climate would never agree with 'me; and I believe, if I had married one of them, 'I must always have a Barrel of Wine by my Bed'side; besides, I have heard there was once a Queen 'of *France* of that Nation, who almost ruined the 'Kingdom. So that all these Considerations dis'gust me. Some have also spoke to me of some 'Sisters of Prince *Maurice*, but besides that they are 'all Huguenots, and that such a Match might make 'me suspected at *Rome*, and amongst the Zealous Ca'tholicks, and that their Mother was a Nun, and 'something else, which I'll tell you another time: I 'can have no Thoughts of it. The Duke of *Flo'rence* has a Niece, which they say is very hand'some; but being one of the least Families of *Chri'stendom* that bear the Name of a Prince, and it be'ing but 60 or 80 Years since his Predecessors were 'only some of the most Illustrious Citizens of *Flo'rence*, and of the same Race with *Catherine* the 'Queen-Mother, who has been so mischievous to 'France, and more to me in particular, I am appre'hensive of such a Match, lest it should prove pre'judicial to me, my Friends and my Kingdom. 'There are all the Foreign Women which I think I 'have heard of. As to those within the Kingdom, 'my Niece of *Guise* is one of those that would 'please me best, notwithstanding the Report that 'some malicious People have spread, that she is 'a little Wanton; but as to my own Humour, be'sides that I believe it to be false, I had rather have 'a Wife given to Gallantry, than one that 'should prove ill-humour'd; of which she is not 'suspected: On the contrary, she is of a very 'sweet

(*d*) Memoires de Sully Tom. 2. pag. 112. edit. de Holland in 12.

(*e*) I give it the Word as I find it in my Edition.

which the Proxies of that Prince received, when he was abſolved at *Rome*. I will ſay ſomething (*I*) of it again.

HENRY IV. was born at *Pau* in *Bearn*, the 13th. of *December*, 1553. [b] *Anthony de Bourbon* his Father, and *Jane d'Albret* his Mother brought him to the Court of *France* when he was Five Years old; *but they ſtay'd there but a few Months, and return'd to* Bearn [c]. *Antony* came again to Court after the Death of *Henry* II. He was *declar'd Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom* after *Francis* II's Death. He order'd the Queen his Wife, and the Prince his Son to come to him. He died of a Wound which he received at *Rouen* in the Year 1562. and then his Wife whom he had (*K*) ill-us'd [d], *return'd to* Bearn, *where ſhe openly profeſs'd* Calviniſm. She left her Son at the Court of *France*, *under the Conduct of a prudent Tutor, named* la Gaucherie. She ſent for him to *Pau* in the Year 1566 [e], and put Florent Chreſtien *in the Room of* la Gaucherie *deceaſed*. This new Preceptor, a good Huguenot, brought up the Prince in the Proteſtant Doctrin: *Jane d'Albret* declar'd her ſelf their Protectreſs in the Year 1569, and † came with that Intent to Rochel *with her Son, whom ſhe from that time devoted to the Defence of this New Religion. In that Quality he was declar'd Chief of the Party, and his Uncle the Prince of* Conde *his Lieutenant, with Admiral* Coligny. He was in the Army ‡ at the Battle of *Moncontour, and was eager to be in the Action, but he was not ſuffered, for fear of Hazarding his Perſon.* He followed the Army from that time, to the Peace which was concluded the 11th. of *Auguſt*, 1570, and then he return'd to *Bearn*. His Marriage with Princeſs *Margaret*, Siſter to *Charles* IX. was celebrated at *Paris* in *Auguſt* 1572. His Mother arrived there ſome Months before, to make Preparations for the Wedding, and died there as her Son was coming. He took upon him the Title of King, when he received in *Poictou* the News of her Death. All the World knows, that the Maſſacre was committed a few Days after the Wedding of this New King; and that this Prince ſeeing himſelf reduc'd to chooſe to die, or to go to Maſs, choſe the latter. The Anſwers that ſome Authors aſcribe to him, are only (*L*) Fancies of their own Brain, and ſome Inſtances of their deſiring to make the beſt Advantage of their Reading. He was obliged againſt his Will to ſtay ſome Years at the Court of *France*: He knew very well how to diſſemble his Grief, and he often drove it away, by the help of ſome Gallantry,

[b] Perefixe, hiſt. de Henri le Grand, pag. m 15.
[c] Id. ib. pag. 20.
[d] Id. ib. pag. 22.
[e] Id. ib. pag. 23.
† Id. ib. pag. 24.
‡ Id. ib. pag. 25.
[f] Id. ib. pag. 29.

ſweet and agreeable Humour, and of a Complaiſant Converſation, and of a good Family, handſome, well, and likely to have quickly fine Children. I fear only the too great Paſſion ſhe expreſſes for her Family, eſpecially for her Brothers, who might poſſeſs her with Deſires of raiſing them to my Prejudice, and more ſtill to that of my Children, if ever the Regency of the State ſhould fall into her Hands——There are alſo two Daughters of the Houſe of *Mayne*, the eldeſt of which, as ugly as ſhe is, would not diſpleaſe me, being modeſt and well educated; but they are too Young. There are two in the Family of *Aumalle*, and three in that of *Longueville*, which are not contemptible for their Perſons, but other Reaſons hinder me from thinking of them. So much for Princeſſes. You have beſides a Daughter of the Houſe of *Luxemburg*, one of the Houſe of *Guimene*, and my Couſin *Catherine de Rohan*; but ſhe is a Huguenot, and the others do not pleaſe me; and then the Daughter of my Couſin the Princeſs of *Conty*, of the Houſe of *Luce*, who is a very fine young Lady, and well bred, who would pleaſe me beſt if ſhe was ſomewhat older. But tho' they ſhould all pleaſe me, as far as I can know them, who can aſſure me, that I ſhall meet with the three principal Qualities which I deſire in a Woman, and without which I would not marry; namely, that I ſhall have Male Children by them, that they ſhall be of a ſweet and complaiſant Humour, and ſufficiently qualified to help me in Sedentary Affairs, and to govern my Kingdom and my Children well, if I ſhould happen to die before they come to Age, as this is like to happen, if I marry at this Age. You anſwered him, May it pleaſe your Majeſty, what do you mean with ſo many Affirmatives and Negatives? From which I can conclude only, that you are deſirous to be married, but that there are no Women to be found that are fit for you; at this rate we ſhould implore the Aſſiſtance of Heaven to make young again the Queen of *England*, and raiſe from the dead *Margaret* of *Flanders*, Mademoiſelle de *Bourgogne*, *Jane la Loca*, *Anne* of *Bretagne*, and *Mary Stuart*, all rich Heireſſes, that you might take your choice of them. For according to the Humour that you have expreſt, ſpeaking of *Clara Eugenia*, you would like ſome of thoſe Ladies who poſſeſs'd ſo great Eſtates. But laying aſide all theſe Impoſſibilities and vain Imaginations, let us conſider a little what is to be done, *&c.*

Roni's *Anſwer to the King's Diſcourſe*.

(*I*) *I will ſay ſomething of the Strokes of a Switch.*] I will make uſe of the Words of a Walloon Miniſter. (*a*) *The Pſalm* Miſerere *was ſung at the Reconciliation of* Henry the Great, *where* du Perron *and* d'Oſſat *proſtrated all along on their Faces, repreſenting the King of* France, *in the Preſence of the Pope, and the Conſiſtory, received in the King's ſtead his Penance decreed by the Holy See, which was to adjuſt to every Verſe, a Stroke of a Switch, over Head, Shoulders and Back, down to the Feet, from the beginning of the* Pſalm *to the end.* Du Perron *in his Letters, fol.* 172. *Shews the Verbal Proceſs of the Abſolution of the King by Pope* Clement *VIII*—— d'Oſſat *his Companion in the Royal Penance, ſhews how gentle it was.* In the Inſtruction of (*b*) the Inquiſition, there was this Hyperbolical Expreſſion, when the Singers ſung *miſerere mei*, the Pope at every Verſe *verberabat & percutiebat humeros procuratorum cujuſlibet ipſorum virga, quam in manibus tenebat.* 'Twas a Ceremony we no more felt, than we could have felt a Fly creeping upon our Cloaths.

(*a*) Jeremiah de Pours, Divine melodie du St. Pſalmiſte, pag. 666.

(*b*) D'Oſſat, *Letters, fol.* 172.

(*K*) *His Wife that he had, &c.*] The Lure made uſe of to bring him off from his New Religion, was the Promiſe of the Kingdom of *Sardinia*: He was ſo ſimple as to believe theſe Promiſes; and (*c*) *he began by Degrees to withdraw from the Proteſtants, and to vex the Queen, all ſorts of Snares being laid for him, by which a Man given, as he was to Women, might be taken; ſo by little and little, forgetting every thing elſe, he had nothing in his Head but* Sardinia, *and Women, amongſt which, a Maid of Honour to the Queen began to be in great Requeſt with him. Mean time, the Queen of* Navarre, *as a moſt wiſe and vertuous Princeſs, endeavoured to reduce him, enduring all that was poſſible, and remonſtrating to him what he ow'd both to God and his People. But all was in vain, he was ſo bewitch'd. Which the Queen ſeeing, ſhe had only Recourſe to her Prayers and Tears, moving Compaſſion in every one but the ſaid King her Huſband. The Queen Mother, during theſe Tranſactions, indeavoured to perſuade her to do as the King her Husband: To whom ſhe finally gave this Anſwer; That if the Kingdom and her Son were in her Hands, ſhe would throw them both to the bottom of the Sea, that they might be no impediment to her, rather than ever go to Maſs, which was the Reaſon they troubled her no more upon that Subject.*

(*c*) Beze, hiſt. Eccleſ. des Egliſes, *Book* 4. pag. 688. ann. 1561.

(*L*) *The Anſwers ſome Authors aſcribe to him, are only Fancies of their own Brain.*] During the Maſſacre, *Charles* IX. ſent for the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* into his Cloſet, and declared to them, if they did not renounce their Hereſie, they

bantry, which his own Constitution, and the Corruption of the Ladies made very easie to him. The Lady *de Sauves*, married to one of the Secretaries of State, was one of his chief Ministers. But he was not so taken up with Love, as to neglect altogether Political Intrigues. He had a Hand in those that were form'd † to *take away the Government from the Queen-Mother, and to expel the* Guises *from Court*. The Queen *discovering these Practices, caus'd him* ‡, *and the Duke of* Alençon *to be arrested, set Guards upon them, and order'd* § (M) *them to be examin'd, upon many heinous Allegations.* These two Princes were set at Liberty by *Henry* III ¶. *Catherine de Medicis* carried them as far as *Pont Beauvoisin*, when she went to meet him. The King of *Navarre* at last made his Escape in the Year 1576 *, and retired to *Alençon*. *He* ‖ *sided again with the* Huguenots, *and profess'd his first Religion a-new.* The *Rochellers* received him into their Town, and *after* † *he had staid with them some Months, he went to take Possession of his Government of* Guienne. From that time to the Year 1589, his Life was nothing but a Mixture of Battles, Negotiations, and Love-Intrigues. His Wife was a great impediment to him, and yet she proved sometimes (N) useful to him. There were frequent Ruptures and Pacifications betwixt him and the Court of *France*; but at last *Henry* III. confederated with him altogether, and in good earnest, to resist the *League*, which was more furious than ever since the Death of the Duke of *Guise* and of the Cardinal his Brother. The Reconciliation and Confederacy of these two Kings, was concluded in *April* 1589. Their Interview at *Tours*, the 30th. of the same Month, was attended with great Demonstrations of mutual Satisfaction. They join'd their Troops some time after, to lay Siege to *Paris*. They besieged it in Person, and were upon the Point of subduing that great City, and chastising it as it deserv'd, when the King of *France* was kill'd by *James Clement* at St. *Clou*. The King of *Navarre* succeeded him the 2d. of *August*, 1589, but it was not without very great Difficulties, and without renouncing the Protestant Religion, that he forc'd the *Leaguers* to acknowledge his Title. The City of *Paris* persisted in its Revolt till the 22d. of *March* 1594. I mean the King did not make his Entry into it till that Day. He declar'd War against the *Spaniards* the following Year, and had not much Reason to be pleased with it. He lost much more than he got by it, but by a good Fortune, unknown to all his Predecessors, he made a Treaty of Peace

† Id. ib. pag. 30.
‡ Ibid. pag. 35.
§ In 1574.
¶ Ibid. pag. 36.
* Ibid. pag. 46.
‖ Id. ib. pag. 47.
† Id. ib. pag. 48.

(d) Mezeray, hist. de France tom. 3. pag. 257.
(e) D'Aubigne tom. 2. Book 1. ch. 4. pag. m. 547.
(f) Invent. de l'Hist. de France, tom. 2. pag. m. 704.
(g) Litteræ form. 3.
(h) Quæ tamen humillimo animo & contemnto ore ab illo dicebantur. Ibid.
(i) Julian Peleus, Advocate of the Parliament of Paris, Histoire des faits & de la vie de Henri le Grand, tom. 1. 828.

should be treated as the Admiral. (d) *The King* of Navarre *extreamly astonish'd at these Words, pronounced with a Menacing Voice, and at the dreadful Spectacle he had seen before his Eyes, answered with great humlity and Trepidation; that he begg'd of his Majesty to leave them their Life and Conscience undisturbed, and for the rest, they were ready to obey him in all Things.* Though I make use of these Words of *Mezeray*, yet we may be assured it is the same thing as if I had used the very Words of a Calvinist Historian; for *d'Aubigne* (e) relates the King's Answer in the same manner: it runs thus in the *Inventaire of John de Serres*; (f) 'The King of *Na-* 'varre beseeches his Majesty, to remember his Pro- 'mise, and the Consanguinity so lately contracted, 'and not to injure him in his Religion, which he 'hath learnt from his Youth. The Author of the History of the Memorable Things, says no more of it: Nor is the Author of the Commentary *de Statu religionis & reipublicæ in regno Galliæ* more Prolix, as to the Sense, tho' he uses (g) more Words; and note, that he expretly observes, that the Answer (h) was made with a trembling Voice. Thus you see Four Protestant Writers, who agree with *Mezeray*; which shews, that his Sincerity can't be question'd. Which being so, ought we not to laugh at the Historian, who lengthens out the Answer we are speaking of for Three or Four Pages? *Our* Henry, says he (i), *made an Answer, which shew'd from that Time the Heighth of his Courage, the Depth of his Sense, and the great Lenity of his Clemency. He beseech'd his Majesty to remember his Word that he had given him, the Nearness of their Blood, and their new Alliance, and not to offer any Violence to the Religion which he had suck'd in from his Childhood, with his Nurse's Milk. He said, That it was a great Misfortune that so great a King, who had in his Soul the Seeds of so many great Virtues should be so perniciously counselled to force his Subjects by Murders and Massacres, to serve God according to his Fancy. That there was nothing that could subdue a courageous People, and particularly the* French, *but the Lenity of their Prince, whom they Reverence as a God. That this was the Method* Flaminius *took to make the* Romans *Masters of all* Greece: *so that tho' he was the strongest in the City of* Thebes, *yet he used as much Persuasion to gain the People, as an Orator would have done from his Pulpit, and that he ought to know, that he commanded a People that could neither bear an intire Liberty, nor a perfect Slavery; and that the Royal Authority was not a Sovereignty over Slaves, but a Government of Fellow-Citizens. That he had often heard that the* Romans *had commanded all Nations, and made themselves Lords of the World, because they were govern'd by Reason, and did not give themselves up to Revenge*——(a) *Your Majesty knows, that one Example of the* Roman *Humanity had a greater force to subdue the* Falisci, *who were Foreigners, than all their Military Power. What might not your Majesty's Gentleness have done with respect to the Protestants your Natural Subjects? A Great King, as you are, should not do all that he can do; but imitate the Sun, who proceeds more gently, the higher he is rais'd*——(b) *They who have given you so ill Advice, are more to blame than you: and deserve an equal Punishment with those that poison the Publick Fountains, causing as many to die as drink of them.* I have skipt the greatest Part of what this Compiler of common Places has put in the King of *Navarre*'s Mouth; but I shall take nothing from the 'Reply which he falsely ascribed to *Charles* the 'IX. (c) These, said the King, are the fine Things 'you have learnt of *Chrestien* your Tutor. But I 'know a finer one than any of them, which is, that 'God has given a Prince the Supreme Command, 'whose Jurisdiction it is not lawful for a Subject to 'incroach upon: The Glory of Obedience is only 'his. Go and do as I command you upon Pain of 'Death. And tho' I am not bound to give any 'Account of my Actions, yet I am willing to let 'you know, that every great Example seems to 'have something of Injustice in it, which is made up by 'the publick Good. Note, that he supposes, the King sent for the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of 'Conde separately; they were sent for, other Histori- 'ans say, both at once.

(a) Id. ib. pag. 831.
(b) Ibid. pag. 832.
(c) Id. ib. pag. 833.

'(M) *To be examined.*] The Chancellor (d) 'went about to examine the King of *Navarre*; 'but tho' he was threatned, and a Prisoner, he 'would not do so much Injury to his Dignity, as 'to answer him. However, to satisfy the Queen- 'Mother, he made a long Discourse, addressing 'himself to her, declaring a great many Things 'about the present Posture of Affairs; but he ac- 'cus'd no Body at all, as the Duke of *Alençon* had 'weakly done.

(d) Perefixe hist. de Henri le Grand, pag. m. 36. ad ann. 1574.

(N) *His Wife was a great Impediment to him, and yet she proved sometimes useful.*] *Catherine de Medicis* (e) had brought her to him in the Year 1578. He kept his little Court then at *Nerac*. (f) *Neither the Husband nor the Wife* were satisfied with seeing one another. (g) 'Margaret, who was fond 'of

(e) Id. ib. pag. 54.
(f) Id. ib. pag. 75.

Peace (O), wherein he indemnified himſelf for all his Loſſes. This Treaty was concluded at *Vervins*, the ſecond of *May* 1598. From that time till his Death, the Kingdom was exempt from Civil and Foreign Wars, excepting the Expedition in the Year 1600. It was undertaken againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, and laſted but a little while, and was followed with an * Advantageous Peace, as it had been attended with glorious Actions. If the Valour and great Courage of that King had not ſhewn themſelves on a Hundred Occaſions, the wonderful Generoſity, he exercis'd towards his moſt Mortal Enemies, had been look'd upon as a Weakneſs, and an Effect of Fear; but ſince he could not be ſuſpected of Cowardiſe, there is great Reaſon to believe, that he took that Method out of a Noble Clemency. And 'tis certain, that even the moſt refin'd Policy requir'd it of him, his Enemies not being to be converted

* *That in which* Breſſe, &c. *was exchanged for the Marquiſate of* Saluces.

'of the great Splendor of the Court of *France*, 'where ſhe ſwam, if we may ſo ſpeak, in a full 'Current of Intrigues, thought that living in *Guienne* was a Baniſhment to her; and *Henry* know-'ing her Humour, and her Conduct, wiſhed her 'rather at a Diſtance, than at Home. Neverthe-'leſs, being ſenſible that it was an Evil that could 'not be avoided, he reſolved to ſuffer her, and left 'her at perfect Liberty——and (*b*) accommo-'dating himſelf to the Times, and the Neceſſity 'of his Affairs, he endeavoured to draw ſome Ad-'vantages from her Intrigues and Intereſt. He ob-'tain'd a conſiderable one by her means, at the Con-'ference that he and the Deputies of the *Huguenots* 'had at *Nerac* with the Queen-Mother. For 'whilſt ſhe hoped to inchant them by the Charms of 'the Handſome young Ladies ſhe had with her, 'and by the Eloquence of *Pibrac*; *Margaret* play-'ed the ſame Artifices againſt her, gained the Gen-'tlemen of her Mother's Retinue, by the Charms 'of her own Women, and imployed ſo dexterouſly 'her own, that ſhe captivated the Soul and the 'Heart of poor *Pibrac*; ſo that he was altogether 'acted by her Spirit, and did every thing contrary 'to the Queen-Mother's Intention. The Queen not 'ſuſpecting that ſo wiſe a Man could be capable of ſuch a Folly, was chous'd in many Things, and inſenſibly led 'to grant much more to the *Huguenots*, than ſhe was 'reſolved to do.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 58.

(*O*) *By a good Fortune, unknown to his Predeceſſors, he made a Treaty of Peace, wherein he indemnified himſelf for all his Loſſes.*] *Bodin* (i) obſerves, that for 100 Years the *Spaniards* had made no Treaty with *France*, without having the better of it. He had reaſon for what he ſaid; *Henry IV.* was the firſt King of *France* who gained any thing by making Peace with *Spain*. He recovered all the Places he had loſt in *Picardy*; and alſo *Blavet*, which the *Spaniards* were Maſters of. That Peace did not eſcape the Cenſure of the Criticks. Some blamed the King of *Spain*, and others, the King of *France*. I will cite Mr. *de Pereſixe*. (k) *Many among the* French, *who were not well acquainted with the miſerable Condition, the King of* Spain *and his Affairs were in, could not apprehend how that Prince could purchaſe Peace ſo dear, as to give up Six or Seven good Places, amongſt others,* Calais *and* Blavet, *which might be called the Keys of* France. *The* Spaniards *on the contrary, who ſaw that their King was in a dying Condition, his Treaſury exhauſted, the* Low-Countries *tottering,* Portugal, *and his Territories in* Italy *ready to revolt, the Son that was to ſucceed him, a good Prince indeed, but who lov'd a quiet Life, were aſtoniſht that the* French, *who had ſo bravely retaken* Amiens, *and reunited all their Forces after the Treaty of the Duke of* Mercœur, *had not made an Irruption into the* Low-Countries, *becauſe in all Probability they would have conquer'd the whole Country or at leaſt part of it. The King anſwered, that if he had deſired Peace, it was not becauſe he was tired out with the Inconveniencies of War, but to afford* Chriſtendom *a Breathing-time; that he knew very well, that in the preſent Conjuncture of things, he might have reapt great Advantages; but that the Hand of God frequently overturns Princes, in the Height of their Proſperity, and that a wiſe Man ought never out of an Opinion of ſome favourable Event, be averſe to Peace, nor truſt too much to the Appearance of a preſent good Fortune, which may be changed by a Thouſand unforeſeen Accidents; it often happening, that a Man caſt down, and wounded, has kill'd him, who would make him beg his Life of him.* That Anſwer of *Henry IV.* does not agree with what is reported by others, that he told the Duke of *Epernon*, who was preſent at the Signing of the Treaty of Peace, (z) *With this Stroke of a Pen, I have done more Exploits than I could have done in a long time with the beſt Swords of my Kingdom.* Indeed, there's great Probability, that he promis'd himſelf no Advantage by the Continuation of the War, and I am ſure, that thoſe who were moſt unintereſted, and capable of judging of this ſort of things, were equally convinc'd of the Weakneſs which *Philip II.* ſhew'd on that Occaſion, and of the Prudence of *Henry IV.* in accepting ſuch a Peace. The *Spaniards* were aſhamed of their King's Weakneſs. The Prince his Son, paſſionately deſired that ſo ſucceſsful a War might be continued; and he put (*a*) out of Favour Don *Chriſtopher de Mora*, who had repreſented in a Council the moſt forcible Arguments for a Peace. The King of *Spain* was unmoveable, 'deſiring Peace (*b*) at any Rate; 'he found no Condition in the Treaty of *Vervins*, 'capable of diſſwading him from approving it, tho' 'his Council judged the Reſtitution of the Towns ſo 'fortunately taken, and ſo hard to be re-taken, 'ſhameful and prejudicial. He urg'd that it might 'be ſworn and ſecured. 'Tis very probable, he would have had different Sentiments had he been in the Vigour of his Age. But how can it be help'd? 'Tis one of the Faults of old Age, to make People timorous.

(a) Matthieu ibid. narrat. 1. pag. 13.
(b) Idem narrat. 3. pag. 68.

(i) Bodin. de la republique *Book* 5. chap. 1. p. m. 676.

(k) Pereſixe ubi ſupra pag. 262, 263. *Note, that* Peter Matthieu Hiſt. de la paix, *Book* 1. Narrat. 3. p. m. 69. *Tells us that* Henry IV. *ſaid part of thoſe things to the* Spaniſh *Embaſſadors, who came to be preſent at his Oath.*

(z) *I think this may be found in the Life of the Duke of* Epernon, *written by* Girard.

Multa (c) ſenem circumveniunt incommoda; vel quod
Quærit, & inventis miſer abſtinet, ac timet uti:
Vel quod res omnes TIMIDE GELIDEQUE *miniſtrat.*

(c) Horat. de arte poet. pag. m. 163.

I have ſaid elſewhere, that Republicks have an Advantage which Kingdoms want: The Sovereign in a Common-wealth is never too young, nor ever too old. He is not ſubject either to the Infirmities of Childhood, or thoſe of old Age. Kingdoms have not that good Fortune; they Experience one while the Diſorders of a Minority, ſometimes the Heat of Boiling Blood, and at other Times the Slowneſs and Heavineſs of a declining Age. A King is forc'd to complain more than once, that the Number of his Years take away his Activity and Reſolution, and that a young Prince his Enemy poſſeſſes them.

(d) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 5. v. 394.

(d) *Non laudis amor, nec gloria cauſſa*
Pulſa metu: ſed enim gelidus tardante ſenectâ
Sanguis hebet, frigentque effœta in corpore vires.
Si mihi, quæ quondam fuerat, quadque improbus iſte
Exſultat fidens, ſi nunc foret illa juventa.

We muſt not wonder that the Criticks found fault with the Peace of *Vervins*, and that ſome blam'd *France*, others *Spain*, and a third ſort *Spain* and *France* together. 'Tis the Fate of thoſe great Negotiations; it was the Fate of the Treaty of *Ryſwick* in the Year 1697. Many People blamed the Allies for not having demanded better Conditions; others blamed *France* for having given up ſo many Countries. The *French* repin'd at it, and the *Pariſians* refus'd to make Bon-fires, till they were forc'd to it by repeated Menaces. They would not have had the Nation return to the Condition of paſt Ages, in which it might be juſtly ſaid, they knew to make War better than Peace, and underſtood as well the Art of giving as of taking. They wiſh'd the popular Diſcourſes of the *Flemings* had proved falſe. They knew that abundance of ignorant People had ſaid that there was no Reaſon to be alarm'd at the loſs of ſome Towns, but rather to rejoice at it, ſince they would be recovered again fortified, according to *Vauban*'s Method. Scholars expreſt this in another Manner: We loſe Towns built with Brick, they ſhall be reſtor'd built with Marble.

(†) 'Tis an Alluſion to a Thought of the Emperor Auguſtus, *concerning the State into which he had put the City of* Rome.

(P) A-

converted any other way: Nay, he found that only way defective, for he gained but one part of the *Leaguers*: Abundance of (P) Priests obstinately resolved not to pray for him. 'Tis observed in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, that *more than* 50 *Historians, and* 500 *Panegyrists, Poets, or Orators, have mentioned this great Monarch with Commendation.* 'Tis certain, on the other Hand, that a great many Authors have spitefully stained his Glory, and have made it their Business to extenuate his good Actions, and to set his Faults in open view. Mr. *de Sulli* complains of them, and confutes their Obloquies (Q), and amongst other Things, maintains, that 'tis false, that this Prince granted every thing at the Importunities of his Mistresses. Nevertheless, I believe, that if he had not had faithful Servants to disappoint the Rapaciousness of those *Harpies*, and whose Countermands he approved of, they had been more Despotick over him. The Instances

(P) *Abundance of Priests obstinately resolved not to pray for him.*] The King's Attorney-General in the Parliament of *Toulouse* having Notice, that a great Number of Priests (*e*) in saying Mass, omitted the Prayer for the King, and that it was suppress'd in many printed *Missals* (*f*), complain'd of it in Parliament. It was order'd, that all Priests should be oblig'd to observe the Ancient Custom of that Prayer, in celebrating Divine Offices, and the use of those Missals was forbidden; where that Prayer was not found, and all Printers and Booksellers were commanded to add immediately the Leaf that was wanting, and in case of a Refusal, they were threatned with Corporal Punishment, and the Loss of their Copies. That Decree was made the 7th. of *June*, 1606 (*g*). If Twelve Years after the King had abjur'd *Huguenotism*, and had given good Tokens of his Zeal for Popery, and many Testimonies of his Kindness to the *Leaguers*, there were still so many Ecclesiasticks, that mortally hated him, what could he have expected from a contrary Conduct? The Fury of the Bigots and Opiniomed, had been infinitely more terrible, if he had neglected the outside of Religion, and acted like a Prince full of Resentment. One of his Historians gives us, as an Instance (*h*) of *an Admirable Politician*, what I am going to transcribe: *That* (*i*) *very Night he play'd at Cards with the Dutchess of* Montpensier, *who was of the House of* Guise, *and the strongest Leaguer that was in the Party.* Undoubtedly this displeased his ancient Servants, he would have been less forward to have paid such an Honour to a *Huguenot* Lady; perhaps they said that he went beyond the Parable of the Gospel. That Dutchess hath not yet labour'd in your Vine-Yard, and she hath done all that was possible to ruin it; and yet she is better paid than we, who (*k*) *have born all the Burden and Heat of the Day.* In the Parable it was thought enough to equal the Recompence of those who had laboured but an Hour, and had done no Prejudice before, with that of those who had labour'd all the Day. There were doubtless a great many Murmurs of this sort, which could not have been satisfied by this Answer of the Master of the Family (*l*): *Is your Eye evil, because I am good?* This would have been but chaffing the Wound; *Henry IV.* would rather have said for his Vindication, that the Necessity of the Times required such a Conduct. *Res dura & regni novitas me talia cogunt Moliri* (*m*). Mr. *Du Plessis Mornay*, in a Letter which he writ to *Morlas* in the Year 1594, during the time that they who had followed the *League*, went off from it upon Advantageous Terms, uses these remarkable Words: (*n*) 'We 'don't envy your killing the fatted Calf for the 'Prodigal Son, provided you say with a sincere 'Heart to the Obedient Son, *You know, my Son, 'that all that I have is thine*; don't Sacrifice the 'Obedient Son to give a better Enterainment to the 'Prodigal one. In short, I am glad of all that is done, 'if it be of some Advantage. But I am afraid of 'such Bargains, by which things are given away, 'and nothing is got for them but Words; Words I 'say, spoken by Men, who hitherto never kept 'their Word.

(Q) Mr. de Sulli *complains of them——and confutes their Obloquies.*] He speaks of some Historians, who had distributed their Praises and Censures unjustly; for they found no Blot in those that hired them, and hardly any thing good in *Henry the Great*, who gave them nothing. 'And (says he) 'forasmuch as (*a*) they cannot deny him some Praises, amongst an infinite Number that are every 'where publickly bestowed upon him, they maliciously forgot the most necessary to be known, disguise others, and extenuating them all as much 'as possible, they have invented a malicious Imposture, which is to ascribe to him impudently 'and falsly such Desires, Projects, Designs, Enterprises and Resolutions about Affairs of State, as are 'the most absurd, improper, impertinent and ridiculous that can be imagined. And pretending to 'great Matters, they talk in the very same manner, as if they had been the greatest Confidents of the King, and had been admitted into all 'his most secret Thoughts and Designs, or kept 'Intelligence with one of his most familiar Servants, who told them all. Then proceeding to 'speak of his Conversation, domestick Life, and 'Conduct, and of his Recreations, Diversions, 'Sports, Pleasures, Pastimes and Merriments, tho' 'they were for the most part ordinary, common, and 'familiar to all Men, nay, even to Women, and always most General, Universal, Tolerated, Lawful, and permitted to all Kings, Potentates, Princes and great Lords, there being few to be found 'amongst the most wise, virtuous, debonaire, pious 'and holy, who were not delighted with them, and 'which their People and Subjects have not gladly 'suffered, when for such Pleasures and Pastimes 'there has been no Injustice, Rape, Murder, Violence, Extortion, or Pillage committed. Yet 'when they come to discourse of the Gayeties and 'Mirth of this sweet and good humour'd Prince; 'they so misrepresent them, with so many Lyes and 'Fallacious Circumstances, and mischievous and 'pernicious Consequences, ascribing to him so many vicious, shameful, infamous, nay execrable and scandalous Passions, that one who hears 'them speak, with so much Boldness, Impudence, 'and Rashness, would think, that they are Searchers of the Hearts and Thoughts of Men—— 'or that they have been the King's Confessors or 'Great Penitentiaries——Nay, they have been 'so bold Censurers, as to place in the Number of 'his Mistresses, a Lady, whose Qualities, Eminence, Virtue, and Prudence would have cautioned him, even though he had thought on her, not 'to take her for such a one; and consequently 'those impudent Writers deserve to be severely punish'd for having talked at that rate. In other 'Places they say, that the Women had got such 'Dominion over him, because Vice was grown Natural and Habitual to him, by a long use, and 'great Familiarity with wicked People, and that he 'was become so desperately fond of some of these 'Beauties, that he had no other Will but theirs; 'which was the cause that all his most important 'Affairs were managed by their Mediation, and 'that they were refus'd nothing they could desire. 'They so frequently add so many other foolish 'Things, that all these Impostures being too long 'to be confuted in this present Discourse, (that is otherways design'd) we will refer those who are 'willing to see their Calumnies expos'd, to what 'shall be said of them in several Places of these 'Memoirs, from which it will appear by what 'Means, and for what Reasons, the King would never 'have married a Lady of Pleasure; that Women 'dispos'd of no Affairs, and that he had some Servants, who by his own Command knew how to 'tell them their Thoughts, even in his Presence, 'and to refuse them such Things as they judged unjust or prejudicial to the State, the Affairs and Revenues of the King, or to his People; and they 'were obliged to bear it. I will confirm this by some Words taken from a Letter of *Henry* IV. in which we shall see the Reflections that were made upon him. (*b*) 'Some blame me for being too fond

(*e*) In Missæ canone passim à Sacerdotibus per cunctas dioeceses celebrantibus, orationem pro Rege omittit. Thuan. *lib.* 130. *infra.*

(*f*) *At* Paris, *at* Bourdeaux *and at* Lions.

(*g*) *Taken from* Thuanus, *lib.* 13. *pag.* 1123. 1124.

(*h*) Pere-fixe ubi supra pag. 225.

(*i*) *That is, the Day on which he made his Entry into* Paris.

(*k*) *St.* Matthew's *Gospel, Chap.* 20. *v.* 12.

(*l*) *Ibid, v.* 15.

(*m*) Virgil. Æneid.

(*n*) *Memoirs of* Du Plessis Mornay, *tom.* 2. *p.* 398, 399.

(*a*) *Compare with this the Remark* Z. *of the Article* Charles V.

(*a*) *See* Sulli's *Memoirs, in the Preliminary Epistle of the* 3. *Tome, fol. m.e ij.*

(*b*) Sulli's *Memoirs, Tome* 3. *pag.* 137. 138.

Inſtances wherein he had the Power (*R*) to diſengage himſelf from the Snares that were laid for him, by fine Ladies, were not common, yet ſome there were. Thoſe Servants whoſe Fidelity he had experienc'd, might give him their Advices, without diſguſting him; and it has never been ſaid, that *Villeroi* fell into his Diſgrace, for having ſaid a thing, that was (*S*) likely enough to diſpleaſe him. It can't be deny'd but that Prince had a vaſt Generoſity, which baniſht from his Conduct abundance of Tricks and Stratagems, which are but too common among thoſe that Govern. We ſhall ſee upon this Head, the Judgment he made of an Artifice (*T*) of one of the Kings of *France*.

HERACLEOTES (*Dionyſius*) ſo call'd, becauſe he was of † *Heraclea*, a City of *Pontus*, ſtudied under ſeveral Maſters, and at laſt he applied himſelf to the Founder of the *Stoicks* †. He learnt of him to ſay, that Pain is no Evil, that nothing but Virtue deſerves the Name of Good, and that all other Things are indifferent. He was ſteady in that Doctrine as long as he was well; but having fallen under (*A*) ſmarting Pains, he abjured his Belief, and renounc'd the Sect of the *Stoicks*; and which is worſe, he embrac'd that of the *Cyrenaicks*, who plac'd the *Summum Bonum* in Pleaſure.

† Diog. Laërt. l. 7. n. 166.
† Id. ib.

He

' of Buildings and coſtly Edifices. Others find ' fault with my Hunting, with my Dogs, and Hawks; ' Some Cenſure me for Gaming; others for loving the Ladies; others for Feaſts, Banquets, and ' Dainties: Others find fault with me for loving ' of Comedies, Balls, Dances, and Running at the ' Ring, where (ſay they to reproach me) I am ſtill ' ſeen with my Grey Beard, to be as jocund and vain ' for having made a handſome Courſe, and carried ' off the Ring of ſome Lady, as I could have been ' at Twenty, nay, as the valneſt Man in my Court. ' In all which Diſcourſes, I will not deny but there ' may be ſomething true. But I ſay, at the ſame time, ' that whilſt I exceed not the Bounds, it ought rather to be a Commendation than a Fault; and I ' ought to be excus'd for uſing ſuch Diverſions, as ' bring no Damage or Inconvenience to my People, by way of Retribution, for the frequent Bitterneſs I have taſted, and for thoſe many Diſquietudes, Vexations and Dangers, which I have run ' through from my Childhood to Fifty Years of ' Age———. The Scripture does not abſolutely command us to be *free from Sin*, foraſmuch ' as Infirmities are the inſeparable Attendants of ' the Impetuouſneſs and Eagerneſs of humane Nature; but only not to be enſlav'd by it, and not to ' ſuffer it to get an Empire over our Wills. Which ' is what I ſtudy to do, not being able to do better. ' And you can Witneſs in Abundance of Things relating to Miſtreſſes, (which are the Paſſions the ' World believes I am moſt ſubject to) whether I ' have not often maintain'd your Opinions, againſt ' their Fancies, even ſo far as to tell them, when ' they pretended to make a Noiſe, that I had rather ' loſe Ten ſuch Miſtreſſes as they, than one ſuch ' Servant as you, who was neceſſary to me in honourable and uſeful Affairs.

(*R*) *Inſtances wherein he had the Power to diſengage himſelf.*] *Catharine de Medicis* asking him at the Conference of (*c*) *Saint Brix* (*d*), *What he would have, he anſwered, looking on the Young Ladies of her Retinue; there's nothing there, Madam, that I am for, meaning, that he deſign'd no longer to be caught by ſuch ſort of Lures.* He was not ſo prudent on other Occaſions; for ſome time after the *Paris* Maſſacre, ' he (*e*) ſuffer'd himſelf to be taken ' by the Charms of ſome young Ladies at Court, ' which 'tis ſaid that Queen made uſe of on purpoſe ' to amuſe the Princes and Lords, and diſcover all ' their Thoughts. Behold an abominable Queen! Every Body knows what a Name is given to ſuch a Trade. What a School for young Ladies of Quality, which they call Maids of Honour? 'Tis to be obſerved, that if this Queen had deſired to keep Two or Three Hundred, ſhe would have been ſupplied with them: So great was the Corruption of that time; for 'twas well known what uſe theſe Maids of Honour were to be put to by her.

(*c*) *A Caſtle near* Coignac.
(*d*) Pereſixe ubi ſupra pag. 80. ad ann. 1586.
(*e*) Id. ib. pag. 33.

(*f*) Naudé, coups d'eſtat chap. 1. p. m. 22.

(*F*) *For having ſaid a Thing that was likely enough to diſpleaſe him.*] There is none ſo ignorant, as not to know, that 'tis a very rude Advice, and that pierces to the quick, to tell a Man he knows not how to keep his Rank, and maintain the Dignity of his Character. And yet this was the Repreſentation *Villeroi* made to King *Henry the Great*. *Naudé* praiſes him for it. *One of the beſt Advices*, ſays he (*f*), *that ever Monſieur* de Villeroi *gave to* Henry the Great, *who had lived as a Soldier and a Carabineer, during the Wars that were made at his coming to the Crown, was, when he told him, that a Prince who is regardleſs of the Reverence due to his Majeſty, ſuffers it to be ſlighted and affronted. That the Kings his Predeceſſors, in the greateſt Confuſions, had always acted as Kings, and that it was time that he ſhould ſpeak, write and command as a King.*

(*T*) *The Judgment he made of an Artifice of one of the Kings of* France.] He was ' a great (*a*) Obſerver of ' Things, which concern'd the Preſervation of the ' Reputation of Princes, in which he choſe rather ' to recede from his Right and Power, than give ' the leaſt Occaſion to ſpeak ill of his Sincerity, ' always blaming faithleſs and tricking Princes, ſo ' far as not to ſpare his own Predeceſſors, when the ' Converſation fell upon any of their Actions, where- ' in they failed of Integrity in their Promiſes and ' publick Faith, as he did one Day, when the great ' Affairs of King *Philip de Valois*, and his great ' Courage, little ſeconded by his Fortune, were the ' ſubject of Diſcourſe. *He was great*, ſaid ' the King, *but he had Subtilties in his Words, more becoming the Wheedlers of little Children than a King, ſuch as was this, which I don't approve. He had made a Treaty with* Lewis *of* Bavaria *the Emperor, and engaged in it not to make War with the Empire; contrary to which, notwithſtanding, he raiſed Armies by Sea and Land, which he threw into the* Low-Countries, *under the Conduct of the Duke of* Normandy *his eldeſt Son, who was defeated by Sea at* Sluys, *and having beſieged* Thin, *the King his Father was then as a Soldier, fighting under his Son, being nevertheleſs, one of his Counſellors, thinking by that Captious Equivocation to eſcape the Blame of breaking the Treaty he had made as King of* France, *as if it was not the ſame thing to enterprize any thing one ſelf, or by another.* 'Tis not long ſince, a Doctor, with whom I was walking, told me, That *Henry* IV. having heard a Story of a Fallacy of the King of *Spain*, cried out, *It muſt be confeſs'd, that Kings are great Knaves*: I aſkt him immediately, whether he had found that in any Book; he anſwered me, It was one of the fine Sayings of *Henry the Great*, in a Collection that has been publiſhed of them, at the end of his Hiſtory, compos'd by the Biſhop of *Rhodez* (*b*) Preceptor to *Lewis* XIV. I doubt it much, ſaid I, for I have read that Work of Mr. *Pereſixe* from one end to the other, and there remains in my mind, no Idea of what you tell me; and yet theſe are Words ſo like to make an Impreſſion, that they are not eaſily forgot. I afterwards found it true, that it was not in the Book of the Biſhop of *Rhodez*, and I wrote to the Doctor. He ſent me Word, that after better thinking, he believed that Exclamation of *Henry IV.* was related in one of the Engliſh Letters of *Howel*. I bring this here, only by way of Adverti ſement, that we ought not to truſt to *hear-ſays*, and that Matters change very much in paſſing from one Writer to another. What a vaſt difference is there betwixt the Words of *le Grain* and *Howel*!

(*d*) Baptiſte le Grain, decade de Roy Henrile Grand *Book* 8. *pag. m.* 781.

(*b*) Hardouin de Pereſixe.

(*A*) *Having fallen under ſmarting Pains, he abjured his Belief.* This change acquired him the Title (*c*) of *μεταβολικός*, which we may tranſlate Apoſtate

(*f*) *That Word ſignifies properly* Immutable, *and not* Tranſpoſitor, *as* Athenæus's *Tranſlator renders it, Lib.* 10. *p.* 437. *See* Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. pag. 466. Caſaubon. in Athenæum *had already obſerved that Faults.*

He entred without Shame publickly into the Stews, and was willing, that the Pleaſures he indulged himſelf in, ſhould be known to all the World *. There are ſome that ſay, that he was a Debauchee (B) from his Youth, and that remembring as he was going by a Brothel Houſe, that he had left it the Day before, without paying the Price to the Women of Pleaſure, he put his Hand in his Pocket, and orderly paid his Debts in the Face of all the World. There was a perplexing Objection made to him (C) upon his admitting with all the *Dogmatiſts*, a Rule for the diſtinguiſhing of Truth and Falſhood. He compos'd ſeveral Philoſophical Works, and alſo ſome Poems †. He brought (D) *Heraclides* into a Snare by one of his Poems. He lived to the Age of 80 Years, when refuſing to live any longer, he procured his Diſmiſſion by eating nothing ‡

* Idem n 167.

† Id. ib.

(a) Cicero lib. 5. de finib. fub fin. Laertius, l. 7. n. n. 166. *ſpeaks only of his ſore Eyes.*

(b) *Id. Cic. Tuſcul. 2. fol. 258. C.*

(g) Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Δημώνακτος ἐν τῷ, περὶ φυσέως λόγων, ἢ Νόμων ἢ Νόμου ἢ ποίᾳ δήποτε ἐπιγραφῇ χρώμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς ἐπιφανῶς, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἁπλῶς ἀντιλέγων. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσειεν μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου γεγραμμένος, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀληθινὰ εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐκ τοῦ ἀκολούθου ἀγόμενος. ἔχει γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τύχην, ἰδιώτου τοῦ χάριν πάντων ἀφιλοσόφων ἀνθρώπων.

Fuit autem Dionyſ. ille, quod ait Niceas Nicænſis libro de Succeſſionibus, jam ab adoleſcentia, tam immani furioſaque libidine percitus, ut ſine diſcrimine cum plebeis ancillis ac pediſſequis coiret, & aliquando cum familiaribus inambulans, ubi ad ancillarum ædes venit, quas pridie ingreſſus aliquot obolos quos debebat non ſolverat, caſu tum forte in locullis habens, diſtenta manu coram omnibus numeravit. Athen. lib. 10. p. 437.

Apoſtate or Deſerter. Some ſay, that ſore Eyes made him change his Opinion; others attribute it to the Pains of the Gravel. *Cicero* gives us both theſe Traditions (a) *Nobis* (b) *Heracleotes ille Dionyſius flagitioſe deſciviſſe videtur ac Stoicis propter oculorum dolorem. Quis verò hoc didiciſſet à Zenone, non dolere quum doleret? Illud audierat nec tamen didicerat malum illud non eſſe quia turpe non eſſet, & eſſet ferendum viro: Hic ſi peripateticus fuiſſet, permanſiſſet, credo, in ſententia, quoniam dolorem dicunt malum eſſe, de aſperitate autem ejus fortiter ferenda præcipiunt eadem quæ Stoici.* I have ſet down more Words than I needed to prove what I have ſaid, and yet I do not think my Labour loſt; for by the Way, I diſcover to my Reader, that the Controverſies of the *Stoicks* and *Peripateticks*, upon the Nature of Pain, were but a Diſpute of Words. They both agreed, that it ought to be born courageouſly; but the former deny'd that it ought to be called an Evil, and the latter maintain'd it ought. Here is a thing indeed to make ſuch a ſtir about. We diſpute at this Day, both in Divinity and Philoſophy, about Things wherein the Miſunderſtanding is no leſs viſible. Here is a Paſſage of *Cicero*, which I will ſet down entire, that we may have a full view of the way of reaſoning of our Philoſopher. He preſum'd much upon the Strength of Philoſophy; for he judged, that it being inferiour to the force of Pain, Pain muſt needs be an Evil. (c) *Homo ſanè levis Heracleotes Dionyſius, cum à Zenone fortis eſſe didiciſſet, à dolore deductus eſt. Nam cum ex venibus laboraret, ipſo in ejulatu clamitabat, falſa eſſe illa, quæ antea de dolore ipſe ſenſiſſet. Quem cum Cleanthes condiſcipulus rogaret quamam vatio eum de ſententia deduxiſſet, reſpondit, Quia cùm tantum operæ Philoſophiæ dediſſem, dolorem tamen ferre non poſſem, ſatis eſſet argumenti malum eſſe dolorem. Plurimos autem annos in Philoſophia conſumpſi, nec ferre poſſum: malum eſt igitur dolor. Tum Cleanthem, cùm pede terram percuſſiſſet, versùm ex Epigonis ferunt dixiſſe.*

Audiſne hæc Amphiarae, ſub terram abdite?
En onem ſignificabat, à quo illum degenerare dolebat.

(B) *That he was a Debauchee from his Youth.*] We have juſt now ſeen, that he philoſophiz'd many Years upon the Auſtere Maxims of the *Stoicks*; he himſelf affirms it, if we believe *Cicero*. What muſt we think then of the Story we find in *Athenæus*? Shall we ſay that this Author diverted himſelf with collecting all the ſcandalous Stories, true or falſe, that he found in the moſt Satyrick Writers? I leave the Deciſion to my Readers. I only put in the Margin the *Greek* of *Athenæus*, with *Dalechampius*'s (d) Verſion, which ſhould be rectify'd by *Caſaubon*'s Notes. They who well remember the Seventh Book of *Athenæus*, will be eaſily determined on *Cicero*'s Side, and believe, that *Dionyſius* did not deſert the *Stoicks*, till he had grown grey amongſt 'em; for *Athenæus* gives him the Name of Old Man, at the time of his Deſertion, and cites *Timon* the ſatyrer, who ſaid, that this Man had begun to devote himſelf to Pleaſures, when the Seaſon of them was over. 'Tis beſt to ſet down the Original Words; they are in the 6th. Chapter of the 7th. Book of *Athenæus*, pag. 281. Περὶ δὲ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἡρακλεώτου τοῦ τὰς ἀρετὰς χαλάσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροτάτων ἐπὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς μεταφοιτήσαντος, καὶ Μητροδώρῳ συμπαιζόντος ἐκμανῶς, καὶ τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν λόγοις ἐπιτηδεύσαντος, ἱστορεῖ καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις οὕτως·

Ἡρακλείδης δοῦναι, τὸν ἀρχαῖον Διονύσιον
Εἰπόντ', ἀεὶ δὲ γηρᾷ μᾶλλον ἀνακύπτει.

Quid autem de Heracleote Dionyſio attinet dicere? Aperte quidem & palàm virtutis exuta veſte, cùm indumentum mutaſſe & alienum ſumpſiſſe criminarentur, gaudebat, quamvis jam natu grandis à Stoicorum ſchola defeciſſet, & tranſiviſſet ad Epicurum. De illo non invenuſte Timon ſcripſit:

Ille voluptati ſe tradit jam moriturus.
Tempus amandi, tempus habendæ conjugis, et quod
Rebus ab his tandem moneat deſiſtere tempus.

I add, that *Lucian* obſerves, that *Dionyſius* was a very ſober Man, (e) when he quitted the *Stoicks*. I dare not affirm with Mr. *Menage* (i) that he had been in *Aſia* in *Alexander*'s Retinue, and had danced to the Sound of a Flute at this Conqueror's Nuptials. *Athenæus* indeed ſays this of one *Dionyſius Heracleotes*, but how many People of the ſame Name doth he mention, without any Mark of diſtinction?

(e) Virum trimodeſtum. Lucian. in his accuſato, p. 325. t. 2

(i) In Laert. l. 7. p. 334.

(C) *A perplexing Objection.*] *Antiochus* was the Man that made this Objection; he had embrac'd a Sect, which admitted no Science, that is no Propoſition certainly true, and afterwards he forſook that Party, when he had for a long time maintained Incomprehenſibilty, and written ſubtilly for that Cauſe. *Scripſit de his rebus acutiſſimè, & idem hoc acrius accuſavit in ſenectute quàm antea defenſitaverat. Quamvis igitur fuerit acutus, ut fuit, tamen inconſtantia elevatur autoritas. Quia, inquam, etiam iſte dies illuxerit, quæro, qui illi offenderit eam quam multos annos eſſe negaviſſet veri & falſi notam* (f)? Now whilſt he was oppoſing Certainty, he cruelly teazed our *Dionyſius*; You believed a long time, ſaid he, that there was no other Good but Virtue; afterwards you maintained, that Virtus was a vain Name, and that the ſupream Good conſiſts in Pleaſure. You ought therefore to believe, that Falſhood preſents it ſelf to our Minds, and ſtamps it ſelf with the ſame Character, that Truth appears in, and conſequently, that Character which is the Mark of true and falſe, upon which you ground your ſelf in affirming or denying, is fallacious, and deluſive. All the force of this Objection lay in this, that *Dionyſius* had ſucceſſively maintain'd two contradictory Propoſitions. *Antiochus* experienc'd the Force of his own Objection, when he changed his Opinion; for he was beaten with the ſame Weapons, that he had imploy'd againſt *Dionyſius*. Read *Cicero*'s Words; (g) *Quoque ſolebat uti argumento tum, cùm ei placebat, nihil poſſe percipi, cùm quæreret, Dionyſius ille Heracleotes, utrùm comprehendiſſet certa illa nota qua aſſentiri dictis oportere, illudne, quod multos annos tenuiſſet, Zenonique magiſtro credidiſſet, honeſtum quod eſſet, id bonum ſolum eſſe; an quod poſtea defenſitaviſſet, honeſti inane nomen eſſe, voluptatem eſſe ſummum bonum: qui ex illius commutata ſententia docere vellet, nihil ita ſignari in animis noſtris à vero poſſe, quod non eodem modo poſſit à falſo, is curavit, quod argumentum ex Dionyſio ipſe ſumpſiſſet, ex eo cæteri ſumerent.* This Objection may perplex thoſe modern Proteſtants, who maintain, that the Truths of the Goſpel enter not into their Minds by the way of Evidence, but by the way of Senſe. What will they ſay, if we ſhew them ſome Chriſtians that change their Religion, and like our *Dionyſius*, for a long time violently eſpouſe the ſame Opinions, which afterwards they reject with an equal Zeal? They may be aſkt, whether the Senſe of Falſhood does not imprint it ſelf on the Soul, with all the ſame Characters as the ſence of Truth?

(f) Cicero, Academic. queſtion. lib. 2. fol. 297. B. A *Pyrrhonian* OBJECTION

(g) Ib. & 4.

(D) *He brought* Heraclides *into a Snare.*] Having written a Poem, called Παρθενοπαῖον, *Partheno-paum*, he publiſht it, and aſcribed it to *Sophocles*.

nothing ‡. His Laſcivious Deſires (*E*) accompanied him to the Age, wherein Nature could not ſatisfy them. Mr. *Moreri* is groſly (*F*) miſtaken.

‡ Id. ib.

HERACLIUS, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, in the XIIth. Century, was the maker of his own Fortune. He was born in *Auvergne*, without Fortune or Friends, and yet he was promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *Cæſarea*, and afterwards to the Patriarchate of *Jeruſalem*. His good Meen and Addreſs gave him Admiſſion into the ſtricteſt Intimacy of the King's Mother; ſo that the Oppoſitions of the Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, proved vain, though he grounded them (*A*) upon Prophecies. In vain he proteſted againſt the Election of *Heraclius*, in vain he appealed to the Pope, and even went to *Rome*, in order to get it declared void: He had not time (*AΔ*) to determine that Affair. *Heraclius* cauſed him to be poiſoned, and afterwards going to *Rome*, got his Election confirm'd by the Pope. He ſucceeded the Patriarch *Almeric*, who died in the Year 1180. He led a very ſcandalous Life with a Merchant's Wife of *Napoli* in *Syria*, whom he brought to *Jeruſalem* after the Death of her Huſband *. You will ſee below (*B*) ſome Circumſtances of it. We muſt not diſtinguiſh him from that

* See, Hiſtoire de la conquête du Roiaume de Jeruſalem par Saladin, *Printed at* Paris *in* 1679.

Heraclides honeſtly took this Work for *Sophocles*'s Production, and cited it as ſuch in one of his Books. Then *Dionyſius* diſcovered to him the Trick, and *Heraclides* would not believe him; he maintain'd, that it was *Sophocles*'s Work; and even when *Dionyſius* ſent him his Manuſcript, he perſiſted in his Opinion, and pretended, that Chance might cauſe two Poets wits to jump (*c*). So ungrateful it is to an Author to acknowledge himſelf caught in that manner. *Scaliger* being deceived the ſame way by *Turrer*, was not ſo obſtinate, but he was very much vext at it.

(*c*) Diog. Laert. lib. 5. n. 92. 93.

(*E*) *His laſcivious deſires accompanied him.*] Upon a great Feſtival, which he celebrated as agreeably as he could, he ſent for a Courteſan, that nothing might be wanting to the Pleaſures of the Day; but Age had ſo ſubdued him, that he could do no Exploits. He confeſt his Infirmity in the Words which *Homer* (*d*) puts in the Mouth of one of *Penelope*'s Gallants, who not being able to bend *Ulyſſes*'s Bow, cryed out, Let another take it, I am not able to do it (*e*). *Dionyſius* in like manner declar'd, that ſince his Strength failed him, another ſhould make uſe of the Courteſan. (*f*) Φησὶ τὸν Διονύσιον τῆς οἰκέτας συνεστάλθαι, ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ χρόνῳ ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ δυνάμενον διὰ γῆρας χρῆσθαι ἢ παρελόμενον ἑταίρᾳ, γυναικὶ λαβεῖν πρὸς τοὺς συνδειπνοῦντας, ΟΤ δύναμαι τανύσαι, λαβέτω δ' ὅς κ' ἄλλος. *Tradit Dionyſium cum domeſticis, diebus feſtis conjugum, feriis illas agentem, cum ob ſenectutem meretrice quam adduxerant uti non poſſet, ad convivas facie verſa, dixiſſe. Arrigere nequeo, fumar alius. Antigonus Caryſtius* related this in the Life of our *Dionyſius Heracleotes*.

(*d*) *He made a ſmall Alteration in thoſe Words.* See Caſaubon upon Athenæus, p. 332.

(*e*) Odyſſ. lib. 21. p. m. 647.

(*f*) Athen. lib. 10. pag. 437. ex Antigono Caryſtio.

(*F*) *Mr.* Moreri *is groſly miſtaken.*] I. He ſays, *that* Dionyſius *of* Heraclea——*having quitted the School of* Zeno, *followed the* Cynicks. He ſhould have ſaid *Cyrenaicks*, whoſe Sect was extreamly different from that of the *Cynicks*. We may judge of it, from the oppoſite Characters, which were found betwixt *Ariſtippus* and *Diogenes*. There is not at the bottom any great Difference betwixt *Diogenes Laertius*, who liſts our *Dionyſius* in the Camp of the *Cyrenaicks*, and *Athenæus*, who enrolls him in the Sect of *Epicurus*; for tho' *Epicurus* gave a more virtuous Explication of the Word Pleaſure, he agreed with the *Cyrenaicks*, that the laſt end of Men, the ſupreme Good, the Happineſs of Man was Pleaſure. II. Theſe Words, *he did not ſcruple——to do publickly, what might give him ſome Pleaſure*, are a conſequence of his firſt Fault, and a new Fault. If *Dionyſius* had embrac'd *Cyniciſm*, he would not have been aſhamed to have debauch'd a Woman in the middle of the Streets; but as he only entred into the School of *Ariſtippus*, a Pleaſant Debauchee, and a polite Libertine, who underſtood himſelf admirable well, and that the *Cyrenaicks*, who gave Nature all it deſired, had not however adopted the Impudence of the *Cynicks*, it is wrong to pretend, that he had no more reſpect than *Diogenes* for the Eyes of his Neighbours. I confeſs he was willing to be ſeen to enter into the publick Stews, and to have it known, that he had been with Proſtitutes (*g*); but every Body knows, that this doth not ſignify the knowing a Woman publickly, and in the Sight of Paſſengers, as was the practice of the *Cynicks*. III. Our Philoſopher's deſerting from the *Stoicks*, could not be more confeſſedly repreſented, than *Moreri* has done it. *Dionyſius*, ſaith he, *being exceſſively tormented with a Pain in his Eyes, would never ſay that Pain was indifferent*, Is this a Faithful Deſcription of the Change of this Philoſopher? Is not one tempted to fancy here a Man that is put upon the Rack, to make him ſay, that Pain is indifferent, and who obſtinately perſiſts not to confeſs it? See in the Paſſages of *Cicero*, above quoted, the Genuine State of this Adventure. IV. He ſhould not have taken from *Dionyſius* Ten Years of his Life; it was at the Age of 80, and not of 70, *that he ſuffered himſelf to die with Hunger*.

(*g*) *He had a Courteſan, whom he gave to his Friends, when he could not uſe her himſelf.* Athenæus, lib. 10. pag. 437. ex Antigono Caryſtio.

(*h*) Luſtra ingredienti, cæteriſque voluptatibus aperte operam dabat. Laertius l. 7. n. 167. *The common Tranſlation is too looſe, and 'tis likely* Moreri *was deceived by it.* Palam luſtra ingredienti, cæteriſque ſibi omnium generum cupidis quæ voluptatem pararent

(*A*) *Though he grounded them upon Prophecies.*] He ſaid, that the Prophecies foretold, that as the Croſs was conquered by one *Heraclius*, it ſhould be loſt under another (*i*). I believe he would have ſpoke more agreably to Hiſtory, if he had ſaid, that as the Infidels had taken the Croſs under one *Heraclius*, they ſhould retake it under another *Heraclius*. I know the Emperor *Heraclius* recovered, by a Treaty of Peace, the Croſs which the *Perſians* had carried off; but can this be called a Conquering of the Croſs?

(*i*) Hiſtoire de la conquete de Jeruſalem par Saladin. See *the Remark* B.

(*AΔ*) *He had not time to determine that Affair.*] I have found this in a Preface, that *James Bongars* has plac'd before the *Geſta Dei per Francos*. He tells us, that *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, the ſame that has written the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, made a vain Remonſtrance to the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, againſt their Nomination of *Heraclius* to the Patriarchate of *Jeruſalem*. He alledged to them the above-mention'd Prophecy; and that they might not think that he aſpired to the vacant Dignity, he conjur'd them neither to nominate *Heraclius* nor himſelf. Nevertheleſs, they were the two that were nominated. The King, according to the Promiſes he had made to his Mother, made choice of *Heraclius*: The latter immediately publiſh'd his Mandate, commanding Obedience from the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, depending on the Patriarchate of *Jeruſalem*. Which none excepted againſt but the Archbiſhop of *Tyre*. He appeal'd to the Pope, and undertook to ſhew, that *Heraclius* was not worthy of the Patriarchate. He immediately ſet out for *Rome*, and was very well received there, and put things on ſuch a Foot, that the Depoſition of *Heraclius* was look'd upon as unavoidable; but the new Patriarch prevented the Blow, by corrupting a Phyſician, who poiſoned *William*. He afterwards made a Voyage to *Rome*, and obtained his Point of the Pope. *Bongars* found this only in *French* Authors.

(*B*) *Some Circumſtances of it.*] The Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of *Jeruſalem*, which I have cited, was publiſh'd at *Paris* in the Year 1679. The Publiſher had taken it from an old Manuſcript which Mr. *Cabart de Villemont* had given him. Theſe Words are to be ſeen in it: *The Patriarch kept her* (*a*) *openly, as if ſhe had been his Wife, only ſhe did not live with him, and when the Patriarch went to the Miniſter, ſhe was as magnificently dreſs'd, as if ſhe had been an Empreſs or a Queen; and when any Body, who did not know her, asked who was that Lady; thoſe that knew her, anſwered, that ſhe was the Patriarcheſs, the Patriarch's Wife. Her Name was,* Patque de Riveri, *and ſhe had many Children, by the Patriarch. There goes a Story, that this Patriarch being in Council about important Affairs, a Madman entring into the Room, ran to him and told him, my Lord Patriarch, get a good Reward ready for me; for I bring*

(*a*) *That is, the Widow of the Merchant of* Napoli *in* Syria.

the Patriarch *Heraclius* mentioned in the Hiſtory of the *Cruſades*; and who expreſt ſo much Paſſion (C) againſt *Henry II.* King of *England*, when he found that that Prince wou'd not go in Perſon to the Succour of *Jeruſalem*. He was the chief of the Embaſſy, which the Princes of the *Holy-Land* ſent into the *Weſt* to demand Aſſiſtance, and † *he did not queſtion to bring along with him either the King of* England, *or one of the three Princes his Sons.*

† Maimbourg. Hiſt. des Croiſades, B. 4. Tom. 2. pag. 6 of the Dutch edit.

HERALDUS, (*Deſiderius*) in French *Herault*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, has given good proofs of his Learning in ſeveral Books (*A*) that he has Publiſh'd. He diſguiſed himſelf under the Name of *David Leidbreſſius* to write a politick Diſſertation ‡ upon the independence of Kings, ſome time after the Death of *Henry IV.* He Died in *June* 1649, and left (*B*) ſome Children. *Salmaſius* and he (*C*) wrote one againſt another.

HER-

you a Piece of good News, your Wife, Paſque de Riveri, *is happily delivered of a fine Girl.*

Bongars (c) relates in *Latin*, the ſame Hiſtory, and more at large; for he ſays that the *French* Author who reports it, obſerves, that that Conduct of the Patriarch ſerved as a Model for others, and that the Prieſts, the Clerks, and the Monks were ſo addicted to Lewdneſs and Adultery, that there was ſcarce an honeſt Woman in *Jeruſalem*, and that Jeſus Chriſt ſeeing theſe Impurities in a City, where he had ſhed his Blood for the Redemption of his People, would no more ſuffer them, than thoſe of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; wherefore, he ſo well purged it of that abominable filth, that of all thoſe who lived there in the time of *Heraclius*, there were only two Perſons, who eſcaped the Chains, when that City was taken by *Saladin*. The ſame *Bongars* alledges *Marinus Sanutus*, and *Paulus Æmilius*, the firſt (d) whereof ſays that the People call'd *Heraclius*'s Concubine *Patriarcheſs*; and the other aſſures us, that this *atriarch* and his Clergy led a diſorderly Life. (e) *Sacerdotes fuiſſe flagitiis ſceleribuſque obrutos: atque adeo ipſum Patriarcham neque caſte neque iuegre vitam egiſſe.*

(c) Bongarſ. præfat. geſtorum Dei per Francos.

(d) Cui (*Almerico*) ſucceſſit Heraclius tam pernicioſi exempli et proceſſerem ornatiſſimam mulierem quam publicè tenebar, vulgus Patriarchiſſam vocaret. Marinus Sanutus lib. 3. parte 4. cap. 24. apud Bongarſ. ibid.

(e) Paulus Æmilius de rebus geſtis Francor. l. 5. ſub finem apud eumd. ib.

(C) *Who expreſt ſo much Paſſion againſt* Henry II. *King of* England.] ‘ That Prince (*f*) to expiate the ‘ Crime he had Committed by giving occaſion to the ‘ Aſſaſſins of St. *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ‘ to Murder him in his own Church, had accepted a ‘ Penance from the Pope, by which he was obliged ‘ to bring in Perſon in three Years time a conſidera- ‘ ble Succour to the Holy-Land. More than ten ‘ were paſt after the time expired, and yet he had ‘ not put himſelf in a Capacity to accompliſh his ‘ Promiſe. This made *Heraclius* hope for a good Succeſs in his Negotiation. He made a Diſcourſe (*g*) *extreamly Pathetical to* this Monarch *after he had preſented to him the Keys of* Jeruſalem *and of the Holy Sepulcher.* He was told that he ſhould be ſoon ſatisfied, but the King broke his word with him. *Henry* conſulted his Clergy, *to know whether in the preſent poſture of Affairs, he was obliged to make good his Promiſe, and to accompliſh that part of the Penance which the Pope had laid on him, and to which he had Solemnly obliged himſelf* (*h*). The Patriarch *Heraclius* was preſent at the Aſſembly where this caſe of Conſcience was examined. (*i*) *All the Biſhops and Abbots ..... concluded unanimouſly ..... that not only the King was not at preſent obliged to make a Voyage into* Paleſtine, *but that he would do much better for the Salvation of his Soul to remain in his own Dominions; becauſe the promiſe he had made in accepting of the Penance, which might and ought to have been deſpenſ'd with, could not prejudice that which is abſolutely indiſpenſable, and which he made at his Coronation, to govern his Subjects well, and to defend them from the Inſults of Domeſtick and Foreign Enemies; which could not be done in his Abſence in the condition Affairs were in. They all unanimouſly added with the Lords, that as to one of the King's Sons, who was demanded in his ſtead, the Aſſembly could determine nothing thereupon, ſince they were abſent, and the reſolution they were to take, depended upon them.* The Patriarch (*k*) *who was a Man of a violent Temper, was ſo provok'd* at that Reſolution, *that he had like to have ſpoiled all by loſing altogether the reſpect which was due to the King, and treating him in a manner which cannot at all be excuſed, whatever attempt he made to cover it with the Name and falſe appearance of Zeal.* He anſwered the King, *who offered* 50 *thouſand Marks of Silver for that War* (*l*). ‘ That they had no occaſion for ‘ his Money but for him; that they had more Gold ‘ and Silver than they deſired, and that they did ‘ not come ſo far but to find out a Man, who had ‘ need of Money to make an advantageous War a- ‘ gainſt the Infidels, and not to look for Money which ‘ wanted a Man ſkill'd in the Art of uſing it well ‘ in that War. For the reſt, *added he, ſpeaking in a very affronting manner*, you have Reigned hither- ‘ to with great Glory; but know that God whoſe ‘ Cauſe you have forſaken, will immediately forſake ‘ you. To be ſatisfied of it, you need only compare ‘ the Benefits you have received from him with the ‘ Enormous Crimes with which you have repaid him ‘ out of a horrid Ingratitude. You have violated the ‘ Faith, which you owe to the King of *France* your ‘ Sovereign, and now you alledge the War, which ‘ you fear he will bring upon you as a pretence for ‘ your refuſal. You have cauſed the Holy Arch- ‘ biſhop of *Canterbury* to be Barbarouſly Maſſacred, ‘ and you refuſe at preſent to go to the Defence of ‘ the Holy-Land, after having Solemnly engag'd in ‘ it by the Sacrament. *And when he ſaw the King ſtruck with Indignation and Anger*, Do ‘ not believe, *continued he thruſting out his Neck*, ‘ that I am afraid of the effects of that Fury, which ‘ the truth I ſpeak, and you cannot bear, kindles in ‘ your Soul. Take hold of my Head here; treat me ‘ as you have done St. *Thomas*: I could as ſoon Die ‘ by your Hands in *England* as by thoſe of the *Sa- ‘ racens* in *Syria*: And indeed you are little better ‘ than a *Saracen* (*m*). The King bore patiently all this Diſcourſe, and continued to treat the Patriarch very Civilly, even to the Conducting him in his own Ship to *Rouen*, from whence ‘ he carried him ‘ to the Frontiers, to the end he might be Witneſs ‘ of the Conference he had there for three Days with ‘ King *Philip*, upon the Subject of the Holy War ‘ (*n*). *Heraclius went away* without obtaining his ‘ Deſires, and even without the Aſſiſtance that was ‘ offered him, which his Paſſion made him foolihly ‘ flight againſt all the Rules of Prudence and good ‘ Sence, and to the great Prejudice of the Affairs of ‘ his Maſter: ſo much it is requiſite that Kings ſhould ‘ not abandon their Intereſts to the Diſcretion of ‘ thoſe who have hardly any, and whom frequently ‘ the violent Paſſions that govern them, deprive of ‘ the little that they have.

(f) Maimbourg, Hiſt. des Croiſades, Book 4. Tom. 2. par. 57. of the Dutch *Edit.*

(g) Ibidem pag. 58. ad ann. 1185.

(h) Ibid. pag. 50.

(i) Ibid. pag. 61.

(k) Ibid. pag. 62.

(l) Ibid. pag. 62.

(m) *According to* Maimbourg p. 64. *the Patriarch ſaid ſome things to the King, that were more offenſive ſtill*, which, *adds he*, I will not mention.

(n) Maimbourg. ibid. p. 65.

(*A*) *In ſeveral Books that he has Publiſh'd.*] His *Adverſaria* appeared in the Year 1599. 'Tis a little Book which he repented the Publiſhing of, if we may believe the *Scaligerana*. His Notes upon *Tertullian*'s Apology, *Minutius Felix*, and *Arnobius* have been in eſteem. He has alſo commented upon *Martial*'s Epigrams.

(*B*) *And left ſome Children.*] When (*b*) Mr. *Diſille* ſpeaks of the Proteſtant Writers who Condemn the Execution of *Charles I.* King of *England*, he quotes *le Pacifique Royal en deuil* written by Mr. *Heraldus*. That Author, the Son of our *Deſiderius Heraldus*, was Miniſter in *Normandy* when he was called to the ſervice of the *Walloon* Church in *London* in *Charles I.*'s time, and he was ſo good a Royaliſt, that he found himſelf obliged to return into *France*, to eſcape the Fury of the Republicans who reſented ill his Exhortations to Admit themſelves to their Lawful Prince. He returned into *England* after the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, and took again his old Poſt in the *Walloon* Church at *London*, and ſometime after he obtain'd a Canonſhip of *Canterbury*, which he kept till his Death. This is what has been lately told me by a Perſon that might well know it. See alſo the laſt Page of Mr. *Bochart*'s Letter to Mr. *Morley*.

(b) Pag. 50.

(i) Pag. 61.

(k) Pag. 62.

(l) Pag. 62.

(*C*) *Salmaſius and he wrote one againſt another.*] (c) An old Advocate is now dead here, who was a very Learned Man, called Monſieur *Herault* (*Deſiderius Heraldus*) who had a Diſpute with Monſieur *de Saumaiſe*, who had writ againſt him, *Obſervationes*

(f) Replies d'Aubigné & Coulbi, part. 2. chap. 21. pag. 127.

(c) Patin, Letter 20. pag. 121. of the 1. Tome, dated the 3. of November 1649.

HERCULES. There have been many (B) Heroes of this Name; but he of *Thebes* has been the moſt Famous, becauſe the *Greeks* aſcrib'd to him the Actions of others, and Talk'd very much of him according to the fabulous Genius of their Nation. I pretend only to ſpeak of him. He paſt for the Son of *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*. I have laid in another place † how this Lady was deceived by this God, and I will not repeat it here, nor what is to be found in *Moreri*. Our *Hercules* had a prodigious Strength both in the Wars of *Mars* and (B) *Venus*. He was alſo a great Eater. (C) I will mention

† See Alcmena and Amphitryon.

(A) *It was written in* 1639. *See* Sarravii *Epiſt.* p. 16.

ſervationes ad jus Atticum & Romanum, about Four Years ſince. Monſieur *Herault* who was offended with that Book, was writing an Anſwer to it in Folio; but Death having ſurprized him, I think it muſt be ſold, ſuch as it is, and an end muſt be put to it where the Author found his own. He ſeemed to be about 70 Years of Age——. He had the Reputation of a very Learned Man, as well in the Civil Law, as in Literature, and he wrote very eaſily upon what Subject he pleas'd. I learn from a Letter of *Sarravius* (*a*) that after 27 Years Silence, *Heraldus* having reviſed his Papers at the Inſtance of his Friends, was ready to publiſh his Book *de autoritate rerum judicatarum*. What he had prepared againſt *Salmaſius* was printed in the Year 1650; 'tis a Folio, entituled *Quæſtiones quotidianæ, & obſervationes ad jus Atticum & Romanum*. There are Two Books in the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library, aſcrib'd to *Hier. Herbarius*, which certainly were miſplac'd by the Printers; they ought to have been a little higher under *Deſiderius Heraldus*. Theſe are the Titles of them, *De rerum judicatarum autoritate Libri II.* at Paris, 1640. *Obſervationum & Emendationum Liber unus, ibid.*

(A) *There have been many Heroes of this Name.*] *Cicero* reckons Six of them, (*c*) *Quamquam quem potiſſimum Herculem colamus ſcire ſane velim, plures enim tradunt nobis ii qui interiores ſcrutantur & reconditas Litteras: antiquiſſimum Jove natum, ſed item Jove antiquiſſimo; nam Joves quoque plures in priſcis Græcorum literis invenimus. Ex eo igitur & Lyſito eſt is Hercules quem concertaviſſe cum Apolline de tripode accepimus. Alter traditur Nilo natus Ægyptius, quem aiunt Phrygias literas conſcripſiſſe. Tertius eſt ex Idaïs Dactylis, cui inferias afferunt. Quartus Jovis eſt, & Aſteria Latonæ ſororis, quem Tyrii maximè colunt, cujus Carthaginem filiam ferunt. Quintus in India, qui Belus dicitur. Sextus hic ex Alcumena, quem Jupiter genuit; ſed tertius Jupiter: quoniam, ut jam docebo, plures Joves etiam accepimus.* According to this Account the *Ægyptian Hercules* was only the third; but the *Ægyptians* give (*f*) him the firſt place. *Diodorus Siculus* (*g*), who mentions but three *Hercules*'s, gives the *Ægyptian* the Birth-right, and confeſſes, that the conformity of Name and Inclinations has been the reaſon, that the Actions of the others have been aſcrib'd to the *Theban Hercules*, who was the youngeſt of them all. 'Tis ſaid that *Varro* has reckoned up 44 *Hercules*'s.

(B) *In the Wars of——Venus.*] Some ſay (*h*) that in ſeven Days he deflower'd Fifty Daughters of *Theſtius*; others (*i*) will allow but one Night for it, and add, that he impregnated them all with Boys, and that two of them, the Oldeſt and the Youngeſt, brought him two Sons a piece. According to ſome (*k*) the Youngeſt would never conſent to the loſs of her Virginity, and for her Puniſhment he Condemned her to keep it for her Life, and ordered her to ſerve him as a Prieſteſs. Thus you ſee the reaſon why the Temple of *Hercules* at *Theſpis* was ſerved by a Prieſteſs who was obliged to remain a Maid as long as ſhe Lived (*l*). *Pauſanias* could not perſwade himſelf that *Hercules* could be ſo much Enraged againſt the Daughter of his good Friend (*m*): He therefore look'd upon the Penalty, which *Hercules* had laid upon her as a very ſevere Puniſhment. What he ſays of *Theſtius*'s Friendſhip for *Hercules*, agrees very well with what we read in *Diodorus Siculus* (*n*), that *Theſtius* (*o*) being deſirous that his Daughters might give him a Poſterity whereof *Hercules* ſhould be the Father, invited him to a noble Feaſt, and entertained him Magnificently, after which he ſent him his Fifty Daughters one after another. *Vigenere* has pleaſantly ſaid (*p*) *that it was the ſtouteſt Battle that Hercules was ever engaged in in all his Life.* And yet the Antients have not placed this in the Catalogue of his Labours. It has been ob-

(*a*) Lactant. l. 1. cap. 9.

in one Country, and ſometimes in another, and becauſe he loved the Fair Sex, he had diſperſed ſome Women in the ſeveral Provinces of the World, that he might every where find ſuch that he might diſpoſe of. *Lactantius* was not in the wrong for Laughing at the *Pagans*, who placed in the number of the Gods a Man who had left every where ſome Marks of his Incontinence: (*q*) *Hercules——nonne orbem terræ quem peragraſſe ac purgaſſe narrantur, ſtupris, libidinibus, adulteriis inquinavit? nec mirum, cum eſſet adulterio genitus Alcmena. Quid tandem potuit in eo eſſe divini, qui ſuis ipſe vitiis mancipatus & mares, & fœminas, contra omnes leges infamia, dedecore, flagitio afficit? Arnobius* very agreeably Ridicules the *Pagans* for making nine Nights neceſſary to *Jupiter* to get a Child, and allowing but one to *Hercules* to get Fifty. (*r*) *Quis illum* (Jovem) *in Alcmena novem noctibus fecit pervigilaſſe continuis? non vos? ——Et ſane adjungatis beneficia non parva, ſiquidem vobis Deus Hercules natus eſt, qui in rebus hujuſmodi patris ſui, anteiret antevaretque virtutes. Ille noctibus vix novem unam potuit prolem extundere, concumbere, compingere: at Hercules ſanctus Deus natas quinquaginta de Theſtio nocte una perdocuit & nomen virginitatis exponere, & genitricum pondera ſuſtinere.* Note that *Theſtius* was amaz'd at that vigour of *Hercules*. (*f*)

(*q*) Arnobius l. 4. p. 145.

(*f*) Qualenive vagæ poſt crimina noctis Theſpius obſtupuit toties fœcer. Stat. ſilv. 1. lib. 3. v. 42.

(C) *He was alſo a great Eater.*] He gloried to Eat more than others, and he was extreamly troubled to find a Man that could match him in that Point. He (*t*) diſputed the Prize of Voracity with one *Lepreus*, and did not get the Victory. They each of them Sacrificed an Ox, and if *Hercules* Eat all his at one Meal, his Antagoniſt was no leſs Expeditious nor Vigorous upon his Victim. *Lepreus* ſhould have ſtopt there, but he was ſo Audacious, as to provoke *Hercules* to another ſort of Combat, to a Duel, wherein he was Kill'd. I ſpeak more fully of this Diſpute at the end of this Remark. Here is another Story. *Hercules* (*a*) Travelling with his Wife and his little Son *Hyllus*, and ſeeing the little Boy diſtreſſed with Hunger, applied himſelf to a Labourer for ſome Food for him; but obtaining nothing he unyok'd one of the Oxen from his Plough, and Sacrificed him to the Gods and Eat him. That canine Hunger did not leave him even in Heaven; hence it is that *Callimachus* exhorts *Diana* not to take Hares, but Wild Boars and Bulls, becauſe *Hercules* retained the Quality of a great Eater amongſt the Gods which he had amongſt Men.

(*t*) Pauſanias lib. 5. pag. 151.

(*a*) *See* Natalis Comes Mythol. l. 7. p. in 693. 694. Apollodorus lib. 2. p. 145. *does not ſay ſo much, and it is not the ſame Circumſtances; but he owns that* Hercules *kill'd and eat that Ox. The Scholiaſt upon* Apollonius *in l.* 1. v. 1212. *Says the ſame as* Natalis Comes.

(*b*) Callimachus in hymno Dianæ v. 159. p. m. 78.

Οὐ (*b*) γὰρ ὄγε φηγῷ ἐπ' ἄκρῃ δρυὶ γούνατα θῆκεν
Ἡμενος· ἀλλ' ἀφαρ γε ἰὼν ἐπὶ οἱ τάφον ἐκτίσε πάσσων
Τῷ ποτ' ἐριβρεμέτης ἐνοσίχθονι θηκάμενος.

Non hic in Phrygia ſub quercu membra levatus
Atque Deus factus, ſit edax minus: alvus at illi
Eſt eadem, taurum qua quondam Thiodamantis
Edit, planitiem cum lati ſcinderet agri.

Athenæus cites ſome Verſes of *Epicharmus*, which admirably expreſs the Voracity of this Heroe.

(*c*) Athen. lib. 10. init.

Πρῶτον (*c*) μὲν αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἡδὺ τὸν ἄνδρα,
πρῖμος μὲν ἁρμόζει ἰδεῖν, ἀγαθὸς δ' ἐς χρῆσιν,
ψωμὸς δ' ἐγόμενος, τάλαντ' ὀκτὼ ἀνούμενος,
ἄζηρ δὲ πᾶς ἔσται, καὶ δ' ἄκρος, τῶν τέλεα πάντων ἄπλετος.

Primùm quidem, cum comedentem ſi videas, perieris:
Premunt intus fauces: ſtrepunt buccæ:
Molares dentes ſonant: caninus ſtridet:
Sibilat naribus: aurem utramque movet.

He cites ſome other Poets to prove his poſition that *Hercules* was a moſt unmerciful Eater ὡς ἀνὴρ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπλήστως ἔχει, and he forgets not the Competition of *Lepreus*.

Lepreus

mention ſome Circumſtances of it that are very ſingular, as alſo of his being a great (D) Drinker; in which he did not leſs excel. He ſhewed his Voracity upon an occaſion that gave riſe to an extraordinary Ceremony, which was to offer him (E) Affronts and Curſes during the Sacrifices made to him by the *Lindians*. Some upon conſideration of his inclination to Wine and Women, have deny'd him thoſe great Archievements (F) which are aſcribed to him. There is one very particular thing ſaid concerning his greedy way of Eating; for 'tis pretended he moved his Ears *: that *Phænomenon* is

Lepreus Challenged *Hercules* to a Tryal of Gluttony and was worſted. (a) Κλεόδαρος δέ φησιν ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα λεγομένοις ἱστορεῖν ἐπὶ λέπρεα παραγενέσθαι, καὶ πυθέσθαι. *Inducitur Hercules de voracitate cum Lepreo certans qui eum provocaverat, in qua contentione Hercules victor evaſit.* *Zenodotus* gives an Account, that *Hercules* had put in Chains *Lepreus* the Grand-Son of *Neptune*, after he had cleanſed *Augeas*'s Stable; he ſet him at Liberty when he had finiſhed his Labours, at which time he had three Diſputes with him. One was that they plaid at Quoits, another who ſhould Pump Water beſt, and a third who could Eat up an Ox ſooneſt, in all which *Hercules* had the Victory. At laſt *Lepreus* being Drunk Challenged *Hercules* afreſh, and was Kill'd. Others (b) ſay they did not Diſpute who ſhould Eat moſt, but who ſhould Drink moſt, and that *Hercules* had the better of it. Others pretend (c) that the Diſpute was, both who ſhould Eat up an Ox ſooneſt, and who ſhould Drink moſt. I will add ſome other Facts in the Note *H*.

(D) *A great Drinker.*] To be convinced of it we need only conſider the prodigious Capacity of his Goblet, which required two Men to carry it; but as for himſelf he only needed one Hand to lift it up and Drink it off.

Huic (d) pretium palmæ gemini cratera ferebant
Herculeum juvenes. Illum Tyrinthius olim
Perre manu ſola, ſpumantemque ore ſupino
Vertere ſeu monſtri Victor, ſeu marte ſolebat.

It appears by the Hiſtory of *Alexander*, that in Feaſts where there was extraordinary Drinking they drank round in a great Cup, which was called the Cup of *Hercules*. It was reſerved for the laſt, as we may infer from *Alexander*'s not having (e) yet Drank it, when he fell Sick at Table at an Entertainment where he had already drank a great deal. Others ſay, he did drink it, and that it was his fatal Cup. *Alexandrum ..... intemperantia bibendi atque ille Herculeanus & fatalis ſcyphus condidit* (f). *Diodorus Siculus* (g) tells us that *Alexander* having already drunk much, took off at laſt *Hercules*'s Bowl, and immediately fell into a Swoon. To reconcile theſe Differences, I believe, we muſt ſuppoſe this Prince was ſtruck as he was Drinking this Cup, and before he had made an end of it. This Hiſtorian obſerves the extraordinary Bigneſs of this *Herculean* Cup. But what can be alledged more deciſive hereupon than the words of *Macrobius*? (h) *Scyphus Herculis poculum eſt ita ut Liberi patris cantharus: Herculem vero fictores veteres non ſine cauſa cum poculo fecerunt & nonnunquam cafabundum & ebrium, non ſolum quod is heros vinose fuiſſe perhibetur, ſed etiam quod antiqua Hiſtoria eſt Herculem poculo cunctam navigio ventis immenſa maria tranſviſſe. Sed de utraque re pauca ex Græcis antiquitatibus dicam, multibibum Heroa iſtum fuiſſe, ut taceam quæ vulgo nota ſunt, illud non obſcurum argumentum eſt, quod Ephippus in Buſiride induxit Herculem ſic loquentem*, &c. *Athenæus* ſeems to point out to us the Capacity of this Cup, for he ſays, that that (i) which was the cauſe of *Alexander*'s Death, contained two *Congius*'s. The Poet *Steſichorus* can teach us a very notable Particular. He ſays that *Pholus* drank a Health to *Hercules* in a Pitcher that held 48 Gallons. (k) *Centaurorum & Lapithorum convivium deſcribens* (Steſichorus) *ait Pholum (quem propterea hoſpitem Alcidæ nuncupat Lucanus) impleviſſe Herculi craterem trium lagenarum capacem, quem prior ipſe obbibiſſet: amplum autem fuiſſe oportuit, qui urnam, hoc eſt quatuor, & viginti ſextarios caperet.* He drank it off firſt, and was immediately Pledg'd by *Hercules*.

Hercules (de eo enim loquitur) *acceptum in manus ſcyphum plenum, trium lagenarum capacem, ori admovens obbibit, quem Pholus ipſe infuderat.* *Athenæus* explains in a very probable manner, why the Poets have feigned *Hercules* to have croſt the Seas in a Drinking-Bowl. That Fiction, ſays he, (f) is in all likelihood founded upon the Pleaſure this Heroe took in Drinking in great Glaſſes; for he was one of the beſt Drinkers: (g) Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν μεγάλοις ἔπινε ποτηρίοις. *Bibacem inter alios Herculem fuiſſe antea nos memoravimus.*

(E) *Which was to offer him Affronts during the Sacrifices.*] I have told above, that *Hercules* Eat an Ox that he took from a Country Fellow; but I add here, that as he was Eating it, the Clown pour'd out a thouſand Curſes againſt him, which was only a Diverſion to *Hercules*: So that when an Altar was built to him he choſe this Country-man for his Prieſt, and commanded him to repeat the ſame Curſes as often as he offered Sacrifices; for ſaid he, I never Eat with a better Stomach. *Lactantius* tells the Story at large: *Apud Lindum, quod eſt oppidum Rhodi, Hercules ſacra ſunt, quorum à cæteris longe diverſus eſt ritus. Si quidem non, ἱερεῖα, ut Græci appellant, ſed maledictis & execratione celebrantur; eaque pro victimis habent, ſi quando inter ſolemnes ritus vel imprudenti alicui excident bonum verbum. Cujus rei hæc ratio redditur, ſi tamen ulla eſſe ratio in rebus vaniſſimis poteſt. Hercules, cum eo delatus eſſet, famemque pateretur, aratorem quendam aſpexit operantem, ab eoque petere cœpit, ut ſibi unum bovem venderet. Ille negavit fieri poſſe, quia ſpes ſua omnis colendæ terræ duobus illis jumentis niteretur. Herculis ſolita violentia uſus, quia unum accipere non potuit, utrumque ſuſtulit. At ille infelix, cum boves ſuos mactari videret, injuriam ſuam maledictis ultus eſt, quod hominis eleganti & urbano gratiſſimum fuit. Nam dum comitibus ſuis epulas apparat, dumque alienos boves devorat, illum ſibi amariſſime convicientem, cum riſu, & cachinnis audiebat. Sed poſtquam Herculi divinos honores ob admirationem virtutis deferri placuit, à civibus ei ara poſita eſt, quam de facto βουθυσίαν, id eſt bovis jugum nominavit; ad quam duo juncti boves immolarentur, ſicut illi, quos abſtulerat aratori, eumque ipſum ſibi conſtituit Sacerdotem, ac præcepit, ut iiſdem maledictis ſemper in celebrandis ſacrificiis uteretur, quod negaret, ſe unquam epulatum eſſe jucundius* (r).

(F) *Have denied thoſe great Archievements.*] *Megachides* in *Athenæus* cenſures the Poets that came after *Homer* and *Heſiod* for making *Hercules* to command Armies and take Towns, when 'tis certain that (ſ) he was a Man that led a Voluptuous Life, having many Lawful Wives, and getting Children Clandeſtinely upon a great many Young Women; beſides he was addicted to good Eating and Drinking; ſo that according to his Example, they who made Libations to him, left nothing in the Glaſs, they Drank it all up. Other Proofs were brought (t) of his Effeminacy, and 'twas pretended that *Steſichorus* was the firſt that armed him with a Club, a Bow and a Lion's Skin. We find in *Erasmus* a Paſſage that violently ſhakes the Tradition of *Hercules*'s Softneſs. 'Tis in the Explication of the Proverb (a). *Take heed of a Man with a black Breech.* *Erasmus* tells a Story, that a Mother gave this Advice to her two Boys, that were unlucky Rogues. They had a mind to attack *Hercules* Sleeping under a Tree, but he awak'd and tied them to his Club (b), and laid them over his Shoulders with their Heads downwards. That Poſture diſcovered to them, that

(a) Ath. ib.
(b) Martin. in Herculis laudatione. Cæcilius Rhetor Chius frater Theopompi Hiſtoriographi in Herculis laudatione apud Athen. ib.
(c) Ælian. var. hiſtor. l. 1. cap. 24.
(d) Statius, Theb. lib. 6. v. 531.
(e) Nondum Herculis Scypho epoto repente velut telo confixus ingemuit. Q. Curtius l. 10. c. 4. n. 18. Editionis Freinſhem. *See alſo* Plutarch in Alexandro ſub fin.
(f) Seneca Epiſt. 83.
(g) Diod. Sicul. lib. 17. c. 117.
(h) Macrob. Saturnal. l. 5. cap. 21.
Dempſterus in Roſinum l. 4. cap. 30. p. m. 856.
(i) Lib. 10. c. 9. p. 434.
(k) Hadrianus Junius animadverſ. l. 4. cap. 5. pag. m. 410.
(l) Apud Hadrian. Junium ibid.

Χωρὶς (l) δὲ κεῖνο δίκαι ἴσμεναι δὲ τελάσσαι
Ἶλιν ἐπιστήμεν, τὸ μὲ οἱ φρεσὶν ἔθλον ἔπορε.

See the Remark C

(m) Μὴ τοῦτο μεγάλως θαυμάσῃς ὦ ἑταῖρε, ὅτι τὸ μεγέθει παίζοντες οἱ ποιηταὶ [καὶ συγγραφεῖς] πολλὰ αὐτὸν ἐν ποτηρίῳ ἐμπεδοῦσι γίνεσθαι. Poculis fortaſſe quia heros amplis gaudebat, per jocum ſcriptores, ac poëtæ, eum in poculo navigaſſe fabulati ſunt. Athenæus lib. 11. pag. 469.
(n) Id. ib.
(o) Lactant. l. 1. cap. 21. p. m. 70. *See alſo* Conon apud Photium pag. 429.
(p) Ὅτι μετ' ἀνδρὸς πολίτου τὸν μετ' ἀνθρώπου βίον διῆλθε. πολλὰς μὲν γυναῖκας γήμας, ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ λέχεων παῖδας ποιησάμενος. Cum maximè voluptariam inter homines vitam egerit, plurimarum uxorum maritus, & puellis etiam multis compreſſis; è quibus ſuſceperit liberos. Athen. l. 12. c. 1. pag. 521.
(q) Id. ib.

μὴ ἀκαμπύγῳ τυπάσσῃς. Ne in melampygum incidas: 'Tis the 43d Proverb of the 1. Century of the 2. Chiliad in Erasmus. (r) See Moreri at the Word Achenium.

Her-

said, that he was three Days (O) in the Belly of a Whale, and that he came out safe and sound, having lost nothing but his Hair. After his Death he was adopted by (P) *Juno*; but 'tis said, that he refus'd to be associated in the College of the Twelve Great Gods. We must say something (Q) of *Hercules* of *Gaul*.

One

ergo est (inquit) quare apud Poetas salacissimus Jupiter desierit liberos tollere? Uterum sexagenarius fecundus est, & illi lex Papia fibulam imposuit? an impetravit jus trium liberorum? An eandem illi venit in mentem,

Ab alio expectes alteri quod feceris?
Et timet, ne quis sibi faciat quod ipse Saturno? (a)

(O) *Three Days in the Belly of a Whale.*] I will make use of the Words of the Commentator upon *Philostratus*, to express that Adventure, and the Occasion of it. (b) 'The Gods having on a time 'conspired together to poison their Sovereign *Jupiter*, as he came to discover the Plot by *Themis*, 'he prevented them, and punished them, some one 'way, and some another. As for *Neptune* and *Apollo*, he sent them with spite to serve the Masons, 'who were building the Walls of *Ilion*; where 'being hired by *Laodemon*, after the Work was finished, he indeed recompenced *Apollo* with abundance of Sacrifices and Offerings, but he made no 'account of satisfying *Neptune*. Whereupon the 'God enraged, sent a horrible great Whale, which 'disgorging great Floods of Sea-Water upon the 'Country, drowned it all; and *Laomedon* was obliged by the Oracle's Advice to deliver himself 'from this Calamity, by exposing his Daughter *Hesione*, adorned with Royal Robes, as a Prey to be 'devoured by this Monster. *Hercules* passing by 'chance that way, moved with Compassion, offered 'the Father to deliver her, if he would give him 'the Horses that came of an immortal Race, 'which he had received of *Jupiter*, for *Ganymede* that was ravished and carried away by him to 'Heaven, to be made his Cup-Bearer. The Terms 'being agreed upon, *Hercules* armed *Cap-a-pe*, 'threw himself headlong into the Throat of this 'Monster; and descending from thence into his 'Belly, remain'd inclos'd there Three Days, hacking and hewing, till he had quite destroyed it. 'Laomedon afterwards not standing to his Articles, 'Hercules return'd to *Troy* with Six Ships, laden 'with Soldiers, and sack'd it: He put *Laomedon* 'to Death, and carried *Hesione* Captive, making a 'Present of her to *Telamon*, the Father of *Ajax*, 'for being the first that scal'd the Wall. *Vigenere* quotes no Body. To supply that Defect, I will set down a Passage of *Tzetzes*, which (c) Mr. *Dreilincourt* has communicated to me. (d) Τρισσαις, φησι τοις Ηρακλειδαις δια το ιδ' τῳ κητει ορθος παυσας εαυτον δια δε τουτου παλιν Ανδρομεδαν δια το αφ' ετερου σκοπουντι εαυτον γενεσθαι. The Scholiast upon *Homer* (e) relates most of the Things that I have cited from *Philostratus*'s Commentator, and tells us this Story was in *Hellanicus*. *Hercules* did not come out the same way he writ in; he came out thro' the Breach, I mean thro' the Belly of the Whale. I have not been able to verify whether *Natalis Comes* has well related what he cites from *Androetas* of *Tenedos* concerning the Loss of *Hercules*'s Hair: (f) *Ubi vero cetus accessisset hians in ejus os Hercules irruit, ubi cum per triduum fuisset, ceto discupto exiit omnibus amissis capillis capitis, ut scriptum reliquit Androetas Tenedius* (g) *in navigatione Propontidis. Lycophron* plainly intimates, that it was the Heat of the Whale's Belly, which made *Hercule*'s Hair fall off (h).

(P) *He was adopted by* Juno; *but 'tis said that he refus'd, &c.*] *Juno*, who had persecuted him so much whilst alive, found her self disposed to love him when he was dead. Which verifies these Verses of *Horace*;

(i) Divam qui condidit Hydram,
Nonne & fatali portenta labore subegit,
Comptaque Junonis fastidia supremo fine domarit.

Here is what we are told by *Diodorus Siculus*. After *Hercules* was received in the Number of the Gods, he was [illegible] *Juno*, who lov'd him afterwards [illegible]. The Ceremony of the Adoption was [illegible] went to Bed, and to imitate a true Childbirth, she placed *Hercules* in such a manner, that he fell to the Ground from under her Petticoats. The Barbarians still observ'd that Ceremony in their Adoptions in *Diodorus Siculus*'s time. *Hercules* was afterwards married to *Hebe*; but he refused the Honour which *Jupiter* would have done him of associating himself in the College of the twelve Great Gods, and he justified his refusal by this Reason, that there being no place vacant in that College, he ought not to be admitted into it, and that it would be very unreasonable to degrade any other God to make room for him (k). *Juno* had for a long time begun to act as a Mother with respect to *Hercules*, but it was without knowing him. The matter of Fact was this. *Alcmena* fearing the the Jealousie of this Goddess, durst not own her self the Mother of *Hercules*, but expos'd him in the middle of a Field, assoon as he was born. *Minerva* beheld the Infant with Admiration, she advised *Juno* to give him Suck, *Juno* did it; but the Infant prest her Nipple so strongly, as gave her an intolerable Pain, and she left him there. Hereupon *Minerva* took him, and carried him to *Alcmena*, as to a Nurse, to which she recommended him (l). Here one might make a Parallel betwixt *Moses* and *Hercules*.

(Q) *We must say something of* Hercules *of* Gaul.] A modern Author (m) has imitated the *Greeks*, by refuting them. He has transferred to this *Hercules* almost all the Actions of the others, and has left nothing to the *Grecian* but moral Conquests, that is to say, Triumphs over his Passions. According to him, *Hercules* of *Gaul* built (n) in *Gaul*, the City of *Alise*; he was attack'd by Albion, *King of* Great Britain, *and by* Bergiona, *both of them Sons of* Neptune. He defeated them in *Provence*, *by the Succours he received from his Father*, who seeing (o) the Army of his Son unprovided with Arrows, discharged upon his Enemies a Shower of Stones, which overwhelmed them. (p) *In quo* (lapideo campo) *Herculem contra Albionem & Bergiona Neptum liberos dimicantem cum tela defecissent; ab invocato Jove adjutum imbre lapidum ferunt, credas pluisse, adeo multi passim, & late jacent.* He was (q) the first of the *Gauls*, who penetrated into *Italy* thro' the *Alps*. 'He rendred *Ombria* habitable, having 'made the River *Arno* of its *Marshes*. He conducted some Colonies of *Gauls* beyond the *Pyrenees*, 'where *Gerion* King of *Spain* was conquered—— 'He died in that *Spanish* Expedition, and was honoured with a Stately Temple, dedicated to him by 'the *Tyrians*, in the City of *Gades*, where his 'Bones still remain'd in *Pomponius Mela*'s Time (r), who assures us of it. (s) His Accoutrements were, 'a Quiver upon his Back, a Club in his Right Hand, 'a Bow in his Left, having the Face of an old 'Man, bald, wrinkled, swarthy, but venerable, 'drawing a Crowd of People after him that were 'fasten'd with little Chains of Gold and Silver, 'and though the Chains were extreamly little, 'none of these Captives endeavour'd to break them, 'but all on the contrary express'd by their Looks, that 'they would be sorry to be delivered from so soft a 'Vassalage, as being less conquered, by the force of 'Arms of this *Gallick Hercules*, than by his Elo'quence, which is the Description *Lucian* hath left 'us of him. This Description agrees but ill with what Mr. *Menage* has read somewhere (t), which is, that 'the old *Gauls* had a great Veneration for 'Hercules, because he was GREAT and STRONG, 'and expressing upon their turning *Christians*, that 'it would be one of their greatest Troubles not to 'see his Image any more, they were comforted by 'being told, that the *Christians* had a Saint, who for 'his Bulk and Strength was a Match for Six *Hercules*'s.

Mr. *Audigier* applies the best he can to his Hypothesis, a Story of *Diodorus Siculus*. 'Tis this, that a Daughter of the King of the *Celtæ*, proud of her extraordinary Stature, and great Beauty, despised all that pretended to marry her; but when she had seen *Hercules*, she was seized with a strong Desire to have to do with him by her Father's Consent. Her Passion was gratify'd: *Hercules* got a Son on her, nam'd *Galates* (v). The Historian doth not tell her Name; but others say, it was *Galate*

(a) Vigenere *in the Summary of* Perseus in Philostratus tom. 1. p. m. 407.
(b) *With several other Things concerning the Text of this Remark.*
(c) Tzetzes ad Lycophronem, pag. 13.
(d) In Iliad. lib. 19. v. 145.
(e) Natalis Comes, Mytholog. lib. 8. c. 3. p. m. 821.
(f) Vossius de histor. Græcis, pag. 321. *says, that this Work of* Androetas *is quoted by the Scholiast upon* Apollonius in lib. 2.
(g) Ἐν τοις περι Προποντιδος ἱστορουσι.
Τινες δε Ομηρον ακουσαντα τοιουτου κητους, ξυγχωρησαι τοις Ελλησι ποιησαι μυθον. Vivus autem dissector intestinorum amplissimus, In caldo campo, in ollæ fossis non ignitis, pilos capitis distillavit. Lycophron vers. 33.
(h) Ἡρακλεα δε φασι τον Διος ἐν τῃ νηι τῃ Αργους ἐκ τοῦ κητους ἐκπεσειν, ἐκ τῆς θερμασιας τῆς γαστρος τοῦ θηριου τριχας ἀποβαλοντα. Tzetzes ad Lycophron. vers. 33.
(i) Horat. epist. 1. lib. 1.
(k) Ex Diodoro Siculo lib. 4. cap. 40.
(l) Ex eodem, ib. cap. 9.
(m) Audigier, Origine des Francois, & de leur empire, 1. part. pag. 225, & *sequentibus.*
(n) Ibid. pag. 230.
(o) Ibid. pag. 231.
(p) Pomponius Mela. lib. 2. c. 5. p. m. 38. 39.
(q) Audigier, ibid pag. 230.
(r) Lib. 3. c. 6. *But* Pomponius *speaks of the* Egyptian Hercules.
(s) Audigier ibi [illegible] suite du Menagiana, pag. 285. *of the* Dutch *Edit.*
(t) Audigier *does not quote* Diodorus's *Book; 'tis the* 5th. *Book, Chapt.* 24. Edit. Hanov. 1611. *in* 8.

One of the most famous *Athenian* Orators observes that Writers were extreamly fond of Celebrating the Combats and Courage of *Hercules*, but made no mention of his other Qualities, which might yet have afforded them a very noble matter; He says, that that part of *Hercules's* greatness which they had so much neglected, required an excellent Orator, and that if he had thought of treating it in his Youth, he would have shewn that that Heroe excelled other Men, in Prudence, Knowledge, and Justice, still more than in strength of Body. Old Age, adds he, will not permit me to undertake his Panegyrick on that Subject: I find my self too weak to handle a Theme of that importance, that is so copious *. The Reflection of this Orator may put us in mind of the ill Taste of Man-kind (*R*). What this great Rhetorician has said of this Hero's Science, may be confirmed from Antiquity, which has acknowledged a most intimate Relation between † the Muses and *Hercules*. Whence he was Surnamed *Musagetes*, that is the Companion and Conductor of the Muses, and (*S*) these nine Goddesses were put under his Protection in the Temple, which *Fulvius Nobilior* caused to be Built to him. The thought which *Posidonius* made use of to Ri-

* *Taken from* Isocrates Orat. ad Philippum p. m. 152.

† *See* Passerat. *upon* Propertius *Eleg.* 10. *lib.* 4

(*a*) *Compare with* Diodorus Siculus *these words of* Ammianus Marcellinus l. 15. c. 9. Celtas nomine Regis amabilis, & matris ejus vocabulo Galatas dictos.

(*b*) Herod. l. 4. c. 9.

(*c*) Herodot. ib. pag. m. 227. 228.

(*d*) Pag. 228.

(*e*) Pag. 222.

(*f*) *See the* Nouv. de la Rep. des lettres, February 1685. pag. 140.

(*g*) Καὶ τὴ Φρονήσει ἡ τῆ σοφίᾳ ἡ τῆ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἀλλὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν μᾶλλον τὴν τοιαύτην, ἢ τὴ ῥώμῃ τῆ τοῦ σώματος. Et prudentia, & literis, & justitia plus antecelluisse (*Hercules*) illi personis temporum hominibus omnibus, quam roboris corporis. Isocrat. orat. ad Philipp. p. m. 158.

(*h*) Dura navis, Dura fugæ mala, dura belli. Horat. ubi infra.

(*i*) Horat. od. 13. lib. 2.

Galatea (*a*). This Story is otherwise told in the *Erotica* of *Parthenius*. There we find that *Hercules*, as he drove *Gerion's* Oxen from *Erythia*, went through *Gaul*, and came to *Bretannus* the Father of *Celtina*, who fell so much in Love with that Heroe, that having stole his Oxen she would not restore them but upon condition of his Lying with her. *Hercules* as well to recover his Oxen, as for the sake of *Celtina's* Beauty, agreed to it, and got her with Child of a Boy called *Celtus*, from which the *Celta* took their Name. *Herodotus* (*b*) tells us that *Hercules* being in *Scythia* lay on the Ground in his Lions Skin and fell asleep. When he awak'd he could not see his Mares; he sought 'em in all Parts; and when he came to the Country of *Hylæa*, he entered into a Cave where he found a Damsel who had a Human shape from her Head to her Waste, but downwards she had the form of a Serpent. He ask'd her whether she had seen his Mares? Yes, said she, I have them in my Custody, but I will not restore them unless you lie with me. He was glad to regain them at that Price, but when the sport was ended she delay'd as long as possible the Restitution of the Mares, for she Vehemently wish'd to begin it again. At last not being able to retain a Man any longer, who was desirous to be gone with his Mares, she said to him, I have kept them for you, and you have rewarded me for it; for you have gotten me with Child of three Boys. (*c*) Τὰς δὲ Φάσκε ἐκόντας ἔχειν, ἢ ἐκ ἀνιέναι μείνῃ πρὶν ἂ οἱ μιχθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ, αἰτέοντα τὰς ἵππους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερβολὴν τὴν ἀνιέναι τῶν ἵππων, βουλόμενον ἤδη πλέον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῇ Ἡρακλεῖ. *Illamque respondisse, se quidem illas habere, sed non prius redditura si quam cum ipsa coiisset: Herculem pro ea mercede cum fœmina concubuisse. Sed quum illa differret reddere equas, cupida diutissime cum Hercule concumbendi*, &c.

Mr. *Audigier* pretends (*d*) that *Jupiter Celtes*, the Oldest of the *Jupiters*, was the Father of our *Gallick Hercules*, and that all the great Divinities of *Greece* (*e*) were first known in *Gaul*. This is a very strange pretention, but not so Chimerical as that of the Learned *Rudbeck* (*f*).

(*R*) *May put us in Mind of the ill taste of Man-kind.*] The Prudence, Philosophy (*g*), and Justice of *Hercules* were Qualities infinitely more valuable than the strength of his Arms; and yet the Orators and Poets praised him only for the Actions he performed by that strength; and they said nothing of the Perfections of his Soul. They used this Method as well because they themselves were more affected with a vain Lustre, than with Solidity, as because they were perswaded that their Auditors and Readers would applaude more passionately the Stories of Battles, than the Description of Virtues which are exercised in times of Peace. *Horace* has very well observed this in supposing that the Dead lent a favourable Ear to the Poesies of *Sappho* and *Alcæus*, but were more delighted with the latter, because they treated only of War (*h*), Revolutions of State, Banishments, &c.

Utrumque (*i*) *sacro digna silentio*
Mirantur umbræ dicere: Sed MAGIS
Pugnas, & exactos tyrannos
Densum humeris bibit aura vulgus.

Besides, it must be observ'd that Tyrants overcome, and Monsters subdu'd, and in a word times of Confusion and Slaughter are Subjects more proper to shew the Wit and Eloquence of a Writer, than is the Conduct of an uniform Life led according to the Rules of Virtue. A Historian who has no great events to describe, falls asleep over his Work, and makes his Readers Gape; but a Civil War, two or three Conspiracies, as many Battles, the same Leaders sometimes Humbled, sometimes Exalted, sharpen his Pen, warm his Imagination, and always keep his Readers in Breath. I really believe that if he were commanded to write a History of a quiet Reign, and all of a Piece, he would complain of his Fate much like *Caligula* who complained that in his Reign there did not happen any great Misfortunes. (*k*) *Queri etiam palam de conditione temporum suorum solebat*: quod nullis calamitatibus publicis insignirentur. *Augusti principatum clade Variana: Tiberii, ruina spectaculorum apud Fidenas, memorabilem factum: sui oblivionem immissre prosperitate rerum. Atque identidem exercituum cædes, famem, pestilentiam, incendia, hiatum aliquem terræ optabat.* Desolations, and publick Calamities are an advantage to an Historian, and give Lustre to his Writings. He pities, if he be a good Man, the great *Vestal* who was Buried alive; he abhors the Tyrant who to (*l*) make his Reign more remarkable, oppress her; but yet 'tis favourable Topick, and very advantageous to his Pen, and an ornament to his Book. His Work is a Vessel that never floats better than in a Storm; the Tempest is his best Gale: a Calm is as contrary to it as to a real Ship; And when an Historian can begin like *Tacitus* with (*m*) *opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox prœliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum. Quatuor Principes ferro interempti. Tria bella civilia, plura externa, ac plerumque permixta*, he Prepossesses his Readers in his favour, and knows very well he has found an advantageous Subject. But after all, 'tis a Mark of a depraved taste to prefer an account of Warlike Actions before that of an Equitable Conduct; and to admire a Man more for the strength of his Arms and for his boldness, that give him the Victory over a Wild Boar or a Bull, than for his Virtue, that makes him Master of his Passions, and moves him to Establish a good Government amongst his Neighbours. That Virtue tho' it shines less than the other, participates much more of true Grandeur; there is more reality in the qualities of *Hercules* which Writers have past over in silence, than in those which they have so pompously Magnified. But they humour'd the publick. Note, that young People are more delighted with Romantick than real Histories, and that after Age has ripened and rectified our Judgment, we had rather read *Thuanus* and *Mezerai*, than *la Calprenede* and *Scuderi*. But few People lose the taste of their Childhood with respect to the description of a peaceable Reign, and to the History of one full of Troubles and great Events.

(*k*) Sueton. in Calig. cap. 31.

(*l*) Cum Corneliam Vestalium maximam defodere vivam concupisset, (Domitianus) ut qui illustrari seculum suum ejus modi exemplo arbitraretur. Plin. Epist. 11. lib. 4.

(*m*) Tacitus Histor. lib. 1. cap. 2.

(*S*) *These nine Goddesses were put under his Protection in the Temple.*] This Temple was built by *Fulvius Nobilior* who Conquer'd the *Ætolians* in the year of *Rome* 565. He was then Consul. The Principal of their Cities was called *Ambracia*; he made himself master of it, and finding the Statues of the nine Muses, he convey'd them to *Rome*, and Consecrated them in the Temple which he had built to *Hercules*, and put them under that God's Protection. I believe we should not have known these-

Ridicule a Paſſage of *Æſchylus*'s Tragedies was not juſt; *Strabo*, who cenſured him, (*T*) did not know wherein the real fault of it lies. It concerns a certain ſhower of Stones, which fell in favour of *Hercules* when he was Fighting the *Ligurians*.

HERLICIUS (*David*) a Philoſopher, a Phyſician, and an Aſtrologer, was Born at *Ceitz* in *Miſnia* the 28th of *December* 1557. He ſtood in need of the Aſſiſtance of his Mother's Relations to ſubſiſt in his Studies; not being able to have a ſufficient ſupply from his Father. He learned to make Verſes and to Sing, and he gain'd (*A*) ſomething that way in ſeveral occaſions, when neceſſity oppreſt him. He ſtaid but little in the Univerſity of *Wittemberg*, becauſe *Peucer*, whoſe Lectures he principally deſired to hear, was Impriſoned. Not being able therefore to improve under ſo excellent a Profeſſor, he went from thence to *Leipſick*, and there he Studied with very good ſucceſs. He went afterwards to *Roſtock* where the Profeſſors permitted him to make private Lectures. He acquitted himſelf ſo well of that imployment that the Duke of *Mecklenburg* made him the Sub-principal of the College of *Guſtrow*. He continued in it two Years, and ſpent all the time he had to ſpare in the practice of Phyſick †, and in Calculating Nativities. He ſpent the two following Years at *Primiſlaw* * where he taught Natural Philoſophy, and afterwards in the Year 1583 he accepted a like

† Quicquid temporis extraordinarii lucrari potuit Aſtrologiæ ſtudio, conſtructioni & judicio geniturarum tribuit, & inſuper ad Medicinam factitandam ſe applicuit. Eichſtadius ubi infra

* *In the March of* Brandenburg.

Circumſtances, had not an Orator who lived five or ſix Ages after made mention of. His Words deſerve to be ſet down. (*a*) *Eidem Herculis Muſarum in circo Flaminio Fulvius ille Nobilior ex pecunia Cenſoria fecit, non id modo ſecutus, quod ipſe litteris & ſumma Poetæ amicitia duceretur, ſed quod in Gracia cum eſſet imperator, acceperat Herculem Muſagetem eſſe, id eſt comitem ducemque Muſarum, idemque primus novem ſigna, hoc eſt omnium Camenarum, ex Ambracienſi oppido tranſlata, ſub tutela fortiſſimi numinis conſecravit, ut res eſt, quia mutuis operibus & præmiis juvari ornarique deberent: Muſarum quies defenſione Herculis & virtus Herculis voce Muſarum.* This Orator has Reaſon for his ſaying that great Warriours and the Muſes ſtand in need of one another; the former are to procure Repoſe and Security to the Muſes, and the latter are reciprocally to immortalize the noble Actions of Heroes by their Songs. One might according to the notion of the ſame Orator, apply to our *Hercules* what has been ſaid, that (*b*) they who do noble Actions worthy to be Celebrated by the Poets, are lovers of Verſes. Obſerve that *Statius* ſuppoſes that *Hercules* underſtood Muſick.

> *Dic (c) age Calliope, facinus tibi grande ſonabit*
> *Alcidæ, tenſoque modos imitabitur arcu.*

Others obſerve that he underſtood Aſtrology: *Gabriel Naudé* gives this for certain, but he makes uſe of it with a little Ignorance, by his leave. 'Tis in that part of his *Coups d'état* where he ſpeaks of ſome Perſons who have uſed fraud to arrive to the honour of Deification: *What* Hercules *did*, ſays he (*d*), *was more ingenious; for being well verſt in Aſtrology, witneſs the Fables of his Life which make him carry the Heavens with* Atlas, *he choſe exactly the Hour and Time of an Apparition of a great Comet, to put himſelf upon the burning Pile in which he would finiſh his Days, to the end that this new Fire from Heaven might be preſent as a Witneſs, and make it believ'd of him what the Romans afterwards would have the World to believe of their Emperors by means of an Eagle which flew up from the midſt of the Flames, as it were to carry the Soul of the Deceaſed into the Arms of* Jupiter. Here is an Author who ſuppoſes that the Apparition of Comets may be foreſeen by Aſtrology. He is miſtaken; his Commentator (*e*) has cenſured him for it.

Note, that the Temple which *Fulvius Nobilior* cauſed to be built to *Hercules*, was almoſt Ruined in the time of *Auguſtus*, but *Lucius Martius Philippus* cauſed it to be rebuilt (*f*), and joined a *Portico* to it. See *Ovid* at the end of his 6th Book *de Faſtis* and *Martial Epigram* 51. Book 5.

(*T*) Strabo, *who cenſured him, did not know wherein the real fault of it lies.*] *Æſchylus* ſuppoſes (*g*), That *Hercules* was admoniſh'd, that being to Fight the *Ligurians* he ſhould be deſtitute of Arrows, Fate having ſo ordain'd it, and in a place where he could not get a ſingle Stone; but that in ſuch a condition he would move *Jupiter*'s Compaſſion, who by means of a Cloud filled with Stones would furniſh him with Arms with which he ſhould beat the *Ligurians*. How much better had it been, ſaid *Poſidonius*, for *Jupiter* to have darted theſe Stones upon the *Ligurians* and overwhelmed them, than to have reduced *Hercules* to ſuch an Indigence, ὡ τοσῶνδε λίθων πτώσεως ἄλλου τὸν Ἡρακλέα (*h*), *Quam ad tot lapidum indigentiam redigere Herculem.* *Strabo* anſwered this Cenſure, and ſaid two things; one is that there was need of abundance of Stones, ſince the buſineſs was to beat a great number of Enemies, ſo that in that reſpect the thought of the Poet *Æſchylus* was more probable than that of his Cenſor. (*i*) Τὸ μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ὅπως ἐν ἐφόδῳ πολλοὺς βάλλοι· ἐπεὶ τί καὶ τοῦτο μὴ πιθανόν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ ποιητὴς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μύθου τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐπεξεργάζεται· τὸν μῦθον. *At verò tot lapidibus opus erat contra tantam multitudinem, ut quæquidem in parte fabula autor probabiliora dixerit, quam fabulæ reprehenſor.* Secondly, he adds that the Poet having expreſſly ſaid it was a thing ordered by Fate, ſhould have ſtopt the Mouth of all Criticks; for if one ſhould attempt to diſpute upon Predeſtination and Providence, many things would be found both in Morality and Nature, which might give occaſion to ſay, that they had been better ordered in another manner; for Example, it had been better to pour Rain upon *Egypt* than to moiſten the Earth with the Waters of *Æthiopia*; it had been better if *Paris* had been Ship-wrack'd in going to *Lacedæmon*, than to ſuffer him to carry away *Helena*, and to puniſh him for it afterwards to the great damage of the *Greeks* and *Trojans*; a thing which *Euripides* attributes to *Jupiter*. (*k*) Καὶ τὸν Πάριν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην πλεῦσαι, μᾶλλον ἢ [illegible] ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν Ἑλένην ἁρπάσαντα ἄγειν τινὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἄγριον, ἵνα ποτὲ δυνηθείη Θέσις Ἑλλάνων ἢ βαρβάρων. ὑπὲρ ἐμφυλίου ἀνάγκην εἰς ἓν ἄγειν,

> Ζεὺς γὰρ κακὸν μὲν Τροΐ πῆμα δ' Ἕλλάδι
> Θέλων γενέσθαι, τὰ δ' ἰδιώταν πταίσματα.

Et Paridem cùm Spartam peteret debuiſſe portùs naufragium facere, quam rapta Helena pœnas poſtmodo ſceleris dare, autorem tantæ cladis Græcorum ac barbarorum, quam Euripides Jovi imputat.

> Jupiter malum Troibus, & cladem Græciæ
> Volens contingere, iſta decrevit patrem.

I believe that *Strabo* acted more ſubtilly than ſincerely. There is no probability that *Poſidonius* founded his Raillery upon *Hercules*'s wanting ſo many Stones; yet becauſe his Phraſes might receive that Sence, *Strabo* took advantage of it. But he has not obſerved the true fault of the Cenſure; he ſhould have anſwered *Poſidonius*, that if *Jupiter* had intended only and in general to knock the *Ligurians* in the Head, he had better have done it by caſting thoſe Stones upon them than about *Hercules*; but that deſigning that *Hercules* ſhould be the Author of the Defeat of theſe People, the Stones were to fall near him and not upon his Enemies. The Critick went upon a notion which is an inexhauſtible ſource of Paralogiſms. He did not conſider that Deſtiny includes all at once both the end and the means.

(*A*) *He gain'd ſomething that way in ſeveral occaſions.*] This is what his Friend *Eichſtadius* ingenuouſly confeſſes. *Sponte*, ſays he (*l*), *ad Poeſin & Muſicam accendam ſe dedit, à quo utroque ſtudio etiam*

(*a*) Eumenius *in* oratione pro ſcholis inſtaurandis.

(*b*) Carmen amat quiſquis carmine digna gerit.

(*c*) Statius ſilv. 1. l. 3. v. 50.

(*d*) Naudé, Coups d'eſtat c. 2. p. m. 89.

(*e*) *See* Lewis de May's *reflections upon* Naudé's Coups d'Etat p. 144.

(*f*) *The Mother of* Auguſtus *Married again with that* Philippus.

(*g*) *See* Strabo l. 4. p. m. 126.

(*h*) Id. ib.

(*i*) Id. ib. pag. 187.

(*k*) Id. ib.

(*l*) Eichſtad. in vita Davidis Herlicii, apud Henning. Witte. Memor. Medicorum decad. 1. pag. 74.

like employ at *Anclam*, where he also practis'd Physick. He Publish'd the following year (*B*) an Almanack, which was highly applauded. From that time he made one every year for the space of 52 years. He was called in the year 1585 to teach Mathematicks in the University of *Gripswald*, and he continued in that Employment thirteen years, and Publish'd several Books. He took his Doctor of Physick's Degree with great Solemnity in that University in the year 1597. and at the year's end he went to *Stargard* a Town of *Pomerania* where he taught Natural Philosophy, from whence he remov'd to *Lubeck* in the year 1606, upon the same account. He practic'd Physick there with great Reputation, and yet by I know not what fickleness of Temper, he left that Town in the year 1614, and retired to *Stargard*, where he spent the rest of his Days. He Died the 15th of *August* 1636. He had suffer'd a very grievous loss the year before, his House and all his Papers being burnt in the Fire that reduc'd *Stargard* to Ashes the 7th of *October* 1635. Had it not been for that the Publick would have seen (C) an infinite number of his Astrological Observations, it being a Science he had very much Studied *. He had got Money by Erecting Horoscopes (D); and as he did not want Wit, he took great care that the uncertainty of his Art (E) should not be too much discover'd. The Prediction which he (F) Publish'd against the *Turks* had not its Accomplishment. He was twice Married, and was

* *From a Letter of* Laurence Eichstadius *inserted in the* Memoriæ Medicorum *of* Hermannes Witte, decad. 1. *p.* 73. & seq.

etiam postea in Academiis, quoties aliquâ inopiâ laborabat, fructus non pœnitendos percepit, eoque sibi vivos Lunos & homines doctos patronos atque amicos conciliavit; sicut & habuit duos alios fratres Stralsundæ in Pomerania & Musica Instrumentali & Vocali (quorum unus Cantorem Scholæ alterius Musicum ordinarium in templo Nicolaitano inibi egit) celebres atque excellentes.

(*B*) *An Almanack which was highly applauded.*] See these words of *Eichstadius*: (i) *Anno* 1584. *primum suum Calendarium & prognosticon de mutationibus aeris & tempestatum in hoc physicum publicavit, quod magno hominum applausu statim exceptum fuit.* That good success encouraged him to go on, and he had the Satisfaction to see his Almanacks translated into several Languages, and to be look'd upon by that means, as the Ornament of *Pomerania*. (k) *Sed & prognostica annua de statu aeris, quæ jam per quatuor ac decem annos conscripserat, maximo labore, summa fide, indefessisque observationibus, in usum Pomeraniæ & regionum regnorumque adjacentium quotannis per* 52. *annos continuavit. Qui labor progressu annorum in tantam lucem venit, ut non tantùm à Germanis in suo idiomate expetitus, verùm etiam ab exteris in Latinam, Bohemicam, Polonicam, Danicam & denique Suecicam linguam translatus, mox hinc inde in vicina climata illatus, atque HERLICIUS noster tam utili anniversario opere decus & ornamentum Pomeraniæ factus sit.* He lov'd this sort of Labour so much, that one of the Reasons why he quitted *Lubeck*, was the hopes of having so much Leisure at *Stargard*, as was necessary to finish a great Work, wherein *Astrology* had a considerable Share. (l) *Ut defatigatus ibi ex plurimis negotiis, curis, turbis, honestum sibi otium quæreret, & Deo, suis Musis atque affinibus* (m) *vacare commodius posset, rursus valedicens Lubecæ anno* 1614 *cum universa sua familia rebus compositis Stargardiam Pomeranorum se contulit, ubi majore tranquillitate literariâ ad absolvendum & expoliendum opus illud magnum, quod de triplici Kalendario Ecclesiastico, Astronomico, & Astrologico conscribere inceperat, sed ante* (n) *annum, proh dolor, in communi Civitatis Stargardensis flamma una conflagravit, se frui posse sperabat.* See the following Remark.

(*C*) *The Publick would have seen an infinite Number of Astrological Observations.*] To shew this Man's Application to the minutest Particulars of *Astrology*, I will here offer an Instance which I find in his Life. (o) *Interea suas observationes Astrologicas publici juris facere decreverat; sæpe enim ad me scripsit, quod ultra mille & ducenta collegerit Themata, quæ suo tertio operi Calendariographico & Astrologico inserere, iisque veritatem aliquot Aphorismorum Astrologicorum probare nitebatur, e. g.* Quod Planetæ benefici, Jupiter & Venus conjuncti, imprimis in octava domo longam vitam & annos (*ultra* 70.) diuturnos polliceantur. *Item*, quod Fomalhaut, insignis stella asterismi Aquarii, in octava domo celebrem & gloriosum post mortem faciat. *Item*, quod Cauda Draconis in prima domo Cœli vel altero oculo carentem vel gibbosum fore minetur. *Ut complures alios taceam. At hæc cum reliqua sua industriosissima Bibliotheca (cujus similem vix privatus alius tota nostra in Pomerania quoad Mathematicos, Historicos & Medicos libros possedit) in communi Stargardiensi excidio flammis conflagravit.*

(*D*) *He had got Money by erecting Horoscopes.*] The *Bohemians* and *Polanders* were his best Paymasters. (p) *Diversæ sæpe nationes ad eum confluebant, & ejus experimenta nominisque celebritatem judicium de genituris ab eo poscebant Germani & exteri, præsertim Bohemi & Poloni, quorum liberalitatem præ aliis prædicabat.* And being one of those who take care of themselves, he was very careful of his (q) Eyes, that they might be of service to him in his old age; for which Reason he was assisted by his Friend *Eichstadius*, who studied Astrology: He gave him some Nativities to Calculate, and desir'd his Judgment on them.

(*E*) *That the uncertainty of his Art should not be too much discover'd.*] He would never work for those who could not tell the hour of their Nativity, choosing rather to be without their Money, than to expose his Credit (*d*). What he wrote to *Eichstadius* shows that he was sincere, and look'd upon Astrology as a venerable Science, the honour whereof he ought to preserve, tho' he were a loser by it. He could not endure that any one should ask him what colour Hair and Cloaths must be of to bring good luck; as knowing he run the risk of being put upon questions of that Nature. He was angry with many Astrologers, who not using the like discretion, expos'd their Prognosticks to Contempt and Censure; and at the bottom he was desirous to be so Rich as not to be necessitated to gain a livelihood by so vile a Profession. (e) Sobriè quoque hanc artem tractari volebat; hinc aliquando in suis literis ita ad me perscripsit: *Utinam amicis fortuna me intueretur oculis, ut sine Astrologicis gerris senectuti meæ (quæ mihi excitatem minatur) prospicere possem, nunquam quidem calculo inquirerem. Interim quando multi plura inquirunt, & scire desiderant, quàm Ars nostra ferat, aut patitur, aut habet, aut explicat, malo juxta conscientiam agere, quàm Sanctam Uraniam nostram deturpare & velut stupratæ, eique nigrum falsum vel atram notam aspergere: quam aliis tot superstitionibus Chaldaicis nostra Ars scatet, quas multi ex nostratibus adhuc mordicus tenent. Multi ex me scire laborant, qui colores vestimentorum & equorum fortunati sibi sint futuri? Hæc & alia monstra quæstionum sæpè albis dentibus video, sæpè etiam deteſtor. Anno enim virginitatem nostræ Artis, nec patiar eam ita nefario stupro pollui, ne Mistologi hosce abusus in contemptum Astronomiæ nobis objicere possint.* 'Tis hard to imagine how a Man, who had so much business in Physick (*f*), and who had no Children, should fear to want necessaries in his old Age; unless he made Horoscopes. This might strengthen those Scandalous Stories that went about of him, and make one believe that he was too expensive in his Love Intrigues.

(*F*) *The Prediction which he Publish'd against the Turks.*] Mr. *Thomasius* made a Oration at *Leipsick* the 15 of *October* 1665. on a Thanksgiving for the Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Ottoman Port. That Peace did very much disgust the Millenaries, who had foretold the approaching Ruin of the *Turkish* Empire. They founded their Predictions upon some Texts of Scripture, and upon many Passages which they understood according to their

(*a*) Apud Witte ibid. p. 76.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 77.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 77. 78.

(*d*) *His Wife was of* Stargard. *She was a Widow when he Married her in the beginning of the Year.* 1611. Ibid. pag. 78.

(*e*) *That is, in the Year* 1635.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 81.

(*g*) Ibid. pag. 80.

(*h*) Et quia in sua ingravescente ætate parcere oculis, & ad plures annos eorum usum reservare volebat, haud raro à me petiit, ut ubi ad calculum genituraſum perficiendum, & aliquod breve judicium de iis ferendum sub venirem, cui lubens annuì. Ib.

(*i*) Nunquam illis [illegible] suum adornare volebat, qui sine cognita nativitatis hora ad eum accedebant; malitiosæ dignitati artis, quam pecuniæ turpique lucro consulere. Ib.

(*i*) Id. ib.

was very (G) unfortunate in his first Wife. It was perhaps his own fault; For he was accus'd of being one of those Fornicators, who make Love out of Doors. His Friend (H) makes but an ill Apology for him thereupon. There are many Books

(a) In ampla praxi Medica vixit (Imbecæ) ita ut mihi aliquoties retulerit, se sæpius subobscuro mane ægros suos visitatum extra ædes jedem extuliſſe, & uſque ad veſperam, ut numerum eorum in chartam relatum abſolveret, contentiùs per plateas ambulaſſe, demumque tenebris obortis domum reverſum eſſe. Id. ib. p. 77.

(b) Non aliis armis inſtructi prodierunt, qui per hos annos credrà nobis volvere, fore brevi, ut jam deletum Ottomanum-darum imperium cerneremus: non leve, opinor, um facere Scripturæ profanatione, quam & generis diverſiſſimi prædictionibus ſociarent, & ſui cerebri ſomnia cogerent interpretari. Thomaſius, in Orationibus p. m. 397.

(c) Ib. ib. pag. 395. (d) Id. ib. pag. 306. (e) Ibid. (f) Eichſtadius ubi ſupra pag. 76. (g) His Name was Caſpar Calius. (h) Uxorem adeo amplius quadraginta annos quibus cum ea vixit cuſtodiis ſuis domi ſubjectam habuit, ut mortalium nemini fas fuerit aſpicere. Nicius Erythræus pinacoth. 1. p. 226. (i) Parochis, quibus mos eſt quotannis, Paſchalibus feriis, ſuis in parœciis capita hominum recenſere, ac ſingulorum domos aqua luſtrali conſpergere, verborum contumeliis, ac metu etiam fuſtis, ſi auſi eſſent accedere, domi ſuæ foribus abigebat, quod diceret, Pontificem Max. cum illuc ner faceret, bene domui ſuæ dicere, proinde nihil opus eſſe cujuquam ad eam rem opera. Id. ibid.

their own Fancy (a). This is their way, they renew it every day. *Thomaſius* was amazed that after ſo many falſe Prophecies, that had been vended about the *Ottomans*, People deſiſt not ſtill to ſet up for Prophets. It ſeems that the more People have been deceived, the leſs one ought for the future to fear deception, ſince the word of God which cannot Lie, has promiſed us the overthrow of that potent Monarchy. This emboldens theſe new Prophets. The Orator doth not inſiſt upon this Reaſon; he thinks that the deſire theſe Gentlemen have of injoying the Golden Age upon Earth ſeduces them. *Sed fortaſſe curioſitati huic nihil potentiorem ſtimulum admovet, quàm neſcio cujus aurei ſeculi per mille duraturi annos perſuaſio, ubi profligatis ab omni latere hoſtibus Deo dilecta cohors in otio ſit ſuaviſſimo victura. Trahimur omnes beatæ his in terris vitæ cupiditate. Itaque ſi qua nobis eam fama polliceatur, ei fitientiſſimas aures adjungimus, inque omnes articulos temporis, qui favere huic affectui videntur, eniſè vigilamus* (b). After this he repreſents to his Auditory, that there has not been any conſiderable War in the XVII. Century againſt the Enemies of the true Church, but Predictions have been Propagated, promiſing an utter ruin of the Pope or the Turk, or both of them together. The glory of this Defeat was promiſed to *Frederick* King of *Bohemia*, afterwards to *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and then to *Charles Guſtavus*. (c) *Tantæ victoriæ lauream erant qui ſuperioris Germanici belli tempore Friderico Palatino, erant qui Guſtavo Adolpho Suecorum Regi, erant qui Carolo Guſtavo deſtinarent, cùm is Poloniam ante hos novem annos infeſtaret.* Afterwards he ſpeaks of our *David Herlicius*, who promiſed the ſudden Deſtruction of the Turk at the end of the XVI Century. (d) *Plenus talium in primis eſt, Davidis Herlicii, in aliis fortaſſe prædictionibus, quàm in hac felicioris Aſtrologi, libellus, quem ſub finem ævi ſuperioris, miſerè Pannoniam vexante Turcâ, vulgavit. Ibi Danielem, Apocalypſin, dictum Eliæ, præſagia Johannis Hiltini, Antonii Torquati Ferrarienſis, Turcarum ipſorum, curſus ſiderum, conjunctiones planetarum, quaſi in exercitum unum conſcribi video, quo in animis hominum ultimo prælio cum Turcâ decidatur.*

(G) *And was very unfortunate in his firſt Wife.*] God knows why, ſaith the Hiſtorian. (e) *Anno* 1593. *honeſtiſſimam virginem* Reginam Hungers *primarii civis Primiſlavienſis filiam in matrimonium accepit, cum qua tamen non adeo concorditer (cauſam novit Deus) vixit, & ſine fructu matrimonii per* 17. *annos.* For People ill-match'd to live 17 years together is ſomewhat long. We ſcarce find in the Writers of the Lives of famous Men the ingenuity which we ſee here. Since I have been upon this work, I have run over a great many Elogies, and Lives of Learned Men; but I have ſcarce ever read that they liv'd ill with their Wives: We are generally aſſured that the ſweeteſt agreement imaginable has been the benediction of their Hymen, when the Neighbour-hood frequently know the contrary. I remember a particular which deſerves ſome regard. A Learned Roman (f) who died in the Year 1640, had kept his Wife in ſo ſevere a Captivity as not to ſuffer any body to ſee her, or her to ſee any body (g). He ſuffered not ſo much as the Parſon of the Pariſh to come near him at *Eaſter*, to take an account of the Perſons in his Family, and to ſprinkle Holy-Water as is the cuſtom in *Rome*. He ſaid that the Pope going that way gave his Benediction to the Houſe, and that it was enough; and if the Parſon was importunate the Gentleman threatned to Cudgel him (h). One Day demanding leave for his Wife to be diſpenc'd from keeping *Lent*, the Prieſt anſwered he would not grant it, unleſs he ſaw with his own Eyes the condition of the Sick Perſon; The Huſband repli'd aloud that the Diſtemper lay in her Womb: *Nicius Erythræus* was preſent at this Diſcourſe. *Atque ipſemet adfui, cum in ſacrario S. Spiritus in Sanis Parocho, negantí, non aliter ſe uxori ejus poteſtatem faciturum veſcendi carnibus, in quadrageſima, niſi ſuis ipſe oculis, quo morbo affecta eſſet, aſpexiſſet, palam multis audientibus, dixit, Uxori meæ morbus in matrice inhæret, placet ne morbi locum aſpicere?* 'Tis eaſie to judge whether a Man of this Humour could Live 45 Years with his Wife without any ſort of Diſpute. And yet this is aſſerted in his Epitaph plac'd in the 275th Page of the *Bibliotheca Romana* of *Proſper Mandoſio*. *Sed quod raro contingit cum Claudia Sebaſtiani Tiburtina uxore, ſine querela conjunctiſſimè vixit annis* XLV. Neither Epitaphs nor Elogies are to be truſted to.

(H) *His Friend makes but an indifferent Apology for him.*] Some, ſays he, maintain, that *Herlicius* Loved young Laſſes, and his Stars would have it ſo; but if any one would conclude from hence, that the troubles of his firſt Marriage aroſe from this, I Anſwer in his juſtification, that he had no Child by either of his Wives, and that he was uſed to ſay that he ſow'd in a barren Ground; and conſequently he deſired only to be loved by young Maids and not to enjoy them. (k) *Fuerunt noſtrâli eum, quum ætas ferret, non abhorruiſſe à puellarum amoribus, id quod in geneſi ejus conjunctio Veneris cum Marte præ ſe ferre videtur. Quod ſi quis hinc eum fortè ſalacem, & hinc multas turbas in priore matrimonio ortas eſſe dixerit, ille ſciat, D. HERLICIUM ex utraque ſua conjuge nullos liberos vel* Herliciolum *ſuccepiſſe, ſed illorum exortem fuiſſe, atque in ſterili agro (ut dicere ſolebat) laboraſſe, & proinde animo juvenecularum mutuo potiùs, quàm coitu captum eſſe.* To confirm this Apology *Cardan* is alledged, who has proved himſelf Laſcivious by the multitude of his Children (l). Never was a more wretched Apology; for in the firſt place *Herlicius* did not boaſt of any Continence or Moderation; he only complain'd that he had cultivated a barren Soil. He had therefore laboured, and he confeſt it. What concluſion will you draw after this from his having no Children? Will you hence conclude that if he endeavoured to get the Love of young Women, it was only for the pleaſure of being Loved by them without any farther pretentions? But there are no Engines ſtrong enough to draw that Concluſion. In the ſecond place a barren Wedlock is no proof of a leſſer incontinence; on the contrary Phyſicians ſay, that too great a Laſciviouſneſs is one of the obſtacles to Conception, and that the Reaſon why there are unfruitful Marriages the firſt Year is the too frequent Commerce of the New-Married Couples; ſo that before the firſt Fires are ever, Nature being interrupted and diverted cannot take right Meaſures. Read *Ariſtotle* cited by *Montagne*. (m). 'Tis requiſite, ſaith *Ariſtotle*, to approach a Wife prudently and ſeverely, leaſt the too irrigating pleaſure ſhould carry her beyond the Rules of Reaſon. What he ſays for Conſcience, Phyſicians ſay it for Health; that an Ardent, Voluptuous and Aſſiduous Pleaſure Adulterates the Blood, and hinders Conception. On the other Hand they ſay, that as to a Languiſhing Congreſs, ſuch as this is Naturally, the uſe of it muſt be rare, and with conſiderable Intervals to furniſh it with a juſt and fertile Heat.

, *Quo rapiat ſitiens Venerem interiuſque recondat.*

Laurence Joubert a famous Phyſician, writ one of the Chapters (n) of his vulgar Errors to 'Oppugn thoſe, who think by continual 'Embraces to have Children, and thoſe who think 'to have fewer by a contrary Method. The Ignorant vulgar, *ſays he* (o), 'miſtake two contrary 'ways, totally contradicting their intentions, when 'ſome very deſirous of Children, think to obtain 'them by the frequency of their Embraces; and 'others by the Parſimony of their Love think to avoid 'the

(f) Eichſtadius ubi ſupra p. 78.

(l) Hieron. Cardanus quidem in judicio ſuæ genituræ ſe laſcivum fuiſſe multitudine procreatorum liberorum probat. Id. ibid.

(m) Montagne, Eſſa. Book. 3. chap. 5. p. m. 112.

(n) 'Tis the 6. of the 2. Book.

(o) Joubert, erreurs populaires, L. 2. c. 6. p. m. 74.

Books (*l*) of his making. I forgot to say that he was a good *Lutheran*.

HERMANT (*Godfrey*) one of the most famous Writers of the XVII Century was Born at *Beauvais* the 7th of *February* 1617. 'He shewed in his Childhood the 'proofs of a lively Wit and happy Memory, which qualities he preserved to his dying 'Day. He learnt the Latin and Greek Tongues with a wonderful ease, and at an Age 'that others can hardly Read and Write. He was but 12 years Old when *Augustine Potier* 'Bishop and Count of *Beauvais*, sent him to *Paris* to study Rhetorick in the Jesuits College. 'After he had finished his course of Philosophy in the College of *Navarre*, and of Divinity in the *Sorbonne*, this good Prelate who loved him, called him back to *Beauvais* 'to teach School Learning and Rhetorick. He sent him again to *Paris* in the Year '1640. to be Tutor to Mr. *d'Ocquerre* his Nephew. That Imploy was no hinderance 'to his professing Philosophy in the College of *Beauvais* in order to be of the House 'of *Sorbonne*. He was made Batchelor in 1641, and Canon of the Cathedral Church of '*Beauvais* in 1642. Hitherto his Merit was known only to his Friends, but the 'Jesuits having presented a Request to the King in the Year 1643, to be incorporated 'into the University of *Paris*, Mr. *Hermant* was made choice of to write against it, and he Composed three or four Pieces which got him a great Reputation. Mr. *le Camus* (*A*) Bishop of *Bellai*, Congratulated him for it in a manner that deserves to be related. He represented to him the resentment of the Jesuits against him; but as Mr. *Hermant* was no ambitious Man, he did not give them an opportunity to imploy their great Interest to his Prejudice. 'He was made Prior of the *Sorbonne* in 1644, a Li-'cenciate and Rector in 1646. 'Twas in the second year of his Rectorship that there 'happened one of those casual Conjunctures, which impose upon some People (*B*) as to

'the increase of their Family. The first imagine 'that if they fail at one time, they shall succeed at 'another: But it happens quite otherwise; for 'what might have been effected by the first enter-'prize may be destroy'd by a second. And which 'is more, these frequent returns, without the 'invitation of Nature, give not the Seed time to 'elaborate and perfect it self, and therefore it is 'not fecund and prolifick, but rather as insignifi-'as Water.

It is a true saying that 'tis better not to have one's Cause pleaded than to commit it to a bad Advocate. *Eichstadius* deserves to be compared to him whom the *Prætor Scipio* recommended to one that was at Law. (*a*) *Ille Siculus cui Prætor Scipio patrocinium causæ dabat hospitem suum, hominem nobilem, sed admodum stultum: Quæso, inquit, Prætor, adversario meo da istum patronum, deinde mihi neminem dederis.*

(*a*) Cicero de Orat. lib. 2.

(*l*) *There are many Books of his making.*] Most of them are in High-Dutch: The Latin are either Poems or Orations, or Tracts of Philosophy and Physick: The Sieur *Witte* gives a Catalogue of them (*b*).

(*b*) Ubi supra p. 87.

(*A*) *Mr. le Camus Congratulated him for it.*] Mr. *Hermant* wrote four things on that occasion 1. Observations upon the request of the Jesuits. 2. The first Apology for the University. 3. *Academical* Truths. 4. The second Apology, which is a Reply to the Answer which the Jesuits Publish'd. He did not prefix his Name to these Pieces. 'Mr. *le* 'Camus Bishop of *Bellai* discovering M. *Hermant* 'to be the Author, gave him a visit at *Alluye-House* 'where he Lodged, and imbracing him, said, that 'he blest God for having not only given him so 'much Sence and Learning at an Age so little ad-'vanced, but also a Heart and Courage not to fear 'the Hatred and Vengeance of so terrible a Society 'as that he wrote against. Yet all the evil that 'the Jesuits could do him whilst he Lived, did only 'consist in their not loving him, nor speaking of 'him with esteem, tho' he had been their Disciple. 'His Modesty shelter'd him from their most formi-'dable Resentment, and they could not oppose his 'canvassing for the first Dignities of the Church 'which they dispose of, because he was so far from 'seeking them, that he sincerely slighted them, 'having refus'd some when he was prest to accept 'of them (*c*). The want of Ambition often proves the best Sanctuary.

(*c*) Taken from a Memorial imparted to the Bookseller.

(*B*) *Impose upon some People as to the Vanity of judicial Astrology.*] Here are the Words of a Memorial which has been imparted to us (*d*). Marcellus *Professor of Rhetorick in* Lisieux *College, had Composed in Latin the Elogy of Mareschal* de Gassion, *who was killed with a Musket-shot at the Siege of* Lens, *and he was ready to speak it in Publick when an old Doctor who made it his chief business to Read all the Papers that were Posted up, being surprized to find that, which gave notice of* Marcellus's *Oration, ran to complain of it to Mr.* Hermant, *and representing to him that it ought not to be suffered that in a Catholick University, a Man should speak a Funeral Oration for a Person who Died in the pretended Reformed Religion, desired him to call a Convocation to determine the matter. Mr.* Hermant *not being able to refuse him, it was resolved by a Majority of Votes, that* Marcellus *should be immediately forbid to speak the Panegyrick on Mr. le* Gallion; *and the Astrologers Triumph'd upon it, observing to every Body that in the Almanack of the famous* Larrivey, *amongst the Predictions of the same Month, there was written in great Characters,* LATIN PERDU, Latine lost. The better to understand the Circumstances of this Prohibition I shall set down a Passage of *du Boulai*. (*e*) Mr. Marcel *Professor of Rhetorick in* Lisieux *College, having posted up an Advertisement that he would make the Funeral Oration of Marshal* de Gassion, *the Rector forbad him, because the said* Gassion *Died a Huguenot; whereupon Mr.* James Desperiers *Principal of the said College going with the said* Marcel *to complain to the Chancellor of France, they were ordered to submit to the Rector's Sentence. The Act taken from the Registers testifies it.* '22. De-'cember (*an.* 1647.) Ampl. D. *Rector habuit Co-'mitiis ex consilio D. D. Decanorum & 4. Pro-'curatorum prohibuit D. Guill. Marcel. eloquentiæ 'Professorem in Collegio Lexovæo* declamare laudes '& præconia demortui Mareschalli nomine Gallion; '*quod prolixo programmate publico notum fecerat 'omnibus Studiosis; sed quia res erat pessimi exempli '& contra Religionem laudare hominem in hæresi 'mortuum, noluit Academia acquiescere instantissimis 'precibus D. Marcelli neque D. Desperiers Gymna-'siarchæ Lexovæi, qui provocarunt ad D. Seguier 'Francia Cancellarium, qui eos auditos ad Ampl. 'D. Rectorem hujus rei Judicem remisit. Et sic 'silentium illis impositum est.*

(*e*) Cesar Egrasse du Boulai, remarques sur la dignité, preseance &c. du Recteur de l'Université de Paris pag. 91.

How many Reflections might be made upon that Spirit of Policy or false Devotion in the Church of *Rome* to deny Heretick the Praises that are due to them? But setting Reflections aside, I only insist upon some Facts, and beginning with a Passage in the *News from the Common-wealth of Learning*, taken from the extract of a Book of *Daniel Francus de Papistarum indicibus librorum prohibitorum & expurgandorum.* (*f*) 'He mentions 'the instructions that are given to the Inquisitors, 'wherein we see amongst other things an Order to 'Expunge all the Praises given to Hereticks. 'These are things, which we must see with our 'own Eyes to believe them, it being otherwise 'impossible to imagine that Religion could give 'such a turn to our Minds. *Bellarmine* was so 'perswaded, that it is part of the Character of 'an Orthodox never to praise a Heretick, that the 'Author censures him for having positively said,

A COLLECTION *of several things relating to the scruples of the Church of* Rome *about the praises bestowed upon Hereticks.*

(*f*) *Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres*, July 1685. *art.* 2. *p.* 776. *& follow.*

'(*l*) *that*

to the vanity of judicial Astrology, and hinder them from absolutely Condemning it. I will give (C) an exact Catalogue of the Works which he Publish'd, and I'll say something of his difference with Father (D) *Maimbourg*. He Died a sudden Death at *Paris* in a Street the 11th of *July* 1690, as we shall see in his Epitaph. I will set it down intire (E) tho' it was not put upon his Tomb, his Enemies having had Malice and Authority enough to hinder it *a*.

HER-

a From a Memorial Communicated to the Bookseller.

(1) *Do notis Eccles. t.* 10. art. 1.

(b) *Gazette de Paris of the* 1st. *of* March 1633.

(b) *Journal des Savans of the* 19th *of* January 1665. *in the Abstract of a Book de divina Psalmodia.*

(c) *This is not true*: Dempster *had done it long before in his Additions to* Rosinus's *Roman Antiquities. The like may be seen in* Nicolas Vignier's Theatre de l'Antechrist, *of the* Geneva *Edition in* 8. 1613.

(d) Balzac, extrait d'une lettre à Mr. le Marquis de Montausier, *at the end of his Letters to* N. Conrart *pag.* 416. *of the* Dutch *Edition* 1659.

(e) Lorenzo Crasso *has placed several Protestants (for Example* Gustavus Adolphus *and* Salmasius*) among the great Captains and the Learned Men, whose Eulogies he Publish'd in* Italy.

'(1) *that it was never known that the Catholicks 'have praised the Doctrine or the Life of Heretick.* He 'shews by the Commendations which *Cochlæus, Æneas 'Sylvius, Poggius Florentinus*, the Jesuit *Clavius*, 'Mr. *de l'Aubespine*, Bishop of *Orleans*, and *Caramuel* have given to Hereticks, that *Bellarmin's* 'Touch-stone is not true. But by this we discover 'the Spirit of the Inquisition. 'Tis something very 'singular; for the Gentlemen of the Inquisition 'will have the Prefaces of Books, Epistles Dedicatory, and in general whatever doth any honour 'to Persons out of the Roman Communion, without 'excepting Princes, to be expung'd. Hence the 'Expurgatory Index's Order, that if any Historian 'has said, *such a Day* Christopher *the Illustrious 'Duke of* Wirtemberg *was Born*, Præclarus Dux 'Wurtenbergensis, that the word *Illustrious, Præclarus*, shall be struck out, which yet is of so 'little Consequence, that 'tis given in Latin to 'the meanest Scholars. They order also that all the 'Capital Letters put before proper Names to 'signify that a Heretick is called *Doctor, Monsieur, 'a famous Divine, or Clarissimus, or Reverendus*, 'be immediately expung'd. The Jesuit *Severinus* affirms in his *Mineral* that the Praises 'of a Heretick in the Book of a Catholick Writer, 'are an abomination to God, like those abominable Offerings mentioned in the 23. Chapter 'of *Deuteronomy* and 18. Verse. I have read 'in a *Paris* Gazette, that in 1633. the Master of the sacred Palace Publish'd in *Rome* (a) a *Prohibition against the keeping of any Prose, Poetry, Image, Figure or Medal made in Memory* of *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*. Mr. *Sallo* giving an extract of a Book of Father *Bona* hath the following Reflection: *This Author*, says he (b), *is the* (c) *first that hath given the Catalogue of the Authors whom he cites with his judgment upon each in particular. There are in his Criticisms things that are very curious. For the rest we need not think it strange that this good Father speaks so ill of Heterodox Authors, even in things where Faith is not concerned, because he wrote at* Rome, *where it is a Crime to like a Heretick's Book.* Let us add to this the words of *Balzac* (d). 'Madam 'de *Saumaise* requested me by Monsieur *Conrart*, 'that I would give her some Lines to be Engraved on her Husband's Tomb. But I took 'care not to promise her any thing, being in a 'condition wherein I could not perform it, and 'under great Pains which gave me no rest, and 'left me no liberty for Poetick Thoughts. Besides, 'Interments and whatever concerns Funeral Obsequies belonging to Religion; I thought that 'the Epitaph of a Huguenot could not be Composed by a Catholick. I say an Epitaph like 'this; which must be placed in a Temple; which 'must be written in a Christian Style; and in 'which it would be difficult not to give to understand by some word favourably explained, that 'the Deceased was just from this Life to a better. 'But you know, my Lord, that these Terms are 'Criminal in our Church, and that they have 'been Condemned at *Rome*, in the Writings of the 'greatest Personages of our Time.

Note, that this Maxim of *Rome* is not always observed; for if you consult *James Laurent* in the 2. and 6. Chapters of his *Frodiga Jesuitarum liberalitas*, you will there find Praises bestow'd by Catholick Authors on the Virtue and Learning of the Heterodox. See the Margin (e).

(C) *I will give an exact Catalogue of the Works he Publish'd.*] I name it thus without any scruple, taking it from the Memorial which has been Communicated to us. *He Publish'd in* 1644. *an Apology for Mr.* Arnaud *his Friend against a Libel of* F. Nouet, Intituled, Judicious Remarks upon the Book concerning the frequent Communion. He wrote in 1651. *under the name of* St. Julian *against the Visions of* Lalvedie *an* Arcstate *Jesuit*; *and under that, of* Hieronymus ab Angelo Ferti *three Latin Letters to Mr.* de Sainteleuve *against Mr.* des Marets *Minister of* Groningen, *who had taken some advantage of a Catechism concerning Grace, Printed by the Order of a Pious Bishop. He gave the Life of St.* Chrysostome *in* 1644. *that of St.* Athanasius *in* 1671. *the Asceticks of St.* Basil *in* 1673. *the Life of St.* Basil *and of St.* Gregory Nazianzen *in* 1674. *He Publish'd some Spiritual Dialogues upon St.* Matthew *in* 1690. *Since his Death his Spiritual Dialogues upon St.* Mark *and a little Treatise of silence have been Printed. A Person of Quality having beg'd of him the Extracts he had made of the Councils, he trusted them to a Treacherous Writer who kept a Copy of them and Publish'd them at* Lisle *in* 1693. *with this Title*, Clavis Disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ, seu Index universalis totius juris Ecclesiastici. *They are disgraced by some Additions very unworthy of Mr.* Hermant, *and which might prejudice his Memory if the Publick was not told that they are none of his, especially the Collection of Letters falsly attributed to our first Popes. God grant we may one day see his Ecclesiastical and Secular History of* Beauvais *and* Beauvaisis, *and that it may not be lost in the Hands of those, who have seized upon it to the prejudice of one of his Friends, to whom he trusted it, desiring him by his Will to get it Printed* (f).

(f) *From the above quoted Memorial.*

(D) *Of his difference with Father* Maimbourg.] This Jesuit, 'having made a Collection in his 'History of *Arianism* of all that was curious and 'fine in the Life of St. *Athanasius*, thought he 'had nothing to do but to cry down the Author 'by an ill-natured Preface, to disguise his Filchings, and that no Body would ever imagine he 'had vouchsafed to take any thing from a Book 'which he treated with so much Contempt. He 'blames Mr. *Hermant*. 1. For having related the 'Passages of Authors. 2. For having put some 'illustrations at the end of his Work upon the 'most difficult Points. 3. For having said that 'tis difficult to know any thing more about the 'order of the Sitting of the Council of *Nice*, 'except that Simplicity, Modesty and Civility 'regulated it, and that the Probabilities that are 'urged to the contrary upon this Subject, are no 'solid Reasons nor strong Decisions. Mr. *Hermant* 'Printing the Life of St. *Basil* and St. *Gregory 'Nazianzen* in 1674. after having justified himself in the Preface against the three Complaints 'of F. *Maimbourg*, ends his reply thus. But I am 'perhaps already blamed for having been so long 'in refuting an Accusation which has no solid 'Foundation; and in truth I might have intirely 'neglected it. For 'tis certain that an Author 'draws upon him the Indignation of all equitable 'Judges, when having advantaged himself with the 'Labours of other Men, and inrich'd and deck'd 'himself with their Spoils, he abuses them for 'their Pains. This dispenses me from Answering 'in particular, a Man who has thought fit to 'deal with me in this manner, and it suffices me 'that there is nothing more Universally acknowledged by all the World, than this Maxim of 'the Canonists, which, above all things, Orders 'that Restitution be made to those that have been 'Rob'd, *spoliatus ante omnia restituendus*. I ought 'to make a better use of my Time, than to examine his Faults, which are perhaps more numerous than he imagines. What he has censured 'in my History of St. *Athanasius*, subsists by the 'invincible force of truth, and I need not bring 'new Proofs for it *&c.* (g).

(g) *From the above mention'd Memorial.*

(E) *I will set it down intire, tho' it was not put upon his Tomb.*] Here are the very Words of the above quoted Memorial. (h) 'A Canon related to him had made him an Epitaph, and the 'Chapter approved of it; but some false Brother 'having given notice of it to the Jesuits, they 'caus'd it to be suppress by an Order from 'Court, the very same day that in the sight of 'all *Paris*, and to the Scandal of the Church, a

(h) *Ibid.*

'whole

HERMESIANAX, an Elegiack Poet, born at *Colophon*, was honoured with a Statue † in his Country. See the Remarks of the Article LEONTIUM.

HERMIAS, a Philoſopher of *Alexandria*, in the Vth. Century, ſtudied with *Proclus*, under *Syrianus*. He had Two Sons, *Ammonius* and *Heliodorus*, who were of his Profeſſion, the firſt whereof became much more famous than the latter. *Hermias* was a very vertuous Man, good-natured and Sincere. He was as laborious as poſſible, but of a mean Genius, and he could not invent an Argument ſo ſtrong as a Philoſopher has occaſion for. He had an admirable Memory, and recited to a Miracle the Lectures of his Profeſſor, and what he had read in Books: His Maſtery lay only in this; for if the Buſineſs was to ſolve the Objections and Doubts of a Diſputant, he quickly expoſed his weak ſide. His Morals (Z) were wonderful. 'Tis ſaid, that he did not approve the uſe of diminutive and cockering Words, which Mothers and Nurſes beſtow upon Children, and that he ſeverely * reprimanded his Wife upon that Account ?.

HEROLD (*Baſil John*) was born at *Hochſted* * upon the *Danube*, in *Suabia*, in the Year 1514. He applied himſelf diligently to Learning, and went in the Year 1539, to *Baſil*, where he ſtudied all at once Divinity and Hiſtory. He married there, and was made Miniſter of a Village of that Canton; but as the Bookſellers found him fit for their Service, they cauſed him to return to *Baſil* in the Year 1546. His Application in preparing Work for them, was incredible, and as an Acknowledgment for his long Labours, the Magiſtracy of *Baſil* made him a Burgher in the Year 1556. From that time he took the Name of *Baſilius*: he was ſtill alive in the Year 1566 †. I will give the Titles (A) of moſt of his Books. *Lezana* the *Annaliſt* of the *Carmelites*, has committed a groſs Fault (B) ſpeaking of this Author. *Konig* has made two Writers of *John Herold*, and *Baſil John Herold*, when they are one and the ſame Man. There was in the XV. Century, a *Dominican*, named *John HEROLDUS*, a *German*. He was an eminent Divine, and a very good Preacher. He compoſed many Books, which have been publiſhed in ſeveral Places. An Edition of his Works was publiſhed at *Mentz* in the Year 1612, in Three Volumes in *Quarto*.

HER-

† Pauſanias in Eliacis (*and not* Iliacis *as we read in* Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. pag. 374.) ſive l. 6. p. 194. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἥσθη, καὶ ἐπῄνεσε τὸν μειράκιον ἔτι ὄντα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπιτιμῆσαι τῇ μητρὶ. Pater audiens conqueſtus eſt, & increpuit hanc puerilem diminutionem. Photius ubi infra.

† *Taken from* Photius *in the Abſtract of* Damaſcius, p. m. 1044.

† *Hence 'tis, that he firnames himſelf* Acropolita *in his* Philopſeudes.

† *Taken from* Martin Hanckius de ſcriptoribus rerum Romanarum tom. 2. pag. 142.

whole Chappel was profaned by *Lully's* Mauſoleum. The Epitaph deſign'd for him was this:

" *Heic reſurrectionem expectat*
" GODEFRIDUS HERMANT BELLOVACUS
" *Eruditione clarus, fama celebris, virtute præſtantior,*
" *Rector quondam Academiæ Pariſienſis*
" *ſtrenuuſque defenſor,*
" *Doctor & Socius Sorbonicus,*
" *Hujus Eccleſiæ Canonicus,*
" *Amans diſciplinæ ſi quis unquam ſanctioris*
" *Excelſi vir ingenii, ſtupendæ doctrinæ, facundiæ mirabilis*
" *Debebantur majora.*
" *Oblata recuſavit modeſtiâ ſingulari.*
" *Impendit*
Doctis elucidata illuſtrium Patrum geſta,
" *Piis Sacras in Matthæum & Marcum exercitationes,*
" *Civibus urbis hujus & Diœceſis hiſtoriam,*
" *Omnibus ſeipſum, verbo, converſatione, charitate.*
" *Super impendit*
" *Egenis ſua omnia*
" *Repentinâ morte ereptus non improviſâ*
" *Pariſiis igne ſanguinis examinatus viâ publicâ*
A. R. S. MD CXC. xi. Julii. Æt. Lxxiij.
" *Ad ſacelli hujus cancellos tumulum deſignavit ſibi*
" *Dignum cum Ambroſio ratus requieſcere ſacerdotem*
" *ubi offerre conſueverat.*

(c) Καὶ ὡς ἀπαξ τὸν ἀνδρῶν ὅσα τούτου, τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀδίκως ἀπολλύναι, ὁπόσοις ἐκεῖνος ἐπιβουλεύων ὑφορᾶτο τὸν πλεονεκτοῦντα ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἀδικίᾳ. Nec ſe ipſum hanc juſtitiam, cujus nullam alii rationem habent, verum etiam ſæpius quoties venditorem debitum pretium ignorare conſtigiſſet (d) *Taken*

(Z) *His Morals were wonderful.*] We may judge of them by the Maxims upon which he went in his Bargains. He maintained, That we muſt not take Advantage of the Seller's Ignorance, but acquaint him with the juſt price of the Merchandice, if he is ignorant of it. They who did otherwiſe, were according to him, guilty of a very great Injuſtice. They did not rob like Highway-men, and at the Peril of their Lives, but they defrauded the Law, and corrupted Juſtice. He did not approve that Axiom, *volenti non fit injuria*. He practiſed that fine *Theory*; for one Day perceiving that a Man who ſold him a Book did not put it at the juſt Price, he minded him of it, and paid him more than he ask'd: He did the ſame Thing on many other Occaſions (c), and as often as there was Opportunity. Chriſtians who do ſo, are very ſcarce. *Rara avis in terris, nigroque ſimillima cygno (e).*

oſtendit. Photius ex Damaſcio, Biblioth. pag. 1044. *from* Photius ib. (e) Juven. Sat. 6. v. 164.

(A) *The Titles of moſt of his Books.*] I have ſpoke elſewhere (f) of his *Philopſeudes, ſive declamatio pro D. Eraſmo Rot. contra dialogum famoſum anonymi cujuſdam medici.* That Piece was printed at *Baſil* (g) in the Year 1541. His Six Books *Belli ſacri hiſtoriæ continuatæ*, were printed with *Guilielmus Tyrius*, in Folio, in the Year 1560. They begin at the Year 1185, and end at 1521. His *leges antiquæ Germanorum* were printed at *Baſil*, in 1557, as alſo his *Princeps juventutis, ſive panegyricus Ferdinando Archiduci Auſtriæ dicatus, cum hiſtoriola Turcici belli anno* 1556. *geſti*. He tranſlated many Books into the *German* Tongue, whoſe Titles you will ſee in the Epitome of *Geſner's Bibliotheque*. His *Pannoniæ Chronologia* is commonly joined with the *Decads of Bonfinius*. His Treatiſe *de Germaniæ veteris vera quam primam vocant locis antiquiſſimis; item de Romanorum in Rhatia littorali ſtationibus, & hinc ortorum ibidem vicorum atque municipiorum hodie ſuperſtitum originibus*, has been inſerted in the firſt Volume of *Simon Schardius de ſcriptoribus rerum Germanicarum*. *Chriſtopher Lehman* (a) has cenſured him in the firſt Book of his Chronicle of *Spire*; but an Apology has been made for *Heroldus*. One may ſee how laborious he was, by conſulting the Preface (b) which he prefixed to the firſt Tome of the Treaſures of *Eugyppius*. He there promiſes a Collection of Stratagems, and I ſee in *Geſner's* Epitome, that he publiſh'd Six *Chiliads* of 'em. He made a Funeral Oration upon the Emperor *Ferdinand*, which was printed at *Franefort*, in the Year 1564. It muſt not be forgot, that he publiſh'd (c) the Writings of 76 Authors, under the Title of *Orthodoxographi*, and one (d) *Hareſeologia, ſeu Syntagma veterum Theologorum tam Græcorum quam Latinorum numero* 18. *qui graſſatas in Eccleſia hareſes confutarunt, & præcipua Theologiæ capita tradiderunt.*

(f) *In the Rem. C. of the Article* Eraſmus.
(g) Geſnerus in biblioth. fol. 425. verſo.

(a) *See* Zuiller de Hiſtoricis parte 2. pag. 74.
(b) Geſner ubi ſupra, *mentions a ſmall part of it.*
(c) *At* Baſil, *in* 1555.
(d) *At* Baſil, 1556

(B) *A groſs Fault.*] He ſays under the Year 1159, that St. *Antoninus* was in the wrong to ſet down Word for Word, a Paſſage of *John Heroldus*, without confuting him. This Paſſage contains a Deſcription of the firſt Habit of the *Carmelites*. The Jeſuit *Papebroch* took notice of that Blunder, by ſaying, that St. *Antoninus* was a whole Century before *John Heroldus*; for, adds he, St. *Antoninus* died in the Year 1459, and the *Princeps juventutis* which *Herold* dedicated to the Archduke *Ferdinand*, was printed in the Year 1557. (e) The Difference is not altogether a Century: we have ſome Books of *Heroldus* printed in the Year 1540. Nevertheleſs, *Lezana* is very much miſtaken. Here is a Queſtion

(e) *See* Daniel Papebroch reſponſ. ad exhibir. erro rorum pag. 15

HERWART (*John George*) Chancellor of *Bavaria*, about the beginning of the XVIIth. Century, made himself famous by the Apology he wrote for the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, against the Falshoods of *Bzovius*, many other Faults of whom he censured besides. *Scaliger* † looks upon him as a bad Chronologer. Our [illegible] was originally descended from a *Patrician* Family of *Augsburg*. I will give the Title (Z) of a Chronological Work which he composed, and that of a Book published by his Son, containing a very particular Opinion concerning the first Deities of *Paganism*; for the Author asserts, that the Winds, the Needle toucht with the Load-stone, *&c.* were the first Gods of the *Ægyptians*, and that they were adored under mysterious Names. A Branch of the Family of *Herwart* transplanted to *Paris*, makes there a considerable Figure *.

HESHUSIUS (*Tilemannus*) a Divine of the *Augsburg* Confession, born at *Wesel* (A) in the Year 1526, has been famous for his restless and impetuous Temper. He was very young when he had considerable Posts given him at *Heidelberg*, that of Professor of Divinity, and that of Preacher in the Church of the *Holy Ghost*. He did not discharge them without many Troubles; for there arose a violent Quarrel betwixt him and *William Clebitius*, upon the Doctrine of the *Eucharist*. The Elector Palatine *Frederick* III. being perswaded that *Melanchton*'s Suffrage would be of great Weight to terminate the Dispute, consulted him upon that Subject. His Answer provoked *Heshusius*, who would not bate any thing of *Luther*'s Opinions; and as there was no Appearance of seeing (B) an end of these Quarrels whilst he staid at *Heidelberg*, he was ordered to depart. He betook himself to *Saxony*, and published some contentious Writings in the University of *Jena*. Being called into *Prussia*, he taught Divinity in *Konigsberg*, till he was driven thence in the Year 1577, with the Ministers of his Faction. He had a furious Contention † with *Wigandus*, upon Controversies (C) of small

(g) Quenstedt, de patriis viror. illust. pag. 208.

(h) Publice post mortem auctoris contraque voluntatem ejus editum exstat in Contil. Th. part 2. pag. 378. Melch. Adam. in vitis. Theol. pag. 622.

(i) Id. ib.

(k) Calvin. in dilucida explicat. sanæ doctrinæ de vera participatione, pag. 840. Tractat. Theolog.

(l) Intituled Assertio contra Bezianam exercitationem argumentorum, *&c.*

(m) Micrælius, syntagm. Hist. Eccles. pag. m. 867.

(a) Micrælius ibid.

(b) Wigandus Episcopus Pomezaniensis, Id. ibid.

(c) Taken from Micrælius ibid.

which that Jesuit propos'd to a *Carmelite*, who wrote against him (f): *An Joannes Heroldus Hochstettensis, continuator belli sacri, cujus Continuationis singulos libros Catholicis Prælatis dedicavit, semper cum laude etiam de religiosis mendicantibus locutus, sed in solis Carmelitis explodens enormem, quem fingebant sese in Syria habuisse, monasteriorum ac Fratrum numerum; an, inquam Heroldus iste indignus sit qui citetur, tanquam infestissimus sedis Apostolicæ hostis: esto juvenis sub nomine Heroldi Acropolitani, scripserit Apologiam pro Erasmo, inter prohibitos relatam.*

(Z) *The Title of a Chronological Work which he composed, and that of a Book published by his Son.*] *Chronologia nova, vera, & ad calculum astronomicum revocata*, at *Munich* in 1612. in Quarto *pars prima*. The other Part was printed in the Year 1626. *Pars altera quæ est Chronologicorum seu emendatæ temporum rationis, adversus incredibiles aliorum errores*, in Quarto. You will see his Son's Christian Name in the Title, which I have promised: *Admiranda Ethnicæ Theologiæ mysteria propalata, ubi lapidem magnetem antiquissimis passim nationibus pro Deo cultum, & artem qua navigationes magneticæ per universum orbem instituerentur à veterum sacerdotibus sub involucris deorum dearumque, & aliarum perinde fabularum cortice summo studio occultatam esse noviter commonstratur. Accessit exacta temporum ratio adversus incredibiles Chronologiæ vulgaris errores. Opus diu desideratum. Jo. Fridericus Herwart ob Hohenburg in Schwindeck S. E. Bavariæ &c. à Consiliis ex incompletis optimi parentis P. M. eruit monumentis, atque ad finem perduxit*, at *Munich*, 1626, in Quarto. This Book has a great deal of Learning in it. There is a Table before it, intituled, *Tabula nautica & hieroglyphica descriptionis totius mundi vetustissima, quæ Theologiam Chaldæorum Babylonis, Ierogrammateon Ægypti, & Orphei Phrygis, nec non Magiæ, Sophæque Zoroastris & Magorum Persidis ostendit originem.* *Vossius*'s Silence about the Books that I have mentioned, may be well wondered at. That Learned Man doth not speak of them, either in his Collection of Chronologers, or in his great Work of the Origin of Idolatry, where he heaps together Abundance of Things concerning the Load-Stone, and where he has not forgotten to say, that the Winds were Worshipped as Gods. Could he intirely forget that *Herwart* the Father and *Herwart* the Son were Authors? That would be wonderful in a Man of so much reading. Would he have omitted to cite them, though he knew their Works? That would be no less strange in an Author, who was so inclinable to make a shew of his Reading.

(A) *Born at Wesel.*] According to *Moreri*, he was born at *Ober Wesel* upon the *Rhine*, in the Diocess of *Triers*; but *Quenstedt* (g) who says it was at *Wesel* in the Country of *Cleves*, seems more worthy to be believed.

(B) *No Appearance of seeing an end of these Quarrels.*] *Melanchton*'s Answer was composed in the Year 1559, and was published after his Death, contrary to his Design (h). *Heshusius* rag'd furiously against him, and forgot all the Respect that was due to that great Master. (i) *Heshusius itaque cum Lutheri de cœna sacra sententiam mordicus retineret ac propugnaret, à principe Electore, ut finis esset convitiorum & insectationum in sua urbe, dimissus offensusque vehementer judicio Melanchthonis de se, acerbè respondit, ac ne mortuo quidem & bene merito præceptori pepercit. Calvin* censures him for that Fury against *Melanchthon*. *Pauliſper expendant lectores*, says he (k), *quam atrociter Philippum Melanchthonem suum præceptorem, cujus memoriam sancte revereri debuerat, fugillet ac lacerat*

——*Probrosis elogiis Philippum ita digito monstrat, ut videri possit data opera materiam ejus traducendi in scribendo libro captasse.*

(C) *Upon Controversies of small Importance.*] This is the Ground of the Quarrel. *Heshusius* in a Book (m) against *Theodorus Beza*, advanced, that the Flesh of Jesus Christ *in abstracto*, is adorable. (m) *Non solum in concreto dici debere, filium Dei esse adorandum, omnipotentem & vivificum, sed etiam in abstracto carnem Christi esse adorandam; quia majestas adorationis sit carni communicata.* His Adversaries assaulted him, pretending that he taught, that the Flesh of Jesus Christ is adorable in it self, independently on the Hypostatick Union: *quod in abstracto & in sua essentia caro Christi, etiam extra unionem considerata, sit adoranda.* He denied this to be his Opinion, and explained his Notion; but his Adversaries were not content with it. Bishop (b) *Wigandus*, maintained this to be a dangerous Proposition: *Humanitas Christi in abstracto est adoranda, omnipotens, vivifica. Heshusius* maintain'd that he had not advanc'd it, and explain'd himself once more, but got nothing by it. A Synod was called, who rejected *Heshusius*'s Expression, and even *Wigandus* would force him to retract it publickly. *Heshusius* refusing to do it, was expell'd the Country, tho' he promised to correct any improper Expressions that might have escaped him: All the Ministers that took his part, had the same Treatment. The Administrator of *Prussia*, in the Year 1578, consulted the Divines that met at *Hertzbergh*, for the Formulary of the Concord, and receiving an Answer that was favourable to *Heshusius*, he ordered *Wigandus* to speak no more of that Dispute. This was the Eleventh Schism of the *Lutheran* Church (c). 'Tis of greater use than is imagined to know this sort of Histories; we therein discover

* *Mr.* Bachelier des Marets, *has imparted to me the greatest part of what I say in this Addition, both in the Text and the Commentary.*

† Ingens inter ipsum & Wigandum dissidium fuit exortum propter abstractum usum. Melch. Adam. in vit. Theol. pag. 622.

† See the Scaligerana, *at the Word* Chancelier, *pag. m.* 48.

small Importance. He retired to *Lubeck*, and afterwards to *Helmſtad*, where he was made Profeſſor of Divinity. He died there the 25th. of *September* 1588. He ſtoutly aſſaulted the Doctrine of (D) Ubiquity, in the Conference of *Quedlenburg*, in the Year 1583. *Melchior Adam*, from whom I borrow what I have ſaid, has been very barren (E) in his Account of this Man's Adventures. I adviſe thoſe who would ſee them more at large to conſult the Life of *Heſhuſius*, written by his Son-in-Law. *Heſhuſius* was baniſhed (F) Four times. And he took care, if we may believe *Calvin*, that it ſhould do him no Prejudice. He wrote (G) many Books. They who ſpeak of the Sect (H) of the *Heſhuſians*, and impute to him the Doctrine of *Ariſt*, deſerve the utmoſt Contempt. And yet Mr. *Moreri* does it after them.

HIEROCLES, Author of a Book † intituled, Φιλαλήθης, *The Lovers of Hiſtory*, vended a great many Fables, if we may judge of his Book by *Tzetzes*'s Quotations out of it. He ſaid, that in the torrid Zone there were Men whoſe Ears ſerv'd them for Umbrello's, and others, whoſe Feet did them the ſame Service, when they lifted them up. He boaſted to have ſeen it, and to have heard ſay, that there were Men who wanted Heads, and others who had Ten Heads, four Hands, and four Feet ‡. 'Tis not known at what time he lived, but there is no Probability that it was the ſame HIEROCLES, who from a Wreſtler became a Philoſopher *, and who was a Native of *Hyllarima*, a Town of *Caria*.

HIEROCLES, a great Perſecutor of the *Chriſtians*, in the beginning of the IVth. Century, was Preſident in *Bithynia*, and then Governour of *Alexandria*. He was the chief Promoter of the bloody Perſecution, under the Empire of *Diocletian*. He was

* See the the Rem. F.

† Steph. Byzant. voce Ἀλλάβανδα & Ταβαεῖς.

† Tzetzes Chil. 7. hiſtor. 146. ex Hierocle.

* Steph. Byzant. voce Ἀλλάβανδα.

diſcover the factious Spirit, that governs the Authors of theſe Diſputes.

(D) *He ſtoutly aſſaulted the Doctrine of Ubiquity in the Conference.*] This Conference was held the 14 and 16 of *January* (d) 1583, betwixt the Divines of H. E. H. of *Saxony*, and thoſe of *Brunſwick*. The latter were headed by *Heſhuſius*. The Acts of this Diſpute were publiſhed. *In eo* (colloquio) *præcipua partes demandatæ à Theologis Brunſuicenſibus* Heſhuſio *fuerunt, qui* [illegible] *negavit dogma illud generatim Ubiquitatis——in ſacra ſcriptura canone haberi, neque inde poſſe demonſtrari* (e). *Quenſtedt* pretends, that *Heſhuſius* did not know the State of the Queſtion, imputing to his Adverſaries a Doctrine which they did not hold, and which was a vain Fantome of his own Imagination; which is very uſual in this kind of Diſputes. I ſhall ſet down the Words of *Quenſtedt*; they are Hiſtorical, with reſpect to our Doctor. (f) *Weſalia inferior vulgo* Unter-Weſel——*urbs Clivia clariſſima,——excepit in hanc lucem editum——Tilemannum Heſhuſium Theologum Lutheranum inſignem, multiſque ſcriptis Didacticis & Polemicis contra Calvinianos clarum, qui ante Librum Concordiæ defendit Omnipræſentiam Carnis Chriſti, poſtmodum verò non tam ipſam in Libro Concordiæ de majeſtate Chriſti hominis doctrinam, quàm præconceptum cerebri ſui idolum impugnavit, talem ſcil. omnipræſentiam, quâ ſubſtantia Carnis Chriſti ſit localiter, extenſivè, diffuſivè & objectivè in omnibus creaturis, cum qua portenſoſa ubiquitate noſtris Eccleſiis nihil quicquam ſuis commercii. Vide* Concord. Concord. Hutteri cap. XLVI. *Micralius* pretends, that *Heſhuſius* diſputed only out of Spite againſt the Doctrine of Ubiquity. An Aſſembly met to deliberate upon the Apology that was to be made for the Book of the Concord, and ſome Meaſures were taken that were ungrateful to *Heſhuſius*. There needed no more to exaſperate his Spirit of Contrdiction, and to engage him to take up Arms againſt the *Ubiquitarians*. (g) *Contra Calvinianos ore & calamo omnipræſentiam carnis Chriſti fortiter uſque ad annum Chriſti* 1582. *defendit. Tandem cum nonnulli theologorum ad conſcribendam pro formula concordiæ apologiam convenirent: illi ſuum ad arbitrium non omnia agi indignatus, majeſtatem Chriſti, libro Concordiæ inſertam, quam* ubiquitatem generalem *vocant, oppugnare cœpit, & cum* Dan. Hoffmanno, *collega, orthodoxis eam ſententiam affinxit, ac ſi ſubſtantiam carnis Chriſti extenſive ac localiter in omnibus creaturis eſſe diceret: Sic igitur proprii cerebri commentum impugnans, loco omnipræſentiæ introduxit multipræſentiam. Daniel Hoffman* vigorouſly ſeconded him, and would bate nothing (h) in the Conference of *Quedlenburg*.

(E) *Melchior Adam has been very barren.*] The Journaliſts of *Leipſick* had reaſon to obſerve it. (i) *Tilemanni Heſhuſii vitam conciſam admodum & mancam ad nos tranſmiſit Melchior Adamus* vit. Germ. Theolog. p. 621. ſeq. *multo locupletiorem, eamque carmine heroico exaratam, & Heshuſii commentariis in Eſaiam adjectam gener ejus Dn. Jo. Olearius: ubi & quarti, quod ſuſtinendum illi fuit, mentionem reperies exilii; cujus hiſtoriam illuſtrabunt egregiæ quæ* (k) Parte II. ſub anno 1565. p. 182. ſeqq. *tum in ipſius Heſhuſii, tum in aliorum epiſtolis leguntur.*

(F) Heſhuſius *was Baniſht Four Times.*] This may be ſeen in the Paſſage of the Journal of *Leipſick*, which I have juſt now cited. Here is a Diſtich which confirms the ſame thing, and is not very honourable to that Doctor's Memory.

Quæritur, Heſhuſi, quarta cur pulſus ab urbe;
In promptu cauſa eſt, ſeditioſus eras (l).

The Deſcription which *Calvin* (m) gives us of *Heſhuſius*, wonderfully confirms this Diſtich. *Illuc* (n) *cum rapis naturæ intemperies, vel quod videt in moderata docendi ratione nullum ſibi laudis gradum relinqui, qui tamen ambitione totus ad infamiam uſque flagret. Certe in ſuo libello turbulenti ſe ingenii hominem, præcipitis etiam audaciæ & temeritatis eſſe prodit.... Concionatur de ingentibus ſuis periculis, qui ſemper non minus ſecurè, quam lautè, delicias ſuas colvit. Prædicat multiplices ærumnas, qui cum largos theſauros habeat domi repoſitos, ſemper amplis ſtipendiis ſuas operas vendiderit, omnia tamen ſolus ingurgitat. Verum quidem eſt, quum multis locis tranquillum nidum figere voluerit, ſæpius propria inquietudine fuiſſe excuſſum. Sic* (†) *Gloſſario, Roſtochio, Heidelberga, Brema pulſus, Magdeburgum nuper conteſſit. Ac laudi quidem danda eſſent exilia, ſi pro conſtanti veritatis confeſſione ſolum vertere ſæpius coactus eſſet: ſed quum homo inexplebili ambitione plenus, contentionibus & rixis deditus, immani verò ferocia ubique fuerit intolerabilis, non eſt cur queratur aliorum injuria ſe fuiſſe vexatum, qui ſua importunitate, moleſtias homini delicato graves exhibuit. Interea tamen providè ſibi cavit, ne damnoſa eſſent migrationes: quinetiam divitiæ ipſum magis animoſum reddunt.* We might infer from this Paſſage, that *Heſhuſius* was baniſh'd above Four Times; for 'tis not ſaid there, that he was expell'd from *Jena*, and afterwards from *Pruſſia*; nor could this be ſaid, ſince theſe Events happen'd after this Book of *Calvin* (o). He was expell'd from *Jena* in the Year 1573. and went thence into *Pruſſia*, where he was made Biſhop of *Samia* in *Merlin*'s Place.

(G) *He wrote many Books.*] A Commentary on the Pſalms, *Iſaiah*, and all the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*; a Treatiſe upon the Lord's Supper, and Juſtification; *aſſertio Teſtamenti Jeſu Chriſti contra blaſphemias Calviniſtarum: Antidotum contra impium dogma Matth. Flacii Illyrici, quo aſſerit quod peccatum originis ſit ſubſtantia: de ſervo hominis arbitrio, & converſione ejus per Dei gratiam contra Synergiæ aſſertores: de vera Eccleſia ejuſque authoritate,* &c.

(H) *Who ſpeak of the Sect of the* Heſhuſians.] I have ſpoke my Opinion (q) more than once upon thoſe wretched Writers of Catalogues of *Hereticks*. The only Authority they have here, is a Dialogue of

(d) According to Melchior Adam ubi ſupra. Micrælius places it in the Year 1585.

(e) Melch. Adam. ib. pag. 622.

(e) Quenſtedt ubi ſupra.

(g) Micrælius ibid. pag. 758.

(h) Nec pertinacia ejus in Quedlenburgenſi colloquio anno 1583 ſatis vehuit. Id. ib. pag. 759.

(i) Acta eruditor. Lipſienſ. menſ. Junio 1684. pag. 288.

(k) That is in the Book inſtituled, Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ ſeculi à nato Chriſto ſexti decimi ſupplementum celeberrimorum ex illo ævo Theologorum epiſtolis ad Joannem, Eraſmum, & Philippum Marbachios conſtans, editum à Jo. Fechtio.

(l) See the Article Acronius.

(m) Calv. ubi ſupra pag. 842. col. 1.

(n) That is, ad paradoxa & opinionum abſurditatem.

(†) I think it ſhould be Goſlario.

(o) It was written in 1561.

(p) Micrælius ubi ſupra pag. 758.

(q) See the Article Bezanites.

was not satisfied to destroy them, by the Power his Post conferred on him, but would ruine them by his Pen. To which end he wrote two Pieces, which he addrest to them, wherein he endeavoured to shew that the Scripture confuted it self by the Contradictions that were found in it, as he pretended. He was violent against the Person of our Lord and his Apostles, and made a Parallel betwixt the Miracles of JESUS-CHRIST, and those of *Apollonius Thyanæus*, to shew that *Apollonius* equalled or even excelled our Saviour † in that Particular. Two Fathers of the Church (*A*) have confuted him. 'Tis said that the Holy Martyr *Ædesius*, animated with a noble Zeal, came up to him, as he presided at the Condemnation of the Christians in *Alexandria*, and confounded him with shame in Words and Deeds. I mean that *Ædesius*, gave him (*B*) a Box on the Ear upon the Tribunal, charging him with his infamous

(a) Lindanus in Dubitantio, dial. 2. pag. 135. (b) *That is, in the Year* 1564. *which is the date of* Lindanus's *Epistle Dedicatory.*

of *Lindanus*, wherein are these Words: (a) *Hesshusii, à Tilmanno Heshusio quem Calvinus Servetianum infamat, Boquinus, Arrianum: Wilhelmus Cleinwitzius vero præter peculatum plurimis de fidei capitibus accusat: quibus hoc (b) anno suæ respondit defensione objecta inficiatus, nisi quod illud Trinitas est unitas negat se meminisse an dixerit in lectionibus: cum ita disertè docuit de præsentia Christi corporis in cœna objectione quinta.* There are three things in this Passage to be Animadverted on. 1. 'Tis an impertinent piece of Injustice to charge a Man with the Heresies, of which his Adversaries accuse him in the heat of a Dispute. Has not *Hunnius* a Lutheran Author, written a huge Book, in which he glories, to have convinc'd *John Calvin* of Judaism? Who but a Fool would infer from thence that *Calvin* entertain'd Jewish Notions? Thus under the pretence that *Calvin*, *Boquin*, and other such Adversaries of *Heshusius* exasperated by his Contumelies, have imputed to him *Arian* Doctrines, a wise Man will not think he has sufficient Grounds to call him an *Arian*. He will judge that such Accusations may easily be the fruits of two great Leisure, which is often abused to examine all the words of an Enemy and to wrest them in order to find Heresies in them by means of far fetched Consequences. 2. The Injustice, which would be only impertinent, if one knew not *Heshusius*'s Answer, becomes wholly Criminal, when one finds him denying publickly the things his Adversaries accused him of. Now *Lindanus* confesses himself that he knew this. 3. Tho' this Divine should have taught some Heresies, it doth not follow, that there was a Sect of *Heshusians* in *Germany*. A Professor, who teaches particular Doctrines, has not always some Disciples, much less has he always some, who separate from the generality; which is necessary to deserve the name of a Sect.

Prateolus upon the bare Authority of *Lindanus*, has Ranked the *Heshusians* in the Catalogue of Hereticks. Father (c) *Gaultier* has done the same upon the sole Credit of *Prateolus*.

(c) In tabula Chronographica.

O imitatores servum pecus, ut mihi sæpe
Bilem, sæpe jocum vestri movere tumultus (d)!

(d) Horat. Epist. 19. lib. 1.

(*A*) *Two Fathers of the Church have confuted him.*] That is to say, *Lactantius* and *Eusebius*. The first relates (e) that at the time of his teaching Rhethorick in *Bithynia*, and when the Temple of the Christians was demolished there, there were two Writers who took Pen in Hand to insult the oppress Truth. One was a Philosopher, whose work was despised and quickly fell to the Ground: The other was one of the Judges, who treated that Subject more Maliciously. (f) *Alius eandem materiam mordaciùs scripsit, qui erat tum è numero judicum, & qui auctor in primis faciendæ persecutionis fuit, quo scelere non contentus, etiam scriptis eos, quos afflixerat, insecutus est. Composuit enim libellos duos non contra Christianos, ut inimicè insectari videretur, sed ad Christianos, ut humanè, de benignè consulere putaretur; in quibus ita falsitatem scripturæ sacræ arguere conatus est, tanquam sibi esset tota contraria; nam quædam capita, quæ repugnare sibi videbantur, exposuit, adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando de eadem disciplina fuisse videatur . . . . præcipuè tamen Paulum, Petrumque laceravit, cæterosque discipulos, tanquam fallaciæ seminatores, quos tamen rudes, & indoctos fuisse refutavit: nam quosdam eorum piscatorio ministerio fecisse quæstum . . . . . (g) Ipsum autem Christum affirmavit à fucatis fugatum, collecta non-*

(e) Lact. divin. Institut. lib. 5. c. 2.

(f) Id. ib. p. m. 307.

(g) Id. ib. cap. 3. pag. 308.

ingentorum hominum manu latrocinia fecisse . . . . . Item eum facta ejus mirabilia destrueret, nec tamen negaret, voluit offendere Apollonium vel paria, vel etiam majora fecisse. We do not see here the Name of this Writer; but I doubt not that *Lactantius* spoke of the same Judge, whom he calls (b) *Hierocles* in another Book: to confirm which, I observe two things; one is the Title of the Book of this great Persecutor of Christianity, the other is the name which; *Eusebius* gives to the Author of it. (i) *Ausus est libros suos nefarios, ac Dei hostes* [illegible] *annotare.* These are *Lactantius*'s Words. Now *Eusebius* (k) has named *Hierocles* for the Author of the Book intituled [illegible]. 'Tis therefore certain that he whose name is not mentioned in the fifth Book of *Lactantius*, is the same that he calls *Hierocles* in his Tract *de mortibus Persecutorum*. Note, that *Eusebius* in refuting this Author, insisted only on the Parallel of the Miracles of *JESUS-CHRIST* and *Apollonius Thyanæus*, not touching upon other Points, but contenting himself to say that *Origen* had confuted them before in his Book against *Celsus*, and that *Hierocles* was a bold Copier of other Mens Thoughts, and Words. Note farther, that with respect to this Parallel, the Life of *Apollonius* was only lightly run over and Reflected upon. 'Tis certain *Eusebius* did no great Exploits upon that Subject. This is what Dr. *Cave* says of it: *Posterioris hujus operis partem de comparatione Apollonii cum Christo refutandam in se suscepit Eusebius libro contra Hieroclem; quod & SATIS JEJUNE præstitit, cum potius Philostrati libros* de vita Apollonii *in eo opusculo breviter percurrit & refellit* (l). Note lastly, that *Lactantius* did not undertake a particular Confutation of *Hierocles*, and that he is so far from following him step by step, that he never expressly answers any Objections taken from the Work of this Enemy of our Lord. The end he proposed to himself, was to Establish in general the Foundations of the Gospel, and to ruin those of Paganism, and he thought this was sufficient to overturn all that the Adversaries had Published or should Publish for the time to come. (m) *Ii ergo, de quibus dixi, cum præsentes me ac dolentes, sacrilegas suas literas explicassent, & illorum superba impietate simulatus, & veritatis ipsius conscientia, & (ut ego arbitror) Deo, suscepi hoc munus, ut omnibus ingenii mei viribus accusatores justitiæ refutarem; non ut contra hos scriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poterant, sed ut omnes, qui ubique idem operis efficiunt, aut effecerunt, uno semel impetu profligarem. Non dubito enim, quin & alii plurimi, & multis in locis, & non modo græcis, sed etiam latinis literis monumentum injustitiæ suæ fixerint, quibus singulis quoniam respondere non poteram, sic agendum mihi hanc causam putavi, ut & priores cum omnibus suis scriptis everterem, & futuris omnem facultatem scribendi, aut respondendi amputarem.*

(*B*) *That Ædesius gave* Hierocles *a Box on the Ear upon the Tribunal, charging him,* &c.] *Eusebius* doth not express this so clearly, but we must believe that the thing is implicitely contained in the words he makes use of. (n) [illegible]. *Cum verbis simul & factis illum pudore atque ignominia perfudisset.* Here is the Note of *Valesius* upon this Passage: (o) *In hoc Eusebii loco,* [illegible] *quidem designat verbera quibus judex affectus est ab Ædesio; aliqui verò denotat convicia, quibus Ædesius judicem ipsum appetiit. Utrumque autem indicat Eusebius his verbis:* [illegible], *&c. Eusebius* doth not tell us the name of the Judge who was thus treated, but we learn from other Authors that it was *Hierocles*. Read these words of *Metaphrastes*, you will there find

(h) Incidit... in Hieroclem ex Vicario præsidem, qui auctor & continuarius ad faciendam persecutionem fuit. Id. de mortib. persecutor. c. 16. p. m. 124.

(i) Id. divin. instit. l. 5. c. 2. p. 311.

(k) Euseb. contra Hierocl. init. pag. 511. 514. Volum. de demonstr. Evangel.

(l) Cave. Hist. liter. script. Eccles. parte 2. p. m. 63.

(m) Lactant. ubi supra cap. 4. pag. 311. 312.

(n) Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstinæ c. 5. p. m. 326.

(o) Valesius not. in Eusebium p. 5. m. 377.

infamous Barbarities. We will point out ſome Errors (C) of *Moreri* and Cardinal *Baronius*.

HIEROCLES, the Son of that *Alypius* who Commanded in *England*, and whom *Julian* the Apoſtate accuſed, ſent to *Jeruſalem* to Rebuild the Temple there, was jointly with his Father under the Empire of *Valens*, and ſo tortured that they could not tell what Member † to Rack, to make him ſpeak by the violence or his Pains what they expected him to declare. Order was given at laſt that he ſhould be led to Execution; but as he was going, the People in a Body Addreſſed themſelves to the Emperor, and ſo Paſſionately Interceded for him as to obtain his Pardon. This we may learn by comparing a Paſſage of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (A) with another of St. *Chryſoſtome*.

† Omni tamen exercitato ut verba placentia Principi, vel potius arceſſitori loquerentur, quo cum permis non ſufficerent membra vivo exuſto, &c. Ammian. Marcellin. l. 29. c. 1. p. 556.

find this, and ſome other Particulars of the Holy Zeal of the Martyr *Ædeſius*; you will there find that he Boxed the Governour of all *Ægypt*, threw him upon the Ground and redoubled his Blows. (a) *Poſt hanc calamitatem, incidit in Hieroclem, qui totam Ægyptum adminiſtrabat. Hunc cum in Dei martyres injuria ſævientem animadverſiſſet, ſanctaſque Dei virgines tradentem lenonibus, nec tantam iniquitatem perferre poſſet, ſimile fraterno facinus aggreditur. Namque Divino repletus zelo procedit, & verbis ac factis Hieroclem confundit. Manu enim ſua plagas illi in os infligit, humique ſupinum proſternit & cædit: ac monet, ne audeat contra naturæ leges, Dei ſervos offendere.* *Valeſius* quotes the *Menæum* of the *Greeks*, where 'tis obſerved that the Governour *Hierocles* was ſtruck (b) in *Alexandria* by *Ædeſius*.

(a) Metaphraſtes apud Valeſium Ibid.

(b) Αυτοχειρα τον Δικαιον ἐποιησε Ἱεροκλης.

(C) *We will point out ſome Errors of* Moreri *and Cardinal* Baronius.] I. He gives the Title of *Platonick Philoſopher* to our *Hierocles*, who was no Philoſopher, generally ſpeaking. I have not found any Author among the Antients who makes him of that Profeſſion, and I find that Dr. *Cave* amongſt the Moderns, doubts (c) whether he may be called a Philoſopher. II. 'Mr *Moreri* ſpeaks of another *Hierocles*, a Pagan Philoſopher, one of the Judges of 'the *Areopagus*, who undertook to demonſtrate 'that *Apollonius Thyaneus* and Jeſus Chriſt, were 'the ſame Man. He adds that *Euſebius* writ againſt him. This is to multiply Beings without neceſſity; for the *Hierocles* which *Euſebius* confuted, was the ſame that Mr. *Moreri* mentioned in the Preceding Article, and called a *Platonick* Philoſopher. III. Beſides, we do not know any *Hierocles* that was a Judge of the *Areopagus*. Cardinal *Baronius*, who miſ-led *Moreri* in that, might have eaſily avoided that Miſtake; for (d) he bottoms upon *Lactantius* whoſe very words he ſets down. Now *Lactantius* ſaith expreſly that the Author who wrote againſt the Chriſtians, was one of the Judges in *Bithynia*. Seeing then *Baronius* very juſtly ſuppoſed that this Enemy of the Chriſtians was called *Hierocles*, he might eaſily conceive that he was not to be placed among the Judges of the *Areopagus*. Note, that he ſaith, and with reaſon, that *Euſebius* and *Lactantius* wrote againſt the ſame *Hierocles*, and yet *Moreri* who follows him, has given us two *Hierocles's*, one refuted by *Lactantius* and the other by *Euſebius*. IV. He has not well underſtood theſe Words of *Baronius*: (e) *Nihil magis monſtrare conatus eſt* (Hierocles) *quam Apollonium æqualem fuiſſe Chriſto*. For he thought they meant that *Hierocles* pretended to prove that *Apollonius* was (f) the ſame with JESUS-CHRIST. What I have further to ſay, concerns him leſs than the Cardinal. We have ſeen above that *Lactantius* makes mention of two *Heathens*, who wrote againſt the Chriſtians. *Baronius* pretends that our *Hierocles* is the ſecond of thoſe Authors, and that *Porphyrius* was the firſt. *Moreri* mentions this without finding fault with it. 'Tis true he declares that he follows in this the opinion of the Cardinal. Let us turn then to *Baronius* and tell him, that he could not have found *Porphyrius* in that place of *Lactantius*, if he had well examined things. The firſt of theſe two Heathen Authors was at *Nicomedia* (g) at the ſame time with *Lactantius*, and there Publiſh'd his Invectives againſt the Chriſtians. He was a Man made up of Vices, Covetous, Voluptuous, and Prodigal at his Table. He was very Rich, and made his Court to the Judges very diligently, in order to grow Richer ſtill, that is, to ſell their Sentences, and to ſtop the Proceedings of his Neighbours, whom he drove out of their Poſſeſſions. The three Books he Publiſh'd againſt the Chriſtians, were Fooliſh and Ridiculous; he underſtood nothing of the matter and knew not what he ſaid. The Chriſtians Ridicul'd him for it, and baffled him (h). This is the Character of that Author and of his Book, if we credit *Lactantius*. How comes it then that *Baronius* (i) could diſcover *Porphyrius* by ſuch Marks? Where has he found that this Philoſopher made a long ſtay at *Nicomedia*? Men never ſollicite the favour of the Judges to maintain their Poſſeſſion of Lands, which they have unjuſtly Uſurped about their Country Houſes: they never do this, I ſay upon a Journey; 'tis a way of acting which ſuppoſes a fixt Abode and a conſtant Settlement. *Porphyrius* then muſt have been thus Eſtabliſh'd in *Nicomedia*, if *Baronius* was in the right; now that is a matter which no body hath ſpoke of; his Abode at *Rome* and *Sicily*, took up the greateſt part of his Life: beſides, he is not accuſed of having been addicted to Pleaſure; and after all, he did not write fooliſhly againſt the Chriſtians. He has been complained of for his Cavils, his Malice, and his Calumnies; but he has not been reproached with want of Wit, nor has it been ſaid that his Books were (k) Impertinent and Ridiculous, and even expos'd him to the cenſure of the Heathens, inſtead of the Glory that he promis'd to himſelf. (l) *Verum hic profuſa immanitate contemptus eſt; qui & gratiam, quam ſperavit, non eſt adeptus; & gloria, quam captavit, in culpam, reprehenſionemque converſa eſt.* According to *Baronius* (m) he had been a Chriſtian; ſo that he could not be ſo groſly Ignorant of the matter he treated of, as he that is mention'd by *Lactantius*; for you may obſerve, that when this Father tells us that the other Writer examined many particular things, he adds: *He ſeems to have been formerly a Chriſtian,* (n) *ut aliquando eo eadem diſciplina fuiſſe videatur.* This Obſervation might have been of ſome uſe to *Baronius*, not to have found *Porphyrius* in the Deſcription that *Lactantius* has made of a Philoſopher, who Impertinently and Ignorantly attack'd the Perſecuted Chriſtians. For what remains, the Preface which that Philoſopher put before his Book, may teach us the Conformity between the Pagan and Chriſtian Perſecutions. An intereſted and flattering Writer never fails to engage his Pen againſt the perſecuted Party. He looks upon it as a fair opportunity to praiſe his Prince; he takes hold of it, and dwells upon the importance of the ſervice done to God, and ſhews that Inſtruction and the Authority of the Laws ought to go Hand in Hand, that erring Men, being thus enlighten'd may be reſcued from the Puniſhments to which their obſtinacy would expoſe them. This Voluptuous Philoſopher of *Nicomedia* forgot none of theſe common Places: One would think that he has been the Model of many *French* Authors, who have written during the Perſecution of the Proteſtants. See what a turn he gave to things. (o) *Profeſſus ante omnia philoſophi officium eſſe, erroribus hominum ſubvenire; atque illos ad veram viam revocare, id eſt, ad cultum Deorum; quorum numine, ac majeſtate (ut ille dicebat) mundus gubernatur, nec pati, homines imperitos quorundam fraudibus illici: ne ſimplicitas eorum præda, ac pabulo ſit hominibus aſtutis. Itaque ſe ſuſcepiſſe hoc munus, philoſophia dignum; ut præferret non videntibus lumen ſapientiæ; non modo ut ſuſceptis Deorum cultibus refanieſcant, ſed etiam ut pertinaci obſtinatione depoſita, corporis cruciamenta devitent; neu ſævas membrorum lacerationes fruſtra perpeti velint. Ut autem appareret, cujus rei gratia opus illud elaboraſſet; effuſus eſt in principum laudes; quorum pietas, & providentia (ut quidem ipſe dicebat) cum in cæteris rebus humanis, tum præcipue in defendendis Deorum religionibus claruiſſet; conſultum eſſe tandem rebus humanis, ut cohibita impia, & anili ſuperſtitione, univerſi homines legitimis ſacris vacarent, ac propitios ſibi Deos experirentur.* It is eaſier

(b) *Taken from* Lactantius ib. cap. 2.

(i) Baronius ad ann. 302. n. 51. p. m. 730.

(k) Inepte, vane, ridiculus arguit. Lactant. ubi ſupra pag. 307.

(l) Id. ib.

(m) Baron. ubi ſupra n. 53. *who alters* Socrates l. 3. c. 23.

(n) Lactant. ib.

(o) Id. ib. pag. 306.

(c) Philoſophus, an ſolum homo politicus, non liquet. Cave hiſtor. liter. parte 1. p. m. 279. *He calls him a Philoſopher in the 2. part pag. 61. but without telling us how he was reſolved of his doubt.*

(d) Baron. ad. ann. 68. n. 31. p. m. 654.

(e) Id. ib.

(f) *This paſſage has been mended in the* Dutch *Edition and in thoſe of* Paris.

(g) Lact. l. 5. c. 2. & 4.

Chryſoſtome. Our *Hierocles* was a Diſciple of *Libanius* and was much eſteem'd by him (*B*).

HIEROCLES, a Platonick Philoſopher in the *Vth* Century taught in *Alexandria* with great Repute; he got his Reputation by the ſtrength of his Parts, and by the readineſs and beauty of his Expreſſions †. He Compoſed ſeven Books upon Providence and Fate, and inſcribed them to the Philoſopher *Olympiodorus*; who by his Embaſſies did great ſervice to the Roman Empire ‖ in the Reign of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius Junior*. Thoſe Books are not now in being, and we know nothing of them but by the Extracts which we find in *Photius*. By which we underſtand that *Hierocles* had Demonſtrated a perfect Agreement betwixt the Doctrines of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, and that they who had deny'd it were not acquainted with the Opinions of theſe two great Men ». He turn'd his Wits a thouſand ways to explain the Difficulties of Providence, Fate and Free-will, and pretended that the Ground or Key of all theſe things conſiſted in the paſſage of Souls from one Body to another, and in the Life they had led before they entred into Humane Bodies. He laid out all his ſtrength that way, and had no more left to furniſh him with good Arguments to Eſtabliſh the Doctrine he undertook to prove ¢. For which Reaſon *Photius* obſerves that all that great Equipage of Reaſonings dwindled into meer Trifles *. We obſerve one thing very particular in the Doctrine of this Philoſopher; for he maintained that *Plato* had taught (*A*) that the World was produced out of nothing. He Married only with a proſpect (*B*) of having Children. His Wife ‡ happen'd to be poſſeſt; and he imploy'd his Complements in vain to deliver her from the Devil, that Spirit having no regard to them; † but *Theoſebius* without any skill in Magick, Exorciz'd him in ſuch a manner as forced him to retire. *Fonſius*, who very ſolidly proves our *Hierocles* to have Lived after

† Photius Bibl. cod. 242. pag. m. 1037.
‖ Id. cod. 214. pag. 549.
» Id. ib.
¢ Id. ib. Pag. 552.
* Ἐπιλογὴ οὖν τὸ πολύμυθον διαλόγου, φησὶ πρέπειν. In nugas operoſa illa machinatio abit. Id. ibid.
‡ Photius cod. 242. p. 1037.
† He was Hierocles's Diſciple.

eaſier to depart from the Method of the Perſecutor *Dioclesian*, than from that of his Panegyriſts.

(*A*) *Comparing a Paſſage of* Ammianus Marcellinus.] 'Tis this: (*a*) *Ipſe quoque Alypius poſt multationem bonorum exſulare præceptus, filium miſerabiliter ductum ad mortem, caſu quodam proſpero revocatum excepit.* The Paſſage of St. *Chryſoſtome* is in the third Homely upon the incomprehenſible Nature of God. This Father deſigning to repreſent to his Hearers the force of the united Prayers of a whole People, alledges an Example that they had ſeen ten years ago, when a Criminal who was led Gagg'd to the place of Puniſhment, obtained his Pardon at the requeſt of all the People of *Antioch*, who went in a Body to beg it of the Emperor. *Valeſius* (*b*) do's not doubt but that this Criminal was *Hierocles* the Son of *Alypius*.

(*a*) Amm. Marcellin. l. 29. p. 557.

(*B*) *Was much eſteem'd by him.*] *Libanius* (*c*) writing to *Alypius*, told him that his Son whilſt a Child ſhew'd greater Wiſdom than grown up Perſons; and that many Fathers in chiding their Sons exhorted them to take Example by that of *Alypius*. The Teſtimony of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (*d*) agrees in general with that of *Libanius*.

(*b*) Henr. Valeſius in Marcellin. ubi ſupra.
(*c*) Lib. 4. Epiſt. 284. apud Valeſium, ibid.
(*d*) Citatus eſt cum Hierocle, filio adoleſcente indolis bonæ. Amm. Marcell. ib. pag. 556.

(*A*) *That* Plato *had taught that the World was produced out of Nothing.*] *Hierocles* (*e*) moſt ſolidly confuted the *Platoniſts*, who maintained that God working from all Eternity by his Power and Wiſdom, was not able to form a World without the Concourſe of an increated Matter. Therefore they ſaid that he produced things only by co-operating with Matter, whoſe Exiſtence did not depend upon him. All things, added they, were virtually contained in Matter, and God had nothing to do but to draw them out, and ſet them in order. *Hierocles* Argued with a great deal of judgment againſt that Suppoſition: He ſaid that ſuch a Work of God (*f*) would not be ſo much a ſign of his Goodneſs, as the effect of a ſuperfluous Diligence; for why ſhould he go about to diſpoſe and ſet in order what he has not made? Is not good order ſufficiently found in this, that a Being ſubſiſts Eternally of it ſelf? Whatever happens to ſuch a Being, is it not Extraneous to its Nature? And is it not conſequently an Imperfection? (*g*) Τί γὰρ δὴ μᾶλλον ἂ μὴ ὑπέστησαν διαπονήσεται σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς αὐταρκείας ἐκτὸς ἐν τῇ ἀγαθότητι τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως κειμένης; τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθότητος καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἀμοιβὴ ὑφεῖσθαι τι προσδέεται, καὶ μᾶλλον προσλήψεται τὸ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν ἀνυπόστατον, καὶ τῇ μάταιον σπουδῇ, ὅτι οὐ δεῖται τῆς ἀτοπίας· ὅλως δὲ τὸ κατορθοῦσθαι, οὐκ ἐν ἀγαθῷ ἐστὶν ἐν μὲ ἀπὸ χείρω μίμει, ἀλλὰ κ τὸ ἀπὸ τίνι. *Quorſum enim ea, quæ non condidit, digerere conatur, cùm omnino bona ordinatio in natura eorum ingenita conſtat. Si quid enim ingenito, ac per ſe ſubſiſtenti addatur, præter naturam fiet. Quod autem præter naturam efficitur, vitiatur: quare diſtam materiam ornari minimè bonum, ſiquidem non ſolum in tempore, ſed & abſque cauſſa ingenita ſit.* He concludes from hence that God would have began (*h*) his Work with an ill Action, namely by undertaking to diſpoſſeſs of its natural State, a ſubſiſtance that was Increated as well as himſelf, and his own Siſter. Theſe Reaſons are ſo ſtrong, that whoever conſiders them well, and is concern'd for the Glory of *Plato*, will indeavour to ſhew that he did not admit two Principles Collateral, Eternal, and Independent of one another, God and Matter. This doubtleſs was the Reaſon of our *Hierocles* attributing to him the Doctrine of a true Creation. I believe he had read it in the Chriſtian Writings, and that being ſtruck with the Arguments that deſtroy the Exiſtence of an increated Matter, and joining withal the Idea of a Creator, which carries the Divine Power and Majeſty to the higheſt Point, he ſuppos'd for the honour of his Sect, that its Founder had known God under the Idea of a Nature, the ſimple Act of whoſe Will was ſufficient for the Formation of the Univerſe. (*i*) Ὁ δημιουργὸς θεὸς, φησὶ, περιῤῥήγνυσι τὸν Πλάτωνα ὑφειμένως πάνυ ἐμφανῶς τὸ ἀΐδιον διαπορήσαντα, εἰ μόνον προϋπῆρχεν ὑποκείμενον ἀρχὴν γὰρ τὸ ἄνευ βούλησεως εἰς ὑπόστασιν τῶν ὄντων. *Plato opificem Deum cenſuit ſuſtinere omnem ſpectabilem & inaſpectabilem mundum, nulla prius exiſtente materia productum. Sufficere enim illius voluntatem ad ſuſtinendum univerſum.* But it were eaſie to ſhew that this is an officious Lie, ſince *Plato* has clearly maintained the Concourſe of an independent and increated Matter. We may ſay then, that *Hierocles* has here ſhewn his induſtry as much as in any other occaſion, I mean the induſtry (*k*) of putting upon the expreſſions of Dead Authors ſuch a Senſe as one has a mind to, or of finding at leaſt two or three different Syſtems in their Works. He underſtood that Game; for the two Explications he gave of *Plato's Gorgias* were in nothing like one another, and yet they ſeem'd to comport with the *Platonick* Doctrine. Theſe are ſports of Wit, but they require a very copious imagination. (*l*) Ἀντιταξάμενος τὰ κρείττονα ἐν τοῖς ἥττοσι τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἴσῳ ἔθηκεν. ἐπαίνῳ δὲ ἔμοιγε, ὁ ἐν παραλλαγῇ ἀνδρὸς, τῶν Πλάτωνος ἐχόντων, κ. ζήσων οἷον τε, πραγματεύσασθαι. τῶν μὲν ἐν ἐπιδείξεσιν, ἃ δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐρώντων φιλονεικίαις. *Collatis prioribus cum ſecundis, nihil, ut ſic dicam, eorundem invenit. Utraque tamen, quod ſanè audire novum eſt, Platonis, quoad ejus fieri poterat, inſtitutum continebat. Hinc colligitur quanta viri illius in ſententiis copia.*

(*e*) Photius bibl. cod. 251. p. 1380.
(*f*) Ὁ περιεργίαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγαθότητος δηλοῖ. Quod ſupervacaneæ potius eſſet diligentiæ quàm bonitatis Dei. Id. ibid.
(*g*) Id. ib.

(*h*) Τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δημιουργίας ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοποιοῦ ἀρχὴν ποιεῖσθαι. Initium creationis à quodam maleficio inchoans Id. ibid.

(*i*) Id. ib. p. 1381.

(*k*) *See the Remark C of the Article* Hemmingius.

(*l*) Id. cod. 242. p. 1037.

(*B*) *He Married only with a proſpect of having Children.*] *Damaſcius* makes the ſame Obſervation, ſpeaking of *Theoſebius*, *Hierocles's* Scholar, which ſhews that the moſt famous Platoniſts were perſwaded, that theſe were the juſt Rules and true bounds of Marriage, and that whatever went beyond theſe Limits was an Irregularity, or at leaſt, a Liberty which wiſe Men ought not to allow themſelves,

after *Euſebius* is otherwiſe miſtaken in ſuppoſing him the Author (C) of a Hiſtory of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, and that the ſeven Books of Providence were Anſwered by a Writer named *Euſebius*, who was different from him that wrote the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, &c.

HIERO I. King of *Syracuſa* was the Son of *Dinomenes*, and Brother of *Gelon*, who after he had gained the Sovereignty of *Gela*, was ſo Fortunate as to ſee the City of *Syracuſa* ſubmit to him, when he intended no more than to reſtore ſome Inhabitants that the Mob had Baniſhed out of it. He was ſo well pleaſed with this new Acquiſition, that he Voluntarily quitted *Gela* to his Brother *Hiero*, and wholly employed himſelf to find out the means of rendring *Syracuſa* † a moſt flouriſhing City. He Reigned there Glorioufly and Happily; he acquired a great Reputation by his Victories, and the love of his Subjects by his Equity and Moderation *a*. *Hiero* who ſucceeded him, did not tread in his ſteps; he was Covetous, Violent, and altogether different in his Conduct from the Virtuous *Gelon*: which was the reaſon that many were ready for an Inſurrection; but the Memory of his Predeceſſor was ſo dear and glorious, that it kept them to their Duty *b*. He had a great deſire to put his Brother *Polyzelus* to Death, whom he ſaw beloved by the *Syracuſians*, and who was ſuſpected by him of aſpiring to the Crown. He would have ſent him to the Aſſiſtance of the *Sybarites* Beſieged by the *Crotoniates*, to the end that he might periſh in the Battle; but *Polyzelus* who foreſaw the deſign, refuſed that Employ; and ſeeing that this furiouſly provoked the King his Brother, he retreated to *Theron* who Reigned in *Agrigentum*. They were afterwards reconciled by the Mediation of *Theron*. The latter might have taken Advantage of that miſunderſtanding, but he was *c* a good Man, and would do one good Office for another (*A*). His Son *Thraſydeus* ſucceeded him, and was Unfortunate in the War that he undertook againſt the *Syracuſians*. *Hiero* with a good Army made an Irruption into the Country of the *Agrigentines* and gained the Battle, whereby *Thraſydeus* loſt his Crown *d*. Obſerve here a difference betwixt the Poets and the Hiſtorians. The ſame *Hiero* who is ſuch an Accompliſh'd Prince (*B*) in the Odes of *Pindar*, is a wretched King in the Hiſtory of *Diodorus Siculus*. It ſeems that if the Poet Flatters him too much, the Hiſtorian is not juſt to him; for he doth not ſay all the good of him that he might, I mean that *Hiero* Civiliz'd and mended himſelf by the Diſcourſes (C) he had with ſome ingenious Men whom he loved and loaded with his Favours. He Died *e* in the Town of *Catana* in the ſecond Year

† Herodot. lib. 7. c. 155. 156.

a Diodor. Siculus lib. 11. cap. 67. *See alſo* Plutarch de ſera Numinis vindicta pag. 551. 552.

b Id. Diodor. ib.

c Id. ib. c. 48.

d Id. ib. c. 53.

e Id. ib. c. 60.

ſelves. This *Theoſebius* ſeeing his Wife was Barren, made a Ring of Chaſtity and gave it her. I preſented you, ſaid he, (*l*) formerly with a King of Generation, but now I give you a Ring of Continence, which may always (*m*) aſſiſt you to behave your ſelf Chaſtly: Live with me if you pleaſe, or if you can contain; but if that condition doth not ſuit with you, I am willing you ſhould Marry another Man, and I only ask one thing, which is, that we may part good Friends. She willingly accepted the condition. My Author ſtops there, and leaves us in uncertainty, for we don't know, whether his Wife accepted the firſt or the laſt. He ſhould not have left ſuch an Ambiguity in his Story.

(*l*) Annulum procreatricis conjunctionis conciliatorem. Id. ibid.

(*m*) Ἵνα σοι ἀεὶ ὑπομιμνήσκῃ σωφρονεῖν. Adjunctum ubi ſemper futurum temperantiæ officii. Id. ibid.

(*C*) Jonſius *who proves . . . . our* Hierocles *to have lived after* Euſebius *is otherwiſe miſtaken.*] His firſt proof is taken from the mention *Hierocles* made of *Plutarch* the *Athenian*, (*n*) who lived after *Jamblicus*. Now the latter flouriſhed under *Julian* the Apoſtate; We have ſtill ſome Letters which that Emperor wrote to him. The ſecond proof is taken from this, that *Olympiodorus*, to whom *Hierocles* Dedicated his Books, did not precede the Reign of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius Junior*; for he wrote a Hiſtory commencing in the ſeventh Conſulſhip of *Honorius* and the ſecond of *Theodoſius Junior*, and he continued it to *Valentinian*, *Honorius*'s Succeſſor, or as far as the year 425 (*a*). *Jonſius* had Reaſon after this to maintain that *Euſebius*, who was the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, the Evangelical Preparation, &c. did not confute the Writings of this *Hierocles*; but he Errs in ſaying that another *Euſebius* did. The cauſe of his Error was this. He thought that the ſame *Hierocles* who wrote the ſeven Books upon Fate, made a Hiſtory of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, Intituled *Philalethes*, the refutation whereof we have in the Works of *Euſebius*. This was to confound *Hierocles* the Perſecutor of the Chriſtians under the Emperor *Dioclesian*, with *Hierocles* the Philoſopher of *Alexandria*, under *Theodoſius Junior*. 'Tis a little ſurprizing that *Jonſius* who had a vaſt and exact Knowledge of *Synonymous* Authors, did not know the Preſident of *Bithynia*, and the Governour of *Alexandria*, who did ſo much miſchief to the Chriſtians, and who wrote againſt them and was called *Hierocles*. Beſides, this Learned Man was miſtaken in thinking that *Euſebius* refuted the Opinions of one *Hierocles* upon Fate. 'Tis certain that *Euſebius* only confuted the Opinion of *Apollonius*, as he found it in *Philoſtratus*. (*b*)

(*n*) Jonſius de ſcript. hiſt. phil. pag. 303. *He cites* Photius Eccl. 244.

(*a*) Id. ib. pag. 304. *He cites* Photius Tm. 80.

(*A*) *Would do one good Office for another.*] Whilſt *Hiero* was preparing to make War againſt *Theron*, to whom his Brother was retired, the Inhabitants of *Himera* ſent him Deputies to offer him their Succours, and to declare they would live under his Dominion. *Thraſydeus*, *Theron*'s Son, had been made their Commander, and was become odious to them by his Violences and Cruelty. *Hiero* made uſe of that Conjuncture not to puſh on his deſign of War, but to turn things towards a pacification. He informed the King of *Agrigentum* of the deſign of the Inhabitants of *Himera*. This Intelligence cauſed *Theron* to take the neceſſary Meaſures to fruſtrate the Conſpiracy, and to make Peace with the King of *Syracuſa*, and to reconcile the two Brothers (*c*). *Moreri* in a Citation from the 11. Book of *Diodorus Siculus*, affirms that Hiero *Defeated* Theron *the Tyrant of* Agrigentum *who did Laugh at him*. I have found no Footſtep of this in *Diodorus Siculus*. Note, that the Hiſtorian *Timæus* had reported that *Theron*, who could not abide that his Son-in-Law *Polyzelus* ſhould be ill uſed by *Hiero*, Declared War againſt him; but it was immediately terminated before the Hoſtilities were begun (*d*). Let us ſay by the way that *Demarete*, *Theron*'s Daughter (*e*), was Married to King *Gelon*, who ordered when he Died, that ſhe ſhould Marry *Polyzelus* (*f*).

(*B*) Hiero *who is ſuch an Accompliſh'd Prince in the Odes of* Pindar.] He won the Prize at the Horſe-Race in the Olympick Games. He did the ſame at the Pythick Games; and was alſo Victor at the Chariot-Courſe. Theſe Victories were Magnificently Celebrated by the Poet *Pindar* (*g*), and you may believe that tho' Digreſſions take up more than three fourths of his Odes, he forgot not to ſay that *Hiero* had all the Virtues of a good and brave King. Note, that the Inſcription of his *ex voto* (*h*), teſtifies that he won the Prize thrice at the Olympick Games, twice at the Horſe-Race, and once at the Chariot-Courſe.

(*C*) Hiero *civiliz'd and mended himſelf.*] He was as Ignorant as any Man, and as Ruſtical as his Brother *Gelon*; but falling Sick, he ſpent the time which

(*b*) *Note that Dr.* Cave Hiſtor. literar. ſcript. Eccleſ. parte 1. p. 131. *took notice of theſe two Faults of* Jonſius

(*c*) Diodor. Sicul. l. 11. c. 48.

(*d*) *See* Benedictus *upon* Pindar Od. 2. Olymp. p. 43.

(*e*) *See concerning that Woman* Diodorus Siculus l. 11. c. 26.

(*f*) *See the ſame Commentator upon* Pindar. ib.

(*g*) *See the* 1. *Ode of his Olympicks and the* 1. 2. *and* 3. *of his Pythicks.*

(*h*) *See* Pauſanias lib. 8. pag. 687.

year of the 78th Olympiad in the 12th year † of his Reign. It was a Town that he had renewed, he had driven out ᵃ the Inhabitants and had ſeated there a Colony of *Greeks* drawn out of *Peloponneſus* and *Syracuſa*. He changed the name of *Catana* into that of *Ætna*, and would himſelf ᵇ be Sir-named *Ætneus*, when he was Proclaimed Conqueror in the Pythick Games. The Funeral Honours that were paid to him in this new Town, were like ᶜ thoſe of Heroes. His Brother *Thraſybulus* Reigned after him, but his Tyrannical Actions moved the *Syracuſans* to an Inſurrection, and reduced him to ſuch a condition as to be forced to ſubmit to a hard Capitulation. He retired into *Italy* into the Country of the *Locri*, and there ſpent the reſt of his Days in a private Life, having Reigned but one year. The *Syracuſans* having reſtored the Republican Government, maintained it till the Tyranny of *Dionyſius*. The Interval was 60 years ᵈ. 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange that *Dinomenes*, *Hiero's* Son, did not Reign after him. He ſurvived him as we learn from the Inſcription of the Gifts which his Father had vowed to *Jupiter Olympius*. The Offerings which this King of *Syracuſa* Conſecrated to the Temple of *Delphi* were Magnificent ᵉ. His firſt Wife who was the Daughter of *Anaxilaus* King of *Rhegium* and Couſin to *Theron*, brought him no Children ˣ; but by his ſecond Wife the Daughter of *Nicocles*, he had *Dinomenes* above mentioned ᵘ. Some will have it that he gave him the Command of the Town (*D*) of *Catana* with the Title of King of *Ætna*. I do not know to which of his two Wives we muſt aſcribe the Anſwer mention'd by *Plutarch* ʳ.

† Id. ib. cap. 66.
ᵃ Ia. ib. cap. 49.
ᵇ See Pindar Pyth. Od. 1. & ibi commentar. Jo. Benedicti.
ᶜ Died. Siculus ubi ſupra cap. 66.
Note that the Ancient Inhabitants of Catana retook Poſſeſſion of it, and deſtroyed Hiero's Monuments. See Strabo l. 6. p. 185.
ᵈ Id Diodor. ib. c. 67. 68.
ᵉ See Pauſanias l. 8. cap. 42. p. 687. & lib. 6. c. 12. pag. 479.
ˣ See Athenæus l. 6. p. 231. 232.
ᵘ See Benedictus upon Pindar Od. 1. Pyth. p. 263.
ʳ Ibid.
ˣ Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 175.
† Ex ancilla natus, ac propterea à patre, velut dehoneſtamentum generis, expoſitus fuerat. Juſtin. ubi infra.

HIERO II. King of *Syracuſa* deſcended from the Family of *Gelon*, who Reigned in the ſame place; but whereas his Mother was a Servant, *Hierocles* his Father looked upon him † as a Child that diſhonoured his Houſe, and abandon'd him to the Mercy of Fortune. He many days was fed by Bees, and as the South-ſayers declared, that this was a ſign he would be King, *Hierocles* ſent for him back to his Houſe and Educated him with all poſſible care. The Child improved very much by ſuch an Education, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf many ways. He was a Man of admirable Beauty and Strength. He ſpoke with a great deal of Grace, and he often Fought with thoſe that provoked him, and always had the Victory. *Pyrrhus* gave him many Military Rewards †. The *Syracuſans* made him Prætor (*A*) after the departure of *Pyrrhus* ‡, and as he diſcharg'd that Office with great Wiſdom, all the Cities unanimouſly agreed to make

(i) Ælian. div. Hiſtor. l. 4. c. 15.
(k) Id. ib. lib. 9. cap. 2.
(l) Biſciola Tom. 2. Hor. ſubciſ. l. 2. c. 19.
(m) See Kuhnius's Notes upon Ælian l. 4. c. 15.
(n) Intituled Ἱέρων, ἢ τυραννικός. Hieron, ſive tyrannicus.
(o) See Benedictus in Pindarum Ode. 2. Olymp. pag. 43.
(p) Athen. lib. 14. pag. 656.
(q) Pauſan. l. 1. pag. 6.
(r) Μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς ὑφῆκεν ὑποψίαν πικρίας ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἡ ἀδελφὸς ἐπιβουλὴν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελόμενος τὸν ἀδελφόν. Sublato è vivis Hierone, invito Thraſybulus regno, improbitate germanum ante ſe regem exceſſit. Diod. Sicul. l. 11. c. 67.
(ſ) Plut. de ſera numinis vindicta p. 551. & in Apothegm. p. 175.
(t) Horat. Epiſt. 1. lib. 1.
(v) See Benedictus in Pindar. p. 260. 2. 9.

which the weakneſs of his Body gave him in the Converſation of the Learned, and became himſelf a Learned Man; and afterwards recovering his Health he continued to love theſe ſorts of Converſations, and often Diſcourſed with *Simonides*, *Pindar* and *Bacchilides* (*i*). The Author I have this from adds, that *Hiero* was a great lover of Learning, and very liberal, that he had a great Soul, Lived without jealouſy with his three Brothers whom he affectionately lov'd, and was mutually beloved by them, and that his inclination to make noble Preſents, determined *Simonides* tho' very Old, to croſs the Sea to wait upon him (*k*). Some Criticks (*l*) pretend that Chronology will not permit us to affirm that *Hiero* ever ſaw *Simonides*, but they have been ſhewn to be in an Error (*m*). All the Ancients were perſwaded of their Interview and Converſation. *Xenophon* has ſuppoſed a Dialogue between them (*n*) which is a good Piece. *Hiero* ſpeaks in it like a Man of Parts and ſtrong Senſe. *Timæus* the Hiſtorian ſaid (*o*) that *Simonides* Mediated the Peace betwixt *Hiero* and *Theron*. See alſo *Athenæus* (*p*) and *Pauſanias* (*q*); and take notice that tho' the Elogies which *Pindar* and *Ælian* have beſtowed upon this King of *Syracuſa* had nothing of Flattery in them, it could not thence be concluded that what *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith is falſe; for what he ſays of the Avarice and Violence of *Hiero* might be true, with reſpect to the time that preceded his Sickneſs. I do not obſerve this to excuſe him in all reſpects; I perſiſt to blame him for having paſt over in ſilence *Hiero's* amendment, and for having too plainly inſinuated (*r*) that he never grew a better Man. This I think to be very falſe; and we had better doubtleſs give a little Credit to *Ælian* and *Plutarch* (*ſ*), and ſet that Prince as an Example of the Truth of *Horace's* Maxim;

Nemo (t) adeo ferus eſt ut non miteſcere poſſit,
Si modo culturæ patientem commodet aurem.

The Sickneſs, which made our *Hiero* fond of learned Converſations was the Gravel. The Scholiaſt on *Pindar* cites upon this (*v*) a Work of *Ariſtotle* that is loſt. *Meurſius* is groſly out in aſcribing to *Hiero* II. what belongs to *Hiero* I. I mean the Learning that he got upon his Bed, *&c.*

John Benedictus, who ſays in his Commentary (*k*) on *Pindar*, that *Hiero* gained the Prize of the Horſe-Race at the Olympick Games in the 73d Olympiad, is miſtaken; for that Prince was King of *Syracuſa* (*l*) when he gained it: But he did not begin to Reign in *Syracuſa* till the third (*m*) year of the 75th Olympiad. The ſame Commentator pretends, that he Died after ſuch an other Victory obtained at the Games of the 77th Olympiad. This is to make him Reign above 16 years, and to contradict the beſt Hiſtorians without any Reaſon.

(*k*) Johan. Benedictus in Pindarum Od. 1. Olymp. p. 2.
(*l*) Pindar Od. 1. Olymp.
(*m*) Diodorus Siculus l. 11. c. 38.

(*D*) *that he gave him the Command of the City of* Catana *with the Title of King of* Ætna.] They go upon theſe Words of *Pindar*.

Μῶσα γὰρ Δεινομένευ πολλάκιν
ποιθεῖ μοι παρὰν πεδέλευσεν,
χάλκεα δ' ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ νι-
κασφόρῳ πατρίᾳ.
ἀγὼ ἵκοιτ' Αἴτνας βασιλῆ
Θήκαν Ἱερώνυμον ὕμνον.
τῷ πόλιν αὐξων Διὸς μά-
τηρ οὐν ἐλευθερίᾳ,
Τηλίδᾳ γάθεμεν λίραν
ἐν νόμοις ἐπέτειον.

Muſa etiam apud Dinomenem ad canendum mihi obſequere, præmium quadrigarum, Gaudium enim non alienum a filio victoria patris. Agedum poſtea Ætnæ regi gratum excogitemus hymnum: cui urbem illam cum divinitus fundata libertate, Dorica vibra in legibus Hiero condidit. Benedictus makes this Note upon it. *Poſtquam poëta laudavit Hieronem ab avitam, & filium Dinomenem à ſtudio in patrem: ad alias ejuſdem Dinomenis laudes digreditur: quem Ætnæ regem appellat: nam illam à ſe conditam Hiero dedit filio adminiſtrandam: eumque ducem Ætnæorum conſtituit.* This increaſes our wonder to ſee *Thraſybulus* ſucceed *Hiero*. I believe the *Syracuſans* befriended the Brother to the prejudice of the Son, to do a greater honour to the Memory of *Gelon*; for *Dinomenes Hiero's* Son was only *Gelon's* Nephew, but *Thraſybulus* was *Gelon's* Brother; and thus ſetting thoſe upon the Throne who were more nearly related to *Gelon*, they more plainly ſhew'd that they looked upon him as the Foundation of the pretenſion to the Crown.

(*A*) *The* Syracuſans *made him Prætor.*] I have been contented to uſe the ſhort Expreſſion of *Juſtin*; but

‡ A Pyrrho rege multis militaribus donis donatus eſt. id. ib.

make him Captain-General against the *Carthaginians*, and afterwards to raise him to the Throne *. He went on soon after to make War Vigorously against the *Mamertins*, whom he had already Beaten in some Engagements, and he resolved to drive them out of *Messina*, which they had seized against all Right and Reason. They found themselves incapable of resisting him, and therefore they had recourse some to the *Carthaginians*, others to the *Romans*. The question was warmly debated at *Rome*, whether they should be Succour'd, and it was carried in the Affirmative, and this was the first beginning of the first Punick War. The Consul *Appius Claudius* being ordered to Succour the *Mamertines*, Landed his Troops in *Sicily* in the year of *Rome* 490. They delivered up their Town to him, and obliged the *Carthaginian* General, who Commanded in their Fortress, to leave it. The *Carthaginians* laid Siege to *Messina*, and made a Treaty of Alliance with *Hiero*, who join'd his Troops with theirs. The *Roman* Consul resolv'd upon giving Battle, and first attack'd the *Syracusans*: The Battle was very sharp; *Hiero* behav'd himself very Valiantly, but was beaten, and thought it convenient to return to *Syracusa*. *Appius Claudius* having obtained such a Victory over the *Carthaginians* found himself Master of the Country, and advanced as far as *Syracusa*, and Besieged it. *Hiero* seeing *Sicily* in Consternation, and the *Carthaginian* Forces much weakened, made Proposals for Peace with the *Romans*: His Proposals were accepted, and from that time till his Death, he faithfully adhered to their Interests † and gave them all the Proofs of a (B) most sincere Friendship. Had he Lived but five or six years after this Alliance, and did we judge of things by our Present Age, we should have Reason to wonder at his Constancy. Much more ought we to admire it, when we consider that he lived near 50 years after? This long Reign was a very happy one; for *Hiero's* Conduct was attended with so much Prudence, that it preserv'd him secure amongst his own Subjects, and procur'd him a great Reputation abroad, and gave success to all his publick and private Affairs. He Cultivated the Friendship of the *Greeks*, and was proud of their Crowns ‡. His Sons Erected him a Statue on Horse-back, and another on Foot in *Olympium* ^; his Subjects Erected others also in the same place §. The Money he gave to the *Rhodians*, and the Presents he made them after that great Earth-quake, which had made havock of their Isle, and over-turned their *Colossus*, is a very remarkable Instance of his Liberality, and Magnificence ||. He ordered a Ship to be Built which was one of the most famous Vessels in Antiquity; *Archimedes* ¶ was the Director of the Work. You will find the Description of it in *Athenæus* ** who cites a Book written purely upon that Subject by one *Moschion*. The 16*th* Idyl of *Theocritus* is Address'd to this King of *Syracusa*, and the Author seems to complain of having praised him without obtaining a Recompence. *Hiero* Compos'd some

* Justin. lib. 23. cap. 4.

† Ex Polybio lb. cap. 10. & seq.

‡ See Polybius lb. cap. 10.

^ Pausan. l. 6. c. 12. p. 480.

§ Id. lb. c. 15. p. 482. *But Note that he says p.* 480. *that his Sons Erected two Statues to him, and p.* 489. *that they Erected but one, and that the* Syracusans *Erected two.*

|| See Polybius l. 5. c.

¶ *Concerning the care* Hiero *took, to get* Archimedes's *Geometrical Speculations applied to Mechanical uses, See* Plutarch. *in vita Marcelli p.* 305. Athen. l. 6. p. 206. & seq. *See the Article Archimedes.*

** (a) *In the year of* Rome 537.

(b) Titus Livius l. 22. p. m. 340. 341. *see also* Valerius Maximus l. 4. c. 8. n. 1. in Ext.

but I will here disentangle that matter, which is somewhat maimed in that Author's Narration. I say then, there was a misunderstanding betwixt the Citizens of *Syracusa* and their Army, and that the Army Encamping near *Mergana* proceeded to the Creation of the Magistrates, and conferred that Dignity upon two Officers of War, *Artemidorus* and *Hiero*. The latter being introduc'd into *Syracusa* by the Clandestine Intrigues of his Friends, surmounted the Oppositions of the contrary Party, and behaved himself with so much humanity and greatness of Soul, that the Inhabitants agreed to acknowledge him for their Prætor, tho' they look'd upon those Assemblies as unlawful, in which the Soldiers pretended to confer *Magistracies* (b). *Polybius* who is here my Author, relates two Instances of *Hiero's* Ability. The first was, that he remedied a Disorder which was very prejudicial to the State. The *Syracusans* who staid in the Town, whilst the Troops and the Prætors were in the Field, raised a thousand Seditions, and laboured to introduce Innovations. It was therefore necessary that in the Army's absence some Persons should keep the Citizens to their Duty. *Leptines* was a very proper Man for this, as having a great many Clients, and much credit with the People. For which reason *Hiero* secured him by Marrying his Daughter, and by that means gave Order that the publick Tranquillity should be preserv'd in *Syracusa*, whilst he was abroad at the Head of the Army. His second piece of Policy was his getting rid of the old Foreign Soldiers, who were Mutinous and Debauched. He drew out his Forces under pretence of Ingaging the *Mamertins* (c), and when he came in sight of the Enemy, he divided his Army into two Parts; he placed the *Syracusans* on one side, and the Foreigners on the other; and putting himself at the Head of the former, as if to make an Attack, he left the others expos'd to the *Mamertins*, who cut them in Pieces. He raised other Troops, and so seasonably Assaulted the Enemy, that he obtained a glorious Victory. They made him King after that Exploit (d).

(B) *And gave them all the Proofs of a sincere Friendship.*] I will shew what he did, when the Roman Affairs were in a great Confusion after the Victory that *Annibal* obtained over them, near the Lake (a) *Trasimenus*. It was the third Battel they had lost in *Italy* since *Annibal* enter'd it, that is, in 2 years time. Less than that now adays would incline a Prince to quit his Allies, and take the Conqueror's side; a Prince, I say, whose Territories should be situated as *Syracusa* was with respect to the Republick of *Carthage*. And yet *Hiero* proved a generous Ally, he stood fast to the interest of the *Romans*, and sent them good Supplies. Read these words of *Livy*: (b) *Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Hostium cum magno commeatu accessit. Legati Syracusani in Senatum introducti nunciarunt, eadem C. Flaminio consulis exercitusque allatam adeo agre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria, regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probè sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem propè adversis rebus, quàm secundis, esse, missa tamen à se omnia, quibus à bonis fidelibusque socios bella juvari soleant. Quæ ne acciperet abnuant, magnoperè se P. C. orare. Jam omnium primum omnis causa victoriam auream pondo CCCXX. afferre sese: acciperent eam, tenerentque & haberent propriam & perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta millia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent. Et quantum præterea opus esset, & quò jussissent, subvecturos. Mittite atque equites saltem nisi Romano Latinoque nomini non uti populum Romanum: levium armatorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque missile mille sagittarum ac funditorum aptam manum adversus Baleares ac Maures, pugnaceque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut Prætor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam trajiceret, ut & hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Annibali submittenda. Ab Senatu ita responsum regi est, Pium bonum, egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse, ac vero Romanam omni tempo-*

(c) Ex Polybio l. 1. cap. 8. (c) *The Soldiers, who possessed themselves of* Messina *in a Treacherous manner, call'd themselves by that Name. See* Polybius *in the 7. Chap. of the 1. Book.*

(d) *Taken from* Polybius lb. n. 8. & 9.

some Books ϕ of Agriculture, and (C) Died at the Age of 90 in the second year of the 141 Olympiad, * and the 539 of *Rome*. γ He out lived his Son *Gelon*, who was Married ‡ to *Nereis* Daughter of *Pyrrhus*, by whom he left † a Son named *Hieronymus*. He obſerv'd that this *Hieronymus* was vain, and he feared leſt the good Condition in which he had ſettled his Kingdom, would quickly change under ſuch a Prince. This made him deſirous to reſtore the *Syracuſans* to their Liberty; but his Daughters (D) prevented him, and in his great Age he was not able to ſtand up againſt the Careſſes and Artifices of theſe two Women that beſet him Day and Night. So he was oblig'd to leave the Kingdom to his Grandſon, under the Tuition of fifteen Perſons. It happened as the Old Man foreſaw. There was nothing but Confuſion in *Syracuſa* after his Death (E). *Pauſanias* is miſtaken in ſaying † that *Dinomenes* killed him.

HIERO

ϕ *See the Remark (C).*

* Et non 529. *as* Morери *ſays.*

γ Calviſius ad ann. Romæ 538. *ſuppoſes the contrary, and is miſtaken.*

† Pauſan. l. 6. c. 12. p. 479.

‡ Polybius in excerpt. legat. c. 1. Titus Livius l. 24. p. 382.

pore ac fide manifeſte adjuviſſe: id, perinde ac deberet, peregrinum populo Romano eſſe. Aurum & à civitatibus quibuſdam allatum, gratia rei acceptâ, non acceſſiſſe populum Romanum: victoriam, omenque accipere: ſedemque ei ſe dive dare, dicare Capitolium, templum Jovis Optimi Maximi. In ea arce urbis Romæ ſacratam, volentem propitiamque, firmam ac ſtabilem fore populo Romano. Tunditores, ſagittariique, & frumentum traditum conſulibus. We ſcarce now ſee ſo generous a Conduct amongſt private Perſons. *Gelon* the Son of *Hiero* did not imitate ſo good an Example. He forſook the vanquiſh'd Party without any regard to the trouble he ſhould give his Father. You'll ſee *Livy's* Words in this Paſſage of *Caſaubon*. *Fides vera & conſtantia ejuſdem* (Hieronis) *in conſervanda Po. Ro. majeſtate laudari ſatis pro merito non queat; quum præſertim ea mox & deinceps perſæpe ſcuta ſint tempora, quæ ejus conſtantiam eximiè probarent. Quot & quantas clades populus Ro. bello Punico primo, & ſecundi initio ſit perpeſſus, nemo neſcit. Solent adverſa hominum voluntates, & abdita mentium mutare. Hieronis propoſitum & conſtantiam in ſuſcepta ſemel amicitia Romanorum, non Regulî calamitas, non Claudii naufragium, non Thraſymenus, non Trebia, poſtremo ne Cannenſis quidem dies potuit labefactare. Manet inconcuſſa illi fides, etiam tunc quum & in Italia & extra Italiam omnes Po. Ro. ſocii & amici ad Pœnos fortunam ſecuti inclinabant: ne domus quidem Hieronis tota* (verba ſunt Livii) *ab defectione abſtinuit, namque Gelo maximus ſtirpis contempta ſimul ſenectute patris, ſimul poſt Cannenſium cladem Romana ſocietate ad Pœnos defecit. Hiero tamen nihilo ſecius immotus ſtetit, ceu Marſica quædam cautes, eaque etiam tunc fides conſtitit: quam etiam ad extremum vitæ conſtantiſſimè ſervavit* (c). Let us add ſtill one Obſervation. This Prince's Fidelity to the *Romans* was ſometimes very burthenſome to him; for the *Carthaginian* Veſſels (d) made great Ravage in his Country. When he Died he recommended it (e) to the Tutors of his Grandſon, who was to be his Succeſſor, not to ſuffer any change in the Alliance he had ſo faithfully kept with the *Romans*.

(C) *And Died at the Age of 90.*] *Livius* affirms it as we ſhall ſee in the following Remark. *Lucian* (f) cites *Demetrius Caliſtranus*, who wrote that *Hiero* Died of Sickneſs at 92 years of Age, having Reigned 70. Let us keep to the round number of *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus*. (g) *Siciliæ rector Hiero ad nonageſimum annum pervenit.* Note by the way, a ſmall miſtake of Father *Hardouin*. (h) *Hieron, Siciliæ Rex, quem inter ſcriptores de agricultura memorant Varro, & Columella l. 1. c. 1. cum Attalo Philometore Pergami rege. Multa de eo præclare habet Valerius Max. l. 8. c. 13. p. 405.* Conſult *Valerius Maximus* in the place that Father *Hardouin* has quoted, and you will find nothing about *Hiero* but the ſeven words that I have ſet down, but you will find there a great many curious things concerning *Maſſaniſſa* King of *Numidia*. I am perſwaded that a falſe glance of the Eye was the cauſe of Father *Hardouin's* miſtake. A Line ſkip'd, made him believe that the whole Page related to *Hiero*: That little leap Eclipſed *Maſſaniſſa* in the following Line: This is a cauſe of miſtakes that ſpreads it ſelf farther than is imagined. A Writer, who is to conſult many Authors, dwells upon things as he can; his Eyes run over the Pages with great ſwiftneſs; they glance ſometimes ſo lightly upon certain Lines, that the Mind retains no Idea of them, and then the Pen joins ſuch Facts together as ought to be ſeparated. To conclude, *Hiero* did not Reign 70 years as *Lucian* affirms: he was Prætor ſeven years (i) before he was Proclaimed King.

(D) *But his Daughters prevented him.*] It was becauſe they ſaw that their Husbands and themſelves ſhould have the chief management of the Kingdom. *Livy* deſcribes this in an admirable manner. *In Sicilia*, ſays he (k), *Romanis omnia mutaverat mors Hieronis, regnumque ad Hieronymum nepotem ejus tranſlatum, puerum vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem modicè laturum. Late id ingenium tutores atque amici ad præcipitandum in omnia vitia acceperunt. Quæ ita futura cernens Hiero, ultima ſenecta voluiſſe dicitur liberas Syracuſas relinquere, ne ſub dominatu puerili per ludibrium bonis artibus parrum firmatumque interiret regnum. Huic conſilio ejus ſumma ope obſtitere filiæ: nomen regnum penes pueros futurum ratæ, regimen rerum omnium penes ſe, viroſque ſuos, Andronodorum, & Zoilum: nam iis tutorum primi relinquebantur. Non facile erat nongeſimum jam agenti annum, circumſeſſo dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis liberare animum, & convertere ad publicam privatamque curam. Itaque tutores numero quindecim puero reliquit.*

(E) *There was nothing but Confuſion in* Syracuſa *after his Death.*] The firſt thing that was done, was to preſent to the People *Hiero's* Will, and *Hieronymus* the new King, who was but fifteen years Old. Some People hired to make Acclamations approved of the Will: Others were diſſatisfied and conſidered the Kingdom as an Orphan who had juſt loſt his Father. A little after they proceeded to the Funeral Solemnity, which if it was conſiderable for the number of the Aſſiſtants, (a) it ought rather to be attributed to the love of the People than to the care of *Hiero's* Family. After this *Andronodorus* Son-in-Law of the Deceaſed, and one of *Hieronymus's* fifteen Tutors, declar'd, that the King was of Age to Govern, and that the Minority was expired. By this he aſſumed to himſelf the Power of all the others. The Royal Equipage was introduced, and whereas *Hiero* always went in a common Dreſs, his Grandſon was ſeen to appear in Purple with a Diadem and his Guards. This outward Pomp was attended with an equal Pride, Cruelty, and Debauchery; and one would have thought that *Hieronymus* made it his buſineſs to make the loſs of his Grandfather's Reign Lamented. Had he had the qualities of the beſt Princes, he would have ſcarce contented the *Syracuſans*, they ſo adored his Predeceſſor. What diſcontent then muſt they have had under a Succeſſor ſo unlike him? I cannot ſufficiently admire the Majeſty of Words that *Livy* makes uſe of to repreſent it. (b) *Vix quidem ulli bono, modeſtoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracuſanos, ſuccedenti tantæ charitati Hieronis: Verùm enimvero Hieronymus, velut ſuis vitiis deſiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo ſtatim conſpectu omnia quàm diſparia eſſent, oſtendit. Nam qui per tot annos Hieronem, filiumque ejus Gelonem, nec veſtis habitu, nec alio ullo inſigni differentes à cæteris civibus vidiſſent, conſpexere purpuram, ac diadema, ac ſatellites armatos, quadrigiſque etiam albarum equorum interdum ex regia procedentem, more Dionyſii tyranni. Hunc tam ſuperbum apparatum, habitumque convenientes ſequebantur mores: contemptus omnium hominum, ſuperbæ aures, contumelioſa dicta, aditus non alienis modo, ſed tutoribus etiam difficiles, libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas.* This young King choſe rather to make an Alliance with the *Carthaginians* than with *Rome* (c); but he had not time

(i) *See* Caſaubon in Polybii librum 1. p. m. 99. 100.

(k) Titus Livius l. 24. p. 381.

(a) Funus fit regium magis amore erga virum & charitate, quam cura ſuorum celebre. T. Livius l. 24. p. 381.

(b) Id. ib.

(c) Id. ib. pag. 384. *See alſo* Polybius in excerpt. legat. c. 1.

(f) Caſaubonus commentar. in Polyb. p. 151. 152.

(d) *See* Livy lib. 22. p. m. 340.

(e) Livius lib. 24. p. 381.

(f) Lucian. in Macrobiis p. 635. To. 2. oper.

(g) Valer. Maximus l. 8. c. 13. n. 1. in Ext.

(h) Hardouin. in ind. Auctor. Plinii, p. 115.

HIERO a great Friend of *Nicias*, and Head of the Colony that rebuilt * *Tharium*, called himself the Son of *Dionysius* (*A*) Sirnamed χαλκους that is to say *of Brass*, *æneus*. He was reared up at *Nicias*'s House, and he himself instructed him in Literature and Musick. Therefore he used a great many Artifices to keep up the interest of *Nicias* †. I have found a fault in *Amiot*, and in some Dictionaries [a].

HIEROPHILUS, a Physician of whom I can say nothing else but that he taught his Art to a certain Maid call'd *Agnodice*. She disguised herself in a Man's Dress; for there was a Law among the *Athenians* †, which forbad Women and Slaves to Study Physick. *Agnodice* becoming a Midwife, gave occasion to the change of that Law. 'Tis too curious a Piece of History (*B*) to be omitted in a Remark.

HIL-

* *A Town of* Italy.

† *Taken from* Plut. in vita Nicia.

‡ *See the Quotation nn.*

† Athenienses caverant ne quis servus aut fœmina artem Medicinam disceret. Hyg. in cap. 274. (*g*) Hyg. pag. 30. (*a*) Antiqui obstetrices non habuerunt, unde mulieres vere secundis ductæ interierant. Hyg. in cap. 274. (*b*) Ibid. (*c*) Aurelian. Ibid. pag. mihi 529. (*d*) Id. ib. p. 328.

(*e*) *Concerning* Dionysius Patriarch *of* Constantinople, *See the new Letters against* Maimbourg *p.* 680. *to which you may add these Words*; Athenarum Nicephoro & Zonaræ, quum Macedonius Episcopus Constantinopolitanus, sub Anastasio, fautor hæreticorum Arianorum & Manichæorum ab adolescentulis, impuræ Veneris; & Methodius Patriarcha, sub Michaële, stupri accusati essent: ambos ut convincerent mendacii, tumidâ fiuctâ ostentasse, virilibus se carere: & exinde fœminibus illis liberos atque immunes fuisse pronunciatos. Salmuth in Panarolium part. 2. pag. 68. (*f*) *See his Article Remark A.*

(*a*) Livius ibid.

(*c*) *What he told him may be seen in the Remark B of the Article* Periander.

(*f*) Festus tandem uxoris vocibus monentis, nunc illud esse tempus occupandi res, dum turbata omnia nova atque incognita libertate essent, dum regio fit, endiis pastus oversaturnales. dum, &c. Id. Ibid. p. 391.

(*g*) Id. ib.

(*h*) Id. ib. p. 392.

(*i*) Id. ib. & pag. 393.

(†) *I'll make some Reflections upon this in the Remark B of the Article* Hobbes.

(*k*) Plut. in Nicia p. 526.

(*l*) Athen. lib. 10. p. 443. & l. 15. p. 668.

(*m*) Arist. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 2.

(*n*) Callimachus in tract. de Rhetoribus apud Athen. l. 15. p. 669.

(*nn*) *Note that according to* Amiot's *Translation, this* Dionysius *led the Colony of* Thurium; *but it was* Hiero *who did it, according to the true Scribe of* Plutarch. *Note also the Poems which were extant in* Plutarch's *time, were* Hiero's *Work*; *which is false.*

time allowed him to do them Service; they conspired against him and killed him (*d*). *Andronodorus* certified himself as well as he could in some Places of *Syracusa*; and yet in spite of the Counsels of *Demarata* his Wife, (*e*) *Hiero*'s Daughter, he submitted to the new Republican Government, and was made Prator: But new Troubles arising he tried to make an Advantage of them, (*f*) being won of the continual instigations of his Wife. He concerted his Enterprize with *Themistius* the Husband of *Harmonia*, *Gelon*'s Daughter, and trusted it to a Comedian, who betrayed him; so that he and *Themistius* were killed as they came into the Senate (*g*). To justify this Murder, 'twas necessary to represent to the People the Crime of these two Men. The Orator who was charged to do it, said amongst other things that their Wives had fill'd them with Ambition. The People tumultuously cried out thereupon, that these two Women ought to Die, and all the Race of the Tyrants. Which was immediately Decreed and Executed. *Livy* relating this Tragical Adventure, inserts a Reflection upon the capricious and uneven temper of the Mob (*h*). *Sub hanc vocem ex omnibus partibus concionis clamor oritur, nullam earum vivere debere, nec quenquam superesse tyrannorum stirpis. Hæc natura multitudinis est: aut servit humiliter, aut superbè dominatur: libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modicè, nec habere sciunt, & non fermè desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem & cædes irritent: sicut tum exemplo Pratores regationem promulgarunt. Acceptaque penè prius quàm promulgata est, ut omnis regia stirps interficeretur. Missique à Pratoribus Demaratam Hieronis, & Harmoniam Gelonis filias, conjuges Andronodori & Themistii, interfecerunt.* There remained a Daughter of *Hiero* named *Heraclea*: When she knew that they were come to kill her, she shut her self up with her two Daughters in her Chappel, and applied her self to her *Penates*, using the most pathetical Supplications and the strongest Arguments to save her Life, or at least that of her Daughters: But all in vain; she was hurried from the Chappel and Murdered. Her two Daughters who had escap'd from the House, were killed in the Streets (*i*). See the Margin †.

(*A*) *The Son of* Dionysius *Sirnamed* χαλκους.] This *Dionysius* was a Poet. Some of his Poems were still Extant in *Plutarch*'s time (*k*). His Elegies are cited by *Athenæus* (*l*), and *Aristotle* (*m*). He was also an Orator; for he was Sirnamed χαλκους, because the *Athenians* being perswaded by one of his Orations, made use of Brass Money (*n*). See the Margin (*nn*).

(*B*) *'Tis too curious a Piece of History.*] *Hyginus* relates, (*o*) 'that the Antients having no Midwives, 'a abundance of Women Died in Travel, because 'shame hinder'd them from applying to the Phy'sicians; and there was a Law among the *Athenians* 'forbidding Women to meddle with Physick. 'Hereupon *Agnodice* a young Woman having a 'great inclination for that Science, disguised her'self in Man's Apparel, and Learned it. After 'which she us'd to seek out Women that were in 'Child-Birth, and to take away all scruples, she 'immediately shew'd them what she was, and so 'brought them to Bed. The Physicians observing 'that they lost their Practice with the Women 'Sued her, accusing her of an infamous Com'merce with that Sex. They complained also of 'I know not what Collusion, and certain pretended 'Illnesses that they had to countenance the Gallant. 'In a Word they caused her to be Condemned by 'the *Areopagites*; but she shewed so plainly the 'Proofs of her Innocence in a full Senate, that the 'Physicians were forced to recur to the Law that 'Prohibited Women the Profession of Physick. The 'Athenian Ladies interposed and caused the Law to 'be Reformed; so Women were permitted to 'learn the Art. The Author from whom I borrow these Words makes a Reflection upon *Hyginus*: 'There is, says he, (*p*) but little exactness in these 'Words of *Hyginus*: For it might be concluded from 'his Discourse, that after *Agnodice* laid the Women, 'they no longer imploy'd the Physicians, which 'would prove against this Author's own Observa'tion, that they made use of their good Offices be'fore. But if there be no exactness in his Words, 'we may at least excuse him from a Contradiction, 'by supposing he meant that the Women having 'been affrighted in their Lyings-In by *Agnodice*, would 'no longer make use of any But by her in their 'other Indispositions, herein they had no temptation 'against imploying the Physicians. This Author makes another Remark upon *Hyginus*'s observing (*q*), that before *Agnodice* Practised Midwifry, many Women Died who durst not make use of a Physician. 'It is still confest, says (*r*) the Writer of the *News* 'from the Republick of Learning, that shame is 'no less subject than other things to the humours 'of the Fashion. Time has been that it was a 'shame to make use of a Man-Midwife, and we 'Read in *Louise Bourgeois* a very dexterous Mid'wife, that *Henry IV.* charged her to do her Duty 'so well with Queen *Mary de Medicis*, that it 'might not be necessary to have Recourse to a Man; 'for her Modesty, added he, would suffer too much 'by it. At present 'tis à *la mode* to be void of that 'shame; Our Age is much more inlightned than 'the preceding. That Raillery against our Age 'is not well grounded; for if on one Hand there 'is now less shame in some respects, Impudence on 'the other Hand is less than it was at *Athens*. Is 'there any Virtuous Women at present, who durst 'in a full Auditory take up their Coats and Demonstrate to the Judges that they are Women? Thus *Agnodice* did in the *Areopagus*, the gravest and most venerable Tribunal that was in the World. *Quod cum vidissent medici, se ad famam non admitti, Agnodicen accusare cæperunt, quod diceret eum glabrum esse & corruptorem earum, & illas simulare imbecillitatem. Quo cum Areopagita confedissent, Agnodicen damnare cæperunt. Quibus Agnodice tunicam allevavit, & se ostendit fœminam esse* (*s*). Can there be a more Extravagant Impudence than this? Before which had she not given sufficient Proofs of her want of Shame? Could not she have discovered her Sex by more modest Methods than those she used with the Women? (*d*) *Quæ cum credere se noluisset, æstimans virum esse, illa tunica sublata ostendebat se fœminam esse.* Those (*e*) Prelates, who to purge themselves of Incontinency, have shewn their Nakedness in full Councils, do not come up to the Impudence of this *Athenian* Woman.

I have said elsewhere that *Albertus Magnus* Practised Midwifry, if we may believe the Scandalous Chronicle (*f*). If this be so, 'tis a long time since the Modesty of the *Athenian* Women is not in Being; and as the Reputation of *Albertus* was

(*o*) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, January 1686. pag. 28. & 29.

that Charles Stephens, Lloyd *and* Hofman *say, that*

HILDEBERT, Biſhop of *Mans* and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Tours* in the beginning of the XIIth. Century, had led a very ſcandalous Life (*A*) before he came to the Mitre. 'Tis in vain to wrangle hereupon with the (*B*) Annaliſt of the Romiſh Church, and to oppoſe the Diſcoveries of a Critick againſt him. Father *Maimbourg* made uſe of (*C*) an Action of this Prelate, to inſult thoſe few Biſhops, who oppos'd the Extention of the *Regale*. The Note I ſhall make upon this Subject, will contain ſome things relating to our *Hildebert's* Hiſtory. *Illyricus* has rec-

well Eſtabliſhed, who knows but that ſome Women gloried in being delivered by his Hand; juſt as *Moliere's* nice Ladies would have every thing even their under Stockings, of the beſt Faſhion?

Since the firſt Edition of this Dictionary I have ſeen in the Journaliſts of *Leipſick*, an Obſervation which will ſerve here for a Supplement. It muſt not be denied, ſay they, but that the *French* are the beſt of all Nations to inſtruct us how Women are to be brought to Bed. 'Tis not becauſe they have a more happy Genius, but becauſe they have frequent occaſions of being preſent at Child-Births. The mode is come into *France*, that even New-married Women caſting away all ſhame, permit themſelves without ſcruple to be ſeen and handled by the Chirurgeons, and all ſorts of Women deſire their Preſence and Aſſiſtance when they are ready to Lie-in. A quite different Cuſtom prevails in other Nations: For ordinarily Women and eſpecially thoſe who have been lately Married are ſo ſcrupulous, that they can hardly be perſwaded to ſubmit themſelves to the Mid-wives and their particular Friends: 'Tis only neceſſity brings them to it, and when the Pain is ſo ſtrong as to overcome their Repugnance. As I do not Tranſlate this word for word, I will put down the Latin of the *Leipſick* Journal, to ſhew that I expreſs the Sence of it with all the neceſſary faithfulneſs. (*g*) *Non eſt negandum, de adjuvandis parturientibus Gallos præ cæteris nationibus nos inſtruere poſſe, non ingenio, ſed occaſione, qua licet ipſis quam frequentiſſime partui adeſſe, feliciores. Ita enim moris apud ipſos eſt, ut poſito pudore, etiam recens nupta ad tactum atque explorationem omnem chirurgos admittant faciles, & partus tempore præſentes atque adjutores fœmina qualibet eos expetant. Quod longe ſit aliter apud cæteras nationes, ubi plerumque vix perſuaderi poſſunt uxorcula, cumprimis nuper in matrimonium ducta, ut obſtetricibus propriiſque ſexus amicis ſui faciant copiam, niſi doloribus ac neceſſitate victa.* It is thus, that the Gentlemen of *Leipſick* ſpeak at the beginning of the Extract of a Book Publiſhed by a *Paris* Chirurgeon (*b*) in the year 1694. and Intituled *the Practice of Mid-wifery*. That Chirurgeon did not Print his Obſervations, till after a long Experience, and his aſſiſting at the Deliveries of four or five thouſand Women. Another Chirurgeon (*i*) of the ſame City Publiſh'd another Book the year following Intituled, *Obſervations upon the Big Bellies and Deliveries of Women*, &c. There are in it 700 choice Obſervations (*k*) amongſt more than three thouſand others, which the Author has made. This is enough to prove that 'tis the great Faſhion of *Paris* to make uſe of Men and not of Women Midwives. The time will come perhaps that the ſame Mode will prevail over the greateſt part of *Europe*; ſhame will undergo the Fate of a thouſand other things, that follow the odd and inconſtant Laws of Cuſtom.

(*A*) *A very Scandalous Life.*] Even after his promotion to an Arch-deaconry, he kept ſo many Concubines, that he had Baſtards in abundance. This is what *Ivo* Biſhop of *Chartres* writ to him: (*l*) *Dicunt quidam de majoribus Cenomanenſis Eccleſiæ qui anteactam vitam tuam ſe noſſe teſtantur, quod ultra modum laxaveris frena pudicitiæ, in tantum ut poſt acceptum Archidiaconatum, accubante lateribus tuis plebe mulierculariam multam generis plebem quærorum & puellularum.*

(*B*) *To wrangle hereupon with the Annaliſt.*] Juret (*m*) *cenſures* Baronius *for having written in his Annals upon the Authority of this Letter of* Ivo *of* Chartres, *that* Hildebert *before he was a Biſhop was addicted to Women, pretending that this Letter was written to one* Aldebert *and not to* Hildebert. Aldeberto, Cenomanenſis Eccleſiæ electo. *'Tis thus this Letter is Intitled at the end of the Manuſcript Letters of* Ivo *of* Chartres *in the Library of St.* Victor——*But Father* Sirmond *in his Notes upon* Godfrey *of* Vendome *has very well juſtified* Baronius: *Theſe are his Words.* Ildebertus vir in Epiſcopatu eximius, ante illum, vitæ ſolutioris, ut indicat Ivonis epiſtola 277. Quam quidem, qui de Ildeberto, quo de agimus, ſcriptam, pertinaciùs neget, is, opinor, clauſis oculis ſibi credi velit. Reque enim alia Ivonis tempore Cenomanenſis Epiſcopi electio fuit, quàm Ildeberti? Quem præterea ſcimus ex Archidiacono, quod Ivo notat, ad Epiſcopalem Cathedram evectum. Neque tamen hæc ita differo, ut viri docti, qui contra ſenſit, nomini obtrectem: ſed quia immortalis memoriæ Cardinali Baronio me debere judico, ut quæ rectè & verè ab eo dicta ſunt, ea ut pro veris habeantur, enitar quoad poſſum (*n*). Mr. *Menage* adds ſome good things to theſe Reaſons of Father *Sirmond*. *Ildebertus*, ſays he, (*o*) 'and *Aldebertus* is the ſame Name: And *Ildebert* 'Biſhop of *Mans* calls himſelf *Aldebertus* in one 'of his Letters Printed in the thirteenth Volume of 'the *Spicilegium*. *Rannſo, Dei gratia, Dunelmenſi Epiſcopo, omni honore & gratia ſublimando,* 'ALDEBERTUS, *humilis Cenomanorum Sacerdos.* He is thus called in a Charter of the Abbey 'of *Etival* produced by M. *Pavillon* in his Obſer- 'vations upon the Life of *Arbriſſel*. *Aldeb. Epiſcopo Cenomanenſi*: For thus it ought to be 'Read, and not, (*i*) *Alberto Epiſcopo Cenoma-* 'nenſi: There having been no *Albert* Biſhop of 'Mans. In a Charter of *Frontevaux*, produc'd by *Coſnier*, at Page 131 of his Notes upon the Life 'of *Arbriſſel*, he is alſo called *Audebertus*; which 'is the ſame thing as *Aldebertus*. *Courvaiſier* in 'the Life of *Ildebert*, confirms the Letter of *Ivo* 'of *Chartres*, by this place of the *Necrologium* of 'Sr. *Peter* of *Mans*: *Tertio Idus Auguſti, obiit* 'Gervaſius, *Hildeberti Præſulis filius; materis Eccleſiæ Canonicus; qui vivens, ad hujus Eccleſiæ ſervitium quandam contulit Bibliothecam; cujus anima quiete fruatur æterna*: Pretending that this 'Gervaſius was the Natural Son of *Ildebert*. *Bon-* 'donnet pretends he was only his Spiritual Son. 'But in the *Geſta* of the Biſhops of *Mans*, Publiſhed 'by *Dom. Mabillon* in the third Volume of his 'Analecta, the *delicta juventutis* of this Biſhop are 'mentioned, which farther confirms *Ivo* of *Char-* 'tres's Letter. (*p*) Mr. *Menage* alledges in his Additions two Charters produced by Father *de la Mainferme* (*q*), in which our *Hildebert* is called *Audebertus*. Thus *Juret's* Criticiſm falls (*r*) to the Ground, together with the Praiſes given him by Father *Maimbourg*. See the following Remark.

(*C*) *Father* Maimbourg *made uſe of.*] He firſt praiſes this Prelate. Bleſſed *Hildebert*, ſays he (*a*), Biſhop of *Mans* and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Tours*, was one of the moſt Holy and Learned Prelates that the Gallican Church ever had. 'We 'have ſome Epiſtles and ſome other fine Works of 'his in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. It is he whom St. '*Bernard* calls the excellent Pontif and the great 'Pillar of the Church; of whom the moſt famous 'Writers ſpeak with the greateſt Commendations, 'and whoſe Sanctity God himſelf was pleaſed to 'declare and honour by Miracles wrought at his 'Tomb. And upon this occaſion I think my ſelf 'oblig'd to ſay, that I may give the Honour that is 'due to his Memory, that thoſe who have written 'upon the credit of an Epiſtle of *Ivo* of *Chartres*, 'that when *Hildebert* was made Biſhop of *Mans*, he 'led a very ſcandalous Life, have taken him for 'another, being miſled by the Inſcription of that 'Epiſtle, wherein they have found *Hildeberto* in- 'ſtead of *Aldeberto*, which is Read in the old Co- 'pies, as Monſieur *Juret* to whom we owe this 'important Remark, has ſhewn in his Learned 'Notes upon *Ivo* of *Chartres*. After this *Maim-* 'bourg ſays that *Hildebert* was Tranſlated from the Biſhoprick of *Mans* to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Tours* by Pope *Honorius II.* in the year 1125, and that having found two Canonries in his Church, which

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(*g*) Actor. eruditor. Lipſ. ſupplem. tom. 2. ſect. 10. p. 470.

(*b*) *Call'd* Philip Peu.

(*i*) *Call'd* Francis Mauriceau.

(*k*) *See the* Acta Eruditorum January 1695. p. 42.

(*l*) *This Letter is the* 277. *See* Menage, hiſtoire de Sablé p. 107.

(*m*) Notis in Epiſt. 277. Ivonis Carnutenſis.

(*n*) Menage, Hiſt. de Sablé pag. 107. 108.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 108.

(*p*) *Pag.* 310.

(*q*) In Clypeo naſcentis Fontebraldenſis Ordinis p. 62. & 73.

(*r*) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Latin. pag. 404. *and after him* Moreri *have adopted this Criticiſm.*

(*a*) Hiſt. de Lotharaniſme B. 2. p. m. 192.

reckoned him amongst the Witnesses of Truth, for a very smart Letter (*D*) that he wrote against the Court of *Rome*. He was of no great Birth (*E*).

HILTEN (*John*) a *German* Cordelier, took upon him to ground some Predictions upon the Book of *Daniel* (*A*) in the year 1485. *Melanchthon* who had seen the Original of that Work, reports that the Author foretold that in the year 1516. the Papacy should begin to fall, and that afterwards it should decline more and more, till it came to its downfal, and never should rise again; and that about the year 1600, the *Turks* should be Masters (*B*) in *Italy* and *Germany* *. Some tell us † that he Foretold that in the year 1600 there should be seen a Man extreamly Cruel, and that in 1606 *Gog* and *Magog* should Reign over all *Europe*. After having with a great deal of ‡ Pains sought out the end of the World, he placed it † in the year 1651.

Mr.

(b) Ibid. p. 193.

(i) Nec tamen hæc loquor tanquam vobis clamorem super Christo Domini deponens, tanquam rostulans Ecclesiasticæ rigorem disciplinæ. Subvenire Ecclesiæ & mihi per vestrum deprecor intervenirum, & Regi ex charitate suggeri, ne lagitia suas in sene compleat sacerdote. Hildebert. Epist. 6. apud Lucam Dacherium, Tom. 13. Spicilegii.

(k) L. the 2do. p. of the Mystere d'iniquité.

(d) Reponse au Mystere d'iniquité, pag. 757.

(e) He says in the next Page that in the year 1107. Hildebert being Persecuted by the King of England, went to Consult Pope Paschal, and to implore his Assistance, and that having held a Synod at Nantes under Pope Honorius, he sent the Acts of that Synod to the said Pope.

Lewis the Big had fill'd during the Vacancy of the Archbishoprick, (*b*) *He went himself to Court to make his most humble Remonstrances to the King.* He was heard, but being not contented with the Sentence that was pronounced, he demanded a Canonical Determination; his obstinacy occasion'd the Revenues of his Archbishoprick to be Confiscated. Then he had only Recourse to the most submissive Entreaties, Recommending himself to a Bishop who was in the King's Favour. 'I do not Write to you, 'said he, (*i*) to complain of the King's Proceedings, 'to Exasperate you by my complaints, to raise 'Clamours, Troubles, Seditions and Tempests a- 'gainst the Lord's Anoinred, and to demand the 'Rigour and Censures of the Church against him. 'So far from that, I only desire that you would 'be so kind as to intercede for me, and by your 'good and charitable Offices to prevail with the 'King, not to exercise his Anger and Indignation 'against a poor Bishop loaded with years, who 'only desires to live a quiet Life. *Father* Maimbourg does not fail to observe that the King, 'continued in 'full Possession and Injoyment of his Right, and 'that Pope *Honorius*, that most Holy Pontif and 'Great Protector of this Archbishop, found no fault 'with it. Observe how this Historian in his History of Lutheranism, inserts an Episode upon the Affair of the *Regale*, to make his Court to the King by decrying the Conduct of the Bishop of *Pamiers* and Pope *Innocent XI.* He took the same Method with respect to all the Affairs of the Time, as he has been upbraided with it in the fourth and fifth Letter of the Critical Answer to his History of Calvinism.

(*D*) *For a very smart Letter——against the Court of* Rome.] 'Tis a very lively Description he has given of the Disorders of this Court, and I think it has lost nothing of its Strength in Mr. *du Plessis Mornai's French* Translation of it (*c*). *Hildebert* was only Bishop of *Mans* when he wrote this Letter, but when he wrote another to *Honorious II.* complaining of the drawing of all Causes to *Rome* by way of appeal, he was Archbishop of *Tours*. He made a Description of *Rome* in Verse, concluding with these Words.

Urbs felix, si vel Dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel Dominis esset turpe carere fide.

Happy City, if it had no Masters, or if those Masters were ashamed of their want of Faith. Coeffeteau (*d*), do's not deny but that the Letter to *Honorius* is *Hildebert's*; but he do's not think so of the other. 'Tis not credible, says he, *that this Epistle should be his, since it is not only wanting amongst those that are Printed, and even among those that are in Manuscript, which we have seen amongst other rare Books of* Messieurs du Puy—— *but also because excepting some youthful Sallies of this Prelate, we find that he was always very Modest, and especially very Respectful to the Holy See, as we shall shew by and by* (*e*). *And indeed, neither* Vignier, *nor* Illyricus, *nor* du Plessis *mention upon what Subject it was written. They have only given us a Fragment of it without any Title or any other Marks.* It is fit the Reader should know what was reply'd to this. 'If this will serve for a Reason, it will serve us 'doubly, and we shall shew with better Argu- 'ments and Testimonies the baleness of his Party, 'in Forging new Pieces and Falsifying the old ones. 'Illyricus finding it amongst others, Published it 'in its own words, which are plainly different from 'his Style. If he and others after him, give it us 'without any other Title and Argument, it can be 'no new thing to those who have seen those that 'are Printed, amongst which there are many, 'which 'tis impossible to guess to whom they 'were written, and to know particularly upon 'what Subject (*f*). 'Tis *Rivet* that speaks thus: a little after he observes that Gretserus *cannot believe* (*g*) *that the* 82*d Epistle, wherein is mention'd the taking away or moderating the Appeals, could come from* Hildebert; though Coeffeteau says, *that it is truly his.* The curious may consult Father *Hommey's Supplementum patrum*, where there are several Pieces of *Hildebert*, with Notes upon his Epistles, and the Names of those to whom he wrote them (*h*).

(*E*) *He was of no great Birth.*] (*i*) 'There is a 'place in *Maine* near *Montoire* called *Lavardin*, 'which has given its name to a most noble Family 'of *Vendomois* ——*La Croix du Maine* in his 'Bibliotheque says, upon the Article of *James La- 'vardin*, that *Hildebert* Bishop of *Mans*, was of that 'Family; which is not true. He was born at 'Lavardin; but he was not of the House of *Lavar- 'din*. He was a Man of a great deal of Learning 'and Merit, but of no Birth. The words of *La Croix du Maine* are these, (*k*) That Houle (*l*) of Lavardin *has produced Learned Men long ago; for* Hildebert *Bishop of* Mans, *and afterwards Archbishop of* Tour, 500 *years ago, was of that House, and Sirname, and was in his time reckoned the most learned Poet and Orator, as his Epistles and Latin Poems Witness.*

(*A*) *Upon the Book of* Daniel *in the year* 1485.] I have met with this Date in a Passage mention'd by *Melchior Adam*, which teaches us also where this Fryar Studied. *Ego olim juvenis*, 'tis *Hilten* who speaks (*m*), *almæ matris Universitatis Erphurdensis alumnus, ardens philosophus: nunc senex cauli solitudini deditus ab anno Christi millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo primo, in hunc annum millesimum quadringentesimum octogesimum quintum ejusdem Domini Jesu Christi voluntate, qui & me instigavit ex suo libro cognoscere veritatem, contra vanos errores de futuro tempore nunc volantes. Quam me solum sciens amor Dei & proximi non sinit, sed & aliis pris & benevolis impertiri admonet.* Melchior *Adam*, a few lines before, says that *Hilten* lived in the XIVth Century. This want of Attention is very common among Writers.

(*B*) *The* Turks *should be Masters in* Italy.] He seemed to promise that the *Turks* should be the Instrument of a wonderful Reformation by the ruin of the Papacy; but those who should Reform, were to Abolish Mahometanism; after which the *Roman* Emperor was to resign his Crown to JESUS CHRIST never to be restor'd. (*n*) *Ita dygerit omnia Calchas.* It appears by the Event that *John Hilten* knew no more of the matter than that Diviner of the *Grecian* Army. His words are these. (*o*) *Piures gloriantur Romanum Papam esse monarcham, quia Jesus omnia dedit Petro & ejus successoribus. Fateor, verumquamdiu sunt ejus vicarii. Sed leguntur revelationes S. Brigittæ: & videbitur querela Christi de perversione illius vicariatus. Quapropter Deus dedit gladium Mahometo, quo monarchiam illam à vicario ad ejus Dominum Jesum Christum compellit, vicarium & omnes Christianos reformando. Qui plene reformati exurgent, & delebunt sectam Mahometi. Quo facto, ultimus Imperator Romanus reget nobis cum effectu Jesu Christo coronam regalem, & omne jus Imperiale; non recepturus, ut Constantinus.*

(*C*) *As*

* *Taken from a Letter of* Melanchthon *to* Mathesius. *'Tis the* 65. *of the* 2. *Book pag.* 259. *of the* London *Edit.* 1642.

† *See* Paul Freherus's Theatrum pag. 97.

‡ Multus fuit in exquirendo fine mundi. Melch. Adam. in vitis Theol. p. 5.

† Id. ib.

(*f*) River, Remarques sur la reponse au mystere d'iniquité, 2. part. p. 240.

(*g*) In examine mysterii Pfeffingeri, p. 370.

(*h*) *See the* Acta Eruditor. 1685. p. 505.

(*i*) Suite du Menagiana, p. 103. Dutch Edit.

(*k*) Bibliotheque Françoise, p. 190.

(*l*) *He speaks of the House of* Lavardin *near* Montoire *in* Vendomois, *different from the House of* Lavardin *of* Leaguet *from* Mans, *the Lords whereof are Surnamed* de Beaumanoir, *and are Originally of* Bretagne.

(*m*) Apud Melchior. Adam. in vitis Theol. p. 3.

(*n*) Virgil. Æn. l. 2.

(*o*) Apud Melchior. Adam. ubi supra p. 4.

Mr. *du Pleſſis Mornai* has only taken ſo much of thoſe Predictions (C) as was for his turn. *Hilten* was perſwaded that Charity did not ſuffer him to ſuppreſs that Knowledge which God had given him about things to come [e]. 'Tis ſaid that he Died [f] in the year 1502.

HYPERIUS (*Andrew Gerard*) a Celebrated Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity, was Born at *Ipres* in *Flanders* the ſixteenth of *May* 1511. He took the Name he is known by from the place of his Birth *. His Father who was an Advocate, and who made him Study in ſeveral Places, finding himſelf near his end in the year 1525. recommended it to his Wife to ſend him to *Paris* to continue his Studies there. Which was done in the year 1528. *Hyperius* Studied there three years together Philoſophy in *Calvi*-College; and after a little Journey that he made to *Ipres*, returning to *Paris* again, he Studied Divinity till 1535. He afterwards went to *Louvain*, and took ſeveral Journies into ſeveral Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, and into *Germany*, whereby the Attempts his Friends had made without his Knowledge, to get him a Benefice, proved ineffectual; for when it had been repreſented to *Carondilet*, Arch-biſhop of *Palermo* and Chancellor of the Emperor, that *Hyperius* had Travelled in *Germany*, he was ſo ſuſpected of Hereſy, that it was his buſineſs to think of a Retreat. He went over into *England*, and lived above four years with (A) an *Engliſh* Gentleman a lover of Learning. He croſs'd the Sea again in 1541, with a deſign to ſee the Univerſity of *Strasburg*, and particularly *Bucer*, who render'd it very famous; but going by the way of the Country of *Heſſe*, he met with *Feldenbaur* at *Marpurg*, a Profeſſor of Divinity, who was one of his Friends, who to retain him, gave him hopes of an employ in the Univerſity of that Town. He actually ſtaid there, and a little while after ſucceeded his Friend who Died in *January* 1542. He Exerciſed that Function ſomewhat more than two years without Marrying; but thinking he could not live conveniently without a Wife, eſpecially his Health being none of the beſt (a Reaſon which diſcourages many from ſuch a Thought) he Married in 1544. a Widow, by whom he had ſix Sons and four Daughters. He Died at *Marpurg* the firſt of *February* 1564, having exerciſed his Profeſſion of Divinity above 22 years with the greateſt Application. He wrote many Books, (B) ſome of which have been Copied (C) by a Doctor of *Louvain*. He Laboured eſpecially to teach the Students in Divinity a good Method of Preaching. He had a very clever Wit; and beſides his skill in Languages, Hiſtory, Philoſophy and Divinity he had an excellent Art of Teaching. He uſed himſelf to it very early; for when he Studied at *Paris* he was a Private Maſter to many Scholars. He was

(C) *As was for his turn.*] *John Hilten* (a) a Monk of *Henae* in *Thuringia*, being put into Priſon for having reproved ſome Monaſtical abuſes, 'when he was very Sick, ſent for the Guardian 'and told him, *I have ſpoke no great matter againſt 'Monkery, but there ſhall come one in the year* 1516. '*who ſhall overturn it, and they ſhall not be able to 'reſiſt him.* And in that very year *Luther* began to 'Preach. *Du Pleſſis Mornai* is out by one year, for Lutheraniſm began not till 1517. I believe alſo that he miſtakes the Place, and that he ſhould have ſaid *Eiſenae* inſtead of *Henae*. He ſhould have added, that the thing happened about the year 1500 (b) according to *Melanchthon*.

(A) *With an* Engliſh *Gentleman a lover of Learning.*] He was the Son of *William Montjoy*, whom *Eraſmus* that was infinitely oblig'd to him, has ſo much prais'd. (c) *In Carolum Montjoium, Guilielmi filium, Baronem inedit* (Hyperius) *quem Eraſmus Roterodamus ampliſſimè in ſcriptis ſuis ac ſæpè commendat. Is amicè cum Hyperio multis ac variis de rebus collocutus cùm ingenium ejus perſpexiſſet, oblato liberali ſtipendio, domum ſuam eum invitavit, ubi annos quatuor amplius ſuaviſſimè Hyperius cum Montjoio vixit in otio literario.* Note that in *Paul Freherus's* (d) *Theatrum* we find *Montiſius* inſtead of *Montjoius*, and that tho' *Eraſmus* Dedicated his *Livy* to *Montjoy* the Son, and ſpoke well of him in ſome other Places, yet thoſe great and frequent Praiſes mention'd here can properly belong only to the Father. The Son was ſtill very young when *Eraſmus* Died (e).

(B) *He wrote many Books.*] If we may believe *Verheiden*, *Hyperius's* Writings that are Publiſh'd would make ſeven Volumes *in Folio*. Some of them concern Rhetorick, Logick, Arithmetick, Geometry, Coſmography, Aſtronomy, Opticks, Phyſicks, &c. Others are either Commentaries upon the Scripture, or Treatiſes of Divinity. His Book *de recte formando Theologiæ ſtudio*, and another *de formandis concionibus ſacris*, were ſo well approved by a Doctor of *Louvain*, that he inſerted them almoſt intire in the Books he Publiſhed upon the ſame Subject at *Antwerp* in the year 1565. *Hyperius* was but a young Student, when he made an Oration (f) at *Paris*, which has been ſince Printed, in Praiſe (g) of one of his Friends.

(C) *Which have been Copied by a Doctor of* Louvain.] *Valerius* (h) *Andreas* owns it. This Doctor was a *Spaniſh* Monk of the Order of St. *Auguſtin*, named *Laurentius à Villavicentio*. He is often quoted for a famous Plagiary. The firſt Author that I have found to take notice of it, was the Learned *Raynoldus*; he mentions it in the fourth Chapter of the firſt Book of his Treatiſe *de Idololatria Romana* Printed in the year 1596. and he obſerves that this Monk Corrected all that in *Hyperius* diſguſted the Church of *Rome*. Some time after *Keckerman* (i) mentioned the ſame Filching, owning that *Raynoldus* had obſerved it before. (k) *Voetius* ſpoke of it, quoting *Keckerman* in a Theſis maintained in 1655. But he would have this ſloſſem Work to be *Hyperius's* Method of Divinity. Now that Method has only three Books, whereas the Work that *Raynold*, *Keckerman* and the Bibliographer of the *Low-Countries*, ſay the *Spaniſh* Monk Adopted, has four, and is commonly quoted by this Title, *de ratione ſtudii Theologici*. Certainly this laſt is not the ſame Book with *Hyperius's Methodus Theologiæ*. We muſt believe that *Voetius* has not been altogether exact. Mr. *Colomies* (l) likewiſe mentions this Robbery, citing *Raynoldus*. Mr. *Racius* (m) mentions it only upon the credit of one of his Friends who wrote to him, that *Simon Oomius* ſpoke of it in the ſecond Preface of a *Dutch* Book; and both he and Mr. *Konig* (n) will have this Plagiariſm to reſpect the Book Intituled *Method of Divinity*. A Modern Author (o) cites upon it not only *Keckerman* and *Colomies*, but alſo *John Heilfeld* cap. 25. *Sphingis Theologicæ Philoſophicæ*. 'Tis to be obſerv'd that none of theſe Authors except *Valerius Andreas*, ſpeaks of the double Plagiariſm of the *Spaniſh* Monk; they only obſerve that which relates to the Book Intituled *de ſtudio Theologico*. But on the other Hand *Nicolas Antonio* does not only ſay, that *Villavicentius* took all that he thought good in two Books of *Hyperius*, to make two others upon the ſame Subject; but beſides aſcribes to him the ſame Conduct with reſpect to two other Proteſtant Books; one is *de Phraſibus ſacræ Scripturæ*; the other is *Tabulæ compendioſæ*

[e] *See the Remark A.*

[f] Freherus in Theatro, p. 97.

* *The City of* Ipres *has been call'd* Hyperæ *by ſeveral Authors.* Ber. *in* Iconibus *calls it ſo, and ſays that* Andreas Geraldus à patria Hyperius fuit cognominatus.

(a) Du-Pleſſis Mornai, myſtere d'iniquité, pag. 573. *He quotes* Philip. Melanchton in Apolog. cap. de votis Monaſticis.

(b) *See* Micrælius, Syntagma Hiſtor. Eccleſ. p. 647.

(c) Melch. Adam in vita Hyperii, p. 392. vitur. Theolog.

(d) Pag. 198.

(e) Vide Eraſmi Epiſt. 17. lib. 26. & Epiſt. 15. lib. 28.

(f) Quem (Joachimum Ringelbergium) & exquiſita quæ exſtat oratione ad Senatum Pariſienſem laudavit Hyperius. Verheiden p. 93.

(g) Mr. Teiſſier, p. 14. catalogi Auctorum, *ſpeaks of it, as if it was the Life of* Ringelberg; *but he is miſtaken.*

(h) Quicquid boni habent ejuſdem (Hyperii) de formandis ſacris concionibus libri duo, deque recte formando ſtudio Theologico libri iv. id in ſuos ſimilis argumenti libros tranſtulit Laurentius à Villavicentio ex Ord. Auguſtinano Doctor Theol. Lovanienſis. Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. p. 49.

(i) In præcognit. Logi..

(k) Diſp. ſelect. vol. 3. p. 685.

(l) Gall. Orientat. p. 10.

(m) De Pleiad. nym. p. 273.

(n) Bibl. p. 420. *ſee alſo p.* 84. *where he quotes* Ricerus *Tom.* 2. *Oper. p.* 1095. (*It ſhould be p.* 1055.) qui vocat Villavicentium Hyperii interpolatorem & expilatorem. (o) Joh. Albertus Fabricius de vade decimum n. 30. Lipſiæ 1687.

was modeſt in publick Entertainments, affable and civil in Converſation; and as he hated (D) an Extravagant way of Drinking in great Glaſſes, and that vain Jeſting, which is too much uſed in our Converſations, ſo he equally delighted in well regulated Treats, and agreeable Diſcourſes. In a word, he was a Man of a true Wit, attended with Virtue and Zeal. Thoſe who would know more of him, may read the Writers I quote †. There is ſome difference between *Verheiden's* and *Melchior Adam's* (E) Account. I can ſcarce believe (F) that *Hyperius* had been a Monk. Part of his Books were not Publiſh'd (G) till after his Death, by the care either of *Laurence Hyperius* his Son, or of *John Mylius*.

† Wigandus Orthius in oratione funebri Hyperii. Melchior Adam. in vita Hyperii, *which is but an Abſtract of the Funeral Oration.* Verheiden præfat. aliquot Theol. Elligp. pag. 95.

HIPPARCHIA, the Wife of the Philoſopher *Crates*, was ſo charm'd with the Diſcourſes of that *Cynick*, that ſhe was reſolved to Marry him at any rate. She had a great many Admirers, whoſe Nobility, Riches and genteel Carriage were Extraordinary. She was importun'd by her Family to make choice of a Husband amongſt thoſe Rivals; but nothing could bring her off from *Crates*. She declar'd that ſhe valued him above all the World, and that if ſhe had him not, ſhe would Stab her ſelf. The Family upon this Declaration, Addreſs'd themſelves to *Crates*, intreating him to uſe his Eloquence and Authority with her, to cure her of her Paſſion. He us'd all his Wits, without gaining any thing upon her Obſtinacy. At laſt when he ſaw all his Arguments and Counſels were of no Weight, he diſplaid (A) his Poverty before her, he diſcovered his Crooked Back, he laid his Staff, his Wallet, and his Cloak upon the Ground, ſaying to her, *See here the Man that you'll have, and the Goods that you'll ſtock with him; conſider well of it, you can't become my Wife without leading the Life which our Sect prescribes.* He had ſcarce made an end of ſpeaking, but ſhe declared

(f) Nic. Anton. Biblioth. Hiſpan. Tom. 2. pag. 5.

pendiſſe in Evangelia & Epiſtolas. Note that he has added ſome Faults to thoſe of *Valerius Andreas*. Like him (*e*) he will have *Hyperius* to have been a *Dominican*; and he Errs of his own Head. 1. By giving *Hyperius* the name of *Hiſperius*. 2. In allowing but three Books to the Treatiſe *de formando ſtudio Theologico*. 3. In making his Treatiſe *de formandis ſacris concionibus* contain three Books, when it has but two.

(a) Apud Melchior. Adam. in vitis Theolog. f. 397.

(D) *As he hated an Extravagant way of Drinking in great Glaſſes.*] See what his Funeral Oration ſays of it; (*a*) *In colloquiis & converſationibus humanus & æquus, & quemadmodum immania illa in conviviis hominum pocula, & ſcurriles in colloquiis nugas ex animo fuit averſatus, ita moderatis conviviis, jucundiſque amicorum conſalutationibus nonnunquam interfuit.*

(E) *Between* Verheiden's *and* Melchior Adam's *Account.*] *Verheiden* has made but a very ſhort Elogy; but the other's Account is larger and more Chronological. The latter, does not ſay that *Hyperius* Travell'd into *Spain*: He only ſays that he ſaw the Provinces of *Italy* between the *Alps* and *Bologna*; and that, during his Studies in *Paris*, and *Louvain*. He makes him firſt teach Philology at *Marpurg*, and afterwards Divinity. *Melchior Adam* ſays nothing of his Profeſſing Philoſophy.

(F) *I can ſcarce believe that* Hyperius *had been a Monk.*] The Extract of his Funeral Oration does not ſpeak of it: We may be ſure then that *Wigandus Orthius* has not ſaid it; for it would be a thing that *Melchior Adam* would not have paſs'd over in ſilence, altho' he had given but a Curſory Draught, and not a long relation fill'd with a hundred Particularities. However I would not truſt to that Reaſon; I have ſought and at laſt found *Wigandus Orthius*'s Oration, and I can ſee nothing in it that can give me any ſuſpicion that *Hyperius* was ever a Monk. Let it not be objected to me that this is a Negative way of Reaſoning: I do no. pretend to plead the Cauſe of that way of Arguing (*b*); but I care ſay it is here concluſive, both becauſe he that made *Hyperius*'s Funeral Oration, could not be Ignorant whether he had been a Monk or not, and becauſe if he knew it, all the Reaſon in the World obliged him to obſerve it. No Body went about to conceal theſe ſort of Truths concerning *Muſculus*, *Marlorat*, *Peter Martyr*, *Zanchius*, and many other Pillars of the growing Reformation who came from the Cloiſters, and there could not be perhaps a Man more incapable of ſilence upon things of this Nature than *Orthius*. He who thought himſelf obliged to tell in a Funeral Oration, that *Hyperius* went to wait for his Cloaths at *Marpurg*, becauſe (*c*) he knew he could live cheaper there than in any other place on the Banks of the *Rhine*. He tells you a hundred particulars like this, which *Melchior Adam* has faithfully Copied. And therefore I don't ſee that Mr. *Moreri* could ſay without being miſtaken, that *Hyperius* was *a Monk of the Order of St. Dominick, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Learning; but that he afterwards baſely Apoſtatized.* In this he has been only the Tranſcriber of *Valerius Andreas*, who had told that Lie before. This Bibliographer of the *Low-Countries*, who is beſides miſtaken in placing *Hyperius*'s Death in the year 1560, is not excuſable for not having ſaid at laſt, that *Hyperius* was a Miniſter at *Marpurg*; and *Moreri* who has ſaid it, ought to be blamed for his ſilence about his Profeſſing Divinity. His want of exactneſs appears alſo in this Expreſſion. *He fell into the Errors of* Luther *which he Taught.* To what end is this laſt Remark expreſt in an indeterminate Manner. Was it not enough for him to have given him the Title of a Proteſtant Miniſter at the firſt Line of the Article? Did not that import that *Hyperius* taught the Proteſtant Doctrine? Beſides, it is not true that he followed the Reformation of *Luther*, the *Index* (*e*) of Prohibited Books might have redreſt Mr. *Moreri* upon that Point.

(b) *Mr. de* Launoi *has writ ſome Books concerning the Authority of Negative Arguments, and Mr.* Thiers *among others oppoſed his Maxim*

(c) Scie-bat enim minoris ſe apud Carthuſianos interea poſſe vivere, quam uſquam ad Rheni ripas.

(G) *Part of his Books were not Publiſhed till after his Death.*] Conſult *Geſner*'s Epitome, where you will find that many of his Works were Printed in his Life time; ſo that I don't ſee that he can be alledged as an inſtance of that ſingular Modeſty, which makes an Author defer the Publication of his Writings till after his Death, that he may not be an Ear-Witneſs of his own Praiſes: which ought to be minded by thoſe; who Read in Mr. *Saldenus* (*f*) what I am going to ſet down. *Cujus* (contemptus famæ vel gloriæ propriæ) *illuſtre exemplum antehac præbuit Theologus ſuæ ætate celeberrimus* Andreas Hyperius, *de quo teſtis eſt* (*g*) Juſtus Vultejus, *quod ideo poſt mortem demum in lucem prodire ſua voluerit, quia* gloriam *ſibi* nullam, *nec* vulgi applauſus *iis captabat.* Hos enim (*inquit*) ſi tanti faciendos eſſe putaſſet, utique *vivo* ei fructus iſte beniſſet.

(*c*) *The following Words are to be found in it p. 10. of the Edition in Folio 1607.* Andreas Hyperius, ſeu Hyperius, Theologus Calvino-Zwinglianus, Profeſſor Marpurgenſis. Konig. pag. 420. *of his Bibliotheque, call him a* Reformed Divine: *who, according to the ſtyle of the* German *people, is the ſame as Calviniſtical Divine.*

(*f*) De libris, & eorum lectione p. 47.

(*g*) Vultej. in dedic. Oper. Hyperii. præmx.

(A) *He diſplaid his Poverty.*] No Body has deſcribed this with ſo much exactneſs as *Apuleius*. He tells us that *Hipparchia* Anſwer'd, that ſhe had ſufficiently conſidered of the Intereſts, and was perſwaded it was impoſſible to find a Husband more a Richer Husband than *Crates*; and that he might lead her where he pleaſed. He led her to the *Portico*. 'Twas one of the moſt Sumptuous Publick Buildings, and the moſt frequented of all others, and there he Conſummated the Marriage. All the People might have ſeen it, and the Spouſe was reſolved to entertain the Company with that Shew; but a Friend of *Crates* ſpread on his Cloak about them, and made a ſort of a Curtain of it, which Screen'd them from the view of the Spectators. To ſhew that I lend nothing to my Author, I will ſet down his Words. (*b*) *Adcoque ut Crates; exſtiterat; ut ſenex nobilis, ſpretis juvenibus proceris, vilem eam ſibi optaverit. Cumque interſcapilium tunicæ retexiſſet, quod erat auctu gibbere, projectoque cum baculo & pallium humi poſuiſſet, eamque ſuppoſitionem ſibi eſſe puellæ proſtitutæ, eamque formam quam*

(*b*) Apuleius in Floridis p. m. 356.

clared, that Condition infinitely pleas'd her. She took the Habit of the Order, I mean the Equipage of the *Cynicks*, and ſtuck ſo cloſe to *Crates*, that ſhe Stroll'd with him every where. She went (*B*) a Feaſting with him, and made no ſcruple to pay him the Conjugal Duty (*C*) in the middle of the Streets. 'Twas one of the Tenets of that Sect to have no Shame (*D*) of any Corporal Exerciſe which Nature requires of us. *Hipparchia* being at Dinner one Day at *Lyſimachus*'s with the Atheiſt *Theodorus*, made

(*a*) In Hiſtoria mulierum philoſopharum, ad calcem Diogen. Laertii, (*b*) Ἐ' ὃ ἢ ἡ τὰ κυνόγαμα ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ ἐτέλουν. Propter quam in Poecile quoque celebrata fuere Cynogamia. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 4. p. 523. (*c*) In Laert. l. 6. n. 96. (*d*) *at the Word* Rein. *This is a Verſe of* Regnier, *which concerns the Fight of the* Lapithæ (*e*) In præfat. (*f*) Fortem animum præſtant rebus quas turpiter audent. Si jubeat conjux, durum eſt contendere navim, Tunc ſententia gravis, tunc ſummus vertitur aër: Quæ mechum ſequitur ſtomacho valet. Illa maritum Convomit, hæc inter nauſeas & prandet & errat. Per puppem, & duros gaudet tractare rudentes. Juvenal Satyr. 7. v. 97. (*g*) Pyrrhoniarum hypotypoſeon. l. 1. c. 14. p. m. 31. & l. 3. c. 24. p. 152. (*h*) Serm. 12. de virtute activa.

quam viderat: proinde ſedulo conſuleret, ne poſt querelæ cauſam caperet: enimverò Hipparche conditionem accipit. Jamdudum ſibi proviſum fatis, & fata conſultum reſpondit: neque ditiorem maritum, neque formoſiorem uſpiam genitum poſſe invenire. Proinde duceret quâ liberet. Ducit Cynicus in porticum. Ibidem, in loco celebri, coram iure clariſſimâ accubuit: coramque virginem immiſiſſet, paratam pari conſtantiâ; ni Zeno procinctu palliaſtri, à circumſtantis corona obtutu magiſtrum in ſecreto defendiſſet. Mr. *Menage* (*a*) affirms that *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſays, that the Wedding of *Crates* and *Hipparchia* was Celebrated in the *Portico* called ποικίλη: But 'tis certain *Clemens* does not ſay it: It may only be infer'd from his Words. *Becauſe of* Hyparchia, ſays he (*h*), *the* Cynogamies *were Celebrated in the* Pœcile. The word *Cynogamies* ſignified according to Mr. *Menage* (*c*), a Feaſt which the *Cynicks* kept to the Honour and Memory of *Crates*'s Marriage. He adds that Mr. *Petit* the Phyſician has made a fine Poem upon the Amours and Nuptials of this *Cynick*. This Poem is called *Cynogamia*. Many will call to mind here a *French* Verſe, mentioned by Furetiere, (*d*) *Voulurent chauds de reins faire noces de chien.*

(*B*) *She went a Feaſting with him.*] This, and the Cuſtom of Rambling about with *Crates*, were two things not practiced by the other *Grecian* Women. They were ſhut up in the middle of the Houſe, and were Viſited by none but their Relations, and never went to Dine but at their Relations Houſes. *Cornelius Nepos*, who relates it, obſerves that the *Romans* had quite contrary Cuſtoms. Women lived then at *Rome*, as they do now at *Paris*. The Mode of *Italy* is quite chang'd: It has for a long time reſembled that of Antient *Greece*. *Altri tempi, altri cuſtumi.* Let us ſee the Words of *Cornelius Nepos*: (*e*) *Quem Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? Aut cujus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate verſatur? Quod multo ſit aliter in Græcia. Nam neque in convivium adhibetur, niſi propinquorum; neque ſedet niſi in interiore parte ædium, quæ γυναικωνῖτις appellatur: quo nemo accedit niſi propinquâ cognatione conjunctus.*

(*C*) *Conjugal Duty in the middle of the Streets.*] We need not wonder that *Hipparchia* ſet her ſelf above Cuſtom with reſpect to the two Points I have mentioned, when ſhe was able to trample upon *decorum* with reſpect to the third. The Contempt of Cuſtom cannot be carried farther. This was a great Triumph of Love; ſhe Sacrificed to it the Virtue that is moſt Natural to the fair Sex, that Shame or that Modeſty, which is a thouſand times deeper Rooted in the Heart of Women, than Chaſtity it ſelf. And what is more ſtrange, *Hipparchia* was prepar'd for this Impudence all at once; there was no need of leading her to it by degrees. *Juvenal* obſerves that when the buſineſs is to ſatisfy Love, there is nothing inſuperable to Women. Are they to go on Ship-Board with their Husbands whom they don't like, they know not how to reſolve upon it; the Perils and Inconveniencies of the Sea diſcourage 'em. But are they to Embark with a Gallant, they have the beſt Stomach in the World for it, and a Tarpaulin's Life is a pleaſure to 'em (*f*). *Hipparchia* juſtified this Obſervation; ſhe doted upon *Crates*; He would have her to ſhake off all Shame, *non aliter hæc ſæva conſtant*, ſaid he to her in all likelihood: She would do it to Gratify him. Many Authors report the Fact. *Sextus Empiricus* (*g*) and *Theodoret* (*h*) Witneſs it; I have already cited others. But St. *Auſtin* had a very particular thought upon this Subject; he believed that the *Cynicks* uſed only Poſtures and vain Efforts. *Illum* (Diogenem) *vel illos qui hoc feciſſe referuntur, potius abbitror concumbentium motus dediſſe oculis hominum neſcientium quid ſub pallio gereretur, quàm humano premente conſpectu potuiſſe illam peragi voluptatem. Ibi enim Philoſophi non erubeſcebant videri ſe velle concumbere, ubi libido ipſa erubeſcere furgere* (*i*). A Modern has ſet up for a *Cato* againſt this Father of the Church, and has given him a very ſevere Reprimand for that Thought. St. *Auſtin* adds, *ſays he*, 'that he cannot believe that *Diogenes* and 'thoſe of his Sect, who are reported to have done 'every thing in Publick, injoyed a real Pleaſure; he 'thinks they only imitated under the *Cynick* Cloak, 'the motions of thoſe that Couple, impoſing by that 'means upon the Eyes of the Spectators. . . . . 'I am aſhamed to mention this, and I deſire you to 'Read his own Words (*k*). ——— How could 'ſo great a Man allow himſelf the Liberty of di'ving into thoſe *Cynical* Secrets? How could St. '*Auſtin*'s Hand lift up *Diogenes*'s Cloak, to let 'us ſee ſome motions, which Shame (tho' that 'Philoſopher Profeſt to have none) Made him 'hide with his own Cloak (*l*).

(*D*) *To have no ſhame of any Corporal Exerciſe.*] Some think the *Cynicks* had their Name, becauſe like Dogs they lay with their Wives in the Street: *Nam quid ego de Cynicis loquar? Quibus in propatulo coire cum conjugibus mos fuit. Quid mirum ſi à canibus quorum vitam imitantur, etiam vocabulum nomenque traxerunt* (*m*)? The *Cynicks* pretended they went upon Reaſon, for ſaid they, if it be Lawful to know ones Wife, 'tis Lawful to know her in Publick: But it is Lawful to know ones Wife, therefore 'tis Lawful to know her in Publick. *Hoc illi canini Philoſophi, hoc eſt Cynici non viderunt proferentes contra humanam verecundiam, quid aliud quam caninam, hoc eſt immundam impudentemque ſententiam, ut ſcilicet quoniam juſtum eſt quod fit in uxore, palam non pudeat id agere, nec in viſo, nec in platea qualibet conjugalem concubitum devitare* (*n*). 'Tis a wretched Sophiſm, *à dicto ſimpliciter ad dictum ſecundum quid.* 'Tis as if one ſhould ſay; 'tis good to drink Wine, therefore 'tis good to drink it in a Fever. Theſe People did not know that there are many Actions that are good, but in ſome Circumſtances, the Omiſſion of which may render an Action evil, which with them would have been good. To lend Money to a Friend in order to pay his Debts is a very commendable Action: But to lend it him to make himſelf Drunk, or to Game, is an evil Action. There are ſome Actions eſſentially evil; which cannot be good under any Circumſtances; but there are ſome things which are good or evil according to the Times, and Places and other Circumſtances, wherein they are committed. I confeſs that this is not ſufficient to Non-plus the *Cynicks*; for they might turn their Argument thus. When a thing is good and Lawful in it ſelf, one ought not to be aſhamed of doing it: But the Conjugal Duty 'tis in it ſelf a thing good and Lawful; and therefore one ought not to be aſhamed of paying it: And conſequently it may be Lawfully paid in Publick. For if any thing could ſpoil that publick Action, it would be only want of ſhame in ſome Circumſtances, wherein Men are obliged to be aſhamed. The difficulty then comes to this one Queſtion. *Ought one to be aſhamed of paying the Conjugal Duty in the Face of the World?* A pretty queſtion, you will ſay; who can doubt it? *Diogenes* would Anſwer, I do, and do you prove that I am in the wrong. The Anſwer to him would be, that ſhame with Relation to theſe Actions is a Natural Impreſſion, and that therefore 'tis to offend againſt Nature not to be aſhamed in theſe Occurrences. But, he would reply, that if it were a Natural Sentiment, the Animals, which ſo faithfully follow the Inſtincts of Nature, would ſeek Shades and dark Receſſes for the work of Multiplication. Now nothing is more falſe than this. At leaſt all Men would in the like Caſes ſeek the darkeſt Retreat, which ſtill is falſe; for many People in the *Indies* Propagate in the Eyes of all the World. This is what the famous *Pyrrhoniſt Sextus Empiricus* obſerves (*p*) in order to ſhew, that the common Practice is not Grounded upon an immutable and Eternal

(*i*) De civitate Dei l. 14. c. 20. (*k*) *Here he ſets down the words of St.* Auguſtin. (*l*) La Mothe le Vayer, Hexameron ruſtique p. 63. 64. 65. (*m*) Lactantius, l. 3. c. 15. divinarum inſtitutionum. (*n*) Auguſt. de civit. Dei l. 14. c. 20. (*p*) Ἐν δὲ τοῖς γυναικωνίτισι μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀφροδισιάζουσιν, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρίων ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ποιοῦσιν. Publice cum uxore congredi quamvis apud nos turpe eſſe videatur, apud quoſdam ex Indis non videtur eſſe turpe. Congrediuntur enim indifferenter publice, quemadmodum etiam de Crasete Philoſopho accepimus. Sext. Empiricus Pyrrhon. hypot. l. 3. c. 24. p. 152.

made a Subtle Objection (E) to him, to which he gave no Verbal Answer, but had recourse to his Hands, and whatever he could do and say afterwards, he found a Woman very resolute, and afraid of nothing †. She wrote some Books (F), which are not

† *Taken from* Diogenes Laertius in Hipparchia, lib. 6. n. 96. sequent.

nal Law of Nature, but upon a meer Custom, and the Impression of Education. He might have alledged the Custom of the *Mosynians*, whose Article may be seen. A modern Author has observed, that some Nations have made Love 'in the Temples, 'and said, that if that Action displeased the Deity, 'he would not suffer it in other Animals (a). He adds, that a 'Mahometan Sect practises the same at 'this Day, and that the new World appear'd to us 'in that Innocence. It might be replied to *Diogenes*, that 'tis enough that the civiliz'd Nations are subject to Shame, and that it is nothing to us what the barbarous Nations do; but he would reply in his Turn, that the People we call Barbarous, have less departed from the Rule of Nature, than the People who have so much multiply'd by their Subtilties of Wit, the Laws of Decency and Civility; and that in fine, natural Right being not subject to Prescription, every one is permitted to repossess himself of it in all Times and Places, without any regard to the Arbitrary Yoke of Customs, and the Opinion of his Fellow-Citizens.

(a) Isa Mothe le Vayer, Dialog. d'Orasius Tubero, P. m. 156, *He quotes* Herodotus l. 2.

A REFLECTION upon the Weakness of Reason.

This shews how humane Reason can lead us astray. It was given us to direct us in the right way; but it proves an Instrument that is Desultory, waveving and supple, and which turns every way like a Weather-Cock. See how the *Cynicks* make use of it to justify their abominable Impudence. I may add for the Honour and Glory of the true Religion, that it furnishes us with the best Weapons against the Sophistry of these People; for though we could not shew in Scripture, any formal Precept, for hiding the Privacies of Marriage in the dark, it suffices to say in the first Place, that the Spirit of the Scripture engages us to avoid whatever may slacken the Impressions of Shame; and secondly, that there are precise Texts, forbidding us every thing that shocks *decorum*, or scandalizes our Neighbour. I do not know whether any of the Casuists, who have so much abused their Leisure in examining many Cases of Conscience, that are Metaphysical in some Respects, have ever thought to what kind of Crime the Impudence of a *Crates*, or of a *Diogenes* ought to be reduc'd. They did not believe there was any Divine Law about it, nor that a Man was obliged to conform to Municipal Customs. They believ'd that Non-Conformity in such Cases would at most incur the blame of Rusticity, and want of Complaisance to a received Custom: to be incivil, ill-bred, and an ill Observer of Fashions, is no criminal or evil Action, morally speaking. What then could be said against the *Cynicks*, without condemning them by reveal'd Truth? I have never read any thing whatever upon this Point, and I don't know whether any one has said, that at present a Cynical Action would only be criminal: 1. Because of the Scandal given to one's Neighbour. 2. Because of the Contempt of the Municipal Customs. 3. Because of the Negligence of preserving the Barriers of Chastity. I suppose a Man perswaded, that the Action in it self is not verbally forbidden in Scripture, nor contrary to the Law of Nature. If it was contrary to it, the Sentences that command a Congress, would be so many Crimes chargeable upon the Judges.

Diogenes was guilty of a most impudent and abominable Practice in publick. 'Tis a very strange and scandalous thing, to see *Chrysippus*, that celebrated and rigid *Stoick*, praise that infamous Action (b). *Sextus Empiricus* owns, that it was look'd upon as detestable, tho' *Zeno*, the Founder of the *Stoicks*, and many others, approved it. To conclude, the Cynicks in vain sought out Arguments to colour their abominable Impudence. They durst not continue in it. The publick Indignation was probably a stronger Bridle for them, than the Idea's of Virtue. St. *Augustin* observes, that at last a natural Modesty got the better of this sort of People. (c) *Vicit tamen pudor naturalis opinionem hujus erroris, nam etsi perlibent, hoc aliquando gloriabundum facisse Diogenem, ita se tantemisse sam suam nobilitatem futurum, si in hominum memoriam inferior ejus impudentia regeretur, postea tamen à Cynicis fieri cessatum est: plusque valuit pudor ut erubescerent homines hominibus, quàm error, ut homines canibus esse similes abhorrerent.* But as there are always some Exceptions to the most general Rules, we see in *Lucian* the Cynick *Peregrinus*, coming near the Conduct of *Diogenes*. (d) ὁ δὲ πολλὰ δὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἐπιδειξάμενος ἄξια ἀκούειν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐᾶν, τὰ δὲ ἀπόῤῥητα δὴ καὶ μόνοις ἐπιτήδεια εἰπεῖν.

(b) Plutarch. de Stoicor. repugnant pag. 1044.

(c) De civit. Dei. l. 14. c. 20.

Those who think it strange, that I should mention such impudent Actions, ought to be reminded of the Privileges or Duties of an Historian. Whoever at present writes the History, either of an ancient Philosopher, or of any other Person who has acquired a Name in the preceding Ages, has the Liberty of relating whatever he finds in Books, whether it deserves the Praise or the Horror and Execration of the Reader; and if he should be contented to collect only what is commendable, he would very ill discharge the Duties which the Nature of his Work requires of him. In writing the Life of a Modern, there is more Liberty allow'd; for if he has committed beastly Actions, unknown to the World, they may be past over in Silence, according as one thinks it necessary to prevent some Inconveniencies, that might arise from the Publication of such things. But when the Business is about a Fact mention'd by a Hundred Authors, we are no longer Masters of the like Caution; and if one chooses to suppress it, 'tis a useless Scruple, since the Readers will easily find some other way, what you are so industrious to conceal from them. The Impudence of *Diogenes* the Cynick, is so well known in the World, that some Jests go about of him, which are not founded on the Testimony of any ancient Writer. 'Du Maustier put 'me in mind of a Book of the same *Orleans*, intitu-'led, *The Human Plant to the Queen*: 'tis a ridicu-'lous Title, which makes me remember *Diogenes's* 'Plante Hominem. These Words are Cardinal *Du Perron's*. Abundance of People tell the same thing in their ordinary Conversations. 'Tis found in a great many Books, where 'tis said, that *Diogenes* embracing a Woman in the middle of the Streets, being asked what he did? Answered, φυτεύω ἄνθρωπον, *I plant a Man*. No Antient that I know of, tells the Story, and Mr. *Du Rondel*, whom I have consulted upon it, answer'd me, that he had never found it but in Modern Authors. Now when a Story so ill grounded, is spread about the Impudence of this ancient Philosopher; 'tis not likely that People should be ignorant of what has been said of him by the Authors whom I quote. To what end then should I suppress these Facts? I desire likewise the Reader to observe, that when infamous Actions are but faintly represented, they do not so strongly produce the Horror and Indignation they deserve. I add, that 'tis more useful and important than People are aware of, to mention the horrible Abominations which the Pagan Philosophers approv'd. This may humble and mortify human Reason, and convince us of the infinite Corruption of Man, and teach us a Truth, of which we should be always mindful, namely, that Man wanted a revealed Light to supply the defect of the Philosophical; for you see, that the *Stoicks*, who cultivated Morality beyond the other Philosophers, and had very sublime Ideas of it, did nevertheless approve the beastly Obscenities of *Diogenes*. To them we may particularly apply the general Declaration of St. *Paul* against the Heathens, (f) *Thinking themselves wise, they became Fools.*

(d) Lucian. de morte Peregr. p. m. 767. tam. 2.

(e) Perroniana at the Word Orleans p. m. 225.

(f) Epistle to the Romans, Chap. 1. v. 22.

(E) *Made a subtle Objection to him.*] It was a Sophism easie to be resolved and retorted. 'If I did, 'said she, the same Action which you could justly 'do, I could not be accused of having done an unjust 'Action: Now if you should beat your self, you would 'do justly; therefore if I beat you, I can't be accus'd 'of having done an unjust Action. *Theodorus* did not stand to answer her as a Logician; he threw him-himself upon her, and untied her Cleaths. According to the present way of dressing one self, and speaking, we might say, *he took up her Petticoat.* 'Tis the Explication which Mr. *Menage* (g) gives these Words of *Diogenes Laertius*, ἀνέτρεψε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποκάτω. Here is a brisk and gallant way of answering the Sophistry of a Woman. *Hipparchia* was not out of Countenance, and *Theodorus* having cited a Verse of a Tragedy, representing a Woman who had quitted the Spindle and the Distaff, she answered him, *I find my self there,*

(g) Notes ad Laert. l. 6. n. 97. pag. 266.

not come to us. Mr. *Moreri* (G) has committed some Faults upon this Article; and so has *Lorenzo Crasso* (H). I forgot to say, that *Hipparchia* and *Metrocles* her Brother, who was *Crates*'s Disciple, * were born at *Maronea* *. They flourished in *Alexander*'s time. The product of *Hipparchia* and *Crates*'s Marriage was a Son called *Pasicles* †.

HIPPARCHUS, a great Astronomer, a Native of *Nicæa* in *Bithynia*, flourished between (A) the 154th, and 163d Olympiad. We have still one of his Works; 'tis his (B) Commentary upon the *Phænomena* of *Aratus*. Mr. *Rohault* (C) is grossly out in saying, this Astronomer did not know the particular Motion of the fixed Stars, from the West to the East, which varies their Longitude. *Pliny* makes frequent and very honourable Mention of *Hipparchus*. He places him in the Number of those sublime Genius's,

* Diog. Laert. lib. n. 94. & 96.
* *A Town in Thrace, called also* Hipparchia. Menag. not. ad Diog. Laert. l. 6. n. 96.
† Diog. Laert. in Cratete, l. 6. n. 88.
‡ Suidas, pag. 1264.

I am that Woman; but do you think I have made an ill Choice, rather to spend my time in Philosophising, than in Spinning? Let us now see what *Theodorus* might have answered her, if he would have given himself that Trouble. Answering directly, he might have said, that the Action of *Theodorus* beating himself, and that of *Hipparchia* beating *Theodorus*, were two different Actions, and not one Action of the same Species. There were therefore four Terms in *Hipparchia*'s Syllogism. To the end that two Actions may be alike, 'tis requisite there should be the same Relation in both, betwixt the Agent and the Patient; but such a Relation was not to be found in *Hipparchia*'s Hypothesis. If *Theodorus* had been willing to answer by way of Retortion, and puzzle *Crates*'s Wife, he might have done it thus: *If I do the same Action which your Husband might lawfully do, I can't be accus'd of an unjust Action. But your Husband acts lawfully when he kisses you, &c. therefore if I kiss you, &c. I cannot be accus'd of doing an unjust Action.* One might have seen, whether *Hipparchia*, who was a brazen-fac'd Woman, durst have answered him before Witnesses, *Concedo totum*.

(A) *Between the* 154th, and 163d, *Olympiad.*] We have the strongest Argument that can be for it, since it is drawn from the Astronomical Observations which he made in that interval of Time. *Ptolemy* relates some of them (f). *Vossius* had reason for his placing *Hipparchus* under the Reigns of *Ptolemy Philometer*, and *Ptolemy Evergetes*, and for censuring *Suidas*, who contented himself to say, this Astronomer liv'd in the time of the *Roman* Consuls; he should have denoted a more determinate Time; that of the third Punick War, and that of the War of *Numantia*. So far *Vossius* is on sure Ground; but when he says he agrees with *Suidas* as to the time (g) of *Hipparchus*, he forgets himself, and is guilty of an Untruth; for *Suidas* no more agrees with *Vossius* upon that Point, than with an Author who should place *Hipparchus* at the beginning of the IVth. Century of *Rome*, or at the end of the Vth. *Calvisius* (h) err'd in saying, that *Suidas* has placed *Hipparchus* 130 Years after the first of the *Ptolemies*. *A French* Author (i) is no less mistaken in affirming, that *Hipparchus* lived *in the Time of* Plato. *Moreri*, who had no other Author but *Vossius* upon this Article, might sure have found an infallible Preservative against the Faults he has made. He has placed *Hipparchus* in the Year 570, *and* 80 *of* Rome, *under the Reigns of* Ptolemy *and* Philometer Evergetes *Kings of* Egypt. Ought he not to have made the time betwixt the 580th Year of *Rome*, and the 625th, correspond to the Olympiads (k) set down by *Vossius*? Besides, when one says barely *Ptolemy*, 'tis a sign one speaks of the first Prince of that Name who reigned in *Egypt*; and there are few exact Writers, but more precisely denote him. 'Tis therefore a gross Fault to use the Word *Ptolemy* simply, and absolutely, when one means not him who had *Egypt* to his Share, after the Death of *Alexander*. 'Tis plain, *Moreri* does not speak of him, or if he doth, he commits a great Blunder; for a Man who liv'd *in the* 570th. and 80th *Year of* Rome, could not possibly flourish under the first *Ptolemy*, who died in the 468th Year of *Rome*. He is mistaken in another thing; he supposes there was a King of *Egypt*, called *Philometer Evergetes*.

(B) *For his Commentary upon the Phænomena of* Aratus.] 'Tis properly a Critical Book upon *Aratus*; for *Hipparchus* accuses him of having pillag'd *Eudoxus*'s Books, and even in those Things wherein *Eudoxius* was mistaken. He finds the same Fault with *Aratus* the Grammarian, who had made a Commentary upon *Aratus*. The first Publisher of *Hipparchus*'s Commentary was *Peter Victorius*. *Petavius* has given us a more correct Edition of it, and has added a *Latin* Translation of his own (l). The other Works of *Hipparchus* were *de Confirmatione stellarum inerrantium, & statione immota, deque mensurno luna motu secundum latitudinem* (m) &c.

(C) *Mr.* Rohault *is grossly out.*] Great Mathematicians, like him, are not commonly well vers'd in the Knowledge of matters of Fact (n), and Historical Blunders frequently escape them. However, let us see what this excellent *Cartesian* says, who by the sole Orthography of the Word *Hipparchus*, shews that he did not understand *Greek*.

(b) In Hipparchia, l. 6. n. 98.
(c) *That of Mr.* Menage, *which I have mentioned in the foregoing Remark.*
(d) Quantunque come giovane, ricca, è bella, desiderata veniſſe da molti, con tutto ciò ricuſar volle ogni altro per Crate vecchio, povero è mal d'apparenza. Lor. Craſſo Iſtoria de poeti Greci, pag 296.
(e) Riuſcì coſì dotta che in diſputa convinſe con ſodiſſime prove è incontraſtabili ragioni, è conſomma ſua gloria Theodoro che niegava la divina providenza. Id. ibid.
(f) *Eight: the first in the* 2d. *Book, and the Seven others in the* 3d. *Book.* Vossius de Scient. Mathemat. pag. 159
(g) Convenit de ætate Suidæ. Vossius ib.
(h) Ad ann. mundi 3665.
(i) Coutel, du calcul Eccleſiaſtique, pag. 189.
(k) *The* 154. *and the* 163.
(l) Voſſius ubi ſupra, pag. 160.
(m) Idem, pag. 159. ex Suida.

Hip-

Genius's, who by the Prediction of Eclipſes diſcovered that Men ought not to be ſurpriz'd at theſe *Phænomena*; and that the Gods themſelves (*E*) were Subjected to ſome Laws. He admires him for having taken a Review of the Stars, for having counted them, and obſerved their Situation and Magnitudes, which put his Poſterity in a Capacity of diſcovering not only whether they are Born and Die, but alſo whether they change their Place, and increaſe or leſſen. We learn from this Paſſage

(*a*) Rohault traité de Phyſique, Tom. 2. ſecond part. ch. 8. p. m. 35.

'*Hipparchus*, ſays he (*a*), lived the greateſt part of his Life, without making any other Obſervation about the fixed Stars, than that they had a Motion from Eaſt to Weſt, in Circles which he thought exactly parallel to the Equator; which made him conclude, that they were all inchaſed in one and the ſame ſolid Heaven, (which is called the Firmament) which he placed above all the Planets: And becauſe he did not think it was neceſſary that the Heaven ſhould borrow this ſimple Motion from any other Heaven above it; he maintain'd it was the laſt of all the Heavens, and that it ſerv'd to draw all the others the way that it turn'd, and ſo was the *Primum Mobile*. *Hipparchus* being then of this Opinion, that the fixed Stars did not change their Place in the Heaven, he thought they might ſerve to determine the Periods of the Planets, juſt as Rocks in the Sea may ſerve to point out the Courſes of the Ships, which leave no Footſteps of their Paſſage behind 'em. He imploy'd therefore his Induſtry in meaſuring the Diſtance betwixt every fixed Star, and the Sun's Ecliptick, which is called the Latitude of a Star; then to determine the Number of Degrees, and Minutes of the Ecliptick, which are reckon'd from Weſt to Eaſt, from the firſt Point of *Aries* to the Point over-againſt which every Star correſponds, which is called the Longitude; but Death having prevented him, Poſterity only could execute his Deſigns. *Ptolemy*, who lived about Two hundred Years after *Hipparchus*, propoſed to ſettle the Motions of the Planets; and having had the Curioſity to obſerve, whether his Predeceſſor had been exact in obſerving the Longitudes and Latitudes of the fixed Stars, he found that their Latitude was juſt as *Hipparchus* had obſerv'd it, but that the Longitude was augmented two Degrees. He concluded from thence, that beſides the Motion the fixed Stars had from Eaſt to Weſt in Twenty four Hours, they had another from Weſt to Eaſt in Circles parallel to the Ecliptick, by which being advanced two Degrees in two Hundred Years, Thirty ſix thouſand Years would accompliſh their entire Revolution. And whereas the Firmament could have but one Motion, which was properly its own, he attributed to it that Thirty ſix thouſand Years, and maintain'd, that it borrow'd its Diurnal Motion from Eaſt to Weſt, from a Heaven beyond it. And thus it began to be believ'd, that the *Primum Mobile* was a Heaven, which had no Stars in it, and which embrac'd the Firmament.

(*b*) Regis ſyſtême de Philoſophie Tom. 3. p. 42. & 43. Edition of Lions 1691. in 12.

Mr. *Regis* (*b*) another great *Carteſian*, advanced the ſame Thing in fewer Words; but Mr. *Gadroys*, another excellent *Carteſian*, well knew, that the Diſcovery of the particular Motion of the fixed Stars towards the Eaſt, ought to be aſcribed to *Hipparchus* (*c*). Probably he had made a greater Attention than others to a thing which *Gaſſendus* has related. 'Tis this: the *Chaldeans*, *Ægyptians* and *Greeks*, believ'd that all the fixed Stars were ſituated in the Concave of the higheſt Heaven, and conſequently of the *Primum Mobile*, and therefore had no Motion, but from Eaſt to Weſt upon the Poles of the Equator. But at laſt, *Hipparchus* 130 Years before Jeſus Chriſt, found that this Hypotheſis could not ſubſiſt; for having conſider'd, that by *Timocharis*'s Obſervation, made 200 Years before, there were Eight Degrees betwixt the Sword of *Virgo* towards the Weſt, and the Point of the Autumnal Equinox, and that he could find but Six Degrees Diſtance betwixt that Star, and that Point of the Firmament, he concluded, that the Stars muſt have a Motion of their own from Weſt to Eaſt upon the Poles of the Ecliptick and that if the Obſervation of *Timocharis* was juſt, the Progreſs of the fixed Stars by that particular Motion, was one Degree every Hundred Years. He wrote ſome Treatiſes upon this new Doctrine. (*d*) *Quare & intellexit ſi Timocharis quidem vitæ obſervaſſet, ac ſtella moveri ſic perſeverarent, peragi hoc motu unum gradum intra annos proximè centum. Intellexit præterea debere hunc motum fieri ſecundum Zodiacum, ſeu ſuper Ecliptica Polis, idque prodidit tam in Tractatu, quam inſcripſit* de tranſgreſſu Æquinoctialium Solſtitialiumque punctorum, *quâm in eo, quem conſcripſit* de Anni magnitudine, *ut ad Ptolemæum habetur.* Note, That *Gaſſendus* doth not obſerve exactly the Age of *Timocharis*; for that Aſtronomer flouriſhed about the 121ſt. Olympiad, 130 Years only before the firſt Obſervations of *Hipparchus*, of which *Ptolemy* makes mention. That Fault of *Gaſſendus* is much more tolerable than that of Mr. *Gadroys* (*e*).

(*c*) *He reckons but two hundred years between Timocharis and Ptolemy the Aſtronomer, Sect. 7. p. 30. but he ſhould have reckon'd above four hundred.* Rohault, *who reckons two hundred years between Hipparchus and Ptolemy, is happier; for he ſhould have reckon'd but three hundred.* Gadroys, *who reckons 265. years between theſe two Aſtronomers.*

(*d*) Gaſſendus, Phyſicæ ſect. 2. l. 3. p. m. 596. primi voluminis operum ex Ptolemæo 7. Almag. 2. & 3.

(*D*) *Who by the Prediction of Eclipſes, diſcovered.*] *Thales* was the firſt among the *Greeks*, who could foretel the time of Eclipſes. *Sulpitius Gallus* among the *Romans*, began to be ſucceſsful in that ſort of Predictions, and he made a very ſeaſonable Trial thereof the Night before the Battle, in which *Perſeus* was overcome (*f*). *Hipparchus*, after theſe two, extended this Science much farther, for he made *Ephemerides* for Six Hundred Years. (*g*) *Poſt eos utriuſque ſideris curſum in ſexcentos annos præcinuit Hipparchus, menſes genituræ, dieſque & horas, ac ſitus locorum & viſus populorum complexus, ævo teſte haud alio modo quam conſiliorum naturæ particeps.* *Pliny* calls him upon this the Confident of Nature: the Elogies he beſtows upon the Aſtronomers on that occaſion ſeem to be very well grounded (*h*) *Viri ingentes ſupraque mortalium naturam, tantorum numinum lege deprehenſa, & miſera hominum mente abſoluta in defectibus ſiderum ſcelera, aut mortem aliquam ſiderum pavente* ——*Mallet in genio eſſe cæli interpretes, rerumque naturæ capaces, argumenti repertores, quo Deos hominesque vicinſis. Quæ enim hæc cerneus, & ſtatos ſiderum (quoniam ita placuit appellare) labores, non ſua neceſſitati mortalis genitus ignoſcat?* That Elogy in Proſe is full as good as that which here follows in Verſe.

Felices animos, quibus hæc cognoſcere primis,
Inque domos ſuperas ſcandere cura fuit!
Credibile eſt illos pariter vitiſque locoſque
Altius humanis exſeruiſſe caput.
Non Venus & vinum ſublimia pectora fregit;
Officiumve fori, militiæve labor.
Nec levis ambitio, perfuſaque gloria fuco;
Magnarumve fames ſollicitavit opum.
Admovere oculis diſtantia ſidera noſtris;
Ætheraque ingenio ſuppoſuere ſuo.
Sic peritur cælum; non ut ſerat Oſſan Olympus;
Summaque Pelagus ſidera tangat apex (*i*).

(*e*) Ovid. Faſtor. lib. 1.

(*f*) Plin. l. 2. c. 12.

(*g*) Id. ib.

(*h*) Id. ib.

(*i*) Ovid. Faſtor. lib. 1.

Hipparchus did ſo carefully obſerve what concerns Eclipſes, that he found out the Proportions of their Intervals (*k*). He obſerved that the Eclipſes of the Moon might return at five Months end, and the Eclipſes of the Sun at ſeven, and that the Sun might be Eclipſed twice in the ſpace of thirty Days with reſpect to different parts of the Earth. *Intra ducentos annos Hipparchi ſagacitate compertum eſt & lunæ defectum aliquando quinto menſe a priore fieri, ſolis vero ſeptimo: eundem bis in triginta diebus ſupra terras occultari, ſed ab aliis atque aliis videri.* Theſe Words of *Pliny* have been miſunderſtood by ſome. There is a very Learned Man, who thought that by *intra ducentos annos*, was meant that two Ages muſt intervene to the end, that an Eclipſe of a Moon may ſucceed another, at five Months end. This (*l*) is not *Pliny*'s meaning, but that *Hipparchus* had diſcover'd that Proportion two hundred years before. *Pliny* is right in his Chronology, there being two Centuries betwixt *Pliny* and that famous Aſtronomer.

(*k*) Plin. l. 2. c. 13.

(*l*) Nequis vero temere ſuſcenſeat, ut exiſtimavit vir magnæ eruditionis, ſæculum intra ducentos annos, ſi vel intra annos decem animadverſum fuerit ætate ſua eandem ita recurrere. Hardouinus in Plin. l. 2. c. 13. p. 159. 160.

(*E*) *That the Gods themſelves were ſubjected to ſome Laws.*] There is no Inconvenience in ſaying that God loves Order, and Good, by a neceſſary, and indiſpentable Law; for on the contrary to violate this Law, would be an Imperfection. But 'tis doubtleſs a fault to be Subject to an Order which retards or weakens our Functions; and therefore thoſe who

† Lib. 1. & 2. paſſim.

‡ Hipparchus & in conſequendo eo (Eratoſthene) & in reliqua omni diligentia mirus. Plin. l. 2. c. 108.

sage (F) of *Pliny* that *Hipparchus* gave to our Souls a Heavenly Original. *Strabo* † accuſes this Aſtronomer of being too Critical, and ſays that there was more wrangling than exactneſs in his way of Cenſuring. *Pliny* judges more favourably of him ‡.

HIPPOMANES. There is in the *Project* of this Dictionary a long Article upon *Hippomanes*. I don't put it here, having chang'd the deſign of giving Promiſcuouſly, Real, and Perſonal Articles; but I'll place this Article at the end of this Work by the way of Diſſertation.

HIPPONAX, a Greek Poet, Born at *Epheſus* liv'd not in the 23*d* Olympiad as (A) *Euſebius* has given out, but in the 60th, as we are certify'd by *Pliny* *. Being Expell'd out of *Epheſus* †, by the Tyrants *Athenagoras* and *Comas*, he went and ſettled at (B) *Clazomenæ*. He was Ugly, Little, and Slender ‡; But his Uglineſs has by Accident been the cauſe of his Immortality; for he is ſcarce known but by the Satyrical Verſes which he made againſt two Carvers (C), who had ſha p'd him in the moſt Ridiculous Figures imaginable *. He diſcharg'd upon 'em a thundering Legion of Iambick Verſes, which ſo Mortified 'em, that it has been Storied that they Hang'd themſelves for Vexation. *Pliny* maintains that it is falſe, and proves it by a great number of Statues which they made ſince in the Adjacent Iſlands. Some Authors have written, that *they only left* Epheſus *where* Hipponax *liv'd*. However it be, the Humour and Satyrical Vein of this Poet, diſtinguiſh'd him (D), and do ſo ſtill to this very Day. His ill Tongue † ſpar'd not even thoſe, to whom he owed his Life.

There are ſome who pretend (E) that he Died with Hunger. 'Tis obſerv'd that tho' he was Little and Slender, yet he had great Strength †, and could throw an empty

* Id. l. 36. c. 5.

‡ Suidas in Ἵππωναξ.

* Ælian. div. Hiſt. l. 10. c. 6.

* Plinius ibid.

† Apud Tanaq. Fabrum vie des poëtes Grecs.

† Ὁ καὶ παίσας τὸν βάτταρα. Qui etiam parentes ſuos allatravit. Anthol. l. 3. cap. 25. n. 22. pag. m. 655.

(f) *In his Notes upon* Horace, Tom. 5. p. 151.

(g) Charles Scapha *ſays ſo too at the Word* Bupalus.

(b) Si quis horum familiam ad proavum uſque retrogreſſus, invenire artis ejus originem cum Olympiadum origine cœpiſſe. Plin. l. 36. c. 5.

(i) Pauſan. l. 4. c. 140. & l. 9. p. 309.

(k) In 6. epod.

(l) Vie des Poëtes Grecs.

(m) Ubi ſupra.

(n) *See* Bupalus *Remark A.*

(o) Epiſt. 24. l. 7. ad famil.

(p) In Malos aſperrimus Parata tollo cornua. Quales Lycambæ ſpretus infido gener, Aut acer hoſtis Bupalo. Horat. Epod. *See alſo* Cicero de datur. Deorum lib. 3.

(q) Lib. 3. cap. 25.

(r) Ibid. n. 24. p. m. 566.

who pretended that the Stars were Gods, ſhould have ſaid, had they Argued Coherently, that the Aſtronomers had diſcovered the weakneſs of the Divine Nature, and its Dependance on a very burdenſom Law, which ſubjected it to a ſort of Death, or Faintneſs, or Slavery. You'll tell me, that the Sun is no leſs Luminous in it ſelf at the time of an Eclipſe, than before, or after; but may not I Anſwer, that a Courier who is ſtopt, loſes nothing of his Vigour, and Health? 'Tis nevertheleſs, a Proof of his ſubmiſſion to a burdenſom Law; 'Tis, in a Word, a ſign of Weakneſs to ſee that he can't continue his Journey. Apply this to the Sun, and you'll find that his Eclipſes are a ſign of imperfection. They hinder him from Enlightening the Earth; he is a Prince, whoſe Couriers are ſtopt, and whoſe Functions are interrupted. If *Pliny* had purpos'd to Reaſon, he had not drawn the Conſequence, which he has drawn from that *Phænomenon*: he would not have ſaid that this ought to be a Conſolation to Mortal Men; he would have ſaid, that this proves the Stars to be of no Divine Nature.

(F) *We learn from this Paſſage of* Pliny.] 'Tis ſo fine, that in giving it intire, I am ſure to pleaſe thoſe, who love not to change Books to ſatisfy fully their Curioſity. (b) *Idem Hipparchus nunquam ſatis laudatus, ut quo nemo magis approbaverit cognationem cum homine ſiderum, animaſque noſtras partem eſſe cæli; novam ſtellam & aliam in ævo ſuo genitam deprehendit: ejuſque motu, qua die fulſit, ad dubitationem eſt adductus, anne hoc ſæpius fieret, moverenturque & ea, quas putamus affixas. Idemque auſus, rem etiam Deo improbam, annumerare poſteris ſtellas, ac ſidera ad normam (†) expangere, organis excogitatis, per qua ſingularum loca, atque magnitudines ſignaret: ut facile diſcerni poſſet ex eo, non modo, an obirent, naſcerenturve, ſed an omnino aliqua tranſirent, moverenturve; item an creſcerent, minuerenturque, cælo in hereditate cunctis relicto; ſi quiſquam, qui rationem eam caperet, inventus eſſet.*

(b) Plinius l. 2. c. 26. p. m. 182. 183.

(†) *There is in Father* Hardouin's *Edition* ad nomen expungere.

(A) *As* Euſebius *has given out.*] *Scaliger* (c) Confutes him by the Paſſage of *Pliny*; he believed therefore that *Pliny* was in the right. So far 'tis well: But he adds that *Euſebius* followed *Tatian*, and he refers us to his Notes *Number* 908. in which we find nothing that belongs to *Hipponax*. In this there is no great exactneſs. *Euſebius* might alſo be refuted by the Teſtimony of *Proclus* (d), who ſays that *Hipponax* Flouriſh'd under the Reign of *Darius*. He means doubtleſs the Son of *Hiſtaſpes*, whoſe Reign began in the 64th Olympiad.

(c) Pag. 79.

(d) Apud Photium biblioth. p. 983.

(e) De edicto Domitiani, inter cætera Virgilii, Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1617. p. 247.

(B) *Settled at* Clazomenæ.] Hence the Poetels *Sulpitia* deſcribes him in this manner.

Nec (e) trimetro iambo, nec qui pede fractus eodem
Fortiter iraſci diſcit duce Clazomenio.

If what *Tanaquillus Faber* ſays, be true, namely, that *Hipponax* liv'd at *Epheſus*, when he Reveng'd himſelf on thoſe who had inſulted him upon his Uglineſs; he muſt either have returned into his Country, or elſe his Baniſhment did not precede that Adventure. I have ſeen nothing in *Pliny*, that ſhews that *Hipponax* was or was not Born at *Epheſus*, or whether he and the Statuaries whom he Satyriz'd, lived there or not. And yet (f) Mr. *Dacier* aſſures us, that *Pliny* is of their Opinion who ſay that Poet's Verſes made his Enemies quit *Epheſus*. *Lloyd* and *Hofman* ſay that *Bupalus* liv'd at *Clazomenæ* (g). I believe 'tis a fetch of Reaſoning: they ſaw on one Hand that *Hipponax* retired into that City, and on the other that *Bupalus* had Comically repreſented him, and they concluded from theſe two Facts, that *Bupalus* liv'd at *Clazomenæ*.

(C) *Which he made againſt two Carvers.*] They were two Brothers, one called *Bupalus* and the other *Athenis*, they were of the Iſle of *Chios*, the Sons of *Anthermus*, whoſe Father's Name was *Micciades*, and the Grandfather's *Malas*. All theſe were Sculptors from Father to Son in that Iſland; ſo that their Employment (h) might be as Antient there as the Olympiads. *Pauſanias* (i) ſpeaks of *Bupalus* with Praiſe, upon occaſion of the Statue of *Fortune*, and that of the *Graces* which were at *Smyrna* of his making. He will have him to have Lived before *Pindar*. Two Witneſſes ſuch as he and *Pliny* deſerve the Preference before the Scholiaſt (k) upon *Horace*, who ſays *Bupalus* was a Painter, and who has been follow'd in this by *Tanaquillus Faber* (l) and Mr. *Dacier* (m), and almoſt all the Dictionaries (n). *Suidas* attributes to theſe two Brothers, the Profeſſion of Sculpture; and having given the laſt the Name of *Athenis*, he has occaſioned Father *Hardouin* to think the Paſſage of *Pliny* is falſified, where this Carver is called *Anthermus*. He has therefore put *Athenis* in the room of that Word. See the Remark E and the Article *Bupalus*.

(D) *His Humour and Satyrical Vein diſtinguiſh'd him.*] Hence come thoſe Proverbs we find made uſe of by *Cicero*. (o) *Eum addictum jam tum puto eſſe Calvi Licinii Hipponacteo praconio. Horace* (p) Names *Hipponax* and *Archilochus* as the two greateſt Satyriſts. The Words of *Pliny* are theſe: *Hipponacti notabilis vultûs fuditas erat: quamobrem imagines ejus laſcivia jocorum ii propoſuere ridentium circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum diſtrinxit in tantum ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eos impuliſſe: quod falſum eſt.* There is in the *Anthologia* (q) three or four Epigrams, which repreſent *Hipponax* ſtill terrible after his Death. The Paſſengers are adviſ'd to keep far from his Tomb, as being a Place that ſends out dreadful Hail: Φεύγετε τὸν κυνοραίστην τάφον, τὸν ὠμοβρῶτα, *fuge grandinantem tumulum horrendum* (r).

(E) *That he Died of Hunger.*] I believe all the

empty Veſſel farther than other Men. He was neither the firſt (F) nor the only Perſon that drove People to Hang themſelves by reaſon of ſome Invectives.

HIPSIPILE, the Daughter of *Thoas* King of the Iſle of *Lemnos*, ſaved her Father's Life when the Women of the Iſland made a general Maſſacre of all the Men that Inhabited it *. She did not do it openly; but was forced to make People believe that ſhe had made him away; upon which Suppoſition, † the other Women choſe her for their Queen. The *Argonauts* ſometime after Landed in the Iſle of *Lemnos*, and were received there with all the Teſtimonies of the ſtricteſt Friendſhip; for the

* Apollodorus l. 1.

† His mihi pro meritis (ut falſi crimnis aſtu Parta fides) regno & ſolio conſidere patris Supplicium datur. Hyplipyle apud Statium, Theb. l. 5. v. 320.

the Foundation they have for it are theſe two Verſes.

(f) Ovid. in Ibin, v. 525.

Utque (f) parum ſtabili qui carmine laſit Athenas
Inviſus pereas, deficiente cibi.

Some Criticks pretend that *Ovid* did not ſay *Athenas*, but *Athenin*, whence it would follow that he ſpeaks here of *Hipponax*: *Qui primus jambum claudicare fecit, & ſcazonta in Bupalum & Athenin compoſuit, ut eſt apud Suidam, ut recte Ovidius, parum ſtabile, id eſt claudum carmen ei tribuat.* Theſe are *Alciatus*'s Words in the 18. Chap. of the fifth Book of his *Parerga*. *Turnebus* comes pretty near the ſame Thought: *Videtur*, ſays he, (t) *de Hipponacte hoc intelligi qui claudicante & parum ſtabili verſu, id eſt ſcazonte in Bupalum & Athenin invectus eſt Athenienſes: quo in carmine ne Athenis quidem pepercerat. Quid tamen ſi pro* Athenas, Athenin *ſcribamus, quem ab eo probris onuratum accepimus? Ne hanc quidem lectionem improbarem, etſi alteram delere non auſim.* Mr. *de Boiſſieu* (v) who mentions theſe two Paſſages, obſerves that *Sanctius* and *Vatablus* approve them. As for him, he is wholly for that Conjecture, and finds it very probable, that *Ovid* has mention'd the two Inventers of Iambick Verſes near one another. Now he had been ſpeaking of *Archilochus*, and we know from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* (a), *Clemens Alexandrinus* (b), *Rufinus* (c), and the Poeteſs *Sulpitia* (d), that *Hipponax* was the Inventer of the *Scazons*. Mr. *de Boiſſieu* might have found fault with *Turnebus* for ſaying that *Hipponax*'s Enemies were *Athenians*; for *Pliny* ſays Expreſly they were of the Iſle of *Chios*, and that they ſaid ſo in their Works: (e) *Quibus ſubjecerunt carmen non vitibus tantum cenſeri Chium, ſed & operibus Anthermi filiorum.* There's no ground for what *Turnebus* ſays that *Hipponax* did not ſpare the City of *Athens* in the Verſes he made againſt theſe two Statuaries; 'tis a random Gueſs. A *German* Miniſter (f) applying the two Verſes of *Ovid* to *Hipponax*, goes on thus: *Ex Plinio nimirum compertum eſt Athenis vel Athenam ſculptorem in Hipponactis ſcripta incurriſſe, carmina ejus ſuſtuliſſe maledica, authorem verò lethali inedia fuiſſe confectum.* *Pliny* ſays nothing like it.

(t) Adverſar. l. 9. c. 25.

(v) Comment. in Ibin px 100. 101.

(a) Lib. de interpret.

(b) Stromat. l. 1.

(c) De metris comm. in.

(d) *See the Verſes in the Remark B.*

(e) Plinius ubi ſupra.

(f) Spizelius in fel. literat. p. 726.

(g) *See* Archilochus, *Remark C.*

(h) Ælian. var. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 8.

MORTAL *effects of Detraction or Cenſure.*

(F) *Neither the firſt nor the only Perſon.*] Before him *Archilochus* wrote Satyrs, which forced two or three Perſons to Hang themſelves (g). *Poliagrus* (h) being abuſed in a Comedy did the like. We need not wonder that a Satyr ſhould caſt Men into deſpair, ſince a meer Cenſure has ſometimes had that fatal Effect. *Pythagoras* Reprimanding one of his Diſciples ſomewhat harſhly in a great Company, caſt him into ſo black a Melancholy as made him Strangle himſelf, and ever after that great Philoſopher took care to Cenſure only in private. (i) Πυθαγόρου δὲ τραχύνοντος ἐν πολλοῖς γεγράφθαι φασὶν ἀνήλλαξέ τε μεγάλην λύπην ἐν τῷ δὲ μεγίστῳ τῶν Πυθαγόρου κλεῶν ἄλλα παραινέσαι ἀλλὰ μηδένα ὑβρίζειν, *Ferunt, adoleſcentulum quendam à Pythagora, cui operam dabat, multis præſentibus compellatum aſperius, ſuſpendio vitam finiſſe, atque ab eo tempore Pythagoram nunquam alio præſente quenquam corripuiſſe.* *Diodorus Cronus* Died with Vexation for having been Inſulted by a King of *Ægypt*, upon his not being able to ſolve ſome Logical Difficulties, which *Stilpo* had propos'd to him at the King's Table (k). Some Cenſures, without occaſioning the Death of the Cenſured Perſons, have cauſed ſo baneful a Vexation in them, as to make them attempt upon the Life of the Critick. The Architect *Apollodorus* loſt his Life, for obſerving to the Emperor *Hadrian* ſome faults of a Temple that Prince had Built (l). The laſt Ages furniſh us with Examples of all theſe different effects of Cenſure. *Aurat* knew a Man, that fell into ſo deſperate a Spleen for ſome Verſes made upon him, that he Died of it. Hereupon that Writer alledges *Plato*, who adviſ'd all thoſe who lov'd their Reputation to take heed of provoking the Poets. (m) *Laceſſiti* (Poetæ) *ita ſe ulciſcuntur, ut interdum eos à quibus offenſi erant, ad mortem adegiſſe narrentur. Nam præter id quod de Archilocho accepimus, novi ego qui hac ætate tantum verſibus ſuis inimico dolorem inuſſerit, ut ex eo ille ſit mortuus——quo circa Plato in Minos præcipit ut qui bona fama ſtudioſi ſunt, ut diligenter caveant, ne cum poëtis inimicitias ſuſcipiant.* 'Tis ſaid that *Georgius Trapezuntius* Died with Melancholy, upon ſeeing the faults of his Tranſlation of *Ptolemy* Cenſured by *Regiomontanus*, and that the Son of the Deceas'd Poiſoned the Critick (n). I have ſaid in another Place (o) that it was thought *Jaſon Denores* would have Died with Grief, upon his Reading *Guarini*'s Reply, if he had Lived long enough to have ſeen that Book out of the Preſs. 'The Zealous Calviniſts——Publiſh'd to bitter a Libel againſt *Quintin*——that that Doctor having too quick a Sence of it, took his Bed upon Reading of it, and never roſe again (p). He had made a Speech to the Clergy in the Aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom in the year 1560, and the Criticiſms upon his Speech occaſion'd his Death. *Gregorius de Valentia* having read a Paſſage of St. *Auſtin*, otherwiſe than he ſhould (q), before *Clement VIII.* was Convicted of Falſification, upon which the Pope ſaid to him (r). *It is thus ou pretend to deceive the Church of God?* 'Theſe Words like a Thunderbolt, ſtruck down *Valentia*, who fainted away in the Preſence of the Pope, and Died two Days after. See in the Article *Ceraſi* another Blow of the ſame Pope. 'Mr. *de l'Etoile* reprehended ſtrongly, and boldly, and with a ſtrange ſort of ſeverity, what did not pleaſe him in things ſubmitted to his Judgment. He's accus'd for having cauſed a young Man that came from *Languedoc* to Die with Grief and Vexation, who brought him a Comedy which he thought a Maſter-piece, in which this Critick clearly ſhew'd him a thouſand Faults. I take theſe Words from Mr. *Pelliſſon* (ſ). *Philip II.* King of *Spain* Cenſur'd in as Murthering a manner as the King of *Ægypt* before mentioned. (t) Cardinal *Eſpinoſa* Died for theſe Words of Diſgrace uttered by that Prince, *Cardenal yo ſoy el Preſidente.* And the ſame King ſaying to a Secretary who had pour'd Ink upon ſome Diſpatch inſtead of Sand, *Eſte es el tintero, y (v) eſtotra la ſalvadera*, ſo pierc'd him with theſe two or three words that he retir'd from his Preſence to his Death-Bed. We have ſome Examples which prove that ſome Authors have Aſſaſſinated their Criticks. *Murtalo* enrag'd to ſee his Reputation torn by a Satyr of the Cavalier *Marini*, fired a Piſtol at him in the middle of the Streets of *Turin*; he miſſ him, tho' he had five Bullets in his Piſtol, and Shot at him very near; he confeſs'd that his deſign was not to Wound, but to Kill (w) *Marini*. We find in Mr. *Baillet* (x). 'That, *Francis Robortel* having Cenſur'd ſome Books of *Baptiſt Egnatius a Venetian*, was like to have been kill'd with a Stab in his Belly, which this *Egnatius* gave him in Anſwer to his Criticiſms. He cites *Joh. Imperial. Muſæi hiſtor. pag. 61. & Theoph. Spizel. de felic. literat. comment. 4. p.* 485. See the Words of Imperialis: *Cum Alciato pariter, aliiſque clariſſimis ejus ævi luminibus, internecinas prope ſimultates exercuit* (Robortellus) *quo factum ut ſenuſ Venetus Baptiſta Egnatius optimus ac doctiſſimus vir crebris ab eo laceſſitus injuriis, adducto ſubito gladiolo in eum impetum facere non dubitaret.*

(k) Diog. Laert. l. 2. n. 112. *See alſo* Pliny l. 7. c. 53.

(l) Xiphilin. in Hadriano p. m. 258.

If I had diſperſed this in ſeveral places of my Work, I might have avoided their Cenſures, who will call this Remark *a meer traſh, and a trifling Collection.* But as I ſeek more the Advantage of my Readers than my own, I am willing tho' at the coſt

(m) Moralia, variar. lect. lib. 8. c. 1.

(n) Naudé, conſiderations ſur les coups d'Etat. *See alſo* Thuanus *Book* 90.

(o) *In the Article* Guarini

(p) Varillas, Hiſt. de Charles IX. Tom. 1. p. m. 183.

(q) Morale pratique des Jeſuïtes Tom. 3. p. 122. *Where a falſity of the* 1.— *Tome has been Corrected.*

(r) Morale Pratique t. 1. p. 268.

(ſ) Hiſt. de l'Acad. Franſoiſe p. m. 322.

(t) La Motte le Vayer letter 53. p. 441. *of the* 10. *Tome.*

(v) *I think it ſhould be* eſta era.

(w) *See the* Anti-Baillet, Tom. 1. n. 95.

(x) Jugement des Savans Tom. 1. pag. 66.

the Women of the Iſland had not killed the Men out of any (*A*) Indifference for the Maſculine Sex, but rather out of a Spirit of Revenge, which ſhew'd they were very ſenſible of the ſoft Pleaſures of Love. The *Argonautæ* Refreſh'd themſelves from the Fatigues of the Sea in the Arms of theſe Widows as long as they pleas'd; neither did *Hypſipile* forget herſelf: She applied herſelf to their Leader, and was quickly Big with two Boys. If her Fate (*B*) in that reſpect was not like *Dido's*, it was in this that *Jaſon* (*C*) was as Inconſtant as *Æneas*. See in the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary what became of *Hypſipile*, when her Subjects underſtood that ſhe had not kill'd her Father.

HIRPINI, a People of *Italy* in the Country of the *Samnites*. They were ſo call'd from a Wolf † that Conducted them when they went to ſettle their Colony. Some ſay that upon a Day of a great Solemnity (*A*) they trod upon Fire without being burn'd; but in Probability this is to attribute to them what belong'd (*B*) only to

† Hirpus *was the word for Wolf in the Language of the* Samnites Strabo. l. 5. p. 173.

coſt of this Cenſure to ſave them the trouble of gathering together, what I might have ſaid, here and there.

I add a freſh Example to the foregoing. *A Poet having preſented to Pope* Urban VIII. *a Work, whereof the Subject, the Diſpoſition and the Verſes were unbecoming a Chriſtian, he fell upon his Impudence with ſo much Paſſion, as made the poor Wretch Die with Grief and Confuſion.* You'll find theſe Words in the third Page of a Book Publiſhed by Father *Menestrier* at *Paris* 1681. Intituled *des repreſentations en muſique anciennes & modernes.*

(*A*) *Out of any indifference for the Maſculine Sex.*] They were induced to that Maſſacre, only becauſe the Men had no more to do with them, and diverted themſelves with the Slaves which they had brought from *Thrace* (*y*). The Men uſed this Practice becauſe their Wives were grown ſo Stinking that they could not come near them without the greateſt Diſguſt (*z*). This Stench was an Effect of the Anger of *Venus*; whether becauſe this Goddeſs was vext at their neglect of Sacrificing to her (*aa*) for ſome years; or becauſe ſhe conceived an Averſion for the Iſle of *Lemnos* (*bb*), for having been caught there in the Fact; for there it was the Gods ſaw her Lying with *Mars*. Others (*cc*) ſay, that *Medea* being Jealous of *Hypſipile*, threw into that Iſland ſome Drugs, which cauſed them to Stink ſo. 'Tis added, that in proceſs of time they ſmelt ſo ſtrong upon a certain Day every year, that their Husbands and even their own Children could not abide to come near them. 'Tis Diſputed whether this Stink was from their Breath, or in their Arm-Pits. *Euſtathius* (*a*) is for the firſt Opinion, and *Dion Chryſoſtome* (*b*) for the ſecond. Here are ſome Verſes of *Statius* in which *Hypſipile* repreſents the horrible State of the Iſland in the *Interregnum* of Love:

Protinus (c) à Lemno teneri fugiſtis amores,
Motus Hymen, verſæque faces, & frigida juſti
Cura tori: nulla redeunt in gaudia noctes,
Nullus in amplexu ſopor eſt: odia aſpera ubique
Et furor, & medio recubat diſcordia lecto.

That *Interregnum* ſeemed ſo intolerable, that it moved them to the Maſſacre before mentioned.

(*B*) *If her Fate in that reſpect was not like* Dido's.] For the Amours of poor *Dido* with *Æneas* were Barren, and 'twas that which mortified her. I have elſewhere (*d*) obſerved the difference betwixt her Palate, and that of the Women of theſe laſt Ages. The latter Deſerted by their Gallants at the beginning of the Campaign, are over-joyed that the Pleaſures of the Winter Quarter are paſt over without any Propagation, I make uſe of this Example without excluding thoſe that concern Perſons of other Conditions; I uſe it, I ſay, becauſe the ſtay of the *Argonauts* in the Iſle of *Lemnos* may well be compared to a long Winter Quarter. I muſt add that *Hypſipile* proteſts in the work of a Latin Poet, that ſhe Married the lovely *Jaſon* againſt her Will.

(*e*) *Cinerem furiaſque nefandi*
Teſtor, ut externas non ſponte aut crimine tædas
Attigerim (ſcit cura Deum) etſi blandus Jaſon
Virginibus dare vincla novis.

But a Greek Poet repreſents her ſo much in Love with him at firſt ſight, as to offer him her Kingdom.

(*f*) Εἰ δέ μιν ἐσιδοῦσα
Ναυβλόου θάλαμόν τε, καὶ οὐ δόλον, ἦτ' ἀνὰ νῆσον
Πάλφρα ἰμαῖος θωρήσσεται ἔγχεϊ γῆρυς.

Sin vero hic
Sedem figere velis, idque allubeſcat tibi, cauſa nihil erit, quin
Augearis gramio Thoantis genitoris mei.

Valerius Flaccus in like manner repreſents her touched to the quick with the Charms of this Hero, and fond of Marrying him as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him.

(*g*) *Unius hæret*
Alloquio, & blandos paullatim colligit ignes,
Jam non dura thoris, Veneri nec iniqua reverſa.

(*C*) Jaſon *was as inconſtant as Æneas.*] He forſook her and his two Children, and purſued his Voyage; ſo that ſhe is one of the *Heroines*, whoſe ſad Complaints and moving Sighs *Ovid* has related upon ſeeing themſelves forſaken by the Gallants, to whom they had refus'd nothing. *Ariadne*, *Hypſipile's* Grandmother (*h*), Experienced the ſame Fate. See in *Ovid* her Complaints againſt *Theſeus*. I make a Reflection upon this Matter. The Mythological Authors and Modern Writers of Romances have taken two different Methods: The firſt came too near Hiſtory, the latter keep too far from it. I only conſider the deſcription of Manners, or the Character which they give a Hero. In Mythology the Heroins are not only too Amorous, but alſo too Laviſh of their Favours: The Heroes are Inconſtant; they get the Ladies with Child, or do what's neceſſary to it, and then they Laugh at them. This looks too much like Hiſtory, and affords an ill Example (*i*) to both Sexes. 'Tis better to take the oppoſite Extreme, like our Romancers, and in ſpite of Probability, to feign Heroes and Heroeſſes guiltleſs of any fault.

(*A*) *They trod upon Fire without being Burnt.*] *Varro* who oppugns Superſtition as much as poſſible, having mention'd an Ointment, immediately adds this Reflection; the *Hirpini* rub the bottoms of their Feet with it, when they are to Walk upon Fire. (*k*) *Varro ubique expugnator religionis, ait, cùm quoddam medicamentum deſcriberet: eo uti ſolent Hirpini ambulaturi per ignem, medicamento plantas ungunt.* Theſe Words gives us no Light concerning the Situation of theſe *Hirpini*; ſo that we can't tell, whether *Varro* ſpeaks of a People who were part of the *Samnites*, or whether, as *Servius*, he gives the Name of *Hirpini* to the People Inhabiting near Mount *Soracte* in *Tuſcany*, and who were properly call'd *Hirpi*. Many imagine that *Varro* meant the *Samnites* called *Hirpini*, and if ſo, there's a great Probability, that the likeneſs of Names miſled him. They who Walk'd upon Fire were diſtinct from the *Samnites*, and lived remote enough from them. They were called *Hirpi* and not *Hirpini*. The Commentator *Servius* is miſtaken in the Name, and that firſt falſe ſtep has led him into ſome others concerning the Situation of thoſe who Walked upon Fire, upon the Feſtival of Mount *Soracte*, as we ſhall ſee in what follows.

(*B*) *What belong'd only to the* Hirpi.] *Virgil* do's not name thoſe that Walked on Fire, he only gives us to underſtand, that they Bordered on Mount *Soracte*.

Summo

(*y*) Apollodor. l. 1.
(*z*) Id. ib.
(*aa*) In Inſula Lemno mulieres Veneri ſacra aliquot annos non fecerant. Hyginus cap. 15. *See alſo* Apollodorus ibid. Statius Theb. l. 5. *and the* Scholiaſt *upon* Euripides in Hecub.
(*bb*) Lactantius in Statium, lib. 5. Thebaid.
(*cc*) Myrtittus Leſbius l. 1. Lesbiacorum, apud Scholiaſten Apollonii in l. 1. Argonaut.
(*a*) In Iliad. l. 1.
(*b*) Oratione 33.
(*c*) Stat. Theb. l. 5. v. 70.
(*d*) *In the Article* Garnache *Remark B.*
(*e*) Statius Theb. l. 5. v. 454.

(*f*) Apollonius. l. 1. v. 827.

(*g*) Val. Flaccus l. 2. v. 353.

(*h*) Thoas, Hypſipile's *Father, was the Son of* Bacchus *and* Ariadne.

(*i*) Horace's Hiſtorias docere peccantes Od. 7. l. 3. *may be applied to theſe Narrations.*
(*k*) Servius in Æneid. lib. 11. v. 787.

to the *Hirpi* who Liv'd in another place of *Italy*. There were Anciently other Feasts, wherein (C) the same Spectacle was seen.

HOBBES, (*Thomas*) one of the greatest Wits of the XVII*th*. Century, was Born (*A*) at *Malmesbury* in *England* the 5th of *April* 1588. He had (*B*) made great Progresses in Languages when at 14 years of Age he was sent to *Oxford*, where he Studied five years *Aristotle's* Philosophy. Afterwards he went to *William Cavendish*, who a little after was made Earl of *Devonshire*, to be Governour to his Eldest Son. He Travelled into *France* and *Italy* with his Pupil; and finding that he remember'd not much of his Greek and Latin, and that *Aristotle's* Philosophy in which he had made a great Progress, was despis'd by the wisest Heads, he apply'd himself wholly to Literature when he return'd into his Country. *Thucydides* being preferr'd by him before all the *Greek* Historians, he Translated him into English, and Publish'd his Translation in the year 1628, in order to shew the English, in the History of the *Athenians*, the Disorders and Confusions (*BΔ*) of a Democratical Government. In the year

(*f*) Virg. Æneid. l. 11. v. 785.

Summe (f) deûm sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
Pascitur, & medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna.
Da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis.

But *Servius* Names them *Hirpini*; *Soractis*, says he, in Commenting on this Passage of *Virgil*, *mons est Hirpinorum in Flaminia collocatus*. He adds, that this Mountain is Consecrated to the Infernal Gods, and that one Day whilst they were offering Sacrifices to *Pluto*, Wolves came upon them which took out of the Fire the Entrails of the Victim: The Shepherds pursu'd 'em, and ingag'd them in a Den, whence proceeded a mortal Vapour. This caus'd a great Pestilence, which the Oracle promis'd a stop to, provided they imitated the Wolves, that is, liv'd by Rapine. They did it, and were thence call'd *Hirpini Sorani*, that is, *Pluto's* Wolves; for in the *Sabine* Language *Hirpus* signifies a Wolf, and *Soranus*, *Pluto*. If we consult *Strabo* and *Pliny*, we cannot doubt but *Servius* has here committed a great Blunder. He has confounded the Names and History of two different People. *Strabo* (*m*) relates that this People were called *Hirpini*, because a Wolf in the Language of the *Samnites* is called *Hirpus*, and because a Wolf was a Guide to a Colony that came to settle among the *Samnites*. As for *Pliny*, he affirms that in the Country of the *Hirpini* there was a place that could not be entered without Dying. *In Hirpinis Amsancti ad Mephitis eadem, locum quem qui intravere moriuntur.* *Virgil* gives a larger Description of this execrable Place, and observes not only that it sent out a cursed Vapour, but also that it was a breathing Hole of Hell (*o*). Mount *Soracte* had nothing of this Nature; the Vapour that came out of it was only Fatal to the Birds, as *Pliny* expressly assures us: (*p*) *Alibi volucribus tantum ut Soracte vicino urbi tractu.* 'Tis plain then that *Servius* made this Mountain a place Consecrated to *Pluto*, and placed it in the Neighbourhood of the Cave which kill'd Men, because he confounded what concern'd the *Hirpini* and the *Hirpi*. See *Salmasius* upon *Solinus* Page 85.

(*m*) Lib. 5. p. 173.
(*n*) Plin. l. 2. c. 93. p. m. 240.
(*o*) Est locus Italiæ medio sub montibus altis, Nobilis, & fama multis memoratus in oris, Amsancti valles, ... Hic specus horrendum, & sævi spiracula Ditis Monstratur: ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago Pestiferas aperit fauces. Æneid l. 7. v. 563.
(*p*) Plin. ubi supra.
(*a*) Plin. l. 7. c. 2. p. m. 10.
(*b*) Solin. cap. 2.

Any one that has a mind to know what Ancient Authors say of the *Hirpi* may be quickly satisfi'd. The *Hirpi* were a small number of Families in the Country of the *Falisci* near *Rome*, who Walk'd safely upon Fire. This Spectacle was seen every year on Mount *Soracte*, on *Apollo's* Solemn Sacrifice Day. The *Hirpi* Walked upon burning Piles without being Burnt, and obtain'd many Privileges by it. (*a*) *Haud procul urbe Roma in Faliscorum agro Familiæ sunt paucæ quæ vocantur Hirpi: hæ sacrificio annuo quod fit ad montem Soractem Apollini, super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduruntur, & ob id perpetuo Senatus-consulto militiæ onerisque aliorum munerum vacationem habent.* *Solinus* thought he faithfully Copied this, and did not perceive that he changed a notable Circumstance. He Expresses himself in a way that signifies, that the *Hirpi* Walk'd a cross the Flames; (*b*) *Impunè insultant ardentibus lignorum struibus in honorem divinæ rei flammis parcentibus.* And yet *Pliny* has not said this, but plainly insinuates, that they Walked only upon the Fire-brands; and it can't be doubted but that they confined themselves to this, since *Varro* said, that they rub'd the Soles of their Feet with an Ointment. Consider also the *multa premimus vestigia pruna* of *Virgil*, and the Expressions of the following Authors, and you'll agree that *Salmasius* blames *Solinus* justly (*c*). A Poet later than *Virgil* (*d*) tells us, that they who Walked on the Fire were three times put to the Trial, loaded with the Entrails of the Sacrifices, which they afterwards laid on *Apollo's* Altars.

Tum Soractè fatum præstantem corpore & armis
Æquumum ascensu, patrio cui virtus in arvo,
Cum pius arcitenens accensis gaudet acervis,
Exto ter innocuos late portare per ignes;
Sic in Apollinea semper vestigia pruna
Inviolata terax, victorque vaporis ad aras
Dona ferenato referas solemnia Phœbo.

We have seen that the Feast of Mount *Soracte*, where the Fire Makers plaid their part so well was Dedicated to *Apollo*; we now shall see it Consecrated to another Deity. *Strabo* (*e*) observes that at the Foot of this Mountain there was a Town called *Feronia*. 'Twas also the Name of a Goddess, which was mightily Worship'd in that District, and in whose *Lucus* was Celebrated a wonderful Sacrifice. Some Men who were seized with the Spirit of that Goddess, walked Bare-Foot upon a heap of burning Coals and were not harm'd by it (*f*). There was every year a Solemn Assembly in that Place, wherein People were diverted with that sight. It is not for the Glory of the Antients to see em so little Consistent one with another upon Matters of Fact, that were of publick Cognizance.

(*c*) Sed ut est Solinus: verba tantummodo curat rerum fecurus quas digerit, miræ ubique ablepsiæ insectandus. Salmas. exercitat. in Plin. p. 80.
(*d*) Silius Italicus lib. 5.
(*e*) Strab. lib. 5. p. 156.
(*f*) He (*Apollo*) [illegible] Ibi est lucus Feroniæ, in quo sacrificium perpetratur mirabile: correpti enim ejus numinis afflatu homines nudis pedibus prunarum ardentium fluem illæsi perambulant. Strabo ib.

(*C*) *Wherein the same Spectacle was seen.*] There was at *Castabala* in *Cappadocia* a Temple of *Diana* called *Perasia*. The Priestesses of it walk'd Bare-Foot upon burning Coals without being hurt. *Strabo* speaks of it but by hear-say. [illegible] *Ubi aiunt sacrificas mulieres illæsis pedibus per prunas ambulare* (*g*). There have been Quacks in these latter Ages, who (*b*) have done things much more surprising, than what is told of the *Hirpi* and these Priestesses. But to put in a greater Conformity the Antient and new abuses of Religion, I will here set down what I have heard related by the late Mr. *Fremont d' Ablancourt*, who as a Zealous Huguenot, during his stay at *Lisbon*, was a most exact Observer of the Tricks of the Monks. He told me that there is (*i*) a certain Convent in *Spain* that every year furnishes a Monk, who shuts himself up in a hot Oven, and keeps there some Hours, being only Cloathed with Linnen. He comes out in the sight of a Multitude of People who look upon it as a great Miracle. This business brings in a good Income to the Convent, and is worth while to harden a Monk by degrees to bear the Heat. I do not reckon all the Artifices that may be used in it.

(*g*) Strabo lib. 12. p. 370.
(*b*) See the Journal des Savans 1677. p. 54. & 222. Dutch Edition.
(*i*) *He Named that place; but I have forgot it.*

(*A*) *Was Born at* Malmesbury ——— *the* 5th *of* April 1588.] His Mother frighted with the Reports that were Current of the Approach of the Naval Force of the *Spaniards*, Lay-in with him before her time; therefore 'tis a wonder that he Lived so long. *Hobbes's* Father was a Minister (*k*).

(*k*) Vita Hobbesii pag. 32.

(*B*) *Made great Progress in Languages.*] Before he went from *Malmesbury* School to *Oxford*, he Translated *Euripides's Medea* into Latin Verse. (*l*) *Tantos autem jam adhuc in ludo literario degens in literatura tam Latina quàm Græca progressus fecit, ut* Euripidis Medeam *simili metro Latinis versibus eleganter expresserit.*

(*l*) Ibid. pag. 33.

(*BΔ*) *The Disorders and Confusions of a Democratical Government.*] I have known Men of Sence wonder, that in Kingdoms where the Authority of the

year 1629. he undertook to Travel into *France* with a Young *English* Lord *, and applied himself (C) to the Study of the Mathematicks during that Voyage. In the year 1631, he was admitted into the House of the Countess of *Devonshire* † as a Tutor to her Son, who was thirteen years of Age, and he was his Governour three years after in his Travels into *France* and *Italy*. During his stay at *Paris* he apply'd himself to the Study of Natural Philosophy, and especially to the inquiring into the Causes of the sensitive Operations of Animals. He daily Discoursed with Father *Mersenne*, upon that Subject. He was recall'd into *England* in the year 1637; but having foreseen the Civil War from the time that he had Reflected on what happen'd in the first Session of the Parliament in the year 1640, he sought out an agreeable Retreat at *Paris*, where he might quietly Philosophize with Father *Mersenne*, *Gassendus*, and some other great Men. There he Compos'd (D) his Treatise *de Cive*, of which he Published but a few Copies in the year 1642. He taught the Prince of *Wales* Ma-

* *His Name was* Gervasius Clifton.

† *Widow of the Earl of* Devonshire, *the Father of his first Pupil.*

The Death of his first Pupil died in 1626. *and his Pupil in* 1628.

the Prince is almost Boundless, the Instructors of Youth are suffered to Read the Antient Greek and Latin Authors, wherein are found so many Examples of the love of Liberty and so many Antimonarchical Maxims. But this is no more surprizing than to see Republican States suffer the Civilians to explain the *Code* and the *Digests*, where there are so many Principles which suppose the Supreme and Inviolable Authority of the Emperor. Here are two things that seem equally surprising, and which at the bottom ought to be no matter of surprize; for setting aside many Reasons that might be offered, may we not say that the same Works which contain the Poyson, either with respect to Monarchies or Republicks, contain also the Antidote? If you see on one Hand the great Maxims of Liberty, and the noble Examples of Courage, with which it has been maintained or recover'd; you see on the other, Factions, Seditions, and the Tumultuous Freaks that have troubled and at last ruined innumerable little States, which were so averse to Tyranny in Antient *Greece*. Do's it not seem that this Picture is a Lesson very capable of undeceiving those, who are so scar'd with the bare Idea of Monarchy? *Hobbes* believ'd it (m), since he Published with that view the Translation of the *Athenian* Historian. Turn the Tables, and you'll find that this Picture will give a very different instruction from this, and fortify the Aversion to Monarchy: For it will be asked, whence comes it that the *Greeks* and *Romans* chose rather to be expos'd to these Confusions than to Live under a Monarch? Was it not from the servile Condition these Tyrants had reduc'd them to? And must it not be a very severe, intolerable and deplorable Evil, which they would deliver themselves from at so high a Price? 'Tis certain that the Description that History gives us of the Conduct of many Monarchs, Frights us and makes our Hair stand on end. Object not to me that generally speaking, more Confusion has been occasion'd by the Conspiracies which have put an end to Tyranny, than there would have been by patiently enduring 'em. Don't urge what I have said above in the Article of *Hiero II.* The *Syracusans*, who had enjoy'd a wonderful Happiness under the long Reign of that Prince, quickly lost Patience under his Successor, who Governed Tyrannically. They kill'd him at the beginning of the second year of his Reign; and a little after they put to Death the two Daughters of *Hiero* and his three Grand-Daughters. Of these five Ladies, there were three, whom they had no sort of Complaint against, and who took Sanctuary, as we may say, at the Foot of the Altars. Was not this taking away one Tyranny (o) to Establish a greater? *Livy* has justly observ'd upon this Subject, that the Populace is unable to keep within Bounds; being humble even to Baseness, when they obey, and insolent to the highest Degree when they Command. The Massacre of these five Ladies was not the Rash Action of some private Men; it was commanded by the Senate and the People of *Syracusa*, even whilst the Memory of *Hiero* was still fresh in their Minds: a Prince whom they had so tenderly and so justly Loved. The Iniquity of their Barbarous Decree was so visible, that they quickly Revok'd it, but that was to no purpose; it being already Executed. (a) *Tandem vulneribus confossa, cum omnia repleffent sanguine, exanimes corruerunt, eademque per se miserabilem, miserabiliorem casus fecit; quod paulo post nuntius venit, mutatis repente ad misericordiam animis, ne interficerentur. Ira deinde ex misericordia orta, quod adeo festinatum ad supplicium, neque locus pœnitendi aut regressus ab ira relictus esset. Itaque fremere multitudo.* The Factions were not ended by the intire Extirpation of the Royal Family, they increased every Day, and in a little time subverted the Liberty and Sovereignty of the Country. They unseasonably expos'd *Syracusa* to the Enmity of the *Romans*, who Besieged and Subdu'd it. *Silius Italicus* very well describes the Confusion that City fell into after the Destruction of the Tyrant *Hieronymus*, and his Relations. 'Twas such a Chaos as the *Romans* knew how to Build a famous Conquest on. The discord of the City encouraged them to Besiege it.

Sævos (b) namque patri fastus, juvenemque cruento
Flagrantem luxu, & miscentem turpia duris.
Haud ultra faciles, quas ira metusque cometæ
Jurati obtruncant, nec jam modus ensibus, additis
Fœmineam cædem, atque insontum rapta sororum
Corpora prosternunt ferro, novus sævit in armis
Libertas, jactatque jugum: pars Punica castra,
Pars Itali & nota volunt: nec turba furentum
Desit, quæ neutro sociari fœdere malit.

(b) Sil. Italicus lib. 14. p. m. 580.

Represent all this never so earnestly, you will never convince those, that are Prejudic'd against Monarchy: They will Answer you that since its Disorders are not to be Remedied but by so horrible Miseries, you ought to conclude that it is a great Evil.

(C) *He took to the Study of the Mathematicks.*] 'Tis a Misfortune that he staid so long (c) before he apply'd himself to 'em; he was above 40 years Old when he began that Study, which is the Reason that he could not perfect himself in it so much as was necessary, not to give a handle to his Criticks. *His Face* resembled *Scaliger's*. He well knew the Reason why one ought to Study Mathematicks; which was not to know the Properties of Angles, Numbers, Lines, or Superficies; but to accustom ones Mind to a solid Method of Reasoning and Concluding. (d) *Euclidi operam dare cœpit, non tam demonstrationum materiâ allectus, quam perspicuitate, certitudine & indivisa rationum serie delectatus. Non enim Mathematicas artes admiratus est vir perspicacissimus, ob laterum & angulorum affectiones, aut numerorum, linearum, superficierum, corporumve mutuas inter se proportiones (de homogeneis intelligo quantitatibus) subtiliter indicatas; quippe istiusmodi omnia à communi vita remotiora facilè animadvertit; licet ad praxin relata usus non adeo contemnendi; sed quòd methodo ipsis propriâ intellectus ad rerum cognitionem optimè duceretur, atque difficilia inveniendi, vera asserendi, falsa retorquendi certissimâ ratione imbueretur.*

(c) Dolendum nobile hoc ingenium eodemque & magnum Scaligerum infortunio laborasse, quod Mathematicis studiis . . . serius prudo animum adjecit. Vita Hobbes. p. 29.

(d) Ibid. p. 39.

(e) At Amsterdam 1668.

(D) *He there Composed his Treatise* de cive.] He Printed but a few Copies of it in the *Paris* Edition 1642. He reviled it a little after, and inlarg'd it, as it came out in the *Amsterdam* Edition in 1647. It was *Sorbiere* who procur'd that second Edition. He did more, for he Translated this Book into *French*, and Published it in that Language (e). *Hobbes* got many Enemies by that Work; but he made understanding Men confess, that the Foundations of Politicks had never been so well div'd into. I doubt not but he carried many things too far, which is usual with those who write in opposition to a Party, against whom they have taken up a great Aversion. *Hobbes* was Enrag'd against the Principles of the Parliamentarians (f); whose Conduct caused him to Live out of his Country, and he Learn'd every Day in his Exile, that their Rebellion Tri-

(f) Tum profitus in Regem officio eoque obsequio, tum pro dominio quo semper in Democraticos odio laboravit, libellum scripsit juris regii asserendi gratia, qui postea in librum de cive, & tandem in Leviathan excrevit. Vita Hobbesii pag. 45.

(m) *See* Pericles *Remark O.*

(o) Ne tyrannus ulciscendo, quæ odissent scelera ipse imitaretur. T. Livius l. 24. pag. 393. *This is what* Heraclea, Hiero's *Daughter, represented to those who murthered her.*

(a) Titus Livius ubi supra.

Mathematicks, who was forced to retire into *France*; and he bestow'd all the rest of his time in Composing his (E) *Leviathan*, which he caused to be Printed in *England* in 1651, being still at *Paris*. Tho' he had given Proofs (F) of his Faith according to the Rites of the Church of *England*, yet he was made odious to the Episcopal Party, and with such success as to be order'd to appear no more about the King *. This occasion'd his return into *England*, where considering his great Merit, he liv'd (G) but

* See the Remarks

Triumphed over the Royal Authority. He went into the other Extreme, and Taught that the Authority of Kings ought to have no Limitation, and that in particular the Externals of Religion, as being the most fruitful Cause of Civil Wars, ought to depend upon their Will. There are those who think that, respecting only the Theory, his System is well jointed, and very suitable to the Ideas that may be formed of a State well secured against Commotions. But because the most reasonable Notions are Subject to a thousand Inconveniencies, when they come to be reduc'd into Practice, that is, when they are set in opposition to a horrible multitude of Passions, which prevail amongst Mankind, it was no difficult thing to find many Faults in the Political System of this Author. He might have Answered, that the opposite System, even in the Theory, includes a necessary Principle of Confusion and Rebellion. However it be, 'tis said that the Love of his Country inspired him with the design of that Work, and that he intended to undeceive his Countrymen of the false Principles, which begot an horrible Contempt of the Royal Authority. *Grassante interim per Angliam civili bello*, Hobbius *pro summo in patriam amore, quod bonum & fidelem subditum maximè decuit; populares suos sanioribus quam quæ hactenus obtinuerant principiis imbuere, exacerbatos hominum animos ad pacis & concordiæ rationes revocare, & in summæ potestatis obsequium addictiores præstare annisus est. Quare reliquis posthabitis studiis, quantum ipsi suppetiit temporis Politicæ scientiæ impendens, Librum* de Cive (*cujus pauca duntaxat Exemplaria Parisiis* 1642. *evulgaverat*) *revisit, & notis utilibus adduxit, in quo subditorum contra summum imperatorem conjurationes rebelliones que, & immanes illæ de principe regnis vitaque exuendo opiniones penitus damnavit; potestati Civili Jura ab* Ecclesiasticis *caliginosorum temporum beneficio præcepta restituit, & diram sectatiorum hydram, effrænem nempe conscientiæ libertatem, heroico ausu perdomuit* (g). I am perswaded none will be displeas'd to see here the Judgment of M. *Descartes* upon this Work of *Hobbes*. 'I believe, *says he* (*h*), that the Author of the Book 'de Cive, is the same (*i*) who made the third Objections against my Meditations. I find him much 'better skill'd in Morality, than in Metaphysicks 'and Physicks: Tho' I can by no means approve his 'Maxims, and Principles, which are extreamly 'Naught, and Dangerous, in as much as he supposes all Men Wicked, or gives them occasion to 'be so. His whole Design is to exporte the Caste 'of Monarchy: Which might be done to much 'better Advantage, by going upon more Virtuous 'and more solid Maxims. He writes also very 'much to the Prejudice of the Church and the Roman Religion; so that if he is not particularly 'supported by a potent Interest, I don't see how his 'Book can escape being Censur'd. Mr. *Descartes* had Reason for his disapproving *Hobbes*'s Supposition that *all Men are Wicked*: Which puts me in Mind that *Montagne*, who so well understood the Imperfections of Humane Nature, did not approve of *Guicciardin* (*k*) attributing to ill Motives, all the Actions he relates in his History. 'Tis certain that there are some Men who Govern themselves by the Ideas of Honesty, and the desire of a Noble Glory, and that the generality of Men are but Moderately Wicked. This I confess, is sufficient to fill the Train of Humane Actions with Inquiries, and to give them a general Impress of Moral Corruption; but it would be much worse (*l*) if the greatest part of Men were not capable of giving a check to their evil Inclinations, on many occasions, through the fear of Disgrace, or the hopes of Commendation. Now this is a sign that Depravation is not arriv'd to the highest Point: I don't consider here the good Influences of Religion; I consider only Man in General.

As to the Inconveniencies that might arise from the Practice of *Hobbes*'s Suppositions, I say once more, that it is not the part he ought to be attack'd in; for has not the opposite System many great Inconveniencies in the Practice? Let a Man do the best he can, let him build better Systems than *Plato*'s Republick, *Moor*'s Utopia or *Campanella*'s Common-wealth of the Sun, *&c.* All these fine Idea's will be found short and deficient when they come to be reduc'd to Practice. The Passions of Men, that arise from one another in a prodigious variety, would presently ruin the hopes these fine Systems might give us. See how it is when Mathematicians attempt to apply their Speculations, about Lines and Points, to Matter: They do what they please with their Lines and Superficies, which are only meer Idea's of our Mind; they suffer us to divest them of their Dimensions, whereby we Demonstrate the finest things imaginable concerning the nature of the Circle, and the infinite Divisibility of Matter. But all this is found defective when apply'd to that Matter which exists out of our Minds, that is a hard and impenetrable Body. This may serve for an Image of Humane Passions, compar'd with the Speculations of a Man, that forms a Notion of a perfect Government. You'll find solid Animadversions upon *Hobbes*'s Politick Scheme in the Author that I cite (*a*).

(E) *In Composing his* Leviathan.] By that great Beast he means the Body Politick. The Divines of the Church of *England*, that were in *France* with *Charles II.* made great Outcries against this Work, saying it was full of Impieties, and that the Author was not of the Royal Party (*b*). Their Complaints were heard; *Hobbes* was order'd to come no more to Court; and as he had extreamly provok'd the Papists, he thought it was not good for him to be in *France*, when the Protection of the King of *England* fail'd him, (*c*) *Hoc tanto præsidio orbatus* Hobbius, *Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Spiritualis Monarchiæ satellitum metu correptus est, quorum odium implacabile sese merito incurrisse senserat, ob detectas in* Leviathane *Ecclesiasticorum technas, regni tenebrarum dolos,* Pontificis Romani *potestatem malis artibus occupatam, quâ in civiles Potestatis jura involando, qui simplici ac imperitæ plebeculæ sanctis præstigiis illudendo; quare* Parisius *se minus tutum judicans, media Hyemis tempestate aufugiens, in patriam se contulit.* He Translated his *Leviathan* into Latin, and Printed it (*d*) with an Appendix in the year 1668. Ten years after it was Printed in *Dutch*. The Summary of this Work is this, that without Peace there can be no Security in a State; and that Peace cannot subsist without Command, nor Command without Arms; and that Arms are worth nothing, unless in the Hand of a single Person; and that the fear of Arms cannot induce them to Peace who are carried to War by an Evil more terrible than Death, that is, by Dissentions about things necessary to Salvation. (e) *Ejus autem summa hæc fuit, hinc Pace impossibilem esse inculumitatem, sine Imperii Vi, sine Armis Imperium, sine opibus in unum summum collatis nihil valere arma, neque metu damnorum quicquam ad pacem posse in illis, quæ ad pugnandum concitat malum morte majus formidatum; nempe dum consensum non sit de rebus, quæ ad salutem æternam necessaria credunto, pacem inter cives non posse esse diuturnam.* The *Leviathan* has been much written against, especially in *England* (*f*).

(F) *Proof of his Faith.*] Being very Sick near *Paris*, he was visited by Father *Mersenne*, who had been advis'd not to let him Die out of the Pale of the Church. The honest Father sitting near the Sick Man, after the common Preambles of Consolation, fell to Discoursing about the Power of the Roman Church to pardon Sins; *Father*, reply'd *Hobbes*, *I have long since examined all these things, and I should be sorry to Dispute about them at present; you can entertain me in a more agreeable manner. When did you see Mr.* Gassendus? The good Monk easily understood what he meant by it, and trembl'd his

(g) Ibid.
(h) Tome 3. *of his Letters* pag. 168. apud Baillet vie de Descartes Tom. 2. p. 174.
(i) *He was not mistaken.*
(k) *See* Guicciardin *Remark* E.
(l) *The Reason why Innocence is not oppress on many occasions, is the Mediocrity I speak of here.*

(a) Gasleortus Galeatius Karlsbergius apud Deckherrum de scriptis adespotis p. 328.
(b) Hobbium tanquam partibus regiis minus addictum, tum ut novarum impiarumque in religione opinionum authorem criminabantur. Vita Hobb. p. 61.
(c) Ibid. p. 62.
(d) *At* Amsterdam *for* John Blaew *with his other Philosophical Works in* 2. *Vol.* in 4. *He could not get leave to have his Books Printed in England.* Ib. p. 72.
(e) Ibid. p. 45.
(f) *The Catalogue of the Books Printed against the* Leviathan, *and the other Works of* Hobbes, *are to be found at the end of his Life.*

(G) but in an obſcure manner with the Earl of *Devonſhire*. He drew this Advantage from his obſcure Condition, that he had more leiſure to Compoſe his Book (H) *de Corpore*, and ſome others. He receiv'd great Marks of Eſteem (I) from *Charles II.* at the Reſtoration in 1660. From that time to his Death, he applied himſelf to his Studies, and to defend himſelf againſt his Adverſaries, who were numerous. He preſerv'd the uſe of his Underſtanding till (K) his laſt Sickneſs, tho' he had lived 91 years. His long Life was conſtantly that of a perfect honeſt Man; he lov'd his Country, was faithful to his Prince, a good Friend, Charitable, Officious: And yet for all this he has paſſed for an Atheiſt; but thoſe who have written his Life, maintain (L) that he had very Orthodox Opinions about the Nature of God. It has been ſaid

Diſcourſe to another Subject (g). Dr. *Coſins* (b) a few Days after offered to pray for *Hobbes*, which he agreed to, provided he made uſe of the Prayers of the Church of *England* (i). After Prayers he receiv'd the Sacrament. (k) *Cum non amplius cuiquam felicius eſt fuerum fariendi locus, eo momento ſe Religioni patriis legibus ſtabilitæ addictiſſimum oſtendit, & precibus juxta Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ritus præmiſſis ſupremum Viaticum recepit.* Returning into *England* in the year 1651, he found the Churches in the Poſſeſſion of the Rebels, as he ſaid, who had no Liturgy, and he was three Months without knowing where to Communicate. (l) *Concionantes quidem invenit in Eccleſiis, ſed ſolitiſſos; etiam preces extemporarias, & illas audaces, & nonnunquam blaſphemas, Symbolum autem fidei nullum, Decalogum nullum; adeo ut per tres primos menſes non invenerit quibuſcum in ſacris communicare potuerit.* But at three Months end he was carried to a Congregation, where the Lord's Supper was Celebrated according to the Church of *England*, and he Communicated there. The Author of his Life makes this a Characteriſtick of his Adherence to the Epiſcopal Party, and of the ſincerity of his Chriſtianity, ſince no Man was then obliged to joyn with any particular Communion. (m) *Alterum hoc ſignum erat non modo hominis partium Epiſcopalium, ſed etiam Chriſtiani ſinceri; nam illo tempore ad Eccleſiam quancumque legibus aut metu cogebatur nemo.*

(G) *In an obſcure manner.*] Not but that he had potent Friends; but as he had great Enemies, all that could be done for him was to hinder his being ruin'd. So his Condition was the effect of an *æquilibrium* (n) betwixt his Friends and Enemies. He lived the reſt of his Days with the Earl of *Devonſhire*.

(H) *His Book* de Corpore *and ſome others.*] This Book came out at *London* in 1655. Intituled *Elementorum Philoſophiæ ſectio prima de corpore.* The year following *Hobbes* Publiſhed *Prælectiones ſex ad Profeſſores Saxlianos.* His Book *de Homine, ſive elementorum Philoſophiæ ſectio ſecunda*, was Printed at *London* in the year 1658, and his Queſtions *de libertate, neceſſitate & caſu contra Doctorem Bramhallum Epiſcopum Derenſem*, in 1656. He had a Diſpute upon the ſame Subject with *Benjamin Laney* Biſhop of *Ely*, which he did not Publiſh till (o) 1676. Dr. *Wallis* Profeſſor of Geometry at *Oxford*, having Publiſhed his *Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ* in the year 1655. raiſed a War which laſted till *Hobbes*'s Death, in which were ſcatter'd abundance of injurious Words. (p) *Diuturni illius belli Mathematici claſſicum cecinit, quod acerrimo Marte, adhibitis quadris & circino, intervolantibus nonnunquam acutiſſimis convitiorum telis, utrinque geſtum, vicennium & amplius perduravit, nec tandem niſi* Hobbiana *morte conquievit.* *Sorbiere* (q) hath mention'd this Diſpute.

(I) *Great Marks of Eſteem from* Charles II.] *Hobbes* (r) left the Country to come to *London* upon the arrival of the King. This Prince paſſing in his Coach by the Houſe where *Hobbes* liv'd, perceiv'd him, and bad him come to him. He gave him his Hand to Kiſs, and inquired about his Condition and Health. Some time after he gave him a particular Audience, aſſur'd him of his Affection, and promiſ'd him an eaſy Acceſs to him. He (ſ) caus'd his Picture to be drawn by an excellent Painter, and plac'd it in his Cloſet, and which was a more ſubſtantial Mark of his Affection, he gave him an Annual Penſion of (t) a hundred Jacobus's (v).

(K) *The uſe of his Underſtanding till his laſt Sickneſs.*] He was not only capable of Studying Mathematicks, when above 86 years old, but alſo of writing very long Poems. (a) *Quod autem inter rara felicitatis exempla numerandum eſt, ſummo ingenii vigore & ſenſibus integris ad obitum uſque in Philoſophia & Matheſi ſe aſſidue exercitavit, & quod magis mirum, Poëſin exercuit, quâ propriis animi conceptibus exprimendis, quâ aliorum tranſferendis.* He Tranſlated into *Engliſh* Verſe, ſome Books of the Odyſſes in the year 1674, and becauſe that Eſſay had the Approbation of the Learned, he Publiſhed a like Verſion of the Iliads, and the whole Odyſſes a little after, with a Diſſertation upon the Excellencies of an Heroick Poem (b).

(L) *Maintain that he had very Orthodox Opinions about the Nature of God.*] Of all the Moral Virtues there was hardly any but Religion, that could be a Matter of Diſpute in the Perſon of *Hobbes*. He was Frank (c), Civil, and Communicative of what he knew (d), a good Friend, a good Relation, Charitable to the Poor (e), a great Obſerver of Equity (f), and had no deſire of gathering Wealth (g). This laſt Quality is a favourable Prejudice for the goodneſs of his Life. For there is not a more Copious ſource of ill Actions than Avarice. So that he that knew *Hobbes*, had no occaſion to ask him whether he eſteemed and loved Virtue; but one might have been tempted to put this queſtion to him:

Heus age, reſponde, minimum eſt quod ſcire laboro,
De Jove quid ſentis (h)?

The Anſwer he could have ſincerely made, if we believe thoſe who wrote his Life, had been this; that there is a God (i) the Origin of all things, but who ought not to be Circumſcrib'd in the Sphere of our narrow Reaſon. He would have added, that he embrac'd Chriſtianity (k) as it was by Law Eſtabliſhed in *England*; but that he had an Averſion for Theological Diſputes; that he chiefly eſteem'd what tends to the practice of Piety and good Manners, and that he was uſed to blame the Prieſts, who Corrupted the ſimplicity of Religion, by the mixture of a ſuperſtitious Worſhip, or of many Vain and Profane Speculations. (l) *Quicquid, autem ad pietatis exercitia, aut bonos mores conferret, plurimi fecit.* Sanctius *illi, & reverentius viſum*, de Deo credere quam ſcire. *Sacerdotes interim inculpare ſolitus eſt, qui Chriſtianam Religionem abſolutam ac ſimpliciem, vel ſuperſtitione maculârent, vel inanibus interdum profanis ſpeculationibus implicarent.* They conclude, that thoſe who accuſe him of Atheiſm, are horrible Slanderers, who could Alledge no other pretence than this, which was, that he had rejected many Scholaſtick Doctrines, by which they had aſcribed to God certain Attributes upon the Model of our little Genius. (m) *Quare fortiter calumniati ſunt, qui ipſum Atheiſmi reum detulerunt; quod inde fortaſſe factum quia Scholaſticorum aliorumque illo de grege morem rejecerat, qui otioſi in Muſæis ſuis ſedentes, juxta imbecillem ingenioli ſui captum, Naturæ Divinæ incomperta affingunt attributa.* 'Tis certain there is no Acculation, that is fallen into greater abuſe than that of Atheiſm. A Lundance of narrow Souls, or ill-natur'd People fix it upon all thoſe, who affirm only the great and ſublime Truths of ſolid Metaphyſicks, and the general Doctrines of Scripture. They would fain oblige 'em moreover to adopt all the particular Articles which they are uſed to recommend over and over to the People. All that dare deviate from that Road, are Infidels and Libertines, if you'll believe ſome Doctors. Thus it was that *Monconys* incurred this evil Imputation. He Diſputed ſometimes very freely againſt thoſe who abuſed the Greatneſs of God by the Conduct which they aſcrib'd to him, and by the weak Reaſons they Al-

(g) Ibid. p. 20.
(h) *He has been Biſhop of* Durham.
(i) Obtulit ſe illi comprecatorem ad Deum. Cui ille cum gratias reddidiſſet, ita (inquit) ſi precibus præiveris juxta ritum Eccleſiæ noſtræ. Ibid.
(k) Ibid. p. 59.
(l) Ibid. p. 21.
(m) Ibid.
(n) Stantem inter amicos & inimicos quaſi in æquilibrio, fecerunt illi ne ob doctrinam opprimeretur, hi ne augeretur. Ib. p. 22.
(o) Ibid. p. 99.
(p) Ibid. p. 64. 65.
(q) Sorbiere relation d'Angleterre. p. 78. Dutch *Edit.*
(r) Vita Hobbeſii p. 60.
(ſ) Ibid. pag. 28. & 103. See Sorbiere, relation d'Angleterre p. 79.
(t) Vita Hobb. p. 53.
(v) Sorbiere Ibid.
(a) Vita Hobb. p. 98. 99.
(b) Ibid. p. 99.
(c) Ibid. pag. 30. & 111.
(d) Ibid. p. 111.
(e) Ibid. p. 108.
(f) Juſtitiæ erat cum ſcientiſſimus tum tenaciſſimus. Ib. p. 30.
(g) Cum eſſet, ſecundum ne ingeniſſimus. Ib.
(h) Perſius Sat. 2. v. 17.
(i) Deum agnovit eumque rerum omnium originem, intra anguſtos tamen humanæ rationis cancellos nullatenus circumſcribendum. Vita Hobb. p. 105.
(k) Religionem Chriſtianam quatenus in Eccleſia Anglicana, ſeclusis ſuperſtitionis inepriis, regni legibus ſtabilitur, exanimo amplexus eſt. Ibid. p. 106.
(l) Ibid. p. 107.
(m) Ibid.

said also, that he was afraid of Apparitions (*M*) and Spirits; but they maintain that it is a Fable. They honestly confess, that in his Youth he lov'd a little Wine and Women †; but that nevertheless, he liv'd a Batchellor, that he might not be disturb'd in his Study of Philosophy. He had meditated much more (*N*) than he had read; and he never endeavoured at a great Library. He died the fourth of *December*, 1679, at the Earl of *Devonshire*'s, after a Sickness of Six Weeks *.

† Ætate adhuc intra juventutis terminos constante (liceat verum fateri) nec abstinimus fuit, nec [illegible] Vita Hob. pag. 104.

HOCHSTRATUS (*James*) took his Name from the Village where he was born. He studied Philosophy at *Louvain*, and took his Master of Arts Degree there in 1485. He became a *Dominican* Friar, and was made Prior of the Monastery of *Cologne*, Doctor and Professor of Divinity, and Inquisitor in the Three Ecclesiastical Electorates *. Never was a Man more fit for this last Employment, for he was amply provided with all the ill Qualities that are necessary to Inquisitors and Informers. He was violent: he accus'd under the least Pretences; he would be both Judge (*A*) and Party; he produced very false Abstracts ‡, and would never own himself a Slanderer; he

‡ *Taken from his Life, printed in* 1682.

* Hoghstraten *in Brabant, between* Antwerp *and* Bergen-op-zoom. * Valer. Andreas Biblioth. Belg. pag. 412.

alledg'd; and he was unjustly call'd a *Libertine*, tho' he had the sublimest Idea of God that can be imagin'd. Read what follows (*n*): 'That agreeable way which he took sometimes to contradict those narrow Minds, which by their Arguments weaken the Truths they would confirm, occasioned these prejudiced Persons to take this effect of his Openness and Candour for an ill Liberty. But his solid Vertue, and sincere Piety, were every where conspicuous, and he gave some Testimonies of it, which you may see in these Travels. In his last Sickness he confess'd to one of his Friends, that he had always preserved in his Heart a profound Submission, and an infinite Reverence for the Deity, of whom he had a more exalted Idea, than all that Men have conceived of him. When he was at *Alexandria*, at a time when he seem'd to deny nothing to his Curiosity, being alone one Night, upon one of the Terrasses, which serve as a Covert to the Buildings of the *Levant*, he found himself immediately so possest with a sensible Knowledge of the Deity, that he spent part of that Night with unspeakable Consolation, in a continual Adoration of the Principle of all Beings.

(*n*) *Preface to the Voyages of* Monconys, *pag.* 7.

(*M*) *Of Apparitions and Spirits.*] His Friends call this a Fable. (*o*) *Nec minus falso à nonnullis insimulatus est, tanquam solitudinem fugeret, spectra metuens & phantasmata, vana stultorum terriculamenta, quæ Philosophiæ suæ lumine dissipaverat.* But it seems they do not deny, that he durst not be alone, they only insinuate, that the Reason of it was his fear of being assassinated. If his Philosophy exempted him from the other Fear, and not from this, it did not hinder him from being miserable, and *Horace*'s Thought might be applied to him (*p*). To say this by the by, his Principles of Philosophy were not proper to rid him from the fear of the Apparitions of Spirits; for to reason consequently, there are no Philosophers who have less right to reject Magick, and Devil's-Craft, than those who deny the Existence of a God. But you will say *Hobbes* denied the Existence of Spirits; say rather, that he believed there are no Substances distinct from Matter. Now, as that did not hinder him from believing, that there are many Substances, which design, and do good or ill to others, he might and ought to believe, that there are Beings in the Air, or elsewhere, as capable of Mischief as the Corpuscles which form, said he, all our Thoughts in our Brain. How come these Corpuscles to be better acquainted with the Means of doing Mischief than those other Beings? And what Reason is there to prove, that these other Beings are ignorant of the manner of acting upon our Brain to give us the Sight of an Apparition?

(*o*) Vita Hobb. pag. 106.

(*p*) Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas, Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Thessala rides? . . . . Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una. Horat. Epist. 2. lib. 2. sub fin.

Let us consider the matter another way. One should not only be very rash, but also very extravagant, to go about maintaining there never was a Man, that imagin'd he saw a Spectre; and I do not think that the most opinionated and excessive Unbelievers have maintain'd this. All that they say comes to this, that the Persons who have thought themselves witnesses of the Apparition of Spirits, had a disturb'd Imagination. They confess then, that there are certain Places in our Brain, that being affected in such or such a manner, excite the Image of an Object which has no real Existence out of our selves, and make the Man, whose Brain is thus modify'd, believe he sees at two Paces distance, a frightful Spectre and Hobgobling, a meanacing Phantome. The like things happen in the Head of the most incredulous, either in their Sleep, or in the Paroxisms of a violent Fever. Will they maintain after this, that 'tis impossible for a Man awake, and not in a *Delirium*, to receive in certain Places of his Brain, an Impression almost like that, which by the Laws of Nature is connected with the Appearance of an Apparition? If they are forced to acknowledge this possibility, they cannot be able to promise, that a Spectre will never appear before 'em, that is, that they shall never, when awake, believe they see either a Man, or a Beast, when they are alone in a Chamber. *Hobbes* then might believe, that a certain Combination of Atoms, agitated in his Brain, might expose him to such a Vision, tho' he was persuaded, that neither an Angel, nor the Soul of a dead Man would have a Hand in't. He was timorous to the last degree, and consequently he had reason to mistrust his Imagination, when he was alone in his Chamber in the Night; for in spite of him, the Memory of what he had read, and heard concerning Apparitions would revive, tho' he was not persuaded of the Reality of these Things. These Images join'd with the timorousness of his Temper, might play him an unlucky Trick. And 'tis certain, that a Man as incredulous as he was, but of greater Courage, would be astonished to think he saw one whom he knew to be dead, enter into his Chamber. These Apparitions in Dreams are very frequent, whether a Man believes the Immortality of the Soul or not. Supposing they should once happen to an incredulous Man awake, as they do in his Sleep, we should find him afraid, tho' he had never so much Courage. And therefore we ought the more to believe, that *Hobbes* would have been terribly affrighted.

(*N*) *He had meditated much more than he had read.*] 'Tis ingenuously confess'd in his Life, that for a Man who liv'd so long, his reading was inconsiderable. He said (*a*) himself, that if he had bestowed as much time on reading, as other Men of Letters, he should have been as ignorant as they. He considered another thing, which induced him to make no great Account of vast Libraries; which is, that most Books are Abridgments, and Copies of others. (*b*) *Lectio ejus pro tanto ætatis decursu non magna; Authores versabat paucos, sed tamen optimos.* Homerus, Virgilius, Thucydides, Euclides, *ubi in deliciis erant. Ingentem Librorum suppellectilem, quâ superbiunt Bibliothecæ, non magnifecit, cum Mortales plerumque pecorum ritu antecedentium insistentes vestigiis, vix extrà tritas calles, & semitas ab ipsis quorum Tutelæ & Regimini subsunt, præscriptas, evagari audeant.*

(*a*) Quin & illud sæpe dicere solitus est, quod si tantum libris incubuisset, quantum alii è Literatis vulgo faciunt, eâdem cum illis ignorantiâ laborasset. Vit. Hobb. pag. 112.

(*b*) Vita Hobb. ib.

(*A*) *He would be both Judge and Party.*] This manifestly appeared in the Business of *Reuchlin*. A *Jew* (*c*) converted to the *Christian* Religion, had defam'd him in a Book, intituled *Manuale Speculum. Reuchlin* justified himself by a Book, intituled, *Speculum Oculare*, in which he shewed, that his Enemies had vented against him above Thirty four Slanders (*d*). *Hochstratus*, the principal Supporter of the Converted *Jew*, interested the Divines of *Cologne* in that Affair, and made them draw some Extracts of the *Speculum Oculare*, which were published with Artificial Notes, to cry down *Reuchlin*, as a favourer of *Judaism*. There was nothing more unfaithful than these Extracts. *Has propositiones—— ubi vidit Reuchlinus pessimè ac non sine crimine falsi ex Oculari speculo excerptas——rogat theologos illos &c.—— Erupit totâ Theologorum concio suppetias Christi sacris recens initiato Judæo latura dicæ Evangelio, qui articulos seu propositiones de Judaico favore minus suspectas ex Speculo Oculari exemuit, adjectis annotationibus & animadversionibus? atque hoc*

(*c*) Call'd Johannes Pfefferkornius.

(*d*) Dilucide & quod dicimus ad oculum ubi ostendit, adversarios pluribus quam triginta quatuor mendaciis ad sui contumeliam usos esse. Jo. Henricus Majus, in Oratione de vita Reuchlini, fol. D 3. verso.

he advanced Heresies (B) with Impunity in the Writings, where he pretended to confute Hereticks. He once was obliged to make Satisfaction to a worthy Man that he had abus'd; but to bring him to't, they were forced to make use of a remarkable Expedient, which was to take from his Convent (C) the Benefit of Begging. He had not all the Advantage he promised himself in the trouble he gave *Reuchlin*; He

hoc omne non vernacula lingua, qua utrinque hactenus certatum fuit, adornat, sed Latina; eo haud dubiè consilio, ut apud exteras gentes nationesque nomen Capnionis invisum redderet, & cum perversa interpretatione, cum mutila dictorum citatione securius falleret (e). *Reuchlin* answered this Work by a *Latin* Apology addressed to the Emperor. Hereupon a Process was entred against him before the Elector of *Mentz*. His Age not permitting him to appear in Person, he sent thither a Proxy, who offered very just Causes of Exception against our *James Hochstratus*; but they were not heard. (f) *Cum propter senium & imbecillitatem corporis tantum iter tam brevi temporis spacio confiecre non posset, mittebat in curatorem Petrum Staffelium Nurtingensem, qui adversum Hochstratum tanquam inimicum sibi infensissimum & merito suspectum recusabat, ob eas causas, quas publice allegabat——Tametsi vero nil obtineret Reuchlinus.* *Hochstratus* would not be accused (g). Hereupon *Reuchlin*'s Proxy sued him by an Appeal to the Court of *Rome*. *Hochstratus* however caus'd the Sentence to be passed; and without waiting till the Fifteen Days, before which it ought not to be promulged, were expired, he ordered all the Curates of *Mentz* to give notice to the People, that all those who had *Reuchlin*'s Book, should bring it immediately to the Commissioners, on pain of Excommunication. (h) *Interea Hochstratus quasi jam acturus triumphum omnibus per Moguntiacum sacerdotibus mandat, ut publicè populum sub proscriptionis pœna monerent, si qui Oculare Speculum haberent, illud quantocyus eam in rem delegatis traderent.* *Reuchlin* appealed to the Pope. *Hochstratus* did the same thing. The Bishop of *Spire* (i) commissioned by the Pope to judge of that Cause, named the Judges, who cited the Parties. *Hochstratus* did not appear, and was sentenc'd for Contumacy to pay all the Charges; he was forbid, under great Penalties, to continue his Proceedings, and the Accusation of the Divines of *Cologne* was declar'd null. (k) *Hochstratus licet more consueto per intervalla citatus, tamen non comparuit. Causa nihilo secius discutitur & secundum Reuchlinum pronunciatur: nullum errorem ab Ecclesia damnatum in libro supius commemorato reperiri, nec plus eum favere Judæis, quam religio & jura sinant, injuste ergo ac præter veritatem eum delatum à Colonienſibus esse. Hochstratus autem contumaciæ criminis reus, &c.* However, the latter burned *John Reuchlin*'s Book. (l) *Hæc dum aguntur Spiræ, Colonienſes nefario ausu librum Reuchlini damnant, citra tamen contumeliam, ut ajebant, & Februario deinde mense anno supra millesimum quingentesimum decimo quarto exurunt, approbantibus factum Lovanienſi, Erphordenſi, Moguntina & Parisiensi Universitatibus.* But I lay this only occasionally; the main thing I am to prove is, that this Monk would be judge and Party. 'Tis this he is accused of more than once in a Poem (m) intitled, *Triumphus Doctoris Reuchlini.*

(b) *Accusat Capnionem & judicat idem*
Acer Hogestratus. . . . .
. . . . . .
Sed (o) *neque perditior neque flagitiosior alter.*
In Capnione fuit, tunc, cum tu perdite judex
Lectus, & absurdis in litibus arbiter esses
Idem accusator. Die quo vesane pudorem
Fert omnem tibi livor edax.

(B) *He advanced* Heresies *with Impunity.*] We might see the Catalogue of them, if we had the Book, with which *Agrippa* (p) threatned the *Jacobins*: For see what he represents to the Magistrates of *Cologne*: (q) *Unum tamen illorum excipio, Jacobum Hostratum, tunc Fradicatorum ordinis hæreticorum Magistrum, vulgo & veraciter dictum, qui taliter scripsit contra Lutheranas hæreses, ut ipse se proderet hæreticorum omnium pestilentissimum. Sed ne quis vestrum, illius olim amicus, aut illius hypocrisi seductus, vel aliter deceptus, me non favore veritatis, sed aut invidiæ, aut alia offensa ista dicere putet rem ipsam digito monstrabo. Nam in libro suo contra Lutheranos, quem Reverendissimo Cardinali ac Illustri Principi & Episcopo Leodiensi dedicavit, in illius lib. 2. disp. 3. paulo ante finem 1. cap. sic ait: Sciunt enim consecrationem super debitam materiam ritè factam, Christum esse in Sacramento, non autem quid sub hac vel illa determinata hostia Christus contineatur. Neque tamen putetis, hunc solum artificium apud illum reperiri hæreticum, sed alii multi: quos cum hic nimis longum, vobisque tadiosum foret referre, enumerabo alibi, in 20 fol. libro, quem de Fratrum Prædicatorum sceleribus.* See the Sequel of these Words in the Remark Q of the Article *Agrippa*.

(C) *To take from his Convent the Benefit of Begging.*] 'Tis in *Erasmus*'s Letters that we read this curious Particular. The Count of *Nevenar*, a Lord of extraordinary Merit, a Learned Man, and Patron of the Learned, was very much touched with the Calumnies which *James Hochstratus* had published against him. He omitted nothing to oblige him to make him Reparation; he made use of the most solid Reasons, he had Recourse to Advice, hard Words and Menaces; all this was to no purpose; but at last he and his Relations forbad all their Servants to give any Eggs or Cheese to the *Jacobins*. These believed they were only vain Threatnings, and continued their Trade of begging in the Territories of these Gentlemen; but they were repulsed in a terrible manner, so that for a Year together they were deprived of the Subsistence they used to have. They then obliged *Hochstratus* to give the Count Satisfaction, by a solemn Recantation, some Copies whereof were dispersed abroad. *Erasmus*, who had one of 'em, found something comical in it; for the Monk declaring in express Words, the Slanders he had made of Count *de Nevenar*, protested at the same time, he had always had a very good Opinion of him. It will be a Pleasure to see this in *Erasmus*'s *Latin*. (a) *Hermannus Comes à* Nova Aquila *indigne tulerat se notatum ab* Jacobo Hochstraro Dominicano. *Is erat* Rabinus, *Prior Monasterii quod* Coloniæ *sanè quàm magnificum est & opulentum. Non potuit hominem compescere, donec illius cognati denunciarint* Dominicanis, *ne posthac colligerent caseos in ulla ditione vel Comitis vel cognatorum illius. Illi rati minas esse inanes, clam tentarunt solito more venire ad ova & caseos. Factus est in illos impetus terribilis. Hoc damno totum annum multati sunt; itaque factum est, ut* Jacobus à *suis coactus pacis leges acceperit. Habeo illius palinodiam, in qua cum recitet verba plena contumeliæ quæ scripserat in Comitem, tamen affirmat ac propemodum dejerat, se semper de Comite* (b) *honoraciare sensisse. Bella palinodia, scurrâ quam Theologo dignior.* He says in another place, that 'tis in vain to dispute against the Persecutors of Learning. He principally meant the Monks and their Favourers; these sort of People, *adds he*, have inexhaustible Subterfuges in their Factions, Outcries, and Tricks: nothing but the Bastinado and Hunger (c) can conquer 'em, and he brings as an Instance, Count *de Nevenar*'s Conduct towards *James Hochstratus*. (d) *Isti numero, phalangibus, syncretismo, improbitate, clamoribus, adde si libet, fucis ac malis artibus, prorsus invicti sunt: Nec alia re quàm fustibus ac fame domari queunt. Sic vir clarissimus* Hermannus *à* Nevaquila *Comes, adegit* Jacobum Hogestratum *ad abjectam & scurrilem palinodiam, cujus exemplar apud me est. Quibus, inquies, præsidiis? Non argumentis, non æquis rationibus, non monitis, non minis, non comitiis; nihil enim horum non frustra tentatum fuit: Sed quibus præsidiis? Caseis & ovis quorum in ditione Comitis colligendorum jus illis ademptum fuerat. Erasmus* has reason to say, that Count *Nevenar* tried what hard Words would do; for what can be more severe than this? (e) *Unica, crede mihi, pestis est in Germania Jacobus Hochstratus, quam si restrinxeris [illegible]. Homo præter ingentem suam audaciam insigniter impudens atque temerarius. Omnes interroga, si libet, per Germaniam doctos viros. Omnes lassi, omnibus æque infestus est.* Thus it is, that the Count *de Nevenar* represents to *Charles* V. in an Oration

(e) Majus ibid. fol. D 4.
(f) Majus ibid. fol. D 4. verso.
(g) Reuchlin. Epist. ad Wimphelingium, apud Majum not. in vitam Reuchlini pag. 391.
(h) Majus in vita Reuchlini, fol. D 5.
(i) Caussa ad Leonem X. devoluta, qui eam Spirensi Episcopo, Georgio Palatino Duci penitus committit. Id. ibi. verso. *In the* Bibliotheque universelle tom. 8. p. 501. *these Words have been understood so, as if they mentioned two Men, the Bishop of* Spire, *and the Elector* Palatine; *but the Bishop only is meant by them.*
(k) Majus ibid.
(l) Majus ibid.
(m) *Mr.* Majus *has inserted it in his Notes upon* Reuchlin's *Life, pag.* 480. & seq. *The Author took the Name of* Eleutherius Byzenus.
(n) Annot. in vitam Reuchlini pag. 485.
(o) Ibid. pag. 493.
(p) *See* Agrippa, *Remark* Q.
(q) Agrippa Epist. 26. l. 7. Op. tom. 2. p. 1037. *that Letter is dated the* 11th. *of* January 1533.

(a) Erasm. Epist. 29. lib. 1. pag. 841.
(b) *This is more expressly described in the* 31st *Letter of the* 22d. *Book pag.* 1196.
(c) *We must not say, that these Devils don't go out, but by Prayer and Fasting: take away Prayer; and Fasting only will do the Business.*
(d) Erasm. Epist. 1. lib. 20. pag. 958.
(e) Hermannus Nuenarius dum ann. 1519. in Comitiis Francofurtensibus Carolo Austriaco electo Romanorum Regi, nomine studiosorum Germaniæ adgratulatur, apud Valer. Andream, Bibl. Belg. pag. 413.

He was obliged to go to *Rome* (D) for that Trial; and notwithstanding the Money wherewith he provided himself, he had much ado to avoid being condemned. Besides, he ran a great danger of (E) his Life in his return; for *Reuchlin*'s Party began already to make use of violent Means. He deserved perhaps that kind of Death, which *Paul Jovius* says, carried him off; but 'tis not true, that he had the Destiny (F) that Historian speaks of. He did not die with Grief to see himself ridicul'd by the Satyrs of his

Oration, wherein he congratulated him in behalf of the Students of *Germany*, for his coming to the Crown of the *Romans*. He had been exhorting him to give Order that the Monks should concern themselves only with the Rules of their Statutes. (f) *Fraterculos quosdam magnis titulis insanientes, jube suorum Cœnobiorum curam gerere, jube domi Fratribus suis regendis operam impendere, sacris faciendis invigilare.*

(D) *To go to* Rome *for that Trial, and notwithstanding the Money.*] I have said above (g) that the Commissioners of the Pope's Subdelegate passed a Sentence very disadvantageous to our *Dominican*. The Commissioners, which the Pope appointed to the Parties in *Rome* itself, where *Hochstratus* was in Person, would not have given a less favourable Sentence for *Reuchlin*, had they had time to pronounce a decisive Decree; but when they were met (h) to put an end to the Affair, they received an Order from the Pope to suspend the Judgment. Each of the Judges gave in Writing their Suffrage; 'tis known, that they gave it to the Disadvantage of the *Dominican*, who to ward off that Scurvy Blow, extorted an Order from the Pope for a Demurrer, and to leave the Suffrages in the Secretary's Hands (i). Which is an Authentick Example of the immense Power of these sort of Men: If they can't gain their Cause, if it is too apparently naught to obtain a favourable Sentence, they have at least Interest enough to avoid Condemnation; they obtain all the necessary Delays, and they make the World believe, that this is an Advantage; for they will never confess, that they have the worst of it. But yet every Body knows, that they are in the wrong. In this Affair *John Reuchlin*'s Friends thought they had triumph'd, and they composed many insulting Poems (k).

Hochstratus made a Journey to *Rome* with a sumptuous Equipage, and provided with large Summs of Money. *Huic igitur edicto morem gerens* Jacobus *Romam contendit, multis magnisque suarum aliarumque Universitatum, Principum item & aliorum summorum virorum commendationibus, pulchro equitatu, &, qui rerum gerendarum, ut & olim fuerunt, & nunc quam maxime sunt corrupti hominum mores, nervus est, ingenti pecuniæ vi instructus, qua* Capnionis *justam caussam, famam fortunasque omnes facile se subversurum, jactitavit* (l). He who suspected that this Money was design'd for the purchase of some Voices, knew well enough how Matters went (m). His Words are these: (n) *Item Theologistæ, ut etiam comperi*, Jacobo Hochstraten *proximis diebus mille quingentos aureos per Trapezitas Romam miserunt, non ad victum, qui Monachis tenuis esse debet, nec ad necessarias impensas litis, nam minore summula, ut reor, hæc administraretur. Sed quod vehementer suspicor & illis male vertat, ad faciendas largitiones, pro* (o) *obtinendis auro suffragiis quæ jure non sperat.* What he adds, is more surprizing. These same Divines threatned to make a Schism, if *Reuchlin* was not condemned, and spoke with the utmost Contempt of *Leo* X. *Nam modo reverendissimum Cardinalem* Grimanum (p) *ut inductum cavillantur, modo ut semper suspectum infamant. Præterea audent aperte jactare perversissimi homines, nisi secundum se pronunciatum in urbe fuerit, ab Ecclesia & summo ejus Pontifice se defecturos, & scisma novum suscitaturos. Alii ad futurum Concilium provocaturos se minantur. Alii dicunt, quicquid contra se statuerit Papa, nullius momenti esse, neque pro Papa habendum eum, qui ab se suaque sententia dissentiat. Tam cæca, tam præceps est arrogantia istorum, ut non pudeat etiam postulare obnoxium sibi Summum Pontificem esse, se palam omnibus Ecclesiam esse dictitant, sine se in rebus fidei Papam nihil decernere nec posse, nec debere, conclamant. Nihil hercle secius aut honorificentius de summo Pontifice loquuntur, quam de puero sub ferula adhuc vivente, cui nihil nisi ad pædagogi sui nutum integrum sit aut liberum loqui* (q).

(E) *He ran a great Danger of his Life.*] If he had not had Notice of the Ambuscades that the *Reuchlinists* laid for him in the way from *Nuremberg* to *Cologne*, he had infallibly fallen into them; and even after he had Intelligence of them, he could not have avoided the Snare, had not he been preserv'd from the Danger by the Pass-port he obtain'd from the Marquiss of *Brandenburg*. Mr. *Majus* acknowledges all this. *Non tantum bonorum odium*, says he (i), *sed ingens præterea periculum sibi accrevit, quod vix ac ne vix quidem evasit. Nam cum Roma discedens Noribergam iter fecisset, Coloniam inde percursurus, insidiæ ipsi à* Reuchlinistis *parabantur, quas, si præmonitus non fuisset, certe haud effugisset. Ac ne sic quidem excessisset, evasisset, erupisset, nisi* Marchionis Brandenburgensis *salvo conductu à persequentibus tutus fuisset.*

(F) *'Tis not true that he had the Destiny which* Paul Jovius *speaks of.*] He pretends, that the Satyrs published by *Reuchlin*, against the barbarous Style of the Monks, kill'd *James Hochstratus* with Vexation, and oblig'd the Fraternity of this Inquisitor to have recourse in their Mortification to the Court of *Rome*, to obtain a Prohibition of Printing and Selling these Satyrs. *Paul Jovius* means the *obscurorum virorum epistolæ*. He will have *Reuchlin* to be the Author of 'em, and he gives us an Idea of them, which is very disobliging to the Monks in general, and to *Reuchlin*'s Persecutors in particular. (a) *Admirabili facetiarum lepore conditæ, quibus ad excitandum risum, cucullatorum Theologorum ineptissimè, atque ideo ridiculè Latina lingua scribentium, stylus exprimitur. Ulciscebatur enim infestam nomini suo turbam, jucundissimo satyræ illudentis genere, quum maligna cucullatorum conspiratione tanquam Judæis parum æquus hostis, ac ex animo planè recutitus impietatis accusaretur.* The way to convict this Historian of Falsity, is to say, that *James Hochstratus* surviv'd *Leo* X. and *Reuchlin*, and therefore 'tis not true, 1. That the *obscurorum virorum Epistolæ*, having been the cause of that Inquisitor's Death, his Friends and Accomplices supplicated *Leo* X. to condemn the Book. 2. That *Reuchlin* to elude the Prohibitions of *Leo* X. composed a second Volume, under another Title more Satyrical than the former. Thus here are two Falshoods of *Paul Jovius*. (b) *Hic liber avide coemptus & evulgatus adeò graviter calumniatores ejus ordinis perculit, ut conjurationis princeps Hochstratus letali dolore sauciatus interierit; & reliqui æstuantes à Leone suppliciter impetrarint, ut edicto divendi, atque imprimi vetaretur; sed edicti majestatem Reuchlinus falso ingenio ludificatus, secundum Epistolarum volumen, tanquam ex titulo minimè vetitum, altero quidem aculeatius impressoribus tradidit, ita ut cucullati misere cum Hydra luctantes, animos in ea lite despondérint.* It will be objected perhaps, that notwithstanding these two Chronological Faults, it is true at the bottom, that the Letters *Obscurorum virorum*, were the Death of *James Hochstratus*. I answer, that 'tis absolutely false that they had that Effect; for they came at least Ten Years before the Death of that Monk. He died in the Year 1527, and I have read in a Letter written the 16th. of *August* 1517, that *Erasmus* (c) very much disapprov'd those Letters. This Criticism might be carried further; for they were in all Probability written by *Hutten* (d) and not by *Reuchlin*.

I am less surpriz'd at these Faults of *Paul Jovius*, than to see 'em inserted as true matter of Fact in the Life of *Reuchlin*, by Mr. *Majus*, and that he did not perceive he contradicted himself. He supposes, that after the *Speculum oculare* was burnt at *Cologne*, *Reuchlin* seeing himself attacked by many Satyrs, published the *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*, to revenge himself, which quickly caused *James Hochstratus*'s Death. *Hic liber adeo graviter calumniatores Colonienses perculit, ut conjurationis caput Hochstratus* PAULO POST *letali dolore confectus, sauciatusque*

(f) Apud eund. Val. Andr. ibid.
(g) *In the Remark A.*
(h) *The 20th. of July, 1516* not. in vitam Reuchlini, pag. 474.
(i) Majus notis in vitam Reuchl. p. 474. 475.
(k) Ibid. pag. 478. & seq.
(l) Ibid. pag. 417.
(m) *See* Foulques *Remark* K.
(n) *Hermannus* Buschius Pasiphilus in Epist. ad Reuchlinum, apud Majum ib. pag. 464.
(o) *In the Dialogue intituled* Hochstratus ovans, *he is brought in speaking thus:* Necesse habui vulgatam incedere viam, agere literis commendatitiis, pecuniis niti, & largitionibus immodicis, ut magnæ sunt opes nobis mendicis, atque mendacia struere contra insontem, quæ non insolens, neque imperite confinxi, atque haud difficulter credita sunt Romanensibus. Apud Majum ib. pag. 465.
(p) *He was the President of the Commission.*
(q) Idem Buschius, apud Majum ibid.

(i) Annotat. in vit. Reuchlini pag. 477.
(a) Jovius in Elogiis, cap. 143. p. m. 285.
(b) Id. ib.
(c) Magnopere mihi displicebant Epistolæ obscurorum. Erasmus, Epist. ad Joann. Cæsarium, inserta lamentationibus obscurorum virorum, citante Majo, not. in vitam Reuchlini, pag. 425.
(d) Jacob. Thomasius in præfatione ad Pauli Manutii Epistolas, certa fidei exploratum se habere affirmat, Huttenum esse earum autorem. Id. Majus ibid.

† Valer. Andr. ubi supra, pag. 413. *See the Passage of* Erasmus, *Remark* H.

his Adversaries. He was one of the first (G) that wrote against *Luther*, and one of the Persecutors (H) of *Erasmus*. In a Word, whoever was an Enemy to the Scholastick Barbarity, could not fail to be exposed to his Anger. He died † at *Cologne*, in the Year 1527. We have many Books of his, which for the most part relate to his Disputes against *Reuchlin* and *Luther*. There was a cutting Epitaph made upon (I) him.

He did not do much Honour to the Divines at *Paris*, in publishing (K) at *Cologne*, the Judgment they past upon *Luther* in 1521. upon the Subject of the Pretended *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*.

* Postea orthodoxa id sibi vindicavit Ecclesia, siquidem parentum cura frugis bonæ adolescens purioris aeris, hoc est fidei hauriendæ gratia, ad loca evangelica abiegatus. Spizelius, Templ. honoris referat. p. 165.

HOE (*Matthias*) a famous *Lutheran* Minister, was born at *Vienna*, in the Year 1580. He was sent so soon to the Protestant Colleges *, that he found himself a *Lutheran* before he had made Reflection that he was born in the Romish Communion. He studied Divinity at *Wittemberg*; and in the Year 1602, he was invited to the Court of *Saxony*, to preach before the Elector. In the Year following he was made Director of some Churches in *Voightland*; and after having discharg'd that employ eight Years, he was sent to *Prague* in the Year 1611. to be Superintendant of the *German* Churches. Two Years after he was recalled to the Court of *Saxony*, where he was promoted to the Degree of Ecclesiastical Counsellor, and first Preacher to his Highness. He kept those Employs all the rest of his Life, and he died the 4th. of *March*, 1645. He was admitted Doctor of Divinity at *Wittemberg*, in the Year 1604. His Marriage, which lasted Forty Three Years, and which procured him Six Sons and Four Daughters, made amends for all the Troubles that could happen to him. He was born a Gentleman †, and he had so Warlike a Pen, as proved he did not degenerate. He published a great Number of Books *, some in *Latin*, and others in *High-Dutch*. He was a Man who would not hear of the Re-Union (B) of the Protestant Churches.

† *Taken from* Henning. Witte, memor. Theol. renovat. pag. 1014. & seq.

* *See the Catalogue of 'em, p.* 1021.

(e) Majus in vita Reuchlini.

(f) Maimbourg, Hist. du Lutheran. *Book* 1. pag. 30. ad. ann. 1518. *He quotes* Luth. contra Jac. Hoftra. tom. 7.

(g) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 412.

(h) *'Tis the last of the* 16 *Book*,

(i) *The* 18 *of the* 26 *Book*, *pag.* 1249.

(k) Erasm. Epist. 13. lib. 19. pag. 829. *It is dated in* May, 1527.

(l) *See the* 740*th. Page of* Erasmus's *Letters, published at* London,

(m) Jovius ubi supra pag. 286.

tusque interierit (e). He afterwards relates that *Reuchlin* brought the Cause before the Pope, and that *James Hochstratus* made a Voyage to *Rome* upon it, and had like to have fallen into an Ambush of his Enemies, as he returned to *Cologne*.

(G) *One of the first that wrote against* Luther.] He went the wrong way to work, if we believe Father *Maimbourg*, who says, (f) 'That what made 'Luther's Cause still more plausible was this, that 'James Hochstratus, a Dominican Inquisitor, writ'ing against him, exhorted the Pope to treat such a 'wicked Fellow only with Fire and Sword, to rid 'the World of him as soon as possible. I will now set down a Passage of *Valerius Andreas*, which affords me at once a Proof of my Text, and an Occasion for a Critical Reflection. (g). *Primos inter in Lutherum calamum strinxit: ob id tum ab haereticis quos in primis oderat, tum etiam ab aliis vitæ atque ingenii liberioris, ut tunc tempora ferebant, scriptis lacessitus, & nominatim à Joan. Reuchlino sive Capnione epistolis quas* obscurorum virorum *titulo vulgavit.* The War of the Monks against *Reuchlin*, began before *Luther* attacked the Indulgencies, and dropt of it self when *Luther* raised his Standard. *Reuchlin* closed with the uppermost side all his Life, and never concern'd himself with the *Lutheran* Disputes. It is therefore very false, that he pestered *Hochstratus* with many Satyrical Pieces, to punish him for being one of the first that wrote against *Luther*. The *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*, preceded the Birth of the Protestant Reformation. *Valerius Andreas* is thereby fully convicted of an Anachronism. For the rest, the Counsel *James Hochstratus* gave the Pope against *Luther*, plainly shews the violent Temper of the Man. *Erasmus* wrote a Letter to him (h) in the Year 1519, full of good Advice, upon the inexcusable Bitterness he had shewn in his Writings against *Reuchlin*. See *Erasmus*'s Letters (i) concerning *Hochstratus*'s Proceedings with respect to *Martin Luther*.

(H) *One of the Persecutors of* Erasmus.] Which we learn from these Words: (k) *Aliquot ex hostium numero perierunt: Lovanii Ecmondanus Carmelita vomitu præfocatus——Colonia periit Jacobus Hochstratus coryphæus hujus tragœdiæ, qui tamen in morte dicitur nonnullis verbis prodidisse parum sinceram conscientiam.* In the Letter of *Erasmus*, wherein he gives good Advice to the Inquisitor, he complains of his being ill us'd by him, for his Opinion upon the Dissolubility of Marriage (l).

(I) *There was a cutting Epitaph made upon him.*] We find it in *Paul Jovius*: *Hostrati autem tumulo*, says he (m), *hoc mobile carmen, Capnionis puer affixit.*

Hic jacet Hostratus, viventem ferre paratus
Quem potuere mali, non potuere boni.

Crescite ab hoc taxi, crescant aconita sepulcro:
Ausus erat sub eo, qui jacet, omne nefas.

(K) *In publishing at* Cologne.] 'Twas in the Year 1521. You will find this Judgment in the 2d. Tome of *Luther's Latin* Works, in the *Jena* Edition. You'll find also other Editions of it, and therefore Father *Nourri* had no reason to believe, that he first brought it to light by publishing it in his *Apparatus ad Bibliothecam maximam veterum Patrum* in 1694 (n).

(A) *His Marriage——made amends.*] I have given to the *Latin* Words of the Sieur *Witte* the most favourable Construction; for as they are somewhat obscure, one might think, that he meant, that *Hoe's* Marriage was so happy, as to have less Evil than Good in it (o). This would be lessening the Advantages of that Marriage; wherefore I chuse the other Interpretation, which is, that those Advantages being put in the Scale with all the Evil the Husband was expos'd to, weighed them down. Thus his dear Spouse agreeably comforted him for all the Troubles and Fatigues he was to go through. He would have had reason to complain then, if he had lived a Batchelor.

(B) *Of the Reunion of the Protestant Churches.*] *Gustavus*, a little before he died, called a Convention at *Leipsick*, of *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, in order to work an Accommodation. His Authority caused 'em to separate like good Friends, and with mighty hopes of Peace; but they vanished away by his Death. Nevertheless, *Duraus* did not desist from the Undertaking, and he came to *Francfort*, where the Protestants were assembled. A most severe Letter of *Hoe* came hereupon against the *Calvinists*, and did a great deal of Mischief. We have all this from *Grotius*. (a) *Rex Suecia magnus Gustavus ——non multum ante mortem Lipsiæ conventum instituerat utrinsque sententiæ protestantium—— Effecit sua auctoritate ut amice discederetur cum magna spe restituendæ unitatis. Sed tristis exitus tanti Regis salubre hoc cœptum interscidit. Neque tamen defuit ejusdem negotii commendator ex Anglia Duraus, multorum Angliæ antistitum instructus literis, qui francofurtum ad Mœnum venerat eo ipso tempore, cum ibi conventus Ordinum Protestantium haberetur. Sed rem per se difficilem implicatiorem etiam reddidit doctoris Hoii ex Aula Saxonica responsum immite in eos quos Calvinianos vocat.* The Doctors of the *Augsburg* Confession, extol to the Skies, the Vigilance with which he opposed the least Innovations. They further say, that to this end he exposed himself to great Danger. (b) *In solis radiis pridem scriptum arbitror quos ille tuendæ fidei gratia pertulerit labores, quibusnam difficultatibus sit constictatus, quæ subierit pericula, dum quidvis satius censebat, quam ut quicquam in Germania de Evangelica Religionis integritate*

(n) *See the* Acta Eruditorum, *in the* 2*d Tome of the Supplements, pag.* 737.

(o) Illius amore & convictu suavissimo totis ussis est noster tribus & quadraginta annis, ut multo plura haberet de quibus gaudium quam dolorem conciperet. Hen. Witte, Memor. Theol. renovat. pag. 1018.

(a) Grotius Epist. 444. part. 1. pag. 105.

(b) Spizelius, in Templo honoris referato. pag. 165. 166. Henning. Witte ubi supra, pag. 1016.

Churches: But he was accus'd of having been brib'd to endeavour (C) a Re-union of some Princes of the Empire with the Emperor, to the great Prejudice of the Protestants. What he has published upon the *Revelation*, (D) looks like a Work of a Man of a turbulent Humour.

I fancy he was more troubled to see the Elector Palatine in Possession of the Crown of *Bohemia*, than to see him a Fugitive after the Battle of *Prague*; for the Letter which (E) he wrote to a Nobleman of that Country, shews that he did not approve the Design of giving that Kingdom to that Elector, and that he looke upon *Calvinism* as an Antichrist, that was not much better than the Popish Antichrist.

HOELZLIN † (*Jeremiah*) Professor of *Greek* in the University of *Leyden*, was born at *Nuremberg*. He made so great a Progress in his School-Learning, at *Augsburg*, that he excell'd all his Fellow-Scholars, both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues. After which he betook himself to the Study of Philosophy in the University of *Altorf*. His Method of studying it, was not like that of others; he little regarded what was dictated in an Auditory; as he was a good *Grecian*, he would read the Originals and the ancient Interpreters of *Aristotle*, *Themistius*, *Alexander Aphrodisiensis*, *Simplicius* and *Ammonius*. He was not contented with *Aristotle*; he studied *Plato* likewise, and was a great Admirer of the *Stoicks*. After having spent Eight Years in this sort of Study, he was admitted Doctor of Philosophy, and applied himself to the Scriptures, and to *Hebrew*. He was afterwards Rector of the College at *Amberg*, in the Upper Palatinate. The War drove him thence, and obliged him to retire to *Bremen*, having lost the best part of his Effects. The Count of *Bentheim* designed to give him the Headship of his College of *Rhede*; but he died presently after, and then the Town of *Ham* offered him a like Employment. The Soldiers of the Emperor plundered that Country so horribly, that he would not be expos'd to their Violences. He therefore sought a safe Sanctuary, which he found in *Holland*; he retir'd to *Leyden*, and there published a Translation of the Psalms, which appear'd to be exact. The University did him the Honour to retain him, when he was invited to *Middleburg*, and to the *Brill* (Y). He was thought worthy to appear on a greater Stage, and had the *Greek* Professorship given him, which *Vossius* had just left. He undertook the Translation (Z) of

† *He is always call'd* Hoelinus *in his Funeral Oration.*

tate (*quam adversarum partium promachi contaminare sunt ausi,*) *decederet ac vanueretur.*

(C) *Brib'd to endeavour a Re-union.*] In the Year 1635. the Elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, made a Treaty at *Prague*, with the Emperor, and engaged themselves in his Interests against the Crown of *Sweden*, which was the way to destroy whatever *Gustavus* had done in *Germany* for the Benefit of the Protestant Religion. 'Tis believed that the Emperor, by a good Sum of Money, engaged Doctor *Hoe* to remove all the Scruples which might have perplexed the Elector of *Saxony*. Mr. *Puffendorf*, whose Words I quote, is my Warrant for it. (c) *Arguebatur quoque Saxonicus Theologus Matthias Hoeus decem uncialium millia à Cæsare accepisse, eximendis Principis sui animo scrupulis, quos alias facile ista pro generare poterat.*

(c) Pufendorf, rerum Suecicar. l. 7. p. 123. *See the* Bibloth. universelle, tom. 3. pag. 456.

(D) *What he has published upon the Revelation.*] According to the Humour that he was of, it can't be doubted but his Commentaries upon the *Revelation*, tended to raise a general War against the Church of *Rome*, that is, to fill *Europe* with the most dreadful Miseries that it could fall under. However it be, the Bishop of *Meaux* reckons him amongst the Interpreters of the *Revelation*, who blow a Trumpet for War. 'The *Lutherans*, says he, were not 'more moderate than the *Calvinists*; and the prin-'cipal Minister of the Court of *Saxony*, *Matthias* '*Hoe* by Name, dispersed a Book at *Francfort*, in-'titled, *The Judgment and entire Extermination of* '*the Whore of the* Roman Babylon, *or the VIth. Book* '*of Commentaries upon the* Revelation. 'The 'Book is no less extravagant than the Title, and 'this is what was written in *Germany* and in the 'North. The Bishop of *Meaux* has this from a Letter of an *Arminian* Minister whose Passage I'll set down, as containing some other Matters, that suit with this Article. (d) 'I have seen the Cata-'logue of this last Fair of *Francfort*, which con-'tains abundance of Polemical Books against Pope-'ry, amongst others, one with this Inscription. *Ju-'dicium & excidium meretricis Babylonis Romanæ,* '*sive Commentariorum in Apocalypsin S. Johannis li-'ber sextus, authore Matthia Hoëo Doctore Theologo.* '*Lipsiæ in* 4. This *Hoe* is the principal Minister 'of the Court of *Saxony*, of noble Extraction in '*Austria*, and who for a long time has been suspect-'ed to be a Secret *Papist*. I wonder that in such a 'Conjuncture of Time and Affairs, he thinks fit to 'write against Popery in so Satyrical and odious a 'Style, especially since the Elector of *Saxony* has 'always sought to preserve the Emperor's good-'will towards his Family. *Hoe* began his Work upon the *Revelation* in the Year (f) 1610, and fi-nished it in the Year 1640. It contains VIII Books, which have been reprinted in Folio at *Leipsick*, in 1671. Factious and turbulent Men will never be hindered from making use of the Obscurity of the *Revelation*, in order to create War. Peace doth not please them; 'tis War which they wish for, in which they run no Hazards, and find a way to make themselves necessary. 'Tis probable, that Sovereigns are not displeased with such Pragmatical People; they look upon 'em as fit Persons to sow Confidence among the People, by turning the Prophecies, some-times one way, sometimes another, according to the current of Affairs. Such sort of People make themselves feared; and for that reason their Masters keep Fair with them.

(d) *In his Explication of St. John's Revelation, pag. 2. of the Advertisement of the* Dutch *Edition.*

(f) *He published then the 1st. Book; the last was printed in 1640. See* Spizelius ubi supra: pag. 171.

(E) *The Letter which he wrote——shews.*] That Letter has been printed. Read this Passage of the *memorabilia Ecclesiastica* of the XVIIth. Century. (g) *Cum in eo essent occupati Bohemiæ Proceres, Legatis Moraviæ, Silesiæ & Lusatiæ præsentibus, ut Fridericum quintum, Electorem Palatinum, sacris Calvinianis addictum, in Regem suum eligerent, Matthias Hoe t. t. Concionator Aulicus Dresdensis, Epistolam sub* 23. *aug. scripsit ad Joachimum Andream Slikium, qua (postmodum typis excusa) vir celeberrimus sibi-ipsi monuit, ut quid, præsertim intuitu religionis, Ordines isti facerent, facere saltem deberent, probe perpendant? Inter alia spiritum Calvinisticum appellans Anti-Christum Orientalem, atque componens cum Occidentali, ut non multo meliorem, allegante Hornbekio in summa Controversiarum religionis; libro no-no de Lutheranis p. m. 699.* Probably the Author I quote had not seen this Letter; for he only speaks of it upon the Credit of *Hornbeeck*.

(g) Andreas Carolus memor. Eccles. pag. 482. ad ann. 1619.

(Y) *And to the* Brill.] He was actually Rector of the College of the *Brill*, if we may believe *Vossius*, whose Words I set down the less unwillingly, because they have need of Correction, since the proper Name of this Man is there miserably mangled, not without a gross Solecism. *Vossius* had been saying, that *Antony Æmilius* had refus'd the *Greek* Professorship, which the Curators of the University of *Leyden* had offered him, and then he says: (a) *Ad hanc professionem cum deinceps offerendam Magistratus Hoëcelius quondam correctori Ambergensis Gymnasii Electoralis Collegæ Beckmani; nunc Brillano ejusdem scholæ Rectori.*

(a) Vossius Epist. 148. ad Joann. Meurlium, pag. 181. London 1693. *that Letter is dated the* 30th. *of* August, 1631.

(Z) of *Apollonius Rhodius*; and notwithstanding his Distempers, he accomplished it and put his last Hand to it, Six Days before he died. He was Dropsical, and so weak that at last he could not hold his Pen in his Hand, and yet he had set his Heart so much upon his Work, that he dictated what he thought necessary to be added to it. He died the 25th. of *January*, 1641. He had been married a long time †, but had no Children. He was congratulated for it in his Funeral Sermon, because of the Confusion he was in when the Rage of War drove him into Exile ‡.

HOESCHELIUS (*David*) born at *Augsburg* the 14th. of *April*, 1556, was a very Learned Man. The publick is indebted to him for the Edition (*A*) of many *Greek* Authors. He spent all his Life in the Instruction of Youth in St. *Anne's* College, of which he was made Rector by the Magistrates of *Augsburg* in the Year 1593. They also made him Library-Keeper, and he can't be sufficiently praised for the Pains (*B*) he took to enrich their Library. He was very well acquainted with good Manuscripts, and good Editions; and he took care that the Manuscripts which were bought for the Ornament of that Library, should not lie buried like a Treasure hid under Ground, but he published the most curious of them, with Notes of his own. He made good Scholars (C), and many resorted to *Augsburg* ‖ upon his Account. He died there in 1617. I'll mention (*D*) what *Scaliger* said of him. Mr. *Huet* * has not only spoke honourably of his Diligence in rescuing old Manuscripts, but also of his Skill in Translating.

HOFFMAN (*Daniel*) Super-intendant and Professor at *Helmstad* †, was the Head of a Theological Faction (*A*), which raised some Disturbances towards the end of the XVIth. Century. He raised some Difficulties upon the Formulary of Concord which was to be subscribed; and instead of concurring with Doctor *John Andreas*, for the Defence of that Formulary, he made use of captious Distinctions. He would not admit the Ubiquity, but only the Presence of Jesus Christ in many Places. That

† *He had married the Daughter of a Minister of* Nuremberg.

‡ *Taken from his Funeral Oration, spoken by* Antony Thysius.

‖ *Taken from* Spizelius in Templo honoris reserato, pag. 328. & seq. & ex Theatro Freheri, pag. 1511, 1512.

* Huetius, de claris interpretibus, p. 229. *See also* Colonies, Biblioth. choisie, pag. 194.

† *He succeeded* Tilemannus Heshusius *in the Year* 1588. Melch. Adam. in vit. Theol. pag. 622.

(*b*) Anti-Baillet, tom. 1. pag. 389, 390.

(*c*) *It should be* amicus.

Rector. Vir est moribus simplex, sed trium linguarum & Philosophiæ admodum gnarus.

(Z) *The Translation of* Apollonius Rhodius.] The Edition of this Poet, with the Version and Commentary of *Hoelzin*, came out in the Year 1641, at *Leyden ex officina Elzeviriana*. Mr. *Menage* speaks very disadvantageously of it (*b*). First, he relates these Words of Mr. *Baillet*: 'We have some ancient 'Scholia upon *Apollonius*——The new Edition 'which *Jeremiah Hoelzlin* hath given of it, is es'teemed by some, but others value it no more than 'those which are called *Variorum*: And then having answered to what concerns the *Scholia*, he thus goes on. 'As for *Jeremiah Hoelzlin*, he is a wretched Wri'ter, he is wholly wrapped up in *Hebraisms*, he af'fects old Words that are out of Date, and invents 'new ones. I will here observe by the by, that he 'speaks of *Conradus Rittershusius* as of his Patron. *Con'radus Rittershusius sanctissimus ille juris interpres & 'vindex, idemque patronus olim meus, insigniter pius '& constans* (*c*) *animus*. 'Tis at the 115th Page. 'There are at the end of his Edition of *Apollonius*, 'some Notes of *Holstenius*, which are very judicious. The Funeral Oration tells us, that while *Hoelzlin* was at *Altorf*, he had an intimate Friendship with *Scipio Gentilis*, *Michael Picart*, *Conrad Rittershusius*, and *Daniel Swensirus*, and that they mutually wrote *Greek* and *Latin* Verses for one another, and that part of 'em have been published: *Cum quibus Græcis Latinisque carminibus certabat, quorum non pauca in lucem venerunt.*

(*A*) *Edition of many* Greek *Authors.*] He published the Eight Books of *Origen* against *Celsus*, in *Greek* and *Latin*, at *Augsburg* 1605. in *Quarto*. The Wisdom of *Jesus*, the Son of *Sirach*, or the *Ecclesiasticus*, in *Greek* and *Latin*, with Notes, at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1604. The *Bibliotheque* of *Photius* in *Greek*, with Notes, at *Augsburg* in the Year 1601, in *Folio*. The History of *Procopius*, in *Greek*, in the same City, in the Year 1607. in *Folio*. These two last Books had never been printed. *Geographica aliquot excellentissimorum authorum Marciani, Scylacis, Artemidori, Dicæarchi*, at *Augsburg*, in the Year 1600. in *Quarto*. Three or Four Treatises of *Philo*. *Eclogæ legationum Dexippi Atheniensis, Eunapii, P. Patricii, Prisci Sophistæ, Malchi Philad. Menandri cum excerptorum corollis è libris Diodori Siculi amissis*, at *Augsburg*. 1603. in 8. Some Treatises of the ancient Fathers, &c.

(B) *The Pains he took to enrich their Library.*] Spizelius acquaints us with it: His Words shew, that *Antony Ivachius*, Bishop of *Corfu*, had collected most excellent Manuscripts, which fell into *Hoeschelius's* Hands. (*d*) *Cum insuper celebratissima Bibliotheca Augustanæ administratio ipsi esset demandata, omnem curam, ut ejus procuratori incumbentem, nec ullis parcens labori, libros excusos pariter ac manuscriptos, maximè Græcos, meliorisque notæ authores, ac librorum editiones conquisivit, sicque Bibliothecam Augustanam veluti publicum aliquod Ærarium instruxit ad omnium promiscuè indigentiam sublevandam. Et cum rarissimorum Codicum MSS. Græcorum, magno ære ab Antonio Eparcho Episcopo Corcyrensi coemptorum copiam esset consecutus, maximam curam adhibuit, ne thesaurus iste librarius in arcanis Bibliothecæ hujus recessibus veluti in perpetuo quodam custodiretur carcere, sed in publicam etiam lucem magno cum totius Reipublicæ literariæ bono & commodo prodiret.* The Catalogue of *Greek* Manuscripts of that Library, composed by *Hoeschelius*, and published in the Year 1595, is a Master-piece (*e*).

(*d*) Spizelius in Templo honoris reserato, pag. 330.

(*C*) *He made good Scholars.*] I will make use again of *Spizelius's* Expressions. *Quam præclare*, says he (*f*), *quamque feliciter demandata sibi functioni satisfecerit, plurimi testari possunt viri eruditi qui è variis Germaniæ, Italiæ, Belgiique civitatibus Hoeschelii gratia Augustam se contulerunt, quibus viri hujus institutione uti, nunquelingua Græca proficere cura & corde fuit. Vere de illo dici potest, quod*

Mille fere dedit juvenes, his mille ministrum
Adjecit numero purpureaque toga.

Colomies (*g*) names some Travellers, who mightily praised *Hoeschelius*.

(*D*) *I'll mention what* Scaliger *said of him.*] 'Ho'eschelius a *Lutheran*, but a Learned Man. If 'Velserus did not support him, he had been expell'd 'before now. He is a great Pedant, but a good 'Man. *Scaliger* sent him his *Procopius*, but he had 'a larger one from the Library of *Ravaxis*. *Hoef'chelius*, in his *Procopius*, has printed some Frag'ments of my Letters, and of those of *Casaubon*. 'He is now printing *Origen*——*Hoeschelius non 'est magnus Græcus, sed diligentissimus* (*h*).

(*A*) *Was Head of a Theological Faction.*] This is the Thirteenth Schism that happen'd in the *Lutheran* Church. (*i*) *Decimi tertii schismatis autores* Helmstadienses, *interque eos præcipuus* Heshusius & Hoffmannus, *pessimo exemplo extiterunt. Formula enim concordiæ cum subscribendum, & apologia concludenda esset, illi, livore dicam an protervia, pium J. Andreæ conatum spernentes, cum Christum exaltatum omnibus rebus ob realem idiomatum communicationem* deberent dicere præsentem, multipræsentiam ejus saltem defendebant. The Jesuit *Adam Contzen* observes (*a*) under the Year 1583. that *Hoffman's* Antagonist was Preacher to *Henry Julius*, Duke of *Brunswick*, and that this Prince in the Quality of Administrator of the Bishoprick of *Halberstad*, impos'd Silence on the Parties. See also what he says under the Year 1592.

(*e*) See Colomies Biblioth. choisie, pag. 194.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 329, 330.

(*g*) Ubi supra, p. 195.

(*h*) In Scaligeranis secundis, pag. m. 112.

(*i*) Micræus, Syntagm. Histor. Eccles. lib. 3. sect. 2. p. 871. Edit. 1679.

(*a*) *Hinc factum ut* Daniel Hoffmannus, Superintendens & Professor Helmstadiensis, & Basilius Staterus Henrici Julii Ducis Brunswicensis concionator aulicus, graviter inter se de hoc dogmate contenderent. Adam. Contzen *in Jubilo Jubilorum* pag. 234. *See also* p. 280.

(*B*) Pro-

That Quarrel, which lasted not long, left People's Minds (B) disposed to Division; so that other Matters were disputed afterwards with great Heat, and *Hoffman* was always the Head of a Party. The Question was, amongst other Things, what use ought to be made of Philosophical Principles in Divinity; and 'tis to be observed, that the Professors in Philosophy (C) took that part which was most favourable to the Orthodox. *Daniel Hoffman* and *Theodorus Beza* wrote one against another, upon the Controversie of the Eucharist. See the Remark, where I give the Titles (D) of some of *Hoffman*'s Works.

'Twas not only upon the Ubiquity that our Doctor quarrelled with the other Ministers, but also about Predestination; for he censured *Hunnius* for explaining it contrary to the intent of the Book of the Concord. Nay, he accused him of having vented in *Lusher*'s Chair, a more pernicious Doctrine than that of the Papists. The Book of the Concord, *said he*, teaches, that the Cause of Election is wholly out of our selves; But *Hunnius* and *Mylius* teach, that Election is Founded on the Foresight of Faith. *Hunnius* and *Mylius* caused *Hoffman* to be condemn'd in an Assembly of Divines in the Year 1593, and threatned him with an *Anathema*, if he did not subscribe to their Opinion. He published an Apology against 'em in the Year following [a]. *Hospinian* relates this more exactly. He says, [b] that some Divines of *Leipsick*, *Jena*, and *Wittemberg*, having assisted at the Second Marriage of *Samuel Huber*, in 1593, met at *Polycarp Lyserus*'s House; and that some of them were of Opinion, that it ought to be declared in a publick and authentick Form, that *Daniel Hoffman* was a Calvinist, and of the Number of those Hereticks, who ought to be avoided: But the greater Number of them were for writing to him to advise him to conform to their Doctrine, without which he should be excommunicated. *Hunnius*, in the Name of the rest, wrote a long Letter to him to that purpose. 'Twas against that Letter that *Hoffman* published an Apology in the Year following [c], in which he declar'd the Reasons that hindered him from conforming to the Divines of *Wittemberg*. He declar'd [d] that he had found in their Books above a Hundred gross Errors, contrary to the Articles of the Christian Faith.

HOF-

[a] Taken from Henry Alting. Theolog. Histor. pag. 302.
[b] Hospinian. de origine & progressu libro Concordiæ cap. 51. f. 429.
[c] Id. ib. Pag. 431. & seq.
[d] Id. ib. pag. 434.

(b) Micrælius ibid.
(c) Thomasius, Præfat. 42. pag. 244.
(d) Id. ib.
(e) Id. ib. pag. 245.
(1) Confirmant suspicionem, quæ leguntur in vestibulo dicti Pervigilii: aperta enim ibi litis, Helmstadii ab Hofmanno agitatæ, mentio. Faciunt huc & quæ leguntur in controversia Crameriana Magdeburgensi, nam & huic aliquid affinitatis cum Hofmanniana constat intercessisse.
(2) Vide ibi Discursum IV. pag. 64. & seq.
(3) *Prodendenda* (quod ipsum quoque legitur in titulo) *Philosophi ac Theologi concordia.*

TO say that what is true in Philosophy, is false in Divinity, is a pernicious Error.

(B) *Peoples Minds dispos'd to Division.*] The first Author that I quote in the preceding Remark, goes on thus. (b) *Sed in cineribus suffocata est controversia, cui utinam fomes novus postea non esset quæsitus! Sopita jaceat cum altera illa*, qua de resurrectione impiorum quærebatur, an virtute meriti Christi futura sit, necne? ut & cum illa, qua quærebatur, an semper in forma syllogistica disputari debeat: & cum aliis quæstionibus vexatis, de philosophiæ usu & abusu.

(C) *The Professors in Philosophy took that part.*] This is the Testimony *James Thomasius* gives them in one of his Prefaces. *Celebris est*, says he (c), *quæ parentum nostrorum memoriâ Juliam concussit Academiam, Hofmanniana controversia, finiente sæculo proximè præterito cœpta, ineunte hoc nostro sæculo non sine Philosophorum, qui tum ab hoc negotio partibus stabant, laude sopita. De quâ nihil addam, tum quid ob recentiorem memoriam nemini res est ignota——— tum maximè, quod in personâ Theologi unius alterius-ve inconsiderati, sanctissimæ scientiæ parcendum esse omninò existimo.* He examines in that Discourse, whether a thing can be true in Philosophy, and false in Divinity, as some have pretended; and he observes, that amongst those who have ventured upon such a Paradox, some have been induced to it by an excessive Respect, and others by an inordinate Hatred for *Aristotle*. These were the Divines. *Ad Theologos venio, è diverso planè affectu idem dogma defensantes. Non enim amore, sed odio Aristotelis; non veneratione, sed dedignatione Philosophorum, in istam temeritatem, ne quid gravius dicam, præcipitati sunt* (d). That the Readers may the better understand what was *Daniel Hoffman*'s Opinion, I will add further a Passage of *Thomasius*. It contains a thing which deserves of it self to be related. (e) *Nisi enim fallor, infelix illud & scandalo plenum certamen, quod nostrâ memoriâ super Quæstione, sitne DEUS peccati causa peracciens? certatum fuit, è sepulta Hofmanniana controversia cineribus aut propullulavit, aut videri saltem voluit propullulasse. Non planè abludere à vero quæ dixi, facile (opinor) perspiciet, qui CL. Viri, Pauli Slevogti Pervigilium* de dissidio Theologi & Philosophi in utriusque principiis fundato, (*hoc enim libello nomen est*) *pervolutaverit* (1). *Enimverò hic inter primos fuit, qui quæstionem modo dictam in isthoc scripto, quod vigesimus tertius hujus sæculi annus produxit in scenam, excitaret, hujusque negativam in Scholis Theologorum, affirmativam inter Philosophos veram esse* (2) *defenderet. Cui anno statim sequente Vir non minori eruditionis laude clarus Andreas Keslerus discursuum Theologicorum quadrigam* (3) *opposuit. Thomasius* had reason for saying, it was a very scandalous thing to maintain, that it is a Truth in Philosophy, that God is the Author of Sin by Accident, but that it is not true in Divinity. And he is in the right to approve *Casman* (f), who told that such a Division of Truth is an occasion of maintaining the most impious Errors; for indeed nothing is more proper to introduce Scepticism, than such sort of reasoning, as reduces Truth to the Condition of Corporal Qualities. From the same Body appearing little or big, according as we see it with Glasses, or without, we may rightly conclude, that we are ignorant whether it be great or small in it self, and that the absolute Littleness or Greatness of Bodies, is unknown to us. If therefore the same Proposition was true and false, according as it is consider'd either in Divinity or Philosophy, it would necessarily follow, that we don't know Truth in it self, and that it consists only in a mutable Relation to the Dispositions of our Mind; as the Pleasantness of Foods consists only in a certain Relation to the Dispositions of the Tongue; which when they happen to change, take away the Pleasantness of the Aliments. I am going to cite an Author, who will tell us, that our *Hoffman* and his Party, maintain'd, that Philosophy ought to be banished the Universities, as a most pernicious Discipline, by which many Theological Truths are false. The Opposers of this Faction were excluded from the Ministry. At last, by the Authority of the Prince, those Disputes were ended, and *Hoffman* was obliged to submit. (g) *Contendebant* Hoffmannus *& ipsius asseclæ* Philosophiam pugnare cum Theologia: multa esse vera in Theologia quæ sint falsa in Philosophia, & contra; exterminandam Christianis Academiis ut noxiam, ut toties etiam graviter ab antiqua Ecclesia damnatam. *His se initiis statim opposuerunt ejus Academiæ Philosophi, Duncanus Liddelius Scotus Med. D. Corn. Martini*, Joh. *Caselius & alii, rati ad se pertinere ejus defensionem, cujus professores essent. Res contentionibus diu acta est, ita ut Hoffmannus eo tandem à Ministerio excluderetur qui contrarium sentirent. Habita sapius disputationes & magni fluctus in illo simpulo excitati. Extant ejus tamen aliquammulta acta. Tandem lis sopita est authoritate Principis: restitutus bonos suos Philosophiæ ejusque Doctoribus est. Hoffmanniani cesserunt.*

HENRY Julius, Duke of Brunswick, ordered that Daniel Hoffman should make an Acknowledgment of his Error, and a publick Recantation. That Order was executed the 7th. of *March*, 1601. See the (h) *Memorabilia Ecclesiastica sæculi à nato Christo decimi septimi*, pag. 23, & 74. and *Gravemii* in his Book *de unica veritate*.

(D) *The Title of some of his Works.*] He published at *Helmstad* in 1583. *Quæstionum & responsio-*

(f) *Non erubuerim dicere, duplicem illam veritatem esse pseudanaletheicum figmentum ad omnes errores & atheismos excudendos & defendendos. Casmannus Cosmopœia, cap. 1. q. 6. apud Thomasium, ibid. pag.* 243.
(g) Georgius Hornius, Histor. Philosophiæ lib. 6. c. 12. pag. 321. 322. See Nilus Remark C.
(h) That Book, compiled by Andreas Carolus, Abbot of St. George, in the Dutchy of Wittemberg, was printed at Tubingen in 1697.

HOFMAN (*Melchior*) from a ſimple [a] Mechanick, ſet up for a Preacher, and fell to dogmatiſing in *Livonia*, and elſewhere, without any ſort of Call from any Perſon whatever. He left *Saxony* in great Diſcontent, and went from thence into *Holſtein*, in the Year 1527. He was made Miniſter at *Kiel*, by the King of *Denmark*, and he kept that Poſt near two Years, notwithſtanding *Luther's* (*A*) Oppoſition. He preached up I know not what Medley of *Zuinglianiſm* and Fanaticiſm; and hardly explain'd any thing to his Auditors, beſides the Conſtruction of the Moſaick Tabernacle, the Viſions of the *Apocalypſe*, and ſuch like Things. He pretended the Day of Judgment would be in the Year 1534. They who anſwered him upon that or other Points, met with their Match; for, as he had a very ill Tongue, he anſwered them (*B*) with the greateſt Fury. He loaded *Marquardus Schuldorpius* with Affronts, and reproached (*C*) him with the Crime of Inceſt. To prevent the Diſorders, that might ariſe from theſe Diſputes, the King of *Denmark* appointed a Conference [b] in the Year 1529, in which *Hofman* was confounded: And whereas he perſiſted in his Opinions, he was baniſhed out of *Holſtein*. From thence he went to *Strasburg*, where he publiſhed (*D*) a falſe Relation of the Conference. He was impriſon'd in the Year 1532, after a publick Diſpute, wherein he engaged with the Miniſters. This loſt his Reputation with his Followers. He died in the Year 1533, or thereabouts *. He was not of *Holſtein* (*E*) as ſome have given out.

Many Writers ſay, that *Hofman* † began to make a Noiſe in *Strasburg*, and was followed by a Crowd of Diſciples, and that removing to (*F*) *Embden* in the Year 1528, he

[a] Ex pellione in Theologaſtrum tranſmutatus. Mollerus ubi infra.

[b] *It was held at* Flensburg.

* *Taken from the* Iſagoge ad Hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ *of* John Mollerus, 3. part. pag. 128. &c. ſeq.

† Argentinæ inclareſcere cœpit. Frider. Spanhemius, de origine & progreſſu Anabaptiſt. n. 22. p. m. 211.

(*i*) *At* Helmſtad. *in* 1585.

(*a*) Luther. Epiſt. ad Wilh. Praveſt, anno 1528. *See* tom. 2. Epiſt. Lutheri à Joh. Aurifabro Francofurti ad Viadrum ann. 1597. editarum pag. 371. Mollerus, Itagoge ad Hiſtor. Cherſon. Cimbricæ, parte 3. pag. 129.

(*b*) In Epiſt. ad Petrum Suavenium Conſil. Danicum A. 1528. ſcripta, quam exhibet J. Manlii Farrago Epiſtol. Melanch. P. III. pag. 493. 494. Moller. ibid.

(*c*) Moller. ibid. pag. 130.

(*d*) Id. ib.

(*e*) Id. ib. pag. 131.

num in graviſſima controverſia de ſacroſancta cœna pars prima, in Octavo. Theodorus Beza refuted it in the Year following; but preſently after came out, (*i*) *Danielis Hoffmanni Apologia miſſa ad Theodorum Bezam, qua ni fallor in verbis cœnæ dominicæ immutum, Bezæ autem demonſtrationes falliſſimæ demonſtrantur. Beza* publiſhed in 1585, *Reſponſionis pars altera contra Danielem Hoffmannum*; and in the Year 1586. *Conſpicillum ad Danielis Hoffmanni demonſtrationes, &c.* Theſe are ſome other Books of *Hoffman*; *Reſponſio ad rationes & ſigna Chriſtophori Pezelii, &c. quibus docuit veros ſacramentarios agnoſcere: De 17. erroribus craſſioribus Jacobi Andreæ.* Thoſe two are in *High-Dutch*. Theſe which follow, are in *Latin*. *De uſu & applicatione notionum Logicarum ad res Theologicas, & de inuſitatarum prædicationum reductione contra Goclenium*, at *Francfort*, 1596. *Liber apologeticus reſpondens chartis Miniſtrorum Eccleſiæ Bremenſis*, at *Helmſtad*, 1585. *Officina locorum Theologicorum. Explicatio ſententiæ in Epiſt. Canonica Joh. Apoſtoli*, ſanguis Jeſu Chriſt Filii Dei mundat nos ab omni peccato, *Helmſtad* 1581.

(*A*) *Notwithſtanding* Luther's *Oppoſition.*] This is what *Luther* wrote to a Miniſter of *Kiel*: (*a*) *A Melchiore pellifice velim cavere vos omnes, ac curare apud Magiſtratum ne ad conciones admittatur, etiamſi literas Regis oſtentet. A nobis enim receſſit indignabundus, dum non voluimus ejus ſomnia probare. Ad docendum neque valet, neque vocatus eſt. Hæc dicito nomine meo omnibus veſtris, ut ipſum vitent ac tacere cogant. Luther* would have no Body to hear this Man, who thruſt himſelf into the Miniſtry, without any Call or Capacity. And *Francis Burchard*, Counſellor of the Dukes of *Saxony*, cautioned alſo the World againſt him (*b*).

(*B*) *He anſwered them with the greateſt Fury.*] All his Books were written in the vulgar Language: His Apology againſt *Nicolas Amsdorf*, firſt Miniſter at *Magdeburg*, was printed in the Year 1528. This Miniſter had confuted him, concerning the Time of the World's end. *Oppoſuit ei Hofmannus apologiam amarulentiſſimam——in iſta convitiorum plauſtra in Adverſarium evomit* (*c*).

(*C*) *Reproach'd him with the Crime of Inceſt.*] The Accuſation was founded upon *Schuldorpius's* marrying his Niece. (*d*) *Marq. Schuldorpio, Kilonienſi, Parocho Steſvic. qui ſuam de S. Cœna ſententiam impugnarat, duobus itidem ſcriptis, Kilonii ann.* 1528. *impreſſis——reſpondit, & hominem, cum alias ob cauſas, tum ob matrimonium cum filia ſororis, ope eloquentiæ ſuæ caninæ, miſere exagitavit. Schuldorpius* alledges in his Defence, amongſt other Reaſons, the Authority of *Luther*, whoſe Letter he produc'd, wherein he confeſſes, that he adviſ'd that Marriage, and maintains, that it is lawful. (*e*) *Utrique Schuldorpius mox reſponſum* Epiſtolam ad Fideles civitatis Kilonienſis *Saxonicam, qua adjecit Lutheri ad ſe literas, in eandem Dialectum transfuſas, in quibus conjugio huic, cujus ſe ſuaſorem fuiſſe fatetur, ingenuum ſuffragium patrocinari, ac Abrahami, Saram ducentis, exemplo defendere iſtud non dubitat.*

(*D*) *He publiſhed a falſe Relation.*] He maintained, that he had ſtopt *Pomeranus's* Mouth (*f*), and that the Secretaries of the Conference were Forgers (*g*). *Pomeranus*, to refute theſe Vaunts, publiſhed the Acts of the Conference, with the moſt Authentick Formalities. He added to them the Refutation of *Hofman's* Writing, and the Converſion of *Heggius* (*h*), which was one of the Fruits of that Diſpute; *Heggius* had been one of *Hofman's* Seconds, and he gain'd ſo much Knowledge by it, as induc'd him to renounce his Sect (*i*). The other of *Hofman's* Seconds did the ſame thing. *Pomeranus* did not appear at the Conference as a Diſputant, but (*k*) as one of the Directors under the eldeſt Son of his *Daniſh* Majeſty. He ended the Conference with an Oration, in which he confuted *Hofman's* Arguments. *Finem Colloquio orationi Bugenhagii adverſus argumenta ipſius* [illegible] *impoſitum* (*l*).

(*E*) *He was not of Holſtein as*] See the words of Mr. *Mollerus*: (*m*) *Suevus ortu fuit, non autem Holſatus, uti Conrad. Dietericus* (1) *& Sebaſtianus Schmeddius* (2) *falſo ſibi perſuadent.*

(*F*) *And that removing to* Embden *in the Year* 1528.] After Mr. *Mollerus's* Proofs, it can't be doubted, but that *Hofman* was at *Kiel* in the Year 1528, and 1529, and that he had retired thither upon his leaving *Saxony* (*n*) in Diſcontent; and therefore we may believe they are miſtaken, who make him remove from *Strasburg* to *Embden* in 1528. Mr. *Ottius* obſerves, that many ſay this; and he doth not cenſure 'em. (*o*) *Embdam Argentorato abiiſſe Melchiorem Hoffmannum plures ajunt. Ergo non demum anno* 1531. *eò conceſſit niſi forte rèdierit, vel diutius ibi commoratus ſit.* Theſe Words inform us, that ſome ſay, *Hofman* went to *Embden*, in 1531. This ſeems the to be true Epoch of his Miniſtry at *Embden*: for ſince he publiſhed in *Strasburg* a Relation of the Conference (*p*) of *Flensburg* in the Year 1529; 'tis a Proof that he went to *Strasburg*, when he was expell'd from *Holſtein*. 'Tis very probable that from *Strasburg* he went to *Embden*, and that he returned again to *Strasburg*: he was there in the Year 1532. Note, That Mr. *Mollerus* promiſes a Relation of the Tumults he raiſed (*q*) in *Strasburg* and *Embden*, after he left *Holſtein*. Is not this to tell us, that he went to *Embden*, after he had divulg'd his Dreams in *Strasburg*, in the Year 1529? Mr. *Hoornbeek* (*r*) has reaſon for ſaying, that he return'd from *Embden* to *Strasburg*, but not for ſaying, that he went from *Strasburg* to *Embden* in 1528. This Author obſerves, that at his going from *Embden*, he left there one *Trypmaacker*, who quarrelling with his Collegues, retired into *Holland*, and became the firſt Apoſtle of the *Anabaptiſts*. *Caſſander* is leſs miſtaken about the Date of this Fanatick's Miniſtry. (*s*) *Donec tandem*, ſays he, *ſub ann.* 1532. *Melchior quidam Hofmannus, arte pellio, hanc novam contagionem cum aliis quibuſdam non minus perniciosis erroribus in Germaniam hanc inferiorem & Belgicam invexit.*

multum, quos Hofmannus poſt abitum ex Holſatia, & Embdæ concitavit Anabaptiſtico-Enthuſiaſticorum. 133. (*r*) Hoornb. ſumma controverſ. pag. m. 362. (*s*) Caſſander, Epiſt. dedicat. tractatus de baptiſmo. (*G*)

(*f*) *His Name is* Joh. Bugenhagius: *but he is commonly call'd* Pomeranus, *from his Native Country.*

(*g*) Idem Mollerus, pag. 133.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Præſtante Hofmanni fuere Johan. à Campen & Jac. Hegge Dantiſcanus, ad ſaniorem in colloquio hoc mentem reducti. Id. Moller. pag. 131, 132.

(*k*) Mollerus ibid. pag. 131.

(*l*) Id. ib.

(*m*) Idem pag. 127.

(*n*) In Analyſi Periochæ Evangel. Dom. II. Adventus.

(2) In Diſſ. de Chiliaſmo Apocalyptico, pag. 9.

(*n*) A. 1527. Magdeburgo in Holſatiam delatus. Mollerus ubi ſupra, pag. 128. Seckendorf Hiſt. Lutheran. l. 2 p. 122. *ſays, he departed from* Wittemberg.

(*o*) Johan. Henricus Ottius, Hiſtor. Anabapt. ad ann. 1528. n. 1. p. 45.

(*p*) *It was held a little after* Eaſter, *in the Year* 1529. *See* Mollerum ubi ſupra pag. 131.

(*q*) Tu- Argentinæ Id. ib. p.

(*a*) Caſ-

he there vented his Viſions with ſo aſtoniſhing a Succeſs, as to paſs for (G) the firſt Patriarch of the *Anabaptiſts* of the *Netherlands* and the Lower *Germany*. He ſo infatuated his Followers, that they took him for that *Elias*, which God is to ſend upon the Earth before the Day of Judgment. He returned to *Strasburg* with hopes to ſee the Succeſs of a Prophecy, that concern'd him (H), and which had been given out by a good old Man of *Frieſland*. He there preached up *Anabaptiſm* openly. The Diſturbances he raiſed, occaſioned the calling of a Synod in *June*, 1532. where he was permitted to diſpute with the Miniſters, and was ſolidly confuted. But he continued to dogmatize, and it was thought neceſſary to (I) impriſon him, the People thinking themſelves upon the Brink of great Troubles, becauſe his Followers ſaid the Town of *Strasburg* was to be the *New Jeruſalem*, where the new Kingdom of Chriſt ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and that as *Hofman* was the *Elias* that was to come, *Polserman* was the *Enoch* who was to Second him. When they ſaw *Hofman* in Priſon, they gave out, that he ſhould come out with One hundred forty four Thouſand Marked People, who ſhould anathematize the Earth, and break through all the Obſtacles that might be oppos'd. Our *Elias*, and our *Enoch*, ſaid they, are the two Olives, and the two Candleſticks in the *Revelation* †, which no Body can hurt, and if any one attempt it, Fire ſhall come out of their Mouth, and devour their Enemies. When they ſaw *Hofman* did not come out of Priſon at the Time appointed by ſome of the Prophets, they were in a great Conſternation; but to amuſe them, he ſent 'em Word, they muſt reſt for two Years, like *Eſdras* and *Haggai*, who were forced for a like Space of time to interrupt the Building of the Temple. He died in Priſon, and fruſtrated the Hopes of his Diſciples *. I will relate ſome of (K) his Hereſies. Some ſay ‡ that he began to preach near the *Rhine*, after the Defeat of the Peaſants in 1525.

† *See the* XI. *Chap. of the* Revelation, v. 4. 5.

* *Taken from* Frederick Spanheim ubi ſupra.

‡ Joh. Henricus Ottius, Hiſtor. Anabapt. ad ann. 1525. n. 21. p. 36.

HONORIA, Siſter of *Valentinian* III. incurr'd the Indignation of that Emperor by her Lewdneſs, and endeavoured to revenge her ſelf by another Crime. She ſollicited *Attila* to undertake the Conqueſt of the Empire, and promiſed to marry him. Authors vary a little about this. Some pretend that ſhe was not a looſe Woman till (A) ſhe ſaw her Deſign miſcarry of marrying the King of the *Huns*: others ſay (B) that

(G) *As to paſs for the firſt Patriarch of the* Anabaptiſts *of the* Netherlands, *&c.*] The above-cited Words of *Caſſander* ſhew it, and here are two other Witneſſes. (b) *Huic Patriarchæ etiam eorum qui in inferiori Germania ſuccreverunt, Anabaptiſtarum tradux adſcribi ſolet.* 'Tis thus, *Frederick Spanheim* ſpeaks. (c) *Qui huc Anabaptiſtica delria attulit ex Germania ſuperiore primus fuit Melchior Hofman.* *Hoornbeek* ſays this.

(b) Spanheim. de Orig. & Progr. Anabapt. n. 92. pag. m. 211.

(c) Hoornbeek ſumma Controv. p. m. 361.

(H) *To ſee the Succeſs of a Prophecy that concerned him.*] Whilſt he was planting his Goſpel at *Embden* with great Heat, and ſtoutly re-baptizing People, there was a good old Man, who poſſeſt him with a deſire to return to *Strasburg*. This old Man was of that Gang. He prophecied, that the Magiſtrates of *Strasburg* ſhould impriſon *Hofman*, but that at ſix Months end the Priſoner ſhould be delivered, and ſhould go and preach the Goſpel over all the Earth, as another *Elias*, having with him a great Train of Prophets, and the One hundred and forty four thouſand Marked Perſons, mentioned in the *Revelation* (d). *Hofman* having publickly diſputed with the Miniſters the 11th. of *June*, 1532, and not ceaſing to ſpread his Enthuſiaſms, after he had been confounded in that Diſpute, was clapt into Priſon. When he ſaw that part of the Prophecy was accompliſhed, he became more inſolent. He ſhook off the Duſt from his Feet, he threw his Hat upon the Ground, and proteſted before God, that he would feed upon nothing but Bread and Water, till he ſhould point out with his Finger him that ſent him. His hopes were confounded, for he died in Priſon (e). A hundred Inſtances ſhew, that the moſt Chimerical Predictions have had ſome Parts of them confirmed by the Event: which has given Strength to the Error; nothing contributing more to the Ruin of theſe Viſioniſts and their Adherents. 'Tis eſpecially with Relation to theſe Matters, that it may be ſaid, *The End Crowns the Work.* Men ſhould be very cautious of judging of the whole by a part, *ex ungue leonem.* The Concluſion is to be waited for, and the firſt Succeſs ought to be diſtruſted; for this is a Snare, and a dangerous Allurement.

(d) *Chap.* VII. *and* XIV.

(e) *Taken from* Hoornbeek ubi ſupra pag. 362.

(I) *To impriſon him.*] *Spanheimius*, *Hoornbeek*, and many others, affirm, that *Hofman* diſputed in *June* 1532, and was not impriſon'd till after the Obſtinacy with which he ſtill continued to Dogmatize. But I will here produce an Author, who places that Conference in *June* 1533, and aſſures us, that this Enthuſiaſt was brought out of Priſon to diſpute with the Miniſters. (f) *Anno* 1533. *Menſe Junio die* 11. *Hoffmannus Argentorati è vinculis ad publicam diſputationem productus & admiſſus fuit. à quo tempore inſtaurationem Regni DEI ortam eſſe ſui affirmabant. Iſdem Hoffmannus Authoritate prædictionum cujuſdam verè deliri Leonardi Joeſt civis Argentinenſis, & aliorum ſimilium fanaticorum hominum, multa vana de urbe Argent. prædixit, &c. quæ tamen ab urbe non recepta, ſed aquâ & igni interdicebatur omnibus, qui eam ſectam publicè privatimque tuebantur.* Ottius (g) follows this Chronology; which ſhews that many Faults have crept into the Narratives of the Hiſtorians of *Anabaptiſm*. He relates a Paſſage of *Henry Urſin* (h), where we learn, that *Hofman* prophecied that Year, that *Strasburg* ſhould be the *New Jeruſalem*, as *Rome* was *Babylon*; that *Strasburg* ſhould be beſieged the ſame Year, and that there ſhould be a great Slaughter in't; and that this Man preferred his Predictions before thoſe of *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah*; and that *Matthias* and his Favourers applied to *Munſter* all theſe fine Prerogatives of *Strasburg*, which diſpleaſed *Hofman* when he knew it.

(f) Ottius Hiſtor. Anabapt. ad ann. 1533. n. 6. p. 61. *He quotes* Revius in Hiſtoria Georgii. *But he ſhould have quoted* Nicolaus Blesdikius; *for 'tis he who wrote the Hiſtory of* David George, *and* Revius *did but publiſh it.*

(g) Ottius, ibid.

(h) Henr. Urſinus Præf. in Apocalyp. in fine.

(K) *Some of his Hereſies.*] He taught, 1. that the Word was not united to a Fleſh that came from the Holy Virgin: His Reaſon was, that all humane Fleſh is defiled with Sin, and conſequently curſed. 2. That Jeſus Chriſt has but one Nature. 3. That the obtaining of Salvation, depends only on our ſelves, and that we are only ſaved or damned, according to the uſe that we make of our Free-Will. 4. That the Baptiſm of Infants proceeds rather from the Enemy of God and Men, than from God (i).

(i) *Taken from* Spanheim ubi ſupra.

(A) *That ſhe was not a Looſe Woman till ſhe ſaw her Deſign miſcarry.*] A Modern Author, who quotes *Sigonius* and *Marcellinus*, ſays that *Honoria*, devour'd with a Luſtful Flame ſent an Eunuch to *Attila* to offer her ſelf in Marriage to him with the Empire; that *Attila* ſent ſome Embaſſadors to the Emperor *Valentinian* to ask *Honoria* of him; but before their return, he fell ſo much in Love with a young Lady of his Nation, that he Married her and Died on his Wedding-day with too much Drinking and Careſſing his Spouſe. Upon which *Honoria*, diſappointed of her hopes, gave up her ſelf to ſome Gallants, who got her with Child, after which ſhe was ſent to *Conſtantinople*. *Hac libidine inflammata Eunuchum legatum ad Attilam Hunnorum regem miſit, conjugium & regnum ei offerens. Miſit igitur Attila legatos ad Valentinianum, qui ſuaſionibus minas adjicientes, Honoriam petebant, ſed priuſquam legati Roma reverterentur, Attila —— puella cujuſdam —— amore captus —— nuptias cum ea celebravit —— Honoria igitur cum ſpe ſua fruſtraretur, aliis ſe proſtituit:*

(B) that before she had that intention, she led but a disorderly Life.

HONORIUS a Roman Emperor, Son of *Theodosius*. Not to repeat what is found in *Moreri*, I shall only speak of his Marriage. He Married successively (C) *Stilico's* two Daughters, who both Died, as is said, with their Virginity. *Zosimus* (D) Relates hereupon some very singular Circumstances, not to be found in other Historians; but he is Guilty of a great (E) Contradiction, which plainly appears to every Reader.

HOORNBEEK (*John*) a Professor of Divinity in the Universities of *Utrecht* and *Leyden*, was one of the most famous Divines, that appeared in *Holland* in the XVII*th*. Century. He was Born at *Haerlem* † in the Year 1617, where he perform'd his Studies till he was fifteen or sixteen years of Age; after which he was sent to *Leyden*, where he made a great Improvement under the Learned Professors of that University. Having staid two years there, he went to Study at *Utrecht* in the Year 1635, from whence he returned to *Leyden* the Year following. He was admitted Minister in the Year 1639, and went to exercise his Office secretly at *Cologne*. He discharged all his Duties with abundance of Piety and Prudence, and was not Discouraged with the Dangers he was expos'd to in such a Popish Town. He return'd to *Holland* in the Year 1643, and was made * Doctor of Divinity with great Applauses the 21*st* of *December* of the same Year. He gave such Proofs of his great Capacity, that he was look'd upon as a Man sufficiently qualified for the Professorship of Divinity, which was vacant at *Utrecht* since the Death of *Schotanus*. He accepted that Imploy preferably to all others, which (A) were offered him in other Towns. He was Install'd Professor of Divinity at *Utrecht* in *July* 1644. He was made Ordinary Pastor of the same Town the year following, and notwithstanding the Difficulty of discharging the Duties of those two Places, he acquitted (B) himself of them with great Exactness, whereby his

† John Hoornbeek *his Grandfather, retired thither with his Wife in the year* 1548. *when he left* Flanders *his Native Country on Account of Religion.*

* *In the University of* Utrecht.

(*h*) Christian. Matthiæ, Theatr. Histor. p. m. 733.

(*i*) Maimbourg Hist. de l'Arian. B. 9. p. 6. & 7. *of the* 3. *Tom.* Dutch *Edit.*

(*k*) Histor. Hungar. Decad. 1. lib. 7.

(*l*) Marcellinus Comes in Chronic. apud Pithœum in Claudian. p. 766. Edit. in 4.

(*m*) Tyro qua fultus Honorius ostro, Carpebat teneros Maria cum conjuge Somnos. *Claudian. de bello Gildonico* v. 327.

(*n*) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ὁνώριος ἀπὸ πολλῆ Μαρίας αὐτῆς τελευτῆσαι ἔσπευδε πρὸς γάμους τῆς γαμετῆς ἀδελφῆς Εὐσεβίαν ἔσεσθαι ἐκ θεοῦ τῷ γάμῳ. Imperator autem Honorius, Maria conjuge jampridem rebus humanis exempta, sororem ejus Thermantiam sibi matrimonio jungi petebat. Zosimus l. 5. p. m. 333.

(*a*) Id. ib.

(*b*) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ὁνώριος τὴν μὲν γαμετὴν Θερμαντίαν παρ' οὐδὲν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς βασιλικῆς δόξης τῆς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ προεστώσης τῶν πραγμάτων. Imperator autem Honorius uxorem Thermantiam augustali dejectam solio matri suæ reddi jussit, nulla tamen adhuc suspicione gravatam. Id. ibid. P. 346. pag. 350. *he speaks of the rewards bestowed upon the Eunuchs who brought* Thermantia *to* Serena.

(*c*) *In the Remark* C.

(*d*) *A Town in* Guelderland.

(*e*) *Taken from* John Hoornbeek's *Life prefixed to his Book* De conversione Indorum.

(*f*) *That is the place of Professor and that of Pastor.*

nit: inde gravida facta, Constantinopolim mittitur (*h*).

(B) *That before she had that Intention, she led but a disorderly Life.*] 'Honoria, (*i*) Sister of the 'Emperor *Valentinian*, giving her self up to the 'Comptroller of his Household, was disgracefully 'driven out of her Brother's Palace, and afterwards 'forc'd to retire into the *East* to *Theodosius*. Which 'inspired her with so Furious a Passion for Revenge, 'that finding no other way to satisfy it, she secretly 'sent to *Attila*, to perswade him to undertake the 'Conquest of *Italy*, which the weakness of *Valentinian*, and the Confusion of the Empire would 'make very easy for him. According to *Bonfinius's* Account (*k*), she was in a Convent when she sent to found *Attila*, who perceiving that the Affair did not go on, thought himself played upon: which induced him to Marry the Daughter of the King of the *Bastrians*. If *Honoria* was in a Cloyster, 'tis a sign she had behaved her self ill.

(C) Stilico's *two Daughters.*] The first was called *Mary* and the other *Thermantia*. Their Mother *Serena*, fired with Ambition, did not stay till *Mary* was Marriageable, to give her to the Emperor; and after *Mary's* Death, she was in as great haste to Marry *Thermantia* to the same Prince. The Words I am going to quote, testify that they Died Maids. (*l*) *Stilico Comes, cujus filiæ duæ Maria & Thermantia, singulæ uxores Honorii principis fuerant, utraque tamen virgo defuncta.* And yet the Poet *Claudian* tells us that *Honorius* and *Mary* lay together (*m*). See the next Remark.

(D) Zosimus *relates hereupon some singular Circumstances.*] *Serena* not being able to resolve upon deferring the Marriage of her Daughter *Mary* with the Emperor, nor to Consent that Nature should be forced by the Consummation of the Marriage, because *Mary* was not yet ripe for it, imagined a Medium, which was to debilitate *Honorius*. She found out a Woman experienced in this sort of Charms, who contrived the matter so, that *Honorius* when he went to Bed to his young Spouse, had neither Inclination nor Power to pay the Conjugal Duty. *Mary* Died soon after with her Virginity. *Honorius* (*n*) sometime after Courted *Thermantia*, *Mary's* Sister: the Father was not inclined to the Marriage; but *Serena* Passionately desired it, that she might maintain her Authority. The Marriage was performed, but it lasted but a little while; *Thermantia* soon Dying with the same Fate as her Sister. That is to say, she lay with a Man that neither would nor could know her: The Sorceress, whom *Serena* had made use of, renewed the Operation of her Charms. *Zosimus* doth not expressly say this: 'Tis only a Consequence I draw from his Words. I set them down somewhat at length; they deserve it, as containing a very singular thing,

Τὸ γάμα πρὸς τὸν Μαρίαν Ὁνωρίῳ ἐκτελεῖται, γάμων ὄφιν ἔνα τὸν κόρην ἄγουσα ἡ μήτηρ ἐπῳδὸς, ἢ ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ γάμου ἀνέχεται, ἢ τῇ παρ' ἐλπίδα εἰς μέσον ἐκφέρει. γάμους δὲ ἀνάλυσε μὴ δὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔσεσθαι, χρόνῳ τε τελευτᾷ θυγατρὸς ἐπιγαμίαν τυγχάνει, κατὰ τὰ ἴσα τῇ πρώτῃ. μὴν τὸν θυγατέρα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ ὁμιλεῖσθαι εἶναι. Τὴν δὲ μὲν ἰδίαν μίαν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ τοῦ γάμου προεκπλῆσαι κρείττων. Ἐν τούτῳ τῆς νύμφης ἀνήρ γάμον ἀποδύεται, ἀπάτης ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γαμεῖ ὑποβαλόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς μὴ τὴν φυσικὴν κρίσιν ἐνεργεῖν ἐκ φαρμάκων, τῆς ἀνδρὸς συνεύδειν τὸν Ὁνώριον ἐποιοῦντο. ἢ δὲ γυνὴ φίλτρα μὲν ἀπὸ μιᾶς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς γαμετῆς ἐκβάλλει.

(*n*) *Quum Honorius matrimonium cum Maria contraheret, mater ejus Serena quæ puellam nondum nubilem ætatem attigisse cerneret, ne neque sibi posset imperare ut nuptiæ differentur, & immaturam maritali consuetudini tradere nihil esse arbitraretur aliud quam injuriam naturæ facere; nacta mulierem quæ rebus hujusmodi remedium adferre sciret, ejus opera perfecit, ut filia cum principe quidem viveret, ac tori consors ejusdem esset, verum ille nec vellet nec posset, ea quæ matrimonium requireret, implere. Interim puella virgine mortua, non abs re Serena quæ sobolis imperatoriæ consequendæ percupida esset, ob metum ne quid sibi de tanta potentia decederet, id operam dabat ut Honorium alteri filiæ copularet. Quo facto, puella non multo post vitam cum morte commutat, quum idem ei quod priori accidisset.*

(E) *But he is guilty of a great Contradiction.*] We have seen, that he says, *Thermantia* Died a little after her Marriage; yet he assures us in the same Book, that *Honorius* (*b*) having put *Stilico* to Death, sent back *Thermantia* to her Mother. *Stilico* was killed the same year, that *Honorius* Married *Thermantia*, that is, in the Consulship of *Bassus* and *Philip* in the year 408. As to the other Daughter of *Stilico*, she Married the Emperor in the year 398. in which year was the War against *Gildo*. See *Claudian's* Passage (*c*).

(A) *Which were offer'd him in other Towns.*] In *February* 1644. the Church of *Maestricht* would have had him for their Minister. That of *Graft* in North *Holland* invited him in *March* in the same year, and he was offered a Professorship of Divinity in the *Illustrious School* of *Harderwick* (*d*) in *May* following (*e*). 'Tis a very glorious thing to be thus Courted at 27 years of Age.

(B) *He acquitted himself of them with great Exactness.*] I have reserved the Particulars of it for this Remark, in which I make use of the Words of him who wrote our *Hoornbeek's* Life. *In utroque* (*f*) *autem Statione per decennium fere perseveravit, tanta eruditionis, eloquentiæ, pietatis & diligentiæ fama, omnibus quo ordinibus adeo gratus, ut nullus in majori fuerit existimatione, non Ultrajecti solum, sed in toto Belgio. Nempe assiduus erat in docendo, precando, concionando, legendo, disputando, regendo, præsidendo, catechisationibus habendis, numbris Ecclesiæ, imprimis ægris visitandis. Quibus artibus optimis certe, Magistratus* Trajectini *gratiam adeo*

his excellent Talents became so useful to the Publick, that he got the Love and Esteem of every Body. But that he might not sink under so many Labours, the Magistrates dispensed him with part of his Ministerial Function. He was invited to *Leyden*, to the same Imployments that he had at *Utrecht*; and he accepted of them in the Year 1654. He was a great Ornament to that famous University, till his Death, which happen'd the first of *September* 1666. He deserved a much longer Life; but it's more to be wondred that a Man so Laborious (C) as he was, should Live 49 Years, than that he lived no longer. The many (D) Books he Published, are a speaking Proof of his Application and vast Extent of Knowledge. He understood many (E) Languages, and had the Friendship of the most excellent * Divines of his Age. He never Deviated from the most rigid Orthodoxy, and was no less recommendable for the Qualities of a Moral and Virtuous Man, than for the Talents of his Mind, and of a Learned Professor. This we may see in the Particulars of his Life †. He left Children worthy of him (F), and one needs say no more for their Commendation.

HORATIUS (*Publius*) Sirnamed *Coeles* did a glorious Action, whilst the City of *Rome*, his Native Country, was Besieged by King *Porsenna*. His Article being very good, and large enough in *Moreri's* Dictionary ‡, mine shall be very short, and I shall insist only on the difference that is to be found among the Antient Historians, (A) with respect to a Circumstance, that should have been related without any Variation.

HORTENSIA, Sister of the Orator *Hortensius*. Thus it is a Modern Author names her *; but as he himself Acknowledges in another Place †, the name that *Plutarch* gives *Hortensius's* Sister is *Valeria*. Turn therefore to VALERIA, for we are no ways oblig'd to give *Hortensius* two Sisters of different Names.

HOR-

* *See the Catalogue of them in his Life.*

† *It is prefixed to his Treatise* De conversione Indorum & Gentilium, *and it was written by* David Stuart. *I have taken this Article out of it.*

‡ *In the* Paris *Edition* 1699. * Glandorp. Onom. p. 406.

† Idem p. 865.

adeo meruit & invit, ut Magistratus optimus suo proprio motu, non petentem, nec forte cogitantem, liberavit dimidia parte oneris Pastoralis, servato tamen integro honore & honorario. Would you have a notion of a good Pastor, read in what manner *Hoornbeek* performed his Visits. *Membra Ecclesiæ frequenter invisebat, pios animabat, ignaros docebat, malos corrigebat, hæreticos confutabat, afflictos fodabatur, agros recreabat, infirmos roborabat, dejectos erigebat, pauperibus subveniebat, omnes denique juvabat pro eorum statu & conditione, omnibus adeas in omnibus, omnibus se omnia faciebat, gravibus gravem, hilaribus hilarem, afflictis condolentem, doctis doctum & Doctorem, plebi Pastorem, errantibus ducem, ut in viam reduceret veritatis.* As to his Vigilance in the Functions of his Professorship, this is the Testimony that is given him. (g) *Studiosos vero Theologiæ veluti filios omni cura complectebatur, laboresque suos præcipuos iis impendebat; non lectiones solum in eorum gratiam habebat, sed frequentia Collegia omnis generis, atque Disputationes ordinarias & extraordinarias, ex quibus resultarunt tot vasta & egregia volumina ad institutionem juventutis, imo ad usum omnium, sed imprimis ad conversionem Hæreticorum.*

(g) *Ex* vita Jo. Hoornbeeki.

(C) *So Laborious as he was.*] This may be known from the Particulars contained in the Preceding Remark; but it may be better discovered by the Words that follow. They relate to the time that he was Professor of Divinity and Pastor at *Leyden*. *Curam Ecclesiæ suo jure poterat in Collegas derivare, quia primario* (b) *Pastori ab ea immuni adjunctus, cum eo labores, honores, præmia & privilegia omnia ex decreto sapientissimi Magistratus æqualiter distribuebat. Sed ab Ecclesiæ cura, membrorumque & ægrorum visitatione dispensari noluit, contra vero, cum dimidias tantum Pastoris vices demandatas haberet, integras voluit implere, zelo & diligentia stupenda in homine aliis occupatissimo, imo non tam onerato quam oppresso, & tantum non fatiscente sub multiplici onere, cui plures simul juncti vix essent pares. Concionabatur in Templo, legebat in Academia, præsidebat in Consistorio, Catechisationes instituebat in Chord, Collegia habebat in domo, scribebat in museo, sæpe in lecto, membra Ecclesiæ visitabat in ædibus, agros etiam & pestiferos, curam ad omnes & ad omnia extendebat* (i).

(b) *It was the Professor* Heidanus.

(i) Ex eadem vita.

(D) *The great number of Books he Published.*] They may be divided into five Classes, *Didactica, Polemica, Practica, Historica, Oratoria.* Those of the 1. are. *Institutiones Theologicæ in* 8. *Irenicum de studio pacis & concordiæ, in* 4. *De consociatione Evangelica inter Reformatos & Evangelicos, in* 4. Those of the 2. are *Socinianismi confutati tomi tres, in* 4. *Pro convincendis & convertendis* (a) *Judæis, l.* 8. *in* 4. *De conversione Gentilium, libri duo in* 4. *Examen Bullæ Urbani VIII. de Jesuitarum Imaginibus & Festis, in* 4. *Examen Bullæ Innocentii X. de pace Germaniæ, in* 4. *Epistola ad Dunæum de Independentismo, in* 8. *Commentarius de Paradoxis Weigelianis, in* 12. *Apologia pro Ecclesia Christiana hodierna, contra Libellum, ad Legem & Testimonium, &c. in* 8. *De observando à Christianis Præcepto Decalogi quarto, in* 12. *De episcopatu, in* 8. Those of the 3. are, *Theologiæ practicæ tomi duo, in* 4. *De peste, in* 12. Those of the 4. are, *Summa controversiarum, in* 8. *Miscella vetera & nova.* I put in the 5. *Orationes variæ Inaugurales, Valedictoriæ, Rectorales & funebres.* I don't give the Titles of his *Dutch* Works, which contain many Tracts.

(a) *This Book is without doubt the same that Mr.* Baillet *Tom.* 2. *of his Anti* pag. 38. *calls* Disp. Anti-Judaïques, *but it's certain that this is not the Title of it. 'Tis likely that Mr.* Baillet *was deceived by some Body, who quoted it thus for brevity-sake.*

(E) *He understood many Languages.*] These are the Words of the Author of his Life. (b) *Linguas si species, novit plurimas doctarum & vulgarium, Latinam, Græcam, Hebraicam, Chaldaicam, Syriacam, Rabinicam, Belgicam, Germanicam, Anglicam, Gallicam, Italicam, Arabicam & Hispanicam rudimenta attigit.*

(F) *He left Children worthy of him.*] He Married in the year 1650. at *Utrecht Anne Bernard.* By this Marriage he became related to some Illustrious Persons, as to (c) *Constantin l'Empereur*, Professor (d) of Divinity, and *Jodocus* (e) *Hondius* a most famous Geographer, Grandfather to *Henry Hondius* who was killed in Fighting Valiantly for the Service of his Country, in the Ship of Admiral *Tromp* which he Commanded. Mr. *Hoornbeek* left two Sons, *Isaac HOORNBEEK* formerly a famous Advocate at the *Hague*, and at present Pensionary of the City of *Rotterdam*, and *Henry Emilius HOORNBEEK*, a Commissioner of the Imposts in the Province of *Holland*.

(b) In vita Hoornbeeki.

(c) *The Grandmother, by the Father's side, of* Anne Bernard *was call'd* Jacqueline l'Empereur, *and was the Aunt of* Constantine l'Empereur *and of* John l'Empereur *Minister at the* Hague.

(d) *At* Harderwick, *and then at* Leyden.

(e) *He was* Anne Bernard's *Grandfather by the Mother's side.*

(A) *The difference that is to be found——with respect to a Circumstance.*] Some Historians say that throwing himself into the *Tiber*, after having Repulsed the Enemy till the Bridge was broken behind him, he got to the other side of the River notwithstanding the weight of his Arms, without receiving any Wound; but others say, that he receiv'd so great a Wound in his Thigh, that he continued Lame of it all his Life. *Livy* manifestly supposes that he was not Wounded. (f) *Cunctati aliquandiu sunt* (Hetrusci) *dum alius alium ut prælium incipiant, circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit necem, & clamore sublato undique in unum hostem tela conjiciunt, quæ cum in objecto* CUNCTA *scuto hæsissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, jam impetu detrudere conabantur virum, cum simul fragor rupti ponderis, simul clamor Romanorum alacritate perfecti operis sublatus pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles, Tyberine pater, inquit, te sancte precor, hos arma & hunc militem propitio flumine accipias. Ita sic armatus in Tyberim desiluit: multisque* SUPERINCIDENTI-

(f) Titus Livius l. 2. [illegible] p. 43.

BUS

HORTENSIA, Daughter of the Orator *Hortenſius*, ſhewed her ſelf worthy of ſuch a Father, by her Eloquence, when ſhe pleaded the Cauſe of the Roman Ladies before the *Triumviri*, who had decreed that fourteen hundred of them ſhould declare what Eſtates they Poſſeſt, intending after that to Tax them according to their Fancy for the Expences of the War. Thoſe *Triumviri* were *Mark Antony*, *Octavius*, and *Lepidus*. They had at firſt ſignified that thoſe who ſhould not give in a true Valuation of their Eſtates, ſhould be fin ed; and that a Reward ſhould be given to thoſe who ſhould diſcover their Deceit. The Ladies recurr'd to the Interceſſion of thoſe amongſt 'em, who might have an Intereſt in the *Triumviri*, and were civilly received by the Siſter of *Octavius*, and the Mother of *Mark Antony*: but *Fulvia Mark Antony's* Wife, ſhut the Door againſt them; inſomuch that they reſolved to preſent themſelves before the *Triumviri*. *Hortenſia* was their Speaker, and made a moſt excellent Speech. *Quintilian* * has mentioned it with Praiſe. The *Triumviri* were ſo harſh, as to Cenſure the boldneſs which the Ladies had expreſſed, and they commanded their Servants (*A*) to turn them out. That Order ſet all the Company a crying; the Murmurs hinder'd the Uſhers from executing the Order: Whereupon the *Triumviri* put off the Buſineſs to the next Day. The Iſſue was, that only four hundred Women were oblig'd to give an Eſtimate of their Poſſeſſions ‡. By this we may make a better judgment of that Event than by (*B*) *Moreri's* Account of it, and even by *Valerius Maximus's* Words, which may be ſeen in one of the Remarks.

HORTENSIUS, The name of a *Plebeian* Family of *Rome*, taken probably from their Application to Gardening, as that of *Fabius* and *Lentulus*, &c. came from a

* Quinti Hortenſii filiæ oratio apud Triumviros habita legitur non tantum in ſexus honorem. Quintil. Inſtit. l. 1. c. 1.

‡ Ex Appiano l. 4. Bell. Civil.

BUS TELIS INCOLUMIS *ad ſuos tranſiit, rem auſus plus fama habituram ad poſteros quam fidei.* We may be ſure that all thoſe, who don't Expreſly obſerve his receiving of a Wound, are of *Livy's* Opinion; for their Deſign was to commend the great Courage of this *Roman*. Now that Action is more Admirable and Glorious, if he was Wounded, than if he was not. We muſt ſay then, that if *Florus* (*g*) and *Seneca* (*b*) make no mention of a Wound, 'tis becauſe they were perſwaded he received none. *Valerius Maximus* has ſo poſitively denied that he receiv'd any, that this ought to induce us to believe, there was a Tradition for the Negative. (*i*) *Ut patriam periculo imminenti liberatam vidit, armatus ſe in Tiberim miſit: cujus fortitudinem Dii immortales admirati*, INCOLUMITATEM SINCERAM *ei præſtiterunt. Nam neque altitudine dejectus, quaſſatuſve, neque pondere armorum preſſus, nec ullo vorticis circuitu actus: nec telis quidem, quæ undique congerebantur*, LÆSUS, TUTUM *natandi eventum habuit.* But there are three famous Hiſtorians, who go upon another Tradition. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* (*k*) gives a long Account of this Fight, and aſſures us in expreſs Words, that *Horatius* received a Wound with a Lance that pierced his Thigh, and put him to ſuch Torture that he could ſcarce ſtand, when he underſtood the Bridge was broken. This Hiſtorian adds 1. that 'twas believ'd, he would ſoon Die of his Wounds: 2. That when it was known he would recover, he had noble Recompences given him; but that he could not come to the Conſulſhip, nor to any Military Office, becauſe he halted ever after the Fight. *Plutarch* ſays (*l*) that a Statue of Braſs was Erected to him in the Temple of *Vulcan*, to comfort him upon the misfortune of his being Cripple: by that Wound. He had ſaid before that he had recover'd the Town by Swimming, being Wounded in his Hip: (*m*) ὑπὸ τὴν βουβωνίαν τὸν μηρὸν. *Jaculo Hetruſco in natibus ictus. Dion Caſſius* affirms, that *Cicero* Declaiming againſt *Mark Antony* before the Senate, Swore (*n*) by *Horatius's* Thigh, and *Mutius's* Hand. I am not ignorant that that direct Oration which he ſpeaks of, is not like any of *Cicero's Philippicks*: But *Dion* who forg'd it, would not have uſed ſuch an Oath, had not there been a Tradition that *Horatius* was Wounded in the Thigh in defending his Country againſt *Tarquin's* Friends. We'll produce a fourth Witneſs *viz. Servius.* (*p*) *Solus Coeles hoſtilem impetum ſuſtinuit, donec à tergo pons ſolveretur à ſociis, quo ſoluto ſe cum armis præcipitavit in Tyberim, & licet* LÆSUS *eſſet in coxa, tamen ejus fuenta ſuperavit. Unde eſt illud ab eo dictum, cum ei in comitiis coxa vitium objiceretur, per ſingulos gradus admoneor triumphi mei.* You ſee that the Tradition about *Horatius's* Wound was ſupported with the Circumſtances of a Witty Saying he made uſe of, when he was reproached with his Lameneſs: *Every Step*, ſaid he, *that I make, puts me in mind of my Triumph.* 'Tis ſaid that *Alexander* (*q*) made uſe of that thought to comfort the King his Father, who was afflicted with a Lameneſs he received from a Wound in a Battle.

(*g*) Florus lib. 1. (*and not* l. 5. *as in* Moreri. Florus's *Hiſtory is only divided into* 4. *Books*) cap 10.

(*b*) Seneca Epiſt. 120. p. m. 464.

(*i*) Valer. Maximus l. 3. c. 2. n. 1. p. m. 241. 242.

(*k*) Dionyſ. Halic. lib. 5. c. 23. 24.

(*l*) Plutarch. in Valerio p. 106.

(*m*) Id. ib. p. 105.

(*n*) Οὐ μὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ μηρῷ τοῦ Ὁρατίου καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ Μουκίου. Non per crus Horatii & manum Mutii. Dio l. 45. p. m. 325.

(*p*) Servius in Æneid. lib. 8. v. 646.

(*q*) Plut. de fortuna Alex. Orat. 2. p. 331. B.

If we have reaſon to wonder that in an Event ſo Remarkable as this of *Horatius*, the Traditions for and againſt his being Wounded, ſhould have had each their Partiſans and Followers, even among the moſt famous Writers, what ſhall we ſay of *Polybius* (*r*) who ſuppoſes that this brave and undaunted *Roman* loſt his Life in the *Tiber*? Shall we ſay that he had another Tradition for it? Shall we conclude from hence, that Antient Hiſtory is ſo Dark, that we know not generally what ſide to take amongſt thoſe who deny, and thoſe who affirm the ſame things? And that the Yea and the No being equally Authoriz'd in Matters, wherein it was the eaſieſt thing in the World to know the truth, we may well doubt of the leſs notable Events which the Hiſtorians have mentioned? I ſay, ſhall we infer ſuch Concluſions? I ſhould rather adviſe the Reader to make uſe of theſe Obſervations to fortify his Judgment againſt the Cuſtom of reading without Attention, and of believing without Examination. Note, that the difference of Opinions about *Horatius's* Face, is not ſo much to be wonder'd at; 'tis however a ſign of Hiſtorical Uncertainty. Some affirm that (*f*) *Horatius* was a very handſome Man, others ſay (*t*) 'that he was Sir-'named Coeles——becauſe he was extreamly 'Flat-Nos'd, and that the upper part of his Noſe 'was ſo ſunk into his Head, that there was no Di-'viſion betwixt his two Eyes, and that his Eye-'brows join'd; ſo that the People deſigning to call 'him *Cyclops*, miſtook and call'd him *Coeles*.

(*r*) Polyb. lib. 6. cap. 53.

(*f*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 5. c. 22.

(*t*) Plut. in Valerio p. 105.

(*A*) *They commanded their Servants to turn them out.*] Inſtead of this, *James Philip de Bergamo*, whom *Proſper Mandoſius* (*a*) follows, ſays that *Hortenſia's* Eloquence was ſo admir'd by the Auditory, that they thought they had heard her Father, and that ſhe obtain'd of the *Triumviri* whatever the Ladies deſired and great Praiſes beſides. He has committed two other Faults; 1. that *Hortenſia* writ many things, 2. That the Roman Ladies were taxed, becauſe the Publick Neceſſities required it. 'Twas rather from the Tyrannical Avarice of the *Triumviri*. How many faults do's the deſire of praiſing People, occaſion!

(*a*) *In* Biblioth. Romſ. Cent. 2. n. 88.

(*B*) *Than by* Moreri's *Account*——*and even by* Valerius Maximus.] He ſays, *that the Senate had laid a ſevere Tax upon the Women of* Rome——*and that* Hortenſia *alone undertook the cauſe of her Sex.* 1. The *Triumviri* and not the Senate laid this ſevere Tax, as he calls it. 2. They did not lay it on all the Women of *Rome*, but only on the Rich: 'twas a Tax on thoſe that could well bear it. 3. *Hortenſia* was indeed the only Speaker, but not the only Actor or Interceſſor for her Sex; for all that were concerned, went in a Body to Sollicite the Mothers, Siſters, and Wives of the *Triumviri*; and af-er-

a like Original. *Antonius Auguſtinus* had no reaſon to Rank this Family (*A*) among the Patricians, ſince we find in the *Faſti* one *Lucius* HORTENSIUS, Tribune of the People in the 331. year of *Rome*. He accuſed *Sempronius Atratinus* the Conſul of the foregoing Year, of having raſhly Attack'd the *Volſci*: But his four Collegues, who were preſent at the Battle, ſo earneſtly deſired him to drop the Accuſation, that after having done all that was poſſible to bring them over to his ſide, at laſt he granted them that Favour, when he ſaw them reſolved to quit the Enſigns of their Dignity all the time that the Tryal ſhould laſt. He would not † ſuffer the People to ſee their Tribunes in ſuch an Apparel, nor bring a Conſul to ſuch an Extremity, who had at leaſt gained the Friendſhip of his Soldiers. Above a hundred Years (*B*) after we find one *Quintus* HORTENSIUS Dictator. He brought back the People, who had retired to the *Janiculum*, and made (*C*) a Law, that thenceforth all the *Romans* ſhould be oblig'd to obey the Ordinances of the People. He Died in his Dignity ‖, which was never † ſeen before. *Moreri* (*D*) is ſtrangely out concerning this Dictator. Of all the *Hortenſius's*, he that made himſelf the moſt famous, is he that follows.

HORTENSIUS (*Quintus*) Contemporary with *Cicero*, and almoſt as great an Orator as he, was Born in the 639*th.* year ‡ of *Rome*. He pleaded his firſt Cauſe at nineteen years of Age, and ſucceeded ſo well in it, that he had not only the Approbation

† Non videbit plebs Romana ſordidatos Tribunos ſuos. C. Sempronium nihil moror quando hoc eſt in imperio conſecutus ut tam carus eſſet militibus. Livius l. 4. Dec. 1. *See alſo* Val. Max. l. 6. c. 5.

‖ Livius in Epit. l. 11.

† Auguſt. de Civit. Dei l. 3. c. 17.

‡ *See the Remark* B.

afterwards they came to a hearing; where, as in all ſorts of Deputations, one ſpoke for the reſt. I ſay nothing of *Moreri's* Omiſſions, nor of his wrong Citation of *Appian*, which has been Transfer'd into the *Dutch* Edition with a little change, that may deceive the Reader. That Fault proceeds from the Preſs: *Moreri* doubtleſs writ, *li. 4. belli. civil.* Inſtead of which the Printers of *Lyons* put in *li. 4. b. li civil.* and thoſe of *Holland li. 4. b. li. civil.* Such a thing has been ſufficient upon many Occaſions, to make one believe that an Author had made ſome Books which he never thought of. Who would not believe, ſeeing *Ovid* quoted *in elog.* at the end of the Article *Hortenſius*, the Orator both in the *Dutch* and the preceding Editions, that *Ovid* made a Poem Intitul'd *Elogies*? Every Body doth not Conjecture that inſtead of *in elog.* it ſhould be *in eleg:* A Citation ſomewhat too general, by *Voſſius's* leave (*b*) who has uſed it, but yet true at the bottom. There are many other wrong Citations in this Article of *Moreri's* Dictionary; *Pliny* is there cited twice; the firſt time falſly. The 5*th.* Chapter of the 3*d.* Book of *Varro de re ruſtica* and the 13*th.* of the 3*d.* Book of *Macrobius's Saturnalia*, are quoted wrong, and ſhew that *Moreri* did not verify whether *Voſſius's* Printers had put one Figure for another.

(*b*) De Hiſt. Lat. p. 48. de Poet. Lat. pag. 15.

Here are the Words of *Valerius Maximus* which I have promiſed. (*c*) *Hortenſia Q. Hortenſii filia cum ordo Matronarum gravi tributo a Triumviris eſſet oneratus, nec quiſquam virorum patrocinium eis accommodare auderet, cauſſam feminarum apud Triumviros conſtanter & feliciter egit. Repræſentata enim patris facundia impetravit ut major pars imperata pecuniæ his remitteretur.*

(*c*) Valer. Maxim. l. 8. c. 3. Mereri quotes l. 3. Hofman l. 2.

(*A*) *Among the Patricians.*] The Tract of *Antonius Auguſtinus de Romanorum gentibus & familiis*, which I make uſe of, was Printed at *Lyons* in 1592. in 4*to.* We there find word for word upon the *Familia Hortenſia*, what *Richard Streinnius* ſaid of it in a Book he Publiſhed upon the ſame Subject in 1559. They both go upon a wrong Reaſon, to place this Family among the *Patricians*; namely, that *Cicero* gives the Title of *Nobilis* to *Hortenſius*, in his Orations againſt *Verres*. Who knows not that *Nobilis* and *Plebeius* were not Inconſiſtent Words in Antient *Rome*?

(*B*) *Above a hundred years after.*] 'Tis hard to fix the preciſe year of our *Quintus Hortenſius's* Dictatorſhip. I believe *Sigonius* was right in placing it in the year 467. Father *Hardouin* (*d*) doubtleſs approved that Opinion; but his Printers by omitting a Letter, make him ſay, that the Sedition of the People, which was ſuppreſt by the Dictator *Hortenſius*, happened in the year CCCLXVII. St. *Auſtin* will have it, that *Hortenſius* was Created Dictator by reaſon of the Seceſſion of the People to the *Janiculum*, which is very probable. (*e*) *Poſt graves & longas Rom. ſeditiones quibus ad ultimum plebs in Janiculum hoſtili diremptione ſeceſſerat, cujus mali tam dira calamitas erat, ut ejus rei cauſa quod in extremis periculis fieri ſolebat, & Dictator crearetur Hortenſius, qui plebe revocata in eodem Magiſtratu expiravit, quod nulli Dictatori ante contigerat.*

(*d*) In. Plin. lib. 16. c. 10. p. 239. Tom. 3.

(*e*) De civit. Dei lib. 3. c. 17.

(*C*) *And made a Law that thenceforth.*] An Author cited by *Aulus Gellius*, Teaches us, that the Ordinances made by the Report, or at the Requeſt of the Tribunes of the People, were not properly called Laws, but *Plebiſcita*, and that before *Hortenſius's* Dictatorſhip, the Patricians were not ſubmitted to this ſort of Ordinances. (*a*) *Ne leges quidem proprie ſed Plebiſcita appellantur quæ Tribunis plebis ferentibus accepta ſunt, quibus rogationibus ante Patricii non tenebantur, donec Q. Hortenſius Dictator eam legem tulit ut eo jure quod plebs ſtatuiſſet, omnes Quirites tenerentur.* Livy tells us the quite contrary; for he ſays, that *Lucius Valerius*, and *Marcus Horatius*, who were made Conſuls in the year of *Rome* 305, began to ſhew their Complaiſance to the People by making a Law, which left it not in Suſpence, whether the Laws Eſtabliſhed by the People obliged the Senate. That Law decided the thing to the Advantage of the People. (*b*) *Omnium primum cum veluti in controverſo jure eſſet tenerenturne Patres Plebiſcitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulere ut quod tributim plebes juſſiſſet populum teneret, qua lege Tribunitiis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum eſt.* They had been diſſolving the *Decemviri*, and recalling the Mutinous Populace that was withdrawn to Mount *Aventinus*. The new Conſuls omitted nothing to make themſelves Popular. The Conſul *Quintus Capitolinus* acknowledged the force of this new Law three years after; when repreſenting to the People the Advantages that the Senate had given them, he brings into the Account (*c*) *Scita plebis injuncta patribus.* The Law was renewed in the 415*th.* year of *Rome*; the Dictator (*d*) *Publius Philo* having ordained that the *Plebiſcita* ſhould oblige all the *Romans*. The Author alledged by *Aulus Gellius*, was not therefore well informed. If he had ſaid that the Senators had the Art of Evading the Deciſion, ſo that it was neceſſary to renew it Authentically in *Quintus Hortenſius's* Dictatorſhip, he would have been above our Criticiſms: but this he has not done. *Pliny* (*e*) ſpeaks of what was Enacted by this Dictator to the People's Advantage, without ſaying, whether there was any ſuch Law before or not. *Sigonius* did not know what was done under the Conſuls *Valerius* and *Horatius*; for he ſays (*f*), that the Law of *Hortenſius* had been already made by the Dictator *Publius Philo* in the year of *Rome* 414.

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*d*) Ut plebiſcita omnes Quirites tenerent. *Livius Dec.* 1. *lib.* 8.

(*e*) Lib. 16. c. 10.

(*f*) *In faſt. ad ann.* 467

(*D*) Moreri *is ſtrangely out.*] Two groſs Blunders in a few Words: One in ſaying, that he was *a famous Civilian and Lawmaker*; the other in ſaying, that the Orator *Hortenſius* was his Grandſon. Did ever any one call the Magiſtrates of the *Roman* Common-wealth Legiſlators, becauſe they procured the Inacting of ſome Laws? In that Caſe the number of the *Roman* Legiſlators would be very great. Nor are they to be called *Civilians*. But 'tis very probable, that *Moreri* had no other Knowledge of *Q. Hortenſius* the Dictator, but *his* paſſing a Law which ſubmitted the Senate to the *Plebiſcita*. Beſides, ſince *Moreri* obſerves that the Dictatorſhip of this *Hortenſius* fell in the year of *Rome* 468. how could he take him for the Grandfather of the Orator *Hortenſius*, a Military Tribune, according to him, in the year

bation of the Auditory, but alſo that (B) of the two Conſuls, who were the beſt Judges of that time. This Cauſe was that which he Pleaded for *Africa* before the Senate under thoſe two Conſuls. Some time after he Pleaded for the King of *Bithynia*, and had ſtill better ſucceſs. The *Social* War ariſing in the 663d. year of *Rome*, the Proceedings of Juſtice were ſo interrupted in the City, that *Hortenſius* betook himſelf to Arms †. The ſecond Campagne he was made Tribune of the Soldiers; but I believe that he ſtopped there, and that thoſe who give him the Quality of (C) Lieutenant-General, under *Sylla*, in the War with *Mithridates*, take him for another. He went ſucceſſively through all the Honours of the Republick; he was Queſtor, Ædile, Prætor, and then Conſul, with Q. *Cecilius Metellus*, in the Year of *Rome* 684. The Lot fell upon him to go into *Crete*, to reduce the Inhabitants of that Iſland; but * as he triumphed at *Rome* by his Eloquence, he choſe rather to ſhine at the Bar, than in the Field. He therefore yielded up that Poſt to his Collegue, who gained thereby the Honour of a Triumph, and the Sirname of *Creticus*. *Hortenſius* had the happieſt Memory (D) in the World. He uſed many Geſtures (E) in Pleading, which occaſioned a very blunt Raillery againſt him before the Judges; for *L. Torquatus* called him *Dionyſia*, who was a famous Dancer. You may ſee in *Aulus Gellius*, what *Hortenſius* anſwered him. It cannot be denied that he had a great deal of Affectation in his Way; or at leaſt, that he was too nice in his Cloaths (F). He carefully conſulted his Glaſs, as he dreſt himſelf; and 'tis ſaid † that he brought a Suit againſt his Collegue, who paſſing through a narrow Place, had ruffled the Symmetry of his Gown. He had heaped up great Riches, and uſed them plentifully to live an eaſie Life in the City and

† *Cicero in Bruto.*
* *Xiphilin ex Dione l.* 35. *init.*
† *Macrob. Saturn. l.* 12. *c.* 9.
Moreri after Voſſius, quotes l. 3. *c.* 13. *but the* 3*d. Book contains only* 12 *Chapters.*
(g) Eloquentium juniſperitiſſimus Craſſius, juriſperitorum eloquentiſſimus Scævola putaretur. *Cicero in Bruto*, pag. m. 256.
(h) Me adoleſcentem (*Hortenſium*) nactus octo annis minorem quam erat ipſe. *Id. in Bruto.*
(i) *Id. ib. pag.* 343.
(k) *De orat. l.* 3. *ſub fin.*
(l) Ἀνηρ ἐμπειρος καὶ ἐν πολέμοις δρᾶν ἱκανὸς. Vir rei bellicæ peritus & ſervicax. *Plut. in Sylla pag.* 461.
(m) *Cicer. in Bruto.*
(n) *Onomaſt. pag.* 404.
(o) Triennium fere fuit urbs ſine armis, ſed oratorum aut interitu aut diſceſſu, aut fuga—— Primas in cauſis agebat Hortenſius, magiſque quotidie probabat. *Cicero in Bruto.*
(p) *Cicero in Bruto. See alſo Tuſcul. & Academ. 2. init.*

year of *Rome* 664? What want of Attention! what Negligence is this!

(B) *Of the two Conſuls, who were the beſt Judges of that time.*] Theſe were *Lucius Caſſius* and *Quintus Scævola*, the firſt (g) whereof was one of the greateſt Orators, and the latter one of the greateſt Civilians, that ever appeared in *Rome*. This Conſulſhip fell in the year 658: ſo that *Hortenſius* being then but 19 years Old, 'tis a neceſſary Conſequence that he was Born in the year 639: which we farther Collect from *Cicero's* being (h) 8 years younger than he: *Cicero* I ſay, who was Born in the year 647. Here is the Proof of what I have ſaid concerning *Hortenſius's* firſt Plea. (i) *Q. Hortenſii admodum adoleſcentis ingenium, ut Phidiæ ſignum, ſimul aſpectum & probatum eſt. Is L. Craſſo, Q. Scævolæ Coſſ. primum in foro dixit, & apud hos ipſos quidem Conſules, & cum eorum qui affuerunt, tum ipſorum Conſulum qui omnes intelligentia anteibant, judicio diſceſſit probatus; undeviginti annos natus erat eo tempore.* *Cicero* (k) makes this *L. Craſſus* ſpeak thus: *Ego eſſe jam judico* (omnibus iſtis laudibus quas oratione complexus ſum, excellentem Hortenſium) *& tum judicavi cum me Conſule in Senatu cauſam defendit Africæ, nuperque etiam magis eum pro Bithynia rege dixit.*

(C) *Of Lieutenant-General under* Sylla.] That which makes me believe that our Orator is not the *Hortenſius*, who had that Poſt in *Sylla's* Armies, is on one Hand *Cicero's* ſilence, and on the other the Character which *Plutarch* gives that Lieutenant-General. *Plutarch* repreſents him as a Man (l) who perfectly underſtood War, and who never yielded; and relates ſome Actions of him, which Savour of an old experienced Officer, and which concern the 667th. year of *Rome*. Where ſhould the Orator *Hortenſius* have got that Experience; he, who began to bear Arms but in the year 663? And if he had acquired it, and Signaliz'd himſelf under *Sylla*, how comes it that it was not mentioned in thoſe Places where his Praiſes are Inlarg'd upon, and where it is obſerv'd that he was Tribune of the Soldiers, in his ſecond Campagne? (m) *Judicia intermiſſa bello——Erat Hortenſius in bello primo anno miles, altero Tribunus militum.* Doubtleſs *Glandorpius* (n) was miſtaken in taking him for *Sylla's* Lieutenant-General. But what need is there to take Advantage of *Cicero's* Silence? What he ſays, is much more to my purpoſe. Don't the three years (o) in which *Hortenſius* was the Chief Man of the Bar, by reaſon of the Death or Abſence of the moſt famous Orators, coincide with the time that *Sylla* had the other *Hortenſius* in his Army?

(D) *The happieſt Memory in the World.*] He repeated a Plea juſt as he had Meditated it, without writing one Word of it, and forgot nothing that was ſaid by his Adverſaries. (p) *Primum memoria tanta quantam in viro cognoviſſe me arbitror, ut quæ ſecum ſummentatus eſſet, ea ſine ſcripto verbis iiſdem redderet quibus cogitaviſſet. Hoc adjumento illo tanto ſic utebatur, ut ſua & commentata & ſcripta, & nullo referente omnia adverſariorum dicta meminiſſet.* What *Seneca* ſays of him, is much more Remarkable. Upon a Defiance that was given *Hortenſius*, he ſtaid a whole Day at a Publick Auction, and repeated in order what had been Sold, to whom, and at what Price. His Recital was Confronted with the Comptrollers Regiſter, and his Memory was found to be moſt Exact. (q) *Hortenſius à Siſenna provocatus in auctione perſedit diem totum, & omnes res, & pretia, & emptores ordine ſuo argentariis recognoſcentibus, ita ut in nullo falleretur, recenſuit.*

(q) *Senec. Præf. l.* 1. *Controverſ.*

(E) *He uſed many Geſtures in Pleading.*] Though his Geſtures were fine enough to make the two beſt Actors of that Time ambitious of initiating them (a) on the Stage; 'tis certain they exceeded the juſt Bounds of the Art of Oratory. *Vox canora & ſuavis*, ſays *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, *motus & geſtus etiam plus artis habebat quam erat Oratori ſatis.* *Moreri* tells but ill the Jeſt of *Torquatus*: 'He uſed ſo many Motions in declaiming, that they gave him the 'Name of *Graſhopper*, *Dionyſia Saltatricula*. Who would not believe from theſe Words, that *Hortenſius* had this Nick-Name given him all over the Town? And yet there was but one Man, who upon one ſingle Occaſion, gave him not the Name of *Graſhopper*, but of *Dionyſia*, a Woman who was a celebrated Dancer. The Word *Saltatricula* is very ill rendered *Graſhopper*. Here is the Paſſage of *Aulus Gellius*, in the 5th. Chapter of the firſt Book: *Cum L. Torquatus, ſubagreſti homo ingenio & infeſtivo, gravius acerbiuſque apud conſilium judicum, cum de cauſa Sullæ quæreretur, non jam hiſtrionem eum eſſe diceret, ſed geſticulariam Dionyſiamque eum notiſſima Saltatriculæ nomine appellaret; tum voce molli atque demiſſa Hortenſius*, Dionyſia, *inquit*, Dionyſia malo equidem eſſe quam quod tu Torquate, ἀμουσος, ἀγροικατος, καὶ ἀπαιδευτος.

(a) Neſcires utrum cupidius ad audiendum eum, an ad ſpectandum concurreret, ſic verbis oratoris aſpectus, & rurſus aſpectui verba ſervichant. Itaque conſtat Æſopum & Roſcium ludicra artis peritiſſimos viros illo cauſas agente in corona frequenter aſtitiſſe, ut foro petitos geſtus in ſcenam referrent. *Val. Max. l.* 8. *c.* 10.

(F) *Too nice in his Cloaths.*] This Paſſage of *Aulus Gellius*, that I am going to quote, and which goes before the Words, you have juſt now read, will ſerve both to prove *Hortenſius's* Geſticulations, and his great Niceneſs in his Cloaths. *Hortenſius omnibus fermè Oratoribus ætatis ſuæ niſi M. Tullio clarior, quod multa munditia & circumſpecte compoſitèque indutus & amictus eſſet, manuſque ejus inter agendum forent argutæ admodum & geſtuoſæ, maledictis compellationibuſque probroſis jactatus eſt, multaque in eum quaſi in hiſtrionem in ipſis cauſis atque judiciis dicta ſunt.* As for the ſuit he entered for diſordering the Folds of his Gown, here is a Proof or a Teſtimony for it. *Hortenſius vir alioquin ex profeſſo mollis & in præcinctu ponens omnem decorem; fuit enim veſtitu ad munditiem curioſo, & ut bene amictus iret, faciem in ſpeculo ponebat: ubi ſe intuens togam corpori ſic applicabat, ut rugas non forte ſed induſtria locatas artifex nodus conſtringeret, & ſinus ex compoſito defluens nodum lateris ambiret. Is quondam cum incederet elaboratus ad ſpeciem collega de injuriis diem dixit; quod ſibi in anguſtiis obvius offenſus fortuito*

and in the Country. He had several (G) Country-Houses; and as he was very sumptuous, he opposed † the Sumptuary Laws, which the Consuls had a Mind to enact in the 699th Year of *Rome*. He praised them so cunningly for their Magnificence in their Houses, that they durst not insist upon a thing which did not agree with their own Conduct. He was the first that dress Peacocks ‡; 'twas to make a Dish in an Entertainment he gave to the College of the *Augurs*. He was very curious and magnificent * in Parks and Fish-Ponds, and was as careful of the Health (H) of his Fish, as of that of his Servants. He must needs have been a great Lover of Plane-Trees, since he watered them with Wine; which he made so little a Secret of, that he one Day desired *Cicero* to change with him his Hour of Pleading; for, said he, I must go and pour some Wine upon a Plane-Tree I have at one of my Country-Houses *. Whoever knows the Heart of Man never so little, will much more (I) wonder that those two great Orators should have given one another many Marks of Affection upon several Occasions, than that they should not always have been perfect Friends; for after all, *Cicero* was the cause that *Hortensius* lost the Glory which he had long enjoy'd, of being the first Orator in *Rome*; and *Hortensius* was the cause of *Cicero*'s having a dangerous Rival, who stood close upon his Heels. *Hortensius* published not only some

† *Dion lib.* 39.
‡ *Varro de re rustica l.* 3. *c.* 6. *Plinius l.* 10. *c.* 20. *Ælian. l.* 5. *hist. anim. c.* 21. *Tertull. de pallio sub fin.*
* *Varro de re rustica l.* 3. *c.* 13. & 17.
See the Remark G.
(b) *Macrob. l.* 2. *Satur. c.* 9.
(c) *Plinius l.* 35. *c.* 11.
(d) *Cicer. 2. Acad. quæst. Varro de rust. l.* 3. *c.* 17.
(e) *Varro ibid.*
(f) *Cicer. ad Att. l.* 1. *Ep.* 3.
(g) *Varro apud Plin. l.* 14. *c.* 14.
(h) *I have mentioned this in the Text.*
(i) *Macrob. Satur. l.* 2. *c.* 9.
(k) *De re rust. l.* 3. *c.* 17.
(l) Apud Baulos in parte Baiana Piscinam habuit Hortensius Orator; in qua Murænam adeo dilexit ut exanimatam fleste credatur. *Plin. l.* 9. *c.* 55.
(m) *De abstin. l.* 3.
(n) *Saturn. l.* 2. *c.* 11.
(o) *Chil.* 8. *hist.* 174.
(p) *Cicero in Bruto init.*

fortuito stirpitus evulsum, quam togæ destruxerat, & capitale putavit quod in humero suo locum ruga mutasset (b).

(G) *Several Country-Houses.*] *Pliny* (c) makes mention of *Hortensius's Tusculanum*, in which he placed the *Argonauta* of the Painter *Cydias*, which cost him 14400 Livres, according to *Hardouin's* Computation. He had a House at *Rauli* (d); one near *Laurentum* (e), and another (f) near the *Porta Flumentana*. Judge of his Expences by the Number of Hogsheads of Wine which he left to his Heir, which was above Ten Thousand. *Hortensius super decem millia cadûm hæredi reliquit* (g). Here is the Proof of the care he took (h) to pour Wine upon his Plane-Trees. *Is Hortensius platanos suas vino irrigare consuevit, adeò ut in actione quadam quam habuit cum Cicerone susceptam, precario à Tullio postulasset ut locum dicendi permutaret secum, abire enim in villam necessario se velle, ut vinum Platano quam in Tusculano fuderat ipse suffunderet* (i).

(H) *Of the Health of his Fish.*] *Varro* (k) relates upon this some remarkable Things. *Hortensius* used this Fish, as *Misers* do their Money; he durst not make use of them, he chose rather to buy Fish in any Neighbouring Town, than to take them out of his Ponds: nor was he contented not to feed upon his own Fish, but he also fed them nicely and plentifully. *Neque satis erat eum non pasci piscinis, nisi eos ipse pasceret ultro——Celerius voluntate Hortensii ex equili educeres vhedarias ut tibi haberes mulas, quàm è piscina barbatum mullum——Non minor cura ejus erat de ægrotis piscibus, quàm de minus valentibus servis: itaque minus laborabat ne servus æger, quàm aquam frigidam biberent sui pisces.* 'Tis said he was so passionately fond of a Lamprey (l) that he shed Tears for the Death of her, which *Porphyry* (m), *Macrobius* (n), and *Tzetzes* (o) have ascribed to the Orator *Crassus*.

(I) *Will much more wonder.*] Perhaps there is nothing upon which Jealousie can cause a greater Alienation in Mens Minds than Eloquence. I know not whether Beauty or Poetry ought to be excepted. Two famous Preachers seldom love one another, and frequently quarrel to the utmost Rupture. 'Tis much if they can conceal their Jealousie, and keep fair with the Teeth outwards. So that what *Hortensius* did in *Cicero*'s behalf, may well be admired; but the ill Offices he might have done him privately, ought not to surprize us. He got him (p) admitted into the College of the *Augurs*: He praised him nobly (q) on an Occasion, wherein his Praises might serve him; he had like (r) to have been killed for his sake; and *Cicero* himself confesses, that there had always been between them a reciprocal Commerce of Good-Offices. (f) *Cum præsertim non modo nunquam fit aut illius à me cursus impeditus, aut ab illo meus, sed contra semper alter ab altero adjutus, & communicando, & monendo, & juvando.* *Cicero*'s Good-Offices towards *Hortensius*, are not so much to be wondred at, as those of *Hortensius* towards him; because, though naturally speaking, *Cicero* must have had for many Years, the Heart filled with the Rancour of Jealousie, 'tis likely he did not keep half of it, when he saw himself Superior. There was a Time when he did not equal *Hortensius*, another when he equalled him, a third, when he exceeded him. This last Reason is an excellent Remedy against Jealousie. But on the contrary, what a Heart-breaking to *Hortensius* to see him, who only came after him at the beginning, overtake him some time after, and at last get the Start of him? *Hortensius——qui diu princeps Oratorum, aliquando æmulus Ciceronis existimatus est, novissimè quoad vixit, secundus.* *Quintilian* speaks thus in the Third Chapter of the Eleventh Book: I know, that it was not a Disadvantage to *Hortensius* to have such a Rival as *Cicero*. The Honours (t) of his Consulship had so blacken'd that ardent and indefatigable Application, with which he had cultivated his Mind from his Youth, that he was perceived every Day more and more to decline. He took Heart again when he saw the great Progress of *Cicero*'s Glory. But in truth, he would have easily dispensed with such a Spur, which cost him the first Place. There were hardly any great Causes, wherein these two famous Orators were not retained, sometimes for the same (u), and sometimes for the contrary Parties. The famous Extortioner *Verres* was to have *Hortensius* for his Advocate, which was one of the strongest Reasons *Cicero* alledged to hinder *Cæcilius* from being an Accuser. It appears (w) by that Plea, how fit *Hortensius* was to make the best of the Causes he undertook. *Cicero* had all sorts of Advantages: he was the Accuser; and 'tis said that he quickly disheartned *Hortensius* (a) from the Thoughts of pleading for the accused; there were so many Charges and Proofs against *Verres*. (b) *Multis diebus prima actio celebrata est, dum testes Verris producuntur criminum diversorum, dum recitantur publica privataque litera. Quibus rebus adeò stupefactus Hortensius dicitur, ut rationem defensionis omitteret.* We have seen how *Cicero* declared that *Hortensius* had never done him any ill Office. And we may see in the same Place, that he confutes those, who thought that *Hortensius* was not favourable to him. (c) *Doleham quod, non ut pluribus putabant, adversarium aut obtrectatorem laudum mearum, sed socium potius & consortem gloriosi laboris amiseram.* But he wrote quite otherwise to his Brother *Quintus*, when he told him, *Quantum Hortensio credendum sit nescio: me summa simulatione amoris, summaque assiduitate quotidianâ sceleratissimè insidiosissimèque tractavit, adjuncto quoque Arrio: quorum ego consiliis, promissis, præceptis destitutus in hanc calamitatem incidi* (d). There are few Persons, even amongst those who are accounted honest Men, but have two sorts of Language, one for publick Books, and another for the Letters which they write to their Friends. See the Remark of the Article *Grotius*. As long as they are not Publick, this amphibious Language doth not appear; but I wait for the Publication of their Letters. We should give a great deal of Trouble to some Authors, should we oblige them to repeat in Conversation, or to hear

(q) At Hercule alter tuus familiaris Hortensius quàm plena manu, quàm ingenue quam ornate nostras laudes in astra sustulit, quum de Flacci Prætura & de illo tempore Allobrogum diceret. Sic habeto nec amantius, nec honorificentius, nec copiosius potuisse dici. *Id. ad. Att. Ep. ult.* l. 2. (r) Vidi, vidi hunc ipsum Q. Hortensium lumen & ornamentum Reip. penè interfici servorum manu cum mihi addesset. *Id. pro Milone*
(f) *Idem in Bruto.*

(t) *Cicer. in Bruto fub fin.*
(u) Sæpe, in eadem, sæpe in contrarias causis versatissimus. *Cicer. Divinat. in Q. Cæcil.*
(w) *Divinatio in Q. Cæcilium.*
(a) 'Tis to be observed, that Hortensius did not so forsake Verres, but that Quintilian l. 10. c. 1. speaks of his pleading for him.
(b) *Ascon. Pedian. in præmio act. in Verrem.*
(c) *Cicero in Bruto init.*
(d) *Id. Epist.* 3. *l.* 1. *ad Quint. fratrem. See also Epist.* 9. *ad Att. l.* 3.

† *Epiſt.* 2. *Cicer. ad famil. l.* 8. † Eſt autem L. Paulo, C. Marcello Coſſ. mortuus, ex quo videmus eum in Patronorum numero annos quatuor & quadraginta fuiſſe. *Cicer. in Bruto.* * *Id. de Orat. l.* 3. *ſub fin.* † Ex ſoceru tua, fœmina primaria Servilia. *Id. Verr.* 4.

ſome Orations, and ſome Annals, but alſo (*K*) ſome Laſcivious Poems. There's nothing left of all this; and it muſt be confeſſed, that his Tongue (*L*) was better than his Pen. Tho' he had carried the cauſe of *Meſſala* his Siſter's Son, having pleaded his beſt for him (*M*), ſeeing him involved in an Accuſation of Faction; yet he did himſelf a great Injury by it, and expoſed † himſelf in his old Age, to thoſe Hiſſings and Clamours, which he alone had eſcaped before. He died in the 703d. Year of *Rome*, in the 64th. Year of his Age †, 44 or 45 of which he had ſpent with a mighty Reputation at the Bar. It has been ſaid (*MΔ*) that he had ſo worn out his Voice, that he loſt it before his Life. Others have ſo ill underſtood that Thought, that they have taken it, as if he died in Pleading, having killed himſelf by the Violence of Speaking. We muſt look upon this as fabulous, ſince he pleaded a Cauſe of Importance a few Days before his Death; and ſince *Cicero* is ſo far from touching upon ſuch a ſort of Death, as he would doubtleſs have done, if it had been ſo, that he affords us Reaſons to think otherwiſe. Conſult upon all this, the Remark *MΔ*. *Hortenſius* married in his Youth a Daughter of * *C. Catullus*. I cannot well tell whether ſhe was alſo the Daughter of *Servilia* †, one of the principal Women of *Rome*. He was *Catullus*'s Son-in-Law, at

(*e*) *Cornel. Nepos in vita Pomp. Attic.*

repeated, the ſame Elogies they have given in a Book. How is the World cheated with Prefaces, Citations, and the agreeable Neceſſity of making a Funeral Oration! However it be, we have reaſon to look upon it as a wonderful Management in *Pomponius Atticus*, to have been able to preſerve the Intimate Friendſhip of *Cicero* and *Hortenſius*, and to hinder them from falling out. (*e*) *Utebatur intimè Q. Hortenſio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non poſſet uter eum plus diligeret, Cicero an Hortenſius, & id quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat ut inter quos tanta laudis eſſet æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio, eſſetque talium virorum copula.*

(*K*) *Some Laſcivious Poems.*] This we learn from *Ovid* in his Second Book *de Triſtibus*, where he gives a Catalogue of thoſe who have made looſe Books with Impunity.

Is quoque Phaſiacas Argo qui duxit in undas
Non potuit Veneris furta tacere ſuæ.
Nec minus HORTENSI, *nec ſunt minus improba Servi*
Carmina. Quis dubitet nomina tanta ſequi?

(*f*) *Lib.* 19. *c.* 9. *Aulus Gellius* doubtleſs ſpeaks of theſe Verſes of *Hortenſius*, when he ſays (*f*), they were not polite, *invenuſta*. I know not whether the Poem which *Varro* (*g*) aſcribes to him, be another Work. As to the Annals, they have been cited by *Velleius Paterculus*. I believe *Hortenſius* was a Learned Man, *Cicero* having given him that Commendation. But I don't ſee that his Poems, his Annals, and the Profeſſion of *Lucullus*, are ſo good Proofs of his Learning, as *Corradus* would fain have us believe. *Sane*, ſays he (*h*), *videtur bene doctus fuiſſe, ſiquidem poema ſcripſit, ut Autor eſt Varro libro primo de Analogia, & Annales, ut Paterculus affirmat, & certè cum Siſenna & Lucullo de Græce Latineque ſcribendo venit in eam contentionem quam Plutarchus in Lucullo refert.* Methinks *Corradus* has not taken *Plutarch*'s meaning; for he does not ſpeak there of a Challenge betwixt *Hortenſius*, *Siſenna*, and *Lucullus*, but of a little Preſumption of the latter, who took upon him before the other two, to write the ſocial War, either in *Latin* or *Greek*, in Proſe or in Verſe, if it ſhould be his Lot. *Plutarch* Conjectures, that the *Greek* Proſe fell to him by Lot, ſince the Hiſtory of that War written by *Lucullus* in *Greek* Proſe, was extant in his Time: but once more, this doth not at all ſignifie, that *Hortenſius* and *Siſenna* undertook to go about the ſame Work, if the Lot fell to them. *Catanæus* (*i*) who tells it thus, is miſtaken.

(*g*) *Lib.* 1. *de Annal apud Corradum in Cicer. Brutum Pag.* 428.

(*h*) *Ibid.*

(*i*) *In Plin. Ep. l.* 5. *p. m.* 283.

(*L*) *His Tongue was better than his Pen.*] This we learn from *Quintilian*'s Third Chapter, the Eleventh Book, where he obſerves that Action has a mighty Force in an Orator; and that as it was *Hortenſius*'s great Talent, when his Pleadings came to be read, they were not found to come up to the Reputation of their Author. *M. Cicero*, ſays he, *unam in dicendo actionem dominari putat, hac——Antonium & Craſſum multum valuiſſe, plurimum vero Q. Hortenſium, cujus rei fides eſt quod ejus ſcripta tantum infra famam ſunt——ut appareat placuiſſe aliquid eo orante quod legentes non inveniamus.* How many Preachers have we of whom we may ſay the ſame thing? Mr. *Morus* is an Inſtance of it.

(*M*) *Having pleaded his beſt for him.*] This Cauſe was pleaded in the Year of *Rome* 702. *Hortenſius* was then Sixty three Years old, which Age did not hinder him from making an excellent Plea. *Brutus* (*k*), who always thought him a great Orator, never admired him ſo much as he did on that Day; others paſſed the ſame Judgment; and *Cicero* having read the Piece, publiſhed Word for Word, as it was pronounc'd, was of the ſame Opinion. And if *Hortenſius* was hiſs'd the next Day, it was not becauſe he had pleaded leſs eloquently than he uſed to do, but becauſe People were vexed to ſee that he had brought his Client off. That Reſentment had already ſhewn it ſelf againſt the Judges. (*l*) *Clamoribus ſcilicet maximis judices corripuerunt, & oſtenderunt planè eſſe quod ferri non poſſet——Acceſſit huc, quod poſtridie ejus abſolutionem in Theatrum Curionis Hortenſius introiit, puto ut ſuum gaudium gauderemus. Hic tibi ſtrepitus, fremitus, clamor, ronitruum & rudentum ſibilus. Hoc magis animadverſum eſt quod intactus ab ſibilo pervenerat Hortenſius ad ſenectutem. Sed tum ita bene ut in totam vitam cuivis ſatis eſſet, & paniteret eum jam viciſſe.* He pleaded a few Days before his Death, as *Cicero* obſerves; he was undoubtedly one of thoſe great Wits, who have a laſting Strength of Mind. 'Tis true, he ſhin'd more in his Youth, than when he grew in Years, for which two Reaſons are aſſigned: One is that he made Choice of the *Aſiatick* Eloquence, which was more ſuitable to a young than an old Man: The other was, that he laboured with greater Application when he was young. (*m*) *Si quærimus, cur adoleſcens magis floruerit dicendo, quàm ſenior Hortenſius, cauſas reperiemus veriſimas duas: primum, quod genus erat orationis Aſiaticum, adoleſcentiæ magis conceſſum, quàm ſenectuti. Genera autem Aſiaticæ dictionis duo ſunt——Hæc——genera dicendi aptiora ſunt adoleſcentibus, in ſenibus gravitatem non habent. Itaque Hortenſius utroque genere florens, clamores faciebat adoleſcens——Sed cum jam honores, & illa ſenior autoritas gravius quiddam requireret, remanebat idem, nec decebat idem; quodque exercitationem ſtudiumque dimiſerat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa crebritaſque ſententiarum priſtina manebat, ſed ea veſtitu illo orationis, quo conſueverat, ornata non erat.* He was happy even in the Circumſtances of his Death; for he died juſt before the deplorable Confuſions into which the Commonwealth was plunged (*n*).

(*k*) Hortenſium magnum Oratorem ſemper putavi maximeque probavi pro, Meſſala dicentem, cum tu abſuiſti. Sic ferunt, inquam, idque declarat totidem quot dies fuit, ut adjunxi ſcripta verbis oratio. *Cicer. in Bruto.*

(*l*) *Cælius ad Cicer. Epiſt.* 2. *l.* 8. *de famil.*

(*m*) *Cicero in Bruto ſub fin. p. m.* 451.

(*n*) Perpetua quadam felicitate uſus ille ceſſit è vita ſuo magis quam ſuorum civium tempore, & tum occidit cum lugere facilius Rempub. poſſet ſi viveret quam juvare. *Ib. init.*

(*MΔ*) *It has been ſaid that he loſt his Voice——Others have ſo ill underſtood, &c.*] The Proof of the firſt of theſe two things is contained in this Paſſage of *Quintus Serenus Samonicus*:

Sic eſt Hortenſius olim
Abſumptus, cauſis etenim confectus agendis,
Obticuit, cum vox domino vivente periret,
Et nondum extincti moreretur lingua diſerti.

Glandorpius has not underſtood the Senſe of theſe Verſes. *Deceſſit è vita*, ſays he (*a*), *ſub bellum civile Cæſ. & Pompeii——clamore in actione cauſa diruptus, ut indicat Q. Serenus.* The following Words of *Cicero* don't agree with the Paſſage of *Samonicus*. (*b*) *Perpaucis ante mortem diebus una tecum ſocerum tuum defendit Appium——Q. Hortenſi vox extincta fato ſuo eſt, noſtra publice.*

(*a*) *Glandorp. Onomaſt. pag.* 405, 406.

(*b*) *Cicero in Bruto.*

(*N*) *His*

at the time of *Verres*'s Trial. But nothing can be more ſingular than his Marriage (N) with *Martia*, the Wife of *Cato Uticenſis*, and *Martius Philippus*'s Daughter. He askt her by way of Loan, and obtained her without much Difficulty, though her Big Belly declared ſhe had a good Underſtanding with her Husband *Cato*. He had one Son, which gave him much Trouble; ſo that when he pleaded for his Nephew, he declared, that he had made choice of him for his Heir, to the Prejudice of his Son. And yet it was to this unworthy Son that he left his Eſtate, if we may believe *Valerius Maximus*. See the following Article.

HOR-

(N) *His Marriage with* Martia.] *Plutarch* (c) tells the Story thus: *Hortenſius* deſired *Cato* to give him *Porcia* his Daughter, who was married to *Bibulus*, and had already lain in twice. Give her me alſo, ſaid he, as a fertile Soil, in which I may ſow ſome Children: I am ſenſible, added he, that according to the Opinion of the World, this is ſomewhat abſurd; but in reality, is there any thing finer and more beneficial to the Societies, than not to leave the fruitful Field of a young Woman uncultivated; and on the other Hand, not to ſuffer a Family to be oppreſt with too many Children, which has enough already? Beſides, the mutual lending of Wives amongſt worthy People, diſperſes Virtue amongſt a great many Families, and occaſions a great many Alliances in the State; and if *Bibulus* is not willing to quit his Title to *Porcia*, I promiſe to reſtore her, after ſhe has brought me ſome Children, which may be a ſtricter Bond betwixt you and him, and my ſelf. *Cato* did not think it to the purpoſe to treat of this Affair; but when *Hortenſius* declared to him, that he had a Mind to *Martia*, his Wife, conſidering ſhe was ſtill very young, and *Cato* had Children enough, he readily promiſed her, provided *Martius* the Lady's Father would agree to it. *Martius* conſented to it, and preſently *Martia* was tranſferred to *Hortenſius*. When ſhe was a Widow and an Heireſs at once, ſhe came again to be the Wife of her firſt Husband. Which *Cæſar* did not forget in his *Anti-Cato*, 'If he had need of a Wife, *ſaid he* (d,) 'why did he give her to another? And if he had no 'need of her, why did he take her again? Does 'not this ſhew, that he made uſe of this Lure, that 'by lending a young Wife to *Hortenſius*, he 'might recover her with great Wealth? *Strabo* (e) relating that the *Tapyri* had a Law, by which the Husbands gave their Wives to others, when they had two or three Children by them, adds, that *Cato* Practiſed the ſame thing to gratify *Hortenſius's* Requeſt; and obſerves, that *Cato* did but follow the antient Cuſtom of the *Romans*. There's Reaſon to doubt whether this was their ancient Cuſtom; for beſides that, there are ſo few Inſtances of it, that *Tertullian* (g) cites only *Cato*; it appears that *Hortenſius* (h) owned ſome Singularity or Novelty in his Deſign, according to humane Opinion. He does not oppoſe the antient Laws or Cuſtoms of the *Romans* againſt this Opinion, (which ſo great a Civilian would not have omitted on that Occaſion) but only Nature. *Bodin* (i) impertinently cenſures *Plutarch*, imputing to him, that he ſaid in the Life of *Cato Uticenſis*, that it was lawful for the *Romans* to lend their Wives; for that Hiſtorian does not ſpeak of it, as of a Cuſtom founded upon the Laws or Practice: On the contrary, he introduces *Hortenſius*, confeſſing, that his Propoſal ſeemed ſtrange or new. 'Tis a great Raſhneſs in the ſame *Bodin*, not to credit this lending of *Cato*'s Wife; for 'tis a Story, that *Thraſeas* (k) took from the Writings of *Munatius*, *Cato*'s Friend, and *Cæſar* would not have ventured to have reproached him for it, if it had not been true. The Reaſon upon which *Bodin* grounds his Incredulity, is a new Fault; 'tis becauſe, ſays he, by the Law of *Romulus*, and the antient Practice reſtored by *Tiberius*, the Relations puniſhed at their Diſcretion the Wives that committed Adultery. But what does this make againſt *Cato*'s Wife, who was given to another by her Father and her Husband? I ſay nothing againſt theſe Words) (l) *Plutarchus & Strabo Parthos æque ac Lacedæmonios mutuas uxores amicis dare conſueviſſe ajunt*, tho' they are very likely to miſ-lead us; for who in reading them would not think, that *Plutarch* attributed this Conduct to the *Parthians*, and *Strabo* to the *Lacedæmonians*? And yet *Bodin* means, that *Strabo* aſcribes this (m) to the *Parthians*, and *Plutarch* to the *Lacedæmonians*. This way of quoting is but too frequent, and leads one into Miſtakes; it ſeems to bring many Witneſſes for the ſame thing, when in reality there is but one. *Bodin* ſeems to ſay, that *Plutarch* and *Strabo* teſtify both, that the lending of Wives was as well practiſed amongſt the *Parthians*, as amongſt the *Lacedæmonians*. I have read in Mr. *Menage*, that *Caſaubon* has imputed to *Plutarch* the Relation of this Marriage of *Hortenſius* and *Martia*, as a thing he doubted of. *Ad quem Strabonis locum notat Caſaubonus, Plutarchum de Catone rem ita narrare ut de ea dubitaſſe ſignificet* (n). Mr. *Menage* had reaſon to ſay this is falſe: 'tis not about the Fact it ſelf that *Plutarch* expreſſes his Doubts; he only ſays, that that part of *Cato*'s Life is like a piece of a Play, in which the Plot is not well opened, that is, in my Opinion, that People paſs'd different Judgments upon it.

Note, that when I cenſure *Bodin* for this Imputation to *Plutarch*, I conſider that he cites the Life of *Cato Uticenſis*; for if he had cited the Parallel between *Lycurgus* and *Numa Pompilius*, he would not have erred. *Plutarch* there affirms, that this King of *Rome* permitted Huſbands to lend their Wives; but I think he is miſtaken in it, and ſo does Mr. *Dacier*. 'This is true, *ſays he* (o), of *Lycur-* 'gus, but it does not appear that *Numa* ever had 'any ſuch Deſign; it would be alſo eaſie to prove, 'that that Community of Wives did not begin at 'Rome, under *Numa*, but much later, and 'was not general. *Lucan* ſuppoſes, that *Martia*, after *Hortenſius*'s Death, went to *Cato*, and moſt humbly intreated him to take her again. She declared to him, that being paſt Child-bearing, ſhe only deſired the Name of Wife, that ſhe would live in Continence, and had no other end than to take a Share with him in thoſe Troubles and Fatigues, that the ill Poſture of publick Affairs had brought upon him. *Lucan* adds, that *Cato* was moved with this Diſcourſe of *Martia*, and that tho' it was not a proper time for Marriage, he granted her Requeſt; 'Tis true, the Nuptial Ceremonies were omitted, without excepting that which is looked upon as the Principal, and the Conſummation of the Work. *Martia* did not quit her Mourning Cloaths (p), ſhe embraced her Husband, as a Mother her Child. *Cato* was ſo concerned for the publick Calamities, that ever ſince the Civil War, he deprived himſelf of all Diverſions; he let his Beard grow, and lived as a Man in Mourning. *Martia*'s Offers were accepted in the Literal Senſe. See what *Lucan* makes her ſay:

Dum (q) *ſanguis meat, dum vis maſcula, peregi*
Juſſa Cato, & geminos excepi ſæta maritus.
Viſceribus laſſis, partuque exhauſta revertor
Jam nulli tradenda viro: da fœdera priſci
Illibata tori: de tantum nomen inane
Connubii liceat tumulo ſcripſiſſe, Catonis
Martia: nec dubium longo quæratur in ævo,
Mutarim primas expulſa, an tradita, tædæ.
Non me latorum ſociam, rebuſque ſecundis
Accipis, in curas venio, partemque laborum.
Da mihi caſtra ſequi.

If he had been throughout his Work as much given to Fiction, as in this Place, I am apt to think he would not have been accuſed of following too cloſely the Thread of *Hiſtory*, and not giving his Work a Form Poetical enough. However it be, let us ſee what he ſays of the extreme Rigidneſs of *Cato*.

Ille (a) *nec horrificam ſanctò dimovit ab ore*
Cæſariem, duroque admiſit gaudia vultu.
(Ut primum tolli feralia viderat arma,
Intonſus rigidam in frontem deſcendere canos
Paſſus erat, mœſtamque genis increſcere barbam,
Cui quippe vacat ſtudiiſque odiiſque carenti,

Zzzzz 2 *Huma-*

(c) *Plut. in Catone Utic. pag. m.* 770.
(d) *Id. ib. pag.* 784.
(e) *Strabo l.* 11. *pag.* 355.
(f) *They Bordered upon the* Parthians.
(g) Exilia, credo, majorum & ſapientiſſimorum diſciplina, Græci Socratis & Romani Catonis qui uxores ſuas amicis communicaverunt— O ſapientiæ Atticæ! & Romanæ gravitatis exemplum! Jenones Philoſophus & Cenſor. *Tertull. in Apologet.* *The Example of* Socrates *does not concern the* Romans. Tertullian *aſcribes to* Cato *the Cenſor, what he ſhould have aſcribed to* Cato Uticenſis.
(h) Ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐνόμιζον ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ λάθω τοῦτο. Nam eſſe hominum quidem illud opinione novum (*ſo* Xylander *renders it*) naturæ pulchrum tamen & civile. *Hiſt. pag.* 771.
(i) *Bodin. meth. Hiſt. c.* 4. *p.m.* 78
(k) *Plut. in Cat. p.* 770.
(l) *Bod. ib.*
(m) *He ſhould have ſaid to the* Tapyri, *and not to the* Parthians.
(n) Menage's Amen. June, 1676. I don't find this in *Caſaubon's* Notes upon *Strabo*.
(o) Dacier *in a Marginal Note of his Tranſlation of* Plutarch, *in the Parallel between* Lycurgus *and* Numa, *p.* 362, 363. *Dutch Ed.*
(p) Sic ut erat, mœſti ſervans lugubria cultus, Quoque modo natos, hoc eſt amplexa maritum. *Lucan. l.* 2. *v.* 365.
(p) *Lucan. ib. v.* 338.
(q) *Id. ib. v.* 372.

HORTENSIUS (*Quintus*) Son to the former, behav'd himſelf ſo unworthily of ſuch a Father, that he had like (*A*) to have been diſinherited. But if it be the ſame that was Proconſul of *Macedonia*, after *Julius Cæſar*'s Death, 'tis to be preſumed he reformed his Life. He warmly declared for Liberty, and ſtrenuouſly engaged * with *Brutus*, to raiſe an Army which might maintain the Cauſe. He was taken at the Battle of *Philippi*, and Murdered (*B*) by way of Reprizal, by *Mark Antony*'s Order, upon *Caius Antonius*'s Tomb. Some believe our *Hortenſius* was the ſame with him, who (*C*) had been in *Julius Cæſar*'s Party againſt *Pompey*. Now as thoſe, who ſpeak of him, ſufficiently intimate, that he was the only Son of *Hortenſius*, we may look upon him as the Father of Q. HORTENSIUS *Corbio* and *Marcus* HORTENSIUS *Hortalus*; the firſt whereof (*D*) was a Monſter of Impurity and Debauchery, and the latter fell into Poverty, and had the Diſcretion not to Marry †, till *Auguſtus* gave him the Means to maintain a Family. But that Emperor's Liberality not Anſwering the Occaſions of all the Children that came from that Marriage, *Hortalus* beg'd (*E*) the Aſſiſtance of the Senate. *Tiberius* at firſt rejected this Petition very harſhly; but afterwards perceiving that his Severity was diſliked, he ſaid that if the Senate

* Cicero Philipp. 10.

† Tacitus Ann. l. 2. p. 37. 38.

Humanum lugere genus) nec fœdera priſci
Sunt tentata tori: juſto quoque robur amori
Reſtitit: hi mores.

(*A*) *That he had like to have been Diſinherited.*] *Cicero* intimates plainly enough in his Letters (*a*), that *Hortenſius*'s Son was good for nothing, and (*b*) that his ill Temper and a Freed-Man called *Salvius* (*c*), had ſpoiled him. He ſeems to ſay (*d*) that his Father did not love him; but let us here *Valerius Maximus*, who is extreamly perſpicuous in this Matter. *Q. Hortenſii, qui ſuis temporibus ornamentum Romanæ eloquentiæ fuit, admirabilis in filio patientia extitit. Cum enim eo uſque impietatem ejus ſuſpectam & nequitiam inviſam haberet, ut Meſſalam ſuæ ſororis filium hæredem habiturus ambitus reum defendens judicibus diceret, ſi illum damnaſſent nihil ſibi præter oſculum nepotum in quibus acquieſceret ſuperfuturum: Hæc ſcilicet ſententia quam etiam edita oratione inſeruit, filium potius in tormento animi quam in voluptatibus reponens: tamen ne naturæ ordinem confunderet, non nepotes ſed filium hæredem reliquit* (*e*). 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange that *Hortenſius* ſhould have given out, that he had made Choice of his Nephew for his Heir; for if he thought his own Son deſerved to be Diſinherited, could not he Transfer his Eſtate to his Grandchildren, as he ſaid he ſhould be obliged to do, if they Condemned his Nephew? A ſtrange Grandfather ſure, not to think of his Grandſons, but in Caſe of failure of his Siſter's Son! *Valerius Maximus* has perhaps Curtailed the Matter by the ſuppreſſion of ſome Eſſential Clauſes. It may be too, that we muſt take *Hortenſius*'s Declaration only as a Figure of Rhetorick: there are Stratagems in this Profeſſion, which our Orator knew well how to make uſe of. Probably he had a mind to move the Judges in appearing ſo much concerned for the diſcharge of his Client, as a Perſon that was to be to him inſtead of a Son. Others ſay (*f*) that *Hortenſius*'s Wife Inherited his Eſtate; ſhe whom *Cato* had lent him, and whom he took again after *Hortenſius*'s Death.

(*a*) Epiſt. 3. l. 6. ad Attic.
(*b*) Natura metuenda eſt: hæc Curionem, hæc Hortenſii filium non patrum culpa corrupit. *Ib.* l. 10. *Epiſt.* 4.
(*c*) Illa Hortenſiana omnia fuere infantia: ita fiet homo nequiſſimus: à Salvio liberto depravatus eſt. *Ibid. Ep.* 18.
(*d*) *Ibid. Ep.* 3. *l.* 6.
(*e*) *Valer. Maxim. l.* 5. *c.* 9. *n.* 2.
(*f*) Plutarch. *in* Catone min. pag. 784.
(*g*) Plutarch. in Bruto. *See alſo* Velleius Paterculus l. 2. c. 71. *who ſays that the Son of* Hortenſius *loſt his Life in that War.*
(*h*) Cicer. Epiſt. ad Attic. 3. *l.* 6.
(*i*) Plut. in Cæſar. p. 728.
(*k*) Appian. l. 2. bell. civil.

(*B*) *Murdered by way of Reprizal.*] To underſtand what this Reprizal was, we muſt remember that *Caius Antonius* Brother to *Mark*, fell into *Hortenſius*'s Hands during the Confuſions that followed *Julius Cæſar*'s Death; and that *Brutus* underſtanding that the Rage of the *Triumvirate* had put to Death amongſt others, the Illuſtrious *D. Brutus* and *Cicero*, wrote to *Hortenſius* to Sacrifice his Priſoner to their Ghoſts (*g*): which was done. Thus you ſee what was the end of *Caius Antonius*, and how his Death was Revenged.

(*C*) *Who had been in* Julius Cæſar's *Party.*] That which cauſes ſome difficulty here, is, that *Hortenſius*'s Son was at *Laodicea* in the year of *Rome* 702. (*h*), and led a very ſcandalous Life there. How then is it probable, will ſome ſay, that two years after he ſhould have raiſed himſelf ſo much as to Command *Cæſar*'s Army, the Day that he deſigned to paſs the *Rubicon*, and Poſſeſs himſelf of *Ariminum*, which was the leading Stroke of that great Affair, that was to determine the Fate of the Empire? Yet this is true of *Hortenſius* (*i*) who was in *Cæſar*'s Party. Some time after he gave him (*k*) the Command of a Fleet upon the Coaſts of *Italy*. We muſt not Determine upon Appearances.

I have not found in *Eutropius* what *Glandorpius* (*l*) pretends to have taken from his 6*th*. Book, that *Octavius* and *Libo*, *Pompey*'s Lieutenants defeated this Fleet of *Hortenſius*. 'Tis *Oroſius* who ſays it (*m*). However, *Glandorpius* will have *Hortenſius*, the Orator's Son, of whom *Valerius* ſpeaks ſo ill, to be the Commander of that Fleet. He goes upon good Grounds in this; for *Cicero* does not (*n*) permit us to doubt, that this Son of *Hortenſius* went over to *Cæſar*'s Party. I have not been able to find when he left it, nor how he obtained the Proconſulſhip of *Macedonia*, a Poſt, wherein he Merited (*o*) the Applauſes of *Cicero*. *Catanæus* (*p*) confounding the Father and the Son, aſcribes to the Orator the being in *Pompey*'s Party, and the putting to Death *Caius Antonius*, and ſays, that he was Murdered by *Mark Antony*.

(*D*) *Was a Monſter of Impurity.*] *Valerius Maximus* giving a Liſt (*q*) of Children that have verified the Proverb, *Heroum filii noxæ*, forgets the Son (*r*), but not the Grand-Son of *Hortenſius*. *Q. Hortenſii——nepos Hortenſius Corbio omnibus ſcortis abjectiorem & obſceniorem vitam exegit, ad ultimumque lingua ejus tam libidini cunctorum inter lupanaria proſtitit, quam avi pro ſalute civium in foro excubuerat.* If *Lipſius* had remembered that this Author ſpoke in the plural Number of *Hortenſius*'s Grand-Sons, in the 9*th*. Chapter of the 5*th*. Book, he would not have believed that (*ſ*) *Hortenſius Hortalus*, and *Hortenſius Corbio* were one and the ſame Perſons. The Character *Tacitus* gives the former, plainly diſtinguiſhes him from the latter. *Moreri* and *Hofman* commit the ſame Fault as *Lipſius*, ſince they cite *Valerius Maximus* Chap. 5. Book 3, *Tacitus* in the 2*d*. Book of his Annals, and *Suetonius* in the Life of *Tiberius*, with reſpect to *Hortenſius*'s Grand-Son, *who was extreamly Debauched*. *Voſſius* has miſled them (*t*), becauſe he refers thoſe three Citations to a Grandſon of *Hortenſius*, as if they had concerned the ſame Perſon.

(*l*) Onomaſt. p. 406.
(*m*) Lib. 6. c. 15.
(*n*) Epiſt. ad Att. 4. 16. 17. 18. l. 10.
(*o*) Philipp. 10.
(*p*) In Plin. Ep. l. 5.
(*q*) Lib. 3. c. 5.
(*r*) *He ſpeaks of him upon another occaſion, as we have ſeen in the Remark A.*
(*ſ*) Comm. in Tacit. Ann. l. 2.
(*t*) Voſſius de Hiſt. Latin. p. 48.

(*E*) Hortalus *beg'd the Aſſiſtance of the Senate.*] His Speech is in *Tacitus* (*v*): He brought with him his four little Boys, and ſhewing 'em to the Senate, intreated them to have ſome regard for the Poſterity of ſo many Conſuls, and ſo many Dictators, *En ſtirpis & progeniei tot Conſulum, tot Dictatorum.* *Lipſius* (*w*) thinks the Hyperbole ſomewhat too ſtrong, ſince the Family of *Hortenſius* gave but one Conſul, and one Dictator. He endeavours to excuſe *Hortalus*, by ſaying that probably he had his Mother's Anceſtors in view. *Rychius* (*x*) ſpeaks with more aſſurance, and gives it as an undeniable thing, and is of Opinion that *Hortenſius* had chiefly in View the *Martius Philippus*'s, from whoſe Family, ſays he, *Martia*, *Hortalus*'s Grandmother, deſcended. This laſt Fact has no Probability; for on one ſide, we find but one Son of *Hortenſius* the Orator, who was a grown Man when *Cicero* paſſed through *Laodicea* in the year 702. On the other ſide, *Cato* could not be very Young, when he parted with *Martia* to *Hortenſius*, ſince his Daughter *Portia* (*y*) had then two Children. But *Cato* Died at 48 years (*z*) of Age in the year 707 of *Rome*: If then we ſuppoſe, as it is very probable, that he was at leaſt 35 years Old when he obliged *Hortenſius* with his Wife, we muſt ſay that this Marriage was made in the 694*th*. year of *Rome*. 'Tis not therefore poſſible that

(*v*) Ann. l. 2. c. 37.
(*w*) Comment. in Tacit.
(*x*) In Tacit. p. 41.
(*y*) Plut. in Catone min. p. 770. 771.
(*z*) Ibid. p. 794.

Senate desired it, he would give a certain Sum * to each (F) of *Hortalus*'s Male Children. They thanked him for it, but *Hortalus* either out of Fear † or out of Courage, said not a Word; from which time *Tiberius* shewing him no Liberality, gave him Time and Opportunity to fall into the most shameful Misery.

HORTENSIUS (*John*) in *French Des-Jardins*, Physician of *Francis I.* was Born near *Laon* in *Picardy* of *John Des-Jardins*, Governour of the Castle of *Hamelle* in the Diocese of *Laon*. He taught Classical Learning at *Paris*, in the College of Cardinal *le Moine*, and afterwards applying himself to the Study of Physick, he was made Batchelor in that Science in the year 1514, a Licentiate in the year 1517. and Doctor in 1519. It appears by the Registers of the University of *Paris*, that he was Regent Doctor in the year 1521. and Dean of the Faculty in 1524. As he understood Greek to Perfection, he mightily Incouraged his Scholars to the Study of that Language; and that every Body might be in a Capacity of Consulting *Galen* in the Original, he made a Present of a Greek Edition of that Antient Physician to the Library of that Faculty; for at that time ‖ the Physicians at *Paris* had a Publick Library in their Schools. He got such a Reputation that he was thought able to Cure all sorts of Diseases, provided ‡ the fatal Hour was not come: That was the only (A) Exception; so that this Proverb was commonly applied to him, *Contra vim mortis non est Medicamen in hortis* †. We find him (B) commended in many Books; but as for himself, he Printed nothing; nor have we any Posthumous Work of his. He Married *Joan Bourdin* in 1520, and *Mary le Tillier* in 1541. He left seven Children by the first, and four by the latter. Their Settlements (C), and the real Estate he left, are a Proof that he got a great deal of Money. He Died suddenly of an Apoplexy, as he was Entertaining his Relations and Friends on his Birth-Day in 1547. This gave occasion to

* Ducena sestertia singulis qui sexus virilis essent. *Tacit. ibid.* Rickius *makes it amount to* 5000 Ducatoons.

† Egere aliis gratos; siluit Hortalus, pavore an verire nobilitatis etiam inter angustias fortunæ retinens. Neque miseratus est posthac Tiberius, quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam dilaberetur. *Tacit. ib.* Hemeræus differt. de Academ. Parisiensi. ‡ Bulæus Historia Academ. Pariss.

† *He was called in Latin* Hortensius, *or* de Hortis.

(a) Id. ib. pag. 777.

(a) In Tiber. c. 47.

(b) *It is said so in* Moreri's *Dictionary of the* Dutch *Edition, at the word* Hortalus.

(c) In Tiber. c. 47.

(d) Tacitus Ann. l. 2. cap. 75. *says the same.*

(e) Tacit. Ann. l. 2. cap. 37.

(f) Notis in Catull. pag. 67.

that *Hortensius*'s Son whom *Cicero* saw in *Laodicea* in the 702*d.* year of *Rome*, should be *Martia*'s Son. But we need not go upon a Conjecture: There is a Fact in *Plutarch* which decides the Question; *Martia* was still (a) *Cato*'s Wife during the Expedition of *Cyprus*, that is, in the 696*th* year of *Rome*. It must not be dissembled that *Hortalus* is called a young Man by *Tacitus* in the 769*th.* year of *Rome*, which would not very well agree with the Supposition, that the only Son of *Hortensius* was that Debauchee mentioned by *Cicero*, and *Valerius Maximus*, who Died a little after the Battle of *Philippi* in 712. But it's much more reasonable to think that *Tacitus* has not been so exact as to the Age of *Hortalus*, than to Dispute about the Speech which *Valerius Maximus* Read, and *Hortensius* spoke a little before his Death. Now that Speech plainly supposes he had but one Son; for if besides this Rake, who Saluted *Cicero* in *Laodicea*, he had had any Son by *Martia*, there had been no need of his making his Grand-Children his Heirs, in default of his Debauched Son, and of *Messalla* his Nephew.

(F) *To each of* Hortalus's *Male-Children.*] This leaves room to believe that *Hortalus* only brought his four Sons with him, but that he left his Daughters behind; so that to speak exactly, we must not say (a) with *Suetonius*, that he had four Children by his Marriage; for if he had no more, *Tacitus* makes *Tiberius* guilty of an Absurdity. Neither do I think that it can be said that (b) *Tiberius* gave nothing to *Hortalus*. Did not he offer to give him a Sum, if the Senate approved of it? Was not he thanked for it? Could he doubt of the favourable intention of the Senate for that poor Member? 'Tis therefore most Apparent that this Sum was given; but as it was the only Liberality of that Prince, it did not prevent *Hortalus*'s Ruin. Let not *Suetonius* be urged (c), who pretends that the Charities of *Tiberius* towards the poor Senators, were Annexed to some Conditions, which excluded him from them. These Conditions, said he, were (d), that he should make his Indigence appear to the Senate: *Quo pacto plerosque modestia & pudore deterruit, in quibus Hortalum Q. Hortensii oratoris nepotem.* But 'tis not true that Shame or Modesty hinder'd *Hortensius*'s Grandson from performing that Condition: Did not he confess his Misery? Did not he carry his four Sons to desire the Senate to Commiserate them? Did not he intreat the Emperor to preserve 'em from Starving? *Nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandæ misericordiæ refero: adsequuntur florente te, Cæsar, quos deseris honores, interim Q. Hortensii pronepotes, divi Augusti alumnos ab inopia defende* (e). *Achilles Statius*, (f) who says, that our *Hortalus* is probably that who is mention'd in the 67*th.* Epigram of *Catullus*, did not consider that what he relates out of *Tacitus*, and we have just now seen, belongs to the year of *Rome* 769. 'Tis true *Catullus* did not Die in 667. *Scaliger* has solidly Confuted that Falsity of St. *Jerome*; but there's no likelyhood that he Lived till 703. I have Refuted *Joseph Scaliger* upon this, in the Article of *Catullus*. Certainly, *Hortalus* mention'd by that Antient Poet, was rather *Hortensius* than his Grandson; and I can't but be amaz'd that *Isaac Vossius* in the same Book, (g) wherein he maintains against *Scaliger*, that *Catullus* Died, in the 704*th.* or 705*th* year of *Rome*, should make *Hortalus* mention'd by that Poet, (h) the same with him mention'd by *Tacitus*.

(A) *That was the only Exception.*] Vulgarly speaking, this was a great Encomium; but at the bottom it was a great Exception; for if Death do's not come in, there's no Distemper but a Physician may cure; Nature it self is then sufficient for the Work. However according to our way of Judging of things, representing to our selves abundance of very possible Conditions, which may change the Chain and Course of Events, 'tis to give a great Idea of a Physician, to say, that if a greater Force do's not interpose, he'll restore a Sick Man's Health.

(B) *We find him commended in many Books.*] Mr. *Menage* (i) cites *Arnaud d' Offat* in his Expostion against *James Charpentier*; *Renatus Moreau* in the Life of *James Sylvius*; *du Boulay* in the History of the University of *Paris*; *Lewis d' Orleans* in the *Plaute humaine*; *Peter Ayrault* in his Books *de Ordine judiciario*; *John Vasse* in an Epistle Dedicatory (k).

(C) *The Settlements, &c.*] Mr. *Menage* has these Words. (l) *Prædivitem fuisse, ut tum erant tempora, testantur & ejus ædes plurimæ, & prædia multa & liberi undecim, qui nido majores pennas, ut Flacci verbis utar, extenderunt.* From the particular Account of these eleven Children, it appears that the Daughters were Married to Persons of considerable Quality; one to *William Versoris* Councellor in the *Chatelet*, the Son of *John Versoris* a famous Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*; another to *John Meusnyer* Councellor of the Exchequer; a third to *Peter Ayrault*, Lieutenant *Criminal* at *Angers*. One of the Sons was a Councellor in the *Chatelet*; another was Canon of *Senlis*; a third was Councellor of the Exchequer. He that was Councellor in the *Chatelet*, left a Son who had the same Office, was *Echevin* at *Paris* in 1620, and left a Son, who had amongst other Children, the Wife of *Denys Godefroy* Historiographer of *France*. There remained amongst *John Des-Jardins*'s Descendants but one Person (m) who bore his Name, when Mr. *Menage* wrote his Book.

(D) *A*

(g) Observat. ad Catull. p. 83.

(h) Pag. 252.

(i) Remarques sur la vie de Pierre Ayrault p. 150.

(k) Ei præterea & Martino Aciæ & Michaëli Dumontio, Medicis Parisiensibus doctissimis interpretationem librorum Hippocratis & Galeni de victus ratione in morbis acutis nuncupavit Johannes Vassæus Medicus & ipse Parisiensis doctissimus. *Menag. in eodem volumine* p. 512.

(l) Ibid. p. 514.

(m) Petrum Hortensium militem strenuum, qui Margaretam de Gravellas uxorem duxit. Ib. p. 517.

† *It is in Latin in the Volume he Publiſh'd at* Paris *in the year* 1675. *in* 4to, *containing the Lives of* Peter Ayrault, William Menage, *&c. with many Remarks.*

to a fine Sonnet (D) of *Des-Portes*, which I'll give intire in the Remarks. Mr. *Menage*, who Deſcended (E) from *John Des-Jardins* by the Mother's ſide, has wrote his Life †. We have taken this Piece from thence.

HORTENSIUS (*Lambert*) Born at *Montfort* in the Province of *Utrecht*, the firſt day (F) of *April* 1518. has been Ranked among the Learned of his Age. He Studied at *Louvain* the Learned Languages with an extream Application, under very excellent Maſters, and heard alſo *Vives*'s Lectures upon Logick. He Publiſh'd in Latin Verſe a Tranſlation of *Ariſtophanes*'s *Plutus*, with Notes, where he ſhewed the Progreſs he had made in the Greek Tongue. We have many Books of his (G) making. He Taught School a long time at *Naerden* in *Holland*, and very nearly eſcaped with his Life, when that Town was Sack'd by the *Spaniards* in 1572, under the Conduct of *Frederick de Tolede*, Son to the Duke of *Alba*. His Houſe was Plunder'd, and his Natural Son * killed before his Eyes, and he himſelf was going to be kill'd, notwithſtanding his being a Prieſt; but by good luck a Gentleman ‡ who had been his Scholar, and bore Arms in the *Spaniſh* Service, came in very ſeaſonably to ſave his Life. 'Tis obſerved that his only care was to ſave from the common Wreck, his Comment upon *Lucan's Pharſalia*. He made a Deſcription of the Plunder and Slaughter of *Naerden*, the Manuſcript whereof is at *Utrecht*. He ſcarce Survived that Deſolation, for he Died ϒ in 1573. near *Naerden*, in ϛ a Country Houſe ζ.

HORTENSIUS (*Martin*) a Native of *Delft* in *Holland*, and Profeſſor of Mathematicks at *Amſterdam*, would have made a greater Progreſs in that Science, if he had not Died in the Flower of his Age, (A) in the year 1639. The Preface that he put to a Book of *Philip Lansbergius*, which he Tranſlated into Latin, and in which he makes ſtrong Objections againſt *Tycho Brahe's* Syſtem, ſhews how he Cultivated the Study of Aſtronomy; in which he was aſſiſted by *Lansbergius*'s Converſation, to whom *Beekman*, Rector of the School of *Dordrecht*, a Man very much ſpoken of in *des Cartes*'s Hiſtory, Recommended him. That Book of *Lansbergius* is Intituled *Commentationes in motum terræ diurnum, & in verum aſpectabilis cæli typum*, and was Printed at *Middleburg* in the year 1630, in 4to. *Hortenſius* has alſo Tranſlated the Aſtronomical Inſtitution of *William Blaeuw*, and writ a Diſſertation *de Mercurio ſub Sole viſo & Venere inviſa*, Dedicated to *Gaſſendus*, and an Anſwer to what *Kepler* had prefixed to his Almanack in 1624. ϑ. *Gaſſendus*'s Letters to him ſhew the particular Eſteem he had for him. *Hortenſius*'s Letters to *Gaſſendus* are Printed among thoſe of that famous Philoſopher. From thence I learned that he was Born in 1605 λ, and that he was admitted Profeſſor at *Amſterdam* μ in the year 1634. He did not ſeem to be contented with his Condition; and he ſpeaks ‡ of the Spirit that Reigned in that famous Town, like a Man Vexed and Inraged that they did not come to his Lectures, nor encouraged the making of thoſe Machines he had contriv'd, from which he expected a Succeſs * above all that *Tycho Brahe* had done. We have ſome Orations of his making, one *de utilitate & dignitate*

* Occiſo in oculis filio ſuo naturali. Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. p. 613. *But obſerve that* Brand *in his* Dutch *Hiſtory of the Reformation* ad ann. 1584. p. 702. 703. *ſpeaks of* Jerôme Hortenſius *Miniſter at the* Hague, *and then at* Waſſenaer, *whom he ſays to be* Lambert's *Son.*

(c) Admodum adoleſcens p. 613.

(d) Pag. 856.

(e) In Theatro, p. 1473. König *ſays alſo, that he was Born in* 1501.

(f) *I have quoted that Book in the Remark B. of the Art.* Picardy. *I add here, that it was Reprinted at* Amſterdam *in* 1636. *with the* Hiſtoria Anabaptiſtica de factionibus Monaſterienſi *of* Conrad. Heresbachius, *by the care of* Theodorus Strackius, *Miniſter of* Burik *in the Country of* Cleves.

(g) *'Tis the* 351*th. of the* 2*d. Vol. in the Edition of* 1659.

(h) *'Tis doubtleſs* Nicolas Heinſius, *who did not Die till* 1681. *Mr.* Baillet *ſays the contrary, pretending that* Heinſius *had two Sons, and that he whom* Deſcartes *ſpeaks of, actually Died, and that his name was* Daniel.

what

‡ Frehe-rus *in his* Theatrum p. 1473. *ſays*, in præfidio ſub ſuburbano. *It ſhould be* prædio.

ϛ Ex Valer. Andreæ, Bibl. Belg. p. 613.

ζ *See* Voſſius de Scient. Mathem. p. 101. 202.

ϒ Oper. Gaſſ. p. 418. *tom.* 6.

ϖ Ibid. p. 422.

‡ Ibid. p. 429.

* Ibid. p. 425. Vide etiam p. 429. & p. 432.

(n) *All this is to be found ib. pag.* 515. *The* French *Sonnet is at p.* 510. Belg. pag.

(D) *A fine Sonnet.*] The Reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it. Father *Vavaſſeur* has put it into Latin, and Mr. *Menage* has made an Epigram upon the ſame Thought (n).

Après avoir ſauvé par mon art ſecourable
Tant de corps languiſſans que la mort menaſoit,
Et chaſſé la rigueur du mal qui les preſſoit,
Gagnant comme Eſculape un nom toujours durable.
Cette fatale ſœur, cruelle, inexorable,
Voyant que mon pouvoir le ſien amoindriſſoit;
Un jour que ſon courroux contre moi la pouſſoit,
Finit quant & mes jours mon labeur profitable.
PASSANT, *moi qui pouvois les autres ſecourir,*
Ne dis point qu'un beſoin je ne me pus guerir;
Car la mort qui doutoit l'effort de ma ſcience,
Ainſi que je prenois ſobrement mon repas,
Me prit en trahiſon, ſain & ſans defiance,
Ne me donnant loiſir de penſer au trepas.

(E) *Who deſcended from John Des-Jardins.*] *Peter Ayrault* Grandfather by the Mother's ſide to Mr. *Menage*, Married *Anne Des-Jardins*, Daughter of our *Hortenſius*, and of *Mary le Tellier* his ſecond Wife, who was of the ſame Family, from which Chancellor *le Tellier* Deſcended (a).

(F) *The firſt Day of* April 1518.] In this I diſagree with my Author *Valerius Andreas*, who ſays he was Born in the year 1500. He was deceiv'd doubtleſs by theſe Words of *Swertius* (b), *Naſcitur anno* CIↃ. IↃ. XVIII. *Kal. Aprilis:* He thought the Numeral Letters XVIII. referred to the Word *Kalends*, for want of remembring that there is not in the *Roman* Calender, any 18*th.* Day before the Calends of *April*. But this is not the only Reaſon that determined me to joyn XVIII. to the Preceding Letters; I have been moved to that by another Conſideration: *Valerius Andreas* ſays, that *Hortenſius* was (c) very young when he went to Study at *Louvain* under *Rutgerus Reſcius*, Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue: Now he ſays in another Place, (d) that *Reſcius* Died in 1545. which was the 17*th.* year of his Profeſſorſhip; ſo that he began it only in 1528. How then could *Hortenſius* Study under this Profeſſor when he was very young, if he was Born in the year 1500? But if he was Born in the year 1518, all is eaſily reconciled. *Paul* (e) *Freherus* is miſtaken, both in the year of his Birth and of his Death; for he ſays that *Lambert Hortenſius* was born in the year 1501. and Died in 1577.

(G) *We have many Books of his making.*] Theſe are the Titles of them: *Enarrationes in Virgilii Æneïda*, in fol. *Explanationes in Lucani Pharſaliam*, Printed at *Baſil* in the year 1578. in fol. *Satyrarum in avi ſui vitia & mores libri II. Epithalamiorum liber I. Seceſſionum civilium Ultrajectinarum libri VII. De Bello Germanico à Carolo V. Cæſare geſto libri VII. Tumultuum Anabaptiſtarum* (f) *liber I.*

(A) *In the year* 1639.] I have not followed *Valerius Andreas*, who ſays he Died in the year 1640. That which induced me to it, is a Paſſage of *Deſcartes*, which deſerves to be Copied: I take it from one of his Letters (h) to Father *Merſenne*, which tho' it be not Dated, yet it ſolidly fixes the Date, which I have occaſion for, ſince in the firſt Lines the Author acquaints us, that he Wrote in Anſwer to a Letter of the laſt of *December* 1639. This is

(a) Menage ubi ſupra pag. 515. 517. (b) Athen. 508.

tate Mathefeos, and another *de oculo ejuſque præſtantia*. He ſays in one of his Letters † to *Gaſſendus*, that the Impreſſion of his Anſwer to *Peter Bartholinus*'s Book, Publiſhed againſt him in defence of *Tycho Brahe*, was only put off for want of Paper. Probably that Work kept Company with the *Pleiadographia* *, which remain'd in Manuſcript among the Papers of the ſame Author when he Died. *Deſcartes* does not ſpeak Advantageouſly of his Ability. *As for the Schools-Profeſſors*, ſays he †, *not one of them underſtands my Geometry; no, not* Golius; *much leſs* Hortenſius, *who has not made a ſufficient Progreſs for that.*

† Pag. 120.

* Valer. Andreas ubi ſupra.

† Letters Tom. 3. p. 191.

HOSIUS (*Staniſlaus*) Cardinal and Biſhop of *Warmia*, was one of the moſt Ingenious Men that *Poland* has produced: he was Born at *Cracow* in the year 1504. You'll find in *Moreri* an Account ‡ of his Actions, and of the Honours he arrived to: It was not found, when he was one of the Preſidents of the Council, that he had all the (*A*) Politick Addreſs, that ſuch an Employment Required. His Books of Controverſy are ſcarce inferiour to the beſt that were Written in that Age. *Caſaubon* has juſtly Accus'd him (*B*) of having made an Apology for a Controverſiſt, who ſaid, that bating the Authority of the Church, the Holy Scripture has no more weight than *Æſop*'s Fables. The Jeſuit who has Cenſur'd *Caſaubon* upon this, has only ſhewn his own Ignorance: He-

‡ *And better ſtill in* Buſlart's *Academie des ſciences* Tom. 1. p. 64. *and follow.*

what I thought proper to Copy of it: *Hortenſius* ‘ being ſome years ago in *Italy* ſet about making ‘ the Scheme of his Nativity, and told two young ‘ Men of this Country who were with him, that ‘ he ſhould Die in the year 1639, and as for them ‘ they ſhould not Live long after. Now he Dying ‘ this Summer as you know, theſe two young Men ‘ fall into ſuch Fears that one of them is already ‘ Dead, and the other who is the Son of *Heinſius* (*i*), ‘ is in ſo Languiſhing and Melancholy a Condition, ‘ that he ſeems to do all that's poſſible to verify the ‘ Aſtrologer's Prediction. Here's a pretty Science ‘ which ſerves to kill People, who perhaps would ‘ not have been Sick without it. It would be wrong to object to me that *Deſcartes* might have written this Letter after the Summer of the year 1640, and conſequently that he does not contradict *Valerius Andreas*; for his Correſpondence by Letters with Father *Merſenne* was ſo frequent, that this Objection muſt needs be falſe. But beſides, I find in a Letter of *Boxhornius*, Dated the 13*th.* of *September* 1639, that he Laments the loſs of *Hortenſius*, who was lately Dead.

(i) Vide Epiſtolas Boxhornii pag. 144. Edit. Francof. 1679.

(*A*) *That he had all the Politick Addreſs that ſuch an Employment requir'd.*] The Cardinal of *Mantua* Dying the ſecond of *March* 1563, his Collegues who Preſided in the Council, wrote immediately to the Pope. He who was the firſt Preſident (*a*), deſir'd that a Legate might be ſent that ſhould be above him. *Hoſius* deſir'd that he might have leave to go into *Poland*: But *Simoneta* adviſ'd the Pope not to ſend a new Legate to *Trent*, hoping to obtain the Direction, both becauſe Cardinal *Seripande* was weary of the Council, and had no inclination to Direct it any longer, and becauſe Cardinal *Hoſius* was a Plain Man, who was eaſily Govern'd. (*b*) *Simoneta, deſideroſo che la ſomma di guidare il Concilio reſtaſſe a lui, & havendo ſperanza di condurlo bene, con ſodisfattione del Pontefice, & honor proprio; conſiderando che Seripando era ſtatato di quel negotio, & poco inclinato a volerlo guidare, & che l'Varmienſe era ſemplice perſona, diſpoſta a laſciarſi reggere; miſe in conſideratione al Pontefice, che, ritrovandoſi le coſe del Concilio*, &c. Mr. *Amelot* has not well Tranſlated theſe Words, as any one may eaſily perceive. Here is what he ſays: (*c*) ‘ *Simoneta* earneſtly deſiring the Direction, and hoping ‘ to obtain it to his Honour, and the Pope's ſatisfaction; repreſented to him that the Poſture of ‘ Affairs being but Ill, the leaſt Novelty would make ‘ them go worſe, ſo that he ſaw no occaſion for ‘ ſending another Legate: That *Seripande* loving ‘ his Repoſe, and being not inclinable to direct the ‘ Council; and *Warmia* being a Man of no Addreſs ‘ and wholly Govern'd by others, he offer'd himſelf ‘ in their Place, undertaking to ſteer the Veſſel like ‘ a skilful Pilot. 1. the Original does not import that *Hoſius* was *wholly Govern'd by others*. 2. 'Tis not true that *Simoneta* wrote to the Pope that *Hoſius* was *a Plain Man*. He thought ſo indeed, and Built upon it: But he did not Communicate that Thought to the Pope. Father *Paul* clearly diſtinguiſhes what was Thought from what was Written by him. The Tranſlator ſhould have followed that Diſtinction.

(a) *Twas* Cardinal Seripando.

(b) Fra-Paolo Iſtoria del Concilio di Trento l. 7. p. m. 693. *Compare with this the Paſſage of the 6th. Book p.* 548. *Tis the* 517. *p. in* Amelot's *Tranſlation.*

Note, that Cardinal *Palavicini* (*d*) pretends to prove by Authentick Pieces, that what Father *Paul* advances concerning the Ambitious Artifices of *Simoneta*, is falſe.

(c) Hiſt. du Concile de Trente, p. 657. 658. Amſterdam *Edition* 1686.

(*B*) *Caſaubon has juſtly Accus'd him.*] Let us follow the Progreſs of this Diſpute, and begin with the Words of this great Critick: (*e*) *Verbo Dei viventis ſcripto minus etiam tribuit* (Sciopius in Eccleſiaſtico cap. 135.) *quam five Pighius, ſive alius qui dixit Patrum memoria*: Scripturam, ſi auctoritate Eccleſiæ deſtituatur, non plus per ſe valere quàm fabulas Æſopi. *Quod blaſphemum dictum poſtea defendere auſus eſt Cardinalis Hoſius.* The Jeſuit *Eudæmon-Johannes* maintain'd, that it was a Calumny Forg'd by *Brentius*, and pretended to prove it thus. (*f*) *Jam verò quando non memorat, neque quis Æſopica hujus fabulæ auctor ſit, neque quo loco eam Hoſius defenderit, vel ne convinci impoſturæ poſſet, vel quod in aliquo alio rem eam legerat, & auctorem, & calumniam ex Hoſio detegam; videant deinde lectores, quàm bona fide infideles iſti fidei patroni diſputent. Is igitur lib. 3. in prolegomena Brentii, ipſo fere initio*; Magna pars, *inquit*, libelli [*prolegomenorum Brentii*] non aliunde conſtant, quàm è ſannis, dicteriis, conviciis; in quo ſic etiam ludit Scripturis, ſic eas tractat jocularitèr; ut verè de ipſo dici poſſit, quod venerabili viro Petro à Soto falſo impingat, eum haud aliter Scripturis, quàm Æſopi fabulis uti. *Non eſt igitur ea Catholici cujuſquam Scriptoris vox; ſed calumnia Brentii: quam vir illuſtriſſimus falſo in virum doctiſſimum excogitatam, in auctorem ipſum verè convenire defendit.* Here we find four Things. 1. A Complaint that *Caſaubon* did not ſay in what part of *Hoſius*'s Works he found this. 2. That *Brentius* Accuſes *Soto* of uſing the Scripture as *Æſop*'s Fables. 3. That *Hoſius* maintains, that this Acculation is a Slander with Reſpect to *Soto*, but moſt true with Reſpect to *Brentius*. 4. That theſe Words of *Hoſius* occaſion'd the Scandalous Reflection mention'd by *Caſaubon*. The firſt of theſe four things is juſt. The Careleſneſs of thoſe, who do not quote the Chapter in a conſiderable Accuſation, cannot be too much blamed; Great Authors are moſt liable to that fault: They think they ſhall be believed on their own Word, and ſo diſpenſe with the Citation; they are contented to ſay, *Plutarch, Cicero, St. Auguſtin, ſay this.* Abundance of Readers had rather take it upon Truſt, or remain Dubious, than take the Pains to Verify it. Tho' *Caſaubon* had no real Deſign to hinder any one from Diſcovering the Falſity of his Acculation, yet he left Room for that Suſpicion: Why did he uſe ſo looſe a Quotation? The ſecond and third Things are undeniable Facts (*g*), but they ſignify nothing to this Diſpute. The fourth is a notable Blunder of the Jeſuit, as I ſhall make it appear.

(d) Hiſtor. Concil. Trident. l. 20. c. 6. n. 6.

(e) Caſaubon. in Baronium, exercit. 1. c. 33. pag. m. 134.

(f) Andr. Eudæmon-Joannes, caſtigat. exercitat. Iſaaci Caſaubon, l. 2. c. 5. p. 147.

(g) *The Words of* Hoſius *quoted by* Eudæmon-Joannes *are to be found in the* 3. *Book againſt* Brentius's Prolegomena *p.* 196. *Edit.* Colon. 1558. *in fol.*

The confidence with which he Accuſes *Caſaubon* of Calumniating Cardinal *Hoſius*, Prejudices one againſt this Critick; but when we ſee *Caſaubon*'s Apologiſt ſtop ſhort, and Coldly confeſs he has no Book of *Hoſius* (*h*), we are inclinable to believe that *Eudæmon-Johannes* goes upon ſure Grounds. Can that *Eudæmon-Johannes* eaſily believe that a Miniſter who undertakes the Confutation of *Caſaubon*'s Cenſurer, ſhould not ſeek for *Hoſius*'s Books till he finds them? Are they ſo hard to come by? One may therefore ſuſpect that this Confeſſion of his want of them is a Subterfuge, invented on purpoſe, not to own the Cardinal's Innocence. But be in no fear for *Caſaubon*: He

(h) Si nihil gravius dixit Hoſius, erit hæc in Brentium calumnia, non in Spiritum S. blaſphemia. Ego Pighii, Hoſii nihil habeo, ne Hermanni, cui Hapſhemam hanc Scripturæ cum Æſopi fabulis comparationem tribuentes viros magnos audivi. *Jurisc. Conſilius, t. ndic. If. Caſaub. l. 3. c. 3. p. 78.*

Hosius Died near *Rome* the 5th. of *August*, 1579. *Moreri* (C) has committed some Mistakes.

It has been thought, that this Cardinal was the Author of an Anonymous Book, very injurious to the *Swiss*, which was confuted by *Bullinger* in the Preface to *Josiah Simler*'s Tract *de æterno Dei filio* †.

† *See* Hottinger in Pentade Dissert. Miscellan. pag. 214.

HOSPINIAN (*Rodolphus*) is one of the greatest Authors of *Switzerland*. He was born at *Altorf*, a Village of the County of *Kiburg*, in the Canton of *Zurich*, the 7th. of *November* 1547, and at Seven Years of Age he was sent to *Zurich* to begin his Studies. He made a great Progress in them, under the Direction of *John Wolphius* †, his Uncle by his Mother; and losing his Father ‡ in the Year 1563, he found a most kind Patron in *Rodolphus Gualterus* * his Godfather. He left *Zurich* to visit the other Universities in *March* 1565, and staid two Years at *Marpurg*, where he distinguisht himself by his great Application to Study, and his good Conduct. He did the same at *Heidelberg*, the Six Months he spent there; after which his Superiors recall'd him, and put him into the Ministry in 1568. He was obliged to go and preach Twice a Week in a Country Church Four or Five Leagues from *Zurich*. He punctually discharged these Duties for Eight Years together, though he had a great deal of other Business upon his Hands in that Town. For he was made a Teacher of the Third Class, in 1569, and Provisor of the Abbatial School, in 1571. He was made Provisor of the *Caroline* School Five Years after. He roll'd this *Sisyphean*-Stone (*A*) with wonderful Patience for Nineteen Years together. He was made † Burgher in the Year 1569, and married (*B*) successfully the same Year. His Pastoral-Labours were somewhat lessened in the Year 1576; for they gave him a Church but a League from *Zurich*.

† *He was a Minister, and published many Books.*

‡ *He was Minister at* Altorf.

* *He was a famous Minister, of whom we have many Latin Homilies.*

† Jus civitatis Tigurinæ rata felicitate ipsi collatum est. *Heidegger. ubi infra.*

He charges *Hosius* with nothing but what is most true. *Fingamus autem nunc verum esse*, (they are *Hosius*'s Words (*i*) in the same Book that *Jonnes-Eudæmon* cites) *quod tu scripsisse nescio quem narras, nam nomen non exprimis, ac fieri potest ut sit commentum tuum, Scripturas valere quantum falulas Æsopi, si destituantur autoritate Ecclesiæ. Credo Brenti, num hic minùs reverenter de Scripturis loquutus est, quam qui vocat eam librum (k) Hæreticorum, cùm tamen nullorum sit minùs quàm Hæreticorum: est enim Catholicorum propria, qui tot seculis in ejus possessione præscripserunt. Et potuit illud tamen pio sensu dici, quem homo pius, qui charitatem habet, quæ non cogitat malum, ex iis verbis eliceret. Nam revera, nisi nos Ecclesia doceret autoritas hanc scripturam esse canonicam, perexiguum apud nos pondus haberet.*

(*i*) *Hosius lib. 3. in Prolegom. Brentii p. 230. 231.*

(*k*) Hosius *had been saying, that* Luther *calls the Holy Scripture* the Book of Heretick. Gretserus *observes it likewise* Proleg. exam. Mysterii Plessæani pag. 90. *and quotes* Luther's *Words ex* Postil. Eccles. Domin. 8. post Trin.

(C) *Mr.* Moreri *has committed some Mistakes.*] I. It was not at *Pavia*, but at *Padua*, that *Hosius*'s Relations sent him to Study. *Moreri* might have discover'd his Fault, if he had known that *Lazarus Bonamici*, whom he makes *Hosius*'s Master, was Professor at *Padua*. *Du Saussai* (*l*) supposes, that *Hosius* being sent into *Italy* by the Advice of *Peter Thowiecki*, Bishop of *Cracow*, staid at *Bologna*. He should have said that *Hosius* having studied at *Padua* some time, went to *Bologna*, where he was admitted Doctor of Law. *Patavii, dein Bononiæ*——*Jurisprudentiæ industriam primo addiceras, & lauream sub ipso Hugone Boncompagno qui S. S. Gregorii XIII. nomine dein præfuit, postremo adeptus est* (*m*). This shews the II. Falsity of *Moreri*; who says, that he received his *Doctor's Degree* at *Padua*. III. *He was made Bishop of* Culm, *at the Instance of King* Sigismund *the First*. These Words of *Moreri* imply another Falsity; for it was *Sigismund Augustus* who procured him that Bishoprick. IV. How could *Sigismund* I. *send him to* Rome *to Pope* Julius III. He died in 1548, whereas this Pope was not created till 1550. V. He should not have said, that retiring into *Poland* after the Conclusion of the Council, *he writ those admirable Works that remain of him*: For this signifies, that he made no Books before; whereas 'tis certain, that his Answer to *Brentius* was printed at *Cologne*, in 1558. 'Tis a Work of Four Hundred Pages in *Folio*. His Book, intituled, *Confessio Catholicæ fidei Christianæ* (*a*) was before that published at *Mentz*. His Books *de Communione sub utraque specie, de Sacerdotum conjugio*, and *de missa vulgari lingua celebranda*, were printed at *Paris* (*b*) in 1561. *Du Saussai* (*c*) deserves here a little Censure; for he reckons most of these Works among the Books which *Hosius* published after the Council of *Trent*. VI. *Moreri* should not have said in general, that *Hosius*'s Books were printed Thirty Two Times before he died. He should, as Mr. *Bullart* did, have made some Exceptions. 'Many of his 'Writings, *says he*, (*d*) were printed Two and Thirty Times in his Life-time, in the Principal Towns 'of *Christendom*, and translated into *French*, *Italian*, *German*, *Flemish*, *Polish*, *English*, *Scotch*, 'and *Armenian*. M. *de la Rochepozai* (*e*) has committed the Fault of making no Exception. I have not taken notice of what *Moreri* says about the Reasons that obliged Cardinal *Hosius* not to be Present at the 24th. Session. He pretends it was because he disapproved the Decisions, made concerning Clandestine Marriages: 'Tis very true, that he did not like those Decisions, and (*f*) that he indeavoured Two or Three Times to get them revok'd, for which Reason he was taxed with Obstinacy; but it is no Ways certain, that his Absence was grounded upon the Reason which *Moreri* assigns. For he assisted at the Session before, tho' he disapprov'd some Things which were determin'd there about the Sacrifice of the Mass: He made no Scruple to oppose them. Why then durst he not do as much as to Clandestine Marriages? Would he not have been seconded by his Colleague Cardinal *Simonetta*, and some others? Did he not send in Writing, his Opinion, which was contrary to the Decree? Did he not declare in Writing, that he referred all that to the Judgment of the Holy Father? In a Word, his Sickness was not counterfeited, and lasted a long time. Thus you have most of the Reasons that *Pallavicini* made use of (*g*) to refute a Story adopted by Father *Paul*, that *Hosius* pretended to be Sick, that he might not be present at the Session, in which the Decree for Clandestine Marriages was to be ratified. There is sometimes Reason to say, that the Sicknesses of Great Men are affected, and only Politick Grimaces. But some Historians too Speculative, are some times out in saying so.

(*a*) *See the Preface of his Answer to* Brentius's Prolegomena.

(*b*) *Oldoinus in Athen. Romano pag. 615.*

(*c*) *Ubi supra.*

(*d*) *Bullart, academ. des sciences tom. 1. pag. 70.*

(*e*) *In Nomenclatore Cardinalium pag. 151.*

(*f*) *Pallavic. histor. Concil. Trident. lib. 22. c. 9. n. 5.*

(*g*) *Ibid. lib. 23. cap. 7. n. 17.*

(*A*) *He roll'd this* Sysyphean *Stone.*] I take this Thought from the Author of his Life. *Hanc quoque Spartam ornavit*, (says he) (*h*), *quantum potuit, saxumque hoc vere Sisyphium volvit revolvitque, & novendecim annorum orbe circumegit indefessus athleta pari & industria & successu.* What he says a little after, is a good Thought: He wonders that his Wit was not spoiled by so painful Employments. *Ferreum certe adamantinumque dixeris qui tot labores exantlare, & simul ingenium à situ & squalore vindicare posset.*

(*h*) *Id. ibid.*

(*B*) *And married successfully the same Year.*] He married *Anne Lavater*, Daughter of *Lewis Lavaterus*, then Arch-Deacon of the *Caroline* Church, and afterwards first Minister. He was the Son of *Rodolphus Lavaterus*, Burgomaster of *Zurich*. The Mother of *Anne Lavater*, was the Daughter of *Henry Bullinger*, one of the Principal Reformers. Our *Hospinian* lived very happily with his Wife (*i*) Thirty Years, and had Fourteen Children by her, whereof *Elizabeth* the youngest was still alive in 1681. She was Widow of *Rodolphus Stuckius*, and 88 Years old; and as she had preserved her Judgment (*k*), and her Memory, she furnished Materials to him who wrote the Life of her Father. *John Henry HOSPINIAN* his Brother, was Minister

(*i*) Annosque plusquam triginta concorde in matrimonio terunit. *Heidegger. ibid. p. 9.*

(*k*) Quæ annum agens 88. sic satis vegeta etiamnum integro judicio & memoria, ex qua non pauca mihi suggessit historiam hancce locupletantia, pollet. *Id. ibid.*

Zurich. The Duſt of the College did not diſcourage him from undertaking (*C*) a noble Work, and of a vaſt Extent. As he had beſtowed all his ſpare Time on the Study of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, he form'd the Ground-Work of a Deſign, which might ſhew the Roman Catholicks, that they vainly boaſt of the Conformity of their Doctrines with Antiquity. He could not finiſh his Undertaking; but he ſhewed ſome great Pieces (*D*) of it, that procur'd him a great Reputation, and obliged his Maſters to remove him from the Duſt of the School, to a more eminent Station. He was made Arch-Deacon of the *Caroline* Church, the 25th. of *September* 1588. Six Years after he was made Miniſter of the Abbatical Church; an Employment ſo much the more Advantageous, becauſe it did not put him out of the Road of his great Deſign. The Book he publiſhed upon the Euchariſt, and that intituled, *Concordia diſcors*, terribly vexed the *Lutherans*. And the *Lutherans* vexed him (*E*) in their Turn with their Anſwers;

miſter of the Church of *Bulac*, and Dean of the Chapter of *Rainsburg*. *Rodolphus HOSPINIAN* his Brother, Profeſſor of the *Hebrew* Tongue at *Zurich*, and Deacon of the *Caroline* Church, left Two Sons, *Rodolphus HOSPINIAN*, who was Provoſt of the Chapter of the ſame Town, when Mr. *Heidegger* wrote the Life of our *Rodolphus*, and *John Henry HOSPINIAN*, Miniſter of the Church of *Glattfeld*. You'll find in Mr. *Heidegger*, many other Perſons deſcended from our *Rodolphus*. This loſing his Wife in the Year 1612, made Reflections becoming a good Chriſtian, and quickly looked for a Second Wife. *Patienter tamen domeſticam illam calamitatem, utcunque acerbam, tulit, memor utique, & mortalem ſe duxiſſe, & ad æternam beatudinem præmiſiſſe. Conſolabantur etiam mœ orbitatem ejus ſecundæ nuptiæ cum matrona honeſtiſſima* Magdalena Wirzia, *nobilis & eximii viri* Conradi Wirzii, *Præfecti quondam Vadiviliani, filia, bonis ominibus contracta, & d.* XIII. *Maji An.* M. DC. XII. *ſolenniter celebrata* (*l*). He had experienced, that a Wife did no ways take him off from his Studies. *Cujus conſortium tantum abeſt ut, quod Romanenſes noſtris objicunt, impedimentum aliquod ſtudiis ejus piis objecerit, ut magno illi contra & dulci ad omne opus bonum incitamento adjumentoque fuerit* (*m*).

(*l*) *Id. ib. pag.* 23.

(*m*) *Id. ib.*

(*C*) *A Noble Work, and of a vaſt Extent.*] It was the Hiſtory of the Errors of Popery. That which gave him the firſt Thoughts of it, was the Diſcourſe he had in a Country Tavern with his Hoſt, who ridiculouſly believed, that the Monaſtick Life, was derived from Paradiſe. (*n*) *Faſſum aliquando ferunt, cum illa excurſione neceſſum haberet in hoſpitio pernoctare, hoſpitem ruſticum non incuriоſum crebra ſecum colloquia miſcentem, & de Origine Papatûs, vitæ in primis Monaſticæ, quam ille pro ſimplicitate ſua ex Paradiſo arceſſendam ridiculè ſuſtinuerit, anxiè inquirentem, anſam ſibi libros de Origine errorum ſcribendi præbuiſſe.* He conſidered that the Papiſts, when beaten by the Scripture, had recourſe to Tradition, and vaunted their Antiquity, and undervalued the Novelty of the Proteſtants. To unharbour them of that Sanctuary, he trac'd the Original and Progreſs of the Romiſh Ceremonies and Doctrines; and ſhew'd by what Degrees the Truth, which JESUS CHRIST and his Apoſtles had taught, gave way to Innovations. (*o*) *Impetum concepit animo ſuo plane heroicum, & laude nunquam intermoritura dignißimum, fictitia illius vetuſtatis ſpectrum debellandi, Gibeoniticaſque artes & fraudes, monſtratis geminis errorum, qui paulatim Eccleſiam inundaverant, originibus, detegendi convellendique. Et magna quidem molis, immenſique laboris opus aggrediebatur, cum de cæleſti doctrina, & ceremoniis veræ primitivæ Eccleſiæ, tum de inclinatione & depravatione ejuſdem doctrinæ, deque ceremoniarum mutatione, auctione & progreſſu iis ſeculis, quæ Chriſtum & Apoſtolos primùm, deinde verò Conſtantinum Imperatorem, imprimis autem Gregorium M. ſecuta ſunt.* He (*a*) chiefly deſigned to Write about Baptiſm, the Euchariſt, the Temples, Feaſts, Faſts, Orders, Monks, the Primacy of the Pope, and Burials. He began alſo to compoſe the Lives of the Popes, and ſome Animadverſions upon *Gratian* (*b*). He was about Forty one Years old, when he laid the Plan of this great Deſign.

(*n*) *Heidegg. ibid pag.* 8.

(*o*) *Ibid. pag.* 11.
(*a*) *Ibid.*
(*b*) *Antigratianum inſuper moliebatur, quo demonſtrare inſtituerat, Gratianum in ſuo decreto multa falſa, pugnantia, commentitia & notha recitare, tum verò impudenter, falſaciter, malitioſè & impiè corrumpere.* Id. ib.

(*D*) *He ſhew'd ſome great Pieces of it.*] I will here give a Liſt of the Books he publiſhed. The firſt was an Oration *de origine & progreſſu rituum & ceremoniarum Eccleſiaſticarum*. He ſpoke it in an Academical Aſſembly, and printed it in 1585. Two Years after he publiſhed his Treatiſe *de templis, hoc eſt de origine, progreſſu, uſu & abuſu templorum, ac omnino verum omnium ad templa pertinentium*. He put out a Second Edition of it in the Year 1603. not only with Corrections, but alſo with great Additions; for he added to it, the Confutation of the Arguments which *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* had produced in behalf of their Party upon that Subject, ſince the firſt Edition. In the Year 1588, he publiſhed a Tract *Monachis, ſeu de origine & progreſſu monachatus ac ordinum Monaſticorum, equitum militarium tam ſacrorum quam ſeculariuм omnium*. He put out a Second Edition of it in 1609, in which he refuted *Bellarmin*'s Book *de Monachis*, publiſhed ſince the firſt Edition of his Work. He was juſt ready to publiſh his Tract *de Origine & progreſſu jejuniorum*, in 1589, when a Work of *Bellarmin* juſt printed gave him to underſtand, that this Jeſuit promiſed a Book upon that Subject. He therefore deferred the Publication of it, till he could join a Confutation of what *Bellarmin* ſhould allege. But becauſe he applied himſelf to other Things in the mean time, he never finiſhed that Treatiſe. Theſe other things were the Holy Days, upon which he publiſhed Two Volumes, one in 1592, the other in 1593. The firſt is intituled, *de feſtis Judæorum & Ethnicorum, hoc eſt, de origine, progreſſu, ceremoniis & ritibus feſtorum dierum Judæorum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Turcarum, & Indianorum*. He reprinted it in the Year 1611, with many Corrections and Additions. The ſecond is intituled, *de Origine, progreſſu, ceremoniis & ritibus feſtorum dierum Chriſtianorum*. He reprinted it in 1612. with large Supplements, which ſerved both to refute *Bellarmin* upon the Romiſh Idolatry, and *James Gretſer* upon *Corpus-Chriſti*-Day. In 1598, he publiſhed the firſt Volume of his *Hiſtoria Sacramentaria*: *Hoc eſt libri quinque de Cœna Dominica prima inſtitutione, ejuſque vero uſu & abuſu in primitiva Eccleſia, nec non de ejus origine, progreſſu, ceremoniis & ritibus Miſſæ, tranſſubſtantiationis & aliorum pene infinitorum errorum, quibus Cœna prima inſtitutio horribiliter in Papatu polluta & profanata eſt*. Four Years after he publiſhed the Second Volume of that Hiſtory, containing the Controverſies betwixt thoſe of the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, and the other Proteſtants, about the Euchariſt. The Title of it is, *de origine & progreſſu controverſiæ ſacramentariæ de Cœna Domini inter Lutheranos & Orthodoxos quos Zwinglianos & Calviniſtas vocant exortæ, ab anno Chriſti Salvatoris* 1517, *uſque ad annum* 1602. He publiſhed in the Year 1607, a Work intituled, *Concordia diſcors, ſeu de origine & progreſſu formulæ Concordiæ Bergenſis*. In the Year 1619. he publiſhed a Tract againſt the Jeſuits. *Hiſtoria Jeſuitica, hoc eſt, de origine, regulis, conſtitutionibus, privilegiis, incrementis, progreſſu, & propagatione Ordinis Jeſuitarum; item de eorum dolis, fraudibus, impoſturis, nefariis facinoribus, cruentis conſiliis, falſa quoque ſeditioſa & ſanguinolenta doctrina* (*c*). With this he ended his Compoſitions, being reſolved to ſpend the reſt of his Days in Prayers, Holy Reading, and Sacred Meditations.

(*c*) *Taken from his Life, written by* Heidegger.

(*E*) *The* Lutherans *vexed him in their turn with their Anſwers.*] The Hiſtory of the Sacramentarian War betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, and that of the Formulary of Concord, ſhew ſo much Confuſion, Paſſion, Shuffling and Cavilling on the *Lutheran* Side, that it would be a Miracle, if theſe two Books had not furiouſly provoked the *Saxon* Divines. In *Saxony* they choſe a Man to anſwer *Hoſpinian*, who was very fit to dazzle the Publick; a Man, I ſay, who treated his Adverſaries moſt contemptuouſly, and took upon him a Magiſterial Air. There is nothing like this to conceal the weak Sides of a Cauſe.

Anſwers; to which he did not finiſh his Reply, as knowing that the common Enemies of the Proteſtants would be too much pleaſed on that Occaſion. He therefore turned all his Forces againſt the Jeſuits. I doubt not but the Suppreſſion of his Reply was grateful (F) to ſome Princes. He loſt the Uſe of his Eyes, near a Year, by a Cataract. However, he Preached as he uſed to do. It was happily couched for him the 18th. of *September* 1613. At Seventy Six Years of Age he grew Childiſh, and was never delivered from that miſerable Condition, but by his Death the 11th. of *March*, 1626, in his 79th. Year. His Writings had given ſuch an Idea of his Learning, that he was adviſed from all Sides to Confute *Baronius*'s Annals, no Body being thought

(*d*) *Heidegg. ubi ſupra pag.* 22.

(*e*) 'Tis a Fault of Impreſſion: it ſhould be MDXXIX

(*f*) Note that ſome ſay, that Chriſtophorus Wilhelmus à Vallo, was Chr. Wil. Walpurgerus, a Divine of Leipſick. See Mollerus, Hagog. Hili. Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ parte 3. pag. 133.

(*g*) *Heidegg. ib.*

(*h*) Non defuit bonæ cauſæ Hoſpinianus, utpote qui—perſonato larvam egregiè detraxit, adornata ſcriptione vernacula, quæ & hiſtoriæ à ſe conſignatæ veritatem in arce collocavit, & adverſantis vanitatem ſolidè detexit. Neque tamen reſponſio illæc, omnibus numeris abſoluta, lucem vidit. *Id. ib.*

(*i*) *Ibid.*

(*k*) Sine mora reprimendam exultantem hominis audaciam. *Id. ibid. pag.* 24.

(*l*) *Id. ib.*

Cauſe. (*d*) *Hiſtoria ſacramentaria pars poſterior & concordiæ illa diſcors vehementer eos, qui Lutheranarum partium aſſeclas ſe profeſſi ſunt, urebant; qui eorum operum vim chryſippeis ſophiſmatis, & tortuoſis argutiis, acriuſque dicteriis convellere maximopere laborabant. Conſtat autem, utriuſque operis refutandi in Saxonicis oris negotium Leonhardo Hutteno, Witzebergenſi Profeſſori, homini arroganti & procaci facundo, datum eſſe. Et primum quidem An. Æt. DC. XI. perſonatus ille, uti prudenter conjectabant, prodiit, larva ſcilicet aſſumpta cujuſdam Chriſtophori à Vallo, S. Theologiæ Candidati, ſub qua adverſus ea, quæ Hoſpinianus in Annalibus Sacramentariis ad annum* (*e*) *M. DC. XIX. geſta prodidit, vernacula ſcriptione ingenii ſui libidinem procaciter ſatis exercuit. David Parens* no ſooner ſaw this Work of *Hutterus*, but he gave *Hoſpinian* Notice of it (*f*), and adviſed him to anſwer it in *High-Dutch*, without waiting till his Adverſary continued in his Confutation. (*g*) *Adverſus Commentarium tuum alterum de re ſacramentaria, nec non Concordiam diſcordem comperimus, mandatum ex aula Saxonica D. Hutterо datum, hiſtoriam tuam ut refutaret. Laboraſſe etiam illum ea in re ex domeſticis meis ſtudioſis cognovi. His nundinis Lipſenſibus prodiit Germanica hæc Hiſtoriæ Sacramentariæ conſignatio, uſque ad annum 29 deducta. Credo vobis non eſſe viſam. Author magna pollicetur, & triumphus eſt, ut audio, noſtra vicimus, &c. Percurri librum. Præter magnifica mendacia nihil video novi. Suaſerim ut veſtigia hujus ſcriptoris, qui haud dubiè eſt ille Hutterus, premas ilico, neque exſpectes, dum tota moles te opprimat. Feceris magnum operæ pretium Germanicè reſpondendo.* *Hoſpinian* (*h*) immediately wrote a Reply, but he did not publiſh it. In the Year 1614, came out another Work of *Hutterus*, intituled, *Concordia concors, ſeu de origine & progreſſu formulæ concordiæ Eccleſiarum Confeſſionis Auguſtanæ.* In which he undertook to deprive *Hoſpinian* of all the Reputation he had got for his Learning or Candour. *Quo quantum de libro ipſo, tantundem de eruditionis, candoris & judicii* Hoſpiniani *fama, ſuoque eccleſiæ infamia ſe detrahere poſſe ſperavit. Opus ipſum haud exigua molis, & varia nullis paulucius prodiit: aſt ſi inanem verborum ſtrepitum, & rerum, convitiorum, ſplendidarumque calumniarum tumorem ei demeres, tantum non ad inciſas redigi, atque in nihilum recidere liquebat* (*i*). *Hoſpinian*'s Friends adviſed him to reply immediately, and to (*k*) humble the Pride of his Adverſary. He preſently took Pen in Hand, and went about a Reply; but he never finiſhed it. Mr. *Heidegger* Witneſſes, that this Work is admirable. 'Tis likely the Author was diſcouraged, becauſe he had to do with ſo abuſive an Enemy; he was afraid alſo of diverting the Jeſuits too much, by continuing this Civil-War: whatever was the matter, his Book was never publiſhed. (*l*) *Neque tamen opus iſthoc ad metam perduxit, ſeu tædio victus eſt maledicentiæ adverſarii, qui neſcio quibus agitatus furiis ubique inſultare, quàm cum ratione quadam diſputare maluit; ſeu faſtidium ſubiit ducendi funem moleſtæ adeò contentionis, quæ non tantùm animos veritatis facâ copia ſauciatos agroſque, magis exulcerarum iri, ſed etiam capitales religionis hoſtes, Jeſuitas cumprimis, infauſti certaminis illius futuros ſpectatores aviditimos, delicias jucundo ejuſmodi ſpectaculo ſibi fakturos——metuit.* The *Lutherans* ſeem by this to have got the Victory, the World being ready to adjudge it to him that ſpeaks laſt. This is to remain Maſter of the Field of Battle. I am going to mention a Reaſon which probably contributed to *Hoſpinian*'s Silence.

(F) *Was grateful to ſome Princes.*] About the time that *Hoſpinian* printed his *Concordia diſcors*, *Frederick* IV. Elector *Palatine*, wrote to the Magiſtrates of *Zurich*, about a Conference, that was ſet on Foot between the *Lutherans* and the *Calviniſts*, to find out Ways of Accommodation, that might ſerve for a League between the Proteſtant Princes, againſt the Sanguinary Deſigns of the Jeſuits. For this reaſon *Hoſpinian*'s Book was thought to be publiſhed out of Seaſon. He juſtified himſelf as to that matter, the beſt he could, in a Letter he wrote (*a*) to *Maurice*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*. He ſaid, that though theſe Conferences ſerve only to widen the Breach, as has been often found by Experience; yet he would have deferred the Impreſſion of his Work, or even condemned it to the Obſcurity of his Cloſet, if he had known the Princes Intentions before: (*b*) " *Libri intempeſtive editi culpam——ſic ſtudioſe* " *amolitur, ut ſimul de inſtitutis ejuſmodi Colloquiis* " *ſententiam graviter proferat hunc ſenſum in modum*: " Etſi ego de hujuſmodi colloquio mihi ipſi nihil boni polliceri poſſim, & majores animorum diſtractiones & conturbationes, odia item, contentiones, ac " diſſidia poſt illud nocentiſſima vehementer metuam, " præſertim ſi mecum reputem, quæ Marpurgenſe, " Maulbrunnenſe, Mompelgardenſe & Ratisbonenſe " colloquia tecuta ſint; & adverſarii palam proteſtentur, ſe non diſcere, ſed docere, & ne in minimo quidem articulo ſententiam mutare. ſed in " ſemel concepta opinione firmiter permanere velle: " nihilominus editionem hujus libri vel in aliud tempus rejeciſſem, ac reſervâſſem; vel, ſi ex uſu eccleſiæ fuiſſet, prorſus ſuppreſſiſſem, ſi hoc conſilium & inſtitutum Illuſtriſſ. Principum vel ante " ſemeſtre mihi cognitum fuiſſet, ne illud impediiſſe " accuſari meritò poſſem. The fear he had of diſpleaſing ſome Princes, and expoſing ſome People to great Dangers, obliged him not to inſert in his Work all that he knew. (*c*) *Paſſus eſt ingenuè, operi illi* de Concordia diſcorde, *deeſſe plurima: nulla equidem ſua culpa, ſed tum quòd ad cognitionem & manus ſuas plura non pervenerint; tum quòd nonnulla dedita opera, omitti conſultiùs viſum ſit, propter admonitionem ex aula potente inſinuatam, ut in ſcribenda ea hiſtoria caute circumſpectèque agat, & quid ſecretorum ex cameris Principum, præſertim verò ex oris Saxonicis habeat. Fore alioquin, ut res hæc ingenti periculo non careat, propter orthodoxos iis in locis ſuſpectos, ne cum iis ludus Crellianus vel* (*d*) *Proceriannus ludatur.* 'Tis (*e*) very likely then, that he gave over his Reply, amongſt other Reaſons, becauſe he feared he ſhould be looked upon as the Cauſe of a Theological War, that might hinder the Proteſtant States from uniting in their common Intereſts. 'Tis very certain, that the Princes of the Empire, both *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, were well-pleaſed with his Silence; for the Hiſtory of that Time informs us, that the Controverſies of the Divines were a great Impediment to the Princes, and they ſtill cauſe from time to time the greateſt Diſturbances to the Magiſtrates in many Imperial Towns. Into what Troubles has *Hamburg* fallen not long ago (*f*) upon the Diſputes of the Miniſters that divided the People, and brought 'em into Bodies? Theſe Diſputes are hardly ever laid, but by the Baniſhment of him who has the weaker Faction: So that, if one may be allowed to uſe Compariſons, it might be ſaid, that theſe Quarrels are like thoſe of Bulls, who fight for a Heifer; the weakeſt hides himſelf, and comes no more in Play:

Nec (*g*) *mos bellantes una ſtabulare; ſed alter*
Victus abit, longeque ignotis exulat oris,
Multa gemens ignominiam, plagaſque ſuperbi
Victoris, tum quas amiſit inultus amores:
Et ſtabula aſpectans regnis exegit avitis.

Perhaps the Reaſon I have mentioned, induced *Hoſpinian* to break off his Hiſtory of the Reformation projected in *Saxony*, under the Elector *Chriſtian*. He had been furniſhed with Memoirs, which might have provoked his Succeſſors. See in the Margin the Title (*h*) that was to be given to this Hiſtory;

(*a*) *The* 22*d. of* Auguſt, 1607.

(*b*) *Id. ib. pag.* 21.

(*c*) *In literis ad Wolphangum Amlingum, Eccleſiæ Serveſtanæ Paſtorem & Superintendentem, die* 22*d. Aug.* 1607.

(*d*) *Upon it is a Fault of Impreſſion for* Peucerianus

(*e*) *Idem Heidegger. ibid.*

(*f*) *Two or Three Years ago, the* Dutch *Gazettes ſpoke of nothing elſe. I write this in* September, 1695.

(*g*) *Virgil. Georg. l.* 3. *v.* 224.

(*h*) Chriſtianus redivivus, *hoc eſt*, de ortu & progreſſu ſuſceptæ à Chriſtiano Electore Saxoniæ Eccleſiarum & Schoiarum in Saxonia ſuperiore Reformationis Hiſtoria, ex actis & originalibus, ut ſint optimi Principis defuncti vindiciæ perennes, fideliter congeſta, & tribus libris comprehenſa. *Heidegger ubi ſupra, pag.* 22.

thought more capable of doing it *. A new Edition of his Works (G) was printed at *Geneva* in Seven Volumes *in Folio*, 1681.

HOSPITAL (*Michael de l'*) Chancellor of *France* in the XVIth. Century, was one of the greateſt Men of his Time. He was of *Auvergne* (*A*), and of a Midling Family; he gradually raiſed himſelf, and was Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, when † Princeſs *Margaret*, Siſter to King *Henry* II. having had the Dutchy of *Berry* aſſigned her, choſe him for her Chancellor. He continued with her in the ſame Poſt in *Italy*, after ſhe had married the Duke of *Savoy*, and he was at *Nice* ‡ when he was raiſed to the Dignity of Chancellor of *France*, under the Reign of *Francis* II. in 1560. 'Twas believed that the *Guiſes* procured him that Office, and that they did it upon the Notion they had, that (*B*) being obliged to them, he would do all they had a Mind to. They were miſtaken; for he laid down for his Maxim the good of the Kingdom, and the true Intereſts of the King his Maſter. 'Tis true, he was obliged to uſe

(i) Id. ib.
(k) Neque contemnenda etiam illa quæ inchoata & affecta, quod ſtonum juſtus ordo, lima & colophon iis adhibita ultimaque manu nec dum pe polita eſſent ne que ipſa ſuperhes prodme paſſus eſt, cen imparia ſtilinendæ famæ nominis tui; neque præter ejus voluntatem & conſ'lium hæredes, cimeliorum iſtorum cuſtodes, edere voluerunt. *Id.* p. 11.
(l) *Naudé coupd'eſtat chap.* 5. *p. m.* 787.
(m) *Thevet, éloge. tom.* 7. *pag.* 368. *édit. in* 12. *He takes this, as he owns it, from the laſt Will of Chancellor* de l'Hoſpital. *You'll find it in* Colomies's Bibliotheque choiſie, pag. 53.
(n) *Id. ib. p.* 369.
(o) Id. ib. *What he ſays is to be found in the Chancellor's Will. See* Colomies ubi ſupra.

Hiſtory; and this is what Mr. *Heidegger* obſerves concerning the Memoirs he was ſupplied with: *Grande ſcilicet volumen ex Saxonia ſubtuiſſum in hæredum manibus verſatur quo Chriſtiani Electoris illuſtris principis & pientiſſimi & fortiſſimi, dicere ere[illegible] Salvi; Ego nec Calviniamus ſum, ne[illegible] Flacci ſum, ſed Chriſtianus. Halent Electam ſuam Cælum in [illegible] Ephemerides accuratiſſimè texuntur, & inſtar[illegible] Rerum Saxonicarum Reformatio, ſub ejus & ſapientiæ ejus morte interrupta, [illegible] exponitur, ex quibus, aliiſque [illegible] irrefragabil bus monumentis Chriſtianum illum vel rum orbi Chriſtiano, non parum certè principis illius meditamenta [illegible] repræſentare ſtatuerat* (i).

(G) *A new Edition of his Works.*] There are none of the Tracts in it, to which the Author had not put the laſt Hand. His Heirs have religiouſly obſerved his Intention (k), being not willing to communicate them to the Publick; but have only furniſhed ſome Remarks, which he added to his Works after they were printed. You'll find in his Life what Pieces he had carried far on, and what he had but made a rough Draught of. This is enough to ſhew his vaſt Learning and prodigious Labour.

(A) *He was of* Auvergne, *and of a midling Family.*] His Father was a Phyſician, and was employed by the Conſtable *Charles de Bourbon*. (l) 'He 'never forſook him, following him in Diſguiſe, partaking of all his Misfortunes, aſſiſting him in all 'his Deſigns, againſt the King, againſt the Emperor, and *Rome*, againſt the Cardinals and the 'Pope himſelf. When he accompanied him in *his retreat towards the Emperor* Charles, he left (m) in *France*, 'all his Children, both Sons and Daughters; who being but young, could not bear the 'Hazards and Fatigues of ſuch a Journey. Our 'Michael was at *Toulouſe* at Eighteen Years of Age, 'and though he was there with no other Deſign than 'to Study, he was carried away upon Suſpicion, and 'clapt up in the publick Priſons, till there was an 'expreſs Command from the King to releaſe him, 'and give him his Liberty to purſue his Studies, 'ſince he was not found tainted with any Deſign 'that could render him guilty. He went to ſee his Father at the time that the Conſtable being returned into *Italy*, (n) *found Affairs much perplexed there*; for *Francis* I. had laid Siege to *Milan*, 'and (o) 'becauſe the Siege was like to laſt long, this Phyſician fearing, leſt his Son by two great a Diſcontinuance ſhould make a ſtrange Breach in his Studies, 'committed the care of him to ſome Carriers, to 'take him along with them, with whom he left 'Milan, diſguiſed in the Habit of a Mule-Driver; 'and with great Danger of his Life paſſed the River *Adda*, and afterwards went to *Padua*, where 'the Study of the Law flouriſhed from all Antiquity. His Father left him in that Univerſity Six 'Years, and then he recalled him to *Bologna*, 'and to *Rome*; where he was honoured with a 'Judge's Place, which they call Auditor of the *Rota*. He reſigned it by the Advice of his Father, 'upon the Promiſes made him by Cardinal *Grandmont* to advance him to higher Poſts in his Country; but he was diſappointed of his Hopes at once, 'both on one ſide and the other. For the Place of 'Auditor was given to another, and the Death 'which ſurpriſed Cardinal *Grandmont*, broke off 'the Hopes that brought him into *France*. Being 'thus diſappointed, he applied himſelf to the Bar; 'and in leſs than three Years, he married *Mary* 'Morin, Daughter of the Lieutenant-Criminal *Morin*, 'who brought for a Portion, a Place (a) of Counſellor 'in the Parliament, which he exerciſed about Nine 'Years, and then he was ſent Ambaſſador to *Bologna*, for King *Henry*, where an Univerſal Counſel of all the Biſhops had been appointed for ſome 'Reformation. *Thevet* adds, that he was afterwards Chancellor of the Dutcheſs of *Berry*, (b) and 'then Head and Superintendant of the King's Finances, in his Chamber of Accompts, and that 'after the Death of King *Henry* he was elected Privy-Counſellor. Note, that his Father (c) after the Conſtable's Death, attended ſome time the Court of the Emperor *Charles* V. and then adhering (d) to the Service of *Renata de Bourbon*, Siſter of his firſt Maſter, and Wife of *Antony* of *Lorrain*, ſpent there the reſt of his Days. Some (e) make him the Son of a Man, *who was born, and lived and died a* Jew *in the City of* Avignon. *Varillas*, from whom I take theſe Words, ſays elſewhere (f), that the Father of *Michael de l'Hoſpital* was a *Jew*. He is very much ſubject to this ſort of Confuſion. Mr. *Teſſier* (g) ſays, that *Mezerai* relates, that the Father of the Chancellor *was the Son of a Phyſician to the Queen of* Navarre, *Wife of* Antony de Bourbon. He cites (h) page 1156. of the Second Volume of *Mezerai*'s Hiſtory of *France*. I find nothing concerning Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital* in the Second Volume of that Author: I only find in the 22d. Page of the Third Volume, that he was the *Son of the Phyſician of* Renata de Bourbon, *Wife of* Antony *of* Lorrain.

(B) *That the* Guiſes *procured him that Office, and that they they did it upon the Notion they had, that being obliged to them.*] *Lewis Regnier*, Sieur *de la Planche*, relates, that after the Death of Chancellor *Olivier*, they offered his Place to (i) *Morvilliers a Privy-Counſellor and Biſhop of* Orleans——*a moſt affectionate Servant of* their Family, and that they *cunningly ſerved themſelves by his Refuſal*. 'For 'thinking they could make better uſe of *Michael* 'de l'Hoſpital, brought up and advanced by them, 'they took *Morvilliers* at his Word, and ſent in 'queſt of the other at *Nice*, where he was Chancellor of the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*. The Dutcheſs was 'therefore given to underſtand, that the King to o'blige her, made her Chancellor his own. But other Hiſtorians ſay, that the Queen-Mother was the true Author of that Choice, being moved to it by the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, who thought thereby to give a Check to the Ambition of the *Guiſes*. See the Article (k) *Longueil*. *Thuanus* (l) adds that when they acquieſced in that Choice, the Affair was already concluded, and that *Catherine de Medicis* let *Michael de l'Hoſpital* know, that it was not at their Recommendation, but at hers, that the King had honoured him with that Dignity, and that therefore ſhe hoped to ſee him more zealous for the Intereſt of his Prince, and of the Queen his Mother, than for that of a Family, whoſe Ambition was deteſted by every Body. The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves, that it was more eaſie for the Queen-Mother to ſucceed, becauſe *Michael de l'Hoſpital* was in good Eſteem with the Cardinal of Lorrain. Note, that Mr. *Teſſier* is (m) miſtaken when he ſays quoting *Thuanus*'s XXIVth. Book, 'that *Catherine de Medecis* obliged *Henry* II. to make *Michael de l'Hoſpital* Chan-'cellor

* *Taken from his Life, written by* John Henry Heidegger, *and prefixed to the Edition of his Works*, 1681.
† Paſquier *Letters Book* 22. *p.* 758. *of the* 2. *tom.*
‡ *La Planche hiſt. de François* II. *p. m.* 228.
(a) *Note, that there is a Miſtake as to the time in* Mezerai's *Dictionary, where it is ſaid, that* L'Hoſpital *was Counſellor of the Parliament of* Paris, *in* 1524. *and that his Place of Chancellor to the Princeſs* Margaret *was given him after all the others, except that of* Chancellor of France.
(b) *Thevet ib. pag.* 371.
(c) *Teſſier. de l'Hoſpital apud* Colomies *p. m.* 55.
(d) *Belcarius lib.* 28. *n.* 57.
(e) *Varillas Hiſt. de l'Herèſie B.* 22. *p. m.* 170. *Dutch Edit. He had this from* Belcarius, *lib* 28. *n.* 57.
(f) *Idem hiſt. de Françoiſ* II. *pag. m.* 194.
(g) *Teſſier addit. aux éloge. tom.* 1. *pag.* 396. *Edit.* 1696. *Planche p.* 1.
(l) *Thu- p. m.* 396.
(h) *Id. ib. tom.* 2. *pag.* 413. *Edit.* 1683. (i) *La m.* 228. *hiſt. de Françoiſ* II. (k) *In the Remark aa. lib.* 24. *Init. fin.* (m) *Teiſſier addit. aux éloge. tom.* 1.

use Address (C), because if he had openly opposed the Designs of the *Guises*, he had not been able to remedy the Confusions of *France*. He was forced then to swim betwixt two Streams, and by that Prudent Conduct he turned off some Storms which threatned the Kingdom, and retarded some others, and found the Means of doing good Service to his Country, as much as the miserable Condition of the Times would permit him. He hindred, amongst other Things, the Introduction of the Inquisition (D), by consenting to an Edict * that was much more severe against the Protestants, than he would have had it. 'Twas that of *Romorantin*. There's no doubt but that if he had been sole Manager of these Things, he would have procured a full Toleration for the Protestants. His good Offices and Management were undoubtedly one of the Causes which alter'd the Dispositions of Mens Minds towards them; this Alteration was so remarkable, that the Second Year of his Ministry there were almost as many Voices for them

* Dated in May, 1560.

' cellor of *France*. He should have said *Francis* II.

(C) *He was obliged to use Address.*] We'll still make use of *la Planche*, for our Comment upon this Text. ' (n) As for Chancellor *de l'Hospital*, ' few People rejoiced at first to see him raised to that ' Dignity, having been so familiar with the (†) Cardinal; insomuch that it was thought he would not ' be so bold as to contradict him in any thing, having ' had so many Favours and Preferments from him. ' But as he knew the Genius of the *Guises*, as having for a long time been used to 'em; so he had ' the Prudence dexterously to prevent their Stratagems, if not as he ought, yet at least as well as ' he could, according to the ill Condition of the ' Times, warding off their most furious Blows with ' a singular Industry. For having proposed to himself, as soon as he was established in his Post, to ' take a right Course, like a wise Man, and not to ' favour one Party or another, but to serve the King ' and his Country, he was obliged to use a prodigious ' Art to contain those of the House of *Lorrain* ' within due Bounds. Which he had a mind to perform in such a manner, that they might not perceive, he intended in any thing to contradict or displease them, well knowing, that if they once entertained that Opinion of him, he could do nothing to any purpose. Thus with great Dissimulation, many things passed through his Hands, which were thought very dangerous: however he ' kept a Medium, giving Hopes to those who loved ' the Publick, that all should finally end well, provided they would let him do. Few People understood his Intention: but time discovered that ' he had embraced the Service of his King, and the ' Safety of the People, quite otherwise than was imagined. And to speak Truth, his Prudence cannot be sufficiently described. For certainly, tho' if ' he had taken a shorter way manfully to oppose the ' Evil, he would be more to be praised, and God ' possibly would have blessed his Constancy: Yet as ' far as may be judged, he alone by his moderate ' Management, has been the Instrument, which ' God has made use of to stop the force of these ' impetuous Waves, in which all the *French* would ' have been overwhelmed. Nevertheless, outward ' Appearances were against him. In short, when ' any one minded him of an approaching Danger, he ' had always this Saying in his Mouth, *Patience*, ' *Patience, all will go well.*

(n) *La Planche ib. pag.* 359, 360.

(†) *Thuanus* lib. 13. sub. fin. pag. m. 278. *observes that* Michael de l'Hospital *President of the Chamber of Accompts in the Year* 1554. *favoured the Design of the Cardinal of* Lorrain, *to make the Parliament of* Paris *sit half a Year.*

(D) *He hindred——— the Introduction of the Inquisition, by consenting to an Edict.*] Here is the Sequel of the Sieur *de la Planche*'s Narrative. ' (o) To make short, when the Question was about ' expediting the Edict for the *Spanish* Inquisition, ' knowing that the Privy-Council and the Parliaments had agreed to it, he moderated the matter, ' by an Edict on purpose, for which he gave so ' good Reasons, that the *Guises* themselves, who ' had been for it, were of his Opinion, and made ' the *Spaniards* approve it, who were desirous that ' *France* should be ordered and framed by their Model. This happened in the Month of *May*, in the ' Town of *Romorantin*, and that Edict was ever after called the Edict of *Romorantin*. *Varillas* observes (p) that ' so moderate a Conduct displeased ' the *Calvinists*, and did not satisfy the *Catholicks*. ' The *Calvinists* took Exception, that they had ' given them their Adversaries (q), and their irreconcileable Enemies for their Judges, and the *Catholicks* suspected from that time, that the Chancellor was of the New Religion——They reproached him with going to Mass only for Form's sake; ' and turned the Mass of the Chancellor into a Proverb, to signify a Mass that People went to, only ' in Obedience to the King. The House of *Guise* ' had no better Opinion of this Magistrate, and repented that they had contributed with the Dutchess ' of *Savoy* to make him what he was. They fancied, ' that this able Politician endeavoured to withdraw ' himself from their Dependance, by forming at ' Court a Third Party with the Queen-Mother, to ' keep the Ballance even between the two others, so ' as neither of 'em might supplant the other. This puts me in mind of this Passage of *Brantome* (r). ' He was reckoned an *Huguenot* tho' he went to ' Mass, but it was said at Court, *God keep us from* ' *the Mass of Monsieur* de l'Hospital.

(o) *La Planche ib. pag.* 361.

(p) *Varillas hist. de l'Heresie B.* 22. *pag.* 170.

(q) *By Virtue of that Edict, the Cognizance of the Crimes of Heresy belonged only to the Bishops and all the Royal Judges were deprived of it.*

(r) *Brant. éloge de Connet. de Mommorenci* 2. *tom. of his Memoires pag.* 89.

'Tis the common Fate of those, who seek to keep a Temper between the Pretensions of two opposite Parties, to please neither the one nor the other. But that Inconvenience is sometimes a lesser Evil, than it would be to comply with one of the Parties; and there are many Junctures, in which the greatest Good that can be done, is to divide the Disadvantages, that every one may have his Share of them. Our Chancellor would have spoiled all, if he had at first undertaken to give full Satisfaction to the Enemies of the House of *Guise*. This had been to split against a Rock. Prudence would not suffer him to attack that Faction, but with a side Wind; they had the Wind in the Stern, and he was not to steer against it. I believe, that many *Calvinists*, who had more Zeal than Knowledge of the World, always condemned this Chancellor's Conduct. They would have had him to declare himself openly the Protector of their Cause. But could he have preserved his Post Three Months together, had not he observed that Temper? He well understood, that the best way to withstand a Tempest, was that which *Plutarch* makes mention of, speaking of the Government of Republicks (a). ' Astronomers tell us, the Sun's Motion is neither exactly parallel with the rest of the ' Orbs, nor yet directly and diametrically opposite ' to them; but describing an Oblique Line, with ' insensible Declination, he steers his Course so, to ' dispense his Light and Influence in his Annual Revolution, at several Seasons, in equal Proportions ' to the whole Creation. So it happens in Political ' Affairs, that if the Motions of Rulers be constantly opposite and cross to the Genius and Inclination of the People, they will be stomach'd as ' Arbitrary and Tyrannical; as on the other side, too much Deference and Indulgence to the Subjects Levity and Wantonness, has often proved ' Dangerous and Fatal; but the gratifying them ' in reasonable and fair Requests, when they are not ' masterly and insolent, may prove for the Honour ' and Safety of the Government. Our Chancellor was not ignorant of what *Cicero* observes, that Politicians ought to imitate Sailors. (b) *An, cum videam navem secundis ventis cursum tenentem suum, si non ea cum petat portum, quem ego aliquando probavi, sed alium non minus tutum atque tranquillum, cum tempestate pugnem periculosè potius, quàm illi salute præsertim præposita obtemperem & paream? neque enim inconstantis puto sententiam tanquam aliquod navigium, atque cursum ex Reipub. tempestate moderari.* Though he had not the good Fortune of *Lepidus*, who kept in the Favour of *Tiberius*, by observing a just Medium betwixt sordid Flatteries, and a too great Stiffness, he deserves the Praises that *Tacitus* has express'd in this manner:

(a) *Plutarch. in Photionis init.*

(b) *Cicero Orat. pro Plancio cap.* 39. *p. m.* 619. *See also Epist.* 9. *lib.* 1. *ad familiar. p. m.* 56.

(c) *Hunc*

them (*E*) as against them in the Council which examined the Petition they presente d to the King, desiring the free Exercise of their Religion. His Influence was no less Effectual in † the Restrictions of the Edict of *July* 1561, and in the Liberty they had ‡ not to observe it. The Edict of *January* which they obtained some time after, was doubtless his Work: Now that Edict permitted them their publick Assemblies, and many other Privileges. This was the only Remedy for the Evils of the Kingdom; all the dreadful Miseries that afflicted it for thirty years arising from the Infraction of that Edict: and after all these dismal Calamities, it was necessary to take the same Remedy, and in a stronger Dose. It was necessary to grant them the Edict of *Nantes*, which was much more Advantageous to the Reformed, than that which Chancellor *de l' Hospital* had procur'd them. But I confess also that the Romish Religion did not run such a Risk when the Edict of *Nantes* was granted, (*F*) as it did when the Edict of *January* was made. The Obstacles that he was to overcome, did not cease after he had

† *The Zealous Catholicks were displeased with those Restrictions. See the end of the Remark E.*

‡ *See the Remark F.*

(c) *Tacit Annal. lib. 4. cap. 20.*

(c) *Hunc ego Lepidum, temporibus illis, gravem & sapientem virum fuisse comperio. Nam pleraque ab sævis adulationibus aliorum, in melius flexit: neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum æquabili auctoritate & gratia apud Tiberium vigueris. Unde dubitare cogor, fato & sorte nascendi, ut cætera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos: an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam, & deforme obsequium, pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum.*

(*E*) *There was almost as many Voices for them as against them.*] This Particular seems to me to be curious; and I fancy, that every Body will be pleased to find here the Circumstances of that Affair. I make use of the Commentary that a Catholick Writer supplies me with. (*d*) 'The Huguenots 'have presented a Petition to the King, that they 'might be permitted to have a separate Church 'from ours. The King sent the Petition to the Parliament, to advise about it with the Lords of the 'Council. They have freely Voted on both sides, 'the one for the Catholick Party, the other for 'the Protestant. The Catholicks have carried it 'by three Voices, it being their Resolution that 'People must either follow the Roman Church as 'our Ancestors did, or depart the Kingdom, with 'leave to Sell their Estates. When the Voices came 'to be cast up, there was not a little Murmur; be'cause the others maintained, that in a Matter 'of such Importance, there was no Reason that 'all *France* should be put into a Combustion by 'Reason of those three Votes. They added that 'such a Banishment could not be Executed, and that 'to undertake to bring them over to the Church 'against their Conscience, was a very great Ab'surdity, which amounted to an Impossibility. 'The Admiral and several other Lords, cannot 'be silent about it. The Duke of *Guise* on the 'other Hand, tho' the time seemed to be con'trary to his Design, Declared clearly and aloud, 'that since it had been so resolved, they must stand 'to that Determination, and that his Sword should 'never rest in the Scabbard, when the Question 'should be whether that Decree should take Effect. 'Things in this Contention past over without Con'clusion——— (*e*) since that, to content both 'Parties by a Form of Neutrality, an Edict has 'been Published in *July* last (*f*) ——— The sin'cere (*g*) Catholicks complain of this Edict, and 'say that those of the New or pretended Reformed 'Religion, being not to be disturbed in their Houses, 'tis 'in plain Terms to Frustrate the first Article of 'the Edict, and nevertheless to deliver them from 'the Power of the Magistrate: Which some time 'after will give them occasion to shake off the Yoke 'from their Necks.

(d) *Pasquier Letters Book 4. p. 196. of the 1. Tom.*

(e) *Id. ib. p. 197.*

(f) *That is 1561.*

(g) *Ibid. p. 198.*

(*F*) *The Romish Religion did not run such a risk ——— as when the Edict of* January *was made.*] The Protestants had very nearly got the upper Hand, in the beginning of *Charles IX's* Reign; and if they had, God knows what would have become of the Religion that Persecuted them the three Preceding Reigns. If the King of *Navarre*, who openly Declared for them, had been able to discover the Snare, that the other Party laid for him, he would have continued firm in their Communion. There needed no more to have procured 'em the Victory; for he was Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and there had been no difficulty then to have brought over *Catherine de Medicis* (*b*) to the Reformed Religion. But he suffered himself to be Cheated by imaginary Hopes, and had not Penetration enough to Discover the Grossness of the Snare; he took the Isle of *Sardinia*, a Country of Exile, a Country (*i*) Miserable and Disgraced; he took it, I say, so well he knew the Map, for one of those Fortunate Islands mentioned in the Fables. Being thus grosly deceived by those Artifices of the *Spaniards*, and the Cardinal Legate, he abandoned (*k*) the Protestants; and thus Consequently you see, what a little was wanting to their becoming Masters. I will quote a Passage, which will shew the Interest they had in his Favour in the States of *Orleans*, and the Liberty they injoyed under his Protection. They Publickly Assembled even in the Capital City of the Kingdom, before the Edicts permitted them. But it must be Noted, that the Regent *Catherine de Medicis* (*a*) had agreed upon this with the King of *Navarre*. (*b*) 'the Huguenots ——— had all 'their Dependance upon this (*c*) King, as upon one 'whom they had carried on their Shoulders, and 'into whose Hands they had dropt the Govern'ment of *France*, by their Intrigues and secret 'Practices, in the Assembly of the three States. 'And indeed as an Acknowledgement of this, he 'permitted by a very great Connivance, their 'Preaching with the Doors open, not only in '*Paris*, but also at the King's Court at St. *Germains* 'in Laye. It was a difficult thing for him, that 'he should maintain his Grandeur, but by means 'of those who Reciprocally were to maintain them'selves by his Countenance and Support. Never'theless changing his Mind, he was the first In'strument of the Catholicks Arming themselves 'against the others. But because these are things 'unknown to many, and possibly you have not heard 'how these Practices were carried on; you must 'know that the Pope perceiving the Commotions that 'were among us, sent the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, 'Uncle of Madam *de Guise*, with most Ample In'structions ——— (*d*) We have here also the 'Lord *de Charantonneau*, Son to the Deceas'd Chan'cellour *Granvelle*. 'Tis said that this Embassador 'of King *Philip* is in the Interest of some of our 'great Princes, who were not pleas'd with this 'diversity of Religions. He is gone three or four 'times in a disguis'd Habit to the King of *Navarre*, 'assuring him in his Master's Name that as soon as 'he would take upon him the Protection of the 'Church of *Rome*, he would Restore him his King'dom of *Navarre*, or at least an Equivalent in Rich 'and Plentiful Countries. As this Engine began 'to Work the Legate also came in, promising him 'from the Holy See the *County Venaissin*, and 'moreover to procure him from his Catholick Ma'jesty the Isle of *Sardinia*, which the Pope would 'Erect into a Kingdom, in Case the King would not 'Restore to him the Kingdom of *Navarre*. 'Tis 'said that the Constable, and the Mareschal *de St. 'André*, countenanced all their Promises, to 'make him relish them. I will not venture to 'assure you that this is as true as the Gospel: But 'so much I can tell, that it was the common Re'port (*e*). I can say further, that in an Instant his 'Countenance and Will were changed towards the 'Huguenots: For he forbad the Ministers to Preach 'in the Castle any more, when they had Liberty 'and Permission to do it five or six Months before. 'Even in the Assembly of *St Germains* he oppos'd 'the Huguenots as much as he could: But the 'Prince of *Condé*, the Admiral and others, who 'then were not the least in Favour with the King, 'oppos'd him, and carried it with respect to the 'Pub-

(i) *See Tacitus Ann. l. 2. c. 85.*

(k) *See Henry IV. Remark K.*

(a) Beza's *History of the Reformed Churches Book 4. p. 670. and* Belcarius *l. 29. n. 34. p. 966.*

(b) *Pasquier, Letters, Book 4. p. 218. of the 1. Tom.*

(c) *That is the King of* Navarre.

(d) *Id. ib. p. 219.*

(e) *That common Report was true: the most exact Historians own it.*

(b) *See* Soubise *Remark B.*

had Sealed it. New ones aroſe upon its being Regiſtered in Parliament. And it was neceſſary for him to ſhew the Force of his Genius, and the Conſtancy of his Soul, in

(f) *That is, the Edict of* January 1562.

(g) *Paſquier ibid. p.* 200. 201.

Publication of the Edict (*f*). The ſame Author ſpeaks of the Proſperity the Proteſtants enjoy'd, even before the Edict of *January*, and whilſt *Antony* King of *Navarre* favour'd them. (*g*) *The ſame Day*, that is to ſay, the 20*th*. of *September* 1561. *the Queen of* Navarre *in ſight of all the People, caus'd the Marriage to be Celebrated in the Form of* Geneva, *between young* Rohan *and the Lady* Brabanſon *Niece to Madam* d' Eſtrampes *in the Burrough of* Argenteuil, *by* Beza. *There were preſent the Prince of* Conde *and the Admiral. That Action performed thus, at the Gates of* Paris, *and of St.* Germains in Laye, *mightily Encouraged the Miniſters. And in* October *following, they actually Preach'd without the Walls of* Paris, *near the Monaſtery of St.* Antony in the Fields, *in the preſence of eight or nine thouſand Perſons. At their return a Tumult was raiſed, which was eaſily appeas'd under the Authority of the King of* Navarre. *They have ſince proceeded farther. For on* All-Saints *Eve there was another Publick Aſſembly in the Counteſs of* Senigan's *Houſe, which was Guarded by the Provoſts of the Marſhals and their Archers, to prevent any Popular Commotion. A few Days after, not confining themſelves to the King's Edicts, but Infringing that of* July, *they undertook to Preach two Sermons, one in the Suburbs of St.* Marcel *in the Place call'd* the Patriarch, *and the other without St.* Antony's *Gate in a Place call'd* Popincourt. *'Tis incredible what an Affluence of People were at theſe new Devotions. They are ſecured by* Gabaſton *Captain of the Watch and his Archers.* l' Aulnay *and* l' Eſtang *Preach at* Popincourt: Malo & Viret *at the* Patriarch. *The Catholick Lords ſeeing a neceſſity of giving way to the Storm, the Duke of* Guiſe *is gone to his Seat of* Nantueil, *Cardinal* de Lorrain *to his Archbiſhoprick of* Reims, *M.* de Nemoux *to* Savoy, *the Conſtable to* Chantilly, *&c.* See in others of *Stephen Paſquier's* Letters (*h*) the Concourſe of theſe Aſſemblies, and how they were ſupported by the Secular Power. You may alſo conſult *Hubert Languet's* Letters (*i*), where we find amongſt other things (*k*) that the Meetings near *Paris* had ſometimes fifteen thouſand People, (*l*) the Women in the middle being ſurrounded with Men on Foot, and theſe encompaſs'd by Horſemen, and during the Sermon the Governour of *Paris* caus'd the Avenues to be Guarded by the Soldiers, who Beat or Impriſon'd, or Repreſſed ſome other way all that indeavour'd to diſturb the Devotion of the Company.

(*h*) *Ibid. p.* 202. 205. *&c. follow.*

(*i*) *Lib.* 2. *p.* 145. 150. 155. *Edit. Hal.* 1698.

(*k*) *Ibid. p.* 155.

(*l*) *In a Letter written the* 23. *of* January 1562. (*the Edict was already made, but not Regiſtered*) *he ſays that there were ſome Aſſemblies at* Paris *of about thirty and forty thouſand People, and that two or three Miniſters, were obliged to Preach in the ſame Place at the ſame time.* Ibid. *p.* 196.

Many People who judge of things only by the Event, will ſay that the Proteſtants would have been more Prudent, if they had affected leſs Haughtineſs at that time; for that Oſtentation of their Numbers was look'd on as a Bravado, which four'd their Enemies, and put them upon the moſt Violent Remedies. We ſee from a Letter of the Cardinal Legate, that theſe haughty Steps gave him hopes of a Proſperous Iſſue: His Letter is Dated from St. *Germains* the 27*th*. of *February* 1562. Here is a Piece of it. ' (*m*) There happen'd lately a Quarrel betwixt thoſe of both Religions, ſome of whom remain'd Dead upon the Spot: And yet the Danger proved greater than the Damage. The Catholicks in an Inſtant flock'd hither to Complain of the Violences of the Huguenots; They Remonſtrated that according to the Expreſs Order of his Majeſty, they had laid down their Arms; but that the Huguenots had done the quite contrary. For this Reaſon they deſired that it might be immediately permitted them to reſume them, to ſecure themſelves from their Ambuſcades, which made them apprehenſive, that being ſo Reinforced by Advantageous Troops of Soldiers, they would do Violence for the future, either to their Goods or Perſons. But the Huguenots likewiſe fail'd not to come and excuſe themſelves, Alledging in their Vindication: *That the Jealouſies the Catholicks gave them by Reaſon of their great Numbers, was the reaſon they did not Diſarm.* The Anſwer of the Queen and King of *Navarre* was extreamly favourable to thoſe of our Party: for they bad them take Courage, and alſo promiſed them *that they would take great care to provide for their particular ſecurity, and for the common Repoſe of their City.* So that after ſuch obliging Words proceeding from the Mouths of their Majeſties, by which they Expreſs'd more Tenderneſs than they expected, they went away with all poſſible Satisfaction. On the contrary the Huguenots were Aſtoniſh'd, when they were told in very rough Terms; *that if they would not be more Modeſt, and abſtain from ſuch Violences, they ſhould be taught better Manners.* The King of *Navarre* went ſtill farther: For even before them he ſaid to the Queen: *That her Majeſty needed only give the Command, and that when ſhe pleas'd, he could find a means to ſtop the Courſe of their Inſolences.* To this I add this particular, which is none of the leaſt; That not only their Majeſties but all others in general, were extreamly Scandaliz'd with *Beza's* Walking no otherwiſe in *Paris*, than attended with Mr. *d' Andelot*, and a great number of Men on Horſeback following them. However after all this, tho' Diſorders and Scandals are moſt times Prejudicial; Yet ſome times they fail not to produce ſome Fruit, becauſe provoking the Patience of the Great, they frequently incline them to generous Enterprizes. Which makes me believe, that we ought not to be much troubled at this, becauſe there is a Probability, that conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the Great, ſuch Diſorders will all at once fall on the Heads of thoſe that cauſe them? Let us ſay however to theſe Criticks, that it was very Natural for thoſe who had groan'd near forty years, under ſo hard and cruel an Oppreſſion, to take Advantage of their Liberty, and to overflow like Waters at the opening of the Sluces. Nay, there were ſome Reaſons of Prudence that might prompt them to that Conduct. They might reaſonably imagine, that the Court would think it ſelf obliged to treat civilly a Party, whoſe Power ſhould be found Capable of giving Apprehenſions. Laſtly, I ſay, that neither the Miniſters nor the People could hinder *Andelot*, and other brave Men of Quality, to mix with their Zeal for Religion, the Soldier and Gentleman-like Carriage, which Courage and Cuſtom gave 'em. However it be, the other Church eſcaped narrowly; for if notwithſtanding the Deſertion of the King of *Navarre*, the Proteſtants maintained the firſt War very well, what would not they have done under the Protection of the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, which would doubtleſs have drawn after it that of the Queen-Mother? *Languet* tells us the good Opinion one might have of their Forces. (*a*) *Re patefacta plerique noſtrorum venerunt armati ad Concionem, & jam idem quotidie faciunt, & inter reliquos ſtudioſi magno numero. Iis præbent ſe Duces Dandelotus Frater Amiralii, Princeps de Rohan, & Frater nothus Reginæ Scotiæ, ac alii Illuſtribus familiis nati, quod, meo judicio, non faciunt ſine conſenſu Reginæ: aliter enim graviter peccarent in leges regni. Monmorantio urbis præfecto mandatum eſt, ut huc inducat præſidii cauſa, duas alas equitum, & certum numerum peditum, quibus præerit Dandelotus. Interea autem dum iſti milites præſidiarii expectantur, nobilitas & ſtudioſi funguntur eorum officio, & tota urbs armis perſtrepit. Pontificii deſperant fere de reliquis urbibus Galliæ, ſed exiſtimant ſummam rerum in hoc conſiſtere, ut hanc ſibi addictam retineant. Verum ita creſcunt hic ſtudia factionum, ut verear, ne eam omnium primam amittant. Quamvis enim a partibus eorum ſint plures Cardinales, Epiſcopi, Abbates, Præſides, Aſſeſſores, & alii, qui opibus & auctoritate valeant: noſtri tamen viribus & ferocia videntur eſſe potiores, & ſi ad vim deveniatur, totius ipſorum ſapientiæ nullus erit uſus. Mihi venit in mentem facetum dictum Ludovici* XII. *Regis Galliæ, cui ſuſcepturo bellum adverſus Venetos cum quidam dicerent fore periculoſum illud bellum propter eximiam Venetorum ſapientiam: ego, inquit, multitudine ſtultorum ipſorum ſapientiam obruam——Heri hic celebrarunt Jubilæum, ex mandato Legati Pontificis: noſtri vero convenerunt, (ut exiſtimo) ad quadraginta millia, & præcipuas plateas urbis armatis compleverunt. Tres concionatores tantæ multitudini vim ſufficiebant.*

(*a*) *Hub. Languetus Epiſtola* 70. *l.* 2. *p.* 207. 208. *It is Dated from* Paris *in* March 1562. *See alſo the* 67*th. Letter of the ſame Book.*

(*m*) *Negotiations, ou lettres d' affairs eſcrites au Pape Pie IV. & au Cardinal Borromie par Hippolite d' Eſt, Cardinal de Ferrare, Legat en France p.* 93. 94.

(G) In

in order to put an end to the Scruples (G) and Conquer the ill Humour of the Parliament of *Paris*. The Speeches he made for Toleration, rendered him very much ſuſpected (H) to the Catholicks, and odious to the Court of *Rome*; and becauſe he was conſtantly againſt the Civil War, they would not have him to aſſiſt at the Councils of War. He was very much afflicted, when he ſaw Preparations made on both ſides to take up Arms after the Affair of *Vaſſi*: he Declared plainly his Thoughts upon it, and made a moſt excellent Anſwer to the Conſtable, who told him †, *that it did not belong to thoſe of the Long Robe to give their Opinions in Matters of War: Tho' ſuch Men*, Anſwered he, *know not how to bear Arms, yet they know when they muſt be paid.* Cardinal *Hippolitus d' Eſt* Legate *à Latere* received Orders to get him Diſmiſt from Court; but he Anſwered the Pope, that he ſaw no Probability of ſucceeding in that Affair. He propoſed it however to the Queen Regent, at which ſhe was very Angry. If *Varillas* had known this, he would not have been guilty of the Fault which we ſhall ſee below. The peaceable Counſels of this Chancellor Contributed more to his Diſgrace than any thing elſe. I have given * good Proofs of it. He Voluntarily retired, when

† *Piſquier's Letters tom. 1. Book 4. f. 226. See alſo Baptiſte Grain Book 1. of his Hiſt. of Henry IV. p. m. 129, 130 where he praiſes him as much, as he blames thoſe who excluded him from the Council of War.*

* *At the end of the Remark H.*

(G) *In order to put an end to the Scruples, and Conquer the Ill Humour of the Parliament of* Paris.] This Parliament refuſed to verify the Edict of *January*, and deputed a Preſident, and a Councellor, to make their Remonſtrances to the King. Theſe two Deputies (b) 'having particularly explained before the King the Reaſons, that moved the Parliament not to receive that Edict, the Chancellor by reaſon of the Eminence of his Office, and the Minority of our King, Anſwered them in this manner: That he did not doubt but all the Arguments repreſented by them, were very Weighty; but he deſired 'em to conſider that they had not been forgotten in the Grand Conſiſtory of St. *Germains*; that the Queſtion in Hand, was one of thoſe in which there is ſome difficulty, what way ſoever one may take; and that to ſpeak the Truth, there was room to excuſe the Magiſtrates, whatever part they took. He granted that the Foundation of the Common-wealth was the having but one Religion; but when things were come to ſuch a Height, as was then obſerved in *France*, the Rejection of this Edict muſt be attended with one of theſe two things: Either to put all the Adherents of this new Religion to the Sword, or to Baniſh 'em intirely, with Permiſſion to diſpoſe of their Effects. The firſt Point could not be Executed, that Party being too ſtrong both in Leaders, and Partiſans; and tho' it were poſſible to do it, if the King's Youth were ſtained with the Blood of ſo many Subjects, perhaps when he came to Age and Underſtanding, he would require it at his Governours Hands. And as to the ſecond Point, that it was as Impracticable: And ſhould it ſucceed to our deſire, we ſhould raiſe by this Conduct as many deſperate Enemies as Exiles. And as to the Edict of *July*, tho' it had a plauſible Pretence, it really tended to make Men Atheiſts, in permitting 'em not to frequent the Catholick Churches, and yet nevertheleſs depriving 'em of the Exerciſe of their Religion. Wherefore to obviate all theſe Miſchiefs, it was the beſt way to Eſtabliſh in *France* two Churches till God ſhould pleaſe to Reunite us in the ſame Mind: And this had been the Practice heretofore of *Galerius*, and *Conſtantius* the Emperors, to Compoſe the Diviſions betwixt the Chriſtians and Heathens: Remonſtrating to 'em, and praying them to ſubmit to the preſent Neceſſity; In brief to tolerate this Scandal, to avoid a greater Evil, and that if we Tranſgreſſed in this, it was in imitation of the Neighbouring Nations, who in the like Neceſſity had been obliged to do the ſame. This Anſwer being reported to the Parliament, the Chambers once more Aſſembled, did not change their Opinion. This Reluctance diſturb'd the Court, and it was again Debated with ſome Deputies of *Paris* what was to be done (c). By a Majority of Voices, it was Reſolved that the Edict ſhould be maintained, (d) *And the Prince of* la Roche-ſur-yon *was Commiſſioned to Publiſh it in Parliament with Expreſs Orders, that if they ſhould refuſe or delay to do it, he ſhould cauſe it to be Publiſhed without a Judicial Form, aſſiſted only with ſome particular Councellors, ſuch as he could chuſe. This Commiſſion was violent; but he being a Wiſe Prince, Executed it very gently, declaring that the King's Intention was Founded on the Neceſſity of the Time; that the Court of Parliament might eaſily know what paſſed before their Eyes in the City of Paris, but they were not informed of the Complaints that came daily to the King and Council from all Parts of the Kingdom; inſiſting them to give their Reſolution briefly, and without any long Diſcourſe by Yea, or No. Hereupon it was by common Conſent reſolved that all thoſe who had aſſiſted at the Council of St. Germains, ſhould have a deliberative Voice in that Matter as well as others: So that at laſt it was Ordained that the Edict ſhould Paſs. 'Tis true that in the Execution, they ſufficiently Declared, that it was but a forced Conſent: Becauſe on Friday the 26th. of* March *an extraordinary Reading Day, it was confirmed with all the Demonſtrations of Conſtraint; foraſmuch as with the Edict were Publiſhed all the Fuſions of the King, which was not uſed to be done in ſuch Publications. Beſides, the Attorney-General required nothing Publickly, but only Declared that he had given his Concluſions in Writing. And therefore it was Ordered by the Court, that upon the back of the Letters it ſhould be put, that they had been Read, Publiſhed, and Regiſtred, after having heard the King's Attorney-General, without Approbation however of the New Religion; all by way of Proviſion, and till it ſhould be otherwiſe Ordered by the King. Thus it was this Edict paſſed in* Paris. This has ſome Connexion with the Hiſtory of Mr. *de l' Hoſpital*, and contains ſome particular Circumſtances, which are not to be found in the General Hiſtory; and therefore the Reader will have reaſon to take it kindly that I have related them.

(b) *Piſquier's Letters Book 4. Tom. 1. p. 212. & follow.*

(c) *Id. ib. p. 214.*

(d) *Id. ib.*

(H) *Render'd him very much Suſpected to the Catholicks, and Odious to the Court of* Rome.] We have ſeen above (e) in a Paſſage of *Varillas*, what was ſaid in *France* by way of Jeſt, of the Chancellor's Maſs. *Beaucaire de Peguillon* ſpeaking of the Aſſembly (f) of St. *Germains*, and reporting the Heads of the Speech the Chancellor made there, obſerves that this firſt Magiſtrate ſerved for an Example to the Judges that favoured the Sectaries, and that he only loved the Calviniſts. (g) *Deinde Regios miniſtros qui juridicundo præſunt & Regia edicta non ſatis accurate exequuti ſunt, excuſat. inter quos ille merito accuſatus eſt, qui illis exemplo erat, & nullos, niſi Calvinianos in oculis habebat; quique præclara hac oratione, & multis aliis perverſis machinis ad condendum ſatis celebratum poſtea ſuum Januarii ſequentis edictum viam præparavit.* This Hiſtorian has the Impudence to call this Great Man an Atheiſt: Here is what he ſays, when he obſerves that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* procured him his Chancellor's Dignity. (h) *Interim Olivario Cancellario vita functo Cardinalis Lotharingus pater domeſticorum ſuorum omnium ac familiarium ſententiam, ut Michaël Hoſpitalis homo quidem doctus, ſed nullius religionis, aut ut vere dicam ſine in ejus locum ſurrogaretur, effecit.* Something has been ſaid in another Place (i) concerning this Accuſation. *Odoric Raynaldus* has renewed this bitter Reproach in the very Words of *Beaucaire*. 'Tis in a Place where he ſpeaks of a certain Enterprize of the Preſident *du Ferrier* which I have mentioned elſewhere. Mr. *Couſin* (l) ſhewed his Diſpleaſure at that Injuſtice and Outrageouſneſs of *Raynaldus*, and has related a fine Paſſage of the Letter, which our Chancellor wrote to *Pius IV.* the 29th. of *September*

(e) *In the Remark C. Letter P.*

(f) *Held in* 1561.

(g) *Belcar. l. 29. n. 30. pag. 964.*

(h) *Id. l. 28. n. 57. p. 937.*

(i) *See the Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes p. 539. & the Critical Anſwer to Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm Letter 16. n. 2. of the 3. Edit.*

(l) *See the* Journal des Savans *of the 28. of* February *1689. p. 118. 119. Dutch Edit.*

when he perceived that his Enemies had Exaſperated the King againſt him, and he ſpent the reſt of his Life in a Country Houſe † that he had in *Beauce*. He made that Retreat in *June* 1568. His Seals were ſent for ſome Days after. He returned them *very freely* *, *ſaying, He was no longer fit for the Affairs of the World, which he ſaw too much Corrupted.* We ought to think it more ſtrange that he maintained his Ground ſeven or eight Years in ſo bad a Court, than to ſee him Diſgraced at laſt. There had been ſomething wanting to the Luſtre of his Virtue and Glory, if he had continued Chancellor to his Death; for under ſuch a Reign it was a ſort of ſtain and a very ill

† *Called* Vignai, *& not* Vignan *as Mezerai calls it p. 186. of the 3. tom. of his Great Hiſtory. He is far from being exact as to Proper Names.*

* *Brantome in the Diſcourſe of the Conſtable de Montmorenci, p. 87. of the 2. tom.*

(a) *Hiſt. du Concile de Trente Book 5. p. 438. of* Amelot's *Tranſlation.*

(b) *Id. ib. lib. 6. p. 487. ad ann. 1562.*

(c) *Negotiations ou lettres d'affaires eſcrittes par le Cardinal de Ferrare Legat en France p. 224. 225.*

(i) *He complied in the Council with the intentions of the Queen, who had privately inſtructed him; but becauſe he Voted for a Peace againſt the Opinion of the Duke of* Guiſe *and the Conſtable, he was ill-treated by both,* and under pretence of being a Man of the Gown, he was excluded from the Councils of War, where the Queen wanted afterwards one of her principal Miniſters.

(d) *Ib. p. 240. 241.*

(e) *Varillas Hiſt. de Charles IX. tom. 1. p. m. 151.*

(f) *Id. ib. p. 353.*

(g) *See the* Negociations du Cardinal de Ferrare *p. 308.*

(h) *Mezer. Hiſt. de France tom. 3. p. 785.*

tember 1562. Father *Paul* (a) tells us that this Pope found the Oration *Heretical in many Points*, which that Chancellor had made in the Conference of *Poiſſi*. He adds, that the ſame Pope *threatned to have him Cited before the Inquiſition, and that the Court of* Rome, *where the Copies of this Diſcourſe were ſpread, ſpoke very ill of him, and Conjectured that all the Miniſters of the Kingdom had the ſame Opinion of them: And the Embaſſador of* France *had much ado to defend himſelf.* Note that *Pius IV.* having Determined to give the King of *France* an hundred thouſand Crowns by way of Donation, and to lend him as many more, Stipulated amongſt other things, that the *Chancellor, the Biſhop of* Valence *and ſome others that he ſhould name, ſhould be Impriſoned* (b). I will here add a Paſſage of a Letter, which the Cardinal Legate *Hippolytus d'Eſt* wrote to the Pope the 14th. of *June* 1562. 'Tis Dated from *Bois de Vincennes.* (c) 'Tis not one of the leaſt difficulties to diſlodge from the Court the Chancellor, and many other dignified Perſons, as your Holineſs deſires; for you put in this Number both Hereticks, and thoſe that are ſuſpected of Hereſy: But if all the latter were to be Baniſhed the Court, it would doubtleſs be deſerted, theſe new Opinions having already made ſuch an impreſſion on the Minds of the Courtiers, that there are few that have not ſome little Tincture of them——But to return to the moſt Factious of the Court, your Holineſs is not Ignorant how hard a Matter it was to get the *Chaſtillons* removed——But as to the removing of the Chancellor (i) 'tis quite another thing: For beſides that, he is in a Poſt that will not permit him to be abſent from Court, but upon moſt important Reaſons; he cannot either be deprived of his Imployment, but by the Expreſs Order of the King, or for ſome great Fault, if he had committed any; nor can it be reaſonably ſaid, that he has deſerved Death, unleſs it be proved by unqueſtionable Arguments. Now to think to bring an Accuſation againſt him to put him upon his Tryal, is a thing that cannot be done without a great deal of Time. Beſides, ſuch a Proceſs againſt him would doubtleſs be ill Grounded, ſince he is ſeen commonly to go to Maſs, to Confeſſion, and Communion, ſo that he could not be Convicted of being no Catholick. The Letter he wrote the next Day to Cardinal *Borromeo*, ſhews, that *Catherine de Medicis* (d) did not take well the Propoſals of removing ſome Perſons; and that ſhe was more Angry, *than before*, when he named to her *particularly the Chancellor, according to the Expreſs Order he had received from* Pius IV. Whence it appears that *Varillas* is in a great Error in ſaying that the *Triumviri* (e) obliged Mr. *de l'Hoſpital* to retire, and that the Queen Sacrificed him to them. He will have this pretended Retreat to have Preceded the Declaration of the ſeventh of *April* 1562. and that it laſted (f) all the firſt War. This is Contradicted as well by the ſilence of other Hiſtorians, as by the Letters of the Legate Dated the fifteenth of *June*, and the eighth of *July* 1562. (g).

They were not miſtaken in believing that Mr. *de l'Hoſpital* approved in his Heart the Doctrine of the Proteſtants. *Catherine de Medicis* did not ſpeak falſe in all the Diſcourſe that *Mezerai* Reports. (h) 'She employed all her Induſtry to undermine the 'Credit that he had gotten in the Mind of the 'young King; to whom ſhe taught her Confidents 'to ſay, that undoubtedly he was a favourer of 'Hereticks, that his Wife, his Daughter; his 'Son-in-Law, and all his Family, being of that 'Religion, there was no doubt but that he was of 'the ſame at the bottom, and that it was only the 'fear of loſing his Place, that hinder'd him from 'publickly Profeſſing Calviniſm. Therefore as 'ſecret Enemies are more dangerous than open ones, 'he was much more to be feared than the Admiral; 'and that his Majeſty ought not to ſuffer him to 'Poiſon his whole Council with theſe fine Maxims 'of Peace, under which, as under the Skin of a 'Serpent, Variegated with Colours moſt agreeable 'to the Sight, was concealed a moſt pernicious 'Venom; which by flattering, was Mortal. She had no reaſon to ſay that Mr. *de l'Hoſpital* was a dangerous Enemy; for if he favoured the Proteſtants, it was not by any Diſloyal Artifices, but by Maxims moſt conformable to the Good of the State, and the Service of the King. (i) *The Integrity of his Morals, his Experience and his Wiſdom in the Management of Affairs were acknowledged by all the World: As alſo his inviolable Affection for the good of the State, the preſervation of the Laws, and the eaſe of the People, and his conſtant Courage in opening the Injuſtice of Great Men, were highly cried up by good People. Catherine de Medicis* ſpoke a Truth, when ſhe ſaid the Chancellor's Family were (k) Proteſtants. Now this is a good Argument, that he diſapproved the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. In the *Icones* of *Theodorus Beza*, he was Painted with a Candle Lighted behind him, to ſignify, ſays *Spondanus* (l), that he carried a Torch to Light others with, and not himſelf. The Diſcourſe which attends that Picture, teaches us, that two Reaſons obliged him to wave his publick Profeſſion of the Truth. He feared he ſhould be deprived of means to ſerve the good Cauſe, and he hoped the time would come when there ſhould be no more occaſion to Diſſemble. He vainly expected that Conjuncture, and afterwards having reſolv'd to declare himſelf, he could not Execute his Reſolution. He Sacrificed himſelf for others. *Beza* Expreſſes this very well. (m) *Huic——ad juſtum laudis cumulum id videtur defuiſſe, quod partim ne ſibi ad pios juvandos aditum præſtrueret, ſi veram religionem aperte profiteretur, partim vana quadam expectatione deluſus, eo luto ex quo erutos omnes optabat, penitus extricare ſeſe quum diu neglexiſſet, poſtea volens id præſtare non potuit. Sed ecquis illius memoriam non celebrarit, qui, ut aliis conſuleret, ſeipſum tamdiu penè neglexit?* His Will is a Proof that he was no Papiſt in his Heart: there was no mention in it of the Maſs, or Purgatory or Prieſt, or any thing like it; and he obſerves in it (n) that *Chriſtians have no great eſteem* for Funerals and Burials. *Spondanus* pretends (o) that 'tis the Language of a Profane Perſon; and *Maimbourg* (p) ſays that theſe Words are unworthy of a Chriſtian. *Genebrard* inveighed againſt theſe Words in the Funeral Sermon of *Peter Danes*. Note that it was ſaid that Mr. *de l'Hoſpital* had a Hand in the Enterprize of *Amboiſe*. Conſider well theſe Words of *d'Ambigne*: (q) *Chancellor* Olivier *Dying at that time in the manner before mentioned,* l'Hoſpital, *a Man of great Eſteem, ſucceeded him, tho' he had been one of the Conſpiracy, in the buſineſs of* Amboiſe. *Which I maintain againſt all that has been Written againſt it, becauſe the Original of the Enterprize was Conſigned into my Father's Hands, in which was his Name at length, betwixt that of* Andelot *and one* Spifame: *A thing I have ſhewn to many People of Note.* *Mezerai* Confutes this by a very weak Reaſon; Which is, ſays he (r), *that* l'Hoſpital *had left* France *in the Month of* November. But did not he know how many Journies *la Renaudie* cauſed to be made? Was it ſo hard for him to diſpatch one of the Accomplices to Mr. *de l'Hoſpital* in *Piedmont*? However it be I am perſuaded that if he Signed that Conſpiracy, he was only ſhewn the beſt ſide of it, and that he did not expect it ſhould be Executed as it was.

Father *Garaſſe*, Tranſported with a blind Paſſion of Cenſuring the Proteſtants, has accus'd 'em of Ca-

(k) *See* Spondanus *ad ann. 1573. n. 15. p. m. 745.*

(l) *Ad ann. 1561. n. 18. p. 609.*

(m) *Beza in iconibus fol. V. üj.*

(n) *See* Colomies's *Bibliotheque choiſie p. 70.*

(o) *Spondan. ad ann. 1573. n. 15. p. 745.*

(p) *Maimb. Hiſt. du Calvin. p. 105. See what he was Anſwered in the Critical Anſwer to his Book, Letter 16, n. 3.*

(q) *D'Aubigné Hiſt. univerſ. tom. 1. Book 2. chap. 18. p. m. 129.*

(r) *Mezerai Hiſt. de Fr. tom. 3. p. 22.*

bad ſign to be thought proper for that great Employment. An honeſt Man was not what thoſe who had then the Management of Affairs wanted. Let us obſerve that Mr. *de l' Hoſpital* was nevertheleſs the Author (*I*) of excellent Laws, and that he neither flattered the Subjects nor the Prince. He was very Zealous to Maintain and Confirm the Royal Majeſty and Authority, and he well knew how by the Gravity of his Cenſures (*K*) to make the Parliaments ſenſible of their being in the wrong to Diſobey their King; but on the other Hand, he took care that the Prince ſhould obey

Calumny, in that *they endeavoured to perſwade all France, that Chancellor* de l' Hoſpital *was of their Perſwaſion.* He compares them to the *Novatians*, who Publiſhed *in Lying Writings, that St.* Cyprian *Died in their Communion*; and he ſays, that *this has been an ingenious Malice of Wicked Men from all Antiquity* (*f*). In this he only diſcovers his own Ignorance.

(*f*) *See* Caraſſe's Doctrine curieuſe p. 918. 919.

I can't forbear putting down two Obſervations in this Place, which I find in an Anonymous Piece, which is excellent. They inform us of the Cauſes of this Chancellor's Diſgrace. I don't think, ſays that unknown Author, (*a*) 'That a great Mini-'ſter who is Employed in the great Affairs of his 'Prince, ought to hold his Tongue, whatever may 'happen; Otherwiſe he may be the cauſe of his 'Maſter's Ruin, as well by his Silence as others are 'by their Conſpiracies and Undertakings. 'Tis for 'this Reaſon that I can't be of their Opinion, who 'think that Chancellor *de l' Hoſpital* needed not 'inſiſt ſo much againſt the Reſolution which had 'been taken againſt the prudent Advice of the 'late Conſtable, to cauſe the King to go away at 'the beginning of the ſecond Troubles. For ſince 'that Wiſe and Prudent Miniſter judged, and that 'very well too, as the Event ſhewed, that ſuch a 'ſudden departure, if put into Execution, would 'undoubtedly prevent a Reconciliation, and bring 'things to Extremity; it is certain that if he had 'concealed his Opinion, and had not inſiſted upon 'it as he did, He would have been guilty of a 'baſeneſs, unworthy of a Man whoſe Virtue alone 'had raiſed him to that Dignity. For tho' ever 'ſince he has been Declining, and his Enemies, 'that is to ſay, the Enemies of his Virtue, Inte-'grity and Sincerity, began from that time to 'think of Removing him; it was not a Reaſon for 'him to be wanting to his Duty, ſince the end of 'thoſe who have the Honour to be Employed in 'ſuch Poſts, ought not to be to maintain them-'ſelves in them, to the Prejudice of their Honour 'and Conſcience, but to ſerve well and faithfully. 'Beſides, things taking the Courſe which they took 'afterwards, a Great Man of good Principles and 'Courage, as this worthy Chancellor was, ought 'to be very well ſatisfied to be Diſmiſſed——(*b*) 'A good Miniſter and truly Virtuous——will 'never give his Advice contrary to his Judgment, 'and when he is Commanded to ſpeak and give his 'Opinion, he will do it with Fidelity and Courage. 'This is what the ſame Chancellor did, about the 'Queſtion concerning the Bulls, which permitted 'the Sale of Church Lands, amounting to the Re-'venue of an hundred and fifty thouſand Livres, 'for the Extirpation of Hereticks. That Clauſe 'was contrary to the Edicts of Pacification, the 'upholding of which the Chancellor judged ne-'ceſſary for the good of the Kingdom: Beſides, 'thoſe Edicts having been granted in a Solemn 'manner, he was of Opinion that they could not 'be Infringed, and that it was one of the Effects of 'the League which was then Contriving; and 'therefore he propoſed his Opinion, which was 'followed, *viz.* to obtain new Bulls, without that 'Clauſe, which was the laſt Stumbling-block, 'and the Reaſon which was urged to render this 'great Man ſuſpected of Herely, and to take away 'the Seals from him, and put them into the Hands 'of a Man whom they thought more proper for 'the time, and ſoon after every thing was 'ready for War.

(*a*) *Fragment de l' examen du Prince de Machiavel. p.* 95. &c. *Edit.* 1622. *in* 12.

(*b*) *Ibid. pag.* 97. &c.

(*I*) *Was the Author of excellent Laws.*] *Stephen Paſquier* ſupplies me with this Reflection; theſe are his Words: (*c*) 'We have ſeen in our time, a 'young King *Charles IX.* in *France*, who by 'Reaſon of the infirmity of his Youth in the be-'ginning, and afterwards by the extraordinary 'Violence of his Temper, had no Leiſure to make 'Laws; nevertheleſs none of his Predeceſſors made 'ſo many good Edicts as he: Witneſs that of 1560. 'in the States held in the Town of *Orleans*, the 'other that he made at *Rouſſillon* in the Year 1563, 'and the laſt at *Moulins* in the Year 1566. Thoſe 'three Edicts containing abundance of Articles in 'Matter of Civil Government, and fine Regulations, 'infinitely exceeding our Antient Ordinances. To 'whom are we Indebted for this Advantage? To 'no other than to *Michael de l' Hoſpital*, his Great 'and Wiſe Chancellor, who under the Authority 'of the young King his Maſter, was the principal 'Mediator of the firſt, and the Inſtigator, Promoter 'and Author of the two others. And I wiſh with 'all my Heart, that they had been always obſerved 'with the ſame Zeal as they were introduced. I wonder that *Paſquier* does not ſpeak of the excel-lent Edicts Mr. *de l' Hoſpital* procured under *Francis II.* A Hiſtorian (*d*) of that time reckons three, which were extraordinary good and whole-ſom. I am going to ſhew in what the firſt conſiſted; 'twas that which Regulated the Wills, or the Donations of Widows, who quickly Married a-gain. I will make uſe of the Words of an Author of that Age. (*e*) *It was at the Solicitation of Chan-cellor* de l' Hoſpital, *that many Ordinances, Edicts and Statutes were made and Publiſhed by our Kings of* France *for the Relief of the People, and the Pre-ſervation of Juſtice. Amongſt others, we have an Edict of King* Francis II. *which gives a Check to ſecond Marriages, by taking away the Liberty they had who Married again to give more to the ſecond Husband, than to one of the Children of the firſt. The occaſion of this Edict was this: it happened that a Woman of this Kingdom extreamly Rich, fell in Love with a young Lord, who becauſe ſhe ſeemed too old for him, had no Inclination to make her his Wife. She found her ſelf ſo Extravagantly in Love, that underſtand-ing how greedy he was of Money, ſhe made him a Donation of all her Eſtate, reſerving only what might belong to her firſt Children, as a Lawful Portion. So that for a ſmall matter, they were deprived as it were of their Mother's Inheritance, which was Transferred to a ſecond Huſband. To prevent ſuch Defraudations, this Chancellor brought into* France *the Ordinance of the Emperor Leo, which is mentioned in the Law* hac Edictali. 6. tit. de ſecund. nupt. *in the fifth Book of* Juſtinian's *Code, which forbids giving or leaving to the ſecond Huſband more than to one of the Children of the firſt* Marriage. It was very juſt and neceſſary to renew this Law for the Intereſt of the Children of the firſt Husband; for there are but too many Women, who deſiring to be Married again, would deprive them of their Rights, to make themſelves more agreeable to their new Husband. They would ſup-ply by their Liberalities, what Age has taken from their Charms; beſides, the liberty of diſpoſing of their Eſtates would expoſe them to Pretenders, who without it would never have diſturbed the Reſolu-tion they might have taken, to Edify their Neigh-bours by a Virtuous Widowhood.

(*c*) *Paſquier Letters Book* 19. *tom.* 2. *pag.* 520. 521.

(*d*) *Louis Regnier Sieur de la Planche. Hiſtoire de* Francois *II. p.* 515. *& follow.*

(*e*) *Thevet Elog. tom.* 7. *p.* 375.

(*K*) *By the Gravity of his Cenſures to make the Parliaments ſenſible of their being in the wrong to Diſobey their King.*] An Attorney does not better rattle a Clerk, who has been guilty of a great blun-der, than our Chancellor did the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, when *Charles IX.* held there his Court of Juſtice the 12*th.* of *April* 1564. before *Eaſter*. *The King*, ſaid he (*f*), *has found many Faults in this Parliament, which, as it is of a later Erection, being but of* 102 *years ſtanding, you have the leſs excuſe for forgetting ſo ſoon the antient Ordinances, which would be excuſable in other Parliaments that are Old; nevertheleſs you are as much depraved, or perhaps worſe than the old ones——I have received many Complaints of your Diſſentions—— See here a Houſe ill Regulated, and 'tis neceſſary you*

(*f*) *See the Collection of ſeveral Memoirs Printed at* Paris *for* Peter Chevalier 1623. *in* 4to. *p.* 424.

obey Justice and Reason. He opposed as much as possible unjust Edicts. And if after much

give an Account of it. *The first fault is your Disobedience to your King. For altho' his Ordinances are presented to you, you observe them as you please: If you have any Remonstrances to make, make them assoon as you will, and he'll hear 'em. You Rob him of his Royal Power, when you will not obey his Royal Ordinances, which is worse than to Rob him of his Crown Lands. I am acquainted that the Ordinance made at the Request of the States, is not yet Published here. And, Addressing himself to the Presidents, and the King's Council, he said, I will now speak to you, that are Presidents and the King's Council, who ought to require and follicite the Publication of his Edicts and Ordinances; and you Presidents, you ought to propose them, for you are the King's Presidents in the Court. I have also notice, said he, that the Ordinance about Justice is not Published. I remember likewise some others, which I will not speak of, not to be too long: I think, said he, that you fancy your selves wiser than the King, but your Wisdom is Limited to judge of Tryals; don't think you selves Wiser than the King, and the Queen and his Council. He has obtained Peace, and at present there is a War betwixt him and the Court of Parliament——* (c) *You despise the Queen and the King's Council. I see that you so much Value your own Decrees as to set 'em above Ordinances, which when you have received, you Interpret as you please: 'Tis not your business but the King's, to Interpret an Ordinance, even the Ordinances that concern the Publick Welfare.* I omit the Sequel of his Discourse, which is still more thundering than what we have seen. Note, that this is but a Commentary on what the King had said in few Words to this Parliament; (*f*) *That he would for the future be better Obeyed than he had been; that he would not suffer any of his Subjects to take up Arms without his leave, and that he would have his Edicts observed.* There's no doubt but Mr. *de l' Hospital* suggested this Discourse to him, as also the vigorous Declaration made by the same Prince some time before, to the Deputies of the Parliament of *Paris*. They had made Remonstrances to him about the Edict of his Majority, which they had not Registered. (*g*) 'The King whose Voice 'and Countenance shewed a studied Severity, An- 'swered them, that they were to obey, that they 'should meddle no more with Publick Affairs, and 'that they should rid themselves of this old Error, '*That they were the King's Tutors, the Defenders* '*of the Kingdom, and the Guardians of the City of* 'Paris. The Deputies having made their Report 'to the Court, it was divided, and they made a new Deputation to the King, (*h*) *who Ordered that the Edict should be Published and Registered without delay, and that all the Presidents and Councellors should be present at it, upon pain of Interdiction.* 'Tis easy to perceive, considering the King's Age, that he in that case only repeated the Lesson of Mr. *de l' Hospital*. (*i*) 'He once made a Speech to the Parlia- 'ment, when they would not pass some of his E- 'dicts——and complaining of his Court of 'Justice, and of the Corruption that was in it, and 'of the refusal of his Edicts; 'tis your business 'said he, with a brave and menacing boldness, to 'obey any Ordinances, without Disputing and Con- 'testing about them; for I know better than you, 'what is proper and convenient for the Advantage 'and Interest of my Kingdom. Having as yet no 'Beard, he held this Discourse before those Old 'and Wise Heads, who all Marvelled at his Bold- 'ness and Gravity, which favoured more of his 'generous Courage, than of the Lessons of Mr. *A-* 'miot his Preceptor. *Brantome* should have added that *this Discourse* was the Lesson of *Michael de l' Hospital*. The Prince, who had already disgraced him (*a*), well remembered the Instructions he had received from his Chancellor, that it concerned him to Humble the boldness of the Parliament of *Paris*, so Pernicious at that time to all the Kingdom.

In this place I ought to examine in a few Words the Discourse we daily hear, which lays down as a Principle of Misery, the Suppression of the Right, which was heretofore in Parliaments of rejecting the Edicts, that appeared unjust to 'em. This was a Bank, say they, which kept the People from being Drowned under the Arbitrary Power of the Monarch. The breaking of this Bank ought to be compared to the Blow by which *Æolus* stooped the Mountain, which served for a Prison to the Winds.

(*b*) *Cavum conversa cuspide montem*
Impulit in latus: ac venti, velut agmine facto,
Quâ data porta, ruunt, & terras turbine perflant.
Incubuêre mari, totumque à sedibus imis
Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus; & vastos volvunt ad littora fluctus.
Insequitur clamorque virûm, stridorque rudentum.

They imbellish this with many Maxims, which have a great appearance of Solidity; but they never go farther, they never turn the Tables, nor consult Experience, nor Examine whether any one could Answer, I Appeal to Practice. Now this is the weak side; for it's easy to prove, that *France* was never so Desolate and Miserable as when the Parliaments enjoyed the full Authority of Rejecting the Edicts and Ordinances of the Prince, under *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* 'Tis easy to prove also that the Exercise of that Authority, was the main cause of the Miseries of the Kingdom from the year 1562. to 1594. Our Chancellor had laid the Foundations of the Publick Peace by the Edict of the Month of *January*. The Church of *Rome* had no longer reason to fear the danger I have mentioned above (*c*); the King of *Navarre* had Deserted the Huguenots; *Catherine de Medicis* thought no longer to pull off the Mask. They had been contented to have had their fill of Preaching; and so the Kingdom would have remained in Peace, provided the Edict of *January* had been observed. But the Catholicks infringed it, and from hence proceeded the first War of Religion, the Root of all the Evils that Afflicted the State, till the extinction of the *League*; for all those Evils were grafted upon, or sprung from one another, by a well Connected train of Causes and Effects (*d*). Now to what must the Infraction of this Edict of *January* be principally Ascribed, but to the Parliament of *Paris*? Did not they Encourage every Body to the Non-observance of it? They did not Register it (*e*) but by defaming it, that is to say, not till after three Commands, and with such Restrictions and Clauses, as plainly shewed that it was Registered by Force, and as a very Transient and very Mischievous Order? Who would have feared after this, to violate such an Edict, when they could not but be well assured, that a Parliament who judged in this manner, would never trouble themselves to Punish those that should break it? Now at that time to lend a Hand to the infraction of the Edict, and to sound an Alarm for Civil War, was one and the same thing. Observe well the Words *Varillas* makes use of in the beginning of his Relation of the Measures that were taken against the Protestants a little before the Massacre of *Vassi*. The House of *Guise*, says he (*f*), *judged by the opposition that the Edict of* January *had met with in the Parliament, that it would not long subsist, and doubted not but that Civil Wars would quickly begin.* It may be said in General, that the Parliaments of *France* by refusing to ratify the Edicts of Ratification, or by Ratifying 'em with an Ill Grace, and then by a Natural Consequence taking no care that they should be observed, have been one of the greatest Causes of those long Calamities that wasted the State, and had like to have ruined the Monarchy Root and Branch. If *Charles V.* had Reigned at that time, it would infallibly have become a Province of his Dominions, or at least would have been divided into a thousand Pieces.

You only Alledge, will some say, the ill use the Parliaments made of their Right to reject the Edicts of the Prince. But I Answer, are Tyranny and most other Disorders any thing else but an ill use of good Things? It suffices to refute your Reflections, to tell you, that this Bank or Barrier you speak of, and which properly speaking, includes this Contradiction, that a State is, and is not Monarchical, can't be thought a good Remedy, since it has done much more harm than good. What Comparison is there between the Advantages that accrued from the Rejection (*g*) of some Pecuniary Edicts, and the deplorable Misery of the Kingdom for thirty years to-

A REFLECTION *upon what is said by so many People, that the Interest of the Kingdom of France requires, that the Parliaments should have more Authority than they have.*

(*a*) *Without doubt* Brantome *means the same Speech mention'd by* Mezerai *in the year* 1571. *p.* 239. *of the* 3*d. Volume of his Great History.*

(*b*) *Virgil. Æn. l.* 1. *v.* 85.

(*c*) *Ibid. p.* 426.

(*d*) *Ibid. p.* 421.

(*e*) *In the Remark F.*

(*f*) *Compare with this* d' Aubigné's *Remark chap.* 2. *of the* 5. *Book of the* 3. *Vol. of his History p. m.* 628.

(*g*) *Mezerai abr. Chron. tom.* 5. *p.* 80. *ad ann.* 1563.

(*h*) *Id. ib.*

(*i*) *Brantome, eloge de Charles IX. p.* 33. *& 34. of the* 4. *tome of his Memoirs.*

(*e*) *See the Remark G.*

(*f*) *Varill. Hist. de Charles IX. tom.* 1. *p. m.* 121. *ad ann.* 1562.

(*g*) *The* 9*th. of* September 1578. *the Parliament Verified only two Pecuniary Edicts, out of* 22. *that were presented to them. See Father* du Londel's *Fasties p.* 88.

all he was obliged (*L*) to Seal 'em, he ſhewed that it was againſt his Will. One of the Occaſions in which he diſcovered the great Preſence of his Mind, was when the demands of the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors were Examined in the King's Council concerning the Reſtitution of *Calais*. He Anſwered their firſt Reaſons, and Replies with ſo much Force, that he had manifeſtly the Victory *, and gave occaſion to the King his Maſter to flatter himſelf, that by retaining that Place, he did not infringe the Treaty of Peace of *Cateau*. His Vigilance, as great as it was, could not ſecure him from the Artifices

* See Thuanus lib. 41. pag. 810, 841. ad ann. 1567. & Varillas Hiſtoire de Charles IX. *Book* 6. *p.* m. 30, *and follow of the* 2*d. Tome. See alſo page* 256 *of the* 1*ſt. Tome.*

together? Theſe Calamities are much leſs to be imputed to the Court, than to the Parliaments. The Court was grown Wiſe by the Inſtructions of a moſt skilful and moſt virtuous Chancellor. Mr. *de l'Hoſpital* had induced it to prevent, by the Edict of *January*, all Misfortunes, and to cut off the Root of Civil Wars. The Parliament, inſtead of ſeconding him, oppoſed him, and diſappointed the Remedy he had found; a Remedy which could not chuſe but be good, ſince (*b*) there was no other. The Court would have walked in the Road the Chancellor had marked out, and yet left it, by Reaſon of the Confuſions into which the Kingdom fell, through their Fault who diſobeyed the Edict; and 'twas the Parliaments that open'd a wide Path to this Diſobedience. They therefore are reſponſible for ſo many Churches profan'd, plunder'd, overturned, of which ſome are pleas'd to give long Lifts to render the *Huguenots* odious. Nor was it their fault, that the Miſeries of the State were not perpetual, even after the Deſtruction of the *League*. They oppoſed the Edict of *Nantes*, the only Remedy for Inteſtine Confuſions: The Parliament of *Paris* would never have ratifyed it, if *Henry* IV. had not made uſe of Intreaties; (*i*) but in a Tone, that ſhewed he knew how to make himſelf obeyed. Note, that the Speech (*k*) of Mr. *de l'Hoſpital* to the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, ſhews that at that time, when ſo little account was made of the King's Ordinances, the Adminiſtration of Juſtice was horribly corrupted, and full of hideous Diſorders. I will conclude with ſaying, that the Government of the People is ſuch a confounded thing, that the Remedies which ſeem beſt, are ſometimes worſe than the Diſeaſe, and the cauſe of the greateſt Miſchiefs. I am going to give a great Inſtance of it.

(*b*) Optimum remedium quia unicum.

(*i*) *See Matthieu, hiſtoire de la paix Book* 2. *Narrat.* 1. *n.* 7. *pag.* m. 210. *& ſeq.*

(*k*) *I have quoted it in the Remark* K.

(*L*) *If——he was obliged to ſeal 'em, he ſhewed that it was againſt his Will.*] A Miniſter of State, and eſpecially the Chancellor of a Monarch, ought to do two Things, if he would well diſcharge his Duties. One is earneſtly to recommend Submiſſion and Obedience to all the Subjects; he ought not to ſpeak to 'em of any thing elſe; he muſt not ſtand arguing with 'em, whether they have ſometimes right to take up Arms, or to refuſe Obedience to the Ordinances that they think unjuſt and burdenſome. He muſt ſuppoſe as an inconteſtable Point, that they have not that Right. The other thing which he ought to do, is to repreſent livelily, and inceſſantly to the Prince, that the Royal Authority does not diſpenſe with an abſolute Submiſſion to Juſtice, and that it has no Right or Privilege to depart from Reaſon, Equity, and Promiſes, &c. Mr. *de l'Hoſpital* punctually acquitted himſelf of both theſe Duties. He took the part of the King before the Subjects, and the part of the Subjects before the King. He repreſſed with great Vehemence, thoſe who made any Attempt upon the Royal Authority. See (*l*) the Cenſures that he made, or that the King made to the Parliaments, according to his Advice. See alſo (*m*) what he anſwered to the Deputy of the Parliament of *Dijon*. But you will now ſee with what Integrity, with what Conſtancy, he reſiſted the unjuſt Propoſals which were ſuggeſted to the Prince. He withſtood them by his Arguments, as far as was poſſible; and if his Remonſtrances did not hinder the Concluſion of the Affair, he ſhewed that he had no ways conſented to it. (*n*) *Ah, SIR, what a foul and venomous Tale is it in an Edict, when the Ratification of it is decreed with theſe Words,* by the expreſs Command of the King, often times repeated, *which only produce a Condemnation from the wiſe and good, againſt the Injuſtice of it, ſupported only by the Commands, which the Chancellors are frequently forced to ſeal againſt their Advice, in which are ſeen theſe odious and ſhameful Words*: Notwithſtanding all the Remonſtrances made and to be made, which we hold for heard and underſtood, and for which we will not have it delayed. *That is to ſay, in ſpite of Reaſon, by a malignant Counſel, an unjuſt Will, and a raſh Determination; by the rebuke of Virtue, the Toleration of Evil, and the Hatred of Honour, and by an affected Ignorance, and the Contempt of good Things. Wherefore, not to participate of that Shame, the good and moſt worthy Chancellor* de l'Hoſpital, *commonly wrote theſe Words with his own Hand upon the back of the Letters,* Me non conſentiente, *that is to ſay, I have been forced to ſeal them againſt my Advice; as he did to the Letters about the Reception of the Power of the Cardinal of* Ferrara, *ſent Legate* (1) *into France by Pope* Pius IV. *and the Court of Parliament reading theſe Words indorſed by the Chancellor, joined with him, and would never ratify that Power.* Preſident *de la Place* will inform us more particularly of what concerns this laſt Paſſage. (*a*) 'Now for 'as much as amongſt other Articles decreed in the 'States, it was ordered, that the Benefices of the 'Kingdom ſhould be conferred by the Ordinaries, in 'every Diocels, and not by the Pope, and that no 'Diſpenſations ſhould be received; there was great 'Difficulty in admitting the Power of the ſaid Le'gate: The Chancellor remonſtrating, that he 'could do nothing againſt what had been ſo lately 'reſolved and concluded by the ſaid States. But 'notwithſtanding, the ſaid Legate giving to under'ſtand, that he being related to the Houſe of *France*, 'it would be a great Reproach and Diſhonour to him, 'to be the firſt Legate refuſed in it, and offering not 'to uſe the ſaid Power, and to return immediately 'after the Ratification of it, the Chancellor was 'commanded to ſeal the Letters; which he did after 'many Alterations betwixt the Legate and himſelf, 'writing with his own Hand under the Seal of the 'Letters, theſe Words, *Me non conſentiente*, that 'is, not with my Conſent: which being ſeen by 'the ſaid Court, were refus'd, ſaying they could not, 'and ought not receive them. Some Hiſtorians ſay, (*b*) *that at laſt the Legate, in ſpite of the Chancellor's Advice, got his Powers received in the Council of State; in which he was allowed a Place.* Every one knows the Tranſcendent Power of the *Guiſes*, under *Francis* II. yet they were not able to make the Chancellor ſtoop. He was the only (*c*) one that refuſed to ſign the Warrant of the Prince of *Conde*'s Death.

(1) La Popelinere *Book* 7.

(*a*) La Place, commentaires de l'eſtat de la Religion & & republique, *Book* 6. *fol.* m. 214. verſo ad ann. 1561. *See concerning that Legate, the Book about the Origin of Cardinals, pag.* 265. & ſeq. Dutch *Edit.* 1670

(*b*) Le Grain ubi ſupra, *Book* 1. *p.* 118.

(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 109.

Languet has preſerved a very briſk Repartee, which the Chancellor made to the Legate. The latter was ſo bold as to tell him, that he did not know what was the Duty of his Place. I have endeavoured at leaſt, ſaid the Chancellor, to learn it; but you who have ſeveral Biſhopricks, never troubled your ſelf to learn the Epiſcopal Duties. (*d*) *Solus Cancellarius pertinaciſſime reſtitit, & dixit in ea re fieri ſummam injuriam Regi Puero, ac Regni Gallici Jura, & Majeſtatem proſtitui, nec ſe paſſurum, ut Regio Sigillo ſibi Concredito, ad eam rem abuterentur. Ad quæ incandeſcens Ferrarienſis dixit eum ignorare quæ eſſent ſui muneris & Officii. Ego vero, inquit Cancellarius, hoc ſaltem egi, ut id intelligerem, ſed tu ne quidem cogitâſti unquam quod ſit Officium Epiſcopi, cum tamen aliquot Epiſcopatus poſſideas. Tandem victus aliorum importunitate tradidit ei Regium Sigillum, ſed tamen voluit inſtrumento permiſſionis inſeri, ſe contradicente hoc eſſe permiſſum.*

(*d*) *Languet. Epiſt.* 62. *lib.* 2. *p.* 157.

Here is a Paſſage of *Bodin*. (*e*) 'Tis very certain 'that the Laws, Ordinances, Letters-Patents, 'Privileges and Grants of Princes, have no Force 'but during their Lives, if they are not ratify'd by 'the expreſs Conſent, or at leaſt by the Permiſſion 'of the Prince who takes Cognizance of them—— 'Which was the reaſon why M. *de l'Hoſpital*, 'Chancellor of *France*, refus'd to ſeal the Confir'mation of the Privileges, and Exemption from 'Taxes for *St. Maur des Foſſez*, whatever Com'mand he had to do it; becauſe they made that Free-

(*e*) *Bodin de la Republique, lib.* 1. *c.* 8. *p.* m. 131, 132.

(*l*) *In the foregoing Remark.*

(*m*) *In the Article* Begat.

(*n*) *Le Grain, Decade d'Henri le Grand, Book* 8. *pag.* m. 898.

Artifices of a Secretary, who was an ill (M) Man: which gave him a great deal of Trouble. It has been obſerved, that his Face reſembled (N) *Ariſtotle*'s. Some attribute to him the Compariſon of the (O) Apes; and probably they do in that what is common enough, not only to Bablers in Converſation, but alſo to Writers; I mean, they give to one what belongs to another. He made a noble Will, which was printed, in which he ſhew'd, amongſt other Things, the Inclination he had to Peace (P), and his † Indifference for Funeral Ceremonies. He died the 13th. of *March*, 1573, being

† *See above the Remark H.*

(i) Montagne, Eſſays, Book 2. *chap.* 17. *pag. m.* 576. 577.

(m) Menage, Madi di dire Italiani, pag. 29. *at the End of his Etymologies of the Italian Tongue.*

(n) *You'll find 'em tranſlated into* Latin apud Voſſium de Scient. Mathem. pag. 237.

(o) *Coſtar Suite de la defenſe de Voiture pag.* 18.

* *His* French *Name was* Guicheret, *as I find it in* Guicheret's *Hiſtory of* Breſſe, *pag.* 36.

(p) *Jacobus Gutherius de jure Manium, lib.* 2. *cap.* 26. *p.* 351. *Edit. Lipſ.* 1671.

(q) Fatalité de Saint Clou. *I have mention'd that Book elſewhere.*

(b) *Le Laboureur addit. aux Memoires de Caſtelnau tom.* 1 *pag.* 522.

(c) Cicer. *pro Marcello, pag.* 581.

(d) *Teſtament de Michel de l'Hoſpital apud Colomies Biblioth. choiſie, pag.* 60.

(e) *See* Palquier's *Letters, Book* 19. *pag.* 666. *&c. of the* 1ſt. *Tom. where he repreſents the Miſeries of Civil Wars.*

'dom perpetual: which is againſt the Nature of 'Perſonal Privileges, and diminiſhes the Power of the 'Succeſſors, and cannot be given to any Corporati-'ons, but for the Life of the Prince who grants 'them; although the Word *Perpetual* be inſerted.

(M) *The Artifices of a Secretary, who was an ill Man.*] I will relate upon this, what I have read in a Book, intituled, *The Fortune of the Court.* 'Chan-'cellor *de l'Hoſpital* was blamed (d) for that being 'naturally very ſevere in expediting Juſtice, and 'ſtern to thoſe that came to ſpeak to him; yet he 'was otherwiſe with reſpect to his Domeſticks, 'and eſpecially to his Secretary *Bonvant*, who put 'upon him as often as he pleaſed; which he con-'tinued to do, till a Complaint was brought to the 'Council, on occaſion of a very incivil Letter: The 'Chancellor was aſhamed to be ſo over-reach'd, and 'was obliged to turn out a Servant whom he had 'loved very well before, with a Thouſand Reproach-'es. The Author tells another thing, which has no reference to my Text, yet I'll tranſcribe it, being a remarkable Paſſage. (e) 'He was in like man-'ner ſeverely reprimanded by the late Mr. *de Mont-'penſier*, in full Council, for that being almoſt in-'exorable to paſs the Grants which the King made 'of no great Sums, yet he had ſome Days before 'received from the Treaſurer Fifty Thouſand Li-'vres; and he was miſerably reproach'd for it, 'though it was certain that the King himſelf of his 'own Motion had preſs'd him to take them.

(d) La Fortune de la Cour. pag. 349. *That Book was printed at* Paris, *in* 1642. *in* 8. *See* Sorel's Bibliotheque Francois, pag. 414. Edit. 1667.

(e) *Id. ib. pag.* 350.

(N) *That his Face reſembled* Ariſtotle's.] *Beza* tells us of it. (f) *Ut ex antiquiſſimo numiſmate apparuit, ſummum illum omnium Philoſophorum principem Ariſtotelem ſic ore toto retulit, ut alterius ex altero imago expreſſa videri poſſet.* *Thevet* refutes it. 'And as to the Likeneſs, (*ſays he*) (g), which 'Beza feigns, betwixt *Ariſtotle* and our Chancellor; 'if he takes it from the Features and Lineaments 'of the Face, there's no Man that compares the 'Picture that I have given of *Ariſtotle*, with that 'of the Chancellor, which he has got drawn to the 'Life, but will diſcover at firſt Sight, that there 'is a great Difference. But *Stephen Forcadel* gives us ſome Circumſtances, which make for *Beza*. He ſays, that as *Charles* XI. was viſiting the Towns of his Kingdom, a Statue was dug up, bearing the Name of *Ariſtotle*, which perfectly reſembled *Michael de l'Hoſpital*. He adds, that he made Verſes upon it, which pleaſed the Chancellor. I tranſcribe his Words at large, becauſe they contain the Praiſes of this great Man, and that my Dictionary ought ſometimes at leaſt to reſemble thoſe Compilations, which contain the Judgment of the Learned upon famous Perſons. (h) *Legis pervigil & excellens cuſtos Cancellarius: qualem re ipſa ſe præbuit, dum viveret, ideoque à ſolo maximè laudabilis vir Michael Hoſpitalis, cui Muſæ ſtatuam libentiſſimè ponerent, niſi Juriſprudentia, ſimulque Philoſophia hoc decus præripuiſſet. Idque non ambigue ſignificatum eſt ſuperioribus annis, Carolo IX. Rege Juam Galliam opidatim luſtrante, cùm fortè ernta fuit, & è ſinu terræ altius effoſſæ ſtatua inciſo Ariſtotelis titulo, quæ apprimè M. Hoſpitalem lineamentis ac figuram referebat, ut nec ſibi ipſi magis ſit ille ſimilis, ſicut nec animi dotibus ab ingeni Philoſopho multum differt. Unde bene omnia vertere de componendo turbulentæ Reipublicæ ſtatu, quia Gallorum Cancellarius Regi maximo intimus Magni illius Alexandri doctorem effigie exæquaſſet* ——*Nos itaque Hoſpitali humaniſſimoque viro, honoris gratia, tunc verſiculos dedicavimus comiter ſupra expectationem accipiendos:*

(f) *Beza in iconib. ubi ſupra.*

(g) *Thevet ubi ſupra pag.* 367.

(h) *Stephanus Forcatulus de Gallor. imperio & philoſophia, lib.* 7. *pag. m.* 1086, 1087.

Quiſquis Ariſtotelis doctum te contulit, idem
Blanditus docto fertur Ariſtoteli.

(i) Quin non vultu tantum Ariſtotelis os, quod ex utriuſque imaginum usque prodiderunt comparatione conſtat, ſed Solomonis-jectus —— referebat. *Thuan. lib.* 50. *p.* 43.

(k) Brant. Memoir. tom. 2. pag. m. 78. *in the Elogium de Conſtable* Montmorency.

Thuanus (i) confirms what *Beza* ſays. Note, That *Brantome* ſpeaks of another Reſemblance: 'Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital*, (ſays he) (k), had all over 'Cato's Mien, a great White Beard, a pale Face, 'a grave Countenance; ſo that one would have ſaid 'upon the Sight of him, that he was the true Pi-'cture of St. *Jerome*. So many ſaid at Court.

(O) *Some attribute to him the Compariſon of the Apes, and probably they* ——*give to one what belongs to another.*] They transfer to our Chancellor a Thought of his Predeceſſor. Read theſe Words of *Montagne*: '(l) I have found the ſhorteſt and 'eaſieſt way ——to rid my ſelf of this Deſire, 'and to ſit ſtill ——judging impartially of my 'Strength, that it was not capable of great Things. 'And remembring that Saying of the late Chan-'cellor *Olivier*, that the *French* ſeem to be Apes, 'who go leaping up a Tree from Branch to Branch, 'and never leave off, till they are come to the top-'moſt Bough, there ſhew their Breech when they are 'there. Mr. *Menage* (m) cites theſe Words of *Montagne*, having firſt repeated ſome *Greek* Verſes (n), in which *Scaliger* made uſe of the ſame Thought againſt *Lydiat*, and the *Latin* Verſes which *Salmaſius* made againſt *Petavius*, which turn upon the ſame Compariſon. *Coſtar* intimates that Chancellor *Olivier* ſpoke thus in a Speech, which I can hardly believe. 'Chancellor *Olivier*, ſays he (o), 'made no Scruple publickly to compare the *French* 'to Apes, who leap from Branch to Branch, and 'ſhew their Breech when they are at the top of the 'Tree. I will ſhew, that an Advocate in the Par-liament of *Paris*, aſcribes that Compariſon to Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital*. This Advocate is little known, but by the Name of * *Gutherius*, which may be tranſlated Five or Six different Ways, without departing from the Analogy, by which the *French* have latinized their Names. This by the Way. The thing is this. (p) *Sæpe ego audivi à ſoris noſtri principibus viris, Michaëlem Hoſpitalium Franciæ Cancellarium, cui nulla ætas habuit parem, ſolitum dicere, multos, qui ad honores à fortuna pelluntur, ſimiarum eſſe ſimillimos, quæ altiorem arborem naſcæ, eoſque conſcendunt, ut cum ad ſummum arboris faſtigium evaſerint, foliis vento ſtridentibus operta tota poſteriora tantùm prætereuntibus riduculè oſtentant.* There are a Thouſand Inſtances that prove, that the ſame Thought is aſcribed to different Perſons. I'll only cite one which has ſome Affinity with the Reign, under which M. *de l'Hoſpital* was Chancellor. Mr. *Villeroy* (a) 'was told one Day, that he was the 'fitteſt Man to write the Hiſtory of *Charles* IX. 'as having had a hand in every thing, and for that 'Reaſon, that he ought to write it. I am too much 'obliged, anſwered he, to that Prince, and I love 'his Memory too well to write his Hiſtory, meaning 'that the Truths he ſhould be obliged to relate, 'would diſgrace the King. This is what is ſaid by the Author of the Book, intituled, *de la Fatalité de St. Clou*; but M. *le Laboureur* (b) relates this as *Morvillier*'s Anſwer. And I had rather follow this laſt Tradition.

(l) Qui ſe ſubduit, ſe ſubduit à ſon aiſe. Il ne ſe trouve point de Deſir, ny de Regret, pour peu qu'on ſe retire, & qu'on ſe tienne coy. Et ſe jugeant impartialement de ſes forces, qu'elles ne ſont pas capables de grandes choſes. Et ſe ramentevant de ce mot de feu Chancelier Olivier, que les François ſemblent eſtre Guenons, qui ſautent de branche en branche, & ne laiſſent que quand elles ſont arrivées à la plus haute, montrer le cul. Montagne, Eſſays, Book 2. *chap.* 17. *pag. m.* 576.

(m) Menage, Madi di dire Italiani, pag. 29. *at the End of his Etymologies of the Italian Tongue.*

(n) *You'll find 'em tranſlated into* Latin apud Voſſium de Scient. Mathem. pag. 237.

(o) *Coſtar Suite de la defenſe de Voiture pag.* 18.

* *His* French *Name was* Guicheret, *as I find it in* Guicheret's *Hiſtory of* Breſſe, *pag.* 36.

(p) *Jacobus Gutherius de jure Manium, lib.* 2. *cap.* 26. *p.* 351. *Edit. Lipſ.* 1671.

(a) Fatalité de Saint Clou. *I have mention'd that Book elſewhere.*

(b) *Le Laboureur addit. aux Memoires de Caſtelnau tom.* 1 *pag.* 522.

(c) Cicer. *pro Marcello, pag.* 581.

(d) *Teſtament de Michel de l'Hoſpital apud Colomies Biblioth. choiſie, pag.* 60.

(e) *See* Palquier's *Letters, Book* 19. *pag.* 666. *&c. of the* 1ſt. *Tom. where he repreſents the Miſeries of Civil Wars.*

(P) *He ſhewed in his Will* ——*the Inclination he had for Peace.*] In that laſt Act of his Life, he boaſted of the ſame thing that *Cicero* boaſted of in a full Senate. (c) *Quo quidem in bello*, ſaid that great Roman Orator, *ſemper de pace agendum, audiendumque putavi; ſemperque dolui, non modo pacem, ſed orationem etiam civium ſpacem, efflagitantium repudiari; neque enim ego illi, nec ulla unquam ſecutus ſum arma civilia: ſemperque mea conſilia pacis, & togæ ſocia, non belli, atque armorum fuerunt* ——*Quod quidem meum conſilium minime obſcurum fuit, nam & in hoc ordine, integrare, multa de pace dixi: & in ipſo bello eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo ſenſi.* There is hardly any thing in this, but what M. *de l'Hoſpital* might have ſaid; but here is what he wrote in his Will. '(d) I can ſay for my ſelf, that tho' Arms have 'been taken up four Times, and Battles have been 'given as often, I have always adviſed to a Peace, 'not reckoning any thing ſo prejudicial to a Country, 'as a civil War (e), nor more Advantageous than 'a Peace, upon what Condition ſoever. Afterwards ſpeaking of the Enemies which that Maxim drew upon

being (Q) about Sixty eight Years of Age. He made his only Daughter his Heireſs, whom he had married to *Robert Hurault*, and he left his Library to *Michael Hurault*, the Second of his Grandſons, who has been well known by the Name of (R) Mr. *Du Fay*. I might have added a great many more Things; but I have omitted them, becauſe they may be found in *Moreri*, or in the Additions of Mr. *Teiſſier* to the Elogies of *Thuanus*, or in *Thevet*'s Elogies, or *Brantome*'s Memoirs. The latter, who was a Man of the Sword, has ſucceeded better in the † Praiſes of the Chancellor, than all the Writers that I have read; tho' I confeſs, that *Thuanus* and *Scævola de Ste Marthe* have praiſed him very well. *Ronſard*'s Ode [a] deſigned as an Elogy upon this Principal Officer of Juſtice, has been looked upon as an excellent one; but in certain Reſpects I find nothing that comes up to *Brantome*'s Deſcription. It ſhews Mr. *de l'Hoſpital* to have been a Man that might be oppoſed to the greateſt and moſt eminent Men of the Gown in ancient *Greece* and *Rome*. I cite in my Remarks ſo many other Paſſages, that, not to be too tedious, I wave what *Brantome* has written. I only intreat my Readers to conſider two Things: The firſt is, what he obſerves, upon the Diſpute which the Chancellor maintained with the utmoſt Reſolution, againſt the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who demanded that the Council of *Trent* ſhould be received: The other concerns the Undauntedneſs that Mr. *de l'Hoſpital* expreſs'd [b] after the *Paris* Maſſacre, when he had reaſon to fear, that the Murtherers had received Orders to do Execution in his Houſe. I will add this one thing more. A famous Author, having defined the Force of the Soul to be 'a certain Temper and Diſpoſition of Mind, always equal in it ſelf, conſtant, ſtable, Heroick, able to ſee, to hear, and do all things without Diſturbance, Confuſion, and Aſtoniſhment, adds, that 'tis *much in the ſame manner* Juvenal *deſcribed it in Six fine* [c] *Verſes of his* Xth. Satyr. Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital*, (he goes on †), 'who was furniſhed with this Strength of Mind, as much as any that went before, or came after him, deſcribed it ſtill more briefly, though in much bolder Words, out of which he had compoſed his Device; * *Si fractus illabatur orbis, Impavidum ferient ruinæ.* See the Margin †. Shall I forget the Services which he did even after his Death? Is it not juſt to obſerve, that the State Maxims by which he regulated his Conduct, were of very great uſe to *France*, becauſe he left ſome Diſciples, imbued with his Wiſe Principles, who in due time (S) oppoſed the *Leaguers*, and rendred their pernicious Enterpriſes Abortive?

HOS-

† *The Vigour which the Court of* France *expreſſed in* 1563. *againſt the Pope, who had cited the Queen of* Navarre, *&c. and who was obliged to revoke his Monitory, was the Work of Mr.* de l'Hoſpital, *and of the Conſtable* Montmorency. *See* Thuanus, *Book* 32. *pag. m.* 32. *and* 33.

upon him, and of the Miſeries which *France* was plunged into, he adds: (f) 'I gave place to Arms, 'which were too ſtrong, and retired into the 'Country with my Wife and Family, and little 'Children, begging but one thing of the King and 'Queen at my Departure: That ſince they had determined to break the Peace, and to proſecute 'thoſe with War, with whom they had concluded 'a Peace but a little before, and ſince they removed 'me from the Court, becauſe they underſtood I was always contrary, and had an ill Opinion of their 'Deſign: I requeſted them, I ſay, that ſince they 'did not acquieſce in my Counſels, yet at leaſt, 'when they had ſatiated and glutted their Heart and 'their Thirſt with the Blood of their Subjects, they 'would embrace the firſt Occaſion of Peace that 'ſhould offer it ſelf, before things were reduced to 'extream Ruin; for whatever might be the Iſſue 'of that War, it muſt neceſſarily be very pernicious to the King and the Kingdom.

(Q) *About Sixty Eight Years of Age.*] He begins his Will thus: '(g) I have always been in doubt 'concerning my Age, becauſe my Friends ſaid they 'have heard my Father (i) ſpeak variouſly about 'it, who ſometimes ſaid that I was born before the 'War began againſt the *Genoeſe*, and at other times 'maintained, that my Birth was dated from the 'end which King *Lewis* XII. put to that War, 'in which my Father was employed as a Phyſician 'to *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*. It would be no wonder, that a groſs and ignorant Clown ſhould not know the Age of his Son, and yet this happens but rarely; but 'tis very ſtrange, that a Man of Parts and Learning, as was the Father of *Michael de l'Hoſpital*, ſhould ſo vary about it, and that not by a Day or a Week, but by many Months. His Son declares, that he (h) was Eighteen Years old when the Conſtable *Bourbon* (i) left *France*; he believed therefore he was born in the Year 1505. Note, that the War of *Lewis* XII. againſt the *Genoeſe*, was terminated in *April* 1507. *Brantome* who has inſerted in his Memoirs (k) the Chancellor's Will, does not forget the Preface (l) in which witneſſes, that the Teſtator was 68 Years of Age. The Date of the Will is (m) *the third Day of* March 1573. This is ſtill to place his Birth in the Year 1505. If (n) *Thuanus*, and *Scævola de ste Marthe* (o) had conſidered theſe Things, they would not have ſaid that *Michael de l'Hoſpital* lived about Seventy Years.

(R) *Who has been very well known by the Name of Mr. du Fay.*] We find in his Panegyrick, compoſed by *Ste Marthe*, that he had a great deal of Wit and Learning, and that he was Chancellor to the King of *Navarre*, and might have arrived to the Dignity of Chancellor of *France*, if inſtead of unluckily engaging in a Soldier's Life, he had perſevered in the Functions and Exerciſes of the Gown. We find there alſo, that he died (p) with Diſcontent, for having been forced to quit the Government of *Quillebeuf* (q), but we don't ſee, that he was actually a Proteſtant. Some have accuſed him of being ready to be one. See the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy*, and the Notes upon it in the Edition of 1699. He wrote a Treatiſe in 1588, intitled (r) *le Franc & Libre diſcours*, which paſſed for a very good Piece. See the *Perroniana*, at the Word *Fay*, and *Thuanus*'s 92d. Book.

(S) *He left ſome Perſons imbued with his Wiſe Principles, who in due time oppoſed the League, &c.*] An Anonymous Author, whom I have already quoted, furniſhes me with the Commentary that I have occaſion for. He ſays (s) that of the *Devotion* of a Miniſter or Counſellor to a Prince, *is not well-grounded, and his Zeal well regulated, 'tis impoſſible to imagine the Miſchief he may do. Firſt of all, he ſuffers himſelf to be ſurpriſed, and then he himſelf ſurpriſes his Maſter; for in Point of Devotion, the wiſeſt Men are often impoſed upon. Many think that they are very pious and devout, if they are groſſly ignorant of what concerns Religion, and refer themſelves to thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it is to teach it: ſome of whom being practiced upon, lead them a fine Dance. We have ſpoken of the great Miſfortunes into which ſeveral great Princes, who were otherwiſe prudent Men, have fallen for want of underſtanding this Caſe. We'll ſpeak a Word of ſome of their Miniſters ---There were two Sorts of 'em, to thoſe who had been bred up under the Diſcipline of Chancellor l'Hoſpital, kept to the Maxims, which were not only Conſonant to Piety and Chriſtian Moderation, but uſeful for the Preſervation of the Peace, and Maintenance of the King's Authority. The others (on the contrary), whether it was out of Conſcience, without much*

+ *It is related in that of the Conſtable* Montmorency. *'Tis the 10th. of the 1ſt. Book.* Richelet, *who commented upon it, ſays it is a Maſterpiece of See Poetry. alſo* Paſquier, *in the* 22d. *Book of his Letters pag.* 758.

* *Naudé Coups d'eſtat, ch.* 5. *p. m.* 784. 'Fortem poſſe animum, mortis terrore vacantem &c.

† *Naudé ibid. pag.* 785. 786.

‡ *They are* Horace's *Words,* Od. 3. lib. 3. *and ſi, veſſy,* If the World ſhould be overturned, the Ruines of it would ſtrike me fearleſs, and undaunted.

(a) *Thuan. hiſtor. lib.* 56. *in fin. pag.* 43.

(b) *Sammarth. in Elog. lib.* 1. *p. m.* 601.

(c) *Teſtam. ibid. pag.* 62.

(d) *Teſtam. ib. p.* 52.

(e) *John de l'Hoſpital.*

(f) *Ibid. pag.* 53.

(g) *He left it in* 1523.

(h) *In the* 2d. *Tome, in the Elogy of Conſtable* Montmorency.

(i) *It is not in* Colomies's *Edition.*

(m) *The* 12th. *in the Edition of* Colomies.

(n) *Thuan. hiſtor. lib.* 56. *in fin. pag.* 43.

(o) *Sammarth. in Elog. lib.* 1. *p. m.* 601.

(p) *Vol. of the Memoirs of the League, p.* 1. *&c. Title,* Excellent & libre diſcours ſur l'Edit preſenté de

(q) *Fragment de l'Hiſtoire du Prince de Machiavel, p.*

(r) *In the* 5th. *Chap. of the* 1ſt. *Book, and in the* 9th. *Chapter of the* 2d.

(s) *It was inſerted in the* 9th. *with this* la France. 83. *&c ſeq.*

* *Anſelme hiſt. des grans Offic. pag.* 266.
* *So he writes his Name at the beginning of his Books. Many write it* Hottomannus, *or* Hotomannus.
† *She was a Native of* Orleans, *and her Name was* Claudine Aubelin. Petrus Neveletus ubi infra.

HOSPITAL (*Francis de l'*) created Mareſchal of † *France*, the 23d. of *April*, 1643, was called before that time Mr. *du Hallier*. *Moreri* copying Father *Anſelme*, ſpeaks largely of his Genealogy, and ſhews his Exploits and Dignities; but he does not mention a thing which I have (*Y*) read in a State of *France*. I'll give here a Supplement to an Obſervation I have made above, concerning the firſt Wife (*Z*) of Mareſchal *de l'Hoſpital*.

HOTOMANUS (*Francis*) was one of the moſt Learned Civilians of the XVIth. Century. He was born the 23d. of *Auguſt*, 1524, at *Paris*, where his Family, (*A*) originally of *Sileſia*, flouriſhed ſometime ſince. At Fifteen Years of Age he was ſent to *Orleans*, there to ſtudy the Civil Law, and he became capable of a Doctor's Degree in three Years. His Father, a Councellor in the Parliament, who had already deſign'd his Employment for him, cauſed him to return Home, and entered him at the Bar; but the young Gentleman was quickly diſguſted with the Wranglings of the Court, and fell deep into the Study of the *Roman* Law, and Polite Learning. He reliſhed the new Opinions, for which ſo many were put to Death in the Kingdom; and finding, that he could not make Profeſſion of them at *Paris*, he went to *Lyons* in the Year 1547, where he publiſhed a Book. 'Twas the Second Work (*B*) that he put to the Preſs. Seeing that he had nothing to hope for as a Subſiſtence from his Father, he went to *Lauſane* (*C*), where the Gentlemen of *Bern* made him Profeſſor of Philology. He publiſhed ſome Books there, and married a *French* † Gentlewoman, who had

(*b*) Born at Emmerick, in the Dutchy of Cleves, according to Mr. Baillet, *Tom.* 2. *of the Anti. pag.* 161.
* Thus I correct the Fault Ludovici IV. in Hotomanus's Life, of the Leipſick Edition, 1680, and in that of Amſterdam, 1700.
(*l*) Redimendo Franciſco Regi ad Ticinum capto, ingentem pecuniæ vim ſolus fide ſua curaverit ſummo Galliæ bono, ſumma ſua cum laude. *Petrus Neveletus Doſchius, in vita Fr. Hotomanni, pag.* m. 208.
(*m*) *Id. ib.*
(*n*) *Idem Neveletus in vita Hotomanni, p.* 210.
(*o*) Jurisconſultis etiam magnis gratum eſt Latini ſermonis elegantiam, & Rom. antiquitatis exquiſitam ſcientiam. *Id. ib.*
(*p*) *Addit. aux éloges, Tome* 2. *pag.* 115.
(*q*) Hotomanus's *Life, written by* Nevelet.
(*a*) *Ibid.*
(*b*) *Horat. de arte poet. circa init.*

Knowledge, or to make a ſeparate Party, adher'd ſo much to the Externals of Religion, that they thought it better to let the Kingdom fall into a Combuſtion, than to ſuffer the leaſt Accommodation in Matters of Religion. Now what followed from this Diverſity of Opinions, was, that the latter proved very Inſtrumental in forming, raiſing, and fortifying the League, the other in deſtroying it and preſerving the Kingdom, which the contrary Party had brought to the Brink of Deſtruction.

(*Y*) *A thing which I have read in a* State of France.] Which is, that Mareſchal *de l'Hoſpital* (*a*), 'was originally of *Calabria*, of a very illuſtrious 'Family, having had many Alliances with the 'Kings and Queens of *Naples*. But the Love his 'Predeceſſors had for *Charles* of *Anjou*, ſecond King 'of *Naples*, ingaging them in his Intereſt againſt the 'Kings of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, they were forced to 'ſeek a Sanctuary in *France*, when the *Spaniſh* Princes 'reſumed the Scepter of that Kingdom. Since Father *Anſelm* has not mentioned this, he muſt either have not known it, or have judged it uncertain. He begins the Genealogy of that Family (*b*), with one *Francis de l'Hoſpital*, who lived in 1314, and 1338, and in another Book (*C*) he goes no higher than *Francis de l'Hoſpital*, Chamberlain, &c. to *Charles* VI. in 1401, and Fifth Grandfather to him, that is the Subject of this Article. Note, that the Author of the Notes upon *Gabriel Naude's coups d'Eſtat*, is very much out (*d*) in pretending, that our Mareſchal *de l'Hoſpital* was deſcended from the Chancellor of the ſame Name.

(*a*) Etat de la France, *printed in* 1657. *pag.* 92, 93.
(*b*) *Anſelme, Palais de l'Honneur, pag.* 414.
(*c*) *Idem hiſt. des grans Offic. pag.* 232.
(*d*) *Page* 905.

(*Z*) *Concerning the firſt Wife of Mareſchal* de l'Hoſpital.] We have ſeen elſewhere, that he made no ſcruple to marry *Charlotte des Eſſars*, Mother of many illegitimate Children, ſome of King *Henry* IV. and others of Cardinal *de Guiſe*. I forgot when I made that Remark, what I had read in the Notes upon the Amours of *Henry the Great*. But ſince I now remember it, I muſt give my Readers a new Circumſtance of the Victory Mr. *du Hallier* obtained over Matrimonial Scruples. You will ſee, that *Charlotte des Eſſars* was a Baſtard her ſelf, and that after the Death of Cardinal *de Guiſe*, ſhe was Miſtreſs to another Prelate. (*f*) *Henry* IV. 'loved alſo *Charlotte des Eſſars*, Natural 'Daughter of the Baron *de Sautour* in *Champagne*, 'and of the Lady *Dheny*, by whom he had two 'Daughters. She had attended the Counteſs *de* 'Beaumont Harlay in her Embaſſie to *England*; then 'ſhe was Miſtreſs to Cardinal *Guiſe*, who had many 'Children by her, the Count *de Romorantin*, the 'Abbot *de Chailly*, the Chevalier, Madam *de* 'Rhodes, &c. Afterwards ſhe was Miſtreſs to Mr. 'de l'Ile, Archbiſhop of *Auſeb*, Three Years; then 'ſhe married *Francis de l'Hoſpital*, Count *de Roſnay*, Baron *de Beine*, Mareſchal of *France*. Father *Anſelm* tells us (*g*), that ſhe married him about the Year 1629, and that her Husband 'married a-'gain the 28th. of *Auguſt*, 1633, to *Frances Mignot*, by whom he had a Son, who died a few Days 'after he was born. *Moreri* obſerves, that the Adventures of this *Frances Mignot* are very ſingular. This has been left out in the *Paris* Edition of 1690. Mareſchal *de l'Hoſpital*'s Stars were not fortunate in that reſpect.

(*f*) *Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire des amours du grand Alcandre p.* m. 299.
(*g*) *Anſelme hiſt. des grans Offic. pag.*

(*A*) *His Family Originally of* Sileſia.] There are many Families of the Name of *Hotman* in *Breſlaw*, the Capital City of *Sileſia*, from which are deſcended many others, ſettled in *Luſatia*, in *Miſnia*, in the Country of *Cleves*, &c. *Lambert HOTMAN* (*k*) went into *France* to bear Arms in the Service of * *Lewis* XI. and married advantageouſly at *Paris*. *John HOTMAN* his eldeſt Son was ſo rich, that he diſburſed vaſt Sums for (*l*) the Ranſom of *Francis* I. *Peter HOTMAN*, the laſt of *Lambert*'s Eighteen Children, was Maſter of the Waters and Foreſts, and afterwards Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*. Our *Francis Hotman* was his eldeſt Son (*m*). The Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary imports, that *Henry HOTMAN* born at *Cleves* in the Year 1466. was the firſt of that Name that came into *France*, and that he came with *Engilbert* Duke of *Cleves*, who was the firſt Duke of *Nevers*.

(*B*) *'Twas the Second Work which he put to the Preſs.*] For he had already publiſhed a little Book *de gradibus cognationis*, which was much eſteemed. *Pene puer libellum* de gradibus cognationis *adjunctâ diagrammate publicavit à doctiſſimis viris in pretio habitum, & mox à quodam haud ignobili Juriſconſulto probatum, ita ut eum ſuis in Inſtitutiones commentariis vehementer commendatum inſereret* (*n*). His Second Work was a Commentary *ad titulum Inſtitutionum de actionibus*. The Beauty of the Stile, and the Knowledge of the *Roman* Antiquities, that ſhined in that Piece, gave him a great Reputation (*o*). Mr. *Teiſſier* (*p*) ſhould not have applied that fine Commendation to the little Book concerning the Degrees of Affinity. Had he more attentively conſulted the Work (*q*) he quotes, he would not have taken the one for the other.

LA CROIX du Maine will tell you, that the *French* Tranſlation, which *Hotomanus* made of *Socrates*'s Apology, written by *Plato*, was printed in the Year 1549, at *Lyons*, for *Sebaſtian Gryphius*, in 8.

(*C*) *He went to* Lauſane.] Mr. *Teiſſier* (*a*) ſays, that *Francis Hotomanus retired to* Geneva, *and lived ſometime in* Calvin's *Houſe*. I believe he is in the Right, tho' the Life of *Hotomanus*, which he cites, does not mention it. *Nevelet* ſeems to have ſuppreſſed a thing, which he ſhould not have omitted. It is not very probable, that the Magiſtrates of *Bern* ſhould have offer'd a Profeſſor's Chair, in the Academy of *Lauſane*, to a young Man of Twenty three Years of Age, who lived at *Lyons*. But 'tis probable, they made this Offer to him, ſuppoſing, that he lived at *Geneva*, and had got the Love of *Calvin*. Thus you ſee the want of Exactneſs that is found in the beſt Books; becauſe commonly good Authors are thoſe, who love to ſhorten a Narration. They don't always take Notice, that by this Brevity they ſpoil it. *Brevis eſſe laboro, obſcurus fio* (*b*). This might have been the caſe of *Nevelet*; or we may ſay,

had fled thither upon Account of Religion. His Merit was so well Known in all Parts, that the Magistrates of *Strasburg* offered to make him Professor of the Civil-Law; and whilst he was discharging that Duty, he found himself Courted by the Duke of *Prussia*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*. He did not accept those Invitations; but he did not refuse to go to the Court of the King of *Navarre*, at the beginning of the Troubles. He went twice into *Germany* to demand Succours of *Ferdinand* in the Name of the Princes of the Blood, and even in the Name of the Queen-Mother ‡. We have the Speech he made at the Diet of *Francfort*. Being returned to *Strasburg*, he yielded (*D*) to the Persuasions of *John de Monluc*, to go and Teach the Civil Law at *Valence*; which he did so Successfully, as to restore the Reputation of that University. Three years after he went to Profess it at *Bourges*, being invited thither by *Margaret* of *France*, Sister to King *Henry II.* but five Months after he repaired to *Orleans* among the Heads of the Party, who made use of his Counsels. The Peace which was made a Month after, did not deliver him from the fear of a new Storm; for which Reason he retired to *Sancerre*, and there waited for better times. It was there he wrote an excellent Book * *de Consolatione*. He returned afterwards to his Professorship at *Bourges*, where he had like to have lost his Life, during the Massacre of the year 1572. Having the good Fortune to escape, he left *France*, fully resolved to return thither no more, and betook himself to *Geneva*. He there Read Lectures of Civil-Law, and Published some Books with that strength (*E*) against the Persecutors, that he had great Promises made him, to oblige him to Write no more in that Strain: But he hearkened not to those Proposals. Some time after he removed to *Basil*, where he Taught the Civil Law. The Plague obliging him to leave it, he retired to *Montbeliard*, where he lost his Wife. He went afterwards to *Geneva*, where he wrote a Book (*F*) in

‡ *See the Remark E at the end.*

* *His Son got it Printed after his Father's Death.*

(a) In urbem Equestrium ... ad humanorum quæ dicuntur literarum professionem honorificè à Senatu Bernensis Reipub. evocatus, cujus in ditione urbs illa fe constitit. *Nevletus ubi supra, p.* 211.

(d) *Id. ib.*

(e) Erant Lausannæ tunc temporis doctrina & pietate viri insignes Petrus Viretus Ecclesiæ Pastor ... Franciscus Hotomanus eloquentiæ Professor. *In vita Theodori Bezæ, apud Melchior. Adam. p.* 205.

(f) *Thuan. lib.* 99. *p.* 378. *ad ann.* 1590.

(g) *See the Elogies taken out of* Thuanus *by Mr.* Teillier *Tom.* 2. *p.* 136. *edit.* 1696.

(b) Mezeray *is in the wrong to say in his large History Vol.* 3. *p.* 293. *that* Hotomanus *was Ingratiated with the Politicians, when he Testified his* France-Gallia.

(c) Pag. 211.

say, that having not found in the Memoirs that were given him, the Journey from *Lyons* to *Geneva*, he thought *Francis Hotomanus* left *Lyons*, only to be Professor of Philology at *Lausanne* (*e*). But let us not decide on the most probable side; for as there were already at *Lausanne* many eminent Refugees (*d*), who both knew and loved the Merit and Piety of *Francis Hotomanus*, they might easily obtain from the Magistrates of *Bern* an Invitation of him from *Lyons*. Mr. *Teissier* observes, that it was *by the Mediation of* Theodorus Beza, *that the Town of* Lausanne *offered* Hotomanus *a Professorship of Philology*. I believe he is mistaken, and that he had better have ascribed it to *Calvin*'s Interest; for *Hotomanus* was Professor at *Lausanne* (*e*), before *Beza* came thither to profess the *Greek* Tongue, and it is certain, that *Beza* wanted *Calvin*'s Good Offices to obtain that Professorship. Is it likely a Man should procure a Professor's Chair for another, in a Town, where he is not, and where he cannot settle himself, but upon the Interest of others? Mr. *Teissier*, no doubt, believed, that *Beza* was Professor of the *Greek* Tongue before *Hotomanus* was invited thither. Thus you see how important it is in the Narrative of this sort of Things, to consult well the Dates and the Rubricks of Chronology.

(*D*) *Being returned to* Strasburg *he yielded to the Persuasion of* John de Monluc.] If *Thuanus* had consulted the Dates, he would not have said that *John de Monluc* took *Hotomanus* from *Lausanne* to settle him at *Valence*; (*f*) *Lausanæ primum docuit*, INDE, *à Joanne Monlucio Valentiæ Episcopo, & postea à Margarita Biturigum Duce evocatus repetitis vicibus Valentiæ & Avarici Biturigum, ubi eum aliquando audivi, evocatus, &c.* These Words *repetitis vicibus* were not understood by the *French* Translator: He thought they signified that *Hotomanus* (*g*) *Taught the Civil-Law, sometimes at* Valence *and sometimes at* Bourges: which is not the meaning; for he Taught no longer at *Valence*, when he once had left it. The Translator should have said then, that the Inhabitants of *Bern* had him twice at *Bourges*, as may be seen in the Body of this Article. Those who see in *Hotomanus*'s Life his successive Removals from one Town to another, will make no great Account of the Memoirs that *Thuanus* was supplied with, since he says, that after the Massacre of the year 1572. *Hotomanus* went to *Montbeliard*, and from thence to *Basil*. He should have said, that he went to *Geneva*, and from thence to *Eyk*, and then to *Montbeliard*, afterwards to *Geneva*, and lastly to *Basil*.

(*E*) *And Published at* Geneva (*b*) *some Books, with that strength against the Persecutors.*] This is what is said of it by the author of his Life, (*c*) ' *Ad Allobroges gelidæ hiemis tempore confugit, & vesperi, fessi ipso aliquot equitatu, in portam Ur-*
' *bem Equestrium ... ad humanorum quæ dicuntur literarum professionem honorificè à Senatu Bernensis Reipub. evocatus, cujus in ditione urbs illa se constitit.*
' *immò per fidem ipsam exsorum innocentiam constanter tuetur: & quidem adeo efficaciter, ut qui mollem putabant futurum ejus in tanta calamitate animum, prolixis pollicitationibus hortarentur ab istiusmodi scriptionis genere abstineret: quibus ille hoc tantum respondit, Nunquam sibi propugnatam causam quæ iniqua esset: nunquam quæ jure & legibus*
' *niteretur, desertam præmiorum spe vel metu periculi; opprimi enim in bona causa melius, quam*
' *aliè cedere. Non modò non excusandum patricidium, ultro etiam defendendam causam innocentium.* A little after he speaks of the Book *de regni Galliæ statu*, which *Hotomanus* Published about that time under the Title of *Franco-Gallia*. 'Tis a commendible Work in point of Learning, but very unworthy of a *French* Civilian, if we take even many Protestants Word for it. Mr. *Teissier* speaks thus of it: *His Book Intituled* Franco-Gallia, *drew upon him, WITH REASON the Censure of the honest* French-men. *For in that Work he endeavours to prove that this* (*k*) *Kingdom which is the most Flourishing in Christendom, is not Successive, as the Inheritances of private Persons are, and that heretofore Crowns were obtained only by the suffrages of the Nobility and the People: So that as Anciently the Power and Authority of Electing Kings belonged to the States of the Kingdom, and to all the Nation Assembled in a Body; so it was the State who deposed them from the Government. Hereupon he brings in the Examples of* Philip de Valois, John, Charles V. Charles VI. *and* Lewis XI. *But that which he principally insists on, is to shew, that as Women have ever been judged incapable of Royalty, they ought also to be excluded from all Publick Posts, and Administrations* (*l*). Add to this Passage of Mr. *Teissier* the judicious Words of *Bongars*, taken from a Letter (*m*) to *Thuanus*. ' (*n*) I'll freely confess to you *de Franco-Gallia vellem parcius*, both because the Book is not Seasonable, and also because it seems to me that the good Man is grossly mistaken in that Dispute. Grief gave some Colour to the Work when it was first Printed: And we suffer many Words to escape us in an extream Trouble, which we should blush to hear repeated when the Passion is over: I Write to you my Thoughts about it, not knowing what Judgment you make of it. I am sorry I did it not sooner. I know well that the good Man was well pleased with that Piece; he thawed it by the repeated Impressions. 'Tis a Distemper, with which many of our People, and too many are Tainted, who would willingly have even Monarchy reduced to an Anarchy. If there be any harm in a thing, it doth not follow, that it must be destroyed. *Bongars*, you'll say, has hit the Mark: *Hotoman* was in a Passion against his Country when he wrote that Book, and not content to Revenge himself on the present Rulers, he

(k) *This is only a Translation of* Thuanus's *Latin Words l.* 57. *p.* 49. *ad ann.* 1573.

(l) *Teissier ubi supra, p.* 139.

(m) *It was written from* Strasburg *in* 1595. *upon occasion of* Hotomanus's *Life written by* Nevelet

(n) *Lettres de Bongars p.* 651. *at the* Hague 1695.

(F) in Defence of the Rights of the King of *Navarre*; after which he returned to *Basil* and Died there the 12*th*. of *February* 1590. He had Refuſed to go to *Leyden*, where he was offered a Profeſſor's Chair. He had time to put in order his Works, for a new Edition *, which did not appear till a long time after his Death, in three Volumes *in Folio* †. They do not contain (G) all that he had Publiſhed. Of all his Writings, his *Franco-Gallia*, which he ſo much valued ‡, is leaſt approved, and has perſuaded ſome Perſons, that he was the Author (H) of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, which

* *Taken from his Life written by Petrus Nevelctus Doſchius* (de quo infra *in the Remark* (O) *'Tis one of the ten Lives of Civilians, Reprinted at* Leipſick *in* 1686. *I make uſe of that Edition.*

† *They were Printed at* Geneva *by the care of* James Lectius *in* 1599.

‡ *See the Remark* E.

he indeavoured to Diſcharge his Reſentment upon the Monarchy it ſelf, and the whole Body of the Nation: and that with ſo little judgment, that he furniſhed the *Leaguers* with powerful Arguments for the Excluſion of *Henry IV*. For according to his Principles, the Catholicks of *France* had a full right to Elect the Duke of *Guiſe* King of *France* to the Prejudice of the Princes of the Blood. A Paſſionate Writer, you'll Reply, is ſcarce capable of thinking of the Future, his Thoughts are intent upon the preſent; he conſiders not that the times may Change, and that the Doctrine which this Day ſuites with the intereſt of our Cauſe, will one time or other be as favourable to our Enemies. This was manifeſt in *France* under *Charles IX*. and *Henry III*. Each Party was obliged to confute it ſelf, as *Montagne* has well obſerved: See the Remark I. 'Tis certain that if *Catherine de Medicis* had imbraced the Reformation, and Eſtabliſhed it all over *France*, *Hotomanus* would have written a fine Book to prove that the Regency of Women was a very good thing, and according to the Spirit of our Fundamental Laws. With what ſtrength would he not have refuted the Papiſts, who ſhould have written againſt this Queen? The ſtrongeſt Reaſon that the Proteſtants of *France* alledged to juſtify their taking up Arms, was what *Catherine de Medicis* wrote to the Prince of *Condé*. They therefore Acknowledged the Authority of this Woman. Did not *Hotomanus* ſollicite Succours in *Germany* in this Queen's Name? (a) *Ab his paullo poſt, immo & ab ea quæ tum minorem annis Regem regnumque adminiſtrabat, in Germaniam bis miſſus eſt de Regis regnique rebus legatus, & auxilium à Cæſ. Ferdinando ordinibuſque Germaniæ rebus ruentibus petere juſſus. Exſtat dicta tum ab eo in comitiis Imperii Francofordienſibus oratio.* We ſhall ſee elſewhere (b) that he is Accuſed of dealing unfairly in his *Franco-Gallia*, and we'll try to Anſwer ſomething in defence of that Learned Man.

(F) *He wrote a Book in Defence of the Rights of the King of* Navarre.] 'Twas that of the Right of the Nephew againſt the Uncle (c). The League had put it into the Head of Cardinal *Bourbon* Uncle to the King of *Navarre*, to ſet up for the Lawful Succeſſor, and an *Italian* Civilian was employ'd to write a Tract of the Right of the Uncle againſt the Nephew. *Francis Hotomanus* learnedly Confuted him. We'll cite Father *Maimbourg*: Antony Hotman, *ſays he* (d), *Advocate-General to the League in the Parliament of* Paris *wrote* the Treatiſe of the right of the Uncle againſt the Nephew to ſucceed to the Crown. *But it happened by a very lucky Chance, that the Civilian* Francis Hotman *Brother to the Advocate, having Read this Book, which was diſperſed in* Germany, *where he then was, maintained with great ſtrength, Reaſon and Learning, the Right of the Nephew againſt the Uncle; and in a Learned Piece he Publiſhed on that Subject, he Manifeſtly expos'd the Weakneſs and falſe Reaſonings of his Adverſary's Treatiſe, without knowing that it was his Brother, who had not put his Name to it.* There are many Miſtakes in theſe Words. 1. It is not true that *Francis Hotomanus* wrote againſt an unknown Author. He wrote againſt one *Matthew Zampini*, of *Recanati*, an *Italian* Civilian. *Ll Matthæus Zampinus Racanatenſis de trivio J. C. à fœderatis pecunia ſubornatus, edita conſultatione probare conatus fuerat, quam Fr. Hotomannus magni nominis noſtra ætate J. C. contraria conſultatione eadem edita confutavit* (e). 2. And Conſequently 'tis not true that he wrote againſt his Brother. 3. 'Tis not true that he wrote this Book in 1589. It was about the year 1585. as *Thuanus* obſerves: which agrees with *Nevelet*, who makes him then 60 years Old. 4. He was then at *Geneva*, and not in *Germany*. 5. *Antony Hotman* was not one of the Advocate Generals of the *League* in 1589. and was not ſo till two years after (f), when *John le Maitre* who diſcharged that Employment with *Lewis d' Orleans*, was promoted to the Office of Preſident *au Mortier*. Preſident *Briſſon* was already Dead. 6. 'Twas *Antony Hotman* who wrote againſt his Brother *Francis Hotman*, and not the contrary. (g) *Poſtea & peculiari libro quem conſultationi à Franciſco fratre pro Navarro editæ — oppoſuiſſe videri voluit*, (Antonius Hotmannus) *rationes amplificatæ.*

(G) *They do not contain all that he had Publiſhed.*] The Burleſque Pieces which he wrote againſt *Matharel*, and *Papyrius Maſſo*, were left out, as alſo the Book he Publiſhed at *Geneva* in the year 1553. under the Name of *Francis de Vilhier*, † *Ad Remundum Rufum defenſorem Rom. Pontificis contra Carolum Molinæum de ſtatu primitivæ Eccleſiæ &c.* and the *nullitatis proteſtatio adverſus formulam concordiæ* (h), which he Publiſhed under the Name of *Johannes Palmerius*; and the Apology of this laſt Book, in which he diſguiſed himſelf under the Name of *Johannes Franciſcus Aſpaſtis Salaſſi V. D. M.* (i) His *Anti-Tribonianus*, Printed in *French* in 1603. the Latin Verſion whereof was Printed at *Hamburg* in 1647. was alſo left out. Concerning this Book, ſee the curious (k) Mr. *Baillet*. Laſtly, his *brutum fulmen* was left out, which is not a Burleſque Piece as *Thuanus* will have it. 'Tis a very ſerious Work, in which *Hotomanus* refutes the Bull which *Sixtus V.* Publiſh'd in 1585. againſt the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*. *Poſtea*, ſays *Thuanus* (l), *& in cenſuram illam ſcripſit Franciſcus Hotmannus J. C. joculari iſto ſtilo, libroque Brutum Fulmen titulum fecit, quo & de B. Franciſci & B. Dominici vita ac moribus veteres hiſtoriæ, ab obſolete devotis viris ſcriptæ ridicule diſcutiuntur.* There's nothing leſs than this Treated of, in that Tract of *Francis Hotomanus*. *Deckher* has been in this deceived (m) by *Thuanus*, but he has committed a Fault of his own: He will have this Learned Civilian to have left *France* on account of that Piece; which is falſe. *Hotomanus* quitted *France* in 1572. fully reſolved (n) never to ſet Foot in it again. The *Brutum fulmen* came out in 1585. as *Deckher* obſerves againſt *Goldaſtus*, who places the Edition of it in the year 1586. I have ſaid nothing of the Tract *de regno vulvarum*, which *d' Aubigne* aſcribes to our *Hotomanus* in the 3*d*. Chapter of the 1*ſt*. Book of the *Confeſſion de Sanci*: I know not what it is.

(H) *Author of the* Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos.] When I mentioned this Work in the *Project* of this Dictionary, I ſaid (o) that the Error of thoſe who aſcribed *Junius Brutus*'s Book to *Francis Hotomanus* was a ſmall one. *Hotomanus*, continued I, 'left *France* for his Religion, and tho' he was not 'like thoſe, who fly from Perſecution, *breathing* 'out *Threatnings and Slaughter* (p) as the Per'ſecutors themſelves, yet he did not fail to Com'plain and Murmur in his Retreat. He wrote a 'Book Intituled *Franco-Gallia*, to ſhew that the 'French Monarchy is not what it is thought to be, 'and that of Right, the People are the true Sove'reigns in it. This was the Reaſon that made it 'believed that he was the Author of *Junius Bru'tus*'s Work; beſides, there are many Maxims of the 'Franco-Gallia ſcattered in it. *Barclay* refutes 'only this laſt Reaſon, which ſeems to him plauſi'ble enough, and pretends to ſhew the weakneſs of 'it by ſomething that is ſtill more plauſible; which 'is, ſays he (q), that *Brutus* makes uſe of ſeveral 'Arguments, which *Hotomanus* Laughed at and 'Refuted, and falls into ſuch Childiſh Errors as to 'the Civil-Law, that ſuch a Man as *Hotomanus* 'could not be capable of. This is more obliging to 'this Learned Civilian, than what has been ſaid 'by *Boeclerus*. *I wiſh*, ſays he, Hotomanus *had* 'not ſo obſtinately appeared among the Authors, who 'found an Alarm againſt Kings, and by their 'private Authority Convert 'em into Tyrants with ſuch

(a) *Nevelet. in vita Hotomanni.* (b) *In the Remark* H. (c) Vexatam illam rebus ita poſtulantibus & magnis viris hortantibus tractavit controverſiam, *de ſucceſſione inter patruum & fratris filium, atque in univerſum de jure ſucceſſionis regiæ in regno Galliæ. Nevelettus ubi ſupra p.* 224. (d) *Hiſt. de la Ligue B.* 4. *p.* m. 307. *ad ann.* 1589. (e) *Thuan. lib.* 81. *init. ad ann.* 1585. (f) *Mezeray, hiſt. de France tom.* 3. *p.* 949.

(g) *Thuan. l.* 91. *ſub fin. See alſo Mezeray ubi ſupra, p.* 708.

† *Epitome Bibl. Geſneri p.* m. 239.

(h) *See Placcius de pſeudon. p.* 233.

(i) *Placcius ib. p.* 153.

(k) *Baillet tom.* 2. *of the Anti p.* 156.

(l) *Lib.* 82. *p.* 33. *ad ann.* 1585.

(m) *De ſcriptis adeſpotis p.* 84. *Edit.* 1686.

(n) Neque unquam poſtea induci potuit, ut in patria conſiſtendum ſibi judicaret: non Andegavenſis ipſius Ducis literis inflexus, nec promiſſis, non denique cum ab eo Magiſter ſupplicium apud ſe libellorum dictus eſſet: hoc ſæpe uſurpans: *Fruſtra Neptunum accuſat, iterum qui naufragium facit.* Nevelet. ubi ſupra p. 221.

(o) *Pag.* 90.

(p) 'Ηπνευεν απειλης και φονου, *Act. Chap. IX. v.* 1.

(q) *Barclay, l.* 3. *contra Monarchomachos c.* 1. *p.* 311.

which is a Book intirely Adapted to Republican Notions. Sometime after, his own (I) Maxims were Retorted againſt him. 'Tis hard to avoid this Inconvenience in

' ſuch Querks and Cavils, and not only Corrupt good ' Philoſophy, but alſo the Holy Scripture. I wiſh ' he had not given an ill Example to others in his ' Franco-Gallia, and that he had not falſified Hiſtory ' more than once, to ſatisfy his Prejudices with too ' ſervile a Complaiſance. The Greek Phraſe of *Boe-* ' *clerus* has much more Emphaſis in it, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ' τὴν ἱστορίαν, *etiam hiſtoriam non ſemel corrumpit* (r) ——(f) I can't forbear ſaying that *Boerlerus* does very much abuſe *Hotomanus*, who once more was none of thoſe, who, like ſome *Engliſh* Catholicks of the laſt Century, leave their Country for Religion, in a menacing Manner, calling Fire and Flame, Vomiting a thouſand Imprecations, thundering out *Maranatha's*, and endeavouring a Reſtoration with Sword in Hand, or by the help of Exterminating Armies; in a Word, deſiring a return, Preceded, like the departure out of *Ægypt*, with all the Plagues of Pharaoh, not excepting the Paſſage of the deſtroying Angel. *Hotomanus* contented himſelf with ſome good ſtrokes of the Pen, and with touching upon ſome things that did not pleaſe him. 'Tis true, that without thinking of it, he Labour'd for the *League* (a), and Forged Weapons for *Bellarmin*: 'Tis true alſo that his Blows were like thoſe of the (b) *Parthians*; I mean, that in a flying Poſture he Fought better than he would have done without Retreating. But his Writings are far from deſerving to be Branded, like many other Productions that came out in the like Circumſtances. For Example, the *Engliſh* Catholicks have in vain made Satyrs and bitter Invectives (c) againſt Queen *Elizabeth*: This is all loſt Paper, of which Wiſe Men make no manner of uſe in any Party. However it be the Appearances were againſt *Hotomanus*, as to *Junius Brutus's* Book; and as I have already ſaid, it was a very ſmall Error to make him the Author of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*.

(I) *His own Maxims were retorted againſt him.*] 'Twas by Accident and by a very common Fate which Changes the Intereſts of Parties, that *Hotomanus's* Work was Subject to the Inconvenience I ſpeak of. The Revolutions of *France* ſo Changed the Scene, that the Maxims of each Party were Reciprocally Metamorphos'd into their contraries. *Montagne* (d) does pleaſantly Ridicule the Catholicks. *See*, ſays he, *with what horrible Impudence we toſs about Divine Reaſons, and how we throw them away, and catch them again, according as Fortune has chang'd our Situation in theſe Publick Storms. This Solemn Propoſition, Whether it be Lawful for Subjects to Rebel and Arm againſt their Prince for the Defence of Religion, was maintained the laſt year by a certain Party, and denied by the other Party: But ſee now who maintains the Affirmative, and whether Arms rattle leſs for this Cauſe than for that. We Burn thoſe People that ſay it is neceſſary to ſubmit Truth to the Yoke of our Neceſſity, but does not* France *do worſe than ſay it?* &c. As long as the World will be a World, there will be every where Ambulatory Doctrines, dependant on Times and Places: True Tranſitory Birds, which are in one Country in the Summer, and in another in the Winter: Wandering Lights, that, like the *Cartefian* Comets, Illuminate ſucceſſively ſeveral *Vortices*. Whoever pretends to ſet up for a Cenſor upon this occaſion, will be look'd on as a Morole Critick, and a Native of *Plato's* Common-Wealth. And ſo *Hotomanus* ought not to be Reſponſible for the Advantage the famous Advocate of the *Holy League* found a way to make of his *Franco-Gallia*. ' They can't Complain, ('tis *Lewis d'Orleans* who ſpeaks this in the Name of the *Engliſh* Catholicks) ' that ' they are dealt with as they dealt with others. ' Purſue their Counſels, tread in the Path they ' have Traced out to Eſtabliſh themſelves, and you ' will Eſtabliſh your ſelves, and involve them in ' Shame and Confuſion. In their *Franco-Gallia*, ' which is one of the moſt Deteſtable Books that ' ever ſaw the Light, and was Compos'd to put all ' *France* in a Flame, they ſay, that it is Lawful to ' chooſe a King at ones Pleaſure. Tell then the ' Hereticks that the King of *Navarre* does not ' pleaſe you, and therefore let him keep in *Bearn*, ' till you deſire to have him. Thus they are to be ' Whipp'd with their own Rods, that they may ' know that the Potent hand of God Chaſtiſes them, ' with their own Wicked Counſels, and Pernicious ' Writings (e). That Book of *Hotomanus* is at the bottom a fine Work, well Written, and full of Learning, and ſo much the more Vexatious to the contrary Party, becauſe the Author contents himſelf to cite Matters of Fact, as he himſelf repreſents to his Cenſurers. *Cur vel ita flagitamus*, ſays he (f), *vel Authanellus Francogallia ſcriptori & ſimplici hiſtoriarum narratori ira terribiliter inſeritur? Nam ut dicit Seneca nup. lib. 1. num. 10. quomodo poteſt aliquis ei ſuccenſere qui eſt tantum relator & narrator facti? Francogallia enim tantum narrationi & relationi ſimplici vacat, quod à aliena dicta delerentur, charta remaneret alba.* He was told (g) that his Book look'd like the Production of a Drunken, Furious and Mad Man: To which he Anſwered, that it was an actionable Impudence to ſay ſuch a thing, ſince he had conſtantly preſerv'd in that Book the Character of a Moderate Relater, and of a Man in Cold Blood: Which is a wonderful Advantage in ſuch ſort of Books. Tho' the Anſwer be Written in a Burleſque Style, yet it contains a thouſand things that ought to be ſeriouſly underſtood. † *Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?* Such is for Inſtance, what he ſays to his Adverſary, that it is not ſufficient for him to preſent his Acculation, and give Bail *de l. te proſequenda*; but that 'tis farther neceſſary he ſhould engage to ſubmit to the Law of Retaliation, in Caſe he ſhould be Convicted of Calumny. (h) *Sed adhuc requiritur tertius ut ſe expreſſe obliget ad pœnam talionis, in caſu quo præſens calumniator; quod probatur per L. ult. C. de calumniat. & omnes Canoniſtas, ſed maxime per Hieronym. de Zanettinis in repetit. cap. 1. Extr. de accuſat. De quo ſi fumus contendes, & Mathanellus ſe ſubjiciat talioni in caſu quo calumnia convincatur, totum negotium noſtrum bene audiet, niſi forte &c.*

If we believe an Hiſtorian, who had been a Miniſter, that Piece of *Hotomanus* did not pleaſe all the Proteſtants, nor diſpleaſe all the Catholicks of *France*, and was not written without ſome Relation to the Cabal of Mareſchal *d'Amville*. A little after (ſays he (i),) *the Duke of* Alençon, *his Majeſty's Brother, retired from Court with many Lords, having been Tamper'd with by the ſaid Mareſchal* d'Amville; *and taking the name of Malecontents, they joined with the Huguenots. Some of which began to write otherwiſe than they had ſpoken all along: And* Hotman *the Civilian in his* Franco-Gallia, *undertook to Write*, That the *French* People had a Supreme Authority not only to Elect their Kings, but alſo to put by the Sons of Kings, and to Elect Strangers: *He ſays upon that Subject many things*, praiſing the People that Curb the Licentiouſneſs of their Kings and bring them to Reaſon. *After much of his Diſcourſe, he falls upon the Regency of Queens, the Mothers of Kings. Which he did becauſe the Queen Mother had been Declared Regent till the return of the King of* Poland *her Son: In ſhort, he Alledged many Antient Hiſtories nothing to his Paſſion. This Book was agreeable to ſome Proteſtants, and to ſome Unreaſonable Catholicks, who were fond of Innovations, but not to all.* D'Aubigne (k) *gives the ſame Plan of* this Book; but he ſays it was Publiſh'd in 1573 in the Life time of *Charles* the *IX. Thuanus* (l) and *Mezeray* (m) who give the ſame Plan of it, Place it, the one under the Reign of *Charles IX.* the other, before the departure of the King of *Poland*. Which overthrows Cayet's Hypotheſis; viz. That the Regency conferr'd on Queen *Catherine* at *Charles IX's* Death, was one of the Grievances of *Hotomanus*. 'Tis certain his Work was Printed before the Queen was Declared Regent by the Edict of the 30*th.* of *May* 1574. But he foreſaw perhaps that it would be ſo, and 'tis very likely he had her in view in what he ſaid againſt a Female Regency. He remembered the Miſchiefs that Princes had caus'd in her former Regency. This great Civilian had re-

(a) *See the following Remark.*
(b) Navita boſphorum Pœnus perhorreſcit . . . Miles ſagittâs & celerem fugam Parthi. *Horat. Od. 13. l. 2.*
(c) *See* Elizabeth *Remark I.*
(d) *Eſſais, B. 2. c. 12. p. m. 193.* Mezeray *makes the ſame Obſervation p. 792. of the 3. Vol. of the Hiſtory of* France.
(e) *Adverteſſement des Catholiques Anglois, p. 74. 75. edit. 1587. in 8.*
(f) Matagonis de Matagonibus Monitorium adverſus Italogalliam ſive Antifrancogalliam Antonii Matharelli. *'Tis a Piece of* Hotomanus *in a Macaronick Style.*
(g) Quod dicit Francogalliam compoſitam ab auctore bene poto in aliquo œnopolio, & eum evomuiſſe ſcriptum plenum furoris & infamiæ, video multos auctoris amicos, dictum illud appellare meretricem impudentiam flagris & carcere dignam... Ubi illum nacundi animi ſignum? Ubi vox una pertinuit animi in toto libro ac non potius ſedatæ & moderatæ narrationis? *Ll. ii.*
† *Horat. Ep. 1. l. 1.*
(h) *Matthieu.*
(i) Peter Victor Cayet, *avant-propos de la Chronologie novenaire.*
(k) *Hiſt. univerſ. tom. 2. p. 670. Simler in his Epitome of* Geſner's *Bibliotheque, places the Impreſſion of the* Franco-Gallia, *in* 1573. *and he is in the Right. That Book was Printed at* Geneva *by* Jacobus Stoerius *in the year* 1573. *The Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Elector Palatine is Dated the* 21. *of* Auguſt 1573. (l) *Thuan. hiſtor. l. 57.* (m) *Hiſt. de France, tom. 3. in fol. p. 765.*

Cc 2 nomi'd

in Writing upon some Subjects. He was well paid (K) for his *Brutum Fulmen* by the King of *Navarre*. He was one of those who would never consent to the drawing of their Picture *, but it was drawn when he was in his Agony. He left two Sons and four Daughters. *John* HOTMAN Sieur *de Villiers*, his Eldest Son, is thought to be the Author of the *Anti-Chopinus*, a Burlesque Piece, and of the *Anti-Coazzon*, which is an Apology for his Treatise of the Ambassador, in which he was, as they say, the Plagiary of *Charles Paschal*. See Mr. *Baillet* †. *Moreri* has not been guilty (L) of many Faults.

I wonder that a thing was forgotten in the Life of *Francis Hotomanus*, which is very glorious for him, *viz.* that at the Age of Twenty Three Years (M) he read publick Lectures in the Schools of *Paris*. The Author of his Life has also omitted, (and I don't wonder at it,) certain Things which *Baudouin* had published against him, and which would horribly (N) stain his Memory, if they were true. One could not give any Credit to them, without believing that it is a much easier thing to become very Learned, and a great Enemy of the persecuting Religion, than to become an

* *Nevelet. Ibid. pag.* 225.

† *In the 2d. Tome of the Anti, page* 120. *&c seq.*

nounc'd the Post of Councellor in the Parliament of *Paris* for his Religion, had done better to answer his (n) Adversaries seriously and modestly, than to use a Burlesque Style. See what Mr. *Baillet* says of it, pag. 336. Tome 2. of his *Anti*.

(n) *Antony Matharel & Papyrius Masso.*

(K) *He was well paid for his* Brutum Fulmen.] We will begin our Comment with these Words of the Author of his Life. (o) *His meritis præmium deberi cum intelligeret Henricus tum Navarræ Rex, ultimo codicillo ad eum missi Senatoria in Consistorio sui dignitatis: cujus tamen emn fructum non tulit, quem beneficus Princeps voluerat: ac opinor in tantis rerum omnium angustiis factum, ut ex annuo quod debatur salario, vix ad eum quidquam, sicut audio, pervenerit. Bongars*, to whom *Nevelet* dedicated *Hotomanus*'s Life, made a Reflection upon this Passage. (p) 'There is another stroke. Having said, 'that the King had upon his Writing the *Brutum* 'Fulmen, given him a place of Councellor of State, '*cujus tamen cum fructum non tulit quem beneficus princeps voluerat*. I assure you, Sir, the King 'never bought a Book so dear as that: It was paid 'far above its worth. You'll tell me, that I should 'have given my Advice upon these Strokes sooner; 'but it often happens, (and to me but too frequently) that we never consider till 'tis too late. I 'write to Mr. *Hotman* my Thoughts about the 'first (a). I don't touch upon the Second, he might 'be offended at it, not knowing how the matter 'went. Note, that *Nevelet* does not speak there of the *Brutum Fulmen*, as *Bongars* supposes, but of the Book against *Zampini de successione inter patruum & fratris filium*.

(o) *Nevel. ubi supra, pag.* 225.

(p) *Letters de Bongars, pag.* 651. *at the Hague,* 1695.

(a) *That is, what concerns the Franco-Gallia. See above the Words of Bongars, in the Remark* E.

(L) Moreri *has not been guilty of many Faults.*] I. He supposes falsly, that *Hotomanus* was saved by his Scholars at *Bourges*, at another time than that of the Massacre; that is, of one Event he makes two. II. The Year of his Death is not well fixed; it should have been 1590, instead of 1591. III. He should not impute that Mistake to *Spondanus*, by citing him under the Year 1591. *n.* 22. for it is under the Number of the preceding Year that he speaks of *Hotomanus*'s Death.

(M) *At the Age of* 23 *Years, he read publick Lectures in the Schools of* Paris.] I prove this in *Stephen Pasquier*'s Words: (b) 'I can tell you, that 'one of the most Fortunate Things that I think I 'ever met with in my Youth, was on the next Day 'after our Lady's Assumption in the Year 1546, 'when *Hotomanus* and *Baudouin* began their Law 'Lectures in the Schools of this Town of *Paris*; 'the former at Seven a Clock in the Morning, read-'ing the Title *de Notionibus*; the latter at Two of 'the Clock in the Afternoon, reading the Title *de* '*Publicis judiciis*, before a great Number of Audi-'tors. And that very Day I began to study the 'Civil Law under those two Learned Persons.

(b) *Pasquier Letter to Mr.* Loysel. *'Tis in the 19th. Book of his Letters. The Words that I quote, are at page* 501. *of the 2d. tome.*

(N) *Which would horribly stain his Memory.*] *Baudouin* assures us, that *Hotomanus* was excommunicated at *Strasburg*, for the Crime of Adultery. (c) *Argentinæ propter adulterium excommunicarat fodalem tuum Hotmannum* (*Petrus Alexander*). These Words are address'd to *Beza*. The Author had already mentioned this with more Circumstances, and had added, that the same *Hotomanus* lost also his Canonship and his Academical Employ. (d) *Recitata tunc quoque nostro fuit causa tui Hotmanni, nempe propter quod facinus ille aliquando primum fuisset excommunicatus abs Jac Gallo Concionatore Petro Alexandro, te quidem propter antiquam societatem submurmurante, sed assentiente tamen eo minus parente, at certe avo Gulielmo Favello, Patrue illum jurisperditum appellante. Addebant & templura ejusdem generis quæ pervulgata sunt per Joannem Infantium, testem valde idoneum, & cujus non solum opera, sed & opibus quandiu opus habuisti, tam liberaliter es abusus, ut fidem ei detrahere vix audeas. Altera causa fuit exposita cur tibius ille Hotmannus (cujus causa non est abs te sejuncta) ut antea Ecclesia, sic deinde schola & suo Cœnobio pulsus esset: tandemque quid in eo Sturmius ipse gravissime accusaret narravi ei, & perlecta Sturmiani adversus eum terribilis expostulatio, qua profecto non modo de illius flagitiis, sed & de vestra conjurationis mysteriis narrabat nimis multa.* All these Things had preceded the Year 1562. *Baudouin* a little after (e) relates, that having known *Hotomanus* at *Paris*, as a Person that loved Learning, he advised him to go to see the Lake of *Geneva*; that he received him in his House at *Strasburg*, with all Civility, as an old Friend, when *Hotomanus* retired thither, having demanded his good Offices for a Law Professorship, and expresst (f) a great dislike to his teaching at *Lausane*; and that he quickly perceived he harboured a Viper in his Bosom, since *Hotomanus* endeavoured all that was possible to ruine him by secret Practices. Here is one of his Tricks: Having plaid his fraudulent Contrivances, which moved *Duaren* to send him an Invective against *Baudouin*; he dispersed it all over the Town, taking care however, that *Baudouin* should not know it. He was at last obliged by *Sturmius* to go to him to hear himself reproached, and he expresst an extream Repentance for his Conduct. *Baudouin* produces a Fragment (g) of the Letter which *Sturmius* writ to him, in which he accuses him of using a great deal of Knavery to supplant *Baudouin*. His Plot succeeded; for he made *Baudouin* out of Conceit with *Strasburg*. *Baudouin* went to *Heidelberg*, and *Hotomanus* succeeded him. All this is to be found in *Baudouin*'s Third Answer to *Calvin*. He had already alledged in the Second, this Letter of *Sturmius*, and he had drawn many Things out of it to *Hotomanus*'s Disreputation. He had mention'd a piece of it, containing a Reproach of an execrable Perjury. *Hotomanus*, the very Day that he received the Sacrament, protested to *Sturmius*, that he wished the Sacrament he had received might be turned into a Devil, if he denied falsly what he denied (i). And yet, adds *Sturmius*, he denied a thing that was most true. *Baudouin* mentions this as a Proof, that his Adversary, who undertook to dispute about the Eucharist, made no great Account of it, and he takes this occasion to reproach him, that he had been excluded from the Communion in *Germany* for Adultery. (k) *Etiam de mysterio Cœnæ Dominicæ disputat, & me cum sua Gallica (ut vocat) Ecclesia non idem sentire narrat, qui ab ea propter Clodianum factum in Germania excommunicatus aliam quacunque illi fortasse patuit mensam occupavit. Visne scire quanti faciat totum istud mysterium tuus Mystagogus? Audi Sturmium.* Here's another Passage of this second Answer of *Baudouin*. (l) *Nonne ille est qui* —— *Silesium se esse finxit, cum in Germania negaret se esse Gallum ut in aulam Austriacam irreperet? Nonne ille est qui cum* (m) *tuam Ecclesiam clam fugaret & scholam, in qua tamen docuit aliquot annis Grammaticam, deposita Jurisconsulti persona, venit in Germaniam tuis ad Sturmium literis instructus, quæ Sturmium fefellerunt? Nonne ille est cujus (ut nunc dicebam) vitam perfidiæ,*

(c) *Ibid. fol.* 86.

(f) *Alterum Balduini errorem non dissimili errore peccatum fuit quod Hotmanni tui Lausiannæ laudentis & incædendis, quos in tuo ludo Grammaticam docebat, pueris detestati, & ex eo carcere liberari misere cupientis, & commendatione Balduini ad aliquam juris professionem redire literis temere credidit. Ibid.*

(g) *Ibid. fol.* 87.

(i) *Balduin. respons. altera ad Joann. Calvinum p.* m. 170.

(k) *Id. ib.*

(l) *Id. ib. pag.* 181. 182.

(m) *These Words are spoken to* Calvin.

(d) *Ibid. fol.* 70. *verso.*

(e) *Ibid. fol.* 86.

an indifferent honeſt Man. I'll ſpeak a Word or two concerning the Author (O) of *Hotomanus*'s Life. The Book which was printed in 1700, 4*to.* at *Amſterdam*, intituled, *Franciſci & Joannis Hotomanorum. Patris ac Filii & clarorum virorum ad eos Epiſtolæ*, might furniſh me with a great many Additions for this Article, both concerning the Application of our Civilian to the Search of the Philoſophers Stone, which proved very prejudicial to him, and upon ſeveral other Particularities of his Life; but I think it better to refer my Readers to Mr.* *Bernard*. The Extract which he gives us of this Work, leaves nothing wanting. You may alſo conſult the firſt Volume *Obſervationum Selectarum ad rem litterariam ſpectantium*, printed at *Hall* in the Year 1700.

HOTTINGER (*John Henry*) one of the moſt famous Writers of the XVIIth. Century, was born at *Zurich* the 10th. of *March*, 1620. The Progreſs he made in his firſt Studies, gave ſuch promiſing Hopes, that the Truſtees of the Schools reſolved upon ſending him to ſtudy in Foreign Countries at the publick Charge. He began his Travels the 26th. of *March*, 1638, and went to *Geneva*; from whence, after a ſtay of Two Months, he proceeded into *France*. He afterwards ſaw *Flanders* and *Holland*, and choſe *Groningen* for the Seat of his Studies; but his deſire to perfect himſelf in the Oriental Languages, engaged him at the Year's end to remove to *Leyden* †, to be Tutor to the Children of the Profeſſor *Golius*, who was beſt skill'd in thoſe Languages of any Man in the World. He made a great Progreſs in *Arabick* by *Golius*'s Aſſiſtance, and by the Lectures of a *Turk*. He would have attended the Ambaſſador of the ‡ States to *Conſtantinople*, in 1641, in Quality of Chaplain, if the Magiſtrates of *Zurich* would have conſented to it; but they choſe rather to recall him to employ him for

> ‡ See the Funeral Oration of Scipio Gentilis apud Witte memor. Juriſconſ. pag. 33.

* *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres* March, 1701. p. 208, &c.

† In the Year 1639. ‡ William Boswell.

Perfidia, nequitia, ſceleris, & omnium maleficiorum Plenam ipſe Sturmius ſuper deſcripſit? —— Nonne ille eſt [illegible] *cum in Germania Principatuum modis eſt ludificatus, huc & illuc diſcurrens, modo in Gallia tumultuatur, modo ad Rheni ripas adverſus Regem ſuum milites cogit? Nonne ille eſt quem Sturmius —— oſtendit etiam Gallia Principibus plus quam proditorie maledicere, cujuſque linguæ nullum veneficium magis veneficum eſſe ait & probat? Nonne ille eſt qui ſuperioribus annis in Germania pinxit ſive ſummſive tuum tumultum Amboſianum, &* (n) *Tigrim peperit, & ejus generis formulas quotidie concipit novus magiſter libellorum, non (ut jactabat) ſupplicum ſed famoſorum? Denique nonne eſt ille tenebrio qui ad me aliquando ſcripſit,* [illegible]

(n) 'Tis a Libel, which I ſpeak of in the Article Guiſe (Francis) Remark H.

Now this is the Reaſon why I have made a Diſtinction between what we find in *Baudouin*'s Third and Second Anſwers. *Beza* has confuted the Second, but has ſaid nothing againſt the Third; and therefore the Third is no Argument againſt our Civilian; for it may be preſumed, that if *Beza* had confuted it, he would have juſtified him. We muſt therefore give greater Attention to the Reproaches contained in the Second, becauſe they may be compared with the Piece in which *Beza* refuted it. We muſt conſider by that Confutation, what Grounds *Baudouin* went upon. I find that his Adverſary advances nothing to the clearing of *Hotomanus*; he only ſays, that the Reproaches of being ignorant of the *Latin* Tongue, and of being an Atheiſt, will not at all diſturb *Hotomanus*, who will not vouchſafe to give any Anſwer as to the laſt Head. (p) *Magnum tibi certamen ſupereſſe video. Nam quæ tibi objecit magnam inſectiam arguunt, quæ tamen (ut ajunt) refellere non poſſis. Illa vero quæ regeris cujuſmodi ſint quæſo? Latinè ſcilicet neſcit, ut eum oportuerit ad Latinam epiſtolam ſcribendam alterius operam requirere. Crimen autem* [illegible] *etſi omnium eſt graviſſimum, ille tamen, ut opinor, ne reſponſo quidem dignum putabit. Quid enim hoc aliud eſt quam latrare?* Here is nothing relating to the Accuſations I have tranſcribed, and which are found in the 176, 180, 181, 182 Pages of *Baudouin*'s Second Anſwer. All that *Beza* has ſaid for *Hotomanus*, concerns the 175th. Page, where we find, 1. That *Hotomanus* appropriated to himſelf an Epiſtle Dedicatory that *Sturmius* wrote: 2. That he then praiſed the very ſame Works of *Duarenus*, which he had villified formerly in Writing againſt *Rufus* for *Du Molin*. 3. That an elegant Maſter of *Cicero*'s Atheiſm, is not fit to be a Catechiſt. (q) *Noſter magiſter Latinitatis priuſquam de meis ſcriptionibus garriat, ſuarum oblitus reſpondeat Sturmio & aliis, à quibus accuſatus eſt quod ſuo nomine ediderit epiſtolam ab Sturmio ſcriptam, eamque inſtitutionibus pr. fixam tanquam ſuam vendiderit Duci Saxoniæ —— Oportet iſtius cui patroni incredibilem eſſe, non jam dicam impudentiam, quia latitat, ſed nequitiam, cum quidem poſteaquam edito libello de ſacerdotiis adverſus Rufum pro Molinæo, profecit illos Beneficiarios commentarios* (Duareni) *nunc eos ſe adorare fingat —— ſcilicet religionem nos docet elegans magiſter Ciceronianæ* [illegible]

(p) *Beza reſponſ. ad Balduin. ſub fin. pag. 233. tom. 2. oper.*

(q) *Id. ib. pag. 175.*

I am very certain, that my Readers will agree in comparing theſe Paſſages of *Baudouin* and *Beza* together, that nothing could be more diſadvantageous to *Hotomanus*, than to anſwer, as *Beza* has done. Silence would have been infinitely leſs injurious. To compleat the Misfortune, *Beza* publiſhed (r) a Letter of *Sturmius*, who diſowns all that could be cited from him to the Diſadvantage of *Calvin* and *Beza*; but as for *Hotomanus*, there is nothing like it.

(r) *Beza ubi ſupra pag.* 234.

Languet a true Refugee, and a very honeſt Man, having ſeen *Sturmius*'s Accuſations againſt *Hotomanus*, made very ſenſible Reflections, and altogether worthy of a good honeſt Soul; but it was a great uneaſineſs to him, that his Countrymen behav'd themſelves ſo ill in *Germany*, and that ſome Men, who under Pretence of Religion, endeavoured only to ſatisfy their Vanity, did more Injury to the Proteſtant Religion, than the King of *Spain* and the Pope: However, he could not believe that *Hotomanus* could ſo far forget himſelf, as to be guilty of ſuch infamous Deeds. Theſe are his Words: (a) *Hæc ſunt levia, ſi conferantur cum turpibus factis noſtrorum hominum in Germania, & quidem eorum qui ornati ſunt Eruditione, & religionis ſpecie, inſinuarunt ſe in amicitiam bonorum virorum, qui ipſi ſumma beneficia exhibuerunt. Ut alios omittam, nuper vidi accuſationem Sturmii adverſus Hottomannum, quæ ſi vera eſt, miſeret me Sturmii, & pudet alterius; ſed talia ſunt, ut mihi videantur vix poſſe venire in mentem viro erudito. Quidam merum egerunt, ut ipſius accuſationis Capita ad te perſcriberem, ſed à talibus miniſteriis ego planè abhorreo, cùm præſertim ſciam te nec voluptatem nec utilitatem ex iis percipere poſſe, & ad me nihil pertineant, niſi fortè infamiæ pars in me redundet, eo quod à noſtris hominibus tanta perpetrentur in ipſa Germania. Hæc ſane tanto dolore me afficiunt, ut neſciam an ex ulla re majorem unquam ſenſerim. Video ubique eorum ambitionem, qui prætextu Religionis ſuæ quærunt, magis obeſſe ipſius Religionis progreſſui, quam pontificem Ro. Regem Hiſpaniæ, & omnes ipſorum miniſtros; ſed de re odioſa nimis multa ſcribo.* The Letter out of which I have taken theſe Words is dated from *Paris*, the 11th. of *December*, 1561. Another Letter of his, dated from the ſame Place the 23d. of *January*, 1562, informs us, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was gone to ſee the Biſhop of *Straſburg* at *Saverne*, (b) had entered a Proceſs againſt *Francis Hotomanus*, for Defamatory Libels, and that ſeveral People affirmed, that 'twas on that Account he had undertaken that Journey. *Languet* could not believe that ſo inconſiderable a Motive had obliged the Duke of *Guiſe* to go to *Saverne*; but I make no doubt, that he thought it was a ſhameful Thing for *Hotomanus* to be proſecuted as a Writer of Libels.

(a) *Languet. Epiſt. Cent. I. ep.* 2. *pag.* 186, 187.

(b) *Id. ib. Epiſt.* 67. *pag.* 167.

(O) *A Word or two concerning the Author of* Hotomanus's *Life.*] His *Latin* Name, *Franciſcus Nevelet-*

for the good of their Colleges. They permitted him to see *England* before his return to *Switzerland*; and when he was returned, they made him * Professor of Ecclesiastical History; and a Year after they gave him two other Professorships, that of Catechetical Divinity, and that of the Oriental Tongues. He married † at 22, and began to set up for an Author (*A*) at 24. He was so well pleased with that Character, that he continually published (*B*) new Books. This was no Difficulty to him; for he was extreamly laborious, and had a prodigious Memory. Nevertheless, there is reason to wonder, that a Man taken up with so many Academical Functions, and who had so many Avocations through Visits (*C*), and a vast Correspondence of Letters, could be able to compose so many Volumes. He had new Professorships given him * in 1655, and was admitted into the College of the Canons. Two Years after he was lent for Three Years to the Elector Palatine, who was desirous to make use of him to re-establish the Reputation of the University of *Heidelberg*. Before he went thither, he took his Doctor of Divinity's Degree † at *Basil*. He arrived at *Heidelberg* in *August*, 1655, and was very well received. Besides the Professorship in Divinity of the Old Testament, and in the Oriental Tongues, he was made Governour of the College of the *Sapience*, and promoted to the Dignity of Ecclesiastical Counsellor. He was Rector of the University the Year following, and composed something for the Reunion of the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, which he did to please the Elector, who was [illegible] of it; but

* *In the Year* 1642.

† *See the Remark* F.

* Artium Rhetoro-logicarum ordinarius, & Theologiæ Vet. Test. atque controversiarum extra ordinem Professor designatus *Heidegg ubi infra.*

† *He took it the* 26 *of* July, 1655.

letus Doschius, signifies *Peter Nevelet*, Lord of *Osche*. The Title of that Lordship, and that of *Advocate* (c) *in the Parliament of* Paris, are given him in *Pasquier*'s Letters. He was Son to a Sister of *Peter Pithou*, as appears by a Letter that Uncle writ to him, which was printed at the end of *Quintilian*'s Declamations, in some Editions *Isaac Nicolas Nevelet* his Son, published *Æsop*, and other antient Fabulists, with Notes, in 1610. This was the first Fruit of his Studies, and he dedicated it to his Father.

(c) *See the* 8*th. Book of* Pasquier's *Letters, p.* 467, *of the* 1*st. Tome.*

(*A*) *And began to set up for an Author at Twenty Four.*] It was not for a little Enterprise, but to attack, upon a very crabbed Subject, one of the most Learned Men that was then in *Europe*. For he undertook to confute Father *Morin*'s Dissertations (*d*) upon the Samaritan Pentateuch. We may therefore apply to him these Verses of the uncoiffed Chaplain:

Mes pareils avec toi sont dignes de se batre,
Et pour des coups d'essai veulent des Henris quatre.

(d) *Printed in* 1631, *and not in* 1651, *as 'tis said in Father* Morin's *Life, p.* 22. edit. Francof.

This Work, which he intituled *Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ*, was very grateful to the Protestants, whether because of the Learning of the Author, or by reason of the Subject, which could not be more favourable, since *Hottinger* defended the *Hebrew* Text of the Bible, whose Authority Father *Morin* invalidated, as much as possible. Mr. *Simon* judges this Work to be one of the best that *Hottinger* published; and so it might be said, that his first Essay was his Master-Piece. Let us quote Mr. *Simon*'s Passage at large: it is not very advantageous to the Memory of this Swiss Doctor. '(e) If 'Hottinger had observed some Moderation in his 'Works, and had not so much insisted on Punctilio's, we might find something useful in them, for 'the understanding of the literal Sense of the 'Scripture. But being commonly a Party-Writer, 'and having composed his Books with too much 'haste, he mistakes very often. One of his best 'Works upon this Subject, is that which he wrote 'against the *Samaritana Exercitationes* of Father 'Morin, but he is not altogether exact in that 'Work. Mr. *Simon* in another Piece, has criticised upon this Book of *Hottinger*, but lightly, and without any real Design of prejudicing him. These are his Words: (f) *Joannes Henricus Hottingerus, qui statim à Libri sui limine cujus hæc est inscriptio,* Exercitationes anti-Morinianæ de Pentateucho Samaritano ejusque udentica authentica, *Morinum appellat Monachum qui communem Monachorum sortem superet. Ille de Samaritanis & eorum codicibus disserit, putatque Samaritanos à Judæis Pentateuchi sui exemplar hausisse; sed conjecturis tantum, non autem firmissimis rationibus, ut ita sentiret adduci potuit; istud minus accuratum esse probat exemplis aliquot Keronasmorum, vocum vel mutatarum in alias vel omissarum, similibusque erroribus quos profert, & ex quibus confici posse arbitratur, non magis credendum esse Samaritanis Pentateuchum suum jactantibus, quam Ebionitis verum & solum Matthæi Evangelium Hebraeum venditantibus: quæ in re profecto gravissime hallucinatus est Hottingerus, qui tam venerandæ antiquitatis Pentateuchum Samaritanum cum adulterato Ebionitarum Evangelio comparare audeat. Morinum etiam imperitiæ arguit Hottingerus, quasi Rabbinorum quorundam quos laudaverat mentem haud assecutus fuisset.* Mr. *Heidegger* had reason to observe, that Father *Morin*'s Silence was a glorious thing to our *Hottinger*; but I question whether he understood the Thought of Father *Mersenne*. (g) *Liber toti erudito orbi charus, acceptusque fuit. Constat Morinum diu adhuc superstitem librum accepisse & legisse, neque contra mutire ausum (b). Et Marsennus, cui Hottingerus librum adjunctis literis misit, id solum respondit, nec sibi Hottingeri juvenilem ardorem satis probari, nec Hottingerum Morinum penitus nosse. Quasi videlicet juveni integrum non fuerit senum deliria tanare, & ipse Morinus interiorem animi sui notam in vulgus edito libro non patefecerit.* Father *Mersenne* seems to mean nothing else, but that *Hottinger* did not well know Father *Morin*. I doubt not but the Sense of his Answer was this, 'The heat of Youth has carried you too far, and 'if you knew the real Merit of Father *Morin*, 'you would not have treated him in that manner: Do you pretend to confute this, by saying, that Father *Morin* has discovered the bottom of his Heart by his Work? I grant he discovered that his Design was to raise the Credit of the vulgar *Latin*, and to enervate the Authority of the Original Text; but is not this the general Interest and Design of the *Romish* Controversists? *Hottinger* did not very well know Father *Morin*, since he took him for a Monk.

(e) *Simon hist. Critique du Vieux Testament, Book* 3. *ch.* 19. *pag. m.* 474.

(f) *In vita Joh. Morini, pag.* 36, 37.

(g) *Jo. Henr. Heidegger. invita Hottingeri ad annum,* 1644.

(b) *The following Words of* Hottinger *have a Relation to this:* Non dispicuerant hæ primitiæ viris eruditis, qui hinc inde novo Morini conatui finem impositum publicis testabantur scriptis. *Hotting. in Bibliothec. Tigurina pag.* 122.

(*B*) *Continually published new Books.*] If you would see an exact List of all the Books he published, from the Year 1644. to the Year 1664. read his *Bibliotheca Tigurina* (a), You'll there find the History, and Chronological Catalogue of his Compositures, and another Catalogue, where he ranks 'em, according to the order of the Subjects. The Author of his Life has likewise placed all his Works in a Chronological Order. The Number of 'em is astonishing.

(a) *Pag.* 121. *&* *seq.*

(*C*) *Through Visits and a vast Correspondence of Letters.*] (b) *Non publicis tantum his, quibus districtus fuit, curationibus vigilantissimè vacavit, & quotidie calamum in exarandis, quos in publicum mitteret, libris exercuit: Verùm etiam amicorum, peregrinorum & hospitum, qui ipsius videndi & audiendi gratiâ huc commearunt, desideriis satisfecit. Erat enim ipsius domus plena semper & frequens concursu splendidissimorum hominum. Quoties aliquid abditum quærebatur, ille thesaurus, ille delubrum adibatur. Ex omnibus, quæ ei obvenerunt, negotiis miro vigore & industria se explicavit. Neque etiam deficiebat ad subita extemporali facultate. Veniebant omnium Ordinum, omnium ætatum viri: percontabantur de arduis, de dubiis quæstionibus, quarum ille pondus præsenti semper animo excepit. Quid molestiam epistolarum & scribendi ad amicos hic recenseam; quo nonnunquam solo perire sibi diem sæpè querebatur? Quotidie aut Galli, aut Germani, aut Belgæ, aut Angli, aut Sueci, aut Dani, aut Itali ad ipsum Epistolas misitavêre de literis, de casibus Ecclesiæ,*

(b) *Heidegger. in vita Hotting.*

but (D) he met with the ſame Obſtables that prevented the like Deſign ſo often before. *Hottinger* attended this Prince at the Electoral Diet of *Francfort*, in the Year 1658, where he (E) conferred with *Ludolfus* upon very important Matters. He was not recall'd to *Zurich* till the Year 1661. for they had the Complaiſance to prolong the Term, for which he was lent to the Elector Palatine. He was immediately choſen Preſident of the Commiſſioners, who were to reviſe the *German* Tranſlation of the Bible. The Civil War that aroſe in *Switzerland*, in the Year 1664, occaſioned his being ſent into *Holland* upon Affairs of State. The Univerſity of *Leyden* offered him a Profeſſorſhip of Divinity in the Year 1667; but not obtaining leave of his Superiors, he refuſed it. They were not diſcouraged with this Refuſal, but inſiſted at leaſt to have him by way of Loan, and then the Magiſtrates of *Zurich* condeſcending to the States of *Holland*, who concerned themſelves in this Affair, he accepted the Offer. As he was preparing all Things for his Journey, he unfortunately loſt his Life the 5*th.* of *June*, 1667, upon (F) the River that goes by *Zurich* †. He had often (G) refuſed the Profeſſorſhips that were offered him. The moſt violent Adverſaries that

† *Taken from his Life, written by* John Henry Heidegger, *and prefixed to the* 9*th. Tome of* Hottinger's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

cleſiæ, de Civilium rerum momentis, de aliis, quibus illi gnaviter & promptiſſimè reſpondit. Some Pages after there is a Liſt of all thoſe, who correſponded with *Hottinger* by Letters; their Names fill up above two Pages. After all the Strangers that viſited him, we muſt not forget the Deputies of th. *Janſeniſts*; for he had many Converſations with them, when they paſſed by *Zurich*, in 1663. in their return from *Rome* to *Paris*. The Relation of what he told them, and of what they ſaid, has been found amongſt his Papers, and lately publiſhed (c).

(D) *In which he met with the ſame Obſtacles.*] According to Mr. *Heidegger*, theſe Obſtacles are the Animoſity of the Parties, and a certain Itch of the Mind, which is fed with theſe Diſputes, as a Camelion with the Air. (d) *Conſiliis de pace Reformato. inter & Lutheranos faciendâ, à Sereniſſimo Principe, tum temporis ſæcum illud magna contentione volvente, implicitus, aliquot diſputationes Irenicas ad ventilandum propoſuit, non eo tamen eventu, quem calidis votis boni omnes præceperunt. Obſtabant eadem, quæ antehac, impedimenta, odia parum pia partium, & ingeniorum, quæ vixis haud ſecus quàm Chamæleon vento paſcuntur, ſcabies.* Mr. *Spanheim* obſerves, that the Deſign of the Elector Palatine was overthrown by a violent Writing of *Danhawerus*, a Lutheran Profeſſor of *Strasburg*. (e) *Qualiter etiam hoc ſæculo in Colloquio* Lipſiaco, *anno* 1631. *ubi* ad tria *capita diſſenſus omnis rediit; tum ſub* Carolo Ludovico, *Electore Palatino, Heidelberga quum profiterer, cujus pacificum inſtautum interverti præcipuè J. Conr. Danhawerus, A.* 1685. *ſcripto virulento Teutonico*, Reformatorum ſalve, ad lapidem Lydium exactum, *&c.* It is certain, that the Reunion of the Lutherans and Calviniſts had been made long ago, had it depended only upon the Princes; but becauſe that Affair depends on the Divines, it never yet could take effect, and probably never will. 'Tis not I who judge thus of theſe Gentlemen (f), generally ſpeaking, but 'tis one of them, and he amongſt others, that can ſpeak beſt of it by Experience. He ſays, that the Buſineſs of the Reunion ought to be principally committed to ſecular Perſons (g), and not to Eccleſiaſticks; the Divines, adds he, are too much addicted to their own Senſe, and have but little Equity for thoſe that differ from their Opinion———. They ſhould not diſpute concerning the Truth of the Doctrines; for Diſputes rather create new Wars, than appeaſe the old ones. The Diſputants are not for Concord, but for Victory: They who find themſelves worſted, grow more haughty and inraged. In an Aſſembly where a Reunion is treated of, the Divines ſhould be reduced to the plain Functions (h) of Advocates: they ſhould be heard, but ſhould not be Judges; that Quality ought to be left to Stateſmen, and 'tis neceſſary, that the Divines ſhould even take an Oath, that they will ſubmit to the Sentence that the Political Judges ſhall pronounce. *Hoc opus per manus præſertim Virorum Politicorum, non autem Eccleſiaſticorum eſt tractandum & inchoandum. Theologi ſunt ſuorum placitorum tenaciſſimi, parum placitis alienis aqui* (i)———*In colloquiis quæ de pace ineundâ habebuntur, de veritate dogmatum nullo modo erit diſputandum. Pugnæ non dirimunt bella, ſed faciunt. In illis diſputationibus non quæritur pax, ſed victoria. Nullus ſe victum unquam fatebitur, & ſi ſentiat ſe dejectum aut proſtratum, tantum abeſt ut ad concordiam fiat pronior; contra ferocior evadet mutus & indignans, quod res ipſi male cedant.* (k) There is no Deſcription, that Author was more capable of ſucceeding in, than in this.

It muſt not be forgotten, that in the Year 1666, *Tobias Wagnerus*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Tubingen*, writ againſt *Hottinger*'s Book about the Reunion (l), in his *Inquiſitio Theologica in Acta hujus ea noſtro potiſſimum tempore inter Theologos Auguſtanæ Confeſſionis & Reformatæ Eccleſiæ à Reformatis inſuperata. Hottinger* defended himſelf, not in a Book written on purpoſe, but by the bye, and occaſionally. It was in a Synodal Diſpute, where he proved, that the Reformed Church was not Schiſmatical (m).

(E) *Where he conferred with* Ludolfus *upon very important Matters.*] Every Body knows, that *Job Ludolfus* had got a wonderful Knowledge of *Æthiopia*. He and *Hottinger* concerted Meaſures for ſending ſecretly into *Africa*, ſome Perſons that underſtood the Oriental Tongues, and that might exactly inform themſelves of the State of Chriſtianity in that part of the World. (n) *Agitata præterea inter eos ſunt ſecretiora conſilia de mittendis Principum authoritate & impenſis in Africam juvenibus uno vel duobus, in Orientalium idiomatibus & rebus paulo jam provectioribus, qui Africanarum, imprimis Æthiopicarum Eccleſiarum arcana paulo penitùs indagarent, & novis monumentis ibi collectis copias noſtras augerent.* I believe this was the chief Subject of the Letters which they wrote to one another, after the Diet of *Francfort*; but I make no doubt that they began to ſpeak of it at *Francfort*.

(F) *He unfortunately loſt his Life———upon the River.*] He went into a Boat with his Wife, and three of his Children, his Brother-in-Law, one of his good Friends, and his Maid, to go and make a Leaſe of a Seat which he had two Leagues from *Zurich*. The Boat running againſt a Stake, which the riſe of the River prevented the ſight of, over ſet. *Hottinger*, his Brother-in-Law, and his Friend retrieved themſelves from the danger by Swimming; but they went again into the Water, when they perceived the danger the reſt of the Company were ſtill in. There it was that *Hottinger* loſt his Life: His Friend and his three Children (a) had the ſame Deſtiny: His Wife, his Brother-in-Law, and his Maid were ſaved. (b) His Wife was the only Daughter of *John Henry Huldric* Miniſter of *Zurich*, a very Learned Man (c). He had many Children by her, for without reckoning thoſe three that were loſt with him, and thoſe that Died before, he left four Sons and two Daughters.

(G) *He had often refuſed the Profeſſorſhips that were offer'd him.*] The Magiſtrates of *Deventer* earneſtly Sollicited him in 1661. to come and ſupply the Place of *Henry Diſet* Profeſſor of Divinity, who by reaſon of his great Age was Declared *emeritus* (d). The Landgrave of *Heſſe* would have had him to come to *Marpurg* to profeſs Divinity there, and ordered *Felix Hilarus* a Phyſician of *Baſil*, to Negotiate that Affair. He was founded by the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, and thoſe of *Bremen* (e).

(H)

(c) *At the end of the* Hiſtoria Janſeniſmi, *publiſhed by Mr.* Leydecker *at* Utrecht *in* 1695.

(d) *Heidegger. ubi ſupra fol.* D. 2.

(e) *Frid. Spanhem. elencho controver. pag.* 335. *edit.* 1694.

(f) *So all theſe Phraſes ought to be underſtood; they do not concern any particular Perſon, and they leave room for exceptions.*

(g) *See the Biſhop of* Meaux's *Reflections upon all that is at the end of his* Hiſtoire des Variations, *in the Addition.*

(h) Theologi ſint advocati, loquantur; Politici audiant, & ſint judices ſuis auctoritate principum. At ante omnem diſputationem Theologi amborum partium fidem ſuam juramento obſtringant ſe judicio delegatorum obtemperaturos, nec quidquam adverſus pacem molituros. *Petrus Juvius de pace ineunda pag.* 263.

(i) *Id. ib. pag.* 262.

(k) *Id. ib. pag.* 263.

(l) Heidegg. *in vita Hotting.*

(m) *Id. ib. fol. F.*

(n) *Id. ib. fol. D 4.*

(a) *A Son and two Daughters; the eldeſt and the youngeſt of his Daughters.*

(b) Heidegger. ubi ſupra Fol. F 4. *See alſo the Letter he wrote to the Curators of the Univerſity of* Leyden, *the* 9*th. of* June, 1667. *Mr.* Crenius *has publiſhed it in the* 1*ſt. Part of his* Animadverſiones Philologicæ & Hiſtoricæ, *at* Rotterdam, 1695.

(c) See Hottinger. Biblioth. Tigur. p. 238.

(d) Heidegger. *in vita Hotting.*

(e) *Id. ib. fol. E.*

that wrote against him (*H*) were *Leo Allatius*, *Abraham Ecchellensis*, and Father *Labbe*. Mr. *Arnauld* had a fling at him; but Mr. *Claude* (*I*) took his Part.

HUYBERT (*Peter de*) Lord of *Burgh*, *Craysteyn*, &c. made himself famous by the great Services he did to the Republick of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, and particularly to the Province of *Zeland*. His Family is (*A*) very Antient, and many considerable Persons are reckoned in it. He was Born at *Middleburg* the first of *August* 1622. and was Elected Councellor of that Town the 24*th*. of *March* 1646. He gave such Proofs of his Capacity, that the Province of *Zeland* deputed him to the Assembly of the States General, and then to the first Conferences * that were held betwixt the Deputies of the King of *Spain* and those of the United Provinces, after a long and bloody War of 80 years, and gloriously terminated at *Munster* the 30*th*. of *January* 1648. He was sent in Quality of Embassador Extraordinary to the King of *Sweden*, the King of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, during the famous War, in which the *Swedes* Invaded *Poland*, and made so many Conquests upon the King of *Denmark*, that they Forced him to give up to them three Provinces beyond the *Sound*. In *March* 1659. he was chosen Secretary of State for the Province of *Zeland*, and in *May* the same Year was Nam'd Plenipotentiary for the Treaty of Peace †, which was Concluded betwixt *Sweden* and *Denmark*, by the Mediation of *France*, *England*, and the United Provinces in 1660. The Ability and Fidelity that he shewed in those Illustrious Imployments, gave such content, that in *March* 1664. he was preferred to the Post of Great Pensionary of *Zeland*. The Instructions of that Post import, amongst other things, that one shall maintain on all Occasions, and at all Times,

* Viz. *the Conferences held at* Mechlen *in* 1652. *and* 1653.

† *The King of* Sweden *had begun a new War, and Conquered all* Denmark *except* Copenhagen.

(*H*) *The most Violent Adversaries* —— *were* Leo Allatius, Abraham Ecchellensis.] See how the Rage of the first is Described in his Life. (*f*) *Quorum in numerum refero imprimis Labeum Lojolitam miserum & rancidum, nec non morosum illum & tristem Senecionem Chium, Allatium, qui vel solo illo libro contra Hottingerum furiis inspirantibus & mentem ac calamum flectentibus scripto, apud bonos omnes cognomen Leonis conturbavit ac decoxit, & Canis plusquam Epirotici jure meritoque obtinuit. Quæ enim, malum, hæc feralis insania est, quis furor, quæ amma rabies, leviter sibi contradicentem, & contradictionem argumentis talibus, quibus si error infuisset, hominis tamen non pecoris eum fuisse apparuerat, munientem, non æquo animo tolerare, non fomentis, malagmatis & lenibus remediis curare, sed probris veluti de plaustro congressis non cumulare sed obruere, & eidem convitia ac maledicta atrocissima non modo nec trimodio, sed toto horreo admoveri? Quæ obscœnitas ad nomen ita alludere, ut casta aures & purus animus abhorreat? Canem hac, non Leonem generosum, non hominem, nedum Christianum obolent. Fuerit Allatius, ille Gigantum frater, paulo in Græcorum, imprimis eorum, quæ hactenus inedita nobis fortuna invidet, monumentis versatior. Habuerit senex ingenium (g) ad corrumpendum & detorquendum, ad dolos ac fallacias instruendum, ad parasitandum denique subactius. Hæc enim sola laus ipsi propria & eximia esse potest. Quanquam hominem in Græcia natum, Græcum idioma calluisse paulo exactius, mediocri in laude ponendum mihi videtur. Sed fuerint hæc, quæ dixi, in eo summa. Quo pacto ille assurget ad gloriam Hottingeri, qui, præterquam quod veritatis & Orthodoxiæ studio ductus sub signis Christi militavit, etiam excelluit non in vernaculo sibi idiomate, sed in Hebraico, Chaldaico, Syriaco, Arabico, Coptico, Persico, in quibus singulis Allatius non tantum nihil vidit, sed Talpa Tiresia cæcior fuit? Olim Chii in senatu Attico data est licentia vomendi. Credidi igitur lecto Allatii Chii libro, quod tot convitia in Hottingerum nostrum non jactavit, sed vomuit, gentis suæ antiqua licentia eum uti voluisse. Hottinger* (*b*) defended himself in few Words: as for *Ecchellensis*, he put him in mind of the (*i*) Blunders, of which he had been Convicted, and he shewed him some others. (*k*) *Prafatus est illi libro de gradibus studii Philologia, inserta simul Apologia brevi adversus Abrahamum Echellensem, qui Prafationi in Catalogum librorum Chaldaorum Hebed Jesu Metropolita Sobensis, traduxit Seldenum, Hottingerum nostrum, Caltaxum, Ludovicum de Dieu, Constantinum L'Empereur, Salmasium; eo potissimum nomine, quod Orientalibus studiis intenti, germanam tamen verborum significationem, ut plurimum non deprehendant, ambigua & obscura pro certis & luculentissimis statuant, atque interim ea, quæ in clarissima luce versantur, quod ipsorum commenta radicitus extirpent, omnino fraterent. Verum non aliam defensionem tum sui, tum virorum horum doctissimorum, quos eâdem accusatione involverat adversarius, Hottingerus paravit, quam in memoriam revocatis Ecchellensi errorum plaustris, quæ ipsi à contribulibus Flavigneo, Grabiele Sionita, Johanne Morino objecta sunt; nec non ex proprio ingenio demonstratis notoriis sphalmatis* [illegible] *in tractatu Arabico-Latino*, Synopsis propugnaculum sapientiæ Arabum Philosophorum *inscripto, ac versi genium Arabicæ linguæ admisit.*

(*f*) *Id. ib. fol.* C 2.

(*g*) *See Mr.* Claude's *Words in the following Remark.*

(*b*) *In Enneade Dissert. Philologico-Theolog. Printed in* 1662.

(*i*) *In the Preface* Etymologici Orientalis, *five* Lexici Harmonico-Pentaglotti, *Publish'd in the year* 1661.

(*k*) Heidegger. *in in vita* Hotting.

(*I*) *Mr.* Claude *took his part.*] 'I relate the 'History (*l*) chiefly upon the Credit of *Allatius*, 'who took a particular care to inform himself, and 'who being a *Greek* by Nation, is more credible 'than the *Dutch* or *Swiss* Ministers, and *Hottinger* amongst others, who is one of the most 'Passionate and Unsincere Writers I ever read. They are Mr. *Arnauld's* Words (*m*); and this is Mr. *Claude's* Answer. (*n*) 'Why would Mr. *Arnauld* have us rather believe *Allatius* than *Hottinger*? The first has all the Characters of a Dissembling Man; the latter on the contrary, whatever Mr. *Arnauld* may say, has all the marks of a Man of sincerity, who speaks things as he knows 'em. The first is more Polite, I confess it; but the other has more Simplicity. *Allatius* says of his own Head whatever he pleases; *Hottinger* brings his Witnesses.

(*l*) *Who was that* Cyril Lucar, *Patriarch of* Constantinople.

(*m*) *Perpetuité de la foi, Book* 4. *c.* 6. *p.* 861. Brussels *in* 12.

(*n*) *Reponse à la perpetuité de la foi B.* 3. *c.* 12. *p.* 467.

(*A*) *His Family is very Antient*, &c.] He descended from *Cornelius de* HUYBERT, and *Joan de Haemstede*. The Family of *Haemstede* Descended from *Witte de Haemstede* Natural Son to *Floris* Earl of *Holland* and *Zeland*, Lord of *Friesland* &c. and from a Daughter of the Lord *Heusden* a very considerable House in that time. That Maid had too much Complaisance for Count *Floris*; but it was under the promise of Marriage. *Jacob* and *Herman de* HUYBERT Sons of *Cornelius*, Commanded the Fleet that carried the Arch-Duke *Philip* and his Wife into *Spain* in the Year 1506. These two August Persons were on Board these two Brothers: The Fleet which was very Numerous, met with a dreadful Tempest in the Channel; several Ships were lost in the sight of the Arch-Duke, and yet by reason of some difference betwixt him and the King of *England*, he would not consent to put into any *English* Port. But when the two Brothers HUYBERT represented to him the extream Danger they were in, and that it was absolutely necessary to make into *Weymouth* Haven, he and his Queen submitted to their Advice and good Conduct. Then it was that he gave them this Motto WAECKT HUYBERTS. That is to say, AWAKE *HUYBERTS*. The Emperor *Maximilian*, and the Arch-Duke *Charles*, to Express their great satisfaction for the Services they had done to the King of *Castile*, their Son and Father, on the thirteenth of *March* 1513, Honoured the three Brothers *John*, *Jacob*, and *Herman de* HUYBERT, and their Posterity with the Privilege of wearing a Sword, permitting to each of 'em to have three Domesticks that should wear it likewise: Which was a very great Honour at that time. *John* and *Herman* were sent

Times, the Rights and Preeminences of the State, and the Laws and Privileges of the Country, against all those that should attempt their Violation: Whereby this Employment becomes very Intricate and Laborious: Nevertheless he discharged the Duties of it 23 years and an half with a general Applause, and to the great satisfaction of his Masters, who deputing him the 17th. of *September* 1687. to the great Council of State, express'd in his Commission, *that they were very well satisfied with his long and faithful Services, of which they should ever preserve a favourable Remembrance.* We must not forget that he was Created Plenipotentiary of the United Provinces in the Year 1667. for the Treaty of * *Breda*. He Died at the *Hague* the seventh of *January* 1697. He was always observed to have an unshaken Zeal for the Religion Establish'd by the Laws of the State. He was its Defender on all Occasions, and could never suffer any Alteration to be made in it, either in the Doctrine or Discipline †. I will speak (*B*) of his three Sons in the Remarks. They have Buried him in a Chappel of the Church of *Burgh* in *Zeland*, on whose Tomb ‡ is Ingraved the Epitaph, which may be seen in the Remark (*C*).

HUNGARY (*Mary Queen of*) Sister of the Emperor *Charles V.* was Married in the Year 1511. to *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, who unfortunately lost his Life at the Battle of *Mo*[illegible] in the Year 1526. His Widow was made Governess of the *Low-Countries* [illegible]21, and shew'd a great deal (*A*) of Courage and Prudence in her Regency. She Exercised it till the Abdication of *Charles V.* whom she followed into *Spain*, where she Died the eighteenth of *October* 1558. She wonderfully (*B*) lov'd Magnificence

* That Treaty, which was made by the Mediation of Sweden, put an end to the War of Charles II. King of England against the United Provinces.

† Taken from a Memorial Communicated to the Bookseller. ‡ He himself caused his Tomb to be made, and left his large contributions to make the Repairs of the Church, wherein he is Buried, he directed the Building of it, which pretty [illegible] a good Piece of Architecture.

sent the 10th of *December* 1512. to *Henry VIII.* King of *England* by *Margaret* Arch-Dutchess of *Austria* then Governess of the *Low-Countries*: It was about [illegible] Negotiations, which she was pleased to trust them with. The Emperor *Charles V.* being in the Town of *Z*[illegible], Lod'k in the House of *Lieven Jacobsen de HUYBERT*, who was Overseer of the Dike[illegible] the three Brothers settled in the same Town, and Built each of them a House, which are still the largest and most considerable Buildings of *Zierickzee* (a).

Juan Christoval Calvete de Estrella makes an Honourable mention of this Family: *y no poco nombrados*, says he (*p*), *eran los Huyberts de Ciriexea por su valor y nobleza*, that is, *The* Huyberts *were very famous for their Valour and their Riches.*

The Author of the Supplement to the Chronicle of the Abbot of *Urspeng* mentions him, that Conducted the Arch-Duke *Philip* into *Spain*: the Name he gives him, does not agree with the Memorial which I have quoted: However, here is what he says. (*a*) *Carolus Quintus* redit in *Hispanias*, *Johannes Cornelius* nauta navigatione decem dierum ab Anglico littore vehit. Hic nauta regem Philippum illustrissimi Augusti patrem, ultima navigatione in summa tempestate in Hispanias vexerat, & reginam Danorum una cum Principe Ultrajectino in Daniam vexerat. Vir dives & peritissimus rei nauticæ.

(*B*) *I will speak of his three Sons.*] The Eldest is *Antony de HUYBERT* Lord of *Gruyningen*, Councellor in the Sovereign Court of Justice. The second is *John de HUYBERT* Lord of *Noorgawe*. He took to Arms, in which his good Conduct and Valour advanc'd him to the Post of Lieutenant (*b*) General of Horse. The third has been Councellor in the Council of *Flanders*, and at present is one of the Directors of the *East India* Company (*c*).

(*C*) *An Epitaph which may be seen*, &c.] It contains in very noble Expressions, an Abstract of his Life and the Character of his Soul.

D. M.
Viri. Nobilis. &. Amplissimi.
PETRI. DE. HUYBERT.
Domini. De Burg. Et. Crayestein.
antiqua, & multis. imaginibus. clara. familia.
Zeelandica, oriundi.
Natus. est. Middleburgi. propter. ingenii. praestantiam. oris. facundiam. &. industriam. singularem. invigilandi. bono. publico. in. Senatum. illius. urbis. cum. vix. adoleviſſet. est. cooptatus. omnium. expectationi. cum. satisfeciſſet. post. pacem. Monasteriensem. ad conventum. Michlinensem. controversiis. non. deciſis. inter. Hispanos. &. Batavos. componendis dein. ad. Reges. Sueciæ. Poloniæ. Daniæ. &. Elect. Brandeb. missus. fuit. publice. gravissimis. de. rebus. illique. confectis. ex. sententia. Reip. redux. a. Præpot. Ordd. Zeeland. perspecta. ejus. fide. & prudentia. delectus. fuit. ut. iis. esset. a. secretis. post. advocatus. perpetuus. Reip. Zeeland. est. factus. summo. omnium. consensu. deinc. ab. Unitis. Belgis. Ablegatus. fuit. ad. Pacificationem. Bredanam. tandem. ne. tanto. prudentiæ. fructum. foh. caperent. Zelandi. pessimi. sunt. eum. adscribi. Consilio. communi. Ordd. Societatum. septem. populorum. in. omnium. utilitatibus. servivit. ad. hæc. dignitates. illum. evexit. non. ambitio. populi. & potentium. lecti. testata. cunctis. incredibilis. vigilantia. in. obeundis. Legationis. suæ. muniis. summa. consilii. præsentia. in. celeriter. inveniendis. quæ. tempora. [illegible] exigebant. mira. dexteritas. in. dividendis. quæ. rem. [illegible]penter. contribuere. [illegible] in. arduis. &. impeditissimis negotiis. explicandis. &. ingens. robur. animi. in. iis. [illegible] pugnandis. qui. rectæ. sententiæ. de. Rep. [illegible] fuere. auctor. sunt. adventabantur. partes. [illegible] fovit. in. omni. varietate. rerum. &. Reip. [illegible] rudinibus. statum. &. dignitatem. [illegible] illibatam. sum. vitæ. defleta. bonis. omnibus. &. valde. desideratus. D. VI. Januar. Anno Ch. CIↃ. IↃC. XCVII. ætat. LXXV. mœstissimi. liberi. P. C.

(*A*) *A great deal of Courage and Prudence.*] Consult *Brantome* who tells you, (*k*) 'that this Queen 'of *Hungary* was very useful to the Emperor, 'and 'that she proved so very serviceable to him, that one 'can't tell how he could have done without her, 'and that he so depended upon her in all the Affairs 'of the Government, that when the Emperor himself was in *Flanders* he put all the Affairs of the 'Low-Countries into her Hands, and that the Council 'was held under her and at her House. 'Tis true 'that she, who was a great Politician, informed 'him of all that passed in the Council in 'his Absence, which was a great Pleasure to 'him. She made noble Wars there sometimes 'by her Lieutenants, sometimes in Person, always 'on Horseback, as a Valiant Amazon. What he says (*l*) of the Speech she made on the Day of the Abdication, is very curious. We have here a Proof, that Women are capable of Reigning well.

(*B*) *She wonderfully lov'd Magnificence.*] *Brantome* (*m*) says, that when *Philip II.* went to take Possession of the *Low-Countries*, the most sumptuous Entries that can be imagined were made for him; but adds he, *the Queen of* Hungary *surpast them all in her Houses at* Rains *and* Marimont. He afterwards describes *the Siege of a Place, which the Queen represented to divert the Emperor and all her Court, in her fine House of* Marimont. He says in another Book (*a*) 'that she Feasted at *Rains* the Emperor 'Charles and all his Court, when his Son King 'Philip came from *Spain* to *Flanders* to see her, 'where the Magnificence was so great that nothing 'was so much talked of then as *les fiestas de Rains*, 'as the *Spaniards* call'd it: Which puts me in Mind 'that in the Journey to *Bayonne*, tho' the Magnificence 'was never so great, the running at the King, 'Combats, Masquerades and Expences that were 'seen, were nothing, if compar'd with *le fiestas de Rains*, as some old *Spanish* Gentlemen, who had 'seen them report'd.

(*C*) *Was*

(a) Taken from a Memorial communicated to Mr. Bucholtz.

(b) Taken from a Relation of the Journey of Don Philip Prince of Spain thro' the Netherlands in the year 1584. Printed at Antwerp 1552. in fol. p. 263.

(c) Taken from the Above-mention'd Memorial.

(a) Chronic. Abbat. Urspergens. apud Anton. Matthæum. veter. ævi Analect. p. 249.

(b) His Britannick Majesty raised him to that Post after the Peace of Ryswick.

(k) Brantome, Dames illustres, tome 2. p. 91.

(l) Ibid. p. 95.

(m) Id. memoires, tome 2. in the Eloge of Henry II. p. 23.

(a) Memoires des Dames galantes, tom. 2. p. 92.

nificence, and was extreamly pleased (C) with Hunting. 'Tis said she endeavoured to Moderate the Punishment, (D) of the Protestants. She understood * Latin. There was a Personal Hatred betwixt her and *Henry II.* which occasioned many Ravages. They fired in their turns even the Country Seats of one another. *Mary* began this sort of Hostilities, to Revenge her self (E) for some Songs that had been made against her Honour in *France*. *Henry* knew how (F) to be even with her. He Passionately

* *See the Remark H.*

(C) *Was extreamly pleased with Hunting.*] She (b) accompanied her Husband every where, 'even 'when he went a Hunting, for which she had a 'wonderful Passion; also afterwards being Regent 'of the *Low-Countries* for her Brother the Emperor *Charles V.* she often quitted her agreeable 'Residence in her Palaces of *Mechlen* and *Brussels*, 'to live in the Country at *Marimont*, and in her 'Houses near the Forests; where from Morning 'till Night she diverted her self with Hunting. 'For which reason the *Flemings* called her the 'Huntress, and Painted her like *Diana*: She Communicated that Inclination to her Niece *Margaret* 'of *Austria*, Dutchess of *Parma*, who has been also 'Governess of the *Low-Countries*. She had Inherited a Passion for the laborious Exercises of 'Hunting from her Grandmother by her Father's side, *Mary* Dutchess of *Burgundy*, Wife of the 'Emperor *Maximilian I.* who being a Hunting, '(with which she almost every Day diverted her 'self) fell from her Horse, and Died to the great 'grief of the *Flemings* and the Emperor her Husband, who lost also his second Wife *Blanca* 'Sforza by the same Misfortune. This seems to be 'the Translation of these Words of *Strada*: *Capessatus venandi studio summopere Gubernatrix, plane ut Venatricem vulgo appellarent, habitumque venatricis expingerent: neptem videlicet Mariæ Burgundæ, quæ ab infestandis feris nunquam destitit, donec inter venandum equo excussa (1) vitam amisit, fato non tam suo, quam Maximiliani mariti, cujus & uxor altera, Blanca Sforzia, in venatione equo decidit, (2) obitque. Ejusmodi autem studium arripuit tam avide, in eumque laborem duravit adeo membra decennis nondum puella (†), ut amitam per saltus camposque sequeretur impavida (c).*

(b) *Hilarion de Coste, Eloge. des Dames illustres, tome 2. f. 561.*

(1) 1482.

(2) 1496.

(†) *That is,* Margaret *Natural Daughter of* Charles V.

(c) *Strada de bello Belg. l. 1. p. m. 45.*

(D) *To Moderate the Punishment of the Protestants.*] When to appease the Malecontents of the *Low-Countries*, the Court of *Spain* promised them the Suspension of the Inquisition in the year 1566, it was added that the *Imperial* Laws which Condemned Hereticks to Death, should be Mitigated, as they had been in the year 1550. at the Request of the Queen of *Hungary*. *Immo sic Cæsarem fatturum fuisse si viveret, quando ipse ob similes difficultates anno millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimoque, postulante Mariâ Hungariæ Reginâ ejus sorore, eadem pœnas quas ante statuerat, emendare ac lenire non inutile aut indecorum arbitratus est (d).*

(d) *Fam. Strada, decad. 1. l. 5. f. 217.*

(E) *To Revenge her self for some Songs.*] Here is what we find in *Brantome* upon this Subject. (e) 'I have heard say, that the chief Reason, that 'moved the Queen of *Hungary* to Burn *Picardy* and 'other Parts of *France*, was the Insolence of some 'Babblers and Story-tellers, who spoke commonly of 'her Amours, and Sung every where the *Barbanson* 'of the Queen of *Hungary*, which was a very unmannerly thing. By this we see that People are Fated to bear the Punishment non only (f) of the Follies of their Soveraigns, but also of many others. I shall set down a Passage which does not seem to be full enough. (g) *There was a great hatred between* Henry II. *and the Queen of* Hungary, *the occasion whereof I do not know; but only that the* French *Soldiers had made Songs of her, and of* Barbanson *the finest Lord of her Court.* It was an easy thing to supply what's wanting in this Discourse; it was but saying that this Queen set on Fire several Places of *Picardy*, without sparing the Royal House of *Folembrai*. By this we understand the reason of their Personal Hatred on both sides. *Mary* doubtless believed, that *Henry* Applauded these Songs, and she Personally hated him for it. *Henry* on the other side took for a Personal Affront the Burning of his House of Pleasure. I know not what we are to believe of the Gallantries of this Princess; I only remember what *Brantome* says (h), *that she was very handsome and Agreeable, and very amiable, altho' she appeared somewhat Manly; but as for Love, she was not the worse for it, nor for War, which she made her Principal Exercise.*

(e) *Dames galantes, tome 2. p. 388.*

(f) Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi. *Horat. Epist. 2. lib. 1.*

(g) *Mezeray, hist. de France, tome 2. p. 1090.*

(h) *Dames galantes, tom. 2. p. 90.*

If you desire to know when she made these Ravages in *Picardy*; you need only cast your Eyes on the following Words. (i) 'Whilst the Emperor her 'Brother was Besieging *Metz*, she came with the 'Count *de Reux* into *Picardy* to hinder the King 'from Succouring the Besieged, where she made a 'great Havock and Burnt *Noyon*, *Nesle*, *Chauny*, *Roye*, *Folembray*, a Royal House Built by King '*Francis I.* and ruined above seven or eight hundred Villages; she laid Siege to *Hesin* and took 'it.

(i) *Hilar. de Coste ubi supra, p. 567. There is in the Margin: 'which occa- 'sion'd 'the com- 'mon say- 'ing, Elle a fait la folle en Bray, elle a esté Marieen Bourg, when the French burnt that Town. But it is a difficult thing to understand this Marginal Note; there is no Sence in it: Perhaps it should be marrie, instead of Marie.*

(F) Henry *knew how to be even with her.*] Having taken *Marienburg* and *Dinant*, and Raz'd *Bouvines*, whose Inhabitants were either Hanged or put to the Sword, he passed the *Sambre*, and Ruined the *Hainault*, 'and Burnt *Marimont* a Country 'Seat, Built by the Queen of *Hungary*; and the 'Pretty Town of *Bains* (l) with the Magnificent 'Palace she had built there, adorned with Infinite 'Pictures, Antick Statues, and Works of Sculpture. 'The Antient Town of *Bavets*, of whose Antiquity and Greatness, the Old Chroniclers have told a 'thousand Stories, suffered a like Desolation. These 'Burnings and Destructions were very far from the 'Temper of *Henry II*; but he thought himself in 'Honour oblig'd thus to Revenge the Ruin of his 'Castle of *Folembray*, and the Affront of the *Flemings*, who had two Days together expos'd on the 'same Place to the Insolence of the Black-Guards a 'Picture of the Great King *Francis* his Father. I add to this Testimony of *Mezeray* that of *Brantome*, which contains more Circumstances. 'Twas she 'that first began the great Conflagration in our '*France*, and made Bon-Fires of our fine Houses 'and Castles, as of that of *Folembra*, a fine and 'agreeable House for the Sport and Pleasure of 'Hunting; which gave the King so much Indignation and Discontent, that sometime after he paid 'her in her own Coin, Revenging himself upon the 'fine House of *Bains*, which was reckoned the 'wonder of the World, surpassing (as I have heard 'those relate who have seen it in its perfection) 'the seven wonders of the World, so Renown'd in 'Antiquity (m). There was in this Queen's Chamber (n) *a Suit of Hangings of Gold, Silver and Silk, wherein were Figur'd and Represented to the Life* all the Conquests and Expeditions of *Charles V.* (o) 'In a Word, there was nothing in it but what was 'most admirable: But the poor House quickly after 'lost its Glory; for it was Totally Pillag'd, Ruined 'and Raz'd. I have heard say, that its Mistress, 'when she knew the Ruin of it, fell into such Anguish, Indignation, and Rage, that she could not 'for a long time Recover her self; and coming one 'Day near it, desirous to see its Ruins, and looking upon it very Pitifully with Tears in her 'Eyes, she Swore that all *France* should Repent of 'it, and that she should never be at ease till the 'fine *Fontaine-bleau*, which was so highly valued 'should be levelled with the Ground, and not a Stone 'left upon another. And indeed she Discharged 'her Rage upon poor (p) *Picardy*, and I believe if 'a Truce had not interven'd, her Vengeance had 'been Excessive; for she had a Heart that was great 'and could not easily be softned; and she was 'thought to be somewhat inclin'd to Cruelty. But 'such is the Nature of Women, especially of great 'Ones, who are too eager for Revenge, when they 'are Offended. The Emperor, as it is said, loved her 'the better for it. Some Historians say, that *Henry II.* had an Inscription Ingraved on a Stone, which Argued this Queen's Folly, and made her remember *Follembray*. *Bincium Mariæ Hungariæ Reginæ olim deliciæ, Henrici secundi Galliarum Regis odium ex-*

(l) *He should have said,* Binche.

(m) *Brantome, Dames galantes tome 2. f. 92.*

(n) *Id. ib. p. 93.*

(o) *Ibid. p. 94.*

(p) Brantome *seems to be Guilty of an Anachronism: The Ravages that Queen made in* Picardy *preceded the destruction of her fine Palace of* Binche. *Besides, we find no Truce under the* no more February

Government of Mary *since the year* 1554. *She was Governess, when the Truce was Concluded the fifth of* 1556. *porte,*

nately desired to make her a Prisoner (G). *Erasmus* Dedicated a Book to this Princess, in which the Printers Maliciously made a very strange (H) Fault. Father *Hilarion de Coste* (I) has committed some small Errors of Chronology; and has not been well Copied (K) in every thing by *Moreri*. I pass over in silence the Scandalous Reports (K△) concerning the Amours of *Charles V.* with the Queen of *Hungary*, the Mother, as 'tis said, of *Don John* of *Austria*.

HUNGARY (*Isabella* Queen of) Sister of *Sigismund Augustus* King of *Poland*, was a Princess of great Merit. She Married in the year 1539. *John Zapolita* Vaivod of *Transylvania*, who had been Elected King of *Hungary* in the year 1526, and who stoutly Disputed that Crown with *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, Brother of the Emperor *Charles V.* She Lay-in with a Son the seventh of *July* 1540. Her Husband was so pleased with it, that he Drank to Excess (A), which occasioned his Death the 21*st.* of the said

(a) *Famian. Strada dec.* 1. *l.* 9. *p.* 577. *ad ann.* 1578.

(b) *Dames galantes tom.* 2. *p.* 306.

(c) *Brantome is in the right.* Hic puerulus à Victoria Cæsar est appellatus, quum illa mater castrorum ab exercitu nuncupata esset. *Treb. Pollio in triginta tyrannis n.* 24. *see also n.* 30.

(d) *Erasm. Epist.* 31. *l.* 19. *p.* 846. *See also Epist.* 20. *l.* 26. *p.* 1432.

(e) *Idem Epist.* 21. *lib.* 26. *p.* 1434.

(f) *Idem Epist.* 68. *lib.* 30. *p.* 1956. *dated from* Friburg *the* 9. *of* January 1595. *That Letter was Publish'd by* Merula *with Erasmus's Life in the year* 1607.

(g) *Hilarion de Coste, Eloges des Dames illustres tome* 2. *p.* 559.

(h) *Id. ib. p.* 560.

(i) *Id. ib. p.* 565.

(k) *In the Remark* H, *Lettre* e.

(l) *Hilar. de Coste ib. p.* 566.

(m) *Brantome, Dames galantes tome* 2. *p.* 91 *says about* 22. *or* 23. *years.*

perta. Feruntque repertum inibi saxum, quod Henricus ville sue à Maria vastata ultor inciderat in hac verba: Infana Regina, Folembræum memoria repete (*a*).

(G) *To make her a Prisoner.*] *Brantome* tells us this. (*b*) 'I have heard say, *says he*, that the late 'King *Henry II.* desired nothing so much as to take 'the Queen of *Hungary* Prisoner, not to treat her 'Ill, tho' she had given him many occasions by her 'Burnings; but to have the Glory of keeping that 'Queen a Prisoner, and to see what Countenance 'and Constancy she should shew in her Prison, and 'whether she would be so Brave and Haughty as in 'Arms: For, there's nothing so Lofty and Brave as 'a great Lady when she pleases, and has Courage 'as she had; and she was much pleased with the 'Name the *Spanish* Soldiers had given her, who, 'as they called the Emperor her Brother *el Padre de los soldados*, called her *la madre*: Just as *Victoria* or *Victorina*, in the Old Time of the *Romans*, was 'called in her Armies *the Mother of the Camp* (*c*).

(H) *Maliciously made a very strange Fault.*] The Book which *Erasmus* Dedicated to her in the year 1529, is Intituled *Vidua Christiana*. The Author Declares, she was wonderfully pleased with the Reading of Latin Books. *Cæsaris germana* Maria *Latinos codices habebat in deliciis, cui nuper scripsi Viduam Christianam. Id efflagitarat à me quidam Ecclesiastes illi charissimus. Scena rerum humanarum invertitur, monachi literas nesciunt, & fœminæ libris indulgent* (*d*). She was then in *Austria*, from whence she retired a little after into *Moravia* (*e*), not thinking her self safe at *Vienna*, by reason of *Solyman's* Irruption. But to come to the Malicious Fault of the Printers, you must know they were vexed they had not received the New-years Gift they expected from the Author. Hereupon the greatest Toper of them all undertook to be Reveng'd, and found a means for it, which vexed *Erasmus* Heartily, and which can't be Translated into another Language. We must therefore be contented with the Original. (*f*) *Nuper cùm inter imprimendum excusores aliquot conquesti fuissent me sibi xenia nondum persolvisse, exortus est inter eos quidam cæteris vinolentior, qui profiteretur se pœnas à me exacturum, ni darem: atque id profectò veterator tam egregiè effecit, ut aureis nummis trecentis redimere eam ignominiam voluissem. Cùm enim in* Vidua *mea, quam Serenissimæ* Hungariæ *Reginæ dedicaveram, ad laudem cujusdam sanctissimæ fœminæ inter alia liberalitatem illius in pauperes referrem, hæc verba subjunxi*: Atque mente illâ usam semper fuisse, quæ talem fœminam deceret. *Unde scelestus ille animadvertens sibi vindictæ occasionem oblatam esse, ex mente illa mentula fecit. Itaque volumina mille fuere impressa.*

(I) *Father* Hilarion de Coste *has Committed.*] He says (*g*) that our Queen of *Hungary was Born at* Brussels *the thirteenth of* September 1513. *Which* is false and impossible, since the Arch-Duke her Father Died in 1506. There is 1503. and not 1513. in *Moreri's* Dictionary. II. The Ceremonies of that Princess's Marriage were not performed at *Buda* in the year 1521. (*h*) *to the great Content of* Uladislaus King of *Hungary*; for *Uladislaus* Died in 1516. III. Queen *Mary* did not *live continually* (*i*) *at* Linz *in* Austria, during the years 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530. I have cited (*k*) *Erasmus*, who assures us that in 1529. she retired into *Moravia*. IV. She did not Govern the *Low-Countries* 28. years (*l*), but 24, (*m*) namely from 1531, to 1555. The Author I Confute Contradicting himself. Confesses Page 569. that this Government lasted but 25. years; but he has committed many faults there. V. He supposes that the Queen of *Hungary* Resigned *her Government into her Brother's Hands in* October 1557. It was the the 25*th.* of *October* in 1555. VI. He supposes that *Margaret* of *Austria* Governess of the *Netherlands* Died in 1532. It was in the year 1530. In the Elogy (*n*) of this Princess, he makes her to be Born the tenth of *January* 1480. and to Die (*o*) the first of *December* 1532, Aged 51 years. Is this to have a skill in Counting? VII. He supposes that the Queen of *Hungary* began her Government of the *Low-Countries* in 1532. It was the year before. VIII. He supposes, that when she Resigned this Government to her Brother, she made *a long Speech to the People*. This is not the Name that should be given to that Assembly, before which *Charles V.* Renounc'd his Kingdoms.

(n) *Pag.* 313. *of the* 2. *tome.*

(o) *Ibid. p.* 310.

(K) *Well Copied in every thing by* Moreri.] *Hilarion de Coste* had said that the Queen of *Hungary* Died (*p*) 'as she was ready to depart, in order to 'return into *Flanders*——where she desired to 'end her Days, because she was greatly loved and 'honoured by that People, *Moreri* instead of keeping within those Bounds, says she Died 'at the very 'same time that she came to Resume the Govern-'ment of the *Low-Countries*. He has been a more faithful Transcriber of one of the Faults of this Monk: He says after him, that this Queen Governed the *Low-Countries* 25. *years till* 1557. *when she went over into* Spain. I have already said, that she Governed them but from the year 1531. to the 25*th.* of *October* 1555, and I add, that she went into *Spain* in the year 1556. *Moreri* should not have said that *she Married* Lewis Jagellon *King of* Hungary, *when she was very young*: for she was then eighteen years Old. *Moreri's* Expression would make one believe that she was Younger. 'Tis known that the Daughters and Sisters of Kings are sometimes Married before they are ten years Old.

(p) *Ibi supra p.* 570.

(L△) *Scandalous Reports concerning the Amours of* Charles V. *with the Queen of* Hungary.] Read these Words of *Gabriel Naudé*. (*q*) 'The 'same Emperor covered all those Disgraces with 'the Veil of Piety, and Religion, shutting up him-'self in a Cloyster, where he had likewise the Con-'veniency of doing Penance, for a secret Sin he 'had Committed in the Birth of a Ballard Son, 'who was also his Nephew. *Lewis de Mas* very justly Condemns this Writer's boldness in affirming such a thing. See Page 765, and 766. of his Remarks upon *Naudé's Coups d' Etat*.

(q) *Naudé, Coups d' estat ch.* 4. *p.* m. 617.

(A) *He Drank to Excess, which occasioned his Death.*] He was gone into *Transylvania* to suppress a Sedition that the Favourites of *Ferdinand* had raised there. *Stephen Mailats* the most Obstinate amongst them, was retired (*r*) to 'the 'Castle of *Fogaras* to wait for the Succours which '*Ferdinand* sent him, under the Conduct of Ar-'*dasdy*. The King Besieged him in it, and took 'him after a long Siege. In the meantime there 'comes a Courier, who brought him the News of 'the Birth of a Son which God had given him. 'This News being agreeable to all that want 'Children, and especially to Persons far in years; 'we may imagine that *John* received it very Joy-'fully: it made him fall into an Excess, Drink-'ing like an *Hungarian*, and this Excess increa-'sing his Distemper, he Died at *Sassebes* a few 'Days after the Birth of his Son in the 53*d* year 'of his Age.

(r) *Pieces at* Cologne *1666. in* 12. *p.* 237. 238 *See also Hilarion de Coste, Eloge de Dames illustres tome* 1. *p.* 629.

* The 5th of September, 1541.

† St. George Martinuzius was called.

‡ John Baptist Castaldo, Marquis of Castano, who had been educated in the House of Francis d'Avalos Marquis de Pescara. Hilar. de Coste éloge des Dames c. 1. p. 634. Electus est Joan. Baptista Castaldus Piadenæ Comes, & obiens recenter egregie gestas (nam in bello Germanico cultrorum præfecti Italici cum laude munus obiverat) Castani Marchio à Cæsare creatus. Thuanus lib. 9. pag. 181.

(f) Discours historique & politique, pag. 232.

(a) Ibid. pag. 631. & seq. 642.

(b) Hilar. de Coste, ib. pag. 638.

said Month. *Isabella* being not able to keep the Crown for her Son, which *Ferdinand* would Deprive him of, implor'd the Protection of the *Ottoman* Port, from whence she receiv'd so great Succours, that *Ferdinand's* Army which Besieg'd *Buda*, was cut in Pieces. *Solyman* came in Person into *Hungary* to bring *Ferdinand* to Reason. He caress'd (B) *Isabella's* little Child, and alledged very honourable Excuses (C) for his not visiting her. But he quickly discovered his wicked Designs; he made himself Master of *Buda*, and forced *Isabella* * to retire to *Lippa*. 'Twas a cruel Mortification to that Princess, who was fond of Dominion. The Hopes of seeing him restore the Kingdom of *Hungary* to her Son, when he should come to Age; those Hopes I say, grounded on the Promises of *Solyman*, were but a poor Consolation. She expressed a great deal of Constancy in that unhappy Trial, and comforted her self as well as she could, with the Title of Regent of *Transylvania*, which *Solyman* had left her; but as he made *George Martinusius* her Co-Adjutor, she met with a Thousand Causes of Vexation in her Regency. It was but a Name; the Authority being intirely in the Hands of this Monk *George* †. An open rupture ensued, the Consequences whereof compleated the Ruin of *Isabella's* Authority; for his Adversary, supported by *Ferdinand*, introduced a fine Army, commanded by a very cunning *Italian* ‡, who managed Things so dexterously, that he engaged this Queen to give up *Transylvania* to King *Ferdinand*, in the Year 1551, after which she retired to *Cassovia*. 'Twas in her Passage thither, that she wrote some *Latin* Words upon a Tree (D), which are mentioned by Historians. She was a restless Woman; she staid but little at *Cassovia*. She went from thence into *Silesia*, and then into *Poland*, to *Bonna Sforza* her Mother, and *Sigismund Augustus* her Brother. She kept Intelligence with the Grandees of *Transylvania*, to attempt the regaining that Country. She had Recourse again to the Protection of *Solyman*, and used so many Devices, that she return'd into *Transylvania*, in the Year 1556. There she lived till her Death, and kept the

(B) *He caressed* Isabella's *little Child.*] I'll use here the Words of the Author I have cited in the foregoing Remark. 'Solyman (a) sent Presents to 'the young King ——— in treating the Queen to 'let him see her Son, assuring her, it was only to 'oblige his Children to love him the more. At the 'same time the Deputies were ordered to tell her, 'that if he did not visit her, 'twas for fear his 'Visit might injure her Reputation. The Queen 'thanked the Grand-Seignor for his Civility, and 'wavering in her Mind, whether she ought to send 'her Son or not. *George Martinusius* told her, that 'she could not refuse it. Being then overcome by 'Necessity, she put him into a Cradle worthy of 'such a Child; and ordering the Nurse and some 'other Matrons, and many *Hungarian* Lords to ac'company him, she sent him to the Camp. *Soly'man* designing to do him Honour, received him 'with a Troop of Horse, saw him, caressed him, 'and made his Children do the like. *Hilarion de Coste* (a) in his Elogy of our Queen *Isabella*, is very particular about these things. 'Solyman, says he, sent 'the young King three Horses of an extraordinary 'Beauty, with Trappings adorned with Gold, Pearls 'and precious Stones, and also very rich Plumes and 'Vestments of Cloth of Gold. He also sent to the 'Principal Lords and Barons Chains of Gold, and 'rich Turkish Robes ——— The Queen put her 'Son into a Gilt and very Rich Coach, with his 'Nurse and some Ladies, who had dress that little 'Prince to Advantage, that he might be more agree'able to him ——— The Ottoman Prince sent some 'Troops of Horse nobly equipped, and some Bands 'of Janissaries to meet him, and give him an ho'nourable Reception and Entertainment.' As soon 'as these Troops had saluted the King of *Hunga'ry*, they placed him in the midst of them, to 'conduct him with that Pomp to the Emperor, who 'as soon as he saw this little Prince, expressed a 'great Affection to him, and received him very 'passionately, both as a Vassal of the Ottoman 'House, and as the Son of *John*, King of 'Pannonia, whom he had greatly loved and ho'noured, having protected him against *Ferdinand*, 'King of *Bohemia*, and the Emperor *Charles* V. 'He commanded his Sons, *Bajazet* and *Selim*, who 'were then in his Camp, to do the like. They 'were the Sons of the beautiful *Rose*, or 'Roxelana. This Author pretends (b) that *Soly'man* had a 'mind to know whether this Child was 'a Son or a Daughter; for there was a Report spread 'in the Turkish Army, that it was the latter, and 'that for this Reason *Isabella Jagellon* had 'him brought up secretly.

(C) *Alledged very honourable Excuses.*] I have already said, that he assured this Princess, 'that the 'Reason of his not seeing her, was the Injury that 'his Visit might do her Reputation. This was a very civil Reason; for 'tis certain, that an Interview betwixt *Solyman* and this Queen, would have occasioned much obloquy in the World. *Hilarion de Coste* makes him alledge other Excuses, which are no ways probable. (c) 'They told also this Prin'cess, that *Solyman* had no less Respect for her, 'than for her Son, as well for her own Merit, as 'for being the Daughter of *Sigismund* King of *Po'land*, whom he called his Father; and that if it 'was lawful for him by his Law to visit her, he 'would not have failed in it: which was the Rea'son he could not invite her into his Tents, and he in'treated her to send only her Son with his Nurse (d). If *Solyman's* Religion had forbidden him to receive *Isabella* in his Tents, would it have permitted him to receive the young Prince's Nurse, and the Ladies who accompanied him (e)?

(D) *That she wrote some* Latin *Words upon a Tree.*] *Thuanus* observes in relating this, that she was a Learned (f) Woman. (g) *Qua* (Regina) *statim, ne privata in eo regno, cui summo cum imperio præfuisset, diutius viveret, convasatis rebus suis per montes asperos Cassoviam versus iter direxit. Cum propter angustiæ viarum inter silvas de curru descendere cogeretur, dum auriga currum traduceret, ipsa retro in Daciam respiciens, pristini culminis, è quo decidrat, memor altum corde suspirium duxisse dicitur, & cum aliud non posset litterata fœmina, inscripto arbori nomine, hæc addidisse,* SIC FATA VOLUNT, *eoque relicto justi doloris monumento, rursus currum conscendit, institutum Iter persequitur.* *Hilarion de Coste* deserves to be copied, by reason of the Particulars to which he descends. (h) 'As 'that virtuous but unfortunate Princess was going 'to *Cassovia* through the troublesome and difficult 'Roads of those Countries, she was forced in an ug'ly Passage to light from her Coach. Whilst the 'Coachman was busied in getting out the Coach 'from that bad Place, which was near a Wood; this 'Heroine, being as learned as she was valiant, look'ed back on *Transylvania* which she had left; and 'remembring the Honours she had received there, 'and the Condition she was in, could not forbear 'fetching a deep Sigh, and leaving on the Bark of 'a Tree these Three Words, shewing thereby her 'just Grief, and Knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue: 'SIC FATA VOLUNT: *So fate will have 'it*; as it is related by *Thuanus*, and many other 'Historians (i). *Martin Fumée*, Sieur *de Genille*, 'has described it in this manner, saying, that Queen 'Isabella passing over the Mountain which separates 'Transylvania from *Hungary*, and going down a rug'ged and difficult Hill, which her Coach could not 'pass through for the Badness of the way, 'was forced to go down on Foot with her La'dies, not without much Trouble and Inconvenience, as well by reason of the Roughness of the 'Ways, as of a great Shower which overtook her, 'with which she was wet thorough. The poor 'Queen

(c) That is, the Deputies of Solyman, who brought the presents to the young King.

(d) Ubi supra pag. 632.

(e) Mem pag. 633.

(f) She understood Italian. Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra pag. 644. says, that she made a Speech in that Language, to make her Son resign her Kingdom.

(g) Thuanus lib. 9. pag. 182. col. 2. ad ann. 1551.

(h) Ubi supra pag. 648.

(i) Natalis Comes, P. Mathieu, Artus Thomas.

the Authority (*E*) as much as she could, without imparting it to *John Sigismund* her Son. The Biggots (*F*) vainly endeavour to excuse that Conduct. She died at *Alba Julia* the 15th. of *September* 1558 *.

HUNNIUS (*Giles*) born in a Village of the Country of *Wirtemberg*, the 21st. of *December* 1550, was one of the most Famous Divines of the *Augsburg* Confession. He studied Divinity at *Tubingen*, under *James Andreas*, *Brentius* the Son, and two other Professors; and he grew so Eminent in the Five Years he spent in that University, that he was thought capable of Professing Divinity at *Marpurg*, at Twenty Six Years of Age. He answered the Advantageous Opinion they had entertained of his Learning: For upon some Lectures and Sermons that he made † at *Marpurg*, the Landgrave being resolved to retain him, recommended him in a very honourable manner to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to be promoted to his Doctor's Degree. *Hunnius* returned to *Tubingen*, where he was admitted Doctor of Divinity a few Months after his Marriage, the 16th. of *July*, 1576. During the first six Years of his Professorship, he published no Books against the Calvinists; but otherwise (*A*) he was continually at War with them, and did not spare them in his Academical Disputations. At last he (*B*) wrote against them in the Year 1584. and got such a Reputation, that in the Year 1592, he was invited

* *I have taken the Matters of Fact contained in this Article, from* Hilarion de Coste, Eloges des Dames illustres tom. 1. pag. 622. & seq.

† *In the Year* 1576

Queen of *Hungary*, as she went along, complained of her ill Fortune, which not content to be contrary to her in great Things, would also afflict her in little ones, and attributing this Disgrace which happened to her in passing over that high and difficult Mountain, to the obstinate Malice of her Destiny, she took a Knife, and a little to solace her Affliction and extream Sorrow, wrote with the Point of it on the Bark of a great Tree, under which she retired to rest her self a little, and avoid the Rain, (which fell in great Abundance,) these *Latin* Words: *SIC FATA VOLUNT*, and below, *Isabella Regina*: So the Fates will have it, Queen *Isabella*. There's reason to believe, that she wrote not this Inscription without murmuring and Reflecting upon Divine Providence; for in the Speech she made in parting her self of her Royalty, she ended with very sad Complaints against Destiny. 'Although inconstant Fortune, 'said she (*l*), according to the cruel Mutations with 'which she thrives and confounds at her Pleasure 'the Things of this World, hath so chang'd mine, 'that [illegible] my Son and my self are obliged to 'leave this Kingdom, &c. This was to reproach the Providence of God, and accuse him of Cruelty, as the Heathens did in their Misfortunes.

Cum (*m*) *complexa sui corpus miserabile nati,*
Atque Deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.

Probably our Princess thought to leave on the Bark of this Tree, a Monument of the Injustice she believ'd she received from Heaven, and to acquaint all the Passengers with the Courage she had to complain of it.

(*E*) *And kept the Authority as much as she could, without imparting it to her Son.*] This may be proved by the Remonstrance that *Henry* II. made to this Princess. *John* (*a*) *James de Cambrai*, Dean of *Bourges*, Ambassador of this Prince, had assured her as he went to *Constantinople*, that she should receive from *France* all the Succours she could desire, 'Which obliged her to send into *France Chr. Stopher* '(*b*) *Bathori* on an Embassy ——— to thank the 'Most Christian King for his Favour and good Affection. *Bathori* was well received by *Henry* II. 'and sent back with *Peter Francus Martinez* into '*Transylvania*, where they assured Queen *Isabella* 'on the part of his Most Christian Majesty, of the 'Alliance he would make with her by the Marriage of one of his Daughters with her only Son 'King *John Sigismund*, who was Seventeen Years 'of Age; upon Condition that he should be bred up, 'and educated like a Prince, and she should not suffer near him so many Women and Men of mean 'Birth, who are not fit to be entertained near young 'Princes, and that she should admit him to the 'Knowledge of her Affairs. *Petrovitz*, and most 'of the Lords of *Isabella*'s Council, approved the 'Reasons of the Most Christian King in her 'Majesty's Presence, and said aloud to the Embassador of *France*, That they had already remonstrated 'this to the Queen their Mistress; who began then 'to suspect that Embassy, and thought those Lords 'had given this Advice to the King of *France*. She consulted her Mother, who made her this Answer. (*c*) 'Daughter, keep always the Power in 'your own Hands, don't give so much Authority 'to your Son; which you will lose as soon as you 'marry him to the Daughter of so Potent a Monarch as that of *France*. *Isabella* following the 'unhappy Counsel of Queen *Bonna* her Mother, 'entered not into Alliance with the *French* King, 'and ever since had an Aversion for those who advised her to shew the Armies to the King, and 'to give him an insight into the Affairs of the 'Kingdom, and to send him to *Varadin*. She gave 'the Command of all her Armies to *Michael Bellassi*, an imperious Man; Which was not agreeable 'to her Subjects, who desired that she would make 'choice of a Commander more tractable and condescending.

(*F*) *The Biggots vainly endeavour to excuse that Conduct.*] As there is no Passion but they justify at the Expence of Religion, they made use of this admirable Cloak to conceal our *Isabella*'s Ambition. 'Here are the Words of a Monk, who cites *Florimond de Remond*; (*d*) The Authors, who have 'written in Favour of this virtuous Princess, say, 'that she did not look with a kind Eye on the great 'Lords of *Hungary* and *Transilvania*; particularly, '*Petrouwiz* was odious to her, because of his professing *Luther*'s Heresie; and that under Pretence 'of giving him light into the Affairs of his State, 'they designed to remove him from the Queen his 'Mother, to make him more easily quit the true 'and old Religion, for a new and a false one. Which 'he did after the decease of the Queen his Mother. Father *Maimbourg* (*e*) says, that *John Sigismund* durst not declare for the Hereticks in his Mother's Life-time; but that was not the only Reason, but also because *Soliman* (*f*) 'had written to the 'Queen, that new Sects should not be suffer'd to 'be introduced into the Kingdom, for fear of disturbing the Peace of it, by dividing Mens Minds 'upon so nice a Point as that of Religion. (*g*) 'But the Queen dying soon after, and *Selim*, who 'troubled not himself about these Disturbances of 'Religion, succeeding her Father *Soliman*, who 'died of an Apoplexy at the Siege of *Zyget*, the '*Lutherans*, the *Calvinists* and *Arrians* returned into *Transilvania*, and under the Protection of *Petrouwitz*, took more Liberty than ever.

(*A*) *He was continually at War with the* Calvinists.] Read what is said of it in his Funeral Oration. (*d*) *Quas autem & quam seras, quamque frequentes velitationes in Hassia tum Cattellis, quam Marpurgi, jam cum apertis hostibus, quos Sacramentarios Lutherani vocant, subiere coactus fuerit; quæ & quam gravia certamina, ob sanctissimum religionis Christianæ articulum, de persona Christi, ejusque ad dextram Dei sedentis adoranda majestate sustinuerit: id Deo, rerum omnium inspectori ac judici notum est: neque fugit id multos pios & cordatos homines.*

(*B*) *At last he wrote against them in the Year* 1584.] The same Orator will inform us, that *Hunnius* did not confine his Exploits to the Sacramentarian War; He attacked also the Followers of the Lutheran Illyricus. (*a*) *In publicum postea scriptis sum progressus sub annum* octogesimum quartum, *Danæum imprimis*, Ursinum, Pezelium, Grabium *& alios oppugnavi.*

(*l*) *Hilar. de Coste ibid. pag.* 645. *In Thuanus l.* 9. *p.* 182. *She speaks thus to her Son*: Quando tua aut mea potius fortuna non tulit ut regno paterno legibus jure gentium tibi delato uti frui posses, fatorum INIQUITATEM quæ nulla vi nostra aut humana industria corrigi potest, æquo animo feramus necesse est.

(*m*) *Virgil. eclog.* 5. *v.* 23.

(*a*) *Hilar. de Coste ubi supra pag.* 657.

(*b*) *The Father of the Brave and unfortunate* Sigismund, Bathori *Prince of* Transylvania. *id. ib.*

(*c*) *Hilar. de Coste ibid. pag.* 658.

(*d*) *Id. ib.*

(*e*) *Maimbourg, hist. de l'Arianisme Tom.* 3. *pag.* 345. *Dutch Edit.*

(*f*) *Id. ib. ad ann.* 1555.

(*g*) *Id. ib. ad ann.* 1566.

(*a*) *Apud Melchior. Adam. in vit. Theolog. p.* 727.

(*a*) *Apud eumd. ibid*

vited into *Saxony* to Reform the Electorate. He was made first Professor of Divinity at *Wittemberg*, first Minister of the Church of the Castle, and a Member of the Ecclesiastical Senate. He applied himself with an extraordinary Circumspection, to find out (C) those who were not good *Lutherans*; and as he was very Successful in clearing the Country of them, he was invited to do (CA) the same in *Silesia*. He was made Super-Intendant of the Church of *Wittemberg*, in the Year 1595; and the same Year, he had a sharp Engagement to maintain against *Samuel Huberus* (D) about Election and Predestination. He was one of the principal Opponents against the Jesuits *Gretser* and *Tanner*, in the Conference (E) of *Ratisbonne*, in the Year * 1602. He died the Year

* *Most Authors say, that Conference was held in 1601.*

pugnavit, editis libellis de personâ Christi, ejusque ad dexteram DEI sedentis divina majestate: *de* altarium abrogatione. *Postea & Flacianorum coborti bellum sacrum indixit, edito libello de* substantiâ peccati originis.

(C) *To find out those who were not good* Lutherans.] This was a kind of Inquisition, which deprived a great many honest Men of their Places and Country; for the refusing to sign the Formulary that *Hunnius* and his Colleagues proposed, was enough to pass for a *Calvinist*, and they found no Mercy. The Jesuit *Contzen* (*b*) makes himself merry in describing this Inquisition; and observes, that *Hunnius* wrote an Apology for it. (*c*) *Quin & Ægidium Saxonicam visitationem contra Calvinistas defendit; refutationem enim scripsit Calvinistici libelli, quo visitatio illa exagita fuit.* The Violences that were then exercised upon those who were suspected of *Calvinism*, are horrible, as *Hospinian* has described them (*d*).

(CA) *To do the same in* Silesia.] This is witnessed by *Melchior Adam.* (*e*) *Fridericus IV. Lignicensium & Brigensium in Silesia Dux, Hunnii potissimum opera ac studio usus, Ecclesiarum Lignicensium per Silesiam reformationem suscepit atque perfecit; ejecto inde Leonhardo Krentzheimio, Lignicensium tunc Superintendente; cui Calvinismi crimen impingebatur.*

(D) Huberus *about Election.*] This Man had been Minister of a Village near *Bern*; and having examined the Acts of the Conference (*f*) of *Montbeliard*, he found four Articles in *Beza*'s Doctrine, which he thought repugnant to the Scripture: 1. That Jesus Christ did not die for all Men. 2. That most Men are excluded from the Promises of Grace. 3. That the Cause of the Damnation of the Reprobate, is the sole good Pleasure of God, who created 'em on purpose to shew in them the Power of his Anger. 4. That no Body can know whether Baptism regenerates Children. He had the Courage to contradict these four Articles: but he was expelled for his Boldness; *Musculus* and *Grynæus* having successfully worked his Expulsion. He retired into the Country of *Wirtemberg*, where he obtained a Church, after having embraced the *Augsburg* Confession. Being made known to the Elector of *Saxony*, by some Books he published, he was invited to *Wittemberg* to profess Divinity. By much refuting the Swiss Protestants about the Doctrine of Predestination, he ran into another Extream, so far as to teach publickly, that God has elected all Men to Eternal Life. *Hunnius* and his Colleagues gave him notice of his Error, and as he did not correct it, he was expelled. He went from thence to *Ratisbonne*, where he had some Conferences with some Divines: he continued obstinate in his Errors, and published some Books at *Spire* to maintain 'em. This was the 14th. Schism of the Lutheran Church (*g*). Such was the Man that our *Hunnius* had to deal with. He was so happy as to triumph over his Enemy, for he got him deprived of his Place; but he exposed himself to some Suspicions of Heterodoxy, and was obliged to write in his Justification. Read in the Margin the Words of *Calixtus* (*h*), and what follows. *Fortem se & fidum purioris doctrinæ hyperaspistem, adversus inanes* Huberi *nævias eo tempore præstitit* Hunnius, *dum partim monendo, partim scribendo, errantem* Huberum *in viam revocare studuit: quod ipsa res loquitur, & monumenta hac de controversia bene multa edita; hâc primis verò ille tractatus* Hunnii *de* providentiâ & prædestinatione filiorum Dei, *satis luculenter testantur. Dissidio autem illo* Huberi *remotione sopito, prodiit anno* nonagesimo septimo *epistola, qua variorum errorum, de* cœnâ Domini, *de* baptismo, *de* libero arbitrio, *de* personâ Christi, *de* æterna prædestinatione *fuit insimulatus. Hinc igitur* Hunnius *eodem anno refutavit: ut & eos qui in* Anhaltinis *Ecclesiis altaria, imagines, organa musica, hostias, & alia cæremonias abrogarant* (*i*). I add these last Words, to shew, that *Hunnius* was not against Altars and Images, and many *Romish* Ceremonies, which were detested by other *Lutherans*.

(*b*) *Contzen in Jubilo Jubilorum ad annum*, 1592. 1593.
(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 304.
(*d*) *Historia Sacramentaria parte altera, p.* 674. *& seq.*
(*e*) *Melch. Adam. ubi infra.*
(*f*) *Between* Theodorus Beza, *and* Joannes Andreas.
(*g*) *Taken from* Micrælius, Syntagm. Hist. Eccl. pag. 871.
(*h*) Post annum superioris sæculi octogesimum Ægidius Hunnius nisi fallor, primus vel certe inter primos præceptus priscam & ante Augustinum in primitiva Ecclesia receptam sententiam revocavit, & in Ecclesias Scholasque nostras reduxit; non tamen sine difficultate, contradictione & insimulatione Pelagianismi. *Calixtus consider. Doct. Reform.*
(*i*) *Hutterus apud Melchior. Adam. in vit. Theol. pag.* 729.

(E) *In the Conference of* Ratisbonne.] I am sure that most of my Readers will be glad to be freed from the trouble of consulting another Book, to know in general what this Conference was: Wherefore, I put down here, what *Peter Matthieu* says of it. '(*k*) *Maximilian* Count Palatin of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Philip Lewis* also, Palatin of the *Rhine*, and Count of *Veldents* and *Spanheim*, Cousins, and related by Blood, but very much divided and disunited in Religion, resolved, in order to reunite themselves in the same Belief, and to bring their Subjects to the same Confession and Profession of Faith, to assemble at *Ratisbonne* the greatest and most famous Divines of *Germany* of both Religions, that by an amicable Conference they might clear the Difficulties, that were the Cause of that unhappy Schism. The Dispute was only upon this Thesis, *Whether the Holy Scripture be a sufficient Rule for things necessary to Salvation.* The Catholick Disputants were four Professors in Divinity of the University of *Paris*, (*l*), one of which was a Jesuit. For the Protestants there were Fifteen Divines, as well of the Palatinate of the *Rhine*, as of the Duchies of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg* and *Wirtemberg*—— The Presidents were the two Princes, and the Speakers *Gretzerus* a Jesuit, and *Heilbrun* a Minister——The (*m*) Conference took up Fourteen Sessions, in which they largely and warmly discourfed of the Power of a Judge, but not very clearly, since that verbal Dispute was followed by many Apologies in Writing. I insert here this Marginal Note of *Peter Matthieu*. 'Upon this Dispute of *Ratisbonne*, says he, besides the Acts and Registers of the Sessions, Day by Day, we have a Book with this Title: *Analysis Dialectica Colloquii Ratisbonensis, anno* 1601. *de norma & judice omnium controversiarum fidei Christianæ habiti.*

(*k*) *Matthieu, hist. de la paix, Book* 4. *ad ann.* 1601. *p. m.* 134.
(*l*) Matthieu *is mistaken. Cayet* Hist. de la paix pag. 290. *says we in the* 1st *between he says, that the Divines of the Duke of* Bavaria *were* Hunger *and* Tanner *Doctors of the Faculty of* Paris, *and* Gretser *a Jesuit. Tanner had been a Jesuit ever since he was* 18 *Years of Age, and consequently he was not Doctor of the Faculty of* Paris.
(*m*) *Matthieu ibid. pag.* 135.
(*n*) *Ibid. pag.* 136.
(*o*) *Baillet tome* 2. *of the Anti, pag.* 181.

This Historian's Thought upon these verbal Disputes, is pleasant enough. 'When I consider, says 'he, (*n*), the little Advantage that has been reaped 'from these Disputes in several parts of *Europe*, and 'that the Holy Scripture is the Field in which every 'one thinks he has a right to fight; I can't chuse 'but wish there was some severe Prohibition against 'this vulgar Treatment of it: and it would be well 'if it were taught like *Epicurus*'s Atoms, *Pythagoras*'s Numbers, *Plato*'s Ideas, *Aristotle*'s Entelechia, and the Figures of the Cabalists; that no 'Body might come at the Knowledge of it, but by 'those that are capable of understanding it. Whilst 'every one pretends to be skilled in it, it happens, 'that from the same Flower, the Faithful, like the 'Bee, gather Honey, and the Disobedient like the 'Spider, gather Poison, and many grow mad and 'beastly upon the Beast of St. *John*'s Revelation.

Add to this Passage the Words of Mr. *Baillet* (*o*). 'This Conference was like those Battles, wherein 'the Victory is not determined by the Number of 'the Dead. Each Party pretended to have come off 'with Advantage; and Relations were made of it 'on both Sides, and Treatises in *Latin* and *High-Dutch*, above Twenty in Number. Amongst these Writings I have found one in the vulgar 'Tongue,

Year following the 4th. of *April* †. He was prolifick (*F*) both in Books and Children. Some of his Sons made themſelves known (*G*) by their Works; but one of them turned (*H*) Roman Catholick. There is no Book in which our *Hunnius* has diſcovered more Prepoſſeſſion and Violence, than in that which (*I*) he entituled, *Calvinus*

† *Taken from* Melchior Adam, in vitis Theolog. pag. 723. & ſeq. *who has given us an Abſtract of* Hunnius's *Funeral Oration, made by* Leonard Hutterus.

'Tongue, concerning the Triumph over the Jeſuits, 'printed at *Tubingen*, a Lutheran Town, in 1603, 'in *Quarto*, and another in *Latin*, compoſed by '*Hunnius*, and publiſhed at *Wittemberg* in *Saxony* 'the ſame Year, in the ſame Size, with this Ti'tle, *Epiſtola conſolatoria cum not———Hun'nius* endeavoured to revenge his Party, by an *An'ti-Tanner*——, and an *Anti-Gretſer*. He had read the Hiſtorical Relation which Father *Tanner* had made; (*p*) 'but he was not ſatisfied with an Ac'count prejudicial to his Party. To prevent the 'Effects he feared from the reading of it, he made 'a Counter-relation, that is, an Hiſtory of the 'Conference of *Ratisbonne*, in his own way, which 'was publiſhed in 1602, at *Wittemberg* in *Saxo'ny*. Father *Tanner* thought he ought not to let 'that Piece paſs unanſwered; and not content with 'reprinting his Relation in *Latin* and *German*, at 'Munich in *Bavaria*, he publiſhed, beſides, ſome 'Reflections upon that of *Hunnius*, intituled, *Ex'amen Narrationis quam Hiſtoricæ Relationis nomine 'inſignitam de Colloquio Ratisbonenſi edidit Ægi'dius Hunnius Prædicans*, at *Munich*. 1602, in '*Quarto*. 'Twas againſt this laſt Work that 'Hunnius wrote his *Anti-Tanner*, which he printed 'the ſame Year at *Wittemberg*. Father *Tanner* pub'liſhed a Reply, 'in which he made a Defence 'of his firſt Confutation——and ſome Remarks 'upon the Death of his Author. It appeared at *Munich* in 1603, in *Quarto*, intituled *Apologeti'cus pro compendiaria relatione de colloquio Ratisbo'nenſi* 1601. *adverſus Anti-Tannerum cum appendice de morte Ægidii Hunnii*. Mr. *Baillet* (*a*) obſerves, that Father *Gretſer* could not forbear making Reflections upon *Hunnius*'s *Anti-Gretſer*. 'They were 'printed at *Ingolſtad* ſometime after, and inſerted 'afterwards among ſome of his Works, with this 'Title, *Admonitio de Anti-Gretſero*. This Jeſuit publiſhed ſome thing elſe againſt the ſame Antago'niſt. (*b*) *Labyrinthus Critico-Hunnianus, hoc eſt, diſputatio de Hunnio Prædicante, genioque Lutherano ſemetipſum contradictionibus implicante & jugulante in aliquot articulis fidei*. 1602. *& reſponſum ad theſes Hunnianas, de Colloquio Pontificio jucundo* (*c*), *una cum ſex digreſſionibus contra ejuſdem Hunnii calumnias*, 1602. Note, that the Two Bibliographers of the Jeſuits, aſcribe to Father *Tanner* a Book, intituled *Labyrinthus* (*d*) *Critico-Hunnianus*, printed at *Munich*, in 1612. One may very well think there is ſome (*e*) Miſtake in the Matter. Would two Jeſuits have made uſe of the ſame Title, writing againſt the ſame Adverſary?

(*p*) *Id. ib. pag.* 245.

(*a*) *Baillet ib. p.* 182.
(*b*) *Alegambe, Bibliotb. Scriptor. Societ. Jeſu, p.* 200.
(*c*) *'Tis a Fault of Impreſſion for* incundo.
Father Sotuel *has kept the Word* jucundo.
(*d*) *A Fault of Impreſſion for* Critico.
(*e*) *Sbe Mr.* Baillet, ib. p. 180.

(*F*) *He was Prolifick both in Books and Children.*] There is an Edition of his Works in Five Volumes. (*f*) *Primus varios tractatus de articulis fidei, alter polemicos, tertius & quartus commentaria in Matthæum, Johannem & omnes pene epiſtolas Canonicas, quintus diſputationes & orationes varias continet. Edidit etiam vernacula lingua poſt illam Evangelicam & Epiſtolicam. Homilias in VI. Prophetas, Threnos & Catechiſmum, confeſſionem de perſona Chriſti & id genus alia.* As to his Conjugal Fertility, we are aſſured in his Funeral Sermon, that he received from Heaven the Benediction promiſed to the Faithful by the Pſalmiſt (*g*).

(*f*) *Primus varios tractatus &c. ſecundus commentaria in Matthæum, Johannem & omnes pene epiſtolas Canonicas, quintus diſputationes & orationes varias continet. Edidit etiam vernacula lingua poſt illam Evangelicam & Epiſtolicam. Homilias in VI. Prophetas, Threnos & Catechiſmum, confeſſionem de perſona Chriſti & id genus alia.* Primus varios tractatus de articulis fidei, alter polemicos, tertius & quartus commentaria in Matthæum, Johannem & omnes pene epiſtolas Canonicas, quintus diſputationes & orationes varias continet. Edidit etiam vernacula lingua poſt illam Evangelicam & Epiſtolicam. Homilias in VI. Prophetas, Threnos & Catechiſmum, confeſſionem de perſona Chriſti & id genus alia. Apud Melchior. Adam. pag. 730.

(*g*) Inde diviſæ benedictionis veſtigia, tum in re familiari, tum in ecclesiaſticum deprehendit: quod juxta promiſſionem Pſalmi, *vidit filios ac filias, ſicut plantationes olivarum, in circuitu menſæ ſuæ.* Apud Melchior. Adam. pag. 730.
(*i*) *See* Mollerus, Iſagoge ad Hiſtor. Cherſonenſi Cimbricæ capitum 3. pag. 469.

(*G*) *Made themſelves known by their Works.*] *Nicolas HUNNIUS*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Wittemberg*, and afterwards Super-Intendent of *Lubeck*, publiſhed, *Epitome credendorum: examen errorum Photinianorum: capiſtrum Lancillotto impoſitum: neceſſaria defenſio de Papa Antichriſto: refutatio Weigeliana Theologiæ: apoſtaſia Eccleſiæ Romanæ: pellis ovina papiſtica: innocentia Lutheranorum: fundamentalis diſſenſus Lutheranorum & Calvinianorum: neceſſaria admonitio contra* (*i*) *theoſophos, novellos Prophetas, nomine miniſterii Lubecenſis, Hamburgenſis, & Lunæburgenſis*, and ſome other Tracts. He died in the Year 1643, being Fifty Eight Years old. His Brother *Giles HUNNIUS* died the preceding Year, being Super-Intendent-General of *Altemburg* (*k*).

(*k*) *Taken from* Melchior Adam, ubi ſupra, pag. 760, 761.

(*H*) *But one of them turned Roman Catholick.*] He was a Civilian, and his Name was *Helfricus Ulricus HUNNIUS*. He publiſhed at *Cologne*, in 1633, a Book, in which he pretended to ſhew, that even by the Confeſſion of ſome Learned Proteſtants, we are obliged to reſtore to the Church of *Rome*, what was taken from her in the time of *Luther*'s Reformation. *Voetius* has been reproached with ſtealing from this Book, his Authorities and Arguments againſt the Canons of *Dreicht*. (*l*) *Iterato noto, pellucentem illam centonem, magnam partem conſarcinatum eſſe ex duodecim conſiliis Lutheranorum——ſimul editis per Helfricum Ulricum Hunnium, JC. filium Ægidii Hunnii, celebri quondam Theologiæ Doctoris & Profeſſoris in Academia Wittebergenſi qui pellectus offa Antichriſtiana, cum turpiſſime defeciſſet ad Pontificios, atque ſecundum ſanum Apoſtolorum, negligeretur ab iis, qui exemplo diaboli Matth. 4. 9. plurimos ſectatores ſibi colligere ſolent, per myſticam illam vocem*: Hæc tibi dabo: *Coloniæ Agrippinæ anno* 1633. *evulgavit duodecim illa Reſponſa, ſeu, ut ipſe pauper vocat, Præjudicia, inſcripta Abbati Fuldenſi, eum in finem, ut evincere poſſet, Lutheranos (per errorem ſummum iis conjungit Calviniſtas, quum neque Matthæus Weſenbecius, neque Hieronymus Treutlerus, prout fatetur Hunnius, unquam viderint in communione eorum, qui Calviniſtæ audiunt) eſſe ſchismaticos, atque diſtante propria confeſſione, debere reſtituere bona Eccleſiaſtica, à ſe invaſa, occupata, direpta, ac prophanata, ut loquitur familiaris Apoſtata in titulo. Verum eſſe quod dico, quivis cognoſcet, ſi inſtituerit Conſilium Theologicum comparare cum hiſce Reſponſis; ubi aut Hunnius, aut ejus Typographus erravit in citandis authoribus, maxime juris Canonici textibus, pauciſſimis (reſpectu primam editionem) in aut Architecti hujus, aut ſuorum Conſiliariorum Theologici, quod adeo impudens, ut pag.* 25. *ſpecialim in hunc Hunnii tractatum digitum intendat.* Mr. *Baillet*, whom nothing can eſcape, was not ignorant of the Change of this Man's Religion; but he did not know that he was the Son of the Author of the *Anti-Gretſer*. Let us ſee what he ſays (*m*). 'When the Proteſtants, who alledge againſt us the 'Anti-Hunnius, and the *Reſolutio Anti-Hunniana* 'of *Valentinus Bullen* a Lutheran, reckon ſtill 'Hunnius amongſt thoſe of their Communion; either 'they give us reaſon to believe, that they have 'confounded *Nicolas Hunnius* a Lutheran, who 'died in 1643, with *Helfricus Ulricus Hunnius*, 'the *German* Civilian, converted from *Lutheraniſm* 'to the Church of *Rome*, who lived at the ſame 'time with the other *Hunnius*; or they are willing 'to conceal his Converſion, either becauſe they 'take it to be falſe, or of a ſhort Duration. 'However it be, *Val. Bullen* printed againſt him his 'Anti-Hunnius, at *Leichen*, in the Year 1635. in 'Octavo, with this Title, *Reſolutio Anti-Hunniana* 'ſeu *Reſponſio ad calumniſam Reſolutionem tertiam* 'præjudicialium Quæſtionum H. Ulr. Hunnii. He 'ſhews in that Work, that he is perſuaded there 'was no Diſſimulation in his renouncing of *Lutheraniſm*, and he ſufficiently diſcovers, that he had 'read his Book of the twelve *unanſwerable Arguments* 'of the Catholick Religion; which came out at 'Cologne, in Twelves, 1632. Our *Ulricus Hunnius* publiſhed at *Griſſen*, a Tract *de tranſactione*, in 1615, Four Books *variarum reſolutionum Juris Civilis*, at *Francfort*, in 1620. and a Diſpute *de homicidio & ejus pœna*, at *Marpurg*, in the Year 1625.

(*l*) *Which he intituled* (*n*) Calvinus Judaizans.] I am not ſatisfied with the Knowledge I have hitherto acquired about the Hiſtory of this Book, and its Conſequences; but I think I may ſay, and I hope Mr. *Baillet* (*o*) will not take it ill, that it did not come out in 1575. *Hunnius* was then but Twenty Five Years old: and if he had ſignalized himſelf at that Age by ſuch a Work, the Author of his Funeral

(*m*) *Baillet ubi ſupra*, pag. 395.

(*n*) *Here is the whole Title*: Ægidii Hunnii Calvinus Judaizans, hoc eſt, Judaicæ gloſſæ & corruptelæ quibus Joannes Calvinus illuſtrorum Scripturæ Sacræ locorum, & teſtimoniorum de gloriosa Trinitate, Deitate Chriſti, & Spiritus Sancti, cum priſtinis autem vaticiniis Prophetarum de adventu Meſſiæ, nativitate ejus, paſſione, reſurrectione, aſcenſione ad dexteram Dei deteſtandum in modum corrumpere non abhorruit.
(*o*) *See the* 1ſt *tome of the* Anti. *pag.* 35.

Calvinus Judaizans. He Accuſed *Calvin* of ſo many Crimes (K) in point of Hereſy, that he might have feared to be Treated as *Servetus* was, if he had lain at *Hunnius's* Mercy.

* *It was the Seat of the Family, which ſubſiſts ſtill, and makes a Figure.*

HUTTEN *(Ulric de)* a Gentleman of *Franconia*, was Born at *Steckelberg* * in the year 1488. He Studied firſt at *Fulde*, then at *Cologne*, after that at *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, where he was admitted Maſter of Arts in 1506, in the firſt Promotion that was made in that Univerſity newly Erected. As he had a Genius for Poetry, he began that way to ſet up for an Author: 'Twas (A) in the year 1513. when he Publiſhed a Work Intituled *Vir bonus.* The year following Prince *Albert* of *Brandenburg* making his firſt Entrance into *Mentz*, of which he was Archbiſhop, occaſioned the Production of a ſecond Piece. *Hutten* made a large Panegyrick upon him in Verſe, in which he included ingeniouſly that of all *Germany.* He had a Couſin Named *John de* HUTTEN, who was Marſhal of the Court to Duke *Ulric* of *Wirtemberg*, and who was Killed by this Duke in the Foreſt of *Beblingen* in the year 1515. Our Poet waiting for an opportunity to expreſs his Reſentment againſt this Prince with Sword in Hand, Publiſhed † ſeveral Pieces againſt him. He was then in (B) *Italy*, where he

† *See the Liſt of them in the Remark* B.

ral Oration would not have failed to obſerve it, and would not have ſaid, that 'twas about the year 1584. that *Hunnius* began to Write againſt the Calviniſts. The Jeſuit *Contzen* (p) places the Impreſſion of *Calvinus Judaizans* in the year 1593. and I believe he is in the Right. That which perpleves me, is to ſee in *Pareus's* Life, that in the year 1595. *Giles Hunnius* diſturbed the Peace of the Church, by Accuſing the Calviniſts, and *John Calvin* by Name of *Judaizing.* I ſet down the Paſſage ſomewhat at large, becauſe we find in it ſome Strokes of our *Hunnius's* Character in his Adverſaries Judgment: (r) *Revertus eſt anno deinceps* 1595. *turbulentus quidam Gracchus, qui pacem Eccleſiæ livido calamo inquietare paravit, ægrè ferens, Evangelicorum Principum animos à tribunitiis Erebolorum concionibus abhorrere, unionemque ac concordiam Chriſtianam ſerio meditari: quam proinde non alia fabrica melius ſe diſrumpere poſſe ſperavit, quam ſi immani iſto convitio gravaret Eccleſias Reformatas, criminatus eas* Judaïzare, *ac* CALVINUM *primipilarem Eccleſiarum Reformatarum Doctorem, Judaicis gloſſis plerasque oracula Veteris Teſtamenti detemerare. Accuſatio hæ tametſi non communem cauſam Eccleſiarum Orthodoxarum tangeret, proprieque eam ſpectaret, cujus Epiſcopus fuiſſet* Calvinus, *tamen quia per illius latus cætera omnes in capite* CHRISTO *unita petebantur, propudioſis iſtis calumniis* CLYPEUM *Veritatis Catholicæ de ſacroſanctâ Trinitate oppoſuit, Eccleſiaſque Orthodoxas, &* CALVINUM *Electum* DEI *organon fortiſſimè aſſeruit: adeoque in fumos diſſipavit* Judaïca *&* Arianica illa *cymbala* In Reading this Concluſion, would not one think that the Controverſy was intirely laid aſleep by *Pareus's* Anſwer? And yet it is not true. *Hunnius* replied; and ſo did his Adverſary. *Hutterus* relates that in 1598. *Hunnius* Publiſhed (a) two Books againſt *Pareus*, who had Written for *Calvin.* *Pareus* returned to the Charge with a Book 'that 'he (b) Printed at *Neuſtadt* in 1599. *in* 8. Intitu'led *Orthodoxus Calvinus oppoſitus Pſeudo-Calvino 'Judaizanti.* It was Reprinted forty two years 'after at *Geneva.* This I learn from Mr. *Baillet*, who thereby brings me into a new Perplexity; for I infer from the Preface of (c) *Calvinus Orthodoxus* that *Pareus* Compoſed and Publiſhed it in 1594. He ſays (d) that *Calvin* had been Dead thirty years, and that this Apology ſhould have come out at *Francfort* at the Spring Fair (e), if the Authority of the Superiors had not retarded the Impreſſion. He adds (f), they have changed their Mind, and approved my Publiſhing this Book. This plainly ſhews that *Calvinus Orthodoxus* was Printed in 1594. and yet the Author tells us in the laſt Pages that *Samuel Huberus* had been Baniſhed from *Wirtemberg*, which, according to *Melchior Adam*, did not happen till the year 1595 (g).

(p) *In Jubilo Jubilorum p.* 307.

(r) *Philippus Pareus in vita Davidis Pari p.* m. 51.

(a) Duobus libris D. Pareo reſpondit, qui Calvini patrocinium ſuſcepe-rat. *Apud Melchior. Adamum p.* 729.

(b) *Baillet ib. p.* 360.

(c) 'Tis the Title of the Book in the Geneva Edition 1641.

(d) *Præfat. p.* 4.

(e) *Ibid. p.* 14.

(f) *Ibid. p.* 15.

(g) *In vita Hunnii p.* 729.

(h) *Pareus in præfat. Calvini Orthodoxi p.* 9.

(K) *So many Crimes in Point of Hereſy.*] Here is the Summary of his *Calvinus Judaizans*, as *Pareus* gives it: (h) *In ipſo libri titulo Calvinum ex Ariano Judæum, vel certe ex Arianizante Judaïzantem facit, & amariſſimè paſſim inſectatur, quòd mera ambitione, ſtudio perverſo, ludo alearorio, verſutia veteratoria, temeritate deſultoria, Scripturas ſacras à ſenſu proprio ad peregrinum inflectat, quòd eaſdem textis corruptelis, gloſſis impiis, proditoriis eluſionibus & plenis Judaïcæ perfidiæ nequitiaque ſtrophis, ad ſuam & aliorum pernicium horribiliter alio detorqueat: quòd teſtimonia de Deo uno & trino ſtropharum ſuarum ſpinis intricet: quòd Scripturæ locis æternam Deitatem Chriſti confirmantibus caliginem Judaïcam offundere non reformidet: quòd illuſtriſſima vaticinia Prophetarum de Meſſia Judaïcis perverſionibus involvat, in fraudem Chriſtianæ religionis adulteret, & ad perfidiam Judaïcæ infidelitatis, Arianæque impietatis retundendam ſtrophis nefariis hebetet, inutiliaque reddat: quòd Evangeliſtarum, Apoſtolorumque ſacroſanctas explicationes nequiter eludat: ipſos Apoſtolos ſub ferulam cenſoriam revocet; flagellet: quòd Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum, veterum & recentium, pias interpretationes altiſſimè deſpiciat & irrideat, ipſoſque ſexagenarios de ponte præcipitet, &c. Paſſim etiam non acerbis modo ſarcaſmis ſurdo illudit, ſed & conviciatur virulentiſſimè, appellitans acutum Diaboli inſtrumentum, Cenſorem, Ariſtarchum, Dictatorem, Apoſtolo Paulo doctiorem, Chriſtianæ Scripturæ interpretem, Doctorem ſupercilioſum, præſtigiarum Judæ earum architectum, columbum, angelum & Spiritum tenebrarum ex abyſſi puteo emergentem, & quæ alia hujus generis infinita ſunt maledicentiæ ejus emblemata, vel potius convicia, lectu ſanè & auditu horrenda.* Note, that he Declares (i) that if he do's not give a Demonſtration of *John Calvin's* Judaiſm, he never deſires to be believed upon any thing elſe. One can't forbear asking this Queſtion; Was he perſuaded of what he ſaid, or was he not? Chriſtian Charity obliges us to ſay he was; for otherwiſe we muſt take him for the moſt Wicked Man a live. Let us ſay then, that he ſpoke according to his Perſuaſion, and conclude from thence, that in hot Conſtitutions like his, Zeal is a ſort of Drunkenneſs, which ſo diſorders the Mind, that a Man ſees every thing double (k), and the wrong way. The Prieſteſs of *Bacchus*, who fell upon her own Son, whom ſhe took for a Wild Boar, (l) whilſt he looked on the Ceremonies of the Feaſt without any Faith, or rather with Contempt, is an Image of the Vertigo's, that ſeize the Zealots. *Pareus* Aſcribes all this Outrage of *Hunnius* to the Devil; 'tis the Devil, ſays he (m), that Employs *Hunnius* as a proper Artiſt to write ſuch Calumnies. *En vero tandem, Chriſtiane Lector, extrema improbitatis Satanæ exemplum. Quaſi enim hactenus Neſtorianiſmis, Arianiſmis, Turciſmis, Paganiſmis, Atheiſmis & id genus impuriſſimis ſputis ſuis Eccleſiæ noſtræ parum conſpurcarit: nuper eaſdem etiam* JUDAISMI *ſtercoribus petulantiſſimè conſpergere eſt aggreſſus, conflato per idoneum artificem libello mendaci juxtà & maledico, qui titulo* CALVINI JUDAIZANTIS *circumfertur.* The Deſign was, according to *Pareus*, to extirpate the Calviniſts, that the *Ubiquitarian* Doctors might be in great Repute. *Hinc* Pſeudo-Calvinus Judaizans, *cujus hoc eſt argumentum & ſcopus.* Calvinus eſt Judaizans, Arianizans: Ergo & Calviniſtarum Eccleſiæ (quas vocant) ſunt tales: ergo exſtirpandæ: ergo ceſſabunt Ubiquitati faceſſere negotium; ergo ſtabit Ubiquitas: ergo in pretio erunt ubiquitarii Doctores. *Hæc eſt Satanæ Dialectica* (n).

(i) Hac lege diſerrè ſe adſtrinxit (pag. 6.) ut niſi Calvinum judaïzantem ad oculum demonſtret, noſit ſibi ulla unquam in re poſthac fidem adhiberi. *Id. ibid. p.* 16.

(k) Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus Et ſolem geminum, & duplices ſe oſtendere Thebas. *Virgil. Æn. l.* 4. *v.* 469.

(l) Ille aper in noſtris errat qui maximus agris, Ille mihi ferendus aper. *Ovidius Metam. l.* 3. *ſub finem.*

(m) *Pareus in præfat. p.* 3.

(n) *Id. in Calvino orthod. p.* 344.

(A) *'Twas in the year* 1513.] He was therefore 25 years Old when he began to ſet up for an Author: *Moreri* is therefore miſtaken, and did not know how to Copy *Melchior Adam*, when he ſays that Hutten *at eighteen years of Age Publiſhed ſeveral Works in Verſe.*

(B) *He was then in* Italy.] I have followed the Chro-

he had given many Proofs (C) of his Courage, in the War that the Emperor *Maximilian* maintained nine years in that Country. At his Return into *Germany* * he was so Recommended to this Emperor by *Conrad Peutinger*, that he gave him (D) the Poetical Crown. From that time *Hutten* caused himself to be Painted, Armed with a Crown of Laurel on his Head, and was infinitely pleased with that Equipage. He went soon after to the Court of the Elector of *Mentz*, where he Composed a Dialogue Intituled *Aula*, in 1518. A little after he went to the Diet of *Augsburg* with the Elector his Master, who received there a Cardinal's Cap. In that Diet Complaints were made against the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; nor was the Murther of the Marshal of his Court forgotten. These Complaints produced no great Effect; but at last this Prince having Seized the Imperial Town of *Reutlingen* in *January* 1519. a League was formed against him in *Suabia*, which laid not down its Arms, till he was driven out of all his Dominions, which he did not enter again, but fifteen years after. Our *Hutten* bore Arms in that War. *Luther's* Cause appearing to him to be good, he warmly Embraced it, and Published *Leo X's* Bull against *Luther* in 1520. with Interlineary and Marginal Glosses, in which † he turned the Pope into Ridicule. The Liberty wherewith he Wrote (E) against the Disorders of the Court of *Rome*, extreamly Provoked *Leo*, and induced him to Command the Elector of *Mentz* to send him to *Rome* bound Hand and Foot. *Hutten* (F) retired from that Court, and went into the *Low-Countries* to that of *Charles V*; but he staid not long there, having notice that his Life was in Danger. There is some Probability, that he retired then into the Fortress of *Ebernburg*; for there he Wrote in 1520. his Complaint to the Emperor, to the Electors of *Mentz* and *Saxony*, and all the States of *Germany*, against the Attempts that were made upon him by the Pope's Emissaries. 'Twas from the same Place he Wrote to *Luther*, ‡ in *May* 1521. and sent out several Pieces in favour of the Reformation. 'Tis not well known, when he left this Castle; but 'tis certain, that in the Month of *January* 1523. (G) he was gone from *Basil*, where he thought to find a safe Retreat; but he found himself exposed to great Dangers there. *Erasmus* having excused himself from receiving his Visit, for fear of Heightning the Suspicions, that were raised against him, and for fear of something else, which he (H) afterwards Confessed, found himself Attacked soon

* *In* 1519.

† *They are in the* 2d. *Vol. of Luther's Works, p.* 53. *and follow.*

‡ *That Letter is in the* 2. *Volume of Luther's Works Lond. Edit. p.* 102.

(o) Rem admirandam, & cujus propè nullius fides capax sit, vidisses. Cadaver tum jam animum defossum corpus non consumptum, non putrefactum, totam adhuc faciem cognoscibilem: quin etiam sanguine è contractum attactum. En igitur innocentiæ testimonium! Deposuimus Eslingæ, inde ad patriam sepulturam devecturi. *Hutten in Orat. contra Wirtemb. apud Melchior Adam. in vit. Jurisconsulto. p.* 17.

(a) *Præfatione ad Principes German. ut bellum Turcis inferant, apud Melch. Adam. ib. p.* 15.

Chronology of my Author *Melchior Adam*; but I ought to caution my Readers, that I suspect it a little. I do not believe that all the Pieces, that concern the Death of *John Hutten*, were Publish'd before *Ulric Hutten's* return into *Germany*. I find in *Gesner's Bibliotheca*, That the Collection of all these Writings was Printed in the Castle of *Steckelberg*, in 1519. *in 4to.* It contained *Ulrichi Hutteni super interfectione propinqui sui Joannis Hutten equitis à Wirtenbergiensi Duce Ulricho deploratio, heroicis versibus. Ad Ludovicum Huttenum super interemptione filii consolatoria Oratio. In Ulrichum Wirtenbergiensem orationes quinque invectivæ. In eundem dialogus, cui titulus Phalarismus. Apologia pro Phalarismo, & aliquot ad amicos epistolæ. Ad Franciscum Gallarum regem epistola, ne causam Wirtenbergiensis tueatur exhortatoria. Inseruntur etiam epistolæ aliquot ad amicos.* I see moreover that *Melchior Adam* cites a Speech of *Ulric Hutten* against the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, which was not Compos'd till 1519, that is, two years after the Author's return from *Italy* into *Germany*: have I not reason then to Question the Exactness of *Melchior Adam?* What he quotes out of this Speech, is too curious to be omitted. We learn from it, that *John Hutten* was taken up near the Forest where he was killed, whilst the Confederates were at War with Duke *Ulrich* of *Wirtemberg*. It was four years since the Murther was committed, and yet the Corps was not Corrupted; it Bled when it was touched, and the Face was still to be known. *Ulric Hutten* draws from hence a Proof of his Cousin's Innocence (o).

(C) *Many Proofs of his Courage.*] Those which he gave in the War, were doubtless inferiour to that which he gave on a particular Rencounter. He went from *Rome* to *Viterbo* at a time that an Embassador of *France* had made a stay in this last Town. There happen'd a Quarrel, in which *Hutten* forsaken by his Comrades had five *Frenchmen* upon him at once, and put 'em all to Flight, in spite of the Wounds he had received. He made an Epigram thereupon, *in quinque Gallos à se profligatos*, which may be seen in *Melchior Adam*.

(D) *The Poetical Crown.*] He owned himself indebted for that Honour to *Peutinger's* good Offices, and Express his Acknowledgement of it in one of his Books. He says also that that Crown was made in *Peutinger's* House by his Daughter *Constantia*, whose Virtue and Beauty he very much Extolled. *Illam ajo coronam, illam lauream quam tu ante domum tuam, recurate contexente & adornante filia tua Constantia, omnium quæ usquam sunt puellarum & forma & moribus præstantissima, apparaveras.* For a Poet who loved the fair Sex, like *Hutten*, this was a Subject for new Words, and a great many Thoughts; and it had been a great Chance if the Fair *Constantia Peutinger* had not been Praised with many Epigrams.

(E) *He Wrote against the Disorders of the Court of* Rome.] Amongst other Works, he Published an Historical Tract in *High-Dutch* upon the continual Disobedience of the Popes to the Emperors. At the end of it we find these Words of *Maximilian I.* who had been deceived by *Leo X. This Pope has already basely Cheated me, and I can truly say, that no Pope since I have been in the World has been a Man of his Word; but with the Grace of God I hope that this will be the last.* *Cochlæus* (b) says, that before *Luther* had been Spoken of, *Ulric Hutten* had Published many things against the Vexations, which *Germany* suffered on the Popes Account, and that in 1519. he made a little Treatise called *Trias Romana*, of a very pretty Invention, which render'd the Court of *Rome* extremely Odious.

(b) *Act. & script. Lutheri ad ann.* 1519.

(F) Hutten *retired from the Court.*] I don't find in his Life that the Elector of *Mentz* ever Arrested him, as *Moreri* Affirms; but only that he Banished him from his Court, *exclusus itaque aula & urbe Moguntina* (c), and that he forbad all People to Sell and Read his Books under Pain of Excommunication.

(c) *Melch. Adam. p.* 21.

(G) January 1523. *he was gone from Basil.*] This appears from these Words of a Letter (d) of *Oecolampadius*: *Sunt hic ex sacerdotibus & theologis, qui de me pessime loqui cupiant, nec desistent nisi etiam de me pessime loqui cuperent. Tantum machinati sunt Hutteno nostro fuerit dictum tutum hic agere, unde & audacter hinc discessit, quorsum autem nescio.*

(d) *Dated from Basil the* 24*th. of January* 1523. *lib.* 4. *Epist. p.* 96. *and not the* 24*th. of* March *as Melch. Adam. p.* 21.

(H) *Which he afterwards Confessed.*] Writing to *Melanchthon* in *September* (e) 1524. he tells him plainly that he would have received his Visit without caring much what People would say of it; and that the Reason of his refusing *Hutten's* Visit, was not for fear of rendring himself Odious as one more for the fear of rendring himself obliged to Lodge in his House that Night abounding with Poverty and Itch, who sought only a Nest to abide in, and who Loved Swarms of every sort he met with. So that the Interest of his Party had more Force upon *Erasmus* on that occasion than that of Fame. *Quod Hutteni colloquium deprecabar non in ullo metus tantum in cujusquis erat aliud quid-*

(e) *That Letter is the* 113. *of the* 4. *Book p.* 979.

soon after by a Passionate Piece of *Ulric Hutten*. He (*I*) Answered it. *Hutten* had doubtless Replied, had he Lived long enough; but he Died in an Island (*K*) of the Lake of *Zurich* the 29th. of *August* 1523. He was a little Man, of a Weak and Sickly Constitution; but of great Courage, and somewhat too (*L*) Passionate. A Collection of his Poems was Published at *Francfort* in 1538 *. He is thought to be the Author (*M*) of many Libels. Part of his Library fell into the Hands of a Physician, who, as is said, Sold some thing of it to *Frobenius*. See the beginning of the second Book of *Joachim Camerarius*'s Letters.

HUTTEN (*Leonard*) Professor of Divinity at *Wittemberg*, was Born in 1482. at *Ulm*, where his Father was Minister. He was so well Tutour'd in the Sciences, and made so great a Progress, that at 33. years of Age he was made Professor of Divinity in one of the most famous † Universities. He discharged all the Parts of his Office in such a manner, that he was accounted a very Laborious Man, and very fit to Teach ‡. He express'd an Ardent Zeal for Orthodoxy, being a most Rigid and Violent

* Taken from his Life in Melchior Adam in vitis Jurisconsultor. Germaniæ pag. 13. & seq.

† That of Wittemberg.

‡ Taken from Spizelius in Templo honoris reserato pag. 32. & seq.

quiddam quod tamen in Spongia *non attigi. Ille egens & omnibus rebus destitutus quæsebat nidum aliquem ubi moraretur. Erat mihi gloriosus ille miles cum sua* (*f*) *scabie in ædes recipiendus, simulque recipiendus ille chorus titulo* Evangelicorum, *sed titulo duntaxat.* Sletstadii *multavit omnes amicos suos a-liqua pecunia.* A Zuinglio *improbè petiit, quod ipse* Zuinglius *mihi suis literis perscripsit. Jam amabulentiam & gloriam hominis nemo quamvis patiens ferre poterat.* You see then that our *Hutten* did not put *Erasmus* in any fear upon the Score of his being a good Lutheran, but upon that of his being a Bankrupt Officer, who would take up his Winter Quarters with him. There is no doubt but that his Visits that were attended with borrowing of Money, proved ungrateful to many, who were Profest Protestants.

(*I*) *He Answered it.*] This Answer is inscribed to *Zuinglius*, and Intituled *Spongia Erasmi adversus aspergines Hutteni. Erasmus* there sincerely Confesses, that he Requested *Hutten* not to come to see him, unless some important Reason obliged him to it; but he shews that his Request was so softened, and that afterwards he made so many Proposals to that Friend, that any reasonable Man would have been Content with them. He Writ to *Mark Laurimus* Dean of *Bruges*, that if *Hutten* had come to see him, he would not have refused to Discourse with him (*g*). He adds that the reason which hinder'd them from seeing one another, was, that *Hutten* could not be without a Stove, and that *Erasmus* could not endure one. By this Instance we see, how liable the most honest Men are not to say always in their Letters things as they know them. *Hutten* was desparately enraged against *Erasmus*, and heaped up many disobliging Reproaches. *Erasmus* justified himself the best he could. After *Hutten*'s Death a Physician, Named *Otho Brunfels*, replied to *Erasmus* for him.

(*g*) Fuit hic Huttenus patrum dierum hospes; interim nec ille me adiit, nec ego illum; & tamen si me convenisset non repulissem hominem à colloquio. *Erasm. Epist. 6. l. 23.*

(*K*) *He Died in an Island of the Lake of Zurich.*] He was also Buried there, and after some years (*b*) a Gentleman of *Franconia* got this Distick Engraved on his Sepulcher.

Hic eques auratus jacet, oratorque disertus
Huttenus, vates carmine & ense potens.

The worst of all is, that he Died of the Pox. If *Varillas* (*a*) was the first that had said it, I should not be concerned for it: But I find this Particular in *Gesner*'s *Bibliothèque*: and who after this can chuse but deplore the Extravagance of Man? *Hutten* running from Place to Place for Religion, *Hutten* Persecuted for his great Zeal, carries the Pox with him wherever he goes, and Dies of it at last. What a disagreeing Medly is this! He Published a Book in Latin in 1519. concerning the *French* Disease. At that time, he could Treat of it like a Master; for in all Appearance, he had not got that Distemper since his Abjuration of Popery. For the rest, Mr. *Varillas* reckons ill. He says that *Hutten* espous'd *Luther*'s Interest five years before his Death, and two years after the Diet of *Augsburg*, where he opposed the League that the Court of *Rome* had a Mind to Form against the *Turks*. That Diet was held in 1518. *Hutten* then must have turn'd Lutheran in 1520. Now he lived but three years after that. *Varillas*'s Remark *that he was oblig'd to live* Continently, *because he had receiv'd Holy Orders*, is not perhaps altogether false; for we find these Words in *Melanchthon*'s Life. *Intercesserat Hutteno cum Croto Rubiano singularis usus à prima adolescentia, quo autore vel certe adjutore reliquit ille contubernium Fuldanum, id quod pene puer magis disciplinæ quam religionis caussa datus esset.*

(*L*) *Somewhat too Passionate.*] *Gesner* (*b*) observes that at the beginning of the Reformation, *Hutten* said and wrote many things boldly and freely against the Roman Catholicks, as also against the Princes and Magistrates of Towns. He embrac'd *Capnio*'s Party against the Monks (*c*) with so much Violence, that after he had Attack'd that Faction with the Pen, he Assaulted it with the Sword. He sent News to *Luther* of the double War he had made with the Clergy. *Hutten literas ad me dedit* (*d*) *ingenti spiritu æstuantes in Romanum Pontificem, scribens se jam & literis & armis in tyrannidem sacerdotalem rucre, motus quod pontifex sicas & venenum ei intentarit, ac Episcopo Moguntino mandarit, captum ac vinctum Romam mittere.* Since *Luther* disapprov'd this Man's (*e*) Violence, we need not wonder that it gave *Melanchthon* some uneasiness: He esteem'd *Hutten*'s Wit and Learning; but he was afraid of his Haughtiness, and of his Impetuous and Innovating Humour. *Ut virum magni facere & admirari propter doctrinæ eruditionem & præstantiam ingenii, sic ab illius natura vehemente & excelso animo, & voluntate ad novas res propensa*

——*nonnihil timere Philippum Melanchthonem licuit animadvertere.* *Camerarius* (*f*) who tells us this, adds, that *Ulric Hutten* was very Violent, and that by his Look and Discourse one might discover the Inclination he had to Cruelty. He applies to him what was said of *Demosthenes*; for he says that *Hutten* would have overturn'd all *Europe*, if his Strength could have seconded his Designs and Enterprizes. Judge of his Humour by this Specimen. Having (*g*) heard that the *Carthusians* had made use of his Printed Picture in the House of Office, he Fin'd them two thousand Pistols. This was to make 'em pay dear for the little consideration they had for the Laurel that Crown'd that Image. *Varillas* (*h*) says, that *Luther* caused it to be Plac'd in the Front of his Books. I have elsewhere related how *Ulric Hutten* threatened the Nuncio, and so I can easily believe that he writ to the Elector of *Mentz*, (*k*) *If you burn my Books, I'll burn your Towns.*

(*M*) *He is thought to be the Author of many Libels.*] Of these amongst others; *Dialogus Philalethis civis Utopiensis. Oratio ad Christum pro Julio secundo Ligure pontifice* (*l*). *Bullicida* (*m*): *Iradones*; *Momus*: *Carolus*: *Pietatis & superstitionis pugnæ*: *Conciliabulum Theologistarum adversus bonarum literarum studiosos. Apophthegmata Vadisci & Pasquilli de deprevato Ecclesiæ statu. Huttenus Captivus, Huttenus illustris, authore S. Abydeno Corallo Germano* (*n*). A Burlesque Satyr, Intituled *Nemo*, was Father'd upon *Erasmus*, but it was *Hutten* (*o*) that made it: He declared he was the Author of it, and was Troubled that he should be Rob'd of it. Some affirm (*p*) that he is the Author of the *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*. That Fiction would be more Tolerable than another that is imputed to him: 'Tis pretended he Forged the Letter which he Publish'd in the Name of the Universities of

(*b*) *Ubi supra.*

(*c*) Litigantes Monachos cum Capnione varie exagitavit, & illam factionem tum quidem vehementissimis scriptis, sed aliquando post armis quoque expeditis adortus est. *Camerar. in vit. Melanchth.*

(*d*) *Luther. tom. 1. Epist. pag.* 282. & 285.

(*e*) Quid Huttenus petat videas, nollem vi & cæde pro Evangelio certari: ita scripsi ad hominem. *Id. tom. 1. epist. p.* 332.

(*f*) *Ubi supra.*

(*g*) Huttenus Carthusianos quia imagine sua pro anitergiis usi sunt, in duobus millibus aureorum nummûm multavit. *Nicolaus Gerbelius Epist. ad Jo. Schwebelium apud Melchior. Adam.*

(*h*) *Ubi supra.*

(*k*) *Palavicin. hist. Concil. Trident. lib. 1. c.* 25. *n.* 1.

(*l*) *Melch. Adam. in vitis Jurisconsl.*

(*m*) *Epit. Gesneri.*

(*n*) *Gesner in Bibl. who takes that* Abydenus Corallus *to be a Sup-posititious Name.*

(*o*) *See* Erasmus's *Letters, p.* 543. & 575.

(*p*) *See* Hochstratus *Remark F.*

Paris,

lent *Lutheran*. His Writings Breath (*A*) that Zeal throughout: And if what he said (*B*) of the Martyrs of the *Geneva* Confession, be considered never so little, it must be confest that he ran into Extreams. That Humour of his exposed him to many vexatious Disputes, in which he was forc'd to bear the Strokes of Obloquy (*C*). He died in the Year 1616. He must not be confounded with him that (*D*) published a *Polyglot* Bible.

I. JAC-

Paris, *Oxford*, and *Prague* (*q*). If he had lived 35 years longer (*r*), with what a Deluge of Books and Libels, had he not overflowed *Europe*?

(*A*) *His Writings Breath that Zeal throughout.*] See especially his Book Intituled *Concordia concors, sive de origine & progressu formulæ concordiæ Ecclesiarum Augustanæ confessionis liber unus, Rudolpho Hospiniano oppositus.* 'Tis a *Folio* Printed at *Wittemberg* in the year 1614 (*s*). See also his Disputation (*t*) *pro formula concordiæ*; his (*v*) *Collegium Theologicum de articulis confessionis Augustanæ, & libro Christianæ concordiæ*; his *Irenicum vere Christianum, sive de Synodo & unione Evangelicorum non ficta concilianda tractatus. Theologicus*; his *Sideel Elenchomenus, hoc est tractatio pro unitate humanæ naturæ Christi*. He writ against Popery with great Vigour. See his Disputes *de sacrificio Romanensium Missatico, ejusque horrenda abominatione: de transubstantiatione & processionibus Pontificiis, pro asserendo integro Sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ contra Jesuitas*. See also *Refutatio duorum librorum Rob. Bellarmini de Missa: Triumphus de regno Pontificio: Ilias malorum regni Pontificio-Romani, sive historica dissertatio de injustissimo Pontificis Romani in Ecclesia Dei dominatu: Actio in Jacobum Gretserum de Imperatorum, Regum, ac Principum Christianorum in sedem Apostolico-Romanam munificentia pro Nicolao Clemangis* (*w*). I omit the Titles of many other Books both in High *Dutch* and *Latin*. His *Calvinista Aulico-Politicus*, which was Printed at *Wittemberg* in the year 1615, shall be cited in the following Remark.

(*B*) *What he said of the Martyrs of the* Geneva *Confession.*] The Elector of *Brandenburg* had alledged amongst other things, in his Edict of Toleration, the Vexations and Punishments which the Calvinists had undergone from the Common Enemy; but our *Hutterus* said against it, that the Arians, the Anabaptists and the Anti-Trinitarians might make use of the same Argument to obtain a Toleration. He maintained, that the Calvinists had not suffered Death for believing that the Blood of JESUS CHRIST would save 'em, but for refusing to Obey the Pope, whom they called Anti-Christ. *Scripserat quondam in Edicto Serenissimus Elector Brandeburgicus*, non excludendos esse à Christiana communione *Reformatos*, qui idem sentiunt in fundamendo fidei, in Evangelio cum *Lutheranis* laborant, certant, luctantur, eoque nomine à communi hoste innumeros cruciatus sustinuerunt, sustinentque, quique etiam sanguinem pro confessione illa largissimè profuderunt. *Cornua illi obvertere ausus Hutterus in Aulico-Politico* cap. 2. pag. 176. &c. *ubi regerit*, à Papistis etiam Anapaptistas, Arianos, Antitrinitarios, aliosque supplicio affectos esse: causam supplicii nostrorum non fuisse, quòd crediderint, se per Christum servatum iri, sed quòd Romanum Pontificem non agnoverint Pastorem universalem, sed Antichristum, ejusque jugum detrectaverint ferre (*x*). The *Swiss* Divine, who supplies me with this Passage, Judiciously observes, that this Method of Disparaging the Martyrdom of the Calvinists might equally be employed against the Lutheran Martyrs. This he says, after having observed that a Divine of *Strasburg* makes use of the same Cavil as *Hutterus*. *Gemella his effutivit Dannenhawerus, Argentinensis Theologus*, Colleg. Decalog. p. 394. *ubi Reformatorum Martyrium* larvatum *vocare, & cum Judæorum, Ethnicorum, Arianorum sub Athalarico Gothorum Principe religionis causa occisorum Martyrio comparare non eruluit. Certè pessimi tales etiam Lutheranæ Ecclesiæ Martyrii veri fulmen laudemque præcidunt* (*y*). Can we sufficiently admire the Effects of Prepossession? Is it not a deplorable thing, that a Popish Missionary can object to the Protestants, that the Martyrdom of their Brethren is look'd upon as a false Martyrdom by some Lutheran Doctors. See the Remark *H.* of the Article *Westphalus (Joachim)*. Note, that *Bayle* calls those Slanderers, who accuse the Lutherans of Reproaching the Calvinist Martyrs (*b*) *the Martyrs of the Devil.*

(*C*) *He was forced to bear the Strokes of Obloquy.*] He is compared in his Elogy, to the Prophets and Apostles, who were persecuted for the Truth, and has affirmed, that he answered Calumny with Silence and Contempt. I will not dispute these Matters, being not sufficiently acquainted with them; but I'll say in general, that there are some Doctors so passionate, so insolent, so full of themselves, that they get Enemies, not because they maintain Orthodoxy, but by reason of their rude way of maintaining it. Their Adversaries take their Revenge by Personal Reproaches, and touch the most vexatious Truths of them, and convict them of many scandalous Things; and they know not how to justify themselves. What must they do then? Why, they mightily boast of their Patience; they compare themselves to the Prophets and Apostles, and to *JESUS CHRIST* himself. 'Being persecuted, *say the*, like them 'for the Truth, we open not our Mouth, when 'the Enemies of the truth abuse us. *Moliere* should have inserted this in a Scene of his *Tartuffe*; for it must be well observed, that these Gentlemen are never silent, when they have Scandals to publish against their Neighbour, or when they can alledge any thing plausible for their Justification. Be it how it will, our *Hutterus*'s Panegyrist crowns him with this fine Elogy. (*c*) *Sicuti verò summis quibusque Viris non omnia omnino ex animi fluxêre sententia, sed cruces, calumniæ & persecutiones varias illos exercuerunt, ita Hutterus certissimo hoc fidelium Dei Servorum charactere neutiquam caruit, quippe quo ab omnipotente Deo, Prophetæ, Apostoli, & sinceri Ecclesiæ Doctores olim fuit signati—— Idem prorsus nostro fatum; quod æquo & patienti pertulit animo, magisque de abstergendis calumniis, suis antecessoribus impactis, quam famæ & existimationis propriæ vindicatione fuit sollicitus, haud ignorans, omnes injurias oblivione melius, quam commemoratione sanari, & inimicorum calumnias contemptu potius quam lingua esse vindicandas.*

(*D*) *That published a* Polyglot *Bible.*] His Name was *Elias* HUTTERUS. He first published a Bible in Four Languages, *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and *High-Dutch*, at *Hamburg*, in the Year 1597. Afterwards he added to it the *Italian*, *French*, *Sclavonian*, and *Saxon*. His New Testament was printed in the Year 1600, in Twelve Languages, which are the *Syriack*, *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *German*, *Bohemian*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *French*, *English*, *Danish* and *Polish*. He reduced them to Four in the Edition of the Year 1603, namely, *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German*. This *Polyglot* Bible is very scarce. There is a Collection of Letters, containing the Judgment of Learned Men about this Work (*d*).

(*q*) *See Father* Labbe *de Script. Eccles. tom.* 1. *p.* 922.

(*r*) Melch. Adam & Moreri, *place his Birth in the Year* 1488. *and his Death in the Year* 1523 *and yet they say that he lived Thirty Six Years.*

(*s*) *See* Hospinian *Rem. F.*

(*t*) *Printed at* Wittemberg *in the Year* 1605.

(*v*) *Printed at* Wittemberg, *in the Year* 1610.

(*w*) *Taken from* Spizelius in Templo honoris p. 37. 38.

(*x*) *Heidegerus Dissertat. seleCtar. tom.* 2. *pag.* 352.

(*y*) *Heidegerus ubi supra.*

(*b*) Nulla modestia [illegible]

(*c*) *Spizelius ubi supra pag.* 35.

(*d*) *Taken from* Hottinger Bibliot. quadripartita, *lib.* 1. *c.* 2. *pag.* 141. 142.

I

JACCETIUS (*Francis Cataneus*) was born at *Florence* the 16th. of *November*, 1466. He was a Scholar of *Marſilius Ficinus*, and he made ſo great Proficiency by the Leſſons of this Learned Maſter, that he became one of the beſt *Platoniſts* of his Time, and an excellent Orator. He ſucceeded the ſame *Ficinus* in his Profeſſorſhip of Philoſopy, who judged him excellently qualified for it, even ſo far, as to believe, that Nature had produced him for that purpoſe. He publiſhed (*A*) many Books, and died at *Florence* in the Year 1522. He was buried in the Church of the *Holy Croſs*, in the Tomb of his Anceſtors, and he left (*B*) Thirteen Sons. *Benedetto Varchi* made his Funeral Oration: his Life was moſt elegantly written by *Euphroſynus Lapinus* *. His true *Italian* Name (*C*) *Diaccetto*, has been very much altered by the Writers that ſpeak of him or of his Poſterity. There is another *Francis Cataneus* † JACCETIUS (*D*), who is an Author; but I think he is known only by the Name of *Diacettius*, or *Diacetius*. I believe the Count *de Chateauvilain* (*E*), who married one of *Catherine de Medicis*'s Maids of Honour, was deſcended from *Francis Jaccetius*. That Maid was call'd Mademoiſelle *d'Atri*, and has been both well and ill ſpoken of †.

JANSENIUS (*Cornelius*) Biſhop of *Ipres*, was one of the moſt Learned Divines of the XVIIth. Century. He was born (*A*) near *Leerdam* in *Holland*, in 1585. He has been often reflected upon, as if his Family had been Proteſtant, and he had for ſome time (*B*) profeſs'd that Religion; but 'tis not true. He went to ſtudy at *Louvain* in 1602, and he ply'd his Studies with ſo much Application, that he fell Sick ‖, ſo that he was adviſed to change the Air. He went from thence to *Paris*, where he found *John du Verger* ‖ *de Hauranne*, with whom he had entered into a ſtrict Friendſhip at *Louvain*. Upon the Recommendation of this good Friend ,, he was made Tutor in a

* *See Michaele Poccianti-o, de ſcriptor. Florentinis p.* 67. 68.

† *See the Notes upon the* Confeſſion Catholique de Sanci, pag. 459. & ſeq. edit. 1699.

* *Valer. Andreas Deſſelius Bibl. Belg. pag.* 154.

‖ *He who made himſelf ſo famous under the Name of the Abbot of* St. Cyran.

,, *Leydecker ubi infra pag.* 8.

(*A*) *He publiſhed many Books.*] Theſe are the Titles of ſome of them: *De pulchro libri tres. De amore libri tres. Paraphraſis in Politicum, & Theagenem Platonis, & in Ariſtotelem de cœlo & meteoris. Enarratio in Platonis ſympoſium. Oratio in funere Laurentii Medicei. Epiſtolæ variæ &c.* An Edition of his Works in *Folio*, was printed at *Baſil*, in the Year 1563. Mention is made of it in *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheque*, under *Franciſcus Cataneus Jaccetius*. The Catalogue of *Oxford* and *Konig* ſpeak of it only under the Word *Cataneus*. *Ghilini* calls this Author only *Franceſco Catanio* (*e*). He has paraphraſed what *Poccianius* ſaid of him, and adds nothing beſides.

(*B*) *And he left Thirteen Sons.*] I make no doubt that one of them was the Perſon I ſpeak of in the Article of *Machiavel* (*f*), and whoſe miſerable End has been deſcribed by *Pierius Valerianus* in this manner (*g*): *Jacobus Jacettius juvenis & Græce & Latinè egregiè peritus, pangendi carminis auctor non illepidus Florentinam cathedram obtinebat; ſed infelici ſuo fidere conjurationis in Julii Cardinalis Medicei cædem certo die patrandam conſcius fuit; qua patefacta, captus ipſe, & tam nefandi ſceleris convictus Senatus Florentini judicio ſecuri percuſſus eſt. Paul Jovius*, who gives him no other Title (*h*) but that of a Poet, is to be cenſured. I fancy that Brother *Angelus* (*i*) *de Cataneis Diacetius*, who after he had gone through all the Dignities of the *Dominican* Order, was made Biſhop of *Fieſoli*, in the Year 1566, was one of the Thirteen Sons of our *Jaccetius*. He died the 5th. of *May*, 1574. being Eighty one Years old (*k*). He is called in his Epitaph (*l*) *Angelus Catanæus Diacetius*.

(*C*) *His true Name* Diaccetо, *has been very much altered.*] See the Remark *C.* of the Article *Machiavel*, and note, that the Reaſon why I make *Diaccetо* his true Name, is becauſe I have found this Word in the Subſcription of a Letter (*m*), which our *Jaccetius*'s Grandſon wrote to *Varchi* the 9th. of *September*, 1561, in ſending him (*n*) two Copies of a Book of his Grandfather. He had received four from *Venice*. The Edition pleaſed him as to the Character, but he found it uncorrect. *Michael Poccianius* (*o*) has not been altogether exact, having written that Name *Franciſcus Catbaneus Diacetius*. Note, that the Author of the Notes upon the Book, intituled, *La Confeſſion de Sanci*, informs me, that (*p*) *Carolus Zenobii de Ghiacetо unus ex Decemviris Balia Florentinæ civitatis*, ſigned in that Quality with J——Son of *Coſmo de Medicis*, in a Contract made at *Florence*, in 1453, which he ſaw *amongſt the Archives of* Lorrain. This ſhew, that the ancient Name of this Family was not *Diaccetо*. 'Tis very Probable that *Diaccetо* was made by joining the Article and the Name together. I have ſpoke in another Place (*q*) of the Life of one *Paul Ghiacetti*.

(*D*) *Another* Francis Cataneus] JACCETIUS, *who is an Author.*] Michael (*r*) Poccianius calls him *Franciſcus Cathaneus Diacettius*, and ſays, that he was Canon of the Cathedral of *Florence*, Apoſtolical Protonotary, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Biſhop of *Fieſoli*, and that amongſt other Works, he compoſed in *Italian*, the Life of JESUS CHRIST, that of the Holy Virgin, and of St. *Dominick*, and of ſome Biſhops of *Fieſoli*, ſeveral Sermons, and the Epiſtles and Goſpels for all the Year. *Ughelli* (*s*) calls him *Franciſcus Cataneus Diacettius*, and ſays, that he was the Succeſſor of *Angelus de Cataneis Diacetius* his Uncle, in the Biſhoprick of *Fieſoli*, in the Year 1570; that he ſate amongſt the Fathers of the Council of *Trent*; that he wrote ſome Tracts *De authoritate Papæ & Concilii, de ſuperſtitione artis magicæ, &c.* that he diſcharged all the Duties of a good Prelate, and died the 4th. of *November* 1595.

(*E*) *The Count* de Chateauvilain —— *deſcended from our* Francis Jaccetius.] *Mezeray* (*a*) ſpeaking of the Exploits of the King's Troops againſt the *Leaguе*, obſerves, that *Sanci* made himſelf Maſter of *Chateauvilain* in *Champagne*, in the Year 1589, at the Sollicitation of the Lord of the Place. *It was*, adds he, *a* Florentine, *named* Lewis Dijaceti, *who as many others of his Nation, had got vaſt Wealth by treating about Impoſts and Cuſtoms with the King.*

(*A*) *He was born near* Leerdam.] In a Village called *Accoy*, as Mr. *Leydecker* obſerves. *Fallunt*, ſays he (*b*), *operis poſthumi editores quando referunt eum natum eſſe Leerdami modico Batavis oppidulo, ſed tanti viri natalibus jam magno. Etenim ſciant ejus Aſſecla eum in Comitatu quidem Leerdamenſi natum, non tamen in oppido* LEERDAMO (*Lingerdamo aliàs, quid ad Lingam fluvium ſit ſitum*) *ſed in quodam Pago, quod Urbecula ſubeſt, &* ACCOY *appellatur: ſic Nepotes & Conſanguinei, qui ibi adhuc degunt, teſtantur, ſuperſtite humili Domunecula, in qua primum lucem adſpexit.* He called himſelf (*c*) *Leerdamenſis*, according to the uſual Cuſtom of taking the Name of the Town, in whoſe Territory one is born. This may be proved by a Thouſand Inſtances.

(*B*) *And as if he had for ſome time profeſs'd the Proteſtant Religion.*] A Jeſuit of *Bourdeaux*, called *Moſes du Bourg*,

(*f*) *In the Remark C.*

(*g*) *Pierius Valerian. de litterator. infelicit. lib.* 2. *pag.* 77.

(*h*) *See* Machiavel, *Remark* C.

(*i*) *So he is called in the* 3*d. Volume of the* Italia ſacra *of* Ughelli, pag. 340.

(*k*) *Id. ib.*

(*l*) Ughelli ibid. *has it.*

(*m*) Bulifon *has inſerted it in page* 199. *of his* lettere ſtoriche politiche ed erudite, *printed in* Pozzoli 1685.

(*n*) Viz. *his Book de amore.*

(*o*) *Mich. Poccianius, de ſcript. Flor. p.* 67.

(*p*) *Page* 461. *of the Edition of* 1699.

(*q*) *In the Remark of the Article* Fontius.

(*r*) *Poccianus. ubi ſupra pag.* 71.

(*ſ*) *Ughelli ubi ſupra*

(*a*) *Mezeray hiſt. de France, tom.* 3. *p.* 784. *edit.* 1685.

(*b*) *Leydecker de vita & morte Janſenii, pag.* 2.

(*c*) Janſenius patria fuit Batavus, atque ut ipſe ſcribit, quaſi in honore id ponerat, *Leerdamenſis*—Unde verò iſte error? an quod, &c. *Id. ib. & pag.* 3.

a good Family; and being a Learned Man, he quickly became acquainted with some Illustrious Persons. Some time after he went to *Bayonne*, to his good Friend, who had retired thither. They studied together (C), with an extraordinary Application, and got so far into the Esteem of the Bishop of *Bayonne*, that he procured a Canonship in his Cathedral for *du Verger*, and a Principality of a College for *Jansenius* §. The Bishop being raised to the Archbishoprick (D) of *Tours*, invited *du Verger* to *Paris*; and then *Jansenius* being parted from his Friend, and being not sure of the Protection of the new Prelate, left *Bayonne*, and returned to *Louvain*, where he was made Principal of the College of St. *Pulcheria*; a Post [which he disliked, because he was not at Leisure to apply himself to his Studies, which was also the Reason why he would not undertake to teach Philosophy ‡. He was admitted Doctor of Divinity in the Year 1617, and taken into the Number of the ordinary Professors, and he acquired such a Reputation, that the University (E) sent him twice into *Spain* upon Matters of Importance. The King his Master made him Professor of the Holy Scripture in 1630, in the University of *Louvain*; and Five Years after he preferred him to the Bishoprick of *Ipres*. A Book, that *Jansenius* published (F) against *France*, mightily contributed to his getting this Dignity. He enjoyed it but a short time; for he died the

§ *Ibid.* pag. 10.

‡ *Ibid.* pag. 12.

† *Valerius Andreas ubi supra.*

(e) *Intituled*, Histoire du Jansenisme, contenant sa conception, sa naissance, son accroissement & son agonie.

(f) *See the* Cases *of* Jansenius's *Relations, in the* 8*th. tome of the* Morale pratique pag. 317.

(g) In præfatione triumphi Catholicæ veritatis, *printed at* Paris 1651.

(h) *See the* Cases *of* Jansenius's *Relations*, pag. 307.

(i) *Ibid.* pag. 317.

(k) *Ubi supra*, pag. 3.

(l) *'Tis observed at the beginning of the first* Case, *that he was called* John Ottio Vequoy.

(m) *Factum pour les parens de Jansenius*, pag. 410.

(n) *Ubi supra* pag. 10

(o) *Orvale, their Brother-in-Law; for the Marquis* d'Ancre's *Name was* Concini, *and his Wife's* Galligai.

(p) *Factum*, pag. 450.

(q) Pag. 451.

(r) *That is, of* Moses du Bourg.

(s) *Valer. Andr. in fastis Academicis* pag. 393.

Bourg, published a little Book (s) in the Year 1658, in which he said (f) 'that the Father of 'Cornelius *Jansenius* profess'd the Heresie of the 'Calvinists, tho' his Son being of Age, declared 'himself a Catholick. Father *Labbe* had published the same thing before him: (g) *Princeps eorum extitit* CORNELIUS JANSENIUS *qui gente Hollandus, patria Leerdamensis, inter hæreticos educatus à puero, tum Lovanii, &c.* Father *Hazart* renewed the same Calumny in a *Flemish* Book, intituled, *the Triumph of the Popes of* Rome, which he published at *Antwerp*, in 1681. *His Father*, says he, *was a* Calvinist; and as for himself, *being grown, he made an outward shew of being a Catholick* (h). When he found himself prosecuted for saying this, he alledged, amongst other Reasons, that he was not the Author of this Reproach, since he published it only after *Moses du Bourg* (i). It has been proved in the *Cases* which I quote, that this is a very false Reproach. Here is a Passage of Mr. *Leydecker*, which contains some Particulars, that are not in the *Cases*. (k) *Parentes habuit honestos, Pontificia Religioni addictos, licet Evangelica lux Belgio affunderetur, quibusque modica opes. Ut male Hazardus Jesuita in Historiis Eum Patre Calviniano natum retulerit, illum falsi postulantibus, qui id non ferrent, Nepotibus. Pater appellatus fuit vernaculo nomine* (l) JAN OTTIE, *fabrili opere victum quæritans, Mater autem* LYNTJE GYSBERTS, *ceu referunt superstites, unde hic Filius* CORNELIS JANSEN *dictus est, antiquo vulgi in Belgio more, ut Latina vel erudita terminatione,* CORNELIUS JANSENIUS.

(C) *They studied together with an extraordinary Application.*] (m) 'Twas at Mr. *d'Hauranne's*, 'who was afterwards Abbot of *St. Cyran*, that *Jan*'senius spent the Five or Six Years that he was at 'Bayonne, applying himself to the reading of the 'Holy Fathers and St. *Austin*, so assiduously, that 'appearing to be of no strong Constitution, Mr. 'Hauranne's Mother used to say to her Son, that he 'would kill that honest *Fleming*, by making him 'study so hard.

(D) *Being raised to the Archbishoprick of* Tours.] According to Mr. *Leydecker* (n) this Archbishoprick became vacant by the Cession of *Sebastian Galigai* (o) Brother of the Marquis *d'Ancre*: *Vacante Cathedra per spontaneam Sebastiani Galigaji Florentini, infelicis Marchionis Ancrai fratris, cessionem.*

(E) *The University sent him twice into* Spain.] His Enemies gave out a great many Lyes hereupon. They said, (p) *that he fled from* Spain, *just as he was going to be taken by the Inquisition for venting his new Doctrine there.* This is what Father *Hazart* has given out after *Moses du Bourg*. Here is the Answer that is to be found in the *Cases* (q).

'His (r) Ignorance of Mr. *Jansenius's* Affairs, 'plainly shews, that 'tis a Calumny forged at Pleasure. 'He speaks of his *Spanish* Voyage, as if he had 'made but one, whereas he has made two: (1) One 'in the Year 1624. and the other in 1625. This 'would have perplexed the Jesuit of *Bourdeaux*; 'for if he had fixt his Story to the first Voyage of '*Jansenius*, the Falshood would have been visible, be'cause *Jansenius* would have taken care, not to return 'thither a second Time. And if he had fixed it to 'the Second, it would have been visible another 'Way; it being certain, that so unlucky an Acci'dent would have ruined all his Negociation, and 'that he would have returned in Disgrace to *Lou*'vain: instead of which it is most true, that he 'returned gloriously, having obtained of his Ca'tholick Majesty, all that the University of *Lou*'vain desired, to put a Stop to the Enterprises of 'the Jesuits. Lastly, An Author, who deserves so 'little Credit upon other Accounts, is not at all to 'be credited about a thing that is scarce credible, 'when in the same place he advances three other ma'nifest Falsities against the same Person. This is 'what this Jesuit of *Bourdeaux* has done; the 1st 'is, that *Jansenius's* Father was a *Calvinist*, &c. a 'Calumny, the Falsity whereof is unanswerably 'proved in the first and third *Case*. The 2d is, '*That* Jansenius *being returned* to Louvain *after the* 'Excursion he had made into France, *obtained by his* 'Intrigues, *under the Notion of a poor* Dutch 'Catholick, *a Pensioner's Place in a College, in* 'which a Distribution of some Money was made for 'the Livelihood of such poor Scholars. An impu'dent Lye, confuted by (2) the publick Acts; (2) *Fasti Acad.* pag. 138. 'for as soon as he returned to *Louvain* in the Year '1617, he took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity, 'and was made President of the College of St. 'Pulcheria: *Lovanium revocatus novo Collegio D.* 'Pulcheriæ præficitur. The 3d. is an infamous Ca'lumny, viz. that *this worthy Pensioner stole Money* 'from the College to pay the Pension of the Abbot of S. 'Cyran's two Nephews. 1. The Abbot of S. *Cyran* had 'but one Nephew at *Louvain*. 2. If *Jansenius* was 'only Pensioner, how could he dispose of the Col'lege Money? 3. This pretended Theft is an hor'rid Slander, dispersed in many of the Jesuits Li'bels, of which they have been convicted in the 'Sixteenth *Provincial Letter*, in these Words; *I* 'will tell you, &c.

It's a common Saying, that there is no Fiction but is grounded upon some Truth. And this may be said of that of *Moses du Bourg*; for it appears by a Letter of *Jansenius*, that the *Spanish* Inquisition made some Informations against him after his Departure. The Words of his Letter are these (a): 'They 'write to me from *Spain*, that the Inquisition has 'been set on against a Doctor of *Louvain*, who had 'been in that Kingdom; and that they have applied 'themselves to a Doctor of *Salamanca*, in whose 'House he lodg'd, who is the first Doctor of that 'University, call'd *Basil de Leon*, to take Informa'tion against him as an *Hollander*, and consequent'ly an Heretick: but he answered them so much to 'the Advantage of this Doctor, as put them out of 'Countenance (b). I shall conclude this Remark with the Words of *Valerius Andreas*. (b) *Brevi quoque tempore eam de se opinionem apud Academicos omnes excitavit, ut præ Jansenio alius magis idoneus non fuerit judicatus, qui nomine ejusdem Academiæ bis Legatus in Hispanias mitteretur. Ubi quâ prudentiâ ac dexteritate sese gesserit, tum apud Regem Catholicum, tum in Academiis Salmanticensi ac Vallisoletana, felicissimus utriusque Legationis eventus docuit.* Consult Mr. *Leydecker* (d) about the Subject and Success of these *Spanish* Voyages.

(a) *Dated the* 31*st. of* December 1627.

(b) *Factum* pag. 462, 463

(c) *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 154.

(d) Pag. 23 & *seq.*

(F) *A Book that* Jansenius *published* (e) *against* France.] 'Tis written with a great deal of Vigour, and

(e) *In the Year* 1635

the 6th of *May*, 1638. He had been above Twenty Years upon a Work, in which he explained St. *Auſtin*'s Syſtem concerning the Doctrine of *Grace*. This Book, publiſhed after his Death (G), has raiſed great Diſturbances in the Church of *Rome*, and found a great deal of Work for the Popes. The Followers of *Janſenius*'s Doctrine have been call'd *Janſeniſts*, and the *Jeſuits* have been their greateſt Adverſaries. Perhaps the Shuffling and foul Play that attends Controverſies of this Nature, was (H) never ſo notorious as in this. This Doctor engaged in Controverſie (I) with the Proteſtants; but he left them the Field of Battle. We have ſome other Works

(f) *Ubi ſupra pag.* 94. *&* *ſeq.*

(g) *Pag.* 92.

(h) Opportune ſuam operam offerebat P. Roſæus, vir eruditiſſimus, Sanctioris Conſilii Præſes, cujus ante meminimus, ſuppeditato voluminis argumento, quo vel pœnitentiam ageret, vel famam falſi acculaſſet. Illud autem erat *Mars Gallicus*, ſtylo quidem Janſenii ornandus, cujus tamen materia ipſius opus, eruditionem & ingenium ex cedebat *Leydecker ibid. p.* 93.

(i) *Ibid.*

(k) *Ibid. pag.* 89.

(l) *It is aſcribed to him, page* 31. *of* Sebaſtian Mabre-Cramoiſy's *Catalogue, printed in* 1678. *The* Janſenius ſuſpectus *was printed in* 1650, *by* Sebaſtian & Gabriel Cramoiſy.

(m) *Autor libri cui titulus,* Janſenius ſuſpectus, *apud Leydeckerum, pag.* 89.

(n) *I write this in the Year* 1695.

(o) See Hotomanus *Rem.* I.

(p) *Naudé coups d'eſtat ch.* 4. *p.m.* 610.

and intituled *Alexandri Patricii Armacani, Theologi, Mars Gallicus, ſeu de juſtitia armorum & fœderum Regis Galliæ libri duo.* It contains the moſt malicious and odious Outcries, againſt the continual Services which *France* did to the Proteſtants of *Holland* and *Germany*, to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion. The *Hollanders* are there called Rebels, who injoy a Republican Liberty by an infamous Uſurpation. They have anſwered that Reproach a Hundred Times, and Mr. *Leydecker* has given it a ſolid Confutation (*f*). He tells us, that there was a Report (*g*) that *Janſenius* being conſulted by the Duke of *Arſchot*, and the Archbiſhop of *Mechlen*, after the Loſs of *Boiſleduc*, and *Maeſtricht*, adviſed them to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Yoke, and to Canton in the way of the *Swiſs*. 'Twas diſcovered, that he had given that Counſel, and he was in great pain about it. Hereupon the Preſident *Roſe* ſhewed him an Expedient to come off: he adviſed him to write againſt *France*, and gave him the Plan of the *Mars Gallicus* (*h*). Mr. *Leydecker* alleges a Letter of the Nuncio *Fabio Chigi*. *Et ne mentiri viderentur, literas produxêre Fabii Chigii, Nuntii Apoſtolici (qui deinde Alexander VII. fuit) ad F. Barberinum, Cardinalem, datas Coloniæ* 25. *Martii*, 1641. *ubi hæc ſcripta*; Cardinalis Richelius admodum ſtomachatur in Janſenium, quod cum Roſæo Martem Gallicum conſcripſerit. *Nimirum hæ literæ adhuc in Collegio S. Officii Romæ aſſervantur* (*i*). The Jeſuits failed not to exaſperate the Court of *France* againſt the Followers of *Janſenius*, as being a Man who had defamed the Nation and their Monarchs, almoſt from the firſt to the laſt. Mr. *Leydecker* cites a long Paſſage out of a Book which he believes to be Father *Annat*'s; but in all Probability it was written by Father *Vavaſſeur* (*k*). I will only let down ſo much of it as concerns the ungrateful neſs that *Janſenius* was reproached with. (*w*) *Ante omnia Janſenio exprobrat ingratum in Galliam animum, quæ ipſi valetudinem, quam recipere non poſſet in patria, cœnereto & pingui cœlo, reſtituerat puro & ſalubri; quæ victum, cum egeret, præbuerat, tum domeſtico Præceptori Lutetiæ Pariſiorum, tum ludi publici Magiſtro Bajonæ; quæ notitiâ Virorum illuſtrium atque doctorum animum fecerat ad majora, aditumque & viam muniverat. Quin in Galliis, quod beneficii loco ſine dubio numeravit, magnam adeptus erat librorum Calviniſtarum copiam, quorum de fontibus hauſit Auguſtini interpretationem, & invenerat homines à Calviniſmi diſciplina non alienos, quibuſcum liberiores de Gratia ſermones contulerit.*

Let us admire the Viciſſitude of human Affairs. *Janſenius* was rewarded with a Mitre for having confounded *France* upon her entring into Alliances with Proteſtant States; and at preſent (*n*) the Court of *Spain* would doubtleſs give a good Prelacy to a Doctor of *Louvain*, who ſhould write as ſtrong a Book for the Juſtification of ſuch a League, as that was which *Janſenius* wrote againſt *France*: ſo true it is, that one may attain to the ſame end by quite contrary Ways, and that what is good at one time (*o*) may become very bad in another. The Confutation of a Book may deſerve the Reward that was given for the Book it ſelf. What a pretty Scene would it be for unprejudiced People; ſhould they ſee a Doctor of *Louvain* made a Biſhop for Solidly Confuting our *Cornelius*'s *Mars Gallicus*?

Naudé (*p*) makes him the Author of the *Admonitio & Myſteria Politica*, two Works, ſays he, that had wonderful Effects againſt the Deſigns of the Lewis XIII. I believe he is miſtaken.

(G) *This Book——has rais'd great Diſturbances.*] It has given Birth to innumerable other Books, ſome of which contain all that can be ſaid on both ſides upon the Subject, by Men of great Acuteneſs, Subtilty and Learning; but after all, a Man is not one Jot the wiſer than he was before; which will ever be the Fate of Diſputes of this Kind. The more they are handled, the more they are confounded, and give the Reader occaſion to ſay, *Peiſſis probe, incertior ſum multo quam dudum* (*r*). It has been ſaid, that the Doctrine of Grace is a Sea that has neither Shore nor Bottom. Perhaps it had been better to compare it with the *Faro di Meſſina*, in which there is always Danger of running into a Rock, by endeavouring to avoid another: *Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.* The whole Controverſie comes at laſt to this. Did *Adam* ſin freely? If you anſwer, Yes: Then it will be replied, that his Fall was not foreſeen: If you ſay no: Then it will follow that he was not culpable. You may write an Hundred Volumes upon either of theſe Conſequences, and at laſt you muſt be forc'd to own either, that an infallible Foreſight of a Contingent Event, is an unconceivable Myſtery; or that the Way how a Creature ſins, tho' it acts in a neceſſary Manner, is wholly incomprehenſible. I deſire no more: For to what purpoſe is it to write ſo many Books, ſince you muſt own one of theſe two incomprehenſible Myſteries?

(r) *Terent. Phorm. act.* 2. *ſcen.* 3.

(H) *The ſhuffling and foul Play was never ſo notorious.*] Thoſe that have never ſo little Penetration, ſee plainly that in the Diſpute about Liberty, there are but two Sides to be taken: one is to ſay, that all the Cauſes diſtinct from the Soul, which concur with her, leave her the Power of acting or not acting; the other is to ſay, that they determine her in ſuch a manner to act, that ſhe cannot do otherwiſe. The firſt Opinion is that of the *Moliniſts*; the other is, that of the *Thomiſts*, *Janſeniſts*, and *Calviniſts*. Here are three ſorts of People that oppugn *Moliniſm*, and who at the bottom muſt be of the ſame Mind; and yet the *Thomiſts* have contended might and main, that they were no *Janſeniſts*, and the *Janſeniſts* have maintain'd with equal Heat, that upon the Point of Liberty they were not *Calviniſts*. There are no Artifices or ill-grounded Diſtinctions, but what have been made uſe of to colour that Pretence; and all this with Deſign to avoid the miſchievous Conſequences they foreſaw, would follow their Confeſſion of any Conformity, either with the *Janſeniſts* or *Calviniſts*. On the other hand, there's no Sophiſtry but what the *Moliniſts* have made uſe of, to ſhew, that St. *Auguſtin* did not teach *Janſeniſm*, as being unwilling to own, that their Doctrine is contrary to that of this great Saint: Thus the *Thomiſts* refuſing to confeſs their Conformity with People called *Heretichs*, and the *Moliniſts*, to own themſelves contrary to a Doctor, who has been always reckoned Orthodox in his Opinions, have plaid an Hundred Tricks, without a grain of Sincerity in their Conduct.

(I) *Engaged in Controverſie with the Proteſtants.*] Here follows the Subſtance of that Diſpute. (*a*) The States-General made an Edict in 1629, by which they prohibited the publick Exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion in *Boiſleduc*, and appropriated the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues of the Mayoralty of that Town to the uſe of the Proteſtant Religion, which they cauſed to be preached there by Four Miniſters. The latter having notice that many virulent Slanders were ſecretly ſcatter'd againſt their Doctrine, publiſhed a Manifeſto to declare, that they taught nothing but the pure Goſpel, and to exhort their Adverſaries to propoſe in publick what they had to object. This was only anſwered in a Piece that (*b*) *Janſenius* was the Author of. *Gisbert Voetius*, one of the four Miniſters that preached in *Boiſleduc*, made ſome Remarks (*c*) upon this Work, which were confuted by a new Book of (*d*) *Janſenius*. The Author of the Remarks replied, and confuted his Adverſary in a great Book, publiſhed in the Year

(a) *Leydecker pag.* 57. *&* *ſeq.*

(b) *Intituled* Alexipharmacum, *printed in the Year* 1630.

(c) *Intituled,* Philonius Romanus correctus.

(d) *Intituled,* Notarum Ipongis, *printed in the Year* 1631.

Works (K) written by him. I have not said that the Court of *Rome* proceeded (L) against the Epitaph of this Bishop. Consult Mr. *Leydecker's* Book lately Publish'd. 'Tis a very good Book *.

JAPAN. This is the Name of a great Country Situated Eastward of *China*, and divided into many Islands. There is so much said of it in † *Moreri's* Dictionary, that I have but few things to observe. Nor will I Collect all that he has omitted; but confine my self to some Points of the Theology of those Islanders. ' ‡ The Monarchy of *Japan* is divided into two States, the Ecclesiastical and the Secular. The ' first is Composed of the *Bonzes*, and the second of the Nobility and Commons: ' The Name of *Bonzes* is common to all the Ministers devoted to the Service of the ' *Japanese* Gods. They Profess (A) Celibacy, and . . . have a Sovereign, whom they ' call *Facò* or *Xaco*; who has Authority over all the rest, and Judges of the Affairs of ' Religion, and Determines what ought to be practised concerning the Worship of their ' Gods, and believed concerning the Nature of them. He Elects the *Tundes*, who ' dispose of things less important, and represent in some manner our Bishops . . . . ' † The *Japanese* have two sorts of Gods. The first are the *Demons*, whom they Worship ' under several Figures, not in hopes of receiving good from them, but for fear of ' being hurt by them. The second sort are the Kings, Conquerors, and Wise Men, ' whom

* *It is Intituled* De Historia Jansenistini libri VI. quibus de Cornelii Jansenii vita & morte, nec non de ipsius & sequacium dogmatibus disseritur. *Utrecht* 1695. in 8vo.

† *Especially in the Edition* 1699.

‡ *For the Original of the Dispute of* July 1739. *see* Mem. pour servir à l'Histoire des Savans, p. 492. *and the Continuation of the History of the Church of Japan by the Abbot* de T.

Year 1635. and Intituled *desperata causa papatus. Jansenius* did not reply, but one of his Friends replied for him, who was *Libertus Fromondus*. His Book (e) was Printed at *Antwerp* in the Year 1636, and Refuted by *Martin Schoockius* Professor of History and Eloquence at *Deventer*, who Intituled his Answer *desperatissima causa papatus*. It was Printed in the year 1638. Mr. *Leydecker* says this was the end of that Dispute (f). But I find in the *Bibliotheca* of *Valerius Andreas* amongst *Fromondus's* Works, a Piece Intituled *Sycophanta: epistola ad Gisbertum Voetium*, Printed in 1640. And since the first Impression of this Article, I have seen a Letter, in which this Professor of *Utrecht* is tax'd with being mistaken. (†) *Falleris, ô Præclare, secus res habet. . . . . Fromondus . . . . . ultimo ictu prostravit adversarium, nunquam quod sciam refutatus.*

(e) *Intituled*, Causæ desperatæ Gisb. Voetii adversus Spongiam . . . Cornelii Jansenii crisis ostensa.

(f) *Ubi supra*, p. 64.

(†) *Epistola Christiani Philiremi ad Fr. van Paleologum pag.* 5.

Jansenius had another War to maintain, which we may call a Protestant one. For *Theodorus Simonis* (g) a wavering Catholick, came to *Louvain* to desire him to explain some Doubts about the Infallibility of the Pope, the Adoration of the Eucharist, and some other Points. *Jansenius*, being hamper'd with this Man's Objections, told him one Day that he would no longer Dispute *viva voce*, but in Writing, perceiving he had to do with a Catholick, who would quickly go into *Holland*, and boast that he had vanquish'd him. *Simonis*, who had much ado to bring himself to Dispute in Writing, resolv'd upon it at last. But after each of 'em had writ twice upon those Subjects, *Simonis* found himself Besieg'd with Soldiers in his Lodgings, and threatned to be Punish'd as an Heretick. The Secretary of the Duke of *Arschot*, cryed out against him, and said there was Wood enough in his Master's Forest to Burn that Heretick. But he who Examin'd *Simonis*, in the Name of the Arch-Bishop of *Mechlen*, having reported that he had found him a good Catholick, and firmly resolv'd to continue so, the Prisoner was set at Liberty, and *Jansenius* was obliged to pay the Expence of the Soldiers, *&c.* *Simonis* two years after turn'd Protestant, and Publish'd a Book Intituled (b) *de statu & religione propria papatus adversus Jansenium* (i). I have lately Read that this Man having left Lutheranism to imbrace Popery, turn'd Lutheran again, and at last Socinian. He was made Principal of the Socinian College of *Kisselin* in *Lithuania* (k). He understood Greek very well, and put into that Language *Comenius's Janua linguarum*.

(g) *He was a Native of* Holstein.

(b) *Printed at* Leyden *in* 1638.

(i) *See the History of all this at large in Mr.* Leydecker *p.* 68. *&c. seq.*

(k) *See* Mollerus, *Isagoge ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ, Part.* 3. *p.* 108.

(K) *Other Works written by him.*] An Oration *de interiore hominis reformatione. Tetrateuchus sive Commentarius in* IV. *Evangelia. Pentateuchus sive Commentarius in* V. *libros Moysis.* The Answer of the *Louvain* Divines, *de vi obligandi conscientias quam habent edicta regia super re monetaria*, and that of the Divines and Civilians, *de juramento quod publica auctoritate Magistratui defignato imponi solet*, are *Jansenius's* Works (l). Mr. *Leydecker* (m) complains that in *Moreri's* Dictionary, the Harmony of the Gospels is ascrib'd to our *Jansenius*, whereas it ought to be Attributed to another *Jansenius* Bishop of *Ghent*. I have not found this in *Moreri*. The Error, wherewith Mr. *Arnauld* (n) taxed *George Hornius* of believing that our *Jansenius* was Bishop of *Ipres*, and afterwards of *Ghent*, is Corrected in Mr. *Leydecker's* Edition (o).

(l) *Fide* Mollerum, *ubi supra*, *p.* 135.

(m) *Pag.* 2.

(n) *Morale pratique tome* 3. *p.* 130.

(o) *In notis ad Hist. Ecclesiast. Hornii p.* 517.

(L) *The Court of* Rome *proceeded against the Epitaph of this Bishop.*] The 10th. of *December* 1655. (p) ' *Francis de Robes* (q) of the Family ' of the Counts of *Annap*, Bishop of *Ipres*, caus'd ' the Tomb-Stone of his Predecessor *Cornelius Jansenius* to be taken away silently by Night, on which ' were Written the Praises of his Virtue and Learning, and particularly of his Book Intituled *Augustinus*, importing *that this most faithful Interpreter of St.* Austin's *most secret Thoughts, had employ'd upon that Work a Divine Wit, an undefatigable Labour, and all the time of his Life; and that the Church would receive the Fruit of it upon Earth, as he did the Reward of it in Heaven.* ' Words that were injurious to the Bulls of Pope *Urban* the *VIII.* and *Innocent X.* who had Condemn'd that Book. The destruction of this Grave-Stone was made by an express Order of Pope *Alexander VII.* and with the Consent of the Arch-Duke *Leopold* Governor of the *Low-Countries*, notwithstanding the resistance of the Chapter; ' which went so far that one of the principal Canons made bold to say, that it was not in the ' Pope's or the King's Power to suppress this Epitaph: so much was *Jansenius* in the Affection of ' him and his Colleagues. See Mr. *Leydecker* who mentions this more (r) at large. I can scarce believe what he observes (s), that the Jesuit *La Chaise* advised to break the Stone on which *Jansenius's* Epitaph was Engraved; but that the Bishop of *Ipres* was contented to throw it into a Corner. I don't think that in the year 1655. Father *la Chaise* was in a Condition to advise such a thing. Let us add this curious Particular: ' (t) The last time ' the most Christian King was at *Ipres*, an Hospitaler Nun who was with him (v) in his last Sickness, and who spoke of him as of a Saint, related ' with Tears in her Eyes to some Lords of the ' Court, that she held him by the Arm when he ' wrote his Will, and she intreated them at the ' same time to beg of the King that he would cause ' the Injury to be repaired, which had been done ' to so Holy a Man in taking away his Tomb-' Stone.

(p) *Journal Chronologique & Historique, tome* 2. *p.* 618.

(q) *M.* Leydecker *p.* 133. *calls him* Johannes Robletius.

(r) *Hist. pract. p.* 132. *& seq.*

(s) *Pag.* 135.

(t) *Mem. pour servir à l'Hist. tom.* 8. *p.* 492.

(A) *They profess Celibacy.*] ' But (u) they ' do not always observe it very exactly. They a-' stain from Flesh and Fish, Shave their Beards and ' Hair, and conceal their Debaucheries under the ' appearance of an Austere Life. Their greatest profit (x) *is the Burying of the Dead. The People being perswaded that in the other Life the Souls of their Relations may fall under some necessity, spare nothing to procure them the Comfort, which the* Bronzes *promise them by means of their great Alms. They use another Artifice to Inrich themselves, which is to borrow Money, which they promise the simple People to Pay again in the other World with great Interest; and borrowing it in this manner, they say among themselves, that the Term is worth the Money.* They who would draw a Parallel betwixt the *East* and the *West*, would find it defective as to the Article of these Debts Payable in the other World.

(u) *Journal des Savans of the* 18. *of* July 1689. *p.* 492. *Dutch Edit.*

(x) *Ibid. p.* 493

'whom they have placed in the number of their Gods. The two Principal (*B*) are '*Amida* and *Xaca* . . . . . They reckon a dozen Sects, or a dozen Religions in *Ja*-'*pan*; and every one is at Liberty to chooſe which he Pleaſes: which occaſions no 'Diviſions; becauſe, ſay they, Underſtandings have no Tye of Relation like Bodies. 'Amongſt theſe Sects there are three Principal. The firſt hopes not for a Life after 'this, and knows no other Subſtance, than what ſtrikes the Senſes . . . . The ſecond, 'which believe the Immortality of the Soul, and another Life, is followed by the 'beſt ſort of People, and is called the Sect of the Men of the moſt High God. The 'third is that of the Worſhippers of *Xaca*. The *Bonzes* may be Compared to our Monks *. Some Authors ſay †, that the moſt general Diviſion, that can be made of the Sects of the *Japaneſe*, is to Rank them under ſuch as make Profeſſion of ſticking to Appearance, and under others that ſeek Reality, which do's not ſtrike the Senſes, and which they call Truth. Thoſe that ſtick to Appearance (*C*) admit another Life after this, for the Eternal Recompence of good Men, and the Eternal Puniſhment of the Bad; but thoſe who ſeek the internal and inſenſible Reality, reject Heaven and Hell, and teach things (*D*) that have a great affinity with *Spinoza's* Opinion. They Symbolize with the *Epicureans* in taking from God the Government of the World as a thing contrary to the Supreme Tranquillity, which, according to them, is all his Felicity. Nay, they go farther than *Epicurus*; for they deprive God of Underſtanding and Reaſon. They fear doubtleſs that theſe Qualities would diſturb his Repoſe, as they Experience, that Reaſoning is attended with ſome Fatigue *. The Chriſtian Religion which *Francis Xavier*, and afterwards many other Miſſionaries, Preached to the *Japaneſe*, found no greater Obſtacles than what the *Bonzes* raiſed againſt it; not ſo much

* *See the Remark* B.

† *See Poſſevin bibliotb. ſelect. l.* 10. *c.* 2. *p. m.* 410. *tom.* 1.

* *See Poſſevin ibid. c.* 3. *p.* 415.

World; but then Celibacy ill-obſerved, Cheats hid under the Appearances of a rigid Morality, the profit of Enterments, and the Aſſiſtances ſent to Souls ſeparated from the Body, would afford them a great many Compariſons. I am perſuaded that many People in Reading Mr. (*a*) *Couſin's* Extracts, could not chuſe but ſay inwardly to themſelves, *Thus it is with us.* 'Twould be a very curious thing to ſee an Account of the *Weſt* written by a *Japaneſe*, or a *Chineſe*, who had lived many years in the great Cities of *Europe*. They would pay us in our own Coin. The Miſſionaries, who go to the *Indies*, Publiſh Relations, in which they Particularize the Falſities and Frauds they have obſerved in the Worſhip of theſe Idolatrous Nations. But whilſt they Ridicule 'em for it, may they not fear that it ſhould be replied to them, (*b*) *quid vides? mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*; and that they ſhould be upbraided as they deſerve, who wink at their own Faults, and diſcover with the utmoſt Sagacity the Vices of others?

(a) *Author of the* Journal des Savans *quoted above and here under.*

(b) *Horat. Sat.* 1. *lib.* 1.

(c) *Idem Sat.* 3. *l.* 1. *v.* 25.

Cùm (*c*) *tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,*
Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum,
Quàm aut aquila, aut ſerpens Epidaurius? at tibi contrà
Evenit, inquinant vitia ut tua rurſus & illi.

(*B*) *The two Principal are* Amida *and* Xaca.] (*d*) The firſt is repreſented under ſeveral Monſtrous Figures. In one of his Temples which is at *Iedo*, he is carried on a Horſe with ſeven Heads. The fineſt of his Temples is near *Meaco*, and is five hundred Foot in length. There are in it a thouſand Idols of Maſſy Gold. As for *Saca* or *Xaca*, the *Bonzes* tell a thouſand impertinent Stories of him. They ſay that he was Born eight hundred times in different Species, before he was Born of a Woman, and that when he was Born, he came out of his Mother's Sides, Eating his way with his Teeth. The truth is, that *Xaca* was a Sophiſter, who perſuaded People every thing he had a Mind to. His Mother when ſhe was Big with Child of him, Dream'd, that a White Elephant came out of her Mouth: For which reaſon the Elephants of that Colour are had in Veneration in the *Indies*, in *China*, and *Tonquin*, at *Siam* and *Pegu*. They are ſerved in Veſſels of Gold, and the great Lords go in Crouds to Viſit 'em, and Pay 'em the ſame Honours as they do to Kings. One of the three Principal Sects of the *Japaneſe* is that of the Worſhippers of *Xaca*. (*e*) *They live in Common, Riſe at Midnight to Sing Hymns, and meet every Evening to hear the Diſcourſe, which their Superiors makes to them upon ſome Subject of Morality; then he gives them ſome Points to Meditate upon. Sometimes he Repreſents to them a Dying Man, and relates the Reproaches, that the Soul and Body make to one another in this laſt Moment. The Meditation laſts an hour. When it is over, every one gives the Superior an Account of the Thoughts which come into his Mind, and of the Reſolutions he has taken.*

(*d*) *Journal des Sav. ibid. p.* 495.

(*e*) *Ibid. p.* 496.

(*C*) *Thoſe that ſtick to Appearance, admit another Life after this.*] It appears that their Opinion is that of *Amida*, *Xaca*, and *Fotoque*. They ſay that in the four Cardinal Points of the World, there are certain Countries, where the Inhabitants are in a Plenary Satisfaction, which makes them injoy a Supreme Felicity; that *Fotoque* made all the Laws of *Japan*, and that they who obſerve them, ſhall no ſooner leave this Life, but they ſhall go into thoſe Places, where they ſhall be Born again, and *Fotoque* ſhall Transform them, and give 'em 32. Figures and 80 Qualities, with which they ſhall Live (*f*) Eternally in a perfect Beatitude; well ſatisfied with their Condition and very Joyful. The Women ſhall not be admitted into thoſe Countries; but thoſe who ſhall be Saved for having obſerved the Laws of *Fotoque*, ſhall be Transformed into Men: for without that, they could not receive the Reward of their good Life, they being (*g*) of their own Nature, ſay they, Unclean and Execrable. As for the Tranſgreſſors of *Fotoque's* Laws, they ſhall go from this Life into certain Infernal Places, and they ſhall ſuffer ſix ſorts of Puniſhments which ſhall never have an end. This is the general Doctrine of the Followers of Appearance. The other Sects ſay of it what they think fit, but theſe agree in this Center of Unity, and their Opinion is that of the Ignorant and the Vulgar: (*h*) *Et quamvis de biſce rebus una quaque Japoniorum ſecta loquatur, ut vult, communi tamen conſenſu quicunque extrinſecam rerum faciem ſectantur, in hoc, quod diximus, conveniunt, & hanc opinionem rudes & vulgares homines amplectuntur.* I borrow all this from the Jeſuit *Poſſevin* (*i*), who did not think himſelf obliged to Refute the Doctrines of this Sect; for ſince they Profeſs, ſays he, to ſtick only to Appearances, what they ſay, has no Reality nor Truth, 'tis at beſt but a Phantom or the Surface of Truth. The *Bonzes* themſelves manifeſtly Confeſs, that the whole Syſtem of *Camus* and *Fotoque* was Built or rather Forged in favour of the Ignorant, and of weak Minds: (*k*) *Nam* (*ut ipſimet Bonzii, qui ſua ſententiæ Magiſtri & Doctores ſunt, apertè fatentur*) *totam de* CAMI & FOTOQUE *diſciplinam propter rudes & inſcios rerum homines, captu, & ingenio imbecillos, eſſe compoſitam, vel potius confictam, non quod aliquid eorum, quæ in ipſa docentur verum ſit. Poſſevin* however confutes the Doctrines of this Sect in his (*l*) fifth Chapter.

(*f*) *In omnem æternitatem vivent læti admodum, felices & ſua ſorte contenti. Poſſevin. ubi infra.*

(*g*) *Eo quod fœminæ ſint natura deteſtabiles, execrandæ & immundæ. Id. Ibid.*

(*h*) *Id. ib.*

(*i*) *Taken from Poſſevin bibl. ſelect. tom.* 1. *l.* 10. *c.* 2. *p. m.* 410. 411.

(*k*) *Id. ib. p.* 411.

(*l*) *Ibid. p.* 429. *& ſeq.*

(*D*) *Reject Heaven and Hell, and Teach things that have ſome affinity with* Spinoza's *Opinion.*] They neglect Externals and apply themſelves only to Meditations; they caſt off all Diſcipline that conſiſts in Words, adhering only to the Exerciſe, which they call SOQUXIN SOQUBUT, that is *the Heart*. They maintain that there is but one Prin-

much by their Disputes and Arguments, as by a method usual with Ecclesiasticks; I mean, by having recourse to the Secular Power, and by their care † of Exciting the Kings and the People to the Maintenance of the Old Religion, and Persecuting the Followers of the New. It must however be Confessed, that the *Japanese* Priests entered into a Conference with the Christian Priests, and raised some Objections against 'em *, which shew they wanted no Wit. They could not hinder the Christian Religion from making great Progress in a little time; but at last they drove the Emperor to such Violences as wholly extirpated it in *Japan*, and very much enlarged (E) the Martyrology. Father *Possevin* has stoutly Censured the Institutes of the *Japonese* (F) Legislator.

† *See the Journal des Savans ubi supra p. 499.*

* *See the Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans, September 1691. p. 8. & seq. in the Extract of the History of the Church of Japan.*

JAR-

Principle of all Things, and that this Principle is found every where, and that the Heart of Man, and the Internals of other Beings, do not differ from this common Principle, and return to it, when they are dissolved. It Exists, say they, from all Eternity, being one only Principle, clear Luminous, and uncapable of increase or Diminution: (m) it has no Figure, and does not Reason, it lives in Idleness and a perfect Repose. They teach, that they, who in this Life have very well known this Principle, shall obtain the perfect Glory of *Fotoque* and of his Successors; and that they who arrive not to this high Degree of Knowledge, must be Born several times, and go from Place to Place, but in the other World they shall be all absorbed in this common Principle of all Things. They say also, that Knowledge does not differ from Ignorance, that Good and Evil are not two Beings, and that the one is not separated from the other (†). *Possevin* reduces this System to these four Points. 1. That there is but one Principle of all Things, that this Principle is most perfect, that it is wise but understands nothing, and takes no notice of the Affairs of this World, since it lives in perfect Repose, and like a Man that is very attentive to one thing, and neglects all others. 2. That this Principle is in all particular Beings, and Communicates its Essence to them, so that they are the same thing with it, and return to it when they have an end. 3. That the Heart of Man does not differ from this common Principle of all Beings, and that when Men Die, their Hearts Perish, and are Consumed; but that the first Principle, which first gave them their Life, subsists still in them: from whence it follows, that there is neither Heaven nor Hell, Rewards nor Punishments after this Life. 4. That Man may in this World raise himself to the Condition and Supreme Majesty of the first Principle, for as much as by the force of Meditation he may perfectly know it, and so arrive to the Supreme Tranquillity which that Principle enjoys in it self; that this is all the good that Man can acquire, and that till he has obtained it by Meditation, and a perfect Knowledge, he is Tormented with perpetual Disquiet; he often passes from one Hell to another, and never finds Rest. 'Tis very certain, that there are here many things, which *Spinoza* has not Taught: but otherwise it is manifest, that he has taught as well as these *Japonese* Priests, that the first Principle of all Things, and of all Beings, which Compose the Universe, are but one and the same Substance; that all Things are God, and that God is all Things, in such a manner, that God and all Things that Exist, make but one and the same Being. One can't sufficiently admire that so Extravagant a Notion, and so full of Absurd Contradictions, should insinuate it self into the Souls of so many People so Remote from one another, and so different in their Humours, Education, Customs, and Genius. *Possevin* (a) brings many Arguments against the Hypothesis of the *Bonzes*, and Confutes it principally by the Contradictions it contains; and first he observes, that they have but very few Doctrines about the Nature of the first Principle; that they say nothing upon it with any Perspicuity, that they cannot resolve Questions, and Answer the Objections proposed to them, nor confirm their Opinions, and that their only shift is to say, that it do's not concern (‡) Men to enquire into the Nature and Power of the first Principle. (b) *Omnia unico verbo putant se dissolvere, dicentes* hominum non interesse hujus principii vim, & naturam perscrutari inquirendo aut disputando: *quod totum manifeste sonat ea ignorationis profectum & natum.* Note, that part of his Objections (c) oppugn also the System of *Spinoza*.

(m) *Figura carens, ratiocinationis expers, vitam agens otii, quietis, & tranquillitatis plenissimam. Possev. ib. p. 411.*

(†) *Taken from Possevin ibid.*

(a) *Possev. ubi supra pag. 412. 413.*

(‡) *This is a gross Contradiction, which Possevin should have charged them with; for since they say that the greatest Happiness of Men proceeds from the perfect Knowlege they may have of the first Principle, it concerns them to inquire into the Nature of that first Principle.*

(b) *Id. ib. p. 412.*

(E) *Very much enlarged the Martyrology.*] Read the Ecclesiastical History of *Japan*, written by the Jesuit *Francis Solier*, and the History (d) of the Church of *Japan*, by the Abbot of T. 'This Abbot '(e) admires the depth of the Judgments of God, 'and wonders that he has permitted the Blood of 'so many Martyrs to be Shed, without making 'use of it (as in the first Ages of the Church) as of 'a Fruitful Seed for the Production of new Christians. Without taking the liberty of enquiring into the Reasons the Divine Wisdom may have for permitting at one time, what it do's not at another, it may be said that the Christianity of the XVI. Century had no pretence to hope for the same Favour and Protection of God, as the Christianity of the three first Centuries. The latter was a Gentle, Meek and Patient Religion, that recommended to Subjects Submission to their Sovereigns, and never aspired to raise it self to the Thrones by the way of Rebellion; but the Christianity which was Preached to the Infidels in the XVI. Century was no such thing: it was a Murthering and Sanguinary Religion, used to Slaughter for five or six hundred years. The Christians had contracted a very long Habit of Maintaining and Aggrandizing themselves, by putting to the Sword all those that resisted them. Fire, and Hanging, the dreadful Tribunal of the Inquisition, Crusades and Bulls Exciting Subjects to Rebel, Seditious Preachers, Conspiracies, and Assassinations of Princes, were the ordinary means they made use of against those that submitted not to their Orders. Could they promise to themselves the Benediction that Heaven granted to the Primitive Church, to the Gospel of Peace, Patience and Gentleness? The best Choice the *Japanese* could have made was to be Converted to the true God; but having not a sufficient Knowledge to renounce their false Religion, there remained nothing to chuse but an Active, or Passive Persecution. They could not preserve their Antient Government, nor their Antient Worship, but by ridding themselves of the Christians, who sooner or later would have Ruined both, and assoon as they had been capable of making War, would have Armed all their Proselytes, would have introduced into the Country, the Soldiers, and the Cruel Maxims of the *Spaniards*, and by Killing and Hanging, as in *America*, would have brought all *Japan* under their Yoke. Thus considering things only by Political Views, we shall be obliged to own, that the Persecutions the Christians suffered in that Country were a prudential means to prevent the overthrow of the Monarchy, and the Plundering of the State. The ingenuous Confession of a *Spaniard* justifies the precaution of those Infidels. 'It (f) 'gave a specious pretence to the *Bonzes* to Exercise 'their Hatred, and to Sollicite the Extirpation of 'the Christians. Being asked by the King of *Tossa*, 'how the King of *Spain* became Master of so great 'Tracts of Land in both the Hemispheres, he too 'honestly Answered, that he sent *Monks* to Preach 'the Gospel in Foreign Nations, and that after they 'had Converted a good number of Pagans, he sent 'his Troops, which joyning with the New Christians, subdued the Country. This Indiscretion cost 'the Christians dear.

(d) *It was Printed at Paris in 2. Vol. in 4to. in the year 1689.*

(e) *Journ. des Savans of the 25. of July 1689. p. m. 507.*

(f) *Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans, Sept. 1691. p. 13. & 14.*

(F) *Father* Possevin *has stoutly Censured the Institutes of the* Japonese *Legislator.*] The first Fault he finds with them is, that they command Idolatry, and particularly the Worship and Adoration of *Camus* and *Fotoque*. He very well represents the Enormity of Idolatry, and sets it in the highest

Degree

JARCHI or JARHI (*Solomon*) lived (*A*) in the XIIth. Century. His true Name is *Isaaki*. ' † Nevertheleſs, becauſe of that pretended Name *Jarhi*, ſome believe that ' he was of *Lunel* in *Languedoc*; but he was of *Troyes* in *Campagne*; as *R. Ghedalia*, and ' the greateſt part of the *Jewiſh* Chronologers affirm . . . . . His Books are much ' Eſteemed (*B*) by the *Jews*, and he may be ſaid to be their great Author. They ſometimes joyn to the Books, which they call the five Volumes, the *Commentaries of* Raſci, *who is their great Author upon the Bible, becauſe he is very much Skilled in their Divinity and Traditions* ‡. Mr. *Simon*, who ſays all this, had done well to obſerve that *Rabbi Raſci* is the ſame with *Rabbi Jarchi* of *Iſaaki*. He is alſo called *Iſaac*. See the Margin §.

† *Simon Hiſt. Critique du Vieux Teſtament p. m.* 545.
‡ *Id. ib. p.* 514. *col.* 2.
§ *You'll find in this Dictionary another Article of this fame* Rabbin *at the word* Iſaacites.

JARDINS (*Mary Catherine des*) famous for her Romances (*C*), Flouriſhed in the XVIIth. Century. ' She * was Born at *Alenſon* a little Town, whereof her Fa- ' ther was Provoſt. When ſhe came to be about nineteen or twenty years Old, ſhe ' began to conſider her ſmall Eſtate; and being Poor, and having as much ' Wit as Ambition, ſhe came to *Paris* with a deſign to make her ſelf known, and to ' change

* *Richelet, Vie des Auteurs Franſois p.* lviii. Hague *Edit.* 1699.

Degree of injury done to God. He proves this by the Example of Rebellions; for he ſays, the greateſt Crime that can be committed againſt a Soveraign, is to take away his Power, and to Confer it on another. (*g*) *Sicut nullum crimen in Regem ac Principem poteſt gravius admitti, quam eum è ſuo regno pellere, è regiæ dignitatis gradu dejicere, & alium in ſummum regiæ amplitudinis faſtigium evehere; ita ſumma eſt in Deum injuria, ſummum in eum ſcelus admittitur, cùm divinus honor, & cultus, qui ipſi ſoli debetur, in alium transfertur, ipſi detrahitur, alii tribuitur.* The ſecond defect of thoſe Laws is, that whilſt they ſeverely forbid the *Bonzes* the uſe of Women, they allow Pederaſty; they forbid them the former as a Vile and Abominable thing, and approve the other Practice as Honeſt and Holy. (*x*) *In Bonziis omnem cum fœminis concubitum, ut rem fœdam, turpem, & deteſtabilem damnant: at uſum puerorum permittunt, imo in eiſdem Bonziis coitum cum pueris approbant, ut rem honeſtam & ſanctam.* *Poſſevin* ſhews by many Reaſons that Pederaſty is a moſt horrid Crime. The third Fault is, that forbidding to kill certain Beaſts Conſecrated to *Camus* and *Fotoque*, they permit Men to kill one another, and even to be their own Murtherers. They not only ſuppoſe it to be an Action acceptable to thoſe Deities, but alſo the true way to Deification; hence it is that great numbers of the *Japaneſe* kill themſelves, either caſting themſelves into the Water, or Burning, of Burying themſelves Alive, or throwing themſelves Headlong from the top of a Rock. Many alſo rip open their Bellies upon ſlight occaſions; and many Mothers kill their own Children. *Poſſevin* ſhews (*a*) the Sinfulneſs of ſuch a Conduct. The laſt Fault he Cenſures is, that the Laws of *Japan* declare, that by the Invocation of NAMUAMIDABUT, or by crying FORENGUELIO, Men expiate all ſorts of Sins without any need of Repentance. The *Japaneſe*, continues he, make no mention of ſatisfactory Pains, or good Works; they pretend that theſe things are Injurious to the Merit of XACA and AMIDA, who have been ſufficiently Afflicted for the Crimes of Men, and have fully Expiated them by their Sufferings. This Doctrine opens the way to Sin; for there being nothing eaſier than to make an Invocation, or a Cry, Men are ſure of eaſily avoiding all the Puniſhments they have reaſon to fear, after they have given up themſelves to the greateſt Crimes. *Poſſevin* (*b*) does plainly ſhew the Enormity of that Doctrine, and the pernicious Effects that reſult from it.

(*x*) *Poſſev. ibid.*

(*a*) *Poſſev. ubi ſupra p.* 435.

(*b*) *Id. ib. p.* 437.

There is no Reader that can be afraid of being miſtaken in Condemning ſuch a Doctrine; but if he ventures to Affirm, that the Doctrine of the *Bonzes* is juſt ſuch as *Poſſevin* repreſents it, he may juſtly be afraid of making a raſh Judgment: For we ought never to Condemn others upon the Teſtimony of their Enemies; 'tis expedient to be informed, whether they own that their Doctrine has been faithfully Repreſented. It would not be a faithful Repreſentation of it, if one ſhould inſiſt upon the Literal Senſe of ſome Laws, without any regard to the Interpretations of the Doctors; For at this rate, the moſt reaſonable Religions might be charged with abundance of Abſurdities. *There are ſome harſh things in the Scripture, which it would be wrong to conſider as the Laws of the Chriſtians; for they take 'em not in the Literal Senſe, they explain, and* ſoften 'em by other Paſſages, and according to the Analogy of Faith. We ſhould know whether the *Bonzes* do not the ſame thing with reſpect to ſome Laws of their Legiſlators. I make no difficulty to believe what is ſaid of the Tricks and Hypocriſy of thoſe Idolatrous Prieſts; but I think it probable, that they cover their Doctrines as well as their Conduct with an outward ſeverity; and perhaps we ought to impute but to ſome of 'em, what *Poſſevin* charges upon the whole Body of their Sects. Some Monks have taught, that the moſt Wicked Wretches have been ſaved by the bare Invocation of the Holy Virgin. The Extravagance of thoſe, who talk of the Treaſure of Indulgences, and who ſay that the Merits of the Saints, and their Works of Supererogation ſupply the want of Penitence in many Men, would afford good Chapters for a Relation that a *Japaneſe* Traveller ſhould Publiſh. Were it not an unjuſt thing, to give out all this as to many Articles of the Chriſtian Faith? One more, I would know what the *Bonzes* would anſwer to this Queſtion; Do you teach what *Poſſevin* imputes to you? I ſhould be glad alſo to ſee a Hiſtory Written by them of the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in their Iſlands, and of its Extirpation. And if they ſhould Write it, after having Read thoſe of *Francis Solier* and the Abbot *de T.* it would deſerve better ſtill to be carefully peruſed.

(*A*) *Lived in the XIIth. Century.*] Mr. *Simon*, (*c*) makes him of that Age. Some (*d*) place his Death in the year 1105. Others ſay he lived in the XIIIth. Century, (*e*) and make him Contemporary with *Maimonides*. Others (*f*) ſuppoſe he lived in the XIVth. Century; for they ſay he was Expelled from *France* with the other *Jews*, by King *Philip* the Fair. Now the Edict of that King againſt (*g*) the *Jews* is of the 22th. of *July* 1307. Mr. *Hoornbeek* ſuppoſes that this *Rabbin* was baniſhed from *France* at that time. He makes him to be a Native of *Lunel* in *Languedoc*, and obſerves, that it is a Town in which there have been always many *Jews*. See how he proves it: (†) *Unde in epiſtolis Gregorii, libr.* 3. *epiſtol.* 21. *Venantio Epiſcopo Lunenſi inſcripta ita incipit*: multorum ad nos relatione pervenit, a Judæis in Lunenſi civitate de gentibus ad ſervitium Chriſtiana detineri mancipia. 'Tis a groſs Fault; for *Lunel* in *Languedoc* was never an Epiſcopal See. Pope *Gregory* in that place, means *Luna* a City of *Italy* in *Tuſcany*. The Ruins of it are to be ſeen at the Mouth of the *Magra*. Its Epiſcopal See was Transferred to *Sarzana* by Pope *Nicolas V.* (‡).

(*c*) *Simon ubi infra.*
(*d*) *See Konig. Bibl. p.* 423.
(*e*) *Ibid. but Note that Konig ib. p.* 496. *w...* *a...* *Ra...* *the...*
...ni- *d...* *...* *12...* *tury, di...* *fers from moſt Authors, who place him in the* 12.
(*f*) *Hoornbeek contra Judæos p.* 7.
(*g*) *Mezer. Abr. chron. tom.* 2. *p. m.* 799.
(†) *Hoornbeek ubi ſupra.*
(‡) *See Miraus Geogr. ec. cleſ. p.* 230.

(*B*) *His Books are much Eſteemed by the* Jews.] ' We have his Comment ries upon the Scripture, in ' the Bibles of *Venice* and *Baſil*. They have alſo ' Printed with the Body of the Thalmud his Gloſſes ' or Commentaries upon this great Book (*b*). Mr. *Brun* (*i*) ſays, that he ſaw ſome *Jews* at *Bourdeaux*, *who were ſtill ſo fond of the Memory of* Solomon Jarchi, *the moſt famous of all their* Rabbins, *for the Learned Commentaries he made, both on the Holy Scripture and the Talmud, that they told me*, ſays he, *that they reſolved to make ſhortly a Journey* to Lunelle near Nilmes, (*k*) to ſee the Place where that great Man was Born, and from which he had his Name (*l*), and that they would endeavour to live *there, which they believed would eaſily be granted them.*

(*b*) *Simon Hiſt. Crit. du Vieux Teſtament p. m.* 545.
(*i*) *Brun, Veritables religion des Hollandois p.* 224.
(*k*) *It ſhould be* Lunel.
(*l*) Jarcha *ſignifies the* Moon *in Hebrew; ſo that they call him* Jarchi in- *ſtead of* de Lunelle.
(*l*) *I think it was intitled* Alcidianus or Alcidalus. *I don't remember it well.*

(*C*) *Famous for Romances.*] The firſt, or one of the firſt which ſhe made (*l*), was to contain many Vo-

'change her Fortune. She was not altogether miſtaken in this: Having a great 'Genius, ſhe was quickly talked of, and People were Ambitious to be acquainted with 'her. Mr. *de Ville-Dieu*, a Gentleman well made, and in pretty good Circumſtances, 'was one of the firſt that knew Mrs. *des Jardins*: he Eſteemed and Loved her, and 'tho' ſhe was not Handſome, he Married her. But by ill Fortune he Died ſometime 'after. The poor Woman retired for Grief into a Nunnery; but when ſhe had a lit-'tle recovered from her Trouble, ſhe left it, and Married M. *de la Chaſte* for her 'ſecond Husband, whom ſhe Buried alſo. Being ſenſibly touched with this new 'Misfortune, ſhe utterly renounced Marriage, and reſolved to ſpend the reſt of her 'Days in Gallantry. She began to hearken to the Love-Diſcourſes of the Sparks, 'and Anſwered them in Verſes, and Letters, which have a fine and delicate turn. The Author who affords me this Narrative, has omitted (*D*) many things, and has not been exact in the Circumſtances of Time; for he will have it that ſhe did not begin to lend an Ear to Love-Diſcourſes, till after the Death of her two Husbands: But I am aſſured from many Hands, that this Date is very ill placed, and that this Woman's Gallantry was infinitely leſs than ever at the time he ſpeaks of. There was in the *Spaniſh Netherlands* one Mrs. *des Jardins*, Contemporary with this, whoſe Name and Picture have for ſome years together been placed in the Front of the Almanack. She that makes the Subject of this Article, Died in the Year 1683 ||.

JARRIGE (*Peter*) a Native of *Tulle* in *Limouſin*, one of the moſt famous Preachers among the Jeſuits, but (*A*) otherwiſe a very ill Man, did ſo Reſent the not obtaining in his Order the Imployments he thought he deſerved, that he reſolved to turn Proteſtant. He Communicated his Deſign to a Miniſter †, who ‡ contrived Expedients for his retiring into *Holland*, and he made his Abjuration in the Conſiſtory of the Church of *Rochelle* on *Chriſtmas* Day 1647. Being arrived at *Leyden*, he Preached before a numerous Congregation, concerning the Motives of his Converſion; and afterwards endeavoured to make People believe that he was no longer a Papiſt. The States § granted him a Penſion. But ? 'the Jeſuits made Informations againſt 'him with the utmoſt Fury, and uſed all poſſible means to Defame him. They 'got him Condemned by the Judge of *Rochelle* to be Hanged, and afterwards Burnt '.... But all this Hurly-Burly ſerved only to make Publick the Vexation this loſs 'gave 'em, and to give *Jarrige*, who was Violent and Revengeful, a Pretence to 'Revenge himſelf upon them. He did it by a Book Intituled *Les Jeſuites mis ſur l'Echa-'faud, (The Jeſuits brought upon the Scaffold)* in which he treated them in ſo Bloody a 'manner, that their Society never had ſuch a Mortification. He Publiſh'd alſo a particular Anſwer to *Peter Beauſés*, who had beſpattered him * in a Heinous manner. One would have thought, that he and the Jeſuits, whom he had ſo ſtrangely Defamed, could never be Reconciled; and yet the Jeſuit *Pontbelier* †, who was then at the *Hague* in the Retinue of an Embaſſador, did not deſpair of bringing him back; and he managed him in that manner as to Poſſeſs him with a Reſolution of returning to

|| *See the* Mercure Galant *for* November 1683. *p.* 217.

† *To Mr.* Vincent *Miniſter of* Rochelle.

‡ *Hiſtoire de l'Edit. de Nantes, tome* 3. *p.* 93.

§ *Jarrige, Retractation pag.* 101.

? *Hiſt. de l'Edit de Nantes ibid.*

* *In a Book intitled,* Les impietez & ſacrileges de Pierre Jarrige. *Retractat. de Jarrige pag.* 70.

† *See the Remark* C.

(a) *Madam de Sevigni. See the Letters of the Count de Buſſy-Rabutin.* 3. *part. Letter* 200. *p.* m. 362.

(b) *See the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des lettres, Sept. 1686. *in the Catalogue of the new Book* n. 1.

(c) *See the ſame* Nouvelles, November 1685. *art.* 1. *& the* Journal des Savans *of the* 15. *of* November 1685. *p.* m. 494.

(d) *See the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des lettres, October 1684. *& the Catal.* n. 8.

Volumes in 8*vo.* according to the cuſtom of that time. But ſhe did not carry it on ſo far as ſhe deſigned; and I have heard ſay the Reaſon of it was, becauſe it was known, that ſhe intended to repreſent under Fictitious Names and with ſome Diſguiſes, the Adventures of a great Lady, who had Under-Match'd her ſelf. She was threatned with the Reſentment of thoſe concerned, if ſhe carried on the Intrigue to the end of the Romance; whereupon ſhe went no farther. But ſhe did not Bury her Talent; on the contrary, having found out a new way of writing Romances, ſhe Publiſhed a great many, with very good Succeſs. She brought into Faſhion thoſe little Gallant Novels, which quickly ſhew the good or ill Succeſs of a ſoft Paſſion, and ſhe put out of requeſt thoſe tedious and vaſt Relations of Heroical, Warlike and Amorous Adventures, which had brought ſo much profit to the Printers of *Caſſandra, Cleopatra, Cyrus, Clelia*, &c. The new Reliſh ſhe Created does ſtill prevail; and tho' that ſort of Books quickly loſe the grace of Novelty, yet the firſt Romances, that ſhe Compoſed upon this new Model, are ſtill read with Pleaſure; as her *Journal amoureux*, her *Annales Galantes*, her *Galanteries Grenadines*, and many others. She Publiſhed in 1672. *Les entiez de la Cour d'Auguſte*; a Romance which a noble Lady thought (*a*) *very pretty*. That which is intituled (*b*) *Les déſordres de l'amour*, and another intituled (*c*) *Portrait des foibleſſes humaines*, are not inferiour to the foregoing. 'Tis an unhappy thing that Mrs. *des Jardins* ſhould have opened a way to a Liberty, that is daily more and more abuſed; which is, to Father ones Inventions and Love-Intrigues (*d*) upon the greateſt Men of the latter Ages, and to mix 'em with matters of Fact, that have ſome Foundation in Hiſtory. This mixture of Truth and Fiction is ſpread in abundance of new Books; it ſpoils the Judgment of young People, and makes one unwilling to believe what is really Credible. See the Note C of the Article *Nidhard*.

(*D*) *Has omitted many things.*] Since I obſerve this, it were expedient for me to ſupply thoſe things; but I am not in a proper Place to conſult thoſe who could inform me, and ſo I cannot repair the Fault, of which I give notice to my Reader. I may be excuſed: But *Richelet* cannot ſo well come off; for as he lived in *Paris*, and led no Sedentary Life, it was an eaſy thing for him to inform himſelf of the time that Mrs. *des Jardins* left the Country, and ſettled in the Capital City of the Kingdom. He might as eaſily have learn'd what Acquaintances ſhe firſt Contracted, what Patrons ſhe got, at what time, and with what Books ſhe firſt came out; what was the Date of her firſt Marriage and Widowhood, of her ſecond Marriage, and of the Death of her ſecond Husband; the Chronological Series of her Romances; the time of her Death, and many things of this Nature, of which he has not ſaid a Word; and yet you ſee in the running Title of his Book, *The Lives of the* French *Authors*. How can one call ſo a Narrative, in which ſo many Eſſential things are wanting? You'll tell me doubtleſs, that many Readers will not be Angry at thoſe Omiſſions; but this do's not juſtify the Writer. They would not have been diſpleaſed to find in his Book the things that he has forgotten. Abundance of other Readers would have been very glad to have ſeen 'em. He has not then taken the beſt Method; for 'tis much better to do what pleaſes many People and diſpleaſes no Body, than to do what diſpleaſes ſome, and do's not diſpleaſe others.

(*A*) *But otherwiſe a very ill Man.*] This is indiſputable from what he Confeſſes himſelf in his Retractation. So that I need not uſe the Ar-

to the Church of *Rome*. The thing was Executed in 1650. *Jarrige* left *Leyden*, and went to the Jesuits of *Antwerp*, and immediately published (B) his Recantation; but 'tis not known what became of him afterwards. Many People believe that the Jesuits imprisoned him (C) for Life. This might be; but other Reasons may be given why such

(e) Ita amicum habeas, posse ut fieri inimicum putes. *Publius Syrus apud Macrob. Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

(f) *Pag.* 8. A RE-FLECTION on the Conduct of those, who keep all the Notes and Letters of their Friends.

(a) *Pag.* 11.

(b) *Pag.* 22.

(c) *Pag.* 69.

(d) *The Provincial of the Jesuits obtained a Sentence in the Presidial of* Rochelle, *whereby* Jarrige *was condemned to be hang'd, and then burnt.*

Argument which a very worthy Man enforced in Presence of many Protestants. He said, that a Man of Letters, as *Jarrige* was, and perpetually taken up with preaching, could not have remembred at *Leyden* all the little Adventures he displayed in his *Jesuites mis sur l'Echafaud*, and in his Answer to *James Beaufe*, unless he had put 'em down, as he heard of them, with the Names and Sirnames of the Persons, and with all the little Circumstances of Time and Places. Now this was a sign of a corrupt Mind, and the Character of an ill Man; for he had never been at the Pains of keeping such a Register, if he had not designed to lay up Arms for the Time to come, in case he should break with the Jesuits. He was thinking of Revenge, and of the means of making himself dreaded, even before he knew whether he should ever have occasion for them. There are some Men who keep even the least Notes of their Friends, and especially take great care of the Letters, which they might take Advantage of in case of a Rupture. They consider the Inconstancy of our Passions, and they Love (e), as if one Day they were to hate, and take their Measures accordingly. 'Tis certain, that those who keep with that Prospect the Letters of their Friends, their most free Conversations, and strictest Confidences, are dishonest Men. The Person I speak of, used this Comparison against *Peter Jarrige's* Diary. I will not vouch for this Thought; I relate it only as a meer Matter of Fact, every one may judge of it as he pleases. I have no occasion for it to comment upon my Text, as will appear from the following Remarks.

(B) *Immediately published his Recantation.*] He confest (f) *that a virulent Passion of Rage* had made him leave the Jesuits, and that there was (a) *nothing in the cursed and scandalous* Sermon he preached at *Leyden*, *but what was truly speaking a Blasphemy, so much the more punishable in the Judgment of God, because his Conscience gave the Lye to his Words.* He accused himself (b) of having cloathed *his first and impudent Lye with Circumstances no less false than Criminal, namely, that God had for Sixteen Years before put into his Heart the first Foundations of the Work he had begun some Months before in his own Country, and which he so happily and satisfactorily accomplished in* Holland. He confest (c) *that by an excess of Malice, he had defamed many innocent Persons, to revenge himself of two Men whom he thought culpable; that upon the reading of the Sentence (d) by which he was condemned to die for a Religion, which he detested in his Heart--- Rage deprived him of his Judgment, and that not knowing what he did, he had done like those mad Dogs, who bite their Masters, without knowing them. Being therefore destitute of Reason,* says he (e), *and seized with a Spirit of Vengeance, I wrote a virulent Book against the Province of* Guienne, *from whence I came---------I used all manner of Artifices to bespatter their Reputation. Rhetorick is like Prospective Glasses, which make little Things appear great, and represent a Frog as big as an Ox. 'Twas sufficient for me to have some slight Foundation to build a great Crime upon; I did not care to speak Truth, provided I had some judicious subterfuge to cover my Lyes with. I industriously laboured upon a little matter, and by the Circumstances I added, I made a great Elephant of a little Fly. Those who know the little Accidents and of small Consequence, that happened in that holy Province, see better than others, that the desire of Revenge supplied me with a great deal of Art to magnify little Things, and with too much Invention to make 'em probable. The Reverend Father* Ponthelier *stoutly but modestly reproached me with it, when I was in the most violent Heat of my Anger, and received no other Answer from me but this,* that since Father *Rousseau* and Father *Beaufais* had used a Thousand Tricks and Inventions to get me condemned to the Flames, it was very reasonable, that I should find Inventions to revenge my self, and that I should build upon a little Foundation heinous Accusations, as they had built theirs upon Appearances. *I added*, that they had not only written as I did, but that they had actually hanged and burnt me in Effigie---------(f) *Like a revengeful Man, I took the wrong way to exercise my Resentment.---------If I met with any slight Occasion to gloss upon, I failed not to make my Conjectures pass for Proofs; and if it happened that any were suspected, right or wrong, I took those Suspicions for Truths, and endeavoured to make worthy Men pass for great Villains, who upon a serious Inquiry, would be found guilty of meer Indiscretion, or at most of an inconsiderable Fault. Any one that shall seriously and impartially examine my Discourse, will find, that I made specious and artful Preludes to make my Forgeries go down the better. I have said too much to be believed, and the Hereticks themselves, though for the time to come they will lay great Stress upon my Defamations, disapproved 'em in the Synod of* Middleburg: *And a Man must needs be as much incensed as I was, when I wrote that Book, to give Credit to my Contumelies. Certainly, if any thing did happen, those that were guilty were dismist from the Society, which having the Qualities of the great Ocean, cannot keep dead Carcasses in its Bosom. My Accusations are therefore unjust, having charged an Illustrious Order with the Faults of those they had purged out, as unworthy to live amongst the Saints, and to entertain the Thoughts of the Devil, amongst Angels. My Fury promoted me to discover the Evil, and to say nothing of the Remedies applied to it. I have indeed said in some Places, what some had done: but I did not add that they were immediately, and without any Delay, expelled as pestiferous Men. I made a Satyr to revenge my self, and not a Panegyrick to praise them. Those who know the Jesuits, will no doubt believe, that the Crimes of* Regicide, Infanticide, Sodomy, *and such other abominable Transgressions, are meer Forgeries*---------(g) *How often have I, against good Reasoning, made use of captious Reflections to draw a general Inference from a particular thing, and to ascribe to all the Society, what could have been verified but of one private Person, if I had been reduced to a judicial Testimony? What Stories have I not forged and altered, a Thousand Ways, in order to cut more sensibly, and to make deeper and more dangerous Wounds? If I would refute every thing in particular, or give a Reason of my Accusations, I should trouble you, dear Reader, with a Thousand Circumstances, which would render my Retractation very tedious and irreligious. It suffices then to say, that I retract that pernicious Book in general, and in all its Parts, without taking in the Things which I have said of Father* Rousseau *and Father* Beaufais *for my Justification and Defence. I beseech the equitable Readers to take this Book as one of my Declarations, and I entreat them through the merciful Bowels of Jesus Christ, never to read that, because it is Heretical, and never to cast their Eyes upon this, because it is a Work which an Evil Conscience has conceived, Melancholy has formed, and Revenge has produced.*

(f) *Pag.* 71.

(g) *Pag.* 79.

I leave my Reader to judge, whether the Gentlemen of *Port Royal* have any good Reason for maintaining, that *Peter Jarrige* published an insufficient Recantation, *and that he indeed accuses himself of having written his Book against the Jesuits with too much Passion, but that he does not disown, in particular, any of the scandalous Stories he had related.* Those who answered *Maimbourg's* History of *Calvinism*, failed not (b) to take Advantage of this Reflection of the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*.

(C) *Imprison'd him for Life.*] As he foresaw this would be said, or something worse, he affected to make it known, that the Jesuits had given him a very good Reception, and that they who would not believe it, might come and see him. Here's what he wrote to a Merchant. 'I know very well, 'that the Ministers and Gentlemen I have left, will 'say, that I'm dead or imprisoned; but do me this 'Favour, to desire those who shall come to *Antwerp*, 'to come and see me in the College, and I promise 'you, I will not only speak to them with Freedom, 'but, if they please, I will wait on them through 'the Town, and travel with them into the Catholick 'Territories (i). To which you may add this Pas-

(b) See the Apologie pour les Reformateurs, &c. *Book* 1. ch. 9. pag. 154. edit. in 4. & the Critique generale *Letter* 9. p. 147. *of the* 3. edition.

(i) Lettre de Jarrige au Sieur G. M. Marchand à Leide, *dated from* Antwerp *the* 8th. *of* May, 1650. *It was printed at* Leyden *the same Year, with an Answer, which I shall mention hereunder.*

(c) *Pag.* 73.

such a Man (D) should be seen no more. I am persuaded, that the Historian quoted by me, will not take it ill, if for the Instruction of the Publick, I rectify (E) his Account. In the Answers that were made to *Jarrige*'s Retractation, it was said that his Morals

(k) *Pag.* 4. sage of his Recantation (k). 'I know very well, 'that the Hereticks measuring the Actions of o-'thers by their own, will spread false Reports, that 'I have been poisoned, or clapt up in a Dungeon, 'where I can only see the Light through a Hole; 'that the Reverend Father *John Ponthelier*, who 'was the principal Instrument God made use of to 'take me out of the Abyss, has seduced me, and 'cunningly conveyed me from the United Provin-'ces, where I was safe, to deliver me into the 'Hands of my Enemies, or to Death. But it con-'cerns all the Apostates of several Orders, who are 'still in the Mire of Error, and only kept in it, out 'of fear of Punishment, to know that these Stories 'are false, and that I am escaped out of the Clutch-'es of the Wolves, to enter into the Bosom of a 'merciful Pastor, who glories to carry the straying 'Sheep upon his Shoulders. Certainly, if I was 'used according to my Crimes, an Imprisonment of 'ten Years would not be sufficient to expiate them. 'But since I return into the Bosom of my Father 'voluntarily, and without constraint, where Sin has 'for two Years abounded, Grace at present doth 'much more abound. He affected to make it known, how many Securities had been granted him. 'I have obtained from his Majesty, *said he* '(l), one of the finest Patents of Pardon and Abso-'lution that ever was: So that I neither fear *Bour-'deaux*, for the Book, nor *Rochelle*, for the Sen-'tence of Death. I have received in the second 'Place, Letters of Assurance from our Holy Father 'the Pope, with Power to retire into any Catholick 'Town I please, in which he has commanded 'all Magistrates and Ecclesiasticks, to protect 'me, being contented that I should only wear the 'Habit of a Priest. I have received Thirdly, a 'Pass-Port from the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, through all 'his Territories. Fourthly, the General of the 'Society of Jesus, *Francis Picolomini*, has sent me a 'Patent to enter again among the Jesuits, where I 'am with an entire Abolition of my Fault, with-'out imposing upon me any Penance or Satisfacti-'on, except what I shall take upon my self: the 'same has given me other Patents to go into what 'Kingdom or Province of the World I please, so 'that I have the choice of all the Colleges of the 'Society: All this is signed with the Great Seals of 'his Office, and nothing is more Authentick. And 'to compleat my Happiness, Father *Ponthelier*, 'who has procured me all these Graces and Won-'ders, has leave to live with me as long as he pleas-'es, and he will never leave me till I am entirely 'satisfied; I can assure you of it. Besides, (which 'is a thing granted to no Body) I have the Choice 'of being a Secular Priest, or of remaining in the 'Society of the Jesuits; and I expect a Definitive 'Answer from *Rome*.

(l) *Letter to the Merchant of Leyden.*

(a) *Retract. p.* 97.

(b) Ἀλλ' ὅτι δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι ἐλήλυθασι, ἵνα ὁ μὲν ἀναπείσῃ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐλθεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἀναπείσῃ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐλθεῖν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι ἐλήλυθασι, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων ἁπάντων. Sed quando jam & ille invisus fuit omnibus diis; Ille quidem per campum Aleium solus errabat, Suum animum exedens, vestigia hominum vitans. *Homer. Iliad. l.* 6. *v.* 200.

(c) *Letter* 34. *to Chapelain, Book* 5. *See Cicero* Tuscul. quæst. l. 3. fol. 263. l).

(d) *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes tom.* 3. *pag.* 93.

(D) *Why such a Man should be seen no more.*] His Recantation proved him to be the greatest Rogue upon the Earth; for in it he acknowledged, that to revenge himself of two Jesuits, he had defamed the whole Society with false Accusations (a) *of Regicide, Infanticide, Sodomy, and such other abominable Crimes.* When a Man owns himself a publick Calumniator upon such Crimes as these, the best thing he can do, is to conceal himself all the rest of his Days. If he has any Conscience he ought to confine himself to a place of Penitence as long as he lives; if he has none, and has any Sense of Honour left, he ought to shun all Company, and like *Bellerophon* (b) avoid the very Footsteps of Men. He ought then to practise what *Balzac* said he would do for a much lesser Reason. *I would go*, says he (c), *and eat my Heart in the Deserts of* Thebais, *Ipse meum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans.*

(E) *I rectify his Account.*] *Jarrige* (d) 'was a 'turbulent and ambitious Man; and possibly he 'converted himself more out of Spite to see him-'self crossed in the Design he had to arrive to the 'Dignities of his Order, than out of any Zeal for 'the Truth. He made an Abjuration of the Ro-'mish Religion, in the Consistory of *Rochelle*, on 'Christmas-Day, after which he retired into *Hol-'land*. This was the first breach made in their 'Society, none of which, before this Man, was 'ever known to forsake the Catholick Religion. 'At least, if others have left it, there was no noise 'made about it, either because the Jesuits thought 'fit to be silent, or because the Proselytes were 'such as deserved no Complaints about 'em——— '(e). Some time after his Book was published, '*Jarrige* disappeared, and the Jesuits boasted, that 'as he left their Order, only out of Spleen, he was 'returned to it out of Repentance; that he had 'shut himself up in one of their Houses, to hide 'himself from all worldly Commerce, and to 'do Penance all his Life. But because he was never 'seen afterwards, it was believed on the contrary, 'that the Jesuits had caused him to be carried off, 'and that they had secretly revenged themselves up-'on him, for the Displeasure he had given them by 'his Change. Indeed, it is not imaginable, that 'after they had made so much Noise for the Loss 'of him, they would not draw some Advantage 'from his Return, and produce him at least some-'times in the Provinces, where his Desertion was 'known, to lessen the Joy that the Protestants con-'ceived upon that Conquest. Besides, we have had 'since many other Experiments of what they can 'do against those who desert them, and we are not 'ignorant, that they know how to steal them a-'way from their safest Retreats, and make them ex-'piate with long Sufferings, the Crime of violating 'their Vows. I shall make three Remarks upon this Narrative.

(c) *Ibid. pag.* 94.

(f) *Jarrige, retractation, p.* 7.

(g) *Taken from the Preface prefixed to* Hasenmullerus's *Book, by* Polycarp Lyserus.

(h) Hasenmullerus qui fuit Jesuita, & scripsit triumphum Papalem, habet multa bona. *Scaliger in Scaligeranis posteoribus, p. m.* 105. 'Tis not true that he is the Author of the *Triumphus Papalis*, prefixed to his *Historia Jesuitici Ordinis. Maximilian Philo* is the Author of it. *Scaliger*'s Mistake is also to be found in the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library.

(i) Hasenmullerus, *Historia Ordinis Jesuitici, pag.* 127 *edit. Vran. of.* 1629.

The 1. will be short. This Author should not have expressed himself by a *Possibly* upon the Motives of *Jarrige*'s Change. Mr. *Spanheim* was convinced of it (f) at the first Conversation he had with him, and his whole Retractation shews it.

My 2. Observation is, That it was not the first Breach made in the Society of the Jesuits, attended with Consequences that made a great Noise. In the XVI. Century, a Jesuit called *Elias Hasenmullerus*, left the Order to turn *Lutheran*. He was a Man who had curiously observed the Strength and Weakness of the Society; so that for fear of his publishing the History of it, the Jesuits did all that was possible to seize him. He had the good luck to avoid their Snares, by hiding himself sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another; but at last, to put himself out of the reach of their Conspiracies, he retired to *Wittemberg* in the Year 1587 (g), where he spent his time, in putting the last Hand to a History of the Jesuits, which he designed to publish. He died before he could do it: His Manuscript was printed sometime after by *Polycarp Lyserus*. 'Tis a very strong piece (h) against the Jesuits, and take it altogether, it is more provoking than the Books of *Jarrige*, though perhaps there are not so many particular Adventures in it. This Work was received with great Applauses. The Jesuits caused it to be refuted by *James Gretserus*, which occasioned many Books *pro* and *con*.

I have said, that perhaps *Hasenmullerus* does not tell so many Adventures as *Jarrige*; but 'tis certain, that in the Chapter of the Vow of Chastity, he relates some that are very scandalous; and doubtless to make the Impurities of which he accuses the Jesuits, the more abhorred, he has laid open many Precautions, with which he says they fortify themselves against this Sin. He says, they make use of Foods that mortifie and enervate the Flesh, and that they order Watchings, Fastings, Whippings, and Hair-Cloths to those that confess their Temptations. (i) *In cibis & potu variis utuntur herbis & pharmacis, quibus natura vim enervant, & sobolem, ut ita dicam, mera viscera propria occidunt priusquam nascatur, & à Deo ordinatæ humanæ propagationis homines, & à Deo ordinatæ humanæ propagationis homines. Si qui fratres in confessionibus conqueruntur de illes. Si qui fratres in confessionibus conqueruntur de carnis infirmitate, flammis atque stimulis, eam ut excarnis infirmitate, flammis atque stimulis, eam ut exstinguant ordinant illis vigilias, jejunia, cilicia & stinguant ordinant illis vigilias, jejunia, cilicia & flagella quibus carnem suam doment, castigent, & flagella quibus carnem suam doment, castigent, & in servitutem, ut loquuntur, spiritus redigant.* He adds, that there are some who study to raise and excite

Morals (F) had not been edifying whilſt he appeared a Proteſtant. *Konig* calls him * *Jarrichius*, and will have him to have publiſhed *the Jeſuit † upon the Scaffold*, in the Year 1665; which implies three Faults. In the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library, he is confounded with another Jeſuit, whoſe Work is aſcribed to him, and whoſe Name was *Peter Jarric*.

JAVERSAC (*N.*) was one of the Authors that entered the Liſts during *Balzac*'s great Quarrel with Father *Goulu*. He was *a Native of a Town near* Angouleſme, and he removed to *Paris with a Book againſt* ‡ Phyllarchus *and* § Narciſſus, *both at once, under the Name of* Ariſtarchus to Nicander. His Criticiſms are worth nothing in ſome Places; for inſtance, he maintains, *it ought be ſaid* Ruette, *and not* Ruelle; Livraire, *and not* Libraire, *ſince they ſay in* French, un Livre, *and not* un Libre. This new Author found himſelf attack'd *in his Lodgings, and even in his Bed, with Sword and Piſtol*; *but* as he was Young and Valiant, he took his Sword, *and purſued his Enemy into the Street, and got a great Honour, for this Courageous Defence.* Nevertheleſs, *the very next Day this Adventure was ſung upon the* Pont-Neuf, *quite otherwiſe* (A) *than it happened.* A Libel was publiſhed, intituled, *La defaite du Paladin Javerſac par les alliez, & confederez du Prince des Feuilles* ‖. I have heard a Man of great Wit ſay, that *Balzac* was the Author of that Piece, and that it is the beſt that came out upon that Diſpute. *A Sacrilegious Calumny* ** was found in the *Title of that Libel*; for Father *Goulu* was charged in it *with that Attempt, notwithſtanding the Sacredneſs of his Profeſſion. Javerſac* declared him innocent of it, and imputed it only to *Balzac* ††, but *diſcreet Perſons* ‡‡ could neither accuſe *Phyllarchus* nor *Narciſſus* of it. That which is certain, is, that it has been publiſhed

* *Bibl. vetus & nova, p.* 424.

† Jeſuitam —— ferali pegmate conſtitutum. *It ſhould be* Jeſuitas *Sorel. Biblioth. Franſoiſe, pag.* 132. *edit.* 1667.

‡ 'Tis *the Name Father* Goulu *took upon him.*

§ 'Tis *the Name Father* Goulu *gave to* Balzac.

‖ *Sorel. ubi ſupra.*

** *Sorel. ib.*

†† *See the laſt Remark.*

‡‡ *Id. ib.*

riſh in their Soul, a great Hatred for the Fair Sex. (k) *Nonnullos vidi qui nihil voluerunt edere, quod a muliere coſtum ſcibeant. Alios dicentes audivi, quotres de fœmina cogito, toties ſtomachus meus & bilis commoventur & conturbantur. Alius dicebat, tædet pudetque me quod a muliere ſum in hanc lucem editus; dignus certe cui vacca fuiſſet genitrix. Alii nihil prorſus boni in tota mulieris ſubſtantia eſſe dicunt, ſique ex illis quidam cæteros in harum calumniarum palæſtra vincere conantur, illi ad mentionem mulieris expuunt, & in tabula maledicos & in ſexum fœmineum contumelioſos Mantuani verſus (quos tamen is non niſi de malis cecinit) deſcriptos ob oculos ponunt, ut ſic in ſeipſis majus in mulieres odium excitent.* By this we ſee that all ſorts of Extravagancies may enter into the Mind, under a falſe Devotion; for what can be more abſurd, and more fooliſh, than thoſe Diſcourſes of thoſe People? *My Stomach riſes*, ſay they, *and my Choler is ſtirr'd as often as I think of a Woman; I am ſorry and aſhamed, to owe my Birth to a Woman; I ſpit when I hear a Woman mentioned.* I have not found in *Hafenmullerus*'s Book, a Paſſage quoted by a Modern Author (l): he pretends to have read in it, that a Workman who was at work for the Jeſuits, tho' they gave him Meat and Drink enough, could not careſs his Wife; and yet when he laboured at other People's Houſes, even when he well performed his Nocturnal Duty, he drank nothing but Water: For which Reaſon his Wife would not ſuffer him to work for the Jeſuits any longer, and afterwards the Magiſtrates of *Landsberg* (†) did not permit any Body to buy their Beer. If it had that ill Quality, the Magiſtrates were to be praiſed for forbiding Laymen to drink it; for the Conjugal Duty is ſo privileged a Caſe, that many Caſuiſts ſubmit the Laws of the Church to it. They pretend, that when faſting hinders a Man from paying his Duty to his Wife, he is *ipſo facto*, diſpenced from it. See the Margin (m).

If the Converſion of the Jeſuit *Hafenmullerus* made a great Noiſe, that of the Jeſuit *Reibing* made more Noiſe ſtill (n). 'Tis he, who is thought to have contributed to bring the Duke of *Newburg* to the *Roman* Communion. See the Article *Reibing*. Thus you ſee two eminent Converſions of Jeſuits beſides that of *Peter Jarrige*. I ſay nothing of *Daniel Peirol*, Miniſter of the Church of *Montauban*, and Profeſſor in the Academy of the ſame Town. He had been a Jeſuit, and he wrote ſomething againſt Father *Coton*. I have found this in the 21ſt. Page of *Gisbert Voetius's conf raternitas Mariana.*

My III. Obſervation is, that *Jarrige* was not carried off: He retired voluntarily, being moved to it by the Suggeſtion of the Jeſuit *Pontbelier*. This appears by the Authentick Pieces that have been printed. Such is the Letter he wrote to the Merchant of *Leyden*, and much more his Recantation (o).

(k) *Ibid. pag.* 131.

(l) *The Author of the* Polygamia triumphatrix. *The following Words are to be found, pag.* 130. *Hiſt. Jeſ. c.* 6. *p.* 99. *ubi joco-ſam, ſed tamen veram hiſtoriam narrat de opifice quodam, qui apud Jeſuitas laborans, comedens & bibens, uxori benevolentiam debitam non potuit reddere, ſed apud alios vel aquam bibens virum ſe valuit præſtare, eamque ob cauſam nonvoluit, ut amplius Jeſuitis ſerviret, uti & poſtea Landsbergenſes prohibuerunt in Bavaria, ne amplius* ceresiſiam *apud Jeſuitas emerent.*

(†) *A Town in* Bavaria.

(m) *Thoſe are not obliged to faſt, who —— when they faſt, cannot pay a due Benevolence to their Wives.* Emanuel Sa Aphoriſ. verbo Jejunium num. 9. Tolet. Inſtruct. Sacerdot. lib. 6. c. 4. Thomas 2. ſecundæ quæſt. 147. art. 4. D. Moulin *in the Book of Traditions*, pag. m. 342.

(n) *He turned* Lutheran *about the Year* 1621.

(o) *See the Remark C. pag.* 1632.

(F) *That his Morals had not been edifying.*] I have ſeen two Anſwers to his Retractation; one written by *Ezekiel Daunois* of *Compiegne*, a Miniſter of the Goſpel: The other by *John Nicolai*, of *Luxemburg*, a Member of the *French* Church at *Amſterdam*. In the Preface of this Second Anſwer, I have read, that *Peter Jarrige* endeavoured in vain to be admitted into the Miniſtry, before the Four Years of Trial were expired, which the Synods have appointed for thoſe who come from Popery. 'That touch, *ſays he*, fill'd you with Indignation after your laſt Rejection in the Synod of *Harlem*, where you was alſo accuſed, (your Conſcience knows whether it was wrongfully) of an Action as infamous as thoſe filthy Things, of which you accuſe the Jeſuits of your Province to put 'em upon the Scaffold. Now, though it was not then examined to the bottom, foraſmuch as the Witneſſes were not preſent; yet the Suſpicion remained, conſidering the great Knowledge and Experience you have expreſſed in your Book, of ſuch ſort of Impurities. The Letter which the *Leyden* Merchant wrote to him, will explain all this: theſe words are to be found in it. 'You may remember with what Spirit you was led, when you returned from the Synod of *Middleburg*, which you had in vain ſo vehemently ſollicited, to obtain an exception to the Order made againſt admitting to the Miniſtry (which you was fond of to cauſe a greater Scandal) thoſe that come from Popery, till after a Trial of Four Years. Being refus'd, you made your Preſumption, Pride and Vanity, conſpicuouſly appear; and in your way Home you happen'd to be at Night in the Cabin of the Veſſel, where were many Women, whom not being able to talk with but by Signs, you ſhewed them by Candle-Light your obſcene Parts, and made them ſet up a Cry againſt this villanous and abominable Prieſt, as they call'd you; which not only awaked a good Servant of God, who was there, but all the reſt of the Crew, who running at the Alarm, upon hearing the Women, talked of nothing but throwing you in the Water; which they would have done, had it not been for that good Man, who pacified them; but the Boatman proteſted that he would tell it in the place from whence you came,

(A) *Quite otherwiſe than it happen'd.*] Never were two things more different, than the manner how this Adventure is related by *Sorel*, and by him

† Moriſcet, *in the Relation of* Balzac's *Death. It is in the Edition of* Balzac's *Works in* Folio.

liſhed that † *Balzac* being on his Death-Bed, *remembring, that in his younger Years ſomething had paſſed betwixt* Javerſac *and him, ſent one of his Friends to his Houſe, which was Seven or Eight Leagues diſtant from* Angoulême *to deſire him to make him a Viſit, that he might have the Satisfaction of imbracing him before he died. That in effect he imbraced him with an incredible Tranſport of Joy, which agreeably put out of their Minds the Remembrance of their antient Quarrel. That Mr.* de Javerſac *was ſo ſenſibly touched with it, that immediately being all in Tears, he made a Sonnet to lament for ever the Loſs of his Friend.*

Since the firſt Edition of this Dictionary, I have learned (B) ſome Circumſtances, which I will give an account of to my Readers.

JENISCHIUS (*Paul*) was born at *Antwerp* the 17th. of *June*, 1558, and died at *Studgard* the 18th. of *December*, 1647. He was a Learned Man, and underſtood many Languages. His Book, intituled, *Theſaurus animarum*, expoſed him to a grievous Perſecution: he was baniſhed, and his Baniſhment laſted above 50 Years. He bore it very patiently, and enjoyed an extraordinary good Health to the laſt Year of his Life, * eating well, ſleeping well, and ſpending his Time in Muſick, which he underſtood to Perfection, and in the Study of the Holy Scripture, and in Mechanicks. He had Nineteen Children, whereof Four only were living when he died. He was grievouſly Sick the laſt Year of his Life, and he died in acute Pains †. He has been unknown to the Bibliographers of the *Low-Countries*.

IGNATIUS, Founder of the Jeſuits. See LOYOLA.

ILLYRICUS (*Matthias Flacius*) one of the moſt Learned Divines of the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, was born at *Albona* in *Iſtria* ‡ the 3d. of *March* 1520. He ſtudied Claſſical Learning at *Venice*, under *Egnatius*; and at Seventeen Years of Age, finding in himſelf a ſtrong Inclination for the Study of Divinity, he reſolved to become a Monk, becauſe he could not maintain himſelf in the Univerſities, and ſo the only way to ſatisfie his Inclination, was to ſtudy in a Monaſtery. He communicated his Deſign to a Provincial of the *Franciſcans*, a Relation of his Mother. But this Pro-

* Perpetua animi tranquillitate & corporis valetudine firma cum orexi, & ſuavi ſomno uſus. *Joh. Valentinus Andreas ubi infra.*

† *Taken from the* 190 *Letter of* John Valentinus Andreas

‡ *Part of the Country formerly call'd* Illyrium, *or* Illyria: *hence it is that* Matthias Flacius *was ſirnamed* Illyricus. *'Tis not true, as* Melchior Adam, *and many others affirm, that he was born in* Sclavonia.

him that publiſhed (a) *La defaite du Paladin Javerſac*. That Book ſays, that the *Paladin* was of *Cognac*, where he had pleaded ſome Cauſes; that after the Publication of his Book, there was a Conſpiracy to fall upon him in the open Street; but that they were forced to attack him in his Chamber, becauſe he kept it all Day long; that he was ſurprized aſleep in the Arms of his Landlord's Wife, on *Thurſday* the 11th. of *Auguſt*, 1628, at nine a Clock in the Morning, and awaked by a Salvo of Baſtinadoes, which laſted as long as it pleaſed the Aggreſſor, ſince *Paladin* wholly reſigned himſelf to Providence. The Concluſion of the Libel is, 'that the Friends of *Phylarchus* joining in this 'with thoſe of the contrary Party, have ſworn to 'root out as many *Javerſac*'s as they can meet with, 'and to make it plain to bad Poets, that beſides the 'Golden, Braſen, and Iron Ages, ſo celebrated 'the Fables, there is ſtill a Wooden Age to come, 'which the ancient Poets have not mentioned, in 'in the Miſeries and Calamities whereof they 'ſhall have a greater Share than other Men. I make uſe of the Edition (b) of 1665. See the following Remark.

(a) *'Tis a Piece of* 16 *Pages, in* 8. *It has been reprinted in the Folio Edition of* Balzac, *with ſome other Pieces made for him.*

(b) *That is of the Folio Edition of* Balzac's *Works.*

(B) *I have learned ſome Circumſtances which I will give an account of.* | *Javerſac*'s Book was printed and reprinted in 1628, with this Title, *Diſcours d'Ariſtarque à Nicandre, ſur le jugement des Eſprits de ce temps, & ſur les fautes de Phyllarque.* The firſt thing to be met with in it, is an Advertiſement of the Printer, full of Lyes; for 'tis there given out, that they were forced to uſe all ſorts of Artifices to over-reach the Vigilance, wherewith the Author hinder'd the Publication of his Work. *He did not love it ſo little as to be willing to expoſe it to the Rage of Envy.* Afterwards you find an allufive Letter, which he writ to Mr. *Bergeron*, Councellor to the King, and Referendary in Chancery. As he ſuppoſes that Mr. *Bergeron* had raiſed Difficulties againſt the Licence, in order to deprive him of the Advantage of being the firſt that ſhould publiſh any thing about the Diſpute of *Balzac* and *Goulu*, and to give time to *la Motte Aigron* to be before him, he expreſſes a great Rage in that Letter. In the third Place, you ſee his Preface, wherein he mentions the great Efforts his Enemies had made to ſtop the Impreſſion of his Book. At laſt you find the Book itſelf. This is not the only Work that *Javerſac* has publiſhed. In the ſame Year 1628, came out the *Diſcours d'Ariſtarque à Calidoxe ſur ce qui s'eſt paſſé entre lui & Balzac.* The Impreſſion coſt him (c) a Hundred Crowns; and it was not poſſible for him to get it done at *Paris*, 'either with Licence or 'without it. He ſays, that his Father (d) 'had 'had many honourable Deputations, and ſome of 'the moſt important Poſts of the Aſſembly of the 'Proteſtants before the Rebellions——and (e) 'that he can prove, that his Anceſtors have acquired their Nobility by the right of Veterans, in 'many honourable Poſts of the Crown of *Navarre*. He ſays alſo (f), that he had offered to give *Balzac* Satisfaction, either as a Gentleman or a Philoſopher. He relates at large, the Misfortune that happen'd to him, of being aſſaulted in his Bed (a). He (b) did a little ward off the Blow of one of the Villains that came into his Chamber; but *'tis too honourable a thing for me*, ſays he, *not to confeſs that he ſtruck me in the Arm, ſaying, you was forbidden to write againſt* Balzac. He adds (c) that his Landlady was wounded in her Little Finger; and (d) that *he purſued them with Sword in Hand into the Street*, and that two Hundred Witneſſes, *who ſaw him in his Shirt upon the Threſhold, had ſaid it every where before him; that he made a Paſs at him who had ſtruck him, and that Fifty Perſons who ſaw his Sword bend to the Hilt, knew that this Rogue had a Coat of Mail.* He obſerves (e), that two or three Days before, he had had the Honour to ſerve a Marquis in a Quarrel. Truly, I believe he was fitter to fight than to write Books, and that he would quickly have worſted *Balzac* in a Diſpute to be decided with Sword in Hand. He uſes againſt him ſome ſtrong (f) Rhodomantades; but he expreſſes ſome fear, that his Adverſary (g) would accuſe *him of ſome youthful mad Pranks in Love.* We muſt remember, that he never ſuſpected Father *Goulu* to be the Cauſe of that Inſult. *I know not*, ſays he (h), *why* Balzac *is afraid of me, if he is not guilty; and ſince he thinks to clear himſelf ſo well every where from that Crime, by throwing it upon* Phylarchus, *who has ſhewed himſelf much more cenſorious. I had ſo many convincing Proofs againſt* Balzac, *and ſo good an Opinion of* Phylarchus's *Honeſty, that I could not ſuſpect him in the leaſt. My Book, I think, gave him more Diſturbance than my Perſon.*

(c) *Ariſtarque avis aux lecteurs.*

(d) *Id. pag. 169.*
(e) *Ibid. pag. 168.*
(f) *Ibid. pag. 174.*
(g) *It was upon a* Thurſday *the 2d. of* Auguſt 1628, *according to the* Octavo *Edition of* la defaite du Paladin Javerſac.
(h) *Diſcours d'Ariſtarque pag. 183.*
(c) *Ibid. pag. 184.*
(d) *Ibid. pag. 185.*
(e) *Ibid. pag. 189.*
(f) *See eſpecially, pag. 198.*
(g) *Ibid. pag. 201.*
(h) *Ibid. pag. 199.*

Note, That 'tis eaſie to know he was born a Huguenot, but not, whether he was not ſo ſtill; for what I am going to quote, is ambiguous. (i) *Having heard from my Landlady, that I lodged there, after they had made Inquiries about it, they asked what Religion I was of. She anſwered, that ſhe did not know it, but that I went often to Church. She might have ſworn that there is no Catholick who has a more Orthodox Faith than I have. Bergeron* publiſhed a Letter (k) *againſt the Impertinences and Falſities printed by the Sieur* de Javerſac *in a Letter printed*

(i) *Ibid. pag. 176.*
(k) *It was written to* Balzac, *and Printed in* 1628

Provincial (*A*) who was inclined to the Proteſtant Religion, adviſed him to go into *Germany*, and not to ſhut up himſelf in a Convent. *Flacius* followed his Advice, and went to *Baſil* (*B*) in the year 1539. He ſtaid there ſome Months, and then he went to *Tubingen*, and from thence to *Wittemberg* in the year 1541, and became a Diſciple of *Luther* and *Melanchthon*. He maintained himſelf by teaching Greek and Hebrew. Having Communicated to *Pomeranus*, and afterwards to *Luther*, the Temptations that Tormented him, about Sin, the Wrath of God, and Predeſtination, publick Prayers were put up for him, and Scriptural Comforts were Adminiſtred to him, ſo that this went off. He receiv'd a thouſand Tokens of Kindneſs and Liberality from *Melanchthon*. They Married him, and gave him a publick Employment in the Univerſity ß in the year 1544. The War having diſpers'd the Scholars in *Saxony*, he remov'd to *Brunſwick*, where he made himſelf famous by his Lectures: He went and Re-aſſum'd his firſt Imployment at *Wittemberg*, in the year 1547, and a little after he Violently oppos'd the *Interim*, and all the Cautions that *Melanchthon* was for; and that he might have more Liberty to declaim againſt Popery, he retir'd to *Magdeburg* ɣ, which was then put to the Ban of the Empire. He Publiſh'd ſeveral Books there, but the moſt conſiderable of his Labours was doubtleſs that Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory call'd the *Centuries of* Magdeburg, which he had the chief Direction of. He accepted the Imployment that was offer'd him in the year 1557. in the new Univerſity of *Jena*, where he was a Profeſſor for five years; after which, not being able to agree with *Victorinus* (*C*) *Strigelius* his Collegue, he retired to *Ratisbonne*, where he went on Publiſhing many Books. He was invited into *Brabant*, with ſome others in the year 1567, to Model ſome Churches after the *Augsburg* Confeſſion: But the Perſecution diſpers'd all theſe Churches ſoon after, ſo that he remov'd from thence to *Strasburg*, and then to *Francfort*, where he found a great Declenſion of his Glory; for he was forſaken by moſt of his Adherents, becauſe he was accus'd of Manicheiſm, under pretence that he taught, that Sin was not an Accident, but the very Subſtance of the Soul †. He Died at *Francfort* the *11th.* of *March* 1575 ζ. He was a Man that had excellent Talents, a vaſt Wit, a great deal of Learning, and a mighty Zeal againſt Popery; but his Turbulent, Furious, and Quarrelſome Temper, ſpoil'd all his good Qualities, and occaſion'd a thouſand Diſorders in the Proteſtant Church. He made no ſcruple to Declare, that Princes were to be kept in awe, by the fear of Inſurrections *. There was no Reaſon to lament his Death; for Diviſions which are always Scandalous, were then very Pernicious, becauſe of the Advantages which the Church of *Rome* drew from them, to inſult the growing Reformation. Some have ſaid, that the only good thing ⸸ he did was to Die. But this is overdoing things. He Publiſh'd a vaſt † number of Books; and no Man in his time, knew how to Rummage Old Libraries to better Advantage.

(*l*) *In the year* 1628.
(*m*) *Printed the ſame year.*
(*a*) Baldus autem iſte, ut hoc in tranſitu addamus, paulo poſt in ſuſpicionem hæreſeos venit: ac Venetiis viginti ipſos annos ſitum ſqualoremque carceris, tandem in mari ſummerſus ſupplicium fortiter perſulit. *Melchior Adam. in vit. Theol. p.* 472. *See alſo* Verheiden *in effigiebus p.* 157.
(*b*) *Ubi ſupra.*
(*c*) *Addit. to the Elog. tom.* 1. *p.* 471.
(*d*) *In the year* 1560. *according to Micrælius* ubi ſupra: *but according to Melchior Adam in vitis Theol. Germ. p.* 420, *it was in the year* 1557.

REFLEXION upon *Flacius's* Doctrine concerning the Nature of Sin.

(*e*) *Spondanus ad ann.* 1560. *n.* 32.
(*f*) *See Micrælius. Syntagm. Hiſtoriar. Eccleſ. p. m.* 827. 828.

prefixed to a Book &c. There came out (*l*) alſo a Piece Intituled, *Le nun paſſionné ſur le livre intitulé la defaite du Paladin Javerſac.* This Piece is infinitely more favourable to the *Paladin* than to his Adverſary. As to the Book Intituled (*m*) *Aebates à Palemon pour la defenſe de Phyllarque*, it is a thundering one againſt *Javerſac*. I have cited a Piece of it in the Remark of the Article *Artabanus IV.*

(*A*) *This Provincial, who was inclined to the Proteſtant Religion.*] He deſerves a Place in the Proteſtant Martyrology, ſince after he had been Impriſon'd twenty years becauſe he was ſuſpected of Hereſy, he was thrown into the Sea. He was call'd *Baldus Lupatinus.* See the Margin (*a*).

(*B*) *And went to* Baſil *in the year* 1539.] He was therefore nineteen years Old. *Verheiden* is therefore miſtaken (*b*) in ſaying, that *Illyricus* made a Journey to *Baſil* at ſeventeen years of Age. Mr. *Teiſſier* has followed (*c*) *Verheiden.*

(*C*) *Not being able to agree with* Victorinus Strigelius.] They differ'd about the Converſion of Man, and the Power of Free-Will. They Diſputed upon it before the Dukes of *Saxony* at *Weimar* (*d*). They went into two Extreams. *Strigelius* inclin'd to the ſide of thoſe who were call'd *Adiaphoriſts*, and *Synergiſts*, who aſcrib'd a great Power to Free-Will, and pretended that Original Sin did only ſlightly (*e*) touch the Soul. *Flacius* on the contrary maintain'd, that this Sin was the very Subſtance of the Soul. The Diſpute laſted thirteen Seſſions: It was Publiſh'd with a Preface of *Muſæus*, who was one of *Flacius's* Followers (*f*). We have here a viſible Effect of the deſire of Contradicting others; which is a Paſſion that commonly carries Men of a lively Wit beyond all Bounds. *Flacius* not being † able to content himſelf with a Moderate Oppoſition, ſet himſelf at the greateſt diſtance poſſible from his Antagoniſt; and ſeeing him maintain that the Soul was not Wounded by Original Sin, but in its Accidental Faculties, he undertook to prove, that the very Subſtance of the Soul is Corrupted, whence it followed that Sin is the Subſtance of the Soul. *Flacius* had never thought of that Doctrine, if his Collegue had not taught the Contrary. But if the Diſpute which aroſe betwixt theſe two Profeſſors, ſhews what the Spirit of Contradiction, and the *ἐμφυτον τῆς ἀνθρώπου*, can do, it ſhews alſo how fit the Peripatetick Philoſophy is to foment the Diviſions of Divinity. For *Illyricus's* Doctrine would have offended no Body, if they had believed, as the new Philoſophers do, that there are no Accidents diſtinct from Subſtances, but that for Example, Pain is nothing elſe but the Soul it ſelf, as it is Modified in ſuch a manner: which being granted, it is plain that *Illyricus's* Doctrine is moſt true. Sin is not a diſtinct Being from a ſinful Soul, and Virtue is not a diſtinct Being from a Virtuous Soul. I don't apprehend how the Divines, who ſuppoſe a real Diſtinction between the Soul and its Modifications, can ſay there happens a change in Man, when he paſſes from a State of Innocence, to that of Guilt, and from a State of Sin, to that of Grace. According to theſe Divines, when Man Sins, a new *Entity*, diſtinct from the Soul, is produced, which being joyned with the Soul, Compoſes together with it a Whole, which contains two Beings really diſtinct from one another, one of which is called Subſtance, and the other Accident. I maintain, that this Conjunction does not change the Soul, and that it continues to be preciſely what it was before. Mix as much as you pleaſe Grains of Wheat: with Grains of Barly, you'll never make them ceaſe to be Wheat: and in all Natural and Artificial Mixtures, it is true, that the Compounds become capable of a new Action; but each part of them, as it is diſtinct from every other, retains preciſely the ſame Nature it had before. In like manner, if the Soul was really diſtinct from its Sin, that is to ſay, from the Sin to which it ſhould be joined, it would not paſs into another State. A Soul once Innocent, would always be ſo. See what the (*g*) *Nominaliſts* ſay againſt thoſe, who teach that Modes are really diſtinct from Subſtances.

ß *Micrælius Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. m.* 751. *is therefore miſtaken, when he ſays that he was Profeſſor at* Wittemberg *in* 1540.
ɣ *In* April 1549. Bucholc. *p. m.* 564.
† *See the Remark* C.
ζ *Taken from Melchior Adam in vitis Germanorum Theologorum p.* 472. *& ſeq.*
* Metu ſeditionum terrendos eſſe Principes. *Melanchr. Epiſt.* 107. *p.* 134.
† Nequidquam recti ſciſſe niſi cum noceretur. *Guil. Budæus, Centur.* 16. *Epiſtolarum ad ann.* 1575. *apud Quenſtedt de patr. p.* 263.
† Simlerus *in the Abridgment of* Geſner's *Bibliotheca, &* Teiſſier *Addit. aux Eloges tom.* 1. *p.* 472. *gives a Catalogue of 'em.*
(*g*) *Caſimirus Tholoſus in Atomis Peripateticis tom.* 3. *p.* 249. *& ſeq.*

(*D*) *He*

vantage. He got from thence an Antient Maſs Book (D), which he Printed in the year 1557. This will give us an opportunity of diſcuſſing many things. Thoſe Libraries afforded him vaſt Collections, which have been ſerviceable to many People. I

(D) *He got from thence an Antient Maſs Book.*] Here is the Title of this Work Printed at *Strasburg* by *Chriſtopher Mylius*, in the year 1557. *Miſſa latina, quæ olim ante Romanam circa ſeptingenteſimum Domini annum in uſu fuit, bona fide ex vetuſto authenticoque Codice deſcripta à Matthia Flacio Illyrico.* So Mr. *Colomies* (*b*) gives it, and poſſibly he had it from (*i*) *du Peyrat*. He adds a great many Curious things about this Maſs. He ſays, *that the Lutherans believing it to be contrary to the Faith and Practice of the Catholicks, expreſſed upon all occaſions how glad they were of that Diſcovery; that the Catholicks on their Part, without any ſtrict Examination of this* Miſſal, *Prohibited it in* (*k*) *their Indexes;* ——*That the Lutherans coming to examine this Miſſal with more care, and finding it not favourable to them, ſuppreſs'd all the Copies they could find, ſo that it is grown extreamly ſcarce, and that the Catholicks taking Advantage of* (*l*) *that Retractation, have ſince caus'd it to be Reprinted, notwithſtanding the Prohibition of the Pope and the King of* Spain. I make no doubt that he took from *du Peyrat* what he ſays of the Lutherans about the Suppreſſion of the Copies; in which I think he has been too Credulous: for *du Peyrat* gives no other Reaſon for what he imputes to the Lutherans, but the ſcarcity of the Copies of this Miſſal. I confeſs he quotes a Paſſage of *Wicelius*, in which *Illyricus* is ſaid to have been ſuch a Fool as to ſupply the Catholicks with Arms againſt his own Sect, by the Impreſſion of this Miſſal. But this makes much more againſt *du Peyrat* than for him. And indeed *Wicelius* does not ſay that the Lutherans mended their Fault by the Suppreſſion of the Copies; and yet if *du Peyrat* was in the right, they had been already Suppreſs'd by them, when *Wicelius* Publiſh'd his Book, which was in 1564. Now *du Peyrat's* Proof is taken from the ſilence of *Caſſander* and *Pamelius his Contemporary* about *Illyricus's Miſſal* in their Liturgical Books. *Nevertheleſs*, ſays he (*a*), *they have curiouſly inquired into every thing that related to that Matter, and they had a great Credit in* Germany——*to get all the Books that might be of ſome uſe to them.* He therefore Argues thus: If the Lutherans had not deſtroyed the Copies of the Miſſal, Publiſh'd by *Illyricus*, *Caſſander* would have mention'd this Maſs; for he would doubtleſs have ſeen a Copy of it. But he has made no mention of it; therefore it is certain the Lutherans had deſtroy'd them. Note that *Caſſander's* Book about Liturgies was Printed ſome years (*b*) before that of *Wicelius*. We ſhall ſee below, that *Caſſander's* ſilence is a very bad Proof of the ſcarcity of thoſe Copies, and that it is not a ſign that this Maſs was unknown to him. At preſent I ſhall only obſerve, that *Wicelius's* Reproach is a Proof againſt *du Peyrat*. But let us ſee what he Alledges (*c*).

' (*d*) *Flavius Illyricus* having Printed it in the ' year 1557. at *Strasburg* by Inadvertency, not conſidering what he did, and the Lutherans and o' ther *German* Hereticks being ſenſible of the Pre' judice this Antient Miſſal did to their New Opi' nions, took up all the Copies they could meet with, ' and ſuppreſſed them, that it might not come to ' the Knowledge of the Catholicks, and be uſed ' againſt them, being entirely contrary to the Sects ' of *Luther* and *Calvin*. *George Wicelius* (*i*) an ' old Diſciple of *Luther*, who at laſt forſook ' him, and returned into the Pale of the Church, ' ſpeaking of *Flavius Illyricus* in his Defence of the ' Eccleſiaſtical Liturgy, Printed in the year 1564. ' ſeven years after that *Gallican* Miſſal was Pub' liſhed, falls upon *Flacius Illyricus* on Account of ' that Latin Maſs, ſaying that a Blind Man may ' clearly ſee, that by Printing it, he ignorantly and ' imprudently engaged againſt the Sects of *Luther* ' and *Calvin*, and greatly obliged the Catholicks. ' *Wicelius's* Words are theſe: *Matthias Flavius Illyri' cus edidit repertam Miſſam Latinam, non trium' phans tamen de Theſauro tanto adverſus Catholicos,* ' *quam vel cæcutienti homini appareat totum illud* ' *quod edidit, contra Lutheri, Calvinique ſectas edi' diſſe, ſed & Catholicis nobis rem longe gratiſſimam* ' *feciſſe; quid enim ibi niſi Miſſam Latinam, quæ* ' *hodie in uſu generali eſt, inſciens, imprudenſque* ' *defendit? Tantùm abeſt, ut ſuo, ſectæque more* ' *oppugnet; locupletior eſt illa quidem, pluſque pre*' *cum continet, ſed omninò tamen eadem cum uſitatâ,* ' *cujus etiam dicta, factaque omnia paſſim ſequitur,* ' *ut diverſam eſſe confirmare nemo audeat.* This ' undoubtedly was the Reaſon why *Flavius Illyricus* ' and his Adherents of *Germany* being ſenſible of ' the Fault they had Committed, Burnt or other' wiſe Suppreſt this Latin or Gallican Maſs, fearing ' they ſhould be Laugh'd at by every Body. That ' which confirms me in this Opinion is, that tho' ' it was Printed at *Strasburg* in the year 1557, ' *George Caſſander* who Died but in *February* 1566, ' (*e*) and *Pamelius* his Contemporary——make ' no mention of it. *Du Peyrat* repeats the ſame thing at the 623. Page. *I maintain*, ſays he, *that ſince* Caſſander *and* Pamelius, *who have been moſt curious in ſearching out all ſorts of Liturgies, have never ſeen this, tho' it was Printed in their Life time, eight or nine years* (*e*) *before the Death of either of them, and ſince it is ſcarce to be met with at this Day in* France *and* Germany; *that the Lutherans and Calviniſts Burnt it aſſoon as it ſaw the Light, to hinder the Catholicks from making uſe of it againſt them, as of a ſharp Knife coming from them to cut their Throats, and juſtify their blind Obſtinacy againſt the Antient and true Doctrine of the Catholick, Apoſtolick and Roman Church.* Let us now ſee whether *Caſſanders's* ſilence proves any thing.

Colomies, who Confutes Cardinal *Bona*, ſhould have known that *du Peyrat* had deceived the Cardinal. Therefore his Cenſure ſhould have been Levelled firſt of all againſt *du Peyrat*: However here are *Colomies's* Words. ' (*f*) Cardinal *Bona* is mi' ſtaken in believing that *Caſſander* never ſaw the ' Miſſal Publiſhed by *Illyricus*: Beſides that in a ' Collection of Antient Prayers made by *Caſſander*, ' there are ſom.. that are alſo in *Illyricus's* Miſſal; ' *Fr. Baudouin* a famous Civilian, Writing to *Caſ*' *ſander* from *Francfort* in the year 1557. that is, ' the ſame year that this Miſſal was Printed, uſes ' theſe Words: *Francofordiam reverſus, reperi Illy*' *rici ad me literas cum libello de Miſſa ad Palatinum* ' *noſtrum.* (He means *Otho* Elector Palatin, to ' whom this Book was Dedicated.) *Rogat ille* ' *meum judicium de ſuis Miſſa antiquitatibus. Ego* ' *id ad te nunc refero, & libellum ipſum mitto, de* ' *quo quid ſentire debeamus familiariter nos moneas,* ' *ut de qua re tam multi multa confuſè balbutiunt,* ' *rectè & diſtinctè reſpondere aliquando poſſimus.* I have a better Reaſon than this, to prove that *Illyricus's* Miſſal was not unknown to *George Caſſander*; and that which is very remarkable, is that *du Peyrat* ſupplies me with it. The Marginal Note (*g*), which he has put in the 622. Page, informs me, that mention is made of this Miſſal at the end of a Book Printed in 1561, and Intituled, *De officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis vere amantis viri* &c. Now 'tis certain *Caſſander* was the Author of this Book. If *du Peyrat* had known this, he would not have affirmed that this Author never ſaw *Flacius's* Miſſal. By this we ſee that he uſed a very bad Argument, as to what concerns *Caſſander*, to prove that the Copies of this Miſſal were grown very ſcarce. But will ſome ſay, it is certain that they grew ſcarce, and that *Caſſander* makes no mention of that *Miſſal* in his Book of Liturgies. I Anſwer as to the laſt Point, that perhaps this Book of *Caſſander* was out of the Preſs, before the Author receiv'd *Illyricus's* Book. The *Bibliotheque* of *Valerius Andreas* ſhews, that this Book of *Caſſander* was Printed in the year 1558; it may be ſaid ſo in the Title Page, tho' the Book had been made Publick in the Autumn of 1557. a time in which perhaps *Caſſander* had not receiv'd *Illyricus's* Book Publiſhed the ſame year. Upon the other Point, I ſhall only ſay, that there are many Works of *Illyricus* as hard to come by as

ejuſmodi Miſſa his verbis, Miſſa Latina vetus, quæ annos in uſu fuit in Eccleſia Gallicana, & Germanica, rata apud Chriſt. Mylium 1557.

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(*b*) *Colomies Bibliotheque choiſie p.* 12.
(*i*) *Du Peyrat Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi p.* 561.
(*k*) Philip II. *by the Counſel and at the requeſt of the Duke of* Alba, *and afterwards* Sixtus V. Colomies ibid.
(*l*) *Father le* Cointe *has inſerted it in the* 2. *Volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Annals of France, and Cardinal* Bona *at the end of his Work de rebus Liturgicis. Id. ibid.*
(*a*) *Ubi ſupra p.* 618.
(*b*) *In the year* 1558. *See Valerius Andreas Bibl. Belg. p.* 261.
(*c*) *Du Peyrat, ubi ſupra p.* 617.
(*d*) *So he calls him always.*
(*i*) *Vide Georgium Wicellium in defenſione Liturgiæ Eccleſiaſticæ.*

(*e*) *This is falſe as to* Pamelius, *who Died in* September 1587. *being in the* 52*d year of his Age. His Book of Liturgies was Printed in* 1571. *See* Val. Andreas ubi ſupra *p.* 425.
(*f*) *Colomies ubi ſupra p.* 14.
(*g*) *Here it is: I have mended ſome Faults of Impreſſion.* Ad calcem libelli de officio pii ac publicæ tranquilitatis vere amantis viri in hoc Religionis diſſidio typis excuſi, anno 1561. referuntur doctorum aliquot ac piorum virorum libri, ex quibus videri poteſt quam non ſit difficilis controverſiarum in Religione conciliatio, ſi controvertendi ſtudium vitetur, inter quos ſi mentio ſanctæ Trin. Argento-

I mean the Memoirs (E) which he gathered to Compile his *Catalogus teſtium veritatis*. 'Tis ſaid that ſometimes he (F) Diſguiſed his Name. *Moreri* is much in the wrong (G) to place him under the Letter T. at the Word *Trancowitz*.

Spondanus has committed (H) a great Fault, ſpeaking of the Centuries of *Magdeburg*: you may ſee it in the Remark *, where I ſhall mention ſome things relating to the Hiſtory of thoſe Centuries. *Varillas*, who has faithfully Tranſcribed this

* *In the Remark* H.

his *Gallican* Maſs, and yet no Body went about to Suppreſs them. There are many other Cauſes of the ſcarcity of a Book, beſides the care of gathering up all the Copies to throw 'em into the Fire.

(E) *I mean the Memoirs which he gathered to compile his* Catalogus Teſtium.] The worſt of it is, that he is Accuſed of having ſtolen ſome Manuſcripts. Let us hear *Melchior Adam* (b). *Tertium locum facile obtinet* Martyrologium *illud, quod hac occaſione compilatum ferunt. Contexuit Abbas* Joannes Trithemius *Catalogum auctorum. Hunc cum vidiſſet Flacius, temperare ſibi non potuit, quin diſſimulatâ perſonâ & habitu aliquot in Germaniâ Monaſteriorum bibliothecas perluſtraret: quos commode poſſet Hiſtoricos clam auferret: atque iſto adminiculo librum qui* Catalogus teſtium veritatis *indigitatur, conſcriberet.* The Catholick Writers have not failed to take Advantage of that Remark. *Egregium ſcilicet opus*, ſays *Spondanus* (i), *quod ex furto & ſacrilegio impii transfugæ confectum eſt, ut mirum videri non debeat, ſi tot mendaciis & falſiloquiis ſcateat à patre omnis nequitiæ & immunditiæ eructatis.* See in the 120 Page of *Colomiés*'s *Opuſcules*, what is ſaid of *Lindenbroch*. But *Spondanus* goes too faſt, when he concludes from a Man's ſtealing Manuſcripts, that he falſifies 'em afterwards, and Publiſhes them with a thouſand Alterations; he is not well Grounded in ſuch a Conſequence. Beſides, he is miſtaken when he ſuppoſes that *Illyricus* Publiſhed his *Catalogus Teſtium veritatis*, only to oppoſe *William Eiſengreinius*'s Book. 'Tis juſt the contrary; *Eiſengreinius* Publiſhed his *Catalogus Teſtium veritatis* in oppoſition to that of *Illyricus*. This is plain from the Dates of the Impreſſions. *Illyricus*'s Catalogue, Printed at *Baſil* in the year 1556. was Re-printed at *Straſburg* in the year 1562. That of *Eiſengreinius* was Printed at *Dillingen* in 1565. Which Confutes the following Paſſage. (k) *Nec vero tam illud æmulatione Trithemii, cujus opus omninò diverſum eſt, ſuum concinnaſſe putamus; quam turpiori flagitio ad obſcurandum illud, quod* Gulielmus Eiſengreinius *itidem Germanus Catholicus ediderat eodem Titulo* Catalogi Teſtium veritatis, *quo patrum & Eccleſiaſticorum omnium qui ad eam uſque diem hæreſes expugnaverant, non parvo labore teſtimonia pro veritate fidei Catholicæ protulerat. In cujus invidiam, ſimul & ut fucum faceret imperitis, Flacius commentarium ſuum eodem titulo edidit ſed abſque † nomine auctoris, fabulis & mendaciis refertum.* Note, that this Work of *Illyricus* was very much inlarged by *Simon Goulart* of *Senlis*, in the Editions of 1597, and 1608.

But he is juſtly complained of (b) for having taken the Liberty to change the Method of it, and to add and leave out what he pleaſed, without ſhewing what was his and what *Illyricus*'s. This perhaps was the Reaſon why a Lutheran procured a new Edition of the *Catalogus Teſtium veritatis*, altogether like that of *Illyricus*, except that he prefixed to it what Learned Men have ſaid in Praiſe or Diſpraiſe of it. This New Edition came out at *Francfort* in the year 1666. in *4to*, without the Name of *John Conrad Dietericus*, who procured it; but it was Publiſhed with his Name in 1672 (c). I muſt obſerve, that *Melchior Adam* has not well Abridged the Author he quotes: I have conſulted the Original ſince the firſt Edition of this Dictionary, and I have found in *Keckerman* a Circumſtance, which ſhould not have been ſuppreſſed. *Illyricus* having learn'd from *John Trithemius*'s Book, that many Authors, who lived in the darkneſs of Popery, had left ſome Monuments of its Corruption, reſolved to render uſeleſs the care that was taken to conceal the Books of thoſe Authors. The Paſſage of *Keckerman* runs thus: *Cæterum quod attinet ad infidioſos occultatores Hiſtoriarum, certum eſt in Bibliotheca Vaticanâ, & aliis Bibliothecis Italiæ, in primis autem in Bibliothecis Monaſteriorum, clam ſervari multos Hiſtoricos ſuperiorum ſæculorum, qui de fraudibus Pontificum, deque abuſibus Eccleſiæ Romanæ, & constante conſervatione veræ doctrinæ, etiam ſub mediis tenebris Papatus ſcripſerunt: id quod manifeſtè patet ex Catalogo autorum, edito ab Abbate Johanne Trithemio, qui iſtos autores ex Bibliothecis ante annos paulò plus centum collegit; quem catalogum cum vidiſſet Matthias Flacius, temperare ſibi non potuit, quin diſſimulatâ perſonâ & habitu aliquot in Germaniâ Monaſteriorum Bibliothecas perluſtraret, earumque arte eluſerit, quos commodè poſſet Hiſtoricos clam auferret, atque adeò eximium iſtum librum, qui dicitur* Catalogus Teſtium veritatis, *iſto adminiculo conſcriberet* (d).

(F) *That ſometimes he diſguiſed his Name.*] 'Tis ſaid that *Achilles Gaſſarus*, who Publiſhed a Book of *Ofridus* a Monk (e) of *Weiſſemburg*, is the ſame with *Flacius Illyricus*. This Book is an Harmony of the four Goſpels, in *German* Verſe. It was Dedicated to *Solomon* and *Luitbert*, Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, and to *Lewis* King of the Eaſtern *France* (f). Mr. *Wharton*, who pretends (g) that *Illyricus* Publiſhed it under the Name of *Achilles Gaſſarus*, will give me leave to inform my Readers, that there was in the XVIth. Century a *German* Phyſician, called *Achilles Gaſſarus*, who Publiſhed ſome Books (h) when *Illyricus* was a School-Boy.

(G) Moreri *is much in the wrong to place him under the Letter* T.] Mr. *Teiſſier* was the occaſion of it, by theſe Words of the 471 Page of his firſt Volume. *The Name of* Matthias Flacius *was* Trancowitz. He cites *Verheiden Effigies*: But *Verheiden* do's not ſay it. Let us ſee what the curious Mr. *Colomiés* has Diſcover'd upon this Subject. ' (i) ' I muſt ſet down the true Name of *Illyricus*, which ' is *Francowitz*, as *Bucholcerus* the Son ſhews it at ' the 831 Page of his Chronology, or rather of the ' Continuation of his Father's, Printed at *Gorlitz* in ' 1599. *Verum & integrum*, ſays he, *Flacii nomen ' ego ex certis autoribus cognovi eſſe tale: Matthias ' Francowitzius, cognomento Flacius gente Illyricus, ' patria Albonenſis. Konig* (k) calls him alſo *Francowitzius*; but *Quenſtedt* (l) Names him *Trancowizium*.

(H) Spondanus *has committed a great Fault ſpeaking of the Centuries of* Magdeburg.] He ſays (m) that they began to be Publiſhed in the year 1560, and that the fourth Tome was the firſt that came out. This is very falſe; for the three firſt Centuries were Printed before the fourth. The Catalogue of the Library of *Francfort* Publiſhed in the year 1604, by *Beeman*, (n) mentions the year 1559, for the three firſt Centuries, and the year 1560, for the fourth. *Draudius* (o) places likewiſe the Edition of the three firſt in 1559. *Sagittarius* ſays, that according to his Copy, the three firſt Centuries were Printed in 1562, the fourth in 1560, the fifth and ſixth in 1562, the ſeventh and eighth in 1564, the ninth in 1565, the tenth and eleventh in 1567, the twelfth in 1569, and the thirteenth, which is alſo the laſt, in 1574. 'Tis very probable that *Spondanus*'s Edition was like that of Mr. *Sagittarius*, that is, that neither of 'em had the firſt Edition of the three firſt Centuries: But this do's not excuſe *Spondanus*, for if he had Read the Preface of the firſt, he would have ſeen that the Centuriators complain of a Satyr, in which their Work was ill ſpoken of, tho' nothing had been Publiſhed of what they had Written. *De ſumptibus vero profitemur*, ſay they, *nos pauciſſimos habere, qui annuatim aliquid conferunt: Nec pro laborum conditione operarii ſatis ſuſtentantur, ſicut ipſimet optimi teſtes ſunt: imo niſi Deus nobis quoſdam Mecænates adhuc excitarit (quod tamen ne fiat, multi invidi ſtrenuè laborant) neque progredi ſatis expedite poterimus; neque forte totum Opus, ut eſt inſtitutum, abſolvere. Impudens igitur, planeque diabolicum eſt mendacium, & criminatio tetra iſtius ſcurræ, qui nuper in maledico & famoſo ſcripto, ſine nomine edito (ubi tamen aliam ſatis fabulam) Sardonio riſu, & virulento ſarcaſmo veſtrum opus hiſtoricum* Aureum *appellat, eo quod ex multo*

(b) *Melch. Adam. in vit. Theol. p. 475. He quotes* Keckerman. in method. Hiſtor.

(i) Spondan. ad ann. 1560. n. 32. *He is miſtaken in calling* Melchior Adam *a Lutheran.*

(a) *Spondanus ubi ſupra p. m. 602. Poſſevin.* apparat ſacr. tom. 1. & alii paſſim, *as Mr.* Baillet *ſays in his quotations, affirm the ſame thing. He affirms it likewiſe.* Jugem. des Savans tom. 1. p. 537. 538.

(†) *This is falſe. See the Remark* I. *Letter* c.

(b) *See Joh. Albertus Faber in decade decadum n. 96.*

(c) *Ex eod. ibid.*

(d) *Keckerm. de natura & proprietat. Hiſtoriæ, in auctario cap. 1. p. m. 151.*

(e) *He lived in the IX. Century.*

(f) *See the Acta Araditorum 1691. p. 295. in the Extract of a Book of Archbiſhop* Uſher *Intituled,* Hiſtoria dogmatica controverſiæ de ſcripturis & ſacris vernaculis.

(g) *Apud eâd. Lipſienſ. ibid.*

(h) *His* Epitome Chronicorum mundi *was Printed at* Baſil *in* 1532. *See* Gelner's *Bibliotheque.*

(i) Bibliotheque choiſie p. 15.

(k) *Biblioth. vet. & nova p. 306.*

(l) *De patriis illuſtr. p. 262.*

(m) *Spondan. ad ann. 1560. n. 31. p. 601.*

(n) *See* Caſpar Sagittarius *introduct. in hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. p. 279.*

(o) *Ibid.*

this Fault of *Spondanus* has added so many others (*l*) to it, that it is hard to conceive how a Man of Sense could be guilty of so many Blunders. I must not forget to say, that the *Clavis sacræ Scripturæ* is one of *Illyricus*'s best Books. See what Mr. *Simon* says of it in his Critical History * of the Old Testament. See likewise *John Albert Faber*, in the 96*th*. Article of his *Decas Decadum*.

I N.

* *In the* 13*th*. *ch. of the* 3*d*. *Book, p.* 428, & *seq. of the* Rotterdam *Edit.* 1685.

multo auro Germanico sit constatum. Non vidit sceleratus iste fœtus Opus, & tamen non veretur canino, aut viperino potius dente arrodere. Deinde non habet cognitas rationes nostras iste conviciator ac criminator: & tamen ut Semei, nos falsè irridet, ac mentitur splendide. Nam quam pauci, & quam parce dent, quam frugaliter alantur hujus instituti operarii, pozerat iste irrisor explorare, non à profugis, sceleratis, pollutis, mendacibus, quibus gubernationis nostra ratio ne nota quidem est, sed à nobis ipsis. This long Passage may serve to two Purposes; for besides that it is an Argument against the false Date of the Centuries, it informs us, what Account ought to be made of these Words of *Spondanus*; *Quod opus vocatum est ab aliis Evangelicis* Aureum, *non quidem in laudem, sed ironice, propterea quod multo principum quorundam Germaniæ, & civitatum auro, ostiatim emendicato, sit editum.* He says, that the other Protestants called these Centuries a Golden Work, by way of ridicule, and to signifie that it had been compiled at the Expence of the *German* Princes; but these Protestants dwindle into an Anonymous Author, who published a Piece (*p*) under the false Name of the Students of *Wittemberg*. See in Mr. *Sagittarius* (*q*) several Extracts of the Epistles Dedicatory of the Centuries, designed to shew that it was not without Reason that *Illyricus*, *Wigandus*, *Judex*, *Faber*, and the other Assistants in that Undertaking, demanded the Encouragement of the Publick. Note, that the Third Century was enlarged, when it was reprinted (*r*) at *Basil*. *Accesserunt castigationes & additiones locorum aliquot in prima editione depravatorum vel omissorum* (*s*). Observe also, that the Four first Centuries, and part of the Fifth, were composed at *Magdeburg*; that the Fifth was compleated at *Jena*; that the Sixth was made in the Exile of *Illyricus*, *Wigandus*, and *Judex*; that the Seventh was written in the Country of *Mecklenburg*, and the rest in the Town of *Wismar*, in the same Country (*t*).

I had written all this, before I found a Copy of the first Editions of those Centuries; for the Edition of *Basil* 1624, in three Volumes in *Folio*, procured by *Lewis Lucius*, being more esteemed than any other, every Body will have it, and so it is hard to find the others in private Libraries. At last, I have been able to consult the Edition, which the Centuriators caused to be made at *Basil*, by *Oporinus*; but because the Copy of the three first Centuries, which was lent me, has been bound more than once, I could not find in it the Date of the Impression. I imagine that the last Leaf was torn off before the last Binding, and 'twas probably in that Leaf, that *Oporinus* placed the Date (*a*) 1559. However, this Copy of the three first Centuries is in *Italick* Letters, and has no Additions nor Corrections. But we have seen that the Edition, which *Sagittarius* made use of, which is that of 1562, contains some Additions and Corrections. 'Tis not therefore the first, nor that which I have at present in my Hands. Note, that the Copy of the Fourth Century, printed by *Oporinus*, in 1560, is in *Roman* Characters.

(*l*) Varillas *has added to this Fault of* Spondanus *many others.*] *Melanchthon*, says he (*b*), was scarce dead, when the Centuriators of *Magdeburg* began to publish their Work upon Ecclesiastical History with the Fourth Volume. This is his first Fault. 'This Volume, *continues he*, is indeed the 'best of the Thirteen in the Opinion of the *Lutherans*, or the most tolerable according to the *Catholicks*. I challenge him to prove that. (*c*) 'There were at first but Four Ministers of *Magdeburg* concerned in it, *Matthias Flacius*, *John Wigandus*, *Matthew Judex*, and *Basil Faber*; but afterwards the most Learned *Lutherans* put their Hand to it, though we only know the Names of Four others; *viz. Nicolas Gal*, *Celestin Hutter*, *Gaspar Nidpruc*, Counsellor of State to the Emperor, and *Baptist* (*d*) *Hoincel*. Consult Mr. *Sagittarius*, and he will inform you (*e*) that *Andrew Corvin*, *Thomas Holthuter*, *Pancratius Veltheck*, *Nicolas Amsdorf*, *Nicolas Gallus*, *Martin Cofius*, *Ebeling Almannus*, *Ambrose Hudfeld*, *David Cicelerus*, *Gaspar Leunculus*, *William Radensis*, *Nicolas Brumeller*, *Bernard Niger*, *Peter Schrader*, and *Conrad Agrius* had a Share in this Work. So that *Varillas* Names three Persons, who do not appear in this List, and falsly supposes, that we only know the Names of Eight Centuriators. I have seen indeed in Mr. *Sagittarius*, the Names of *John Baptist Heinzelius* and *Gaspar Nidpruc*, Counsellor to the Emperor; but he does not say, that these two Persons had a Hand in the Centuries, but (*f*) only, that they countenanced *Mark Wagner*, who went from Library to Library, in quest of Materials. This *Wagner* did great Service to the Centuriators: he visited the Libraries of *Germany* and *Denmark*, and that of *Edinburg* in *Scotland*, &c. He had a very particular Talent for this sort of Enquiries, and they gave him a very glorious Testimonial (*g*), in which they acknowledged his Faithfulness, Diligence, and Exactness. This Testimonial was dated the 30th. of *September* 1557, and imports, amongst other things, that he had made several Voyages (*h*) with *Illyricus*, to collect Materials, and that having shewn his Capacity, he was thought able to continue his Travels alone, and that they had committed that Trust to him with Letters of Recommendation, wherein they desired Learned and Pious Persons to communicate to him such Manuscripts and Monuments, as he could draw any Advantage from. *Heshusius*, was one of those who signed this Testimonial. *Varillas* affirms, 'that the Authors of the 'other Sects, sprung from that of *Luther*, criticised the Centuries several Ways, and published 'many Extracts of the Errors, which they pretended had crept into them. No Body, that I know of, has mentioned those Extracts. *Varillas* would have been very much puzzl'd, had he been obliged to give Proofs of what he said. *Conrad Brunus*, whole Invective against the Centuries was confuted by *Illyricus* in 1560, was a *Roman Catholick*. *Eisengrenius*, who wrote against them, was so too. Let us see some other Faults of *Varillas*. *Illyricus*, 'says he (*i*), undertook the Year following 1561, 'in *Thuringia*, in the Town of *Weimar*, a publick 'Disputation against the famous *Victorinus Strigel*. He is mistaken both as to the time (*k*) of this Dispute, and the Name of *Illyricus*'s (*l*) Antagonist. (*m*) 'The Catholicks observed, that more Heretics had sprung from that of *Luther* in less than 'Fifty Years, than there had ever been from our 'Saviour's Time to *Luther*. This Hyperbole, which he took from *Spondanus*, but not without lessening it, is very Childish. (*n*) *Et videas hinc etiam quam fecundus fuerit Lutherus, qui plures protulerit pestiferarum hæresum auctores, quam ab orbis ortu fuerint ante in universo mundo.* You will find in *Moreri*, that the List of the principal Hereticks from the first Century to *Luther* amounts to 183. Whereas we can scarce find Ten or Twelve Schisms in the first Fifty Years of *Lutheranism*. *Varillas* goes on (*o*). 'It was probably with a Design to escape for some 'time the Persecution which *Flacius* expected from 'his Friends, because of his Outrage at *Weimar*, 'that he disguised himself, and went *incognito* into 'all the Libraries of the *German* Monasteries: 'He chose (*r*) the most scarce Books he could find, 'and made Extracts of others. The Author 'of his Life says, that he did it out of Emulation 'for *Trithemius*, and to compose in his Imitation, 'a Collection of those who had written Books. 'But the thing will not appear probable to one, that 'will be at the Pains to compare those two Works 'together, since they are in nothing alike. That 'of *Trithemius*, is, properly speaking, a Table of 'Ecclesiastical Authors, and of Books composed by 'them; whereas that of *Flacius* is a Collection of 'Passages, which seem to be contrary to the Catholick Religion, and to favour the Rigid *Lutherans*. There are many Faults in these Words; for in the first Place, *Illyricus* visited the Libraries before the Year

(*f*) *Id. ibi. pag.* 252. 255. *Note, that* Melchior Adam in vit. Theol. Pag. 474. *says, that* Gasp. Nidpruck & J. Baptist Hencelius *helped* Flacius *and his Colleagues.* (*g*) *Ib. pag.* 253. 254. (*h*) Cum D. Illyrico aliquot monasteria perlustrasse, & cum ipso multa alia de causa peregrinatum fuisse, quam ut quam humanissimam pro sua tenuitate juvaret. *Ibid. pag.* 254. (*i*) *Varillas ubi supra, pag.* 231, 232. (*k*) *See the Remark* (*l*). (*l*) *His Name was* Strigelius, *and not* Spangel. (*m*) *Varillas, ib. pag.* 232, 233. (*n*) *Spondan. ubi supra.* (*o*) *Varil. ubi supra, pag.* 233. (*r*) *In* Flacius's *Life.*

(*p*) *See* Sagittarius *ubi supra, pag.* 256. & 266. (*q*) *Ibid. pag.* 260. *& seq.* (*r*) *In the Year* 1562. *if I am not mistaken.* (*s*) *Sagittar. ibid. pag.* 269. (*t*) *Idem ibid. pag.* 245. (*a*) Mr. Hill, *Minister of the English Church of* Rotterdam, *who has a fine Library, and a great Knowledge of Books, has assured me that the first Centuries were printed in that Year.* (*b*) *Varillas, hist. de l'Heresie Book* 24. *p. m.* 229. *ad ann.* 1561. (*c*) *Id. ib.* (*d*) *Spondanus ubi supra n.* 32. *pag.* 602. *calls him* Joannem Baptistam Henceliun. (*e*) *Sagitt. ubi supra, pag.* 247, 248, 249.

INCHOFER (*Melchior*) a *German* Jeſuit, born at *Vienna* in the Year 1584, was admitted into the Society at *Rome* in 1607. He had already ſignalized himſelf in the Study of the Civil-Law. He taught Philoſophy, Mathematicks and Divinity a long time at *Meſſina*; and there publiſhed a Book in 1630 (*A*), which brought him into Trouble. He was obliged to go to *Rome* to anſwer the Complaints that were made againſt him in the Congregation of the *Index*. His Judges were well ſatisfied with the Reaſons he alledged in his Juſtification, and only enjoyn'd him to change the Title

1560. He did it to collect Materials for his *Catalogus teſtium veritatis*. *Melchior Adam*, the only Author, cited by *Spondanus* and *Varillas*, declares it in expreſs Words. Now that *Catalogue* was printed (*p*) in the Year 1556. Therefore, &c. in the 2d. Place it is falſe, that *Melchior Adam* ſays, that *Illyricus* undertook ſuch a Work out of Emulation for Trithemius, *and to compoſe in his Imitation, a Collection of thoſe who had written Books.* If *Melchior Adam* had ſaid ſo, he would have been very much miſtaken, and conſequently *Spondanus* (*q*) would have ſaid a thing which is really falſe. See in the Note *F*, how the reading of *Trithemius*'s Book, contributed to *Illyricus*'s Deſign. In the 3d. Place, *Varillas* ſpeaks of *Trithemius*'s Book, and of that of *Illyricus*, in ſuch a manner, as ſhews that he knew neither of 'em; for *Trithemius* does not confine himſelf to *Eccleſiaſtical Authors*, nor the other to the Paſſages that ſeem to Countenance *rigid Lutheraniſm*. *Varillas* ſuppoſes (*r*) that *Illyricus*'s Jealouſie of *William Eiſingrem a Catholick Divine, who had writ a Book, intituled*, The Catalogue of thoſe, who have given Teſtimony to the Truth, determined him to undertake the ſame Task for his Sect. 'Tis juſt the contrary, as we have ſeen (*f*) above. Laſtly, *Varillas* (*t*) ſays he printed this 'Book, without putting his Name to it, either be-'cauſe he would not fall out with the other Sects, 'who he knew would not like it, or becauſe he ſup-'poſed it would be well enough known in the 'World, that he was the Author of the Book, 'though he did not name himſelf. There is no ſuch Thing. He put his Name to that Book, and had no Reaſon to fear, that the other Proteſtants would diſapprove his Compilation.

(*p*) *See* Joh. Albertus Faber in decade decadum *n.* 96.

(*q*) Nec vero tam illud æmulatione Trithemii ——ſimum concinniſſe putamus, quam, &c. *Spondan. ubi ſupra.*

(*r*) *Varillas ubi ſupra, pag.* 233.

(*f*) *In the Remark* E.

(*t*) *Ibid. pag.* 234.

There is another thing, which deſerves to be cenſured: it concerns the Epiſtle Dedicatory to Queen *Elizabeth*. *Varillas* (*v*) affirms, 'that it 'did more Spite than Honour to that Princeſs, and 'that there are few Examples of ſo extravagant a 'miſs-timing in the Hiſtory of Men of Letters, 'tho' they are otherwiſe accuſed of not being al-'ways the beſt bred. The Centuriators, who ſign-'ed the Epiſtle Dedicatory, could not be ignorant of 'a thing ſo notorious, that *Elizabeth* was a Calvi-'niſt in her Doctrine, tho' ſhe was a Lutheran, as 'to the Diſcipline; and yet they inſerted in the 'ſame Epiſtle, by which they courted this Queen's 'Protection, a Satyr againſt the Calviniſts. They 'accuſed 'em of rendering, as much as in them lay, 'the Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt uſeleſs, by Reaſons 'borrowed from Philoſophy; of rejecting the real 'Preſence, and Communion of the Body and Blood 'of that holy Saviour, againſt his own Words, tho' 'moſt perſpicuous; and of endeavouring to dazzle 'thoſe, who read the Goſpel, by confounding with 'ſubtle and ſtudied Interpretations, the natural 'Sence of Abundance of Paſſages, ſo evident of 'themſelves, as to need no Explanation. They 'proved afterwards unanſwerably in this Tome, 'and the 12 following, that the Church had always 'believed that Preſence; and whoever will be at the 'Pains of reading them, will immediately obſerve, 'that tho' thoſe who paid them for their Labour, 'had deſired them to write with leſs Nicety and 'more Moderation upon that Point, that they 'might not oppoſe the Accommodation, which was 'then negotiating afreſh betwixt the Lutherans 'and Zuinglians; they had ſo little Complaiſance for 'their *Mæcenas*'s, that they treated no Point with 'greater Vehemence and Heat than that. Theſe 'things were all forged in the Brains of that Hiſto-'rian. He has added this Romance of his own In-'vention, to an incident Remark of *Spondanus*, and 'tis very certain, he ſaid this without any Authority 'for it, and without having read the Epiſtle Dedica-'tory, which he cenſured. There was no Incivility, 'or Impudence in the Conduct of the Centuriators. 'They did not as yet know, how the Queen of *Eng-'land* would determine her ſelf; they only knew that 'ſhe laboured to eſtabliſh a good Form of Religion. 'They praiſed her, and congratulated her for it, and 'powerfully exhorted her to apply her ſelf to it, by a 'Total Suppreſſion of the Evils, which the Follow-'ers of Antichriſt had brought in (*a*). *Ad te igitur 'nunc Regina potentiſſima & ſereniſſima, convertimur. 'Audimus enim, te poſt accepta Regia ſceptra, etiam 'de præcipuo fine ac munere tui officii, ſocietatis ac vi-'ta totius omnium ſubditorum tuorum cogitare. Ita-'que non tantum latis acclamationibus Regiæ tuæ dig-'nitati gratulamur: ſed toto etiam pectore patrem Do-'mini noſtri* JESU CRISTI *invocamus, ac 'rogamus, ut——Sed quia non ſatis eſt bene cæ-'piſſe, hortamur etiam te, illuſtriſſima & potentiſſima 'Regina, ut totis viribus in id opus incumbas, ut Re-'ligio pura, integra, inviolata in toto regno tuo inſ-'tauretur, omnibus Antichriſti crudelitatibus, vulne-'ribus, peſtibus ac carcinomatis rectè curatis, atque 'ſublatis. Debes enim hunc honorem Deo conditori 'ac redemptori tuo, debes tibi ipſi, debes ſubdi-'tis tuis.* It was not improper that the Divines of the Confeſſion of *Augsburg* ſhould add to this a Word of Advice about the Doctrine of the real Preſence; which they did in this manner: (*b*) *Illud verò etiam non prætereundum eſt, cum jam variæ paſſim graſſentur quaſi factiones opinionum, inter quæ aliqui etiam teſtamentum Domini planè philo-'ſophicis rationibus ita evacuant, ut corpus & ſan-'guinem Chriſti, quod ad præſentiam & communicati-'onem, juxta clariſſima, evidentiſſima, veraciſſima & 'potentiſſima verba ipſius* CHRISTI, *prorſus removeant, miraque verborum perplexitate fucum faciant: 'in primis videndum tibi eſt, ut & articuli fidei ſine 'phariſaico fermento, & Sacramenta à Chriſto inſtituta 'citra omnem adulterationem inſtaurentur: id quod te 'facturam eſſe, omnes pii ſperant, ſummiſque votis à te 'contendunt.* When *Varillas* ſuppoſes that they *could not be ignorant of ſo notorious a thing, as Queen* Elizabeth's *being a Calviniſt in her Opinions*, he betrays his own Ignorance; he do's not conſider, that they wrote their Epiſtle Dedicatory, at a time, in which it was not yet known upon what Foot the Engliſh Reformation would be eſtabliſhed. I know indeed, that their Volume bears the Date of the Year 1560, and that Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reformation was eſtabliſhed in 1559. But every Body knows, that the Bookſellers put the Date of the Year following to the Books that come out towards the end of *Auguſt*. I believe therefore, that this Epiſtle Dedicatory, which has no Date, was ſent in 1559 to *Oporinus*, the Bookſeller of *Baſil*, before it was known in *Germany*, what Eccleſiaſtical Regulations Queen *Elizabeth* had made; however, it could not appear at that time, that this Princeſs had declared for Calviniſm with reſpect to the real Preſence. Read theſe Words of Doctor *Burnet* (*c*): 'Some Proteſtant Divines were named, to reviſe 'the Liturgy of *Edward*. The only conſiderable 'Change they made in it, was in the Article of the 'Euchariſt. The Deſign was to prepare an Office 'for the Communion, whoſe Expreſſions ſhould be 'ſo well contrived, that by avoiding the Condem-'nation of the Corporeal Preſence, all the Engliſh 'might be united in one and the ſame Church; 'moſt People were imbued with that Doctrine. So 'the Queen charged the Divines to ſay nothing that 'might abſolutely condemn it, but to leave it unde-'cided, as a Speculative Opinion, which every one 'was at Liberty to embrace or Reject. To this end, 'they left out of *Edward*'s Liturgy, the Rubrick, 'which explained for what Reaſons the Church of '*England* ordained, &c.

(*v*) *Ibid. pag.* 230.

(*a*) *Epiſtola dedicat. Centuriæ quartæ Magdeb. pag.* 8.

(*b*) *Ibid. pag.* 9.

(*c*) Burnet *Hiſt. of the Reform. of* England, *ad ann.* 1559.

(*A*) *A Book——which brought him into Trouble.*] The Title of it is, *Epiſtola B. Mariæ virginis ad Meſſanenſes veritas vindicata*, in Folio. The Congregation of the *Index* having heard Father *Inchofer*'s Reaſons, gave him leave to reprint that Book, with this Title, *Conjectatio ad Epiſtolam Beatiſſimæ Mariæ Virginis ad Meſſanenſes.* This Second Edition

Title of the Book, and to explain some things more at large. This he did in a Second Edition. He lived many Years at *Rome*, and at last died at *Milan* the 28th. of *September* 1648 *. Besides the Works *(B)* we have of him, which shew he had a great deal of Learning, he was about many others †, which would have shewn the great Extent of his Knowledge, if Death had not prevented it. He is thought to be the Author of a Satyr against the Jesuits, intituled *(C) Monarchia Solipsorum*. He was not pleased with them ‡.

* Taken from Nathanael Sotuel, Biblioth. Scriptor. Societ. p. 608.

† See the Titles of 'em in Nathanael Sotuel, ib.

‡ It appears so from these Words of his Preface: Illud constat nihil inter solipsos turbinatius, & copia & splendore inter summates li erarum viros stultius radiaturum.

INNOCENT VIII. created Pope in the Year 1484, was of *Genoa*, and called *John Baptist Cibo*. Authors are not agreed about the Illustriousness *(A)* or the Obscurity of his Family; but 'tis acknowledged that he was sent to the Court of *Naples* in his Youth, and that he served King *Alphonso*. He was afterwards one of Cardinal *Bologna*'s Domesticks at *Rome*, which I think was of some use to him, in order to be promoted to the Bishoprick of *Savona* *. Pope *Sixtus* IV. who was much his Friend, bestowed on him the Bishoprick of *Melfi*, and afterwards a Cardinal's Cap. One of the first Actions of *Innocent* VIII. after his Elevation to the Pontificate, was to conspire with the Grandees of the Kingdom, against *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*; he sent for *Robert Sanseverino* to give him the Command of the Troops at the Expedition against this King; but being not satisfied with the Conduct of this General, he casheer'd him, and made Peace with *Ferdinand*. The conditions of the Treaty were that the King of *Naples* should Pardon the Rebels, and pay to the Holy See the Tribute that he owed: he performed neither the

* You'll find in Moreri, that he was promoted to it by Paul II.

Edition was made at *Viterbo*, in the Year 1633. He obtained leave to strike out, and to add what he should think fit. *(d) S. Congregatio non solum permisit eidem dictum opus de novo edere, mutato tamen justis de causis titulo in hunc modum*, Conjectatio, &c. *& quibusdam magis explicatis——sed etiam demendi & addendi si qua videbuntur, liberam & amplam facultatem permisit.* The meaning of it is, that provided it be not affirmed in too Dogmatical a manner, that the Holy Virgin writ to the Inhabitants of *Messina* the Letter that goes by her Name, one may be allowed to believe it, and to persuade others of it. A *German* Writer *(e)* observes, that *Baronius* and *Theophilus Raynaud* are not of *Inchofer*'s Opinion concerning this Letter. I will not dispute it as to *Baronius*; for tho' that Annalist does not speak particularly of the pretended Letter received by the *Messinese*, he declares in general, that all the Letters the Holy Virgin is said to have written to some Towns, ought to be reckoned Apocryphal. *(f) Traduntur & aliæ ab ipsa ad alias scriptæ civitates, quas cunctas cum careant Ecclesiæ auctoritate, nonnisi in Apocryphorum classem rejiciendas esse omnes facile judicabunt.* But as for *Theophilus Raynaud*, he ought not to be cited upon this Subject; for he only speaks of the Letter, which 'tis said the Holy Virgin wrote to St. *Ignatius*, and of his pretended Answers *(g)*. The *German* Author is not more happy in quoting *Rivet (h)*, who without making any mention of the Letter of *Messina*, is contented to reject the Story of the Epistolary Correspondence between the Holy Virgin and *Ignatius*.

(B) The Works we have of him.] I don't repeat what concerns his Book relating to the pretended Letter of the Holy Virgin to the Inhabitants of *Messina*. His other Writings are, *Tractatus Syllepticus in quo quid de terræ solisque motu vel statione secundum sacram Scripturam & SS. Patres sentiendum, quave certitudine alterutra sententia tenenda sit, ostenditur*, *Rome* 1633. *in* 4*to*. *De sacra Latinitate, hoc est de variis linguæ Latinæ mysteriis, ex origine, progressu, fine, cæteraque instituti sui ratione ad Evangelii prædicationem, Latinæ Ecclesiæ exaltationem, Romanique Imperii majestatem spectantibus*, *Messina*, 1635. *in* 4*to*. and *Munich*, 1638, *in* 8*vo*. *Historia trium Magorum*, *Rome* 1639. *Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Regni Hungariæ Tomus I.* *Rome*, 1644. *in Folio*. The Funeral Oration of *Nicolas Ricardi*, a *Dominican*, Master of the Sacred Palace. He *(i)* published some other Books, to which he did not put his Name.

(C) Intituled Monarchia Solipsorum.] The Author of this Satyr calls himself *Lucius Cornelius Europæus*. It was printed in *Holland* in 1648, *juxta exemplar Venetum*, as the Title imports; there is added to it a Key to the feigned Names. The Edition of *Venice* 1651, ascribes *(a)* this Work to *Melchior Inchofer*. *Christopher Pellerus* relating this Conjecture, says likewise, that this *German* Jesuit went to *Rome* after his writing this Book, and returned no more. *(b) Monarchia Solipsorum quam perhibent scripsisse quempiam patrem ex Societate N. Inckhoferum Germanum, postea Romam profectum nunquam reversum.* He is mistaken as to that Journey to *Rome*, for *Inchofer* had quitted *Germany* long before he wrote that Satyr. He did not write it till after he had digested many Discontents in the Order, the Habit whereof he took at *Rome*, at 23 Years of Age. This Passage of *Pellerus* has occasion'd *Konig* to make *(c)* two Authors of one. He speaks of *Melchior Inchofer*, and *Nicolas Inchofer*. He says of the first part of what *Alegambe* says of him, and ascribes the *Monarchia Solipsorum* to the other. He cites *Christopher Pellerus*, but he makes him say more than he says, *viz.* that this piece was composed in 1648. If *Konig* had observed, that for want of knowing of a Man's Christian Name, an *N* is put instead of it, he would not have forged a pretended *Nicolas Inchofferus* upon *Christopher Pellerus*'s Testimony. He observes, that others ascribe this Work to *Scioppius*. 'Tis certain, that *Otto Tabor*, a *German* Civilian, believed *Scioppius* might be the Author of it; but he has not affirmed it. *Lucius Cornelius Europæus*, says he *(d)*, *sive is sit* Gaspar Scioppius, *sive quis alius ex genere Scriptorum satyricorum, in Monarchia quam dicit Solipsorum Leoni Allatio dedicata*, &c. *Deckherrus (e)* neither rejecting *Pellerus*'s *(f)*, nor *Tabor*'s Conjecture, proposes another without any ground for it. He believes, that *Gabriel Barætius Lermæus* a Gentleman of *Languedoc*, might be the Author of the *Monarchia Solipsorum*. I shall set down two Passages of Mr. *Arnauld*, one of which will solve our Doubts, and the other teach us *Inchofer*'s Design, and the meaning of the Word *Solipsi*. *The Monarchia Solipsorum*, says Mr. *Arnauld (g)*, *should be* Scioppius's *Work, because it was printed in* Germany *with some Books that are undoubtedly that Author's. And yet* IT IS CERTAIN *that this* Monarchia Solipsorum *is the Work of a* German *Jesuit, called* Melchior Inchofer. *And we know where there is an Original Letter of a* Spanish *Jesuit, who acknowledges it, and makes great Complaints of it.* The other Passage is this *(k)*. *'Tis well known*, says Mr. *Arnauld*, speaking to the Jesuits, *that it is your Character to be zealous to do good, provided you can do it alone, and that no Body may share the Glory of it with you; and if you would be sincere, you would confess, that one of your Society, who wrote the* Monarchia Solipsorum, *knew you very well.* See the *Theses* of *Gisbert Voetius (i)*.

There went about a pretended Letter of *Innocent* XII. to the Emperor in the Year 1696, in which the Pope calls the Society of the Jesuits *Monarchiam Monopanthorum*. Upon which Father *Papebroch* made this Reflection: *Forsitan quasi unus et sint omnia velint esse & æstimari Jesuitæ, scilicet alludendo ad vetus somnia satyrici cujusdam commenti quo scripsit anonymus aliquis Monarchiam Solipsorum, veluti innuere volens quod Societas soli sibi arrogare nitatur omnia (k)*.

(A) About the Illustriousness or the Obscurity of his Family.] We shall see below *(l)*, that according to *Volaterranus*, he had been a poor Boy. *Onuphrius Panvinius* affirms the same thing in *(m)* one of his Books, and makes him of a middling Family, and the Son of a Physician; but he speaks other-

(d) Nath. Sotuel Bibliot. Script. Societat. pag. 608.
(e) Placcius de Pseudonymis Jo. Rhodii, n. 59. pag. 44.
(f) Baronius ad ann. 48. n. 25.
(g) Theophil. Raynaudus de malis & bonis libris, n. 235. p. m. 148.
(h) In Critico Sacro l. 2. capp. primis.
(i) Alia quædam ipsius prodierunt sub alienis nominibus R. P. E. L. &c. & sub nomine Academici Vertumnii, adjectum prælectionibus Joannis Baptistæ Corteßii poema in laudem medicinæ, & contra malos medicos. Sotuel ib.
(a) Vide Placcium in Rhodianis, n. 59. p. 43.
(b) Christoph. Pellerus in Politica sceleratο impugnato p. 9. edit. 1665.

(c) Konig Bibliot. vet. & nova p. 417.
(d) Otto Tabor in præfat. ad disputationes de confrontatione apud Placcium in Rhodianis, pag. 43.
(e) De scriptis adespotis, pag. 95. ed. 1686.
(f) There is Peeler in Deckherrus's Edition of 1686.
(g) Morale Pratique tome 3. pag. 686.
(h) Ibid. pag. 85.
(i) Vol. 3. pag. 685.
(k) Papebroch. elucid. histor. actor. in controversia Carmelitica, cap. 10. pag. 138.
(l) In the Remark F.
(m) In Commentario de Pontificibus & Cardinalibus.

Liberality and (B) Courtlineſs procured him the Cardinalſhip, by the Intereſt of *Donna Olympia*: But they cannot deny that he appeared very Remote from a Voluptuous Life. He was of a Rigid Morality, and look'd upon as a Devout Man. He was much more favourable to the *Janſeniſts* than his Predeceſſors had been; which was the Reaſon why the *Janſeniſts* (C) more Zealouſly adhered to the Cauſe of the Popes, than they had done before. He Offended abundance of People by the Suppreſſion of an Office of the Immaculate Conception, and by that of many Indulgences. There was no Body in *France*, beſides the *Janſeniſts*, that was Edified with this. They (D) diſperſed thoſe two Decrees, and added ſome Notes to them. I do not believe that every Body approved his forbidding to Honour the Name and Bones of *Innocent XI's.* hatred againſt *France*, proceeded from an Affront, a *French* Man offer'd him in the War; an Affront, that *Benedict Odeſcalchi* left Unpuniſhed, but Revenged it upon the whole Nation, when he was Pope.

(B) *His Liberality and Courtlineſs.*] See the *Mercure Galant* (e); in which you'll find that our *Benedict Odeſcalchi*, the Son of a Rich Banker of *Como*, Played with *Donna Olympia*, and loſt his Money on purpoſe, in Complaiſance to this Lady. This puts me in mind of a Paſſage in the *Menagiana*. (f) Pope *Innocent XI.* was the Son of a 'Banker, he was Elected on St. *Matthews* Day. 'Peſquin ſaid, *Invenerunt hominem ſedentem in telonio.*

The following Words are to be found in a little Book Printed at *Avignon* for *John Bramereau* in the year 1652. with this Title *la juſte balance des Cardinaux vivans.* 'After the Death of *Urban VIII.* '*Odeſchalchi* began to make his Court to *Donna* '*Olympia*, (g) Niece to Pope *Innocent X.* and ha- 'ving Treated her ſeveral times, ſhe began Zea- 'louſly to Eſpouſe his Intereſt; and eſpecially for 'a thing, which this Prelate did, that is worthy 'to be taken notice of. Going to ſee her in the 'beginning of the Pontificate of her Uncle (h) '*Innocent X.* it happened that a Goldſmith came 'to ſhew her a Noble and Rich Cheſt of Silver 'Drawers, which he had to Sell; *Donna Olympia* 'having taken a view of it in the preſence of '*Odeſchalchi*, and many Lords, who heard the 'Anſwer that ſhe made, *that it was a noble Piece* '*of Plate, but that being a poor Widow, ſhe could* '*not lay out ſo much Money*, retired into her Cham- 'ber. Immediately *Odeſchalchi* called the Gold- 'ſmith, asked for the Price of the Cheſt, and Bar- 'gained with him for 8000 Crowns; after which 'without ſaying any more, he Ordered it to be pre- 'ſented in his Name to *Donna Olympia*, who ſeeing 'ſuch a Preſent, was perfectly Aſtoniſhed at ſo 'extraordinary a Generoſity. Upon which ſhe 'went to the Pope, and beg'd the Office of Clerk 'of the Chamber, as a pure Gift to this Prelate, 'and afterwards a Cardinal's Cap, which he ob- 'tained likewiſe by the Mediation of Cardinal 'Palotta. I ſet down theſe Words according to the Copy, which has been Communicated to me (i). I have Read the ſame Book in *Italian*: Intituled *La giuſta ſtatera de' Porporati*, and Printed at *Geneva* in 1650. I have conſulted it, and not only found in it the Original of what you have juſt now Read, but alſo that our *Benedict Odeſcalchi* had made his Court to *Don Barberini*, to be promoted to the Office of Clerk of the Chamber; that he had paid the Requiſite Sums, and yet had not obtain'd his end; that he was a Perſon (k) of an indifferent Capacity, and that tho' he had made great Expences, he was a Rich and Magnificent Cardinal; that whilſt he was a Biſhop, he loved Walks, Plays, and Feaſts, but that he lived a very retired Life after he became a Cardinal.

(C) *That the* Janſeniſts *more Zealouſly Adhered to the Cauſe of the Popes.*] This is what Mr. *Talon* taxes 'em with in the famous Plea he made againſt *Innocent XI.* the 23. of *January* 1688. (l) *A ſtrange thing!* ſays he, *that the Pope, whoſe Principal care ought to be to preſerve the Purity of the Faith, and to hinder the Progreſs of new Opinions, has not ceaſed ever ſince he came to St. Peter's Chair, to keep up a Correſpondence with all thoſe who had Publickly Declared themſelves* Janſenius's *Diſciples, whoſe Doctrine his Predeceſſors have Condemned. He has loaded them with his Favours; he has given them Commendations; he has Declared himſelf their Protector: and that dangerous Faction, which has omitted nothing theſe thirty years to leſſen the Authority of all Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Powers, that were not favourable to them, at preſent erect Altars to the Pope, becauſe he upholds, and foments their Cabal; which would have troubled again the Peace of the Church, if the foreſight and indefatigable Pains of a Prince, whom Heaven has raiſed up to be the Shield, and the Defender of the Faith, had not put a ſtop to it.* I do not believe that any *Janſeniſt* did ever Write in Defence of the four Propoſitions, decided by the Clergy of *France*, in the year 1682, againſt which the Favourers of the *Ultra-mountain* Doctrines made ſuch Out-cries, and Publiſhed ſo many Books. If the ſame thing had happened in the Pontificate of *Innocent X.* or of *Alexander VII.* 'tis certain the *Janſeniſts* would have written a hundred Volumes in Defence of the Deciſions of the Clergy, and in Confutation of the *Ultra mountains*. Humane Nature diſcovers it ſelf every where: The Rule of Conduct changes according to the Times, and as we find our ſelves diſpoſed towards other Men. Out of gratitude to a Benefactor, Men are tender of thoſe Doctrines, which they would have Condemn'd out of Reſentment againſt an Oppreſſor.

(D) *They diſperſed thoſe two Decrees.*] The one was made at *Rome* the 17*th.* of *February* 1678. and imports the Condemnation of the Book Intituled, *Officio dell' immacolata concettione della Santiſſima Vergine noſtra Signora, approvato dal ſommo Pontefice Paolo V. il quale à chi devotamente lo recitarà concede indulgenza di cento giorni, come appariſce nel ſuo breve dato in Roma li x. Luglio M DC XV. in Milano per Franceſco Vigone.* The other was made at *Rome* the 17*th.* of *March* 1678. which ſuppreſs abundance of indulgences. The *Janſeniſts* cauſed thoſe two Decrees to be ſecretly Printed in *France*, and added ſome Rules to them, by which their uſefulneſs might be diſcovered. They conſiſt of a Collection of Paſſages. I ſhall ſet down the Reflection of a Jeſuit upon the *Janſeniſts* Zeal for thoſe Decrees, and the little Account they make of the Conſtitutions of the Popes againſt *Janſenius*. '(a) Some years ago a ſmall *Italian* Book Printed 'at *Milan*, was put in the *Index* at *Rome*; in which 'Book the Office of the immaculate Conception of 'the Mother of God was to be found. The Prohibi- 'tion did not concern the Office of the Conception, 'which is known and Authoriz'd long ago in the 'Church, and which beſides has been lately ap- 'proved by *Innocent XI.* but this Decree reſpected 'other things, which were Falſly and Raſhly ſaid, 'and Printed in the ſame Book: And beſides it 'was only for *Italy*, and not for the reſt of the 'World, where that Book was not like to appear. 'Nevertheleſs this Decree was ſeen immediately, 'Printed in Latin and French, by the care of ſome 'of the Party with a Rhapſody of uſeleſs Paſſages, 'to make a conſiderable Libel of it. It was di- 'ſperſed all over *France* and the *Low-Countries* 'with as much Zeal, as if it had been a Canon of 'a general Council, upon a Capital point of Reli- 'gion: And 'tis well known to what exceſs the 'indiſcreet Zeal of ſome of their Directors went. 'Thus you ſee how far theſe Gentlemen can carry 'when they pleaſe their Submiſſion to the Orders 'of the Church. Would not one believe after this, 'that the Pope (b) needed only Prohibit the Ver- 'ſion of *Mons*, to hinder them from diſperſing and 'crying it up in the World? And was not there 'Reaſon to expect they would do as much for his 'new Decree in favour of the Office of the Concep- 'tion, as they had done for the former, which I have 'been ſpeaking of? But we ſhould have been very 'much miſtaken in our hopes of it: They have 'other

(e) *Ubi ſupra.*

(f) *Pag. 185. of the 1ſt. Dutch Edit.*

(g) *It ſhould be* Siſter-in-Law; *which is the ſignification of the* Italian *Word* Cognata *in the Original.*

(h) *It ſhould be* Brother-in-Law.

(i) *By Mr.* Pallardy.

(k) *E Sogetto di mediocre intelligenza.*

(l) *Talon, Plaidoyer, p. 42. of the* Dutch *Edit.*

(a) *Father* le Tellier, *Obſervations ſur la nouvelle defenſe de la verſion de Mons p.* 422.

(b) *He means* Innocent XI. *who had Condemn'd the Verſion of the New Teſtament of* Mons. *See the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des lettres, *May* 1685. *p.* 495.

(DΔ) *Antony Cala.* He Expreſt ſuch an inflexible Stifneſs in his Quarrel with *France*, that he has convinced the World that in Point (E) of Revenge there are no Men comparable to thoſe who pretend to be Rigid Moraliſts. 'Tis thought that a Voluptuous Pope, who could have Sacrificed his Paſſions to Politick Intereſts, would have been (F) more uſeful to the Catholick Religion. The *French* are inrag'd againſt him, and

' other Principles for their Conduct in what con-
' cerns them.

(DΔ) *His forbidding to honour the Name and Bones of* Antony Cala.] A Veneration had been a long time paid to this Man in the Kingdom of *Naples*, on the ſcore of his being a Holy Hermit: But *Innocent XI.* in 1680. Commanded all this Worſhip to be Aboliſhed, and *Antony Cala's* Bones to be carried into the Common Church-Yard, to be there confounded with others, and never to be taken up again. He injoined alſo that his Images, his Habits, and all his other Relicks, ſhould be removed from all Conſecrated Places (c). Father *Papebroch* by this Example juſtifies the Liberty he took to ſuppreſs ſome Saints.

(c) *See Father Papebroch in reſponſ. ad exhibitionem errorum p. 18. 19.*

(E) *In Point of Revenge.*] The Court of *France* under *Lewis XIV.* and the Court of *Rome* under *Innocent XI.* were acted with the ſame Spirit of Haughtineſs and Obſtinacy, whereby they afforded all *Europe* a long Spectacle. They ſtrived on both ſides to carry Revenge as far as ever they could; but at laſt the World was forced to yield to the Church. The Pope has ſhewn that it is not for nothing that he calls himſelf the Vicegerent of God on Earth; of God I ſay, who reſerves Vengeance to himſelf, and who has Declared (d) that it is he to whom it belongs, and that he will pay it. The Pope, as the Vicegerent of the God of Vengeance, has admirably maintained the Rights of his Deputation. I will not adopt the Thoughts of thoſe Satyrical Wits, who pretend that in point of Revenge, the Layety are Fools in Compariſon of the Clergy; but we have ſcarce ſeen any Quarrels between the Church and the World, in which the Popes have not at laſt had the better of it. If I well remember, the Protection that was granted by *Innocent XI.* to ſome Biſhops of *France*, Perſecuted for not conſenting to the Extenſion of the *Regale*, was the firſt ſtep (e) that provoked the Court of *France*; becauſe the Briefs of *Innocent XI.* (f) in favour of thoſe Biſhops, were expreſſed in very ſtrong and vigorous Terms. This Haughtineſs put the Court of *France* upon the moſt effectual ways to vex him. The Clergy declared (g) their Opinion about the Authority of the Church, and formed four Propoſitions thereupon, which reduced the Power of the Pope, to ſuch Bounds as were very Odious to the Court of *Rome*. This was not at the bottom a new Doctrine; the Clergy decided nothing but what was conform to the Maxims of the *Gallican* Church, and what the *Sorbonne* had Taught a hundred times; ſo that one might have thought that another Pope would not have taken exceptions at it, and that *Innocent XI.* would perhaps diſſemble his Reſentment: but to put him under a neceſſity of Confeſſing that he had received a very great Affront, the Deciſions of the Clergy were propoſed by Royal Authority, as a Doctrine that no Body was allowed to oppoſe, and which was to be maintained by all thoſe, who would take their Licentiate's, and Doctor's Degree. They Studied all the Formalities, that might give the greateſt Luſtre to the King's Declarations upon this Affair. Theſe Doctrines were maintained by the Rector of the Univerſity of *Paris*, in a Diſputation preſided by the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, and in which the Reſpondent was inveſted with all the Marks of his Rectorſhip, that it might appear, that it was the whole Body of the Univerſity, repreſented by their Head, that maintained theſe Deciſions. The Theſis was poſted upon the Door of the Nuncio's Houſe, notwithſtanding the Oppoſitions he threatned to make againſt it. The Pope expreſs'd his Reſentment againſt the Clergy; he Anſwered harſhly the Letter he had received from 'em, and would never grant his Bulls to thoſe who aſſiſted at the Aſſembly of 1682. He Aboliſhed the Privileges of the Embaſſador of *France*, like thoſe of others, and would never receive the Marquis *de Lavardin*, who was ſent Embaſſador to him (h): *France* did then a very bold thing. This Embaſſador (i) entred *Rome* almoſt by main Force, and having taken Poſſeſſion of his Quarters, he ſet a Guard about him, as if it had been a Fortified Town. The Pope without being Aſtoniſh'd, Reveng'd himſelf by a ſurpriſing Blow: He caſt an Interdict upon the Church of St. *Lewis*, becauſe the Marquis *de Lavardin* had been admitted into it, and Excommunicated this Embaſſador, and Obſtinately refus'd to Acknowlege him.

(d) *Deuteronomy c. 32. v. 35.*

(e) *See a Liſt of many other Diſcontents of* France *after this, in the Anſwer to the Proteſtation of the Marquis* de Lavardin *p. m. 97. & ſeq.*

(f) *Written to the* French *King in 1678. and 1679.*

(g) *In the year 1682.*

(h) *In the year 1687.*

(i) *See Leti, Monarchie univerſelle 2. part, p. 340. & ſeq.*

Things were at this paſs, when his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty perceiving that the continuation of theſe Differences, would be Prejudicial to him, (k) *ſecretly diſpatch'd a truſty Man to whom he gave a Letter of his own Writing as a Credential to his Holineſs.* This Man was to diſcover to the Pope *the moſt ſecret Intentions of the King.* But the Pope would neither receive the Letter nor give him any Audience. Hereupon the King writ a Letter to Cardinal *d' Etrée*, which was Communicated to the Cardinals. He complained in it of the Pope's Conduct, and ſhewed in Particular, the Prejudice that *Europe* and the Church might ſuffer, from what the Pope had already done againſt Cardinal *Furſtemberg*. He aſcribed to this Partiality the Movements that were formed againſt King *James*, in favour of the Proteſtant Religion, *&c.* This Letter diſperſed at *Rome* was perhaps a new Motive, which induced the Pope to Countenance more and more Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, to the Prejudice of Cardinal *Furſtemberg*. Now by the Excluſion of this Cardinal, he Reveng'd himſelf a Hundred-fold, for all the Affronts he had receiv'd. He depriv'd the King of *France* of being the Arbitrator of Peace and War, and involved him neceſſarily in a War, with the greateſt part of *Europe*. He quickly ſaw the effect of this Conduct; and if he liv'd not long after ſo terrible a Revenge, he liv'd long enough to have the Satisfaction of ſeeing *France* Attack'd by ſo many Enemies, that according to the general Conjectures, ſhe was to ſink the very firſt Campagne. 'Tis plain therefore that the Church did obtain the Victory over the World, in this long Diſpute. If *Alexander* the Great had been a Catholick, he would have had much ado to draw out of the Popes Mouth (l) what he did from the Prieſteſs of *Delphi*, *My Son, thou art Invincible.*

(k) *A Letter of the* French *King to Cardinal d' Etrée of the 6th. of* September *1688. See Leti ubi ſupra, p. 447. & ſeq.*

(F) *Have been more uſeful to the Catholick Religion.*] Thoſe, who don't love this Pope, ſay, that he was well enough acquainted with the general Affairs to know, that in the State they were in when Cardinal *Furſtemberg* demanded the Electorate of *Cologne*, he might have ſaved the King of *England*, and enabled *France* to Execute all her Projects; for with the aſſiſtance of ſuch a Cardinal, who would have been poſſeſt of his Predeceſſor's States, ſhe would have ty'd the Arms of the Princes of *Germany*, that were ill Affected to her. She experienced it, in the year 1684, when ſhe deſired a Truce. Now 'tis certain that the Victories of this Crown, would have extended the Catholick Religion; and ſtrangely weakned the Proteſtant; Whence comes it then that the Pope was ſo contrary to that Cardinal? 'Tis, ſay they, becauſe he hated the King of *France*, and choſe rather to renounce the Advantages of the Catholick Religion, than the Pleaſure of croſſing his Enemy, or the ſweetneſs of Revenge. Theſe ſame Perſons ſay, that he knew very well there was an Alliance forming, of which the Proteſtants would be the chief Managers, and which might be able in its turn to oppreſs the Catholick Religion, almoſt all over *Europe*; and that the moſt effectual means to prevent this League, was to put the whole Succeſſion of the late Elector of *Cologne* into the Hands of a Cardinal, who would never join with Heretical Princes. Why then was *Innocent XI.* ſo contrary to the Intereſt of this Cardinal? Becauſe, ſay they, he was overjoy'd to expoſe the *French* Monarchy to the greateſt Dangers; and provided he could Revenge himſelf of the Court of *France*, he car'd but little for the loſſes of the Popedom. This is what is ſaid by his Enemies: But it is not too much to be relied on; their Paſſion ought to make their Conjectures ſuſpected. 'Tis perhaps much more reaſonable to ſay, that being very intent upon the Reformation of Manners, and Pious Exerciſes, he was neither capable of knowing what was uſeful to his Religion, nor of preferring the Profitable before the honeſt Part. Now he be-

(l) Delphos invi ſit, Apollinem de eventu belli, quod molieba-tur, conſulturus. Sed virgo fatidica negabat *per eos dies adiri deum fas eſſe*: donec ipſe eo profectus, vi compulit virginem, & ad templum traxit. Sed quum inter eundum illa patrium morem pertinacia regis victum reputans, exclamaſſet, *invicte es, fili; accipio oraculum, nec aliter oraculo ſibi opus eſſe.* Pramthemius, Supplem. in Q. Curtium, lib. 1. c. 11. n. 16. ex Plutarcho.

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and 'tis said it will Contribute much to his Canonization (*G*). He was not Learned (*H*). He Died the 12*th.* of *August* 1689. The *French* King's Letter to the Conclave says a great deal (*I*) in a few Words against the Memory of this Pope.

I find in the *Valesiana* a Passage which deserves to be (*K*) set down here at length. I

lieved he was bound in Justice to prefer the Duke of *Bavaria's* Brother before the Cardinal Candidate. Some apply to *Innocent* the XI. what was said of *Hadrian VI:* he was an honest Man; (†) but did not understand Politicks. 'Twas the good Fortune of the Protestants, that in the year 1688. the See of *Rome* was Possess'd by a Pope who did not well understand his own Interests, or who was too stiff to take Advantage of the present Junctures, to the Prejudice of his Passions.

(†) *See* Hadrian VI. *Remark* P.

But after all, who can assure us, that *Innocent* XI. did not in some Respects behave himself like a good Politician? Has the Court of *Rome* nothing to fear from the too great Power of Princes, that are most Violent against the Sects separated from her Communion? Did not *Sixtus V.* who so well understood Politicks, choose rather to Countenance *Henry* the *IV.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, than to suffer the King of *Spain* (*a*) to grow too Powerful. Who can affirm that *Innocent* XI, was not moved by some such Spring, when he enter'd upon Measures so contrary to the Interests of *France*, and so useful to the Protestants? One thing seems very certain, that an Anonymous Author of a little Book (*b*) Intituled *The Extravagant Reproach, in which is shewn, that the Pope can't without Folly be Reproach'd, with the ruin of the Catholick Religion in* England, has no Reason to call this Reproach a Folly.

(*a*) *See* Elizabeth *Remark* P.

(*b*) *Printed at* Cologne *for* Peter Marteau *in* 1689.

(*G*) *Will contribute much to his Canonization.*] 'Tis not long since (*c*) the Novelists of *Holland*, have Publish'd in their Monthly Accounts, that many Miracles were wrought at this Pope's Tomb, and that 'tis a great Mortification to the Court of *France*; and that probably the Enemies of that Crown, will endeavour out of spite to get this Pope Canoniz'd. 'Tis commonly a Piece of Prudence to take the strongest side: But that Maxim is sometimes False. There are some Princes, who owe their Elevation only to their nice Policy of Declaring themselves betimes Irreconcileable Enemies to a Potent State, which terrifies all its Neighbours; for all those that are afraid of this Power, Countenance this Declar'd Enemy, and gratify him as far as they can in all his desires: And we need not go so high, as the Ages of Paganism, to find some Princes, who have Irrecoverably lost themselves, by preferring the Alliance of the most Potent of their Neighbours, before that of others (*d*). A private Person that falls from a Prosperous State into Misfortune, does not find about him, that Multitude of Friends who Encompass'd him before: They forsake him, and leave him to himself.

(*c*) *I write this in the beginning of* September 1695.

(*d*) *Confer quæ supra in the Remark* Q. *of the Article* Bellarmin.

Donec (*e*) *eris felix, multos numerabis amicos:*
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.

(*e*) *Ovidius Trist. lib.* 1. *Eleg.* 8.

Soveraigns find it quite contrary: For if they grow too Potent, they find no more Allies; every Body forsakes and Confederates against them. 'Tis certain that *Innocent* XI. Purchas'd a great many Friends and Admirers, meerly for his thwarting as much as he could the Designs of the Court of *France*. This will keep his Memory sweet, and make his pretended Miracles more easily go down.

(*H*) *He was not Learned.*] 'Tis said, he wanted that his Secretary should explain to him in Italian what they wrote for him in Latin. See the *Menagiana*, wherein are these Words. '(*f*) *Favoriti*, 'Secretary to the late Pope, Reading to him the 'Briefs he had made, and explaining them in Italian; the Pope wept for Joy, and said, *Cosa dirranno di noi nella posterità, quando vederanno così bella latinità nostra.*

(*f*) *Page* 52. *of the* 1. Dutch *Edition.* I think the Printers have left out some Words in the *Italian.*

(*I*) *Says a great deal in a few Words.*] This is the beginning of it: (*g*) *We have learn'd, from your Letter of the* 13*th. of this Month, the decease of our Holy Father* Innocent XI. *and we have just Reason to believe that it has pleas'd the Divine Majesty to take him out of the World at a time when all the Re-united Forces of Heresy, seem to Conspire against the Ruin of our Religion, to which the Division of the Catholick Princes, contributes not a little.* This is to say in a few Words, which have a great Air of Moderation, that the wants of the Church requiring a Pope that should lay her Interests to Heart, God had remov'd *Innocent* XI. out of the World, who was ill-affected to the Church or unable to Labour for her Good.

(*g*) *The Letter is Dated from* Versailles *the* 24. *of* August 1689. *It is to be found at length in the* Mercure Historique & Politique *of* October 1689. *p* 1020.

(*K*) *Deserves to be set down here at length.*] 'Tis pity (*h*) said the Learn'd *Adrian Valois*, 'that '*Innocent XI.* suffer'd himself to be prevailed upon, 'as he was by the Enemies of *France*. If he had 'been seconded by People as well Affected as himself, what Advantages might he not have procur'd to the Christian Religion? What would he 'not have Re-establish'd? What would he not 'have Reform'd? What promising hopes did not he 'give by his Abolishing the Office of the Immaculate Conception as *Clement IX.* had done that of 'the Slavery? What would he not have done, if 'he had heard of the Impertinent Devotion of that 'Monk, which M——— spoke of t'other Day? 'Would he not have Rigidly Condemned the Superiors, who suffer one of their Visionaries to Print '(*i*) Orisons, Addressed to all the Parts of the 'Body of the Holy Virgin? Are not Religion, 'Modesty and good Sense, Wounded by such an 'Extravagance? *Innocent XI.* would not have 'stopt there: He would have Reform'd the Luxury 'and Fineries of Women. How many Husbands 'would have been oblig'd to him, had his Design 'taken Effect? I am assur'd also from good Hands 'that he would have Abolish'd the Privileg'd Altars as a very great abuse. And indeed can some 'Indulgences granted to an Altar, make the Mass 'better? Or does the Blood of Christ, which is 'of Infinite Worth, want any Accession of Merits 'to be more acceptable to God, and more effectual for 'those that are Pray'd for? The Mendicant Friars 'have invented these Things, to bring Custom to 'their Churches.

(*h*) *Valesiana pag.* 45. *&* *seq.* Dutch *Edit.*

(*i*) *Mr. Baudelot p.* 183. *of his* Prolomy Auleres *says he has seen the Printed Book, which contains those Orisons.*

DIGRESSION concerning the Reformation of Luxury.

What Mr. *Valois* says concerning the Design of *Reforming the Luxury and Fineries of Women*, puts me in mind of the great Zeal *Innocent XI.* express'd against those who shew'd their Breasts. (*k*) 'This Pope finding he was not able to prevail with 'the fair Sex, by the many powerful means he us'd, 'not to shew their Breasts and their Arms, and knowing withal that the Terror which seiz'd all *Italy*, 'when the *Turks* Besieg'd *Vienna*, did not put a stop 'to that Disorder, had recourse to the last Remedy; 'Namely, Excommunication. He Publish'd an 'Order the 30*th.* of *November* 1683. which Enjoined *all Maids and Women to cover their Shoulders, and Breasts up to their Necks, and their Arms down to their Hands, with some Thick and not Transparent Stuff*, upon Pain of being so fully Excommunicated *ipso facto*, if they did not Obey in six Days time, that except at the last Hour no one but the Pope could Absolve them; for it was 'Declared that *the Confessors who should presume to Absolve 'em from that Excommunication should incur it themselves, and should be liable to such Spiritual and Temporal Punishments as* his Holiness *should think fit to inflict upon them: which Temporal Punishments, the Fathers, Husbands, Masters, and other Heads of Families, by whose Permission or Connivance their Daughters and Wives Act contrary to his Ordinance, shall likewise undergo.* I don't know what was the Success of these terrible Menaces; but I believe that as they were renew'd from time to time (*a*) under the Predecessors of *Innocent XI*, there was occasion to renew them some time after. 'Tis the fate of these Sumptuary Laws: Luxury and the desire of setting off ones Beauty, quickly elude the wisest Regulations: We may say of this Disorder, what a grave Historian has observed with respect to Astrologers; they (*b*) were always commanded to depart *Rome*, but they never would

(*k*) Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, *May* 1686. *art.* 2. *p.* 495.

(*a*) *See the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres ib. P. 497.

(*b*) Genus hominum ——quod in civitate nostra & vetabitur semper & retinebitur. *Tacit. histor. l.* 1. *c.* 22.

I shall likewise set down some Verses of Mr. *de la Fontaine*, which shew (L) how freely they wrote against *Innocent* XI. in the City of *Paris*. You'll find a Noble Encomium upon this Pope in the 7th. Speech ‖ of M. *Malagonelli*: The *Latin* Style of it is admirable, and worthy of ancient *Rome*.

‖ *See the Act a Eruditorum, in the 3d. Tome of the Supplements, pag. 43. & seq. concerning the Harangues of this Orator.*

JOACHIM, Husband (A) of S. *Anne*, and Father of the Holy Virgin. His Marriage was a long time unfruitful, by reason of which his Oblations were rejected by the High-Priest *Issachar*, who cruelly upbraided him for his Infecundity. *Joachim* was so confounded to see himself treated in this manner by the High-Priest, that he durst return to him no more. He went and concealed himself in the Country, amongst his Shepherds, and was there comforted by an Angel, who came to tell him, that he should have a Daughter by his Wife *Anne*, that should be called *Mary*. This Angel went immediately to tell the same News to *Anne*, who was lamenting and weeping, not knowing what was become of her Husband. This Angelical News was no doubt very acceptable to her; for she (B) was very much discontented at her having no Children. Many believe, that a bare Kiss of her Husband impregnated her; but others affirm, that the common (C) way was made use of. That which is admirable,

would go away. King *Lewis* XIV. has lately (c) put out fine Edicts against Luxury: if he can command Obedience upon that Head, 'twill be a more admirable thing, than the Power he has had to lessen very considerably in his Kingdom the Madness of Duelling. The Novellists have told us lately, that the Advocates of the Parliament of *Paris*, have ingaged to see this Reformation of Profuseness observ'd in their own Houses. Time will inform us, whether by the concurrent Authority of the Sovereign and the Husbands, the Reformation will be established for a Continuance. These Gentlemen have been told (d) *that as part of their* (e) *thanks set up most for Women of Quality, would perhaps, have a great Repugnance to retrench any thing from their sumptuous Habits, Furnitures, Coaches, &c. as all from the superfluous Number of their Women, Imbroiderers, Tapestry Workers, and Footmen, which they have in their Service; it had been resolved to oppose a Licentiousness so little confident with the State and Quality of those Ladies*——— (f) *The King's Intention being, that they should obey and reform themselves at soonest, without any Distinction of Birth and Quality, and that they should begin immediately, by not suffering their Train to be burn up.* 'Tis added, that (g) two famous Advocates were charged to communicate this Order to their Brethren, and that the latter *being overjoy'd, express'd their Acknowledgment for it, and unanimously resolved to thank the first President for procuring a Regulation so just, so necessary, and so worthy of the King's Wisdom, and to assure him at the same time, that they would cause it to be observed in their own Houses, with the utmost Exactness; they all looking upon it as the most effectual Means to free 'em from infinite Discontent, and to prevent the Fruits of their laborious Imployments from continuing to be sacrificed to the extravagant Ambition of their Wives.* 'Tis very likely that they spoke as they meant; for indeed their fine, noble, and profitable Employments, are attended with great Toil. They sometimes (h) envy the Happiness of a Countryman, who can sleep all Night. Is it not reasonable, that they should desire that a Gain, which costs them so many Watchings, should not be squandered away by superfluous Expences, and that the Royal Authority should inable them to remedy it; for otherwise they could never accomplish it.

(c) *I write this in* May 1700.

(d) *See the Lettres Historiques of* May 1700. *pag.* 574.

(e) *That is, Advocates Wives.*

(f) *Ibid. pag.* 575.

(g) *Ne Ialis & M. Chardon.*

(h) Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus
Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.
Horat. sat. 1. *lib.* 1.

(L) *Some Verses of Mr.* de la Fontaine, *which shew.*] We find amongst his Posthumous Works, a Letter, part of which I will transcribe:

Pour (i) *nouvelles de l'Italie,*
Le Pape empire tous les jours.
Expliquez, (k) *Seigneur, ce discours*
Du costé de la maladie.
Car aucun Saint-Pere autrement
Ne doit empirer nullement.
Celuy-ci veritablement
N'est envers nous ni Saint ni Pere.
Nos soins de l'erreur triomphans
Ne font qu'augmenter sa colere
Contre l'Ame de ses Enfans.
Sa santé toujours diminuë,
L'avenir n'est chose inconnue,
Et je n'en parle qu'à tâtons;
Mais le gens de dela les Monts
Auront bien-tôt pleuré cet homme.
Car il defend les Jannetons,
Chose tres necessaire à Rome.

(i) *La Fontaine Oeuvr. posthumes, pag.* 182. Dutch *Edit.*

(k) *He speaks to the Prince of* Conti.

Here are some Verses of a freer Strain, and taken from the same Work.

Je (l) *vous ai vous retournez*
Chez ces avares mal-nez
. . . . . .
Et tout le parti Protestant
Du Saint-Pere en vain tres content.
J'ay là dessus une conte à faire.
L'autre jour touchant cette affaire
Le Chevalier de Sillery,
En parlant de ce Papecy,
Souhaitoit pour la paix publique,
Qu'il se fust rendu Catholique,
Et le Roy JACQUES *Huguenot.*
Je trouve assez bon ce bon mot.

(l) *Id. ib. pag.* 174.

Racine (m) had a fling at the Pope, but not so openly. Mr. *de Vize* in his *Mercure Gallant*, and in his Books about the Translations of the present Times, lays many Things to the Dishonour of *Innocent* XI.

(m) *See his Prologue of* Esther. *Mention is made of it in the* Avis important aux Refugiez 2. *pag.* 343.

(A) Joachim, *Husband of St.* Anne.] Here is his Genealogy: Levi of the Tribe of David, was the Father of *Panther*; *Panther* was the Father of *Barpanther*, who was the Father of *Joachim* (n). Some have said, that *Joachim* did not descend from *David*, but from the Tribe of *Levi*, and that he was a Priest. The *Manichees* grounded an Objection upon this, which St. *Austin* (o) has examined.

(n) *Epiphanius Scholast. Hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. *Georgius Hamartolus de sectis, lib.* 4. *c.* 15. *apud Baronium Appar. n.* 42.

(o) *Contra Faust. Manich. l.* 23. *c.* 9.

(B) *For she was very much discontented at her having no Children.*] She found her self deprived of a certain Honour that was paid to Mothers according to the Laws; upon which she had Recourse to extraordinary Prayers, that she might partake of that Honour: She entered into the Holy of Holies, and made earnest Supplications to God, representing, that she had done nothing against the Law, and therefore ought not to be excluded from the Priviledges which the Law gave to Women, who had Children. Her Prayer was heard; God giving her to understand, that she should bear a Child (p). St. *Gregory Nyssenus* relates this Story, which he read in an Apocryphal Work. They who know that none entered into the Holy of Holies, but the High-Priest himself, and that he was not permitted to enter into it but once a Year, need not have the Falsity of this Story represented to 'em. If St. *Anne* prepared her self on one Hand, her Husband did no less on the other; for he fasted Forty Days upon a Mountain, in order to obtain of God the desired Posterity (q). See in the following Remark, the Words of St. *Epiphanius*.

(p) *Gregorius Nyssenus Orat. in natal. Domini, apud Baronium, ibid. n.* 42.

(q) *Sophronius apud Retetum Apolog. pro sanctiss. Virg. Mariâ c.* 3. *oper. tom.* 3. *pag.* 605. *col.* 2.

(C) *Others affirm, that the common way was made use of.*] St. *Bernard* maintains, that it is the Opinion of the Church. *Si licet*, says he (r), *loqui quod Ecclesia sentit, (& verum ipsa sentit) dico gloriosam de Spiritu sancto concepisse, non autem conceptam fuisse: dico peperisse virginem, non tamen parta tam à virgine. Alioquin ubi erit prærogativa matris Domini qua singulariter dicitur exultare & munere prolis & integritate carnis, si tantundem dederit & matri ipsius? Non est hoc Virginem honorare, sed honorem ipsius detrahere.* Pelebartus de Temeswar, not-

(r) *Bernard. de Assumpt. B. Mariæ Canon. Lugdun. apud Retetum, pag.* 608.

admirable, is, that though we know nothing for certain of (D) the Name, Qualities, and History of the Father and Mother of the Holy Virgin, yet all this that I have mention'd, has been asserted, and Feasts have been consecrated to (E) St. *Joachim*, and his Wife. Some * have believed that she had Three Daughters by her Marriage; others, that St. *Anne* was married Thrice; and that she had one Daughter by every Husband.

* *See* Baronius in apparatu, n. 41.

withstanding his bigotted Credulity doth not fail to embrace St. *Bernard's* Opinion. *Simplicibus quibusdam tribuit hanc opinionem quod* Anna conceperit per solum osculum Joacim. *Agnoscit tamen eam de* viro concepisse concubitu matrimoniali (*f*). The Errour of the pretended Virginity of St. *Anne*, is very ancient; for St. *Epiphanius* was obliged to confute it.

(*f*) *Stellarum corona lib. 4. part. 2. artic. 1. apud Rivetum ibid.*

(*t*) Εἰ γὰρ Ἀ'ϐίλκει προσπαίδευα ὁ ϑέλων, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὴν ἁγίαν Ἄννης γεγεννημένην, τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰωακεὶμ τῇ Ἄννᾳ διδυμομένην, τὴν ϑεῖ ὠχθεῖσαν, ἢ πάσης ἐνσωμάτου κατὰ ὑπερϐολὴν φανερᾶ, ἢ μητρὶ, δοθεῖσαν, ἀ μὴ ἁπλῶς γεγεννημένην παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὔσαν ἀλλὰ καθὰ πάντων ἐν σπέρματι ἀνδρὸς, ἢ μήτρας γυναικὸς; εἰ γὰρ ἡ τῆς Μαρίας ἐφορία, ἢ παράδοσις ἔχουσιν, ὅτι ἐρίθου τοῦ πατρὶ αὐτῆς Ἰωακεὶμ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὅτι ἡ χὴν ἐν συνοικησίᾳ, ἐχ ὑπὲ ἄνου συγγενέσθαι ἠξίωτο, ἀλὶ ὅτι ἄνευ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς. *Nam si ne Angelos quidem adorari permittis, quanto minus id Annæ filiæ tribui concesserit, quam illi è Joacimo DEI bonitas indulsit? quam precibus, omnique animi studio, ac contentione, parens uterque promeruit? ita tamen ut non aliam quàm cæteri mortales nascendi conditionem habuerit; sed, ut illi, è virili satu, ac matris utero prodierit. Quamvis autem ex Mariæ historia, ac Traditione illud habeatur: Joacimo ejus Patri divinitùs hoc in deserto nunciatum fuisse, uxor tua concepit; non ita tamen accipiendum est, quasi hoc citra nuptialem consociationem, ac virilem satum acciderit.* The Cavalier *Bori* had a strange Thought upon this Subject. (*a*) *Cadde in proposizioni più ridicole, insegnando che la Vergine non era stata concetta con seme umano, mà per opra divina, avendo lo Spirito Santo pigliato carne nel ventre di S. Anna, e partorita dalla medesima, che asseriva che nel parto era rimasta Vergine, e tale essere stata avanti il parto, e affeurando che S. Gioachino fosse stato impotente alla consumazione del matrimonio.*

(*a*) *Relazione della vita del Cavag. Borri, pag. 351.*

(*b*) *See his Words in the foregoing Remark.*

(*D*) *Though we know nothing for certain of the Name, Qualities,* &c.] St. *Epiphanius*, who flourished in the Year 370, is the most ancient Author, that tells us the Names of the Holy Virgin's Father and Mother. 'Tis true, that he pretends to have received from the Tradition and History of the Virgin *Mary*, what he says concerning the Prayers of *Joachim* and St. *Anne*, and the Revelation (*b*) of the Angel; but does not he himself confess, that there went about very absurd Traditions concerning the Birth of *Mary*? Does he not quote a Book upon this matter, in which were abominable Things (*c*)? Does he not say, that the Reason assigned there of *Zachary's* losing his Speech in the Temple, was because he had seen a Man made like an Ass? He was preparing to go out, and to say, *Woe be to you, what Deity do you worship*? But that Deity, to hinder him, made him Speechless: when he had recovered the use of his Speech, and revealed what he saw, he was killed. St. *Epiphanius* adds, that it was found in the same Book, that the Reason why the Legislator had ordered the High-Priest to wear little Bells, was this: That this Deity might have time to hide himself, that he might not discover his Figure of an Ass; so that to prevent being surprised, the Sound of the Bells was to give him warning, that the High-Priest was coming. I am sensible that all Traditions don't deserve to be rejected like these; but however, we have no solid Reason to assure us, that those which St. *Epiphanius* has espoused, had any good Foundation. This is is so true, that St. *Austin* makes no Scruple to take those Traditions which made *Joachim*, the Holy Virgin's Father, a Priest, for uncertain and Apocryphal. (*d*) *Quod de generatione Mariæ Faustus posuit quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi sacerdotem quendam nomine Joachim, quia Canonicum non est, non me constringit.* He adds, that 'twas possible for one and the same Person to descend from two Tribes, and concludes, that if he was obliged to pay any Deference to Apocryphal Writings, he would thus resolve the Objection of the Manichee: *Hoc ego potius vel tale aliquid crederem, si illius apocryphæ scripturæ ubi Joachim pater Mariæ legitur, auctoritate detinerer, quam mentiri Evangelium in quo scriptum est,* &c.

(*c*) Τίνας μὴν γὰρ Μαρίας ϐιϐλίους οἱ φασὶ τὸν, ἐν ᾗ φησὶ τὸν ἢ ἐκϐαίνοντα προσκαλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐαυτοῦ λέγειν. Cujusmodi est qui de progenie Mariæ liber inscribitur, in quo horribilia quædam ac detestanda illorum dicta continentur. *Epiphan. adv. hæres. pag. 94.*

(*d*) *Augustin. contra Faustum Manich. lib. 23. cap. 9. apud Rivetum ubi supra, pag. 605.*

Would you have any other Proofs of the Uncertainty of these Traditions, do but consider *Baronius's* Conduct: he has rejected part of the Things that are said concerning the Father and Mother of the Holy Virgin; he says in express Words, that the Book father'd upon St. *Jerome*, is the Work of an unknown and ignorant Person, who was incapable of avoiding manifest Falsities. (*e*) *Non tantum eam Hieronymi non esse dixerimus, sed auctoris planè ut ignoti, sic prorsus imperiti, qui in ea condenda & conscribenda non novit apertè vitare mendacia, dum ait illis temporibus quibus ea acciderunt fuisse Isachar summum pontificem.* He declares, that though that Book has many Truths in it, he will not build upon it (*f*). He therefore overturns one part of the Foundation. You may see how *Casaubon* overturns the other: he shews, that the Book *de Nativitate S. Mariæ*, falsly attributed to St. *Jerome*, was written by a *Manichee*, and abounds with impious and impertinent Things. (*g*) *A pestilentissimo hæretico profectum, postremo magarum & impietatum esse plenum.* He wonders that the Jesuit *Christopher de Castro* durst declare for such a Book, the Imposture whereof was so well known to *Erasmus*, *Melchior Canus*, *Sixtus Senensis* and *Baronius*. He cites a Passage out of it, which suppises me with a strong Proof. (*h*) *Illud liberè dico quod fidelium neminem negaturum puto; sive hæc vera sunt, sive ab aliquo conficta sacrosanctæ S. Mariæ maculæ præcessisse; maxima consecuta fuisse; & ideirco salva fide, ab iis qui Deum facere ista posse credunt sine periculo animæ suæ credi & legi posse.* These are not the Words of the *Manichean* (*i*) *Seleucus*, the Author of the Book, but of the *Latin* Translator; and 'tis worth while to observe, that he confesses there are many Falsities in the Book he translates. (*k*) *Impietas istius Pseudobisvnymi excusari salvo pudore non potest: nam quum fateatur, Seleucum, sive Leucium de doctrina Apostolorum multa esse mentitum; ea tamen defendit, quæ sunt ab eodem hæretico scripta de virtutibus & miraculis eorum. Poterat-ne hic planus apertius ostendere, nullam sibi esse curam veritatis, neque ullum se inter falsum & verum statuere discrimen? Addit de eo ipso libro quem vertebat:* ita & his multa non vera de corde suo confingit. Do we need any more towards a full Conviction of the uncertainty of all these Traditions. That which St. *Gregory Nyssenus* alledges, is palpably false (*l*). As to *Nicephorus Callistus*, *Germanus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *John Damascen*, &c. they deserve no Credit, because they lived in an Age too remote from the Fountain-Head, to have these Traditions uncorrupted. Besides every one knows, that *Nicephorus* is a fabulous and (*m*) unjudicious Writer. We are not obliged to believe that he has rightly quoted *Hippolytus* Bishop of *Porto*. However, what he cites out of him, contains some Falsities, as *Casaubon* shews. See the *Bibliotheque Universelle* (*n*). *Rivet* has reason to think it strange, that *Mountague* should have acknowledged the Truth of the Narratives which *Bernardinus de Busto*, *Pelbartus de Temeswar*, *Costerus* and such like Writers have adopted concerning our St *Joachim* (*o*).

(*e*) *Baronius ubi supra, n. 44.*

(*f*) Nec innitimur scriptioni illi quæ hactenus Hieronymi nomine ad Cromatium & Heliodorum scripta vulgata est, nam licet in ea complura veritate constantia conscripta reperiantur, quæ à dictis auctoribus sibi vindicent auctoritatem & fidem, tamen, &c. *Id. ib.*

(*g*) *Casaub. exercit. ad Baron. 1. n. 15. p. m. 90.*

(*h*) *Id. ib. pag. 91.*

(*i*) *Others call him* Leucius, *or* Leontius. *Id. ib.*

(*k*) *Id. ib.*

(*l*) *See above, Remark E.*

(*m*) Nicephorum hunc fabulosissimum esse scriptorem, & judicii in literis nullius, satis notum est eruditis. *Casaub. ib.*

(*n*) *Pag. 143. & seq. of the xi. tome.*

(*o*) *Rivet ubi supra. c. 3. p. 607.*

I wonder how the Abbot *de Marolles* could pay so much Deference to the above-mention'd Traditions. See the 225th. Page of his Memoirs.

(*E*) *Feasts have been consecrated.*] The Husband arrived to that Honour later than the Wife: it was not given him before the Second of *December*, 1622. The Day appointed for him is the 20th. of *March* (*p*); but the Feast of St. *Anne* was instituted in 1584. At first it was not necessary with the Necessity of a Precept to abstain from Work: It did not arrive (*q*) to that Prerogative till the Year 1622. In all other things the Worship of St. *Joachim* is very inferior

(*p*) *Spondanus, Annal. ad ann. 1622. n. 1.*

(*q*) *Id. ib.*

JOAN, Queen of *Naples*. See NAPLES.

JOB, whose Patience has been described in one of the Canonical Books of the old Testament. Not to repeat what we find in *Moreri*, I content my self with removing some Errors. 'Tis a Mistake to affirm, that the *Turks* have (*A*) a great Veneration for the Sepulchre of this Holy Man, the first (*B*) Judge of *Solomon*'s Court. 'Tis a scandalous Impudence to say, that *Job*'s Distemper was (*C*) the Pox. I confess, that in the Church of *Rome*, he is (*D*) the Patron of those who have the Pox; but this does not prove the other Supposition. He was worshipt in that Church before (*E*) the Pox was known in *Europe*. *Tertullian* is in an Error, to say, that *Job* left no Posterity. See Mr. *Spanheim* † in his History of *Job*, which is a very good Book.

JODELLE (*Stephen*) a *French* and *Latin* Poet in the XVIth. Century, was of *Paris*. He was one of the *Pleiad*s invented by *Ronsard*. Some make him the first Inventer of *French* Verses composed like the *Latin*, according to the Quantity of Syllables; but others ascribe this to *Baif*. It makes little for their Glory to settle the Truth of this matter; for that Invention quickly fell into Contempt. There is more Reason for pretending, that *Jodelle* was + *the first* Frenchman, *who gave in his Language Tragedy and Comedy in the ancient Form*. He had an incredible Faculty (*A*) of making Verses, and was Master of several other Arts. He was an Orator, understood Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture, and was well skill'd in managing Arms. He

† *Videnda etiam Samuelis Bochartus, in Hierozoico suo, de Jobi Historia, c. 15.*

+ *Ronsard, Epître au Lecteur de Meline, en tête de la Franciade. Pasquier, Recherches de la France, liv. 8. ch. 3. pag. 626. Du Verdier, tom. 2. de la Bibl. Baker, pag. 227. See Anti-Baillet, tom. 2. pag. 111. Du Pin, Bibl. des Auteurs Ecclés. du 16. Siecle, pag. 285. See also Pasquier, Recherches, liv. 7. ch. 7. Du Verdier, Bibl. tom. 2. pag. 1. Baker, Bibl. Dramat. tom. 1. pag. 227. Pasquier, Recherches, liv. 8. ch. 3. Du Verdier, Bibl. tom. 2. pag. 1. Baker, Bibl. Dramat. tom. 1. pag. 227.*

ferior to that of his Wife. She is the Patroness of an Order of Nuns, called the *Daughters of St. Joseph* (*r*), and there is much talk of her Miracles. The Village of *Ker-Anne*, in the Diocese of *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, is very famous upon that Account, and especially, since an old Image of this Saint has been dug up, which had been long hid under Ground. It was revealed to a Labourer in the Year 1625, where this Image was to be found. As soon as it was retrieved, it performed Abundance of Miracles. They were quickly in a Condition to build her a fine Church; the Alms of Devout Souls, who flocked thither from all Parts, furnished enough for the Expence. The Bishop of *Vannes* procured from *Rome* the necessary Indulgences for those that should visit this Image; and gave the Direction of this new Church to the Reformed *Carmelites*, and permitted Brother *Hugh*, of St. *Francis*, one of 'em, to publish the Miracles which had been lately wrought in those Parts (*f*).

(*r*) *See the Book intituled, Les grandeurs de Sainte Anne. 'Tis mentioned in the Bibliotheque Universelle, tom. XI. pag. 141.*

(*f*) *Taken from Spondanus ad ann. 1625. n. 3.*

(*A*) *That the* Turks *have a great Veneration for the Sepulcher of* Job.] Here is a Passage of Sir *Paul Ricaut* (*a*). 'Tis the Custom of the *Turks*, 'as often as there is a new Emperor, to conduct him 'with all imaginable Pomp, to the place of 'the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, which they 'call *Job*, where there is an ancient Sepulchre of a 'certain Prophet, or Holy Man, whom the *Turks*, 'who have no Knowledge of Antiquity or History, 'pretend to be the same *Job*, who for so many 'Ages has been a Pattern of Constancy and Patience. The *French* Translator makes an Observation upon these Words, that deserves to be mentioned. 'I believe, *says he* (*b*), that some *Turks*, 'unacquainted with History and Chronology, may 'take the Sepulchre of *Job*, which is under 'the Walls of *Constantinople*, for that of the Holy Man, whose History is related in the old Testament; but the Mahometan Historians tell us 'themselves, that this Sepulchre was built for another *Job*, who was a Mahometan, and one of 'the Companions of *Mahomet*. He was killed at 'the Siege of *Constantinople*, which was attacked 'by *Jezid* the Son of the Calif *Moavias*, in the '52d. Year of the *Hegira*, or the 672d. of Jesus 'Christ. This is what *Elmacinus* observes in his 'History of the *Saracens*, chap. 7. Book 1, and tho' '*Elmacinus* was a Christian, yet he only relates 'what he found in the *Mahometan* Historians, 'which he owns to have abridged. One of the most Learned Rabbies of the XVIIth. Century has been in the same Error with these ignorant *Turks*; for he affirms (*c*) 'that the *Mahometans* 'have still a great Veneration for the Sepulchre of 'Job, which is at *Constantinople*——(*d*). Doubtless he did not know that it is the Sepulchre of a different *Job* from that of the Old Testament, and he 'was so ridiculous as to believe, that all the *Mahometans* took it for the Sepulcher of this Holy Man.

(*a*) *Ricaut, Etat present de l'Empire Ottoman translated by Bespier, B. 2. pag. 16.*

(*b*) *Bespier Remarques curieuses sur l'état present de l'Empire Ottoman, pag. 4.*

(*c*) *Menasseh Ben Israel de resurrect. mortuor. l. 1. c. 16. apud Bespier ibid. pag. 5.*

(*d*) *Bespier, ibid.*

(*B*) *The first Judge of* Solomon's *Court.*] Here is another Passage of Sir *Paul Ricaut*. *The* Turks, says he (*e*), *so confound Histor. for want of understanding Chronology, that they say* Job *was the first Judge of* Solomon's *Court, and that* Alexander the Great *was the General of his Armies.* Here is a good Criticism upon these Words (*f*). 'The *English* Au-

(*e*) *Ricaut ubi supra.*

(*f*) *Bespier ibid. pag. 6.*

'thor has taken this from *Busbequius*, but has not 'understood his meaning. For *Busbequius* does not 'say that the *Turks* believe *Job* to be the first Judge of 'Solomon's Court, and *Alexander* to be the General 'of his Army; but only that they understand Chronology and History so little, that if such a thing 'should come into their Heads, they would make no 'Scruple to affirm, that *Job* was the first Judge of 'Solomon's Court, and *Alexander the Great* the General of his Army. There's a great deal of difference 'betwixt these two things. See *Busbequius*, Epist. 1. Sir *Paul Ricaut*'s Error has already crept into some Books (*g*).

(*g*) *Du Pin, Bibl. des Auteurs Ecclés. du 16. Siecle, pag. 285.*

(*C*) *That* Job's *Distemper was the* Pox.] Guy Patin names two famous Authors who have told this. These are his Words: (*a*) *Rien n'embarrasse plus vous me mandez, je vous dirai que Balue Capucin a écrit aussi bien que Paulus Jesuite Espagnol que Job avoit la verole. Je croirois volontiers que David fit Salomon l'avoient aussi.* Note, that it might be lord, that *Job* had this Distemper, without having deserved it by any Act of Impunity.

(*a*) *Lettre 120. pag. 137. de l'Edition de Cologne, 1683.*

(*D*) *He is the Patron of those who have the Pox.*] Consult *Molanus's Diarium mediorum Ecclesiasticum*, where you'll find these Words under the 10th. of *May*, which is St. *Job*'s Day: (*a*) *Volunt non nulli Sanctum Job peculiarem patronum esse eorum qui lue venerea laborant aut laborarunt.*

(*a*) *There is a Difficulty in this Passage, which I leave to the Learned.*

(*E*) *He was worshipt—— before the Pox was known.*] The same *Molanus* cautions us against the Omission of *Agrippa*'s Error, who ventures to say, that the Pox was the cause of *Job*'s Canonization. Before this, says *Molanus*, there was at *Verona* a Church, and a Feast appointed for this Holy Man, who from *Charlemagne*'s time has been inserted in the Martyrology. (*a*) *Circumdat eum H. Cornelius Agrippa, qui causa scripsit morbum Job in diversa retulisse. Quæ non multo ante Veronæ memoriam ejus & templum & festo die celebratum, verumque quæ Guardum Caroli Magni ætate & Wandalbertum non multo post, Martyrologia hujus ævi memorant. Et à Græcis ad sextum diem Maii celebratur Justus & Justus Job, qui multa contra Satanam certamina gessit.* A famous Protestant Divine, who has in some measure taken *Agrippa*'s part in this respect, observes, that there is at *Utrecht* an Hospital, where they put those that are infected with the Pox, and that it goes by the Name of *Job*. (*b*) *Despautere defensionem Agrippæ, Jobum olim de ulcere aliquo, quidem sedis ejus morbo, post evulsum ulcus demum fuisse relatum. Quidquid sit, tempus certe alexeacus ab hujus morbi [illegible] Ecclesiis fuit unum. Hinc [illegible] S. Job eum dominare [illegible] morbo laborantes curat. [illegible]* the Question was debated [illegible] and the other Saints of the Old [illegible] served the Worship that is [illegible] and whether Alms [illegible] him. Consult upon this [illegible]

(*a*) *Molanus, Indiculus Sanctorum Belgii, pag. 137. Add Molanus, Natalibus Sanctorum Belgii, pag. 206.*

(*b*) *There is a Difficulty in this Passage, which I leave to the Learned.*

(*A*) *An incredible Facility of making Verses.*] This I have from a Letter of Peter Ronsard, where these Words: 'He was admirable in one thing, 'that is almost incredible; his Compositions 'were quickly made, without Study or Premeditation, and we saw many Gentlemen that are 'now

† *Id. ib.*

‡ *Mr. Varillas is miſtaken when he ſuppoſes* Hiſt. de Henri III. *Book* 12. *pag. m.* 267. *that* Jodelle *was living under the Reign of* Henry III. *He ſays, that the Seven* French *Poets, who were called the Pleiad, having made merry for a whole Month at that Prince's Charges, in a Tavern near the Gate of Neſle, went out ſinging: God bleſs Tyranny, we have ſpent Thirty ſix Thouſand Livres.*

* *Du Verdier ubi ſupra, pag.* 884. 885.

(n) *La Croix du Maine Bibl. f.* 78.

(p) *Du Verdier, ibid.*

(q) *La Croix du Maine, ib.*

(r) *Du Verdier, ib. pag.* 285. *See alſo* la Croix du Maine, ibid.

(a) *Voet. diſput. tom* 1. *p.* 137.

(b) Memi-nit *Honſdorf.* dicto *libro exemplorum ad Decalogum*, Lipſiæ in fol. ann. 1579. Edit—— Stephani Jodelii Gallici Poetæ, quem Epicureum & Atheum dilapidatis bonis inedia confectum dicit. *Voetius ib.* (c) *See the following Remark.* (d) *Voetius, ibid.* (e) *You'll find the following Paſſage in* Konig's Bibliotheca, *at the Word* Jodelius: Georgius Richterus Gorlicenſis in Axiom. Eccleſ. numero 108. ſeqq. habet: *Memoria noſtra Jodelius, tragœdiarum ſcriptor, tragicum exitum invenit: nam luxu, ganea, ſtupris, ex Epicurorum diſciplina, patrimonium cum conſumpſiſſet, miſerrimo genere mortis fame periit.*

He made Profeſſion of being a Man of the Sword †. His Birth (*B*) gave him that Authority. He died in *July* 1573, being Forty one Years of Age. See the Margin ‡. His Friends publiſhed a Collection of his Works the following Year *. It has been wrongfully ſaid (C), that he died with Hunger, as a Puniſhment for his Impieties, and he has been falſly cried down as an Atheiſt, becauſe in a Carnival Sport his Friends (*D*) ſacrificed a Goat to him. I dare not give Credit to what I have read in

'living, teſtify, that their longeſt and moſt difficult 'Tragedy or Comedy has not taken him up above 'ten Mornings: nay, the Comedy intituled, *Eu-* 'gene, was made at four Sittings. He has been 'ſeen in his Youth to compoſe and write in one 'Night for a Wager, Five hundred good *Latin* Verſes, on a Subject given him upon the Spot. All 'his Sonnets, even thoſe that were meerly accidental, were made by him as he was walking, and a-'muſing himſelf with other Things, ſo ſuddenly, 'that when he pronounced 'em, People thought 'he had not yet began 'em. We need not wonder then at his numerous Productions. 'Tis ſaid, that he compoſed about Ten Thouſand Verſes (*o*) upon the Paſſage of the *Rubico*. If his Friends had publiſhed all his Pieces, how many Thouſands of Verſes would they have amounted to? He made all ſorts of Verſes (*p*), Elegies, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, Inſcriptions, and Canticles. He made a *Poem* (*q*) *againſt the Sin of Sodomy.*

(*B*) *His Birth gave him that Authority.*] He was a Gentleman who had a Lordſhip; for he took the Title of *Seigneur du Lymodin* (*r*). I believe 'twas a Patrimonial Eſtate.

(*C*) *That he died with Hunger, as a Puniſhment for his Impieties.*] *Voetius* (*a*) relates, that upon his reading in *Honſdorf*'s *Theatrum*, that *Stephen Jodelle* an *Epicurean* and an *Atheiſt*, ſpent all his Eſtate, and died (*b*) of Hunger, he carefully inquired whether the thing was true; but that his Library could give him no Light into it, which obliged him to conſult Mr. *Rivet*. By which Means he found, that there was no Track of Atheiſm to be ſeen in *Jodelle*'s Works; but on the contrary, many Signs of Orthodoxy; and that poſſibly, the Accuſation of Impiety, which was charg'd upon him, had no other Foundation than the Sacrifice of a Goat (*c*), which was offered to *Jodelle*, as being the Head of the Tragick Poets; which was only a meer Sport, if we will believe the Author of *Ronſard*'s Life. Nevertheleſs, *Rivet* durſt not determine whether for that one Action *Jodelle* do's not deſerve to be reckon'd an Atheiſt. *Voetius* acquieſces in that Judgment: he grants with his Friend, that if there be no more authentick Proofs of *Jodelle*'s Atheiſm, one can't affirm that he was guilty of it; but in the mean time he will not acquit him, and leaves it as a diſputable thing. *In medio relinquit* (Rivetus) *an ob idem factum Atheus ſit dicendus, niſi aliunde alia authentica teſtimonia ſuppetant. In cujus ſententia & nos acquieſcimus* (*d*). It is not likely that the Compiler *Honſdorf* goes upon this pretended Sacrifice: he gives *Jodelle* the Character of a Debauchee, who had ſquander'd his Eſtate. 'Tis therefore upon an Habitual Sin that he goes, and not upon the Farce of a pretended Sacrifice; a thing done but once, and which is as imputable to the other Wits of whom *Honſdorf* ſays not a Word, as to *Jodelle*. We may therefore ſay, that this Compiler of Examples of the Divine Juſtice, is groſly miſtaken; and yet we have ſeen two famous Divines, who equal his Accuſation, tho' deſtitute of all ſorts of proof, to the Teſtimonies of Orthodoxy, that appear in the Books of the accuſed: they fancy themſelves equitable enough, provided they neither condemn nor acquit him. How little do they follow theſe Maxims, *Quilibet præſumitur bonus donec probetur malus. Actore non probante abſolvitur reus?* We muſt take notice, that *Honſdorf*'s Tranſcribers, or thoſe whom he has tranſcribed, be they never ſo numerous, don't amount altogether to the Authority of a ſingle Witneſs, while they quote no body, or only cite one another (*e*). Note, that I don't pretend to deny that *Jodelle* died poor. I don't know but *Gentillet* was the firſt Original of all thoſe Compilers, who have mention'd *Jodelle*, as an Inſtance of divine Vengeance upon infamous Men. 'We might alledge, *ſays he* (*g*), 'infinite 'Examples of the Judgments and Vengeance of 'God, exerciſed againſt Atheiſts, Deſpiſers of God 'and Religion, even of our own time; as for in-'ſtance, the Tragick Poet *Jodelle*, who made a true 'Tragical End; for having eaten up his Patrimony 'like an Epicure, he died miſerably of Hunger. I have found part of theſe Words in a Book printed at *Morges* in the Year 1581, intituled, *Punitions & jugemens de Dieu, &c.* and in a Book (*h*) printed in 1586, and written by *John Chaſſanion* of *Moniſtrol in Vellay*, with this Title, *Memorable Hiſtories of the great and wonderful Puniſhments and Judgments of God, &c.*

(*D*) *Sacrifice'd a Goat to him.*] *Claudius Binet* (*i*) tells us, how this Farce was acted. 'They (*k*) blamed him, amongſt other Things, for having ſa-'crified a Goat to *Jodelle* in the Village of *Her-'cueil* (*l*): but he gives a ſufficient Anſwer to that 'head of Accuſation, which is this. *Jodelle* cauſed the Tragedy of *Cleopatra* to be acted before 'the King, which every Body ſo applauded, that 'ſome Days after, when the whole Club of the Poets 'were together in this Village, to paſs away the 'time, and enjoy themſelves in the licentious Days 'of the Carnaval, every one of them made ſome 'Verſes in Imitation of the *Bacchanalia* of the An-'cients. A Goat happen'd to go in the Street, 'which gave 'em an Oportunity to play the Fools, 'as well becauſe he was formerly ſacrificed to *Bac-'chus*, as becauſe they had a mind to offer him to '*Jodelle*, as a Recompence for his Tragedy, accor-'ding to the antient Cuſtom, to which the Chri-'ſtians themſelves, and eſpecially the Poets, have 'recourſe now and then, not out of any Belief, 'but by way of Alluſion: and that which gave 'occaſion to believe ſomething of it, was the Ver-'ſes and Pranks of thoſe Poets, that were publiſhed, 'particulary the *Dithyrambicks* of *Bertrand Ber-'ger* a *Dithyrambick* Poet, in which were theſe 'Verſes—— All this was but Fiction and Maſque-'rade. Perhaps the Reader will not be diſpleaſed to find here *Ronſard*'s Anſwer, which *Binet* has only pointed at. Here it is.

Tu (m) dis en vomiſſant deſſus moy ta malice,
Que j'ay fait d'un grand Bouc à Bacchus ſacrifice:
Tu ments impudemment: cinquante gens de bien
Qui eſtoient au banquet diront qu'il n'en eſt rien.
Muſes qui habitez de Parnaſſe la crope,
Filles de Jupiter, qui allez neuf en trope,
Venez & repouſſez par vos belles chanſons,
L'injure faite à vous & à vos nourriſſons.
Joſelle ayant gaigné par une voix hardie
L'honneur que l'homme Grec donne à la Tragedie,
Pour avoir en hauſſant le bas ſtile Franſois,
Contenté doctement les oreilles des Rois:
La brigade qui lors au ciel levoit la teſte
(Quand le temps permettoit une licence honneſte)
Honorant ſon eſprit gaillard & bien appris,
Luy fit preſent d'un Bouc, des Tragiques le prix.
Sa la nappe eſtoit miſe, & la table garnie,
Se bordoit d'une ſaincte & docte compagnie:
Quand deux ou trois enſemble en riant ont pouſſé
Le pere du troupeau à long poil heriſſé:
Il venoit à grands pas ayant la barbe peinte,
D'un chapelet de fleurs la teſte il avoit ceinte,
Le bouquet ſur l'oreille, & bien fier ſe ſentoit
Dequoy telle jeuneſſe ainſi le preſentoit:
Puis il fut rejetté pour choſe meſpriſée
Apres qu'il eut ſervy d'une longue riſée,
Et non ſacrifié, comme tu dis menteur,
De telle fauſſe bourde impudent inventeur.

Whatever Party One be of, he carries things too far; and we are often impoſed upon by popular Reports. The Miniſters did raſhly give credit to the Stories

(g) *Gentillet, Diſcours ſur les moiens de bien gouverner contre Nicolas Machiavel*, 2. *part, pag.* 179. *edit.* 1567.

(h) *Book* 2. *chap.* 24. *pag.* 170.

(i) *In* Ronſard's *Life, p. m.* 139.

(k) *He ſpeaks of two Miniſters, who had writ againſt* Ronſard.

(l) *I think it ſhould be* Argueil.

(m) Ronſard, *in the Anſwer to ſome Miniſters, p.* 92. *of the* 9*th. tome of his Works*, Paris, 1604. *in* 12.

in (E) *Beza's* Life. You'll find a great many things Relating to this Poet in the Place which I have quoted out of *Stephen Paſquier*.

JOHN (SAINT) the Evangeliſt. Not to mention here what is to be found in *Moreri*, or in Mr. *de Tillemont* †, I ſhall only ſay 1. That in St. *Auſtin's* time, there went about (A) a lamentable Tradition concerning the condition St. *John* was in. 2. That there is nothing more Abſurd than what has (B) been ſaid againſt the Author of the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament of *Mons*, under the falſe pretence, that *De-*

† *Memoires pour ſervir à l'hiſtoire eccleſiaſtique tom. 1. p. 910. & ſeq. Bruſſels. in 12.*

Stories that were ſpread concerning *Jodelle's* Goat; and becauſe *Ronſard* ſet up for a Perſecutor, (for he Wrote againſt the Proteſtants, and fell up upon 'em at the head of the Militia,) they upbraided him with the Ceremony of the Goat, putting the worſt Conſtruction upon it. They call'd it a *Pagan* Sacrifice, and maintain'd, that the Goat had been Sacrificed to a falſe God. It was a Calumny, but they were not the Inventers of it. I ſhall quote *Scaliger*, who ſays, that a Prieſt gave Birth to that Impoſture; and 'tis to be obſerved, that he has rejected this pretended Sacrifice as a Fable. I know not whether he remember'd, that ſome Miniſters had accuſed *Ronſard* of it; but I know very well, that he believed his Adverſary *Scioppius* had brought him upon the Stage. Theſe are his Words.

(n) *Scaliger in confutat. fabulæ Burdonum, p. m. 338. & ſeq.*

'(n) Aſt illud, quod adjiciemus, omnia portenta 'amphitheatrica ſuperat. *Pariſienſes illos amicos tuos 'imitaris, quos Dionyſia agitaſſe, & hircum immo-'laſſe fama eſt.* Dionyſia agitare, dicit eſſe hircum 'immolare. Hujus enim inſimulati ſunt illi, de 'quibus nunc agitur. Veſpillonis filius, qui nun-'quam Lutetiæ fuit, in media Suburra habitans Ro-'mæ, unde hoc mendacium expiſcari potuit, niſi à 'quibus reliqua portenta didicit? Quos putat Dio-'nyſia agitaſſe, vel hircum immolaſſe, ut illi per-'ſuaſerunt qui verum dicere, etiam ſi velint, non 'poſſint, ii ſunt, Petrus Ronſardus, M. Antonius 'Muretus, Janus Baiſius, Remigius Bellaqueus, Ste-'phanus Jodellus, Nicol. Denifortus, Joan. Aura-'tus, alii, omnes poëtæ, præter Patoletum, qui in 'hiſtoriis conſcribendis omne ſtudium ſuum collo-'carat. Quos tam falſum eſt adeo execrandum, ne-'fandum, impium facinus feciſſe, quam certum eſt, 'impune illis futurum non fuiſſe, ſiquidem tam 'Chriſtianæ pieratis, quam exiſtimationis ſuæ obliti 'tam deteſtabile ſcelus in ſe admiſiſſent. Si illi 'docti viri viverent, fur non inultum tuliſſet. Porro 'tam impudentis calumniæ auctor fuit ſacrificulus 'Gentiliaci vici, in quo illi doctiſſimi viri de con-'ſtituto coierant, ut de ſymbolis eſſent. Totum 'drama exponerem, ſi opus eſſet, ut Joſephus me 'docuit, qui illud ad unguem tenet. All goes well hitherto; I wiſh what follows was as juſt. (o) *Sed ponamus verum eſſe. Quid hæc ad Joſephum, qui tuno puer Burdigalæ primis rudimentis Latini ſermonis inſtiabatur? An quia ſexto poſt, ſeptimo, & octavo anno omnes, præter Jodellum, illos vidit, & familiariter novit, ideo ejuſdem criminis poſtulandus erit? Hoc modo oporteret omnes, qui Muretum norunt, Dionyſia agitaſſe, hoc eſt, majorem partem eorum, qui hodie Romæ agunt. Quanta invidia Joſephum premerent, ſi verum crimen haberent, quod illi objicerent, quum aliorum facta, eaque falſa illi exprobrentur?* The heat of the Diſpute diſturb'd *Scaliger's* Head; he goes about to clear himſelf from a thing he was not Accus'd of; he complains of being Calumniated when he is not, and ſo he himſelf becomes a (a) Slanderer. When 'tis ſaid that a Man imitates the Faults of his good Friends, 'tis not preſumed that he was with them in a certain Place, where they have committed ſome Crime; on the contrary it is ſuppoſed he was not with them, for if he had been, he would be call'd an Accomplice, and not an Imitator. It is not therefore true (b) that *Scioppius* involved *Scaliger* in *Jodelle's* buſineſs, and conſequently *Scaliger* ſhould not have complain'd of it, nor Alledged his being in another Place.

(o) *Id. ib. pag. 340.*

(a) *See the 8th. Tom. of the* Morale Pratique des Jeſuites, *chap. 18.*

(b) *Pariſienſes illos amicos tuos imitaris.*

(E) *What I have Read in* Beza's *Life.*] I find in it, that *Stephen Jodelle*, one of the *French Pleiad*, made a Stanza upon *Beza's* being ſtruck with the Plague whilſt he was Tranſlating the Pſalms. The Stanza runs thus:

Beze fut lors de la peſte accueilli
Qu'il retoucheit cette harpe immortelle.
Mais pourquoi fut Beze d'elle aſſailli?
Beze aſſailloit la peſte à tous mortelle.

Antony la Faie, who wrote (c) the Life of this Miniſter, gives *Jodelle* the Surname of *Modilius*. *Stephanus Jodellus Modilinus*, ſays he, *non poſtremus inter poëtas Pleiadis Gallicæ &c.* One may eaſily perceive that *Modilinus* was put in for *Limodinus*, a Title belonging to *Jodelle*, becauſe of his (d) Lordſhip. But becauſe this Stanza is aſcribed to one *Stephen de Modelin* in many Editions of the Pſalms, where 'tis plac'd with the Epitaph of *Clement Marot*, Compos'd by the ſame *Modelin*, I queſtion whether it be *Jodelle's*. For ſuch a Poet ſhould not have been call'd *Stephen de Modelin*. On ſuch occaſions as theſe, 'tis not uſual to make a Man known by an Anagram. But I have a ſtronger Reaſon than this. *Beza* was at *Lauſanne* when he was Seiz'd with the Plague; and was then look'd upon in *France* as an Apoſtate. The Perſecution was terrible againſt the Reform'd: Can we then believe that a Poet, who Profeſs'd himſelf a Catholick, would have Compos'd an obliging Stanza, in *Beza's* Praiſe, ſo agreeable to the Taſte and Style of the Reformers? That which is certain is, that the opinion of *Antony la Faie* has been followed by *Andrew Rivet* (e) and *Jeremiah de Pours* (f).

(c) Melch. Adam *has inſerted the greateſt part of it in his Lives of ſuch Divines as were not* Germans.

(d) *He was Seigneur* du Lymodin.

(e) *He wrote to Veſtius, that* Stephen Jodelle *had praiſed the Tranſlation of the* Pſalms, *and even imparted to him the Stanza.* Vost. ubi ſupra.

(f) *In the 21. Book of the* Divine Melody, *pag. 380. he lets down the* Stanza, *relating it to* Stephen Jodelle Modelin.

(A) *A lamentable Tradition concerning the Condition of St.* John.] '(n) Never was any People 'ſo Credulous about Traditions as the *Aſiarchs*, and 'in particular the *Epheſians*. St. *Auſtin* relates upon 'this Subject a very particular Thing, which 'plainly ſhews the exceſs of their Credulity, and 'the Folly of their Traditions. He ſays, that 'ſome *Epheſians* (i) or ſome Perſons that came 'from *Epheſus*, Men of great Senſe and Merit, 'and who were not Creatulous, *non levibus homi-'nibus*, had aſſured him, that St. *John* was not 'Dead; that indeed he was Buried at *Epheſus*, but 'that he was in his Grave as a Man that Sleeps in 'his Bed; and that as we ſee the Bed-Cloaths move 'up and down, according as a Man in his Sleep 'Breaths, ſo the Earth of the Grave wherein St. 'John was Buried, was ſeen to riſe and fall in ſuch 'like Intervals. Can any thing be more Impertinent than ſuch a Story. I have juſt now Read that (o) Mr. *de Tillemont* is blamed for relating this Story, and many others like it. There would be Reaſon to blame him, if he did relate it as a Truth; but this he does not do (p). 'Tis a Fault then to Cenſure him; for a Collection of Errors is a moſt uſeful part of Hiſtory. I confeſs, he ſeems to believe the Story (q) of the Manna of our Apoſtle's Grave.

(n) *The Abbot Faydit, extract d'un Sermon prêché par lui dans l'Egliſe de S. Polycarpe, pag. 30.*

(i) *Auguſt. Comment. in Joan. in hæc verba, Diſcipulus ille non moritur.*

(o) *Hiſt. des Ouvrages des Savans, for May 1695. pag. 427.*

(p) *See Tillemont. memoir. pour ſervir à l'hiſt. eccleſ. tom. 1. pag. 447.*

(q) *Ibid. pag. 945.*

(B) *What has been ſaid againſt.*] I begin with the Greek Text: (r) Καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας ἐλάβετο αὐτὴν ὁ μαθητὴς εἰς τὰ ἴδια, that is to ſay, according to the Verſion of *Mons*, *and from that Hour the Diſciple took her into his Houſe*. See how the Tranſlation of this Paſſage has been Criticiſed: (ſ) 'Tis cer-'tain that St. *John*, who had Embraced the Sto-'of the Goſpel-Poverty, had no Houſe to receive 'the Mother of God; and tho' he ſhould have had 'one, there are many Reaſons of Decency and Ho-'neſty, which eaſily perſuade us, that the Virgin 'would not have thought it proper to retire thither. 'This Conduct might alſo have had ill Conſequences 'in the times to come; for Scandalous Cler[gy] Men 'would have been glad to juſtify themſelves by ſo 'noble an Example of the Cohabitation of the Young-'eſt and Chaſteſt of all the Apoſtles, with the moſt 'Modeſt and Innocent of all Virgins. And this 'Apprehenſion is not groundleſs; for St. *Epipha-'nius*, who ſeems to approve the Thought of the 'Mons Tranſlation, had the ſame fear, and he aſ-'ſures us that ſome Libertins had already pretended 'to cover their Scandalous Conduct with the Ex-'ample of the Virgin's Abode with St. *John*. In 'the 78th. Herely, where he ſpeaks of this A-'bode, *l'croit*, ſays he, *ne hoc ipſum, quod dicimus, 'fraudi ſit aliquibus, ut ad continentiæ ſpe-'ciem, quas ubique feminas, &c.*

(r) John XIX. 27.

(ſ) *Addition; ou remarque quelque. Eglises, pag. 122. of the ad[dition]*

Decorum did not allow this Holy Apoſtle, and the Virgin *Mary* to lodge in the ſame Houſe. 3. That what has been anſwered to Mr. *Mallet* hereupon (C), deſerves to be mentioned. 4. That the way 'tis pretended St. *John* juſtified (D) his making much of a Partridge is very ſimple, 5. That there are ſome People who will have the Marriage in *Cana* (E), where the Water was changed into Wine, to be his, and that upon ſight of that Miracle, he renounc'd Marriage to live in Celebacy all his Life.

JONAS,

' nis peſſimo ſibi errore animi, *machinati ſunt, fucum*
' inde aliquem, & *colorem* arceſſiſſe videantur.

(C) *That what has been Anſwered——deſerves to be Mentioned.*] For it contains General and very Inſtructive Principles, for ſuch as will judge of Things according to their true Differences. I do not inſiſt upon the Anſwer which Relates to the Objection of the Evangelical Poverty; I only ſet down the Confutation of the other Point. 'Tis very ſtrange, ſays Mr. Arnauld (t), *that Mr.* Mallet *has not ſeen what has been obſerved by the Interpreters of the Scripture, upon a Subject which might have appeared much more Scandalous. 'Tis that of the Apoſtles carrying with them a Chriſtian Woman to take care of their Subſiſtence. Nevertheleſs St.* Paul 1 Cor. 15. 5. *ſays* (v) *that they had that Power, and made uſe of it: Whereupon* Eſtius *makes this moſt judicious Reflection, which ſhews the true Principles, by which we ought to judge of this kind of Things, which Mr.* Mallet *ſhould have known before he undertook to Subject the Virgin to his falſe Rules of* Decorum. ' *If you aſk, ſays this Learned Divine, how the Apoſtles could without Scandal take* ' *along with them Women that were not their Wives.* ' *I Anſwer that this Cuſtom was ſo well Eſtabliſhed* ' *among the* Jews, *that our Saviour himſelf did not* ' *think it amiſs to do it. This was not Practiced except by Women, whoſe Chaſtity and Piety* ' *were ſo well known and experienced, as to leave no* ' *room for any ill Suſpicion. To which it may be* ' *added, that the Apoſtles led ſo Edifying a Life,* ' *and had obtained ſuch a Reputation of Holineſs,* ' *that tho' theſe Women attended them, no one durſt* ' *make an ill Judgment of them, as the* Jews *never* ' *ſuſpected any thing of that Nature, with reſpect* ' *to our Saviour, as much Diſpoſed as they were to* ' *Slander and Calumny. Nothing can be more Reaſonable, and 'tis indeed by this we ought to judge that a thing which might give offence, when it is not attended with favourable Circumſtances, that leave no room for evil Suſpicions, is truly Edifying when 'tis attended with thoſe Circumſtances. Now when will the conſideration of an experienced Holineſs be able to ſtop the Mouth of Calumny, and even to prevent Suſpicions in the ſhalloweſt Minds, and thoſe that are moſt apt to be Prepoſſeſt by the leaſt Appearances, if the Veneration which the Faithful have always had for the Mother of Jeſus Chriſt, and for his moſt dear Diſciple had not had the Power to make every body Look upon their Living together, in Conſequence of the Command received from their Dying Saviour, as a moſt Holy and moſt Innocent thing——* Mr. Mallet (w) *is the firſt and only Man who has had ſo mean a Notion of the Holineſs of the Virgin, and of the Opinion the Church has entertained of her, as to imagine, that being above 50 years of Age, ſhe could not Live with an Apoſtle, without ſtaining her Reputation, and that it was an Example of dangerous Conſequence, as being likely to Authorize the ſuſpected Cohabitations of Women and Eccleſiaſticks, which are forbidden by the Canons. For thus far he carries his Extravagant Imaginations againſt the Honour of the Virgin. But if the Authors of thoſe Canons had been ſo exceſſive in their Suſpicions, as this Cenſurer of the Virgin and St.* John, *why did they except out of their Prohibitions, ſuch Perſons as Mothers, Siſters and Nieces? Is it becauſe they thought Inceſts were abſolutely impoſſible? No certainly: But becauſe being guided by the Spirit of God, and knowing that in Point of general Laws, all Exceſs ought to be avoided, and a wiſe Moderation obſerved, which obliges to overlook what ſeldom or never happens, they judged on the one Hand, that there was no need of great Virtue to avoid being Tempted with the ſight of thoſe Perſons, becauſe Natural Modeſty is Ordinarily ſufficient to prevent the Motions of an impure Affection upon their Account; And on the other Hand, that the Proneneſs of Men to judge ill of their Neighbours, doth not commonly go ſo far, as to impute to them ſuch black Crimes, without very evident Proofs: ſo that they did not believe, that upon theſe occaſions, there was any ground to fear any ſuch thing, or to ſuſpect it.*

(t) *Nouvelle defenſe de la traduction pag.* 430.

(v) 'Tis *in the* 5th. *Verſe of the* 9th. *Chapter of the* 1ſt. *Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, *and not in the* 15th. *Chapter, as M.* Arnauld *quotes it.*

(w) *See the Abbot* Faydit *ubi ſupra, p.* 37.

(D) *His making much of a Partridge.*] A Huntſman was Aſtoniſhed to ſee this great Apoſtle ſo Venerable for his Age and Virtue, ſtoop to ſuch an Amuſement. The Apoſtle aſked him whether he always kept his Bow bent. He Anſwered that would be the way to make it uſeleſs. If, replied St. *John, you unbend your Bow to prevent its being uſeleſs, ſo do I with my Mind for the ſame Reaſon.* I don't believe that this Story is very certain; but I fancy that they who never heard of it will not be diſpleaſed to know that ſuch a thing is related of S. *John.* The Author of the Tract *De Indicra dictione* has inſerted it in his Work. His Pleaſes being Nervous, will not be unacceptable to the learned Readers. (a) *Nec malus, ut opinor, interpres Chriſti conſiliorum & voluntatum Joannes diſcipulus, qui ad leves luſus atque oblectamenta puerorum deſcendit ipſe jam ſenior, atque exemplo præiret, quatenus interjungere, & ex quotidianis occupationibus reficere ac recreare mentem liceret. Hunc, manſuefactæ perdici blande & ſuaviter alludentem, quidam cum arcu & ſagittis venator offendit. Quod cum facere cum vehementer miraretur, hominem id ætatis, ſpectatum & cognitum diuturna virtute: ſenſit Joannes, & interrogavit, an illum ipſum, quem gereret, arcum haberet ſemper intentum. Cui ille, Nequaquam vero, inquit: flaccefcat enim arcus, & molliatur intentione perpetua, inutiliſque fiat. Tum Joannes, Tu, mi homo, arcum remittis ac relaxas, ne inutilis ſit: ego animum, niſi inutilis.*

(a) *Vavaſſor de ludicra dictione, pag.* 285.

(E) *The Marriage in* Cana——*to be his.*] The Curious and Learned *Thomaſius* will ſupply me with all the Materials of this Remark. I ſhould be glad to have the Theſis which he cauſed to be maintain'd (b) about St. *John's* Glaſs: But I have only the (c) Preface of it, from which I learn a Cuſtom that I was Ignorant of; which is that at great Entertainments, they fill out to the Gueſts a Glaſs of Wine, which they call the Glaſs or Cup of St. *John.* This is not without ſome Mixture of Superſtition, which has derived its Original from a Legend, wherein we find that St. *John* having ſwallowed Poiſon by the Order of *Ariſtodemus* found no Inconvenience by it. This is the Reaſon doubtleſs, why the Painters repreſent him with a Cup in his Hand. I proceed to the Marriage of *Cana.*

(b) *The* 30th. *of* January, 1675.

(c) *Printed with ſeveral others, at* Leiplick, *in* 1681. *See the Journal of* Leiplick, 1682. *pag.* 51.

The Legendaries ſuppoſe. 1. That St. *John* the Evangeliſt, and *Mary Magdalen* were the two Betrothed Perſons (d). 2. That both of them agreed not to Conſummate the Marriage, but to engage themſelves to a perpetual Virginity. 3. That as ſoon as St. *John* ſaw the Miracle of Water converted into Wine, he Conſecrated himſelf to the Service of Jeſus Chriſt, and left his Bride (e). 4. That Jeſus Chriſt went on purpoſe to the Wedding to prevent the Accompliſhment of the Marriage (f). One thing Perplexes 'em, which is that the Virginity of St. *John* could not arrive to the higheſt Degree of Perfection, if he had a deſign to Marry; for perfect Virginity requires that a Man ſhould always have reſolved to contain himſelf. *Videbatur* (virginitatis) *laudem hac fabula non tollere quidem, labefactare tamen, aut in gradum inferiorem detrudere, cùm ea demùm numeris omnibus abſoluta perhibeatur virginitas, quam perpetua incorruptionis nunquam corrupta meditatio pariat* (g). In Anſwer to this difficulty, they ſay amongſt other things, that the Divine Providence directed the thing ſo, to heighten the Glory of St. *John's* Virginity; ſince thereby it became altogether like that of the Holy Virgin, and was Conſecrated, being joined with Marriage, which is one of the ſeven Sacraments (h). *Quin ergò potius ita cogitemus, decuiſſe, ut eodem virginitatis gradu collocaretur Apoſtolus, quo Virgo mater, quæ ipſi erat à Chriſto morituro commendanda? Quid, quod ita demùm conſecrari virginitas cenſenda eſt, ſi cum cæremoniâ matrimonii*

(d) *Jacobus, l.* 4. *de hiſt. facrar. imaginum cap.* 20. *pag.* 428. *apud Thomaſium præfat.* 78. *pag.* 511.

(e) *Haymo, part. hiemal. homil. pag.* 207. *Baronius tom.* 1. *Annal. ad ann.* 31. *n.* 30. *apud Thomaſ. ib. pag.* 512.

(f) *Meſſret de ſanctis ſerm.* 30. *fol.* 53. *apud eumdem ibid.*

(g) *Thomaſius, ib. quoting Pelbartus de Temeſwar de Sanctis ſerm.* 30.

(h) *Thomaſius ibid. pag.* 513. *quoting the ſame Pelbartus, ib. & Franc. Mayr, ſerm. Sanctis, pag.* 30.

JONAS, One of the *Jewiſh* Prophets. Since moſt of the things relating to him may be found in two other † Dictionaries, I will only inſiſt upon a few Particulars. Some *Rabbins* ᵉ have been ſo ſilly as to ſay, that being firſt ſwallow'd by a Male Fiſh, he was afterwards Diſcharged into the Body of a Female. Not finding himſelf preſs'd in his firſt Priſon, ſay they, he had no Recourſe to the Invocation of God; upon which the Male Fiſh had Orders to Diſgorge him into the Stomach of a Female, which ʏ was Big. He there perceiv'd himſelf in too ſtrait a Lodging, and pronounc'd the noble Canticle, which he * has left us, and which appeas'd the Wrath of Heaven. They who Confute this Story with this Argument, that a Whale that was Impregnated would not have preſs'd *Jonas*, unleſs he had Lodg'd (*A*) in her Womb, make but a weak Objection. We have ſeen ‡ in another Place that the Heathen Poets have given out an Event of their *Hercules* ſomewhat reſembling this. They ſtole it from the Sacred Story, and Falſified it, according to their Fancy. This is at leaſt the common opinion of our † Authors. The Antient Fathers thought it ſtrange that the Heathens ſhould Reject this Hiſtory (*B*) of *Jonas*, after having Adopted

† That of Moreri and the Dictionary of the Bible by Mr. Simon.

ᵉ Salomon Jarchi apud Martinum Lipenium in Jonæ periplo thalaſſo fol. B. verſo Edit. 1678. in 4to.

ʏ Ut ex impregnatione & alvi tumore in angulias virum Dei redigerent. *Id. ibid.*

* It is in the ſecond Chap. of Jonas.

‡ In the Remark (*O*) of the Article Hercules.

† See Hoſpinian de orig. & progr. Monachatûs lib. 2. c. 15. p. 301, 302. edit. Francof. 1675. in 4to.

niali conjungatur? Neque enim virginitas, ſed conjugium eſt in numero ſacramentorum. I muſt not forget to ſay that *Baronius* and *Molanus* reject theſe Traditions of the Legendaries. *Thomaſius* Reports their Words (*i*), and ſays probably enough, that *Abdias*'s Book was the firſt Original of theſe Idle Tales. That Suppoſititious *Abdias* affirms us that JESUS CHRIST thrice diſſuaded St. *John* from Marrying. In two Prefaces upon the Goſpel of that Apoſtle, 'tis only ſaid in general, that JESUS CHRIST diſſuaded him from it: Theſe Prefaces (*k*) are falſly Aſcribed, one to St. *Jerom*, and the other to St. *Auſtin*. As there never were bolder Authors than the Compilers of the Lives of Saints, they have reſolved to be more Deciſive than the Authors of theſe two Prefaces; and to that end they have ſuppoſed the Time and the Place, that is to ſay, the Wedding at *Cana*, where JESUS CHRIST freed his Diſciple from the Conjugal Bond. *Thomaſius* does in no ways Diſpute the Virginity of this Apoſtle; it is Grounded upon a pretty good Tradition, teſtified by St. *Jerom*, St. *Auſtin*, St. *Epiphanius*, &c. But *Baronius* was in the wrong to cite *Ignatius*, who only ſpeaks (*l*) of St. *John* the Baptiſt.

(*i*) Taken from the above quoted Places.

(*k*) Quas conjunctas exhibet quarta pars Gloſſæ in Biblia ordinaria. *Thomaſ. ib. p.* 516.

(*l*) See the Proof of it apud *Thomaſ. ib. p.* 518.

(i) Unleſs he had been Lodg'd in her Womb makes but a weak Objection.] Here's a Man, who thinks he has *Rabbin Jarchi* at his Mercy, when he asks him, (*m*) *Nunquid* arbitraberis in uterum quoque imprægnatæ balænæ immiſſum eſſe *Prophetam, ut ex fœtus piſcini multitudine coangustaretur? In* Ilonnchum ceti *credo* deſcendiſſe Jonam non in matricem ejuſdem. *Quomodo itaque Jonæ in ventriculo latenti plus angustiarum ex uteri intumescentia paterat ſurgere?* Theſe Queſtions ſpoil *Lipenius*'s good Cauſe; the *Rabbins* might banter him handſomely in their turn, if they ſhould ask him how he came to be Ignorant of a thing which is known to every Body, *viz.* that the Dilatation of the *Uterus* preſſes and ſtraitens the Bowels and the Verticle, and ſometimes hinders conſiderably the Reſpiration.

(m) Martinus Lipenius in Jonæ periplo thalaſſo fol. B. 2.

(B) The Antient Fathers thought it ſtrange that the Heathens ſhould reject——after having Adopted the Fable of Hercules.] Here is a fine Paſſage of *Theophilactus*. (*n*) *Devoratur ergo à cete Jonas, treſque dies ac totidem noctes in eo permanet vates: quæ res omnem excedere fidem audientibus videtur, maxime iis qui ex Græcorum ſcholis ſapientesque doctrina, ad hanc hiſtoriam accedunt. Quos equidem non ſatis demirari poſſum qui fiat quod hæc non intelligant, cum ſuis ipſorum alis capiantur. Apud ipſos enim nonnihil tale de Hercule narratur: nempe quod & ipſe à balæna devoratus, incolumis remanſerit, niſi quod tantummodo depilatus redierit, idque ob ingenitum & internum bellua calorem. Aut igitur noſtra ſuſcipiant, aut ſua rejiciant.* I doubt not but *Theophilactus* would have found many *Grecians*, who would have taken him at his Word with all their Heart. The Philoſophers and Learned Men of *Greece* would have Anſwer'd: We accept of your Terms; you would either have us reject the Story of *Hercules*, or Adopt that of *Jonas*: we reject them both. But becauſe abundance of Heathens would have Condemn'd this Alternative, and maintain'd that in believing what the Poets ſaid of *Hercules*, they might ſtill Laugh at the *Jewiſh* Story of *Jonas*; 'tis certain that *Theophilactus*'s Thought is very Solid, and admirably ſhews the fooliſh Prejudices of the *Heathens*. I proceed

(n) Theophil. in Jonam cap. 2.

to St. *Auſtin*. He had (*o*) a great love for a Heathen, and writ many Letters to him, ſome of which remain'd unanſwer'd. This Silence made him think that (*p*) the other was no longer willing to keep Correſpondence with him. Wherefore deſiring to anſwer ſome Difficulties, which this Heathen had Propos'd to the Prieſt *Deogratias*, he wrote directly to this Prieſt. By this Anſwer we ſee that the *Pagans* made themſelves very Merry with the Hiſtory of *Jonas*. (*q*) *Poſtrema quæſtio propoſita eſt de Jona, nec ipſa quæ ex (r) Porphyrio, ſed tanquam ex ore inſultione paganorum.* The Method of St. *Auſtin*'s refuting this Objection of his Friend, has a very handſom turn. Either, ſays he, we muſt deny all the Miracles of God, or Acknowledge we have no reaſon to Reject this. Should we believe the Reſurrection of JESUS CHRIST, if we were afraid (*s*) of the Raillieries of the Infidels? And ſince our Friend has not ſuppos'd any Doubts about our admitting the Reſurrection of *Lazarus* and JESUS CHRIST, I very much wonder he ſhould look upon the Adventure of *Jonas* as incredible. Is it eaſier to raiſe a Dead Man from the Grave (*t*) than to preſerve a Man Alive in the Belly of a great Fiſh? Will it be ſaid that the Digeſtive Faculty of the Stomach can't be Suſpended? But they would urge us with a more conſiderable Objection, if they ſhould Alledge the three Men who receiv'd no harm in the Furnace of *Babylon*. If they will Reject alſo that Suſpenſion of the Fire's Activity, and all the other Miracles of Scripture, we muſt have Recourſe to another Confutation. For the Infidels ought not to form doubts about one particular Fact, but they muſt either believe or Reject in general all the Facts of the ſame Nature, even thoſe that appear ſtill more Incredible. They would not be ſo nice with reſpect to *Apuleius*, or *Apollonius Tyaneus*; they would not Laugh at the Hiſtory of *Jonas*, but on the contrary cry it up, if what we ſay of him was aſcribed to the Power of either of thoſe Heathens. I don't give a verbal Tranſlation, but only a general Notion of St. *Auſtin*'s Reaſons; and therefore for the ſake of thoſe who underſtand the Latin Tongue, I will ſet down the main part of the Original. (*a*) *Sed habent revera, quod non credant in divino miraculo, vaporem ventris, quo cibi madeſcunt, potuiſſe ita temperari, ut vitam hominis conſervaret! Quanto incredibilius ergo proponerent, tres illos viros, ab impio Rege in caminum miſſos, deambulaſſe in medio ignis illæſos? Quapropter ſi nulla iſti divina miracula volunt credere, aliâ diſputatione refellendi ſunt. Neque enim debent unum aliquid tanquam* incredibile *proponere, & in quæſtionem vocare; ſed omnia, quæ vel talia, vel etiam mirabiliora narrantur. Et tamen ſi hoc, quod de Jona ſcriptum eſt, Apulejus Madaurenſis, vel Apollonius Tyaneus feciſſe diceretur, quorum multa mira, nullo fideli auctore, jactitant; [quamvis & dæmones nonnulla faciant angelis ſanctis ſimilia, non veritate ſed ſpecie, non ſapientiâ ſed planè fallaciâ:] tamen ſi de iſtis, ut dixi, quos magos vel philoſophos laudabiliter nominant, tale aliquid narraretur, non jam in buccis crepare iſtum, ſed typhus.* This Method

(o) See the 49. Letter of St. Auguſtin at the beginning.

(p) Non inconvenienter arbitrer eum quem video mihi non referire nobiſſe, nihil ſibi a me ſcripto voluiſſe. *Auguſt. Epiſt.* 49. *p. m.* 195.

(q) *Id. ib. p.* 207.

(r) Lipenius is therefore miſtaken when he ſays in periplo thalaſſo Jonæ: *fol.*

A 3 verſo *that St.* Auguſtin *Diſputes ſtoutly againſt Porphyry in that Place.*

(s) Si fides Chriſtianorum cachinnum meretur paganorum. *Auguſt. ibid. p.* 207. 208. (*t*) Nil forte facilius putat mortuum de ſepulcro reſuſcitari quam vivum in tam vaſto ventre Cetharæ [potuiſſe] ſervari. *Id. ib. p.* 208 (*u*) *Id. ib.*

of

† *See Lipenius ibid. fol. A 3.*

Adopted the Fable of *Hercules*. Thoſe who ſay that this Prophet came out of (C) the Fiſh's Belly in the Port of *Ninive*, are but little skilled in Geography; nor is it probable that he came out of it upon the Coaſt (D) of the *Euxine* or (E) of the Red Sea. 'Tis much more credible he was caſt upon the dry Land near the City of *Joppa* where he took Shipping. Some confirm this Conjecture by the Fable of *Andromeda*; for they pretend † that *Jonas*'s Adventure laid a Foundation for the Poetical Narrations concerning *Andromeda*'s being expoſed to the Fury of a Sea-Monſter, which happened near * *Joppe*. See the Margin †. Here is another idle Story of the *Rabbins*. They ſay ‡ that the Fiſh which ſwallowed *Jonas* had ſeven Eyes, which ſerved as ſo many Windows for the Prophet to ſee all that was in the Sea, and amongſt other things, the way which the *Iſraelites* took in Croſſing the Red Sea. Thoſe who take him for the Young Man (F) who was ſent by *Eliſha* to *Jehu*, to give him the Royal Unction, deſerve not to be heard. In St. *Jerome*'s time the Tomb of *Jonas* was ſtill ſhewn in the place of his Birth †. Mr. *Simon* ‖ Affirms that the *Turks have Built a very fine Moſque to the Honour of* Jonas, *in which there is a Miraculous Lamp, that Burns continually without any Oil or other Liquor, if we will give credit to their Fooleries.* He ſays that this Moſque is *in a little Village, built to the Honour and under the Name of this Prophet.*

* *Plinius l. 5. c. 13. p. m. 567. & 31. p. 613. & l. 9. c. 5. p. 283.*

† *Hadrian Sarcerius, Originum indice 3. fol. p. verſo falſly believes that it appears from the 2. verſe of the 3. chap. of* Jonas, *that the Fiſh threw up that Prophet at the diſtance of three days Journey from* Nin*ive, and that he went thither in one Day.*

‡ *Apud Lipenium ib. fol. C. 1. verſo.*

† *That is in Gath-Chepher near Mount Thabor.* Lipenius *ubi ſupra fol. praced. He quotes St. Jerome* procem. in Jon. *& Simon, Diction. de la Bible pag.* 433.

? *In the Tribe of* Zabulon

‖ *(b) Auguſt. de civit. Dei, lib. 1. cap. 14.*

of Confounding the *Heathens*, will perhaps Appear to ſeveral Perſons more Solid, than that which St. *Auguſtin* made uſe of in another Book, where having ſaid that thoſe who Laugh'd at the Story of *Jonas*, did not queſtion the truth of what is ſaid of *Arion*, he propoſes this Difficulty, whether what is ſaid of *Jonas* be not more incredible. Yes, ſubtleſs, Anſwers he; becauſe it is more Miraculous: And it is more Miraculous, becauſe it manifeſts a greater Power. (*b*) *Verum illud noſtrum de Jona incredibilius eſt: plane incredibilius, quia mirabilius. Immo ideo mirabilius, quia potentius.* Theſe are witty Conceits, will ſome ſay, and pretty Thoughts, but not good Arguments: For from hence it would follow, that the more impoſſible a thing appears to be, the more credible it is. The Fable of *Arion* was this, that, in order to ſave his Life, he was forc'd to caſt himſelf out of the Ship in which he was returning from *Italy* into *Greece*, and that he fell upon a Dolphin which carried him to the Shore. I don't ſay this in favour of thoſe who have never heard of it, for there are ſcarce any ſuch Perſons; but in favour of thouſands of People who don't remember it, and would be ſorry, not to ſee at one View the difference betwixt the Adventure of *Arion* and that of the Prophet *Jonas*.

Let us Reflect a little upon the partial Conduct with which St. *Auſtin* upbraids the Heathens. It affords an Inſtance of one of the moſt Ridiculous Effects of Preposſeſſion. The managers of the *Pagan* Religion had Fed the Minds of the People with abundance of Fables for many Ages, and they would not ſuffer 'em to Examine whether they were poſſible, or to call 'em incredible. But when the Chriſtian Miracles were propoſed to 'em, they ſet up for Philoſophers, they alledged Impoſſibilities, they made uſe of all ſuch Arguments as might be Oppoſed to the current of a fooliſh Credulity, and Ridicul'd the Believers. What Inconſiſtency, and Partiality is this! The Chriſtian Communions diſcover one againſt the other ſomewhat of this Spirit. If the *Greek* Church boaſts of ſome Miracle, which ſhews that *Neſtorius*'s Schiſm is diſpleaſing to God; the Neſtorians leave no Stone unturn'd to Repulſe that Attack. But as to the Prodigies, that are proper to Convict the *Greek* Church of Injuſtice, they blindly believe 'em without Examination, and think it very ſtrange, that their Adverſaries ſhould make any ſcruple about them. 'Tis well known how eaſily the Roman Catholicks give their Aſſent to an infinite number of Miracles. They Piouſly believe thouſands of Stories which are daily Publiſh'd, and look upon the moſt plauſible Reaſons of thoſe who deny them as meer Cavils of obſtinate Heretics. But if they hear that the Proteſtants ſpread abroad any Miracles, they aſſume a quite different Spirit. They have Recourſe to all the Arguments made uſe of by the Incredulous. They deny the Fact, they challenge the Witneſſes, they Reproach 'em with Impoſture, or a diſtemper'd Brain. If they cannot deny the Fact, they explain it by Natural Cauſes, and Collect from the Naturaliſts, and the Relations of Travellers, a thouſand like Events. In a Word what they call Wrangling, Obſtinacy, and an Oppoſition to good Senſe, becomes a moſt ſolid and reaſonable Confutation of a falſity; for they make uſe of the ſame common Places that the Proteſtants employ againſt the Monks. There are every where thoſe who readily believe what is grateful to 'em, but are the hardeſt in the World to be perſuaded of a thing that is unacceptable to them. If they alledge the Reaſons of their Incredulity, they cannot abide that they ſhould be thought wrong: But if you Alledge the ſame Reaſons againſt 'em another time, they muſt be allowed the Liberty of Ridiculing 'em. This is the way of Humane Life: 'Tis almoſt an unavoidable effect of Preposſeſſion. And if this could not be avoided without laying aſide Prejudices, the Remedy would perhaps be worſe than the Diſeaſe.

(C) *This Prophet came out of the Fiſh's Belly, in the Port of* Ninive.] *Sulpicius Severus* fell into this Geographical Blunder; (*c*) *Excetus à cete, marino monſtro, ac deporatus poſt triduum fere Niniviticarum littoribus eiectus, juſta prædicat.* The Learned *Druſius* did not perceive a Fault in Commenting upon theſe Words, but only ſays, that the Scripture (*d*) do's not tell us upon what Shore the Fiſh diſcharg'd the Prophet. The other Commentators upon *Sulpicius*, and particularly *Hornius* have perceived the Fault, and ſo has Mr. *Livenius*; but he is groſly miſtaken in Chronology, as believing (*e*) that *Sulpicius Severus* borrowed this from St. *Gregory*'s Morals. This Pope Flouriſhed 150 Years after *Sulpicius*. Mr. *Simon* has Tranſcribed the Fault of this Writer: *A Whale*, ſays he, *receiv'd* Jonas (*f*) *in its Bowels* ——— *and prov'd a much ſafer Veſſel than the firſt he was in, and put him a Shore, or rather Vomited him up the third Day in the Port of* Ninive. Note that *Ninive* was built upon the River *Tigris*, which has no immediate Communication with the Mediterranean Sea. Beſides, there is not Water enough for ſuch a Fiſh in this River at the Port of *Ninive*. This Reaſon, together with the ſurprizing Miracle, we muſt ſuppoſe, if we ſay that the Whale went into the Ocean, and doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and entred into the Mouth of the *Tigris*, and made that prodigious Compaſs in three Days, takes away all ſorts of Subterfuge from ſuch as would excuſe *Sulpicius Severus*. That Notion never came into his Mind; he honeſtly believed that *Ninive* was Situated upon the Mediterranean Sea, and Erred for want of ſkill in Geography.

(D) *Upon the Coaſt of the Euxine Sea.*] *Joſephus* (*g*) Relates this Tradition; which has been follow'd by many Moderns (*h*), tho' it Claſhes with Probability, and Multiplies Prodigies; for according to Natural Laws, a Fiſh of that ſize cannot convey itſelf in ſo little a time from the Phenician Sea to the Black Sea. Beſides the Journey that *Jonas* was to make, either to return into *Judæa*, before he went to *Ninive*, or to go directly to *Ninive*, would have been too long and too difficult.

(E) *Or upon the Coaſts of the Red Sea.*] *Lipenius* (*i*) imputes this Opinion to *Pineda*, and to the *Rabbins*: And 'tis no difficult thing for him to Confute it; for the Whale muſt have enter'd into the Ocean, and have gone round *Africa*. See the Remark towards the End.

(F) *Thoſe who take him for the Young Man, who was ſent by* (*a*) Eliſha.] This is what the *Rabbins* do

(*c*) *Sulpicius Severus Hiſtor. ſacr. lib. 1. p. m. 79.*

(*d*) *Druſius in Sulpic. Severum p. 179.*

(*e*) Sulpicius Severus . . . ex *S. Gregorio l. vi. Moral. c. xii.* arbitratur Jonam eſſe expoſitum in littoribus Niniviticarum. *Lipen. ubi ſupra cap. 3.*

(*f*) *Simon Dictionnaire de la Bible p. 432. 433.*

(*g*) *Joſeph. Antiq. Judaic. lib. 9. c. 11. fol. m. 355. verſo.*

(*h*) *See Lipenius ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) *Lipen. ubi ſupra fol. C 1. verſo. He quotes Pineda lib. iv. de rebus Salomonis cap. xii.*

(*a*) II. Kings IX. v. 1.

phet. Mr. *d'Herbelot* [a] says nothing of all this, tho' he relates many things reported of the *Mahometans* concerning *Jonas*. I will name a Modern Author, (*G*) who, according to *Morery*, made *a most ingenious Poem* upon the History of this Prophet.

JONAS (*Arngrimus*) an *Islander* made himself esteemed in the XVI*th.* and XVII*th.* Centuries by the Works he Published. He was still Alive [c] in 1644, being above 90 Years of Age. Four Years before, he had Married again a Young Woman. He was a learned and good Man, and in great Esteem among the Learned. He had been [d] Coadjutor to *Gundebrand de Torlac*, Bishop of *Hole* in *Island*. This *Gundebrand* was an Islander [e], a Man of great Learning and Probity. He had been a Disciple of *Tycho Brahe*, and was a good Astrologer. After his Death *Arngrimus* refused the Bishoprick of *Hole*, which the King of *Denmark* offered him [f]: he begg'd the King to *dispence him with it, both to avoid being envied, and to prosecute his Studies with greater Tranquility*. Most of the Books (*A*) he published, are Histories, and Descriptions of *Island*, or Apologies for his Nation. *Bleskenius* had said many Things to their Disadvantage, both with respect to (*B*) Witchcraft, and Lasciviousness (*C*). *Arngrimus*, confuted him. He died ‖ in the Year 1649. He had been Pastor of the Church of *Melstad*, and Overseer of the Neighbouring Churches in the Dioceses of *Hole* [g].

[a] *D'Herbelot, Bibliotb. Orient. pag.* 405.
[c] *La Peyrere. Relation de l'Islande p.* 55. &c.
[d] *Id. ib. pag.* 55.
[e] *Id. pag.* 5. *&* 55.
[f] *Idem. pag.* 55.
[g] *See Mollerus, hypomnem. ad Albert. Barthol. de script. Danor. pag.* 104.
[h] *Id. ib.*

JOU-

do (*b*), and after them *Mariana* and *Tarnovius*. *If this was so, he must have been then above a Hundred Years old.* They are Mr. *Simon*'s Words in his Dictionary of the Bible, which are very obscure; for we don't know to what the Word *then* relates. Does it relate to the time of *Jehu*'s Unction? *Grammar* will have it so, but the Sense will be absurd. Does it relate to the time of his Voyage to *Ninive*, or to the Reign of *Jeroboam*, the second of that Name? Guess at it if you can.

(*G*) *I will Name a Modern Author, who, according to* Morery, *made a Poem.*] He was a *Gascon* and a Minister, named *Coras*. He was Chaplain to Mr. *de Turrenne* for some Campaigns; afterwards he had a Church in the Lower *Guienne*, and there turned Papist, and had a considerable Office in the Presidial of *Montauban*. He published a Book before he changed his Religion, in which, if I well remember, he maintained, that the Protestants could not be reunited with the Roman Church. He published another to confute this after his Abjuration. The four (*e*) Poems, which he published upon the Histories of the Bible, sold well enough, tho' Mr. *Despreaux*; says the contrary in his Ninth Satyr.

Le Jonas inconnu sèche dans la poussiere,
Le David imprimé n'a point veu la lumiere.

The Enemies of *Coras* sent him by the Post to *Montauban*, a Pretended Letter from his Bookseller at *Paris*, in which he was desired to vindicate himself against *Despreaux*; because since the Publication of his 9th. Satyr, no body bought his Poems. He was provoked with that Insult, and published a very violent Piece against his Critick. He made some Verses against *Racine*, in the Year 1675. You'll see in (*d*) the *Menagiana*, a very pretty Epigram of *Racine* against him. Note, that he was descended from the famous Civilian *John Coras*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Toulouse*, one of the Protestant Martyrs; for he was (*e*) hang'd for his Religion at *Toulouse*, in his Counsellor's Habit, in the Year 1572.

(*A*) *The Books that he published.*] I shall mention all those that I find in the Catalogues of *Albert Bartholinus*. *Idea veri Magistratûs, Copenhagen* 1589, *in Octavo*. *Brevis Commentarius de Islandia*, at the same place, 1593. *in Octavo*. *Anatome Blefkeniana*, at *Hole* in *Island*, 1612. in *Octavo*, and at *Hamburg*, 1618, in *Quarto*. *Epistola pro patria defensoria*, at the same place, 1618. *Crymogæa Columnia*, at the same Place, 1622, *in Quarto*. (*f*) *Chrymogæa, seu veritatis Islandicarum libri tres*, at the same Place, 1626. *in Quarto*. *Vita Gudbrandi Thorlacii*, at the same Place, 1630. *in Quarto*. *Specimen Islandiæ Historicum, & magna ex parte Chorographicum*, at *Amsterdam*, 1643, *in Quarto* (*g*).

A Learned Man, who has published the Treatise of *Albert Bartholinus*, with Historical and Critical Additions, informs me that the *Anatome Blefkeniana*, is a Confutation of a Book printed at *Leyden* in the Year 1607, and intituled, *Islandiæ, seu descriptio populorum & memorabilium hujus Insulæ*; that the *Crymogæa* was written in the Year 1603, and printed at *Hamburg* in 1609, with a Map of *Denmark*, and without it in 1610; that the *Specimen Islandiæ Historicum* contains an Apology for the Author's Opinion against the Reasons of *John Isaacius Pontanus*. Our *Arngrimus Jonas* maintains, that *Island* did not begin to be inhabited till towards the Year 874, and so cannot be the ancient *Thule* (*h*). *Pontanus* thought it a little strange that *Arngrimus Jonas* should write an Apology for an Opinion, that was less glorious to *Island*, than the contrary one; nevertheless, he spoke of this Islander with all sorts of Civility, and Marks of Esteem. See the Letter (*i*) which he wrote to *Stephanius* the 1st. of *July* 1638, Mr. *Mollerus* (*k*) gives us the Titles of some of our *Jonas*'s Works, which have been omitted by *Albert Bartholinus*, some of which have been published, and others not.

(*B*) *Concerning their Witchcraft.*] *Bleskenius* says (*l*) that the Islanders sell the Wind, and that he has experienced it. *Arngrimus* laughs at this; for he says, 'that the Seamen of *Island* know over-Night by 'the Disposition of the Air, what Wind and Wea'ther there will be the next Day; and that when 'they Conjecture, that there will be such a Wind, 'which a Stranger waits for to go off, they go to 'him, and ingage to sell him this Wind; which they 'do in this manner. They ask the Stranger for his 'Handkerchief, in which they pretend to mutter some 'Words, and immediately (*m*) tie the Handker'chief with a Knot, as if it were for fear the Words 'pronounc'd should fly away. After this they give 'him his Handkerchief thus tied, and advise him 'to keep it carefully, as he receives it, assuring 'him that he shall have a good Wind for all his 'Voyage. Now it sometimes happens, that this 'Wind blows the next Day; but most frequently it 'changes after the Stranger is gone, and is out at 'Sea—— If it happens but once in a Hundred 'Times, that the Wind carries a Stranger to the 'end of his Voyage, that single Chance authorises 'the Error, notwithstanding a hundred contrary 'Experiments, and the Error is spread by him, who 'confidently says, because he believes it, that he 'bought the Wind in *Island*, and that this Wind 'has carried him safe Home. The same *Bleskenius* relates, (*n*), 'that there are some Magicians in '*Island*, who have the Power to stop Ships in full 'Sail in the open Sea: he says also, that they who 'are thus stopt, make use of some slinking (*o*) Fumigations for a Counter-Charm, which he describe; with which, says he, they that are stopt, 'drive away the Devils, and the Ships being not 'harm'd, resume their Course.

(*C*) *And Lasciviousness.*] '(*p*) *Bleskenius* says, 'that the *Germani*, who Trade into *Island*, set up 'Tents near the Harbours where they land, and 'there expose their Merchandises, which are 'Cloaks, Shoes, Looking-Glasses, Knives, and 'abundance of Baubles, which they barter for the 'Commodities of the Islanders. The young Wo'men, which are very fair in that Island, but ill 'clad, come and offer themselves to the Germans, 'who have no Wives, for Bread or Biscuit, or any 'thing else of small Value. The Fathers them'selves present their Daughters to the Strangers; 'and if they are got with Child, it is a great Ho'nour to them. This makes them more respected 'and courted by the Islanders than the others, and

(*b*) *Hebræi in Seder Olam, & ex iis Jo. Mariana in Scholiis Bibl. & Jo. Tarnovius Comm. Jon. p.* 2. Lipenius *ubi supra, fol.* B.
(*c*) *Upon* Jonas, David, Jothan, *and* Samaan.
(*d*) *Page* 300. *of the* Dutch *Edition. 'Tis also to be found in the* 2*d.* Case *of* Furetiere, *pag.* 13. *of the* Dutch *Edition, as being ascribed to M. de la Fontaine.*
(*e*) *See d'Aubigné, Hist. Univers. tom.* 2. *B.* 1. *c.* 5. *p. m.* 560.
(*f*) *It should be* Chrymogæa.
(*g*) *Taken from Albert Bartholinus's Treatise, de Scriptis Danorum, pag.* 12.
(*h*) *Taken from Mollerus hypomn. ad Bartholin. de Scriptis Danorum, pag.* 105. 106.
(*i*) *'Tis the* 122*d. of those which Mr. Marchand, published at Leyden in* 1695. *See page* 325. *of that Collection of Letters, and likewise, page* 210.
(*k*) *Moller. ubi supra pag.* 106.
(*l*) *La Peyrere, Relation de l'Islande, pag.* 28.
(*m*) *See a Story related by* Charles Ogier, *page* 433. *of his Iter Polonicum.*
(*n*) *La Peyrere, ib. pag.* 31.
(*o*) *See the* Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, *for* February, 1685. *pag.* 135.
(*p*) *La Peyrere, ibid. pag.* 23. 24.

JOUBERT (*Laurence*) Counſellor and Phyſician in Ordinary to the King of *Navarre*, firſt Regent Doctor, Chancellor, and Judge of the Univerſity of *Montpellier*, was born at *Valence* in *Dauphine* the 6th. of *December* * 1529. He was a Scholar of *Silvius* at *Paris*, and of *Argenterius*, beyond the *Alps* †, and he made himſelf famous by the Lectures he read at *Montpelier*, as Profeſſor, and much more by the Books he publiſhed. The World had ſuch a Notion of his Capacity, that *Henry* III. being extreamly deſirous to have Children, ordered him to come to *Paris*, ſo much he hoped, that the Skill of this Phyſician would remove all the Obſtacles, that render'd his Marriage unfruitful ‡. His Hopes were diſappointed. *Joubert* died (*A*) at *Lombez*, the 29th. of *October*, 1582. He publiſhed a vaſt Number (*B*) of Books in *Latin* and *French*. That which he intituled, *Popular Errors*, raiſed a great Cry againſt him, becauſe he ſpoke (*C*) with too much Plainneſs upon many nice Matters. One thing in particular was thought ſtrange, that he dedicated this Book to the Queen of *Navarre*, the Wife

* *La Croix du Maine, pag.* 285.

† *Scævolæ Sammarthanus, Elog. pag. m.* 75.

‡ Eum in aula vidimus à Rege Henrico III. evocatum, eum pius ille Princeps prolis in publicam utilitatem ſuſcipiendæ cupidus, maximam voti ſui ſpem in ejus induſtria neguidquam collocaſſet. *Id. ib. pag.* 76.

(*a*) *See the New Letters againſt Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm, pag.* 542. *&c ſeq.*

(*b*) *In elog. p. m.* 76.

(*c*) *Intituled* Bibliotheque Françoiſe.

(*d*) *Thomas Jourdain, Franciſcus Vallerola, Bruno Seidelius.*

(*e*) *See* La Croix du Maine, *pag.* 255.

(*f*) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique *des* Lettres, Octob. 1686. *pag.* 1221. *It has been tranſlated into* Dutch, *See the* Boekzal *for the Month of* Auguſt, 1695.

(*g*) *The* Journal *des* [illegible] *of the* 13th. *of* May, 1686 *p.m.* 188. *makes mention of him.*

(*b*) B. Cabrol, *Apologetica Epiſtle, prefixed to the* 2d. *part of* Lawrence Joubert's *Vulgar Errors.*

(*a*) Futurus tamen cautior, ſi contenti iis, quæ in uſum eruditorum ſermone Latino compoſuit, à ſcriptionibus Gallicis abſtinere maluiſſet. Naturum enim proconſulis Medicæ facultatis liberius evolvens, temere ſe in plebis imperitæ cenſuram atque riſum objecit. *Scævolæ Sammarthanus ubi ſupra.*

(*b*) *She was not a Novice in thoſe Matters, if* d'Aubigné's *Satyrs may be credited.*

(*c*) *Cabrol ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) *Id. ib.*

'there is a great Conteſt who ſhall have them. 'When the Iſlanders have bought, that is, barter'd 'Wine or Beer of the Foreign Merchants, they 'invite their Relations and Friends, and Neigh'bours, to drink both; and they never leave off 'till they have drank it all. They ſing, as they 'are tipling, the Heroick Actions of their Cap'tains——'Tis reckon'd an Incivility among 'them, to go from the Table, when they drink, to 'make Water. The young Women, which, as I 'have ſaid, are not ugly in this Country, ſlip un'der the Treſſles, and hand the Chamber-Pot to the 'Drinkers. *Arngrimus Jonas* will have this to be an 'abuſive Falſity, and is very angry with *Blefkenius* for ſcandaliſing the Iſlander Maids. The good 'Man can't bear to ſee his Countrymen contemptu'ouſly treated, and made Barbarians. If it was 'ever lawful for an Apologiſt to fall into a Paſſion, 'that of *Arngrimus* can't be blam'd; for 'tis not pro'bable that the Goſpel, which has been for ſo many 'Ages planted in that Iſland, could leave a People in 'ſo great a Brutality; nor, in Caſe Religion had 'made ſo little Progreſs among the Iſlanders, that the 'King of *Denmark* would ſuffer them to inſult the 'Laws of publick *Decorum* with Impunity. The 'Cuſtom of their Feaſtings does not ſeem to be fair'ly related; Matters are amplified to make the Reader 'laugh. Was ſuch a piece of Service, or ſo extra'vagant a Lazineſs ever heard of? Thoſe People not 'only will not riſe from Table to make Water, but 'will not ſo much as move their Hands. For this 'the Story leads us to; elſe why is it ſaid the young 'Women *ſlip under the Treſtles*. The Chamber-Pot 'might eaſily be given to the Gueſts without that, if 'all the Buſineſs was to ſave them the Trouble of ri'ſing. If what *Blefkenius* tells us were true, Jea'louſie (*a*) would not be an uſeleſs thing in the World.

(*A*) *Died at* Lombez.] As we learn from *la Croix du Maine*. He adds, that *Lombez* is 7 Leagues from *Toulouſe*, and becauſe 'tis not on the ſide of *Languedoc*, but on the ſide of *Guienne*, 'tis plain *Sainte Marthe* (*b*) is miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Joubert* died as he returned from *Toulouſe* to *Montpellier*. The Town of *Lombez* is at a great diſtance from that Road. *Moreri* is ſtill more to blame than *Sainte Marthe*, as thus: He ſays, as he had read it in *la Croix du Maine*, that this Phyſician died at *Lombez*, and he adds to it what he had read in *Sainte Marthe*, that *Joubert* died as he *returned from* Toulouſe *to* Montpellier. The joyning of theſe two Things proves him guilty of a Geographical Ignorance, which cannot be charged upon *Sainte Marthe*, who ſaid nothing of *Lombez*. A Man runs the hazard of committing Errors, when he mixes the Extracts of different Writers, without correcting their Inconſiſtencies. I don't mention the Chronological Blunder that is found in *Moreri*; 'tis plainly either a Fault of Impreſſion, or a want of Attention. You'll find in *Moreri*, that *Joubert* was born in 1624; that he made himſelf famous in the XVIth. Century; that he died in 1682, and that *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, and *la Croix du Maine*, ſpeak of him (*c*) in ſome Works they publiſhed in the Year 1584, which have never been reprinted.

(*B*) *He publiſhed a vaſt Number of Books.*] His *Latin* Treatiſes are Two Volumes *in Folio*, in the *Francfort* Editions of 1582, 1599, 1645. One of the moſt conſiderable, is a Collection of Paradoxes, againſt which many (*d*) Phyſicians have written. He did not fail to reply to them. I obſerve, that his Treatiſe of the *Paroreas* was written in *French*, though when he publiſh'd it, he put it in the Title, that *John Paul Zangmaiſtre*, a Gentleman, born at *Augsburg*, who was *Laurence Joubert's* Scholar, had tranſlated it into *French*, from *the ſaid* Joubert's Latin (*e*).

(*C*) *Becauſe he ſpoke with too much Plainneſs upon many nice Matters.*] Perhaps the Queſtions about Virginity, and Generation, were never handled in *French* in ſo Natural Terms. He was ſo well pleaſed with the Subject, that he produced three Atteſtations made by ſworn Matrons, who had been ordered by the Judges to ſee whether ſome Maids that complain'd of having been raviſhed, complained wrongfully. The Firſt of theſe Atteſtations was made in *Bearn*; the Second at *Paris*, and the Third at *Carcaſſonne*. The Firſt declares the complaining Damſel to be a Virgin, the other two, that ſhe was deflowred. *Joubert* curiouſly compares together the Terms the Matrons made uſe of. A Book was printed in *Holland* in 1686, intituled (*f*) *The Picture of Love conſider'd in the State of Marriage*. The Author calls himſelf *Salocini*, a *Venetian* Phyſician; but 'tis known that his Name is *Nicolas Venette*, and that he is a Phyſician of *Rochelle* (*g*). He produces the like Atteſtations, and *Furetiere* took from him what he ſaid upon the Word *Pucelage*. To return to *Joubert*, He was tax'd with inventing theſe Atteſtations: (*b*) 'He well confutes this, 'in an Epiſtle to his *Friends*, naming him that Sup'plied him with thoſe of *Paris* and *Bearn*. As for 'that of *Carcaſſone*, I know that he had it from 'one that was principal Secretary to Marechal 'Dampville, who often recited it for Pleaſure. 'Mr. *Joubert* has much ado to underſtand the Terms 'theſe Midwives uſe, in order to apply them to the 'different Parts of the Member which diſtinguiſh'es the Sex. For he does not find there ſo many 'Parts as the Matrons do. In the publick Anato'mies we ſhew Sixteen or Seventeen of them; 'which I ſhall name in their natural Order, *&c.* *La Croix du Maine* obſerves, 'that ſome ſay, that '*Joubert* ſpoke too freely, and alledged ſome Paſſa'ges too obſcene in ſome of his Works, particular'ly in his learned Books of Popular Errors; but if 'he has uſed, *ſays he*, ſome Terms too tickliſh for 'nice Ears, he was forc'd to do it, if he meant 'to be underſtood, and make his Books profitable to 'his Reader. *Scævola de Sainte Marthe* has reaſon to ſay, that this did the Author an Injury (*a*). *Joubert* himſelf was aware of it; for he laid that Work aſide, and as to what was already publiſhed, he endeavoured to anſwer ſome Complaints. He was blam'd for dedicating his Book 'to the Queen 'of *Navarre*, a moſt virtuous (*b*) Princeſs, the 'true Mirrour and Pattern of Honour, ſince ſhe was 'to treat at the beginning of his Book of obſcene 'Matters, writing of Conception, Generation, the 'Bellies, and Child-bearing (*c*). He anſwered 'that Complaint in the ſecond Edition; for beſides 'the Excuſes which he and *Lewis Bertrand* alledged '(*d*), he changed the Dedication, and preſented 'the whole Proceſs to Mr. *de Fibrac*, Chancellor of 'the ſaid Lady, to pick out ſuch Things as her 'Majeſty might know, and judge of without any 'Scruple; the ſaid Mr. *de Fibrac* reſerving the reſt 'to himſelf, as being more ſuitable to his Condi'on. There was another Complaint made againſt

'him.

Wife of *Henry* IV. But all this Buſtle was ſo far from hindring the Sale of the Book, that it very much contributed to make it (*D*) ſell the better.

This Work was to contain (*E*) Six Parts, each of 'em divided into Five Books; but he publiſhed only the firſt, and part of the ſecond. I'll mention a particular, which ſhews (*F*) that *Joubert* was a modeſt Man, and that he very well knew the Bounds of humane Knowledge.

JOVIUS (*Paul*) born at *Como* in *Italy*, in 1483, got a great Reputation by his Writings, and the Biſhoprick * of *Nocera*: but he was looked upon as a Mercenary Writer; ſo that no great Credit is given to his (*A*) Hiſtories. 'Tis ſaid, that he was not

* *Pope* Clement VII. *gave it him.*

him. 'All this, *ſaid ſome* (*e*), would have been 'better in *Latin* than in *French*; ſuch Diſcourſes 'not ſounding ſo ill in a dead, as in a vulgar 'Tongue: Beſides Women and Maids who are moſt 'aſhamed of it, would have known nothing of it. *Cabrol* anſwers what follows. (*f*) the Sieur *Joubert* has ſufficiently anſwered this in his Epiſtle to *his Friends*, 'wherein he ſhews, that the chaſteſt Wo-'men in the World, may read it, and will learn 'nothing but virtuous Things from it, and their 'conjugal Duty; and their Husbands too. As for 'Maids, they cannot underſtand what is ſaid in it 'concerning the Works of the Fleſh, if they be 'Maids in Body and Soul, as one may ſay. But to 'ſatisfie every Body he has ſince left out whatever 'might give Offence to the moſt ſcrupulous Conſci-'ences; as knowing, we are not only to abſtain 'from Evil, but alſo from the Appearance of it. All theſe Reaſons are not good; and ſome of 'em are very pitiful.

(*e*) *Idem ibid.*

(*f*) *Id. ib.*

(*D*) *To make it ſell the better.*] The Tract of vulgar Errors (*g*), 'has been printed in four ſeveral 'Places in half a Year, namely, at *Bourdeaux*, *Paris*, '*Lyons*, and *Avignon*; and the leaſt Impreſſion in 'every place was 1600 Copies. This Book has been 'ſo much cried up, that being at firſt but Ten or 'Twelve Pence Price, it was afterwards ſold for a 'Crown, and even for four Livres; juſt as in times 'of Scarcity (a ſort of Famine) the Price of Corn 'riſes every Day. Nay, the Bookſellers and Prin-'ters are importuned for the reſt of the Work: 'And the Author is daily deſired to publiſh the reſt 'of it; at leaſt Five Books at a time, (if he will 'not do it all at once) according to the Diviſion he 'made of it. But he is ſo diſguſted, and full of Re-'ſentment upon the aforeſaid Complaints, being a 'Man of great Spirit, and extreamly jealous of his 'Honour, that he has often thought, as I know 'very well, to burn all that he has done of it. 'What a Loſs it would be!

(*g*) *Id. ib.*

(*E*) *This Work was to contain Six Parts.*] When he publiſhed the firſt, he added a Table, containing the Diviſion of the whole Work, and the Titles of the Chapters in every Book. But becauſe it was not he, that put the Second Part into the Preſs, it has not been anſwerable to the Plan he publiſhed. It is not divided into Five Books, and the Twenty Five Chapters it contains, don't correſpond with thoſe of the Model, either as to the Number or the Subject; you may ſee the reaſon of it in theſe Words of *Cabrol*. (*b*) He cannot be prevailed upon to 'condeſcend to the Publiſhing of the other Parts; 'which he keeps ſo cloſe, that there is no ſeeing or 'reading of them. Now, ſeeing his Reſolution (not to ſay Obſtinacy) I went about to print ſome 'Chapters, which I formerly had of him, having 'done me that Favour to explain to me ſome Pro-'poſitions, which I deſired to underſtand. They 'are not many; but moſt of the Chapters are very 'long, and contain many Heads, ſo that ſhould we 'divide 'em into Particulars, they would ſcarce be 'leſs than Thirty. Mr. *Joubert* made the firſt 'Draught of them, long before he publiſhed the 'firſt part of his Vulgar Errors: they are certain 'Subjects, which have ſince been diſpoſed by their 'Author in the Diviſion of the whole Work, both 'general and particular, to ſerve, one for the Se-'venth Book, another for the Eleventh, Seven-'teenth, Twentieth, Twenty Third, Twenty 'Fifth, Twenty Sixth, and ſo on to the Thirtieth. 'I have taken no other Care about their Order, 'ſince we can have nothing elſe at preſent from the 'Author. The ſame *Cabrol* ſays, (*i*) that whilſt he cauſed this to be printed, *as it were by Stealth*, he was ſurprized at the Printer's by Mr. *Joubert*, *who took my Enterprize*, adds he, *very heinouſly*. 'Ne-'vertheleſs, when he underſtood, that I deſigned to 'preſent you with it, he——permitted——the Book 'ſeller to go on, giving him beſides two fine Diſ-'courſes tranſlated from his *Latin* Paradoxes, by *Ju-'ac Joubert* his eldeſt Son. Note, that *Gaſpar Ba-chot*, Counſellor and Phyſician to the King, publiſh-ed in 1626, a Book (*k*) which he had written long before, to finiſh *Lawrence Joubert*'s Deſign as to the third Part of his Vulgar Errors. He kept to the Chapters of the Books, according to the order he found them in, in the Table added to the firſt Part; but (*l*) *he made the Conſtruction after his own way, without ſwearing in verba Magiſtri.* This Book of *Gaſpar Bachot* is intituled, *Errores Populares touchant la Medecine. Et regime de Santé.* This Author is not to be found in *Lindenius Renovatus*.

(*b*) *Id. ib. fol.* † † 3.

(*i*) *In the Epiſtle Dedicatory to M. de Villeroy.*

(*k*) *At* Lyons, *for* Bartholomew Vincent, *in* 8vo.

(*l*) See Bachot's Preface.

(*F*) *A Particular which ſhews, that* Joubert *was a modeſt Man.*] *Gaſpar Bachot*, whom I mentioned in the foregoing Remark (*m*), was made Doctor of Phyſick in 1592. He gloried to have maintained his *Theſis* againſt all Opponents, and he looked upon his *Doctorſhip* as *the Trophy of his Victory*. (*n*) *But as ſoon as I read your Anſwer* (he writes this to M. *de Lorme*, Phyſician in ordinary to *Lewis* XIII. and firſt Phyſician to the Queen Mother) *in which you acquainted me, that the late M.* Joubert *your Collegue and Friend, uſed to ſay of himſelf* ter Doctor nunquam futurus doctus; *who being learned, and having obtained that Laurel in three different Univerſities, whilſt he was admired by every Body, could not ſatisfie himſelf. I began from that time to have ſuch a Diſtruſt of my ſelf, that I thought all my former Labour uſeleſs, without hoping to grow learned, ſince ſo great a Perſon, like another* Socrates, *confeſſed his Inſufficiency, or the fear of his being able to arrive to the end of his Wiſhes.* Note, that he ſays, that *M.* Joubert *had learned his Profeſſion in* Montbriſon (*o*), *and in the adjacent Country, and lived there* when his Decads were dedicated to Papon, *a Renowned Civilian, the Glory of that Town* (*p*).

(*m*) *See his Letter to M. de* Lorme, *prefixed to the Book concerning Vulgar Errors.*

(*n*) *Ib.*

(*o*) *A Town in the Country called Forez.*

(*p*) *That is, of* Montbriſon.

(*A*) *No great credit is given to his Hiſtories.*] *James Goborri* made no ſcruple to ſay, that the Adventures of *Amadis* ſeemed as true as the Hiſtories of *Paul Jovius*. (*q*) *Illud certe ad ſempiternam memoriam teſtatum reliquit Gorreus Pariſienſis, qui quas finxit* (*r*) *Amadiſi fabulas non minus veras ac probabiles quam Jovii ſcripta fore confidit.* Thuanus has not made uſe of that Hyperbole, but he ſays enough to let us know the Eſteem that Writer was in. (*s*) *Cum alioqui homo gratioſus ſe paſſim obnoxium prodat; eoque nomine ipſi in pleriſque rebus fides derogetur, quod adgratiam & in odium ſcripſiſſe, & venalem calamum habuiſſe fere omnibus perſuaſum ſit.* To which you may add the Paſſage of *Voſſius*, who witneſſes that *Paul Jovius* had in ſome manner ſet up a Bank: he promiſed an antient Genealogy, and an immortal Glory, to all the Scoundrels that paid him well for his Pains, and he run down all others who would not pay him for his Lyes (*a*) *Quam fluxa etiam fides patrum apud Paullus Jovius? quem conſtat in aula Henrici ſecundi quibuſque terræ filius bene de ſe merentibus generis claritatem ac perpetuum nomen pollicitum: contaque maledice eos traduxiſſe qui venali charo merces non gerarent.* We ſhall ſee in the following Remark, from whence this is taken. He had offered his Pen to Don *John* III. King of *Portugal*; and becauſe his Offers were not accepted, he paſſed over in Silence a Victory of the *Portugueſe*. Had he had a good Salary for Writing the Hiſtory of *Portugal*, he would have forged imaginary Victories, ſo far would he have been from ſuppreſſing the true one. He has been therefore pitifully carried down. The Hiſtory of *Emanuel*'s Life has a fling at him. (*b*) *Victoria fuit præclara, quam tamen Paulus Jovius cum de Sabaudi clade ita, in Indum contra Lusitanos acerbe invaſit, hiantis ſapiſſet, virtus videtur, quæ caret, hiantis ſapiſſet, virtus videtur, quæ caret,*

(*q*) *Rodinus, in methodo hiſtoriar. c. 4. p. m. 71.*

(*r*) *Voſſius does not expreſs himſelf well. Gohorri was only the Tranſlator of Amadis.*

(*s*) *Thuan. lib. 11. ſub fin. pag. m. 235.*

(*a*) *Voſſius de arte hiſtor. c. 1. pag. 42.*

(*b*) *Osorius in vita Em. Regis Lusitaniæ, lib. 5. f. m. 179.*

not much ashamed (B) to own it, and that he ingenuously confest, that he praised or blam'd People according as his Favour was cultivated or neglected. No Man did ever ask for Presents (C) with less reserve than he. You'll find in *Moreri*, what *Thuanus* relates concerning this Author's Spite against (D) *Annas de Montmorency*. *Brantome* speaks of it more at large. 'Tis said, that *Paul Jovius* complain'd of, having lost some Books of his History in the sacking of *Rome*, only because some Reasons of Interest did

(c) *Bodin ubi supra, pag.* 73.

(d) Cum rumoribus fidem habuerit, nec consilia principum nec conciones, nec epistolas, nec res gestas, nec ulla publica monumenta viderit: sic tamen scribit quasi rebus interfuisset, nec ullum dubitationi locum reliquit. Quæ igitur verissime scribere potuit, nolut; puta res in Italia gestas: quæ voluit, non potuit; scilicet externa. *Id. ibid.*

(e) *See the Epistle Dedicatory of his History.*

(f) *Bodin. ibid.*

(g) *Stefano Guazzo della civil conversatione, lib.* 2. *p. m.* 242.

(h) *Tassius, add. to the elog. tom.* 1. *pag.* 97.

(i) *Cardinus in apologia Neronis.*

(k) *Paulus Jovius.*

(l) *Joseph. Scaliger, epist. de vetustate gentis Scaligeræ, p.* 3. *Possins* without doubt took from thence what he says above Letter a.

Lusitana historia scribenda munus Joanni, hujus nominis tertio, Lusitaniæ regi venale proponeret, rex optimus non illum muneribus Insitis ad res Lusitanorum virtute gestas monumentis illustrandas invitavit. He has had the Fate of all Liars; he is hardly believed when he speaks Truth. The worst of all is, that his Lyes have been more profitable to him, than the Love of Truth has been to sincere Historians. This Complaint of *Bodin* is very well grounded. (c) *Non quod multa non sint verè & eleganter ab eo scripta: sed hunc mendacii fructum tulit, ut etiam cum vera scribit, suspectus habeatur. Hoc tamen acerbius est ac indignius, quod cum historiam venalem prostituisset, uberiores tulit mendacii fructus, quàm quis alius vera scribendo.* This Man was not in a Capacity to write a good History, for when he could say the Truth, he had no mind to it, and when he had a mind to it, he could not; he had no good Memoirs, except for the Transactions in *Italy*. This is what *Bodin* says (d), because *Paul Jovius* had not travell'd, nor been present at the Events, but had attended the Court of the Popes for Thirty Seven Years. This to me seems no Impediment to his collecting good Memoirs about other Countries. Besides *Paul Jovius* boasts of the Sieges and Battles he has seen (e), *&c.* See in the Remark *F*, another Passage of *Bodin*, and the Judgment of *Justus Lipsius* upon our Author, whom he taxes with an extream Partiality.

(B) *He was not much ashamed to own it.*] *Bodin* affirms, that *Paul Jovius* being asked, why he told so many Lyes, and suppressed true Events? answered, that he did it in favour of his Friends; that he knew well enough, that the present Age would give no Credit to his Histories, but that Posterity would not doubt of what he said. (f) *Cum autem rogaretur cur simularet falsa, vera dissimularet, amicorum gratia id à se factum respondit; ac tametsi superstites intelligeret suis scriptis fidem derogaturos, attamen intelligebat infinita posteritati credibilia fore quæ sibi suisque populanibus laudem essent allatura.* Some will have it, that he made Answer: 'A 'Hundred Years hence there will remain no Proof 'to convict me of Falshood: and therefore what 'I shall be read in my History, will be necessarily 'looked upon as Truth. (g) *Anzi mi vien detto, che essendo biasimato il Giovio della infedeltà della sua historia, egli la confessò, soggiungendo però, che si riconfortava, sapendo, che dopo lo spatio di cento anni, non vi sarà più alcuna memoria in contrario; onde vennno i posteri necessariamente à dare indubitata fede à suoi scritti.* Some say he bragged that (h) he had a Pen of Gold, and another of Iron, one for the Princes, who were bountiful to him, and the other against those Princes from whom he received nothing. 'Tis said also, that he confest, that the reason why he suppress the Three Books, where he spoke of *Antony de Leva*, was because that famous General made him no present, and that he resolved an ungrateful Man should have no Place in his Work. (i) *Quis nescit quanta fuerit virtus Antonii Levæ Hispani ducis ut solus dici, aut cum paucis Imperator appellari nostri temporis possit: tamen nequissimus* (k) *historicus, seu potius fabulator, quod pecunias non dedisset, maluit totam corrumpere historiam, tresque libros qui illi debebantur intermittere, ne (ut ajebat) ingratum inferret historiæ.* 'Tis said, that at the Court of *Henry* II. he promised a noble Genealogy to any one that would pay him for it, and threatned to slander all those that should cross him in his Design of getting Money (l). *Paulus Jovius, me puero, in aula Henrici secundi obscurissimo cuique claritatem generis mercede pollicitus, maledicentia ulturus qui ejus nundinationi adversaretur.* For my part, I can scarce believe, that he confest the things I have been relating. I find he boldly declares, that he printed his Book in the Life-time (m) of the Persons concerned, because he does not fear to be convicted of any Falshood, which he could not avoid, if he was not a Faithful Historian.

(C) *No Man did ever ask for Presents with less reserve than he.*] (n), 'His begging Trade put me 'in mind of that of *Paul Jovius*, who craved still 'more openly and more scandalously than he. 'I have read some Letters of his, which are admirable in that kind. In some of which he protests, that if the Cardinal *de Lorraine* did not pay him his Pension, he will say that he is no longer of the Race of *Godfrey*, (who gave the Archbishoprick of *Tyre* to a Pedant. In others, he begs two 'Horses of the Marquis of *Pescara*, and desires him 'for that effect to strike the Ground more stoutly 'than *Neptune* did. In others, he desires a Lady 'to send him some Sweet-meats from *Naples*, because he begins to be weary of eating new Eggs '(o), *&c.*

(D) *Against* Annas de Montmorenci. Brantome *speaks of it.*] Tho' *Brantome's* Passage be somewhat long, I will not omit it (p), I have heard a 'great Man say, that he had seen in the first *Latin* 'Impression of *Paul Jovius* (I know not how true 'it is) a little Touch, wherein 'tis said, that at the 'very same time the grand Signor Sultan *Soliman*, put to Death his great Favourite *Ibrahim Bassa*; 'the King of *France* put out of his Favour his 'great Favourite, the Constable *de Montmorenci*: but why, says he, did not he put him to 'Death; as the other did *Ibrahim*, or *Hibraim Bassa*? It was not, said he, but that he had as well 'deserved it: (And hereupon he specified some Impertinencies, that are not proper to be mention'd, 'and which are false) but because this great King 'was good and merciful, and the other was a real 'Tyrant. I don't know whether that *Latin* Edition, has this; but this Gentleman affirmed it to 'me. This is not in the *French* Version, and no 'credit is to be given to it; for the said *Paul Jovius* spoke it, if he did speak it, as a passionate 'Man, and dissatisfied with the said Constable, who, 'when he was recalled by King *Henry*, and went 'about to regulate the King's Houshold, as it was 'his Office, found amongst the Pensioners of 'the late King, a constant Pension of five Hundred 'Crowns, given to the said *Paul Jovius*, which he 'immediately struck out, giving the King to understand, that it was Money ill employed, he being 'more in the Emperor's Interests than in the *French*, 'and a great Lyar. The said *Paul* understanding 'that his Pension was cut off, fell a babling against 'the Constable, and railling bitterly against him. 'This it is to have to do with a virulent Tongue 'and Pen, which when provoked, spare nothing. 'Some say that the Constable, in the time of his 'Disgrace, had read this, which this Spark had 'writen rather to please the King, than for any 'reason, as generally such Writers are Flatterers, 'and Time-servers for their Belly's sake; and that 'therefore, when the Constable was recall'd, he 'paid him off, and had done worse, if he could 'have done it; for it is a great Trouble for a valiant and noble Man, like him, to be thus abused and 'exposed by a Writer, without any Reason. Some say, that *Jovius*'s Spite proceeded only from his not obtaining some things which he confidently asked of the Constable. (a) *Quod quidem expertus est Annas Mommorantius Comes Stabuli Francis traductus à venali historico, non aliam ob rem quam quod nescio quid impudenter petens, repulsam tulisset.* I shall observe by the bye, that *Francis* I. had the reason to repent the Pension he gave *Paul Jovius*; for he appeared in the Writings of his Pensioner, more like a Conqueror than a conquered Prince. 'Tis said that *Charles* V. (b) made that Complaint.

inseruisset Historiæ. *Cardanus in Apologia Neronis.*

(m) Absoluto tandem opere id in publicum edere non dubitem, magno hercle incorruptæ veritatis argumento: quandoquidem plerique eorum, qui hæc bella pacesque gesserunt, adhuc vivant, ac idcirco gravi existimationis meæ cum periculo mentientem refellere possint. *Jovius præfat. Historiæ ad Cosmum Medicem.*

(n) *That is of a Man, whom* Balzac *calls* John James. *He means the same Person, who made M.* Peiresc's *Funeral Oration at* Rome.

(o) Balzac *Letter* 9. *to* Chapelain *B.* 3. *pag. m.* 114.

(p) Brantome, éloge de François I. *in the* 1st. *tome of his* Memoirs, *pag.* 228.

(a) *Joseph Scaliger. ubi supra.*

(b) Cum aliquando Cæsar noster legeret victoriam quam de Gallis habuerat, dixit, profecto non meam, sed Gallorum Regis victoriam hic scripsit, indicans, ex pecuniis acceptis à Rege quanta mendacia

(E) *He*

did not suffer him to publish them. He was not accounted (E) a Man of good Morals, and a careful Reader of his Breviary. His Style (F) was bright, but not Historical or correct enough. His Insincerity is not the only Fault * he is censured for in his Histories, which of all his Works (G) is that he has taken most Pains in. It cannot be denied that this Author was a Man of Parts, and that we find in his Books many curious Things. He * died the Eleventh of *December* 1552, at *Florence*. He retired into that City very much discontented with the Court of *Rome*, because he could not

* See the Remark E.

(c) *Id. ib.*
(d) *That is, more admirable than the Historians whom* Cardan *had before named, and raved with several Vices.*
(e) *These Words are thus printed in my Edition: I think the Word* Inter *has been left out.*
(f) *In Musæo historico, p. 7.*
(g) *Scaligerana prima, pag. m. 93.*
(h) *Rolandus Marefius Epist. 41. l. 1. p. m. 184.*
(i) *Lipsius not. ad 1. lib. Politic. c. 9. p. m. 218.*
(k) *La Popliniere* hist. des histoires, *B. 7. p. 403. without mentioning* Lipsius, *has only Translated this, giving his Judgment about* Paul Jovius: *Nay, he did not understand these Words* Laudationum nec causſam sæpe habet, nec modum: *for he renders 'em thus, he observes neither the causes nor the means in his Praises.*
(l) *Bodin. ubi supra p. 72.*
(m) *Alciatus, epistola ad Paulum Jovium in limine Historiarum Jovii.*

(E) *He was not accounted a Man of good Morals.*] *Cardan* taxes him with Lewdness. (c) *Hic noster historicus*, says he, *admirandus profecto magis* (d) *alius qui tametsi senex, parum abfuit, quin* (e) *perverit. Sed & id detestabilius, quod cum esset etiam Antistes, gaudebat numeri* (e) *procos adolescentulos.* *Cardan*'s Marginal Note has something very strange in it, which is, that *Paul Jovius* was an Hermaphrodite. *Imperialis* (f) owns that this Author was accused of leading a licentious Life, and of being very negligent in his Prayers, and repeating his Breviary.

(F) *His Style was bright, but not Historical or correct enough.*] *Scaliger* speaks thus of it. (g) *Paulus Jovius mendaciſſimus & Guicciardino inferior, nimis affectato & luxuriante stylo, potius quam castigato utens.* *Roland Marefius* speaks of it with the utmost Contempt, and even says it is full of Barbarisms. *Quantum sentio*, says he (h), *non bonus est historiæ scriptor* (Paulus Jovius) *nec judicio satis valet: qui si vernaculè scripsisset, nullo in numero haberetur. Latinus enim sermo quasi fucus quidam labes illius multas contegit: qui primâ specie elegans videtur; nam belle sonat, & quibusdam imponit, mihi non item. Vix enim Latinus est, certè minime purus, totusque idiotismis scatet; nihil fere proprie effert, sed plerumque circumloquitur, nec pene ulla vox est sine epitheto.* They are two very competent Judges, and therefore 'tis somewhat strange that *Lipsius* should speak so much in praise of *Jovius*'s Style. Must we not conclude from it, that the taste of the best Criticks is not uniform upon a Subject, about which there ought to be no different Opinions? Those who know the Rules of Eloquence, and of the Art of History, ought to agree either in praising or condemning the Style of a Writer. But let us see what Character *Lipsius* gives of him (i). *Paulus Jovius multorum judicia magis acerba quam libera experitur. Acriter valde in virum eunt. Ego de eo sic censeo, stilo bonum gravemque esse & plane ad historiam: judicio ac fide ambiguum. Ubi affectus non distrahunt, rectum, ubi illi adsunt, obnoxium. ad gratiam scilicet se dat & auram. Laudationum nec causſam sæpe habet, nec modum. Gentis suæ, Vastio, Medicæis nimis ex professo addictus. His quidem ita ut Laurentium Medicen parricidii rerum velut apud judices agat. Orationibus quoque aut frigidus interdum, aut ineptus. Lauandus tamen legendusque ob multiplicem & variam rerum seriem, quas redegit composite & dilucide in unum historiæ corpus* (k.) *Lipsius*'s Observation concerning the cold and impertinent Harangues that *Paul Jovius* has inserted in his History, puts me in mind of *Bodin*, who laughs at him for making Soldiers speak like Rhetoricians: (l) *Præsertim in concionibus, epistolis, foederibus, decretis quæ Jovius pro arbitratu fingit, in quo tamen decorum ita confudit, ut imperiti milites ipsius Alciati sui laudatoris judicio, declamatores scholastici esse videantur.* I am perſuaded that my Readers will be pleased to see here *Alciatus*'s own Words, which *Bodin* goes upon. (m) *Id à te præcipue desiderabam, ut ad illud quod Græci πρέπον vocant, non absurdè responderes. Sicuti in ea oratione animadvertebam, quæ à Marconio gregario milite, ad legiones jam planè consternatas & ad seditionem spectantes habebantur, quum Solymano Pannoniæ finibus excedente, Carolus Cæsar Vienna profectus in Italiam rediret. In ea siquidem concione omnes artis nervos numerosque ita expressisti, ut ille Marconius nequaquam ab aratro Volaterrani agri ad signa vocatus, sed ex schola Ciceronis & Hermogenis ad suggestum raptus esse videatur, quum passim exacta eloquentiæ schemata interniteant, quæ perorandi turbam parere cogerent.*

Note, that these Words of *Lipsius*, *Laurentium Medicen parricidii rerum velut apud judices agat*, have been thus translated by Mr. *Teissier*, (n) *He vindicates* Laurence de Medicis *from the Crime of Parricide, as if he was pleading for him before his Judges. Paul Jovius* doth just the contrary; he pleads like the Advocate of this *Lawrence*'s Accuſer would do (o). Doubtless M. *Teissier* thought, that the great *Lawrence de Medicis* is here meant, who was the Patron of the Learned in the XVth. Century; but this concerns another *Lawrence*, who assassinated *Alexander de Medicis* in the Year 1537.

(G) *Which of all his Works is that he has taken most Pains in.*] 'Tis the first he composed, and the last he published. He formed the Design of it in the Year 1515, and continued the Execution of it all his Life. He took for his Subject all that happen'd in his own time all over the World, beginning at the Year 1494, which was that in which the *French* conquered *Naples* under *Charles* VIII. This History contains 45 Books, and reaches to the Year 1544. But there's a considerable Gap from the 19th. Book to the 24th. inclusively (p). Those Six Books, which reached from the Death of *Leo* X to the sacking of *Rome* in 1527, contain but a short Summary of the Events. He lost (q) in the sacking of *Rome*, what he had composed upon that part of his History, and he would neither do it again, nor finish what was wanting, being dissuaded from it by two Reasons; one was, that he would have incurred the terrible Anger of some People; the other was, that he would not exercise his Pen upon a Subject that was ignominious to *Italy*. (r) *Peritos medicos imitatus, carcinomata desperata curationis, quæ si attrectes, & acri medicamine lacessas, in immensum furere, & pestifera edacique serpigine mortem afferre solent, naturæ relinquenda, neque his ullo pacto manum admovendam judicavi. Quamobrem existimationi salutique meæ consulens, diræ tempestatis materiam, tanquam abominabilis impiique operis, minimè attingendam arbitratus sum, quando hæc adversæ fortunæ accepta vulnera, insaniaque nostra detrimenta, non modo non prodenda posteris, sed pro viribus occultanda esse videantur: hæ siquidem, quæ Italicum nomen dedecorent, neque memoria recoli sine dolore, neque sine uberrimis lachrymis scribi, nec sine flagitio pudoreque posteris enarrari queunt.* We have seen above, that this Gap (s) has been much reflected upon to his Dishonour. 'Tis a remarkable thing, that tho' he had alledged these two Reasons as a very good Apology, yet in the following Page he promised to publish in a little Time, that part which was wanting to his History, (t) *Quod si mihi quanquam pedibus capto, atque graviter senescenti, Deus magnus fatalis horæ spatium extendat, perpetuæ procul dubio lucubrationi eximat, ut totum id quod in clade urbis ereptum, vel à me postea contumaci quadam indignatione prætermissum fuit, non diu à bonis mortalibus desideretur.* Besides, he tells us, that he has filled up that Gap, by the particular Lives he has published. The Preface, out of which I have taken this, was written at *Pisa* the first of *May*, 1552. 'Tis the Epistle Dedicatory of the Second Volume of his History. The Author died in *December* following, and had not the Satisfaction of seeing the third and last Volume out of the Press. He had his Work printed at *Florence*. He who says that it was the first Work that *Paul Jovius* composed, is wretchedly confounded in his Calculations. He says, that the Author began to write it in the Year 1515, when he was about Thirty Years of Age, and that he died being near Seventy five Years old, and that during the Thirty seven Years, that he spent upon it, his Fortune was very much unsettled. (v) *Cum enim anno à nato* CHRISTO *qui numerabatur M. D. XV. ætatis' autem suæ circa trigesimum, ea quæ post annum M. CD. XC. IV. per totum orbem terrarum gesta essent, atque se vivo gererentur, animo complectus fuisset, illud Historiæ opus,*

(n) *Teissier, Eloges tirés de Thuanus, tom. 1. p. 165.*
(o) *See the 38. Book of* Paul Jovius's *History.*
(p) *Not. that there is also a Gap from the 4th. Book to the 10th. inclusive. See his Advertisement at the end of the 4th. Book.*
(q) Fatali illa sub Clemente VII. urbis æternæ clade non multi libri in schedis tantum descripti illi deperiere, haud sine suo dolore maximo. *Basilius Johannes Heroldus Epist. dedicatoria Operum Jovii.*
(r) *Jovius præfat. 2. tomi Historiarum.*
(s) *In the Remark B.*
(t) *Jovius ibid. sub finem.*
(v) *Basil. Joh. Herboldus ubi supra.*

not obtain (H) the Bishoprick of *Como*. He had a Brother called *Benedictus* (I) *Jovius*, who wrote some Books. There was one *Paulus* JOVIUS, who in the Council of *Trent*, gave his Opnion in a curious manner upon the Question (K) concerning Residence.

opus, omnium suorum primum exorsus fuit, licet omnium postremum illud ediderit, eique quinque fermè annis septuagenario major immortuus est. Triginta itaque illis ac septem annis quibus historiam concinnavit, varia & ipse fortuna (uti fieri solet) jactatus JOVIUS. We may reckon here three Faults. 1. A Man that is employed in a thing from his Thirtieth to his Seventy fourth Year, labours Forty four, and not Thirty seven Years. 2. *Paul Jovius* dying in the Year 1552, lived not above Seventy four Years, if it be true that in 1515, he was not above Thirty: He would have lived but Sixty seven Years, or thereabouts. 3. *Paul Jovius*'s Epitaph (a) gives him Sixty nine Years, seven Months, and Twenty two Days; 'tis not therefore true that he lived near Seventy five Years, and 'tis speaking unexactly to say, that he was about Thirty Years of Age in 1515.

I shall occasionally observe, that the Book *De Piscibus Romanis*, is the first (b) that *Jovius* published. He dedicated it to Cardinal *Lewis de Bourbon*. The Epistle Dedicatory is dated from the Vatican, the 20th. of *March*, 1524. He then proposed to himself, a thing which he did not execute, which was speedily to put into the Press the first Decad of his History. (c) *Exhibit in publicum propediem hujusmodi laboriosissimi operis prima decas, non sine aliqua spe immortalitis.*

Alcyonius praises it in a Book which was printed in 1522; but this ought not to serve for a Proof of its being printed; he might mention it, as having read it in Manuscript. These are his Words. (a) *Quam etiam scribendi laudem, felicissime consequutus est Paulus Jovius tuus, in ea decade, quæ res omnes complexus est, quæ toto terrarum orbe gestæ sunt, postquam Carolus VIII. Rex Galliæ cum Maximis Copiis transgressus Alpeis tranquillum Italiæ Statum perturbavit, & prima funestissimorum in Italia Bellorum jecit semina. Historia enim hujus Clarissimi Scriptoris, omnes Elegantiæ flores, omnia Eloquentiæ lumina habet, & mira Orationis Claritate splendescit (usque eo omnia ornate narrantur) & regiones aut pugnæ admirabiliter describuntur, & conciones hortationesque prudenter & gravissime interponuntur. Denique illius auctor, varietate, evagationibus amplificationibus, digressionibus non minus præstantis Historici quam eximii Oratoris laude, ab omnibus decorari debet.*

(H) *Because he could not obtain the Bishoprick of* Como.] This appears from a Letter (d) which *Andrew Alciatus* writ to him. 'Tis dated from *Pavia*, the 7th. of *October*, 1549, and is an Answer to a Letter, which *Paul Jovius* wrote to him to acquaint him with his Discontent, and design of leaving *Rome*, and betaking himself to *Florence*. *Scribis te gravi injuria permotum, Urbe (quod nunquam fieri posse putaram) propediem excessurum, ne diutius acceptæ contumeliæ deformis testis in ea aula spectaris, in qua per multos annos (uti mihi videtur) cum aurea mediocritatis bonis plane beatus, tum studiorum tuorum Authoritate clarus hactenus fuisti. Mirum profectò videri potest, quid tibi doctrinæ ac ætatis honore majora promerito, in petitione Pontificatus patriæ tuæ Paulus Pontifex quendam prætulerit. At quem hominem? qui Comi neque natus, neque uniquam visus sit, & qui (sicut à multis audio) ex arcanis cubiculi sordibus in lucem repente sit productus.* This is well enough; he speaks very freely of the Holy Father, and uses him little better in what follows. *Quis in hoc Pontificem [illegible] non judicet: non enim hostis bonarum literarum & plane ferreus esse non potest qui te gravissimarum rerum scriptorem intempestive contempserit——Dices te indigne deceptum ab inveterati æstus sene principe, qui blandis promissis vota tua honestè concepta iniquè fefellerit.* I fancy *Thuanus* has committed a Mistake; he pretends that it was *Clement* VII. who refus'd *Paul Jovius* the Bishoprick of *Como*, and that his refusal drew upon him some hard Words in the Books of that Historian. (e) *Cum ad Novocomensem Episcopatum omnibus votis anniteretur, suaque erga Medicæam familiam, in cujus laudes profusus fuerat, observantia deberi id meritorum fiducia putaret, tamen ab eo obtinere non potuit: quod in causa fuisse plerique credunt, cur Clementem in Historiis avaritiæ & tenacitatis insimulet.*

(I) *Called* Benedictus JOVIUS, *who wrote some Books.*] He was *Paul*'s Elder Brother, and proved a kind of a Father to him; 'twas he that educated him, and instructed him, and encouraged him to be an Author; for having shewn him two of his Works, viz. the History of *Como*, and a Treatise of the Actions and Manners of the *Swiss*, he kindled in him the desire of Writing a General History. He led a very quiet and retired Life, in the place of his Birth, which he never left but to go to *Milan* to hear the Lectures of a *Greek* Professor. He had learn'd that Language of himself; but he desired to learn to pronounce it, which was the occasion of his only Journey. He lived Seventy three Years in perfect Health and Vigour of Body and Mind. He designed a Century of Letters full of Learning, for the Publick; and his Sons were to have (f) the care of publishing them, with some other Compositures which he left 'em, some Translations from the *Greek*, and some Pieces of Poetry. Their Uncle expected this from their Diligence (g), but I think there was nothing of this Author printed besides some *Latin* Poems. We are not to believe that *Paul* JOVIUS, *junior*, whereof many *Latin* Verses are to be seen in the Elogies which our *Paul Jovius* composed, was *Benedict*, *Jovius*'s Son. He was Nephew to *Julius* JOVIUS, who was made Coadjutor to his Uncle (h) in the Bishoprick of *Nocera*, the 21st. of *August*, 1551, and was Bishop of that place after him. *Paulus Jovius junior*, a good Poet, was made Coadjutor to his Uncle, *Julius Jovius*, in the same Bishoprick, the 29th. of *November*, 1560, and was his Successor there. He kept that See Twenty five Years, and died in the Year (i) 1585. I have said elsewhere (k), that *Paul Jovius* was no Poet.

(K) *Gave his Opinion in a curious manner upon the Question concerning Residence.*] One of my Friends, who heard me say all that I remembred of our *Paul Jovius*, represented to me, that I had forgot a notable Circumstance. He was, *said he*, one of the Fathers of the Council of *Trent*; and having no Skill in Divinity (for he had been a Physician before he was made a Bishop, and never interrupted his Study of humane Learning.) I believe he did not distinguish himself in that Assembly, when he was to give his Opinion upon any Point of Doctrine. He had a great Interest, not to suffer that the Residence of Bishops should be declared to be of Divine Right. This Assertion so warmly maintain'd by some of the Deputies, did not please him. He opposed it with Reasons taken from Experience; he shewed, that the Dioceses, in which Residence was observed, were no less (l) disorderly than others; and he instanced upon the City of *Rome*. This Friend shewed me immediately the 470th. Page of Father *Paul*, where I find what follows. 'If the Absence of the Prelates was the true cause 'of Abuses, we should see less Corruption in the 'Churches, where the Bishops have resided in our 'time. For this Hundred Years the Popes have 'continually kept at *Rome*, and taken great care to 'have the People instructed; and yet after all, we 'don't see that City better governed. The Capital 'Cities of Kingdoms, where the Bishops have al'ways resided, are more corrupted than some 'wretched Places that have not seen their Bishops 'for a Hundred Years. And none of the ancient 'Prelates, that are present here, and have always 'resided (for there are some such) can shew us, 'that his Dioceses is better ordered, than those of 'his Neighbours, who never resided. They who 'say that those Churches are Sheep without a Shep'herd, ought to consider that Curates have the 'Charge of Souls as well as Bishops; and yet these 'are only spoken of, as if there could be no true 'Christians, but where there are Bishops. Some 'People in the Mountains, who never saw one in 'their Lives, might serve for a Pattern to Episco'pal Cities. We ought to praise and imitate the Zeal 'and Conduct of the Fathers of this Country under 'Paul, who have decreed some Penalties against the 'Prelates, to oblige 'em to Residence, and have be-

haps their Absence was less scandalous than their would have been.

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(a) *Apud Paulum Freherum theatr. p. 1454. & apud Pope Blount cens. Author. p. 449. where instead of 22. Days there is 12. Days.* Thuanus *says 22.*

(b) Herbold ubi supra, *who tells us in what order the several Books of that Author were Publish'd.*

(c) *Jovius Epist. dedic. libri de piscibus.*

(a) *Petrum Alcyonius in Medice Legato posteriore, p. 103. Edit. Genev. 1624.*

(d) *It is prefixed to* Paul Jovius's *History.*

(e) *Thuan. l. xi. p. 335.*

(f) *See hanc & Græcæ traductionis non ignobilia opera cum lepidis poematibus eruditorum liberorum diligentia publicabit. P. Jovius elog. c. 106.*

(g) *Taken from* Paul Jovius, *c. 106. of his Elogies of Learned Men.*

(h) *That is, to our* Paul Jovius.

(i) *Taken from* Ughelli, Ital. Sacra, tom. 7. p. 746.

(k) *In the Article of* Hadrian, VI. *Remark* C.

(l) *Compare with this what* Brantome *says in a Passage, which I have quoted in the Remark L. of the Article* Francis I. *to which you may add these Words of* Mezeray's *Chronological Abridgment, pag. 434. of the 4th. Volume.* They were ordered by a Decree of Parliament to go and discharge their Duty in their Bishopricks; otherwise they should be compelled to it by a Seizure of their Goods and Equipage. But most of 'em lived such disorderly Lives, that per- Residence

I must not forget that our *Paul Jovius* has been blamed for giving too much Credit (*L*) to Astrological Predictions, and such like Superstitions. His Elogies of illustrious Men have been thought † too sharp and too biting; but sometimes they are too flattering. See the Censure that a * Learned Critick past upon him in his Dialogue *De bene instituendis Græca Linguæ Studiis*. *George Sabinus* complains, that *Jovius* in his Histories is injurious to the Protestants of *Germany*, and particularly to *Sigismund* II. Elector of *Brandenburg*. Consult the Letter ‡ that *George Sabinus* wrote to *John Sleidan* the 1st. of *September*, 1556.

JOVIAN, Emperor of *Rome*, came to this Dignity by the Choice of the Army in the Year 363, after the Death of *Julian* the Apostate. He was more considered ‡ for the Merit of Count *Varronian* his Father, than for his own; for he was as yet very young, and served (*A*) still in the Companies of the Life-Guards. Most things relating to him, being in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, I shall only mention two things, which are not there. The first is, that *Jovian* concluded a Peace so shameful (*B*), and disadvantageous

(m) *He pretends that if Residance was declared to be of Divine Right, the Bishops would forsake their Duty to the Popes, and the Priests their Duty to the Bishops.*

(n) *Fra-Paolo hist. du Concile de Trente l. 6. p. 470. ad ann. 1562. of Amelot's Translation. See p. 499. of the Italian Edition in 4to.*

(o) *Tis Paulus Jovius Junior: I spoke of him above, towards the end of the Remark I.*

(a) *Mart. del Rio, disquis. Magic. l. 4. c. 3. quæst. 5. p. m. 278.*

(b) *Id. del Rio ib. c. 2. quæst. 7. sect. 1. p. 237.*

(c) *See M. Drelincourt's Treatise, and the extract of it in the* Nouvelles de la Republ. des lettres, *for* July *1685. art. 11. pag. 815.*

(d) *Florimond de Remond, Histoire de l'heresie Book 1. c. 4. p. m. 24.*

† *Balzac dissertat. à Dom André de Saint Denis at the end of his* Socrate Chretien *p. m. 174.*

* *Henry Stephens. Vide Crenium animadv. part. 5. p. 163.*

‡ *'Tis the last of those, that have been Printed with* George Sabinus's Poems *p. 419. & seq. Edit. Lipsi. 1606. See also Crenii animadv. part. 6. p. 209.*

‡ *Suidas in voce.* See also Eutropius's Words in the Remark A.

(e) *Eutrop. lib. 10. p. m. 123.*

(f) *Amm. Marcellin. l. 25. c. 5. p. m. 430.*

(g) *Hieron. in Chron. uses these Words.*

(h) *Vide Valesium in Amm. Marcell. lib. 14. cap. 10.*

(i) *Socrat. Hist. l. 3. c. 22.*

(k) *Theodor. hist. lib. 4. cap. 1.*

(l) *Vide Valesium in Amm. Marcell. l. 25. c. 9. p. 439.*

(m) *Amm. Marcell. ib. cap. 7.*

(n) *Id. ib. p. 434.*

'gun to remove the Impediments, which kept them 'from their Churches. Rather than flatter our 'selves with a vain Hope, that Residence will pro'duce the Reformation of the Church, we ought 'to fear, that as we design at present to command 'Residence, the (*m*) Inconveniencies which will 'arise from it, may oblige our Successors to apply 'to them the Remedy of Absence (*n*). I easily undeceived my Friend, by telling him, that the Writer of the History of that Council speaks of one *Paul Jovius* (*o*), Bishop of *Nocera*, in the Year 1562, Ten Years after the Death of *Paul Jovius*, who is the Subject of this Article.

(*L*) *For giving too much Credit to Astrological Predictions, and such like Superstitions.*] *Martin del Rio* having mention'd some things, which seem to prove, that Chiromancy and Astrology can reveal Futurities, adds: (*a*) *Unus ista omnia narrat Jovius*, (*b*) *nec usquequaque indubitatæ fidei historicus, nec satis à superstitiosis & gentilium ne dicam opinionibus, saltem locutionibus, alienus.* He had before blam'd him for having some respect for a Remark of *Amniomancy*. This is the Name they give to the Art of Divining by the Inspection of the Membrane *Amnios*, wherewith a Child is wrapp'd up in his Mother's Belly. (*b*) *Sed & Jovius ne quid superstitionis omitteret, nimis hujusmodi vanitatibus pro Episcopo deditus, in Ferdinandi Davali nativitate* (lib. 1. Piscarii) *hujusmodi pelle involutum ex utero prodiisse consideravit.* This Membrane commonly breaks when the Child is born, but sometimes it is preserved whole, and this is taken for a Sign of good Fortune: (*c*) whence comes the Proverb, *il est né coiffé*, (*he is wrapp'd up in his Mother's Smock*). *Paul Jovius* curiously observed this Circumstance in the Nativity of the Noble Marquis of *Pescara*; and we have just now seen how he was Censur'd for it by *Martin del Rio*. I add another Proof of his fondness for Astrology. Having said that there happen'd Revolutions of Religion all the World over towards the beginning of the XVIth. Century, he ascribes it to the influence of the Stars. I will tell this Story in the Words of *Florimond de Remond*, because they will acquaint us with a little trick of a Translator. '(*d*) Almost at the same 'time, says *Jovius*, that *Ismael* Possess'd the Em'pire of the *Persians*, and chang'd the Religion, 'mixing it with a new Mahometan Superstition, 'there arose in *Germany* under the Conduct of *Lu'ther*, that Monstrous Heresy, which went about 'to destroy the Catholick Religion, as the People 'had done in *Persia*, bigotted with their new Follies 'and Superstitions. Whereupon, says he, I freely 'Acknowledge that it came to pass by a Secret 'Power of Heaven, and a Malignant Influence of 'the Stars, that at the same time, all the Religions 'in the Universe began to change; since not only 'the Mahometans, but also the Christians, nay 'the Idolatrous Nations that are Remotest from us, 'both in the *East-Indies*, and in the New World 'lately discover'd in the *West*, fell into New Reli'gions and Opinions. This is what the Latin '*Jovius* says. But in the *French* Translation the 'sincerity of the Translator is Remarkable; who 'passes over in silence all that *Jovius* says of this 'Change of Religions, and of that Monstrous *Lu'theran* Heresy that sprung up in *Saxony*: This 'went to the Heart of him. With what faithful'ness do they handle the Holy and sacred Books, 'who can thus lame, without any Shame, the His'torians that are but just come into the World, 'only to suppress one Word which touches *Luther* 'the Father of all the Heresies that disturb Chri'stendom. *Florimond de Remond* cites the 13th. Book of *Paul Jovius*'s History, where I find in *fol.* 239th. *verso* of the *Strasburg* Edition 1556. that which follows: *Nec multo post exarsit in Germania author Luthero dira hæresis, qua populis, ut in Perfide acciderat, ad insaniam versis, Christiani dogmatis placita, & veteres sacrorum ritus vehementissimè conturbavit. Ita ut facilè crediderim ab occulta cœli potestate, malignoque syderum concursu provenisse ut religiones toto terrarum orbe enatis factionibus, uno tempore scinderentur, quando non Mahometani modo Christianique, sed & remotissimæ gentes idololatræ, aut sydera aut portenta pro Diis venerantes, cum in India quæ ad Orientem vergit, tum in Novo orbe ad Occiduam plagam reperto, novas sacrorum opiniones induerint.* I know no other *French* Translator of *Paul Jovius*'s General History besides *Denys Sauvage*. Was he a Protestant? And is it he that was Guilty of the Fraud which *Florimond de Remond* objected to the Reform'd?

(*A*) *And serv'd still in the Companies of the Life-Guards.*] In saying this, I principally regard these Words of *Eutropius*: (*e*) *Post hunc* (Julianum) *Jovianus, qui tunc* DOMESTICUS MILITABAT, *ad obtinendum imperium consensu cunctorum electus est, commendatione patris quàm sua militibus notior.* But it must be observed that the Expressions of this Author, are not precise enough, and that they ought to be rectified by those of another Historian, which more Expressly shew the Degree to which *Jovian* arriv'd. (*f*) *Jovianus eligitur Imperator, Domesticorum ordinis primus paternis meritis mediocriter commendabilis.* As Military Imployments have not at present the same Order, or the same Disposition, as in that Age, it would be difficult to find a Word that signifies exactly what is meant by *domesticorum ordinis primus*, or (*g*) *primicerius domesticorum*; but we may very well presume that those Words don't signify, that *Jovian* was the Chief, or Captain of the Guards call'd *Domestici*, for the true name of their Captain was *Comes Domesticorum* (*h*). 'Tis said in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, that *Jovian* was *Captain of the Prætorian Guards*, when he refus'd to Abjure Christianity under *Julian* the Apostate. This is taken from *Socrates* the Historian, who (*i*) making use of the Word χιλιαρχος, does not Authorize *Moreri*'s Phrase. Observe that *Theodoret* affirms that *Jovian* (*k*) had no Imployment in the Army when he was made Emperor. *Ammianus Marcellinus* who says the contrary, is more credible, for he was upon the Spot.

(*B*) *Jovian Concluded a Peace so Shameful and Disadvantageous* ——— *that he Expos'd himself* ——— *to the Scorn.*] He gave up to the *Persians* five Provinces, with some Places that were a strong Rampart to the *Roman* Empire. Amongst others, the Important Town of *Nisibis*, (*l*) and that of *Singara*; and he difficultly obtain'd Liberty for the Inhabitants to retire into the *Roman* Territories (*m*). He oblig'd himself not to give any Assistance to the King of *Armenia*, who had constantly been a good and faithful Friend of the Emperors. This was, say the Historians, a sort of Impiety, and the ruin of this faithful Friend, and the Soul of *Armenia*. (*n*) *Quibus exitiale simul accessit & impium, ne post hæc ita compositis, Arsaci posceuti contra Persas ferretur auxilium, amico nobis semper & fido* ——— *Unde posteà contigit, ut vivus cæsereturidem Arsaces, & Armenia maximum latus Medii conterminans, &*

vantageous to the Roman Empire, that he expoſed himſelf to the Murmurs of the Publick.

& Artaxatâ inter diſſenſiones & turbamenta rapserent Parthi. Nothing can be more moving than the Deſcription of the Condition the Inhabitants of *Niſibis* (o) found themſelves in, when they ſaw they were forc'd to remove to another Place. Their Intreaties to *Jovian* not to force them to leave their Country, were enough to break his Heart; and yet he had no regard to them, Alledging the engagement of his Word, and the fear of Perjury: But 'twas believed he did not aſſign the true Subject of his Fear. (p) *Et hæc quidem ſuppliciter ordo & populus precabatur: ſed verbis loquabantur ineaſſum, Imperatore, ut fingebat alia metuens, perjurii piacula declinante.* 'Twas thought he only obſerv'd his Word, becauſe he fear'd that if he ſtaid in this Country, and ſhould have any new Quarrels with the *Perſians*, he ſhould have a Competitor for the Empire. There was Reaſon perhaps for ſaying this; but at the bottom the *Roman* Hiſtorians are much to blame for complaining of his punctual Execution of the Peace. Here is a Paſſage of *Eutropius*, who Cenſures him for it, and makes his great Fault to conſiſt in that: For otherwiſe he owns that *Jovian* was oblig'd by a ſort of neceſſity, to conſent to thoſe Ignominious Conditions, which were never before impos'd on the Roman People. (q) *Jam turbatis rebus, exercitu, quoque inopia laborante vino à Perſis atque altero prælio victus* (Jovianus) *pacem cum Sapore neceſſariam quidem, ſed ignobilem fecit, multatus finibus, ac nonnulla imperii Romani parte tradita: quod ante eum annis mille centum & duobus-de-viginti fere, ex quo Romanum imperium conditum erat, nunquam accidit. Quinetiam legiones noſtræ ita & apud Caudium per Pontium Teleſinum, ita & in Hiſpania apud Numantiam, & in Numidia ſub jugum miſſæ ſunt, ut nihil tamen finium traderetur. Ea pacis conditio non penitus reprehendenda foret, ſi fœderis neceſſitatem, cum integrum fuit, mutare voluiſſet: ſicut à Romanis omnibus bis bellis, quæ commemoravi, factum eſt. Nam & Samnitibus, & Numantinis, & Numidis confeſtim bella illata ſunt: neque pax rata fuit.* You ſee that he is Cenſur'd for not having imitated the Antient *Romans*, who without any delay Attack'd the Nations, which had obliged 'em to accept of a ſhameful Capitulation, but had never made 'em loſe an Inch of Ground. And ſince he was Cenſured, tho' he Reigned but ſeven or eighth Months, for not repairing the Diſgrace and Loſs this Peace brought along with it, 'tis plain they would have had him break theſe Articles a few Days after they were Concluded, and aſſoon as his Army was ſupplied with Proviſions, and in a Place of ſafety: But were not theſe Politicks manifeſtly unjuſt? Suppoſe that after a very Prejudicial Peace which neceſſity has extorted, it may be Lawful to ſeek an Occaſion of Relief; muſt one not let ſome time paſs, and wait for Pretences and Conjectures which time never fails to ſupply? You ſee that even according to the Corrupt Maxims of Politicks, *Jovian* would have been guilty of a horrible Treachery, if he had done what the Hiſtorians blame him for having omitted it. The three Examples Alledged by *Eutropius* are not like this. The Senate and the People might Lawfully break the Agreement of their Generals; but *Jovian* who Concluded the Peace, knew no Superiour, he was ſole Maſter. Note that what went moſt to the Heart of the true *Romans* was the yielding of a Country which did belong to the Empire; for they pretended, that the like had never been ſeen before; and it was ſo little conſiſtent with their Maxims to ſuffer their States to leſſen, that they allowed the honour of a Triumph only to thoſe who extended their Frontiers: It was refuſed to ſome Generals who had done great Actions, but without any other Fruit, than recovering what had been loſt before. Read the Deſcription of this *Roman* Grandeur in theſe Words of *Marcellinus*. (a) *Illud tamen ad medullas uſque bonorum pervenit: quod dum antimeſcit æmulum poteſtatis, dimque in animo per Gallias & Illyricum verſat, quoſdam ſæpe ſublimiora cupiſſe, famam adventus ſui prævenire feſtinans, indignum imperio facinus amisit perjurii fugiendi cautiſſ, Niſibi proditæ: quæ jam inde à Mithridatici regni temporibus, ne Oriens à Perſis occuparetur, viribus exhibitis maximis. Nunquam enim ab Urbis ortu inveniri poteſt annalibus replicatis, ut arbitror, terrarum pars illa noſtrarum ab Imperatore vel Conſule hoſti conceſſa: ſed nec ob recepta quidem quæ direpta ſunt, verum ob amplificata regna triumphalis gloria fuiſſe delata. Unde P. Scipioni ob recuperatas Hiſpanias, Fulvio Capuâ poſt diuturna certamina ſuperatâ, & Opimio poſt diverſos exitus prœliorum, Fregellanis nunc internecivis hoſtibus ad deditionem compulſis, triumphi ſunt denegati. Id etiam memoria nos veteres docent, in extremis caſibus ita cum dedecore fœdera, poſquam partes verbis juravere conceptis, repetitione bellorum illico diſſolutâ: ut temporibus priſcis apud Furcas Caudinas ſub jugum legionibus miſſis in Samnio, & per Albinum in Numidia ſcelerè pace cogitata, & auctore turpiter pactionis feſtinato Mancino dedito Numantinis.* Obſerve that the Remark *B* muſt be conſidered as a Conſequence of this; for I there examine whether *Eutropius* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* had reaſon to Affirm what they ſay.

(o) *See Marcellin. ib. cap. 9.*

(p) *Id. ib. See alſo the Alexandrian Chroniele.*

(q) *Eutropius ubi ſupra.*

(a) *Amm. Marcellin. l. 25. c. 9. p. 439, 440.*

If we Reflect never ſo little upon the Temper of Nations, and eſpecially on the condition that Chriſtians and Heathens were then in, we ſhall eaſily believe that the Emperor *Jovian* became Odious and Contemptible, and the Subject of many Satyrs. The People fear and hate War; they love and deſire Peace, and with good Reaſon; for they ſuffer the greateſt Inconveniencies of the War: nevertheleſs they are Afflicted at a Treaty of Peace, that Diſgraces the Nation, and deprives it of a Frontier, that was a ſafe Barrier to it, and made it Formidable to its Neighbours. Victories and Conquests Rejoyce the meaneſt Peaſants, and make 'em more Patiently bear the burden of the War. Taxes and Impoſts are more eaſily forgotten when the War is attended with good Succeſs, and with an Advantageous Peace. Every one has a ſhare in the Glory of the Nation; but the thought that the Enemies will grow Haughty, Contemptuous, and Inſulting upon their Terminating the War by a Peace wholly to their Mind, overwhelms them with Grief and Indignation. Muſt ſo many Charges and Expences, ſay they, go for nothing? *&c.* See above (b) the Murmurs of the *French* againſt the Peace of *Cateau*. Never were People in a better Capacity to ſhew the like Indignation than under the Empire of *Jovian*: There was great Emulation betwixt the Chriſtians and the Heathens. The latter had juſt loſt an Emperor whom they lov'd, and from whom they expected mighty things; they Flattered themſelves with the hopes, that his Expedition againſt the *Perſians* would be Advantageous and Glorious; and they ſaw that Death having deprived him of theſe fine Triumphs, he was ſucceeded by a Chriſtian Prince, under whom things were reduced to a miſerable Condition. To Murmur againſt ſuch a Prince, to Cenſure and Satyrize him, was to Gratify many Paſſions at once; 'twas heightning *Julian's* Glory, and making the Chriſtians Aſhamed; 'twas Sacrificing to the Idol of Politick Vanity, and to their Zeal for Religion. They failed not to Act according to theſe ſeveral Principles: They (c) made Verſes and Parodies to abuſe *Jovian*. The Libellers of *Antioch* Diſtinguiſhed themſelves; they diſperſed their Libels againſt him in the Streets, and Poſted up others; they turned him into Ridicule, by applying to him ſome Places of the *Iliads*, and amongſt others that of the third Book (d), where *Paris* is ſo roughly Treated by his Brother *Hector*; and that of the ſecond Book, (e) where *Ulyſſes* threatens *Therſites* to ſtrip him Naked, and to ſend him ſhamefully Packing.

HOW People are commonly Affected, with reſpect to War and the Miſeries of Peace.

(b) *In the Remarks C, G, H, of the Article* Henry II. *See alſo the Remark O. of the Article* Henry VI.

(c) *Suidas in* Ἰωβιανός.

(d) *Verſus 39.*

(e) *Verſus 261.*

Εἰ (f) μὲν γὰρ σε λαθὼν, ἀπὸ μὲν φίλα εἵματα δύσω
Χλαῖνάν τε, τὴ χρῶτα, τὰ τ' αἰδῶ ἀμφικαλύπτει,
Αὐτὸν δὲ κλαίοντα ἔσω ἐλάσω ἐυσέλμοιο.

Nîſi ego te captum, & caris veſtibus exuam,
Lanaque & tunica & veſtibus quæ pudenda circumtegunt,
Ipſum vero te plorantem celeriter ad Perſas remittam.

(f) *Id. ib.*

And (g) a Woman (h), who ſaw him well made and handſome, and heard that he had no Genius and no Senſe, cried out, (i) His Folly is as great as his Stature. *Suidas*, who tells us all theſe things, had ſaid

(g) *Id. ib.*

(h) Ὅτι μὲν αὐτὸς καλὸς καὶ εὐειδὴς ἦν ἐν τῷ σώματι. Quantæ longitudo & profunditas eſt hujus corporis, tantæ etiam eſt ejus ſtultitia. *Id ibid.*

lick. The ſecond is, that he did not approve the uſing of Violence (C) for the Extirpation of Sects. Some Authors ſay, that before him the *Romans* never gave up any part (D) of the Empire by a Treaty of Peace. Others maintain, that they who talk at this rate are miſtaken. I'll examine this in a Remark, and will alſo produce what the

ſaid before, that this Emperor knew nothing; that he had no Education, and that he loſt by his Lazy Negligence what Nature had given him. Ἀμαθέστερον δὲ ὄν, ἢ ἀγροικότερον ἀποφήναι, ἢ ἐν ἄλλῳ φύσει διὰ μαθημάτων ἀμοῦσος ἢ ἀσκήτου. *Sed incultus & doctrinæ prorſus expers, quam ne guſtarat quidem. Quinetiam quod habebat ingenium, id per ignaviam obſcurabat, & delebat* (i). *Eutropius* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſpeak not after this Rate. (k) *Vir aliàs neque iners neque imprudens*, ſays one. We ſhall ſee the Words of the other at the beginning of the Remark E.

(i) *Id. ib.*

(k) *Eutrop. lib. 10. ſub fin.*

(C) *He did not approve the uſing of Violence for the Extirpation of Sects.*] The Philoſopher *Themiſtius* gives him an Elogy which does not agree with the Accounts we find in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. He praiſes him for permitting all Men to ſerve God in their way, and fixing by that means the inconſtancy of thoſe Flatterers, who had changed their Religion, juſt as the Imperial Purple had changed Hands whom (l) he compares to *Euripus*. (m) Θαυμάζειν βασιλέα, ὅτι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐξῆν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν, ὅπερ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω τῶν πολλῶν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκκόψαι, ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπίσω δὲ πάλιν ἐμβιάσασθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνεπιτήδευτος μηδὲν τοιοῦτον αὐτὸς ἐφεύρηται, μήτε μὴν ἑτέροις ἐπιτρέψας τοῦτο ποιεῖν, μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν ἐθελῆσαι. *Imperatorem magnis effert laudibus, ob id quod conceſſa cuique libera facultate colendi numinis prout vellet, adulatorum mores compreſſerit. Quos quidem facete perſtringens, ait experimento cognitum eſſe, illos non Deum ſed purpuram colere: planeque ſimiles eſſe Euripo, qui modo in hanc, modo in illam partem fertur.* Themiſtius ſpoke in this manner in his Oration upon *Jovian's* Conſulſhip. Which ſignifies, that the Emperor did not forbid the Heathens to Worſhip their Gods in their old way; and yet we learn from *Socrates* the Hiſtorian, (n) that all the Temples of the Heathens were ſhut up, and that theſe Idolaters concealed themſelves, ſome in one Place and ſome in another; that the Philoſophers left off their Habit, and that the Sacrifices, which had been ſo frequent in *Julian's* time, were at an end. It muſt be ſaid then, that *Themiſtius* uſed an Hyperbole, that was only grounded upon *Jovian's* Moderation to Hereticks, and which perhaps was a ſly Exhortation to tolerate all Religions in the ſame manner. That which is certain, is, that this Prince ſeeing himſelf Courted by all the Chriſtian Sects, every one deſiring to gain him; declared (o) for the Orthodox Party, as to the Conſubſtantiality of the Word; but he did not give way (p) to the Requeſt of Expelling from their Churches ſuch as were of another Opinion; and he Anſwered that he hated Diſputes, and that he loved and eſteemed the Lovers of Peace and Unity. He deſign'd by his Gentleneſs and Mildneſs to extinguiſh all the Schiſms of the Church; for which Reaſon he gave out, that he would Perſecute no Body, and that he would Love and Honour eſpecially ſuch, as expreſs'd the greateſt Zeal for the Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace. (q) Ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς ἐπιτρέπει μὲν ἅπασι, κελεύει δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνεπιφθόνως τὰ πάτρια νέμεσθαι· ἐπιτρέπει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐκκλησίας ἰέναι, φίλειν μέντοι καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι τοὺς ὁμοδόξους μᾶλλον ἐκείνων ἐπιτάττει. *Cæterum Imperator id ſibi propoſuerat, ut diſſidentium jurgia blanditiis & leni verborum perſuaſione extingueret: ajebatque ſe nemini omnino qualiſcunque fidei eſſet, moleſtiam exhibiturum: eos tamen præ cæteris amaturum atque in pretio habiturum, qui reparanda in Eccleſia pacis auctores ac duces ſe præberent.* I muſt obſerve that he made a ſevere Law (r) againſt thoſe who ſhould endeavour to Marry the Nuns, or behave themſelves immodeſtly to them; for he Ordered them to be Puniſhed with Death. He was induced to this ſeverity that he might ſuppreſs the Audacious'neſs that was uſed in *Julian's* Reign, in Marrying the Nuns, and Imploying ſometimes Force, and ſometimes Perſuaſions (s) to Corrupt them.

(l) See the Penſées diverſes ſur les Comètes p. 246.

(m) *Socrates Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 25. p. m. 205.*

(n) *Id. ib. c. 24.*

(o) *Id. ib. & c. 22.*

(p) *Id. ib. cap. 25.*

(q) *Id. ib. p. 204. 205.*

(r) *Sozomen. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. l. 6. c. 3.*

(s) *Id. ib.*

(D) *That before him the* Romans *never gave up any part of the Empire by a Treaty of Peace.*] The Paſſages of *Eutropius* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* before (d) alledged, are a manifeſt Proof that this was the common Diſcourſe. *Caſaubon* (e) pretends that they who ſpoke thus, ſpoke an Untruth: He

(d) *In the Remark B.*

(e) *Caſaubon. not. ad Spartian. vit. Adriani c. 5. p. m. 47.*

grounds himſelf upon the Emperor *Hadrian's* abandoning three Provinces, and *Diocletian's* ſtreightening the bounds of the Empire. *Diocletianus* ——— *auguſti præceptum, Hadrianique exemplum ſecutus, imperii fines à meridie ſupra Ægyptum arctavit: auctor Procopius in Perſicis. Idem Imperator reliquit & Daciam à Trajano conſtitutam, ſublato exercitu & provincialibus*; deſperans eam poſſe retineri, *Vapiſcus ait.* But *Valeſius* (g) ſhews a great difference betwixt what theſe Emperors and *Jovian* did. The latter gave up ſome Provinces by a Treaty of Peace, and as it were by way of Ranſom; the others Voluntarily abandoned a Country, the keeping of which was too chargeable. This was to follow the Maxims of Prudence, and not like *Jovian* to ſubmit to the Laws of the Conqueror. And therefore there was no Reaſon for Cenſuring *Marcellinus's* Words, as *Caſaubon*, *Lindenbrog* (h), and (i) *Coqueus* have done; and 'tis certain that *Jovian* introduced a Novelty. 'Tis generally agreed (k) that it was Scandalous: the Chriſtians and Heathens did not Diſpute on that Point; but only differ'd with Relation to this Emperor's Juſtification. The Chriſtians endeavoured to clear him, and the Heathens to condemn him. We have ſeen (l) above that a Heathen Hiſtorian Cenſures him, not for conſenting to the Treaty of Peace, but for obſerving the Conditions of it. This is an unjuſt, and abominable Cenſure. If neceſſity obliged him to make a Peace, as this Author and all others Acknowledge, he ought to be excuſed; for neceſſity has no Law.

Neceſſitas (m), cujus curſus tranſverſi impetum
Volvunt multi effugere, pauci potuerunt.

And when once he is juſtified upon this Point, the reſt goes off of it ſelf. The exact Obſervation of a Treaty of Peace ſolemnly Sworn, deſerves not to be Condemned. *Ammianus Marcellinus* is a more dangerous Cenſurer than *Eutropius*; he was an Eye-Witneſs, and relates things in ſuch a manner, as to give to underſtand (n) that *Jovian* unneceſſarily Ingaged himſelf in that neceſſity, and that the Confuſion the *Perſians* had reduced him to, was not ſo great, but that it had been better to have tried the Fortune of the War, than to accept theſe Ignominious Conditions. He accuſes him of down-right Cowardiſe, and of lending an Ear to the Flatterers who Diſcouraged him. (o) *Et cùm pugnam deciès exoptaret, ne bonum quidquam dederetur: adulatorum globus inſtabat timido Principi, Procopii metuendum ſuſpirans nomen, eumque affirmans, niſi rediret, cognito Juliani interitu, cum intacto milite quem regebat, novas res nullo renitente facilè moliturum. Hac perniciosa verborum ille aſſiduitate humia ſuccenſus, ſine cunctatione tradidit omnia quæ petebantur.* Agathias (p) charges him plainly with the ſame weakneſs. The Chriſtians, to excuſe *Jovian*, carefully obſerved, that *Julian* the Apoſtate was the principal Cauſe of all this Misfortune, ſince his Raſhneſs was ſo great, as to Burn all the Veſſels, that ſhould have ſerved to Tranſport the Proviſions; for hence proceeded that horrible ſcarcity, which obliged *Jovian* to a ſhameful Capitulation. (q) *Cujus vanis deditus oraculis erat*, (Julianus) *quando ſpretus ſecuritate victoriæ naves quibus victus neceſſarius portabatur, incendit. Deinde ferendæ inſtans immodicis auſibus & mox merito temeritatis exceſſu, in locis hoſtilibus egenum reliquit exercitum, ut aliter inde non poſſet evadi, niſi contra illud auſi eum Dei Termini, de quo ſuperiore libro diximus, Romani imperii termini moverentur. Ceſſit enim Terminus deus neceſſitati, qui non cederat Jovi* (r). You ſee in theſe Words of St. *Auſtin* all the Fault laid upon *Julian*, and moreover a Jeſt upon the Heathen Religion, in that the Immoveability of the God *Terminus* (ſ) had proved falſe upon that Occaſion. The *Pagans* might have ſaid, that it was no wonder that this Deity had not Acted in favour of *Jovian*, as being a Rebel againſt the Gods of *Rome*; but that Subterfuge might eaſily have been refuted: for it would ſtill be true, that it was a Fallacious Pro-

(g) *Valeſ. in Amm. Marcell. l. 25. c. 9. p. m. 430. 440.*

(h) *Lindenbr. in Amm. Marcell. ibid.*

(i) *Leonardus Coqueus in Auguſt. de civit Dei l. 4. c. 29.*

(k) *Poſt... pudendæ pacis ita fœdera. Amm. Marcell. l. 27. c. 12. See alſo Zoſimus l. 4. Socrates l. 3. c. 22. Zonaras, &c.*

(l) *In the Remark B. Letter g.*

(m) *Labeonius apud Macrobium Saturn. l. 2. c. 7.*

(n) *Amm. Marcell. l. 25. c. 7. p. 433.*

(o) *Id. ib. p. 434.*

(p) *Agathias l. 4.*

(q) *See the 2. Oration of Gregory Nazianzen againſt Julian the Apoſtate. See alſo Socrates l. 3. c. 22. p. 190.*

(r) *Auguſt. de civitate Dei, l. 5. c. 21. p. m. 554. See alſo l. 4. c. 29.*

(ſ) *See Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus l. 3. c. 92.*

the Fathers of the Church have ſaid † concerning the Peace of *Jovian*. I add, that he was a very tall Man, (E) Zealous for Orthodoxy, but very much Addicted to Wine and Women. Thoſe are rather to be believed, who ſay he wanted neither Activity nor Prudence and Knowledge, than ſuch as make him Effeminate, * very Ignorant, and Stupid; for he ſhewed his Vigilance § in preventing the Tumults and Competitions, which he feared the News of his Election might raiſe in the Weſtern Provinces of the Empire. The Meaſures he took for it were well Concerted, tho' he could not hinder the true News of the ill condition of the *Eaſt* from coming before (F) the falſe News he ordered to be ſpread every where, to Conceal the Advantages obtained by the *Perſians*. His Father who ‖ had left the Service in order to live quietly in his Houſe, had not time to riſe to the Dignity which was deſigned for him; he Died before *Jovian* ¶ had Executed his Reſolution of making him his Colleague

† *See the Remark D.*

* *See the Remark B. towards the end.*

§ *See Ammianus Marcellin. l. 25. c. 5.*

‖ *Amm. Marcell. l. 25. c. 5.*

¶ *See Valeſius in Marcell. l. 25. c. ult.*

(c) *Eutropius ubi ſupra. See alſo Ammianus Marcellinus ubi ſupra p. 443.*

(d) *Alii odore cubiculi, quod ex recenti tectorio calcis, grave quieſcentibus erat: quidam nimierate primarum, quas gravi frigore adoleri mulcas juſſerat. Id. Eutrop. ib. See alſo Amm. Marcellin. ibid.*

(e) *See Valeſius in Amm. Marcell. ib.*

(f) *Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. c. 6.*

(g) *Suidas ubi ſupra.*

(h) *When he ſet Fire to the City of Perſepolis. See Quintus Curtius l. 5. c. 7.*

(i) *See the Remark B. of the Diſſertation concerning Libels at the end of this Dictionary.*

(k) *Amm. Marcell. ubi ſupra c. & p. 436.*

(l) *Ib. id, p. 437.*

(m) *Fama malum qua non aliud velocius ullum Mobilitate viget, viresque adquirit eundo. Virgil. Æn. l. 4. v. 174.*

ſiſſe, which the *Romans* pretended the God *Terminus* had made, that the Boundaries of the Empire ſhould never be leſſened. Now this is what St. *Auſtin* deſign'd to prove againſt the Heathens.

Note by the bye, how prudent the Conduct of the Antient *Romans* was: They deſign'd to make Conqueſts; and there is nothing more neceſſary for ſuch a Deſign, than not to reſtore by the Concluſion of a Peace, what was got in time of War: for in vain you take Towns and Provinces, you will never be the greater for it, if you are obliged to reſtore them by a Peace. The *Romans*, to ſucceed in the Project of forming a vaſt Empire, Spurred their Generals by Motives of Glory, and Scruples of Religion, to gain new Countries, and not to loſe the Conqueſts they had once made. They never granted a Triumph (*t*) to ſuch as did no more than Recover what the Enemy had taken, and they gave out, that it was Violating the Religion of the God *Terminus*, and his Sacred Auſpices (*v*) to yield up the Frontiers of their Territories. The *Turks* Propoſing to make vaſt Conqueſts, and to lay the Foundation of a great Empire, have more particularly brought in Religion into that deſign; for they ſaid that it did not permit 'em to Reſtore a Town, wherein there was a Moſque, to its firſt Poſſeſſors. For which Reaſon they made great haſte to Build a Moſque in their new Conqueſts. This was to ingage themſelves to keep 'em in making Peace, and to oblige the Governours of a Town *to defend themſelves by a Principle of Conſcience, with extraordinary Obſtinacy* (*w*). But they have lately experienced the Uſeleſneſs of this nice Policy. The Treaty of *Carlowitz* Concluded in the year 1698. has expoſed them to the ſame Raillery, that St. *Auſtin* made uſe of againſt the *Roman* God *Terminus*, who gave way to neceſſity under *Jovian* the Emperor. The Sultan has been obliged to yield up abundance of Places with Moſques in them, to the Chriſtian Princes. In vain 'twas repreſented to him that this was offending againſt the Maxims of his Religion; there was a neceſſity of doing it, and of two Evils, the leaſt was to be choſen.

(t) *See the Remark B. Lester a.*

(v) *See St. Auguſtin de civit. Dei l. 4. c. 29.*

(w) *The preſent State of the* Ottoman *Empire B. 2. c. 3.*

(E) *A very tall Man, Zealous for Orthodoxy, but very much addicted to Wine and Women.*] (x) *Incedebat motu corporis gravi, vultu latiſſimo, oculis cæſiis, vaſta proceritate & ardua, adeo ut diu nullum indumentum regium ad menſuram ejus aptum inveniretur. Et amulari malebat Conſtantium, agens ſeria quædam aliquoties poſt meridiem: jocarique palam cum proximis adſuetus. Chriſtianæ legis idem ſtudioſus, & nonnunquam honoriſicus, mediocriter eruditus, magiſque benivolus, & perpenſius, ut apparebat ex paucis quos promoverat, judices electurus: edax tamen, & vino venereique indulgens: quæ vitia imperiali verecundia forſitan correniſſet. Zonoras*, who was a Chriſtian and a Monk, took from *Ammianus Marcellinus* the beſt part of this Character, ſpeaking of this Emperor. Ὅμως Ἰοβιανὸς, ſays he, Εὐσεβὴς ἦν περὶ τὸ δόγμα τῆς ἀναβαπτίσεως. οἶνῳ δ' ἔτυπτο καὶ ἀφροδισίοις καὶ τῶν εἰς ταῦτα ἀναλισκομένων ἐδεῖτο, καὶ γαμετὴν ἐκ Δακίας ἔσχε. *Jovianus quidem religioſus fuit erga Chriſtianam fidem, & benevolus. Vino tamen, venereique indulgens. Procerus ſtatura, nec litterarum expers.* Here then you ſee an Emperor very Religious as to his Opinions, but a great Drunkard, and a Whoremonger. He gave two Proofs of his Zeal for the Goſpel, before he Aſcended the Throne; for in the firſt place, he ſhew'd himſelf very ready to renounce his Poſt, rather than his (*a*) Religion, when *Julian* commanded the Officers of his Troops to Embrace Paganiſm, or to Reſign their Employments. In the ſecond place he would not (*b*) accept of the Empire, till having Declared that he was a Chriſtian, and that he would not Command Heathens, the Soldiers had declared that they were Chriſtians. He had then the power of Renouncing for the love of God, not only a ſmall Imployment, but alſo the greateſt Dignity, that was then in the World. He was capable of preferring his Religion before the *Roman* Empire; but his Conſcience, which was ſo nice in this Reſpect, could not move him to leave off Drinking and Women. What an odd thing is this! What a Combination of good and evil in the ſame Man! There are in all Ages many who leave their Country for their Religion, their Eſtates, their Imployments, and their Friends and Relations, who yet can't bring themſelves to Renounce *Venus* and *Bacchus*. Never believe that *Jovian's* Orthodoxy was imperfect; but be perſuaded that he very well knew, that Drunkenneſs and Lewdneſs are forbidden by God, and that the ſame Religion which Condemned the Heathen Idolatry, Condemned Drunkenneſs and the Love of Women. Note, that he was as great an Eater as he was a Drinker; and it has been ſaid, that he Died of Eating too much. (c) *Multi exanimatum opinantur nimia eruditate: inter cænandum enim epulis inhalſerat.* Other Reaſons of his Death (*d*) were Alledged, *viz.* the Vapour of a Chamber over-heated, Poyſon, (e) *&c.* But this was Alledged by the Chriſtians themſelves. (*f*) Ἐκκαιόμενον, ὡς ἀπεῖπον, ὑπὸ τῶν λίθων ἀναθυμιάσεως, ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς τῶν νεοτοίχων. *Obiit ſive quod intemperantius, ut quidam ajunt, cænaverat, ſeu prægravi odore cubiculi.* Have you obſerved *Marcellinus's* Conjecture? He ſays, that *Jovian* would perhaps have Corrected by the conſideration of his Imperial Dignity, his Intemperance and Wantonneſs. This is a judicious Thought, tho' conſidering things in groſs, and according to experience, the Sovereign Power does not ſeem to be a good School of Sobriety and Continence for ſuch as Naturally love Senſual Pleaſures: on the contrary, it ſeems much more proper to increaſe the Diſeaſe than to cure it, the means of Satisfying ones Pleaſures, being greater and more numerous. But if it be true, that exceſs in Eating was the Death of *Jovian*, and if what we Read in *Suidas* be not Fabulous, *Marcellinus's* Conjecture is very doubtful. *Suidas* (*g*) Relates, that *Jovian* at the inſtigation of his Wife, cauſed a very fine Temple to be Burnt, which *Hadrian* had Conſecrated to *Trajan*, and the Library which the Emperor *Julian* had ſet up in it. He adds that *Jovian's* Concubines put Fire to it, and Laughed at it. This Action is very much like the Debauchery of *Alexander* (*h*) and *Thais* the Curtezan.

(x) *Amm. Marcell. l. 25. ſub fin. p. m. 443.*

(a) *Socrat. l. 3. c. 22.*

(b) *Id. ib.*

(F) *From coming before the falſe News he ordered to be ſpread every where.*] 'Tis one of the moſt neceſſary Artifices of Policy to deceive (*i*) the People with falſe Relations, when there is no good News to tell them. 'Tis a difficult thing, I confeſs, to ſtop the Courſe of bad News, when it is but too true; but one muſt do what can be done, and *Jovian* did not forget that Stratagem. (*k*) *Juſſum eſt autem ad implenda hæc perrecturis, extollere ſeriem geſtorum in melius, & rumores quaquà irent verbis diffundere, continentibus procinctum Parthicum exitu proſpero terminatum—(l) Hos tabellarios fama prægrediens, index triſtiorum caſuum velociſſima, per Provincias volitabat & gentes; maximèque omnium Niſibenos acerbo dolore perculſit, cùm urbem Saporî deditam comperiſſent.* Theſe Words of *Marcellinus* are Remarkable, *fama index triſtiorum caſuum velociſſima*; They inſinuate that Fame never flies ſo ſwift, as when it has unlucky things to Relate; and therefore it deſerves with greater Reaſon to be Characterized (*m*) as it has been.

(A) *A*

segue in the Conſulſhip. This Dignity was Conferred ξ on a Child, *viz. Varronian* the Son of *Jovian* and of *Charis* † the Daughter of *Lucillian*. *Jovian's* Empire was very ſhort; for it laſted but eight Months.

IPRES or *Ypres*, an Epiſcopal Town in the Earldom of *Flanders*, had its Name from a River that runs through it. It was at firſt but a Caſtle. The *Normans* having deſtroy'd it, Earl *Baudouin* the ſecond of the Name, ordered it to be Repaired in the Year 880. Earl *Arnold* Fortified it in 901. and Earl *Baudouin III.* enlarged it many Years after. New Additions were made to it from time to time; ſo that in the Year 1473. the Town of *Ipres* included within its Walls 1173. Meaſures, each whereof was 14 Geometrical Feet. It was Beſieged by the Inhabitants of *Ghent*, and by the *Engliſh*, in the Year 1373. nine Weeks together. Its Stone-Walls were built in the Year 1388. by the conſent of *Philip* the Bold *. The Manufactures and Dying of Wool were in good Perfection there at the end of the XII*th.* Century, as appears by the Teſtimony of *Guilelmus Brito* ‡. The *French* took it in the Year 1648, and loſt it in the Year following. They retook it in 1658, and reſtored it to the *Spaniards* by the Pyrenean Treaty. They retook it once more in the Year 1678, and the *Spaniards* gave it up to 'em by the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Nimegen* the ſame Year. The Diſputes of *Janſeniſm* have render'd the Name of *Ipres* famous; *Janſenius* being ſcarce ever mentioned without obſerving that he was Biſhop of that Town. The Relation betwixt that Town and the Controverſies of the *Janſeniſts* with the Jeſuits, is by this means known to all the World; and hence doubtleſs came that Witty Fancy of Forging a pretended (*A*) Letter of the *French* King to Mr. *Arnauld*, Dated from the Camp before *Ipres* in 1678. Many Copies of this Letter were handed about; and I remember that many Perſons, who were thought to have a very good Judgment, found it Ingenious: It was aſcribed to Mr. *Roſe* Secretary of the Cabinet. I don't believe it has been Printed, and therefore I am willing to Publiſh it.

IRNERIUS † a *German* Civilian, lived in the XII*th.* Century. He is ſaid to be the firſt, that renewed the Profeſſion of the *Roman* Law, interrupted ever ſince the Invaſion of the *Barbarians*. He had a great Intereſt in *Italy* with the Princeſs *Mathild*, and having perſuaded the Emperor *Lotharius* to order the *Code* and *Digeſts* to be Read in the Schools, he was the firſt that exerciſed that Profeſſion in *Italy*. His Method was to Reconcile the Anſwers of the Civilians with the Laws, that ſeemed contrary to one another. He Died about (*A*) the Year 1190. and was Buried at *Bologna* ‖ where he had been Profeſſor. The thing is carried farther; for 'tis ſaid that *Lotharius* Abro-

ξ *Amm. Marcell. lib. c. 10.*

† *Id. ib. c. 8. p. m. 436.*

* *Taken from Valerius Andreas in Topographia Belgica p. 43. 44.*

‡ Ipra coloradis gens prudentiſſima lanis. *Will. Britto Philippid. l. 2.*

† *He is call'd* Wernerus, *or* Guarnerius.

‖ *Ex Forſtero Hiſt. Juris Civil. Rom. l. 3. c. 6.*

(*A*) *A pretended Letter of the* French *King to Mr.* Arnauld.] Here it is according to the Copy I took of it, at the time it went about as a Piece intirely new.

'*A Letter of the King to Mr.* Arnauld *about the Siege of* Ipres.

'MOnſieur *Arnauld*, We are going to begin a Siege, in which you may do us much Service with your Intereſt. I have five Propoſitions to make to the Gentlemen of *Ipres*. The firſt is, that I am come into *Flanders* to do good to every Body. The ſecond that the Command I give 'em to ſurrender the Town, is not impoſſible. The third, that it is in their Power to Merit or not Merit my Favour. The fourth, that I have Forces with me more than ſufficient to make 'em Obey my Orders; and the fifth, That tho' they be never ſo much Neceſſitated to ſurrender themſelves, they will do it with an entire Liberty. The Queſtion is therefore to make 'em Sign theſe five Propoſitions, which include all the Treaty of Grace, that I deſign to ſhow 'em. I don't think, that they can Elude my Orders by the diſtinction *de Jure*, and *de Facto*. As to the Right, I have taken all along ſo many Towns, that time alone might ſerve me for a Preſcription in the *Low-Countries*, were I deſtitute of ſo many other undiſputable Rights. They can therefore only inſiſt upon the Fact, and I will convince 'em of this by a Train of thirty Cannon, to which I defy 'em to Anſwer effectually; for they will pierce through all Difficulties. By this you may judge that I ſhall not be ſo long, in making them Sign my five Propoſitions, as you have been in ſigning thoſe of the Pope. Wherefore I Order you to Summon the Ban and Arriereban of the *Janſeniſts*, and to leave *Paris* immediately to come to the Head of them, in order to Sing *Te Deum*, upon the Tomb of *Janſenius* as a Thankſgiving to God, for the happy Succeſs of my five Propoſitions. You may for a Bon-fire bring a hundred Copies of the *Miroir de la pieté Chretienne*, to caſt theſe good *Flemings* into a Holy Deſpair of ever belonging again to *Spain*. Afterwards you ſhall go into *England* to manage there the Lower Houſe, which is little inclined to a Peace. To Conclude, I like your Politicks, and more ſtill your Money, with which you uſe ſo Advantageouſly to perſuade People to what you have a Mind to. Hereby I am ſure we ſhall have a Peace with *England* and *Spain*, before you have it with the Jeſuits. At the Camp before *Ipres* the 17*th.* of *March* 1678.

(*A*) *About the year* 1190.] I can hardly believe that he lived till that time; for in the firſt Place *Lotharius II.* lived but till 1138. at moſt: which plainly ſhews that *Forſterus* has been ſomewhat unexact; for he ſays (*a*) that the Reſtoration of the *Roman* Law happened about the year 1150. Why then ſhould we think that he has been more exact in his Calculation about *Irnerius*'s Death? In the ſecond Place (*b*) this is ſaid to have been done in the year 1133. Now who can believe that a thing of that Importance could be Executed by the Counſels of a Young Man? 'Tis a hundred times more Probable, that *Irnerius* was Succeſsful in his Counſels by reaſon of the great Authority he acquir'd by his Learning and Wiſdom; and therefore he muſt have been at leaſt 40 years of Age. From whence it follows, that if he had lived till the year 1190, he would have been near 100 years Old, and in that caſe *Forſterus* would be inexcuſable for not taking notice of ſo uncommon an Age. To which I add, that a Chancellor of the Emperor is always ſomewhat Elderly. *Forſterus* would be hard put to it, if one ſhould maintain, that *Mathilde* with whom he ſays *Irnerius* had ſuch an Intereſt, was that Counteſs, who was ſo liberal to the Popes, and who Died in the year 1115. or that Queen of *Italy* who died (*c*) in the year 1101. and who was the Wife of *Conrad*, the Son of the Emperor *Henry IV.* and the Daughter of *Roger King* of *Sicily*.

During the Diſpute that aroſe betwixt Doctor *Calixtus*, and *Bertold Nihuſius*, to know whether our *Irnerius* renewed the Study of the Law, by the Authority of the Counteſs *Mathilde*, or by that of the Emperor *Lotharius II.* the Univerſity of *Bologna* was Conſulted, and Anſwered in favour of *Nihuſius*. We find in their Anſwer, that 'tis a conſtant Tradition that *Irnerius* began to teach the Law of *Bologna* in the year 1128. This Tradition

(*a*) Incidit haec revocatio & reſtitutio Juris Civilis in annum Chriſti 1150. *Forſterus, Hiſt. Juris Civil. l. 3. c. 6.*

(*b*) *See the following Remark.*

(*c*) *Mathias Theatr. p. m. 902.*

abrogated all other Laws, and ordered that *Justinian's* (B) Law should resume its ancient Authority at the Bar. The famous *Calixtus*, Professor of Divinty at *Helmstadt*, maintains [y], that this is false, and has been followed in this by the Learned *Conringius*, his Collegue. But *Bertold Nihusius* wrote for the contrary [z] Opinion, and rudely handled Doctor *Calixtus*. 'Tis certain that the latter had not Tradition on his side; and that it makes *Irnerius* (C) the first Restorer of the Roman Law. 'Tis said moreover, that 'twas he who moved the Emperor *Lotharius*, whose Chancellor he was, to introduce into the Universities the Creation of Doctors, and that he drew up the Form of it; from whence it came, that at that very time, *Bulgarus*, *Hugolinus*, *Martinus*, *Pileus*, and some others who began to interpret the Roman Laws, were promoted to their Doctor's Degree. It was at *Bologna* that these fine Ceremonies began; they were admitted by the other Universities, and proceeded from the Faculty of Law, to that of Divinity. 'Tis pretended, that the University of *Paris* having adopted this Custom, made use of it the first time in behalf of *Peter Lombard*, who was made Doctor of Divinity †.

ISAACITES *. This is the Name that is given to Rabbin *Salomon Jarchi*, in the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* of Father *Bartolocci*. I may therefore put under this Head, what is wanting in the Article *JARCHI*. I shall therefore observe that the Sirname *Rasci*, which was given him, was composed of the Initial Letters of his Names ||, as we learn from Father *Bartolocci* ‡. He adds, that this Rabbin was born at *Lunir* (Y), a Town in the Province of *Aquitain*; but that some make him a Native of *Troies* in *France*, and place his Birth in the Year 1105. *Isaacites* began his Travels at Thirty Years of Age. He saw *Italy*, afterwards *Greece*, *Jerusalem*, and all *Palestine*, and then he went into *Egypt*, where he saw the Rabbin *Maimonides*. He proceeded into *Persia*, *Tartary*, and *Muscovy*, and other Northern Countries, and at last came into *Germany*, from whence he returned into his own Country. He spent Six Years in these Travels. He was married, and had Three Daughters, who were married to very Learned Rabbins, who wrote many Books. Some of his Commentaries upon the Scripture

[y] *In libello de moralî Theologia.*

* *Consult the Preface to his* Origo Juris Germanici, *printed in* 1643.

[z] *See the Book which he entitled,* Irnerius, *published in* 1642.

† *Mathias,* Theatr. historic. *in vita* Lotharii II.

* *Constantin l'Empereur.* not. in itinerar. Benjam. Tudel. pag. 149. *says, that* Solomon Jarchi *was call'd* Isaacides, *because he was the Son of Rabbin* Isaac.

‖ *R. Solomon Isaacites.*

‡ *Bartol. Bibl. Rabbinica, part.* 4. *pag.* 378.

is supported by the Inscription of *Irnerius*'s Picture, which amongst many others, is to be seen in the College of *Bologna*: *Irnerius omnium primus leges commentatus est anno MCXXVIII. Nicolas Alidosi* in the Preface of his Book Intituled, *Li Dottori Bolognesi di legge Canonica è Civile*, affirms, that this Doctor teaching Philosophy at *Bologna*, received Orders from the Emperor *Lotharius II.* to teach the Law, and that he began to do it about the year 1128. However there is some Ground to believe, that he did it of his own Motion, some years together, and that he was not Authoriz'd by the Emperor's Order (d) till the year 1137. 'Tis certain he Died before the year 1150, and not in 1190, for 'tis known (e) that *James de Porta Ravegnana* was *Irnerius*'s Successor in his Professorship of the Civil Law, and that he taught it Publickly at *Bologna* in the year 1150. See the Author whom I quote (f).

(d) *See* Nihusius in Irnerio pag. 13.

(e) *Otto Morena in Chronologia Laudensi apud Baronium, ad ann.* 1158.

(f) Nihusius in Irnerio, *where he has inserted the whole Answer of the University of* Bologna.

(B) *Ordered that* Justinian's Law.] Here is what Mr. *Heiss* says of it in his History of the Empire under the year 1133. *This Solemnity being over, the Emperor returned into* Germany, *where by the Advice of one* Werner Ursperg, *otherwise* Irnerius (g) *who was very well Skilled in the Civil Law, he Ordered that Justice should be done in the Empire according to the* Digests *or* Code, *which had been out of use for five or six hundred years: so that this Law was introduced into* Italy *and* Germany, *and afterwards into* France *and* Spain, *where the People before made use of their own Particular Laws and Customs.* (h) *Calvisius*, without mentioning our *Werner*, says under the year 1137. That *Lotharius* found in *Apulia* the *Roman* Laws, that he gave 'em to the *Pisans*, and Ordered they should be explained, and put into practice in the Tribunals of the Empire. He adds that this Book was afterwards carried into the Library of *Florence*. Another Historian (i) says, this happened when that Emperor marched against *Roger* King of *Sicily*, about the Year 1135, and observes, that the Manuscript of the Roman-Laws found in *Apulia*, needing an Interpreter, *Irnerius* was commissioned for that purpose.

(g) *The Dutch Edition says* Irnervis.

(h) Antea homines Jure incerto utebantur, Jure nempe Romanorum corrupto, Jure item Longobardico & lege Salica. *Christ. Mathias Theat. who quotes*

(C) *First Restorer of the Roman Law.*] This is what an Author before cited (k) says of him. *Irnerius primus legibus glossas apposuit, & suo exemplo cæteris illuminandi juris exemplum dedit: unde* LUCERNA JURIS *dictus fuit, & instaurator legum Romanarum cognominatus.* Many Writers say the same thing.

(k) Antea hominum Jure incerto utebantur, Jure nempe Romanorum corrupto, Jure item Longobardico & lege Salica. *Christ. Mathias Theat. who quotes*

histor. pag. 921. (i) *Christ. Mathias, ib. pag.* 920. *Chrytheus in Chronol. pag.* 309. *Mathias ubi supra,*

(Y) *Was born at* Lunir, *a Town of the Province of* Aquitain.] *Bartolocci* (a) adds, that it is a Town in which there were *Jews*, as St. *Gregory* witnesses in the 21st. Epistle of the 3d. Book. All this is full of Faults; for in the first Place he should have said *Lunel*, and not *Lunir*. Secondly, *Lunel* is not in the Province of *Aquitain*. 3. Pope *Gregory* does not speak of *Lunel*, or *Lunir*, but of *Luna*, an Episcopal See in *Italy*. Here's another Blunder. (c) *Ibidem* (that is in the *Catena Cabalæ*) *Rabbi Joseph Ischijà Auctor dicit quod natus sit anno ab Orbe condito*—— 4865. *Chr.* 1105. *in Urbe Trevis, seu Trecis in Gallia in provincia Narbonensi, vel in Linguadoca.* Which is to pretend, that the Town of *Troies* is in *Languedoc*, than which nothing can be more ridiculous. Note, that according to some Rabbins, our *Isaacites* died in 1105; but we have seen, that according to some other Authors, this was the Year of his Birth. Chronological Exactness was never the Talent of the *Jewish* Writers; and 'tis a strange thing they have so ill fixed the Time of their most famous Doctors. *Benjamin Tudelensis* (e), who died in the Year 1173, highly praises the *Jews* of *Lunel*, and names some of their Learned Men, and amongst other *Rabbi Solomon*. Some say, that he means (f) *Solomon Jarchi*; and if you object, that this *Solomon* died in the Year 1105, they'll answer, that *Benjamin Tudelensis* does not pretend that all the Doctors he mentions, speaking of what he saw at *Lunel*, were alive. I don't like this Solution. It seems plain to me, that he speaks of a *Solomon* that was then alive: We must therefore suppose either that 'tis a mistake to place the Death of *Solomon Jarchi* in the Year 1105, or that *Solomon* mention'd by *Benjamin Tudelensis*, is not our *Isaacites*. I could easily believe, that *Constantin l'Empereur* is mistaken, when he says, that *Benjamin* meant *Solomon Jarchi*. If he had spoke of a Doctor so famous as this was, he would have done it with great Praises, which he does not. If you would have an instance of the bad Chronology of the *Jewish* Authors, you need only consider, that the same (g) Book, which makes Rabbi *Solomon Isaacites* to be born in the Year 1105, affirms that *Maimonides* was born in *Spain*, in the Year 1135, and that these two Rabbins had an Interview in *Egypt*, though *Solomon* did not go thither till he was about Thirty Two Years old (h). Note, that some (i) maintain, that Rabbi *Solomon Isaacites* has not the Sirname of *Jarchi* in the Jewish Books, and that it would be a difficult thing to find the Time, the Subject, and occasion of that false Sirname, and that the *Jews* laugh at the *Christian* Authors for using it.

(a) *Bartol. Bibliotb. Rabbin. parte* 4. *pag.* 378.

(c) *Id. ib.*

(e) *Benjamin. Tudel. itiner. pag.* 6.

(f) *Const. l'Empereur notis in itinerar. Benjam. Tudel. pag.* 149.

(g) *Catena Cabalæ. See Bartolocci ubi supra pag.* 378.

(h) *See Bartolocci ibid.*

(i) *Andreas Acoluthus in tractatu de aquis amaris maledictionem inferentibus, pag.* 3.

(Z) *Some*

ture (Z) have been translated into *Latin* by some Christians. 'Tis said, that he was well skilled in Physick and Astrology, and in many Languages, and that he died at *Troies*, being Seventy Five Years old. His Body was carried to *Bohemia*, and buried at *Prague* in the Year 1180 a.

YSE (*Alexander* D') Minister of *Grenoble*, and afterwards Professor of Divinity at *Die* in *Dauphiné* b, *was a Natural Son in a Family* —— *of which* * *at present is* James d'Yse de Saleon, *Counsellor in the Parliament of* Grenoble. *This Minister wrote a Discourse for the Reunion of the Two Religions, in which he does not differ much from the Principles of the Roman Church* †. I shall give (B) some Extracts of it. He would have been deposed for that Work, if the Circumstances of the Times had not obliged the Synod of that Province (B) to observe some Temper. The Protestants were satisfied * with the Declaration that M. *d'Yse* made before he died. The Law-Suit that was entered against him, on Account of the Money, which had been raised for the *Vaudois*, was not

a *Taken from* Bartoloccii ib. & p. seq.

b *Allard, Biblioth. de Dauphiné, p.* 223, 224.

* *See* Allard *published this in* 1680.

† *Ib. pag.* 224.

* *See the end of the Rem.* B.

(Z) *Some of his Commentaries* —— *have been translated into* Latin *by some* Christians.] His Commentary upon *Joel*, and the *Canticles*, has been put into *Latin* by *Genebrand*. He published at *Paris*, in 1563, the Version of the Commentary upon *Joel*, and in 1570, that of the Commentary upon the *Canticles*. *Arnaldus Pontacus* is the Author of the *Latin* Translation (k) of the Commentaries upon *Obadiah*, *Jonah*, and *Zephaniah*. *Henry Aquinas* published the Commentaries upon *Esther* (l), with Notes, at *Paris*, in the Year 1622.

(k) *Printed at Paris in the Year* 1556. *in Quarto.*

(l) *Taken from* Bartoloccii *supra, pag.* 380. 381.

(A) *I'll give some Extracts of it.*] This Work is intituled, *Propositions & moyens pour parvenir à la reunion des deux Religions en France.* The Impression was finished the last of *August*, 1677. It contains 608 Pages in *4to*, and is divided into two Parts. The Author inlarges in the first, upon Five Considerations, which tend to incline the Parties to mutual Abatements, and the Second gives a long Catalogue of the Articles which they might agree in.

(m) He cites (n) a Lutheran, who maintain'd that the Calvinists fight with a Shadow, when they confute a local Presence of *JESUS CHRIST*, and a natural Manducation in the Lord's Supper. He cites another (o), who denies the same Presence and Manducation, and maintains, that the Body of *JESUS CHRIST* enters into the Mouth, but not into the Stomach. This Lutheran confesses, that the Calvinists receive the Saving Fruit of the Sacrament, provided they be morally in an invincible Ignorance of their Errors, but not if they continue in them against their Conscience, and with Obstinacy. Mr. *d'Yse* makes many Reflections upon the pacifical Method of Father *Maimbourg*, and upon this Objection, *viz.* that it follows from the Doctrine of the Calvinists, that all the Christians, who have not followed *Peter Valdo*, *John Hus*, *&c.* are damned. His Answers are almost the same with those of Mr. *Jurieu* (q), both with respect to the Expedients of Salvation, afforded to many Persons, who inwardly renounced their Errors, and with respect to the Consequence that is drawn in Favour of those, who inwardly rejecting the false Doctrines of Popery, remain still in its Communion. To which purpose he speaks of the Permission granted to *Naaman*, and of a National Synod held at *Paris* in the Year 1559, which forbids to follow ones Master into the Popish Church, tho' one does not bend the Knee, and yet declares, that those may be tolerated, who like *Naaman* and the Duke of *Saxony*, publickly express, 'that they will not prostitute and defile 'themselves with the Idolatries, which are 'committed in the Temples they frequent (r). He says, that according to the Reformed, the Universal Church cannot err so far as to overthrow the Articles of Faith that are absolutely necessary to Salvation, and that if the thing be well considered, it will be found, that the Roman Catholicks, whatever Noise they make about it, ascribe a lesser Infallibility to the Church, than the Protestants; for, says he, Cardinal *Richelieu*, Book 2. cap. 2. insinuates, that the Universal Church may err in Fundamental Points. He imputes to some Protestant Divines an Error which he calls a Fundamental one, which is not to receive St. *John*'s Revelation, as a Canonical Book, and he confesses, that the Primitive Church did not receive it as Canonical. 'Tis true, he pretends, that that Church erred out of Ignorance, and not knowing the Truth, but not out of Obstinacy. The Church according to that Cardinal, has been ignorant of some Truths, which She came to know in Time, and defined afterwards as Points of Faith. The Author adds, that in the References of the second Session of the Council of *Trent*, this Question is to be read, 'Whether General Councils 'lawfully assembled, may err in Points of Faith. The Answer was, *'Tis a doubtful Thing*. Touching again upon this in the 441st. Page, he says, that several Doctors are there cited for the affirmative, and others for the Negative. He had said (s) before, that the Councils of *Latran* in 1180, and 1215, and some others, have been held *pro Ecclesiâ reformanda in fide & moribus*. (t) He observes, that the Monks promising, according to the Roman Pontifical, to observe a perpetual Continence, as far as humane Frailty will permit, 'tis a Proof that their Vow is conditional; so that when the Frailty of their Nature will not permit 'em to preserve their Continence, they may marry without breaking their Vow. (u) He boasts of alledging nothing that is condescending on the part of the Catholicks, but what is grounded on the Doctrine of *Thomas Aquinas*, and other grave Doctors, and that the Condescension he uses on the part of the Reformed, is grounded on what has been confest by *Calvin* and some other famous Writers. From whence he infers, that private Persons in both Communions, who would not submit to the like Condescensions, would be unreasonable. He produces hereupon the Praises that some Popes, and some illustrious Societies have bestowed upon *Thomas Aquinas*'s Doctrine; and as for the Doctors, who have praised him, he refers us to a Book, intituled, *Les Disputes du College de Sorbonne sur la Logique*. He mentions also the Approbations given to Cardinal *Richelieu*'s and the Bishop of *Condom*'s Books, and proves, that *Calvin*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *&c.* have made the Concessions he speaks of. He shews, that *Calvin*, *Rivet*, and *Du Can*, held the Probability of the Doctrine of a Guardian Angel; and as for what concerns the Possibility of Celibacy, he cites the National Synod of *Rochelle*, 1571, which advises the Wives of Ecclesiasticks relapsed into Popery, to have no Commerce with them. That of *Vitrai* 1588, does not approve that a Man whose Wife is become Leprous, should marry another. They advise him to pray to God, and to contain himself during his Wife's Life.

(m) *Propos. & moiens, pag.* 145.

(n) *Alb. Graweri c.* 3. *polemicæ fac.*

(o) Tobias Wagner, *Doctor of Divinity at* Tubingen, *Inquisit. Theolog. in acta henotica.*

(p) *See Page* 526. *of the* Propositions & moiens.

(q) *In his* Systeme de l'Eglise.

(r) *Propos. & moins, pag.* 331.

(s) *Ibid. pag.* 220.

(t) *Ibid. pag.* 330.

(u) *Ibid. pag.* 379.

Tho' this Book was printed with the Consent of many considerable Persons, the Monks failed not to obtain, that the Copies of it should be carried to the Rolls of the *Chatelet*. They had seen some of them at a Binder's and they made a great Bustle about it. 'Tis at least a piece of News, which was written to me in the Year 1678, by a curious Person, who was well informed of what concerns the Republick of Learning.

I make no doubt, that the Fragments I have inserted in this Place, will be acceptable to the Readers, because it is a Book but little known, and almost impossible to come by.

(B) *Obliged the Synod of that Province to observe some Temper.*] *The* D'Yse, 'who had been a Minister at *Grenoble*, and who was actually Professor of 'Divinity at *Die*, writ a Treatise upon this Subject, 'and imagined he had found the means of a perfect 'Reconciliation. But his People had not the good 'Luck to please the Synod of this Province, which 'forbad him to publish or communicate it. *D'Ize* 'prepossest with the Flatteries of President *de*

(b) *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes tom.* 2. *fueillet* [illegible] *pag.* 1177.

'Rosiere

not attended with the ſad (C) and diſgraceful Conſequences, that a Catholick Writer has publiſhed. I learnt from a Letter which I received in 1678, that Mr. *Cregut* had publiſhed an Apology (D), in which he painted this Miniſter in very black Colours.

ISLEBIANS,

' *Berchere*, who filled him with Hopes of great
' Rewards, and mighty Things, would not believe
' the Synod. He made a Journey to *Paris* with
' many Recommendations from the Preſident to the
' chief Members of the Council. The Miniſters of
' the Place having had Notice of his Deſign, in-
' deavoured to have a Sight of his Book, in order
' to diſcourage him from publiſhing it. They could
' obtain nothing. *D'Yſe* would not communicate it
' to them, but ſhewed it to the Biſhop of *Condom*.
' That piece could not pleaſe the Catholicks, be-
' cauſe the Author made 'em too condeſcending; and
' under other Expreſſions, kept moſt of the Articles
' of the Reformed Doctrine: ſo that he returned
' without any Approbation and Recompence; ha-
' ving ſcandalized his Brethren without gaining the
' good-will of their Enemies. Nay, he was like to
' be perſecuted for his good Intentions; but the Pre-
' ſident his Protector, ſpoke for him. As for the
' Synod, they durſt not meddle with him upon
' that Account, at a Time when it was believed
' the Court would be diſpleaſed with it.
' Without depoſing him therefore, a Treaty was
' made with him, by which he was ſuffered
' to enjoy his Profeſſor's Salary, but by way of Diſ-
' charge, he was deprived of the Functions. He di-
' ed ſome time after, and repaired the Fault he had
' committed on that occaſion, by a Declaration of his
' Sentiments, which was very edifying.

(C) *Was not attended with the ſad and diſgraceful Conſequences which a Catholick Writer has publiſhed.*] M. (c) *Bernard* affirmed, *that when the Duke of* Savoy *made War with his Subjects of the Valleys of* Piemont, *the Reformed had raiſed a Sum of Six or ſeven hundred thouſand Livres, which* D'Yſe *had received, and diſtributed; that he did not well diſcharge that Adminiſtration; that he was proſecuted in the Chamber of* Grenoble *to bring him to an account; that the Conſiſtory, to put an end to the Noiſe that was made about it, were forced to depoſe him; that they made him Principal of the College of* Die, *and named four Miniſters to reviſe his Accounts. There's nothing true in all this, except this one Article, that* D'Yſe *had received the Money deſigned for the Relief of the Inhabitants of the Valleys, and that they took this Opportunity to bring him into Trouble, out of Reſentment and Revenge.* You'll find the Sequel of this Affair in the Hiſtory of the Edict of *Nantes*. I ſhall only mention Three or Four Particulars out of it. (d) D'Yſe *gave up his Accompts towards the end of the Year*, 1656. Preſident *Periſſol* proſecuted him in the Year 1665. This Proſecution was carried on by Degrees to the Court made up of Proteſtant and Catholick Judges. *D'Yſe had his Cauſe pleaded in the Court*, and gained his Point. *The Preſident, enraged at this Affront, proſecuted the Cauſe ſtill more violently, and his Menaces, which neither the Intreaties of his Colleagues, nor the Remonſtrances of the Conſiſtory, nor the Solicitations of all the Church, could put a ſtop to, obliged the Conſiſtory not to depoſe* D'Yſe, *but to ſend him to* Die *in Quality of Profeſſor of Divinity. He had already performed the Duties of that Place whilſt* Cregut *was forced by the Perſecution of the Biſhop, to leave his Profeſſorſhip. In the mean time the Cauſe was removed into the Court of* Caſtres; *and the Preſident incited as much as poſſible the Inhabitants of the Valleys to carry on the Action againſt him. The Conſiſtory made him give a new Account, to put an end to that Scandal; and they found but one Article, amounting ſcarce to a* Denier *per* Livre *of the whole Sum, which he could not well account for. But his Honeſty appeared, &c.* The Words which I ſuppreſs, inform us, that he was only guilty of a little Negligence; which was well for him, and he ought to be accounted a happy Man for having failed only in that; for the handling of ſuch publick Gatherings is ſo dangerous an occaſion of ſtanning, that a wiſe Man ought never to engage in it, before he has made a frequent Trial of his Strength. The Cuſtody of this Money is perhaps more difficult than that of a Beauty. The Compariſon betwixt Money and Pitch, which is ſo common even among Countrymen, is a very good one; one can hardly handle that baleful Mettal, any more than Pitch, without ſoiling ones Fingers. There was a terrible out-cry (e) againſt the bad Management of the immenſe Sums (f), which were raiſed for the *Vaudois*; and I believe, that in all ſuch Caſes, there is, and there will be ſo occaſion to cry out; O how rare a thing it is to find a Man (g), who is not made of Iron with reſpect to that Loadſtone. We may ſeek him with *Diogenes*'s Lanthorn, and if we deſign a Crown for him, we ſhall keep it long enough before we can find a Man that deſerves it.

(b) *Regnum & diadema tutum*
Deferens uni, propriamque laurum;
Quiſquis ingentes oculo irretorto
Spectat acervos.

(D) *That Mr.* Cregut *had publiſhed an Apology in which he painted.*] It fell into my Hands but a few Days ſince: The Title of it is: *Apologia neceſſaria non minus quàm aquiſſima Antonii Cregutii, contra accuſationem impraviſam, inexpectatam & iniquam Friderici Spanhemii Profeſſoris Leydenſis.* It was printed at *Amſterdam*, in the Year 1678, and contains 48 Pages, in *Octavo*. Mr. *Cregut* (i) ſhews, that after the Death of *Stephen Blanc*, who had been Profeſſor of Divinity at *Die*, the Academical Senate charged M. *d'Yſe*, the Miniſter of the Place, to fill the Vacancy of the deceaſed till the next Synod. M. *d'Yſe* did it. The Synod of the Year following convened at *Die*, choſe *Antony* (k) *Cregut*, Profeſſor of Divinity. This Choice was Conditional, and became definitive at the end of the Year, by the Judgment of the Synod of *Pragelas*. M. *d'Yſe*, who did the more earneſtly deſire that Place, becauſe he had diſcharged the Duties of it for ſome time, thwarted as much as poſſible the Election of another; but not ſucceeding, he grew extreamly jealous of Mr. *Cregut*, and ſought all imaginable Means to prejudice him, tho' he always pretended to be his Friend. He contributed by his Intrigues to put a ſtop at *Geneva*, to the Impreſſion of a (l) *Latin* Book of Mr. *Gregut*, under Pretence, that the Doctrine of it was falſe, and very dangerous. The Author of it deſired, that the Examination of his Book ſhould be made only by the Profeſſors of *Geneva*, that the whole matter might be tranſacted with leſs Noiſe, and more Judgment and Expedition; but his Demand was rejected, and his Work was examin'd in the Aſſembly of all the Miniſters. He expected no good from it, and remembred the Complaint of the Emperor *Hadrian*. ' The Multitude of Phy-
' ſicians has deſtroy'd me. *Turba medicorum me perdidit.* They condemned two or three of his Doctrines: this Condemnation was communicated by his Adverſary to the Miniſters of (a) *Greſivaudan* aſſembled in a Body, and from that time, Prejudices grew ſo violent againſt the Author, that he was threatned with Depoſition the next Synod, which was to be held at *Die*. Mr. *d'Yſe* not doubting that the Quality of Moderator of that Synod, would powerfully inable him to execute his Reſolutions, deſired to obtain it, and actually did. The firſt Acculation, concern'd the Aſſertions about Grace, which M. *Cregut* had publiſhed. He offer'd his Reaſons, and thought he had nothing to fear, when he ſaw the end of that firſt Proceeding; but he was miſtaken; for ſome Days after M. *d'Yſe* having declar'd to the Synod, that the Miniſters of *Geneva* had cenſured ſome Articles of the *Revelator Arcanorum* of M. *Cregut*, put ſome Queſtions to the Author about the Doctrine of the Imputation of *Adam*'s Sin. M. *Cregut* was going to explain that matter; but he was preſently interrupted, upon Pretence, that there were ſome other Affairs which could not be put off. He waited for another Opportunity to explain himſelf in the following Seſſions, in caſe that Diſpute ſhould be ſet on foot again; but he waited in Vain. M. *d'Yſe* plaid his part ſo maliciouſly, that he got his Adverſary condemn'd, *of the Synodal Province of* Dauphine, *for the* without

(c) *Bernard, explication de l'Edit de Nantes apud hiſt. de l'Edit de Nantes ubi ſupra, T. 11. pag. 60. ann. 1666.*

(d) *Hiſt. de l'Edit. de Nantes ubi ſupra, pag. 61.*

(e) *See Mr. Leti, critique ſur les lettres, part 2. pag. 108. & ſeq.*

(f) *The Author of the Hiſtory of the Edict of Nantes, denies that the Money raiſed in France, amounted to Six or Seven hundred thouſand Livres, as Bernard will have it. It was almoſt, ſays he, but the third part of all the ſeveral Sums, and all the Sums did not amount to Five hundred thirty thouſand Livres. M. Leti, ib. p. 110. ſays, they amounted to three Millions, and thoſe of Piemont to ſeven hundred fifty thouſand Livres.*

(g) *Abſtinens ducentis ad ſe cunctis pecunia. Horat. Od. 9. lib. 4.*

(h) *Id. Ode 2. lib. 2.*

(i) *Cregutus Apol. neceſſar. pag. 11. & ſeq.*

(k) *He was Miniſter at* Montelimart.

(l) *Intituled,* Revelator arcanorum.

(a) *A Country near* Grenoble, *and one of the* Colloques *Proteſtants*

ISLEBIANS. Thus they are called, who embraced the Opinions of a Saxon Divine, named *John Agricola*, a Native of *Islebia*, and a Diſciple and Countryman of *Martin Luther*. I have ſpoke very largely † of this *John Agricola*. He taught for ſometime a very falſe Doctrine concerning the uſe of the *Moſaical* Law. He took the wrong way St. *Paul's* Diſpute againſt the *Jews*, and the oppoſition this great Apoſtle ſo often made betwixt the Oeconomy of Works, and the Oeconomy of Faith. *Luther* did ſo vigorouſly oppoſe the Errors of *Agricola*, that he forced him to recant. Every one may know, why the Name of *Antinomians* was given to the Followers of this Man. Their Opinions have not been faithfully repreſented by their Adverſaries; and there's no doubt but that *Prateolus* has much exaggerated (*A*) them. But this is nothing, if compared with (*B*) *Garaſſe's* Scurrility in his Account of the pretended Hereſies of the *Iſlebians*.

† See his Article.

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without giving him an Opportunity to plead his Cauſe. There was a famous Diſputation in the Philoſopy School. The Jeſuits of that Town, and many other Perſons of the Romiſh Clergy, were preſent at it, and it was very neceſſary that M. *Cregut*, as Rector of the Univerſity, ſhould be there. M. *d'Iſſe* took that Opportunity, drew up an Act of Condemnation, and got it approved at the end of the Synod. Part of the Miniſters were already gone, and the reſt were very deſirous to ſtay no longer. If the Abſence of ſome Members is favourable to thoſe who have an ill Deſign, the Diſpoſition of the reſt who deſire to go home, is ſo too; for being in haſte to finiſh what remains, every thing is carried on in a hurry. Thus you ſee how Innocence was oppreſs'd, as M. *Cregut* pretends. (*b*) *Illo tempore* (*c*) *me abſente, inaudito, juſſo deputatis ſilentio, ſub finem Synodi, dum omnia tumultuario fiunt, Paſtoribus tunc vel abſentibus, vel abiturientibus Dixius ipſe bellum illum articulum non mihi, ſed ſibi ludibrium propinans, fabricavit, aſſumpto in tanto facinore ſuo Abbate Rainaudo, digno patella operculo.* He adds, that they ordered Abundance of Copies of that Act to be made, to communicate them to all the Proteſtant World. (*d*) *Verum illis non ſufficiebat calumnioſus articulus intra privatos parietes fabricatus ab inimicis, haud potuit ſatiari invidia malitioſa, niſi per totum Orbem Reformatum exemplaria illius articuli mitterentur, tam in Galliam quàm exteras nationes, Helvetiam, Germaniam, Hollandiam, &c. Pædagogis ſuis jugiter occupatis ut plura Apographa deſcriberent.* In fine, he ſays, that his Book having been ſold, without any Alteration made in it, ruined the Trophies of his Enemy, and convicted him of having Extracted ſomething out of it, that manifeſted his Envy and Rathneſs. (*e*) *Paulo poſt libro meo edito abſque vel apiculi immutatione, abortivus ac furtivus ille Dixii articulus cecidit coram meo Revelatore, ſicut Dagon coram arca fœderis. Et ne plura exempla proferam, unum Rev. Antiſtitis Eccleſiæ Bernenſis D. Hombrii erit mihi pro cunctis, dum eſſem Bernæ in illius Muſæo promere è ſua Bibliotheca meum Revelatorum Arcan. & Dixi prave & ſtolidè articulatum articulum urbi tritâ laborantem, & dixit, ſe contuliſſe cum locis Revelatoris, quem tunc præ manibus habebat, unde factæ etiam inter nos collationi non poterat fatis mirari ſuperem, virus & invidiam compilatoris.* He ſays (*f*), that having explained in ſome Letters, the Senſe of his Propoſitions, and offered new Explications, if thoſe already publiſhed were not ſufficient, the Gentlemen of *Geneva* permitted the Impreſſion of the *Revelator Arcanorum*, and took off the Prohibition of Selling the *Theſes* maintained at *Die*. He is contented to mention in General; the great Trial above-mention'd (*g*); but he ſays that M. *d'Iſſe*, being ſhamefully expelled from the Church of *Grenoble*, was admitted again into that of *Die*. (*h*) *Ex Eccleſia Gratianopolitana turpiſſimè ejectus* —— *Ut Dixius fuerat potius intruſus quam vocatus, ita detruſus fuit. Non inquiro de crimine quod objiciebatur, eſſet piaculare. Deus novit. Acta ſunt publicè in Parliamento litigata, quæ ad has uſque Oras pervenerunt* —— *Ille Maris & Naufragio ſervatus, Galli noſtri vulgo dicunt, d'un coup de vent ou de tempeſte, priſtinas ſedes recuperavit, in Portum Dienſem appellens ubi antea Miniſter fuerat, ibi cum ſuo Rainaudo, juvat meminiſſe laborum præteritorum.*

I don't vouch for the Truth of theſe Matters of Fact, alleging them only as a Proof of my Text, *viz.* that M. *Cregut* has painted M. *d'Iſſe* in very black Colours.

(*b*) *Cregut ubi ſupra*, p. 24.

(*c*) That is, whilſt he was preſent at the publick Diſputes, as Rector of the Univerſity.

(*d*) *Id. ib.*

(*e*) *Id. ib.* pag. 27.

(*f*) *Id. ib.* pag. 30.

(*g*) *In the Rem.* C.

(*h*) *Id. ib.* page 30, 31.

(*A*) Prateolus *has much exaggerated them.*] He did not go to the Fountain Head, but only copied *Staphylus*, *Hoſius*, and *Lindanus*. What he copies from *Staphylus*, may be reduc'd to this (*i*), that according to *John Agricola*, the Law of God is altogether uſeleſs, that it is neither neceſſary before nor after our Juſtification, and that Men under the Goſpel are not obliged to good Works. What he takes from *Lindanus*, is much harſher: *viz.* that according to *John Agricola*, Men may be righteous againſt their Conſcience; and that an Adulterer, an Uſurer, a Fornicator, or any ſuch great Sinner ſhall be ſaved, provided he believe (*k*). *Antinomi à Johanne Iſlebio Lutheri olim ac diſcipulo exorti. Hi dogma ſequuntur legibus divinis contrarium (ait Querela Lutheri) legem operum rejicientes, ſingunique homines contra conſcientiam juſtos eſſe. Aiunt enim, teſte Luthero lib. de Conciliis; ſi es Adulter, Scortator, Uſurarius, Avarus, aut aliis pollutus peccatis, ſi tantum credis, ſalvus es. Hactenus Lindanus.* I can't believe this is a faithful Account of *Agricola's* Opinions.

(*i*) Prateolus, in Elencho Hæreticorum, voce *Antinomi*, p. m. 41. He ſays, Staphylus *took this from* Agricola's *Notes upon the Goſpel of St.* John, *and from* Luther's Antinomian Diſputes.

(*k*) Prateolus, *ib.*

(*B*) Garaſſe's *Scurrility.*] 'Tis an uſeful thing to let the Reader ſee how bold ſome Men are in their Slanders; and therefore the length of this Paſſage will not hinder me from inſerting it here. (*l*) ' The ' *Iſlebians* or *Antinomians*, otherwiſe called *Nomomachi*, foraſmuch as they oppoſe the Law of *Moſes*, ſaying in their Articles of Faith, that it is ' the Torment of our Souls, are the Diſciples of a ' certain Labourer, called *Joannes Iſlebius*, who ' coming from the Plough, *Triduo ſe Theologum profeſſus eſt*, as *Melanchthon* ſpeaks, writing againſt ' him. The Principal Fooleries of thoſe Wretches ' are to be found in the Book *de Libertate Chriſtiana*, written by Doctor *Paulus Crellius*, who was ' one of the chief Supporters of that curſed Sect. ' I will only produce three of the moſt remarkable, ' taken Word for Word from their Articles of ' Faith. The firſt Imports, that the Goſpel, and ' the Old Teſtament, unleſs they are preached *vivæ* ' *voce*, *ſunt veteres calcei in angulo derelicti*, are like ' old Shoes thrown by in a Corner, when they can ' be no longer worn. But when the Goſpel is preached, then it becomes like the Shoes mentioned in ' the Canticles, *Quam pulchri ſunt greſſus tui in* ' *calceamentis tuis, filia principis*; and in the ' CVIIth. Pſalm: *In Idumæam extendam calceamentum meum.* That is, according to *Beza's* Expoſition:

' *Contre Edom peuple glorieux*
' *Je jetteray mes Soldats vieux.*

' So that in their way of ſpeaking, Preachers are ' Coblers, the Holy Scriptures are old Shoes; the ' Pulpit the Shop wherein they are kept, and *Lent* ' and *Advent* the Old Shoes-Fair. The ſecond Propoſition of the *Antinomians* is ſtill more horrible; ' and I am very ſorry my Words can't expreſs the ' Weight of my Thoughts: It is expreſſed in theſe ' Terms by Doctor *Crellius*: *Qui quærit ſalutem in* ' *veteri lege quærit* PEDICULAM IN SCABIE. He that ſeeks his Salvation in the Law of ' *Moſes*, and the Old Teſtament, ſeeks a Louſe in a ' Scab —— I want Words to expreſs my ' Aſtoniſhment. (*a*) Their Third Maxim is quoted by Doctor *Crellius*, in theſe Words, *Moſes ad eos habeat cum lege ſua, nam ſi non reſipunt eſt dimit-*

(*l*) Garaſſe, *curious Doctrine*, Book 5. Sect. 16. p. 557.

(*a*) *Id. ib.* pag. 557.

ITALICA, a Town in *Spain*, was ſo called when *Scipio Africanus* gave it the Form of a City. It grew very conſiderable, and was the Birth-place of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*. It injoyed a long time the Privileges of thoſe Towns which were called *Municipia*, and afterwards it deſired to be Qualified like thoſe, which they called Colonies. *Hadrian* was amaz'd it ſhould deſire this Change; for he looked upon the Privileges of a *Municipium*, as preferable to thoſe of a Colony. Nothing remains of *Italica* but the Ruins of it. Some Authors place its Situation near *Seville* in a Place which at preſent is called *Sivilla la Vejа* *. I have ſaid in another Place, that it did not appear to me, that it could be prov'd there ever was ſuch a Town in *Italy* as *Italica*. I do not Retract what I ſaid, tho' I know a very ſpecious Objection (*A*) may be made againſt it.

JUBA. Hiſtory makes mention of two Princes of this Name, whereof one was the Father of the other. *Moreri* has ſpoken of them; but he has committed (*B*) ſome Faults, which it is not improper to take notice of. I ſhall Rectify but a very few Faults (C) of other Authors.

JUDEX (*Matthew*) one of the principal Writers of the Centuries of *Magdeburg*, was Born † at *Tippolſwald* in *Miſnia* * the 22*d*. of *September* 1528. He ſhewed a great Inclination for Learning, upon which his Father permitted him to go and Study at *Dreſ-*

‘ *natus ad omnes Diabolos.* I Appeal from the Sentence of the *Antinomians*, as being *Moſes*'s Advocate, and I find the *Antimonian* Madneſs far exceeding that of the *Manichees*; for when they rejected *Moſes*, they pretended to have more honourable Pretences, as St. *Auſtin* relates in the 15*th*. Book againſt *Fauſtus*. Being asked why they rejected the Old Teſtament and the Law of *Moſes*, they Anſwered with ſpecious Words, and well adjuſted Phraſes, that they therein Practiced the Command of Jeſus Chriſt, who forbad his Apoſtles to put new Wine into old Veſſels: And that their Church was like a Young Damſel, who receives no Letters or *Billets doux* from her old Lovers, that indeavour to Corrupt her by Promiſes: That is to ſay, their Church neither receives nor acknowledges the Old Teſtament, which is an Old decayed Wine, an Old Piece of Tatter'd Cloth, an Old Caſt-off-Lover. And then they added, as in Triumph and inſulting our Church: ‘ *Vos quidem pergite agere ut cœpiſtis, rudem pannum veteri veſtimento commiſtite, novum vinum veternoſis utribus credite, duobus maritis nulli placituri ſervite, Chriſtianam fidem Hippocentaurorum facite, nec equum perfectum nec hominem: Nobis ſoli Chriſto ſervire permittite.* Thoſe who hear theſe charming Words, would perhaps think that they are Pious and Holy Men; but it appears at the bottom, that the *Manichees* were meer Scoundrels. 'Tis true that as great Scoundrels as they were, they had not ſo many Lice, as the *Antinomians*.

(*A*) *A very ſpecious Objection may be made againſt it.*] 'Tis grounded upon a Paſſage of *Strabo*, where we find that ſome People of *Italy* Riſing and Confederating to make War with the *Romans*, made *Corfinium* their Place of Arms, and named it *Italica*. (*b*) Μετωνομασεν Ιταλικην, *Italicæ nomen indiderunt.* Note, that *Corfinium* was the Capital Town of the *Peligni*, and that this War was that which was called *Bellum Sociale* or *Marſicum*, or *Italicum*, and which began in the year of *Rome* 662 (*c*). 'Tis very Probable, that in theſe Words of *Diodorus Siculus* (*d*), την κοινην αυτων Ιταλιαν ονομασαντες, it ought to be Read (*e*) Ιταλικην, and not Ιταλιαν. Thus you ſee two good Authors, who Witneſs, that the Town of *Corfinium* was called *Italica*, when theſe People Confederated againſt *Rome*. *Velleius Paterculus* might be alledg'd as a third Witneſs, *caput imperii ſui Corfinium legerant*, ſays he (*f*), *quod appellarent Italicum.* There are ſome Criticks (*g*), who Read *quod appellarunt Italicam.* Others (*h*) keep to *Italicum.* It matters nothing to me; the Anſwer I have to make, does not want the more favourable Reading; for this is what I have to ſay. The name of *Italica*, which the Allies gave the Town of *Corfinium*, laſted no longer than the War: They call'd it ſo, when they choſe it their common Metropolis. They Eſtabliſhed in it (*i*) a Policy like that of *Rome*, whereby they ſhew'd not only their Emulation for the Capital City of the *Roman* People, but alſo their Reſolution to make themſelves Independent. Since then the new name of *Italica* was a Conſequence and a Monument of their Conſpiracy, 'tis not likely that the *Romans* would ſuffer it to remain. *Corfinium* reſumed its former Name, when the War was finiſhed in the year of *Rome* 664. and we don't find that it was called any thing elſe ſince that time. Whence the Error of thoſe appears, who pretend that the Poet *Silius Italicus* was a Native of *Corfinium*, and for that reaſon Sirnamed *Italicus*.

(*B*) Moreri——*has committed ſome Faults.*] I. He ſays that *Juba* the Father was King of *Mauritania*. This is falſe. In this *Juba*'s time, the *Mauritania Cæſarienſis* belonged to *Bocchus*, and the *Tingitana* to *Bogud*. Sometime after, that is, in the year 716. *Bocchus* poſſeſt himſelf of the *Tingitana*. After his Death his Kingdom was reduced into a Province in the year 721. as *Numidia* had been under *Julius Cæſar* (*k*). II. He ſays, that *Juba* the Son was Reſtored by *Auguſtus* to the Kingdom of his Father, that is to ſay, to *Numidia*. He ſhould have ſaid with *Dion* (*l*), that *Auguſtus* gave him ſome Parts of *Getulia*, and the two *Mauritania*'s; and that the beſt part of *Numidia* remain'd ſtill a Roman Province. 'Tis true that *Strabo* (*m*) affirms that *Auguſtus* reſtored *Juba* to the Kingdom of his Father, and that moreover he granted him *Mauritania*; but this Geographer limits the *Roman* Province and the Kingdom of *Juba* in ſuch a manner as ſhews that *Numidia* belonged to the *Romans*. III. *Moreri* makes *Pliny* ſay, that *Juba* the Son *found an Herb, which his Phyſician* Euphorbus *called by his Name* Euphorbia. This is not what *Pliny* ſays; his Words are: (*o*) *Invenit & patrum noſtrorum ætate rex Juba, quam appellavit Euphorbiam Medici ſui nomine.* The meaning of which is that *Juba* found an Herb, which from the name of his Phyſician, he called *Euphorbia*. It would be ſomewhat ſtrange that a Phyſician to the King ſhould have been ſo bad a Courtier, as to give his own Name to an Herb, which the King his Maſter had found. Yet this is what *Pliny* affirmed, if we believe *Moreri*. It would be much leſs ſtrange, that a King, who diſcovers an Herb ſhould Chuſe rather to give it the name of his Phyſician than his own. Which is what *Juba* did, if we depend on the Teſtimony of *Pliny* whom I have cited; but there is reaſon to believe, that *Pliny* has not been ſo exact here as he ought to have been. What he ſays in another Book is more Credible, Namely that *Euphorbia* was ſo called from the Name of its Diſcoverer, who was the Phyſician of King *Juba*. He adds a thing, which well deſerved that *Moreri* ſhould take notice of it: Which is, that *Juba* made a particular Treatiſe upon this Herb, in which he beſtowed many Praiſes upon the ſingular Vertues of it. (*p*) *Juba Ptolemæi pater, qui primus utriuſque Mauritaniæ imperavit, ſtudiorum claritate memorabilior etiam, quam regno, ſimilia prodidit de Atlante: præterque gigni ibi herbam Euphorbiam nomine ab inventore medico ſuo appellatam. Cujus lacteum ſuccum miris laudibus celebrat in claritate viſus, contraque ſerpentes, & venena omnia, privatim dicato volumine.* IV. I might let down for one Fault *Moreri*'s falſe Quotations (*q*).

(C) *But a very few Faults of other Authors.*] It ſeems *Joſephus* ſays that *Juba* the Son's Wife was *Glaphyra*, the Widow of one of the Sons of *Herod*. See this Woman's Article (*a*) where we Confute this.

* *Appian. in Iberico p. m. 464.*
† *Id. ib.*
‡ *Aulus Gellius l. 16. c. 13.*
§ *Id. ib.*
‖ *See Ludovicus Nonnius in Hiſpania c. 17. p. m. 64.*
* *Id ib. p. 65.*
† *'Tis a Place two* German *Leagues diſtant from* Dreſden.
* Andreas Schoppius ubi ſupra *ſays that it was on St.* Matthew's *Day: and therefore he ſhould have ſaid the 21. and not the 22.*

(*b*) *Strabo l. 5. p. m. 167.*
(*c*) *See Sigonius in faſtis ad ann. 662.*
(*d*) *In excerptis l. 37. apud Photium.*
(*e*) *See Caſaubon. in Strab. l. 5. p. m. 94.*
(*f*) *Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 16.*
(*g*) *Gerard. Voſſius not. in Paterc. ibid.*
(*h*) *Sigonius de ant. jure Italiæ l. 3. c. 1. fol. m. 100. Boecler. in Paterc. ib.*
(*i*) *See Sigonius ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) *You'll find all this proved in Father* Norris's *Cenotaphia Piſana p. 235.*
(*l*) *Lib. 53. ad. ann. 729.*
(*m*) *Lib. 17. p. 70.*
(*n*) *See Father* Norris *ubi ſupra.*
(*o*) *Plin. l. 25. c. 7. p. m. 400.*
(*p*) *Plin. l. 5. c. 1. ſub. fin. p. m. 327.*
(*q*) *He quotes* Dion *l. 4. & ſeq. But he ſhould have quoted the 43. He quotes* Pliny *c. 1. Book 25. he ſhould have quoted the 7. Chap. He quotes the 8. Book of* Athenæus, *which mentions only a Greek Epigram of* Juba: *He ſhould have quoted the 3. and 4. Books. He ſhould have quoted the 17. Book of* Strabo, *and the 2. Book of* Voſſius.
(*a*) *In the Remark B.*

Dresden. He ſtaid not there long, but choſe rather to Study in the College of *Wittemberg*, and afterwards in that of *Magdeburg*: He was in a wretched Condition, when he came to this laſt Town, being over-run with the Itch, and without Money. The way he took to Live, was to beg an Alms by Singing from Door to Door; but after he was known to be a hopeful Young Man, he was preferred to a Tutor's Place in the Houſe of a Lawyer, who ſent him with his Son to *Wittemberg* in the year 1540. He there took his Maſter of Arts Degree, in *October* 1549. After which he returned to *Magdeburg*, and there taught the ſecond Claſs ſome years; and then he was Miniſter of the Church of St. *Ulric* till the year 1559. He quitted not that Employment till he went to be Profeſſor of Divinity, in the Univerſity of *Jena*. He continued in that Profeſſorſhip but eighteen Months; for his Place was taken away from him, by Order of *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* in the beginning of *October* 1561. He ſtay'd ſtill half a year at *Jena*; and then ſpending almoſt as much time at *Magdeburg*, he Retired to *Wiſmar*. He Died the fifteenth of (*A*) *May* 1564, at *Roſtock*, whither he went a few Days before to Aſſiſt at the Promotion of Scholars. He was a Man (*B*) of good Morals, Laborious, Zealous, Learned, and he wrote many Books. He

this. Father *Salian* thought that *Juba* Died in the 759th year of *Rome*. Father *Noris* has invincibly (*b*) Confuted him by this Obſervation: *Strabo* wrote his thirteenth Book a little after the year 771. Now in his ſeventeenth Book he ſpeaks of *Juba*, as of a Prince lately Dead; *Juba* therefore did not Die before the year 772. or there abouts. The ſame *Strabo* ſays elſewhere (*c*) that *Juba* lived under the Empire of *Tiberius*. Now *Tiberius* began his Reign but in the year 767. It ſeems that one may infer from a Paſſage of *Tacitus*, that *Juba* was ſtill Alive (*d*) in the year 776. *Noldius* was miſtaken in ſuppoſing, that *Dion* ſays that *Auguſtus* gave *Ægypt* to *Juba*, beſides the Kingdom of his Father (*e*). There's nothing in *Dion's* Words, that obliges us to refer the Word ταύτην to *Ægypt*, and 'tis certain it muſt be referred to the Word *Cleopatra*. *Dion's* Tranſlator has miſerably Blunder'd. (*f*) Η τε Κλεοπάτρα τῷ τε Ἰόβᾳ καὶ ἐκείνην, τότε γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τοιαῦτ᾽ ἐποίησε, καὶ συνεξέπεμψεν οἱ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔσχε. *Cleopatra autem Jubæ Jubæ filio in matrimonium tradita eſt. Hunc Jubam Cæſar in Italia educatum, ac ſuam militiam ſecutum, hoc* (regno Read ea, Cleopatra ſcilicet) *& paterno etiam donavit. Noldius* citing the Paſſage, in which *Dion* ſays (*g*) that *Juba*, inſtead of his Father's Kingdom, received of *Auguſtus* ſome parts of *Getulia*, and the States of *Bocchus* and *Bogud*, obſerves that *Pliny* has juſtly Subſtituted in the room of thoſe States, both the *Mauritania's*. *Pro quibus rectè Plinius* Hiſt. nat. V. c. I. *utramque Mauritaniam ſubſtituit, hoc eſt Cæſarienſem & Tingitanam*. Which is clearly to inſinuate this fallity, *viz.* that theſe two *Mauritania's* and the States mention'd by *Dion*, were not the ſame thing.

(*A*) *He Died the* 15th. *of* May 1564.] I ſhould not make a Remark upon this, if it were not to ſay, that Authors are very careleſs with reſpect to the Dates of Death, and Calculations. I find in *Paul Freherus's Theatrum* (*h*) that our *Judex* Died the *11th*. of *June* 1564. This Date is Alledged upon the credit of the *Nomenclator Profeſſorum Icenenſium*, written by *Hadrian Beyer*. Mr. *Sagittarius* (*i*) citing the ſame *Nomenclator*, places *Judex's* Death in the ſame Day as *Paul Freherus*: But I ſee in *Micralius* (*k*) this Death placed in the year 1587. which was the *79th*. of the Deceaſed. There is in the Margin, *Freher. p.* 202. 'Tis hard to conceive, how ſuch an unfaithful Quotation could creep into that Place; and Note, that *Judex* would not have lived 79 years, tho' he had lived till 1587. for he was Born in 1528. 'Tis affirmed in his Life, (*l*) that his Death was the more Regretted, becauſe he had not lived above 37 years. This Calculation is not right; for ſince his Birth was placed on the 22*d*. of *December* 1528. and his Death on the 15*th*. of *May* 1564. it ſhould have been ſaid that he was not 36 years Old.

(*B*) *A Man of good Morals——and who wrote many Books.*] He was of that Sobriety, as not to eat ſo much in a Week, as others but of a Moderate Stomach, Eat in two Days; and his beſt Friends could never obtain of him to Drink more than to ſatisfy his Thirſt (*m*). He was ſo Averſe to Pomp and Luxury, that on his Wedding-day he would not conſent, that his Wife ſhould Dreſs her ſelfſtinely, and obliged her to content her ſelf with very ordinary Cloaths (*n*). His Chaſtity was ſo great, that before he Married, ſome People thought, that he was of a frigid or inſenſible Conſtitution; and he confeſt privately to his intimate Friends, that he believed the cauſe of his ill State of Health, or at leaſt, that what increaſed his Infirmities, was his ſtaying too long before he Married. (*o*) *Ante legitimum conjugium adeò pudicè vixit, ut à nonnullis frigidus ſit judicatus, ac ipſe intimis ſit confeſſus, ſe judicare originem aut certè non leve ſuæ adverſæ valetudinis incrementum inde exiſtere, quod non prius duxiſſet uxorem.* Yet he was Married at 26. years of Age, (*p*) when he was made Miniſter of the Church of St. *Ulric* at *Magdeburg*. He Married a Maid of fifteen or ſixteen years of Age, who was not Rich. Some of his Friends were Angry, that he had Married a Wife, who had neither Years nor Money enough; but he Anſwered 'em, that he had always beg'd of God a Wife, inexperienc'd in evil Things, tractable, free from Pride, *&c.* (*q*) *Ægrius tuere Unicorum quidam, quid juvenculam & minùs dotatam ſibi jungeret virginem, ſed ita reſpondit, ſe ab adoleſcentia aſſiduè potiſſe à Deo, ut puellam bonis prognatam, honeſtè educatam, virtutibus & pietate ornatam, malarum rerum ætate adhuc imperitam, & morigeram potiùs, quam natalibus claram, delicatâ & blandâ educatione ac converſatione malâ depravatam, ſibi dare dignaretur, ac ſe voti ſui compotem factum in Dei providentia adquieſcere.* He lived Pioully and Comfortably with his Wife a little above ten years, and had ſix Children by her. (*r*) She Married the ſecond time (*ſ*) *Andrew Schoppius*.

I ſhall now Speak of the Books he wrote. He Tranſlated into Latin the *German* Book of *Luther* concerning the Literal Senſe of the Words, *This is my Body*. He Dedicated that Work to the Senate of *Ratisbonne*, and confuted in the Epiſtle Dedicatory the fifteen main Arguments of the *Zuinglians*. The Title of a Book he Publiſhed in the year 1559. runs thus: *quod augere peccata ſeu contemnari pœnitentiam ſit proprium legis & non Evangelii proprie dicti, rationes & argumenta*. His Treatiſe *De typographiæ inventione, & de prælorum legitima inſpectione*, was Printed in the year 1566. His *Enarrationes Epiſtolarum Dominicalium* came out in the year 1578. He Publiſhed ſix Books of his own Compoſing in *High-Dutch*. He and *Wigandus* jointly Publiſhed ſome Pieces, as (*t*) *Reſponſio ad confeſſionem Majoris de Juſtificatione & bonis operibus. Reſponſio ad ſcurriles & blaſphemos fœtidi Rambocchi Rythmos Witebergæ impreſſos. De Adiaphoris ex ruptelis in magno libro Actorum Interimiſticorum, ſub conficto titulo Profeſſorum Wittebergenſium edito, reperti, Admonitiones. Corpus Doctrinæ ex Novo Teſtamento. De Victorini Strigelii declaratione ſeu potiùs occultatione. Andrew Schoppius* adds thus: *Item cum Illyrico. Muſæo & Wigando miſit Epiſtolam ad quoſdam pios fratres de cauſſa Victorini. Et cum iiſdem ſe purgavit de ficta rationibus dimiſſionis Jenenſis, quas charta* [illegible] *referebat* (*v*). He afterwards gives the Titles of ſome *German* Books, and of ſome Latin Pieces that have not been Printed. He obſerves (*w*) that *Judex* was well ſkill'd in Muſick, and had ſome Knowledge of the Mathematicks. He was not ignorant of Aſtrology, and Calculated ſome Nativities, *Judicia nativitatum ſibi, liberis ſuis & Emldenis* (*x*) *nonnullis compoſuit, atque figuras cœli, quas vocant, aliis rebus ac-*

(*b*) *Ubi ſupra p.* 238.
(*c*) *Lib.* 6. *circa fin.*
(*d*) *See the Article* Glaphyra (*e*) *Noldius de vitâ & geſtis Herodum, p.* 176.
(*f*) *Dio, l.* 54. *p.* 520. Lieucla-vius *takes notice of this Fault of* Xyphilin *in his Edition of* Dion Caſſius.
(*g*) *Id. lib.* 54. *pag.* 589. *ad ann.* 729.
(*h*) *Page* 202.
(*i*) *Sagittar. introd. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. p.* 247.
(*k*) *Micral. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. p.* 770. *Edit.* 1699.
(*l*) *Andr. Schoppius Orat. de vita Matth. Judicis apud Cranium anim. phil. & Hiſt. parte* 6. *p.* 71.
(*m*) *Schoppius ib. p.* 58.
(*n*) *Id. ib. & p.* 59.
(*o*) *Id. ib. p.* 57. 58.
(*p*) *Idem p.* 58.
(*q*) *Id. ib.*
(*r*) *Id. ib.*
(*ſ*) *Id. ib. p.* 50.
(*t*) *Ex* 1558.
(*v*) *Taken from* Andrew Schoppius *p.* 63. *& ſeq.*
(*w*) *Id. ib. p.* 56.
(*x*) *He was Tutor to the Children of* Levinus Emdenius *a Civilian of* Magdeburg.

He had many Perſecutions and Vexations (C) to go through, during the Courſe of his Miniſtry *.

JUDITH, A *Jewiſh* Woman, delivered her Country Invaded by *Holofernes*. You'll find this Hiſtory in *Moreri*, with ſome Obſervations upon the Perplexity, in which it involves the Commentators. Of all the Books that the Proteſtants have Rejected as Apocryphal, there is none that better deſerves that Blot than this; for the beſt thing that can be ſaid of it is, that it is (A) a Pious Romance. 'Tis not many years ſince, a Learned Benedictin (B) wrote a Book to ſolve the Difficulties, that are raiſed

commodatas exercit. He had Studied ſome time the Civil Law at *Wittemberg*: He could make Latin and Greek Verſes, and he had a deſign to Compoſe an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of his time (*y*). Every Body knows that he had (*z*) a Hand in the ten firſt Centuries of *Magdeburg*, and that it was a very great Labour. He Died very Young, and had a bad State of Health (*a*) for fifteen Years together, and therefore it can't be doubted that he was very Studious and Laborious.

I ſhall Occaſionally relate a thing, which may ſerve as a Supplement to what we have ſeen (*b*) above concerning the Hiſtory of theſe Centuries. The three laſt were never Publiſhed, tho' the Centuriators had proceeded very far in them, and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, Duke of *Pruſſia*, had given Orders to *Andrew Stangewald* to put the laſt Hand to them, that they might be Printed. *Andreas Stangewaldus——fibi ab inclyto Marchione Brandenburgenſi, Duce Boruſſiæ tum temporis negotium datum eſſe confirmabat, ut reliquas tres centurias Eccleſiaſticæ Hiſtoriæ Magdeburgenſ. ab autoribus affectas jam penèque perfectas, perpoliret, atque ad editionem accuratè præpararet.* Mr. *Crenius* (*c*) has Publiſhed the Letter, out of which I have taken this Paſſage. It was found in a Poſthumous Work of *Conrad Schluſſelburgius* Printed at *Roſtock* in the year 1624. He wonders how Mr. *Sagittarius* forgot this Particular; and he mentions another which he read in a Work (*d*) of the Civilian *Francis Baudouin*: Namely, that (*e*) a *French* Tranſlation of the Centuries of *Magdeburg* was made at *Geneva*, with the ſame unſincerity, that appeared in the *French* Tranſlation of *Luther's* Comuentary upon St. *Paul's* Epiſtle to the *Galatians*.

(C) *He had many Perſecutions and Vexations to go through.*] He was one of thoſe that drew up the Diſcipline of the Church of *Magdeburg*, which was Printed in the year 1554. He ſhewed himſelf very exact in the Execution of it, and refuſed the Sacrament to ſome Impenitent Perſons. Hereupon he was threatned (*f*) to be Beaten and trampled under Foot. He was very much abuſed in the Satyrs, that were made at *Wittemberg* againſt the Centuriators. (*g*) *Scurriles Nemini ſtæ & Acolaſti Witebergenſes in famoſa illius laboris reprehenſione & acerba invectiva D. Judicem vocabant Judam & pullum filium aſinæ ſubjugalis.* He ſtoutly oppoſed the *Synergiſts*, whilſt he was Profeſſor of Divinity at *Jena*. It was a powerful Party, that Paſquin'd him, in an Inſolent and Slanderous Manner. They made uſe of Stones too; for there was a Gang of Rogues, who all the Night long committed Riots about his Houſe, and his Windows. He was deprived of his Imployment, after having Exerciſed it in the midſt of many Troubles eighteen Months. The pretence (*h*) alledged for it was the Publication of a *German* Book, *De fuga Papatus*; but one of the true Cauſes was his Oppoſition to the Party, which was favoured (*i*) at Court. This Party was that of *Strigelius*, a Profeſſor, one of the Heads of the *Synergiſts*, or Sticklers for Humane Liberty. They did not fail to give out many Reaſons or Pretences for the Depoſing of *Matthew Judex*, which were all Confuted. He was accuſed, amongſt other things, of having diſperſed ſeveral Copies of *Balthaſar Winter's* Life, and he was required to diſcover the Author of that Satyr, and to recover all the Copies, and ſend 'em to Court. He Anſwered that this Work was no Libel; that it was only the true Narrative of the Life and Death of a faithful Servant of God, that it was neceſſary to oppoſe the Calumnies which the Enemies of that Pious Man had ſpread, and to Communicate it to the Widow, and ſome others to Comfort them. He did not think himſelf obliged to name the Author; but he offer'd to Anſwer to that Affair before impartial Judges, made up of Laymen, and Eccleſiaſticks. His Adverſaries did not care for ſuch a Tribunal (*k*). Leaving *Jena* he retired to *Magdeburg* with his Friend *Wigandus*, and did not long enjoy the Permiſſion the Senate granted him to ſtay there. Some Miniſters were Arreſted, others were expell'd by Night from the Town. He did not approve that Conduct of the Magiſtrates, and adviſed theſe Afflicted Miniſters to Patience. He expoſed himſelf by this means to many ill Uſages, and a Burgher received Orders not to let him his Houſe. His Father-in-Law had a ſhare in the Outrages, becauſe he had Lodged him in his Houſe. At laſt the Senate commanded *Matthew Judex* to depart immediately from *Magdeburg*. His Wife melting in Tears, intreated the firſt Burgo-Maſter to permit her to ſtay at her Father's with her five Children, till the Rigour of the Winter ſhould be over. She repreſented to them that her Eldeſt Son was but eight years Old, and that the Youngeſt was but three Months, and beſides was Sick. All her Intreaties and Remonſtrations proved ineffectual; depart they muſt, and retire to *Wiſmar* thro' the Snow (*l*). The Roman Catholicks have been well pleaſed with the ill Treatment of the Centuriators of *Magdeburg*. I will only alledge the Reflection of a Jeſuit. *As for the four firſt Authors of the Centuries*, ſays he (*m*), *their Fortune was very different from that of* Baronius; *for ſoon after they had Publiſhed their Work, they were Baniſhed by the* Lutherans *themſelves, who could not ſuffer among 'em ſuch Wicked Men.*

(A) *That it is a Pious Romance.*] Dom. Bernard de Montfaucon (*n*) obſerves that *the Proteſtants, to Extricate themſelves out of all Difficulties, have ſaid that this Book is but a Fiction or a Parable, and that ſome of them have affirmed it to be a Tragedy.* I think the Proteſtants don't trouble their Heads with removing theſe Difficulties; for 'tis their Intereſt they ſhould ſubſiſt and multiply in the moſt perplexing Manner. By this they ſhew they have reaſon to reject this Book, and that the Church of *Rome* falſly takes it for a Canonical Book. I believe then that the Author in ſaying this, did not conſider the Syſtem of the Proteſtants; he thought they were no leſs concerned than the Catholicks to maintain the Authenticknes of this Book. When it cannot be maintain'd by reconciling a thing with Hiſtorical Truths, 'tis uſual to have recourſe to Allegories, Parables, the myſtical Senſe, &c. And this the Proteſtants would do if they believed this Hiſtory to be Divinely Inſpired; but becauſe they don't believe it, it does not concern them to ſay that it is a Parable.

(B) *A learned Benedictin writ a Book.*] You'll ſee his Name, and the Title of his Book in the foregoing Remark. The method he has taken to Vindicate the Hiſtory of *Judith* is more Inſtructive and Edifying, than that which is made uſe of by the Roman Controverſiſts. The latter generally are contented to retort the Objections. They indeavour to ſhew, that the difficulties raiſed by the Proteſtants againſt the Apocryphal Books, may be alledged againſt the Cononical. But *Dom Bernard de Montfaucon* touches very ſlightly upon this, and makes it his buſineſs to give a direct Anſwer. Its whole Recrimination is contained in theſe Words: (*o*) *Are there not many Stories in the Sacred Text, in which we find theſe and even greater Difficulties, and yet for all that, no Body goes about to deny the truth of 'em in the Litteral Senſe? Is not the Hiſtory of* Eſther *full of Confuſion and Difficulties, which it's hardly poſſible to get clear of? Did ever*

any

* *Taken from Andrew Schoppius* in oratione de vita Matthæi Judicis. *It is to be found at the end of the 2d. Part* enarrationis Epiſtolarum Dominicalium Matthæi Judicis, Iſlebiæ 1578. in 8vo. *Mr.* Crenius *has inſerted that Speech in the 6th. part of his* animadverſiones philol. & hiſtor. *p.* 49. *&* ſeq.

(*y*) *Id. ib.*

(*z*) *Note, that he had a Hand in the* German *Tranſlation of the three firſt Centuries.*

(*a*) Annis quindecim valetudine afflictiſſima. *Id. ib.*

(*b*) *In the Article of* Illyricus (Flacius.)

(*c*) *Crenius animadv. parte 6. p.* 72.

(*d*) Viz. *His Anſwer to* Beza *under the name of* Michael Fabricius

(*e*) *Id. ib. in addendis p. penult.*

(*f*) Ipſi verbera & concuſationem fœdiſſimam minati ſunt quòd eos ad Baptiſmum & uſum Cœnæ non admiſerat. *Andr. Schoppius ibi. p.* 62. (*g*) *Id. ib. p.* 67. (*h*) *Id. ib p. Court of the Duke of* Weimar.

(*i*) *The*

(*k*) *Id. ib. p.* 68.

(*l*) *Id. ib. p.* 69.

(*m*) *Maimbourg, Hiſt. du Lutheranſme. tom. 2. p.* 159. Dutch *Edit.*

(*n*) *In the Preface to the* Verité de l'hiſtoire de de Judith, Paris, 1690. in 12. *The 2. Edition came out in* 1692.

(*o*) *Pag.* 283.

raiſed againſt this Hiſtory. If he has not removed them, he has at leaſt ſupplied us with ſome uſeful Illuſtrations. I have ſeen a Diſſertation †, wherein, amongſt other Arguments this is inforced, that a Book cannot be ſaid to be Canonical, when it Authorizes Aſſaſſination. This puts me in Mind of a thing (C) concerning the Aſſaſſin of *William I.* Prince of *Orange*. Some Body has Obſerved, that it is a very ſignificant Commendation of *Judith* to ſay that ſhe was never ill ſpoken off (D).

† *Intituled* Fides Judithæ *&c. at* Verona *in the year* 1614. *and written by* Mirabilis de Bonacaſa, *wherein the Author ſhews* 1. *that the Book of* Judith *is Apocryphal,* 2. *that* Judith's *Attempt was a Wicked one, and that* Roſſæus Mariana, *and other Enemies of Monarchy have no reaſon to take Advantage of it. The true Name of this* Mirabilis de Bonacaſa, *was* Eberard de Weihe; *he was Chancellor to Prince* Julius *Duke of* Brunſwick. *See* Placcius de Pſeudonym. *p.* 166.

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any one ſhew clearly and certainly, who is the Ahaſuerus *mentioned in that Book, and in what time that Hiſtory ought to be placed? Is it not as difficult to fix the time of the Hiſtory of* Ruth, *and of the Ruin of the Tribe of* Benjamin? *And yet no Body dares ſay, that they are Parabolical or Ænigmatical Hiſtories.* I do not know whether he had ſeen *Raynoldus*'s Objections, who of all the Proteſtant Writers, has handled the Controverſy of the Apocryphal Books with the greateſt force.

(C) *Concerning the Aſſaſſin of* William I. *Prince of* Orange.] I mean that Villain *Balthazar Gerard*, who killed him; for there were other Aſſaſſins, who did but Wound him. (a) *Tho' he was an arrant Catholick, he craftily pretended to be a Proteſtant. He went to Sermons, and Evening Prayers, he had always* Marot's *Pſalms in his Hands, or ſome other Proteſtant Book. He read alſo* du Bartas's Poetical Week; *and 'twas found that the Place moſt worn out, was the Story of* Judith *Murdering* Holofernes. There's no doubt but this Woman's Example may perſuade a great many People that 'tis a Holy Action, by means of a thouſand Lies to get ones ſelf admitted to a Prince who oppreſſes Liberty and Religion, in order to Stab him as ſoon as an Opportunity offers. In a Word, this Hiſtory being taken for a Canonical one, incourages Aſſaſſins to attempt upon the Life of Kings, whom they hate, and furniſhes Orators with a Crown of Glory, to put upon the Head of the *Clement's* and *Ravaillac's*. Obſerve this Paſſage of *Maimbourg*. The Leaguers (b) Publiſhed alſo in their Books Printed at *Paris* and *Lyons*, that an Angel had declared to *James Clement*, that the Crown of Martyrdom was prepared for him, when he ſhould have delivered *France* from *Henry de Valois*; and that having acquainted a Learned Monk with his Viſion, that Monk approved of it, aſſuring him that in ſtriking this Blow, he would be no leſs acceptable to God, than *Judith* was in killing *Holofernes*. And becauſe his Prior, named Father *Edme Bourgoing*, was accuſed of being, of all the Preachers of the League, the moſt Paſſionate Panegyriſt of that Abominable Parricide, Directing his Diſcourſe to him in the Pulpit, and calling him the Bleſſed Child of his Patriarch, and the Holy Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt, and comparing him to *Judith*; it was not doubted but it was he, with whom this young Man, who was under his Tuition, had adviſed; and that he had afterwards Confirmed him in his execrable Deſign.

(a) *Hiſt. d'Alexandre Farneſe Duc de Parme Book* 3. *p.* 209. *Printed in* 1692.

(b) *Maimbourg, Hiſtoire de la Ligue p.* 358.

(D) *She was never ill ſpoken of.*] The thought I ſpeak of, is to be found in an Extract (c) of a Panegyrick. The Abbot *de la Chambre* making the Funeral Oration of the late *French* Queen (d), took his Text in theſe Words of the Book of *Judith*, *She made her ſelf famous, famoſiſſima, in all things, and there was none that gave her an ill Word; for ſhe feared God greatly.* 'Tis perhaps the fineſt Commendation that ever was given to a Woman; For tho' notwithſtanding the prodigious Deſtraction that has prevailed ſo long in the World, there are ſome Women, that remain untouched by that implacable and inſatiable Monſter; yet this good Fortune rarely happens to thoſe who have otherwiſe a ſhining Reputation, and who are, as the Text ſays, *famoſiſſimæ*: ſo that we may boldly Challenge all the *Greeks* and *Romans* to ſhew us a Paſſage in their Books, that in ſo few Words gives us ſo great an Idea, as that which the Book of *Judith* gives us in the Words before mentioned. The Addreſs that *Homer* made uſe of, to give his Reader a great Notion (e) of the Beauty of *Hélena*, is certainly inferior to the Plainneſs and Simplicity of this *Jewiſh* Author; and that which is moſt excellent in his way of Praiſing, is, that he has included in his Elogy the true cauſe of the Virtue here deſcribed: *ſhe had*, ſays he, *a great Reputation in all things, and was ſecure from every evil Tongue, becauſe ſhe was ſenſibly touched with the fear of the Lord.* 'Tis upon this happy Expreſſion of *Judith*'s Panegyriſt, that the Abbot *de la Chambre* built his Funeral Oration of the Queen.

(c) *In the* Nouvelles de la Repub. des lettres, *December* 1684. *art.* 8. *p.* 1041.

(d) *I write this the* 20. *of* Auguſt 1693.

(e) *See above* Helena, *Remark A.*

Anſonius places it among the Sentences of one of the ſeven Wiſe Men of *Greece*, that a Chaſt Woman frights away Calumny:

Quæ (f) dos matrona pulcherrima? Vita pudica.
Quæ caſta eſt? de qua mentiri fama veretur.

He ſuppoſes that *Bias* had two Queſtions to Anſwer. The firſt was, *What is the nobleſt Portion of a Woman?* He Anſwered a Chaſt Life. The ſecond was, *What Woman is Chaſt?* He Anſwered, ſhe whom Fame dares not Slander. Theſe Rules are ſevere, will ſome ſay; for they Condemn all Women that have been expoſed to the Bitings of Obloquy; and yet 'tis certain that there are moſt Virtuous Women, who have not been able to avoid them. It muſt be owned that this Maxim of *Bias* cannot ſerve as a general Rule without Exception; but generally it is a ſign of a very Wiſe Conduct, both as to the inſide and the outſide, to enjoy the Reputation of a Chaſt Woman without any Oppoſition or Contradiction whatſoever. (g) *Magnus eſt pudicitiæ fructus pudicam credi; & adverſus omnes illecebras atque omnia delinimenta muliebris ingenii eſt veluti ſolum ac firmamentum in nullam incidiſſe fabulam.* This is what the Orator *Porcius Latro* ſaid, pleading for a Husband, who accuſed his Wife of Adultery, becauſe a Rich Foreign Merchant had made her his Heir, and gave as the reaſon of it, his not being able to Debauch her. The Advocate drew from thence one of his Arguments: He maintained, that a Woman became juſtly ſuſpected, when once her Honour was Attempted; for if ſhe was very Chaſt, her Refuſal might be read in her Face, and her outward behaviour would baffle the hopes of a Gallant, and diſcourage him from diſcovering his Paſſion. She would refuſe him at leaſt with ſo much ſeverity, that he would never be ſo bold as to make a ſecond Attempt. If ſhe is not afraid to be thought capable of the Fault, ſhe will not fear to commit it. (h) *Matrona qua ſe adverſus ſollicitantes aviam volet, prodeat in tantum ornata, ne immunda ſit: habeat comites ejus ætatis, qui impudicos, ſi nihil aliud, verecundia annorum removeant: ferat jacentes in terram oculos: adverſus officioſum ſalutatorem inhumana potius quam inverecunda ſit, etiam in neceſſariam reſalutandi vicem multo rubore conſuſa longe ante impudicitiam neget ore, quam verbo: in hac ſervanda integritatis cuſtodia, nulla libido irrumpet. Prodite mihi fronte in omne lenocinium compoſita, paulo obſcœnius quam poſita veſte nuda, exquiſito in omnes facetias ſermone, tantum non ultro blandientes, ut quiſquis vicerit, non metuat accedere. Deinde miramini, ſi cum tot argumentis pudicitiam proſcripſerit, cultu, inceſſu, facie, aliquis repertum eſt qui incurreret, & reæ adulteræ ſe non ſubduceret. Internuntium, puto ſollicitantis ſe, arripi & denudari juſſit, & flagella & verbera, & omne genus cruciatus popoſcit in plagæ deterrimi mancipii: vim imbecillitas muliebris manus continuit. Nemo ſic negantem iterum rogat———(i) Qua poteſt non timere opinionem adulterii, poteſt non timere adulterium.* Theſe Maxims are too rigid and too ſtrained, and we ſhould frequently be very unjuſt, if we ſhould direct our Judgments by them. But the Advantage, Happineſs and Glory of our *Judith*, raiſe her Virtue and good Conduct to the higheſt degree. I ſhall occaſionally obſerve that the Morality of ſome Heathens was ſo Auſtere, that they would not have a Woman to give matter either for Praiſe or Reproach: That is, they would have her true merit to conſiſt in this, that ſhe ſhould not be talk'd off, and that no Body ſhould ſpeak well or ill of her. *Plutarch* diſlikes this

(f) *Auſon. in ſeptem ſapientum ſententiis ſeptenis verſibus explicatis p. m.* 288.

(g) *Seneca Controv.* 7. *l.* 2. *p. m.* 187.

(h) *Seneca ibid. p.* 186.

(i) *Id. ib. p.* 187.

JULIUS II. created Pope the Night between the 31st of *October*, and the first of *November*, 1503, was Nephew to *Sixtus* IV. and was called *Julian de la* † *Rouvere*. 'Tis said that he had been a Water-man (*A*). There was something very remarkable (*B*) in his Election; for, properly speaking, it preceded the Entrance of the Cardinals into the Conclave.

† *The Italians write it* Ruvere.

Maxim, as we see from the *Exordium* of one of his Books: '(*l*) I am not of *Thucydides*'s Opinion—— concerning the Virtue of Women; because he reckons her the most virtuous and the best, who is the least spoken of, whether well or ill, imagining that the Name of a Woman of Honour ought to be as much confined as her Body, and never go abroad. I think *Gorgias* was more reasonable, who would have the Fame, and not the Face of a Woman to be publickly known. And in my Opinion the Law or Custom of the *Romans* was very good, which ordered, that Women, as well as Men, after their Death, should be publickly honoured at their Funerals with the Praises they deserved. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* was of *Thucydides*'s Judgment. Fear the Praises of Men, said he, speaking to a Woman; this Fear is the Ornament of your Sex.

(*l*) *Plut. parall. de mulier. virtutib. pag.* 242.

(*m*) *Gregor. Nazianz. περὶ καλλωπιζομένου γυναικῶν.*

Ἄλλην (*m*) τὰ τοιαῦτα, σὺ δ' ἄζου χαλινὸν ἀνδρῶν,
Καὶ καλλωπίζου, πότνα γυναικὶ κλέος.

Lingua aliis vana: at labiis vereare virorum
Commendari etiam, hoc fœminæum decus est.

(*n*) *Synes. Ossirim orat. I. de providentia.*

To which may be added these Words of *Synesius*, (*n*) Μίαν ἀρετὴν Ὄσιρις ἤσκει γυναικὸς εἶναι, τὸ μήτε τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς, μήτε τὸ ὄνομα ἐξιέναι τῶν οἴκων. *Unam virtutem Osiris muliebrem esse censebat, ut neque corpus, neque nomen mulieris è vestibulo exires.* What *Synesius* ascribes to *Osiris* is at the bottom the same thing that *Plutarch* ascribes to *Thucydides*. Some have given it out as the Opinion of *Pericles*. See these Words of *John della Casa*. (*a*) *Cujus quidem mulieris* (Victoriæ Farnesiæ) *modestia ac pudor ingenium illud profecto præstitisse, quod Pericles ejunt dixisse, primam in muliere laudem esse, ut ne de virtute quidem illius ulla ad viros fama emanet: sed nulla ratione occultari tanta primaria fœmina virtus potest, quin ad viros quoque emergat, ac suo ipsa splendore prodat.* But though an Hundred Persons, as illustrious as these three (*b*), had vouch'd this Maxim, we should not be obliged to approve of it. This would be condemning Women to a more rigid Life than that of the *Carthusians*; it would be imposing on them the Inclosure and Silence of those Monks, and forbidding them to receive any Visit in their Cells. Now this is more than is imposed upon the *Carthusians*.

(*a*) *Joh. Casa in vita Petri Bembi, pag.* 143. *collect. Bateffi.*

(*b*) *Osiris, Thucydides, Pericles.*

I conclude with this Observation. The Reputation of *Judith*, that Reputation I say, clean and free from Suspicion, and secure against evil Fame, is an admirable Proof of Virtue and Prudence. But it must not be from thence concluded, that every Woman who has not that good Fortune, and is ill spoken of, is at least guilty of Imprudence. It may be true that a Woman has a regular Conduct, and yet because she has for some good Reasons put off her waiting Woman, her Chamber-Maid, *&c.* scandalous Stories shall be quickly forged. The disgrac'd Creature being malicious and revengeful, will apply to her Mistress's Enemies, and give them mysterious Insinuations, as the Spirit of Slander shall suggest. These Lies shall be heightned, whisper'd about, flourish'd and enlarged on; nay, they shall be printed; and thus a Person really innocent, shall not have the Reputation of being so; so true it is, as I have said in another Place, that the Appearance is sometimes more difficult to obtain, than the Reality. This depends upon our selves, the other depends on many Causes that are not in our Disposal. The Poet *Plautus* represents this Thought very naturally in a Scene, wherein he introduces two old Blades, *Callicles* and *Megaronides* talking thus:

(*d*) *Plautus in Trinummo, act.* 1. *sc.* 2. 41. *v. m.* 732.

Me. (*d*) *Quia omnes bonas, bonasque accurare addecet,*
Suspicionem, & culpam, ut ab se segregent.
C A. Non potest ut unquæ fieri. *M E. Quapropter? C A. Rogas?*
Ne admittam culpam, meo sum promus pectori:
Suspicio est in pectore alieno sita.
Nam nunc ego si te furtipisse suspicor
Jovi coronam de capite, è Capitolio,
Quod in culmine erat summo; si id non feceris,
Atque id tamen mihi habeat suspicarier:
Qui tu id prohibere me potes, ne suspicer?
. . . . . .
C A. (*e*) *Exspecto, si quid dicas. M E. Primumdum omnium,*
Male dissimulatur tibi volgo in sermonibus:
Turpilucricupidem te vocant cives tui.
Tum autem sunt alii, qui te volturium vocant:
Hostesne, an cives comedis, parvi pendere,
Hæc cum audio in te dicier, excrucior miser.
C A. Est, atque non est, mihi in manu; Megaronides,
Quid dicant; non est: meritò ut ne dicant; id est.

(*e*) *Id. ib. v.* 61. *pag.* 733.

This Conclusion is excellent: It does not depend upon me, answered *Megaronides*, to prevent being ill spoken of; it is only in my Power, that it be not done deservedly. Note, that there are an hundred Accidents that may give Birth to the same Consequences, as the Malice of a Servant turned out.

(*A*) 'Tis said, that he was a Water-man.] *Erasmus* has inserted this Tradition in his Adages. *A remo ad tribunal*, says he (*f*), *Dici solitum, ubi quis repente ab infima conditione provehitur ad honesti muneris administrationem. Id quod haud scio an ulli contigerit felicius quàm Julio secundo. Nam fama est, hunc juvenem ad stipem scalmum remo subigere solitum, & tamen à remulco non solùm ad tribunal, verumetiam ad summum illud rerum humanarum culmen evectus est. Nec contentus hoc fastigio, pontificia ditionis pomeria multùm protulit; longiùs etiam producere licuisset.* Father *Theophilus Raynaud* is mistaken, in saying (*g*), that he makes mention of the same thing in the Explication of the Proverb, *è scapha in triumphalem quadrigam*. 'Tis not he, but *Hadrian Junius* (*h*), who explained this Adage, and says: *Efferri potest de quovis è fœce hominum ad magnas opes dignitatesque provecto, quemadmodum Julius Ligur post sedentariam operam inducendo scalmo diu navatam, Sixti Pontificis beneficio insignibus Ecclesiasticorum honorum ornatus, tandem ad Pontificatum maximum emersit. Anastasius Germonius*, Archbishop of *Tarentaise* has maintained, that all the Stories concerning the Birth of *Sixtus* IV. and *Julius* II. are false; and that *Leonard de la Rouvere*, Father of *Sixtus* IV. was a very noble Knight, and that before the Exaltation of this Pope, the Family of *la Rouvere* was in a flourishing State. (*i*) *Sixtus IV. falso jactatus est à plebeiis & piscatoribus oriundus cùm patrem haberet Leonardum de Rovere, Equitem nobilissimum, ut observavit Anastasius Germonius, exponens indultum Hieronymi Cardinalis de Ruvere* §. Sixtus num. 28. *qui etiam* §. Magnis, *de genere Ruverea antiquo, (etiam ante Sixtum) splendore, egit diffusissimè.*

(*f*) *Erasm. Adag. Chil.* 3 *centur.* 4. *n.* 86. *pag. m.* 758.

(*g*) *Theophil. Raynaud. Hagiol. Palatin. Mophebeæ, sect.* 2. *sæc.* 3. *cap.* 1. *p. m.* 303.

(*h*) *Hadr. Junius, Adag. centur.* 6. *n.* 43.

(*i*) *Theophil. Raynaud. ibid. pag.* 304.

Mr. *de la Monnoie* (*k*) pretends, that *Anastasius Germonius*, who only copies *Onuphrius*, can't stand 'against *Philelphus*, *Baptist Fregosus*, *Volaterranus*, 'Corio, *Erasmus*, *Machiavel*, *Chassaneus*, *Bandel*, 'du *Perron*, *Masson*, and so many others cited by 'Spondanus, in his Continuation of *Baronius*, on the 'Year 1471. n. 10. *Bandel* affirms, that *Julius* II. boasted that he had steer'd a little Vessel. (*l*) *Giulio secondo Pontefice, anchorchè di bassissima gente fosse discesso, e non si vergognasse spesse fiate dire che egli da Arbizuola, villa del Savonese, havesse con una barchetta più volte, quando era garzone, menato de le cipolle à vendere à Genova, fù nondimeno huomo di grandissimo ingegno e di molto elevato spirto.*

(*k*) *In a Manuscript Remark, which he has imparted to me.*

(*l*) Bandel, *Novel* 31. *of the* 1*st. part, fol.* 219. *verso.* Mr. de la Monnoie, *has acquainted me with this Passage.*

(*B*) *There was something very remarkable in his Election.*] He was sure of his Election before the Cardinals entred the Conclave; so that he came into it Pope. He was an Exception to the common Proverb (*m*), that he who enters the Conclave Pope, comes out Cardinal, *Chi entra Papa, esce Cardinale.* He

(*m*) *Memoires des intrigues de la Cour de Rome, printed at Paris,* 1677. *pag.* 20.

Conclave. He had gain'd the Faction of the Duke of *Valentinois*, by (C) giving him to understand, that he was his Father, and promising to treat him as his Son. He did afterwards just the contrary. No Man had ever a more Martial Spirit (D) than he. He was in Person at the taking of Towns (E), and appeared more eager than those who commanded his Armies. Abundance of Writers affirm, that he once threw St. *Peter*'s

He had so well secured his Faction, by so many Promises, and that in his Power so many Means of enriching such as would serve him, that it was not possible for him to miss of the Papal Dignity. Besides the Riches which he had already gotten, he kept in his Hands those of others: Every one was apt to offer him Money, and even his Benefices; so that he saw himself in a Capacity of promising more than was asked. Thus you see the unjust way by which he rose to the Pontificate. 'Tis not a Protestant, but an *Italian* Author that says it. (n) *Ma molto più velo promossono le promissioni immoderate, & infinite fatte da lui a' Cardinali, a' Principi, a' Baroni, & a ciascuno, che gli potesse essere utile a questo negotio, di quanto seppono dimandare: & hebbe oltra ciò facultà di distribuir danari, e molti beneficii, e dignità Ecclesiastiche, così delle sue proprie, come di quelle d'altri: perche alla fama della sua liberalità molti concorrevano spontaneamente ad offerirgli, che usasse a proposito suo i danari, il nome, gli uffícii, & i beneficii loro: ne fu considerato per alcuno essers molto maggiore le sue promesse di quello, che poi Pontefice potesse, o dovesse osservare: perche haveva lungamente havuto nome solo d'huomo libero, & veridico, che Alessandro Sesto, nimico suo tanto acerbo, mordendolo nell' altre cose; confessava lui essere huomo vorace; laqual laude, egli sapendo, che [illegible] più facilmente inganna gli altri, che chi è solito, & ha fama di mai non gl'ingannare; non tenne conto, per conseguire il Pontificato, di macolare.* If he had not made use of this Simony, how could he have induc'd the Cardinals to give him their Voices? He, who (o) had always discovered such a turbulent and terrible Temper, and got many Enemies. Money brings every thing about; it made a Pope, before they had met for the Election: A thing never known before. *Il Cardinale di San Pietro in Vincola potente d'amici, de ricchezze, haveva tirati a se i voti di tanti Cardinali, che non havendo ardire di opporsegli quegli, che erano di contraria sentenza, entrando in Conclave già l'Papa certo, e stabilito; fu con essempio incognito prima alla memoria de gli huomini, senza che altrimenti si chiudesse il Conclave, la notte medesima, che fu la notte dell' ultimo giorno d'Ottobre, assunto al Pontificato* (p).

(C) *By giving the Duke of* Valentinois *to understand that he was his Father.*] I have read this no where but in *Varillas*. This (c) Historian relates, that the *French* accused *Julius* II. 'of having ascended St. 'Peter's Throne by two irregular Ways, to wit by 'Simony (b), and Deceit. To prove the Simony 'they instanced upon the Benefices, and Legations 'promised in the Conclave, and given after the E'lection to the Cardinals, who were Heads of the 'Factions, and they specified the Sums of Money, 'which the other Cardinals had finger'd for the 'Price of their Voices. To demonstrate the Deceit, 'it was remonstrated to the same Pope, that the 'Spanish Cardinals being engaged by Oath not to 'give their Voices to any other, than him who was 'proposed by the Duke of *Valentinois*, the Cardi'nal of St. *Peter* in Bonds, who was sworn Enemy 'to this Duke, subborned some Persons to persuade 'him, that he was his Father; that he had kept 'his Mother when she seemed only to be devoted to 'Cardinal *Borgia*, who was afterwards *Alexan'der* VI; that the Jealousie the same *Borgia* con'ceived against him, was the only cause of the 'Persecution he had suffered from him for Ten 'Years together; but the Business at present being 'to chuse another Pope, if he would lend him his 'Interest, he would treat him as his Son. The 'Duke of *Valentinois* gave Credit to the Secret that 'was told him, so far as to consent, that the Car'dinals of his Faction should elect the Cardinal of 'St. *Peter* in Bonds, who failed not immediately af'ter to deprive him of all *Romagna* and *Venetia*, in'stead of acknowledging him for his Son.

(D) *A more Martial Spirit than he.*] Here is what *John le Maire* Historiographer to *Lewis* XII. says of him. '(c) Let us farther declare another won'derful Difference in the end of this Work; I 'mean the Graciousness and Affability of the Sultan 'to the most Christian King, in Comparison of the 'Rigour and Obstinacy of the present Pope, who 'being always in his Armour, as if he would have 'his terrible and warlike Actions spoken of, as 'those of the great *Tamerlan*, Emperor and Sul'tan of the Tartars, will continually carry on the 'War, which becomes him as little, as dancing does 'a hooded Monk. Yet he must not expect to make a 'new World wholly Monstrous, as he is attempting; 'for Hogs will always feed on Acorns, Oaks 'will be deprived of their Leaves in due time, and 'Wood will be applied to such an use as properly 'belongs to it. But the glorious Stelliferous Crown, 'and the Eagle of *Jupiter*, which are bright ce'lestial Luminaries, fixed and unmoveable, as A'strologers witness, will shine in the Firmament: s 'long as the World lasts. *William Budaus* called him a Bloody Ringleader of Gladiators (d), and stoutly represented the Scandal that Pope gave, who at Seventy Years of Age appeared in a Warlike Habit, whilst the People were going in Procession to beg Peace of God. (e) *Cum sacerdos septuagenarius Christi, Pacis conditoris & parentis Legatus, Bellona sacris operaretur, cui cum generis humani luculento dispendio litare contendebat. Idque tum, cùm profanum vulgus ad delubra pacis & concordiæ miserabili specie supplicationes mibat. Enimverò visendum spectaculum, Patrem non modo sanctissimum, sed etiam senio & canitie spectabilem, quasi ad tumultum Gallicum Bellona famâ suos evocatos cientem: non trabea, non augustis insignibus venerandum, non Pontificiis gestaminibus sacrosanctum, sed paludamento & cultu barbarico conspicuum; sed furiali, ut ita dicam, confidentia succinctum, fulminibus illis brutis & inanibus lucidum, eminente in truci vultu cultuque spirituum atrocitate.* This is but a small part of *Budaus*'s vehement Declamations against this Pope. You may see 'em at large in *Flacius Illyricus*, in the 20th. Book of his *Catalogus testium veritatis*.

(E) *He was in Person at the taking of Towns, and appeared more eager.*] *Du Plessis Mornai* adds nothing to the Expressions of *Guicciardin*, when he says (f), 'being resolved to attack *Ferrara*, he was 'advised first to take *Mirandola*, and being tired 'with the slow Progress of that Siege, which went 'not to his Mind (*a thing not expected, and never 'known before*) *the Vicar of Christ on Earth* was 'there in Person *against a Christian Town*, says '*Guicciardin*, 'and tho' old and sick, *was so obstinate* 'and impetuous *in a War that he himself had raised* 'against the Christian Princes, that nothing was 'done soon enough, he was always calling to the 'Captains in a Fury, having his Quarters so near 'the Battery, that two Men were killed in his 'Kitchin, notwithstanding the Remonstrances the 'Cardinals made to him of the Disgrace he brought 'both upon himself and his See. *Monstrelet* (g) says, 'he deserted St. *Peter*'s Chair, to take the 'Table of *Mars* the God of Battle, to display his 'Three Crowns in the Field, and to sleep in a 'Watch-Tower; and God knows what a fine Fi'gure these Mitres, Crosses, and Crosiers made, 'fluttering in the Camp; for Benedictions were 'too common. *Guicciardin* does very well repre'sent what concerns the Siege of *Mirandola*; for he observes, that this Pope had no regard to the horrible Cold of the Season, which retarded the Works of the Besiegers. (h) *Partì il secondo di di (i) Gennaio da Bologna accompagnato da tre Cardinali, e giunto nel campo, alloggiò in una casetta d'un villano, sottoposta a' colpi dell' artiglierie de' nimici; perche non era più lontana dalle mura della Mirandola, che tirì in due volte una balestra comune: quivi affaticandosi, & essercitando non meno il corpo, che la mente, e che l'Imperio, cavalcava quà con inusitata bora quà, bora là per il campo, sollecitando che si desse perfettione al piantare dell' artiglierie, delle quali infino a quel giorno era piantata la minor parte, essendo impedite quasi tutte l'opere militari da' tempi asprissimi,*

(n) Guicciardin, *lib. 6. fol. m. 165. verso.*

(o) Il quale era notissimo essere di natura molto difficile, e formidabile; e ciascuno; & il quale inquietissimo in ogni tempo, e che haveva costumato l'età in continui travagli; haveva per necessità offeso molti, & essercitato odii, e nimicitie con molti huomini grandi. *Id. ib.*

(p) *Id. ib. fol. 165.*

(a) *Antidotes de Florence, pag. 229. 230.*

(b) *As to the Simony, for what I have quoted out of* Guicciardin, *above in the Remark B.*

(c) John le Maire de Belges, *Prologue to his Treatise of Schisms, pag. 2. of the Edit. of* Lyons, 1549. *in Folio.*

(d) Cum interim sub ipso laniста sanguinario. *Budaus de asse*, apud Hotting. Hist. Eccles. tom. 5. pag. 545.

(e) *Id. ib. apud eumdem Hottinger. ib. pag. 540.*

(f) *Du Plef. Mystere d'Iniquité, pag. 578.*

(g) Mr. du Plessis *quotes Monstrelet in the new Additions; but it is a Mistake; for Monstrelet died before the Pontificate of* Julius II. *and is not the Author of those Additions.*

(h) Guicciard. *lib. 9. fol. 262.*

(i) Of the Year, 1511.

Peter's Keys (F) into the *Tiber*, that he might only make uſe of St. *Paul*'s Sword: But as theſe Writers copy one another, without citing any good Original Author, I would not adviſe any Body to vouch for the Truth of it. However, it may be ſaid, that if this Pope wanted the Qualities of a good Biſhop, he had at leaſt thoſe of a * Conquering Prince. He had a great Courage, and a Political Head, by which he formed Leagues, and broke them, according to the Exigency of Affairs. He made a moſt formidable one againſt the Republick of *Venice*, and paid them off, among other Things, with the Thunder of his Excommunications; but when he ſaw that the Victory which the King of *France*, one of the Principal Confederates, obtained over the *Venetians*, did too much weaken that Republick, he forſook his Allies, and reunited himſelf with it. The Emperor, and the King of *France* equally diſſatisfy'd with him, indeavoured to bring him to Reaſon, by a way which was always formidable to the Popes; which was, by the calling of a Council *. But he was not daunted at that, he proceeded ſeverely againſt this Council, and called another himſelf, which had the better of it, to which at laſt the King of *France* ſubmitted (G), in a cringing manner. 'Tis true, that *Julius II.* was then dead. The Sacred League which he formed in *Italy*, received a terrible Check by the Battle † of *Ravenna*; and if they had known how to make uſe of that Advantage, they would doubtleſs have humbled this haughty

* *It was convened at* Piſa, *and then transferred to* Milan, *and at laſt to* Lyons.

† *On* Eaſter-day *11th. of* April, 1512.

aſprisſimi, e dalla neve quaſi continua. Complaining of his Captains, he incouraged his Soldiers with the hopes of Plunder; for he promiſed them not to capitulate with the Town, but to ſuffer them to ſack it. (k) *Stette alla Concordia pochi giorni riconducendolo all' eſercito la medeſima impatienzia, & ardore; il quale non raffredo punto nel cammino la neve groſſiſſima, che tuttavia cadeva del Cielo, nè i freddi coſi ſmiſurati che a pena ſoldati poſevano tollerargli: & alloggiati in una Chieſetta propinqua alle ſue artiglierie, e più vicina alle mura, che non era l'alloggiamento primo, nè gli ſatisfacendo coſa alcuna di quelle, che ſi erano fatte, e che ſi facevano; con impetuoſiſſime parole ſi lamentava di tutti i Capitani, eccetto che di Marc' Antonio Colonna, il quale di nuovo haveva fatto venire da Modena; nè procedendo con minore impeto per l'eſſercito, hora queſti ſgridando, hora quelli altri confortando, e facendo con le parole, e con i fatti l'officio del Capitano. Prometteva, che i ſoldati procedevano virilmente, che non accetterebbe la Mirandola con alcuno patto; ma laſcierebbe in poteſtà loro il ſaccheggiarla.* Mezerai (l) ſays, that the Town being taken by Compoſition the 19th. of *March* (m), the Pope went into it through the Breach.

(k) *Guicciard. ib. fol.* 263.

(l) *Abregé Chronolog. Vol.* 4. *pag.* 455. *ad ann.* 1511.

(m) *He ſhould have ſaid the* 20th. *of* January.

(F) That he once threw St. Peter's *Keys into the* Tiber.] Hitherto I have found no Authority for this, beſides this *Latin* Epigram of one (n) *Gilbertus Ducherius Vulto, Aquaperſanus.*

In Gallum ut fama eſt, bellum geſturus acerbum,
Armatam educit Julius urbe manum:
Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, & ſavus, talia verba facit:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant adpralia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forſitan enſis erit.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that this is a very weak Foundation; for when a Poet has a pretty Thought, and finds no proper Subject, that he may apply it to, he makes no Scruple to ſupply the want of it, by his Amplifications and Fictions; and he will diſpenſe with the Truth, rather than loſe a witty Saying. (o) *Poëta modo aliquid argutè vel acutè dicere videantur, plerumque verumne ſit an falſum, propemodum non curant.* Be that how it will, this Action true or falſe of *Julius* II. is to be found in many Authors. One of the lateſt Writers, in whom I have read it, relates it thus. (p) *Percuſſo cum ipſis* (Venetis) *fœdere exercitum ſuum adverſus Imperatoris confœderatos Ferrarienſem & Ludovicum XII. Regem Francorum, iniquiſſimus & perfidiſſimus* (q) *bellator eduxit, cum ea voce, qua ipſum non S. Petri, ſed perditiſſimi & ſceleratiſſimi latronis ſucceſſorem eſſe commonſtravit. Cum exercitu enim Roma egreſſus, Petri clavem furibundus in Tiberim jactavit, adeoque, uti ingenioſe Bibliander concluſit, omne, quod à Sancto Petro ſe habere finxit jus, Tiberino flumini reſignavit; additis hiſce verbis:* Quia clavis S. Petri amplius nil juvat, (*evaginato gladio*) valeat gladius S. Pauli. I muſt not omit, that *Hotomanus* relates the ſame thing upon the Credit of *Arnold du Ferron* a Catholick Hiſtorian. *Is eſt Julius ſecundus*, ſays he (a), *de quo & Arnoldus Ferronus, vir imprimis doctus, & Galliæ noſtræ hiſtoricus, & Burdegalenſis quondam Parliamenti Senator, itemque alii complures memoriæ prodiderunt: quòd cùm exercitu comparato Roma in Galliam, infeſto in Regem noſtrum animo, contenderet, ſuaſque armatas copias ipſe loricatus ex urbe per Tiberis pontem educeret, multis hominum audientibus hæc pronuntiavit: Quando nobis claves Petri nihil proſunt, age, gladium Pauli diſtringamus: ſimul claves, quas ſecum attulerat, in Tiberim projecit, gladiumque vagina eduxit. Quæ de re notum illud vetus carmen eſt* (b).

(n) Du Pleſſis, pag. 580. *quotes only that Author, and calls him* Gilbertus Ducterius. *He was of* Aigueperſe *in* Auvergne. *His Epigrams were printed at* Lyons *in* 1538.

(o) *Pipyr. Maſſo in vita Leonis X.*

(p) *Joan. Henricus Heidegger. Hiſtoria Papatus, pag.* 192. 193.

(q) Du Pleſſis, *p.* 580. *ſhould not have placed that Expedition ſoon after his Election to the Papacy.*

(a) *In Bruto fulmine, p.* 110. 111.

I could never have believed, that *Hotomanus* could have been guilty of the Unfairneſs of which I am going to convict him. I have conſulted *Arnold du Ferron*, and don't find that he relates *Ducherius*'s Epigram, as *Hotomanus* ſeems to ſay. The Verſes he relates are quite of another Nature, and he adds to them the Anſwer which *Laſcaris* made, in Favour of *Julius* II. I don't deny that he tells the Story of St. *Peter*'s Keys being thrown into the *Tiber*; but he queſtions whether it be not a Fiction. *Quin vulgatum eſt*, ſays he (c), JOCONE CONFICTO *an vero, quando Romani pictores Petro Claves, Paulo enſem tribuunt, illum in Gallos emiſſurum copias enſe accinctum & clavibus ad Tybrim profectum in aquas annamque projeciſſe claves, hæc inferentem, quandoquidem nihil Petri claves prodeſſent, Pauli enſem* (*quem mox eduxerat*) *auxilio futurum.* Is it conſiſtent with Sincerity to build ſuch a Story upon the Authority of a great Catholick Magiſtrate, and to ſuppreſs the Declaration he made, that he knew not but it might be an Impoſture? Moſt Books are full of the like Quotations, and one cannot be at the Pains of proving oftentimes, whether they who quote Authors, do it ſincerely, without contracting a Miſtruſt, which will incline one to believe only his own Eyes. If ſo famous an Author as *Francis Hotomanus* gives himſelf ſo much Liberty, what won't little Authors do, who have nothing to loſe? We muſt then argue juſt contrary to him who cried out:

(d) *Quid Domini facient, audent cum talia fures?*

(b) 'Tis Ducherius's *Epigram above-mention'd.* Hotomanus *gives it at length.*

(c) *Arn. Ferronus in Ludovico XII. fol. m.* 52. *verſo.*

(d) *Virgil. Ecl.* 3. *v.* 16.

(G) Submitted in a cringing manner.] This confirms what I have ſaid in another Place (e), that Princes hardly ever ended their Quarrels with the Popes, but to their own Confuſion. *Lewis* XII. had called an Aſſembly of the Gallican Church at *Tours*, in the Year 1510. to know whether he could in Conſcience make War with *Julius* II. He was informed by that Aſſembly (f) 'that his Arms were 'juſt, and that the Pope's were not, and that he 'might Proceed to the Offenſive part in his own De-'fence. At his Requeſt, and the Emperor's, and (g) in Execution of a Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*; ſome Cardinals had ſummoned a general Council at *Piſa*; he and the Emperor had approved by their Letters Patents (h) the calling of this Council. He had protected the Fathers that compoſed it, and who declared *Julius* (i) 'ſuſ-'pended from the Adminiſtration of the Pontifi-'cate, and forbad Obedience to him. He had protected them, I ſay, againſt this Pope, who excommunicated and degraded them in his Council of *Lateran*. Nevertheleſs, this ſame King ſome time after declared, that he looked upon the Aſſembly of Piſa,

(e) *In the Article of* Gregory VII.

(f) *Mezerai, Abr. Chronolog. Vol.* 4. *pag.* 453.

(g) *Id. ib. pag.* 457.

(h) *In* July 1511.

(i) *Ibid. pag.* 462.

haughty Pontif, whereas they permitted him to recover himſelf (*H*) from that Blow by the little uſe they made of that Victory, to which the powerful Diverſion made in his behalf contributed very much. He obtained great Succours from the *Swiſs*, and was very Liberal of (*I*) Titles, and many Marks of Honour towards the Cantons. He Died of a Sickneſs, full of vaſt (*K*) Deſigns, the 22*d.* of *February* 1513. He was a lover of (*L*) Wine and Women; and he is accuſed even of (*M*) the Unnatural Sin-

Piſa, as a pretended Council. His (Proxies, they are the Words of the Act (*k*),) 'having in their 'Hands the Letters-Patents of the Moſt Chriſtian 'King, ſealed with his Seal, and ſigned by him, 'and diſpatched by his Command, after the Reve'rence and Humility required in ſuch Caſes, have 'entirely departed from the pretended Council of '*Piſa*, and abſolutely renounced it, and freely 'adhered to the moſt holy Council of *Lateran*, 'as to the only true and Lawful one. And far'ther, according to their aforeſaid Procuration, 'they have promiſed that from thenceforth the moſt 'Chriſtian King ſhall not give any Favour or Aſ'ſiſtance in any Manner whatever, to the ſaid pre'tended Council of *Piſa*: Nay, that all thoſe, who 'ſhall be found in his City of *Lyons*, or other Parts 'of his Kingdom, Territories and Lordſhips belong'ing to him, perſiſting in heir Adherence to the pre'tended Council of *Piſa*, ſhall be forced by him to 'retire in a Months time; and if any of whatever 'State, Degree, Dignity or Condition they be, 'whether Seculars or Eccleſiaſticks, do obſtinately 'refuſe to Obey, he will expell 'em, and repute 'them Schiſmaticks, and as ſuch upon any order of 'the aforeſaid Holy Father, purſue 'em with main 'Force, if there is occaſion. And farther, the ſaid 'Proxies have promiſed that the aforeſaid moſt 'Chriſtian King ſhall effectually cauſe ſix Prelates, 'and four Doctors or moſt Eminent Graduates a'mongſt thoſe, that were in the pretended Council 'at *Piſa*, to be deputed to our aforeſaid Holy Father 'the Pope, in the name of the ſaid pretended Coun'cil of *Piſa*, and repreſenting the body of all thoſe 'who Adhered to it, to appear betwixt this Day and 'the firſt of *January* in Perſon before his Holineſs, 'in order to renounce and abjure the ſaid Council 'of *Piſa*, after having asked and received the Re'miſſion and Abſolution from his Holineſs Humbly 'and in a ſuitable Form. And over and above, 'that they will Adhere and Incorporate themſelves 'with the ſaid Council of *Lateran*, as the true 'and undoubted one, both in their own Name and 'in the Name of their Adherents. But if they 'ſhall refuſe to do this, the aforeſaid King ſhall 'give no Succours, Aſſiſtance, or Favour againſt 'the Authority of the Holy Apoſtolical See, to any 'of thoſe that ſhall be found to favour or have fa'voured the ſaid pretended Council of *Piſa*: On the 'contrary, he ſhall with all his Power cauſe the 'Sentences, Decrees, and Cenſures of our Holy 'Father to be Executed, even with force of Arms, 'if there be occaſion, without any Fraud or Diſſi'mulation. This is what the Prelates get who Adhere to the Intereſt of their Prince in his Quarrels with *Rome*: They are made a Sacrifice to the Pope, when their Quarrels are ended. 'Tis a wonder to me, that there are ſo many, who prefer their Temporal before their Spiritual Prince.

(*k*) *It is to be found intire in* Coeffeteau's *Anſwer to the Myſtere d' Iniquité p.* 1221. *&c ſeq.*

(*H*) *They permitted him to recover himſelf from that Blow.*] He recovered ſo well, that the ſame year the *French* were forced to abandon the *Milaneſe*. Nothing was ſo Prejudicial to *Lewis XII.* as the Superſtition of *Anne de Bretagne* his Wife. She filled her Head with ſo many Scruples, about the War that *France* made with the Pope, that ſhe retarded all the good Deſigns of her Husband (*l*).

(*I*) *Very Liberal of Titles——to the Cantons.*] (*m*) 'Whereas his Predeceſſors gave ſeveral 'Privileges to the Mendicant Friars, this Pope gave 'em to the *Swiſs* Cantons, who were the Principal 'Executors of his lofty Enterprizes, to whom he 'gave the perpetual Title of *Defenders of the Eccleſiaſtical Liberty*, with many Bulls and Standards, 'and a Sword, and a Cap of Gold, and other Preſents to oblige 'em to perform all his Com'mands.

(*K*) *He Died of Sickneſs full of vaſt Deſigns.*] This is what *Guicciardin* witneſſes. (*b*) *In queſti tali e tanti penſieri* (that is of Engaging the King of *England* to make War with *France*, and of Depoſing *Lewis XII*th. and of giving the Kingdom to the firſt that ſhould Conquer it) *e forſe ancora i mag-tri più occulti e maggiori* (*perche in un animo tanto voce non era incredibile concetto alcuno, quantunque vaſto, e ſmiſurato*) *l' oppreſſe dopò infermita di molti giorni la morte——Principe d' animo, e di coſtanza ineſtimabile, ma impetuoſo, e di concetti ſmiſurati, per i quali che non precipitaſſe, lo ſoſtenne più la riverenza della Chieſa, la diſcordia de' Principi, e la conditione de' tempi, che la moderatione, e la prudenza: degno certamente di ſomma gloria, ſe fuſſe ſtato Principe ſecolare, ò ſe quella cura, & intentione, che hebbe ad eſaltare con l' arti della guerra, la Chieſa nella grandezza temporale, haveſſe havuta ad eſaltarla con l' arti della pace nelle coſe ſpirituali: e nondimeno ſopra tutti ſuoi anteceſſori, di chiariſſima, & honoratiſſima memoria, maſſimamente appreſſo a coloro, iquali, eſſendo perduti i veri vocaboli delle coſe, e confuſa la diſtintione del poſſe veramente, giudicano che ſia più uffitio de' Pontefici, aggiugnere con l'armi, e col ſangue de' Chriſtiani, imperio alla Sedia Apoſtolica, che l'affaticarſi con l' eſſempio buono della vita, e col correggere, e medicare i coſtumi traſcorſi per la ſalute di quelle anime, per laquale ſi magnificano che Chriſto gli habbia conſtituiti in terra ſuoi Vicarii &c.*) How Judicious is this, and what an admirable Cenſure upon thoſe impatient Doctors, who believe all to be juſt, as long as the Temporal Grandeur of the Church is provided for! This in particular hits Cardinal *Palavicini*, who ſpeaks ſo ſoftly of *Julius* the *II*'s Faults, and excuſes them by reaſon of the Temporal Advantage they brought to St. *Peter*'s Patrimony. *Fu dotato*, ſays he (*c*), *di ſpiriti eccelſi, à tal che ſe foſſe ſtato principe di dominio ſol temporale, meriterebbe d' eſſer cenſato frà gli Eroi——Certamente ſenza una tal furocia non harebbe ricuperato egli alla Chieſa il più e'l meglio del ſuo dominio.*

Paul Jovius (*e*) witneſſes that *Julius II.* Died having a vaſt Deſign upon the Kingdom of *Naples*. (*f*) *Hæc ingenti animo verum ægro corpore cogitantem, diuturnus fluentis alvi morbus intercepit.* It was thought that the Title of Deliverer of *Italy*, with which he ſuffered himſelf to be flattered, was but an empty Name, whilſt the *Spaniards* Domineered at *Naples*: *If God give me leave*, Anſwered he, ſtriking his Stick upon the Ground, *this ſhall not laſt long.* (*g*) *Ad quod Pontifex quaſſato ſcipione quo innixus pavimentum infrendendo pertundebat, reſpondit brevi futurum, ut Neapolitanam non tam ſuperis externum jugum eveniret.*

(*L*) *He was a lover of Wine and Women.*] We are told of an Exclamation of the Emperor *Maximilian*: (*h*) *Good God! What would become of the World, if thou didſt not take a particular care of it under the Reign of ſuch an Emperor as I am, who am but a poor Hunter, and under that of ſo Wicked and Drunken a Pope*, as Julius II. Some Hiſtorians obſerve, that this Pope invented a new Name to accuſe the *French* of Drinking too much Wine, and diſcharging it immediately by Urine; and they add, that this was his great Failing. (*i*) *Gallos in univerſum novo nomine augens Romanam ſupellectilem, Micturivinos vocavat, quaſi immodicos vini potores quod mox emittendum eſſet, quo vitio ipſe maxime laborabat.* I proceed to his Incontinence. He had a Daughter who was Married to *John Jourdain des Urſins*, and he is brought in ſaying in a Dialogue with St. *Peter* (*k*) that he had had the Pox.

Note, that there is a Fault in the Words of *Arnold du Ferron* before-cited. He ſuppoſes that the Pope invented the Latin Word *Micturivinos* to ſignify the Drunkenneſs of the *French*; but it was not in that Language that *Julius II.* Expreſt himſelf, but in *Italian*, and the Word was *Piſciavini*. 'Tis ſaid that one of his Officers, a *Norman* by Nation, told him one Day, *Faith, Holy Father, you are then a true* French-*Man*; *for you are one of the greateſt* Wine-Piſſers *on the Earth* (*l*).

(*M*) *Of the Unnatural Sin.*] 'Tis certain that *Julius II.* is accuſed of this horrid Crime. '(*n*) We

(*l*) *See Mezerai, ubi ſupra, p.* 457. 460.

(*m*) *Du Pleſſis Mornai ubi ſupra, p.* 580. *See alſo Heidegger. ubi ſupra.*

(*a*) *Varillas*, Hiſt. de Louis XII. B. 10. p. m. 217. & ſeq. *mentions ſeven.*

(*b*) *Guicciard. l.* 11. *fol.* 385.

(*c*) *See a Paſſage of* Mezerai *in the Remark* O.

(*d*) *Iſtius del Concilio l.* 1. 1. 3. 5.

(*e*) *Jovius in vita Alfonſi Ferrariæ Ducis p. m.* 353. 354.

(*f*) *Id. ib. p.* 354.

(*g*) *Id. ib.*

(*h*) Deus æterne, niſi vigilaresquam male eſſet mundo! quem regimus nos, ego miſer venator, & ebriotus ille ac leleratus Julius. *Du Pleſſ. p.* 580. *who quotes* Joachim Curæus Freiſladienſis *in Annal bus gentis Sleſiæ.*

(*i*) *Arnoldus Ferronius in Ludov XII. f. l.* 52. *verſo.*

(*k*) *I ſpeak of that Dialogue in the Remark* N.

(*l*) *I have this Remark from M. de la Monnoye.*

(*m*) *Du Pleſſis, Myſtere d'iniquité p.* 581.

Sins and there is no ſort of Crime, but he is Charged with in a Dialogue which (N) he was feigned to have with St. *Peter* at the Gate of Paradiſe. The hatred he conceived againſt *France*, where he had found a good Sanctuary under the Pontificate of *Alexander* VI. was ſo exceſſive (O), that he commanded to kill all the *French* that could be met with, and promiſed a Recompence to whoſoever ſhould execute this Order. We are not to believe, that the Wine and Gammons which he ſent to the King of *England*, were (P) the true Cauſe of the War of the *Engliſh* againſt *France*. I don't know whether it is poſſible to find a certain Speech, in which he was very ill treated.

(n) *Wolfii Lection. memorab. tom. 2. pag. 21.*

(o) *In his Etat de l'Egliſe, ad annum 1513. pag. m. 512.*

(p) *Page 61. of the 2d. Volume.*

(q) *Remarques ſur la Reponſe au Myſtere d'iniquité, 2. part. pag. 034.*

(r) *Joan. Zuinger, de feſto corporis Chriſti, pag. 140.*

(ſ) *In the Edition of Wolfius there is in the Title* F. A. F. Poetæ Regii libellus de obitu Julii ſecundi.

(t) A *Deſiderio* ERASMO *Roterodamo* conſcriptus eſſe diverſorum teſtimoniis confirmatur apud *Melch. Adam.* in vitis Theologor. Germ. *p.* m. 96. (*it ſhould be* 97.)— & pag. 167. (*it ſhould be* 197.) in vitis Medicor. Germ. *Placcius de anonymis n.* 239. *pag.* 72.

(u) *Eraſm. epiſt. 1. lib. 12 pag.* 575. 576.

(w) *Mezeray, Abr. Chronol. tom. 4. pag.* 464. *add ann.* 1513.

(x) Convitava il Re d'Inghilterra alla guerra: aliqui haveva ordinato che per decreto del Concilio Lateranenſe ſe trasferiſſe il nome del Re Chriſtianiſſimo: ſopra laqual coſa era già ſcritta una Bolla, contenendoſi in eſſa medeſimamente la privatione della dignità, e del titolo di Re di Francia, concendendo quel Regno a qualunque lo occupaſſe. *Guicciard. lib. 11. fol.* 325.

'read in a Book of our Divines of *Paris*, of two 'young Gentleman abuſed by him, whom Queen '*Anne*, the Wife of King *Lewis* XII. had recom-'mended to Cardinal *de Nantes* to conduct them in-'to *Italy*. Probably *du Pleſſis* gives us here a Tranſlation of theſe Words of *Wolfius*. (n) *Legitur in Commentario Magiſtrorum Pariſienſium, de Julio ſecundo Papa, quod duobus nobiliſſimi generis adoleſcentibus, quos Anna Galliarum Regina Nanetenſi Cardinali informandos commiſerat, & aliis multis diabolicæ rabiæ (probe facimus) ſtuprum intulerit.* This Quotation ſeems too indeterminate; he ſhould have told us where, and in what time that Book of the *Paris* Doctors was printed. *John Crepin* undertaking to relate this Adventure, has fallen into an Anachroniſm: We read, ſays he (o), in a certain 'Commentary of the Doctors of *Paris*, againſt the 'Lutherans, that this *Julius*, inflamed with a 'Diabolical Rage, had his Will of two young Gen-'tlemen of a noble Family, whom Queen *Anne* of '*France* had ſent to *Robert* Cardinal *de Nantes*, to 'be inſtructed by him. The Doctors of *Paris* would have had a care of inſerting ſuch a thing in a Controverſial Piece againſt the *Lutherans*; if they inſerted it any where, 'tis in the Writings they publiſhed againſt *Julius*, under *Lewis* XII.

(N) *A Dialogue which he was feigned to have.*] 'Tis a moſt Satyrical Piece. *Wolfius* has inſerted it in his *Lectiones memorabiles* (p). *Rivet* (q) affirms, that it was printed at *Paris* with the King's Licence, in the Year 1612, at the end of the Acts of the Council of *Piſa*. The Subſtance of it is this. '*Paulo poſt ipſius mortem Vir quidam doctus in* '*lucem emiſit Dialogum, quem inſcripſit, Julius, in* '*quo Pontificem hunc horrendorum criminum in ſimu-*'*lat, nim. quod fuerit homo* palam ſceleroſus, 'temulentus, homicida, Simoniacus, Veneficus, 'perjurus, rapax portentoſius libidinum generibus 'undique conſpurcatus, denique ſcabie, quam vo-'cant Gallicam, totus coopertus (r). Some ſay, that *Fauſtus Andrelinus* was the (ſ) Author of that cutting Piece. Some have aſcribed it to *Eraſmus*; Mr. *Placcius* affirms, that many Authors witneſs it in (t) the two Places of *Melchior Adam* quoted by him. I have conſulted thoſe two Places, and have found no other Teſtimony than that of *Leo Juda*. Thus Mr. *Placcius* deceives us. *Eraſmus* was very much troubled, that ſuch a Piece ſhould be aſcribed to him: He juſtifies himſelf very ſeriouſly in a Letter. *Dialogi cujuſdam ſuſpicionem mihi moliuntur impingere. Is ut ex argumento ſatis conſtat, ſcriptus eſt in odium divi Julii Pontificis Maximi ſchiſmatis tempore, ſed à quo incertum, ante quinquennium deguſtavi veriùs quàm legi. Poſt reperi in Germania apud quoſdam deſcriptum, ſed variis titulis. Quidam teſtantur Hiſpani cujuſpiam eſſe, ſed ſuppreſſo nomine, rurſus alii* Fauſto *Poëta tribuebant*, 'alii Hieronymo Balbo. *Ego quid de his conjectem non habeo, ſubodoratus ſum quoad licuit, verum nondum perveſtigavi, quod animo meo faceret ſatis. Inceptiis quiſquis ſcripſit, at majore ſupplicio dignus, quiſquis evulgavit. At minor eſſe qui ſolo Styli argumento mihi obtrudere parent, quum nec mea ſit phraſis, niſi prorſus ipſe mihi ſum ignotus, nec mirum ſit futurum, etiam ſi qui in oratione nonnihil referunt Eraſmicum, quum verſer in manibus omnium, & referimus fere, in quorum aſſidua lectione verſamur* (v).

(O) *His hatred —— againſt* France, —— *was ſo exceſſive, that he commanded to kill.*] '(w) Julius' Rage had no Bounds; he had made a Decree 'in the Name (x) of the Council to transfer the 'Kingdom of *France*, and the Title of *Moſt Chriſtian*, to the King of *England*. As he was upon 'the Point of publiſhing it, Heaven taking pity of 'him and of *Chriſtendom*, called him out of the 'World the 23d. of *February*. He died of an He-'ctick Fever, cauſed, as was ſaid, by the Uneaſi-'neſs he was under, that he could not bring the '*Venetians* to come to an Agreement with the Em-'peror; ſo furious were his Paſſions, and more ſuit-'able to the Sultan of the *Turks* than to the com-'mon Father of Chriſtians. As for his Order of 'murthering the *French*, I have read it only in the 109th. and 110th. Pages of *Francis Hotomanus*'s *Brutum fulmen. Si qua patrum memoria*, ſays he, *in hoc regno contigerunt recordari volumus, primum hoc reperiemus: Ludovicum XII.* (at, *quem Regem? qui Patris patriæ nomen ſummo bonorum omnium conſenſu adeptus eſt*) *urbes aliquot Italiæ, bello captas, Papæ Julii ſecundi ditioni adjunxiſſe. Papam interjectis aliquot menſibus hanc Regi pro accepto beneficio gratiam retuliſſe, ut non modo eum ſchiſmaticum & hæreticum pronuntiaret, proſcriberet, diris ſuis excommunicationum fulminibus infeſtaretur, verum etiam Gallos omnes hoſtilem in modum cruciandos interficiendoſque curaret: præmium etiam percuſſoribus polliceretur peccatorum omnium veniam, & impunitatem, ſi quis vel unicum Gallum quoquo modo trucidaret —— Quo nuntio* (a) *Julius accepto, tanto dolore atque iracundia exarſit, ut non modo Gallis omnibus aqua & igne interdiceret, verum etiam obvium quemque maſtari, trucidarique imperaret: præmiit etiam, ut dixi ficarios ac percuſſores invitaret.*

(P) *The Wine and Gammons —— were the true cauſe of the War.*] *Spondanus* has been ſo unjuſt as to inſinuate this, and to jeſt upon it; and he pretends that *Polydore Virgil* ſaid nothing of it, to ſave at once the Honour of *Italy* and *England*. *Polydore* was an *Italian*, and lived in *England*; he was therefore concerned in the Glory of both theſe Nations. Now he thought it unworthy of *Italy* to win People by ſuch Allurements, and unworthy of *England* to ſuffer it ſelf to be caught by ſuch a Bait. Theſe are the Words of the Annaliſt. (b) *Feſtivum eſt quod refert Guicciardinus, appuliſſe hoc tempore in Angliam Pontificiam longam navem Falerno vino, caſeis, ſuminibuſque onuſtam, quæ nomine Pontificis Regi ac Principibus, Antiſtibuſque donata, ab omnibus miro applauſu accepta ſunt: & plebem, quam plerumque non minus levia quàm gravia movent, ad eam navem videndam ſumma cum voluptate accurriſſe, gloriantem antea nunquam in Inſula navim ullam cum Pontificiis vexillis conſpectam. Quibus bellam gentem nobis depingit, Guicciardinus, & vini acutique guſtûs appetentem, quibus ſciret Pontifex eam facile in partes ſuas trahi poſſe; ſicuti olim Narſes feciſſe dicitur* (1), *ut Longobardos in Italiam alliceret; omnis generis Poma, aliarumque deliciarum irritamenta, quorum Italia ferax eſſet, mittens, ut pauperrima ſua rura deſerentes ad occupandam regionem cunctis refertam divitiis venirent. Eam verò rem adeò inſignem, & Regi, principibuſque, & antiſtitibus, ac populo maximè acceptam gratamque, cùm Polydorus Virgilius ſua hiſtoria Anglicana non inſeruerit; exiſtimamus, eum ut Italum, & in Anglia commorantem, utriuſque nationis gravitati parcere voluiſſe.* Mezerai comes much nearer the Truth; for he obſerves, that the Pope ſpurred on *Henry* VIII. with the Ambition of protecting the true Church. 'The '*Engliſh*, ſays he (c), were upon the point of break-'ing with the King. For the Pope had made 'im 'drunk with the Vain-glory of defending the Holy 'See, and with the Fumes of delicious Wines of 'all ſorts, with which he had ſent them a great 'Ship laden, together with Gammons, Sauſages, 'and Spices, to make them reliſh it the better. According to *Varillas* (d), it was out of a Motive of Religion, that an *Engliſh* Biſhop founded an Alarm for

(x) *That is, that he had been ſuſpended by the Council of Piſa, transferred to* Milan.

(b) Spondanus ad ann. 1512. n. 3. p. m. 289. *where theſe Words have been placed as a Summary,* Quibus illiciis Pontifex ſibi Anglos benevolos reddiderit.

(1) *Paul. Diacon. de geſt. Longob. lib. 1. cap.* 5.

(c) *Abregé Chronol. tom. 4. pag.* 459. *ad ann.* 1512.

(d) *Varill. Hiſtoire de Louis XII. B.* 8. *pag.* 81.

treated. *Varillas*, who ſpeaks of it, is liable to Cenſure (Q). The Hiſtory of *Venice*, written by Cardinal *Bembo*, is ſufficient to ſhew the Paſſion, Treachery, and Prodigious Ambition of *Julius* II. tho' this Hiſtorian be leſs Prolix upon it than *Guicciardin*.

This Pope was ſo diſcouraged with the Plaiſters that his Surgeon put to no purpoſe upon an Ulcer, that he would no longer ſuffer him to dreſs it. The Surgeon, who had promiſed with an Oath not to uſe any more that Remedy, tricked (R) the Pope, and cured him. *Blandel* tells a Story (S) that is pleaſant enough. I have juſt now read in a *French* Writer, that this Pope was ſo malicious, as to invent a Fable prejudicial to the Memory of *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, and which might increaſe the Superſtition of the People, to the Diſadvantage of *France*. The Story was, that a Serpent had been ſeen to come out of the Duke of *Nemours*'s Tomb. The Author, who tells this (T), ſpeaks very ill of this Pope.

JU-

(e) Henry VIII. gave that Entertainment.

for War the Day after the Feaſt (e), where the chief Members of the Parliament were treated with the good Wines and excellent Cheeſes which the Pope's Ship had brought to *London*. This Prelate repreſented, that *Lewis* XII. was a Perſecutor of the Church, and that it 'would be an eternal Diſ-'grace to the Engliſh Nation to live in Peace with 'the Perſecutors of the Holy See. *Varillas* ſhould have a little better explained all the Reaſons of this Prelate, and not have been contented to give us to underſtand, that ſome Political Reaſons were added to thoſe Religious Motives. The Engliſh Prelate urged no doubt, that *Lewis* XII. would depoſe the Pope, only to create another in his room, who would permit him to conquer *Italy*. This certainly was the true Spring that put *Henry* VIII. in Motion; he plainly perceived, that if no Oppoſition was made to *Lewis* XII. would reap all the Glory of deposing *Julius* II. the Scourge of *Chriſtendom*, and of Creating a new Pope at his Pleaſure, and of ſubduing all *Italy*. Humane Policy and Jealouſie do not ſuffer a Prince to conſent to ſuch an aggrandizing of the Glory and Power of his Neighbours; and for this Reaſon *Lewis* XII. law the Forces of *England*, *Switzerland* and *Spain* againſt him.

(f) Varillas, Hiſt. de Louis XII. l. 8. pag. 8. ad ann. 1511.

(g) Ibid. pag. 10.

(Q) *Mr. Varillas is liable to Cenſure.*] He ſays (f), that *Pompey Colonna*, and *Antony Savelli*, underſtanding, that the Pope was fallen into 'a ſort 'of a Swoon, that laſted Four Hours, and gave 'occaſion to believe he was dead——— (g), called then Friends together, run through the Streets, 'incouraged the Townſmen to a Sedition, and led 'them to the Town-Hall, where *Colonna*, the moſt 'eloquent of the Two, pronounc'd the moſt Satyrical Speech that is extant, againſt the Popes in 'general, and *Julius* in particular. He pretended, 'that they had moſt of them uſurped the Sovereign 'Authority, ever ſince they had uſurpt it; and 'reckoning up the Towns that had heretofore been 'under Tyrants, he concluded, that not one of 'them had been ſo ill treated as that of *Rome*. He 'entered into the Particulars of the Conduct of the 'Popes, and dropt ſome Things upon that Subject, 'which it is not decent to relate. Mr. *Varillas* adds (h) 'that *Guicciardin* had written this Speech upon 'the Memoirs of two or three Perſons that heard 'it; but it has been taken out of the Body of his 'Hiſtory. Nevertheleſs 'tis to be found printed apart 'in *Italian*; and the *French* Tranſlator who recovered it, reſtored it to the place it was taken from. I have occaſion for another Paſſage of this Author, before I make my Criticiſm: Here is the beginning of his Preface (i). 'When, ſays he, I cauſed 'the 8th. Book of this Hiſtory to be printed, I 'thought that the Speech of *Pompey Colonna*, to 'the principal Citizens of *Rome*, to oblige 'em to 'ſhake off the Pope's Yoke, was a very rare Piece. 'And indeed, I had never ſeen it, except in the 'King's Library. But I have known ſince, that 'it has been reprinted by the care of the late 'M. *de Wickquefort*, at the beginning of the Book 'he publiſhed with the Title of *Thuanus Reſtitutus*, 'and conſequently 'tis not hard to recover. It is 'true however, that the ſame Mr. *Wickquefort* has 'acquitted himſelf, in that reſpect, but of one part 'of his Duty to the Publick, ſince he has not 'mentioned the Motives which occaſion'd that 'Speech, which is the moſt inſolent that can be read; 'and whereas *Guicciardin* has been as negligent to 'relate them, the curious will not be diſpleaſed, if 'I ſupply the Deficiency of theſe two Hiſtorians. 'The firſt Motive, &c.

(h) Ibid. pag. 13.

(i) Of the 3d. tome of the Hiſtory of Lewis XII.

I can neither affirm nor deny that this Speech is in the *French* King's Library; but I can ſay, that *Guicciardin* has not inſerted it in his Hiſtory. He only ſpeaks by the bye (k) of the Tumult theſe two Perſons endeavoured to raiſe; and he does not ſay, that it was *Pompey Colonna*, who made that Speech, as being the moſt Eloquent. 'Tis not true, that the *French* Tranſlator has reſtored this Speech *to the Place from whence it was taken*. If it was ſo, it would not be a rare Piece, the *French* Tranſlation of *Guicciardin* being a Book common enough. It is true, that it was reprinted by the care of Mr. *de Wickquefort* at the beginning of *Thuanus Reſtitutus*; but this doubtleſs miſled *Varillas*. They have left out of the Fourth Book of *Guicciardin* a long Diſcourſe concerning the manner how the Popes became Temporal Lords of part of *Italy*. The Proteſtants (l) have preſerved this Diſcourſe, and publiſhed it by itſelf a great many Times. It is to be found (m) in *Latin*, *Italian*, and *French*, at the end of *Thuanus Reſtitutus*, printed at *Amſterdam*, in 1663, and 'tis in the Place where it ought to be in the *French* Tranſlation of *Guicciardin*, done by *Jerom Chomedey*, and printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1593, with Summaries and Marginal Notes (n), which breathe a true Proteſtant Spirit. *Varillas* having heard ſomething of the Story of this Diſcourſe, and ſomething concerning the Speech of thoſe who endeavoured to diſpoſe the *Romans* to an Inſurrection in the Year 1511, has confounded one with the other.

(k) Guicciardin, l. 10. fol. 282. See alſo Paul Jovius in vita Leonis X. p. m. 18. See the Abridgment of Guicciardin.

(l) With how much Pleaſure Perſons of that Religion read this Diſcourſe, one may ſee by the Preface of Simler to his Edition of Guicciardin, and by what is ſaid of it in the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, Book 2.

(m) Where it is to be found.

(n) Numerous Paſſages of Scripture, Paſſages of the Fathers, Hiſtorical Remarks, &c.

(R) *Tricked the Pope, and cured him.*] *Kondé* brings in this Example in a Diſſertation, where he enquires whether a Patient ought to be cheated. *Is celeberrimus Chirurgus Jo. mes de Vigo dum nodum carnoſum Julii ſecundi contumacia cum natura fier, & Pontificem omne genus remediorum conſpernentem reſpuere animadverteret, novam quandam medendi rationem meditatus eſt. Papyros ſiquidem cerates ſuffitibus conſperſas non cum panis ſigneri mica molliore, & aromati ſubtilioris in aqua roſarum & plantaginis excepti fomento, ad tertias ſolis horas decoxit, expreſſisque demum illis, & pauxillo melle admixto, quod nullis doloris unguentis ſe non naturam jurejurando recepiſſe, brevi ſumma cum omnium admiratione Pontificem a gravi & moleſto affectu liberavit* (a).

(a) Islandel tells a Story that is pleaſant enough.

(S) *Islandel tells a Story that is pleaſant enough.*] The *Germans*, ſays he, 'having aſking to have leave 'to eat Fleſh upon St. *Mark*'s Day (which is a 'Faſt Day); *Julius* would not ſtaly to grant 'that Favour, but granted it on Condition they 'ſhould drink no Wine the ſame Day. It was the 'ſame thing as a Refuſal; there being more to be 'loſt than gotten by ſuch a Courtely.

(T) *The Author who tells this Story ſpeaks very ill of this Pope.*] I begin with the Story: *Nondum ſive qui prædicarent ſuperſtitioſa fonda tractabantur mendacio fibrum exuere, & humanæ ſortis naturam ab ipſarum ſape aliquid fidei non habentium, ſed Phyſicorum notione.* Note by the way, that he ſays the Friers were the principal Promoters of the Story, and that 'tis a common thing with them to coin Prodigies. I omit his Criticiſm of *Ariſtotle* and *Plutarch* (d), who will only take what ſuits their Deſign.

(d) Lib. de Oraculorum defectu.

Vita Julii II. apud Rer. Italic. tom.

JULIUS III. created Pope the 7th. of *February* 1550, was called *John Maria del Monte*. He was of mean Birth, and a True Soldier of Eccleſiaſtical Fortune. He roſe Step by Step (*A*), till he came to be Preſident of the Council of *Trent*. He was a very voluptuous (*B*) Man, and paſſionately loved a Young Boy (*C*) very ugly and mean. When he was made Pope, he gave him (*D*) his Cardinal's Cap, and made a pleaſant

derat incrementum. He relates afterwards how this Pope deceieved Cardinal *George d'Amboiſe*, and made *Rome* ring with the Sound of Arms; and how he was delighted with Satyrical Verſes againſt *France*. He forgave a Poet many Crimes, and ordered him a good Sum of Money for a Diſtich, which we ſhall ſee below (*f*) *Verſiculis ad Gallorum ignominiam ſpectantibus mirè delectabatur: adeò ut poetæ ſtateres aureos ducentos numeravit, præter delictorum abolitionem, qui hos vulgaſſet:*

(*f*) *Id. ib. pag.* 556.

Julius evulſit Gallis cythereius alas:
Martius hic priſco Cæſare major erit.

Foracatulus my Author, in this Remark, oppoſes to theſe Two Verſes a Satyrical Diſtich that was made againſt this Pope. (*g*) *Eminuit in contrarium non inelegans Diſtichum, dignum, opinor, quod Catulli eſſet, non autoris incogniti:*

(*g*) *Id. ib.*

Fœx Ligurum Romam, ponti fex concutitit armis
Julius, huic Brutum Gallia fortis alit.

Some (continues he) obſerv'd, that the Time was come in which another *Julius*, by Proſuſion of borrowed Money, obtained the Pontificate, and ſupplanted his Competitors; but that this new *Julius* had nothing common with the other, as to Learning, Clemency, or Honeſty; nor with the Apoſtle St. *Peter*, no, not as to the Fiſher's-Boat, ſince the Apoſtle imploy'd it for an honeſt Livelihood, but *Julius* in Piracy. (*h*) *Nonnulli adjiciebant rediiſſe pro certo Julii ſeculum, quo ille numirum profuſa largitione Pontificatum indeptus fuerat conflato multo ære alieno, ſuperatiſque, ut Tranquillus* (1) *ait, duobus competitoribus ætate & dignitate potioribus*

(*h*) *Id. ib.*

(1) *In Julio, cap.* 13.

——*Julius demum qui nihil doctrinæ cum illo primo & perpetuo Dictatore commune habuit, nihil fidei & benevolentiæ, nihil cum Apoſtolo Petro ſanctitatis & prudentiæ, nihil morum (niſi forſan quod Petrus in mari innoxiam piſcationem exercuit, ille aliquandiu, ut ajunt, piraticam) poſt novenne imperium, & ſi quid menſium excurrit, obſtinatum in Gallias animum ad Manes tulit.*

(*A*) *He had roſe Step by Step.*] Not to ſpeak of his firſt Advancements, I ſhall firſt Obſerve, that he aſſiſted in the Council of *Lateran*, and made a ſolemn Speech at the Concluſion of it. He was Archbiſhop of *Siponte*, Auditor of the Apoſtolical Chamber, and twice Governor of *Rome*. He was given for an Hoſtage when *Rome* was ſacked by the Troops of *Charles* V, and after his Promotion to the Cardinalſhip, he was frequently Legate in the principal Provinces of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and at *Bologna*. ' He took the Name of *Julius*, in Memory of ' *Julius* II. who had rais'd his Family by the Promotion ' of *Antony del Monte* his Uncle, to the Cardinalſhip, ' and from whom he obtained the Archbiſhoprick ' of *Siponte*. He was born at *Rome*, in that part ' of the Town called *del Parione*; but his Family ' was originally of *Monte San-Savino* in *Tuſcany*, ' from whence he took the Name of *Monte*, inſtead ' of that of *Ginecchi*, which he bore before. (*k*) He obtained of the Duke of *Tuſcany*, the Inveſtiture of *Monte-San Savino* for his Brother: he could not deny himſelf the Pleaſure of ſeeing his Family Lord it in that Place. (*l*) *Impotens ſibi temperandi ab eâ voluptate quâ ſuos adſpiceret in illis dominantes inter quos educati fuerant æquales.*

(*i*) *Taken from* Palavicini Hiſtor. Concil. Trident. lib. 13. c. 10. n. 8.

(*k*) Amelot de la Houſſaye, *in the Margin of his Tranſlation of Father* Paul, p. 280. ex Onuphr.

(*l*) *Palavicini, ib.*

(*B*) *He was a very voluptuous Man.*] Here is what *Thuanus* ſays of him. (*m*) *Sub id tempus Julius III. intemperantia vitæ magis quam ſenio effœtus fato conceſſit, qui Joanne Baptiſta Balduini fratris F. Mortuo, cum non ita a Fabiano juniore Baptiſtæ fratre, ſollicitaretur, totum ſe voluptatibus mancipaverat, parato ad delicias nobili illo ſeceſſu, ſtructura & operibus antiquis admirando, in quo fere reliquam vitam à negotiis vacuus cum amicis ſui ſimilibus, inter ludos, aleam, commœdias, & quæ talia comitari amant, facto faſtigio indigna oblectamenta, continuatis noctibus diebusque tranſegit.*

(*m*) *Thuan. lib.* 15. *pag.* 300.

(*C*) *A young Boy very ugly and mean.*] Some ſaid it was his Son, others denied it, and told how Cardinal *del Monte* having found this Lad playing Tricks with a Monkey in the Streets, took him into his Service, becauſe there was no Body but he that durſt play with that Creature. This was the Foundation of a Kindneſs which afterwards grew an irregular Paſſion. This Lad had nothing in him but what was diſguſting, only he had gotten a Cuſtom of Buffoonry. *Thomas Eraſtus* is the Author of this; theſe are his own Words. (*n*) *Habet puerum quendam, nigrum, impem, arrogantiſſimam beſtiam, ineptam, ignorantem & planè inertem, niſi quod nonnihil eorum quæ ſcurræ, dicteriorum in ore habet. In ſumma, corpore & animo monſtrum. Quis, unde, aut cujus ille puer ſit, tam variæ ſunt hominum Sententiæ & opiniones, ut nemo exploratum habere videatur. Animadverti ego quoſdam, qui filium arbitrabantur; & qui filium negabant, ingeniosè aliorum dicta refutare, atque in plateis repertum eduxiſſe è parvulo, propter ſimilitudinem, cum qua præter illum nemo hominum ludere audeat. Ea re Cardinalem* (aut Epiſcopum *rum) ita delectatum, ut pro ſuo habuerit. Hunc puerum, miſer, ita amat perditè, ita deperit (dicitur autem alios omnes vincere vel audacia) ut nihil poſſit dici vehementius.* *Thuanus* ſays a thing which confirms part of this: as firſt, that this Boy was called *the Ape*, even when he had obtained the Cardinal's Cap. In the ſecond place, that he had his Name, becauſe of his Employment with the Cardinal his Maſter, which was to look after an Ape. (*o*) *Soluti ad omnem licentiam animi homo*: they are the Words of this great Hiſtorian, which give a very ill Character of Pope *Julius III. Statim adepta dignitate qualis eſſet, omnibus manifeſtum fecit. Nam cum antiquæ conſuetudinis ſit, ut novus Pontifex galerum, cui velit, ſuum largiatur, eum juveni cuidam cui Innocentio nomen, quique, quod in familia ſimia curam gereret. Simia etiam poſt adeptam dignitatem nomen retinuit, cognomine etiam ſuo atque inſignibus attributis donavit.* See the Notes upon the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy*, page 249. of the Edition 1699.

(*n*) *Thomas Lubertus* (qui Eraſtus poſtea voce Græca appellari amavit) *in epiſtola ad Pelicinum, apud Hottingerum Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. tom.* 5. *pag.* 572.

(*o*) *Thuanus, ib. 6. pag.* 121. *col.* 1.

(*D*) *He gave him his Cardinal's Cap.*] We have juſt ſeen in *Thuanus*, that Cardinal *del Monte* finding himſelf Pope, immediately conferred his Cap, his Name, and his Arms (*a*) upon a young Fellow that was called *Innocent*, and had the Charge of a Monkey. *Eraſtus*, whom I have already cited, gives us a more particular Account. This Boy was left at *Bologna*, ſo that *Julius* III. who would not bring him to *Rome* before he had made him a Cardinal, and who wanted a little time to make that Promotion go down, was very uneaſy at his abſence, and endeavoured to find a remedy for it. He was never brisk and pleaſant, but when he heard of his *Innocent*. He ordered him to come near *Rome*, that he might have an Opportunity to go and ſee him; and having ſent for him once ſecretly into the City, he expected him at the Windows with all the Impatience a of Man, to whom his Miſtreſs has promiſed a Night. He was heard ſay, that the chief Reaſon why he rejoiced for being Pope, was becauſe it gave him an Opportunity of ſerving *Innocent*; and that he thought himſelf leſs indebted to the Cardinals for making him Pope (*b*), than for having conſented to the Promotion of *Innocent* to a Cardinal's Hat. He appointed him his principal Miniſter, and Interceſſor for all thoſe that would purchaſe his Favours. (*c*) *Dum Roma poſt electionem commoraretur, (manſerat autem Innocentius, id ei nomen, Bononiæ) dicitur nunquam lætus fuiſſe, niſi dum aliquid de Innocentio intelligeret. Et audivi ego à gravibus viris, inter tam multos Bononienſes, qui Romam ſint profecti, neminem eſſe reperiri, quem ſciret cum Innocentio, aut ſuſpiceretur fuiſſe, qui non interrogatus ab eo eſſet, quid, & quom do Innocentius ageret. Poſt aliquot menſes propius Romam accedere juſſit, ut ad eum deambulatum aliquando Roma exire poſſet. Non enim potuit adduci, ut pateretur eum ingredi Romam, niſi galero rubeo eſſet ornatum turpe caput. Ab hac re plurimi Cardinales videbantur*

(*a*) *See the Remark M. in the Margin, Let.* b.

(*b*) *Compare with this what is ſaid in the Remark M. Numb.* (2.)

(*c*) *Eraſtus apud Hottingerum, ubi ſupra.*

pleaſant Anſwer (E), when the Unworthineſs of the Perſon was repreſented to him. His Diſcourſes had but little Gravity in them, as appears from the Reflection he one Day made (F) upon the Anſwer of two Cardinals. The want of Gravity was not his greateſt Fault: 'tis ſaid that his Diſcourſe proceeded ſometimes to Profaneneſs and Blaſphemy; as when he excuſed his Paſſion (G) by the Anger that God expreſs'd againſt *Adam* for an Apple. During the Conclave in which he was Elected, ſome of his Letters were Intercepted, which made it conjectured, that this future Pope would be a Lewd Man; for thoſe Letters (H) were ſtuffed with the moſt extravagant Obſceni-

ties

videbantur abhorrere, minimeque paſſuri, ut in Cardinalium numerum cooptaretur, quem ne hominem quidem eſſe cognoviſſent. Accerſivit igitur noctu aliquando in urbem clam, atque ita in feneſtris expectabat, ut ii ſolent, quibus amica, qua nihil habent in vita charius, pollicita eſt noctem. Dicitur dixiſſe, *ſe lætari, quod in ampliſſimam illam poteſtatem eſſet collocatus, non tam ſua cauſa, quàm quòd poſſet bene de Innocentio mereri. Et tandem factus Cardinalis dixit, ſe pro beneficio magis Cardinalibus obſtrictum eſſe, quàm quòd ſe Pontificem eſſe voluerint. Præterea, ut qui aliquid à ſe velint, id per Innocentium eſſe impetrandum. Quamobrem Legati Civitatum, Principum & Regum ad puerum concurrunt, illi ſua negotia exponunt, ut is de rebus ſuis graviſſimis etiam ad Papam referat.* Some Satyrs were Publiſhed at *Rome*, in which it was ſaid that this Favourite, as ugly as he was, was another *Ganymede*. The Pope made no Myſtery of it; but ſometimes told the Cardinals ſome Stories of this Boy's Laſcivious Tricks. (d) *Roma fama erat, & libellis quoque perſcriptum fuit, à Jove Ganymedem foveri, licet deformem: ſed nec ipſe Pontifex hoc ad reliquos Cardinales diſſimulare, & per jocum fertur aliquando commemorare, quàm ſit laſcivus adoleſcens & importunus.* I ſhall ſpeak again of the Fortune of this Man in the Remark *M*.

(d) *Sleidanus, Hiſtor. l. 21. fol. m. 609. verſo.*

(e) *Bodin, de la Republique l. 5. c. 4. p. m. 748.*

(f) Adjungis Plutarchi eum (*Ciceronem*) cum Murænam Conſul defenderet, quemcumque accuſaſſet Cato, ſcite exagitaſſe ſententias & præcepta Stoicorum in Catone, unde riſus ingens à corona pervenerit ad ſubſellia, ſubriſiſſe porro ipſum Catonem leviter atque ad conſeſſum dixiſſe, quam ridiculum, Judices, habemus Conſulem. *Vavaſſor de ludicra dictione p. 329.*

(g) *John Creſpin, de l'eſtat de l'Egliſe, ad ann. 1550. p. m. 551. ex Paulo Vergerio.*

(E) *A pleaſant Anſwer.*] I will make uſe of *John Bodin's* Words. (e) 'The Prince who Exalts 'a worthleſs Creature above Men of Merit, or that 'ſets him in the Rank of the greateſt Perſons, in 'doing good to one, does injury to all the reſt: 'As it was repreſented by the Conſiſtory of Cardinals to Pope *Julius del Monte*, when he gave his 'Cardinal's Cap, to the young Lad he Loved; that 'it was a great Diſhonour to admit him who had 'neither Virtue nor Knowledge, nor Birth, nor 'Eſtate, nor any other Quality to deſerve, as they 'ſaid, to arrive to ſuch a Dignity. But the Pope, 'who was very Facetious, Addreſſing himſelf to 'the other Cardinals; What Virtue, ſaid he, what 'Nobility, what Knowledge, what Honour have 'you found in me, to make me Pope? Was not 'this to make a Jeſt of the Sacred College? And 'might not *Cato's* Exclamation be applied to this Pope '(f) *What a Ridiculous Conſul have we?* Some report *Julius's* Anſwer thus: 'Pray what 'have you found in me, to do me the Honour of 'making me Pope without deſerving it? Let us 'Advance then this young Man, and he will deſerve it (g). Theſe laſt Words are a ſly Jeer, and reprove a very common Fault. When a Man is poſſeſt of an Imployment, he finds a thouſand Flatterers, who give out, he has very well deſerv'd it. *Montagne* ſays ſomewhere, that *Ariſtheneus* once made the *Athenians* ſenſible of the Abuſe committed in the promotions to Publick Poſts; he adviſed 'em to give order, that their Aſſes ſhould be made to Plough as well as their Horſes. It was Anſwered him, that that Animal was not made for it; 'It's 'all one, *replied he*, all depends upon your Decree; 'for the moſt Ignorant and Unqualified, that you 'imploy, as Commanders in your Wars, fail not 'immediately to become highly Meritorious, becauſe 'you imploy them.

(F) *Upon the Anſwer of two Cardinals.*] They found him in the Court of his Palace in a very indecent Poſture; for by reaſon of the Heat he had put off his Cloaths, and was Walking in his Drawers. He obliged them to do the like, and afterwards aſked them, what the People would ſay of them, ſhould they go and ſhew themſelves in that Figure in the Field of *Flora*, and the Streets of *Rome?* They would take us, anſwered they, for Rogues, and would throw Stones at us. Therefore, replied he, 'tis to our Cloaths we are obliged for not being thought Rogues: How much then are we indebted to our Cloaths? (h) *Cum aliquando exutis veſtibus, diploide & caligis tantùm indutus, in aula, quod ferveret tempeſtas, ambularet, venerunt Cardinales duo, collocuturi cum ipſo. Quos ipſe ad exuendas veſtes ſuas, & deambulandum ſecum urgebat, mox autem nudos interrogabat: Quid ſi in Campo Floræ, aut per plateas nudi ſic deambularemus, quid oro populum exiſtimatis de nobis judicaturum? Responderunt: Judicarent nos eſſe nebulones, & conjicerent in nos rudera atque lapides. Excepit Pontifex: Ergo quòd non habemur pro nebulonibus, id acceptum ferre debemus noſtris veſtibus. Quantum igitur, ô fratres, debemus illis noſtris veſtibus?*

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(G) *He excuſed his Paſſion by the Anger that God Expreſſed.*] The thing is thus, related in *John Creſpin's* Book. '(i) He loved amongſt other 'Diſhes, to Eat Hogs Fleſh, and Peacocks: But 'his Phyſician having cautioned him againſt Eating 'Bacon, becauſe it was naught for the Gout, with 'which he was often Tormented, he could not abſtain from it; ſo that the Phyſician ſecretly adviſed 'the Steward to give Orders that no Hogs-Fleſh 'ſhould be ſerved in. As therefore it was Omitted 'for ſome time, and the Pope perceived it, he aſked 'the Steward, where was his Diſh of Pork? The 'Steward Anſwered, the Phyſician had ordered that 'none ſhould be brought in. Upon which he Exclaimed in this manner, bring me my Diſh, (*a diſpetto di Dio*)——Seeing one Day a Peacock 'at his Table, which no Body touched, keep, ſaid 'he, this Peacock cold for my Supper, and lay the 'Table in the Garden, for I ſhall have ſome Company. As he was at Supper, and ſaw other hot 'Peacocks brought to Table, but not his cold one, 'which he had order'd to be kept for him, flying 'into a Litter Paſſion, he uttered an execrable 'Blaſphemy againſt God. Upon which one of the 'Cardinals who ſate at Table with him, ſaid, your 'Holineſs ought not to be in ſo great a Paſſion, for 'ſo little a thing. *Julius* replied, if God could be 'ſo very Angry for an Apple, as to turn out firſt 'Father *Adam* out of Paradiſe; why ſhould it not 'be Lawful for me, who am his Vicar to be in a 'Paſſion for a Peacock, ſince a Peacock is much 'more than an Apple? They who will Read this Story in two Languages, may Satisfy their Curioſity by caſting their Eyes on what follows: (a) *Sæpiſſimè nequiſſimus ipſe homo blaſphemus illis uſus fuit, quæ impuriſſimis lenonibus aliiſque deſperatæ malitiæ hominibus tunc temporis frequentiùs in ore fuerunt, ad quæ animus totus quamvis exhorreſcit, vid.* Al diſpetto di Dio, in contemptum (b) Dei, & Potta di Dio, i. e. ad vulvam Dei *&c. exemplum hujus rei proponit Auctor libri cui titulus,* Lectura ſuper Canone de conſecr. diſt. 3. *ajens:* 'Intellexi, portatam fuiſſe in Civitatem Paduæ quandam hiſtoriam, impreſſam Latinè, Italicè, Germanicè, & 'Gallicè, in qua narratur, quòd Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter Papa Julius III. proximis diebus valdè 'fuit iratus cum Epiſcopo Ariminenſe, ejus Magiſtro domus, propter certum pavonem, & quam 'ſua prælibata Sanctitas bis blaſphemaſſet, primo 'dicendo, Potta di Dio, deinde, *al diſpetto di* 'Dio, quod fecit tanquam Johannes *Maria de Monte*, '& ſic tanquam homo, non tanquam Julius III. 'Papa, & Vicarius Chriſti, de quo ſupra dixi. Et 'quùm unus Cardinalis illi dixiſſet, quòd non debe'ret iraſci propter unam tam parvam rem, id eſt, 'propter unum pavonem, unus Praelatinus D. Papa 'reſpondit; Si Deus ſuit tam turbatus, & in magna ira & colera, *propter unum pomum*, & tanta 'mala fecit omnibus hominibus; quare non poſſum 'ego, qui ſum ſuus Vicarius in terris, iraſci in 'meo Magiſtro domus propter unum pavonem.'

(i) *Vid ſupra p. 553.*

(a) *Joann. Zuingerus, in tractatu Hiſtorico-Theologico de feſto Corpor. Chriſti p. 142.*

(b) *The word con temptus, does not expreſs the force of the* Italian *word diſpetto; It ſhould have been ſub invito Deo.*

(H) *Theſe Letters were ſtuffed with the moſt Extravagant Obſcenities.*] They were Written the 26th. of *January* 1550. to one *Annibal Cenſ.*

* Poſt longam Cardinalium in conclavi diſceptationem, cùm, teſte in Muſæo Hiſtorico Johanne Imperiali, *ambigeretur* Papa jam electus eſſet Reginaldus Polus, eamque electionem promulgare nocte appetente inauſpicatum duxiſſent iidem; nocte tranſacta & mutatis rationibus aureis Julius Papa ſubitò emerſit. *Heidegg. Hiſtor. Papatus p.* 233.

† *Spondanus ad ann.* 1555. *n.* 4. *but Palavicini* Hiſt. Concil. *l.* 13. *c.* 10. *n.* 7. *ſays he was* 70. *years Old.*

(*c*) *Sleidanus, Hiſt. l.* 21. *fol. m.* 609. *verſo. This is alſo to be found in* Thuanus *of the Francfort Edit.* 1625. *l.* 6. *p.* 121.

(*d*) *Joan. Zuingerus ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) *Heidegger. Hiſt. Papatus p.* 238.

(*f*) *Spondan. ad ann.* 1555. *n.* 4. *p.* 550. *ex Onuphrio Panvinio.* Mr. de Thuanus *relates the ſame thing l.* 15. *p. m.* 300.

(*g*) *Mart. Epigr.* 39. *l.* 7.

ties. 'Tis thought * his Money fruſtrated the Election of Cardinal *Pool*, which had been concluded on, and the Publication whereof was only deferred, becauſe they were afraid it would be an ill Omen to notify it in the Night. The Medal which he ordered to be Coined after the Death of *Edward* King of *England*, had for its Motto (*I*) a Scripture Paſſage, the Application whereof proved Falſe in a little time. This Pope Died the 20*th.* of *February* 1555. being about † 68 years of Age. He pretended (*K*) to be Sick; and the better to deceive the World, he reduced himſelf to a Courſe of Phyſick, which brought upon him a real Diſeaſe, of which he Died. 'Tis ſaid, that there was ſo great an Intimacy betwixt him and Cardinal *Creſcentio*, that they had Miſtreſſes (*L*) in common; and that they maintain'd in common the Children they got by them, for want of knowing who was the true Father. Each of them alſo paid his Quota for the Maintenance of theſe Women. Cardinal *Pallavicini* extenuates as much as he can (*M*) the Faults of this Pope, but he do's not Confute what Father *Paul* ſays of him. I have forgot to

by *Camillus Oliva* a Conclaviſt of the Cardinal of *Mantua*, and Accompanied with a little Poem, in which the Author filthily deſcribed his Paſſion, and the vehement Ardour, that made him wiſh to have his Friend again. *John Sleidan* tells this Story. (*c*) *Dum in Conclavi res agitur, intercepta fuerunt literæ, quas ex Cardinalis Mantuani familiaribus quidam, Camillus Olivus, ad quendam ſuum Annibalem Continum, Januarii die XXVI. ſcripſiſſe ferebatur, & ſimul carmen lingua populari ſcriptum, ubi de ſua locutus affectione, & abſentis deſiderio, tàm pudendis utitur verbis, ut ſine flagitio vix ea recitare liceat. Hinc jocus illorum, qui Pontificem dicebant aliquem obſcænum prænunciari, qui proditurus eſſet ex eo Conclavi, quod ejuſmodi literas daret.* An Author above cited do's not relate this Paſſage without having firſt ſaid, (*d*) *Vir doctus anonymus* in Epiſt. ad amicum *narrat, ex eo Conclavi, in quo creatus eſt Julius, interceptas fuiſſe literas alicujus ex Conclaviſtis, i. e. ex illis, qui ſolent aſſidere Cardinalibus Papam electuris, quibus quidem literis non putet ullâ memoriâ unquam ſcriptas fuiſſe ullas obſcœniores, ſceleratioreſque. Nudis enim nefandiſſimiſque verbis illic agi cum cinædo, ſalvo honore. Has, fateri, ad ſe primùm in Germaniam fuiſſe miſſas, ſed dare typis excudendas (ut multi voluiſſent) nunquam quidem ſe voluiſſe.* Paulo pòſt addit, *Julium III. valdè malè audire in hoc obſcœniſſimo genere,* (Sodomitici nim. criminis) *ita ut neque à Cardinalibus abſtineat.*

(*I*) *A Scripture Paſſage, the Application whereof proved falſe.*] They expreſt an extraordinary Joy at *Rome* for the Death of young *Edward*; becauſe the Princeſs *Mary* who Succeeded him, Reſtor'd *England* to the Obedience of the Pope; but the Reaſons of that Joy did not laſt long. Queen *Elizabeth* Re-eſtabliſhed the Reformation, and rendered that Iſland one of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms in Chriſtendom; ſo that the Prediction of the Medal was a meer Chimera. (*c*) *Eo infamiæ Julius pervenit, ut in perpetuam rei memoriam exeudi curaverit monetam, cujus altera pars ejus imaginem tricorniferam oſtentavit, altera inſcriptionem ejuſmodi habuit:* Gens & Regnum, quod non ſervierit tibi, peribit. *Sibi ſtolidè vindicans, quod Chriſto Eſaias. Sed diuturnum & ſtabile gaudium neutiquam fuit.*

(*K*) *He pretended to be Sick.*] The reaſon of it was, becauſe he diſcovered, that the Cardinals would refuſe to conſent to the Demand, which his Brother preſt him to make. His Brother Paſſionately deſired the Poſſeſſion of a Town, and importuned the Pope perpetually on that Account. That he might therefore have a pretence not to hold a Conſiſtory, he pretended to be Sick. And to play this Trick more Artificially, he Eat but little, and choſe ſuch Food, as is fit for Sick People. This change of Diet, they ſay, brought on him a Diſtemper of which he Died (*f*). This puts me in Mind of *Martial's Calius:*

Diſcurſus (g) varios, vagumque manè,
Et faſtus, & ave potentiorum,
Cum perferre patique jam negaret;
Cœpit fingere Calius podagram.
Quam dum vult nimis approbare veram,
Et ſanas limit obligatque plantas,
Incedit que gradu laborioſo;
(Quantum cura poteſt, & ars doloris!)
Deſit fingere Calius podagram.

Some ſay that the change of Diet, was indeed the cauſe of his Illneſs; but not that he reſolved upon it, in order to deceive the World: They ſay he hoped to deliver himſelf thereby from the intolerable Pains of the Gout. Others pretend, that an Old Diſtemper was the cauſe of his Death, and Acknowledge, that he was a Man addicted to his Pleaſures, who thought more of Injoying than Exerciſing his Pontificate. (*b*) *Sunt etiam qui dicant, eum veterano interiiſſe: cùm, ut idem etiam auctor narrat, externa quæque parum curans, fruendo potiùs quàm regendo Pontificatui incumberet, totuſque eſſet in extruendâ elegantiſſimâ ad voluptarios ſeceſſus extra portam Flaminiam Villâ Juliâ, cujus inſanire ſtudio videbatur; in quâ conviviis potiùs quàm publicæ procurationi vacabat.*

(*L*) *That they had Miſtreſſes in common, and that they maintain'd.*] This I have from *Thomas Eraſtus. Julius III. Pontifex,* ſays he, (*i*) *& Creſcentius fere omnes meretrices communes habuerunt, propriiſque ſumptibus neuter, ſed communibus aluerunt, atque ut breviter dicam, omnium ſcelerum ſocii [illegible] Suſceperunt ex quadam muliere, honeſti viri Viterbienſis filiam, quam, quod neuter ſuam eſſe dicere ore derque poſſet, ut matrem, ita filiam quoque communibus ſumptibus educandam tradiderunt, nuptuique dederunt Nobiliſſimo hujus urbis adoleſcenti, & inter Principes hujus urbis, qui ſunt* 40. *conſtitutum voluerunt.* Here's a great Exemption from Jealouſy, which is a rare thing in that Country.

(*M*) *Cardinal Pallavicini Extenuates*——the Faults——*but do's not Confute.*] He owns that this Pope loved to Divert himſelf, but he adds, that (*k*) he equally loved Application to Buſineſs; he grants that he Died being little Eſteemed and Loved (*l*); but he pretends, that his too Free and Familiar way of Acting was the cauſe of it, becauſe not getting the publick Veneration, he made it believed that he was not a good Pope. He adds (*m*), that this Judgment was unjuſt, and that if the Faults of *Julius III.* were more Conſpicuous than his good Qualities, they were not perhaps of ſo much Conſequence as his Virtues. As to the promotion of the young Lad, he is contented to ſay (*n*) that it diſhonoured the firſt Days of his Papacy. He Acknowleges that the Birth of this Man was ſo Obſcure that it was ſtill unknown: But he pretends the Affection Cardinal *del Monte* had for him, was founded upon this, that he look'd upon him as the Son of his Judgment. The meaning whereof is this: Whilſt the Cardinal was Legate at *Piacenza*, he was pleaſed with the pretty Carriage of a little Boy, who often came near his Table. He took this for a ſign of Wit, and reſolved to raiſe this young Plant at his own charge: And ſeeing the Boy made a Progreſs, he loved him more and more. He Applauded himſelf for his happy Conjecture; he looked upon him as the Son of his Judgment, a ſort of Creature which we ſet a greater value upon than upon a Child of our Body. (*a*) *Oblectatus ex eo herus, ſibique plaudens, quod ſuâ quaſi perſpicacia plantam eximiam, adhuc minutulam, & in luto, diſcreviſſet, majori in puerum benevolentia incaluit, quâ illum proſequebatur veluti ſui judicii prolem, cujus filii pluris quam corporis ſoboles æſtimantur.* He would have his Brother to Adopt him; and when he was Pope, he rais'd him to the Dignity of a Cardinal, *May* 30*th.* 1550. He had made him ſtay till then in a Village a Days Journey from *Rome*. He gave him an Income of twelve thouſand Crowns: But did not then entruſt him with the Adminiſtration of Affairs. This New Cardinal was ſcarce ſeventeen years of Age; he ſhewed himſelf wholly unworthy of this Honour, and it was neceſſary under

(*b*) *Spond. ib. ex eod.*

(*i*) *Apud Hottinger. ubi ſupra. p.* 574.

(*k*) Pronus ad laxamenta; ſed æque etiam ad negotia. *Palavic. Hiſt. Concil. Trid. l.* 13. *c.* 10. *n.* 8.

(*l*) Æſtimatione tenus, nec majore benevolentia mortuus eſt. *Id. ib.*

(*m*) Nihilominus ut mea fert opinio, hæc de illo exiſtimatio fuit iniqua: ipſius quippe vitia majora fuldem ad ſpeciem erant quam virtutes, ſed non fortaſſe ad pondus. *Id. ibid.*

(*n*) *Id. l.* 11. *c.* 7. *n.* 4.

(*a*) *Id. l.* 11. *c.* 7. *n.* 4.

to obſerve, that the Court of *France* offered (*N*) this Pope's Nephew a Princeſs of the Blood, and that this Alliance was refus'd.

JULIA, Wife of *Septimius Severus* Emperor of *Rome*, and Daughter of *Baſſianus* (*A*) Prieſt of the Sun, was Born in *Syria*. The Aſtrologers (*B*) had foretold that ſhe ſhould Marry a Soveraign; for which Reaſon *Severus*, before he came to the Empire, Courted, and Married her. He pay'd great Deference to Aſtrology; and therefore believ'd that ſuch a Marriage would be his Security for aſcending ſome time or other to the Throne. She was a Woman of great Parts, and capable of great Things. Some ſay, that (*C*) her Husband gave her a great ſhare in the Government, though he was not

(*b*) *Palavicini l.* 11. *c.* 7. *n.* 4. *ſays that it appears from the Journal of* Maſſarellus *Secretary to the Council, that the young Boy was abſolutely adopted, when he was one of the Actors of a Paſtoral the* 2. *of* March 1549.

(*c*) *Palavicini* ib. *ſays it was not at* Bologna, *as Father* Paul *will have it, but at* Piacenza.

(*d*) *Fra-Paolo l.* 3. *ad ann.* 1550. *p.* 282. *of* Amelot's *Tranſlation.*

(1) Qui occupationibus totus intentus Cardinalis, veluti furtim, voluptates ſequebatur, Pontifex factus, votorum jam omnium compos, abdicata rerum cura, hilaritati & genio ſuo nimium indulſit. *Onuphr. in Vita.*

(2) Onuphrius *relates, that* Julius *ſaid he had been Promoted to the Pontificate for the care he had taken of that Child. Affirmans ſe ad tanti honoris decus evectum, ob ea beneficia quibus illum puerum affeciſſet.*

der the following Pontificates to Chaſtiſe him for his Debaucheries. This is all that *Palavicini* obſerves. He has cautiouſly forborn to Criticiſe on Father *Paul*; who has moſt plainly notified that the World look'd upon this Minion of *Julius* as his *Catamite*: Prudence would not permit him to Revive thoſe Ideas. Wherefore he does not Accuſe Father *Paul* of Malicious Slanders, but is contented to ſay, that he is miſtaken as to the time (*b*) of the Adoption, and as to the Place (*c*) where this young Man firſt began to be Loved. Let us ſee what Father *Paul* ſays. ' (*d*) *Julius* immediately ' gave an earneſt of his future Government, by ' ſpending whole Days in Walking in his Gardens, ' and contriving the Building of Pleaſure Houſes; ' and by diſcovering a great Inclination to the ' Pleaſures of Life, and very little for Buſineſs (1), ' eſpecially for ſuch as he found difficult to Manage. ' The Ambaſſador *Mendoza* well obſerving this ' Humour, wrote to his Maſter, that it would ' be eaſy to ſucceed in all his Negotiations ' with this Pope, who being only for Mirth ' and Pleaſure, would turn any way, if he was ' put in Fear. The Opinion that was enter- ' tained of him, that he would prefer his private ' Intereſt and Affection before the publick Good, ' was ſpeedily confirm'd by the promotion he made ' of a Cardinal the 31ſt. of *May*, to whom he gave ' his Hat, as is Cuſtomary with the Popes. When ' he was but Arch-biſhop of *Siponte*, and Governor ' of the Town of *Bologna*, he took into his Houſe a ' young Boy, a Native of *Piacenza*, whoſe Original ' is not yet known. He took an Affection to him ' as if he had been his own Child, and brought him ' to *Trent*, where he had like to have loſt him by a ' great Fit of Sickneſs. But ſending him by the Phy- ' ſicians Advice to *Verona*, for change of Air, *In-* ' *nocent*, (for that was this Minion's Name) reco- ' ver'd his Health, and ſome time after return'd to ' *Trent*. The Day that he was to come the Legate ' went out of Town, as to take a Walk, Accompa- ' nied with a great many Prelates, and meeting ' him, receiv'd him with all the exceſſive Teſti- ' monies of Joy and Affection. Which gave much ' occaſion of Diſcourſe, whether it was an acciden- ' tal Meeting, or a thing Deſign'd to take him in ' the way. The Legate us'd to ſay, that he loved ' him, as being the Author of his Fortune (2), for ' as much as the Aſtrologers had Predicted great ' Wealth, and High Dignities to this Child, which ' could never happen, but by his Exaltation to the ' Popedom. He was ſcarce made Pope, but *Inno-* ' *cent* was Adopted by *Baudouin del Monte* his ' Brother for his Son: and afterwards having con- ' fer'd on him many Benefices, he made him a Car- ' dinal, as I have ſaid: Which afforded matter e- ' nough for Paſquils, and gave the Courtiers an ' Itch to ſpeak out the true cauſe of ſo ſurpriſing an ' Action upon ſeveral Conjectures drawn from ' paſs'd Accidents.

(*N*) *This Pope's Nephew a Princeſs of the Blood.*] The Pope Anſwer'd that Marriages between Perſons of ſo different a Rank could not be happy; and as he Acknowledg'd the Royal Houſe of *France* to be the nobleſt in the World, he Acknowledg'd his own to be the meaneſt upon Earth. However he did not give the true reaſon of this Refuſal; for that which induc'd him to refuſe ſo glorious an Alliance, was, the deſire of Marrying his Nephew to the Great Duke's Daughter: Which was more uſeful to him for the Execution of what he was Projecting in favour of his Family. This we learn from *Thuanus*. *Julius* (ſays he), (*e*) *ad Scurrilitatem uſque ſe-*

(*e*) *Thuan. l.* 14. *circa init. p. m.* 280. *ad ann.* 1554.

ſtivus, & alienam ab innata deceſſoribus Pontificibus ambitione mentem præ ſe ferens, cum tamen interea Coſmi, ut proximi & ſuorum rebus utiliſſimi principis affinitatem ultra modum expeteret, & Cornelium principatum Fabiano deſtinaret, ut conjunctionem tam amplam eluderet, ſic Lanfacum urgentem dimiſit, ut diceret, quam ex nobiliſſima omnium, quæ unquam fuiſſent, familia rem prognatus eſſet, tam ſe ab ſuis omnium, qui viverent, mortalium ignobiliſſimos agnoſcere; proinde nuptias, quæ inter pares melius coirent, inter inæquales adeo perſonas commode contrahi non poſſe. Note, that one of the Daughters of *Coſmo* Duke of *Florence*, was Betrothed to *Fabian del Monte*, who was *Baudouin's* Son, and not yet Marriageable. See *Thuanus*, Book 13. *Palavicini* in the place above cited, obſerves, that *Fabian* was *Baudouin's* Baſtard.

(*A*) *Daughter of* Baſſianus *Prieſt of the Sun.*] Which may be inferred from theſe Words of *Aurelius Victor*. (*f*) *Caracalla Severi filius* —— *Baſſianus ex avi materni nomine dictus* —— (*g*) *Hujus* (Heliogabali) *mater Semea cum Baſſianus nomine, fuerat ſolis ſacerdos, quem Phœnices unde erat, Heliogabalum nominabant. Semea* (*h*) was the Daughter of *Maſa*: Now *Maſa* was Siſter to *Julia* (*i*); therefore *Baſſianus* the Prieſt of the Sun muſt be *Julia's* Father. We can't poſitively affirm whether *Emeſa* or *Apamea* was *Julia's* Native Country: For according to ſome Authors (*k*) her Siſter *Maſa* was of *Emeſa*: But according to others, ſhe (*l*) was of *Apamea*. *Lampridius* (*m*) calls *Julia nobilem Orientis mulierem*; but *Dion* (*n*) makes her a *Plebeian*. [illegible] *è genere plebeio.*

(*f*) *Aurel. Victor in Epitome p.* 211.
(*g*) *Id. ib. p.* 212.
(*h*) *Father* Soranie, *according to* Herodian, *l.* 5. *c.* 3.
(*i*) *Herodian. ibid.*
(*k*) *Herodian. ib.* Julius Capitolinus *in Macrino p.* 79.
(*l*) *Dio l.* 78. *p.* [illegible].
(*m*) *Lampridius in Alexandro Severo c.* 5. *p.* 899.
(*n*) *Dio l.* 78. *p.* 899. *Edit.* 1606.

(*E*) *The Aſtrologers had Foretold.*] *Spartianus* will beſt acquaint us, what Enquiries *Severus* chiefly made, when he was to Marry again; he did not inform himſelf about the Merit of the Perſon, but the Promiſes of her Horoſcope. *Quum amiſſa uxore aliam vellet ducere, genituras ſponſarum requireret, ipſe quoque matheſeos peritiſſimus: & quum audiſſet eſſe in Syria quandam quæ ad genitura haberet ut regi jungeretur, eandem uxorem petit, Juliam ſcilicet, & accepis interventu amicorum, ea quæ ſtatim patri facius eſt* (*o*).

(*o*) *Spartian. in Spartian. Severo c.* 3. *p. m.* 594. *tom.* 1. *See alſo Lampridius ubi infra.*

(*C*) *Some ſay that her Husband gave her a great ſhare in the Government.*] ' (*p*) She had the charge ' of his Memorials, Letters and Petitions of whate- ' ver Conſequence they were, ſays *Dion* in the Life ' of *Caracalla*. Which ſhews her great Capacity: ' For ſhe gave her Advice upon all important Af- ' fairs: And yet he neither lov'd her much, nor ' ſhe him, (as we ſee in *Dion* and *Herodian*,) though ' ſhe commonly received this Honour from him, to ' be named in his Letters with Praiſe and Com- ' mendation, and even when he wrote to the Senate, ' inſerting her Name with his own and that of his ' Armies, according to the Style of that time. She ' kept her Rank very well, paying no more Deference, ' nor ſaluting with more Reſpect the greateſt Perſons ' of the Empire than *Severus* or *Caracalla* did. ' However *Caracalla* coming to the Empire, ' leſſen'd her Authority, no ways yielding to her ' Counſels, eſpecially when the fancy took him to ' put any one to Death. But as to *Severus* her ' Husband, he was very much ſway'd by her good ' Advice and Senſe. This is what *Trifan* ſays: But 'tis certain that he is miſtaken, taking the Father for the Son. For what he relates, has no Reſpect to *Julia* under the Reign of her Huſband, but ought only to be underſtood of her, as under the Empire of *Caracalla*. There is no difficulty in the thing, if we conſider the Words of *Xiphilin*. (*q*) [illegible]

(*p*) *Trifan Comment. Hiſtor. tom.* 2. *p.* 112.
(*q*) *Xiphilin. in Epitome Dionis, in Caracalla p. m.* 357.

not very fond of her. She Cultivated (D) Philoſophy, and ſpent much time in hearing the Diſcourſes of the Wits that made their Court to her. 'Tis pity it cannot be ſaid, for the Honour and Advantage of Learning, that her Virtue equall'd her Capacity; for the Hiſtorians witneſs (E) that her Adulteries were a Blot on the Life of her Husband *Severus*. Some Authors ſay, that after the Death of *Severus* ſhe contracted an

(a) Triſtan *ſhould not therefore ſay that ſhe was intruſted with the Petitions, tho' they were never ſo important. He ſhouldhave made this Exception, as* Mr. de Tillemont *does,* Hiſt. des Empereurs tom. 3. p. m. 189. unleſs it was about a very important thing.

(b) *Capitolinus in Clodio Albino, c.* 3. *p.* 689.

(c) *In Sept. Severo p.* 330.

(d) *Philoſtratus in vitis Sophiſtarum, in Philiſco.*

(e) *Salmaſ. ad Spartian. in vita Severi. c.* 18. *p. m.* 625.

(f) *Philoſtrat. in vita Apollonii l.* 1. *c.* 3.

(g) Εἰς τῶν ἐκείνου [Ἰουλίαν] καὶ τὸν Τρύφωνα καὶ τὴν γραμματικὴν τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν περὶ αὐτὴν τιμῶσαν Βασιλίδα. Unus illorum Rhetorum & Grammaticorum, qui Juliæ Imperatrici frequentes adeſſe ſolebant.

(h) *Stephanus le Moyne in Prolegomenis Variorum Sacrorum fol.* * 25.

(i) *Tzetzes ubi ſupra.*

(k) Amore Marci quem fuiſſe vel fratrem ſuum dicebat, & cujus Philoſophiam literarumque inſtitutionem ſemper imitatus eſt. *Spartian. in Geta, cap.* 2.

(l) *Aurelius Victor in Cæſarib.*

(m) *Spartianus in Severo, cap.* 18. *p.* 625, 626.

(n) *See* Triſtan, tom. 2. pag. 121.

βιβλίων ἐπιτροπὴν ἐμοὶ τῷ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ τῷ τῶν ἐντευξομένων, ἵνα σώζωμαι, μᾶλλον ἐπιτήδειον πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι. Τί γὰρ δέδιλεγμαι, ὅτι καὶ ἐπιτρέπεται δημοσίᾳ πάντας τοὺς πρώτους καθάπερ καὶ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο. *Qua in re cæteriſque omnibus minimè obtemperabat matri juſta & utilia monenti, licet ei curam libellorum atque epiſtolarum utriuſque generis, (d) prætèr admodum neceſſariæ, commiſiſſet, ejuſque nomen pariter cum ſuo & exercitus nomine poneret cum maximis laudibus in epiſtolis quas mittebat ad ſenatum, dum omnes valere ſcriberet: nec opus eſt referre ab hac omnes primarios viros ſalutari non ſecus quam ab illo conſueviſſe.* I obſerve that it was at her Requeſt, that her Husband undertook the War againſt *Pescennius Niger*, and *Clodius Albinus* (b).

(D) *She Cultivated Philoſophy.*] Immediately after the Words juſt read, *Xiphilin* Affirms that *Julia* Philoſophized notwithſtanding ſo much Buſineſs. Ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἐς μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐφιλοσόφει. *Sed ea nihilo minus philoſophabatur.* He had ſaid in another Place (c) that, being Perſecuted by *Plautianus*, who had a prodigious Intereſt, ſhe began to Cultivate Philoſophy, and to ſpend whole Days with the *Sophiſts*: Καὶ ἡ μὲν αὐτὴ τὰ φιλοσοφεῖν διὰ παντὸς ἤσκησε, καὶ σοφισταῖς συνημέρευεν; *Quæ dum ob eam cauſam philoſopharetur, & tempus cum Sophiſtis tranſigeret.* *Philoſtratus* call'd her a Philoſopher: Ἀντωνῖνος, ſays he, ſpeaking of *Caracalla* (d), ἦν ὁ τῆς φιλοσόφου παῖς Ἰουλίας. *Antoninus vero filius erat Juliæ Philoſophæ.* Thus it ought to be read, according to the lucky Conjecture of the Learned *Salmaſius* (e). He has Corrected another Paſſage of *Philoſtratus*, wherein we learn that the Sophiſt *Philiſcus* obtain'd a Profeſſorſhip at *Athens*, by *Julia's* Intereſt. 'Twas ſhe that order'd *Philoſtratus* to write the Life of *Apollonius*, as he ſays himſelf (f), and he obſerves at the ſame time that this Lady was a great Lover of Rhetorick. *Tzetzes* mentions the Society of Learned Men that were about *Julia*. See the Margin (g).

Mr. *Le Moyne* has made two Remarks which deſerve to be mention'd. He wonders, 1. That *Scaliger* who had ſuch bold Conjectures, durſt not venture upon any about *Antoninus*, *Julia's* Son, ſpoken of by *Philoſtratus*. 2. He has confirm'd by *Tzetzes* *Salmaſius's* Correction, which he ſeems never to have heard of. This is what he ſays as to *Scaliger*: 'Sic *Philoſtratus in vitis Sophiſtarum, in Philiſco*, 'Ἀντωνῖνος δὲ ἦν ὁ τῆς φιλοσόφου παῖς Ἰουλίας. Antoni- 'nus erat Filius Philoſophi Juliæ. *Ad quæ verba* 'harens & attonitus *Scaliger*, Antonino Philoſopho 'alius filius quam Commodus, alia uxor præter 'Fauſtinam? Niſi legamus ὁ τῆς Σεβήρου παῖς ἦν Ἰουλίας, 'Hoc etiam temuit ancipitem Tzetzem, nec mihi 'minorem movit admirationem. Quæ nos proponi- 'mus Chronologis eruditis, & Antiquitatis in- 'veſtigatoribus, ut quærant, & nos doceant, quæ 'ingenue nos neſcire profitemur. *Sed mirum hic* 'verſum *Scaligeri acumen, & moratam iſtam feli-* 'cem audaciam, *quæ loca, hoc multo difficiliora, tam* 'ſtrenue & alacriter ſuperaverat (h). As for the Paſſage of *Tzetzes*, he makes uſe of it to ſhew that *Philoſtratus* did not ſay ὁ φιλοσόφου; for if *Tzetzes* had read this in *Philoſtratus*, he would not have ſaid this Author does not ſhew who the Empreſs *Julia* was Married to. (i) Διζήσῃ δ' αὐτὸν ὁ φησὶ τίνων ἦν βασιλεύς. *Non dicit vero cujus Imperatoris illa fuerit conjux.* He might eaſily have underſtood that this *Julia's* Husband was either *Marcus Aurelius*, Surnam'd the *Philoſopher*, or *Septimius Severus*, who was very much given to Philoſophical (k) Studies, in Imitation of *Marcus Aurelius*. (l) *Philoſophiæ, declamandi, cunctis poſtremo liberalium deditus ſtudiis.* (m) *Philoſophiæ ac dicendi ſtudiis ſatis deditus; doctrinæ quoque nimis avidus.* Mr. *le Moyne* gives moſt times to our *Julia* the Surname *Severa*, according to ſome Inſcriptions (n).

(E) *Her Adulteries were a Blot on the Life of her Husband.*] *Severus* had acquir'd a great Reputation both by his Warlike and Political Actions; but he blaſted it by indulging his Wife's Debaucheries. Nay, 'twas ſaid, that he was not Ignorant, that ſhe was engaged in a Conſpiracy that was form'd againſt him. (o) *Hinc tanto domi foriſque uxoris probra ſummam gloriæ dempſere: quam adeo famoſe amplexus eſt, ut cognita libidine ac ream conjurationis retentavit.* This is what *Aurelius Victor* teſtifies: And *Spartianus* (p) ſays no leſs. *Triſtan* (q) does not think it probable, that ſhe ever Conſpir'd againſt her Husband: His reaſon is, that ſhe had too much Senſe, not to know, that ſuch an Attempt muſt have been fatal, both to her ſelf and her two Sons. But it may be Anſwer'd: Firſt, that we frequently Act againſt our true Intereſts, when we have a mind to ſatisfy a violent Paſſion; as ſuppoſe the deſire of revenging an Affront offer'd to *Julia* by her Husband, or the deſire of delivering her ſelf from an intolerable Oppreſſion. Secondly, That *Julia* might have ſo managed things, that the Murderers of *Severus* would have given the Empire to her Son. This is not without Precedent. Be it how it will, it can't be denied, but ſhe found herſelf Oppreſs'd. *Severus* had ſo Extravagant a kindneſs for *Plautianus*, that his Intereſt was viſibly greater than his Maſter's (r). Now *Plautianus* obſerved no Meaſures with *Julia*: He ceas'd not to blacken her; he caus'd informations to be made againſt her, and look'd for Witneſſes to prove her Guilty. He look'd for them, I ſay, by putting many Women of Quality to the Rack. (ſ) Ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὐγούσαν πρὸς τὸν Σεβῆρον δεῖ σιλλαλῆσαι, ἐμζητάσεώς τι κατ' αὐτῆς, ἢ βασάνου κατ' εὐγενῶν γυναικῶν πεισθῆναι. *Ut etiam apud eum Juliam Auguſtam ſemper calumniatus ſit, & in eam ac de matronis nobilibus tormentis quæſiverit.* The Hiſtorian that informs me of this, does not ſay that the Empereſs ſought her Deliverance by any Conſpiracy againſt her Husband; but only that this was the Reaſon of her Studying Philoſophy. She can't but be prais'd for taking that method of Conſolation. The miſery of it is, that whilſt the Favourite too inſolently abus'd his Power, She afforded him perhaps too many Reaſons to accuſe her of Adultery. I ſhall ſet down the Anſwer that was made to her in Great *Britain*. She had followed (v) her Husband thither, and obſerving that the Women of that Iſland Communicated their Favours to many Men without any Shame, ſhe made a ſharp Reflection upon *Argentocomus's* Wife, who thus Anſwer'd her: *We better ſatisfy the Cravings of Nature than you* Roman *Ladies; for we Publickly beſtow our Favours on the worthieſt Men, whereas you Secretly lye with the baſeſt Fellows.* Μικρὰ ἀντίκα Ἀργεντοκόμου τινὸς γυνὴ Καληδονία πρὸς τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὐγούσαν ἀπομνημονεύει τι πρὸς αὐτὴν μιᾶς τῶν συνόντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνδρὸς σοφίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἐξήγησιν συνουσίᾳ, εἰκῇ λέγουσα ὅτι πολλῷ ἄμεινόν ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀναπληροῦμεν ὑμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἡμεῖς γὰρ φανερῶς τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὁμιλοῦμεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ λάθρα ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων μοιχεύεσθε (w). *Urbane imprimis Argentocomi Caledonii uxor, Juliæ Auguſtæ quæ ipſam mordebat, initis foederibus, quid ipſa impudenter cum maribus verſarentur, dixiſſe fertur, Nos (inquit) multo melius explemus ea quæ naturæ poſtulat neceſſitas, quàm vos Romanæ. Nam aperte cum optimis viris habemus conſuetudinem: vos autem occultè peſſimi homines conſtuprant.* If any one aſks on what Account the Hiſtorian makes mention of this Anſwer, I ſay it was on occaſion of the Law the Emperor had made againſt Adultery; the Execution whereof he was forc'd to neglect, becauſe the Multitude of the accus'd (x) made the Courts unwilling to meddle any longer with theſe Trials. It muſt be confeſs'd that this Barbarous Woman unluckily Anſwer'd the Empreſs's Railleries: But let us have a care not to believe that the Impudence of theſe Iſlanders was leſs blameable than the ſecret Adulteriess of *Rome*. They who commit an Ill Action in ſecret

(o) *Aurel. Victor in Cæſaribus.*

(p) Domi tamen minus cauſus, qui uxorem Juliam famoſam adulteriis temuit, etiam conjurationis conſciam. *Spartian. in Severo p.* 626, 627.

(q) *Ubi ſupra p.* 18.

(r) *Xiphilin. in Severo p. m.* 329. 330.

(ſ) *Id. id. p.* 350.

(v) *In the year* 208.

(w) *Xiphilin in Severo, p.* 343.

(x) *Three thouſand People had been Indicted for Adultery.*

an Inceſtuous Marriage, by Marrying *Caracalla* (F) her Husband's Son: But 'tis (G) a Falſity. She was no leſs the true Mother of *Caracalla*, than of *Geta*. She had the Misfortune * not to be able to keep Peace betwixt her two Sons. Her Induſtry, as great as it was, proved deficient in that Reſpect. *Geta* was killed by *Caracalla*, in the Arms of his Mother, who was wounded, and durſt not afterwards expreſs the leaſt Grief. If I miſtake not, the beſt Expedient *Caracalla* made uſe of to comfort his Mother,

* *Herodianus, lib. 4. cap. 3. & Xiphilin. in Caracalla, pag. 348-349.*

Secret, retain the Ideas of Virtue, and pay ſome Homage to them. But they who Sin without Shame, have no regard to Juſtice, either in the Theory or Practice (y).

Brantome relates a Circumſtance that I have not read in the ancient Hiſtorians. It contains the Reaſon why *Severus* ſo patiently bore with his Wife's Incontinence. Theſe are his Words. ' (a) The Emperor *Severus* was not much concerned for the ' Honour of his Wife, who was a publick Whore, ' ſaying that her Name was *Julia*, and that therefore ſhe ought to be excuſed, for as much as all the ' Women that bore that Name from all Antiquity, ' uſed to be great Whores, and to make their Huſbands Cuckolds; as I know many Ladies, bearing ' certain Chriſtian Names (b), which I will not ' mention out of Reſpect to our Holy Religion, who ' are commonly more ſubject to ——— than other ' Women of other Names, and few have been found ' that were free from it.

(y) *See the Article* Jonas (Arngrimus) p. 1054.

(a) *Brantome, Dames Galantes, tom. 1. pag. 33.*

(b) *Theſe two Verſes of* Rutilius Numatianus, *may be applied to this Subject.*

Nominibus certos credam decurrere mores,
Moribus an ponis nomina certa dari?

(F) *By marrying to* Caracalla.] This Falſity is not a Story of a late Invention, but I found in *Spartianus*, and *Aurelius Victor*. See how *Brantome* relates it. ' (c) We further read of *Julia*, the Step-Mother of ' the Emperor *Caracalla*, that being one Day, as ſhe ' were, by Careleſsneſs, half naked, and *Caracalla* ' ſeeing her, ſaid only theſe Words; how, Lady ' Mother, if I might. She ſuddenly anſwered, Yea ' may if you pleaſe; Don't you know that you are ' Emperor, and that you are to give Laws, and not ' receive 'em? Upon this fine Saying, he married ' her, and lay with her ——— (d) She muſt needs ' have been a great Whore, ſince ſhe loved and married him, who ſome time before had killed her ' own Son in her Arms. She was doubtleſs a great ' Whore, and had very mean Thoughts, but 'tis a ' great matter to be an Empreſs, and for ſuch an ' Honour all is forgotten. This *Julia* was very ' much beloved by her Husband, tho' ſhe was far ' advanced in Years; but ſhe had loſt nothing of her ' Beauty; for ſhe was very handſome, and very ' courteous, as it appears from her Words, which ' highly encreaſe her Grandeur. That we may ſee whether this Story has been flouriſhed, we ſhall ſet down the Words of the *Latin* Authors who have mentioned it. *Intereſt ſcire*, ſays Spartianus (e), *quemadmodum novercam ſuam Juliam uxorem duxiſſe dicatur. Quæ quum eſſet pulcherrima, & quaſi per negligentiam ſe maxima corporis parte nudaſſet, dixiſſetque Antoninus, Vellem, ſi liceret: reſpondiſſe fertur, Si libet, licet.* An neſcis te imperatorem eſſe, & leges dare, non accipere? *Quo audito, furor inconditus ad effectum criminis roboratus eſt: nuptiaſque eas celebravit quas ſi ſcivet ſe leges dare, vetare ſolus prohibere debuiſſet. Matrem enim (non alio dicenda erat nomine) duxit uxorem, ad parricidium junxit inceſtum: ſiquidem eam matrimonio ſociavit cujus filium paulo ante occiderat.* Aurelius Victor repreſents more clearly the Artifice ſhe made uſe of. She was not ſo unpolitick, as to undreſs her ſelf openly before *Caracalla*; ſuch an Impudence might have diſguſted the young Man; ſhe ordered it ſo, that it might paſs for a Surprize; ſhe pretended not to know that *Caracalla* could ſee her in that Poſture; ſhe pretended to be ignorant of his being where ſhe was undreſt. (f) *Pari fortuna, & eodem matrimonio, quo pater; namque Juliam noverean ——— forma captus, conjugem affectavit: cum illa ſubſtrictos, affectui adoleſcentis, præſentia quaſi ignara, ſimet dedidiſſet, nitido corpore, afferentique, Vellem ſi liceret, ut: petulantius multo (quippe pudorem velamento exuerat) reſpondiſſet; Libet? plane licet.* I don't know where *Vigenere* found what he ſpecifies, as to the Circumſtance of the Place. *The Empreſs* Julia, ſays he (g), *was doubtleſs* Severus's *Wife; for* Antoninus Caracalla *married her afterward, tho' ſhe was his Step-Mother; and this Inceſt came from his ſeeing her one Day naked in the Hot Bath, through a private Window, where he manifeſted himſelf; and ſhe asking him what he thought of it, he anſwered, I like you ſo well, that I ſhould be glad to have you, if it could be done lawfully. Are you, replied ſhe immediately, ſo ignorant as not to know, that every thing is lawful to you, who are the Lord of the whole Earth? And hereupon they proceeded to their Tranſgreſſion.*

(c) *Id. ib. pag. 205.*

(d) *Id. ib. pag. 206.*

(e) *Spartianus in Caracalla, c. 10. pag. m. 730.*

(f) *Aurel. Victor in Cæſaribus, p. m. 144. See alſo* Eutropius, lib. 8. & Oroſius, l. 7. c. 18. *who mention that Inceſt.*

(g) Vigenere, *Preface to* Philoſtratus's *Pictures.*

(G) *But 'tis a Falſity.*] It has been ſo clearly made out, that *Moreri* is inexcuſable, for having told this ſtory as a certainty. If he had read *Tillemont*'s Commentaries, he would have ſeen ſufficient Proof of its Falſity; though it muſt be granted, that all the Arguments of this Author are not demonſtrative.

His (h) firſt Proof is taken from the Silence of the *Greek* Authors, who have exactly deſcribed *Caracalla*'s Actions, without the leaſt Flattery. *Dion Caſſius* lived at that time, and had great Offices: he could not then be ignorant, whether *Caracalla* had or had not married *Julia*; and if he had known ſuch a Marriage, he would certainly have ſpoke of it, the better to defame this Emperor, whom he does not appear to have deſired to ſpare in any thing. Since then he do's not mention it, 'tis a certain Argument of the Falſity of this Marriage. *Herodian*'s Silence confirms the ſame thing; *Herodian* I ſay, who relates many particular and diſgraceful Things, and who lived much nearer that time, than they who vouch this pretended Marriage.

(h) *Triſtan. Commentaires Hiſtoriques, tom. 2. pag. 113. & ſeq.*

(i) *Ibid. pag. 114.*

(k) *The likelieſt a Fault of Impreſſion for 18.*

(l) *He cauſed his Wife, Daughter of Plautianus, to be put to Death, after he had put himſelf rid of* Geta. *He took, lib. 4. c. 12. (m) Herodian, lib. 4. c. 13. (n) Triſtan, ibid. pag. 119. 148. (o) Ibid. pag. 114.*

(p) *Id. ib. pag. 114.*

(q) *See the Remark, I*

The ſecond Proof is drawn from our *Julia*'s Age. *Triſtan* (i) ſuppoſes, that *at the time when they ſaw her Beauty made* Caracalla *marry her, ſhe was at leaſt Forty five Years old; for he muſt have been Seventeen or Fifteen* (k), when ſhe married *Severus*: and as ſhe had *Caracalla* the firſt Year of her Marriage, and *Caracalla* was Twenty ſeven Years old when 'tis ſuppoſed he ſaw her naked, it follows, that ſhe was Forty four or Forty five Years old. This Author has reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *Julia* was not the Step-Mother, but the true Mother of *Caracalla*; no good Objection can be made againſt this. Thoſe that might be made to leſſen the Age of *Julia*, and againſt the Conſequences that *Triſtan* draws from her being Forty five Years old, would be more conſiderable. Nothing hinders, will ſome ſay, but that *Julia* might be but Fifteen Years old, when ſhe married *Severus*, and 'tis probable that *Caracalla* married her the Year after (l) his killing *Geta*. Now *Caracalla* reigned Six Years (m) after the Death of his Brother, and lived but Twenty nine Years (n) in all; he might therefore marry *Julia*, when he was but Twenty four Years old, which being added to the Sixteen of his Mother, when he was born, make but Forty. *Triſtan* (o) will have Forty four or Forty five Years ' not to be an Age, in which ' there could be ſo much Luſtre, Vigour, and Beauty, as to move him ſo powerfully to love her, that ' he was obliged to marry her, in order to ſatisfie ' his Paſſion. One might alledge ſome Women, who at ſuch an Age, and even older, have made Princes paſſionately in love with 'em; but he might anſwer, that thoſe Women made not their Conqueſts all at once, by appearing naked. The Charms of Converſation, the Artifices of Love, and a Thouſand pretty Ways were their ſtrongeſt Arms to conquer; and then I know not what addreſs of Body and Mind, enabled them to keep their Conquests. The bare ſhew of a Body, that has undergone the Influences of above Forty Years, is not a good Expedient; it is not appearing with the beſt Side; and therefore there is no Probability, that ſo cunning a Woman as *Julia* ſhould have taken this Method to gain the Love of *Caracalla*, or that if ſhe did, ſhe found her Account in it. I go farther: I believe this may be replied to; the Reaſons that may be alledged upon ſuch a Subject, being not of ſuch a Nature as to leave no room for doubting.

Let us ſee the 3d. Proof. *Dion* (p) obſerves, that when *Julia* ' knew of the Death of her Son, ſhe ' ſtruck her breaſt (q) to cauſe her own Death, by reviving

Mother, was to give her a good Share (*H*) in the Government. This was a wonderful Charm for this Lady; and if she had a Mind to kill her self, when she heard that *Caracalla* had been assassinated, it was not so much out of Grief for her Son's Death, as because she feared to see her self reduced to the Condition of a private Person †. And therefore she thought no more of Death, when she observed that *Macrinus*, who succeeded *Caracalla*, dealt well by her. But as soon as she understood (*I*) that he resented the injurious Words she had uttered against him, when she heard of the Assassination of *Caracalla*, she starved her self to Death. The Title of *Domna* (*K*),

† Xiphil. in *Macrino*, pag. 362.

'[illegible] and enraging a Cancer, which she had for 'a long time, and that it contributed very much to 'her Death afterwards: which shews how ridicu-'lous they are, who have forged this Story, that '*Julia* shewed her self naked to *Caracalla*, and that 'her Nakedness made him desperately in love with 'her. For is it likely, that this Woman would 'have shewn her self naked, being thus ulcerated, 'and that *Caracalla*, a young Prince, Monarch of 'the World, who had the Choice of all that was 'fine and beautiful in so vast an Empire, could have 'been caught by this Object, as they represent it?' There being nothing too difficult for a Sophist, some Caviller might be found, who would tell *Tristan*, that *Julia* did not shew (*r*) her whole Body: *Spartianus* witnesses, that she only exposed the better half of it. We may then suppose, that the part she concealed was her Breast, and so her Cancer did not appear. 'Tis not Mr. *Chevreau*, who could make this Objection; for he says (*s*) that *Julia* 'appeared 'before *Caracalla*, in a careless manner, and with a 'naked Breast.' It would be to no purpose to examine, whether 'tis probable that a Woman, who would shew her self naked, except some part, would make choice of her Breast before all others to hide it. This, I say, would be to no purpose, since by supposing the Cancer, there were particular Reasons that necessarily obliged *Julia* not to shew her Breast. I therefore proceed to a Third Observation, which concerns the third Proof of *Tristan*: I say, that the Cancer came upon her after her Marriage with *Caracalla*. If it came a Year after the Marriage, she might have had it Four Years, when *Caracalla* was killed, and so *Dion* might say, that she had it for a long time (*a*).

The 4th. Proof of *Tristan* is this: *Dion* (*b*) 'who perfectly knew *Caracalla intus & in cute*, 'observes, that he had been extremely enervated for '[illegible], and very unfit for that sort of Exer-'cise; having brought himself to that pass by his 'Debaucheries, [illegible] 'for, says he, the natural Vi-'gour, necessary for the Service of the Ladies, 'was extinct in him the last Years of his Life.' 'Tis not true that *Dion* observes, that *Caracalla* was grown weak in that respect *for a long time*, and so the 4th. Proof lies open to the same Inconvenience as the foregoing; for it may be answered, that this Emperor exhausted his Strength by his Debaucheries, after his marrying *Julia*. Perhaps the Reader will not be displeased to know, to what purpose *Dion* makes this Remark. He had been saying, that *Caracalla* put Four Vestals to Death, and that he enjoyed one of 'em as much as his Strength would permit. The Historian says afterwards what *Tristan* has quoted, and adds, that this Vestal cried out, when she was led to the Place of Execution, 'The Emperor himself knows very well, that I 'have preserved my Virginity.' (*d*) [illegible Greek] *Vestales occidit quatuor, ex quibus unam quantum in ipso fuit, vitiavit: nam eum ad extremum vis in rebus Venereis defecerat, qui ex re dicebatur flagitia obscœni alterius generis facere. Huic virgini Clodia Læta nomen fuit, eaque viva sepulta est: quum tamen exclamaret scire ipsum Antoninum se virginem esse.*

I proceed to the Fifth Proof. (*e*) 'It is certain, 'that if *Julia* had been his Wife, when she died, 'her Body would not have been deposited first in 'the Monument of the two Brothers, *Lucius* and '*Caius Cæsar*, and afterwards in that of the *An-'tonines*'s with the Bones of *Geta*, but with him.' This proof is very bad, and shews, that *Tristan* did not know that *Caracalla* and *Geta* were in the same Tomb. *Geta* (*f*) was laid in the Sepulchre of *Severus*, that is to say (*g*), in that of the *Antonines*'s, and *Caracalla* was laid there too. (*h*) *Corpus ejus Antoninorum sepulchro illatum est, ut ea sede reliquias ejus acciperet quæ nomen addiderat.* His Body was sent to *Rome*, by the very order of his Murtherer (*i*). Others say, that *Macrinus* had it burnt, and put the Ashes in an Urn, which he sent to *Julia* (*k*).

The 6th. Proof is very good; it is grounded on *Julia*'s being the Mother, and not the Mother-in-Law of *Caracalla*. This is plain from the Testimony of *Dion*, a Man of Figure in the Empire, and who had seen *Severus*, *Julia*, *Caracalla*, *Geta*, &c. a hundred Times. *Herodian* witnesses the same thing; and what can be more convincing upon this Subject, than these Words of *Oppian*? [illegible Greek] Since *Oppian* in a Book which he dedicated to *Caracalla*, affirms, that *Julia* brought forth *Caracalla*, can there be the least doubt of it? Can a Contemporary Writer be mistaken in such a Thing? And durst he tell a Lye in the Face of all the Court, about a thing which no Body was ignorant of? Can any one be ignorant in a Prince's Court, whether his Wife is the Mother, or the Step-Mother of his Sons? I say nothing of the Inscriptions (*l*), in which *Julia* is called *Caracalla*'s Mother. Now all those who speak of the pretended Marriage of *Julia* and *Caracalla*, suppose that she was his Step-Mother, and therefore are not to be credited, as building upon a Falsity. Nay, they fall into a Contradiction. Does not *Spartianus* say somewhere, that *Geta* was a greater Favourite of his Mother than *Caracalla*? (*m*) *fratri semper invisus, matri amabilior quam frater.* Can a Man, who makes this Remark, and yet believes *Julia* to be *Geta*'s Mother, and *Caracalla*'s Step-Mother, have common Sense? This is not the only (*n*) Argument, that *Spartianus* affords against himself. *Aurelius Victor* (*o*) affirms, that *Caracalla* died, being near Thirty Years of Age: Which cannot be true, if this Emperor was not *Julia*'s Son. See the Remark *L*. The same Historian observes, that *Caracalla* having lain with *Semea* his Cousin, had a Son by her, who was the Emperor *Heliogabalus* (*p*). If *Caracalla* was *Semea*'s Cousin, he was *Julia*'s Son. I must observe by the way, that *Mamæa*, *Semea*'s Sister, and *Alexander Severus*'s Mother, is called by *Ulpian* (*q*) *Caracalla*'s Cousin. Thus here is a Contemporary Writer, who says, that *Julia* was *Caracalla*'s Mother.

(*H*) *To give her a good Share in the Government.*] See what has been quoted out of *Dion*, in the Remark *C*; and add to it what the same Historian tells us, when he relates the Tragical End of *Caracalla*. He says, that during *Caracalla*'s Expedition against the *Parthians*, *Julia* remained at *Antioch*, and received all the Dispatches, and communicated only to the Emperor, such as were material. Thus all the Affairs of the State went through her Hands, and 'twas she who judged, whether such or such Letters written to the Emperor, ought to be sent to him or not. This is a proof the Trust that *Caracalla* reposed in her, and of the Notion he had of her Capacity. (*r*) [illegible Greek] *Cui mandatum erat, cuncta quæ mitterentur discernere, ne ad Antoninum occupatum in terra hostili frustra multitudo literarum mitteretur.*

(*I*) *She understood that he resented the injurious Words.*] *Macrinus* (*s*) sent her *Caracalla*'s Ashes, and (*t*) wrote a very obliging Letter to her: he desired she might keep all her Retinue, and have her Guards, as before; which made her think no more of

(*r*) [illegible] (*s*) [illegible] *Hist.* [illegible] (*a*) [illegible] (*b*) Xi-[illegible] *Caracalla*, pag. 352. (*c*) *T*[illegible] pag. 114. (*r*) *It should be* [illegible]

(*d*) *Xiphilin in Caracalla, pag.* 352.

(*e*) Tristan ubi supra, pag. 115. *He quotes no Body. This is to be found in the Fragments of Dion, pag.* 899. *of the Edition of* 1606.

(*f*) Funus Getæ accuratius fuisse dicitur quam ejus qui à fratre videretur occisus. Illatusque est majorum sepulcro, hoc est Severi. *Spartianus in Geta cap.* 7. *pag. m.* 744.

(*g*) Urnulam auream — Severi reliquias continentem eamdemque Antoninorum sepulcro illatam. *Id. in Severo, c. ult. pag.* 640.

(*h*) *Id. in Caracalla, cap.* 10. *pag.* 730.

(*i*) *Capitolin. in Macrino, cap.* 5. *pag.* 753.

(*k*) *Herodian. lib.* 4. *cap.* 13.

(*l*) *See Salmasius in Spartianum, c.* 20. *pag.* 633. *& Mr. Spanheim de præst. numismat. pag.* 628.

(*m*) *Spartian. in Geta, c.* 5. *p. m.* 7[illegible].

(*n*) *See the Remark L.*

(*o*) *Aurel. Victor in Epitome, pag.* 212.

(*p*) Heliogabalus dictus Caracallæ ex Semea CONSOBRINA occulte stuprata filius. *Id. ibid.*

(*q*) *Ulpian. lege ultima de Senator. apud Tristan, p.* 117.

(*r*) *Xiphilin. in Caracalla, pag.* 35[illegible]. (*s*) *Herodian. lib.* 4. *c.* 13. (*t*) *Xiphil. in Macrino, pag.* 362.

(K), which is given her, was a Sirname of a Family. There are ſome Difficulties (L) about the Time of her Marriage with *Severus*. There are ſome Inſcriptions *, in which ſhe is called the Mother of the Camps, the Mother of the Country, and the Mother of the Senate.

* *They are to be found in the 2d. Vol. of* Triſtan's Commentaires Hiſtoriques, *pag.* 117. 118.

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of killing her ſelf. (v) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπί τε τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑγιείας ἐφρόντισε τῶν ἰατρῶν περὶ αὐτῆς φασάντων ἀλλοπρόσαλλα, ἢ ἐκείνῃ χρηναι τὰ αὐτῆ ἐπίφορα, ἀπεῖπεν, ὡς οὐ δυνάμενα ἐπιβοηθῆσαι πάθεσιν. *Sed poſtquam ille non modo nihil de regio famulatu ejus, aut de ſtipatoribus quos ſuum habebat cuſtodiæ cauſa immutavit, verùm etiam multa ad ea percommode ſcripſit, cæpit bona ſpe injecta deſiderium mortis deponere.* But when he underſtood, that ſhe had furiouſly inveighed againſt him, and formed Factions, to make her ſelf Sovereign in that Country, like *Semiramis* and *Nitocris*; he gave immediately Orders for her Departure from *Antioch*, and permitted her to retire whither ſhe pleaſed. Then *Julia* would live no longer; ſhe feared more than Death the Condition of a Woman without Authority. Some (w) doubt whether her Death was voluntary; but *Dion* does not ſpeak of it doubtfully. He affirms (x) that ſhe ſtarved her ſelf to Death, which ſhe the eaſier effected, as having inflamed her Cancer, by ſtriking her Breaſt. *Triſtan* believes, that *ſhe ſtruck her Breaſt to advance her Death, by enraging her Cancer*; but I do very much queſtion whether this is the Hiſtorian's meaning. I believe that *Dion* (y) meant no more than this, viz. that this Lady ſtriking her Breaſt, whilſt ſhe was lamenting the Death of her Son, angred the Cancer. The general Cuſtom of Women upon the News of ſuch Loſs like this, was not only to make Lamentations, but alſo to beat their Breaſt. *Julia* did as the reſt. But probably it was not with ſuch Blows, as to deſign directly to die of them. Since ſhe is compared to *Semiramis*, ſhe muſt have been looked upon as a moſt ambitious and cunning Woman. This laſt Quality ſhe did not want, if we believe *Dion Caſſius* (a).

(v) *Id. ib.*

(w) *Herodian. ubi ſupra.*

(x) *Xiphilin. ibid.*

(y) *See the Fragments, page* 890, *of* Dion's *Edition*, 1606.

(a) Ἡσίοδος δὲ τὴν Σεμίραμίν φησι τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασίλισσαν, τὴν μάλιστα τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ὁρμήσασαν, καὶ τὴν Νίτωκριν τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἐπιβουλεύσασαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. Inerat ei fraus & malitia mattis, & Syriorumque ex quibus illa orta fuerat. *Xiphilin. in Caracalla, pag.* 349.

(K) *The Title of* Domna ——— *was a Sirname of a Family.*] *Triſtan* (b) proves it moſt learnedly, and cenſures *Ritterſhuſius* (c), who thought that in this Verſe of *Oppian*, τυμπάνων μεγάλα φυσήματα Δάμνα Σεμέλης, the Word Δάμνα is an *Epithet borrowed from the* Latin Domna, and that the Poet *making it* Greek, inſerted it *with the Licence of the Eliſion of the* Iota. He criticiſes another Fault of the ſame *Ritterſhuſius*, which is his believing that *Oppian* ſpeaks of *Martia*, *Severus*'s firſt Wife. See (d) *Menage*, who cenſures (e) *Gentilis*, who was guilty of *Ritterſhuſius*'s firſt Fault: See alſo Mr. *Spanheim* (f), who finds the ſame Fault in the Notes upon *Nicephorus Bryennius*.

(b) *Ubi ſupra, pag.* 119. 120.

(c) *Not. in Oppiani Cynegetica.*

(d) *Amen. juris cap.* 25. *p. m.* 139.

(e) *Lib.* 2. *Paregorum juris, cap.* 22.

(f) *Spanhem. de præſtant. numiſmat. pag.* 620.

(L) *Some Difficulties about the time of her Marriage.*] *Dion* (g) affirms that *Fauſtina*, Wife of *Marcus Aurelius*, prepared the Nuptial Chamber for *Severus* and *Julia*, in the Temple of *Venus*, which was in the Palace. *Now* Fauſtina (b) *died in the Eaſt, about the end of the* Year 175. Therefore *Severus*'s and *Julia*'s Marriage was not later than that Year. *Julia* was quickly a Mother; 'tis not known whether *Caracalla* was the eldeſt of her Children, but that might well be. According to *Spartianus*, who makes him live Forty three Years, *Caracalla* was killed in the Year 217, according to which reckoning he muſt have been born in the Year 174. If you object to this Author, that *Caracalla*'s and *Julia*'s Marriage muſt be placed about the Year 212, ſince it happened after the beginning of *Caracalla*'s Reign, which laſted but Six Years; and if you conclude from thence, that this Marriage is a meer Fiction, ſince *Julia* was then above Fifty Years old; he will anſwer you, that *Julia* was not the Mother of *Caracalla*, and he will maintain, that ſhe was not married to *Severus*, till long after the Year 174. And yet *Dion* affords us a ſtrong Proof that *Julia* muſt have been at leaſt Fifty Years old, when 'tis pretended that her Nakedneſs did ſo charm *Caracalla*. From what he ſays, we ought to ſuppoſe, that ſhe was married before the Death of *Fauſtina*, and conſequently, that ſhe was at leaſt Twelve or Thirteen Years of Age, in the Year 175. I am going to ſhew, that it is impoſſible, that *Caracalla* ſhould have been born the firſt Year of *Julia*'s Marriage, if it be true, that this Marriage happen'd before *Fauſtina*'s Death.

(g) *Spartianus* ſays (i), 'that *Caracalla* was but Five 'Years old, when his Father was Governour of 'Illyricum, (which we can't ſuppoſe before the Year '190) and that he received the *Toga virilis* 'when he was deſigned Conſul (that is at the end 'of the Year 201, and ſo he was not then at moſt 'but in the beginning of his Fifteenth Year). He 'every where acknowledges, that *Caracalla* was 'very young, when *Severus* came to the Empire. 'He repreſents him as a Child of Two or Three 'Years of Age at moſt at the Birth of *Geta*, which 'was the 27th. of *May*, 189. All this is inconſiſtent with the Forty three Years he gives this Emperor, when he was killed in 217. He therefore contradicts himſelf. *Dion* (k) affirms, that *Geta* lived but Twenty two Years and Nine Months, and that *Caracalla* (l) lived but Twenty Nine Years. Now *Caracalla* lived but Six Years (m) after the Death of *Geta*, and he was killed in the Year 217. *Geta* therefore muſt have been born in the Year 189, and *Caracalla* in 188. Therefore there muſt have been many Years from *Julia*'s Marriage to *Caracalla*'s Birth; if *Fauſtina* prepared the Nuptial Bed, as *Dion* relates it; and yet, according to *Spartianus*, *Julia*'s Marriage was quickly fruitful, and gave a Second Son to *Severus*, a few Years after the Birth of the firſt. (n) *Ex qua* (Julia) *ſtatim pater fuſtus eſt. A Gallis ob ſanctitatem & bonificentiam & abſtinentiam, tantum quantum nemo dilectus eſt. Deinde Pannonias proconſulari imperio rexit. Poſt hoc Siciliam proconſulatum ſorte meruit, ſuſceptaque Romæ alterum filium.* There is a great deal of Confuſion in all this. I know not whether a Conjecture which I adventure at a venture, will be approved. *Dion* does not ſeem to me to ſay, that *Fauſtina* actually prepared the Nuptial Chamber, but that *Severus* dreamt ſhe had prepared it. This Hiſtorian relates Seven Preſages of *Severus*'s Exaltation; and after having mentioned the Six firſt, he adds, that they appeared to him in his Sleep (o); and afterward he ſpeaks of the 7th. as of a fortunate Action, done when he was awake. In relating the ſix firſt, he does not always obſerve upon each particular, that it was a Dream; but he does it three or four times. This might have deceived the Interpreters; for he does not obſerve it, as to *Fauſtina*'s Function, which is one of the Six Preſages: he relates it, as a Reality, I mean without cautioning, that it was a Dream. Now ſince he does the ſame with reſpect to ſome of the other Omens, which were manifeſtly a Dream, and ſince, before he relates the Preſage, which conſiſted in a real Action, he gives notice, that all the preceding ones were but Viſions; I think it may be concluded, that he makes the Preparation of the Nuptial Bed in the Temple of *Venus*, by *Fauſtina*, to be only a Man's Dream. I don't know whether ever the Nuptial Chamber of any Perſon was prepared for him in a Temple. It is eaſier therefore to come to *Dion*'s Aſſiſtance, than to bring off the other Hiſtorian; nevertheleſs, ſome Contradictions are objected to the latter, without any ground. This I am going to examine, obſerving firſt of all, that *Mr. de Tillemont* ought not to have preferred this Paſſage of *Dion*, to the Hypotheſis that *Spartianus* leads us to (p). This Hypotheſis is to ſay, that *Severus* married *Julia*, whilſt he commanded in *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, in the Year 186. Some Hiſtorians tell us (g), that *Caracalla* was born at *Lyons*.

(i) *Id. ib. pag.* 389. 390.

(k) *Xiphil. in Caracalla, pag.* 340.

(l) *Id. ib. pag.* 358.

(m) *Herodian. lib.* 4. *cap.* 13. *See alſo Xiphilinus ibid. pag.* 358. *who ſays that* Caracalla *reigned Six Years, two Months, and ſome Days. Two Days according to the Edition of* Dion Caſſius, *in* 1606.

(n) *Spart. in Severo, cap.* 4. *pag.* 594.

(o) Ἑπτὰ ὄψεις τοιαύτας ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐθεάσατο. Ἑκάστη δὲ τούτων ἐνυπνίου μὲν ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἐφαίνετο. Quæ omnia quum ex ſomniis intellexerit Severus, tum id revera evenit, quod quum adhuc eſſet plebeius, conſedit in ſella principis per imprudentiam. *Xiphilin. in Severo pag.* 310.

Triſtan (r) alledges as a Proof of *Spartianus*'s Contradictions, theſe words of *Caracalla*'s Life. *Hic tamen omnium duriſſimus, & ut uno complectar verbo, parricida, inceſtorum rerum, patris ater & fratris inimicus* (ſ). But I don't think that can hereby be convicted of Contradiction, and of forgetting his Hypotheſis; he might maintain, that he takes the Word *Mater*, according to the Notion he ex-

(p) *See Tillemont, tom.* 3. *pag.* 389. & *Spartianus in Severo, cap.* 3. & 4. *pag.* 594.

(q) *Aurel. Victor in Cæſaribus, pag.* 211. *Caracalla.*

(r) *Triſtan ubi ſupra, pag.* 119. (ſ) *Spart. in fub fin. p.* 732.

JULIS, a Town of the Iſle of *Cea*, in the *Ægean Sea*. In this Town were born † the Poets *Simonides*, and *Bacchylides* his Nephew, the Sophiſt *Prodicus*, the Phyſician *Eraſiſtratus*, and a Philoſopher (*A*), call'd *Ariſto*. *Valerius Maximus* ᵖ, relates a very ſingular thing, which he was witneſs of, when he paſſed through *Julis* in the Retinue of *Sextus Pompeius*, who was going into *Aſia*, to exerciſe his Proconſulſhip. I ſpeak of it elſewhere ᵠ. When the Four Towns of this Iſland were reduced to two ʳ, *Julis* was one of them. It was built upon a Mountain three Miles from the Sea. The Native Country of ſo many great Men, ought not to have been omitted by *Moreri*; nor left out in the Dictionary of *Charles Stephens*, by Mr. *Lloyd*, who had done better to rectify this Article (*B*) than to throw it out.

† *Strabo, Lib.* 10. *Suidas, Stephanus. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 6.

ᵖ *In the Article* Zia.

ᵠ *Strabo ubi ſupra.*

ʳ *See* la Croix du Maine, *pag.* 101.

JUNCTIN (*Francis*), in *Italian*, *Giuntino*, one of the famous Mathematicians and Aſtrologers of the XVIth. Century, was of *Florence*, but ſpent a good part of his Life in *Lyons* ˢ, where he publiſhed (*C*) many Books. His Quality of ᵗ Doctor in Divinity, did not hinder him from being extremely addicted to Judicial Aſtrology, and that with great Credulity. I don't know in what Year he died. He was Fifty Six Years old ᵘ when he publiſhed his Commentaries upon *Sacroboſco*'s Sphere, in the Year 1577. Deduce from thence the Year of his Birth. He deſcended ſometimes from the Region of Heaven, to divert himſelf with humane Diſcoveries; for he compoſed a Diſcourſe upon ˣ the *Epoch* of *Petrarch*'s Amours. I have elſewhere ʸ, ſpoke of his Horoſcope of *Luther*. We ſhall ſee the Particulars (*D*) of his Life, publiſhed by *Poſſevinus*.

ˢ *Id. ib.*

ᵗ *Voſſius de ſcient. Mathem. pag.* 164.

ᵘ *See the Title of it in the Remark* A.

ˣ *See the Epitome of* Gaſnerus's Bibliotheque.

ʸ *This Word refers to* commentaria.

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(*t*) *Triſtan, ibid.*

plains two Pages before. *Mirum enim (non alio dicendi erat nomine) duxit uxorem.* And we ſee he does not forget the Inceſt, in the Words related by *Triſtan*. (*t*) 'The ſame *Spartianus* mentions the 'Reaſon, which *Caracalla* ſaid he had to kill his 'Brother, namely, that he deſpiſed their Mother, 'and did not pay her the reſpect that was due to 'her. Which makes it manifeſt, that *Spartia-* 'nus, or he that he took it from, acknowledged her 'to be their common Mother. For he would have 'had no reaſon to be ſo enraged with this Irreve- 'rence of his Brother towards *Julia*, if ſhe had not 'been his Mother, and the Pretence had been as ri- 'diculous, as it appeared Barbarous, notwith- 'ſtanding all the other Reaſons he alledged to palli- 'ate his Violence and his Crime. This Objection is good for nothing: for in the 1ſt. Place, theſe Words (*w*) *matri eum irreverentem fuiſſe*, ſignifie only, that *Geta* did not reſpect his Mother; and they ought to be tranſlated as if *Caracalla* meant, Geta *does not reſpect our Mother*. 'Tis thus however, that *Triſtan* has underſtood 'em, which is his Fault. In the 2d Place, 'tis a very ſpecious Pretext to extenuate a Murther, to ſay, that the Perſon killed uſed his Mother ill. An Uſurper, who ſhould dethrone a Prince inſolent to his Mother, would not fail to charge him with this Crime, tho' he were no Relation to the Family dethroned. *Cromwel* and his Party would have exhauſted all the common Places of Rhetorick, if they could have reproach'd *Charles* I. with ſuch an Irreverence. Much more would this Pretence be alledged, if a Man was the Son-in-Law of a Lady, ill treated by her own Son. Such a Man would ſay, that he thinks himſelf obliged to defend the Rights of his Father's Widow, againſt all Oppoſers whatſoever. In a Word, he would alledge a hundred plauſible Reaſons, and ſuch as might make an Impreſſion; and I wonder *Triſtan* ſhould call this a ridiculous Pretence.

(*w*) *Spart. in Geta, cap.* 2. *pag.* 709.

Here's a ſtronger Objection againſt *Spartianus*. He ſays (*x*) that *Caracalla* being in his Thirteenth Year, was proclaim'd by the Soldiers, an Aſſociate in the Empire, upon the taking of *Teſiphon*. He adds, that *Severus* returning into *Syria*, gave the *Toga virilis* to *Caracalla*, and nam'd him his Collegue in the Conſulſhip, which they enter'd upon immediately. This Conſulſhip falls in the Year 202, and the taking of *Teſiphon*, in the Year 198. 'Tis not therefore poſſible, that *Caracalla*, who was killed in the Year 217, ſhould have lived ſo long as this Hiſtorian affirms, that is, Forty three Years.

(*x*) *In Severo, cap.* 16, *pag.* 616. 617.

(*A*) *A Philoſopher called* Ariſto.] 'Tis thus we ought to ſay, and not with *Moreri*, the Philoſopher *Ariſto* (*a*); for this Expreſſion induces one to believe, that either there was but one Philoſopher of that Name, or at leaſt, that he who was born at *Julis*, was incomparably more eminent than all the other *Ariſto's*, both which things are falſe.

(*a*) *At the Word* Cea.

(*B*) *To rectify this Article.*] *Charles Stephens* had done well not to ſay ſo abſolutely, that the Iſle of *Cea* was indifferently called *Cia* or *Cos*, and to examine better what he ſays, that there was a Law in *Julis*, which ſentenced all People to Death that were above 60 Years of Age, the end of which Law was to prevent the want of Proviſions for the reſt. See what we ſhall ſay upon this in the Remarks of the Article *Zia*.

(*C*) *Where he publiſhed ſo many Books.*] He publiſhed there in 1570, his *Tractatus judiciali revolutiones nativitatum*, in Octavo. Three Years after he publiſhed his (*b*) *Speculum Aſtrologiæ quod attinet ad judiciariam rationem nativitarum, item annuarum revolutionum, cum nonnullis approbatis Aſtrologorum ſententiis.* This Work was in *Quarto*, but in the Edition of 1581, it came out in *Folio*, by reaſon of the Commentaries which were added to it, *in duos poſteriores Quadripartiti Ptolomæi libros innumeris obſervationibus (c) referta, & certiſſimis Aphoriſmis (quatenus ex ſiderum poſitione liceat Chriſtiano more aliquid conjicere) ex probatiſſimorum Aſtrologorum ſcriptis depromptis, inſignita.* His *Latin* Commentaries upon *Sacroboſco*'s Sphere, came out (*d*) in 1577. There was printed at *Cologne* in 1580, a Book, intituled *De Divinatione quæ fit per aſtra diverſum ac diſcrepans duorum Catholicorum ſacræ Theologiæ Doctorum judicium, ſcilicet Franciſci Junctini ac Joannis Lenſæi.* There are Two *French* Tracts of *Junctin*, viz. *A large Diſcourſe upon the things wherewith the Comet that appeared in* November 1577 *threatens many Princes, Countries and People of* Chriſtendom. At *Paris* for *Gervais Mallot*, 1577 (*e*), and at (*f*) *Lyons*, for *Francis Didier*, 1578, in *Octavo*, and *a Diſcourſe upon the Reformation of the Year, made by our Holy Father Pope* Gregory *XIII. with the Reaſons of his taking away Ten Days, and the Golden Number.* At *Lions* 1582. in *Octavo*. He printed in the ſame City, in 1580, in *Octavo*, *Diſcorſo ſopra il tempo dello innamoramento del Petrarca. Con la ſpoſitione del Sonetto, Gia fiammeggiava l'amoroſa ſtella* (*g*).

(*b*) *See the Epitome of* Gaſnerus's Bibliotheque.

(*c*) *This Word refers to* commentaria.

(*d*) *Printed at* Lyons, *apud* Jo. Tornæſium. Voſſius *mentions only that Edition*; Du Verdier Vau-Privas *mentions only that of* 1578. *apud* Symphorianum Beraud.

(*e*) *See* la Croix du Maine, *pag.* 101.

(*f*) *Du Verdier Vau-Priv. ubi infra.*

(*g*) *See the* Bibliotheque Françoiſe *of* Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *pag.* 404. 405.

(*D*) *The Particulars of his Life publiſhed by* Poſſevinus.] I knew him in *France*, ſays he (*h*), where he lived in Exile; he applied himſelf ro the pernicious Speculations of Aſtrology. He was a Fugitive Apoſtate; he had been a *Carmelite*, and promoted to the Prieſthood, and even to the Office of Provincial: he forſook his Vows, and his Profeſſion, and the Catholick Religion; but by the charitable Advice of devout Perſons, he was in ſome manner brought back into the right Way. He publickly abjured his Hereſies in the Church of the *Holy Croſs* at *Lyons*. And he gave reaſon to believe for ſome time, that he deſigned to labour for the Advantage of the Catholick Church. However (*i*), he did not retract the Works he had made upon prognoſticating Impieties; he was one of thoſe who putting their Hand to the Plough, and looking back, are not fit for the Kingdom of Heaven. He dealt in Letters of Exchange, lent Money upon Intereſt, and by that means got Sixty thouſand Crowns, no Footſteps whereof were found after his Death. He had made a Legacy of Three thouſand Livres to the *Junta's*, to whom he had been Corrector of the Preſs. That Teſtimony of his Friendſhip did 'em no Kindneſs. (*k*) *Juntis bonetiſſimis Typographis (in quorum ædibus ſæpe librorum correctionibus operam Lugduni*

(*h*) *Poſſevinus biblioth. ſelecta, tom.* 2. *p. m.* 245.

(*i*) Non vidimus eum libros tuos de impietate divinatrice retractaſſe. *Id. ib.*

(*k*) *Id. ib.*

JUNGERMAN (*Godfrey*) made himself known by his Learning in the beginning of the XVIIth. Century. He was born at *Leipsick*, where his Father (*A*), *Gaspar* JUNGERMAN, was Professor of the Civil Law. His Mother was the Daughter of the famous *Joachim Camerarius* of *Bamberg* *, Professor likewise at *Leipsick*. *Godfrey Jungerman* understood the *Greek* Tongue to Perfection. The Publick is indebted to him for the first Publication of *Julius Cæsar*'s Commentaries (*B*) in *Greek*. He had already published his *Latin* Version of *Longus*'s || Pastorals, with Notes. He printed in 1609 (*C*) some Remarks upon the Treatise *de Equuleo*, which *Magius* had written in Prison. We have also his printed Letters. He died † the 16th. of *August*, 1610, at *Hanaw*, where he had been a long time Corrector of the Press (*D*) to *Wechel*'s Heirs.

JUNGERMAN (*Lewis*) born at *Leipsick* the 4th. of *July* 1572, and Brother to the foregoing, was an Excellent Botanist. He betook himself early to the Study of Plants, and got such a Reputation by it, that he was offered in *England*, the Place of the famous *Matthias Lobel*, who died at *London* in the Year 1616; but he chose rather to live in *Germany*. He had already distinguished himself by contributing very much to the Work, intituled, *Hortus Eychstetensis*, which contains the Figures and Description of all the Plants of the Bishop of *Eichstet*'s Garden; and he made a Catalogue of all those that grow about *Nuremberg*, the Impression whereof was taken care of by *Gaspar Hofman*, in the Year 1615. He was made Professor (*A*) of Physick at *Giessen*, in the Year 1622, after having planted a Garden, which did very much contribute to the Scholars Proficiency. He spent Three Years in that Professorship, and afterwards he had such another with that of Botanicks at *Altdorf*, in the Year 1625. He continued in them to his Death, which happen'd the 7th. of *June* 1653, and during the 28 Years of those Employments, he took such care of the Physick Garden, that he made it famous even in Foreign Countries. He had the more time to spend in this Function, because he neither marry'd, nor had any amourous Avocation: which has given occasion to say *, that he can't be praised for his Continence, since he had no occasion for a Woman; for Continence is a Virtue, which according to *Aristotle*, ought to cause a Conflict, of which there appeared no sign in *Jungerman*'s Life. The Panegyrist of a Monk would have given the matter another Face. This Professor left his Library to the University of *Altdorf*. I must not forget, that he took a wonderful Delight in making (*B*) Anagrams. I know not whether he was fond of judicial Astrology; but in the *Programma*, from which I take this Article, it is very seriously observed, that the Humour (*B*△) of an *Erefipelas* stopping on a sudden, when *Mars* was Retrograde, produced

* In the Remark B. of Luther's Article * Bipontinus.

I add this Link to distinguish this Camerarius from his Son Joachim Camerarius, who is surnamed Norimbergensis.

|| You may see a Fault of Moreri, concerning Jungerman, in the Article Longus.

† *Diarium Biographicum. Hamingi Witten.*

* In quo (celibatu) non est necesse continentiam praedicari, quia nulla in ejusmodi rebus esset, ubi tam enormi circumfluxa, Aristoteles eadem, conjuncta, cujus invictum nullus quam inquam in hoc genere emineret fluxus, praeter animadversa. *Adam Tribbech. Theol. & Phys. P. 1. & Rector Francof. ad Oder. in programmate apud Hamingi Witten Memor. Medicorum.*

(*b*) *Theatr. pag.* 138.

(*c*) *It seems that this Word* Hinc, *which an the Press, the Order*

(*D*) *Bibliotheca classica, pag.* 716.

(*m*) *Ibid. pag.* 1507.

(*n*) *Epitome Bibl. Gesneri, pag.* 258.

(*o*) *See the* French *Epistles written to* Scaliger, *pag.* 368.

(*p*) *Of the* 2d. *of* March, 1665. *pag.* m. 182. *Dutch Edit.*

(*q*) *See the Collection of the Letters to* Goldart, *printed at* Francfort, *in* 1688. *and* Gudius's *Letters published at* Utrecht, *in* 1697.

(*a*) *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris, pag.* 195. 196.

duni posucrat) mille aureos nummos cum moriens legasset, si mihi fuisset fuit, eos uti reliquos evanuisse; nimirum omnia perdita fuisse quæ perditus ille anxie hinc inde corraserat.

(*A*) *His Father* Gaspar JUNGERMAN.] 'Tis probably he who was the Author of some Disputes upon some Points of Law, which *Draudius* (*l*) makes mention of, and of a Poem *de custodia angelica*, mentioned by the same *Draudius* (*m*) and *Similerus* (*n*).

(*B*) Julius Cæsar's *Commentaries in* Greek.] He added to that Version, ascribed by some to *Planudes*, the Manuscript thereof, which was in Mr. *Petau*'s Library, had been communicated to him by *Rongars* (*o*); I say, he added to it, not only his own Remarks upon the *Greek* Translator, but also those of many Learned Criticks upon *Julius Cæsar*'s Commentaries. This Edition of *Francfort*, in the Year 1606, in *Quarto*, is very much esteemed.

(*C*) *Some Remarks upon the Treatise* de Equuleo.] The *Journal des Savans* (*p*) spoke of these Remarks with Contempt, *as if most of 'em ran only upon Trifles*; for Example; *to know whether it ought to be said* Equuleus, *or* Eculeus: But this Censure is too hasty; for though this little Point of Orthography has been somewhat largely discussed by *Jungerman*, the Journalist should not have judged of all the Remarks by this, which besides is not useless to the Subject, nor unfit to please many Persons.

(*D*) *Corrector of the Press to* Wechel's *Heirs.*] This we learn from some Letters (*q*) he wrote to *Goldast*. Wherein we find also that he was writing upon *Julius Pollux*; but this was known before, from the Preface of his Edition of *Herodotus*. He enriched that Edition, with many Pieces, and amongst others, with many Fragments of *Ctesias*. Mr. *Chevillier* might have put him into the Catalogue of (*a*) Learned Men, who have been Correctors of the Press.

(*A*) *He was made Professor of Physick at* Giessen *in the Year* 1622.] The Rector of the University of *Altdorf* has a little perplexed the Chronology, in his *Programma*. He pretends that *Jungerman* got so great a Reputation during his Professorship at *Giessen*, that he was invited into *England* to succeed the most famous Botanist *Lobel*. This is to confound the time; for *Lobel* died the Year 1616, and *Jungerman* was not Professor at *Giessen*, but from the Year 1622, to 1625. What likelihood is there that the *English* should have left *Lobel*'s Place vacant Six or Seven Years? Doubtless they designed it for *Jungerman* a little after it was vacant; he had therefore acquired before his Professorship at *Giessen*, the Reputation that procured him that great Mark of Esteem the *English* had for him. *Paul Freherus* (*b*), who has given an Abstract of the *Programma*, has on one Hand better specified the Date, but on the other, thus serves only more clearly to discover the Error of his Calculation. *Doctor Med.* says he, *creatus, & ad Professionem Med. publicam promotus est A.* 1622. *Hinc* (*c*) *per triennium ea omnium celebritate præfuit, ut in Angliam quo celeberrimo Botanici* Matthiæ Lobelii *successor fieret invitaretur A. C.* 1616. *sed ille Germaniæ conditiones præstabat. Ad descriptionem etiam* Horti Eichstettensis *per Germaniam celebris laudabilem nec vulgarem operam contulit.* This Garden of *Eichstet* was printed in the Year 1613. Judge if these things are placed according to their time. Mr. *Witten's Diarium Biographicum* supposes that our *Jungerman* was Professor at *Leipsick*, and afterwards at *Altdorf*. Read *Giessens* interest of *Lipsiensi*.

(*B*) *In making Anagrams.*] He published a Collection of 'em at *Giessen*, in the Year 1624, intituled, *Aulæum Academicum*, in *Quarto*. We have two other Works of his, namely, the Catalogue I have mentioned in the Text of this Article, and another like it, intituled, *Cornucopiæ Floræ Giessensis*, &c. *Giessæ* 1624. in *Quarto*.

(*B*△) *The Humours of an* Erefipelas.] These are the Words of the *Programma*: *Cum* (erefipelatis)

swers the Word cum *in the* Programma, *is a Fault of for* Hinc. *But this Fault of the Printers has not put observed by the Author in a worse Condition.*

produced a Scorbutick Gangrene in the Extremities of his Feet. *Godfrey* and *Lewis Jungerman*, had a Brother named *Gaſpar*, who was a Man of Letters. See the Notes of *Godfrey Jungerman* upon the 4th. Chapter of the Treatiſe *de Equuleo*.

JUNIUS (*Hadrian*) Born at *Horn* (*A*) in *Holland* the firſt of *July* (*B*) 1511. was one of the moſt Learned Men of his Age. He was the Son of a Burgomaſter (*C*) of great Worth; and he Studied firſt at *Haerlem*, afterwards at *Louvain* and *Paris*, and at laſt at *Bologna* in *Italy*, where he was admitted Doctor of Phyſick. Being returned into his Country, he went into *England* † in 1543. and was Phyſician to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and afterwards to a great Lady. He there wrote ſome Books, and amongſt others a Greek and Latin Dictionary, in which he added above 6500 Words. He Dedicated it to King *Edward* in 1548; and becauſe he gave him the Title of King, they brought him into trouble for it a long time after at the Court of *Rome*. He was very much Afflicted with that Perſecution; for we ſee in his Letters ‖ to *Lindanus* Bishop of *Ruremond*, and to Cardinal *Granvelle*, that he Paſſionately deſired that Diſgrace might be taken off, with which he had been Branded, ſince the Cenſors had put his Books in the Catalogue of Prohibited Writings. He wrote to the Pope about it, by the Advice of *Arias Montanus*; and he prepared an Apology, where Proteſting that he had been always a good Catholick, he ſhewed that he could not avoid giving *Edward* the Title of King ?. As he was a very good Poet, he Publiſhed in 1554, * an Epithalamium upon the Marriage of *Philip II.* with Queen *Mary*. This perhaps would have been a conſiderable Fortune to him, if *England* had remained quiet. He left (*D*) it during the Troubles, and confined himſelf at *Horn*; but the King of *Denmark* quickly ſent for him, to make him Præceptor to the Prince * his Son. *Junius* not being able (*E*) to reconcile himſelf either to the Climate, or the Genius of the Inhabitants, re-

† *See his Apology among his Letters p. 392. where he ſays that he went thither, when* Charles *the Fifth was before* Landrecy.

‖ *Pag. 388. 469.*

? *See his Letter to* Vulcanius *p. 124. where he boaſts of having ſlighted that Diſgrace.*

* *Ibid. p. 214.*

* *See the Remark E.*

fluxus conſueti ſubito ſubſiſtentes, gangrænam ſcorbuticam ante trimeſtre (circa motum Martis in loco Lunæ natalitio oppoſito tardum & retrogradum) in extremitate pedum pepererunt. The Phyſicians of that time were wont to Aſcribe much to the influence of the Stars, in Diſcourſing upon Diſtempers.

(*A*) Junius——*Born at* Horn in Holland.] *Moreri* in the Article of *Hadrian Junius*, ſays, that his true Name was *Jonghe* or *Du Jon*; and afterwards when he ſpeaks of *Francis Junius* Profeſſor at *Leiden*, he makes only his Vulgar Name to be *Jonghe*. There is nothing exact in this; for in the firſt place he ſhould have ſaid *de Jonghe*, and that only with Reſpect to *Hadrian Junius*, ſince it is falſe, that in the *Dutch* Tongue his Name could be indifferently either *de Jonghe* or *du Jon*. In the ſecond place 'tis falſe, that the Vulgar Name of *Francis Junius* was any other than *Du Jon*. It is ſaid in *Thuanus's* Tranſlation, (*d*) that *Horn* the Native Place of *Hadrian Junius* is a *Village of* Guelderland. 'Tis a great Blunder, which I don't find in *Thuanus* of the *Frankfort* Edition 1625. If the Tranſlator found that Fault in his Edition, he is excuſable; but here is another thing to be Cenſured. He ſays, that *Junius* leaving *Haerlem* becauſe of the Siege, *went to* Armuyden *near* Middleburg, *where having in vain uſed great Diligence and Pains, to afford ſome Remedy to the Miſeries of that Beſieged Town, he was ſo troubled with the change of Air*, &c. 'Tis plain that *that Beſieged Town* neither Relates to *Middleburg* nor *Armuyden*, but to *Haerlem*. Now 'tis very falſe that *Junius* thought of relieving *that Beſieged Town*, when he was at *Armuyden*; for he went not thither till *Haerlem* was taken. *Thuanus* (*e*) cannot be well excus'd for this miſtake: For tho' in Writing in Latin, there's no neceſſity to clear a Period according to the ſtrictneſs of the *French* Grammar; yet he would never have expreſſed himſelf as he did, had he thought that *Junius* did not go into *Zeland*, till after the taking of *Haerlem*. It can't be ſaid that he there ſpeaks of the Siege of *Middleburg* or *Armuyden*, ſince theſe two Places were not Beſieged whilſt *Junius* lived in *Zeland*. *Melchior Adam* has Tranſcribed *Thuanus's* Fault. They ſhould have known that this Phyſician ſtaid ſome time at *Delft*, after the taking of *Haerlem*, before his going into *Zeland*.

(*d*) *Apud Teiſſier Addit. aux Eloges tom. 1. p. 479.*

(*e*) Ad Armuydam juxta Mildeburgum in Mattiacis ſe contulerat, ubi cum fruſtra conſilio & diligentia ſua concivibus laborantibus opem ferre conatus eſſet, ex cœli mutatione.. in letalem morbum incidit. *Thuan. l. 62.*

(*B*) *The firſt of* July 1511.] This is what we find in the Life of *Junius*, prefixed to his Epiſtles, *vitam hanc orditur Kalendis Julii, anni* 1511. Some Pages after, we read that he Died *Die* 16. *Junii anno* 1575. *cum* [illegible]*LEVISSET annum ætatis* 63. *qui magnus climactericus annus Medicis vocatur.* Which ſhews that *Thuanus* and *Melchior Adam* are miſtaken, who make him Die in his Climacterical year. But becauſe this Life of *Junius* is not very exact, and the Edition (*f*) of the Epiſtles to which it is prefixed, is ſaid to have been Printed in the year 1552, tho' it contains the Epitaph of the Author who Died in 1575, and ſome of his Letters Dated in 1574, I would not Condemn the Chronology of *Meurſius*, who places the Birth (*g*) of this Learned Man to the year 1512. That which makes me ſay that his Life (*b*) is not exact, is, that beſides the two Dates I have mention'd out of it, I there find his Epitaph; which imports that he lived 63 years. If the Author of this Life thought the Epitaph was right, he was in the wrong to place *Junius's* Birth Day on the firſt of *July* 1511. and to ſay that on the 16*th.* of *June* 1575. he had compleated the 63*d.* year of his Age. On the other Hand, when a Man is full 64 Years Old within fifteen Days, 'tis a great negligence to ſay, that he is 63 years Old, or above. But whether there be little or much Negligence in it, it is certain, that *Moreri*, *Freherus*, *Melchior Adam*, Sir *Thomas Pope Blount*, and thoſe who place *Junius's* Birth in the year 1513. are all thereby Confuted. The Edition of his Letters is not very Correct; and beſides they are not placed according to the time in which they were Written, and no care has been taken to diſcover and ſupply the Dates where they are wanting, which very often happens. Theſe two Faults are but too common in ſuch ſort of Collections.

(*f*) *I make uſe of an Edition of* Dol: apud Vincentium Caimax in 12.

(*g*) *Valerius Andreas* Bibl. Belg. & *Bullart* Academ. des Sciences *do it alſo.*

(*b*) *I can't tell whether it be that which* Beverwijck *promiſed in a Letter to* Voſſius, *Dated the* 12th. *of* June 1626. *See the Letters written to* Voſſius n. 78. p. m. 47.

(*C*) *Son of a Burgomaſter of great Worth.*] The Father of our *Junius* had not only been Secretary, and afterwards five times Burgomaſter of *Horn*, but alſo twice Deputed to the Court of *Denmark*, and once to *Sweden*, and other Places. He was a Man of Learning, and wrote (*a*) a Latin Book, which was never Printed, containing the Original and Growth of *Horn*.

(*a*) *Boxhornius Theatr. Hollandiæ. p. 373.*

(*D*) *He left it during the Troubles.*] For want of a better Guide, I have followed the Life of *Junius*, which is prefixed to his Letters; tho' I am not Ignorant that Exactneſs will not ſuffer us to make this Author Live in *England* from the firſt time of his coming thither, till the Troubles that happened after the Marriage of *Mary* with *Philip II.* for I ſee ſome of his Letters are Dated (*b*) from *Haerlem* or *Horn* in the year 1552, and at the beginning of 1554. which beſpeak a Sedentary Man. Many of thoſe who have written Lives have ſtood very much in need of Advice.

(*b*) *Pag. 339. 345. 348.*

(*E*) *Not being able to Reconcile himſelf.*] This appears from the 385*th.* Page of his Letters, where he thus ſpeaks to *Sambucus*: *Liberet mihi volydori exemplo ejumpere in hæc verba, adſum profectus Danica è caligine, niſi longinqui ac moleſti itineris cum partus recordationem obliteraſſet jucundus amicorum reduci quotidie gratulantium——occurſus.* He adds ſeveral Reaſons for his refuſing the Salary, which

retired in so abrupt a manner, as not to take his leave of the King. 'Tis probable, this was in 1564 †. He settled (F) at *Haerlem*, where he practiced Physick, and Married, and was made Principal of the College. The States of *Holland* Commissioned him to write the History of that Province; of which he would have acquitted himself Honourably, and with greater exactness than he did, if he could have put the last Hand to the Work, which came out after his Death, under the Title † of *Batavia*. When the *Spaniards* Besieged the Town of *Haerlem*, he found a way to escape out of it, to attend the Prince of *Orange*, who desired to use his Remedies. The Town being taken in 1573. his Library was Pillaged, where he had left many Works, which had cost him a great deal of Pains, and by which he hoped to Immortalize himself. He might have put them quickly in a Condition to be Published; which increased his Grief. He went into *Zeland*, where the Prince's Recommendation procured him a publick Salary, for practising Physick in *Middleburg*: But the Air of the Country was very disagreeable to him. He there got some Distempers, which together with his Grief for the loss of his Library, killed him the sixteenth of *June* 1575. being 64 years Old within some Days. His Body was carried from *Armuyden* to *Middleburg*, where his eldest Son had him decently Buried, and composed (G) his Epitaph. We have many (H) Books of his making. I'll say something of 'em in the last Remark. He was pitch'd upon (I) for a Professor's Chair at *Leiden*, where the University was, as it were, just Born, when he Died. I have not yet had time fully to Evidence whether (K) he at last turned Protestant.

† *See his Letters p.* 385.

† *Vossius de Scient. Mathem. p.* 259. *Pontus Heuter. l.* 2. *de vet. Belgio c.* 25.

It appears from one * of his Letters, that he put himself into a great Passion, when he heard that one of his Scholars had accused him of Commanding his Boarders not to go to Church. He protests on the contrary, that he forc'd 'em to go upon Holy Days; for he Condemned to considerable Fines those who Neglected to go. Elsewhere

* *Epistol. p.* 387.

(c) *It was a Salary of four hundred Riksdalers p.* 409.

(d) *Ibid.*

which was no inconsiderable one (c), which he might have enjoyed at *Coppenhagen*. In another Letter (d) he says, that he and his Wife abhorred that Country. In another he desires an Augmentation of his Salary. I find there, that he was invited to be Physician to the King, but not to be Tutor to the young Prince.

(f) *Pag.* 179. *See concerning his Mistress p.* 109.

(g) *In this Article.*

(F) *He settled at* Haerlem.] The Author of his Life has not well distinguished the Times. He says that he settled at *Haerlem*, and Married after his return from *Coppenhagen*. But I have proved that he returned from thence in the year 1564. and we see by a Letter (f) which he wrote in 1559. that he had fixed himself at *Haerlem* a long time before, and that he was Married to a handsome Woman who brought him a Fortune. The Epistle Dedicatory of his Treatise *de Anno*, that of his Tract *de coma*, and that of his *Animadversorum* are Dated from that Town in 1556.

(G) *And Composed his Epitaph.*] *Boxhornius* having added an Appendix to his *Theatrum Hollandiæ*, for the Omissions he thought were to be supplied, amongst other things inserted this Epitaph in great Letters, but he let three Faults creep into it, *velint* instead of *meruit*, 64. instead of 63. and 15. instead of 16. *Vixit ann. LXIIIX. obiit die XV.* &c.

(H) *We have many Books of his making.*] His chief Works besides those already (g) mentioned, are, *Animadversorum libri sex. Commentarius de Coma. Adagiorum* (h) *ab Erasmo omissorum centuria octo cum dimidia. Appendix ad Epitheta Textoris. Copia eorum, sive Occasus enarrationum Homericarum ex Eustathii commentariis collectus in unum volumen. A Nomenclator. Commentarius de anno & mensibus.* Many sorts of Latin Verses. The Translation of *Eunapius de vitis Sophistarum*. That of *Hesychius Milesius*, that of *Plutarch's* Table Discourses (i), that of the Question, relating to Physick of *Cassius Iatrosophista*, made and Printed at *Paris* in 1541. ('Tis I believe the first of his Works.) I mention not a great number of Authors, whom he has Illustrated with Notes, as *Nonius Marcellus*, *Plautus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny* (k), *Virgil*, *Horace* (l). He had been a long time upon *Suidas*, and designed to Dedicate it to the Prince of *Orange's* Son, as he owns (m) to an *English* Lord, whose good Offices he desires with that Prince, in order to be Gratified with a Present before Hand; for he understood as well as any Body else how to make the best of an Epistle Dedicatory.

(h) *This Book is placed among those of* Francis Junius, *Professor of Divinity at* Leyden, *in the Catalogue of the* Bodleian *Library.*

(i) *Mr.* Huet de claris Interpretib. *speaks of those Translations with great Contempt.*

(k) *See his Life prefixed to his Epistles, and in* Melchior Adam.

(l) *See his Letters p.* 5. *&* 6.

(m) *Epist. p.* 173. *See also p.* 116.

I have something to observe concerning three of his Works. I. The Author of his Life says that the *Animadversorum libri sex* were lost, when *Haerlem* was taken: But they were Published by the Author himself, and Dedicated to *Antony Perenot* Bishop of *Arras* in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty six. *Gruterus* has inserted them in the 4*th.* Volume of his *Thesaurus Criticus*. II. As for the *Appendix ad Epitheta Textoris*, it may be said that *Junius* handled that Matter with another sort of Learning than *Textor*, who committed very gross Faults in it. See some of them in *Junius's* Letters (a). He looked upon it as a most profitable and painful Work (b). III. His *Nomenclator* is in its kind an excellent Book. The choice of Words in eight Languages is no less a Proof of *Junius's* Learning, than of his indefatigable Patience. 'Tis said (c) that he understood eight Languages very well, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Italian*, *French*, *Spanish*, *High-Dutch*, *English* and *Dutch*. His Travels had done him great Service on that Account: I find he had been in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *England*, but not in *Spain*, as (d) *Valerius Andreas*, *Moreri*, and *Freherus* Affirm. *Colomiés* has Published (e) a little Story, which he had from *Isaac Vossius*; it shews that *Junius* neglected nothing to perfect his *Nomenclator*, and that he stooped to Drink with Carters to learn the Terms of their Trade: I think it appears from one (f) of his Letters, that he did not think it a great Crime to Drink plentifully without being Drunk.

(a) *Pag.* 406.

(b) *Ibid. p.* 116.

(c) *Meursius Athen. Batav.*

(d) *Bibl. Belg. p.* 12.

(e) *Opusc. p. m.* 132.

(f) *It is written to a Bishop, p.* 460.

(g) *See what Cremius animadv. phil. & histor. parte* 1. *p.* 33. *& seq. quotes out of Gronovius, &c.*

When I say that this *Nomenclator* is an excellent Book in its kind, I don't pretend to deny, that there are Faults in it, and very gross ones (g); I only mean that the good things that are in it exceed those that are wrong. Now in Works of this Nature, where 'tis impossible not to mistake, Perfection do's not demand that an Author should be free from all Faults. Such a Book is like Man: He is the most perfect that has the least Faults. (h) *Vitiis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille est qui minimis urgetur.*

(h) *Horat. Sat.* 3. *l.* 1.

(I) *He was pitch'd upon.*] 'Tis *Meursius* who says this: *Sub mortis tempus*, says he (i), *Academiæ nascenti inter primos professores destinatus, sed inter ipsa initia morte abreptus inchoare munus non potuit.* *Freherus* (k) who Transcribes this, without adding what University is meant, throws his Readers into the Dark, or into an Illusion; one would think that he means *Middleburg*, of which he had, been speaking, and that an University had been lately founded there. I shall observe on this occasion, that nothing causes a greater Obscurity in Books than the not taking Pains to add the necessary Supplements to what is taken out of other Authors. A thousand things are clear in the Originals, which are unintelligible, when they are Nakedly removed into another Place.

(i) *Athen. Batav. p.* 93.

(k) *Theatr. p.* 1270.

(K) *Whether he at last turned Protestant.*] That which holds me in suspence is, a Letter (l) that he wrote to the Bishop of *Haerlem* in 1573, to give him an Account of the Endeavours he had used to hinder this Prelate's House from being Plundered. He tells him,

(l) *Pag.* 457.

where * he complains of his Poverty, and that being loaded with Debts, and obliged to Equip himself, he had no Money in † his Pocket.

JUNIUS † (*Francis*) Professor of Divinity at *Leiden*, was Born at *Bourges* the first of *May* 1545. He was (*A*) of a noble Family. His Father who was a Man of the long Robe, found himself exposed to many Persecutions for being suspected of Lutheranism (*B*). He exposed his Wife to horrid Slanders, because (*C*) she

* *Ibid. p.* 140. *See also p.* 254.

† *His true Name was* Du Jon, *and not* Jonghe, *as* Moreri *will have it.*

† *And not a Civilian, as Father* Jacob *says in his* Bibliotheca Pontif. *p.* 460.

(*m*) *Pag.* 381.

(*n*) *Pag.* 476. *Edit.* 1667. *in fol.*

(*o*) In curiolia & equili ... Ludovici XII. ministravit *Franciscus Junius in vita sua, tom.* 1. *Oper. p.* 6. *col.* 1.

(*p*) Hinc ab avo solennis literarum quas Dionysio filio mittebat, & falsa inscriptio, *Dionysio dilecto filio misso ad studendum*, pro eo quod alii vulgo inscribunt, *studenti*. Id. ibid.

(*q*) *Taken from* Junius's *Life.*

(*r*) *Id. ib. col.* 2.

(*f*) Et Franciscanorum arte, & plebis imprudentia odioque maximo pressus est sub religionis specie & Lutheranismi ... acculatus, subornata ad eam rem ancilla quæ domi serviverat. Ea patrem à se visum, quum diebus vetitis carnes ederet, pro testimonio dicebat falso, ut matrem sæpe audivi confirmantem. *Id. Ibid.*

him, that he preserved this *Depositum*, as well as he could, and that he gave it not up to the Plunderers till he was over-powered, being threatned with immediate Death, with a Pistol to his Breast. He adds that the impunity of these Miscreants obliged him to ask leave to retire out of the Town, which he obtained. 'Tis certain he stoutly complained to the Magistrates (*m*) of the Violence that had been done him, and that he told 'em the *Spaniards* would hardly be guilty of the same Excesses, if they were Masters of the Town. That which I don't understand, is what he told this Prelate, that to preserve his House, it had been necessary to drive away the *French*, who Paophan'd every thing with a cruel Rage, *excludendo barbaram & crudelem Gallorum omnia profanantium rabiem*. I don't take the *Index librorum prohibitorum & expurgandorum*, wherein (*n*) he is call'd a *Calvinist*, and an Author *damnatæ memoriæ*, to be a convincing Proof.

(*A*) *He was of a Noble Family.*] *William du Jon* his Grandfather *Seigneur de la Boffardiere* near *Issoudun*, was ennobled for the good Services he had done in the Expedition into *Navarre*, when endeavours were used to Restore *John d' Albret* unjustly depriv'd of his Kingdom by *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*. He had also been a Servant (*o*) to the King. He left three Sons, the last whereof call'd *Denys*, Studied the Civil Law, and took his Degrees at *Toulouse*. He performed his Studies but ill (*p*); for as he had a great Spirit, he was always engaged in Quarrels with the Scholars. In a word, he was a great Duellist. He obtained the Office of Councellor to the King at *Bourges*, as a Reward of a bold Action he had done. We shall see it in the following Remark. He had nine Children, of which our *Francis Junius* was one (*q*).

(*B*) *For being suspected of Lutheranism.*] The Superior of the Cordeliers of *Issoudun* Preached so impudently against *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, Dutchess of *Berry*, and Sister to *Francis I.* as to say, that because she was a Lutheran, she deserved to be tied up in a Sack, and to be thrown into the Sea. The Magistrates of the Place advised him not to be wanting in the Respect, that was due to that Princess; but he Laughed at their Advice, and went on Preaching in the same strain. Informations were made against him, and sent to the King. The King being resolved to punish him with the same Punishment, to which he had adjudged the Princess, Ordered the Monk should be brought to him. The Queen of *Navarre* interceeding for him, obtained that the Punishment should be Moderated. The Difficulty was to Seize that Monk, who had the Mob on his side; so that the Magistrates of *Issoudun* durst not undertake the Execution of his Majesty's Orders. *Denys du Jon*, being returned from the Schools where he had Fought so many Duels, Declared that if his Majesty would give him a Commission to take the Monk, he would punctually Execute it. This Commission being Dispatched for him, he put himself at the Head of the Archers, and in spite of the Populace, he took the Preacher out of the Cloister, who was sent to the Gallies for two years. *Du Jon* by this ingratiated himself with *Francis I.* and the Dutchess of *Berry*; but he incurred the Hatred of the People, and of the Cordeliers, and found himself exposed to many Calumnies, and Threatnings, and involved into Law Suits, which ended at last in a cruel Massacre, committed on his Person. (*r*) *Hæc prima fuit actio, qua ingratiam Regis, sororisque Reginæ insinuavit patrem: sed apud illam inconsultam plebeculam & Franciscanorum ordinem odia perpetua conciliavit; indignissimasque calumnias, minas, criminationes, persecutiones, damna, cruentam denique eadem patri apportavit.* He (*f*) was Accused of Lutheranism, and his Maid was Suborned to attest that he did not observe Fasting Days. He betook himself to Flight, being unwilling to trust himself with such Passionate People: They seized on his Estate, and the Queen of *Navarre* was obliged to supply him wherewithal to Subsist for near a year. At last by the King's Authority the Accusations were brought to nothing, and then *Du Jon* obtained a Place of Councellor, &c. (*t*) *Liberatus ab accusatione pater auctoritate Regis, patrium solum repetit, atque immigrat in Biturigum metropolin, ubi cum laude ad exitum usque vitæ Consiliarii Regii & pro Tribuno militum honoribus à Rege collatis defunctus est: præter alia commoda honoraria, quæ à Regina sorore illius & Biturigum Duce acceperat.* Hear how he was killed. On *Corpus Christi* Day, the Catholicks of *Issoudun*, without any regard to the Treaty of Peace, which had been just Concluded, committed a thousand Violences against the Reformed. The King dispatched a Commission to *Denys du Jon* to inquire into that Insurrection, and to punish the Authors of it. *Du Jon* repaired to *Issoudun*, accompanied only with three Archers; he dispersed the rest in several Places, before he enter'd the Town, it being necessary to use Prudence in so nice an Affair. His Precautions did him no Service; it was Conjectured upon what Account he came; the People seized the Gates, and Besieged the House of the Commissioner. They broke into it, Killed *Du Jon*, threw him out at the Window, dragged him along the Streets, exposed him to the Dogs, and Publickly (*a*) forbad to Bury him (*b*). The King's Council out of Indignation against this Insolence, Ordered that the Walls of *Issoudun* should be Demolished, but *Cipierre* and some other Lords got the Decree chang'd, especially because the Murthered Commissioner had been suspected of Lutheranism above 24 years. The Widow of the Deceased desiring to Prosecute the Murderers, got the Hatred of [illegible] many People, and ruined her self. (*c*) *Hæc consilium Regis commovit plurimùm: & de [illegible] infectis muris totius oppidi in eo [illegible] atrocitatem facinoris, & periculosissimum [illegible] consilii. Sed postea conversa est factionibus [illegible] consilii: tum propter Sipierrii Gubernatoris [illegible] nullorum ex nobilitate procerum inveterata odia, tum propter religionis Pontificiæ Zelum, cujus [illegible] ind. sinenter flagravisse inde ab annis duplius viginti quatuor criminabantur patrem. Itaque eadem illam necesse habuit mater in Regis consilio persequi ex eo tempore: quo facto, cum ipsa in se multorum concitavit odia, tum omnia fermè commoda quæ ex bellica licentia, furtis, rapinis, grassationibusque restabant ipsi, in hac persecutione occupavit.*

(*t*) *Id. ib. p.* 7. *col.* 1.

(*a*) *However a Woman Buried him in the Night.* Id. ibid.

(*b*) *Taken from the Life of* Franciscus Junius *p.* 14.

(*c*) *Id. ib.*

(*c*) Felicius certe utiliusque politicos honores gesturo, & Remp. administraturo, si post tam forte assum honesta & cauta migrationis, quam sæpe fieri Navarrena Regina & nonnulli Proceres cupiverunt, ut alibi Reip. inserviret patefi, sibi prospexisset. *Id. ib. p.* 6. *col.* 2.

AN IMPORTANT Reflection upon the Effects of false Zeal.

I need not put any Body in Mind of the ill effects of a Religious Zeal. Those who are possest with it, justify a Murther, and disapprove the Conduct of a Woman, who desires that those who have Murthered her Husband should be Punished. But I desire my Readers to give Attention to one thing. Religion, which is looked upon all over the World as the strongest support of the Sovereign Authority, and which would be actually so, if it was well understood and practis'd, is commonly that, which most enervates the same. There was nothing more just than the Decree of *Francis I.* against the Preacher of *Issoudun*; a Man who had the Impudence to treat the King's Sister so Barbarously in the Pulpit. And yet not one Magistrate durst Execute the King's Orders against this Mutineer, and when a Gentleman has the Courage to execute 'em, he exposes himself to a thousand Persecutions, and becomes so Odious, that his Murtherers are openly protected. The Queen of *Navarre* (*d*) was the first who Advised this Gentleman to leave his Country, since the Execution of his Prince's Orders would expose him to the hatred of the Bigots. An evident Proof that the Court did not think it self strong enough to protect its good Servants persecuted by Churchmen. 'Tis commonly said that the Ministry of the Gospel *est ipsis Angelis tremendum*; we may add *& ipsis quoque Regibus*. Read the History of the *Roman* Church,

She (C) proved with Child, whilſt he was thought to have ran away, and it was not known that he came once ſecretly to ſee her. Our *Francis Junius* was carefully Educated, and became a very Learned Man, to which his Natural Modeſty (D) together with his great Ambition, did not a little Contribute. He began to Study the Civil Law under *Hugo Donellus* at thirteen years of Age. Some years after he was ſent to *Lyons*, in order to joyn the Ambaſſador, whom the King of *France* ſent to *Conſtantinople*: But not Arriving till after the Departure of the Ambaſſador, he ſtaid at *Lyons*, and applied himſelf to his Studies with an incredible Induſtry. *Bartholomew* (E) *Aneau*, who was Principal of the College of that Town, gave him good Advice about the right Method of Studying. The young Gentleman found himſelf expos'd to two very different Temptations, to that of Love, and that of Impiety. He vigorouſly oppoſed the firſt; for he gave a Box o' th' Ear, (F) to a young Woman, who came to Careſs him: But he yielded ſo tamely to the Sophiſtry of a Libertine, that he found himſelf (G) a perfect Atheiſt, upon lending an Ear to him for ſome Days. He did not remain long in that miſerable Condition; a Tumult about Religion, which obliged him to run away, in order to ſave his Life, afforded him an occaſion of Reſuming his

(c) *Compare what has been ſaid in the Article* Abdas, *Rem. B.*

(f) *Virgil. Georg. l.* 1. *v.* 514.

(g) Profugus pater clam ad matrem ſemel redierat; hinc gravida facta mater proſcindebatur à vulgo, tanquam ſi proſtitura ſuiſſet pudicitia illius. Usque hoc incommodo ſanctæ illius fœminæ animus oppugnabatur, objicientibus maligne quam plurimis tum Franciſcæ illius revolutionem, tum gravidatem, ut ajebant, impudicam. *Junius, ibid. pag.* 7. *col.* 1.

(h) Ex pudore hæc conſequuta ſunt inde à puero quod mihi ſemper ſim diffiſus, quod aliorum factis audiendis, ſermonibus obſervandis & advertendis in uſum meum ſtuduerim. *Id. ibid. col.* 2.

Church, and you'll find that the greateſt Princes have had more Reaſon to fear the Paſſions raiſed by Zealots, than the Arms of the Infidels: Thus that very thing which ought to be the ſupport of the State, is very often the greateſt Obſtacle that Sovereigns meet with in the Execution of their Orders (e).

(C) *Becauſe ſhe proved with Child.*] 'Tis an imprudence to venture the being ſo, when the Husband is run away; for if he Died before he returned, and before the Lying-in and without owning that he is the Author of the great Belly, three things very poſſible, how could a Woman juſtify her ſelf to the Publick? But farther, is it nothing to give a Handle to ill Tongues, as the Wife of *Du Jon* did? It will be ſaid that 'tis eaſie to Talk ſo, when one is Diſcourſing of it in cold Blood, without conſidering the caſe of Amorous People. After ſome Months Abſence, their Love is ſo Violent that no conſideration can reſtrain them; Paſſion Hurries them along, and they are not able to hearken to any Reaſon: (f) *Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.* However it be, (g) our *Junius*'s Mother was Defamed upon that Account, at which ſhe was moſt ſenſibly afflicted.

(D) *His Natural Modeſty, together with his great Ambition.*] Theſe two Paſſions do not ſeem to be conſiſtent one with another, and yet ſometimes they joyn together. *Junius* is an Inſtance of it. He confeſſes, that in his younger years he loved above Pleaſure to be Honoured and Praiſed, and that he could not ſuffer the Praiſes, which were given to others. *Natura me parcum ad honoris & laudis appetentiam plus ſatis accendebat. Sic enim mala radix illa nec exemplis in me germinabat, ut nec alienam laudem iſta fronte æquo animo ferre poſſem miſer, nec in mea exiſtimatione illa conquieſcere quam mihi conciliabam pertinaciſſima diligentia.* On the other Hand he Acknowledges, that he was ſo Timorous, and Baſhful, that even when he was near fifty years Old, he could not ſpeak to his own Wife without Bluſhing, and that he hardly durſt Command his own Domeſticks. *Pudor ſummus qui me ad hanc uſque ætatem ſic preſſit, ut ruſticus magis ad omnia quam urbanus merito haberi poſſim* —— *Quid dicam niſi impudentem ferme pudorem eſſe qui me tantopere impeditum deſinet, ut vix ſine pudore uxori res vulgareis enunciem, vix jam domi ſervitio imperem.* He pretends to have drawn great Advantages from this Baſhfulneſs; becauſe diſtruſting himſelf (h) he applied himſelf much more to improve by what he heard and ſaw; and he declares he would not acquaint his Readers with his Infirmity, if he did not believe, it would be a moſt uſeful Leſſon of Modeſty to Youth. *Hoc eo libentius prædico de infirmitate mea, ut juventus ab exemplo meo præceptum hauriat verecundiæ atque modeſtiæ, ut certum fructum peritiæ certo judicio aſſequatur. Id enim teſtor, nihil mihi ſecundum benedictionem Dei tam commodaviſſe in rebus omnibus, quam illam de me ipſo diffidentiam ex conſcientia infirmitatis & pudoris mei, & ſtudioſam aliorum, quibuſcunque adfui, obſervantiam.* That Modeſty and rare Humility which makes a Man diſtruſt his own Strength, cannot be too much Praiſed: But 'tis certain it is of no uſe to the making of one's Fortune in the World; and if a Father has a Deſign that his Children ſhould come to Preferments, I would adviſe him rather to inſpire 'em with Vanity and Preſumption, than with Diffidence of their own Merit. *Junius* is perhaps the only Perſon, who with reſpect to Worldly Advantages, was not the worſe for his Modeſty. I don't pretend to affirm that Arrogance is always uſeful: It ſometimes ruins young Men, and hinders them from riſing; I ſpeak only of this in general, without minding the Exceptions.

(E) *Bartholomew Aneau.*] I have ſpoken elſewhere of his Commentary upon *Alciatus*'s Emblems. He was called in Latin *Annulus*, or *Anulus*: He was a Native of *Bourges*, (k) and Published many Books. He was miſerably Kill'd in the Tumult of Religion, where *Junius* had like to have loſt his Life: His Wife would have had the ſame Fate, if the Provoſt of *Lyons* had not ſaved her by Impriſoning her (l).

(F) *A Box o' th' Ear to a young Woman, who came to Careſs him.*] This is a thing much more admirable than *Theagenes*'s Action (m), as being Hiſtorical, whereas that of *Theagenes* is only a Romantick Fiction. *Junius*, intent upon his Studies, thought of nothing leſs, than of making Love. In the mean time he was teazed for his want of Gallantry, and it was repreſented to him, that he would never learn Civility, if he did not fall in Love. Theſe Diſcourſes having no influence upon his Conduct, they expos'd him to the Careſſes of three or four Wenches, who impudently attacked him. They fell violently upon him, and omitted nothing to Triumph over his Modeſty. At laſt, he loſt his Patience, and gave one of 'em a Box o' th' Ear; this Blow caus'd a great noiſe in the Houſe. The Girl, who had receiv'd it, finding by the young Man's look, that it was not by way of Jeſt, but out of Anger that ſhe had been thus uſed, fell a Crying and Lamenting. She was Laughed at and *Junius* too; but this made him Odious to many People. Theſe are his own Words. (n) *Dies & noctes appetebant canes illæ promiſcuè, neſcium quid ſibi vellent, & gravitatis honeſtatiſque meæ, quam in domo paterna viderant, ſubinde recordantem. Neque id ſeorſim tentabant ſingulæ, verumetiam ternæ aut quaternæ ſimul conſertis manibus in me irruebant immodeſtiſſimè, ut perductio ad ſuam impudentiam animo meo de ſpoliis pudoris mei triumpharent. Tandem vero adeo me puduit illarum impudentiæ, ut quum una multis ſpectantibus me amatorie eſſet adorſa ſuppo, ego contra colaphum gravem ei impegerim: quam illa addubitans utram in partem acciperet, ſpretis oculis attenta reſpexit ad me, aliquantiſper ſe objurgans aliquam mei animi ſignificationem: ut autem rem ſeriam à me eſſe vidit, tum illa vociferationibus & ejulatibus implevit domum, omnimoque ejus imprudens in ſeſe, ſtultorum odia in me ſibi ſavit.* He was ſo tired with theſe Temptations, that he had a thouſand times the Thoughts of returning to his Father, without taking leave of the People of the Houſe; but he feared their Reſentment and the Calumnies they might make uſe of, to cry him down in his Family.

(G) *He found himſelf a perfect Atheiſt.*] By *Bartholomew Aneau*'s Advice, he read *Cicero de Legibus*, and made Collections out of it. In the interim he received a Viſit from a Man, and heard him maintain with ſo many Arguments, what *Cicero* Alledges concerning *Epicurus*'s Rejecting a Providence, that he gave way to that impious Doctrine

(k) *See* La Croix du Maine, *pag.* 35. & Du Verdier VauPrivas

(l) *See Junius's Life, pag.* 10. *col.* 2.

(m) *See* Heliodorus, *Rem. C.*

(n) *Junius, ibid. pag.* 9. *col.* 2.

his first Faith. His Father recalled him to *Bourges*, and discovering something of the Opinions his Son was imbued with, he gave him good Instructions, and without seeming to know any thing of the matter, brought him to read the *New Testament*. The first Words † that *Junius* (*H*) met with, affected him so sensibly, that he quickly grew out of Conceit with whatever related not to Piety. In the beginning of the Civil Wars, he betook himself to *Geneva*, for the Study of the Languages. As he carried but little Money with him, and had none sent him, he found himself reduced (*I*) to extreme Necessity. At last he received wherewithal to deliver himself from his Misery, and to pay his Debts; and hearing the Tragical * end of his Father, he resolved to get his Livelihood by teaching Youth. He undertook that Employment at *Geneva*, which he discharged till he was sent ‖ into the *Low-Countries* to be Minister of the *Walloon*-Church at *Antwerp*. He performed that Office in the midst of many Dangers; for tho' he opposed the indiscreet Zeal of those, who without any just Authority broke the Images, and pillaged the Temples, he was accounted their Instigator; which was the Reason that they often attempted to imprison him. He had the good Fortune always to have timely notice of it, so as to avoid being taken. It was found expedient for him to go into the Country of *Limburg*, where he continued his Ministerial Functions with good Success, till the Dangers he was exposed to, put the Magistrates upon advising him to retire into *Germany*. The Curiosity (*K*) that an old Man had, deserves to be known; it is so proper to shew the Knavery of the Persecutors, and the Foolishness of the People. *Junius* was received at *Heidelberg* by the Elector *Frederick* III. with a great deal of Kindness, and went to see his Mother at *Bourges*; from whence returning to the Palatinate, he was made Minister † of a little Church there. Some time after he was sent by the Elector to the Army of the Prince of *Orange*, during the unfortunate Expedition of the Year 1568. He was Chaplain to that Prince, till the Troops had got into *Germany*; and then he returned to his Church in the Palatinate, where he discharged his Function till the Year 1573, after which he was sent for to *Heidelberg* by the Elector Palatin, to Work upon the Translation * of the Old Testament. He was sent to *Neustadt* in the Year 1573, and at Fourteen Months end to *Otterburg*, where he staid Eighteen Months; after which he returned to *Neustadt*, and read publick Lectures till Prince *Casimir*, Administrator of the Electorate, sent for him to *Heidelberg*, to be Professor of Divinity. He returned into *France* with the Duke of *Bouillon*, and waited on King *Henry* IV. who sent him into *Germany* upon some Business. He thought fit to pass through *Holland*, before he went to give an Account of his Commission to *Henry* IV. and being importuned to profess Divinity at *Leyden*, he accepted the Offer, having first obtain'd the Consent of the Ambassador of *France* †. He

† *The beginning of St. John's Gospel.*

* *See the Rem. B.*

‖ *In the Year 1565*

‡ *Scænovienſis Eccleſiæ.*

* *Tremellius was his Partner in that Work.*

† *Taken from his Life, written by himself, and published by* Merula, *in 1595, and afterwards prefixed to his Works.* Melchior Adam *has given us a large Abridgment of it.* Mereri *is mistaken in quoting* Merula in descript. vitæ Junii.

(*a*) Ista horribili impietate conflata erat quotidie mensa, personabat domus, circumtrepelant omnia aures meas, adeo ut jamque ad alia omnia obsurdescerem. Nam quum omnibus horis aliquid atrociter fieri videmus, aut audimus, inquit Tullius, etiam cum natura mitissimi simus, assiduitate molestiam sensim omnem humanitatis ex animis eximimus: quum impune fieri aut dici, pietatis sensum. *Id. ib. pag.* 10. *col.* 1.

(*b*) *Here is a Slip of Memory*; Junius *took the* 1*st. Book* de Legibus *for the* 1*st. Book* de Natura Deorum. (*c*) *Junius, ib. ibid. pag.* 11. *col.* 2.

(*d*) *Junius* shrine: which he did the more easily, because it was the constant Table-Talk (*a*), and all the House rung with it. *Memini, quum libros M. Tullii de legibus per illud tempus, auctore & suasore Amalo (de quo ante dixi) expenderem, & notas quasdam in eos animadversionesque colligerem, venire hominem ad me, & illa Epicuri verba quæ libro primo exstant (b), nihil curare Deum nec fui, nec alieni, multis quàm diligentissimè confirmare: ad quæ ego non ratione judicioque certe respondebam: sed assensionem paulatim adhibens, sentiebam venenum serpens, quod imbiberam, confirmari in me: & cum auctoritate hominis, tum argutiis dictorum ejus præceps eò deferebar, ut meus animus in isto malo hærens occalleſceret, totusque fieret* [illegible] (*c*).

(*H*) *The first Words that he met with in the* New Testament *affected him.*] The thing is so edifying, and so likely to imprint a due Sense of the Efficacy of the Word of God, that I ought to set down the whole Passage. (*d*) *Hic ergo novum illud testamentum divinitus oblatum aperio: aliud agenti exhibet se mihi aspectu primo augustissimum illud caput Joannis Evangelistæ & Apostoli, In principio erat Verbum, &c. Lego partem capitis, & ita commoveor legens, ut repente divinitatem argumenti, & scripti majestatem auctoritatemque senserim longo intervallo omnibus eloquentiæ humanæ fluminibus præeuntem. Horrebat corpus, stupebat animus, & totum illum diem sic afficiebar, ut qui essem, ipse mihi incertus viderer esse. Recordatus ex mei, Domine Deus mi, pro immensa misericordia tua, ovemque perditam in gregem tuum recepisti. Ex eo tempore, quum in me Deus tam potenter Spiritus sui virtute irruisset, alia frigidiùs & negligentiùs legere & tractare cœpi; de his verò quæ ad pietatem pertinent cogitare amplius, & ardentiùs in eis versari.*

(*I*) *Reduced to extream Necessity.*] He gives a long Account of it, whereof I will observe but these two Things. Having only, upon the Approach of the Winter, a Linen Doublet and a little Cloak, he resolved to imitate *Cleanthes* (*e*), that is, to get something by the Labour of his Hands. He had a mind to turn Pioneer in the Ditches of the Republick of *Geneva*. But he found a young Man of his Country, who relieved him. Standing in need of this help longer than he had a mind to, he was afraid of being Burthensome, and by that Apprehension he brought himself to the making but one little Meal once a Day. This Abstinence lasted Four Months, and reduced him to such a lean Condition, that he was scarce able to bear the Weight of his Shirt. He would have died in a little time, if his Friends had not prevailed upon him to eat a little more plentifully. *Ultro ad menses quatuor jejunium ipse indixi mihi, & horam prandii in ambulatione, legens & memoriam colens, meditans, orans occupavi: vesperæ autem cœna frugali usus sum, plurimùm forbens bina ova, & mediocrem vini cyathum hauriens. Sed ex diuturna ista & pervicace inedia paulatim me invasit tabes, & ita exedit graviter, ut vires omnes exhaustum corpus deficerent. Quod malum tum demum sensi, quum instantibus amicis & tabem meam ex vultu recognoscentibus, ad majorem cibi copiam sumendam veni, & vivere instituì liberaliùs: nam vel indusii solius onere pragravati mihi esse humeri videbantur* (*f*).

(*K*) *The Curiosity that an old Man had, deserves to be known.*] He had been made to believe, that *Junius* the Heretical Preacher had Cloven Feet, and he was not undeceived, till he had viewed him from Head to Foot. 'Twas in the Presence of a great Company, who were met in hopes of hearing a Dispute betwixt *Junius* and a *Cordelier*. The Place and Hour for the Conference were appointed; but the Friar went back, under Pretence of having forgot something. I have a hundred Times heard such sort of Stories, but never saw 'em before supported by a Printed and Authentick Testimony. Which moves me to set down *Junius*'s own Words, (*g*) *Ridiculum est quod*

(*e*) Certum deliberatumque erat hebdomade proxime sequutura ——alternos dies in egerenda tessera ad fossam urbis, & in studiis consumere, Cleanthis exemplo, ut levarem inopiam meam. *Id. ib.*

(*f*) *Ib. pag.* 13. *col.* 2.

(*g*) *Ibid. pag.* 20. *col.* 1.

He discharged the Functions of that Employment with great Ability, till the Year 1602, when he died of the Plague. He had an Aversion for Women; but, as he owns himself, he (*l*) was punished by God for it, in the Four Marriages he contracted. He left (*M*) some Children, and published (*N*) many Books. *Thuanus* is very much out (*O*) in what he says of him. *Scaliger*'s Memoirs (*P*), who hated *Junius*, very probably prejudiced this famous Historian against him. *Junius* did not deserve the Contempt that *Scaliger* had for him; the Injustice of it is visible. And when we consider the Praises †, that abundance of great Authors have given him, we find our selves more

† See Colom. Gallia Orient. p. 55. & seq.

quod dicam, sed tamen indicium horum simplicitatis, mendaciſſimæ illorum imprudentiæ. Quum in campo essemus Franciscani illius adventum exspectantes, vir quidam, senex frequentiam illam maximam quæ tum aderat perrumpens, copiam sibi fieri, videndi mei postulavit. Audito strepitu rogabam quid rei esset. Cognito hominem esse mei videndi cupientem, monui ut daretur homini ad veniendum locus. Tum ille demisso vultu inde à pedibus ad verticem usque observans diligentissimè constitutionem meam, erupit in hæc verba: ego, jamjam video non esse id verum, quod mihi de te fuerat nunciatum. Me autem dixente, quid ego illud est? tibi, inquit, pedes fissos esse.

(*l*) *He was punished by God for it, in the Four Marriages he contracted.*] Lest I should translate his Words wrong, I shall only set 'em down. (*a*) *In conjugiis varie me duriterque exercuit Dominus. Nam quatuor uxores duxi habemus: adeo me æquè prius propter eanum impiarum scelera à fœminis abhorrebam, & functionis meæ studio conjugium refugiebam perviscaſſimè castigavit Dominus, præposterum judicium meum tacitè exprobravit, & perjucunda optimarum fidelissimarumque conjugum consuetudine evicit peccatum, indagatâque de scævâ fœmineo toto opinionem meam.* He observes, that he lost his first Wife by the Ignorance of a Midwife, who spoilt her *Uterus* in delivering her of two Twins. (*b*) *Harum primam injuria obstetricis è vita sustulit, quum ita corruptus in obstetricatu fuisset illius uterus, ut annos amplius septem indesinente sanguinis defluvio afflicta sit atque exhausta, incredibili cruciatu ipsius, & labore meo* (*c*). The Consequences of this Business proved very unhappy, not only for the Wife, but also for the Husband, namely a continual Loss of Blood for above Seven Years together. His Second Wife died, being with Child, the Fifth Day of a continual Fever. The third died of a Dropsie. The fourth was alive when he wrote this, about the Year 1592. Afterwards she died of the Plague.

(*M*) *He left some Children.*] By his second Wife, the Daughter of *John Cornput*, Secretary and Burgomaster of *Breda*, he had, amongst other Children, a Daughter who was married to the Learned *John Gerard Vossius*, and a Son named (*d*) *John Casimir JUNIUS*, who studied Divinity, and was designed by his Father for an *Hebrew* Professor, but that did not succeed. He quitted the Profession of Learning for that of Arms, at the Solicitation of his Uncle *John Cornput* (*e*), who made him Lieutenant of his Company. He died at *Gertrudenberg*. He published in *Dutch* an Apology for the Speech of *Dudley Carleton*, King *James*'s Ambassador. It was in answer to *James Taurin*, an *Arminian* Minister at *Utrecht*, who had confuted (*f*) that Speech. He left a Son called *Francis JUNIUS*, born at *Embden*, the 20th. of *September* 1624, who was Professor of the Civil Law in the University of *Groningen* (*g*). In the following Article I shall speak of another *Francis JUNIUS*, a Son of the *Leyden* Professor, by a third Venter.

(*N*) *He published many Books.*] His Works of Divinity, collected into one Body, make two Volumes in *Folio*, and contain, amongst other Things, 1. A Commentary upon the Three first Chapters of *Genesis*, with an Answer to (*h*) *Simplicius*'s Twenty two Objections against this Holy Book. 2. An Analysis of the Pentateuch, an Explication of the Prophecies of *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and *Jonah*. 3. Sacred Parallels, and Notes upon the Revelation, and the Epistle of St. *Jude*. 4. Observations against *Bellarmin*, and upon the Anathema of *Gregory* XIII. against *Gebhard Truchses*, Archbishop of *Cologne*. He published also some Notes upon *Minutius* and *Cicero*'s Epistles, and upon *Tertullian*, and a Work of *George Codinus Curopalates*. He translated into *Latin*, *Bodin*'s *Demonomanie*, *John du Tillet*, *Arnauld*'s Plea against the Jesuits, &c. He made an Answer (*i*) in *French*, to *Peter Charron*'s *Three Truths*. I must not forget, that he understood the *Greek* and Oriental Tongues. He was the first that published *George Codinus*'s Book *De Officialibus Palatii Constantinopolitani, & officiis magnæ Ecclesiæ*. He added to it a *Latin* Translation with Notes. He put out two Editions of this Book, one in the Year 1588, to which he put his Name in *Hebrew*, for he called himself *Nadanus* (*k*) *Agmonius*. He dedicated it to the Magistrates of *Francfort*. He dedicated the second to *Marquardus Freherus*, who procured him some Manuscripts, by means whereof he filled up many Gaps of the former Edition. He was preparing a third, which would have been exempt from some of the Faults which had escaped him in the two First, and which were censured by the Jesuit *Gretserus* (*l*). What *Vossius* observes against that Critick, is very judicious; he do's not deny that *Gretserus*'s Book is a Learned Work, but he thinks that the good Service which *Junius* had done to the Republick of Learning, has not been sufficiently considered. *Gretserus* make it his only Business to censure his Faults; which is, says he, the Epidemical Distemper of the Learned. (*m*) *Multa in iis sunt, quibus etiam doctissimos doceat* (Gretserus) *Nec pauca tamen, quæ pro Junio possim reponere. Sed hic eruditorum mobus est epidemicus: ut non tam capiant, quantum boni aliquis præstiterit: quale est hic, quid primus cum scriptorem Junius sui linguæ ediderit, Latinè verterit, etiam illustraverit Notis; in quibus humani aliquid subinde, in tam arduo negotio, perpessum fuisse, nec ipsi negamus. Sed, ut dici solet, inventis aliquid superaddere, vel, quando omnes sumus homines, etiam errores observare, non est usque adeo difficile. Junius* translated the three Books of *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, about the Council of *Nice*, and added Notes to 'em (*n*). *Vossius* (*o*) promised to have 'em printed. *Junius* translated out of *Greek* into *Latin*, the Books which are called Apocryphal; and from the *Arabick*, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*. He translated from the *Hebrew*, all the Books of the Old Testament, not alone, but with *Tremellius*.

(*O*) Thuanus *is very much out in what he says of him.*] These are his Words. (*p*) *Vir desultorio ingenio qui multa conatus, an adsecutus sit quod molliebatur, doctorum erit judicium. Lugduno Batavorum ubi diu professus est, ob rerum novarum suspicionem ab Ordinibus Belgii exactus, sicuti suo loco diximus, & Altorfii ubi defecit, à Norimbergensi Resp. honorifico stipendio invitatus.* I don't examine whether *Junius* was reasonably censured for his Levity, and for medling with too many things. *Vossius* (*q*) his Son-in-Law, has solidly justified him in this Respect; but I shall observe after him (*r*), that *Thuanus* is strangely mistaken, in supposing, 1. that *Junius* was expelled by the States of *Holland*, upon some Suspicions of a political Cabal. 2. That he was invited by the Magistrates of *Nuremberg*, and that he died at *Altorf*. 3. That he (*Thuanus*) has mentioned this Exile under its proper Year. To begin with this last Fault, I say, that *Thuanus* has not spoken of *Junius*, but of *Donellus*, in describing (*s*) the Cabal which was discovered in the Year 1587. *Junius* was then in the Palatinate, and did not come to *Leyden* till Five Years after. No Body is ignorant, that from the Year 1592, till he died, he was Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*. It was *Donellus* (*t*) that retreated to *Altorf*, where he died.

(*P*) Scaliger's *Memoirs* ——— *prejudic'd* Thuanus.] 'Tis *Vossius*'s Conjecture (*u*), and 'tis very probable. *Scaliger*'s Hatred and Rage against *Junius*, discovered themselves both in his Conversations (*w*) and Letters. This is not to [illegible] every Body in his Letters, because *Heinsius* [illegible] published

(*a*) *Junius, ibid. pag.* 21. *col.* 2.
(*b*) *They did not live.* Ex prima, *says he*, gemelli vix viderunt lucem.
(*c*) *Ibid. pag.* 22. *col.* 1.
(*d*) *Godefson to Prince* John Casimir, *Administrator of the Palatinate*
(*e*) *He was Governor of the Citadel of* Groningen. Metern *speaks of him.* Vita Profess. Groning. pag. 224.
(*f*) *His Book is intituled*, Statera Orationis Carletoni &c.
(*g*) *See the Lives of the Professors of* Groningen, *pag.* 224. 225.
(*h*) *And not* Symmachus, *as* Melch. Adam *says* in vita Junii, pag. 201.
(*i*) *It was printed at* Leyden, *in Quarto, in the Year* 1599.
(*k*) *And not* Aymonius, *as* Placcius *has it* de pseudonymis, pag. 229. *who a little while after says* Cornelius, *instead of* Codinus, *and apprehendi, instead of* reprehendit.
(*l*) *See* Vossius de Historicis Græcis, pag. 308.
(*m*) *Vossius, ibid.*
(*n*) *Ibid. pag.* 264.
(*o*) *Ibid.*
(*p*) *Thuan. lib.* 117. *sub fin. ad ann.* 1602.
(*q*) *Vossius in præfat. de Historicis Latinis.*
(*r*) *Ibid.*
(*s*) *Thuanus, Hist. lib.* 86. *pag.* 147.
(*t*) *Idem lib.* 100. *pag.* 405.
(*u*) *Vide supra.*
(*w*) *See the* Scaligerana.
(*x*) *See* Vossius's *Letters to* Grotius, *amongst those of the Arminians, n.* 446. *pag.* 726.

more disposed to Pity than to Indignation, with respect to that Imperious Treatment. He was a Learned and honest Man; and otherwise so far from running Things to an Extremity, that he believed (Q) Salvation might be had in the Church of *Rome*. He never understood better the Deficiency of his Knowledge, than when he was arrived* to the highest Pitch of Science; which was a Sign of a good Understanding.

JUNIUS (*Francis*) Son † of the foregoing, was born at *Heidelberg* in the Year 1589. His first Design was to be a Man of the Sword; but the Truce which was concluded in 1609, for Twelve Years, made him take another Resolution; which was to apply himself to study. He travelled into *France*; from whence he went over into *England* in the Year 1620. He got into the House of the Earl of *Arundel*, and lived there Thirty Years; after which he returned into *Holland*, and there went on with the Study he had very much cultivated in *England*, I mean that of the Northern Languages (A). He made an extraordinary Progress in it. He was so passionately fond of this Study, that understanding there were in *Friseland* some Villages, where the ancient *Saxon* Tongue was preserved, he went and lived there two Years. He returned

* See the Rem. Q. Letter L.

† By the third Marriage contracted with Joan l'Ermite, Daughter of Simon l'Ermite Seigneur de Betinsart, Alderman of Antwerp, and related to Daniel l'Ermite, de quo suo loco.

published them in the Year 1627, put some Asterisms in the Places, where *Junius* was abused, and left out the proper Names; but the Abuses are not the less real for it. (y) *Hocce anno Heinsius noster in lucem edidit Epistolas Scaligeri, in quibus non urbanatim sed rusticatim Junium tanquam Cumanum asinum tangit homo cætera magnus, sed nimis malignus.* They are *Vossius*'s Words: He had been saying, that there had been found in *Junius*'s Books, many gross Abuses written with *Scaliger*'s own Hand. When a Man proceeds thus far, what will he not do. (a) *Memor eram, qualia superstes evomuerit adversus Junium, cùm totus in fermento jaceret. Et meminisse ipse potes. Adhuc in nostris, & aliorum manibus versantur codices Juniani, Scaligeri manu oppleti bellis illis elogiis, simia, asinus, cojone, & aliis id genus convitiis,* βωμολόχοις (scurra) *non Scaligerò dignis.* Note, by the way, that *Scaliger* did nevertheless bestow many Praises upon *Junius*'s (b) Tomb. So true it is, that the Verses made upon the Death of People, are a piece of the Grand Comedy, which is acted on the Stage of the World. Note also by the by, that *Junius* drew upon him the hatred of this great Man, by the Liberty he took of contradicting him sometimes in Points of Chronology, &c. Some young Men threw Oil into the Fire, by relating in an invidious manner, what *Junius* said of the other, either in his Lectures or Discourses. (c) *Scis quale fuerit illud maximi Scaligeri ingenium. Non ferebat dissentientem. Itaque semper eo nomine offensior Junio fuit, quod in quibusdam ad sacram* χρονολογίαν *pertinentibus, ac credo in aliis etiam nonnullis à se discreparet. Offensam eam unus & alter discipulorum alebant, malignè interpretantes apud Scaligerum, quæ vel publicè docuisset Junius, vel privatim dixisset.* However it be, this is what made *Vossius* (d) think that *Thuanus* had been prejudiced to *Junius*'s Disadvantage, by *Scaliger*'s Letters.

That thought kept him at first in Suspence, whether he should make an Apology for his Father-in-Law against *Thuanus*, or no; for he foresaw, that the Son of this great Historian would justify his Father, by producing *Scaliger*'s Letters, which were injurious to *Junius*; and in that case *Vossius* would have found himself obliged to write against *Scaliger*: but he found it more proper to conceal the Faults of that great Man, than to publish them. At last he took the Method, that may be seen in the Preface (e), which I have quoted. (f) *Si calamum adversus Thuanum stringam, periculum video, ne filius Thuani, juvenis eruditus, & ut genere, atque opibus pollens, ita multis in Gallia carus, & maximis honoribus destinatus, quæ de imperitia Junii modestè Parens scripserit, ea apertè, & sine circumstantia prodita, ostendat à Magno Scaligero, Reip. literariæ dictatore, cui doctior orbis lubens eruditionis fasces submisit. Hinc mihi nova cura, etiam tuendi cum adversus Scaligeri calumnias, incumbet. Quem ego virum laudavi semper, ac porrò laudare decrevi: non quia ejus impotentiam animi, aut maledicentiam ignorem; aut quasi nesciam, quam multis in locis aliquid humanitus patiatur: sed quia ejus tanta virtutes, præclaraque adeo merita sunt, erga historiam, ac bonas literas, ut propterea, quæ peccavit, censeam ei condonari, & æterna oblivione sepeliri oportere.* He spares the Name of *Scaliger* in this Preface, but not his Person; it is true, that he gives him a Stab in a very respectful manner. These are his Words. *Acerbè adeo ut summus vir* (Thuanus) *pronuntiaret, fecit amicus ejus, vir cætera egregius; sed, quod in aliis damnat, præsidens, planeque* ἰδιοφυῶς, *& αὐθεντικῶς, sæpe etiam turgens loliginis succo, ac si quis non per omnia assentiret, vehemens alieni nominis obtrectator: quo vitio non mediocriter fœdabat egregias, imò admirandas animi dotes. Non me ariolari hic, sed certissima promere, multis possim indiciis comprobare: sed ea sunt viri illius merita, ut quædam satius sit honoris causa taceri* (g). Nothing can be more moderate.

(Q) *That he believed Salvation might be had in the Church of* Rome.] Nevertheless, he call'd her, as other Ministers did, the Whore mentioned in St. *John*'s *Revelation*; but he said that she was still the Spouse of the Son of God; a Spouse, whose unfaithfulness Jesus Christ bears with, and whom he has not divorced. This did not please *Beza*, a great Favourer of the Monarchy of the *Solipses*. Let me be permitted to call thus the Communions, that believe themselves only in the way of Salvation. *Junius* gave a great Latitude to the true Church. Perhaps Mr. *Nicole* (h) did not know it. (i) *Doctissimus socer Junius cum nollet ab iis discedere, qui Romanam Ecclesiam censent esse meretricem Babylonicam, & tamen statueret salvari in ea innumera millia, ajebat esse vivum corpus, sed ulceribus obsitum: meretricem esse, sed adhuc sponsam Christi, vel conjugem, quia Christus nec dum ei miserit libellum repudii. Sed non eo satisfecit Genevensibus: qui illam dicerent idololatricam, ac proinde neminem in ea salvari. Narravit mihi aliquando doct. Anthonius Thysius, cum primum Genevam veniret, & soceri mei nomine multam salutem diceret D. Beza, illum continuo subjecisse;* Et quomodo valet carissimus frater Junius: vir est egregie de Ecclesiis nostris meritus: quamquam in uno capite dissentiat à nobis. *Id caput erat de Ecclesia: quam Junius negabat tam arctis limitibus concludi, ac multi volunt.*

This is what *Vossius* says. He says in another Place, that *Junius* being much more free from Prepossession, than is usual, used to say in his latter Days, the longer I live, the more I discover my Ignorance. (k) *Socer meus Fr. Junius, tanti cum à multis retrò annis nominis foret, postremis tamen vitæ annis crebrò illud in ore habebat, magis & magis se in dies videre, quam multa se fugerent. Ita ille, qui cum novellis Doctoribus sociarat antiquos; qui etiam partium studio non paulò minus laborabat quam vulgò fieri solet.*

(A) *That of the Northern Languages.*] Having found in *England* many *Anglo-Saxon* Books, he resolved to make Advantage of 'em; and knowing from the Skill he got in the *Anglo-Saxon* Language, that it would enable him to discover many Etymologies for the Illustration of the *Dutch*, *English*, and *German* Tongues, he applied himself wholly to that Study, and afterwards learnt the ancient Language of the *Goths*, *Gauls*, *Cimbrians* and *Frisons*, whereby he found the Etymology of many *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish* Words: for the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Burgundians*, and *Germans*, spread their Language in the Provinces which they conquered; there are still some Footsteps of them (l). He applied himself

(y) *Vossius in eadem epistola.*

(a) *Vossius in eadem epistola.*

(b) *See in* Vossius's *Preface to his Book de Historicis Latinis, the Latin Verses of* Scaliger *upon* Junius's *Death.*

(c) *Vossius, epistola, 65. pag. 105. edit. Londin. 1693.*

(d) *See his Letter to* Gomarus. *'Tis the 65.*

(e) *Operis de Historicis Latinis.*

(f) *Vossius, epistola, 65. pag. 106.*

(g) Vossius præfat. de Historicis Latinis, *See also his Letter to* Gomarus: *'tis the 65.*

(h) *See the Preface to his Treatise concerning the Unity of the Church, where he mentions some Ministers, who believed, that the true Church is to be found in several Communions.*

(i) *Vossius epistola ad Hugon. Grotium. 'tis the 571. in* Epist. Eccles. & Theolog. *of the Folio Edition, pag. 818.*

(k) Id. apud Colomes. Gall. Orientat. *pag. 96.*

(l) *Taken from his Life, written by M.* Grævius, *prefixed to the Folio Edition of his Book de Pictura Veterum.*

returned into *England* in 1675, and having staid two years at *Oxford*, he retired to *Windsor* to *Isaac Vossius* his Nephew, and Died there in a years time. The University of *Oxford*, to which he bequeath'd his Manuscripts, built him a very noble Monument †. I'll speak of the Books (*B*) he Published. He was not only a Man of very great Learning, but also of an excellent Life. He was not observed to have any Vitious Passion. He did not mind the Riches nor the Honours of this World; his Books were his only care: And perhaps no Man did ever Study (C) more than he, without doing any prejudice to his Health. I shall set down a Passage (D) of *Colomiés*.

† *Taken from his Life written by Mr.* Graevius *and prefixed to his Book* de Pictura Veterum *in Folio.*

JUNO, Sister and Wife of *Jupiter*, was the Daughter of *Saturnus* and *Rhea*. Her Father being resolved to devour his Children for fear they should Dethrone him, did not spare her any more than his two other Daughters *, whom he had already swallowed: But he was forced to Disgorge 'em some years after. They gave him a sort of Liquor, which made him Vomit up all the Children he had Devoured ‡. And thus it was that *Juno* returned into the World. The Circumstances of her Marriage with *Jupiter* are differently Related. There's a Tradition which says they Loved one another, and Lay together unknown (*A*) to their Father and Mother, and it does not appear that she kept her Lover long in Suspence. But others say, that she opposed

* Vesta *and* Ceres, Juno's *Eldest Sisters.*

‡ *Apollodor. ibid.*

(m) Totus erat in contexendis Anglo-saxonicis, Francicis, & Cimbricis Lexicis ac Glossariis, & explanandis antiquissimis harum gentium scriptoribus. *Graevius ibid.*

(n) *Id. ib.*

(a) *At* Rotterdam *for* Reinier Leers *1694.*

(c) Qui argenteus dicitur, quoniam quatuor Evangelia litteris Gothicis in illo fuerant descripta. *Graevius ubi supra.*

(d) *There is XI. in* Junius's *Life; but in the Catalogue of the Manuscripts bequeathed by* Junius *to the University of* Oxford, *there is IX.*

(e) *Taken from his Life.*

(f) Hora prima prapdebat, sequente corpus exercebat vel in area subdivali ambulando contentius; aurem iam subsultim nonnunquam currendo, aut, si id non ferret asperior tempestas, per omnes scalas in coenaculum ascendendo valetudinis tuendæ caussa. *Graevius ib.*

(g) *Id. ib.*

self entirely to the Writing of Glossaries (*m*); and this is the Pedigree he Discovered. *His omnibus linguis imbibendis cum satis diu insudasse videt, quod & privatim apud omnes, quibus cum agebat de hac doctrina, tum publice testatus est, Gothicam esse matrem omnium caterarum Teutonicarum linguarum, ex qua profluxerit vetus Cimbrica, monumentis Runarum posteris tradita, nec non Saxonica, Danica, Norwegica, Islandica, quibus, illius plaga hominibus isto tempore suas animi cogitationes explicant. Ex Anglo-saxonica, quæ & ipsa aut propago est Gothicæ, aut illius soror germana, & eiusdem matris filia, manavit Anglica, Scotica, Belgica, Frisica vetus. Ex Gothica & Saxonica orta est Francica, quæ Germanicæ superioris parens est. Harum veterrimarum linguarum, & dialectorum, quæ ex illis ductæ sunt, cognitionem invicto studio, & incredibili assiduitate non primus tantum assecutus est, sed & solus, viam secutus nullius ante tritam vestigiis (n).*

(n) *Id. ib.*

(*A*) *I'll speak of the Books he has published.*] In the Year 1637, he put out a Treatise *De pictura veterum*, which abounds with admirable Literature. Afterwards he so enlarged it, that the second Edition that was made of it (*a*) is a pretty large *Folio*, whereas the first was but a *Quarto* of 318 Pages. There are very few Things in *Greek* and *Latin* Authors concerning Painting, and the ancient Painters, that have escaped the Diligence of this Author. In the Year 1655, he published Notes upon the *Francica Paraphrasis* of the *Canticles*, written by the Abbot *Willeram*, and published the first time by *Paul Merula*. Being returned into *Holland*, after the Two Years that he had spent in *Friesland*, he met with an old *Gothick* Manuscript, stiled the Silver one (*c*); he applied himself entirely to the Explication of it, and compass'd it in a little time. He published therefore this *Gothick* Paraphrase of the Four Gospels, with a *Gothick* Glossary, to which he added an Antient Anglo-Saxon Version of the same Gospels, Corrected from good Manuscripts, and Illustrated with the Notes of *Thomas Marshall*. This is but a little part of his Works; that which remains to be Printed is much more considerable. His Glossary in five Languages, in which he searches and explains the Original of the *Northern* Languages, contains eleven (*d*) Manuscript Volumes, which Dr. *John Fell* Bishop of *Oxford* ordered to be writ out fair to be sent to the Press. His Commentary upon the Harmony of the four Gospels by *Tatian* is very large. I say nothing of so many other Books, upon which he has made Notes (*e*). Consult the Catalogue of the Manuscripts which he left to the University of *Oxford*. 'Tis at the end of his Life.

(a) *At* Rotterdam *for* Reinier Leers *1694.*

(c) Qui argenteus dicitur, quoniam quatuor Evangelia litteris Gothicis in illo fuerant descripta. *Graevius ubi supra.*

(d) *There is XI. in* Junius's *Life; but in the Catalogue of the Manuscripts bequeathed by* Junius *to the University of* Oxford, *there is IX.*

(e) *Taken from his Life.*

(*C*) *Studied more than he without any Prejudice to his Health.*] He rose at four a Clock in the Morning both in Winter and Summer, and Studied till Dinner time. He Dined at one, after Dinner he used (*f*) some Exercise till three: He went again to his Study at three, and left it not till eight to go to Supper, and then he went to Bed. He seldom went out; and when he did, it was upon some Business: which did not hinder him from injoying a perfect Health: He was never Sick. (*g*) *Firma fuit valetudine, ut prosperrima per omnem ætatem sine ulla corporis offensione uteretur, quamvis totos dies a summo mane usque ad noctem incumberet litteris, & raríssime, nec unquam nisi negotiorum ratio id ei quasi imperaret, prodiret in publicum.* Such a long Solitude spent amongst Barbarous Books, and in making five *Gothick* or *Teutonick Lexicons*, did not in the least lessen his Gaiety, no not in his old Age; he was always free from Peevishness, and Affable to those who visited him, tho' he did not care to be interrupted. Mr. *Graevius* describes this in Elegant Terms. (*h*) *In assiduitate tanta licet invitus admodum avocaretur ab his, quibus insudabat, curis, tam longe tamen aberat omnis morositas ingenitique tristitia, quæ solet esse propria iis, qui à luce hominum & celebritate alieniores omne tempus & operam domi sua in doctrina & Literarum studiis consumunt, præcipue senes, ut nihil sene nostro fieri posse suavius & facilius.* Worldly People will doubtless believe that he was a very Miserable Man; they had as good be Condemned to the Gallies as spend their Lives as he did among his Desks, without tasting the Pleasures of Gaming, Love, good Cheer, or Conversation. *How can a Man Live*, say they, *without Wine in the Day time, and without Women in the Night.* But they are mistaken, if they fancy their Happiness exceeds his. He was doubtless one of the happiest Men in the World, unless he had the Weakness others have to be disturbed about Trifles: For as there are some People, who having no reason to be Merry, find out Chimerical Pleasures (*i*) to amuse themselves; there are some on the contrary, who cannot be moved with the most just occasions of Discontent, and yet disquiet themselves for Ridiculous things, of which they should be ashamed to complain.

(f) Hora prima prapdebat, sequente corpus exercebat vel in area subdivali ambulando contentius; aurem iam subsultim nonnunquam currendo, aut, si id non ferret asperior tempestas, per omnes scalas in coenaculum ascendendo valetudinis tuendæ caussa. *Graevius ib.*

(g) *Id. ib.*

(h) *Id. ib.*

(*D*) *A Passage of* Colomiés.] (*k*) 'I knew at the 'Hague the Learned Mr. *Junius*, Son of the famous *Francis Junius*, who was Professor of Divinity at *Leiden*. He is an old Man near 80. but 'still very Vigorous. He Studies thirteen or fourteen Hours a Day, and has lately Published the 'four Gospels in *Gothick*, with a very Learned 'Glossary. He made me a present of this noble 'Work, and told me, he would quickly Print his 'Book *De Pictura Veterum*, with the Names and 'Works of all the Painters of Antiquity. It will 'be Dedicated to the present Earl of *Arundel*, who 'was his Pupil, when he was in *England* his Father's Library Keeper. I ought not to forget, for 'Mr. *Junius*'s Glory, that *Grotius* highly commends his Book concerning Painting, in the following Letter. That Letter was prefixed to the new Edition of our *Junius*'s Book.

(i) Dum careo veris, gaudia falsa juvant.

(k) Colomiés *in his opuscules p. 116. Utrecht 1669.*

(*A*) *Unknown to their Father and Mother.*] They who want a good Proof of this Matter, may find it in these Words of the Iliad (*l*)

(l) *Lib. 14. v. 294.*

Ὡς ἄρ' ἴδεν, ὡς μιν ἔρος ἀμφεπάλαθε φρένας,
Οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότητι,
Κεῖσθον φοιτήσαντε, φίλους λήσαντε τοκῆας.

Ut vero vidit, continuo illum amor prudentia præcordia cooperuit,
Perinde ac quando primum misti sunt amore,
Ad cubile consuetudinis gratiâ euntes, suis clam parentibus.

posed (*B*) the Demands of *Jupiter* like a Maid of Virtue and Honour; and that to avoid his Importunity, she Fled into a Den. They add, that she there met with a Man, whose Discourse so softened her Heart in favour of *Jupiter*, that she consented to make him happy upon the spot. Others would perhaps confess, that this was the first time that *Jupiter* Lay with her, but not the first time that she Lay with a Man; for they pretend, that before *Jupiter* Courred her, she passed through the Hands of *Eurymedon*, a Stout and Lewd Giant, by the same Token, that he got her with Child (*C*) of a Son, who was called *Prometheus*. *Jupiter* did not know it till after he was Married, and he discharged his Revenge upon this Bastard under other pretences. Upon some other Occasions, the Chastity (*D*) of his Wife appeared very doubtful to him. He well deserv'd it, whose Gallantries were so common. There was scarce any Animal, but he borrowed his Shape to get Maiden-heads. Every body knows that he Metamorphosed himself (*E*) into a Cuckoo, in order to compass his desire with *Juno*. This Goddess presided over Marriages *, but she should not have had that Employment. 'Twas an ill Omen, for she led but an odd Life with her Husband; and

(m) Et mecum tenera gavisa est ludere in herba Purpureos flores, quos insuper accumbebat Candida formoso supponens brachia collo. *Valerius Cato in Diris, p. 61. Catalectorum veterum Poëtarum.*

(n) *Valer. Cato ibid.*

(o) Call'd Leucate.

(p) Ὅτε καὶ ἐμὸν ἦτορ ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀμείρει, ἐξαπίνης δ' ἐπὶ νῶϊν ἐπέδραθε ἰμερόεις ὕπνος. Jovem semper Junonis amore captum ad saxum hoc accessisse, atque ei insidendo amoris impotentiam sedasse. *Ptol. Hephæst. apud Photium cod. 190. p. m. 492.*

(a) Ἦλθε παρὰ πατέρα μετὰ τοῦτον γαμέτην εἰς τὸν μεγάν τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐμμένοντα ἔρανον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι. *Schol. in Iliad. l. 14. v. 295.*

(b) *Id. ib.*

(c) *Girac, Replique à Costar, sect. 64. p. m. 545.*

(1) *Didym. in Hom. Iliad 14. Eustath. ib.*

Homer speaks here of an occation, on which *Jupiter*, who had been Married many Ages to *Juno*, felt, as he saw her by Chance, the same Ardor, as when he lay with her by Stealth the first time. I add to the Testimony of a Greek Poet, that of a Latin one. 'Tis a Lover who speaks; a Lover, who had found the Critical Minute (*m*), and is vex'd that many before him had receiv'd the like Gratifications by Stealth.

Ipsius (n) atque utinam fallî mea culpa magistra
Prima foret: lethum vitâ mihi dulcius esset.
Non mea, non nullo morerentur tempore famæ,
Dulcia cum Veneris furatus gaudia primus
Discerer, atque ex me dulcis foret orta voluptas.
Nam mihi non tantum tribuerunt impia vota,
Auctor ut occulti noster foret error amoris.
Jupiter ante sui semper mendacia furti,
Cum Junone prius conjux quam dictus uterque est,
Gaudia libavit dulcem furatus amorem.

(*B*) *That she opposed—like a Maid of Virtue and Honour.*] Her Virtue was such according to some, that if *Jupiter* had not found a Remedy, instead of that which she would not grant him, he would not have known what to do. But he went and sate upon a Mountain (*o*) as often as he was in the Transport of his Passion, which he calmed by that means (*p*). The Author who supplies me with this Story, do's not say whether *Jupiter* was then Married to *Juno*, nor was it necessary to be so particular upon this Subject: The most stupid Readers will easily understand, that he was not Married, and that he was in Love with a cruel Woman.

(*C*) *With Child of a Son who was called* Prometheus.] You will find this Story in *Homer's* Scholiast (*a*). *Jupiter's* Resentment was not less Violent against the Father of the Bastard, than against the Bastard himself; for if *Prometheus* was put in Chains, *Eurymedon* was tumbled down into Hell. I know not under what pretence *Jupiter* treated *Eurymedon* in that manner; but there is no question, that he conceal'd the true cause of his Anger: He had too much Sense to disgrace himself by his Revenge. His pretence against the Bastard was his stealing the Celestial Fire. The Scholiast (*b*) whom I cite has this from *Euphorion*.

(*D*) *The Chastity of* Juno *appeared very doubtful to him.*] I'll Comment upon this Text with the Words of a Modern Author, who designing to prove, *that* Jupiter *was a famous Cuckold*, Expresses himself thus: 'The Giant *Eurymedon* had obtained 'Juno's first Favours, (1) and not to speak of the 'Isle of *Samos*, which was famous for the unchast 'Amours of this Goddess, don't we know that *Ju-* 'piter discovering a few Days after this Marriage, 'that she would quickly be the Mother of a Child, 'she knew how to wheedle him so as to persuade 'him that she had Conceiv'd of her self, and that 'she had preserv'd her Virginity intire? She 'made him believe another time that she was with 'Child by Eating wild Lettices. So that tho' 'the Horns that were set upon his Statue in *Libya*, 'had not denoted him a Cuckold, did not he deserve 'that they should have this signification, and to 'occasion those ways of speaking, which have been 'so long in use, by the consent of all Nations?

(*E*) *He Metamorphos'd himself into a Cuckoo in order to compass his desire with* Juno.] To relate what is most curious upon this Subject, I need only follow the Dispute of *Costar* and *Girac*. The Foundation whereof is this: Jupiter (*d*) *was no less forgetful on many other important Occasions.* Pallas *complains in* Homer *that he did not think of Wife* Ulysses. *Another upbraids him that in the Establishment of his Houshold, he had not consider'd Cuckoldom, from which he had received so many signal Services.* They are *Costar's* Words. His Adversary Answers him, that this is a very injurious Accusation: *For good* Jupiter, says he (*e*), *to shew the esteem he had for Cuckoldom, and his desire of being a Cuckold, Transform'd himself into a Bird of that Name, when he Courted his Wife* Juno. *And afterwards to express his Gratitude, he commanded the* Argivi *to make a fine Cuckoo of Gold, and to Perch him upon the Sceptre of* Juno's *Statue; with which this great Goddess was not offended, having reap'd as many Advantages from Cuckoldom, as her Husband had done. And even near the Town of* Hermione, *there are two little Mountains, one of which is called the Cuckoo Mountain, upon which in* Pausanias's *time (2) was seen a Temple of* Jupiter, *and over against it on the other Mountain that of* Juno. *In* Libya, *the Statue of* Jupiter Hammon *had great Horns upon its Head. Which was so agreeable to this God, that tho' Statues were Erected to him over all the World, he only delivered (f) Oracles thro' this. He was so well pleased with his Horns, that he obliged his dearest Friends to follow his Example.* Bacchus (3) *and* Pan, *the Satyrs, the Gods of the Rivers, and many others did not fail to imitate him.* Juno *her self did the same, to shew that she had some Complaisance for her Husband, and we still see many Medals of this Goddess with Horns.* Diana *and* Venus *wore 'em too as an Ornament that wonderfully became a handsome Face.* This Answer is very Learned, but it is false; for there is nothing in it that proves the point in Dispute. The State of the Question is this: Whether *Jupiter* honoured the Husbands, whose Wives were Gallant? Prove as much as you please, that he honoured the Bird we call a *Cuckoo*, and add moreover that he would have his Statues to be adorned with Horns; say withal, that the other Gods followed the same Fashion; you don't come near the Point, because at that time, the Words *Cuckold* and *Horns* were not taken in the same Sense, that is given them at present. Besides, to disguise ones self in the shape of a Cuckoo, in order to succeed in ones Enterprizes, would not even in our Age be a sign, that a Man desires to be Married to a Whore. My Readers will easily imagine, that *Costar* was aware of the Vanity of the Answers that were made him: But if any one should doubt of it, I shall quickly convince him by relating his own Words. In which we shall see, that the Affectation of making too great a shew of his Reading, makes him mix with his Replies, some things which spoil his Cause. He begins with *Jupiter's* Metamorphosis into a Bird, which bares the name of Cuckoo; and here is what he says of it.

'(*g*) This old Woman's Story, and that Ridiculous 'Invention of a Grammarian abusing his Leisure, '(that *Erasmus* (4) speaks of him) is taken from credo hanc fabulam apud veteres inveniri, sed suspicor quopiam Grammatico fuisse confictam: adeo sapit anile quiddam

(*d*) *Costar, Defense des Ouvrages de Voiture p. m. 116.*

(*e*) *Girac, Reponse à la Defense de Voiture, sect. 26. p. 194.*

(2) *In Corinth.*

(*f*) *Costar's* Suite de la Defense *p. 382. Confutes this in these Words. Aristotle* says somewhere in his Rhetorick that *Hegesippus* of *Elis*, whither he went to consult the Oracle of *Jupiter*, resolved likewise to Consult that of *Delphi*, where he ask'd *Apollo* this Question, *Will you be of the same Opinion with your Father?* Dare you contradict him? But *Girac*, complaining in his Reply p. 551. that his Words have been falsified; He clearly shews that he was not Ignorant that *Jupiter* gave Answers in other Places; but that he gave none thro' his Statue except in *Ægypt*.

(3) *Cic. l. de nat. Deor.*

(*g*) *Costar, Suite de la Defense p. 380.*

(4) Equidem vix ab otioso

and in ſpite of all the ſtrong Reaſons, that ingag'd him to bear with her, after ſo many juſt

' a Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, who relates that ' *Juno* having left her Companions to divert her ' ſelf all alone and at Liberty, after a long Walk, ' laid her ſelf upon the Graſs in a pretty Place of ' Mount *Thronax*. *Jupiter*, who ſaw her in that ' Poſture, found her ſo handſome, that he immediately ' grew in Love with her, put on the ſhape of a ' Cuckoo, and raiſing an extreme cold in the Air, ' all Trembling and Frozen, he threw himſelf into ' this Goddeſs's Arms; and then reſuming his uſual Form, and promiſing to Marry her, he re- ' ceived from her the ſatisfaction he deſired. The ' Cold that *Jupiter* rais'd on that occaſion was not ' greater, than that of the ſilly Jeſt of our Learned ' Author. In effect it appears, that it was not ' out of Love to Cuckoldom that *Jupiter* turn'd ' Cuckoo, ſince neither among the Gods nor among ' Men, the name of that Bird did ſignify at ' that time a Husband, whoſe Wife was unfaithful ' to him. At leaſt, there is no ſign of it among ' the Antients: On the contrary, there are ſome ' Women in *Plautus*, who call their Husbands ' *Cockoos*, whom they ſurpriz'd in Adultery, and ' *Juvenal* (5) calls a poor Fellow *Curruca*, who ' had that injury done him: Doubtleſs, becauſe that ' Bird feeds the young Cuckoos that are laid in her ' Neſt. *Coſtar* afterwards goes on to the conſidera- tion of the Horns, and Expreſſes himſelf in this manner. (*h*) *Has Mr.* de Girac *ſeen an old Manu- ſcript, which clearly proves that at that time Horns were a ſign of Cuckoldom? And you, Sir,* (*i*) *that know every thing, can you ſhew me that theſe ways of ſpeaking*, to bear Horns, and to ſet Horns, *in the Senſe that they are now taken in, are much more Antient than* Artemidorus, *who flouriſhed under* Hadrian? *The Horns of* Jupiter Hammon *were not thoſe of a Cuckold, but of a fine Ram, Prophecying upon the Sands of* Libya, *as our* Ronſard *ſpeaks.* He Examins in particular, the Horns of thoſe Dei- ties which *Girac* had produced, and makes it Evi- dent that they had no Relation to the condition of the Husbands, which we call Cuckolds, and that they were not taken in Complaiſance to *Jupiter*; and this is his Concluſion: (*k*) *If out of all this Mr.* de Girac *can make any thing that may be ſerviceable to his Deſign, I will not oppoſe him; but I am very much miſtaken, if he can ſucceed in it, and oblige me to Acknowledge that* Jupiter, *when he ſettled his Houſhold, did not forget Cuckoldom, which had been ſo Advantageous to him.* This is a good Concluſion; 'tis to bring things to the ſtate of the Queſtion, and to make all the Lines terminate in the Center.

Let us conſider the Reply. *Girac* (*a*) thinks it very ſtrange that *Coſtar, ſhould treat this matter with a Scholaſtick Grimneſs, and in a ſerious man- ner. He would have me to prove by Demonſtration and Authority*, that it was the Love of Cuckoldom, that made *Jupiter* a Cuckold. *He is not ſatisfied, unleſs I ſhew him* ſome Manuſcripts that clearly prove, that at that time Horns were the marks of Cuckolds. *Where is the juſtice of this Man? He do's nothing in all his Writings but Banter; he him- ſelf confeſſes that he can't ſpeak a Sentence without the aſſiſtance of his beloved* Irony; *and yet he will not ſuffer me to jeſt ſo much as once*——Although my Railleries *ariſe from my Subject, and are ſupported by very fine Antiquities; for is it not true that* Jupiter *was a down right Cuckold, ſince the Giant* Eurymedon *had obtained the laſt Favours from his Wife* Juno? You'll find above (*b*) the ſequel of this Paſſage: It would be uſeleſs to repeat it here; the Paper it would take up, will be more uſefully imployed in theſe two Remarks. The firſt is, that tho' it be permitted to jeſt in a Criticiſm; yet it is not permitted to Argue Ill. You may be Merry if you pleaſe, and ſpeak according as occaſion ſerves, either in jeſt or in earneſt; but be ſure not to ad- vance a Falſity, and never pretend, that by jeſting upon a falſe Suppoſition, or by building Railleries upon Ignorance, you will either make good Objections, or ſolid Anſwers to an Objection (*c*). My ſecond Obſervation is, that the Adventure of the Giant, and the Unfaithfulneſs of *Juno* come too late. The Author had ſaid nothing of 'em in his Anſwer, and ſo they can make nothing againſt *Coſtar*, who was not obliged to Govern himſelf, by what his Adverſary ſhould ſay afterwards. They cannot bring Mr. *de Girac* off, for beſides that, he did not make uſe of 'em, to ſupport his A- nimadverſions, they cannot prove the thing in Diſpute. Suppoſe *Juno* had a hundred Intrigues, will this prove that *Jupiter* remember'd Cuckoldom, when he ſettled his Houſhold? Every body ſees that my firſt Remark ruins *Girac's* Cauſe, ſince all that he Alledges is grounded upon a falſe Suppoſi- tion. He might be reduced to this unlucky Di- lemma. If you was Ignoram, that when *Jupiter* Transform'd himſelf into a Cuckoo, Husbands diſhonoured by their Wives unfaithfulneſs were not call'd Cuckolds, and Cornutes, your Raillery is very Impertinent; for according to your own Rules (*d*), *a Railery is naught, when it is grounded upon the Ignorance of Things, which we are obliged to know.* If you knew that at that time ſuch Ideas were not Annexed to thoſe Words, you are extreamly to blame for making uſe of Proofs, whereof you know the falſity. Let us ſee the ſequel of his Reply.

Notwithſtanding all this, ſays he (*e*), *our Sophiſt urges me to ſhew him, that when the Father of the Gods put on the ſhape of a Cuckoo, the name of that Bird ſignified a Husband, whoſe Wife was falſe to him. I promiſe and ingage to ſatisfy him, if he proves by good Authorities*, that *Jupiter* was Re- proached that in the ſettlement of his Houſhold he had not thought of Cuckoldom. *As for what Re- lates to Horns, that word in the ſignification I have given it, is more Antient than is imagin'd. We learn from* Nicetas, *that the Emperor* Andronicus, *to Ridicule the Inhabitants of* Conſtantinople, *and Up- braid them with their Wives Lewdneſs, uſed to ſet up in the publick Places of that great City, the no- bleſt and largeſt Stags Heads, that could be found; and* Artemidorus *who lived* 1500 *years ago, makes uſe of the Words,* (*i*) to bellow Horns, *as a common Proverb, which did not begin in his time* (*f*). *It would be an ill uſe of ones time, to ſeek the Ori- ginal of it, and to inquire whether it was in uſe in* Jupiter Hammon's *time. However it be, my Ad- verſary, who pretends to be a very Subtil Man, did not perceive, that I laught at him.* This Paſſage of Mr. *de Girac* makes it plain, that he has loſt his Cauſe: He do's not find himſelf capable of proving what is denied him, and without which his Criti- ciſm is inſignificant; he pretends that he deſigned to Ridicule his Adverſary. There's no Writer that may uſe ſuch Subterfuges, when he knows not what to Anſwer: We ſhall ſee Mr. *Coſtar* in his turn ſomewhat Puzzled. His Knowledge forſook him, when he made uſe of *Eraſmus*'s Authority, in a thing, where *Eraſmus* had (*g*) no manner of Rea- ſon. What was it to him if *Jupiter* was not Meta- morphos'd into a Cuckoo? How came he not to ſee that this Metamorphoſis is as credible as ſo many others we read in *Ovid*? Do's not he ſhew by his Anger againſt thoſe who have related it, that he looks upon it as a thing Advantageous to his Adverſary; and do's not he horribly deceive him- ſelf to his Enemy's Advantage? *Girac* did not fail to take Advantage of it: Conſider well what fol- lows. ' (*b*) Not being able to deny that I had very ' properly Alledged *Jupiter's* Metamorphoſis into a ' Cuckoo; he calls that Fable *an Old Woman's Story, and a Ridiculous Invention*; as if the change of ' the ſame God into a Swan, a Bull and an Eagle, ' had ſomething in it more ingenious; as if all ' Fables in general were not equally frivolous, and ' this as well as others had not its Allegory and ' Mythological Explication. But when Mr. *Coſtar* ' maintains, that *'tis an Invention of a Grammarian ' making an ill uſe of his Leiſure; that it is taken ' from a Scholiaſt upon* Theocritus. And when he ' proves by the Authority of *Eraſmus* that it *is not to ' be found in any Antient Author* what do's he do ' but ſhew that he is Ignorant to Company, and ' that he Reads Authors only to learn their Faults? ' In effect, I don't find any Fable, that is mention'd ' by a greater number of Celebrated Authors, than ' this. And even the Scholiaſt Alledged by Mr. ' *Coſtar* (ſo great is this Man's Stupidity) affirms ' that

(5) Tu tibi nunc *curruca* places, ſtatumque labellis Exorbes. *Sat.* 6.

(*b*) *Coſtar ibid. p.* 381.

(*i*) *He ſpeaks to Mr.* Marnage.

(*k*) *Ibid. p.* 386.

(*a*) *Reflexions d Cri- tiques, ſect.* 64. *p.* 544.

(*b*) *In the Remark* D.

(*c*) *Confer qua ſupra in the Re- mark* C. *of the Article* Colomiés.

(*d*) *Girac, Reponſe à la Defenſe de Voiture, ſect.* 26. *p.* 160. *See Coſtar, State de la Diſpute, p.* 381.

(*e*) *Girac, Replique, p.* 543.

(*f*) *Lib. 2. c.* 11.

(*f*) *See* Menage's *Etymologies of the* French *Tongue in folio, at the words* cornes & cocu.

(*g*) *The Paſſage of* Eraſmus *quoted by* Coſtar, *is in the Explan- tion of the Adage* Scit quemadmodo Jupiter duxerit uxorem. *'Tis the* 23. *of the fourth Century of the fourth Chiliad, p.* m. 914. *He ob- ſerves, that the Scholiaſt upon* Theocritus *cites this upon the Credit of one* Ariſtotle: Adjungit fabellam quam refellerit Ariſtoteles nefcio quis. *From whence it appears that the Fable, as* Girac *ſaid, that this Story was mention'd by* Ariſtotle, Alexander's Tutor. *Several* Ariſtotles *have writ Books. See* Voſſius de Hiſt. Pnil. *p.* 61.

(*h*) *Girac, Replique p.* 54'.

juſt Occaſions of Jealouſie, which he gave her, their Quarrels (F) were driven ſo far as a Divorce; and I believe, that before they came to that, he tried, if by beating her he could bring her to Reaſon. He hung her up once (G) betwixt Heaven and Earth for ſome time. If on one Hand ſhe preſided over Marriages and Weddings, ſhe had, on the other, the Management of their natural Conſequences: I mean, that ſhe preſided

(a) Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑρμιόνης ἱερῷ ἐδείκνυτον περὶ τῆς Δηοῦς ἡ τῆς Ἥρας γάμων, &c. *Schol. Theocr. in illum verſum Eid.* 15. Πέντε γυναῖκας ἴσασι, ἡ οὐ Ζεὺς ἠγάγετο Ἥρην.

(i) *Pauſan. lib.* 2. *p.* 78.

(k) *So it ought to be called, and not* Θρόνας. Thronax, *as we read in the* Scholiaſt *upon* Theocritus. Meurſius *is the Author of that Correction.* Miſcell. Lacon, pag. 310. Coaſtar *follows* Eraſmus, *who ſays* Thronax.

(l) *It was a piece of* Polycletus. Pauſan. lib. 2. p. 59.

(m) *Id. lib.* 8. *p.* 253.

(a) *He quotes* Phylarchus, lib. 19. *But* Natalis Comes Mythol. lib. 2. c. 4. p. m. 133. *quotes* Dorotheus in lib. 2. narrationum fabuloſarum.

(b) Καὶ οὐ παύσεσθαι ἐμάστιγας. Et te verberibus cædam. *Homer. Il. l.* 15. *v.* 17.

(c) *Ibid. v.* 18.

‘ that he took it from a Tract (a) which *Ariſtotle* ‘ had written concerning the Temple of *Hermione*. ‘ *Plutarch* in like manner made mention of it in his ‘ Book concerning Rivers; *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of it ‘ in ſeveral Places in his *Corinthiaca*; and *Didy-* ‘ *mus* upon the Fourteenth *Iliad*, relates it from ‘ *Euphorion* a very ancient Author, not to cite the ‘ Scholiaſt on the *Greek* Epigrams, nor abundance ‘ of others, whoſe Catalogue would be too tedious. I omit the other things upon which *Girac* criticizes him learnedly and reaſonably, on the Subject of Horns and the Cuckoo. The great Number of good Authors, who have ſpoken of this Metamorphoſis of *Jupiter*, puts me in pain, out of Kindneſs to *Eraſmus*. It were to be wiſhed for his Glory, that he had let that old Scholiaſt alone. He had better have been aſleep, than write ſuch a thing as this. Had he not read what *Pauſanias* ſays (i) concerning Mount *Thornax* (k), which was called *Coccygius*, or *Coccyx*, from the time that *Jupiter* transformed into a Cuckoo, lay there with *Juno*? 'Tis a Mountain of *Laconia*. The ſame Author ſays, that the Reaſon why *Juno* (l) of *Argos* bore a Sceptre with a Cuckoo upon it, was becauſe *Jupiter* aſſumed the Form of that Bird, to lie with *Juno*. I don't believe that, adds *Pauſanias*; but nevertheleſs, ſays he, I thought, I ought not to omit it. Κύκυγα δέ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθιᾶσι φασι, λέγοντες τὸν Δία, ὅτι ἦρα παρθένου τῆς Ἥρας, ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆναι, τὸν δὲ ἄλλα μὲν ἀπίθανα δοκέοντα, τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπειδὴ εἰρηταί περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐ παραλείψω χρῆσαι γνώμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ (m). *Cuculum vero avem idcirco ſceptro ajunt impoſitum, quod virginis Junonis amore captus Jupiter, in eam ſe avem verterit, quam puella tanquam ludicrum captarit. Hæc ego, & quæ his ſunt ſimilia de diis vulgata, etſi vera neutiquam exiſtimo, non putavi tamen negligenda.*

(F) *Their Quarrels were driven ſo far as a Divorce.*] *Pauſanias* (n) ſays, there were three Temples of *Juno* at *Stymphalia*, a Town of *Arcadia*. The firſt was called the Temple of *Juno* a Maid; and the ſecond the Temple of *Juno* married; and the third the Temple of *Juno* a Widow. Theſe three Temples were built to her by *Temenus*, with whom ſhe had been educated. The laſt was built at the time that ſhe lived at *Stymphalia*, whether ſhe retired after her Divorce. You'll find in *Charles Stephens*'s Dictionary, enlarged by *Lloyd* (a), by what means *Jupiter* cauſed *Juno* to return to him. He ſpread a Report, that he was going to be married to *Aſopus*'s Daughter. This News made a greater Impreſſion upon the provoked Goddeſs's Heart, than all *Jupiter*'s Intreaties. See the Remark P, at the Place where I relate the Generation of *Typhon*.

(G) *He hung her up betwixt Heaven and Earth.*] The Reaſon of it was, that ſhe had raiſed a Storm againſt *Hercules*. *Jupiter* put her in mind of it, when he knew the Tricks ſhe had plaid him during the Siege of *Troy*. She knew ſo well how to charm him, and lay him aſleep in her Arms, that *Neptune* had the time neceſſary to put the *Trojan* Affairs in an ill Condition. I ſpeak at large of this Stratagem of *Juno*, in the following Remark. *Jupiter*, who had given her ſo many ſweet Words, and procured her great Pleaſures, no ſooner knew the Prejudice the *Trojans* had ſuffered, whilſt he had been lying with her, but he talked big to her. He threatned (b) to whip her, and askt her, whether ſhe had forgot the time, when he faſten'd an Anvil to each of her Feet, and ſuffered her to hang betwixt Heaven and Earth, in the Sight of all the Gods, who in vain attempted to untie her; for he kickt from Heaven to Earth as many of 'em as he could catch.

Ἦ ἐμέμνῃ ὅτε τ' ἐκρέμω ὑψόθεν, ἐκ δὲ σοὶ ἄκμονε
Ἀμφοτέρω ἔκ ποδοῖν, πηοῖ χρυσὰ δὲ ἔσαν ἐμπεδα
Χρύσεια, ἐξάπτεν, σὺ δ' ἐν αἰθέρι ἠδὲ νεφέλῃσι
Κρέμω, ἀέξετο δὲ δυσὶ κατὰ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον.
Δεῦρε δ' ἐὼν ἐδύνατο παρασταδόν, οὓς δὲ λάβεσκε,
Ῥιπτάσκεν τέλεχνον ἀπὸ θεσπεσίης ὀρέστης
Ἐς γῆν ἱκάνοντα (o).

An non meminiſti quando pependiſti ab alto, à pedibus autem
Incudes demiſi duæ, circum manus autem vinculum miſi
Aureum, infrangibilem? tu autem in æthere & nubibus
Pependiſti, indignabantur autem dii per excelſum Olympum:
Solvere autem non poterant circumſtantes: quemcumque autem apprehenderem;
Projiciebam correptum de limine-divino, donec perveniret
In terram vix ſpirans.

'Twas *Juno*'s beſt way to appear Submiſſive: She excuſed her ſelf with falſe Oaths, and promiſed to comply with the Deſires of her Husband. The Quarrel went no farther at that time. I ought not to forget, that *Juno* was the cauſe of the War of the *Titans*. She encouraged 'em to dethrone her Husband (d), and to reſtore *Saturn*, whom *Jupiter* had depoſed. Jealouſie was then ſtronger than Ambition; for the Indignation ſhe conceived when ſhe ſaw (e) *Epaphus* gratified with a Kingdom, made her chuſe rather to be a dethroned Goddeſs, provided her Husband was ſo too, than to reign with him. But perhaps ſhe propoſed to her ſelf a Revenge, in which her Ambition would be no loſer. She might hope that by preferring the Intereſts of her Father unjuſtly dethron'd, before thoſe of her Husband, who was an Uſurper, ſhe ſhould have a Share in the Government, under her Father reſtored, and ſhould break for ever with *Jupiter*. We ſhall ſee (f) hereafter another Conſpiracy ſhe ingaged in againſt her Husband.

I can't think of *Juno* hanging betwixt Heaven and Earth, without propoſing to my Readers a Paſſage which I don't underſtand. *Hyginus* (g) relates, that *Vulcan* having forg'd Golden Shoes for *Jupiter*, and the other Gods, *Juno* was no ſooner ſate down, but ſhe found her ſelf hung in the midſt of the Air. *Vulcan* had notice of it, that he might come and looſe his Mother, whom he had bound; but he anſwered he had no Mother. He had been kicked out of Heaven, and was ſtill enraged for that ill Uſage. Here are the Latin Words: *Vulcanus Jovi cæteriſque Dii ſellas aureas ex adamante cum feciſſet, Juno cum ſedisſet ſubitò in æthere pendere cæpit. Quod cum ad Vulcanum miſſum eſſet ut matrem quam ligaverat ſolveret, iratus quod de cælo præcipitatus erat, negat ſe matrem ullam habere.* I commend the Criticks, who have made ſo many Learned Obſervations upon the (h) firſt Words of *Hyginus*; but I could wiſh, they had taught me, how by means of a pair of Shoes, a Womam as ſoon as ſhe ſits down, can find her ſelf hanging in the Air. I don't ſee how a Chair or a Throne can have that Effect, and eſpecially upon a Perſon bound. Methinks we may complain of this Hiſtorian's want of Judgment. Could he believe that the Reader would be contented with ſo broken and falſified a Naration? Why didn't he ſay, that aſſoon as *Juno* was ſate down, the Floor of Heaven clove aſunder, and her Chair being no longer ſupported, fell towards the Clouds, and ſtopt in thoſe Spaces which are betwixt Heaven and Earth. This had been intelligible to the Reader. *Servius* tells the Story better; he ſays, that *Vulcan* made a Chair, which *Juno* ſitting upon, could not riſe again (i), till ſhe had granted *Vulcan*'s Requeſt. It was to know, who thoſe were to whom he owed his Life. (k) *Alii dicunt quod cum Vulcanus parentes ſuos diu quæreret, nec inveniret; ſedile fecit tale, ut cum eo qui ſedisſet ſurgere non poſſet; in quo cum adſedisſet Juno, nec poſſet exſurgere; Vulcanus negavit ſe ſoluturum omnino, niſi prius parentes ſuos ſibi monſtraſſet, atque ita factum eſt ut in Deorum numerum reciperetur.* Conſult *Pauſanias*, and you will find, that *Vulcan* deſigning to be revenged of *Juno*, ſent her a Throne of Gold, to which ſhe found her ſelf tied, as ſoon as ſhe ſate down on it (e). None but *Bacchus*

(d) *Hygin. cap.* 150.

(e) *He was a Baſtard of* Jupiter. Hyginus, ibid.

(f) *In the Remark* F. *of the Article* Jupiter.

(g) *Hygin. cap.* 166.

(h) *In order to know whether we ought to read* ſolia, *or* ſoleas. *Whether one may ſay* aurea ex adamante, *and whether it were not better to ſay,* ſolia aurea nexa adamante, *or* ſolea ex auro & ex adamante. *See* Hyginus *of the* Amſterdam *Edition* 1681.

(i) *Compare what is ſaid of* Theſeus, *in the 6th Book of the* Æneid, Sedet æternumque ſedebit Infelix Theſeus; *and what the Commentators ſay about the Seat that he was placed upon. See Mr.* du Rondel *about the* Chenix *of* Pythagoras, *pag.* 95. & ſeq.

(k) *Servius in Eclog.* 4. *Virg. v.* 62.

(l) *Pauſan. lib.* 1. *p.* 18.

sided over Child-Births (G) and over many things depending thereon. *Michael de Montagne* did not well know the Origin of an Adventure, which he takes from *Plato*, and (H) expresses a little too wantonly. Authors don't agree about the Place

ebus could persuade *Vulcan* to return into *Heaven* (m); and besides he was forced to make him drunk to engage him in that Voyage. The *Athenians* had a Picture which represented *Bacchus* bringing *Vulcan* back to Heaven (n): and the *Lacedæmonians* had a Piece of Sculpture, which represented the same *Vulcan* untying his Mother (o).

(G) *She presided over Child-Births, and over many things depending thereon.*] When *Terence* supposes, that *Glycerium* being in Labour, made use of this Prayer (p), *Juno Lucina fer opem, serva me, obsecro*; he manifestly witnesses, that *Juno* was the Deity that presided over that Affair. She was called (q) *Opigena & Lucina*, under that Function, *sive te Lucinam quod lucem nascentibus tribuas, ac Lucetiam convenit nuncupari* (r). She had other particular Names given her, according to the different Services that were expected from her in these Conjunctures; for she was called *Fluonia*, as being able to prevent too great a Loss of Blood. (s) *Fluoniam Junonem mulieres colebant, quod eam sanguinis fluorem in conceptu retinere putabant.* She was called *Februa*, as presiding over the Ceremony of the Purification of Child-Bed Women. These are the Limitations which *Martianus Capella* gives to the Sirnames *Fluonia* and *Februa*: For he introduces Philology, who declares, that being a Virgin, she has no need of invocating the Goddess *Juno* in those two Respects. (t) *Nam Fluoniam Februlemque ac Februam mihi poscere non necesse est, cum nihil contagionis corporeæ sexu intemerata pertulerim.* She might have wanted her Help in another respect, since St. *Austin* affirms, that *Varro* related how *Juno* presided over the flowing of the Menstrual Blood. (v) *Ibi est & Dea Mena, quæ menstruis fluoribus præest, quamvis Jovis filia, tamen ignobilis. Et hanc provinciam fluorum menstruorum, in libro selectorum deorum ipsi Junoni idem autor assignat, quæ in diis selectis etiam regina est: & hic tanquam Juno Lucina cum eadem Menena privigna sua eidem cruori præsidet.* I know very well, that many Authors make the Goddess of Child-Births distinct from *Juno*; for some say, that *Lucina* was (w) her Daughter, and others affirm, that *Diana* (x) was appointed to assist Women in Labour. But without insisting on the Hypothesis (y), that *Lucina*, *Ilithya*, *Diana*, *Luna*, and *Juno*, were the same Deity; I say, 'tis very probable, that *Juno* was considered, as the chief of this Function, and as having Deputies (z), and Substitutes in different Places. If you will not therefore own her directly and immediately for the Goddess *Levana*, who called the New-born Infants to be acknowledged (*) by their Fathers; nor for the Goddess *Rumina*, who presided over the Action of giving 'em suck; nor for the Goddess *Cunina*, who presided over their Cradles; nor for the Goddess *Nundina*, who presided over the Imposition of their Name; nor for the Goddess (‖) *Vaticana*, who presided over their Cries; nor for the Goddess *Fabulina*, who presided over the first Loosnings of their Tongue, that is, over the first Words they pronounced; believe at least, that all these Goddesses were Subdelegates to *Juno*, the Superintendant General. The same ought to be said of the Goddess *Prosa*, and the Goddess *Postverta*, who were worshipped, that Children might not take an ill Posture, when ready to be born. (a) *Quando contra naturam forte conversi* (pueri) *in pedes, brachiis plerumque diductis retineri solent: agriusque tunc mulieres enituntur. Hujus periculi deprecandi gratia ara statuta sunt Romæ duabus Carmentibus: quarum una Postverta nominata est, Prosa altera; à recti perversique partus & potestate & nomine.*

(H) *Which he expresses a little too wantonly.*] (b) 'Twas from some Poet that was in great want, and very greedy of this Sport, that *Plato* had this Story. That *Jupiter* one Day being in a violent Fit of Love, and not having Patience till his Wife had got into Bed, tumbled her on the Floor, and thro' the Vehemence of the Pleasure, forgot the great and important Resolutions he had been taking with the other Gods in his celestial Court, boasting that he had found that Bout as good, as when he first got her Maidenhead unknown to her Parents. So far *Montagne*. He is to blame for ascribing this Notion to some Poet greedy of amorous Imbraces, since *Homer* the Author of that Story, does plainly declare, he does not think it probable, that a Husband should be in such Transports for his Wife. 'Tis with this Notion, that he (c) supposes that *Juno* was not satisfied with putting on her best Rigging, but besides, had the Policy to borrow *Venus*'s *Cestus*, an inevitable Charm, a Philtre, that never failed to produce its Effect. 'Tis to the Assistance of that Loan, that he attributes *Juno*'s Power of inspiring her Husband with so violent a Fit of Love. There would have been many other things (d) to be censured in *Montagne*'s Story, had not he had the Prudence to quote *Plato*. Wherefore he is not to be called in Question upon the Faults of this Philosopher; but we must apply our selves to *Plato*.

'Tis certain, that he unfaithfully relates *Homer*'s Story; His Words are these: (e) [illegible] *Jovem cæteris tum Diis, tum hominibus dormientibus, omnium quæ vigilando tractaverat rerum veneremm cupiditate oblitum, & usque adeo visa Junone tectus sum esse, ut nec domum venire sustinuerit, sed illum humi congredi statim voluerit dicens vehementius se cupidine inflammari, quàm olim cùm primum clam parentibus invicem congressi fuerunt.* Plato means, that one of the Things, for which *Homer*'s Poems ought to be prohibited, is that we there find, that whilst the other Gods and Men are at rest, *Jupiter* can't sleep for a lewd Temptation, and forgets all the Resolutions he had made; and that upon the Sight of his Wife, he is transported with such a vehement Passion, as prompts him to lie with her immediately, without giving her time to go to Bed, &c. I say once more, *Plato* alters the Story: for *Homer* does not say, that the other Gods were asleep, or that Men were at rest. He says on the contrary, that the *Greeks* and *Trojans* were vigorously fighting, and that *Neptune* was in Action against the *Trojans*. Neither does he say, that *Jupiter* forgot his Resolutions; he supposes that *Jupiter* was posted upon the Top of Mount *Ida*, and that *Juno* seeing him there, form'd a Design of possessing him with a desire of lying with her. He supposes, that in order to execute this Project, she went and washed her Body, she dress'd and tricked up her self, as fine as she could, and provided her self with *Venus*'s Girdle. Whereby he undertakes to describe *Jupiter* as a very amorous God, since the most potent Charms were contained in that Girdle (f). I don't go about to excuse him: I grant that *Plato* most justly condemns him; for in short, 'tis a most scandalous thing thus to play upon the chief of ones Gods. The Eagerness of *Jupiter* was not so great, but that it gave him time to repeat a long Catalogue of his Mistresses. Some think that *Homer* do's not place this Story well; 'tis not, say they, Prudence in a Husband to represent the foul Play he has been guilty of; it does not seem a good way of cajoling her. Others justify *Homer*, by reason that it must needs be very agreeable to a Wife to hear her Husband say, that she feels a greater Passion for her, than he ever did he feels a greater Passion for her, than he ever did for such and such Mistresses upon the first Enjoyment. This is what *Jupiter*'s Declaration becomes to (g). I add, that *Homer* has preserv'd Decorum on *Juno*'s behalf. He brings her in representing to her Husband the Inconvenience that might happen, if any God should see 'em lying together upon Mount *Ida*, and should go and give others notice of it; but, said she, since you have a mind to it, let us go into your Chamber. *Jupiter* did not content to that Expedient, but he found another; which was to fall about his Wife's loud

(m) *Id. ib.*
(n) *Id. ib.*
(o) *Id. lib. 3. pag. 99.*
(p) *Terent. in Andr. act. 3. sc. 1.*
(q) *Festus pag. m. CXXXIX.*
(r) *Mart. Capella de nuptiis philologiæ lib. 2. pag. m. 37.*
(s) *Festus, pag. m. LXIII.*
(t) *Mart. Capella ubi supra.*
(v) *August. de civit. Dei lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. m. 618.*
(w) Hesiod. in Theog. See Meziriac upon Ovid's *Epistles, pag.* 638. & seq.
(x) *Catullus epig.* 35. *Horat. od.* 22. *lib.* 3. & *alii alii.*
(y) See Meziriac, ibid.
(z) See Kippingus in Antiq. Romanis, l. 1. c. 1. n. 15. pag. m. 24, 25.
(*) *This was performed by taking up the Child which the Midwife had laid on the Ground.*
(‖) See Aulus Gellius l. 16. c. 17. *where he says after* Varro, Deus Vaticanus.
(a) *Aulus Gellius, lib. 16. cap. 16.*
(b) *Montagne, Essays, B. 1. chap. 29. p. m. 309.*
(c) *Iliad. l. 14.*
(d) *See the Letters* h *and* i, *hereunder.*
(e) *Plato de Republ. lib. 3. p. m. 212. A.*
(f) [illegible]
(g) [illegible]

In eo autem delimmenta omnia inclusa erant: Ibi inerat quidam amor, inerat desiderium, inerat & amantium colloquium, Blandiloquentia quæ furtim furripit mentem prudentium licet. *Homerus Iliad. l. 14. v. 215.*

Nos autem age in amore convertamur in lecto dormiemus. Non enim unquam mihi sic Deus amor neque Mulieris Animum in Pectoribus circumfusus domuit, neque quando captus fui amore Ixionianorum, &c. *Homer. ib. vers.* 314

Place where *Juno* was educated: Some say it was at *Samos* *: Others say it was (*I*) in the Ocean, *&c.* but there was no Town where she was more honoured (*K*), than at *Argos*. She was also much (*L*) respected at *Carthage*, and at *Olympia*. There was in this last Town Sixteen Ladies appointed Overseers of the Games, which were celebrated to her Honour every Five Years. Three Classes of young Maids disputed there the Prize of the Race, and came down to run at the *Olympick* Games. The victorious Ladies received a Crown of Olive. The same Ladies made a *Peplus* † which they consecrated to this Goddess every Five Years *. *Jupiter*'s Unfaithfulness to his Wife

* *See the Remark* I.

† *A Kind of Gown or Veil.*

* *Ex Pausania, lib.* 5. *cap.* 16. *p. m.* 417.

Cloud so thick, that the Sun it self could not see thro' it, and it was under this Cloud that he satisfied his Passion. He did not *throw his Wife upon the Floor*, as *Montagne* says; but upon the hard Ground in an open place. 'Tis true, the Earth immediately sent forth (*b*) Flowers and Grass, which served instead of a good Quilt. Neither *Homer* nor *Plato* make *Jupiter* say, what *Montagne* does, that *he was as much pleased at that time, as when he first lay with her unknown to her Parents*. *Homer* says only (*i*) that *Jupiter* perceiving *Juno*, felt the same Passion as when he went to lie with her the first time. I am willing it should be said, to excuse *Montagne*, that he did not believe there was a great Difference betwixt these two Things.

(*I*) *Others say it was in the Ocean.*] She affirms it her self, in her Discourse to *Venus*, when she borrowed her *Cestus* (*k*). She tells her, that she wanted it to reconcile the Ocean with his Wife *Thetys*, who had not lain together for a long time. Her Gratitude for the good Education she had received with them, inguged her to make a Voyage to reconcile 'em. She promises her self, that she shall for ever be loved and esteemed by 'em, if she can persuade 'em to lie in the same Bed.

(*b*) *Id. ib.* v. 347.

(*i*) *His Words may be seen in the Remark* A. *Letter* I.

(*k*) *See also what she says to Oceanus, and Tethys in Ov. Met. l.* 2. *desiring them to exclude the Constellation of the Bear.*

Δὶς (*l*) τόν μοι φιλότητα ἰμείρω, ὄφρα κε οἱ πάντας
Δώμαθ' ὑπνώοντας ἐπὶ θυόεντι καθείρξω.
Κοίμα γὰρ ἐλθοῦσα παλαμήσεσι πειρήσω χαίτης,
Ὡς κέν τοι θυόν χλιδήν, ἠ μάλιστα τεθύῃ,
Οἵ μ' ἐν σφετέρῃ δόμῳ ἔσσυτο ἐσσυμένως ἐπιτελλων;
. . . . . .
Τὰς ἔμμ' ἐλθοῦσαν, ἠ νῦ κάρηϊ νίσσα λύσω,
Ἠδὲ γὰρ ἔστιν χρέος ἄλλοθεν ἀπίχεσθαι
Ἐνθάδε ἠ φιλότητος. ἐπεὶ χόλος ἰμερτὴν θυμὸν, &c.

(*l*) Homer. Iliad. l. 14. v. 198. Juno *repeats the same thing upon Mount* Ida, *when* Jupiter *asks her whether she is going.* Ib. v. 301.

Da nunc mihi amorem & desiderium, quo tu omnes
Domas immortales atque mortales homines:
Vado enim visura alma fines terræ,
Oceanumque deorum parentem, & matrem Tethyn,
Qui me in suis ædibus magna curâ nutrierunt & educarunt,
. . . . . .
Hos vado visura, ipsis ut difficiles compositu lites dirimam.
Jam enim diuturno tempore inter se abstinent
Cubili & amore, ira enim invasit animum, &c.

(*k*) *Lib.* 1. *v.* 15.

Had she had *Venus*'s *Cestus* to her Lot, that Charm so effectual to change the Conduct of married People, who lie by themselves, she had with much reason been made President of Marriages; but she wanted to borrow the pacifick Method, and Potent Instrument of Reconciliation: Why was not this Employment given to the Goddess, from whom the *Cestus* was to be borrowed? I leave it to those who are at Leisuure, to enquire into the Reasons of it.

As for her Education at *Samos*, consult *Pausanius*, who says, that the Inhabitants of that Island maintained, that *Juno* was born there under a little Tree, which they still shew'd (*m*). The Temple of this Goddess was very ancient (*n*). Every Body remembers these Words of the *Æneid*: (*o*) *Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam, Posthabita coluisse Samo.* The Isle was called *Parthenia* (*p*), because *Juno* was educated there, when she was a Virgin. There it was also, that her Marriage with *Jupiter* was celebrated; whence she came to be represented in her Temple as a Maid, that is a Marrying, and the Anniversary of her Feast was kept like a Wedding. *Insulam Samum scribit Varro prius Parthenian nominatam, quod ibi Juno adoleverit, ibique etiam Jovi nupserit. Itaque nobilissimum, & antiquissimum Templum ejus est Sami, & simulacrum in habitu nubentis figuratum, & sacra ejus anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur* (*n*).

(*m*) *Pausanias, lib.* 7. *p.* 209.

(*n*) *Id. ib.*

(*o*) *Lib.* 1. *v.* 15.

(*p*) Scholiast. Apollonii in lib. 4. *He says upon the* 187. *Verse of the* 1*st. Book, that the* Imbrasus, *a River of* Samos, *was called* Ἴμβρασος, *because* Juno *was brought up there when she was a Maid.*

(*K*) *More honoured than at* Argos.] The Argivi pretended, that *Juno* was bred up by the three Daughters of the River *Asterion*. One of them was call'd *Euboea*; whose Name was given to the Mountain upon which *Juno*'s Temple was built: *Eupolemus* a Native of *Argos* was the Architect of it: In the Porch of it stood the Statues of all the Priestesses of that Goddess (*b*): their Office was very considerable, as I have observed, speaking of the unfortunate (*c*) Priestess, who occasioned the burning of the Temple. *Pausanias* says (*d*) she made her escape to the Altar of *Pallas* at *Tegea*, and that the Indignation of the *Argivi* did not move them to throw down her Statue. He says, that the most ancient Image of the Goddess was made of a wild Pear-tree. It was carefully preserved. *Piras* the Son of *Argus* removed it to *Tyrinthus*; but the *Argivi* having demolished that Town, restored it to the Temple of *Juno*. See *Benedictus* upon *Pindar* (*f*) concerning the Games that were celebrated at *Argos*, in Honour of this Goddess. See also the Commentators of *Horace*, upon these Words of the 7th. Ode of the 1*st*. Book.

(*a*) *Lactant. lib.* 1. *c.* 17. *p. m.* 54. *See also St.* Augustin de civit. Dei lib. 6. c. 7.

(*b*) *Ex Pausania, lib.* 2. *pag.* 59.

(*c*) *See the Article* Chrysis.

(*d*) Pausan. ibid. *See also, l.* 3. *p.* 86.

(*e*) *Id. ib.*

(*f*) *Pag.* 142. 628.

Plurimus in Junonis honorem
Aptum dicit equis Argos.

Silius Italius, to shew *Juno*'s Fondness of Carthage, says that she prefers it before *Argos* and *Mycenæ*.

Hic (*g*) *Juno ante Argos* (*sic credidit alta vetustas*)
Ante Agamemnoniam gratissima tecta Mycenæ,
Optavit profugis æternam condere sedem.

(*g*) *Silius Italicus lib.* 3. *init.* 26.

According to *Homer* (*h*) the three Towns that *Juno* loved best, were *Argos*, *Lacedæmon*, and *Mycenæ*. 'Tis strange he says nothing of *Samos*, the only place that *Virgil* mentions, when he speaks of the Preference of *Carthage*.

(*h*) *Iliad.* l. 4. v. 51.

I'll say something of the Founder of *Juno*'s Temple at *Argos*, by which we shall discover the Antiquity of this Edifice. *Phoroneus* the Son of *Inachus*, caused it to be built; and was the first who Armed this Goddess, in recompence whereof, he was the first that reigned. *Phoroneus Inachi filius templum Argis Junoni primus fecit*, says *Hyginus* in his 225th. Chapter, and Chapter 274. *Phoroneus Inachi filius, arma Junoni primus fecit, qui ob eam causam primus regnandi potestatem habuit.* Some Criticks instead of *Arma*, will have it read *Aram*, or *Sacra*, but others maintain the common reading, and confirm it by a Passage of *Cassiodorus*, in the 18th. Chapter of the 7th. Book *Variorum*. See the Commentators upon *Hyginus* in the *Amsterdam* Edition, 1681. As for the Antiquity of *Phoroneus*, see *Scaliger*, pag. 19. of his Notes upon *Eusebius's Chronicon*. 'Tis sufficient to remember, that *Phoroneus* was Contempotary with *Abraham*, or wanted but little of it.

(*L*) *And so she was at* Carthage.] I a long time thought that *Virgil* made use of a Poetical License, without any regard to History, when he represented *Carthage* (*i*) as *Juno*'s beloved City: Nor did I think my self obliged to change my Opinion, for seeing in *Ovid* and *Silius Italicus*, the Confirmation of *Virgil*'s Assertion; for one cannot reasonably doubt, that he was the Occasion of *Ovid*'s making *Juno* speak thus (*k*).

(*i*) *Æneid. l.* 1. *circa init.*

Juniteat quod non fovi Carthaginis arces,
Cum mea sint illo currus & arma loco:

(*k*) *Fastor. lib.* 6.

A 2

Wife was so much the more inexcusable, because *Juno* had the secret (*M*) of growing a Maid again every Year. Her Love for (*N*) *Jason* has not been much Talk'd off. She got out of the Snare (*O*) that *Ixion* laid for her. If we believe some Authors, she had no Child by her Husband; and whenever she Conceiv'd, she did it (*P*) in a manner intirely Miraculous: But she had Milk as is usual; and it may well be suppos'd, since she Suckled a Bastard of her Husband. He was oblig'd to use Stratagems

(*l*) *In the foregoing Remark, Letter g.*

(*m*) *Apulejus l. 6. Metam. circa init.*

(*n*) *It was said that her Statue had been Consecrated by* Dido, *when she built* Carthage. *See* Herodian *l. 5. c. 6.*

(*n*) *I shall say in the Remark V. something concerning the Temples she had in* Italy.

(*p*) *See* Homer *in the Hymn to* Apollo, *where he says that* Juno *left her Husband for a year, by reason of* Minerva's *Birth.*

Ὡς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν· ἐπὶ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεὺς
Ἥρης ἐξαπίνης, ἣ οἱ φίλον ἦτορ ἔρυκε
Νυκτὸς ἀμολγαίης· ἐπὶ δ' ἔκλυε Κρονίδαο
Ἥρη, καὶ ῥ' ἔπεσιν μετεφώνεεν ἀγλαὸν υἱόν.

Nunquam ad cœlile Jovis templum confiliarii, Nunquam ad thronum variis, fraudi artes Cum ipso sedens, sapientia consultans consilia.

(*q*) *Erasmus in Ecclesiaste, apud Colomiés, Rome Protestante, p. 25.*

(*r*) *Call'd* Canathus. *It was in* Peloponnesus. *See* Pausanias *l. 2. fub. fin. p. 80.*

(*s*) *Cæsar de Rochefort, Diction. general & curieux, p. 612.* 613.

As also of *Silius Italicus*'s venting the Notion we have seen above (*l*). But having consider'd other Passages of several Authors, I began to imagine that *Virgil*'s Hypothesis was founded on Tradition. *Psyche*'s Prayer is not of the least Force with me: *Magni Jovis germana*, says she (*m*), *& conjux: sive tu Samia, quæ querulo partu vagituque & alimonia tua gloriaris, tenes vetusta delubra; sive celsæ Carthaginis, quæ te virginem vectura leonis cælo commeantem percolit, beatas sedes frequentas: sive prope ripas Inachi, qui te jam nuptam Tonantis, & reginam deorum memorat, inclytis Argivorum præsides manibus: quam cunctus orbis Zygiam veneratur, & omnis occidens Lucinam appellat: sis meis extremis casibus Juno Sospita, meque in tantis exantlatis laboribus defessam, imminentis periculi metu libera.* This concerns *Juno* directly, without Ambiguity. *Herodian*'s Passage concerning *Urania* (*n*) of *Carthage*, does not seem to have the same weight; for it induces us to believe that this *Urania* was not *Juno*, but the Moon. Now I don't consider here the Theology of those who reduce many of the *Pagan* Gods into one; I only keep to the publick Notions, according to which, *Juno* was Worshipp'd as the Sister and Wife of *Jupiter*, and as a distinct Object from *Minerva*, *Diana*, the Moon, *Proserpine*, *&c.* I can't think upon the Worship that was paid to this Goddess in so many places (*o*), and with so much Pomp, without believing there were mixed with it, I know not what Impressions of the Custom, which is observ'd with respect to Women. When a Woman has a share in the Government, she is much more Serv'd, Honour'd, and Respected than a Man in the same Authority. Consider how the Wives of the Governours of Provinces are Courted, when they are known to have a great Interest. The Honours that are paid to them exceed those that are given their Husbands. This is the Practice of the Earth, and it is carried into Heaven. *Jupiter* was serv'd as a King, and *Juno* as an Ambitious, Haughty, and Revengeful Queen, who divided with him the Government of the World, and (*p*) Assisted in all his Councils. I dare say that the Extravagances the Christians are fallen into, towards the *Virgin Mary*, which go beyond all that the *Heathens* invented in Honour of *Juno*, are owing to the same Original, I mean to the custom of Honouring Women, and making one's Court to them, with greater Zeal and Reverence than to the other Sex. People cannot be without Women either in a Civil or Religious Life. He that should take from the *Romish* Communion the Devotion to Saints, and especially to her whom they call the Queen of Heaven, and the Queen of Angels, would leave a frightful Gap in it: The rest would fall in Pieces, and would be *arena sine calce, scopa dissoluta. Erasmus* blaming the Custom of Saluting the *Virgin Mary* in the Pulpit, after the beginning of the Sermon, says (*q*), *That it is contrary to the Example of all the Antients, who were rather to be imitated, than such sort of People, as perhaps to please Women, have herein trod in the Steps of the* Heathens.

(*M*) *Of growing a Maid again every year.*] This she did only by washing in a Fountain (*r*). *Juno took great care*, says (*s*) the Writer of a Dictionary, *to Wash her self every year in Fountain* Canathus *near* Nauplia, *which at present is call'd* Napoli di Romania, *where she constantly recover'd her Virginity, which made her belov'd by* Jupiter. Pausan. lib. 8. 'Tis not true that *Pausanias* observes that she hereby made herself lov'd by *Jupiter*. He only says that the *Argivi* spoke of this return of *Juno*'s Virginity, and grounded this Discourse upon the Practice of their occult Ceremonies in the Mysteries of this Goddess. There are many Writers, who quoting an Author, are guilty of making him say whatever they think he should have said. This was the occasion of imputing to *Pausanias* what he did not say. The Author of this false imputation, was probably full of what he had been relating: 'Diego 'de Torres's History of the *Cherifs* says that a-'mongst the Felicities the *Turks* hope for in a-'nother Life, they believe their Wives will bring 'them new Maidenheads, cap. 74. The Fountain of Youth, so Celebrated by our old Poets and Romancers, had not a Vertue comparable to that of *Canathus*.

(*N*) *Her Love for* Jason.] Some Authors say that *Jason* owed the Friendship and Protection of this Goddess to a good Service he had done her, without knowing, who she was. *Juno* disguis'd like an Old Woman, desired him to convey her over a River: He did it, and lost one of his Shoes by the Bargain. But others say he ow'd to his Beauty the interest he had in her. *Juno* could not withstand so many Charms, but grew passionately fond of the handsome Youth. (*a*) These are the Authors who mention the other Story. (*b*) *Pelias*

——*forte citat Jasonem nudo pede venisse, qui dum Junonem transmutatam in anus speciem credens mortalem petentem per vadum fluminis transferret, alterum ex caligis in limo amiserat.*

You'll find in *Hyginus* (*c*) the same particular more largely described, with the Marks of Gratitude which *Juno* gave him. *Valerius Flaccus* supposes that it was in a very dismal Weather, that she receiv'd this Kindness; and he adds that *Jason* discover'd her to be a Goddess, by the Light that seiz'd her, because she knew the Thunder to be the Voice of *Jupiter*, who call'd her home. It was therefore at a time of Elopement: She had left her Husband, and had no great Inclination to return.

Omnipotens regina, inquit, quam turbidus æthra
Æthere cærulcum quateret cum Jupiter imbrem,
Ipse ego præcipiti tumidum per Enipea nimbo
In campos & tuta tuli, nec credere quivi
Ante diem, quam te tonitru nutuque repostæ
Conjugis, & subita raptam formidine vidi (d).

(*O*) *The Snares that* Ixion *laid for her.*] *Ixion* having Committed a (*e*) Parricide of which he could find no Body to absolve him, receiv'd at last this good Office from *Jupiter* himself. For which he was so ungrateful, as to Attempt to Graft Horns on his Benefactor's Head: He fell in Love with *Juno*, and earnestly press'd her to the Point. But she refus'd him, and complain'd of the affront to *Jupiter*, who desiring to be Witness of this baseness, form'd a Cloud just like his Wife, and left it to *Ixion*'s Discretion, who us'd it as Amorous People use to do. Hence came the Race of the Centaurs. He boasted afterwards to have lain with *Juno*; which, as is said, putting *Jupiter* out of Patience, made him throw him into Hell, and Condemn him to the Punishment of the Wheel (*f*). He did not act like a Jealous Husband: Is there any *Italian* who would suffer his Wife's Gallants to gratify their Passion with her Figure. He would hinder, if he could, their Divertion with her in Imagination or in a Dream.

(*P*) *In a manner intirely Miraculous.*] According to the common Opinion, she was Mother but of three Children, *Mars*, *Vulcan*, and *Hebe*. As for *Mars*, she Conceiv'd him by the touch of a Flower, which *Flora* shew'd her. She had a mind to be Reveng'd of her Husband, who had produc'd *Minerva* without her Assistance, and to shew him that she could do as much without the Concurrence of any Male.

Protinus (g) hærentem decerpit pollice florem,
Tangitur, & tacto concipit illa sinu.
Jamque gravis Tirynthi & laudi Promethidos instat,
Pulsque potens vobis, Marsque creatus erat.

(*a*) Ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ ἐπὶ Λίμνην διῆλθε τὸν Ἥραν ἐπὶ τῷ ὤμῳ τὸν Ἰάσονα ἔχων, ἀπώλεσε τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ὑποδημάτων. Ἰάσονα τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἐκ Φερῶν ἐλθόντα εἰς Ἰωλκόν. Ἰάσονα τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἐκ Φερῶν ἐλθόντα εἰς Ἰωλκόν. Jasonem fuisse pulchrum hinc patet, quod juxta quotidam ipsa Juno insano amore eum prosecuta fuerit. *Schol. Pindari in Pyth. Od. 4. apud Meziria in Epist. Ovidii. p. 540.*

(*b*) *Servius in Eclog. 4. Virgil. v. 34.*

(*c*) *Hygin cap. 12. See also c. 13. Apollonius Rhodius, l. 3. v. 66.*

(*d*) *Valer. Flaccus Argon. l. v. 81.*

(*e*) *He had treacherously kill'd his Wife's Father.*

(*f*) *Taken from* Natalis Comes *Mytholog. l. 6. c. 12. Adding some few Circumstances, all that is to be found in* Diodorus Siculus, *l. 4. c. 71. See also* Lucian *in Deor. dialogis p. 132. & seq. tom. 1.*

(*g*) *Ovid. Fasto. l. 5.*

The Honours she received (V) in other Towns of *Italy* were very great. She wrought there many Miracles. She had a Temple at *Falerii*, before *Rome* was built. It was like that of *Argos*, and the same Ceremonies were used in it as the *Argivi* had consecrated to her Worship. This we learn from *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* in the 21st. Chapter of the first Book.

I would fain know whether any of the Wise Men among the Heathens took notice of a thing, which methinks was not difficult to apprehend, which is, that no Body did partake less of a happy Life, a State most essential * to the Divine Nature, than the greatest of the Goddesses. We can scarce conceive a more miserable Condition than *Juno*'s. I don't go upon the Character of her Employments, though they were

* Quæ nobis natura informationem Deorum ipsorum dedit, eadem infundit in mentibus ut eos æternos & beatos haberemus. *Cicero de nat. Deor. lib.* 1. *p. m.* 76. *see also* Aristotle de repub. lib. 7. cap. 1. pag. m. 321. E. *See also the Remark* l. *of the Article* Spinoza, n. V.

(a) *Virgil. Æn. lib.* 12. *v.* 838.

(b) *Cicero orat. pro Murena sub fin.*

(c) *Livius, lib.* 8. *pag. m.* 224.

(d) *Appian. l.* 5. *de bello civil. p. m.* 389.

(e) *Elian. histor. Animal. l.* 11. *c.* 16.

(f) *Cicer. de nat. deor. l.* 1. *p. m.* 116.

(g) *Lud. Nonnius in Goltzii Græc.*

(h) Ubi supra. *See also* Propertius *elegy* 8. *l.* 4.

(i) *See the Letter* x *in the next Column.*

(k) *Valer. Maximus, lib.* 1. *c.* 1.

(l) *Cicero, lib.* 1. *de divinat.*

(m) In Lucinæ Junonis ara sub dio sita, cinere immobilem esse perflantibus undique procellis. *Plin. l.* 2. *c.* 107. Valerius Maximus, *lib.* 1. *c.* 8. *in exempl. extern.*

dire. *This was the Reparation they were obliged to make, by sacrificing a Lamb to her, with their Hair hanging loose.* In a Word, we may say, that it was not by too bold an Hyperbole, that *Virgil* introduced *Jupiter* promising his Spouse, that the Descendents of *Æneas* should serve her more devoutly than all the other Nations. This Dialogue is one of the finest Incidents of the *Æneid*. *Juno* engages to persecute *Æneas* no longer, and asks a Favour as a recompence for her desisting. I advise my Readers to go to the Fountain Head: I shall only produce these Four Verses.

Hinc (a) genus, Ausonio mistum quod sanguine surget,
Supra hominem, supra ire Deos pietate videbis.
Nec gens ullatenus æquè celebrabit honores.
Annuit his Juno, & mentem lætata retorsit.

(V) *The Honours she received in other Towns of Italy.*] She was worshipped under the Title of *Sospita*, with great Devotion at *Lanuvium*, near *Rome*, in the *via Appia*. The *Romans* were so fond of this Worship, that their Consuls were obliged in the beginning of their Consulship, to go and pay their Homages to this *Juno*. (f) *Nolite à sacris propitiis Junonis Sospitæ, cum omnes Consules facere necesse est, domesticum & suum Consulem potissimum avellere.* When the Inhabitants of *Lanuvium* were made *Roman* Citizens, it was ordained, that this Worship should be common to them with the People of *Rome*. (g) *Lanuvinis civitas data, fanumque sua redditâ cum eo ut ades lucusque Sospitæ Junonis communis Lanuvinis Municipibus cum populo Romano esset.* There was a Treasure in this Goddess's Temple, out of which *Augustus* took great Summs, and promised to pay Interest for it (h). It is thought that this Temple was founded by the *Pelasgi*, who came originally from *Peloponnesus*, which Opinion is supported by *Elian*'s (i) calling this *Juno* of *Lanuvium*, *Juno Argolica*. Here is the Attire of this Goddess. *Nostram Sospitam——in nunquam ne in somnis quidem vides nisi cum pelle caprina, cum calceolis repandis* (k). 'Tis not observed in this Passage, whether the Goat's Skin was adorned with Horns; but there are very learned Men who do not doubt of it. 'Tis certain that *Juno* of *Lanuvium* had her Head vail'd with a Goat-Skin, set off with true Horns, which is plainly to be seen in *Goltzius*'s Roman Medals, and in that mentioned by *Vigenere*, in his Annotations upon *Livy*. Thus Mr. *de Girac* speaks in the 65th. Section, and 356th. Page of his Reply. You'll find in the Margin of his Book, the following Passage: *Romani Junonem Sospitam colebant, cujus caput pellis caprina cum cornibus exornabat* (l). Mind this: The Serpent of the Temple of *Lanuvium* was something miraculous; it knew whether young Women had lost their Virginity or not. See *Ælian* (l).

Juno LACINIA, whose Temple was Six Miles from *Crotona*, was wonderfully famous. This Temple (m) was twice as large as the largest in *Rome*. It was covered with Marble, part whereof was brought to *Rome* to cover the Temple of *Fortuna Equestris*, which the Censor *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* was building: but as he came to a miserable end, the Senate ordered the Marble to be carried to the same Place it was taken from (n). *Annibal* did not execute the Design of carrying away the Column of Gold, which was in the Temple of this *Juno* (o). *Pliny* relates, that the Ashes, which were left on the Altar of this Goddess, being exposed to all the Injuries of the Air, never moved from their Place (p). *Servius* tells another Miracle; if any one inscrib'd his Name upon the Tiles of this Temple, the Letters vanished away when that Man died. (q) *In hoc templo illud miraculi fuisse dicitur, ut si quis ferro in tegula templi, ipsius nomen incideret, tamdiu illa Scriptura maneret, quamdiu is homo viveret qui illud scripsisset. Livy* speaks of another Miracle, which is, that the Beasts of every kind, that were consecrated to this Goddess, fed on the Meadows of the Temple, without being tended, and retired at Night of themselves, being undisturbed either by Wild-Beasts or Thieves. (r) *Læta in medio pascua habuit* (Lucus) *ubi omnis generis ferarum dea pascebatur pecus sine ullo pastore: separatimque egressi cujusque generis greges, nocte remeabant ad stabula, nunquam insidiis ferarum non fraude violati hominum.* He gives sufficient Intimation, that he would not swear to the Truth of it; and that the Story of the unmoveable Ashes had no greater certainty. Generally, says he, some Miracles are ascribed to such sort of Places. * *Miracula aliqua affinguntur plerumque tam insignibus locis. Fama est aram esse in vestibulo templi, cujus cinerem nullus unquam moveat Ventus.* No Body understands this better than the Christian Monks. He adds, that this Temple was famous, not only for its Holiness, but also for its Riches (s).

'Tis no Wonder, that there have been different Opinions concerning the Founder of this Temple, and the Occasion of its Foundation; for all People are inclined to invent a Thousand pretty Things upon such sort of Matters. *Strabo* (t), who relates, amongst other Opinions, that King *Lacinius* caused it to be built, because *Juno* hated *Hercules*, whom he had refus'd to lodge. But if *Strabo*'s Narrations ought not to supprize us, we can't however but wonder, that Authors are not agreed about the Situation of this Building. *Livy* places it Six Miles from *Crotona*: *Sex millia aberat ab urbe* (v) *nobile templum ipsa urbe nobilius, Lacinia Junonis, sanctum omnibus circa populis* (w). But *Valerius Maximus* says, it was at *Locri*, which is not the only point wherein he differs from *Livy*. His Words are these, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus impune non tulit quod in cenſura tegulas marmoreas ex Junonis Lacinia templo in ædem Fortunæ Equestris, quam Roma faciebat, transtulit. Negatur enim, post hoc factum, mente constitisse: quin etiam per summam ægritudinem animi expiravit, cum ex duobus filiis in Illyrico militantibus, alterum decessisse, alterum graviter audisset affectum. Cujus casu motus senatus tegulas illico Locros reportandas curavit: detectique circumspectissima sanctione impium opus conſoris retexuit* (x). I have followed this Narrative above, as to the Motive that ingaged the Senate to restore the Tiles; but I reserved to my self the right of rectifying things as there was occasion, by *Livy*'s Relation. You must therefore know, that this grave Historian observes, that the Censor *Fulvius Flaccus* was extreamly follicitous that the Temple he built should, neither in Magnificence nor Extent, come behind any in *Rome*. He thought a Marble Roof would give great Lustre to his Edifice; for which reason he ordered half of the Temple of *Juno Lucinia* to be uncovered (y), which was sufficient for his Design. Having got those Marble Tiles brought to *Rome*, he took care not to say what Place they came from; nevertheless, it was publickly known, which occasioned such Murmurs, that the Consuls were obliged to consult the Senate upon that Affair. The Senate ordered *Flaccus* to come before 'em, and having suffered him to be exposed, for some time, to all sorts of bitter Reproaches, they unanimously resolved, that the Tiles should be carried back to *Juno*'s Temple, and that the Goddess should be appeased by what the Ceremonies prescribed. *Livy*'s Words have so charmed me, that I am perswaded they will be very agreeable

(n) *Servius in Æneid. l.* 3. *v.* 552.

(o) *Livius lib.* 24. *circa init. p. m.* 380.

(p) Inclytum templum divitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit. *Id. ibid. See also* Strabo, l. 6. p. m. 180.

(q) *Servius ubi supra.*

(r) *In* Valerius Maximus, *put out by* Thysius, *p.* 27. *they make* Livy *say, that the Temple was in the Town,* In urbe nobile templum, ipsa urbe erat nobilius.

(s) *Livius ubi supra.*

(t) *Valer. Maximus, l.* 1. *c.* 1. *m.* 20.

(u) *Strabo in Italia, where he says, that Juno's Lacinia had a Temple in common with the Locrians, to which Sanctuary they had recourse.*

(v) *This is the reason why I said above after* Cluverius Ital. Antiq. *l.* 4. *c.* 15. *that the Temple of* Juno Lacinia was *thrice as large as the largest Temple in* Rome.

(w) *Livius ubi supra.*

(x) *Valer. Maximus, l.* 1. *c.* 1. *m.* 20.

(y) *Strabo, in Italia, where he says, that Juno's Lacinia had a Temple in common with the Locrians, to which Sanctuary they had recourse.*

were never so toilsome (X), and unpleasant, and have given just Occasion to turn the

ble to the greatest part of my Readers: the Expression is admirable, and full of noble Thoughts, (a) *Postquam censor rediit tegula exposita de navibus ad templum portabantur: quamquam unde essent silebatur, non tamen celari potuit. Premitur igitur in curia ortus est; ex omnibus partibus postulabatur, ut consules eam rem ad senatum referrent. Ut vero aperitus in curiam censor venit, multo infestius singuli universique præsentem lacerare: Templum augustissimum regionis ejus, quod non Pyrrhus, non Annibal violassent, violasse parum habuisse, nisi detexisset fœde ac prope diruisset. Detractum culmen templo, nudatum retectis patere imbribus putrefaciendum. Censorem moribus regendis creatum, cui sarta tecta exigere sacris publicis & loca tuenda more majorum traditum esset; eum per sociorum urbes diruentem templa, nudantemque tecta ædium sacrarum vagari, & quod, si in privatis sociorum ædificiis faceret, indignum videri posset, id Deûm immortalium templa demolientem facere, & obstringere religione populum Romanum, ruinis templorum templa ædificantem: tamquam non iidem ubique Dii immortales sint, sed spoliis aliorum alii colendi exornandique. Quum, priusquam referretur, apparet quid sentirent Patres; relatione facta in unam omnes sententiam ierunt, ut he tegulæ reportandæ in templum locarentur, piacularique Junoni fierent.* The Decree of the Senate was not executed in all its Parts: for they who were commissioned to see the Roof repaired, reported, that no Workman knew how to restore the Tiles to their Place (b), and so they were left in the Court of the Temple. *Flaccus* did not leave off building; he made an end of the Temple, and consecrated it, and exhibited the *Ludi Scenici* for four Days, and the *Circenses* one Day (c). Here is a notable difference betwixt *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus*, which shews that the latter has done a great Injury to the *Roman* Senate: He supposes, that she never thought of repairing the Damage, but they had seen the prodigious Vengeance that Heaven had inflicted on the Censor *Flaccus*. But *Livy* informs us, that the Senate performed that pious and just Action, upon the bare Consideration of the Fact; and before they saw any Signs of the Divine Indignation. He does not relate the miserable end of the Censor: Nay, he represents it more dismal than *Valerius Maximus*; for he says, that *Fulvius Flaccus* hang'd himself, and he adds, that 'twas said amongst the People, that *Juno* had deprived him of his Senses. (d) *Q. Fulvius Flaccus pontifex qui priore anno fuerat censor——fœda morte periit. Ex duobus filiis ejus qui tum in Illyrico militabant, nunciatum alterum decessisse, alterum grave & periculoso morbo ægrum esse. Obruit animum simul luctus, metusque: mane ingressi cubiculum servi, laqueo dependentem invenere. Erat opinio, post censuram minus compotem fuisse sui: vulgo Junonis Laciniæ iram ob spoliatum templum alienasse mentem ferebant.* What concerns the taking away of the Marble Tiles from *Juno*'s Temple, is said to have happen'd the 579th. Year of *Rome*.

(X) *The Character of her Employments, though they were never so toilsome and unpleasant, and have given just Occasion.*] She had the Superintendence of Marriages, and their Consequences. See *Virgil*'s Commentators upon these Words:

(e) *Mactant lectas de more bidentes*
Legiferæ Cereri, Phœboque patrique Lyæo:
Junoni ante omnes, cui VINCLA JUGALIA CURÆ.

They mention a Hundred such like Passages, and the Epithets *pronuba, jugalis, Ζυγία, γαμηλία, παννύχια*, &c. which were given to *Jupiter*'s Wife, because she presided over Matrimonial Engagements. This Employment required great Pains; the Particulars of it were innumerable, and 'twas very difficult to perform it to her Honour. If the Business had been only to make Matches, the Difficulties would not have been so considerable: The Disposition of the Subjects, and the Inclination of Nature, might have saved the Director General a great deal of Pains; but a Goddess of the first Rank was engaged by the Interests of her Reputation and Glory, to see that People should marry well: I mean, that the sorting of Conditions and Humours should form an indissoluble Bond of Affection and Concord, and therefore all Marriages that were ill-suited and unlucky, could not but give her a great deal of Trouble, as being so many Blots to her Reputation, and just Occations of reproaching her, that the Pains they had taken to invoke and worship her, on the Wedding-Day, were all lost Labour. All those who had a mind to abuse her, had a fair Opportunity; for in short, either she did all she could to procure happy Marriages, or she did not. If she did, there was reason to conclude, she was very miserable, since she had an Employment, which exhausted all her Strength and Industry; and yet she could not avoid being unsuccessful on a Thousand Occasions. That vast Number of Experiments, which shew'd the Vainness of her Pains, was a Proof either that she had a Subject to labour on, that was very difficult, or that her Power was very unsuccessful and inconsiderable. In the first case, her Misfortune, and the deplorable Cruelty of her Fate, or else her Imprudence, were manifest; for if she was not at Liberty to lay down her Employment, in which doing her best, she could not prevent ill Success on a Thousand Occations, she deserved to be pitied. But if she might have resigned her Office, and yet obstinately continued in it, she wanted Judgment (f) and Prudence, and maintained her self unjustly in a Function which exceeded her Strength, and which she discharged to her Dishonour. It had been a poor Excuse to say, that her good Designs were thwarted by the capricious Frolicks of another Goddess.

Sic (g) *visum Veneri, cui placet impares*
Formas, atque animos sub juga ahenea
Sævo mittere cum joco.

This had been to confess the Limitation and Dependence of her Power, a mortifying Confession, beyond all that can be imagined for a Goddess so haughty as *Juno* was. This is what might be said, supposing that she discharged her Duty to the best of her Power; but if it had been supposed, that she could have succeeded better, she would have been look'd upon, as guilty of extream Negligence, or Malice, and consequently, as most unworthy of the Honours that were paid her, and of the Dignity she was invested with. These are Reflections, which the Heathens should have made. Now the result of these Thoughts is to determine, that her Condition was very unhappy, whether by reason of the great Pains her Employment required, or because of the ill Success they were attended with. Her Dignity and her Sex, made her wonderfully sensible of Contempt and Disgrace; and we can't imagine, but she had Sense enough not to be ignorant of what might be said against her Administration, and to believe, that the other (h) Gods reflected upon her, and that if they had the Complaisance not to do it to her Face, or not to tell her what was said of her, they would not fail to asperse her behind her Back, or at least to think meanly of her. There needs no more to vex one that's touchy, ambitious and Proud: if he is sensible that his Faults are known to others, that's enough to disquiet him.

All the Reflections I have produced might have been made with respect to *Juno*, as she presided over Child-Births. What a Trouble was this! 'Twas the way not to be at rest one Moment, and to be forced to work in a Thousand Places at once. This Office is subject to many unpleasant Accidents. The Industry of the best Chirurgeons does not hinder many Children that come across, some one way, and some another, from dying with their Mothers. These Misfortunes were so many Heaps of Reproach for the Censurers of *Juno* who duly invoked under particular and specifical Names, (i) according to the Exigency of the Case. I know well enough, that it may be very probably maintained, that all the Deities who presided over Marriages, Child-Births, &c. ought not to be reduced to her alone, under different Names; but on the other side, it is very likely, that all

(a) *Livius ibid.*

(b) Quæ ad religionem pertinent cum eam facta: tegulas relictas in area templi, quia reponendarum nemo adhibitus erat, ne inde inauspicatio oriretur, potuerit, redemptores munierunt. *Id. ib. p. 818.*

(c) Ludos item Fortunæ equestri, quam Proconsul in Hispania dedicaverat Celtiberorum regionibus voverat, annos sex postquam voverat, dedicavit, & scenicos ludos per quatriduum, unum diem in circo fecit *Id. ib. p. 812.*

(d) *Id. ib. p. 819.*

(e) *Virgil. Æn. lib. 4. v. 57.*

(f) Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est. *Horat. epist. 7. lib. 1. v. ult.*

(g) *Horat. ode 33. lib. 1.*

(h) *The Heathens believed that Jealousies, Quarrels, Divisions, and such like Disorders prevailed among the Gods.*

(i) *See the Remarks (D).*

from *Hercules* * in her right Breast. 'Tis said that after the Consummation of her Marriage, she washed her self in a Fountain Situated betwixt *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and that from that time (*BB*) the Waters of that Fountain had a most agreeable Smell, which Perfumed the Air round about it. *Juno* was Handsome, and for that Reason *Ju-*

(r) Christopher Deffrans, Esquire, *Seigneur de la Jalouziere & de la Chaslonniere near Nyort in Poitou, Book* 11. *of his* Histoires des Poëtes *fol.* 225. *verso Printed at Niort* 1595. *He only put into Verse what* John le Maire de Belges *ubi infra had said in Prose.*

Car (r) vostre discord gist à vos formositez,
De contempler vos corps, vos naïves beautez,
Prudement discerner le choix, l'equipolance,
Laquelle est la plus belle en face, & corpulance.
Les Déesses alors eurent timidité,
Parce qu'il leur falloit monstrer leur nudité.
Toutesfois à lombrage un peu se retirerent,
En lieu d'une antichambre, ou se desbabillerent
A part l'une de lautre, ou leurs Nymphes avoient
Qui honorablement en cela les servoient.
Quand eurent desfublé escoffions & guimples,
Leurs couronnes tourets, destaché leurs espingles,
Morrion & chappeaux, ceintures, fermaillets,
Chesnes, bagues,, carquans, bullettes, bracelets,
Robes, & cotillons, leurs manteaux & cuirace,
Leurs habits pleins d' odeurs, de tresgrande efficace.
Toutesfois retenoient leurs escarpins dorez,
Bravement enrichis decoupez & ouvrez,
De peur que l'aigu bout des pointues berbettes
Leurs plantes n'offensast fort tendres & douillettes.
Ainsi nuës estant toutes trois vont marcher
Devant le beau Paris, & droit si vont ranger.

The *French* Poet who gives us this Description, forgets a very material thing, which is, that these three Goddesses washed their Bodies in a Fountain. *Euripides* (*f*) tells us this particular, and there are some Epigrams on it (*t*) in the *Anthologia*. *Juno* must therefore submit to very disagreeable Conditions; for after all, she made Profession of Modesty, she was Grave and Majestical, she knew how to maintain her Rank, and yet she found her self obliged to shew her self Naked before a Mortal: and the worst of it was, that another appeared Handsomer to the Judge, and *Venus* carried the Golden Apple. He did not make it appear, that he found any Reason of Preference in the Face or Shape of these three Litigants: On the contrary, he declared, that whilst he saw 'em Dress't, he thought 'em equally Handsome. Having then pronounced against *Juno*, after comparing what their Cloaths concealed, it was a sign he discovered in her some notable imperfections. This might at least be suspected, and it could not but be a terrible Mortification to this Goddess. This was enough to make her Mad. I wonder that *Lucian* has not bestowed some of his biting Wit upon it in his Dialogue about the Judgment of *Paris*. See the Margin †. Our *Scarron* has not been so discreet, see how he Plays the Buffoon in the first Book of his *Virgile travesti*.

Ce que craignant la bonne (b) Dame,
Etgardant encor en son ame
Le beau jugement de Paris,
Et l' insupportable mépris,
Qu'en faveur de Vénus la belle
Il eut pour Pallas & pour elle,
Outre qu'il avoit revelé,
(Heureux s'il n'eust jamais parlé)
Qu'elle avoit trop longue mamelle,
Et trop long poil dessous l'aisselle,
Et pour Dame de qualité
Le genoüil un peu trop croté:

An Author, who Flourished in the beginning of the XVI*th.* Century, pretends that *Juno* did not appear quite Naked. (*e*) *She and* Minerva, *says he, being surprized with Shame, and not willing to do it*, answered not a Word, when it was signified to 'em, that they must be at *the Pains of putting off their noble Robes*, since the *Dispute lay in a Comparison of the Beauty of their Divine Bodies, and in a prudent Distinction of the Preference of their Illustrious Members*. But *Venus the boldest of 'em, said, that things were gone so far, that there was no denying of it, and began to untie her Girdle.* ' Then *Juno* seeing this said, certainly, ' Lady *Venus*, we have no mind to refuse it, for ' fear of being Baffled: But I think it is indecent ' for immortal and Chaste Goddesses; for *Pallas* who ' is a Maid, and for me who am the Wife of a ' King and Emperor, to shew our selves Naked to a ' Mortal Man, as little account as you make of it, ' as being used to keep company with Men. But ' however since it must be done, we will not be the ' last———(*d*) Queen *Juno* full of a Mat-' tronal Gravity, and Modesty, kept on none of ' all her Ornaments; only she took a fine ' Kerchief, long, broad and thin, all hem'd with ' Gold and Silk Fringes, with which one of her ' Nymphs was Deck'd. And she put it upon her ' left Shoulder hanging like a Scarf, and tied in a ' knot upon her right side. And because the ends ' fluttering in the Air flew up whether she would ' or no, by her Motion, she held one of her Hands ' upon her Breast, and the other lower. I believe this is a meer Fiction of this Author. *Lucian* insinuates nothing like it. However it be, *Juno* expressed an extream Resentment for the desperate Affront, that she thought her Judge had put upon her. This was a Wound that Bled for a long time, and disquieted her Mind all the rest of her Life.

Nec dum (f) etiam causa irarum SÆVIQUE DOLORES
Exciderant animo: manet alta mente repostum
Judicium Paridis, spretæque injuria formæ.

I shall observe by the by, that *Macrobius* is mistaken in one of the Differences he mentions betwixt *Virgil* and *Homer*. These are his Words: (g) *Nullam commemorationem de judicio Paridis Homerus admittit. Idem vates Ganymedem non ut Junonis pelicem à Jove raptum, sed Jovialium poculorum ministrum in cœlum à diis asciscum refert, velut* [illegible] *Virgilius tantam deam, quod cuivis de honestis femina deforme est, velut specie victam Paride judicante doluisse, & propter contumeliæ pelicatum totam gentem ejus vexasse commemorat.* 'Tis certain that *Homer* (*b*) has mentioned *Paris*'s Judgment, and Assign'd it as the cause of *Juno*'s implacable Anger against the *Trojans*: 'Tis not therefore true, as *Macrobius* pretends, that *Virgil* has departed from *Homer* upon this Point. It would signify nothing here to say (*i*) that *Euripides*, and *Coluthus* (*k*) have mentioned the same Judgment of *Paris*.

(*BB*) *She washed her self in a Fountain———and that from that time the Waters of that Fountain had a most agreeable Smell.*] *Ælian* has preserved this Story. He says (*l*) that this Fountain was Transparent to the Bottom, and that the Inhabitants of the Country, and the *Syrians* also had among 'em the Tradition just mentioned, and Attributed to it the agreeable Smell that was in the Neighbourhood of the Place. (*m*) [illegible] *Unde locus etiamnum suavem odorem spirat, qui in vicinum etiam aërem circumquaque distribuitur.* This shews the Character both of a Superstitious and Fabulous Spirit. People are easily led to derive from a Celestial Origin all the singular Properties that are found in certain Places of the World; and as the *Heathens* suffered themselves to be abused with a Chimerical, and Foolish Tradition of the Amours and Marriages of the Gods, they believed that *Juno* being to wash her Body the next Day after her Wedding, chose a very clear Fountain, and left there some Marks of her Presence. Note, that according to *Turnebus* (*n*), they fancied that the Divine Beings made themselves known by their Smell.

Omnia (o) finierat: tenuesse fecit in auras.
Mansit odor: posses scire fuisse Deam.

This is what *Ovid* said, speaking of *Flora*, and this is what *Virgil* says, speaking of *Venus*.

Dixit, (p) & avertens rosea cervice refulsit,
Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem
Spiravere.

John le Maire de Belges follows this Opinion; for he

* *See Homer Il. l.* 5. *v.* 392. *& seq. who says, it was a very painful Wound.* Τὸν δὲ μιν ὀϊστευσε βαρὺν ἄχος ἀμφικαλύψαν.
Tunc ipsam gravissimus occupavit dolor.

(*d*) *Id. ib. p.* 109.

(*f*) *Virgil. Æneid. l.* 1. *v.* 25. *See also the* 30*th. Verse of the same Book*, cum Juno ÆTERNUM servans sub pectore VULNUS.

(*g*) *Macrob. Saturn. l.* 5. *c.* 16. *p. m.* 407.

(*b*) *Homer. Iliad. l. ult. v.* 25. *& seq.*

(*i*) *Eurip. in Troa divus v.* [illegible] *& in Helena v.* 23.

(*k*) *Coluthus de raptu Helenæ.*

(*l*) *Ælian. Histor. animal. l.* 16. *c.* 30.

(*m*) *Id. ib.*

(*n*) *Turneb. Adverf. l.* 30. *c.* 39. *I am not very well satisfied with the two Proofs he Alledges, which are the Passage of* Virgil *and that of* Ovid, *which I have set down.*

(*o*) *Ovidius, l.* 5. *fastor. p. m.* 102.

(*p*) *Virgil. Æn. l.* 1. *v.* 402.

Jupiter's Adulteries (CC) may be ſaid to be the more inexcuſable. It would be meer wrangling to Criticize *Arnobius*, who has judged of it in this manner. The Superſtition of the *Romans* was ſo great, that ſome Women honoured *Juno* (DD) by pretending to Comb her and Dreſs her, and hold a Looking-glaſs before her; but others were in little fear of her, for they went and ſeated themſelves in the Capitol by her Husband, fancying themſelves to be his Miſtreſſes. See my laſt Remark.

JUPITER, the greateſt of all the *Heathen* Gods, was the Son of *Saturn* and *Cybele*. There was no Crime, but what he was defiled with; for beſides that he Dethroned (*A*) his own

(g) *John le Maire de Belges ubi ſupra p.* 109.

(r) *That is, of* Juno, Minerva *and* Venus *Naked before* Paris.

(ſ) *Balzac, Entret.* 5. *c.* 2. *p. m.* 88. *See in the Remark* F F *of the Article* Muhomet, *what the Followers of that falſe Prophet ſay of his Sweat.*

(t) *Jupiter liberrimus cano nive conſpuit Agros.*

he affirms (g) *that all Terreſtrial Beings kept Silence, and expreſs'd a reſpectful Admiration, during the Appearance* (r) *of the Divine Bodies, which had already Perfum'd the Circumambient Air with their fragrant, Divine and Ambroſian Odour.* The *Heathens* would have eaſily believed that the Spittle, &c. of the Gods, was Roſe-water at leaſt. *Balzac* (ſ) obſerves, that the Poet *Furius* (t) *makes* Jupiter *ſpit Snow; and that another Poet makes Nectar enough to proceed from him to form the Rivers of the Golden Age. Balzac adds,* 'That he whom *Matthieu's* Hiſtory names the *Chryſoſtom* of *France*, ſaid, Preaching before the late King *Henry* the 'Great: *Sir, if your Majeſty ſhed Pearls inſtead of* 'Tears, *and ſpit Emeralds, if Rubies and Diamonds* 'proceeded *from you when ever you ſneeſe and blow* 'your *Noſe*, &c. There had been no great difficulty in perſuading the *Heathens*, that the Gods actually did all this. Thus Children are made to believe that *Urganda*, for Example, or ſome other Fairy getting her Head combed, and asking *what is it that falls from my Head?* heard with Pleaſure this Anſwer, *Gold and Silver.* Moſt of thoſe who believe this in their Infancy, would believe it all their Lives, if they were not undeceived when they are grown up, or if they ſaw that theſe things were the common Opinion in matter of Faith. There are many natural Properties, which the Tradition of the Chriſtian People attribute to Miraculous Cauſes, as the *Heathens* Attributed to *Juno* the Fragrancy of the Fountain before mentioned. Behold, ſaid one to me one Day, that little Track of Land where the Graſs is ſo fine. It was that way a Martyr went, when he was led from the Priſon to the place of Execution. All the way he went bears the Marks of it ever ſince. The Wheat, the Graſs, whatever is ſown there has a Tincture of it, and never acquires the Verdure which you ſee on the right and on the left. There's hardly a Pariſh, where you won't hear ſuch Stories. I wiſh ſome Travellers would make a large Collection of 'em. They are contented to Collect what concerns great Towns, but a Collection of what concerns the Country Pariſhes would have its value too. And hereupon I remember I heard a Man of Judgment ſay, that his Taſte was not like that of an Antient Father, who wiſh'd he had ſeen at *Rome* a Triumphal Entrance. I rather wiſh, ſaid he, I had been preſent for ſome Months at the Converſations of the *Roman* Citizens, and that I knew how the Women practiſed their Devotions, and how they talk'd of *Jupiter* and *Juno*; what was there common Diſcourſe on a Wedding-Day, on a Day of Child-Birth, or of a general Proceſſion, a Day of *Lectiſternium*, &c. concerning the Gods and Goddeſſes, *Subigus* or *Subiga*, *Fabulinus*, *Pertunda*, and the reſt. Books don't teach us theſe Particulars, 'tis only by Converſation one can come to the Knowledge of them.

(CC) Juno's *Beauty made* Jupiter's *Adulteries more inexcuſable.*] 'Tis thus *Arnobius* Argued: (a) *Et quid Regi Saturnio matrimoniis fuerat cum alienis rei? Non illi fuerat ſatis Juno, nec ſedare impetum cupiditatum in regina poterat numinum, cum nobilitas eam commendaret tanta, facies, oris dignitas & ulnarum nivei marmoreique candores?* A cavilling Sophiſt would Argue againſt this Argument of *Arnobius*, and ſay that at a certain Period of time, the Beauty of Women loſes all its Charms with reſpect to their Husbands, the Nature of Things being ſuch, that they no longer Affect us, after we are uſed to 'em, *ab affectis non fit paſſio.* He would maintain, that this Political Axiom, that (b) the beſt means of preſerving Dominions are thoſe that have been made uſe of to obtain them, is falſe in the Empire of Beauty: For if Beauty makes a Conqueſt, it does not preſerve it; a Husband who grows in Love, only becauſe his Miſtreſs is Handſome, will not continue in Love, becauſe his Wife continues to be ſo: Cuſtom hardens him againſt that ſort of Charm, and he makes every Day ſome ſteps towards inſenſibility: Some come ſooner to it, others later; but at laſt all arrive at it, and the Affection which may be, and is frequently preſerv'd, is not grounded upon Beauty, but upon other Qualities. Experience witneſſes that the Husbands, whoſe Love is moſt laſting and ſtrong, are not for the Generality thoſe who have Handſom Wives. Look elſewhere than in Beauty (c) for that Charm, which Unites the Hearts, and keeps 'em afterwards United. A Sophiſt might heap up many other Obſervations of the ſame Nature; but after all, he ought to be look'd upon as a Caviller; for 'tis certain that *Arnobius's* Remark is grounded upon a kind of common Notion. All the Neighbours are much more Scandaliz'd with the Intrigues of a Man, who has a Handſome Wife, than with thoſe of another, whoſe Wife is ugly. A whole Nation, tho' never ſo numerous, will be more indulgent to the Gallantries of a King, when the Queen is Deformed, and of a diſguſting Aſpect, than when he is Married to a Princeſs of a rare and excellent Beauty. Some body has inſerted in the *Scaligerana* a Story which has ſome Affinity with this. (d) Porthaile *a famous Preacher preaching at Poictiers, and having heard of the Debaucheries of a Phyſician, named* Lumeau, *who tho' he had a Handſome Wife, could not be ſatisfied without change, pointing at him one Day, very pleaſantly in the Pulpit, when having ſpoke againſt this Vice in General, he came to Particulars, he ſaid, nay, we have heard with great concern, that there are ſome Men wl are ſo Proſligate, as to commit Adultery, tho' they have Wives in their own Houſes, who are ſuch that for our part, we ſhould be well enough contented with 'em.*

(c) *Hæc res & jungit, & junctos ſervat amicos. Horat. ſat.* 3. *l.* 1.

(d) *Scaligerana p. m.* 192.

(DD) *Some Men honoured* Juno *by pretending to Comb her.*] What a Misfortune 'tis that we have not the Book, in which *Seneca* Condemn'd this little Superſtition, and many others like it. St. *Auſtin* has cited it. *In Capitolium perveni*, ſays *Seneca* (e), *pudebit publicata dementiæ, quod ſibi vanus furor attribuit officii: alius nomina Deo ſubjicit, alius horas Jovi nunciat, alius lictor eſt, alius unctor. qui vano motu brachiorum imitatur ungentem. Sunt quæ Junoni ac Minervæ capillos diſponant, longè à templo non tantum à ſimulachro ſtantes, digitos movent ornantium modo. Sunt quæ ſpeculum ——— Sedent quædam in Capitolio, quæ ſe à Jove amari putant, nec Junonis quidem, ſi credere poëtis velis, iracundiſſimæ reſpectu terrentur.* We may confirm this by a Paſſage taken from a Book, which is ſtill in Being. (f) *Deum colit qui novit. Vetemus linteæ & ſtrigiles Jovi ferre, & ſpeculum tenere Junoni.*

(e) *Seneca contra ſuperſtitiones apud Auguſt. de civitate Dei l.* 6. *c.* 10. *p. m.* 605.

(f) *Seneca Epiſt.* 95. *p. m.* 396.

(A) *He Dethroned his own Father.*] *Saturn* was dealt with according to the *Lex Talionis*, ſince he had Uſurp'd (g) the Empire of the World, which his Father *Cælus* Poſſeſt; but *Jupiter* was nevertheleſs guilty of a horrible Uſurpation: 'Tis not Lawful to puniſh one Crime by another; one can't abſolve himſelf by imitating the Wicked. 'Tis Remarkable that *Cælus* was betrayed by his own Wife; for it was the *Earth* (h), *Heaven's* Wife, who excited her Children to Rebel, and who put a Sickle into the Hands of the youngeſt (i) which he made uſe of to Geld him. *Saturn* who had committed that Exploit, was treated ſo exactly in the ſame manner; that *Jupiter* uſed the ſame Inſtrument (k) to cut off his Privy Parts, as he had uſe' for the Caſtration of *Cælus*. Note that *Saturn's* Party made a long Reſiſtance: It was not vanquiſhed till after ten years War (l). *Saturn* being Conquered, was loaded with Chains, and thrown into *Tartarus*, the darkeſt and deepeſt Dungeon of Hell. It was as remote from the Earth, as the Earth is from Heaven. (m)

(g) *Natalis Comes, Mythol. l.* 2. *p. m.* 86.

(h) *Id. ib.*

(i) *Twas* Saturn.

(k) *Natalis Comes, Mythol. l.* 2. *p. m.* 86.

(l) *Apollodor. ib.*

(m) *Id. ib.*

(a) *Arnobius l.* 4. *p. m.* 141.

(b) Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum eſt. *Salluſt. in Proœm. belli Catil.*

own Father, that he caſtrated him, and bound him in Chains in the deepeſt Hell, he committed Inceſt (B) with his Siſters, Daughters, and Nurſes, and attempted to raviſh his Mother. He debauched abundance of Maids and Wives; and to compaſs his Deſigns, he borrowed the Shapes of all ſorts of Beaſts. He was guilty of the unnatural Sin; for he ſtole away *Ganymede* *, and preferred him to the Office of Cup-Bearer to the Gods, that he might have him at Hand, as often as his Heart deſired. Treacheries and Perjuries, and in general, all Actions that are puniſhable by the Laws, were familiar to him. The Heathens went ſo far, as to ſay; that (C) he devoured one of his Wives; and therefore nothing can be more monſtrous, than the Religion of the Pagans, who looked upon ſuch a God, as the Supreme Governour of the World, and ſuited to that Notion, the Religious Worſhip that was paid him. The Fathers of the Church have laid a great Streſs upon this Argument, to prove the Falſhood

* *See the Article Ganymede.*

† *See the Proofs which Natalis Comes gives for it.* Mythol. l. 1. c. 18. & Arnobius, *quoted in the Rem.* B.

(m) Τάρταρον δὲ ἔνερθε ἰδρύσατο ἐν δὲ ἀΐδαο πυλῶν ἐπὶ χαλκοῦ ἐλάσσαι, ὅσον τε σίδηρον. *Is locus eſt ad Inferos tenebroſiſſimus, qui tantùm à terra diſtat, quantùm à cœlo terram abeſſe ferunt.* The Chains were not very heavy; for they were made (n) of Wool. He had every Year ſome Days of Liberty allowed him, during the *Saturnalia*; a time in which Slaves were permitted to do what they pleaſed (o). Some ſay, that *Saturn* eſcaped from Priſon, and retired into *Italy* to King *Janus*. Others ſay, that his Son was contented only to expel him. *Virgil* is of this laſt Opinion.

Primus (p) ab æthetio venit Saturnus Olympo
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis.

But *Statius* is not, ſince he ſpeaks of the Liberty that was granted to *Saturn* once a Year.

Saturnus (q) mihi compede exoluta
Et multo gravidus mero December,
Et videns jocus, & ſales protervi
Adſint.

To which you may add theſe Words of *Arnobius*: (r) *Numquid parricidii cauſa vinctum eſſe Saturnum, & ablui diebus ſtatis, vinculorum ponderibus & levari.* I forgot to ſay, that after the compleat Victory that *Jupiter*'s Party had obtained, *Apollo* ſung upon his Lyre a Poem which he had made in Praiſe of the Conquerors. *Tibullus* informs us of this Circumſtance in (ſ) an Elegy, which he inſcribes to *Apollo*.

Sed nitidus pulcerque veni, nunc indue veſtem
Sepoſitam, longas nunc bene pecte comas,
Qualem te memorant, Saturno rege fugato
Victori laudes concinuiſſe Jovi.

The beſt Allegories that may be found under theſe Fables, is to ſay, that the Antients meant by them (t) that Ambition ſtifles the Senſe of Nature, and the Duties of Friendſhip and Alliances, and that Poets and Orators are always ready to declare for the Party that is uppermoſt.

(B) *He committed Inceſt with his Siſters, &c.*] He lay with his Siſter *Juno*, without ſtaying till ſhe was his Wife, and afterwards married her. I ſpeak of it in another Place (v). He debauched his other Siſter *Ceres*, and had *Proſerpina* by her. He lay with three of his Aunts, namely, *Themis*, *Dione*, and *Mnemoſyne*. From his Inceſt with the firſt came the *Horæ* and the *Parcæ*: by the Second he begat *Venus*, by the Third the Nine Muſes (w). Seeing his Mother (x) one Day aſleep, he attempted to lie with her by Surprize; ſhe awaked, and put her ſelf in a Poſture of Defence; he made uſe of Force, and would probably have accompliſhed his abominable Deſign, if the Ardour of his Paſſion had not evaporated in his Struggle to overpower his Mother. *Arnobius* very juſtly exclaims upon it: (a) *O rerum imaginatio indecora! ô habitus fœdus Jovis ad obſcœni certaminis expeditionem parati! Ergone ille rerum mundi, cum incautus & properus obreptionis eſſet rejectus à furto, in impetum ſe vertit: & quum rapere voluptatem inſidioſa fraude non quivit, vi matrem aggreſſus eſt, & apertiſſimè capit venerabilem ſubruere caſtitatem? Colluctatus ergo diutiſſimè cum invita eſt, victus, fractus, ſuperatuſque defecit: & quam pietas dijugare ab infando matris non valuit appetitu, effuſa libido dijunxit?* He obſerves that the Heathens made Advantage of thoſe vain Efforts of *Jupiter*; for they ſaid, that a Stone grew with Child by him, and brought forth a Son Ten Months after. (b) *Et fane hoc loco frugalitatis magnæ viri, & circa res etiam flagitioſi operis pareciores, ne ſancta illa ſeminia fruſtra videantur effuſa, ſilex, inquit, ebibit Jovialis incontinentiæ fœditatem. Quid deinde, quæſo, conſecutum eſt, dicite? In ſinu medio lapidis, atque in illa cotis duritie informatus atque animatus eſt infans, Jovis magni futura progenies,* &c. Such a ſort of Propagation hath been obſerved about the Attempts *Jupiter* made to debauch his Daughter *Venus*. This Maid, who was otherwiſe ſo bountiful in her Favours to the other Sex, made a vigorous Reſiſtance to *Jupiter*. *Arnobius* makes mention of another wicked Attempt of *Jupiter*, wherein he ſucceeded. But 'tis according to the Opinion of thoſe, who ſaid that *Ceres* was his Mother. (d) *Quondam Dieſpiter, inquiunt, cùm in Cererem ſuam matrem libidinibus improbis atque inconceſſis cupiditatibus æſtuaret, nam genitrix hæc Jovis regionis ejus ab accolis traditur, neque tamen auderet id, quod procaci appetitione conceperat, apertiſſima vi petere, ingenioſæ comminiſcitur captiones, quibus nihil tale metuentem caſtitate imminueret genitricem: ſit ex Deo taurus, & ſub pecoris ſpecie ſuſtollens animum atque audaciam celans; in ſecuram & neſcium repentina immittitur vi furens, agit ineſtius rei ſuæ, & prodita per libidinem fraude, intellectus, & cognitus evolat.* *Ceres* was angry to little purpoſe; that Action made her big with *Proſerpina*, who went through the ſame Trial as her Mother: *Jupiter* got on a Maidenhead of *Proſerpina* his Daughter. (e) *Quam* (Proſerpinam) *cùm verveceus Jupiter bene validam, floridam, & ſucci eſſe conſpiceret plenioris, oblitus paulo ante quid malorum & ſceleris eſſet aggreſſus, & temeritatis quantum, redit ad priores actus: & quia nefarium videbatur fatis, patrem cum filia comminus uxoria conjugatione miſceri, in draconis terribilem formam migrat: ingentibus ſpiris pavefactam colligat virginem, & ſub obtentu fero, molliſſimis ludit atque adulatur amplexibus.* Meziriac (f) alledges many Authors, who ſay, that *Jupiter*, transformed into a Serpent, lay with his Daughter *Proſerpina*, by whom he got the Firſt *Bacchus*, ſirnamed *Zagreus*. I'll conclude this Remark with a Paſſage of *Arnobius*. (g) *Quid tantum, quæſo,* ſays he to the Heathens, *de vobis Jupiter iſte, quicumque eſt, meruit, quod genus eſt nullum probri infame, adulterium nullum quod in ejus non caput, velut in aliquam congeratis vilem luteamque perſonam?* This is to nonplus Paganiſm.

(C) *That he devoured one of his Wives.*] *Heſiod* obſerves, that the firſt Wife *Jupiter* married, was called *Metis* (h). Seeing her big with Child, he devoured her, and became himſelf big with Child by that Means, and afterwards lay in of *Minerva*. *Gravidam factam deglutivit, ut ſcripſit Joannes Diaconus his verbis:* Καὶ ἔχων ταύτην συνεκύησεν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸν, ἵνα ἄλλο τις τῶν θεῶν ἀντιποιῆται μηδὲ εἷς. *Vaſtis & devoravit:* quam cùm gravidam feciſſet, deglutivit, ne quis alius Deorum naſceretur ex ea impudens ac fatuus. *Ex eo cibo non ipſe Jupiter pro uxore gravidus factus Palladem armatam è capite peperit* (i).

Since the firſt Edition of this Dictonary, I have more exactly examined this, and I have found, that *Natalis Comes* advances nothing, but what's grounded upon the Words of *Joannes Diaconus*, whom he cites. This *Diaconus* is a *Greek* and a *Chriſtian* Author, who compoſed Allegories and *Scholia* upon *Heſiod*'s Poem, intituled Θεογονία, *the Generation of*

(n) *Id. ib.*
(o) *Agathonymus in Perſide, apud Natal. Comitem, pag.* 85.
(p) Age libertate Decembri, Quando ita majores voluerunt uteré. *Horat. Sat.* 7. *lib.* 2.
(p) *Virgil. Æneid. lib.* 8. *verſ.* 319.
(q) *Statius Silva,* 6. *lib.* 1.
(r) *Lib.* 4. *p. m.* 143.
(ſ) *'Tis the* 5*th. of the* 2*d. Book.*
(t) Natalis Comes, *who is very fond of Allegories, ſpeaks thus, pag.* 85. Nulla ſunt enim vel amicitiæ, vel beneficentiæ ſatis firma vincula, ubi majeſtatis & imperandi furioſum deſiderium invaſerit: illa omnia ſiquidem facillimè conculcantur & proſternuntur.
(v) *In the Remark* A *of the Article* Juno.
(w) *Heſiodus in Theogoni. Apollodor.*
(x) *Arnob. lib.* 5. *pag.* 161.
(a) *Arnob. ib. p.* 162.
(b) *Id. ib.*
(d) *Arnob. ibid. pag.* 170.
(e) *Ibid. pag.* 171.
(f) *Ubi ſupra, pag.* 419. *He quotes Nonnus, lib.* 5. & 6. *Arnobius, l.* 5. *Clem. Alexandrinus in Protrepti. co. Tzetzes upon Lycophron. The Scholiaſt upon Pindar, in* 7. *Iſthm. The Author of the Great Etymologicon, at the Word* Ζαγρεύς. *The Scholiaſt upon Ariſtophanes in Ran. Diodorus Siculus, l.* 3. *Arrianus, de expeditione Alexandri. Hyginus, chap.* 159. & 157. *Cicero, l.* 3. *de nat. Deor.*
(g) *Arnob. lib.* 5. *pag.* 171.
(h) Ζεὺς δὲ Διὸς βουλὰς πυκινὰς πρώτην ἄλοχον Διὸς Μῆτιν. *Uxorem primam Metim ſibi Jupiter addit. Heſiod in Theog. v.* 886.
(i) *Natal. Comes Mytholog. lib.* 2. *p. m.* 90.

hood of the Pagan Religion; and it may be ſaid, that this Syſtem was very proper (D) to corrupt good Manners. I ſhall ſay nothing about the Fables, that concern the Birth or Education of *Jupiter*. *Moreri* has touched upon 'em; and this is to be found in a great many Books, that Scholars have daily in their Hands. I ſhall only ſpeak of the Eagle (E) that brought him Nectar. This Particular is not ſo common

of the Gods. He poſitively ſays, that *Jupiter* having ſwallowed his Wife *Metis*, brought forth *Minerva*, ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχουσαν καὶ περικεφαλαίαν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τὰ πολεμικά. He makes uſe of theſe Words immediately after thoſe contained in the Paſſage of *Natalis Comes*, which I have alledged; and thereby he manifeſtly declares, that he would have it thought that *Minerva* ſprung from *Jupiter*'s Head, becauſe *Metis* being big, had been devour'd by *Jupiter* her Husband. But *Heſiod* does not lead us to this Thought, nor does he ſo much as inſinuate, that the Tragical end of *Metis* contributed to the Birth of *Minerva*. Here is the Sum of his Narrative; (k) *Metis*, *Jupiter*'s firſt Wife, was ready to be delivered of *Minerva*, but *Jupiter* prevented her; he uſed a flattering Diſcourſe, which deceived her, and ſwallow'd her in his Belly. *Celus* and the Earth had given him this Advice, and had cautioned him, that unleſs he did it, he would loſe his Scepter, ſince the Deſtinies declared, that *Metis* after ſhe had brought the Wife *Minerva* into the World, ſhould Lye-in of a brave Boy, who ſhould rule over the Gods and Men. *Jupiter* avoided the fatal Blow (l); he included *Metis* in his Bowels, before ſhe became a Mother; he ſhut her up, I ſay, that ſhe might foretel him Good and Evil. He afterwards married *Themis*, by whom he had many Children; he had alſo many by his Miſtreſſes. He had by *Eurynome* the Daughter of *Oceanus*, the Three Graces; afterwards he lay with *Ceres*, who brought forth *Proſerpina*. After this he fell in Love with *Mnemoſyne*, and made her the Mother of the Nine Muſes. He had by *Latona* a Son and a Daughter, namely *Apollo* and *Diana*, and at laſt he married *Juno*, who brought him Three Children, *Hebe*, *Mars*, and *Lucina*; and as for himſelf, he conceived *Minerva* in his Head, and was delivered of her. Thus you ſee, that if *Heſiod* had intended his Readers ſhould think, that he meant that this Birth of *Minerva* was an Effect of *Metis*'s being ſwallowed in *Jupiter*'s Belly, he had done all that was neceſſary to fruſtrate his Intention; for he puts betwixt this Effect, and this Cauſe, ſuch an Interval as leads our Thoughts to quite another thing from his Intention. Let us ſay then, that he had no ſuch Intention, or elſe, that he had the ſhameful Art of giving a wrong Account of a Thing, and expreſſing it obſcurely. Note, that if the Nineteen Verſes which we find in one of *Galen*'s Works (m), were *Heſiod*'s, we could not blame this Poet for being too obſcure. It plainly appears from them, that the ſame *Pallas*, who was born from *Jupiter*'s Head, was conceived in *Metis*'s Womb. But it ought to be obſerved, that ſhe was not conceived, till after *Metis* had been ſwallow'd up by *Jupiter*. This is a Variation, which deſerves to be taken notice of. I add, that 'tis not probable, theſe are *Heſiod*'s Verſes; for if they were, there would be in his Poem of the Generation of the Gods, a Gap which the Criticks don't complain of. *Galen* is ſomewhat to blame, for not putting it out of doubt, whether the Pronoun ὁ αὐτὸς ipſe, which precedes the Nineteen Verſes, refers to *Heſiod* or *Chryſippus*. I believe it relates to the latter, and that this great Philoſopher, after he had produced *Heſiod*'s Verſes concerning *Metis*, cited thoſe of another Poet, in which the Conception of *Minerva* was deſcribed ſomewhat differently. If you aſk me, to what end *Chryſippus* alledged theſe Verſes of *Heſiod*, and the others, I anſwer, that it was to ſhew, that his Opinion concerning the Seat of the rational Soul, was not contrary to the Tradition of the Birth of *Minerva*. He placed the rational Soul in the Heart, and yet *Minerva*, that is Reaſon and Wiſdom, was born from *Jupiter*'s Brain. This was the Objection *Chryſippus* examined; he took Advantage of the Circumſtance of *Minerva*'s being conceived by *Metis*, after ſhe was ſwallowed by *Jupiter*, and he maintained, that this ſignified, that Reaſon was formed in the Breaſt, and that the Delivery of *Minerva* ſignified Speech, that is to ſay, that Reaſon proceeds from the Head, inaſmuch as the Mouth is the Organ, by which the Thoughts conceived in the Heart, are outwardly produced. *Galen* (n) thinks it very ſtrange, that *Chryſippus* ſhould trouble himſelf to give a ſerious Explication of Poetical Traditions. He cannot be too much blamed for ſpending his Time ſo ill.

(n) *Ll. iii. pag.* 133.

(D) *That this Syſtem was very proper to corrupt good* (a) *Manners.*] 'Chriſtian Authors (*b*) have 'drawn Potent Arguments from theſe infamous 'Actions of *Jupiter*, to convict the Heathens of 'the Falſity of their Gods; as may be ſeen in 'many Places of *Lactantius*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens* 'Alexandrinus, *Arnobius*, and many others. For 'beſides that ſo horrid Crimes are inconſiſtent with 'the Deity, the Gentiles might thence take a juſt 'Excuſe for giving themſelves up to all ſorts of 'Wickedneſs——not believing themſelves Criminal, whilſt they imitated their Gods. This is 'what *Ion* means in a Tragedy of *Euripides*, that 'bears his Name.

(a) *See the Art.* Arnauld *in the Diſſ.* Denunciation du peché Philoſophique, *p.* 32.

(b) Mezirac *upon* Ovid. *pag.* 419, 420.

'... Οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακὰ
'Αἰσχρὰ δίκαια, κἂν ἐν οὐρανῷ νέμῃ
'Μισῶ γὰρ, εἰκὼς τοὺς θεοὺς κρείσσους κακοὺς.

'*Il ne faut point blaſmer les hommes malfaiſans*
'*S'ils imitent les Dieux, mais rejetter le blaſme*
'*Sur ceux dont les forfaits leur ſervent de patron.*

Mezirius makes this Reflection upon a Paſſage of *Ovid*, where *Thadra* (c) obſerves, that Inceſt was ſcrupled in the ruſtical Time of *Saturn*, but that under the Reign of his Succeſſor, a Woman might be permitted to lie with her Son-in-Law. *Jupiter*, ſays ſhe, authoriſes all by his Marriage with his Siſter.

(c) *In Epiſt. ad Hippolytum.*

Nec quia privigno videar coitura noverca,
Terruerint animos nomina vana tuos.
Iſta vetus pietas, aevo moritura futuro
Ruſtica Saturno regna tenente, fuit.
Jupiter eſſe pium ſtatuit quodcunque juvarat,
Et fas omne facit fratre marita ſoror.

Ovid (d) falls here into a very groſs Miſtake, ſince it is certain that *Saturn* was married to his Siſter, juſt as *Jupiter* was to his. One might add to the Paſſage of *Euripides*, quoted by *Mezirius*, a Hundred others of the ſame force. Nothing is more common in the antient Poets, than to ſee People, in order to excuſe their Crimes, maintain, that they have only imitated the Gods, or that the Gods have inſtigated them to do Evil (e). But not to diſſemble the Truth, it muſt be ſaid to the Glory of the Heathens, that they did not live according to their Principles. 'Tis true, that the Corruption of Manners was very great among the Heathen; but many of 'em did not follow the Example of their falſe Gods, and preferred the Ideas of Vertue before ſo great an Authority. What is ſtrange is, that the Chriſtians, whoſe Syſtem is ſo pure, come not little behind the Heathens in their Vices. 'Tis a Miſtake to believe, that the Morals of a Religion anſwer the Doctrines of a Confeſſion of Faith.

(d) Mezirac, *p.* 419. *makes this Obſervation.*

(e) *See the Article of* Helena, *Remark B.*

(E) *Of the Eagle that brought him* Nectar.] A Woman nam'd *Moero*, Author of a Poem (f), intituled *Memory*, ſays, that *Jupiter*, unknown to all the Gods, was bred up in a Cave in the Iſle of *Crete*, by Pigeons that brought him *Ambroſia*, and by an Eagle that brought him *Nectar*. The *Ambroſia* came from the Ocean, and the *Nectar* was drawn from a Stone. *Jupiter* having dethroned *Saturn*, immortaliz'd this Eagle, and tranſlated it into the Skies:

(f) *Athen. lib.* 15. *pag.* 490.

Νίκτωρ δ' ἐκ πέτρης μέλιτος πίνε δώρα θεοῖσι.
Ἐμμελέως πρέπουσα (πάλαι δ' ἦν μοῦνος ἀλήτης)
Τὴν ὑπὸ κευθμῶνι πετρίνῳ κρύπτε Ζεύς.
Ἀμβροσίην δ' ἔτρεφον περιστερεαὶ (g).

(g) *Ll. ib. pag.* 491.

(k) *Heſiod. in Theog. v.* 887. *& ſeq.*

(l) Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ Ζεὺς ὑπερμενὴς ἐν ἑοῖσι
μήδεσι θῆκε θεὰν ἐπιειμένην ἠΰτε πατρὸς
Ἀθηναίης, ἐπὶ δ' ἔργα καὶ ἀμήχανα τεύχειν.
Sed illam ſane Jupiter ante in ſuum condidit ventrem, Ut nempe ei indicaret dea bonumque malumque. *Il. ib. v.* 895.

(m) *Galenus de Hippocr. & Platonis placitis, lib.* 3. *c.* 8. *pag.* 231. *edit. Pariſ.* 1679.

mon. Mr. *Charpentier* does not faithfully (F) relate a Thing, for which he quotes *Homer*. What the Heathens have said of *Jupiter*'s Original, seemed to me for a long time so unaccountable, that the more I thought of it, the more monstrous it appeared to me, and such, in a Word, as I could not apprehend how the Philosophers could maintain it; but I have at last discovered, that they might be led (G) into that Error, by a sort of Reasoning, the Weakness whereof it was no easie thing for them to find out. They did not believe, that any thing could be created, and acknowledged no Substances wholly distinct from Extension. Now when once these two Hypotheses are laid down, 'tis almost as easie to imagine, that a subtilized Matter might become a God, as to believe the Soul of Man to be Material, as most Philosophers believed. See the Remark G. There was in *Arcadia* a Temple of God *the Good*. *Pausanias*

Nectar verò ex saxo ingenti aquila semper hauriens,
Advolans portabat consulto prudentique Jovi.
Eam ob rem patre Saturno Juppiter altisonus,
Immortalitate donatam, in cœlo habitare voluit.

(F) *Mr.* Charpentier *does not faithfully relate.*] I speak of Mr. *Charpentier* of the French Academy. He expected to harangue the King at the Head of the Academy, after the taking of *Mons*; but that Prince would have no Harangue at that time. That of Mr. *Charpentier* was inserted in the *Mercure Galant* for the Month of *May*, 1691. We read in it, that the King is like *Homer*'s *Jupiter*, against whom all the other Gods are united, and who after having upbraided them with the Vanity of their Design, shews 'em by Experience, that his Force is not to be shaken; and whilst they all shoot at him, he lifts 'em up altogether with the Globe of the Earth. By his leave, *Jupiter* in *Homer* (b) does not put this in Practice; he only boasts of it, and threatens to do it.

(b) *See the 8th. Book of the* Iliad, *at the beginning.*

The other Gods were not persuaded, that his Boasts were well grounded: They only believed, that in a Single Combat he would be too hard for 'em. His Menace appeared ridiculous to *Mars*, who remembred, that it was not long since *Neptune*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, having undertaken to seize him, and bind him, put him into a horrible Fright, and had actually bound him, if *Thetis* had not had Pity of him, and called to his Relief *Briareus* with his Hundred Hands (i). If Mr. *Charpentier* had known the Satyrical Wit of our Libellers, he would probably have abstained from Comparisons. He would have thought on *Lucian*.

(i) *Taken from* Lucian in Deorum dialogis pag. 173, 174. tom. 1. *See* Homer Iliad. lib. 1. v. 398. & seq.

(G) *They might be led into this Error, by a sort of Reasoning.*] Let us see first of all, what *Hesiod* says of the Genealogy of the Gods. He (k) begins with the *Chaos*; this is the first Being he lays down; afterwards he brings in the *Earth* and *Love*: he adds, that *Erebus* and the *Night* were begotten by the *Chaos*, and that *Æther* and the *Day* proceeded from the Marriage of *Erebus*, and *Night*; and that the *Earth*, without any Marriage begot *Heaven* and the *Sea*, and afterwards being married to *Coelus*, she produced *Oceanus*, *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Tethys*, *Saturn*, &c. This extraordinary fruitful Marriage gave but little Comfort to the Earth; for *Heaven* her Husband shut up all her Children as fast as they were born. She incouraged 'em to Revenge, and did it so effectually, that *Saturn* (l) with a Stroak of a Sythe cut off his Father's nameless Parts, and cast 'em into the Sea. They produc'd a Froth, from which sprung the Goddess *Venus*. The Children of *Saturn* and *Rhea*, were *Vesta*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Pluto*, *Neptune*, *Jupiter*. This is what I take from *Hesiod*'s Poem. Some other Genealogists said (n), that *Æther* and the *Day*, Children of *Erebus* and of the *Night*, were the Father and Mother of *Cœlus*, and had for their Brothers and Sisters, *Love*, *Fraud*, *Fear*, *Labour*, *Envy*, *Destiny*, *Old Age*, *Death*, *Darkness*, *Misery*, *Dreams*, &c. We have seen in another Place how *Carneades* made use of this Genealogy to confute the Theology of the *Stoicks*. I shall only say now, that according to this Tree of Consanguinity, there must have been necessarily some Gods, whose Fathers were not Gods; for if on one Hand it had been granted to *Carneades*, that *Heaven*, *Æther*, the *Day*, *Erebus*, the *Night*, were Gods, they would have denied on the other, that the *Chaos*, which was antecedent to all these Divine Beings, was a God, and consequently they were forced to say, that the Gods had been made of a Matter, which was not a God, and without an efficient Cause which had the Nature of a God. This is certainly a Thought, which contradicts the most solid and the most evident Notions of Natural Reason; nevertheless, some great Philosophers have supposed the Generation of the Gods, and have assigned them a Cause of their Being, which was not a God. (p) *Anaximenes omnes rerum causas infinito aeri dedit, nec deos negavit aut tacuit: non tamen ab ipsis aerem factum, sed* IPSOS EX AERE ORTOS *credidit*. By which Words of St. *Augustin*, we better understand the Doctrine of *Anaximenes*, than by these of *Cicero*: *Anaximenes aera deum statuit, eumque gigni, effique immensum & infinitum, & semper in motu* (q). *Cicero* does not seem to have well related the Opinion of this Philosopher; for since *Anaximenes* made the Air the Principle of all things, and ascribed to it Immensity and Infinity, we must believe, that he supposed it eternal, and unproduced, and that if he called it God under this Notion, he did not believe the Generation of God on that respect. When therefore he said, that the infinite Air was the cause of all Beings, and that the Gods themselves were produced from it, he did not ascribe to it the Name and Nature of God, in the same Sence, that he ascribed it to the Gods, which owed their Origin and Existence to the Air. Perhaps he meant this: He was willing, in order to avoid all Disputes about Words, to give the Name of God to the immense and infinite Air, which he looked upon as the Principle of all Things; but he did not pretend, that *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Neptune*, *Minerva*, and the other Gods, which the Heathens adored, were that Air, or had produced it: He supposed on the contrary, that that Air was their Principle, as well as that of other Beings which compose the Universe. He gave this Principle a perpetual Motion, from whence it may be concluded, that he took it for an immanent Cause, which produced in it self infinite Effects, without end; and he reckoned amongst those Effects, not only the Stars and Meteors, Plants, Stones and Metals, but also the Gods and Men. Such a Doctrine was at the bottom a meer Spinozism; for according to this Opinion, God, or the eternal and necessary Being of *Anaximenes*, was the only Substance, of which Heaven and Earth, the Animals, &c. were but Modifications. *Thales* perhaps was of such an Opinion, who taught that Water (a) was the Principle of all things. Perhaps he called it God on that Account. This was the God he meant, when he said (b), that God having not been produced, was the eldest of all Beings. He added, that the World (c) being the Work of God, was the noblest of all Beings. *Spinoza* would acknowledge this; he does not deny that God is the cause of all Things, that is to say, the immanent Cause, which modifies it self a thousand different Ways, from whence results what we call the World, and the whole Universe in General. If *Thales* said also (d) that the World is animated, and full of Spirits, this signified perhaps, that Water, the Principle of all things, the unproduced God, had so modified it self, that it had formed a Soul dispersed through all Bodies, and particular Spirits like the Gods, which were adored by the Heathens. This would help us to comprehend, what we have seen elsewhere (e), and which is doubtless very surprizing, namely, that *Thales*, and the other Naturalists, who lived before *Anaxagoras*, explained the Generation of the World, without interposing the Direction of a Divine Intelligence. *Thales* and *Anaximenes* could not mention it, if they supposed, the one that Water,

(k) *Hesiod de Deor. genesat. v.* 116.

(l) *Id. ib. v.* 180.

(m) *Id. ib. v.* 453.

(n) *See Cicero de natura Deorum lib.* 3. *pag. m.* 625.

(p) *Augustin. de civit. Dei lib.* 8. *cap.* 2. *pag. m.* 711.

(q) *Cicero de natura Deorum, lib.* 1. *pag. m.* 38.

(a) *Diog. Laert. lib.* 1. *n.* 27.

(b) Ὑμνοθεόλογοι τῶν ὕδωρ, φησὶ, ἀρχὴν ὑπολαβόντων, καὶ ἐξ ὕδατος πάντα γεγονέναι. *Antiquissimum quidem omnium quæ sunt, Deus; ingenitus enim. Pulcherrimum mundus; à Deo enim factus est. Id. ibid. n.* 35.

(c) *See the foregoing Quotation*

(d) Τὸν κόσμον ἔμψυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη. *Animatum mundum ac dæmonibus plenum. Id. ib. n.* 27. *See also* Aristotle de anima, lib. 1, c. 5.

(e) *In the Remark D of the Article* Anaxagoras.

nius Conjectures that it was consecrated to *Jupiter*: His reason is because (*H*) that Epithet belongs by way of Pre-eminence to the greatest of the Gods. 'Tis certain that *Jupiter's* Goodness was denoted by many Sirnames, under which he was adored. But (*I*) he was likewise adored under many Names, which shewed how Terrible he was

Water, and the other, that Air was the Principle of all Things, a Principle Eternal, and unproduc'd; for tho' to avoid Contention about Words, they called this Universal and Uncreated Principle, God, they could not consider it as an intelligent Cause antecedently to the particular Beings, which it formed, since it produc'd 'em in it self, and from it self, as an immanent Cause, and not as a Cause External, and Distinct from its Matter. But because *Anaxagoras* was the first who Acknowledged a Spirit Distinct from the Matter of the World, a pure Spirit, and unmixt with Body, he must have reasoned otherwise than the Naturalists his Predecessors: He might say, that the World had been formed by the Direction of a Spirit, that disentangled and put the Parts of Matter into order. His Hypothesis admitted an Intelligence antecedent to the formation of the World; the other Systems supposed nothing before the World, except the Chaos, or Water or Air, *&c.* And so they were to give a beginning to intelligent Beings, as well as to the courser Creatures. All things proceeded from the first Principle by way of Generation or Production. *Jupiter* the greatest of the Gods, *Saturn* his Father, and *Cœlus* his Grandfather, *Æther* his Great Grandfather, and all the Genealogy upwards, was a particular Being, which owed its Origin, Birth, and Existence to Eternal and Uncreated Matter, the Principle of all Things, to the Chaos according to *Hesiod*, to Water according to *Thales*, and to Air according to *Anaximenes*. But, you'll say, did not *Thales* (g) Acknowledge, that the Gods knew the very Thoughts of Men? I Answer, that we can only conclude from it, that he ascribed a vast extent of Knowledge to some of the Beings, which the Water had produc'd, and which were called *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Neptune*, &c. Note that *Homer*, who so Pompously describes the Power of the Gods, says, they all proceeded from the Ocean.

(g) Ἱστορεῖ τις αὐτὸν καὶ λέξαι πρὸς τὸν ἐπόμενον ἐρόμενον. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐποίησεν. Interrogatus interest ne Deos homo male agens: ne cogitans quidem, inquit. *Laert. ib.*

Τὸν (h) τε θεῶν γένεσιν ἠδὲ μητέρα Τηθύν.

Oceanumque Deorum parentem & matrem Tethyn.

(h) *Homer. Il. l.* 14. *v.* 201.

The great and prodigious Absurdity of those Systems consists in saying, that the Gods adorn'd with great Knowledge were form'd from a Principle, which knows nothing; for neither the Chaos, nor the Air, are thinking Beings. How then could they be the total Cause of those Divine Natures, who in the System of the Poets, and of the most Antient Naturalists, knew so many things? But tho' those Systems be never so False and Absurd, I no longer wonder, as I did, how they could be admitted by Philosophers. Most of 'em (*i*) suppos'd that the Soul of Man was Corporal. They believed therefore, that it was formed of the subtilest Parts of the Blood, or of the Seed. Now when once this Step is made, one may go a great way in a little time. Set Experience aside; consult only the Ideas of the Theory, and it will not appear more easie for Matter received in the Womb to be converted into a Child, who by Eating and Drinking grows into a Man of great Understanding, than for a Child to be Born of a Tree. Then a Heathen thinks it possible, that at the beginning Men should have been Born either from the Mud of the Earth, or from some Liquor dropt from Heaven. When this seems to be possible, 'tis easie to go on, and to believe what the Poets did of the Birth of *Venus*. It is no longer thought strange, that by the Fermentation which cleared the Chaos, or formed the different Degrees of Rarefaction and Condensation in the infinite Extension, the Stars should begin to Exist in the Firmament, and the Gods in Heaven, as Plants and Animals on the Globe of the Earth. The common Opinion of the Heathens about the Divine Nature made but some difference betwixt the Gods and Men. Now consequently to this, nothing hinder'd them from imagining, that the finest and subtilest parts of Matter had constituted the Gods, since those which remained Massive and Gross, and which as the Lees and Sediment of all, had Compos'd the Earth, were nevertheless converted into Men. Note, that they thought, that some Spirituous Particles falling from Heaven, were sufficient to Animate these Gross and Terrestrial Parts: hence it is that *Lucretius* Acknowledged that living Bodies have a Celestial Original.

Denique (m) cœlesti sumus omnes semine oriundi:
Omnibus ille idem Pater est, unde alma liquentes
Humorum guttas Mater cum Terra recepit,
Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbustaque læta,
Et genus humanum, & parit omnia sæcla ferarum,
Pabula cum præbet, quibus omnes corpora pascunt,
Et dulcem ducunt vitam, prolemque propagant.
Quapropter merito Maternum nomen adepta est.

(m) *Lucret. l.* 2. *v.* 990. *To which may be added these Words of Virgil Georg. l.* 2. *v.* 325. Tum pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus Æther Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, & omnes Magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fœtus.

We may infer from all this that there is nothing more dangerous or contagious, than to lay down a false Principle. 'Tis a bad Leaven, which tho' it be but small, may spoil the whole Lump. One Absurdity once laid down draws after it many others. If you are only in an Error about the Nature of the Humane Soul; if you falsly think that 'tis not a substance Distinct from Extension; that falsity will lead you to believe that there are Gods, who at first were Born from Fermentation, and afterwards Multiplied by Marriage. I can't conclude, without observing a thing at which I am Amazed. Nothing appears to me grounded upon clearer and more distinct Ideas than the Immateriality of every thinking Being, and yet some Christian Philosophers maintain, that Extension is capable of Thought; and they are Philosophers of great Parts, and of a most profound Meditation. Can we depend after this on the clearness of Ideas? But, don't these Philosophers see, that upon such a Foundation the Antient *Heathens* might Err so far as to say, that all intelligent Substances, had a Beginning, and that Eternally there was nothing besides Matter? This was the Opinion of the Philosopher *Anaximenes*, as we have seen above. 'Twas also the Doctrine of *Anaximander* (o) his Master. This Inconvenience cannot be prevented by this Corrective; namely that Matter becomes Thinking, only by a parte that Gift of God. It would be true, notwithstanding, that it is naturally susceptible of Thought; and that to make it actually Thinking, it suffices to put it in motion, or to order its Parts in a certain manner. from whence it follows, that an Eternal, Unintelligent, but moveable Matter might have produced both Gods and Men, as the Poets and some *Heathen* Philosophers have Foolishly given out.

(n) Anaximander infinitam naturæ dixit esse Cyprum unde gigni omnia. *Cicero Academ. quæst. l.* 2. *fol.* 211. B. Anaximandri opinio est nativos esse Deos, longis temporum intervallis Orientes, Occidentesque. *Id. de natura Deor. l.* 1. *p. m.* 36.

(*H*) *That Epithet belongs——to the greatest of the Gods.*] This thought of *Pausanias* seems to me to be very good, and I think it will not be amiss to set down this Passage. (*a*) Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Δία τὸν Ἀγραῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων βασιλέα, καὶ ἐς ἄλλους ὅσοις Διὸς ἐπίκλησίς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δυνάμεως, ταύτῃ δὲ ἐπιβλέπων Διὸς ἐστὶν ὀνόματα ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτο δεῖν τιθέμενον. *Ad ejus vis lavam Boni Dei ades est. Quod si dii hominibus bonorum autores sunt, deorum vero supremus est Jupiter, recte quidem hoc Jovis maxime proprium cognomen esse conjicere posse.* See in the Article (*b*) *Pericles* several Collections concerning the Notions which the *Heathens* had of the Goodness of *Jupiter*, and of the other Gods.

(*a*) *Pausan. l.* 8. *c.* 30. *p.* 673.

(*I*) Jupiter's *Goodness was denoted——But he was likewise adored——Nay, his Quality of Thunderer was denoted by the bare Idea.*] These two sorts of Epithets have been observed by *Lucian*. (*c*) Ὦ Ζεῦ σωτὴρ, ἢ ξένιε, ἢ ἑταιρεῖε, ἢ ἀγοραῖε, ἢ ὁμόγνιε, ἢ ὁμοσπόνδιε, ἢ ἱκεσίε, ἢ εἴ τι σοι ἄλλο ἐπίκλησιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἔχεις. *O Jupiter Philie, hospitalis, sodalitie, domestice, fulgurator, juramenti præses, nubicoge, grandistrepe, & si quod aliud tibi cognomen attoniti pœtæ tribuunt.* Jupiter appears there first as the Protector of Friendship, as an Hospitable, Familiar, and Domestick God; and afterwards as the God of Thunder and Lightning. You'll find in

(*b*) *In the Remark L.*

(*c*) *Lucian. in Timone init. p.* 57. *tom.* 1.

Pyr-

was. Nay, his Quality of Thunderer was denoted by the bare Idea of his Deſcent upon Earth. There were ſome Places, wherein 'tis ſaid he required (K) Humane Sacrifices. I ſhall ſay in another place *, that the Book Intituled *Cymbalum mundi* contains a great deal of Mirth upon *Jupiter's* Actions; but I queſtion whether 'tis poſſible to go farther than *Arnobius* on ſuch a Subject. The quickneſs of his Imagination flows like a Torrent, and as he had lately been a profeſt Rhetorician, there are no Colours nor Figures but what he adorns his Style with. I relate in ſeveral places of this Dictionary ſome of his Thoughts, and I have mention'd in one of 'em his Jeſt upon *Jupiter* for ſpending nine Nights in getting a Boy, who wanted only one to get fifty Maids with Child. There is ſome probability that his Memory failed him. He had Read that *Jupiter* ſpent nine Nights (L) in the Production of the Muſes, and he applied this to a quite different Subject, I mean, to the Adventures of *Alcmena*. Authors, who have a quick and lively Fancy, are Subject to the like Miſtakes. *Jupiter* made Love both in Heaven and upon Earth, he took all that came, whether Goddeſſes or Women; 'twas all one to him. *Arnobius* did not forget this, and obſerved that the Bodies of Mortal Women, (M) tho' Tranſparent with reſpect to *Jupiter*, had yet ſufficient Charms to Inſpire him with a Lewd Paſſion. 'Tis not improper to obſerve, that the Ridiculous Stories, which the Poets had vented concerning that God, ſerved as a Foundation for the *Pagan* Religion, and that ſome Grave Men indeavoured to explain 'em either Allegorically

* *In the Article Periers.*

Pauſanias in what Places he was Adored under the name of Mild, (d) μειλίχιος, the diſtributer of good things, (e) ἐπιβάτης, &c. and under the Name of Thunderer, (f) κεραύνιος. His Title of καταιβάτης is not leſs common both in Books and upon Medals. It ſignifies only *deſcendens*, if we conſider the Grammar of it; but uſe has Determined it to the Action of Thundering. You need only Read the Diſſertation (g) which Mr. *Burman* has Publiſhed at *Utrecht*, to be convinced, that this is the Notion, under which *Jupiter* καταιβάτης was honoured. Not that it was believed, that he never Deſcended upon Earth, but to Puniſh and to Thunder; but they thought fit at laſt to ſettle the ſignification of it; either becauſe of the Maxim, *à majori*, or *à nobiliori parte ſumitur denominatio*, or for other Reaſons. The *French* have ſaid in one of their Opera's

Jupiter vient ſur la terre
Pour la combler de bienfaits:
Il eſt armé du tonnerre;
Mais c'eſt pour donner la paix.

(d) *Pauſan. l. 1. c. 37. p. 90. l. 2. c. 9. p. 132. & c. 20. p. 154.*
(e) *Id. l. 8. c. 9. p. 616.*
(f) *Id. l. 5. c. 14. p. 412.*
(g) *Intituled Jovis epithetorum, ſive Jupiter fulgurator.*

I know not whether they have found that Notion in the Monuments of Antiquity that are Extant.

(K) *He required Humane Sacrifices.*] There was ſcarce any Temple of *Jupiter*, more Celebrated than that which was built on Mount *Lycæus* in *Arcadia*. The Tradition of the Country imported (h) that he was Educated upon that Mountain by three Nymphs, one whereof gave her Name to a Fountain, which had a wonderful Property; for when any long Drought waſted the Fruits of the Earth, they never failed of a plentiful Rain, provided the Prieſt of *Jupiter Lycæus* threw an Oaken Branch upon the Surface of that Fountain, after the Requiſite Prayers and Sacrifices (i). There was upon the ſame Mountain, a Court conſecrated to this God, and famous for wonderful Qualities; for the Men and the Beaſts, that went into it, caſt no Shade. Every Body was forbidden to ſet his Foot into it; and if any had the boldneſs to go in notwithſtanding the Prohibition, he neceſſarily Died before the year was expired. *Arcas* having purſued as far as that Place the Bear, into which his Mother was Metamorphoſed, had been put to Death with her, if *Jupiter* had not placed 'em among the Stars. (k) *In ſilvis cum venaretur* (Arcas) *inſcius vidit matrem in urſæ ſpeciem converſam, quam interficere cogitans, perſecutus eſt in Jovis Lycæi templum: quo & qui acceſſiſſet, mors pœna erat Arcadum lege. Itaque cum utrumque neceſſe eſſet interfici, Jupiter eorum miſertus, ereptos inter ſidera collocavit.* St. *Auſtin* informs us of what concerns the Sacrifices of Children. (l) *Nominatim expreſſit* (Varro) *quendam Demænetum, quum guſtaſſet de ſacrificio, quod Arcades immolato puero deo ſuo Lycæo facere ſolerent, in lupum fuiſſe mutatum, & anno decimo in figuram propriam reſtitutum, ad pugillatum ſeſe exercuiſſe, & Olympiaco viciſſe certamine.* This Sacrifice had a ſtrange Virtue, it Metamorphoſ'd thoſe who taſted it into Wolves. *Porphyrius* (m) obſerves, that the cuſtom of Sacrificing Men in *Arcadia* at the Feaſt of the *Lupercalia*, remain'd in his time. Note by the by, that (n) *Saturn* was not the only Deity that Delighted in Humane Victims. *Jupiter* his Son would not Degenerate in that reſpect.

(h) *Pauſan. l. 8. c. 38. p. 678.*
(i) *Id. ib.*
(k) *Hygin. in Aſtronomico c. 4. p. m. 502. See alſo c. 2. p. 357.*
(l) *Auguſt. de civit. Dei l. 18. c. 17. p. m. 580.*
(m) *Porphyr. l. de non edendis animal.*

(L) *That* Jupiter *ſpent nine Nights in the Production of the Muſes.*] *Mnemoſyne*, *Saturn's* Siſter, (o) having lain nine Nights together with *Jupiter* her Nephew, Lay-in of the nine Muſes upon Mount *Pierius*.

Τὰς (p) ἐν Πιερίῃ Κρονίδῃ τέκε πατρὶ μιγεῖσα
Μνημοσύνη . . . . .
. . . . . .
Ἐννῆμαρ οἱ πάλλας ἐμήσατο μητίετα Ζεύς,
Νόσφιν ἀπ' ἀθανάτων, εἰς ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνων.
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ περίμετρος ἐην, περὶ δ' ἔτραπον ὧραι
Μηνῶν φθινόντων, περὶ δ' ἤματα πόλλ' ἐτελέσθη,
Τὴ δ' ἔτεκ' ἐννέα κούρας ὁμόφρονας, ἦτορ ἐπ' αὐτὸ
Μολπῆς ἐμμελέης.

(o) *Heſiod. in Theogon. v. 135.*
(p) *Id. ib. v. 53.*

Quæ in Pieria Saturnio peperit patri mixta Mnemoſyne.
. . . . . .
Novem enim ei noctes mixtus eſt prudens Jupiter,
Seorſim ab immortalibus, ſacrum lectum conſcendens.
Sed cum jam annus exactus, circumvoluta vero eſſent tempora
Menſium decreſcentium, dieſque multi tranſacti eſſent,
Ipſa peperit novem filias concordes, quibus carmen Cura eſt.

A Scholiaſt upon *Heſiod* pretends that *Mnemoſyne* was *Jupiter's* Daughter; but 'tis not thus that the Words of that Poet ought to be underſtood. The ſame Scholiaſt propoſes a doubt to himſelf: How, ſays he, could *Hercules* get fifty one Sons in a Night, whilſt *Jupiter* ſtood in need of nine Days to beget the nine Muſes? He anſwers, that *Jupiter* not being Ignorant, that the love of the Muſes arrives ſlowly to its perfection, reſolved to make uſe of a perfect number. If this Scholiaſt deſerves no Commendation for the Solidity of his Thoughts, he at leaſt deſerves to be praiſed for his Brevity upon a Subject, that might have afforded an Allegoriſt Infinite Obſervations and Moral Precepts.

(M) Arnobius——*obſerved that the Bodies of Mortal Women, tho' tranſparent with reſpect to* Jupiter, *had ſufficient Charms.*] Perhaps, ſays he, his Adulteries might be Tolerated, if he had minded only the Goddeſſes; but what could he find worthy of him in Humane Bodies? Ought he not to have an Averſion for thoſe Objects, which are under the Skin, and which are not hid from his piercing Eyes? Ought not the Sight to produce in him the ſame diſguſt, which the bare Imagination can produce in all others? (a) *Et tolerari forſitan malestractatio hæc poſſet, ſi cum ſaltem perſonis conjungeretis comparibus, & adulter à vobis immortalium conſtitueretur deorum. In humanis verò corporibus quidnam*

(n) See the *Penſées diverſes ſur les Comettes n. 69.*
(x) *Arnob. l. 4. p. m. 142.*

tically (N) or Pyhſically; but their Labour was as Ridiculous as that of the Poets, and terminated very often in ſerious Impieties. See the Remark N, where I ſhall ſpeak of thoſe who ſaid that *Juno* was the Air, and *Jupiter* the *Æther*.

JUSTINIANI, (*Auguſtin*) Biſhop of *Nebbio* in the Iſle of *Corſica*, was Born at *Genoa* in the year 1470. He became a Dominican the 25*th*. of *April* 1487, and applied himſelf to his Studies with ſo much Earneſtneſs, and under ſuch able Maſters, that he became a very Learned Man. He underſtood Philoſophy, Mathematicks, Divinity, Greek, Hebrew, Arabick, and Chaldee. He Taught in the Province of *Lombardy* eighteen years with great Advantage to his Hearers; he was made Biſhop of *Nebbio* the fifteenth of *November* 1514, at the Recommendation of Cardinal *Bendinello Saoli* his Couſin, and Receiv'd his Bulls before he knew the good Offices this Cardinal had done him. He aſſiſted at the Council of *Lateran*, and oppoſed ſome Articles of the *Concordate* agreed upon between *France* and the Court of *Rome*. Nevertheleſs *Francis I.* invited him to *Paris*, and made him his Almoner. He made uſe of this Prelate's great Skill to ſet up the Study of the Oriental Tongues in the Univerſity of *Paris*. *Juſtiniani* finding himſelf ſo near *England*, took a Voyage thither, and was very much

nam quæſo inerat pulchritudinis, quid decoris, quod invitare, quod flectere oculos poſſet in ſe Jovis? Cutes, viſcera, pituita, atque omnis illa proluvies inteſtinorum ſub involucris conſtituta: quam non modo Lynceus ille penetrabili acie poſſit horreſcere, verumetiam quivis alter ſola vel (b) cogitatione vitare. O egregiam merces culpæ! ô digna & pretioſa dulcedo, propter quam Jupiter maximus cygnus fieret, & taurus, & candidorum procreator ovorum! This Objection of *Arnobius* is a good one, and a hundred times more forcible than if a great King was cenſured for Debauching not only Princeſſes but alſo the meaneſt Women. I ſhall ſet down what *Juno* told *Thetis*, ſhewing her the reaſon of her Affection for her.

(b) Compare with this the following Words of Ovid. Tunc animo ſigna quodcunque in corpore mendæ eſt, &c. in Remedio amoris p. m. 222.

Οὔνομ' (c) ἐν ἔπεσι σὺν ἐμὸν ἔπλετο πάντα,
Αἰεὶ δὲ (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ θεός εἰμι καὶ ἔμπλεον ἦτορ)
Ἔπλετο σὸν φίλημα τὸ σὸν φίλον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.

Propterea quod noluiſti Jovis quamquam optantis cubile
Uſurpare (quoniam hoc illi ſtudetur opus,
Ut vel æternas inſomnis vel amplectatur humanas.

(c) Apollonius Argon. l. 4. v. 793. & p. m. 453. 454.

(N) *To explain 'em either Allegorically, or Phyſically; but their Labour was as Ridiculous.*] We have ſeen in another place how *Cicero* ridicul'd the Philoſopher *Chryſippus*, who had taken the Pains to reconcile the Fables of the Antient Poets with the Stoical Theology. Here's a Paſſage that will give us a Specimen of that Attempt: (c) *Hic locus à Zenone tractatus, poſt à Cleanthe, & Chryſippo pluribus verbis explicatus eſt. Nam vetus hæc opinio Græciam opplevit, exſectum Cælum à filio Saturno; vinctum autem Saturnum ipſum à filio Jove. Phyſica ratio non inelegans incluſa eſt in impias fabulas. Calceſtem enim altiſſimam, æthereamque naturam; id eſt, ignem, qua per ſeſe omnia gigneret, vacare voluerunt eâ parte corporis, qua coniunctione alterius egeret ad procreandum. Saturnum autem eum eſſe voluerunt, qui curſum, & converſionem ſpatiorum, ac temporum contineret——— Saturnus autem eſt appellatus, quod ſaturetur annis: ex ſe enim natos comeſſe fingitur ſolitus, quia conſumit ætas temporum ſpatia, anniſque præteritis infaturabiliter expletur. Vinctus eſt autem à Jove, ne immoderatos curſus haberet, atque ut eum ſiderum vinculis alligaret.* This is ſufficient to ſhew the Folly of thoſe Explications. We can't read 'em without pitying the Philoſophers who have ſo ill employ'd their time; and if we deplore on one Hand the Miſchievous Conſequences of the Fictions of the Poets, and the unruly Licence with which they have ſported upon a Subject, that deſerved to be Reverently Treated; we can't but be diverted, on the other, with their pleaſant Inventions, whilſt we conſider them as witty Conceits. But when we ſee ſome Philoſophers very Gravely undertake to find Myſteries in theſe Follies, we can no longer bear their Extravagance: And theſe Words may well be applied to them.

(c) Cicero de natura Deor. l. 2. p. m. 330.

(f) *Martial. Epig. 86. l. 2.*

Turpe (f) eſt difficiles habere nugas,
Et ſtultus eſt labor ineptiarum.

The greateſt Miſchief is, that whilſt they endeavoured to avoid an Impiety, they fell into another; for by Rejecting the Gods of the Poets, Animated and Living Gods, they brought in others Deſtitute of Life and Knowledge. *Cicero* upbraids 'em with it. (g) *Hic idem (Zeno) alio loco æthera Deum dicit eſſe, ſi intelligi poteſt nihil ſentiens Deus, qui nunquam nobis occurrit neque in precibus, neque in optatis, neque in votis. Aliis autem libris rationem quandam per omnem pertinentem naturam, ut divinam, eſſe affectam putat. Idem aſtris hoc idem tribuit, tum annis, menſibus, annorumque mutationibus. Cùm verò Heſiodi Theogoniam interpretatur, tollit omnino uſitatas perceptaſque cognitiones Deorum, neque enim Jovem, neque Junonem, neque Veſtam, neque quenquam qui ita appellatur, in Deorum habet numero; ſed rebus inanimatis, atque mutis per quandam ſignificationem hac docet tributa nomina,* By theſe falſe Interpretations they uſed Men to take the Arched Skies for *Jupiter*. (h) *Hunc Ennius nuncupat ita dicens.*

(g) Cicero de natura Deor. l. 1. p. 58.

Aſpice hoc
Sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem.

(h) Id. ib. l. 1. p. 330, 331.

Planiuſque alio loco idem,
Cui, quod in me eſt, exſecrabor hoc, quo lucet,
quidquid eſt.

Hunc etiam Augures noſtri, cùm dicunt, Jove fulgente, tonante: dicunt enim cælo fulgente, tonante. Euripides autem, ut multa præclarè; ſic hoc breviter.
Vides ſublime fuſum, immoderatum æthera,
Qui tenero terram circumjectu amplectitur:
Hunc ſummum habeto Divûm: hunc perhibeto Jovem.

As for *Juno*, they reduc'd her to the Air, as *Cicero* informs us. (i) *Aer autem, ut Stoici diſputant, interjectus inter mare, & cælum, Junonis nomine conſecratur, qua eſt ſoror & conjux Jovis, quod & ſimilitudo eſt Æthere, & cum eo ſumma conjunctio. Effeminarunt autem eum, Junonique tribuerunt, quod nihil eſt eo mollius.* There was no avoiding of Abſurdies or Impieties in that Syſtem. Which I prove thus: You believe that *Jupiter* ſo much Celebrated by the Poets, whom you adore in the Capitol, and every where elſe, is that great ſpace wherein we ſee ſo many Stars; and that *Juno*, Siſter and Wife of *Jupiter*, ſo Jealous, ſo Haughty, and Powerful, to whom the *Argivi* and other Nations pay ſo many Honours, is the Air that incompaſſes the Earth, and gets into the Lungs of Animals, and in which the Clouds, the Rain, &c. are formed? But is it not Evident that this Celeſtial Space, and this Air are a Portion of the Matter of the World, and that Matter, as Matter, cannot think? Don't we clearly know that *the Air* has no more Life or Knowledge than Snow and Hail? If therefore *Juno* is nothing but the Air, it is Ridiculous to direct Prayers, and offer Sacrifices to her; for ſhe hears and knows nothing, and therefore your Doctrine overthrows Religion; 'tis a material Atheiſm; you Rob *Juno* of all her Divinity; you only leave her the Vain and Indeterminate Name of a Goddeſs; and you are more Abſurd than *Epicurus*, ſince you Worſhip an illuſive and Imaginary Name. *Juno* is only an Inſtance; but *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, and all the other Deities fall in the ſame manner, by the force of the ſame Argument. If you ſay that you don't conſider the Air as a meer Body, when you maintain that *Juno* is the Air, explain to me, what other Notion you have of it. Do you ſuppoſe that the Air is United to the Goddeſs *Juno*, and that

(i) Id. ib. p. 339.

much Careſſed by *Henry VIII.* He Collected a very fine Library, (*A*) and left it by his Will to the Republick of *Genoa*. He made many Reparations in his Biſhoprick, and increaſed the Revenues of it; he ſo Beautified his Cathedral Church, Dedicated to the Holy Virgin, that *Maracci* placed him among her Faithful Servants. He alſo † Tranſlated into the Vulgar Tongue ſome Latin Works, the Reading whereof might be uſeful to Clergy-men. He loſt his Life at Sea, (*B*) in paſſing from *Genoa* to the Iſle of *Corſica*, in the year 1536 *. He was not only a Learned Prelate, but very Laborious, as it appears from the Works he Compoſed, (*C*) and from thoſe which he cauſed to be Printed. I mention 'em in a Remark. He went about a Polyglot Bible, part

† Traſportando ancora da Latino in volgare de' libri per giovamento del ſuo Clero. *The Abbot Michael Juſtiniani ubi infra p.* 17.

* Taken from the Abbot *Michael Juſtiniani, gli ſcrittori Liguri deſcritti p.* 16. *& ſequent.*

that ſhe is the Soul of it? But is not this to ſuppoſe, a ſort of Animal, of which we have no Idea? Do's not the Notion of an Animal imply a Conjunction of Parts, which Conſtitute one intire *continuum*? Do's it not exclude what we call *quantitas diſcreta*? And is it not certain that the Parts of the Air are continually ſeparating from one another, and that the leaſt Stone that is caſt into it, makes a Solution of its Continuity, which muſt be a very ſmarting Wound, if the Air be an Animal? To what inconveniencies do you expoſe the Divinity of *Juno*, in making her the Soul of the Air? Do's ſhe not conſtantly receive abundance of Wounds? If you Anſwer me that this Deity is united to the Air, not to be its Soul, but only to Influence it, you fall into another Abſurdity, which is no leſs Ridiculous, than if we ſhould ſay, that a Pilot is a Ship, and that a Rider is a Horſe. Will you Anſwer, that there is a great deal of difference betwixt theſe things, ſince a Pilot is not united to the Ship, as *Juno* is to the Air? Explain therefore that Union, and obſerve how *Ariſtotle* puzzles you, when he ſays, it is againſt Reaſon, that the Air and Fire ſhould be Animals; but that if they have a Soul, it is an Abſurdity to ſay, they are not. Conſider well theſe Words: (*a*) Διὰ τίνα μὲν γὰρ αἰτίαν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, ἢ ἐν τῷ πυρὶ ἔστι ψυχὴ, ἄνοιαν ζῴου, ἢ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐν μὲν τοῖς μικτοῖς, ἢ ταῦτα βελτίονα ἐν τούτοις εἶναι δοκοῦσι, ἐπιζητήσειεν ἂν τις, ἢ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ψυχὴ, τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις βελτίων ἐστὶ ἢ ἀθανασίᾳ. συμβαίνει δὲ ἀμφοτέρως ἄτοπον ἢ παράλογον, ἢ γὰρ τὸ λίχνον ζῶον τὸ πῦρ, ἢ τὸν ἀέρα, πᾶν παραλογώτερον ἐστί. ἢ μὴ λέγειν ζῶα ψυχῆς ὑπάρχειν, ἄτοπον· *Quam enim ob cauſam anima in aëre quidem vel igne ſi ineſt, non facit animal, in miſtis autem facit: præſertim cum in illis videatur eſſe præſtantior! Quæret etiam quiſpiam quam ob cauſam anima ea, quæ eſt in aëre, præſtabilior eſt ac inmortalior ea, quæ in animalibus ineſt. Utrobique autem emergit quoddam abſurdum & rationis egrediens metas, nam ignem aut aërem animal eſſe dicere, rationis egreditur fines, & aſſerere rurſus animalia non eſſe, ſi inſit in ipſis anima, pergbſurdum eſt ſane.* Thus you find your ſelves betwixt two Precipices. If *Juno* is the Soul of the Air, and if the Air and ſhe do not Conſtitute an Animal, it is an Intolerable Abſurdity; but if they Compoſe an Animal, it is both an Abſurdity, and a horrible Impiety. *Carneades* with that ſtrength of Reaſon, which was his Peculiar Talent, confuted (*b*) invincibly the pretended Exiſtence of this kind of Animal.

(*a*) *Ariſtotle de anima l.* 1. *c.* 5. *p. m.* 485. *tom.* 1. *oper.*

(*b*) *See his Arguments in* Cicero *l.* 3. *de natura Deor. p. m.* 612.

I ſhall conclude with a Notion of *Pauſanias*. He tells us that he Diſputed one Day with a *Sidonian* in the Temple of *Æſculapius*. That Man maintain'd that the *Phenicians* were much more ſkill'd than the *Greeks*, in matters relating to the Deity, and in others alſo. They ſay, added he, that *Æſculapius* is the Son of *Apollo*, and they don't ſuppoſe that he had a Woman for his Mother; for he is the Air, the Fountain of Health, both for Men and Beaſts. *Apollo*, who is the Sun, is juſtly eſteemed *Æſculapius*'s Father, ſince by the Viciſſitudes of the Seaſons, which his motion brings about, he makes the Air Healthy. *Pauſanias* granted all this; but he maintain'd, that they did not belong to the *Phenicians* more than to the *Greeks*, and that it is manifeſt even to Children, that the Health of Men is an effect of the Sun's Motion (*c*). Judge by this of the Orthodoxy of the *Heathens*. Thoſe, who pretended to underſtand beſt Theological Doctrines, made it appear, when they explain'd themſelves clearly, that they Acknowledged no other Gods, beſides the Air, the Stars, &c. This was at the bottom a true Atheiſm; it was to convert the neceſſity of Nature into God. I have obſerv'd in *Euripides*, a Paſſage in which *Jupiter* is invok'd, without knowing truely what he was. He is ſaid to Govern all things juſtly by Occult Ways; but he who ſpeaks theſe Words adds that it is very difficult to know him, and that he knows not whether he be the neceſſity of Nature, or Humane Underſtanding. What a Faith is this! A *Spinoziſt* would not much ſcruple to Subſcribe to it.

(*c*) *Taken from* Pauſanias *l.* 7. *c.* 23. *p.* 583.

Ὦ (*d*) γῆς ἔχημα, καὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν,
Ὅστις ποτ' εἶ σὺ δυσπρόσιπτος εἰδέναι
Ζεύς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεως, εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν,
Προσευξάμην σε, πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀξόστου
Βαίνων κελεύθου, ᾗ δίκαι' ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄγεις.

O terræ vehiculum, & in terra habens ſedem,
Quicunque tandem es, imperveſtigabilis animis noſtris
Jupiter, ſive es neceſſitas naturæ, ſive mens mortalium,
Te invoco, omnia enim per ſilentium:
Vadens viam ducis mortalia juſte.

(*d*) *Hecuba apud Euripidem in Troadibus v.* 884. *p. m.* 197.

(*A*) *A very fine Library, and left it by his Will.*] It was eſpecially commendable for the great number of Antient Manuſcripts in all Languages, and Sciences, which he had Collected with vaſt Labour and Expence. But ſome of 'em he had without any Coſt and Pains: I mean thoſe which *Andreolo Juſtiniani* his Grandfather left him. 'Tis Remarkable that the Republick made no Advantage of this Will; for thoſe Manuſcripts are only to be found in the Libraries of ſome private Perſons, who, to Conceal their Theft, have taken off from the Title Pages the Marks of that Prelate. (*a*) *Benche al preſente non ſi trovi veruno veſtigio di eſſi nel Palazzo publico, ma preſſo diverſi particolari, che, per non eſſer ſcoperti, gli han levati nel frontiſpicio i contraſegni di quel buon Vecchio.*

(*a*) *Michael Juſtiniani, gli ſcrittori Liguri deſcritti p.* 18.

(*B*) *He loſt his Life at Sea——in the year* 1536.] The Abbot *Michael Juſtiniani* (*f*) proves this by the Regiſters of the Dominicans of *Genoa*, and from the Biſhoprick of *Nebbio*'s being given to Cardinal *Jerome Doria* the fifteenth of *November* 1536. *Voſſius* ſays (*g*), it is not known whether *Juſtiniani* Periſhed at Sea, or fell into the Hands of the Pirates; that it is only certain that he was never ſeen ſince the year 1530. when he Embark'd to go from *Genoa* to his Biſhoprick. I doubt not but he is miſtaken as to the Year. *Jovius* ſays in general, that it was never known, whether this Biſhop was Shipwrack'd, or taken by the Pirates of *Barbary*. (*b*) *In curſu fluctibus obrutus, aut à Pœnis prædonibus interceptus; creditur, quum nullum uſquam naufragii, aut piratarum prædæ veſtigium apparuerit.*

(*f*) *Ll. ib.*

(*g*) *Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. l.* 3. *c.* 12. *p.* 681.

(*b*) *Paulus Jovius Elog. c.* 130. *p.* 275.

(*C*) *The Works he Compoſed, and thoſe which he cauſed to be Publiſh'd.*] His *precatio pietatis plena ad Deum omnipotentem compoſita ex duobus & ſeptuaginta nominibus divinis Hebraicis, & Latinis cum interprete commentariolo*, was Printed at *Venice* in the year 1513. in 8vo. He Publiſhed there the ſame year *Æneæ Platonici de immortalitate animorum deque corporum reſurrectione aureus libellus, cui titulus eſt Theophraſtus.* He Publiſhed at *Paris* in 1520. *in folio, Chalcidii viri clariſſimi luculenta Timæi Platonis tranſlatio, & ejuſdem argutiſſima explanatio*; as alſo *Victoria Porcheti adverſus impios Hebræos in qua tum ex ſacris litteris, tum ex dictis Talmud, ac Cabaliſtarum & aliorum omnium Authorum quos Hebræi recipiunt, monſtratur veritas Catholicæ fidei*; moreover *Rabi Moſſæi Ægyptii dux ſeu director dubitantium aut perplexorum.* He ſpent five years upon writing a Hiſtory of *Genoa*, with an extream Application; but Death did not permit him to put his laſt hand to it. It was Publiſhed (*i*) in the year 1537. 'Tis ſaid that his Manuſcript was Corrupted in ſeveral Places, by the Perſon who put it to

(*i*) *At Genoa in fol.*

part whereof we may reckon the Pſalter (*D*), which he publiſhed. He was at great Charges for the Edition, and finding that he could not get his Money by the Sale, and that Princes did not promote his Deſigns, he complain'd of the Ingratitude of his Age.

K.

KECKERMAN (*Bartholomew*) a Native of *Dantzick* was Profeſſor of Philoſophy there towards the begining of the XVIIth. Century. He had been before Profeſſor of the *Hebrew* Tongue at *Heidelberg*. He wrote a great many Books, in which he diſcovered (*A*) more Method than Wit. He was a *Calviniſt*. He died in the Year 1609, being Thirty Eight Years of Age †. His Books are full (*B*) of *Plagiariſm*, and have been ſerved the ſame way.

† Konig places his Birth in the Year 1571. and his Death in the Year 1609. Voſſius de Scient. Mathem. pag. 202. Says, he lived Forty two Years.

KEL-

(k) Franciſco Zazzera apud Abbatem Michael. Juſtinian. ubi ſupra, pag. 19.
(l) Georgius Juſtinianus in epiſt. dedicat. Æneæ Platonici de immortalitate animæ apud Mich. Juſtinian. ib. pag. 19. & 20.
(a) Michael Juſtiniani, ib. p. 17.
(b) Paulus Jovius, elog. c. 130. p. m. 275.
(c) Aug. Juſtiniani, in his Life. It has been inſerted in his Annals of Genoa. See the Abbot Michael Juſtiniani, ubi ſupra, pag. 20.
(d) Geſner in biblioth. fol. 104. verſo.
(e) Auguſt. Juſtin. præf. Pſalter. apud Geſner. ib. fol. 105.
(f) In altera quoque epiſtola ad eundem, novum teſtamentum jam abſolutum eſſe teſtatur, vetus autem brevi futurum paratum: & hortatur ut curet totum opus primis excudi. Geſner. ib.
(g) Id. ib.
(h) Ibid.

to the Preſs. (k) *Scriſſe gl'Annali della ſua patria, con grandiſſima diligenza e ottima fedelta, i quali in molti luoghi dopo la morte di lui furono corretti.* This is the Teſtimony of *Franciſco Zazzera*, which is confirmed by *George Juſtiniani*, in an Epiſtle Dedicatory: (l) *Magnam profectò inde me voluptatem cepiſſe fatear, & in eodem plane ſenſu fuiſſe gaudeo ipſius nepotem Auguſtinum Juſtinianum, illum ſcilicet qui poſtea ad Nabigenſem pontificatum evectus, verum noſtrarum Annales orditus eſt, quos poſt ejus obitum imperitus, omniſque eruditionis expers horridos, ſane & ineditos, ut hodie leguntur, ex defuncti Schedis evulgavit.* Theſe Alterations of the Manuſcript (a) gave *Paul Jovius* occaſion to cenſure this Hiſtory; but he is in the wrong to ſay, that the Author made too much haſte in publiſhing it; for it was not printed till after our *Juſtiniani*'s Death. *Paul Jovius*'s Words are very offenſive. (b) *Scribenda patria hiſtoria negotium ſuſcepit, adeo ineptis ad id ingenii viribus, ut præcipitatæ editionis male audiendo pœnas daret.* I ſhall ſpeak hereafter of his Polyglot Bible. Here is a Paſſage taken from his Life, written by himſelf, in which you'll ſee a Specimen of his Labours: (c) *Ho fatto imprimere in Parigi dodici opere in utilità de Studioſi; ho tradotto più coſe in materna lingua per utilità di Chierici della mia Diocesi, che ſono tutti ignari di lettere: ho tradotto l'Economico di Senofonte per inſtruttione di mia cognata, e de miei nepoti: ho deſcritto molto minutamente l'Iſola di Corſica per utilità della patria intitolata al Principe Andrea d'Oria, emeſſa poi la deſcrittione in diſtinta pittura ho donato al magnifico Ufficio di S. Georgio.* The laſt Work mentioned in theſe *Italian* Words, is in the Library of the Vatican. 'Tis only a Manuſcript.

(*D*) *The Pſalter which he publiſhed——He complain'd of the Ingratitude.*] It was printed at *Genoa* in the Year 1516, in *Folio*, in Eight Columns, (d) *Quarum prima habet Hebraam editionem; ſecunda Latinam interpretationem reſpondentem Hebræa de verbo ad verbum; tertia Latinam communem; quarta Græcam; quinta Arabicam; ſexta paraphraſim, Sermone quidem Chaldæo, ſed litteris Hebraicis conſcriptam; Septima Latinam reſpondentem Chaldææ; ultima vero, id eſt octava, continet Scholia, hoc eſt annotationes ſparſas & intercifas.* The Author dedicating it to *Leo* X. declares, that he deſigns to publiſh the whole Bible in that manner, and that he does not queſtion to go through it, if the Pope will approve it, and promote the Impreſſion. This is the Senſe of theſe Words. (e) *Quod ſi tu rem ipſam probaveris, & dignam editione duxeris, in promptu erit nobis univerſo operi manum extremam imponere, & utrumque inſtrumentum, iiſdem diſtinctum linguis, eademque ſerie & ſtructura, tradere impreſſoribus formandum, &c.* He notified in a Letter, that he wrote to Cardinal *Bendinello Saoli* (f), that all the New Teſtament was finiſhed, and that the Old would be quickly ready, and he intreated him to get the whole Work printed. He (g) gave leave to *Pellican*, who was at *Rome*, in the Year 1517, to tranſcribe the Preface of his New Teſtament in Eight Languages, with the firſt Verſes of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel. *Geſner* (h) affirms, that he ſaw it, and the two Letters which *Juſtiniani* wrote to that Cardinal. He has alſo inſerted part of that Preface in his *Bibliotheque*. This honeſt Prelate was at great charges for the Impreſſion of the *Pſalter*; he cauſed Two thouſand and Fifty Copies to be printed off, and preſented with it all the Princes of the World, Infidels as well as Chriſtians; he cauſed Fifty to be printed upon *Vellum*, he expected not only to be praiſed, but alſo to get a great deal by it; and he had already deſigned his Gain for the Comfort of his Relations. He hoped, that the good Succeſs of this Specimen would ingage the Prelates to be open-handed for the Impreſſion of the whole Bible, but unfortunately he got nothing but Praiſes. His Pſalter was commended, and not bought; he had much ado to ſell the fourth Part of the Edition, and was not in a Capacity of printing the reſt of his Work. Let us hear his Complaints. (i) *Feci ſtampare in Genova alle mie ſpeſe con quel travaglio, e con quella ſpeſa, ch'ogni letterato può giudicare due milla volumi del Davidico pſalterio in le predette cinque lingue Hebrea, Chaldea, Greca, Latina, & Arabica, parendomi di queſt' opera dover' acquiſtare gran laude, e non mediocre guadagno, il quale penſato eſſerme in la ſouventione di certi miei parenti, ch'erano biſognoſi, credendomi ſempre che l'opera dovеſſe havere grande uſcita, e che i Prelati ricchi, o Principi ſi dovеſſero movere, e mi doveſſero ajutare in la ſpeſa di far imprimere il reſtante della Bibbia in quella varietà di lingue: ma la credulità mia reſtò ingannata, perche l'opera fù da ciaſchedun laudata, ma laſſata in poſare, e dormire, perche a pena ſi ſono venduti la quarta parte de i libri, come che l'opera ſia per valer a huomini, e per ingegni elevati, che ſono al mondo rari, e pochi, e con ſtento puoti ricavar i danari, ch'haveva poſto in la ſtampa che furono in buona quantità, perche oltre à dua mila volumi ſtampati in papero, ne feci imprimere cinquanta in carta vitellina, e mandai d'eſſi libri a tutti i Rè del Mondo, coſi Chriſtiani, come Pagani. Paul Jovius* was ſo hard-hearted as not to pity his unhappy Fate. Nay, he takes Delight in inſulting him for it, and will not allow at leaſt, that he received the Praiſes of the publick. If we believe him, that honeſt Biſhop (k) was at great Charges, and got neither Money nor Glory by it.

(*A*) *More Method than Wit.*] He made Syſtems of moſt Sciences. Here is *Voſſius*'s Judgment of him. (l) *Parum idoneè judicat de eo* (Diogene Laertio) *vir cæteroquin eruditus, ſed novellorum ſcriptorum quam antiquitatis ſtudioſior Bartholomæus Keckermannus. Ait ille libro ſuo de hiſtoria, ſcripſiſſe Laertium* languidè & frigidè, ſæpè tamen non inutiliter. *Qua frigida profectò laus eſt operis utiliſſimi & auro contra non cari. Quippe ex quo diſcere hic cum alia tam multa ad hiſtoriam temporum pertinentia; tum præclara tot veterum apophthegmata quorum Keckermannus, malo ſanè exemplo, brevitatem laudare mavult autorem, quàm Plutarchum, Laertium & ſimiles.*

(*B*) *His Books are full of* Plagiariſm, *and have.*] I have mention'd in another Place, the Complaint of a *Scotch* Writer, who had been pillaged by *Keckerman*. Another *Scot* (n) did juſt the contrary, he robb'd *Keckerman*, as *Themiſtocles* did *Phormio* (o) in his Collection of *Plagiaries*. He has ſerved ſome other Writers with the ſame Trick, as he did to *Keckerman*.

(i) Auguſt. Juſtinian. in the Account of his Life, apud Lancellotti di Perugia, Hoggidì parte 1. diſingannio, 27. pag. 273. 274.
(k) Gravi quidem ille ſuppreſſi temporis cum laude opum impreſſa domi præclara volumina emptores rariſſimos invenerint, ſic ut temerè conceptam ſpem fuerit inita rationes eluderint. Jovius ubi ſupra.
(l) Voſſius de hiſtor. Græc. pag. 223.
(n) Andreas Melvinus.
(o) Themiſtocles, ſays he, ſaid that he knew how to make a good Speech of a bad Cauſe, when he had Phormio to help him. Plutarch. in Themiſtocle.

KELLER (*James*), one of the beſt Writers amongſt the Jeſuits of *Germany* towards the beginning of the XVIIth. Century, was born * at *Seckingen*, in the Year 1568. He became a Jeſuit in the Year 1588, and after he had taught Claſſical Learning, Philoſophy, Moral and Scholaſtick Divinity, he was made Rector of the College of *Ratisbonne*, and afterwards of that of *Munich*. The firſt of theſe two Employments laſted Two Years; but he continued in the Second Sixteen Years together. He was a long time Confeſſor to Prince *Albert* of *Bavaria*, and to the Princeſs his Wife, and he was often conſulted and imployed by the Elector *Maximilian* in important Affairs. He diſputed publickly with the moſt famous ‡ Miniſter of the Duke of *Newburg*; and if we may believe (*A*) his Brethren, he had the better of him. He publiſhed ſome Books (*B*) of Controverſie, and ſeveral Political Pieces upon the Affairs of the time. He appeared under a diſguis'd Name, in (*C*) the Title of his Political Writings. He died at *Munich* the 23d. of *February* 1631 †.

KEPLER (*John*) one of the greateſt Aſtronomers of his Age, was born at *Wil* in the Country of *Wirtemberg*, the 27th. of *December*, 1571. He began to ſtudy Philoſophy at *Tubingen*, in the Year 1589, and two Years after he ſtudied Mathematicks in the ſame Univerſity, under the famous *Michael Maſtlin*. He made ſo great a Progreſs in that Science, that in the Year 1595, he wrote an excellent Book, which was printed at *Tubingen* the Year following, with this Title, *Prodromus Diſſertationum de proportione orbium cæleſtium, deque cauſis cælorum numeri, magnitudinis, motuumque periodicorum genuinis & propriis, &c.* He had been already invited to *Gratz*, in *Styria*, to teach Mathematicks †. *Tycho Brahe* being ſettled in *Bohemia*, and having obtained of the Emperor all ſort of Conveniencies, to perfect Aſtronomy, paſſionately deſired to have *Kepler* with him, and wrote to him ſo many Letters upon this Subject, that he engaged him to leave the Univerſity of *Gratz*, and to remove into *Bohemia* with his Family and Library, in the Year 1600 ‖. *Kepler* in this Journey got a Quartan Ague, which laſted Seven or Eight Months, ſo that he could not do *Tycho Brahe* all the Services he was capable of. *Tycho Brahe* appeared ſomewhat reſerved ›, and did not communicate to him all his Knowledge. That great Aſtronomer died in the Year 1601, and ſo *Kepler* could not be very uſeful to him, nor improve much by him, which made him very uneaſie. From that time *Kepler* had the Title of Mathematician ‹ to the Emperor all his

* 'Tis one of the Four Foreſt Towns.

† Call'd James Hailbrunner.

‡ Taken from Nathanael Sotuel in Biblioth. Scriptor. Societatis Jeſu, pag. 373, 374.

† Taken from Gaſſendus in vita Tychonis Brahei, lib. 5. p. m. 451.

‖ Id. Gaſſend. pag. 450. & 459.

› Ibid. Pag. 460.

(*A*) *If we may believe his Brethren, he had the better of him.*] *Alegambe* and *Sotuel* ſay, that *James Hailbrunner* found himſelf ſo preſt in that Diſpute, that he was almoſt reduced to Silence, and that he fell ſick the Night following, or pretended to be ſo, that he might not be obliged to enter the Liſts again the next Day. *Tam fortiter preſſus eſt, ut tantum non obmutuerit, morbumque reipſa nocte illa contraxerit, vel ne cogeretur iterum in arenam deſcendere, callide ſimulavit* (*a*).

This Conference, as to the Subject, was much like that of *Du Perron*, and *du Pleſſis Mornai*; for it run upon the Accuſation brought againſt the *Lutheran* Miniſter, of having quoted many Paſſages of the Fathers with a Thouſand Falſifications, in a *German* Book, intituled, *Papatus Acatholicus*. The Conference of *Keller* and *Hailbrunner*, was held at *Newburg* (*b*), in the Month of *June* 1615, and if we may believe the *Lutherans*, the Innocence of their Miniſter appeared with the greateſt Evidence. *Ex inſpectione & examinatione dictorum patriſticorum, innocentia Hailbronneriana luculenter patuit. Vid. Stratem. Theatrum hiſtoricum, pag.* 1111. *D. Dorſch. in Kircher. dev. pralim.* 100. *uſque* 106.

(*B*) *He publiſhed ſome Books of Controverſie.*] Theſe are the Titles of 'em: *Tyrannicidium, ſeu ſcitum Catholicorum de Tyranni internecione adverſus inimicos Calviniani Miniſtri Calumnias in Societatem Jeſu jactatas*, at *Munich*, 1001. *in Quarto*, in *Latin* and *High-Duch*. *Papatus Catholicus, ſeu demonſtratio fundamentalis veritatis Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Romanæ contra Jacobum Hailbrunner*, at *Munich*, 1616, in two Volumes *in Folio*, in *High-Duteh*. *Compendium ejuſdem operis*, in the ſame Place, at the ſame time, *in Quarto*. *Agonia ſeu ſudor mortualis Jacobi Hailbrunneri, hoc eſt refutatio Hailbrunneri qui extremam unctionem infectatus fuerat ſcripto libro*, in the ſame place, 1618. in *Quarto*, in *High-Duteh*. *Foſcenulus olidus* 50. *floſculorum, id eſt abſurditas prædicantium in* (*d*) *Colloquio Ratisbonenſi*. He took the Name of *Jacobus Silvanus* in this Work, printed in the Year 1604, *in Quarto* (*e*). He took the ſame Name in a Book printed at *Ingolſtad*, in 1607, and intituled, *Philippica in anonymum quendam prædicantem qui Societatem Jeſu mendaciis oneravit*. The Writers of the Jeſuits *Bibliotheque*, have not mentioned this Book of *James Keller*. *Placcius* (*f*) tells us, that it was an anſwer to a *German* Piece, wherein the Author had collected many Paſſages taken from the Seditious Books of ſome Jeſuits. The Author of the Collection confuted *Keller's Philippica*, in the Year 1608: his Anſwer is intituled, *Anti-Philippica*; 'tis a *German* Book, in which the Author compleated the Collection of the Seditious Things that are to be found in the Writings of the Jeſuits (*g*). The Author of theſe two Collections was Counſellor to the Elector Palatine, and his Name was *Michael Loſſenius* (*b*). I have read in the Third Volume of the *Morale Pratique*, that our *Keller* is the Author of *Cavea turturis*. Mr. *Arnauld*'s Paſſage runs thus: '(*i*) *Gravina*——a learned *Dominican* having 'complained with a great deal of Modeſty in his '*Vox turturis*, that Cardinal *Bellarmin* had ſpoke 'ſharply of the ancient Orders in his Book, *de Gemitu de Columba*; and having repreſented that it 'was no wonder if they had abated of their Auſterity in the ſpace of ſo many Ages ſince their 'Foundation; Your Father *James Keller* anſwered 'him haughtily in his Book, intituled, *Cavea Turturis, ch.* 14. *Societati Jeſu non eſt periculum, ne 'poſt aliquot annorum centurias ſibi multum diſſimilis appareat. Habet enim aromata à putredine 'præſervantia.*

Mr. *Mayer* aſcribes the *Cavea turturis* to another Author. His Words are theſe. *Cui* (Voci Turturis) *etſi* D. Riedelius, *Eccleſiæ Landshutanæ Decanus, aut ſub Riedellii nomine Jacobus Balde, Jeſuita*, Caveam Turturis *oppoſuiſſe, Gravinæ Vocem congeminantem Turturis publico dedit* (*k*) &c.

(*C*) *Under a diſguiſed Name, in the Title of his Political Writings.*] The Bloody War, which deſolated *Germany* from the Year 1618, to the Peace of *Munſter*, was doubtleſs a War of Religion; for the League which the Proteſtants formed, againſt which the Roman Catholicks oppoſed a League, whereof the Elector of *Bavaria* was the Head, owed its Birth to the Suſpicions, that the Imperial Court, animated by the Jeſuits, had a mind to break the Peace of *Paſſau*. The Elector of *Bavaria*, a very able Prince, would not ſuffer the Catholicks to lie under that Imputation. He cauſed ſome Books to be publiſhed, in which the Proteſtants were accuſed of having confederated for pernicious Deſigns, and particularly to oppreſs the Roman Church. This Accuſation came out in the Year 1621, in a Book intituled, *Cancellaria ſecreta Anhaltina, id eſt, Occulta*

(*a*) *Alegambe & Sotuel in Biblioth. Scriptor. Societatis Jeſu.*

(*b*) *Andreas Carolus, in memorab. Eccleſiaſt. ſæculi* 17. *pag.* 384.

(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 385.

(*d*) *And not* Collegio, *as* 'tis in Placcius de Pſeudonymis, pag. 261.

(*e*) *Taken from* Alegambe & Sotuel ubi ſupra.

(*f*) *Placcius, ibid.*

(*g*) *Id. ib.*

(*b*) *Deckher. de Scriptis adeſpotis, pag.* 153.

(*i*) *Arnauld, Morale Pratique, tom.* 3. *p.* 112.

(*k*) *Jo. Frider. Mayerus de fide Bellarmini ſuſpecta pag.* 107. 108.

his Life, and increaſed more and more his Reputation (*A*) by his Works. The Emperor *Rodolphus* * put him upon finiſhing *Tycho*'s Tables, which were to be called *Rodolphin* †. *Kepler* ſet heartily about it; but the Treaſurers (*B*) were ſo ill affected to him, that he could not publiſh 'em till the Year 1627. He died in *November* 1630, at *Ratisbonne*, where he was indeavouring to get the Arrears of his Penſion paid him ‡. *Lewis KEPLER* his Son, a Phyſician at *Koningsberg* in *Pruſſia*, made an end of printing his

* See the Remark. F.

* *Gaſſendus, ibid. lib. 6. pag.* 471.

† They came out with that Title.

‡ *Gaſſendus, ibid. pag.* 472. (a) I write this in October, 1695.

(l) Keller in the Appendix Cancellariæ Anhaltinæ, ſays that it is falſe,

(m) Nicolas Harſtein denies it in the Preface of his Reſponſio apologetica to the Ajax of Fabius Hercynianus.

(n) Alegambe has miſtaken that Name; for he ſays Belſſii, and that he was Chancellor. Father Sottuel has not mended thoſe two Faults: he ſays Belſſii, &c. Placcius de anonymis n. 256. pag. 71. has not mended them, and places this Work among the Anonymous ones, not knowing that the Author took the Name of Fabius Hercynianus.

(o) Nicolaus Harſtenius, Sciamber in præfat. reſponſionis apologeticæ printed in 1265.

(p) Legat myſteria politica nuper à vobis, & quidem à te Jacobe Kellere (ut multorum fuit opinio) edita. Nicol. Harſteinus Apolog. pag. 8. In bed to an 1062. &

culta Conſilia, Inaudita Propoſita, Periculoſæ adinventiones, & prodigioſa Machinationes Capitum ac Directorum unionis correſpondentium in Germania, occaſione Rebellionis Bohemicæ ad ejuſdem Coronæ, & Imp. Rom. perniciem agitata. Poſt mperam illam, omnibus poſteris memorabilem Victoriam Pragenſem, 8. Novemb. 1620. in Originalibus Scripturis ac documentis Cancellariæ Anhaltinæ, Divinâ Providentiâ deprehenſa. The Proteſtant Princes cauſed this Book to be refuted, whichwas (l) ſaid to have been written by *William Fecher*, Counſellor to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and by Doctor *Leickard*. It was thought that theſe Princes made uſe (m) for that end of *Volrad Pleſſi*, Counſellor to the Elector *Palatine*. Our *James Keller* believed it, for he confuted their Confutation, in a Work printed in the Year 1624, and intituled, *Volradi* (n) *Pleſſii Heidelbergenſis olim Conſiliarii Ajax poſt oppugnatam fruſtra Cancellariam Anhaltinam in ſpongiam incumbens, ſive Appendix Cancellariæ Anhaltinæ, auctore Fabio Hercyniano J. C.* Alegambe and his Continuator knew not that *Keller* had taken the Name of *Fabius Hercynianus* in this Work. He took it the foregoing Year, in Anſwer to a Book, publiſhed by *Lewis Camerarius*, and intituled, *Cancellaria Hiſpanica: adjecta ſunt Acta publica, hoc eſt: Scripta & Epiſtolæ authentica, è quibus partim infelicis belli in Germania, partim Proſcriptionis in Electorem Palatinum ſcopus præcipuus apparet. Adjecti ſunt ſub finem Flores Scoppiani, ex Claſſico belli Sacri.* This Work has another Title after the Table of Contents, *viæ vivæ demonſtratio cauſſarum præſentis in Germania belli religionis ergo ſuſcepti. Keller*'s Anſwer to this Book of *Camerarius*, is intituled, *Litura, ſeu Caſtigatio Cancellariæ Hiſpanicæ, à Ludovico Camerario Excancellario Bohemico, Conſiliario Heidelbergenſi, &c. inſtructæ. Auctore Fabio Hercyniano, J. C.* There was a new Edition of it in 1624, which had this Title: *Cancellariæ Anhaltinæ, pars ſecunda. In qua non ita pridem à quibuſdam edita Cancellaria Hiſpanica nervoſe ſimul & lepidè refutatur: tum ex quibuſdam interceptis ad Caborem litteris, Hungaricorum qui ſequuti ſunt & adhuc durant motuum incentores ſeu auctores demonſtrantur. Auctore Fabio Hercyniano J. C.* Alegambe and his Continuator were ignorant that *James Keller* took this falſe Name in the Title of this Work. They were not ignorant of it, with reſpect to two Pieces, which were intituled: *Rhabarbarum domanda bili quam in Apologia ſua proritavit Ludovicus Camerarius propinatum à Fabio Hercyniano J. C. anno* 1625. *Tubus Galilæanus, hebeſcentibus Ludovici Camerarii oculis, in litura Hiſpanicæ Cancellariæ male advertentibus, ad clamis videndum tornatus, à Fabio Hercyniano. Additis in fine teſtimonii cauſſa, & pro Tubo, & pro Rhabarbaro, ipſius Camerarii epiſtolis anno* 1625. *Nicolaus Harſtein* anſwering the *Ajax*, or the *Appendix Cancellariæ Anhaltinæ*, obſerves, that the Jeſuit, who was the Author of it, was very much uſed to diſguiſe himſelf. (o) *Nihil huic homini inſolens eſſe, ut veritatem, ita nomen ſuum pervertere & modo ſub Aurimontii (à matre ſua Goltbergera) modò ſub Didaci Tamiæ, modò ſub Fabii Hercyniani (à ſylva Hercynia, ſive Nigra, prope quam ſupra Baſileam in oppido Seckingen natus eſt) nomine fallere, & his literis, J. C. quæ non Juriſconſultum, ut alias, ſed Jacobum Cellarium denotant, lectori imponere.* Theſe Diſguiſes were unknown to the two Jeſuits, who compiled the *Bibliotheque* of the Writers of their Order. The ſame *Nicholas Harſtein* informs us, that *James Keller* was the Author of the *Myſteria politica* (p), a Work which made a great Noiſe (q), and which was very injurious to the Court of *France*. But he aſcribes to another Jeſuit (r) a Work intituled, *Secreta ſecretorum Calvino-Turcica*, the Author whereof had concealed himſelf under the Name of *Honeſtus Cognamdonus*. He who anſwered him in a Book intituled, *Secreta Secretorum Turco-Papiſtica*, took the falſe Name of *Juſtinus Juſtinopolitanus*, inſtead of *Ludovicus Camerarius* his true Name. The Conteſts of Writers about the Affairs of the Time, were then more grave, than they are in this War (a), and as vehement in their Kind, as thoſe of Warriors. At preſent we ſee hardly any thing but Scurrilous Satyrs.

(*A*) *Increaſed more and more his Reputation by his Works.*] I ſhall only ſet down the Titles of ſome of his Works. *Harmonices mundi libri V. Apologia pro ſua harmonica mundi contra demonſtrationem analyticam Roberti de Fluctibus. De Cometis libri tres. Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena, quibus Aſtronomiæ pars optica traditur. Epitome Aſtronomiæ Copernicanæ. Aſtronomia nova, ſeu phyſica, aitiologis tradita commentariis de motibus ſtellæ Martis, ex obſervationibus Tychonis Brahei. Chilias logarithmorum in totidem numeros rotundos. Supplementum Chiliadis logarithmorum. Nova ſtereometria doliorum vinariorum & ſtereometriæ Archimedeæ ſupplementum. Dioptrica. De vero natali anno Chriſti. Ecloga Chronica de tempore Herodis Herodiadumque, baptiſmi, miniſterii, paſſionis, mortis & reſurrectionis Chriſti, deque tempore belli Judaici. Tychonis Brahei Hyperaſpiſtes adverſus Scipionis Clavamontii Anti-Tychonem in actum productus.* This is ſufficient to ſhew, that our *John Kepler* was none of thoſe who move in a little Sphere: his Activity reached a great many Objects. See in the Text of this Article, the Title of the firſt Book he publiſhed. 'Tis the ſame with his *Myſterium Coſmographicum*, which of all his Works he moſt eſteemed. He was ſo charmed with it for ſome time, that he declared he would not Renounce the Glory of the Diſcoveries of that Book for the Electorate of *Saxony*. (b) *Thomas Lanſius in Mantiſſa orat. pag.* 792. *memorat, Keplerum aliquando à ſe rogatum, quem ex editis à ſe libris loco dignaretur præcipuo, primatum dediſſe Myſterio coſmographico, teſtatum in illo ſcripto quinque corporum regularium ſublime ſecretum tot ſæculis abſconditum pandi: inventum illud autem, cum adhuc recens eſſet, tanti ſe feciſſe, ut, ſi eodem tempore Saxonia electoratus ſibi dono oblatus fuiſſet, addita conditione, alterutrum, aut donum aut inventionem repudiandi; ampliſſima, & tot metallorum copia ſacta provincia excidere, quàm invidenda & perpetuam gloriam ſecum ducturæ inventione carere maluerit.*

(*B*) *The Treaſurers were ſo ill affected to him.*] Woe to the Learned, who depend on thoſe Gentlemen, and can't perfect a Work without the good Humour of the Intendants of the Finances, a ſort of Men, who to ſerve their Prince well, muſt vex his Penſionaries with a Thouſand Difficulties. They leave him by that means, whilſt it coſts him but little, the Glory of being liberal. I ule *Gaſſendus*'s Expreſſions to ſhew *Kepler*'s Diſſatisfaction. (c) *Alacriter quidem ille ſe accinxit; verùm illa brevi ac aliæ deinceps, partim ex operis natura, partim ex tergiverſatione Præfectorum ærarii, ſubortæ ſuere difficultates, ut priuſquam Tabulæ perfectæ, evulgatæque fuerint, annus ſæculi XXVII. adventaret. Conqueſtus eſt certè ab annis* 11. *ac* 111. *configi ſe limas Præfectorum oculis; & cùm anno IX. ſpecimen laboris inſigne, Commentaria de motibus Stellæ Martis edidiſſet, ac Rudolphus præter editionis impenſas, perſoni illi confeſtim mandaſſet, tum ſtipendiorum rebus, quas, iniquè, ad duo millia monetæ argenteæ majoris exceverant, tum alia inſuper auro nulla; expoſtulabat tamen adhuc biennio poſt, decreta Rudolphi in ſe munificentiſſima nullum eventum conſequi, ac ſe incaſſum facere ſumptus, pulſarique jam Camera Sileſiaca jam Imperialis ærarii fores. Kepler* was no leſs diſcouraged by the Financiers under the Emperor (d), *Matthias*, than under *Rodolphus*. He had occaſion enough for his Patience, under the Reign of *Ferdinand*; but

(b) Konig. Biblioth. pag. 444. in voce Keplerus.

(c) Gaſſendus in vita Tychonis Brahei, lib. 6. pag. m. 471.

(d) Licet anno inſequente Matthias Rudolphi ſucceſſor & continuari ſtipendia, & exſolvi reſidua juſſiſſet, querelantur tamen anno XVI. expectare ſe adhuc manifeſtiorem exonerationis effectum. *Id. Ib.*

his Father's *Somnium, Lunariſve Aſtronomia*; and he was in great Apprehenſion (C) that it would occaſion his Death. *John Kepler*'s Opinions are ſometimes very ſingular; one would think that he gave the Earth (D) a Soul, indowed with Sence. 'Tis pretended that he afforded very good (E) Hints to *Deſcartes*. We may place him among thoſe Authors *, who have ſaid, that they valued a Production of the Mind, above a So-

but at laſt he received his Arrears. (e) *Perſeverarunt adhuc querelæ poſt exactum XIX. quo Ferdinandus Matthiæ ſucceſſit, etiamque poſt XXI. quo edidit partem doctrinæ Copernicanæ theoricam juxta quam deductio tabularum foret: quouſque optimus Imperator rebus licet nondum penitus compoſitis etiam vetera quæ Anteceſſores debebant ſtipendia perſolvit, ac ut neceſſarii ad maturationem editionemque operis ſumptus ſuppeditarentur mandavit.* The Payment of his Penſion was interrupted; for the Reaſon why he went to *Ratiſbonne* in the Year 1630, was to ſollicit the Payment of his Arrears (f).

(C) *He was in great Apprehenſion that it would occaſion his Death.*] The laſt Work that *Kepler* compoſed, was the Deſcription of the Moon; he had not the Satisfaction of publiſhing it, becauſe he died whilſt it was printing. *James Bartſchius* his Son-in-Law, and his faithful Follower in Aſtronomical Opinions, took care of the Book, and continued the Impreſſion; but Death broke it off again, *Lewis Kepler*, the Author's Son, was ſo ſurprized with theſe Accidents, that it proved a very difficult thing to perſwade him to meddle with this Work. He feared he ſhould loſe his Life in it, as his Father, and Brother-in-Law had done; and his Mother-in-Law, *John Kepler*'s Widow, who was poor, and had many Children, was obliged to uſe a great many Intreaties and Arguments to engage him to that Undertaking. At laſt ſhe obtained her Deſire. A learned Profeſſor of *Utrecht* made uſe of theſe Circumſtances to cry down the Doctrine of *John Kepler* concerning the World in the Moon. *Unum*, ſays he, *præterire nequeo, quod ſpectat Selenographiæ Keplerianæ natales, unde jure merito male ominor Lovaniæ, ejuſque incolis.* He relates the Death of the Author, and that of *Bartſchius*, and then adds: *Iſta vero ut intellexit Ludovicus Keplerus, Johannis filius, novercæ viduæ inopis ac liberis onuſta precibus atque erga patrium nomen affectu, vix vinci potuit ut libelli inchoatæ editioni abſolvendæ manum admoveret, territus (quod ipſe fatetur) improviſo & patris & affinis obitu, metuenſque ne cum illis in Levaniam relegaretur* (g). I have hardly ſeen any Author ſo violent againſt *Kepler*, as *Schoockius*, as if this great Mathematician had made himſelf the moſt ridiculous Man in the World, by trying to accommodate Mathematical Speculations to Phyſicks. I don't believe that this Deſign can ever ſucceed; for the Object of Mathematicks, and that of Phyſicks, are things irreconcileable; the one is a Quantity, which only exiſts in Idea, and cannot exiſt any other way, the other exiſts out of our Mind, and can never be really in it. However it be, I ſhall ſet down *Schoockius*'s Words: (a) *Ubi Mathematicus, nemo eodem* (Johanne Keplero) *melior & ſubtilior, ubi vero Phyſicus, nemo eodem pejor atque ineptior, ut ſapiſſime doleam, ſi non ingemiſcam, virum tam eximium, divinam illam Mathefin nugamentis ſuis Phyſicis adeo ſude commaculaſſe. Quid abſurdius enim vel febricitans anus in ſomnio videat, quam quod terra ingens animal ſit, qua per montium crateres & camino, ceu os aut nares, ventos exſpiret? & hoc tamen expreſſe docet, lib. 4. Harmonica, cap. 7. ubi ſerio quoque probare nititur*, quod terra cum cœlo ſympathiam colat, & naturali inſtinctu ſiderum juſturam cognoſcat. *Similiter in ſcripto de Motibus Martis fol. 173. contendit ſolem magnum magnetem, ſeu magneticum corpus eſſe, ſupra proprium centrum diurno motu circumactum, quod ſecundum ſpeciem quandam diffuſam, omnes reliquas Planetarum ſphæras commoveat, & in orbem agitet. Nec ſic Keplerus ſolum, per Mathefin imprudenter & infeliciter Phyſicæ applicatam, in errorum præcipitium ruit; ſed cum eo multi quoque alii quorum indicem alio inſcripto, ſi Deo placuerit vitam provogare, exhibebo.*

(D) *That he gave the Earth a Soul.*] *Voſſius* (b) obſerving the Abſurdity of placing the Earth among the Gods, the Earth, I ſay, which all the World took for a Body, trampled under Foot, and covered with all ſorts of Filth, adds, that the wiſer ſort were well aware of this Abſurdity, and ſaid, the Earth was either an Animal, or part of a great Animal, call'd the World. *Kepler*, continues he, was not far from this Opinion, for he not only ſaid that the Diurnal Motion of the Earth proceeds from the Earth, but alſo, that it perceives the Apparition of Comets, that it ſweats for fear of 'em, and that thence proceed great Rains. (c) 'Audiamus etiam loquentem libro de cometis anni poſt milleſimum & ſexcenteſimum ſeptimi, atque item duodevigeſimi: *Facultas mundi ſublunaris cometam* PERSENTISCIT, ET OBSTUPESCIT, *unaque facultates cæteræ omnium rerum ſublunarium*, AC poſtea: *Facultas telluris, inſolentia Cometæ apparitione* CONSTERNATA, *uno terreſtris ſuperficiei loco multum exſudat vaporum, pro qualitate illius partis ſui corporis, hinc diuturnæ pluvia, & eluviones.* *Gaſſendus* obſerves, that according to *Kepler*, all the Stars are animated, and that as Animals move by means of their Muſcles, the Earth and the Planets have alſo Muſcles proportioned to their Bulk, which are the Inſtruments whereby they move themſelves. He gives the Sun a moſt noble and active Soul, and will have it, that the Beams of the Sun put the Souls of the Planets in Action. (d) *Adnoto dumtaxat Keplerum ita ſidera feciſſe animata, ac ut inſtrumenta motus in Animalibus ſunt fibræ digeſtæ per muſculos; ſic cenſuiſſe illum eſſe & in Terra, & in Planetis cæteris ingentes fibras aliquas pro ratione molis cujuſque, per quas Anima vim ſuam motricem exerceat. Cenſuit verò etiam, præter ſpecialeis Animas, & vires, quæ inſunt in cæteris, eſſe in ipſo Sole Animam nobiliſſimam potentiſſimamque, qua dum Solem circa proprium axem (à centro Mundi propereà non diſcedentem) circumagit, immaterialtas ſpecies (ſic enim appellat) irradiando, circumfundit, quibus, Planetæ velut correpti, ipſi Soli circumducantur.* See what I quote out of Mr. *Leibnitz* (e), and obſerve, that it would be difficult to confute *Kepler*'s Suppoſition; for we are no more in a Condition of knowing whether the Earth be animated, than a Louſe is of knowing whether we are living Creatures. A Louſe is contented with feeding on what it draws from the Surface of our Bodies, it knows not whether we think, nor can it diſcover the ſecret Springs that move us. Can we make more Diſcoveries upon the Queſtion, whether the Earth thinks, and whether it has Senſations, which like ours determine certain inward Springs to move themſelves in a certain manner?

(E) *He afforded very good Hints to* Deſcartes.] '*Kepler*,' ſays Mr. *Baillet* (f), 'had particularly cultivated Aſtronomy and Opticks, and tho' he left 'many Things to be diſcovered, or perfected, yet 'it muſt be confeſt, that the reading of his Writings has not been uſeleſs to *Deſcartes*. In another place (g) he mentions three Things, which ſeemed to have been common to *Deſcartes* and *Kepler*. 'The firſt is the Knowledge of the Celeſtial *Vortices*, which 'tis pretended *Kepler* had at leaſt a confuſed Idea of, as well as *Jordanus Brunus*. The Second is, the Explication of Gravity which *Kepler* gave firſt of all, by the Compariſon of ſmall Pieces of Straw, which by the Motion of Water Circulating in a Veſſel, gather in the Center. The Third is the Knowledge of Opticks, in which *Deſcartes* has owned *Kepler* for his Maſter in the Year 1638. Here is the Teſtimony he gave of it to Father *Merſenne*. He, ſays he (i), who accuſes me of having taken the *Ellipſes* and *Hyperboles* of my Dioptricks from *Kepler*, muſt be ignorant or malicious. As for the *Ellipſis*, I don't remember that *Kepler* ſpeaks of it; or, if he do's, 'tis certainly to ſay, that it is not the *Anaclaſtick*, which he looks for. And as for the *Hyperbole*, I remember very well, that he pretends to demonſtrate, that it is not that neither, though he ſays, it is not very different from it. Now I leave you to judge, whether I could learn that a thing was true, from a Man, who endeavoured to prove [illegible] it was falſe. Which does not hinder me fr[illegible]nowledging, that *Kepler* was my firſt Maſter in Opticks, and that he knew more of it than

* *See the Remark* A. *at the end.*

(a) *Martinus Schoockius de Scepticiſmo, lib. 4. pag. 387, 388.*

(b) *Voſſius de origine & progreſſu idolatriæ, lib. 2. c. 62. ſub fin. pag. m. 641.*

(c) *Id. ib.*

(d) *Gaſſend. Phyſica ſect. 2. lib. 3. c. 6. Oper. t. 1. p. m. 635.*

(e) *Tantarum tamque conſtantium veritatum cauſas dare nondum potuit (Keplerus) tum quod Intelligentiis aut ſympathiarum radiationibus inexplicatis haberet præpeditam mentem, tum quod nondum illius tempore Geometria interior & ſcientia motuum eo quo nunc profeciſſent. Act. Eruditor. Lipſienſ. 1019. pag. 82, 83.*

(f) *Vie de Deſcartes, t. 1. p. 226.*

(g) *In the 2. tom. p. 542. He quotes G. G. Leibn. tom. 1. Act. Eruditor. Lipſ. Indeed Mr. Leibnitz ſpeaks ſtrongly, p. 289 Cl. Speſſius notat ſolemne fuiſſe Carteſio præterire nomina autorum, & exemplum affert mundanorum vorticum, ad quos Jordanus Brunus & Johannes Keplerus ita digitum intenderint, ut tantum illud vocabulum ipſis deſuiſſe videatur. See tom. 3. of the Letters, pag. 397.*

a Sovereignty. *Moreri* has been Guilty (F) of more Faults of Omiſſion than of Commiſſion.

KERMATIANS, a Sect in *Arabia*. See the Remark *A* of the Article ABUDHAHER.

KILIANUS (*Cornelius*) a Native of *Brabant*, was an excellent Corrector of the Preſs, for the ſpace of 50 years at *Plantin's* Printing-Houſe. He wrote ſome Books, which (*d*) were eſteem'd. He had no ill ſucceſs in making Latin Verſes, as it appears from his Apology (B) for the Correctors againſt Authors. He Died very Old on *Eaſter* Day in 1607. Moſt of the things I have been ſpeaking of will be verified in the Remark, wherein I put down (C) his Epitaph.

KIRCHER, a Native of *Tubingen* in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, Studied with great ſucceſs in the Univerſity of his Country, and raiſed very great hopes of him; but having choſen another ſort of Life, and ſeeing no Probability of a Settlement in it, he changed the Lutheran for the Romiſh Religion, and went into *Hungary* *. This was about the year 1640. He Publiſhed according to cuſtom, the Motives (D) of his Change, to which were made ſeveral Anſwers. I can go no farther in my Account of him; and I ſhould be

(b) *Acta Eruditor. Lipſ.* 1689. *p.* 83.

(i) *In Cenſura Philoſoph. Carteſianæ c.* 8. *p. m.* 216.

(k) *Voſſius de ſcient. Mathem. p.* 198.

(l) Exinopinato literas accepit quibus Keplerus inſinuavit non eſſe ſibi integrum pactis conditionibus ſtare, quod à Styriæ proceribus quorum in ære erat, undequaque probarentur. *Gaſſend. in vita Tychon. Brahei, l.* 5. *p.* 459. *ad ann.* 1600.

(a) *Id. ib.*

(b) Deducto ad Cæſarem Keplero, lætatus eſt Cæſar ipſum convaluiſſe, ac teſtatus eſt velle ſe eum quidem Mathematicum ſibi habere, ſed addictum tamen Tychoni, quaſi miniſtrum à calculis. *Id. ibid. p.* 460. *col.* 1.

(c) *Id. lib.* 6. *p.* 474. *col.* 2.

* *Joh. Georgius Dorſchæus, Epiſt. dedicat. Ad Ingreſſ. ad Catholicos.*

(d) *Voſſius ubi ſupra p.* 310.

(e) *Gaſſend. ibid. p.* 477. *col.* 2.

(f) *So it is in my Edition of Sanderus.* *It ſhould be* Walleſtinus.

(g) *This is only to be underſtood of the ſecond part of the Ephemerides; for the firſt was Printed at Linz in* 1617.

than all thoſe that went before him. Mr. *Leibnitz*, whoſe Words I have mentioned concerning the *Vortices*, ſays ſomething in another place about the Subject of Gravity. He pretends, that we are indebted to *Kepler* for the cauſe of that *Phænomenon*, and he accuſes *Deſcartes* of having made uſe of that excellent Diſcovery, without aſcribing the Invention of it to him that it belonged to. (*b*) *Ipſi* (Keplero) *primum indicium debetur veræ cauſæ gravitatis, & hujus naturæ legis, à qua gravitas pendet, quod corpora rotata conantur à centro recedere per tangentem, & ideo ſi in aquâ feſtucæ vel paleæ innatent, rotato vaſe, aqua in vorticem acta, feſtucis denſior, atque ideo fortius quam ipſæ, excuſſa à medio, feſtucas verſus centrum compellit; quemadmodum ipſe diſerte duobus & amplius locis, in Epitome Aſtronomiæ expoſuit; quanquam adhuc ſubdubitabundus, & ſuas ipſe opes ignorans, nec ſatis conſcius quanta inde ſequerentur, tum in Phyſica, tum ſpecialim in Aſtronomia. Sed his deinde egregie uſus eſt Carteſius, etſi more ſuo autorem diſſimularit.* See the Biſhop of *Avranches* (i) who cites ſome Paſſages of *Kepler*, accuſing *Deſcartes* of having ſtolen many things from this *German*.

(F) Moreri *has been guilty of more Faults of Omiſſion than of Commiſſion.*] The Faults of the firſt kind will eaſily appear to all thoſe who will be at the Pains of comparing his Article with this; and much more, if it was compared with an Article, containing thoſe things, which I have not obſerved? Here are his Faults of Commiſſion. I. The Emperor, who ſucceeded *Rodolphus*, was not called *Matthew*, but *Matthias*. Theſe two Names are very different, and no Body ſhould have known it better than *Moreri*, who as a Prieſt read every Day in his Breviary, Wherein the Feaſts of St. *Matthew* and St *Matthias* are diſtinct. II. He ſhould not have ſaid, that *Kepler* died towards the Year 1620, but in the Year 1630. An Error of Ten Years is not pardonable in ſpeaking of a great Man of our Age. III. He ſhould not ſay, that *John Kepler* is different from *Lewis Kepler*, but that *Lewis Kepler* was *John's* Son. *Moreri* might eaſily have avoided the firſt Fault, ſince *Voſſius*, whom he copied, ſpeaks thus: (*k*) *Primum Rodolphi Imperatoris, exinde* MATTHIÆ, *tandem & Ferdinandi Cæſ. Mathematicus fuit.* I ſhall occaſionally ſay here that before *Kepler* had that Title he had been Profeſſor at *Gratz* in *Styria*. His Ingagement with *Tycho Brabo* had like to have been broke, becauſe the States of *Stiria* did not approve of it. (*l*) *Tycho* gave *Kepler* to underſtand, that he had procured him a greater Salary at the Court of the Emperor, with the Character of Mathematician to his Imperial Majeſty, ſo that the loſs of his Penſion in *Stiria* ought not to ſtop him (*a*). Hereupon *Kepler* left the Univerſity of *Gratz*. The Emperor *Rodolphus* made him his Mathematician; but he obliged him to ſerve *Tycho* as an Ariſthmetician. I (*b*) find that the Emperor *Matthias* gave *Kepler* a fixt Settlement at *Linz*, and that he order'd him a Salary from the States of the Upper *Auſtria*, which was paid for ſixteen years. (*c*) *Neque enim ſibi ſatis eſſe, quod Cæſar etiam ante Imperium decreviſſet idoneam, ſiveamque ſedem Lincii; ac adjeciſſet exhibenda à Proceribus Auſtriæ ſuperioris ſtipendia, quibus, donec res pacationes evaderent, ſuſtentaretur; uti & fuit illis reipſa per annos ſexdecim ſuſtentatus.* You ſee the reaſon why *Voſſius* ſpeaking of the *Stereometry* that was Printed in 1617. calls *Kepler* (*d*) *Cæſaris Matthiæ & illuſtrium Ordinum Archiducatûs Auſtriæ ſupra Onaſum Mathematicus.* I find alſo that *Walſtein* ſettled *Kepler* at *Sagan* in *Silefia*, and there it was that this Aſtronomer called the continuation of his *Ephemerides* to be Printed in the year 1630 (*e*). *Deinceps autem anno xxx poſt editas Sagani Silefiorum* (ubi Dux Mecklenburgi Walſtenius (*f*) ſedem illi tribuerat) *Ephemeridas* (*g*) *ad Comitia Ratiſbonenſia* ——*ſe contuliſſet.*

(A) *He wrote ſome Books.*] *Swertius* (*h*) begins the Liſt of them with theſe Words *Scripſit* Etymologicon Teutonicæ linguæ, *ſive* Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum, a Julio Lipſio *lucubatum. Typis Moreti* 1599. *in* 8vo. His other Works are Latin Verſes, and a *Flemiſh* Tranſlation of *Philip de Comines*, and *Lewis* (*i*) *Guicciardine.*

(B) *His Apology for the Correctors againſt Authors.*] 'Tis an Epigram of eighteen Verſes, which we find in *Reyerlinck's Theatrum vitæ humanæ* (*k*). Mr. *Chevillier* has inſerted it in his (*l*) *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, having ſaid a thing, which deſerves to be mentioned. 'We will not however 'charge the Printers or Correctors with all 'the Faults that are in the Copies. They have their 'excuſe upon the Authors. Faults remain ſometimes 'in an Edition through the Ignorance, or Negli'gence of the Writer or the Publiſher. He gives 'a very Uncorrect Copy, which is ſometimes Pro'ved, and conſequently with the Faults of the Ma'nuſcript: But it happens that the Learned, who 'Judge without Flattery, Cenſuring what deſerves 'it; he that is not Guilty, is acquitted, the Fault 'Fault be intirely in the Author. An excellent 'Corrector of *Plantin's* Preſs called *Cornelius Kilianus*, made an Apology for the Correctors againſt 'the Authors, who being miſtaken for want of 'Learning and Judgment, and giving in Uncorrect 'Copies, do nevertheleſs blame the Innocent.

(C) *Wherein I put down his Epitaph.*] It was made by (*m*) *Francis Swertius* his Friend, and conſiſts in theſe Words: *D. O. M.* CORNELIO KILIANO *Duffæo, conſtantis laboris, & perennis induſtriæ laude ornato & amato viro. I. ann. Plantin. Typographiæ correctorem geſſit. Quam fideliter, perite, docte, ipſos rogate libros elegantia, nitore, fama æterna artis primus. Nec ſuorum alienos tractavit, cum & ſuos reliquerit, tatim. ...tione diſertus, verſificatu felix, patriam quoque eloquentiam excoluit, cultumque ejus & propriet...tem revocavit. Obiit ætate operibuſque gravis M. DC. III. ipſo paſchatis feſto* (*n*).

(D) *The Motives of his Change, to which were made ſeveral Anſwers.*] The Book he Publiſhed is intituled, *Ætiologia in qua migrationis ſuæ ex Lutheranâ Synagoga in Eccleſiam Catholicam veras & ſolidas rationes ſuccinctè exponit, & perſpicuè, ...que omnibus & judicandi dexteritate pollentibus ritè, ac cum curatè & modeſtè conſiderandas proponit.* It was Printed at *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, in the year 1640. and Dedicated to *Emeric Loſi* Archbiſhop of *Strigonia*. This Work turns upon theſe two Things; one is that the Lutheran Religion ought to be quitted, ſince it has no infallible Authority to direct us to judge what we ought to believe: The other is, that Popery ought to be Embraced, becauſe we find in it ſuch an Authority (*o*). He was Convicted Con-

(h) *Athen. Belg. p.* 190.

(i) *Deſcription of the Netherlands.*

(k) *Tom.* 7. *p.* 327.

(l) *Pag.* 203.

(m) *Mr. Chevillier p.* 196. *and here.*

(n) *Franc. Swertius Athen. Belg. p.* 189. 190.

(o) *Taken from Dorſchæus's Prodigeſtis Catholicis p.* 1. & 2. *p.* 330

be to blame, if I durſt not own it, ſince the Learned Mr. *Baillet* made (*E*) no ſcruple to acknowledge, that he was Ignorant of this Man's Adventures.

KIRCHMAN (*John*) famous for his Works, was Born at *Lubeck* the 18*th.* of *January* 1575. He Studied in his Country till he was eighteen years of Age, after which he went to *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, where he ſpent four years conſtantly attending the Lectures, and avoiding the Amuſements and Debaucheries, in which (*A*) moſt Scholars loſe their time. He Studied afterwards in the Univerſity of *Jena*, and then in that of *Strasburg*. He deſired to Travel into Forreign Countries, but having not a ſufficient Stock for that, he was forced to refrain his deſire. He was not long under that conſtraint; for he was made Governour to the Son of a Bourgomaſter of *Lunenburg*, and went with him into *France* and *Italy*. He returned into *Germany* in the year 1602, and being at *Roſtock*, he diſcovered ſuch a Capacity, that the year following he was made Profeſſor of Poetry. The Work he Publiſhed in the year 1604, *de funeribus Romanorum*, procured him the Reputation of a very Learned Man, and Contributed perhaps to his meeting with a good Match as readily as he deſired; for he had no leſs inclination to increaſe (*B*) the number of the Inhabitants of the World, than that of his Books. It was therefore a very good Fortune to him, to find a Wife the ſame year, that he ſet up for an Author, eſpecially ſince the Wife he met with made him attain the end he aimed at, for ſhe brought him Children, beſides, ſhe lived with him (*C*) very Friendly. Being look'd upon as a Man who Educated the

(*p*) Baillet, *in the* 1. *Tom. of the* Anti, *n.* 25. *p.* 204. 205.

(*q*) *Note, that he ſpeaks of it in the* 267. *p. of the ſame Tome, but not under the Notion of* Anti-Kircher.

(*r*) *Profeſſor of Divinity at* Strasburg. *See the* Acta Eruditor. *in* 1682. *p.* 249. *&* Mr. Baillet ubi ſupra, *p.* 268.

(*ſ*) Baillet ubi ſupra *p.* 206. 207.

(*t*) *That is, for ſaying nothing of* Kitcher's *Life or Death.*

(*a*) See *Quintilian inſtit. Orator. l.* 1. *c.* 2. *&* Mr. Dacier's *Remarks upon the Life of* Numa Pompilius *at the end, and the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres *for* June 1700. *p.* 686.

ſult Mr. *Baillet* (*p*) who will tell you that *John Conrad Schragmuller* Publiſhed an *Anti-Kercher* in *High-Duteh* in the year 1654. And that *Abraham Calovius* put out an *Examen Anti-Kircherianum* at *Konungsberg* in *Pruſſia* in the year 1643. He do's not there mention (*q*) the Book of *John George Dorſcheus*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Strasburg*, tho' it may be reckon'd an *Anti-Kircher*. The Title of it is; *M. J. Kircherus devius, ſive hodegeticus Catholicus, quo oſtenditur M. Johannem Kircherum Tubingâ Wurtembergicum migrationis ſuæ ex ſynagoga, quam vocat, Lutherana in Eccleſiam Catholicam inſtitutione iviſſe, non qua eundum eſt ſed qua itur.* It was Printed at *Strasburg* in the year 1641, in 12. and contains two Parts, the running Titles whereof are 1. *Hodeget. Cathol. Antikireh. pralim.* 2. *Hodeget. Cathol. Antikireh. Dorſcheus* maintains the Perſpicuity of the Scripture, which is the Foundation of the Proteſtant Faith, and ſhews on the other Hand, that neither Councils nor Deciſions of Popes can be a good Foundation of certainty. The Citations take up more than half the Book, and eſpecially in the places, wherein are examined *Kircherus*'s Complaints, that the Proteſtants impute to the Catholick Church all the Impertinencies of particular Authors. This Book of *Dorſcheus* was anſwer'd by a *German* Jeſuit called *Henry Wangnereck*, who Publiſhed an *Anti-Dorſcheus* in the year 1653. and in his turn was Confuted by an *Anti-Vangnereck*, which (*r*) *Balthaſar Rebelius* Publiſh'd by way of Theological *Theſes* in the year 1682.

(*E*) *Mr.* Baillet *made no ſcruple to Acknowledge, that he was Ignorant.*] ' (*ſ*) You would have no ' occaſion (*t*) to Reproach me for it, if I could ' have diſcovered the Regiſter of his Baptiſm or ' Burial. Of the four *German Kirchers*, whom I ' know to have been, Authors, and whereof two ' were Jeſuits, he whoſe name was *John*, is he, ' whoſe Life and Imployments I am leaſt informed ' of. I believe that if he had Died a Lutheran, ' Mr. *Henning Witten* would have done him the ' Honour to place him in his Memoirs, with ſo ' many others, who did not deſerve it better than ' he: Another of his Fraternity would have made ' his Funeral Oration, or Publiſhed an Hiſtorical ' Elogy on him. It may be alſo that if *Kircher*, when ' he turned Roman Catholick, had made himſelf a ' Monk, ſome Bibliographer or other curious Per- ' ſon of his Order, would have been at the pains of ' Collecting his Actions and Writings, and of ' placing him among the famous Men of his Order. ' But I have too good an Opinion of your Memory, ' to repeat what I have told you upon this Subject ' in the Article of the *Anti-Cochleus*, when you was ' deſirous to know, why the Proteſtant Writers are ' generally better known to us than the Catholicks, ' and why amongſt the latter, the Monks of what ' ever Order they be, are commonly better known ' than the other Catholicks.

(*A*) *In which moſt Scholars loſe their time.*] It has been a Diſpute for many Ages (*a*) whether it be better to Educate Children at home, or to ſend 'em to the Univerſities. There are Arguments on both ſides; but that which is moſt plauſible againſt ſending them to the Univerſities, is the great danger danger of being drawn into Debauchery. Studious Scholars are very ſcarce; but thoſe who diſturb others, either by their bad Examples, their Sollicitations, or their Railleries are very numerous. See what is ſaid of our *Kirchmannus*, and of moſt of his School-fellows. (*b*) *Ibidem per quadriennium fere ſubſtitit; non cibos & potiones tantum percolando, non Charadrii vitam agendo, non ludicris aliorum exagitationibus, aut laſcivis Gynæcei luſtrationibus ſe oblectando, non ſcurrilibus Lurconum nugis optimum juventutis florem peſſime corrumpendo, quibus egregiis, ſcilicet! Exercitiis, deplorato & exulcerato hoc ſeculo, maxima, (c) proh dolor! Academicorum pars dedita eſt, ſed lectiones & diſputationes publicas diligenter viſitando, cum viris doctis familiariter converſando, & interdiu noctuque bonis literis, quibus animum totum applicuerat, ſtrenuè incumbendo.*

(*B*) *To increaſe the number of the Inhabitants of the World.*] 'Tis here more neceſſary than in other places to ſet down the very Words of my Author. (*d*) *Quemadmodum prole animi bonas litteras promovere ſtuduit Kirchmannus, ita etiam prole corporis humanum genus augere apud ſe conſtituit. Quamobrem eodem anno, quo Funera Romanorum publici juris fecit, iiſque nominis ſui funera planè exterminavit, vitæ ſociam ſibi elegit Virginem caſtiſſimam & pudiciſſimam,* Emerentiam, Joachimi Schelii, *Senatoris Roſtochienſis prudentiſſimi, filiam.* Here you ſee a Man who minded the publick good; he confin'd not his Zeal to the Advantage of the Republick of Learning, he Laboured alſo for that of the State, by the Procreation of Children: He Conſecrated both his Body and Mind, to the benefit of Mankind. The Learned *Helena Piſcopia Cornara* had very different Notions; for to ſhew that ſhe trod in the ſteps of *Minerva* the Goddeſs of Science, who always preſerved her Virginity, ſhe got her ſelf admitted into the Academy of *Gli infecondi*. But then the moſt Learned *Tiraquellus* was an Example to our *Kirchman*, for 'tis ſaid he produced every year a Book and a Child. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, (*e*) on the Subject of Mrs. *le Fevre*. The following Words ſhew that our *Kirchman* was not Fruſtrated of his good Intentions. (*f*) *Quonam vero præcipuus conjugii ſcopus quo Kirchmannus collimavit eſt procreatio liberorum,*

——*etiam hunc ſcopum attigit, & conjugium ex benedictione divina uti jucundum, ita & fœcundum habuit. Ex uxore quippe ſuaviſſima, nunc proh dolor! Vidua mœſtiſſima, quinque liberos ſuſcepit, filios tres & filias duas.*

(*C*) *She lived with him very Friendly.*] The Funeral Oration ſays that for 37. years that their Marriage laſted, they had no need of a Reconciliation. (*g*) *Quod conjugium felicibus auſpiciis cœptum felici etiam ſucceſſu novem vruit. Tanto enim amore hi conjuges ſe mutuò ſunt complexi, tantâ concordiâ ſeptem & triginta annos tranſegerunt, ut nunquam ingratiam redire, aut ad aram Bona Dea litare neceſſe ipſis fuerit.* Pomponius *Atticus* had the like good Fortune with his Siſter and Mother (*h*), but not with his Wife. The Author of the Funeral Oration

(*b*) *Jacob. Stolterfhotus Orat. funebri Johannis Kirchmanni, apud Witten Memor. Philoſoph. Orator. &c. p.* 525.

(*c*) *See the Remark* D. *Letter* m.

(*d*) *Idem Stolterfhotus p.* 530.

(*e*) *For* November 1684. *art.* XII. *p.* 977.

(*f*) *Orat. funebr. apud Witten, Memor. Philoſoph. p.* 531.

(*g*) *Id. ib. p.* 530.

(*h*) *See his Article.*

the Youth well, and suffered not his Boarders (*D*) to commit Debaucheries in his House; he had many Scholars sent him from the other Towns of *Germany*; and at last when the Magistrates of *Lubeck* saw that their School wanted a new Rector, they intreated him to take upon him that Imploy. One of the Reasons that Ingaged him to accept it, was (*E*) his fear of offending God, if he should refuse so Lawful a Call as that. He took Possession of that Imployment in the year 1613, and continued in it all the rest of his Life, with wonderful Industry, though he had the Mortification of being expos'd to many (*F*) Slanders under pretence that the School visibly Decay'd. 'Tis said that it was not his Fault. He Died the twentieth of *March* 1643 †. I will give a Catalogue of his (*G*) Writings.

† *Taken from his Funeral Oracion pronounced by James Stolterfhous his Son-in-Law. Witten has inserted it in the* Memoria Philosophorum *p.* 516.

KYRIANDER (*William*) a *German* Civilian, after he had begun the Study of the Civil-Law in *Germany*, continued it in *France* and at *Padua*; and went afterwards to *Venice* to add the Practice to the Theory by frequenting the Bar ‡. He there undertook the Translation (*AA*) of a Book of *Leander Albertus*, which was Printed at *Cologne* in 1567. You'll find in *Moreri* that he was Syndic of *Triers*, and that he Publish'd (*A*) the Annals of that Town: But you will not find there that he chang'd his

‡ *Kyriander praefat. descript. Italiæ.*

tion pretends that this Concord proceeded from this, that both the Husband and the Wife well understood, that it was pleasing to God and Men, and that the Inconveniencies of Marriage, that are great in themselves, ought not to be Aggravated with sad Contentions, but rather sweetned by an agreeable Conversation. (*i*) NIMIRUM *uterque ipsorum probe intellexit, Deo hominibusque gratum; si bene inter maritum & uxorem conveniat, nec conjugii molestias, alias sat graves, odiosis rixis & acerbis concertationibus cumulandas, sed suavissimâ potius oblectatione, & jucundissimâ conversatione leniendas esse.* Hereupon he makes a very Pathetical Wish: Would to God, says he (*k*), that all those who don't live well together, would consider this great Truth. I don't believe this Author has hit upon the true Cause. There's scarce any Body but knows this great Truth; even those Families, where Discord Reigns most, are very well convinc'd of it: But they are not Govern'd by this persuasion, and I question whether the quarrelling part is not pitched upon, as the least Inconvenient; they would be more Tormented by their Discontent and Antipathy if they kept it within their Breast. Scolding is like Tears (*l*), it asswages the Grief, with which one is Oppress.

(*D*) *Permitted not his Boarders to commit Debaucheries in his House.*] There are some Professors so Covetous, that for fear of having their Board cried down they are very cautious how they cross their Boarders in their Pleasures. Young Men to Revenge themselves of the constraint they are kept under, would make their Relations believe a thousand Lies, in order to remove their Lodgings. *Kirchman* did not Govern himself by such Apprehensions. (*m*) *Non enim Bacchanalia cum convictoribus suis Kirchmannus vivebat, non scyphos ad ordinem evacuatos; non ad mensuras sine mensura vivebat, non noctem Baccho ut pervigilem ducerent domesticis suis permittebat, quemadmodum nunc non nullos in Academiis Professores & Juventutis censores, egregios scilicet! facere audibus; sed ita in omnibus se gerebat, ut studiis mores convenienter irent; ipsiusque domestici, adeoque omnes litteris humanioribus addicti vivum haberent exemplum, ad quod vitam, mores, & res suas omnes examussim componerent.*

(*E*) *His fear of offending God.*] Here is a Proof of a very nice Conscience. Many reasons diffuaded him from leaving *Rostock*; but this is the first thing that he oppos'd to them. (*n*) *Contra vero ab hac parte non minus sollicite secum perpendebat divinam & legitimam vocationem, quam si contemptim repudiaret, in gravissimam Dei iram & certissimam ejus vindictam incurreret.* I think he was too scrupulous: His Call was not like that of *Abraham*; and he might have refused to Answer it without any danger of provoking Heaven.

(*F*) *To many Slanders under pretence.*] When the Scholars plaid any mad Tricks, the Rector was blamed, and publickly Censured for it. (*a*) *Statim bonus Kirchmannus cum suis Collegis vapulabat, & negligentiæ officii ac disciplinæ reus agebatur. Neque hæc carnificina in conviviis, transitis & privatis congressibus tantum à vulgo, cui neque judicium, neque veritas, identidem eanchatur; verum etiam in publicis scepius Vir optimus acerbè perstringebatur ab iis, quorum officium potius fuisset, Kirchmanni & Scholæ nostræ causam agere, ipsiusque Auctoritatem & existimationem, si qua à malevolis arroderetur, defendere.* He bore it Patiently, and (*b*) Courageously despised those injurious Reflections. His Son-in-Law enlarges much upon this, and without denying (*c*) that *Kirchman* had his Faults, he maintains that the decay of the College proceeded from introducing into the Town the ule of Domestick Tutors. (*d*) *Qui primum Januariis Præceptores in nostram civitatem introduxit, quisquis etiam fuerit, & quot domos tot ferè scholas in nostra urbe aperuit, hunc violentus huic Lyceo manus intulisse, & ad prosternendum primo ictu petiisse, tam confidenter assevero, ut nihil confidentius. Quid postea accesserit, & scholæ nostræ fundamenta penè everterit, unusquisque ipse secum reputet, in animo enim mihi non est omnia refricare, & Camarinam, quod aiunt, movere.*

(*G*) *A Catalogue of his Works.*] 'Tis at the end (*e*) of his Funeral Oration. *Oratio funebris Amplissimo Viro, Jacobo Bodingo, Consuli Reipublicæ Lubecensis, scripta*: Rostochii 1610. *in* 4to. *De Funeribus Romanorum Libri quatuor*: Hamburgi 1605. *in* 8vo. Lubecæ. 1623. 1637. Brunsv. ac 1661. Francof. 1672. *in* 8vo. Ludg. Bat. 1672. *in* 12s. *De ira cohibenda disputatio*: Rostoch. 1611. *in* 4to. *Oratio de vita & obitu Pauli Merulæ*: ibid. 1617. *in* 4to. & Ludg. Bat. 1672. *in* 12s. *Libri tres de Pacificatione Koltzenburgensi ad Legatos Ordinum Unitarum Belgii Provinciarum*. Lubecæ 1620. *in* 4to. *Oratio de vita & obitu Georgi Stampelii, Ecclesiæ Lubecensis Superintendentis, habita*: ibid 1622 *in* 4to. *De Annulis liber singularis*. ibid. 1623. Slesvigæ 1657. Francof. 1672. *in* 8vo. Ludg. Bat. 1672. *in* 12s. *Rudimenta Rhetorica*: Bremæ, 1652. *in* 12s. *Rudimenta Logicæ Peripatetica*: Lub. 1609. & *saepius in* 8vo. *Tabulæ Logicæ & Rhetoricæ*, ibid. *in fol. Genethliacon Illustrissimi Principis, Adolphi Friderici, Ducis Megapolitani, Primogenito Filio scriptum*: ibid. 1624. *in* 4to. He design'd to Publish a Manuscript with Notes, which did not come out till 1684. by the care of his Grandson (*f*)

(*AA*) *The Translation of a Book of Leander Albertus.*] This Book contains the Description of *Italy*, and has not been despised by the Learned. Read *Vossius*, Chapter 12. Book 3. (*g*) *De historicis Latinis*, and *La Popelinere*, pag. 414. of the *Histoire des Histoires*. *Kyriander* made use of three *Italian* Editions of this Work, which he put into *Latin*, but I wonder he says nothing of the Edition, which was inlarged with the Description of the Islands bordering upon *Italy*. That Edition was printed at *Venice appresso Ludovico degli Avanzi*, in the Year 1561, in *Quarto*. The Translator should have made use of it, and should have added to his Work the Description of the Islands.

(*A*) *The Annals of that Town.*] 'Tis a *Folio* printed at *Deuxponts* in the Year 1603 *Michael Hertzius* does not mention this Edition: He only mentions that of 1625, and pretends that those Annals begin in the Year of the World 966 (*h*). Which is to make 'em rise above 700 Years before the Deluge. *Zeiller* might have (*i*) taught him to say 1966, and not 966. In the second *Dutch* Edition of

(*k*) *Orat. funebr. ib.* (*l*) Utinam id secum probe volverent illi, qui conjugium, quod debebat esse caritatis vinculum, faciunt certamen rixosum, quo seipsos excarnificant, & quotidiana quasi morte mulctant! Satius illis esset, nunquam matrimonium contraxisse, quam contractum tam fœde deturpassse. *Id. ib. p.* 531. (*l*) Est quadam flere voluptas: Expletur lacrymis, egeriturque dolor. *Ovidius Trist. l.* 4. *Eleg.* 3. *v.* 37. (*m*) *Orat. funebr. p.* 533. (*n*) *Ibid. p.* 535. (*o*) *Orat. funebr. p.* 540.

(*a*) *Ibid. p.* 538. (*b*) *Ibid. p.* 539. (*c*) *Ibid. p.* 538. (*d*) *Ibid. p.* 533. (*e*) See the Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, February 1685. *art.* 2. (*f*) *Pag. m.* 660. (*g*) *Pag.* 553. (*h*) *Hertzius, Bibliotheca Germaniæ, p.* 404. (*i*) *De Hist. p.* 2. *part. p.* 27.

his Religion; and that his Book (*B*) was cried down by the Jesuits upon that Account.

KIRSTENIUS (*Peter*) Professor of Physick at *Upsal*, and extraordinary Physician to the Queen of *Sweden*, was born at *Breslaw*, the Capital City of *Silesia*, the 25th. of *December* 1577. He learnt in his Country *Latin*, *Greek*, a little *Hebrew* and *Syriack*, *Natural Philosophy*, *Anatomy*, and *Botanicks*. After which he went to see the Universities of *Leipsick*, *Wittemberg*, and *Jena*; and having improved much in four Years time, under the Professors of these three Universities, he travelled into the *Low-Countries*, and into *France*. He had heard say, that in order to be eminent in the Practice of Physick, it was necessary to understand *Avicenna*; whereupon he was very desirous to learn *Arabick*, knowing that the Translation of that Physician's Works was very bad. He therefore applied himself to the Study of *Arabick*, and designed to read not only *Avicenna*, but also *Mesue*, *Rhasis*, *Abenzoar*, *Abukasis* and *Averroes*. He was confirmed in this Design by *Scaliger* and *Casaubon* *, who thought him capable of excelling in that Language, to the great Advantage of the Commonwealth of Learning. This Inclination was no impediment to his desire of Travelling. He saw *Italy*, *Spain*, (*A*) *England*, and spent seven Years in his Travels, before he came Home again. He took his Degree of Doctor of Physick at *Basil*, being Twenty Four Years of Age. A little after his return into *Silesia*, he went to *Jena*, and married there; afterwards he was invited by the Magistrates of *Breslaw*, to be Director of their College, and Schools. A Fit of Sickness obliging him to quit that painful Employment, which besides he was weary of, he applied himself wholly to Physick, and the Study of the *Arabick*. Nay, he gave the Preference (*B*) to that Language, and made it appear, that he was born to Succeed in it. He added a great deal of Piety (C) to the Practice of Physick. We are not told why he removed with his Family into *Prussia*, but that Removal proved advantageous to him; for it gave him an Opportunity of being admitted into Chancellor *Oxenstiern*'s House: that Chancellor took him into *Sweden*, where he was honoured with the Professorship of Physick in the University of *Upsal*, in the Year 1636, and besides he was made Physician to the Queen. He would have discharged much better the Duties of his Professorship, if the Strength of his Body had been answerable to the Vigour of his Mind; but he was very much broken, and lived but till the 8th. of *April* 1640 †. He published (D) several Books. It is said in his Epitaph, that he understood Twenty Six Languages.

KNOT,

* Qui cum indolem hominis viderent, animum verbis & exemplis addiderunt, ut pertenderet, atque istas literas, quæ nondum inter Christianos debitum cultum & nitorem accepissent, à barbarie vindicaret ac liberali manu asseveret. Illud magno fore Reipub. literariæ bono, & sibi ornamento illustriori. *Orat. funebr. Kirstenii, apud Witten Memor. Medicor. pag.* 114.

† Taken from his Funeral Oration, pronounced by John Loccenius his Collegue, Professor of the Civil Law. Witten has inserted it in his Memoriæ Medicorum.

(*k*) *Masenius in dedicat. compend. Histor. Trevir. apud Magirum, eponymol. pag.* 498.

(*l*) *Apud Witten Memoria Medicorum, pag.* 122.

(*m*) *Orat. funebr. Kirstenii apud Witten, ibid. pag.* 115.

(*a*) *Ibid.*

(*b*) *Horat. Sat.* 2. *lib.* 1.

(*c*) *Idem epist.* 15. *lib.* 1.

of *Moreri*'s Dictionary, there is 1066. which is to go near 600 Years before *Noah*.

(*B*) *His Book was cried down by the Jesuits upon that Account.*] Masenius speaks of it thus: (*k*) *Kyrlander res Trevirenses, ut fidem Deo Principique suo violarat, perversè persecutus est.*

(*A*) *He saw* Italy, Spain, England, &c.] The Funeral Oration stops there, and speaks not of the Voyage *Kirstenius* made into *Greece* and *Asia*. 'Tis mentioned in his Epitaph. (*l*) *Neve hunc satis fuit tot vidisse populos Europæ celeberrimos, ni matrem olim artium permearet Græciam, & Alcinoi sedem permigraret Asiam, vinosamque per Hungariam reverteret.* Such a Voyage was suitable to his Intentions.

(*B*) *He gave the Preference to the* Arabick.] For he not only bestowed on that Study all the time that he stole from the practice of Physick, but also spent upon the Impression of *Arabick* Books, all that he saved out of his Gain. (*m*) *Quicquid succisivi temporis laboriosæ praxi Medicæ suffurari potuit, hoc excolendæ Arabicæ linguæ totum destinavit: adeo ut cum lingua isthæc, velut cæteræ, superiorum facultatum, ut vocant, & imprimis Medicinæ ministra esse debuisset, contra praxis Medica isti linguæ sæpe serviret: dum quicquid horæ inde lucri redundantis abradere potuit, illud Arabicæ typographiæ adornandæ, & monumentis in illa edendis impendit.* His Panegyrist had reason to say, that few Men make such a use of their Gain. They who have a profitable Profession, are infinitely more careful to buy Lands, or to put their Money to use, or to eat and drink well, than to be at the Charges of printing Books. *Raro fane & laudando exemplo. Quales sunt hujus ævi mores, plerique si rem faciant, aut fœnori eam locarint, aut fundis emendis, aut gulæ deputant. In publicandis ingenii monumentis sumptus facere, rem sterilem esse credunt, & quæ nihil hæredem juvet* (*a*). To the Shame of Learning, the Professors of it are wholly bent on growing rich in Lands and Money

(*b*) *Dives agris, dives positis in fœnore nummis;*

And they follow this bad Maxim,

Vos (*c*) *sapere & solos aio bene vivere, quorum Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.*

(C) *He added a great deal of Piety to the Practice of Physick.*] This would be no less a Rarity than his disinterestedness, if the common Reports concerning the Religion of Physicians were to be believed. 'Tis said, that *Kirstenius* expected nothing from *Remedies*, without the Divine Assistance, and made the Success of Physick depend on the Blessing of Heaven. (*d*) *Auspicium suorum laborum à pietate Christiana fecit, quam Æsculapius ignorabat. Noster autem senex sciebat, virtutem herbarum & usum medendi inutilem esse sine virtute divina: itaque à DEO, cui soli est potestas summa in omnia à se creata, in ipsam vitam & mortem hominum, Medicinæ felicitatem & successum petendum esse.* Nay, it seems that commonly he did not undertake to cure his Patients, till after they were reconciled to God (*e*). He used likewise to incourage them, by advising 'em to confide in God, who in a Moment can cure the most desperate Diseases, unless he thinks it fit to translate his Children from this Vale of Tears into Heaven. *Ægroti malo ex lege humanitatis indolebat, eumque bono animo esse Deoque fidere jubebat, etiam in morbo dubiæ salutis, quod cum Comico sciret, bonum animum in re mala dimidium esse mali. Ægrotum jam à Medico desertum, vel solo DEI nutu facile ad sanitatem reduci posse, si DEO volenti, ipsi saluti esset. Aut ex hac calamitosa vita ad meliorem transferri.* He was very careful to frequent pious Exercises; he began and ended the Day with the reading of the Bible; and he had read that Sacred Book Sixteen times from one end to the other. (*g*) *A Bibliorum lectione diem ordiens & claudens, multoties illa pervolutavit. Sedecies ab illo perlecta liberi ferunt.* He died very piously (*h*).

(*D*) *He published several Books.*] The following Catalogue is to be found at the end of his Funeral Oration. (*i*) *Decas Sacra Canticorum & Caminum Arabicorum ex aliquot MSS. cum Latina interpretatione.* Brelæ 1609. *Evangelistarium quatuor ex antiquissimo Codice MSS. Arabico Cæsareo erutæ.* Francof. 1609. *in fol. Tria specimina Characterum Arabicorum, nempe Oratio Dominica nostri Jesu Christi, Hail Mary, &c.* Ibid. 1609. *in fol. Grammatica Arabica.* Ibid. 1609. *in fol. Liber Secundus, de Canone Canonis à filio suo studio, sumptibus ac typis Arabicis, quâ potuit fide, ex Mauritio & Africano exemplari*

(*d*) *Orat. funebr. Kirstenii, pag.* 117.

(*e*) Ita ægroti non minus DEO reconciliati curationem aggrediebatur. Ab ægrotis tamen invaletudine adhuc recenti quam ingravescente advocari malebat, præsertim in gravibus & acutis morbis. *Ibid.*

(*f*) *Ibid. pag.* 118.

(*g*) *Ibid. pag.* 119, 120.

(*h*) *Ibid. pag.* 121.

(*i*) *Apud Witten ubi supra, pag.* 124.

KNOT * (*Edward*) an *Engliſhman*, born in *Northumberland*, turn'd Jeſuit at Twenty ſix years of Age; which was in the year 1606. being already a Prieſt. He taught a long time at *Rome* in the *Engliſh* College; afterwards he was made Sub-Provincial of the Province of *England*, and after he had exerciſed that Employment out of the Kingdom, he was ſent thither to perform the Functions of a Provincial. That Employment was twice conferred upon him. He aſſiſted in the Quality of Provincial at the General Aſſembly of the Order held at *Rome* in the Year 1646, and was elected *Definitor*. He died at *London* the 14th. of *January*, in 1656 †. *Alegambe* reckoned among the Works of this Jeſuit, a Piece (*A*) which concerns the Hierarchy, and diſpleaſed the Biſhops. *Sotuel* has left it out. We ſhall ſee in a Remark (*B*) his Catalogue of the Books of *Edward Knot*.

* Vero nomine Matthias Wilſonus. *Sotuel ubi infra.*

† *Sotuel, in Bibliotheca Scriptor. Societatis Jeſu, pag.* 185.

KNOX (*John*) a *Scotch* Miniſter, was one of the Principal Inſtruments in the Work of the Reformation, in his own Country, in the XVIth. Century. He had been a Diſciple of *John Major*, one of the ſubtileſt Schoolmen of that Time; whoſe Steps he followed ſucceſsfully in teaching School Divinity, that in ſome things he was more ſubtil than he: but having examined St. *Jerom*'s and St. *Auſtin*'s Books, he quite alter'd his Taſt, betook himſelf to a plain and ſolid Theology, diſcovered abundance of Errors, and publiſhed a Confeſſion of Faith, which made him paſs for a Heretick.

exemplari MSS. Cæſareo Arabicè per partes editus, & ad verbum in Latin. tranſlatus, notiſque textum concernentibus illuſtratus. Ibid. 1610. *in fol. Epiſtola S. Judæ ex MSS. Heidelbergenſi Arabico ad verbum tranſlata, additis notis ex textuum Græcorum & verſionis Latinæ vulgatæ collatione.* Breſlæ 1611. *in fol. Liber de vero uſu & abuſu Medicinæ.* Francof. 1610. *& Germanicè*, Ibid. 1611. *in* 8. *Oratio Introductoria in Gymnaſio Uratiſlavienſium habita.* ibid. 1611. *in* 4. *Notæ in Evangelium S. Matthæi, ex collatione textuum Arabicorum, Syriacorum, Ægyptiacorum, Græcorum & Latinorum.* Breſlæ 1612. *in fol.* [illegible] *ſive informatio Medicæ artis ſtudioſo perutilis, aliquandiu in Pharmacopolio verſaturo Caſpari Pencer, edita è MSS. Petri Kirſtenii.* Upſaliæ 1638. *in* 8.

(*k*) *Alegambe Bibliotheca Scriptor. Societ. Jeſu, pag.* 99.

(*l*) *A Jeſuit, who had been lately dead.*

(*A*) *A Piece which concerns the Hierarchy.*] *Alegambe* ſpeaks thus. (*k*) *Scripſit doctiſſimum libellum, qui ſub nomine Nicolai Smithei eſt editus hac epigraphe,* Modeſta & brevis diſcuſſio aliquarum aſſertionum D. Doctoris Kelliſoni, quas in ſuo de Eccleſiaſtica Hierarchica tractatu probare conatur, *ex Anglico in Latinum à Georgio Wrighto converſa, & plurimis Doctorum atque adeo Catholicarum Univerſitatum ſuffragiis approbata.* This Book was printed at *Antwerp* in the Year 1631. *in* 12. I am ſatisfied, that moſt of my Readers will be pleaſed to find here the Occaſion and Progreſs of this Hierarchical Diſpute. You muſt know then, that *Richard Smith*, Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, having received the Authority of an Ordinary over the Catholicks of *England*, in the Year 1626, came into that Iſland a little after. He undertook to extend his Juriſdiction over the Jeſuits, and the other Regulars; but he met with ſo many Obſtacles, that he was obliged to deſiſt, and to return into *France*. They perceived, that the Charities which were beſtowed upon this Prelate, that he might keep up the Dignity of his Character, came no longer to them, which did not pleaſe 'em; therefore they formed a Party ſo cunningly, that they obliged the Biſhop to retire. This Retreat was quickly followed by a furious Paper War. The firſt that entered the Liſts, was Doctor *Kelliſon*, Profeſſor at *Douay*; he wrote in Defence of the Biſhop's Authority. *Knot*, Provincial of the Jeſuits, anſwered him under the Name of *Nicolas Smith*. A little after a Book came out (*m*) upon this Subject, the Author whereof took the Name of *Daniel à Jeſu*, though his Name was *John Lloyd*. He was a Jeſuit, Profeſſor at *St. Omer*. The Archbiſhop of *Paris* cenſured the Books of both theſe Jeſuits: The *Sorbonne*, and the General Aſſembly of the Clergy of *France*, did the ſame. (*n*) *Which was ſo far from ſtopping the Mouths of the Jeſuits*, that it engaged 'em to reprint their Books in the *Latin* Tongue, with great Approbations. They publiſhed alſo a Remonſtrance againſt the Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, in the Name of the Catholicks of *England*. The Secular Clergy publiſhed the ſame Year 1631, Three Writings in *England*, ' in oppoſition to ' the Jeſuits. Who were ſo far from quitting ' the Field by reaſon of the number of their Enemies, that they began a freſh Charge againſt ' both the *Sorbonne* Doctors, and the *French* ' Clergy, under the feigned name of *Hermannus* ' *Loemelius*, whoſe chief Author was the fore-named Jeſuit *Lloyd*, with the aſſiſtance of his Brethren, as the diverſity of the Style ſhews. And another Book came out againſt the Faculty of *Paris*, in Vindication of *Knot* or *Nicolas Smith*, ' with many Approbations of Biſhops, Univerſities ' and private Doctors: And in Vindication of the ' Propoſitions of *Ireland* (likewiſe cenſured at *Paris*) another Book came forth, under the name of ' *Edmondus Urſulanus*, whoſe true name was *Macmahone*, Prior of the *Franciſcan* Convent in *Louvain*. About the ſame time, the Jeſuits Publiſhed their Cenſure of the Apoſtolical Creed, in imitation of the Cenſures at *Paris*, againſt their Doctrines (as though their Doctrines were as certain as that, and themſelves as infallible as the Apoſtles:) Wherein they charge the Biſhops their Enemies, with reviving old Hereſies, and broaching new ones. The Jeſuits having now done ſuch great things, triumph unreaſonably in all places, as having utterly overthrown their Enemies, and beaten them out of the Field: When, in a little time after. *Hallier* and *le Maiſtre*, two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, undertake the Quarrel againſt them; but none was ſo highly magnified and infinitely applauded by the *French* Clergy, as a Perſon under the diſguiſed name of *Petrus Aurelius*; whoſe Atchievements in this kind they Celebrated, next to thoſe of the *Pucelle d' Orleans*, and Printed all theſe Works together at their own Charge: And writ a high *Elogium* of him, which is received before them. And the ſecular Clergy of *England* ſent him a Letter of Congratulation for his Triumphs, ſubſcribed by *John Colleton* Dean of the Chapter, and *Edmond Dutton* Secretary; wherein, they ſadly lament the Diſcords that have been among them here, and the Hereſies broached by their Adverſaries, by occaſion of them. The main of this Controverſie did concern the Dignity, Neceſſity, and Juriſdiction of the Epiſcopal Order; as appears by th Cenſures of the Biſhops of *France*, and by *Aurelius*, who ſaith, (*o*) that although the Diſpute began upon occaſion of the Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, and the *Engliſh* Clergy, yet it was now carried farther, whether the Epiſcopal Order was neceſſary to the Being of a particular Church? Whether it was by Divine Right, or no? Whether Confirmation might be given, without Biſhops? Whether the Epiſcopal Order was more perfect, than the Monaſtical? Whether the Regulars were under the Juriſdiction of Biſhops? (*a*)

(*m*) *Intituled, Apologia Eccleſiæ Apoſtolicæ quoad modum procedendi circa regimen Catholicorum in Anglia* 1631. in 8. Alegambe, *p.* 242. *mentions it; but* Sotuel *ſays nothing of it.*

(*n*) *Stillingfleet, ubi infra.*

(*o*) *Id.*

(*a*) *His Catalogue of the Books of* Edward Knot.] (*b*) *Miſericordia, & veritas, ſeu charitas propugnata a* 1634, *in* 4. againſt Doctor *Potter*, who had accuſed the Church of *Rome* of want of Charity, in maintaining, that there is no Salvation in the Profeſſant Communion. *Chriſtianitas propugnata, de eodem fere argumento adverſus replicam cujuſdam Hæretici Chillingworthii*, at *St. Omer*, in 1634 *in* 4. *Directio prævia ad eundem Chillingworthium*, at *London*, 1638. *in* 8. *Infidelitas detecta adverſus libros ejuſdem, quo docuerat religionem Proteſtantium eſſe ſectam viam ad ſalutem*, at *Ghent*, 1652, *in* 4.

(*b*) *His Catalogue of the Books of* Edward Knot.] *Petri Aurelii Orationum, tom.* 1. *fol.* 22.

(*a*) *Taken from a Book of Dr.* Stillingfleet, *intituled,* A Diſcourſe *concerning the Idolatry practiſed in the Church of Rome. London,* 1676. p. 421. & ſeq. *See alſo the Letters, intituled,* Les Imaginaires, letter 3. p. m. 49 & ſeq.

Heretick. He was ſhut up (*A*) in a Priſon; and had he not fortunately eſcaped, he had died upon the Scaffold. He retired into *England*, where he was ſo much eſteemed by King *Edward*, that he might have (*B*) been made a Biſhop; but he was extreamly angry when they offered him a Biſhoprick, which he rejected as a thing, that favoured too much of Antichriſtianiſm. After the Death of this Prince he left *England*, that he might not fall into the Hands of the Perſecutors, and retired to *Francfort*, and afterwards to *Geneva*, where he preached to the Refugees of his Country, and entered into a ſtrict Friendſhip with *John Calvin*. He returned into *Scotland* in the Year 1559, and laboured to ſet up the Proteſtant Doctrines with an extraordinary Zeal, both by Word of Mouth and in Writing. His Enemies having expelled him from *Edinburg*, he retired to *St. Andrews*, where the Devil † raiſed him many Enemies, and eſpecially when he oppoſed ſome People, that conſpired againſt the Royal Majeſty. The News of the *Paris* Maſſacre overwhelmed him with Grief; but he quickly found himſelf comforted by the good Courſe of Affairs in *Scotland*. The Baniſhed were recalled to *Edinburg*, and he among the reſt *, where he reſumed the Functions of the Miniſtry. They granted him the Collegue that he deſired, and he inſtalled him the 9th. of *November* 1572, and this was the laſt Sermon that he preached. He fell ſick a little after, and till the 24th. of *November* following, which was the Day of his Death, he was altogether taken up with Pious Diſcourſes to his Wife, his Servant, and thoſe who viſited him ‖. He lived Fifty Seven Years †. Nothing can be more abuſive, than what *Moreri* ſays of our *John Knox*, out of *Spondanus*. Theſe Places have been left out in the *Dutch* Editions. The Misfortune is, that the Epiſcopal Clergy of *England* agree with the Popiſh Authors in crying him down as an Apoſtate, who eſtabliſhed his Reformation (*C*) by

† Quæ ut primum venit multos illi Satanas excitavit hoſtes, præſertim cum ſe illis qui contra regiam majeſtatem conſpiraranr oppoſuiſſet. *Melch. Adam. in vit. Theol. exter. p.* 138.

* *It does not appear that Beza knew he had been expelled from thence.*

† *Taken from his Life in* Melchior Adam ubi ſupra.

† *Beza in iconibus.*

‖ *Taken from* Nathanael Sottuel, pag. 185.

(*c*) Hamelfontium unicum tunc portum aſylum perfugere cogeretur. *Beza in Iconibus.*

(*d*) *And not at* Edinburg, *as* Melchior Adam *affirms*, in vitis Theolog. exteror. pag. 137.

(*e*) Melch. Adam *is guilty of a conſiderable Omiſſion, by not ſaying that* Knox *was a Prieſt.*

(*f*) Berwick *is not an Epiſcopal Town: Beza excuſes himſelf wrong.*

(*g*) *Beza, in* [illegible] *Melch. Adam, p.* [illegible]

* *Written by* Thomas Smeton.

His *Monita utiliſſima pro patribus Miſſionis Anglicanæ* (*b*), have not been printed. We may eaſily gueſs, that ſome Political Reaſons hindred the Publication of this laſt Book.

(*A*) *He was ſhut up in a Priſon.*] *Melchior Adam* gives us here but a lame Account, and in ſome things contrary to that of *Beza*. Let us rectify it, and ſay, that *John Knox*, not being contented to renounce the Schoolmen, but having alſo very freely cenſured many other things, was forced to leave *Edinburg*, and to eſcape to *Hameſton* (*c*), the only Sanctuary of the faithful at that time. He there (*d*) publiſhed a Confeſſion of Faith, the Conſequence whereof was, that *David Beton*, Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, cauſed him to be condemned for Contumacy, as a Heretick, and degraded him from his Prieſthood (*e*), and that he had been killed by ſome Aſſaſſines, if a *Scotch* Gentleman had not ſaved him. Great Revolutions came on after that. This Archbiſhop, who was alſo a Cardinal, was killed: The *French* made themſelves Maſters of the Fortreſs of *St. Andrews*: *Knox* fell into their Hands, and obtained his Deliverance, and betook himſelf to *Berwick*, an *Engliſh* Town on the Confines of *Scotland*. He there diſputed, according to *Beza*, with the Biſhop of that Place. (*f*) *illius civitatis pſeudo-Epiſcopo*: Their Diſpute was referred to the Parliament of *England*, who adjudged the Victory to *Knox*. *Utroque ad ſupremum Angliæ ſenatum rejecto, (tum autem Eduardus regnare cœperat) tantum effecit ut victoria penes veritatem ſtante, damnaretur quidem falſa religionis pſeudepiſcopus, ipſum verò tum pietas, tum diligentia magnopere commendaret* (*g*). I cannot tell whether this Diſpute was not the ſame thing that *John Knox* did in the Dioceſs of *Durham*. He was forced to ſpeak his Thoughts concerning the Maſs, and he expoſed in a Sermon with ſo much Strength, the Blaſphemy and Idolatry of that Sacrifice, that Biſhop *Tonſtal* and his Doctors could not give him any good Anſwer. I doubt that they have made two Events of one. However, here's the Proof of what I have ſaid concerning this Sermon. (*h*) *Specimen ejus illuſtre depoſuit tum alias, tum anno* 1550. *in terra Dunelmenſi: quando coactus coram Epiſcopo* Tonſtallo *& ejus doctoribus ſuper Miſſa Pontificia opinionem ſuam exponere; pro concione illius idololatrias & horrendas blaſphemias tam ſolidis argumentis demonſtravit, ut adverſarii, quod vere opponerent, non haberent.* Perhaps *Knox*'s Life (*i*), which I have not by me, if conſulted, would clear this matter. We ſhall in the next place ſee what the King did for him.

(*B*) *He might have been made a Biſhop; but he rejected it as a thing.*] His Zeal againſt the Hierarchy appeared upon that Occaſion, as we find in *Melchior Adam*, at the 137th. Page of the Lives of Foreign Divines. *Cum Epiſcopatus de Regis voluntate Knoxo eſſet oblatus: indignabundus Knoxus non ſolum honorem recuſavit, ſed etiam Oratione gravi titulos illos improbavit, quaſi regni Antichriſtiani quiddam redolentes.* His Refuſal of ſuch a Preferment is very much praiſed by *Beza*, who doubtleſs, whatever ſome modern Miniſters may ſay of him, was fully perſuaded with his Collegues, that the Equality of Paſtors is of Divine Right, and that therefore the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy is a Fundamental Corruption. Here are ſome ſharp Strokes of *Beza* againſt Epiſcopacy. (*k*) *Inde Novocaſtrum ac deinceps Londinum ad Regem accito (Knoxo) quum Epiſcopatus quidam offerretur, tantum abeſt ut illum receperit, ut etiam in totam illam verè Satanicam poteſtatem graviter ſit invectus, ut quæ divino jure nullo nitatur, ac ne & veteribus quidem canonibus adminiſtretur: qua in re, etſi non obtinuit (quod ſi in Anglia & alibi factum eſſet, id eſt ſi cauſa illa Tyrannidis omnis Eccleſiaſtica præcipua & primaria eſſet ſublata, longè alia facies Eccleſiarum eſſet) conſcientiam tamen ſuam ſingulari cum Chriſtiana Modeſtia exemplo liberavit.*

(*C*) *His Reformation by Fire and Sword.*] *Spondanus* having ſaid that *Knox*, an Apoſtate Prieſt and a Monk, a Corrupter of many Women, and even of his Mother-in-Law, and a Magician, was returned into *Scotland* with full Inſtructions from *Calvin* in the year 1559, adds what follows. *Adeo prædicationibus ſuis & invectivis rem auxit, ut non ſolùm paſſim templa & monaſteria deſtructa fuerint, ſacra conculcata, Imagines confractæ, ornamenta & bona expilata, exturbati monachi, ſacerdotes pulſi, Epiſcopi ejecti; verùm etiam omnis obedientia Regenti renunciata, omniſque auctoritas abrogata, & in quorundam, quos tanquam conſiliarios eligebant, tranſlata* (*a*). He ſays in another Place (*b*), relating the different Opinions of thoſe who Voted about the Deſtiny of Queen *Mary Stuart*, that ſome by *Knox*'s Advice, were for putting her immediately to Death. Laſtly, he ſays, that King *James* Recommended it to his Son not to Read *Buchanan*'s Libels, nor *Knox*'s Chronicle, but on the contrary to puniſh ſeverely ſuch as kept thoſe pernicious Books, and to ſuppoſe according to the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, that the Souls of thoſe Seditious Authors were Tranſmigrated into the Bodies of ſuch as read 'em, or maintained their Opinions, and that therefore they deſerved the ſame Puniſhment, as would be juſtly inflicted upon thoſe Authors, if they were raiſed from the Dead. (*c*) *Haud tamen famoſos libros Buchanani, aut Knoxii Chronica evolveret: ſed ſi quod ejuſmodi ſcriptum inveniret, cum ejus depoſitariis ex legis ſeveritate ageret. In eo Pythagoræ diſcipulum ſe profiteretur: ut exiſtimaret ipſos manes iſtorum ſeditioſarum flabellorum mutatæ choſi quadam in eorum corpora tranſiſſe, qui eorum vel libros retinerent, vel dogmata defenderent: eoſque non minori ſupplicio plectendos, quàm ſi ipſi auctores jam à mortuis eſſent reſuſcitati.* He cites the ſecond Book of the *Baſilicon Doron*: I have conſulted it, and can find nothing but this in it. 'I don't mean thoſe Hiſtories

(*k*) *Beza in Iconib.* A little after he has theſe Words: *Non veram tantum doctrinam, ſed etiam veram & ad divini verbi normam exactam diſciplinam paſſim tum verbis, tum reipſa ſtatuerit.—Sibi non in ultla gradus pſeud-Epiſcopatus tyrannide cui merito ſit intimiciſſimus, ſed in Evangelico miniſterio una cum reliquis e Collegis & Presbyteris æquo prorſus jure adminiſtrando, Joannem Lauſonium ſucceſſorem deſignatum amplexus.*

(*a*) *Spondanus ad ann.* 1559. *n.* 30. *p.* 587.

(*b*) *Ad ann.* 1567. *n.* 3. *pag.* 690.

(*c*) *Idem Spond. ad ann.* 1539. *n.* 7. *pag.* 450.

till

by Fire and Sword, and who taught (D) moſt Seditious Doctrines. I have not been able to know, by the reading of his Works, whether all that is imputed to him be true: but when I conſider the Anſwers (E) that are made for him, I can't doubt, but that his Opinions concerning the Royal Authority, were ſuch as the Epiſcopal

(2) *Joannes Brerleius Sacerdos Anglus in Apologia Proteſtantium pro Romana Eccleſia, tract. 3. ſect. 2. p. 623. 624.*

(1) *Vide Holinſhedi magnum Chron. ultimæ editionis p. 340. initio & fine; & Bancroft. in lib. Propoſitiones, &c. p. 15. ante medium, ubi ait:* Horrenda illa Card. & Archiepiſcopi Sancti Andreæ, quippe qui & ante fuerat & tunc erat præfractus (novi ſcilicet Evangelii) adverſarius, & ejus cædes anno 1545. perpetrata, ſuper ſcripto defenditur, tanquam facinus pium, aliique ad parifacinora audendum excitantur per Knoxium in Hiſtoria Scotiæ *p. 187.*

(2) *Holinſhedus ubi ſupra, p. 366. b. lin. 14. 15. &c.*

' full of Gall and Invectives, thoſe Defamatory ' Libels, which ought neither to be read nor kept ' by your Subjects, under great Penalties, which ' you ought to lay upon 'em. For in this caſe I ' would have you, as a Diſciple of *Pythagoras*, be- ' lieve, that the Souls of thoſe Inſtigators of Sedi- ' tion are gone into thoſe that keep their Writings, ' and defend their Opinions; who ought to be Pu- ' niſhed neither more nor leſs than the Authors ' themſelves. Theſe are King *James*'s Words ac- cording to the *French* Tranſlation of the *Baſilicon Doron*, made by the Sieur *de Villiers Hotman*, and Printed at *Paris* in the year 1604. Conſult the ſe- cond Part, and the 57*th.* Leaf. *Spondanus* goes be- yond the bounds of an Hiſtorian, when he makes King *James* expreſly quote theſe two Authors: He ſhould have been contented to ſay by Conjecture, that this Prince meant them. Let us ſee what the Epiſ- copal Men cited by *Brerleius* ſay; for not being able to come at their Books, I have been forced to depend on him, and to Tranſcribe what he re- lates. ' (*d*) *Et primo quidem de Joanne Knoxio*—— ' *notum atque ipſorum Proteſtantium teſtimonio con- firmatum eſt, cum poſtquam Geneva in Scotiam redi- iſſet, Religionem vi & armis ad phantaſiam ſuam ibi reformare aggreſſum eſſe*, Cumque Caſtrum San- ' cti Andreæ clanculariis inſidiis (1) occupaſſet, & ' Cardinalem horrendo aſſaſſinatu in cubiculo ſuo ' occidiſſet, & ob id ſcelus à Regina Stryulingam ad ' jus dicendum (2) vocatus fuiſſet, nec compararet, ' perduelleum declaratum eſſe. Ille vero audiciam ' non deponens, ſed confirmans, mox Perthæ turbas ' ciere. Magiſtratum Sancti Joannis & Dundeæ ' cum plebe ibidem tumultuante ut imagines, & Al- ' taria, per omnes Eccleſias, & Monaſteria, aliaque ' Religioſorum domicilia undique per circuitum di- ' ruerent, hortari: Ipſe autem poſt concionem qua ' talia auditoribus ſuaſit, habitam, Carthuſianorum, ' Prædicatorum, & Carmelitarum Domos ſubver- ' tere, Imagines & Altaria Fiſæ, Anguſæ Mernæ, ' & aliis in locis deſtruere, & ſic omnes Religionis ' iſtius Eccleſias (novo ſcilicet modo) reformare ' pergebat. *Poſt hæc inquit Bancroftus (qui & ip- ſius Knoxii Chronicon citatis ipſis foliis ubi ſingula facta narrantur, in teſtimonium adducit.)* (3) Alia ' vice coierunt reformatores ad Sancti Andreæ, ubi ' ex inſtigatione Knoxii pro concione tam fratrum ' Religioſorum domos, quam reliqua illius oppidi ' Monaſteria ſpoliarunt, dejecerunt, vaſtarunt. Idem ' Sconi, Stryulingæ, Lithquo, & Edenburgi patra- ' runt: Regina ob metum fugam capeſcente, duo- ' bus menſibus in campo caſtra metati ſunt, & mo- ' netæ cudendæ inſtrumenta diripuerunt, & factum ' defenderunt, &c. Reginam mentitam eſſe ſæpe ' convicti ſunt, eamque indigniſſimis ſædoriis one- ' rarunt, eique obedientiam præſtare renuerunt, im- ' mo eam (4) omni authoritate regali exuerunt, ex- ' preſſo inſtrumento ad id à Knoxio exarato.

(D) *Who Taught moſt Seditious Doctrines.*] Let us here *Brerleius*, Page 625. ' *Summa autem opi- nionis ejus, ut ex ſcriptis ſuis colligitur, & ex ipſo folio pro qualibet harum aſſertionum citato pa- tet, his propoſitionibus (quas citat)* (5) *Bancroftus) continetur*, (6) Proceres tenentur ſi modo Rex no- lit, Religionem reformare. Plebis (7) eſt Reli- gionem reformare. (8) Deus conſtituit Proceres ad effrænes Principum appetitus coercendos. (9) Principes ob juſtas cauſas deponi poſſunt. (10) Si Principes adverſus Deum ac veritatem ejus tyran- nicè ſe gerant, ſubditi eorum à juramento fidelita- tis abſolvuntur. Cum pleriſque aliis id genus dog- matibus. Compare with this the Words of *Petra Sancta*, which ſhall be cited in the following Remark.

(E) *When I conſider the Anſwers that are made for him.*] The firſt thing that I am to ſay, is that thoſe who Defame the Actions and Opinions of our *Knox*, Maliciouſly preſuppoſe that he Acted (*e*) in concert with *Calvin*, and brought from *Geneva* the Notions that he ſet forth in *Scotland*. With this Proſpect, they affect to produce the Encomiums, which *Calvin* and *Beza* beſtowed upon him. We muſt hear *Brerleius* page 619. ' *Hinc Joan. Knoxius ſcholæ* ' (11) *Genevæ diſcipulus* (*quem Calvinus* (12) Vi- ' rum inſignem vocat & fratrem ſuum reverendum) ' *doctrinæ Calvini probe conſciæ, ex opinione Cal- vini & aliorum quorundam Miniſtrorum Genevæ commorantium* (*teſte* (13) *Sutcliffo & Bancrofto*) ' *docuit*: Licere ſubditis ſi Principes nollent, immo ' ſi id opus eſſet, vi & armis Religionem reformare. ' *Hinc eſt quod licet doctrina & facta Goodmanni & Knoxii ſic conjurationi faveant, ut id nulla ter- giverſatione celari poſſit, eos tamen ambos Calvinus* ' (14) fratres ſuos venerandos nominet, *& audacem Knoxii in eo genere temeritatem laudet*, (15) quem ' egregiam Chriſto & Eccleſiæ operam navaſſe ait, ' (16) & ſe vehementer lætari dicit, quod tam fœli- ' ces & lætos progreſſus fecerit. They don't forget that *Beza* in his *Icones* calls him the Apoſtle of *Scot- land*. *A quibus* (Anglis), ſays *Spondanus* (*f*) under the year 1559. n. 30. *ad Scotos tranſeuntibus primus occurrit magnus ille* IOANNES KNOX- US, *quem ſi Scotorum in vero Dei cultu inſtaurando velut Apoſtolum quendam dixero, dixiſſe me quod res eſt exiſtimabo, & ſequens vera ipſius vita narratio teſtabitur.* Cardinal *Richelieu*, when he was yet but Biſhop of *Luſſon*, Publiſhed a Book of Contro- verſy, wherein he made uſe of *John Brerleius*'s Col- lections, and particularly in what relates to *Knox*'s Seditious Opinions. I have conſulted the Anſwers that were made to this Book of the Biſhop of *Luſ- ſon*, but I confeſs, I could find nothing in them to make me ſuſpect the Credit of *Brerleius*'s Citati- ons.

Peter de la Vallade Miniſter of *Fontenai le Comte*, Publiſhed a Book at *Rochelle* in 1619. in 4*to*. Intituled, ' an Apology for the Epiſtle of the Miniſters of the ' Goſpel at *Paris*, inſcribed to the King; in anſwer to ' the Book written againſt them by *Armand John du ' Pleſſis de Richelieu*, Biſhop of *Luſſon*: Containing ' a ſummary Decition of the principal Controverſies ' of this time about Religion by the Authority of ' the Scripture, and the Teſtimony of the Antient ' Doctors of the Church; with a brief Defence a- ' gainſt the Reproaches which are made againſt the ' Proteſtants, on occaſion of the Troubles and Wars ' that have happened in *France*, *Germany*, *Scotland* ' and *Denmark*. Extracted for the moſt part from ' the Hiſtory of *James Auguſtus de Thou*, Preſident ' in the Parliament of *Paris*, or from the very ' Hiſtorians alledged and approved by the Biſhop ' of *Luſſon*. He relates the very Words of the Ob- jection. ' I could, *ſays the Biſhop*, prove your O- ' pinion in this matter, by a great number of Au- ' thors, if what you teach upon this Subject was as ' Advantageous, as it is prejudicial to you. I am ' contented to deſire the Reader to conſult a Book ' Intituled *Apologia Proteſtantum*, one of the moſt ' uſeful Books that has been Printed for a long time, ' in which he'll find more Paſſages upon this Sub- ' ject, and ſome amongſt others, which prove that ſome ' of your Writers have written, that by the Divine

(*e*) See *Spondan. ad. ann.* 1559. *n.* 30.

(11) *Sic Bancroftus in aſſertionibus ſeditionis, p. 10. initio.*

(12) *Calvin. in Epiſt. & reſponſ. Epiſt.* 705. *fine: & p.* 565. *in concluſione illius Epiſtolæ quæ ad Knoxium ſcribitur, ubi ſic habet:* Vale eximie vir, & ex animo colende frater. *Et Beza in Epiſt. Theologicis Epiſt.* 74. *ſic habet:* Joanni Knoxio Evangelii apud Scotos reſtauratori, fratri, & ſimmiſſe obſervando.

(13) *Vide hoc in Hiſt. Eccleſiæ Scotiæ per l'antronicellerum, p.* 213. *& citatur à Sutcliffo in reſponſ. ad libellum ſuppli- cem, p.* 193. *& 71. In Aſſertionibus, &c. p.* 10.

(14) *Calvinus ut ſupra ad* (12): *& vide Calvini Epiſt. 306. ubi eum* virum eximium *vocat*, fratrem colendum,

(3) *Bancroftus in libro cui titulus*, Aſſertiones ſcandaloſæ, &c. *p.* 12. (4) *Ibid. p.* 13. *initio*, *& Sutcliffus in reſponſione ad libellum quendam ſuppliccm, p.* 193. *prope finem quærit à Puritanis*, Num rationes à Knoxio & Wollocko allatæ latis probarent, nempe Principem, ſeu Gubernatricem legitime conſtitutam, à ſubditis deponi poſſe, quemadmodum ipſi de facto Reginam Scotiæ gu- bernatricem regno abdicarunt. (5) *In lib cui titulus*, Aſſertio- nes ſcandaloſæ, *p.* 14. 15. (6) *Knoxius appellat. fol.* 25. (7) *Idem ad plebem, fol.* 40. 50. (8) *Idem Hiſt. p.* 343. (9) *Idem Hiſt. pag.* 371. (10) *Idem ad Angliam & Scotiam, folio* 76.

& Knoxio coadjutorem fidelem. (15) *Calvinus, Epiſt. ubi ſupra, p.* 566. *circa med. ait*, Strenuè operam ſuam Chriſto & Eccleſiæ impendit. (16) *Calvinus ubi ſupra Epiſt.* 305. *Joanni Knoxio, p.* 565. *ait*: Evangelium apud vos tam fœlices lætoſque progreſſus facere vehementer, ut par eſt, lætor: certamina vobis moveri non novum eſt, ſed eo clarius refulget Dei virtus, &c. quando ad reſiſtendum pares nunquam fuiſſetis, niſi à cœlo vobis opem tuliſſet, qui ſuperior eſt toto mundo. (*f*) *Quoting* Beza's *own Words.*

copal Clergy, and the Catholick Party charg'd him with. Some aſcribe to him (F) a Spirit of Prophecy. It is doubtleſs doing ſome Service to the Memory of *John Knox*,

(c) *Silveſter Petra Sancta not. in Epiſtol. Molinæi ad Balzacum, p.* 104. *That Book was Printed at* Amſterp *in* 1634. *in* 8vo.

(2) *In Admonit. ad Nobil. & Pop. Scot. atque Anglia.*

(f) Buchananus ſcripſit de jure regni apud Scotos, ſed hoc nihil ad Gallium, Anglum, Germanianum, Hiſpanium. Nec ſi quis aliquid ſcripſit quod modum excedat, debet continuo adſcribi ejus religioni, potius quam ejus genio. Nam ejuſmodi libri quos citat Jeſuita, ſive veri ſive falſi, nullam præferunt fronte approbationem Doctorum. *Petrus Molinæus in Append. ad Epiſt.* 2. 3. c. 11. *p.* 492.

(g) David Blondel *had already obſerved it* ubi ſupra *p.* 213.

(h) *Rivet. in Caſtigation. notarum in Epiſtol. ad Balzacum c.* 13. *n.* 14. *Oper. tom.* 3. *p.* 536.

(i) *Petra Sancta ubi ſupra, p.* 185. *Hiſtor.* Whitak. *Contr.* 2. *q.* 5. *c.* 13.

(a) *La Vallade, Apologie p.* 544.

(b) David Blondel. *His Anſwer Printed at* Sedan 1619. *in* 8vo. *Is Intituled:* Modeſte declaration de la ſincerité & verité de Egliſes Reformées de France.

(c) *See his Anſwer p.* 287.

(d) *Blondel, p.* 294.

(1) *There are but five Letters written to* Knox, *three of* Calvin, *and two of* Beza: *One of* Calvin *to* Goodman, *and one of* Beza *to* Buchanan. *There is not one Word of Advice about State Affairs to be found in any of 'em.*

'and Humane Laws, it is lawful to kill 'impious Kings, that 'tis a thing agreeable to 'the Word of God, that a private Perſon by 'a ſpecial Inſtinct may kill a Tyrant, a Doctrine e'very way Deteſtable, which can never enter into 'the Thoughts of the Catholick Church. Here follows the anſwer to that Objection. '(d) There 'was no need here, where we are only concerned 'in the ſearch of Truth, of ſuch Rhetorical Flou'riſhes, which are only Fictions and Falſities; for 'how is it poſſible, that he ſhould have ſo many 'Authors in hand, who make us Guilty of ſo de'teſtable a Doctrine, and yet not produce one that 'ſpeaks a Word of it? Nay, to produce the weak 'Proof that he has advanced, he was forced as it 'were to run-over all the Earth, and to go into 'the other World among the Savages, and bring 'Buchanan to Life again, who had his Birth there? 'And who yet never made Profeſſion of Divinity? 'How is it credible that the Biſhop ſhould be ſo 'moderate as not to produce thoſe many Authors, be'cauſe it is not to our Advantage, but to our Preju'dice; ſince he has undertaken to write againſt 'us? It is a Prevarication to conceal what is De'trimental to ones Antagoniſt, and adverſe Party, 'and to alledge what is advantageous to him. Such 'Diſſimulations are not becoming a Biſhop who pro'feſſes to ſpeak the Truth; he ſhould not have 'ſpared us, ſince the buſineſs was to make us ac'knowledge our Fault in ſo important a Point; he 'ſhould not have referred us to the *Apologie Pro'teſtantum*, which Book I never ſaw, nor know 'where to find it: But I know very well, that the 'Author of it, if he be one of ours, does not ſpeak 'as the Biſhop ſays he does; but if he be one of 'their Writers, he advances this of his own Head, 'and has no good Proof for it. 'Tis manifeſt that this Anſwer do's not at all clear *John Knox*. Another Miniſter (b) much more Learned than he of *Fontenai le Comte*, anſwered the Biſhop of *Luſſon*: He had (c) read *John Brerleius*'s Book, and gave a ſatisfactory anſwer to the Objections grounded on ſome Paſſages of *Calvin*: But he forſakes *John Knox*, and maintains, that the *Encomiums* which *Calvin* and *Beza* give him, no ways concern his Notions about the Royal Authority, nor his particular Actions, in which ſome ſtrong ſteps of Rebellion might be found. This Miniſter's Words are theſe. '(d) As for *Knox*, '*Goodman*, and *Buchanan*, the occaſion and time in 'which they writ, leſſen in ſome meaſure the O'dium of the Doctrine, which they ſpread in *Scot'land* inconſiderately and againſt the Truth, which 'their Anger, natural to that Nation, and the general 'Troubles of the State, hindered them from di'ſtinctly diſcovering; according to the cuſtom of 'Men who chuſe rather, even with Sharpneſs and 'Obſtinacy, to defend an ill thing in which they 'are ingaged out of Paſſion, and without any ill 'will, than to confeſs what has been ill done, or ill 'contrived, either by themſelves or their Party. Not'withſtanding thoſe Excelles they have all three 'been great Men, and in other things very ſervi'ceable; *Buchanan* particularly in Tutoring the 'King of Great *Britain*, and the others in the 'Work of the Miniſtry, to which they ſhould have 'been intirely and wholly Dedicated. Granting 'that *Calvin* (1) (in the Letters that he writ to 'them) called the two firſt Brethren and excellent 'Men; and that *Beza* gave ——— the firſt ——— 'the Title of Reſtorer of the Goſpel in *Scotland*: 'Doth this prove, that they Subſcribed to their 'Opinions concerning the Supream Authority of 'Kings, or that they were Communicated to them, 'or that they ſo much as knew, what paſſed in 'Scotland after the change of Religion, or that 'our Adverſaries go upon good Grounds in affirm'ing againſt the Truth, that *the Books of Knox and* 'Goodman *were Subſcribed at Geneva with the Appro'bation of Beza and Calvin*. If thoſe Gentlemen are 'pleaſed to prove what they certify upon their base 'Word, and to aver that the Miniſters of *Geneva* 'Communicated with the above-named in other 'than Eccleſiaſtical Things, or that they were in'formed of their particular Opinions concerning 'the Right of Kings, or that they truly underſtood, 'and afterwards approved, what they have taught 'concerning Politicks, then they ſhall have liberty 'to complain. But on the contrary, it appears, from 'the Letters cited in the Biſhop of *Luſſon*'s little 'Book, that the Miniſters of *Geneva* never gave 'nor received Advice from Foreigners, except in 'matters purely Eccleſiaſtical, and particularly '(from thoſe which *Beza* writ to *Knox*) *that at* 'Geneva *they had no certain News of the* Scotch 'Tranſactions ——— If therefore *Calvin, Beza, Whitaker*, or ſome others of our Religion, have 'called *Knox* and *Goodman* their Brethren, it does 'not follow from it that they adopted their Opi'nions, but only that they call'd 'em ſo, with re'ſpect to the Eccleſiaſtical Office, with which they 'were inveſted. If they praiſed 'em, they did it 'only according to their Knowledge, not thinking 'them impeccable: For it is not impoſſible but that 'amongſt thoſe who Preach Chriſt (as St. *Paul* ſays 'to the *Philippians*) ſome ſhould Preach him out of 'Envy and Contention, and mix the fervour of their 'Zeal with their Infirmities: amongſt which if the 'Lord frequently accompliſhes his Work, drawing 'Light from Darkneſs, and Order from Confuſion; 'tis that the Glory of what is well done, may be'long to his Conduct, and all Evil to the Imper'fections of his Inſtruments. Is not this to Ac'knowledge that *Brerleius*, and thoſe like him, 'have not Slander'd *Knox* with reſpect to the Opi'nions they impute to him?

Juſt as the Biſhop of *Luſſon* had made uſe of *John Boucher*'s Collections, the Jeſuit *Petra Sancta* ſometime after made uſe of this Biſhop's Book, to object againſt *du Moulin*, what ſeveral Proteſtants had ſaid about the Obedience of Subjects. Here follows what he alledged againſt *Knox* (e): *Si principes*, inquit (2), *adverſus Deum & veritatem ejus tyrannidem ſe gerant, ſubditi eorum à juramento fidelitatis abſolvantur.* Idem præter alia multa, *Illud*, inquit, *audaciter affirmaverim, debuiſſe Nobiles, Rectores, Judices, Populumque Anglicanum, non ſolum reſiſtere & repugnare Mariæ illi Jezabel, quam vocant Reginam ſuam; verum etiam de eâ & Sacerdotibus ejus, & aliis omnibus, quotquot ei auxilium tulerunt, mortis ſupplicium ſumere, ut primùm cœperunt Evangelium Chriſti ſuppriměre.* What did Mr. *du Moulin* Reply? He made no mention of *John Knox*, but was contented to ſay that *Buchanan* (f), whom the Jeſuit ſpoke of too, had only treated of the right of the *Scotch*, and that if other Authors had run into excels, it ought to be aſcribed to their particular Temper, and not to the Spirit of their Religion. *Rivet* in his Anſwer to the ſame Jeſuit referr'd him to the two above mentioned Books written againſt the Biſhop of *Luſſon*, and Expreſly declared that the Proteſtants diſapproved the Opinions of *John Knox*, and of others like him, who had rather Acted according to the Spirit of their Nation, than according to the Spirit of Religion. Upon which he obſerves (g), that of the 105 Kings, who Reigned in *Scotland* before *Mary Stuart*, there had been three Depoſed, five Expelled, and thirty two Killed. (h) *Nemini noſtrum probantur quæ vel ex* Goodmanno, *vel ex* Knoxo, *vel ex* Buchanano *in eam ſententiam deſcribuntur, quamvis ii uſque non procedant, quæ Jeſuita protulerunt, vel alii qui in Gallia ſcripſerunt de* Juſta Henrici tertii abdicatione, *& crimenum in Belgio fovendum, ubi ſcribit Jeſuita Romanus. Id tantùm obſervandum eſt, ſi quæ durioribus perſecutionum temporibus à Scotis & Anglis nonnullis timerè ſcripta fuerunt, ea poſſe imputari non tam Religioni, quam nationum illarum, ſcoticæ præſertim, ferocis ingenio, & ad vindictam prompto: quod tamen valdè mitigatum fuiſſe accenſa veritatis Evangelicæ luce, ex eo conſtat, quod ex centum quinque regibus fuit, uſque ad Mariam, tres excarnificarunt, quinque expulerunt, & triginta duos necarunt: quod ne Religioni imputetur magis veſtra intereſt, quam noſtra.* After this, I may be allowed to obſerve, that *Knox*'s Books contain the Propoſitions which *Brerleius* quoted out of 'em upon the credit of the Epiſcopal Clergy.

(F) *A Spirit of Prophecy.*] *Petra Sancta* having mentioned the praiſes, which *Calvin* and *Beza* beſtowed upon *Knox*, adds (i), *à Whitakero ex omnium Sco-*

Knox, to shew the Extravagancies of those who have aspersed his Reputation. This obliges me to set down a Passage of *Thevet* (G), where we shall see such gross and outrageous Abuses, as will alone be sufficient to prejudice us against whatever the Catholick Writers have published concerning that great *Scotch* Reformer. I wish it were as easie to confute the Accusation of a *Lutheran* (H) who charges him with Inconstancy.

KNU-

Scotorum sententia, Spiritu Prophetico, & Apostolico præditus *apellatur*. *David Blondel* (a) says something more particular, 'endowed with a Prophetical Spirit, by which he foretold many things 'that are come to pass, as *Whitaker* observes in his 'Writings.

(a) Blondel ubi supra, pag. 295. He quotes Witaker de Eccle. qu. 5. cap. 13.

(G) *A Passage of Thevet, wherein we shall see such gross and Outrageous Abuses.*] No body can question that this Man was a bad Compiler. He was so little exact, that when he undertook to write of the Affairs of *Scotland*, he did not so much as give himself the Trouble to observe the true Names of People. You'll see, that he knew not the right Name of our *John Knox*. 'All this while, says 'he (b), the *Scotch* suffered not *England* to be at 'rest; which happened, when *Henry* VIII. plaid 'his Pranks with Chalices, Relicks, and other Ornaments of the *English* Churches: which Tragedies and Sports have been plaid in our Time in 'the Kingdom of *Scotland*, by the Instigation of 'Noptz, the first Stalck Minister of the bloody 'Gospel. This Dyspheroist, who was fond of Dissensions, was not contented to tread in the Steps of *Luther*, *Zuingius*, and *Firet*, much less in those of his Master *Calvin*, who had lately redeemed him from the Gallies of the Prior of *Capua*, in 'which he had remained three Years for his Crimes, 'unlawful Amours, and execrable Whoredoms, and for his dissolute Living, and for having been convicted of Parricide and Murther, committed upon the Person of *James de Beton*, Archbishop of 'St. *Andrews*, by the Connivance and Treachery of the Earl of *Ropphot*, *James Lesele*, *John Lesele* their Uncle, and *William du Coy*. This *Simonist*, who had been a Priest before in our Church, and fatten'd with Benefices, which he sold for ready 'Money, seeing he could not prove his Cause to be good, fell into the most horrid Blasphemy in in the World. First, he denied the Power of God; he preached openly, that Virginity was no better than Marriage: which he had from *Luther's* Heresie, out of his new *Epithalamium*. Likewise he induced many devout Wives, and Religious Virgins to prostitute themselves. He taught likewise, that we must reject, despise and trample under Foot the Holy Chrism, pull down Images, take up and burn the Bodies of Saints, and seize the Treasures of the Church. This is not all. He did not cease for two Years to animate the People to take up Arms against the Queen, to drive her out of the Kingdom, which he said was elective, as it had been in the Days of *Paganism*. Could the greatest Barbarians in the World say any thing more cruel and mischievous——— The *Lutherans* have Temples and Oratories, their Ministers sing Psalms, and say Mass; and tho' it be different from ours, yet they add to it, *Kyrie Eleison*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus*, and other Prayers like ours. In like Manner their Ministers, in the Time of Divine Service, wear Copes, Chasubles, and Surplices, like ours. Whereas the People of *Scotland* have lived these Twelve Years without Law, without Faith, without Ceremonies, and without acknowledging either King or Queen, any more than Brutes, being better pleased with the Fables of this rank Hypocrite *Noptz*, a Man unfaithful to God and his Country, than with the Purity of the Gospel, the Canons of the Councils, and the Doctrine of so many Holy *Greek* and *Latin* Doctors of the Catholick Church. This fine Preacher, after the Decease of his first Wife, suddenly provoked with his venomous Tongue the Nobility of *Scotland* to set up against the Clergy, more than he had done before; and then the Clowns assaulted, plundered, burnt, and ruined the Castles and Houses of the Gentlemen, Merchants and others, who would not join in their Debaucheries and Murthers. 'Tis certain, that this Traitor, puffed up with the Spirit of Ambition, and egged on by 'the Flesh, came into so great Credit and Honour 'with the ignorant People of that Country, that 'he married for his Second Wife a Gentlewoman of 'an ancient Family, related to the *Scotch* Princes of 'the Royal Blood. Are not People that write with so little Judgment, well qualified to make us question the Truths they advance, suppose any such escape 'em?

(b) *Thevet. Cosmographie universelle* B. 16. tom. 2. fol. 666.

(H) *The Accusation of a* Lutheran, *who charges him with Inconstancy.*] *James Thomasius*, Professor at *Leipsick*, published a little Discourse, intituled, *Historia affectuum & miserandum Controversiæ de Gynæcocratia*. He there speaks of the Passions that attend the Dispute concerning the Monarchy of Women; and he says, that this Question was warmly discussed in the XVIth Century, when *Mary* succeeded *Edward* King of *England*, and *Elizabeth* succeeded her Sister *Mary*. Those two Queens took two contrary Methods, as to Religion; the one banished the Non-Catholicks, the other recalled 'em, and made the Reformation triumph. Those whom *Mary* had persecuted, maintained, that it was contrary to Natural Right, and Divine and Humane Laws, that a Woman should rule over a whole Nation; but their Language was quite different under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. See how *Schlüsselburgius* insulted hereupon our *Knox* and others. (c) *Qui Calvini placita sequerentur, his nihil erat magis exosum fœmineo Mariæ regimine; iisdem vicissim, ubi ad clavum Reip. feliciter evectam conspexissent Elisabetham, nihil magis venerabile, quam Reginas fuit. Atque ut hoc de suo Schlüsselburgius* (1), *magnæ constantiæ doctrinaque Theologus, largiatur mihi, ex eadem Calvini religione* Gilbius, Goodman & Knoxus, (*qui scilicet exitium suum Mariæ imputabant*) *publicis libris Genevæ impressis*, docuerunt, esse contrà jus naturale, divinum, & humanum, ut mulier etiam in rebus politicis regnet. *At ubi Mariæ imperium Elisabetha excepisset, eximia & Pontificiorum hostis, & Calcinisequarum fautrix, protinus verso remigio à Reformatis Anglis, non Regina tantùm in temporalibus illa est proclamata, sed etiam caput Ecclesiæ in spiritualibus.* Ita spacio duorum annorum, (*ipsissima Schlüsselburgii verba recito,*) quod prius fuit Calvinistis Genevæ moratis ipsissimum verbum DEI, mox atque in Angliam redierunt, mutatum est in verbum Diaboli. *Tantum videlicet potuit amor in religionem, quam sub alterius fœmineo regno conculcatam viderent, sub alterius resurgentem, ut à personis in ipsum imperii genus defluente jam affectu proscriberent Gynæcocratiam, jam dignitati ac famæ restituerent.* Thomasius, who supplies me with these Words, pretends that the *Calvinists* of *France*, changed also their Maxims after the Persecution they suffered under *Charles* IX. and he expressly cites *Lambert Daneus*, who on one hand declared against the Monarchical Power, and on the other for the Authority of Women, in Favour of *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*. (d) *Ut Anglico regimini pro Gallico faveret* (Daneus) *illud maximè fecit, quòd sua secta hominibus & sub Elizabetha lætissima esset fortuna, & sub Carolo Gallo vix aliud præter gladium, crucem, ignis exspectandum. Notæ sunt Parisinæ nuptiæ* (2) *eo acta eventu, ut ab illo maximè tempore scriptores Galli pestilentem inceperint in Politica doctrina sectam sive navam condere, sive sepultam resuscitare, quam solemus vocare Monarchomachorum. Huic nomen addixit etiam suum Daneus: ut mirari aliquis possit, quomodo scriptor ille, qui vix Regem æquo animo pati posset in solio Monarchico, fuerit in eodem potuerit Reginam. Nempe vereor, ut non hic suæ partes egerit hoc odium in perfidiam Galli, illinc amor tam in felicissimam Elisabethæ gubernationem* (3), *tum in Religionem Calvini, cui perfugium ea tempestate in ipsâ insulâ satis tutum erat.* 'Tis certain, that in that Century, the General Affairs whirled about in such a manner, both in *France* and *England*, that each Party changed their Maxims. See the Remark I of the Article *Hotomanus*. The Roman Catholicks, who spoke very ill

(c) *Jacobus Thomasius in præfatione* §6. *pag.* 328. *edit. Lipsi.* 1685.

(1) *Lib. IV Theol. Calvinist. pag.* 324, 325. *Conf. Responsi. ad Calvini & Bez. pro Francisco Balduino pag.* 15.

(d) *Thomas. Ibid. pag.* 331.

(2) *Anni* 1572.

(3) *Hoc nostro tempore* (inquit *Polit. Christian. lib. VI. c.* 3. *pag.* 308.) ELISABETHÆ, Serenissimæ Anglorum Reginæ, imperio nihil illa unquam ætas vidit felicius & optatius

† Oldenſworta Eiderſladienſis. *Moller. Iſagoge ad Hiſtor. Cherſon. Cimbr. parte* 3. *pag.* 164.

* *Tobias Pfannerus ſyſtemat. Theologiæ gentilis, pag.* 35. & *Mollerus ib. p.* 105.

KNUZEN (*Matthias*) a Native of the Country † of *Holſtein*, arrived to ſuch a degree of Extravagancy, as publickly to maintain *Atheiſm*, and undertook great Journeys to gain Proſelytes. He was a reſtleſs Man, who ſhewed the beginning of his Impieties at *Koningsberg* in *Pruſſia* *. He boaſted, that he had a great Number (*AD*) of Friends in the principal Towns of *Europe*, and even Seven Hundred in the ſingle Town of *Jena*. His Sect was called the *Conſcientiaries*, becauſe he ſaid there was no other God, Religion, or Lawful Magiſtracy, than Conſcience, which teaches all Men the three Precepts of Juſtice, *to do no Injury, to live honeſtly, and give every one his due.* He made a Summary of his Syſtem, in a ſhort Letter (*A*) of which ſeveral Copies were ſpread. 'Tis dated from *Rome*. You'll find it entire in the laſt Editions of *Micrælius*. He diſperſed alſo ſome *German* Writings ‖. All this was confuted in the ſame Tongue, by *John Muſæus*, a (*B*) *Lutheran* Profeſſor. This Sect began about the Year 1673.

A Book was printed againſt *Knuzen* at *Wittemberg* (C) in the Year 1677.

KONIG (*George Matthias*) in Latin *Konigius*, Profeſſor of Poetry, and of the *Greek* Tongue, and Library Keeper in the Univerſity of *Altorf*, deſerves a place here in a particular manner; for I ſhould be ungrateful, ſhould I not acknowledge, that the Book he publiſhed in the Year 1678 ?, does me a conſiderable Service. I make no doubt that it is uſeful to a great many Men of Letters, notwithſtanding the Cenſure (*D*) that was paſt upon it. Our *Konig* ‡ died towards the end of the Year 1698, being 82 Years Old. He was Son of *George Konig* †, a Native of *Amberg*, who died in 1654, after he had taught Divinity Thirty Eight Years in the Univerſity of *Altorf*.

KOORN-

‖ Intituled Bibliotheca vetus & nova, in *fol.* I often quote it, and ſometimes I criticiſe upon it.

† *Acta eruditor. Lipſ.* 1699 *pag.* 360.

‡ Konig, Biblioth. pag. 448. *See his Encomium in* Witten's Memoriæ Theolog. renovatæ decade 8. pag. 1100. & ſeq.

ill of the Government of Women in the Reign of *Elizabeth*, had very much commended it in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. *Knox* and ſome others had the ſame Inconſtancy. The Roman Catholicks under *Charles* IX. preached up Submiſſion (*e*) to the Authority of the King; but they ſpoke and did quite contrary in the Time of the *League*, and their Adverſaries thought it very ſtrange. I have read in *Savaron*, a thing which I thought very curious. (*f*) 'Pedro Cornejo, *a Spaniard*——thinks it 'ſtrange and wonderful, that that Town (*a*) ſhould 'have remained firm in its Fidelity to its Prince, and 'that the laſt Troubles did not diſturb its Conſtan-'cy, nor ſhake its Reſolution: Since, ſays he, it is 'a very Catholick Town, and beautified with a 'Church, in which God is ſerved with great 'Modeſty, and Ceremony, Muſick, and as 'much Reverenced as in any Church I have ſeen. Generally ſpeaking, 'tis a Proof that Paſſions make Men ſpeak either for or againſt the right of Princes, to ſee the ſame People diſputing for the Affirmative or Negative, juſt as the Intereſts of their Cauſe happen to change.

(*AD*) *He had a great Number of Friends.*] Theſe are his Words. (*b*) *Nemo homo mihi vitio vertet, ſi una cum meis gregalibus (quorum innumerus mihi numerus Lutetiæ, Amſtelodami, Lugduni, in Anglia, Hamburgi, Hafniæ, nec non Holmiæ, imo Romæ & in contiguis locis adſtipulatur)* univerſa Biblia bellæ fabellæ loco habeam, *qua bellua, id eſt, Chriſtiani, rationem captivantes, & cum ratione inſanientes delectantur.* We muſt not imagine that he uſed the Stratagem of your State-Conſpirators, who to bring others to their Party, always ſay they have a vaſt Number of Accomplices. 'Tis more likely he ſpoke in this manner, becauſe he was a hair-brain'd Fool.

(*A*) *In a ſhort Letter, of which ſeveral Copies were ſpread* (*c*) *about.*] *Micrælius*'s Continuator has reduced the Contents of that Letter to Six Articles. 1. *Non eſſe Deum neque Diabolum.* 2. *Magiſtratum nihil eſtimandum, templa contemnenda, Sacerdotes rejiciendos.* 3. *Loco Magiſtratus & loco Sacerdotum eſſe ſcientiam & rationem cum conſcientia conjunctam, qua doceat honeſte vivere, neminem ladere, & ſuum cuique tribuere.* 4. *Conjugium à fœcundatione nihil differre.* 5. *Unicam eſſe vitam: poſt hanc nec præmium nec pœnam dari.* 6. *Scripturam ſacram ſecum ipſam pugnare* (*d*). This Syſtem, beſides its horrible Impiety, is alſo plainly extravagant; for one muſt be mad, that can believe Mankind can ſubſiſt without Magiſtrates. 'Tis true, they would not be neceſſary, if all Men would follow the Dictates of Conſcience, which that impious Man exhibits to us; but are they followed even in thoſe Countries, where the Judges puniſh with the greateſt Severity, the Injuſtice that is done to ones Neighbour? I don't know but it may be ſaid, that there is no Impertinence, be it never ſo extravagant, but may teach us ſome Truth or other. The Follies of this *German* ſhew, that the Ideas of Virtue, the Impreſſions of Reaſon; in a Word, the Light of Conſcience may ſubſiſt in the Mind of Man, even after the Ideas of the Exiſtence of God, and the firm Belief of a Life to come are extinguiſhed.

(*B*) *By* John Muſæus, *a Lutheran Profeſſor.*] The Author I have this from, obſerves, that *Muſæus* ingaged in this Work, to remove all Suſpicions that might be entertained to the Diſadvantage of the Univerſity of *Jena*: for this wretched Man had boaſted of abundance (*e*) of Aſſociates there. That Book of *Muſæus* contains a great many ridiculous Things, concerning *Knuzen*'s Life; but if you would have a ſolid Apology of the Scripture againſt the Blaſphemies of this Man, you muſt have recourſe to the Second Edition. And if you underſtand *High-Dutch*, conſult, as Mr. *Mollerus* (*f*) adviſes, the Book (*g*) which he ſpecifies, and obſerve his Reflection. He ſays, that if People continue to make their Enemies ſuſpected of *Atheiſm*, as the Author of this Piece with a paſſionate Zeal has done, they will afford matter enough to Mr. *Chriſtian Thomaſius*, who is about an Apology for thoſe who have been wrongfully expoſed to ſuch Accuſations. The Author of ſeveral Thoughts upon Comets has inſinuated (*h*) the Deſign of ſuch a Work, and given a curious Notion of it. But let Mr. *Mollerus*'s Words inform us of the Malignity of ſuch ſort of Accuſers. (*i*) *Quo in opere optandum eſſet ut Theol. celeberrimus* (Jo. Mullerus, Antiſtes Hamb.) *ſuo in Antagoniſtas odio minus indulſiſſet, nec per inſignem animi impotentiam, Schuppii & μιμητῶν Demegorias, piis omnibus commendatiſſimas & Chriſt. Hoburgii, ad extremum Atheiſmo contrarium, ſuperſtitionem ſc. & Enthuſiaſmum, proclivioris, ſcripta collo obtorto iis, qua Atheiſmum vel occultant, vel quadamtenus promovent, aggregaſſet. Certe, ſi zelo hujuſmodi præcipiti, privatiſque affectibus obnoxio, Theologi Atheomaſtiges ſibi inviſos in ſuſpicionem impietatis Atheiſmo affinis pergent adducere, vereor ne calamo Chriſt. Thomaſii* μαγικῷ, *Gabr. Naudæi (qui magia reis eſt patrocinatus) exemplo apologiam pro Atheiſmi falſo infimulatis parturienti, campus ſe pandat ampliſſimus innocentiam illorum, cum hominum cordatorum applauſu, vindicandi.*

(*C*) *A Book was printed againſt* Knuzen.] The Title of it is, *Exercitationes Academicæ II. de Atheiſmo* Renato des Cartes *&* Matthiæ Knuzen *oppoſita. Autore* Valentino Greiſſingio Corona-Tranſylvano *Elector. Saxon. alumno.* This I have from a Book of (*k*) *Caſpar Sagittarius.*

(*D*) *The Cenſure that was paſt upon it.*] *John Mollerus* a Learned Man, who publiſhed at *Hamburg*, in the Year 1691, an *Iſagoge ad hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbrica*, had printed Four Years before, *Cimbria literata prodromus*, wherein according to the Liberty which ought to prevail among the Subjects of the Republick of Learning, he freely ſpoke

(*a*) *Clermont in Auvergne.*

(*b*) *Apud Micralium Syntagm. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. pag.* 2291. *edit.* 1699.

(*c*) Hæc epiſtola plus millies deſcripta eſt. *Micræl. ubi infra.*

(*d*) *Micral. Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p.* 2289. *Edit.* 1699

(*e*) Blaſphemis ſuis—— in ſolo oppido Jenenſi 700. cives atque ſtudioſos falſo jactabat adſtipulari *Mollerus Iſagoge ad Hiſtor. Cherſon. Cimbr. parte* 3. *pag.* 1162.

(*f*) *Atheiſmus devictus. It was printed in the Year* 1672. *The Author calls himſelf* Jo. Mullerus, Antiſtes Hamburgenſis.

(*g*) *In the Preface to the Addition printed at* Rotterdam, 1694

(*h*) *Mollerus, ibid.*

(*k*) *Intituled,* Introductio in hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam, *pag.* 879. *It was printed in* 1694. *in* 4.

KOORNHERT (*Theodorus*) a Native of *Amſterdam*, and Secretary of the Town of *Haerlem* † in the XVI*th*. Century, made himſelf famous by ſome Writings that were very Unorthodox in point of Religion. He is Rank'd amongſt thoſe Spiritualiſts or Enthuſiaſts, who [a] believ'd that all the Sects of Chriſtianity had been Corrupted for many Ages, and that without an extraordinary Miſſion Authoriz'd by Miracles, no Body had a right to intrude into the Functions of the Goſpel Miniſtry. At this rate he publickly Condemn'd *Calvin's* and *Luther's* Undertaking, though he acknowledg'd that the Church of *Rome* was no true Church. Till it ſhould pleaſe God to raiſe Reformers, like the Apoſtles, he would have all Chriſtian Sects unite under one Form, (*A*) the Model whereof was, that the Scripture ſhould be read to the People without offering any Explication, or preſcribing any thing to the Auditors by way of Precept or Prohibition, but only by way of Advice. He did not believe that in order to be a true Chriſtian one ought (*B*) to be a Member of any particular Church, and he practis'd it accordingly; for he neither Communicated with the Catholicks nor with the Proteſtants, nor with any other Sect. He wrote with great Aſſurance * againſt the Reform'd Religion, and particularly againſt *Calvin* and *Beza*, and was accounted ſuch a Diſturber of Religion ‡ that the Magiſtrates of *Delft* expelled him from their Town, and the States of *Holland* decreed many things, upon which he complain'd that the Inquiſition was renew'd. Nothing appear'd to him more contrary to Reaſon and the Goſpel, than to Perſecute thoſe who are not of the

† *Hoornbeeck, ſumma controv. l. 6. p. m. 435.*

[a] *Id. ib.*

* Ex oppugnatu in herbis Reformatione noſtrarum Eccleſiarum, pueriliorum noſtri Catechiſi, & proinde ibi nec noſtra Eccleſia, nec alius ... ſum interitus ... compendiis omnibus, & in gratiam ... dis nondum ... Calvinum dico, Bezam, Danæum, Sarravium, eos, quos ... Italiam ... inter ... ſtas ... ſum. *Id.*

‡ *Voetius, de Politia Eccleſiaſt. tom. 2. p. 455.*

(*c*) *Id. ib. p.* 436. 437.

(*f*) *Vid. de mutuo odio ſectarum.*

ſpoke his Thoughts about the Faults which he found in *Konig's* Book. Immediately *Daniel William Mollerus*, an *Hungarian* Profeſſor of Metaphyſicks and Hiſtory, in the Univerſity of *Altorf*, ſet up againſt the Critick, and yet could not deny, but that part of the Faults obſerved by him, are really true. Now ſee what the Critick in general pretends to, as he has explained himſelf in a Preface (*l*). *Innumeros in opere Konigiano autores eſſe omiſſos, de Antiquis pauciſſima ſatisque confuſe, in medium allata, è Recentiorum, etiam Polygraphorum Scriptis quam plurimis plerumque vix unius aut alterius factam mentionem, ac raro Synopticam aliquam de Autorum patria, ætate ac vitâ, librique editi loco ac tempore, narrationem adjectam, manifeſtius eſt, quam ut Lectore eruditum, aut negari ab homine candido poſſit. Nomina etiam ſæpius, uti in Prodromo monui, & ſcripta falſa auctoribus eſſe attributa, circa patriam atque vitam illorum erratum, inedita pro editis venditata, & ex uno ſcriptore duo aut tres inepte procuſos, exemplis plurimis oſtendere poſſem, ſi in expurgando hoc augiæ ſtabulo tempus pariter atque operam vellem perdere, aut ſordes illius in præfationem hanc convectare.* He adds, that in this he agrees in his Judgment with many Learned Men of the firſt Rank. *Agnoverunt eandem, quotquot ex chori literarii primicerii, de Opere Konigiano, aut eadem mecum, aut his etiam aſperiora judicarunt. Petrus ſcil. Lambecius, non alio, quam Rhapſodi, titulo Autorem dignum* (1) *Dan. Georg. Morhofio* (2), *& (qui meum de eodem judicium ſuo verbotenus adjecit) Augiſto & Wilh. Ern. Tenzelius* (3), *alii item complures, quorum verba allegare ſuperſedeo, cum rerum teſtimonia ipſi adverſario, nolenti volenti, veritatis confeſſionem extorſerint. Non audet enim is Bibliothecam hanc, cui patrocinatur, veterem ac novam pro accurata, aut tali, quæ Seculi applauſum mereatur, venditare, ſed fatetur* nomen *in iſta* interdum cum nomine eſſe confuſum, errata nonnulla commiſſa, & Autores aliquot omiſſos, *in qua ipſius confeſſione acquieſco.* Obſerve that he does not rob *Konig* of the Praiſe (*a*) of an Old Profeſſor, who had done good Services to the Republick of Learning.

(*l*) *In the Preface to the* Iſagoge ad Hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ.

(1) *V. locum celeberr. Tentzelii mox allegandum.*

(2) *P. I. Polyhiſt. Literarii, c. 18. p. 202.*

(3) *In Collectis manuſcriptis ex variis libris, M. Martii A. 1689. p. 317.*

(*a*) Sanis de re literaria meritis elogium *Konigio ob alios ejus Philologici argumenti libellos non invideo.* Mollerus ibid.

(*A*) *Unite under one Form the Model whereof.*] *Hoornbeeck*, who had read his *Dutch* Books, explains this Viſion. (*b*) *Iſte Coornbert paſſim ſuis libris——aliquod ſchema Eccleſiæ communis erigenda proponit, in quâ, vel ſolus Scripturæ textus legeretur, abſque gloſſis & expoſitionibus, vel etiam admonitiones ex Scripturâ ſub aliorum judicio, non autem ex authoritate, aliquando fierent, ad modum alterius & novi Interim, uſque dum novâ divinaque ad extruendam aliam Eccleſiam, miſſione accederent miniſtri quales Apoſtoli fuerunt, Eccleſiam ex Chriſti præſcripto novam erecturi, qua jam divinâ miſſione ad erigendam per Reformationem aliam Eccleſiam omnes, juxta eum, careant. Tomo primo, pag. mihi in delineatione iſtius Eccleſiæ ſic loquitur: 'Rarò aut 'nunquam utuntur hic humanis gloſſis, non quod 'peccatum ſit, ſed quia incertum, è ſole ad ſtellas, '& à fontibus ad ciſternas recurrere. Atque ita 'etiam nemo hic ſibi (abſque certâ & ſpeciali miſſione) arrogat docendi officium, ut cum authoritate 'mandet vel prohibeat, benè quidem ut ſub meliori 'ſententiâ admoneat, idque ex Scripturâ.* This Viſionary wou'd have had the Magiſtrates to lay their Injunctions on the Preachers to ſay nothing but what was contain'd Word for Word in the Scripture, and to oblige the Laity under the Penalty of a Fine, to lay aſide all their Divinity Books. You'll ſee this more ex ctly in theſe Latin Words: (*c*) *Hæc libello vel dialogo (d) ita ſententiam ſuam exponit: 'exiſtimo, Magiſtratui ſignificandum, quæcunque ſcripta humana, gloſſas, dogmataque quæ 'impuri, errores & ambages continere, à quibus omnibus immunis eſt Scriptura, certam pandens ſalutis viam. Quare reſerentur rogandus eſſet, ut vel 'les, ad modum novi alicujus Interim, (& hoc ad 'tempus uſque quo concorditer decretum eſſet quæ 'doctrina ſequenda foret) omnibus Concionatoribus 'interdicere, ne è ſuggeſtu populum aliud quid docerent, prælegerent dicerentve, præter clarum Scripturæ textum, citra unius ſyllabæ aut additionem aut demtionem, quomodo in Veteri Novoque Teſtamento ſolebat fieri. Hoc demum pacto ſectas evanituras. Præterea populo ſub multâ injungendum 'eſſet, ut omnes ſuos libros de Scripturâ tractantes, 'quæ ipſa non eſſent mera Scriptura, ad manus Magiſtratus deferrent, ubique ſervarentur, ne vel rederentur poſtmodum ſuis Dominis, vel pront viſum 'foret, de illis diſponeretur. Hæc Coornbertus.*

(*b*) *Hoornbeeck, ib. p.* 437.

(*B*) *One ought to be a Member of any particular Church, and he practis'd it accordingly.*] Not believing that there was any Chriſtian Society upon Earth, that was pure and directed by true Paſtors, he never Communicated at the Lord's Table. He denied not, but that for the ſecurity of the weak, there ought to be an external Communion appointed; but he pretended that no Body ought to aſcribe to himſelf a Heavenly Miſſion, nor teach the neceſſity of the uſe of the Sacraments. This is the Sum of the following Latin Words. (*c*) *Coornbertus palam ſcribebat inter omnes ſectas ſe nullibi Chriſti Eccleſiam deprehendere; Romanam noſtrâ, quam ne quidem Eccleſiæ nomine dignabatur, meliorem eſſe,* Tom. I. in Dialogis, fol. 484. *nec S. Cœnam ullibi id circo participabat, quia veram Eccleſiam, & legitimos miniſtros ſcilicet deſiderabat: unde & communionis illam eſſe neceſſitatem, quæ vulgo docetur, negabat.* Tom. I. lib. Confeſſionum, in initio. Tom. III. in Delineatione imparialis Eccleſiæ: *ubi ſtatim à principio docet, poſſe nunc ſine eſſe verum Chriſtianum, utcunque non ſit membrum viſibilis alicujus eccleſiæ: Regulaſque, quid præſtaret, an extra viſibilem Eccleſiam vivere, quæſque ipſe Deus per certos Miniſtros Eccleſiam reſtauret; an Eccleſiam, infirmorum gratiâ, non valentium vivere abſque externâ illâ formâ, quam ad ſanctam partem prolabantur, ... reſpondet: ... ſus quidem eſſe magis eorum; at ſecundum voluntatem ... neceſſarium. Ubiapſam quidem eſſe Dei Eccleſiam, ſed ... apparere manifeſtum mandatum nam reſtituendæ ... eamque aliis aliquid ... ad ... ſuæ ...*

the State. He wrote about this against *Beza*. (C) and *Lipsius*. He Died the twentieth of *October* † 1590. acknowledging the Doctrine of Predestination (D) which he had so much oppos'd. His Works were Publish'd in the year 1630. in three Volumes *in folio*. He began to Study (E) somewhat late, *Lewis Guicciardin* * speaks of an excellent Engraver ‡ a Native of *Haerlem*, whose name was *Theodorus COORNHERT*. 'Tis doubtless the same that's mention'd in *Freherus's Theatrum* (F), and who makes the Subject of that Article. This is all I could Collect from some Latin Books; and I was ready to send it to the Press with the six first Remarks subjoined to it, not thinking to add any thing else to it; when being inform'd that *Coornhert's* Life was prefixt in *Dutch* to his Works, I have got some Extracts made out of it, which have occasion'd the Addition of what follows. They import that *Koornhert* was Born in 1522. of an Antient and good Family of *Amsterdam*; that he took a Journey into *Spain* and *Portugal* when he was very young; that at his return he Married against the Intention of his Father's Will, and without consulting his Mother; that his Wife having hardly any Fortune, he was oblig'd to get into the Service of *Renaud de Brederode* Baron of *Vianen*; that he became his Steward, and got into his Favour; but quickly left him, because he could not Reconcile himself to a Court Life; that he settled at *Haerlem*, and got a subsistance by his Trade of Ingraving; that having some Scruples about some matters of Divinity, and thinking he could find them resolved in St. *Augustin*, and in some other Fathers, he learned the Latin Tongue at thirty years of Age, wherein he made such Progress that he found himself quickly able to Translate *Tully's Offices* and several other Books into *Dutch*; that he understood Musick and Poetry; that he was very good Company at Table, but so as to direct his Discourse to the Edification of his Neighbour; and that he never exceeded the Rules of Sobriety; that he loved to Work, and made it a Law to himself to be but six hours in Bed; that he was made Notary in 1561. and Secretary to the Town of *Haerlem* in 1562, and Secretary to the Burgomasters of the same Town in 1564; that in 1565, and 1566. he was frequently deputed to the Prince of *Orange*, Governor of *Holland*; that he had several Conferences with (G) *Henry de Brederode* upon the Subject of the Troubles that began to rise in the *Low-Countries*, and of the famous Petition that was presented to the Dutchess of *Parma* in *April* 1566; that he was carried away from *Haerlem*, and remov'd to the *Hague*, where he endur'd a long

† *See the Advertisement to the Reader at the end of his Reply to* Lipsius. *Note, that* Konig *has wrongly placed his Death in the year* 1599.

* *Ludov. Guicciard. in descript. Belgii, c. de Antuerpia p. m.* 118.

† *He is mistaken; for* Koornhert *was a Native of* Amsterdam.

(b) *Colomies, Mélanges Historiques p.* 63.

(*) Volcard *was his Father's Name, and not his own.*

† *'Tis said in his Life that Dr.* John Basius, *who was afterwards Councellor to the Prince of* Orange, *taught him the Latin Tongue. No mention is made of the Greek.*

(a) Vir ingenii quidem alicujus, sed uti [illegible] (quippe ad annum denum ætatis XXX linguâm Latinam cœpit addiscere.) Ita &c. *Hoornb. ubi supra*

(d) *Boxhorn. in theatro Hollandiæ, cap. de urbe Amstelodamo, p. m.* 263.

(c) *Paul Freher. in Theatro p.* 1483. *He quotes the* Academia Germ. Pictorum Joach. à Sandrart.

‡ Freherus *should have call'd him an Ingraver and not a Sculptor, and should have said that he practised his Trade at* Haerlem *and not at* Amsterdam.

(f) *Voetius de politica Ecclesiast. tom.* 2. *p.* 386.

(g) Plebeia (scriptio) futilis, & concepta plebeio illo. *Lipsius in præf. libri de una religione adversus Dialogistam.*

(*) *He wrote it in* Dutch; *but his Heirs had it Translated into Latin.*

(b) *See the Advertisement to the Reader at the end of that Re-Reply.*

(i) *Voetius ubi supra p.* 433.

(a) *Hoornbeek ubi supra p.* 435.

lupos defendendis, sub tali nempe libertate, qua nemo sibi arroget, à Deo se ad docendum missum esse, & Sacramentorum Baptismi ac Cœnæ usus relinquatur liber, pro infirmis habendum; nullum verò istorum urgeri debere præceptum, aut necessitatem.

(C) *Against* Beza *and* Lipsius.] There is something to be found fault with in these Words of *Voetius*: (f) *Cornhertus qui Latino Dialogo contra Lipsii politicam hanc causam agit rotundemque Dialogum postea contra Lipsii responsum (cui tit. adversus Dialogistam) defendit, idem Belgico scripto* processum *de hæreticidio edidit contra Bezam.* 'Tis not true that *Koornhert's* Dialogue against *Lipsius's* Politicks, is in Latin. 'Tis in *Dutch* (g). *Voetius* himself Acknowledges it in a Passage I shall presently cite. Note likewise that the Title of that *Dutch* Book Answers to *his, seu processus de hæreticidio. Koornhert's* Reply is in Latin *; it had been larger (b) if he had Lived longer (b). The Title of it is: *Defensio processus de non occidendis hæreticis contra tria capita libri IV. Politicorum J. Lipsii: ejusque libri adversus Dialogistam confutatio. Sub extremum mortis fatum per sua patriæ libertatis studiosissimum* THEODORUM VOLCHARDUM COORNHERT *conscripta.* The Edition I make use of, is of *Hanaw* 1593. If you are desirous to see what Perplexity *Lipsius* happen'd to be in by that Reply, Read what follows: (i) *Lipsius peritus libello Belgico à* Diederico Volckero Coornhert, *postea libro, de Una* Religione dicto Died. Coornhert *repositio addidit, se* veram & probam *intelligere: Sed non explicat, & explicaturum se negat, quanam sit vera & proba religio. Hinc dictus Cornhertus in refutatione libelli Lipsiani a.* 1591, *tit.* Defensio processus de non occidendis Hæreticis, *&c. ita constrinxit* Lipsium, *ut à Papistica, aut Ethnico-Machiavellicâ (quarum alterutram pectore premebat, quamvis tunc Leidæ conciones publicas frequentaret) se liberare non potuerit. Et hanc unam putant ex causis præcipuis fuisse, cur statione Leidensi turpiter desertâ hypocrisios larvam deponeret, ad partes hostiles transfugeret, atque ibi Baptismi professionem susciperet.* Add to this the Remark E of the Article *Lipsius*.

(D) *Acknowledging the Doctrine of Predestination, which he had so much oppos'd.*] He cried out as he was a Dying, My God, from thee I have my Soul; it is in thy Power to save or Reprobate it according to thy good Pleasure; I have no reason to complain. (g) *Obiit a.* ClↃ lↃXↃ *& quod valde observandum, is qui tam impotenter de Prædestinatione multa, sibi nequaquam intellecta, adversus Theologos nostros conscripsit, sub mortem, veritatem ejus in se sentire & agnoscere coactus fuit, ad Deum exclamans: 'se 'animam suam ab eo possidere, quam Deo integrum sit 'pro suo beneplacito servare, an reprobare, sibi nil 'esse quod conqueratur. Quod nil est, quam vim & summam prædestinationis divinæ in nobis aut salvandis, aut abjiciendis, pro Dei summo in nos omnes arbitrio, proprio sensu confiteri, & in morte sinceris testari, quam tot infrunitis & impetuosis adversus eam scriptis, per vitam.* This Citation was necessary, considering the Reflections it contains and may suggest.

(E) *That he began to Study somewhat late,*] 'I have seen at the *Hague* in Mr. *de Beuning's* Li-'brary, the Works of *Theodorus* * *Volcard Cornu-'hert* in *Dutch*. He was an Enthusiast, who had 'a very ready Wit. He Learned † of himself 'Greek and Latin at forty years of Age, and made 'such great Progress in these two Languages, that 'he Translated into *Dutch* any Author he had a 'mind to. He wrote many Treatises of Divinity, 'some of which have been Confuted by *Calvin* and 'Danæus. He writ also against *Lipsius*, who an-'swered him to his Book *De una Religione*. The 'Hollanders speak of him as of a wonderful Man. 'He Died in the year 1590. being 68 years Old. There are some Exaggerations in this Passage of *Colomies*. I have read in a good Author (c) that *Koornhert* was but thirty years Old, when he began to Study the Latin Tongue. He never was a great Master of it, and his Writings have been in no great Repute for this long time. Note, that *Boxhornius* (d) said most of the things contained in this Passage of *Colomies*.

(F) *In* Freherus's *Theatrum.*] Wherein we see that *Theodorus Cornhertzius* an excellent Sculptor, Exercised his Art with Commendation at *Amsterdam* where he was Born, and left many Works made upon the Model of *Martin Hemskerk* whom he imitated. He was besides a good Poet; he Died at *Tergou*, in the year 1590. being 78 years of Age (e). This is our *Koornhert*: But it should have been said, that he lived 68 years and not 78 years. See the Margin ‡.

(G) *Several Conferences with* Henry *de* Brederode *upon the Subject of the Troubles.*] *Koornhert* had been

long and ſevere Impriſonment; that there he wrote many Poems in *Dutch*; that his Wife being perſuaded he would never have his Liberty, endeavoured to catch the Plague, that ſo infecting him, they might both Die together; that he ſeverely Reprimanded her for it, and commanded her patiently to ſubmit to Providence; that he vindicated himſelf ſo well, that he was releas'd, and only prohibited to go out of the *Hague*; that underſtanding there were freſh Orders come from *Bruſſels* to re-impriſon him, he privately retired to *Haerlem*, and afterwards into the Country of *Cleves*, where he maintained himſelf by his old Trade of Engraving; that the States of *Holland* having firmly reſolved to maintain their Liberty againſt the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, he returned into his Country, and was honour'd with the Poſt of Secretary to the States of the Province; that going about to oppoſe the Diſorders committed by the Soldiery, and being deputed to take (*H*) Information of them, he became ſo odious to the Commanders of thoſe inſolent Troops, that to ſave his Life, he thought fit to go into Exile; that having writ to the Prince of *Orange*, and to the States of *Holland* the Reaſons of his Retreat, he took Refuge at *Embden*; that after Things were reſtored to a better State, he returned to *Haerlem*; that he engaged in Diſputes, wherein he was oppoſed by the moſt zealous Miniſters; that he publiſhed ſeveral Pieces in Defence of his Cauſe, and maintained it by Word of Mouth at *Leyden* and at the *Hague*; that to be the more ready to write, he went and lived at the *Hague*; that theſe verbal Diſputes (*I*) having been prohibited by Authority, he often intreated the States and the Miniſters, and particularly at the Synod of *Tergou*, to permit that they ſhould be continued and ended; that he preſented a Petition upon this Subject to the Prince of *Orange*; that he ſtrengthened it with many Arguments; that he beſeeched him to order it ſo; that if his Demand was rejected, he might at leaſt have leave to go on in modeſtly and Chriſtianly confuting Errors, and thereby enjoy the Liberty of Conſcience, which had been purchaſed with ſo much Pains; that in caſe of a Refuſal, he beg'd as the laſt Favour, Permiſſion to retire into ſome Neighbouring Country, in Friendſhip with *Holland*, to ſpend the reſt of his Days in finiſhing an Index of the Holy Scriptures, upon which he had laboured Twenty Six Years, and alſo to prevent the Oppreſſion of his Conſcience, the Dangers of his Perſon, the Miſeries of Poverty, and the Scandal of the Reformed Church; that he demanded a Safe-Conduct; that he declared he would return to the *Hague*, to terminate the Diſpute, when they ſhould think fit to recall him; that all theſe Demands being rejected, he nevertheleſs publickly declared, that he found great Errors in the *Heidelberg* Cathechiſm; that he got many Enemies by it; that he was cried down in the Pulpit, and elſewere; that he was loaded with Invectives and Calumnies; that he had a great many Mortifications, this having prejudiced and provoked many People againſt him; that he always prudently and conſtantly bore up againſt this Adverſity; that

been Steward to *Renaud de Brederode*, and had done him good Services. By that he diſcovered himſelf to the beſt Advantage to *Henry de Brederode*, *Renaud*'s Son. He conferr'd with him at *Vianen*, and at *Utrecht*, *Amſterdam*, and *Haerlem*, about the Means of preſerving the Liberty of their Country, and he moved him to preſent to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, the Petition, which had ſuch remarkable Conſequences. He was the Author of the firſt Manifeſto that Prince *William* (*f*) publiſhed in his Camp, the Title of which was (*g*) *Advice to the Inhabitants of the* Low-Countries *for the Law, for the King, and for the Flock. Bor*, who mentions that Manifeſto, in the Fourth Book of his Hiſtory, *Fol.* 18a. declared to ſome People, that he knew very well, that *Koornhert* had writ it (*h*).

(*H*) *Being deputed to take Information of 'em, he became ſo odious.*] The Captains, who were conſcious of many Extortions, bethought themſelves of a very effectual Expedient, to prevent their being known; which was to cry down *Koornhert*, as a dangerous Papiſt, and thereby expoſe him to a Thouſand Dangers. They found a very ſpecious Pretence for it; for he was continually ſaying, that it was juſt, and for the Intereſt of *Holland*, not to perſecute the Catholicks, but to obſerve the Promiſe which the Prince of *Orange* had made 'em concerning the free Exerciſe of their Religion, *&c.* The Count *de Lumei*, who commanded the Troops in *Holland*, was far from ſtanding to this Promiſe. *Koornhert* very boldly condemned this Conduct, whereupon he was defamed, as a moſt curſed Favourer of Popery. The Count *de Lumei*, to whom he had been repreſented in black Colours, ſwore his Deſtruction, and gave Orders to kill him. There was no Safety for him in the Highways of the Country, nor in the Streets of the Town: he had recourſe to the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*; but that was not ſufficient to ballance the great Credit this Count had with the Soldiery. Wherefore *Koornhert* was obliged to retire into the Country of *Cleves* (*a*). This happened in the Year 1572. Note, that he favoured ſo little the Cauſe of the *Spaniards*, that he was expreſly excepted in the Amneſty, which *Lewis de Requeſens* cauſed to be publiſhed at *Bruſſels* in the Year 1574, for all thoſe who ſhould in Two Months time receive Abſolution in the Confeſſionary of the Prieſts (*b*). Here follows a Thing, which ſhews, that he did not love the Church of *Rome*, and yet was for granting the Papiſts Liberty of Conſcience.

The private Exerciſe of their Religion was forbidden in *Holland*, in 1581. Some among 'em employed *Koornhert* to draw up a Petition addreſſed to the Prince of *Orange*, by which they deſired to be maintained in the Exerciſe of their Religion, in the Monaſteries of *Haerlem*, and in the Temple, which the Proteſtants had quitted, after they became Maſters of the great Church. *Koornhert* being obliged to appear before the Burgo-Maſters of *Haerlem*, on Account of that Writing, delivered it into their Hands, according to the Order he had received, and declared, that he did not undertake the Defence of it, any more than that of Popery, which he conſidered as a Den of Murder; but that nevertheleſs, he was perſuaded, that it was a Piece of Injuſtice to break ones Word with the Roman Catholicks, and to force their Conſcience. The Burgomaſters gave this Petition to the Prince of *Orange*, who ſent it back to the States; theſe ſent for the Burghers of *Haerlem*, who had ſigned it, and ordered them to cancel their Names. They ordered alſo *Koornhert* to tear the Draught of it; all which was executed (*c*).

(*I*) *Theſe Verbal Diſputes having been prohibited.*] Here are ſome Circumſtances of thoſe Diſputes. They began at *Delft*, in the Year 1578, and what occaſioned

(*f*) In December 1566.

(*g*) The the Tranſlation of the Dutch Title.

(*h*) *Taken from the Extracts imparted to me in* Latin, *out of the* Dutch *Life of* Theodorus Koornhert.

(*a*) *Taken from the Extracts imparted to me in* Latin, *out of* Gerard Brandt's Dutch *Hiſtory*, part 1. lib. 9. p. 535. *ad ann.* 1572.

(*b*) *Ibid. ex lib.* 11. *pag.* 553.

(*c*) *Ibid. ex lib.* 12. *pag.* 667. 668. *ad ann.* 1581.

‡ *Upon the New Teſtament.*

* *I have quoted above an Author, who ſays the 20th. but probably this Difference proceeds from that of the Old and New Style, and from this, that when a Man dies in the Night between the 19th. and 20th. Day of a Month for Inſtance, ſome ſay he died the 19th. others that he died the 20th.*

† *In the great Church, with a very noble Epitaph compoſed by his good Friend* Henry Laurence Spiegel. *See* Gerard Brandt's *Hiſtory of the Reformation in the Netherlands, Book.* 15. *ad. ann.* 1590.

that there is great Probability (*K*) he was protected by the Prince of *Orange*; that no Body at that time wrote ſo ſtoutly as he (*L*) for the Liberty of the Country, and for the Liberty of Conſcience; that his Writings againſt the Doctrine of Predeſtination and of Original Sin were ſtrengthened with ſo many Arguments, that the Conſiſtory of *Amſterdam* having ordered *James Arminius* to confute them ſome Years after, this Miniſter anſwered, that he did not ſee, that either he or any Body elſe could anſwer 'em from Scripture; that having almoſt finiſhed his *Dutch* Verſion of *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe ‡, he was ſeized with a Diſtemper, in which he ſignalized his Patience, and held moſt edifying Diſcourſes, till he expired, full of Confidence in God, the 29th. * of *October*, 1590; that he was buried at † *Tergou*; that he would neither be buried at *Amſterdam*, where he was born, nor at *Haerlem*, where he ſpent moſt of his Time; that he has been praiſed by *Iſaac Pontanus*, in the Deſcription of *Amſterdam*, and by *Grotius*, and even by *Juſtus Lipſius* his Adverſary. This is what I gather from the *Latin* Extracts, communicated to me out of *Koornbert*'s Life, written in *Dutch*. Some other things there are, which I ſhall put in the Remarks. I ſhall alſo make uſe of ſome *Latin* Extracts, taken from *Gerard Brandt*'s Book, I mean the *Dutch* Hiſtory he wrote concerning the Reformation of the *Netherlands*. They have been made by the ſame Perſon, who imparted to me thoſe of *Koornbert*'s Life, and who underſtands well the *Dutch* Tongue, and is very exact. I think they may be depended on.

KORN-

occaſioned 'em was, that a certain Perſon, who had quitted the Church of *Rome*, to embrace the Reformed, alledged ſuch Reaſons for his Change, as ſhewed he underſtood neither of 'em very well. *Koornbert* tells him very freely, *What remains to be examined, is, Whether you have choſen a Religion better than that you have left.* He was call'd to an Account for this Diſcourſe; for a Noiſe was made about it, and 'twas odiouſly repreſented: which occaſioned the Conference betwixt *Koornbert*, and two Miniſters of *Delft*, which turned upon the Marks of the true Church. He undertook to prove, that the Churches, which followed the Doctrines of *John Calvin*, and *Theodorus Beza*, were falſe; and he went upon Three Points; Predeſtination, Juſtification, and the Puniſhment of Hereticks. The Conference was hardly begun, when the States of the Province put an end to it: it was renewed by their Order, and in Preſence of their Commiſſioners at *Leiden*, the 14th. of *April*, but it laſted only a Day and a half; *Koornbert* complaining, that his Adverſaries made an ill uſe of the Secular Authority againſt him, retired. He boaſted, that he had reduced the two Miniſters to their laſt Shifts, though he was not permitted to attack 'em upon (*d*) the third Point; he pretended, that his naming *Calvin* and *Beza*, ſerved as a Subterfuge to his Adverſaries, becauſe the Commiſſioners ſaid, that he knew very well, the States would not ſuffer the Names of thoſe two *Geneva* Miniſters to come into the Diſpute, and that therefore he ought to expect their Indignation. Finding himſelf thus threatned, he declared, he would not return to a Conference, where he had not an entire Liberty of Speech. The Miniſters and Commiſſioners failed not to appear at the place where the Diſpute began. They ſtaid for *Koornbert*, ſent to his Lodgings, and took his Abſence for a Flight, and an undoubted Proof of his Defeat. The States of *Holland* cauſed the Magiſtracy of *Haerlem* to forbid him to write any thing concerning that Diſpute (*e*).

(*d*) Viz. *the Puniſhments of Hereticks.*

(*e*) *Ibid. en pag.* 597. *ad ann.* 1578.

Some Years after he wrote againſt the Cathechiſm of *Heidelberg*, which was adopted by the Reformed Churches of *Holland*. He dedicated this Piece to the States of the Province, and with a prodigious Boldneſs repreſented to them the Miſchiefs of adopting this Catechiſm, and of the Deſign, the Miniſters had, ſaid he, of impoſing on every body the Neceſſity of thinking and ſpeaking like themſelves. He deſired that thoſe Misfortunes might be prevented, and offered to prove what he advanced. The Miniſters on their part, preſented a Writing to the States, full of Complaints againſt *Koornbert*, and declared themſelves ready to juſtify their Propoſitions. The States, after mature Deliberation, reſolv'd, with the Approbation of the Prince of *Orange*, to make *Koornbert* diſpute with the Miniſters before Fifteen Deputies. *Hadrian Saravia*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, was choſen to be a Diſputant for the Miniſters: a Notary was given him, and another to *Koonbert*, that whatever ſhould be ſaid on both ſides, might be put authentically in Writing. The Diſpute began at the *Hague* the 27th. of *October*, 1583, and continued to the Third of *November*, when *Koornbert* deſired leave of the Commiſſioners to go to *Haerlem*, to ſee his Wife, who was upon her Death-Bed. The Diſpute began again the 28th. of *November*, but becauſe *Saravia* for Four Days together had dictated very long Writings to his Notary, the Deputies reſolved to ſend *Koornbert* Home, there to compoſe his Anſwer. It was more prolix than the Writing of *Saravia*, and was confuted by a Reply of the Miniſters that was much longer. The States finding that one Article among Fifty that were to be examined, took up ſo many Seſſions, thought there would never be an end of this Affair, and interrupted the Courſe of it. *Koornbert* boaſted of his Victory, and that he had ſettled himſelf at the *Hague*, that he might be the more ready to Diſpute. The order of the States, for interrupting the Conferences, hindered not the Parties from attacking one another in Writing (*f*).

(*f*) *Ib. en libro* 13. *pag.* 693, 694, 695. *ad ann.* 1583.

The Synod of *South Holland* being aſſembled at *Tergou*, in *Auguſt* 1589. *Koornbert*, who lived in the ſame Town, ſent a Letter to the Aſſembly, to offer 'em a freſh Battle. The Synod having read the Letter, ſent it back to the Author, and declared they had nothing more to do with him, and that if he deſired any thing, he muſt addreſs himſelf to the States (*g*).

(*g*) *Ibid. ex libro,* 15. *pag.* 769. *ad ann.* 1589.

(*K*) *There is great Probability he was Protected by the Prince of* Orange.] 'Tis certain that this Prince, knowing him to be a Man of Parts, a great lover of Liberty, and a great Enemy to the *Spaniards*, thought him a fit Man for the Affairs of that time. He made uſe of his Pen on ſeveral Occaſions, he charged him with ſeveral Commiſſions, he deſired they would recall him from his Exile (*a*); and one can hardly apprehend, how *Koornbert* could have withſtood his Enemies, if he had not been clandeſtinely ſupported by a Potent, and well-managed Protection; for he obſerved no Meaſures with Relation to the publick Doctrine of the Churches; he attacked the Miſſion of their Miniſters, condemned all Sects, and was for leaving an entire Liberty to the Roman Catholicks, which in the Circumſtances of thoſe Times had been very dangerous. His Criticiſms on the Cathechiſm of *Heidelberg* were ſo bold and inſulting, that ſince the States of *Holland*, who had it examined by a Profeſſor of Divinity, and a Miniſter, were contented (*b*) to order, that the Copies ſhould be put into the Hands of the Magiſtrates, he muſt needs have been ſupported by a mighty Power. If the Prince of *Orange* had been alive, when *Koornbert* went to live at *Delft*, I do not think the Magiſtrates would have commanded him to depart in Twenty Four Hours, (*c*) as they did in the Year 1588. Some Perſons tried to get him impriſoned for the reſt of his Life; but the Prince and the ſupream Magiſtrates rejected that Demand (*d*).

(*a*) *Taken from the Extracts of* Koornhert's *Life.*

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Extracts of* Brandt's *Hiſtory, lib.* 15. *p.* 757.

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*L*) *Wrote ſo ſtoutly as he for the Liberty of the Country, and for the Liberty of Conſcience.*] Whilſt he

KORNMANNUS (*Henry*) a *German* Civilian, Author (*A*) of some curious Treatises, of which there are many Editions. He lived in the beginning of the XVIIth. Century.

KORTHOLT (*Christian*) Doctor and Professor of Divinity at *Kiel*, was born the 15th. of *January* 1633, at *Burg* in the Isle of † *Femern*. He was instructed both in Piety and Learning, with great Care, at his Father's, and in the School of *Burg*, till he was Sixteen Years of Age; after which he was sent to *Slesvick*, where he went on with his Studies for Two Years. He afterwards studied in the College of *Stetin*, where he gave publick Proofs of his Progress; for he maintained two ‡ *Theses*, one *De veracitate & taciturnitate*, the other *De natura Philosophiæ, ejusque in Theologia usu*. He was the Author of the latter. Being come to *Rostock*, in the Year 1652, he was a diligent Attendant on the Professors Lectures, and successfully maintained two other * *Theses*, of which he made the first. The Death of his Father obliged him to leave this University, at the Year's End; but he returned thither some Months after, and gave new Proofs of his Knowledge, both by the *Theses de Christo*; *Disputations*, which he composed, and publickly defended, and by the Lectures he read at home in *Logick*, *Metaphysicks*, and *Hebrew*. He solemnly took his Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Year 1656, and then he went to study in the University of *Jena*, where he got a great Reputation by the Academical Acts, in which he was sometimes Respondent, and sometimes Moderator, and by the private Lectures he made upon Philosophy, the Oriental Tongues, and Divinity. He left the University of *Jena*, in 1660, and visited those of *Leipsick* and *Wittemberg*, and afterwards returned to *Rostock*, where he shewed his Capacity several Ways; so that in *February* 1662, he was made Professor of the *Greek* Tongue. He took his Doctor of Divinity's Degree in *November* the same Year. Not long before, his Parts and Learning discovered themselves, in Three Disputes (*A*) with the Roman Catholicks, in the Presence of *Christian*, Duke of *Mecklenbourg*. He married the 28th. of *April* 1664, and was invited the following Year to be second Professor of Divinity in the University lately founded at *Kiel*. He was created Vice-Chancellor in the Year 1666, and succeded *Peter Musæus* in 1675. who had the first Divinity-Chair. He was so desirous to make this new University flourish, and had so much Gratitude for the Kindness which the Duke of *Holstein* his Master shewed him, that

† *Near the Baltick Sea, in the Country of Holstein.*

‡ *That is, two Dissertations, and not meer Positions.*

* *One was de supposito & persona, and the other de sphæra activitatis.*

(e) *In the Duchy of Cleves.*

he was at *Santen* (e) in a voluntary Exile, in the Year 1574, he drew up the Plan of a Book, designed to shew all Christian Princes, that the Conduct of the Provinces which opposed the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Alba*, was not a Rebellion, nor a popular Itch of pulling down Images, but an Emanation of the supreme Authority, which the People have to defend their Rights, their Laws, and the Liberty of Conscience. Add to this what I relate in the Remark *H*. The Acts of the Pacification of *Cologne*, which began in the Year 1579, published at *Delft*, with the Licence of the States, and with excellent Notes by *Haggai Albada*, *Koornhert*'s intimate Friend, are thought to be the Work of the latter. *Eusebius Philalethes* ascribes all this to him, in a Book printed in 1617. See likewise *Koornhert*'s first Treatise against *Justus Lipsius*. He wrote a Piece in the Year 1584, concerning the Means of resisting the King of *Spain*, and he shewed amongst other things, that it was necessary to put themselves under the Protection of *France*. Being perswaded that Christian Peace was one of the most important Doctrines of the Gospel, and that it could not be maintained, but by reducing the Truths necessary to Salvation, to a small Number, and by permitting the difference of Opinions with respect to other Doctrines, he laboured with all his Might to put things upon that foot. He took Advantage of the great *Erasmus*'s Opinion (*f*), and agreed with two (*g*) Doctors of the Reformed Church; and it seems, that Prince *William* was somewhat inclined that Way. Consult the History of *Bor*, Book 21. fol. 107. *Koornhert* was continually saying, that *Luther*, *Calvin* and *Menno* had briskly attacked abundance of Romish Errors, but that they had very ill succeeded against the dreadful and impious Doctrine of the Constraint of Conscience; and that instead of opposing it to some Purpose, they had rather strengthened it; every one having put it in Practice, wherever they could become Masters, and created a new Papacy, by the Erection of a Schismatical Church, which condemned all others. They have *said he*, incouraged the Papists by this means, to continue their Method, and have not only gained nothing against their persecuting Maxims, but have also introduced Confusions and Schisms, by taking away the Liberty (*h*) of Prophecying. As for himself he maintained, that no Body ought to be hated; and that all pious People, who by Faith in JESUS CHRIST endeavoured to imitate him, are good Christians, and that the Magistrates ought to reckon all peaceable Livers, good Subjects (*i*). He was so full of this Hypothesis, that to the Prejudice of his Tranquillity and temporal Interest, he made use of all his Courage, Parts, and Learning to maintain it (*k*).

(*f*) *In epistola ad Archiepiscopum Panormitanum operibus Hilarii præfixa.*

(*g*) *Hubert Duyslius, & Taco Sybrand.*

(*h*) *That is, of professing whatever is dictated by the Conscience.*

(*A*) *Author of some curious Treatises.*] That which is intituled, *De vinginitatis jure tractatus novus & jucundus, ex jure civili, canonico, patribus, historicis, poëtis, &c. confectus*, and that which is commonly printed with it, with this Title, *Linea amoris, sive commentarius in vesiculum Cl. visus, colloquium, convictus, oscula, factum*, have been often printed. The oldest Edition I know of 'em, is of *Francfort*, 1610. 'Tis a great and fruitful Subject, but the Author runs over it, and examines nothing to the bottom, and what he says is very common. He may please those who love Brevity. His other Works are, *Templum naturæ historicum, Sive de natura & miraculis quatuor elementorum. De miraculis vivorum, seu de natura, proprietatibus, &c. hominum vivorum*, at *Franckfort* 1614. *De miraculis mortuorum*, &c. It has been said (*l*), that *Kirchmannus*, in his Book *de funeribus Romanorum*, borrows a great deal from this last Work of our Author. And yet I don't find, that the Book *de miraculis mortuorum*, came out before the Year 1610. whereas the Book intituled, *de funeribus Romanorum*, was printed in 1604. 'Tis true, that the Author gave a new Edition of it in 1625, and he might have made use of our *Kornmannus*'s Work for his Additions. This we may examine another time, if we have Leisure.

(*i*) *Extracts of Koornhert's Life.*

(*k*) *The Dutch Distich, made by Peter Hooft, to be put under Koornhert's Print, imported that he had been infatigable of Knowledge and Liberty.*

(*l*) *Antonii Borremans Flandria illustrata, c. 4. p. 32.*

(*A*) *In three Disputes with the Roman Catholicks.*] Their Theses are the Particulars we find upon it in his Funeral Programma. *Anno M DC LXI. d. Serenissimo Duce Mecklenburgico, CHRISTIANO, Principe eruditione, facundia comitateque singulari Principe, per Cancellarium ejus, D. CHRISTOPHORUM KRAUTHOFIUM, invitabatur in aulam Suerinensem, ad colloquium cum Pontificio Austriaco, EGGEFELDIO, viro quidem docto, sed admodum superciliosi, de religionis negotio, habendum. Quod & in conspectu multorum aulæ Procerum, ac peregrinorum etiam, qui fortè tunc adierant, institutum, ac postero die cum alio Pontificio*

that he refuſed all the Preferments that were offered him in ſeveral Places, though they were very Noble and Honourable. This Prince procured him the Profeſſorſhip of the Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, in 1680, and declared him perpetual Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, in the Year 1689. He diſcharged the Duties of all thoſe Places, and of that of † Vice-Rector, (which came Five times to him) with great Ability, Application, and Prudence. His Death, which happened the 31ſt. of *March*, 1694, was a very great loſs to the Univerſity of *Kiel*, and the Republick of Learning, which he had inriched (*B*) with many Books, to which he might have added many more, if he had lived longer. He left two Sons, who (C) tread in his Steps †.

† This is the ſame thing as Rector, becauſe there was no other Rector at Kiel, but the Prince himſelf, who founded that Univerſity.

† Taken from a Annual Programma, printed at Kiel in 1694.

KOT-

(a) It ſhould be du Buiſſon

Polono, FULERNIZKIO, continuatum eſt Sorchenburgi, ipſo Principe præſente, qui cum illuc accerſitum clementerque acceptum toto oſtiduo ſecum retinuit. A quo & ſequenti anno MDCLXII. demum ad certamen, cum Pontificio quodam Pariſienſi, cui nomen de la (a) BUISSON erat, ibidem inſtituendum, provocatus comparuit, in eoque degraviſſimis religionis controverſiis cum omnium applauſu per aliquot dies diſputavit.

(*B*) *Enriched with many Books.*] I have ſeen the Catalogue of 'em, which was printed at *Kiel* in the Year 1694. Some are in *High-Dutch*, and others in *Latin*. The Titles of the *Latin* ones are theſe: *Tractatus de Origine & progreſſu philoſophiæ Barbaricæ. Jenæ* in 4. 1660. *Tractatus de Perſecutionibus Eccleſiæ primitivæ, veterumque Martyrum cruciatibus, ibid.* in 8. 1660. Prodiit longe accuratior, & triplo auctior, *Kilonii ann.* 1689. in 4. *Valerianus Confeſſor, hoc eſt, Sola Demonſtratio, quod Eccleſia Romana hodierna non ſit vera* CHRISTI *Eccleſia; deducta ex Vales. Magni, Capuccini, Apologia Anti-Jeſuitica. Roſt.* in 12. 1662. Opuſculum illud auctius Kilonii in 4. eſt editum 1666. *Diſſertatio de Neſtorianiſmo, ibid.* in 4. 1662. *Tractatus de Calumniis Paganorum in veteres Chriſtianos. Roſtochii*, in 4. 1663. Longe auctior publicatus eſt Kilonii anno 1668. novoque plane habitu, in tres libros diſtinctus, brevi, V. D. è Typographeo Kilonienſi (*b*) proditurus eſt. *Exercitatio in Hiſtoriam Judith*, Roſtoch. in 4. 1663. *Exercitatio in præfationem Hieronymi in Judith. ibid.* in 4. 1663. *Tractatus de Canone Scripturæ, Bellarmino, ejuſque propugatoribus, Gretſero & Erbermanno Jeſuitis, oppoſitus. Roſtochii*, in 4. 1665. *Tractatus de Religione Ethnica, Muhammedana, & Judaica. Kilonii.* in 4. 1665. *Oratio de Scholarum & Academiarum ortu & progreſſu, præſertim in Germania, inter ſolemnia inaugurationis Academiæ Kilonienſis habita. Sleſv.* in fol 1666. *Diſſertatio Hiſtorica de Philippi Arabis, Alexandri Mammææ, Plinii Junioris, & Annæi Senecæ, Chriſtianiſmo. Kil.* in 4. 1667. *Apologia pro Valeriano Confeſſore, adverſus Capuccinum Salisburgenſem, ibid.* in 4. 1667. *Tractatus de Variis Scripturæ ſacræ editionibus. ibid.* in 4. 1668. Longe auctior vulgatus eſt Kilonii ann. 1686. *Pſeudadelphia Heiniana, D. Johanni Heinio, Theologo Reformato Marpurgenſi, oppoſita, ibid.* in 4. 1669. *Tractatus de Lectione Bibliorum in linguis vulgo cognitis. ibid.* in 4. 1670. Reviſus & auctus Plœnæ recuſus eſt anno. 1692. *Funus Eccleſiæ Romanæ in Clemente IX Papa defunctæ. ibid.* in 4. 1670. *Papa Utopicus. ibid.* in 4. 1670. *Tractatus de Origine & natura Chriſtianiſmi ex mente Gentilium. Kil.* in 4. 1672. *Apologia pro Valeriano Confeſſore, adverſus Chriſtianum Fabrum, Gallo-Sebuſianum. Kil.* in 4. 1673. *Commentarius in Epiſtolas Plinii & Trajani de Chriſtianis primævis. ibid.* in 4. 1674. *Commentarius in Juſtinum M. Athenagoram, Theophilum Antiochenum, Tatianum Aſſyrium. Kil.* in fol. 1675. Auctior editus eſt Lipſiæ ann. 1686. *Diſſertatio de Viribus humanis in ordine ad Civilia & Spiritualia. Kil.* in 4. 1676. *Exercitatio anti-Salmaſiana de Pane quotidie, quem in Oratione Dominica petimus.* in 4. 1676. *Diſquiſitiones anti-Baronianæ. ibid.* in 4. 1677. *De Tribus impoſturibus Magnis, liber, Edoardo Herbert, Thomæ Hobbes, & Benedicto Spinoſæ oppoſitus. Cui addita Appendix, qua Hieronymi Cardani & Edoardi Herberti de Animalitate Hominis opiniones philoſophicè examinatæ. ibid.* in 8. 1680. *Diſquiſitio anti-Baroniana peculiaris de Religionum cultu. ibid.* in 8. 1680. *Tractatus de Vita & Moribus Chriſtianis primævis per Gentilium malitiam aſſertis ibid.* in 4. 1683. *Theſes Theologicæ XXV. Diſputationibus publicis in Univerſitate Kilonienſi propoſitæ. ibid.* in 4. 1684. Prodierunt & ventilatæ ſunt altera vice 1686. ac rurſum anno, 1692. *Tractatus de Proceſſu diſputandi Papiſtico. Cui ſubjuncta Diſſertatio de Hoſtiis Euchariſticis, ſive Placentulis orbiculatis, quibus in S. Synaxeos adminiſtratione utimur. ibid.* in 4. 1685. *Exercitatio de* CHRISTO CRUCIFIXO, *Judæis ſcandalo, Gentilibus ſtultitiæ, Credentibus autem Dei potentia & ſapientia*, 1 Cor. 1. 18. 23, 24. *Ibid.* in 4. 1686. *Exercitatio de Atheiſmo Veteribus Chriſtianis, ob Templorum imprimis averſationem à Gentilibus objecto, inque coſdem à noſtris retorto. Ibid.* in 4. 1689. *Silentium Sacrum; ſive, de Occultatione Myſteriorum apud veteres Chriſtianos diſſertatio. Ibid.* in 4. 1689. *De Studio Belli ac Pacis diſſertatio Theologica, in gratam memoriam reddita divina clementia Cimbricis provinciis Concordia, reſtitutique feliciter Reverendiſſ. Sereniſſimique Slefvici & Holſatiæ Ducis regnantis Dn. CHR. ALBERTI. Ibid.* in 4. 1689. *De Actionibus Forenſibus Exercitatio Theologica. Ibid.* in 4. 1690. *Alexander Papa Octavus Pſeudonymus. Ibid.* in 4. 1690. *De Magnanimitate Ariſtotelica, Chriſtianæ Modeſtiæ aliiſque veris Virtutibus inimica, diſſertatio. Ibid.* in 4. 1690. *De Schiſmate, ſuperiori ſeculo Proteſtantes inter & Pontificios enato, diſſert. Hiſtorico-Theologica, ibid.* in 4. 1690. *Apotheoſis Papæ. Ibid.* in 4. 1691. *In Canonem 6. Nicænum Cardd. Baronio & Bellarmino oppoſita Exercitatio. Ibid.* in 4. 1691. *Miſcelanea Academica. Ibid.* in 4. 1692. *Diſquiſitio de Pontifice Romano. Ibid.* in 4. 1692. *De Rationis cum Revelatione in Theologia concurſu. Ibid.* in 4. 1692. *De Veterum quorundam locutione illa:* Filius Dei aſſumpſit Hominem. *Ibid.* in 4. 1692. *De Nominibus, quibus per ludibrium & contemptum Chriſtiani olim à profanis appellati, deque Notis occultis, quibus iidem ſe inſigniviſſe creditі, diſſertatio; additi Mantiſſa, qua diſquiritur: Num filiola, quam octo dierum infans exuxit eſt, Baptiſmi capax. Ibid.* in 4. 1693. *De ſacris Publicis, debita cum reverentia præſentiſque Numinis metu colendis, Diatribe Aſcetica. Ibid.* in 4. 1693.

(b) It came out in 1698. See the Acta Eruditorum for September 1698. pag. 420.

Since his Death, a Tract has been publiſhed with this Title, *Paſtor fidelis, ſive de officio Miniſtrorum Eccleſiæ opuſculum*, at *Hamburg*, 1696. in 12. See the *Acta Eruditorum* (*a*). They have alſo publiſhed his *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Novi Teſtamentis*, at *Leipſick*, in 1697. in 4. See (*b*) the ſame Journal.

(C) *He left two Sons, who tread in his Steps.*] He had Ten Children, Five Sons, and Five Daughters, whereof Four Sons were living, and as many Daughters, when he died. The two eldeſt Daughters were already married, one to Mr. *Lindeman*, Profeſſor of Phyſicks and Metaphyſicks at *Roſtock*, the other to Mr. (*c*) *Paſch*, Profeſſor of Morality at *Kiel*. The eldeſt of the Sons, *Henry Chriſtian* KORTHOLT, ſtudied Phyſick, and travelled then into Foreign Countries. *Matthias Nicolas* KORTHOLT, and *Sebaſtian* KORTHOLT his Brothers, had already given excellent Proofs of their Parts. *Joſ. John* KORTHOLT, the youngeſt of them all, ſtudied well, and was a Man of fine Hopes. *Natu minor*, they are the Words of the Funeral Programma, JOEL JOHANNES *pietatis & literarum ſtudio diligenter innumbens, optimam de ſe ſpem excitat, quam abunde jam impleverunt ætate profectibuſque multò majores, MATTHIAS NICOLAUS, & SEBASTIANUS, ſuribus præclaris bonæ indolis ingenique excellentis ſpeciminibus editis.* I have ſeen the Diſſertation *de Poetis Epiſcopis*, which Mr. *Sebaſtian Kortholt* printed in the Year 1699, and ſubmitted to the Examination of the Learned, *Examini Eruditorum publico*, when he was preparing (*d*) to take his Doctor's Degree in Philoſophy. 'Tis a very curious Piece, and it ſhews the great reading of the Author. Since this was printed, I have ſeen two other Pieces of his, on which I paſs the ſame Judgment: one is intitled, *Diſquiſitio de Enthuſiaſmo Poetico*, and

(a) January, 1696. pag. 7. & ſeq.

(b) For September 1697. pag. 438.

(c) He publiſhed in 1695. Schediaſma de curioſis hujus ſæculi inventis quorum accuratiori cultui facem prætulit antiquitas. He is reprinting it with great Additions.

(d) Pro ſummis in Philoſophia honoribus impetrandis.

was

KOTTERUS (*Chriſtopher*) is one of the three Fanaticks, whoſe Viſions were Publiſhed at *Amſterdam* in the year 1657. with this Title (*A*) *Lux in tenebris.* He lived at *Sprottaw* in *Sileſia*. His Viſions begun in *June* 1616. He fancied he ſaw an Angel in the Form of a Man, who commanded him to go and declare to the Magiſtrates, that unleſs the People repented, the Wrath of God would do terrible Executions. Tho' he had received this Order ſix times ſucceſſively, he did not Execute it; His Paſtor and his Friends diſſuaded him from it. But in *April* 1619, believing he ſaw the ſame Spirit, which threatned him with Eternal Damnation if he kept ſilence any longer, he diſcharged his Commiſſion in a full Aſſembly of the Magiſtrates the *26th.* of *Auguſt* 1619. They Laughed at him. The Apparitions went on, and were followed with Extaſies and Prophetick Dreams. The Elector *Palatin*, Declared King of *Bohemia* by the Proteſtants, was concerned in theſe Viſions. *Kotterus* went to him at *Breſlaw*

was printed at *Kiel* in the Year 1696, in *4to.* the other, *De pueilis Poetis omiſſis ab Adriano Bailleto*, and was printed in the ſame Place, in the Year 1700, in 12*s*. I have learned alſo, that the Author has been made Profeſſor of Poetry in the Univerſity of *Kiel*, in *February* 1701, and that his Brother (*Matthias Nicolas*) being invited to *Gieſſen*, to be Profeſſor of Eloquence and Poetry in that Univerſity, made his Inauguration Speech the 22d. of *June* 1700. He treated *De antiqua Eloquentia recentiorum perperam poſtpoſita à Carolo Peralto ſcriptore libri, Cujus eſt titulus*, Parallele des Anciens & des Modernes, *&c.* This Speech ſeemed to me to be very good. You may ſee an Elogy upon this Profeſſor, in a Letter from Mr. (*d*) *Magnus*, dated from *Kiel* the 22d. of *May* 1700.

(*d*) Jo. Burchardus Majus Eloquentiæ & Hiſtoriæ profeſſor primarius. *He is very famous for his Writings.*

(*A*) *With this Title*, Lux in Tenebris.] I have obſerved in another Place (*e*), the occaſion of this Title, and will not repeat it. This Book was printed in the Year 1657, at the Charges of a rich (*f*) Patron, whom *Comenius* found at *Amſterdam*. It contains the Revelations of one *Chriſtopher Kotterus*, of *Chriſtina Poniatovia*, and *Nicolas Drabicius*. *Comenius* publiſhed an Abridgment of it in 1660. with this Title, *Revelationum divinarum in uſum ſeculi noſtri factarum Epitome.* He reprinted the whole Work with this Title, *Lux è Tenebris novis radiis aucta*, &c. This laſt Edition contains the reſt of *Drabicius*'s Revelations till the Year 1666. A Profeſſor of Divinity at *Franeker*, a *Polander*, called *Nicolas Arnoldus*, writ quickly againſt this Work, and replied to *Comenius*'s Apology. *Mareſius*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Groningen*, wrote againſt the ſame Book, in his Theſes *de tribus Videntibus*, in the Year 1659; and when Ten Years after he publiſhed an Anſwer (*g*) to a Piece of *Comenius* concerning the *Millenium*, he upbraided him more than once, and with great Vehemence, for the Impreſſion of thoſe three pretended Prophets. This Book in ſome Years time fell into Oblivion and Contempt; but when the *Turks* beſieged *Vienna*, in the Year 1683, it was wonderfully ſought after. They who had put the Copies in a Garret, where they had reſted a long time, fetched 'em out and Sold abundance at a great Price; and if the *Turks* had taken *Vienna*, I doubt not but they muſt have made a new Edition of it, tho' the Copies had never been ſo dear. They were very much inquired for in *France*; M. d' *Avaux* ſent ſome thither: and therefore we may very well wonder, that M. *Jurieu* ſhould have ſuppoſed in the year 1691, that *Drabicius* was not known at *Paris*. This Suppoſition is not excuſable, ſince not long before he himſelf had very much contributed to ſpread the name of that Fanatick all over the World. Beſides, he alledged this wrong Suppoſition as a Proof of a State Crime; for he pretended that the *Avis aux Refugiez* making mention of *Drabicius*, could not have been written in *France*. Thoſe are things which my Readers would ſcarce believe; wherefore 'tis neceſſary I ſhould prove 'em, by giving an account of what was anſwered him. Here is the Anſwer made by the Author he accuſed (*b*).

(*e*) *In the Article of* Drabicius.

(*f*) *His name was* Lawrence de Geer.

(*g*) *Intituled*, Antirrhetricus, ſive defenſio pro zeli, &c. contra J. A. Comenium.

(*b*) *In the* Cabale chimerique *p.* 130. & ſeq. *of the ſecond Edition.*

(*i*) *Pag.* 28.

' The firſt of his Proofs is, that the *Avis aux* ' *Refugiez* was not made at *Paris*. Now this he Demonſtrates thus:

' He (*i*) who wrote that *Avis*, gives a particular account of *Drabicius*'s Prophecies; he ſaw 'em, read 'em, and knows all the particulars of ' 'em.

' But the Learned of *Paris* ſcarce know the name ' of *Drabicius*.

' Therefore the Author of the *Avis* is not at ' *Paris*.

' If I ſhould deny the firſt Propoſition, I am ſure he ' could never prove it; becauſe it do's not appear ' from the *Avis aux Refugiez* that the Author of ' it knew any thing more of *Drabicius*, than that ' he attempted to excite a War againſt the Houſe ' of *Auſtria*. Any Man of Letters may know ' this without reading the Books of that Prophet.

' But the ſecond Propoſition is ſtill more palpably Falſe. For, not to ſay, that during the Siege ' of *Vienna*, *Drabicius*'s Book was much Talked of ' in *France*, and that many Copies were ſent for ' from hence, (I was deſired by one of my Friends ' at *Rouen*, to ſend him one) who knows not that ' the great Encomiums Mr. *Jurieu* beſtowed on the ' Prophetical *Triumvirate*, I mean *Chriſtina Poniatovia*, *Kotterus* and *Drabicius*, in a (2) Book *more* ' *common than Almanacks*, as he himſelf boaſts of ' it (3), uſing the beſt Compariſon that was ever ' ſeen; who knows not, I ſay, that thoſe great Encomiums beſtow'd on *Drabicius*, and ſo likely to ' make this Prophet Talked of, have drawn upon ' the Paneggyriſt ſome very mortifying Cenſures ' from (4) the Biſhop of *Meaux*, and Mr. *Pelliſſon* ' (5), in ſome Books Publiſhed at *Paris* before the ' Impreſſion of the *Avis aux Refugiez*? Who ' doubts that the Satyr Intituled *L'Eſprit de Mr.* ' *Arnauld*, ſo well known ſince the year 1684. ' raiſed a Curioſity in abundance of *French*-' *men* to ſee *Drabicius*'s Prophecies, the Model ' whereof Mr. *Jurieu* draws (6) there, in ſuch a ' manner as to promiſe to the Publick on one Hand, ' from *Drabicius* the ruin of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ' to the King of *France* the Imperial Crown, to the ' *Turks* the taking of *Vienna*, *Carinthia* and *Styria*, ' and the Deſtruction of the Republick of *Venice*, ' and of the City of *Rome*, and to promiſe on the o-' ther Hand, in the name of the Proteſtants, *all* ' *that they can do to accompliſh thoſe Prophecies?* The Learned of *Paris* muſt have been very Stupid, if they did not inquire after a Book of which Mr. *Jurieu* has given the following Notion. *I found*, ſays he (*i*), *in the Prophecies of* Cotterus, Chriſtina *and* Drabicius, *Publiſhed by* Comenius, *ſomething great and ſurpriz.ng.* Kotterus, *who is the firſt of theſe three Prophets is Great and Lofty; the Images of his Viſions are as Noble and Majeſtical, as thoſe of the Antient Prophets. They are alſo admirably connected, they are all of a Piece, and there is no Contradiction in them. 'Tis inconceivable how a meer Mechanick could have imagined ſuch lofty things without the Aſſiſtance of God. The two years of* Chriſtina's *Prophecy are in my Opinion a train of Miracles, as great as have happen'd ſince the Apoſtles: Nor do we find any thing in the Life of the greateſt Prophets, that is more Miraculous, than the Adventures of this Maid.* Drabicius *has alſo his Flights but there is much more Obſcurity and Difficulty in him. Theſe three Prophets conſpire in foretelling the Fall of the Antichriſtian Empire, as what muſt preſently come to paſs. But then there are ſo many other things in which one is offended, that one cannot ſet himſelf upon 'em.* If this had not ſailed a deſire of knowing Comenius's Prophetical Collection, at leaſt, thoſe ſhould have had a Curioſity for them, who have ſeen Mr. *Pelliſſon's Reflections ſur les differens de Religion.* For when a Writer diſcovers a great deal of Haughtineſs, 'tis impoſſible not to feel a ſecret Pleaſure when he happens to be informed, as Mr. *Jurieu* was by theſe Words of Mr. *Pelliſſon*: (7) *Propoſe and more than a Prophet, a Governour demands of you*

(2) *A compliſ. des Pro-phet.* Printed in 1686.

(3) *Lettre Paſtorale* of the year 1689.

(4) *Hiſt. des Variations, l.* 13. *n.* 91. Printed in 1688.

(5) *Reflexions ſur les differens de Religion.* Printed in 1686.

(6) *Tom.* 2. *p.* 201.

(7) *Preface to the Accompliſhment des Prophecies, Printed in* 1686. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 3. *Edit. Amſt.*

law in *December* 1620, and declared to him his Commiſſion. He went to ſome other Places, and at laſt in 1625, to the Court (*B*) of *Brandenburg* *. He got himſelf acquainted the ſame year (*C*) with *John Amos Comenius*, who became a Promoter † of his Prophecies. Now as moſt of thoſe things turned upon Preſages of Proſperity to the Elector *Palatin*, and Unhappineſs to his Imperial Majeſty, it happened that *David Wachſman* the Emperor's Attorney in the Lower *Sileſia*, and in *Luſatia*, uſed all ſorts of means to ſeize *Kotterus* whom he look'd upon as a Seditious Impoſtor. *Kotterus* fell into his Hands the ſecond of *January* 1627. He was Examined, and put into a Dungeon, and the Sentence of the Court of Appeals was expected from *Prague*. The Em-

* *Taken from his Revelations publiſh'd by* Comenius.

† *Comenius, Hiſt. Revelation. p. 16. & ſeq.*

(d) *Comenius in epitome revelationum, Append. 3. p. m. 209.*

(e) *His name was* Abraham Mencelius.

(f) *Comenius, Hiſt. revelat. p. 21.*

(a) *Videſ hanc Bibliothecam meam (inſtruxi Biſſimam habebat, celeberrimus ob eam rem tam per Germaniam, quo me ſecerit, hoc colloquium expetentem introduxerat)* omnes Authores, antiquos & recentes conſului, ut quid de quæſtione illa, Utrum poſt Chriſtum & Apoſtolos, obſignatumque Novi Fœderis Canonem, ullæ novæ admittendæ ſint, ſi divinæ vel angelicæ, revelationes, ſentiendum ſit cognoſcerem? Sed nemo me ſcrupulis liberare potuit. Ego igitur ad preces converſus, ardentiſſime invocabam Deum (ſæpe etiam noctu ſurgens & me in faciem provolvens) ut ne pateretur illudi Eccleſiæ ſuæ orans. Poſt omnia vero tandem penſitata, divinitusque ſuggeſta, *non aliud habeo quod dicam, niſi DEUM MISISSE ANGELUM SUUM*, qui nuntiaret nobis ſervis ſuis ea, quæ oportet fieri cito: *(quæ ſunt Angeli verba* Apoc. 22. 6.) *Ibid.*

his

(1) *Chriſtopher Kotterus, of Sileſia. Chriſtina Pontanuski, of Bohemia. Nicolas Drabicius, of Moravia.*

(b) *Ibid. p. 501. & ſeq. See alſo* Les Chimeres de *Mr.* Jurieu, 4. *part. p. 141.*

(c) *Thoſe, which I have quoted above out of the Preface of the* Accompliſſement des Prophecies.

the Millenium, *which he declares to us, who at leaſt aſſumes the Authority of Reforming, Correcting, and Chaſtiſing, when he pleaſes, ſuch as he has formally acknowledged for Prophets, and Inſpired* (1) *Men, a ſort of People whom the Event has already proved to be Guilty of a hundred Impoſtures, and who have been confounded in the ſight of all the World, by the taking of* Buda, *tho' they had aſſured us, as from God, that it would never return to the Chriſtians by Force of Arms, but by a Treaty with the* Turks. He gave (*b*) formal Proofs of all this, by quoting the (*c*) very Words of Mr. *Jurieu*, and the places where *Drabicius* expreſly ſaid that *Buda* ſhould never come out of the Hands of the *Turk*, but in a Peaceable way. When People are affected towards an Author as they were at *Paris*, with reſpect to Mr. *Jurieu*, they are ſo well pleaſed to ſee him convicted either of Impoſture, or Enthuſiaſm, that they'll ſeek for ſuch a Conviction at the Fountain Head. *But is it true*, ſay they, *that* Drabicius *affirms ſuch a thing? may not one ſee it with ones own Eyes, that there may remain no Scruple to leſſen the Ridiculouſneſs of ſuch a Scene?* They'll ſeek a Copy of *Drabicius* wherever they think it may be had; and if it can't be met with, they will however keep his name in their Memory.

It can't be ſaid that I digreſs from my Subject; for ſince it is a falſity in point of Fact, to ſay that *Drabicius*'s Name was ſcarce known at *Paris* in 1690. it belongs to this Dictionary, and I have the right of uſing all the Proofs that Confute this Falſity.

If M. *Jurieu* had been contented to ſay, that in Compariſon of the noiſe *Drabicius*'s name would have made in *France*, in caſe the *Turks* had taken *Vienna*, he was ſcarce known at *Paris*, when the *Avis aux Refugiez* was Written, I think he would not be in the wrong; for the taking of *Vienna* would have made *Drabicius* more Talked of, than the Grand Viſier. The Book which M. *Jurieu* writ during the Siege of that Town, to Praiſe and Vindicate the three Prophets of *Comenius* by his fine Illuſtrations, and learned Commentaries, would have been Tranſlated into ſeveral Languages, and would have made *Drabicius* for a long time the Diſcourſe of all Companies. His performance came to nothing as to *Drabicius*'s Memory, by the raiſing of the Siege: The great *Sobieski*, two or three hundred Leagues off deſtroy'd a Book, which was juſt ready to be put into the Preſs. I began to know during the Siege of *Vienna*, how much I was miſtaken in believing that at laſt the World was cured of the Chimerical hopes, which they had ſo often grounded upon Viſions. I every where met with People, that Talked of nothing but of *Drabicius*'s Prophecies, and who built many Caſtles in the Air, ſo far as to deſtroy *Babylon* in a Moment. They could not ſufficiently admire how *Drabicius* could gueſs ſo right with reſpect to *Tekely*. This is what I would be at; for I made it appear, that *Tekely*, who was then the great Actor of this Opera, made no Figure in *Drabicius*'s Book, which is a plain Nullity. I queſtion not but the *French* had quickly prick'd up their Ears, if the Enterprize of the Grand Viſier had ſucceeded. They would gladly have lent their Hand to the Credulous concerning *Drabicius*'s Viſions, ſince they promiſed the Empire to the King of *France*. 'Tis therefore certain, that the Name of this falſe Prophet would have been incomparably more Famous at *Paris* if the *Turks* had taken *Vienna*.

(*B*) *In* 1625. *to the Court of* Brandenburg.] The Elector *George William* hearing the great Noiſe, that was made of *Kotterus*'s Revelations, had a mind to ſee him. He ordered the Divines of *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, to Examine him; after which, he ſent for him twice to *Berlin*, firſt in the year 1625. and then in the year 1626. His Renown ſpreading as far as *Strasburg*, ſo ſtruck one of the Burgomaſters, that he ſent a Meſſenger into *Sileſia*, to intreat *Kotterus*, to explain to him ſixty two Points, and to come to *Strasburg*, where he might more ſafely Exerciſe his Prophetical Miniſtry. *Kotterus* anſwered his ſixty two Queſtions, but excuſed himſelf from going to *Strasburg*, upon his having no Commiſſion from the Spirit, and ſuffered his Picture to be ſent to the Burgomaſter (*d*).

(*C*) *He got himſelf acquainted——— with* John Amos Comenius *who became a Promoter.*] After the Edicts of the Emperor commanding the Miniſters of *Bohemia* and *Moravia* in the year 1624. to depart out of the Country, it was reſolved in a ſecret Aſſembly in *March* 1625, that the Miniſters of *Bohemia* ſhould retire into *Poland*, and thoſe of *Moravia* into *Hungary*, and that ſome ſhould be deputed with Letters both into *Poland* and *Hungary*, to prepare a Reception for 'em. *Comenius* was deputed to *Poland*, and paſſing through *Gorlitzin Luſatia*, the Governor of the young Count *de Zerotin* told him, as a very comfortable News, that the ruin of Antichriſt was at Hand, as it appeared from what the Holy Ghoſt had revealed to a good Man of *Silſia*, called *Chriſtopher Kotterus*. He related and read ſeveral Pieces of it, and becauſe *Comenius* was too Incredulous, he adviſed him to go to the place, and Diſcourſe with the Prophet. *Comenius* paſſing through *Sprottaw*, deſired to ſee *Kotterus*: His Wife anſwered him, that he was ſent for by the Elector of *Brandenburg*. The Paſtor (*c*) of that place confirmed the ſame thing to him; he aſſured him that *Kotterus* was a true Seer, and gave him his Revelations to read. *Comenius* waiting till *Kotterus*'s return, Meditated on this Manuſcript, and was Amazed at it. Soon after he ſaw *Kotterus*, performed his Journey, returned quickly to *Sprottaw*, Tranſlated the Manuſcript of the Revelations into the *Bohemian* Tongue, and was fully convinced that they proceeded from God. He returned into *Poland*, and took the Prophet with him, who told him in the way, that he knew by Revelation, that there would be a Council of all Chriſtendom, in which the Pope would be Depoſed, and a Canon made, forbidding every Body hereafter to Uſurp the Title of Univerſal Biſhop. *Comenius* repreſented to him, that he had not read that Article in the Manuſcript: *Kotterus* anſwered, *I had no orders to write it, but I have learned it.* Returning from *Poland*, *Comenius* parted from *Kotterus*, and went to *Berlin*, where he found that even among the Refugees of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, they paſſ very different Judgments on this Man: Some held him for a true Prophet, eſpecially when the Poſt brought News, that the King of *Denmark* was raiſing Troops. Others ſaid he was a Cheat, who having ſpent his Fortune, and not knowing how to live, ſet up for a Prophet. (*f*) *Alii rurſum ex iiſdem meis ſcabioſiſſima de Cottero effutiebant: helluonem, rei ſuæ decoctorem, deſperationeque ad prophetandum adactum dictitantes, miraque de prophetiis ipſius mendacia inter ſe ſpargentes, mihique referentes.* This made *Comenius* uneaſy, but *Chriſtopher Pelargus*, Super-intendant-General of the Churches of *Brandenburg*, who had examined *Kotterus* by the Elector's Order, removed his doubts, by ſaying, that he ought not to queſtion that Man's extraordinary Miſſion (*a*), nor repent of his having Tranſlated

Emperor's Attorney received it the 25th. of *April*; but as he Died a little after, it is not known what it contained. *Kotterus* was taken out of the Dungeon, and permitted to be Visited by his Wife and his Friends, and at last he was put (D) in the Pillory, and Banished the Dominions of the Emperor not to return upon pain of Death. He went into *Lusatia*, which belonged to his Electoral Highness of *Saxony*, and there lived quietly till he died, which happened in the year 1647 *. 'Tis by a Fault of the Printer, that *Moreri's* Dictionary (E) makes him 92 years of Age. *Comenius* can't be excused (F) for Printing such Prophecies. He knew that part of 'em had proved false by the Event. Since his Death, they have been more and more confuted by the course

his Revelations into the *Bohemian* Tongue. This Translation was not kept secret, as the Author says he desired; it was shewn to some Persons, who had it Transcribed, and so the Copies Multiplied prodigiously in *Bohemia*: Nor is it any wonder, since that Book promised a hundred Triumphs to King *Frederick*. Sometime after it was Printed in *Bohemian* at *Perna* in *Misnia*, with Praises and Marginal Notes. But all the Ministers did not fall into the Trap. Two of 'em, with some Elders, found fault with the Transcribing of that Book; the interest of the true Faith, and the Danger which they were exposed to, were the two Reasons that made 'em Vote for the Suppression of these Chimera's, as being either an ingenious Fiction, or the fantastical Dreams of an Enthusiast. (b) *Scriptum illud (sive id ab aliquo ingenioso confictum, sive ab ipso fanatico homine conscriptum esset) supprimi petierunt. Duplex enim subesse periculum, & Conscientiarum, si se homines à certo Dei Verbo ad incerta id genus figmenta abduci paterentur, & Corporis atque vitæ, si hac in adversariorum venian' manus.* In the year 1626. the Electoress *Juliana*, Mother to King *Frederick*, having acquainted a great Lord of *Moravia*, who was as well as she, a Refugee at *Berlin*, that she had received a Letter from the King her Son, in which he enquired whether he could have the Prophecies of the Man of *Silesia* in Writing, this great Lord got a Copy Transcribed, and not being able to give it himself, because he was Sick, he charged *Comenius* with it, who was then at *Berlin*. *Comenius*, instead of delivering it to the Electoress, went directly to the King, who was then at the *Hague*, demanded Audience, Harangued him, and amongst other things told him, that since his Majesty and his Children bore the principal part of that Divine Piece, they who had this Manuscript, would have thought themselves Guilty of an Absurdity, if they had not Communicated it to his Majesty. *Cujus* (Cotteri) *omnia cum sint in scriptum relata, ibidemque Majestas Vestra, cum Progenie sua, tanquam primaria in hac Dei Comœdia introducitur Persona; absurdum visum est illis, qui ea suis hactenus custodierunt manibus, ad notitiam Majestatis Vestræ hæc non deduci. Non quidem ut majestati Vestræ ista præcisè credendi imponatur necessitas: sed, Primùm, ut hæc apud Majestatem Vestram tanquam in archivo sacro asserventur, in futurum testimonium: nè, si demùm post completa prædicta hæc palam fiant, ex eventu sic esse collecta, suspicari quis, aut calumniari, possit. Deinde, ut occasio sit attendendi, num forte divina providentia tales in eventus res disponat. (Nam si de imminente rerum mutatione Politicos discursus, vel Astrologicas prædictiones, aut similes Prudentiorum conjecturas, cognescere non aspernamur, cur hæc ab altiori venientia principio aspernari libeat?) Curarunt itaque ex authentico describi exemplar, quod Majestati Vestræ per me humili cum observantia exhibent: simulque exhibui* (c). This is not meant, adds he, to impose on your Majesty the necessity of believing these things, but only to desire that you would preserve them in your Archives, to the end that if they prove true no Body may object, that those Predictions were made after the Event, and that you may also have an occasion to observe whether Providence prepares the way to those great Revolutions.

Here the Mystery lies: They would have it so that the Princes who are capable of Executing a Design, and Interested in the Execution, should form it, in hopes of succeeding in it. This is frequently the first Motive of our Prophets and Apocalyptical Commentators, and of those who favour 'em. But to return to the Thread of the History.

Comenius was received, and dismist Honourably by King *Frederick*, and went into *Bohemia*, where *Kotterus* met him, in *October* 1626, and Discoursed with some Ministers and Gentlemen (d).

Here is a Passage in which I can see no great exactness. (e) *Quum turpiter vero in horum* (Cotteri & Drabicii) *& Christinæ Poniatowiæ virginis Bohemæ conatibus, qui ejusdem omnino farinæ erant, juxtà modo dictus Comenius se dederit, è Voetii Disp. part. 2. p.* 1080. *liquet.* They are Mr. *Hartnac's* Words in his new Edition of *Micrælius's* Ecclesiastical History. He had been Condemning the pretended Prophecies of *Kotterus*, and *Comenius* who Published 'em; he had been saying (f) that *Drabicius's* Head and Hand were cut off, who well deserv'd that Punishment; and then he adds, that it appears by the 1080. Page of the 2. Tome of *Voetius's* Disputations, that *Comenius* committed a most shameful Fault in Publishing the Revelations of those People. I have consulted that place of *Voetius*, but there is nothing relating to *Comenius* either in the 1080 Page or in the following.

(D) *He was put in the Pillory.*] These are *Comenius's* Words. (g) *Post aliquot adhuc mensium deliberationem, nominiæ pœna affecerunt tali. Eductum carcere collocarunt ad cippum fori, ferreo adstrictum collari, affixaque supra caput scheda, cui inscriptum fuit* Hic est Pseudo-propheta ille, qui prædixit quæ non evenerunt. *Horæ spatio sic spectaculo relictus, per Lictorem urbe fuit eductus, extrequè patriâ, nec in Cæsaris ditiones redire sub capitis pœna, jussus.*

(E) *That* Moreri's *Dictionary.*] His Birth is placed there in the year 1585. and his Death in 1647, he therefore lived 62 and not 92 years. But the Printers do often confound the Figures 6 and 9.

(F) Comenius *can't be excused for Printing such Prophecies.*] God forbid, I should pronounce Judgement on what passes in the Heart of my Neighbour; these Mysteries only belong to God: But on some occasions, one may speak ones thoughts upon Appearances. Much more may I be permitted to Relate Historically, what others have thought of *Comenius*. Whilst he lived in *Prussia*, they deliberated about him in the Courts of some Princes, and it was made a Case of Conscience, whether he did not deserve the Punishment, which the Law of God Decreed against false Prophets. He was suspected to have been a Counsellor and a Secretary to those, who intended to make an Irruption into *Bohemia*, which they would have Executed, if the *English* (b) had furnished 'em with the Supplies, which they Demanded. He and those of his Temper were accounted the Abettors of the War, which *Ragotski*, and the Princes *Radzivil* undertook against *Poland*. The Church of God to be delivered from *Papal* Tyranny, was the Object that was set before their Eyes to make 'em take up Arms. I say nothing, but what I have a good Authority for: Read these Words of *Arnoldus* to *Comenius*. (i) *Prævaricatio illa, quam dicis, tanti tamen non fuit, ut super ea in aulis Principum deliberaretur, casus conscientiæ formati viris doctis decidendi mitterentur, an sim falsus Propheta, & consequenter, an in me pœna divinitus in falsos Prophetas statuta animadvertendum non esset, quod de te in Borussia cum adhuc morarer perscriptum memini, & forte autographum illarum literarum adhuc possideo. Tanti, inquam, non fuit illa prævaricatio, ut propter eam* [illegible] *audirem, ac desertâ statione mea Professoriâ, Magnatibus pro flabello in concertandis motibus bellicis essem, uti de te rumor est, qui à manu & consiliis intimis fuisse illis dicerit, qui in Bohemiam irruptionem ante annos molirentur, si modo annuissent illorum*

* *Taken from the Abridgement of his Revelations, Append. 3. and from the* Historia revelationum, p. 21. 22.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 23.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 26.

(d) *Taken from the* Historia revelationum *Publish'd by* Comenius *in the year* 1650. p. 15. & *seq.*

(e) *Micræl. Histor. Eccles. p.* 1324. *Edit.* 1699.

(f) Interceptus in illo regno (*Hungariæ Drabicius*) capite manuque amputatis, libro quoque cui titulus, *Lux in Tenebris*, infami loco combusto dignam pœnam lim. *Id. ibid.*

(g) *Historia revelat. p.* 28.

(b) *'Twas in* Cromwell's *time.*

(i) *Arnoldus in Discursu Theologico contra Comenium, p.* 10.

course of Affairs. The *Turks*, who according to those Prophecies (G) were to destroy the House of *Austria*, have restored it to its former Lustre, by their continual Losses. He made himself very much suspected of having a Design to kindle a War. The

rum votis Angli sollicitati. Ego id non dico, quanquam stylus literarum tuo non sit absimilis. Jam per rumores in Borussia (uti nisi me omnino fallat memoria illinc ad te perscripsi,) audiveram, Principes Radzivilios & Rakocium à vobis fuisse inductos, qui arma contra Polonos capesserent, spe liberandæ Ecclesiæ à tyrannide Pontificia, cujus rei haud exiguæ passim in volumine illo triuno extant argumenta. Ego tamen non definio. I don't wonder, that *Comenius* was suspected of Political Contrivances, and Intrigues of War; for a Divine who Travels as much as he did, and who has such frequent Business at the Courts of Princes, is a Man, who is not much to be trusted. The Electoress, Mother to King *Frederick*, inquires whether a Collection of *Kotterus*'s Prophecies is to be had; the Person, to whom she makes her Application, gets a Copy Transcribed, and not being able to present it himself, orders *Comenius* to do it: *Comenius* who is at *Berlin*, and has but two steps to make, to present it to the Electoress, chooses rather to go to the *Hague*, that he may give it with his own Hand to King *Frederick*, and Harangue him upon the Contents of the Book, which, at least, said he, would make him Attentive to the Occurrences. This looks very much like the Contrivance of a Faction. They foretell what they desire should be Attempted, and then they leave no Stone unturned, to engage in the Enterprize such as they think fit for it. 'Tis very likely, that the great Pains *Comenius* took, to Reunite the Protestants (*b*), proceeded from his desire of forming a powerful Party, that might accomplish the Prophecies with Carnal Weapons. There is another thing which did *Comenius* some Prejudice. He was a Man of Learning, he Argu'd very sensibly in other Matters, and like a Man of Parts; there was nothing in him that look'd like Enthusiasm. This made People believe that he was not persuaded of what he said. There may be, and there is sometimes some Imposture in Extatical Grimaces; but those who boast of Inspiration, without shewing in their Face, or by their Words, that their Brain is disorder'd, and without ever being put out of their Natural State, are incomparably more suspected of a Cheat, than those, who from time to time fall into Convulsions, as the Sibyl more or less.

(*c*) *Deus ecce, Deus: cui talia fanti,*
Ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comta mansere coma: sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument: majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando
Jam propiore Dei. . . . . .
. . . . . .
At (*d*) *Phœbi nondum patiens immanis in antro*
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse deum: tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.

I am willing that *Comenius* should not be suspected of any sinister Design. But what shall we say against those, who find Fault with him for having Publish'd *Kotterus*'s Prophecies as being Divinely Inspired, tho' the Event had proved them to be false (*e*)? I confess this seems to me inexcusable. And as for *Drabicius*, could it be imagined, that God inspired him? If God had inspired him, he would have had *Rogotski* to destroy the House of *Austria*, and to know that Heaven had design'd him for this great Work. But if this had been God's Will, would he not have inspired that Prince with the desire of making War against the Emperor, or at least with some Credulity for *Drabicius*? Here's a thing that shews the conceitedness of *Comenius*. His Son-in-Law (*f*) desired *Arnoldus* Professor of Divinity at *Franeker* to Assist his Father-in-Law with his good Advice, who seemed to Hesitate about the Impression of the three Prophets. *Arnoldus* advised him not to Print 'em (*g*); the Son-in Law (*h*) gave the same Counsel, which he grounded upon very strong Arguments. But how could *Comenius* Adhere to the Advice of two Persons, since he had no regard to the Decree of the *Polish* Churches, which having examined the pretended Revelations of *Kotterus*, and *Christiana Poniatovia*, Condemned 'em to be suppress for ever (*i*).

(*h*) *He owns in his Book de uno necessario, that one of the three things wherein he had intangled himself, were the* pseudo-irenicum, *five variæ, noxiæ, prorsusque exitiosæ circa fidem disidentes Christianos reconciliandi desiderium. See Spizelius in infelice literato, p.* 1025.
(*c*) *Virgil. Æn. l.* 6. *v.* 46.
(*d*) *Ibid. v.* 77.
(*e*) *It was proved against him from his own Words, that he believed some of* Drabicius's *Predictions to be false, that for instance which imported that* Comenius *was to be present at the Coronation of the King of* Hungary *at* Presburg. Arnoldus *ubi supra p.* 42.
(*f*) *His name was* Figulus.
(*g*) *In Discursu Theologico, p.* 5.
(*h*) *Ibid. p.* 30.

(*G*) *The* Turks *who according to those Prophecies were to destroy the House of* Austria, *have restored it to their former Lustre.*] See hereupon the indecent Insults of the Author of the *Avis aux Refugiez*. 'Tis certain, says he (*k*), *that the Glory and Happiness of his Imperial Majesty in this War, are wonderful; and that to the Eternal Confusion of the Prophecies of your* Drabicius, *God has given greater Success to this Prince, than to the Emperor* Charles V. *This false Prophet, more eager to Curse than* Balaam, *who even when a Neighbouring King importun'd him with great Promises, would do nothing Rashly, let Fly for the space of several years against the House of* Austria, *the most terrible Curses he could think of, and devoted it as we may say, to the Furies and Infernal Gods,* Diris & numinibus infernis, *because it had Persecuted your Religion. But the Event has shewn, that he did not understand that Trade, and that he had no good Hand at Cursing. No Man did ever deserve less the Encomium that was bestowed upon* Balaam, *He that thou Blessest shall be Blessed, and he that thou Curses shall be Cursed; and if all your Prophetical Imprecations are like those of* Drabicius, *People will be forward hereafter to desire your Curses, and you'll be sought for with greater Importunity to utter 'em, than the King of the Moabites used to make* Balaam *the False Prophet Curse his Enemies.* Since the Impression of that *Avis*, the Prosperity of the Emperor's Arms, has been sometimes interrupted (*l*); but this has been but a little Respite for the *Turks*; their bad Fortune quickly began again to Display all its Fury. She was like to over-whelm them the last year (*m*), she made 'em every where feel her Indignation, in *Dalmatia*, in *Hungary*, in *Poland*, upon the *Archipelago*; and if we may believe the News Writers, they lost two Battles at least in a little time last Winter, tho' the Victors did not think fit to pursue their Victory, but rather quit the Isle of *Chios*. The New Sultan raises in a manner the hopes of the Port. They apply to him what *Florus* said of *Trajan* (*n*); but hitherto it does not appear by the Relations of our News Writers, that he has had great success. And as for *Tekeli*, who during the Siege of *Vienna* was given out for *Drabicius*'s Hero, we have lately been told in the Gazettes that the *Turks* weary of the obstinate Malignity of his Stars, have shut him up in the seven Towers.

THIS IS what I said in the Month of *October* 1695, whilst we saw a kind of Suspension of the Good and Glorious Fortune of the Imperial Arms in *Hungary*. The *Paris* Gazettes daily Amplified the Victory the Sultan had lately got, the other Gazettes continually diminished it. It was not as yet known to what Party the Consequences of this Battle would be favourable. The Progress of the *Turks* would have confirmed the Relations of *Paris* and confuted those of *Holland* and *Germany*. But they made none at all, they retired a little after into their Territories, and hereby the Contest was ended to the confusion of the *Paris* Gazetteers. The Fortune of his Imperial Majesty was uppermost afterwards, and especially in 1697, by a Defeat of the *Ottomans*, so Compleat, so Shameful, and Pernicious to 'em, that there is hardly any like it in their Annals. The Sultan, who was there in Person was so mortified with this Blow, that he thought of nothing but Peace, and accepted it the year following, on what conditions they would prescribe him, which were most Glorious and Advantageous to his Imperial Majesty. No false Prophets did ever receive such bloody Affronts, as those which the Prophecies Published by *Comenius* received by this Grand Treaty of Peace. The Emperor, whom they did so much Threaten, Mortified, Humbled, and trod under Foot the Haughtiness of the *Ottomans*, to whom they had promised so many Conquests over the House of *Austria*. He added the Lustre of an Advantageous Peace, to the Glory which had attended his Arms, and made him Triumphant by reducing the strongest Places and gaining many Battles. He

(*i*) Cotterianæ & Poniatovianæ visiones ut vanæ ad silentium & tenebras fuerunt ab illis condemnatæ. *Arnoldus ib. p.* 28.
(*k*) *Pag.* 357.
(*l*) *For Example, when the* Turks *Retook* Belgrade *in the year* 1690.
(*m*) *I write this in* October 1695. *when our News Writers tell us that the loss of the Imperialists at the Battle of* Lugos *is very inconsiderable.*
(*n*) Quibus inertia Cæsarum quasi consensus atque decoxit, nisi quod sub Trajano principe movet lacertos, & placet sibi omnium, senectus imperii, quasi redita juventute, revirescit. *Florus in proœmio.*

does

The ſame Suſpicions are entertained of a Miniſter (*H*), whoſe Prophecies are of a later Date. Advantage has been taken of ſome Words, which are to be found here and

does what ever he pleaſes in *Tranſylvania*; he has made a Kingdom Hereditary which had been always Elective, and is in Poſſeſſion of that whole Kingdom, whereas he only poſſeſt part of it. What ſhall we ſay of the Advantages and Glory he obtained by the Treaty of *Riſwick*, by the recovery of ſo many Countries, which had been taken from the Empire, or his Allies, and by the Re-union of *Friburg* and *Briſac*, to the Hereditary States of the Houſe of *Auſtria*? If this Prince is happy abroad, he is no leſs ſo at home; Fecundity, Marriages, &c. make his Family proſper; his ſecond Son is to inherit almoſt the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, by ſuch Tranſactions, as *France* it ſelf has conſented to (*a*). Take warning by this Confuſion of *Comenius*'s falſe Prophets, you, who have the confidence to threaten with the *Apocalypſe*, thoſe that don't pleaſe you.

(*a*) *I write this in* June, 1700, *when the News-Writers tell us of a Treaty of Partition of the* Spaniſh *Monarchy, agreed upon by* France, England, *and* Holland.

(*H*) *The ſame Suſpicions are entertained of a Miniſter, whoſe Prophecies are of a later Date.* What I have ſaid of *Comenius*, I ſay it alſo of a famous Divine at *Rotterdam*, who has explained the Prophecies of the Scripture, pretending confidently to be inſpired. I don't pretend to judge of his Heart, and I am willing it ſhould be believed, that he did not act againſt his Conſcience; but no Body ought to take it amiſs, if I ſay, that he has been ſuſpected to have no other Deſign than to make People take up Arms, and put *Europe* in a Combuſtion. They go upon this, that there appeared no Sign of Confuſion in him, when the Event gave the Lye to his Prophecies, in a moſt undeniable manner. *He had*, ſay they, *ſo great an Opinion of his Parts and Knowledge, that he would have fallen into a mortal Diſcontent and Humiliation, by ſo terrible a Proof of Illuſion and Ignorance, as this would be; but being inwardly convinced, that he was not deceived, he has preſerved the ſame good Opinion of his Underſtanding that he had before, and ſo the ill Succeſs of a Propheſie, which was a meer Juggler's Trick, has not humbled him.* They build alſo upon this, that like *Comenius*, he has attempted to reunite the Lutherans and Calviniſts (*b*), in hopes, ſay they, of increaſing the Number of Troops that ſhould attack *Antichriſt*. Once more, I am willing that this ſhould only be looked upon as a faithful Account of what many ſay and think. Let us go farther, and ſee what one of his Adverſaries has publiſhed. (*c*) 'One muſt needs be ſtupid, not to 'perceive ſo groſs an Artifice, eſpecially when he 'ſeems to give you notice of it himſelf; and to ſay 'here and there, ſome things, whereby he may 'diſcover his Secret hereafter, and ſecure himſelf from your Reproaches. (1) *It is certain*, ſays 'he in one Place, *that often Prophecies, whether 'fictitious or true, have inſpired thoſe for whom they 'were made, with a deſign of undertaking the things 'that were promiſed 'em.* Men of Senſe need no 'more to make 'em underſtand his Intention, and 'diſcover his Views. And elſewhere: *One Day 'perhaps the World ſhall know, the principal Rea-'ſon that made me ſpeak ſo poſitively, and with ſo 'much Aſſurance upon the Explication of the Pro-'phecies.* We ſhall know it, moſt dear Brethren, 'in the Way he will then explain it. If he be under a Miſtake, as one may well believe he is; he'll 'tell you, *I had nothing but Conjectures, but a good 'Cauſe ought to be ſupported as well as it can, and 'our People were to be animated with ſome few 'hopes. I knew that Prophecies, even ſuch as are 'Fictitious, are wont to produce a like Effect.* If 'on the contrary, the preſent Junctures, the Jealouſy of Nations, the Indignation of the Proteſtant 'States for their aſſaulted Religion, the Controverſies of *France* with the Court of *Rome*, ſhould 'produce any important Effect, which might give 'you new Hopes; *I well know*, would he ſay, *what 'I ſaid in the Year* 1680; *an Angel ſpoke to me: 'but if I had ſaid ſo then, I ſhould have been taken for 'an Impoſtor; the Angel himſelf forbad me to ſpeak 'of it. He ſpeaks to me ſtill, and gives me Liberty 'to declare it to you. Follow me; we are going to 'begin that Kingdom of God, of which you doubted, 'and which nevertheleſs you begg'd of him in your 'daily Prayer.* Were it true that Mr. *Jurieu* is guilty of the Impoſture, he is charged with, he would have been afraid, that the Publick had not been able to dive into his Secret; and therefore chuſing to preſerve the good Opinion of his Parts, at the Coſt of his Honeſty, he would have ſlipt in (*d*) ſome Words, that might diſcover the Myſtery to the clear-ſighted.

(*b*) *See the Biſhop of* Meaux's *Addition to his* Hiſtoire des Variations.

(*c*) Pelliſſon, *Hiſtoire de Mr.* Jurieu, 4 *part*, *pag.* 184. 185. *of the* Amſterdam *Edition.*

(1) *In the* 2d. *Edition of the* Accompliſſement des Prophecies, *at* Rotterdam, 1686, *chap.* 15.

The Knaveries, that have been diſcovered amongſt the Prophets of *Dauphine*, have occaſion'd a large Comment upon the Paſſage of Mr. *Pelliſon*, before related. We need only read a Book, entituled, *Hiſtoire du Fanatiſme de notre temps, &c. The Hiſtory of the Fanaticiſm of our Time, and the Deſign there was of making the diſcontented Calviniſts in* France *riſe up in Arms.* It was printed at *Amſterdam* the Year 1692. Mr. *Brueys*, the Author of it, having collected together ſeveral Paſſages out of Mr. *Jurieu*'s Book, to prove, that this Miniſter ſet up for a Prophet, adds immediately, (*e*) *However, it ought not to be imagined, that this Miniſter was truly perſuaded, of what he would perſuade others; he deſignedly affected to appear like a Prophet. He knew well enough, that he was not; but he had a Mind to impoſe upon the People, to make an Inſurrection, and to kindle a Civil War in the Heart of this Kingdom, in order to favour the Deſign of our Enemies. He was ſo full of this deteſtable Project, when he compoſed his Book of Prophecies, that he himſelf can't forbear diſcovering his deſign to the Reader, who has never ſo little Penetration. The time in which he writ, the Motives that induced him to it, and the Strokes, wherein he has incogitantly ſcattered ſome Drops of the Venome his Heart was filled with, diſcover the Deſign of this falſe Prophet.* I will not produce the Proofs he has given of each of theſe Remarks, but will only ſet down what he obſerves concerning the laſt. Here is, ſays he (*f*), *what has eſcaped him in ſome Places of his Book, which manifeſtly diſcovers, that he had no other Deſign, than to cauſe an Inſurrection of the People.* 'The 'Prophecies which are in that Piece, at firſt ſcandalized the moſt underſtanding Men of his Party; 'he ſays ſo himſelf, in the Second Edition of his 'Book. (1) *Some*, ſays he, *believe that the 'hopes I give of a Reſtoration in a few Years, may 'be very prejudicial.* He attempts firſt to ſhew, that 'there is no Reaſon to fear it, and then he adds: '*It is certain, that often Prophecies, whether 'Fictitious or true, have inſpired thoſe, for 'whom they were made, with a Deſign of undertak-'king the Things that were promiſed 'em.* Could he 'declare more expreſly the Intention he had of running the Hazard of venting falſe Prophecies to 'make the Malecontents of *France* riſe up in Arms, 'and to inſpire 'em with the Deſign of procuring to themſelves the ſpeedy Deliverance, which he promiſed them? Thoſe of his Party, were not only 'ſcandaliſed as his venturing to publiſh ſuch Pro'phecies; but much more at his talking ſo affirma'tively. He himſelf informs us of it. 'As to 'the Reflection, ſays he (2), *which ſo many People 'have made, that I ſpeak too affirmatively of 'things, which I ſhould have propoſed only as ſtrong 'Conjectures; one Day perhaps the World ſhall know 'the principal reaſon that made me ſpeak ſo poſitively, 'and with ſo much aſſurance.* What then is this 'principal Reaſon, which he dares not ſpeak, and 'which perhaps the World ſhall know one Day? 'Is it that he is truely perſuaded of the Things 'he ſays? This is the only reaſon that ought to o'blige an honeſt Man to ſpeak poſitively. But if 'it be his, why do's he not ſay ſo? Is he afraid of 'ſpeaking the truth? Let us preſs him no far'ther upon it; he is more ſincere than we think; 'he has already told us this principal Reaſon; does 'he not ſay, *that it is certain that often Prophecies, 'whether fictitious or true, have inſpired thoſe for 'whom they were made, with a deſign of undertaking 'the Things that were promiſed them.* This is his 'principal Reaſon; we need not ſeek for another. This 'falſe Prophet did not expect, that (*g*) theſe two Paſ'ſages would be put together ſome time or other, he 'had ſeperated them on purpoſe in two ſeveral Tomes; 'are now placed together, and ſo naturally explain one another, that he muſt be blind who

(*d*) *The two Paſſages for Example, cited by Mr.* Pelliſſon *out of the* Accompliſſement des Prophecies.

(*e*) *Brueys* Hiſtoire du Fanatiſme, *pag.* 44.

(*f*) *Ibid. pag.* 51.

(1) *Tom.* 1. *Addition to the* Avis, 2d. *Edit.*

(2) *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 184.

(*g*) *Mr. Brueys often repeats the Conſequences which he draws from the Conjunction of thoſe two Paſſages. See eſpecially, pag.* 227. 230. 241.

and there in his Book, and by which 'tis pretended he has discovered the Secret of his Design. They too much exaggerate (*I*) what they impute to him. My Reader may judge

' cannot see, that if Mr. *Jurieu* spoke in so decisive a ' manner of the approaching Deliverance, which he ' promis'd the Protestants of *France*, it was because ' he thinks, that often Prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inspired those for whom they ' were made, with a design of undertaking the ' Things that were promised them.

Mr. *Brueys* seems so fully perswaded, that he has discovered all the Mystery, that he repeats this Observation more than once. Nay, he is so malicious as to put his Reader in mind of the Artifices of the Heathens. (*h*) *This Minister promised the Calvinists the fall of Popery, and the approaching Deliverance of their Church; he promised 'em these things in the Name of God, telling them they were contained in* St. John's *Revelation. And therefore those Prophecies could not but inspire those for whom they were made, with a design of undertaking the things that were promised 'em; because there is nothing that has more force upon the Minds of Men, than Religion; and every thing appears lawful to them, when they firmly believe that God is on their side, and that they are only executing his Orders. Those who know what use the cunning* Greeks *and* Romans *made of their Oracles, Diviners, Augurs, and of those Priests, whom they called* Haruspices, Feciales, Præpetes (*a*) *and* Oscines, *whose Functions consisted in foretelling the Will of the Gods, when they deliberated about any important Affair; some by observing the Entrails of the Victims, others the singing, flying, or different Motions of certain Birds. Those, I say, who know of what use those things were formerly, are not ignorant, that Men of Sense and Judgment gave no Credit to 'em, and used them only to possess the People and the Soldiers with a desire of undertaking what they promised them from their Gods; but at the bottom it was nothing but what they themselves had resolved upon, before they consulted their Oracles. Here you see exactly the Fictitious Prophecies, and the pretended Persuasion of M.* Jurieu.

(*a*) *Those two Names* præpetes *&* oscines, *were not given to some Priests, but to some Birds, which served for Divination.*

I here renew the Protestation I have already made; which is, that I don't pretend to be a Judge: I only relate what others say. 'Tis true, I will not end this Remark, without saying, that in all Times and Countries, Prophecies have been forged to induce People to revolt. I could bring a hundred Instances of it, but one will be sufficient. The *Spaniards* who rebelled against *Charles* V. spread a malicious Prophesie, importing that there should reign in *Castile* a Prince named *Charles*, who should ruin and burn the Country; but that a Son of the King of *Portugal* should take Possession of *Castile*, and restore the Kingdom to a good Condition. The Ring-Leaders of the Sedition, got this Prophesie printed, and ordered every one of their Abettors to keep a Copy of it (*b*).

(*b*) *See among the Epistles of* Antony de Guevara, *that which the Amirante of* Castile *wrote to the Inhabitants of* Seville, *in the Year* 1520. *'Tis the* 13*th. of the* 3*d. Book. What I mention is p.* m. 65.

(*I*) *They too much exaggerate what they impute to him.*] If you consider well Mr. *Brueys*'s Words, you'll find an Artificial Rhethorick in 'em, which ought to be suspected. (*c*) ' 'Tis not possible for ' M. *Jurieu*'s best Friends to disown, that he published ' his Predictions upon the *Apocalypse*, only with a ' Design of raising the discontented Calvinists in ' *France*; that the League which was then forming, ' finding the Kingdom divided against it self, might ' more easily accomplish its utter Destruction, and ' the Calvinists might re-establish their Religion ' upon the Ruins of their Country.

' Now reckon up, if you can, all the Crimes ' and Villanies of such an execrable Project; the ' Artifices, Fictions, and Impostures, to seduce the ' simple; the Profanation of Holy Writ, and its ' sacred Oracles; the Impieties and Blasphemies ' against the Holy Spirit; the Violation of the most ' Holy Laws of Christianity; the overturning the ' Principles of the Morality of JESUS CHRIST; ' the Contempt of the constant Practice of the ' Church, and of the Examples of Martyrs; the ' forgetting his own Maxims; the Precepts of Revolt against the Powers which God has ordained; Exhortations to Subjects, to Christians, and ' *Frenchmen*, to take up Arms, and join with those ' who have conspired the Ruin of their Country; ' the horrible Wishes he induces 'em to make for ' the Defeat of our Armies, the plundering of the ' Kingdom, the Depopulation of our Provinces, ' the burning of our Towns, the Effusion of Blood, ' and the Murthers of their Fellow-Citizens, ' Friends and Relations. Lastly, all the Inhumanities ' and Barbarities, that a civil and intestine War ' would have added to the most furious and bloody ' Foreign War, that was ever known.

' *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

' Thus you see, to speak things as they are, the ' Contents of Mr. *Jurieu*'s false Prophecies, and ' the result of the Seditious Writings of this famous ' Defender of Calvinism, who to restore the publick Exercise of his Religion in *France*, inspires ' his Party with great Fury, and prompts 'em ' to greater Cruelties than the barbarous *Mahomet* ' caused heretofore to be committed for the Establishment of his *Alcoran*.

These Words ought to be criticised. 'Tis false that any League was forming against *France*, when Mr. *Jurieu* published his Predictions; for they were in sale in *March* 1686, above two Years before he had the least Suspicion of what happened in the Year 1688. So that the Anachronism (*d*) of his Adversary, is here a very gross Fault. If Mr. *Brueys* had consulted Mr. *Nicole*, he would have been more equitable; he would not have been ignorant, that Mr. *Jurieu*, in publishing his Explication of the *Apocalypse*, believed, that Arms would have nothing to do in the Events which he predicted. Mr. *Nicole* has done him Justice. ' (*e*) Who ' would not, for Instance, take for a Menace of a ' very bloody War, these last Lines of the Preface ' to his System of the Church (*f*). *We shall quickly establish Truth upon the Throne of Falsehood, and the Exaltation of that, which has been cast down, shall be performed in so glorious a manner, that it will be the Astonishment of all the Earth.* Did ' ever any Author write in such a Strain? Who ' would not believe that such a Discourse is to be ' followed by an Army of a Hundred thousand Protestants combined together, to restore the pretended Reformed Religion in *France*? Mr. *Jurieu* ' might be charged with a Crime of State, and ' looked upon as a Seditious Man. It is therefore ' necessary to undeceive the World in this Point, ' and to inform them, that this Discourse is no ways ' grounded upon any Conspiracy against *France*. ' (*f*) All that he says here, by the by, in so ' dreadful a manner, is much less terrible, being explained at large by his *Accomplishment of the Prophecies*. For there we see, that this Glorious Restoration of the Protestants shall be made (1) ' *without any, or with very little Effusion of Blood*; ' nay, that this will not come to pass by an Army ' of Foreigners, nor by a multitude of Ministers, ' who shall repair into *France*, but by the Effusion of ' the Spirit of God, which shall reanimate the extended Bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, that is to say, ' according to Mr. *Jurieu* (2), the Protestants who ' were formerly witnesses of the Truth, and who ' having cowardly forsaken it, are at present deprived of Life, and stretched out in the Place of ' the City of Antichrist, that is, throughout all ' *France*, the principal Part, in his Notion, of the ' Antichristian Empire.

There's another thing that Mr. *Brueys* deserves to be blamed for. He insinuates (*h*), that Mr. *Jurieu* is the Oracle that was consulted, for the erecting of a School (*i*), wherein Children were to be taught to set up for Prophets. See here the Description of this infamous College: (*k*) *Could this be believed, unless one had seen it? This was the first time, that a School was erected, in which the Art of Prophecying was taught, and to which they went to learn how to foretell things to come; and after having gone through the necessary Trial, they were perswaded that they received the Holy Ghost from the impure Mouth*

(*d*) *This is not the only Anachronism, that is to be found in M.* Brueys's *Book. He says, p.* 17 *that M.* Jurieu *being weary of writing Controversial Books, and Pastoral Letters resolved to take another Course, and to set up for a Prophet. This is wrong; for M.* Jurieu *began to write his Pastoral Letters, after he had published his Prophecies. M.* Brueys *p.* 14. *speaks of a Peace concluded in* 1682. *but he should have said in* 1684.

(*e*) Nicole, *Preface to his Book* de l'Unité de l'Eglise, *pag.* 24.

(*f*) *This Book of M.* Jurieu *was published the same Year, as his* Accomplissement des Prophecies.

(*g*) *Nicole ib. p.* 25.

(1) Accomplissement des proph. *pag.* 206. *&* 207. *See the* Accomplissement des Propheties *2. part. pag.* 188. 189. 209. 222.

(2) *M. Jurieu, 2. part. pag.* 175. (*h*) *Brueys ib. p.* 79. (*i*) *In a Glass-House situated upon a Mountain of* Dauphine, *called* de Peyra. Brueys, *ib. p.* 76. 77. (*k*) *Id. ib. p.* 75. 76.

judge of it by examining the Paſſages I have Related. The Author of the *Thought (K) upon Comets*, maintains, that *Drabicius*'s Prophecies found little Credit.

KRANTZIUS (*Albertus*) a famous Hiſtorian, born (*A*) at *Hamburg*, had no ſooner gone through his School-Learning in his Country, but he went to travel. He ſaw the principal Parts of *Europe*, and ſo ſtudiouſly cultivated the Sciences in his Travels, that he became an extraordinary Man. He was Doctor of Divinity, and of the Canon-Law, and Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Divinity in the Univerſity of *Roſtock*. He was Rector there * in the Year 1482. Thoſe who ſay he was a Canon of *Naumburg* (*B*) are miſtaken. He went from *Roſtock* to *Hamburg*, where he obtained a Canon's Place in the Cathedral. He did not enjoy this Preferment, as ſo many others do, like a Sluggard, but ſpent his time in Preaching and reading Lectures of Divinity. He was elected Dean of the Chapter in the Year 1508, and performed the Viſitation of his Dioceſe with the Diſpoſitions of a Man reſolved to cure the Diſorders he ſhould find in it. He

* *Chyt. part.* 1. *Chronici Saxoniæ p.* 400. & *Petr. Lindebergius, l.* 5. *Chron. Roſtoch. c. Hunfrid Molanus, in ſuppl.*

of a Sacrilegious Maſter, who pretended to breath it with a Kiſs into the Mouth of thoſe miſerable Scholars. This is ſo horrible a Deſign, that it ought never to be declared, or inſinuated, without good Proofs, that a Miniſter was ſo wicked as to ſuggeſt the Model of it. Mr. *Brueys* has given too great Scope to the Conſequences he draws from Mr *Jurieu*'s Care to ſalve the Honour of the Prophets of *Dauphine*. (*l*) *He could never be prevailed with to revoke what he had publiſhed at firſt concerning this Propheteſs* (*m*), *and he maintained it in all his Letters with ſo much Obſtinacy, that even after God had retrieved that Maid from her Errors, and ſhe became a good and devout Catholick, and confeſt to her Judges how ſhe was ſeduced by* Du Serre; *this Miniſter perſiſted in what he had advanced, was conſtant to his Shepherdeſs, notwithſtanding her unfaithfulneſs, and had even the Imprudence to ſay, ſpeaking of her, and of the other little Sleeping Prophets, that they might be Rogues, but yet had been Prophets*——— (*n*) *This Miniſter openly declared in favour of the little Prophets, notwithſtanding what the honeſt People of his Party could ſay to him; and maintained, that their Inſpiration was true, with an invincible, but affected Obſtinacy, as I have already obſerved, becauſe he had his Views, and deſigned to have ſome Succeſſors in Prophecy, as he had had ſome Forerunners* (*o*)

(*l*) *Brueys ib. p.* 98.
(*m*) *That is, the Shepherdeſs of Cret.*
(*n*) *Ibid. pag.* 106.
(*o*) *Mr. Brueys had been ſaying, pag.* 39. *that Mr.* Jurieu, as a great Prophet, was willing to have ſome Forerunners, *viz. Kotterus, Chriſtina Poniatovia, & Drabicius.*

——*Should we* (*p*) *wonder after this, that Mr.* Jurieu *could not reſolve upon forſaking thoſe who had ſo much improved by his Leſſons, and that like a fond Father, who does not ſee the Imperfections of his Children, he would never acknowledge the Folly of thoſe to whom he had given Birth?* The Conſequences that are drawn from hence, are not very juſt; for how many things are there, which Men reſolve to maintain, when they find 'em already done, without knowing how wickedly they have been performed, which they would never deviſe, if they knew it, and if thoſe things were ſtill to be done? Thus Charity will have us to extenuate, as much as poſſible, the Faults of ones Neighbour, and to ſuſpend one's Judgment, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt Probabilities, if they do not amount to a good Proof.

(*p*) *Id. ib. pag.* 145.

Mr. *Brueys*'s Raſhneſs will more evidently appear, if it be obſerved, that, not contented to inſinuate his Accuſation, he propoſed it in clear and affirmative Terms, not only againſt the Miniſter *Jurieu*, but alſo againſt many others. *The moſt factious of the fugitive Miniſters*, ſays he (*a*), *who flamed with Impatience of recovering what they had left in* France, *conſidering that the Stratagem contrived by Mr.* Jurieu, *might advance their Affairs, underſtanding with what Greedineſs the Malecontents of the Kingdom received the Prophecies, which promiſed them a ſpeedy Deliverance, and perſuading themſelves that there was no better Expedient to bring on a Revolt, thought they ought not to loſe ſo fair an Opportunity of kindling a Civil-War, in the Heart of the Kingdom, which might give it a mortal blow, with a Proſpect of ſeeing their Religion riſe again upon the Ruins of a Monarchy which they believed at the very brink of Deſtruction. And theſe were the ſame Miniſters, who at firſt* made a great Noiſe againſt his Predictions, threaten'd to complain of 'em, and were angry he had ſpoken ſo affirmatively; *but the falſe Prophet having imparted his Secret to them, and given 'em to underſtand*, that often Prophecies, whether Fictitious or True, have inſpired thoſe for whom they were made, with a Deſign of undertaking the things promiſed 'em; *and having told 'em in the Ear*, that principal and ſecret Reaſon, which ſhould one Day be known, and which made him ſpeak ſo poſitively, *They were quickly ſatisfied; his Stratagem was approved in their ſecret Council, and it was reſolved to Prophecy, in order to cauſe an Inſurrection.* Here are two things to be cenſured; for in the 1ſt. place, no Proof can be given, that the *French* Miniſters had a hand in the horrid Plot of thoſe Seducers, who taught little Children to pretend to Inſpiration; and in the ſecond Place, 'tis not true, that the *French* Miniſters made grievous Complaints againſt Mr. *Jurieu*'s Predictions. Mr. *Brueys* (*b*) alledges that falſe Suppoſition a Hundred Times over, tho' he has cited at the 216th. Page, a Paſſage which ſhould eaſily have undeceived him. The Paſſage is this: *The other thing, which ſome have been offended at*, they are Mr. *Jurieu*'s Words, *concerns the* MILLENIUM. *Many Divines of this Country have raiſed great Clamours againſt it, Murmuring ſo far as to threaten to complain of it.* 'Tis manifeſt, that theſe loud Murmurs came from the *Dutch* Divines, and not from the *French* Miniſters, and did not concern the Promiſes of a ſudden Deliverance, &c. but the Doctrine of the Reign of a Thouſand Years, which was moſt odious to the Churches of *Holland*, and for which Mr. *Jurieu* had been brought into Trouble, had it not been for human Supports. Notwithſtanding thoſe Supports, Complaints were made againſt him in the *Walloon* Synod, who inſerted ſome Words into an Act, of which we may ſay what Cardinal *d'Oſſat* ſaid (*c*) of the Strokes of the Switch, which the Deputies of *Henry* IV. received.

(*a*) *Pag.* 73.

(*b*) *See page* 30. 210, 220. 223.

(*c*) *We felt them no more than if a Fly had gone over our Cloaths. See the Article of* Henry IV. (*c*) *Pag.* 785.

(*K*) *The Author of the* Thoughts upon Comets, *maintains.*] He was more equitable than the Perſon cited in the Remark *G*. He acknowledged, that the Proteſtants made no great Account of *Drabicius*. *The Proteſtants themſelves*, ſays he (*d*), *are not over-perſuaded that* Drabicius *was a Prophet. Many believe that he was a Fanatick, who had his Brain turned by reading the Commentaries upon the Prophecies of the* Old Teſtament, *and the* Apocalypſe; *that being full of thoſe Ideas, he look'd upon the Emperors of* Germany, *as ſo many* Pharaoh's, Sennacherib's, Nebuchadnezzar's, *and Emiſſaries of the Great Whore*, drunk with the Wine of the Wrath of her Whoredom; *that he came at laſt to be perſuaded, that God had appointed him to command ſeveral Princes to exterminate thoſe Perſecutors. They who had ſuffered Perſecution, and who thought that the Divine Providence would puniſh, ſooner or later, the Authors of ſo barbarous a Conduct, did probably believe* Drabicius's *Viſions. Nevertheleſs, moſt of 'em made little Account of 'em, eſpecially having Experienced that he was deluded, and that he contradicted himſelf frequently in the moſt palpable manner, and ſuch as cannot be excuſed but by recurring to a Multitude of Gloſſes, which make the incredulous laugh more, than the ſincere Confeſſion of that Man's Errors would; for by the Help of ſuch Gloſſes, multiplied as Occaſion ſerves, there is no falſe Prophet but may find an Apology.*

(*d*) *Pag.* 785.

(*e*) *De Script. Eccleſ.*

(*f*) *In Patrol. pag.* 673. *apud Muſelanum Iſagoge ad Hiſtor. Chriſt. Commen. part.* 1. *pag.* 95.

(*g*) *In Theatro Hiſtor.*

(*h*) *De Johanne Papiſſa.*

(*i*) *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. tom.* 4. *pag.* 148.

(*k*) *Melchior. Adam. in vit. Henrici VIII. pag.* 72.

(*A*) *A Native of* Hamburg.] And not of *Bamberg*, as (*e*) *Bellarmin*, *John* (*f*) *Gerard*, *Chriſtian* (*g*) *Maſſæus*, *David* (*h*) *Blondel*, and *Hottinger* (*i*) affirm. There can be no doubt about it, tho' a Modern Author has affected to ſuſpend his Judgment. (*k*) *Res in aperto eſt poſita, ac proinde riſu digna erga Mart. Dorſenbachii* [illegible] *ut ne, qui litem de loco ejus natali ſerere quam decidere jutius conſultius.*

(*B*) *That he was a Canon of* Naumburg.] *Two* [illegible] *very*

† Taken from *Mollerus, Isagoge ad Histor. Chersonesi Cimbricæ, part. 1. p. 95. & seq.*

He did the same in the year 1514. He did many good Services (C) to the Town of *Hamburg*, and other Hans-Towns; and got such a Reputation of Ability and Prudence, that the King of *Denmark* himself (D) made him Arbitrator in a considerable Controversy. He Died the seventh (E) of *September* in the year 1517. being very sensible (F) that the Church stood in need of a Reformation †. He writ several good (G) Books;

(2) *In Introd. ad Histor. Saxon. infer. p. 72.*

(3) *In Diss. de rebus Meclenburgicis §. 17.*

(l) *Mollerus ibid. p. 96.*

(m) *Petr. Lindeberg. Chron. Rostoch. l. 4. p. 401. apud Mollerum ibid. p. 97.*

(n) *Hasaldus Huitfeldius, Chronic. Danic. part. 6. p. 1021. & 1022. & Ad. Tratiegerus Chron. Hamb. MSto, apud Mollerum ibid.*

(o) *Moller. ibid. p. 97. 98.*

(4) *Vide Huitfeldium, l. c. p. 1035. & Ant. Heimreichii Chronicon Dithmarsiæ, l. 2. c. 5. p. 120. 127.*

(p) *Moller. ibid. p. 99.*

(q) *Lib. 4. notitiæ orbis geographicæ c. 14. p. 132. apud Moller. ibid.*

(r) *In Dissertat. de comparan. prud. & eloq. civili, n. 37.*

(f) *Degory Wheare, in Relect. onibus hiemalibus de methodo legendi Historias p. 252. 253. apud Mollerum ibid. p. 94.*

very Learned Authors have affirmed it; But Mr. *Sperlingius*, who writes *Albert Krantzius*'s Life, will shew their Mistake. *Sunt qui in Collegio etiam Canonicorum Numburgensium aliquandiu vixisse, ac Diaconi partes obiisse perhibent, & hos inter Duumviri celeberrimi, Henr. Meibomius Jun.* (2) *ac Conr. Schurtzfleischius* (3). *Sed falli eos, ac Krantzium Numburgum forte nunquam vidisse, satis sibi esse exploratum, Dn. Sperlingius nobis significavit, in ipsa Krantzii Biographia prolixius sententiam hanc impugnaturus* (l).

(C) *Many good Services to the Town of* Hamburg, *&c.*] Under pretence that this Town began only in the year 1546, to have ordinary Syndics, one could not deny what is found in the *Danish* Remonstrance, in Answer to the Apology of the *Hamburghers* in the year 1642. *viz.* that *Albert Krantzius* was Syndic of *Hamburg*; for that Title was given in his time to those whom the Town deputed upon particular Affairs. Now 'tis certain that *Albert Krantzius* was deputed two or three times. He was at the Assembly of *Wismar* (m), in the year 1489 in behalf of the Hans Towns; and he (n) went into *France* in 1497 to demand a Truce; and into *England* in 1499, to desire some Privileges against Pirates. This is what we learn from *Mollerus* in the Book I have quoted: His Proofs are in the Margin.

(D) *The King of* Denmark *himself made him Arbitrator.*] This was in the year 1500. Read what follows: (o) *Quantam vero, in reliqua etiam Cimbria, Prudentia & Integritate singulari sibi conciliarit Autoritatem, vel inde perspicies, quod A.* 1500. *Johannes, Rex Daniæ, & Fridericus, Dux Holsatiæ, Arbitri ipsi Honorarii Partes, in Controversiis quæ cum Dithmarsis sibi intercedebant, decidendis, deferre non dubitaverint* (4).

(E) *The seventh of* December 1517.] This appears from his Epitaph: 'Tis therefore a Fault to say with *Gesner*'s Continuators and *Theodorus Zwinger*, that he Flourished in the year 1520. *Gesner* should not have been Taxed with that Fault by Mr. *Mollerus* (p). The Error of Father *Fournier* a Jesuit, and *John Andrew Bosius* is much greater. The Jesuit makes him Die (q) in 1569, and the other (r) in 1570. These Faults would not come near the blunder of a famous Professor (f) of *Oxford*, if he took *Albert Krantzius* to be the same with *Albertus Magnus* Bishop of *Ratisbon*. But Mr. *Mollerus* who taxed him with it, has Acknowledged his mistake and acquits him clearly of the Fault. No Body has given him notice of it: He himself has discovered it, and Confesses it Publickly like an honest Man. See the 738, and 739 page of his Treatise *De Scriptoribus hominymis*.

(F) *That the Church stood in need of a Reformation.*] He acknowledged this Necessity, both with Respect to the Doctrine and Morals, if we may believe *Melchior Adam*. 'Animadvertit in doctrina 'ejus temporis multum fuisse errorum & superstitionum: & mores Canonicorum ac monachorum acerrime reprehendit; eosque in ordinem redigere conatus est. Sed cum id frustra se tentare videret: 'quod perversitas illorum hominum munita esset auctoritate Pontificis, dixisse fertur: nunquam posse eos reduci ad meliorem frugem, nisi prius à viris doctis expugnata arce. Interrogatus cur sese ipse non opponeret tam crassis erroribus, respondit, se neque eruditione neque ætate parem esse tantis negotiis (a). There is a thing in this Passage, which puts me in Mind of *Telesinus* in *Velleius Paterculus*. This *Telesinus* was General of the *Samnites* and a very brave Captain; he mortally hated the *Romans*, and approached *Rome* with an Army of forty thousand Men, fully resolved to push on, and to that end he continually Animated the Soldiers with these Words: *'Tis necessary to destroy this City; for the Wolves that Ravish the Liberty of* Italy, *will never be wanting as long as this Forest subsists, in which they find shelter.* (b) *Circumvolans urbines exercitus sui Telesinus, dictitansque adesse Romanis ultimum diem, vociferabatur cruendam delendamque urbem, adjiciens nunquam defuturos raptores Italicæ libertatis lupos, nisi silva in quam refugere solerent, esset excisa.* He did not Argue amiss. *Krantzius* was likewise of Opinion, that whilst the Court of *Rome* continued in Force, it was impossible to suppress the Corruption of the Monks and Clergy. Here I must expose a notable Piece of Insincerity in *Moreri*; for thus his Fault ought to be call'd. He had read *Melchior Adam*, who says that *Krantzius* seeing *Martin Luther*'s Positions against the Doctrine of Indulgences, cried out, *He has too Powerful Adversaries, he'll never succeed, I advise him to desist from his Enterprize, and to shut up himself in a Cell, and say, Lord have Mercy upon me* (c). What has *Moreri* done? He has curtail'd this Passage, and only given us the last Words of it, which he understands as if *Krantzius* had Condemned *Luther*'s Attempt. *Krantzius*, says he, *deplored, at the hour of his Death, this* (d) *unhappiness which he had foretold in his Life time. 'Tis affirmed, that in that Moment he often repeated these Words, Frater, age in cellam, & dic, miserere mei Deus.* Tho' we should not attend to several Passages of *Krantzius*'s Works, which testify his Opinion of the Corrupt State of the Church, the only Words he pronounced when he saw the first Positions of *Luther*, would sufficiently acquaint us with *Moreri*'s Prevarication. Consider what follows: (e) *Vitia quæ doctrinam & cultum Ecclesiæ Romanæ publicum deformabant, agnovit, & quanto Emendationis eorundem desiderio teneretur, cum locis Scriptorum suorum plurimis, tum Vocibus, hisce Cygnæis est testatus, quibus suum de Thesibus Lutheri Anti-Tetzelianis, in Lectulo sibi Emortuali oblatis, judicium exposuit* (1): Vera quidem dicis, Bone Frater, sed nihil efficies: Vade igitur in Cellam tuam, & dic: Miserere mei Deus. I'll conclude this Remark with a Passage that will teach us, that if *Flacius Illyricus* has not made use of *Albert Krantzius*'s Authority against the Church of *Rome* in his *Catalogus testium veritatis*, the Compilers who followed him, made amends for that Omission; for they made a good Collection of what they Read in *Krantzius*, that favoured their Design. Nay, the Editors of the *Francfort* Editions have been at the pains of observing those things in the Marginal Notes. Here's the Passage I have promised: (f) *Ipsi Theologi Protestantium Cordatiores scriptoris hujus, licet Pontificii, atque adeo* [illegible]. *Lectionem sibi habent commendatissimam, & Arma ex illo depromunt, quibus adversus Ecclesiæ Romanæ Hyperaspistas haud infeliciter* [illegible] *depugnatur, Invectivas scilicet in Vitia non Monachorum solum ac Canonicorum, sed & Episcoporum atque Pontificum,* [illegible] *crebrasque de statu Ecclesiæ & Aulæ Pontificiæ corruptissimo querelas. Quas uti à Matth. Flacio in Catalogo Testium Veritatis miror omissas, ita à Joh. Wolfio* (2), *Joh. Cour. Dieterico* (3), *aliisque Recentioribus, satis diligenter video esse congestas. Observationes etiam, quas Wechelianis Operum Krantzii Editionibus accessisse diximus, Marginales loca ejusmodi studiosè notarunt; obelo vicissim hanc ob causam notata, & Impietatis insimulata, à Rob. Bellarmino* (4), *Joh. Bona* (5) *& Aub. Miræo* (6), *qui Textum etiam ipsum ab Hæreticis esse vitiatum affirmare non erubescit.*

(G) *He writ several good Works, &c.*] I. A. Cronicle *regnorum Aquilonarium, Daniæ, Suecia, & Norwegiæ. Henry of Eppendorf* Translated it into *High-Dutch* from the Manuscript he found (g) at *Cologne*, and Published his Version at *Strasburg* in the year 1545. He Published the Latin Text the year following in the same Town. A second Edition of it was made in the year 1562. John Wolfius Counsellor to the Marquis

(a) *Melch. Adam. in vitis Philosophorum, p. 34.*

(b) *Paterculus, l. 2. c. 27.*

(c) Nihil effecturum esse contra tam potentes adversarios: suum esse consilium ut ab incepto desisteret. Frater, frater, inquit, abi in cellam tuam, & dic, miserere mei Deus. *Melch. Adam. ib.*

(d) *That is*, Luther's *Attempt.*

(e) *Moller. ubi supra, p. 98.*

(1) *V. F. Kaleb. Schrœpii* Speculum pœnitentiæ Nimivitice p. m. 18. *aliosque Theologos cumplures.*

(f) *Moller. ibid. p. 144.*

(2) *Centenario XV. Lect. memorabil. p. 963. 977.*

(3) *In Breviario Pontificum.*

(4) *In l. de Script. Eccles. p. 304.*

(5) *In Catalogo Autorum, Operi de Psalmodia Divina præfixo.*

(6) *P. I. Biblioth. Eccl. p. 278.*

(g) *In the Library of* Reinhard *Count of* Westerburg, Dean of Cologne.

Books; but all those that (*H*) are Ascribed to him, are not his. His Reputation has been Aspersed (*I*) by some Criticks.

KUCHLIN (*John*) Minister and Professor of Divinity, was Born in 1546, in a little Town of the Country of *Hesse*, called *Wettera*. His Father a good and honest Mechanick, tho' he had the charge of ten Sons and three Daughters, whom he maintained only by the Labour of his Hands, design'd to make a Scholar of him; but he Died before the young Boy had made any considerable Progress. The Minister † of the place took care of him the more willingly because he very much improved in his Greek and Latin under *Justus Wulteius*, Rector of the School of *Wettera*. But when *Kuchlin* was fit to go to the University, he had no little difficulties to over come by reason of his Poverty. However he was not cast down, but resolved to seek his Fortune; and to that end, went to Travel, as a young College-Adventurer. He found nothing at *Francfort*. His Landlord at *Mentz* carried him to the Jesuits, who kept him no longer, than they saw that he would not abjure the Protestant Religion. All that he could find at *Strasburg*, was a Letter of Recommendation from *John Sturmius* to *Brentius*, who was Professor at *Tubingen*. But the latter did not keep him long, as thinking he was not sufficiently prepossest with the Ubiquitarian Notions. *Kuchlin* went to *Heidelberg* with the same Letter of *Sturmius*, where he at last found what he wanted; for *Ursinus* put him in a way of Living, and going on quietly with his Studies. The University of *Heidelberg* was then in a very Flourishing state. This young Man made a great Progress in six years; after which he was sent (*A*) to teach School at *Newstad*, where, amongst other Collegues, he had *Fortunatus Crellius*, and *Frederick Sylburgius* ‖. At last he was Admitted Minister, and had the Church of *Tuckenheim*, which he faithfully served till after the Death of the Elector *Frederick* in 1576. *Lewis* his Successor expell'd the Ministers who would not turn Lutherans. *Kuchlin* retiring into his Country of *Hesse*, and finding nothing there but Discouragement, by the Advice of his Wife, took Sanctuary in the great Ark of the Fugitives, I mean in *Holland*. He passed through *Embden* in 1577, and staid there some time; from whence he was invited to *Amsterdam* (*B*) to the Office of the Ministry. He accepted it, and Exercised it

† John Piscier, *Brother-in-Law to the Professor* Hyperius, *Professor of Divinity at* Marpurg. *He was his Country-man and Relation.*

‖ Meursius, *whose Words are quoted in the Remark* B.

third and a fourth at *Francfort* in the years 1575, and 1583 (*b*). II. The Book Intitule: *Saxonia, sive de Saxonica gentis vetusta origine, longinquis expeditionibus susceptis, & bellis domi pro libertate diu fortiterque gestis historia; libris* 13. *comprehensa & ad A. C.* 1501. *deducta.* The first Edition was at *Cologne* 1520. *John Soter* or *Heylius* procured it, and Dedicated it to *Charles V.* That Work was Printed in the same Town in the years 1574, and 1595. The *Welchels* Printed three Editions of it at *Francfort* in the years 1575, 1580, and 1621. which are preferable to the Editions of *Cologne*. This Work Translated into *High-Dutch* by *Basil Faber*, was Printed at *Leipsick* in the years 1563, and 1582 (*i*). III. The Book Intituled *Vandalia, sive Historia de Vandalorum vera Origine, variis Gentibus, crebris è patria Migrationibus, regnis item, quorum vel Autores fuerunt, vel Eversores, Libris XIV. à prima eorum Origine, ad A. C.* 1500. *deducta.* The first Edition which is of *Cologne* 1519. was followed by three others at *Francfort* (*k*) and one at *Hanaw* (*l*). The *German* Version Printed at *Lubeck*, in the year 1600, was done by *Mark Stephen Macropus* (*m*). IV. The Book Intituled *Metropolis*: It contains in twelve Books, the Ecclesiastical History of *Saxony*, *Westphalia* and *Jutland*, with the Lives of the Prelates, that from the year 780, till 1504. possest the twelve Bishopricks of that Country. *Joachim Mollerus* the younger, a Native of *Hamburg*, Counsellor to the Dukes of *Brunswick*, is the first that Published this Work. He did it at *Melanchthon's* Request from the Author's Original, which was the only Manuscript extant of that Book: *Henry Bulchols* Bishop of *Lubeck*, had given it to this *Mollerus's* Father. This first Edition is of *Basil*, by *Oporinus* in the year 1548. 'twas followed by that of the year 1568, in the same Press, and by two others (*n*) at *Cologne* (*o*), and by three more at *Francfort* (*p*). V. (*q*) *Spirantissimum opusculum in officium Missæ in optimum Ordinem pro sanctâ & suavi Sacerdotum Ecclesiæ institutione digestum*; and the Book Intituled, *Ordo Missæ secundum ritum Ecclesiæ Hamburgensis*, at *Strasburg* 1509. *in fol. Consilium de ordine & privilegiis creditorum in bona fœrum debitorum.* It is inserted in the fourth Volume of the *responsorum juris*, Printed at *Francfort* in the year 157[illegible]. *Institutiones logicæ, compendiosa admodum, pariterque absolutissimæ* nec minus latinæ, at Leipsick in the year 1517. *Grammatica culta & succincta*, at *Rostock* 1506. There are in the Library of *Leipsick* some Treatises of Philosophy of *Albert Krantzius*, which have not been Printed (*r*).

(*b*) *Taken from* Mollerus ubi supra *p.* 35.

(*i*) *Taken from the same, p.* 100.

(*k*) *In* 1575. 1580. *and* 160[illegible].

(*l*) *In the year* 1619.

(*m*) *Taken from the same, p.* 102.

(*n*) *In* 1574. *and* 1596.

(*o*) *Taken from the p.* 103.

(*p*) *In* 1575. 1590. *&* 1627.

(*q*) *It was Printed at* Rostock *in* 1506.

(*r*) *Taken from the same, p.* 105. 106.

(*s*) *Bibliotheca Pontific. p.* 243.

(*t*) *Apud Mollerum p.* 107.

(*u*) *See the Catalogue of 'em in* Mollerus *p.* 107. *& seq.*

(*w*) *Ubi supra p.* 111. *& seq.*

(*x*) *Ibid. p.* 112.

(*H*) *But all those which are ascribed to him are not his.*] He is not the Author of the *Tractatus de Romanis Pontificibus, & præsertim de Victore II. alias Episcopo Eystettensi*, which Father *Jacob* (*s*) hath ascribed to him; nor of the Life of *Ansgarius*, which *Gesner's* Continuators Father upon him; nor of the *Scriptum de Imperii Romani interitu* ascribed to him by *Scherzerus* (*t*).

(*I*) *His Reputation has been aspersed.*] This Motto, *Per convicia & laudes*, Suits him as well as many other great Men. Many Learned Men (*u*) bestow great Encomiums upon him; but some use him very roughly. He is accused of venting many false Stories, about the Original of Nations; of citing Antient Authors very wrong; of Transcribing whole Pages from other Authors without citing any Body, and of falsifying the Monuments of History to gratify his Passions. Mr. *Mollerus* (*w*) names the Authors of those Centures, and says something in his Vindication; he denies not, but that *Albert Krantzius* was a Plagiary; he only endeavours to excuse him, upon the Practice of that Age. (*x*) *Solenne præterea ei esse fatemur, Eginhardum, Witekindum, Herm. Contractum, Adamum, Helmoldum, Arnoldum Saxonem, Albertum Stadensem, Gobelinum, Blondum, Cornerum, aliosque veteres, de verbo ad verbum exscribere, ac non Periodos solum, sed & paginas atque Capita integra, in sua inde scripsa, nulla plerumque Autoris mentione adjecta, transferre. Observatum id nobis in Accuratiori Narrationum de iisdem Rebus Collatione: Observatum & ante nos Vellejo, Reineccio, Meibomorum Triga, Vossio, Malincrotio, Conringio, Bangerto, Sagittario, Schurtzfleischio, Madero, quorum Testimoniis Lectores meos nolo obruere.*

(*A*) *To teach School at* Newitad.] The Author (*a*) of the *Diarium Biographicum* says, that *Kuchlin* was Rector of this School, but his Funeral Oration wherein such a Preferment would not have been omitted, says expressly, that he taught at *Newstad* when *Basil Pithopœus* was Rector there. There's another Fault in the same *Diarium*: It makes two different Books of one *Disputationes Theologicæ ad Catecheseos Ecclesiarum Belgicarum explanationem*, and the *Disputationes de Religionis Christianæ præcipuis capitibus*. They are but one and the same Book.

(*a*) *Hemmingius Witte ad ann.* 1606.

(*B*) *From whence he was invited to* Amsterdam.] *Moreri* did so little examine the Authors he consulted, that

it eighteen years: After which he earneſtly engaged in the Principality of a College of Divinity, which the States of *Holland* had Erected at *Leyden* in 1591, and of which he had had from that time the Management for ſome Months. It was in 1595 that he wholly left his Church at *Amſterdam* to fix in this College. He taught Divinity there till he Died, which happen'd the ſecond of *July* 1606. He had Married his two Daughters to two Learned Men *Peter Bertius* and *Feſtus Hommius* [s]. A Collection was made in one Volume in 4to. at] *Geneva* in 1613, of all the Theſes of Divinity which he caus'd to be maintained at different times. *Guy Patin* has extreamly commended him, and a little too much; for he calls him [t] *one of the moſt Learned Men of his Age.*

KUHLMAN (*Quirinus*) was one of the Viſionaries of the XVIIth. Century. He was born at *Breſlaw* in *Sileſia* the 25th. of *February* [u] 1651, and gave great Hopes [w] by his early Progreſs. But his Studies were interrupted, by a Sickneſs he had at Eighteen Years of Age [x]. He was looked upon as a dead Man the third Day of his Diſtemper. That Day he had a terrible Viſion. He thought himſelf ſurrounded with all the Devils in Hell, and that at Mid-day, being not aſleep. This Viſion was followed by another of God himſelf, encompaſſed with his Saints, and Jeſus Chriſt in the midſt of 'em. He then ſaw and felt unutterable Things. Two Days after [y] he had ſtill theſe ſorts of Viſions; and when he was cured of his Diſtemper, he perceived indeed a great Change as to thoſe Sights, but he always ſaw [z] a Circle of Light which attended him on his Left ſide. He had no longer any Reliſh for Literature. He had ſometimes [a] ſuch ecſtatical Diſtractions, that they hindered him from ſeeing and hearing thoſe that were with him; and he formed the Deſign of abundance of Books, which were ſo many Methods for learning every thing without much Trouble and perfectly. At Nineteen Years of Age he left his Native Country, where ſufficient Juſtice was not done him, and went to viſit the Univerſities. He made [b] a ſecond Edition of his Epitaphs, a Work he had conceived at Fifteen Years of Age; and he publiſhed a Treatiſe of Morality: but as he made an extraordinary Progreſs every Day, he found † the Sheets unworthy of him, which the Printer ſent him; his Underſtanding was ſo enlarged, whilſt the Book was printing. He made no Account of the publick Lectures and Diſputations in the Univerſity of *Jena*, and would * have no Teacher but the Holy Ghoſt. His deſire of ſeeing *Holland* was ſo ſtrong, as not to permit him to put off his Journey till he might ſee what would be the Iſſue of the War, which had proved ſo miſchievous to that Country in 1672. He landed at *Amſterdam* [β] three Days before the Town of *Naerden* was retaken [γ]. He went to *Leyden* a few Days after, and was not long there, before he lighted (*AD*) upon the Works of *Behme*, of whom he had never heard before. The reading of him was caſting Oil into the Fire; he admired that *Behme* had propheſied of things, which no body † knew of but *Kuhlman* himſelf. There was at that time in *Holland*, one (*A*) *John* ROTHE,

[s] *Taken from his Funeral Oration, pronounced by* Luke Trelcatius. *See alſo* Meurſius Athen. Batav. pag. 182.
[t] *Patin Let.* 258. *p.* 427. *of the* 2. *Vol.*
[u] *Epiſt. Theoſophicæ Leidenſes, p.* 11.
[w] *See his* Prodromus quinquennii mirabilis, *pag.* 10, 12. *and the Fragments of the Letters prefixed to it by him.*
[x] *Prodrom. quinquen. mirabilis, pag.* 3.
[y] *Ibid. pag.* 6.
[z] *Ibid. p.* 11.
[a] *Ibid. p.* 13, 14.
[b] *Ibid. pag.* 25.
† *I think this Book was intitled,* Moralis Heraldus Hiſtoricus.
* *Prodrom. pag.* 26.
† *Ib. p.* 30.
β *The* 3*d. of* September 1673.
γ *Pag.* 38.
† *Pag.* 40.
(*b*) *Athen. Batav. p.* 182.

that he conſidered only the firſt part of *Meurſius*'s Period. If he had read the whole Period, he would have ſeen the quite contrary to what he affirms. He ſays, that *Kuchlin was Miniſter at* Embden *and* Groningen *in the* Low-Countries; but 'tis certain he was not Miniſter at *Groningen*. He had his Choice of this Town, and *Amſterdam*, and tho' he had more Inclination to the former than to the latter, yet he was perſwaded to chooſe the latter. Here are *Meurſius*'s Words. (*b*) *Inſtinctu uxoris quæ Belgica erat in Belgium abiit, Emdamque venit anno* CIↃ IↃ LXXXVII. *ubi cum operam aliquamdiu tam in ſchola quam in Eccleſia navaſſet, eodem tempore ab Amſtelodamenſibus & à Groeningenſibus evocatus fuit. Ille, cum propter Germanici idiomatis vicinitatem Groeningenſes præferendos judicaret, à clariſſimo viro* D. MENSONE ALTINGIO *graviſſimis rationibus permotus fuit, ut operam ſuam Amſtelodamenſi Eccleſiæ addiceret.* 'Tis a great Careleſneſs in *Moreri* to ſay in general, that *Kuchlin* taught Divinity at *Leyden*. He ſhould have ſaid, whether he did it in the Quality of Profeſſor of the Univerſity, or of Principal of the Divinity College. *Meurſius* would have very clearly explain'd it to him.

(*AD*) *Before he lighted upon the Works of* Behme]. *James Behme*, or *Boehme*, was an Enthuſiaſt, of whom I ſhall ſometime ſpeak more largely. He was born in a Village of *Germany*, near *Gorlitz*, in the Year 1575, and when he had learned to read and write, he was taken from School, to be made a Shoemaker. He began to exerciſe his Trade at *Gorlitz* in 1594. He fell into an Extaſie for the ſpace of Seven Days, in the Year 1600, if we may believe what he publiſhed in a Book, intituled, *Aurora*. This Book was impeached to the Magiſtrates of *Gorlitz*, by *George Richterus*, Dean of the Paſtors of the Place, as containing many Errors of *Paracelſus* and *Wigelius*; for *Behme* had medled with Chimiſtry in his Youth. The Magiſtrates ſuppreſſed this *Aurora* as much as they could, and ordered the Author to write no more. He held his Tongue Seven Years; but when he found, that the Director of the Electoral Laboratory had recommended him to many Perſons at Court, as a good Chymiſt, he lifted up his Head, and daringly oppoſed *George Riebterus*; and writ above Twenty Books in Five Years time. He died the 18th. of *November* 1624. (*a*) Many People ſuffered themſelves to be infatuated with this Man's Viſions. *Kuhlman* was not the leaſt of his Admirers, as it appears from this Paſſage: (*b*) *Ejus* (Johanni Rothii) *inde veſtigia legit* Quirinus Kuhlmannus *Sileſius, Jacobi Bohemi ſimul propugnator, Calovii vero atque Scherzeri acerrimus inſectatur. Sic enim in Bohæmo redivivo, c.* 12. In Muſeo meo ſolus paucis diebus plura didici ex uno Bohemo, quam ab omnibus ævi ſapientibus ſimul audiris diſcere potuiſſem. *Et in præfat. Operis ejuſdem*: Inter innumerabiles viſiones accidit, ut erepto mihi ex muſeo millena luminum millia circa me exorientium intueri daretur. *Plura ejuſmodi legi poſſunt apud Calovium in Anti-Bohemo, cap.* 32. *& ſeq.*

(*A*) John ROTHE, *who pretended to Propheſie.*] He was a Native of *Amſterdam*, and had always led a very regular Life; but he (*c*) early diſcovered a melancholy Temper, and that he loved to change his Religion. He was ſo charm'd with *Labadie*, that he became a Proſelyte to his Sect, and laboured might and main to procure him new Diſciples; but ſome time after he turn'd Schiſmatick to him, and ſet up for the Head of a Party. He ſaid, that the glorious Reign of JESUS CHRIST was at Hand; and was not contented with the Functions of St. *John the Baptiſt*, I mean of being Forerunner and Harbinger, but pretended to be the chief Director of this great Work, and more than Standard-Bearer of this new World. (*d*) *Hic à* Johanne Labadæo, *novo, ut videri volebat, Eccleſiarum Reformatore, morumque rigidiore caſtigatore, ſub intenſioris devotionis ſpecie, ita primum dementatus fuit, ut ſuis ex adhæſentium tan-*

tum

(*a*) *Taken from* Micrælius Hiſtor. Eccleſ. pag. 1449. & ſeq. Edit. 1699.
(*b*) *Micral. ibid. pag.* 1324.
(*c*) Utà prima lanugine ſumme melancholicus, ita in eligendis quas quoad religionem ſequeretur partibus inconſtans plane ac deſultorius. *Saldenus in otiis Theolog. pag.* 194.
(*d*) *Idem Saldenus. ibid.*

ROTHE, who pretended to Propheſie. *Kuhlman* contradicted the Proverb (B) *, that People of the ſame Trade envy one another; for he † writ with the greateſt Humility to this *John Rothe*. He called him a Man of God, and *John* III. the Son of *Zacharias*. He beg'd the Aſſiſtance of his Knowledge, and pronounced (C) Wo to thoſe who did not attend to him. He dedicated to him his *Prodromus quinquennii mirabilis*, printed at *Leyden* in 1674, which was the Forerunner of two Volumes he deſigned to publiſh. He intended to put into the firſt the Studies and Diſcoveries he had made ſince his firſt Viſion, till the Year 1674. We ſhould have found in it ‖ a Thouſand Inventions, that would have aſtoniſhed all Ages. The laſt would have been the Key of *Eternity, Æviternity, and Time*. He communicated his Deſign to Father *Kircher*; and praiſing the fine Works this Jeſuit had publiſhed, and particularly the *Ars combinatoria, ſive ars magna ſciendi*, he gave him to underſtand, that he had only (D) made the

* Figulus figulo invidet, Faber fabro.

† *His Letters to him, and thoſe he received from him, are printed with this Title, Theologiæ Spiritualis Reformatæ Specula millena millia inventa omnem ætatem ad ſuperiorem provocantia. Pag.* 33.

‖ *Id. ib.*

tum, ſed quoſcunque poſſet, ad familiam ejus novam pertrahere totis viribus allaboravit. Verum poſtea, eo quod parem ſe ſibi non ferret, nedum ſuper eum, quo loco Libudæum nova devotionis artificem & fraudem habere tamen tenebatur, quamd. civis Cœlis aſſciptus eſſet, ſeceſſionem ab eo molitus eſt, gloriosum in Chriſto Regnum infandis ſpectris in terris, negotio illo veri lifero, metu ſolvius eructaturus. He boaſted of his Revelations, he promiſed Wonders to ſuch a wond liſt themſelves under his Banner; he diſturbed the Church and the State with his Libels; but nothing came to paſs of what he had foretold; and to compleat his Misfortune, he was ſhut up in the Priſons of *Amſterdam*. See this more at large in Mr. *Saldenus*'s Narrative. (e) *Hinc numeroſas vacillantium animarum catervas collegit, ſocienis ſuis aureos montes promittere, Eccleſiam Reipublicamque libellorum famoſiſſimorum plaustris conturbare, Servum Dei Johannem Prophetamque eximium ſeipſum indigitare, Revelationum tandem extraordinariarum univerſi numina in vulgus ſpargere, neque erubuit neque deſtitit. At quis tandem omnium horum exitus?*

(e) *Ibid. pag.* 195.

Mons parturivit ridiculus mus.

Eorum, quæ prædixerat, nihil evenit; eventrè contra multa, quæ nec prædixerat nec præſagierat. Miſſo enim, quod evertuvum ſe eſſe gloriatus erat, vexillo, & cum De Reatus, Somers, Richarſonius, novi Regni deſignatis Aſſeſſoribus, reduce in Patriam factus, ſolitâ ſocietate tribunitâ & ſchismaticâ, patriæ urbis down neceſſus eſt: impetratâ ſimul pleniſſimâ facultate & potestate, Prophetias *ſuas ludicras & ridiculas refumendi & retractandi, periculumque faciendi, num prædicere certiuſcule forſan poſſit, quo ſcilicet & modo ex illo ſuo ergaſtulo liberandus tandem ſit, quam multa alia prænunciavit.* Mrs. *Bourignon* did not ſuffer herſelf to be ſeduced by the Whims of *John Rothe*; ſhe had a Sovereign Preſervative againſt ſuch Charms; ſhe would have her Prophecy to be like the Privileges of the Gentlemen of *Germany*, who hold only of the Empire; ſhe would be Propheteſs in chief, and hold only of God, without any Subordination, without any Collaterals. However it be, let us ſee what Judgment ſhe made of *John Rothe*, and *Kuhlman*. ' (f) Which then ' particularly appeared on occaſion of a famous pre- ' tended Prophet of *Holland*, who ſet up Standards ' to lift under 'em the Twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, ' which he was to reſtore, and whom ſome honeſt ' People actually followed, beſides others, who with- ' out following him, gave Credit to his Chimeri- ' cal Revelations. In ſome Viſits that he made to ' her, ſhe eaſily diſcovered his Illuſion, though he ' aſſured her he had a frequent Commerce with the ' Angels, and with God, and that he ſhould be for the ' future as a God to her, ſince God would only diſ- ' cover himſelf to her by his means. She was ſo ' weary of him, as to reſolve not to ſee him any ' more, nor to open his Prophetical Letters, which ' are at preſent ſealed up ſtill among her Papers. ' She cautioned her Friends to beware of him, be- ' cauſe undoubtedly he was not of God; for ſhe ap- ' plied to God on purpoſe to know what he was; ' and God to the Queſtion ſhe asked, *Lord, is this* ' *Man thy Prophet?* anſwered, *No*; and to a Se- ' cond Queſtion, *Who is he then, Lord?* he anſwe- ' red her, *He is a Preſumptuous Man, over whom* ' *the Devil hath a great Power.* God had given her ' the ſame Sentiments of thoſe of his Tribe, and ' particularly of one *Chriſtinus Aukema*, who lately ' printed a Letter, which he addreſſed to this Gen- ' tlewoman, to try whether he could jumble toge- ' ther the Spirit of God, and the Viſions of the ' Devil, with which this falſe Prophet has his Head ' filled, roving up and down to ſeduce thoſe who ' deſerve to be ſeduced, by reaſon of the little ' eſteem they have for the Truth, that comes from ' God (g).

(f) That is God, diſcovered to her by Experience, how far the Preſumption and Folly of Men may go in Conjunction with the Illuſions of the Devil; never ſuffering her to be ſeduced by them, for he inwardly diſcovered every thing to her. *Vie continuée d'Antoinette Bourignon, pag.* 253.

(g) *Id. ib.*

We find in (h) *Mercatus*'s Continuator, that *John Rothe*, bein the Son f a Man whoſe Name was *Zacharias*, boaſted of being the Forerunner of the Son of God, with reſpect to the laſt Judgment; and that in the Year 1668, he ordered in King *Melchiſedec* the Emperor's Name, all Kings and Princes to lay own their Sovereignties, for as much as the Reign of JESUS CHRIST was at hand. That he was examined in the Year 1677, and ſhut up in Priſon by the Order of the States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friſland*; and afterwards being ſet at Liberty, he was laugh'd at by every Body, his Prophecies being found contrary to the Event (i). That Author ſhould have added, that he was cured of his Viſions, that he married, and became as other People. He is ſtill living, whilſt I write this (k).

(h) *His Name is* Daniel Hartmannus.

(i) *Mercatus hiſtor. Eccleſ. pag.* 132. *edit.* 1699.

(k) *Ad calcem epiſt. Kircheri ſcripta, p.* 51.

(B) Contradicted the Proverb.] This was more edifying, than not at altogether, than what we have ſeen ſince. We have ſeen two Interpreters of the Apocalypſe, write one againſt another, though they were agreed upon the pretended Myſteries of the Year 1689. But becauſe they met in that Point of Union, by different Roads, each would maintain his Hypotheſis, to the prejudice of his Brother Interpreter. This was not well; and if the Publick had been leſs indulgent than it was, no Body ſhould have wondered at it.

(a) *Præfat. Prodromi.*

(b) *Omnibelli Theoſophiſtæ & Diabologi multis verbis, calumnias, invectionemque eruditis Prophetam, nimium Deo dilectum, Cui militat æther, Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti. Ib.*

(C) Pronounced Woe.] He thundred out (k) *Væ! væ! ſi prophetias ſervorum Dei ſpreverunt, ſeu Batavia olim mirabilis nunc miſerabilis ſpernit & mortem ſpernit. Hoc anno*, continued he, *& hujus anni una die veniet & mors & luctus & fames Babylonis Belgicæ, & ignem exuretur cœleſti, quinvaliduſ eſt Dominus Deus damnans eam.* All this becauſe an outcry had been made againſt *John Rothe*, and his Viſions had been laughed at. *Kuhlman* maintained, that Heaven had declared for that Prophet, (a) by the great Storm on the 24th. of *March* 1674, and by the Ruins that happen'd in ſeveral Places the 21ſt. of *May* following. He referred to the Gazetteer who mention'd 'em, and applied (b) to his Friend, the famous Words of an old Poet. He made an Apoſtrophe in particular to (c) *Amſterdam*, where the Wind had torn up many Trees; and forgot not the Thunder, which fell upon the Great Church at *Utrecht*; but eſpecially, he cried up Miracle (d), becauſe it thundered the 24th of *March*, the Day before *John Rothe* left *Holland*, whilſt there was ſtill ſome Snow in the Streets, and Ice in the Canals. Theſe Storms, Thunders and Lightnings, were according to him the Fore-runners of the Deſtruction of the Country; and yet from that time the Affairs of the United Province went on better and better every Day. It is not improper to obſerve all theſe things, in order to know the Predominant Spirit of ſuch People, they make an ill uſe of every thing, and find their pretended Myſteries every where. We have Inſtances of it, of a later Date.

(c) *In cauſa epiſt. ad Kircher. pag.* 55.

(d) *Theophilus Philadelphus epiſt. pag.* 21.

(D) He had only made (e) the firſt Draught.] *recte paradoxis* tuis ſubjunxiſti, ſed hoc optarem liberè) *ut magis interna quam externa, ſecretum quam cor-*

(e) *Inumeram exacte conſilium tuum inveniri poſſe in Methodo Chymiæ, (noneam quam cor-* Father

the firſt Draught of what he deſigned to carry farther. This Jeſuit anſwered him civilly, and gave him (E) good Advice, and particularly upon the Deſign he had to write to the Pope (F). The Prophetical Spirit had not made our *Kuhlman* inſenſible to the Pleaſure of being praiſed; for there was no Encomium written to him, either by thoſe whom he had preſented with his Books, or by others, but what he publiſhed in the Front of his *Prodromus*. As for to the Praiſes that he beſtows upon his own Writings, they are undoubtedly very extraordinary; but as he declares, that all his Knowledge proceeds * from incarnate Wiſdom, I will not be poſitive ‡ that it is a Sign of Pride. I don't well know when he left *Holland*; but I have lately ſeen a Book, where 'tis ſaid † that he wandered a long time (G) in *England*, in *France*, and in the Eaſt, and that at laſt he was burnt in *Muſcovy* the 3d. Day of *October* 1689, for ſome Predictions || actually ſeditious. I don't know whether he had his Medal ſtruck, as ſome other new Prophets; but the ſame Book informs me, that his Effigies came out, under

2 In quibus majora in omni ſcibili eruuntur, quam à nobis vel ullo homine expectantur. *Monit. ad lector. in limine epiſtol. ad Kircher.*

* Omnia quæ poſſi deo ſapientiæ incarnatæ non mihi veniunt adſcribenda. *Ibid.*

† *See the* Entretiens ſur la Cabale chimerique, *printed in* 1691. *pag.* 109.

‡ *Diarium Biographicum Henningi Witte, tom.* 2. *pag.* 168.

Father *Kircher* did not ſtand to defend his Works, and pretended not to be more knowing than he. He ſtruck ſail before him, and declared, that having written in a humane way, he pretended not to equal thoſe who wrote by Inſpiration. *Quod porro de* arte combinatoria, *cæteriſque* paradoxis meis, tum in polygraphia, tum in muſurgia, *jam publicæ luci traditis meliori modo fieri potuiſſe contendis, nil moror cum* SCIENTIÆ TUÆ TAM SUBLIMIS ET [illegible] *prorſus incapacem ineptumque me eſſe humili mentis obſequio fatear. Quæ ſcripſi ego, divina aſpirante gratia* humano more, *id eſt ſtudio & labore adquiſita ſcientia ſcripſi, non divinitus inſpirata aut infuſa, cujuſmodi puram inter mortales dari non exiſtimo* ——— *Non dubitem quin tu pro* INCOMPARABILI INGENII TUI VASTITATE *meis nugis & majora & admiratione digniora fis proditurus.* Our Prophet took this glittering Tinſel for true Gold, and was not ſenſible that the Jeſuit laughed at him. He carefully publiſhed Father *Kircher*'s Anſwers, and filled Capital Letters in the Places where he thought himſelf praiſed.

(E) *Gave him good Advice.*] *Kircher*'s Second Letter makes it plain, that he knew the Weakneſs of this Man, and that he jeers him, when he ſays in a ſerious Manner: *Magna ſanè* [illegible] *promittis,* QUÆ UTI SUPRA OMNEM HUMANI INGENII CAPTUM LONGE CONSTITUTA SUNT, ITA EA QUOQUE A NEMINE HUCUSQUE NON DICAM TENTATA, SED NEC COGITATA QUIDEM FUISSE AUDACTER AFFIRMO, *atque adeo aliud mihi ſuſpicari non liceat, niſi talem te divino munere ſcientiam adeptum eſſe qualem ſacra Pagin de* PROTOPLASTO *ET* SALOMONE *teſtatur, explico:* Adamæam Salomonicam, *verbo* INFUSAM *nulli mortalium niſi Tibi ſoli notam, cæteris inexplicabilem Scientiam.* But what follows is a charitable Advice. All things well conſidered, Father *Kircher* adviſed him to keep that infuſed Knowledge to himſelf, and not to expoſe himſelf to the Railleries of an Age ſo ſcoffing as this is. Indeed, our Age ſeems to be more terrible to the Viſionaries than the preceding ones. The Biſhop of *Alcaux* has touched upon it in one of his Books; but I queſtion whether at the bottom the Appearances are not fallacious. *Quicquid ſit,* they are *Kircher*'s Words, *ego ſane conſiderato rei non parvi momenti negotio, pro ſingulari quo te proſequor affectu etiam atque etiam quam obnixiſſimè contenderim, ne hanc ſuam noviter obtentam ſcientiam Centraliſque abyaſſi profunditatem ulli vana quadam jactantia oſtenderes, ne Tertii poſt Adamum Salomonis dicam & cum riſu nomen incurras. Potiſſimum hoc ſæculo ſarcaſmo, quo Criticaſtrorum, Traſonum & ſycophantarum non parvus eſt numerus, qui aliud non moliuntur, quam ut glorioſos aliorum labores canino dente rodere, ſannis ludibriiſque expungere non ceſſent.* And to make greater Impreſſion by his Remonſtrances, he was pleaſed to tell him what had happen'd to himſelf; which was, that he had found by Experience, that a Man expoſed himſelf to many Evils, when he raſhly and inconſiderately ſets up for an Author. *Quanta malorum Ilias ex inconſiderata Scriptione reſultet, ego jam* 40 annorum ſpatio, *quo in hoc* omnium gentium & nationum theatro, *meam utut poſſum perſonam ego, frequenti experientia comperi.*

(F) *To write to the Pope.*] *Tho' Kuhlman* fancied that he was the Man promiſed by *Drabicius*, and tho' he knew that *Drabicius*'s Promiſes concern'd the Ruin of the *Roman* Antichriſt, yet he was fond of Writing to the Pope. He conſulted Father *Kircher*, and expreſſed to him the paſſionate Deſire he had of communicating to the Sovereign Pontif his great Secrets for the good of *Chriſtendom*. *Ate,* Reverendiſſime Pater, *peterem ne dengares mihi occaſionem præbere, qua Pontifici Maximi manibus propriis quædam Epiſtolia me in ſignum obſervantiæ tranſmittenda traderetur* ——— *Vellem enim arcana ponderoſiſſima ad Chriſtiana Eccleſia commodum ſingulariter proficua,* candido ore ſtilloque candido, *tam admirabili tempeſtate Pontifici communicare,* amoreque Reip. Chriſtianæ impulſus. I don't know the Particulars of the good Advice, the Jeſuit gave him upon this Subject; he left them out of the Anſwer he received, for that Paſſage was printed in the following manner: *Quod denique de litteris ad ſummum Pontificem dandis, eidemque propriis manibus à me conſignandis Te cogitare ſcribis* ——— *qua ſcribo ut quanta cautela & circumſpectione Roma procedendum ſit cognoſcas.* But he did not ſtrike out that part, wherein he was told, that his great Work, dedicated to the Pope, would be applauded and admired, provided he left nothing in it, that might offend the Cenſors of Books, and took care not to pretend to an inſpired Knowledge, *ſilentio quoque ſuppreſſa divinitus Tibi inſpirata ſcientia.* This laſt Counſel, tho' good in it ſelf, was the leaſt likely to be reliſhed, for 'tis by boaſting of a Divine Illumination, that one may ſtrike a great (g) Blow among the People. Let us ſpeak a Word concerning the Knavery or Folly of falſe Prophets. About the time that *Kuhlman* was ready to write to the Pope in reſpectful Terms, for the good of *Chriſtendom*, he wrote to others, That he hoped to ſee quickly the Deſtruction of the Papacy. This is the plain meaning of theſe Words of *Kuhlman*, according to the Style of our Viſionaries. *O Pontifex* Clemens XI! *an ſigilli mei* duplicatum Quinarium X. *excedes, mox orbis aſpiciet univerſus? In* Clemente I. *Petro & Lino jure præterito Epiſcopatus Romanus incepit: in* Clemente X. *quid futurum ſit tempus evolvet.* I could name a Man (h), who has been extreamly vexed becauſe the Publick has been informed, that whilſt he furiouſly inveighed againſt *Lewis* XIV. he writ ſome Letters to a Duke, full of Flattery for that Prince.

(g) *See the Biſhop of Meaux's Commentary upon St.* John's *Revelation,* Dutch *Edit.*

(h) Quem verſu dicere non eſt, Signis perfacile eſt. *Horat. ſatyra* 5. *lib.* 1.

(G) *He wandered a long time in* England, *in* France, *and in the* Eaſt.] I have lately found many little Books of this Enthuſiaſt, Printed at *London* at his own Charges, ſome in 1681, and others in 1682. The firſt of 'em Dated from *London* the 24*th.* of *June* 1681, is Dedicated to *Lewis XIVth.* with this Familiar Inſcription, *Salve Ludovice XIV. Rex Liligere, ſalve.* The Author exhorts this Prince to aſſert the *Regale*, which was the Talk of that time, and acquaints him (a) that *Drabicius* had promiſed him the City of *Rome*. We find in this Collection a Letter which he writ from *Lubeck* to Father *Kircher* in *February* 1676. *De ſapientia infuſa Adamæa, Salomonæaque*; and a Piece which he Inſcribed to Mahomet IV. *De converſione Turcarum.* 'Tis Dated from *Conſtantinople* the firſt of of *Auguſt* 1678. The Author ſet his Myſtical Seal to it at *London*, the firſt of *May* 1681, and ſignified to the Sultan, that the Comet which appeared the preceding Winter, preſaged the Converſion of all

(a) A Deo data ſcientia ROMAM nunc cribrans à DRABICIO Tibi olim promiſſa.

under which there are (*H*) so many Titles given him, that I believe the *Eastern* Monarchs hardly give themselves more. If it be thought, that I speak too seriously, and too copiously of him, I desire it may be known, that there is a seriousness, which upon such things is worse than jesting; and 'tis Requisite the World should be informed of the prodigious variety of Fanaticism. 'Tis a more contagious Evil than is imagined. The Reading (*I*) of *Drabicius* compleated the ruin of *Kuhlman*. Those who have not the *Prodromus* of the latter, need only read three or four Pages † of *Morhofius*'s *Polyhistor*, where they'll see the magnificent Promises and vast Projects of this Enthusiast. He was none of those Inspired Men who pretend to Continence; he was Married twice, if we may call a Marriage, and not a Concubinage, the Commerce that is between a Man and a Woman, without observing the Formalities Prescribed by the Canon and Civil Laws. He understood well enough how to trick People out of their Money, and he writ to some Persons in a Magisterial and Prophetick Tone, that 'twas necessary for the advancing of the new Kingdom of God, that they should send him such or such a Sum, in default of which he threatned them with the most terrible Punishments the revenging Hand of the most High could Inflict. *Van Helmont* was one of those who received those sorts of Letters; but he was Wiser than to have any regard to them. ||

† *From p. 357. to p. 361.*

|| *I have this from some Persons, who knew* Kuhlman.

L.

LABE (*Loyse*) a Curtezan of *Lyons*, has been reckoned among the *French* Authors by *la Croix du Maine*, and *du Verdier Vau-privas*. She ‡ flourished at *Lyons* in *Henry* the *II*'s time in 1555. Her Works were Printed there (*A*) the same year. She did not resemble the Curtezans in all things; for if she was on one Hand of their Humour, in that she would be well paid for her Favours, she had on the other Hand some regard for Learned Men, which others have not; for she gave them some sport Gratis. Her Character will be better known by the Passage I shall quote (*B*).

‡ *La Croix du Maine p. 291.*

LA-

all Nations; and he Congratulated his Highness, for having appointed a Fast throughout his Empire. *Aspexisti ante aliquot menses*, O Capitanee grandis ab Oriente Solis, *Cometam in-audite-ingentem, NUNTIUM REALEM REGNI JESUELITARUM, hoc est Restitutionis Populorum omnium ad Deum Unicum & Triunum. Bene Te, quod cor tuum coram Deo flexeris, & Proclamatione Dei pœnitentialis Catholici in Regnis tuis, inceperis adimplere Verba Dei ad Prophetam Drabicium*: Si Christiani voluntatem meam in destruendo Antichristianismo, Doctrinâque pravâ & Idololatriâ exequi renuent, facient id Christianis in opprobrium Turcæ & Tartari: quod horrori erit angelis meis & hominibus. *Macte istâ indole.* He writ to the Aga of *Smyrna* the 28*th.* of *June* 1678 (*b*). Some Months after, he Dedicated to the Sieur *Van Dam* the Mystery of *Kotterus*'s 21 Weeks, in which he declared that the House of *Austria* was about to lose the Imperial Crown. By his Piece intitled *De magnalibus naturæ ultimo ævo reservatis*, Inscribed *Ad adeptos magosque orbis terrarum*, at *Geneva* the thirtieth of *January* 1682, it appears, that he was going into the Holy Land. His *Arcanum microcosmicum* is Dated from *Paris* the first of *November* 1681.

(*b*) Kuhlman *was then in the Port of* Smyrna *on Board a* French *Ship. He was still at* Smyrna *the* 17*th.* *of* October 1678. *as appears from the Letter which he writ to* James Van Dam, *the* Dutch *Consul.*

(*H*) *There are so many Titles given him.*] Here is what I find in the Book I have quoted: (*c*) *In effigie quam Andreas Lippius edidit, ita celebratur:*

Alter Scaligerum, Taubmannus, Grotius, Opitz,
Barthius, Iscanus, Gryphius, Muretus, Erasmus!
Henoch, Josephus, Davides, Josua, Moses,
Elias, Daniel, Salomon, Eliſa, Johannes!
Cyrus, Alexander, Constantin, Karl' Fridericus!
Liligerus, Juvenis, Frigerans, Artista, Sophata:
O Pater hæc tua sunt! Hæc ad te cuncta reflexit.

A little before, it is said, that he sometimes call'd himself LUDOVICUS LUDOVICI. The Catalogue of his Writings, as Mr. *Witte* gives it, do's not comprehend the *Epistolæ Theosophicæ Leidenses*; but then it contains nine Letters written to Father *Kircher*; besides *Epistolarum Londinensium Catholica ad Wickleso-Waldenses, Hussitas, Zwinglianos, Lutheranos, Calvinianos*; besides in *High-Dutch*, *De cœlesti osculo amoris, sive cogitationes poëticæ ex Cantico Canticorum Discursus sacri & profani de pulcerrimis virtutum flosculis. Mortalitas immortalis, sive centum epitaphia. Caduceator Historicus. Prothmius illustratus*, &c.

(*c*) *Diarium Biographicum Henningi Witte, part.* 2. *p.* 268.

(*I*) *The reading of* Drabicius *compleated.*] *Kuhlman* found in *Drabicius*'s Prophecies two Passages which he applied to himself (*d*). The first contains these Words: (*e*) *Qui legit, intelligat! cum numerabitur* QUINQUE *finem accipient filii contumaciæ, conspecto me, testatem habere in cœlos, terram, mare.* Here follows the other: (*f*) *Abundantia benedictionis Te* (Drabicium] *parata expectat Wratislavia, ac si oculis videas tuis.* Add to these two Passages, that which he took from the *Astrologico-Prophetical Prognostick* written by *Paul Felgenhaver* in 1647. and Published in 1655. *Quantus error sit pacis spes illud nobis duplicatus* QUINARIUS *demonstrabit, cum venerit post paucos dies.* He (*g*) imagined that he was that double *Quinarius*, whom *Felgenhaver* had promised, being convinced of it by two Reasons; first because his name was *Quirinus*, secondly because in 1674, it was five years since he had received an infused Science. He therefore believed, that then the time promised by *Drabicius* was come, *cum numerabitur quinque, finem accipient filii contumaciæ*; so that he hop'd quickly to throw down *Antichrist* and *Babylon* with his Pen. Let us hear the *Allelujah's*, which he Sung before Hand: *Corruet Antichristus proprio suo judicio, & Babylon excidium suum properabit cum admiratione populorum. Hallel. Quem Cæsares armis potentibus non debellavere, juvenis inermis debellavit in virtute Jesu Christi prælians. Hall. Stant Mercatores antichristi horrore procul trementes, desent interitum suum insperatum ab insperato timore futurorum. Hall.* (*h*) If I had not Read this, I should hardly believe that the Extravagance of Fanaticism could have gone so far.

(*d*) *Epist. Theosoph. p.* 2.
(*e*) *Revelat.* 594. *Febr.* 7. *ann.* 1664.
(*f*) *Revelat.* 608. 24. *May* 1664.
(*g*) *Epist. Theosoph. ibid.*
(*h*) *Thus is what he wrote to* John Rhode *the* 24*th.* *of* April *from* Leyden. *See* Epist. Theosoph. *p. ult.*

(*A*) *Her Works were Printed.*] They (*i*) contain a Dialogue in *French* Prose, intituled, *Le debat de Folie & d' honneur*, (*A Debate between Folly and Honour*) and many Poems of her own Invention: Besides (*k*) the *Writings of several Poets in her Praise, in* Greek, Latin, Italian *and* French *Verse.*

(*i*) *La Croix du Maine, p.* 291.
(*k*) *Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibl. Françoise p.* 822.

(*B*) *Her Character will be better known by the Passage I shall quote.*] I make no alteration in *du Verdier*'s Words. *Loyse Labe*, (*l*) says he, 'a Curtezan of *Lyons*, (otherwise called the Handsome 'Ropemaker's Wife, being Married to an honest 'Ropemaker) managed a Horse very well, for 'which reason, the Gentlemen, who had Access 'to her, called her Captain *Loys*; she was a Woman 'of a good and chearful Wit, and indifferently 'Handsome. She obligingly entertain'd in her House

(*l*) *Id. ib.*

LABERIUS (*Decimus*) a *Roman* Knight and a Poet, had an admirable faculty at playing the part of a *Mimus*. He durſt not refuſe *Julius Cæſar* who was willing he ſhould come upon the Stage to Act one of thoſe Pieces, tho' this was very unbecoming his Condition, and his Age. He excuſed himſelf (*A*) the beſt he could in his Prologue, and Malitiouſly (*B*) ſlipt in ſome ſtrokes againſt *Cæſar*; which Determined that Prince to mortify him a little by preferring (*C*) another Poet before him. *Laberius* was Rallied (*D*) by *Cicero* that Day *, and he paid him in his own Coin. He Died † ten Months after *Julius Cæſar*. His Verſes have not been ſo much deſpiſed (*E*) by *Horace*, as 'tis thought. *Moreri* (*F*) has committed ſome Faults.

* *That is, on the Day that he acted a Play out of Complaiſance to* Julius Cæſar.

† *Euſebius in Chronico.*

LABOURLOTE (*Claudius*) one of the braveſt Captains of his Age, was Indebted to his Fortune for his Courage. His Birth was ſo mean, that ‡ 'tis ſtill a Di-

‡ *See the Remark* A.

'Lords, Gentlemen, and other Peoſons of Merit 'with Diſcourſe, Muſick, both Vocal and Inſtru-'mental, in which ſhe was admirably well Skilled, 'Reading of good *Latin*, *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Books, 'wherewith her Cloſet was curiouſly ſet off, and with 'Exquiſite Sweet Meats. In fine, ſhe Communicated 'to 'em privately the moſt ſecret Pieces ſhe had, in 'a Word ſhe was free of her Body to ſuch as paid 'for it: However not to all, not to Mechanicks 'and Men of mean Condition, whatever Money 'they might have offered her. She loved Learned 'Men above all, who were ſo much in her favour, 'that thoſe of her Acquaintance were preferred be-'fore any great Lord, to whom ſhe would rather 'do a kindneſs *Gratis*, than to another, for a great 'many Crowns, which is contrary to the Cuſtom 'of thoſe of her Trade and Quality. This Paſſage has been quoted in the continuation (*a*) of the *critique generale de l' Hiſtoire du Calviniſme* with the Addition of this Reflection: '(*b*) *Domoſthenes* 'would have been glad, if the Curtezan *Lais* 'had been like this; he would not have made a 'Voyage to *Corinth* in Vain nor Experienced,

(*a*) Letter 18. *p.* 595.

(*b*) *Ibid. p.* 596.

'Qu' à tels feſtins un Auteur comme un ſot,
'A prix d' argent doit payer ſon écot.

'That at ſuch Treats an Author pays his Scot,
'And is no better dealt with than a Sot.

This Woman at once Honoured and Diſhhnour'd Learning: She Diſhonour'd it, whilſt being an Author, ſhe led the Life of a Whore; and ſhe Honour'd it, becauſe the Learn'd were better received by her *Gratis*, than the Ignorant at any Price.

(*A*) *He excuſed himſelf the beſt he could in the Prologue.*] *Macrobius* has preſerv'd it to us, and very judiciouſly obſerves that a Maſter, even when he intreats (*c*), uſes a ſort of Authority, which there is no reſiſting. (*d*) *Laberium aſperæ libertatis equitem Romanum Cæſar quingentis millibus invitavit, ut prodiret in ſcenam, & ipſe ageret mimos quos ſcriptitabat. Sed poteſtas non ſolum ſi invitet, ſed etſi ſupplicet, cogit. Unde ſe & Laberius à Cæſare coactum in prologo teſtatur his verſibus:*

(*c*) Auſonius *ſays more:* Quod eſt potentiſſimum imperandi genus, rogabat qui jubere poterat. *Præfat. cenſon. nupt.*

(*d*) *Macrobius, Saturnal. l. 2. c. 7. p. m.* 342.

Neceſſitas, cujus curſus tranſverſi impetum
Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci potuerunt,
Quo me detruſit pæne extremis ſenſibus?
Quem nulla ambitio, nulla umquam largitio,
Nullus timor, vis nulla, nulla auctoritas
Movere potuit in juventa de ſtatu:
Ecce in ſenecta ut facile labeſcit loco
Viri excellentis mente clemente edita
Submiſſa placide blandiloquens oratio?
Etenim ipſi Di negare cui nihil potuerunt,
Hominem me denegare quis poſſet pati? *&c.*

(*B*) *Slipt in ſome ſtrokes againſt* Cæſar.] This we have from *Macrobius*. (*e*) *In ipſa quoque actione ſubinde ſe qua poterat ulciſcebatur inducto habitu Syri, qui velut flagris cæſus præripientique ſe ſimilis exclamabat:*

(*e*) *Macrob. ibid. p.* 344.

Porro Quirites! libertatem perdimus.

& paulo poſt adjecit:

Neceſſe eſt multos timeat quem multi timent.

Quo dicto univerſitas populi ad ſolum Cæſarem oculos & ora converſit, notantes impotentiam ejus hac dicacitate lapidatam. Father *Briet* hath not well obſerv'd this Paſſage; for he ſuppoſes that *Laberius* did not offend *Cæſar* till a long time after. (*f*) *Procedente tempore ipſum Cæſarem offendit, & maximè hoc verſu.*

(*f*) *Briet. de Poet. Lat. p.* 12.

Porro Quirites libertatem perdimus,

Item & iſto

Neceſſe eſt multos timeat, quem multi timent,

(*C*) *By preferring another Poet before him.*] Here's another Paſſage of *Macrobius*: (*g*) *Ob hæc in Publium vertit favorem. Is——productus Romæ per Cæſaris ludos omnes qui tunc ſcripta & operas ſuas in ſcenam locaverant provocavit, ut ſinguli ſecum poſita invicem materia pro tempore contenderent. Nec ullo recuſante ſuperavit omnes; in quis & Laberium; unde Cæſar arridens hoc modo pronuntiavit:*

(*g*) *Macrob. ibid.*

Favente tibi me victus es Laberi à Syro:

Statimque Publio palmam & Laberio annulum aureum cum quingentis ſeſtertiis dedit. Tunc Publius ad Laberium recedentem ait: Qui cum contendiſti ſcriptor hunc ſpectator ſubleva. *Laberius* ſome time after Compos'd a *Mimus*, in which he declar'd that the Fate of Arms is as uncertain upon the Stage as any where elſe; and that if he had loſt the firſt Rank, the ſame Diſgrace would happen to his Succeſſor (*h*). Here follows a Paſſage out of *Aulus Gellius*: (*i*) *C. autem Cæſarem ita Laberii maledicentia & arrogantia offendebat, ut acceptiores & probatiores ſibi eſſe Publii quam Laberii mimos prædicaret.*

(*h*) Sequenti ſtatim commiſſione, mimo novo interjecit hos verſus: *Non poſſunt primi eſſe omnes omni in tempore. Summum ad gradum cum claritatis veneris, Conſiſtes agre; & quum deſcendas, dicides. Cecidi ego, cadet quis ſequitur, lapſa eſt publica.* Macrob. ibid. p. 345.

(*i*) *A. Gellius, l.* 17. *c.* 14.

(*D*) *Was Rallied by* Cicero *that Day.*] After (*k*) *Laberius* had played his Piece, *Cæſar* preſented him with a Ring, and gave him leave to retire. *Laberius* went to look for a Place among the Knights, but they ordered it ſo, that he could find none. *Cicero* ſeeing him perplexed, told him, *Recepiſſem te niſi anguſte ſederem. Mirum*, Anſwer'd the other, *ſi anguſte ſedes qui ſoles duabus ſellis ſedere. Cicero* kill'd two Birds with one Stone. He Laughed at *Laberius*, and at the many Senators of a new Creation, *ſimul & illum reſpuens, & in novum ſenatum jocatus, cujus numerum Cæſar ſupra fas auxerat* (*l*). But the Anſwer that was made him (*m*) Taxed him with tricking, that is with neither being a good Friend to *Pompey* nor *Cæſar*. *Cicero male audiebat tanquam nec Pompeio certus amicus, nec Cæſari, ſed utriuſque adulator* (*n*). I ſhall obſerve by the by, that *Macrobius* has confounded the places of the Knights with thoſe of the Senators; he thought, that (*o*) the Senators ſate upon what was called the fourteen Benches, which is his miſtake. This was the place of the Knights ſince the Law of *Roſcius Otho*. *Sic libitum vano qui nos diſtinxit Othoni* (*p*).

(*k*) *Macrob. ibid. p.* 582. *See alſo* Seneca *controverſ.* 18.

(*l*) *Id. ib. & l.* 7. *c.* 3. *p.* 582.

(*m*) Exprobrata levitate Ciceroni. *Macrob. ib.* Objiciens tanto viro lubricum fidei. *Id. Macrob. l.* 7. *c.* 3. *p.* 582.

(*n*) *Senec. ib.*

(*o*) Quod Cicero dixit, *niſi anguſte ſederem*, ſcomma fuit in C. Cæſarem, qui in ſenatum paſſim tam multos admittebat, ut eos quatuordecim gradus capere non poſſent. *Macrobius Saturnal. l.* 7. *c.* 3. *p.* 582.

(*p*) *Juvenal. Sat.* 3. *v.* 159.

(*E*) *So much deſpiſed by* Horace *as 'tis thought.*] Here are the Words of *Horace*.

Nec (q) tamen hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cætera, nam ſic
Et Laberi mimos, ut pulcra poëmata mirer.

Mr. *Dacier's* Note runs thus: '(*r*) *Horace* does 'not here Condemn *Laberius* abſolutely, nor ſo 'much as cenſure his Works; but only ſpeaks by 'Compariſon. *Laberius's Mimi* were agreeable; but 'they were not fine and perfect Poems. Nor were they 'made to that end; for the *Mimi* had only Obſcene 'Jeſts in them. For which reaſon *Ovid* calls 'em '*Mimos obſcœna jocantes*, and they were only de-'ſigned to make People Laugh. If *Julius Scaliger* 'had well underſtood *Horace's* meaning, he would 'not have Condemned the Judgment, that *Horace* 'makes of *Laberius's Mimi*.

(*q*) *Horat. Sat.* 10. *l.* 1. *v.* 5. (*r*) Dacier's *Remarks upon Horace, Tom.* 6. *p.* 607.

(*F*) Moreri *has committed ſome Faults.*] I. The *Prænomen* of *Laberius* is not *Decius* but *Decimus*. II. He

Diſpute, whether he was a Native of *Lorrain* or of *Franche Comté*. 'Tis ſaid that he had been Barber to Count *Charles* of (*A*) *Mansfeld*; and that he did him (*B*) a ſignal piece of Service. He went through all military Degrees, till he was made Commander of the *Walloon* Troops * in the Service of the King of *Spain*. There was (*C*) more Luck than Conduct in his Management; for he never more willingly engaged in an Enterprize, than when it was very dangerous. He was wounded (*D*) on ſeveral Occaſions, and at laſt he was killed (*E*) with a Muſket Shot the 24th of *July* 1600. whilſt he

* Patria Lotharingus, virtutis ſine ſuffragiis ex gratiâ nobilitat per omnes nobilitatum gradus ad Ducalem dignitatem evectus. Valer. de gest. magnanim. Lotharingiæ Gallo-Belg. l. 13. p. m. 35.

He ſurviv'd *Julius Cæſar* ſo little a time, that there was no need of ſaying, *he lived in the Reign of* Auguſtus. III. 'Tis not true that he received Preſents from *Auguſtus*. IV. and that *Macrobius* ſays it. V. 'Tis falſe that *Cæſar* made him a *Roman* Knight. See what *Laberius* ſays in the Prologue of the Farce acted by him in complaiſance to that Emperor.

Ergo his tricenis annis actis ſine nota.
Eques Romanus Lare egreſſus meo
Domum revertar mimus.

Which is an undeniable Proof that he was a *Roman* Knight independently on *Cæſar*. That which deceived *Moreri*, with many others (*t*), is, that *Cæſar* at the End of the Play gave a Ring to this Farce-Player, as we learn from *Macrobius*; but 'tis eaſie to find in that very place a Proof of the Juſtice of my Cenſure. Here is the whole Paſſage: (*u*) *Deinde cum Laberius in fine lusorum annulo honoratus à Cæſare è veſtigio in quatuordecim ad ſpectandum transiſſet, violato ordine, & cum detrectatus eſt EQUES Romanus, & cum mimus remiſſus, aut Cicero præcesserunt Laberio, & ſedile quærenti, recipiſſem te niſi anguſte ſederem.* 'Tis evident that *Macrobius* ſays, that the Order of the Knights was diſhonoured two manner of ways. 1. Becauſe a Place was refuſed to a *Roman* Knight. 2. Becauſe a Farce-Player was ſent from the Stage to the Place where the *Roman* Knights ſate. From whence I neceſſarily conclude, that *Laberius* owed not his Knighthood to the Favour of *Julius Cæſar*. All that can be ſaid, is, that he diſgraced himſelf by his Complaiſance of acting a Play on the Stage; and that he was re-habilitated by *Julius Cæſar*. The Ring that he received, may be look'd upon as new Patents of Nobility: But this does not excuſe *Moreri*. *Seneca* confirms what has been ſaid (*w*).

(*t*) Julius Cæſar *did like him ſo well, that he made him a Knight.* Dicier ubi ſupra.

(*u*) *Macrob. c. 3. p. 329.*

(*w*) Divus Julius ludis ſuis mimum produxit (*Laberium*) dein-ſi de equeſtri illum ordini reddidit, ſum juſſit ire ſeſſum in equeſtrio: omnes ita ſe coarctaverunt ut venientem non reciperent. *Senec. controv. 18. ſub fin.*

(*A*) *Barber to Count* Charles *of* Mansfeld.] This is ſaid by *Bongars* in a Letter written to *Camerarius* the 6th of *Auguſt* 1596. in which he ſent him ſome News about the Siege of *Hulſt*. 'Some, (*a*) ſays he, 'write that *Labourlotte* has been kill'd in it (*b*); 'that Man ſo famous for his Bravery and Cou-'rage. He was formerly Barber to Count *Charles* of 'Mansfeld, who died in *Hungary*. The Cardinal 'chiefly made uſe of *Labourlotte*'s Boldneſs and 'Rone's Counſel. He who in 1693. publiſhed the Hiſtory of Arch-duke *Albert*, does not ſay that *Labourlotte* was a Barber; but he ſays nothing that can prove the contrary. 'His Birth, ſays he (*d*), 'reſembles that of Great Men, which is frequently 'diſputed: *Lorrain* will have him to be hers; 'Bourgundy claims him as hers. The Name *Claudius* 'favours the *Burgunders*. Whatever Country he 'be of, 'tis certain he was a deſerving Man. 'The many Enemies he has had, are a Demonſtrati-'on of his extraordinary Merit. Envy, like the 'Thunder, paſſes over Shrubs, and falls upon 'lofty Trees. They ſay he was of mean Extraction, 'and that he handled the Razor and the Lancet, be-'fore he handled the Sword and the Pike: But the 'Unprejudiced ſpeak otherwiſe. They ſay that in-'deed he knew good Remedies for Wounds; but 'that he was led to this Study by Curioſity and Cha-'rity, and not by Neceſſity. When d'*Aubigne* (*e*) relates that *Labourlotte* was killed in a Skirmiſh in the Counterſcarp of Fort *Iſabella*, which he had recruited and victualled, he adds, 'that he was lament-'ed by the Arch-duke, and his Superiours, and not 'by his Equals; who, enraged with Envy, could not 'bear that Merit ſhould make a Colonel of a Bar-'ber.

(*a*) *Bongars's Letters*, p. 493 *of the Hague Edit. 1695.*

(*b*) *It was not true. See the Rem.* E.

(*d*) *Hiſt. de l'Archduc Albert*, b. 4. p. 263.

(*e*) *Hiſt. univerſel. tom. 3. l. 5. chap. 19. p. 729.*

(*B*) *And that he did him a ſignal Piece of Service.*] He delivered him from the Perplexity of a moſt unlucky Marriage. An Authour I have cited, will not believe it. 'Tis ſaid, ſays he (*f*), that he got 'into the Favour of *Mansfeld* by ridding him of his 'troubleſome Wife; but I believe nothing of it; 'he was too honeſt a Man to be guilty of ſo baſe an 'Action. The Action would certainly be very baſe, whatever Pleaſure it might have given the Count That which makes me ſay that the Incredulity of this Writer might be ill grounded, is, that *Grotius* has hinted at that Action; an evident Sign that he did not think the Story that was ſpread to be a vain Report. His Words are worth relating, as informing us of the Merit of the Deceaſed, with ſome Circumſtances well choſen. (*g*) *Hic quoque ſe Claudius Burlota tranſtulerat, honoque & extremam nactus operam, trajectus glob. vir nobilis animo, Lotharingus ortu, curandi olim vulnus ibus tam ſæpe ſervaverat: mox perfacinus haud bonellum consulatus Mansfeldio feci batur, dictus uxorem ejus ſalutaſſe: ſed nullus honores, ita ſe gesſerat, ut mereri majora ſemper juduceretur, quo mors ejus nec ludu apud ducem, nec apud ipſos novitati invidentes gaudio caruit (h).*

(*f*) *Hiſt. del'Archiduc Albert, B. 4. p. 264.*

(*C*) *More Luck than Conduct.*] Here is what Famianus Strada ſays of him: (*i*) *Animoſus magis quam cautus ac ſæpe ſæpenumero expectatæ mortem viſus eſt.* 'He would undertake any thing, and 'was terrified with no Danger. He began a Fight 'as if he had been ſure of the Victory. The bold 'Attempts were committed to him. They who 'did not care to be put upon ſuch Hazards, or ſaw 'themſelves eclipſed by his Succeſs, call'd him a 'fortunate Fool-hardy Fellow.

(*D*) *He was wounded on ſeveral Occaſions.*] At the Siege of *Nuys* in the Year 1583. at that of *Andres* in 1590. at that of *Hulſt* the ſame Year, and at the Battle of *Newport* in 1600. ſee Famianus Strada (*k*): I believe he is miſtaken as to the firſt Wound. I have ſeen no other Hiſtorian that mentions it: and beſides, they all ſay, that *Labourlotte* a few days after the Battle brought a conſiderable Succour to *Newport*, which contributed very much to the raiſing of the Siege that Prince *Maurice* had laid to that Place. As to the Wound at *Hulſt*, it was not mortal, as *Bongars* will have it. What I have cited from him in the firſt Remark was written the 6th of *Auguſt* 1596. he was not undeceived 20 days after; for he affirms in a Letter of the 27th of *Auguſt* in the ſame Year, that *Labourlotte* was (*m*) dead of his Wounds. Thus you ſee how the very Miniſters of Princes are ſubject to ſpread falſe News, and not quickly to know the Falſity of them. They ought to be more circumſpect in that Point than the Perſon I am ſpeaking of, whoſe Ability otherwiſe deſerves great Encomiums. But when we follow him cloſe, we can't forbear lying that he too lightly believ'd agreeable News, and was too haſty in imparting them to his Friends. Here's another Proof of it, taken from the ſame Letter, in which he affirm'd that *Labourlotte* was dead: 'You will probably rejoice when you hear 'that the King of *Spain* is dead, and that the *Spa-'niards* will not receive his Son for their King, as 'being born of an inceſtuous Marriage. *Rideas etiam eum intelligas Regem Hiſp. mortuum, & filium repudiari ab Hiſpanis natum nuptiis inceſtis* (*n*). This is what he writ to his Friend the 6th of *Auguſt* 1596. At that time all the News diſadvantageous to *Spain* were as eaſily believ'd (4), as now thoſe that are to the diſadvantage of *France*.

(*k*) *Famian. Strada de bello Belgico, dec. 1. l. 8. p. m. 572.*

(*i*) *De bel. Belg. l. 1. p. m. 35.*

(*h*) *Hiſt. de l'Archiduc Albert*

(*m*) Bongars; *Rationum ex vulneribus obiit. Bongarsii epiſt. pag. 500 of the Hague Ed. 1695.*

(*n*) *Id. ad p. 491.*

(4) *I write this in the Year 1695*

(*E*) *He was killed the 24th of* July 1600.] The Author of the Hiſtory of Archduke *Albert*, ſays the 25th of *July* at page 138; but at page 264. he inſerts *Labourlotte*'s Epitaph, which ſays the 24th. This Epitaph is uſeful to the Hiſtory of this brave Man; and therefore I ſhall ſet it down. (*o*) 'He 'is buried at *Lapogne*, with this Epitaph. Here 'lies the Noble and Illuſtrious Lord, Meſſire Claude de 'Labourlotte, Knight, and Counſellor of War to the 'King, Colonel of twelve Companies of Luxem-'burghers, Lord of *Bernſtein*, *Famoux*, *La Vallée*, 'Lopogne and *Bah*. He was killed at Fort *Iſabella* 'near *Oſtend*, the 24th of *July* in the Year 1600. I don't think this Authour has been a good Tranſcriber: for, to relate an Epitaph faithfully, the leaſt Letter ought not to be chang'd. The Barbariſms and Solœciſms muſt be retain'd, if there can be; or the Reader muſt be told that one gives only the Subſtance of it. Here is the Epitaph as the Baron

(*o*) *Hiſt. de l'Archiduc Albert p. 264.*

he was making an Intrenchment betwixt *Bruges* and Fort *Iſabella*. He had a great ſhare in the barbarous Actions that the Troops of the Amirante (L) committed in the Territories of the Empire in 1598. He † left a Son (F) who turn'd Dominican, and one Daughter who married *Robert de Celles* Baron *de Foy*, in the Country of *Liege* near *Dinant*.

† *Hiſt. de Archid. Auſtr. Princes in* [illegible] *pag.* [illegible]

‡ *Diogen. Laert. lib.* 4. *n.* 59.

† *Diogen. Laertius.*

LACYDES, a *Greek* Philoſopher born at *Cyrene*, was the Diſciple of *Arceſilaus*, and his Succeſſor in the Academy ‡. Some pretend that he followed not his (A) Maſter's Doctrine; but I think they are miſtaken. He was poor in his younger days; nevertheleſs he became famous by his intent Application to Study: Beſides, he had a very grateful way of diſcourſing †. He taught in a Garden which * *Attalus* King (B) of *Pergamum* had made. He anſwer'd that * Prince, who ſent for him to Court, that the Pictures of Kings were to be look'd at at a diſtance. He taught ‖ Philoſophy twenty ſix Years, and reſigned his ‡ Employment to two of his Scholars. He imitated his Maſter in a very laudable thing, which was, that he lov'd to do good without (C) caring it ſhould be known. The Kindneſs (D) a Gooſe had for him is very remarkable. He died of a Palſie (E) for drinking too much. What *Numenius* (F) relates of him, looks like a

† *Diogen. Laertius.*

* *It was in the Academy.*

* *Id. ib. n.* 60.

‖ *Id. ib. n.* 61.

‡ *Id. ib. n.* 60.

Le Roi gives it (p): I believe it differs very little from the Original: *Icy giſt noble & illuſtre Seigneur Meſſire Claude de Labourlotte, Chevalier & du Conſeil de guerre, Colonel de douze compagnies Luxembourgeoiſes, Seigneur de Berleſtem, Seigneur de Boncourt, La Vallée, Loppoigne, Baſy: lequel à eſté tué lez Oſtende pour le ſervice de ſa Majeſté le 24. de Juliette 1600. Prier Dieu pour ſon ame.*

(p) *In Topographia Gallo-Brabant.* printed at *Amſterd.* 1603. *in fol.* p. 74.

(F) *The barbarous Actions which the Troops of the* Amirante *committed.*] Their Extortions and Barbarities ſtrike with horrour thoſe who read 'em in the Hiſtories. See the Deſcription that *d'Aubigne* has given of 'em in few words, in the 10th Chapter of the 5th Book of his third Volume. 'Some Lords 'ſaying to *Labourlotte, adds he* (q), that the Empe- 'ror and the *German* Princes would reſent ſuch Out- 'rages, he ſhew'd 'em a Cow, and ſaid, *As much as* 'that Beaſt. Note, that the Amirante who com- manded thoſe Troops, was *Francis de Mendoſa*.

(q) Pag. 718.

(F) *He left a Son.*] My Author ſhould have ſaid that *Labourlotte* left two Sons, *Erneſtus* and *Francis*; The firſt was Lord of *Loppoigne*, and dy'd without Iſſue; the latter was a Monk, and ſo the Succeſſion of their Father fell to their Siſter. See the Topography of the *Walloon* (s) *Brabant*.

(s) *Vide ſupra.*

(A) *That he followed not his Maſter's Doctrine; but I believe they are miſtaken.*] *Diogenes Laertius* aſſirms, that *Arceſilaus* was the Founder of the Second Academy, and that *Lacydes* was the Founder of the third. (a) [illegible] *Arceſilas primus mediam invexit Academiam.* . . . . (b) [illegible] *Lacydes nova Academiæ princeps fuit.* I had rather believe *Cicero*, who affirms that *Lacydes* retained *Arceſilaus*'s Method, and that *Carneades* reformed it. (c) *Cujus* (Arceſilæ) *primo non admodum probata ratio . . . . proxime à Lacide ſolo RETENTA eſt: poſt autem conſtituta à Carneade, qui eſt quartus ab Arceſila.* Moſt Authors are agreed that *Carneades* was the Founder of the Third Academy: They therefore ſuppoſe that *Lacydes* ſtuck to *Arceſilaus*'s Doctrine without any Innovation. See the Remark *A* in the Article *Carneades*.

(a) *Diog. Laert. lib.* 4. *n.* 28. *See alſo the ſame Author, in Proœmio, n.* 14.

(b) *Id. ib. p.* 50. *See alſo the ſame Author, in Proœm. n.* 14.

(c) *Cicero Academ. queſt. l.* 2. *fol.* 203. *B.*

(B) *A Garden which* Attalus *King of* Pergamum *had made.*] [illegible] *Lacydes igitur in Academia ſi holam habebat in horto quem Attalus Rex fieri curaverat, Lacydiumque ab ipſo appellatus eſt* (d). If you add to this, his deſire of having *Lacydes* in his Court, you'll eaſily perceive that he loved Philoſophy. *Menage* is very much miſtaken: (e) he applies to this *Attalus* what *Plutarch* (f) and *Juſtin* (g) ſay of another *Attalus*'s Delight in Agriculture. This Chronological Confuſion is ſomewhat ſtrange.

(d) *Diog. Laert. l.* 4. *n.* 60.

(e) *Menag in Diog. Laert. lib.* 4. *n.* 60.

(f) *Plut. in Demet.*

(g) *Juſtin lib.* 36.

(C) *To do good, without caring it ſhould be known.*] This was one of *Arceſilaus*'s good Qualities, as we have ſeen in the Remark *I* of his Article. Here follows a Paſſage of *Plutarch*: (h) 'And what Philo- 'ſophy tells us, that Children uſually reſemble their 'Parents, we find in ſome meaſure verified in *Arce- 'ſilaus* and *Lacydes*, his intimate Acquaintance: For 'when *Cephiſocrates* was impeached of High- 'Treaſon [illegible] *Lacydes*, with ſeveral others of his 'Friends, ſtood by him at his Trial, the Council for 'the State delivered the Priſoner's Ring, wherein lay 'the principal Evidence againſt him, might be pro- 'duced in Court, which *Cephiſocrates* hearing, dropt 'it ſlyly off his Finger; and *Lacydes* obſerving it, 'ſet his Foot upon't, and bury'd it in the Ground. 'Whereupon being acquitted, and going afterwards 'to pay his Reſpects and Thanks to his Judges, one, 'of them, who, it ſeems, had taken notice of the 'Paſſages, told him that his Thanks were owing to '*Lacydes*, and ſo related the whole Story, when yet '*Lacydes* had never mentioned it.

(h) [illegible]

(D) *The Kindneſs a Gooſe had for him.*] She follow'd him every where, within doors and out of doors, in the day time, and in the night time. (k) *Poteſt & ſapientiæ videri intellectus his* (ſcilicet bus) *eſſe. Ita comes perpetuo adhæſiſſe Lacydi Philoſopho dicitur, nuſquam alio, non in publico, non in balneis, non nudo, non interdiu digreſſus.* When ſhe died, *Lacydes* made as noble a Funeral for her as if ſhe had been his Son or his Brother (l).

(k) *Plin. l.* 10. *c.* 22. *p.m* 308. *See alſo Athenæus, l.* 13. *pag.* 600.

(l) *Ælian. l.* [illegible] *Hiſt. anim. c.* 41.

(E) *He died of a Palſie for drinking too much.*] (m) [illegible] *Mortuus eſt autem ex Paralyſi quam ex immodica potione contraxerat. Athenæus* (n) tells us, that *Lacydes* and another Philoſopher called *Timon*, were invited for two days together to a Feaſt: and that in compliance to the Humour of the Company, they drank plentifully. *Lacydes* quitted his Poſt the firſt day, and retired when he perceived he had enough. *Timon* ſeeing him goeſt, claim'd the Victory: but the next day he yielded firſt: he could not drink off the Bowl that was brought him. *Lacydes* was even with him. This is a very ſcandalous thing. Philoſophers ſhould never contend for ſuch a Victory; it is not only a fault to obtain it, but alſo to attempt it; and tho' the Ignominy of the Victor is greater than that of the Vanquiſhed, yet the latter deſerves to be cenſur'd. How many Chriſtian Philoſophers, and even Divines, have imitated *Timon* and *Lacydes*!

(m) *Diog. Laert. in* [illegible] *ſuprà, n.* 61.

(n) *Athen. l.* 10. *c.* 10. *p.* 438.

(F) *What* Numenius *relates of him, looks altogether like a merry Story.*] Here is the Subſtance of what he ſays. (o) *Lacydes* diſcovered a great Stinginеſs in his way of Living; he truſted nothing to his Servants; (p) his Pantry was inacceſſible to 'em; he put in, and took out of it himſelf what there was occaſion for, and never left it open: But that he might not be troubled with the Key, he put it in a Hole (q) which he ſeal'd up, and then he threw his Seal into the (r) Pantry through the Hole of the Lock. His Servants having diſcovered this, trick'd him with eaſe. It was no difficult thing for them to get the Key, and to place it again where he had put it, and to ſeal up the Hole. They eat, they drank, they robb'd him as they thought fit, and laughed at him into the Bargain. He on his part very eaſily perceived the Diminution of his Wine and Proviſions; and not knowing where to lay the Fault, he remembred the Doctrine of *Arceſilaus*, who taught that our Senſes and our Reaſon comprehend nothing, and he attributed the *Vacuum* of his Bottles and Baſkets to that Incomprehenſibility. Thus he began to Philoſophize in *Arceſilaus*'s School, againſt the certainty of humane Knowledge. Nay, he made uſe of that Domeſtick Experience, to prove that he had reaſon to ſuſpend his Judgment in every thing. I won't alledge a hear-ſay, ſaid he one Day, as he was gravel, diſcourſing with one of his Friends; I know by Experience what I am going to tell you; I can ſpeak of it without any Doubt. Hereupon he told him from one end to the other the Adventure of his Buttery. What, continued he, could *Zeno* ſay againſt an Argument of this force, which has

(o) *Numenius apud Euſeb. præpar. Evangel. lib.* 14. *c.* 7. *p.* 734. *& ſeq.* [illegible]

(p) [illegible]

(q) *I don't keep to the Greek, in which there is* [illegible] *cava quadam in arcula.*

(r) [illegible]

a merry Story. *Moreri* has committed (G) very groſs Miſtakes. The Difference that Father *Rapin* finds betwixt *Arceſilaus* and *Lacydes*, is a meer Illuſion. Philoſophy, ſays he †, was *uneaſie* under the former, and *contradicting* under the latter. 'Tis certain, that it was never more contradicting than under *Arceſilaus*.

LACISIUS (*Paul*) a Regular Canon of the Congregation of *Lateran* in the XVIth. Century *p*, was of *Verona*. He taught the *Latin* Tongue in the Priory of St. *Fridian*, at *Lucca* *q*, whilſt *Peter Martyr* was Prior there; and having reliſhed with him the Doctrine of the Proteſtants, he followed him into *Germany*, where they openly profeſs'd it in 1542. After they had been ſome time at *Zurich* *r*, and at *Baſil*, they were invited to *Strasburg* by *Martin Bucer*, and by his Means *Peter Martyr* was made Profeſſor of Divinity, and *Paul Laciſius*, Profeſſor of the *Greek* Tongue *s*. The latter † died at *Strasburg*, I know not when. His *Latin* Verſion of *Tzetzes*'s Chiliads, was printed ‡ with the *Greek* in 1546, at *Baſil*, by *John Oporin*.

† *Rapin, Reflect. ſur la Philoſ. n.* 8. ‡ *Maittaire, Annal. Typ. Tom.* 2. *p.* 832.

LAIS,

(*G*) *Moreri has committed very groſs Miſtakes.* I. Inſtead of ſaying, that *Lacydes*'s Father was a Native of Cyrene, he ſhould have ſaid, that *Lacydes* was born there. II. He ought not to have adopted *Laertius*'s Error, concerning the Foundation of an Academy by *Lacydes*. III. He ought not to have placed his Death *in the Fourth Year of the* 130th. *Olympiad*. This is no fault of the Impreſſion, for he adds, that it was the 114th. *Year of Rome*. If the Printers had omitted ſome thing, in their Calculation, they would not have erred to exactly in the Second. 'Tis therefore certain that they followed the Copy. Now what can be more aſſured, than to believe, that *Apollonius* (*b*) *lived in the* 120 *h. Olympiad*, and that *Lacydes* his Diſciple, died the laſt Year of the 130th. Olympiad? Thus his Death had been placed in the Fourth Year of the 134th. Olympiad, it would not be an Error, I confeſs, but not, till about the Second Year of the 135th. Here's the Proof of it. *Diogenes Laertius* obſerves that *Lacydes*, who began to be the Head of the Academy the 4th. Year of the 134th. Olympiad, died after he had taught Philoſophy Twenty Six Years.

(*a*) Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐν ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς τριακοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἔτη ἑξήκοντα τρία γεγονώς. *Obiit autem Scholam adminiſtrare cœpiſſet quarto anno centeſimæ tricesimæ octavæ Olympiadis, vixitque ſexaginta tres annos in ſchola conſumptis.* V. 'Tis an Abſurdity to find in theſe Words (*d*), that *Lacydes lived to a Reputation* —— *after he had taught for the Space of Twenty five Years.* VI. This can hardly be ſaid of any Profeſſor; for if he ſpends Twenty five Years in his Profeſſion, without Fame, he runs the hazard, ordinarily ſpeaking, of dying without any Reputation.

Note, that Father *Hardouin* is out, as to the time of our Philoſopher's Death. *Obiit*, ſays he (*e*), *anno 4 Olymp.* CXXX. He cites the 120th Page of *Diogenes Laertius*, in the *London* Edition, 1664, *in folio*. But before that we find that it was the 134th. Olympiad, and not the 130th. 'tis certain that it concerns *Lacydes*'s Entrance on his Profeſſion and not his Death. Father *Labbe* has committed but one of theſe two Faults: He ſays (*f*), citing *Diogenes*, that the Philoſopher *Lacydes* died in the 4th. Year of the 134th. Olympiad. I will not diſcuſs whether it can be proved, that he did not die at that time? I anſwer, that there are two Proofs to the contrary to be given for it. The 1ſt. is, that he was not the Head of the Academical School (*g*) till after *Arceſilaus*'s Death, who Death, and we know that *Arceſilaus* (*h*) was Contemporary with *Eumenes* Prince of *Pergamus*, who ſucceeded not *Philetærus* till the 129th. Olympiad. Father *Labbe* (*k*) lys to; the Conſequence of this Philoſopher with *Eumenes*, requires, that he ſhould have lived till the 130th. Olympiad. Which being ſo, it can't be ſaid, that he ſucceeded the 4th. Year, of the 134th. Olympiad; for he taught Twenty Six Years. My ſecond Proof is drawn from this, that *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*, erected the Garden to be made, where *Lacyde* taught, and deſired to have that Philoſopher at his Court. There's little Probability, that theſe two things relate to the firſt Year of his Reign, that is (*l*), to the Third Year of the 134th. Olympiad. Let us lay then, that *Lacydes* died not the following Year; and let us remem-

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(*f*) Ἐκ τούτου τὰ μὲν χρήσιμα, τὰς ὑποκειμένας ἐπιφορὰς ἔχει, καὶ τὰς ὄψεις, ἢ ἐν ἡμῖν, ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἢ ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ἢ τὰς ἕξεις, ἢ τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄντα ἐν ἀνοίαις διαλογισμένων τὴν ἄτοπον πίστιν, τὰ παράλογα ἐκβάλλει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀγέλαστα. Inops conſilii vicinos inclamare, appellare Deos: ſæpe hei mihi, profacinus indignum, per Deos Deaſque omnes ingeminare, ac cætera id genus argumenta, quæ homini gravioribus inquerelis, ubi fidem non impetrat, ſine arte natura ſuppeditat. Quæ cum audirem, videbam omnia magno clamore deplorata, magnam utique probabilitatis ſpeciem oſtendebant. *Id. ibid. p.* 736. *B.*

(*g*) Ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ περιπατῶμεν. Domi deinceps quiereret perpetuo, ac pro cellula foribus aſſideret. *Id. ib.* This Tranſlation ſeems more to be liked than that of *Ambroſius*, in his Notes upon *Diogenes Laertius, p.* 523. *n.* 10. *per amicum cellæ perantice cuſtodem dominum linquit.*

(*h*) *Id. ibid. C.*

has ſo clearly demonſtrated to me the *Acatalepſia*? Have not I reaſon to miſtruſt every thing, when having ſhut, ſealed, unſealed, and opened again my Pantry with my own Hands, I cannot find what I had left in it? I only find my Seal there, which will not permit me to believe that I am told'd. When he came to that part, his Friend could hold no longer; he broke out into ſuch a Fit of Laughter, as made the Philoſopher perceive his Blunder, and reſolve to look to his Seal better. His Servants did not trouble their Heads about it; and whether they had learnt from the Stoicks, or elſewhere, to diſpute with him, they unſeal'd his Key, without troubling themſelves to put the ſame Seal on again. They put on another, and ſometimes none at all. It vex'd him, when he ſaw their Roguery; but they maintain'd, that they had never medled with the Seal, and that he had forgotten to put it on. He made long Diſcourſes to let them ſee, that he well remember'd he had ſeal'd it, and went ſo far, as to ſwear it. You have a mind, anſwered they, to divert your ſelf, and to laugh at our Simplicity. A Philoſopher like you, has neither Opinions nor Memory; for you maintained the other Day, that Memory was an Opinion. He confuted them with Reaſons different from thoſe of the Academicks; but they had recourſe to a Stoick, who taught 'em how to reply to their Maſter, and to elude all his Arguments by the Doctrine of Incomprehenſibility, which they did with a great deal of pleaſant Humour. The worſt of it was, that they continued to rob his Proviſions, and *Lacydes* perceived that his Goods vaniſh'd away every Day. He found himſelf in great Perplexity; his Principles, inſtead of ſerving him, were againſt him, and he was forced to behave himſelf like the Vulgar. (*i*) All the Neighbourhood was filled with his Clamours and Complaints. He proteſted by all the Gods and Goddeſſes, that he was robb'd; at laſt he took the Reſolution not to ſtir out, and (*k*) to keep a watchful Eye over his Buttery-Door. What did he get by diſputing with his Servants? He made uſe of the Method of the Stoicks againſt 'em, and they anſwered him in the way of the Academicks, and beat him with his own Weapons. At laſt, reſolving to free himſelf once for all, from the intolerable Perplexity he was in, he ingenuouſly told his Servants, Children, we uſe to diſpute one way in the Schools, and we live another way in our Houſes. (*l*) Ὅτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀκαταλήπτους τὰς φαντασίας ἔλεγε, δῆλον ἐκ τούτων. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγε. *Verum ubi vitæ agit, ſecum ipſe cogitans, quo ſua ſibi verſutia recideret: eodem animo ſenſum patam ac ſine ſuco aperiens, nimirum, inquit, famuli, aliter hæc in ſchola diſputamus, aliter vivimus.*

This is a pretty Story, and Mr. *de la Fontaine* might have made it very diverting; but 'tis plain, that it has been forged by a pious Fraud of the Stoicks. This has been a Method uſed at all Times, and in all Places; People have always endeavoured, and do ſtill, to train the Doctrine of their Adverſaries into ridicule: and to that end a Thouſand Fables are invented, provided a Pretence be not wanting to ſtain maliciouſly the Conſequences of their Opinions. This Paſſion has been ſo blindly indulged againſt the Pyrrhoniſts, that not only Sincerity, but even Probability has been laid aſide, to make them be denied, that in the ordinary Conduct of Life, Men ought to truſt to the Teſtimony of their Senſes. They only denied, that the abſolute nature of Objects, is juſt the ſame as it appears to be.

Note, that *Diogenes Laertius* (*a*) is content to obſerve, that our *Lacydes* having ſeal'd his Study Door, threw his Seal in the Inſide, and that his Servants made uſe of the Seal to ſeal his Proviſions, without being diſcovered by him.

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LAIS, a famous Curtezan, was of *Hyccara* (*A*) a Town of *Sicily*. She was carried into *Greece* when her Country was plundered by *Nicias* the *Athenian* General. She settled at *Corinth*, which was the fittest Town (*B*) in the World for Women of her Profession; and there she made so great a Noise, that no Curtezan (*C*) had ever a greater Resort. She had been informed by a kind of Revelation, that she should be eminent, and get a great deal of Money; for she dreamed that *Venus* (*CD*) appeared to her, to acquaint her with the Arrival of some very rich Customers. The most illustrious Orators, and even the most austere Philosophers, fell in Love with her. Every

remember, that if he had taught but a few Months in that Garden, it would be an Absurdity to give him no other School but that, and even to observe, that it had its Name from him. He must therefore have taught there many Years, and consequently he did not die a Year after *Attalus* came to the Throne. *Sethus Calvisius* (*m*) has been guilty of the same Fault as Father *Labbe*.

(*A*) *Of* Hyccara, *a Town of* Sicily.] This we learn (*n*) from *Plutarch*, when he speaks of the taking of that Town. The Inhabitants were sold, and *Lais* amongst the rest, who was transported to *Peloponnesus*, being yet (*o*) a Virgin. Some Moderns say (*p*), that she was sold at *Corinth*; but they have not consulted *Pausanias*, nor his Translator, who might have clearly taught 'em, that she was sold at *Hyccara*, and then carried to *Corinth*. *Pausanias* perfectly agrees with *Plutarch*; he says as well as he, that she was yet a young Girl (*q*). *Solinus* (*r*) is contented to make her a *Sicilian*, without specifying the Town she was of; but *Athenæus*, in the 13th. Book, Page 588. cites three Authors (*f*), who expressly say, that she was of *Hyccara* in *Sicily*. One of those three Writers observes, that she went a Slave to *Corinth*. [illegible] *Ex quo* (o pido Hyccaris) *captiva Corinthum venit*. This condemns the Moderns I have mentioned. *Stephanus Byzantinus* says also, that she was of *Hyccara*, and quotes *Syncsius* (*s*), who call'd her [illegible] *Hyccaricum mancipium*. On the other hand he cites *Neanthes* (*x*) Author of a Book concerning Illustrious Men, who says, that she was born at *Crastus*, a Town of *Sicily*. He also cites *Timæus*, as having said, that she was of *Eucarpia* in the same Island; and yet we have seen, that *Timæus*, quoted by *Athenæus*, makes her a Native of *Hyccara*; and since no body makes mention of a place in *Sicily*, called *Eucarpia*, I find *Berkelius*'s Conjecture (*y*) very probable, namely, that *Stephanus Byzantius* made use of a Copy of *Timæus*, where the Transcribers had put [illegible] for *Casaubon* (*z*) observes that the Country of *Lais*, like that of *Homer*, and of some other illustrious Men, has not been well known, and he cites *Solinus*, who says, (*a*) *Lais eligere patriam maluit quam fateri*. *Casaubon* adds, that some will have her to be born at *Pancarpia* in *Phrygia*; but probably his Memory fail'd him (*b*): he remember'd confusedly, that he had read, that some made her a Native of *Eucarpia* in *Sicily*, a Place which *Stephanus Byzantinus* mentions in the Article of *Eucarpia* of *Phrygia*; This confounded his Ideas; he fancied that he had read, that *Pancarpia* in *Phrygia* was *Lais*'s Birth-Place, according to some Writers. *Pinedo* goes farther than *Casaubon*, as to the Parallel of *Homer* with this Curtezan: he pretends, that many Towns contended for the Glory of having produced *Lais* (*c*).

(*B*) Corinth——*was the fittest Town in the World for Women of her Profession.*] However I don't believe all that is said of her by *Lotichius*. He (*d*) affirms, that the *Corinthians*, in their solemn Prayers, beg'd of the Gods to encrease the Number of the Curtezans. He cites *Athenæus*, who says no such Thing. But this probably misled *Lotichius*; he depended too securely upon these Words of *Erasmus*: (*e*) *Tantus* Corinthi *bonos habebatur mercimonius, ut quemadmodum ex autoribus docet Athenæus, illic in templo Veneris prostarent, atque in solemnibus precibus illud addi soleat, ut Dii augerent meretricum numerum. Quin & illud refert meretrices facto sacro Veneri, civitatem extremo periculo laborantem servasse placata Venere.* *Erasmus* strains the matter. *Athenæus* says only, that there was an ancient Law at *Corinth*, ordaining, that when the Town should make Supplications to *Venus* in any important Affair, they should summon as many Curtezans as ever they could, that they might assist at the Pomp of the Procession, and pray to that Goddess, and remain the last in her Temple (*f*). *Erasmus* is right in his further Account of the matter; for it is true that *Athenæus* says, that it was believed that the Prostitutes of *Corinth* had very much contributed to the Safety of all *Greece*, by the Prayers they put up to *Venus*, when *Xerxes* made his Irruption. He adds, that the *Corinthians* promised *Venus* a certain Number of those Creatures, if they obtain'd the Favours they beg'd of her, and that *Xenophon* the *Corinthian* made a like Vow, if he carried the Prize at the Olympick Games. Having obtained the Victory, he punctually perform'd his Vow, consecrating Twenty five Girls to the Service of *Venus*, and presenting them to this Goddess, during the Ceremony of the Sacrifice he offered to her, after his return from the Olympick Games. Nay, these Twenty five Girls began the Hymn that was sung during the Immolation of the Victim. Concerning the Whoredom of *Corinth*, See *Erasmus*'s *Adages* (*g*), where he cites a notable Place of *Strabo* (*h*).

This is sufficient to make good my Text, and at the same time to shew, that the Heathens could not say, that the Abominations they published of their Gods, were only Poetical Stories; for here's a most flourishing City, which testifies by its Laws, and publick Worship, that it believes, that the Curtezans by their Prostitutions, did an agreeable Service to *Venus*, and that their Intercession with her was of the greatest Efficacy to prevent the publick Calamities. 'Tis a Sign they gave Credit to the Stories that were told of this Goddess's Adulteries.

(*C*) *No Curtezan had ever a greater Resort.*] Of this *Propertius* (*i*) gives a formal Testimony.

Non ita compleant Ephyræ (*k*) *Laidos ædes,*
Ad cujus jacuit Græcia tota fores.

Plutarch says (*l*) that *Greece* was inflamed with the Love of *Lais*, that two Seas fought for this Woman, and that she had an Army of Gallants (*m*). [illegible] *Inauditus haud dubie quid Laidi obtigerit. Nobilis illa & tam multis amata viris, quæ sui desiderio Græciam inflammavit, atque adeo de qua duo maria certaverant.* See her Epitaph in the Remark *I*.

Mrs. *Jacquette Guillaume* says at the 77th. Page of her *Dames Illustres*, ' (*n*) that one of the principal Gallants of *Lais*, a publick Curtezan, erected ' her a Statue like that of *Pallas*, with this Inscription: *To the Divinity of* Lais, *for having triumphed over the Wisdom of all the Philosophers, and the Courage of all the Conquerors.* I wish she had quoted a good Author for it; for her Testimony can't be depended upon.

(*CD*) *She dreamed that* Venus *appeared to her to acquaint her.*] It was *Venus*, surnamed *Melanis*, or the Black, that appeared to her. She had a Temple with this Title in (*o*) a Suburb of *Corinth*. It has been thought that this Surname was given her (*p*) because generally speaking, Men go about the Multiplication of their Kind by Night, and not like Beasts by Day. If this reason of the Surname *Melanis* was a solid one, it does not seem that *Venus*, as Black, should have shewn herself in a Dream to young *Lais*, who was not design'd to mind the distinction of Days and Nights. However it be, this Dream was mention'd by an Orator in one of his Pleas, You need only read these Words of *Athe-*

(*m*) *Sethus Calvisius ad ann. mundi*, 3709. *pag. m.* 208.

(*n*) *Plutarch. in Nicia, pag.* 533. *See also* Plutarch in Alcibiade sub finem.

(*o*) [illegible] Virginem etiamnum. *Id. in Nicia, p.* 533. *C.*

(*p*) *Thomæus* de varia, hist. l. 1. c. 81. *One of the Commentators upon* Alciatus's *Emblems, p. m.* 330. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Diverses Iesons, Book* 3. *ch. 6. p. m.* 184.

(*q*) [illegible] Adhuc puellam. *Pausanias, lib. 2. pag.* 95.

(*r*) *Solin. cap.* 5.

(*s*) *Polemo, Nymphodorus & Timæus.*

(*t*) *Polemo apud Athen. ib.*

(*u*) *Invoce* [illegible]

(*w*) *Invoce* [illegible]

(*x*) *In voce* [illegible]

(*y*) *In Stephan. voce* [illegible]

(*z*) *In Athen. pag.* 869.

(*a*) *Solin. ubi supra.*

(*b*) *See* Pinedo in Stephanum voce [illegible]

(*c*) Celeres meretrices ubertatem in Diis placet illustrant: de qua (Laide) decertabant quædam civitates haud [illegible] focus ac de Homero. *Pinedo in voce* [illegible] *See the same* Pinedo, *at the Word* [illegible]

(*d*) *Lotichius in Petronium, pag.* 232.

(*e*) *Erasm. in proverb.* [illegible] *id est, scortationibus ac lustris indulgere, lenociniumque exercere.* 'Tis *the* 68th. Proverb, *Centur.* 3. *chiliad.* 4. *pag. m.* 904.

(*f*) *Athenæus, lib.* 13. *p.* 573. *ex Chamæleonte Heracleonte in libro de Pindaro.*

(*g*) *Erasm. in proverbium,* Non est cujuslibet Corinthum appellere. 'Tis *the* 1st. *of the* 4th. *Century of the* 1st. *Chiliad pag. m.* 132.

(*h*) *Strabo, lib* 7. *pag.* 201.

(*i*) *Propert. lib.* 2. *eleg.* 6.

(*k*) *That is,* Corinthiæ; *for* Ephyra *was the ancient Name of* Corinth, *Plin. lib.* 4. *c.* 4.

(*l*) *Plutarch in* [illegible] *amatorio pag.* 767.

(*m*) [illegible] Magnum aliorum amatorum clam subterfugiens exercitum *Id. ib.*

(*n*) *That Book was printed at* Paris, *in* 1665.

(*o*) *Pausan. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

(*p*) *Id. lib.* 8. *cap.* 6.

ry body knows, that *Demoſthenes* (D) made a Journey on purpoſe to *Corinth*, to have a Night with her; but the Rate ſhe put upon it diſcouraged him. It is alſo well known, what a (E) Paſſion *Diogenes* the Cynick had for her. He found her very Complaiſant, as poor and clouterly as he was, which is more to be admired than her great Intimacy with the Philoſopher *Ariſtippus*, who was a very ſpruce and Polite Man. 'Tis ſaid that ſhe did not love him, and he was jeſted upon for't. The Anſwer (F) he made thereupon, is very free. Some ſay *, that her Emulation of another Curtezan, moved her to give Acceſs to the Poor as well as to the Rich, to ſignalize her ſelf by the Multitude of her Admirers; but others maintain, that ſhe never (G) beſtowed her Favours at a cheap Rate, till ſhe grew old: Some will have it that ſhe took up then (H) a Bawd's

* *Athen. l.* 13. *p.* 588.

† Viz. *Phryne.*

(c) *Cicero Epiſt.* 26. *l.* 9. *ad familiares.*

(d) *Lib.* 12. *p.* 544.

(e) *Lactant. l.* 3. *c.* 15. *p. m.* 184. Ὅτι χρὴ γυναῖκα ἔχειν κοινὴν. Graeci dixerunt, ut Latini *habere* uxorem, de eo qui ad eam pro uxore cum venit, ventitabat. Latinae dictionis exempla habes apud Terentium in Andria I. 1. *Quis Chrysidem habuit?* Qua de re Muretus variar. lect. vi. 7. *Menag. ad Diog. Laert. l.* 2. *n.* 75.

(f) *Diog. Laert. l.* 1. *n.* 84. 85.

(g) *Epicrates in Anti-Laide, apud Athen. l.* 13. *p.* 570. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἡμῶν ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι Διογένης ὁ κύων ἐπεθύμησε τῆς Λαΐδος, καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνη οὐκ ἐδίδου αὐτὸν ἐντεῦθεν, εἰ μὴ ἀργύριον πολὺ ἔδωκεν· ὁ δὲ ἐπεθύμει μὲν, ἀπορῶν δὲ ἐφείδετο. Laïdem etiam Axine nuncupata eſt. Quod ejus cognomen ingenii ſævitiam redarguebat, quodque numerum quæſtum exigeret, præſertim à peregrinis, eo quod ſtatim eſſent diſcedituri. *Ælian. var. Hiſt. lib.* 14. *c.* 33. *See alſo the fifth Chapter of the twelfth Book, wherein Ælian quotes* Ariſtophanes Byzantius *for it.* (h) Neque admittebat illa nimium quantum. *A. Gellius lib.* 1. *c.* 8. (i) *Above Letter* I.

(r) *Athen. lib.* 13. *pag.* 588. *næus*: (r) Τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἡ Μελαινὶς καλλιμίνη, νυκτὸς ἐπιφανεῖσα ἐμπόροις ἐφιεμένοις ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν πολυτελῶς. ἃ Τιμοκλῆς μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λαΐδος ἐπιγράμματι. *Huic* (Laidi) *cum eſſet Corinthi, Venus Melænis ſive Nigella dormienti noctu ſe oſtendit, & adventum prænunciavit amatorum qui forent pecuniоſiſſimi, ut memorat Hyperides Actione ſecunda contra Ariſtagoram.*

(D) *That* Demoſthenes *made a Journey on purpoſe.*] This ſtory has been very prettily dreſt up in *French* by Mr. *le Pays* (f). *Aulus Gellius* tells it thus: (t) *Lais Corinthia ob elegantiam venuſtatemque formæ grandem pecuniam demerebat: conventuſque ad eam ditiorum hominum ex omni Græcia celebres erant: neque admittebatur, niſi qui dabat, quod poſcerat. Poſcebat autem illa nimium quantum. Hinc ait natum eſſe illud frequens apud Græcos adagium,* Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς. *Quod fruſtra iret Corinthum ad Laidem qui non quiret dare quod poſceretur. Ad hanc ille Demoſthenes clanculum adit; &, ut ſibi ſui copiam faceret, petit: at Lais μυρίας δραχμὰς ἡ τάλαντον poposcit. Hoc facit numi noſtratis denarium decem millia. Tali petulantia mulieris atque pecuniæ magnitudine ictus expaviduſque Demoſthenes avertit; & diſcedens, Ego, inquit, pœnitere tanti non emo. Sed Græca ipſa, quæ fertur dixiſſe, lepidiora ſunt,* Μετανοῶ, *inquit,* μικρὸν δεῖν χιλίαις δραχμαῖς.

(E) *What a Paſſion* Diogenes *the Cynick had for her.*] He received a Courtely of her ſcot-free. This is what *Ariſtippus*'s Servant repreſented to his Maſter, who laviſht his Eſtate upon that Proſtitute. But *Ariſtippus* anſwer'd him, I pay her well, not that others may not Lie with her, but that I may do it. (u) Ὑπολαμβάνοντος ὑμῶν ἴσως, ὅτι τὸ μὲν αὐτὴν πωλεῖσθαι ἀργύριον δίδως, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲ δραχμὴν τῷ κοινὴ συγκυλίεσθαι ἀνωρύτῳ δίδωμι, ἐγὼ Λαΐδι χορηγῶ πολλὰ, ἵνα αὐτὴς αὐτὴ ἐπιλαύω, οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ἄλλος. *Ariſtippus* was the moſt obliging Man in the World to his Miſtreſſes; he was not Jealous of 'em, nor did he value their beſtowing upon others the ſame Favours he received. This is what he declar'd to *Diogenes*, who told him (w), *you Lie with a Proſtitute; either leave her, or be a Cynick as I am. Do you think it Abſurd, anſwered* Ariſtippus, *to Lodge in a Houſe, that has Lodg'd many others, or to Embark in a Veſſel, which has carried many Paſſengers? No, replied* Diogenes. *Juſt ſo, ſaid* Ariſtippus, *it is no ways abſurd, to have to do with a Woman, whom many others have known before* (x). Here is a diverting Deſcription of the Equipage, with which theſe two Philoſophers rambled about Lais's Houſe, if we believe *Taſſoni*. (a) *Ma che bel vedere Diogene Cinico col mantello di romagnuolo ſquarciato, e rappezzato, la barba ſquarruffata, ſenza camicia, e lordo, e pidocchioſo fa dell' innamorato, paſſeggiando lungo la porta della famoſa Laide, e dall' altra parte comparire il ſuo rivale Ariſtippo, tutto profummato, e attilato, ſputando zirlippo, tutto di torno, e levargli il muro; e la betto, e mirarlo di torno, e levargli il muro; e la Signora ſtarſi alla geloſia, pigliandoſi guſto di vederli paſſeggiare al ſereno.*

(u) *Athen. l.* 13. *p.* 588.

(w) *Id. ib.*

(x) *See the new Letters againſt* Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of Calviniſm. There is in* du Verdier's *Bibliotheque Franſoiſe p.* 989. *a pretty Poem upon this, Compoſed by* Peter de Brach, *a Native of* Bourdeaux.

(a) *Taſſoni, Penſieri diverſi, l.* 7. *c.* 11. *p.* 228.

(b) *Plutarch. in Amatorio, p.* 750. D.

(F) *The anſwer he made thereupon is very free.*] *I don't think*, anſwer'd he, when he was told that *Lais* did not love him, *that Wine and Fiſh love me, and yet I feed on 'em with a great deal of Pleaſure.* This I learn from *Plutarch*: His Words have not been well underſtood by *Amiot*, for he ſuppoſes that *Ariſtippus* anſwer'd, *I neither love Fiſh nor Wine, tho' I live upon 'em with Pleaſure.* You'll find no ſuch Thought in the Greek. (b) Ἀριστίππου πρὸς κατηγοροῦντά τινος Λαΐδος περὶ οὗτος ὡς ἡ φιλοῦσα, ἀποκρινομένου ὅτι οὐ τὸν οἶνον οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸν ἰχθὺν μὲν φιλῶ αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἥδιον ἐκείνοις χρῶμαι. *Ariſtippus qui Laïdem apud ſe vituperanti quod non amaret, reſpondit: A vino quoque & piſce non puto amari me, tamen utroque libenter veſcor.*

On another occaſion *Ariſtippus* gave an anſwer, which many Authors have mention'd: It ſhews, that tho' he often went to *Lais*, he was no Slave to his Paſſion: (c) *Cum eſſet objectum habere cum Laida, habeo, inquit, non habeor à Laide.* The Anſwer is ſhorter in *Athenæus*, (d) Ἔχω αὐτὴν, οὐκ ἔχομαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς. *habeo non habeor.* Many Authors mention this Anſwer. *Diogenes Laertius* has it in the Life of *Ariſtippus*; *Lactantius* relates it thus: (e) *Ariſtippus Cyrenaicorum magiſtro cum Laide nobili ſcorto fuit conſuetudo, quod flagitium gravis ille philoſophiæ doctor ſic defendebat, ut diceret, multum inter ſe, & ceteros Laidis amatores intereſſe, quod ipſe haberet Laidem, alii vero à Laide haberentur. O præclara, & imitanda bonis ſapientia: hunc vero libenter in diſcipulum dares, ut diſceret habere meretricem. Aliquid inter ſe, ac perditos intereſſe dicebat, ſciret, quibus illa bona ſua perderent, ipſe gratis luxuriaretur. In qua tamen ſapientior meretrix fuit, quæ philoſophum habuit pro lenone, ut ad ſe omnis juventus doctoris exemplo, & authoritate corrupta, ſine ullo pudore concurreret.* The Reflection of this Father of the Church is very wrong; he do's not ſeem to have underſtood the Thought of the Philoſopher. *Ariſtippus*'s meaning was this, *I go to* Lais, *I am in Poſſeſſion of this right* (f); *but ſhe do's not keep me under, I remain ſtill Maſter of this Correſpondence, and I can leave it, whenever I pleaſe.* He meant not as *Lactantius* ſuppoſes, that this Commerce coſt him nothing. I have mention'd above the Complaint of *Ariſtippus*'s Servant on Account of the great expences his Maſter was at to purchase *Lais*. I ought not to forget that this Philoſopher (g) Dedicated ſome Books to that Curtezan.

(G) *That ſhe never beſtowed her Favours at a cheap rate till ſhe grew Old.*] *Epicrates* (h) made very biting Verſes upon her. When ſhe was young, ſays he, ſhe was ſo haughty by reaſon of her Wealth, that it was harder to ſee her, than *Pharnabazus*. But now that ſhe is Old, you may do with her what you have a mind to; ſhe Drinks every where, ſhe indifferently admits the Old and Young; ſhe is grown ſo Humble and good Humoured, that ſhe offers her Hand to beg a Favour. *Athenæus* relates theſe Verſes of *Epicrates*: He takes 'em from a Book Intituled *Anti-Lais*. Mr. *Baillet* has forgot it in his Collection of the *Anti*. 'Tis impoſſible to reconcile the Authors, who ſpeak of *Lais*. She was almoſt inacceſſible according to *Epicrates*, when ſhe was Young. Another Author ſays, ſhe was called (i) *Axine* by reaſon of her rough Humour, and becauſe ſhe exacted upon her Lovers; ſhe asked too great a Price, (k) and gave no quarter, particularly to Foreigners; for ſhe knew they could not ſtay long, and had no time to bate the Price, that if ſhe took not from them a great Sum at once, ſhe would have no opportunity of recovering, what ſhe ſhould bate. See the Greek Words of *Ælian*, (l) in the Margin. *Athenæus* deſcribes her much more obliging. He ſays, that ſhe made no difference betwixt the Poor and the Rich, (m) ἀνεκλίνετο πάσιν ὁμοίως. She took nothing of *Diogenes*. Probably ſhe imitated the Charitable Phyſicians, who take no Fees of the Poor; but ſhe made it up upon the Rich, as they do.

(H) *That ſhe took up then a Bawd's Trade.*] There

(c) *Cicero Epiſt.* 26. *l.* 9. *ad familiares.*

(d) *Lib.* 12. *p.* 544.

(e) *Lactant. l.* 3. *c.* 15. *p. m.* 184. Ὅτι χρὴ γυναῖκα ἔχειν κοινὴν. Graeci dixerunt, ut Latini *habere* uxorem, de eo qui ad eam pro uxore cum venit, ventitabat. Latinae dictionis exempla habes apud Terentium in Andria I. 1. *Quis Chrysidem habuit?* Qua de re Muretus variar. lect. vi. 7. *Menag. ad Diog. Laert. l.* 2. *n.* 75.

(f) *Diog. Laert. l.* 1. *n.* 84. 85.

(g) *Epicrates in Anti-Laide, apud Athen. l.* 13. *p.* 570. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἡμῶν ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι Διογένης ὁ κύων ἐπεθύμησε τῆς Λαΐδος, καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνη οὐκ ἐδίδου αὐτὸν ἐντεῦθεν, εἰ μὴ ἀργύριον πολὺ ἔδωκεν· ὁ δὲ ἐπεθύμει μὲν, ἀπορῶν δὲ ἐφείδετο. Laïdem etiam Axine nuncupata eſt. Quod ejus cognomen ingenii ſævitiam redarguebat, quodque numerum quæſtum exigeret, præſertim à peregrinis, eo quod ſtatim eſſent diſcedituri. *Ælian. var. Hiſt. lib.* 14. *c.* 33. *See alſo the fifth Chapter of the twelfth Book, wherein Ælian quotes* Ariſtophanes Byzantius *for it.* (h) Neque admittebatur illa nimium quantum. *A. Gellius lib.* 1. *c.* 8. (i) *Above Letter* I.

Bawd's Trade. Others say, that notwithstanding the Pleasure she found in distinguishing her self by the great numbers of her Courtiers, she left *Corinth*, where she had always a Crowd of Gallants, (*I*) and went to *Thessaly* in quest of a young Man she was passionately in Love with. The Women of that Country conceived so much Jealousy against her, that they made a cruel end of her. They drew her into the Temple of *Venus*, and there Stoned her * ; or, according to others, over-whelmed her with the Stools that they found at Hand. All Authors don't agree that she died (*K*) in that manner. I have said in another place † that she performed her Apprenticeship under the Painter *Apelles* ; and indeed it seems that he got her Maiden-head, if we depend on the Authors I have Alledged. See ‡ how he answered those who laugh'd at him, under pretence that he had chosen a Novice: But if the matter be Discuss'd, (*K*△) we shall have reason to doubt of this Story. The Conjecture of those, who say that there were

* *See the Remark* L.

† *In the Article* Apelles *Remark* E.

‡ *Ibid.*

was no Deity among the *Heathens*, that was served more faithfully than *Venus* ; for generally the Prostitutes kept on their Trade, as long as it was possible ; and when the Wrinkles of old Age deprived 'em of all Lovers, they did not give over that Service, they betook themselves to the teaching of Scholars, and managing Intrigues. This is what *Claudian* says of *Lais*.

(*n*) *Claudian. l. 1. in Eutropium v. 90.*

Haud (n) aliter juvenum flammis Ephyreia Lais
E gemino ditata mari, dum fersa refundit
Canities, dum turba procax, noctisque recedit
Ambitus, & raro pulsatur janua tactu,
Sequè reformidat speculo damnante senectus,
Sat tamen, atque alias succingit lena ministras,
Dilectumque diu quamvis longæva lupanar
Circuit, & retinet mores, quos perdidit ætas.

This puts me in mind of the disabled Soldiers who have been sometimes mention'd in our *Gazettes*. When they can no longer bear Arms, they are sent upon the Coasts to Exercise the Militia. If you would have another Comparison, consider the Mule spoken of by a Greek Historian (*o*). Having done long services to the People of *Athens*, she was exempted from Labour, with permission to go and Pasture where she pleased ; but that she might not be useless, she went and placed herself before the Waggons, and in some measure incouraged the Beasts of Burthen that drew 'em. For which reason, it was ordered, that she should be kept all her Life at the publick Charges.

(*o*) *Plutarch. in vita M. Catonis.*

I ought not to forget a Blunder of the most Learned *Barthius*. He thought (*p*) that *Synesius* gives us the History of *Lais*, in a Letter, wherein he speaks of a Curtezan, who was at first Concubine to a Master of a Ship, and then to a Rhetorician, and afterwards to a Servant, and then a Prostitute, and at last a Bawd. 'Tis certain that *Synesius* do's not mean *Lais*, but the Mother of a Rhetorician, newly Married to *Synesius*'s Niece: An under Match, which was extreamly ungrateful to that Author. Here is the whole Passage. Πλην εἰμὶ τὰ λήγοντα ὀρθὰ ἡ τὸν γαμβρὸν ἡμῖν μισῆσαι ἀνεπιμόνητος γοναλεγήσας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν φόμῃ Λαΐδος. ἡ γὰρ Λαὶς ἦν τις ἐξ ἑτέρου λογογράφου, ἀνδράποδον ἦν ὑπαιμαίου, ἐκ Χαλκίδος ἐνταῦθα, ὅθεν ἡ καλλίπυγος ἡ τοιοῦτον τὸν σοφιστὴν. ἡ αὐτὴ πάλαι μὲν ἐναλλακτὶς ναυκλήρῳ διεπόνει, ἔπειτα μὲν τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἡ τέτρῳ δουλίῳ, τρίτον μεθ' ἑκάστην ἑρμαΐδιον, ἡ λάθρᾳ τῇ πόλει ἔπειτα λαμπρὰς τῇ πόλει, ἡ πρίαν τῆς τέχνης, ἐς ἑσπερὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὑπὸ χαλκῷ μοιχίδι κατίλυσε, τὰς ἐν ἀλκίᾳ παιδαγίσκας, ἡ τοῖς ἔτεσι ἀθλιωτέρους. *Nisi forte aliquid dicunt qui & sponsum nobis à matris genere verbis efferunt, genus ejus à famosa illa Laide ducentes. Nam Laïs* (dixit jam quidem historiarum scriptor) *mancipium fuit Hypparicum, emptum ex Sicilia unde nobis venit illa pulchrorum filiorum mater quæ celebrem illum peperit. Et ipsa quidem olim scortum fuit Nauclerî heri, deinde Rhetoris similiter heri, tertii deinde post illos conservi, & clam civitatis, deinde palam civitatis artique præfuit meretricia, à cujus opera postquam ob maturas rugas destitit, adultas jam puellas in ea instituit, hospitibusque pro se subjtituit.* Here you see a Woman, of whom it might be affirm'd, that the last condition was worse than the first, for her Prostitution was less Pernicious than her procuring Trade.

(*p*) *Barthius, Animadverf. ad. l. 1. Claudiani in Eutropium verf. 95. p. 1291. Edit. in 4to.*

(*q*) *Synesius Epist. 3. p. m. 21. I make use of* Thomas Naogeorgus's *Translation, and the* Basil *Edition 1558. in 8vo.*

(*I*) *She went to* Thessaly *in quest of a young Man.*] What has been said of the Poverty (*a*) and the procuring Trade of *Lais*, do's not agree with what *Plutarch* says of her ; for he affirms, that when this Curtezan left *Corinth*, she had there a great Army of Gallants, and that the Women of *Thessaly* killed her only for the Envy they bore to her Illustrious Beauty (*b*). The *Thessalian* Spark she fell in Love with was called *Hippolochus*, if we believe *Plutarch* ; but *Athenæus* (*c*) calls him *Pausanias*. They both agree, that the Temple of *Venus* in which she was killed, had a Sirname given it, which denoted that Crime ; it was Sirnamed according to *Plutarch* the Temple of *Venus Homicide*, ἀφροδίτης ἀνδροφόνου, and according to *Athenæus*, the Temple of *Venus Profan'd*, ἀφροδίτης βεβηλωμένης. A Tomb was built to *Lais* upon the River *Peneus* with this Epitaph (*d*):

(*a*) *In the two foregoing Remarks.*

Τῆς δὶ σῆ' ὁ μεγάλαυχος Ἀνικητὶς τὸ πρὶν ἀλκὴν
Ἑλλὰς ἰδαλοῦ πάλλ[illegible]ου,
Λαΐδος, ἣν τίκτουσι Φρυὴ, θρέψεν δὶ Κορίνθος,
Κεῖται δ' ἐν πλατέῃ Θετταλικοῖς πεδίοις.

Hujus aliquando, magnanima, & fortitudine invicta
Græcia, formâ deabus æquiparandâ, victa & in servitutem redacta est
Laïdis, amoris filiæ, alumnæ Corinthi,
Quæ in nobilibus Thessaliæ campis sita jacet.

Athenæus confutes those, who said, that she was Buried in a Suburb of *Corinth* called *Cranion*. However 'tis true, that her Monument was seen (*b*) in that Suburb ; and nothing hinders but that it might be there and in *Thessaly* too : for tho' the *Corinthians* had not her Body, they doubtless erected a Monument to her. They Engraved upon it, a Lioness, whose Fore-feet rested upon a Ram (*f*). See *Alciatus*'s Emblems (*g*). According to *Pausanias*, the Gallant that *Lais* went in quest of, was called *Hippostratus*. To conclude, I don't think *Genesius*'s Conjecture to be solid. He believes that the Women of *Thessaly* Sacrificed *Lais* to *Venus*, as having made herself Odious to that Goddess, by the Ambition of equalling, and even Eclipsing her. He grounds his Conjecture upon their leading her to the Temple of *Venus*, tho' they might have killed her in other places. *Verisimile est*, says he (*k*), *quod hac Lais ab invidis & furiosis istis feminis non simpliciter necata, sed tanquam piacularis victima Deæ Veneri in ejus templo immolata fuerit ; quia forma sua & pulchritudine Veneris ipsius gloriam affectasse, imo obscurasse, & ita indignationem & iram ejus in se excitasse videbatur. Nam quare ipsam non in alio loco, in foro, platea, vel ædibus occiderunt ? quare ipsam in Veneris templo lapidibus & scamnis obruerunt, nisi propterea, ut Laïda Veneris æmulam coram ipsa Venere in sacrificium mactarent ?*

(*b*) Ἔστι δὶ αὐτῶν αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπὸ φθόνου ἀποκτεῖναι τὴν Λαΐδα διὰ τὸ κάλλος εἰς ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἀποφυγοῦσαν καὶ [illegible] ἀποθανοῦσαν. Ibi vero eam mulieres INVIDIA PULCRITUDINIS & æmulatione impulsæ, in templum Veneris adductam lapidibus obruerunt. *Plutarch. in Amatorio, p. 768. A.*

(*c*) *Athen. l. 13. p. 589.*

(*d*) *Athen. ibid.*

(*e*) *Pausan. l. 2. p. 45.*

(*f*) *Pausanias ibid.*

(*g*) *The 74. p. m. 329.*

(*k*) *Jacobus Gensius Theologus & Medicus Fijsius, in tractatu de Victimis humanis parte 2. p. 482. 483.*

(*i*) Ptolemæus Hephæst. *apud Photium p. m. 472.*

(*k*) Μοχὶ Λαΐδος πλησίον· ἀνῃρέθη δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν. Ac ne Laïs quidem obierat jam ; cum subigeretur mortua est. *Philetærus in Venatrice, apud Athen. l. 13. p. 587.*

(*K*△) *We shall have reason to doubt of this Story.* Let it be remember'd that the Birth of *Lais* ought to be placed in the fourth year of the 89*th*. Olympiad, and that *Apelles* being at Sea, was forc'd by a Storm to put in at *Alexandria* under the Reign of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, which Reign could not begin at farthest till the 114*th*. Olympiad. The most convenient Supposition for the Authors of that Story would be to say, that *Apelles* was but twenty years

were two Curtezans (L) called *Lais*, is grounded upon this, that every thing that is said of *Lais* cannot be understood of the same Woman without contradicting Chronology. There's no probability, that she was the Daughter of *Alcibiades* †, or that she was (LA) an Author. We have a very pretty Epigram of *Ausonius* upon (M) the

† See the Remark (L)

years Old, and that *Lais* was 25 at the time they speak of, and that he put into *Alexandria* the first year of *Ptolemy's* Reign: And therefore he must have been Born the first year of the *91st.* Olympiad. But then, would he not have been near 95 years Old, when *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus* began his Reign? And is it likely, that at such an Age, he would have been in a Capacity of bearing the Sea, and doing what he is supposed to have done at the Court of *Ægypt*? Would this great Age have been passed over in silence by all the Writers that remain? These difficulties can't be remov'd but by supposing, that this Painter at twenty Years of Age entertained her, when she was already forty or fifty five years of Age. Now this is to suppose things quite contrary to Probability, and to what we find in Authors. It would be much more reasonable to suppose, that *Apelles* was twice Older than *Lais*. 'Tis highly probable that she began her base Trade very early, and consequently that *Apelles* did not Debauch her. Note, that the Fountain of *Pirene*, from whence 'tis said, he saw her return, when he was struck with her Beauty, was at *Corinth*. Wherefore if this Story was true, it must be concluded that he made some stay in that Town, which I don't believe any Author has positively said.

(L) *That there were two Curtezans called* Lais.] She I speak of, was removed to *Corinth*, when *Nicias* commanded the *Athenian* Army in *Sicily*, that is, the second year of the *91st.* Olympiad. She was then seven years Old, if we believe *Aristophanes's* Scholiast (m). Now since *Demosthenes* durst not go to *Corinth*, but *incognito*, in order to lie with *Lais*, he could not be a young Scholar, but a Man of a great Reputation. He must therefore be supposed to have been at least thirty years of Age, and so *Lais* would have been then 67 years Old (n). Therefore there's no probability that *Demosthenes* had been desirous to see her, or that she would have ask'd a great Sum of him. It was another *Lais*, who asked *Demosthenes* so much. There were therefore two Curtezans called *Lais*. The difficulty would be very great, tho' we should suppose that *Demosthenes* made this Voyage to *Corinth* being about twenty years of Age; for our *Lais* would have been then near sixty. I find that many Authors go upon a Passage of *Athenæus*, wherein 'tis said, that *Alcibiades* was always attended with two Concubines, Namely *Damasandra* (o) the Mother of young *Lais*, and *Theodota*, who took care of his Funeral, when he was killed in a Town of *Phrygia*. This Passage of *Athenæus* is of some weight; for it supposes there was a Woman called *Lais* before her, who was the Daughter of *Damasandra*; nevertheless there remain great difficulties. In the first place *Athenæus*, who says so many things concerning *Lais*, makes no distinction; he speaks all along as if there had never been but one *Lais*. Do's a Man express himself thus, when he is persuaded that there are two, and intends to inform his Reader of it? Secondly *Plutarch* speaking of *Lais* the Daughter of *Alcibiades's* Concubine, says Expressly, that she was a Native of *Hyccara* in *Sicily* (p), and that she was brought a Slave from thence. Thus, according to *Plutarch*, the same *Lais* whom *Athenæus* calls the young, is she that was Born in *Sicily* before the 91. Olympiad; so that if she who asked such a great price of *Demosthenes*, is different from this, there must have been a third *Lais*; for she who in *Athenæus's* Account would be the first, must have preceded the *Sicilian* who was Sold in *Hyccara*, the second year of the *91st.* Olympiad, and would have been still more incapable than the second mention'd by *Athenæus*, to receive a Visit from *Demosthenes*. In the third place, the great Sum demanded of this Orator, manifestly supposes that she was very young. A Woman do's not set such a value upon her self, when she is above thirty five years. Now as there's a great probability that *Alcibiades's* Concubine was already the Mother of *Lais*, when *Alcibiades* Died the first year of the *94th.* Olympiad, we must say, that *Lais* was at least twenty years Older than *Demosthenes*; and at this rate, if this Orator at thirty years of Age had made a Voyage to *Corinth* to lie with that Curtezan, he would have been in Love with a Woman of fifty, who rated one of her Nights (a) at near 4000 Livres. For my part, instead of admitting two *Lais's*, I had rather say that the Greek Authors, who were ill Chronologers (b), have applied to the Whore of this Name an Adventure of *Demosthenes*, which concerned another Woman of Pleasure. Note, that in another place *Athenæus* says, that *Alcibiades* being General of the Army, had with him two Concubines, *Timandra* the Mother of *Lais* the *Corinthian*, and *Theodota* the *Athenian* (c). This plainly intimates that *Timandra* was then the Mother of *Lais*; and 'tis certain that the same *Lais*, who was Born in *Sicily*, was called the *Corinthian*. (d) *Plutarch* says so expressly. Note also, that *Athenæus* calls sometimes *Lais's* Mother *Damasandra*, and sometimes *Timandra*, and ascribes to *Theodota* the care of *Alcibiades's* Funeral; but *Plutarch* (e) says that *Timandra* was the Mother of *Lais*, and that she Buried *Alcibiades*.

(LA) *Or that she was an Author.*] *Pliny* (f) mentions two things, which he had read in the Writings of a Woman called *Lais*. He names her the first time with *Elephantis*, and the second time with *Salpe*, and a little after he makes mention of a Mid-wife, call'd *Sotira*. 'Tis known that *Elephantis* had writ some Books full of Obscenities. See the Remark N. in the Article *Helena*, and *Suetonius* in the forty third Chapter of the Life of *Tiberius* and *Martial* in the forty third Epigram of the twelfth Book. *Galen* (g) witnesses, that *Elephantis* had writ a Treatise of *Cosmetacks*. I have observed in another place the meaning of that Word. *Salpe* was of the Isle of *Lesbos* (i), and had writ a Book of Jests, or of Sports and Diversions; but there's no great Probability, that *Pliny* alledged her with respect to that Work. *Lais & Salpe*, says he (k), *canum rabiosorum morsus, & tertianas quotidianasque febres, menstruo in lana arietis nigri, argenteo brachiali concluso*, that is, according to *du Pinet's* Version, Lais *and* Salpe *two very renowned Curtezans, say, that if one wraps up some Menstrual Blood in the Wool of a Black Ram, and puts it in a Silver Bracelet, it is good for the bitings of Mad Dogs, and Tertian and Quartan Agues.* This is clearly to insinuate, that these two Women had writ a Book of Remedies. Father *Hardouin* affirms (l) that *Salpe* writ *De Remediis muliebribus*. The other Passage of *Pliny*, where *Lais* and *Elephantis* are joined, intimates the same thing. (m) *Quæ Lais & Elephantis inter se contraria prodidere de abortivis, carbone è radice brassicæ, vel myrti, vel tamaricis in eo smigmate extincto; item asinas non concipere tot annis, quot grana hordei contacta ederint: quæque alia minucupavere monstrifica, aut inter ipsas pugnantia: cum hæc fecunditatem fieri iisdem modis, quibus illa sterilitatem, prænunciaret, melius est non credere.* That is, according to *du Pinet's* Version, *As to what the Curtezan* Lais (1) *and the Poetess* (2) Elephantis *say of the Menstrual Blood, and to make a Child dissolve in the Mother's Belly, and of the Coals made of the Roots of Cabages, Myrtles, or Tamarisks, and extinguished in the same Blood, there is no reason to give any Credit to it: for one of 'em contradicts the other. The same may be said of what they tell us, that a She-Ass will not conceive for so many years, as she has Eaten grains of Barley Pound with the same Blood. These two Curtezans say many Monstrous things upon this matter, to which we ought to give no Credit; for what one of 'em says is good for getting Children, the other holds to be proper against it.* This Translator undertakes to decide a thing which *Pliny* has not expected. He says boldly, that the Curtezan *Lais* is here spoken of, and doubtless he means her, who makes the Subject of this Article. If he had said this, in a Marginal Note, he would have shewn himself less rash; but he gives it as the true Version of the Words of the Original, which is an inexcusable boldness. Father *Hardouin* has been infinitely more reserved; he confesses, (n) that he do's not know whether *Pliny* cites one of the two Curtezans called

(a) Lais negare se unquam pœnitere, nisi quod à rivali populo it, hoc facit minimi nostrarum deliciarum decem millia. *Aul. Gellius l. 1. c. 8.* Denarium decem millia, *make, according to* Gassendus 3722. Livres

(b) See Scaliger in Eusebium, *n.* 780. *p. m. 402.*

(c) *Athenæus l. 12. p. 535.*

(d) *Plut. in Alcibiade fol. fin. p. m. 213.*

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *Plin. l. 28. c. 7.*

(g) *Galen. in libris adversus.*

(i) *Athen. l. 7. p. 321. 322.*

(k) *Plin. ubi supra p. 588.*

(l) *Hardouin. in indice Auctor. Plinii, p. 128.*

(m) *Plin. ubi supra. p. 587.*

(1) *She was a Sicilian Curtezan, who retired to* Corinth, *where she was so much courted, that every Grecian Prince thought himself happy if he could be one Night with her*

(2) *She was a Whore, who made her self famous by an infamous Piece of Prostitution, hoc facit nimium nostrarum deliciarum*

kime. (n) *Hardouin. ubi supra p. 11.*

(m) *Ad Plutum.*

(n) Demosthenes *was Born the fourth year of the 98th. Olympiad. See* Exercitationes Palmerii, apud Lloyd voce *Lais*, & apud Menagium in Diogen. Laert. l. 2. n. 75.

(o) Τὴν θεοδότε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γαμετὴν. Junioris Ladis matrem. *Athen. l. 13. p. 574.*

(p) Γεγόνει δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα Λαὶς, ἡ Κορινθία μὲν προσαγορευομένη, ἐκ δὲ Ἱκκάρων Σικελικῆς πόλεως αἰχμάλωτος ἀχθεῖσα. Hujus ferunt filiam fuisse Laidem, quæ dicta fuit Corinthia, quum Hyccaris Siciliæ oppidulo fuerit captiva abducta. *Plutarch. in Alcib. fol. fin. p. 213. D.*

(M) the Looking-glass of that Lewd Woman, I forgot to say, that she was so much in Love (N) with *Eubates*, that she obliged him to promise her Marriage; but he found a way of evading his Engagement. As many Charms as she had, she could not conquer (O) the Continence of the Philosopher *Xenocrates*. She defended her self one Day (P) very Artfully against *Euripides*, who Censured her with Reason. *Ta-*

Lais, and he calls her Mid-wife, *Obstetrix*, whom *Pliny* quotes. If I found no Remedies for the Tertian and Quartan Ague, in *Pliny's* Words, but only for Barrenness, and Receipts for Abortion, I should be more inclined to believe, that he cites a Book written by our *Lais*, or ascrib'd to that famous Curtezan; for there are hardly any People so well skill'd in what can promote or prevent Conception, or cause Abortion, as those of *Lais's* Trade, a Trade, that takes up the wretched Art of doing a good turn to those who are afraid of Disgrace, a Trade in a Word, which terminates in that, when Age does no longer favour the other Functions. But after all, I don't think it probable, that our *Lais* wrote Books. However I would not deny that those which are mention'd by *Pliny*, and set by him in opposition to those of another Lewd Woman, named *Elephantis*, were ascribed to her. I question, whether an honest Matron, expert in Secrets, and a Mid-wife by Profession, would have been called *Lais*; for this Name like that of *Chrysis* and *Thais*, and the like, was bestowed upon the naughty Tribe, in the Works of the Poets. And it was doubtless in Allusion to that Custom, that a Book was Printed in *France* towards the beginning of the XVI*th.* Century, with this Title, *A Dialogue of* Aretin, *wherein are related the Lives, Manners, and Behaviours of* Lais, *and* Lamia, *Curtezans of* Rome. *Aristaenetus* (o) calls his Mistress *Lais*: He loved (p) her, and she loved him, without any reserve; for he says, that her Bones were almost Flexible, and that the Tracts of his Imbraces remained Imprinted on them, as much almost as on the Flesh which covered 'em. (q) Οὕτω μίντοι σύμμετρα ἦν τρυφερὰ τὰ τῆς Λαΐδος τὰ μέλη, ὡς ὑγρότητος αὐτῆς λυγίζεσθαι τὰ ὀστᾶ τῷ περιλυτουμένῳ δοκεῖν. τυγχάνει γοῦν πάντα μικρῷ χείμενος ἐπ' ἀναλόγοις σύνεγγυς παραλήπτοις τῇ σαρκί, ἃ ταῖς ἐρατειναῖς ἁπαλόταις ὑπείκει. *Caterum tam concinna, tam delicata Laïdi membra, ut pressus adtrectans dicas lenta & ductilia ossa; nam ea fere una cum carne impressos digitos recipiunt tenerrima, cedunteque amplexis amatorum ulnis.*

(M) *Upon the Looking-glass of that wanton Woman.*] *Ausonius* does but Translate an Epigram of *Plato*, which is in the *Anthologia*. He has done it very well:

Lais (r) *annus Veneri speculum dico: dignum habeat se*
Æterna aternum forma ministerium.
Ad mihi nullus in hoc usus, quia cernere talem
Qualis sum nolo; qualis eram nequeo.

This is to suppose, that *Lais* survived her Beauty, and that her Looking-glass became an useless, and even unpleasant Utensil. This agrees with the Authors, I have mention'd in the Remarks *G* and *H*, but not with *Plutarch*. See the Remark *I*.

You'll find in the Commentaries upon *Alciatus's* Emblems, some Latin Verses, in which *Lais's* Complaints are prettily represented. They were grounded upon two Reasons: The first was, that she found herself impaired, when she consulted her Glass; the second was, that she still felt the Flames of Lust; she complain'd, that she had all the Lascivious Desires of Youth, in a Body almost Decrepit. It was a sad thing.

Et (f) tamen idem animus stimulos sub pectore eosdem,
Et noto sensit fervida corda Deo;
Sic secum: Facie nimium vivacior, o mens,
Cur dudum hac anus est, tuque puella manes.

The truth is, that an Old Curtezan of *Venice* was represented under her Name. *Accepi pridem à viris Italici soli, id scriptum fuisse in quandam meretricem Venetam, quæ ætatis lapso, seu decusso flore, quoties se in speculo conspiceret, fronte jam rugis obsita, misere contabescebat, & nihilo segnius ardore tenebatur (t).* Horace has afforded this Thought:

Dices, (v) heu (quoties te speculo videris alterum)
Quæ mens est hodie cur eadem non puero fuit?
Aut cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genæ?

(N) *So much in Love with* Eubates.] Her Passion must needs (w) have been very Violent, since she was willing to submit to the Laws of *Hymen*, which would not have permitted her to continue freely her Prostitution. She discover'd to *Eubates* the Passion she had to Marry him. He pretended to give his consent, fearing her ill Offices: But he did non Lie with her; he put off that Affair till after the Games, in which he was to dispute the Prize. He obtained it, and did not mind his Promise of Marriage. He returned to *Cyrene* his Country, contenting himself to take along with him the Picture of *Lais*. He thought by that means, that he should be a Man of his Word. The Wife he had at *Cyrene*, thought herself obliged to Recompence so noble a Continence; for which reason she erected a Statue to her Husband. I am afraid, that *Ælian* (a) who relates this Story, has lost the Wit of it. *Clemens Alexandrinus* relates it (b) in fewer Words, but he calls the Man *Aristotle*, whom *Ælian* calls *Eubates*; and he quotes the Book of *Ister* περὶ ἰδιοτροπιῶν λόγων, *de proprietate certaminum*. He do's not agree with *Ælian* in all the Circumstances.

(O) *Conquer the Continence of* ——— Xenocrates.] *Lais* laid a Wager, that she would oblige this Philosopher to have a diverting Game of Love with her. She pretended to be frighted, and under that pretence took Sanctuary in his House, and spent the Night there, but he did not meddle with her. When she was required to pay her Wager, she answer'd, that she had not laid it about a Statue, but about a Man. Thus an old Interpreter of *Horace* (c) relates the Story. *Diogenes Laertius* Ascribes this to the Curtezan *Phryne*, and do's not speak of the Wager. He says (d), that she fled to *Xenocrates's*, pretending that some Body pursu'd her; and as he had but one Bed in the House, she intreated the Philosopher to let her have part of it. He consented to it. After that she made other Demands, which came to nothing. Whence it was, that when she was asked, how things went, she answered, she had lain with a Statue, and not with a Man. Some say, that *Xenocrates's* Disciples put *Lais* into his Bed, and that he was so fully resolved to preserve his Continence, that he several times suffered Incisions to be made in his Privy-Parts, and Fire to be apply'd to 'em. Ἔνιοι δὲ Λαΐδα φασὶ πεμφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν, τὸν δὲ ὕπνον εἶναι ἐγκρατῆ, ὅτι ἡ τομὴ καὶ καῦσις πολλάκις ὑπομείνας περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα. The Latin Translation runs thus, (e) *Quidam verò discipulos Laidem illi injecisse in lectulum tradunt, illumque adeò fuisse continentem, ut cùm se ad libidinem incitari præsensisset, & secare & urere verenda sæpè pateretur.* We ought not to be satisfied either with the Greek Author or his Translator. The latter adds of his own Head, that *Xenocrates* (f) found in him the Rebellion of Lust; and as to *Diogenes Laertius*, he do's not tell us what became of *Lais*: he puts her in the Philosopher's Bed, without saying what she did there, or how she came out again, and instead of finishing the Narration of this particular Adventure, he falls upon a general thing; that is, upon the Remedies which *Xenocrates* had several times made use of, to be Proof against Love.

(P) *She defended her self one Day very Artfully against* Euripides.] *Euripides* with a Pen in Hand was going to Compose something in a Garden. *Lais* seeing him in that Posture, accosted him, and ask'd him what he meant by some Words (g) which he had used (h) in one of his Tragedies, to denote in general a Man, who does filthy Actions. He was surprized at the Impudence of this Question, and answer'd her, (i) *You your self are one of those I*

(m) Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἐξαμίτῳ ἐμίγνυτο καὶ τοῦ γάμου λόγος προεγίγνετο. Ardentissime amavit, & de matrimonio sermonem intulit. *Ælian. var. Hist. l.* 10. *c.* 2.

(a) *Ælian. var. Hist. l.* 10. *c.* 2.

(b) Ὅτι Κυρηναῖος Ἀριστόδημος, Λαΐδα ἑρώτων ὑπερφυῶς μένος, ὑμωμοκὼς ὑπὲρ τῆς σωφροσύνης, ἢ μὴ ἀπόξενον αὐτὸν εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας, εἰ συμπεριέσειν αὐτῷ τινα πρὸς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας, ἐπιδὴ ἀναπεῖθε, χαριζόμενος ἐπιλαβὲν τὴν ὄψιν, γράψαι ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁμοιότατον εἰκόνα, ἀνέστησεν εἰς Κυρήνην. Et Cyrenæus Aristoteles amantem Laïdem solus despexit. Cum meretrici itaque juraset, se eam esse in patriam abducturum, si ei adversus decertantes adversarios in aliquibus opem tulisset, postquam id perfecit, lepide à se scriptum jusjurandum exequens, ejus quam simillimam Cyrenæ statuit imaginem. *Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. l.* 3. *p.* 447.

(c) *In Horat. Satyr.* 3. *l.* 2. (d) *Diog. Laert. l.* 4. *n.* 7. (e) *Id. Ibid.* (f) Cum se ad libidinem incitari præsensisset. (g) Τί βλασφημεῖς ἐρέσσας ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τοῖς αἰχρυντοῖς. Quidnam Poëta cogitasti cùm scriberes in tragœdia, Abi in malam rem αἰχρυντοῖς. *Machon. apud Athen. l.* 13. *p.* 582. (h) *In the* Medea *where this Verse is to be found.* Ἀλλ' αἰχρυντοῖς ἡ τέκνων μιαφόνοι. (i) Σὺ γὰρ εἶναι τις εἶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς Αἰχρυντοῖς. Et tu porro, inquit, videris agere turpia. *Apud Athen. ib.*

(o) *See his first Letter, wherein he makes a very particular Description of the Beauties of that Mistress.*

(p) Λαΐδα τὴν ἐμὴν ἐραστήν. Amicam meam Laïda. *Aristæn. Epist. l.* 1. *l.* 2. *init.*

(q) *Id. ib. p.* 6.

(r) *Ausonius, epigram.* 55.

(s) *Emblem. Alciati p.* 330. *Edit. Patav.* 1661. *in* 4to.

(t) *Ibid.*

(v) *Horat. Ode* 30. *l.* 4.

Tatian * upbraided the Heathens with the Monument, that was Erected to the Debaucheries of that Whore. He calls the Sculptor who made it, *Turnus*; from whence we may conclude, that he was a famous Master in that Art, and yet neither *Pliny*, nor *Pausanias*, nor any other Writer make mention of him. I'll make but one Remark for the Faults of *Moreri*, (Q) and those of some other Dictionaries. There never was a more extravagant Confidence, than that of *Antony* (R) *de Guevara*. He has vented a thousand Ridiculous Falsities about *Lais*, as if he had found 'em in Antient Books. I had almost past over in silence the Adventure (S) of the Sculptor *Myron*.

* *Tatian contra Græcos p.* m. 17.

LAMBECIUS (*Peter*) one of the most Learned Men of his Age, was born at *Hamburg* in the Year 1628. He went early to study in Foreign Countries, at the Expence of the Learned *Luke Holstenius* his Uncle; and he made so great Progress, that at Nineteen Years of Age, he published a Book †, which was extremely applauded. He staid Eight Months at *Toulouse* with the Archbishop *Charles de Montchal*, and two Years at *Rome* with Cardinal *Barberini*. He was made Professor of History at *Hamburg* the 13th. of *January*, 1652, and Rector of the College of that Town, the 12th. of *January* 1660. He had taken his Doctor of Laws Degree some Years before in *France*. He had a Thousand Vexations in his Country, as well because his Scholars would not obey him, as because his Enemies accused him of Heterodoxy, and even

† *Intitled* Lucubrationum Gellianarum prodromus.

(k) *'Tis the fifth Verse of* Euripides's *Æolus in* Barnes's *Edition.*
(l) *Athenæus, ibid.*
(m) *See* Brodæus, Miscellan. lib. 6. c. 19.
(n) *See* Leopardus, Emendat. lib. 1. c. 7.
(o) *Plut. de audiend. poet. p.* 33.
(p) *See the Remark* (D) D. *in his Article.*
(q) Docte & acute dubium movet, atque Aristophanem dicere ea quæ rationi temporum nequeunt convenire, quippe cum eo tempore quo Plutum fabulam dabat non potuerit Laïs esse valde celebris, quippe quæ a Nicia imperatore capta sit in Sicilia septennis. *Valesius, not. in notas Mauscaci ad Harpocrat. p.* 124.
(r) *Athenæus, l.* 13. *p.* 592. See also *Harpocration voce* Naïs
(s) *Amiot, in his Translation of the Life of* Alcibiades *at the end.*
(t) Τιμάνδρα γὰρ ἦν ἡ παλλακὴ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, ἀλλ' οὐ Λαΐς. *Plutarch. in Alcibiade.*

mean. She fell a Laughing, and quoted a Verse (k) in which he said that an Action was not filthy, unless he that did it thought it so, Τὰ δ' αἰσχρὰ οὐ μὴ τοῖσι γ' εἰσορῶσι δρᾶν (l), *Ecquid vero turpe est nisi qui utuntur sic putent?* We don't know whether *Euripides* was confounded by this Argument *ad hominem*, or whether he made any Reply; but 'tis certain that *Lais* could not more handsomely bring her self off, nor more subtilly perplex her Censurer. This Maxim would carry the *Philosophical Sin* to the utmost Point, and would be of dangerous Consequence; for which reason the Philosopher *Antisthenes* (m) corrected it in this manner, πράττειν τὰ ἀσχήμονα μὴ δοκεῖν μὴ δοκεῖν. *What is Filthy is Filthy, whether it appears so or not, to those who do it.* *Stobæus* ascribes this Correction to *Diogenes* the Cynick (n) and not to *Antisthenes*, as *Plutarch* will have it (o).

There is reason to doubt of this Conversation; for since *Euripides* died (p) in the 93*d*. Olympiad, when *Lais* could not be above fifteen or sixteen years old; it is not likely, that he had any Discourse with her upon this Point or any other. We shall be more easily convinced of it, if we consider, that he spent his last years at the Court of *Archelaus*, where there is no Author, who says, that *Lais* had ever been. Suppose as much as you please, two Curtezans of this Name, you'll never clear the matter; for the first must be she, that was Sold, when *Hyccara* was Plunder'd by *Nicias*. But according to *Aristophanes*'s Scholiast, she was then but seven years Old. By which Chronology, he offers a very considerable (q) difficulty, upon the mention that is made of *Lais* in *Aristophanes's Plutus*, a Comedy that was acted at a time when *Lais* could not as yet be famous. The difficulty will vanish, if it be suppos'd, that it ought to be read *Nais*, and not *Lais* in that Play. You'll find this Correction in *Athenæus* (r). 'Tis certain, there was a Curtezan named *Nais*, and probably many Authors have confounded her with *Lais*. Perhaps it was with *Nais*, that *Euripides* entered into Discourse.

(Q) *For the Faults of* Moreri *and* ——— *some other Dictionaries.*] *Moreri*'s first Fault is to say that *Lais* liv'd in the 420*th*. year of *Rome*. She must then have lived about the end of the 111*th*. Olympiad: Judge whether this can be said of a Person who was removed from *Sicily* to *Corinth*, in the second year of the 91*st*. Olympiad. Here is no recurring to the Hypothesis of two *Lais*'s, since besides that *Moreri* speaks only of one, he expressly says that he speaks of that *Lais*, that was *a Native of a little Town of* Sicily *called* Hyccara. This *Lais* is manifestly she who was seven years Old, when *Hyccara* her Native Town was taken in the second year of the 91*st*. Olympiad. II. 'Tis not true that *Plutarch* says *that 'twas believed she was Daughter to* Alcibiades. *Moreri* cannot Father this Falsity upon *Amiot*; for 'tis plain that in this Phrase (*s*) *l'on dit que Laïs* ——— *estoit sa fille*, the Word *sa* ought to be referr'd to *Timandra*, *Alcibiades*'s Concubine, and not to *Alcibiades*. There is no Ambiguity in the Greek (t). How could *Alcibiades* be *Lais*'s Father, who went not into *Sicily*, but with *Nicias*? Was not *Lais* then six or seven years Old? III. 'Tis not true that *Lais went to* Alexander's *Camp*; she had been dead a long time before *Alexander* was Born. *Amiot* has occasion'd this Fault, for not understanding a Passage of *Plutarch* (u) where some Words are wanting, he Translates it, that *Lais falling in Love with* Hippolochus ——— *left Mount* Acrocorinthus ——— *and went to the great Camp of* Alexander.

Charles Stephens is mistaken, in saying, that *Lais* removed from *Sicily* to *Corinth*, that her Prostitution might be more profitable to her. She was but seven years Old when she went to *Corinth*, and she went thither against her Will, having been bought to *Hyccara* by a Man, who carried her with him into *Greece* as a Slave. This Fault has not been mended by *Lloyd* or *Hofman*. I can scarce believe, that *Charles Stephens* found in any good Author what he says; 1. That *Lais* going into *Thessaly*, so gained the love of the young Men of the Country, that they pour'd out Wine before her Door. 2. That the *Thessalian* Women out of Envy stabb'd her, whilst they were performing their Devotions in the Temple of *Venus*, at which the Men could not be present. 3. That this Action drew upon *Thessaly* a Plague, which ceased not, till they had built the Temple of *Venus* *Deiras* (w). *Lloyd* and *Hofman* have both of 'em these three particulars.

(u) *The right Word is in the* Paris *Edition*, 1620.

(w) *See* Jac. de Guevara, *Reflections*, *B.* 1. *p.* m. 202. *Translated into* French *by* Guterry.

(R) Antony de Guevara. *He has vented a thousand Ridiculous Falsities about* Lais.] I will not stand to refute 'em, and shall only relate a small part of 'em. He says (a) that she was Born in the *Isle Bithrite* in the Confines of *Greece*, *and as the Chronicles have written of her, she was the Daughter of a great Priest of* Apollo's *Temple, who lived at* Delphos, *a Man greatly experienced in the Art of Magick, by which Science he foretold the Ruin of his Daughter. Now this Amorous* Lais *was in the Voyage, at the time of the Renown'd King* Pyrrhus, ——— *who being a Youth of sixteen or seventeen years of Age, came into* Italy *to make War with the* Romans ——— *This Amourous* Lais *remain'd a long time in King* Pyrrhus's *Camp, and with him she came into* Italy, *and returned with him from the War* ——— *and retired into the City of* Corinth, *to make her Abode there, in which place she was followed, and Courted by many Kings, Lords and Princes.* He afterwards relates the Adventure of *Demosthenes*, and concludes with saying that *Lais* died at *Corinth* at seventy two years of Age. How can a Man have the Confidence to publish such gross Falsities? There are above 130 years between the Birth of *Lais*, and *Pyrrhus*'s Expedition against the *Romans*, and above forty betwixt the Death of *Demosthenes* and that same Expedition. And yet this Imposture has impos'd upon Men of Sense; for 'twas after him, that *Brantome* vented many Fables concerning *Lais* (b). I say nothing of *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, who has given out (c) that *Lais* was a long time in King *Pyrrhus*'s Camp in *Italy*. He had read this in *Gueovara*, and took it to be true.

(a) *In* Il. *Traité de l'Inconstance, p.* m. 750. *Edit. de* Paris 1621.

(b) *See the Article* Flora, *Remark* I.

(c) *Du Verdier, Diversités Leçons Book* 3. *c.* c. *p.* 185.

(S) *The Adventure of the Sculptor* Myron.] 'Tis one of the ridiculous Adventures of a grey-headed Lover. *Myron*, venerable for his hoary-head, went to *Lais* to ask a Night of her, but was sent back with-

† D. 27. Novemb. 1662. Præfectus Bibl. oth. Augustæ vicarii, A. autem sequenti, 1663. d. 26. Maji, suprema ejusdem qua Mat. Mauchterus Th. D. se abdicaverat, Ephoria, cum Consiliarii atque Historiographi Cæsarei titulo, est collata. *Mollerus ubi infra, quoting a Letter of* Lambecius, *which I shall quote in the Rem.* B.

even of Atheism, and sharply censured his Studies and his Works. His unfortunate (*A*) Marriage, which he contracted in 1662, having compleated his Misfortunes, he gladly hearkned to the Proposals of the Queen of *Sweden*, who advised him to retire elsewhere. He therefore left his Wife and Country, and took a Journey to *Vienna*, from whence having had the Honour to wait on his Imperial Majesty, he went to *Rome*, and there made publick Profession of the Catholick Religion. He had abjured the Lutheran (*B*) long before, though he made still Profession of it. He returned to *Vienna* towards the end of the Year, 1662, and was very well received by the Emperor, who made him first his Sub-Library-Keeper †, and afterwards his Library-Keeper in chief, with the Title of his Counsellor and Historiographer. He continued in that Employment to his Death, and got a noble Reputation in it, by the Books (*C*) he published.

out so much as being heard. He thought he had found the reason of her Slight, and hop'd that if he should offer himself with a brown Head of Hair, he should be admitted. He therefore changed the Colour of his Hair, and returned to *Lais*: *What a Fool you are*, said she, *to come to ask a thing of me, which I have refused your Father.* *Ausonius* tells the Story very prettily.

Canus (*d*) *rogabat Laidis noctem Myron:*
Tulit repulsam protinus.
Causamque sensit: & caput fuligine
Fucavit atra candidum.
Idemque vultu, crine non idem Myron,
Orabat oratum prius.
Sed illa formam cum capillo comparans,
Similemque non ipsum rata,
Fortasse & ipsum, sed volens ludo frui,
Sic est adorta callidum:
Inepte, quid me, quod recusavi, rogas,
Patri negavi jam tuo?

Costar has given a List of some witty Sayings, ascribed to different Persons; amongst which he has this Answer of *Lais*: Spartian, says he (*e*), *relates, that an old Man who was very grey-headed, having been denied some Favour by the Emperor* Adrian, *came to ask it again a few Days after, having painted his Hair of the finest black he could meet with. This Prince discovering the Trick, wittily answered him,* What you ask of me, I have already denyed your Father. *Nevertheless, in* Ausonius, *'tis the Curtezan* Lais, *who makes this ingenious Answer, and yet* Athenæus *does not speak of it, though he has so carefully preserved to us, all the notable Sayings of that handsome Lady.* If the Conjecture of some Moderns was right, we need not wonder that *Athenæus* says nothing of this witty Repartee of *Lais*; for they pretend (*f*) that *Ausonius* invented it. I mean, that knowing the Emperor *Hadrian*'s Answer, he feigned that *Lais* made use of it, and made an Epigram upon it. I believe this Answer came rather from a Woman, than from the Emperor *Hadrian*; for one can hardly imagine any good reason, why an old Man, after a refusal, should fancy, that appearing as a Man without grey Hair, he should obtain from this Prince what he design'd to ask of him. 'Tis easie to conceive why he might hope for such a thing, if he desired a Love-Favour from a Lady. It seems then, that we may say, that the Writers of *Hadrian*'s History, Men of little Judgment and Exactness, have confounded with his witty Sayings, those which he only related. He had read somewhere, what *Lais* is said to have answered *Myron*: Perhaps he had read, that this Answer was made to some other old Gallant, by some other Curtezan: He told the Story before his Friends; the thing going from one Hand to another, lost its principal Circumstances, so that at last *Hadrian* was looked upon as the Inventer of it (*g*).

I will not end this Remark without saying, that Mr. *Costar* praises this witty Sentence of *Lais* too much. I confess, the Answer was smart, and fit to mortify the Gallant, and to give the Curtezan the pleasure of laughing at the old Man; But in short, she reasoned very ill, and against the Rules of her Art. *I have refused the Son, much more shall I refuse the Father*, is the Principle of a Woman of Pleasure; her Argument turns upon this Hinge: but here on the contrary, *Lais* supposes, that since she has denied a broken old Father, she ought to deny his Son, a young Man, full of Vigour. This is forsaking one's Principle and Fundamental Rules.

To conclude, *Myron* could not be young, when *Lais* was in her Glory: He flourished (*b*) in the 87th. Olympiad, seven or eight Years before she came into the World.

(*A*) *An unfortunate Marriage which he contracted.*] It may be said of many Learned Men, that they behave themselves with respect to Marriage, like *Pomponius Atticus* with respect to Poetry. (*i*) *Attigit quoque poëticen: credimus ne ejus expers esset suavitatis.* They have a mind to taste it, that they may know what Pleasure there is in it. But I don't think that *Lambecius* had such Thoughts, for he married an old Woman; and as she was very rich, 'tis probable he hoped only for the Pleasure of having a good Estate. His hopes were quickly frustrated; the Lady was so covetous, as not to suffer her Husband to make use of her Estate. She declared her mind so suddenly upon that Point, that *Lambecius* had not been married above Fifteen Days, when discontented and weary of his Condition, he left his House and his Country, never to return again. (*k*) *Ad hæc adversa postquam tædium Conjugii, inauspicato, A.* 1662. *cum Vetula Divite, sed parca, atque avara* (*A.* 1690. *Hamburgi defuncta,*) *contracti, accessit, haud difficulter à Christina, Suecorum Regina, Hamburgum delata, persuaderi sibi est passus, ut, duabus post nuptias Hebdomadibus vix elapsis, patriam & Uxorem, d.* 14. *Apr. A.* 1662. *desereret, ac Vindobonam commigraret.*

(*B*) *He had abjured the* Lutheran *Religion long before.*] *Nihusius* a famous Convert, was in *Holland* the Director of *Lambecius*'s Studies, he began his Conversion; after which the Jesuit *James Sirmond* compleated it at *Paris*. He would engage his Proselyte to take the Habit of St. *Ignatius*; but he could not induce him to it. (*a*) *Cœtui Ecclesiæ Romanæ publice se aggregavit.* (*l*) *Sacris enim ejus diu ante jam erat initiatus, cum in Batavia Barth. Nihusio, Apostata celebri, ac Studiorum ipsius Academicorum Ephoro, tum in Gallia à Jac. Sirmondo, Jesuitarum doctissimo; sed externa Lutheranismi Professione Cives incautos hactenus fefellerat. Constat id mihi ex Illustris Gudii, quo familiariter ille apud Exteros est usus, Narratione, & Gallica, quam Idem asservabat, Claud. Sarravii, Senatoris Parisiensis, ad Salmasium Epistola. Huic enim ille jam, A.* 1647. *significat, Lambecium, Holstenii ex Sorore Nepotem, à Sirmondo, in Jesuitarum eum Societatem pertrahere conato, & Milleterio persuasum, ad Pontificios defecisse.*

(*C*) *By the Books he published.*] I shall say something of those he published before he was the Emperor's Library-Keeper. The first was his *Prodomus Lucubrationum Gellianarum*, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1647. The second was, if I mistake not, *Origines* (*b*) *Hamburgenses, sive liber rerum Hamburgensium primus ab V. C. & A. C.* 808. *ad A.* 1225. *Adjecta est tum duplex vita Ansgarii à Remberto & Gualdone scripta, ac notis Lambecii illustrata, tum diplomatum libri hujus historiam illustrantium Ennead.* He designed to continue this History to his own time, but he only published the 2d. Book. *Liber* (*c*) *secundus rerum Hamburgensium ab A. C.* 1225. *ad A.* 1292. *una cum diplomatum vetustorum, lucem ei afferentium, Mantissa Chronologia & Auctario Libri I. ab A.* 808. *ad A.* 1472. *Dissertatione de Asino ad Lyram, Monumento Ædis Cathedralis Sepulchrali insculpto, Scriptorum Autoris Catalogo, & Epistolis tandem Joh. Christiani, L. Baronis à Boineburg, & H. Conringii ad eundem encomiasticis.* Here follows the Judgment that was made of those two Works by the Author, whom I cite so often in this Article. (*d*) *Ambo libri* (*in quibus, præter nimii in patriam Affectus vestigia, passim obvia, & ab eodem subinde profluxerunt, quæ nihil facile reprehendas*) *summa diligentia & fide sunt congesti, & Narrationum singularum Veritas Locis Scriptorum ac Diplomatum Antiquissimorum, eum judicio selectis, confirmata. Lambecius* printed a Book at *Paris*, in *Folio*, in the Year 1655, in which

(*i*) *Cornel. Nepos in vita Attici, cap.* 18.

(*k*) *Moller. Isagoge ad historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ, parte* 3. *pag.* 538.

(*a*) *Moller. ubi supra.*

(*l*) *V. Epist. ad Ren. Franc. Slusium, libro* 1. *Operis de Biblioth. Vindob. insertam.*

(*b*) *Printed at* Hamburg *in the Year* 1652. *in* 4.

(*c*) *Printed at* Hamburg *in the Year* 1661. *in* 4.

(*d*) *Moller. ubi supra, pag.* 541.

(*d*) *Ausonius, Epigram.* 47. *p. m.* 17.

(*e*) *Costar, Suite de la defense de Voiture, pag.* 55.

(*f*) *Scaliger in hunc locum Ausonii. Baptista Pius in annotationibus posteroribus, apud Vinetum in Ausonium ibid.*

(*g*) Joca ejus plurima extant. Nam fuit etiam dicaculus. Unde illud quoque innotuit, quod quum cuidam canescenti quiddam negasset, eidem iterum petenti, sed infecto capite, respondit, Jam hoc patri tuo negavi. *Spartian. in Hadrian.*

(*b*) *Plin. l.* 34. *c.* 8. *p. m.* 108.

published. He was about many others, but had no time to finish them, dying (D) in *April* 1680 †.

LAMBERT, Bishop of *Liege*, or rather of *Maestricht*. 'Tis a common Opinion, as I have shewn in another Place ‡, that he was killed by *Pepin*'s Order, by the Suggestion of *Alpaide*; but the thing is not certain. This is what I shall (A) discuss. So many People have written his Life, that it is (B) disfigured by it. I have only read that which was printed at *Liege* in 1657, composed by the Sieur *du Bosc de Montandré*. The Title of it is, *Le Courtisan Chretien*, &c. *The Christian Courtier sacrificed as a State Victim to the Passion of the Court*: or S. Lambert, *Bishop of* Tongres *and Martyr, sacrificed for the Interests of Conjugal Honour.*

† *Taken from* Mollerus, Isagoge ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ, parte 3. pag. 537. & seq.

‡ *In the Article* Alpaide.

LAMECH,

which he displayed a great deal of Learning. I mean his *Animadversiones ad Codim Origines Constantinopolitanas, & ad Anonymi excepta & ad Leonis Imp. Oracula*. I say nothing of his Orations, which he published in the Year 1660, nor of some other Books of his: I proceed to that vast Work he compiled at *Vienna*, which the Reader may form a just Idea of, by these Words of Mr. *Baillet*. (c) 'Though the Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the 'Emperor's Library at *Vienna*, be divided into 'Eight Volumes in *Folio*, it is not yet finished, 'the Death of the Author having deprived us of so 'curious and important a Work. *Lambecius* had 'undertaken in that great Work, the Explication of 'the Manuscripts of that Library, which he has 'done in a Critical and Historical manner; resol-'ving to lay out upon it, all his Learning and In-'dustry; in which he has very much distinguished 'himself from all the Catalogue-Makers I have 'spoken of. It must be confest, that there are A-'bundance of very particular and curious Things in 'this large and stately Commentary: But the Au-'thor might have included the Substance of so ma-'ny Volumes in a narrower Compass, if he had 'consulted rather the Income and Leisure of private 'Persons, than the Magnificence and Majesty of 'his Prince.

(D) *Dying in* April 1680.] I keep to this Date, because herein I find *Nesselius* (f) more credible, than those (g) who place his Death in *September* 1679. Perhaps we might easily reconcile *Meibomius* and *Nesselius*, as to the Day; for the 24th. of *March*, according to the old Style, belongs to the Month of *April*, according to the new. But these two Authors differ very much as to the Distemper *Lambecius* died of; one says, that it was the Plague, the other that it was the Dropsy. (h) *Henr. Meibomius Jun.* (i) *Peste illum Viennensi Epidemia obiisse perhibent, ad d. 24. Mart. A.* 1680. *Successor autem ipsius, Dan. Nesselius, qui Hydropem mortem ejus accelerasse testatur* (3), *ad M. Aprilem ejusdem A.* 1680.

(A) *This is what I shall discuss.*] I shall make use of the Proofs alledged by the Baron *le Roi*, in one of his Books. 'Tis his Opinion, that neither *Pepin* nor *Alpaide*, had any Hand in St. *Lambert's* Murther, and he goes (i) 1. upon the Silence of *Godescalcus*, a Contemporary-Writer. Here then is a negative Argument, on which Dr. *John de Launoy* lays so much Stress. *Godescalcus* assigns no other reason, for the Murder of St. *Lambert*, than the Murder of two Brothers related to *Dodon*. These Two Brothers used *Lambert* very ill, for which reason they were killed by two of his Relations. *Dodon*, a Potent Lord, and of great Interest with *Pepin*, would neither suffer this Murther to go unpunished, nor to revenge himself upon inconsiderable Persons; he resolved therefore to make away with St. *Lambert*, for whose sake his Two Cousins had been murthered. This was the only Reason, according to *Godescalcus*, of this Bishop's Death. He says nothing of *Pepin* or *Alpaide*. 2. Mr. *le Roi* (k) observes, that the first who imputed *Lambert's* Death to *Pepin*, was a Canon of *Liege*, called *Anselm*, who lived in the XIth. Century. This Canon omitted not to say, as well as those that lived before him, that *Dodon* caused St. *Lambert* to be murdered, to revenge the Death of his Two Relations; but he related also as another Tradition, what concerns *Alpaide*'s Resentment against this Prelate. 3. 'Tis observed (l), that *Sigebert* (m) suppress'd the ancient Cause, mention'd by all Authors, and spoke only of the new one, which *Anselm* began to publish. Thus you see how Errors successively and gradually encrease. The Authors, who succeeded *Sigebert*, said nothing of the ancient Cause, or else they have confounded it with the New, and added a hundred Circumstances to it, unknown to the first Historians (n). The Baron *le Roi* cites very grave Authors, who reject the new Tradition, and answer the Instance brought in against *Godescalcus*'s Silence. They will have it, that the true Cause of St. *Lambert*'s Martyrdom was suppress'd by him, to avoid provoking *Pepin*'s Successors. Father *Mabillon* answers, that since it was given out, that *Charles Martel* was damned, one might as well have had the Confidence to say, that his Father had caused a Bishop's Death? (o) *Et hæc ratio valuerit in Godescalco, inquit Mabillon, cur eam causam dissimulavit Stephanus qui sub extremis Carolinæ stirpis regibus vixerat? Sane longe atrocior erat fabula de Caroli Martelli damnatione, quam tamen Hincmarus Remorum Archiepiscopus, Adrevaldus aliique Auctores imperante Carolo Calvo Martelli abnepote in vulgus jactare non dubitarunt. Unde omnino incertum videtur an Landebertus ob inceptum de pellicatu Pipinum casus sit, at vero alienum omnino videtur à tanti principis bonitate & clementia ut cædis illius fuerit auctor.* Father *Jourdan* cited by Mr. *le Roi*, makes no question, but that *Pepin* married *Alpaide* with all the usual Ceremonies, after he had divorced *Plectrude*. (p) 'Tis true, *That the Christian Law forbad such Divorces and Marriages*; nevertheless, *humane Laws permitted 'em at that time even among Christians. These second Marriages had nothing of Shame or Infamy in 'em.* This Historian observes (q) *that* Pepin *and* Alpaide *had been a long time parted when* Lambert *was assassinated in the Year* 708. Alpaide, adds he, *had no hand in it, since she was parted from* Pepin, *at the beginning of the Century, and retired into a Monastery*——— *Ado was the first, who* 108 *Years after, imputed the Death of that Saint to* Pepin *and* Alpaide. *Hadrian Valesius* cited by the same Mr. *le Roi*, observes, that notwithstanding the Canons, People married in those Days a second Wife, in the Life-time of her that was divorced, and that *Pepin* made use of that Custom. He says however, that others maintain, that *Pepin* never divorced *Plectrude*, nor married *Alpaide*, and that *Beda* favours this Opinion. He is in the right to add, (a) that 'tis probable, that out of Flattery to *Pepin*'s Descendants, who reigned in *France*, Historians supposed, that *Alpaide* was married.

We find in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary, Mr. *Godeau*'s Arguments against those, who on this Subject follow *Sigebert*'s Chronicle; but those Arguments do but create Confusion. One thing seems to me to be certain, that it is of no use, as to the true cause of St. *Lambert*'s Murther, to know whether *Alpaide* was married in Form, or whether she remained a Concubine; for since the Church severely condemned Marriages contracted after a Divorce, Bishop *Lambert* would not have failed to call *Pepin*'s Commerce with *Alpaide*, a Concubinage, though *Pepin* had married her. Thus by supposing the Marriage, their Opinion, who say that *Pepin* was censured, remains still probable. And because a Prince's Mistress has generally more Interest than a Lawful Wife, 'tis no ways necessary, that *Alpaide* should be married to *Pepin*, to apprehend, how she could prevail with him to put the Bishop to Death, who censured them. Father *Jourdan*'s Chronological Reason is in my Opinion, the best that can be urged against *Sigebert*.

(B) *That it is disfigured by it.*] This is Father *Mabillon*'s Observation, which the Baron *le Roi* supplies me with. (b) *Sanctus Landebertus*——— *plures habuit vitæ suæ scriptores, Godescalcum Decanum Leodiensem supparem, Stephanum Episcopum Leodiensem*

(a) *Baillet, Jugements des Savans tom. 2. pag. 250.*
(f) *He succeeded* Lambecius *in his Place of Library-Keeper.*
(g) *Henningus Witte does it in Diario Biographico.*
(h) *Moller. ubi supra, pag. 540.*
(i) *In Introd. ad Hist. Sax. inf. p. 62. 42.*
(3) *In Supplemento Operis de Biblioth. Cæsarea, A. 1690. edito. V. Tenzelii Colloqu. Monstr. M. Oct. A. 1690. p. 940.*
(i) *Jacobus le Roi in Topogr. Histor. Gallo-Brabant. lib. 7. c. 2. p. 250.*
(k) *Ibid. pag. 251. ex Carolo le Cointe Annal. Ecclesiast. Francorum, tom. 4. pag. 476.*
(l) *Idem le Roi, ibid.*
(m) *Sanctus Lambertus Pipinum Principem increpare ausus, quod pellicem Alpaidem Plectrudi legitimæ uxori suæ superduxerit, à Dodone fratre ipsius Alpaidis Leodii martyrizatur. Sigebertus ad ann. Christi 698. Quo mortem Sancti Lamberti male configat. Jacobus le Roi ubi supra, pag. 251.*
(n) *Id. le Roi ibid. pag. 252.*
(o) *Id. ib.*
(p) *Jourdan. Hist. de France & de la Maison Royale, tom. 3. p. 560. & seq. apud* le Roi, *ibid.*
(q) *Apud* le Roi, *ib. pag. 253.*
(a) *Cette haine paroit fondée, il est vrai, sur ce que Pepin épousa Alpaide du vivant de Plectrude, & légitima par ce mariage les enfans qu'il avoit eus de cette concubine. Mais il n'est pas vraisemblable que Pepin ait fait mourir un Evêque pour une faute dont il s'étoit rendu coupable lui-même. Il y a plus d'apparence que ce Prince, qui dominoit alors sur les Frisons, voulut punir la mort de quelques Missionnaires, qui avoient été massacrés par ordre de Radbode Roi de Frise. Hadr. Valesius rerum Francicarum tom. 3. lib. 23. p. 379. apud le Roi, ibid.*
(b) *Mabillonius in commentario ad vitam S. Lamberti, apud Baronem le Roi ubi supra pag. 251.*

LAMECH, a Deſcendant in a right Line from *Cain*, was of the 7th. Generation, reckoning from *Adam*. The Holy Scripture † obſerves, that he had two Wives, one whereof was called *Iladah*, and the other *Zillah*; and 'tis believed, that this Remark has a Myſtery in it, ſince it ſerves to ſhew us the Original of Polygamy. It did not begin in the Poſterity of *Seth*, who feared God, but in the corrupt and depraved Poſterity of *Cain*, and from *Lamech* (*A*), who told his two Wives, that he would kill a Man. Such an Original, ſay ſome, muſt needs be ſcandalous. However it be, the Marriage of this firſt Tranſgreſſor of the Law of Monogamy, eſtabliſhed in the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, did not bear the Marks of Reprobation, if we may judge of it by Temporal Bleſſings; for Children proceeded from it, who had the Skill of inventing (*B*) many good Things. Now the Inventers of Arts were ſo much eſteemed, that moſt of 'em have been placed in the Number of the Gods. It was therefore a great Glory, and conſequently a remarkable Temporal Bleſſing at that time, to have the Wit that was neceſſary for Invention; but 'tis no ſign that God approved of *Lamech*'s Polygamy. The Scripture mentions only four * of this Man's Children; but according to *Joſephus* ||, he had Seventy ſeven by his Two Wives. What he told his Wives (*C*) is a Riddle to me; I ingenuouſly confeſs it is above my Underſtanding †. *I have ſlain a Man*, ſaid he, *to my wounding, and a young Man to my hurt*; Cain *ſhall be avenged ſeven fold, truly* Lamech *Seventy and ſeven fold*. Many pretend (*D*) that he meant he had killed *Cain*, and *Tubal-Cain*; for there is a common Tradition, ‡ that *Lamech*, who had been a great lover of Hunting, continued the ſport, even when by reaſon of his great Age, he was almoſt blind. He took with him his Son *Tubal-Cain* §, who not only ſerved him as a Guide, but alſo directed him, where and when he ought to let fly at the Beaſt. One Day, as *Cain* was laid among the Thickets, *Lamech*'s Guide ſeeing ſomething move in that Place, gave him notice of it; whereupon *Lamech* ſhot an Arrow, and ſlew *Cain*. He was extreamly concerned at it, and beat his Guide,

† *Geneſ. chap.* 4.

* *See the Remark B.*

|| *Antiq. lib.* 1. *c.* 2.

† *Geneſ. chap.* 4.

* *Vide Perer. in Geneſ. cap.* 4. *v.* 23. *& 24. Heidegg. hiſt. Patriarch. tom.* 1. *pag.* 211.

‡ *Others ſay that his Guide was one of his Servants.*

(*c*) *Ludov. Vives de tradendis diſciplinis lib.* 5. *pag. m.* 300. *Vide etiam, lib.* 2. *pag.* 90, 91.

(*d*) *See the* Nouv. de la Republique des Lettres, *for* April, 1685. *art.* 1. & 2.

(*e*) *Polygam. triumph. pag.* 188.

(*f*) *Ibid. pag.* 191.

§ Ipſe autem inſuper habitis omnibus imminentibus & præconceptis difficultatibus heroico animo hoc primus auſus, & proprio facto verba legis catholicæ (crescite & multiplicamini) non leve debitum, ſed immanem imperatoriam, explanare, & bono exemplo omnibus ſuis poſteris præire voluit. *Lud.*

Leodienſem ineunte ſæculo X. *Anſelmum ejuſdem Eccleſiæ Canonicum medio ſæculo* XI. *Nicolaum itidem Canonicum, & Reinerum Monachum ſæculo* XII. *Denique Ægidium Aureæ Vallis Canobitam medio ſæculo* XIII. *Felicior certe futurus ſi vel unicum eumque diligentem habuiſſet. At S. Landeberto, id quod pluribus ſanctis, accidit, ut dum auctores alius poſt alium ipſius res geſtas illuſtrare exornando amplificandove molirentur; eas è contrario incertis ac fabuloſis narrationibus inepte obſcuraverint atrocibuſque mendis fœdarint.* This is the Origin of ſo many impertinent Falſhoods. The multitude of Panegyricks and Lives, will always produce this effect: no Body is contented with the Wonders publiſhed by the foregoing Authors; they therefore invent new ones, much more in favour of the Book and its Author, than in favour of the Hero who makes the Subject of the Book. I muſt except the Legendaries, for they have commonly more at heart the Reputation of the Saint, than any thing elſe; but the Reaſon is, becauſe the greater it is, the more it will encreaſe the Number of the Devotees, and pious Charities. Here follows a fine Paſſage of *Ludovicus Vives*, wherein he condemns the falſe Zeal which has ſtuff'd the Hiſtory of Saints with ſo many fabulous Stories. (*c*) *Quæ de iis ſunt ſcripta, præter pauca quædam, multis ſunt commentis fœdata, dum qui ſcribit officii ſui indulget, & non quæ egit divus, ſed quæ ille egiſſe eum vellet, exponit: ut vitam dixerit animus ſcribentis, non veritas. Fuere qui magnæ pietatis loco ducerent mendaciola pro religione confingere: quod & periculoſum eſt, ne veris adimatur fides propter falſa, & minimè neceſſarium: quoniam pro pietate noſtra tam multa ſunt vera, ut falſa tanquam inutili ſint onerioſa magis, quàm auxilio.*

(*A*) *And ſlew* Lamech.] The Author of the *Polygamia Triumphatrix* was a very odd Man; he ſpent his Eſtate and his Life in maintaining the Lawfulneſs of Polygamy (*d*), and yet one Wife had been too much for him. He highly commends *Lamech*'s Reſolution of marrying Two (*e*) Wives, as an Heroick Action, and extravagantly praiſes him, as being the firſt (*f*) who attentively examined that Command of God, *Encreaſe and Multiply*, and who having well conſider'd it, made it his Duty to obey it, according to the full Extent of his Strength, by marrying two Wives. No Body durſt venture upon it before him; the Remembrance of *Eve*'s Tranſgreſſion, and the Conſideration of *Adam*'s Baniſhment had made People timorous in that reſpect. *Lamech* was the firſt who made that bold Step with an Heroick Courage, without minding the Difficulties that he was ſenſible of. He (*G*) commented not in Words, but in Actions, upon the Text of the Univerſal Law, *Encreaſe and Multiply*; a Law which is a true Commandment, and not a meer Benediction. By this means he broke the Ice, and gave a good Example to thoſe that came after him. Obſerve here how this poor Author was bigotted for *Polygamy*; it was his darling Notion, he thought the Scripture (*g*) mentions the double Marriage of *Lamech*, as an excellent Exploit; whereas Divines maintain with Reaſon, that it was with a Deſign to brand *Polygamy* in its Birth.

(*B*) *The Skill of inventing many good Things.*] *Jabal* and *Jubal*, the Sons of *Adah*, *Tubal-Cain*, and *Naamah* (*h*) his Siſter, whoſe Mother was *Zillah*, are the four Children of *Lamech* that are mentioned in Scripture. *Jabal* invented Tents; *Jubal* invented ſome Muſical Inſtruments: *Tubal-Cain* invented ſeveral Inſtruments of Braſs and Iron. The Holy Scripture, which teaches us this, does not attribute any Invention to *Naamah*, but if we believe the Rabbins (*i*) ſhe invented the Art of Spinning and Weaving.

(*h*) Joſephus *ſays, ſhe was the Daughter of* Tubal-Cain.

(*i*) *Apud Genebrard in Chron. & in margine verſionis Gallicæ Joſephi.*

(*C*) *Is a Riddle to me.*] 'Tis no eaſie thing to know how the Original Words of *Lamech* ought to be tranſlated. The *Geneva* Verſion makes uſe of the Future Tenſe, *I will ſlay*, and repreſents *Lamech* as a Man, who was to receive a Wound before he ſhould kill: but the Vulgar renders it, *I have ſlain*; and as for the Wound, one can't tell to whom it relates; for this Phraſe, *Occidi virum in vulnus meum*, is a Barbariſm which ſignifies nothing in *Latin*, and may ſignify any thing, as depending upon no Grammar Rules. Some Interpreters (*k*), well ſkill'd in the *Hebrew* Language, tranſlate it neither by the Preter-Tenſe, nor by the future, but reduce it all to a Conditional Propoſition. *I would kill a Man with a Wound, and even a Young Man with a Cudgel, or with my Fiſt, if they would attack me.* Now what way is there of fetching out the true Conſtruction of a Period, which is as much in the Future as in the Preter-Tenſe, and as much in the Optative as in the Indicative Mood. But tho' we could get clear of the Matter in the Grammatical Senſe, we ſhould not be far advanc'd; it would ſtill remain to be conſidered, what *Lamech* meant; which is no little difficulty. Nothing ſeems more remote from Probability, than the Thought of thoſe who take all this (*a*) to be a Rodomontade of *Lamech*: others take it to be a Menace to kill his Wives, if they continue to vex them by their bawling and Diſputes (*b*). But others on the contrary take it to be an Interrogation, deſigned to remove their Fears: They were afraid that ſome Body would kill him; he bids 'em have a good Heart, with theſe Words, *Have I ſlain a Man*, &c.

(*k*) *Apud Rivetum. Oper. tom.* 1. *pag.* 186.

(*a*) *Vide Rivetum, ibid. pag.* 187.

(*b*) *Vide Heidegg. Hiſtor. Patriarch, tom.* 1. *pag.* 212.

(*D*) *That he meant he had killed* Cain.] A Commentator (*c*), otherwiſe a very judicious and Learned

(*c*) *Perer. in Geneſ. c.* 4. *v.* 23. 24.

Guide ſo much, as to leave him dead upon the Place. This, ſay they, is the Way to make Senſe of his Words, which run thus, according to the vulgar Tranſlation, *Occidi virum in vulnus meum, & adoleſcentulum in livorem meum*; wherein he diſtinguiſhes his way of killing the Man (it was by a Wound) from his way of killing the young Lad, which was by Bruiſes, that made his Body black and blue. There are a Thouſand Abſurdities (*E*) in this Story, and in the Circumſtances that attend it. *Suidas* will have *Lamech* to have killed Two Brothers of *Enoch*, and that he married their Wives.

You'll find many Collections upon all this in a † *Theſis*, that was maintained at *Wittemberg* in the Year 1673. *ſub præſidio Joh. Wilhelmi Hilligeri.*

LAMECH, the Son of *Methuſelah*, and the Father of *Noah*, was the Ninth Man from *Adam* incluſively ‡. He lived 777 Years. *Iſaac Voſſius* || complains, that *Sigiſmund Gelenius* has foiſted into the Verſion of *Joſephus* a Fact that is not in the *Greek* Text of that *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian, *viz.* that *Adam* was ſtill living in *Lamech*'s Time. This Critick in cenſuring this Fault, has committed another; he has confounded *Lamech*, the Father of *Noah*, with *Lamech* ſprung from *Cain*, as I have ſhewn in the laſt Remark of the foregoing Article.

LAMIA, a *Roman* Family. It was a Branch of the Houſe (*A*) of the *Ælii*, into which probably it entred only by Adoption; for it is ſaid to be deſcended from LAMUS the Son of *Neptune*, and King of the *Læſtrygones*, who lived in a Town which was afterwards called *Formiæ*. This is (*B*) the Opinion of *Horace*. So antient a Genealogy as this, with which this Poet flatters his Friend *Ælius* LAMIA, is doubtleſs the reaſon why *Juvenal*, being willing to denote a Lady of the firſt Quality, made uſe of theſe Words, *quædam de numero Lamiarum* †. 'Tis very probable, that he to whom *Horace* inſcribes the 17th. Ode of the 3d. Book, and whom he mentions in ſeveral other Places, with Marks of Eſteem, was * the Father of *Lucius Ælius* LAMIA, who died towards the end of the Empire of *Tiberius*, in the 786th. Year

‡ *Suidas voce* Αμαρ.

† *Dereliquis Lamechi. Geneſ.* cap. 5.

‖ *De extremo ætate mundi, pag.* 13. & 14.

* *Homer* Odyſſea lib. 10. *mentions this* Lamus, *who, ſays he, lived in a great Town.*

† *Juven. Satyr.* 6. *v.* 383.

* *Glandorp, Onomaſt. pag.* 14. *ſays, he is the ſame who died in the Year* 766. *He makes him live too long.*

ned Man, is out here; for he thinks it is the moſt probable Interpretation of *Lamech*'s Words. He brings two Proofs for it. 1. Says he, *Cain*'s Poſterity extended it ſelf to the Deluge, and yet *Moſes* confines it to *Lamech* and his Sons; of which doubtleſs there is no other reaſon than this, that *Cain*'s Life ended in the Generation of *Lamech*, who killed him. 2. Says he, the only reaſon why *Moſes* has related the Murther committed by *Lamech*, is to point out the miſerable Death of *Cain*. I could confute theſe Proofs ſeveral Ways; but I ſhall only ſay, that *Pererius* ſuppoſes a Thing, which has no Probabilty, *viz.* that it was *Moſes*'s Intention to inform the World, that *Lamech* was the Murtherer of *Cain*. If he had had ſuch an Intention, would he have left ſuch an impenetrable Darkneſs, in the 4th. Chap. of *Geneſis*? Had the Death of *Cain* any thing myſterious in it, which ought to have been involv'd in ſuch Ænigmatical Expreſſions?

(*E*) *There are a Thouſand Abſurdities in this Story.*] I. 'Tis an ill-grounded Suppoſition, to ſay, that *Lamech* was almoſt blind (*e*) with old Age, whilſt *Cain* his Grandfather was ſtill alive. II. 'Tis abſurd to make him go a hunting at an Age ſo decrepit, that he could not ſee his Game, and ſtood in need of a Guide to tell him when he was to ſhoot an Arrow. III. 'Tis abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the Reaſon which induced him to talk in this manner to his Wives, was their ill Treatment of him in that great Age; either (*f*) becauſe they could not withſtand his exceſſive Laſciviouſneſs, or becauſe of the ill Manners of his Children. What Probability is there, that at ſo great an Age, he could give occaſion to his two Wives to complain of his two frequent Careſſes? IV. 'Tis abſurd to ſay (*g*) that when *Lamech* had been guilty of this double Murther, his Wives refuſ'd to lie with him, as believing that the Race of *Cain* was to come to an end, according to the Oracle, after the Seventh Generation: this, I ſay, is abſurd; for God was ſo far from Threatning *Cain* to deſtroy his Deſcendants after the Seventh Generation, that he aſſured him, that *Whoever ſhould kill him, ſhould be puniſhed Sevenfold.* 'Tis ſtill more abſurd (*h*) to ſay, that *Lamech* led his Two Wives to *Adam*, and that he deſired him to catechiſe 'em upon their Refuſal to lie with him, and that *Adam* beginning to reprimand 'em, was interrupted in ſuch a manner, as put him to Confuſion. *Does it become you*, ſaid they to him, *to teach us our Duty? let your Cenſures fall upon your ſelf, ſince for ſo many Years you have lived apart from your Wife's Bed.* I omit the little Conſiſtence there is betwixt the Age they make *Lamech* to be of, and his Eagerneſs to make his Two Wives hearken to Reaſon. I don't ſay, that the pretended Recrimination would have been better imagined, if *Adam* had cenſured *Lamech* at their Requeſt, and upon the Complaints of his Two Wives; but I ſay, that *Adam* and *Eve*'s Separation from Bed, after *Abel*'s Death, having laſted, according to the idle Fancies of the Rabbins, but 130 Years, 'tis abſurd to ſuppoſe, that *Adam* was reproached for it, as a thing that continued till when *Cain* was killed. *Iſaac Voſſius* has upon this Subject confounded *Lamech*, who had Two Wives at one time, with *Lamech* the Father of *Noah*. *Judicium eſt fabella*, ſays he (*i*), *Lamechum de uxoribus conqueſtum eſſe apud Adamum, illum hæ juſſiſſe ut ad maritum revertentur ac ſui facerent copiam. Iſtas reſpondiſſe Adamo ut ipſe prius ſuæ ſatisfaceret conjugi, à qua jam per centum & triginta annos propter ſcelus Cami eſſet ſeparatus. Verum quis adeo ſit hebes ut non videat narrationculam hanc eſſe ineptiſſimam? Ex ea ſequeretur Lamechum qui à Setho ſeptimus fuit diu fuiſſe antequam Sethus naſceretur.* VI. 'Tis abſurd to ſuppoſe, that *Tubal-Cain* a young Lad, ſhould have been killed by his own Father; how could he have been the Inventer of divers Inſtruments of Braſs, as the Scripture ſays he was? To conclude, *Joſephus* ſays nothing of this pretended Murther of *Lamech*; ſo that *Toſtat* (*k*), who cites him for this old Tradition, has fail'd thro' want of Memory.

(*A*) *Of the Houſe of the Ælii.*] The *Antonines*, Emperors of *Rome*, deſcended from that Houſe; it contained Seven or Eight Branches, that were all *Plebeian*, *viz.* the *Cati*, the *Tuberones*, the *Galli*, the *Stilones*, the *Præcomini*, the *Sejanus*'s, and the *Lamia*'s (*a*). No Body ſays, that the *Ælii* deſcended from *Lamus* King of the *Læſtrygones*, but this was ſaid of the *Lamia*'s, and therefore the latter muſt have enter'd by Adoption into the Family of the others.

(*B*) *This is the Opinion of* Horace.] Theſe are his Words (*b*).

Ælî vetuſto nobilis ab Lamo,
Quando & priores hinc Lamiæ ferunt
Denominatos, & nepotum
Per memores genus omne faſtos.
Autore ab illo ducit originem
Qui Formianam mœnia dicitur
Princeps, & imperiosus Antro
Littoribus tenuiſſe Lyris
Late tyrannus.

The ancient *Romans* were as ridiculous in Point of Genealogy, as People are at preſent. How many Families did they not ſay deſcended from a Conjunction of *Hercules*, or ſome other Perſon of the Fa-

Poly-

(*e*) *Some ſay he was quite blind. See* Polygamia triumph. pag. 185.

(*f*) *Hanc traduht hiſtoriam, Lamechum in ſenectute male tractatum eſſe ab uxoribus, vel propter nimiam ejuslibidinem atque laſciviam, vel propter truculenta filiorum ejus ingenia. Pererius ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) *Gedalia in Catena. Fab. & Horring. hiſt. Orient. apud Lyſerum Polyg. triumph. pag.* 192.

(*h*) *Aben Ezra apud eund.*

(*i*) *Iſaac Voſſius de ætat. mundi, cap.* 4. *pag.* 14.

(*k*) *Vide Pererium ubi ſupra.*

(*a*) *See* Glandorp Onomaſt. *pag.* 10. & *ſeq.*

(*b*) *Ode* 17. *lib.* 3.

Year of *Rome*, after he had been Governor (C) of *Syria*; from whence he was recalled to be Governor of *Rome*. He was honoured with the Funeral Rights of a Cenſor [a]. From him perhaps deſcended *Ælius* LAMIA, the Huſband of *Domitia Longina*, whom *Domitian* took from him. He put him to Death (D) ſome time after. There was alſo one *Lucius Ælius* LAMIA, who for having too zealouſly embraced *Cicero*'s Party againſt *Piſo*, was baniſh'd. Afterwards he was made *Ædile*, and then *Prætor*, after the Death of *Cæſar*, in the Year of *Rome* 711. 'Tis thought it was he, who being accounted (E) a dead Man, ſo that Fire was put to his Funeral Pile, recovered his Senſes by the Activity of the Fire. Conſult *Streinnius*'s Roman Families, and *Glandorp*'s *Onomaſticon* [b].

LAMIA, a Town of *Theſſaly*. 'Tis chiefly memorable for the Battle that was fought in its Territory, betwixt the *Athenians*, aſſiſted by the other *Greeks*, and *Antipater*, Governor of *Macedonia*. 'Twas after the Death of *Alexander*. The Succeſs of that Battle was very fatal to the *Athenians*, and to many other Towns of *Greece*, *Suidas* [c] is miſtaken in ſaying, that *Antipater* loſt the Battle.

LAMIA, the Daughter of *Neptune*. The *Greeks* ſaid, that the *Africans* named her *Sibylla*, that ſhe was the firſt Woman that propheſied, and that *Jupiter* had a Daughter by her, named *Herophyle*, who was one of the Sibyls *. Others ſay, that *Lamia* was a handſome (A) *African* Woman, by whom *Jupiter* had ſome Children, and that *Juno* deſtroy'd 'em all out of Jealouſie; which threw the Mother into a ſuch a violent Grief, that ſhe not only became ugly, but alſo ſo cruel, as to ſteal away Children and kill 'em †. Hence doubtleſs came the Popular Tradition, which the Poets (B) adopted upon the Stage. *Lamia*, or the LAMIÆ, were ſpoken of under another Notion; for it was ſaid, that they could part with their Eyes, and put 'em in again when they thought fit. They took 'em out in their own Houſes, and put them on again when they went abroad. This is the Emblem (C) of Curioſity and Self-Love. *Philoſtratus* repreſents 'em (D) very Laſcivious. I know not whether (E) the Fiſh LAMIA had its Name from what the Fables ſaid of the *Lamiæ*, or whether the latter owed their Name to that Fiſh. *Moreri*'s Faults (F) are not conſiderable.

LAMIA, a celebrated Curteſan, the Daughter of an *Athenian*, named * *Cleanor*. From a Flute-Player, which was her Profeſſion, ſhe became the Concubine of *Ptolemy* I. King

[a] *See the Remark C. Letter* e. *Pag.* 14. *&c. ſeq.*

[b] *Diodor. Siculus lib.* 18. *Pauſanias lib.* 7. *pag.* 251.

[c] *Suidas in Λάμια.*

* *Pauſan. lib.* 10. *pag.* 327.

† *Suidas in Λάμια.*

See what Aſpacius in Ariſt. de morib. l. 7. *cap. ſays of a* Lamia *in* Pontus.

* *Polemo apud Athenæum, lib.* 13. *pag.* 577.

(a) Et regnata Lamo Cajeta. *Sil. Ital. lib.* 8. *See* Dauqueius's *Notes.*

(b) *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 33.

(c) *Extremo anni mors Ælii Lamia funere cenſorio celebrata, qui adminiſtrandæ Suriæ imagine tandem exſolutus ubi præfuerat. Genus illi decorum, vivida ſe nectus; & non permiſſa provincia dignationem addiderat. Tacit. Annal. lib.* 6. *cap.* 27. *ad ann.* 786.

(d) *Idem lib.* 4. *c.* 13.

(e) Sed periit poſtquam Cerdonibus eſſe timendus Cœperat, hoc nocuit Lamitarum cade *Maxim. l.* 1. *c.* 8. *p.m.* 118. (i) *Plinius, l.* 7. *c.* 52. (k) *In Suidas in voce* Λαμία. (l) *In pacem.* (m) *Euripides apud Bochart. Geograph. ſacr. lib.* 1. *cap.* 33. (n) Ἄντρον ὑπόγειον, κατὰ τὴν ἐμπόριον συντεθειμένον ἐν ᾧ μυθεύουσι γεγονέναι τὴν Λιβύης βασίλισσαν Λαμίαν, Vaſtum antrum hedera & taxo conſitum, in quo Reginam Lamiam natam eſſe fabulantur. *Diod. Sicul. l.* 20. *apud Bochart ibid.* (o) *Ibid.* (p) *Horat. de arte poet.*

bulous Ages? *Silius Italicus* believed, that *Lamus* had reigned (c) in *Caieta*. See *Bochart*'s *Geographia Sacra*.

(C) *Governor of* Syria.] He had only the Title of it, and did not keep it long; the Injuſtice done him upon that occaſion, proved glorious to him (r). He had commanded in *Africa* (f).

(D) *He put him to Death ſome time after.*] I ſpeak of it in the Article of *Domitia Longina*, where I cite the neceſſary Authorities. *Juvenal* (g) alludes to the Death of this *Lamia* in the Fourth Satir.

(E) *Who being accounted a dead Man--recover'd his Senſes.*] See what *Valerius Maximus* ſays of it: (h) *Lucque Lamiæ prætorio viro æquè vocem fuiſſe ſuper rogum conſtitit. Pliny* alſo makes mention of it (i).

(A) *A handſome* African *Woman.*] Many Authors agree in making *Lamia* a Native of *Africa*. *Doris*, or (k) *Duris* does it; and ſo does *Heſychius*. *Ariſtophanes*'s Scholiaſt ſays (l), that ſhe was the Daughter of *Belus* and *Libya*. Conſider this Paſſage of *Euripides*.

Τὶς (m) πόντου τὸν ἀνήνιδον βροτοῖς
Οὐκ οἶδ' Ἀφρικῆς τῆς Λιβυστικῆς γένος;

Quis Africanæ neſciat Lamiæ genus
Infame nomen & tetrum mortalibus?

Didorus Siculus relates, that *Ophellas*, King of *Cyrene* going to meet *Agathocles*, who made War with the *Carthaginians*, found (n) a Cavern, wherein it was ſaid that Queen *Lamia* was born. *Bochart* (o) thinks that the Name *Lamia* is derived from the Punick Word *Laham*, or *Lahama*, which ſignifies ſtill among the *Arabians*, *to devour*.

(B) *Which the Poets adopted upon the Stage.*] 'Tis upon this that *Horace* gives 'em a good Advice.

Fiſta (p) *voluptatis cauſa ſint proxima veris,*
Nec quodcumque volet, poſcat ſibi fabula credi,
Neu pranſæ Lamiæ vivum puerum extrahat alvo.

Philoſtratus ſays, that the *Lamiæ* were fond (q) of humane Fleſh. Among the old Womens Stories in ſome Countries, there are Abundance, in which ſome Fairies are mention'd, as great Eaters of Children.

(C) *'Tis the Emblem of Curioſity.*] Conſult *Plutarch* (r), who ſays, that (like *Lamia*, who was blind at Home, and when ſhe went out, took her Eyes out of a Box, where ſhe kept 'em) every Man is very intent upon the Faults of his Neighbour, but makes no uſe of his Eyes to diſcover his own Vices.

(D) Philoſtratus *repreſents 'em very Laſcivious.*] He ſays (s), that out of a Principle of Wantonneſs, they inticed the Men, whom they deſired to devour, in a proper time; and that they eſpecially delighted to eat handſome Boys, when they were grown fat and plump. It was not eaſie methinks, to grow fat in the Service of thoſe laſcivious Creatures. *Philoſtratus* ſhould have thought of this Difficulty. Perhaps one might apply to the preſent Subject, the Explication which ſome have given of the Fable of *Diomedes* King of *Thrace*, who fed his Horſes with the Fleſh of his Gueſts. The meaning of which is, according to ſome, that he forced 'em to ſatisfie the Luſt of his Daughters, till they had nothing left but Skin and Bones. (t) *Diomedes Thraciæ Rex cum aliquot haberet filias ſalaciſſimas, cogebat hoſpites ut earum libidinem ſatiarent; dictus ob id equas humanis carnibus paſcere; equa enim & mulier ſola animalium appetunt marem etiam prægnantes, unde equiendi vocabulum, ut ait Ariſtoteles* (1), *trahitur maledicto in fœminas procaces: comedunt verò carnes humanas, cum viros exfugunt, & coitu emaciatos ad talem perducunt; ut rectè Solomon* (2) *à mulierum conſuetudine revocet adoleſcentes, ne fruſtrà gemere incipiant, poſteaquàm carnes ſuas conſumpſerint.*

(E) *Whether the Fiſh* LAMIA.] It is a Fiſh of a prodigious Bulk and Voracity. Some time the whole Body of a Man was found in it. See Mr. *Ray* in his Hiſtory of Fiſhes, and the following Remark, where I cenſure *Calepin*.

(F) Moreri's *Faults are not conſiderable.*] I. *Pharamus*, who is (x) a Modern Author ſhould, not have been cited. II. Much leſs ought he to be cited before *Suidas*. III. Inſtead of ſaying, that the Antients gave the *Lamiæ* the Name of *Lares*, he ſhould have ſaid *Larvæ*. IV. He ought not to have cited *Rhodiginus*, but *Philoſtratus*, from whom he took (h) all that he ſaid of the *Lamiæ*. V. He ſhould however have cited the 29th, and not the 40th.

(q) Ἔφησε, τὰ μαλακία ἀνθρώπινον ἐσθίειν. Carnes autem humanas præ cæteris primis. *Philoſtrat. in vita Apollon. lib.* 4.

(r) *Plut. de curioſitate, init. p.m.* 515. 516.

(f) *Vid. ſupra.*

(s) *Balthaſar Bonifacius Hiſtoria Judicii lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. *p.m.* 125.

(1) *Ariſt. de gener. animal. l.* 4. *c.* 5. *Idem hiſt. animal. l.* 6. *c.* 18.

(2) *Prov.* 5. *v.* 11.

(a) *He publiſhed his Dictionary in the Year* 1523.

(b) *Lloyd and Hofman ſeem to have been ignorant of this.*

King of *Egypt*; but before that, she had made her self famous (*A*) as a Woman of Pleasure. She was taken with many of her Companions * in the Sea-Fight, wherein *Demetrius Poliorcetes* obtained the Victory over that Prince, near the Isle of *Cyprus*. Being brought to *Demetrius*, she appeared so charming to him, though she began (*A*) to decline, that she was afterwards his most beloved Mistress. For this reason it was said that the others loved him, but that he loved her. He was (*B*) jested upon on this Account. He so loaded her with Riches, that she found her self in a Capacity of making

* *Plut. in Demetrio, p. 895. F.*

40th. Book, for his *Antiquæ Lectiones* contain only Thirty Books. VI. He should not have cited *Pliny*, since he said nothing of the Fish he calls (*c*) *Lamia*; and yet *Moreri* wanted an Author, who had considered the *Lamia* as *extraordinary Fishes*. This puts me in mind of a false Citation, that I have observed in *Calepin*; *Pliny* is cited there, *Lib. 29. Cap. 24.* immediately after these Words, *Lamia item piscis est (unde & Lamiarum strigum nomen, quod ut Lamiæ sint voracissimæ, à λαιμὸς guttur) tanto ovis vitiu tantaque voracitatis ut & longatum hominem devorasse compertus sit. Itaque de hoc intelligunt qui Jonam deglutierit. Pliny* says not a Syllable of all this; however the 9th. Book should have been quoted, and not the 29th.

(*c*) *Father Hardouin in hunc locum: Plinii, lib. 9. cap. 24. thinks it is a kind of Ray.*

(*A*) *Famous as a Woman of Pleasure.*] *Plutarch* affirms it. These are his Words; (*d*) Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἑταιρικῶν ἐν Λαμίᾳ, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν συνδιέφθειρε δεῖν τῶν τέχνην, ᾠδὴν γὰρ αὐλεῖν οὐκ ἐπιστᾶται ἔτερον οὐδὲν τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν λαμπρὸν γυναικί. *In his nobilis illa fuit Lamia, quæ initio propter artem fuit in scena habita. Siquidem scienter tibia canebat. Post extitit commercio meretricio celebris.* When a Woman is paid for Singing, Dancing, or Playing upon the Instruments; I mean, when she makes a Trade of it on the Stage, or in solemn Assemblies, 'tis the High-way to Debauchery. No wonder then, if our *Lamia*, from a Fluter, became a Whore.

(*d*) *Plut. in Demetrio, p. 895. E.*

(*e*) Δημητρίῳ δ' ὁ Πολιορκητὴς ἐπιμανῆναι λέγεται τὴν αὐλητρίδα, ἣν καὶ ἐρῶσαν ἔσχε καὶ Σφυρίδιον ἐκάλει. *Demetrius Poliorcetes (and not Phalereus, as 'tis in Athenæus's Translation) Lamiam tibicinem amavit perdilectissime, ex eaque gnatam Philam suscepit. Athen. lib. 13. pag. 577.*

(*A*) *Though she began to decline.*] I would have used more proper Terms, to represent her old, if I had only consulted *Plutarch*; but having read in *Athenæus* (*e*) that she had a Daughter by *Demetrius*, I thought the Expressions were to be softned. These are the Words of *Plutarch*: (*f*) Ἦν γὰρ ἡ Λαμία τῆς ὥρας, ἣ πολὺ πρότερον ἐξέλιπε τὸν Δημήτριον, ἐρᾶσθαι τῇ χάριτι καὶ κατοκωχῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔτι μένειν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐδόκει. *Tunc vero etiam exolescente forma multo se minorem pellexit Demetrium, adeoque lepore devinxit & cepit eum, ut ob aliis mulieribus amaretur, unius illius esset amator.* I shall set down another Passage below (*g*), that is no less formal. 'Tis commonly said, that in Families Love descends much more than it ascends; Fathers love their Children, more than Children love their Fathers. The same thing may be said of the Love of Men to Women; the Men are commonly older than the Women they love. But this Rule admits of many Exceptions; and even in Royal Families: witness the *Dauphin*, who fell in love with an old Widow, under the Reign of *Francis* I. I mention it in the Article of *Diana de Poitiers*. We see here a young King, led Captive by a Woman much older than himself. Nor need we wonder at it, since an old Curtezan, with some remains of Beauty, supported with Art and Cunning, may carry a young Man far. However it be, if *Demetrius* found great Charms in *Lamia*, the first time he saw her, she appeared no less charming to him in the Privacies they had together: (*h*) ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Λαμίᾳ τὸν βασιλέα ἐμμανῆ ποιούντων ὑπερπιπτόντων. *Idem ait Demetrium ab incubante Lamia concinne fuaviterque subagitatum fuisse, & idcirco eam laudasse.* It was not only her Agility, that made her so charming to *Demetrius*; she gave him amorous Bites, which probably pleased that Prince, as much as his Passion for her displeased his Friends. They could not dissemble it; for when his Ambassadors saw the Scars, which *Lysimachus* shewed 'em in his Thighs and Arms, they answered him, that the King their Master had some also in his Neck, which were the Effect of the Teeth of the furious Beast *Lamia*. We must know that *Lysimachus* had fought with a Lyon, and shewed them the Marks of the Wounds he had received in that Fight. The Words of the Orignal have more Grace than the Substance I give of 'em. (*k*) Δημήτριος μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' ἔφη πρὸς Λυσίμαχον, τὸν ἐπιθέσθαι

(*b*) *Macrobius, apud Athen. ubi supra.*

(*k*) *Plut. in Demetr. pag. 901.*

(*B*) *He was jested upon.*] People wondered (*l*) to see *Demetrius*, who was immediately dis-oblig'd with his Wife *Phila*, because she began to decline, such a Slave to *Lamia*, who was already in Decay. [illegible] Day asked *Demo*, what she thought of *La-mia*, who was playing on the Flute at a Meal. *She is old enough*, said *Demo*. When the Defect was [illegible] *not see*, said he to *Demo*, *how many* [illegible] *owe*. *My Mother*, answered *Demo*, [illegible] *would have lain with her* (*m*). [illegible] *man*, who had been Con[illegible] *Father*, and who [illegible] *Mania*, at [illegible] *Lamia*, a Song, two [illegible] Notes where note a violent Hatred between *Lysimachus* and *Demetrius*, which gave *Lysimachus* occasion to reflect upon *Demetrius*'s Fondness for *Lamia*. She is old, said he, the mad Curtezan, that I ever saw come from the Stage. *Demetrius* answered, I will have him to know, that my Whore is more honest than his *Penelope* (*n*). *James Amyot* has not understood this, he makes *Lysimachus* say, *He has never seen a Whore play in a Tragedy*. *Plutarch*'s Words have not that meaning. [illegible] *Lysimachus* alluded to *Lamia*'s Profession, and to the Tragedies [illegible] *Lysimachus* was [illegible] *Lamia*'s amours, *dicebat mox fœminam fore ex tragica prodiens* (*q*) [illegible]. The Interpretation would not clear this. The sense of *Lysimachus* is, if we were ignorant of a thing related by *Athenæus* (*o*), namely, that *Demetrius* had find, that *Lysimachus*'s Court resembled a Comical Theatre, [illegible] of it, but such as have only two Syllables in their Names. Thus he laughed at one *Bithes*, one *Pitus*, and some others, whose Names are not longer, and who were *Lysimachus*'s chief Favourites. When *Lysimachus* heard this Jest, he only answered, that he never saw at his Court a Whore come from a Tragick Stage. He alluded (*r*) to *Lamia*, who was a Fluter, and consequently of a Profession used in the acting of Tragedies.

(*l*) *Idem ibi.*

(*m*) *Idem ibi.*

(*n*) *Idem ibi.*

(*o*) *Athen. lib. 14.*

(*p*) *Plut. in Demetrio, p. 895. E.*

(*q*) *There is a Transposition in Plutarch's Text.*

(*r*) *Athen. lib. 13. pag. 577.*

(*C*) *She found her self in a Capacity of making great Expences.*] 'Tis common for the Mistresses of Kings to be fond of immortalizing their Names by stately Buildings. *Lamia* was of this Humour, she caused a most noble Portico to be built in *Sicyon*, of which an Author (*s*) published a Description. She gave one Day a very noble Entertainment to *Demetrius*. There was (*t*) a Book upon this Subject. (*u*) Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐκ τῶν Λαμίᾳ [illegible] ἐπιγράφεται δὲ ἡ βίβλος αὐτῶν Ἐπιτύχη διαλόγου. *Præterea scorsum Lamia cænam reparans, Demetrium conciliavit, atque ob eam cænæ fumptus* [illegible] *fuit illa celebrata cæna, ut ejus nam mandaverit litteris. Quamobrem Lamiæ cœnæ quidam aptissime cœnam Helenæ coæquavit.* *Plutarch* had been speaking of the great Sums which *Demetrius* (*u*) had obliged the Athenians to give to *Lamia*; and the Alds, that this Prince made many Persons give her Money for the Feast she prepared for *Demetrius*.

(*s*) *Pausanias in Corinthiacis.*

(*t*) *Athen. lib. 13. pag. 577.*

(*u*) *Plut. in Demetr. p. 895. F.*

king great Expences. She was excellent (D) at witty Sayings and Repartees; and as the *Athenians* carried their Flatteries of *Demetrius* to the moſt extravagant Impieties, they built (E) a Temple to this Concubine, under the Name of VENUS LAMIA, though on a certain Occaſion, they were very much diſcontented to ſee their Mony (F) beſtowed upon that Woman. The *Thebans* * committed the ſame Impiety. The Story we read in *Athenæus* concerning *Demetrius* and *Lamia*, is not fit to be mention'd (G) in a Modern Language. I queſtion whether *Ælian* (H) has exactly related what he ſays of theſe two Perſons. *Plutarch* tells us how *Lamia* (I) Animadverted on a Judgment paſt upon Love Matters. What I have ſaid againſt *Antony de Guevara* about *Laus*, I repeat it on the Account of *Lamia*. He has uttered as many Lies about the one as about the other. *Brantome* has been impoſed (K) upon by it. *Moreri* is very ſhort upon this Head, (L) and therefore I have not many Faults to charge him with. I am ſurpriz'd at a doubt (M) of Mr. *Menage*.

* *Polemo apud Athen. l. 6. p. 253.*

LAM-

(D) *She was excellent at witty Sayings and Repartees.*] *Athenæus* ſays ſo. Ἦν δέ, ſays he (*b*), Λαμία σοφίσμα ἀξιολόγως ἐν ἀποκρίσεσι τισὶ καὶ ἀπορρήτοις. *Fuit quidem certe Lamia diſertis falſa & acuta, prorſusque in reſpondendo Athenienſis.*

(*b*) *Athen. l. 13. p. 577.*

(E) *They built a Temple to this Concubine.*] They built another to *Læna* Concubine to the ſame *Demetrius* (*c*), and did the ſame honour to the Favourites of this Prince. Altars, Libations, and Hymns were not wanting. *Demetrius* was ſo ſurpriz'd at it, that he openly ſaid, that there was then no Citizen in *Athens* that had any Courage. His thought has been miſerably diſfigured by *Athenæus*'s Tranſlator. He makes him ſay, that there would never be in Hell an *Athenian* of a great Spirit: *Admirante ipſo Demetrio quæ tum fierent, palamque dicente apud inferos nullum unquam futurum magni excelſique animi civem Athenienſem.* One Letter (*d*) put in the room of two others, has occaſion'd the prodigious change of this Thought. Theſe are *Athenæus*'s Words: Ὥστε μὴ φαίνειν τὸν ἀμφιτρίωνα θαυμάζειν εἰ τοῖς γενομένοις, ἢ λέγειν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐν ἅιδου Ἀθηναῖον γίγνει μέγας ἢ ἀνὴρ τὴν ψυχήν. This Reflection of *Demetrius* puts me in mind of an Exclamation of *Tiberius*: (*e*) *Memoria proditur Tiberium, quotiens curia egrederetur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum eloqui ſolitum, ὦ homines ad ſervitutem paratos! Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projecta ſervientium patientia tædebat.*

(*c*) *Idem l. 6. c. 14. p. 253.*

(*d*) Ἐν ἅιδου, in inferis, pour en outre, ſua ætate.

(*e*) *Tacit. Annal. l. 3. c. 65.*

(F) *To ſee their Money beſtowed upon that Woman.*] Amongſt many Violences which the *Athenians* ſuffered from *Demetrius*, nothing vexed 'em more than the order he gave, that they ſhould pay him immediately 250 Talents. He cauſed this Tax to be raiſed with great Rigour, and Speed; and when the Money was ready, he commanded them to pay it in to *Lamia*, and the other Curtezans ſhe had in her Train; this is, ſaid he, to Buy 'em Soap. Theſe words and this uſe was a greater Trouble to the *Athenians*, than the loſs of their Money. (*f*) Ἰδὼν ἐκφερόμενον τὸ ἀργύριον, ἐκέλευσεν Λαμίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἑταίραις εἰς σμῆγμα δοθῆναι. ἦν γὰρ αἰσχύνη, τὸ ξενικὸν καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἐπαχθὲς τῆς ἀνθρακικῆς. *Ubi coactum argentum vidit, Lamiæ juſſit id, cæteriſque meretricibus quæ circa eam erant, ad ſmegma præberi. Pupugit enim eives pudor magis quàm jactura, & verba, quibus eſt uſus, quam exactio.* At preſent we ſhould ſay *a pair of Gloves*, inſtead of the word *Soap*.

(*f*) *Plut. in Demetr. p. 901. A.*

(G) *Is not fit to be mention'd in a Modern Language.*] (*b*) *De Lamia rurſum Machon hæc ſcribit, Demetrium aliquando inter pocula, varia genera unguentorum oſtentantem Lamiæ tibicinæ, ut illa non ita jucundè olere dixit, non nihil commotum & tanquam vellicatum, quòd improbans omnia petulantius illuderet, immiſſe ut Nardinum quoddam afferretur, & cùm pudendum manu confricuiſſet, ac digitis contractaſſet, dixiſſe, hoc Lamia obfacito, quantum à reliquis diſtet, cognoſces: illam verò ſubridentem reſpondiſſe, atque, ὦ miſer, omnium longè putidiſſimum hoc eſſe mihi videtur: regemque mox ſubjeciſſe, è regia tamen glande per Jovem eſt, ὦ Lamia.*

(*b*) *Athen. l. 13. p. 577.*

(H) *Whether Ælian has exactly related.*] *Demetrius*, ſays he (*i*), who Reigned over ſo many Nations, went often in his Arms, and with his Diadem on his Head to the Curtezan *Lamia*. He would have very much Diſgrac'd himſelf, if he had ſent for her, but he went carefully to her Houſe. I make leſs account of this Prince, than of *Theodorus* the Piper, who rejected *Lamia*'s Intreaties to viſit her. This is the Story of that Author: which I can't but ſuſpect; for *Demetrius* never ſaw *Lamia*, till ſhe was preſented to him, after the Naval Victory he obtained over the King of *Ægypt*. *Lamia* was no longer a common Woman; ſhe did belong to the King. If it be ſaid, that after ſhe belonged to *Demetrius*, ſhe had her Houſe a-part, and that therefore it is very poſſible, that *Demetrius* might be ſeen to viſit her; I anſwer that he would not have gone to her as to a publick Curtezan, but as to a Miſtreſs, whom he believed to be ſolely at his Pleaſure, and whom he had enabled to have a fine Houſe of her own. If it be ſo, *Ælian*'s Cenſure comes to nothing; for when once a Prince is ingaged in publick Concubinage, 'tis the ſame thing whether he goes to his Miſtreſs, or whether ſhe comes to him: Nay, 'tis more Scandalous to ſee her Lodged in his Palace, than any where elſe. I am perſuaded, that *Lamia* had her Lodgings with *Demetrius*, and if ſhe had not, *Demetrius* went not to ſee her, as a Curtezan, who open'd her Doors to all Comers. And yet this is *Ælian*'s Suppoſition, upon which he builds the Morality of this Chapter.

(*i*) *Ælian. var. Hiſtor. l. 12. c. 17.*

(I) Lamia *Animadverted on a Judgment.*] The fact is this: *Thonis* (*k*) an *Ægyptian* Curtezan had demanded a great Sum of a young Man who lov'd her. Whereupon the Bargain broke off; and the Lover withdrew *re infecta*. He Dream'd in the Night, that he Lay with that Woman; which cured his Paſſion. *Thonis* underſtanding all the Myſtery, pretended that the young Man ought to pay her, and Summon'd him before the Judges. *Boccharis* Condemn'd the Defendant to put the Money in a Purſe which ſhe demanded, and to move it ſo that the ſhadow of it might fall upon *Thonis*. This Judge meant by it, that Opinion is but the ſhadow of Truth, and that the young Man's Pleaſure in a Dream was only the ſhadow of a real one. *Lamia*, a competent Judge in theſe matters, ſaid one Day, that this Judgment was unjuſt, becauſe the ſhadow of the Purſe had not cured the Curtezan's Paſſion for the Money, whereas the Dream had cured the young Man's Paſſion (*l*).

(*k*) *It was her Ægyptian Name. The Greeks call'd her* Archidice *or* Archedice. *See* Ælian var. Hiſtor. l. 12. c. 63. *and* Kuhnius's *Notes.*

(*l*) *Ex Plutarcho in Demetrio, p. 901.*

(K) Brantome *has been impoſed upon by it.*] He (*m*) gives out ſome Maxims, as if they were *Lamia*'s, which are only *Guevara*'s Fictions. *If we muſt take the Advice*, ſays he (*n*), *of a Curtezan, who was one of the moſt Famous in former times, and very well ſkill'd in her Profeſſion*, viz. Lamia *who ſaid*, &c. One *Francis Voilleret, Sieur de Florizel*, Counſellor, Notary, and Secretary to the King and Crown of *France*, Publiſhed (*o*) as true Matter of Fact, all the Falſities he had read in that *Spaniſh* Author, concerning the three Curtezans *Flora*, *Lais* and *Lamia*. So true it is, that one bad Author is enough to ſpoil many others.

(*m*) *Memoires des Dames galantes Tom. 2. towards the end.*

(*n*) *Epitres dorées B. 1. p. m. 260. & ſeq.*

(*o*) *In a Book Printed at* London *in the Reign of King* James I. *and Intitled*, Le Preau des fleurs meſlées. *See the 8. c. of the 2. Book p. 244. & ſeq.*

(L) Moreri ——— *I have not many.*] I. This Expreſſion, *the* Thebans *Conſecrated to her the Temple of* Venus Lamia, is Fallacious: It induces one to believe, that the *Thebans* had a Temple of *Venus Lamia*, which they Conſecrated to *Demetrius*'s Miſtreſs. *Moreri* ſhould therefore have ſaid, to avoid Ambiguity, that the *Thebans* built a Temple in Honour of this Miſtreſs, and called it the Temple of *Venus Lamia*. II. 'Tis not true that *Plutarch* makes mention of this; he ſhould have cited *Athenæus*. *Moreri* had this falſe Quotation from *Charles Stephens* (*p*).

(*p*) *Lloyd has left out the Quotation of* Plutarch. Hofman *has done the ſame.*

(M) *I am ſurpriz'd at a doubt of Mr.* Menage.] He queſtions whether the Curtezan *Lamia* is the ſame *Athenian* Lady, that was kept by *Demetrius Phalereus*. (*a*) *An eadem eſt ac illa nobilis femina*

(*a*) *Menag. in Diogen. Laert. l. 5. n. 76. p. 221.*

quam

You'll find a great commendation of this *Lamia* in a Book † that Mr. *Baudelot* Published in the year 1698.

LAMPONIANO (*John Andrew*) Descended from * an Illustrious Family of *Milan*, was one of the three Domesticks of *Galeazzo Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, who Conspired against that Prince, and Kill'd him in St. *Stephen's* Church the 26th. of *December* 1476. It was *Lamponiano* that gave him the two first Wounds. He pretended to remove the Crowd, and to have Letters to present to the Duke. He was inraged against him (*A*) on account of a Law-Suit, in which he could not prevail with this Prince to interpose his good Offices against his Adversary; he hoped to find his Account in a Revolution of the State, and he wanted an After-game; for he had squander'd away the main part of his Patrimony, and found himself as Vain, and as much addicted to Luxury as before. His two Accomplices were *Charles Visconti*, and *Jerom Olgiati*. The latter was engaged in this black Conspiracy by the Glory, which a School-Master (*B*), who hated the Duke, represented to him in the Murder of a Tyrant. As for *Charles Visconti*, he was moved to it (*C*) by two powerful Reasons. *Lamponiano* designing to Escape thro' the Women, was killed by a *Moor*. His Corps (*D*) biting the Ground was ‡ delivered to the Mob, who made it their sport for some time †. *Peter Crinitus* (*E*) made some Verses in Praise of this Assassin. 'Tis said that this Duke of *Milan* had very good Qualities *, and that he Governed like a good Prince, without any notable Fault, besides a prodigious Incontinence; which it was

quam amabat Phalereus? In calling her a Noble Woman, he goes upon these Words of *Diogenes Laertius*: Ἀλλὰ ἀστῇ καὶ εὐγενεῖ ... *Verum urbana ac nobili amica Lamia utebatur quam amabat.* If these Words be pointed thus, one may very well deny, that *Lamia* the Mistress of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* was loved by *Demetrius Phalereus*; for the Mistress of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* was only a Flute-Player, and consequently was not of a Noble Family. *Menage* had reason to Censure *Dalechampius*, who has Translated these Words of *Athenæus*, Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς ... thus, *Demetrius Phalerus Lamiam tibicinem amavit perditissime*; but he should likewise have Censured *Aldobrandin*, who says (*b*) that the *Thebans* out of Complaisance to *Demetrius Phalereus*, built a Temple to *Venus Lamia*, in order to honour the Memory of his Mistress *Lamia*. *Aldobrandin* cites *Cælius Rhodiginus*, *l.* 29. *c.* 5. Here are three things to be Censured. 1. It was not to please *Demetrius Phalereus*, but *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, that the *Thebans* built this Temple. 2. *Aldobrandin* should have quoted *Athenæus*, and not *Cælius Rhodiginus*. 3. He should have said that the *Athenians* had the same Complaisance as the *Thebans*.

(*A*) *He was inrag'd against him on account of a Law Suit.*] The thing was this, according to *Paul Jovius*: (*c*) *Ad audendum immane usque adeo & periculosum facinus vehementer incitabat illata sibi injuria à Castellioneo Comensium antistite, à quo sacri latifundii possessione contra jus interrupta locatione, se perinique spoliatum querebatur. Totum autem ejus injuriæ odiique venenum vertebat in principem, qui à se suppliciter deprecante eam contumeliam, sæpe rogatus adversarium in extrahenda lite præpotentem, neque advertere, neque mollire voluisset.* This puts me in mind of *Philip King* of *Macedonia*, who was Kill'd (*d*) by a Man, who could not obtain from him the Revenge he desir'd for a bloody Affront. He thought no longer of Revenging himself on the Author of that Affront, but on the Prince who did not do him Justice (*f*).

(*B*) *From the Glory, that a Master of a School, Enemy to the Duke.*] His name was *Cola Montanus*, and he had been Preceptor to *Galeazzo Sforza*, who remembring more than he should have done, the Lashes he had received from his Pedagogue, order'd him to be publickly Whip'd. (*g*) *Hic cola quondam Galeacii pædagogus dirum in principem odium conceperat impotenti ejus contumelia percitus, quod ille puerilium verberum nimis memor, postquam adolevit, imperiumque suscepit, ipsi Colæ tanquam immiti subagrestique præceptori, acceptas olim plagas nudatis clunibus loro palam rependi jussisset.* Cola exasperated with this Affront, inflam'd young *Olgiati* with an Ardent desire of Glory, by Murdering the Tyrant, and by that means restoring the Liberty of his Country. He extolled to the Skies the Merit of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. In a Word, it was he, (*h*) who by his Violent Exhortations inspired him with the Design of Executing that horrid Attempt. (*i*) *Olgiatum pene imberbem, levissimumque adolescentem inani spe paranda gloriæ inflaverat Cola Montanus litterarii ludi magister; si occiso tyranno patriam in libertatem asseruisset, ipsi Cassios & Brutos ... magnis extollens laudibus, ... gloria ... fasti consilium olim suscepissent.* So true it is that a bad Lesson is able to do great Mischief, and that Princes themselves ought to take care, not to be hated by inconsiderable Men. There are few such. *Cola* (*k*) being taken some time after fell into the Hands of *Lawrence de Medecis*, who caused him to be Hang'd. The Courage he inspired into *Olgiati*, in hopes of an eternal Fame, did not fail him at the place of Execution. *Olgiati* and his Comrade made their Escape, by reason of the Confusion which the Assassination of the Duke caused in the Church: But because no body durst Harbour 'em, they were taken two Days after. Their Punishment was suited to their Crime; and *Olgiati* express'd a great Constancy (*l*) *Olgiatus ipse ... ditaque vesana constantia obstinatum animum in conspectu ... gerens, ... in ipsa morte ... mans hac con... Hieronyme, stabit vetus memoria facti, ... erit acerba, sed tormentum breve, atque ... perpetua.*

Here follow some Verses which he made in Prison. They are a Proof of his Boldness, and contain an Insult upon the Prince he had Assassinated.

Quem (m) non mille acies, quem non potuere phalanges
Sternere, privata Galeaz dux Sfortia dextra
Concidit, atque illum minime juvere cadentem
Astantes famuli, nec opes, nec regna, nec urbes.
Hinc patet humanis quæ sit fiducia rebus,
Et patet hinc sacro tutum nil esse tyranno.

(*C*) *He was moved to it by two powerful Reasons.*] In the first place he was provok'd to see that the *Sforza's* had Usurp'd the Dominion to the Prejudice of his Family. Secondly, he had a Sister whom *Galeazzo* Debauched, and afterwards he imparted her to a young Fellow that was his Catamite. *Germanæ sororis probro quam Galeacius adamaret, atque ... geret, permovebatur: tanto indignantius quod eam decoro adolescenti, qui ætatis florem principi ... dum dedisset, conciliasse & communicasse suspicaretur* (*n*). This Prince (*o*) was reckon'd so Lewd, that not only his Amours were talk'd of, but also his Pimping. We have here an instance of Womens Compliance. *Francis Visconti's* Sister not content to gratify the Duke with the use of her Body, satisfied also the Lewdness of his Catamite, when he pleased. Probably she had no great difficulty in giving this Mark of Complaisance: the Duke, since it was in favour of a ... young Man.

(*D*) *His Corps biting the Ground.*] I may use this Phrase in the literal Sense, since *Paul Jovius* Expresses himself thus. (*p*) *Ipsius Lamponiani ... daver ... lingua ... commordens ... bat.*

(*E*) *Peter Crinitus made some Verses in Praise of this Assassin.*] They are in the second Book ... his Poems, and are ... *Lamponianum*.

(*b*) Thebanos autem Demetrio blandientes, Veneris Lamiæ templum excitavisse, ut Lamiæ ab eo amatæ memoriam colerent, scribit Cælius Rhodig. l. 29. c. 5. *Aldobrandin. in Diogen. Laertium l.* 5. *n.* 76. *He can mean no Body but* Demetrius Phalereus, *of whom he had been speaking.*
(*c*) *Paulus Jovius in elogio Galeacii Sfortiæ, l.* 3. *elog. p. m.* 244.
(*d*) Call'd Pausanias.
(*e*) Pausaniam Attalus mero onustum nefariis convivarum ludibriis exposuerat. *Freinshem. Supplem. in Quint. Curt. l.* 1. *c.* 9.
(*f*) Adolescens, odium ab auctore injuriæ in negligentem ejus vindicem convertit. *Id. Ibid.*
(*g*) *Jovius ubi supra p.* 245.
(*h*) Hujus Colæ diris cohortationibus conjurationem inchoatam ad exitumque perductam fuisse, Olgiatus ipse ex quæstione perscripsit. *Id. ibid.*
(*i*) *Idem p.* 244.

† *Intitul'd, Histoire de Ptolemée Auletes &c. See the 7th. chap. of the 2. part, p.* 317. *& seq.*
* *Fulgosius exempl. l.* 3. *c.* 2. *sub fin. fol. m.* 95. *verso.*
‡ Lamponiani ... Iacerandus ... pueris & ... ludibrium ... Jovius ubi supra.
† *Idem Paul Jovius in Elogio Galeacii Sfortiæ.*
* *Jovius ibid.*
(*k*) *Jovius, ubi supra, p.* 247.
(*l*) *Idem p.* 245.
(*m*) *Idem p.* 247.
(*n*) *Id. ... p.* 244.
(*o*) Princeps ... ingenio ... libidine ... fama ... Ibid.
(*p*) *Id. ibid. p.* 247.
(*q*) ... *p.* 245.

was so much the easier for him to satisfy, because the Ladies (*F*) of his Court gloried in their Gallantries.

LANCELOT (*Claudius*) a Benedictin Monk, was a Native of † *Paris*. 'Having Studied very well in his youth, he was intrusted with the Education of a 'young Gentleman of Quality, and afterwards he retired to *Port-Royal des Champs*, 'where he taught Classical Learning with great success. Some time after he turn'd 'Monk in the Abbey of *St. Cyran*, where he was in great Intimacy with the Deceased 'Abbot *M. de Barcos*; at whose Death that Society being dissolv'd, and the Monks 'dispers'd, *Dom Claudius Lancelot* was confined to the *Lower-Bretagne*, where he Died 'two or three years ago ‡. He Compos'd many (*A*) good Books, but did not put his Name to them, and they were Ascribed in General to the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*.

† *Vigneul Marville, Mélanges d' hist. & de littérat. p.* 125.
† *Id. ib.*
‡ *I think the meaning of it is that he died in* 1694. *or thereabouts.*

LANDA (*Catherine*) ought to be reckoned among the Learned Women. She was yet very young, when in 1526, she writ a Latin Letter to *Peter Bembus*, which was Printed amongst those ‖ of that Writer, with the Answer that he gave her. *Hilarion de Coste* †, who miscalls her *Lauda*, observes that she was of *Piacenza*, and *very Handsome, and the Sister of Count* Augustin Lauda, *and Wife of Count* John Fermo Triulcio.

‖ *'Tis the* 13th. *of the* 6th. *Book of* Bembus's *Letters.*
† *Hilar. de Coste, Eloges des Dames illustres Tom.* 2. *p.* 728.

LANDO (*Hortensio*) a Physician Born at *Milan*, Lived in the XVIth. Century. He is the Author of many Books, and he loved to Publish 'em under false Names. He is thought to be the Author of a Dialogue published under the Name of *Philalethes* against the Memory of *Erasmus*. That Conjecture seems (*Z*) to be well grounded.

He

Andreæ Lamponiani Tyrannicidæ. The six first run thus:

Parabat olim sacra Bruti manibus
Antiqua virtus Italum.
Ac forte lectam dum rependit hostiam
Marti dicatam vindici,
Frontem retorsit illico ad acres Insubres
Mirata fortem dexteram.

We must not wonder that *Peter Crinitus* prais'd this Assassin; for we find an Hymn (*r*) in praise of (*a*) *Balthazar Gerard* amongst the Sacred Poems of *Levinus Torrentius* Bishop of *Antwerp*. Amongst other Elogies, this is to be found in it.

(*r*) *Hymnus in Laudem Balthasaris Gerardi fortissimi tyrannicidæ.*

Morte inferendus cælicolum choris
Æterno ab omni labe puram
Reddis ovans animam parenti.

(*a*) *He kill'd the Prince of* Orange *in the year* 1584.

(*F*) *The Ladies of his Court gloried in their Gallantries.*] The Description which *Paul Jovius* gives of the Corruption of the Women of that Country is Abominable. They look'd upon Chastity as an Obstacle to Politeness; they thought that the love of that Virtue was not good Breeding, and look'd like the awkward Air of a Country-Woman. In short, they did not believe, that Lying with a Prince was an Action contrary to Virtue; they pretended, that the way to raise their Husbands above others, was to make them wear Golden Horns. *Galeazzo*, who was a Handsome Vigorous young Man, and of a Lewd Temper, found his account in it. (*b*) *His artibus quum boni, splendidissimique principis nomen tueretur, premebant ejus famam intemperantes vagaque libidines. Nam ea tum erat ex multo otio luxuriantis seculi conditio, in ipsis præcipuè nobilioris maronis, ut totum pudicitiæ decus ab humanitate aulæ alienum prorsus & subagreste putaretur, ideoque princeps ad licentiam libidinis proclinatus, & juventæ vigore venustateque oris supra omnes spectatu dignissimus, procacibus fœminarum oculis & desideriis cupidissimè deserviret. Erat enim tum vulgatum inter fœminas, nullam ex principis concubitu fieri impudicam, earumque maritos qui ineptis hirci videri possent, ita excellere aureis cornibus, ut dignitate cunctos anteirent.* This is doubtless the utmost Degree of Corruption; for if any thing prevents Chastity from being banish'd out of the World, 'tis the Annexing, with respect to Women, an Idea of Dishonour to the contrary Vice. 'Tis the main Barrier, to stop a little the Progress of Lewdness, and hinder it from over-flowing all Mankind like the Waters of the Deluge, which spared but few Persons.

(*b*) *Jovius ubi supra p.* 243.

(*A*) *He Compos'd many good Books.*] The new Method for learning the Latin and Greek Tongues: the Garden of Greek Roots; an *Italian* Grammar: a *French* Translation of *Phædrus*'s Fables; and another of some Comedies of *Terence*: a Treatise of the *Hemina*, the second Edition whereof being much larger than the first came out in the year 1688. (*c*) *Lastly all the Pieces and Observations, that are to be found at the end of the* Vitré *Bible, as an Introduction to the understanding of the Holy Scripture.* The Author from whom I have this, affirms (*f*) that the *Grammaire generale & raisonnée*, which contains the grounds of the Art of speaking, is of Mr. *Arnauld*'s Invention and a composure of *Dom Claude Lancelot*.

(*c*) *Vigneul Marville, Mélanges d' Hist. & de litterat p.* 126.
(*f*) *Id. ib. p.* 125.

(*Z*) *That Conjetture seems to be well grounded.*] Here I shall perform a Promise, which I made in the Note *C.* of the Article of *Erasmus*, by setting down the import of the Memorial which I have quoted in that place. Herold *believed, that a Physician, Born of* Piacenza, *whose name was* Bassiano Landi, *or* Lando, *concealed himself under the name of* Philalethes. *For my part, I rather believe it was* Hortensio Lando *a* Milanese, *and a Physician too, and a Man of Parts, who wrote many Latin and Italian Books, in which he always affected to appear in a Disguise. He took the same Name* Philalethes *in a Dialogue intituled* Forcianæ quæstiones, *in which he examines the Manners and Genius of the several Nations of* Italy. *'Tis true that in this last Dialogue, he calls himself* Philalethes Polytopiensis, *whereas in the Dialogue against* Erasmus, *'tis* Philalethes Utopiensis, *or ex* Utopia civis. *Which, so far from expressing any real difference, shews on the contrary, that both these Books came from a Man of the same Genius. He also called himself sometimes* Hortensius Tranquillus; *which* Simler *the Abridger, and Continuator of* Gesner, *has not observ'd, speaking of* Hortensius Tranquillus, *and* Hortensius Landus, *as two different Writers. We have a Book of this* Lando, *intituled,* Un commentario delle più notabili e mostruose cose d' Italia, *in* 8vo. *A diverting Book, to which having not prefixed his Name, he supplies that with a little Advertisement at the end, where he says:* Godi, lettore, il presente commentario nato del costantissimo cervello di M. O. L. detto per la sua natural mansuetudine il Trang. *Who sees not that these three Letters* M. O. L. *signify* Messer Ortensio Lando, *&* Trang. Tranquillo. *Next to this there is,* Un catalogo de gli inventori delle cose chi si mangiano, e delle bevande ch' oggidi s'usano, *at the end of which are these Capital Letters* SUISNETROH SUDNAL ROTUA TSE. *Which being read backwards according to the order of the Words make:* HORTENSIUS LANDUS AUTOR EST. *In the same manner at the end of his* Paradolli, *Printed at* Venice *in* 8vo. 1544. SUISNETHROH TAREDUL, *that is* HORTENSIUS LUDEBAT. *'Tis therefore very probable, that it was not* Bassiano, *but* Hortensio Lando, *who was the Author of the Dialogue, which* Herold *answer'd: And what confirms me in this Thought, is that* Hortensio *being to prove in one of his Paradoxes, that it is no dishonour to be a Bastard, alledges the Example of many Men of Letters,* Peter Lombard, Giason Maino, Longueuil, Celio,

He writ two Dialogues, which have been Father'd on Cardinal (Z) *Aleander*.

LANGIUS (*Paul*) a *German* Monk, would ſcarce have been known by the Chronicle he Compos'd, if he had not inſerted † in it ſome Complaints againſt the Lives of Eccleſiaſticks, and beſtowed an Encomium upon *Martin Luther*. Which has been the reaſon, why the Proteſtants have cited him a thouſand times. He was Born at *Zwicka* in *Voigtland*, and became a Benedictin Monk in the year 1480. in the Monaſtery of *Rozau* near *Zeits* in *Miſnia* *. The Abbot *Trithemius* ſent him in 1515. to rummage all the Convents in *Germany*, in order to make a Collection of all the Manuſcripts that might ſerve to Illuſtrate Hiſtory, or to inlarge the Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers ‡. *Langius* laboured alſo for himſelf in peruſing the Libraries; for this was of great uſe to him, when he writ (A) his Chronicle ‖. It begins, according to *Voſſius*, in the year 1468; but he (B) is miſtaken. *Coeffeteau* (C) made uſe of a poor Evaſion when he anſwer'd the *Myſtery of Iniquity*, where ſome Words of *Langius* were Alledged. I don't think that to be a ſolid Reflection, which *Andrew Rivet*

* See *Hoffm. Lex. verbo Langius*, p. 1. & ſeq.

‡ *Voſſius, de Hiſtor. Lat. p.* 744.

‖ *Id. ib.* Vignier, Theatre de Mechanil, *in the Index of the Authors quoted.*

Celio Calcagnini *and* Eraſmus, *ſpeaking of the latter in theſe Words.* O quanti letterati hannoci ancora dato i furtivi abracciamenti, &c. hannoci dato un Eraſmo di Roterodamo, e per opra d'un valente Abbate ce lo dettero.

I muſt not forget the Collection of Letters which he Printed at *Venice*, *Appreſſo Gabriel Giolito* in 1548 in 12. It is intituled *Lettere di molte valoroſe donne, nelle quali Chiaramente appare non eſſer ne di eloquentia ne di Dottrina alli huomini inferiori.* There is at the end of it a ſmall Advertiſement (†) of *Bartholomæus Peſtaloſſa, Rhetus*, which ſhews that *Hortenſius Lando* Collected theſe Letters into one Volume at the requeſt of *Octavianus Raverta, qui ob inſignem animi pietatem Terracinæ Pontifex deſignatus eſt* (‖).

† 'Tis in *Latin.*

(‖) *I am beholden to Mr.* Des-Maiſeaux *for theſe particulars.*

(Z) *Which have been Father'd on Cardinal* Aleander.] The following Paſſage was Communicated to me by the Author of the foregoing Remark. 'The two Dialogues, one whereof is intitled, *Cicero relegatus*, and the other *Cicero revocatus*, were not written by *Jerom Aleander*, but by *Ortenſio Lando* a *Milaneſe*, ſirnamed *Tranquillo*. They are Dedicated to *Pomponio Trivulcio*; and becauſe the Inſcription of the Epiſtle Dedicatory is thus expreſs'd, *Pomponio Trivulcio*, H. A. S. D. *Henry Lewis Chaſteignier* Biſhop of *Poitiers* thought, that the Letters *H. A.* ſignified *Hieronymus Aleander*. But they have been put there without any reaſon for it, or perhaps by an Equivocation *H. A.* have been put for *H. L. A.* that is *Hortenſius Landus*, the true name of the Author. *Simler* the Continuator of *Geſner*, Attributes theſe Dialogues to *Hortenſius Tranquillus Mediolanenſis*, whom he Erroneouſly diſtinguiſhes from *Hortenſius Landus*; for they are one and the ſame Writer. He loved to diſguiſe his name, and yet deſir'd nothing more than to be known. *L'Autore della preſente opera*, ſays he, under the name of *Paulo Maſcranico* in an Advertiſement to the Reader, at the end of his Paradoxes, *il qual ſu* M. O. L. M. (1) *detto per ſopranome il Tranq.* At the end of his *Commentario d'Italia*, in another Advertiſement to the Reader, under the Name of *Nicolo Morra*, he ſpeaks thus *Godi Lettore, &c* (a). At the end of his *Sermoni ſui nebri delle beſtie*, he names himſelf at length, and without any Diſguiſe *Hortenſio Lando* (2) *ditto il Tranquillo*. Now this *Lando*, or *Tranquillo* owns, in his laſt Paradox, the Dialogue *Cicero relegatus*, to be his Work. *Non dubito certamente*, ſays he, *che molti non ſi habbino da maravigliare che ancora fatto non habbia la pace con M. Tullio, qual gia ſono poco meno di dieci* (3) *anni chio mandai con ſuo gran ſcorno in eſſiglio*; and lower, *quando ſcriſſo il dialogo intitolato Cicerone relegato.*

(1) *That is*, Meſſer Ortenſio Lando Milaneſe.

(a) *See the Sequel in the foregoing Remark.*

(2) *So they ſay in* Lombardy *inſtead of* detto.

(3) *The Paradoxes came out at* Venice *in the year* 1544. *and the Dialogues about* Cicero *at* Lyons *in* 1534.

(A) *When he writ his Chronicle.*] Though it be intituled, *Chronicon Citicenſe*. *Du Pleſſis* ſhould not have called the Author of it, *Moine de Citique*. *Coeffeteau*, inſtead of correcting it, made uſe of the ſame Words. Nor are thoſe of *Rivet* better, *le Moine Citique*. See their Paſſages in the Remark C. Foreigners have great reaſon to complain, that the *French* do ſo diſfigure proper Names, that they cannot be known. *Voſſius* (b) makes that Obſervation againſt the Illuſtrious *Thuanus*. But here the Miſchief does not conſiſt only in diſfiguring the Name of a Town, but in ſomething worſe; for under Pretence that *Langius* compoſed the Chronicle of a Cathedral, he has a Name given him, derived from that Church. Now that Name does not ſuit with him.

(b) *Voſſius de arte Hiſtorica c.* 12. *p.* 69.

(B) *But he is miſtaken.*] This Book of *Langius* is a Chronicle of the Epiſcopal Church of *Zeits*. The Emperor *Otho* I. founded this Cathedral in the Year 968. Pope *John* XIII. confirmed it (c). *Langius* extends his Chronicle from the Foundation of it till the Year 1515; and not only gives the Hiſtory of the Biſhops of *Zeits*, but alſo ſpeaks of the other Biſhops of thoſe Parts.

(C) *Coeffeteau made uſe of a poor Evaſion.*] *Du Pleſſis* ſays does not forget the Praiſes that *Langius* beſtows on *Martin Luther* (d), *Father Langius*, a Monk of *Citique*, and a Diſciple of the Abbot *Trithemius*, at the Time that *Luther* began to appear, though he did not leave his Monaſtery, yet he was very much moved, and gave him the Teſtimony: *This Martin, ſays he, being a compaſſionate, profound, and incomparable Divine, endeavoured to reſtore the Holy Theology to its Purity and Sincerity of its Original, and to the firſt Purity and Innocence, Sincerity and Simplicity of the Goſpel, ſetting all Secular Philoſophy*——— in another Place, on the Year 1503. *adding, that Carloſtad and Melanchthon; They handle, ſays he, and teach the Holy Theology, giving the Wheat of the Word of God, without any Chaff; that is, without mixing it with Philoſophy and Syllogiſms. They above all keep to the Goſpel of Chriſt, and to the Apoſtle St.* Paul, *whom they take for their Patron and Foundation; and to the Study of Learning, they add the Fear of God, and the Seeds of all Vertues, which they ſow in the Hearts of their Diſciples, by Words, Examples, and Books.* And leſt it ſhould be replied, that it was before *Luther* had oppoſed the Pope, ſee how he ſpeaks of him under the Year 1520, after having diſcounted of the Abuſes and Exceſſes of Indulgences. *This Man, ſays he, by his Doctrine and admirable Preaching, brought all Indulgences to nothing. He diſſuaded the People from buying them, affirming, that they are no ways neceſſary to Salvation, and do not procure the Remiſſion of Sins, but make People careleſs of Repentance, and of all good Works, and even are an incentive to Vice. He* further ſays, *that the Merits of Chriſt and his Saints are not a Treaſury of Indulgences; ſince in the Primitive-Church, and for above a thouſand years after, there was nothing written of 'em by the Holy Men and Doctors of the Orthodox Church. So far were they then from entertaining ſo great an Opinion of 'em, as they do now, from a Deſire of Wealth, which accrues from them. Moreover, he aſſumed and proved, that the Church of Rome is not of Divine Right, the firſt, nor the Head of others, &c. And therefore,* ſays he, *they have ſo perſecute him as another* Athanaſius, *eſpecially for having maintained this Poſition, and ſome other important Doctrines, which not only the Romaniſts continue to impugn, but alſo very many learned Men, eſpecially the* Thomiſts; *and ſo this* Martin, *who is undoubtedly, the firſt and moſt Divine of our Age, has not been hitherto confuted, confirming and proving his Doctrine by the Teſtimonies of the Goſpel, and of the Apoſtle St.* Paul, *and even by the Original Texts of the antient Orthodox Fathers. Du Pleſſis* does not forget the corrective added by *Langius* to ſo many bold Propoſitions, *and thus*, ſays he, *this Monk ſpeaks non aſſertive but admirative, not to affirm any thing, but out of Admiration, ſuſpending his Judgment, like many others.*

(c) Tolle Paolo Lango in Chronico Citicenſi Ecclesiæ ad annum 1515. deducta Epiſcopis Zeitzenſibus adhuc in vivis constitutis, quos pleniùs commemorat Dux. Mat. lib. 12. in Geographia Eccleſiaſtica p. 124.

(d) *Du Pleſſis Mornay, Myſtere d'iniquité, p.* 373.

Rivet made (*D*) with relation to *Pistorius*, who Published the Chronicle of this Monk, in the year 1583. *Morери's* Faults * are not considerable.

LANGIUS (*Joseph*) a Native of *Kaisersberg* † in the upper *Alsace*, and Professor of *Mathematicks*, and the *Greek* Tongue at *Friburg* in *Brisgaw*, was about his *Elementale Mathematicum* ‡ in the Year 1612, which was not printed, according to *Vossius* §, till Five Years after ‖. *Isaac Habrecht*, a Philosopher and a Physician, enlarged it, and adorned it with Notes and Figures, and caused it to be printed ¶ in the Year 1625. *Langius* published at *Strasburg*, in 1598 (*A*), a *Florilegium*, in 8*vo*. which was followed some time after, by a Book *in Folio*, intituled (*B*) *Polyanthea Nova*. He lived many

* They may be seen in the 1st. Edition of this Dictionary.

† *Caesaremontanus.*

‡ *Vossius, de scient. Mathem. pag.* 388.

§ And yet the Edition of 1612, is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library.

‖ At Friburg.

¶ At Strasburg.

'others, till the matter be decided in a general Coun-'cil. I put *Langius*'s Words in the Margin (*e*), They fully shew that he was a Catholick.

Here follows *Coeffeteau*'s Answer. 'What M. 'du Plessis urges from *Paul Langius* a Monk of Ci-'tique, and a Disciple of the Abbot *Trithemius*, 'shews the Sincerity of the Protestants, and their 'Fairness in the Publication of Authors. For 'they make *Langius* say several Things concerning 'Luther, which are entirely contrary, not only to 'the Doctrine, which *Langius* constantly profess'd 'to his Death, but also to what he writ in the 'same Chronicle, wherein are inserted the Praises of 'Luther. Possibly the Protestants fancy they can 'make us believe, that this Author was both a 'Lutheran and a Papist, a Heretick and a Catho-'lick. Otherwise, certainly they cannot reconcile 'what they make him say, with his first Writings. 'And let no Body be deceived with the Name of '*Pistorius* the Publisher; for though he turned Ca-'tholick, it was some time after, and he was still 'a Protestant, when he published this Chronicle, 'with some other Works of the *German* Writers. 'Nay, he says, that he had it from *Henry Petreus*, 'who lived at *Basil* amongst the Hereticks. Those 'who have been guilty of the Imposture, were fully 'perswaded, that it would be difficult to believe, 'that *Langius* spoke so advantageously of the Per-'son and Doctrine of *Luther*; for which reason they 'added a poor and insipid Subterfuge, making 'him say, that what he had written about it, 'was not *assertivè*, but *admirativè*, *not to affirm 'any thing, but out of Admiration suspending his 'Judgment, &c.* One would think that *Langius* was 'in quest of a Master, and was yet unresolv'd, what 'Religion to embrace (*f*). This is a poor An-'swer, and it were better to say nothing at all, than 'to use it. Father *Gretser* did not mind it, and thought it more to the purpose to suppose, that good *Langius*, being extremely desirous to sport with a Woman, looked upon *Luther* as a Hero, that was to destroy Celibacy. Let us see how the Apologist for *du Plessis* answered this pleasant Notion, and *Coeffeteau*'s Subterfuge. '*Paul Langius* a 'Monk [*Citique*] gives such a noble and great Cha-'racter of *Luther*'s Doctrine, that our Monks can't 'bear it, and accuses the Publishers of his Work 'of having added to it all that is produced out of 'it upon this Subject, measuring their Corn by the 'Bushel of the Papists, who corrupt with Additi-'ons and Mutilations, all the Writings that come 'into their Hands. And yet it has pleased God to 'remove that Objection, in that it was published 'by a Man who was then brooding the Apostacy, 'which he at last hatched; namely, *Pistorius*, who 'would not have failed to discover afterwards this 'Artifice, if he had done it, or any other that he 'knew of. *Gretser*, who might have asked him 'some Questions about it, had not the Impudence, 'though it be a Predominant Quality in him, 'to accuse the Publishers of any Imposture. He 'chose rather to abuse this poor Monk in these 'Words, *'Tis this* Langius, *whose Feet itched at 'the first hearing of the* Lutheran *Gospel, to run 'from his Monastery, thinking that the acceptable 'time was come, in which it should be lawful for 'the Monks to throw of their Cowls, and marry 'the Nuns.* At that time the Monks knew well 'enough how to lie with them, without marrying 'them, had they had no other Itch. *Coeffeteau* 'is not ignorant, that they want no Opportunity of 'scratching it elsewhere (*z*). These last Words manifestly shew, that the common Places the Missionaries make use of on account of the Marriage of the Reformers and Monks, who embraced the Protestant Religion, are not so favourable to 'em as they imagine. It affords them a large Field for Declamation; they make an odious Description of the Sensuality of those Proselytes: but they are easily answered, because it is but too true, that those who make a Vow of Celibacy, don't always observe it; and common Sense teaches, that if the Ministers of the Church have not the Power to abstain from Women, 'tis better they should allay their Heat with their own Wives than other Mens.

(*z*) *Rivet, Remarques sur la Reponse au Mystere d'iniquité, 2. part. pag.* 633.

(*D*) *I don't think that to be a solid Reflection which* Andrew Rivet *made.*] We have seen that he pretends that *Pistorius* would have discover'd his Fraud when he turn'd Papist. I believe he is mistaken. If *Pistorius* had alter'd *Langius*'s Manuscript, he would never have bragg'd of it. Such a Confession would have procured but an inconsiderable Advantage to the Church of *Rome*. Whether *Langius* prais'd *Luther* in the year 1520, or whether he disprais'd him, or did not mention him at all, is but a Trifle at the bottom. But *Pistorius* could not have discover'd his Knavery, without making himself contemptible to the Papists, and exposing himself to the Insults of the Protestants, who would have found in his own Confession, wherewithal to Convict him of being a Knave. People are not willing to own such Faults: They are too Material.

(*A*) *A* Florilegium.] 'Tis an Alphabetical Collection of Sentences, Apophthegms, Comparisons, Examples and Hieroglyphicks. Such a Book is of use to Scholars in dilating upon a Theme. It might be also serviceable to learned Men, if all the Citations had been well Collated with the Original; but little care has been taken of that. Our *Langius* was contented to Transcribe the Modern Compilers, and amongst others *Thomas Hibernicus* (*a*), whose Book intituled *Flores doctorum*, abounds with Faults.

(*a*) Dieterico nihil aliud in Langio reprehendit quam credulitatem, qua se ab Hibernico decipi passus est. *Thomasius de plagio*, n. 482.

(*B*) *Polyanthea Nova.*] The Author in this Book has follow'd the same Methods as in the *Florilegium*. The Index of *Spain* Corrects some places in it, and gives an account of the Books intituled *Polyanthea*. I think it will not be amiss to give the substance of that Account. The first *Polyanthea* was Printed in (*b*) 1512. 'tis the work of the Monk *Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius*, Author of the *Monotessaron Evangeliorum*. The second was Compiled by a Bookseller of *Cologne*, call'd *Maternus Cholinus*, and Published (*c*) in the year 1585. He added to *Mirabellius*. all that he thought proper to be Copied from three Books, that had been Published, I mean from the Collection of *Bartholomaus Amantius*, and from the *Sententiarum opus absolutissimum ex probatissimis auctoribus excerptum* (*d*), and from an Anonymous Book Printed at *Lyons*. *Colinus*, besides, put in his own Collections. The third, intituled *Polyanthea nova*, is the Work of our *Joseph Langius*, and was Printed at *Geneva* in 1600. at *Lyons* in 1604. at *Francfort* in 1607. and several times since. The fourth called *Polyanthea novissima* is divided into twenty Books, and differs from the third only in some Additions. The fifth called *Florilegium magnum seu Polyanthea floribus novissimis sparsa*, was Published at *Francfort* in 1622. What is new in this Book, is owing to the industry of *Franciscus Sylvius Insulanus*. I have mentioned elsewhere (*e*) *Gruterus*'s Supplements: They contain two Volumes; so that the *Florilegium magnum* contains three Volumes: The first is *Sylvius Insulanus*'s; the second and third Printed at *Francfort* in 1624. are *Gruterus*'s.

(*b*) At Basil, *and then at* Sarna, *in* 1514. *and at* Cologne *in* 1539. Index libr. proh. pag. 726. edit. 1667.

(*c*) *It was reprinted at* Venice, *in* 1592.

(*d*) By Franciscus Torsellus, *or* de Tort, *of* Angers. *That Work was printed at* Paris, *in* 1560. *and* 1580.

(*e*) *In the Article of* Gruterus.

(*C*) *I*

* And they make use of the Words of Cicero, *Non de Romanis, sed Romanensibus, id est, non indigenis, sed aliunde ad eam confluentibus, describserim.* *Langius, apud Wolfium, Lect. memorab. tom. 2. p.* 175. (*f*) *Coeffeteau, Reponse au Mystere d'iniquité, pag.* 1218, 1219.

ny Years in the Protestant Communion; and then † he turn'd Catholick. I give the Titles (C) of his other Books.

† *See the Preface to his* Polyanthea.

LANGLE (*John Maximilian de*) Minister of the Gospel, was born at *Evreux* in 1590. He was made Minister of the Reformed Church of *Rouen* in 1615. being then but twenty five years of Age. He discharg'd all the Functions of his Ministry for fifty two Years with great Reputation, Piety and Eloquence. We have two Volumes of his Sermons, one upon the eighth Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, the other upon several Texts of the Scripture; and a Dissertation by way of a Letter, in defence of *Charles* II. King of *England*. Seven Years before his Death he fell into a Palsie, which created an Impediment in his Tongue, notwithstanding which, his ingenious and pious Conversations were both pleasing and edifying. He died in 1674. in the 84*th* Year of his Age, leaving many Children behind him (Z), who inherited his Merit and his Virtue †.

† *I publish this article such as it has been imparted to me.*

LANGUET (*Hubert*) a Native of *Viteaux* * in *Burgundy*, became famous by his Ability and Virtue in the XVI*th* Century. Having read a Book of *Melanchthon* in *Italy*, he was so desirous of knowing that great Doctor, that he went to visit him in *Germany*. He contracted a very strict (A) Friendship with him. He charm'd him with his fine Con-

* *Thuan. lib. 74. circa finem. ad ann.* 1581.

(C) *I give the Titles of his other Books.*] An Edition of *Juvenal* and *Persius* at *Friburg*, 1608. *Tyrocinium Græcarum Literarum*, ib. 1607. *Adagia, sive Sententiæ Proverbiales.*

(Z) *Leaving many Children.*] *Samuel de* LANGLE his eldest Son, was born at *London*, and was carried into *France* being one year old, where he constantly lived, till the last Persecution obliged him to retire into *England*. He was a Minister almost in the same Year of his Age as his Father, and jointly officiated with him in the Church of *Rouen* for twenty three years. He was afterwards invited to *Paris* in 1671. to serve the Church that met at *Charenton*, and was very much esteemed in both for his grave Manners, his solid Learning and consummate Prudence, being an intimate Friend of Mr. *Claude*. The Persecutions of *France*, and particularly that which depriv'd Fathers of their Children, obliged him to retire into *England*. The University of *Oxford* made him Doctor of Divinity without his asking for it; and King *Charles* II. gave him, as a Testimony of his Esteem, a Prebend in the Abbey of *Westminster*. He was born in 1622. He fell sick in the 71*st* year of his Age, in *June* 1693. of a violent Distemper, which lasted 8 Days, but hinder'd him not from preserving all the Strength of his Parts, continually making excellent Discourses to his Relations and Friends, and especially to his Children, to whom he had given the same Education he received from his Father. The Publick has yet seen no other Writings of his, besides a Letter upon the Differences between the Episcopal Clergy and the Presbyterians of *England*. Dr. *Stillingfleet* (f), the present Bishop of *Worcester*, printed it at the End of one of his Books upon the same Subject; but they have found among his Manuscripts, a Treatise concerning the Christian Truth, which he began some years ago, and finished a little before his Death. 'Tis hop'd that Mr. *de Langle* his eldest Son, and a Minister too, will publish it in a little time. He also made many Critical Observations upon several Places of the Scripture, and particularly on the Psalms, which 'tis believ'd he would have published himself, if he had lived long enough to put them in order (a).

As for the other Children of *John Maximilian de Langle*, the Memorial imparted to me, says nothing of 'em.

(A) *He contracted a very strict Friendship with* Melanchthon.] All that I have said about this, is afforded me by *Joachim Camerarius* in his Life of *Melanchthon*. (b) *Hunc* (Languetum) *lectio libri cujusdam in Italia ubi tunc ipse degeret, à Philippo Melanchthone compositi cupiditate incenderat vivendi autorem illius, & ea stimulos perpetuo admovens perpulerat tandem ut in Germaniam veniret, & Wittembergam se conferret. Languet* came to *Wittemberg* in the year 1549 (c), and continu'd so close to *Melanchthon*, that excepting some Journeys from time to time, he never left him. (d) *Neque ab ipse discessit, nisi interdum per intervalla quædam peregrinationum quibus mirifice delectebatur, donec Philippi Melanchthonis vita in terris duravit.* Languet's Conversation was admirable. He talked learnedly of the Interests of Princes, and was thorowly acquainted with the History of Illustrious Men (e). His Memory never failed him about the Circumstances of Time, or proper Names; and he had an extraordinary Sagacity to discern the Inclinations of People, and to foresee the Issue of things. He who gives him this testimony, was particularly acquainted with him. *Neque adeo*, says he (f), *audivi ullum alterum, qui tam prudenter & certo, & planè, dilucidè, disertè exponeret, quicquid narrare instituisset. Nam ille in hominum nominibus fallì, non indiciis temporum errare, non confundere rerum negotiorumque seriem. Erat autem in eo singularis sagacitas in notandis naturis hominum, & conjiciendo, quo quisque sua pte ingenio deferretur, & quæ esset voluntatis inclinatio. Consiliorum etiam solertissimus æstimator, & eventuum futurorum provisione admirabilis.*

I will add to this what Mr. *de la Mare* says, that about the Year 1548, a *German* gave *Melanchthon's* Common-Places to *Languet*; that *Languet* having read that Book four or five times in one Year, during his Travels, was freed from those Doubts which had tormented him a long time, and conceiv'd an extraordinary Esteem for *Melanchthon*; that having consulted the Chief Divines of *Leipsick*, he embraced the Protestant Religion, and put himself under the Discipline of *Joachim Camerarius*, who taught Literature in the University of *Leipsick*; that he lodg'd in the House of that Professor; that seeing the Troubles of that Country, he undertook a Journey into *Italy*, in hopes that he might settle in *Germany* as soon as things should be quiet there; that he studied the Civil Law a year at *Padua*, where he took his Doctor's Degrees, and afterwards went to *Bologna*; and that during that time, as (a) *Joachim Camerarius* relates, he was so charmed with a new Book of *Melanchthon* that he wished for nothing so earnestly, as to return into *Germany* to see the Author of that Book, which he did in the Year 1549. I find something in this Account that is liable to a Difficulty: For 'tis not natural, that a Man who had conceived such an Esteem for *Melanchthon*, by the reading of his Common-Places of Divinity (b) that he took him for the only wise Man in the World, should make a Journey to *Leipsick*, stay there, and embrace the Protestant Religion, without going to see that Divine; and that he should not desire to make him a Visit, till he reads another Book of his at *Bologna*. 'Tis not true that *Camerarius* says, that 'twas his Treatise *de Anima*, and that it made *Languet* resolve to return into *Germany*. He expresses himself so, as to make one believe that he means a first and not a second Journey. (c) *Pepulerat tandem ut in Germaniam veniret.* Lastly, 'tis strange that if *Languet* had been *Camerarius's* Disciple and Boarder at *Leipsick* in 1548, *Camerarius* should say that he did not come into *Germany* till 1549, out of a Desire of seeing *Melanchthon*, which proceeded from his reading a Book of his in *Italy*. Either he or M. *de la Mare* must be mistaken. In all likelihood *Camerarius's* Account is right; for *Languet* (d) tells him, that having read in *Italy Melanchthon's* Common-Places in the year 1547, and not thinking him sufficiently clear about the Eucharist, he resolved to go and consult the Author, and that he saw him in 1549. Would he have spoke after this manner, if he had embraced the Protestant Religion at *Leipsick* in 1548, and if *Camerarius* had been his Professor and Landlord in the same Year, and in the same Town?

(f) *He died in 1699 since the first Impression of this passage.*

(a) *A Memorial imparted to me, which I print such as I have received it.*

(b) *Joach. Camerar. in vita Melanchth. p. m. 333.*

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) Erat autem Philippo grata atq; jucunda multarum magnarumq; rerum, quas ille teneat, commemoratio, & oratio de Regibus Principibusq; gubernationum, & aliis sapientia, virtute, doctrina præstantibus viris horum temporum, *ib.*

(a) Quo tempore narrat in Philippi Melanchthonis vita Joachimus Camerarius elegantis illius & multiplici eruditione referti de anima libri à Melanchthone non ita pridem typis Languetum tanto vivendi auctoris cupiditate incensum fuisse, &c. *Ph. de la Mare in vita Languetiana.*

(b) Melanchthonem alio tempore tantum abest mare, ut religiose conjunx & propinquis affectibus indulgere judicaret, unum aut tem (pe re Melanchthonem *id. ib. p. 2.*

(c) *Camerarius in vita Melanch. p. m. 334. & Languet Epist. l. 15. ad Joachim. Camerar. p. m. 77.*

‡ See the Remark (A) of Thuanus.

Converſation ; for he had a very good Memory, and an exquiſite Judgment ‡. He was a long time [a] one of the Chief Counſellors to *Auguſtus* Elector of *Saxony* ; and if we may believe *Thuanus* (*A*), he did not leave that Court till he was ſuſpected of being one of thoſe who adviſed *Gaſpar Peucer* to publiſh an Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Euchariſt, agreeably to the *Geneva* Confeſſion. This Hiſtorian adds, that having left the Court of *Saxony*, he retired to the Prince of *Orange*, and was employ'd in great Affairs, and that whilſt he applied himſelf to 'em, he fell ſick, and died at *Antwerp* the 30*th* of *September* 1581, being 63 years old *. He had a great ſhare (*B*) in the Eſteem of Mr. *du Pleſſis Mornai*. He is thought to be the Author (*C*) of the Oration which was made to *Charles* IX. the 23*d* of *September* 1570. in the Name of many Princes of *Germany*. The famous Treatiſe (*D*) intituled, VINDICIÆ CONTRA TYRANNOS, is aſcribed to him. The Latin Letters which he wrote to Sir *Philip Sidney*, were printed at *Francfort* in 1633. Thoſe he wrote in the ſame Language to the *Camerarius*'s, the Father and the Son, came out in 1646. and were reprinted with ſome others † in 1685. The Preface prefixed to thoſe Letters, contains a Noble Encomium upon him. It was written by *Joachim Camerarius*, Grandſon to the Author of *Melanchthon*'s Life.

† *Which he writ to* Auguſtus *Elector of* Saxony.

A great Collection (*E*) of thoſe he wrote to the Elector of *Saxony* his Maſter, during the Courſe of his Negotiations, was publiſh'd at *Hall* in 1698. I muſt not forget what *Thuanus* relates of a Converſation (*F*) he had with him in 1579.

LANS-

(*A*) *If we may believe* Thuanus, *he did not leave that Court.*] *Thuanus* ſpeaks of it too generally. The Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper came out in the Year 1573. *Languet* was not then at the Court of *Saxony*, but of the Emperor ; and did not leave that Employment till 1577. A Letter (*e*) which he writ from *Prague* the firſt of *March* 1577, informs us, that he had obtain'd Leave from his Electoral Highneſs to retire whither he pleaſed. Ever ſince he had a great Correſpondence with that Elector, tho' he applied himſelf to the Affairs of Prince *Caſimir*, or of the Prince of *Orange*. All this is proved by his Letters publiſhed in the year 1698.

(*e*) *'Tis the* 28*th of thoſe he writ to* Camerarius *the Son.*

(*B*) *A great ſhare in the Eſteem of Mr.* du Pleſſis Mornai.] Which appears from this Paſſage : (*g*) 'At his Arrival at *Antwerp*, Mr. *du Pleſſis* found his 'Wife and Children ſick ; and a Son whom God had 'given him, died immediately in his Abſence : Beſides, he found Mr. *Languet*, his particular Friend, 'dead, whom Madam *du Pleſſis*, tho' ſick her ſelf, had 'attended to his laſt Breath. His laſt Words were '*That the only thing he was ſorry for, was, that he* '*could not ſee Mr.* du Pleſſis *again before he died,* '*to whom he would have left his Heart if it had been* '*poſſible. That he had deſired to live to ſee the World* '*grow better ; but ſince it ſtill grew worſe and worſe,* '*he had nothing more to do with it ; that the Princes* '*of this time were ſtrange People ; that Vertue had* '*much to ſuffer, and little to gain by 'em ; that he* '*very much pitied Mr.* du Pleſſis, *who would feel* '*a good deal of it, and would have a bad time to go* '*through ; but that he ſhould not deſpond, and God* '*would aſſiſt him : He entreated her to requeſt one* '*thing of him, that in the firſt Book he ſhould publiſh,* '*he would make mention of their Friendſhip.* This 'Mr. *du Pleſſis* did not long after, in a little Preface 'at the Beginning of the *Latin* Verſion of his Book 'concerning the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. What he ſays in praiſe of *Hubert Languet* in that Preface, and what others have publiſhed upon the ſame Subject, has been carefully collected by *Voetius* (*h*). The Epitaph alone is worth a Panegyrick. You'll find it in the ſame *Voetius*. Note, that *Languet* expreſs a very great Affection (*) for *M. du Pleſſis* at the time of the *Paris* Maſſacre.

(*g*) *Life of* Du Pleſſis Mornai, *p.* 50. *ad an.* 1581.

(*h*) *Diſput. Theolog. vol.* 4. *p.*238. *& ſeq.*

(*) *See the Life of* M. du Pleſſis, *p.*22. *See alſo page* 12. *of the ſame.*

(C) *He is thought to be the Author of the Oration.*] Mr. *Colomies* gives a very ſolid Proof for it in his *Melanges Hiſtoriques* (*i*). He takes it from a Letter of *Languet* to his Hero Sir *Philip Sidney*, written from *Vienna* the firſt of *January* 1574.

(i) *Pag.* 13 *&* 14.

(D) *The famous Treatiſe, entituled, VINDICIÆ CONTRA TYRANNOS.*] What I have ſaid thereupon in the *Project* of this Dictionary, at the Word *Brutus*, is too long to be conveniently inſerted here. I have thought it more proper to place it at the End of this Work by way of Diſſertation.

Some ſay, he is the Author of the Book *De furoribus Gallicis*, but without any good Grounds (†). 'Twas thought in his Family, that he writ the famous Apology for the Prince of *Orange* ; which they believed, becauſe he ſent a Copy of it to each of his Relations, as a thing of his own making. Nevertheleſs *Grotius* (**) aſcribes this Apology to another *Frenchman* who was called *Peter de Villiers* (††).

(†) *See M.* de la Mare *in vita* Languetti, *p.*67, 68.

(**) *Lib.* 2. *Ann. Belgic.*

(††) *La Mare, ib. p.*121, 122.

(E) *A great Collection of* Letters *he wrote to the Elector of* Saxony.] Mr. *Ludovicus*, Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Hall*, procured that Edition. We ſhould have been more indebted to him, if he had given a Table of the Contents, and if he had taken care that the Faults of the Printers or Tranſcribers in the Proper Names, had been more carefully corrected. 'Tis a wonder he put no Preface to that Book ; and that the Editions of *Germany* being generally recommendable for the Tables of Contents, that there ſhould be none in *Languet*'s Letters, which wanted it more than many other Books ; becauſe each Letter contains many particular Facts which have no Connection with a general Subject. Here is the Title of that Book : *Arcana ſæculi decimi ſexti Huberti Languetti Legati, dum viveret, & Conſiliarii Saxonici Epiſtolæ ſecretæ ad principem ſuum Auguſtum Sax. ducem, & S. R. I. ſeptemvirum. Ex* ΑΡΧΕΙΟ *Saxonico deſcriptas primus è Muſeo edit Jo. Petr. Ludovicus.* The Abbot *Nicaiſe* aſſured me, that the Life of the Author written by Mr. *de la Mare*, would be prefixed to it ; but that did not prove true. It was publiſhed by it ſelf in the Town of *Hall* in 1700. in 12*o*. If it had come to my hands ſoon enough, this Article had been better and fuller. I refer you to Mr. *Bernard* (*), who gives a very large and exact Account of that Piece : 'tis well written, and very curious.

(*) In the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres March* 1701. 286. *& ſeq.*

(F) *Of a Converſation which* Thuanus *had with him.*] He became acquainted with *Languet* at the *Baden* Waters, in the Year 1579. and was ſo charmed with the Carriage and fine Diſcourſes of that worthy Man, that he thought he never could part from him. This is the Encomium he beſtows upon him ; which I relate, becauſe neither *Voetius* nor Mr. *Teiſſier* have mentioned it. (*k*) *Argentina Badam ventum, ubi Thuanus Languetum vacuum nactus ita mordicus per triduum ei adhæſit, ut ab eo divelli non poſſe putaretur. Ita candor hominis illum ceperat, inſigni probitate, judicio non ſolum in literis, ſed in publicis negotiis, quæ tota vita ſub variis principibus magna fide geſſerat, præditi ad hæc verum Germaniæ callentiſſ. ut Germanos ipſos reſpatrias ſuas doceret. Toto illo tempore cum eo aſſiduus, niſi quantum aquis ſumendis impendebat, cum multa didicit, tum breviculum manu ipſius perſcriptum, quod & nunc ſervat, poſtquam hinc diſceſſit, ab eo accepit, quo generalis Germaniæ ſtatus, ſicut hodie eſt, comitiorum jus, circulorum numerus, conſiliorum ordo deſcribitur.* He ſays, that *Languet* ſhewed him a *German* Lord, who was at a Window with his Wife, and afterwards aſked him with a Smile, *If it was in your choice, would you prefer ſuch a handſome Woman before the Archbiſhoprick of* Cologne ? *Thuanus* not knowing what was the Drift of his Queſtion, ſaid nothing. *Languet* explained to him the Myſtery, telling him that this *German* Lord was the Count of *Iſemburg*, who had lately reſigned the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologne* to Marry *Joan de Lignes*, Siſter to the Count of *Arenberg*. He added that the ſuppreſſion of Celibacy in *Germany* was inconvenient to the great Proteſtant Lords ; for whereas in the time of Popery, they made their Daughters Nuns, with a certain proſpect of ſeeing 'em ſome time raiſed to the Dignity of

(k) *Thuan. de vita ſua, lib.* 2. *init. p.* vi. 1176.

LANSBERGIUS (*Philip*) a Mathematician of the XVIIth Century, was born in *Zealand* in [a] 1561. He was Miniſter of the Word of God at *Antwerp* in 1586. which he was afterwards (*A*) many years at *Ter-Goes* in *Zealand*: and at laſt being declar'd *Emeritus*, he retir'd to *Middleburg* [b], where he Died about the year 1632. I ſhall ſet down the Titles (*B*) of his Works.

[a] *Voſſius de ſcient. Mathem. p. 341.*

[b] *Ipſe epiſtola dedic. Uranometriæ.*

LARROQUE (*Matthew de*) in Latin *Larroquanus*, one of the moſt famous Miniſters the Proteſtants have had in *France*, was Born at *Leirac* a little Town of *Guienne*, near *Agen* in 1619. The Misfortune he had to loſe in his youth his Father and Mother, who for their Condition and Virtue were ſome of the moſt Eminent of their Town, was follow'd quickly after by the loſs of his Patrimony: It is not known by what Fatality, or by whoſe Fraud this came to paſs. This was ſo far from diſcouraging him, that it animated him more ſtrongly to ſeek for comfort in his Studies, and to add to his Claſſical Learning, the Knowledge of Philoſophy, and eſpecially of Divinity. He made a very great Progreſs in thoſe Sciences, and was admitted Miniſter with Applauſe. He was obliged to go to *Paris* two years after his admiſſion into the Miniſtry, in order to oppoſe the Cavils of thoſe who were about to ruin his Church. He could not overcome them; but he met with favourable Conjunctures on other Accounts. He Preached ſometimes at *Charenton*, and was ſo liked by the Dutcheſs *de la Tremouille*, that ſhe choſe him to be Miniſter of the Church of *Vitré* in *Bretagne*, and afterwards gave him many marks of a particular Eſteem. The ſame did [c] the Prince and Princeſs of *Tarente*, and [d] the Dutcheſs of *Weimar*. He ſerv'd that Church about twenty ſeven years, and applied himſelf to the Study of Antiquity, with an incomparable diligence. He quickly gave publick Proofs of the Progreſs he had made in it; for the Anſwer he Publiſhed to the Motives of Converſion of [e] a certain Miniſter, who changed his Religion, was full of the Teſtimonies of the Fathers. The Books he Printed (*A*) afterwards, highly raiſed his Reputation. He Contracted a very ſtrict Friendſhip with Mr. *Daillé* and his Son, which was kept up by a frequent Correſpondence of Letters. The Journey he made to *Paris*, procured him (*B*) the acquaintance

[c] *Son to the Dutcheſs* de la Trimouille.

[d] *Daughter of the ſame Lady. Call'd* Martin

(*a*) Filias omneis quibus homines proletarii abundant, matrimonio elocare tenentur. *Id. ib.*

(*b*) *De ſcient. Mathemat.*

an Abbeſs, in ſome very rich Convent, they were obliged to Marry 'em in a Country (*a*) where People Multiply very faſt.

(*A*) *Many years.*] *Voſſius* in the 237*th.* Page (*b*) ſays he was Miniſter at *Ter-Goes* XXXIX. years more or leſs, but at page 341. he only puts XXIX. years. This is doubtleſs a Fault of the Preſs; but I confeſs, I know not whether it conſiſts in the Subſtraction or Addition of an X. 'Tis one of the two.

(*B*) *The Titles of his Works.*] *Chronologia ſacra libri VI.* Printed in 1626. *Progymnaſmata Aſtronomiæ reſtitutæ*, Printed at *Middleburg* in 1629. *Triangulorum Geometricorum libri IV.* Printed at the ſame place in 1631. *Uranometriæ libri III.* Printed at the ſame place the ſame year. *Commentationes in motum terræ diurnum & annuum, & in verum aſpectabilis cæli typum*, wherein he openly declares for the opinion of *Copernicus*, and even pretends to perfect it. He wrote this Work in *Dutch*; but it was Tranſlated into Latin by *Martin Hortenſius*, and Printed at *Middleburg* in 1630. *Fromondus*, a Doctor of *Louvain*, anſwer'd it in his *Ant-Ariſtarchus, ſive orbis terræ immobilis. Lansbergius*, who lived not long enough to reply, left a Son, who anſwer'd *Fromondus*, and at the ſame time *Morin*, *Regius*, Profeſſor at *Paris*, and a *Dane* called *Peter Bartholinus*. This Anſwer, intituled, *Jacobi Lansbergii Medicinæ Doctoris Apologia pro commentationibus*, &c. Printed at *Middleburg* in 1633. was confuted by a new Book of *Fromondus* in 1634. with the Title of *Veſta*, or *Ant-Ariſtarchi Vindex*. I think the matter ſtopt there.

(*A*) *The Books he Printed afterwards.*] He Publiſhed in 1665. an anſwer to a Book of the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*, intitled *L' Office du St. Sacrement*, &c. *the Office of the Holy Sacrament, or the Tradition of the Church concerning the Euchariſt, Collected from the Holy Fathers, and other Eccleſiaſtical Authors.* This Anſwer was very much eſteem'd: (*c*) *Mirâ cum ſolertiâ nimis Catholicorum virorum, qui ut legentibus fucum facerent SS. Patrum textum vel muſclaverant, vel pravo commento inquinaverant, pias fraudes vel impias dicam neſcio, retexit. Mirati ſunt omnes nihil inter reſpondendum illum fugiſſe, nihilque vindicandum intactum ſiviſſe, tantâ ſagacitate ac diligentiâ unum quodque expendens officium, ut in ejus meſſem nemo pedem, vel Spicilegii cauſa intulerit.* As good as this Book was, it did not come up to the excellent Work which this Author Publiſhed ſome years after, with this Title, *Hiſtoire de l' Euchariſtie.* There were two Editions of it in leſs than two years, and it was Tranſlated into *Engliſh*. The Author did not put his name to the firſt Edition; but he put it to the ſecond, which is that of 1671. 'Tis true, it appear'd with ſome diſguiſe through the Bookſeller's Fault, who doubtleſs took a *g.* for a *q.* in the written Name of the Author. Whence many Controverſiſts of the *Roman* Communion have named him *Larrogue*, inſtead of *Larroque*. He Printed at *Geneva* in 1670. two Latin Diſſertations, *De Photino & Liberio*, wherein amongſt other things he ſhew'd ſome Errors of *Petavius* concerning the Epoch of *Photinus*'s Condemnation. He confuted in a third Diſſertation what Mr. *David* had urg'd againſt the firſt. Afterward, he engag'd in the defence of his deceaſed Friend Mr. *Daillé* againſt two Learned *Engliſhmen*. That Book is intituled, *Obſervationes in Ignatianas Iearſonii vindicias, nec non in Beveregii annotationes.* He had almoſt finiſhed his Reply to *Dr. Beveridge*'s Anſwer, but being deſired by ſome of his Friends to drop that Diſpute, he eaſily condeſcended to their Requeſt. His Book concerning the Conformity of the Diſcipline of the Reformed Churches of *France* with the Antients, came after thoſe I have mentioned, and was followed by a Treatiſe concerning the Communion in both kinds, againſt a Book of the Biſhop of *Meaux*. This is what we find in the Life of the Author prefixed to a Poſthumous Book Publiſhed by Mr. *de Larroque* his Son in 1688. We don't find there the Tract concerning the Nature of the Church, nor that concerning the *Regale*; and therefore I add theſe two Pieces to the foregoing Books. His Poſthumous Book is intituled, *Matthæi Larroquani Adverſariorum ſacrorum libri tres. Opus Poſthumum. Acceſſit diatriba de legione fulminatrice in qua expenduntur Veterum teſtimonia quibus hactenus hæc hiſtoria vera habita eſt. Authore Daniele Larroquano M. Filio.* Mr. *de Larroque* his Son, who had already given Proofs of his Knowledge and Ability, is the Author of the Diſſertation *De Legione fulminatrice.* He informs us that his Father had undertaken an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and had finiſhed the three firſt Centuries, and began the fourth. I hope the Publick will ſome time or other injoy that excellent Work.

(*c*) *Daniel Larroquanus in vitâ ſummâ Matthæi Larroquani, fol. **5.*

(*B*) *The acquaintance of many learned Men.*] Amongſt others Mr. *Juſtel*, Mr. (*d*) *Amproux*, and Mr. *Conrart*. They, and Mr. *Da lle* and his Son, and Mr. *Allix* were the Proteſtants he had the greateſt Affection for. He made himſelf known alſo to many learned Men of the *Roman* Communion, particularly to the Abbot *de Marolles* and Mr *de Launoi*. Many Letters of theſe two Gentlemen, and eſpecially of the latter, were found among his Papers (*e*).

(*d*) *Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris.*

(*e*) *Taken from his Life prefixed to the Adverſariorum libri tres.*

quaintance of many Learned Men. The Church of *Charenton* reſolved to have him in 1669. But the Envy of ſome falſe Brethren was ſo violent, that they prejudiced the Court againſt him; ſo that his Majeſty forbad that Church to think of him, tho' the [a] Deputy-General of the Proteſtants offer'd to anſwer for the good Conduct of Mr. *de Larroque*. It was a very great Trouble to him to be ſlandered; but the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience was his Remedy. He was invited to be both Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Saumur*. He accepted the firſt Employment, but refuſed the latter, as judging it prejudicial to the Study of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which was his ſtrong Paſſion. He was preparing for his Journey to *Saumur*, when [b] the Intendant of the Province forbad him to make it. He appealed againſt that unjuſt Prohibition. The Church of *Saumur* earneſtly ſollicited the neceſſary Permiſſion, and obtained it; nevertheleſs, he did not think it convenient to make uſe of it, nor to enjoy a Place in ſpite of the Intendant. He therefore ſtaid ſtill at *Vitré*, where his Pen was not idle. He was offered three of the Principal Churches of the Kingdom, that of *Montauban*, that of *Bourdeaux*, and that of *Rouen*. He accepted *Rouen*, where he ended his Life, at Sixty Five Years of Age, the 31ſt. of *January* 1684. not only applauded for his Learning, but alſo for the Qualities of an honeſt Man, and a good Paſtor [c]. He had joyn'd all theſe different (C) Characters together, which are but too often divided. See his Encomium in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, in the Fifth Article of the Month of *March*, 1684.

LASCARIS (*Conſtantin*) left *Conſtantinople* his Birth-Place, in 1454, and retired into *Italy*. He was one of thoſe who reſtored in the Weſt the Knowledge of good Literature. He taught it firſt at *Milan*, whither he was invited by *Francis Sforza*. Afterwards he went to viſit Cardinal *Beſſarion* at *Rome*, and received many Marks of Affection from him, and then he went to *Naples*, where he taught Eloquence, and the *Greek* Tongue with Applauſe. At laſt he went to *Meſſina* [d], where he ſettled for the reſt of his Days. He drew a great Concourſe of Scholars thither, and amongſt others, *Peter Bembus*, who was raiſed to the Dignity of a Cardinal, by *Clement* VII. He left his Library to the Senate of *Meſſina*: It was compoſed of excellent Books, which he brought from *Conſtantinople*. The Senate made him [e] a Citizen of that Town, and cauſed him to be buried at the publick Charges. His Marble Tomb in the Church of the *Carmelites*, has been ruined by the Injuries of time, and has not been repaired [f]. Our *Laſcaris* wrote (D) ſome Books.

LASCARIS (*John*) ſirnamed [g] *Rhyndacenus*, was of the Family of *Laſcaris*, which has produced ſome Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. He took Sanctuary in *Italy*, after the Deſtruction of the Eaſtern Empire in the XVth. Century, and was very kindly received by *Laurence de Medicis*. This great Favourer of Learned Men thought him fit to make a Collection of the beſt Books that were in *Greece*, and to that end (A) deputed him to the Sultan. That Deputation had a happy Succeſs, for the Grand Signor permitted *Laſcaris* to ſearch all the Libraries, by which means vaſt Treaſures of rare Learning were tranſported into *Italy*. After that *Laſcaris* went into *France*, and

[a] *The Marquis de Ruvigni.*

[b] *Call'd Mr. Voiſin.*

[c] *Taken from the Abridgement of his Life prefixed to the Work, which M. de Larroque his Son Publiſhed at Leyden in 1688. with this Title,* Matthæi Larroquani adverſariorum ſacrorum libri tres.

[d] *In 1405.*

[e] *Taken from* Jerom Raguſa, in elogiis Siculorum.

[f] *Perhaps from a Town call'd* Rhyndacus *between the* Helleſpont *and* Phrygia, *mention'd by* Stephanus Byzantinus.

(C) *He joined all theſe different Characters together.*] I have refer'd you to his Encomium in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des lettres*. I refer you alſo to the Preface, from which I have taken this Article, and from which I ſhall ſtill take ſome Verſes of *Gregory Nazianzen*. (a) *Id duntaxat ſubjungamus colophonem huic elogio impoſituri, quod de ſuo parente nimirum dicebat Gregorius Nazianzenus, etenim noſtro apprimè accommodari poteſt.*

Ἦν μοι πατὴρ κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον εὐσεβὴς,
Ἀκριβὴς, ἀπλοῦς τὸν τρόπον, σεμνὸς βίον,
Πατριάρχης ἐντὸς Ἀβραὰμ τὸ δεύτερος,
Ὃν ἐξανθεῖν ἐφασκον, ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς.
- - - - - - - - - Χριστοῦ σέβας.
Ἐκ τοῦτο πεσὼν, πεσόντα τὸν κρείττονα.

Erat patri mi vir probus valdè, ſenex,
Simplexque, vitæ regula & certiſſima,
Patriarchus alter Abraham: non tam ſtudens
Famâ (b) eſſe, quàm re vir bonus contra atque
nunc.
- - - - - - - - *Chriſti cultor*
Exinde Paſtor, ordinis decus & Jui.

(D) *Wrote ſome Books.*] They concern the Greek Grammar: *Aldus Manutius* Printed 'em with ſome other ſmall Pieces of the ſame Nature in Greek and Latin. Beſides *Laſcaris* made (c) a Collection of the Learned Men, who flouriſhed Anciently in *Sicily*.

(A) *Deputed him to the Sultan.*] Twice, if we may believe *Jovius*, who adds that the Sultan loved Philoſophy, and had a particular Eſteem for *Laurence de Medicis*. 'Tis neceſſary to ſet down the Words of that Hiſtorian; for I muſt compare 'em with thoſe of *Varillas*. 'Tis a point of Criticiſm. (d) *Is* (Laurentius Medices) *tum abſolvendæ Bibliothecæ ſtudio tenebatur. Ob id Laſcarem, ad conquirenda volumina Byzantium cum legatione ad Bajazetem his miſit: nec deſuit honeſta petenti, uſquam Barbarus Imperator, quippe qui erat totius philoſophiæ ſtudioſus, Averroiſque ſectator exiſtimus, & de Laurentio privatim tanquam de illuſtri cultore virtutis, optimè ſentiret, quum paulo ante Bandinum percuſſorem fratris, fuga in Aſiam elapſum in catenis ad ſupplicium tradidiſſet (e); ſingulari quidem religionis, atque juſtitiæ exemplo; quod ille immane ſcelus in templo auſus, merita pœna plectendus cenſeretur. Itaque Laſcares, tuto abdita Græciæ perſcrutatus, quum patriæ opes victoribus ceſſiſſent, nobiliora divitiis antiquæ dignitatis volumina collegit, ut in Italia ſervarentur.* Varillas thought this Narrative of *Paul Jovius* was too dry, and therefore he has Embelliſh'd it with abundance of Circumſtances, as if inſtead of faithfully Tranſlating another Man's Work, he had been injoyned to turn it into a Romance. Here is his Narrative: (f) 'Laurence de 'Medicis received *Laſcaris* with open Arms; 'and committed to him the care of his Library. 'One Day as they Diſcours'd about the means of 'enriching it, it came into *Laſcaris*'s Thought 'that *Bajazet II.* Emperor of the *Turks* had an 'Inclination for Philoſophy, and having cauſed *Averroes*'s Commentaries upon *Ariſtotle* to be explain'd to him, he would not be unwilling to 'have the Peripateticks preſerved. *Laurence de* 'Medicis promiſed to furniſh him with things ne'ceſſary for a Voyage to *Conſtantinople*, if he would 'go upon that Deſign. *Laſcaris* took him at his 'Word, and Imbark'd without any other Creden'tials than what *Laurence de Medicis* gave him 'to his Factors. Nevertheleſs he had Acceſs to 'the Grand Signor, and was introduced to his

High-

(a) *Daniel Larroquanus in Summa vitæ Matthæi Larroquani in fine.*

(b) 'Tis an Encomium beſtowed by *Æſchylus* upon Amphiaraus. *See the Article of the latter.*

(c) *The Jeſuit* Jerom Ragusa *has inſerted it in his* Elogia Siculorum *Printed at* Avignon *in* 1693.

(d) *Jovius Elog. c.* 31. *p. m.* 74.

(e) Paul Jovius *is miſtaken; for it was not* Bajazet II. *but his Father* Mahomet II. *who caused* Bandini *to be Arreſted, and ſent him to* Laurence de Medicis *in the year* 1478. *See* Guiller's Hiſt. of Mahomet II. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 320. *and ſeq. and p.* 439. *Note that M.* de Wiquefort *is very much out in this matter: See his* Traité de l'Ambaſſadeur *Tom.* 1. *p. m.* 269.

(f) *Varillas Anecdot. de Florence p.* 182.

and got the Esteem of *Lewis* XII. who sent him (*B*) to *Venice*, in Quality of Embassador. He went to *Rome* in the Pontificate of *Leo* X. and made another Voyage into *Greece*, from whence he brought some young Gentlemen to be educated in the College that was founded on Mount *Quirinal*, in order to preserve the right Pronunciation

' Highness, who received him much better than he ' imagined. They had a pretty long Conversation, ' and *Bajazet* expressed to him all the Esteem, ' that an Infidel was capable of, for the Merit of ' *Laurence de Medicis*, and permitted him (on his ' Account) to buy up all the Manuscripts that were ' to be sold in his Empire. His Highness allowed ' him a Safe-guard to Conduct him to the Places ' where he knew there had been Libraries, and to ' prevent those who had plunder'd them, from sell- ' ing Books dearer than they were worth. Thus ' *Lascaris* had the conveniency of going through ' all *Greece*, and Collecting those rare Volumes, ' that are still in being, in the King's Library. He ' brought but one half of 'em in the first Voyage ' he made; because the joy of Exhibiting to his ' Patron the Authors he had recover'd, and which ' were supposed to be lost, made him return to ' *Florence* at two years end. But *Laurence de Me-* ' *dicis* sent him back three Months after, desiring ' him to continue his search, wherever there had ' been Learned Men. *Lascaris* waited again upon ' *Bajazet*, and received from him new Civilities. ' He ran over all *Peloponnesus*, and return'd as ' it were in Triumph, in a Vessel laden with the ' remainder of the spoils of the *Greek* Tongue. But ' he had not as yet placed his Manuscripts in the ' sumptuous Building design'd for them, when ' *Laurence de Medicis* died, and left *Italy* in a ' Calm, which was not of long continuance. The ' *French* Army enter'd *Florence*, and plunder'd the ' Books as well as the other Goods of the House of ' *Medicis*. Here are not only many Circumstances, which *Varillas* has Forged to embellish and inlarge his Story, but also some Falsifications; for he supposes 1. that *Lascaris* had no Letters credential to the Grand Signor. What is then the meaning of these Words of *Paul Jovius*, *Byzantium* CUM LEGATIONE *ad Bajazetem misit*? 2. That the rare Volumes Collected by *Lascaris*, are in the *French* King's Library, the *French* Army having plunder'd the Books and other Goods of the House of *Medicis*, in the time of *Charles VIII.* To confute this Historian in this particular, we need only put him in mind, that he himself says in another Book, (*a*) that the House of *Medicis* was plunder'd by the *Florentins*, before the Troops of *Charles VIII.* enter'd into *Florence*. He says positively, that the *Florentins* ' plunder'd the prodi- ' gious Collection of Statues, Pictures, *BOOKS*, ' and Medals, which Foreigners came to see with ' Admiration in the Palace of *Medicis*. Note, that the Books of that Library, which have been Transported into that of the *French* King, came thither through another Channel than *Charles* the *VIII's.* Expedition. This removal is more Modern; See Father *Jacob* in his Tract of Libraries: He will tell you (*b*) that *Catherine de Medicis* ' brought a- ' mong other things *to* Henry II. *her Husband*, ' the Manuscripts of the famous Library of *Me-* ' *dicis*, which were put into the Royal Library; ' where they are still preserv'd.

When it shall be proved to me that *Varillas* was not barely grounded upon the Elogies of *Paul Jovius*, speaking of *Lascaris* in his *Anecdotes de Florence*, I shall then see, whether I am to blame for accusing him of being the Inventer of most of the Circumstances mention'd by him. If he had known what *Jovius* observes, in another Book, he would have given us a more Paraphrastical Narrative; It would have been a Scene full of Decorations. *Jovius* relates that the Basha *Cherseoglis* got leave for *John Lascaris* to search all the Libraries of *Greece*, when by order of *Leo X.* he went in quest of old Manuscripts. (*c*) *Nec illud quidem erga literarum studia eximia benignitatis officium prætermittendum videtur, quod Lascari, quem supra memoravimus Græcorum nobilissimo, pariter atque doctissimo antiquos codices jussu Leonis decimi conquirenti, cunctas Græciæ bibliothecas impetrato ad id regio diplomate, liberè exoutiendas aperuit.* This Historian had been saying that this Basha having turned Mahometan out of State, preserv'd in his Heart the Christian Faith, and had a Crucifix conceal'd in a Closet, which he Worship'd in the Night, when no body could be Witness of it. He shew'd his Crucifix to *John Lascaris*, who afterwards related all these Particulars to *Jovius*. The reason which moved him to make an outward Abjuration of Christianity was this. He was ready to be Married to a handsom Woman, when his Father liking her very well, resolved to Marry her himself. This Injury so enrag'd the Son that he retir'd to the Neighbouring Garrisons of the *Turks*, and afterwards to *Constantinople*, where *Bajazet* gave him a very kind Reception and promised him to Marry him to one of his Daughters. The young Man turned Mahometan, quitted his name *Stephen*, and took that of *Achomat*, and *Cherseoglis*, and became Son-in-Law to *Bajazet* (*d*). What Paraphrases and Flourishes should we not have seen in the *Anecdotes de Florence*, if *Varillas* had known this Latin Passage? (*e*) *Non, ut cæteri ferè omnes à prima pueritia per delectus Christianis parentibus erepti, sed jam planè vir* (Cherseoglis) *ita à majorum religione discessit, ut nunquam ex arcano veræ pietatis obliviscerentur. Is Cherjechii regnli in Illyrico, ad montem Nigrum filius, quam adamata ei sponsa quæ erat è Stirpe [illegible] Despoti, ad paratas nuptias duceretur, concupitæ nuptiæ, quod esset egregiæ venustatis, procaci oculorum probus pater, omnemque pudorem superante libidine, hbi patrim impotenter excluso filio nuptias celebravit, frustra reclamantibus propinquis, qui ei facinus plus contumeliosum patriæque & domui infame detestabantur. Itaque juvenis tantæ injuriæ indignitate commotus, præcipitique actus desperatione, &c.* I leave others to examine whether *Jovius* has not confounded the Voyages which *John Lascaris* made by order of *Laurence de Medicis*, with the Voyage he supposes that he made into *Greece* under Pope *Leo X.* *Bajazet* Died before the Pontificate of *Leo X.* and I question much whether *Cherseoglis* had any great interest with the succeeding Sultan. And 'tis certain, he was never in so great a Capacity of serving *John Lascaris*, as in *Bajazet's* Reign.

(*B*) Lewis XII ——*sent him to* Venice *in Quality of Ambassador.*] I find that he sent him thither in 1507, and 1508. See *Peter Bembus* (*f*) in the History of *Venice*, where he mentions the occasion of those Embassies, and the Substance of the Embassador's Speech. *Varillas* (*g*) affirms, that in 1507. the Republick hearing of the League of *Cambray*, dismissed *Lascaris* Ambassador to *Lewis XII.* but how could this League be then known, which was not concluded till *December* 1508? See the Margin (†)

What Mr. *de Wicquefort* says of this Embassy, is not very obliging. The Pope, says he, ' (*) knew, ' when 'twas too late, the Fault which he had been ' guilty of, in making choice of an impertinent and ' ridiculous Minister. *John Lascaris*, whom *Lew-* ' *is* XII. sent on an Embassy to *Venice* in the Year ' 1503, was not much better. He descended from a ' Family which had formerly produced great Princes ' in the Empire of *Constantinople*, and was very ' learned, but knew nothing of the Affairs of the ' World; besides, he had a very mean Look, and ' lived very sordidly; so that instead of ap- ' pearing like an Ambassador, and honouring his ' Master, he affected to imitate the false Modesty of ' those who give themselves up to contemplative ' Philosophy, and profess Poverty, and bore a lit- ' tle of the *Cynick*. His Commission was the more ' difficult to execute, because he had Orders to bor- ' row Money, and to make an Alliance, at a time ' when the Inclinations of the Senate were not for ' the French Interest; because the Affairs of that ' King were not in a very good Condition in *Italy*. ' *Laurence Suarez de Figueroa*, And that from ' *Ferdinand the Catholick*, did not fail to make his ' Advantage of the Discontent of the Republick, ' which could not bear *the King's lending them a Pe-* ' *dant instead of an Ambassador*, and laid in a full ' Senate, that they might judge how the King of ' *France* would use them, if after the Conquest ' which he pretended to make of the Kingdom of ' *Naples*, he gained his Ends, and could Tyran- ' nize over *Italy* as he pleased; since in his very

(*a*) *Varillas, Histoire de Charles VIII. l. 3. p. 262. ad ann.* 1494. Dutch *Edit.*

(*b*) *Jacob, Traité des Bibliotheques p.* 458.

(*c*) *Jovius Historiar. l. 13. fol. m.* 256.

(*d*) *Jovius ibid. fol.* 255. *verso* (*e*) *Id. ibid.* fol. 255. *See also* Melanchthon *in the fifth Book of* Crion's *Chronicle p. m.* 874.

(*f*) *Lib. 6. fol. m.* 144. *verso, & l.* 7. *fol.* 152.

(*g*) *Histoire Veneta parte secunda p.* 70.

(†) *He here hints by way of Antici- pation, that Au- thor tells the Intri- gues that were con- triving before the conclusion of the Treaty of Cambray, the League of Cam- bray.*

(*) *Wicquefort de l'Ambassadeur, &c. l. 1. p. m.* 167.

ciation of the *Greek* Tongue. He returned into *France* (C) in the Reign of *Francis* I. and having ſtaid there ſome time, he went to *Italy* again, and died at *Rome* of the Gout, being about Ninety Years of Age. He was buried in the Church of *St. Agatha*. Tho' he had no ſettled Income, he had always wherewithal to ſupply his Expences, and yet he did not mind his Domeſtick Concerns, and loved to live great. His Lazineſs would not ſuffer him to compoſe (D) many Books *β*. He underſtood (E) *Latin* well, and was not aſhamed to be Corrector of the Preſs. I muſt (F) examine *Gyraldus*'s Relation.

LATINUS (*John*) a Moor by Birth, was brought into *Spain*, being a little Boy, and was a Servant (A) in the Houſe of the Duke of *Sueſſa* γ. The Wit that was

* Troubles and Neceſſities he deſpiſed the Senate ſo much, as *to ſend them a* Greek *Philoſopher, who was juſt come from the College.*

(C) *He returned into* France *in the Reign of* Francis I.] *Jovius* ſays nothing of it, which is the reaſon why *Varillas* ſaid nothing of it neither. His Paraphraſe on that Hiſtorian imports (*a*) *that* Laſcaris *not knowing what to do, engag'd himſelf with* Charles VIII. *And that being a Man fit for buſineſs, he had an Embaſſy given him to* Venice, *which he honourably diſcharg'd in the Reign of that Monarch, and of* Lewis XII. *his Succeſſor. At laſt,* Leo X. *being made Pope, invited* Laſcaris *to* Rome *to be one of his Council.* This was, according to *Varillas*, *John Laſcaris*'s laſt Employment; which is to maſſake ſeveral ways; for this Pope did not make him his Counſellor, but Director (*b*) of a Greek College, and afterwards this learned Man had ſome Employment at *Paris*. I believe it was that of the King's Library-Keeper, which I ground upon a Letter, which *James Tuſanus* wrote to *Angelus Laſcaris*, *John's* Son, in which are theſe Words: (*c*) *Jani patris tui excellentem in Romana lingua, nedum veſtra, peritiam pluribus his verbis ne fuſius proſequar, illud certe dicam: Græcæ literaturæ quantum uſu, quantum ſcientia præcellat, ex eo intelligi vel maxime poſſe, quod eum ex cunctis veſtri generis hominibus de ſententia doctiſſimorum delectum princeps noſter Franciſcus accerſendum eſſe cenſuerit, ut Muſeo, quod in hac urbe longe omnium principe multo celeberrimum ſperamus excitatum iri, propediem, velut alter Apollo præſideat.* Here follows a Paſſage, that is not free from Faults; however it will ſerve for a Proof: I take it from *James du Breul*'s Antiquities of *Paris*. (*d*) Emanuel Chryſoloras *had* Angelo Tifernas *for his Scholar, who in the year* 1523. *being at* Paris, *inſtructed in the Greek Tongue* John Laſcaris, *and* William Budæus, *two learned Men, who have Publiſhed many fine Books, as Mr.* Genebrard *witneſſes in his Chronology, in theſe Words.* Anno 1523. Chryſoloræ, qui primus litteras Græcas Florentiam Coſmo Mediceo Florentino Duce attulit, diſcipulus Tifernas in Franciam venit, Budæumque literas Græcas docuit. Deinde Janus Laſcaris mortuo Laurentio Mediceo Mœcenate ſuo. Atque inde literatura Græca, deſerta Italia ad nos migravit. *Now this* Laſcaris *and* Budæus, *as the ſame Author teſtifies, were the firſt, at whoſe Sollicitation King* Francis I. *ſet up his Library of* Fontainebleau, *and afterwards he appointed ſome Royal Profeſſors, as the ſame Author ſays.* Laſcari & Budæo authoribus, Franc. I. Bibliothecam Fontenablæam inſtruxit, indeque anno 1530. linguarum & mathematum profeſſores. Nam cæteri ſunt adſcriptitii. There are many things to be cenſured in this Paſſage. In the firſt place *Tifernas* was called Gregory and not *Angelo*. 2. He Died in the XVth. Century, how then could he come to *Paris* in 1523? Father *du Breul* had been ſaying that *Chryſoloras*, who Died at *Conſtance* the fifteenth of *April* 1415. had taught him Greek. This was ſufficient to ſhew, that he did not live till the Reign of *Francis I.* 3. It is Abſurd to pretend that *John Laſcaris* a Native of *Greece* learn'd *the Greek Tongue* of (*e*) an *Italian*. 4. 'Tis a groſs ignorance to ſay, that in 1523. he and *William Budæus* were young Scholars. *Budæus* was then 56 years Old, and was look'd upon as the moſt learned Man, and the greateſt Grecian in *France*. 5. *Genebrard*'s Paſſage cited by *de Breul* ſignifies that *John Laſcaris* came into *France* after *Tifernas*, and after the Death of *Laurence de Medicis*. He who cites it, did not underſtand it. Note that *Laſcaris* returned into *France* (*f*) in the year 1518, and that he was there (*g*) ſtill in 1528. Which ſhews that *Moreri* is guilty of a groſs Fault, for he ſays that he Died a little after Leo *X.* was made Pope.

(*a*) *Varil. Anecdot. de Flor. fol.* 184.

(*b*) *See a Letter of* Budæus, *among thoſe of* Eraſmus. *'Tis the* 30*th. of the* 2*d. Book, p.* 156.

(*c*) *Geſner. in Biblioth. fol.* 39. *verſo.*

(*d*) Du Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, *Book* 2. *p.* 563. Paris *Edition*, 1639. *in* 4.

(*e*) Tifernas *was an Italian.*

(*f*) *See* Eraſmus's *Letters, lib.* 11. *n.* 4. *pag.* 548. *&* n. 5. *pag.* 549.

(*g*) *See the ſame Letters, lib.* 20. *n.* 72. *pag.* 930.

(*D*) *His Lazineſs would not ſuffer him to Compoſe many Books.*] He was deſired to make ſome Verſions of the Greek Authors, but he could hardly be perſuaded to Tranſlate ſome Tracts of *Polybius* concerning the Art of War (*h*). I find in the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library, his Book *De Veris Græcarum litterarum formis ac cauſis apud antiquos* Printed at *Paris* in 1536. in 8vo. and his Orations, Printed at *Francfort* in 1573. *Geſner* (*i*) ſays that his Latin and Greek Epigrams were Printed at *Baſil* in 1537.

(*E*) *He underſtood* Latin *well, and was not aſhamed to be Corrector of the Preſs.*] The Paſſage of *Eraſmus*, which I have quoted (*k*) in another Place, teſtifies, that *John Laſcaris* was Maſter of the *Latin* Tongue. *Jovius* gives him the ſame Commendation (*l*). *Valebat Latina facundia, ita ut verſus, qui extant, perſcriberet.* Beſides theſe two Teſtimonies, and that of *Tuſanus* (*m*), I might add ſome others, if it were neceſſary. Note, that *Laſcaris* was not ſatisfied with the Commendation given him by *Eraſmus*, in the Dialogue, intituled *Ciceronianus*. He ſided with the Malecontents, who wrote Satyrical Verſes at *Paris* (*n*) againſt the Author of that Dialogue. He was too touchy and angry without Reaſon; for ſee *Eraſmus*'s Words: (*o*) *De Jano* (Laſcare) *quoniam adhuc ſupereſt, dicendum eſt pareſtis. Morum comitate generis nobiliſatem præ ſe fert, acri judicio vir, multa in Epigrammatibus argutia: poterat inter Ciceroniani cognominis candidatos numerari, ni crebra legationes ac Regum negotia revocaſſent hominem à Muſis.*

As for his being Corrector of the Preſs, read theſe Words of *Henry Stephens*: (*p*) *Quid verò dicturos Al. filium Muſurum & Jamum Laſcarin putamus, in quibus primis Græcia reviviſcere cæpit, & qui principes in pandendo nobis ad linguæ Græcæ adyta itinere fuerunt? quid, inquam, dicturos remur, ſi, quum ipſi tantum honoris arti typographicæ detulerint, ut non indignam exiſtimarint cui ſuam operam navarent, fungentes munere correctorum (licent enim de rebus typographicis typographicè loqui) eò rem deveniſſe videant, ut ſiquis, &c.* Add to this the Words of Mr. *Chevillier* (*q*). 'I believe that *Laſcaris* corrected the '*Avicenna*, printed at *Lyons*, in Three Volumes *in* 'Folio, with the Commentaries of *James de Partibus*, by *John Trechſel*, and *John Cleym*, in the 'Year 1498, as I gueſs from the Epiſtle Dedica'tory, inſcribed to *John Poncean*, Phyſician to 'the King, which he prefixed to that Book.

(*F*) *I muſt examine* Gyraldus's *Relation.*] It imports, that the *Medicis* being expelled from *Florence*, *Janus Laſcaris* wandred about for ſome time, till *Leo* X. ſent for him to *Rome*; that after the Death of this Pope he was ſent for into *France* by *Francis* I. who having made uſe of him in the Foundation of a College and Library, depured him to *Venice*, where he tarried a long time; and laſtly, after the Death of *Clement* VII. was perſuaded to come to *Rome* by the fair Promiſes of *Paul III.* where he died ſoon after, leaving a Son who was called *Angelo* (*r*). I obſerve firſt a great Oniſſion. *Gyraldus* ſays nothing of the Embaſſy to *Venice* under *Lewis* XII. I further obſerve, that he ſuppoſes that *Francis* I. ſent *Laſcaris* to *Venice*, in the Quality of *Legatus*. I believe he is miſtaken. Laſtly, I obſerve, that he did not know that this learned *Greek* was at *Rome* in the Year 1532, under the Pontificate of *Clement* VII. See the 28th. Letter of *Bunel*, wherein he ſays (*ſ*), that he ſaw *John Laſcaris* at *Rome* that Year.

(*A*) *A Servant in the Houſe of the Duke of* Sueſſa.] He declared it himſelf in an Inſcription mentioned by *Don Nicolas Antonio*. (*t*) *Hæc Joannes Æthiops Criſticola ex Æthiopia uſque infans allectus ad celeberrimum & invictiſſimi Conſalvi Fernan-*

(*h*) Paulus *Jovius in elog. cap.* 31. *p.* 74.

(*i*) *Geſn. ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) *In the Rem. A. of the Art.* Muſurus.

(*l*) *Jovius ubi ſupra.*

(*m*) *Above in the Rem.* C.

(*n*) *See* Eraſmus's *Letters, pag.* 1030. 1039. 1044. *& alibi edit. Londin.*

(*o*) *Eraſm. in Ciceronianο, p.* 70.

(*p*) *Henr. Stephan. in artis typog. querimonia apud Almeloveenum de viris Stephan. pag.* 140.

(*q*) *Chevil. Orig. de l'Imprimerie, pag.* 194.

(*r*) *Taken from* Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus de Poet. ſuor. temp. Dial. 1. *p. m.* 552.

(*ſ*) Bunellus Epiſt. 28. pag. 108. Edit. Toloſ. 1687.

(*t*) *Nicol. Anton. Bibliotb. Hiſp. tom.* 1. *pag.* 547.

was observed in him, was the cauſe of his being permitted to be taught with his young Maſter; by which Means he grew ſo learned, that being made free, he obtained of the Archbiſhop of *Granada* to teach the *Latin* Tongue in the School of the Church of that City. He worthily diſcharged the Duties of that Place for the ſpace of Twenty Years; and becauſe he was no leſs eſteemed for his Virtue than for his Parts, he found a Wife (*B*) with a good Fortune. He publiſhed (*C*) ſeveral Poems. Some ſay, that *Clenard* brought him (*D*) from *Æthiopia* into *Spain*, and taught him. This is not true: it will be eaſie to ſhew their Error. *Moreri*'s Faults (*E*) are few in Number, but very Groſs.

LAUDICE, Siſter and Wife of *Mithridates*, ought to be reckoned among the Perſons of unhappy Memory. Her Husband meditating a vaſt Deſign, ſtole away from his Court *Incognito*, to go and ſee, with a ſmall Attendance, the Situation of the Places where he deſigned to make War. *Laudice* hearing no News of him, fancied that he was dead, and that he would return no more; and inſtead of afflicting her ſelf, ſhe gave her ſelf up to the moſt filthy Pleaſures. The return of her Husband made her very

a Taken from Don Nicolas Antonio, Bibl. Hiſpan. tom. 1. Pag. 547.

(a) Hic dum Mendozium Heroa (*I think it is a Fault of the Preſs, inſtead of* Herum) Granatæ in ludum literarium comitaretur, linguam Latinam eadem opera arripuit. *Schottus, Biblioth. Hiſpan. pag.* 456.

(b) *He ſcripſerit, ſaltem veri pag.* 92.

(c) *Nicol. Anton. ubi ſupra.*

(d) *Id. ib.*

(e) Granatæ linguam Latinam publice profiteri cœpit, illu pendo exemplo in cathedra nigram hominem Latine loqui. *Schottus ubi ſupra.*

(f) *Ludov. Nonius in Hiſpania illuſtrata, pag.* 83.

(g) *Taken from* Nicol. Antonio ibid.

(h) *It is to be ſeen in* Nicolas Antonio ubi ſupra, *and in* Moreri.

(i) *Bullart, tom.* 1. p. 267.

di à Cordoba Ducis Succeſſe, Gonſalvi Magni Hiſpaniarum Ducis nepotis ſervus, ab ipſo infantia lacte ſimul nutritus, cum ipſo à rudibus annis liberalibus artibus inſtitutus & doctus, & tandem libertate donatus, Granatæ ab illuſtriſſimo pariter & reverendiſſimo Petro Guerrero Granatenſi Archiepiſcopo extra omnem aleam doctiſſimo, S. Eccleſiæ Granatæ cathedram Grammaticæ & Latini ſermonis accepit moderandam, quam per viginti annos faliciter moderatus eſt. The Jeſuit *Schottus* is therefore miſtaken, who ſays, that our Moor learned *Latin*, waiting upon *Mendoza* at the College (*a*). Our *Latinus*'s Maſter's Name was not *Mendoza*. You'll find in *Aubertus Miræus* (*b*), almoſt Word for Word, what *Schottus* ſays of this Learned [illegible]ian.

(*B*) *He found a Wife with a good Fortune.*] He married (*c*) Donna Anna de Carleval: *Charus omnibus propter ingenii ac morum dotes, matrimonio insuper honeſto nec ignobili fœmina ſupra conditionem ornatus* (*d*). 'Tis ſaid he was a handſome Man, which is perhaps as rare a thing, according to the Taſte of the Europeans, as to ſee a Moor (*e*) teach the *Latin* Tongue. *Ludum hic* (Granatæ) *parentum memoria aperuit (quis credat?)* Joannes *Æthiops genere*, Latinus *hinc dictus, at præſtanti forma & Muſica ac Poetica in paucis peritus* (*f*).

(*C*) *He publiſhed ſeveral Poems.*] One upon the Battle of *Lepanto*, another upon the Death of *Pius* V. and a great many Epitaphs. The Title of 'em are: *Auſtriados libri II. ſive de victoria navali Joannis Auſtriaci ad Echinadas Inſulas. De obitu Pii V. ejuſque in Philippum regem ſtudio. De auguſta regalium corporum ex variis tumulis in unum regale templum Eſcurialis tranſlatione, atque illinc in Granatenſe Reginæ Fœminæ, epigrammatum, ſive epitaphiorum libri II.* at *Granada*, 1576. The Inſcription I have ſet down in the firſt Remark, is taken from this laſt Book; and as the Author obſerves, that he was Fifty Eight Years old (*g*), we may know, will ſome ſay, the Year of his Birth. A Man who is in his Fifty Eighth Year, in 1576. muſt have been born in 1518. But let us take care not to argue in this manner; for though *Latinus*'s Epitaphs and Epigrams were publiſhed at *Granada* in 1576, it do's not follow, that the Inſcription we ſpeak of, was made in that Year. It were a wrong Conſequence, tho' we were ſure that he was then Alive: And it muſt be worſe ſtill, if it be ſuppoſed that he Died in 1573. as his Epitaph (*h*) imports. What is certain, is, that ſince he Died in 1573. this Inſcription was not made after that year; and ſo the Author was at leaſt 58 years Old, that year, and he could not be Born after the year 1515. *Nicolas Antonio* would be to blame, in caſe he could have mention'd the year, in which *Latinus* ſaid he was 58 years old; for he does not mention it. I could wiſh for the rarity of the thing, that our *Latinus* had found a Place among Mr. *Baillet*'s Poets.

(*D*) *That* Clenard *brought him from* Æthiopia *into* Spain.] The Author (*i*) of the *Academie des Sciences*, tells us, that *Clenard* departing from the Court of *Fez*, *was only attended by one* Æthiopian *Diſciple, who arriving with him at* Granada, *in* 1542, *writ to the Emperor* Charles *V. an elegant Letter, and died in that ſame Year, and left his* Æthiopian *Diſciple* (*known by the Name of* John Latinus) *ſo well tutor'd in good Literature, that he compoſed a fine* Latin *Poem upon the Victory of* Lepanto. I am induced from many Reaſons to believe, that there are ſome Falſities in this Account. 1. *Latinus* (*k*) ſays he was but a Child, when he was removed from *Æthiopia* into *Europe*. This would not be true, if he had come from *Africa* into *Spain* with *Clenard* in 1542. He was then at leaſt Twenty Seven Years old. 2. He ſays, that from his Childhood (*l*) he was educated and inſtructed with *Gonzales Ferdinand de Corduba*, his Maſter, who at laſt (*m*) gave him his Liberty. Would he have ſpoken in this manner, if he had been indebted for all his Learning to *James Clenard*, as Mr. *Bullart* ſuppoſes? 3. He ſays nothing that has the leaſt Affinity with Mr. *Bullart*'s Account. My third Obſervation perſuades me, that *Aubertus Miræus* is miſtaken in ſaying, (*n*) *Diſcipulum reliquit* (Clenardus) *Joannem Latinum Æthiopem (quod prodigii ſimile eſt) Rhetorem Illiberitanum, cujus poema veſtas panegyricum de navali Jo. Auſtriaci ad Echinadas Inſulas victoria.* Doubtleſs Mr. *Bullart* was deceived by this Paſſage of *Aubertus Miræus*; but he has added to it a Fault of his own, in ſuppoſing that *Latinus* was brought into *Europe* by *James Clenard*, in the Year 1542. His Error probably proceeded from this. *Clenard* ſays (*o*) that being ſent to *Braga* to ſet up a School there, he produced his Three Mooriſh Servants before his Scholars, and commanded them in *Latin* to perform certain Poſtures. Theſe Moors had learnt in his Houſe *Latin* enough by Cuſtom, to underſtand what he commanded them in that Tongue. *Erant mihi Servuli tres, quos (p) ſupra nominavi, non ſane peritis Grammaticæ, verum domeſtica conſuetudine tantum conſenti, ut me percipient, quicquid dicerem, & contra Latine reſpondeant, licet identidem peccantes in Priſcianum. Hos in ludum productos, dialogos agere juſſi, ſpectantibus diſcipulis, & cum eos multis de rebus ſermonem miſcebam, attentiſſimo auditorio, adeo miracula loco fuit, quod Æthiopes loquerentur Latine.* Heus, Dento, *inquam*, ſalta, &c. From this Story it might eaſily be concluded, that *John Latinus* was a Scholar of this Learned Grammarian.

(*E*) *Moreri's Faults.*] 1. 'Tis not true that *Gonzales Fernand de Corduba* made our *Latinus* a Slave, *when he was ſtill in his Cradle*. The Inſcription (*q*) above-mentioned, clearly intimates, that he and *Latinus* were almoſt of the ſame Age; and therefore *Gonzales*, whilſt he was in his Cradle, muſt have made Expeditions into *Africa*, or by Sea, if it were true, that he made *Latinus* a Slave. I would fain know why *Moreri* did not ſtick to a Faithful Tranſlation of his Originals. He had the Book of Don *Nicolas Antonio* before his Eyes; why was he not contented to ſay, that *Latinus* was a Slave to *Gonzales Fernando de Corduba*? Doth this Signifie, that *Gonzales* had taken this *Æthiopian* himſelf, and afterwards (*r*) brought him into *Spain*? II. *Latinus*'s Employment at *Granada* was not merely to teach the young Clerks of the Cathedral. He publickly taught all Comers the *Latin* Tongue; it was the Cuſtom of the Schools of Cathedral Churches, as Mr. *Joly* ſhews in one of his Books. III. 'Tis a great Ignorance (*s*) to tell us of a Poem, intituled, *Auſtriados*. 'Twere in vain to pretend to be excuſed by the Original, in which *Nicolas Antonio* does not uſe the Genitive Caſe *Auſtriadis*, with adding *libros duos*.

(k) *See the Rem.* A

(l) A rudibus annis.

(m) Et tandem libertate donatus.

(n) *Aub. Miræus in elog. Belg.*

(o) *Clenard epiſt. lib.* 2. *pag.* 303.

(p) *This Word refers to the following Paſſage in Page* 295. Præter Guhelmum miniſtrum tres ſervos addiveram Æthiopes, Dentonem, Nigrinum & Carbonem, nam ita eos nuncupavit Reſpondit.

(q) *In the Remark* A.

(r) *This is a Conſequence of Moreri's Error.*

(s) *This Fault has been mended in the Dutch Edition.*

very uneaſie. It was neceſſary to conceal her Crime, and ſhe could find no better way of doing it, than by Poyſoning *Mithridates*. She was preparing for it, but one of her Servant-Maids betray'd her, and revealed the Myſtery. *Mithridates* did not heſitate to put ſuch a Wife to Death [a]. A Modern Author [b] falſly ſays, that this Monarch was actually poyſon'd by his Wife; but that being accuſtomed to his Antidote, he recovered, tho' difficultly. Thoſe who are perplex'd with *Juſtin*'s Saying, that *Laudice* had (F) lain in, in her Husband's Abſence, raiſe needleſs Difficulties. I have ſpoken elſewhere [c] of another LAUDICE, Siſter to this, and ſtill more wicked than ſhe. *Juſtin* is wrongfully ſaid (G) to contradict himſelf in ſpeaking of theſe two Women.

LAUNOI (*Matthew de*) one of the moſt violent *Leaguers* in *France*, had been many Years Miniſter of the Reformed Church; but having committed Adultery, and deſpairing of a Relaxation of the Diſcipline on his Behalf, he returned to the Communion of *Rome*. I dare not affirm, what I have read in great Authors, that he was a Prieſt (A) when he turned Proteſtant; but if he was not then, he became one after he had renounced the Proteſtant Religion. Though he had been moſt ignominiouſly diſgraced (B) at *Sedan*, for his Adultery, he was received with open Arms by the Catholicks. They made [d] Gatherings for him; they gave him a Canonſhip in the Cathedral of *Soiſſons*, and made him Curate of St. *Mederic* at *Paris* [e]. He uſed his Tongue, his Pen, and all his Induſtry [f] to foment the Rebellion of the *Pariſians*; and made himſelf ſo conſiderable in the horrible Faction of the Sixteen, that he (C) preſided in all the Aſſemblies that were held to put to Death *Barnabas Briſſon*, Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*. If he had not ſuddenly eſcaped, he had kept Company to thoſe whom the Duke of *Mayenne* cauſed to be hanged for having promoted the Death of that Great Man [g]. He retired into *Flanders* [h], where I believe he

[a] Taken from Juſtin, lib. 37. c. 3. p. m. 544.
[b] Chriſt. Matthias, theatr. hiſtor. pag. m. 28.
[c] In the Article Cappadocia.
[d] Memoires de la Ligue tom. 6. p. 449. The other Hiſtorians do not ſay that he was made Curate of that Pariſh.
[e] Memoires de la Ligue, ib.
[f] Thuanus, lib. 95. pag. 280.
[g] Cayet, Chronologie Novenaire, ad ann. 1591.
[h] Ibid.

(F) *That* Laudice *had lain-in in her Husband's Abſence.*] *Mithridates* could not be offended at it; the Computation of the time permitted him to pretend, that he was the Father of the Boy, whom *Laudice* was delivered of in his Abſence. What makes me ſay ſo is, that *Juſtin* obſerves, that this Prince was (*a*) congratulated, both for his Return, and for the Birth of a Son. No Body durſt have wiſhed him Joy for a Shameful and undoubted Proof of his Cuckoldom. What was it then that made *Laudice* ſo uneaſie? Probably ſhe was with Child, or afraid of being ſo, having lain with her Gallants after her Lying-in. Thus you ſee the reaſon, why to conceal her Adulteries, ſhe endeavoured to deſtroy her Husband. (*b*) *Laudice* ——— *cum periſſe eum crederet, in concubitus amicorum projecta, quaſi admiſſum facinus majore ſcelere tegere poſſet, venenum adventi paravit.*

(G) Juſtin *is wrongfully ſaid to contradict himſelf.*] *Freinſhemius* charges him with it, or with prodigiouſly confounding Hiſtory. (*c*) *Aut contradicit ſibi auctor, aut hiſtoriam miſce confundit.* His Reaſon is, that *Juſtin* relates in other Places: 1. That (*d*) *Laudice*, the Widow of *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, was killed by her Subjects, for poiſoning Five of her Children. 2. That (*e*) *Laudice*, *Ariarathes*'s Widow, married *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, whilſt her Brother *Mithridates* was preparing to ſuccour her againſt the ſame *Nicomedes*, Uſurper of *Cappadocia*, to the Prejudice of *Ariarathes*, Son of the deceaſed King. The reaſon of this Accuſation of *Freinſhemius* is of no Force; for *Juſtin* ſpeaks of two *Laudice*'s Queens of *Cappadocia*. The firſt had married one *Ariarathes*, who died in the War of *Ariſtonicus*, about the 622d. Year of *Rome*. The ſecond was Siſter to *Mithridates*, and Wife of *Ariarathes*, who ſucceeded the other. There is therefore neither Contradiction, nor Confuſion in this Account. Note, that *Juſtin* is cenſured for things, in which he is right, and is not blamed for many matters of Fact, which he falſifies. The Commentator, *in uſum Delphni*, has renewed *Freinſhemius*'s Accuſation.

(*a*) Inter gratulationem adventûs ſui, & filii geniti. *Juſtin. lib.* 37. *c.* 3.
(*b*) *Id. ib.*
(*c*) *Freinſhemius in Juſtinum lib.* 38. *c.* 1. *pag.* 548.
(*d*) *Juſtin. lib.* 37. *c.* 1.
(*e*) *Id. lib.* 38. *c.* 1.

(*A*) *That he was a Prieſt when he turned Proteſtant.*] *Thuanus* affirms it. *Matthæus Launæus*, ſays he (*f*), *ſacri Sueſſionum collegii Sodalis, olim ſacerdos, & poſtea ejerata majorum religione doctrinam proteſtantium amplexus, paſtoriſque officio diu inter eos functus, uxore etiam ducta, cujus cum propter egeſtatem ætate jam inclinata tæderet, errore revocato ad nos redierat, ſed incerta fide, quam mox ut ſe vere Catholicum approbaret, factioſis addixit.* The ſame thing is repeated in the 95th. Book (*g*), with a very conſiderable Addition; for that Hiſtorian reckoning up the Reaſons, which induced this Man to leave the Proteſtants, does not forget the Puniſhment which he had to fear, being convicted of Adultery. He returned into the Pale of the Church, ſays *Thuanus*; whether he repented of his Errors, or was weary of his Wife, or feared the Puniſhment which the Proteſtants inflict on thoſe who are convicted of Adultery. (*h*) *Ruſſus ſeu pœnitentia ductus, ſive uxoris pertæſus, & adulterii pœnam, cujus convictus fuerat, metuens, ad ſacerdotium relicta uxore redierat.* I ſhall ſet down hereafter another Paſſage, wherein *Thuanus* repeats part of theſe Things. I omit theſe Words of *Du-Verdier Vau-Privas*. 'Matthew de Launoy, firſt 'of all a Prieſt, afterwards a Miniſter of the pretended Reformed Religion, is now returned into the Pale 'of the Chriſtian and Chatholick Church. *Thuanus*'s Authority is ſufficient to prove what I advance. Let us ſee, whether one may doubt that *Matthew de Launoi* was a Prieſt when he turned Proteſtant. If I doubt of it, I build upon the Silence that he kept upon an Occaſion, where it ſeems he ſhould have mentioned his Prieſtood. 'I omit, *ſays he* (*k*), 'what they ſay of my Calling, before they drew 'me out of the Boſom of the Chriſtian and Catho'lick Church, and of my leaving my former Im'ployment. For I have always been in publick Bu'ſineſs and Authority ever ſince I performed my 'Studies; and notwithſtanding my Youth, which 'was far from Maturity, I behaved my ſelf with 'Praiſe and Honour, to the Content of thoſe with 'whom I had to do, till ſome Miniſters and others 'of their Sect perplexed my Head with their Illu'ſions and Dreams. And the eſteem they had for 'me was ſuch, that aſſoon as I was liſted in their 'Party in the Year 1560, they forced me to accept 'of an Employment among them, in which they 'were ſo haſty, as not to give me any time to 'conſider of it, they were ſo affraid of loſing me. 'Nay, they obliged me to make but one Probation 'Sermon; and moreover, aſſoon as they ſaw me 'enter upon the Subject, being contented with the 'beginning of my Sermon, they ordered me to 'ceaſe, and admitted me amongſt 'em, to ſend me 'into *Champagne*.

(*f*) *Thuan. hiſtor. l.* 86. *p.* 112. *Anno* 1587. *vide etiam Maimbourg. Hiſt. de la Ligue. l.* 1. *pag.* 65.
(*g*) *Pag.* 280. *ad ann.* 1588.

(*B*) *Had been moſt ignominiouſly diſgraced.*] The Memoirs of the League (*l*) import, that being convicted of having *got a Couſin of his with Child* at *Sedan*, where he was Miniſter, *he was hanged there in Effigie.*

(*h*) *Thuan. ibid.*
(*i*) *Bibliotheque Françoiſe, pag.* 860.
(*k*) *Defenſe de Matthieu de Launoi & d'Henri Perpetier —— contre les fauſſes accuſations & perverſes calomnies des Miniſtres de Paris, Sedan & autres, pag.* 43. 44. *That Book was printed at* Paris, *for* John du-Carroi, *in* 1577, *in* 8.

(*l*) *Tome* 6. *pag.* 351.

(C) *He preſided in all the Aſſemblies.*] See the *Novenaire Chronologie* (*m*) of *Peter Victor Cayet*, where you'll find more Particulars than in theſe Words of *Thuanus*, which are ſufficient to my Purpoſe: (*n*) *Matthæus Launæus qui olim Presbyter, poſtea ejerata majorum religione Miniſter uxorem duxerat, ejuſque pertæſus adſcera redierat —— principem locum in iis conciliabulis ſemper tenuit.*

(*m*) *Tom.* 1. *fol.* 508. *& ſeq. ad. ann.* 1591.
(*n*) *Thuan. lib.* 102. *p.* 443. *ad ann.* 1591.

(D) One

he ſpent the reſt of his Days. He publiſhed ſome Books of Controverſie, and one amongſt others (*D*) concerning the Motives of his Change, and an Anſwer to the Calumnies, he pretended the Miniſters had ſpread againſt him. He is very weak in his Anſwer (*E*) to the Accuſation of Adultery; and as his Conduct in the Time of the League

(*D*) *One amongſt others concerning the Motives of his Change.*] It is intitled, 'The Declaration and 'Confutation of the falſe Suppoſitions and wrong 'Applications of ſome Texts of the Holy Scriptures, which the Miniſters make uſe of in theſe 'laſt Times to divide *Chriſtendom*; with an Exhortation to the ſaid Miniſters, to reunite themſelves, 'and to bring their Auditors to the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and *Roman* Church, from which they 'ſhould not have ſeparated——by *Matthew de* 'Launoi, and *Henry Penetier*, late Miniſters of the 'pretended Reformed Religion, and at preſent returned into the Pale of the Chriſtian Catholick 'Church: the whole put into Order, and digeſted 'into three Books, by the ſaid *de Launoi*. The Epiſtle Dedicatory (*a*) to King *Henry* III. tells us, that theſe two Miniſters met in the Burrough of *Guines*, in the Re-conquered Country, the firſt of *June* 1576. Pennetier *being returned thither from* England *ſometime before, and the other being newly come from* Holland. 'Twas time, ſay they, that they prepared that Book, and reſolved to make an open Abjuration of their Hereſie.

(*a*) *It is dated from* Paris *the* 20*th. of* September, 1577.

(*E*) *He is very weak in his Anſwer to the Accuſation of Adultery.*] He owned himſelf (*b*) to be a *frail Man, and liable to fall into that Sin.* He does not confeſs the Fault he is accuſed of, but he alledges in his Juſtification, only ſome little Cavils. 'My 'Accuſers, *ſays he* (*c*), are out as to the time for want 'of a good Memory; for in 1574, I was in *Holland*. 'They involve themſelves in many Variations, *adds* 'he, ſaying it was a Maid, who had been intruſted 'with me, by People of Honeſty, and fearing God; 'and afterwards they ſay, ſhe was a Servant-Maid. 'Now there's a great deal of Difference between the 'one and the other. For when a young Woman 'is given in Truſt, this preſuppoſes ſhe is of a good 'Family, and has wherewithal to live; ſo that ſhe 'does not become a Servant-Maid of Six or Seven 'Livres a Year. Beſides, they had a mind to aggravate this pretended Fact: For it were a greater 'Crime to corrupt a young Woman of a good Family, intruſted to ones Keeping, than if it was a 'meer Servant-Maid, who hires her ſelf for Wages, to ſerve and ſtay as long as her Service is liked. This is but a ſorry Defence: I have cited an Author (*d*) above, who ſays that *Launoi* got his own Couſin with Child. 'Twas probably a young Woman that was ſent to him during the Perſecutions of *France*, when many Proteſtants fled to *Sedan*. Now as *Launoi* was not very rich, and his Refugee had not perhaps wherewithal to pay for her Board, 'tis probable enough that by reaſon of her Domeſtick Services, ſhe was to him inſtead of a Servant-Maid; and ſo without any Contradiction, ſome might ſay, that he had lain with his Servant-Maid: and others that he had lain with a young Woman, that was intruſted to his Keeping.

(*b*) *Defenſe de Matthieu de Launoi pag.* 45.

(*c*) *Ibid. pag.* 47.

(*d*) *In the Remonſt.*

Here's another pretended Contradiction. (*e*) 'They ſay, that being convicted of the Fact before 'the Conſiſtory, I confeſs'd it to three or four of 'them; they are uncertain as to the Number. But 'they don't ſay how I was convicted. It was not, 'adds he (*f*), by being ſurprized in the Fact, by 'the Judge himſelf, attended with his Serjeants, 'and others of his Retinue. It was not by unexceptionable Witneſſes, for People don't call Witneſſes on ſuch Occaſions. It was not by a violent 'Preſumption; for if they had had any, they would 'have been very defective, according to their own 'Diſcipline. A Preſumption is grounded either upon the too great Familiarity of the Parties, or 'upon the Maids being with Child. If they grounded their Preſumption upon Familiarity, they 'ſhould have given us Notice of it, in order to preſerve us by good Remonſtrances from falling into 'Sin: So that they would be greatly to blame, for 'having ſuffer'd the thing to run on, without interpoſing by a Brotherly Charity, or requiſite Cenſures. If they grounded their Preſumption upon 'the Maids being with Child, it is not ſufficient to 'accuſe me, much leſs to condemn me. It would 'be a fine Law, if a Servant-Maid ſhould commit a 'Folly in her Maſter's Houſe, and was got with 'Child, that the Maſter ſhould be charged with 'it. What reaſon is there for that? Fathers and 'Mothers cannot ſometimes preſerve their own 'Daughters, though they keep 'em cloſe. How 'then ſhould a Maſter be accountable for the big 'Belly of a Servant Maid, whom he can't always 'have under his Eye? It were much better to be 'ones own Servant. Such a Preſumption therefore 'is of no Force. But when they ſaw that young 'Maid of a good Family, big-bellied, as they ſay, they 'ſhould have ſent for and examined her, to know 'the whole matter, and then they had known the 'Truth. But they forgot to do it; and therefore 'they can't alledge a Preſumption, without condemning themſelves. And after all, it would be of no 'Force. It were eaſie to ſhew the Weakneſs of this Defence, would one be at the Pains; but the thing not deſerving it, I only ſay, that though he had put this Girl out of the way, one might have had convincing Proofs of her being with Child; ſo that he could take no Advantage of her not being confronted and interrogated.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) *Ibid. pag.* 48.

The following pretended Contradiction ſignifies no more than the former. (*g*) 'They ſay, that I have 'been convicted before their Conſiſtory, which according to them, was compoſed of Seventeen Miniſters, and Thirteen Elders, which make Thirty 'Perſons. Now they maintain, that I was convicted by that Confeſſion, which, ſay they, I made 'before three or four: It was not therefore their 'Conſiſtory; for there would be Twenty ſix or 'Twenty ſeven Perſons wanting. A vain and childiſh Cavil. It was not pretended that he had confeſs'd his Fault before all the Conſiſtory, but that without confeſſing it before that Aſſembly, it had been proved upon him; and it was added, that he had confeſs'd the Charge in Particular to three or four Perſons.

(*g*) *Ibid. pag.* 50.

He complains (*h*) 'that they equally condemned them both of Adultery, and to the ſame 'Penalties. Now an Adultery, as it is diſtinguiſhed from Fornication, is committed between, or by 'married Perſons; and yet they ſay, ſhe was a 'Maid; ſhe did not therefore commit Adultery in 'that Senſe. This is a pitiful Argument; for to commit Adultery, properly ſpeaking, there is no need that both the Parties ſhould be married, it ſuffices that one of 'em be ſo.

(*h*) *Ibid. pag.* 50.

The laſt thing he objects, is the reſpect of Perſons (*i*): He pretends they had great Indulgence for the like Faults; he names the Perſons and Places; and whether he was willing to find a greater Conformity between the Crime he was accuſed of, and that whereof he accuſed ſome of his Brethren, or whether he had ſome other Reaſons, ſome Servant-Maids appear moſt Times in his Recriminations. He names a Miniſter, whoſe Name was prefixed to ſome fine Books, and who was called in *Holland* the *School Predicant* (*k*): If we may believe him, this handſome Preacher made himſelf formidable to his Landladies, for his Attempts upon their Maids, and admirably made uſe of the Maxim of a *Roman* Poet (*l*). I ſhall ſay in the following Remark, that *Launoi* was not an honeſt Man enough to prejudice thoſe whom he hindered.

(*i*) *Pag.* 51, 52.

(*k*) *That is, the Engliſh Miniſter.*

(*l*) Ne ſit ancilla tibi amica. *Horat. Epiſt.* 4. *lib.* 2. *Scribitur ad Quint. Fabium.*

Let us make a little Digreſſion. Either Clergymen ſhould be permitted to marry, or forbidden to keep young Servant-Maids; for the prodigious Commerce of Prieſts, which hath ſubſiſted the Papiſts for ſo many Ages, owes its Original to the Permiſſion of having Women about 'em, to manage their Houſe keeping. The Intention of the Canons was that they ſhould confine themſelves to the Service of a Servant-Maid; but they eaſily believ'd that themſelves to be perſuaded to have to do with other Perſons: The Function of a Confeſſor found ſo convenient to them in all Reſpects, that their Miniſters had not much trouble [illegible] Sin. Since *Luther*'s Reformation, the Proteſtant Clergy [illegible] their Servant-Maids, unleſs the [illegible] much ſuſpected to ſerve [illegible]. Every Body knows the Song, the Burthen whereof is, *Dites moi, Marie, &c. If you love me, Mary, &c.* That Prieſt that ſpoke [illegible] Confeſſion to a Woman, [illegible] lewd Rebuſe to ſay, which we dare not explain.

THAT the Prohibition of Marriage, and the Permiſſion [illegible] Maids, are two [illegible] Times

League made it appear that he was an ill Man, no Credit ought to be given to the Stories which he Publiſhed (*F*) againſt the Proteſtants. That which concerns two pretended Demoniacks is (*G*) the moſt Ridiculous.

LAUNOI (*John de*) in Latin *Launoius*, Doctor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Paris*, was Born in a little Village of *Normandy* near *Coutances*. He performed his Studies in Philoſophy and Divinity at *Paris* with ſo great ſucceſs, that he became a formidable Diſputant. He was admitted a Prieſt and Doctor of Divinity (*A*) in the year

againſt unmarried Churchmen, 'tis moſt commonly with Relation to their Maids, and the Reaſon of it is plain: the Temptations on both ſides, and the Occaſions of ſinning, are more eaſily and frequently to be met with: Hence it is doubtleſs, that the looſe Caluiſts do very much extenuate the Sin of a Maid got with Child by her Maſter. In former Times, the Word *Focaria* was taken in a good Senſe; it ſignified a Woman or a Maid, who ſerved in a Houſe, and dreſt her Maſter's Meat; but in Proceſs of time, it only ſignified (*a*) the Concubines of Clergymen: The reaſon was, that moſt of their Maids continued indeed to be their Cooks, but moreover they lay with their Maſters. Let us conclude, that in no Country whatſoever young unmarried Clergymen ſhould be allowed to keep young Servant-Maids.

(*a*) *See du Cange's Gloſſary at the word* focaria, *p.* 460. 470. *Edit. Pariſ.*

(*F*) *The Stories which he publiſhed againſt the Proteſtants.*] Tho' we ſhould paſs over the horrible Crimes he committed during the *League*, we ſhould have reaſon to look on him as an Impoſtor, with reſpect to many things he relates of the Miniſters, as being very remote from Probability. He (*b*) ſays, that the Miniſters who fled to *Neufchattel* in *Switzerland*, being reſolved to undo a young Man, who had preferred the Study of Phyſick before Divinity, accuſed him of many falſe Doctrines; but that one of the moſt famous amongſt them, oppoſed their Deſign: However, they ceaſed not to proſecute this Phyſician. (*c*) 'Some calling him a Sorcerer, others an Anabaptiſt, others an Atheiſt. Others told him, how dare you ſay, that you don't believe all the Doctrines of Mr. *Calvin*, by whoſe Mouth we all ſpeak? He anſwering, that *Calvin* was a Man ſubject to Error like others: They immediately cried out, O curſed Philoſophy! O execrable Blaſphemy! For to ſpeak againſt *Calvin's* Doctrine, and againſt the Intention and Will of thoſe venerable Doctors, is in their Opinion to ſpeak againſt God, and lye to the Holy Ghoſt; and they make no Conſcience of proſecuting a Man for it to Death, if they can catch him. What he makes theſe Miniſters ſay concerning *Calvin* (*d*) is ſo far from the Spirit and Maxims of the Reformed Church, and ſo inconſiſtent with their Style, that this alone is enough to convince us, that he forged the Slanders he publiſhed; and therefore it can be no Prejudice to the Memory of thoſe concerned, if I take the Liberty of inſerting here this ſorry Story. '(*e*) The eldeſt *Capel* had, a little before, plaid ſuch a mad Trick to a Lady of a good Family, who coming to *Sedan* upon Buſineſs, did not care to be known. Nevertheleſs, his great Curioſity made him ſo bold, as to uſe the Name and Authority of the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Bouillon*, to get into the Chamber of the ſaid Lady, and to ſee her. At the ſame time, he plaid another Trick, which ſhewed no leſs his Madneſs than a Scandalous and Lewd Deſire. For coming out of Church, moved with I know not what Devotion, he took a young Gentlewoman by the Arm, who was very Handſome and Modeſt, and of an Honourable Family, and deſired he might ſpeak a word with her: which being granted him, he told her in the Ear, Madam, being moved with the good Qualities I perceive in you, with your Beauty, and civil Behaviour, and eſpecially with your Wit, I take the boldneſs to make a requeſt to you; but I would not by any means be denied. The Lady anſwering him, that ſhe could grant nothing, before ſhe knew what he deſign'd to ask, he told her, I would beg of you to give me one hours Recreation with your Body: We can eaſily meet in a place, where there will be no Body but you and I. The poor Gentlewoman perfectly aſhamed and amazed at the inſtruction given her by this reformed Philoſopher, coming from Sermon, ran in haſte to her Mother, to whom ſhe declared the whole matter: Which the Mother by way of Complaint told me the ſame Day.

(*b*) *Defenſe de Matthieu de Launoi, p.* 38. *& ſeq.*

(*c*) *Ibid. p.* 42.

(*d*) *See alſo what he relates in the 2d. Book of his Declaration and Refutation, fol.* 136. *verſo.*

(*e*) *Defenſe, p.* 35. 36.

(*G*) *Two pretended Demoniacks is the moſt Ridiculous.*] Here is the Story in ſhort: *Matthew de Launoi* was a Celebrated Miniſter in 1562. Some Merchants of the *Low-Countries* heard him Preach with ſo much ſatisfaction at *Ai* in *Champagne*, that they kept him with 'em, as he was upon his Departure for *England*. They admired his Language and Diligence; for he often Preach'd ſix times in twenty four hours. They made him their Miniſter at *Tournai*. Whilſt he was there, it was reported that the Exorciſms of the Catholick Church had delivered ſeveral People poſſeſt by the Devil; which diſpleas'd the Calviniſts: They fear'd their Sect would be cried down, if their Miniſters had not the Gift of driving out Devils, which was Conſpicuous in the Apoſtles, and was ſtill to be ſeen among the Papiſts. They therefore ſuborn'd two Perſons, a Man and a Woman, and engag'd 'em to pretend to be Demoniacks, for a certain Sum, and a Penſion for Life. Theſe two Perſons plaid their part very well; and hereupon *Matthew de Launoi*, who knew nothing of this contrivance, was deſired to go and aſſiſt thoſe two Demoniacks; he went, and his Prayers and Sermons proved ſo effectual, that theſe two Demoniacks after a great many fetches, managed as they were directed, declared that the Devil was gone out of their Bodies. The Miracle was ſpread far and near, and procured *de Launoi* a prodigious Veneration. The Cheat was diſcover'd ſome time after; becauſe the two Perſons who had play'd that Farce, not recovering the promiſed Reward, Sued their Seducers. A Weaver, and a Roper acquainted *de Launoi* with this in *Holland* (*e*) in the year 1574. This was the Motive of his Converſion, if we believe the *Cordelier Sedulius*, who has inſerted this Story at length in his Anſwer (*f*) to the *Alcoran des Cordeliers* Printed in 1607. He ſays, that *Matthew de Launoi* (*g*) being ſtill Alive at *Bruſſels*, and writing many Books againſt the Calviniſts, could vouch the truth of it. *Spondanus* has inſerted the ſubſtance of this ſtory in his Annals (*h*). There is no need of ſhewing the impertinence of it; ſince every Body knows, that the Proteſtants decried all the Miracles of the paſt Ages, and maintained that they were not neceſſary for the juſtification of the Reformation. See, what I have ſaid in the Remark *R* of *Calvin's* Article.

(*e*) Non aque ſunt ecclæſiæ à Matthæo intellectæ, quam pecuniis non præſtitis litem movere debitoribus dæmoniaci cœperunt: totaque eſt ea fabula in Hollandia ad annum 1574. Matthæo à duobus, Chriſtiano de la Quennoi lerie textore lini, & Joanne Walle, qui chordis nectendis vitam ducere conſueſſet, commemorata. *Sedulius ubi infra, p.* 283.

(*f*) *Henr. Sedulius, Apologetic. adverſus Alcoranum Franciſcanorum p.* 280. *& ſeq. He quotes* Florentius vander Haer de initiis tumultuum Belgicorum.

(*g*) Vivit hodieque Matthæus Bruxellæ Principum urbe Brabantiæ, & multa adversus illos ſcribit, quibus mendacio pallente non poſſunt reſcribere. *Idem Sedulius ibid. p.* 283.

(*h*) *Ad annum* 1562. *n.* 50.

(*A*) *Prieſt and Doctor of Divinity in the year* 1636.] I don't follow *Moreri*, who affirms that *John de Launoi entered into Holy Orders in* 1634, *and took his Doctor's Degree in* June *the ſame year.* This is my reaſon for it. In the Elogy of this Doctor 'tis ſaid that he began his courſe of Divinity in 1633, and made ſuch a progreſs in it in two years, that no body exceeded him, and that he exceeded ſome Perſons of great Senſe and Learning. 'Tis added that he was promoted the following year to the Prieſthood, and to his Doctor of Divinity's Degree. *Studium Theologicum ingreſſus eſt anno trigeſimo tertio ſupra milleſimum & ſexcenteſimum, illudque biennio integro ita percurrit, ut multos ingenio & eruditione præſtantes vinceret, & à nemine vinceretur. Ad ordinem ſacerdotalem anno inſequenti, & ad Theologiæ Magiſterium evectus* (*i*). I ſuppos'd I was to place *that following year*, after the two years of his Study of Divinity, for if I had put it immediately after the year 1633. it would follow, that this Doctor had Studied Divinity one year as a Scholar, after he had been admitted Doctor. Yet I would not be preferr'd before *Moreri*; for the Author of the Elogy did not perhaps pretend to much exactneſs in theſe Chronological Punctilioes. Does he not ſay (*k*) that after *John de Launoi* had ſpent five or ſix years in the Study of Philoſophy and Scholaſtick Divinity, he began his Courſe of Divinity, and ſpent two years in it? Is this to expreſs ones ſelf according to the Laws of Ex-

(*i*) *Eloge Launoii p.* 2.

(*k*) *Ibid.*

year 1636. and he made no use of these two Characters to get (B) Money, and to beg Benefices; he only thought of improving in Learning; and to that effect, he continued his Application to his Studies with a prodigious Industry. He did not content himself with reading all sorts of Books; he frequented (C) the most Learned Divines to consult them upon all the difficulties he met with. He profited chiefly by the Conversation of Father (D) *Sirmond*. It was not for his own satisfaction, but for the use of the Publick, that he stor'd up such a vast Treasure of Learning; for there are very few Divines that have Publish'd (E) more Books than he. He boldly impugn'd (F) many false Traditions, and was one of the strongest supports of the Privileges of the Gallican Church. He carried his Criticisms as far as some Devout Practices; and

(a) Omnem ab incunabulis adolescentiæ curam operam cupiditatem, quam divinus vox flagitiorum finem appellat. Sed ad firmam ætatem cum pervenisset, paternam hæreditatem, parvam illam quidem, fratribus nepotibusque reliquit. *Ibid. p.* 3.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) Ad hæc animos sentire & cura peculi. Cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi Posse linenda cedro, & levi servanda cupresso. *Horat. de arte poet.*

(d) *Magna pars.*

(e) Quæ ille adeo retinuerunt, ut ne verbum quidem, quemadmodum à quibusdam fieri solet, mutarint, ne quid Dei beneficio intellexerat facibus effe homini Christiano bonis carere, quam iis recte uti. *Elog. Launoi p.* 35.

(f) *Ibid. p.* 36.

(g) *That is, the Executor of the Will.*

(h) Exilis domus est ubi non & multa supersunt & desunt multa. *Horat. Epist.* 6. *lib.* 1. *See what Horace says of* Lucullus *a little before.*

Exactness? But as negligent as he has been, I have prefer'd his Authority to that of *Moreri*.

(B) *To get Money, and to beg Benefices.*] This requires a Remark; it being so rare to find, even among Doctors of Divinity, some persons free from Avarice and Ambition, that when we meet with any one, the publick ought to know it. Such Examples ought to be consecrated: We ought carefully to do them the Justice that is due to them, it being a useful Lesson to the Publick; for it shews that Providence has not entirely given up Mankind to Corruption. I say then that *John de Launoi* (a) express'd from his younger years, a great indifference for the things of this World; which excellent dispositions did not change, when he grew older: for then he gave up to his Brothers and Nephews all his Pretentions to his Father's Estate; and would never hearken to the Advice of his Friends, putting him upon asking for Prebends and Livings. To put an end to their Officious Counsels, he declar'd to them that he was not qualified for Singing or Preaching, and that he would not furnish himself with the Wealth of the Church, whilst he could not do her good Services by the Functions of his Ministry. (b) *Monitus aliquando ab amicis, ut precibus prehendam ecclesiam vacantem, eo nomine petendæ apud eos, qui conferendæ illius munus incumbebat, respondi, se huic utrique officio parum aptum esse à natura, cùm per latera parum firma, perque vocem minimè canoram, neque verba apud populum facere, neque psalmos hymnosque decantare posset. Ingeniosius non nullis inde provenire non modicam copiam, qui suis commodis agerent, continuo regerebat, si hæc ita se haberet, proficere, rem ecclesiasticam ei, ut Ecclesia sibi optimus juris consultum existimat, ipse nullam Ecclesiæ, aut certè exiguam, Ministerio suo præstet, quod factum minimè fore videret, conquam iniquum rem. & inutilissimum.* We need not wonder that he became so Learned, since he applied himself to his Studies with a Mind free from Covetousness and Ambition. How many People would be very eminent in Learning, if the greedy desire of making their Fortune did not continually draw them from their Books? See what a Poet says (c) considering the Impediments of his Art.

I must not forget *John de Launoi's* Will. The Preface of it was worth consideration. After the (d) common Form, *in the name of the Father, &c.* there was, *I shall quickly make an end of this Will, for I have but a small Estate.* Mr. *Moreri* did not say all; there was also the reason why the Testator left no great Estate: *viz.* that God had given him to understand that it was much harder for a Christian to use Riches well, than to want them (e). This is remarkable; Mr. *de Launoi* left more Money than he thought would be found with him: An evident sign of his little concern for Riches. He was not at the pains of counting his Money: and sometimes he forgot where he had laid it. (f) *Certum illum* (g) *fecit Launoius, plus annos se post obitum signata pecunia reperturum ibi, quàm præsentis legatis requireretur; & revera longè plus reperturn est, plusque quam Launoius ipse reperturn se crederet. Sed id tantum abest ut ei vitio verti possit; quin potius laudi duci debet, cùm illud omne quantumcunque fuerit, non avara manus asservasset usquam, sed contemptor opum animus domi projectum oblivioni penè dedisset.* We have here a Proof that indifference for Riches, and a violent thirst after them, may produce the same effect: For there are some Misers who hoard up so much Wealth, that they know not the extent of it (h).

(C) *He frequented the most learned Divines.*] Nor was he contented with that; but he consulted, by way of Letters, the learned Men who lived in the Provinces of *France*, or in Foreign Countries (i), and when he went to *Rome* it was not to see the Curiosities, but to get acquaintance with learned Men. Those he most convers'd with there, (k) were *Lucas Holstenius*, and *Leo Allatius*. (l) *Ter, cum infesto in Italiam, non quicquam ut fane optaret & mallet, non ut urbes inspiceret, non ut viros eruditione insignes, non ut monumenta, novissimè ex Græcia advecta, sed ut conferendum consilium suum.*

(D) *By the conversation of Father Sirmond.*] He went to propose his doubts to him; and never answer'd with Heat and Clamour. The contentious way of Discourse, and the Sophisms common among the Learned was not to the Taste of that Jesuit. (m) *Sapientissimum, de rebus omnibus, de quibus mecum conferebat, temperantem judicium, perspicuum & ordinatum, nullis unquam senex, mentem suam* [illegible] *cum effert ab omni affectu, & ab omni studio partium, facultatemque animus, ac rationem cæterorum, lectique ad id aptissimi præbent patiam, quibus innixus ad veritatem.* [illegible] Friend the Authorities of the Fathers, upon which he grounded his Opinions, [illegible] Launoi examin'd them with great Exactness, [illegible] with Father *Sirmond*, who [illegible] him Discontentment about Matters, A [illegible] *At first I* [illegible] *but at present* [illegible] (n). No Jesuit [illegible] *de Launoi* was [illegible] *Cum nullum hactenus* [illegible] *quosdam Asiaticos* [illegible] *cum è portu solvere, eodem* [illegible] *Latio annuus, ut vix* [illegible] *quam fili* (o). Let us add this [illegible] Father *Sirmond* [illegible] that when he heard him [illegible] good, he was not without a Book (p).

(E) *More Books than he.*] See the [illegible] them in the History [illegible] *Navarre* in 1677. His Bookseller [illegible] lish'd it by itself. Here's a [illegible] methinks, deserves a place here. [illegible] the Book which he was [illegible] it was that he took [illegible] Testimony he has given [illegible] Gratitude to that College of the [illegible] he consider'd as his Mother. Or whether [illegible] not altogether intended to the [illegible] all his own Works particularized in this [illegible] For he has inserted in the Catalogue of [illegible] Writings, which he was willing to do himself, [illegible] well to make it more exact, as more easily to explain the Titles, and Subjects of his smallest Books and of all his Letters in particular, wisely preferring, that any Body else would be easily discouraged with their great number, and the large Ampliation of their Titles (q).

(F) *He boldly impugn'd many false Traditions.*] As, the arrival of *Lazarus* and *Magdalen* in [illegible] the pettie-ship of *Darsena* the [illegible] *Gaul*; the Came of the Kneel [illegible] Founder of the Carthusians; the Vision of *Simon Stock*; the Privileges of the Sabbatine Bull. [illegible] whole interest it was to maintain those Opinions, made terrible out-cries against him. He was with them a Destroyer of Religion. *Ordinem posset quantamcunque sustinere, si reperiret; quam non tradition[illegible] licet unius aut alterius neque ad eorum propinquos, eoque minus ad reipsæ ad eorum Ecclesiæ sanctos fuere relatas, ex temporibus [illegible] tarum quibusdam quæ expungenda censeret, quæve illa credulæ plebi non [illegible] suadenda; quæve illa credula plebi non [illegible]*

(i) *Elog. p.* [illegible]

(k) *Ibid. p.* [illegible]

(l) *Ibid. p.* [illegible]

(m) *Ibid. p.* [illegible]

(n) *Ibid. p.* [illegible]

(o) *Ibid. p.* [illegible]

(p) *Elog. Launoi p.* 19.

and ſome Saints would have been ſtruck out of the Calendar, if his Arguments had been minded. 'Tis worth while to ſee what *Guy Patin* ſaid (G) upon it. 'Twas a favourable

aliquo commodo ſuo ingerebant, eas ſibi eripi agre patiebantur, nec qui id tentaſſet minus incuſabant, quam ſi firmiſſima religionis fundamenta convellere decreviſſet. Without being moved with their Clamours, he went on ſtill and undeceived not only, the Learn'd, but alſo ſome of the Vulgar. *Vicit tamen inexpugnabili conſtantiâ Launoius hominum imperitorum, & malè feriatorum importunas inofficioſaſq; querelas, & fabulas eorum fabellas ita revicit, ut nullum jam patronum inveniant inter eos, qui aliquâ curâ veritatem indagant, multò pauciores quàm antea apud vulgum, & apud eos qui ne literas quidem norunt* (a). He vigorouſly attack'd the Monks in two other Points; for (b) he ſhew'd the falſity of the pretended Privileges, by Virtue whereof they refus'd to acknowledge the Juriſdiction of Biſhops; and he expos'd the vanity of the Arguments they alledg'd to Appropriate to themſelves the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament of Penitence. Here follows what the Abbot *de Marolles* ſaid of him. 'He 'found the Art of diſcovering the moſt hidden 'Truths: And the lovers of them are as much 'oblig'd to him for it, as thoſe that are unqualified 'to diſcover or value them, think they have reaſon 'to complain of him, for having made ſo glorious 'Conqueſts. However they have nothing to re'proach him with: And it has not hitherto been 'poſſible for his Adverſaries to convict him of the 'leaſt falſhood, or of one falſe Inference from the 'Teſtimonies of the Writers concerning the points 'he has examin'd. 'Tis true, that what we have 'ſeen of him, is inconſiderable in compariſon of 'what we ought to expect; applying himſelf as he 'does to a very ſerious Study upon important Sub'jects: But the moſt Learned will always benefit 'themſelves by the reading of his Works, by reaſon 'of his Method, or the certain Knowledge of things, 'for which the pure Church will have no leſs 'reaſon to Glory, than infamous Superſtition to be 'vexed at it (c).

(G) *What* Guy Patin *ſaid upon it.*] (d) 'I 'give you notice, that I have delivered a little Pack'et to a young Man of *Lyons*—— You'll find in it, 'amongſt others, M. *de Launoi*'s Book, wherein he un'dertakes to prove, that there was never ſuch a 'Man as *Renatus*, nor any Biſhop of *Angers* of that 'Name. 'Tis the ſame who has writ againſt *Dio'nyſius* the *Areopagite*, ſaying that he never came into 'France; and againſt the Scapulary of the *Carmelites*, 'againſt *Magdalene*, pretending too, that ſhe never 'came into *France*. He is a Doctor of Divinity, a 'Norman, a Man of a mean Look, but learned, 'and eſpecially in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. There are 'ſome here who call him a damn'd Soul, ſaying 'that he ought to be avoided, that he turns every 'year a Saint out of Paradiſe, and that 'tis to be 'fear'd at laſt, he will ſerve God himſelf ſo. Yet 'hitherto no Body has anſwer'd him. One of his 'Friends told me that he had been a long time Pen'ſioner (e) of the Jeſuits, who made uſe of him 'to approve their Books; but that at laſt, they had 'parted with him, becauſe he refuſed to give his 'Approbation to a new Doctrine they had a mind 'to Publiſh. What follows, is curious; I take it from Mr. *Menage*. (f) *Mr.* de Launoi, *Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of* Paris *pretended that many of our Saints had never Exiſted. Which occaſioned Mr.* Feramus *to ſay of him* (i),

Tu quoque, Launoï, veri indagator & index,
Addita qui ſaſtis Numina falſa docet.

I made this Greek Epigram upon it,

Τὸν Λαυνοῖον ἐφὴς, τὸν εὑρετὴν Θεμιτῶνων
Πῖφι, πόθεν πλήγὰν ἀπὸ βόλα Ζηνὸς ἔπεσεν.

They ſay this laſt Verſe is taken out of Homer, *ſpeaking of* Jupiter *who Kick'd* Vulcan *out of Heaven. But that very thing makes the beauty of my Epigram; it would be Ridiculous, were this Verſe my own: And I dare ſay it is very fine by reaſon of that Application, for which Mr.* Daille *the Father, a Man well vers'd in* Homer, *has often Congratulated me.* The Abbot *Faydit* has not obſerv'd that it is only the laſt Verſe that is *Homer's*; he has quoted part of the firſt, as if it was to be found in the Iliad; and which is worſe, he pretends that *Jupiter* turned out all the Riff-raff of the Gods. 'His Words are theſe: '(g) *Rome* could not without In'dignation hear that Mr. *de Launoi*, as learned as 'he was, ſhould Uncanonize five or ſix unknown 'Saints, who in the times of Ignorance were in'troduc'd into the Breviary; and that like *Homer's* 'Jupiter (who turn'd out all the Rabble of the Gods, 'with one Kick on the Breech, diſpatching them 'from Heaven to Earth) this Doctor ſhould with 'one daſh of his Pen diſlodge from the Throne of 'Glory ſome Saints that *Rome* had over-eaſily plac'd 'there.

'(h) Ὁ πρῶτα ἁμαρτὼν
'Πῖφι, πόθεν πλήγὰν ἀπὸ βόλα Θερσίτεω.

'She has cried out againſt this Attempt; as a moſt 'horrid Sacrilege. She has put his Books into 'the Inquiſition, not being able to drag the Au'thor thither. She has decried him as a Man of a 'ſuſpected Faith, and an Enemy to the Saints. 'Tis certain that *Homer* (i) ſays no more than this, that *Jupiter* taking *Vulcan* by the Foot, threw him down from Heaven. If Mr *Menage* ſaid in Converſation the ſame thing as the Abbot *Faydit*, we muſt conclude from it, that he did not look ſo narrowly into it, as when he had Pen in Hand for the Publick, or that he flouriſh'd that Adventure in order to make it more agreeable, and more capable of the Parallel. However it be, here is a Paſſage out of the Continuation of the *Menagiana*, wherein *Homer* is made to ſay what he has not ſaid. '(k) Mr. 'Godefroy the Hiſtoriographer going abroad very 'early in the Morning the firſt day of the year, met 'in *Harp-ſtreet* Mr. *de Launoi*, who was going to 'the *Sorbonne*. He accoſted him, and embracing 'him, ſaid: Good Morrow and a good new 'Year to you, Sir; What Saint will you diſplace 'from Heaven this year? Mr. *de Launoi*, ſurpriz'd 'at this Queſtion, anſwer'd him; I diſplace no 'true Saints from Heaven whom God and their 'Merit have plac'd there; but ſuch as the Ignorance 'and Superſtition of the People have undeſervedly in'troduc'd into it, and without the Approbation of God 'and learned Men. This Anſwer was the occaſion of 'the Epigram I made upon M. *de Launoi*, wherein I 'compare him to *Jupiter* in *Homer*, who clear'd Hea'ven of all the Rabble of the falſe Gods, who had 'crept in amongſt the true ones, and who giving 'them a Kick, threw them Headlong from the 'Throne, and from the Stars into the Earth (l).

Did I not fear to make too many Digreſſions, I would ſay that it were to be wiſh'd that many learned Men were ſuffer'd to do what Mr. *de Launoi* did. The ſham Saints are no leſs Multiplied than thoſe who falſly pretend to Nobility; ſo that as Princes from time to time ſend out an Inqueſt, in order to reduce the Uſurpers of Quality to the State of Plebeians, the Clergy ſhould appoint ſome Commiſſioners, to Examine the Titles and Patents of Sainthip. If the Troops of the Church Triumphant ſhould come to a Muſter before good Commiſſaries, they would find many *Fagots*, not amongſt the Soldiers but amongſt the great Officers, I mean the Saints that are invok'd. The Calendar wants more to be Reform'd on that account, than with reſpect to the Preceſſion of the Equinoxes: And whereas a bare Defalcation of ten Days was ſufficient for this laſt Reformation, the other would require the leaving out of hundreds and thouſands. 'Tis a long time ſince the year cannot afford a Day for every Saint; they muſt be heap'd one upon a nother in the ſame [illegible]; and now we may ſay with Juvenal,

Nec turba deorum
Talis ut eſt hodie, contentaque ſidera paucis
Numinibus miſerum urgebant Atlanta minori
Pondere (m).

How many Senators ſhould we find in the Celeſtial Court (n) *vitio creati*, ſhould we proceed rigorouſly? See how many Volumes the *Acta ſanctorum*

(a) *Ibid.* (b) *See his Elogy à p.* 10. *uſque ad p.* 18.

(c) *The Abbot* de Marolles, *Memoires, p.* 160. *See alſo his Catalogue of the Authors, who preſented him with their Books, voce* Launoi.

(d) *Patin, Letter* 49. *p.* 207. *of the* 1. *Tom. 'Tis Dated the* 18. *of* November 1650. *See alſo the* 151. *Letter, p.* 594. *of the ſame Tome.*

(e) *There is no probability that he ever was their Penſioner.*

(f) *Menage, Anti-Baillet. Tom.* 2. *p.* 216.

(i) *In his Elegy upon the Death of M.* Du Puy.

(g) *Extract d'un Sermon prêché le jour de St. Polycarpe p.* 296.

(h) *All the Faults that are in this Greek, are probably Faults of the Preſs.*

(i) *Homer. Iliad. l.* 1. *v.* 591. *There is in the* 15. *Book of the Iliad a Paſſage, which might ſeem to be more favourable to the Abbot* Faydit, *but at the bottom it is not.*

(k) *Suite du Menagiana p.* 293. 294. Dutch *Edit.*

(l) *The Greek Diſtich follows here in the continuation of the Menagiana, with ſome Faults probably of the Printers.*

(m) *Juven. Sat.* 13. *v.* 46.

(n) *See the* Valeſiana *p.* 48. 49. Dutch *Edit.*

favourable Subject for the Jovial Humour of this Phyſician, and it afforded many (G) pleaſant Stories. It was a difficult thing for this learned Divine to write ſo many Volumes againſt the Maxims (H) of the Pope's Flatterers, and the Superſtitions, and pretended Immunities of the Monks, without creating himſelf many Enemies. He experienc'd in his latter years that he had offended a conſiderable Party. He

(a) *It was printed at* Antwerp *in* 1696. *in* 4.

(b) Beſſario Cardinalis cum inter Dives inepta quadam [illegible] Romæ quam plurimos referri videret quorum vitam improbaret, ſe valde dubitare dixit utrum verè eſſent quæ ab antiquis prodita fuerunt. *Bodinus meth. hiſt. c. 4. p. m.* 72. *See in the Remark D. of the Article* Bellai (William) *the Application that has been made of thoſe Words of* Beſſarion.

(c) *In the Rem. P. towards the end.*

(d) *Michael Renigerus de Pii Quinti & Gregorii XIII. favoribus contra Eliſabetham Angliæ Reginam, Cap. XIII. fol.* 108. *Edit. London,* 1582.

(1) *Paul. Wan. Sermone de omnibus ſanctis.*

(e) *Id. Reiger, ib.*

(2) *Guil. Durand. rubrica de feſtorum ritu San-ctorum, l.* 7.

(f) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres Jan. 1687. p. 76.

(g) *Tutæ viæ ad majorem Cautelam. (h) Joſſelom. Homil.* 38. *in Act. Apoſtol. See ſeveral other Paſſages in* Meſnilius's *Treatiſe* De Purgatorio, p. 42, &c.

rum already amount to: One might apply to them this common Diſtich †:

Scriptorum gigantea quorum ſub pondere mollis
Triſtior Encelado bibliopola gemit.

Let this be ſaid, without Prejudice to the Eſteem that is due to their learned Compilations.

Nay, I muſt ſay to their Honour, that they reject a great many Fables, and that their Sincerity daily expoſes them to the ſame Complaints that were made againſt Mr. *de Launoi*. See Father *Papebroch's* Anſwer (a) to the *exhibitio errorum* of *Sebaſtian de St. Paul*, a *Carmelite*; you'll there find, that this Jeſuit has ſtruck many Intruders out of the Calendar, and that with very ſolid Reaſons. Theſe Intruders are not Saints of a Modern Date; but are very ancient: Cardinal *Beſſarion* (b) ſeeing at *Rome* the Canonization of ſome Perſons, whoſe Life he did not approve, cried out, that theſe new Saints made him call in queſtion the old Ones: *Affe che queſti ſanti moderni mi fanno aſſai dubitare delli paſſati*: but we may ſay, that there is infinitely more certainty in the Modern Saints, than in many of the Ancients. We can't doubt but the former lived on Earth; and we have almoſt demonſtrative Proofs, that the latter never did. An ingenious Man ſaid theſe other Day, in good Company, that if he was to addreſs to the Saints, he had rather chooſe the New Comers, *Capiſtran* for Inſtance, or *Thomas de Villeneuve*, than *St Catherine*, or *St. Alexis*. See the Remark of the Article *Rizi Joſeph*. You ſhall ſee (c) hereafter, that the Work of the Jeſuit *Papebroch* has dupleaded the Inquiſition.

A Canon of *Piſaw*, a good Preacher, and Profeſſor of Divinity in the XVth. Century, ſaid in one of his Sermons, that if there were as many Holy-Days as Minutes, the Year would not afford a Feaſt for each Saint, and he quotes *Durandus* Biſhop of *Mende*, who obſerves, that there are above Five Thouſand Saints for every Day. (d) *Tanta* (inquit ille 1) *eſt Sanctorum numeroſitas, quod totum tempus anni non ſufficeret etiam ſi ſingulis horis, etiam ſingulis minutis, agerentur feſtum unius Sancti; deinde Durandum citat. Quia ſicut dicit* (inquit) *Guilhelmus in rationali pro quolibet die pluſquam: quinque millia Sanctorum concurrerent.* The Author, who quotes the Sermon of this *German* Canon, adds, that *All-Saints* Day was appointed to ſupply the want of Days in the Year, and to prevent the Ill-will of thoſe Saints, who might be angry for having no Honour paid to them. (e) *Vigente quum Pontificiorum Divorum tanta illis Authoribus fere infinitio ſit, in Supplementum cultus Sanctorum excogitatum eſt. Quoniam humani Cultus illos appetentes eſſe ſomniant, & in ſuos cultores proclivos, ne omiſſis & præteritis Divis Stomachandi nulla conſit, quod ſuo cultu oriatur: ſic enim has minutis etiam & manipularibus Divis, & non ſolum Patriciis & majorum Gentium, hoc omnium Sanctorum feſto & ſupplemento ſatisfactum eſſe putant, atque hoc Guilhelmi illius Mimatenſis Epiſcopi eſt quaſi ſalutari hoc pharmaco omnium divorum repulſæ & offenſa illucari debeant. Durandi verba hæc ſunt.* (2) *Propter ipſorum inquit multitudinem de illis ſpecialiter non valemus; ergo ut antea Idem ait propter Omiſſorum (inquit) feſtorum ſupplectionem inſtitutum eſt feſtum omnium Sanctorum.* Thoſe who have made it their Buſineſs to draw Parallels, will not fail to remember, upon this occaſion, the Precaution of the *Athenians*, who conſecrated an Altar to the unknown Gods (f), becauſe they were afraid of neglecting the Worſhip of ſome revengeful Deities, whoſe Names and Qualities they were ignorant of. They thought they had lately ſuffered for it; ſo that to play a ſure Game (g), they reſolved to pay their Homage to thoſe very Deities which were unknown to them. This was the way to forget none of the Gods.

(G) *It afforded many pleaſant Stories.*] Here is one of Mr. *de l'Ignorant Marville*: 'Tis as good as that I have mentioned out of the *Menagiana*. 'He (b) Mr. 'de Launoi was a terrible Critick, formidable both 'to Heaven and Earth: He has diſplac'd more 'Saints from Paradiſe, than have been Canoniz'd by 'Ten Popes. He ſuſpected the whole Martyrology, 'and took all the Saints to task one after another, 'as in *France* they make an Inquiry into the Nobility: The Curate of *St. Euſtachius* of *Paris*, ſaid, 'Where ever I meet Doctor de Launoi, I make a 'very low Bow to him, and I ſpeak to him with my 'Hat off, and with the greateſt Reverence, for fear 'he ſhould take away my St. Eutachius, who has no-'thing to depend upon. Theſe laſt Words are very true; and here is a Paſſage of the *Ménagiana*, that confirms them. 'He (i) The Life of *St. Eu-'chius* is likewiſe a Heap of Fables: and I am very much ſurpriſed that the largeſt Parith in Pa-'ris ſhould have paſſed with the Name of one of 'the moſt famous and illuſtrious Martyrs we have, 'to take that of an unknown, and very impudent 'Saint. Mr. *Ancillon* (k) heard Mr. *Daillé* ſay, 'that one Day meeting him in Mr. Chamoly's Shop, 'a Bookſeller in Paris, they expreſs'd a great Friend-'ſhip and Eſteem for one another; and that as they par-'ted, Mr. de Launoi told him, Sir, I ſtrike every 'Month one Saint out of the Breviary, do you 'ſtrike an Error out of it. If Mr. *de Launoi* ſpoke in that manner, he did it only in Jeſt; for the Number of Saints that he attempted to degrade, is much leſs than all the Months of his Life. But he might without any Exaggeration, have compared the Saints that are deſtitute of Labarum, with all the Minutes of his long Life. See the excellent Hiſtory of the Church, publiſhed by Mr. *Baſnage*, in two Volumes in *Folio*. There (l) we find ſo many fabulous Saints and Martyrs depoſed, that in Compariſon of that Ocean, Mr. *de Launoi's* Enterprize is but a little Rivulet.

(H) *Againſt the Maxims of the Pope's Flatterers.*] To the very Root of the Evil. In ſecuring the Immunities the Monks pretended to, he thought it neceſſary to lay down that certain Thing, That the Pope can do nothing againſt the Canons of the Councils. He wrote many Letters upon that Subject, which have been ſo well approved in *England*, and thought ſo proper to mortify the *Ultramontanes*, that they have been [illegible] at *Cambridge*. He more eſpecially attacked *Bellarmin*; and we are told in the following Words, to what Condition he reduced this great Champion of the Popes: (m) *In eo vero adverſarium tuto aggreſſurus eſt Cardinalem Robertum Bellarminum, qui abſtruſiſſima quæque Romanæ curiæ plenius defendenda ſuſcepit. Si quæ porro in eorum confirmationem deſumpta ex ſacris libris teſtimonia adduxit, clariſſimis demonſtrationibus, ea in pravum detorta ſenſum, & aliena intellecta quam ea ſanctiſſimi quique patres intellexerint, à quorum ſenſu in exponendis Scripturis non decedere, nihil aliud eſt quam fideliſſimos duces, & à Tridentina Synodo datos aſpernari, & in errores omnes ſeipſum conjicere. Si quos etiam canones aut patrum textus laudat Bellarminus, eos plerumque interpolatos oſtendit Launoius, & mala fide relatos. Sicque hominem armis Scripturæ & traditionis nudatum exhibent, velut nutritum in philoſophica paleſtra typum, qui adverſus invictam caſtrorum aciem in ſolidumque conatu dygladiatur; & tela ab Ariſtotele deſumpta juveniliter vibrat. Reſponſa, a Lutheran* (n) Minuter, publiſhed a Book in 1685, which properly ſpeaking, is only an Abridgment of our Doctor's Letters. He put two Titles to it, which are to no purpoſe. The Running Title is, *Joh. Launoius Theol. Pariſ. Anti-Bellarminus*. But the Title prefixed to the Book is *Johannes Launoius Theologus & Sorboniſta Pariſiensis teſtis & confeſſor veritatis Evangelico-Catholicæ in poſteriorem fidei capitibus controverſis adverſus Robertum Bellarminum & alios quoſdam ſedis Romanæ defenſores egregius & luculentus, nunc primùm editus contra Chriſtianum Lupum Gandavenſem, Emmanuelem à Schelſtrate Antverpienſem, Natalem Alexandrum Pariſienſem, Dominicum Co-*

(b) *Menagiana de Marville, Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, pag.* 260. 267.

(i) *Vide* [illegible] *p.* 48.

(k) *Ancillon, Melanges de critique, tom.* 3. *pag.* 220.

(l) *See the Preface of the Author of the Lives of the Popes, and the Women Martyrs, and Saints.*

(m) *In the Year* 1630. in 8 l.

(n) *Edw. Cawdrey, pag.* 21.

(o) *A Relation of Anglicanism and Miniſtry of St. Jones's Preſbyterian Hierarchy, printed in* 1680. *and reprinted in* 1682.

He was forbidden (I) to hold Aſſemblies in his Chamber, as he had done for a long time once a Week; and his Printer (K) was brought into Trouble. He patiently bore thoſe Inſults, and ceas'd not to labour for the Publick: It may be ſaid that he Died with his Pen in his Hand; for he had a Book in the Preſs (L) in his laſt Sickneſs, and Corrected the Proofs the Day before he died. He was Buried in the Church of the *Minimes*, as he had order'd in his Will; but his Friends were not permitted to put upon his Tomb the Epitaph (M) which was prepared for him. I forgot

* Ex eodem Elog. pag. 30. & the Mercure Gallant for March 1678.

(a) Elog. Launoii, pag. 30.

(b) Hos animorum motus utcunque ſedabat Launoius, reique acerbitatem, benigna ut poterat interpretatione lenichat. Abſtinebat ipſe ſemper ab omni atrocitate verborum, Archiepiſcopum nec incuſari ab aliis, carpive coram ſe patiebatur. Sed tamen cum vir eſſet candidiſſimi pectoris, diffiteri non poterat, quin ſi id præſtitiſſet Pariſienſis præſul, laboraret vehementer ingrati animi vitio, quo cætera omnia facile continentur. Ib. par. 32.

(c) Elog. pag. 28. & ſeq.

(d) Mercure Gallant, for March 1678. p. 116. 167. Dutch Edit.

leſium, & Franciſcum Marcheſium *Romanos vindicatus*. The Author of this Book pretends, that *John de Launoi* is a Perſon fit to be put in the Appendix of *Illyricus's Catalogus teſtium veritatis*. Mr. *Couſin* ſpoke ſomewhat late of this Book of *Reiſerus*, in his *Journal des Savans*; he mentioned it only in the Journal of the 30th. of *July*, 1696, and in that of the 6th. of *Auguſt* following. Theſe Two Extracts may ſerve to know Mr. *de Launoi's* Character.

(I) *He was forbidden to hold Aſſemblies.*] Nothing was more innocent than thoſe Aſſemblies; the Converſation run only upon Learning, and yet he was told, that the King deſired they ſhould ceaſe (a). 'Twas thought the Archbiſhop of *Paris* was the Promoter of that Affair, and ſome People took occaſion from thence to ſpeak ill of him. Mr. *de Launoi* (b) did not allow himſelf that Liberty, nor would ſuffer that Action to be charged upon the Archbiſhop in his Preſence; but he ſaid however, that if he was accuſed of it with Reaſon, he was juſtly taxed with the greateſt Ingratitude.

(K) *His Printer was brought into Trouble.*] It was in the Year 1675, he was printing his Book concerning *Simony*, wherein amongſt other things, he writes againſt the *Annats*, and Confutes the Jeſuit *Azorius*, who wrote a Book towards the end of the XVI. Century, to clear them of *Simony*. They cauſed the Copies of this Book of Mr. *de Launoi* to be ſeiſed at the Printer's; they carried away thoſe which he deliver'd, and forbad him to ſell the reſt; but for a Fine of Forty Livres, that Prohibition was taken off (c).

(L) *He had a Book in the Preſs in his laſt Sickneſs.*] Let us ſee what Mr. *de Viſé* ſays (d) of him. 'It 'may be ſaid in ſome manner, that he died with 'Pen in Hand; for the Day before he cor- 'rected the Proofs of a Book he had written in De- 'fence of the King's Intereſts. 'Tis an Anſwer 'to an *Italian* Writer, who ſome time ſince printed 'a Tract againſt the Right of Secular Princes about 'the Impediments of Marriage. Mr. *de Launoi* 'had before maintained a quite contrary Doctrine in 'a Book publiſhed in 1674, wherein the Rights of 'the King, and of all ſecular Princes are ſo ſolidly 'eſtabliſhed, that that Work may be looked upon 'as one of the moſt uſeful to the State. It was an- 'ſwered in *Italy*, and as this Anſwer took from Se- 'cular Princes their Eſſential Right, which they 'have upon Marriage, to qualify or unqualify their 'Subjects for contracting, this great Man was 'not ſilent, but took care, when he died, of the 'Impreſſion of what he had writ to confute the 'Errors of the *Italian* Author. Thus all his Time 'was employ'd, either for the Church, or for his 'Prince; and he may be call'd, not only *the Doctor 'of the King's Rights*, but alſo *the Defender of the 'juſt Authority of the Biſhops, the Deſtroyer of 'falſe Privileges, and the Doctor of the Liberties of 'the Gallican Church*. The Author of Mr. *de Launoi's* Elogy, does not agree with the *Mercure Gallant*, with reſpect to the Book that was then in the Preſs. It was not according to him, an Apology for the Right of Princes over Marriages, but an Anſwer to Father *Alexander*. He tells us, that Mr. *de Launoi* began the Treatiſe concerning the Right of Princes at the Requeſt of Cardinal *Bentivoglio*. Mr. *de Launoi* being at *Rome*, when they were examining in *France*, whether the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to *Lewis* XIII. with the Princeſs of *Lorrain*, was valid, met with Cardinal *Bentivoglio* in the Library of the *Dominicans*, and propoſed to him this Argument. If Princes have had the Power to make Laws about the Obſtacles to Marriage, they have it ſtill, in caſe it has not been taken from them: They have had it, and it can't be proved that it has been taken from them. Therefore. The Cardinal deſired Mr. *de Launoi* to write upon this Subject, and to explain this Argument. See the Margin (e). The Book was ſmall at firſt, but before it was publiſhed in 1674. it grew very large. *Dominick Galeſius*, Biſhop of *Ruco*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, wrote againſt it. Mr. *de Launoi* had no ſooner read the Book of that Prelate, but he undertook to refute it, he had ſcarce finiſhed that Confutation (f), but he engaged to anſwer Father *Alexander* (g). His Anſwer was finiſhed, when he was ſeized with the Diſtemper of which he died in a few Days. This laſt Work was already in the Preſs. Thus ſhews, that Mr. *de Viſé*, and the Elogiſt don't agree concerning the Book which Mr. *de Launoi* had in the Preſs when he died.

(M) *The Epitaph which was prepared for him.*] Mr. *de Launoi* had made his Will Eleven Years before he died, and he had deſired Mr. *le Camus*, firſt Preſident in the Court of Aids, his old and intimate Friend, to be his Executor. M. *le Camus* faithfully acquitted himſelf of that Truſt, and cauſed an Epitaph (h) for the Deceaſed, to be made by Mr. *Clement*, an ancient Counſellor of the ſame Court. The *Minimes* having read and examined it, ſhewed a Letter of their General, which declared, that that Epitaph could not be admitted, ſince it attributed to *de Launoi* the Praiſe of having always maintained Orthodoxy; and ſome time after they declared, that both the Royal and Eccleſiaſtical Powers had enjoyn'd them not to tuſter any Inſcription in Praiſe of M. *de Launoi*. (i) *Ubi illam* (inſcriptionem) *expenderunt, attulerunt proſpoſiti ſui generalis literas, quibus renunciabatur, nec probari nec recipi aſe poſſe inſcriptionem, quâ Launoio laus defenſæ perpetuæ veritatis, & optimæ famæ, maximæque venerationis apud probos quæſitæ tribuatur. Poſtea vetitum ſibi prædicarunt regia ſimul & ſuæ auctoritate, ne ullum apicem in capella ſua extare ſinerent, quo Launoii nomen commendaretur.* See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (k), and particularly a Letter to a Prelate of the Court of *Rome*, upon the Decree of the Inquiſition of the 7th. of *December*, 1690. I ſhall quote a Paſſage out of it, which is of uſe for the Hiſtory of our Doctor. The Abbot, who writ this Letter, obſerves, that the Court of *Rome* maintains its Rights with greater Policy than the Court of *France*: he obſerves, that the former plentifully rewards thoſe who write in its Favour, but that thoſe are neglected in *France*, who write for the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church. *However*, ſays the Author of that Letter, *Poſterity ſhould know by ſome Marks of Honour, the Account that has been made of their Merit, and that they have been gratified for their Labours. But you know how this has been done with Reſpect to one of your Friends. We have not had a Man more zealous for the Doctrine of the Clergy of France, nor more indefatigably ſtudious to illuſtrate and defend it, than honeſt Mr.* de Launoi, *who beſides was a Man perfectly unintereſted. What has been done to the Honour of his Memory? You know it, they would not ſo much as allow his Friends to expreſs in his Epitaph, his Merit, and the Services he did to Church of France. Nay, they did in a manner ſtop his Mouth ſome Years before he died, by forbidding him to continue certain Conferences upon this Subject in his Houſe, where it may be ſaid, that more People learned to be the Defenders of our Liberties, than in all the Kingdom beſides. Nay, 'tis a Kind of a Miracle, that we have what he printed in his Lifetime upon the Superiority of Councils, and againſt the Infallibility of Popes, and upon other Subjects of this Nature; and we owe it to the Device he thought of, which was to give it Piece-Meal in Letters, which he writ to different Perſons, delivering himſelf by that Means from the intolerable Slavery of the Cenſures of ſome Doctors of his Time, without whoſe Pleaſure, no Book could be licenſed, and who ſeemed hired to put a Stop to all good Books, and to vex the Authors of them.*

(e) *It ſhould be inferred from thence, that M.* Ancillon *is miſtaken when he ſays, p.* 330. *of the* 2d. *Vol. of the* Melange critique de literature, *that M.* de Launoi *wrote that Book, being ordered to do it, and againſt his Will and his Opinion.*

(f) Huic titulum eſſe voluit: *Indices locupletiſſimi erratorum in libro ſcriptoris Italici contentorum.* Elog. pag. 33.

(g) Qui Annatas à Simoniæ labe liberandas ſuſcepera, & Summam Theologicam Thomæ Aquinati tanquam vero ejus auctori aſſerendam. *Ibid. pag.* 34. *See concerning that Work of Father* Alexander *the* Journal des Savans, *of the* 18th. *of* November, 1675.

(h) *It is in the* Elogy, *pag.* 37.

(i) Elog. Laun. pag. 38.

(k) For September, 1680. pag. 1033.

(*) He

got to obſerve that he Died (N) in *Ettree Houſe* the tenth of *March* 1678. being above 77 years Old. He was a Man, to whom the Publick is vaſtly indebted. Had he only publiſhed the Book *De autoritate negantis argumenti*, he would have done great Service to the Republick of Learning; for he has given a thouſand hints in that Book, to diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood in Hiſtorical Matters. He had Diſputes with many Men, and amongſt others with Father (O) *Nicolai* a Dominican, and Mr *Thiers* (a).

He drew upon him all the Order of St. *Dominick*, for having freely reflected upon *Thomas Aquinas*. The marks of Reſpect, which Prudence and Gravity made him intermix with his Cenſures, did not prevent the Reſentment of the Dominicans; for after all, the Angelical Doctor appeared Guilty of great Ignorance, or Inſincerity, in the Allegation of many Paſſages deſign'd to confute the Heterodox. Father *Baron* indeavoured (P) to juſtify *Thomas Aquinas*, but did not ſucceed well in his Attempt. This will ſupply me with many Obſervations. Father *Alexander* took pains with

- Eloge, pag. 37. *He was not therefore born the 21ſt. of December, 1603.*

(a) Moreri *affirms.*

- *See what Mr. Sallo, Journal des Savans of the 10th. of March, 1665. ſays concerning the Book of M.* Thiers, *againſt M.* de Launoi.

(a) *You'll find the following Words, at page* 159, *of his Memoirs, printed in* 1656. His Eſteem for M. *de Launoi*, Doctor of Divinity, one of the greateſt Men of this Age for his Learning and Probity, is a ſign of his Judgment. And indeed, having ſuch a Man with him, he cannot be too careful of him: 'tis an ineſtimable Treaſure.

(N) *He died in* Ettree-Houſe.] The Cardinal *d'Etrée* being yet but Biſhop of *Laon* had in a manner ingroſſed Mr. *de Launoi* to himſelf. See Mr. *de Marolles* (a).

(O) *With Father* Nicolai *a* Dominican.] The *Journal des Savans* mentions Three Works of this Author. 1. (b) His two Diſſertations *De concilio plenario quod contra Donatiſtas baptiſmi quæſtionem definivit.* 2. His (c) Two Diſſertations *De Baptiſmi antiquo uſu.* 3. His (d) Book *De jejunii Chriſtiani & Chriſtianorum abſtinentiæ vero ac legitimo ritu juxta veterem Eccleſiæ univerſalis uſum.* The firſt of thoſe three Writings is entirely againſt Mr. *de Launoi*, who pretended that St. *Auguſtin* meant the Council of *Arles*, when he ſaid that the Error of the *Donatiſts* about the Nullity of the Baptiſm of Hereticks, was condemned in a General Council. Mr. *de Launoi* drew from thence a great many Conſequences againſt the *Ultramontanes*. The ſecond Book of the *Dominican* does not concern him; a Work of which the Proteſtants of *France* took Advantage, becauſe it contains a formal Condemnation of thoſe that force Infidels to be baptized. The Third Work of this Monk, is againſt M. *de Launoi*. Here is a Paſſage out of the Continuation of the *Menagiana*. 'I once told M. 'de *Launoi*, that he had offended all the *Jacobins* 'in his Writings againſt Father *Nicolai*, and that 'all of 'em would write againſt him. He anſwered 'me unluckily. I fear their Pen-Knife more than 'their Pen.

(P) *Father* Baron *indeavoured to juſtify* Thomas Aquinas, *but ſucceeded not well in his Attempt. This will ſupply me.*] Unprejudiced Perſons would judge thus of the Succeſs of his Diſpute, tho' they ſhould only compare his firſt Book with the firſt of his Adverſary. Much more would they make this Judgment, if they compared Mr. *de Launoi*'s Reply and Rejoinder, with Father *Baron*'s Reply. I only mention the Pieces of this Controverſy. A Letter (e) of M. *de Launoi* to M. *Faure*, is that in which he cenſures *Thomas Aquinas*. Father *Baron*'s Anſwer is contained in Three Paragraphs (f) of the Second Section of the 1ſt. Book of his Apology for the *Dominicans*. M. *de Launoi*'s Reply is in a Letter (g) to M. *Fortin*. I have not ſeen Father *Baron*'s Reply; but I know that his Adverſary anſwered it in a Letter (h) dated from *Paris* the 1ſt. of *Auguſt* 1667. I know not whether this Diſpute went farther.

To give the Reader a Specimen of the Judgment which the Monks made of this *Sorbonne* Doctor I ſhall ſet down a few Lines of Father *Baron*, (k) *Quiſquis hominum privatim, ſeu publicis ſcriptis intimus noverit, etiam ex amiciſſimis, non abnuet meum de illo judicium, aut verius votum. Optandum plane, ne mores ingenuos corrupiſſet nimio ſuarum cogitationum amore, & alios jure, vel injuriâ carpendi, in naturam inductâ conſuetudine. Unde ad minus, ut cætera omittam, illud incommodi accidit, ut magnum potius, quam bonum nomen videatur ambire, & doctiores viros voluiſſe inumbrare, neque, ut conveniebat ſapienti Theologo, ſatis cordi fuerit eſſatum illud medicorum,* malum bene poſitum ne moveto *Plura enim ab heroicis Temporibus communi priorum opinione recepta, quæ nihil Fidei adverſa, pietati etiam opportuna, auſus eſt, longe doctioribus, quam niterentur argumentis liceſſere; nullo alio operæ pretio quam ex ſumma morositate comparato: ſibi nomen, & juſtis poſſeſſoribus, falſum ex probabili opinione juris plerumque inque recepti.* In the next Leaf he oppoſes the Character of *Thomas Aquinas* to that of this *Sorbonniſt*, and declares that *Thomas* would have made it a Scruple of Conſcience, and would have been aſhamed of thoſe Things, that Mr. *de Launoi* gloried in. The Angelical Doctor, adds he, would not have undertaken to ſhew, that the *French* have no reaſon to believe, that St. *Dionyſius the Areopagite* was their firſt Apoſtle; he would not have deprived the Inhabitants of *Provence*, of the Glory which accrues to them from the Arrival of St. *Magdalen*, nor the *Carmelites*, of their Deſcent from *Elias*, and of the Scapulary of *Simon Stock*, nor Monaſteries of their Exemptions. He had Letters things to write: and tho' he had perceived ſome Doubts in thoſe Things, and a want of Probability, he would not have medled with 'em; he would have reſpected thoſe Traditions which promote Piety, without doing Prejudice to Religion (l) *Hi ſunt melora ferebenda* (Divus Thomas) *& ſubdubitatus etiam, ut erat emunctæ naris, aliquid inesſe, aut minus veriſimilis, ex mediocrium præcepto, malum bene poſitum noluiſſet primus movere, atque iſta longi temporis tradition rata & firma, quæ nihil obſunt fidei, proſunt etiam pietati, in diſputationem revocare, credidiſſe pertinere ad illius generis quæſtiones ab Apoſtolo damnatas, quæ lites generant, non ædificationem.* If all the Circumſtances ſet forth by this *Jacobin* were true, there's no doubt but *John de Launoi* deſerved Condemnation, as being a Man, who to make himſelf talked of, and to ſatisfy his morose Humour, oppoſed many general Opinions, which had obtained time out of mind, and promoted Piety, being not contrary to Faith, and being grounded upon Proofs incomparably more ſolid than his Objections. This laſt Circumſtance would alone be ſufficient to condemn an Author, tho' he otherwiſe acted by good Motives: for 'tis undoubtedly true, that a long Poſſeſſion deſerves ſo much reſpect, as to oblige us to maintain it, all things being equal on both ſides. But if it be juſt to maintain it, when its Titles are as well grounded, as the Pretenſions of Innovators, it is much more reaſonable not to undertake to overthrow it when they are ſtronger than the Reaſons for the contrary. But this is not the Caſe of our *Sorbonne* Doctor: the Traditions he oppoſes, have no good Title, and his Arguments againſt them cannot be anſwered. Now in this Caſe, 'tis plain, that there is all the Reaſon in the World to bring the moſt general and ancient Opinions to a Tryal, eſpecially, when their Falſity keeps up a dangerous Devotion. 'Tis to be obſerved, that the Reaſons of this Doctor were ſo cogent, as to undeceive abundance of People: Nevertheleſs, the Vulgar have not been corrected: Things remain ſtilling on the ſame Foot in *Provence*, and elſewhere. They tell you ſtill the ſame Stories they told your Anceſtors, and you ſee the ſame Worſhip, and the ſame Ceremonies. This proves the Difference there is between private Perſons and the Publick. At certain times moſt Perſons are undeceived, and yet the Practice of the Publick remains the ſame. *Circe* ſaid that there was not an old Woman ſo ſilly as to give Credit to the Stories, that were formerly believed concerning Hell, and he adds this Reflection to prove that Fabulous Traditions vaniſh away in time out

(l) *Ib.* pag. 171

A REFLECTION upon the Inſignificancy of many Labours.

(f) *The 1ſt. of the 1ſt. Part.* (g) *A pagina* 119. *uſque ad pagin.* 134. (h) *The 9th. of the 5th. part.* (i) *The 14th. of the 9th. Part.* (k) *Vincentius Baronius, Apol. ordin. Prædicat. l. 1. c. 119.*

with greater ſucceſs [a] to ſhew, that *Thomas Aquinas* is the true Author of the Sum of Divinity, that is Aſcrib'd to him. Mr. *de Launoi* [b] had propoſed ſome Doubts upon that matter. Of all his Antagoniſts none had leſs regard for him (Q) than Father *Theophilus Raynaud*. I will not paſs over in ſilence [c] *that he had ſtruck out of his Calendar St.* Catherine *Virgin and Martyr, and ſaid, that her Life was a Fable, and to ſhew that he gave no Credit to it, every year on this Saint's Day he ſaid a Maſs of Requiem* [d]. I add that his Labours againſt the Worſhip eſtabliſh'd upon Fabulous Traditions [e] have been inſignifi-

[a] *See the* Journal des Savans *of the* 12th. *of* November. 1675. *pag.* 264. Dutch *Edit.*

[b] *See the* Journal des Savans *of the* 12th. *of* Auguſt, 1675. *pag.* 226. *Valeſiana, p. m.* 36.

[c] Confer quæ Sebaſtianus Kortholtus memorat, p. 9. diſſertationis de puellis poetrins.

[d] *See the Remark* P.

(a) *Cicero de natura Deor. lib.* 2. *pag. m.* 199.

(b) *Juven. Sat.* 2. *v.* 149.

(c) *Cicero de nat. Deorum, lib.* 3. *pag. m.* 601.

(d) *Id. ib. lib.* 2. *pag.* 199.

(e) Scire velim, pretium chartis quotus arroget annus, &c. *Horat. epiſt.* 1. *lib.* 2.

(f) *In his Diſſertation about the Worſhip of unknown Saints. See M.* Baſnage, *in the* 2d. *Tome of his* Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe, *p.* 1038. 1039. *and his* Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans *for* Auguſt, *p.* 372. & ſeq.

(g) *See the ſame Books, ib.*

(h) *For* March 1700. *p.* 356, *and for* April 1700. *pag.* 382.

(i) *See* Paſquier, Recherch. de la France, *B.* 8. *chap.* 12.

(k) *Maribus antiquis res ſtat Romana virisque. Ennius apud Cicer. oratum ab auguſt. de civit. Dei, l.* 2. *c.* 21. *Vide etiam Vulcatium Gallicanum in Avidio Caſſio, f. m.* 454. *tom.* 1.

(l) *Quintil. l.* 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 39.

(m) *See the Preface of the new Editions of the Catechiſm of the Jeſuits, written by* Paſquier.

that true Doctrines, and ſuch as are grounded upon the Nature of things, take deeper Root with Age, and that this was the Cauſe of the long Continuance and Increaſe of the Worſhip of the Gods. (a) *Videmus ætates opiniones fictas, atque vanas diuturnitate evaluiſſe. Quis enim Hippocentaurum fuiſſe, aut Chimæram putat? quæve anus tam excors inveniri poteſt, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimeſcat?* Opinionum enim commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat. *Itaque & in noſtro populo, & in cæteris, Deorum cultus, religionumque ſanctitates exiſtunt in dies majores, atque meliores. Juvenal* complains alſo, that no Body believed any longer the ancient Doctrine concerning Hell.

Eſſe (b) aliquos Manes, & ſubterranea regna,
Et contum & Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque una tranſire vadum tot millia cymba,
Nec pueri credunt, niſi qui nondum æra lavantur.
Sed tu vera puta.

Thus you ſee a great Change in the Opinions of private Perſons, and yet the publick Worſhip was ſtill the ſame, in *Juvenal*'s and *Cicero*'s Time. There were ſtill the ſame Feaſts, Proceſſions, and Sacrifices, not only in Honour of the Celeſtial Gods, but alſo in Honour of *Pluto* and *Proſerpina*, and the other infernal Deities. Men will always ſee more or leſs, a like Inconſtancy on one Hand, and a like Conſtancy on the other. Some Doctors better ſighted, and more courageous than their Brethren, will undeceive a abundance of private Perſons, and yet will cauſe no Change in the publick Ceremonies. The Ritual will laſt longer than the Faith on which it was built. Too many People will find themſelves concerned to maintain it, and will be zealous enough for that, though the Aguments they bring for it, are not better than thoſe that were urged to *Cotta*, in *Cicero*'s Book above-mentioned. Amongſt other things, they alledged to him the Apparitions of ſome Deities; and to prove to him the Truth of theſe Apparitions, they urged the Foundation of ſome Temples, a Decree of the Senate, a Proverb. I expected ſome Arguments, *ſaid he*, and you bring only popular Reports. (c) *Tum Lucilius: An tibi, inquit, fabellæ videntur? Nonne ab A Poſthumio ædem Caſtori & Pollucci in foro dedicatam, nonne S. C. de Vatieno vides? Nam de Sagâ, Græcorum etiam eſt vulgare proverbium; qui quæ affirmant, certiora eſſe dicunt, quàm illa quæ apud Sagram. His igitur auctoribus nonne debes moveri? Tum Cotta, Rumoribus, inquit, mecum pugnas, Balbe: ego autem à te rationes requiro.* Mr. *de Launoi* might have uſed the like Anſwer, and many others; But as I have already ſaid, it was the Intereſt of many People to maintain the common Tradition. It ſeems, they did well conſider the Conſequences of the Principle, which one of *Cicero*'s Interlocutors laid down. 'Tis ſuppoſed in *Cicero*, that an ill-grounded Doctrine can't grow old. (d) *Quid enim eſt hoc illo evidentius? quod niſi cognitum, comprehenſumque animis haberemus, non tam ſtabilis opinio permaneret, nec confirmaretur diuturnitate temporis, nec unâ cum ſæculis ætatibuſque hominum inveterare potuiſſet. Etenim videmus cæteras opiniones fictas, &c.* Doubtleſs, the Monks are more influenced by ſome other Reaſons than by this, to oppoſe *John de Launoi*, and thoſe like him. Note by the by, that the Argument drawn from a long Continuance, is made uſe of in *Cicero* to prove a Falſity, *viz.* the reality and Exiſtence of the falſe Heathen Gods. 'Tis therefore a Principle that may lead one into an Error; nevertheleſs, the Maxim, *Opinionum commenta delet dies*, may be urged againſt the falſe Worſhip of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, ſince there has been no Country for many Ages, wherein their Religion, their *Jupiter* and their *Juno*, their *Venus* and their *Neptune*, &c. are acknowledged and adored. And thus they loſe their Cauſe, when 'tis ſuppoſed, that ſooner or later time will deſtroy falſe Doctrines. Note, that this Principle can't be alledged as a good Proof, unleſs one determines the Duration that is ſufficient to diſtinguiſh Error from Truth. If a Thouſand Years ſuffice, every Opinion that is a Thouſand Years old is true; but if you determine no time, 'tis in vain to conclude, that a Doctrine which has laſted Four Thouſand Years is certain: You know not what will happen, nor whether the Fifth Millenary may not compleat the Deſtruction of what has reſiſted the former Ages. A Thought of *Horace* (e) may be applied to this Subject.

I have one thing farther to obſerve. There is no Appearance that the Imitators of *John de Launoi* can do any Service whilſt Things are only carried on by way of a Diſpute. The Protectors of falſe Devotion will never yield; they find their Account in ſtanding to their Tenets, and they are powerful enough to preſerve themſelves from all Conſtraint. The Court of *Rome* will ſecond and ſupport 'em. The *Roman* Church ſeems to have adopted the Religion of the God *Terminus* of the *Roman* Republick. This God never yielded, no not to *Jupiter* himſelf: which was a ſign, ſaid they, that the *Roman* People ſhould never be worſted, nor yield an Inch of Ground to their Enemies. If any Pope ſhould be willing to ſacrifice ſomething to the Reunion of the Schiſmaticks, ſome inſignificant Devotions, ſome Superannuated Traditions, 'tis to be feared they would murmur againſt him, as much or more than the Heathens did againſt the ſcandalous Peace of the Emperor *Jovian*. The Jeſuits, notwithſtanding all their Power, have not been able to hinder the Inquiſition of *Toledo* from condemning many Volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*, and 'tis certain that Storm came only from the Sollicitations of the *Carmelites*, and other Monks, who were angry becauſe Father *Papebroch* and his Aſſiſtant have rejected many Acts, and many old Traditions, as Apocryphal. They are to be commended for making themſelves odious to the Inquiſition. But then they'll become uſeleſs with reſpect to the Reformation of publick Abuſes; their Cenſures, though they were much more ſevere than they are, will ſerve only for the Inſtruction of Private Perſons. The Diſeaſe is paſt cure. Father *Mabillon* (f) has given very good Advice about the Worſhip of ſome Saints, and the Diſtinction of Relicks: What did he get by it? He was anſwered, *Phyſician, heal thy Self.* Reform firſt the Worſhip that is paid, in ſome Houſes of your Order of St. *Benedict*, to as dubious Saints as any. They repreſented to him the injury he did to the Church, and the Advantage he gave the Proteſtants (g). Is not this to oppoſe all his good deſigns? Mr. *Thiers* lets up againſt falſe Relicks, he examines where the Bodies of the Martyrs lie, he Publiſhes ſome Diſſertations upon *the Holy Tear* of *Vendome*, and upon St. *Firmin*. All this was loſt Labour. The King's Council ſuppreſſed his Book about St. *Firmin*, as the Biſhop of *Amiens* had Condemn'd a Letter, which he had Publiſhed upon the ſame Queſtion. See the *Nouvelles* (h) *de la Republique des Lettres*, and the third part of the *Bibliotheca volante*. The Fruits of a diſcreet Zeal are deſtroyed in the Bud. They build upon this Principle, that 'tis dangerous to Abrogate old Cuſtoms, and that Bounds ought not to be removed. The Proſperity of new *Rome*, juſt like that of old *Rome*, (i) is grounded upon the Preſervation of old Rites. Conſecrations muſt be complied with, Faith will not ſuffer 'em to be chang'd. (k) *Sed illa mutari vetat religio, & conſecratis utendum eſt. In our Days*, ſaid a Sub-Prior of St. *Antony*, (l) *let us beware of Innovations.*

(Q) *Who had leſs regard for him than Father* Theophilus Raynaud.] You need only read his *Hercules Commodianus*, where you'll ſee all the Paſſion imaginable. Thoſe who will not be at the pains of reading it, but will only conſider the following Words, will eaſily perceive, that our Doctor

insignificant as to the Publick. I'll mention the Judgment (R) that Mr. *de Vigneul-Marville* gave of him. Which will give me occasion to relate a Particularity that is not very well known, and which does not agree with the little Friendship that was between this Doctor and the Jesuits, and with his Affection for Mr. *Arnauld*. The thing is, that his Opinion concerning Grace *, was contrary to the Doctrine of St. *Augustin*.

* See the Remark R. towards the end.

LAURENTIO (*Nicolas*) commonly called *Cola di Rienzo*, was one of those Men in the XIV*th*. Century whom the providence of God makes use of from time to time, as a Theatre, on which may be seen (A) the Vicissitudes of humane Life. He was the Son of a mean Tavern-Keeper, and of a Laundress. His Application to his Studies in his youth, and the natural strength of his Parts, made him a very able Man. He became most Eloquent, and had by Heart all the fine Passages of *Cicero*, *Livy*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Seneca*. He was a great Lover of Antient Inscriptions, and knew very well how to read them. He obtained a Notary's place which at that time was well enough Esteem'd; so that Gentlemen vouchsaf'd to accept of it. The Commissaries of the several parts of *Rome* having deputed him to Pope *Clement VI*, who resided at *Avignon*, he Harangued him so Eloquently that he got the Esteem and Affection of that Pontif, and the Admiration of that Court. This encouraged him to inveigh against the great Lords of *Rome*, who oppress'd the Citizens. Cardinal *John Colonna* bore him an ill Will for it; but having better consider'd the matter, he desisted from making him Odious to the Pope. *Laurentio* grew still hotter against those little Tyrants of *Rome*; and one Day he Declaim'd in the Capitol with so much freedom against them, that he received, as soon as he had done, two Boxes on the Ear. A Lord of the House of *Colonna*, who was then Chamberlain of *Rome*, and *Thomas Fortificca* Secretary to the Senate were they that Box'd him. He dissembled the matter, and went on Haranguing in the Capitol, and in several Churches, and making Emblems, to shew the bad Administration of Justice. The Persons concerned took this for a pastime, especially when they saw that his Orations were mixed with Jests, and that he threatned some of 'em with capital Punishment. In all likelihood they thought that he could do 'em no prejudice by reason of his Extravagances, but they were mistaken: For taking advantage of *Stephen Colonna*'s Absence, who was gone from *Rome* with Soldiers to bring in Provisions, he Assembled the People, Harangued 'em, made Laws, drove all the great Men out of the City, assumed the Power of Judicature, and was declared Tribune August, and Deliverer of the People in 1346. The Faction of the Exiles was incapable of withstanding him, by reason of the little Union there was amongst 'em; and therefore he dispos'd of things according to his Fancy, and saw himself the Head of a new *Roman* Republick, in whose Name he wrote to other States, to the Emperor, and to the Pope himself. The better to strengthen his Authority, he condemned many People to

(a) *Theoph. Raynaud. Syntagm. de libris propriis, n. 63. p. 67. Apopompæi.*

Doctor was never so much abused. (a) *Infamavit vir ingenii Joannes Launoyus, cui nihil adeo sacrum fuit, quod non fœdavit scriptione aliqua petulanti ac plusquam censoria. Calitibus ipsis non peperci, imo in hoc non semel conscavit* ——— *Is cum in me quoque incurrisset, urgente quodam infamatore Marsya, qui sua delicia, imò apertè hæretica commenta, contecta extremis propè digitis in ea Antemurali, ægrè tulit, ex persona amici ac civis nostri S. Theologiæ D. castigatus est; patefactis primum ejus fragoribus, quibus Herculem præstulit: Tum mendaciis, calumniis, loquacitate, feminilitate, aliisque faminini generis maculis, quibus satyra verius quam scriptio abeo in nos exarata, dehonestabatur: uta ut Commodi exemplo, Hercules simul terrificus, & fœmina, non nisi pellacis ac dolis armata, apparere voluisse in ea lucubratione videatur. Quæ causa fuit, cur* Herculis Commodiani *appellatione visus sit insignendus.* This Jesuit in another place compares him to *Ismael*. (b) *Homo Ismaelita, cujus manus contra omnes, Joannes Launoy.*

(b) *Id. ib. n. 72. p. 70.*

(R) *The Judgment that Mr.* de Vigneul Marville *gave of him.*] 'Whatever esteem I have for 'Mr. *de Launoi*, it must be confess'd, that he had 'the predominant Fault of Criticks, which is to 'observe no measure, and to defend the worst 'Causes Obstinately. His Books about extream 'Unction, and *Aristotle*'s Fortune and some others, 'are good Pieces; but it may be said in general, that 'this Doctor in all his Writings shews much 'more Learning than Judgement and good Logick. 'Commonly the main question is not what he 'handles best; but the Accessories are wonderful, 'ly which he frequently imposes upon the un-'attentive Reader (c).

(c) *Vigneul Marville, Melanges d' hist. & de litterature, p. 267.*

The Author of the *Journal des Savans*, affirmed, (d) that *it cannot be said that Mr.* de Launoi *maintained bad Causes with Stubbornness; his particular Character was to love truth above all things, to seek for it without any prejudice, and freely to discover it, when he had found it*, &c. Mr. *de Vigneul Marville* answered (e) that *there are two ways of loving Truth; one, for the sake of it, and the other so far as we are concerned in it* ——— That St. *Augustin* loved it for its own sake ——— *that the generality of the Criticks don't do so, who love Truth only for the sake of the Glory it brings to those who make usual Discoveries; on which is more out of a Capricious Humour that prevails in them.* I won't by, continues he, 'that Mr. *de Launoi* was 'one of those Adventurers, who go in quest of 'Truth, as the Knights Errants were formerly 'Ambitious of doing noble Exploits. But then it can't 'be denied that a great many very understanding 'Men did sometimes look upon him as a Critick 'who framed things, and did not always find the 'truth which he loved; for which we need only 'look upon those learned Men who writ against, or 'made Replies to him. One might have seen him (f) *covered with the Dust of his daily Combats, and full of Bruises that remained in him after the Fight.* Nay, this Author adds, that in Mr. *Arnauld*'s Opinion he was not always Orthodox: *he declared too much for a Divine very inferior to St.* Augustin, *and the Protestants of the* Arminian *Party, pretended to take great Advantage of it.* This gives us to understand that he did not approve the Hippothesis of St. *Augustin* about Predestination; but we shall know much better, what his Opinion about that Doctrine was, if we read the Preface of a Treatise which is not as yet Published: Mr. *Simon* has inserted it in one of his (g) Letters, and informs us that Doctor *de Launoi* condemns St. *Augustin*'s Opinions in that Work. This Letter is not very Advantageous to the Doctor, and gives us a very mean Notion of his Learning.

(d) *See the third Tome of* Vigneul de Marville, *p. 266. Rouen Edition.*

(A) *In which may be seen the Vicissitudes.*] The Heathens call this the Moments of (h) Fortune's good Humour; but they might have added, that this

(c) *Ibid. pag. 267.*

(f) *Ibid. p. 269.*

(g) *Tis the 31st. of M.* Simon's Letters. Charles *Daniel at Trevoux in the year 1702.*

(h) *Quasi ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum Extollit, quoties voluit Fortuna jocari. Juven. Sat. 3. v. 39. Di quam plus hominis habent. Plautus in Captiv. prol. v. 22. Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus. Ovid. de Ponto l. 4 Eleg. 3.*

to Death, and amongſt others, he cauſed *Martio de Porto*, one of the petty Tyrants of *Rome*, to be Hanged. He received Embaſſies from many Princes and Republicks, and boldly ſummon'd the Pope to come and live at *Rome*, with the College of Cardinals. He was ſo ſucceſsful in the War he made with the Faction of the Nobles, that he intirely routed it. But then he did like moſt of thoſe, who make an Inſurrection under the fine pretence of Liberty. It is not the Tyranny they hate, but the Tyrants; they are vexed, that any ſhould exerciſe the Sovereign Power beſides themſelves. *Laurentio* had no ſooner overthrown the Tyranny of others, but he became a Tyrant himſelf, and he was treated, as he had treated others. He was forced to run away, and Hanged in *Effigie* at *Rome* as a Traytor. Having conceal'd himſelf for ſome time, he went to the Emperor, who permitted him, but without adding him to it, to go and wait upon the Pope. He was at firſt ill receiv'd, but after ſome Months Impriſonment, he followed the Pope's Legate to *Rome*. He there raiſed his Party to ſuch a degree, as to be able to make War again with the *Colonna's*: But his ſeverity to the People, and his Exactions render'd him ſo Odious, that they roſe againſt him. He thought his Eloquence would calm that Tempeſt, as it had on many other Occaſions; but he was miſtaken: and notwithſtanding his ſhewing himſelf to the People, and Haranguing them at his Windows, they ſet his Palace on Fire. He attempted to eſcape in a Beggar's Habit; and was almoſt out of Danger, when a certain little Man diſcover'd him. Another run him through the Belly. They gave him a thouſand Wounds; they dragg'd him through the Streets, and hung him by the Feet [a]. He was two days in that Poſture, after which the *Jews* Burnt his Corps in the Country [b]. Some of his Writings (*B*) are ſtill in being.

LAZZARELLI (N.) a Native of *Gubio* in *Italy*, was a very good Poet. He was for ſometime Auditor, or Judge in the *Rota* of *Macerata*, and afterwards he Dedicated himſelf to the Church, and became a Prieſt, and Provoſt of *Mirandola*. He Died in 1694, being above eighty years of Age. He Publiſh'd a Book (*C*) intituled *la Cicceide*, which has ſomething very curious in it. 'Tis a Collection of Sonnets, and of ſome other Poems, in which he horribly abuſes one *Arrighini* [c] a Native of *Lucca*, who had been his Colleague in the *Rota* of *Macerata*. His Verſification is wonderfully eaſie, natural, and fluent: he has a ſurprizing fruitfulneſs of Imagination, and ingenious and lively Thoughts; but all this turns upon ſo obſcene a Subject, and is inſpirited with ſuch a Satyrical, Revengeful, and ſometimes Profane Wit, that it is a juſt occaſion of Scandal. The Preface of this Book contains ſome Excuſes (*D*) which I ſhall make mention of.

LE-

[a] *Taken from* Proſper Mandoſio's Bibliotheca Romana centuria 2. num. 55.

[b] *This happen'd the* 8th. *of* September 1353.

[c] *He has writ ſome Books and amongſt others a Volume* di conſigli criminali *to which he prefixed his Cut. See p.* [illegible] *of the* Cicceide.

(*A*) *Claudian. in Ruffin. l. 1. circa initium.*

(*b*) *Ad ann* 1347.

(*c*) *Ex Bibliotheca Romana Proſp. Mandoſii rent. 2. n. 55.*

(*d*) M. Silvestre, *Doctor of Phyſick, lent me a Copy of 'em at his return from* Italy *in* July 1705 *and told me the particulars mention'd in this Article.*

(*e*) Voiture, *Letter to the Duke of* Enguien *after the Battle of* Rocroy *in* 1643. *Tis the* 141. *Letter of* Voiture.

(*f*) *Virgil. Æn. l. 1. v.* 204.

this Play generally ends like Tragedies. The Plot of the Play, which our *Laurentio* Acted upon the great Theatre of the World, was at laſt unravelled in the ſame manner. (*a*) *Tolluntur in altum Ut lapſu graviore ruant.*

(*B*) *Some of his Writings are ſtill in Being.*] The Letter he writ to thoſe of *Viterbo* is to be found in a Book intituled *Proſe antiche di Dante, Petrarcha, Boccaccio & altri nobili & virtuoſi ingegni.* Which contains alſo the Harangues, that *Pandolfus Francus* and *Francis Baroncelli* his Envoys to the Republick of *Florence*, made to the *Florentin* Senate. Some Letters that he writ to *Charles* King of the *Romans*, and to the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* are to be found in the fourteenth Tome of *Raovius*'s Annals [d]. *Petrarch* made a fine *Italian* Poem in praiſe of *Laurentio*.

(*C*) *A Book intituled* la Cicceide *hath ſomething very curious in it.*] I have only ſeen (*b*) the ſecond Edition of it, which is of the year 1692. Here is the whole Title; *La Cicceide legittima: in queſta ſeconda impreſſione ordinatamente diſpoſta, notabilmente accreſciuta, e fedelmente rincontrata con gli Originali dell' Autore.* It is made up of two Parts: The Title of the firſt is *le Teſticolate*, and that of the ſecond is *le Schinazzate*. The Perſon Reflected upon in that Work, is denoted by the name of *Don Ciccio*. Note, that *Ciccio* is a Word the *Neapolitans* make uſe of, to ſignify *Franceſco*. The *Romans* inſtead of *Ciccio* ſay *Cecco*. The great deſign of the Author is to prove, that *Don Ciccio* is a *Coglione*. All the 318 Sonnets, which Compoſe the firſt part of the *Cicceide*, terminate in that. 'Tis the Center of the Sphere of its Activity. There is nothing wanting in that Sphere of Slander; it has all its Degrees, and they all terminate in the ſame Point. *Lazarelli*, which way ſoever he begins, always ends with the *Coglioneria* of *Don Ciccio*. This is violent. It had not been poſſible for *Voiture* to do any thing like it, for the Glory of the great Prince, to whom he wrote. (*e*) *You that are a true Cæſar in Wit and Learning, a Cæſar in Diligence, Vigilance, and Courage, &* per omnes caſus Cæſar, *you have deceived the Opinion, &c.* Our Poet turns his Ciccio on all ſides, (*d*) *per varios caſus, per tot diſcrimina rerum*, and makes a *C.* of him *per omnes caſus*. He traces him from the moment of his Conception to his Death, and goes ſtill farther; for he Jeſts upon his Coffin, his Burial, his Epitaph, *&c.* He purſues him to Hell, as *Charon*'s Boat, and ſays he'll be Ferry'd over *Gratis*; and even that he may go over without a Ferry-Boat. He ſuppoſes, that *Charon* ſpoke to him thus:

E' (g) privilegio a pari tuoi conceſſo
Il poter ſenza imbarco, e pagamento
Hauere a l'altro margine l' acceſſo;
Mentre un tondo C—— gonfio di vento
Galleggiando leggiar, può da sè ſteſſo
Andar di là dal fiume a ſalvamento.

He left out of the ſecond Edition the Sonnets that were accounted moſt Prophane, and had been the cauſe of putting his Book in the *Index*. They concern'd *Ciccio*'s Baptiſm, Confirmation, Extreme Unction and ſome other tickliſh Subjects. I have a Manuſcript Copy of 'em, and am adviſed to inſert one at leaſt here; that they who cannot ſee the *Cicceide*, a Piece but little known on this ſide of the *Alps*, may form an Idea of *Lazarelli*'s Genius. I have pitched upon the Sonnet concerning extreme Unction (‡).

L'oglio ſanto.

Da la febre, da l' aſma, e da l'uſcita,
Don Ciccio ritrovava l' ammalato
Egià ridotto in ſi cattivo ſtato
Che'l ſean vicino all' ultima partita.
Quando, tal nuova il pouerello udita,
Dimandò l'oglio ſanto, e gli fù dato
Rimanendo coſi fortificato
Per ſuo franco paſſaggio a l' altra vita.
Ma fatta il Parochian la ſua funzione
Per la mente uno ſcrupulo gli corſe
D'aver fallato nell' operazione.
Però che in vece d'applicar l'unzione
Sì i cinque ſentimenti egli s'accorſe
Ch' applicata l'haveà ſopra un coglione.

(*D*) *The Preface of his Book contains ſome Excuſes.*] It ſeems to have been made by one of the Au-

(*g*) *Cicceide p.* 290.

(‡) *Here are the ſix laſt Verſes of the Sonnet who aſk'd him to aſſiſt at his firſt Maſs.*

ſo t'en prego,
Don Ciccio, inſtantemente,
Che a me
non lice far queſte funzioni,
Se tu nuedeſimo
non vi ſei preſente,
Stante che le Canoniche Sanzioni
Prohibiſcono a
tutti eſpreſſamente
L'uſo di celebrar
ſenza coglioni.

LELAND (*John*) a Native of *London*, ſo induſtriouſly applied himſelf to the ſearch of the *Engliſh* Antiquities, and was thought ſo qualified to ſucceed in it, that King *Henry VIII.* gave him a very good Penſion, and the Title of his Antiquary. That Imployment began and ended with him. That he might well diſcharge the Duties of it, he went through all the Countries of *England*, he examined all the Ruins of old Monuments, he peruſed the Manuſcripts of Convents and Colleges; and having ſpent ſix years in his Travels, and Collected as many Memoirs as was poſſible, he undertook (*A*) many conſiderable Works: But he had not time to finiſh 'em, nor even to forward 'em. The Court did not ſupply him with the allowance that was due to him; and whether for this, or ſome other Reaſons, he fell into (*B*) a deep Melancholy, which Diſtracted him. He Died in that ſad condition. His Manuſcripts are in the *Bodleian* Library. They are (*C*) undigeſted Materials, that ſhew however his great Capacity. But it is more clearly known by a Book (*D*) in which he put his laſt Hand, and which deſerves to be Printed *. *Camden* has been accuſed of having made great uſe of *John Leland's* Manuſcripts *. Dr. *Smith* has confuted that Accuſation.

LEMNOS, An Iſle in the *Ægean* Sea near *Thrace*, and (*A*) famous upon ſeveral Accounts. It was thus named from the who was called *Lemnos*, and had Maids Sacrificed to her. The

(a) Lib. 4. Hist. cap. 4. pag. m. 401.

(b) Hellanicus, Sebellicus, Aemilius, &c. in Lemno, l. 1. c. 608. & Schottelius's Hexaemeron Lond. lib. 1. c. 564. a See the Remark E. at the end.

(c) Our Geographers do usually allow 2500 Paces to a common French League, &c. Vid. Cluver. Introduct. in Geograph. l. 3. c. 35.

(d) Salmas. in Solinum, p. m. 184.

(e) Apollon. Rhod. Argonaut. lib. 1. v. 601. & sch. ib.

(e) Salm. ubi supra.

(f) Steph. Byzant. voce Αθως.

(g) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 13. p. m. 305.

touched the left Angle of the Isle. This Testimony is sufficient to convince us, that the Antients had reason to say, that the Shadow of this Mountain reached the Isle of *Lemnos*; but that they did not well know the Measure of that Extent. It would be a distance of about Thirty Five *French* Leagues, (c) If we computed it by *Pliny*'s Eighty Seven Miles. What abatements must we make, since *Belon* says only something above Eight Leagues? The following Passage shews, that *Plutarch* was in the same Error, as well as *Pliny*. (b) 'I know 'very well, that neither you nor I have ever been 'in *Lemnos*; yet we have often heard that *Imbrick* 'Verse, so frequent in every ones Mouth,

Le mont Athos couvrit le coupé
Du beuf qui est dedans Lemnos planté.

'For the Shadow of that Mountain falls, as it seems, 'on the Image of a brazen Heifer, which is in *Lemnos*, extending it self in length over the Sea, not 'less then seven hundred *Stadia*; not that the Mountain, which makes the Shadow, is of that Height 'as to cause it; but because the distance of the 'Light renders the Shadows of Bodies manifoldly 'greater than the Bodies themselves. The 700 *Stadia* of *Plutarch*, are 87500 Paces: So that he made the Distance still greater than *Pliny* and *Solinus*, *Apollonius* makes it equal to the Space that a Ship can sail from break of Day till Noon. *Salmasius* (d) proves, that according to the common Estimation of the antient Geographers, this signifies 250 *Stadia*, whence we may infer, that *Apollonius* lessens the Distance above half, which the others reckon betwixt Mount *Athos* and the Isle of *Lemnos*: and yet that he supposes it much greater, than *Belon* found it; for Eight *French* Leagues make only 100 *Stadia*. Note, that *Apollonius* observes, that the Shadow of Mount *Athos* reached as far as the City of *Myrina*.

(e) Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κορυφὴν ὑπερέσχεθε νειόθι κούρης
Ὄσσα τε καὶ ὀλοὸν Πήλιον ἠερόεν,
Ὄφρα τε δὴ πρὸς ἔσπερον ἀντιβολήσῃ ἐόντα,
Ἀφραδέως ἀφύλακτον ἔπι, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφίπολον νῆα.

Cæterum dubia luce pergentibus aperiebatur Athonis umbo
Thracius, qui Lemnum, licet tantum distantem,
Quantum insultare omnaria conficiat in meridiem,
Extantissimo inumbrat fastigio, vel Myrinam usque.

Salmasius (e) alledges *Stephanus* (f) *Byzantius*, to shew, that according to *Pliny* and *Solinus*, the Shadow of Mount *Athos*, could not have reached the Isle of *Lemnos*: he objects against them, that according to that Writer, that Shadow did not reach above 300 *Stadia*; but he would have more solidly confuted them, and many others, by *Peter Belon*'s Testimony.

(B) *Its Labyrinth was one of the Four Buildings of that kind.*] The Three others were that of *Egypt*, that of the Isle of *Crete*, and that which King *Porsenna* caused to be built in *Tuscany*. Here follows a Passage out of *Pliny*. (g) *De Ægyptio & Cretico Labyrinthis, fatis dictum est. Lemnius similis illis, columnis tantum centum quinquaginta mirabilior fuit: quarum in officina turbines ita librati pendebant, ut puero circumagente tornarentur. Architecti illum fecere Zmilus & Rholus, & Theodorus indigena. Exstatque adhuc reliquiæ ejus, cum Cretici Italicique nulla vestigia exstent.* That is to say, according to *Du Pinet*'s Version, 'so much for the Labyrinths of 'Egypt and Crete. That of *Stalimene* (2) was 'the same, except that it had 140 Marble Pillars 'more than the others, which were all turned 'with that Dexterity, that one Person could turn the 'Lathe in which they were made, so finely polished were the Irons and Axes that sustained 'em. More 'over, 'tis said, the *Zmilus*, *Rholus* and *Theodorus*, 'which were of the said Isle, made this Labyrinth, 'of which there are some Remains; and yet we 'can't find the least Footstep of that of *Candy* or of *Tuscany*. This Translator supposes, that the Three Architects of this Labyrinth, were *Lemnians*; but the Original affirms this only of *Theodorus*, who is perhaps the same that made a Book (h) concerning a Temple of *Juno*.

(C) *That Vulcan——fell into this Island, where——set up a Forge.*] Some Authors (i) say, that *Jupiter* threw him Head-long, and that if the *Lemnians* had not received him in their Arms, he would have lost his Life. But he himself says in *Homer* (k) that *Juno* kick'd him down, and that *Eurynome* and *Thetis*, the Daughters of *Oceanus*, caught him, and prevented his being killed. He says in another place of the Iliad (l), that *Jupiter* took him by the Foot, and threw him out of Heaven, and that having been a whole Day a coming down, he fell into the Isle of *Lemnos* at Sun-setting, that he was almost dead, and that the Inhabitants took him up. Perhaps it will be said, that *Homer* should have avoided contradicting himself; but what he says implies no Contradiction; he only relates two different Adventures. *Valerius Flaccus* supposes, that *Vulcan* fell upon the Shore of *Lemnos*, and that the Inhabitants hearing his Voice, ran to him, and gave him all manner of Assistance, so that he had ever since a great Affection for that Island.

(h) Lucian. de sacrific. pag. 354. tom. 1.

(i) Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 394. p. m. 556.

(k) Il. il. lib. 1. v. 591.

(m) *Jam summas Vulcania fugit*
Lemnos aquas, libripes variis defleta laboris
Ignipotens; nec te Furiis & crimine matrum.
Terra, fuga meritique piget memorasse pudoris.
Tempore quo primum frenis insurgere coortos
Cœlicolum, & regni sensit novitate tumentes
Jupiter; æthereæ nec stare silentia pacis:
Junonem volucri primam suspendit Olympo,
Horrendum chaos ostendens, panamque baratri.
Mox etiam pavidæ tentantem vincula matris
Solvere, præcipiti Vulcanum vertice cæli
Devolvit: unus ille polo, noctemque diemque
Turbinis in morem; Lemni cum Lucifer tandem
Insonuit: vox inde repens ut perculit urbem,
Excivêre procul, miserentque favent que
Æternos ægro cunctantem poplite gressus.
Hinc edoctæ, superas postquam pater annuit arces,
Lemnos cara deo: nec fama notior Ætna
Aut Lipares domus.

(m) Valer. Flaccus Argonaut. lib. 2. v. 78. pag. m. 91.

Homer says (n) that *Lemnos* was the beloved Country of *Vulcan*.

(n) Ἠέ γε Λῆμνον ἀπενάσσατο θεσπεσίοιο
Ἡφαίστου, ὅθι μιν ποδάρκης δέξατο δῖος.
Il. ω. v. 753.
Simulabat se iterum in Lemnum pulchrè fabricatum oppidum, Quod illi terrarum multò charissimum est omnium. *Homero Odyss. lib.* 8. *pag. m.* 230.

Here follows a thing, which shews, that the most fabulous Traditions will last a long time. *Belon*, who travelled *Turkey* in the Year 1548, informs us (o), 'that there's no Inhabitant of the Isle of 'Lemnos, but knows something of *Vulcan*'s History; and as the little Children of the Isle 'of *Corfula* will tell you the History of the *Dolphin*, as if it was a new thing; so every body 'in the Isle of *Lemnos*, relates the Adventures of 'Vulcan, but in a different manner. For some say, 'that he and his Horse broke their Thighs by 'their Fall, and that he was immediately cured by 'the Vertue of the Earth on which he fell.

(o) Belon, Observat. B. 1. ch. 29. p. 68.

(D) *Was very remarkable by a kind of Earth, which had great Vertues. It cured* Philoctetes.] *Philostratus* mentions a Particular very different from the common Tradition. He says, that *Philoctetes* was not tormented in the Isle of *Lemnos*, with the long Pains that were so much talked of. 'That 'brave Man, *adds he* (p), was immediately cured by the Earth of *Lemnos*, which is taken out 'of the very Place on which *Vulcan* fell from 'Heaven; for it has the Vertue of curing all sorts 'of violent and furious Distempers, and of stopping 'all Bloody Fluxes; but it cures no Biting of Serpents, except that of the *Hydra*. I shall set down some

(p) Philostrat. in heroicis.

times many Flames broke out (F) of the Earth in that Iſland, particularly on the top of Mount *Moſychlus*. Two Maſſacres had been committed in the ſame Iſland, which gave occaſion [a] to ſome Proverbs. I have mentioned the firſt of theſe two Maſſacres, in the Article of *Hipſipyle*; that Country had in time, bin wholy diſpeopled by 'em, if the *Argonauts* had not prevented it. The Women had killed all the Men, and had no Mind to receive the firſt Comers; for hearing that a Ship was ſtanding to their Coaſt, they took up Arms, and ran to the Shore [b], fully reſolved to oppoſe the Invaſion; but when they came to know that theſe Foreigners were not the *Thracians* their Enemies, and that it was a Ship of the *Argonauts*, they ſhewed them all manner of Kindneſs, and declared to thoſe brave Men, that they might land in their Country, provided (G) they would take an Oath to lie with them. They accepted the Condition, and were ſo well pleaſed with the Performance of it, that 'twas thought they had entirely forgot their Expedition to *Colchos*: But *Hercules*, who

[a] *See* Eraſmus, Chil. 1. cent. 9. n. 27. & Chil. 2. cent. 10. n. 44.

[b] *Apollon. Argon. lib. 1. v. 633.*

interdum neceſſe) ſed faxum illud Lemnium clamore Philoctetео funeſtare.

Quod ejulatu, queſtu, gemitu, fremitibus
Reſonando mutuum flebiles voces refert.

[1] See alſo *Sophocles*, in the Tragedy intituled *Philoctetes*.

(F) *Many Flames broke out of the Earth in the Iſle of* Lemnos.] *Euſtathius* mentions this as the Reaſon, why the Ancients feigned that *Vulcan* fell into that Iſland. (a) [illegible] *Quia olim ibi è terra erumpebat ſpontaneus ignis.* The Scholiaſt upon *Lycophron*, quoting *Hellanicus*'s Book concerning the Foundation of *Chios*, tells us, that the firſt Invention of Fire, and Arms, was owing to a Thunder-Bolt that fell upon a Tree in the Iſle of *Lemnos*. This he ſays, upon ſome Words of *Lycophron* (b) in which Fire is called *Lemnian*. What has been ſaid of Mount *Moſychlus*, is much the ſame with what has been reported of Mount *Ætna*. See *Heſychius* and *Nicander*, and the Scholiaſt upon the latter, with the Verſes (c) he alledges out of *Antimachus*; and don't forget theſe Words of *Seneca*.

(a) *Euſtath. in lib. 1. Iliad.*

(b) Τερψιγενὴς χθὼν Λημνίης πυρός. Conſurgens artus igne Lemnio. *Lycophr. v. 227.*

Qua (d) *tanta nubes flamma Sicanias bibit?*
Quæ Lemnos ardens? quæ plaga igniferi poli
Petens flagranti curvet in zona diem?

(c) *You may ſee 'em in* Bochart geogr. ſacra, lib. 1. cap. 12. pag. m. 432.

(d) *Seneca in Hercule Oetæo, v. 1360.*

At this rate they might well ſay, that *Vulcan* had his Forges in the Iſle of *Lemnos*.

(G) *Provided they took an Oath to lie with them.*] This Particular being contrary to the *Decorum*, which the Poets uſually obſerve, I ought to produce a Proof for it in the very Words of my Author; and therefore I ſhall ſet down this *Greek* Paſſage. (e) Λημνιάδες δὲ γύναικες ἐπεὶ ἐπύθοντο τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας [illegible] μάχῃ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐμάχοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· τέλος δὲ ἡ νικήσασα μάχη μεγάλη ἐγένετο καὶ φονώδης. The meaning of thoſe Words, is, that the Women of *Lemnos* took up Arms, and continued to threaten the *Argonauts*, till they ſwore that they would lie with 'em. *Euripides* ſays they fought with a great deal of Bravery. This Story will hardly be credited by thoſe, who do not mind the Circumſtances; but if we conſider on the one Hand, that theſe Women had deſtroyed all the Men of that Iſland, and on the other, that they reſolved upon ſuch a Maſſacre, becauſe their Husbands not being able to endure their ill Smells, applied themſelves to other Women, whom they made their Concubines, the thing will appear highly probable. Nor can it be a Wonder, that theſe Women ſhould have been ſo forward in their Advances, and that the *Argonauts* ſhould have diſcovered ſo little Tenderneſs and Galantry. The Warlike Equipage, and Martial Look of theſe Women, were no inticing Things. The cruel Havock they had made of their Fathers, Husbands, Sons, and Brothers, did certainly raiſe an Abhorrence for them. Beſides the Conſideration of the Reaſon, why they had committed ſuch a Slaughter, muſt needs have been an Obſtacle to the Love of the *Argonauts*; for they committed that horrid Crime, becauſe their Husbands grew out of Conceit with them by reaſon of (g) *their Smell, which proceeded from their Breath; but ſome ſay it proceeded from their Arm-Pits, which we call to ſmell Ramiſh.* Lactantius, *upon the 5th. Book of* Statius's *Thebaid, follows this Opinion, for he calls this Smell of the* Lemnindes, hircinum odorem. *Dion Chryſoſtom* ſom ſays likewiſe to the ſame Purpoſe in his 33d. Oration. Ἀφροδίτην γοῦν φασὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγειν δυσκόλως πως μοιχᾶσθαι. *As it is ſaid that* Venus *being exaſperated againſt the Women of* Lemnos, *infected their Arm-Pits.* All things duly conſidered, one may eaſily perceive, that the Antients did not tranſgreſs the Rules of Probability, when they ſuppoſed, that the Companions of *Jaſon* had much ado to proміſe on the Shoar of *Lemnos*, what they would have asked and offered in other Places. The Women who came to a Parley with them, deſerved to be told what was ſaid by *Catullus* againſt one *Ruſus*, who wondred that all the Women he met with proved cruel.

(g) Meziriac *upon* Ovid's *Epiſtles*, *pag.* 557, 558.

Noli (h) *admirari, quare tibi fœmina nulla*
Ruſe, velit tenuem ſuppoſuiſſe ſuam.
Non illam rara labefactes munere veſtis,
Aut perluciduli delicijs lapidis.
Ladit te quadam mala fabula, qua tibi fertur
Valle ſub alarum trux habitare caper.
Hunc metuunt omnes: neque mirum, nam mala valde eſt
Beſtia, nec quicum bella puella cubet.
Quare aut crudelem naſorum interfice peſtem:
Aut admirari deſine, quur fugiunt.

(h) *Catul. epigr. 70. p. m. 157. Ovid* de arte amandi lib. 3. *ſays* Quem ſæpe admonui ne trux caper iret in alas, Neve forent duris aſpera crura pilis!

Horace alledged a like Reaſon to a Woman, who complained that he was unkind to her.

(i) *Horat. epod. od. 12.*

Quid (i) *tibi vis mulier nigris dignißima barris?*
Munera cur mihi, quidve tabellas
Mittis, nec firmo juveni, neque naris obeſæ?
Namque ſagacius unus odoror,
Polypus, an gravis hiſutis cubet hircus in alis,
Quam canis acer, ubi lateas ſus.
Quis ſudor victis, & quàm malus undique membris
Creſcit odor, cum &c.

Theſe Verſes of *Horace* have been thus tranſlated into *French*, by *Robert* and *Anthony le Chevalier d'Agneaux*.

Que me demandes-tu, femme ſur toute digne
D'elephans noirs? pour quelle cauſe à moy
Ny roide jouvenceau, ny d'épeſſe navine
Fais-tu de dons & de lettres envoy?
Car plus ſubtilement, que la bauge, où ſe cele
Le porc ſanglier, le chien n'odore ſin;
Je ſen s'aunez le poulpe, ou ſideſions l'aiſſelle
Au rouge pol loge un flair de bouquin.
Quelle ſueur luy croiſt, combien lui croiſt mauvaiſe
Es membres flacs un odeur, lors qu'étant, &c.

Some there are who attentively conſidering theſe Circumſtances, will judge perhaps, that the Rules of Probability had been better purſued, if the ſame Conduct had been aſcribed to the *Argonauts*, which *Auguſtus* obſerved, when *Fulvia* propoſing to him Peace (k) or War, he choſe the latter. But it is certain, that Probability has been ſufficiently guarded in the Epiſode of *Lemnos*, the Choice that the *Argonauts* made, being the more natural. Their Ship lay in the Road, and had bin ſhatter'd by a Tempeſt; They had occaſion for a Port in *Lemnos*, and there was a Neceſſity of their Landing. This they could

(k) *See the Article* Lycoris.

who kept a-board the Ship, upbraided 'em with (*H*) their giving themſelves over to their Pleaſures, and obliged 'em to Re-imbark. Some pretend that they paſs'd two or three years a-ſhoar with the Women of *Lemnos*, and that the Iſland was by this means Re-peopled. The other Maſſacre was that of all the Children (*I*) begot by thoſe

could not do without fighting; and they 'had already experienced the Valour of theſe Women; for they had fought courageouſly, and had not been worſted. They muſt either renew the Attack, or Retreat, or take an Oath, that they would grant theſe Women all they deſired. The Retreat was ſcandalous, whether before the Deciſion of a Second Battle; or after a freſh Attempt, as unſucceſsful as the former. What can be hoped from the Expedition to *Colchos*, might all *Greece* ſay, when our Heroes are baffled at the Iſle of *Lemnos*, repulſed by ſilly Women, and forced to fly? The Tempeſt deſtroy'd their Hopes of any good Succeſs in caſe of a ſecond Battle. All then that remained, was to ſubmit to the Neceſſity of the Oath demanded. And perhaps, thought they, the Cauſe of the *Lemnians* Averſion is over, or in a great Meaſure abated; and if the worſt come to the worſt, they could quickly free themſelves from the ungrateful Yoke, ſince nothing in particular was enjoyn'd 'em as to time or any other Circumſtance. Theſe might be the Conſiderations that obliged them to ſwear, and we muſt not believe they went upon Equivocations, or Mental Reſervations, or upon the Right which diſpenſes with an Oath taken by Force, *& metu cadente in conſtantem virum*. We ſhall ſee in the following Remark, that they kept their Promiſe very well.

(*H*) Hercules, *who kept aboard his Ship, upbraided 'em——and obliged 'em to re-imbark.*] There's ſome room to wonder, that being ſo much given to the Love of Women as he was, he ſhould not take a turn, as well as the reſt, with the Women of *Lemnos*; for though the *Lemnian* Dames, for Reaſons already mentioned, were none of the moſt tempting; yet we ſee no reaſon why he ſhould be nicer than the reſt of his Comrades. The Oath they exacted, ſay you, carry'd ſome Suſpicion with it, and ſince they could not think bare Promiſes a ſufficient Tye, he concluded they had an extreme Miſtruſt of their own Charms, and that ſomething was in the Wind which he could not well gueſs at; in ſhort, that it was not worth while to go aſhore. But once more, why ſhould he be ſo much more Squeamiſh than the reſt, he who had as Whoring a Conſtitution as the beſt of 'em? I own I'm at a loſs what to anſwer to this Difficulty, and ſhall therefore take up with the bare matter of Fact. *Apollonius* declares, that '*Hercules* never would ſet Foot in the Iſland, but 'kept conſtantly aboard the Ship *Argos*, that he 'might have a right to reprove his Companions, 'who ſuffered themſelves to be drawn away by the 'Careſſes of the *Lemnian* Women, and never once 'thought of purſuing their Enterprize; which he 'did with ſo much the more freedom, as he him'ſelf was not liable to the ſame Imputation (*a*). *Valerius Flaccus* repreſents theſe young Hero's to intent upon ſolacing the Widows of *Lemnos*, that they had not Leiſure to think of embarking. They had quite forgot themſelves in the Iſland; The Game pleaſed, and *Hercules* was forc'd to drag 'em thence by Dint of Reproach, and talk very coarſly to *Jaſon*, Chief of the Enterprize.

(*a*) *Meurſius ubi ſupra, p.* 585. 586.

Urbe (b) ſedent læti Minyæ, viduique vacantes
Indulgent thalamis; nimboſque educere luxu;
Nec jam velle vias: Zephyroſque andire vocantes
Diſſimulant; donec reſilles Tyrinthius Heros
Non tulit; ipſe rati nocturnos atque integer; urbis
Invidiſſe deos tantum maris æquor adortis,
Deſertaſque domos, fraudataque tempore ſegni
Vota patrum; quid & ipſe viris cunctantibus aſſit?
O miſeri, &c.

(*b*) *Valer. Flaccus, l.* 2. *v.* 370. *p. m.* 101.

I obſerved in another (*c*) place that the beſt Prize had fallen to *Jaſon*'s ſhare; the Queen of the Iſland fell in Love with him, and gave him the tendereſt marks of her Eſteem. The Remonſtrances of *Hercules* awak'd theſe Hero's out of their Golden Dream: They Re-imbarked without ſhewing any regard to the Tears (*d*) of their *Lemnian* Miſtreſſes. *Ovid* (*e*) ſuppoſes that they tarried two whole years with them, but *Apollonius* informs us that their ſtay was much ſhorter, and this indeed is moſt likely, for had they paſſed two whole years in theſe delights there had been no need of ſtriking the Lyre of *Orpheus* to draw 'em away, that irreſiſtleſs Lyre to which the Stones (*f*) themſelves obey'd. Now 'twas found neceſſary to have Recourſe to this Machine, elſe they never had been able to tear themſelves from their Wives of *Lemnos*.

(*c*) *In the Article of* Hypſipyle.

(*d*) *See Valerius Flaccus ib. v.* 393. *& ſeq.*

(*e*) *Ovid. in Epiſt. Hypſipyle.*

(*f*) *Ovid. Metam. l. XI. v.* 2. *&* 42.

(*g*) *Orpheus in Argonauticis, v.* 478. *p. m.* 34.

Aliaque alius commiſcebatur, & obliti fuiſſent itineris ſui,
Niſi quidem revocatoriis monitis, ſuavique cantu
Noſtro perſuaſi, deſcendiſſent ad navem nigram,
Remigationem deſiderantes, recordatique fuiſſent laboris.

Let's Note an Error of *Barthius*. He ſays, *Ovid* makes the *Argonauts* ſtay three years in this Iſland, and thus he proves it. (*h*) *Sic enim ipſum penes Jaſoni ſcribit bona noſtra Hypſipyle.*

(*h*) *Barth. in Statium, Tom.* 3. *p.* 228.

Tertia meſſis erat, cum te dare vela coactus,
Impleſti lacrymis talia verba tuis.

If he had taken notice of the foregoing (*i*) Verſe, he would have ſpoken only of two Years; and this may ſhew us how much it concerns Writers not to run too faſt, but patiently examine what goes before, and what follows the Places they deſign to allege. Three Harveſts do not ſignify Three Years; they lie almoſt within the compaſs of two, as three *Sundays* within the compaſs of two Weeks.

(*i*) Hic tibi ſubque ſcilas, ſubque cacumina mentis.

(*I*) *The other Maſſacre was that of all the Children begot by thoſe of* Lemnos.] To give a juſt Comment on this Article, I muſt take notice (*k*) that the *Athenians* having expelled the *Pelaſgians* out of *Attica*, gave 'em the Country which lies at the Foot of the Mountain *Hymettus* (*l*) for a Habitation. This was in Recompence of the pains the *Pelaſgians* had taken in building the Walls of the Citadel of *Athens*. They Cultivated the Country which had been aſſigned 'em with ſo much Induſtry, that of the worſt Land thereabouts they ſoon made it the beſt. And this was the reaſon why the *Athenians* outed 'em. The Hiſtorian *Hecataus* aſſigns no other reaſon for it. But they themſelves would never own the Injuſtice, they pretended that a great many of their Children, Boys and Girls (*m*) going to fetch Water from the nine Fountains, had a horrible Affront put upon 'em by the *Pelaſgians*, who not content with that Inſult, had made preparations for an Irruption, and were duly Convicted of it. The *Athenians* maintained that they might juſtly have put 'em to Death, and that they had ſhew'd a great deal of Clemency in having only expelled 'em. The *Pelaſgians* withdrew into ſeveral Parts, and particularly into the Iſland of *Lemnos*. They watched an opportunity to Revenge themſelves; and as they knew the time of the *Athenian* Feſtivals, they laid an Ambuſh for the Women of *Athens*, who were Celebrating the Feaſt of *Diana* at *Brauron*, carried off a great number of 'em, and afterwards made uſe of 'em as Concubines. They got a great many Children by 'em, whom they brought up in the Language and Manners of *Athens*. Theſe Children wax'd Proud, and ſcorn'd to keep Company with thoſe that were Born of *Lemnian* Mothers; and if any of 'em happen'd to quarrel with another Child who was a *Pelaſgian* by Father and Mother, they went in a Body to his Aſſiſtance, and affected a Superiority in every kind of Reſpect. The *Pelaſgians* obſerving this, concluded that a parcel of Baſtards who knew from the very Cradle how to form Leagues againſt the Legitimate Children, and pretended to matter 'em, might prove very dangerous one Day. They therefore ſlew 'em all; and ſome time after they ſlew their *Athenian* Concubines too. This Tranſaction was followed by a notable Sterility, which extended equally to their Wives,

(*k*) *Herodot. l.* 6. *c.* 137. *& ſeq.*

(*l*) Herodotus *pronounces it ſo; others ſay* Hymetta.

(*m*) Herodotus *obſerves that neither the* Athenians, *nor any other of the* Greeks *had Slaves in thoſe Days.*

those of *Lemnos*, on their *Athenian* Concubines. This Island was mightily plagued with Grashoppers, the true Reason of their taxing each Inhabitant in such a certain Number of 'em, and of their Worshipping the Birds which went forth to destroy 'em. Great regard was had here for (*L*) *Bacchus*, and for *Diana*, but none at all for *Venus*, who on her part had never shewed any Kindness to this Country: A deadly Affront had been put upon her in this Island of *Lemnos*; for here it was that *Vulcan* exposed her linked with the God *Mars*; and here he gave all the Gods the Pleasure of seeing her surprised in a flagrant Sin. *Homer* (*b*) is of another Opinion; He lays the Scene of this Adventure in Heaven above. The *Persians* made themselves Masters of this Island in the Reign of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, and placed a Governor over it, who treated the People inhumanely. *Miltiades* subdued it a long time after. *Herodotus*

(*a*) See the Scholiast of Statius in Theb. l. 5. v. 50. & Homer. Odyss. l. 8. (*b*) Herodot. l. 6. c. 26. 27.

Wives, and to their Fields, and to their Flocks. They applied themselves for Relief to the Oracle: *Apollo* ordered 'em to make all the satisfaction to the *Athenians* that they should demand. They went to *Athens* and declar'd their Readiness and good Intention; but when a Country was demanded of 'em resembling a Table which was laid in the *Prytaneum*, and spread with all manner of good things; They answer'd, *we'll comply, when a Ship shall Sail in twenty four hours from your Country to ours, by a North-West.* They thought they had provided nothing considerable, the Situation of *Athens* with respect to *Lemnos*. *Miltiades* many years after seiz'd on the *Thracian Chersonnesus*, from whence he let Sail to *Lemnos*, and declar'd to the Inhabitants that the condition of their Promise was accomplished, and consequently they were oblig'd to leave the Country. The *Hephestians* obey'd, but the *Pelasgians* refused, alledging that the *Chersonnesus* was not *Attica*. *Miltiades* Besieg'd them, and forced them to surrender. This is the Account of *Herodotus* (*a*). His Narrative is not altogether like that of *Cornelius Nepos*, concerning the conquest of the Isle of *Lemnos*; for the latter tells us (*b*) that *Miltiades* before he subdued the *Chersonnesus*, address'd himself to the *Lemnians*, Summoning them to retreat Voluntarily elsewhere, and that they made him the Answer above mention'd; that having Conquered the *Chersonnesus*, he returned to *Lemnos*, and demanded the Performance of the Agreement, and that the *Lemnians* not daring to refuse him, yielded up the Island. *Cornelius Nepos* calls them *Carians*, and not *Pelasgians*. It appears from several places of *Thucydides*, that the Inhabitants of *Lemnos*, were on the *Athenian* side, in the *Peloponnesian* War. They had then (*c*) the same Dialect and the same Laws as the *Athenians*.

Note, that *Herodotus* observes that a *Lemnian* Action, among the *Greeks*, imported a crying Iniquity, on account of the Massacre of the *Athenian* Concubines, &c. and the Barbarousness with which the *Lemnian* Women dispatch'd their Husbands, without sparing even King *Thoas*. This is the true Sense of this Historian's Words, and 'tis without Reason that a learned Critick has found fault with them. (*d*) *Verba Herodoti, ubi de Thoante sermo est, omnino mendosa sunt.* (*e*) [illegible] *Nemo enim de Thoante hoc tradidit. Igitur duæ voces, aut sunt glossemata sunt, aut corrupta est prior, & legendum* [illegible]. *Barthius* does not explain his thought clearly: For we know not what he means by these Words, *Nemo de Thoante hoc tradidit*. Does he mean that no Body has related that the *Lemnian* Women, favour'd or assisted by *Thoas*, rid themselves of their Husbands! But this is not *Herodotus*'s Sense. Does he mean that all Authors agree that *Thoas* was not kill'd, and that therefore there is a fault in this Passage of *Herodotus*, if 'tis pretended that he was included in the number of the *Lemnians* kill'd by the Women. But in this case he's mistaken; since there are Authors who say that the Women understanding that *Hypsipile* had not kill'd her Father, *Thoas made so diligent search that they found him and kill'd him* (*f*).

Erasmus has committed some Faults in Abridging *Herodotus*'s Narration: he says (*g*). in the first place, that the *Lemnians* carry'd off the *Athenian* Women during the Celebration of *Minerva*'s Feast at *Brauron*. He should have said *Diana* instead of *Minerva*. 2. He adds that the *Athenian* Concubines would not suffer their Sons to Marry the Legitimate Daughters of the *Lemnians*; *Herodotus* does not say so, but supposes these Bastards were kill'd before they were Marriageable. *Erasmus*'s third fault is his affirming that after this Massacre the *Lemnians* were afflicted with Barrenness, Pestilence and many other Evils. *Herodotus* mentions only the Barrenness (*h*) of the Earth, and of the Women. 4. *Erasmus* most falsely imputes to him the saying that these Evils were partly the cause of the Proverb *Lemnia Mala*. 5. And that the other cause of its Origine, was, that the *Lemnian* Women not able to bear the Stench of their Husbands, kill'd them all by the assistance of *Thoas*. 'Tis true *Herodotus* touches by the by as one of the Reasons of the Proverb, the Slaughter these Women made; but he does not say that their Husbands stunk, and he affirms that *Thoas* was no more spar'd than the rest. *Benedict* in his Paraphrase of *Pindar*, is grossly mistaken, for instead of saying that the *Lemnians* were disgusted at the ill smells of their Wives, he (*i*) affirms the Women were incommoded with the stink of their Husbands. This fault has not been Corrected in the *Oxford* Edition of *Pindar* 1698. The Scholiast from whom *Benedict* had taken a Passage not long before (*k*) might have preserved him from falling into *Erasmus*'s Sense, Mr. *Moreri* falls into it at full length, tho he has not Copied all the Faults of this Learned Man. He has only catch'd at a very few Faults which he met with in his Additions *The Pelasgi*, says he, (*l*) *drove away the Women of Athens, and got Children by 'em, whom they afterwards kill'd, observing that they had Inclinations contrary to theirs. And the Women kill'd their Husbands by the assistance of* Thoas. Every one sees that this is aligning the Reason, in too indefinite and unlikely a manner, which induced the *Lemnians* to kill their Bastards. And plainly telling us that the Action of these Women succeeded the Massacre of these Bastards: A Circumstance a Falsity as the pretended assistance of *Thoas*.

(*K*) *And Worshipping the Birds that went forth.*] Here's a very curious Passage. (*m*) *In Cyrenaica regione lex etiam est ter anno debellandi eas, primo ova observendo, deinde fœtum, postremo adultas: desertoris pœna in eum, qui cessaverit. Et in Lemno insula certe mensura præfinita est, quam singuli enecatarum ad magistratus referant.* (*n*) *Gracculos quoque ob id colunt, adverso volatu occurrentes earum exitio.* Let us also hear *Plutarch*, tho' he differs from *Pliny* as to the kind of Bird which the *Lemnians* ador'd. The *Ægyptians* says he, (*o*) Worship'd the Ox, the Sheep, and the *Ichneumon*, *on account of the service and benefit they receiv'd by them, as the Inhabitants of* Lemnos *honour'd the Larks, because they found out the Grass-hoppers Eggs and broke them.*

(*L*) *Great regard was had here for* Bacchus *and* Diana, *but none at all for* Venus.] *Thoas* King of *Lemnos* was the Son of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne* (*p*); no wonder then that the Worship of *Bacchus* should be well Establish'd in this Island. 'Twas in a Temple of this God that *Hypsipile* (*q*) conceal'd her Father in the Night of the Massacre. *Strabo* informs us that the Mysteries of *Samothrace*, and *Lemnos*, had a near conformity enough with the Ceremonies the *Bacchantes* observed (*r*). Besides this Island was so fruitful in Wine, that this alone might make it considered as a Country Consecrated to the same God. *Quintus Calaber* (*s*) calls it [illegible] *vitibus abundantem*. Our Travellers, say it still deserves

(*a*) Herod. ubi supra. (*b*) Cornel. Nep. in vit. Miltiad. (*c*) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 548. (*d*) Barth. ad Stat. Theb. l. 5. v. 50. p. 1013. (*e*) See Valesius's Greek in the Edition of Herodotus. Hujus loci emendationis est mentio apud Suidam in voce [illegible]. Ex hoc factum, & ita interpretandum, quæ vitiose ab aliis dicta sunt. Thoante sacrificatum, ubi receptum est per Græciam ut tetenderint quique facinora Lemnia appellentur. (*f*) See Mezeriac upon Ovid's Epistles, p. 501. See also pag. 558. (*g*) Erasm. adag. chil. 1. centur. 9. n. 27 p. m. 302. MISTAKES of Erasmus, &c.

(*h*) [illegible] Pariter fame & liberorum orbitate vexati. *Herod. ubi supra, cap.* 139. (*i*) Quin etiam in Lemnum venerunt (*Argonautæ*) - - - & cum Lemniadibus mulieribus concubuerunt omnesque ejus insulæ gravedinis offensæ, occiderant, rem habuerunt *Paraphr. Pindari Od. 4. Pyth. p.* 330. (*l*) Moreri *under the Word* Lemnos. (*m*) *Plinius, lib.* 11. *cap.* 29. *p. m.* 526. (*n*) *Father* Hardouin *makes a good Remark here*, Corniculârum, *says he*, egenere avis est graculus veterum Latinorum: nos *Chouchas* vocamus, ut recte Belonius admonet, lib. 6. cap. 3. & 7. (*o*) *Plut. de Iside & Osiride.* (*p*) *Ovidius, epist. Hypsipyl. Apollon. lib.* 1. *Argon. & multi alii apud Mezeriac ubi supra, pag.* 532. (*q*) *Val. Flaccus, lib.* 2. *v.* 254. (*r*) *Strabo lib.* 10. *pag.* 321. (*s*) *Quint. Calab. lib.* 9. *v.* 337.

Herodotus tells a Story on this Occaſion, which is not eaſily reconciled (M) with that of *Plutarch*. *Ubbo Emmius* [a] aſſures us, that the *Amazons* reigned here long before the Deſcendants of the *Argonautes* inhabited the Iſland. I ſhould be glad to know in what good Author he has met with this. I find in *Vitruvius* [b], that the *Romans* beſtowed the Revenues of it on the *Athenians*. If what *Strabo* wrote upon it, had been preſerved to us, I don't doubt but we ſhould have found in him ſome Particulars of great Curioſity; but that part of this excellent Geographer's Book, is loſt to us, and yet Mr. *Moreri* [c] cites him as an Author, who ſpeaks of it in a very particular manner. *Lemnos* is at this Day called *Stalimene*. The *Turks* beſieged it in the Year 1475, and were obliged to raiſe the Siege. 'Twas on this Occaſion, that a Maid, called *Maruſſa* [d], manifeſted an extraordinary Courage. Mr. *Moreri* makes mention of it, but he falſely ſuppoſes, that ſhe lived in the XIVth. Century. He adds, [e] that *Mahomet* II. wreſted this Iſland out of the Hands of the *Venetians*. That's not exact, ſince he obtained it by a Treaty of Peace, [f] in the Year 1478. The *Venetians* re-conquered it in the Year 1656. The *Turk* recovered it the Year following, after a tedious Siege. I had like to have forgot the Flower called *Lychnis*. See the Margin [g].

[a] Ubbo Emmius, l. 7. de Veteri Græcia, p. 147. *Note, that if he goes upon what* Strabo, l. 11. p. 348. *relates, that the* Amazons *had built the City of* Myrina, *his Foundation is naught; for there were ſeveral Cities called* Myrina. [b] *Vitruv. lib.* 7. c. 7. [c] *Under the Word* Lemnos. *See* Vincenzo Coronelli Biblioteca Veneta Tom. 1. p. 724. [d] *Under the Word* Stalimene. [e] *Under the word* Lemnos. [f] *Pimoli ibid.* p. 738. [g] *The Flower* Lychnis *grew no where in ſo much perfection as in the Iſle of* Lemnos. *It ſprung from the Water in which* Venus *had Bath'd her ſelf after having lain with* Vulcan. *See* Athenæus, *l.* 15. *p.* 681. 2.

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(a) *See* Pelon ubi ſupra *l.* 1. *c.* 25.

(b) *Plutarch. de virtutib. mulier. p.* 247.

(c) *Lib.* 1. *p.* m. 55.

(d) *Cap.* 5.

(e) *In libr.* 1. *v.* 209.

(f) *Barth. in Statium Tom.* 3. *p.* 166. 167.

ſerves this Epithet (a). As for the Worſhip of *Diana* I ſhall content my ſelf with pointing out the place where *Plutarch* tells us that the *Lemnians* (b) being driven out of their Iſland, carried about with them the Image of *Diana*, which they had taken from *Brauron*. I ſhall obſerve alſo that they Stampt the Figure of this Goddeſs upon their ſealed Earth. See *Saumaiſe* in his *exercitationes Plinianæ in Solinum*, *p.* 1156. All the Authors who ſpeak of the Rage of the *Lemnian* Women againſt their Husbands, obſerve that the Smell which rendered 'em ſo inſufferable, was an effect of *Venus's* Anger, who ſaw herſelf neglected and deſpiſed in this Iſland. See (c) *Apollodorus*, (d) *Hyginus*, (e) *Apollonius's* Scholiaſt, &c. We have ſtill an Error to cenſure in *Barthius*. He believes that in after times the *Lemnians* Conſecrated an Image of *Venus*, which was one of the moſt exquiſite Shrines of Antiquity. *Venerem etiam Lemniam*, ſays he (f), *inter pulcherrima ſimulacra cultam poſtea diſcimus ex Luciani Imaginibus. Item* Lemniam Minervam, *à Lemniis dedicatam, quod omnium fuerit Phidiæ operum elaboratiſſimum, Pauſania Atticis.* He has reaſon to ſay, that the *Minerva* which was *Phidias's* Maſter-piece, was Dedicated by the *Lemnians*. *Pauſanias* ſays that for that reaſon ſhe had the Surname *Lemnian*. See the 28*th.* Chap. of his firſt Book; but *Barthius* is wrong, in diſtinguiſhing it from the Image which *Lucian* mentions, and pretending that *Lucian* has ſpoken of a *Lemnian Venus*. He has indeed mentioned a *Minerva* ſo Named. This can't be Diſputed if we obſerve the Remark he has made (g) that this was the moſt excellent Piece of *Phidias*, and that which he freely ſet his Name to.

(g) *Lucian. in imagin. p.* 5. *Tom.* 2.

(M) Herodotus *tells a Story on this Occaſion, which is not eaſily reconciled with* Plutarch.] This laſt Author relates, how the *Tyrrhenians*, having ſeized the Iſles of *Lemnos* and *Imbros*, forced away the *Athenian* Women from *Brauron*, and had Children by 'em. This Race was expell'd theſe Iſlands by the *Athenians*, who look'd on 'em as next to Barbarous. They ſet Sail towards *Peloponneſus*, and Landing at *Tenarus*, did good Services to the *Lacedæmonians* in the War with the *Heilotes*, and obtained in Recompence the Privileges of Citizens, and the liberty of Marrying into the other Families of *Lacedæmon*, but not of attaining to publick Offices or Councils. This Excluſion made theſe People ſuſpected of a deſign to Embroil the State; their Perſons were ſecured, and they were kept in cloſe Confinement, till the Proofs were prepared for Convicting 'em of the Conſpiracy. Their Wives obtaining leave to Viſit 'em, chang'd Habits with the Men, by which means they got away, and left them in their ſtead. Having ſeiz'd Mount *Taigetus* they joined with the *Heilotes*, and became ſo Formidable to *Lacedæmon*, that it was thought proper to Capitulate with them. Their Wives were reſtor'd; and they had Money and Ships given 'em, and a promiſe of owning 'em as Relations, and as a Colony of *Sparta*, wherever they ſhould ſettle themſelves. They accepted the Conditions, and ſome went and ſettled at *Malar*, others at *Crete*. The latter after ſeveral Battles, made themſelves Maſters of *Lyctus*, and ſome other Towns, and hence the Inhabitants of *Lyctus* pretended that by the Mothers ſide they were related to the *Athenians*, and look'd on themſelves as a Colony of *Lacedæmon* (b). This is *Plutarch's* Account. Thoſe whom he calls *Tyrrhenians*, and a little after *Pelaſgians*, are the very ſame whom *Herodotus* calls *Pelaſgians*. Theſe Two Names belong (i) to the ſame People, and it muſt not be imagined, that the Authors who have ſaid (k) that the Iſle of *Lemnos* was inhabited by the *Tyrrhenians*, differ from thoſe who ſay it was poſſeſs'd by the *Pelaſgians*; ſo far then there is no difference between *Herodotus* and *Plutarch*: But when the latter affirms, that the Poſterity of the *Athenian* Women carried off at *Brauron* by the *Tyrrhenians*, who had ſettled in the Iſles of *Lemnos* and *Imbros*, were expell'd thoſe Iſles by the *Athenians*, he contradicts *Herodotus*, who pretends that the *Lemnians* themſelves deſtroy'd all the Children begot by 'em upon theſe *Athenian* Women. Theſe two Hiſtorians differ widely in point of Time. The one will (l) have *Miltiades* expell the *Lemnians*, the other makes that Expulſion much more ancient, at leaſt confounds what he ought to diſtinguiſh. The Hiſtory of theſe Women, who procured the Liberty of their Husbands, relates to a Time, in *Herodotus*, much earlier than *Miltiades*, and has not one of the Characters which *Plutarch* attributes to it.

(b) *Taken from* Plutarch de virtut. mulierum p. 247.

Let's now ſee *Herodotus's* Account (†). The Inhabitants of *Lemnos*, deſcended from the *Argonautes*, were expelled this Iſland by the *Pelaſgians*, who forced away the *Athenian* Women from *Brauron*. They retired to the Country of the *Lacedæmonians*, and gave out, that they were the Poſterity of the *Argonautes*, and that being driven out of their Country, they returned to their Anceſtors, and begged leave to live amongſt them. The *Lacedæmonians* remembring that *Caſtor* and *Pollux* had been in *Jaſon's* Expedition, gave theſe Fugitives a kind Reception, allowed 'em Lands, and incorporated them into their Tribes. Theſe Refugees contracted new Marriages, having firſt parted with the Wives they had brought from the Iſle of *Lemnos*, to ſome of their Neighbours. It was not long before they grew Proud, would needs domineer, and became guilty of very ill Actions. They were impriſon'd, and their Death reſolved on, but the Wives ſaved 'em by changing Habits, as I mentioned before. The Deſign was ſtill continued, of putting 'em to Death, but *Theras*, who was preparing to found a Colony, interceded for 'em, and promiſed to take 'em away with him, and prevent any farther Danger. His Requeſt was granted. Moſt of 'em diſperſed themſelves, the reſt followed *Theras*, who founded a Colony in the Iſland (m) which bears his Name. Note, that he had been (n) Tutor to *Euriſthenes* and *Procles*, the Sons of *Ariſtodemus*, one of the Leaders of the *Heraclidæ*, who returned into *Peloponneſus*; and from thence conclude, that he flouriſhed Six Hundred Years, or thereabouts, before *Miltiades*. Note (o) alſo, that *Pindar's* Scholiaſt relates the thing almoſt juſt as *Herodotus* does, and that both obſerve, that *Battus* deſcended from and that both obſerve, that *Battus* deſcended from one of the *Lemnians* of *Theras's* Colony, founded the City of *Cyrene*.

(i) *See* Cluverius in Italia antiqua, l. 2. c. 1. & Strabon, l. 5. p. 253.

(k) *Schol. Apollonii in libr.* 1. *v.* 608.

(l) *That's to ſay*, Herodotus.

(†) *Herodot. l.* 4. *c.* 145. *& ſeq.*

(m) *The Iſland of* Thera.

(n) *Herodot. ibid.* c. 147.

(o) *Scholiaſtes Pindari in Od.* 4. *Pyth. v.* 88. *p.* 218. *Edit. Oxon.* 1698. *he'll have it that the Priſoners were delivered by their Mothers.*

He

LENTULUS *(Scipio)* was a Neapolitan, who forſook the *Romiſh* Church and embraced the Reformed Religion in the XVIth. Century. He was [a] Miniſter of *Chiavenne*, in the Country of the *Griſons*, and he employ'd his Pen (*A*) in the Defence of an Edict which the *Griſon* Leagues publiſhed in 1570, againſt the Sectaries. They failed not to encounter this Edict, with the Arguments for Toleration, which the Reformed themſelves alledged againſt the *Roman* Catholicks, in the Countries under Perſecution: But our *Lentulus* anſwered theſe Reaſons. He is the Author [b] of an *Italian* Grammar, printed at *Geneva* in 1568.

[a] *Epitome Bibliroth. Geſneri.*

[b] *Ibid.*

LEO I. ſirnamed *the Great*, took Poſſeſſion of the Papacy, the 10th. of *May*, 440. He was a Man of great Abilities and Courage, a great Maſter of Eloquence, and well skilled in Affairs. Nor did he want Opportunities of diſcovering his great Talents: he found Exerciſe enough for 'em, from the Hereſies he had to engage, and the Ravages committed in the *Roman* Empire. His Zeal againſt the *Manicheans*, the *Priſcillianiſts*, *Pelagians*, *Neſtorians*, and *Eutychians*, was vigorouſly ſeconded by the Penal Laws of the Emperors, executed with great Severity. He did not diſapprove the coming, even to the Effuſion of (*A*) Blood. His [illegible] to (*B*) *Attila*, produc'd

He that ſays this is foreign to my Subject, will be to blame, and that for two Reaſons, 1ſt. Becauſe Criticiſm requires, that I ſhould ſhew the Differences between *Herodotus* and *Plutarch*; and next, I I am obliged as an Hiſtorian, to collect the Adventures of the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Lemnos*.

(*A*) *He imploy'd his Pen in Defence of an Edict.*] The Epitome of *Geſner's Bibliotheque* mentions this Work of *Lentulus*, as a Piece that was never printed. *Ejuſdem liber de jure Magiſtratuum in puniendis hæreticis, quo Sylvii cujuſdam epiſtolam hæreticis patrocinantem refutat nondum editus.* This you find in the 744th. Page of the Epitome, *Zurich* Edition, 1583. At laſt the Book was printed at *Geneva*, by *John le Preux*, in 1592. in 8vo. This is the Title: *Reſponſio orthodoxa pro edicto Illuſtriſſimorum D D. trium fœderum Rhetiæ, adverſus hæreticos, & alios Eccleſiarum Rheticarum perturbatores promulgato; in qua de Magiſtratûs authoritate officio in coercendis hæreticis, ex verbo Dei diſputatur.* I know ſome Perſons, who having read in the Catalogue of the *Oxford* Library, that *Lentulus's* Apology for the Edict of the *Griſon* Leagues, was printed in 1502, over-ſtrained their Imagination, to find what Sect this could be, which gave Birth to that Edict among the *Griſons*, in the Beginning of the XVIth. Century. They ſifted many Books, and conſulted thoſe who had Libraries, and who exhauſted themſelves in Conjectures. At laſt, the true Date of the Edition was diſcovered, and a new Inſtance given of the Confuſions into which the Faults of the Preſs caſt Authors, on Thouſands of Occaſions. Mr. *Voetius* (*a*) obſerves, that the Sectaries proſcribed by the Edict of the *Griſon* Leagues, were *Arians*, or ſomething worſe; and that *Lentulus* gave the Particulars of their Blaſphemies in his Preface. He obſerves alſo (*b*) that *Lentulus's* Orthodox Anſwer, *pro edicto, &c.* confuted the Complaints publiſhed by an Anonymus Author in 1570, againſt the Edict of the *Griſons*, and that it came out in 1578. This is very different from what is found in *Geſner's* Epitome.

(*A*) *The coming even to the Effuſion of Blood.*] You'll quickly have the proof of this in a Paſſage of Mr. *Maimbourg*. It relates to the capital Puniſhment inflicted on *Priſcillian*, and many of his Followers, and the Exile to which many others were Condemn'd, which *Sulpitius Severus* highly diſapprov'd, as a thing of *moſt pernicious Example*. ' (*c*) Becauſe he believed nothing like it had been ' ſeen before. As to the point of Puniſhment, no ' one will pretend but he is in the wrong. For all ' the World knows that *Conſtantine* Baniſh'd the ' Biſhops who refus'd to Subſcribe the Condemnation of *Arius*; that he Puniſh'd alſo with Exile, ' as did the other Emperors after him. As to the ' Penalty of Death, 'tis true it had not hitherto ' been inflicted on Hereticks; not but this ſeverity ' may be moſt juſtly exercis'd againſt 'em, as in ' after times it frequently has. And not to ſpeak ' of thoſe who have proved in their Writings, that ' it was not only Lawful but very Expedient to ' treat *Heretics* after this manner, we need only ſee ' what St. *L*[illegible] written upon it, when giving ' the neceſſ[illegible]ers (as we ſhall cite him and ' ly) to act [illegible]ain againſt the Hereſ[illegible]*cillian*, he pra[illegible]s *Maximus* for an A[illegible] this ' kind. (*d*) *That the rigour and ſeverity of his Juſtice againſt that Hereſiarch and his Diſciples, whom this Prince put to Death, was a great Relief to the Clemency of the Church. For tho' the Church contents it ſelf with that Lenity of Judgment which the Biſhops exerciſe according to the Canons, againſt obſtinate Hereticks, and admits of no bloody Executions, it is however much Aided and Supported by ſevere Conſtitutions of the Emperours, ſince the fear of ſo rigorous a Puniſhment ſometimes makes Hereticks have Recourſe to the Spiritual Remedy, to cure the Mortal Diſeaſe of their Hereſie, by a ſincere Converſion.*

(*B*) *His Deputation to* Attila, *produced an admirable Effect.*] As this is one of the fi[illegible] Pieces in the Life of this Pope, it deſerves to [illegible]e a little inlarged on in this Place. *Attila* ha[illegible] himſelf Maſter of *Aquileia*, and almoſt reduced it to Aſhes: *He had ravaged all upon his march from* Aquileia *on to* Pavia *and* Milan. He had made himſelf Maſter *of theſe two great Cities*, and had treated them *as he had the reſt, laying them both in Rubbiſh*——(*e*) *So many diſmal Meſſages arriving upon the back of one another at* Rome, *cauſed a great Conſternation there.* ' The Senate was aſſembled to deliberate, whether the Emperor ſhould ' quit *Italy*, as *Aetius* adviſed him: They could not ' reſolve what Courſe to take. (*f*) To defend *Rome* ' in the Condition it was, againſt that innumerable ' Multitude of *Barbarians*, ſeemed utterly impoſſible; to forſake it, and fly, and ſeek a Sanctuary ſomewhere elſe, was the laſt Diſgrace to an Emperor, who ought rather to die honourably, than ' live after ſo ſhameful a Piece of Cowardice. What ' then muſt be done? A Medi[illegible] was found betwixt ' theſe two Extreams, which [illegible] to ſend an honorable Ambaſſy to *Attila* [illegible]tain Peace of him, ' upon any tolerable Con[illegible]. This being reſolved on, it was thought [illegible] no one could better ' acquit himſelf of that Imploy, than the Holy ' Pope *Leo*, to whom the Strength of his Parts, his conſummate Prudence, his Addreſs, Vertue, Learning and Eloquence, joyn'd with the Dignity of Sovereign Pontiff, which rendered him venerable ' to all the World, had obtained the Reputation, [illegible] ' being univerſally acknowledg'd the greateſt M[illegible] ' of his Time. The Emperor therefore conjure[illegible] ' him to accept this Imploy, which he moſt willingly did to ſave the Capital City of the Empire, and ' the Holy See from the Invaſion of the *Barbarians*. ' To honour the Embaſſy, and the Pope, at the Head ' of it, he had for his Aſſiſtants two of the greateſt ' Men of the Empire, *Avienus* and *Trigetius*, one ' of which had been Conſul, the other Prefect of ' *Rome*. Some Senators were added to them, among ' whom was the Father of *Caſſiodorus*, who, carried ' away by a filial Affection in one (*z*) of his Epiſtles where he ſpeaks like an Orator, making ' the Encomium of his Father, Aſcri[illegible]him all ' the Honour, and Effect of this impo[illegible]mbaſſy. ' But in his Chronicle, where he ſpeaks like an Hiſtorian, he unſays it again, and gives the whole ' Glory to St. *Leo*, as all other Authors before him do. ' *Attila* gave (*g*) a favourable Reception to this ' Embaſſy, in the Neighbourhood of (*h*) Mantua, ' not [illegible]*rom the place where the River* Mincio *diſcharges it ſelf into the* Po; And as Savage as this Pr[illegible] was (*i*) *he paid all kind of Honours* to the Pope. *He favourably heard his Speech, which he* ' *ordered*

(*a*) *Gisbert. Voetius, Tolit. Eccleſ. tom. 2. pag.* 539.
(*b*) *Ibid. pag.* 386.
(*c*) Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of the Pontificate of St.* Leo, *lib.* 1. *pag.* 55, 56, Hol. *Edition.*
(*1*) Profuit diu iſte diſtrictio Eccleſiaſticæ lenitari, quæ etſi ſacerdotali contenta judicio cruentas refugit ultiones: ſeveris tamen Chriſtianorum Principum conſtitutionibus adjuvatur, dum ad ſpiritale nonnunquam recurrent remedium, qui timent corporale ſupplicium. *S. Leo epiſt.* 95. *ad Turib.*

(*d*) *Maimbourg, ib. liv.* 3. *pag.* 219. *ann.* 452.
(*e*) [illegible] *pag.* 221.

(*z*) Tota legatione dignanter accepta, ita ſummi Sacerdotis præſentia Rex gaviſus eſt, ut bello abſtineri præciperet. *Proſper in Chron. à Duchenio vulgato, apud Maimb. ib. pag.* 223.
(*b*) *Maimbourg, ib.*
(*i*) *Ibid. pag.* 224.

duced an admirable Effect: But the Miracle which is (C) added to it, is no better than a Fable. His Eloquence had not the same success with (D) King *Ginseric*, nor yet was it wholly fruitless. They who say (E) he cut off his own Hand, on having

'ordered to be Interpreted, and found it so fine and 'judicious, so forcible and moving; that this Attila, this Scourge of God, this Enemy of Mankind 'whose sight alone struck a Terror into the most undaunted, [illegible] very Name made all the Earth 'to Tremble [illegible] immediately softened; of a Ravening 'Wolf, as [illegible] before he became gentle as a 'Lamb, granted him out of Hand the Peace 'he desired: And that without exacting any grievous Conditions, promising inviolably to observe it 'on his part; after which [illegible] his Course, he 'March'd back beyond [illegible] from whence 'he returned no more.

(C) *The Miracle which is added to it, is no better than a Fable.*] If I alledged the Authority of a Protestant Writer, I should startle the tender Minds of the Romish Communion; wherefore I choose to cite a Man who lived a long time among the Jesuits, and is inclined to nothing less than favouring the Anti-Catholicks. His Words are these. (a) 'I know 'what is commonly said to make the thing more 'wonderful, that *Attila*'s Captains asking him the 'reason of his having [illegible]ur'd this Pope so far as 'to obey him in all [illegible] Commands, this Prince 'Answered 'em Trem[illegible], that all the time *Leo* 'was speaking, he saw a venerable old Man stand 'by his side, who holding a naked Sword in his 'Hand, threatned to kill him, unless he granted 'all that the Pope desired. But I am oblig'd to say 'that one [illegible] dispense with the believing any 'thing [illegible] without being thought incredulous; 'for this Vision is not to be found in the Breviary 'of *Pius*, since our Learned Archbishop Mon-'seigneur *Francis de Harlay* has restor'd it to its 'genuine State; having taken great care to re-'trench all that was Apocrypha, or very Suspi-'cious in it; and to insert for the Lessons, the fi-'nest Pieces of the Fathers, such as are best suited to the Subject which offers, and to the Feast 'which is Celebrated. I shall boldly say then, that 'we may without scruple be of their Opinion who 'don't give credit to this Apparition: For Antient 'Authors as *Jornandes*, *Theophanes*, *Suidas*, Count 'Marcellinus, *Cassiodorus*, *Anastasius*, and others 'who have written of this Embassy of St. *Leo*; not 'to mention St. *Prosper* who was then at *Rome*, and 'has related all the Circumstances of it, and St. 'Leo himself who mentions it in one of his (3) 'Sermons, say nothing of this Vision, which they 'would not have suppress'd if it had been true. 'Very far from it, [illegible]stead of attributing this 'Condescention of [illegible] to the fear he had of this 'Apparition, and [illegible] Menacing Sword, they 'Unanimously agree that it was an effect of the 'Majestick Presence, and Persuasive Eloquence of 'St. *Leo*, which softned and subdued the Heart of 'this Barbarian; and the Holy Pope, who was 'far from glorying in it, declares it ought to be 'Ascrib'd, not to the Influence of the Stars, as 'some of the Profane would have it, but to the 'infinite Mercy of God alone (1) who suffered 'himself to be intreated by the Intercession of his 'Saints, and thereupon vouchsafed to soften and 'change the Hearts of the Barbarians. Here's no-'thing in all this that intimates this Vision. That 'which has made it current of late, is its being 'found in the History called *Miscella*, which is 'falsely Ascrib'd to *Paul* the Deacon. But beside 'that the Ancient Editions of this Compiler have 'it not, which shews it was added at Pleasure, 'without Proof, or Authority; beside that this 'History [illegible]tains many other palpable Falsities, the 'A[illegible] is mentioned in it only upon an un-'co[illegible]port, in these terms (d) *Ferunt post dis-'cessum Pontificis interrogatum esse Attilam à suis*, 'etc. 'Tis said that after the departure of the 'Pope, *Attila* being ask'd by his Attendants, &c. I 'have reason therefore to say that we are at liberty 'to reject this Vision, and that we ought not to 'seek a further Miracle in it, than what [illegible] *Leo* 'himself perform'd, in softning and ch[illegible] by 'his Eloquence the Heart of the most [illegible] all 'Mankind, and the most formidable, to [illegible] a de-'gree, that he obtained from him on the spot, an 'uncondition'd Peace, and a Promise to depart 'out of *Italy*. What's most remarkable herein, 'is, that this great Man who turn'd the 'Hearts of these barbarous Infidels, with so 'much ease, should be unable to do as much by 'his Letters with respect to Heretick's. These last Words afford the Historian a happy Transition.

(a) *Id. ib.*

(3) *Serm. in Oct. Apost.*

(1) *Quo-[illegible] ei[illegible] vinæ [illegible] furas flexa sententia est. Non sicut opinantur impii stellarum affectibus, sed ineffabili Dei omnipotentis misericordiæ deputantes, qui corda furentium Barbarorum mitigare dignatus est. Miscell. l. 15.*

(D) *Had not the same success with King* Ginseric, *nor yet was it.*] The Empress *Eudoxia*, *Valentinian's* Widow, had been obliged to marry *Maximus*, who Usurp'd the Throne after having got *Valentinian* Assassinated. This *Maximus* had the impudence to tell *Eudoxia*, that the Passion he had to enjoy her, was the only Motive which induc'd him to destroy the Emperor. *Eudoxia* furiously (b) *inraged at so Villanous a Declaration* —— *sent secretly one of her chief Confidents to* Carthage, *to* Ginseric *King of the* Vandals, *who had made himself Master of* Africa, *Conjuring him by all the powerfullest Motives she could suggest, especially by the easiness of the Enterprize, all being defenseless at* Rome *as in full Peace, to come with all Expedition, and Revenge the Death of* Valentinian *his Ally, and deliver her from her Oppression under the Tyranny of the most Cruel, and Villanous Man alive. This Barbarian King, who had then in the Port of* Carthage *a good Naval Force*, failed not to lay hold of the Opportunity; he imbark'd his Forces, and Landed in *Italy* without the least opposition; he advanc'd towards *Rome* and had the Pleasure *without* (c) *ever dra[illegible] his Sword, to see the City surrender at dis[illegible], all the Gates being thrown open to him.* [illegible] it was that St. *Leo* seeing his poor Flock [illegible]pos'd to the fury of these Wild Beasts, like the good Shepherd who lays down his Life for his Sheep, went forth and Address'd himself to this *Vandal* and *Arian* King, whom he knew to be the mortal Enemy of the Catholicks, and especially of the Bishops, on whom he had discharg'd all his Fury in *Africa*, treating 'em with a barbarous Cruelty, in a much more inhumane manner than any others. Nevertheless this cruel Man who was just ready to enter *Rome*, resolv'd to destroy all with Fire and Sword, stop'd short, at the sight of this Venerable Pontif; and as if that August and Saint-like Majesty which shone in his Face, had chang'd all at once, the Tyger's Heart within him, into that of a reasonable Man, he paid him all the honour that was owing to the Head of the Church. He patiently heard all he had to say; and if his Eloquence did not then work the same Miracle that it wrought before upon *Attila*, in causing him to return from whence he came, yet it perform'd three others of a very remarkable Nature. For it was so persuasive as to obtain a promise, that neither the Inhabitants should be put to the Sword, nor their Houses Fired, nor the three principal Churches Profaned, to Wit the *Constantian*, that of St. *Peter* in the Vatican, and that of St. *Paul* without the Walls. He kept his Word: And having given *Rome* to be Plunder'd by his Soldiers for fourteen Days together, he returned in his Ships laden with Spoils, and with noble Prisoners, to be let to Ransom; among whom was the Empress *Eudoxia*, and the Princesses *Eudocia* and *Placidia* her two Daughters, whom he Treated perfectly like a Gallant Man.

(b) *Idem Maimb. ib. l. 4. p. 246. ad ann. 455.*

(c) *Id. ib. p. 247.*

(d) Fuerunt qui scriberent enim piæ mulieris specie prælantis, oculo manui Pontificiæ religiosè admoto perculsum, mulierem neque participe, neque conscia, cœui aliquid contraxisse. *Theoph. Raynaud. Hoplotheca. Sect. 2. serie 3. c. 10. p. m. 361.* Cum ipso die Paschatis, pro more recepto, mulierculam ad figendum manu suæ osculum admisisset, humanum quippiam passus, manus illius abstersione se multavit: secutus illam Christi vocem: *Si manus tua scandalizat te, abscinde eam.* Id. ibid. serie 3. c. 20. p. 409.

(E) *That he cut off his own Hand.*] 'Tis said that a Devout and Handsome Woman was according to custom admitted on *Easter* Day to Kiss this Pope's Hand: He perceiv'd I know not what Emotions which favour'd too much of Flesh and Blood, (d) and thought himself obliged to obey the Precept of Jesus Christ in the Rigor of the Letter. *If thy Hand offend thee cut it off.* But being by this Mutilation rendred incapable of saying Mass any more, there arose a Murmuring among the People, which made him earnestly be[illegible] the Restitution of his Hand: 'twas gr[illegible] him; and from that time, say they, the Custom of Kissing the Pope's Foot was chang'd into that of Kissing his Hand. Others say, that St. *Leo* cut off his Hand

having felt ſome irregular Motions whilſt a Woman Kiſs'd it, and add that he was reſtor'd by the Ardency of his Prayers, vent a couple of Fables. The beſt Edition of his Works is that of Father [a] *Queſnel*. Some of the Books aſcrib'd to him in that Edition, are attributed by (F) other Authors to St. *Proſper*. A learned Diſpute has been ſtarted upon this Matter. A famous Miniſter (G) has a little Embarraſs'd himſelf by placing the *Epocha* of Antichriſt in the Pontificate of St. *Leo*. This Pope Died in 461.

[a] *Printed at* Paris *in the year* 1675. *See the Journal des Savans of the* 17. *of* February 1676. *and* Du Pin's *Bibliotheque tom.* 3. *part* 2. *p.* 164. *Edit. of* Holland.

LEO X. Elected Pope the eleventh of *March* 1513. was call'd *John de Medicis*. He had been honour'd with a Cardinal's Hat at fourteen years of Age by Pope *Innocent VIII.* and a long time after, with the Dignity of Legat by Pope *Julius II.* He diſcharg'd the Functions of it in the Army which was beaten by the *French* near *Ravenna* in the year 1512. Here he was taken Priſoner; and during his Confinement he

under the Reproaches of his Conſcience, for having conferr'd Holy Orders on an undeſerving Perſon. *Cùm autem ſanctus Leo eam ob cauſam ſacrificare deſiſſet, idque in populo Romano murmur non leve excitaret, impetravit à Deo ardentiſſimis precibus, ut manus abſciſſa ſibi reſtitueretur. Ex eo tamen tempore, abolito uſu manibus Pontificis oſcula figendi, inductus eſt uſus figendi oſculum pedibus. Scribunt hæc de ſancto Leone varii; ac nominatim Sabellicus, l.* 5. *Andreas Eborenſis, tit. de Caſtitate, ac Majolus, lib.* 1. *de irregularit. c.* 14. *n.* 4. *qui addit, aliquos aſſerere, contigiſſe ut ſanctus Leo manum ſibi abſciderat, actus ſcelo erga ſe odio, ob male impoſitas alicui manus, & præcipitem indigni hominis initiationem* (a). The Author from whom I take this Paſſage baniſhes it into the Land of Fables, and obſerves that the cuſtom of Kiſſing the Pope's Hand on *Eaſter*-Day, has not been interrupted for either Sex: And as to the Scruple about the Ordination raſhly conferr'd, he gives this account of the Origin of it: (b) *Quod ad eos attinet qui hanc narrationem referunt ad manus indigno appoſitas, videntur adducti ad hanc fabellam de ſancto Leone confingendam, ex lectione revelationis ex Moſcho deſcripta capite* 149 *Prati ſpiritualis. Quod ſcilicet ſancto Leone pro peccatis ſuis ferventer precato, apparuerit ei B. Petrus, dicens exoraſſe ſe ei omnium erratorum veniam, ſalva diſtinctione peccatorum, ſi qua fuiſſent ab eo admiſſa ob indignorum ordinationem. At aliud eſt quod hac revelatione continetur, aliud quod habet fabuloſa calumnia quam retulimus.*

(a) *Id. ib. p.* 409.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Paulus de Angelis ubi infra.* (d) *Paulus de Angelis in deſcript. Baſilicæ S. Mariæ Majoris de urbe apud Daniel. Papebrochium, reſp. ad embl. error. p.* 14.

SOME ſay that the Hand which *Leo* cut off, to extinguiſh a Laſcivious Flame, (c) *ut libidinis ignem reſtingueret*, was reſtored him by Virtue of an Image of the Holy Virgin, (d) and that this Image was of St. *Luke's* Pencil. St. *Antonine* and many others relate this, and yet *Baronius* can hardly believe it (e).

(e) *Papebroch. ib.*

(F) *Are attributed by other Authors to St.* Proſper.] Father *Queſnel* pretends that the two Books concerning the calling of the *Gentiles*; the Letter to *Demetriades*, and the Chapters concerning Grace and Free Will, are not St. *Proſper's*, as is commonly believed, but St. *Leo's*. See the Book (f) Intituled, *De veris Operibus SS. Patrum Leonis Magni & Proſperi Aquitani, Diſſertationes criticæ, quibus Capitula de Gratia, &c. Epiſtolam ad Demetriadem, nec non duos de Vocatione omnium Gentium libros Leoni nuper adſcriptos abjudicat, & Proſpero reſtituit Joſephus Antelmius, Presbyter & Canonicus Eccleſiæ Forojulienſis.* The Abbot *Antelmi* has vehemently oppoſed this Pretention, and maintained that *Proſper* is the true Author of the Sermons which go under St. *Leo's* Name. What's obſervable in this Diſpute, is, that both Parties alledge the conformity of Style; one to prove that theſe Works are St. *Leo's*, the other, that they are not his but St. *Proſper's* (g). The pains the Abbot *Antelmi* has been at on this occaſion is very remarkable: He has made Tables in two Columns, in which he compares ſeveral Paſſages of St. *Proſper*, taken from the Books which are confeſſedly his, with other Paſſages out of thoſe which are Diſputed, and ſhews a great Conformity betwixt the reſpective places of one and the other. Theſe Parallels with regard to St. *Leo's* Sermons, ſhew us (h) *a way of ſpeaking ſo peculiar, Expreſſions, and Turns ſo ſtudied and ſo neat, that it ſeems impoſſible they ſhould be compoſ'd but by one and the ſame Head.* All this hinders not Mr. *du Pin's* (i) ſaying *that the Abbot* Anthelmi's *Syſtem upon the Sermons that bare the name of St.* Leo, *ſeems to him Chimerical*, and that the Proofs he brings are extreamly weak. Nay farther, he denies that Conformity of Style, alledg'd by Mr. *Antelmi*, and the conſequence he would draw from it (k). 'If a Body would be at 'the pains of Collecting the Paſſages alledg'd by 'him, he muſt find that there is no Conformity of 'Style betwixt the two Authors, tho' we meet 'with the ſame Words in both. And beſides, tho' 'there ſhould be ſome ſmall reſemblance of Style 'between St. *Proſper's* Writings and thoſe of St. 'Leo, ſhould not we have more reaſon to ſay that 'St. *Proſper* had imitated his Maſter, whom he 'often heard Diſcourſe, and Preach, whoſe Sermons 'he had Read, and perhaps Copied to preſerve 'em 'in ſcrinio Romanæ Eccleſiæ, ſuppoſing he was 'Notary of the Church of *Rome*. Here is a Fact 'which confirms ſome Reflections in the Dialogues (l) on the Chimerical Cabal. See the Article *Eraſmus*, and that of *Julius II.*

(f) Printed at Paris in 4to. in 1689.

(g) See the Journal des Savans 1689. p. 290. 294. 301. 321. Edit. de Holl.

(h) Ibid. p. 321.

(i) Du Pin Biblioth. Tom. 3. part. 2. p. 157.

(k) *Id. ib. p.* 158.

(l) *Pag.* 150. *and the following.*

(G) *A famous Miniſter has a little Embarraſs'd himſelf.*] (m) According to him, Idolatry in the days 'of St. *Leo* was rank enough to make the Church 'Anti-chriſtian, and *Leo* himſelf Antichriſt, 'and yet the ſame Miniſter had wrote the fol-'lowing Words in his thirteenth Letter of this 'year. *Whilſt Anti-chriſt was little, he did not deſtroy the Eſſence of the Church.* Leo——*and 'ſome of his Succeſſors were good Men, as far as 'Goodneſs and Piety are conſiſtent with an exceſſive 'Ambition.* 'Tis certain alſo that in his time the *'Church was engaged very far in* THE IDOLATRY *'of Creature-Worſhip, which is one of the Characters 'of Anti-chriſtianiſm: And tho' theſe Evils were 'not yet extream, nor ſuch as might have* DAMN'D *'the Perſon of* Leo, *who had otherwiſe good Qualli-'ties; yet they were enough to lay the Ground-plot 'of Anti-chriſtianiſm.* You ſee then that a Man is not Damn'd tho' he be an Idolater, and *not only an Idolater, but even Engaged very deeply in the Idolatry of Creature-Worſhip.* If a Man be not of the number of the Saints, and that we muſt raze St. *Leo* out of this Catalogue, he may at leaſt be of 'the number of good Men; and the Sin of Idol-'latry is not ſo extream as that he ſhall forfeit Sal-'vation by it. Let's urge this matter farther. We have prov'd in the Book of Variations (1) and elſewhere, from the expreſs Words of St. *John* (2) that the Beaſt and Anti-chriſt have Blaſphem'd and been Idolatrous from their Birth, and during the whole courſe of the 1260 Days of their continuance. The Miniſter would fain have Diſſembled this, that he might not be oblig'd to charge theſe Crimes on the Times and Perſon of St. *Leo*, St. *Simplicius*, St. *Gelaſius*, and other Holy Popes of the fifth Century: But at laſt he is forced to be plain. (3) *'Tis certain, ſays he, that all the Characters 'of the Beaſt commenc'd from that time. The Gen-'tiles or Pagans began in the days of Leo to tram-'ple the Church of God under Foot: For Paganiſm 'which is the Worſhip of Creatures entred into it: 'Then began the Blaſphemy againſt God and his 'Saints; for to take from God his true Worſhip, to 'give it to the Creature, is Blaſphemy againſt 'God.* Thus you ſee Anti-chriſtian Blaſphemy and Idolatry Eſtabliſh'd under St. *Leo*: He himſelf could not be exempt from it ſince he was the very Anti-chriſt; and indeed it is certain, that he honour'd Reliques, and Solicited the Aſſiſtance of the Prayers of the Saints no leſs than others. Here then

(m) *Mr.* de Meaux, 3. *Advice to the Proteſtants upon the Letters of the Miniſter Jurieu againſt the Hiſtory of Variations, p.* 86. *Edit.* Holland.

(1) *Var. XIII. n.* 21. *Apocal. Advice to the Prot. Averiſſ. ans Prot. n.* 27. 28. *p.* 612. 613.

(2) *Apoc. XI. XII.* 6. 14. *XIII.* 5. 6.

(3) *Lett. XIII. p.* 99. 2. *c.*

he made a ſtrange Experiment of the Force of (A) Superſtition, even over the Minds of common Soldiers. 'Tis thought that nothing contributed more to his Elevation to the Popedom, than the Wounds (B) he had receiv'd in the Wars of *Venus*. His Expences were Exceſſive on the Day of his (C) Coronation; and he led a Life little ſuitable to a Succeſſor of the Apoſtles, and perfectly (D) Voluptuous. He took too

'then we find not only an Idolater, but the Head 'of the Antichriſtian Idolatry in the number of 'the Elect, and that Idolatry hinders not Salvation. As this is a Diſpute between private Perſons, and not a Controverſie upon the general Doctrines of the two Communions, I may be allow'd to ſay that the perplex'd Author made the beſt choice he could in Humane Prudence; which was to be ſilent: He would not even ſeem to know that his confuſion had been expos'd to the Eyes of the Publick.

(A) *The force of Superſtition even over the minds of Soldiers.*] The Conquering Soldiers expreſs'd ſo great a Veneration for him, that they humbly beg'd pardon for their Victory, beſeech'd him to give them Abſolution, and promis'd never to bear Arms more againſt the Pope. This I learn from Cardinal *Palavicini*, after his having obſerved, that in Contempt of the Royal Authority, the *Milaneſe* look'd upon the Cardinals of the Aſſembly of *Piſa* with Averſion. (a) *In Milano con vilipenſione dell' autorità Reale furon vicevuti non come Cardinali, Grado riveritiſſimo nella Chriſtianità, mà come huomini peſſiferi e ſcelerati, e comete di ſciagura ne' paeſi dove giugneſcero. Anzi, non oſtante che i Franceſi riportaſſono la memorabil vittoria di Ravenna, e conducceſſero priggione à Milano il Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici legato dell' Eſercito pontificio, che poi aſſunto al Pontificato preſe il nome di Leon Decimo; non ſi tennero i ſoldati vincitori dall' andare con incredibil frequenza à venerar come Legato del Vicario di Criſto èl lor prigioniero; ricevendone l' aſſoluzione ch'egli havea podeſtà di dar loro per haver combattuto contro alla Chieſa, con promeſſione d'aſtenerſene per innanzi.*

(a) *Palavic. Iſtoria del Concilio di Trente l. 1. c. 1. n. 2. p. m. 45. See alſo* Paulus Jovius *in vita Leonis X. l. 2. p. m. 110.*

(B) *Wounds he had received in the Wars of* Venus.] I have ſo often given the reaſon why I chooſe rather to cite Catholick than Proteſtant Writers upon ſuch occaſions, that without further Preamble, I ſhall here produce the Words of a *French* Hiſtorian, and a bitter Enemy to the Proteſtants. (b) 'Three Months had not paſt ſince 'the return of Cardinal *de Medicis* to *Florence*, 'when the Death of Pope *Julius II.* oblig'd him to 'leave it and go back to *Rome*. He was carried in 'a Horſe Litter by reaſon of an Impoſthumation in 'thoſe Parts, which Modeſty won't allow us to 'name, and Travell'd ſo ſlowly, that the Popes 'Obſequies were over, and the Conclave Sitting, 'when he arrived. (c) The Conclave had not bin 'ended ſo ſoon as it was, the young and old Cardinals perſiſting in contrary Opinions with equal 'Obſtinacy, if an odd Accident had not brought 'em to agree. The Cardinal *de Medicis* being extreamly hurried by the number of Viſits he made 'every Night to the Cardinals of his Faction, his 'Ulcer broke and the Matter which came from it, 'ſent forth ſuch a ſtench, that all the Cells which 'were ſeparated only by ſlight Partitions, were 'perfectly Poyſon'd by it. The old Cardinals, whoſe 'Conſtitutions were leſs capable of bearing the 'Malignancy of a corrupted Air, conſulted the 'Phyſitians of the Conclave, to know what they 'ſhould do; theſe Phyſitians who had ſeen Cardinal *de Medicis*, and judg'd of his State more by 'the ill Humours which flowed from his Body, 'than by that ſtrength of Nature which drave them 'out, Anſwer'd, being firſt gained by the Promiſes of *Bibiana*, that Cardinal *de Medicis* had 'not a Month to live. Their paſſing this Sentence of 'Death upon him was the cauſe of his being choſen 'Pope, the old Cardinals who thought to out-wit 'the young, agreeing to give 'em a ſatisfaction, 'which could not as they preſumed, laſt very long. 'They waited upon 'em and let 'em know, that 'they at laſt yielded to their Obſtinacy, on condition they would remember to do 'em as 'good a turn another time. Thus Cardinal *de Medicis* was Elected Pope, upon a falſe Information, 'being not full thirty ſix years old; and as Joy is 'one of the moſt Sovereign Remedies, he ſoon recovered ſo perfect a State of Health, that the old 'Cardinals had time enough to Repent 'em of their 'being over Credulous. Not to conceal any thing, I'm obliged to acquaint my Reader, that *Paul Jovius* does not place this Ulcer in the place where *Varillas* does; but in the Fundament (d) which does not ſuppoſe a vicious Cauſe: and with the ſame ſincerity I add that this Pope Aſcended the Throne with a great Reputation of Chaſtity, if we believe *Guicciardin*, (e) and was reckon'd very continent from his Youth, if we credit *Paul Jovius*. (f) *Conſtat tamen eum, quod à primâ adoleſcentia opinione omnium ſummam continentiæ laudem fuiſſet adeptus, non importuna quadam pudicitia, ceſſitatique præſidia quæ ſiviſſe quando nequaquam priſtinæ vitæ more tam multis delicatiſque obſonüs uteretur.* Whence we muſt conclude that the Papal Dignity was that which Ruined *Leo X*'s good Morals: He grew Corrupt, when he ſhould have grown better; and Laſtly, I obſerve, that the Senſe in which I Alledge *Varillas*'s Words, and which Mr. *Sekendorf* gives us, is gathered only from Conſequences, and ſuch as don't neceſſarily follow from 'em.

(b) *Varillas, Anecdotes of Florence, l. 6. p. 253.*

(c) *Id. ib. p. 257.*

(C) *His Expences were Exceſſive on the Day of his Coronation.*] He would be Crown'd upon the ſame Day on which he loſt the Battle of *Ravenna*, and his Liberty, the year before, and rode the ſame *Turkiſh* Horſe which he rode on the Day of that Battle; he Ranſom'd him from the *French*; and as he loved him mightily, he had him very well kept and Pamper'd to an extream old Age. *Ejus etiam in pompa illo eodem equo Hiſpanico nactus ... veſtium captus fuerat, quem ab hoſte ... redemptum ita adamavit, ut pollea uſque ad extremam ſenectutem ſumma cum indulgentia alendum curaverit* (g). And as his Head was filled with the Magnificences of Ancient *Rome*, and the Triumphal ... of the Antient Comus, he endeavour'd to revive thoſe fine Shews, and was ſo well ſerv'd in this Deſign, that ſince the Irruption of the *Goths*, there never was ſeen in *Rome* any thing more Magnificent than his Coronation. See the Deſcription of it in *Paulus Jovius* (h). He agrees with *Guicciardin*, that the (i) Expence of it amounted to a hundred thouſand Ducats. Father *Gretſer* cenſures Mr. *du Pleſſis* for laying it coſt a Million, (k) *nec minus agit Pleſſæus cum Leone X. quem die coronationis ſuæ decies centum aureolorum millia, hoc eſt ut vulgo loquimur millionem conſumpſiſſe ferebat.* This is found in the Latin Edition which Father *Gretſer* made uſe of. But in the *French* Edition which I uſe, Mr. *du Pleſſis Mornai* quotes only the hundred thouſand Ducats of *Guicciardin*.

(g) *Jovius in vita Leonis X. l. 1. p. 190. col. 1. n. 3. & col. 2. litera e.*

(h) *Jovius ibid. p. 129. 130.*

(i) *Guicciard. l. 11. fol. m. 320. verſo.*

(k) *Gretſer. in Exam. Miſter. Pleſſæani p. 361. citing the 6th. p. of the Myſtery.*

(D) *A life——wholly voluptuous.*] *Paul Jovius* can't be accus'd of being too ſparing of his Incenſe to *Leo* the Tenth, but on the other Hand, it muſt be owned, he explains himſelf clearly enough upon the Vices of this Pope, not to leave an intelligent Reader in ſuſpence: The Pleaſures, ſays he, into which he too frequently plung'd himſelf, and the lewd Action, objected to him, tarniſhed the Luſtre of his Vertues. He adds, that a Temper more eaſie and complaiſant, than vicious, caſt him into the Precipice, having about him ſuch People, as inſtead of admoniſhing him of his Duty, only talked to him on Subjects of Pleaſure. The Original is more nervous than the Abſtract I give of it, and therefore I ſhall deliver it in *Paul Jovius*'s Words. *Has præclaras liberalis excelſique animi virtutes, cum nimia ſæpe vita luxuria, tum objecta libidinum obſcœnitas obruebant: ita tamen, ut jucunditate blandæ facilisque naturæ potius, ac regia quadam licentiam, quam certo depravati animi judicio in ea vitia prolabi videretur, quum frequenti blandientium turba cubiculi fores obſeſſæ paucos admitterent, qui aliquo decoris verecundique hominis ſolutos mores cohiberent, amicorum optimis ad ea conniventibus, ac libenter ſeſe illecebrarum miniſtris immiſcentibus, ne gratiam apud ſummos principes in lubrico poſitam in diſcrimen adducerent, fingratum auribus potentium reprehendentis officium honeſtatis atque benevolentiæ ſpecie ſuſceptiſſent. Verùm hominem hilaritati humanitatique ſem-*

(d) *Propterea medicatum ... Romanum modo ... ulcuſculum ... de anima contendit. Jovius vita Leonis X. l. 3. p. 120.*

too much Pleasure in Hunting. 'Tis said his Sight at this Sport, was surprizingly (E) quick. As he had been bred by Preceptors [redacted], who instructed him thorowly in the Liberal Arts, he loved and protected Men of Parts and Letters. He favoured the Poets in a particular manner, and that without preserving always the Degree (F) of Gravity which his Character required. This appeared on many Occasions, and even in the Priviledges he granted to *Arioſto*'s Poems. In a Word, let us say, that Scholars

Among others, Peter Æginera, a Greek, who explained Aristophanes *at* Bologna, *and had taught him the* Greek *Tongue. See the Letters of* Langius, *p.* 473.

Jenſibus facile ſervientem minus in modum incitabant plerique Cardinales opibus ataeque floreutes, qui illuſtri loco nati, ac liberaliter educati, regio luxu vitam in venationibus, conviviis, atque ſpectaculis libentiſſimè traducebant (a). A little after he owns, that this Pope was charged with the Crime of *Sodomy*. (b) *Non caruit etiam infamia, quòd parum honeſtè nonnullos è cubicularits (erant enim è tota Italia nobiliſſimi) adamare, & cum his teneriùs aeque liberè jocari videretur. Sed quis, vel optimus atque ſanctiſſimus Princeps in hac maledicentiſſima aula lividorum aculeos vitavit? & quis ex adverſo tam malignè improbus ac invidiæ tabe conſumptus, ut vera demum poſſet objectare, noctium ſecreta ſcrutatus eſt?* I omit what is told us (c) of the Luxury of his Table, and the Buffoonries acted at it. I have touched upon this in the Article of *Hadrian* VI. *Leo* the Tenth's Succeſſor, and Reformer of his Luxury, as we are going to ſhew. *The other Day the Queries of the deceaſed Pope* Leo, *deputed one of their Number, and ſent him to the Pope to beſpeak him in behalf of the reſt: The Pope inquired how many they were in the Retinue of* Leo; *he anſwered, An Hundred.* Adrian *ſigning himſelf with the Sign of the Croſs, as aſtoniſhed at ſuch a Superfluity, ſaid, that Four were enough for him, but that he was content that Twelve ſhould be placed upon the Liſt, ſince ſo many were neceſſary to exceed the Number which the Cardinals kept. In ſhort, it's the common Opinion that this Pope will be a good Husband, and a good Keeper for the Church, which is in Truth very ſtraitned, conſidering the Prodigality of his Predeceſſor.* This is what we find in a Letter of *Jerome Niger*, written from *Rome* the firſt of *September* 1522, it's inſerted in *Ruſcelli*'s Collection, tranſlated by *Belleforeſt*. I have made uſe of the Tranſlation and the Marginal Note, as it ſtands here.

(a) *Jovius ubi ſupra, pag.* 188.

(b) *Id. ib. pag.* 192.

(c) Mire quoque favit Pogio ſeni, Pogii hiſtorici filio, itemque Moro nobili à gulæ intemperantia, articularibus doloribus diſtorto, & Brandino equiti, Marianoque ſannioni cucullato facetiſſimis helluonibus, & in omni genere popinalium delitiarum eruditiſſimis. Verum feſtiviſſimis eorum facetiis, falſiſque & perurbanis ſcommatibus magis quam ullis palati lenociniis oblectabatur. *Id. ib. pag.* 191.

(d) Molles aditus, & quæ molliſſima fandi Tempora. *Virgil. Æn. lib.* 4. *verſ.* 423, & 293.

(e) *Jovius ubi ſupra, p.* 196.

(f) *Ibid. pag.* 197. *verſo.*

(E) *'Tis ſaid his Sight at this Sport was ſurprizingly quick.*] This we ſhall ſpeak of preſently, after having taken Notice of *Leo* X's violent Paſſion for Hunting. He was wonderfully pleaſed with it; he underſtood and obſerved the Laws of it much better than thoſe of the Goſpel, and he could not bear any one's diſturbing his Sport; he had no Mercy on thoſe, who through Imprudence, or otherwiſe, occaſioned the Eſcape of the Game. He gave 'em all manner of ill Language. He was ſo much out of Humour when the Chaſe did not ſucceed, that no Body durſt ask him a Favour; but tranſported with Joy, if it ended luckily; and theſe were the favourable Moments for obtaining whatever was deſired of him (d). *Paul Jovius* tells it very elegantly. (e) *Venationibus & aucupiis nobilioribus adeò perditè ſtudebat, ut ſpureiſſimas ſæpe tempeſtates inſalubreſque ventos, & frequentia manſionum ac itinerum incommoda obſtinatè contemneret*——(f) *In venando autem ſicuti præcepta artis ad normam exactioris diſciplinæ patientiſſimè obſervare erat ſolitus, ita ſeveritatem aſperè admodum vir alioqui leniſſimus ſemper exercuit; in eos præſertim, qui petulanti diſcurſu aut vocibus temerè editis improviſa feris effugia præbuiſſent: ita ut claros ſæpe viros acerbiſſimis contumeliis oneraret. At ſi quando imperitia, vel fortuito errore hominum, aut feris ſubtiliore aliquo inſperata fuga compendio ſervatis, vel iis denſo in nemore contumacius latentibus infeliciter venaretur, incredibile eſt quali vultus animique habitu dolorem iracundiamque præferret. Propterea amici familiares ea temporis momenta provocandæ liberalitati maximè adverſa ſedulo devitabant: quando aliàs ſecundum opinam venationem, ac præſertim vario ac inſigni labore aliquo nobilem, maxima beneficia incredibili benignitate collocaret.*

As to his Sight, here is a Paſſage which I take from a Book of the Sieur *des Accords* (g). Pope *Leo* having [redacted] theſe Numeral Letters to be pla-

(g) *Des Accords, Bigarrures, chap.* [redacted] *m.* 105.

'ced under an Inſcription, to ſignify the Year 'of his Pontificate, they were [redacted] terpreted. M.CCCC. LX. *Multi Cardinales* [redacted] *runt eum Leonem decimum.* Now I muſt, by the way, 'that I don't know why he ſhould be called blind, 'ſince by the help of Glaſſes he could ſee Sparhawks, and Vultures, at the higheſt Soar; but in requital, when he read, he clap'd the Paper to 'his Noſe, [redacted] hardly diſtinguiſh 'a Letter; [redacted] informs us, in his *Schematibus Celeſtibus.* Which puts me in mind of 'a certain honeſt Curate, who can't read the Church 'Books of the faireſt Character, without Spectacles, 'and yet ſhall diſtinguiſh the ſmalleſt Dice, and is never to be put upon. *Paul Jovius* confirms this but in part; for he ſays, that *Leo* read the ſmalleſt Print with great Eaſe, when he brought the Paper near his Eye. (b) *Subtrahebant magna ex parte oris ſuavitatem, obeſa mala & [redacted]li extantes convolutique & bebetes, verùm ſi [redacted]am inſpicienda propius admoveret, ſupra fidem [redacted]mi: ſupplices enim libellos, vel minutiſſimis [redacted]ris, & crebris ſyllabarum compendiis properanter exaratos celerrimè & diſtinctiſſimè lectitabat: admota autem criſtallo concava, oculorum aciem in venationibus & aucupiis adeò latè extendere erat ſolitus, ut non modò ſpaciantes [redacted] ſinibus, ſed ipſa etiam diſcernendi felicitate cu[redacted] anteiret.* I have juſt conſulted *Luke Gauric*'s [redacted] that *des Accords* cites, and don't find he ſays [redacted] that *Leo* X. could not ſee when *he claps the Paper cloſe to his Noſe.* Let us cite *Gauric*, and admire the Impertinence of his Attributing to the Planets the different Qualities of the Right and Left Eye of this Pope. (i) *Sol cum ſtellis nebuloſis, oculi dextri aciem penitus bebetavit cum multis lineis tranſverſis. Luna in ſexta cæli ſtatione ſub Geminorum aſteriſmo ad Martis tetragonam radiationem defluens, oculi quoque ſiniſtri lucem impediebat, adeo quidem quod nec legere, neque aliquid intueri poterit abſque conſpicilio magno chriſtallino, non autem illius aciem prorſus deſideravit, quoniam ſalutaris Stella Jovis, Lunam trigonica radiatione intuebatur, & ita literas lectitabat naſo proximiores & oculo, ſed eum illo vitreo ocello ſuſpiciebat Accipitres, Aquilas, Aſtures, altius volitantes, & longe melius quam alii venatores, ibatque ſæpius ad venationes Leporum, Caprearum ſilveſtrium, & vulpium, illa[redacted]optime conſpiciebat, quæ à canibus leporariis [redacted]ſis capiebantur.*

(b) *Jovius ubi ſupra, pag.* 211.

(i) [redacted] *nenſis, Epiſcopus Civitatenſis in tractatu Aſtrologico in quo agitur de* [redacted] *num accidentibus per proprias eorum* [redacted]

(F) *He favoured the* [redacted] *——without preſerving that Degree of Gravity.*] The Pleaſures he allowed himſelf with them, ſometimes ſunk into Buffoonry. *Quernus*, who had been ſolemnly crowned, and promoted to the Honour of *Poet-Laureat* (k), was little better than a Farce-Player. He uſed to come to *Leo* the X's Dinner, and eat at the Window, the Scraps which were returned him from Hand to Hand. They gave him the Poor [redacted] Wine plentifully, but upon Condition, that [redacted] would make extempore Verſes on the Subjects that were given him. He was obliged at leaſt to furniſh a Diſtich; and if he fail'd, or if his Verſes were good for nothing, he was condemned to drink a great deal of Water with his Wine. (l) *Fuit dira inter inſtrumenta erudita voluptatis longè gratiſſimus, quum canante Leone porrectis de manu ſemeſis obſoniis, ſtans in feneſtra veſceretur, & de principis lagena perpotando, ſubitaria carmina facitaret; ea demum lege, ut perſcripto argumento bina ſalte[redacted]na ad muſicam, tributi nomine ſolverentur, & [redacted]am ſtevili vel inepto longe dilutiſſimè foret [redacted]endum.* Sometimes the Pope too ſet himſelf to make extempore Verſes with his Arch-Poet, which ſet all the Company a Laughing. What want of Gravity was this! (m) *Ab hac autem opulentia hilarique ſagina, vehementem incidit in podagram; ſic ut belliſſimè ad riſum moverit, quum de ſe canere juſſus, in hunc hexa[redacted]um erupiſſet;*

(k) *Jovius in Elog. c.* 82

(l) *Id. ib. pag.* 191.

(m) *Ibid.*

larsand (FΔ) Buffoons, equally shared his Friendship. He had not the same Relish for (G) Theological Studies. I shall not vouch the Story that has been made, that he once ridiculed the whole Christian Doctorine (H) as a meer Fable. He had the Industry to ruine the Council, which the Emperor and the King of *France* had set up against *Julius* II. and he made the Council of *Lateran* triumph, obtaining of *Lewis* XII. all the Submissions he could desire. He obtained of *Francis* I. a much more solid Advantage by the Concordat, concluded between 'em in the Year 1515. This did not make him a jot more favourable to *France*. He formed Leagues against her, and

(a) *See the Article of* Julius I. *Remark* G.

Archip[illegible] facit versus pro mille poëtis,

Et demum haftaret, inexpectatus Princeps hoc pentametro peregrina respondit;

Et pro mille alii[illegible].

Tum verò astantibus obortus est risus: & demum multis maximus, quum Quernus stupens & interritus, hac tertium non inepte carmen induxisset.

Porrige, quod faciat mihi carmina docta Falernum.

Idque Leo repente mutuatus, à Virgilio, subdiderit,

Hoc etiam enervat, [illegible]que pedes.

One Day a Poet pre[illegible] him with some *Latin* Verses in Rhime; the Pope, to divert himself, gave him no other Recompence than an extempore Flight, containing an equal Number of Verses in the same Rhymes. [illegible] Poet vexed to see that *Leo* gave him nothing, [illegible] the following Distich.

Si tibi [illegible] numeris numeros fortuna dedisset,
Non esset capiti tanta corona tuo.

Hereupon the Pope extended his usual Bounty (a). By this we may see, that he turned every thing to his Diversion. But here's a matter that clearly discovers the buffooning Spirit, which then reigned in the Pope's Palace. A Man having something to ask of *Leo* X. and finding himself tortured for several Days, with ungrateful Delays, which made him despair of being introduced, bethought him of this Stratagem. He acquainted *Leo*'s Great Chamberlain, that he had the admirablest Verses to shew the Pope, that ever were made. The Chamberlain, transported with joy, goes immediately to the Pope, and tells him, he had lit on the very top of Fools, and the fittest thing alive——to divert him. 'Twas the way of *Leo*'s Courtier's to find out such as were half-witted, and (b) compleat the Disorder of their Br[illegible], for the Diversion of the Head of the Churc[illegible] but they I now speak of, were the Cullies of [illegible] pretended Poet. For when he was admitted to the Pope's Presence, he let him know the true Reason which induced him to counterfeit a half-witted Poet, and declared his real Business. They who understand *Latin*, will read this with more Satisfaction, in the Words of *Nicius Erythræus*. (c) *Hoc hominum ridicule insanientium, [illegible]ere non minimum delectabatur Leo X. Pontifex Maximus, cujus Gnathones, quos circa se habebat, dabant operam ut eos, quibus levis mens esset, ad insaniam adigerent, seque eos esse, qui non essent, arbitrarentur. In quo mirabiliter lusus est à quodam, cui petenti aditum convenienti non dabat: qui cum multos dies expectasset, atque omnes ad Pontificem allegationes difficiles, omnes aditus arduos intercluso[illegible]que videret, seducto Pontificii cubiculi præfecto in aurem dixit, se esse poëtam, solum præter cæteros, qui sua vellet carmina Pontifici tradere, quibus lectis obstupesceret, horreret, ad incredibilem admirationem efferretur. Quo ille audito, venit atque avibus ocius advol[illegible] Leonis cubiculum, atque hilaritate lætitiæ [illegible]ens, Invenimus, inquit, perfectæ insaniæ hominem, qui tibi voluptati maxima erit. At ille simulatè intromissus, ex illis se integumentis simulationis evolvit, causam, cur insaniam simulasset, aperuit, negotium, quod volebat, exposuit. Itaque ille deridiculo eos habuit, quibus ludendus tradebatur.* Was it maintaining the *Decorum* of the Papacy to expedite a Bull so favourable to the Poems of *Arioste*? [illegible] *Hippolyte d'Est*, to whom the *Orlando Fu[illegible]* of this Poet was dedicated, judged very w[illegible] it, when he asked the Author, *Messer Ludovico dove Diavolo havete pigliato tante coionerie, Where the Devil could you find so many Fooleries?* Leo X. was infinitely more debonaire to this Author. '(d) 'Almost at the same time that he thundred his 'Anathema's against *Martin Luther*, he was not 'ashamed to publish a Bull in favour of the pro'fane Poems of *Lewis Arioste*, threatning those 'with Excommunication, who found fault with 'em, or hindred the Profit of the Printer. We shall see elsewhere that he was a great Admirer of Plays.

(d) David Blondel's Examinat. *of Pope* Innocent X's *Bull. pag.* 3.

(FΔ) *Scholars and Buffoons equally shared his Friendship.*] The Historian, *Peter Matthew* (e), having said, that *Leo* X. *loved Buffoons, as much as the learnedst Men in* Italy, *and changed his Humour from one Extream to another*, alledges these Words of *Peter Aretin*. 'E beato colui chi e pazzo e ne la 'pazzia sua compiace ad altri e a se stesso. Certamente Leone hebbe una natura da' stremo à estremo, e non sarìo opra da ognuno il giudicare chi 'piu gli dilettasse, o la vertue de i dotti, o le ciancie 'de i buffoni, e dicio fa fede il suo hauer dato à l'una e à l'altra specie essaltando tanto questi quanto 'quegli. *Peter Matthew*, who so often cites the same *Aretin*, took much more Pains than Mr. *Me-*[illegible] (f).

(e) Matthieu's *History of* Henry IV. liv. 7. tom. 2. pag. m. 710.

[illegible] *had not the same Relish for Theological* Cardinal *Salaviem* could not deny it; he [illegible]ly confesses, that *Leo* X. valued those more, who understood the Mythology of the ancient Poets, and profane Learning, than those who understood Divinity, and Ecclesiastical History. His Words, which are more frank, and have less of the Bias than usual, are these. (f) *Gli opponeil Soave, ch'egli havesse maggior notizia di lettere profane che sacre ed appertenenti alla religione: nel che io non gli contradico. Havendo Leone ricevuto da Dio un ingegno capacissimo e singolarmente studioso; ed appena uscito dalla fanciullezza veggendosi posto nel supremo Senato della Chiesa; mancò al suo debito con trascurar nella letteratura una parte non solamente al più nobile, mà la più proporzionata al suo Grado. E s'accrebe tal mancamento quando in età di trentasett anni costituito Presidente e Maestro della religione, non solo continuò di donarsi tutto alle curiosità degli studi profani; mà nella Reggia della medesima religione con maggior cura chiamò coloro à cui fosser note le favole della Grecia e le deliziè de' Poeti, che l'Istoine della Chiesa, e la dottrina de' Padri. Non lasciò ei veramente di rimunerar la Scolastica Theologia, onorandola con la Porpora in Tomaso di Vio, in Egidio da Viterbo, e in Adriano Florenzio suo Successore, e coll' ufficio di Maestro del Sacro Palazzo in Silvestro da Prierio; le cui penne illustrarono immortalmente quella sacra disciplina. Mà nè co' Teologi usò di conversare come co' Poeti; ne promosse l'erudizione sacra come la profana; lasciando la Chiesa in quella scarsezza in cui la trovò di persone che dopo l'infelice ignoranza di molti secoli ravvivassero la prima, come si ravvivava già la seconda.* It were to be wished that these two Historians always agreed so well.

(f) *Palavic. ubi supra, cap.* 2. n. 2. *pag.* 50.

(g) Cardinal Bembo, *Secretary* (these two Qualities don't well agree, *Bembo* was not a Cardinal under *Leo* X.) *quoting a Passage out of the Gospel to him, upon some Occasion, he was so presumptuous as to tell him, what a deal of Service hat this Fable of Christ done us, and our whole College.* Du Plessis, Mystere d'iniquite, pag. 784.

(H) *He ridiculed the whole Christian Doctrine, as a meer Fable.*] The Story goes, that Secretary *Bembo* alledging something from the Gospel, he answered him, It's well known of old, how profitable this Fable of *Jesus Christ* has been to us. *Quantum nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit satis est omnibus seculis notum.* This Story is found in the *Mystery of Iniquity* (g), and in abundance of other Books: but still without being supported by Citations, or having any other Foundation than the Authority of *Balaus*: [illegible] that Thirteen or F[illegible] Hundred Authors, [illegible]less, who have copied [illegible]om one another, ou[illegible]e reduced to *Balaus* [illegible]ngle Testimony, a [illegible]mony manifestly [illegible]onable, since he wrote in open War against [illegible]pe, and against all the *Roman* Church. No

(b) *Taken out of a Book, intitled,* [illegible] *from the* Italian *of* Antonio Maria Spelta, *Historiographer to the King of* [illegible] *Paris* Roan, 1635. t. *Par. pag.* 103, 104.

(c) *Erythræus Pinacothec.* 2. *cap.* 33. *pag.* 110. in vita Leonis X. lib. 4. pag. 189 190. *where he speaks of Evangelick Musician* Tarascon, *and the Poet* Raraballus.

and took that Affair ſo much to Heart, that having received the News of the Misfortunes of the *French*, he died, 'tis ſaid (*I*) of meer Joy *. Not but there are Writers

* *In the beginning of* December 1521.

No Tribunal in the World receives the Depoſitions of ſuch a Witneſs ſwearing that he has ſeen or heard ſo and ſo, for when once the Perſon appears to be his Enemy againſt whom he depoſes, the Challenges of the accuſed Party are declared valid. Since Books of Controverſy then are Pieces which the Parties produce in a Suit pleaded before the Publick, 'tis certain, that the Teſtimony of a Proteſtant Controvertiſt upon a Fact reflecting on the Catholicks ought to be reckoned as nothing. The Publick, which is judge of the Proceſs, ought to reject all theſe Teſtimonies, and have no more regard to them, than to things which never happened. Private Perſons are permitted, if once perſwaded of the Probity of *Balæus*, to believe what he affirms; but they ought to keep their Perſwaſion to themſelves, and not produce it to Publick View, as a juſtifiable Warrant of an Allegation againſt their Adverſaries; Which in my Opinion, is a thing not ſufficiently obſerved.

They tell another Story, which lies open to the ſame Battery as the former. It is ſaid, that *Leo* hearing two Men diſpute, one whereof denied, the other affirmed the Immortality of the Soul, pronounced, that the Affirmative ſeemed true, but that the Negative was more proper to give a Man a cheerful Air. *Leonis X. Papæ dictum refert* (Lutherus) *qui audita diſputatione in qua unus immortalitatem animæ defendebat, alter oppugnabat, dixerit,* tu quidem vera videris dicere, ſed adverſarii tui oratio facit bonum vultum, *id eſt lætiorem mentem* (*Ital.* buona cera) *ex Epicuri ſcilicet ſententia. Luther* is the Man who ſays this. We may, if we pleaſe, believe he ſpoke truth, but we ought not to allledge his Teſtimony; he is a Perſon at a Pen War with the Pope; he is an Enemy perſecuted and fulminated, by Anathem's; the judicial Practice requires, that he ſhould be rejected, and even his Oath not admitted; he ought either to prove what he ſays, or ſay nothing. A famous Profeſſor of Divinity at *Zurich*, relates this Story, upon the Teſtimony of a Man, as exceptionable as *Luther* himſelf. (*b*) *Qualis fuerit Leo——conſtabit——ſi de ejus——impietate & atheiſmo nonnihil attexuerimus. Ille ſcilicet Doctor Johannis XXIV. animum in corporis domicilio ſic inſinuatam ſtatuentes, ut extra illum carcerem non duret; juſſit aliquando* (uti Recul. t. Synod. Trid. par. 2. cauſ. 8. p. 266. *comprobatum videre eſt*) *perſonatos Philoſophos duos, ceu morientes ex adverſo ad menſam aſſiſtere; quos animi gratia de immortalitate animæ diſputantes audiret; alterum qui affirmaret, & qui impugnaret, alterum. Cumque finita diſputatione judicium in arbitrium Pontificis hi rejicerent; ille ſic definita ſententia controverſiam diremit*: Etſi tu, *inquid ad affirmantem*, pulchras & bonas rationes habeas; tamen ego ſententiam hujus, *negantis*, probo, ceu firmiorem, & quæ faciat bonum vultum. He afterwards relates the Anſwer, that 'tis pretended he made *Bembus*; and as he well perceived that things of this Nature need being proved by the Teſtimony of Catholick Authors, ſee how he orders it; he Alledges the Nephew of the famous Count of *Mirandola*. (*c*) *Et ne ab hæreticis hæc conficta clamitent ei ex aureâ ejus rei notâ hîc & alterum* (*d*) *teſtem damus, qui & ſcire debebat, & cauſam cur mentiretur non habebat, Johannis Pici, Mirandulani Comitis nepotem ex fratre minimè degenerem, qui in illo Piſani & Lateranenſis Conſilii conſiliis, quæſtionem tractans,* utrum Concilia vel Pontifices errare poſſint, *inter alia de Leone hoc loquens*: Meminimus, *inquit*, Pontificem creditum & adoratum, qui nullum Deum credens, omne infidelitatis (ἀσεβείας) culmen excederet: peſſimaque ejus opera in coëmendo Pontificatu, in omnigenis ſceleribus exercendis, id ipſum teſtabatur: ſed & peſſima quoque dicta confirmabant. Namque faſſum eum affirmabatur domeſticis quibuſdam, nullum ſe Deum aliquando, etiam dum Pontificiam Sedem teneret, credidiſſe, *quæ ejus verba libro* de fide & ordine credendi, theorem. 4. p. 259. 290. *legere eſt*. It will perhaps be not unacceptable to procure here more at Length and in Engliſh, *John Francis Picus's* Relation. '(*e*) 'Treating alſo the queſtion, *whether Councils or* 'Popes may Err; in it ſelf eaſily decided, ſince 'he Preſuppoſes that they may ſwerve from the 'Holy Scriptures, he tells us that many Councils 'have actually Erred, many Popes fallen into Hereſie; it often happening, that he who was look'ed on as Supream of the Church, either did not 'rightfully preſide, or was not capable of ſo doing; 'For, ſays he, *I. Hiſtory informs us that a Woman* 'was made Pope; *and I remember, that in our Age* 'a Learned Man approved in his Morals, and digni'fied with Honours in his Order, pronounc'd, tho' 'not publickly, that he who was reckoned Pope, was 'not ſuch by Virtue of his Exerciſing the Popes Of'fice (before he was Elected by two parts in three of 'the Cardinals) againſt the Laws of the Church, 'which Decree, that ſuch a Man, not only is not 'Pope, but is even abſolutely unqualified, and in'capacitated for the Office, as being under an Ana'thema. II. *We remember alſo another choſen and* 'adored as Pope, who yet in the opinion of many 'great Men, neither was, nor could be ſo, becauſe 'he did not believe a God, and was at the very high'eſt pitch of Infidelity, which he teſtified by his moſt 'wicked Works, having bought the Popedom and 'Exerciſed in it all manner of Iniquity, and even 'confirm'd it by his moſt deteſtable ſayings; for it was 'affirmed, that he confeſs'd to ſome of his Dome'ſticks, that at the very time he poſſeſs'd the Ponti'fical See, he did not believe a God. III. *We have* 'heard of another, who declared to one of his Friends, 'when alive, that he did not believe the Immortality 'of the Soul; but being Dead, he appear'd to him, as 'he was awake, and declar'd, that he experienc'd an 'Immortality, being Damned to Eternal Fire by the 'juſt Judgment of God. Mr. *Du Pleſſis* had fancy'd, that the firſt of theſe three things related to *Julius II.*, and the ſecond to *Leo X.* *Coeffeteau* (*f*) was content to Anſwer, *that* Du Pleſſis *entering into the Conſcience of all Mankind*, had made this Application *without Proof or Judgment*; but *Gretſer* Anſwered to more purpoſe: He (*g*) ſhewed that none of theſe three things concerned *Leo X.* Since *John Francis Picus's* Book was Printed in the Pontificate of *Julius II.* Mr. *Rivet* acquieſced in this Cenſure whoſe Words are theſe. (*h*) *As to the Application made by our Author to* Julius II. *and* Leo X. *of what he ſaid of ſome Popes, that many great Men did not look upon 'em as ſuch, for the Reaſons he gives, it matters not at bottom, to whom the Packet is Addreſs'd, provided it's certain, that it is to the Popes, of one of which he ſays, that it was maintained*, he believed no God, that he was at the utmoſt pitch of Infidelity, and even declared that he did not believe a God. If you will exempt *Leo X.* of whom poſſibly he might not have ſpoke, becauſe he Dedicated his Books to *Julius*, unleſs he inlarg'd them afterwards, as is uſually done) yet it can't be deny'd as to *Alexander VI.* He had in him (*i*) ſays *Guicciardin*, neither Truth, nor Faith, nor Religion. This is what Mr. *Rivet* ſays. Note, that Simony or the Purchaſing the Popedom, is not imputable to *Leo X.* if we believe *Guicciardin* (*i*).

If Mr. *Heidegger*, who had ſo good a Memory, had remember'd this, he would not have believed, that *John Francis Picus* was a Witneſs of the Impieties of *Leo X.* His miſtake may and ought to ſerve for a Leſſon to many others. Let us conclude, that the Duty of a good Judge permits not to give Sentence againſt this Pope, while we have no ſtronger Depoſitions. We ſhall ſee in the other Notes (*k*) whether his Apologiſts reaſon right.

(*I*) *He Died, 'tis ſaid of meer Joy.*] 'Having 'rekindled the War between the Emperor *Charles* 'and the King of *France*, in order to drive the 'French out of *Italy*, the News was brought him 'at one of his Seats of Pleaſure called *Maliagno*, 'of the taking of *Milan*, and *Parma* from 'em, 'which gave him ſuch an exceſs of Joy, that 'he was ſeiz'd with a ſlight Fever that very Night, 'of which he Died a few Days after (*l*). Theſe are Mr. *Du Pleſſis's* Words. All Hiſtorians agree that *Leo X.* received this good News with a wonderful ſatisfaction, but I don't find many that ſay he Died of meer Joy upon it; and tho' they affirm'd it ever ſo poſitively I ſhould ſcarce believe 'em; for they who Die of this Paſſion, Die ſuddenly, oppreſs'd, according to all appearance, by two great an effuſion of Bloud into the Ventricles of the Heart. If the

(*a*) *Commentar. in caput 19. Geneſeos, verſ. 13. fol. 132. apud Seckendorf. Hiſtoria Lutheran. lib. 3. p. 676. col. 1.*

(*b*) *Heidegger. Hiſtor. Papatus, pag. 204. 205.*

(*c*) *Id. ib. pag. 205.*

(*d*) *and yet what Mr. Heidegger advances, is not mentioned by the Nephew of* John Picus, *as a thing which was ſaid a Pope had confeſſed. He does not ſay that he had heard it from the Pope himſelf.*

(*e*) *Du Pleſſis Mornai, Myſtere d'iniquité, pag. 590.*

(*f*) *Reponſe au Myſtere d'iniquité, pag. 1233.*

(*b*) Intolerabilis porro & plane diabolica calumnia eſt, cum ſcribit Pleſſæus, ea quæ Theoremate quarto Joannis Franciſci continentur, de quodam Pontifice, qui domeſticis confeſſus fuerit, *nullum ſe Deum aliquando*, etiam cum *cathedram Pontificiam teneret, credidiſſe*, ad Leonem X. pertinere; nam Joannes Franciſcus Picus edidit Commentarium *de Fide & ordine credendi* ante Leonis Pontificatum & inſcripſit enim Julio II. Quomodo igitur relationi illa ſua & Hiſtoriæ ſeu fabellæ Leonem X. denotare potuit? Gerdes, in Examine Myſter. Pleſſ. pag. 573.

(*i*) *Rivet Remarques ſur la reſponſe au Myſtere d'iniquité 2. Partie, pag. 646.*

(*l*) *Hiſt. d'Italie livre 1.*

(*k*) *See the Remark* N.

(*k*) *In the Remarks* O, *and* P.

(*l*) *Du Pleſſis ubi ſupra.*

tens who affirm he was Poyſoned. He did not always obſerve a Conduct (K) agreeable to the Emperor *Maximilian*. The ſordid Traffick, to which he reduc'd (L) the diſtribution of Indulgencies, gave Birth to *Luther's* Reformation, as every Body knows. Some ſay, he ſpoke honourably (M) of this Reformer in the beginning. I don't find, that *Guicciardin* abuſes this Pope ſo much (N) as Mr. *Varillas* inſinuates; but *Paulus*

the firſt Impreſſions of a violent Joy be withſtood, as was done by the Pope, a Man is better afterwards, inſtead of being ſeized with a dangerous Fever when other Reaſons do not occaſion it. *Johan Creſpin's* Account ſeems much more probable, who ſuppoſes that *Leo X's* Death was ſudden, but not of that ſudden kind which is occaſioned by a ſurprize of Joy. (a) *Hearing that the* French *were beaten at* Milan *by the Emperor's Forces, and driven out of* Italy, *which indeed was not done without his help: As he was Drinking and making Merry, and wonderfully rejoyced at the News, 'tis ſaid that he ſuddenly gave up the Ghoſt, he who believed neither a Heaven nor Hell after this Life.* *Sannazar's* diſtich produced by this Author (b) favours the ſuppoſition of ſudden Death; but yet it is certain, that the Diſtemper *Leo* Died of, laſted ſome Days (c). *Famien Strada* has given two Relations (d) of this Pope's Death, one in *Livy's* Stile, the other after the way of *Tacitus*. They are fine and well wrought.

I muſt here obſerve a blunder of *Guicciardin's* Tranſlator. *News came*, ſays he, *that Pope* Leo *Died the firſt Day of* December *a ſudden Death. For having received in his* Villa *of* Mariagno *where he often diverted himſelf, the News of the taking of* Milan, *he fell into ſuch an exceſſive Joy, that that very Night he was ſeiz'd with a ſlight Fever; being carried to* Rome *the day after, tho' the Phyſicians at firſt made light of his Diſtemper, he Died within few Days, not without ſuſpicion of being Poyſon'd (as was ſaid) by* Barnabas Maleſpine *his Chamberlain, who was appointed to help him to his Drink* (e). What an Abſurdity is it to ſay almoſt in the ſame Period, that a Man died *a ſudden Death*, and that he Died of a ſmall Fever, ſlighted at firſt by the Phyſicians. *Guicciardin* was not capable of ſuch an overſight, he did not ſay this Death was ſudden (f), nor has he Connected (g) the Pope's great Joy with the Fever, as the cauſe of that effect. This Connexion is a more than Poetical Licence of the Tranſlator. Note, by the way, what cloſe regard is to be had to the Words of the Original, when we would faithfully Tranſlate.

(K) *A Conduct agreeable to the Emperor* Maximilian.] He had conceived good hopes of *Leo* X. but when he was inform'd of this Pope's Engagements with the *French*, he cried, (b) *If this Pope had not deceived me, he would have been the only Pope, whoſe Honeſty I ſhould have had reaſon to commend.*

(L) *He reduced the Diſtribution of Indulgences.*] It became a kind of Monopoly, and Indulgences were let out to Farm; the Commiſſioners appointed for the Collection of the Sums, bought their Commiſſions of the Pope, after which they ſtuck at no kind of Exaction, and obſerved *Decorum* ſo little, that the Powers for releaſing Souls out of Purgatory were Play'd for in the Taverns, as we are aſſured by *Guicciardin*. *Haveva ſparſo per tutto il mondo ſenza diſtintione di tempi e di luoghi, indulgentie ampliſſime, non ſolo per poter giovare con eſſe quelli, che ancora ſono nella vita preſente, ma con facultà di potere oltra queſto liberare l' anime de' defunti dalle pene del Purgatorio: le quali, perche era notorio che ſi concedevano ſolamente per eſtorquere danari da gli huomini; & eſſendo eſſercitate imprudentemente da Commiſſarii deputati a queſta eſattione, la più parte de' quali comperava dalla Corte la facultà di eſſercitare; haveva concitato in molti luoghi indignatione, e ſcandalo aſſai, e ſpecialmente nella Germania, dove a molti de' miniſtri era veduto vendere per poco prezzo, o giocarſi ſu le taverne la facultà del liberare l' anime de' morti dal Purgatorio* (i). The diſcontent of the People grew greater, when it was known to what uſe theſe Sums were deſtin'd: Almoſt all the Money that was raiſed by 'em in *Germany*, being Converted to the uſe of the Pope's Siſter.

(M) *He ſpoke honourably of this great Reformer.*] This Particular had hardly been known, if *Colomiés* had not mentioned it: Mr. *de Seckendorf* learnt it from him (k), being Advertiſed by a Counſeller of *Spire*, that it was to be found in *Colomiés's Opuſcula*, the Paſſage is this. '(l) M. *Voſſius* having told me that he remembered, he had read 'in *Bandel's* Tragical Hiſtories, an Elogy given to 'Luther by Pope *Leo X*; I went immediately into 'his Library, where turning over the Hiſtories of 'this Author, See what I found in the Preface 'to the twenty fifth Novel of the third Part. *Nel principio che la Setta Lutherana comincio à germogliare, eſſendo di brigata molti Gentilhuomini, ne l'hora del meriggio, in caſa dal noſtro virtuoſo Signor L. Scipione Attellano, è di varie coſe raggionandoſi, furono alcuni che non poco biaſimarono Leone X. Pontefice, che ne i principii non ſi metteſſe remedio, & l'hora che Frate Silveſtro Prierio, Maeſtro del ſacro Palazzo, gli moſtrò alcuni punti d'hereſia che Fra Martino Lutero haveva ſparſo per l'opera, la quale de le Indulgentie haueva intitolata; perchioche imprudentemente riſpoſe, che Fra Martino haveva un belliſſimo ingegno, e che coteſte erano invidie Frateſche.* Words which *Sleidan* would not have failed placing in the front of his Hiſtory, if he had known 'em.

(N) *So much as Mr.* Varillas *inſinuates.*] This Author wrote a great many Books againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which would have been Printed perhaps, if Mr. *Colbert* had not repreſented after the *Pyrenean* Treaty, that it would look ill to diſcontent the *Spaniards* by allowing the Impreſſion of ſo many injurious Volumes. We have ſeen the Plan of this great Work, in a Writing called *the Politicks of the Houſe of* Auſtria. The Author ſets out by a kind of Apology for the liberty he has taken in touching the Vices of Princes. *I only*, ſays he (m), *imitate the Stile, and Copy the reverſe of the Picture, which* Livy *has given of* Hannibal (1) *and I have even come ſo much ſhort of others in this Point, that no Perſon of what condition ſoever is found ſo ill Treated in my Book, as Pope* Leo. X. *is in the Elogy which* Guicciardin *has made of him* (2) *and for which he has no where been cenſured as I can find.* (3) 'Tis manifeſt this Elogy of *Leo X.* is here Alledged as a very Satyrical Piece, otherwiſe 'twould be Abſurd to propoſe this Inſtance. Now 'tis certain there is nothing in *Guicciardin* that Anſwers this Idea. The twelfth Book cited by Mr. *Varillas* is leſs to his purpoſe than the following. 'Tis in the thirteenth Book, that we find the Deſcription of the Trade of Indulgences, as we have ſeen above, and in the fourteenth the Cenſure of this Pope's extravagant Expences, and his inclination to the Diverſions of Muſick and Farces. (n) *Egli per natura dedito all'ocio, & a' piaceri, & hora per la troppa licenza, e grandezza alieno ſopra modo dalle faccende, immerſo ad udire tutto'l giorno muſiche,* (4) *facetie, e buffoni, inclinato ancora troppo più che l'honeſta a piaceri; pareva doveſſe eſſere totalmente alieno dalle guerre.* In fine, we find in the ſame Book a general Judgment on the Conduct of this Pope; 'tis mixed with Praiſe and Diſpraiſe, and can neither be reckoned a Satyr, nor even a Deſcription of too little Reſpect. Theſe are *Guicciardin's* Words. (o) *Principe nel quale erano degne di laude, e di vituperio molte coſe, e che ingannò aſſai l'eſpettatione, che quando fu aſſunto al Pontificato s'haveva di lui: concioſia ch' e' riuſciſſe di maggior prudenza, ma di molto minore bontà di quello ch'era giudicato da tutti.* When this Hiſtorian ſpeaks of *Leo* the *X's* Election, he does it in a manner very much to the Glory of this Pope. He owns he was free from Simony, and all other evil Suſpicion, and that the Reputation of the Elected Cardinal, ſtood very well in Point of Manners. (p) *Stuti di queſta elettione quaſi tutta la Chriſtianità, grandiſſimo piacere, perſuadendoſi univerſalmente gli huomini che haveſſe a eſſere rariſſimo Pontefice, per la chiara memoria del valore paterno, e per la fama che riſonava per tutto della ſua liberalità, benignità, ſtimato caſto e di perfetti coſtumi, e ſpecialmente che a eſſempio del padre haveſſe a eſſere*

(a) *John Creſpin, Etat de l'Egliſe, ad ann.* 1521. *p.* m. 516.
(b) Sacra ſub extrema ſi forte requiritis hora Cur Leo non poterat ſumere? vendiderat.
(c) *See* Paulus Jovius *ubi ſupra, p.* 209.
(d) *Proluſ. Academic. l.* 2. *p.* m. 247. *& ſeq.*
(e) Homodey, *Tranſlation of* Guicciardin *lib.* 14. *c.* 14. *fol.* 143. *ad ann.* 1521.
(f) Morì di morte inaſpettata. *Guicc. l.* 15. *fol.* m. 415. *verſo.*
(g) Ricevutone incredibile piacere; ſoprapreſo la notte medeſima di piccola febbre, e fattoſi il giorno ſeguente portare à Roma, &c. *Id. ibid.*
(h) Niſi me hiſ quoque Papa [illegible] fefellerit, illis unicus eſſet cujus bonum fidem laudare poſſem. *See* Seckendorf, Hiſt. Lutheran. *l.* 1. *p.* 42. col. 1. *See alſo* Heidegger, Hiſt. Papatus, *p.* 201.
(i) *Guicc. l.* 13. *fol.* 395. *verſo.* See alſo *Fra Paolo lib.*
(k) *Hiſtor. Lutheran. l.* 1. *p.* 40. col. 2. *litera, b.*
(l) *Colomiés, Recueil de particularitez, p.* m. 111.
(m) *Varillas, Politique de la maiſon d'Autriche chap.* 73. 74. *Edition de la Haie,* 1688.
(1) *Dans le* 21. *livre.*
(2) *In the* 12*th. Book of his Hiſtory.*
(3) *Not even by le Beuy.*
(n) *Lib.* 14. *fol.* 398. *verſo.*
(4) Quali ſorte di buffonerie, e di facetie piaceſſero a Papa Leone; ſi può raccoglier dal l. 4. della vita di lui del Giovio: dove done, che furon recitate Comedie, ſi fece profeſſion di fare impazzire huomini, & altre piacevolezze tali: onde il Tarſcone ſi perſuaſe d'eſſere gran Muſico, il Baraballo fu laureata Poeta, e mandato in l'Elefante, & i Paraſiti furon ſommamente favoriti.
(o) *Guicc. ibid. fol.* 416.
(p) *Idem l.* 11. *fol.* 326.

Paulus Jovius's Apology; to me ſeems (O) trifling: It advances a Queſtion, whether he ought to be reckoned an Atheiſt. The other (P) Apologiſt has not ſucceeded much better. There's no need of confuting Mr. *Varillas*; but by himſelf. I ſhall produce

Vossius, Diſputat. tom. 1. pag. 204.

(a) *See above the Words of* Paulus Jovius; *Remark* D.

(b) Ita natus & factus, ita altus atq; educatus, ita denique eruditus atque inſtitutus hic eſt, ut nemini ſecundus ingenio, nec æqualibus induſtria, nec præceptoribus literatura, neque gravitate ſenibus conceſſerit. Nativa in eo probitas, & genuina: diligentia quoque parentis ita impenſe culta eſt, ut ex illius ore non modo non verbum dictu fœdius, ſed ne levius quidem unquam aut etiam licentius exciderit, Nonactio, non geſtus, non inceſſus in illo notatus: non aliud poſtremo quod in deteriorem partem conſpiceretur. Sic in viridi ætate cana maturitas, ut qui loquentem ſenes audiant, proavitam in eo, nos paternam certe indolem agnoſcamus. Cultum & religionis penetiam cum laſte meditatus *ſupra, p.*

(O) Paul Jovius's *Apology to me ſeems trifling.*] The Reaſons this Author gives to juſtifie *Leo* X. may be reduced to Four. 1. He pretends (*a*) that it was not from a vicious Nature, but a gentle, eaſie, and magnificent Temper, that this Pope, beſet by a voluptuous Crew, ingaged a little too far in Pleaſures. This is but a poor Excuſe; there are a great many Proſtitutes, who may be juſtified upon this Principle. They are not naturally wicked, brutal and cruel; a great Stock of Good-nature, Facility and Complaiſance, makes 'em fall into the Snare of the Tempter. I ſhall by the way, obſerve, that Politian has ſaid Wonders of *Leo* X. This he did in a Letter he wrote to Pope *Innocent* VIII. when this Youth was made a Cardinal. See the Margin (*b*). *Paul Jovius* ſays in the 2d. Place, that if *Leo* be compared with his Predeceſſors, he will be found very Chaſte. *Si aliqua ex parte eo nomine fugillari inclyta virtus potuit, Leo certè cum ſuperiorum principum fama comparatus æſtimatione rectiſſima continentiæ laudem ſanet* (*c*). This Excuſe is no better than the former. 3. He ſays, this Pope having had a good Reputation as to Continence, precautioned himſelf afterwards againſt the Attacks of Impurity, by renouncing high Food, and by Regular Faſtings. (*d*) *Conſtat tamen eum, quod à prima adoleſcentia opinione omnium ſummam continentiæ [illegible] dem fuiſſet adeptus, non importuna quadam pud[illegible] caſtitatisque præſidia quæviſſe: quando nequaquam priſtina vita more tam multis delicatiſque obſonijs uteretur: Itemque animo verè pudico die mercurii carnes non edere, die autem Veneris nihil guſtare præter legumen & olera, ac die demum Saturni cœna penitus abſtinere, incorrupta lege inſtituiſſet.* This is worth more than all the reſt. 4. Laſtly, he ſays, that we ought to make a great Difference betwixt the Vices, which belong to a Sovereign as ſuch, and thoſe which belong to him as a Man. And he alledges the Emperor *Trajan* ſo beloved of the *Roman* People, that 'twas the heighth of their Wiſhes that the Succeeding Emperors ſhould reign as well as he; and yet no one was ignorant of the *Sodomy* and Drunkenneſs of *Trajan*. His meaning is, that *Leo* X's Vices were not repugnant to the Qualities of a good Sovereign, but to thoſe of a good Chriſtian only, and therefore the Irregularities of his Youth ought to be pardoned, ſince they did not hinder his being a good Prince. (*e*) *Alia principis, alia hominis eſſe vitia quis neſcit? hæc uni privata conditione quum noceant, etiam aliquibus fortaſſe proſunt: illa verò ab dira poteſtate, & luctum & calamitatem univerſis mortalibus apportabant: idque veriſſimum eſſe conſtat præclare quondam populi Romani teſtimonio, qui neminem ſibi principem Trajano meliorem exoptavit, quanquam eum illicitæ libidinis ac ebrietatis cenſura notaſſet. Sed demus aliquid humanitati Leonis, uti in ſumma licentia fervidæ ætatis ac proſpera valetudinis uſum agerimò ſuſtinenti, poſtquam in magnis ſalutaribuſque virtutibus optimi atque benefici cognomentum facile meruerit.*

Generally ſpeaking, this Author's Maxim is true: It is very poſſible for a Prince to be an honeſt Man, and at the ſame time but a poor King; that is, a King, who can't maintain the Honour of the Laws, nor Remedy the Diſorders of the State. On the other hand, 'tis very poſſible for a Prince to be an ill Obſerver of thoſe Rules of Morality, which preſcribe the Duties of a private Station, and yet be a good King, that is, a King, who maintains Order in his State, and wiſely diſtributes Puniſhments and Rewards, without being Burthenſome to his People, by Impoſts, and pecuniary Edicts. But 'tis very rare, that a Voluptuary and a Prodigal, as *Leo* X. was, is a good Prince; to ſupply [illegible]nces, he muſt be burthenſome to his Subje[illegible] for the moſt part diſtribute his Favours, [illegible]g to the Humour of the Miniſters of his Pleaſures, and conſequently to unworthy Perſons, whoſe evil Adminiſtration he has not leiſure to inſpect, being too much taken up with his Pleaſures, to allow the [illegible]tions of Royalty, that Application which th[illegible]nd. It were eaſie to ſhew, that *Leo* X's S[illegible]re ſufficiently loaded. Beſides, 'tis not conſidered, that *Leo's* principal Dignity was of a Sacred and Eccleſiaſtical Nature. So that to know whether he diſcharged his Duty, the great Queſtion is not, whether he has [illegible]oral Dignity demanded, it be[illegible]tifie him, without ſhewing, that he diligently acquitted the Duties of his other Dignity, that is, obſerved the Precepts of the Goſpel, and omitted nothing to recommend the Practice of 'em to others. This was his principal Function, and here his Apologiſt is forced to forſake him. (*f*) *In his vero quæ rem divinam reſpicerent nequaquam ſecunda fama prægravari eſt viſus. Nam indulgentias vetera Pontificum ad parandam pecuniam inſtrumenta adeo [illegible]atque affluenter provinciis dedit, ut fidem [illegible]a poteſtatis elevare videretur.*

I muſt upon this Occ[illegible]ſion ſay, that this Blending the Temporal with the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, in the ſame Perſon, is generally the bane of the Evangelical Spirit. This Combination had place among the Pagans (*g*), and was not unſerviceable to the Temporal Splendor of Religion. [illegible] commonly ſerves the ſame Ends in Ch[illegible]; but produces an extreme Corruption of [illegible]ers. The Eccleſiaſtical Character ought to prevail, and be predominant, ſince the other Dignity is only an Acceſſory; and yet it is almoſt always ſwallowed up by its Colleague. The joining theſe two together, is like the joining a dead Carcaſs (*h*) to a living Body; a fatal Conjunction, where the dead communicates its Stench to the Living Body, and receives no vital influence from it. The World, the Fleſh, the weak part draws after it the Reſolutions, and good Purpoſes, juſt as in a Syllogiſm, the weakeſt of the Premiſſes, is the Rule of the Conſequence (*i*). The Author of the *Critique generale* (*k*) ſpeaking of the Diſtinction, between a Pope pronouncing *ex Cathedra*, and the ſame Pope, pronouncing in another manner, has related the fine Saying of a Peaſant in the Electorate of *Cologne*. I had a long time thought, that this good Saying was preſerved only by Tradition, but I was miſtaken. It has been in print in grave Books for above an Age. [illegible]n has inſerted it in one (*l*) of his, and copied *Fulgoſius* (*m*). Here is the whole Story; 'th[illegible], the Elector of *Cologne* is not expreſſly mentioned, 'There goes a pleaſant Story of a *German* Clown, who being at work in his Field, ſaw his Biſhop paſs by, attended by a Train more becoming a Peer, than one who calls himſelf the Succeſſor or Deputy of an an Apoſtle; being highly ſcandaliſed at it, he could not forbear laughing, and laughed ſo lou[illegible] that the Reverend Gentleman would needs k[illegible] the Reaſon of it. The Clown anſwered in his n[illegible]tural way, that is, as a true and plain Perſon; I laugh when I think of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and ſee you in ſuch an Equipage. How is that, ſaid the Biſhop? Do you aſk how, ſays the Fellow? they were ill adviſed to walk alone on Foot throughout the World, when they were the Heads of the Chriſtian Church, and Lieutenants of Jeſus Chriſt, the King of Kings; And thou, who art only our Biſhop, go ſo well mounted, as have ſuch a Train of Hectors, that thou reſembleſt more a Peer of the Realm, [illegible]a Paſtor of the Church. To this his Rev[illegible] replied, But my Friend, thou doſt not conſi[illegible]hat I am both a Count and a Baron, as well [illegible]my Biſhop. At which the Ruſtick laughed more than before; and the Biſhop aſking him the Reaſon of it, he anſwered, Sir, when the Count and Baron, which [illegible] you are, ſhall be in Hell, where will the [illegible]be? This confounded the Right Reverend, [illegible]proceeded on his journey without anſwering [illegible] (*n*).

(P) *Another Apologiſt has not ſucceeded much better.*] We'll ſay a Word or two concerning the manner

nutricis exſunit: etiam tum ab [illegible]alis ſacra officia. *Politian, Epiſt.* 5. *lib.* 8. [illegible]ovius ubi *ſupra*, p. 192. (*d*) *Ibid. pag.* 193. (*e*) *Ibid.* [illegible]92, 193.

(*f*) *Jovius ib. p.* 193.

(*g*) Rex Anius Rex idem hominum Phœbique ſacerdos. *Virgil. Æn. l.* 3. *v.* 80.

A THOUGHT on the uniting the Spiritual and Temporal Authority in one Perſon.]

(*b*) Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis Componens manibuſque manus [illegible] (Tormenti genus) & ſanie, taboque fluentes Complexit in miſero longa ſic morte [illegible] *Æneid. l.* 8. *v.* [illegible]

(*i*) Concluſio ſequitur debilio[illegible]m [illegible]

[illegible]*l. de [illegible]s* 3. *edition.*

(*l*) *De ſacris Eccleſ. miniſter. l.* 1. *c.* 4.

(*m*) *Bapt. Fulgos: factor & dictor memorabil. lib.* 6. *c.* 2. *fol. in* 198.

(*n*) Pierre Viel, *a Doctor of Sorbon, in his Treatiſe of Simony, chap.* 6.

a long Paſſage from his (*k*) Anecdots, containing a juſt abſtract enough of *Leo* the Xth's Character, from whence I deſire my Reader to fill up what is wanting in the Body of this Article. Mr. *Varillas* is miſtaken (*R*) again about *Paulus Jovius*. Men of Letters, of what Religion or Nation ſoever, are bound to praiſe and bleſs the Memory of this Pope, for the Care he had taken to recover the Manuſcripts of the Antients; he ſpared neither Pains nor Coſt in ſearching for 'em, and procuring very good Editions. I have two Anecdote Letters, which are (*S*) a Proof of this, and which People will undoubtedly be glad to find here.

LEON

manner th[illegible] Authors would accuſe *Leo* X. of Irreligion. [illegible]*fetau* (*a*) makes no other Apology than theſe Words of *Onuphrus Panvinius*. (*b*) *Erat rerum divinarum diligens obſervator, Rivet* (*c*) replies, that there 'are many [illegible] and many A- 'theiſts, who exactly [illegible] ceremonies to 'conceal their Impi[illegible] Leaves, who a- 'mongſt Friends ſay, they do it *ad morem, non ad 'rem, legibus juſtæ, non diis gratæ. Sannazar*, who 'makes him die without receiving the Sacraments, 'becauſe he had ſold them before, does not repreſent 'him ſuch as *Onuphrius* would paint him to us. Note, that *Sannazar* does not pretend, that *Leo* refus'd the Sacraments. If this Pope did not commu- nicate, *&c.* on his Death-Bed, 'twas becauſe of his *Delirium*. *James* [illegible]*ſer*, beſides *Panvinius*'s Words, alledges *Leo* [illegible] Bull, againſt *Luther*. (*d*) *Bulla qua Leo Lut[illegible] errores damnat immanem hanc Pſeudologiam perſpicuè redarguit.* This is pitiful; for though this Pope had had no Religion, he would however have followed the ordinary Stile in his Bull, and have expreſſed great Zeal againſt a Heretick, who diſputed with him an Authority on which all his Temporal Happineſs depended. *Palavicini* (*e*), [illegible] ing to anſwer the Reproach which Father [illegible] caſt upon this Pope, of having [illegible] no regard for Religion, does three Things; he [illegible] ledges 1. *Politian*'s Teſtimony (*f*). 2. The Facts of the Pope. 3. The Majeſty and good Grace, with which *Leo* celebrated Maſs. The ſecond of theſe Three, if the Fact be really ſo, as *Paulus Jovius* (*b*) has related it, is in my Mind, a good Proof of Religion, when we well conſider the Circumſtances. The firſt ſignifies nothing, for Children to a certain Age, are firmly perſwaded by the Lectures of their Catechiſt, and raiſe no Objections againſt 'em. If they become irreligious, 'tis when they are their own Men, and corrupt themſelves by a bad Converſation, or by a wrong Way of Philoſophizing. The laſt thing is rather a Talent of the Body, than a Sign of the Perſuaſion of the Soul. Let us ſee what *Paulus Jovius* ſays. *Sacra confecit, ſingulaque ceremoniarum obivit munia ſingulari cum majeſtate, ut non falſo [illegible] ſuperiorum Pontificum eo auguſtius & decen[illegible] ſacrificaſſe diceretur* (*i*). 'Tis very probable, that *Onuphrius* means no more when he ſays, he was *rerum divinarum diligens obſervator, & ſacris ceremoniis deditus*. A proof of Religion abſolutely equivocal.

(*k*) *A long Paſſage from his Anecdotes.*] We find it in the Preface of this Book, and it contains what follows. 'Guicciardin—— repreſents (*l*) this 'Pope as an accompliſhed Model of modern Policy, 'and the greateſt Stateſman of his Age. He ſets 'him above King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and 'makes him triumph in his Youth over all the Arti- 'fices of this old Uſurper. 'Tis to himſelf alone he at- 'tributes the Secret of getting all his Deſigns ſecond- 'ed by the Councils of *Spain*, whether they would 'or no. After having eſtabliſhed theſe Wonderful 'Principles, there are no ſhining Vertues, but what 'heighten the Picture of *Leo* X. He forms at 'Twelve Years of Age, when he was made Cardinal, 'thoſe vaſt Projects, which he executed afterwards, 'when he was exalted to the Chair of St. *Peter*. 'He negotiates with the States of *Venice* to ſave the 'Ruins of his Houſe, which had been near'd againſt 'the [illegible] of our *Charles* VIII. He changed 'not [illegible] olution upon ſeeing his Brother loſt in 'the paſſing of a River. He had no other Thoughts 'than the educating the only Son; which this Bro- 'ther had left in the Cradle, upon which he returns 'to *Rome*, where his Intrigues recommended him 'to the Favour of Pope *Julius* II. and occaſioned 'his being choſen Legate in the Army [illegible] to 'drive the *French* out of *Italy*. He is [illegible] on- 'ner at the Battle of *Ravenna*, but makes [illegible] eſcape 'in an unlucky Conjuncture for him, *Julius* happen- 'ing [illegible] to die; he enters into the Conclave, 'where he takes ſuch Advantage of the Frolicks of 'the young Cardinals, who were obſtinately bent on 'making a Pope of their own Standing, that he inclined 'their Votes in favour of himſelf. He joins with 'the *Spaniards*, and manages their Friendſhip, as 'long as it is uſeful towards re-eſtabliſhing his Fa- 'mily in the principal Functions of the Magiſtra- 'cy of *Florence*; but as ſoon as Fortune turns her 'back upon 'em, and he finds the Council not in- 'clined to ſee him uſurp the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and 'inveſt his Nephew with it, he treats with the '*French* upon that Condition; he draws up the fa- 'mous *Concordat*, in which he baffles the Cunning 'and long Experience of the Chancellor *Du Prat*. 'he careſſes *Francis* I. as long as that King is in a 'Condition of doing him Service; but no ſooner ob- 'tains of him all he deſired, but he quits him 'to reconcile himſelf with *Charles* V. He projects 'a new League with him, to re-eſtabliſh the *Sforza*'s 'in the Dutchy of *Milan*. He ſucceeds in it 'better than he expected, and conceives a Joy on 'the News of his Succeſs, which gave him his 'Death.

(*R*) *Is again miſtaken about* Paulus Jovius.] This Hiſtorian, if we believe Mr. *Varillas*, has not wrote the Hiſtory ſo much as an Invective againſt Leo X. Paulus Jovius, ſays he, (*l*) *makes him paſs for a Son of Violence, and a Man who would carry every Thing by main Force. He poſſeſſes him with the Warlike Humour, as his Predeceſſor Julius II. had; he makes him even before his Exaltation conceive a diſdainful Contempt for the reſt of the Sacred College, founded on an imaginary Precedency of the Houſe of Medicis, before all the reſt in* Italy; *He makes him carry on his Scorn to Actions of the greateſt Renown, and even the moſt auguſt Ceremonies. He takes him to be the Source and Foundation of the Obſtinate War againſt the Duke of* Urbino, *and all the other Quarrels which happened through the whole Courſe of his Pontificate. In a Word, he'll have Vanity, but an haughty and ſhocking Vanity, to have been his ſtrongeſt Paſſion. If you deſire to know how Paul Jovius came to penetrate ſo far into the Soul of Pope* Leo, *as to be able to pronounce ſuch a deciſive Judgment, he anſwers you before-hand, that he was the Creature of this Pope; that it was he who made him quit the Profeſſion of Phyſick, and the Pretenſions to Churches at* Padua, *to engage in the Eccleſiaſtical State; who made him Biſhop of* Como, *and choſe him for his Confident and Aſſiſtant, in the Councils wherein the moſt Important and Secret Reſolutions were taken; who engaged him to write the Hiſtory of his Time, who implor'd his good Offices for him in* France *and* Spain, *that Authentick Pieces might be communicated to him, ſuch as were neceſſary for the perfecting his Works; and who diſcovered himſelf to him without Reſerve, in frequent and familiar Converſations.* The preceding Remarks make it appear, that *Paulus Jovius* does not conceal the Faults of *Leo* X. but 'tis certain, that the Vice which Mr. *Varillas* ſpeaks of, is that of all others, which *Paul Jovius* ſpeaks of, is that of all others, which *Paul Jovius* ſpeaks of, is that of all others, which *Paul Jovius* the leaſt imputes to him; for it is certain he gives him the contrary Vertue. *Pontifex*, ſays he (*m*) *cujus mite ingenium facilemque naturam in Specimen caterarum virtutum omnes illo tempore laudabant, clementius agendum ſibi——exiſtimarit.* This Author was never Biſhop of *Como*; nor did he obtain the Epiſcopal Dignity from *Leo* X. but *Clement* VII (*n*). This intimate Confidence, and Admiſſion into the moſt ſecret Councils, ſeems to me a miſſion into the moſt ſecret Councils, ſeems to me a Romantick Fiction, of which there is not the leaſt Footſtep in the Writings of *Paulus Jovius*.

(*S*) *I have two Anecdote Letters which are a proof of it.*] They were communicated to me by Mr. [illegible] de Seid[illegible]vy-Councellor to his *Pruſſian* Majeſty; he had [illegible] fine Library of his Father's, and hath conſid[illegible]encreaſed it, eſpecially with choice Books, [illegible]anuſcript Pieces; he brought ſeveral from [illegible] in a Journey he made thither, and he very

(*a*) *Reponſe au Myſtere d'iniquité pag.* 1227.
(*b*) *In vita Leonis X.*
(*c*) *Remarques ſur la Reponſe au Myſtere d'iniquité 2. partie, pag.* 640.
(*d*) *In Examine Myſterii Pleſſæan. pag.* 563.
(*e*) *Iſtor. del Concilio, l.* 1. *c.* 1.
(*f*) Sarebbe ſta to un perfetto Pontefice, ſe con queſte [illegible] cognitione delle coſe della religione, & alquanto piu d'inclinatione: ma [illegible] contra delle quali non moſtrava haver gran cura [illegible] *Paul. Iſtor. Concil. lib.* 1. *pag.* 5.
(*g*) *See the Remark* O.
(*h*) *See the Remark* O.
(*i*) *Paulus Jovius in vita Leonis X. lib.* 4. *pag. m.* 212.
(*l*) *In the* 12 *firſt Articles of his Hiſtory.*
(*l*) *Preface to the Anecdotes of Florence. He cites Paulus Jovius in his Book, and in his particular Eloge on Leo X. Two unexact Citations; for the general Hiſtory of Paul Jovius comprehends ſeveral Books; and he has not wrote a particular Elogy on this Pope; but the Hiſtory of his Life.*
(*m*) Jovius Hiſtoriar. lib. 11. ſub fin. *See him alſo in vita Leonis X. pag. m.* 109.
(*n*) *The* 13*th. of* January, *according to* Ughelli, Ital. ſacra tom 7. pag. 744.

[a] *Cieca in Proœmio.*

LEON (*Peter Cieca*) Author of a Hiſtory of *Peru*. He left [a] *Spain*, his Native Country, at Thirteen Years of Age, to go into *America*, where he ſojourned Seventeen Years. He obſerved there ſo many Curioſities, that he reſolved to put 'em in Writing. I ſhall mention ſome of 'em (*A*), if only to ſhew the Injuſtice of thoſe who pretend that 'twas the Chriſtians firſt taught the People of *America* to be wicked. This cannot be ſaid without a great many Reſtrictions, and poſſibly in ſome of the

very well deſerves ſuch a Treaſure; for he is a learned Man, and takes a great deal of Pleaſure in favouring the Sciences. The Copy he had the Goodneſs to ſend of theſe two Letters of *Leo* X. is faithful and exact, he has the Originals by him, written in *Sadolet*'s own Hand. I ſhall obſerve by the by, that there was printed in the *Nova literaria Maris Baltici & Septentrionis* (*a*), for the Month of *November* 1699, a Letter written on a Subject of the ſame Nature to his *Daniſh* Majeſty, by *Leo* X. the 8th. of *November* 1517. Mine are as follows.

(*a*) *Pag.* 348.

Venerabili Fratri Alberto Moguntin, & Magdeburgen. Archi-Epiſcopo, Adminiſtratori Halberſtaten. Principi Electori ac Germaniæ Primati.
LEO. PP. X.

VEnerabilis Frater, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Mittimus dilectum filium Joannem Heytmers de Zonvelben, Clericum Leodienſis diœceſeos, noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Commiſſarium ad inclitas Nationes, Germaniæ, Daniæ, Sueciæ, Norvegiæ & Gothiæ, pro inquirendis dignis & antiquis libris qui temporum injuria pereunt, in qua re nec ſumptui nec impenſæ alicui parcimus, ſolum ut ſicut uſque à noſtro Pontificatus initio propoſuimus, quid Altiſſimo gratum ſit hoc & ſuorum, virtutem generis humani ſolos ſapientiæ literatos, quantum cum Deo poſſumus, foveamus, extollamus ac juvemus. Acceperunt autem preces Fraternitatem Tuam, ſeu in locis ſatis frequentatione poſſis eſſe ex dictis antiquis libris, præſertim Romanarum Hiſtoriarum non paucos qui nobis deſiderati non parum forent. Quare cum in animo nobis ſit tales libros, cuicunque ad manus venire potuerint in hanc urbem deferri pro communi omnium literarum utilitate, Fraternitatem Tuam eâ demum qua poſſumus affectione hortamur, monemus & cuixta ac debitum obſecramur, ut ſi rem gratam unquam facere animo propoſuit, vel eorundem librorum omnium excuſa fideliter & accurate ſcripta, vel quod magis exoptamus ipſamet libros antiquos ad nos tranſmittere quanto citius curet, illos ſtatim receptura, cum deſcripti hic fuerint, juxta obligationem per Cameram noſtram Apoſtolicam factam, ſeu quam dictus Joannes Commiſſarius noſter præſentium lator ad id mandatum ſufficiens habens nomine dictæ Camera denuo duxerit faciendam. Et quia dictus Joannes promiſit nobis ſe brevi daturum triceſimum tertium librum Titi Livij de bello Macedonico, illi commiſimus ut eum ad manus Tuæ Fraternitatis daret, ut ipſa quam primum poſſet per fidum nuntium ad nos, vel dilecto Filio Philippo Beroaldo Bibliothecario Palatij noſtri Apoſtolici mittat. Quoniam vero eidem Joanni certam ſummam pecuniarum hic in urbe enumerari fecimus pro expenſis factis & fiendis, & certam quantitatem debemus, volumus, & ita Fraternitati Tuæ committimus & mandamus, ut poſtquam acceperit prædictum librum Titi Livii ipſi Joanni ſolvat ſeu ſolvi faciat centum quadraginta ſeptem ducatos auri de Camera ex pecuniis indulgentiarum conceſſarum per illius Provincias in favorem fabricæ Baſilicæ Principis Apoſtolorum de urbe; quam quidem pecuniarum ſummam in computis Tuæ Fraternitatis cum Camera Apoſtolica admittemus, prout in præſentiâ per præſentes admittimus; & admitti mandamus. Juvet præterea eundem Joannem ſalvis conductibus litteris & auxiliis, & illi per Provincias ſuas aſſiſtat pro libris extrahendis, & pro illo etiam fide jubeat, ſi opus eſt, pro dictis libris intra certum tempus à nobis reſtituendis & ad ſua loca remittendis. Quod ſi Fraternitas Tua fecerit, ut omnino nobis perſuademus, & ingens nomen apud Viros literatos conſequetur, & nobis rem gratiſſimam faciet. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum ſub annulo Piſcatoris die XXVI. Novembris M. D XVII. Pontificatûs noſtri anno quinto.

JA. SADOLETUS.

This is the firſt of the Two Letters Leo's the Second. Something there is in it, which inclines us to think, that the entire Hiſtory of Livy was then in being. Our *de Seidel* thinks it reaſonable to believe, that a Canon of *Madeburg*, who was a Miniſter of State to the Marquis *Joachim Frederick*, Adminiſtrator of that Archbiſhoprick, made good uſe of the Confuſion things were then in, and took ſeveral Manuſcripts out of the Library, particularly this *Livy*, to enrich his own. It fell to his Heirs, who kept the Manuſcripts very cloſe, becauſe they had come unjuſtly by 'em. At laſt the whole was deſtroy'd, when the Town was pillaged in the Year 1631.

Venerabili Fratri noſtro Alberto Archiepiſcopo Moguntin. Principi Electori & Germaniæ Primati.
LEO PP. X.

DIlecti (b) filii, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Retulit nobis dilectus filius Joanne, Heytmers de Zonvelben Clericus Leodienſis diœceſeos quem nuper pro inquirendis antiquis libris, qui deſiderantur ad inclitas nationes Germaniæ, Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Sueciæ & Gothiæ noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Specialem nuncium & Commiſſarium deſtinavimus, à quodam, quem ipſe ad id ſubſtituerat, accepiſſe literas, quibus ei ſignificat in veſtra Bibliotheca reperiſſe Codicem antiquum, in quo omnes Decades Titi Livij ſunt deſcriptæ, impetrâſſeque à vobis illas poſſe exſcribere cum originalem codicem habere fas non fuerit. Laudamus profecto veſtram humanitatem & erga ſedem Apoſtolicam obedientiam. Verum, dilecti filij, fuit nobis ab ipſo uſque Pontificatûs noſtri initio animus, Viros quovis virtutis genere exornatos, præſertim literatos, quantum cum DEO poſſumus, et tollere ac juvare. Ea de cauſa hujuſcemodi antiquos & deſideratos libros, quotquot recipere poſſumus, prius per viros doctiſſimos, quorum copia DEI munere in noſtrâ hodie eſt curiâ, corrigi facimus, deinde noſtra impenſa ad communem eruditorum utilitatem diligentiſſime imprimi curamus. Sed ſi ipſos originales libros non habeamus, noſtra intentio non plane adimpletur, quia hi libri, viſis tantum exemplis, correcti in lucem exire non poſſunt. Mandavimus in Camera noſtra Apoſtolicâ ſufficientem præſtare cautionem de reſtituendis hujuſcemodi libris integris & illeſis eorum Dominis, quam primum hic erunt exſcripti, & dictus Joannes, quem iterum ad præmiſſa Commiſſarium deputavimus, habet ad eandem Cameram ſufficiens mandatum, illam obligandi ad reſtitutionem prædictam, modo & forma quibus ei videbitur. Tantum ad commodum & utilitatem Virorum eruditorum tendimus; De quo etiam dilecti filii Abbas & Conventus Monaſterii Corwienſis Ordinis S. Benedicti Paderbornenſis diœceſeos noſtri locupletiſſimi poſſunt eſſe teſtes, ex quorum Bibliotheca cum primi quinque libri Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Cornelii Taciti qui deſiderabantur, furto ſubtracti fuiſſent, illique per multas manus ad noſtras tantum perveniſſent; Nos recognitos prius eoſdem quinque libros & correctos à Viris prædictis literatis in noſtra Curia exiſtentibus, cum aliis Cornelii prædicti operibus, quæ extabant, noſtro ſumptu imprimi fecimus. Deinde vero, re compertâ, unum ex voluminibus dicti Cornelii, ut præmittitur, correctum & impreſſum, ac etiam non inordinate ligatum, ad dictos Abbatem & Conventum Monaſterii Corwienſis remiſimus, quod in eorum Bibliotheca loco ſubtracti reponere poſſent. Et ut cognoſcerent ex ea ſubtractione potius eis commodum quam incommodum ortum, miſimus eiſdem pro eccleſia Monaſterii eorum indulgentiam perpetuam. Quocirca vos & veſtrum quemlibet, ea demum qua poſſumus affectione in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ monemus, hortamur, & ſincerâ in Domino caritate requirimus, ut ſi nobis rem gratam facere unquam animo proponitis, eundem Joannem in dictam veſtram Bibliothecam intromittatis, & exinde tam dictum codicem Livii, quam alios qui ei videbuntur per eum ad nos tranſmitti permittatis, illos eoſdem omnino recepturi, reportaturique à Nobis præmia non vulgaria. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die prima Decembris M D XVII. Pontificatûs noſtri anno quinto.

JA. SADOLETUS.

(*b*) *Mr.* de Seidel *believes, that this Letter was writ to the Canons of* Magdeburg, *ſince* Albert *of* Brandenburg *was Archbiſhop of* Mayence, *as well as of* Magdebourgh.

(*A*) *I ſhall mention ſome of 'em, if only to ſhew.*] He ſays, that the Grandees in the Valley of

the Countries of the new World, the ſtupid and ſimple Inhabitants might honeſtly and frugally have lived up to the Laws of Nature, and learned Knavery and Debauchery only by their Commerce with the Chriſtians; but generally ſpeaking, the Corruption of the *Americans* was ſo brutal and Enormous, that we can't ſufficiently deteſt it. The Deſign of our *Cieca* [a] was to give an entire Hiſtory of *Peru* in Four Parts: We don't know whether he finiſhed 'em all; but his firſt Part was printed at *Seville* in the Year 1553. He [β] began it in 1541, and finiſhed it in 1550. He was at

[a] See Nicolas Antonio Bibliotheca Scriptor. Hiſp. tom. 2. pag. 146.

[β] Cieca in fine operis.

of *Nove*, indeavoured to take from their Enemies, as many Women as they could, that they lay with 'em, and reared the Children they had by 'em, very delicately to the Age of Twelve or Thirteen; when finding 'em well fatted, they killed and eat 'em. This among them, was reckoned a moſt delicious Banquet. (a). Let's hear what Treatment the Inhabitants of this Country gave their Priſoners of War. They reduc'd 'em to the Condition of Slaves, they lay with the Women, and eat all the Children that were the Fruit of thoſe Marriages, and afterwards eat the Slaves themſelves, when they were no longer able to get Children. (b) *Mangiavano i figlivoli de quei ſchiavi, & poi mangiavano gli iſteſſi ſchiavi quando erano tanto vecchi, che non potevano generare.* The firſt time the *Spaniards* entered this Valley, a great Lord called *Nabonuco*, came in a friendly manner to ſee 'em, attended by ſome Women; About Bed-time, two of 'em ſtretched themſelves at full Length, on a Carpet, another laid her ſelf a croſs to ſerve as a Pillow to *Nabonuco*, two others laid themſelves over him for a Quilt. He laid himſelf along upon the two firſt, and taking another Woman by the Hand, who was very handſome, was aſked what he deſigned to do with her; he anſwered, he deſigned to eat her, and beſides to feaſt upon a Child he had got by her. (c) The Author obſerves, that in the Country of *Quito*, the Women till the Ground, and take care of the Harveſts; and that the Men imploy themſelves only in Spinning, and keeping Houſe (d). They worſhipped the Sun in *Peru*, and one of the principal Acts of Adoration, was the offering him Six Teeth, which the Votary drew upon the Spot. (e) There were ſeveral Provinces in that Country, where the Ideas of Honour, as to Chaſtity, were wholly extinguiſhed. One of their Diverſions was ſinging the brave Actions of their Anceſtors; This they did dancing to the Sound of a Drum, and drinking till they were drunk; then they took out the Woman they lik'd beſt, and enjoy'd her before all the Company, and no Body found any manner of Fault with it. (f) *Alcuni pigliano quelle donne, che gli piacciono, & condottele in certe caſe, sfuocano con quelle la lor luſſuria, non ſolo recando a biaſmo, perche non cognoſcono qual dama ſi conſerva con la verecondia, ne tengono conto di honore, e manco riguardano al mondo.* Thus wee ſee what we are to think of thoſe who come and tell us of the good Morals of the *Americans*, and pretend, we have taught theſe Nations to be wicked, after we had brought the Light of the Goſpel among 'em. The moſt debauch'd *Spaniards* had never ſeen in their own Country, what they ſaw in the new-found World, Women running after 'em in furious Tranſports of Luſt, and provided with ſome uncommon Philtre to heighten the Pleaſure. See ſome *Italian* Lines upon it. (g) *Nell' Iſtorio del l'Indie natra Amerigo Veſpucci d'eſſer capitato ad una certa coſa, dove trovò femmine di tanta libidine, che come ſpiritate correvano dietro a' ſuoi marinari, perche n'aſſero con eſſo loro; e dice, che havevano una ſugo di non sò che erba, col quale bagnando le parti genitali de gli huomini, non ſolo cagionano, ut citius, ac ſæpius erigerent, ſed etiam quod eorum panis in inſolitam excreſceret magnitudinem: il che piacevo loro mirabilmente.*

Here's ſomething ſtill worſe. The Author informs us, that in the Province of *Carthagena*, the Men look on the Bride's having her Maidenhead, as a Diſhonour, and refuſe to conſummate the Marriage, till this Blot in her Eſcutcheon has been well rubbed out by her Friends or near Relations. In ſome Places they leave this part to the Mother's Skill; but for fear of Deceit, they'll have the Operation perform'd in the Preſence of Witneſſes. (h) *In certe parti della provincia Cartagena, quando maritano le figlivole, & ch'ella ſpoſa deve andare à' mariti, le madre della giovane in preſentia d'alcuni ſuoi parenti le taglia la virginità con le dita, & che riputano, che ſia ſtato più honore mandarla à marito ſol corrotta, che con la ſua virginità. Ma tra queſti co-*

(a) *Pedro Cieca, hiſtoria del Peru, cap. 12. fol. m. 13.*

(b) *Id. ib. fol. 23. verſo.*

(c) *Id. ib. fol. 24.*

(d) *Id. ib. cap. 40. fol. 78. verſo.*

(e) *Id. cap. 49. fol. 99.*

(f) *Id. cap. 42. fol. 82. verſo.*

(g) *Alaſſandro Taſſoni, Penſieri diverſi, lib. 5. cap. 30. pag. 145.*

(h) *Cieca, cap. 49. Fol. 99.*

ſtumi uſati da loro, era miglior di alcune terre, che parenti, ò amici toglievano la virginità alla giovane & con queſta conditione la maritavano, & il marito la riceveva. *Diodorus Siculus*, aſcribes the ſame Humour to the Iſles (i) which we at preſent call *Majorca* and *Minorca*. He affirms (k), that in the Celebration of their Marriages, the Husband did not injoy the Bride till all the Relations and Friends, who were invited to the Wedding-Feaſt, had enjoy'd her round, each according to the Rank which his Age gave him. 'Tis very ſtrange, that a Nation (l) ſo laſcivious, ſhould be ſo little jealous; for generally ſpeaking, the more People are inclin'd to this brutal Pleaſure, the more ſubject they are to Jealouſie. Witneſs the *Turks* and *Moors*. The latter are the fartheſt in the World from this Humour of the *Americans*, in the Province of *Carthagena*: there's nothing they inſiſt on in the Bride ſo much, as the Maidenhead, and if they are not well convinced they have had it, the Day after the Marriage they ſend her back to her Relations. See *de Maroc*'s Voyages, publiſhed by Mr. *de St. Olon*, in 1695. There lives a People on the Borders of the *Red Sea*, who are difficult on this Article, to a degree of Phrenſy, they are not ſatisfy'd, unleſs Precautions are taken from the very Cradle, which oblige the Bridegroom to begin by a kind of Chirurgical Operation. Cardinal *Bembo*'s *Latin* will let us into the meaning of this. (m) *Aliis poſt hos relictis populis, mare rubrum ingreſſi, complures nigrorum item & bonorum hominum, ac bello fortium civitates adierunt: qui natis ſtatim fœminis naturam conſumunt, quoad urina exitus ne impediatur: eaſque cum adoleverint, ſic conſutas in matrimonium collocant; ut ſponſi prima cura ſit, conglutinatas atque coalitas puellæ oras ferro interſcindere: tanto in honore apud homines barbaros eſt non ambigua ducendis uxoribus virginitas.* How can Man be ſubject to Follies ſo diametrically oppoſite!

(i) *Their old Name was* Baleares.

(k) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. 5. cap. 18.*

(l) *The* Baleares *were ſo laſcivious, that when a* Cortair *brought Women to their Market, they gave three Males for one Female.* Id. ib. cap. 17.

(m) *Petrus Bembus, hiſtor. Venet. lib. 6. fol. m. 130.*

Let's return to the *Americans*. The moſt part remove the Grievance themſelves, which their married State might be ſubject to, if the Women contracted came Maids to the Nuptial Bed. One would think they were reſolved to truſt only to themſelves; they leave nothing to do for the Relations or Friends, I mean, that before ever they ſpeak of Contract, or Marriage, they do all they have a Mind to with thoſe they afterwards Marry. (n) *Si maritavano alla foggia de i lor vicini: & odo dire, che alcuni, è la maggior parte prima, che ſi maritano, togliono la virginità à quelle luſſuriosamente.* However, this Contempt of Virginity is not the general Taſte of the *Americans*. There are many *American* Nations, where the Husbands require it; but the greateſt part miſs their Aim, they come too late. (o) *La maggior parte de gli Indiani ſi maritano con le figlivole & ſorelle d'altri, ſenza ordine, & pochi trovano le mogli vergini.* What the Author obſerves concerning *Sodomy*, is hideous; 'tis openly and publickly practiced. (p) *Non ostante ch'haveſſino molte donne belliſſime, tuttavia (ſi come da loro iſteſſi) usavano publicamente il triſto vicio della ſodomia, & anco ſe ne vantavano alla ſcoperta.* There were even Temples, in which it was committed as an Exerciſe of Piety (q); an Abomination unknown to the Paganiſm of ancient *Greece*, though the Proſtitution of Women in Honour of the Gods, was very common. I have not obſerved in *Cieca*, that there were any People in this World, but what cover'd their ſecret Parts; but other Relations poſitively affirm it, and with this very ſtrange Circumſtance, that thoſe of the Female Sex, who had their Virginity, concealed nothing, but thoſe who had loſt it, cover'd their Natural Parts. (r) *Hiſpanis ulteriora tentantibus, terræ eſt oblata, continens paulo minus decies centena millia paſſuum ab Hiſpaniola protenſa meridiem versus: Atque ea populi ſub rege bellum cum finitimis gerentis occurrerunt: quorum fœmina virum paſſa nullam partem corporis, præter inguinibus, virgines ne illam quidem tegebant.* This is very ſurprizing,

(n) *Cieca, cap. 49. fol. 99.*

(o) *Idem, cap. 19. fol. 37. verſo.*

(p) *Idem, cap. 49. fol. 99. verſo. See alſo, cap. 52. fol. 104 verſo.*

(q) *Idem, cap. 64. fol. 128.*

(r) *Petrus Bembus ubi ſupra, fol. 127 verſo.*

at *Lima*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Perû*, when he put the last Hand to it, and was then Thirty Two Years of Age [a]. This Book has been (B) tranſlated into *Italian*.

LEONTIUS, an *Athenian* Philoſopher towards the end of the IVth. Century, had a Daughter whom he inſtructed in the Sciences, and who made an extraordinary Woman. Perceiving, that ſhe was no leſs admirable for the Advantages of the Body, than Talents of the Mind, he believed her Learning and her Beauty might very well ſerve her for a Fortune. For this Reaſon he left her nothing in his Will, dividing all he had between his Two Sons. This Injuſtice of [illegible], was the Occaſion of her coming to the Empire; for ſhe it was, who under the Name of *Athenais*, appeared ſo agreeable to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, and the Princeſs *Pulcheria*, that *Theodoſius* marry'd her. The Suit ſhe commenced againſt her Brothers, on Account of her Father's Will, obliged her to implore [illegible]'s Protection; and hence came her good Fortune [b]. Father *Garaſſe* (Z) has [illegible] this. Conſult the Diſſertation [c] which I cite.

LEONCLAVIUS (*John*) one of the learnedeſt Perſons of the XVth. Century, was born in *Weſtphalia*, and was much a Gentleman. He ſpent near Two Years in the Court of the Duke of *Savoy*, on a Buſineſs of *Lazarus Swendius* [d]; and afterwards travelled a long time in the Retinue of Baron *Zerotini*. He lived alſo ſome Years in the Family of the Baron of *Kiltz*. He had been invited to *Heidelberg*, to be *Greek* Profeſſor; but the Death of Prince *Caſimir* made that Invitation uſeleſs [e]. During his Stay in *Turkey*, he collected excellent Materials for the [illegible] the *Ottoman* Hiſtory; and 'tis to him the Publick is indebted for the beſt [illegible] Accounts we have of that Empire. He had joined to the Knowledge of the Learned Tongue, a competent Skill in the Law, which qualified him (B) for tranſlating the *Baſilicæ*. His other

[a] *Id. ib.* [b] *See in Mr. Menage*, Hiſtoria mulierum philoſopharum in calce Diogenis Laertii, p. 490. *The entire Paſſages of the Author* Chronici Paſchalis, *of* Socrates, *of* Evagrius, *of* Nicephorus, *about the Conſequences of the Wife of* Leontius. [c] *Sebaſt. Kortholtus de puellis poetriis, pag.* 12. *& ſeq.* [d] *He was General of an Army.* [e] *Taken from* Melchior Adam in vitis Philoſophorum, pag. 379. (a) *See* Cieca, cap. 8. 48. 51. & paſſim alibi. (b) *Idem*, cap. 43. fol. 17. & cap. 49. fol. 99. (c) *Id. ib.* (d) *Idem*, cap. 4. fol. 8. verſo & cap. 20. fol. 39. (e) *Idem*, cap. 41. fol. 82. verſo. (f) *Ibid.* (g) *Nicol. Anton. Bibliotheca Script. Miſc. tom.* 2. *pag.* 146. (h) Religuus valde abominibus deſiderantur. *Id. ib.* (i) *Somme Theologique, liv.* 2. *pag.* 182.

ſince the Laws of Decency are every where more relax for Women than for Maids.

Note, that this aſtoniſhing Corruption, which had extinguiſhed the Laws of Humanity and Modeſty [illegible] had ſunk theſe People into utter Barbariſm, into the Rage Cuſtoms of Canibals, and the moſt monſtrous Lasciviouſneſs, had not extinguiſhed or ſtifled the Ideas of Religion. They believed the Immortality of the Soul: This appears by all their Funeral Ceremonies (a); they adored the Sun (b), they believed in the Creator of all Things (c), they offered Sacrifices to their Idols, and even ſpared not human Blood (d). The Author obſerves over and over, that they worſhip the Devil; but 'tis under the Notion of a Being extreamly Powerful, and which notwithſtanding its Wickedneſs, has ſomething in him of Divine. *Indiani di Tacunga credono l'immortalità dell' anima, quanto intendiamo da loro, & che ut ſia un Creatore del tutto. Conſiderando la grandezza del cielo, il muovimento del Sole, della Luna, & altre coſe maravigliuſe, quantumque accecati dal Demonio, credono, che eſſo habbia poſſanza in ogni coſa. Benche al cuni conoſcendo le ſuemalvagità, & come è ſempre buggiardo, & gli tratta peſſimamente, lo hanno in odio, ma pur l'ubbidiſcono per timore, credendo, che ſia in lui qualche Dività* (e). He obſerves, that the Prieſts live holily, and are much (f) reſpected.

(B) *Has been tranſlated into* Italian.] *Nicolas Antonio* (g) obſerves, that the *Spaniſh* Edition of *Sevil*, 1553, in *Folio*, was followed the Year after, by that of *Antwerp*, in *Octavo*, and by an *Italian* Edition of *Rome*, 1555, in *Octavo*. He ſays, that *Auguſtin de Gravaliz* is the Author of the *Italian* Verſion. I add, that it was printed at *Venice*, *Appreſſo Giordano Ziletti*, in the Year 1557, in *Octavo*. This is the Edition I make uſe of, and the Name of the Printer in the Title, but I find in the laſt Page theſe Words: *In Vinegia, appreſſo Domenico de Farri, ad inſtantia di M. Andrea Arrivabene M. D. LVI.* *Nicholas Antonio* did not know of this Edition. He ſays, that the other Parts of this Hiſtory (h) were impatiently expected.

(Z) *Father* Garaſſe *has ill related this.*] God ſeems to act, ſays he, (i) like the Philoſopher Leontius, in the Days of Yore, who having Three Daughters, one of exquiſite Beauty, and the two others much deformed, left no Fortune to the firſt, ſaying, ſhe was the beſt provided for (as in effect ſhe was, for her Beauty made her an Empreſs) and gave all his Eſtate to the other Two, ſaying, that with all that, they would have enough to do to find Husbands; for all to Ladies of themſelves Beautiful, Good and [illegible] God gives them no other Dowry, &c. The Authors, who ſpeak of *Athenais*, give her two Brothers, and not two Siſters, ſo that [illegible] his Licentiouſneſs in a modern Au[illegible] only to change theſe Brothers into Siſters, but [illegible] make 'em frightfully Ugly, and put ſuch diſ[illegible] Words into their Father's Mouth.

(d) *The beſt Accounts we have of that Empire.*] See what Mr. *de Thou* ſays of him. (k) *Juris Romani Gracique conſultiſſimo, & rerum Turcicarum apprime perito; ad quas linguæ ipſius Byzantinæ peregrinationes comparatam cognitionem, eruditam ultima hiſtoria Græca lectionem, & acre ac admirandum judicium attulit, quod non ſolum ſcripta ab ipſo dum viveret publicata, ſed in his quæ poſt mortem ejus edita ſunt, eluxit.* *Leunclavius* compoſed *Hiſtoria Muſſulmanica Turcarum libri* 18. *Apologetici duo, prior eſt libitinarius indem Oſmanidarum; poſterior continet epiſtolas de rebus Turcicis. Commonefactio de præſenti rerum Turcicarum ſtatu. Annales Turcici cum ſupplemento, & pandectis hiſtoriæ Turcicæ.* This laſt Work is properly but the Tranſlation of a Book written by the *Turks* themſelves: I mean of the *Turkiſh* Annals, which *Jerome Beck* of *Leopoldſdorf*, *Ferdinand*'s Embaſſador, brought from *Conſtantinople* in 1551. [illegible] cauſed them to be tranſlated into *High Dutch* by [illegible] *Spiegelius* (l), and afterwards *Leonclavius* tranſlated them into *Latin* (m).

(B) *For Tranſlating the* Baſilicæ.] I mean the Abridgment of the *Baſilica*: His Work is Intituled *Verſio & nota ad ſynopſim 60. librorum Baſilicon, ſeu univerſi juris Romani, & ad novellas Imperatorum.* 'Twas Printed at *Baſle* in the Year 1575. *Melchior Adam* ſpeaks thus of it: (n) *Evulgavit cum annotationibus ſumgnintæ librorum [illegible] universi juris Romani auctoritate principum Romanorum in Græcam linguam tranſtuli, Eclogam ſive Synopſin antea non viſam: item Novellarum antea non publicatarum librum.* Mr. *Teiſſier* muſt give me leave to obſerve, that the manner of his relating this Title may miſlead the Reader: He has alſo Publiſhed, ſays he, (o) *ſexaginta libros [illegible], Eclogam ſive Synopſin, & Novellas cum notis.* This is ſuppoſing the *Baſilica* intire together with a ſecond Book intituled *Eclogæ ſive Synopſis*, and conſequently Multiplies and confounds things. The ſame Author citing *Melchior Adam* affirms, that [illegible] calls Leonclavius *the moſt learned Lawyer* [illegible] and ſets him upon above the Great Cujas. [illegible] *Melchior Adam* ſays not a Word; and beſides what we find in *Leunclavius*'s preface in the ſecond *Scaliger*ana, is much beneath this Character. (p) *Bayle* [illegible] has wrapped the beſt concerning this [illegible] *Leunclavius* fuit Weſtphalus, ſed non [illegible] [illegible] appellatus Græca Conſtantinopolitanis [illegible] [illegible] Græca Juriſconſultorum intellexit, [illegible] Verarum non imaginum ex [illegible] [illegible] qui paulo ante obſcura multa [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] clavius debebat ſcorta ſecum. Cluſius cum ab[illegible]

(k) *Thuan. lib.* 104. *ſub fin.* (l) *Interpreter of the* Turkiſh *Laws into* Ferdinand. (m) [illegible] *rum Othmanidarum, de* Turciſia lingua ſcriptos, & ſtudio Hieronymi Beck à Leopoldſdorf. [illegible] tinopoli advectos juſſuque Ferdinandi [illegible] (n) *Vitis Philoſophor. pag.* 38[illegible] (o) *Teiſſ. addit. à Eloges, tom.* 2. *p.* 187. (p) *Teiſſ. ibid. pag.* 186. (q) *Scaligerana p.* m.

other Versions were (C) esteem'd, tho' the Criticks have pretended to find faults in 'em. What he Publish'd of *Cæsarius*, put *James de Billy* into a mighty Passion (D). He [a] Died at *Vienna* in *Austria* in *June* 1593. near sixty years of Age [b].

LEONICENUS (*Nicholas*) was Born at *Lunigo* in Latin *Leonicum*, in the *Vicentine* in *Italy* in 1428. He taught Physick in the University of *Ferrara* for above sixty years [c]. He was not only excellent in his Profession; but also very well vers'd in the liberal Arts. He was the first [d] that Translated *Galen's* Works into Latin. As admirable [illegible] his Learning was, his Virtue was much more so. No Body could be more di[illegible]g'd from the Pleasures of Sence. Sobriety, Chastity, and a Contempt of sordid Gain were the distinguishing Vertues of his Life, (A); and 'twas to this great purity of Manners, that he (B) attributed the vigourous Health he enjoy'd to an extream old Age; for he (BΔ) lived ninety six years. His Merit must needs have been Illustrious, since the [illegible]*ligers* (C) mention it with commendation. I question whether we are [illegible] what one of them says, that *Leonicenus* afflicted (D) with the

[a] *Melch. Adam. ubi supra.*

[b] *Thuan. Hist l. 104. sub. fin.*

[c] *Merclinus in Lindenio renovato, p. 837.*

[d] Primus Græca Galeni volumina Latinè interpretando studiosis perdiscenda demonstravit. *Jovius Elog. c. 70.*

familiarissimè. Thus speaks the second *Scaliger*ana. *Leonclavius*'s Learning is more praised in it than his Morals, since we are here inform'd that he always kept a Punk in his House. Let us not forget his *Jus Græco-Romanum* (a) in two Volumes in *folio*, and his *nota ad paratitla seu ad collectionem constitutionum Ecclesiasticarum* (b) in 8vo.

(a) *Græcè & Latinè, à Francfort.* 1560.

(b) *At* Francfort 1593.

(C) *His other Ve[illegible] were esteem'd, tho' the Criticks.*] (c) 'He [illegible] of the famousest Translators, that *Germ[illegible]* ever produc'd. He has 'given us the Version of *Xenophon* three times 'Revis'd; that of *Zosimus*; that of the Annals of '*Constantine Manasses*; and of those of *Michael* '*Glycas*; [illegible] of the Abridgement of the sixty 'Books [illegible] *Basilica*; and of several Works of 'St. [illegible] *Nazianzen*——He has [illegible] 'Corre[illegible]*xylander's* Versions of *Dion*, and the [illegible] '*Chalcondyle* by *Clausar*. Mr. *Baillet*, whose Words these are, Ushers 'em in with the Praises, Mr. *Huet* has given this Translator. They are very Advantagious. The Notes on *Zosimus* in the *English* Edition 1679, don't give such an Idea of this Man's Capacity. *Henry Stephens* furiously Criticiz'd his Translation of *Xenophon* and had several unlucky charges of his Adversary to get over. Mr. *Baillet* mentions this Dispute; This is what *Melchior Adam* tells us of it. (d) *Litem tamen ei super ista interpretatione Xenophontea criticam & Grammaticam movit* Henricus Stephanus, *vir & typographus clarissimus, edita in ejus errores insignes inquisitione autoschediastica. Contra & Leonclavius de Stephano conqueritur, quod contra fidem datam, & præter officium viri boni, Xenophontis à se Latinè redditi exemplar, sicut & Zosimi, detrimerit. Et fassus est Stephanus accepisse se illam Xenophontis versionem ab [illegible]ter octodecim; post tredecim aut quatuordecim amplius annis sibi non visam, sed cum è sua suppellectile libraria, militum incuria, tempore aliquos libri incendio periissent: nescivisse, an in illorum numero Xenophon à Leonclavio versus, fuisset. Tandem, interjecto anni amplius spacio, librum inventum fuisse, situ obsitum, & membrana crassa, qua involutus erat, conservatum.*

(c) [illegible] *quæstionibus & responsis Philosophicis, præcipuè verò Theologicis.*

(d) *Melch. Adam. ubi supra.*

(D) *Of* Cæsarius *put* James de Billy *into a mighty Passion.*] *Leonclavius* Published four Dialogues (e) of *Cæsarius*, Brother to St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, which he had Translated into Latin. 'Tis disputed whether this Work ought to be Ascribed to *Cæsarius*. Father *Labbé* has put off the inquiry to another time. *Plura*, says he (f), *adversus Leonclavium primum eorum* (dialogorum) *editorem declamavit Jacobus Billius Prunæus præfatione in decimam orationem sancti Nazianzeni, qua alias expendemus accuratius. Lambecius* (g) espouses *Leonclavius* warmly against *James de Billy's* Invectives.

(e) [illegible]

(f) *De Scriptor. Eccles. Tom. x. p. 217.*

(g) *Lambectus, Biblioth. Cæsar. l. 4. p. 31. & sequent.*

(A) *Sobriety, Chastity, and an Aversion for sordid Gain.*] [illegible] had not been of a gay Humour, and [illegible]miliar, he might have pass'd for a true Scrick[illegible]at little, Drank less, abstained from Wine [illegible] Women; all Dishes were alike to him; he took without choice whatever Food was set before him, and could hardly distinguish one Piece of Money from another: (b) *Cibi & vini maximè abstinens, somnique minimi, præsertim verò Veneris continentissimus, usque adeo mollioris vitæ voluptatibus addixit, ut pecuniæ, luxuria instrumentum, quanquam quidem merito nota contemneret [illegible]um, & nulla delectum cura cibum caperet; [illegible]um & fortunæ quærentes——cum hercle perfectum & fortunatum præstet, nisi honesto ori liberalis hilaritas officium præstet,*

(B) *That he Atributed the vigourous Health.*] This *Paulus Jovius* tells us as from his own Mouth. (i) *Quum ego aliquando comiter ab eo peterem, ut ingenuè proferret, quonam arcano artis uteretur, ut tanto corporis atque animi vigore vitia senectutis eluderet: Vividum, inquit, ingenium perpetua, Jovi, vitæ innocentia, salubre verò corpus, hilari frugalitatis præsidio facilè tuemur.* He had been saying (k) that *Leonicenus* at ninety years of Age had all his Senses perfect, and a very faithful Memory; that he Walked without a Stuck, and did not stoop, tho' very tall. By the way a Virtuous Life has not always the effect, which *Leonicenus* Ascribes to it. There are those, who might dispute the Crown of Chastity and Sobriety with him, and whose Conscience is as clear as his, whose [illegible]withstanding are few and evil, they liv'd [illegible]ort while, and yet were often Sick.

[illegible]ll add to *Paulus Jovius* another Witness. I remember a Passage in *Melchior Adam*, by which one might gather, that *Leonicenus* had told *Paul Langius* his Disciple, that he took the Chastity of his Youth to be the cause of his long Life. (l) *Audivit in Italia* (Joannes Langius) —— *Nicolaum Leonicenum, Dioscoridis illustratorem: qui annum ætatis attigit nonagesimum sextum, cum amplius sexaginta annos Ferrariæ docuisset. Hic dixit, se viridi vegetâque uti senectâ, quia castam juventutem virili ætati tradidisset: edidisseque opusculum, in quo omnibus ægris salutem & vitam rationi conciliarique posse docuit.* You see in this Passage that he was the Author of a Book designed to maintain, that all kind of Distempers were curable. Undoubtedly he excepted that of old Age, at least Acknowledged this Distemper incurable. He had the experience of it; for observe what *Langius* an Eye-Witness says of him. (m) *Ferrariam igitur veni[illegible], ubi Leonicenum, elegantioris medicinæ illustratorem, admodum senem, & jam ex senio marasmo tabescentem, convenimus: quem, senile ætatis ejus decus veveriti, perplexis de erroribus Plinii problematibus obtundere nolebamus.* The Letter, in which *Langius* says this, is without Date: And therefore we can't judge by it, whether *Paul Jovius* is mistaken as to the Vigour of Old *Leonicenus*.

(i) *Ibid. p. 163.*

(k) Pervenit ad nonagesimum annum integerrimis sensibus, vegetaque memoria, nec incurva quidem cervice, quum esset statura celsissima & time Scipione venerabilis. *Id. ibid.*

(l) *Melch. Adam in vitis Medicor. p. 140. 141.*

(m) *Joannes Langius Epist. Medicin. 2. l. 2. p. m. 472.*

(BΔ) *He lived 96 years.*] *Naudæus* is mistaken, when he makes him live above a Century. I shall give his own Words because they contain other very curious matters. *Hippocrates, Galenus, Avenzoar, Leonicenus, cogitate vos quantum tempore, loco, vivendi ratione inter se discrepantes, hoc uno vitæ termino plane conveniunt, quem omnes ultra centesimum annum protraxere* (n).

(n) *Naudæus in Pentade quæst. Latrophilolog. p. m. 44.*

(C) *The two* Scaligers *mention it with commendation.*] See in what Terms: (o) *Leonicenus à patre semper imprimis commendatus, & Medicorum sui temporis facilè princeps judicatus.* Thus for the Father: And as for the Son. *De eo viro non nisi honorificè prædicare debemus, vel eo nomine quod primus Philosophiam & Medicinam ipsam cum humaniores Philosophiam & Medicinam ipsam cum humaniores litteris conjunxit. Primus enim ille nos docuit, homines quæ sint bonis literis Medicinam tractant, esse similes iis qui in alieno foro litigant* (p).

(o) *Scaligerana prima, p. m. 97.*

(p) *Joseph. Scaliger ep. 19. p. 104.*

(D) *Afflicted with the Falling-Sickness in his Youth and Infirmary of Life.*] *Mirum prætereà, continuus hic [illegible]ensis de viro. A puerilis, hoc è cunabulis ipsis [illegible] unum morbo exhibitus adeo vexabatur, [illegible]ud sævedierat, pertimuit vitæ plane sibi manus [illegible]. Sed post trigesimum annum plane eo male [illegible], omnibus membrorum ita functum officiis int[illegible] nulla morbi suspicione ad 94. annum per-*

the Falling-Sickness in his Youth, was so weary of Life, that he had like to have laid violent Hands on himself. This able Physician wrote (E) several excellent Works, and had a good Vein at Poetry. (F) He Died in 1524. He set up for a mighty Critick on *Pliny*, which did not please his Disciple *Caleagninus*, whose Words (G) I shall cite. They make much for the honour of *Leonicenus*.

He did not apply himself to the Practice of Physick; and being asked the Reason, he « Answered, that he did more service by Teaching other Physicians, than if he himself made Visits to the Sick.

« Idem mihi respondit Nicolas Leonicenus Ferrariæ, demiranti cur artem medicandi quam profitebatur ipse non exerceret, plus, inquit, agit docens omnes medicos. *Erasm. Apoph. theg. l. 3. p. m. 163.*

LEONIN (*Elbert* or *Engelbert*) in Flemish *De Leew*, a Native of the Isle of *Bommel* in *Guelderland*, was one of the ablest Lawyers of the XVIth. Century, and well vers'd in State Affairs. He studied first in his Native Country, then at *Utrecht*, afterwards at *Emmeric*, and last of all at *Louvain*. He did not confine himself to the Study of Humanity in this last Town, under the learned *Petr Mannius*, but apply'd to the Law, and became a Licentiate in that Faculty in 1547. He afterwards went to *Arras* to learn the *French* Tongue, returned to *Louvain* at the years end, and Married a Daughter (A) of the first Professor of the Civil Law. A Professor's Chair in the Canon Law becoming vacant in the second year of his Marriage, he was Nominated to fill it. This he did most worthily, and grew famous as well by his Lectures, as by his Answers, to several Law Cases sent him from all Parts of *Europe*. He Succeeded *Gabriel Mudæus* first Professor of Civil Law in 1566, and from that time saw his Reputation daily increase; the great Lords and Magistrates of the *Low-Countries* condescending to Visit and Consult him. Even those, who were at Variance among themselves, agreed in intrusting him with their most secret Affairs and Differences, and refus'd not his Arbritation, tho' the Obstinacy of their Passions rendered ineffectual his endeavours to reconcile 'em. He had the honour to be intimately beloved by the Prince of *Orange*; and this was one Reason, why he never would return into the Interests of the King of *Spain*, after he had once embraced that of the Lords and Provinces Associated in defence of their Liberty. I shall give (B) his other Reasons below. He was chosen Chancellor of *Guelderland* after the Death of Arch-Duke *Matthias* in 1581. And one of the Embassadors of the States to the King of *France* after the

† *I speak thus, having a regard to the Passage of* Scaliger *and not to that of* Langius. (a) *Jovius ubi supra, p. 162.* (b) *He says also, that* Imperiorum lacrymis publicatis summa eloquentiæ commendatio occurrerat. *Ibid.* (c) *Id. ib. p. 163.* (d) *Celius Rhodigin. Antiq. lect. l. 6. c. 16. p. m. 298.* (e) *He calls him* nostri temporis plane coryphæus, *an liv. 26. c. 30.* (f) *Lilius Gregor. Gyraldus de Poëtis suorum tempor. dial. 2. p. m. 564.* (g) *Apud Erasm. in Epistol. 54. l. 20. p. 1019.* *Mr. Pope Blount attributes this to Erasmus*

pervenit. Et si bene memini, triduo antequam decederet è vita, operam dederat lectioni. Here's a condition to be envy'd; not because *Leonicenus* lived 96 years; that alone were a poor thing, and rather a Curse than a Blessing; but because he had preserv'd to this old Age the use of his Understanding, his Memory and his Senses, and that his last Sickness was (†) very short.

(E) Leonicenus *wrote several excellent Works.*] The Translation of many Tracts of *Galen*, of *Hippocrates's Aphorism* and *Aristotle's* first Book *De partibus animalium*. *De Plinii & plurium aliorum Medicorum in medicina erroribus. De tribus doctrinis ordinatis secundum Galeni sententiam. De formativa virtute. De Dipsade & pluribus aliis serpentibus, quadam de herbis & fructibus, animalibus, metallis. De morbo Gallico, sive Neapolitano. Contra fautorum translationum obtrectatores apologia.* A Book Intituled *Antisophista*, which made *Paulus Jovius* say, that (a) *nemo errores Sophistarum importuna garrulitate cuncta fedantium eloquentius atque validius* (b) *confutavit* (quàm Leonicenus.) He Translated (c) *Dion's* History into Italian, and *Lucian's* Dialogues to oblige *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, who did not understand Latin. I forgot his Treatise *De vipera*, against which *Rhodinus* tells us a Learned Man has written. (d) *Nec me fallit ex eruditioribus quemdam edito etiam libello, Marassum à vipera disparasse, quo Nicolai Leonicensi viri undecunque scientissimi* (e) *placita uberius de hujus animalis natura convellat.*

(F) *Had a good Vein at Poetry.*] This *Giraldi* assures us. *Erat & Leonicenus merito inter poëtas collocandus, nam cùm senex optimos versus faceret, & interdum è Græco in Latinum transferret, tum in juvenili suâ ætate non modo meditatos argutè & doctè composuit, sed etiam ut sæpè mihi memorare solitus fuit, ex tempore & impræmeditata carmina cecinit* (f).

(G) *I shall cite the Words of* Caleagninus.] They are found in a Letter he writ to *Erasmus* the sixth of *July* 1525. *Leonicenus medicus*, says he (g), *jam mensis aliquot hunc vitæ minimum absolvit, vir ad æternitatem natus, quem ego ultimum heroum & aurei sæculi reliquias appellabam. Ea illa enim ætate quæ magnum habuit ingeniorum provenum, & Hermolaos, Politianos, Picos, Ficinos, Merulas, Domitios, nobis tulit, hic ultimus decessit jam propè centenarius, integris, quod mirum videatu, adhuc sensibus. Multa scripsit, multa versis Græcis, multa in Sylva medica jam emendatiora nobis restituit, Adversus barbaros medicos perpetuas inimicitias exercuit: quin & Plinium, à quo proposito frustra hominem sæpe deterrui, inclementer nimis semper insectatus est. Denique quod paucis contigit, ultimam posteritatem suam vidit: ejus obitum acerbè tulit, tum privato nomine, fuerat enim mihi præceptor, tum publico: videbam enim rem Latinam ejus morte insigni plagam accepisse.*

(A) *And Married a Daughter of the first Professor of the Civil Law.*] Her Name was *Barbe* (b) *de Haze*. If her Husband deserv'd the Sirname (i) *Longolius* on account of his tallness, she deserv'd a particular Sirname on account of her long Life. *Valerius André* (k) tells us, she lived 52 years with her Husband, and 36 a Widow. She was twelve at least when she Married. Add these numbers together, and they'll make an intire Century. There will be no Error in the Calculation, tho' there is in *Valerius André's* way of reckoning: according to him we must allow at least a year betwixt the Licence and the Marriage of *Leonin*: The Licence was taken out in 1547: *Leonin* must be Married then in the year 1548, now he Died in 1598. How then can it be said that he lived 52 years with his Wife? All this I know appears from his Epitaph (l) but we ought to conclude from it, that he Married *Barbe de Haze* in 1546, and *Valerius André* is to blame in not seeing his fault Computation.

(b) *Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. p. 197.* (i) *Id. ib.* (k) Vixit in primo atque unico matrimonio annos quinquaginta duos. Superstes vidua Returnlam ad suos reversa annis XXXVI, marito supervixit. *Id. ib. p. 199.* (l) *It's to be found at length in the* Athenæ Belgicæ *of* Sweert, *p. 225. 226.*

(B) *I shall give his other Reasons below.*] We find in him a rare Example of Constancy, for being once imbarked with the States, he unalterably continued the same course till his Death, tho' a Zeal for Religion was no tie on him. 'Tis no extraordinary thing to see People Die in the Party they have espoused at the beginning of a Faction or Revolution; but if the Train of such an Enterprize has been long and perplexed, one while Favourable, another Disadvantagious, you commonly see the same Persons quit and Re-espouse three or four times the same Interest, and 'tis the greatest Chance if they end as they began. Death seizes 'em, when they are returned to their first starting place: Some years more would have caused 'em to repair perhaps to the opposite Standard. The surest way of preventing ficklenesse, is either to embrace out of an Ardent Zeal, the Religion of the Revolting Party, or so to irritate your Prince, as to leave no room for confiding in the Indemnity promised; nothing of all this was the cause of *Leonin's* Constancy, which was very long and without interruption. What then was

the Death of the Prince of *Orange* in 1584, he made the Speech [a] at the Audience they had of *Henry III*, and in the Conferences concerning the Offer of the Sovereignty. He Harangued at the *Hague* in the Name of the ſame States the Earl of *Leiceſter*, whom the Queen of *England* had given 'em for Governour. He work'd himſelf into the good Graces of this Earl, and the other *Engliſh* Lords, and adviſed 'em to exerciſe their Authority with Moderation; but contrary Counſels prevail'd. He Died at *Arnheim* [b] the fourth of *December* 1598. in the 79*th*. year of his Age [c]. He never Profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion, and behav'd himſelf (C) ſomewhat too freely on this Head. We have ſeveral (D) Books of his Writing.

[a] *His Epitaph in* Swert Athen. belg. p. 225. *imports that it was the* 6th.

[b] *Taken from* Valerius André Bibloth. Belg. p. 179. & ſeqq.

[c] *Taken from* Lipſius Cent. 3. Ep. 68. *I have quoted the* Manuals *under the Article of* Epicurus.

LEONTIUM, an *Athenian* Courtezan, made her ſelf famous firſt by her Lewdneſs, and next by her Application to the Study of Philoſophy. The ſecond Profeſſion would have repair'd the Diſgrace of the firſt, if *Leontium* had renounc'd the buſineſs of Love, when ſhe betook her ſelf to Philoſophy; but 'tis ſaid ſhe abated nothing of her Pleaſures; and that following *Epicurus*'s Sect, ſhe Proſtituted her ſelf to all his School. 'Tis ſaid too that he himſelf came in for a ſnack, and that he made no ſecret of it [a]. They who pretend, that the Scandals raiſed on his Morals, are a Malicious Imputation of his Enemies, won't own there paſs'd any thing diſhoneſt betwixt him and *Leontium*; but they can't deny, that he has expreſs'd a deal of Friendſhip for her [b] in his Letters: This they can't allow without leaving room for ſcurvy Conſequences. She was either the Wife or the Concubine of *Metrodorus* [c], and had a Son by him, whom *Epicurus* recommended to his Executors. This affords an Argument againſt the Letter, in which 'tis ſuppoſ'd ſhe complains of the Moroſe and Diſguſtful Humour of this old Gallant. Some take her for (A) the ſame *Leontium*, who was Miſtreſs to the Poet *Hermeſianax*. There's more certainty that ſhe

[a] See the Article of Epicurus. (b) *Laertius de vitis Philoſoph. l.* 10. n. 5.

were his Motives theſe. He injoy'd the intimacy and particular Friendſhip of the Prince of *Orange*. This made him ſuſpected by the Royaliſts and by the King himſelf. They believed he was an Accomplice in the Rebellion; this however, ſays he, was a Falſhood (a), but he did not think fit to truſt thoſe who falſly ſuſpected him. Beſides he was a Counſellor of State to the New Republick, he had been employ'd in the greateſt Affairs: (b) He thought it a Villany to reveal 'em to the other Party, as he muſt have done, if he had changed ſides. Beſides he was of *Solon*'s Opinion, that in Civil Wars, an honeſt Man ought to embrace the weakeſt ſide, and the moſt expoſed to danger. (c) *Sed & Solonis dictum, inquit, ac conſilium ob oculos habebam, quod Ioues vir in civilibus diſſenſionibus partem eligere debeat inferiorem, & magis periculoſam.* A Man muſt be a thorow Philoſopher, to give ſuch Advice, and much more ſo to follow it. But how comes it, that *Solon* did not adviſe to ſtick by the reaſonable ſide? I believe we may anſwer for him, that each of the contending Parties, in a Republick, Alledge the Publick good, and that with ſuch a train of Objections, and Anſwers, that private Perſons can't eaſily diſtinguiſh the right from the wrong. What remains then, but to engage in the leaſt powerful Faction? The reaſon's plain, becauſe it's generous to aſſiſt the weak againſt the ſtrong, and becauſe the Temptation to commit Acts of Injuſtice is greater in the prevailing, than in the weaker Faction. You'll ſay that one would be no more moderate than the other, if it had equal power. I grant it; but as long as Inability deprives it of occaſions of Tyranny, you ought to ballance and avoid being an Abettor of Violences. If it becomes uppermoſt, quit it, for fear it ſhould draw you into oppreſſive Methods in its turn. This by the by, and on occaſion of *Solon*'s Maxims, with this Corrective, however, that at the bottom, you know not which is right and which wrong.

(a) Veniſſet in ſuſpicionem apud Regios, a que etiam Regem ipſum alicujus molitionis contrariæ, &c, quod deceritus, ſeditioſorum conſilius conſentire diceretur, quodà ſe ſcribit fuiſſe alieniſſimum. *Valer. Andr. ib. p.* 198.

(b) *Idem ib.*

(c) *Id. ib.*

(C) *Somewhat too freely on this Subject.*] He would have Religion reduc'd to a great ſimplicity, and all left to the Judgement of God and the Angels, that exceeds the reach of Humane Underſtanding. We ought, ſays he, to admire and adore the Deity rather than define it. (d) *Ego ſimplicem religionem ampleƈtendam ſemper prædicavi, & etiam nunc prædico, prorſus divina & humani ingenii captum excedentia, divinitati & ſecreto Dei atque Angelorum judicio relinquens: honorandam potiùs & admirandam divinitatem quàm definiendam judicavi. Enixè laboravi, ut nimium ſubtiles diſputationes è Republica ejicerentur, de quo memini in Oratione ad Ordines habita, quæ poſt primam Centuriam Conſiliorum meorum impreſſa eſt.* St. *Aldegonde* could find nothing that was not valuable in him, except his Averſion to Theological Subjects: You are Shipwracked, ſays he, Writing to him, on thoſe Maxims *do no injury, live honeſtly*, &c. To me this looks like making the Labours of the Prophets and Apoſtles of no effect. (e) *Illustris Leoninus, Hugenus Altada, atque inter proceres religionis reformatæ nunquam nomen deleturi. Ille honeſtate civili contentus, religionem omnem ſuſpexit atque habebat: nec enim ipſi graphicè ſcripſit Ibid. Epiſt. Belgarum centur.* 2. *ad fin.* [illegible] *eſt in te quod non ſit ſuaviſſimum, ſi hæc omnia non eſſent, quod nimium es affectus. Dum convivas illis formulis, quid dee formulis? vos omnes, Neminem lædere, honeſtè vivere, aliſque tam quam ſcopulis inhærere, vobis mihi Apoſtolorum omnium ac Prophetarum libertas omnem pompam inanem ducere.* The place here cited, is upon the three Illuſtrious Men who Died in the new Countries in 1598, deſerves our notice. The (f) [illegible] beginning with publick Affairs, grew [illegible] treat. But the third call'd [illegible] his Cloſet to the acquiring [illegible] ſpent the reſt of his Life [illegible] Speaks of our *Leoninus*, that [illegible] derivd from Nature, what the Precepts of the Old Philoſophers aimed at; he was in a manner free from Paſſion, he followed the Republican Party, not through Intereſt or Prejudice, but becauſe he found himſelf Embark'd in it. (g) *Illustris Leoninus in umbra ſtudiorum quondam educatus, & ante pacem Gandavenſem regiarum partium miniſter, tunc ſum mus Gelriæ juridicus conſulus publicus immunebatur, homo naturæ conſpicuus, quo veterum magiſtrum præcepta minutius, ut affectu pene omni vicerit, alios quidem, ut partes quoque non ſtudio ullo, ſed quæ ſic invenerat, ſequeretur.*

(f) *The* [illegible] *Commonwealth.*

(g) *Gerardus Hiſpanus de vitis Hiſtoricis Belgicis, l.* 7. *p.* 570. *Edit. Amſtel.* 1708. *in* 12.

(D) *We have ſeveral Books of his Writing.*] Moſt of 'em came out after his Death: As we may know by the dates added to the following Titles: *Centuria conſiliorum*, at *Antwerp* 1584 in 8. We ſee at the end of this Work *Oratio habita in conventu Ordinum Generalium, Antwerpiæ, anno* 1579. *tempore Colloquii Colonienſis, de bello, reformanda pace per Belgium.* His ſeven Books *Emendationum ſive Obſervationum*, were Printed at *Arnheim* in 1610, in 4to. *Prælectiones ad tit. Cod. de jure Emphyteutico*, at *Francfort* 1600. in 8vo. *ad libr. Cod. in quo tituli & leges omnes ad uſum fori criminalis explicantur*, at *Cologne* 1604. in 4to. *Commentarius ad tit. D. de uſufructu*, Leyden 1609. in 8vo. His Diſſertation, *De Imperatore Belgii vulgo Lombardis* was Publiſhed by *Boxhorn* (h). I omit ſeveral Books (i) he deſigned for the Preſs, which are kept in his Grandſon *Albert Zoſius*'s Cloſet Advocate of *Utrecht*.

(h) *Taken from* Valer. Andr. ubi ſupra p. 199.

(i) *Valer. Andr. ib. gives the Titles of 'em.*

(A) *The ſame* Leontium, *who was Miſtreſs to* Hermeſianax.] Athenæus ſpeaks (k) of this Miſtreſs, and produces a long Copy of Verſes, taken out of the third Book of Elegies, which *Hermeſianax* had wrote in praiſe of *Leontium*. Mr. *Me-*

(k) *Lib.* 13. *p.* 597. *c*

she applied her self in good earnest to (B) to Philosophy, and even became (C) an Author. Note, that her *Metrodorus* was one of the chief Disciples of *Epicurus*. She had a Daughter, who carry'd her self very ill, and died (D) a violent Death, as we shall see below.

LEOVITIUS (*Cyprian*) a famous Astronomer. He set up for Astrological Predictions, but had no Success in them. *Bodin* has censured (A) him severely. *Lewis Guyon* (B) copying *Bodin* as a true Plagiary, knew not how to make use of what

nage (a) is of Opinion, that she is the same with *Epicurus*'s good Friend; and Censures *Vossius* for reckoning (b) *Hermesianax* in the number of the Poets, whose Age is unknown. This Poet's Verses preserv'd by *Athenæus*, contain a long List of Amorous Persons; and 'tis probable the whole Work turned on some such Subject; for *Antoninus Liberalis* has taken (c) from the second Book of these Elegies an History of Love. *Parthenius* has taken from the same Poet the 5th. and 22d. of his Stories. As to the 22d. he cites *Hermesianax* in general, but as to the fifth, he cites him thus Ἑρμησιάναξ ἐλεγείᾳ. It is plain we must read (d) Ἀντίμαχος, and not Ἀλκαῖος. Mr. *Menage* adds that *Hermesianax* writ an excellent Poem upon his native City *Colophon*, mentioned by *Pausanias* (e). Doubtless *Vossius* misled Mr. *Menage* by these Words: (f) *Hermesianax Colophonius, poëta Elegiacus de patria Colophone egregium carmen condidit, ut ex Pausania cognoscere est. Pausanias* leaves no room for Ascribing such a performance to him. He only says he do's not believe *Hermesianax* was Alive, when *Lysimachus* destroy'd the City of *Colophon*; for, adds he, he'd certainly have Lamented the Ruin of this City in some part of his Poems. (g) Ἑρμησιάναξ δὲ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα γράψας οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυσιμάχου ἔζησεν· ἐπεὶ γοῦν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐποίησε μνήμην τῆς Κολοφῶνος ἁλώσεως. *Phœnix Colophonius iamborum scriptor eam excisionem deploravit; nam Hermesianax qui elegos scripsit, ad illud usque tempus superstitem fuisse non crediderim, neque enim is in aliqua earminum suorum parte excisam Colophonem non deflesset.* You see he had been speaking of the Poet *Phœnix*, a Native of *Colophon*, who had written Elegies on that Subject. We may collect from this Passage of *Pausanias*, that *Hermesianax* was Cotemporary with *Epicurus*, and therefore Chronology will allow 'em both to love the same *Leontium*. *Pausanias* would not have expressed himself as he did, if this Elegiack Poet had preceded *Epicurus* many Years. Note, that this *Lysimachus*, who destroyed *Colophon*, is one of those who shar'd the Conquests of *Alexander*.

(a) *Menagius Histor. mulierum philosopharum, ad calcem Diogenis Laertii, p.* 498. *n.* 70.

(b) *In Tractu de poet. Græcis.*

(c) *Metamorph. c.* 30.

(d) *See* Vossius de Hist. Græc. p. 374.

(e) Est autem Hermesianax ille, idem qui de patria Colophone egregium carmen condidit Pausaniæ memoratum. *Menagius ubi supra.*

(f) *Vossius de Poetis Græcis p.* 90.

(g) *Pausanias l.* 1. *p.* 8.

(*B*) *She applied her self in earnest to Philosophy.*] Hence it was that the Painter *Theodorus* drew her in a Meditating Posture. (*h*) *Leontium Epicuri cogitantem.*

(h) *Plinius l.* 35. *c.* 11. *p. m.* 236.

(C) *Became an Author.*] She wrote against *Theophrastus*, who was one of the greatest Pillars of *Aristotle*'s Sect, and the Ornament of his Age. *Cicero* informs us, that this Book was very politely Written. *Non modo Epicurus*, says he (*i*), *& Metrodorus, & Hermachus contra Pythagoram, Platonem, Empedoclemque dixerunt, sed meretricula etiam Leontium contra Theophrastum scribere ausa est, scito quidem illa sermone & Attico, sed tamen tantum Epicuri hortus haluerit licentiæ, & solutis queri.* These last Words have exercised the Criticks; they construe 'em several Ways, and I question whether any of 'em has hit on the right; however, we know the drift of the Author. He would exaggerate the Licentiousness of *Epicurus*'s School; the better to effect this, he alledges the Confidence of *Leontium*. But *Cicero*, as great an Orator as he was, has not been so happy as *Pliny*, in giving a lively Idea of the Indignity he conceived in *Leontium*'s Enterprize. We learn from *Pliny*, that this Woman's Boldness occasioned a Proverb, the meaning of which was, that there was no Remedy but a Rope, if Men of the greatest Parts were insulted at this Rate. (*k*) *Ceu vero nesciam adversus Theophrastum, hominem in eloquentia tantum ut nomen divinum inde invenerit; scripsisse etiam feminam & proverbium vide Natum suspendio arborem eligendi.*

(i) *De natura Deorum l.* 1. *p. m.* 135.

(k) *Hier. in præfat.*

(*D*) *A Daughter, who——died a violent Death, as we shall see.*] She was called *Dan*[illegible] point of Gallantry she followed her Mother[illegible] but I don't know whether ever she trouble[illegible]ad with Philosopy. *Athenæus* says nothing [illegible]nd he is the only Author, from whom I le[illegible]thing of her. He says (*l*) she took up [illegible]fession of a Courtezan, and became Concu[illegible]ophron, Governour of *Ephesus*. She insinuated her self also into the Favour of *Laodice*, even so far as to be her Oracle and Confident. Understanding that *Laodice* designed to p[illegible]n to Death, she gave him the Signal to re[illegible]he Hint; and pretending to have [illegible]something, without which he could not answer [illegible]the Point, upon which he was examined. He obtained time to recollect himself, but he appeared no more, and escaped by Night to *Corinth*. *Laodice* had no sooner discovered, that *Danae* was the Cause of his Escape, but she condemned her to the Precipice; *Danae* knowing her Death unavoidable, was haughty enough not to answer to *Laodice*'s Interrogatories; but she was not so silent, as she went to E[illegible]on; she dropt a most insolent Murmur again[illegible]vidence. *'Tis not without reason*, said he, *t[illegible]o many despise the Gods; the only recompence they give me for saving the Life of my Husband, is a Precipice: Whilst* Laodice, *who has murthered hers, enjoys a Crown* (*m*).

(l) Cum ad præcipitium duceretur, dixisse, à multis non injuria Deos contemni. Nam quod, inquit, vitum meum servavi, hanc mihi gratiam Dii rependunt: quod autem Laodi[illegible] m[illegible] tertiecerit, in maximo honore[illegible]ft, *Id ibid. ex Phylarcho.*

(m) Ἀπεγγελάντων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν προμηθευόμενον, ὡς δύναιτο τὴν ψυχὴν μὴ ἀνδρὸς σώσασα, τοιούτου χάριτα παρὰ τῆς δεσποίνης λαμβάνει. Ἀσεβῆσαι δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἀνδρα δοκοῦσα, παλαιότατα τιμᾶς ἐξέτισε.

(A) Bodin *has censureed him severely.*] His Words are these. (*n*) Leovitius [illegible]*foretold as a certainty, that* Maximilian *the E*[illegible]*r should be universal Monarch of* Europe, *to* [illegible] *the Tyranny of other Princes——which is* [illegible] *yet come to pass, and there's no great likelyhood it ever will. But he did not foretel what happen'd a Year after this Prophecy, that Sultan* Solyman *should besiege and force the strongest Place* (*o*) *of the Empire, nay of* Europe, *in the sight of the Emperor and Imperial Army, without the least Opposition——It's very strange, that* Leovitius *should see nothing of the great Changes which have happen'd in his three Neighbouring Kingdoms; how could he foreknow the end of the World, which has not been revealed to the Angels? The only reason he gives is this, that the Religion of Jesus Christ, and the World, must end under the Aequatique Triplicity, since Jesus Christ was born under it; hereby supposing a second Deluge; which is no less impious than ignorant, even upon the Maxims of Astrologers, who agree, that no Planet ever ruined its own House. Now its certain, that* Jupiter *is in* Pisces *in the great Conjunction of the Year* M D LXXXIII. *and* LX[illegible] *and that the Conjunction of these two Plane*[illegible] *always amicable, if we take the Authority of* Plato[illegible] Timæus, *or that of the* Hebrews, *who say, that the Dissolution of the World is caused successively, first by Water, and afterwards by Fire.* Add to this Passage, that (*p*) of the 554th. Page, where we see, that this Astrologer had precisely fixed the end of the World to the Year 1584. *Since he has so positively asserted it, that* [illegible] *of* [illegible]*; ib. cannot be any ways doubted, why wou'd he cut out A*[illegible] *manacks for Thirty Years after the end of the World?* Is a question *Bodin* (*q*) very reasonably asks. But this supposes, that *Leovitius*'s Ephemerides extended to the Year 1614. Yet *Gesner*'s Epitome, *Thuanus* (*r*), and many others Witness, that they reached only to the Year 1606. They were printed at *Augsburgh* in 1557. As to his *Prognostiton in viginti annos*, it was printed in 1564, and translated into *French* the Year following. This is the Book *Bodin* has in his Eye, when he charges *Leovitius* with Ignorance about the taking of *Sigeth*.

(n) [illegible]ciat. *Bodin, il. pag.* 554. (*q*) *Ibid.* (*r*) *Thuan. lib.* 5[illegible]109. (*s*) *In the 2d. Volume of his* Diverses lecons, pa[illegible]. *& seq.* (*u*) *Thus he calls him.*

(o) *That's to say,* Sigeth. *See the* [illegible] *of*

(p) Cyprian Leovitius *affirms in his Writings, that the End the World will happen in the Year* 1584. Procul dubio, *says he*, alterum adventum filii Dei & hominis in majestate gloriæ suæ

(*B*) *Lewis Guyon, copying Bodin, [illegible] know how to make use of.*] The Twenty t[illegible]pter of *Guyon's* (*s*) third Book, contains h[illegible]ny thing but what is taken from *Bodin*, both [illegible]to the Matter and Expression, and yet *Bodin* is not so much as once cited by him. Besides, *Lewis Guyon* makes a very ill use of *Bodin's* Observations; I'll give [illegible]an Instance of it. Leovitius (*t*) *had foretold*, says he (*u*), *as a certainty, that* Maximilian *the Emperor*

should

what he stole; but he tells a pleasant Story enough about the Fright (C) *Leovitius* put People in by his false Prediction of the End of the World. This great Astrologer died [a] at *Lawingen* in 1574. His Death spar'd him some Shame.

LERI (*John de*) a Protestant Minister, was of [b] *Burgundy*. He was a Student at *Geneva*, when Letters came from *Villegagnon*, desiring some Pastors might be sent him to *Brasil*. He made that Voyage with the Two Ministers, which the Church of *Geneva* sent thither in 1556. They arrived at the Isle of *Coligni* under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, in *March* 1557. *Leri* parted from that Country, with some others, the 4th. of *Jan.* 1558, and arrived at the Port *Blavet*, in *May* the same Year [c]; wrote (I) [illegible]ation of this Voyage, which has been commended by M. *de Thou* [d], and *Lescarbot* has inserted the Abstract of it in his History of *New France*. He was admitted Minister after his Return from *America*; I can't justly tell where he exercised his Function, but I know he [illegible]at *Sancerre* when that Town was taken, in 1573. He published a Relation of [illegible] Siege, and the sad Famine the Besieged underwent. The Mareschal *de* [illegible]*re* gave him a Pass [e] to go where he pleased, even before the Capitulation was sign[illegible]. He went to *Berne*, and met with a good Reputation from Monsieur *de Coligni*, Son to the Admiral, for which he expressed his Thanks, by dedicating

[a] *Buchol-cer in Ind. Chronolog. p. m.* 639.

[b] *A Native of* Margel, *in the Dutchy of* Burgundy.

[c] *Consult his Relation.*

[d] Thuan. lib. 16. *p. m.* 335. *See also* Varillas, Hist. de l'heresie liv. 21. pag. 18.

[e] *Historia de Sancerri obsidione, pag.* 47, 48. *Edit. Heidelb.* 1576.

should be Universal Monarch, to chastise the Tyranny of other Princes——which is not yet come to pass, and there's no great Likelihood it ever will. These are *Bodin*'s express Words, [illegible] were good Sense in the Original, but they a[illegible]d in the Transcriber, for when *Guyon* m[illegible] of 'em (a) *Maximilian* the Emperor had be[illegible] long time dead. Was it not smartly said then, that *there was no great Likelihood* he should ever be universal Monarch? *Bodin*, who used these Words in his *French* Edition, because *Maximilian* was then alive, took care to leave 'em out [illegible]the *Latin* Edition, Publish'd (b) after this E[illegible]'s Death.

(a) Lewis Guyon *Dates the Epistle Dedicatory of the 2d. Vol. the 1st. of* June 1613. Maximilian *Died in* 1576.

(b) *In the year* 1583. *See his* [illegible] 625. *Edit.* 1601. *in* 8vo.

(C) *About his Fright* Leovitius *put People in.*] Let us make use of *Lewis Guyon*'s Words. '(a) 'In the Year 1584, a Rumour was spread almost 'throughout *Christendom*, that the World should 'certainly be at an end that Year: all the Astro-'logical Mathematicians had affirmed it in their Al-'manacks, and many Curates and Preachers told it 'to their Congregations, which put the People into 'such a fear, that Multitudes received the Holy Sacra-'ment, having first fasted and confessed their Sins. 'In some Burroughs of this Country, and of '*Marche*, which I forbear to name, the People made 'their Wills, and I happening to be by, let 'em un-'derstand, that if all perished, there would be none 'to inherit; and besides, that all their Goods must pe-'rish too. *Pantagruel* made the same Remonstrance 'to *Panurge*, who being tossed at Sea in a dreadful 'Storm, and seeing the Danger which he had not 'been used to, despaired of escaping, and instead of 'labouring like the rest, to cut down the Masts, 'lower the Sails, and [illegible]he Lading over-board, 'talked only of mak[illegible] Will, and roar'd and 'swore for Pen, Ink [illegible]d Paper; but *Pantagruel* 'refuted, telling him, either we shall all pe-'rish, or all be saved; if all perish, who'll carry 'your Will to your Relations? If all are saved, 'your Will signifies nothing. At the same time, 'the poor ignorant People kept solemn Fasts Month 'after Month, and gave great part of their Goods to 'Churchmen, in order to prolong the time of the 'great and last Judgment. This Opinion proceeded 'from *Cyprian Leovitius*, a *German*. Here's an Au-thor who wou'd insinuate, that Churchmen artfully kept up this Terror, on purpose to quicken the Of-ferings; they fished in troubled Water; they make their Advantage of every thing. I like his Obser-vation on the Contradiction the People fell into. They firmly belived the end of the World, and yet made their Wills; what an Absurdity is this? I wonder Mr. *Petit* (d) could mention two or three Predictions of this Nature, made by *Stoffler* and *Regiomontanus*, and forgot this of our *Leovitius*.

(a) Guyon *ubi supra p.* 577. 578.

(d) *Petit, Intendant* of the Fortifications, *Dissertat. sur la nature des Comets, p.* 337. 338.

A Ma[illegible]eal of Wit and Learning, and a Pro-fessor in [illegible]thematicks, has lately communica-ted to me an Extract he has made of a Book of this Astronomer. I make no Alteration in his Letter. 'A small Book in *Quarto*, of *Leowicz's*, *De con-'junctionibus magnis insignioribus superiorum plane-'tarum, &c. in quarta monarchia cum eorumdem 'effectuum historica expositione.* He observes the[illegible] 'junctions of *Saturn* and *Jupiter* from our S[illegible] 'time, and a little before, to the Year 15[illegible] 'tends had a Relation to the Circumstances of these 'great Conjunctions. He afterwards makes his 'Prognosticks and Predictions for the Years to come, 'to the Year 1584. Here, as in all the Book, he 'finds a Thousand great Events, with which he 'honours the Eclipses, Comets, and Conjunctions; 'a Notion unworthy a Person of good Sence. Last-'ly, he foretells the Conjunction of *Jupiter* and '*Saturn* in *Pisces*, in *May* 1583, and the Conjun-'ction of almost all the Planets in *Aries*, about the 'latter end of *March*, and the beginning of *April* '1584, attended with an Eclipse of the *Sun* in the '20th. degree of *Taurus*, he doubts not but all this 'will bring on a Comet, and the Comet produce the 'end of the World, at the end of the Watery, and 'beginning of the fiery Trigon. He gives an 'admirable Reason for it, which has been contra-'dicted by Experience. The World, says he, be-'gan by the Conjunction in the Trigon of Fire, 'therefore it will end by that of Water. I answer, '1. *Nego antecedens.* 2. *Nego consequentiam.* 'This is not all; the Year 1584, or at latest, the 'Year 1588, is the end of the Watry Trigon, there-'fore the World will end at that time; for 'twere 'not worth while to wait 800 Years more for ano-'ther Watry Trigon, and the entire Revolution; 'besides that, the World at that rate would last near '6400 Years, which is manifestly against the Pro-'phecy, *quod cum prophetia manifeste Pugnat, &c.*

(D) *Died at* Lawingen.] It's a Town of *Swabia* upon the *Danube*. *Leovicius* made it his ordi-nary Abode. Here *Tycho Brahe* made him a Visit in 1569, and had much Discourse with him at eTa-ble about Astronomy (e). Mr. *de Thou* is mistaken as to the Town *Leovicius* died in: he says (f) it was at *Ausburg*.

(e) *Gassendus in vita Tychon. Brahei, l.* 1. *p.* 391. *Volum.* 5. *Operum. He calls this Town* Lauginga.

(f) *Ubi supra.*

(I) *He wrote a Relation of this Voyage.*] The Accounts he gave of this Country, made his Friends desire him to publish a Book of 'em. He finished it in the Year 1563, and sent the Manuscript to be re-vised by a Friend; but 'twas taken away at one of the Gates of *Lions*, from the Messengers, by whom he returned it. Not being able to recover it, and giving it for lost, he set about composing it anew, and lost it a second time; for escaping from *Charité*, upon the *Loire*, and making the best of his way to get into *Sancerre* at the time of the Massacre of St. *Bartholomew*, he left all his Books and Papers expo-sed to the Pillage. Yet he recovered his first Work at *Lions*, in 1576, at a time when he least expected it, and published it the Year following (g). There were many Editions of it. I make use of the Third, which is that of the Year 1594, *for the Heirs of* Eu-stachius *Vignon*. I have cited many Things from it in (h) this Dictionary. One Observation which this Author makes (i), has been much taken No-tice of; *viz.* *that in regard of what we call Reli-gion*, it may be properly said, that these *poor Savages have none, and not only so, but that if there be a Nation which lives without God in the World, it is truly this.* The Minister *Peter Richier* confesses as much in a Letter he wrote from this Country. He expresses in it his Concern to see no Likelihood that these Pe[illegible] ever be converted to the Gospel, since the[illegible] only ignorant of the Differences of Good and [illegible]ut even of the Existence of a God.

(g) *Taken from the Preface of* John de Leri.

(h) *In the Articles* Richer & Villegagnon.

(i) *See* le Fevre Saumur, *Preface of his Treatise of Superstition.*

(k) *John de Leri, ibid.*

dicating to him the Relation of his Voyage to *Brasil*. I have not yet been able to discover the rest of his Adventures. *La Croix du Maine* has committed (Z) Three Faults.

LESBOS, an Isle of the *Egean* Sea, near the *Hellespont*, and the Continent of *Asia*, was famous of old for [a] its good Wine, [b] its Marble, the Fertility of its Soil, the Illustrious Men (A) it had produced, and for many other Things besides. *Cadmus*, or *Cadmilus*, one of the *Cabiri*, inhabited it, and there became the Father of *Prylis*, who was an extraordinary Soothsayer, and very ill affected to the *Trojans* [c]. It held the seventh Place (B) amongst the great Isles of the *Mediterranean* Sea. The *Greeks* [d], under the Conduct of *Graus*, Great Grandson of *Orestes*, the Son of *Agamemnon*, settled a Colony there, which grew so flourishing, that this Colony, and the City of *Cumæ*, were looked on as the Metropolis of all the *Greek* Colonies, which made up *Æolia*, and were in all about Thirty in Number. *Pausanias* [e] pretends, that *Penthilus* was that Son of *Orestes*, who settled in the Isle of *Lesbos*. It had gone under several Names: *Pliny* [f] mentions Six, and yet omits that of *Issa*, which *Strabo* and *Hesychius* have both observed. It had [g] Nine considerable Cities, but in *Strabo's* and *Pliny's* time, there scarce remained Four, namely, *Methymne*, *Eressus*, *Pyrrha*, and *Mitelene*. The *Lesbians* forfook the *Athenian* Interest in the *Peloponnesian* War, and were rigorously punished for it. The Sentence, which condemned all the Males of *Mitylene* above the Age of Sixteen to Death, was very near being executed; but by good Fortune, the Counter-Order of the *Athenians* arrived in the nick of Time. *Thucydides* [h] gives a very particular Account of it. Some ascribe to the *Lesbians* an (C) Invention of so abominable a Nature, that the *English* Tongue wants Words to express it.

[a] *Plin. lib. 14. cap. 7. & 15. See Cerda on Virgil, Georg. lib. 2. v. 90.*
[b] *Plin. lib. 36. cap. 6.*
[c] *See the Remark B.*
[d] *Strabo, lib. 13. init. pag. 400.*
[e] *Id. ib. pag. 428.*
[f] *Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 2. pag. m. 207.*
[g] *Plinius ubi infra.*
[h] *Strabo, lib. 1. pag. 41.*
[i] *Plin. lib. 5. cap. 31. p. m. 621.*
[h] *Thucydid. lib. 3.*
(a) *Richier in a Letter dated from France Antartick March 31. 1557. It is the 237. among Calvin's Letters.*

(a) *Bonum à malo non secernunt, denique vitia quæ natura in cæteris gentibus naturaliter arguit, loco virtutis habent. Saltem vitiorum turpitudinem non agnoscunt, adeo ut hac in re à brutis parum differant. Cæterum quod omnium pernitiosissimum est latet eos an sit Deus, tantum abest ut legem ejus observent, vel potentiam & bonitatem ejus miventur: quo fit ut prorsus sit nobis adempta spes lucri faciendi eos Christo: quod ut omnium est gravissimum, ita inter eluvies maximè agri ferimus.* But, adds he, 'twill be objected, that they are a *Tabula rasa*, which will easily receive a Tincture of the Gospel, as having no contrary Impressions. To this he gives no other Answer, than that the Difference of Language is a great Obstacle, and that the Interpreters they must imploy, were Papists. *Studio quidem qui mox objicies eos tabulam rasam esse quæ facile suis possit depingi coloribus, quod nativo hujusmodi colorum splendori nihil habeat contrarium. Sed novit ille quantum impediat Idiomatum diversitas. Adde quod desunt nobis interpretes qui Domino sint fideles.*

(Z) La Croix du Maine *has committed three Faults.*] I. He says (b), that *John de Leri* was Minister of *Geneva* in 1558. II. That his Book is the Translation of the History of a Voyage to *Brasil*. III. That this Voyage was made in 1555.

(A) *For the Illustrious Men it has produced.*] *Pittacus*, one of the Seven Wise Men, the Poet *Alcæus*; the famous *Sappho*; the Rhetorician *Diophanes*; the Historian *Theophanes* were Natives of *Mitylene*, as also *Potamon*, *Lesbocles* and *Crinagoras*. *Eresus* was the Birth-place of *Theophrastus* and *Phanias*, the Disciples of *Aristotle*. The Musician *Arion*, whose Adventure is so celebrated, was of *Methymna*. Amongst the famous *Lesbians* are also reckoned the Historian *Hellanicus*, *Terpander* the Musician, and *Callias*, the Interpreter of *Alcæus* and *Sappho's* Verses (c), This is the Catalogue *Strabo* has left us. The Poet *Lesches* is omitted in it, who was Author of a small *Iliad*, and a Native of *Lesbos* (d).

(B) *It held the Seventh Place amongst the great Isles of the* Mediterranean *Sea.*] Consult Mr. *Bochart* (e), who produces on this Subject the Testimonies of a great many Writers. This gives him a Handle to derive the Word *Lesbos* from a *Phenician* Root; for he discovers, that this Word signifies, *ad septimam* (subintelligo) *insulam*; and supposes, that at first the *Phenicians* gave this Name to a Town in the Island, and afterwards to the Island itself. He proves by the Authority of *Stephanus Byzantinus*, that *Lesbos*, one of the Five Towns of the Island, was the Reason of the Islands being called *Lesbos*. His Conjectures are learned and refined; but methinks the *Phenicians* needed more time to discover, that this was the Seventh of the large Islands of the *Mediterranean*. Such a Knowledge supposes Voyages and Comparisons between *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other Islands which make up this *Phiads*, or Septenary Number, and we don't find that they who seek new Countries or Habitations, and settle on them, wait for any considerable time before they give Names to 'em. Mr. *Bochart* does not alledge the Words of *Lycophron*, which teach us, that *Cadmus* liv'd in this Island. He owns, this *Cadmus* is not the *Phenician*; but *Mercury*, one of the *Cabiri*. Let us produce *Lycophron's* Passage:

(f) Ὅτε γὰρ σὺ Καδμεῖος ἄναξ ἐν πεμπάτῳ
Ἴσσης φιλίσσων ἀντρωπὸν πόσιν,
Τέτμῃσι ἐξ Ἥλιοιο νήλιτον τροπὰς,
Τὸν αὐθαίμων τριακοντούτιδα πρόλιν,
Τέμνων πρὸς ἀκτὰς ἡμιθέων.

Utinam te, Pryli, Cadmus insula
Issa non genuisset, hostium ducem,
Quartum ex Atlantis miseri semine,
Cognatorum tuorum everforem,
Patrem ad optima verissimum.

(f) *Lycophr. v. 219. pag. m. edit. Cantabr. 1697.*

It's plain, the Poet speaks of a *Cadmus* different from *Europa's* Brother, and that he means *Mercury* by this Name, for he makes him the Grandson of *Atlas*, and Father of *Prylis*. The Commentary of *Isaac Tzetzes*, informs us, that (g) *Lycophron* in this place uses the Word *Cadmus* by an Abbreviation, instead of *Cadmilus*, which he had made use of in the 162d. Verse, and which is the Name (h) the *Baotians* gave the God *Mercury*. It tells us also, that *Mercury* had a Son called *Prylis*, by the Nymph *Issa*, who being gained by *Polamedes's* Presents, foretold to the *Greeks* when they landed at the Isle of *Lesbos*, that a Wooden-Horse should be the Engine by which they should subdue the City of *Troy*.

(g) *Tzetz. in Lycophr. v. 223.*
(h) *Id. ib. v. 219.*

(C) *An Invention of so abominable a Nature.*] I shall not only forbear describing in any Words of our own Language, but even avoid repeating in *Latin*, what very grave Writers have not stuck at to make it understood. However, since the great *Erasmus* thought it allowable to insert in his Collection of *Adages*, that amongst the rest which arose from their Abomination, I may be permitted to copy some Passages of his Remarks. *Sinunt*, says he (i) *turpitudinem quæ per os perpetratur, fellationis opinor, aut irrumationis, primum à Lesbiis authoribus fuisse professam, & apud illos primum omnium familiam tale quiddam passam esse. Interpres hujus rei testem citat Theopompum in Ulyssea & Stratidem in Troilo.* By *Interpres* he understands, *Aristophanes's* Scholiast upon these Words of the Comedy, called *Vespæ*, μάλιστα δὲν ποιήσειν τοὺς ἐμπιόντας ἃ ἐκεῖνοι ἐποίουν, *quæ combibones jam sunt commissuri*. I don't think he has hit upon *Aristophanes's* Thought, in these Words. (k) ὅτι δὲ μετὰ τῆς λύρας ἐπῄεσαν τοῖς ἀνδράσι

(i) *Erasmus on the Proverb λεσβίζειν. It's the 70th. of the 7th. Century of the 3d. Chiliad, p. m. 795.*
(k) *Aristoph. in Ἐκκλησιαζ. Vid. Suid.*

Bizz.

it. Few People have mentioned the Oracle (*D*) of this Island. It's called at present *Mytilene*, I shall speak of it under this Word, and collect several Things, which I omit here.

LESCARBOT (*Mark*) an Advocate in the Court of Parliament, has written a (*A*) History of *New France*. He had lived for some time in this Country. He afterwards attended *Peter de Castille*, Ambassador from *Lewis* XIII. to the *Swiss* Cantons. And as he took a Delight in Writing Accounts of the Countries in which he travelled, he wrote a Description of the Thirteen Cantons in Heroick Verse, and published it at *Paris* in 1618. He was born at [a] *Vervins*.

[a] *Lescarbot, hist. de la Nouv. France, liv. 2. ch. 5. p. m. 179.*

LESLEY, an illustrious Family of *Scotland*, descended from one of the (*A*) chief Gentlemen, who came over from *Hungary* into *England*, and afterwards into *Scotland*, with Queen *Margaret* [b], about [c] the Year 1067. His Name was *Bartholomew*; he married one of this Queen's Maids of Honour, and had a Son by her called *Malcolm*. Some say, that his Wife was the Queen's own Sister. He got the Esteem of the King of *Scotland*, and received distinguishing (*B*) Marks of it, by having, among other Actions, built, and bravely defended the Fortress of *Edenborough*. He died loaded with Years, and covered with Glory, in 1120. His Successors in the Right

[b] *She has been canonis'd; she is the Saint Margaret. See the Art.* Drummond.

[c] *Malcolme III. reigned then in* Scotland.

βίαν, . . mihi at videre labda juxta Lesbios. The Sense he gives them, seems cold and forc'd. Nor is it any wonder he has done no better upon this Passage, since Mr. *le Fevre* of *Saumur*, explains it two Ways, and that rather by Conjecture, than by any Piece of Learning proper to explain it. *Alludit*, says he (*a*), *ad faditatem Lesbiam.* [*Tanta mihi prurigine videris correpta ut vel medium virum glubere*, tenta viri vorare *possis*] *fortasse id etiam eo dictum est quod eam divaricatis cruribus decumbentem videres. Galen* has mentioned the *Lesbian* Filthiness, but without explaining what it was. He did not think it necessary, at a Time when every Body understood this Expression; but a world of *Greek* Words are grown almost unintelligible in the Course of many Ages, and it makes the Criticks sweat to guess what the Antients meant by 'em. The Learned *Mercurialis* indeavoured to find the meaning of this Passage of *Galen*. *Galenus*, says he (*b*) 10. *de Simp. med. cap.* 1. *Xenocratem damnans, quod stercora agri voranda daret, probrum ait gravius esse,* κοπρισμὸν, *id est, stercorivorum audire, quàm follatorem, aut cinadum. Subjungit deinceps:* ἢ τὸν διεχρεωργὸν μᾶλλον βλασφημεῖσθαι τῆς κοπρίζουσης, τὸν λεσβιάζοντα. *Qui verò sint phœnicissantes, & Lesbiassantes apud ipsum, nullibi explicatum habetur. Ego itaque reperio, spurcissimam quandam apud Phœnices libidinis speciem extitisse, qua viri *** lingebant, quæve interdum impurissimos homines Romanos usos esse memoria mandatum est. Nam Seneca . . . . . Hos cunnilingos frequentissimè diffamatos, apud Martialem est reperire: qui fortasse phœnicissare dicebantur, quòd labia sanguine rubea sapissimè gererent, unde Martialis. . . . . Jam verò λεσβιάζειν, quid esset, ab aliquibus explicatur, obscœnum fuisse turpitudinis genus, quo viri inguina puerorum, vel virorum ore & labiis tractabant, irrumationem aliàs vocatam, & sæpè phœnicissantes labea rubicunda sibi reddebant, sic Lesbiassantes alba. Ob quod Catullus ad Gellium:*

Nescio quid . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Hesychius tamen aliter videtur sensisse, sed qua auctoritate aut ratione ductus, ignoro. I have suppress'd some Words and Passages in this Place of *Mercurialis*: not as I pretend, that this Learned Physician had not a right to speak out as he has done. A Commentator or Interpreter, who only makes use of the Authority of such a Writer as *Martial*, known to all the Republick of Learning, is not to be blamed. Either we must banish the Antient Authors, or in the Explication of a difficult Passage suffer their own Words to be produced. However, I was loath to cite the Passages from *Mercurialis* intire, we must sometime submit to the Scruples of the Mode.

(*D*) *Few People have mentioned the Oracle of* Lesbos.] *Philostratus*, if I mistake not, is the only Person who gives us any Tydings of it. He says, (*c*) *Philoctetes* departed voluntarily from the Isle of *Lemnos*, after that *Diomedes* and *Neoptolemus*, Sons of *Achilles*, ' had acquired him in the Name of all ' the *Grecian* Army, and declared the Oracle they ' had received from *Lesbos*, concerning his Arrows; for adds *Philostratus*, The *Greeks* make ' use of their own Country Oracles, as the *Pythian* ' that of *Dodona*, and all others, in Vogue and ' Reputation, where approved Predictions were ' delivered, as that of *Bœotia* and *Phocis*: But as ' *Lesbos* was not far from *Troy*, the *Greeks* at the ' Siege, sent to the Oracle which was there dispensed by *Orpheus*. For, after the bloody Murther ' committed on him by the *Thracian* Women, his ' Head arriving at *Lesbos*, lighted on a Rock there: ' from this Rock the Oracular Answers were given, ' whither not only the *Lesbians*, but the other *Æolians* also, and the *Ionians* their near Neighbours, ' and even those about *Babylon* resorted for Advice; ' for he foretold abundance of things to the Kings ' of *Persia*, and to the Elder *Cyrus* among the rest, ' to whom 'tis said he gave this Answer, *What's* ' *mine, O* Cyrus, *is all thine*, hereby intimating, ' that he should become considerable among the *Odrysians*, and all over *Europe*. In reality, *Orpheus* heretofore obtained great Consideration and ' Credit by his mighty Wisdom and Knowledge, as ' well with the *Odrysians*, as among all the other ' *Greeks*, who celebrate his Mysteries. But by this ' Answer, he furthermore intended to signify what ' should finally befall *Cyrus*; who venturing beyond ' the *Danube*, to subdue the *Massagetes*, and *Isedonians*, a People of *Scythia*, died by the Hands of a ' Woman, who commanded 'em, and who cut off ' his Head, as the *Thracian* Women had formerly ' serv'd *Orpheus* (*d*).

(*A*) *An History of* New France.] *It contains an Account of the Navigations, Discoveries, and Settlements made by the* French, *in the* West-Indies, *and* New France, *with the Approbation and Authority of our most Christian Kings; and their different Fortunes in the Execution, for an hundred Years past, to this present time. Wherein is comprised the Moral, Natural, and Geographical History of the said Province; with Maps and Draughts of it.* I use the second Edition, which is that of *Paris*, by *John Mill*, of 1611, in *Octavo*. This Work is curious enough; The Author intermixes it with many learned Observations. He begins with the Description of the Voyage of *John Verazzan*, a *Florentine*, who was sent into *America* by *Francis* I. in 1524. This was the first Voyage into that part of the World, under the Protection of the Crown of *France*.

(*A*) *One of the chief Gentlemen.*] He's said to be descended from a most ancient *Hungarian* Family, and particularly from one *Lesly*, who was Son-in-Law to an Emperor. (*e*) *Originem suam duxisse asseritur ex pervetusto sanguine Hungarico, & specialiter à Lesko quonam, qui, ut antiquissima referunt Familiæ monumenta, perhibetur exstitisse magnus Imperatoris Locumtenens, cujus etiam filia ei in thori consortem est concessa. Ab hoc porro vetusto Leskaorum cognomine varia ad hæc usque tempora loca in Hungaria suum nomen derivarunt, quæ inter* LESLINIA, LESSILIA, LELES *ac alia temporum vicissitudine denominationem immutantia possunt recenseri.*

(*B*) *And received very distinguishing Marks of it.*] The Method King *Malcome* took to know the Lands he should allot him, has something singular in it. He ordered our *Bartholomew* to ride a whole Day towards the North, and bait his Horse in every County, and he gave him all the Lands for a Mile round (*f*) the Place where the Horse baited: Here's the

(*a*) *Tanaquillus Faber in hac verba Aristophanis* λέσβια σκώμματα *epist. lib. 2. pag. 267. 268.*

(*b*) *Hieron. Mercurialis variarum lectionum, lib. 4. cap. 13, pag. m. 221. 222.*

(*c*) *Philostratus in Heroicis, in Philoctete. I make use of the Translation of Vigenere, fol. 253. of the 2d. Tome. Edit. in 4to.*

(*d*) *Here's an Example of the Jargon Answers of the Oracles of* Paganism, *for what can be more strained than the Interpretation of the Answer to* Cyrus.

(*e*) *Laurus Leskæana, pag. 1. See the whole Title of this Work in the Body of this Article in the Margin.*

(*f*) *Compare what has been said in the Article* Hay.

right Line lived in Splendor (as well by the new Benefits conferred on 'em by their Princes, as by the Marriages, which allied 'em to the nobleſt Families,) down to *David Leſley*, who was the Eighth from *Bartholomew*. This *David*, after having made War in *Paleſtine* againſt the *Saracens*, for Seven Years, return'd into *Scotland*, and though he was Eighty Years old, married, and had a Son, who was the firſt that had the Title of Baron of *Leſly*. His Iſſue failed in the Seventh Generation, in the Perſon of *George*, Baron of *Leſly*, who died very much in Debt. His Widow married *John Forbes*, who paying off the Creditors, became poſſeſſed of the Barony of *Leſly* [a]. All the *Leſlies* now in being deſcended from two Collateral Branches; that of ROTHES and that of BALQUHANE. The Branch of *Rothes* began in *Normand* Brother to *David*, and advanc'd it ſelf wonderfully in Riches and Honours. *Geo* Grand-Son to *Normand*, was the firſt who had the Title of [b] Earl of *Rothes*. The right Male Line of his Deſcendants became extinct in 1681. by the Death of *John* Earl of *Rothes* whom King (C) *Charles II.* created Duke, and raiſed to the greateſt Employs. The Collateral Branches (D) are very Numerous, from one of which deſcended *James Leſly*, who ſignaliz'd himſelf in the Service of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, where he was Collonel. As for the Branch of *Balquhane*, it began in the Perſon of *George* ſecond Son to *Andrew*, which *Andrew* was the ſixth Lord *Leſly* from *Bartholomew* the Founder of the Family. *George* firſt Baron of *Balquhane* got ſeveral Lordſhips in Grant from King *David Bruce*, and Died in the year 1531. His Poſterity, Subdivided into (E) ſeveral Branches, has produc'd a great many Perſons of diſtinguiſh'd Merit. It reckon'd three Generals of Armies at the ſame time; one (F) in *Scotland*, one in (G) *Ger-*

[a] It ſtill belongs to the Family of Forbes.

[b] His Predeceſſors were only Barons.

(a) *Laurus Leſlæana fol. 4.*

the Latin Hiſtory in which we ſhall find this Reward, with all its Circumſtances. (a) *Fuit Bartholomæus tantæ æſtimationis apud Regem Malcolmum, præſertim ob arcem Edinburgenſem valide à ſe munitam, & ſtrenuè dein propugnatam; ut eum non ſolum Equitem Auratum creârit, & toto vitæ tempore dictæ arci præfecerit; ſed præterea in præſtitorum obſequiorum mercedem ei conceſſerit; ut, ubi* DUMFERMILINGO *ſeptentrionem verſus ſuper eodem equo unâ die* [illegible] *ageret; intra quamcunque Provinciam ad pabula* [illegible] *ſemel deſcenderet; eam totam circumcirca agri* [illegible] *ad mille paſſus hæreditario jure ſuum faceret. Primò itaque deſcendit ad* FECHIL, *nunc dictum* LESLIE *in Fifa; alterâ vice apud* INNERKLEPAD *in Anguſia; tertiò apud* FESKIE, *ſeu* ESKIE *in Mernia; quartò apud* CUSHNIE *in Marria; & ultimatim demum ad locum dein* LESLIE *nuncupatum in Gariotha, ubi equus defecit: reducem cum Rex interrogaret ubi equum reliquiſſet, reſpondiſſe ei dicitur,* At the Leſſe Ley beſide the mair: *Latine*: In campo minori prope majorem, *tunc Rex advertens locum cognomini convenire*; Lord LESLYE ſhall thou be, and thy Heirs after thee. *Latine*: Dynaſta de LESLEY eris tu, & hæredes tui poſt te: *ſimulque donationem omnium illarum poſſeſſionum illi confirmavit; quam & ratam habuit Alexander primus, ejus filius; uti hac ſuper re adhuc tempore Joannis* LESLÆI *Epiſcopi Roſſenſis extabat diploma Regium apud Baronem de* LESLIE; *multique ex his fundis etiamnum à Comite de* ROTHES LESLIE, *ceu ſuperiore ſuo dependent.*

(C) *Whom King* Charles II. *created Duke, and raiſ'd.*] This *John* of *Rothes* had Married *Ann Lindſay* Daughter to the Earl of *Crauford*: He had only two Daughters by her, the Eldeſt was Married to (b) the Eard of *Haddington*, and the Youngeſt to the Marquis of *Montroſs*, and afterwards to *John Bruce* Baron of *Kinloſſe*. The Son of the Eldeſt took the Name and Arms of *Leſlie*, and will be Earl of *Rothes* after the Death of his Mother (c). The Titles and Places with which King *Charles II.* honoured *John* Earl of *Rothes*, are theſe. *Hic Joannes poſt infelicem pugnam ad* WORCESTER *diu in Anglia captivus detinebatur; Rege dein Carolo ſecundo ad Regna reverſo, factus eſt primò Regiarum cæcubiarum Præfectus, mox theſaurarius, & omnium Scoticarum copiarum Generalis, paulò poſt ſupremus Commiſſarius, ac demum uſque ad mortem magnus Regni Cancellarius; creatus fuit ab eodem Rege Dux de* ROTHES, & *Marchio de* BAMBRIGH, *&c. quæ dignitas etiam ad mares poſteros devoluta fuiſſet, niſi eis carniſſet.*

(b) *He's of the Family of* Hamilton.

(c) *Laurus Leſlæana.*

(D) *The collateral Branches are very Numerous.*] That of the Lords of *Lindors*, that of the Lords of *Newmarks*, that of the Barons of *Newtown*; that of the Lords of *Burdsbank*, of *Aikenway*, and of *Pitnamon* (d).

(d) *Ibid.*

(E) *His Poſterity Subdivided into ſeveral Branches.*] Beſides the direct Line, there [illegible] Branch of the Lairds of *Kinearie*, that [illegible] Barons of *Wardes*, that of the L[illegible] of *Buchairne*, that of the Lairds of *Cliſſon*, that [illegible] the Lairds of *Newleſtie*, that of the Lairds of *Kininvie*, and that of the Barons of *Pitcaple*, that of the Lairds of *Crichie*, and that of the Earles of *Roſſe* (e).

(e) *Ibid.*

(F) *One in* Scotland.] He was of [illegible] Branch of *Kinchvy*, Son to *George Laird* of [illegible] *ir*. He [illegible] the Art of War in *Germany* [illegible] had very [illegible] Employs in the Armies of the [illegible] of *Sweden*. [illegible] he return'd into his own Country he was appointed Generaliſſimo of all the *Scotch* Forces. He was created Earl of *Levin* by King *Charles I.* and Died in 1650, at ſeventy years of Age. His Grandſon ſucceeded him, and left only Daughters (f).

(f) *Ibid.*

(G) *One in* Germany.] His name was *Walter*, the Son of *John*, the tenth Baron of *Balquhane*. He went young into *Germany*. The Service he did his Imperial Majeſty, when *Wallenſtein* was kill'd, obtain'd him a Regiment and many other Favours. *Ferdinand III.* made him Count of the Empire, Marſhal de Camp General, Privy Counſellor, and Governour (g) of a Province. He was Embaſſador for his Imperial Majeſty at *Rome*, and in other Courts; and was ſent to the Port for the Ratifications of the Peace concluded in 1664. He had been made Knight of the Golden Fleece before. The Jeſuit *Paul Taffarner* his Con[illegible]r, has Publiſh'd a Relation of that Embaſſy [illegible] *ntinople*. Count *Walter Leſley* Died at [illegible] his fourth of *March* 1667, in the 61ſt. ye[illegible] his Age. He was Married to *Anne Frances* of *Dietrichſtein*, Daughter to Prince *Maximilian de Dietrichſtein* High Steward of the Emperor's Court, but having no Child by her, he made his Nephew *James* Son to *Alexander*, fourteenth Baron of *Balquhane* his Heir. He had ſent for him long before into *Germany*, and had been an excellent Patron to him. This Neph[illegible] roſe from the loweſt Military Degree to the Poſt of Mareſchal de Camp General. He Married *Mary Thereſa de Leichtenſtein*, Daughter to Prince *Charles* of *Leichtenſtein* Duke of *Troppau*, by whom he had no Children. He left all his Eſtate to two Nephews (h). Theſe are the Titles that are given him in an Epiſtle Dedicatory (i). *Jacobo S. R. J. Comiti de Leſlie, Libero Baroni de Balquhane, Domino Neoſtadii ad Mattoviam; Pettovii, Furnezz, &c. S. C. M. Camerario, & Conſiliario Aulæ Intimo, Conſilii aulæ Bellici Int. Auſt. Præſidi, Generali Campi Mareſchallo, Peditum Regiminis Colonello, &c.* The following Elegy is given him in the [illegible] Epiſtle. *Tu ex virtuti; quibus per Germaniam* [illegible] *ngariam, Belgium inter fuſti prælia, nunquam victus, plerumque victor diſceſſiſti: Intra ultimum tantùm biennium, quo ante gravem agritudinem Tuum caſtra frequentare licuit, Viennam introducto opportunè præſidio imminentem contra hoſtem provide munivit, & allatis poſtmodùm à Te ipſo inter primos, ſuppetiis* [illegible] *ſtrationem ingenter promovit, Tandem à* [illegible] *Auſtria ſemel fortiter repulſi; Virtu-* [illegible] *Siſeianam, Natinum, aliaque propugnacula, bar-*

(g) *Supre*[illegible] *mus confinium Sclavoniæ ac Petriniæ Præ*[illegible]

(h) *Ibid.*

(i) *That of the* Laurus Leſlæana, *written in* 1692.

Germany, one in (H) *Muscovy*; I speak of 'em in the Remarks. The famous Bishop of (I) *Rosse* in the Reign of *Mary Stuart*, was of this Family. *Moreri* speaks of him under the word *Lesly*.

LESSEVILLE, (*Eustachius Leclerc de*) Bishop of *Coutance*, was Son of *Nicholas Leclerc de Lesseville* Lord of *Thun*, and *Enquemont*, who Died Dean of the Chamber of Accounts; and of *Katherine le Boulanger*, Sister to the President *le Boulanger*, who had been Provost of the Merchants, and Died in the Grand Chamber as he was giving his Opinion. As *Nicholas Leclerc de Lesseville* had several Children, and that *Eustachius* was only the third, having before him *Antony*, Lord of *Enquemont*, who Died young, and *Charles* who Died Dean of the Great Counsel, he designed himself for the Church, and went to Study in the *Sorbonne*, which was not usual at that time for Persons of Quality. He was not full twenty years of Age, when he was Nominated Rector of the University; and 'twas he first taught the University to go in Coaches whereas they always walk'd a-Foot before. Which made *Henry IV.* say, that his Eldest Daughter, meaning the University, was a very Dragletail. *Eustachius* had so strong a Call to the Church, that he was ordain'd Priest before he had any Title to a Benefice. He was Doctor of the House and Society of *Sorbonne*, and quickly after *Lewis XIII.* chose him for one of his Almoners in ordinary. He afterwards treated about a Place of Councellor in Parliament; and was preferred to the cure of St. *Gervais* at *Paris*, in the times of the Troubles, which saved him his Life: For being in the Town-House with several Deputies, both of the Parliament and of other Societies, and the People, as all the World knows, having got up in Arms, and Murder'd several Deputies, and amongst others the Sieur *le Gras* Master of Requests, who had Married his Sister whom we speak of, some Carmen and others of the Rabble thought it their Duty to Rescue their Pastor. Accordingly they forc'd their way thro' the rest of the Mob, and carried him off out of the midst of the Assembly, and conducted him to his House in safety. Some time after, he was prefer'd to the Abbey of St. *Crespin* near *Soissons*, and the Barony of St. *Ange*, and was made Honorary Canon of the Chapter of *Brionde*, which gives the Title of Count. At last the King gave him the Bishoprick of *Coutances*, vacant by the Cession of *Claud Auvri*, Treasurer to the Holy Chappel at *Paris*. Tho' he did not live long after, yet he failed not to gain the Esteem and Friendship of all his Dioceis, where his name is still in Veneration. He was particularly distinguish'd by a great capacity for Affairs, and a profound Knowledge in Divinity and Law. As he was Doctor of *Sorbonne*, and had been fourteen years Councellor in Parliament, he was equally vers'd in both these Sciences, which made him Arbiter of the most important Affairs of the Province. He Died at *Paris*, the fourth of *December* 1665. during the Assembly of the Clergy, to which he was deputed, and was Buried in the Augustins in the Burying place of his Ancestors. *Leclerc de Lesseville* bears Azure three Crescents Or.

LEUCAS [a] was at the beginning a Peninsula, joining to the Continent of *Acarnania*, but became an Island by the industry of the *Corinthians* [γ]. They cut the *Isthmus*, and built a City upon the Canal, which they called *Leucas*, whether they Transported the Inhabitants of *Neritus*. This undertaking [δ] did not much promote Navigation; and if we believe (A) *Pliny*, the Sands droven in by the Winds, restored the *Isthmus*. In the Article of St. *Maure* [ζ] we shall speak of its present State. As to its State of Old, if any circumstance of it deservers to be related, it's,

(B) I

[a] *Taken from a Book Printed at Grats in* 1692. apud Haeredes Widmanstadii, *it is intituled* Laurus Lesliana explicata, sive clarior enumeratio personarum utriusque sexus cognominis Leslie, una cum affinibus, titulis, officiis, dominiis gestisque celebrioribus breviter indicatis, quibus à sexcentis & amplius annis prosapia illa floret; ex variis authoribus, manuscriptis, & testimoniis fide dignis in unum collecta.

[δ] Strabon. *l.* 1. *p.* 46. *& l.* 10. *p.* 311.

[γ] Cypselus *had sent 'em to settle a Colony on this Coast.*

[ζ] *See* Caulabon *upon* Strabo *ubi sup.* 311.

barbaris cæsis, & Cæsareis finibus longè, latèque in Sclavonia propagatis feliciter expugnasti; pauca Turorum *millia ad Ternavizam contra Ottomanici exercitus robur rarâ industriâ, & fortitudine servasti; ac demum ad Gloria* Tuæ *cumulum Pontes Effekianos, & civitatem inter hostes cum exigua militum manu plurium dierum confecto itinere flammis injectis audaciter incineraſti, festivisque quasi ignibus* Tuos *Triumphos adornasti: Quid si biennio solùm tot, & tantas Laureas messuisti; quot hactenus, & quantas messuisses, si infirma* Tua *valetudo permisisset?*

(H) *One in* Muscovy.] His Name was *Alexander*, he was of the Branch of *Crichie*. He came to be General, after a long Series of great Services done the Czars of *Muscovy* in their Armies, and was made Governour of *Smolensko*. He Died in the year 1661 at 95 years of Age. There were at that time in *Muscovy* seven Colonels, abundance of Captains, and other inferiour Officers of the Name of *Leslie*.

(a) Laurus Lesliæana, ibid.

(I) *One famous Bishop of* Rosse.] He was descended from *Malcolme*, Son of *Andrew*, third Baron of *Balquhane*. His Father was an able Lawyer, who after he had Travelled into *Italy*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, and *England*, Died the sixteenth of *March*. The Prelate we speak of had a great share in the Esteem of Queen *Mary*; she made him a Judge in one of the Courts of *Scotland*, admitted him a Member of her Privy Counsel, and imployed him in State Affairs. He was appointed Commendator of the Abbey of *Lindors*, and at last Bishop of *Rosse*. He did great Services to this Princess, and was Imprison'd in *England* on her account, tho' an Embassador from the King her Son. He Negotiated her Liberty at *Rome*, at *Vienna*, and at several other Courts, and afterwards Died at *Brussels* in 1595. He wrote several Books, and amongst others, a History of *Scotland* (b).

(A) *If we believe* Pliny.] He seems to fall into a Contradiction here, for in the 90*th*. Chapter of the second Book, he reckons *Leucas* among the Countries, which had been separated from the main Land by the Violence of the Sea; in another place he (c) attributes it to the Labour of the Inhabitants. *Leucadia ipsa peninsula quondam Neritis appellata, opere accolarum abscissa à continenti, ac reddita ventorum flatu congeriem arenæ accumulantium. Strabo* in the two places I have (d) quoted favours him as to the last Passage, but not as to the first. *Ovid* (e) seems more favourable to him in respect of the first, than the latter, when we consider what he makes *Pythagoras* deliver concerning the changes of Nature.

Leucada continuum veteres habuere coloni,
Nunc fretum circumcunt. Zancle quoque juncta fuisse.
Dicitur Italiæ, donec confinia pontus
Abstulit, & mediâ tellurem reppulit undâ.

[b] *Ibid. fol.* T. *It's cited under the Name of* Joannes Lesleus.

(c) Plin. l. 4. c. 1.

(d) *In the Margin of the Text at the Beginning.*

(e) Metamorph. l. 15.

After

(B) I think, the ceremony there of leaping down a Precipice. There seems to have been a Set of People who engag'd themselves (C) as if they had been hired to it, to give this Spectacle once at least every year.

LEUCIPPUS a *Greek* Philosopher. The place of his Birth is not agreed on, but almost all Authors own him to have been the Inventer of the Atomical System; so that we must not stand to (A) *Posidonius*'s Testimony. It can't be denied that in some things, the Cartesian System (B) resembles that of *Leucippus*; and *Epicurus* is to blame

(a) *Ex Livio l.* 43.
(b) Opera accolarum abscissa continenti ac reddita ventorum flatu. *Plin. ubi supra.*
(c) Strab. l. 10. p. 311.
(d) Propterea dicebatur locus ille ἄλμα τῶν ἐραστῶν. *Scalig. in Auson. cupid. crucif.* Τὸ ἅλμα τὸ τῆς Λευκάδος πολὺν παρεσκευάκειν. Saltus quo finiri amores creditum est. *Strabo* l. 10. p. 311.
(e) Ptolemy *Son of* Hephestion, apud Phot. Bibl. n. 191. p. 491.
(f) Hinc fe Deucalion Pyrrhæ succensus amore Misit, & illæso corpore pressit aquas. Nec mora: versus amor tetigit lentissima Pyrrhæ Pectora; Deucalion igne levatus erat. *Ovid. Epist. Sappb.*
(g) Ampelius in libro memoriali c. 8. Athenæus l. 14. c. 3. Servius in Eclog. 8. v. 59. & in Æn. l. 3. v. 274. & 279. *See* Scaliger & Vinet in *Auson. Cupid. crucif.*

After all, we can't entirely excuse *Pliny*, not even by Father *Hardouin*'s Expedient, who would have it acknowledged, that *Leucas* had been twice rejoined to the Continent, because at the time of the *Roman* War with *Philip* King of *Macedon*, *Leucas* was a (a) *Perinsula*, and in *Livy*'s and *Strabo*'s Time, it was an Island. By this Rule *Leucas* must have been an Island all the time betwixt this *Roman* War, and the Reign of *Augustus*, and re-became a *Peninsula* and held so all the time betwixt *Augustus* and *Pliny*. If it had been made an Island by the Violence of a Tempest, he should not have observ'd a Counteraction (b) betwixt the labour of the Inhabitants and that of the Winds. It must therefore be said that the Inhabitants made their Country an Island. But in this case, how shall we reconcile what *Pliny* had said in the nineteenth Chapter of the second Book *perrupit mare Leucada?* This event must doubtless have preceded the War against King *Philip*; but in these former times, we find it was the *Corinthians*, and not the Sea, which cut the Neck of Land.

(B) *The Ceremony of leaping down a Precipice.*] There stood upon the Promontory of *Leucas* a Temple of *Apollo*, and there was an Antient Custom (c) that annually on the Festival of this God a Criminal should be thrown from the top of this Promontory, in order to avert all impending Evils. However they fasten'd a great many Feathers, and live Birds to the Criminal, whose flight, it was hop'd, would break the Violence of the Wretch's Fall. They indeavour'd to catch him at the bottom in small Barges lying round in a Circle, and if he were saved, they only Banish'd him. All this was enacted by publick Authority, and for the publick Good; but there were private Persons who Voluntarily took the Precipice, to put an end to the pains they suffer'd from Love. Whence this Place was called (d) the *Lovers Leap*. *Strabo* informs us on *Menander*'s Authority, that *Sappho* desperately in Love with *Phaon*, who slighted her, was the first who took the Leap of *Leucas*: He cites *Menander*'s Verses; but probably he had not quoted the whole Passage: for by what he has quoted it does not appear that *Sappho* was the first who try'd this frightful Somerset. Besides *Strabo* do's not come over to this Poet's Opinion: He says, that they who have most exactly search'd into Antiquity, declare that *Cephale* was the first who made the Tryal of that desperate Remedy, when she was in Love with *Procla*. An Author (e) which *Photius* has given some Extracts of, traces the Origin of this Practice. He says, that *Venus* after the Death of *Adonis*, sought him every where, and found him at last at *Argos*, in the Isle of *Cyprus* in the Temple of *Erithian Apollo*. As she made no secret to this God of her Passion for *Adonis*, he led her to the Rock of *Leucas*, and bid her throw her self Head-long from that Precipice. She took his Advice, and finding her self cured of her Passion, she desired to know the reason of it. *Apollo* Answer'd, that by Virtue of his Gift of Prophecy, he had discover'd that *Jupiter* finding himself smitten with the Love of *Juno*, came constantly to Perch upon this Rock, and thus abated the violence of his Flame. He adds that Numbers of both Sexes had been cured of their Love by leaping from the top of this Mountain. *Photius* gives us a long Catalogue of Persons who had Recourse to this Remedy. Some found themselves cured, others lost their Lives by it. I have not met with *Calyce* among 'em, and am the less surpriz'd, because he omits the unfortunate *Sappho*. She tells us in an Epistle written by her Secretary *Ovid*, that (f) *Deucalion* in Love with *Pyrrha* the coy, took the Leap of *Leucas*, without hurting himself; upon which his Passion wore off, and *Pyrrha* began to love him in her turn. Several (g) have mention'd this strange Remedy of Love, and others have even said, that some took this Leap for another reason, namely to learn News of their Relations.

I have said that *Calyce* is not to be found in the Catalogue of the *Leucas*-Leapers. She had fall'n in Love with a young Man called *Evathlus*, and in vain sollicited the Goddess *Venus* to bring about their Marriage. *Evathlus* persisted in his obstinate Coldness, and *Calyce* took a Journey to the Precipice of *Leucas* (h). I believe if the Account were faithfully cast up, we should find that more Women than Men had taken this desperate Leap.

(C) *Who engag'd themselves every year.*] A Passage of *Servius* has furnished *Vinet* (i) with this Conjecture. *Servius*'s Words are these: (k) *Feminas in sui amorem trahebat* (Phaon) *in quels fuit una qua de monte Leucate cum potiri ejus nequiret, abjecisse se dicitur; unde nunc auctorare se quotannis solent qui de eo monte jaciunt in pelagus.* *Vinet* thinks this Passage ought to be restor'd thus, *unde nunc auctorare se quotannis solent qui se de eo monte jaciunt in pelagus.* And that this may signify there were some who veutured for a Sum of Money to take this Leap, as others Articled at such a Price to kill one another on the *Amphitheatre*. The curious will do well to search to the bottom of this particular. 'Tis certain they ingag'd themselves by a Vow to take this Leap: As appears by the Answer of a *Lacedæmonian*, who was Slav'd for Recoiling at the sight of the Precipice. *I knew not*, said he (l), *that my Vow would have need of another Vow still greater.* *Menander*'s Verses cited by *Strabo* (m) testify that *Sappho* made a Vow to *Apollo* before she threw her self over, that is, probably, she Consecrated that Action to the God. I forgot to say, that there were two Verses of *Anacreon* concerning the Lovers Leap. *Scaliger* (n) mentions 'em, but I think that they (o) who say *Hephestion* has preserved 'em, are mistaken.

(A) *To* Posidonius's *Testimony.*] According to which, we must believe that a *Phœnician* Philosopher called *Moschus*, who lived before the Siege of *Troy*, was the Inventer of Atoms; for see what *Strabo* tells us (p) Εἰ δὲ δεῖ Ποσειδωνίῳ πιστεύειν, ἢ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων δόγματα παλαιὸν ἦν ἀνδρὸς Σιδωνίου Μόχου πρὸ τῶν τρωϊκῶν χρόνων γεγονότος. *Imo si Posidonio credimus, antiquum de atomis dogma Moschi est, hominis Sidonii qui ante Trojani belli tempus vixit.* *Sextus Empiricus* observes the same thing, and in the same manner as *Strabo*, that is to say, citing *Posidonius*, with I know not what signs of distrust (q), which does not appear in *Strabo* with respect to the other Original Doctrines of *Phœnicia*. If to this you add the Fabulous Spirit, which *Cicero* has discover'd in the ways of his (r) Master, you'll be of the Opinion of the Learned Dr. *Thomas Burnet*, who does not believe, that *Moschus* ought to be Acknowledged the Inventer of the Hypotheses maintained by *Leucippus* and *Democritus*. (s) *Video rem totam in unius Posidonii fidem referri, & de hujus fide utrumque authorem subdubitare; cum itaque* Atomorum *hypothesin invenisse* Lucippum *aut* Democritum *multo plures, & probatiores fidei testes affirment: & inter alios hujus ipsius* Posidonii *discipulus* Cicero: *his ego libentius assentior; maxime, cum idem* Cicero *huic philosopho* falsidici *notam adjicere non vereatur*: Quædam etiam Posidonius, pace magistri dixerim commiscri videtur. Perhaps *Posidonius* was a little touch'd with the Distemper which Reigns in all Ages. We take as much as in us lies the glory of an Invention from those who boast of it, or are not of our Party; and had rather find another Inventer, in the remotest Times and Places.

(B) *The* Cartesian *System resembles.*] The Distemper I have been mentioning, appears in our Age, with respect to Mr. *Descartes*. They endeavour to Rob him of all the glory of the Invention, and divide it amongst other Philosophers, Antient and Modern. I enter not into that enquiry; but only say that in some things, there is reason to believe he has only reviv'd old Notions. For Example, is not the Hypothesis of the *Porters*, *Leucippus*'s?

(b) *Strabo, apud Athen. l.* 14. c. 3. p. 619.
(i) *In Auson. Cupidin. crucif.*
(k) *In Æn. l.* 3. v. 279.
(l) *Plutarch. in Apophth. Lacon.*
(m) *Lib.* 10. p. 311.
(n) *In Cirin Virg.* p. 69.
(o) *Mr.* de Longepierre's *Life of* Sappho.
(p) Strabo. l. 16. p. 512.
(q) Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἐκ τῆς Φοινικίας ἱστορίας (*subaudi* λαβόντες εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα φασὶ) εἰ μὴ τι παρὰ χρείαν τῶν Φοινίκων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐξεῦρον ἢ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐπενόησαν. Ἀπὸ Μόχου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς φυσικοῦ καὶ παλαιοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι. Democritus vero & Epicurus atomos (*dixerunt esse verum omnium elementa*) utli si antiquiorem esse hanc doctrinam sit statuendum, & ut ait Stoicus Posidonius, a Moscho viro quodam Phœnice adductam. *Sext. Empiricus adverso Mathem.* p. 367.
(r) Cicero *had been the Disciple of* Posidonius.
(s) T. Burtenius, Archæolphiloloph. l. 1. c. 6. p. 314. Edit. Amstel. 1694.

blame (C) in not having acknowledged how much he was indebted to this Philosopher's Invention. They who have so much Ridicul'd the Invention of *Atoms*, have not applied the (D) *Distinguo* with all the exactness that is necessary.

I

pus's? The learned Mr. *Huet* most clearly proves it. *In varios vortices*, says he (*a*), *five mundos primam rerum materiam distribuerunt Leucippus, Democritus & Epicurus: unde tralatitius hic erat in vorticum novis inventionibus ... se jactat Cartesiana Schola. ... de his quidem manifesta res est apud Diogenem Laertium & Hesychium ...* Ajebant (1) ... *corpuscula ex infinito ... collecta*, ... *vorticem efficere*; ... retinente medio circumvolvi ... *particularum secessiones & conjunctiones ... conjunctionibus ... globulum ...* We find besides in *Leucippus's* System some hints of this grand Mechanical Principle which Mr. *Descartes* so effectually employs, namely, that *Bodies in a circular Motion, recede from the Center as much as possible*. The Antient Philosophy teaches that the more subtil Atoms Shoot themselves (*b*) as it were towards the void. Mr. *Descartes* should have given his subtil Matter this Quality, if he had kept to his own Principle; but by a Consequence which we can't sufficiently wonder at, he forces to the Center of the Vortices this subtil Matter, and to the Circumference the more massy Globules (*c*). I have discoursed elsewhere (*d*) with those who say, that in respect of the *Vortexes* and the Causes of Gravity; *Descartes* is only *Kepler's* Transcriber. They ought to add that *Kepler* is the Transcriber of *Leucippus*.

(C) *Epicurus is to blame in not.*] 'Tis the failing of most great Wits, they won't easily acknowledge that they are Indebted for their Notions to the Lights of others; they would have it thought that they have drawn all from their own Stock, without any other Master than their own Genius. *Epicurus* has lain under this Reproach, of having only Reform'd the System of *Democritus*, of which *Leucippus* was the Original Inventor. All this is testified by *Cicero*. (*e*) *Ista enim à vobis quasi dictata redduntur: quæ Epicurus, oscitans hallucinatus est, cum quidem gloriaretur, ut videmus in scriptis, se magistrum habuisse nullum: quod & non prædicaret, tamen facile crederem: sicut mali ædificii domino glorianti, se architectum non habuisse ——— Xenocratem audire potuit: quem virum? dii immortales! & sunt qui putent audivisse, ipse non vult. Credo plus nemini. Pamphilum quendam, Platonis auditorem, ait à se Sami auditum ——— Sed hunc Platonicum mirificè contemnit Epicurus: ita metuit, ne quid unquam didicisse videatur. In Nausiphane Democriteo tenetur: quem cùm à se non neget auditum, vexat tamen omnibus contumeliis. Atqui si hæc Democritea non audisset, quid audierat? Quid est in physicis Epicuri non à Democrito? Nam etsi quædam commutavit, ut, quod paullo antè de inclinatione atomorum dixi; tamen pleraque dicit eadem; atomos, inane, imagines, infinitatem locorum, innumerabilitatemque mundorum, eorum ortus & interitus, omnia ferè, quibus naturæ ratio continetur.* Father *Lescalopier* observes that *Heraclitus* had also boasted (*f*) that he was Indebted to no Body for his Knowledge, and thereby discover'd, that he thought it no disgrace to have a Spice of the sacred Disease, that is, Arrogating of a new name for Pride. One could forgive it in those, who knew the Pride of Ecclesiasticks under the Popes of *Rome*. If any sort of Vanity deserves this Name, 'tis surely that of certain Persons, who boast on some occasions that they owe their Knowledge neither to Reading, nor to the Lectures of Professors. You see them up then, we may tell 'em, for Inspiration.

(D) *Have not used the Distinguo with all the exactness that is necessary.*] *Lactantius* lays out all his strength in Confuting *Leucippus's* Hypotheses, as to the Original, and Direction, and Qualities of *Atoms*. He has done very well on the first Point, but is to be pitied as to the second. The Epithets of Madman, Dreamer, Visionary, are due to whoever imagines that a fortuitous Concourse of infinite Corpuscles produced the World, and is the continual cause of Generation. But if we give the same Names to those who maintain that all Bodies are Formed from a various Combination of *Atoms*, we manifestly discover, that we have no Taste nor Idea of true Natural Philosophy. We must own then that in the Following Words of *Lactantius* there are good and bad Objections: Which proceed from his confounding Things, which he ought to have distinguished. (*g*) *Non est, inquit, providentiæ opus, sunt enim semina per inane volitantia, quibus inter se temerè conglobatis universa gignuntur, atque concrescunt. Cur igitur illa non sentimus, aut cernimus? Quia nec colorem habent (inquit) nec calorem ullum nec odorem: saporis quoque & humoris expertia sunt, & tam minuta, ut secari, ac dividi nequeant. Sic eum; quia in principio falsum susceperat, consequentium rerum necessitas ad deliramenta perduxit. Ubi enim sunt, aut unde ista corpuscula? Cur illa nemo præter unum Leucippum somniavit? A quo Democritus eruditus hæreditatem stultitiæ reliquit Epicuro. Quæ si sint corpuscula, & quidem solida, ut dicunt, sub oculos certe venire possunt.* He dilates upon these Objections in another Book. (*h*) *Primum minuta illa semina, quorum concursu fortuito totum coaluisse mundum loquuntur, ubi, aut unde sint quæro. Quis illa vidit unquam? quis sensit? quis audivit! An solus Leucippus oculos habuit, solus mentem? qui profectò solus omnium cæcus, & excors fuit, qui ea loqueretur, quæ nec æger quisquam delirare, nec dormiens posset somniare. Quatuor elementis constare omnia Philosophi veteres disserebant. Ille noluit, ne alienis vestigiis videretur insistere; sed ipsorum elementorum alia voluit esse primordia, quæ nec videri possint, nec tangi, nec ulla corporis parte sentiri. Tam minuta sunt (inquit) ut nulla sit acies ferri tam subtilis, qua secari, ac dividi possint: unde illis nomen imposuit atomorum. Sed occurrebat ei, quod si una esset omnibus, eademque natura, non possent res efficere diversas, tanta varietate, quantam videmus inesse mundo. Dixit ergo levia esse, & aspera, & rotunda, & angulata, & hamata. Quanto melius fuerat tacere, quam in usus tam miserabiles, tam inanes, habere linguam. Et quidem vereor, ne non minus delirare videatur, qui hæc putet refellenda. Respondeamus tamen velut aliquid dicenti. Si levia sunt, & rotunda, utique non possunt invicem se apprehendere, ut aliquod corpus efficiant ut si quis milium velit in unam coagmentationem constringere, levitudo ipsa granorum in massam coire non sinat. Si aspera, & angulata sunt, & hamata, ut possint cohærere, dividua ergo, & secabilia sunt; hamis enim necesse est, & angulis eminere, ut possint amputari. Itaque quod amputari, ac divelli potest, & videri poterit, & teneri.*

A Man would be Laughed at in our Days who should make such Objections; for ever the Chimerical Qualities invented by the Schoolmen have been rejected, the only Remedy left is that of admitting insensible Parts in Matter, whose Figure, Angles, Hooks, Motion and Situation, constitute the particular Essence of the Bodies, which strike our Senses. *Cicero* (*i*) has introduced a Person who might have shewn *Lactantius* the Mischief of not using Distinctions; for he qualifies the Figure and the fortuitous Concourse of *Atoms* both alike. The Moderns have distinguish'd better, they reject the Eternity of *Atoms* and their fortuitous Motion; but keeping in all other Points except this, to the Hypothesis of *Leucippus*, they make an admirable System of it. This is what *Gassendus* has done, who differs not from *Descartes*, about the Principles of Bodies, only as he retains a *Vacuum*. *Lactantius's* Objections against the Indivisibility of *Atoms*, are the weakest, that can be made to the *Atomists*; the Followers of *Aristotle* and Mr. *Descartes* propose much stronger; but after all, they prove nothing more than the possible Division of all sort of Extension; for as to the actual Division, all Sects are obliged to stop somewhere. 'Tis plain there are necessarily innumerable Corpuscles, which are never divided, and this alone is sufficient to invalidate *Lactantius's* Objections

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* Far from Acknowledging this he denied there ever had been such a Man as Leucippus. See Gassendus in vita Epicuri, l. 5. c. 1.

(*a*) Petrus Daniel Huetius, *Censura Philosophiæ Cartesianæ*, cap. 8. pag. m. 213. 214.

(1) *Laert. & Hesych. in Leucippo, Democrito & Epicuro.*

(*b*) ... Ενθα quidem sed exterius vacuum contendere velut distantia: cætera consistere. *Diogen. Laert. in Leucippo*, l. 9. n. 31.

(*c*) *See the Journal of* Leipsic. 1689. p. 187. 188.

(*d*) *In the Article* Kepler, *Remarque* D.

(*e*) Cicero de Natura Deorum l. 1. p. m. 101. *Others make the same Reproach to* Epicurus. *See* Gassendus in ejus vita, l. 1. c. 4. & l. 5. c. 1. & 2.

(*f*) Heraclitus, apud Laertium l. 9. de vitis Philosophorum.——putidiuscule jactat neminem se audivisse, per se quæsivisse omnia, & à se didicisse: ut qui nihil sciret adolescens, vir nihil ignoraret; cum tamen Xenophanem audivisset. Nimirum sibi dedecori non ducit, sacro morbo teneri; arrogantiam etiam Heraclitus ipse vocitabat, *ingit view.* Lescalopier Comment. in Cicer. de natura Deorum, p. 101.

(*g*) Lactantius, *Divinar. institut.* l. 3. c. 17. p. m. 190.

(*h*) *Id. l. de ira Dei*, c. 10. p. 335.

(*i*) Ista enim flagitia Democriti, sive etiam ante Leucippi, esse corpuscula quædam levia, alia aspera, rotunda alia, partim angulata, curvata quædam & quasi adunca: ex his effectum esse cœlum atque terram, nulla cogente natura, sed concursu quodam fortuito. *Cicero de nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 91.*

I have often wonder'd, why *Leucippus*, and those who have trod in his Steps, never bethought 'em of saying that each *Atom* had an inherent Vital Principle. This Supposition would have deliver'd 'em from a great part (E) of their Perplexity, and there's as much Foundation for it as for the Eternity, and inherent Motion, which they Attribute

jections by way of Retortion. Would we make a sound Judgment of *Leucippus*'s System, we must follow that of Dr. *Thomas Burnet*. Here's what he says of it: (a) *Ad hanc sectam Eleaticam aggregari solent* Leucippus *&* Democritus, *viri celebres & eximii, qui hypothesin* Atomorum *invexerunt; quæ licet, mea sententia, falsa sit & male fundata, dedit tamen occasionem philosophandi strictius & accuratius. Hi enim non quærunt corporum principia, aut agendi vires inter* numeros, proportiones, harmonias, ideas, qualitates, *aut* formas elementares, *ut ab aliis factum est: sed ipsa adeunt corpora, eorumque conditiones Physicas & Mechanicas examinant, motum, figuram, partium situm, tenuitatem aut magnitudinem, & similia: & ex his cujusque virtutes æstimant, actiones definiunt, effecta explicant, idque recte solideque, ut mihi videtur, hucusque. Quod vero has minutias individuales esse vellent, aut innatum impetum habere, aut inclinationes ad certa loca, aut denique inanibus spatiis disjungi, hæc & hujusmodi, non tantum gratis dicta sunt, sed etiam clarâ rationi repugnantia. Utcunque, cum viam aperuerint ad faciliorem differendi methodum circa res physicas, & in hac parte de republica literariâ non male meruerint, illos laude sua non fraudemus.*

(E) *This Supposition would have deliver'd them from a great part of their Perplexity.*] They might then have had some sort of Answer to an Objection, which they have never been able to solve: 'Tis that which *Plutarch* (b) proposes to *Colotes* the Epicurean, and which *Galen* has urg'd with great force, as we have seen in his Article. It consists in this: That every *Atom* being destitute of a Soul, and sensitive Faculty, 'tis Evident no Combination of *Atoms*, can become an animate and sensitive Being. But if every *Atom* had a Soul and Sensation, we might easily conceive how a Combination of *Atoms* should make a Compound capable of certain particular Modifications, as well with respect to Consciousness and Sensation, as with respect to Motion. The diversity observable betwixt the Passions of rational and irrational Creatures, might in general be explain'd by these different Combinations of *Atoms*. 'Tis therefore very surprizing, tho' *Leucippus* overlook'd the Interests of his System in this Point, that those who came after him should be so blind as never to have added so material an Article; for the easiness of improving the Inventions of others, and the stress of the Dispute might very well have enabled 'em to carry their Views farther than *Leucippus* had done. We have reason to believe that *Democritus* had in some measure Remedied the Faults in this Hypothesis. The Passages I have quoted in his Article, seem to intimate, that he assign'd a Soul to every *Atom*, which is confirm'd by the Testimony of *Plutarch*: 'Democritus supposes 'that all things are endued with some kind of Soul, 'even Carcasses themselves, for as much as they 'manifestly partake of some degree of Heat and 'Sensation, the greatest part being Evaporated (c). But as none of *Democritus*'s Writings are preserv'd to us, 'tis no easy matter to give a just and exact Summary of his Thoughts on this Head; and besides, we know that this Notion has not been follow'd by the Sect of the Atomists. Neither *Epicurus*, nor his Successors ever maintained that *Atoms* were indued with Life or Sense, and they have consider'd the Soul, as a compound of several Parts. They maintain'd that all Sensation ceas'd by the Disunion or Analysis of the parts of this Compound. See below (d) the Discussion of a Critical Remark of *Plutarch* upon *Epicurus*. They would have found another great advantage in the Hypothesis of animated *Atoms*; for their Indivisibility might have furnish'd some Answers to an unsurmountable Objection, which their Opinion is exposed to, who maintain, that Matter may think, that is, be capable of Sensation and Consciousness. This Objection is founded on the Unity, properly so called, which must belong to thinking Beings; for if a thinking Substance were no otherwise one, than as a Globe is one, it would never see a whole Tree; it would never feel Pain upon the Blow of a Stick. To explain this, let us consider the Figure of the four Parts of the World upon a Terrestrial Globe; no one part [illegible] of this Globe contains all *Asia*, or even the whole River. The part which represents *Persia*, is not the same with that which represents the Kingdom of *Siam*; and you distinguish a right side and a left in that part which represents *Euphrates*. From hence it follows that the Globe is incapable of knowing the Figure, if it is worn'd with, because we can suppose no one thing in it which should say, *I know all* Europe, *all* France, *all the Town of* Amsterdam, *all the* Vistula; each part of the Globe could only know that Figure or portion of a Figure, which fell to its Lot; and this portion would be too small, to represent any one place intire; nay, it would be absolutely useless, that the Globe should be capable of Knowledge; no one Act of Knowledge could result from that Composition, at least its Acts of Knowledge would be very different from those which we experience; for these represent to us all the Object at once, a whole Tree, or whole Horse, &c. An evident Proof, that the Subject affected with the whole Image of these Objects, is not divisible into many Parts, and consequently that Man, as a thinking Being, is not Corporeal, Material, or Divided, or Compounded of many [illegible]. If otherwise, he'd be perfectly insensible of the stroke of a Cudgel, since the pain would divide its self into as many Particles as the Member smitten consists of. But these Members consist of infinite Particles; so that the portion of Pain, which belonged to each part, would be too small to be perceiv'd or felt. If you Answer that each part of the Soul communicates its Passions to the rest, I'm ready to come over you with two or three Replies, which will throw you back again into the Mire.

I tell you in the 1st. place, that it appears no more possible for the Parts of a Globe to communicate their Pain, than to communicate their Motion. Now 'tis most certain, that each part preserves that quantity of Motion which falls to its Share, and communicates nothing of it to others. Push a Globe; the Motion you communicate to it, equally distributes it self to all the Particles of this Moveable, to each according to its Bulk, and from that time forward, till the Globe [illegible] moving, there's no new Dividend made of [illegible] Motion among its Parts. Why then should you suppose any other Law with respect to Thought; for Instance, with respect to the Pain you might excite in this Globe, by a kick with the Foot? Ought you not to say, that this Pain distributes it self through the whole Globe, and that each part partakes of it, in Proportion to its Magnitude, and retains what falls to its Share? In the 2d. place, I desire your Answer to this short Question. How does the Part *A.* of the Soul; communicate its Pain to the Parts *B.* and *C.* Do's it transfer by fairly divesting it self, in such a manner, that the same numerical Pain, which was lately in the Part *A.* is now found in the part *B?* If so, it destroys a most certain and true Maxim (e) *That Accidents don't pass from one Subject to another.* Besides, it destroys your own Supposition. Your Design is, to shew, that the Pain of a Kick with the Foot must be very smart, though divided into infinite Portions, and you suppose that the Portion, which falls to one part of the Soul, quits that part, and fixes on another. But this way of communicating will not augment the Sensation; for as fast as one part of the Soul communicates it [illegible] Pain, an increase to that degree which we call *Intensive*, is infallibly prevented, and thus the Difficulty subsists in its full Force. One can't conceive why a Pain, because divided into *Infinite* Parts, should be an insensible Sensation. You'll say then, that one [illegible] the Soul communicates its Pain to the rest, but retains it, that is to say, produces in the [illegible] Parts a Sensation like its own. But my Objection reverts. This like Sensation produc'd

THAT which thinks ought to be indivisible, the Advantage which the System of *Leucippus* would have had by Assigning a Soul to each *Atom*.

(a) *Archæolog. philosoph. l. 1. c. 12. p. m. 378.*

(b) *Plut. adv. Colot. p. 1111.*

(c) Ὁ δὲ Δημόκριτος πανταχοῦ μεταξὺ φησὶ ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ διαφορὰν εἶναι, τὰ γὰρ νοερὰ τῶν σωμάτων, φησὶν, ἀεὶ διαφανῆ τινα σημεῖα καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεις μᾶλλον ἢ πλῆθος ἐμφαίνειν. Democritus porrò omnia ait quandam habere animam, etiam cadavera: quòd hæc sem, er perspicuè aliquid obtineant caloris & sensûs, majori parte expirata. *Plut. de plac. Philos. l. 4. c. 4. p. 908. F.*

FROM hence that each *Atom* apart is inanimate, it follows that no Collection or Combination of *Atoms* can think.

(d) *In the Remark* N. *of the Article* Lucretius.

(e) Accidentia non migrant de subjecto in subjectum.

bute to their Indivisible Corpuscles. Let's observe that there was a Sect of (F) Philosophers in the *East*, who admitted the Hypothesis of *Atoms*, and a Vacuum; with this amendment, that God had Created those *Atoms*. And remember that the Vacuum which *Gassendus* had restor'd, and *Descartes* overthrown, gets Ground daily, and becomes

a new, is it not received into a Subject divisible, *ad Infinitum*? It will consequently then divide it self into infinite Parts, after the manner of the first, and by this Division each Subject, or each part of the Substance will have only a Degree of Pain so small, so inconsiderable, as not to be felt. Now Experience teaches quite the contrary. My IIId. Reply shall be, that you multiply infinite Things in vain. You can never bring your Notion to bear, but by supposing a Thing inconceivable; to wit, that the Image of a Horse, or of a Square, being received into a Subject infinite Parts, preserve themselves in every Part. This is the Absurdity of the Intentional Species, which the Schoolmen dare hardly any longer advance. It's an Absurdity greater than that of those Doctors, who say the Soul (a) is all in all the Body, and all in every part. But I let that pass, and only ask you, whether your Supposition do's not manifestly include this Monster, that in a famish'd Dog there are infinite Substances, which feel the Gnawings of Hunger, and in a Man who reads, infinite Things, which read and know each other they read. Mean time, we all know by Experience, that there's only one thing in us, which knows that it reads, that is Hungry, that it feels Pain or Joy, &c. To what end then serves this Multiplicity of Substances, which read in every Reader, which hunger and thirst in every Animal, &c. This Consequence you cannot deny, since to disengage your self from the Inconveniencies to which you are exposed by the Division of Thought into as many parts, as there are parts in the Substance of a material Soul, you are forced to affirm that the Parts of the Soul, by reciprocally communicating their Modifications, preserve the Sensation entire in every part. This puts me in mind of a very good Argument, which a Sect of Philosophers, whom I shall mention in the following Remark, imploy'd to maintain the Spirituality of God. If God is a Body, said they, the Perfection of his Being is found either in all the individual Substances of his Body, or in one alone. If in all, there are then many Gods; if only in one, the rest are superfluous (b). *Si Deus est corpus, tum Divinitas & Veritas ejus perficietur vel in universalitate & complexu Substantiarum individuarum corporis illius, quod habet, vel in una tantùm. Si perficiatur in una, tum nulla est utilitas reliquarum, sed sunt superflua: nullaque est ratio essentiæ illius corporis,* (quia una substantia individua non potest corpus constituere.) *Si in omnibus erunt Divinitates multæ, & singulis perficiatur; sed verò jam demonstrârunt, non verò Deus unus. Ergo. Deum esse unum.* You'll tell me (†) perhaps, that the Soul does not see all the parts of a Horse at once, but one after another, that this Succession is so quick, that it is imperceptible, and that the Impression received the first Instant, lasts long enough, to be united with the Impression of the following Instant; whence it happens, that the Soul believes, it sees the Parts of an Object, which really acts no longer upon it. Thus the Soul thinks, she sees a Circle of Fire; when one turns round a Flaming Stick. She sees the Parts of this Circle successively, and yet she thinks she sees 'em all at once. Which proceeds from hence, that the Impression she has received, lasts longer than the Action of the Object. I answer, that this Subterfuge will not bring you off. It signifies nothing against my last, nor even against some of my former Objections, it can only serve to dazzle a little on account of the Disproportion betwixt the Greatness of the Object and the Smallness of the thinking Substance. But what could you reply, should I say, that a Man attentively beholds an immoveable Body, a Wall for Example, the same part of the Object which struck him the first impreceptible Instant, must strike him every following Instant; for no Reason can be assigned, why it should cease acting on the Soul. It acts, then at the same time, as all the other Parts; but tell me if you can, how the Image of a Wall can be fitted all at the same Instant, to a Subject divisible *ad Infinitum*. This and many other Arguments to be seen in the Writings (c) of some Moderns, invincibly proves that Thought is incompatible with a compound Being.

I have enlarged on this matter, on purpose to confirm what I had before laid down, that *Leucippus*, *Epicurus*, and the other Atomists, might have warded many unanswerable Objections, if they had bethought themselves of giving a Soul to every Atom. They would thereby have united Thought to an indivisible Subject, and they had as good ground to suppose Atoms animated, as to suppose 'em uncreated, and endued with a moving Virtue. 'Tis as difficult to conceive this Virtue in an Atom, as that of Sensation. Extension and Solidity, constitute the whole Essence of an Atom in our Idea. The Power of moving is not included in it. It's as foreign and independant of Body and Extension, as that of Consciousness. Why then, since the Atomists supposed in their Corpuscles a self-moving Force, would they rob 'em of Thought? I know they could not have avoided all Difficulties, by arbitrarily ascribing it to 'em, they might still have been pressed (d) with invincible Objections. Yet there had been some Glory in parrying a Thrust here and there. Let us observe, that very great Philosophers have made the principal Properties of the Soul to consist (e) in a self-moving Power. 'Tis by this Attribute they have characterized and defined it. Would any one then have thought it strange, that they who gave Atoms the Principle of Motion, should give 'em a Soul too.

(F) *A Sect of Philosophers in the East, who admitted the Hypothesis of Atoms.*] The famous Rabbi *Maimonides* speaks at large of this Sect of Philosophers. They were called (f) *The Speakers*. They principally exercised themselves (g) on these four Points. 1. That the World is not eternal. 2. That it was created. 3. That its Creator is one. 4. That he is incorporeal. This Rabbi mentions the Twelve Principles, they laid down for their Foundation. The second of which was, that there's a Void, and the Third, that Time is made up of indivisible Instants. It does not appear, that their Atoms were like those of *Leucippus*; for they (h) gave 'em no Magnitude, and made 'em all exactly alike. *Maimonides* presses 'em hard (i) on their being forced to deny, that one moveable went faster than another, and that the Diagonal of a Square was longer than one of its sides. These Difficulties obliged 'em to say (k) that the Senses deceive us, and that we must trust to our Reason alone. Some even (l) went so far, as to deny the Existence of a square Figure. Let us say by the by, that they might have retorted these Difficulties, and let's challenge all the Patrons of Divisibility *in infinitum*, to answer the Arguments which prove that the Diagonal of a Square, is not longer than one of the Sides. For the rest, these *Arabian* Philosophers supposed in part, what I have said *Leucippus* ought to have done; they taught, that every Atom of Animate Bodies, was animated, and every Atom of Sensitive Bodies, sensitive, and that the Understanding resided in an Atom. There was no dispute among 'em on this Point; but as to the Soul, they divided into two Opinions about it; some said, she was lodged in one of the Atoms, of which Man for Example is composed. Others compounded her of many very subtil Substances. They were divided much the same as to Knowledge. Some Placed it in a single Atom, and others in each of the Atoms which constitute the knowing Person. (m) *Vita, ex ipsorum sententia, existit in unaquaque particula corporis viventis. Ita dicunt, quamvis particulam Animantis sensu præditi, sensilem quoque esse. Nam* Vita, Sensus, Intellectus & Sapientia ipsis sunt Accidentia, *non minus quàm* Nigredo & Albedo. De Anima dissentiunt. *Quidam statuunt, Animam esse accidens existens in uno aliquo atomorum illorum, è quibus homo verbi gratiâ compositus est; totum autem compositum vocari Animatum, quia substantia illa individua vel atomum illud in eo continetur. Alii dicunt, Animam esse compositam ex multis subtilissimis substantiis accidens quoddam habentibus, quo unantur & conjungantur, & animata* (n) *fiant, substantiasque illas cum substantiis corporis commiscent. Ex*

(a) Tota in toto & tota in singulis partibus.

(b) *Moses Maimonides in Doctore perplexorum parte* I. *cap.* 76. *p. m.* 176.

(c) *No one in my Opinion has treated this Important Question about the Immortality and Indivisibility of whatever thinks more sublimely and solidly than Dom* [redacted] *Benedictin of the Order of St.* Maur, *in his excellent Work of the Knowledge of One's* [redacted] THER *the Perception of a Body in former* [redacted] *Soul.*

(d) *See those which St.* Augustin *proposes in his* 56*th. Epist. p. m.* 273. & seq.

(e) *See* Aristotle *de anima, lib.* I. *cap.* 2. & Plutarch *de placitis* Philosophor. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 2.

(f) *See the Marginal Note of* Buxtorf, *at the beginning of the* 60*th. Chap. of the* 1*st. Part of his Translation of* More Nevochim, *sive Doctoris perplexorum, de Mosis Maimonides.*

(g) *Maimonides, ib. cap.* 73. *pag.* 148.

(h) *Id. ib. pag.* 149.

(i) *Ibid. pag.* 150.

(k) *Ibid. pag.* 151,

(l) *Ibid.*

(m) *Id. ib. pag.* 152. 153.

(n) *I believe it ought to be read* Animatæ, *and so the Opinion of these Philosophers would be, that each part of the Soul is animated.*

becomes the favourite Doctrine of the (G) famouſeſt Mathematicians.

Ex quibus vides, illos Animam quoque inter Accidentia referre. Intellectum quod attinet, unanimi conſenſu affirmant, quòd ſit accidens in ſubſtantia quadam individua totius Intelligentiæ. De Scientia *hærent, an ſit accidens exiſtens in unaquaque ſubſtantia individua ſcientiæ, an in una tantum?*

(G) *The Vacuum——becomes the favourite Doctrine of the famouſeſt Mathematicians.*] *Plutarch* (a) affirms 1. That a *Vacuum* was rejected down from *Thales* to *Plato*. 2. That *Leucippus*, *Democritus*, *Demetrius*, *Metrodorus*, and *Epicurus*, admitted an infinite Void. 3. That the *Stoicks* taught, that all was a *Plenum* in the World, and beyond it an infinite *Vacuum*. 4. That *Ariſtotle* acknowledged beyond the World, only ſo much *Vacuum*, as was ſufficient for the Heavens to breath in; adding, that the Heaven is Fire. I don't know where *Ariſtotle* has taught this Doctrine, but I know where he denied (b) that there are Bodies beyond the Heaven, which ſuppoſes his admitting an infinite *Vacuum*, for nothing could be more abſurd, than ſuppoſing above the higheſt Heaven, a void and finite Space. Note, that he teaches in the ſame Place, that there is neither Place, nor Void, nor Time, above the higheſt Heaven; however, it's only a Queſtion about the Word; for he rejects the Void, only as defined to be a Space, which contains no Body but which may contain it. He maintained, that it was not poſſible, there ſhould be Bodies above the World; therefore he could not admit a *Vacuum* according to this Definition; but he had doted, if taking the Void ſimply and generally, for whatever contains or includes any Body, he had ſaid, that beyond the laſt Celeſtial Sphere, there was no Void. Chriſtian Philoſophers profeſſing his Doctrines, have taught what *Plutarch* attributes to the *Stoicks*, that all is full within the World, and that beyond it there's an infinite Void. This they call the Imaginary Spaces, and don't believe it to be a *Vacuum* properly ſo called, though it includes no Body; for by a *Vacuum*, or Void, they underſtand the Space, which containing no Body, is yet ſurrounded by Bodies on all Parts. 'Tis manifeſt, that this Definition belongs not to the imaginary Spaces. As concerning the Plenitude of the World, they have admitted it, as a Fundamental Point, dear and precious to Nature; ſaying, ſhe had ſuch a Horror for a Vacuum, that ſhe'll rather violate her own Laws, than ſuffer it to wriggle it ſelf in on any ſide. She makes light Bodies deſcend, and heavy Bodies aſcend, as often as a *Vacuum* threatens, ſay they; theſe Motions are contrary to her own Laws, and commit a Rape on the Elements, but what ſhall we do in this caſe, is it not lawful and juſt, of two Evils, to chooſe the leaſt? The Modern Philoſophers have ſufficienly ridiculed theſe Viſions. *Galileo* and his Succeſſor *Toricelli*, reſtore the Doctrine of a Vacuum; *Gaſſendus*, the great reſtorer of *Leucippus*'s Syſtem, brings it into Faſhion, and pretends to prove it demonſtratively. Mr. *Deſcartes* declares for a *Plenum*, and puſhes the thing much farther than *Ariſtotle*'s Followers had done; for he not only maintains there's no *Vacuum*, but alſo, that its abſolutely impoſſible there ſhould be any; he goes upon this, that the *Vacuum* having all the Properties, and all the Eſſence of Body, that is, its three Dimenſions, 'twere a Contradiction in Terms to pretend, that the *Vacuum* is a Space, without Body. The Idenity he eſtabliſhed betwixt Space and Body, was thought by moſt People a great Paradox; they cried out, that he detracted from the Divine Omnipotence, as teaching, that God himſelf could not by a Miracle effect, that a Veſſel remaining a Veſſel, ſhould not be filled with ſome Body. This is doubtleſs a Conſequence of his Doctrine, but which does not ſtrike at the Omnipotence of God; the Queſtion is not concerning the Omnipotence, but only whether whatever has three Dimenſions is a Body. Many have thought Mr. *Deſcartes*'s Arguments very ſolid, and believ'd that by the help of his ſubtil Matter, Motion and Plenitude might be eaſily reconciled, and they have found a Paralogiſm (c) in the pretended Demonſtrations of Mr. *Gaſſendi*. Thus the Reign of the *Plenum* ſeemed to be better eſtabliſhed than ever, when to our great ſurprize, we found ſome mighty Mathematicians of the contrary Opinion. Mr. *Hugens* (d) has declared for a *Vacuum*, Mr. *Newton* (e) has taken the ſame ſide, and hath ſolidly oppoſed this Hypotheſis of Mr. *Deſcartes*, as inconſiſtent with Motion, Levity, and ſome other *Phænomena*. Mr. *Fatio* is of Mr. *Newton*'s Opinion, and I have heard him ſay, that the Exiſtence of a *Vacuum* is not a Problem, but a certain Fact, and Mathematically demonſtrated. He added, that the void Space is incomparably greater than the full. This new Sect patronizing a *Vacuum*, repreſents the Univerſe as an infinite Space, in which are ſcatter'd certain Bodies, which in Compartſon of that Space are no more than as Ships diſperſed here and there on the Ocean. So that they, whoſe Sight ſhould be good enough to diſtinguiſh what was full, from what was empty, would cry out, (f) *apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto*. What's perplexing to the new Patrons of a *Vacuum*, is, that they find the *Carteſian* Arguments againſt the Nothingneſs of Space very ſtrong, ſo as they dare not maintain, that Space is a pure Privation. When therefore they are aſked, what theſe Spaces are, which have really three Dimenſions, are diſtinct from Body, and ſuffer themſelves to be penetrated by Bodies, without making any Oppoſition, they know not what to anſwer, and are almoſt induced to adopt the Chimera of ſome *Peripateticks*, who had the Boldneſs to ſay (g) that Space is nothing, but the Immenſity of God. This would be a very abſurd Doctrine, as Mr. *Arnauld* has ſhewn in the Work (h) where he pretends, that Father *Mallebranche* ſeems to attribute to God a formal Extenſion. Note, that Mr. *Hartſoeker*, a good Phyſician and Mathematician, has taken the mid-way betwixt *Deſcartes* and the new Followers of a *Vacuum*, for if on one Hand he pretends, that Motion is impoſſible in the *Carteſian* Syſteme, he'll on the other ſide have the fluid Expanſe, in which Bodies float, and ſcud at their eaſe, not to be a pure Space, or penetrable Extenſion (i).

From this we may collect two Things. One is, that theſe great Mathematicians, who demonſtrate a *Vacuum*, give the *Scepticks* greater Pleaſure, than they imagine. Obſerve how. The Mind of Man has no Ideas more clear and diſtinct than thoſe of the Nature and Attributes of Extenſion. This is the Foundation of Mathematicks. Now theſe Ideas manifeſtly ſhew, that Extenſion is a Being, which has *partes extra partes*, and which conſequently is diviſible and impenetrable. We know by Experience the Impenetrability of Bodies; and if we ſeek the Origin and Reaſon of it *à priori*, we find it with the utmoſt Perſpicuity in the Idea of Extenſion, and of the Diſtinction of the Parts of extended Being, and can't poſſibly conceive any other Foundation of it. We conceive Extenſion, not as a *Genus*, which contains under it two *Species* (k), but as a *Species*, which has under it only Individuals. Whence we conclude, that the Attributes found in any one Extenſion, are found alſo in every other. In the mean time, here are Mathematicians, who demonſtrate a *Vacuum*, that is an indiviſible and penetrable Extenſion, ſo that a Globe of four Feet Diameter, and the ſpace it fills, which is alſo of four Feet, are no more than four Feet of Extenſion. There is therefore no truſting to any clear and diſtinct Ideas, none upon which our Mind can bottom, ſince that of Extenſion is found to have miſerably deceived us. This Idea had induced us to believe, that whatever is extended, has impenetrable Parts; but here's now a Space Mathematically demonſtrated, a Space, I ſay, with Three Dimenſions, which is immoveable, and which ſuffers other Dimenſions to paſs and repaſs, without moving it ſelf, or opening for 'em. The ſecond thing I have to ſay, is, that *Spinoza*'s Syſtem is choak'd by this twofold Extenſion in the Univerſe, one penetrable, continued, and immoveable, the other diſpenetrable, and ſeparated into Parcels, which are ſometimes ſeparted a Hundred Leagues from one another. I believe the *Spinoziſts* would find themſelves ſtrangely puzled, if they were forced to admit Mr. *Newton*'s Demonſtrations.

I mentioned above, an Obſervation of the Philoſophers of the Sect of the *Speakers*. The Rabbi [illegible] confutes it after this manner (l):

(a) *Plut. de placit. Philoſoph. lib. 1. cap. 18. pag. 883.*

(b) *Ariſtotel. de cœlo, lib. 1. cap. 9. pag. m. 348.*

(c) *See the Art of Thinking, 3d. part. chap. 18. n. iv, p. m. 28. & ſeq. and note, that* Ariſtotle, *lib. 4, Phyſ. cap. 7. p. 286. gives a Sketch of the Anſwers which Mrs. of* Portroyal *makes to* Gaſſendi.

(d) *See his Diſcourſe on the Cauſe of Gravitation, pag. 162.*

(e) *Newton. Philoſ. Natur. prine. Mathem. pag. 411.*

(f) *Virgil. Æneid. lib. 1. v. 118.*

(g) *See* de Rodon, *in the 6th. Chap. of 1ſt. Part of his Phyſicks abridg'd, p. m. 35.*

(h) *Among other Writings of his, ſee his Defence, printed in 1684.*

(i) Hartſoecker, *Principles of Phyſicks, chap. 1.*

(k) *See the Defence of Mr.* Arnauld, *part 5. pag. 371. and the following.*

(l) *Moſes Maimonides ubi ſupra, pag. 176.*

LÆVIUS, a *Latin* Poet. It is not certainly known when he lived; but it's probable, 'twas before *Cicero*'s time. He wrote a Poem, intituled, *Erotopægnia*, that is, *the Sports of Love*. *Aulus Gellius* quotes two Verſes from it. *Apuleius* [a] gives us ſix from the ſame Poet, but does not ſay what Work of his he takes 'em from. *Lævius* writ a Poem, called the *Centaurs*. *Feſtus* cites it as the Word *Petrarum*. I (*A*) ſhall obſerve ſome Faults.

Noct. Attic. lib. 2. c. 24.
[a] *In Apologia.*

LEUWENTZ, a Town of *Hungary*. I mention it only to correct two groſs Faults of (*B*) *Moreri*'s Supplement.

LICINIA, a Veſtal, puniſhed for her Unchaſtity, about the 640th. Year of *Rome*. There were three lewd Veſtals all at the ſame time. *Lucius Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, not having puniſhed this Diſorder ſo rigorouſly as he ſhould have done, was proſecuted for his Remiſſneſs on an Impeachment of *Sextus Peducæus*, Tribune of the People. He condemned only [γ] one of the Three Veſtals, and acquitted the other Two [δ]. *Licinia* was one of the latter; though no leſs guilty than ſhe that was condemned. They were both mightily cry'd out againſt for the Numbers of their Gallants, and they accuſed one another. At firſt, they had to do but with a few of their beſt Friends, and that under the Seal of ſworn Secrecy, declaring to each, that he was the only Perſon, who had received the Favour; afterwards, the Number of Sharers encreaſed at a ſtrange rate; for the longer they liv'd in this Diſorder, the eaſier it was to convict 'em of it. They had then reaſon to fear Tell-tales; and could think of no better way of obliging all to Silence, than granting to all the laſt Favour. This did not pleaſe the firſt Gallants: However, they durſt not make a Noiſe; too loud Complaints would only have betrayed 'em. The Evil took ſuch a Head, that the two Veſtals made no longer any Difficulty of giving themſelves up to ſeveral Gallants, and that in Sight and Hearing of each other [ζ]. For ſome time I'll ſuppoſe they might have lived together in a good Underſtanding. However it be, 'tis certain, that each had the other's Brother for Gallant; a great many of both Sexes, Freemen and Slaves, were privy to the Intrigues of theſe Veſtals; nevertheleſs, their Crime remained a ſecret for a long time, as to what we call the Publick. At laſt, one *Manius*, who had been the firſt Inſtrument or Pimp to the Amour, turn'd Informer. He had not been made free, nor recompenced to the Height of his Expectation; and beſides, was a Man, who delighted in Miſchief [ε]. I have already ſaid, that the *Pontifex Maximus*, the proper Judge of Offences of this kind, had not the neceſſary Severity. The Diſcontents which his Lenity had occaſioned, was the reaſon of giving *Lucius Caſſius* a Commiſſion, (*C*) to re-examine the Proceſs. He was a vigorous inflexible

γ *She was called* Emilia.
δ *Aſconius Pedianus in Orat. pro Milone.*
ζ *See the Excerpta of* Dion, *tranſlated by* Henry Valois, *pag.* 627. 628.
ε *Dio ib.*
ζ *Ibid.*

Hanc rationem ſi conſideraveris, invenies illam ſuperſtructam eſſe propoſitioni ipſorum prima & quinta, ac proinde nullius eſſe ponderis. Poteſt enim illis dici, Corpus Dei non eſt, ut dicitis vos, compoſitum ex conjunctione particularum ejuſmodi individuarum, quales Ipſe creavit; ſed eſt corpus unum continuum, nullam niſi in Cogitatione admittens diviſionem. The Anſwer this Rabbi ſuppoſes might be made, is not very wide of their Poſition, who admit a poſitive Space, which is the Deity it ſelf.

(*A*) *I ſhall obſerve ſome Miſtakes.*] Since *Voſſius* (*a*) had been appriſed of theſe two laſt Citations, which I obſerve, 'tis very ſtrange, he ſhould reckon *Lavius* among the Poets, of whom we know no more, than that they lived before the Days of *Charlemagne*. But this is a ſmall Slip in Compariſon of the Blunder of an Author (*b*), who has corrected in *Aulus Gellius*, *Livius*, inſtead of *Lavius*, imagining that *Aulus Gellius* had cited *Livius Andronicus*. How could this *Livius* be cited in a Paſſage, which concerned a Law (*c*) made in the 656th. Year of *Rome*? how, I ſay, could he be cited on this occaſion, who was a grown Man in the 514th. Year of *Rome*? For one (*d*) of his Comedies had been acted that Year. The Author I confute, pretends, that *Naevius* and *Pacuvius* flouriſhed after *Livius Andronicus*; but had not he ſeen a Paſſage in *Aulus Gellius*, which manifeſtly proves, that this *Livius* could not be acquainted with this *Licinian* Law? *Aulus Gellius* tells us (*e*) that *Nævius* had one of his Comedies acted in the 519th. Year of *Rome*, and that he bore Arms in the firſt Punick War.

(*a*) *De Poët. Lat.*
(*b*) *Philippus Carolus, Animadverſ. in Gellium*, pag. 163.
(*c*) *This was the Sumptuary Law of* Licinius.
(*d*) *This was the firſt that was acted in* Rome. *See* Cicero *in* Bruto.
(*e*) *Lib.* 17. *cap.* 21.

(*B*) *Three great Faults of* Moreri's *Supplement.*] I. To affirm, that this Town depends on the Archduke of *Auſtria*, is abuſing his Reader; for 'tis ſuppoſing, either that this Town is annexed to the Archduchy of *Auſtria*, or that it belongs to a Prince diſtinct from his Imperial Majeſty, and yet known by the Title of Archduke of *Auſtria*. Both of which are falſe. Nothing was eaſier than underſtanding this Phraſe of Mr. *Baudrand*, which has been miſconſtrued, *ſub dominio Auſtriacorum etiamnum*. Mr. *Baudrand* had wrote his Dictionary (*f*) before the Loſſes which the *Turks* had ſuffered in *Hungary*, and whilſt they were in Poſſeſſion of their laſt Conqueſts, and particularly of *Newhauſel*, of which he had been ſpeaking. For which Reaſon he thought himſelf obliged to obſerve, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* was ſtill in Poſſeſſion of *Leuwentz*; for having ſaid before, that this Town depended on the Government of *Neuhauſel*, he led his Readers to believe, that this Place had been alienated ever ſince the Ceſſion of *Neuhauſel* to the *Turks*, by the Treaty of 1664. The IId. Fault is moſt abſurd. Mr. *de Souches*, who beat the *Turks* at *Leuwentz* in 1664, was not *General of the* French, tho' he was a *Frenchman*. He ſhould here have diſtinguiſhed theſe two Things the more carefully, becauſe the *French* had extreamly magnify'd the part they had in the Defeat of the *Turks* at the Paſſage of *Raab* in 1664. Mr. *Baudrand* is ſecure from this Criticiſm, tho' his Phraſe *Grandi clade affecti fuere à Souchio Duce Gallo*, is a little too equivocal.

(*f*) *Printed at* Paris, 1682.

(*C*) *Of giving* (*g*) Lucius Caſſius *a Commiſſion to re-examine the Proceſs.*] *Aſconius Pedianus* gives us this Account of it: *Ob quam ſeveritatem quo tempore Sextus Peducæus Tribunus plebis criminatus eſt L. Metellum Pontif. Max. totumque collegium Pontificum male judicaſſe de inceſtu Virginum Veſtalium, quod unam modo Æmiliam damnaverat, abſolverat autem duas, Martiam & Liciniam, populus hunc Caſſium creavit qui de eiſdem virginibus quæreret, iſque & utraſque eas & præterea complures alias nimia etiam, ut exiſtimatio eſt, aſperitate uſus damnavit.* Inſtead of *alias*, I ſhould read *alios*, for the Number of the Veſtals was too ſmall, to ſay, after the Condemnation of two, that many others were condemned. We muſt ſay then, that *theſe many others* of *Aſconius*, were the Gallants, the Bawds, *&c.* of the Veſtals. *Dion* obſerves, that the Criminal Veſtals involv'd abundance of People in their Misfortune: Αι ἱερειαι τὸ μεγιστον αὐται τῶ τε ἀλλῳ τῆς πολεως ἀλλα, συχνοις δὲ καὶ ἰδιωταις μεγαλων κακων αἰτιαι ἐγενοντο, ὡς τε πολλοις ἀνδρασι διʼ αὐτὰς ἐπαρχθη-

(*g*) *See the Article* Caſſius.

Virgines Veſtales ipſæ quidem maximam mali ac dedecoris partem tulere; ſed tamen alios quoque plurimos

flexible Judge, as I have ſhewn in ſpeaking of him. *Licinia* was far from escaping out of his Clutches: For how could ſhe hope to eſcape the Sentence of Death when (D) *Martia* her Companion, who had toy'd with only one *Roman* Knight, could not eſcape? *Caſſius*'s ſevere Methods for the diſcovering and convicting the Accomplices, were ſo extraordinary, that they were thought to have exceeded the juſt Bounds [a].

[a] See in the Remark A, the Words of Alconius Pedianus.

LYCOPHRON, the Son of *Periander*, King of *Corinth*, had a very odd Deſtiny. He was Seventeen Years old when *Meliſſa* his Mother was kill'd by *Periander*, and had a Brother [b] a Year elder than he. *Procles* their Grandfather by the Mother's ſide, King of *Epidaurus*, invited 'em to his Court, and when he ſent 'em back to their Father, he told 'em they ought not to forget who it was that [illegible] their Mother. *Lycophron*, was ſo ſtruck at this Saying, that being returned to *Corinth*, he ſet on a ſtubborn Reſolution of Silence, and would neither ask his Father a Queſtion, nor anſwer him. *Periander* inraged at his Carriage, expell'd him his Houſe, and underſtanding from his eldeſt Son, what *Procles* had ſa[illegible] he forbad thoſe who had received *Lycophron* into their Houſes, to entertain [illegible]er. The young Man conſtrained to decamp, found a Reception elſewhere, for ſome Days; but as ſoon as his Quarters were known, Orders were ſent to his Landlord to turn him out of Doors; at laſt, a Decree was publiſhed, impoſing a Fine at Diſcretion, to *Apollo*, on any, who either lodged, or vouchſafed to ſpeak to him. This Order was obeyed, and *Lycophron* lay for Four Days and Four Nights in the Streets, without Eating or Drinking. *Periander* touched with Compaſſion, went then to ſpeak to him, and tenderly repreſented, how much better it were for him to ſucceed to his Riches and Crown, than make himſelf miſerable by a miſtaken Reſentm[illegible]ll the Anſwer he could get from him was, that he ought to pay the Fine, ſi[illegible]ad ſpoken himſelf to his Son. *Periander* finding the Diſeaſe incurable, ſent *Lycophron* away to *Corfou*, and there let him run, without ever once thinking of him, till he found old Age coming on, and rendring him incapable of diſcharging his Kingly Functions. The Incapacity of his other Son obliged him to ſend and offer *Lycophron* the Go[illegible]ment. He ſlighted the Propoſition, and would not vouchſafe, ſo much as to [illegible] to the Meſſenger. His Siſter was diſpatched to him, and vainly repreſented all [illegible] Sweets of Sovereign Authority. At laſt a Propoſal was made, that he ſhould co[illegible] and Reign at *Corinth*, and his Father would Reign at *Corfou*. He accepted the Condition; but the Inhabitants of *Corfou* ſlew him, to prevent a Change which was not to their Advantage. This, in my Opinion, is ſuch an Abridgment (X) as ought to be made of *Herodotus*'s Narration [c].

[b] Diogen. Laert. in vita Periandri calls him Cypſelus.

[c] Taken from Herodotus, lib. 3. cap. 50. & ſeq.

LYCOPHRON, a *Greek* Poet. You'll find in *Moreri*, what Countrey he was of, and when he lived. The Poem (Y) which we have of his, is a very obſcure Piece; but in my Opinion, he muſt have had not only a deal of Learning, but a great deal of Wit, to compoſe ſuch a Book. You'll find in Mr. *le Fevre* [d] Abundance of learned and ingenious Thoughts on the Obſcurities of it. I know not why he ſhould ſay, that *Suidas* has preſerved the Names of Twelve or Thirteen Tragedies written by *Lycophron*; for we find in *Suidas*, the Titles of Twenty. This Poet was killed

[d] Life of the Greek Poets, p. m. 135. & the following.

(a) Excerpta ex Dione. p. 620.

(b) Dio. ibid.

(c) See the Penſees diverſes ſur les Cometes, pag. 508.

(d) Cum pœne in pluribus virginibus & quæ inconſultius ſe viris miſcuiſſent, Veſta ſane neſciente, ſit inceſtum vindicatum: in reſiduis impunitatem fecerint, non caſtitas ruitor, ſed impudicitia felicior. *Minut. Felix*, p. m. 236.

(e) Diog. Laert. in vita Periandri.

in graviſſima mala conjecere, & univerſam civitatem ſuo ſcelere perturbavere (a).

(D) Martia *her Companion, who had toy'd with only one.*] If her Companions had been as moderate as ſhe, 'tis probable, they might have violated their Rule with Impunity. Poſſibly too, *Martia* would neither have loſt her Reputation nor her Life, if to redreſs the Lenity of the former Judges, the too rigid *Lucius Caſſius* had not been commiſſioned. (b) Μαρκια μεν γε τις και ετερα τοιαυτα γεγενηται, ουδεν αν διελαθεν ει μη τις ζηλωτης επι τον αλλον επι πλειστον ηρεθισεν ει μη επι τοσουτον . . . . δια ταυτα ει τις καλοιτο ο μονον τον ιλεχθεντα μονον αλλα ει τις, αλλον πασιν τοις αιτιωτατον μονον τω συμβεβηκοτι ενεγκοντα. *Marcia quidem ſeorſim cum uno equite Romano rem habuerat, ac fortaſſis latere potuiſſet, niſi latius porrecta quæſtio eam quoque involviſſet——Itaque odio admiſſi tanti ſceleris non modo de convictis, ſed de omnibus qui delati erant ſupplicium ſumptum.* 'Tis a remarkable thing, and which diſcovers much the Empire of Conſtitution, that the Veſtals fell into Incontinence, in ſpight of the dreadful Puniſhment and prodigious Infamy, they were expoſed to, (c) and in ſpight of the actual Puniſhment of their Companions. *Minutius Felix* has touched upon this (d).

(X) *This is the Abridgment I think ought to be made.*] *Diogenes Laertius* (e) has mangled this Narration. Mr. *Moreri*, not content to mutilate, and falſifie, has perplexed it with an obſcure Jargon. What he ſays of *Lycophron*'s being averſe and conſtantly refuſing to return to *Corinth*, is formally contradicted by *Herodotus*. Mr. *Hoffman* is in the ſame Error.

(Y) *The Poem which we have of his.*] Its intituled *Alexandra*, and contains [illegible] Train of Predictions. The Author ſuppo[illegible] *Caſſandra*, Daughter of *Priam*, is the Ora[illegible] which foretold all theſe Things; but however, 'tis not ſhe that ſpeaks, but a Man, who gives a faithful Account to *Priam*, of all *Caſſandra*'s Prophecies (f). *Dedion*, *Orus*, and *Theon* had written Notes upon this Poem, which are long ſince loſt (g). *Tzetzes*'s Commentary is ſtill in being: Amongſt the Modern Criticks, [illegible] *Canterus*, and *John Meurſius* have learnedly imp[illegible]ed themſelves on *Lycophron*'s *Alexandra*. *Meurſius*'s Edition is accompanied with a *Latin* Tranſlation, compoſed by *Joſeph Scaliger*, and ſuited to the Character of the Original, as being very difficult to underſtand, and thick ſet with barbarous Terms.

(f) See [illegible]ment.

(g) See Voſſius de Poet. Græcis, pag. 64.

The beſt Edition of this Poet, is that which was publiſhed at *Oxford* in 1697, in *Folio*. Mr. *Potter*, who procured it, has done all that was proper to recommend it. He has corrected the *Greek* Text; over againſt each Verſe of *Lycophron*, he has ſet down *William Canterus*'s *Latin* Tranſlation, which is in Proſe; Under it the Commentary of *Iſaac Tzetzes* with the Corrections and various Readings. He [illegible] *Scaliger*'s Verſion, which is in *Iambick* Ver[illegible]ſelf, and then the Notes of *Canterus*, the C[illegible]mentary of *Meurſius*, and his own, which are very learned. All this is ſupported with many exact and commodious Indexes. Mr. *de Boiſſieu* aſſures us (b) that his Father, who was well vers'd in ſeveral Languages, and [illegible] famous for Learning as Arms, had written a [illegible]entary on *Lycophron*; but he does not tell us, whether this Work was ever printed.

(b) Dionyſius Salvagnius Boeſſius not. ad Ovidium in Ibin. v. 389. pag. 77. Ed. 1633. in 4.

Ovid's

[redacted] killed by an Arrow; *Ovid* (Z) is the only Author who informs us of this particular.

LYCORIS. 'Tis the name *Virgil* gives a famous Curtezan, whom other Authors call *Cytheris*. He speaks of her in his 10*th*. Eclogue, and that to comfort (A) a Friend of his in Diſtraction on her preferring *Mark Anthony* before him. We have ſpoken amply elſewhere « of *Mark Anthony's* Fondneſs for *Cytheris*; but not given the Hiſtory of this Woman fully enough. Let us ſay then, that ſhe was a famous Comedian whom *Volumnius* (B) fell in Love with, and made Free. This was the reaſon of her taking the name *Volumnia*, in her Travels with *Mark Anthony* through the Towns of *Italy*. [redacted] *Anthony* cauſed great Honours to be paid her, carried her about in an open Litter, and made his Mother's Equipage follow, as 'twere to make up the Train of this

« *In the Article* Fulvia, *Remark* Q.

(a) [redacted] periiſſe Lycophrona, narrant, Hæret in fibris miſſa ſagitta tuis. *Ovid. in Ibin*, v. 533.

(b) *Not. in Ibin Ovidii apud Boiſſeu, p.* 107.

(c) *Comment. in Ibin. p.* 107.

(d) *Arnob. l.* 6. *p. m.* 193.

(e) *Theodoret. l.* 8. *de Grac. affect. curat.*

(f) *In Eclogam* 10. *Virgilii.*

(g) See *Scaliger in Euſebii Chron.* 1990. p. 167.

(h) Amorum ſuorum de Cytheride libros [redacted] *ibid.*

(i) *Ubi ſupra.*

(k) Velitabatur in eſſedo Trib. plebis: lictor [redacted] inter quos apertâ lectica MIMA [redacted] municipales homines honeſti obviam neceſſario prodeuntes, non vero illo & mimico nomine, ſed VOLUMNIAM confalutabant. *Cicer. Philipp.* 2. p. m. 736.

In the 11*th. Letter of the* 10*th. Book to* Atticus, *he calls* Cytheris [redacted] *whom* Mark Anthony *carried about with him*, Plutarch *in* Antonio, *calls her* Cytheris. (l) *Epiſt.* 26. *l.* 9. *ad famil.* (m) *The* 32*d. of Book* 7. ad famil. (n) *Abram in Cicer. Orat. Tom.* 2. *p.* 645.

(Z) Ovid *the only Author who informs us of this particular* (a).] [redacted] *Volumnius* (b) who pretends that [redacted] *Lycophron*, is miſtaken, as the Learned [redacted] *Boiſſeu* (c) obſerves. He ſhews that *Theodoret* does not ſpeak of *Lycophron's* Death, nor even of the place of his Sepulture. For inſtead of *Lycophrone* it ought to be read *Leucophryne*; as appears by this Paſſage of *Arnobius*: (d) *Leucophryna monumentum in fano apud Magneſiam Dianæ eſſe, Myndius profitetur ac memorat Zeno.* Theſe are Mr. *de Boiſſeu's* Words: *De obiitu Lycophronis ne verbum quidem apud illum* (Theodoretum) *reperitur: deinde Th[redacted]i locus* (e) ——*ubi ex Zenone, Lycophrone in Dianæ Magneſiæ templo conditum eſſe refert plane depravatus eſt, & pro* Lycophrone, *reponendum eſt* Leucophryne, *cujus monumentum erat apud Magnetes in Dianæ templo, ut ex eodem Zenone tradit Arnobius.* I wonder Mr. *le Fevre* has not mentioned this paſſage of *Ovid*.

(A) *Anthony to comfort a Friend of his.*] This Friend, I believe *Servius* (f) was the Orator *Caius Asinius Gallus*, the Son of *Asinius Pollio*. [redacted] as *Servius* adds, that this *Gallus* is the firſt, who was made Governour of *Ægypt*, the Learned ſuſpect his Commentary; for it's manifeſt he has confounded the Poet *Cornelius Gallus* with the Orator *Asinius Gallus* (g). The firſt who obtain'd of *Auguſtus* the Government of *Ægypt* immediately after the Conqueſt of this Kingdom, was the Poet *Cornelius Gallus*. 'Tis probably to him, that *Virgil* Addreſſes his Eclogue of Conſolation, on the barbarous Infidelities of the Curtezan *Cytheris*. The Perſon to whom the Poet Inſcribes it, Compoſed four Books of Poems upon his own Amours (h). There are ſome Fragments of 'em in being, if we believe the Criticks.

(B) *Whom* Volumnius *fell in Love with and made free.*] *Servius* declares that *Virgil's Lycoris* was the Curteſan *Cytheris*, whom *Volumnius* had made Free; *Hic autem Gallus amavit Cytheridem meretricem libertam Volumnii* (i). He does not ſay ſhe was a Comedian, but [redacted] we learn elſewhere. We know that the Curteſan *Cytheris*, *Mark Anthony's* Miſtreſs called her [redacted] *Volumnia* (k). For what reaſon, if not becauſe *Volumnius* had made her Free? Now *Mark Anthony's Catheris* was a Comedian; and therefore ſhe that *Servius* ſpeaks of, muſt have been ſo too. The only thing to be prov'd, is that *Volumnius* lov'd her. This proof I take from one of *Cicero's* Epiſtles, and 'tis this: (l) *accubueram [redacted] a noua —— apud Volumnium Eutrapelum, & quidem ſupra me Atticus, infra Verrius —— infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit. In eo igitur, in quis, convivio Cicero ille quem adſpectabant, cujus ob os Graji ora obvertebant ſua? non me Hercule ſuſpicatus ſum illam aſſore: ſed tamen ne Ariſtippus quidem ille Socraticus erubuit cum eſſet objectum habere eum Laïda: habeo, inquit, non habeor à Laide.* 'Tis plain that *Cytheris* is here a Courtezan, whom *Volumnius* entertain'd at Bed and Board. This Epiſtle of *Cicero* was written in the 730*th*. year of *Rome*. He wrote another (m) to *Volumnius* the ſame year, but without ſaying a word of the Curtezan. Father [redacted]ayan, who imagin's the contrary, had not [redacted] conſider'd it; ' *ad hunc amorem, l.* 7. ' *Epiſt.* 25. *alludit ſcribens ad eundem Volumnium*, Ut ' nihil ſit tam [redacted] quod non alicui venuſtum eſſe ' videatur (n). This intirely relates to an ill Reliſh for Jeſts. *Cicero's* meaning is, that there's no Jeſt ſo flat or inſipid but one or other is pleaſed with. For the reſt we don't learn which way *Cytheris* came to be turned over from *Volumnius* to *Mark Anthony*, whether by Grant or Purchaſe, or through the natural inconſtancy and ingratitude of the Miſtreſs. I ſhould rather believe the firſt, it being certain that *Volumnius* was one of *Mark Anthony's* good Friends.

This appears from the following Paſſage of *Cicero*: (o) *Scripſi ad Antonium de legatione, ne ſi ad Dolabellam ſolum ſcripſiſſem iracundus homo commoveretur: quod autem aditus ad eum difficilior eſſe dicitur, ſcripſi ad Eutrapelum, ut is ei meas litteras redderet, legatione mihi opus eſſe.* This he writ to *Atticus* a few Months after the Death of *Julius Cæſar*. 'Tis the ſame *Volumnius*, if I miſtake not, that *Cicero* means in the thirteenth Philippick, giving a Liſt of *Mark Anthony's* Gaming Club. (p) *Cornelius Nepos* tells us, that *Volumnius*, *Mark Anthony's* intimate Friend had a conſiderable Poſt in his Army. (q) *Familiarica ejus* (M. Antonii) *ex urbe profugientes quantum potuit texit* (Atticus) *quibus rebus indiguerunt adjuvit: P. vero Volumnio ea tribuit ut plura à parente proficiſci non potuerint* —— (r) *L. Julium Calidium* —— —— *propter magnas ejus Africanas poſſeſſiones in proſcriptorum numerum à P. Volumnio præfecto fabrum Antonii, abſentem relatum, expedivit.* Thus *Volumnius's* Houſe was a Sanctuary to *Pomponius Atticus* (ſ) during the Rage of the *Triumviral* Proſcriptions. It's impoſſible, I think, to determine, whether our *Volumnius* is the ſame who was killed in cold Blood by *Brutus's* Men (t). The grounds for doubting it are 1. that *Plutarch* calls him who was killed by *Brutus's* Party, a Comedian. (v) [redacted] *Erat quidam Volumnius mimus & Sacculio Sannio capti. Hos Brutus quum contemneret, adductos ad eum accuſaverunt amici ejus ne tunc quidem à dictoriis & contumeliis in ipſos faciendis temperare.* 2. That he tacks him to a Buffoon. And 3*ly*. obſerves that *Brutus* deſpis'd 'em both. This do's not agree with the *Volumnius* mentioned by *Cornelius Nepos*. But on the other Hand, the drolling humour perfectly ſuits him; that Itch of Witticiſm which *Plutarch's Volumnius* was ſo over-run with, that he could not forbear darting at thoſe who kept him in a Jail. One of *Cicero's* (w) Epiſtles, which I have before cited, ſhews, that *Volumnius Eutrapelus* (x) was a great Jeſter. *Cicero* feared no Man but him in this way, and recommends two things to him; one that he would not ſuffer the ſilly Quibbles, ridiculous Puns, and pitiful Rebus's, which ran about in his Name, and in his abſence from *Rome* to be aſcribed to him; the other, that he would aſſert the Rights of a genteel Converſation againſt the fatal Incroachments of an uncourtly Buffoonry. Is not this repreſenting *Volumnius* as a Top-Wit of the Town? (y) *Quibus in litteris omnia mihi perjucunda fuerunt, præter illud, quod parum diligenter poſſeſſio ſalinarum mearum à te procuratore defenditur. Ais enim, ut ego diſceſſerim, omnia omnium dicta, in his etiam Seſtiana, in me conferri. Quid? tu id pateris? nonne defendu? non reſiſtu? equidem ſperabam, ita notata me reliquiſſe genera dictorum meorum, ut cognoſci ſua ſponte poſſent.* After theſe Words *Cicero* gives him a juſt Standard of his own ſayings, and deſires *Volumnius* to vouch even upon Oath (z), that whatever won't bear ſuch a Teſt, never came from his Mint. *Urbanitatis poſſeſſionem, amabo, quibuſvis interdictis defendamus; in qua te unum metuo, contemno ceteros.* Here's another very great Elegy: (b) *Opus eſt hinc limatulo & polito tuo judicio, & illis interioribus litteris meis quibus ſæpe verecundiorem me in loquendo facis.* Can a Man of this Merit and [redacted] character be the

SOME particulars concerning *Volumnius*.

(o) *Epiſt.* 8. *l.* 15. *ad Attic.*

(p) Addite Antonii colluſores & ſodales Eutrapelum, Melam, Cœlium, &c. *Philipp.* 13. *circa init.*

(q) *In vita Attici, c.* 9.

(r) *Ibid. c.* 12.

(ſ) *Ibid. c.* 10.

(t) *Plutarch. in Bruto.*

(v) *Id. ib.*

(w) *The* 32*d of the* 7*th Book ad famil.*

(x) *He was probably called ſo because of his facetious Humour. See the Article* Erasmus.

(y) *Cicero ibid.*

(z) Ut ſacramento contendas mea non eſſe. *Ibid.*

(a) *Ibid.*

(b) Cicero ad Volumnium, Epiſt. 33. l. 7. ad famil.

this Curtezan *. 'Twas upon this occasion that Lyons (C) were yok'd in *Mark Anthony's* Chariot. Another Author says no more than that *Cytheris's* Train (D) was not inferiour to that of her Gallant's Mother. He'd have told us a piece of News, had he affirmed, that they who expected favours from *Mark Anthony* made their Court more Cringingly to his Mistress than his Mother. *Servius* would have done us a Pleasure, if he had mark'd the time with (E) somewhat more exactness when this Curtezan fol-

* See the Article Lulvia Remark F.

the Comedian mentioned by *Plutarch*? Is it not more probable that this Comedian was a Man made Free by *Volumnius*, and that like *Cytheris* he took the name of his Master, to whom he ow'd his Liberty? I determine nothing. I believe *Plutarch* might easily be mistaken, for the following Reasons. *Volumnius* according to all appearance gave a full swing to his rallying and jocose Humour, and had no more regard to *Decorum*, or his own Quality than an errand Comedian. This was almost unavoidable in a Man who like him had a talent at witty Turns, and an intimate acquaintance with *Mark Antony*, the most liberal Man in the World to those who knew how to divert him, and to the Comedians in particular with whom his House was always crowded. (a) *Agrum Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur ut militibus daretur, tamen infigi magnum Reip. vulnus putamus: hunc tu compransoribus tuis & collusoribus dividebas: mimos dico & mimas P. C. in agro Campano collocatos.* We have seen above that *Volumnius* was one of his Jesters, the Passage I have cited, gives the same Title to the Comedians of both Sexes. It happened then perhaps, that *Volumnius* mixing daily with this sort of Cattle at *Mark Anthony's*, and Drolling and Buffooning as much as they, came to be treated as a Comedian, so that *Plutarch* honestly mistook him for a Man of that Profession. A (b) learned Critick assures us that *Plutarch's Volumnius* is the same with *Cicero's*. I shan't venture to join with him and chuse rather to say *non liquet*: Tho' I own this Critick's Opinion seems much more probable, than that of any one who should affirm the contrary. I shall only observe concerning our *Volumnius*, that 'tis of him *Horace* is supposed when he says that *Eutrapelus* gave fine Cloaths to such as he designed a mischief to. This doubtless was founded on one of his common places, in which he explains by what degrees Vanity betrays Men into the vilest Practices.

(a) *Idem Philipp. 2. p. 761.*

(b) *Petrus Victorius, in the Cicero of Gravius, Epist. ad Familiar. tom. 1. p. 434.*

(c) *Horat. Epist. 18. l. 1.*

(d) *Plinius, l. 8. c. 16. p. m. 161.*

(e) *The 13th. of the 16th. Book.*

(f) *See Gravius's Cicero, Epist. ad Atticum, tom. 2. p. 181.*

(g) *Vehebatur in effedo Tribunus plebis: Lictores laureati antecedebant, inter quos apertâ lectica mima portabatur. . . . Sequebatur rheda cum lenonibus comites nequissimi.*

(h) *Abram in Cicer. Orat. tom. 2. p. 645.*

(i) *It relates to the time after the Battel of Pharsalia* Λιονίδι ἅμαξαν ἐνζευγνυμένη, *leonibus junctâ currus, in Antonio p. 920. E.*

(c) Eutrapelus, cuicunque nocere volebat,
Vestimenta dabat pretiosa: beatus enim jam
Cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia & spes:
Dormiet in lucem: scorto postponet honestum
Officium: nummos alienos poscet: ad imum
Thrax erit, aut olitoris aget mercede caballum.

(C) *That Lions were Yoked in* Mark Anthony's *Chariot.*] He was the first among the *Romans* who put 'em to this kind of Service. (d) *Fugo subdidit eos primusque Romæ ad currum junxit M. Antonius, & quidem civili bello cum dimicatum esset in Pharsalicis campis, non sine quodam ostento temporum generosos spiritus jugum subire illo prodigio significante: nam quod ita vectus est cum Mima Cytheride supra monstra etiam illarum calamitatum fuit.* According to these Words of *Pliny* this sight had never been seen in *Italy* till after the Battle of *Pharsalia*: And yet *Cicero* seems to say the contrary in one of his Epistles (e) to *Atticus* before this famous Battle, *Tu Antonii leones pertimescas cave! nihil est illo homine jucundius.* He means I think, that *Atticus* ought to be afraid, because *Cæsar's* Lieutenant had his Chariot drawn by Lions. He affirmed this more clearly, if *Victorius's* Conjecture be right. This learned Critick (f) will have it read *leonibus* instead of *linquibus* in the Passage of the 2. *Philippick* which I cite in the Margin (g). His reasons are specious, and I could easily believe him in the right with Father *Abram* (h). In this case (i) *Plutarch* and *Pliny* would not have been faithful Historians; for 'tis certain that the Words of the 2. *Philippick* relate to *Mark Anthony's* Cavalcades through the Towns of *Italy* in honour of the Comedian *Cytheris*, whilst *Cæsar* made War in *Spain*, upon *Pompey's* Lieutenants a year before the *Pharsalian* Battle. However it be, I venture to say, without any regard to *Cicero's* Words, that *Andrew Alciat* is Guilty of a gross fallhood, in supposing *Mark Anthony* did not Harness a Set of Lions till after he had put to Death the Father of Eloquence.

Romanum postquam eloquium, Cicerone perempto
Perdiderat patria pestis acerba sua,
Insc endit currus victor, junxitque leones,
Compulit & collum colla subire jugum;
Magnanimos ostans sui Antonius armis
Ambage hac cupiens significare duces (k).

This Falsity (l) is the more inexcusable, as the Author has founded on it an Elogy on *Cicero*, and some moral Reflections.

(D) *Cytheris's Train was not inferiour.*] *Plutarch's* making the two Equipages equal, extreamly weakens *Cicero's* Ideas, (m) *Rejecta mater amicam impuri filii tanquam parem sequebatur.* These are the Ideas *Cicero* gives us; and the following are *Plutarch's* (n): Ὅτι ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπουσία τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησε θεραπαινίδος ἀνθρώπου καὶ πόρνης ἀνεξέλεγκτον. *Hanc ubes peregrans circumducebat lectica; lecticam ejus non minor comitatus quam matris ipsius sequebatur.* Neither he nor *Cicero* speaks of *Mark Anthony's* Wife, which is a sign he was not then Married. See the Article *Fulvia*.

(E) *The time when this Curtezan followed* Mark Anthony.] We know she followed him beyond the *Alps*.

Galle (o) quid insanis? inquit: tua cura Lycoris
Perque nives alium, perque horrida castra secuta est.
. . . . . .
Nunc (p) insanus amor duri me Martis in armis
Tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostes.
Tu procul à patria (nec sit mihi credere) tantum,
Alpinas ah dura nives & frigora Rheni
Me sine sola vides: ah te ne frigora ladant:
Ah tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas.

But did she follow *Mark Anthony*, when he went to serve in (q) *Gaul* under *Julius Cæsar*, or when he retired thither after he was beaten at *Modena*? I should choose the latter Opinion, otherwise *Virgil* applied a Plaister to an old Wound; he comforted the Man ten years after *Lycoris* had Jilted him. *Virgil's* Bucolicks were written after the Death of *Julius Cæsar*; and consequently if *Lycoris* had forsaken *Gallus* to go into *Gaul* with *Mark Anthony*, whilst *Cæsar* was making War there, *Virgil* must have exercis'd his Muse on a superannuated Intrigue of Infidelity. But supposing the other part of the Alternative, *Gallus's* Wound must have been fresh, and *Virgil's* Verses rightly turn'd. According to this last Supposition, *Mark Anthony* appears not to have been a Man of his Word. He had promised *Fulvia* (r) in the year 709. to part for ever with his dear Comedian. He quitted her probably for a time, and in that Interval *Gallus* took Possession of *Cytheris*. If he had not time for the writing his four Books of Verses before the War of *Modena* had Debauch'd her away, he employ'd the following years; for it is not necessary to suppose, that these were not a great many sharp Reproaches of her Perfidiousness in such a Number of Verses. I have observ'd above that the Letter, in which *Cicero* excuses his being at an Entertainment with *Cytheris*, is supposed to have been written in the year 703. This is an Objection against those, who say, that *Cytheris* went into *Gaul* with *Mark Anthony*, before the Rupture between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. See the Marginal Note. I confess, I see nothing to induce me to believe, that the Date of this Letter is rightly fixed. However, the Opinion I follow, has been Established by *Servius* (s) himself, tho' with less Exactness than I could wish. Add these Words to those in the Margin

(k) *Alciat. Emblem. 29.*

(l) *It has been remarked by the Commentators on Emblems by Pere Abram ubi supra.*

(m) *Philipp. 2. p. 736.*

(n) *In Antonio, p. 920. A.*

(o) *Virgil. Eclog. 10. v. 22.*

(p) *Ibid. v. 44.*

(q) *He went thither twice. 1. after his return from Egypt where he had served in 698. under Gabinius: 2. after he had been made Quæstor. See Cicero Phil. 2. p. 734. was Quæstor in Gaul under Cæsar An. 703. as we are inform'd by Hirtius.*

(r) *See the Article Fulvia.*

(s) *On these words of Virgil,* Perque nives alium, perque horrida castra secuta est, *he says,* Horrida semper, nunc propter bella civilia, & subtiliter hic tangit Antonium, ut supra dictum est. *This shews that Lycoris went a Progress into Gaul with* Mark Anthony *during the Civil War which was kindled between* Octavius *and him under the Consulat of* Hirtius *and* Pansa.

gins

followed *Mark Anthony* to the Army. I don't think (F) ſhe followed him into *Aſia* after the Battle of *Philippi*. When *Ovid* obſerves [a] that the name of *Lycoris* was famous from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, I don't doubt, but he had in view *Gallus*'s Verſes on this Courtezan. *Cicero* mentions a piece of Raillery, in which *Fulvia* perhaps was leſs concerned (G) than *Lycoris*.

[a] Veſper & Eoæ novere Lycorida terræ. *Ovid. l. 3. de arte amandi.*

LYCURGUS the Legiſlator of *Lacedæmon* lived I know not when. The diverſity [β] of Opinions is too great and too perplex'd upon this Head, to fix any thing certain. He gave extraordinary Proofs of his Generoſity, by the care he took to ſecure the Crown to the Perſon who had the rightful Title to it, when he might have eaſily ſeized it himſelf, had he taken advantage of the Occaſions offered him [γ]. You'll find this in *Morery's* Dictionary, with many other Facts, which I avoid repeating. I ſhall inſiſt upon one thing, which this Author has not touched. *Lycurgus's* Regulations againſt Luxury, are moſt admirable. He wiſely judged, that the way to prevent the Degeneracy of the *Lacedæmonian* Courage, was to keep 'em from Pleaſure; and that to this end, he ought to baniſh from among 'em all thoughts of growing Rich, and deprive 'em of all opportunities of it. His method of training up their Children, was very proper

[β] See Scaliger Animadverſi in Euſebium, n. 1132. p. 63.

gin. (a) *Hic Gallus amavit Cytheridem meretricem libertam Volumnii, quæ, eo ſpreto, eumtem Antonium ad Gallias eſt ſecuta: propter quod dolorem Galli nunc videtur conſolari Virgilius. Nec nos debet movere, quod cum mutaverit partem quarti Georgicorum, eclogam ſic reliquit. Nam licet conſoletur in ea Gallum tamen altiùs intuenti vituperatio eſt. Nam & in Gallo impatientia turpis amoris oſtenditur & aperte hic Antonius carpitur inimicus Auguſti, quem contra Romanum morem Cytheris eſt in caſtra comitata.* We'll end with this Remark of the ſame Commentator: There were three famous Ladies of Pleaſure at the ſame time, *Cytheris*, *Origo*, and *Arbuſcula*. The two latter are found in *Horace's* Verſes (b) under the notion of Comedians; they therefore all three belonged to the Playhouſe.

(a) *Servius in Eclog. 10. init.*

(b) *Sat. 2. & ultima lib. 1.*

(F) *I don't think ſhe followed him into Aſia.*] And yet a Modern Wit is of this Opinion. (c) Mark Anthony *was bewitched to the Comedian* Cytheris ('tis the Anſwer he ſuppoſes *Fulvia* gave *Helena*, to the Queſtion, whether ſhe inſtigated *Mark Anthony* to make War with *Auguſtus*) *and to be reveng'd on him, I would fain have had* Auguſtus *fall in Love with me, but* Auguſtus *was nice in his Miſtreſſes. He neither thought me young nor handſome enough; and tho' I let him underſtand, that he was like to be involved in a Civil War for want of ſome regard for me, yet I never could drag him to one Act of Complaiſance. I'll repeat you too, if you pleaſe, ſome Verſes* (d) *he made upon that Evaſion, and which are not the moſt to my Honour. They are theſe.*

(c) *The new Dialogues of the Dead 2. part. p. m. 28.*

(d) *You'll find the Latin Lines in* Martial *l. 11. Epigr. 21.*

Parce qu' Antoine eſt charmé de Glaphire (e)
Fulvie à ſes beaux yeux me veut aſſujettir.
Antoine eſt infidele. Hé bien donc? eſt-ce à dire
Que des fautes d' Antoine on me fera patir?
Qui? moi? que je ſerve Fulvie?
Suffit-il qu'elle en ait envie?
A ce compte on verroit ſe retirer vers moi,
Mille épouſes mal ſatisfaites.
Aime moi, me dit-elle, ou combatons. Mais quoi?
Elle eſt bien laide! Allons ſonnez trompettes.

(e) *Thus ibis Auctor calls* Cytheris.

Take notice that theſe Verſes relate to the year after the Battle of *Philippi*, in which *Brutus* and *Caſſius* fell. *Auguſtus* was then in *Italy*, and *Mark Anthony* in *Aſia*. We have ſeen in the Article of *Glaphyra*, that ſhe was a Lady of the Town who had gained the Affections of *Mark Anthony*, and it does not appear that *Cytheris* was with him at that time. I believe then, the Name in *Auguſtus's* Epigram is not diſguiſed. It was not on account of *Cytheris*, but of *Glaphyra*, that *Fulvia* deſir'd *Auguſtus* to Revenge her. Beſides her Menaces were, not, that ſhe would in caſe of refuſal excite *Mark Anthony* to make War on *Auguſtus*, but that ſhe would take up Arms her ſelf; and we have ſeen in her Article, that ſhe actually did ſo, and that without the Concurrence of her Husband, ſhe put all *Italy* in Combuſtion; for which *Mark Anthony* chid her ſeverely the next time he ſaw her.

(G) Fulvia *perhaps was leſs concerned than* Lycoris.] *Mark Anthony* is upbraided in the 2. *Philippick* with a trick he ſerved his Wife. He rode into Town by Night, as a Courier diſpatch'd by *Mark Anthony*, and (f) gave *Fulvia* a Letter, in which her Husband ſaid the tendreſt things to her in the World. He had diſguis'd his Face, that he might not be known in preſenting *Fulvia* the Letter; but whilſt ſhe read it, he diſcover'd himſelf and threw himſelf on her Neck. He was ask'd, why he would take ſuch a method, which Alarm'd the whole City; he Anſwer'd, he was come about an Affair of his own. This gave occaſion to a Jeſt on him. Let us cite *Cicero's* Words. (g) *O hominem nequam!——Ergo ut te catamitum nec opinato cum oſtendiſſes, præter ſpem mulier adſpiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbaſti? Et domi quidem cauſſam amoris habuit, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plautus prædes ſuos venderet. Productus in concionem à Trib. Pleb. cum reſpondiſſes, te rei tuæ cauſſa veniſſe, populum etiam dicacem in te reddidiſti. Manutius* hath made a Note upon this, which is more inſeterminate than that of Mr. *de Valois* the younger. *Ex ambiguo ſenſu*, ſays Manutius, *illorum verborum*, rei tuæ cauſſa: *quod referri etiam ad concubitum poteſt.* But ſee the other Note: 'tis in the *Valeſiana* (k).

(f) *See the Article of Fulvia.*

(g) *Cicero Philipp. 2. p. m. 744.*

(i), *lectica, Ciniſtones, Paraſita,*
Ad talos ſtola demiſſa, & circumdata palla
Plurima, quæ invideant pure apparere tibi rem.

Id eſt cunnum. *Quod noto primus, ut apud Ciceronem Philippica 2.——O hominem nequam! [e]o ut te catamitum* (k) *&c. cum reſpondiſſes te rei tuæ cauſſa veniſſe populum in te dicacem etiam reddidiſti. Scil. populus luſit in nomine rei, & quod Antonius dixerat ſe rei ſuæ, id eſt rerum ſuarum cauſſa in urbem veniſſe, populus, ut eſt dicax, eum cunnum uxoris cauſſa veniſſe dixit, & dicacitatis materiam invenit in eo verbo.* You will find this in the 7th. page of the 11th. Book. *Plotavi alibi ex Ciceronis in Philippica 2. de Marco Antonio, qui rei ſuæ cauſſâ ſe veniſſe dicebat, populumque his verbis dicacem reddidit; & ex Horatio, plurima quæ impudenter pure apparere tibi rem, & ex aliis, rem aliquando* cunnum *ſignificare. Sic Martialis:*

(i) *Horat. Sat. 2. 1. ..*

Parce tuis igitur dare maſcula nomina rebus.

Id eſt, podici *tuo & cunno, ô uxor.* Mr. *de Valois* (l) indirectly cenſures *Scaliger*, *qui in Præfatione ex Arnobii neſcio quibus locis & ex verſione carminum Orphei ait* mentulam rem *vocari.* I don't think *Scaliger* is miſtaken: The Word *Res* had doubtleſs as extenſive a ſignification among the Latins, as the Word *Affaire* among the *French*: Now 'tis certain, that the Word *Affaire* ſometimes ſignifies the Natural Parts of either Sex. This is ſo true, that even they, who know but little of the *French* Tongue are acquainted with this Signification. I have heard ſome young *Dutch* Gentlemen make a great many Jeſts on the Sermon of a Monk who Preach'd at *Spa*. His Subject was the Importance of Salvation, he ſhew'd 'em that it was the *Affaire* of Man, the *Affaire* by way of Excellence; and reckoning up all the ways of Sin, he ſhew'd, that they ruin'd their *Affaire*. *Gentlemen and Ladies*, ſaid he, *take heed to your ſelves, if you do this or that you will ſpoil your* Affair. The too frequent Repetition led ſeveral of his Hearers into the groſs and burleſque Senſe of the word *Affaire*; ſo that it became the ſub-

(k) *Valeſiana p. 121.*

proper to make 'em good Soldiers; but he carried it too far, since he would have the young Girls (*A*) perform the same Exercises as the Boys, and dance naked before 'em, discountenancing or praising 'em, according as they acquitted themselves. Note, that the Boys danced Naked before them. Was not this the Way to make both Sexes impudent? And is it any wonder after this, that the *Lacedæmonian* Girls (*B*) had so scandalous a Character. I question whether he judged right in saying, that these Practises would

(*a*) *Chevræana*, 1. *part.* pag. 57. *édit. de Holl.*

subject of a Jest for a long time. We read in the *Chevræana*, (*a*) 'that a Gentleman coming to wait 'on a Prince to thank him for his Kindness in re- 'commending his Interests to a Lady of great Ver- 'tue, expressing himself, *That 'twas happy for him, 'that his Highness had got his Affair to pass through 'the Channel of Madam*—The whole Company burst out a laughing. I have another Remark to make on Mr. *de Valois*. In *Horace*'s Verses, quoted by him, the Word *Res* ought to signifie in general, *Merchandise*: The Poet does not confine himself to that part which Mr. *de Valois* names in *Latin*; but extends to all the rest, which the Clothes cover. The preceding and following Words manifest this Sense.

Altera nil obstat: Cois tibi pæne videre est
Ut nudam: ne crure malo, ne fit pede turpi:
Mettiri possis oculo latus: an tibi mavis
Insidias fieri pretiumque avellier, ante
Quam MERCEM *ostendi?*

I believe then, that they who gave *Mark Anthony*'s Words such a smutty Turn, had at least as much regard to *Scaliger*'s Sense, as to Mr. *Valois*'s; And as it is the Nature of Scandal to rub the sorest Part; I don't doubt but it was meant by *Mark Anthony* with respect to his Mistress the Comedian [redacted] *Cytheris*, rather than his Wife; for since he pro[redacted] ses in his Letter, to part with his Comedian, 'sign that the *Roman* People were still perswaded he saw her. Thus you have the whole Commentary belonging to this Note.

(*A*) *Perform the same Exercises——and dance naked.*] I shall cite (*b*) *Plutarch*'s Words. 'He (*c*) looked upon the Education of Children, as 'the greatest and most important Affair of a Legi- 'slator, and therefore made an early Provision for 'it, by regulating whatever concerned Marriages 'and Births; for we must not believe what *Aristotle* says, that having endeavoured to govern and 'reform the Women, he gave it over, finding it 'impossible to restrain their unbridled Licentious- 'ness, and the too great Ascendant they had got 'over their Husbands, who by reason of their 'frequent warlike Expeditions, were obliged to 'leave 'em to their own Conduct, and to prevent 'their abusing this Liberty, were forced to flatter 'em, and sooth 'em, by calling 'em their Ladies 'and Mistresses. On the contrary, he took all the 'care of 'em that was possible. In effect, whilst 'they were Maids, he harden'd their Bodies, by ex- 'ercising them at Running, Wrestling, Pitching 'the Coit, and darting the Javeling, that the 'Fruit, they should afterwards conceive, finding a 'strong and vigorous Body, might take stronger 'Root in it, and that they themselves, made Ro- 'bust by these Exercises, might with greater 'Strength and Courage, undergo the Pains of Child- 'birth. To retrench all kind of Delicacy, and 'Softness, he accustomed 'em to appear stark-naked 'in Publick, and dance in that Posture at solemn 'Feasts, singing witty Songs, in which they seaso- 'nably intermixt some Touches of Raillery on those 'who had done amiss, and Praise to such as had 'acquitted themselves worthily. By this means, 'they fired the Youth with the Love of Glory and 'Vertue, and kindled in 'em a noble Emulation. 'For he whose brave Actions were so much extoll'd, 'and who saw his Name celebrated by these young 'Lasses, returned proud of the Praises he had re- 'ceived, whilst their Scoffs and Railleries touch- 'ed the undeserving more sensibly, than the seve- 'rest Remonstrances and harshest Corrections; the 'more, as all this pass'd in the Presence of the whole 'Body of the People, Citizens, Senate, and even the 'Kings themselves.

(*b*) *In Lycurgo.*
(*c*) *C'est à dire Lycurgue.*

(*B*) *The* Lacedæmonian *Lasses had so scandalous a Character.*] They were called Bare Buttocks, and furious for a Male; Reproaches, which by *Plutarch*'s own Confession, were founded on the *too great Liberty Lycurgus allow'd 'em. I mention Plutarch*, because he has made an Apology for this great Legislator on this He[redacted] ἐν γύμνοις, says he (*d*) τῶν παρθένων οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν [redacted] μὲν καὶ σώσης, ἀφροσύνη δὲ ἀνούσης ἀλλ' οὐδεμίαν [redacted] ζῆλον τοῦ ἄρρενος ἐμποιοῦσαν, ἢ φρονήματος τὸ ὅλον [redacted] ἀγεννοῦς, ἂν μηδὲν ἐπὶν αὐτῇ ἀρετῆς ἢ φιλοτιμίας μέτεστιν ἔνεστι. That is, *And as to those Lasses who shewed themselves stark-naked, there was nothing [redacted] in it, Sparta being the Throne of [redacted] Dissoluteness not so much as known [redacted] only accustom 'em to a Simplicity of Manners, gave 'em a wonderful Emulation, who should have the strongest and robustest Constitution of Body, and at the same time raised their Courage, by letting 'em understand, that they ought to participate in Glory, with the Men, and aspire to the same Principles of Honour and Virtue.* *Plutarch* forgetting this Apology, Thirty Pages after, confesses, that *Numa Pompilius* acted much wiser, in restraining Maids [redacted] the Decency of their Sex, and that the Liber[redacted] *Lycurgus* allowed, exposed 'em to Poetical Satyr[redacted] (*e*) Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ περὶ τὰς παρθένους φυλακὴ κατέστησε τῷ Νόμῳ περὶ τὸ ὄλον ἢ κόσμον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Λυκούργῳ, παιδαγωγῷ ἀναπεπλάσθαι ἢ ὄλος οὗτος, πῶς; παῖδας λέγων παίζοντας. Φανερώτερόν τι γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀναπαδᾶσιν, ὡς Ἴβυκος· ἢ ἀνδρομανεῖς λοιδορῶν ὡς Εὐριπίδης. *Præterea curam puellarum restituit ad pudorem muliebrem & verecundiam Numa, arctius: Lycurgi soluta prorsus [redacted] fluxa in [redacted] incurrit poëtarum.* φαινομηρίδας [redacted] vocant *velut Ibycus*, quòd incessu coxas retegerent: [redacted] ἀνδρομανεῖς, quasi viroſas & in viros insano ardentes amore, ut *Euripides*. The two Verses of *Euripides*, cited by *Plutarch*, do not sufficiently prove my Assertion. I shall therefore set down that Passage of this Poet at length, by which we shall see, that the appearing naked, and exercising Promiscuously with the Boys, was reckoned the true Cause of the Immodesty of the *Lacedæmonian* Wenches.

(*f*) Οὐδ' ἂν, εἰ βάλλοι τις,
Σπάρτου γένοιτο Χαριτοστόμου κόμη,
Ἃ ξὺν νέοισιν ἐξεμυξώσας δόμους,
Γυμνῆσι μηροῖς, ἢ πέπλοις ἀνειμέναις,
Δρόμους παλαίστρας τ' οὐκ ἀνασχέτους ἐμοὶ,
Κοινὰς ἔχουσι κἀπὶ θαυμάζειν χρεών,
Εἰ μὴ γυναῖκας σώφρονας παιδεύσομεν.

Neque si velit aliq[redacted]
Puella Spartana, possit esse casta:
Quæ relinquentes domos, cum juvenibus
Nudis femoribus, & tunicis laxatis,
Cursus, & palæstras non tolerandas mihi,
Communes habent, deinde an mirari oportet,
Si non educatis mulieres castas.

The Readers won't be displeased to find here the T[redacted] slation of this place of *Plutarch*. 'The Carriage of 'Maids who were married according to the Ordi- 'nance of *Numa*, was stricter and more becoming 'the Honour of the Sex; that of *Lycurgus* 'being two free and licentious, occasioned Satyrs 'upon 'em, and scandalous Nick-Names. *Ibycus* 'calls them *Phenomeridas*, that is to say, Bare 'Buttocks, and *Andromanes*, that is to say, mad 'for Man, and *Euripides* says also of 'em,

Where wanton Girls with roaring Boys,
Fill all their Father's House with Noi[redacted]
Clothes loosely flowing with a Slit [redacted]
For what we hide, they would have

'(*g*) And indeed the Skirts of their Petticoats were 'not tack'd at bottom, so that as they walked, they 'shew[redacted] their naked Thighs, which *Sophocles* 'we[redacted]inly hints at in these Verse:

[redacted]m tuck'd up her Smock on high.
Not being asham'd to shew her brawny Thigh.

(*d*) *In Lycurgo*, pag. 48.
(*e*) *Plut. in parall. Lycurgi & Numa Pompilii*, pag. 76.
(*f*) *Euripides in Andromacha*, v. 595. p. m. 519.
(*g*) Τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τῶν παρθενικῶν χαλῶσι αἱ πλήκτρας τὰ ἱμάτια ἀνίεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνεπτύσσοντο ἢ ἦν τὰ γύμνα ὅλον ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν τὸν μηρὸν, ἢ σωφρονοῦντα τὰ γυναικεῖα εἶναι Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τῷ Κυβ[redacted] ἄζετ' ἀνὰ λαὸν χιτὼ Θυμάζειν ἀμφὶ μηρὸν, αἰσχύ[redacted] ἐν ἀνδράσι.

Sane virginum tunicæ imæ non habe[redacted] pim[redacted] confutas, sed expli cabantur & totum [redacted] riſſime hiſce ver ſibus o ſtendit Sophocle *Stoia car tunicam inducens Herwion Dilabida retegit fi mur ju venecula.* Unde pr caciores dicuntur fuiſſe, primum adverſus ſplos vir les virtu *Plutarch* ubi ſupr pag. 77.

Homerus

would excite the young Folks (C) to marry. The great Desire he had to have strong bodied Spartans, induced him to make some Regulations about Marriage, which deserve to be condemned. He would have the Husbands not approach their Wives (D) but by Stealth, and rise from Table with an Appetite. Let that pass. But as for old Men (E)

(a) *Plut. in Apoth. Lacon. p. 232.*

(b) *Epigr. 55. lib. 4.*

(c) Cum querelis uxorum post tam longam viduitatem revocarentur. *Justin. lib. 3. c. 4.*

(d) *Id. ib.*

(e) *Theodor. de Grac. affect. serm. 10. p. 630.*

(f) Ἡ γυμνὴ ἐν ταῖς παρθενικαῖς ὀρχήσεως ἐπὶ τὸ ἀφροδισιαστικὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐποίησε. Ἐπὶ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὰς παρθένους ἐγύμνωσεν, ἵνα τὰς ἀπὸ τέχνης, ἢ τὰς ἀπὸ ἕξεως, ἢ τὰς ἀπὸ φύσεως ἐν ἴσῳ τῶν νέων, ἀγωνιζομένας θεωρῶμεν. *Plutarch. in Lycurgo. pag. 48.*

(g) *To Venus with the lovely Buttocks.* Καλλιπύγῳ Ἀφροδίτῃ. Cæsar *has related this Passage, with several Variations, as will all shew perhaps in some Articles of other.*

'Sans rien cacher à l'entour de la cuisse,
'Qui fort [redacted] toute nue, se plisse.

'However, [redacted] they were daring, masculine, and 'stout, even [redacted] their Husbands themselves in the first 'Place. We need not wonder at *Euripides*'s saying, that 'twas impossible for the Women of *Lacedæmon* to be honest with such an Education. Maids thus dress't who went abroad with the young Fellows, had their Ears accustomed betimes to all kind of obscene Language. Such Conversation must needs have been a School of Impudence; I appeal to you, whether young Fellows, who left they should be thought stupid, imagine, they must do more than Custom permits, ever let their Hands or Tongues rest in the Company of such Maids. Besides that, they were allowed to shew their Nakedness, only in order to find a Man; for when once they were married, they covered their natural Parts. This we learn [redacted] *Plutarch.* (a) Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί τὰς παρθένους ἀναλύδους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐγκεκαλυμμένας ἀγωνίζει, Ὅτι (ἔφη) τὰς μὲν ἀνδρας, ἐσομένας τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας, ἐσομένας τὰς ἐχούσας. *Quærenti cur Spartani virgines detectas, mulieres velatas in publicum emitterent; Quia, inquit, virginibus quærendi sunt viri, mulieribus opera danda ut servent maritos.* I pass over this Touch of *Martial* (b) *aut libidinosa Ledæas Lacedæmonis palæstras.* [redacted] a Fact to alledge, more flagrant than th[redacted]y of the Poets. The *Lacedæmonians* be[redacted]oy'd for Ten Years in a Siege, [redacted] teazed by the Messages and Murmurs of their Wives, who could not bear so long a Widowhood (c) sent back to *Lacedæmon* some Companies of the lustiest young Soldiers, and gave 'em leave to lie indifferently, with as many of their Wives as they pleased. These Youths were very well received; an evident Sign, that the Women of *Lacedæmon* had no Vertue. The Children that sprung from these Embraces, founded a Colony at *Tarentum*. Not one of 'em knew who was his Father. *Itaque legunt juvenes ex eo genere militum, qui post jusjurandum in supplementum venerant, quibus Spartam remissis promiscuos omnium feminarum concubitus permisere; maturiorem futuram conceptionem rati, si eam singulæ per plures viros experirentur. Ex his nati, ob notam materni pudoris, Parthenia vocati. Qui cum ad annos suos pervenissent, metu inopiæ (nulli enim pater existebat [redacted] &c.* I don't take notice of the lascivious Im[redacted]se these Girls might have contracted, by seein[redacted] Boys naked, because I am so speak of it in the following Remark.

A Father of the Church, amongst other Enormities, reproaches the Oracle of *Apollo*, with its praising the *Lacedæmonian* Women; Women, *adds he*, who satisfied Nature with whatever Man they liked. [redacted] Οὗτος ἡ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίας ἐπαινεῖ γυναῖκας ἀδίκως τὰς ἡδονὰς μεγυμένας. *Hic idem & Lacænas mulieres laudat, licenter se cum quibuslibet viris commiscentes.*

(C) *Would excite the young Folks to marry.*] We learn from *Plutarch* (f) that *Lycurgus* prescribed this kind of Education, and ordered the Maids to appear Naked, that they might excite Love in the young Men. *It was moreover, says he, an attractive to Marriage; I speak of those Dances and Wrestlings in which the young Maids, thus naked, exercised themselves before the young Men, who were drawn, as Plato says, not by a Geometrical Necessity, but by one much more stronger, and which proceeds from the Force of Love. Lycurgus* considered perhaps, [redacted] the Number of Beautiful Women, being gene[redacted]y small, in Comparison of those who are [redacted]wise; and they who are not handsome, very often receiving from Nature a notable Recompence in the Parts conceal'd, it was thought necessary to give the Damosels an Opportunity of displaying all their Charms. Probably he believed they who could not kindle Love by a handsome Face, might happen to discover Charms [redacted]here to touch the Heart of some young Man [redacted] in *Athenæus*, the good Fortune of two Country-women, *who caused a Temple to be built* (h), On the other hand, the young Fellows, who were most accomplished, and against whom the Maids let fly their Scornful Railleries, might by this help of their Nakedness, prevail and subdue the Heart of a Lass, without the Assistance of any higher Star, by *Juvenal's* Favour (i). Thus they found out a Counterballance to Deformity, and ordered it so, that no one should escape the Darts of Love, or complain of being prejudiced in his Market, by not having the Liberty of exposing all their Ware. But was not this to introduce into common Life, where Modesty ought to reign, the pretended Advantage of Stews, so much celebrated by *Horace*?

(b) Fatum est & partibus illis Quas sinus abscondit, nam si tibi sidera cessent Nil faciet, &c. *Juven. Sat. 9. v. 32.*

(i) *Horat. Sat. 2. l. 1. v. 85.*

Regibus (i) hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur, apertos
Inspiciunt: ne, si facies (ut sæpè) decora
Molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,
Quod pulchra clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.
Hoc illi rectè, ne corporis optima Lynceis
Contemplêre oculis: Hypsæâ cæcior, illa,
Quæ mala sunt, spectes: ô crus, ô brachia, verùm
Depygis, nasuta, brevi latere, ac pede longo est.
Matrona præter facies nil cernere possis,
Cætera, ni Cacia est, demissâ veste tegentis.
Si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata (nam te
Hoc facit insanum) multa tibi tum officient res:
Custodes, lectica, Cinisiones, parasita,
Ad talos stola demissa, & circumdata palla,
Plurima, quæ invideant purè apparere tibi rem.
Altera nil obstat: Cois tibi penè videre est
Ut nudam: ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi:
[redacted]etiri possis oculo latus; an tibi mavis
[redacted]as fieri, pretiumque avellier antè,
[redacted]m mercem ostendit———?

Was it not begetting in these Girls the Impudence of the Eye, which is worse than that of the Ear? 'Twas a Means, say they, of blunting the Edge of a Curiosity, which is very keen. But this pretended Reason has not hindred civiliz'd Nations to instill into the Sex a Horror for Nudities even in a Picture; and here's a Legislator of *Lacedæmon*, who permits young Girls to view 'em in the Original. He should be sent to the School of the *Romans* (k). The Curiosity I speak of, has been delicately touched by Mr. *de la Bruyer*. (l) 'Every one knows 'that long Bank, which bounds and shuts in the 'Channel of the *Seine*, on that side where it enters *Paris* along with the *Maine*, which it has but 'newly received. Men bathe themselves here during the Dog-Days, People see 'em at a good Distance, throw themselves into the Water, and 'see 'em come out again; it's an Amusement; 'before this Season's come, the Women of the City 'never walk out that way; and when it is past, 'they quit that Walk. *Dionysius Halicarnassius* praises the *Romans* for having constantly made the Champions wear Girdles: Ancient *Greece* did the same: he proves it from some Passages of *Homer*, and says, that the *Lacedæmonians* were the first who abolished this modest Custom; and names the *Lacedæmonians*, who first appeared naked at the Olympick Games, in the Fifteenth Olympiad (m). 'Tis a Remark which leaves a blot upon that Nation. We must add, that the Wrestlers appearing naked, was doubtless the cause of making Laws, which condemned all the Women (n) who had the Curiosity or Confidence to be Spectators at the Olympick Games, to be thrown headlong from the top of a Rock.

(k) Nil dictu fœdum visuque hæc limina tangat, Intra quæ puer est. *Juvenal, Sat. 14. v. 44.*

(l) *La Bruyere, Caracteres ou mœurs de ce siecle, pag. 268. 269. de la 8. édition, à Paris, 1694.*

(m) *Dionys. Halic. lib. 7. cap. 66.*

(n) *Pausan. lib. 5. cap. 6.*

(D) *Not approach their Wives, but by Stealth.*] Thus *Plutarch* speaks. 'When they had a mind to 'marry, their Courtship was a sort of Rape upon 'the Persons whom they had a fancy for, and those 'they chose were neither too little nor too young, but in 'the Flower of their Age, and full ripe for a Husband: After this, she who managed the Wedding, 'came and shaved close the Hair of the Bride, 'dressed her up compleatly in Man's Clothes, laid 'her upon a Matress; this done, in comes the 'Bridegroom, in his every Day Clothes, sober and 'composed, as having supped at his Ordinary, and 'steals in as privately as he could into the Room 'where the Bride lay, unties her Virgin Zone, and 'takes her into his Embraces; and so having stay'd 'some

(E) who had young Wives, he suffered them to communicate 'em to handsome young Men; and showed the latter to get Children for a Neighbour, upon Stipulation with the Husbands. This was all wrong, 'twas authorizing Adultery, and even making the Husbands Pimp to their Wives. From the same Policy came the Barbarous Law against Infants, who at their Birth did not promise a Robust Body and clean Shape. *Lycurgus* (F) would have 'em made away. Was not this a barbarous Iniquity? The impious *Varius* [a] would not have consented to it. *Lycurgus*'s Laws are liable to Censure [b] in other Points. But one there is, in which he is more to be commended than

[a] See the Article Dejotarus.

[b] See the Remark of Mr. Dacier, in the Life of Lycurgus.

' some time together, he returns as secretly as he ' can to his Apartment with the rest of his Comrades, with whom he spends all the Day, and good ' part of the Night too, unless he steals a short ' Visit to his Bride, and that with a great ' deal of Circumspection and Fear of being discovered; nor was she wanting (as may be supposed) ' on her part, to use her Woman's Wit in watching ' the most favourable Opportunities for their meeting, and making Appointments when Company ' was most out of the way. In this manner they ' liv'd a long time, insomuch that they frequently ' had Children by their Wives, before ever they ' saw their Faces by Day-light. Their Interview ' being thus difficult and rare, serv'd not only for ' a continual Exercise of their Temperance, and furthered very much the Ends and Intention of Marriage; but besides, these short Abstences kept their ' Passion still alive, which *flags*, and *decays*, and ' *dies* at last by too easie Access and long continuance with the beloved Object; they always parted with Regret, contriving when they should ' come together again, and thought Minutes ' Hours till the next Meeting. Modern Authors have descanted upon this Order; and here's what *Lewis Guyon* says of it. (a) *Lycurgus the Legislator of Lacedemon, willing and desiring that the married Couple should receive a perfect and lasting Measure and Satisfaction in Marriage, and beget robust Children; forbad the Husband and Wife to lie together; but if they met by Day in some secret Place; then to embrace; for a short Pleasure, and a little in a Time, is best relished; by this Means the Married Pair were kept in Heart, and even rendred more brisk and gay; whereas their lying constantly together, makes the Wife slighted, and other Women desired, and which is commonly seen, makes the Woman desirous of another Man: so that intermitting their Matrimonial Conversation, served to reinvigorate their Love. And for this Cause, the Boys and Girls begot in these Marriages, were strong and lusty; whereas they (b), who abuse the Female Commerce, often beget maimed or weak Children. In the mean time, he ordered, that Children, who disobeyed their Fathers and Mothers, should be put into a Sack, and cast into the Sea (c).*

[a] Louis Guyon, diverses lessons, to. 3. p. 551.

[b] Compare what Joubert says above, at the Article Herilus, Remark H.

[c] I don't remember I have ever read this Law of Lycurgus.

(E) *As for old Men, who had young Wives, he suffered them to communicate 'em.*] *Plutarch* continues his Relation thus. (d) ' Having thus set ' Modesty as a Sentinel over the Marriage Bed, ' he next bethought himself of a Remedy for that ' Wild and Womanish Passion, *Jealousie*: And ' this he thought the best Expedient, to allow Men ' the Freedom of imparting the use of their Wives ' to those whom they should think fit, that so ' they might have Children by them; and this he ' would needs make a very commendable piece of ' Liberality, and laughed at those who think the ' Violation of their Bed such an insupportable Affront, that they revenge it by Murthers often, and ' sometimes by cruel Wars. *Lycurgus* thought a ' Man not to be blamed, who being advanc'd in Years, ' and having a young Wife, should recommend ' some virtuous handsome young Man, that she ' might have a Child by him, who might inherit ' the good Qualities of such a Father; and this ' Child the good Man loved as tenderly as if he was ' of his own begetting: On the other side, an honest Man who had a love for a married Woman upon the account of her Modesty, and the well-favouredness of her Children, might without ' Formality beg of her Husband a Night's Lodging, that he might have a Slip of so goodly a ' Tree, which he might transplant into his own ' Garden. And indeed, *Lycurgus* was of a Persuasion that Children were not so much the Property of their Parents, as of the whole Common-' wealth, and therefore he would not have 'em begot by the first Comers, but by the best Man that ' could be found: The Laws of other Nations ' seemed to him very defective and incongruous, ' who were very solicitous for the breed of their ' Dogs and Horses, and sent a great way, and were ' at no small Charges to get the best Sealions; and ' yet kept their Wives under Lock and Key for fear ' of other Men, whereas themselves were crazy, ' old, or infirm, and more fit to propagate *Diseases* ' than their *Species*; if they had made the least ' Reflection in the World, they would have taken ' notice, that the Honour and Dishonour of Children (who generally derive their good or ill Qualities from those that Beget 'em) doth chiefly redound to those who have the charge of their Education; and if they prove ill, they first feel the ' smart of it.

The banishing Jealousie from a Married State, is doubtless delivering it from a great Plague; yet *Lycurgus* was much to blame in healing it by a Remedy worse than the Disease. It is at bottom but a Physical Evil, which has its uses in the World (e); for it contributes more than is imagined, to the Preservation of Modesty, and the preventing infinite Scandals, whereas Bawdery and Adultery are Moral Evils. Now, according to good Morality, a Physical Evil ought never to be remedied by a Crime. Mr. *Dacier* justly blames *Lycurgus* (f) *for Sacrificing all sort of Honour and Decorum, to Chimerical Notions of the publick Utility, as if what was shameful could ever be useful.* It may even be said, that this great Legislator banished all sort of good Breeding, by permitting the Women to grow impudent; for 'tis certain, if the fair Sex preserved not the Modesty and Honour which is kept up in civiliz'd Nations, Mankind would universally sink into a filthy and brutal Lewdness.

(c) See the new Letters against Malebranche's Calvinism, pag. 557. and the following.

(f) Remarques sur la vie de Lycurgue, pag. 489.

For the rest, *Plutarch* pretends, that *Numa Pompilius*, in some measure imitated *Lycurgus*. *By the Community of Women and Children*, says he (g), *they both designed to banish from Marriage all kind of Jealousie, but they did not pursue the same Methods; for the* Roman *Husband who had Children enough, and desired no more, gave his Wife to him that had none, and who desired her of him, and he was at Liberty, either to leave her with this Second Husband, or resume. Whereas the* Lacedæmonians, *when any one desired his Wife to have Children by her, lent her without quitting her, and his Marriage still continued undissolved; and very often, as we have said, if he saw an handsome Man, from whom he might expect a good and generous Race, he intreated him to get him Children, and conducted him to his Wife.* Mr. Dacier's *Marginal Notes deserves to be related. This is true of Lycurgus, says he, but it no where appears, that Numa had the same Design; and 'twere easie to prove, that this Community of Women began not at Rome, under Numa, but much later, and that is was not general.* To be satisfied of this, we need no other Witness than *Plutarch* himself. See the Discourse he puts into *Hortensius*'s Mouth. I have mentioned it (h) elsewhere. *Bodin*, whom I have (i) confuted, is ignorant of what *Plutarch* imputes to *Numa*; if he had known it, his Criticisms would not have so much deserved to be criticised. It's hard for an Author, who has written so many Books as *Plutarch*, not to contradict himself frequently.

(g) In parall. Lycurgi & Numæ.

(h) In the Article Hortensius.

(i) Plut. in Lycurgo, p. 49. Mr. Dacier, in his Remarks on this Place, produces a Passage from the 8th. Book of Aristotle's Politicks, in which that detestable Law of Lycurgus is approved.

(F) *Lycurgus would have 'em made away.*] Nor was it in the Power of the Father to dispose of the Children he thought fit, but he was obliged to bring it before the (a) Tryers, (who were some of the greatest Men of the Tribe to which the Child belonged) their Business was carefully to view the Infants, and if they found it lusty and well-favoured, they gave order for its Education, and

than *Numa Pompilius*, 'tis, that of not permitting Maids to Marry (G) too young. *Ari-*

'and allotted it one of the nine thousand shares of 'Land abovementioned for its maintenance, but if 'they found it deform'd, and of an ill Complexion, 'they ordered it to be cast into a deep (a) Cavern in 'the Earth, near the Mountain *Taygetus*, as think-'ing it neither for the good of the Child it self, nor 'for the publick Interest, that it should be brought 'up, since Nature had denied it the means of happi-'ness in its own particular, by not giving it Health 'nor Strength sufficient to make it serviceable to 'the Publick: Upon the same account the Women 'did not bathe the new-born Children with Water, 'as is the custom in all other Countries, but with 'Wine, to *prove* the Temper and Complexion of their 'Bodies; for a Conceit they had, that weakly 'Children fall into Fits of the Convulsion, or immo-'diately faint upon their being thus bath'd; on the 'contrary, those who were of a strong and vigorous 'Habit, would acquire a greater degree of firmness 'by it, and get a temper in Proportion, like Steel in the 'quenching.

(G) *To Marry too young.*] Let's hear *Plutarch*. 'Now the Laws which *Lycurgus* ordained, either in 'relation to Virgins or married Women, were dif-'ferent: for he esteeming Procreation of Children to 'be the principal end of Marriage, would fix no set 'term of Age, when Men or Women should be 'esteemed capable of giving their consents to each 'other in Marriage; for he thought that Nature be-'ing the principal guide in that matter, should not 'be restrained with violence, which produces hatred 'and fear; but rather being gently indulged, when 'Youth, and Love, and Kindness move; the Coi-'tion might be more satisfactory, and consequently the 'Children become more robust, strong and healthful. 'But the *Romans* designing in the first place to 'deliver the Bodies of their Daughters pure and un-'defiled into the Embraces and Possession of the Hus-'band, made it lawful for Fathers to Marry their 'Daughters at twelve years of Age, or under: 'Which first way of *Lycurgus* seems more agreeable 'to the desires of Nature, which only respects the 'Procreation of Children; but the other is better 'adapted to make a conjugal Life comfortable, and 'calculated for the rules of moral Living.

The Distinction *Plutarch* here makes between the two Legislators does not seem just, nor obliging to the Sex. This Author discovers in *Lycurgus*'s Laws a Physical, and in those of *Numa* a Moral Good. Is not this insinuating (b) that after the Age of twelve a Man has reason to suspect in his Consort the want of purity both in Mind and in Body? Is not this a Satyr on the fair Sex? He should have given all the advantage to the Laws of *Lacedæmon*; for those of the *Romans* were on one Hand, very apt to spoil good Manners, and on the other, pre-judicial to the Strength of the Children, and the Lives of the Mothers. *Aristotle* gives, upon this Topick, some well argued Precepts. He would not (c) have Maids Marry till eighteen, nor Men till thirty seven. He observes that the Inhabitants of all the Towns where Marriages are contracted too early, are infirm and small of Stature, and that precocious Marriages make the Child-bed, the Death-bed of several Women. He mentions *a famous oracular Answer* (d) *given to the* Trezenians, *the meaning whereof was, that they Died because the, Eat their Fruits too Green, and which was interpreted, as if the Oracle had said, that they Died because they Married too young, and not because they gather'd their Fruits before they were Ripe.* *Aristotle* observes that Children who are not much younger than those who gave them Being, have but little respect for *them*, from whence arise innumerable Domestick Jars. This is one moral Inconvenience; he touches on another of the same Class, which concerns Chastity. "Ετι δὲ ἡ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια συμμιγὴς τοῖς ἐκ τούτων γιγνομένοις ἀσθενεστέροις, ἀκαταστατωτέρα γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ τὴν χρησάμενον τῇ συνουσίᾳ. *Præterea vero & ad temperantiam adjuvat elocare paulo ætate grandiores, videntur enim esse intemperantiores ac libidinosiores ea quæ valde puellæ rebus venereis usa sunt.* Let Physicians reason upon these Words: But without going so far, and departing out of the road of Conversation, every Body may affirm, that a Precocious Marriage does not suffer Modesty to take Root deep enough. The respect we have for the Sex, and the care we take, not to use too frank Discourses before 'em, is not half so reserved to those who either have, or have had an Husband. We look upon them as Initiated Persons, from whom the Mysteries are not to be conceal'd; so that the Maids who are Married very young have not time to use themselves to a grave *Exterior*, which has greater Influence than is imagin'd upon the *Interiour*. The *Romans* were so persuaded of the ill Effects of loose Discourses, that they would not suffer (e) the young Maids to be present at Feasts. They suppos'd their Ears were stopp'd, against Obscenity, till little Boys came and unstopp'd them on their Wedding Day. *Pueri obscœnis verbis novæ nuptæ aures returant* (f). *Horace's* Councel ought to be a Law every where as well as in *Lacedæmon*. 'Tis this.

Nondum (g) subacta ferre jugum valet
Cervice; nondum munia comparis
Æquare, nec tauri ruentis
In venerem tolerare pondus.
. . . . . .
. . . . . *Tolle cupidinem*
Immitis uvæ: jam tibi lividos
Distinguet autumnus racemos
Purpureo varius colore.

Reasons of State oblige Princes to dispense with this Law: Witness the conduct of *Charles V.* towards *Margaret* his natural Daughter. (h) *She was but ten years of Age when he promis'd her to* Alexander de Medicis, *in order to draw off Pope* Clement VII. *from the interest of* France; *and the Marriage was Consummated before she was twelve.* By the way I shall add, that this Emperour did violence to Nature in a quite contrary manner in *Margaret's* second Marriage. '(i) The young Widow was not Re-married for a 'long time, because *Charles*, who had gain'd his 'Point by her first Marriage, sought a new Ad-'vantage by her second. She desir'd to be given to '*Cosmo de Medicis Alexander's* Successor, who 'sought her the more importunately, because 'thereby he'd neither have Dowry to pay, nor Por-'tion to restore. The Match was agreeable: But '*Charles* pretended to purchase by his Daughter's 'second Marriage the Friendship of Pope *Paul III.* 'as he had by the first, that of *Clement VII.* And 'in effect, bestow'd her on *Octavian Farnese* who 'was but twelve years of Age, which gave occasion 'to a Poet (i) of *Anjou* to make one of the finest 'Epigrams which has been seen in this last Cen-'tury. There needs no great change in the Epi-gram of the *Menagiana*, to make us believe it the same that Mr. *Varillas* meant. '(k) I know not 'whose the following Epigram is; but it's very 'neat, and the Subject finely Treated.

'*Impubes nupsi valido, nunc firmior annis,*
'*Exsucco & molli sum fatiata viro.*
'*Ille fatigavit teneram, hic ætate valentem*
'*Intactam tota nocte jacere finit.*
'*Dum licuit, nolui; nunc dum volo non licet uti.*
'*O Hymen! aut annos, aut mihi redde virum.*

Mr. *Menage* might have read in St. *Marthe*, (l) that *James Bouju* President in the Parliament of *Bretagne*, and Native of *Chateauneuf* in *Anjou* is Author of this Epigram; but he ought to have Corrected the *Satiata* in the second Verse, and put it *fociata*, and have read in the fifth verse, *dum nollem, licuit*. Mr. *Varillas* is mistaken in saying *du Bois* was the Author. This is not the only Supplement I have to give to the Note G of this Article in the second Edition. Here's another somewhat larger, and which refers to the Observation I have made upon the ill effects of free Discourse.

Muretus observes that the Ancient *Greeks* very prudently forbad Women to be present at Feasts, for the Men being us'd to talk too freely there, 'twas hard for 'em to forbear now and then a smutty Jest. They must therefore have offended the chast Ears of the Sex, or by being more reserv'd, have lost a great part of the Mirth that belongs to such Entertainments. For these reasons they introduc'd this Custom. If any Woman appear'd at a publick Feast she was reckon'd thorough-pac'd, and declar'd thereby, that she was not only content to hear whatever was said,

(a) *That is* Lycurgus *and* Numa.

(b) Τὸ μὲν Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτιθέναι τῷ ὄγκῳ τὰς παιδοποιίας τῷ ἀκμαιοτάτῳ, ὀρθῶς ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐμφύτοις ἐοικὸς τῆς φύσεως, κ.τ.λ. Lycurgus maturas & viri appetentes elocat, quo consociatio impellente jam natura, benevolentiæ & amoris potius quàm odii & timoris contra naturam coactarum esset ingressio, corporaque firmiora essent ad uterum ferendum atque enitendum, velut ad nihil aliud nuberent, quàm pariendum. *Plutarch. in Numa, p.* 77. C.

(c) Οὔτε γὰρ δὴ μείζους ἢ τὰ εἴδη, ἢ τὸ ἦθος ἀνδρώδης ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ γαμετῇ γενήσεται. Ita potissimum corpus & mores puros illibatosque in manum viri censentes perventuros. *Plut. ib.*

(d) *Aristotel. l.* 7. *de Republica, c.* 16.

(e) Virgo de convivio abdicatur ideo quod majores nostri virginis acerbæ aures venereis vocabulis imbui noluerunt. *Varro in Agathone, apud Nonium Marcellum voce* acerbum, *p. m.* 247.

(f) *Varro ibid. apud eumdem, voce* returare, *p.* 107.

(g) *Horat. Od.* 5. 2.

(h) *Varillas, Hist. de François I. liv. p. m.* 387.

(i) *Id. ib.*

(k) *Suite du Menagiana, p.* 197. *Edit. de Holl.*

(l) *Sammarth. Elog. l.* 3. *p.* 10. *Edit.* 1696. he calls him *Bugius.*

Ariſtotle deſcants largely on this Head, and 'tis eaſy to judge that his Remarks are judicious, and are not very different from the Motives which induc'd the *Greeks* not to let their Women be preſent at Aſſemblies, where the Converſation was too free. I have ſomething to obſerve againſt the Author of (H) Old and New *Lacedæmon*. He is too much a Gentleman to be diſturb'd at it.

LYCURGUS, an *Athenian* Orator, Son of *Lycophron*, and Grandſon to another *Lycurgus*, whom the thirty Tyrants put to Death, flouriſhed at the ſame time with *Demoſthenes*. He firſt Studied Philoſophy under *Plato*, [illegible] betook himſelf

(a) *Muretus variar. lect. l. 7. c. 2. p. m. 990.*

(b) *Terent. Eunuch. Act. 4. Sc. 1.*

(c) *Cicero in Verrem l. 1. p. 473. tom. 1. Edit. Grav.*

(d) *Call'd Rhetor.*

(e) *Juſtin. l. 7. c. 3. p. m. 172. 173.*

(f) *Seneca Epiſt. 95. p. m. 394.*

(g) *Mr. Bernier a Native of Blois.*

(h) *It's Intitled* Reflexions penſées & bons mots anecdotes par le Sieur Pepincourt. *conſult it at p. 83.*

ſaid, but alſo to ſuffer what they pleaſed. (a) *Neque ulla in virorum ſympoſiis accumbebat mulier, niſi quæ quidvis non audire modo, verum etiam perpeti poſſet.* *Muretus* cites two or three Paſſages. He alledges the anſwer *Thais* makes in *Terence* to the Spark (b) who deſired that young *Pamphila* might be at the Feaſt. He alledges what *Cicero* relates of *Rubrius*'s Impudence whom *Verres* had lodg'd at *Philodamus*'s a Burgher of *Lampſacus*, for a Lewd deſign. The Burgher one of the chief Men of the place, would never ſuffer his Daughter to come into the Feaſt-Room, as *Rubrius* deſir'd. (c) *Poſteaquam ſatis calere res Rubrio viſa eſt: Quæſo, inquit, Philodame, cur ad nos filiam tuam non intro vocari jubes? homo, qui & ſumma gravitate, & jam id ætatis, & parens eſſet, obſtupuit hominis improbi dicto, inſtare Rubrius, tum ille, ut aliquid reſponderet, negavit moris eſſe Græcorum, ut in convivio virorum accumberent muliares.* You ſee *Philodamus* alledges for his Reaſon, its being contrary to the *Grecian* Cuſtom. Some learned Men believe that this was an invented Excuſe. But *Muretus* oppoſes the Teſtimony of a great (d) Orator, and he might have confirm'd it by the Words of *Cornelius Nepos*, which are to be found above, and by thoſe in the [illegible] Chapter of the ſixth Book of *Vitruvius*. He might have urged, that even at the Court of *Macedon*, the Princeſſes were not admitted to the Feaſts given to Strangers, and that the Complaiſance ſhewn to the King of *Perſia*'s Embaſſadors had Conſequences which prov'd that the refuſal of their requeſt had been more prudent; for when at their intreaty the Ladies were introduc'd, they took ſuch Liberties, as it was neceſſary to put a ſtop to with the Sword's Point. (e) *Legati benigne excepti, inter epulas ebrietate creſcente, regani Amyntam, ut apparatui epularum adjiciat jus familiaritatis, adhibitis in convivium ſuis ac filii uxoribus, id apud Perſas haberi pignus ac fœdus hoſpitii. Qua ut venerunt, petulantius Perſis eas contrectantibus, filius Amyntæ Alexander rogat patrem, reſpectu ætatis ac gravitatis ſua abiret convivio, pollicitus ſe hoſpitum temperaturum jocos, &c.* Laſtly, *Muretus* obſerves that the *Romans* contented themſelves with forbidding Maids the liberty of going to Feaſts. I have in another place related with what ſeverity they Prohibited Women the uſe of Wine; but in *Seneca*'s time that cuſtom was out of Date: Their manners were ſo Corrupted, that they got Drunk as publickly as the Men. *Non mutata fœminarum natura*, ſays he, (f) *ſed vita eſt, Non cum virorum licentiam æquaverint, corporum quoque virilium vitia æquaverunt. Non minus pervigilant, non minus potant, & olea & mero viros provocant: aquæ invitis ingeſta viſceribus per os reddunt, & vinum omne vomitu remetiuntur: aquâ vinum rodunt, ſolatium ſtomachi æſtuantis.* The change is as great in *France* if we may believe Travellers. They had no Laws prohibiting Women the uſe of Wine, and yet in the Days of our Fathers they drank hardly any thing but Water, but we are told that for ſome time paſt, they have carrous'd in the beſt Wines and ſtrongeſt Liquors, and 'tis to be fear'd they'll fall by degrees, or even all at once into the exceſſes of the *Païs conquis*. Read theſe Words. 'Who would have thought that the Women——would have added Tobacco, and 'Brandy to ſo many other Vices as they have glo-'ried in for above thirty years paſt? They carry 'as yet but Ruſkets of Brandy at their ſide; who 'knows but that in time they'll carry Barrels? This is what a *Paris* (g) Phyſician has Publiſh'd in Book (h) Printed in 1696. If *Ovid*, the eaſieſt of Caſuiſts, be the Director, theſe Tiplers have made choice of, they ought, at leaſt, to keep within the bounds he has preſcrib'd; he would indeed have Women Drink, but not to excels. He diſcourages them by the threats of a Puniſhment which muſt be worſe than a bare diſgrace, otherwiſe the Perſons he ſpeaks to, would not have regarded the evil denounced as very [illegible]ible.

Aptius (i) [illegible]is potare puellas,
Cum Venus e [illegible] puero [illegible]ale, Bacche, fuit.
Hoc quoque, quæ patiens caput eſt: animuſque pedeſque,
Conſtent: nec, quæ ſint ſingula, bina vide.
Turpe jacens mulier multo madefacta Lyæo:
Digna eſt concubitus quoſlibet illa pati.
Nec ſomnis poſitâ tutum ſuccumbere menſâ:
Per ſomnos fieri multa pudenda ſolent.

(i) *Ovid. de arte amator. l. 3. ſub. fin. p. m. 218. 211.*

I have loſt ſight of my S[illegible]t I ſhall come up with it again by the [illegible] Citation, proving what I have ſaid con[illegible] the Diminution of reſpect to Married Women. The Chevalier *d' Her*——writing to one of his Kinſwomen, who made a ſcruple of marrying Clandeſtinely, dilates upon the Advantages ſhe may find in the condition of a Wife, whilſt ſhe paſſes for a Maid. *You'll be,* (k) *Madam* de la F——ſays he, [illegible] *you'll be* [illegible] Mademoiſelle d' Her——*ſtill be* [illegible] *of the charming Tribe of young Ladies, who'll ſeem to be all like you, and perhaps really are. You may pretend not to underſtand ſome things which indiſcreet People may ſay, and you'll be allow'd to bluſh at 'em, whereas if your Marriage be once declar'd, you muſt aſſume an Air ſomewhat leſs Innocent, and more Paſſive; in fine you'll have a right to all over all the little Primmings of a meer Maid; and can any thing be prettier: for naturally Modeſty loves theſe little Affectations; and why not? Since 'tis believed ſhe commonly owes her All to 'em. You may Practice 'em upon Monſieur* de la F——*himſelf, you'll be a Demi-virgin even to him; and as long as you don't bear his Name, you'll have a right to be ſomewhat more coy, and more reſerved in your Carriage to him.* Note, that he Rallies her thus, becauſe ſhe would have (l) *the Banns thrice openly and audibly Publiſhed, the contract made in Form, and a Wedding afterwards, where all the Relations might come* (m) *and talk over their Fooler[illegible]*

(k) *Lettres [illegible] 2. part. lettr. 42. p. 215. Edit. de Holl.*

(l) *Id. [illegible] p. 21[illegible]*

(m) *Cæ[illegible] qua ſupra p. 1415. lettre e.*

(H) *Againſt the Auth[illegible] and New* Lacedæmon.] I have only three things to object to him.

In the firſt place I could wiſh he had not attempted to Apologize for the Nakedneſs of the *Lacedæmonian* Maids. Mr. *Dacier* had a much better Taſte: He has openly declared for the ſide of decency; he ſaw, that *Lycurgus* had ſacrificed the inſtincts of Civil Life, and the impreſſions of Modeſty to a falſe notion of Politicks.

In the ſecond Place, I don't think the Apology founded on tolerable Reaſons. This I am now to examine, Mr. *Guillet*'s Words are theſe. (n) *The* Spartan *Maids Danc'd ſtark-naked in Publick; and few People are perſwaded, that this was a modeſt ſight. Yet I can't but think, that the* Lacedæmonians *had their Reaſons for it, and that the thing being very common made no dangerous or ſinful impreſſions on their Minds. There grows a Familiarity betwixt the Eye and the Object, which diſpoſes to inſenſibility, and expells the foul deſires of Imagination. [illegible]motion proceeds only from the Novelty of the [illegible]d perpetual Cuſtom cloys the Eye more than Attempts; and if you conſider the Integrity of th[illegible]tions Morals, you'll acknowledge the truth of this Sentence. The Maids of Sparta were not Naked, the publick Virtue was a covering to 'em. I don't ſay, that generally ſpeaking, their excuſe would be any excuſe [illegible] But there are ſeveral Countries in South [illegible] this time, where the Women always appear in the dreſs of theſe Spartan Dancers, and yet our Travellers affirm, that they are abſolutely exempt from Crime. But tho' I ſhould be ten whole years in*

(n) *Lacedæmone ancienne & nouvelle, p. 167. Edit. de Holl.*

himself to Oratory under *Isocrates*, and advanced to publick Employs. He was a very severe

pleading the Cause of the Maids of Sparta; I foresee I should never give you a good Opinion of their Modesty. You'll rather believe the biting Satyre of the Athenians, and even of Aristotle himself, who as much a Macedonian as he was, had lived too long at Athens, to be not tainted with that general Hate, which reigned there against the Spartans. Observe what he has said of the Lacedæmonians in the 2d. Book of his Politicks. When Lycurgus *undertook to introduce Constancy and Patience into Sparta, 'tis evident, that as to the Men he did succeed; but he was more remiss as to the Women, who lived there in an unrestrain'd Softness. He adds, that* Lycurgus *vainly endeavoured to reform 'em; in which he is contradicted by* Plutarch. What we are told of this Familiarity between the Eye and the Object, which disposes to Insensibility, is good and solid, generally speaking, and is one of *Balzac's* Reflections against the famous Sonnet of *Job*. The Author (*a*) of the Sonnet was charged with contradicting himself (*b*); and thus they endeavoured to convict him; (*c*) He is afraid his Lady won't be moved by a Object worthy of Compassion; and immediately after desires she would accustom her self to his Object. Consequently he desires what he fears. The Custom of seeing tending to Cure his Lady of all Emotion, it's plain, he desires what he has declared he should be sorry were the Case. Let him, if he pleases, reconcile this, and remember this old Maxim, with which the Universities ring: *ab assuetis non fit passio*. The Soul receiving the Emotion only by the Intervention of the Eyes, when once these are accustom'd, all Surprize ceases. When the Eyes have once contracted an Acquaintance and Familiarity with the strangest Objects, these, how terrible soever at first, grow tractable by Degrees, and entring the Soul as Friends, raise no longer any Disturbance, nor cause the least Motion. The Custom of seeing Monsters makes 'em cease to be such in the Eyes which are used to 'em. Even the Sight of Spectres and Furies armed with their Torches and Serpents would lose its Force and Horrour, in our Imaginations, by a long Acquaintance with 'em. By a stronger Reason, &c. But as solid as this Doctrine may be, I question whether it can be applied in our Case, since the Maids of *Lacedæmon* appeared naked only on certain solemn Days, and at other Times, wore a Habit, which only shewed their Thighs. This was a sure way of irritating Concupiscence, and not disposing to Insensibility, by a perpetual Custom. Besides, there's a great Difference betwixt Europeans, and those Savage Nations. These have ever gone naked, but *Lycurgus* introduced the Custom into a Town, where it had not been known before, and whilst all the Neighbouring Nations observed the Rules of Decency. He can't therefore be excused. Lastly, the virtue of *Americans*, if what Travellers say be true, is a Justification of this Legislator; for the Event has shewn, that *Lacedæmon* was not a Place where such Novelties could innocently be introduced. In vain *Aristotle's* Testimony is attempted to be invalidated. Nothing is more grave and rational, than the Book in which this Philosopher speaks so ill (*d*) of the *Lacedæmonian* Women. The Spirit of Partiality does not appear in this Work; so that instead of saying, that the Slanders of Poets made an Impression on this Philosopher, we must on the contrary say, that his Authority justifies their Reproaches. Besides, it is not true, that *Plutarch* hath contradicted *Aristotle* in the matter in Question. 'Tis plain, if we consider it, that this Philosopher spoke only of a Custom, to let the *Lacedæmonian* Wives, of governing their Husbands. *Lycurgus* would reform this Abuse, and retrench their Empire; but seeing no Likelihood of Success, he desisted from his (*e*) Enterprize, without omitting, however, the making many Orders relating to the Sex, which qualified 'em for producing strong Children. 'Tis in behalf of these Orders, that *Plutarch* has contradicted *Aristotle*; but he falls into the Fallacy which the Logicians call *ignoratio elenchi*; he knew not the Point in Question. *Lycurgus*, says he (*f*), at first regulated *all that related to Marriages and Baths*; *for we must not believe, what* Aristotle *says, that having attempted to regulate and reform the Women, he gave it over, not being able to put a stop to their unbridled Licentiousness, and the too great Authority they had taken over their Husbands.* 'Tis plain, that *Plutarch* reasons ill; a Legislator, who gives over the Attempt of bringing the Wives in Subjection to their Husbands, does not thereby intermit all Care relating to the Education of Maids, to their Marriages, &c. and yet *Plutarch* here, to shew that *Aristotle* had no reason to say, that *Lycurgus* renounced the Design of restraining the Power of the Women, alledges the Regulations of *Lycurgus*, which tended only to the provoking to Marriage, and begetting lusty Children. Thousands of such Fallacies might be found in *Plutarch*, if we took the Pains to trace 'em. He relates in the following Page, an Answer, which manifestly supposes this Truth of Fact, that the *Lacedæmonian* Husbands were master'd by their Wives. A sign that *Lycurgus* did not reform this Abuse: Note, that *Aristotle* acknowledges in the same Place, that *Lycurgus* made Laws relating to the multiplying of Children (*g*).

My IIId. Remark concerns these Words of Mr. *Guillet*. *I venture not*, says he (*h*), *to describe the Habits of the Maids of ancient* Lacedæmon. Sophocles *will acquaint you with it, if you observe how he has described that of* Hermione, *in a Fragment cited by* Plutarch; *it was so short, that the Poet* Ibycus *laughing at them, called them* Phœnomeridæ. 'Tis certain, 1. That we don't find in this Fragment of *Sophocles*, the Description of an Habit; for this Poet only says, that *Hermione's Tunick* was slit from her Hips downwards, and shewed her Thighs. 2. *Ibycus's* calling the *Lacedæmonian* Maids *Phœnomerides*, was not from their wearing a very short Habit, but from their Habits being slit of each side, and shewing their Thighs. *Plutarch* most clearly gives us this Reason of *Ibycus's* Raillery. I wonder *Cragius* could commit the following Fault. *Ea* (mulieres) *instituto veteri vestes supra genua decurtatas ferebant. Unde* [illegible] *dictæ sunt ab Ibyco Poëta, ut refutatur Plutarchus, tanquam quæ femora nuda ostenderint* (*b*). Can a Habit, which reaches only to the Knees, leave the Thighs naked? Don't the Breeches, which Men have worn for so many Ages, prove the contrary in all the Variations the Fashion passes through? 3. It is not true, generally speaking, that the *Lacedæmonian* Habit was short. The Authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus* is ill alledged. *Cragius* has not taken it by a right Handle, [illegible] says this Father (*i*) [illegible] That is, *'Tis not handsome to wear such Garments as reach only to the Knees, as is said of those of the* Lacedæmonian *Maids; for Decency suffers not a Woman to shew any part of her Body naked.* First, we see *Clemens Alexandrinus* does not pretend, that the *Lacedæmonian* Habit exposed the Thighs, he only blames 'em for shewing their Feet and Legs. *Cragius* ought to have stopt there. I add, that all the necessary Truth may be preserved to this Passage, without supposing, that *Clemens Alexandrinus* pretended, the *Lacedæmonian* Maids went always thus habited; it suffices that they were in this Dress, when they went a Hunting, or to Wrestle, or performed any other Exercise. Now this does not prove, that their Habit was over-short; but only that they tucked 'em up above the Knee, that they might not be hampered in 'em. This must necessarily be supposed, unless we accuse *Virgil* of gross Ignorance; for he has given the Maids of *Lacedæmon* a long and flowing Habit, but tied up above the Knee, when they hunted:

Cui (*k*) *mater media sese tulit obvia silva*
Virginis os habitumque gerens, & virginis arma
SPARTANÆ . . . . .
. . . . .
Mangus humeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum
Venatrix, dederatque comam diffundere ventis
NUDA GENU, NODOQUE SINUS COLLECTA FLUENTES.

(*f*) *Plutarch. in Lycurgo, pag.* 47. (*g*) [illegible] Nam cum vellet latior legis quam plurimos esse Spartiatas, invitavit atque allexit civeis ad quam plurimos liberos procreandos. *Aristot. ubi supra, pag.* 247. *G.*

(*g*) *Ubi supra, p.* 172.

(*b*) *Cragius, de Republ. Lacedæm. lib.* 3. *c.* 9. *p.* m. 153.

(*i*) *Clem. Alexandr. in Pædagogo, lib.* 2. *cap.* 10. *pag.* 204.

(*k*) *Virgil. Æneid. lib.* 1. *v.* 314.

The

(*a*) [illegible]

(*b*) [illegible]

(*c*) [illegible]

(*d*) [illegible]

(*e*) [illegible] *Id. ibid. pag.* 247.

severe Judge, and fit to be paired (Y) with the Prætor *Cassius*. He is spoke of pretty fully in *Moreri*'s Supplement, but not without some (Z) Mistakes. He is sometimes [a] confounded with *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* Legislator.

LYDIAT (*Thomas*) an *Englishman*, published some Writings in the beginning of the XVIth. Century, in which he attacked the Opinions (D) of *Scaliger*, and those of *Aristotle*, &c. *Scaliger* was very angry with him, and confuted him with a deal of Haughtiness.

[a] *Lindenbroch* in Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 22. cap. 9. & *Corradus* in Cicer. ad Atticum, l. 1. Epist. 13. *Mistake* Lycurgus, *an* Athenian *Orator, for* Lycurgus *of* Lacedæmon.

(a) Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ τῶν παρθένων οὕτω χιτωνίσκος. οὐ παρελύσαντες ἄχρι τινὸς τὰς πλευρὰς, ἐν τῷ κάτω μέρει στενοῦσθαι τοὺς μηροὺς. μάλιστα αἱ Σπαρτιάτιδες, δι' ἃς καὶ τοῦτο παρονομάσθαι νόμιζον. Ita autem dicebatur etiam virginum tunicula. cujus postquam aliquo usque pinnas solvissent, à malleolo inferiore pedis femora ostendebant, maxime Spartanæ, quas idcirco phænomeridas appellabant. *Jul. Pollux, apud Miscell. Laconic. lib. 1. c. 19. pag. 85.*

(b) *Martial. Epigram. 93. lib. 1.*

(c) John, *of the House of* Luxembourg.

(d) *Dubravius, Histor. Bohem. lib. 20. apud Valesiana, p. m. 61.*

The Description *Pollux* has left us of this Habit, leaves no room to doubt, that it was long; for he says, that when they unlaced themselves to a certain Point, they shewed from their Feet upwards to their Thighs. This is his way of expressing it (a). We may take it for granted then, as to the Fact that *Cragius*, and those who follow him, are mistaken; but something may be said in their Favour, as to their reasoning, founded upon the Fact. An Habit might be so short, as to leave the Thighs naked. See these Words of *Martial* (b) *Dimidiasque nates Gallica palla tegit*; and what *Dubravius* observes of the Modes, which a King (c) of *Bohemia* brought from *France*. *He let his Hair grow very long, he wore round-toed Shoes, and dressed himself in a short Cloak, which reached only to his Hips. Inerat ei peregrinus habitus in nutriendis comis, in calceandis pedibus rostratis calceis, in vestiendo corpore palliolis vix dimidias nates tegentibus* (d). But still I maintain the Nakedness of the Thighs, which the *Lacedæmonian* Women were reproached with, proceeded not from the Shortness of their Petticoats; for if they had resembled our Seamen's Breeches, or the Habits mentioned by *Martial* and *Dubravius*, it would not have been enough to have called 'em *Phænomerides*. There is no Body but easily understands, that if their Petticoats, which were slit up on both Sides, without being sewed at the bottom, came but little lower than their Breech, they had done much worse than shew their Thighs in Walking; so that the Poets, who took a greater Liberty than they do at present, and expressed themselves more grossly, would have given 'em a much stronger Epithet than that of *Phænomerides*, or *Naked Thighs*. I need not explain this Thought more at large.

By the way, the Fashion of short Habits was carried to a great Excess in the Court of *France*, if what we read in an *Italian* Author, who lived towards the end of the XVth. Century, be true. He supposes, that an *Italian* scorned to travel into *France*, as well because the *French* were ignorant, as because their very King wore a Habit so short, as not to cover the Nameless Parts. *(e) Cur obsecro trans Alpes non profectus? Quod scirem Gallos maximè stolidos esse, corpusque curare magis quam animum colere: regemque eorum quamvis splendidissimum tam brevi tamen vestitu incedere, ut pudenda non velet, ac si Cynicorum sectator sit institutorum.*

(Y) *A severe Judge, and fit to be paired with the Prætor* Cassius.] This is evident from these Words of *Ammianus Marcellinus*. (f) *Verum ille*, he speaks of the Emperor *Julian*, *judicibus Cassiis tristior & Lycurgis causarum momenta æquo jure perpendens, suum cuique tribuebat, nusquam à vero abductus, acerius in calumniatores exsurgens quos oderat multorum hujusmodi pestulantem sæpe dementiam adusque discrimen expertus, dum esset adhuc humilis & privatus. Plutarch* observes, that it was said of this *Lycurgus*, that he dipt his Pen in Death, a Thought which well enough agrees with the Reproach made to *Draco*, that he writ his Laws not with Ink, but in Blood. (g) Ἔοικε δὲ ἡ τῶν δικῶν τὴν φυλακὴν, ἡ τῶν παιδίων τὴν σύλληψιν, ὡς ἐξέλαμεν ἀνωτέρω, εἰς ἡ τῶν σώφρων ἴσως λέγειν, Λυκοῦργος ὁ μέλανι ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ χρίσας τὸν κάλαμον καὶ τῶν νομῶν, ἵνα εὐγνῶμον. *Urbis etiam custodia ei mandata fuit, & maleficiorum comprehensio. Quos quidem omnes expulit: adeò ut sophistarum quidem dicerent, Lycurgum ita contra malos scribere, ut qui calamum non atramento sed morte imbueret. Diodorus Siculus* represents him as (b) a violent Delator. Add to this, these Words of *Cicero* (k) *Nosmetipsi qui Lycurgi à pr[illegible]pio fuissemus, quotidie demitigamur.* See the following Remark, at the Place concerning *Ibis*.

(k) *Cicero ad. Attic. Epist. 13. lib. 1.*

(Z) *Not without some mistakes.*] I. He should have said in general, that he banished all (l) Malefactors, and not simply *all Loyterers and Vagabonds*. II. I don't find he excelled in Exercises, or *was commonly Victor in the publick Games*. III. He should not have said, that when *he made himself be carried to the Senate, there publickly to give an account of all his Actions, he was applauded by all the People*: he should not have said this, without observing, that (m) an Accuser appeared against him, whose Calumnies he confuted; nor should he have passed over in Silence, that he was (n) several Times accused. IV. The *Athenians*, if we may credit the Supplement, regarding him as a Person, who had something Divine in him, consecrated after his Death an *Ibis* to him (an *Egyptian* Bird, much like a Stork) as the Owl had been consecrated to *Xenophon*. This is misunderstanding *Plutarch*'s Words, *Amiot* translated 'em thus: Lycurgus *was firnamed* Ibis, *which is a black Stork, and 'twas commonly said to* Lycurgus *the* Ibis, *to* Xenophon *the Owl*. This Passage of *Plutarch* (o) is much corrupted; but 'tis easie to see, that it does not signifie what is pretended in the Supplement. The Learned *Henry Valois* will help us to understand it. *Unde*, says he, *etiam Ibis cognominatus esse videtur, quòd scilicet ut Ibis angues, sic ipse noxios cives & peregrinos expelleret. Aristophanes in Avibus*:

Γῦπες Λυκοῦργε, χαιρόφωτε νυκτερὶς.

Quanquam scio Scholiastem ejus cognominis aliam afferre causam, quòd scilicet Ægypto oriundus, aut quòd longis cruribus esset Lycurgus. Sed nostram sententiam confirmare videtur Plutarchus in Lycurgi Rhetoris vita: ubi & versum illum Aristophanis adducit, sed mendosum (p). A small Doubt comes into my Head. This Comedy of *Aristophanes* was play'd (q) in the 2d. Year of the 91st. *Olympiad*, but he was one of the famous Orators (r), whom the *Athenians* refused to deliver up to *Alexander*. Of what an Age then must he have been when he died, if he be the same that *Aristophanes* spoke of in this Comedy? Did this Poet mention Persons of obscure Condition? When 'tis said, *that upon* Demosthenes's *Testimony*, Lycurgus's *Sons were presently set at Liberty*, it's plainly intimated, that *Demosthenes* asserted their Innocence; but this is false. *Demosthenes* was then in Exile, and he wrote to the *Athenians* (s) that they were blamed for the Treatment they gave *Lycurgus*'s Sons. Hereupon they were released. VI. He ought not to have cited *Herodotus*, who being dead before *Lycurgus* was born, could say nothing of him. The citing *Pausanias* is more pardonable, though he has said (t) but a small part of what is ascribed to him, but the not citing *Plutarch*, is an unpardonable Omission.

(l) Plutarch ubi supra, *uses the Word* κάκουργον, maleficus.

(m) *Plut. ibid. pag. 842. E.*

(n) *Id. ib.*

(o) *Ibid. p. 843. D.*

(p) *That is, because he prosecuted Offenders with Edgeness and Rashness.*

(q) *Henric. Valesius in Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 22. cap. 9. pag. m. 321.*

(r) *Vide Sam. Petiti Miscellanea, lib. 1. cap. 10.*

(s) *Diod. Sicul. lib. 17. c. 15.* (t) *Plut. ubi supra, p. 842. D.*

(v) *Pausan. lib. 1, pag. 29.*

(D) *Published some Writings*——*in which he attacked the Opinions of* Scaliger, *and those of* Aristotle.] He published at *London* in 1605, a Tract *De variis amorum formis*, in which he confutes *Clavius*, and the *Mathematicians* of the College of *Rome*, and *Joseph Scaliger*. See here a Passage of the *Scaligerana*, which charges him with not understanding what he Censures in *Clavius*; *Lydiat est il melancholicus, Æquinoctium mirum statuit 36. diebus post solitum, & dicit à veteribus sic observatum. Reprehendit Clavium, & illum non capit* (v). Mr. *Konig* makes mention of this Work of *Lydiat*, and of that *De annis ministerii Christi*, printed in the Year 1613, but he does not speak of this other Work of his, *Prælectio astronomica de natura cæli & conditionibus elementorum: tum autem de causis præcipuarum motuum cæli & stellarum. Item disquisitio physiologica de origine fontium perennium frigidorum & calidorum: eaque occasione de ortu & causis plerorumque omnium subterraneorum, atque etiam*

(x) *Scaligerana, voce* Lydiat.

(e) *Jovian. Pontanus in dialogo Antonius, p. m. 1251.* (f) *Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22. c. 19. pag. m. 321.* (g) Δημάδης δ' οὐχὶ τὸν αἱμάσσοντα, οὐκοῦν ὅτι δι' αἱμάτων τοὺς νόμους ὁ Δράκων ἔγραψεν. Postmodum lepide ait Demades sanguine Draconem non atramento scripsisse leges. *Plutarch. in Solone, pag. 87. E.* (b) *Plut. in vitis decem Rhetorum, pag. 841.* (i) Ὃν ἡ πανήγυρις ὅτε τὸν λέγειν ἀδύνατον. *Diodor. Siculus, lib. 16. See also* Dionysius Halicarnassæus in Censura vet. scriptor, p. m. 198. 123.

Haughtiness. See the Prolegomena to his Chronological Canons. He has inserted a Greek Epigram in it, which is very injurious to *Lydiat*. He wrote afresh (E) against *Scaliger*, and took in some other Matters, and died, the 3d. of *April*, 1646, at Seventy Four Years of Age.

[a] Vossius found the Latin Version of it in Scaliger's Cyclometrica, and published it.

LYDIUS (*Martin*) Minister of the Gospel, having quitted the Palatinate on account of the Persecution, retired into the *Low-Countries*, in 1576, and was made Professor of Divinity at *Franeker*. He was a Native of *Lubeck*, and had been Principal of the College of *Sapience*, at *Heidelberg*, in Conjunction with *Zachary Ursin*. He left two Sons, who were Ministers. *Balthasar Lydius*, the eldest, began the Exercise of his Profession at *Dort*, towards the Year 1603, and died [b] in 1629. He composed (A) some Books, and had four Sons, who were all Ministers. The eldest was called *Isaac*, and died Minister at *Dort*, leaving a Son named *Matthew*, who died a Minister about the Year 1685, and who had a good Library. *James Lydius*, *Balthasar's* Second Son, was Minister of *Dort*, and writ [c] several Books. The other Son of *Martin Lydius*, was called *John*. He exercised his Ministry at *Oudwater* in *Holland*, and published (C) several Books. His Two Sons were Ministers. No one Family perhaps has furnished more Ministers than this.

[b] Witte in Diar. Biograph.

[c] Taken from the Life of David Parœus, p. m. 15.

LIEBAUT (*John*) a Native of *Dijon*, practised Physick at *Paris* with some Success. He there married *Nicole Stephens* (A) a Learned Woman, and Daughter to *Charles Stephens*. He published several (B) Books, some of which were translated into

[d] Henn. Witte, Diar. Biograph. paret. 2. pag. 36.

æstus & salsedinis maris, nec non diluvii universalis. Quibus duabus commentationculis adumbratur constitutio universi: ita ut receptæ à multis hodiè Philosophorum Peripateticorum opiniones de quinta cœli essentiâ immutabili, & de elementorum proportionibus situque refutentur; naturalis autem historia sacrarum literarum de aquâ supercalefactâ atque igne subtus posito juxtâ genuinam antiquitùs receptam earum sententiam explicetur. Auctore THOMA LYDIAT. It was printed at *London* in 1605, in *Octavo*. The Author in his Advertisement to the Reader, declares he could not bear, that *Aristotle's* Authority should cram People into the belief of a pretended Difference betwixt the Celestial and Elementary Matter, or that this Paltry Reason should be alledged, that there are Things true in Philosophy, which are false in Divinity. He maintains, that this is making Divinity the Sport of *Atheists*. *Haudquaquam ratus oportere me contentum esse eo quod vulgo solitum esset responderi ad hujusmodi dogmata Aristotelicæ sententiæ sacrorum bibliorum contraria, scilicet verum esse Physicè non Theologicè; quandoquidem hoc videretur nihil aliud quam Theologiam exponere ludibrio hominum atheorum——— Igitur his duabus exercitationibus Philosophicis——— conatus sum, refutatis præsertim Aristotelis Opinionibus de naturâ cœli & elementorum, reddere rationes Physicæ illius constitutionis universi——— quæ sacris scripturis——— videretur esse tradita——— id præcipuè operum Dei ut demonstrarem idem esse verum Physicè ac Theologicè.* Note, that he ascribes the Original of Fountains, and abundance of other Things, to Subterraneous Fires.

(A) *He wrote afresh against* Scaliger, *and took in some other Matters.*] This will appear by the Catalogue I am going to give; and of which no Footstep is to be seen in the Sieur *Konig's Bibliotheque*. *Defensio tractatus de variis annorum formis, contra Jos. Scaligerum, una cum examine Canonum Chronologiæ Isagogicorum*, at *London*, 1607. in *Octavo*. *Emendatio temporum ab orbe condito hucusque contra Scaligerum & alios*, at the same Place 1609, in *Octavo*. *Solis & Lunæ periodus, seu annus magnus*, at the same Place 1620. in *Octavo*. *Epistola astronomica de anni solaris mensura*, at the same Place, 1621, in *Octavo*. *De numero aureo. De altaribus in Ecclesiis Christianis excludendis*, &c.

(a) Balthasar Lydius, *composed some Books.*] He published two Volumes, in *Octavo*, intituled *Waldensis, id est, vera servatio nostræ Ecclesiæ demonstrata ex confessionibus Waldensium & Bohemorum*. The 1st. Tome was printed at *Rotterdam*, in 1616, and the other [illegible] the Year following. This Author's other Works are, (a) *Fasciculus historiæ Waldensium. Miseriæ orbis seu navigationes primæ in Austrium.*

(a) Witte, Diar. Biograph. parte 2. pag. 36.

(B) *James Lydius writ several Books.*] I mention not many Books he published in *Flanders*, nor his *Roomsche Wapenspiegel* (b) printed at *Dort*, 1614, in *Octavo*, but those are two other Books, which shew he was versed in all Liberal Arts. *Sapientiæ Christianæ libri tres, quibus universum Christianum mores ac ritus in uxore ineundâ, sponsalibus contrahendis, nuptiisque faciendis ac perficiendis enarrantur.* They were printed at *Dort*, in 1643. in *Quarto*, and afterwards in *Twelves*. II. *Agonistica sacra*. III. *Florum sparsio ad historiam passionis Jesu Christi*. He writ a Book also, intituled *Belgium Gloriosum*, and a Dialogue *De cœna Domini*.

(b) That's to say, the Absurdity of the Papists.

His Heirs have some Works of his in their Hands which he did not publish. Mr. *Van Til*, Minister, and Professor at *Dort*, having seen the Manuscript, of the *Syntagma Sacrum de re militari*, and that of the Dissertation *De Juramento*, judged them worthy to be published, and advised the Bookseller to do it. This Advice was followed, as appeared by the Volume printed at *Dort*, in *Quarto*, 1698, and called, *Jacobi Lydii Syntagma sacrum de re militari: nec non de jure jurando dissertatio Philologica: Opus Posthumum & multa eruditione commendatum, cum figuris æneis elegantissimè incisis, quod nunc primum ex tenebris eruit ustisque illustravit Salomon Van Til Theologus Dordracenus.* See the Journal (c) of *Utrecht*, and that of (d) *Leipsic*.

(c) Mense Octob. 1697. pag. 488. & seq.

(d) Mense Junio, 1698. pag. 249.

(C) John Lydius *published several Books.*] He published at *Leyden*, in 1620, a Book of *Pratcolus*, intituled, *Concilia Ecclesiæ Christianæ*, with his Criticisms on it. Five Years after he published the Lives of the Popes, written by *Robert Barns*, and *John Bale*, and continued it to his own Time. He was Author of that Continuation. He had given an Edition of *Nicolas de Clemangis*, in 1613, with Notes, and a Glossary.

(e) Bibliotheque Françoise. pag. 358.

(A) Nicole Stephens, *a Learned Woman.*] *La Croix du Maine* (e) makes mention of Three Books she had written, but which were not printed. I. *An Answer to the Stanzas on Marriage, written by* (f) *Ph. des P.* II. *The Contempt of Love.* III. *An Apology for Women, against those who undervalue 'em. James Grevin* (g) was in Love with her, and courted her; and as he was a Poet, he writ Verses in abundance upon his Amours, and in the Praise of his *Nicole*, whom he called *Olympia*. The Volume of his Love-Verses, was for this Reason called *Olympia*. This we learn from *la Croix du Main* (h). Another ran away with the Prey, for she was married to our *John Liebaut*.

(f) Probably Philippe des Portes.

(g) Physician to the Duchess of Ferrara.

(h) Ubi supra, pag. 187.

(B) *He published several Books.*] The Bibliotheque of Physicians, augmented by *Manget*, makes mention but of three Books of *John Liebaut*. *Thesaurus secretis paratu facilis*, at *Paris* by *James du Puy* 1577. *De præcavendis curandisque venenis Commentaria in lib. viii. Scholia in Jacobi Hollerii commentaria in lib. vii. aphorismorum Hippocratis.* The most curious of his Books have been forgotten, which are those which treat of the Distempers of Women, and of their *Ornaments and Beauties*. He writ 'em in Latin. They were afterwards rendred into French, but the Translator found himself sometimes obliged to skip some Passages in the Original to avoid describing things offensive to Modesty. We shall see below, that *Liebaut* can't be said to be only the Translator of an *Italian* Physician. He was no more indeed with regard to a *German* Physician; called *Gaspar Wolfius*, whose four Books (i) of the Secrets of Physick and Chymistry he Translated into *French*. He had a good share in a Book of Agriculture, which was much esteemed,

(i) For Example, in the 11th. Chap. of the 2d. Book, p. 243. where he speaks of some Precautions in giving Conjugal Benevolence necessary for persecuting Barrenness.

(k) This Work of Wolfius is in Latin.

into ſeveral Languages, and often Re-printed. He quitted *Paris*, I know not why, and returned (c) into his Native Country, where he died I know not when.

LIGARIUS (*Quintus*) Lieutenant to *Caius Conſidius*, who Commanded in *Africa* in quality of Proconſul, acquitted himſelf ſo well in this Poſt, that the People paſſionately deſired they might have him for their Governour whenever *Conſidius* was recal'd. They obtained their Deſire, and continued very well ſatisfyed with the Conduct of *Ligarius*. They would have made him their Commander in Chief when they took Arms at the beginning of the Civil War betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, [redacted] he had a mind to return to *Rome*, he refus'd their Offer. He lay by for [redacted] after *Publius Accius Varus* had accepted that Command [a]. This is what [redacted] ſets forth in his Plea for *Ligarius*. He paſſes over other things in ſilence, and only confeſſes in general, that his Party had embraced the Intereſts of *Pompey*. 'Tis probable that *Ligarius* had ſhewed himſelf very averſe to *Julius Cæſar's* [redacted] who nevertheleſs gave him [b] his Life after the Defeat of *Scipio* and the other [redacted] had renew'd the War in *Africa* in Favour of that Cauſe which *Pompey* had defended. This Act of Grace did not prevent *Ligarius's* living concealed out of *Italy*. His Brother and Friends, and particularly *Cicero* [c] omitted nothing to obtain *Cæſar's* leave for his return to *Rome*, and they had hopes of accompliſhing it; when *Tubero* in the midſt of theſe Tranſactions formally declared himſelf *Ligarius's* Accuſer. Then it was that *Cicero* made that admirable Oration for the accuſed (D), which in a very ſingular manner changed the Intentions of *Cæſar*. *Ligarius* was abſolutely acquitted. He was no Slave to Notions of

(a) *Taken from* Cicero in oratione pro Q. Ligario.

(b) Hirtius de bello Africano p. m. 467.

(c) Cicero, Epiſt. 14. lib. 6. ad familiar.

(a) *See that which I make uſe of is of* Roan *by* David Berthelin *in* 1666. *in* 4.

(b) *See the Advice to the Reader* F. Anth. Languier Theologal de Riés *is the Author of it.*

(c) *It's the* 44*th of the* 3*d Book.*

(d) *He has been always commended for uſing a very handſome turn to expreſs that of the whole race See the Apology of* Grace, *p.* 101.

(e) *Patin lett.* 296. *p.* 572 *of the* 2*d. Tome.*

(f) *This is the* 2*d. Edition, the firſt is in the year* —— *is Publiſhed in the Catalogue of* Oxford. Trattato di totte Pinfirmita delle donne, come curarſi debbono que' mali che poſſono ſciogliere il legame del matrimonio.

(g) *See for Example the* 79 *p. where he gives ſome Advice to a Husband who has no Children, but would fain have one.*

eſteemed, and of which there are many Editions (*a*). This Book is called *The Country-Houſe*, Charles Stephens was the firſt Author of it. *Liebaut* his Son-in-law Corrected and Enlarged it conſiderably. It was Tranſlated (*b*) into *Engliſh*, *Flemiſh*, *and High-Dutch*. Note, that the *French* Tranſlations of the above-mention'd two Books, have ſeveral Editions. I make uſe of the firſt, which is that of *Paris*, 1582. [redacted] *Octavo*. And I have an Edition in *Twelves* of *three Books of The imbelliſhment and Ornaments of the Humane Body*. It is of *Lyons*, 1594. There are abundance of particulars in this work, whether relating to the Characters of the Beauty of each part of the Body, or to the means of rectifying diſagreeable Accidents. You there find (*c*) a Chapter concerning the Stink of Excrements, and firſt of Ordures. The Author maintains that this is a matter of importance; therefore, adds he, *To render a Damſel amiable, and in all reſpects agreeable, and to crown her Beauty with all the Perfections that can be deſired in a handſome Body, we ſhall enquire into the means of Correcting the Stink of her Excrements, if exceſſive.* 'Twere ridiculous to complain, that delicate Ears are offended at ſuch Diſcourſes: But Phyſicians would be ſtill more ridiculous, if they had regard to ſuch Complaints. They are obliged to write in this manner; 'tis their Profeſſion; *P. Coton's* Reſerves (*d*) are no Rule to them.

(C) *Returned into his Native Country.*] Here's a Paſſage of *Patin*. ' (*e*) As for *John Liebaut*, he ' was a *Burgundian* Phyſician, who never made his ' Fortune here. He was Son-in-law to *Charles Ste-* ' *phens*, who died in the *Chatelet* laden with Debts. ' After his Death, *Liebaut* went to *Dijon* to lay his ' bones in his Native Country. His Wife was called *Ni-* ' *cole Stephens*, ſhe was Niece to the great *Robert Ste-* ' *phens*, who left *Paris* after the Death of *Francis* I. ' and finding himſelf deprived of his good Maſter, ' and perſecuted by the *Sorbonniſts*, retired to *Gene-* ' *va*. *Liebaut's* Book of the *Diſtempers of Women* ' is only a Tranſlation of *Marinellus*, who had ' written it in *Italian* under the Title of the *Coma-* ' *re*. I know not how to reconcile this with *la Croix du Main's* words. *Liebaut flouriſhed at* Paris *this Year* 1584, for if he lived then at *Paris*, he did not quit it a little after *Charles Stephen's* Death, which yet *Guy Patin's* words ſeem to import. Note that *Charles Stephens* died in 1566. 'Tis not true that *Liebaut's* Book upon the Diſtempers of Women is only a Tranſlation of *Marinellus*. I have not the firſt Edition of this *Italian's* Book, but only that of *Venice Appreſſo Giouanno Valgriſe*, 1574, in 8vo. 'Tis an (*f*) Edition, augmented and corrected, tho' not entituled *la Comare*, but *le Medecine partenenti alle infermita delle donne*. I have compared it with *John Liebaut's* Book, and found it very different. 'Tis true the *French* Author ſays ſeveral things that were ſaid by the *Italian*, but after all, he can't be reputed a meer Tranſlator. *Marinello* had not the ſame ſcruples, as he who Tranſlated *John Liebaut's* Book: He explained a hundred things in the vulgar Tongue (*g*) which he had better have ſuppreſſed or have written in *Latin*. [redacted] *Mercklinus* did not know this Work of *John Marinello*, nor that *degli ornamenti delle donne*, publiſhed a ſecond time by the ſame Author in 1574.

(*b*) *Cicero Epiſt.* 12. *ad Atticum lib.* 13.

(*c*) *Id. epiſt.* 16. [redacted]

(*d*) [redacted] *ponius de orig. juri. lib.* 3. *cap* 12. *pag.* [redacted] *Rupert in Pompon. ibid.*

(D) *That admirable Oration . . . Which chang'd the Intentions of* Cæſar.] Nothing can be [redacted] than this Oration. *Pomponius Atticus* (*b*) [redacted] with (*i*) *Cornelius Balbus* and *Oppius* [redacted] in raptures and got a Copy of it for *Julius Cæſar*. We can't eaſily comprehend why the Lawyer *Pomponius* ſhou'd praiſe it ſo coldly; *Exat* Ciceronis *oratio*, ſays he (*k*), *Satis pulcherrima qua inſcribitur pro Q. Ligario*. *Budæus* thinks the word *ſatis* ill placed before a Superlative. It's anſwer'd (*l*) that the Poſitive is often put inſtead of the Superlative on ſuch occaſions. Beſides, *Pomponius's* meaning then will be, that *Cicero's* Oration for *Ligarius* is well enough. But this is a diſproportionate Encomium, and too dry. *Cicero* out did himſelf both in the Compoſition and in the Action, and perhaps the ſucceſs of his Eloquence was never more remarkable. *Cæſar* had not a thought of acquitting *Ligarius*, and yet he did it, unable to withſtand the emotions and workings in his Soul, whilſt *Cicero* was ſpeaking. The accuſer was ſo troubled at the Iſſue of his Cauſe, that he renounced the Bar (*m*) and [redacted] himſelf to the Profeſſion of the Civil [redacted] examine a Paſſage in the Work of [redacted] upon the Compariſon of *Demoſthenes* [redacted] *Cicero*. Conſult alſo (*n*) the *Chevræana*.

(*m*) [redacted] *pon.*

(*n*) *At the* [redacted] 75 *P. par.* 1. *of the* Holland [redacted] *par. de Demoſthene & de Ciceron, chap.* 16. *pag.* 63. *edit. de Holl.*

(o) *Cicero . . . .* undertook the defence of *Q. Ligarius*, his Friend, accus'd of having born Arms again *Cæſar*, tho' he had been obliged upon ſeveral Accounts to continue in his Intereſts. *Cæſar*, had already condemn'd him in his Heart, [redacted] however a Curioſity to hear *Cicero*, whom he [redacted] ' not heard of a long time, by reaſon of his abſence ' and Engagments in the Wars, which he had now ' finiſhed, ſaid to one of his Friends who would ' have diſſwaded him, (*t*) *What ſignifies it? let's* ' *e'en hear him, my Reſolution is taken, and nothing that* ' *can be ſaid for him ſhall alter it one way or other.* ' But this Orator ſpoke ſo forcibly in his Friends ' Defence, that he moved *Cæſar's* Heart in ſpight of ' all the oppoſition and the Reſolutions he had taken ' not to ſuffer himſelf to be intreated: And *Cicero* ' ſaying ſomething of what paſſed at the Battle of ' *Pharſalia* in *Cæſar's* praiſe, this Prince [redacted] an extraordinary emotion through his [redacted] ne; and ' as if he had been perfectly in [redacted] *Cicero's* ' Diſcourſe, he let fall the Paper [redacted] his Hands. ' In fine, he was not able to reſiſt the Charm, nor ' that fine and delicate manner (*u*) in which he com- ' mended him; but whatever Reſolution he had taken ' to defend himſelf againſt the Rhetorick of ſo pow- ' [redacted] Orator, he was forced to pardon *Ligarius*. [redacted] ching of a like Grace, which *Cicero* ob- [redacted] for King *Dejotarus*, and for his Friend *Mar-* [redacted] from this ſame Emperor, who was ſuch a [redacted] after his Reſolutions, and ſo hard to be perſwaded.

(*t*) Nihil ſoles obliviſci, nil injurias. *pro Lig.*

of Gratitude, for he became one of the Accomplices (E) of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. I ſhall have two Faults [a] to charge upon Father *Rapin*.

LIMEUIL (*Iſabella de la Tour de Turenne Demoiſelle de*) Maid of Honour to *Katherine de Medicis*, verified by her Conduct a good ſaying in the *Menagiana*; [b] that the Function of Maid of Honour to a Queen is a very difficult part. She ſunk under the Weight of it, in the Face of the whole Court; for ſhe Lay-in at the Queen's-Palace without being a Wife. The Prince of *Condé* was the Father of this Child. A Chronological Diſpute has happen'd (A) hereupon. And beſides, Writers are divided

[a] See the Remark A. towards the End.

[b] Varillas, Hiſtoire de Charles IX. liv. 5. pag. 000. edit. de Paris, in 12. 1685.

Father *R*[redacted] in this place by no means guilty of the Fau[redacted] incident to the Sieur *Varillas*, an Hiſtorian who never related an Adventure, as he found it in his Authors, but flouri[redacted]d and furbelowed it after his own way[redacted]ain *Plutarch* expreſſed himſelf no[redacted] this Jeſuit, as we may judge fr[redacted]owing Words: (a) 'It is reported, tha[redacted] *Quintus Ligarius* was 'proſecuted for having been one in Arms againſt 'Caſar, and *Cicero*. had undertaken his Defence, 'Cæſar ſaid to his Friends, What hinders, but *that after ſo long a time* we ſhould hear *Cicero* ſpeak? It 'being long ſince concluded, that *Ligarius* is an ill 'Man, and our Enemy. But when *Cicero* began to 'ſpeak, he wonderfully moved him, and proceeded 'in his Speech with [redacted] variety of *Pathos*, and 'that admirable Grac[redacted] the Colour of *Caſar's* 'Countenance oft[redacted]; and it was very evi-'dent, that all th[redacted]ns of his Soul were in com-'motion. At le[redacted] the Orator touching upon 'the *Pharſalian* Battel, he was ſo tranſported, 'that his Body trembled, and ſome of the Papers 'he held drop[redacted] out of his Hands; and thus being 'over-pow[redacted] he acquitted *Ligarius*. Let's note two [redacted] of Father *Rapin*. He ſuppoſes that *Caſar* [redacted] not heard Cicero *of a long time*; he is miſtaken, for a few Months before, *Cicero* had ſpoken the Oration *pro Marcello* before him. Here's the proof of it: (b) *Fac igitur, quod de homine nobiliſſimo & clariſſimo, M. Marcello feciſti* NUPER *in curia, nunc idem in foro de optimis, & huic omni frequentia probatiſſimis fratribus. Ut conceſſiſti illum Senatui, ſic hunc populo.* It's ſome excuſe to this Jeſuit that he followed *Plutarch's* Narration, but after all, it's no intire Juſtification, ſince he has followed him in a falſe Fact. I add, that it is not certain that this Greek Author imputes to *Caſar*, what the *Latin* and other Tranſlators pretend he does: The *Latin* Verſion printed with *Plutarch's* Original runs thus: *Quid obſtat quin Ciceronem tanto intervallo audiamus dicentem?* This *Latin* anſwering to this Greek: [redacted] The Queſtion is, whether [redacted] in this place ſignifies *after a long time*, or whether it ought not to be better rendered *a little time*, as the learned *Fabricius* has done. (c) *Quid eſt cauſæ, h*[redacted]s it, *cur Ciceronem orantem aliquamdiu no*[redacted]*us?* It may be objected perhaps that this Senſe is ſomewhat abſurd, ſince *Caſar* did not mean to hear a part of *Cicero's* Oration, and go out of the Aſſembly before he had made an end. I anſwer that [redacted] might be a way of ſpeaking amongſt the *Greeks*, much like our *Engliſh* Expreſſion *a little*. Now when a Body ſays, *Let's go a little to ſee ſuch a thing*; *Let's go hear this Preacher a little*; *What hinders, but we may go and hear ſuch a ones Funeral Sermon a little? he does not mean to ſee or hear by halves, nor has he any deſign to go out of the Church before the end of the Sermon.* This methinks is the moſt natural Idea we can fix to *Caſar's* words. The other Error of Father *Rapin* is his ſuppoſing that *Cicero* obtained the ſame Grace for King *Dejotarus* and *Ligarius* as for *Ligarius*. Nothing's falſer; for in the firſt place he did not procure *Dejotarus's* Diſcharge (d), and in the ſecond place, it was not he, but the Senate that got *Marcellus's* pardon. The Oration for *Marcellus* was only the thanks of the [redacted] a Favour, which *Caſar* had granted at the [redacted] the whole Senate. See what *Cicero* declar[redacted]ſelf in a (e) Letter to *Sulpitius*.

(a) *Plutarch. in the Life of Cicero, pag.* 350.

[redacted] Plutarch's *meaning. See below.*

[redacted] *pag.* 321. *edit. Grav.* 1698.

(c) [redacted] D. and D△, *of the Article* Dejotarus.

(d) [redacted] *Book* ad familiares.

(e) Tu[redacted] *Book* ad familiares.

(f) *Fr. Fabricius in peroratione orationis pro Q. Ligario pag.* 233. *edit. Grav.*

(g) Plutarch in Bruto, pag. 594. Plutarch's *giving him the Name of* Caius, *is only a Slip of Memory.*

(E) *He was one of the Accomplices (f) of* Brutus *and* Caſſius.] *Plutarch* won't permit us to doubt of this. (g) 'Among thoſe of *Pompey's* Faction there 'was one *Caius Ligarius*, whom *Caſar* had par-'don'd, tho' accus'd for having been in [redacted] 'gainſt him. This Man, not being ſo than[redacted] 'having been forgiven, as ſtomaching [redacted] 'which made him need a Pardon, hated *Caſar*, but 'was one of *Brutus* his moſt intimate Friends. Him 'Brutus viſited, and finding him ſick, *O* Ligarius, 'ſays he, *what a time have you found out to be ſick 'in?* At which Words *Ligarius* raiſing himſelf, and 'leaning on his Elbow, took *Brutus* by the Hand, 'and ſaid, *But, O* Brutus, *if you are on any Deſign 'worthy of your ſelf, I am well.* *Appian* (h) reckons *Quintus Ligarius* amongſt thoſe whom *Brutus* and *Caſſius* engaged in their Conſpiracy, and relates (i) the manner how the two Brothers, both called *Ligarius*, periſhed under the Proſcription of the *Triumviri*.

(h) *Appian. de bell. civil. lib.* 4. *p.* 342. 343.

(i) *Id ibid.*

(A) *A Chronological Diſpute has happened hereupon.*] What doubtleſs the two Lovers never expected; they little imagined that their Careſſes ſhould afford matter of diſpute between Authors a hundred years after: the Fact was this. We'll begin with theſe words of the general Criticiſm of the Hiſtory of *Caivinism*. '(k) The Prince of *Conde* falling in 'in Love with one of the Queen's Maids, called '*Mademoiſelle de Limeuil*, had ſo many moving 'things to her, that they ſoon came to what we 'call the concluſion of the Romance. She had a Son 'by him, of whom ſhe Lay-in, in the Reign of '*Charles* IX. the 25th of *May*, 1561, in the very 'Palace of the *Louvre*; but the Queen, who at 'that time had occaſion for the Prince to Ballance 'the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, had 'paſſion on humane Frailty. Thus one of our [redacted] ſpeaks of this Adventure in a kind of Ro-'mance, intituled, *The Prince of* Conde, where we 'find ſeveral other very curious Strokes of Hiſtory, 'and very faithfully related. Another of the 'Queen's Maids had juſt ſuch another Diſaſter about 'two or three years after; *Katherine de Medicis* per-'ceiving that the Prince lov'd this young Lady, re-'ſolv'd to lay hold of this occaſion for penetrating 'into his Deſigns; and therefore adviſed her, who 'probably had no need of Incitements, nor to over-'act the part of a Prude. M. *de Mezerai* will tell 'you this Story much better than I. (l) *The Queen 'endeavoured to captivate the Prince of* Conde *by the 'Charms of Pleaſure, and by the Lure of one of her 'Maids of Honour, who ſparing nothing to ſerve her 'Miſtreſs, found her ſelf indiſpoſed for nine Months, 'and was for ſometime after the whole Diſcourſe of the 'Court, where ſuch ſort of Accidents give more Diverſion than Scandal.* The Prince had another Intrigue of 'Note with the Widow of the Mareſchal *de S. André*, and had Married her, if the Admiral had 'not warded off the Blow by propoſing another 'Match. - - - - (l) He made him ſuch remonſtrances (2) as obliged him to break off by the Conjugal Bond all his pernicious Engagements with the 'Mareſchalle *de S. André*, who endeavouring to enamour the Prince, fell ſo in Love with him, as to 'purchaſe her Satisfaction at the price of her Eſtate 'of *Valery*, which ſhe made him a Preſent of'.

(k) *Critique generale, tome* 3. *pag.* 45. *de la* 3. *edition.*

(l) *Mezer. Abreg. Chron. ad ann.* 1563. *Mr. de Thou, l.* 35.

(l) *Critique generale, ibid. pag.* 47.

(2) *Mezerai ubi ſupra.*

Some have found two remarkable Falſities in this Account; for it is not true, that *Mademoiſelle de Limeuil* Lay-in in the Year 1561, and that another of the Queen's Maids made the ſame Slip with the Prince of *Condé* ſome Years after. Yet ſome Opiniators maintain, that the Date in the Romance, cited by Mr. *Maimbourg's* Critick, is juſt; and conſequently, that the Prince of *Conde* debauched two of *Catherine de Medicis's* Maids of Honour, one after another, in a ſhort time. This Conſequence is moſt certain, if the Author of the Romance be not miſtaken; for it can't be denied, that one of this Queen's Maids of Honour Lay-in in 1564, ſoon after her Familiarity with the Prince; but once more, the Author of the Romance tells an Untruth. It's neither a Fault of the Preſs, nor a Poetical Fiction; but an Hiſtorical Falſity. The whole Series of the Book manifeſtly ſhews, *that the Author ſpeaks of* an Intrigue which preceded the Impriſonment of the Prince, and the Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him in *November* 1560. The Author therefore alone is anſwerable for the Number 1560, and not the Printer. It can't be ſaid, that he antedated it deſignedly

ded about the (B) Consequences of this Adventure. Some pretend that (C) the young Lady was expell'd the Court, and others, that she lost not (D)

ingenuously, from a Liberty allowed in an Epick Poem, or Romance; for as his Book is all along furnished with as exact Dates, as those of *Mezerai*, whether concerning the Death of *Francis* II. and of the King of *Navarre*, or concerning the Prince's Pardon, &c. We must suppose, that he designed to give the true Date of the young Lady's Delivery. The Circumstances of the Day and Month, and Place, which he has carefully collected, confirm this Opinion, since they signify nothing to the Œconomy of the Piece; he only touches upon 'em by the by, to quicken the Attention of his Reader, by a Particularity seldom found in such sort of Books. To what end should he antedate this big Belly two Years! The Romance gains nothing by it: The Intrigue might have been carried on, as well by laying the Scene of it Two Years after. The Tenor of the Book manifestly shews this. Our Author therefore must have been deceived by his Memoirs, in which 1561 had been put instead of 1564. I know those, who after some Reflections on this matter, have imagined, that the *Demoiselle de Limeuil* had two Encounters with the Prince, and that the Author of the Romance speaks of the first Big-Belly, and Mr. *Mezerai* of the Second. I cannot think 'em in the right: For though the Court of *France* was at that time very dissolute, it can't be conceived, that a Maid of Honour should Lie-in at the *Louvre* in 1561, and make the same false Step three Years after in the same Quality of Maid of Honour. Some Measures were still observed; and some Regard had to the Publick. *Brantome*, who speaks of this Court, from his own certain knowledge expressly affirms it (a). The most natural signification of his words is, that the Maids of *Catherine de Medicis* had never a better time on't than while they lived with her, because they had full liberty to taste of all the Joys of Marriage, or abstain, provided they had the Art and Industry to prevent a big Belly. There was therefore some Disgrace to be feared, when they wanted this point of Skill, for that Queen acted almost like the *Lacedæmonians*, who did not punish the Theft, but the want of cunning to conceal it. We shall presently see that *Limeuil* was disgraced. They who require Proofs of it, form a horrible Idea of *Catherine de Medicis*.

(a) *See the Article* Garnache.

(B) *About the Consequences of this Adventure.*] The best Historians agree that the Queen-Mother lent an hand to the Amours of the Prince, and *de la Limeuil*. See in the preceding Note, a Passage of *Mezerai*: It's taken from his Chronological Abridgment: Here is another from his Great History. (b) *The Queen having gain'd nothing by this* (c) *Method* - - - - *bethought her of another more subtle, which was to gain the Prince by the Lure of Love and Pleasures, by which the haughtiest Souls are captivated without a struggle. She treated him with all the Demonstrations of a cordial Friendship, and entire Confidence; she gave him the Government of* Picardy, *the first subject of his discontent, and had all the respects paid him that are due to the first Prince of the Blood. Besides this, she had people suborn'd to amuse him with all kind of Diversions; and the Charms of the fair* Limeuil, *one of her Maids, were so serviceable to her design, that for some time he had laid aside all thoughts of any thing but her, which his Wife* Eleanor de Roye, *a Woman of severe Chastity, discovering, dy'd of Discontent, an Accident that gave the Queen a deal of Joy, because this Lady being of an imperious Temper, and very zealous for the* Huguenot *Religion, was the sharpest spur to quicken the Courage of the Prince. But on the other hand, the Royal Palace, and her self suffered great Scandal from these Love-Intrigues; for* Limeuil *giving way to the Prince's Passion, more than became a Maid of her Quality, was so imprudent, and so ill conceived her Measures, as to Lye-in in her Wardrobe, in the Face of all the World; for which Reason she discharged her with Disgrace, tho' she could not hinder her speaking somewhat too plainly of the Occasion of her Misfortune.* Mr. *Varillas* has not forgot this Intrigue. Let's see what he says of it.

(b) *Mezerai, Hist. de France, tom. 2. pag. 133. ad ann. 1564.*

(c) *That is, by endeavouring to sow Dissentions between the Prince of* Condé *and the Admiral* de Chatillon.

'(d) Love entred into the cause, and seconded the 'Artifices of the Queen. *Mademoiselle de la Limeuil* was the handsomest of her Maids of Honour, and the Prince grew so fond of her, that the Princess his Wife perceiving it, died of Jealousy. The Queen attentive to the least occasions of strengthning her Power, took'd upon this Conjuncture as the favourablest that could ever present. She fancied that as the *Chatillons* had engaged the Prince in Heresy, by Marrying him to their Neece, so she might reduce him to the Communion of the Church, by giving him a young Lady to Wife, who had the Honour to be her Relation, whose Charms might fix his Inconstancy, and get out of him all the Secret Designs of *Calvinism*. In this thought she ordered *de la Limeuil* to omit nothing that might contribute to the holding the Prince in Chains. But 'twas exposing a moderate Virtue to too great a risk, to make it grapple with a Lover who took the least Advantages in Love, as well as in War, to push things to an extremity. The Lady feigning a kindness for the Prince, began to be in Love with him in good earnest, and for her misfortune, was not the only Person at Court whose Heart was insensibly engag'd. He afterwards relates the Amours of the Mareschal *le de St. André*, with this Prince, and her extraordinary Liberalities to him: and then adds: '(e) Madamoiselle *de Limeuil* made Reflexions very wide of the truth, on so uncommon an Advantage; she supposed the Prince less Amorous, or more Interested than he really was, and imagined that since he had accepted the Estate of St. *Valeri*, he design'd in good earnest, to Marry the Mareschalle; her Jealousy work'd to such a pitch, that not having Fortune enough to equal the Liberality of her Rival, she resolved to out-do her in granting the Prince what was dearest to her in the World, the Big-Belly which soon followed, made her Shame publick, and she was ignominiously discarded the Court.

(d) *Varillas, Hist. de Charles IX. liv. 5. pag. 346. édit. de Holl. ad ann. 1563.*

(e) *Id. ib. pag. 348, 349.*

(C) *Some pretend, that the young Lady was expelled the Court.*] *Mezerai* and *Varillas* affirm it, and there's hardly any room to doubt the Truth of this. A certain Satyrical Author is of the same Opinion, in a Writing that's very affrontive to the Queen-Mother: He owns, that the young Lady was thrust into a Convent. (f) Mr. *le Laboureur* cites a Fragment of this Satyr, which will stand properly enough in this Place. I shall join to it Mr. *le Laboureur*'s Preamble, because it assigns another Cause of this Prince's Intrigues, and fixes the time when the Lady was brought to Bed. " (g) 'Amongst the other News, there was a Talk of the 'fair *de L*———'s lying in, one of the Maids of 'Honour; upon which occasion it mayn't be amiss 'to observe, that after the Peace of *Orleans*, the 'Prince of *Condé* continuing at Court, thought he 'could not better remove all Suspicions, than by 'plunging himself into the Pleasures of the Times, 'and getting a Mistress. The Queen, who thought 'it the surest Chain, to bind him, was not 'displeased that this Maid, of one of the first Fa'milies of the Kingdom, hearkened to his Vows 'and Offers of Service, not thinking perhaps that 'this Friendship would ever pass the Bounds of 'Gallantry. But whether the Maid could not resist 'his Quality, and Reasons of State conspired toge'ther; or rather the esteem of the Prince; or that 'she hoped one Day to marry him, as 'tis 'said he had promised her, in case *Eleonora de de Roy* his Wife, whose Life was despaired of, 'should die, as it happened the same Year, she 'could not long hold out against Ambition and 'Love, and all was revealed by the Birth of this 'Son, during the Progress of *Lyons*. Thus speaks this Libel (h).

(f) *The Marginal Notes of* Varillas's *History of* Charles IX. *the* Paris *Edition in* 12. 1684. *pag.* 604. *import, that the* Queen had her conducted by one of her Valets, call'd Chatillon to the Convent of the *Cordeliers*, in the Town of *Auxonne*. *I believe Mr. D'Hosier, made those Notes.*

(g) *Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Memoires de Castelnau, tom. 2. pag.* 371.

(h) Le Laboureur ib. p. 369.

'*Puella illa nobilis*
'*Quæ erat tam amabilis,*
'*Commisit adulterium*
'*Et nuper fecit filium.*
'*Sed dicunt matrem Reginam*
'*Illi fuisse. . . .*
'*Et quod hoc patiebatur*
'*Ut Principem lucraretur.*
'*At multi dicunt quod pater*
'*Non est Princeps, sed ejus alter,*
'*Qui Regi est à Secretis*
'*Ostendens ei notas satis.*
'*Contra hanc tamen Regina*
'*Se offendit tantum plena*
'*Cholera, ac si insaniret*

(D) the Queen's good Graces. In a word, there are great (E) variations on this Head. Be that how it will, she was Daughter to [a] *Giles de la Tour*, Lord of *Limeuil*; and afterwards Married (EΔ) *Scipio Sardini*, Baron of *Chaumont* upon the *Loire*, &c. a noble *Lucchese*[b]. She one Day (F) snub'd the Constable of *Montmorency* at a strange rate, the most terrible Man in the World. I shall relate a Passage of (G) *Brantome*, which is curious enough. Her

[a] *La Laboureur, Additions aux Memoires de Castelnau, tom.* 1 *pag.* 327. *compared with tom.* 2. *pag.* 371.

[b] Id. ib. *See also* Varillas ubi supra.

'*Hoc quod Puella fecisset,*
'*Et dedit illi custodes*
'*Superbos nimis & rudes,*
'*Missum in Monasterium*
'*Quærere refrigerium.*
'*Sed certè pro tam levi re*
'*Sic non debebat tractare,*
'*At excusare modicum,*
'*Tempus, personam & locum.*
'*Aliis non sit talister*
'*Qua faciunt similiter.*
'*Pridie venit nuncium*
'*Puellum esse mortuum,*
'*Et fuit magna jactura*
'*De tam pulchra creatura,*
'*Qua nunc est cum cœlicibus*
'*Rogans Deum pro patribus,*
'*Et ut Patri sit melius.*

'The Queen was the more offended at this Dis-'grace happening in her Family, as it was too pub-'lick to be concealed; but time wore it off, and 'the Lady was married sometime after. The Court came to *Lyons*, towards the middle of *June* 1564. So that since the Lady lay-in during the time of this Progress, it may reasonably be supposed, that her Child was born the 25th. of *May* the same Year. Therefore the Author of the Romance might have guess'd right at the Day, tho' not at the Year.

(D) *That she lost not the Queen's good Grace.*] This is the Opinion of the fore-mention'd Author of the Romance. *The Queen* (says he) (a) *who at that time stood in need of the Prince of* Condé *to ballance the over-grown Power of the House of* Guise, *had Compassion on human Frailty.* He supposes, that Madamoiselle continued her Place as Maid of Honour to the Queen, and that she tried to diffuade the Prince from taking Arms. *Madamoiselle de Limeuil*, says he, (b) Companion of Mademoiselle *du Rouet*, (c) *and Maid of Honour, as well as she with whom the Prince of* Condé *had formerly lived, even to a Familiarity, which for some time incommoded her, did all that was possible to change his Passion for War into a Passion of another Kind, in which the Comfort and Knowledge had some thing much more agreeable. She knew his Inclination, and valiant as he was, she doubted not but he was as sensible to Love as Glory. She writ to him, and desired him to consider, that he was going to make War with a Person with whom he had some time been upon better Terms, since her Religion plac'd her in the number of his Enemies.* This Author's mistaken; for it's certain, the Queen put her in a Convent, and ordered her to be close confined. (d) This ought not to be suppress'd in the *Discours merveilleux de la vie de Catherine de Medicis.* Let us see what the Author of this Satyr observes concerning *la Limeuil*. He says (e) that the Prince of *Condé* began to be in Love with her during his Confinement, and that his young Lady *was one of the Maids the Queen-Mother had set to debauch him, every thing being lawful to Ambition, provided it can compass its Designs.* Having mentioned the Peace concluded the 18th. of *March* 1563, he says (f) that the Queen, *to destroy the Prince of* Condé's *Reputation with his Party, constantly treated him at the Expence of the Honour of* Limeuil, *who grew big with Child. And the Queen, to put the best face upon it that she could, pretending to storm at* Limeuil, *this young Lady had the Boldness to tell her, that she only followed the Example of her Mistress, and observed her Commands.* This is all he says, Fair Dealing required that he should have owned, that *Limeuil* was banished and cloyster'd.

(a) Pag. 70. édit. de Hollande, 1681.

(b) Pag. 132.

(c) *Mistress to the King of* Navarre.

(d) *See the Latin Rhymes of the preceding Remark.*

(e) *Discours merveilleux de la vie de Cather. de Medicis p.* m. 42.

(f) *Ibid. pag.* 46.

(E) *There is much Variation in it.*] In the *Discours Merveilleux*, it's said, that the Prince loved *la Limeuil*, from the Time of his Imprisonment, after the Battle of *Dreux*, but Mr. *Mezerai* and Mr. *Varillas* affirm, that his Love commenc'd not till after the first Peace. *Varillas* says, that the Queen proposed to marry her to the Prince, and that the young Lady flattering her self with the Hopes of this Honour, stuck at no means for attaining it; but the other Historian attributes the Hopes of Wiving to the Marechalle *de St. Andre* alone. *Varillas* says, that the Prince was loved by both these Ladies at the same time, and that they rivalled each other, the one bestowing on him her Estate, the other her Maidenhead. *Mezerai* says nothing of this Contest; he (g) supposes, that the Prince was a Widower, when the Queen projected a Match between him and the Marechalle; if so, what becomes of the Rivalship mentioned by *Varillas*; that Rivalship which made these two Ladies strive (which should be the most Prodigal of their Favours to the Prince? This is only a Chimera, according to *Mezerai*'s System; for *Eleonora de Roye* (g) was still alive, when *Limeuil* lay-in, and thus before the Prince was a Widower, this Lady had left the Court in Disgrace, and retired to a Monastery. She did not therefore dispute the Point with Madam the Marechalle, nor oppose the Present of her Maidenhead to the Grant of the Estate of *Valeri* in *Gatenois*.

(EΔ) *And afterwards married* Scipio Sardini.] I trust much more to the Authors I have cited, than to the Publisher of the Gallantries of the Kings of *France*. Mademoiselle de Limeuil, says he (h), *having lain-in, indeavoured to Comfort her self for the loss of the great Hopes she had conceived, by marrying* Jeoffrey de Caulac, *Lord of* Fremon, *who had loved her a long time, and whom she had neglected, ever since her Intrigue with the Prince of* Condé. *Scipio Sardini* had been one of the *Italian* Farmers of the Revenues, who made their Fortunes in *France*, under *Catherine de Medicis*. I have read (i) a Contract past between the Clergy of *France* and him, the 4th of *March* 1588, *for the Offices of alternate Recievers, and two Comptrollers of the Hereditary Tenths in each Dioceses of this Kingdom, and of other Subsidies and Duties.* He is there called the Noble *Scipio Sardini*, a *Lucchese* Gentleman *living in the City of* Paris, *in the Parish of St.* Severinus. 'Tis doubtless the same *Scipio Sardini* who took *Baudius* (k) into his House, and allow'd him a Pension, the same also whom *Bassompierre* sometimes mention in his Memoirs, of whom I find this particular at the 21st Page of the *Thuana*. 'The Life of *Castruccio Castracani de gli* 'Interminelli, written by *Aldo Manucci*, is very 'fine, and quite different from that written by *Machiave*,——This Life is very well worth the look-'ing after: I never saw but one Copy of it, and that 'was in the Hands of the Lord *Scipio Sardini*: he had 'it from one *Interminelli* the same who had prevail'd on '*Manucci* to write this Life. I believe it is printed at *Lucca* in *4to.* in *Italian*. It's a fine piece".

(g) *Mezerai, Hist. de France, tome* 2. *pag.* 133.

(h) *She died the* 23*d. of* July 1564. La Limeuil *lay-in during the Progress of* Lyons. *The Court arrived at* Lyons *about the middle of* June, 1564.

(i) *Galanter. des Rois de France, tom.* 1. 1. *pag.* m. 255.

(k) *It's inserted in the* 2*d. Book of the Collections of Edicts, Orders, Agreements, and other Matters relating to the Clergy of* France. *fol.* 120. *and the following Edit.*

(F) *She rebuffed the Constable of* Montmorency.] I'll tell the Story just as I find it in *Brantome*. (l) One 'Day at the Siege of *Roan* (m), as the Queen went 'to the Fort of S. *Katherine de Rouen*, attended 'with her Maids of Honour, the Constable having 'said a word to her, and taken his leave, overtook 'Mademoiselle *de Limeuil*, one of the handsomest 'spriteliest Maids of the Court, and who had Wit 'at Will, and he came upon Horseback to salute her, 'intending to have some Discourse with her, and 'always called her his Mistress, and would ride 'close by her side; for the good Man was no Enemy 'to Beauty or Love, either in Words or Deeds; for 'he had play'd some pranks in his Youth, which I 'will not mention. Mademoiselle *de Limeuil*, who 'was not in her best Humour that Day, took little 'notice of him; for she could be proud enough when 'she pleas'd, and began to huffe him strangely, and bid 'him be gone about his Business, who said to her, Truly 'my Mistress, I am going; you snub me severely. 'Tis 'but fit, answered she, that you should meet with 'some body to snub you, since you make it your busi-'ness to snub all Mankind. Adieu then, said he, 'my Mistress, I'll leave you, for you have given 'me my own.

(l) Brantome, *in the Eloge of this Constable, 2d. Tom. of his Memoires, p.* m. 71, 72.

(m) Roan *was besieged in Autumne,* 1562.

(G) *A passage of* Brantome *concerning her.*] I don't fear that the judicious will declare against my Conjecture, when they have well examined the Circumstances of the following Story. It's difficult not to find in it Mademoiselle *de La Limeuil* and the Prince of *Conde*.

Her eldeſt Siſter, Maid of Honour to *Katherine de Medicis*, died at Court. *Brantome* (H) ſpeaks of her.

LINAGER (*Thomas*) an *Engliſh* Phyſician, and one of the Learnedeſt (A) Perſons of the XVIth Century, Studied at *Florence* under *Demetrius Chalcondylus* and *Politian*, and ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Modeſty and genteel Behaviour, that *Lorenzo de Medicis* made him the Companion of his Childrens Studies. He lived afterwards at *Rome*, and was in great eſteem with *Hermolaus Barbarus*. Being returned to *England*, he was appointed Præceptor to Prince *Arthur*, eldeſt Son to *Henry* VII. and Dedicated to him the *Latin* Verſion (B) of *Proclus*'s Sphere. He was pitched upon with two other * *Engliſhmen* for the Tranſlating of *Ariſtotle*; but this Deſi[gn] abandoned by his Companions. He Tranſlated ſome Tracts of *Galen* into *Lat*[in] and publiſhed a learned (C) Work *de emendata Latini ſermonis ſtructura*. He was Phyſician to the King of *England*, and the Princeſs *Mary*, and bequeathed a Houſe (D) to the College of

* *Latimer & Crocinius.*

(a) *Brantome, Memoires des Dames galantes, tome 2. pag.* 392.

(a) I have known another Prince, but not ſo great (b), who during his firſt Marriage, and his Widowhood (c), fell in Love with a very handſome young Lady, to whom he made, during his Amours and Careſſes, noble Preſents of Carkanets, Rings, Jewels, and Abundance of other fine Things, and amongſt them, a very fine and rich Looking-Glaſs, in which was his Picture. Now the Prince hapned to marry an incomparably handſome and virtuous Princeſs, who made him Diſreliſh his firſt Love, though they were equally beautiful. This Princeſs intreated and teazed Monſieur her Husband to that degree, that he ſent to demand of his firſt Miſtreſs, all the fine Preſents he had made her. This was a heart-breaking for the Lady; however, ſhe had a Heart ſo great and noble, though ſhe was not a Princeſs but of one of the beſt Houſes in *France*, that ſhe ſent him back all his Preſents, and amongſt t[he] the reſt, a Looking-Glaſs with his P[ic]ture; but firſt, to grace it the more, ſhe took a [pen] Ink, and fixed a Pair of Horns to the Tem[ples] of his Forehead, and delivering all to the Gentleman, ſaid to him: Here Friend, carry this to your Maſter, which I ſend him juſt as I received it, having for my part, naither added nor diminiſhed, though ſomething has grown to it ſince of its own accord; and tell that fine Princeſs his Wife, who has ſo much importuned him to demand what he had given me, that if a certain Lord in the World (naming him, as I could do, if I pleaſed) had ſerved her Mother ſo, and re-demanded and reſumed, what he had given for lying with her, and giving him Kiſſes and Dips of Love, ſhe would be as poor in Trinkets and Jewels, as any Lady at Court; and her Head, which is ſo loaded with 'em at the coſt of ſuch a Lord, and heretofore of her Mother, would be only decked, with Flowers out of the Garden, inſtead of theſe Stones; but let her make her beſt uſe of 'em, I ſcorn to keep 'em. They who knew this Lady, would eaſily judge ſhe gave this Anſwer; and ſhe told it me her ſelf, for ſhe was very free of Diſcourſe; however, ſhe had like to have come by the worſt, as well from the Husband as the Wife, who were equally affronted; but they ought to blame themſelves; for why would they thus provoke and enrage this poor Lady, who 'twas ſaid had earned theſe Preſents dearly enough with the Sweat of her Brow. This young Lady being one of the fineſt and moſt agreeable Perſons of her Time, notwithſtanding the uſe this Prince had made of her Body, light on a very rich Match, though not of an equal Family; ſo that happening to upbraid one another with the Honour which each had done the other, ſhe who was ſo great in marrying him; he anſwered her, I have done more for you, than you for me; for I have diſhonoured my ſelf to retrieve your Honour, meaning, that as ſhe had loſt it when a Maid, he had repaired it, by making her his Wife.

(b) *He had been juſt ſpeaking of the Adventure of a certain very great Foreigner.*

(H) *Brantome ſpeaks of her.*] In theſe Words, (c) *The Elder* Limueil, *at her firſt coming to Court, happened to make a Lampoon: (for ſhe ſpoke and wrote well) upon all the Court, which however was rather diverting than ſcandalous; but aſſure your ſelf ſhe (d) had her ſoundly jerk'd with two of her Companions, who were privy to it; and but that ſhe had the Honour to be related to her by the Houſe of* Tourain, *allied to that of* Bouillon, *ſhe had been ignominiouſly chaſtiſed, by the expreſs Command of the King (e) who deteſted ſuch Writings.* In his Elogy of *Catherine de Medicis* he obſerves that this young Lady died at Court. He tells us in another place a remarkable thing [of] her. *During her ſickneſs*, ſays he, (f) *of which ſhe died, ſhe never left off Diſcourſing; for ſhe was a great talker, and of a Satirical Wit, which ſhe exerciſed very ſeaſonably and well, and was very handſome withal; when ſhe came to her dying Hour, ſhe called her Valet (for each of the Maids of Honour had one) whoſe name was* Julian, *and who play'd very well on the Violin.* Julian, ſaid ſhe, *take the Violin and play till you ſee me dead (for I am a going) The [Dance] of the Swiſſe, the beſt you can. And when [you come] to the Word* All's Loſt, *play it four or [five times] over in the dolefulleſt Notes you can; which he did, and ſhe aſſiſted him with her Voice, and when they came to* All's Loſt, *ſhe repeated it twice, then turning her ſelf to the other ſide of the Bed, ſhe ſaid to her Companions, All's Loſt this Inſtant in good earneſt, and ſo expired. 'Twas a merry pleaſant Death: I had [the] Story from two of her Companions who [were] by at it, and who ſaw the Scene.* They [who] wou'd give a Catalogue of Perſons who have d[ied] toying, muſt not forget this young Lady.

(c) *Brantome, Dames galantes, tome 2. pag.* 366.

(d) *That's to ſay,* Catherine de Medicis.

(e) *That's to ſay, of* Henry II.

(f) *Ibid. pag.* 341.

(A) *One of the learneſt Perſons of the* XVIth. *Century.*] Conſult Mr. *Baillet* and *Pope Blount* who have collected the Praiſes that had been given him, the former in the 4th *Tome* (g) of the Judgments of the Learned; the latter at the 376, and 377 Pages of his *Cenſura celebriorum authorum.*

(g) *Pag. [illegible] 3[illegible]*

(B) *Dedicated to Prince* Arthur *the* Latin *Verſion of* Proclus's *Sphere.*] (h) *Paulus Jovius* and (i) *George Lilius* affirm it; and yet *Eraſmus* tells us, this Book was Dedicated to *Henry* VII. who made no Account of it, becauſe ſome invidious Perſon had told him that it was not the firſt Tranſlation of *Proclus* (k) *Thoma Linacro peſſimè ceſſit quid Proculum à ſe denuò verſum Regi hujus parti dicârat.* Andreas *quidam* Tolaſates (l) *præceptor* Arthuri *principis & in regnum paternum ſuc[ceſſor] niſi mors antevertiſſet, cæcus adulator, ne[c] [au]ctor tantum, ſed & delator peſſimus, Regem [ce]pit hoc libelli jam olim fuiſſe verſum à neſcio [quo] & erat, ſed miſere. Hanc ob cauſam Rex & minus aſpernatus eſt, & in* Linacrum *velut in impoſtorem inexpiabile concepit odium. Eraſmus* tells us on this occaſion a mad Freak of *Henry* VII.

(h) *Jovius in Elog. doct. viro. p. m.* 1467.

(i) *Georg. Lilius in Elog. quorund. Anglorum, pag.* 93.

(k) *Eraſm. Epiſt.* 14. *lib.* 26. *pag.* 1424.

(C) *Publiſhed a learned Work* de emendata [Latini] ſermonis ſtructura.] It was often printed. I [have] only the *Venice* Edition *apud Aldum* 1557. [in] The Preface is wanting. It had been dedicated to the Princeſs *Mary*, as we are aſſured in the following words: (m) *Sed & de emendata Latini ſermonis ſtructura, ex præſtantiſſimorum authorum obſervationes compoſitum volumen paulo antea, quam vita excederet, publicavit, adſcripta prefatiuncula Mariæ Henrici Octavi ex Catharina Hiſpana conjugis filiæ, laudatiſſima indolis & admirabili virtutum omnium concentu ad omnem gratiam promerendam nate Principi, cui renovato prudentiſſimi patris exemplo Henricus Rex Linacrum à tuenda ſanitate præfectum adhibuit.* Mr. *Baillet* (n) citing the Page from whence I take this *Latin*, ſays that the Author relates that *Eraſmus* and *Budeus* prailed *Linacer* for having written this Treatiſe. I don't find this in my Edition.

(l) *Georgius Lilius ubi ſupra, pag.* 93.

(m) *Baillet Jugem. des Sav. tome 4. pag.* 85.

(n) *Georg. Lilius ubi ſupra, pag.* 94.

(D) *He bequeathed a Houſe to the College of Phyſicians.*] Theſe words are a Tranſlation of thoſe of *Gregorius Lilius, Londini obiit, bonaſq. domo in ea [Me]dicorum Collegio ex teſtamento reliſt* (o). *Paulus Jovius* expreſſes himſelf thus: *Honeſtum domicilium Londini Medicorum Collegio dedicavit.* Neither of them have been exact; for it ſhou'd have been that *Linacer* built the College of Phyſicians at *London*, and was firſt Preſident of it. This is what is affirmed in his Epitaph (p) 'Tis ſaid alſo that he Founds

(o) *Jovius ubi ſupra, pag.* 146.

(p) *Apud Pope Blount ubi infra.*

of Physicians. He died at the Age of 64 (E) and was buried at *London* in S. *Paul's* Church. He had a Benefice given him in 1515, and went into [a] Priests Orders. *Erasmus* commends him highly, but makes him guilty of the same Fault (F) as *Paulus Emilius*; that is, of being too hard to be satisfied with his own Works, and reviewing and touching 'em over too often.

[a] Taken from Paulus Jovius in Elog. viror. doctor. cap. 63. See also Lilius ad calcem Jovii Britannia descript. pag. 92. & seq.

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Founded three publick Lectures in Physick, two at *Oxford*, and one at *Cambridge*.

(E) *He* [illegible] *the Age of 64.*] I should have said in *Febr*[illegible]25, had I followed the Account of an [illegible] Author, which has been printed with *Paulus Jovius*; for these are his Words, (a) *Londini obiit .... sepultus est in divi Pauli templo maximo, Septentrionalis portæ ingressum, eo fere tempore, quo Franciscus Gallorum Rex ad Ticinum in Cisalpinis pugnans, à Cæsarea*[illegible]*us est.* But 'tis better to say with M[illegible] *Thomas Linacer* died the 20th of *October*, 1524. Mr *Pope Blunt* (b) says so too, and yet he mentions this Physician's Epitaph, in which the Day of his Death is fixed to the 7th of *October* 1524.

(a) *Georgius Lilius in elogiis quorundam Anglorum, p. 94.*

(b) *Pope Blount censor. Author. pag. 377.*

(F) Erasmus *highly commends him, but makes him guilty of the same Fault as* Paulus Emilius.] I pass over the Encomiums he has given him. They are to be found in his *Ciceron*[illegible]*nus*, and in several places in his Letters. I shall confine my self to his blaming him for h[illegible]*too nice a Judgment* (c) *Nec multum a*[illegible]*ab hoc vitio*, says he, where he describes the Humour of the Historian *Paulus Emilius*. He wrote a Letter to him in 1521. in which he intreats him not to make the publick Languish, and deprive it so long of the Works which were impatiently expected from his [illegible]. He[illegible]*him*, that 'tis to be feared his Con[illegible]*will rather thought a cruelty, than a* [illegible] *because* [illegible] (f) *As tu si mihi permittis, ut* [illegible] *secum agam, sine sine premis tuas omnium eruditissimè*[illegible]*lucubrationes, ut periculum sit, ne pro cauta modestoque crudelis habearis, qui studia hujus seculi tam lenta tot quasi expectatione tuorum voluminum. Forsasse terret te nostrum exemplum, sed etiam atque etiam vide, dum studiosius vitas nostram culpam, in diversum defectus.* The Fault our *Linacer* is blam'd for is not very common with Authors, and yet in some respects it may be thought too frequent; for the generality 'tis not the bad or midling Authors that are guilty of it; but the most excellent Pens. It were to be wished, that they who published so many ill Pieces, and ill digested Books, which are hardly of any use to the Republick of Learning, would overstrain the Maxim, *That one ought to let a writing lie by in his Closet for* (g) *nine years.* 'Twere well if such would run into an excess of Delicacy, and never think they had finished a Composition. It rarely happens that they have a th[illegible] of this kind, tho' if they frequently had, [illegible] be sorry for it. But 'tis a misfortune that a [illegible] Ingenious Man should be like that famous Painter, who never knew when his Pictures were finished, and whose failing *Apelles* knew to well: *Cum Protogenis opus immensi laboris ac curæ supra modum anxiæ miraretur* (Apelles) *dixit* [illegible] *omnia sibi cum illo paria esse aut illi meliora: sed uno se præstare, quod manum willi deducere tabula non sciret tollere: memorabili præcepto, nocere sæpe nimiam diligentiam.* These words of *Pliny* are excellent they contain a Proverb which *Erasmus* applies to the Learned, of *Linacer*'s difficult Taste, and teach us, that a too forc'd and obstinate exactness often Marrs the whole Work. I'll give you *Erasmus*'s Application of it (h) *Peculiariter autem convenisse* (proverbium, manum de tabula) *in quosdam scriptores plus satis accuratos, & morosæ cujusdam diligentiæ, qui sine fine premunt suas lucubrationes, semper aliquid addentes, adimentes, immutantes, & hoc ipso maxime peccantes, quia nihil peccare conantur.* But what comes of this over-scrupulous exactness? Why much Loss to the Publick, and much Prejudice to the Authors who aim at it. The publick is too long deprived of the good it might reap from the compositions of great Authors, even tho' they should fall short of the Perfection which they might have given 'em; nay, it's often deprived of 'em for ever; because they die, before they have disposed them in a method, from whence their Friends or Executors might draw any Advantage. [illegible] compose with too difficult a Judgment, [illegible] their Productions with extream severity [illegible] at last discouraged by the Labour, and afraid of touching their own Work. They look on it as a Rack, and painful Business, and delay as much as possible the setting their Hand to it; the remembrance of the fatigue they have been at in altering one Page, makes 'em dread the event; so they suffer whole Months to pass without returning to the painful Task; and thus while we imagine that their Book is far advanced, because we know it has been in hand for ten or twelve Years, nothing is found except perhaps some rough Draughts, and disjointed Pieces; and it often happens, that they die before the Work has recieved its Form. Hereby they deprive themselves of the Glory they might aspire to; some are more happy; they are indefatigable, and by assiduous filing and polishing their Compositions, without any intermission, they at last find 'em worthy of publick notice; but the pains they are at to please themselves, very often Marrs all, for there's a certain degree of Correctness beyond which nothing can be done, but what instead of perfecting the Work, and giving it more Nerves and Strength, weakens and dispirits it. (i) *Perfectum opus absolutumque est, nec jam splendescit limâ, sed attenuatur.* *Pliny* the younger, who uses these words in one of his Letters, makes use of the same thought in another place, to shew his Friend the Mischief of an over-correctness. (k) *Diligentiam tuam in retractandis operibus valde probo. Est tamen aliquis modus, primum, quod nimia cura exegit magis, quam emendat; deinde, quod nos a rebus revocat, simulque nec absolvit priora, & futuris posteriora non patitur. Vale.* *Quintilian*, another great Master, lays down the same Principle, and explains it admirably and declares that a writing by continual mending and new molding, looses its natural Force. The sound Parts, says he, are cut off, the Blood drained, and it looks like a Body all over in Scars: How fine is his Expression! (l) *Et ipsa emendatio finem habet. Sunt enim qui ad omnia scripta tanquam vitiosa redeant; & quasi nihil fas sit rectum esse quod primum est, melius existiment quid est aliud, idque faciant quoties librum in manus resumpserint, similes medicis etiam integra secantibus. Accidit itaque ut cicatricosa sint, & exanguia, & cura pejora. Sit igitur aliquando quod placeat, aut certè quod sufficiat; ut opus poliat lima, non exterat.* The Orator *Calvus* was an instance of this. He set up too severe a Court of Inquisition against his own Writings, and by disciplining 'em over rigorously, and to a degree of Superstition, broke the Constitution, and even the Heart of 'em. (m) *Accuratius quoddam dicendi & exquisitius afferebat genus: quod quanquam scienter eleganterque tractabat, nimium tamen inquirens in se, atque ipse sese observans, metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio, nimia religione attenuata, &c.* *Quintilian* (n) calls it Self-Calumny. Here's a Metaphor which a modern Author has made use of on this occasion. (o) 'There are some 'barren Wits, says he, who having made an Effay once 'in their Life, never leave combing it till they have 'plucked the very Hairs off, and after all it proves 'an Abortion'. We may reckon *Sannazar*, in the number of the Moderns, who have been troubled with *Calvus* the Orator's Distemper. *We can't forbear* (p) *blaming this Poet's making his Poem groan and cry under the File for so long together, and his having too much worn, and wasted it, under pretence of polishing it more and more.*

(c) *Erasm. apophthegm. lib. 6. pag. m. 524.*

(d) *Erasmus ibid. to vouz 3. n. 19. pag. m. 165.*

(e) *Plinius Epist. 11. lib. 5.*

(f) *Id. 35. lib. 9.*

(g) *Nonumque prematur in annum. Horat. de arte poet. p. m. 170.*

(h) *Erasmus ibid. to vouz 3. n. 19. pag. m. 165.*

(i) *Plinius Epist. 11. lib. 5.*

(k) *Id. 35. lib. 9.*

(l) *Quintil. lib. 10 cap. 4. p. m. 488.*

(m) *Cicero in Bruto p. m. 410.*

(n) Invenî qui Ciceroni crederent cum (Calvum) nimia contra se calumnia verum sanguinem perdidisse. *Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1 p. 475.*

(o) *Garasse Apolog. pag. 313.*

(p) *Baillet Jugem. sur les poetes tom. 3. pag. 142.*

(q) *See Mr. de Vigneul Marville at the 224. pag. of his Melanges, Edit. of Rouan 1699.*

The Remarks I have made on this occasion, will not be thought Foreign by those who consider what I had to prove. I was to shew, that the Pains *Linacer* took to satisfie himself in his Compositions was a Fault. This seeming a Paradox, it was necessary to reason upon it, and to produce Authorities. But I desire it may be remembred, that this does not universally respect all those, who vigorously apply themselves to refine and reform their Writings. They do well, and are very commendable, provided they run not into Excess (q). The only thing that can with any Colour of Reason be blamed, *is the Intemperance in this Point. Non amo nimium*

LINGELSHEIM (*George Michael*) Præceptor [a] and afterwards Counſellor to the Elector *Palatine*, flouriſhed in the beginning of XVIIth Century. He was born at *Strasburg* [β]. He has been reckon'd (*A*) the Author of a Book intituled *Idolum Hallenſe*, in which *Lipſius* is ſeverely handled. He kept a Correſpondence by Letters with *Bongars*; but 'tis a miſtake to affirm (*B*) that he was his Secretary, and that he publiſhed the Letters they wrote to one another. I have elſewhere ſaid [γ], that he was the Depoſitary of Mr. *de Thou*'s Manuſcript.

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[a] *Scaligerana*, pag. m. 141.
[β] *Ibid.* pag. 162.
[γ] *In the Article of* Camden, pag. 782. col. 2.

nimium diligentes, ſaid a Noble Perſon (*a*) among the ancient *Romans*. I have two things to ſay before I conclude. There are ſome Authors who are a hundred Times harder to be pleaſed in the beginning, than in the Sequel of their Work; Raſures, Blots, Alterations, and other Symptoms of a diſſatisfied Judgment, appear chiefly in the firſt Lines of the Original. This has been obſerved in the Manuſcript of a Tract (*b*) of *Plato*, and of that of *Petrarch*. Here's a Paſſage of *Muretius*, where *Ariſto* is tax'd with the ſame Nicety. (*c*) *Audivi à maximis viris, quique id facillime noſſe poterant, Ludovicum Arioſtum, nobiliſſimum nobiliſſimæ domus præconem, in duobus primis grandioris illius poematis ſui verſibus plus quam credi poteſt laboraſſe, neque ſibi prius animum expiere potuiſſe, quam cum illos in omnem partem diu multumque verſaſſet. Idem accidit & nobiliſſimo Etruſcorum poetarum Franciſco Petrarchæ: cujus ex autographo, quod habuit vir præſtantiſſimus Petrus Bembus, facile cernitur, eum in limando ſecundo item poematum ſuorum verſu ſæpe ſudaſſe.* Mr. *de Vigneul Marville* ſays, 'There are Writers, who 'are infinitely at a Loſs how to begin, but run it off 'apace, when once the way is opened. The firſt 'Lines of *Thuanus*'s Hiſtory coſt him more 'Pains than all the reſt, but when once he had con-'quered that Difficulty, he made great Speed. The other thing I have to ſay, is, that there are Authors, who reviſing a Work they deſign to reprint, are at greater Pains, than at the firſt Compoſition. They apply themſelves with more Pleaſure and Scrupulouſneſs, to correct a printed Copy, than a Manuſcript. But for the moſt part 'tis loſt Labour, for there are few who compare Editions, and unleſs they be patiently and skilfully compared, the Importance of the Corrections is not perceived. Such a Place of a Second Edition (*d*), which contains no more Lines than the firſt, or even not ſo many, is changed from Lead to Gold, but where are thoſe who perceive this? I have ſpoke elſewhere of thoſe who write with Difficulty, or without it, and I ſhall ſpeak of 'em again (*e*) elſewhere.

[b] *That* de Republica. *See* Dionyſius Hallicarnaſſeus de collocat. verbor. cap. 93. p. m. 69.
[c] *Muret variar. lect. lib.* 18. *cap.* 8. *p.m.* 1207.
[d] *Confer quæ ſupra, pag.* 466. *col.* 2.
[e] *In the Remark* G *of the Article* Malherbe.
[f] *See* Scaligerana, voce Lingelſhemius, *and the Letters of* Lingelſheim, pag. 194.
[†] *Scaligerana, ib.*
[g] *See his Letters, lib.* 4. *Epiſt* 315.
[h] *Scaligerana*, voce Denaiſius.
[i] *Placcius de anonymis, n.* 51. *pag.* 18.
[k] *In vitis Juriſconſult. pag.* 447.
[l] *In the Key to the Letters, pag.* 153. & 185. opuſculorum edit. Ultraj. 1669.
[m] *Baudius, Epiſt.* 10. *centur.* 2. *pag. m.* 267.

(*A*) *He has been reckoned the Author of a Book ——— in which* Lipſius *is ſeverely handled.*] He ſent Copies of it (*f*) to his Friends, and demanded their Opinion of it with an Importunity, that beſpoke him the Author. It was therefore excuſeable to judge him the Author of the *Idolum Hallenſe*. *Scaliger*, that great Critick, went upon other Reaſons, which he thought diſcovered *Lingelſheim*'s Genius in this Work. *Autor de idolo Hallenſi eſt Lingelſheim*, ſaid he (†), *be it was that ſent me a Copy——— I diſcover in the* Idolum Hallenſe, *the Turns of* Lingelſheim's *Wit; I know him very well; he ſent me the Book, and deſired me to write him my Judgment of it.* This was what he ſaid in Converſation; he confirmed it in a Letter (*g*) he wrote to *Lingelſheim*, concerning the *Idolum Hallenſe*, in which he aſcribed this Work to him, and commended him much for it; but he was afterwards informed, that *Denaiſius* was the Author of it. *Lingelſheim*, ſaid he (*h*) *wrote to me, that* Denaiſius, *Aſſeſſor of the Imperial Chamber is the Author of the* Idolum Hallenſe; *and becauſe he lived among the Jeſuits, he deſired not to be named.* Mr. *Placcius* has very well obſerv'd, that the Judgment of this Top-Critick was not always well-founded. (*i*) *Hac ſane vice erravit, & infeliciter criſin ſuam quam ipſemet tantopere prædicare ſolebat, exercuit Heros ille Criticorum Hypercriticus.* He cites *Melchior Adam* (*k*), who has aſcrib'd this Work to its true Author *Peter Denaiſius*; he obſerves, that *Colomies* was ignorant of the Truth of this Affair, having ſaid in two Places (*l*) that *Lingelſheim* was the Author of this Book. *Baudius* judg'd like *Scaliger*, affirming, that the publick Voice was agreeable to his Conjecture; ſo true it is, that the ſkilfulleſt are ſubject to err, in conjectures of this kind (*m*), *Viro gravi & ſapienti Johanni Lingelsbemio officioſam ſalutem nunciari cupio. Conſentiens fama eſt eum eſſe auctorem libelli de Idolo Hallenſi adverſus Lipſium; & id ipſe conjeceram eum primum in manus meas venit. Non eſt quod patrem pudeat ſuæ prolis, cum non puduerit tantum virum tales nugas effutire in dedecus anteparta fama.* Mr. *Teiſſier* (*n*) has followed the Crowd. In all appearance, *Lingelſheim* told *Bongars*, that *Denaiſius* was Author of this *Idol of* Hall; See his 157th Letter. This Book was printed in 1605, in *4to*, with this Title, *Diſſertatio de Idolo Hallenſi Juſti Lipſii mangonio & phaleris exornato atque producto.* I have read in a Letter (*o*) of *Lingelſheim*, that *Goldaſt* was thought the Author of this Book; and that the *Amphitheatrum honoris* aſcribes it to *Scaliger*. Another Letter of *Lingelſheim* informs us, that *Goldaſt* had the care of the Impreſſion, and that this created him many Enemies; for this Book exaſperated the Jeſuits beyond Meaſure. (*p*) *Quam gaudeo probari tibi ſcriptum de Idolo, certe omnium bonorum cum magno applauſu acceptus eſt, ſed facetiæ illæ ſcholaſticæ commoverunt noſtros Academicos, adeo ut Rector diſtractionem libelli edicto inhibuerit, & jam vindictam ſpirant magiſtri, eo quod nimis contumelioſus ſit interpres in totum ordinem, & quia Goldaſtum editorem hujus ludi ex typographo cognoverunt, & ſtilis & telis in illum inſurgunt, atque etiam aulicos in partes trahunt, quæ nimis ruſticatim ille petigerit.* In another Letter he obſerves, that the *Carmelite* (*q*), who anſwered for *Juſtus Lipſius*, vomited a Thouſand Reproaches againſt *Bongars*, and looked on him as Author of the *Idol*. *Lingelſheim* would have had *Bongars* demand Juſtice againſt him from the *French* Embaſſador. a (*r*) *Indignatus ſum quum repeti anagramma ſuæ obnigræ, ubi monaſtico acumine ſuſpicionem ſuam prodit quaſi tu autor eſſes. Cogitavi, anne per Oratorem Regium qui Bruxella eſt, ſi eſt tibi amicus, negotium poſſit illi creari poſſet ob atroces injurias quas in te effundit, cùm tamen author libri non ſis, & quam voluptatem in maledicendo cepit, eandem in lite moleſta & infamia quæ condemnatos injuriarum manet, perdat. Lipſius* anſwered nothing, 'twas the beſt thing he could do; his Friends turn this Silence to his Honour; they ſaid he generouſly deſpiſed his Adverſary, and like a Maſtiff who keeps on his way, without turning aſide to worry a little Cur that barks at him, he would not leſſen himſelf by a Conteſt with this Anonymous Author. This is the general way of ſpeaking, when People know not what to anſwer. *Exinde maledicta acerbiora neſcio quis terræ filius*, Idoli Hallenſis (*ô Lucianæam blaſphemiam igne Tartareo expiandam!*) *titulo mentito, ſparſit in vulgus. Sed prudentioribus amicis ſuadentibus*, LIPSIUS *fluit, & judicio contemſit, atque adeo contentu ſolo novum iſtum Porphyrium vincendum eſſe cenſuit. Sic fere generoſior moloſſus importunum catulum ſtolide adlatrantem præterit, nec dente aut pugna dignatur* (*s*).

(*B*) *'Tis a Miſtake to affirm, that he was his Secretary, and that he.*] I lay this againſt the Learned Mr. *Morhof*, whoſe Words are theſe: (*t*) *Bongarſii & Lingelſhemii epiſtolæ editæ ſunt Argentor.* (*w*) *an.* 1660. *in* 12. *Erat Bongarſius vir ſuo tempore magni nominis ſub Henrico IV. negotiis publicis ſæpe admotus——Lingelſheimius itidem vir in publica dignitate conſtitutus & ad Helvetios legatus, olim Bongarſio ab epiſtolis literas Bongarſianas una cum ſuis publicavit: fuit enim inter illos commercium literarum mutuum.* Compare this with the Bookſellers Preface, and you'll wonder how ingenious Men ſhould be impoſed upon in ſo egregious a manner. The Fate of Authors is deplorable; for even when they fancy they apply their ſtrongeſt Attention, they miſtake the Sence of a moſt eaſie Paſſage: I much fear, this has often been my own Misfortune. Here's what the Bookſeller of *Strasburg* declares before his Edition. *Legi hic Bongarſii & Lingelſhemii Epiſtolas multa eruditione & variis prudentiæ documentis plenas, honoficio nobiliſſimi Amplifſimique dignitatis viri qui Inclytæ Reip. ad Helvetios, legatus à clariſſimo viro Dn. Franciſco Veyranio eas ut lucem*

[n] *Addit. aux elogem. t.* 2. *pag.* 383.
[o] *It's in the Collection of Letters written to* Goldaſt, *printed in* 1688. *pag.* 167.
[p] Lingelſheim, *Epiſt.* 67. *ad Bongarſium.*
[q] *He was call'd* Anaſtaſius Cichleticus. *His Book is intituled* Palæſtra honoris D. Virginis Halenſis pro Juſto Lipſio contra Exercitationem nentiti Idoli Halenſis 1607.
[r] Lingelſheim, *Ep.* 76. *ad Bongarſium, pag.* 228.
[s] *Auber. Miraus in vita Lipſii, ad ann.* 1605. *p.m.* 24.
[t] *Morhofius, Polyhiſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 24. *p.* 396.
[w] *See the Article* Bongars, *Remark* H.

LINGENDES (*Claude de*) one of the moſt famous Preachers of the XVIIth. Century, was born at *Moulins* in 1591, and became a Jeſuit at *Lions* in 1607. He taught Rhetorick and the Liberal Arts for ſome time; but as he had a wonderful Talent for the Pulpit, he applied himſelf moſtly to preaching, and got ſuch Reputation, that few Preachers were thought to equal, but none to excel him. He was Rector of the College of *Moulins* for Eleven Years, and afterwards Provincial of the Province of *France*. He was thrice deputed to *Rome*, to the general Aſſemblies of the Society, and died at *Paris*, Superior of the Profeſs'd Houſe, the 12th of *April* 1660 [a]. Not in the Year 1666, as *Moreri* aſſures us. His Sermons were publiſhed after his Death. I ſhall ſay (Y) ſomething of them that's remarkable enough. He publiſhed (Z) but [illegible] Books.

LIN[illegible]NDES (*John de*) Native of *Moulines*, and Couſin to the former, was a celebrated Preacher, and roſe by this way to the Biſhoprick of *Sarlat*, and afterwards to that of *Mirepoix*. He made the Funeral Oration of *Lewis* XIII. at S. *Denis*. It was [illegible]ted a [illegible]e after [b]. He was Preceptor to the Count (A) *de Moret*, Natural Son [illegible] IV. in 1619. The Poet (B) *de Lingendes* was his Couſin. This (C) Family is ſtill in being.

LIPPOMAN (*Aloiſius*) a Native (A) of *Venice*, was one of the Learnedeſt Prelates of the XVIth Century. He diſcharged ſeveral Nunciatures with the Reputation of an able Miniſter. The firſt was, as I take it, that of *Portugal*. He was Biſhop of *Modon*, and Coadjutor of *Verona*, when he was ſent from *Boulogne* to *Rome*, together with ſome other Prelates [c] to plead in the Cauſe (B) about Tranſlating the Council in 1548. He gave his Opinion peremptorily in this Aſſembly againſt the Plurality of Benefices. Father *Paul* obſerves [d], who, beſides, gives him the commendation

[a] *Ea hominis celebritate per Galliam annis 36. ut qui eum illo in munere ſuperarit inventus ſit noſtra ætate nemo, & vix ullus qui æquaverit. Natan. Sotuel Bibliot h. Script. Societat. pag. 153.*

[b] *Taken from* Natanael Sotuel, ib.

[c] *See* Abbé de Marolles, *in the Catalogue of the Authors who had given him their Book.*

[d] *Palavic. Hiſt. Concil. Trid. lib. 10. c. 15. n. 2.*

Iucem vidiſſent, acceſſit. Hac venerandus hic ſenex quin contubernio illuſtris Bongarſii duodecim annos, eidem ab epiſtolis vixerat, deſcripſit integras. The Bookſeller ſpeaks here of two Perſons; of the firſt without [illegible] him, and of the ſecond under the [illegible]ame of *Franciſcus Veirac*. The latter wrote his Letters for [illegible]ther, who had been ſent on a Deputation from the Town of *Strasbourg* to the *Swiſs* Cantons. It's doubtleſs of *Veirac* that we muſt underſtand what the Bookſeller declares in the laſt part of the Paſſage before mentioned, 'tis he was Secretary to *Bongars* twelve years; 'tis he copied the Letters, which this Bookſeller publiſhed. *Lingelſheim* had been long dead, when they ſaw the light. Thus Mr. *Morhof* is miſtaken ſeveral (a) ways.

(Y) *I ſhall ſay ſomething of his Sermons that's remarkable.*] I ſhall only ſet down what Mr. *Gallois* has ſaid, ſpeaking of the Sermons upon all the *Lent* Goſpels, by the *R. P. de Lingendes*, printed at *Paris* in 2 Volumes in 8vo. in 1666. ' (b) It's very ' ſurprizing that Father *Lingendes*, whoſe Eloquence ' all *France* admired, ſhould never Study his Expreſſions, but was ſo unconcerned in this point that ' he compoſe'd in *Latin* the Sermons he was to ' preach in *French*. The truth is, this great Man ' conſider'd only [illegible] of Reaſoning, the vehemency of the [illegible]ons, and the Nobleneſs of his ' Figures; he was [illegible] the Opinion of that Antient, ' who look'd upon a Diſcourſe as made, when he ' had nothing to provide, but the Words. After the ' Death of this Father, ſeveral of his Sermons were ' [illegible]liſhed, which were found written with his own ' [illegible]d, and there are already (c) two Editions of ' [illegible]. But that Language not being underſtood by ' every body, a great many wiſh'd they might ſee 'em ' in *French*. The thing ſeem'd to be the eaſier, ' as there would not be ſo much as the trouble ' of Tranſlating 'em. For his Sermons, having been copied by ſeveral Tranſcribers, as he preached 'em, 'twas thought there was no more to do ' but collect and publiſh 'em juſt as they found 'em. ' Nevertheleſs, the diverſity which appeared between ' the different Copies of the ſame Sermons, ſhew'd ' that t[illegible] were not faithfully taken; 'twas therefore t[illegible]t proper to Tranſlate theſe Sermons ' from t[illegible] original *Latin*, yet, without neglecting ' theſe [illegible] Manuſcripts, the Expreſſions whereof have been retain'd as near as poſſible. The ' Tranſitions have alſo been added, the poliſhing and ' ſome few Ornaments, which the heat of Diſcourſe ' furniſhed him, and which are found in all the ' Manuſcripts of the Writers, though not in the ' *Latin* Text; ſo that the *French* Edition is not a ' bare Tranſlation of the *Latin*. But the di[illegible] ' betwixt 'em is, that the *Latin* gives [illegible] ' ſame juſt as the Author writ 'em: The *French* ' as they were delivered from the Pulpit: The firſt ' [illegible] the Analyſis of the Diſcourſe, the ſecond ' the Parts joined together; the one is more uſeful ' to thoſe who would make Sermons, the other proper for thoſe who would only read them. The ' *Latin* Edition is alſo much larger than the *French*. ' For of all the Sermons in the former, only the ' moſt excellent have been cull'd out, and juſt as ' many as are to make a Courſe for *Lent*.

(b) *Journal des Savans du 4. d'Avril, 1667. pag. m. 154.*

1661. in *Quarto*. *Two Years after they publiſhed Ten Sermons of this Jeſuit on the Holy Law ancient, which were ſo much eſteemed, printed in French.*

(Z) *He publiſhed but Two Books.*] One in *Latin*, and the other in *French*. *Votivum monumentum ab urbe Molinenſi Delphino oblatum anno*, 1639, in *Quarto*. Counſels for the Conduct of Life.

(A) *Preceptor to the Count* de Moret.] ' (d) He did not ſtay long with him the firſt time, for ' by I know not what underhand Management, againſt the Intention even of Madam the Counteſs ' of *Moret*, and her Brothers the Chevalier *de Beuil*, and *de la Riviere*, *Croſilles* was ſubſtituted in ' his Place, who had formerly been the moſt agreeable Perſon in the World to 'em. The Count ſuffered this Change, though he loved *de Lingendes*; ' but he did not hate *Croſilles*, and thought it beſt ' to obey the King cheerfully. Afterwards *de Lingendes* was reſtored.

(d) *Memoires de l'Abbé de Marolles, p. 42, 43. ad. ann. 1619.*

(B) *The Poet* de Lingendes.] Here's what the ſame Abbot *de Marolles* ſays of him. ' (e) He ' wrote with Reputation in 1607, and 1608. and ' we have a Poem of his upon the Birth of Monſieur the Duke of *Retelois*, and that ſo famous one ' upon the Baniſhment of *Ovid*, which is prefixed ' to *Nicolas Renouard*'s Tranſlation of the Metamorphoſis. *By meerly imitating* Politian, if we believe *Colletet* (f), *he became at laſt more Polite in ſome of his Pieces, than* Politian *himſelf*.

(e) *De nombrement des Auteurs.*

(f) *Art poetique, Diſcours de l'eloquence, pag. 33. à la fin du vol. apud Baillet, Jugement ſur les Poëtes, n. 1448. pag. 134.*

(C) *That Family's ſtill in being.*] *Nicolas de Lingendes*, Brother to the Biſhop of *Sarlat*, was Under-Steward of the King's Houſhold. He was ſent into *Spain* to negotiate the Marriage of *Lewis* XIII. with *Anne* of *Auſtria*. His firſt Wife was *Mary d'Abra de Raconis*, Aunt to *Charles de Raconis*, Biſhop of *Lavaur*, and he had by her *Charles de Lingendes*, Steward to the King, Sub-Dean of the Knights of St. *Michael*, and Father to *John Auguſtine de Lingendes*, Captain of Horſe (g).

(g) *Taken from the Mercure Galant for the Month of* June 1689.

(A) *A Native of* Venice.] Some ſay he was of a very noble (h) Family: others, that it never was known who was his Father. See the Remark D.

(h) *Hic ſane illuſtri proſapia ortus, Patricius erat Venetus. Sauſſaius in continuat. Bellarm. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. n. 47.*

(B) *To plead in the Cauſe about the Tranſlating.*] The Legates of the Pope being unwilling to continue the Council of *Trent*, would have it removed to *Bologna*, and ſome Biſhops not approving of that Adjournment, remained at *Trent*. Hereupon the Legates deputed a certain Number of Biſhops to the Pope, to give an Account of their Conduct, *Lippoman* was one of thoſe Deputies (i).

(i) *Palav. Hiſt. Con-*

(C) *He*

tion of having lived Exemplarily. [a]. After the Interruption of the Council [b]. He was ſent *Nuncio into Germany* in 1548, from whence Pope *Julius* III. recall'd him two Years after [c]. The Year following he made him one of the Three Preſidents of the Council [d]. *Paul* IV. ſent him into *Poland* in 1556, to ſtop the Progreſs of the Proteſtants [e]. He preferred him to the Biſhoprick of *Bergamo* in 1558, and made him his Secretary [f]. *Lippoman* died the 15th. of *Auguſt* 1559 [g]. He publiſhed ſeveral (C) Books. 'Tis ſaid, that he exerciſed great Cruelty (D) againſt the Sectaries, during his Nunciature in *Poland*.

LIPSIUS (*Juſtus*) was one of the learneſt Criticks that flouriſhed in the XVIth. Century. I could relate a great many curious Things concerning him; but as others [h] have already collected 'em, and have not even forgot, what relates to his Education, and early [i] Attainments, I think myſelf obliged to ſpeak only of their Omiſſions. One of the greateſt Faults *Lipſius* is reproached with, is his Inconſtancy (AA) in Point of Religion. For being born a Catholick, he embraced *Lutheraniſm*, whilſt he was Profeſſor [k] at *Jena*. Afterwards being returned into *Brabant*, he lived there as a Catholick, and then having accepted an Imploy in the Univerſity of *Leiden*, made Profeſſion of *Calviniſm*. At laſt he quitted *Leiden*, and returned into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, where he not only lived in the *Roman* Communion, but even

[a] *Id. l. 3. ſub fin. p. 292. ad ann. 1551.*
[b] *Palavic. ibid. l. 11. c. 2. n. 6.*
[c] *Id. ib. c. 8. n. 6.*
[d] *Id. ib. c. 13. n. 1.*
[e] *Id. ib. 13. c. 13. n. 2.*
[f] *Id. lib. 14. c. 7. n. 4.*
[g] *Id. ib. c. 9. n. 4.*
[h] *Mr. Teiſſier, Addit. aux Eloges de Thoeanus tom. 2. p. 381. & 432. Bullart, Academie des Sciences, tom. 2. pag. 193.*
[i] *Baillet, enfans celebres, pag. 184.*
(a) *Chevillier, Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris, pag. 140. 150.*
(b) *Le Lexicon Grec de Jaques Tuſanus.*
(c) *Staniſlaus Lubieniecius, Hiſt. reformationis Polonicæ, pag. 76.*

[k] *This Profeſſion laſted a little more than a year* Lipſius, Epiſt. 87. cent. 3. miſcell. p. m. 313. *He quitted Jena the 1ſt. of March.* 1574. Id. Epiſt. 68. centur. ad German. & Gabos, pag. 702.

(d) *Idem Lubieniecius ibid. pag. 78.*
(e) *This was the Governor of the Flag.*

(C) *He publiſhed ſeveral Books.*] The moſt conſiderable, if I miſtake not, are *Catena Sanctorum Patrum in Geneſim & in Exodum*. The *Catena in Geneſim* he had printed at *Paris*, in *Folio*, (a) by *Charlotte Guillard*, in the Year 1546. 'Tis a very good Impreſſion. He came himſelf to *Paris* to ſpeak with the Widow, and prevailed with her to poſtpone a great Work (b) which the Univerſity impatiently expected, to go on with the Impreſſion of the Second Volume, *Catena in Exodum*, which was finiſhed in 1555. 'Tis printed in the ſame Character, and with the ſame Beauty as the former. Theſe Editions are intermix'd with *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and all ſorts of good Characters. I know not how to reconcile this, with many good Catalogues, which ſay, that the *Catena in Exodum* was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1550. *Lippoman's* other Works are, *Catena in aliquos Pſalmos*. A Compilation of Lives of the Saints in Eight Volumes. *Confirmatione di tutti gli dogmi Catholici, con la ſubverſione di tutti i fondamenti delli moderni heretici*, at *Venice* 1553. *Eſpoſitioni volgari ſopra il ſimbolo apoſtolico, il pater noſtro*, &c.

(D) *Great Cruelty againſt the Sectaries* ——— *in Poland.*] According to the Author whom I am about to cite, *Lippoman* was the firſt Apoſtolick Nuncio, that was ſeen in this Country. He puniſhed ſome *Jews* to terrify the *Hereticks*. He ſuborned and bribed certain Accuſers, who made Oath, that a Woman had ſold an Hoſt to ſome *Jews*, and that theſe Miſcreants had with the Prickings of Needles drawn a Vial of Blood from it to heal the Wound of Circumciſion. The King's Order was ſurreptitiouſly got for burning 'em. They inſiſted on their Innocence at the Stake. The King being informed how the matter was carried, conceived a great Indignation againſt *Lippoman*. Nevertheleſs, a Narrative of the whole Affair was drawn up in the King's Name, and ſent to *Rome*, to ſwell the Catalogue of Miracles in the Archives. I ſhall ſet down the Words of a *Poliſh* Writer, who tells us this. He begins by reproaching *Lippoman* with his baſe Extraction. (c) *Primus id officii apud nos geſſit* Aloyſius Lipomanus *Venetus, homo ut facta teſtantur, pervicax & crudelis. Quod tanto minus mirandum, quanto* Aſperius nihil eſt humili, cum ſurgit in altum. *Dicebatur enim eum incerto patre fuiſſe natum. Hunc quamprimum Nuncii Terrarum in Comitio viderunt, extemplo eum compellarunt*: Salve progenies viperarum. *Talem ſe reipſa fuiſſe Lipomanus probavit. Videns enim dogma eorum de Sanctiſſimo, ut vocant, Sacramento in magno verſari diſcrimine, coacto Lovicium Pontificum omnis generis conventu, ere ſua judicarunt exemplum ſeveritatis, vel potius feritatis, ad incutiendum populo ſibi parenti metum, & diſſentientibus horrorem in aliquo ex infima, vulgi fece ideoque impunius ſtatui* ——— *Hinc impetu in Judæos quàm odio publico laborantes, tam innocentiæ præſidiis defectos, facto, tres è grege eorum & feminam quandam Dorotheam Laxiciam in vincula conjecerunt. Capita accuſationis hæc fuerunt*: Laxiciam *cum de more ſolenni ante Paſchatos feſtum ad Sacram communionem accederet, occultatam in ore hoſtiam Judæis vendidiſſe*: *hos acubus eam confixiſſe*: *inde ampullam ſanguinis, quo ad ſanandum infantium circumciſorum vulnus opus habeant, collegiſſe* ———

(d) *Mandata nomine Regio ad* (e) *Borum per diſpoſitos equites miſere, ut Judæos ex mente Legati Apoſtolici & Spiritus S. (ſcilicet) concilium Lovicenſe regentis ad rogum damnaret. Lata in Judæos ſententia.* 'Hi ad rogum deducti palam liberè dicere: 'Nunquam nos hoſtiam eminus vel acubus confiximus: Nos enim nequaquam credimus hoſtiæ ineſſe Dei corpus: Imò ſcimus Deo nullum corpus, ſanguinemve eſſe: & more Majorum credimus, Meſſiam non futurum fuiſſe ipſum Deum, ſed ejus unum & Legatum: Compertum quoque habemus fæ. rina nihil ineſſe ſanguinis. Teſtamur ad ultrimum nos nullo ſanguine opus habere. His auditis crudelitatis Lipomaniæ & Pontificiæ adminiſtri picem ardentem ori miſerorum infuderunt. Tam horrendum omni ex parte facinus monumentis Romanis inſertum & pro miraculo vulgatum, Regis nomine, ad conciliandam rei fictæ fidem, adpoſito. Id ſcripti à Moſcovio traditum Regi, indignationem & iram ejus excivit, animumque à Liponiano avertit. Huic Rex in os dicere non erubuit: ſe facinus illud immane deteſtari: & nequaquam adeo mente captum eſſe, ut hoſtiæ iſti ſanguinem ineſſe credat. Du Suaſi (f) takes notice, that *Lippoman* was ſo hated by the Sectaries, that he had like to have loſt his Life ſeveral Times by Aſſaſſination. Mr. *de Sponde* (g) pretends, that the Miracle manifeſted at that time on the Hoſt in the Hands of theſe wretched *Jews*, was founded on three Reaſons: The laſt was, that the Nuncio *Lippoman* vilify'd by the Libels of the Hereticks, and running the Risk of his Life, ſtood in need of ſuch a Providence to procure him a greater Authority. *Staniſlaus Hoſius* Biſhop of *Warmia*, expreſſes a deal of Indignation at *Peter Paul Vergier's* Dedicating a Book to the King of *Poland*, and challenging *Lippoman* the Apoſtolick Nuncio to a publick Diſpute, whereof the King ſhould be Judge (b).

(d) *Idem Lubieniecius ibid. pag. 78.*
(e) *This was the Governor of the Flag.*
(f) *Tantum in odium ſectariorum incurrit, ut ab eis de vita ſit peſticitatus frequenter, ſed Deo protegente incolumis reverſus. Sauſſaius ubi ſupra.*
(g) *Ad ann. 1566 n. 7. pag. m. 564.*
(h) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of Hoſius's Work againſt the Proteſtemena of* Brentius.
(i) *Conradus Schluſſelb. in reſponſum ad calumnioſum ſcriptum Chriſtoph Pelargi apud Cranium animadv. phil. & hiſtor. parte 7. pag. 54. 55.*

(AA) *His Inconſtancy in Point of Religion.*] Doctor *Schluſſelburgius's* Relation will not ſtand amiſs in this Page, which teaches us, that *Lipſius* reckoned it the ſame thing to be *Lutheran*, or *Calviniſt*, or *Papiſt*. (i) *Talis ambiguæ Pelargicæ fidei erat Luciani ſimilis, cothurno verſatilior & Epicureus Philoſophus*, Juſtus Lipſius, *olim Collega meus & Profeſſor Oratoriæ facultatis in Univerſitate Jenenſi, in Thuringia, ubi magnum amatorem Lutheranæ religionis agebat, & jurejurando confirmabat, ſe doctrinam Lutheri ut unam, æternam & divinam veritatem agnoſcere, Romanique antichriſti idololatriam & blaſphemiam damnare. At Lugdunum Batav. veniens, fiebat Apoſtata, ut Pelargus, abnegabatque agnitam & adprobatam veritatem; quamvis hoc diſſiteretur, dicens ſe Chriſtianum eſſe, nec Chriſtum deſeruiſſe, nec abnegaſſe. Id de hoc viro verè dicere & teſtari poſſum. Nam cùm ad ipſum anno Chriſti M. D. LXXXII. æſtivo tempore in reditu meo ex Antverpia, in Academia Leidenſi, ubi Profeſſor erat, inviſerem, ut veterem amicum, & ex illo quærerem, qui rationem reddere poſſet, defectionis ſuæ à vera Religione, quam Jenæ anno M. D. LXXII. confeſſus eſſet, à Chriſto, quem abnegaſſet & deſeruiſſet; reſpondebat mihi in domo ſua & in præſentia M. Henrici Latomi Eccleſiaſtæ olim Antverpienſis: Mi Schluſſelbur-*

even fell into a Womanish Bigotry; which he (A) discovered in his printed Books. The strangest thing of all in his Conduct; and what can never be pardoned him, was his living at *Leiden* in the external Profession of the Reformed Religion, and yet publickly approving the Principles of Persecution, at that time exercised all *Europe* over, against this very Religion. He was strangely confounded (B) when he was shewn the Consequences of his Doctrine, and this was doubtless one of the Reasons which obliged him to quit *Holland*. He was offered a Professorship at *Pisa*, with the Promise

Schlusselburgi, vetus amice & Collega. Ego Christum non abnegavi, nec deserui, licèt hîc Lutheranam doctrinam non profitear, cum Calvinianis conversor. Mani omnis Religio & nulla Religio sunt mihi unum & idem. Et apud me Lutherana & Calviniſtarum doctrina pari passu ambulant. *Cohorrescens ad hæc, dicebam: mi Lipsi, si ea in opinione manseris, malè tecum agetur, facilèque credo, eum hæc Religio æque tibi probetur ac ista, te tandem Pontificium futurum, qualissimicio fuisti.* Ad quæ respondebat, *sibi perinde esse. Sicutit & evenit, teste illius libro de invocanda Hallensi Maria.* Observe by the way, in these Words, the extravagant Zeal of a rigid *Lutheran*. *Schlusselburgius* calls the Change from a *Lutheran* to a *Calvinist*, Apostacy, and the Denying of JESUS CHRIST. I might cite a great many Writers, who upon the Chapter of Religion, look upon *Lipsius* as a Weather-Cock; but let it suffice to produce the Judgment of *Boeclerus*, and the Advice he gives young Students. *Non fuerit operæ pretium*, says he (a), *singula examinare cum potius universim monendi sint Juvenes studiosi*, ne tales quæstiones Lipsio velint magistro discere, *qui ubique sibi similis est, id est*, in Re Theologica aut quocunque modo ad Religionem pertinente lubricus, anceps, vagus, in omnes formas mutabilis: *qui modo aliquid largiri, modo adimere rursum cupiat, id quod necesse est accidere homini veræ religione serio nunquam imbuto, Sacrarumque litterarum penitus experti.*

(A) *He discovered his Biggotry, in his printed Books.*] One of these Books is intituled, *Justi Lipsii Diva Virgo Hallensis: beneficia ejus & miracula fide atque ordine descripta* (b). Another, intituled, *Justi Lipsii Diva Sichemiensis sive Aspricolis: nova ejus beneficia & admiranda* (c). He picks up the least Stories, and the most uncertain Traditions that can possibly be found upon this Subject. Some of his Friends dissuaded him from this Attempt, alledging the Incertainty of these Traditions, and the Injury he would do himself; but all their Counsels could not divert him from his Enterprize: (d) *At mali aut morosi quidam & pravè sapientes non occultè deterrent aut improbant, tanquam à narrationibus parum certis, ut ajunt, & opinione sæpe nixis. Non debere talibus obsolefieri auctoritatem nostram si quam habemus, dissentio.* The Verses he made, when he consecrated his Silver Pen to our Lady of *Hall*, are strangely singular, as well on Account of the Praises he gives himself, as the excessive Homage he pays to the Holy Virgin. (e) *Ipse* pennam *argenteam (nec potuit pretiosius quidpiam) in templo ante aram Virginis suspendit, & pios hosce versus subscripsit:*

Hanc, DIVA, PENNAM interpretem mentis meæ,
Per alta spatiisque volavit ætheris,
Per ima quæ volavit & terræ, & maris:
Scientiæ, Prudentiæ, Sapientiæ
Operata semper, ausa quæ CONSTANTIAM
Describere, & vulgare; quæ CIVILIA,
Quæ MILITARIA, atque POLIORCETICA:
Quæ ROMA MAGNITUDINEM adstruxit tuam:
Variaque luce scripta prisci sæculi.
Affecit, & perfudit: hanc PENNAM tibi
Nunc DIVA, meritò consecravi LIPSIUS.
Nam numine istuc inchoata sunt tuo,
Et munine istuc absoluta sunt tuo.
Possis benignitatis aura perpetim
Hanc spirare! & famæ fugacis in vicem,
Quam PENNA peperit, tu perenne gaudium
Vitamque DIVA, LIPSIO pares tuo.

He left (f) by his Will, his Furr'd Gown to the same Saint; which gave Occasion to say, that he made her this Present, because the Miracles he had so much celebrated, were ready to die of Cold. Some Protestants writ with great force against him; he let 'em talk on, and only answered one of 'em in a few Words: See his *Rejectiuncula*, at the End of his *Virgo Aspricollis*. He was desired to defend himself against (g) the Author of the Treatise *De idolo Hallensi*, and against Thomson (h) who confuted him in other Matters about the *Virgo Sichemiensis*; but he (i) refused to ingage in these Disputes, and acted wisely. See in the Remark D, what *Baudius* said of this Critick's Books of Devotion.

It must not be forgot, that *Lipsius* was said to have composed such Books only to convince the World, that he was not lukewarm and indifferent in Religion, as many suspected (k) he was. 'Twas also believed, that these Works were pure Injunctions, and that the Jesuits extorted 'em from him. (l) *Ejusmodi Lejolita precibus, quæ vim imperii apud Lipsium habent, hanc operam ab eo vel extorserunt, vel eblanditi sunt; vel utrumque. Nam ut ipsi hominem dotum possident, ita ipse illis denegare nihil negare potest.* If this was his Case, he might be compared to hired Mourners, who cry more bitterly than the Relations of the Dead. The Poet *Lucilius* takes notice of these.

Mercede quæ
Conducta flent alieno in funere præficæ
Multo & capillos scindunt, & clamant magis.

And *Horace* says little less:

Ut (l) *qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt*
Et faciunt propè plura dolentibus ex animo: sic
Derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.

(B) *He was strangely confounded when he was shewn the Consequences.*] See what is found hereupon in the Philosophical Commentary upon, *Confess ain 'em to come in* †. 'I have seen another Perplexity, 'which has Relation to these Matters, in a Treatise 'of *Justus Lipsius*. This Man having been ruined 'by the Wars of the *Netherlands*, found a very 'honourable Retreat at *Leiden*, where he was ap'pointed Professor; making no scruple of outwardly 'abjuring his Popish Religion. During that time he 'printed some Books of Politicks, where he ad'vanced, among other Maxims, that only one Reli'gion ought to be suffered in a State, and no Clemen'cy used towards those who disturbed the Church, 'but that they should be prosecuted with Fire and 'Sword, that one Member may perish, rather than the 'whole Body. Clementiæ non hic locus. *Ure, seca*, (1) *ut membrorum potius aliquod quam totum corpus intereat.* This was base, for a Man, enter'tained, as he was, by a Protestant Republick, 'which had newly Reform'd its Religion; for this was 'openly approving all the Rigours of *Philip* II. and 'the Duke *D'Alva*. It was besides a horrible 'Impudence, and execrable Impiety, since on one 'hand, it might be concluded from his Book, that 'only the Protestant Religion was to be suffered in '*Holland*, and on the other, that the Heathens 'were to be commended for hanging the Preachers 'of the Gospel. He was taken up upon this 'Head by *Theodore Coenbert* (m), and driven to 'a Nonplus, for he was obliged to answer by tack'ing about, and declaring, that these Words, *Ure, 'seca*, were only a Phrase borrowed from Physick, 'to signifie not literally, Fire and Sword, but a ve'ry strong Remedy. All these Tergiversations are 'to be seen in his Tract *De una Religione*. 'Tis 'the most paltry Book he ever writ, except the im'pertinent Histories and silly Poems, he made in 'his old Days, upon some Chappels of the Virgin. 'His Wit beginning to be moap'd like that of *Peri'cles*, when he suffered his Neck and Arms to be 'tricked out with Amulets, and Womens Charms, 'being wholly infatuated by the Jesuits, into whose 'Arms he threw himself when he saw, that 'this little mischievous Book was looked upon 'asquint in *Holland*; this made him escape 'away by stealth from *Leiden*. To return to this 'little Book, 'tis a wretched Rhapsody of Passages,

(a) *Boeclerus dissertat. de politicis Lipsii, cap. 5. pag. 54. 55.*
(b) *He composed it in 1603.*
(c) *He composed it in 1604.*
(d) *Lipsius, Epist. 59. centur. 3. miscellan.*
(e) *Auber Miræus in vita Lipsii, p. m. 23.*
(f) Cui Virgini Hallensi moriens lacernam suam pelliceam testamento legavit: in quo, non potuit quin cæterorum hominum urbanitatem incurreret; qui quidem ridicule, sed non admodum religiose, idto. lacernam pelliceam Virgini illi relictam ajebant, quod ejus miracula, quæ tantopere in cælum laudibus efferebat, confirmarent ad populum. *Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth. 3. pag. 6.*
(g) Mr. Teissier, Elog. tome 2. pag. 588. *calls him* Lingelmius; *he should have said* Lingelshemius, *who yet is not the Author. See the Article* Lingelsheim *Remark A.*
(h) Mr. Teissier, ib. *calls him* Thomasson.
(i) *Miræus ubi supra, pag. 24. 25.*
(k) *See* Crenius ubi supra, pag. 55. *who does not forget the Passage of* Scaliger, *part of which is seen in the following Citation.*
(l) Scalig. Epist. 106. *See also the* 37. *Letter of* Guy Patin. *Horat. de arte poet. circa fin.*
† *Comment. Philos. 2. part. pag. 215. & seq.*
(1) *Civil. Doctr. l. 4. c. 3.*
(m) *See the Remark C of the Article* Koornhert.

Promiſe (C) of enjoying his Liberty of Conſcience; but he refuſed that Employ. He ſetled at *Louvain*, where he taught the Liberal Arts in a way that was glori[ous] enough to him; and died there the 23*d*. of *March*, 1606, in his Fifty Ninth Ye[ar]. There

(*a*) *See concern-theſe ſtri-ſturæ, the Remark E. of the Article* Puteanus.

(*b*) Prodi-it etiam repentiſſi-mè dum hæc ſcribo calumnia eadem de Societate noſtra in libello quem Au-ctor in-ſcribit, *Stricturas politicas*, & in quo imprimis acerbiſſi-me inve-hitur in Juſtum Lipſium. *Petra Sancta, not. in Epiſt. ol. Molinæ ad Balza-cum, pag.* 96. Petra Sancta's *Book was prin-ted in the Year* 1634.

(*c*) *Rivet. Caſtigat. notarum in Epiſt. ad Balza-cum, cap.* 12. *n.* 14. *Operum Tom.* 3. *pag.* 535.

(*d*) Rivet *a little before had ſaid*, Vide ſi placet, *Expoſtu-lationem* Richardi Montacu-tii cum tuo *Roſ-weido*, in *Antidia-tribis*: ibi Lipſii ha-bebis lati-nitatem & eruditi-onem expenſam, & de ea ju-dicium, quod tibi non arri-debit.

(*e*) *Lipſius, in rejectiun-cula, ad calcem Virginis Aſpricol-lis.*

(*f*) Eam-que profeſſionem ſacræ cœnæ ibidem aſu-& communicatione publice obſignavit: *Diſſert. de Idolo Hallenſi, pag.* 17. (*g*) *Diſſer-tat. de Idol. Hall. pag.* 16. (*h*) *Ibid. pag.* 22. *& ſeqq.* (*i*) *Ibid. p.* 17. 18.

'which authoriſe all the Heathen Impieties on 'which was founded the horrible Perſecution of 'the firſt Chriſtians, and of other Paſſages which 'ſay the quite contrary. And as the Author durſt 'not avow the force of theſe two Words, *Ure, ſeca*, 'he uſed ſome pitiful Diſtinctions, which came to 'this, that Heretick's ought to be put to Death, but 'rarely and ſecretly; but as for Fines, Baniſhments, 'Marks of Infamy, and Degradations, they ought 'not to be ſpared. All this falls to the Ground, by the Reflections made hereupon in the Addition to the Remark *B*. We ſhall relate more at large, what concerns the Diſpute between *Koornhert* and *Juſtus Lipſius*.

Koornhert's not the only Perſon who treated him roughly on this Subject. For the Jeſuit *Petra Sancta* having made Complaints againſt (*a*) the Author of the *Strictura Politica* (*b*), the Anſwer returned him was this (*c*), *Conquereris de autore notarum ſive ſtricturarum in proditoriam* Juſti Lipſii *epiſtolam qui quum in Belgio fœderato victiſſet, & Illuſtriſſimorum Ordinum ſtipendiarius fuiſſet, poſtquam inſalutatis hoſpitibus bene meritis abiiſſet, ſtylum in eos converſit, & adverſus Rempublicam eorum, conſilia ſubminiſtravit. Quis fuerit autor ſtricturarum illarum, ſeu notarum fateor me ignorare: ſed quiſquis ille fuerit, patriæ fuit amantiſſimus, & Lipſii fraudium callentiſſimus* ——— *Neſcio an cui Lipſiana tantoperè placent, & qui verſibus delectari videris, libenter lecturus ſis eos quos anno,* 1579. *præfixit ad Zelandos libro adverſus tenebriorem quendam. Editi fuerunt tum Leydæ apud* Andream Schoutenum, *& quo animo fuerit, aut eſſe finxerit, indicant. Audi illum,*

Duplicia Heſperii rupiſtis vincla tyranni,
Mattiaci: atque armis aſſeritis pa[tri]æ
Aſſeritiſque fidem, patriam ſed turbat [I]dem.
Ecce iterum, ecce fidem turbat hic ardelio:
Verum alii patriam: ſed tu Feugræe, tueri
Perge fidem, & fidei qui faciunt tenebras,
Scriptis illucere tuis: ſunt vera Miniſtri
Hæc munia, ingenio digna tuo & genio.

Vides quo loco rum fuerit apud Lilium Hiſpaniæ Rex, quo Romana fides & Religio: qui poſtea factus eſt Religionis transfuga, infide & conſtantium ἀλλοτριοεπιστάτης, *ut loquitur* Montacutus (*d*). Theſe Verſes of *Lipſius* diſhonour his Memory, when we compare 'em with his own Confeſſion, that he was only a Proteſtant in Appearance at *Leyden*, and that his Heart was Catholick. Theſe are his Words: 'Sed *altera calumnia*,' in religione mutavi. *Nego, in fide veſtra, non in ſenſu fui, & ut in peregrinatione corporis non animi requiem illic elegi. In tempore, ut meum ingenium eſt, quiete modeſtequa me habui; in ſacra aut ritus veſtros tranſivi? nec impudentia hoc dicet* (*e*). Let him have done and ſaid what he pleaſed; he and all his Apologiſts were unable to elude the Proofs alledged, to ſhew that this Style anſwered his external Profeſſion, as long as he paſſed for a Proteſtant. The Author of the *Idolum Hallenſe* proves, that *Lipſius* having proteſted at *Jena*, before *Tilemannus Heſhuſius*, who was then (*f*) Rector of the Univerſity, that he ſincerely embraced the Lutheran Religion, communicated (*g*) publickly, and in a Funeral Oration of his, which had been printed, declared, that God had given his Church the Houſe of *Saxony* to ruine the Peſt of the Papacy. *De bello Smalcaldico locutus cauſa bonitatem à Saxone, fortunam & martem ab Imperatore ſtetiſſe dicit &* ——— *Saxonicam* (*h*) *generoſam ſtirpem ad Dei hoſtes extirpandos, errores evertendos,* PESTEM PONTIFICIAM *excindendam donatam divinitus & conceſſam* ECCLESIÆ *eſſe*. It is confeſſed, that he never communicated while he was at *Leyden*; but 'tis proved (*i*) by many Extracts of his Letters, that whilſt he lived there, he looked on the cauſe of the *Spaniards*, as unjuſt, and wiſhed the Ruin of it, and that many Expreſſions fell from him which beſpoke him a Proteſtant.

Here are ſome farther Circumſtances of his Controverſie with *Theodore Koornhert*. When his Treatiſe of Politicks, wherein he approved Perſecution on the ſcore of Religion, came out in 1589. *Koornhert*, a great ſtickler for Toleration, writ him his Opinion of this Book, and replied to the A[nſwer] he receiv-ed, and at laſt publiſhed a Boo[k] Title of *Proceſſus contra hereticidium & [per]ſecutionem conſcientiarum*. He dedicated it to the Magiſtrates of *Leiden*, ſent Copies of it to the Magiſtrates of other Towns, and exhorted 'em to take great Care of this Writer's Opinions. The publiſhing of this Book nettled *Lipſius*; but as [an] Ornament to the Univerſity of [Leiden], [and] of the Magiſtrates, an Act of Complaiſance, which might reaſonably comfort him. They publiſhed at the Town-Houſe, that they did not accept of *Koornhert*'s Epiſtle Dedicatory, and that this Author, by dedicating his Book to 'em, did 'em neither Service, nor Honour, nor Friendſhip; that they did not however prohibit his Book, but permitted the Inhabitants to read it, and at the ſame time adviſed 'em to read *Lipſius*'s excellent Anſwer. They declared, they had a very particular Eſteem for this Profeſſor. This Act did not fully ſatisfie him, nor was he at all pleaſed at hearing, that *Koornhert* recovered from a long Diſtemper, was buſie about a Reply. 'Tis ſaid too, that by the Favour of ſome Towns, he endeavoured to get the States of *Holland* to forbid the anſwering his Political Writings; but that *Gerbrand Lanac*, Burgomaſter of *Tergou*, oppoſed it for this Reaſon. *If what* Lipſius *has written be true, he can be but weakly aſſaulted, and we ſhall be confirmed in the Truth, by the very Weakneſs of the Writings that are publiſhed againſt him; but if [there be] one diſcovers in 'em, in what we don't now perceive, any Falſity prejudicial to the Country, what harm can it be to correct 'em?* *Lipſius* quitted *Holland* ſoon after, under Pretence of taking a Turn to the Spaw-Waters, for the ſake of his Health. Nor did he ever come back thither more, but returned to Popery, and proteſted in a Letter which he writ (*k*) from *Mayence*, that he had always been of the antient Religion, though he had profeſs'd another when he was in Places, where the antient was not received. This made many believe him a Hypocrite. Some were of Opinion, that the Diſcontent which *Koornhert* gave him, and the Apprehenſion he had, that the *Hollanders* might be worſted in the War againſt *Spain* (†) made him change Sides. However it be, *Koornhert* detained in his Bed, and ſeized with a Diſtemper [of] which he ſoon after died, failed not to go [on] with his Reply, and to finiſh it. His Executors got it tranſlated out of *Flemiſh* into *Latin*, and publiſhed it (*l*).

We muſt note, that *Lipſius* had dropt ſome Words againſt the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition in the firſt Editions, but ſtruck 'em out of the following. *Boeclerus* had told him his own upon this, in the Chapter *De nævis Lipſiani operis*, which is the 5th. of his Treatiſe *De politicis Juſti Lipſii*. Read theſe Words: (*m*) *Illud non omittendum eſt, quæ ſeipſum prodit damnatque Lipſius; æterno cum de decore fama, quam unam videtur in omni vita quæſiviſſe. Cum enim* in prioribus Politicorum ſuorum editionibus, lib. 4. cap. 4. *pro libertate religionis*, adverſus Pontificiam crudelitatem & Hiſpanicam inquiſitionem (*quam nemo bonus unquam probavit*) *quædam ſcripſiſſet*: in *poſterioribus editionibus, tanquam non à religione modo ſed à ſana ſimul mente defeciſſet, parcim* omiſit ea (*ſcilicet quæ* in Freinſhemiana editione *reponuntur, n.* 7. 9. 12) *partim* ſimpliciter & ingemue dicta mutavit. *Boeclerus* mentio[ns] ſome other Variations in this Man's Expreſſions.

(C) *With a Promiſe of enjoying his Liberty of Conſcience.*] *Acidalius* relates (*n*) that *Farnerius*, the Negotiator of this Affair, told him, that the great Duke had offered *Lipſius* a Profeſſor's Chair in the Univerſity of *Piſa*, with the Privilege of believing what he pleaſed in Matters of Religion; and that this Prince had obtained for him a [Penſion] at *Rome*. At the ſame time *Acidalius* [ſays] that a Report was ſpread, that this Profeſſor had embraced the *Roman* Faith in *Germany*; and affirms, that *Lipſius* alledged no other Reaſon for refu-ſing

Jeſuits of Mayence. *He diſ-[ſem]bled on might be con-cealed for a while. See* Miræus in vita Lipſii, p. m. 17.

(†) *See* Grotius, *hiſtor. l.* 5. *pap. m.* 378.

(*l*) *Taken from ſome* Latin *E[pi]ſtles to me from the* Flemiſh *Hiſtory of the Reformation written by* Gerhard Brandt, *pag.* 705. & *ſeq. ad ann.* 1590.

(*m*) *Boeclerus de politi. Juſti Lipſii, p.* 56.

(*n*) *In his* 2*d. Letter, written from* Bologna in Janu-ry 1592.

There were those among the Protestants (D) who never would second the Passion of some of their Brethren, in defaming this Learned Man. He married a Widow at *Cologne* about the Year 1574, but had no Children by her. Some say, she was a (E) very ill Woman; but he affirms he lived quietly with her. I don't know whether I ought to take notice that he (F) wrote a very bad Hand; and that his Conversation and Aspect (G) answered

(a) *The 1st of the Century ad Italos & Hispanos, and the 3d. of the 3d. Century ad Belgas. But this last he says, That the Pope exhorted him to come to Rome. Ipse Pontifex caput nostrum recenter mihi me Romam invitavit.*
(b) *Baudius, Epist. 56. centur. 2 pag. m. 241.*
(c) *Id. ib.*
(d) *Id. ib. pag. 242.*
(e) *See Patin the 278th Letter of the 3d. Vol. where he cites du Moulin & Keckerman.*
(f) *Baudius, ibid. pag. 241.*
(g) *Opus est sane non ineruditum, & quod arguat scriptorem multæ lectionis: nisi quod intra modum modestiæ efferveseit, quo nomine etiam seriò reprehensus est ab heroë Scaligero. Id. ibid. pag. 242.*
(h) *Ibid.*
(i) *Gruter apud Quirinum Reuterum Epist. 393 inter eas quæ ad Goldastum scriptæ prodierunt anno 1688*
(k) *See the other Collection of Letters, written to Goldast, published in 1688, pag. 301.*

sing the Chair at *Pisa*, than the Infirmity of his Health, and the distance of the Place, *vitæ longinquitatem, & valetudinis imbecilitatem*. He was far from alledging his being a Protestant; for he was readily enough disposed to the publick Profession of the Romish Religion. Yet by this we see that he was looked on in *Italy* as a very good Calvinist, since his Liberty of Conscience was Negotiated at *Rome*. There are two Letters (a) of *Lipsius*, from which we may infer, that *Acidalius* was well informed of what he said; but they don't mention the Offer of a Liberty of Conscience.

(D) Some Protestants who never would second.] One *Lydius*, a Minister, designing to publish the Letters which his Father had received from *Justus Lipsius*, was earnestly intreated by *Baudius* not to do it; by *Baudius*, I say, who understanding, that *Lydius* persisted in his Design, prepared to write against him, in Favour of *Lipsius*. (b) *Perstat in incepto, ut sermonem tuum audio. Sed quia sibi sumit eam licentiam ut faciat quæ sunt contra morem bonorum, contra fas gentium, contra jus humanitatis: faxo dicat se nactum, qui hac in parte causam amici & quondam doctoris indefensam esse non patiatur.* Not that *Baudius* approv'd *Lipsius*'s two Books upon the Miracles of the Holy Virgin; on the contrary, he spoke of 'em with the utmost Contempt; but he thought that Letters between Friends ought to be an inviolable Secret. (c) *Non quod ejus Divas ullo colore defendi posse censeam, sed interim non est tollenda è vita vitæ societas, quod faciunt qui literas, hoc est amicorum colloquia absentium, foras eliminant . . . . .* (d) *Deest scilicet hostis, & seges ac materies merendæ gloriæ non suppetit, nisi ex labe & ruina celebratissimi in literis viri, & honorifice à bonis nominandi, tametsi famam suam misere decoxerit duplici illa publicatione Virginum, quibus sæpe incolumi authore (e) lumbifragium exoptavi.* Tho' *Lydius* was a great Preacher, *Baudius* hoped to come off cheaply enough with him. (f) *Etiamsi multum in concionibus valeat, vereor tamen ut hic stare possit. Pervida ingenia plerumque violentiam naturæ & profundam ambitionem velare solent præclaro febemare zeli, quod est everriculum & mantile multarum fraudum. Sed non desunt nobis rationes quibus fœrulo planum & perspicuum fiet,* Quid solidum crepet & pietæ tectoria linguæ. In the same Letter (g) he informs us that *Scaliger* took it very ill, that *Thonson* should write so violent a Book against *Lipsius*. He says also, That he's a Stranger to the Laws of Humanity, and the Sacred Rights of Literature, who Fancies that the Learned ought to espouse State Wars, and Differences in Religion, one against another, and that for his part, he shall never follow such Maxims, as long as he has a Grain of good Sense left. (h) *Non dissimulo, nec unquam dissimulabo, intercedere mihi cum Lipsio, extra causam religionis & libertatis, ob quam publice bello decertamus, omnia jura summæ necessitudinis, quæ cum ullo mortali esse possunt. Nunquam litarunt Gratiis, & ignorant quid humaniores literæ, quid humanitas ipsa flagitet, qui ob eam rem testatas inimicitias promiscue omnibus indicendas esse arbitrantur. In eo casu non erit Baudius, quamdiu sanam animi mentem obtinebit.* *Gruterus*, who had some of *Lipsius*'s Letters, would never communicate 'em to those who desired them, with a design to make 'em publick. He would not furnish Arms against the Honour of this Learned Man. (i) *Lipsii epistolas amici multi à me petierunt, quibus semper negavi quod nollem quidquam ex iis deprompsi unde si aliquid inureretur infamiæ.* But (k) *Lingelsheim* was not so nice, since after he had made his own use of *Lipsius*'s Letters, which he had written to *Camerarius* from *Jena*, he offered 'em to *Goldast*, to (l) be printed. *Goldast* had already played *Lipsius* a Trick, which I have mentioned in another Place (m).

It must be owned, as *Baudius* says, that the Laws of Generosity don't permit us to take advantage of what a Man may have written as a secret to those he corresponded with; the Heathens themselves were not Ignorant of this Truth; observe how *Mark Anthony* suffered for reading before the Senate some Letters he had recieved from *Cicero*. (n) *At etiam literas, quas me sibi missise diceret, recitavit: homo & humanitatis expers, & vitæ communis ignarus. Quis enim unquam qui paulum modo honorum consuetudinem nosset, literas ad se ab amico missas, offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit, palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere è vita vitæ societatem, tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa joca solent esse in Epistolis, quæ prolata si sint inepta videantur? quam multa seria neque tamen ullo modo divulganda? Sit hoc inhumanitatis tuæ.* Most People think that this Law may be dispensed with in Favour of Religion; that is, when 'tis in our power to decry a Man who has written against our Religion, or who by his Revolt may shake the Faith of the Simple; and thus they make no scruple of publishing his very *Billets*, if Copies of 'em fall into their Hands. They would perhaps be more scrupulous, if they were themselves the Persons who had received them; for 'tis not so contrary to the Law we speak of, to publish a Letter another has received, as one that is written to ones self. See the Advertisement to *The General Considerations upon Mr.* Bruey's *Book*, Printed at *Roterdam* in 1684. There a Secret is divulged, which Mr. *Bruey* had written to a Friend. See also the News (o) from the Republick of Learning, in an Extract of the Dialogues of *Photinus* and *Irenæus*, where a Letter of Mr. *Ranchin* is inserted. The Civilian, *Baudouin* (p) reproches *Calvin* with having printed several Letters he had written to him.

(E) A very ill Woman.] ' (q) The good Man *Lipsius*, who had a naughty Wife, has said some where *in his Epistles*, That there is a Fatality in Marriage". See here what *Patin* heard him speak, *Uxorem duxi*, says *Lipsius* (r), *nec magis animi quam amicorum impulsu. Sed, ut ille (s) ait, τὸ μοιρίδιον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς, à Diis fataliter hoc decretum, & concorditer sane vixi mus, fructus tamen matrimonii, id est liberorum exortes.* 'Twas believed by some that *Lipsius* changed his Religion purely from a Principle of Ambition, or *the importunity of his Wife, who was wonderful Superstitious.* Mr. *Teissier* (t) asserts this upon *Scaliger*'s Credit, citing his 120*th* Letter of the 2d. Book. I my self have spoken with those, who have told odd Stories of the cross-grain'd Humour of this Woman. They had 'em from old Blades who had seen *Lipsius*.

Some Merchants of the *Low-Countries* told *Florimond de Remond*, in 1600, that *Lipsius* was Married. He wished him Joy of it, but *Lipsius* answered him, that the thoughts of being Congratulated at this time of Day made him Laugh, and that he had been a long time in the Noose. (u) *At de conjugio, quod tu à Mercurialibus nostris audieras, quàm risum mihi movit? Ego, vir optime, non recens in eam nassam veni, sed annos jam viginti sex custodia hæc me habet. Liberos tamen nullos genui, nec hunc conjugii fructum aut lenimentum Deus dedit.*

(F) He wrote a very bad Hand.] He confesses it himself, and thereby confutes those who pretended to have printed from the Original the Oration *de duplici concordia*, from the Original, I say, very fairly written. *Ego belle & mundule scribo?* says he, (w) *Vellem, sed totam Europam testem habeo, & querelas quod autographa mea agre vel non legant.* This is confirmed by a Passage of *Gabriel Naudé*: ' (x) This worthy Scholar of our ' Muret *M. Antoninus Boncianus de Perouse* once ' complain'd, That he could read but two or three ' of the first Lines of the Letters *Lipsius* wrote to ' him; all the rest was so horribly scraul'd. *Nan-* ' *celius*, said as much of *Ramus*'s Writing.

(G) His Conversation and Aspect answer'd not.] Here's *Aubertle Mire*'s Testimony in this Point. (y) *Ingestu, cultu, sermone modicus fuit*: adeo ut pleri-

(l) *Goldast published some other Letters of Lipsius, under the Title of Lipsii Epistolæ.*
(m) *At the Article Goldast, Remark I.*
(n) *Cicero Philipp. 2.*
(o) *Month of December 1685. pag. 1337.*
(p) *Balduin. responsi. 2. ad Jo. Calvin p. 56.*
(q) *Patin Lettre 204. p. 505. du 2. Tome.*
(r) *Epist. 87. centur. 2. mixtell. p. m. 313.*
(s) *Here's what Aubert le Mire says in the Life of Lipsius p. 12. Sed, ut ille ait, sic erat in fatis & fatalem viro fœminaque tarum esse Euripides olim monuit, Lipsius idem didicit.*
(t) *Addit. aux Eloges t. 2. p. 383.*
(u) *Lipsius Epist. 72. centur ad Germanos & Gallos p. m. 705.*
(w) *Lipsius Epist. 68. centur. ad Germanos & Gallos, p. m. 701.*
(x) *Dialog. de Mascurat, p. 303.*
(y) *In vita Lipsi, pag. 32.*

answered not the Idea, the World had conceived of him. His Friends (*H*) did not abandon him after his Death to the Censures of his Adversaries; but it was difficult in many things to make his Apology. I don't reckon in this Class, what Father *Garasse* [a] thought himself obliged to Censure. *Lipsius* found himself accused more than once of Plagiarism (*H*△) but never would acknowledge, that he was justly Accused. A Fit of sickness he got (*I*) at a Feast, has been reckoned one of the greatest Dangers, he was ever expos'd to. It's strange that a *Latin* Style (*K*) so bad as his, should found a new Sect in the Republick of Letters. See in the Margin [b] a Fault of Mr. *Teissier*.

LYSERUS (*Polycarp*) a Famous Divine of the *Augsbourg* Confession, was born at *Winenden*, in the Country of *Wirtemberg*, the 18th of *March* 1552. He was but two Years old when his Father died; however his Mother Marrying a second Husband, gave him a Father-in-Law, who took great care of his Education. The Progress he made in his Childhood, recommended him as worthy to be [illegible] College of *Tubinge*, at the charge of the Prince of *Wirtemberg*. He improved so well, that he was Ordained to the Ministry in 1573, and commenced Doctor of Divinity in 1576. His Reputation spread into all Parts, so that *Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, called him to be Minister of the Church of *Wirtemberg* in 1577. He had no sooner discovered his great Abilities in that Church, but he was added to the number of Divinity-Professors. He was one of the principal Directors for drawing up the Book of Concord, and vigorously

[a] *See the Remark H.*

[b] Lipsius *after having lived to his 45th Year in the Protestant Religion, embraced the Catholick.* Teissier addit. aux éloges, to. 2. pag. 385 edit. d'Utrecht 1696. *He was 25 when he turned Protestant the first time.*

[c] *Pastor and Superintendent of* Winenden.

que, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est, viso aspectoque Lipsio quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur (1). *Constat certe exteros, quos ab ultimâ etiam Sarmatia, ejus videndi audiendique gratiâ (ut olim magni illius Livii) frequenter venisse scimus, cum Lipsium viderent, eumdem sæpè re quisivisse.*

(*H*) *His Friends did not abandon him . . . . to the Censures of his Adversaries.*] The Jesuit *Scribanius*, as *Lipsius* (*a*) always expected, appeared in his Defence. See his *Orthodoxa fidei controversa*, his *Defensio Lipsii postuma*, &c. *Claude Dausqueius*, a Canon of *Tournay*, published in 1616, a Book, intituled, *D. Mariæ Aspricollis* ΘΑΥΜΑΤΟΡΓΟΥ *scutum — alterum item J. Lipsii scutum: utrumque adversus Agricolæ Thracii satyricas petitiones.* He means, that he answered a Book which *George Thomson*, a *Scot*, published at *London* in 1606, with this Title, *Vindex veritatis adversus Justum Lipsium libri duo. Prior insanam ejus religionem politicam, fatuam nefariamque de Fato, scelerati ssimam de fraude doctrinam refellit. Posterior Ludovicum Sichemiensis, id est Idoli Aspricollis, & Deæ ligneæ miracula convellit. Utrumque Lipsium ab orco Gentilismum revocasse docet.* See the Remark *A*, of the Article *Lingelsheim*. I speak not of those who have attacked or defended him upon the Subject of Learning. *Vincent Contarini*, Successor to *Sigonius* in the Chair of *Padua*, Criticiz'd him (*b*) Learnedly enough in 1609. *circa frumentariam Romanorum largitionem & militare Romanorum stipendium.*

Garasse who gave him two Bites, was sturdily repulsed. He pretended (*c*) that *Lipsius*'s Doctrine about Fate *is a meer Chimera without the least Foundation*, and blamed him (*d*) for *having erected Mausolean Monuments to his three little Dogs, the first whereof was called* Mopsus, *the second* Sapphirus, *the third* Mopsulus, *as is seen in the Book intituled* Delitiæ Christiani orbis. *I can't*, continues he, *approve all these Ridiculous and Prophane Inventions, and must declare so much in plain* French, *Tho' the Intention of Authors may be very different.* Unus interitus est hominis & jumentorum, & æqua est utriusque conditio. The Censor of this Jesuit's Doctrine strenuously maintains (*e*) that the Destiny taught by *Lipsius*, *is* conformable to *Thomas Aquinas*'s Notion. 'He re-
' lates, (*f*) That *Aubert le Mire* . . . . did not forget
' the Love that *Lipsius* had for Dogs, and even the
' Names of the three, which he cherished above
' the rest. . . . , He had caused 'em to be painted in a
' piece, with the Names, Age, Colour and Shag of
' each, with some Verses underneath, where he
' had no less ingeniously, than pleasantly hit upon
' Verses and Inscriptions, mentioned in the Book
' called *Selectæ Christiani orbis delicia*. Here's what
' *Garasse* takes for a Mausoleum and an Epitaph; so
' so that whoever has his Parrot painted, his Dog,
' his Cat, his Wife, &c. with an Inscription or
' Verse, erects a Mausoleum and Inscriptions to 'em.
' ——As for the Epitaph of *Sapphirus* alone,
' which is found in the said Book, *Selectæ delicia*,
' &c. 'Tis a Supposititious Piece, which even the
' Compiler, *F. Swertius* durst not place with the
' three Inscriptions, which are found under the
' Title *Lovanensia*, and which doubtless some one
' might easily have composed by *Lipsius*'s Inscription
' on his Dog *Sapphirus*, to exercise his Wit, as plain-
' ly appears from the [illegible] Reading'. The Censor adds, that the pretended Prophaneness which *Garasse* finds in it, is a Chimera; he's pretty large upon this and shews the impertinence of the Reasonings [illegible] ded on the *unus est interitus*, &c. Mr. *des Maizeaux*, who thought this Criticiser of *Garasse* to be [illegible] Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, is mistaken; [illegible] given him the Name of *Charlemagnier*, and [illegible] the Title of *Sorboniста*.

[a] *Samuel Garasse*

(*H*△) *Of Plagiarism, but never would acknowledge.*] *Muret* and *Peter Faber* were his principal Accusers. The parts of this Process have been diligently collected by Mr. *Thomasius*, in his Treatise *de plagio literario*; and by Mr. *Crenius* in the 7th Part of his *Animadversiones philologicæ & historicæ*.

[b] *Pinsonius.*

(*I*) *A Fit of sickness he got at a Feast.*] Here's what *Nicius Erythræus* says: (*b*) *Sapius in vita manifestum vitæ discrimen adiit; ter in puerili ætate — deinde lethali morbo pene sublatus est Dolæ, quæ Sequanorum est Academia, ubi quum luculenta oratione Victorem Geselinum, inter medicos allectum, laudasset ac statim deinde, opiparo convivio exceptus esset, in quo, ut mos est illarum regionum, convivæ invitare se plusculum solent, & in ipse largius merum invergare, repente, insolito horrore correptus, cum febri domum rediit. Lipsius* having spoken an Oration at the Promotion of this Physician, [illegible] doubtless considered as one of the principal [illegible] of the Feast; they made him drink the [illegible] and had like to have killed him, the matter would not have been so strange had he been an *Italian* or *Spaniard*; for 'tis certain, that an Academical Banquet, or Treat upon taking a Degree in the Northern Universities, might be as dangerous to Men of those Countries, as a set Battle to a Colonel. But *Lipsius* was a *Fleming*; no matter for that, he was worsted; he was conquered in a Turnament of *Bacchus* by those of the *Franche Comté*. It had like to have cost him his Life. The most general Rules have their Exception.

(*K*) *That a* Latin *Style as bad as his should found a new Sect.*] (*i*) 'Lipsius has put *Cicero* out of Fashion.
' When he was in Request there were greater Masters
' in Eloquence, than there are at present'. 'Tis *Scaliger* says this; an evident proof, that the Sect of the *Lipsians* was very much increas'd. But here we ought to cry out, (*k*) *O imitatores servum pecus, ut mihi sæpe Bilem, sæpe jocum vestrimovere tumultus!* People must [illegible] upon ill models when they can prefer *Lipsius* [illegible] before that of *Paulus Manutius*, or *Muretus*. Style which proceeds by starts and bounds, and [illegible] of Points and Ellipses, before a Style smooth and flowing, and which unfolds every Thought. *Lipsius* is the less excuseable, because he changed from a good Taste to an ill one. He wrote well in his Youth; as appears by a Book (*l*) he Dedicated to Cardinal *de* [illegible], and by a Funeral Oration of the Duke of *Sa*[illegible]. He degenerated as he grew Old, *His third Century of Epistles*, said *Scaliger* (*m*), *is good for nothing in the World, he has forgot to speak, I know not what* Latin *it is*. A great Man in Human

[c] *Censure de la doctrine curieuse p. m. 159.*

[d] *Ibid. pag. 162.*

[e] *Garasse doctr. curieuse pag. 343.*

[f] *Id. ib. pag. 904.*

(*i*) *Scaligerana voce* Lipsius, *p. m. 143.*

(*k*) *Horat. Epist. 19. lib. 1.*

(*l*) *His* Variæ lectiones *l. an. 1566.*

(*m*) *In Scaligeranis ubi supra*

[illegible] vigorously exercised (A) the Charge of a Missionary, to get it Signed by all who were in Imploys. He assisted at all the Assemblies which were held about this Book, or about the Re-union of the Calvinists and Lutherans, Negotiated by the Agents of the King of [illegible] *Christian*, Elector of *Saxony*, who succeeded to the Dignity of his Father, but not [illegible] rigid Lutheranism, was over-joy'd at *Lyserus*'s (B) Communicating to him some [illegible] ntagious Conditions offered him at *Brunswick*. He dismissed him with all his [illegible] t, but to the great Regret of his Subjects. *Lyserus* was at first only Coadjutor a[illegible]nswick, but was afterwards Intendant. He was recalled to *Wittemberg*, a[illegible]ch [illegible]th of *Christian*; and was made Minister at the Court of *Dresden* in 1594. [illegible]ay'd there all the rest of his Life, and imploy'd his time not only in Functions [illegible] the Ministry, but also in the Education of the young Princes, and in writing (C) of Books. He died the 22d. of *February* 1601, a Father of (D) thirteen Children, and Grand-Father to three Grandsons and one Grandaughter. His Will was an Evidence of his [illegible]ity to the Poor, and to (E) necessitous Students. He had had

[illegible] Famous Divine.

man Literature thought he did his Father, who was a Famous Divine, some Honour, by shewing he expressed a Contempt for the Style which *Lipsius* had brought in Fashion, (a) *Imprimis vero fatid ebat scribendi illam novam formam quam magnus cæteroquin vir Justus Lipsius sæculo nostro obstruxit, quamque servum pecus imitatores plurimi arripuerunt, quamvis impari felicitate.* He rel[illegible] Judgment which *James Pontanus* and *Ma[illegible]rus* made of the same Style, (b) *Nos Justi Li[illegible]ellens ingenium, summamque doctrinam suspe[illegible]us, & prædicamus, nec de studiis nostris quemquam melius meritum statuimus. Ab ejus autem idiotismo, & excogitata hæresi in [illegible]ndo, pluribus, & opinor justis de causis refu[illegible] & horremus. Maveum Velserum ipsi Lipsio [illegible]m præsentem meis auribus audivi: malle [illegible]en[illegible]retum, quam Lipsium posse e[illegible]. A[illegible]rujus probabat ingenium, & [illegible]m summopere, ejus novitiam, & plus æquo quæsitam & affectatam dictionem non probabat.* He afterwards shews how *Scaliger* being ready to give up the Ghost, declared his abhorrence of that affectedness in Style. He must needs take it much to Heart, since in that Condition, in which his Attention ought to have been fixed on Objects infinitely more important, he would let the Company know how much it troubled him. (c) 'Jam in agone mortis 'constitutus (ut refert Clarissimus Daniel Heynsius, '(in Epistola ad Isaacum Casaubonum) hoc exanimis novi 'stili admodum execratus est. Sic enim de eo scribit 'Heynsius: Justi Lipsii affectionem in stilo vehementer fastidire solebat: in iis præsertim, quæ senex scripsisset, & nonnunquam literas ejus cum indignatione legebat, eodem modo te quoque judicare, certo scio'. *Henry Stephens* published a Book of 560 Pages (d) against *Lipsius*'s *Latin*; but this Book is so full of Digressions [illegible] the Author seldom comes to his Point. How[illegible] gives us to understand, That he extremely [illegible]ved *Lipsius*'s Style. See in a Book (e) of *Ba[illegible]* the *Viri magni judicium de imitatione Lipsiana latinitatis*: As also the Words of *Grotius* (f). There's no fear that such an Affectation in *French* would ever make a Sect, tho' the [illegible]ident *de Nevion* (g) should return into the [illegible]ld.

(A) *He vigorously exercis'd the charge of a Missionary.*] I make use of this Term on account of the Progresses he was obliged to take from Town to Town, to exact Subscriptions, and degrade the Nonconformists. See the Remark C of the Article *Hunnius*, and consider these words of a *German* Divine: (b) *Inciderant Ministerii ipsius Wittebergensis primitiæ in illud ipsum tempus, quo ingenti cura maximisque impensis Electoris Saxon. AUGUSTI Liber Christiana Concordiæ Collectus, conscriptus & plurimarum Ecclesiarum calculo approbatus fuerat. In hoc ergo opere feliciter promovendo partes minimè postremas sustinuit [illegible]carpus, dum de mandato ac voluntate Ele[illegible]a cum reliquis ad hanc rem deputatis Nob[illegible] & Theologis, non Witteberga modo, sed & Torg[illegible] Lipsia, Misena & alibi subscriptiones ab illis exposcere necesse habuit, qui publicis docendi muneribus vel in Ecclesiis vel in Scholis tum erant præfecti. Tanto autem tamque arduo labore superato, &c.*

(B) Lyserus's *communicating to him the* [illegible] *gious Condition.*] The accepting 'em was the least of his Thoughts, but he believed that the Proposal might gain him the Advantage of being retained with useful Testimonies of the high Esteem that was had for him. How astonished must *Lyserus* be when he heard the Elector's Answer; for there was no way left of handsomely refusing the Gentlemen of *Brunswick*: He was under a necessity of accepting their Offer. This was a Thunder-Stroak to the Zealots; then Remonstrances to the Court were all in vain. See here the words of *Melchior Adam*: (i) *Cum aliud agens* Lyserus, *conditionis opima occasionem apud* Brunsuicenses *sibi obtingere, datis ad aulam literis, ostendisset: responsum planè [illegible] tulit*: ut frueretur, quam sibi oblatam putaret, felicitate: ecclesiæ Wittembergensi de alio pastore prospectum iri [illegible]e responso ordines consternari non literis modo, sed legatis ad aulam Electoralem missis, causas planè [illegible]nas, exposuerunt, ob quas de retinendo Lysero [illegible] sollicita: verum irrito plane conatu.

(C) *And in writing of Books.*] The chief of 'em are, *Historia passionis Dominicæ secundum IV. Evangelia*, at *Leipsic* 1605. in *Quarto*. *Historia resurrectionis & adscensionis Dominicæ, & missionis Spiritus sancti homiliis aliquot explicata*, at *Leipsic* 1610. in *Quarto*. *Schola Babylonica ex cap. I. Danielis, quam subsequuntur Colossus Babylonicus, Fornax Babylonica, Cedrus Babylonica, Epulum Babylonicum & [illegible]ula Persica. Commentariorum in Genesim tomi VI.* the 1st upon *Adam*; the 2d upon *Noah*; the 3d upon *Abraham*; the 4th upon *Isaac*; the 5th upon *Jacob*; the 6th upon *Joseph*. *Harmoniæ Evangelicæ, a Martino Chemnitio inchoatæ, continuatio, seu vitæ Jesu Christi secundum quatuor Evangelistas expositæ libri tres.* I have elsewhere observed (k) that he published a Book of *Hisenmullerus*. This occasioned a Dispute betwixt him and the Jesuit *James Gretser*, which he broke off after the second reply (l); he saw no end of it, if he would have gone on with his Answers; he therefore chose to sound a Retreat. But as to the Battle between him and a *Swisse* Minister, (m) who taught that God had elected all Men to eternal Life, 'twas much more obstinate; for it lasted 17 Years. *Cum isto, inquam, totis annis septendecim pugnavit* (n). I pass over several Books which our *Lyserus* published in *High-Dutch* (o).

(D) *A Father of thirteen Children.*] Amongst others a *Polycarp* and a *William*, who lived to enjoy several Ecclesiastical, and Academical Imploys, and published many Books. *Polycarp Lyserus*, born at *Wittemberg* the 20th of *November* 1586. was Minister and Professor at *Leipsic*, &c. He died the 15th of *January* 1633, leaving several Children. You'll find the Catalogue of his Books in the 452, and 453, Pages of *Paul Freher*'s Theatre. *William Lyserus* his Brother, was born at *Dresden* the 26th of *October* 1592. He was Professor of Divinity at *Wittemberg*, &c. and died the 8th of *February* 1649, leaving several Children of both Sexes. In the 542, and 543, Pages of of the same Theater, you'll find the Catalogue of his Books. Note that his *Systema Theatico-Exegeticum* was not printed till 1699. In the *Leipsic* Journal of *October*, the same Year, at the 473, and 474, Page, you'll find the Names and Qualities of some Persons of this Family.

(E) *His Charity to the poor and to necessitous Students.*] These are *Melchior Adam*'s Words: (p) *Testamento cavit, ut quotannis in die* Polycarpi & Elisabethæ,

(a) *Philippus Pareus in vita Davidis Parei, p. m.* 18.

(b) *Jacob. Pontanus è Soc. Jesu Variarum rerum quæst.* 31. *apud Philippum Pareum ib. p.* 19.

(c) *Philip. Pareus, ibid.*

(d) De Lipsii latinitate (ut ipsimet Antiquarii Antiquarium Lipsi[illegible] [illegible]ution [illegible]. m. 228.

(f) Sua quadam [illegible] [illegible]fficiens (*Lipsius*) nam cum floridum ipsiæ profluens natura haud abnegaret, alterum [illegible]uit di[illegible] ge[illegible], concisum quidem nec sine festivitate sed vere [illegible] quod cum imitarentur quibus ingenii judicioque non idem fuit ad corruptissima quæque devenitum est. *Grot. hist. l. 5. p. m.* 378.

(g) *His Style was Laconick, Sententious and unconnected.*

(b) Spizelius in *Templo honoris reserato, pag.* 12.

(i) *Melch. Adam. in vitis Theolog. p.* See also *Spizelius ubi supra pag.* 13.

(k) *In the Article* Jarrige.

(l) Cum [illegible]sura Ingolstadiensi Jacobo Gretsero, ob publicatam historiam Hasenmullerianam, publicum ei intercessit certamen: in quo post unam atque alteram velitationem illud Poëtæ usurpandum sibi statui: *Cede repugnanti: cedendo victor abibis.* Melch. Adam. ubi supra, pag. 802.

(m) *Samuel Huberus. See the Article* Hunnius, *Remark* D

(n) *Melch. Adam. ib.*

(o) *Spizelius gives the list of 'em. p.* 16.

(p) *Melch. Adam ubi supra, p.* 802.

had a great many Quarrels (F) to maintain *.

LYSERUS (*John*) Author of several Writings about Polygamy. See the News from the Republick of Learning β, and add to it what follows. He had an elder Brother, Superintendent of the Church of *Magdeburg*. He was reduced to extream Poverty at *Amsterdam*, when he printed his last Book γ, for which the Bookseller gave him but Twenty Ducatoons; and in his last Sickness was lodged in a Garret δ just joyning to the Roof. This I have from one of his Friends, who frequently visited him.

LIZET (*Peter*) first President in the Parliament of *Paris*. I mention him, only to illustrate some Things which Mr. *Moreri* has not sufficiently enlarged upon. They relate to (A) *Peter Lizet*'s Disgrace, and to his Books (B) of Controversie. He died the 7th. of *June* 1554, at Seventy Two Years of Age. Consult this Epitaph at

* *Taken from his Life, composed by* Melch. Adam, *who has taken it almost all out of his Funeral Oration, spoken by* Leo Hutter.

β *In* April 1685. *art.* 1. *p.* 370. *and the following. See also the Article* Lamech, *Remark* A.

γ *'Twas printed in* 1682. *under the Title of* Polygamia triumphatrix, *in* 4to.

δ Quem tegula sola tuetur
A pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova columbæ. *Juvenal. Sat.* 3. *v.* 201.

(a) *He had just said,* Cum singulari quodam amoris affectu *Wittembergam & tenioris cum primis fortunæ studiosos, quales plerumque esse solent studiis Theologicis qui se mancipârunt, prosequeretur; testamento cavit, &c.*

(b) *In the Remark* C.

(c) *Spizelius ubi supra, pag.* 12.

(d) Neque vero in hac quantumvis *splendida Martini exultantis, fallacium fratrum venenatos morsus effugere potuit. Id. pag.* 14.

bethæ, *certa quædam pecuniæ summa impenderentur, in lautiorem victum eorum, qui communi mensa uterentur.* This Author tells us a thing here (a), which perhaps needs some Reformation. The Ministers would be more respected in *Germany* than they are, if the Students in Divinity were not generally of such a Condition as he speaks of.

(F) *He had had a great many Quarrels to maintain.*] Refer hither what I have said above (b) and add to it another thing not mentioned by *Melchior Adam*. There was a Poet called *John Major*, who wrote Verses against the Methods taken on occasion of signing the Formulary, and which particularly libelled the Divines of *Wittemberg*. *Lyserus* took this *John Major* to task with so much Vigor, that he never let him rest till he got him expelled the University. He made himself many Enemies by this Victory; and in his Turn fell under their Assaults, losing all the Preferments he had at *Wittemberg*. So true it is, that on some Occasions, it's better be contented with a moderate Advantage over an Adversary, than drive Things to Extremities. But where are those who can moderate themselves, when they have so prosperous a Gale, and the Governing Faction permits 'em to revenge themselves? (c) *Sub initium anni* 86, *supra sesquimillesimum turbas Collegio Theologico Wittebergensi dare cæpi Joannes Major Poeta, homo desperatæ levitatis, qui editis in publicum carminibus, Religionis sinceritatem, & bonorum Virorum Theologorum cum primis famam vellicare haud dubitaverat, cujus improbis conatibus, cum Polycarpus tum publicè tum privatim magno spiritu se opposuisset, tandemque effecisset, ut Poeta Wittebergensi Academiis sit proscriptus; dicinon potest quos quantosque crabrones tunc excitaveris tam in Aula quam in Academia, quantamque invidiam sibi apud multos attraxerit; qua postea non sine gravi Ecclesiæ scandalo in nervum ita erupit, ut Polycarpus tota Ecclesia & Academia reclamante functione suo exciderit.* His Retirement (d) did not secure him from Calumny. If we had a full Account of this matter, we should find perhaps that our *Lyserus* was partly in the wrong.

(A) Peter Lizet's *Disgrace.*] It's spoken of in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, in such a manner, as make some think, that the Dutchess *de Valentinois*, and the Cardinal *de Lorrain* were the Promoters of it as two different Causes. This is misleading the Reader: for the Cardinal and Dutchess ought to be considered in this Point, but as one sole Cause. The Cardinal (e) interested the Ambition and Avarice of this Lady, in the Design he had formed of discharging those from Places who did not please him; and afterwards picked a sham Quarrel with *Peter Lizet*, the Consequences of which were, that this first President quitted his Place. The *Guises* were mad at him, because he opposed the giving them the Title of Prince in Parliament (f); and besides, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* would have a Man in that Post, who should refuse him nothing. The Quarrel he picked with *Lizet* was this, he accused him of having spoken insolently in his Majesty's Council; the Foundation of the Accusation was, that *Lizet* would not give his Vote standing, and uncovered in a Council where the Cardinal presided. He boldly declared, that he saw no Person present who deserved such a Submission from him. But he did not maintain the first Resolution; he quitted his Post, like a Poltron, and even wanting there himself at the Cardinal's Feet, seeking forth his Poverty, and supplicating his Compassion. That Poverty was to his Glory, and if he had not tarnished it by so mean a Submission, he might be looked on as one of those noble Patriots, who appeared at the Head of the first Parliament of *Paris*. He was not Master of a Foot of Land; after he had been Twenty Years first President; The very House where he lived was not his own. A meer Compassion for his Poverty, procured him the Abbey of St. *Victor*, by the Cession (h) of *Lewis de Lorrain*, Cardinal *de Guise*. Father *du Breul* citing *Thuanus*, relates the thing, as if all this were Transacted the same Day, and at the same sitting; but *Thuanus* says no such thing, but intimates the contrary. However let's see down Father *du Breul*'s Words. Monsieur, 'the President *James de Thou* ——— elegantly 'describes the Cause of this Judge's quitting his 'Place of first President, and accepting the Abbey 'of St. *Victor*, whether he asked it, or whether 'it was offered him (for he could not see displaced, 'except for a Crime punishable with Death.) He, 'says he, being called to the Privy-Council '(where the Cardinal *de Lorrain* presided with an 'Authority equal to that of a Viceroy) and being 'required to speak his Opinion frankly, answered, '*I see no Body by in this Place, before whom I ought to give my Opinion standing, and uncovered.* 'At which the said Cardinal finding himself touch'ed, proceeded to ill Language, calling him arro'gant, and threatning him with the King's Dis'pleasure. Which so shook this good old Man of 'Sixty Eight Years of Age, and naturally very 'timorous, that he did not persevere in his resolute 'Answer, but on the contrary, threw himself at 'the Cardinal's Feet, and beg'd his Pardon, *Ex viro congressu primo, mulier posteriore factus.* He 'did not however fail to assert his Integrity and 'Innocence, and to protest, that in the Three Years 'he had been Counsellor in Parliament, Twelve 'Years Advocate to the King, and Twenty Years 'first President, he had not acquired as much Land 'as his Feet stood upon; and that he rented his 'very House of the Abbot of St. *John des Vignes* 'de Soissons, situate at *Paris*, in St. *James's-Street*, 'near St. *Yves*'s Church. Which House retained 'the Name of the said Abbey, till the time of the 'Alienations of the Estates of the Church, when 'Monsieur *James Legier*, Treasurer to Monseigneur 'Cardinal *Charles de Bourbon* the Elder, purchased 'it (i). Here are several Things, which are not to be found in *Thuanus*, some of which are undoubtedly true; for 'tis certain that *Lizet* was Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris* Three Years, *&c.* His Epitaph declares it. (k) *Qui olim ob heroicas animi sui dotes, vir singulari memoria, & summa juris prudentia in supremum Parisiensis centuriæ Senatum à Rege Ludovico XII. adscitus, Senatoris munere triennio functus est. Deinde Triumviratu Regii Advocati munus XII. annis Duce Francisco I. feliciter obivit. Ac demum ab sua vita integritatem, in summum Curiæ Magistratum evectus, Justitiæ habenas XX. annorum curriculo ita moderatus est, ut qui Religiosæ domus Abbas, volente Henrico secundo, fieret, dignus omnium calculo videretur,* By this Epitaph, Ms. *Moreri* is convicted of Two Falsehoods, contained in these Words, *He was made one of the King's Council in* (l) 1515. *and Two Years after was honoured with the Employ of the King's Attorney-General.*

(B) *His Books of Controversie.*] Mr. *Moreri*'s Indulgence could not stand it out any longer against the decisive Sentence of *Thuanus*; he has acknowledged, that these Books were unworthy of Peter Lizet's

(g) Lizetus qui se initio virum præbuerat, in constantiæ minime perseverasvir, verum se ad Lotaringi pedes humiliter abjecit, & iguavo metu perculsus ... *Thuan. ib.* ... Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, pag. 323. *of the Edition* 1639. in 4to.

(i) *Ll. ib. pag.* 322.

(k) *Id. ib.*

(l) Louis XII. died *the* 1st. *of* January 1514. *computing the Years from the Month of* January.

(e) *Thuanus, Hist. lib.* 6. *pag.* 122. *ad ann.* 1550. (f) *See the Article* Guise.

at the 322d. Page of the Antiquities of *Paris*. He took [a] Prieſt's Orders in the Year 1553. I have ſpoken of him in the Remark *E*, of the Article *Beda*, on Occaſion of the Divorce of the Queen of *England*. Conſult the Notes upon *Sanci's* Catholick Confeſſion, at the 424th. Page of the Edition of 1699, and the 185th. and 507th. Pages of *Henry Stephens's* Apology for *Herodotus*, where he ſpeaks very ill of this Preſident's Morals.

LYSIMACHUS, Tutor to *Alexander*. I ſhould have ſaid nothing of this Perſon, if *Amiot* (Z) had faithfully Tranſlated *Plutarch's* Account of him.

LISMANINUS (*Francis*) a Native of *Corſica*, Doctor of Divinity, and a famous Controverſer, entered into the Proteſtant Church, but did not ſtop where he ought to have done, for he drove on to *Arianiſm*. This was done by Degrees. He was Confeſſor

[a] *Du Breul Antiq. de Paris, pag. m. 322. In the Edition of Antwerp. 1608.*

[b] *Biblioth. Antitrinitariorum, pag. 34.*

(a) *Thuanus ubi ſupra.*

(b) *Du Breul ubi ſupra, pag. 323.*

(c) *He ſhould have ſaid,* Præceptionibus.

(d) *You find in the* Bibliotheque *of* Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *pag.* 1018. Petri Lizetii [illegible] in ſupremo regio Francorum Conſi[illegible] mendatarii S. Victoris, adverſus Pſeudo-evangelicam hæreſim libri ſeu commentarii [illegible] duo, excuſi voluminibus. Lutetiæ 4. apud Pon[illegible]

(e) *This is copied from the* Supplementum Epitomes Bibliothecæ Geſnerianæ, autore Antonio Verderio, pag. 44.

(f) Arnauld, preface de la l'Ecriture Sainte. *This is his 3d. Tome of his new Defences of Mons.*

Lizet's *Reputation*. Let's ſee what *Thuanus* ſays of 'em, (a) *In quo* (Sanct[illegible] cœnobio) *reliquum ætatis exegit Petrus Lizetius, homo minime priori vitæ & famæ reſpondente. Cum litterarum ſacrarum homo rudis, Theologicis libris in illo otio ſcriptis ſe deridendum propinavit; quibus contrario ſcripto artificioſe ridiculo ſub Benedicti Paſſavantii nomine à Theodoro Beza, ut creditur, reſponſum eſt.* Father *du Breul* pretends, that *Peter Lizet* wrote part of theſe Books of Controverſie before his Retreat to St. *Victor's*. *The ſaid* Lizet, ſays he (b) *being ſtill the King's Attorney, writ a Book, in which he demonſtrates, that the Bible ought not to be tranſlated into French. And while he was Preſident, he writ Six Books,* De Mobilibus Eccleſiæ perceptionibus (c). *Afterwards he compoſed Three Books: the 1ſt. concerning Auricular Confeſſion, the 2d. that a Monaſtick Life is not repugnant to the Liberty of the Goſpel. The 3d. is intituled: concerning the Blindneſs of our Age.* If Father *du Breul* be not miſtaken, *Thuanus* is guilty of a conſiderable Fault. 'Tis certain, that all theſe Five Books which the Author gives the Titles of, were publiſhed together in two Volumes, after *Lizet* had retired to the Abbey of St. *Victor*; for there was an Edition of 'em at *Paris*, in 1551, and another at *Lyons*, in 1552. The *Oxford* Catalogue makes mention of the latter in theſe Words, *De S. Scripturis in linguas vulgares non vertendis per modum dialogi. De auriculari confeſſione. De monaſtico inſtituto. De hujus ſæculi cæcitatione & circumventione. De mobilibus Eccleſiæ præceptionibus.* What I am going to Copy, will increaſe the Difficulties. (e) *Petri Lizetii Juriſconſulti, dum ſequentem componeret librum in ſupremo Francorum conſiſtorio regii Advocati, & poſtea Abbatis commendatarii Sancti Victoris, ſummique Senatus Pariſienſis Protopræſidis, de mobilibus Eccleſiæ præceptionibus tractatus ſex libros continens. Ejuſdem de ſacris utriuſque inſtrumenti libris in vulgare eloquium minime vertendis, rudique plebi haudquaquam invulgandis, Dialogus inter Pantarchum & Neoterum. Ejuſdem de auriculari confeſſione, lib. 1. De monaſtico inſtituto, lib. 1. De hujuſce ſæculi cæcitate ac circumventione dialogus inter ſpiritualem & mundanum. Quæ omnia excudit Lugduni, in 4. Sebaſtianus Gryphius*, 1552. Soon after theſe Books came out, *Beza*, who was then a young Man, took a Fancy to turn 'em into ridicule, by a very humourous Book, in which he ſuppoſes, that *Magiſter Benedictus Paſſavantius*, being ſent to *Geneva*, by *Peter Lizet*, to learn what was ſaid of his Books, gives an account of his Commiſſion. This Piece ought to be placed amongſt the *Juvenilia Theodori Bezæ*. See the new Letters againſt Mr. *Maimbourg's* Calviniſm, pag. 144. and the Notes upon *Sanci's* Catholick Confeſſion, pag. 424. of the Edition of the Year 1699.

I hope it will not be thought amiſs to produce here Mr. *Arnauld's* Judgment upon *Peter Lizet's* Work concerning the Tranſlating the Scripture into the Vulgar Tongue. *There is but one Point*, ſays he (f), [illegible] *they can, it may be, with any Foundation* [illegible], *that I have unjuſtly treated Mr.* Mallet [illegible] *which is, that I may have mentioned him in ſome Places, as if he was the firſt Author of a great many Impertinencies, which I have ſince diſcovered he might have taken from a pitiful Book, which I had not then ſeen. But I was willing to give 'em an Example of what a Man ought to do when he has committed a Fault. I therefore acknowledge, that I was [illegible] to look upon Mr.* Mallet *as the firſt Author of [illegible] the Extravagancies, his Book is full of. [illegible] But I deed are his own, and theſe are the groſſeſt. But I have diſcovered by the Book I juſt now hinted at, that he often has only blindly followed Five or Six Authors of the laſt Age, whoſe Works it's the ſcandal of ours to preſerve, ſo unworthy are they of the Care that has been taken to reſcue 'em from Oblivion, in which ſome of our Anceſtors, wiſer than we, had ſuffered 'em to be buried.* Mr. *Arnauld* there ſpeaks of a certain Collection of ſeveral Tracts, the firſt whereof is *Peter Lizet's*. He explains this in another Book, in which he tells us (g) that the Aſſembly of the Clergy of *France*, made an Order in the Year 1650, *at the Requeſt of Mr.* d'Attichi, *Biſhop of* Autun——*to print at the Expence of the Clergy, a Collection of Authors of the laſt Age, who have condemned the Verſions into the vulgar Tongue, both of the Scripture and Divine Offices. And in effect*, adds he, *this Book was printed with this ſcandalous Title.* Collectio quorundam gravium authorum, qui ex profeſſo, vel ex occaſione ſacræ Scripturæ, aut divinor officiorum, in vulgarem linguam translationes damnarunt. *And with this running Title*, Collectio autorum verſiones vulgares damnantium. *It's a Medley of the moſt impertinent Authors, that have written upon this Subject, mingled with ſome good Ones, but who ſay nothing of what the Title of this Collection imports, or who ſay quite the contrary. 'Tis a Book of Preſident Lizet's which wholly turns upon this fooliſh Notion, that when the Bible was tranſlated into* Latin, *in the beginning of the Church, there were two ſorts of* Latin, *one conformable to the Rules of* Grammar, *which was only underſtood by the learned, and the other not tied to thoſe Rules, which was the only one the People underſtood, and that the* Latin *Verſion of Scripture having been made in this firſt ſort of* Latin, *was not properly a Verſion into the vulgar Tongue; which this Preſident become an Abbot, extends to all other Languages.* Mr. *Simon* had nothing to ſay (h) in Defence of this bad Writer.

The Epitomy of *Geſner* makes mention of two other Books of *Peter Lizet*: one *De autoritate Eccleſiæ, & poteſtate Papæ*; the other *De Hæreticis, & eorum pœnis*. After his Death (i) was printed his Treatiſe *of the Method of proceeding, both in the Inſtitution and Deciſion of Criminal and Civil Cauſes, together with the Form and manner of taking Informations in the ſaid Civil and Criminal Cauſes.* *La Croix du Maine*, who tells me this, did not know that *Lizet* died in 1554. He makes him Flouriſh in 1557.

(Z) *If* Amiot *had well tranſlated.*] Theſe are his Words: 'Now there were about *Alexander*, 'as we may ſuppoſe, ſeveral Perſons appointed to 'inſtruct and educate him, as Governours, Cham-'berlains, Maſters, and Tutors. *Leonidas* was 'the Perſon who had the Superintendence of all the 'reſt, a Man of an auſtere Temper, and related to 'Queen *Olympias*; but as for his part, he hated 'the Name of Maſter, or Præceptor; although it 'be a fine and honourable Employ, for which Rea-'ſon they called him *Alexander's* Governour and 'Conductor, out of regard to the Dignity of his 'Perſon, and his Relation to the Prince; but he 'that had the Place and Title of Maſter, was one 'Lyſimachus, a Native of the Country of *Acarnia* '(d), who had nothing Good or Genteel in him, 'yet becauſe he was call'd *Phœnix*; and *Alexander*, 'Achilles; and *Philip*, Peleus, he held the Second 'Place after the Governour. The Fault of this Verſion conſiſts in this: *Amiot* declares, that *Lyſimachus* held the ſecond Place, becauſe he was called *Achilles*, and *Alexander* was called *Achilles*, and *Phœnix*, and called *Peleus*. This is abſurd; *Plutarch* had too much Senſe to aſſign ſuch Reaſons. But his meaning is this; he ſays, that *Lyſimachus*, a Man otherwiſe void of Politeneſs, made himſelf agreeable

(g) *Idem* Defenſe des verſions, contre la ſentence de l'Official de Paris du 10. Avril, 1688. pag. 160.

(h) *See his new Obſervations of the New Teſtament.* (i) *At* Lyons *in* 1567. *by the Name of* Loys le Clerc, a Parisian. *La Croix du Maine*, Pag. 403. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas does not ſpeak of this Edition, but of that of* Paris 1555. *The Catalogue of* Tuanus, 1. *part. p.* 248. *mentions the Edition of* Lyons, 1577. in 12. *The Catalogue of* Oxford *takes Notice only of the Edition of* Paris, 1584. in 8 *and aſcribes this Book to M.* P. Liſlet, as to an *Author different from* Petrus Lizetius. *This is a Fault.*

Confessor [a] to *Bonna Sforza*, Queen of *Poland*, and her Preacher in the *Italian* Tongue, (*A*), *&c.* When *John Tricesius*, a Man of Learning and Quality, Clandestinely sow'd the Seeds of the Reformation at *Cracow*. *Lismanin* much shaken by the reading of a Book, the Queen had given him [γ], was confirmed in his Mistrusts of the Church of *Rome* [δ] by some Conferences with *John Tricesius*, who besides lent him the Reformers Books. He soon became suspected of Heresy; but managed it so Artfully, that the Bishop of *Cracow* could never convict him of having *Luther's* and *Calvin's* Books. He avoided the Snares, which this Prelate laid for him at *Rome*. *Lismanin* [ε] went thither in 1550 to Congratulate the new Pope *Julius* III. from Queen *Bonna*. The Bishop wrote to *Rome* that he was a conceal'd Heretick, and that he ought to be cast into Prison, and hindered from ever returning into *Poland*. This advice came a little too late; *Lismanin* was already returned to the Queen his Mistress. When he was arrived at *Warsaw*, where she resided, he received Letters from *Sigismond Augustus*, King of *Poland*, her Son, charging him to indeavour to pacify her, for she was much provok'd at this Prince's Marrying (*B*) *Barba Radzivil.* He made three Journeys to bring about a (*C*) Peace between the two Queens; the King was so satisfied with him, that he promised him the first Bishoprick that shou'd be vacant. During these Transactions *Lelius Socinus*, who came into *Poland* in 1551, [ζ] advised *Lismanin* to throw off his Monks Habit, and retire into the Reformed Countries, and particularly into *Switzerland*. *Lismanin* would have followed this Advice, but that he found in the King's Mind, a strong disposition to a Reformation. He cultivated these Dispositions, and received a Commission (*D*) from him to Travel [η] in order to acquire

(*e*) Literas à Rege . . . accepit, quibus ei mandavit ut Reginæ consorti suæ conciliaret favorem matris suæ Reginæ Bonnæ, cui . . . nuptiis illis filii Regis erat ingratus, & animum exasperarant satis naturâ malignum Nannonem, temere in eam quispiam lusit: *Qui tibi cunque Bonnæ sacris dum tingeris undis Imposuit nomen, omnibus imposuit.* Id. ibid. pag. 36.

(*f*) *Id. ib. pag.* 37.

(*g*) *Hilar. de Coste, Eloges des Dames illustres, Tome* I. *pag.* 201.

(*h*) *Hilar. de Coste ib. p.* 204.

[a] *Ibid.*
[β] *Historia Reformat. Polonicæ pag.* 18.
[γ] *Ibid. pag.* 23.
[δ] Ex lectione concionum Bernardini Ochini Itali . . . à Regina Bonnæ sibi oblatarum, totam religionem Romanam in suspicionem traxerat.
[ε] *Ibid.*
[ζ] *Ibid. pag.* 21.
[η] *Ibid. pag.* 24.
[θ] *Historia Reformat. Polonicæ pag.* 40.
[ι] *Ibid. Pag.* 41.

agreeable by the new Names with which he adorned his Imploy, and which he borrowed from *Homer*. The King, *said he*, is *Peleus*, the Prince his Son is *Achilles*, and I am *Phœnix*. This was likely enough to tickle *Alexander*, and pleased King *Philip*: This was awakening in him great and sublime Ideas. This Invention made him be loved, and gave him the first place after *Leonidus* in the young Princes Family. I have in another place (*a*) touched upon the Distinction of a Governour, and Tutour; you'll find it plainly enough in *Plutarch's* words, which I must Copy, that my Readers may perceive *Amiot's* Error. (*b*) Ἀνανίδης . . . . . μὲν ἦν τοῦτον τὸ τῆς παιδαγωγίας ὄνομα, καλὸν ἔργον ἐχόντως ἡ λαμπρὸν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς τῶν οἰκετῶν τροφῆς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ παιδαγωγῷ τῆς τροπηγίας ὑπονοεῖσθαι· ἦν Λυσίμαχος, τῷ γένει Ἀκαρνὰν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἄξιον, ὅτι δ' ἐαυτὸν μὲν παιδαγωγὸν Φοίνικα, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον, Ἀχιλλέα, ὀνομάζειν ἐβούλετο, τῷ δυντέρᾳ τῆς χάριν, *Leonidas . . . padagogi nomen cum honesto & speciosо conjunctum officio repudiabat, atque ab aliis dignitatis & necessitudinis causa nutritius Alexandri & rector vocabatur: ille qui speciem padagogi & vocabulum sumebat Lysimachus, natione Acarnan, urbanitate nulla præditus erat alia, sed, quòd Phœnicen nominaret se, Alexandrum, Achillem, & Philippum Peleа, ideo gratus erat, & secundum locum tenebat.*

(*A*) *And her Preacher in the* Italian *Tongue, &c.*] To explain this *Etcetera*, I shall set down the List of all *Lismanin's* Titles: (*c*) *Theologiæ Doctor, monachus Franciscanus. Circiter anno* 1546. *jam erat Bonæ Reginæ (matri Sigismundi Augusti Regis) a concionibus Italicis & confessionibus sacris: nec non Franciscanorum seu Minoritarum in Polonia Provincialis, & omnium cœnobiorum monialium regulæ Claræ Ephorus, qui vulgò Commissarius dicitur: atque Parochius Choviensis.*

(*B*) *Provoked at this Princes Marrying* Barba Radzivil.] The Author I cite, observes, That they who began the Work of Reformation in *Poland*, made a strange false step; they opposed this Marriage of *Sigismond*, whilst the Bishops, their greatest Persecutors, gave their Consent to it. By opposing the Princes Inclinations, and his darling Passion, they gave him a dislike of the Reformation, while they who applauded his Marriage won his Heart, and qualify'd themselves for obtaining of him an Absolute Liberty of persecuting the *Lutherans*: (*d*) *Impediebat veritatis in Regio corde progressum industria & vigilantia astutiaque Pontificum Romanorum, latera Regia semper claudentium, aures ejus occupantium, insignia Regni & cor Regis, custodiam legum tenentium, oracula Regia edentium . . . . & quod tum ferè maxime tempori & rebus eorum accommodum erat, matrimonium Regium cum Barbara Radzivilia, Stanislai Gaofoldi Palatini Trocensis relicta vidua, femina ad invidiam pulcherrimâ initum, approbantium & defendentium. Nam cum multi etiam ex illis qui veritati & reformationi favere cœperant, connubium illud, utpote cum privata & privatim, inconsulto Senatu, contractum destruerent, è contra Maciejovius ille, tum Andreæ Lebridovius . . . Episcopi, aliique Primores Pontificii illud adstruerent, factum est, ut Rex aversum ab illis animum ac favorem in hos converterit . . . Itaque boni illi Viri, Veritatis fautores graviter in eo, quod in hoc negotio Regi tanto conatu se opposuerint, erraverant: ofores verò ejus & adversarii eorum contraria parti se applicantes Regis gratiam in se derivarunt. Adeò & hic verum apparuit illud Christi oraculum*: filios tenebrarum prudentiores esse in generatione suâ quàm filios lucis. If it was not so Advantagious, 'twas at least more glorious to the Reformers of *Poland* to have been so Unpolitick.

(*C*) *He made three Journeys to bring about a Peace between the two Queens.*] His Negotiation was more Honourable than Successful, for if it pleased the King, it highly displeased the Queen Mother, who was nothing less than what her Name (*e*) signified. *Quo officio postquam suscepto anno* 1551. *m. Januar. Febr. & Martio Cracoviam tribus itineribus majori cum Regis quam Reginæ Bonæ gratia (publicè enim in templo arcis, & in magna Aula frequentia, imprudens tamen, Rege scil. id procurante, Legationem conciliationis Reginarum socrûs & nurûs peregit) perfunctus est, Rex ab eo tempore cum earum sibi habuit* (*f*). 'A Panegyrist of *Bonna Sforza* ob 'serves that She (*g*) entered into the Interests of 'the Lords and Palatines of *Poland*, who had not 'approved this Marriage, refusing to see either the 'King her Son, or his Wife, who wore the Polish 'Crown but a little while, dying suddenly at *Cra*'cow, not without Suspicion of Poyson ... By the 'Death of Queen *Barba*, the Dissentions and 'Troubles of the Kingdom of *Poland* were pacifi'ed, and the King and Queen *Bonna*, his Mother, 'reconciled'; but the hard Words she gave him upon that unequal Match, returned by Language of the same kind, quickly broke the Peace. 'The 'Queen (*h*) after their first Reconcilement, often 'reproaching the King her Son, that he had Mar'ried a second time one that was no more than a 'Gentlewoman, Widow to a private Gentleman, 'who was not of so good a Family as that of *Rad*'zivil, from which this Lady descended; *Sigismond* '*Augustus* reply'd too warmly, That he had not so 'much dishonoured the Royal Family of the *Jagel*'*lons*, and the Crown of *Poland*, by Marrying this 'Beautiful Widow publickly, and in the Face of 'the Church, in whom the Graces of Body and 'Mind did recompance over and above what was wan'ting in her Birth, or rather in the birth of her first 'Husband *Gastold*, as she who Married Clandestine'ly after the Death of King *Sigismond the Great* of 'Sacred and Glorious Memory, a Man of mean 'Condition, called *Puppacoda*'.

(*D*) *A Commission to Travel, in order to acquire all the necessary knowledge.*] Don't imagine that his Credential Letters imported that he had Orders to furnish himself with the best Methods for Reforming Religion. He had received only a Verbal Order on this Point, and the King was not pleased, that any

(*a*) *In the Article* Achilles *pag.* 57. *col.* 2.
(*b*) *Plutarch. in Alex. p.* 667. *B.*
(*c*) *Bibliot. Antitrinitar. p.* 34.
(*d*) *Stanislaus Lubieniecius, Historia Reformat. Polonicæ, pag.* 26.

acquire all the neceſſary Knowledge for Eſtabliſhing a better Eccleſiaſtical Government. He ſaw *Italy*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, *Paris*, and faithfully diſcharged his Commiſſion; but being returned to *Geneva*, he there Married a Wife, by the Advice of *John Calvin* and *Socinus*, and in ſpite of the moſt Judicious (E) Remonſtrances of *Budzinius*, his Secretary. The King of *Poland* [a] was ſo ſcandaliz'd at this Action of his, that he gave over his Project of Reformation, tho' *Liſmanin* had ſent him the Letters of ſeveral Miniſters upon this Affair. The firſt Synod, which [b] was held in *Poland* by the Reformed, writ *Liſmanin*, who was then in *Switzerland*, a very obliging Letter, deſiring him to return. He left *Switzerland* in 1556, and came back to *Poland*, where he concealed himſelf ſome time; for he was not Ignorant that there was a Sentence of Proſcription againſt him. Several great Lords interceded for him, ſo that he was ſuffered to ſhew himſelf. He did not at firſt declare for either of the two innovating Parties, one of which [c] maintained that *Jeſus Chriſt* was not Mediator, according to the Divine Nature; the [d] other maintained the Preheminence of *God the Father*. But after ſome Conferences (F) with *Blandrata* in 1558, he began to [e] doubt of the Myſtery

[a] *Ibid. pag.* 43.
[b] *At* Pintzovie *in* 1555. Id. Hiſt. Reformat. Polon. p. 56.
[c] *Ibid. pag.* 57.
[d] *Ibid. pag.* 65.
[d] He was called Francis Stancarus.
[e] He was called Paul Goneſius.

(a) Libros juſſu & impenſis regiis coemtos, biennio poſtquam duxerat uxorem ad eum ſubinde miſit. *Lubieniecius ubi ſupra, p.* 43, 44.
(b) *Id. ib. pag.* 41.
(c) *Ibid. pag.* 42.
(d) Nec non literas quas cele- Helvetia viri ad cum ſeri- ſere: quarum autographa 30 annis à morte Regis in manus Budzinii pervenerunt, ita ut ejus induſtriæ conſervationem illorum debeamus. Horum apographa hic omitto cum hæc jam dudum lucem viderint. *Id ib. p.* 44.
(e) *Ibid. pag.* 55.
(f) *That's to ſay the ſame which the Synod of* Pintzovia *writ to* Liſmanin.
(g) *Lubieniecius ib. pag.* 48.
(h) *Ibid. pag.* 44.
(i) Impreſſum exemplar cuncta iſta quæ videbis de Liſmanino omiſerit. *Ibid.*
(k) *Ib. p.* 45. *This Letter of* Calvin *is dated the* 24. *of* Decem. 1555

any Accounts ſhould ſhould be given him [of that Matter in Writing, but only by word of Mouth. Notwithſtanding *Liſmanin* writ to him about it. The Pretence of his Voyage was to buy ſeveral good Books for the King's Library. Nor was this only a Pretence, for he was actually Commiſſioned to buy Books, and bought a great many which he ſent (a) to *Poland* (b). *De negotio religionis amplius colloquentes, decreverunt, ut Liſmaninus, Miniſtri Regii (factorem vulgo vocamus) nomine. Bibliothecam Regiam ſumptibus ejus omni librorum genere inſtrueret, nec non viros doctos & pios adiret, Eccleſias varias, earum inſtituta & ritus ac regendi formas perluſtraret, deque omnibus his à reditu ſuo Regem certiorem faceret. . . . (c) Liſmaninus Regi per Literas poſtea totum negotium, expoſuit, contra ejus tamen mentem, qui reditum ejus & narrationem vivæ vocis, non literas mutam narrationem, expectabat. Liſmanin* ſhew'd but little Diſcretion and Conduct in the Execution of a Deſign ſo important as this was. It muſt not be objected, that *Sigiſmond Auguſtus* never gave him ſuch a Commiſſion; for 'tis eaſy to prove the contrary. The Original Letters which ſeveral Miniſters had enclos'd to *Liſmanin*, and which he conveyed to the King of *Poland*, fell into the Hands of *Liſmanin's* Secretary, 30 Years after the Death of this Prince, and were made publick (d). It's certain that *Geſner*, *Bullinger*, and *Calvin* writ to this Monarch, and that their Letters, with many others, written to the Poliſh Lords about the Affair of the Reformation, ran about the Kingdom, and extreamly diſguſted the good Catholicks. *Urebat malevolos Liſmanini exemplum, ſed & miſſa virorum Præſtantium Conradi Geſneri, Henrici Bullingeri, tum Joan. Calvini ad Regem littera, quæ & ad Proceres Regni ac Equites veritatis Evangelicæ ſectatores ſcripta per ora & manus plurium ferebantur.* (e). It's alſo certain that his *Poliſh* Majeſty anſwered the Letters of the three Doctors I have named (f). *Literæ ille ad Liſmaninum per Budzinium Miniſtrum ejus miſſæ fuere, qui & litteras Regias quibus Geſnero, Calvino & Bullingero reſpondit, ad eos pertulit* (g). My Author complains of the Perſon who publiſhed *John Calvin's* Letters. He accuſes him of having ſuppreſs'd the Praiſes which *Calvin* gave *Liſmanin* in his Letters to the King of *Poland*. (h) *Moneo amantes veri ex officio viri Chriſtiani & fidelis ſcriptoris, ut qua ratione in legendis celebrium Auctorum ſcriptis, circumſpectos eos eſſe oporteat, videant, non bona fide in edendis illis Epiſtolarum gravium apographis ab infeſtis veritati hominibus actum eſſe. Nam ne quid diſſimulem: Epiſtola, quam ad Regem Auguſtum Calvinus Nonis Decembr.* CIↃ IↃL IV. *dederat, ſatis cordate contra Pontificiam arrogantiam ſcripta, extat quidem inter Epiſtolas Calvini, pag.* 139. *ſed Liſmanini nomen initio Epiſtolæ parum candide agens editor ejus omiſit.* He produces a Letter of *Calvin* according to the Tenor of the Original: If you compare it with that which was printed, you'll find many Omiſſions in the latter; wherein all (i) this Paſſage is left out; (k) *Equidem optimo viro & fideli ſervo Chriſti Franc. Liſmanino, quum à me conſilium peteret, auctor eſſe non dubitavi, ut iſthuc ſtatim concederet, ſi quis forte opera ejus uſus iſthuc fuerit, ſaltem pio ejus deſiderio libenter ſubſcripſi: nec veritus ſum ne ejus profectio quaſi intempeſtiva Majeſtati Veſtræ diſpliceat, cujus præſentiam multis modis utilem experientia ipſa oſtendet. Quod ſi palam à Rege ipſum proferri non à primo ingreſſu nondum commodum videbitur, mihi tamen ver ſacrum Chriſti nomen roganda ſuppliciter & obteſtanda eſt V. M. ut recte currenti ſaltem aliunde patefactam viam curet.* This is a convincing Proof of the Miſſion, or rather Commiſſion, which the King his Maſter gave *Liſmanin* to get Intelligence among the Reformers, and inſtruct himſelf in the beſt means for Reforming *Poland*. At the ſame time here's a deplorable Inſtance of the Impoſtures made uſe of in the Printing of Poſthumous Books. All that was diſguſtful, was retrenched. Who will maintain there were no Additions and Alterations made?

(E) *In ſpite of the moſt judicious Remonſtrances of his* (l) *Secretary.*] I grant that our Gentleman was ſtrongly perſwaded of the Nullity of his Vows, and that his Spirit, no leſs than his Fleſh, felt a repugnance to the Law of Celibacy. Yet 'twas but fit, he ſhould put off his Marriage, till he had given an Account of his Commiſſion to the King of *Poland*. All that is Lawful is not Expedient: The great Matter is to time a thing well. *Budzinius* repreſented this Maxim to his Maſter, with great Judgment, but found him Inflexible, and could not prevail with him to defer his Marriage. The *Socinian*, I am going to cite, judiciouſly Cenſures this Precipitation, and is Angry that *Calvin* and *Socinus's* Counſels had the better of thoſe of *Budzinus*. (m) *Quod tamen* (mandatum Regis) *paulò poſt neglexit, poſtquàm Genevam reverſus, ne cum horrido cucullo in Poloniam rediret, uxorem duxiſſet, auctore Calvino & Lælio Socino* (*qui paulò poſtquam Cracovia ſementem veritatis jeciſſet, Genevam eodem anno redierat, quâ tamen mox, Calvini ingenium vel non ferens vel metuens, relictâ, Tiguri ſedem fixerat*) *ſed contradicente Budzinio, miniſtro ſuo, & ob oculos ponente Regis indignationem, qui eum ſumtibus ſuis in exteras regiones ad omnia perluſtranda & exploranda ablegarit, & tantorum conatuum alium eventum quàm Ablegati fui, ejuſque Monachi, nuptias expectet ſi ſe etiam promiſſi ſibi data, tum & ſucceſſum ejuſmodi matrimonii, quod magis ædificata ſubruere, quam aliquid ædificare poſſit, infauſtum; quod etiam reipſa eveniſſe ſuo loco videbimus. Sed ſurdo cecinit. Namque monachus calibatum, & ſpiritu & carne meritò illum damnante, perofus, & ad caſtas, intempeſtivas tamen, nuptias properans, quod inſtituit, effectum dedit, & accepta uxore, Geneva manſit. Quod ejus factum Rex moleſtè ferens ab incepto de explorandâ religione reſiluit.* Correct a Fault that is found in *John Latus's* Univerſal Hiſtory. He ſays, That *Liſmanin* (n) left the Cloiſter of *Cracow*, with ſome other Monks, to turn Proteſtant. Who would not think that this Man, and ſome others of his Fraternity, Abjured their Religion in *Poland*? whereas the thing was otherwiſe: The Cordeliers of *Cracow*, who turned Proteſtants (o) preceded *Liſmanin*. The latter aſſembled and threw not off the Mask, till he was at *Geneva*, in his Travels, under pretence of purchaſing Books for his Majeſty's Library. His Marriage occaſioned *Florimond de Remond* to ſay, *That Francis Liſmanin an Apoſtate Monk, who afterwards came near to the Alcoran, back'd theſe Novelties more from a Love for a Woman he doated on, than for the ſake of the Goſpel* (p).

(F) *After ſome Conferences with* Blandrata.] I can't ſay, whether *Liſmanin* had been a Patron to *Blandrata* before his Travels, and had Introduc'd him to the Queen of *Poland* as a good Phyſician; but this is certain, That he Introduc'd him to a great

(l) *This Title is given* Budzinius *in the Bibliotheque of the Anti-trinitarians, p.* 55.

(m) *Lubieniecius ubi ſupra p.* 42, 43.
(n) Quibus adjunxit ſe Franciſcus Lyſmannus Corcyræus qui paulo ante relictis Franciſcanis Cracoviæ, eductis ſecum aliquot Monachis in ſocietatem Evangelii tranſiverat. *Jo. Lætus, compend. Hiſtor. univerſalis, p.* m. 390.
(o) *Lubieniecius ubi ſupra, p.* 23

(p) *Florim. de Remond Hiſt. of Hereſy, Book* 4 *ch.* 8. *pag. m.* 453.

ſtery of the Trinity; and became ſo ſuſpected of *Arianiſm*, that he was accuſed before the Conſiſtory of *Cracow*. He defended himſelf but ill, and as *Blandrata* had his Favourers, and other Diſputes had already divided Mens Minds, nothing but Confuſion enſued in the Synods. *Liſmanin* offer'd a Medium for reconciling the Parties; which was, that they ſhould ſtick to the Authority [a] of four Fathers of the Church, and for this end Collected a Rhapſody of ſeveral Paſſages from theſe Fathers, which might ſerve for a Sanctuary to various Interpretations. The Project was rejected; Whereupon *Liſmanin* retired to *Koningsberg* in *Pruſſia*, where he died (G) miſerably about the Year 1568. Moſt of thoſe who ſpeak of him do not know his Name (H). He writ nothing worth (I) ſpeaking of.

[a] *Ibid.* pag. 118. [b] St. Ambroſe, St. Jerome, St. Auguſtine, St. Chryſoſtom. Ibid pag. 168. [c] See the Remark [c] *Ibid.* pag. 170.

LISOLA (*Francis de*) became Famous by his Embaſſies to ſeveral Courts of *Europe*. He was a Native of *Besançon*, and entred into the Emperor's Service about the Year [d] 1639. From that time to his Death he moſt Zealouſly ſtuck to the Intereſts of the Imperial Court, and imploy'd all the Talents of his Pen, and all the Vigilance of an Able Stateſman to the Advantage of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. He [e] was not above 30 Years old when he was Reſident in *England* from the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. He diſcharged this Employ ſo well, that he was continued in it above four Years. He was Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of *Spain*, at the time of (AA) *Philip* IV's Death in 1665. The Book which he intitled (A) *The Buckler of the State and Juſtice*, is a very good one. Here he ſolidly Anſwers what *France* had publiſhed *about the Rights of the Queen to ſeveral Eſtates of the* Spaniſh *Monarchy in the Year* 1667. I don't doubt but he is the Author of ſeveral Pamphlets againſt *France*, which are commonly aſcribed to him; but I believe too, that ſeveral others are Fathered upon him which he knew nothing of; the common Artifice of Bookſellers to find Sale for a pitiful Piece. He made himſelf Odious to *France* by this way of Writing; and ſome Frenchmen have abuſed him in their Pamphlets. They complain of his Paſſionate Satyrical Humour, which ſpared not the Perſon of the Moſt Chriſtian King. He defended

[d] In the Preface to the Denouement des Intrigues du tems, printed in 1672. It's obſerved that he had ſerved for 33 Years without Reproach under two Emperors. [e] Richard, Deſcription de la Franche-Comte, in the Atlas Blaeuw.

Prince after his return. (a) *Ita fors tulit ut Blandrata . . . cap. 20 inſerui. Brevis explicatio . . . Dei ac ſanctiſſima Trinitate, quam Stancarus . . . aliis quibuſdam oppoſuit, præmiſſa ad Regem . . . ſecundum Auguſtum Epiſtola apologetica Kal. Junii* 1563. *Cracoviæ ſcripta. Subſcripſerunt ei cum ipſo, Felix Cruciger Superintendens Eccleſiarum in minori Polonia aliique circiter triginta Seniores & Miniſtri: inter quos erat, Gregorius Pauli Senior in ditione Cracovienſi. Apologia hæc excuſa eſt typis, anno* 1565. The Rhapſody mentioned in the Body of this Article, was printed; but *Lubieniecius* had not ſeen it I ſhall, for the ſingularity of the Matter, relate the Words that declare *Liſmanin*'s Deſign of terminating the Differences of the Miniſters by the Authority of the Fathers. *Liſmaninus tamen ſtudia reditegranda concordiæ vel ſtabilienda rei refumere: media ad hanc rem obtinendam idonea quærere: ad ultimum quatuor illorum Eccleſiæ quarti Seculi Doctorum, Ambroſii, Hieronymi, Auguſtini, & Chryſoſtomi auctoritatem quaſi partientibus concilliandis commodum medium propo . . . hinc centonem ex illis conſuere. Id ſcripti, lic . . . videvit, videre mihi non contigit* (k).

(k) *Lubieniecius ubi ſupra pag.* 168.

(AA) *At the Court of* Spain, *at the time of* Philip *the fourth's Death.*] The Count *de Chavagnac* obſerves (l) that the Baron *de Liſola* had put a ſtop to the concluſion of the Marriage of the *Infanta* with the Emperor, 'and had obliged the King before his 'Death, by an expreſs Article to keep up an Army 'in the Hereditary Countries, to Succour *Flanders*, 'the *Milanese*, and the Emperor: Count *Marſin* 'was to be General of it'. The Count *de Chavagnac* was to Command under *Marſin*: He adds, that the Baron (m) received Orders to go over into *England*, and went on Board a Pink at *Barcelona*, in order to go to *Final*, that he cro'ſs'd *Piedmont*, (n) and came to *Franche Comte* with his Wife and Daughter, (o) *who is one of the Worthieſt Perſons in the World.*

(l) *Memoires du* . . . *Edit. de Holl.* (m) *Ibid. pag.* 251. (n) *Ibid. pag.* 253. (o) *Ibid. pag.* 247.

(a) *Beza Epiſt.* 81.

(b) *Hiſtoire de l'Ariani ſme liv.* 12 *pag.* 351, 332, *du* 3. *tome Edit. de Hollande. Anachroniſme in the Article* Blandrata, *pag.* 695. *col.* 2.

(c) He ſhouldhave ſaid Gonesius.

(d) *Lubieniecius ubi ſup. p.* 111

(e) *Bibl. Antitrinit pag.* 35.

(f) *Hoornbeek, Append. p.* 31.

(g) *Spondanus ad ann.* 1561. n. 33.

(h) *Bibl. Antitrinit pag.* 35.

(i) This Letter is printed in the Hiſtoria Reformationis Poloniæ *pag.* 112. *& ſeq.*

(A) *The Book he intituled, the Buckler of the State and Juſtice, is a very good one.*] Here's what Mr. *Lyonne* writ of it to the King his Maſter: 'I had 'forgotten to ſay concerning a Book that . . . wards 'have publiſhed, intituled, *The Buckler of State* 'and *Juſtice* (which muſt be of . . . compoſi- 'tion) in anſwer to the Tract concer . . . the Right 'of the Queen; that it's *Van Buninger's* Opinion 'That this Book has fully and convincingly deſtroy'd 'all the Kings Preſumſions to the *Franche Comte*, 'Brabant, *Limbourg, Hainaut, Artois*, &c. ſo as 'no Reply can be made on our part; inſomuch 'that the King has only remaining his Pretenſion to 'Burgundy, by Right of Devolution; from whence 'he concludes, that he ought only to Demand a 'Satiſ-

himself (B) very seriously upon this Head. I don't think any one has written against him in a more ingenious and smart manner (C) than Mr. *Verjus* *: it was to retort gross Injuries. Let us not forget that Mr. *de Lisola* was honoured with the Title of Baron. He died before the opening of the Conferences of *Nimeguen*. He would doubtless have been Plenipotentiary to his Imperial Majesty, and possibly would have been more successful than his Successors, in retarding the Treaty of Peace. It's said he was fitter (D) to get a War continued, than to conclude it; and he had such a Faculty of alarming Mens Minds, that he animated to a Confederacy those, who had the greatest Inclination to stand Neuters. I am far from affirming, what many have said, that he made no scruple of dispersing in several Courts, as from intercepted

* *At present he's call'd* Count de Crecy, *and has been one of the Plenipotentiaries of* France, *at the Treaty of* R[illegible] *in* 16[illegible].

(a) Memoires *of* Mr. de Lyonne, *intercepted by the Garrison of* Lisle, *the* Sieur Heron, *Courier of the Cabinet, carrying 'em from the Army to* Paris, *in* 1667. *pag.* 18 *of the Impression of* Holland *in* 1668. Paris Letter 4to. *pag.* [illegible] *of the 2d. tome, speaks of this intercepting.*

(b) Denouement des intrigues du tems, pag. 16.

(c) Ibid. pag. 12.

(d) *Compare with this, these Words of the* 234*th. Page.* He shews he is but a bad Judge of Style, when he attributes the Letter of the States-General to the Baron *de l'Isola*. Good Judges won't agree with him, and I shan't wonder hereafter, if the ignorant ascribe so many false Pieces to him, as they have hitherto done.

(e) Ibid. pag. 9.

(f) Ibid. pag. 11.

'Satisfaction answerable to that Pretension, and 'that having promised it should be moderated, he now draws this Consequence, that 'Franche Comté, and some other Places, ought to 'satisfie his Majesty (a). The Postscript Mr. *le Tellier* underwrit to this Place of Mr. *de Lyonne's* Dispatch, by the King's Order, has these Words. *There's Ground to hope, that* Van Beuningen's *Opinion concerning this Book, will not be followed.*

(B) *He defended himself very seriously upon this Head.*] His Words are these; speaking of himself in the third Person. (b) *He discovers in all his Actions a very particular Esteem for the* French *Nation; he acknowledges it to be one of the Nurses of Arts and Sciences, polite in its Discourse and Writings, agreeable in Conversation, fruitful of great Men, abounding in good Soldiers, industrious, brave and Laborious. His Sentiments of his Most Christian Majesty proceed even to Admiration; he speaks of him on all Occasions, with as much respect as his own Subjects can do; he praises with all possible Commendation the glorious Regulations he has made in his Kingdom, and if he could see him apply his great Genius and Power to less dangerous and more distant Conquests, his most ardent Wishes should attend his Designs.* Let's see how he justifies himself upon the Subject of Libels. '(c) This Writer accuses 'him of an unreasonable Affectation to appear in 'Publick by his Writings, and I can say with all those 'who know him, that it's one of his greatest Aversions: though in the whole Course of his Life, 'he has imploy'd his Leisure-Hours in composing 'many Works, from which he might have expected as great Approbation, as from those he was obliged to make publick; yet the Sollicitations of 'his Friends could never conquer the Reluctance he 'ever had to the appearing in print, and except the '*Bouclier d'Etat*, which he was obliged to publish, with a Dispatch, which did not permit him 'to polish it as he could wish, no other Piece of his 'Writing has come out with his Privity and Consent. 'Tis true, the Avarice of the Booksellers has 'put 'em on collecting some undigested Fragments 'of two or three other of his Works, which they 'sent to the Press with so many Faults, that the Author himself could hardly know 'em; but he has 'Reason to complain, that the Malice of some, and 'the Ignorance of others, frequently Father on him 'Off-springs, which he (d) never produced, and 'which have Characters so contrary to his, that 'if the World would do him Justice, they would 'readily own, that they are supposititious.

That I may not resume it another time, let me here relate his Answer to the Reproaches of Avarice and Violence. '(e) He attacks him in his 'greatest Strength, when he taxes him in covert 'Expressions, with being gained by the States, and 'acting through a Principle of Interest and Ambition; this is misunderstanding both his Genius, 'and that of the United Provinces. He is as little of a Humour to receive, as they are to give; 'tis not the way of popular Republicks to make 'such Profusions——(f) Indeed, every one knows the Baron *de l'Isola*'s little Application to his Patrimone, and that he is daily Subject to the Reproaches of his most intimate Friends, for the extreme Negligence he shews in his own Concerns. The present Condition he is in, after the 'fair Opportunities he has had to enrich himself, 'evidently proves, that he has hitherto laboured 'more for the Publick than for himself. Some Ministers of *France* could give an authentick Testimony of his way of receiving Offers of that Nature; all the Imperial Court will depose in his behalf, that for above Three Years he has been 'ardently soliciting his Master to grant him a little 'Retreat, as the Price of all his Services, in 'which he might spend the rest of his Days at 'Ease, free from the hurry of Affairs. If the Offices of his Enemies could procure him that Happiness with his Master, to which he only aspires, 'they might rid themselves of him more soundly, and with a better Conscience, than by 'that cowardly and unworthy way of Injuries 'and Calumnies; I know, he would think himself 'obliged to their Hatred, and would heartily say, '*Salutem ex inimicis.* This is what concerns the Accusation of Avarice; let's proceed to the 2d. Head. (g) 'As to his Conduct in publick Affairs 'all the Ministers of the Emperor can bear him 'faithful Testimony, that he never proposed any 'thing violent or unjust, and always promoted Union and Moderation, while *France* went upon the 'antient Maxim, *Divide & Impera*. In all the 'Controversies that have come before him, he has 'employed his utmost Pains and Study, in seeking 'Ways of Accommodation; he has reconciled the Elector of *Brandenburg* and the K. of *Poland*, and found no Obstacle to his Negotiation, but what the Ministers of *France* were the Authors of. All the 'World knows how much he facilitated the Treaty 'of *Oliva*, with what Earnestness he laboured for 'those of *Portugal* and *Aix la Chapelle*, and the 'Pains he took to strengthen them, by a solid 'Guaranty. He has frequently sollicited Defensive 'Leagues, which are the Foundations of the Peace 'and Security of States: he has always dissuaded 'the offensive, as much as possible, which may 'raise Jealousies, and create new Troubles; nay, he 'grants, that he wishes the Preservation and Welfare of the United Provinces, because he looks 'upon 'em, as the Bulwark of the Empire, the 'strongest support of the *Netherlands*, and the Mediators and Guarantees of Peace.

(g) *Ibid. pag.* 14.

(C) *In a more ingenious——manner than Mr.* Verjus.] They ascribe to the Baron *de Lisola* a little Book intituled, *la Sauce au Verjus* (h), a Piece extremely cutting against the Person, whose Name is alluded to. This Allusion, and the whole Title of this Libel, have highly displeased Father *Bouhours*: I shall relate somewhat at large, what he has said upon it; in which we shall find the Proof of what I advance, that this Writing was fathered on Mr. *de Lisola*. '(i) A Punster will not scruple to play 'upon a Name in abusive Writings. He'll intitle 'a Libel, *la Sauce au Verjus*, and afterwards say, 'that Grapes which can never ripen, are good 'to make Verjuice. *France* approves these 'Designs by her Minister at the Court of *Brandenburgh*, and the Sauce is like to be none of the best, since they have put in it too much Verjuice. 'A Man must have a very bad Taste, to be pleased 'with such Kitching-Stuff. Nothing disgusts more, 'than those insipid Allusions, which have neither 'Wit nor Beauty in 'em; and I don't know, whether I should not relish the Impertinence of that 'famous Preacher, altogether as well, who preaching before a great Prince, and taking for *his* Text, 'Omnis caro fœnum, began thus, *Monsieur*, † *foin de Omnis caro fœnum, foin de mois, foin de tous les hommes, omnis caro fœnum.* But to speak seriously, the Foolery of the Minister of *Vienna*, and the Preacher of *Paris*, are much alike: the one offends the Majesty of the Empire, 'by a foolish and ridiculous Pun, while he pretends 'to support it; the other dishonours the Sacred 'Word of God, by a vile and buffoon Expression. 'Both affront the Dignity of our Language, which 'will not suffer absurd and gross Jesting.

(h) *Printed in* 1674.

(i) *Bouhours, Remarques sur la langue Françoise, pag. m.* 428.

† 'Tis a *French* Pun, which can hardly be expressed in *English*.

(D) *To get a War continued, than to conclude it.*] It was therefore a most disagreeable Employment, which the Emperor put him upon, during the War

ted Letters, I know not how many Schemes, and Projects of Alliances, and Instructions to Ambassadors, which shewed, that *France* designed to swallow up all *Europe*, which Pieces, as they say, were forged in his own Study. I would require strong Proofs of this, before I gave Credit to it. Besides, though these Frauds [illegible] well enough upon the People, *ad populum phaleras*; would Princes [illegible] themselves to be caught by 'em? He had the Misfortune [illegible] disgust (*E*) the King of *Poland*, as I shall say below, citing Mr. *de Wicquefort*. [illegible] was believed to be the first Author, and principal Director of the Design which [illegible] executed in *Cologne* (*F*) on the Person of Prince *William de Furstemberg*, during [illegible] Conferences of the Peace of the 14th. of *February* 1674.

LOGES (*Mary Bruneau*[a], Lady *Des*) was one of the most [illegible] Women of the XVIIth. Century. She was married in 1599. to *Charles de Rechignevoisin*, Esq. Seigneur *Des Loges*, who Four Years after was made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King. She died the 7th. of *June* 1641, and was buried in a [illegible] she [illegible] chosen her self.

[a] And not Blaineau, as Hilarion de Coste says in his Eloge des Dames tome 2. pag. 669.

of *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, against *Poland*, for here's what Mr. *de Wicquefort* tells us. (*k*) 'In the Year 1655, during the Rupture betwixt 'the Crowns of *Poland* and *Sweden*, the Emperor 'sent to offer his Mediation to the latter, by Count 'de *Pottinguen*, Vice-Chancellor of *Bohemia*. They 'had already began to treat without a Mediator: 'the *Swedes* were persuaded, that the Emperor's Intention was rather to aggravate Things, than reconcile 'em. They knew, that if the Negotiation 'must be carry'd on by Mediators, those could not 'be declined, who had already been imployed at 'Lubeck; that the Emperor had endeavoured to oblige the *Muscovites* to declare War against *Sweden*, 'and that *Lesinski*, whom the King of *Poland* had sent to *Vienna*, had obtained some Assurance of Succours. The Count arrived at *Thorn* 'in *September*; but the King being in perpetual Motion, he could not speak with him till the 5th. of *April* the Year following, and saw him no more after that time; and coming with *Lisola* into the Army of *Poland*, he himself renounced the Title of Mediator.

(*a*) *Wicquefort, Traite de l'Ambassadeur, tome 2. pag. 239.*

(*E*) *He had the Misfortune to disgust the King of* Poland.] M. *de Wicquefort* tells us this, in a way which gives us some Touches of our Baron's Character (*a*). 'I'll add to the Example (*b*) of *Appelbroom*, that of *Francis Baron de Lisola*, the 'Emperor's Embassador at *Warsaw*. This Minister, who was a Man of Parts, had made himself 'at first very acceptable to the King and Queen of 'Poland, and had done them important Services, 'till seeing in the Year 1661, that the Queen took 'upon her to elect a Successor in the King's Lifetime, and laboured to get a *French* Prince elected, 'he openly enough opposed the Intrigues that were 'carrying on, in order to it, amongst the Senators. 'The Queen, who could not be ignorant of it, and 'who was at least as fit to reign as the King, got 'the Bishop of *Warmia*, and the Palatine of 'Pomerania to tell *Lisola, that the Cabals he made 'in the Kingdom, hindered their Majesties from admitting him any more to Audience. Lisola*, to 'sound their Intention, and to know whether there 'was any thing in it more than Personal, and 'whether the Prohibition extended to the Negotiation he was imploy'd in by the Emperor his 'Master, demanded to see the King, who ordered 'him to be answered, that if he had any Proposition to make, he might do it in Writing. *Lisola* refused it, and gave Advice of the whole 'Matter to the Court of *Vienna*, from whence an 'Answer was returned, That the Emperor was 'astonished at the Proceeding of the King of *Poland, and that before he had taken a Method so contrary to the good Understanding which ought to be betwixt Neighbouring Princes, and so near Relations, and even to the Law of Nations, he should have made his Complaints.* The King of *Poland* wrote afterwards to the Emperor upon this 'Subject, and his Resident *Vespasian Lanscoronski*, 'seconded by his Offices the Reasons of the King 'his Master; but the Emperor, whose Interest it 'was to hinder the Election of a *French* Prince, approved the Conduct of his Embassador. However, 'considering that he could do him no more Service 'in a Court to which he was become unacceptable, 'he recalled him at his own Instance, and under another Pretence. *Lisola* departed without taking 'Leave of the King and Queen, and the Emperor 'has ever since imploy'd him in Negotiations of 'the greatest Importance, to which he applied himself with great Ability, though frequently with 'little Success. The Author of the *Curious Treatise* (*c*) *upon the Seizing the Prince of* Furstemberg, confesses, that *Lisola* was unfortunate; yet he gives him great Encomiums, and as all that he says is serviceable to the History of this Baron, I shall relate a long Fragment of it. (*d*) *Lisola* believed these Things [illegible] we have (*e*) our Evasions: 'tis true, [illegible] was feared, whilst 'alive, we are contented [illegible] attack him after his 'Death; which is neither generous nor honest, 'and shews our Weakness or our Fear——I 'could give a hundred Instances of it (*f*), if necessary, to shew, that this Man was falsly accused by those who durst not look him [illegible] he were alive (*g*). Mr. *d'Ambr*[illegible] lastly, and all he objects to h[illegible] that he calls him an Author, known *by his inconsiderate Writings against* France, yet without censuring 'em; 'so strong was his Genius, and so admired by all 'who judged soundly of Things. He had an inconceivable Force of Wit, a great Presence of 'Mind, a vast Penetration, a vast reach of Understanding, dextrously assaulted or defended himself, was a Master of Politicks, acquainted with 'all its Springs, a Man of Zeal, wrote excellently 'and easily, and in short, published curious Pieces, 'when no body believed he had so much as begun 'em.... (*h*) but with these essential Qualities, *Lisola* was unfortunate, and died perpetually thwarted, when the Emperor, moved by his Services, 'and to make him a just Recompence, recalled him 'to *Vienna*, feeding him with many fair Hopes. 'He shone being near his end, like the Glare 'of a Star that vanishes [illegible] after having inlightned all the Earth.

(*b*) *Wicquefort, ib. tome 1. pag. 301. 302.*

(*c*) *Resident of* Sweden *at the* Hague, *whom his Master would not recall, tho' the States in 1657, had declared they would not treat with him any longer.*

(*F*) *Which was executed upon the Person of Prince* William de Furstemberg.] The *French* always supposed, as an unquestioned Fact, that the Baron *de Lisola* was the Promoter of this Design. He is thought to be the Author of a Book, which justifies that Action. *Deckherus* thus speaks of it. (*i*) *Gulielmi Principis Furstenbergii detentio, ad Cæsaris authoritatem, tranquilitatem Imperii, Pacis promotionem, justa, perutilis, necessaria: authore* Chrisophoro WOLTFANGO, *Anno MDCLXXIV. publicata, illustri stylo, experientia profunda, consummata eruditione prorsus excellens, ab orbe erudito adscribi meruit Præ-Illustri* Antonio PERIANDRO, Rhæto; *qui susceptam modestam nominis detectionem gratiose interpretari non dedignabitur: Causa enim ibi pro honore Imperatoris & Salute Imperii magnifice defensa; neque stoli Mars Venusque* FORTNERUM *serio dissimulare visi; quamvis hodie Illustrem Dom.* Franciscum Baronem DE ISOLA, *negotiatoribus irrita pacis immixtum, authorem videre eligere maluerint.* I shall occasionally say, that [illegible] ibes to the same Author an Anonymous [illegible] ainst *France*, printed about the Year 1673. [illegible] Words are these: (*k*) *Eodem tempore prodiit* Consilium status secretius Regis Gallicarum, *Gallice & Germanice manifestatum*: die Französische Rathstube; *non sine veri conjectura, suaque rei, imo spe, hinc* [illegible] *Germanis arreptum, à Gallis eum indignationi* [illegible] *um: ut an libello nuper in contrarium edito* [illegible] *laim Franciscum Baronem de* ISOLA *authorem inscio, curioso nostræ Reipublicæ Viatici patefecit.*

(*d*) *Printed in 1676.*

(*e*) *Traite curieux, pag. 13.*

(*f*) *That's to say of Embassadors punished.*

(*g*) *He speaks of Mr.* [illegible] *Book* [illegible] *bout the Title of the King to the Succession of* [illegible] *cited by him are in the Preface. He looked on L'Isola as the Author of a Pamphlet* [illegible] *printed at Liege in 1674. in 12. titled* L'Or[illegible] Fra[illegible] *It is a Refutation of the Harangue which this Prelate had made to the King at Metz, the 30th. of July 1673.*

(*h*) *Traité curieux, pag. 16.*

(*i*) *Deckherus, de scriptis adespotis pag. 260 Edit. 1686.*

(*k*) *Id. ib. pag. 134.*

at Two hundred Paces distance from *le Plessis*, a House in *Limousin*. Her Zeal for the Protestant Religion, which she made a constant Profession of all her Life, [illegible] Piety, and Greatness of Soul, appeared with a new Lustre, towards the end of [illegible] life; the last Years whereof, and some others, had been exercised by several [illegible] Domestick Troubles. This doubtless occasioned her making just Reflections on th[illegible]nity of Creatures. She had (B) Nine Children, and a Sister that was married (C) to [illegible] *de Beringhen*. The Remarks will inform us, what Esteem she was in, not only [illegible] the greatest Wits, such as *Malherbe* (D) and *Balzac*, but also (E) with [illegible] gr[illegible] Princes. We shall relate a curious Story (F), which Mr. *Menage* ha[illegible]ed[illegible]r. *de Wicquefort* observes, that « Madam des Loges *had a great Asc[illegible]r the [illegible] of* Orleans, *for which Reason, the Assemblies were forbid, which were [illegible] to be hel[illegible]r House.*

LOG-

(A) *Several Dom[illegible] Troubles.*] 'Tis the common Fate of Persons [illegible] her Sex, who distinguish themselves by a great Genius, improved by Study, if they engage in Conjugal Bonds. They ought not to do it, there are others enough besides them, who would take care the Race should not fail. 'Tis much if their Country does not do 'em the same Injustice, which *Seneca* speaks of with regard to *Cato*, of not knowing the value of the Treasure it possesses. That which [illegible] Country does not always do, a Husband d[illegible]ch seldomer.

(B) *She had Nine C[illegible]n.*] There were but Five of 'em alive, Three S[illegible] and Two Daughters, when she died. One of th[illegible]as bore Arms in *Holland* (b), and married a Gentlewoman there, of the Family of *Vander Myle*. There are only some Daughters from that Marriage.

(C) *That [illegible]as married to Mr.* de Beringhen.] The Marquis [illegible]*eringhen* proceeded from this Ma[illegible]ge, who [illegible]at Eighty nine Years of Age, [illegible] *March* [illegible] after having been for a long time [illegible] first Quer[illegible] to the King. This Alliance gave very illustrious Grand-Nieces to our Madam *des Loges*, by the Marquis *de Beringhen*'s Sisters. The Author of several Books lately published, with the Title of *Voyage d'Espagne*, &c. is one of them. There are two others (c), who out of Zeal to the Protestant Religion, have quitted all the Advantages of their Country, and who by their Piety, give a Lustre to all the other excellent Qualities that they are enriched with.

(D) *Esteem——with* Malherbe *and* Balzac.] To have a just Idea of the Ingenuity and Wit of Madam *des Loges*, we need only consider, that *Malherbe* (d) *was one of her most assiduous Courtiers, and constantly visited her every other Day.* Mentioning *Malherbe*, is mentioning a Man, who never praised, nor hardly esteemed any Body, and who is one of the first and greatest Masters that has formed the Taste and [illegible]ment of our Nation, with reference to ingeni[illegible]formances. *Balzac* was at least equal to *Malherbe*, [illegible] has perhaps more contributed than he to that Politeness, which is spread over the Kingdom; however, he was equally an Admirer of the Lady we speak of. The Letters he writ to her, are a publick Testimony of it; and his Esteem for her is as well known, from what he said of her to his Friends, as from what he wrote to her himself. He confesses, in one Place of his Works, that if he was grown more sparing of his Praises, he was chiefly obliged for it to the good Advice she gave him. 'The good Madam des Loges, *says he* (e), 'gave me some terrible Reprimands upon this Subject 'some time before her Death. She upbraided me, 'that I was the Cully of all Reigns, (*they are her 'very Words*) that I lavished my Praises upon all 'those who made a shew of any worth; that I was 'too credulous with respect to others, upon the first 'Glimpse [illegible] Goodness, the bare Appearance of 'Vertues [illegible] so forth. In another Place, where (f) he t[illegible]s against Burlesk, which was grown too m[illegible]n Fashion, to the great Grief of th[illegible] who had acquired Glory by a grave Style, he does not think he has sufficiently fulminated that Fundamental Heresie in his Empire, unless he condemns it by a Decree of this Lady. *This sort of Raillery*, says he, *savours more of Comedy than Conversation, and more of Farce than Co[illegible]. This is not rallying like a Gentleman.* [illegible]s Loges *used to say, that she'd as liv[illegible]e, she Drunken Man, or Bravado acted.* [illegible]*e, she said, she looked upon such Jargon, as she would upon a wooden Sword by a Man's Side, and Meal upon his Face.* Mr. *de Bautru*, (g) *who was not naturally a great Admirer*, doubtless admired this Lady, since to shew a Man's want of Address, who could not profit by the Conversation of the Wits, by putting 'em upon things worthy of 'em, he makes (h) use of these four Examples.

Il mene aux Allobroges
Balzac, Boissac, Conac, & Madame Des-Loges.

I don't believe, that they who are skill'd in Proofs can doubt of the extraordinary Merit of this Lady, after making Reflection upon what I have said.

(E) *With the greatest Princes.*] *Balzac* shall be my Witness. *If you don't know*, says he (i), Urania, *the Nymph I have so much praised, and whom I do bitterly mourn, I must tell you, it's my good Deceased Friend, Madam* des Loges, *who in her Life-time has been called more than once, and by more than one Academist*, the Celestial, the Tenth Muse, *[illegible] who has been esteemed within and without the [illegible]dom by Crowned Heads, by the Demi-Gods of our Age, by the Duke of* Orleans, *the King of* Sweden, *the Duke of* Weimar, *&c. I am of Opinion, that the Verses which celebrate her Memory (I speak of the Eloquent* Urania) *are full as good as those, which one* Antipater a Sidonian, *made upon the Death of the learned* Sappho.

(F) *A curious Story, which Mr.* Menage *has re-[illegible]fy'd.*] 'Tis an Adventure, which has been publish'd two several Ways. Mr. *de Balzac* tells it thus in his 37th. Dialogue.

'*Malherbe* was one of the most assiduous in making his Court to Madam *des Loges*, and visited 'her constantly every other Day. One of those 'Days finding upon the Table in her Closet (k), '*Du Molin* the Minister's great Book against Cardinal *du Perron*, and being seized with a Poetical 'Enthusiasm upon the bare reading of the Title, 'he called for Pen, Ink, and Paper, and wrote 'down these Ten Lines:

'*Quoy que l'Auteur de ce gros livre*
'*Semble n'avoir rien ignoré,*
'*Le meilleur est toûjours de suivre*
'*Le Prime de nôtre Curé.*
'*Toutes ces doctrines nouvelles*
'*Ne plaisent qu'aux folles cervelles;*
'*Pour moi comme une humble brebis,*
'*Sous la houlette je me range:*
'*Il n'est permis d'aimer le change,*
'*Que des femmes & des habits.*

'Madam des Loges reading *Malherbe*'s Verses, and 'fired by Honour and Zeal, took the same Pen, and 'on the other side of the Paper wrote these other 'Verses:

'*C'est vous dont l'audace nouvelle*
'*A rejetté l'antiquité,*
'*Et du Moulin ne vous rapelle*
'*Qu'à ce que vous avez quitté:*
'*Vous aimez mieux croire à la mode,*
'*C'est bien la foy la plus commode,*
'*Pour ceux que le monde a charmez:*
'*Les femmes y sont vos idoles:*
'*Mais à grand tort vous les aimez,*
'*Vous qui n'avez que des paroles.*

'The Conclusion of these two Epigrams, will 'doubtless please the Profane, and those who set up 'for Gallants. For my part, I hold, that in Mat-'ters of Religion, the Comical Style is always to be 'avoided

« *Wicquefort, memoires pour chant les Ambassadeurs, pag.* 552. *Hague*, 1677.

(g) *Costar, Let. vol.* 1. *p.* 137.

(h) *Id. ibid. pag.* 125.

(i) *In the* 13*th. Letter of the* 2*d. Book of the* Lettres choisies: *he writes it to Mr.* Menage, *sending him at the same time the Verses he had made on the Death of Madam* Des Loges. *They are printed among his* Latin *Poems. Here's a [illegible]ne or two of 'em.*

Vidi ego progeniem Regum, capita ardua mundi
Uranies hausti obstupuisse sonis
Borboniumque genus & cognata è stirpe Navarræ
Reliquias; & cui Mantua sceptra dedit.
Hanc coluit, lectæ captus dulcedine chartæ
Ille tui victor magnus, Ibere, Getes,
Et dudum, patria dum præparat arma suburbi,
Miserat huic cultus nuncia signa sui.
Hujus & Ambrosios avida bibat aure lepores
Wyma- *which is* Sedan, *in* 38. 39.

rius, magno non minor ipse Gete. (k) *That, entitled*, Nouveauté du Papisme, *printed 1st. at fol. in* 1627. *See the* Bibl. Choisie *of* Colomés p.

(a) Quamdiu Catonem civitas ignoravit? respuit nec intellexit nisi cum perdidit. *Seneca, Epist.* 79. These Words are commonly quoted, as if *Seneca* had said, *Catonem suum saculum parum intellexit. See* Coastar's Letters, Vol. 1. pag. 621.

(b) 'Tis he of whom Mr. Le Labou-reur [illegible] in his Voy[illegible] de la [illegible] de P[illegible] logue, when he says, p. 68. that [illegible] Gentlemen employed in the Army of the States, who accompanied Prince William, [illegible] only [illegible] of [illegible]derick Henry Prince of Orange, when he had Audience of this Queen at Amsterdam, were the Sieurs de Beringhen, Brother to the first Querry of our Most Christian King, and a Colonel of Horse. *See also*, pag. 74.

(c) Their Name is de la Lu-Luzerne: they are Refugees in Holland. (d) *Entretien* 37. *of Balzac.* (e) *Dissertation* [illegible] of the *Socrate Chrestien*, p. 176. (f) *Entret.* 38.

LOGNAC, or *Loignac*, or *Longnac*, or rather (A) *Laugnac*, made himself extremely conſiderable in the Reign of *Henry* III. and had a great ſhare in that Prince's Favour. He was Brave, and in this Point had firmly eſtabliſhed his Reputation by ſeveral (B) Duels, and by ſome Quarrels which the Houſe of *Guiſe* had brought upon him, and in which he came off Honourably. He was Captain (C) of a Troop of 45 Gentle-

'avoided. The firſt is not grave enough for a Man, 'who ſpeaks in earneſt, and the other is too light 'for a Woman, that ſpeaks to a Man.

Mr. *Menage* thinking, that the matter thus happened, printed this Story in his Obſervations upon *Malherbe*'s Poems, juſt as Mr. *de Balzac* had told it. But mind what he has put at the end of his Book.

'Since this Note was written and printed, I have 'been informed by Mr. *de Racan*, that it was he, 'who made theſe Verſes, which M. *de Balzac* aſcribes 'to Madam *des Loges*, and that the thing happen-'ed in this manner. Madam *des Loges*, who was 'of the pretended Reformed Religion, had lent Mr. '*de Racan*, *du Moulin* the Miniſter's Book, called '*The Shield of Faith*, and had obliged him to read 'it. Mr. *de Racan* having read it, made this Epi-'gram upon it, which Mr. *de Balzac* has altered in 'many Places.

'*Bienque Du Moulin en ſon livre*
'*Semble n'avoir rien ignoré*;
'*Le meilleur eſt toujours de ſuivre*
'*Le Prône de noſtre Curé.*
'*Toutes ces doctrines nouvelles*
'*Ne plaiſent qu'aux folles cervelles*:
'*Pour moi, comme une humble brebis*
'*Je vais où mon Paſteur me range.*
'*Ec n'ay jamais aimé le change*
'*Que des femmes & des habits.*

'Having communicated it to *Malherbe*, who came 'to ſee him at that time, *Malherbe* wrote it with 'his own Hand in *Du Moulin*'s Book, which he re-'turned at the ſame time to Madam *Des-Loges*, as 'from Mr. *de Racan*. Madam *Des-Loges* ſeeing 'theſe Verſes written with *Malherbe*'s Hand, believed 'them to be his; and as ſhe was extraordinary 'Zealous for her Religion, would not ſuffer 'em to 'remain unanſwered. She therefore deſired M. *de* 'Gombaud, who was of the ſame Religion, and of 'equal Zeal, to anſwer 'em. M. *deGombaud* (I know 'it from himſelf) who believed as Madam *Des-*'Loges, that *Malherbe* was the Author of thoſe 'Verſes, anſwered 'em by the Epigram, which M. '*de Balzac* attributes to Madam *Des-Loges*, and 'which he thinks too Light for a Woman who 'ſpeaks to a Man. This is not the firſt time that 'M. *de Balzac* has aſcribed to this Lady Verſes ſhe 'had no Hand in; for in one of his Letters he 'makes her the Author of the Song of the dying 'Lover, the Burthen whereof is,

'*Ah c'en eſt fait! je cede à la rigueur du ſort,*
'*Je vais mourir; je me meurs; je ſuis mort;*

'which was written by the deceaſed Mr. *Habert Cerif*, 'one of the fineſt Wits of our Age.

A ſhort REFLECTION on the preceding Paſſage

Who ſees not in all this an Inſtance of Hiſtorical Uncertainty? M. *de Balzac* thought, he had communicated to his Friend a moſt certain Fact, an incomparable Piece of Secret Hiſtory, and infinitely valuable to all the Lovers of what we call *Perſonalities*. He had perſuaded all his Readers of it: Mr. *Menage* having inſerted it in one of his Books, was juſt upon diſperſing it far and wide, when by chance Meſſieurs *de Racan* and *de Gombaud*, being ſtill alive, diſabuſed Mr. *Menage*, before his Obſervations upon *Malherbe* were ſold off; and thus the Publick came to be undeceived. If theſe two Gentlemen had been dead, without ſpeaking of this to Mr. *Menage*, or if they had ſpoke of it at another time, the firſt Narration would perhaps ſtill have had an intire Credit. How many other Facts are there, and much more important, which paſs from Age to Age, and from Generation to Generation, no body diſcovering their falſehood, for want of Fortuitous occaſions, like the Converſation of Mr. *Menage*, with *Racan* and *Gombaud*? However, Madam *Des-Loges* is clear'd of compoſing Verſes in too light a Strain. It cannot be denied, that *Balzac* was in the right, to think the end of the Epigram too little Conſiſtent with the Modeſty and Purity which ought to Reign in all the Writings of the Fair-Sex. Not that we muſt Eſpouſe the haſty and too rigid Maxim of thoſe who pretend, That a Woman, who ſhould tax a Man with having nothing but words, would as good as declare that ſhe was concerned ſhe had not got, or did not daily get from him ſomething more real. This Maxime is Extravagant and Falſe; but who would not wonder at Mr. *de Racan*, if it were true that he (a) was the Author of *Malherbe*'s Life, printed with ſome little Tracts in 1672; who would not wonder, I ſay, that he ſhould tell Mr. *Menage* of *Balzac*'s Miſtake, and yet inſert all *Balzac*'s Story in *Malherbe*'s Life, without rectifying a tittle of it?

(a) *Mr. Menage in his Obſervations on Malherbe cites this Life often, as written by Mr.* de Racan, *Moreri knew nothing of it; he only ſays in his Article of Malherbe that this Life was attributed to* Balzac.

(A) *Or rather* Laugnac.] It will appear by the following Remarks that theſe four ways of writing this Gentleman's Name, are found in our Hiſtorians. The laſt is, I think, the beſt, as being that which *Du-Pleix*, who was of the ſame Country, has uſed; and 'tis known that the Diphthong *au*, is very common in the proper Names of that Country. This Diphthong is pronounced like an *o* at *Paris*, and in the Neighbouring Provinces, and hence the Authors put an *o*, and not an *au* in the firſt Syllable of the Name of this Favourite of *Henry* III. I ſhall obſerve by the way, that one muſt be very attentive, who would underſtand the *Latin* Tongne, ſpoken by the *Pariſians*, for they pronounce in the ſame manner *aurum* and *horum*, *auris* and *oris*, and thus of ſeveral other Words.

(B) *By ſeveral Duels and by ſome Quarels which the Houſe of* Guiſe *had brought upon him.*] The Baron *de Biron* (b) had a Quarrel in 1585, 'with the 'Sieur *de Carency*, eldeſt Son to Count *de la Vauguy-*'*on*.... for the Heireſs of the Houſe of *Cau-*'*mont*, whom both pretended to. This Quarrel ended 'by a Duel of three againſt three; *Biron*, *Loignac* 'and *Fanifſac*, on one ſide, kill'd *Carency*, *d'Eſſiſſac* 'and *la Baſtie* (c)'. The Author I have this from, relates in another Hiſtory, '(d) That after the 'Duke of *Eſpernon* was retired to *Angouleme*, 'the King having given the Place of Firſt Gentle-'man of his Chamber to the Sieur *de Loignac*, this 'Gentleman was as a Mark, at which, by the Inſti-'gation of the Duke of *Guiſe*, all the Princes of 'the League diſcharged their Envy. The Chevalier *d'Aumalle*, a little before the Death of the 'Duke of *Guiſe*, returned to *Paris*, and before he 'came there, had contrived a Quarrel with the ſaid 'Sieur *de Loignac*, upon the Subject of ſome 'Amorous Affair, which commonly happens amongſt 'young Gentlemen. *Loignac* was brave, a Man well 'ſkill'd in Arms, and who had come off in many 'Duels; his Quality of firſt Gentleman of the Bed-'Chamber gave him a right to fight Duels 'with Strangers of the greateſt Quality, and de-'cline 'em with ſuch as were not of his own Qua-'lity. This grudge therefore, and the picking a 'Quarrel on a Love Affair, made *Loignac* conclude, 'That the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Princes of the 'League were reſolved he ſhould not long Enjoy the 'Advantages the King's Favour gave him.' We find in *D'Audiguier* (e) more Circumſtances than in *Cayet*, of *Biron*'s and *Carenci*'s Duel.

(b) He who was Beheaded in 1602.

(c) Taken from Cayet, *Hiſtoire de la paix fol.* 319. *verſo.*

(d) Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire tom.* 1. *fol* 109.

(e) *D'Audiguier, uſage des duels chap* 33. *p.* 436 *& ſeq.*

(C) *Captain of a Troop of* 45 *Gentlemen.*] Let's cite *Mezerai*, who tells the Reaſon of Raiſing this new Troop. '(f) *Eſpernon* raiſed to the higheſt 'Degree of Favour, in which *Joyeuſe* began to de-'cline, ceaſed not to ſpur on the King to the Ruine 'of the *Guiſes*; and they, in Revenge, having 'ſworn his Deſtruction, formed ſeveral Conſpira-'cies to compleat it. He had the Policy to per-'ſuade the King, that they were all intended a-'gainſt his Sacred Perſon; and by this means in-'duced him to Guard himſelf with the famous Band 'of 45 which he choſe himſelf, perhaps with a 'Deſign which the Event will diſcover. They 'were all *Gaſcons*, whom the hopes of puſhing their

(f) *Mezerai, abregé Chronol. tom.* 5. *p.* m. 301.

'For-

Gentleman, Chamberlain, and Governor [redacted] Security of *Henry* III's Person. He was also Master of the Wardrobe, and Gentleman of the Chamber to this Prince. 'Tis generally agreed, That he encouraged him to rid himself of the Duke (*D*) of *Guise*, [redacted] was present at the Execution; but about the manner (*E*) of his being an Accomplice in it, it is not so generally agreed, nor are the Historians any better agreed about his Disgrace: for some say, he was turn'd off because he asked (*F*) a Government; and others, That the [redacted] a Government given him on purpose to remove him from Court; adding, that by the treachery of *du Gaste*, he left his Government, and was forced to retire [redacted] Native Country. He was there killed some time after. [redacted] seem to say, that he was with the King, when the Monk, *James Clement*

Remark F. See the Remark [redacted]

See the Remark F.

' Fortune made [redacted] of everything. *Lognac* ' was their Captain

(*D*) *He encourag[redacted] to rid himself of the Duke of Guise.*] (*a*) At [redacted] time the Duke of *Nevers*, ' and *Lognac*, Captain of the 45, were continually ' exasperating him; the Duke of *Nevers*, because he ' irreconcileably hated the Duke of *Guise*, and *Lognac*, because, having in some sort succeeded to *Espernon*'s Favour, as a second to *Bellegarde*, Cousin German to this Duke, he knew that the House of *Guise*, ' a constant Enemy to Favourites, would not long ' suffer him in this P[redacted]

(*E*) *The manner of [redacted] being an Accomplice in the Murther of the D[redacted] Guise is not agreed on.*] Some Authors say, [redacted] the Duke '(*b*) leaving the ' Council had not yet met, was passing to the King's ' Chamber, and crossing the Gallery which led to ' it, and entring into his Majesty's Chamber, he ' saw the Sieur *de Lognac* sitting upon a Trunk, ' his Arms across without stirring. He had long ' suspected [redacted] that the Sieur *de Lognac* had under- ' taken [redacted], and thinking that he was [redacted] ' there to attend him; he resolved impetuously to ' fall upon him, and laying his Hand to his Sword, ' drew it half out; but the Sieur *de Lognac*, and ' some others seeing him make such an Attempt at ' the King's Chamber-Door, prevented him, and ' immediately threw him down and dispatched him ' with their Swords, without giving him time to ' speak a Word. This is the Opinion of those who ' have written the History (*c*) of these Matters, ' as printed at *Geneva*, but the Opinion of the League ' is quite contrary'. The Relation I have mentioned above, imports, That (*d*) *Lognac* staid with his Sword drawn in the Chamber, where the Execution was to be perform'd, and where the King had placed eight of the 45. These eight had each a Dagger. The Duke of *Guise* entering into the Chamber, saluted those that were there, (*e*) *who rose up, Saluted him at the same time, and followed him as out of Respect; but when he was within two steps of the Door of the old Cabinet, he was seized by the Arm by the Sieur [redacted]ny, Senior —— who stab'd him with [redacted] Hand in the Breast, saying,* Ha! Traytor, thou [redacted]x die. *At the same instant the Sieur* Des Effrenates *started up, and the Sieur* de St. Malins *gave him another Stab with his Dagger in the Breast, and the Sieur* de Lognac *run him into the Reins.* ' Others (*f*) Relations say, That Nine of ' the Forty five came from behind the Tapestry ' where they were concealed; and that the Duke of ' *Guise* seeing near the Chimney, *Lognac*, whom ' he knew to be his mortal Enemy made some steps ' backward to draw his Sword; that he had first got ' rid of the Assassins; and that *Lognac* perceiving ' that he came directly to him, gave him a Thrust in ' the Belly, of which he fell, and died some Mo- ' ments after'; *Davila* supposes, that *Lognac* did not wound him at all, and that he only pushed him back, seeing him come forwards to him; that after this Repulse, the Duke, who had received several Wounds, fell down and died. (*g*) *Dopo molte ferite [redacted] per ogni parte del corpo ornate finalmente [redacted]gnac, al quale s'era impetuosamente mosso [redacted] innanzi all'impensa della guardarobba, & in [redacted] fece proferir parole fuori gli ultimi sospiri della [redacted] vita.* *Thuanus* affirms, That *Lognac* seeing him come up to him in a menacing Posture, opposed him with his Sword (*h*), in the Scabbard, and knocked him down. He was only Spectator of the Tragedy, if we depend on *Thuanus*, [redacted] on. He was leaning on a Coffer, when [redacted] disengaged himself from the Assassins, and came to him with a Design to fall upon him, says he. (*i*) *Hinc in Monpesatum Loniacum, qui cum Rogerigo Bellegardio Termo in cubiculo adstat, arcâ genu altero innixum protensis brachiis & contractis pugnis tendere videretur, quasi ipsum petiturus.* *Duplcix* is more positive; he makes the Eight alone do all the Execution. (*k*) *Lognac being none of those that the King had chosen, did not strike him, tho' he was particularly his Enemy: However he had offered his Majesty to attack him in a single Combat. But the King thought there would be as much Hazard as Courage in that, and would not suffer him.* I have read this last Circumstance in no other Historian. The Offer made to *Henry* III. of taking off the Duke of *Guise* by a Duel, being constantly ascribed to *Grillon*. *Davila* relates, that *Grillon* making this Offer upon refusing the Commission to kill the Duke, left the King in an extreme Perplexity, which lasted till *Lognac* had promised him to see the Execution done. I relate the Words of this Historian, because they contribute to the History of our Language. (*l*) *Lasciò il Rè grandemente dubbioso di quello dovesse operare, e stette in questa perplessità fino al giorno vigesimo primo, nel quale confidato il negotio a Lognac uno de' suoi huomini della camera sua, il quale già dal Duca di Guisa era stato introdotto alla Corte; e per la gratia, per le maniere, e per la gentilezza de' costumi già cominciava ad avanzarsi al luogo de' Alignoni, egli senza molto riguardo promise con alcuni delli guarantacinque, che dependevano strettamente da lui di eseguire prontamente questo fatto.*

(*F*) *He was turn'd off because he ask'd a Government, and others say, That a Government was given him on purpose to remove him.*] '(*m*) The Sieur de Loignac, a great Favourite of the King —— importuned him to give him a Government, and a Place ' of secure Retirement, because of the Enmity the ' House of *Guise* bore him: His Majesty asking ' him, If he had no other Reason than that to ask ' him a place of Retreat; *Loignac* answered, ' no, and that the Enmity of the House of *Guise* ' was Reason enough. Get you gone immediately ' out of my Court, said the King to him, and let ' me never see you more, since you desire any other ' Security than being near my Person; I have not ' been mistaken in my Opinion of you, I much ' suspect that you are tainted with Ingratitude, and ' have forgotten the Obligations you are under, for ' the Benefits I have conferr'd on you. *Loignac* receiving an Answer from the King so contrary to his Expectation, immediately left *Blois*, and passing ' through *Amboise*, retired into *Guienne*, where he ' was killed soon after by a Pistol-Shot, as he came ' out of his Castle, to go a Hunting, by a Gentleman his Neighbour, with whom he had a Quarrel'. This is *Peter Victor Cayet*'s Relation, which at once shews what I have elsewhere promised (*n*) and is also an Instance that *Henry* III. on some occasions, knew how to shew Resolution and Greatness of Mind. The following Relation is very different.

' (*o*) The King, at the beginning of the Year ' 1588, had made two Masters of his Wardrobe, ' the Lords *de Bellegarde* and *de Lognac*; the former from a natural Affection he had for him; the ' latter at the pressing Instance of the Duke of *Esperion*: ' But as that Affection which springs from our own ' Nature, strikes deeper Root than the Liking either ' induced upon the Recommendations of others; so ' he began to be weary of *Lognac*, especially after ' the Death of the Duke of *Guise*, and the more because he had been the first who induced the King to ' consent to this Murther, which succeeded so unfortunately to them: From hence forward he began to ' look on him with an ill Eye. I can assure you of ' one thing, that three Weeks before he left the ' Court, an experienced Courtier said to me: Obser-

(*a*) *Mezeray, ibid. pag.* 324.
(*b*) *Cayet Chronol. Novenaire to.* 1. *fol.* 105. *verso.*
(*c*) *That's to say, the Memoires of the League, and the History of the five Kings.*
(*d*) *See Mar[redacted] his[redacted] Fr[redacted] to.* [redacted] *pag.* 631. 632.
(*f*) *Varillas Hist. of* [redacted] III. [redacted] *pag.* 194. 195. *Edit. of* Holland.
(*g*) *Davila lib.* 9. *pag. m.* 535.
(*h*) Loniacus en[redacted] porrum, ut [redacted] vagi- [redacted] ictus, [redacted] nemi obicit, cujus primo impari- su jam viribus animi & corporis linquentibus in tapetem subjectum toto corpore concidit. *Thuan. lib.* 93. *pag.* 246.
(*i*) *Id. ib.*
(*k*) *Du[redacted] plcix, hist. of* Henry III. *pag. m.* 181.
(*l*) *Davila ubi supra, pag.* 533.
(*m*) *Cayet ubi supra fol.* 133. *verso.*
(*n*) *At the End of the Remark H. of the Article of Henry III.*
(*o*) *Inquier lettres liv.* 13. *p.* 65. *and the following of the* 2*d. Tom.*

Clement, assassinated him. I don't know whether the *Lognacs*, who were killed in a Duel (*G*) in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. descended from him.

LOYER (*Peter le*) Counsellor in the Presidial Court at *Angers*, was born in the Village of *Huillé* in *Anjou*, the 24th of *November* 1540. He was one of the Learnedest

a *Menage, Remarques sur la vie d' Ayral, pag.* 168.

b serve this Gentleman, as good a Face as he sets upon the matter, he is totally routed. For entering publickly into the King's Cabinet, to keep up his good Opinion with the People, he immediately comes out by the Back-Door, and retires to his Chamber quitting the Field to Monsieur *de Bellegard*. The King who would not intirely discontent *Longnac*, had formerly given him the Government of *Anjou* and *Touraine*; and he had often told him, that he ought to retire thither; but he forseeing, that if he left his Place, he should only be a Governour in Parchment; and that they who had the Governments of the Towns wou'dhave all the Power, remain'd still at Court with the King; who at last, not able to bear the sight of him any longer, told him, That he had frequently enough declar'd how little Satisfaction he received from his Presence; so that he might take his Choice either to go off immediately, or never appear before him more but on *Fridays*, a Day he set apart to do Penance. *Longnac* seeing himself totally cashier'd from his Master's Favour, and no hopes of any longer respite, began to act the part of a desperate Man, who meditated nothing but Revenge: A Counsel, however, which he did not execute, but has since been very well managed by another Hand. He posted away one fine Night, and retired to *Amboise*'. This was a Town of his Government, and where *du Guast*, *whom he looked on as his Creature* (*a*) commanded. He was very well received, and proposed to *du Guast* the Design of making an Advantage of having the Prisoners (*b*) of *Henry* III. in their Power. The Court suspected this Conspiracy, and entered into a kind of Negotiation to prevent the Consequences: (*c*) *Longnac* protested, that he would most faithfully *preserve the Town, the Castle, and the Prisoners* for the King. But *to say truth, he reckoned without his Host, for he had put a thought into* du Guast's *Head, who knew very well how to make his Advantage of it.* (*d*) There were in the Castle two Companies; that of *du Guast*, and another——*Du Guast* by a bold stroke of Policy, gives a false Alarm, and makes *Longnac* believe, that there were People ravaging on the other side of the Bridge, who attempted to make themselves Masters of it, and that it wou'd not be amiss to play 'em a prank. *Longnac*, whose Hands itched to be doing something, and who did not at all mistrust *du Guast*, took it on him to clear the Coast; he marches out of the Castle, followed by the other Company, and soon finds there was nothing at all in it. But at his return, thinking to enter at the place where he marched out, he found the Gates shut against him, and all his Company. You may judge what a confusion he was in, to find himself first thrust out of his Master's Favour, and next out of the only place where he proposed himself some Consolation in his Disgrace. Seeing himself thus trick'd, he was forced to resume the old Road to his House in *Gascony*; and his Company of Soldiers, that of *Blois*. *DuGuast* excuses himself (as I have learnt from his own Mouth) by alledging he had certain Advice, That *Longnac* came to *Amboise*, with a Design to kill him, and make himself absolute Master of the Place, And that to avoid this Danger, he was willing to prevent him'. We shall make a Reflection below upon this Excuse of *du Guast*.

(*a*) *Id. ib. pag.* 66.
(*b*) *The Friends and Relations of the Duke of* Guise.
(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 67.
(*d*) *Id. ib.*

Were I to choose, between *Victor Cayet*'s and *Stephen Pasquier*'s Accounts, I should not imitate Mr. *Varillas*, who gives the preference to the former, without saying one word of what is contained in the latter. He relates (*e*) the Agreement made by *du Guast* with the League for delivering the Prisoners, and the Conditions upon which *Henry* III. made that Compact miscarry, by granting *du Guast* considerable Advantages, and then adds, That *the Counter Blow of these two Compacts rebounded upon* Longnac——*The King was insensibly grown cold to him; and tho' his Majesty had hitherto held the Ballance even betwixt Bellegarde and him, as he had formerly done betwixt the Dukes of* Joyeuse *and* Epernon; *he now on a sudden inclined wholly on* Bellegard's *side by refusing Longnac the Post of Master of the Horse, to give it the other. The discontent this gave* Longnac *made him desire his Majesty, too plainly, that for his lost Favour he wou'd be pleased to give him a Place of Security for his Retreat.* Mr. *Varillas* afterwards relates the Answer which *Cayet* supposes the King made. This is all his Account. How many essential Circumstances are here wanting; and what did he think of, in connecting *Longnac*'s Disgrace with the base Dealing of *du Guast*? To what purpose is this? The Omission of Facts, which might serve as a Connexion to these things, and furnish a reasonable Transition to an Historian is not the least of his Faults. Nothing is more worthy of a Critick's Attention, than such over-sights; and nothing more proper to mend the Taste and Judgement of an Author, than to be admonished of this kind of Mistakes.

(*e*) *Varillas ubi supra, pag.* 205.

Note, these words of *Thuanus*, (*f*) *Tum*, that is when *James Clement* stabbed *Henry* III. with a Knife, *Mompesacus, Loniacus, & Joannes Levinz Mirapiceusis, qui aderant, hominem ictu regis attonitum superduri ira prensum humi sternunt, statim innumeris vulneribus confossum interficiunt. Davila* says (*g*) that *Mompensat, Longnac*, and the Marquis *de Mirepoix*, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, threw *James Clement*'s Body out at the Window. I believe that in both these Historians, the Comma betwixt the two first Names, is a Fault; for *Mompesat* was one of our *Lognac*'s Names; but if they mean by their *Loniacus*, and *Lognac*, him that I Treat of in this Article, they are in an Error; he was not then at Court.

(*f*) *Thuan, lib.* 96. *pag.* 300.
(*g*) *Davila lib.* 10. *pag.* 586.

By the way, *du Guast* deserved no credit, when he alledged the Excuse, which *Pasquier* relates. The Action he would excuse, look'd so black, so infamous, so perfidious, that there's no Lie, but he must have invented to cover it. And 'tis the common Custom of those who are guilty of such Crimes, to maintain that without that they had been ruined, and that they had most certain Advice of Designs formed against their Life. They don't always lie, but most commonly they do, and this is sufficient to render all Apologies of this kind suspected of Imposture, unless they are built upon undoubted Evidence. It was not impossible that *Longnac* should take Measures to supplant the other; for there were few honest Men at that time, either at Court, or in the League; but the Presumption is wholly against *du Guast*; he was a dishonest Man, (*h*) an arrant Villain, and shewed it soon after, since notwithstanding all his Obligations to *Henry* III. who had loaded him with Favours, he Treated with the League for the surrendering the Prisoners whom that Prince had given him the Charge of; and he had actually delivered 'em, if the King had not prevented him by advantagious Offers. Unfortunate Prince! who was obliged to recompence the most infamous Treasons of his Subjects. Miserable Age! in which Assassination, Perjury, Disloyalty, were the ordinary ways to Greatness; an Age worse than the Iron one, and of which every one might say,

(*h*) *See the Memoires of Queen* Margaret.

Nunc (i) aetas agitur, pejoraque secula ferri
Temporibus; quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
Nomen, & a nullo posuit natura metallo.

(i) *Juvenal. Sat.* 13. *v.* 28.

(*G*) *Whether the* Lognacs, *who were killed——descended from him.*] *D'Audiguier* affirms it. He had heard (*k*) say, that one of those who fought for the Baron *de Biron*, *was the last in conquering, but having at length got his Enemy under, he gave him several Stabs, without being able to kill him, so that he was forced to quit him alive, seeing his Companions go off. He fled on Horseback for some time, on purpose to save his life. If this was* Longnac, *he was punished for it in his Successors,* [illegible] *Father and Son were both killed*

(*k*) *D'Audiguier, ubi supra pag.* 439.

Lawyer (a) Man of his Age, and at the same time one of the greatest Visionaries that ever lived. He quickly understood the Oriental Tongues, but was so infatuated (B) with Hebrew Etymologies, that he made himself ridiculous. He also pretended to find in (C) Homer, whatever he had a mind to. He found in him the Village of his Birth, and his own Name, and for fear he should be taxed with boasting of an extraordinary Knowledge, he declared it was the Grace of God, that wrought in his Mind all those wonderful Effects. We see in his Book of Spectres, a prodigious Reading; but as learned as he was, and that with so great a Mixture of Madness, he was entirely unknown to *Vossius* (D) and *Colomiès*. The latter has left him out of his *Gallia Orientalis*. *Peter le Loyer* died at *Angers*, in 1634, in the 84th. Year of his Age.

Gabriel Naudé doing him Justice, as to his Reading and Knowledge, openly laughs at his Notion about *Orpheus*, *the greatest Sorcerer that ever lived*, said he, *and the greatest Necromancer, whose Writings were only stuffed with the Praises of Devils, as particularly* Jupiter Alastor, *the revenging and exterminating Devil.* See the Ninth Chapter of the Apology of great Men, accused of Magick. See also the *Chevræana*, page 30. of the 2d. Part.

LOY-

killed in Duels within these 4 or 5 Years. One in *Rouergne*, by the Baron *de Mayrlas*, and the other not far from *Bissetre*, by the Baron *de* (a) *Rabat*. Two brave Barons, who are no less discreet and courteous than brave, and who put an end to two brave Men. I did not know the Son; but the Blood he drew by several Wounds from him that killed him, testifies what he was. As for the Father, I have sometimes seen him in Company with Baron *de Roquefusil* (another of the bravest Men in the World) and at the deceased Queen *Margaret's*, where he held extraordinary Disputes in Philosophy, and greatly manifested his Knowledge of good Letters.

(a) *This Duel was fought in 1615. The President* de Gramond *speaks of it*, lib. 1. histor. Gallim, p. m. 71.

(A) *He was one of the Learnedst Men of his Age.*] This is what Mr. *Menage* says of him. (b) *Erat quidem Loyrius Græcè & Latinè, Hebraicè, Arabicè, & Chaldaicè doctissimus, sed Turris in quo versabatur, planè ignarus.* There are abundance of People of this Character: they are ignorant of nothing, but of what they ought to know best. A Barrister, as he was, ought to have understood the Law, and had nothing to do with *Hebrew*, or *Arabick*; and yet he was ignorant in the Law, and deeply learned in the Oriental Tongues. Let's go on with the Praises Mr. *Menage* has given him. (c) *Excepting these Visions, Peter le Loyer, was a great Man. He was one of the best read Men in the World, as his Works declare, his Colonies, his Spectres, his Paraphrase on the Magnificat. He likewise had a Taste for the* Belles Lettres. *He wrote* Greek, Latin, *and* French *Verses: when he studyed the Law at* Toulouse, *he carried the* Eglantine *Garland in the Plays of* Flora. *He made a Comedy in* French *Verse, called the* Nephelococugy, *upon which* Ronsard *made this Stanza.*

(b) *Menage, ubi supra, p.* 167.

(c) *Remarques sur la vie de Pierre Ayrault, pag.* 168. † *This happened in the Year* 1572, *according to* la Croix du Maine, *pag.* 403.

LOYER, *tu dois Muse n'erre*
De bastir une Ville en l'air,
Où les Cocus puissent voler:
Pour eux trop petite est la terre.

See *La Croix du Maine*, and *du Verdier Vau-Privas*, in their *French Bibliotheques*.

(B) *He was infatuated to* Hebrew *Etymologies.*] (d) In his Books (e) of the *Idumean* Colonies ——he derives from the *Hebrew*, or *Chaldee* Tongues, not only the Names of the Cities of *France*, but even those of the Villages of *Anjou*; of the Hamlets, Houses, Bordages, Fields and Meadows. *I shall therefore say*, these are his Words, at pag. 217. *that the Village of* Huillé (his Birth-Place) *is derived from* Ahalé, *or* Oholé *of* Ezekiel, *which is* Ada, *or* Gada, *the Wife of* Esau, *and Mother of* Eliphaz. *Near* Huillé, *about half a Mile on the River* Loire, *there is on one side a little Hamlet, called* Basletas, *which I derive from* Bassemath, *and* Bassemtis, *another Wife of* Esau, *and Mother of* Raguel, *Grandmother to* Jetreth, *and Great Grandmother to* Job. Mr. *Menage* having given Three or Four other Instances of the same Force, adds, (f) *All the Book is filled with such Observations; which makes me boldly say, that we have had no great Loss, in the Loss of Ten or Twelve Volumes of other Books of Colonies of the same Author.* I suspect, that Mr. *Bochart* wished the Loss had been more general.

(d) *Menage, ibid. pag.* 166. 167.

(e) *Printed at* Paris *in* 1620. in 8.

(f) *Menage, ibid. pag.* 167.

(C) *To find in* Homer *whatever he had a Mind to.*] (g) This *Peter le Loyer* found every thing in *Homer*. He found in one single Verse his own Christian Name, the Name of his Family, the Name of the Village where he was born, the Name of the Province in which this Village lay, and the Name of the Kingdom that contained this Province. In a thing so incredible as this I speak of, I am obliged to give here his own Words in his *Idumæa Colonies*. *After this great Prophecy; which is wholly owing to me.* Homer *comes to speak this Verse* (i) *addressing himself to* Ulysses:

(g) *Menage, ubi supra, p.* 167.

(i) *Verse* 183. *of the* Odyssey.

Τλῆθι δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐμεῖο κακὸν μῦθον, ὅς τις ἄκουσε.

And no Body, *says* Anticlea's *Shade* to his Son *Ulysses*, has yet thy (*Loyer*) reward in all Respects happily repaired; and what follows, which bears another meaning. In all this long Verse you'll exactly find

Πέτρος Λοΐερ, Ἀνδεγαυός, Γαλλοβρίτων. Theta.

That is to say, *Peter Loyer, Angevin, Gaulois d'Huillé*. There is neither more nor less in it; let who will make the Trial. This I offer to defend to all that read me; and why should not I defend what is notoriously my own in *Homer*? There's no Satisfaction in a Thing which is not ones own, or doubted to be ones own. Now *Homer* attributes this Verse to me, and by so doing he makes it mine, and not another's. And whatever way we turn this Verse in *Homer*, it will still be mine; and I can claim it for my own. There are three Letters, which remain in this whole Verse, which perhaps may be said to be superfluous, but they are not so. These are the Numeral *Greek* Letters, ΘΧΥ, which denote the time when the Name should be revealed, which is contained in this Verse of *Homer*, to wit, the Year of Christ 1620. And what is there less superfluous? Now this is sufficient, as to what concerns my self; which I don't value for the Glory I hope from it; but rather because I cannot and ought not to be silent of what has been revealed to *Homer* concerning me. This will serve moreover to strengthen my Work concerning the Originals, Migrations, and Colonies of People, which had been long reserved for me. *Homer* in vain concealed the Origin of many Nations, under the covering of Fables; since there was one, to write in future Ages, who should discover what he had attempted to conceal. I don't boast, for all this, to know more than other Men. But who will withstand the Grace of God, co-operating in me? This is what *Homer* discovered, even to the naming the little Villages where I should receive my Birth, that I might not glory in my Weakness and Meanness, but rather in God, who makes me what I am, and renders me so potent and vigorous, in that he comforts me (k). Nothing could be left out of this long Passage, where every thing shews so learned and singular a Madness.

(k) *C'est* Id 530.

(D) *Unknown to* Vossius.] I have read in one of his Letters (l) a Conjecture which fully discovers

(b) *Compare with this, what* Montagne *in the* 3d. *Book and* 10th. *Chapter of his Essays, says of a Lawyer of his Acquaintance. His Words have been applied in the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Novemb. 1686. *pag.* 1286. *See also* Gonsalez de Salas *duplici viventium terra.*

(l) *Pag. m.* 439.

LOYOLA (*Ignatius*). Founder of the Jesuits, was born in 1491, in the Province of *Guipuscoa*, in *Spain*. He was educated at the Court of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; and when his Age permitted him to bear Arms, he sought Occasions of signalizing himself. He gave sufficient Proofs of his Courage, at the Siege * of *Pampelona*, and was there wounded by a Cannon Shot, which broke his Right Leg. While he was in cure of this Wound, he formed the Resolution of Renouncing the World, of going to *Jerusalem*, and afterwards leading a very particular sort of Life. As soon as he was cured, he took his Way towards *Notre Dame*, of *Montserrat* β; and being arrived there, he hung up his Arms over the Altar of the Holy Virgin, and consecrated himself to her Service, the Night [illegible] of *March*, 1522. He proceeded as near as possible, by all the Rules (A) of Chivalry γ, in listing himself under the Standards of this Spiritual [illegible]. He parted before Day, dressed himself like a Pilgrim, and bent his Course towards *Manresa*, where he sojourned about a Year amongst the Poor of the Hospital, in the Practice of all kinds of Mortification. There it was that he writ the Book (B) of Spiritual Exercises. Having embark'd at *Barcelona*, for his Voyage to *Jerusalem*, he arrived at *Cajeta* in Five Days, and being unwilling to continue his Enterprize, without receiving the Pope's Benediction, he came to *Rome* δ, from whence, after he had paid his Respects to *Hadrian* VI. he took his way to *Venice*. Here he imbarked the 14th. of *July* 1523, and arrived at *Joppa* the last of *August*, and at *Jerusalem* the 4th. of *September* the same Year. Having satisfied in this Country, his devout Curiosity, he returned to *Venice*, from whence he parted, to go on board at *Genoa*, in his return to *Barcelona*, where he fixed his Abode for some time, as a most convenient Place

* This was the Siege which the French laid to it in 1521. and which was followed by the Surrender of the Place.

β In Catalonia, about a Days Journey from Barcelona.

γ Cum autem in Profanis libris legisset virum quo novi milites olim inaugurabantur, ut ejus ritus imaginem quamdam spiritualiter in se repræsentaret, novis contra diabolum armis accinctus, &c. *Ribadeneira in vita Ignatii, lib. 1. c. 4. pag. m. 32.*

δ He arrived there on Easter-Day, 1523

vers his Ignorance in this Point. He believes that *Loerius de Spectris* had been said instead of *Lavaterus*.

(A) *He imitated as near as possible, the Laws of antient* Chivalry.] One of the learnedest Men of this Age, has jested upon this, in a manner worth the relating. 'The first thing to be observed in 'him (a), *says he* (b), is, that he was conve[illegible] 'by reading the Legends of the Saints. [illegible] 'Quixot was to Knight-Errantry, by th[illegible] 'of old Romances——His Countryme[illegible] was 'never more touched with the Adventures of the 'first Knights, than *Ignatius* with the Histories of 'St. *Dominick* and St. *Francis* (2). For these 'were they which affected him most; and 'before he wou'd take a fixt Resolution of running 'through the World, as a Religious Knight-Errant, he represented to himself the difficult Adventures of these two illustrious Heroes, and 'found he had Courage enough to undergo the like. 'Thus in a Fit (3) of Zeal, he leapt one Night 'out of Bed, and fell on his Knees before the Image of the Blessed Virgin, and in that Posture 'vowed himself her Knight; which is so considerable a Circumstance, that I wonder *Maffe* has omitted it, together with the strange Noise which 'was heard in the House, the rocking of the Chamber, and the clattering of all the Glass-Windows, 'which happened at that time, a sure Sign, says 'Orlandin, that the Devil bid him then farewel. 'After this the Virgin appeared to him, with great 'Glory, holding her Son in her Bosom, which so 'incouraged him in his first Design, that a little 'after he took his Journey to *Monserrat*, a Place 'of great Devotion to the Virgin. In his Journey 'thither, he had like to have begun his first Adventure by fighting with a Moor, who confessing, 'that the Blessed Virgin remained a Virgin, till 'her Child-Birth, denied, that she continued so 'afterwards. For St. *Ignatius* reflecting whose 'Knight he was, grew so enraged, that he thought 'himself absolutely obliged to revenge upon the 'Moor, the Affront he had done his Mistress, but considering a little what was best to be done, and the 'Moor taking another Road, he left the Affair to the Judgment of his Mule: and throwing the 'Bridle upon her Neck, resolved to be the Death of the 'Offender, if at the first cross-way she took the Road 'which he had taken. The good Mule knowing 'full well her Master's Intention, turn'd out of the 'great Road, and took that of *Monserrat*, where 'as soon as he was arrived, he performed a remarkable Ceremony, which was this. *Ignatius*, as *Orlandin* (4) and *Maffe* expressly say, having 'read in Books of Chivalry, that the antient 'Knights taking upon 'em that honourable Imploy, 'were wont to watch all Night in their Arms; 'thought himself obliged to begin in the same 'manner: He hung up his Sword and Bagonet before the Altar of the Virgin, put on his 'Accoutrements, and instead of glittering 'Armour, took a long Vest, of very course Cloth, 'girding it about him with a thick Cord, to 'which he fastened a Water Bottle; instead 'of a Lance, he took a Plain Staff, walking '[illegible]with a wooden Shoe on one Foot, [illegible] the other 'naked, without making use of a [illegible]iece, that 'he might be exposed to the Injuries of the Weather. Before he entered the Town, he fastened 'all his Vestments, which he had procured by the 'way, to the Pummel of his Saddle, says *Maffee* (5) for fear the People should think him out of 'his right Senses, and did not put 'em on, till he 'came to the Place, where, by the Laws of 'Chivalry he was to watch, thus accoutred. 'Being come to the appointed Place, he put 'em 'on, and watched, say they, sometimes standing, 'and sometimes on his Knees, thus consecrating 'himself with all his Might, to the Service of the 'Blessed Virgin. This done, he departed early in 'the Morning, which is a necessary Circumstance 'to Knight-Errants, and came to *Menresa*, where 'he lodg'd, in the Hospital of the Town, letting 'his Hair and Nails grow, begging from Door to 'Door, fasting always six Days a Week, disciplining himself thrice a Day, [illegible]ing seven Hours a 'Day in vocal Prayers, [illegible]eeping on the bare 'Ground, the better to prepare himself for all Adventures in his Expedition to *Jerusalem*.

(B) *His Book of Spiritual Exercises.*] He composed it in *Spain*, in 1522, and published it at *Rome* in 1548, translated into *Latin* by *Andrew Frusius*, and Licensed by the Approbation of *Paul* III. They who wonder how he could read the Lives of the Saints, during the Cure of his broken Leg, forasmuch as (c) he had scarce learned his *A. B. C.* may with much more Reason wonder, how he could compose the Book of Exercises, in the Time of his Ignorance, did they not know what *Lewis de Pont* affirms, that God revealed these Exercises to St. *Ignatius*, and that the Holy Virgin helped him to compose them. '(d) *Refert Ludovicus de Ponte, vir omni exceptione Major, in vita P. Balthasaris 'Alvarez, c. 43. fidâ Traditione inde usque à P. Jacobo Lainio altero. Societatis Jesu Præposito Generali, acceptum haberi.* Deum hæc exercitia 'Sancto Patri Nostro revelasse: imò per [illegible]abrielem 'Archangelum non nemini fuisse à Dei [illegible]irgine 'significatum, se patronam errum, [illegible]ricem, 'atque adjutricem fuisse, decuisseque [illegible]um, ut 'ea sic conciperet; quo nomine se huic [illegible]i dedisse 'initium.' About an Age after an Indictement of Theft was publickly brought against (e) the Founder of the Jesuits on occasion of this Work; 'twas maintained, that he was not the Author of it. His Accuser was a *Benedictin*. This was an Affront to *Paul* III. and to the Congregation of Rites, for the Pope formally assures the contrary into his Approbation of the Book, and when the Cardinal *Francis*

(a) That is to say, Ignatius Loyola.

(b) Stillingfleet, *of the Fanaticism of the Church of* Rome.

(2) *Ribadeneir, vit. Ignat. c. 1.*

(3) *Ribadeneir. c. 1. Orlandin. Hist. l. 1. n. 12.*

(4) *Orlandin. Hist. l. 1. n. 18. Maffæus, l. 1. 4.*

(c) [illegible]. [illegible]et, *ibid. pag. 289. ex Maffeio in vita Ignat. lib. 1. c. 1.*

(d) *Alegambe, Biblioth. Societatis Jesu, p. 11.*

(e) See Alegambe & Sotuel Bibl. Soc. Jesu. init.

Place, for the Deſign he had of ſtudying the *Latin* Tongue. I ſay nothing of the miraculous (C) Adventures of his Voyage; I ſhould never have done, ſhould I copy his Hiſtorian on this Head. He began the Rudiments of *Grammar* in 1524, and finding, that the Reading (D) a Book of *Eraſmus* cooled his Devotion, he would no longer hear that Writer mentioned; but betook himſelf to *Thomas à Kempis*. At Two Years end, he was thought to have made a ſufficient Progreſs, to be admitted to Lectures of Philoſophy; accordingly he parted for *Compiutum* in 1526. His Mendicant Life, his Equipage, and that of his Four Companions, who had already eſpouſed his Fortune, together with the Inſtructions he gave the People, who crouded about

Francis Maria del Monte reported before *Gregory* XV. the Proceedings of this Congregation, with reſpect to the Canonization of St. *Ignatius*, he declared, that the Book of Spiritual Exerciſes was the Work of him whom they were about to Canonize. The (a) *Benedictins* of the Congregation of Mount *Caſſini*, condemned in a General Aſſembly (b) the Book, in which St. *Ignatius* was accuſed of *Plagiariſm*. *Innocent* X. put the matter out of doubt, as Father *Sotuel* pretends: for this Pope inſerted in the *Roman* Breviary, a preciſe Teſtimony, that *Ignatius* was Author of the Exerciſes. (c) *Nunc extra omnem Controverſiam Catholicis certa eſſe debet* (ea res) *poſtquam in Breviarium Romanum eſt relata atque in lectionibus toti Eccleſiæ propoſitis auctoritate Innocentii X. Pont. Max. in feſto S. Ignatii diſerte tradita his verbis*, quo tempore homo literarum plane rudis admirabilem illum compoſuit Exercitiorum librum S. Apoſtolicæ ſedis judicio & omnium utilitate comprobatum. *Alexander* VII. confirmed the ſame thing by a Brief of the 12th. of *October*, 1657, where he grants a Plenary Indulgence (d) to all who ſhall make uſe of St. *Ignatius*'s Spiritual Exerciſes.

The Two *Bibliothecarians* of the Society, have not done the *Benedictin* the Honour to name him, but we know from other Hands, that he was called *Conſtantinus*. He pretended, that a *Benedictine*, called *Garcias Ciſneros*, was the true Author of the Spiritual Exerciſes, which have gone about in the Founder of the Jeſuit. Name, and that Three Monks of Mount *Caſſini*, gave the ſame St. *Ignatius* the Book of Conſtitutions of the Society of Jeſus, when he took a turn among them, whilſt he was meditating the Deſign of a new Order. This *Benedictine* who thus brings St. *Ignatius* into the Number of *Plagiaries*, backs his Proof with the Teſtimony of a famous Jeſuit, whoſe Sence he has miſtaken: for this Jeſuit only ſays, that the Founder of the *Benedictins* aſſiſted St. *Ignatius* with his Divine Illuminations, for the forming the Conſtitutions of the Society. The meaning of which is, that three Monks of St. *Benedict*, dictated theſe Conſtitutions to *Ignatius*, as to a Tranſcriber. (e) *Dixi Societatem* JESU *videri charam S. Benedicto, in cujus ſinu Lutetiæ primùm delineata ſit; & poſtmodùm Caſſini ſancto fundatori illuc digreſſo, Sanctiſſimus Patriarcha illius loci præſes, multa lumina & cæleſtes afflatus exoraſſe viſus eſt. Hoc Cætanus ad exceptas inibi per S. Ignatium à tribus Monachis Conſtitutiones Societatis* JESU *traxit; quaſi quod dixi, S. Benedictum, (ut prum eſt arbitrari,) cæleſtem lucem, hærenti in æde ſua S. Ignatio eſſe apprecatum, idem ſonet, quod tres Monachos, nigros, dictaſſe S. Ignatio velut amanuenſi, ſuas Conſtitutiones.* Note by the way (f) that the ſame *Benedictin* maintains, that the Jeſuit he cites, committed a Mortal Sin in putting any other Name than his own in the Title Page of his Books (g). A Jeſuit called *John Rowe*, has treated this Accuſer of *Ignatius* very roughly. It remains that I ſay ſomething concerning the Book of Exerciſes. They tried to get it condemned in *Spain*, in 1553. *Melchior Canus* was very active in it, and the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* would not have been ſorry that it had ſucceeded; but the Doctor he conſulted, was of another Opinion. This is what the Jeſuits ſay, but who knows when they ſpeak Truth? (h) *Inventi ſunt qui——anno* 1553. *eum librum non allatrarent modò, ſed & morderent, Thomas quidam Iedrovius, alienæ ea in re voluntatis adminiſter, & Melchior Canus, cujus ſuggillationes, & obelos, cum Paſchali Mantio Ord. Prædicatorum, Complutenſi Theologo primario, exhibuiſſet Joannes Siliceus Præſul Toletanus, qui librum illum cupiebat ab eo improbari, reſponſum retulit, nihil eſſe in ſic diſpuncto libro damnatione dignum, præter Cani diſpunctiones, & ſuggillationes, ut ad illum annum recitat Orlandinus, addito pergravi Bartholomæi Torres, poſtea Canarienſis Præſulis, elogio eorumdem exercitiorum.*

Some other Works are attributed to the ſame Author, a Letter *de religioſa obedientia ad Luſitanos ſocios ac filios*, written from *Rome* the 26th. of *March*, 1553, has been inſerted in the *Bibliotheque des Peres*. A Letter *de religioſa perfectione ad Hiſpaniæ ſocios*, written the 4th. of *March* 1547. was printed in *Latin*, in the Collection of the Letters of the Generals of the Jeſuits. There is another *Latin* Verſion of 'em (i) printed at *Cracow*, in 1607. in the Collection intituled, *Theſaurus ſpiritualium rerum ad Societatem Jeſu pertinentium*. A Letter to *Claudius* King of *Æthiopia*, dated the 22d. of *February*, 1555. 'Tis found in the Hiſtory of the Jeſuits, written by *Orlandin* and elſewhere. He had written a Book upon the Trinity, before he began to Study. 'Tis not known how this Book came to be loſt. No Body doubts but he is the Author of a Book, called *Conſtitutiones Societatis Jeſu decem in partes diſtributæ*. But ſome believe, that *James Lainez* is the Author of the Declarations that are joined to it. Father *Sotuel* confutes this (k) Opinion. This Book of Conſtitutions &c. was printed firſt at *Rome*, by the Jeſuits, in 1558, in 8. It has ſince been publiſhed in the ſame Place, in *Latin*, and in *Spaniſh*, in Folio, in 1606. The *Latin* Verſion was made by *John Polancus*, Secretary to the Author (l).

(C) *The Miraculous Adventures of his Voyage.*] The bare Recital of his Extatick Viſions would make a very long Remark, did I trouble my ſelf to relate all that are found in his Hiſtory. See Dr. *Stillingfleet* (m) who draws from thence a good Proof, that the Inſtitution of the Jeſuits, as well as other Monks, is founded on Phanatiſm. He cites *Melchior Canus*, who ſays, that *Loyola* fled from *Spain* for fear the Inquiſition, which ſuſpected him of the Hereſie of the Illuminate, ſhould impriſon him. (n) *Melchior Canus* adds, that *Loiola* told him a Thouſand impertinent Things concerning his Vertues, and his Revelations, and ſpoke of one of his Comrades as a great Saint. This pretended Saint being interrogated by *Melchior Canus*, vented ſeveral Hereſies through meer Ignorance. *Loiola*, to excuſe him, alledged, that he was not a Heretick, but a Lunatick, who had his lucid Intervals, and who at that time, by Reaſon of the New-Moon, was not a good Catholick: (o) *Cum aliquando Romæ eſſem, Innicum illum videre mihi libuit: qui in ſermone ſine ulla occaſione cepit ſuam commemorare juſtitiam, & perſecutionem, quam paſſus eſſet in Hiſpania nullo ſuo merito. Multa etiam & magna prædicabat de revelationibus, quæ divinitus habuiſſet, idque nulla ejus rei neceſſitate: qua fuit occaſio, cur eum pro homine ſano haberem, nec de revelationibus ſuis quicquam ei crederem*——— (p) *Quendam ſociorum pro laudo prædicare cepit, qui cum accitus veniſſet, vix hominis non ſatis incolumi capite mihi ſuſpitionem movit: cumque de rebus divinis eum percunctatus eſſem, multa hæretica reſpondit, quippe qui idiota, planeque rudis & indoctus eſſet. Innicus ejus conſul confuſus, iſte, inquit, non eſt hæreticus, ſed fatuus, credoque eum lucida habere intervalla, eamque adeo propter conjunctionem Lunæ non eſſe uſquequaque Catholicum.*

(D) *That the reading of a Book of* Eraſmus *cooled his Devotion.*] This Book is his *Enchiridion militis Chriſtiani*. 'Tis univerſally looked upon as a Piece, in which the Purity of Style is join'd with the ſobereſt Rules of Chriſtian Morality. However, *Loyola* did not reliſh it; 'twas an Ice that damp'd his Fire of Divine Love; he took an Averſion to it, and would never read this Author's Writing, nor was he willing his Diſciples ſhould

(a) *Sotuel, ib. pag. 1. col. 2.*
(b) *Held at* Ravenna, *in* 1644.
(c) *Sotuel, ibid.*
(d) Conceſſa indulgentia peccatorum plenaria omnibus Chriſti fidelibus, exercitia ſpiritualia à S. Ignatio inſtituta peragentibus octidui ſpatio in domibus Societatis. *Sotuel, ib.*
(e) *Theophilus Raynaudus, Hoploth. ſect. 2. ſerie 2. cap. 12. p. m. 256.*
(f) *Ibid.*
(g) *This is the Treatiſe* De æquivocatione, *againſt* John Barnes.
(h) *Theophil. Raynaud. de malis & bonis libris, n. 514. p. m. 293.*
(i) *Inſtituted,* De fervore ſpiritus excitando.
(k) *This is that of* Theophilus Raynaudus, tomo 18. tractatu contra Clementem Scotum.
(l) *Taken from the ſame* Sotuel, *pag. 1. & 2.*
(m) Ubi ſupra, *from the 280th. page, to the 303.*
(n) *Melchior Canus in judicio ac Societate Ignat. Loyolæ, anno* 1548. *Litteris conſignato. Scripſus ſe cite* Infam. Famiani Strada, *lib. 12. Alphonſo de Vargas cites him alſo, Relat. c. 1. See the Caſe of the Relations of Ludenus, pag. 327. of the 8th. Tome de la Morale pratique.*
(o) *Melch. Canus, apud Scriptum, ibid.*
(p) *Idem apud eumdem, p. 293.*

about him, obliged the Inquisition to examine what he was. (E) The matter went so far, that he was cast into Prison, from whence he was not released but upon condition that he « would forbear venting his Opinions for four years. This Injunction was no way suitable to his design; not willing therefore to submit to it, he retired to *Salamanca*, where he continued to Discourse upon matters of Devotion. He was prison'd afresh, and set at liberty again on the same conditions, as at Compluta. Then he determin'd to go to *Paris*. He arrived there in the beginning of February 1528. with a firm Resolution to Study hard; but the misery he was reduc'd to, having oblig'd him to beg his Bread in the Streets, and put him into St. *James's* Hospital, extreamly cross'd his Design. He tried several Expedients to remove all these Obstacles, but as fast as he got clear of one unlucky difficulty, he was involv'd in others; for 'twas observed, that the Zeal with which he exhorted young People to Spirituality, made 'em betake themselves to a very ill way of Life. He was accus'd before the Inquisitor of the Faith; and narrowly escaped a Lashing (F) in the College of St. *Barba*. All these Difficulties did not discourage him; he went thro' his Course of Philosophy, and Divinity, and gain'd over a certain Number of Companions, who engag'd themselves by Vow to a new Life. This they did in the Church of *Montmatre* the fifteenth of *August* 1534. and they renewed their Engagement twice successively in the same Place, and on the same Day, and with the same Ceremonies. At first there were only seven, reckoning in *Loyola* himself among 'em; afterwards they came to be ten. 'Twas determined among 'em, that *Ignatius* should return into *Spain*, to regulate some Affairs there, that afterwards he should go to *Venice*; and that they should leave *Paris* the twenty fifth of January 1537, to go and rejoyn him. He came into *Spain* in 1535, where he Preach'd Repentance, and was Followed by prodigious Crowds of Hearers. He remembered the Affairs his Companions had recommended to him, and in due time passed by Sea to *Genoa*, and from thence Travell'd to *Venice*, where they all met him « on the eighth of *January* 1537. Du-

a Ribadeneira ubi supra, c. 14 p. 73.

β They parted from Paris the fifth of November 1536. and did not wait till the time which they had agreed upon.

(a) Ribadeneira, in vita Ignatii, l. 1. c. 13. p. 69.

(b) Among others Teresa de Cardenas & Eleonor Mascarena, *who was afterwards Governante to* Philippe II. Ribaden. ubi supra, c. 14. p. 73.

(c) Nihil certe minus: immo hoc tibi affirmo percursationes ejusmodi in universum illis displicuisse me, ne filia ea aetate ac forma in cujusquam petulantiam incurreret. Id. ib. p. 74.

(d) Ex Ribadeneira, l. 1. c. 14.

(e) Id. ib. c. 15.

(f) Furius, apolog. pour la Reformation, 1. part, c. 1. p. 50.

(g) Ibid. p. 51. 52.

read 'em. *Ribadeneira* will tell us the Story [illegible]; one, that *Ignatius* not only de[illegible] Master (a) *In hoc studiorum palaestra versanti, pii quidam* [illegible]hip him, but that he was actually whipt; the *ac docti viri consilium dederunt, ut Erasmi Ro*[illegible]*ther*, that this pass'd at *Paris*, in *Montaigu* Col*mi, qui eo tempore bona latini tatis auctor habebatur, libellum de milite Christiano legeret, ut sermonis scitiret elegantiam cum pietate conjungeret. Cujus consilii Confessarius etiam ad reliquos auctor accessit. Quod cum Ignatius simpliciter feciss[illegible], observavit illius libelli lectione refrigescere in se spiritum Dei, & devotionis sensim ardorem restingui. Qua re animadversa, librum de manibus omnino abjecit, & ita est aversatus, ut nec ipse amplius legerit illius auctoris libros, & passim in Societate nostro legi veterit.*

(E) *The matter went so far, that he was cast into Prison.*] Before it came to this, Inquiry had been about his Life and Doctrine, and he had only been made enjoined to wear Shoes and Stockings, and not oblige his Companions to go barefoot. But when it was observed that a Widow and her Daughter had undertaken a Pilgrimage begging, and on Foot, *Ignatius*, who had been their Cassuist, was much exclaimed against. Hereupon he was imprisoned. I don't wonder the Alarm was taken, when People reflected on the great Ascendent this Man had gained over the fair Sex. People continued to flock about him in his Prison to hear him Discourse; and there were a great many Persons of Quality of both Sexes (b), who offered him their good Offices, but he thankfully refused 'em. Being asked whether he was the Author of the Widow's Pilgrimage, he answered, that on the contrary, he had dissuaded her from it, fearing that the young Damsel, who was very handsome, might be exposed during these Travels, to some Temptations (c). The Sentence was pronounced the 42d. Day of his Imprisonment, and he was discharged (d). He was used worse at *Salamanca* (e).

(F) *He narrowly escaped a Lashing in the College of St. Barba.*] Mind this Account of Mr. *Furieu*. ' (f) He came to *Paris* in 1528, and being conscious of his Ignorance, he entered himself in *Montaigu* College; he there began again his Studies, put himself into the Sixth Classe, to learn his *Grammar* a second Time, and desired his Master to set him a Task, and whip him as he did the other Scholars, when he wanted his Lesson. He was then Thirty seven Years old, a pretty Sight, to see this venerable Saint's Shirt taken up amongst a Company of Boys, who were Spectators of the Comedy——(g) We have already seen, how after this, at Thirty seven Years of Age, he caused himself to be whipt in *Montaigu* College, before the little Boys. Here are two Things affirdently

(1) Mass. l. 1. c. 16.

(2) Orlandin. Hist. l. 1. n. 47.

(k) He was called James Govea.

(l) See Ribadeneira, lib. 2. c. 3.

(m) Quid multa? prehensa manu Govenus, ad orationem Ignatium adducit, hic repente se, omnibus inspectantibus, illi ad pedes [illegible]: [illegible] ninis credulum, illum virum sanctum clam[illegible] ne[illegible] te[illegible] cruciatus terrore, sed Dei tantum honore tangatur. Ribaden. ib. p. 98.

(n) Lutetiae primum Montis Acuti Gymnasio se bonis Lasi[illegible]tis [illegible] cap[illegible] bus [illegible] manda[illegible] tradidit, in eoque studio biennium fere consumpsit. Id. ib. c. 1. p. 87.

(o) Mass. in vita Ignatii, l. 1. c. 18.

(p) Pasquier, Catechisme des Jesuites, liv. 1. c. 11.

(q) See Cicero de offic. l. 1. c. 23.

During the time that he waited for 'em, he was not Idle: He gained Souls, and yet got acquainted with (H) *John Peter Caraffa*, who was afterwards Pope. Being engaged by Vow to make a Voyage to *Jeruſalem*, they prepared themſelves for that Expedition; but they were deſirous before all things to ſalute the Pope, and obtain his Benediction and Permiſſion. They went therefore to *Rome*, and obtained their deſire. But returned to *Venice* with a deſign to go on Board, they found no opportunity: The War with the Port had put an intire ſtop to the Tranſportation of Pilgrims. Hereupon rather than be Idle, they reſolved to diſperſe themſelves in the Towns under the *Venetians* Juriſdiction. They preached in the Streets, and afterwards went into the Univerſities to gain Scholars, and at laſt returned to *Rome*. There it was that *Ignatius* formed the Plan of a new Society, which Pope *Paul III.* confirmed in the year 1540, without Limitations. He was created General of this new Order in 1541, and fixed his Head Quarters at [illegible], whilſt his Companions diſperſed themſelves throughout the Earth. Here he applied himſelf to ſeveral good Works, as either the Converſion (I) of the *Jews*, the Converſion of Women, of (K) a bad Life, or the Overſeeing and Education of Orphans. He found himſelf ſoon expoſed to the moſt outrageous

(g) Imo vero Judæorum liberis ad Chriſtum contra parentum voluntatem invecientibus, bonis spoliatis, omnibus integra manere, etc. *Ribadeneira lib.* 3. c. 9. *p.* 213.

(i) *Taken from* Ribadeneira ibid.

(k) Magna Roma misericordiæ opus eam vilebatur meretricum, quæ ex prostitutæ publicum facientes (major enim per id tempus, morum in urbe licentia, quæ tantæ christianorum Pontificum vigilantiæ, severis postea legibus compescenda erit) & urbis ipsa meretricius sordibus obsoleſcebat. *Id. ib.*

(l) *Id. ib. p.* 214.

(m) *That's to say, the Convent of the* Magdelonnetes.

(n) Rabad. ib. p. 215.

(a) *Ribadeneira, ib. c.* 5. *p.* 105.

(b) *Idem lib.* 2. *c.* 6. *p.* 109.

(c) *Morale pratique des Jeſuites, tom.* 3. *p.* 279.

(d) Joannes Rho. Mr. Arnaud [illegible] mig[illegible] ha[illegible] ded[illegible] Franciſcus Sacchinus, *who has joyn'd* [illegible] *ſtory of the Jeſuits, compoſed by* Orlandin, *a Preface and a Treatiſe*, cujus lit auctoritatis quod in B. Cajetani Thienæi vita de S. Ig[illegible] tr[illegible] à [illegible] B[illegible] Ca[illegible]o, inſtitutiſſe ipſum ut in Theatinorum Ordinem admitteretur. *Sotuel in Biblioth. p.* 251.

(e) *Spondanus ad ann.* 1555. *n.* 8. He cites *Sleidan l.* 26.

(f) *Ribadeneira, ib. p.* 109.

dently aſſumed the Dreſs of Married Women, and behav'd themſelves to them as if they had been their Lawful Husbands. *Ignatius* got very ſevere Laws made againſt this Corruption. (a) *Quibus quidem operibus & vitæ exemplo, prudentiaque tantum apud illos homines profecit, ut errores multos corrigeret; vitia, quæ in ſacerdotes etiam mores irrepſerant, & longa jam conſuetudine honeſtatis nomen obſederant, emendare non deſitit: multaque conſtituit, quæ ad hominum mores conformandos, pietatemque augendam pertinerent. In his ſeveræ leges fuerunt ejus operâ latæ à magiſtratibus, de aleâ, de concubinatu ſacerdotum. Nam cum patrio more Virgines, quæ [illegible] tradcrentur, capite aperto eſſent, peſſimo [illegible] multi, cum apud clericos ſacerdotes viverent, perinde caput obnubebant, ac ſi legitimo eis matrimonio junctæ fuiſſent: quibus ſi idem, quaſi maritis, proſtabant. Quod nefarium inſtitutum, ac ſacrilegum, funditus tollendum curavit.*

(H) *Got acquainted with* John Peter Caraffa.] Who was Pope under the Name of *Paul IV.* and who had then joyn'd himſelf (b) with ſome other Votaries, to form the Congregation called the Theatin's. Theſe in this laſt Age have had a great Quarrel with the Jeſuits. See the uſe Mr. *Arnaud* makes of it. *One may judge*, ſays he, (c) ſpeaking to the Jeſuits *how little touchy you are by that ſharp and harſh way, wherewith your Writers* (d) *have Treated the Theatin's, for having ſaid in the Life of the Bleſſed* Cajetan, That St. *Ignatius* four or five years before the Eſtabliſhment of your Society living with the Theatins at *Venice*, when he came [illegible] from *Spain*, in the year 1536, had Leave [illegible], and Admitted with the Sanctity of his [illegible] that he deſired to be received amongſt them. But that the Bleſſed *Cajetan* would not grant his requeſt, becauſe God had acquainted him that he would found another Order, more given to action. *Be this true or falſe, could it be a juſt ground for flying into ſuch a Paſſion, and continuing a flagrant War for near thirty years together; were it true that you are ſo little ſenſible, as you ſay, of what only affects the Reputation of your Society?* Mr. *de Sponde* (e) obſerves, that *John Sleidan*, and ſome others after him, have falſly ſaid, that the Jeſuits were founded by this *John Peter Caraffa*. The truth, adds he, is, that as the Jeſuits came into the World a little after the Theatins, and almoſt in the ſame Habit, they went by the ſame Name which they ſtill retain in *Spain* and *Italy*. If in requital, the name of the Jeſuits was given the Theatins, we might leſs wonder at *Sleidan's* Aſſertion. The Author I have ſo often cited, acknowledges, that theſe two Orders of Regular Clergy came ſo cloſe upon one another's Heels and were alike in ſo many things, that the Name of Theatins was often given to the Jeſuits. (f) *A quibus vulgi errore falſo Theatinorum in nos uſi appellatio, cognomenque transfuſum. Nam cum ordo uterque, noſter & illorum, clericorum Regularium ſine, eodemque fermè tempore nati, neque habitu valdè diſſimiles, populus rudis externa ſpecie deceptus, alienum nomen noſtris impoſuit, Roma primùm; unde in alias deinde urbes influxit, & in remotas etiam provincias penetravit.*

(I) *Either to the Converſion of the* Jews.] He entertained in the Jeſuits Houſe ſome *Jews*, who had been Baptiz'd, and by his earneſt Solicitations, obtain'd, that all *Jews*, who embrac'd the true Faith, ſhould be entertained in a certain Houſe appointed for that purpoſe. At his requeſt Pope *Paul III.* decreed that they ſhould preſerve all their Goods, and that if they were Children (g), who were Converted without their Fathers and Mothers conſent, they ſhould have the whole Patrimony. And as to Goods acquired by Uſury, the true Owner of which was not known, it was order'd, that they ſhould be given to the Converted *Jews*. *Julius III.* and *Paul IV.* added a new Order, which was that all the Synagogues of *Italy* ſhould be taxed every year in a certain Sum to be applied to the Maintenance of theſe Proſelytes (h). The *French* Converters have imitated part of theſe Injunctions in our Days.

(K) *The converſion of Women of a bad Life.*] At that time (i) their number was prodigious: They who would quit this infamous way of Life, were received into the Convent of the Magdalene, provided they obliged themſelves to a perpetual Cloiſter, and to the Vows of the Order. This Condition, which was ſomewhat hard, retarded the Fruits, that might be expected from the inſtitution of this Convent: it excluded all Married Women, and all Maids and Widows, who would willingly have quitted their wicked courſe of Life, but could not ſubmit to the Laws of a long Penance. There were therefore two ſorts of Debauch'd Women, which his pains were Employed about. Thoſe who feared the Reſentment of their Husbands, had need of a place of Retreat, where they might be in ſafety, till they had made their Peace with 'em. They who would quit Criminal, without renouncing honeſt Pleaſures, had need alſo of ſome Place, beſides a Convent, where they might have a Subſiſtence when they gave over the Trade of a Curtezan. For which reaſon *Ignatius* cauſed Appartments to be built in the Church of St. *Martha*, in which a new (k) Society was founded for this kind of Penitents. (l) *Permultæ ex iis reperiuntur, quæ hoc perfugio excluduntur: quibus tamen locus aliquis dandus eſt, quo ſe recipiant, dum maritis reconciliantur, ut à vitæ honeſtate, quam petunt, abſit periculum. Porro aliæ emergere quidem ex facibus illis vellent, ſed non continuò ſe diuturnæ pœnitentiæ dedere: neque ſi ut peſſimæ fugiant paratæ ſunt, ſeſtari idcirco optima concupiſcunt: quibus receptum ad tempus dari* (m) *Cœnobii illius leges non ſinunt. Ignatius igitur, ut omnium ſaluti conſuleret: & ne qua eſſet, quæ victus quærendi difficultate ſuæ turpitudini prætexeret, locum peropportunum inſtruendum curavit, quod omnium eſſet commune perfugium.* He was the firſt bountiful Contributer to this Building: His Example was followed by ſeveral, and eſpecially by *Leonora Oſoria*, Wife to *John Vega*, Embaſſador of *Charles V.* 'Twas a very Edifying ſight, to ſee the General of the Jeſuits, at the Head of a band of Whores, leading 'em either to St. *Martha's* Church, or to Women of Qualities Houſes, who undertook to have 'em inſtructed and taken care of. (n) *In hoc autem divæ Marthæ Cœnobium, mulierculas à turpi quæſtu abductas ipſemet ſæpenumero, ne perirent, vel in matronæ alicujus honeſtæ domum, inſtituendas ad virtutis ſtudium,*

id

gious(L)Calumnies, which did not however hinder his pursuing whatever might contribute to the Glory and Establishment of his Order. There were those (M) of the other Sex, who were willing to submit to his Discipline; but the Trouble which the Direction of only three Women had given him, obliged him to deliver his Society for ever from this Incumbrance. Having gotten his Order confirmed by Pope *Julius* III. 1550, he had a Mind to lay down his Generalship, but the Jesuits would by no means Consent to it. So he kept that Post to his Death, which happned on the last of *July* 1556[a]. The Author whom I cite, having honestly owned, That his St. *Ignatius* had not the Gift of Miracles, and having even prevented the Objections which were to be feared on this Head, had undoubtedly a hint given him, That he had gone too far, and that it was not prudent to make such Confessions in the Face of the World. However it be, he Retracted it in a New Book, and mentioned

[a] *Taken from the Life of* Ignatius Loyola, *written by* Ribadeneira.

id ætatis vir, & Generalis Præpositus deducebat. When he was told that the pains he took to Convert these Prostitutes, was lost Labour, since they were harden'd in Sin, and would quickly return to their Vomit, he answer'd that he should think all the Labour of his Life well Employ'd, if he could cause these Creatures to abstain only one Night from offending God; and though he was persuaded, that the next Day they would fall again into their infamous Practices, yet he would not cease to labour with all his might to save that small space of time. (a) *Cum autem Ignatio objiceretur, in curandis hujusmodi mulierculis malè operam poni, quippe quæ in vitiis jam occalluissent, facileque reverterentur ad vomitum: Minimè sanè, inquit Ignatius: sed si omnibus meæ vitæ curis, atque laboribus id possim efficere, ut vel unam noctem, peccato vacuam præterire istarum aliqua velit; omnes ego quidem nervos contendam, ut vel illo tam exiguo tempore Deus ac Dominus noster non offendatur: etiam si sciam illam statim ad ingenium redituram* (b). As he was careful to remedy the past, he did not forget to prevent the evil to come. He knew, that the honour of many Maids is in danger, either because they are Poor, or because their Mothers take not sufficient care, or even turn Procuresses for 'em: He therefore got a Convent built, whether the young Women should be remov'd, who were in this Danger. (c) *Illud etiam excogitavit, in lubrico versanti virginum pudicitiæ qua ratione succurreret: ne videlicet puellaris castitas, aut matrum turpitudine incuriave defloresceret, aut paupertate. Quamobrem præclarum, omnique laude dignum Cœnobium constructum est, Sanctæ Catherinæ, ut vulgo vocant, de funariis: in quod, tanquam in asylum arcemque transferuntur adolescentulæ, quæ in periculo pudicitiæ versantur.*

(a) *Ribad. ubi supra. pag.* 215.

(b) *In Vere de la Mainferme,* in Clypeo *nascent.* Fontebrald. Ordinis dissert. 4. pag. 219. *has made use of this Example to justify* Robert d'Arbissel's *great care of the Common Women. See the Remark D. of the Article* Fontevraud.

(L) *He found himself expos'd to the utmost Calumnies.*] *Ribadeneira* does not enter into particulars, and I don't think there is any Book extant in which these Calumnies are particularly related. I shall only say, with this Historian, That *Ignatius* having caused a Married Woman to be put into St. *Martha's*, who had suffered herself to be carried off by her Gallant, exposed himself to the Indignation of this Ravisher, who being a very Passionate Man, was not content to throw Stones all Night at the House, where his Mistress was shut up, but moreover Defamed the Jesuits all the City over, and dispersed a hundred *Pasquils* against 'em. He accused 'em of all sorts of Disorders, and of the most Impious and filthy Crimes. He so prejudiced the City of *Rome* against 'em, that they durst hardly shew themselves, for they every where met with those who insulted and curs'd 'em. I shall set down *Ribadeneira's* Words, that I may not be thought to amplify. (d) *Ut erat vir acer, ac ferox, & in ipsum Sanctæ Marthæ Cœnobium furere nocturnis lapidationibus cœpit, & in nostros iniquis criminationibus debacchari: multaque in vulgus spargere, quæ non solùm falsa essent, sed dictu etiam turpissima. Eoque processit (gratia fortasse, qua valebat plurimum, & autoritate fretus) ut Ignatii nomen publicè infectaretur, & lacesseret: & ea nostris per se, & suos coram objiceret, quæ honestè audire non possent. Famosos præterea libellos confecit, & vulgo jactavit, quibus multa nefaria, & impura, multa impia, & scelerata continebantur: ut nostris viæ in publicum prodire, viæ cum hominibus de ipsorum salute agere liceret: ita aut convitiis ab improbissimo quoque, aut maledictis excipiebantur. Ignatius* Petitioned the Pope to Name Commissioners for Examining these Accusations. They were examined by the Governour and Vicar of *Rome*, who in their Sentence given the 10th of *August* 1543, declared, That they were all Calumnies. There was a Priest at *Rome*, who terribly blacken'd the Reputation of the Jesuits. He accused 'em of Heresy, and of Revealing the Secrets of Confessions, and of committing things not fit to be named, which made *Ignatius* deserve the Fire. See in the Margin *Ribadeneira's* Words (e), who observes that this Priest was suspended, and deprived of his Benefices, and condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, for Crimes, which time at last reveal'd. As for his Accusations, the Jesuits did not complain of 'em, but suffer'd them to drop unanswered.

(c) *Ribaden. ibid. pag.* 216.

(d) *Idem lib.* 3. *cap.* 13. *p.* 228.

(M) *There were some of the other Sex.*] You'll hardly find any Order of Monks, but what has Convents for Maids; and I question, whether you can Name a Founder, who in his Life time had not Female Votaries, who constantly attended him. *Ignatius* had his, but he did not consent to the forming Nunneries, which should embrace his Rules. *Isabella* (f) *Rosella*, his Benefactress, was so desirous to see him again, that she came from *Spain* to *Rome* to put her self under his Discipline: She, and some others, obtained leave of the Pope to make the same Vows as the Jesuits. *Ignatius* did not oppose it, till he had experienced the prodigious trouble they gave him. Perceiving then that this would only incommode his Society, he represented his Reasons so urgently to the Pope, as to get a Discharge from this Burden. (g) *Mirum est trium mulierecularum gubernatio, quantum illi molestiæ & occupationis paucis diebus attulerit. Ergo Pontificem Maximum docet, quanto ea res impedimento Societati sit futura: orat, obsecratque Pontificem, ut se præsenti molestia, Societatem metu perpetuo liberet: neque permittat nostros homines, aliis in rebus magnis, utilibus, necessariis occupatos, hac mulierum cura minus necessaria implicari. Quod utique Pontifex, rationes Ignatii probans, Societati dedit: literasque Apostolicas scribi jussit, quibus nostri in perpetuum ab onere Monialium eximuntur, & quarumcunque mulierum cura sub obedientia nostrorum in communi, vel alias vivere volentium, anno* 1549. *ab eodem Paulo* III. *impetravit, ne curam Monialium, seu Religiosarum quarumlibet personarum recipere teneamur, per literas Apostolicas impetratas, vel in posterum impetrandas: nisi de indulto illo, & ordine nostro, expressam facientes mentionem.*

However, it was not by way of precaution, in point of Chastity, that he was willing to be rid of this Sex; for if we believe Historians, the Holy Virgin granted him the Gift of Continence in such a degree, that from the time he became her Knight, to his Death, he felt not the least Symptom of an immodest Temptation. He might therefore safely frequent the Women, and preserve himself as untouched in the midst of all these Flames, as the three *Jews* in the *Babylonian* Furnace. His greatest Intimacies with the Sex would not have been a matter that could justify one's telling him, (h) *Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ tractus, & incedis per ignes suppositos cineri doloso.* In that respect, he had the Gift of the *Hippa* (i). What is said of some Enchanted Soldiers, that they are in no danger, tho' expos'd to a furious Storm of Musket-Shot, is an Image of *Loyola's* Continence: The most lascivious Oglings, the most tender Caresses, and in general, all the Artillery Woman could

(e) Invidiæ stimulis incitatus ita exarsit, ut falsis illum odiosisque criminationibus in invidiam vocare nostrosque infamiæ labe aspergere conaretur. Nam & hæresis calumniam, & auditarum confessionum sacratissima jura violata, & alia, quæ honeste dici non potuit, non est verecundatus objicere & Ignatium ipsum vivum flammis cremandum jactata. *Ribaden. ib. p.* 229.

(f) *Id. ib. cap.* 14. *pag.* 239.

(g) *Id. ib. pag.* 231.

(h) *Horat. Ode* 1. *lib.* 2.

(i) *See the Remarks of the Article* Hippia.

[illegible] mentions (N) I know not how many Miracles wrought by the Founder of his Order. He goes so far as to pretend, that the Words of *Virgil*, had in his Mouth the

[illegible] employ against his Virtue, would have found [illegible]etrable: Always provided that we refer [illegible] to (a) *Masse*'s Words. I have read a Parallel (b) of *Luther* and *Loyola*, in which 'tis observed, that *Luther*, without any extraordinary Grace, li[illegible] a chast Celibacy to 42 Years of Age, and bein[illegible]wards Married, neither blemished his Mod[illegible] Piety; and that after all, *Loyola*'s Chas[illegible]erved no Commendation (c), since there's no [illegible]ue, but what proceeds from a Victory, disputed with the Passions.

(N) *He retracted it* [illegible] *mentions I know not how many Mir*[illegible]hapter of the 5th Book of S *Ign*[illegible]n by the Jesuit *Ribadeneira* is [illegible]; he begins with this Objection, (d) *If all you have been saying be true, whence comes it that* Loyola's *Sanctity was not confirmed by Miracles, like those of so many other Saints?* The Author answers, *Who has known the Mind of the Lord, or who has been his Counsellor? God alone works wonderful Things, and as 'tis he alone performs 'em, he alone knows the proper time and place in which Miracles ought to be wrought, and by whose Prayers*[illegible] *Ut solus ille hac potest efficere, ita ille solus*[illegible] *quo loco, quo tempore miracula & quorum*[illegible]*ibus facienda sunt.* He adds, that all Saints have not had the gift of Miracles, and that those who have been most Eminent for the Greatness, or number of their Miracles, have not for all that excelled the others in Holiness of Life. For it is not by Miraculous, but Charitable Actions [illegible]at we are to Judge of a Person's Sanctity[illegible]e proves from the Authority of St. *Greg*[illegible] Reasons drawn from Scrip[illegible] and fr[illegible] Example (f) *Neque omnes sancti viri miraculis excelluerant: neque qui illorum aut magnitudine præstiterunt, aut copia, idcirco reliquos sanctitate superarunt. Non enim sanctitas cujusque signis, sed charitate æstimanda est.* He makes it appear by Scripture that the Gift of Miracles is granted sometimes to false Teachers, and in a very few words exposes to view the Strength of whatever the Protestants can urge against those who upbraid 'em; because *Luther* and *Calvin* had not this Gift. I say not this, adds he, to extenuate this Vertue, but to let the prudent Reader understand, that all this must be refered to the good Providence of God, who distributes his Gifts according to his own good Pleasure. He afterwards assigns some Reasons, for which God might think fit, and that even in Favour of the Jesuits, to deny their Founders this Gift of Miracles. [illegible] must hear himself. (g) *Hac dixerim non ut*[illegible]*ulorum vim elevem sed ut prudens lector intell*[illegible]*em totum Deo committendam: qui dona sua unicuique distribuit, prout vult. Potuit ille, pro sua occulta sapientia, nostræ hoc imbecillitati dare, ne miracula unquam jactare possemus. Potuit utilitati, ut authore instituti nostri minus illustri, à* Jesu *potius, quàm ab illo, nomen traheremus: & nostra nos appellatio sacra moneret, ne ab illo oculos unquam dimoveremus: quem non solum, ut communem humani generis liberatorem ac Principem, sed etiam, ut præcipuum Ducem colere, atque imitari debemus, minimam hanc Societatem sui nominis glorioso titulo decorantem. Potuit hoc etiam tribuere temporibus, quibus hæc miracula necessaria non sunt.* Lastly, he says (h) that the manner of the Institution of the Society of the Jesuits, its prodigious growth, and the Miracles wrought by some of its Members, are a convincing Proof, that it is the Work of God, and is a sufficient Ground for ascribing the Glory of Miracles to the Life of its Founder. Thus the Ancient Fathers have observed that the speedy Propagation of the Gospel throughout the [illegible], tho' the Instruments God made use of h[illegible]g considerable in 'em, according to the [illegible], and tho' it met with the violentest opposit[illegible], is so bright a Miracle, as would alone be sufficient to prove the Divine Original of Christianity. The Protestants alledge the same thing, when they are asked what Miracles *Luther* and *Calvin* wrought to support their Mission. Let us once more cite *Ribadeneira*. *Quid admirabilis*, says he, (i) *quam militarem hominem, ferro & castris assuetum, à spiritu Dei alienum, ita immutatum, ut non solum ipse Christo militarit, sed sacræ militiæ antesignanus esset, & princeps? Quid insignatius, quam tot homines ingenio, studio, ætate florentes, ab Ignatio egeno ac despicato, nulla magni vel literarum scientia, sermonis elegantia & copia, huc adduci potuisse, institutum ut vitæ cursum abrumperent, spes suas profligerent, paupertatis, dedecoris, atque ignominiæ sese telis objicerent, & tot laborum periculorumque offerent incursibus?* He has forgot one Circumstance, which in some Respects does exceedingly heighten the wonder, to wit, that there appear'd in *Loyola*'s Life from his Travels to *Monserrat*, till the time of his fixing at *Rome*, so many Marks of Extravagance, and so many Symptoms of a Mind disordered, stupify'd, overwhelmed by Fanaticism, that 'tis strange Men of solid Sense, such as *Lainez*, and *Salmaron*, should have adhered to him, and that his Order should so soon have top'd over all the rest. But if we turn the Prospective, we perceive, that this very thing lessens the Wonder; for nothing is so likely to deceive, as that which appears Supernatural in Madness, Extravagancy and Foolery. However it be, we have here a Famous Jesuit (k) his Cotemporary, who plainly confesses that his Founder wrought no Miracles, tho' he did not die in the Confession of this Faith: For he changed his Note, in (l) another Book. 'Tis true most of the Miracles he relates, were wrought by *Ignatius* after his Death: Thus he speaks. (m) *Quia vero postremo quinti libri capite de miraculis breviter egimus quasi nulla fecisset, aut ad demonstrandam ejus sanctitatem necessaria non essent, statui nunc ea paullo fusius exponere, non omnia quidem (res enim nimis in longum excurreret) sed partem duntaxat eorum quæ Deus efficere per servum suum dignatus est. Quamvis enim cum anno 1572. primum vitam ejus latine scriberem alia nonnulla miracula ab eo facta novissem, tamen adeo mihi certa & explorata non erant ut in vulgus edenda mihi persuaderem; postea vero questionibus de ejus in divos relatione publice habitis gravibus & idoneis testibus fuerunt comprobata. Enimvero Deus ut servum suum extollat in terris tam frequentibus eum in dies miraculis dignatur, ut mearum partium esse duxerim litteris hic mandare nonulla è publicis actionibus sumta.* Note, that he speaks only of the first Edition, which was of the Year 1572, and says nothing of the second, which was of the Year 1587. and which was much enlarged by him. He added several particulars, which he had learnt afterwards either from the Testimony of some Persons of great Authority, Intimate Friends of *Ignatius*, or the certainty whereof he had discovered by a severe Examination, tho' he had looked upon 'em as doubtfull before. (n) *Multa mihi necessario addenda judicavi. Primùm nova quadam, quæ post libellum excusum, gravissimi viri, & Ignatio valdè familiares, & ante Societatem conditam intimi necessarii, quasi testes oculati de ipso Ignatio nobis retulerunt. Tum alia, quæ dubia antea mihi erant, & diligenti postea inquisitione investigata, certa esse comperi.* Hence we conclude that St. *Ignatius*'s Miracles were things which his Friends had not informed *Ribadeneira* of, during the 15 Years which passed betwixt the two Editions, nor what the Author could clear from uncertainty, in that Interval of time. Nevertheless he assures us that in the Year 1572, he was informed of some Miracles wrought by this Founder, but not with all the necessary certainty to publish 'em. Amongst the things, of which he was not at that time perfectly assured, there was undoubtedly none, the certainty whereof he sought after more diligently, than that of the Miracles of his Apostle; since therefore he continued to say in the Edition of 1587, that the blessed *Ignatius* worked no Miracles, it necessarily follows, that his strictest search had afforded him nothing certain upon that head; for if it had afforded him any certainty, he would in his second Edition have added this grand Article with more concern, than those other things which

[illegible] tra[illegible] ab i[illegible] usque [illegible] ultimum vitæ omnis libidinis sensu caruerit. *Seckendorf. Hist. Lutheran. lib.* 3. *p.* 315. *ex Mafleio in vita Ignat. Loyolæ.*

(b) *Apud Seckendorf. ibid.*

(c) Hac quidem assertione castitatis laus destruitur, quæ non est virtus quando cupiditatibus non exercetur quas vincat. *Id. ib.* See the *Arti*[illegible] Ju[illegible] pag. 1685.

(d) Sed dicat aliquis, si hæc vera sunt [illegible]id causæ est quam ob rem illius sanctitas minus est testata miraculis? &, ut multorum sanctorum vita, signis declarata, virtutumque opera[illegible] c. [illegible] 539.

(e) *Ribaden. ibid. pag.* 540.

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) *Ibid. pag.* 542. 543.

(h) Tantum abest ut ad vitam Ignatii illustrandam miracula deesse videantur, ut multa, eaque præstantissima, judicem in media luce versari.... Nam sive initia hujus Societatis, sive institutum spectemus [illegible] propagationem, consecutasque ex ea utilitates, miracula [illegible] nulla desiderabimus: cum tam multa iis rebus miracula in[illegible] prehendamus, per quæ Deus, & hoc opus suum esse, & [illegible] naturam, ex trunco ostendit, & fructu. *Ibid, pag.* 543.

(i) *Ibid.*

(k) Cujus ego viri historiam, quoniam à pueri sanctissi[illegible] ipsius vitæ SPECTATOR atque admirator fui, pleniorem ac majori etiam fidè scribere potero. *Ribaden. in præfat.*

(l) *In the Abridgment of the Life of* Ignatius *which he published when Informations were taking in Order to his Canonization.*

(m) *Ribadeneira in vita Ignatii in compendium redacta, cap.* 18. *pag.* 121. *Edit. Iprensis* 1612.

(n) *Id. in præfatione Editionis* 1587.

the Power (N△) of dismaying Devils, and forcing 'em to cry out for Quarter. You'll find in *Morery*, that Pope *Paul* V. beatify'd *Ignatius* in the Year [a] 1609, and that *Gregory* XV. inserted him in the Catalogue of Saints in the Year 1622. *Innocent* X. and *Clement* IX. increased (O) the Honours of this new Saint. But do what they will for him, nothing is so wonderful in History as the prodigious growth of his Order in so few Years, both in the old World and in the New, in spite of the violentest Opposition of its Adversaries. I believe never any Society had so many Enemies within and without it as the Jesuits have had, and still have; and yet their Authority, which is so suddenly grown to a very high Pitch, seems rather to Increase daily than Decline. The Books that have been published against 'em, would make a large Library of themselves. They may plead that a great many (P) condemn 'em out of meer Prejudice; nor do they fail to make the most of this Plea, without being at the Pains of Answering particularly to all the

[a] *And not* 1605. *as* Sotuel *affirms* Biblioth. Societ. Jesu, pag. 2.

which he did add, only because of uncertainty as they had been before; they were now become certain by the exact Care he took to be informed about 'em. Farther, would a Jesuit, who had known in the Year 1572, that his Founder had worked Miracles, and who only forbore inserting 'em in a publick Work, because his Intelligence in that Point was not so sure as it ought to be; would he have plainly own'd, I say, that his Founder work'd no Miracles? Would he have argued with so much Concern upon it? Would he have answered Objections against it so Elaborately? His Duty doubtless had been to be silent, 'till he were fully informed, and there is great probability that *Ribadeneira* would have taken that Method, and that all he has said by an After-Game, is insincere and full of Shifts; nor shou'd it be omitted, that nothing was so capable of being set in a full Light during the Interval of time between those two Editions, than *Loyola*'s Miracles; surprizing Facts, which make a deeper Impression than any others, and spread from Place to Place with greater Noise. Would the Intimate Friends, the Inseparable Companions of *Ignatius* have said nothing of 'em to *Ribadeneira*, they who told him so many other things, of which he was not inform'd in the Year 1572, and which he added to his Book in 1587? This, to say no worse of it, makes all the Miracles suspected which have been published, and pretended to have been wrought by *Ignatius*, before the second Edition of *Ribadeneira*. The other Miracles of the same Saint are very Numerous, if we take the Word of his good Friends.

[a] *Joannes Christianus Frommann. de fascinat. lib. 3. parte 9 cap. 4, n. 15. pag. m. 949.*

[b] Sotuel *in Biblioth Societ. Jesu, pag. 2.*

[c] Amplius quinquaginta templa in variis orbis regionibus modo numerantur in illius honorem dedicata. *Id. ibid.*

[d] Refert centum ex authenticis desumpta documentis noster Daniel Bartolus de vita S. Ignatii lib. 5. & permulta recenset noster Alphonsus de Andrada, opere de miraculis patratis Munebregæ in Aragonia, ubi pie colitur Imago admirabilis Sancti Ignatii. *Id. Ib.*

(N△) *The Words of* Virgil *had the power of dismaying Devils.*] The Story goes that *Ignatius Loyola* had no sooner repeated the place in *Virgil*, where it is said that *Æneas* and *Dido* entered into a Cave, but the possest Woman, who prayed him to succour her, was thrown upon the Ground, the Devil leaving her, and begging the favour not to be shut up in the Eternal Cave. He obtained leave to Ramble where he pleased, provided he never won'd possess any Man or Woman more. (a) *Hasenmüllerusenim* in Histor. Jesuit. cap. 8. pag. 296. *ex Turriano refert, quod aliquando Roma famina quædam à Diabolo obsessa Ignatium Lojolam cecuta sit, & clamavit: Tu solus me liberare & juvare potes. Tunc Lojolam recitasse versum Virgilii*: Speluncam Dido, Dux & Trojanus eandem. *Qua voce audita Damonem mulierem prostraviss ac egredientem clamasse: O fili Lojola, tu ceu Leo me ad speluncam inferni abire cogis, sed rogo te, ne me æterna spelunca injicias. Postea Ignatium illi dimisse. Vade quocunque volueris, modò nullum amplius hominem obsideas; ac statim Damonium magno cum strepitu egressum esse.*

(O) *Increased the Honours of this new Saint.*] I shall make use of the Words of Father *Nathaniel Sotuel*. (b) *Eundem* (Ignatium) *Officio Ecclesiastico ubique terrarum coli justit Innocentius X. P. M. sub ritu semiduplici die 29. Octobris anno 1644. Auxit cultum Clemens IX. P. M. & ad ritum duplicem evexit die 11. Octobris 1667.* This Author adds, (c) That *Ignatius* had already more than 50 Churches Consecrated to him in several Parts of the World, that the Miracles performed by this Saint, during his Life, and after his Death, are so numerous and so eminent, that they might fill a Volume; for besides those of which he has spoken in his Life, and in the Bull of Canonization; Father *Bartoli* relates a hundred (d) that are well attested. *Alphonsus de Andrada* mentions several others, which were wrought at *Munebrega* in *Arragon*, where they Worship a Miraculous Image of St. *Ignatius*. A Paper Image of the same Saint has bled very lately at one of the Fingers in a Town of *Sicily*. We have a Book upon it, printed at *Palermo* in 1668. (e) *His consimilia narrantur contigisse in Sicilia Regalbuti Diœcesi. Catanensis, ubi Imago papyracea S. Ignatii anno Dom. 1666. è digito fudit prodigiose sanguinem, & hæc omnia examinata accurate, atque ab Episcopo loci illustrissimo D. Fr. Michaele Angelo Bonadies, olim Generali Seraph Ordinis S. Francisci de observantia approbata, & mandata typis Panormi 1668.* See the Remark where I shall speak of three Sermons.

(c) *Idem pag. 2, & 3.*

(P) *They may plead that a great many condemn them out of meer Prejudice.*] 'Tis certain that whatsoever is published against 'em, is almost equally believed by their Enemies, both Catholicks and Protestants. 'Tis also true that the Accusations are renewed against 'em as often as occasion offers in any new Book. In the mean time they who examine with any sort of equity the innumerable Apologies published by the Jesuits, find as to some Facts, sufficient Justifications to make a reasonable Enemy drop the Charge. I'll give an Instance of this.

In 1610 there came out (f) a Scurrilous Book against the Jesuits, in which it was affirmed (g) that the Abbot of *Bois* had maintained, and would prove it to Father *Coton*'s Face, That *Sentence had been given against him at* Avignon, *for getting a Nun with Child*. Father *Coton* answering this Libel, produc'd (h) the following Letter. *I, whose Name is underwritten, do certify, That I was in* Avignon *all the time the R. Father* Coton, *of the Society of* Jesus, *lived there, and that I never heard any one say, that he had committed any thing contrary to the Dignity and Quality of his Profession, and in particular, as to what the Anti-*Coton *charges him: In which Anti-*Coton, *since I am made the Author of a manifest Calumny, wherewith the R. F.* Coton *is charged: I frankly own, that I know nothing of it, and that I have always looked upon the said R. F.* Coton *as a Venerable and Worthy Ecclesiastick. In Testimony whereof, I have Written and Signed this present Deposition. From* Paris, *in my Study, the Eve of St.* Denys *the Martyr*, 1610. OLIVIER ABBOT OF BOIS. *And I have Sealed it with my Seal.* Besides this, he produc'd four Certificates (i). *Seen and acknowledged for Authentick, true and legal by the Royal Notaries of the City of* Paris. The first was signed *Lewis Beau, Protonotary of the Holy Apostolick See, and Sealed with his Seal, and with those of two subsequent Archbishops in the Metropolitan City of* Avignon, whose *Vicar-General he had been all the time of Father* Coton's *sojourning in* Avignon. The second was signed by 15 Persons, *who composed and represented all the Clergy of* Avignon. The third was signed by the two Consuls of *Avignon*, and their Assessor, and Sealed with the Seal of the Consular House. The fourth was given by the Bishop of *Orange*. These Four Attestations concur not only in contradicting the Author of the Anti-*Coton*, as an Infamous Calumniator; but also in extolling Father *Coton*'s good and pious Conduct. (k) *Besides these Certificates, the Magistrates of* Avignon *writ to this Jesuit in these Terms.* 'If these Testimonies 'of Prelates and Consuls are not sufficient, we 'can produce the Certificates of the greatest part 'of the Gentlemen, Doctors, Citizens, Merchants, 'and

(f) *Intitled* Anti-coton.

(g) *Anti-coton, pag. m. 63.*

(h) *Reponse à Apologetique d'Anticoton, p. 199.*

(i) *Reponse à l'Anticoton, pag. 200.*

(k) *Ibid. pag. 206.*

the Charges of their Enemies; they may be furnished with one general (2)

(l) Scilicet nostris nullos qui ita existimarent, juventutem quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse: sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, hæc fama valebat. *Sallust. in bello Catilin. pag.* m. 33.
(m) *Religion des Jesuites, pag.* 77. *édit. de la Haie*, 1689.
(n) *Ibid. pag.* 79.
(o) *Ibid. pag.* 80.
(q) *The same whom the Author quotes of in these Terms, pag.* 79. A Gentleman who is perfectly a Man of Honour, who 'bin the Service of a great Prince of *Germany*, returned from *Vienna* nine Months ago, and gives us a thing true and unconcerned, the Accounts which follows: *to wit, that there was a Design to poison the Emperor in the Sacrament.*
(b) *Ibid. pag.* 81.
(c) *Ibid. pag.* 82.
(d) *Ibid. pag.* 83.

and others of the Town'. I know not what can be produc'd of greater Force to justify the Author. And yet there are a great many who still believed the Nun was got with Child, and that Sentence had been passed upon Father *Coton*. They gave more Credit to the *Anti-Coton*, who brought no Proof, nor any authentick Evidence, than to Father *Coton*, who produced all, that the most exact judicial Proceedings could demand. This could be nothing but the effect of an extravagant Prejudice.

The Fate of the Jesuits, and that of *Catiline*, is much the same. Several Accusations were given in against *Catiline*, without any Proof; but they flew with Credit upon this general Argument, *since he has done such a thing, he is very capable of having done this or that, and 'tis probable he has.* The Historian *Sallust* (l) has judiciously observed this Illusion, which is not a Sophism of the Schools, but of the Town. There was published at the *Hague*, about Eleven Years ago, a Book intituled, the *Religion of the Jesuits.* The Author confesses, that the Prejudice against those Gentlemen is so general, that whatever Attestations of Innocence they fortify themselves with, 'tis impossible to disabuse the World. *We must know*, says he (m), *that nothing so horrible can be said against the Jesuits, though ever so doubtful, but what becomes probable from their Character, and the Consideration of what they are capable of.* He gives Two Examples of this: One is, *the Report spread, not only at* Heidelberg, *but through all Europe, that they had suborned a false Spirit from the other World, who cried every Night in the Ears of the old Duke, that there was no Salvation for him, unless he would banish Heresy and Heretics out of his new Dominions, according to the Counsel of the Fathers Jesuits: The Duke, tired with these Visions, resolved to speak of 'em to some Body, He declared himself to one of his Officers, who engaged to conjure the Spirit most effectually, without either Prayers or Holy Water. The Officer bid himself under the Prince's Bed, and when the Spirit came, he so hacked and hewed him with his Hanger, that 'tis said he died of his Wounds. The Officer who had done the Exploit, had the Indiscretion to tell his Wife of it, against the Duke's express Commands. The Wife was no more retentive than the Husband. And thus the Thing was divulged. The Jesuits have tried all manner of Ways to clear themselves. The Duke has issued rigorous Injunctions in his Estates, against speaking of it. The Jesuits have procured Certificates under the Hands of the Protestants themselves, concerning the Falsity of the Story. But all to no purpose. They'll never destroy the Suspicions which these Stories, whether true or false, have imprinted in the People's Minds, because they are known to be capable of this Juggle by others of the same Stamp.* He reports some of 'em in general, I mean without Circumstances of Time, and Place and Persons: And after having advised us to reject their Certificates from the Palatinate, he concludes thus: (n) *However, be this little Story true, or be it false, we know what they can do, and that's enough to make the thing probable.* The other Example is, that the Jesuits had (o) *plotted to Poyson the Emperor in the Sacrament.* This Prince was cautioned of it, and *would not communicate the next Day but forced the Jesuit to take the poisoned Host, of which he died. The Emperor and Court of* Vienna, *according to its Devotion, ordered under terrible Penalties, the few Persons that were privy to it, to keep the thing a Secret. It was not however well kept; or at least it spread a little, and a Gentleman (q) of Honour swore, that the thing happened for certain in* Vienna——— (b) *We don't give this for a Truth*, pursues the Author, *and, indeed to say all, we are not much inclined to believe it; but be it ever so false, the Jesuits will never be able to destroy the Suspicion of it, because of the Character of the Society, which is known all the World over.* He adds several Reflections tending to perswade his Readers, that this Story of *Vienna* is certain; and then proceeds: (c) *the thing after all, may be false, but it will ever be thought probable, considering the ordinary Conduct of these good Fathers*———(d) *They who believe the Story of* Vienna *false, will however believe it probable. If it be false, it will at least serve to justify what is daily said, that the hatred for the Society is extream even in the Church of* Rome. See the Margin (e).

(e) *We shall see in the Remar* Z, *that there has been another false Report spread since that time, of a Jesuitical Conspiracy against the Emperor.*

Without so many Repetitions, we might easily have taken his Thought. He means, that a Man need only confidently publish whatever he pleases against the Jesuits, to be assured, that abundance of People will believe it. I believe him in the right, at least, that in this he will prove a good Prophet. 'Twas doubtless on this Presumption that he published the Story of *Vienna*, though he believed it false. But if other Authors have taken the same Method, what will become of all the Facts, which the Enemies of the Jesuits have published? Should we not have reason to believe, that they have divulged many which they knew to be false, or doubtful, and which nevertheless would in their Reckoning appear as certain, and be received of the Publick, as undoubted Truths? I don't think the Rules of Morality will allow the making so ill a Use of publick Prejudice: They command us to be equitable towards all, and never to represent People worse than they are. I own to this Author, that the readiness wherewith the Publick swallows all that's said against the Jesuits; is (f) *a Sign of an excessive Aversion to the Society*; and I deny not but this Aversion affords most reasonable Consequences, which blasts their Reputation (g). He has reason to add (h), *that the good Fathers would not do amiss to explain to us this Riddle; how it comes to pass, that being so good, so officious, and so amiable, they are notwithstanding so terribly hated, whilst the* (i) Jansenists *and* Jacobins *are looked on kindly enough.* But we might perhaps confound him, should we require of him the Explication of another Riddle: How it comes to pass, that there are Ministers accomplished in all Kinds of Vertues, as they pretend, who are hated as a Pest in all the different Communions from their own, and who have innumerable Enemies in their own, and of whom nothing could be published, but what would appear probable, whilst Mr. *Daille* and Mr. *Claude*, are every where in good Reputation? Be it how it will, I question whether this Writer had all the Prudence of a Nice Disputant, when he insisted so much upon this great Disposition of the Publick to believe whatever is printed against the Jesuits. This is more proper than he imagines, to keep their own Friends fast to 'em, who will easily believe, that this Prejudice has been made too much Advantage of, to publish the most ill-grounded Stories. And as at the bottom it's a great Fault, to be ready to believe whatever is said to the Disadvantage of our Enemies, true or false, doubtful or certain, so there is more Discretion than Sincerity in revealing this Prepossession. Would a cunning Enemy discover this weak Place? But in point of Indiscretion, this Author has not his Fellow. Does not he say in the same Book, that the *Esprit de Mr. Arnauld*, was suppressed in *Holland*, only because (k) of the FEAR *the Country was in at what time, of quarrelling with the* English? Does not he tell the Publick (l), *that this Prohibition hindred not the Book's being sold quietly, and without any other Precaution, than that of not exposing it in a Bookseller's Shop*? The Fine, adds he (m) *imposed on the Printer, was neither demanded nor paid; 'twas only a Formality to stop the Mouth of the Court of* England; *and they themselves who had forbidden it, would have been very sorry if it had not been sold. Nor did this Prohibition hinder its being re-printed in this Country. He that was reckoned the Author of the Book, was not a Jot the worse received for it at Court, and every where else.* Is not this speaking with the utmost Contempt of his Sovereign's; representing *Holland* so very much afraid of *England*. Tho' this pretended Fear were true, would not a good Subject have concealed it? Would he have revealed it to the Publick? Would he confess, that the Edicts of the State against a Book, were only a vain Formality, which the Booksellers laughed at? I omit what may be said more, it is an Abyss which Prudence advises to stop at the Brink of; my Indiscretion would be a hundred Times more blameable than that of this Author, if I did not draw a Veil over what he has had the Rashness to boast of, and cry out, *Procul hinc, pro-*

(f) *Relig. des Jesuites, p.* 84.
(g) *See the Dissertation of* Fortunius Gallindus Cantaber de causis publici erga Jesuitas odii. *It's inserted in a Collection of Pieces published at* Geneva *in* 1630, *under the Title of* Arcana Societatis Jesu.
(h) *Relig. des Jesuit. pag.* 84.
(i) *Ibid. pag.* 76.
(k) *Ibid. pag.* 44.
(l) *Ibid. pag.* 46.
(m) *Ibid.*

(Q) Common-place to invalidate the Accusations. But 'tis certain, there are those who, without appearing Prejudiced, maintain, that several Things have justly rendered this Society odious. They have not acquired so great a Power, say they, [illegible] preserved it so long, without the Assistance of the most refined humane Policy. [illegible] does not this take in the whole Compass of ill Morals, as to Spiritual Sin[illegible] sides, the Jesuits are the Men who have carried farthest, and with the gr[illegible] sion, the Consequences of Several Doctrines which were hatched before t[illegible] me, and (R) which expose Sovereigns to continual Revolutions; Protestants to butchery

(a) *In the 72d. Page of the* Religion of the Jesuits, *you'll find these Words*: To Judge equitably, say they, of the Spirit of Mr. *Arnaud*, such as the Satyrical Authors paint him, and of the Spirit of this Author, such as he has discovered himself in his Books, it must be owned, that no two things are more like than these two Spirits, and that one may, without being deceived, take the Picture of one, for that of the other. Mr. *Arnaud*'s Apologetick Letter is cited.

(b) Defense des nouveaux Chrestiens 1. partie, *pag.* 27. *printed at* Paris *in* 1687. I have already cited a part of this Passage in the Article of *Bellarmin*, *pag.* 539. *See also the Remark* E, *of the Article* Bertelier.

(c) *Ibid. p.* 28.

cul este profani. He has sacrificed to a Paternal Affection, the Things he ought to have most Respect to; for no Body doubts that the Author of the *Esprit de Mr. Arnaud*, and the Author of the Religion of the Jesuits, is one and the same Person. Nothing's easier discovered; for the Elogies he bestows on the first of these Books in the latter, can proceed only from the Affection of a Father who idolizes his own Brat, struck with a singular Fondness for the *Esprit de Mr. Arnaud*, the Child of his own Brain, on a two-fold Account, 1st. as it is made according to *his own Image and Similitude*; *next, as it contains his own true Character* (a).

(Q) *They may be furnished with one general Common-place.*] Heretofore they used to answer all the Books that were written against 'em; at last they are weary of it. The reason they alledge for their Silence is, that they are no more obliged to confute the Satires of their Enemies, than the King of *France* is to answer the Gazetts of *Amsterdam*. *Why shou'd not he allow*, 'tis Father *Tellier* (b) who speaks *the Jesuits to neglect answering Libels, which in their Opinion are no less fabulous and contemptible, than the* Gazetts *of* Amsterdam, *or the Historical and Prophetical Systems of Mr.* Jurieu? *Or they to be more tender in Point of Reputation, than the Powers whom God has placed over us? Or they not, or at least, may they not be permitted, after these great Examples, to despise what only touches their particular Honour.* Here are more Reasons of theirs, taken from the Insignificancy of their Answers, and the Disposition of one part of the Publick, to take for Truth, whatever is said against 'em. (c) 'We no sooner answer one of their Satyrs, but they have half a Dozen more ready to 'be published. They keep Magazines full of them: 'they have 'em remitted from all Parts of the 'World. Those that were refuted a hundred Years 'ago, or which the World laughed at, though 'they were not refuted, they trump up again at 'this Day with the same Confidence, as if they 'were new Pieces, or had remained unanswered. 'And the Generation that shall come after them 'Forty or Fifty Years hence, will do the same with 'those Satyrs invented in our Days, as despicable 'and contemptible as they are. What use will it 'be, for Instance, to the Jesuits of *China*, to 'have been the first, and almost the only Men 'who submitted without the least Resistance to the 'Apostolical Vicars, in 1684, when this has not 'hindered their Enemies from publishing the last 'Summer by the Pen of their Secretary, the *Holland* Gazeteer, that the Holy Father was extreamly provoked against the Jesuits, because they 'would not acknowledge the Bishops, he had sent 'to *China*. Can it be doubted, that some Years 'hence, this Lye will come again upon the Stage, 'In like manner, what Advantage will it be to 'the Jesuits of *Germany* to have had an Attestation signed by Four of the Principal Counsellors 'of the Elector Palatine, all Protestants, in which 'they declare, that the Story of a Jesuit counterfeiting a Voice from Heaven to deceive this 'Prince, and to excite him to the Destruction of 'Heresie, is a pure Fable? Will this Act hereafter 'hinder any good Protestant, who shall continue 'the History of the Jesuits, from making a Chapter of this Chimerical Adventure, upon the Credit of the *Holland* Gazeteer? Why should we not 'expect this, when we see the greatest Authors of 'the Party seriously tell us the Story of the *Banterers* of *Amiens*, with all the Circumstances that 'are capable of making a Story ridiculous——— '(d) After this, let not the *Holland* Gazetteer repent his publishing, for Example, that it was the 'Jesuits, who by their Avarice and wicked Councils, engaged the Emperor in the last *Hungarian* 'War; that the People of *Vienna*, enraged against 'em on this Account, massacred several of 'em 'when they could have escaped upon the Approach 'of the *Ottoman* Army: that it was they burnt '*Stockholm* the last Year (a little before it was four 'disguised *Turks* that did it) *&c.* Let him not 'repent his publishing these Follies, and an hundred more of the same Nature, nor let him change 'his Style for the future. If they are at present 'despised, at least he may assure himself, that the 'time will come when they shall be very good Memoirs for him who shall make the Twentieth, or 'the Thirtieth Tome of Practical Morality. You see with how much Ap[illegible] they make use of the Prejudice of their Ene[illegible] and how they verify the Maxim, *Misfortune good for something*. They turn the hatred of the World against 'em to their Advantage, *Fruuntur Diis irati*. 'Tis certain their Enemies would hurt 'em more, if they laid 'em on with some kind of Measure in their Hand; for whilst they promiscuously heap on ill-grounded Accusations, with those that are [illegible], they favour the accused; they give him [illegible] for rending those suspected which are really true. A Man must be very Blind not to see, that several Libels (e) which daily appear against the Society, put Weapons into their Hands. Did they pay the Authors for publishing such Stories, they might be said to employ their Money well. See the Remark (f) I have made upon the Art of Slandering. Note, that the *Jansenists* (g) Politickly boast they are not so credulous with regard to the Jesuits, as the Protestants are.

(d) Defense des nouveaux Chrestiens, 1. partie, *pag.* 31. *See on this, the Answers of Mr.* Arnaud, *in the* 3d. *Volume de la* Morale. pratique, chap. 11. & 12.

(R) *Of several Doctrines which were hatched before their time, and which expose.*] The Opinion that the Authority of Kings is inferiour to that of the People, and that they may be punish'd by the People in certain Cases has been taught and practis'd in all Countries, in all Ages, and in all Christian Communions that have made any Figure in the World. History affords us Instances every where of Kings Depos'd [illegible] Instigation, or with the Approbation of th[illegible]. The Opinion that Sovereigns have receiv[illegible] the Sword from God to punish Hereticks is yet more Universal than the former, and has been reduced to practice among Christians from the Days of *Constantine* to ours, in all the Christian Communions that have had the Power in their Hands; and a Man dares scarce write in *Holland* against such an Opinion. These two Doctrines therefore were not invented by the Jesuits, but they have drawn the most odious Consequences from 'em, and such as are most prejudicial to publick Peace: For from the conjunction of these two Principles they have concluded, and that as they think, by consequential Reasoning, that an Heretical Prince ought to be Depos'd, and Heresy Extirpated by Fire and Sword, if it cannot be done any other way. If Sovereigns have received the Sword to punish Hereticks, 'tis evident that the People, the true Sovereign of Monarchs, according to the first Principle, ought to punish them when they persist in Heresy. But the gentlest Punishment that can be inflicted on a Heretic [illegible] doubtless Imprisonment, Banishment, [illegible]tion of Goods; and consequently an Here[illegible]ing ought at least to be Dethron'd by the People his Sovereign, and Committee-Man, if I may be allowed to use a *Rump* Expression: Since according to the first Principle, Monarchs are only Delegates to whom, th[illegible] not being able to Exercise its Sove[illegible] in Person, recommend the Functions and [illegible] of it, with Restrictions, and an inalienable Right of Resuming 'em, when they acquit themselves

(e) *For Example, that entituled* Les Jesuites de [illegible] son[illegible] fesse de Paris en belle humeur, *printed in* 1695. *Compare what has been said in the Article* Annat, *Remark* B.

(f) *In the Remark* [illegible] *of the Article* Arnaud, *and in the Remark* E, *of the Article* Bellarmin. *See also the Article* Gregory VII. *Remark* P. *towards the end.*

(g) *Arnaud, Morale pratique, tom.* 3. *pag. derniere.*

ry and Christian Morality to the most deplorable (S) Relaxation that can be imagined. To return to *Loyola*, I ought to mention that the House in which he was Born, that present called *Santa Casa*, and that the Queen *Dowger* of *Spain* has made a Grant of

selves ill. Now there is no case in which they ought more reasonably to be divested of 'em, than that, when they deserve the Punishment which the Soveraign, according to the second Principle, Ordered by God to inflict on Hereticks. But as it is not ordinarily possible by judicial Processes to take from 'em the Goods, which they have fairly forfeited by Virtue of the Laws which God will have Established against Heresy: As, I say, they have most commonly power enough in their Hands to maintain themselves in the Exercise of Royalty, an Exercise which is nothing but Usurpation as long as they are Heretieks, it follows that Recourse must be had to Artifice, in order to bring 'em to the Punishments which they have rightfully incurr'd, that's to say, Conspiracies may be form'd against their Persons, since otherwise God would have given the Sword to the People, as a true Soveraign for the Punishment of Hereticks, in vain. On the other Hand, if Soveraigns have received the Sword to punish the Breakers of the two Tables of the Decalogue, it follows that they ought to proceed with greater severity against Hereticks, who violate the first Table, than against Murderers and Thieves, who only violate the second; for the Infractions of the first are immediate Treason against the Divine Majesty, and affront God directly: Whereas the Infractions of the second, result to his Dishonour only in an indirect manner. 'Tis therefore the duty of Ecclesiasticks to excite Soveraigns to the Punishment of Hereticks, Violators of the first Table of the Commandments; and if Princes are Negligent in this Part, that Negligence deserves more to be exclaimed against, than a Neglect in punishing Murderers and Robbers. It ought also to be represented, that if the inevitable danger of ruining the State, obliges them to grant Hereticks a Toleration, they are bound to keep their Word no longer than the Danger lasts; and this danger ceasing, they ought to resume the Sword for the Extirpation of Heresy, just as they would resume it against Robbers and Murderers, when the danger which forced 'em to make a Truce with these, is once over. In a word, if God has given the Sword into the Soveraigns Hand for the Punishment of Heresy, the granting it Impuninity will render 'em as Criminal before God, as the granting impunity to Theft, Adultery, and Murther; and the only thing that can excuse 'em, would be that for the avoiding a greater Evil, the infallible Ruin of the Church and State, they were forced to promise the suspension of the Penal Laws, whence it follows that they are obliged to their first Engagement as soon as that danger is past; for every Oath that engages to the Disobedience of the Laws of God, is essentially Null. Thus you see upon what Foundations the Jesuits have built a System, which hath rendered 'em so odious, and which has given so just a Horrour to the Maxims that many among 'em have vented. They have built upon a Foundation which they found ready to their Hands; they have raised Consequence upon Consequence quite out of sight, without being Astonish'd at the Hideousness of the Objects; they have believed on one Hand, that this would turn to the Advantage of the Church; and on the other, that they did nothing against the art of right Reasoning. I shall not examine, whether Logick could effectually lead 'em through all these Consequences; the matter would be too Odious. I content my self with saying, that *France* having seen two of her Kings successively Murthered under the pernicious pretence, that they were Favourers of Hereticks, thought she could not better Ruine this wretched Gradation of Consequences, than by overturning the first Principle it depends upon. For this Reason (a) the third Estate of the Kingdom resolved to Condemn as Pernicious all Doctrines which make the Authority of Monarchs depend on any thing besides God. I add to this an Observation of Mr. *Jurieu*: He can't be suspected of Partiality to the Jesuits, and yet it's certain he praised the Reasoning, *Princes may put Hereticks to Death*; and Laughed at a Man, who neither blamed those who did put 'em to Death, nor those who would not put 'em to Death. Let us see Mr. *Jurieu*'s Words (b).

' *I explain* (c) *my self, and say, that I am for* ' *those who don't put Hereticks to Death*; *and 'tis* ' *my Opinion, that their Example ought to be fol-* ' *lowed. But as I believe on the other Hand, that* ' *it is Lawful to punish Hereticks Capitally, I Con-* ' *demn not those who do it: both do well in my* ' *Judgment.* Mr. *Ferrand* adds this last Period to ' explain his Thought, as he says. It had not ' been amiss if he had added two or three more to ' explain it farther. For they who have any Pene- ' tration, will be hard put to it, to unfold this Au- ' thor's Notion. They'll think he has hit on a ' very odd Medium. He's of Opinion that 'tis ' lawful, and consequently very just to burn the ' *Calvinists*; but whilst the best way is not to do it, ' some troublesome Disputant will urge thus: It is ' never permitted to put any to Death, but those ' who deserve it. If it be permitted to put the ' Calvinists to Death, they certainly deserve it. ' But how can Reason, Justice and Equity permit ' us to suffer those to live in publick Society who ' deserve Death! I know very well that a Sove- ' reign may without any Iniquity give a Mur- ' therer his Life, a Robber, a Rebel, who deserved ' Death: But 'tis supposed that the Party repents; ' and that having once fallen into a Crime, he now ' forsakes it, and resolves never to return to it ' more; there is Mercy for every Sin. But there ' is nothing like this, in the case of letting Here- ' ticks live, who deserve Death on the Score of ' their Heresy, and who persevere however, and ' declare their Resolution to persevere *in it*. I ' should chuse in the same manner to say that it ' is just to put Robbers, Murtherers, and Sorcerers ' to Death, who protest they will Rob, Kill, and ' Poyson all they can, as long as they are suffered ' to live.

Mr. *Jurieu* Reasons as well in this Passage, as he Reasons ill in all other Books (d), where he maintains that Magistrates are obliged to punish Idolaters, but yet do's not blame the Impunity which the States of *Holland* suffer 'em to enjoy for whole Ages together. Note that in saying he Reasons well, I have supplied by my imagination, a Clause that is most Essential to his Discourse, and which he has omitted. The last Period is Absurd, unless this be added to it, or something Equivalent, *and nevertheless, I am for those who do not put them to Death, and 'tis my Opinion to follow their Example.*

(S) *To the most deplorable Relaxation.*] 'I was not the Jesuits invented the mental Reservations, nor the other Opinions that Mr. *Lafcal* (e) has charged upon 'em; nor even the (f) Philolophical Sin. They found all this in other Authors, either Expresly, or in such a manner, as a Doctrine is in the Principle, that produces it by Consequences. But as we have seen in their Society a greater number of Patrons, of like Opinions, than in other Communities, and that in their Hands, the loose Maxims grew daily more Fruitful by the Earnestness with which they disputed on these Points, they have been formally and expresly impleaded. Wretched fruits of Disputation; their method of Studying has had at least as great a share in it, as the corruption of the Heart. Before they come to read Moral Divinity, they have dictated one or more Courses of Philosophy; they have accustomed themselves to Cavil upon every thing; they have wrangled a thousand times upon *the ens rationis*; they have heard as often the Questions maintained *Pro* and *Con* about Universals, and many other things of the same Nature; their Heads are so turn'd to Objection and Distinction, that when they come to handle matters of Morality, they find themselves wholly dispos'd to perplex 'em. Distinctions offer to 'em in shoals, Arguments *ad hominem*, oblige 'em to retrench on every Hand, and to abate one thing to Day, another thing to Morrow. All this is very dangerous. Dispute as long as you please upon Logical Questions; but in Morality be content with good Sense, and with

(b) *Vrai, Système de l'Eglise, p.* 638.

(c) *The Words of this Passage Printed in Italick are taken out of a Book of Mr.* Ferrand *Intitled* Reponse à l'Apologie pour la Reformation.

(d) *In the Letter of the* Tableau du Socinianisme.

(e) *In the* lettres Provinciales. *This Doctrine is an almost unavoidable consequence of the Definition of Liberty by which it's asserted that to the end any Action be free, the Agent must have a Power of determining himself to the right or left without being necessitated by any Foreign Cause. Now this Definition is that which is most commonly received in the Church of Rome.*

of it (T) to the Jesuits; that three Sermons were preach'd (V) upon his Beatification which were highly Censured by the *Sorbon*, and which doub

that Light which the reading of the Gospel sheds on your Mind. If you go about to dispute after a Scholastick manner, you'll not readily find a Clew to the Labyrinth. 'Twas a very good Saying of one, that (a) the Books of Casuists are nothing but the Art of Cavilling with God. These Advocates in the Court of Conscience, find out more Distinctions and Subtelties than the Lawyers in the Civil Courts. They make the Tribunal of Conscience, a sort of Moral Laboratory, in which the most solid Truths dwindle into Smoak, Volatile Salts, and Vapour. What *Cicero* said (b) of the Subtelties of Logick, admirably agrees with those of the Casuists: A Man is caught in Webs of his own Spinning; he is lost, and knows not how to turn himself; nor has he any way to disengage, but by slackening in almost every Article. They who have read Father *Pirot's* Book (c), will own that its easier to censure it, and perceive that it contains dangerous Doctrines, than answer the Objections.

On the whole, tho' the Jesuits are not the Authors of the remiss Opinions, and tho' they are daily maintain'd by others, yet they ought not to think it hard that they are charg'd with 'em: Whilst we go upon a Principle, which they themselves approve, with regard to the Version of *Mons* (d).

(T) *The Queen——of* Spain *has made a Grant* to the Jesuits of the House in which *Ignatius* was Born.] The Particulars of this Affair, are to be found in a Book Printed at *Salamanca* in 1689. It's intituled (e) *Averiguaciones de las de Cantabria*. The Author calls himself *Gabriel de Henao*, a Name that has appeared in the Title Page of several Books in *Folio*, and among others of a Book call'd a *Curious Relation of Paradice*. *Gabriel de Henao* is a Jesuit, Professor in Divinity of the Royal College of the Society at *Salamanca*. He has endeavoured to the Antiquities of *Catabria*, only because 'twas the Country in which *Ignatius* was Born. He says, that at present, this Province takes in *Guipuscoa*, *Biscay*, and the Country of *Alava*. These two last Countries produc'd *Ignatius's* Ancestors. The first gave him Birth in the Territory of *Azpeytia*; for *Loyola's* Castle is situate in this Territory. The Fonts of the Church of St. *Sebastian d' Azpeytia*, in which *Ignatius* was Baptiz'd, are a continual Object of Devotion. Big-Bellied Women flock thither, and passionately desire their Children may be Christen'd at 'em, and take the name of *Ignatius* or *Ignatia* as an Omen of good Fortune. The Castle of *Loyola*, where this Saint was Born is standing to this Day and is called *Santa Casa*. *Lewis Henry de Cabrera*, and *Teresa Henrietta Velasca de Loyola*, Marquess and Marchioness of *Alcanizas*, and *Oropesa*, last the Proprietor of this Castle, made a Solemn Grant of it in the Year 1681. to *Marianna* of *Austria*, Mother to the late King of *Spain* (f). This Princess gave it the Year following to the Jesuits, for the Founding a College for their Society, and only reserv'd the Right of Patronage to her self, during her Life; and after her Death to her Son the King, and the succeeding Kings of *Spain*. But she impos'd upon the Donataries the same Condition that was annexed to the Cession made to herself of it; which was (g) that they should not be permitted to demolish any part of the Castle Wall, but content themselves with building by it.

Should I only mention a curious Book of *Gabriel Henao*, without giving any Account of it, I might be complain'd of for having impertinently provok'd the Readers Curiosity. I shall say then that this Jesuite publish'd a Volume in *Folio*, in the Year 1652, entituled *Empyreologia, seu Philosophia Christiana de Empyreo cælo*, in which he so particularly describes the Blessedness of Paradice, as to say (h) *there will be Musick in Heaven with material Instruments as on Earth.* But his Account, if I mistake not, is not comparable to that of *Lewis Henricus*, his Brother Jesuite, who affirms; (i) *That there will be a Sovereign Pleasure in Kissing and Embracing the Bodies of the Blessed* [illegible] *shall bath in the sight of one another*: [illegible] *which there shall be most delicious Baths; that they shall Swim in them like Fishes; and sing as harmonious as Larks or Nightingales. That the Angels shall be dress'd like Women, and shall appear* [illegible] *the Saints in the Habits of Ladies, their Hair* [illegible] *their Petty-coats Farding al'd, and in the* [illegible] *men. That Men and Women shall divert them* [illegible] *with Masquerades, Feasts, and Balls. That the Women shall sing more agreeably* [illegible] *the Men; to make the Pleasure greater, they shall rise again with longer Hair, and shall be* [illegible] *with Ribands and Ruffles, as they are in this World. That married People shall Kiss one another as in this Life, and their pritty sweet Children which will be no small Pleasure.*

(V) *Three Sermons upon his Beatification, &c.*] *Paul* V. having Beatified *Ignatius* in the Year 1609, the Jesuits, (k) *kept a Solem Feast in all their Colleges, Houses, and Noviciates, where they made choice of and desired some of the greatest Divines who were not of their Order, to make his Panegyrick. Valderrama*, Prior of the *Augustines* of *Sevil* [illegible] made the Sermon the 31st of *July* 1610. *Peter Doza*, [illegible] *ican* of *Valentia*, made another the 26th of *Jan* [illegible] 610. *James Rebulloſa*, Dominican of *Barcelona*, [illegible] *each'd* a third the 4th Sunday of *Advent* 1609. A *Limosin* Jesuit call'd *Francis Solier*, Translated these three Sermons out of *Spanish* into *French*, and publish'd 'em at *Poitiers* in 1611. In these Sermons were found four Articles which the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*, assembled in the *Sorbonne* the 1st. of *October* 1611. [illegible] *dered a* [illegible] *in a terrible manner.*

(k) *Mercure François, to.* 2. *p. m.* 264. *ad ann.* 1611.

(l) *The first is in the first Sermon of Brother* P. de Valderama, *pag.* 54, *and* 55. 'We know indeed that *Moses* carrying his Rod in his Hand, did very great Miracles in the Air, in the Earth, in the Water, in the Stones, and in every thing he pleased, so far as to drown *Pharaoh* and his Army in the Red-Sea; but 'twas the ineffable Name of God, which as the Learned *Tostat*, Bishop of *Avilla*, says, was Engraven on this Wand or Rod, which work'd these Wonders. It was not so great a matter that the Creatures seeing the Commands of God their Sovereign King and Lord, subscrib'd with his own Name, should pay him their Homage and Obedience. Nor was it any great Wonder that the Apostles should Work Miracles, since it was in the Name of God, by the Virtue and Power which he had given them; signing it with his Signet, *In nomine meo dæmonia ejicient* [illegible] *quis loquentur novis, &c.* But that *Ig* [illegible] with his own Name written in Paper, should [illegible] more Miracles than Moses, and as many as the Apostles; that his Signet should have so much Authority over the Creatures, as that they should immediately obey him; this is what renders him exceedingly admirable. *The Second is in Page* 91. *of the same Sermon*; as long as *Ignatius* lived, his Life and Morals were so Grave, so Holy, and Exact, even in the Opinion of Heaven; that there were only some Popes, as St. *Peter*; some Empereſſes as the Mother of God; some Sovereign Monarchs, as God the Father and his holy Son, who had the Happiness to see it (m). *The third is in Brother* Peter Doza's *Sermon, pag.* 111, 112. Doubtless the other Founders of Religious Orders were sent in Favour of the Church, *&c. Novissime diebus istis loquutus est nobis in filio suo Ignatio, quem constituit hæredem universorum*, to which there is no other Article of Praise wanting than *per quem fecit Sæcula. The fourth is in Brother* James Rebulloſa's *Sermon, pag.* [illegible] *Martyr Ignatius* bore a most particular [illegible] *ion* to the Holy Father and Pope of *Rome* [illegible] the lawful Successor of *Jesus Christ*, and his Vicar on Earth'.

(l) *Mercure François ibid. pag.* 265. *See also the* 1st. *Tom* [illegible] *the* [illegible] *le* [illegible] *que pag.* 22.

(m) *Hospinian* [illegible] *the* 11 [illegible] *Page* [illegible] *his* [illegible] *ria Je* [illegible] *tica, gives these Words a turn altogether Ridiculous; he Translates 'em thus*; Denique Monarchæ supremo, Deo Patri, ejusque sanctissimo Filio, eos intueri & videre tanquam ex singulari gratia fuerit concessum.

The Faculty (n) *voted and resolved on the first Article* [illegible] *that Form of Speech, by which the Name* [illegible] *Creature is equall'd with the Name of Almi* [illegible] *ed, and those Miracles which were not as yet* [illegible] *tain, are prefer'd before those which we are o* [illegible] *believe with a Catholick Faith undoubted; is scandalous, Erroneous, Blasphemous and impious. As to the second, that Assertion which pretends that God received any good from the Vision of the Creature, is of it* [illegible] *self detestable, false, a* [illegible]

(n) *Mercure François ibid. pag.* 256.

(a) *See the Journal des Savans of the* 30 *of* March 1665. *pag. m.* 249 *that which Mr.* Bernier Abregé de Gassendi to. 7. l. 2. ch. 8. pag. m. 529. *relates of the first President de Lamoignon.*

(b) Dialectici ad extremum ipsi se compungunt suis acuminibus, & multa quærendo reperiunt non modo ea quæ jam non possint ipsi dissolvere, sed etiam quibus ante exorsa & potius detexta prope retexantur. *Cicero de Orators l.* 2. *c.* 38.

(c) *Intituled* l'Apologie des Casuistes.

(d) *See the Observations of P.* le Tellier *on the Defence of the* French *Version of the* New Testament *printed at* Mons, *p.* 377, *and the following.*

(e) *See the Journal of* Leipsic *in the Supplement, Tome* 1. *Sect.* 10. *p.* 528, 526.

(f) *This is writ the* 23*d. of* November 1695.

(g) Ne scilicet ullum pro futuri collegii fabrica parietem demoliri fas esset, sed antiquis hujusce domus muris ob vetustatis venerationem illibatis, contigua modo ædificia adjungere & excitare liceret. *Act. Eruditor. Lips. ubi supra, pag.* 527. Rash Conjectures on the Happiness of Paradice.

(h) *See the* 1st. *Volume of the Morale pratique, p.* 273.

(i) *In his Book intituled* Occupation des Saints dans le ciel. *See the Morale pratique, ib. Pag.* 274.

leſs were a freſh Acceſſion to (V△) *Stephen Paſquier's* Diſcontent. Some Differences aroſe

[redacted] *Hereſy. As to the third, which appro-* [redacted] *the Text of* St. Paul, *Noviſſime autem, &c. to any other than* Jeſus Chriſt, *it is execrable, and blaſphemous, and impious. As to the laſt Article, it has* [redacted] *contrary Parts, one of which diſtroys t* [redacted] *ſet: The laſt indeed is Catholick, and appr* [redacted] *namely, that the Pope is the Vicar of* Jeſus Ch [redacted] *Earth; but the firſt,* viz. *That the Pope is the* [redacted] *ful Succeſſor of* Jeſus Chriſt, *is a Propoſition manifeſtly falſe, and altogether Heretical.* Signed C. Petit, Jan. *Curate of* [redacted] *eter's.*

(a) *The Writers of the Bibliotheques of the Jeſuits don't ſpeak of this, nor yet of the Tranſlation of theſe three Sermons.*

(b) *Mercure François ibid. pag.* 267.

(c) *Ibid. pag.* 271.

(d) *Among others, that of the Proverbs, chap.* 8. *v.* 31. *Delitiæ meæ eſſe cum filiis hominum.*

(e) *Id. ibid. pag.* 268.

(f) *Merc.* [redacted] *Dun is the Perſon who makes uſe of this Thought, p.* 151.

(g) *See the Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans, for the Month of* Auguſt 1695. *p.* 555.

Father *Solier* publiſhed a (a) [redacted] ld and threatning Apology for 'em, in which [redacted] amongſt other things, that it ought to be remem [redacted] that one ſpeaks after a popular manner (b) *in Sermons & Declamations, and chiefly in that Stile which they call* Demonſtrative and Encomiaſtick, *which more eaſily admits Amplifications than the* Deliberative and Judicial kind, and that 'tis eaſy to diſcover when the Preacher advances (c) *a Conception rather to delight the Ear* than ſeriouſly to inſtruct the Auditors. He ſhews that *Lewis de Grenade*, St. *Antoninus*, and St. *Bernard* have made as bold Applications of Scripture, [redacted] en bolder than thoſe complain'd of. He c [redacted] any Scripture (d) Paſſages to juſtify this [redacted] ught of *Valderamma*. (e) 'As long as *Ignatius* lived, his Life and his Man-'ners were not univerſally known, none but God 'the Father, and his Son, having the Happineſs 'to ſee it; but as ſoon as he was dead, all the 'Courtiers [redacted] the King Eternal ran to ſee him. *He asks* [redacted] *f)* when the Spirit ſays in [redacted] 'Cantic [redacted] a choſen Soul, *oſtende mihi faci* [redacted] *tuam, vox tua in auribus meis, vox enim tua* [redacted] *dulcis & facies tua decora*; it would be ill Tranſlating it or Blaſpheming in Paraphraſing this 'Paſſage, *to ſay*, My Love, let me ſee thy Face and hear thy Voice, foraſmuch as thy Voice is ſweet and thy Countenance Beautiful. He Anſwers nothing concerning the fourth Propoſition which was Cenſured, and ſeems to be Ignorant that it was Condemned. Not but he undertook to juſtify the four Articles; but he ſuppoſes that the fourth was this, (g) *that only the Order of St.* Francis *works Miracles in matter of voluntary Poverty.* 'For a 'Lay-Brother of his Order, *ſays he*, with the 'Cord, which ſerves him for a Girdle, in his 'Hand, works more Miracles than ever the Rod 'of *Moſes* did; becauſe the latter only drew Water from a Rock; but this extracts Bread, Wine, 'Fleſh, and whatever he has need off, from Hearts 'harder than Flint'. He excuſes this two ways; Firſt, by ſaying [redacted] of thoſe Notions a Preacher advances, [redacted] ſerious Doctrine, but to tickle the Ears of [redacted] Auditors: Secondly, by maintaining that even literally, the Propoſition is true; *But*, ſays he, *though we ſhould take it in Strict ſpeaking, and with all the rigours of the School, is it not true that it is a greater Work to mollify an Heart Steel'd by ſinful Habits, and harden'd in Iniquity, than to make living Water Spring out of a Rock. Has not St.* Bernard *ſaid in this Senſe, that* Jeſus Chriſt *work'd a greater Miracle in the Converſion of* Mary Magdalen, *than in raiſing her Brother* Lazarus *from the Dead*? He had better have confined himſelf to the firſt Reaſon which was only to repreſent that there's an Indulgence due to the Sallies of an Orator, and the Eloquence of the Pulpit, eſpecially amongſt Monks; and that the Day of the Panegyrick is in Poſſeſſion of almoſt an unlimited Licenſe. But this hinders not that ſometimes the Enthuſiaſm of this Licenſe ought to be cenſured; as [redacted] Archbiſhop of *Rheims* has lately done [redacted] forget not that *Scioppius (i)* has been [redacted] ry upon a Place of this *Peter Dezn*'s Sermo [redacted] 'Tis that where the Preacher exhibits as a great Miracle the Happineſs the Jeſuits have had in obtaining whatever they deſired in an Age ſo Covetous, ſo hard-hearted, and void of Charity.

(f) *Dun is the Perſon who makes uſe of this Thought, p.* 151.

(g) *See the Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans, for the Month of* Auguſt 1695. *p.* 555.

(i) *Scioppius, infam. Famæ ſtudæ pag.* 159.

(i) Fraus ſuboluit tandem & deprehenſum eſt tres has conciones à Jeſuitis conſcriptas; habitas & publicatas fuiſſe. *Hoſpinian Hiſtoria Jeſuitica, lib.* 1. *pag* 11. *Edit.* 1681.

Hoſpinian ſpeaking of this matter, has [redacted] a thing, which no doubt he has perſwaded [redacted] many of, and which notwithſtanding ſeems [redacted] very falſe. He ſays that the Jeſuits [redacted] ves compoſed theſe three Sermons; but that for the greater Honour of their *Ignatius*, they gave out that the *Spaniſh* Dominicans had preach'd 'em. He adds, (k) that this Fraud was diſcovered. Common Senſe Revolts againſt this Accuſation; for ſuppoſe the Jeſuits as wicked as you pleaſe; it will not do; you muſt farther ſuppoſe 'em without Brains, and as ſilly as Children; ſince none but Blockheads could poſſibly imagine but that in two Months at fartheſt, they ſhould be expoſed in the Face of the World, if they ventured to Print, that ſuch and ſuch Monks, diſtinguiſhed by their Place of Reſidence, their Dignities and Names, had preach'd ſuch and ſuch things, ſuch a Day in ſuch a Town. Such Falſehoods can't fail of being preſently confuted by a Publick and Judicial Contradiction, which renders the Lyar the eternal Subject of his Enemies Deriſion. If none but Fools could foreſee this imminent Mortification, nothing but a brutal Stupidity would upon ſuch a foreſight have expoſ'd it ſelf to the hazard; ſo that there's all kind of probability to make us believe that the Jeſuits who are very Jealous of the Honour of their Order, and very tender of their Intereſts, and narrowly obſerved by vigilant Enemies, *have not falſely* Fathered the 3 Sermons which *Francis Solier* printed at *Poictiers*; and ſince the *Janſeniſts (l)* attribute only the *French* Tranſlation to the Jeſuits, 'tis an evident Proof that *Hoſpinian* is deceiv'd. This brings to my mind a Charge of Forgery which proved unfortunate to the Capuchins of *Paris*. They pretended that the Approbation of one of their Fathers prefix'd to a Book of *Amadius Guimenius*, was Fictitious. *We declare*, ſaid they, *That not one of us approv'd that Book, and farther, that neither has been, nor is in our Congregation any Provincial Monk*, who is called *Luiſius* of *Valentia*, who has been twice Provincial Miniſter of the Order of the *French* Minors of S. *Francis Capuchins*, of the Province of the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, in the Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Murcia*, Maſter of Arts, firſt Profeſſor, and *Jubilate* Reader of Sacred Divinity, and Counſellor Qualificator of the Inquiſition of both Kingdoms; and *that we have not in* Spain *any Province ſo call'd. We proteſt alſo that thoſe pompous Titles wherewith the Author of this forg'd Approbation is adorn'd, are very remote from the Simplicity we profeſs. We declare theſe things upon the Teſtimony of our moſt Reverend Father General, who having underſtood that this Book was publiſhed with this Approbation, has teſtified what we have ſaid.* This Declaration of Forgery was confuted in all its Parts (m) by authentick Acts, and cloak'd with all the Formalities, that the moſt Judicial Proceedure could require. What did the good Capuchins of *Paris* think of? Could they imagine that practis'd Forgers would ſpecify ſo many Characters, proper Names, Titles of Dignity, Places of Reſidence, if they had a falſe Approbation to produce? Would not this be pointing out the Track to their Enemies, to take the Hare in its Form? Would not this be leading by the Hand to the diſcovery of the Impoſture? The *Janſeniſts* have publickly acknowledged that the Certificate of the Capuchin of *Paris* is a falſe Allegation (n).

(k) *In the 1ſt. Tom. of the Morale pratique des Jeſuites, p.* 22.

(l) *See the Book intituled* Mala fides & calumniæ auctoris anonymi &c. per Danielem Campfordum, *printed at* Cologn *in* 1682.

(m) *See the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned for the Month of* January 1688. *pag.* 140.

(n) *He demanded a Cenſure of* 4 *Articles extracted out of three Sermons.*

Note, by the way, that the proper Names are wretchedly diſguis'd in this Relation of *Hoſpinian*. probably by the negligence of the Correctors. You find *Valderanna*, and *Vualderanna*, inſtead of *Valderrama*; *Doza* inſtead of *Deza*; *Toſtatus* inſtead of *Toſtatus*; *Tileſas* inſtead of (o) *Fileſac*; *Ducal* inſtead of (p) *Duval*.

(o) *He oppoſed the Cenſure and there was no regard had to his Remonſtrances.*

(p) *See his Catechiſms of the Jeſuits printed in* 1602. *chap.* 18. *and the following of the* 1ſt. *Book.*

(V△) *Doubtleſs were a freſh Acceſſion to* Stephen Paſquier's *Diſcontent.*] The News of *Ignatius*'s Beatification could not but be disagreable to this Writer, a great Enemy to the Jeſuits; he had but lately ridiculed their Founder in a (q) publick Work ſo as to preſage in ſome meaſure that the Artifices made uſe of at *Rome* to get him Canoniz'd, would come to nothing; we may therefore believe that his diſpleaſure increaſed in proportion to the noiſe the Pomp of this Beatification made all over *Europe*: I can't conceive a ſharper Mortification than one's ſeeing a Perſon beatified of whom he had ſpoken very ill. If he had been a Proteſtant he would have Laughed at the Judgment of the Court of *Rome*; but he profeſs'd himſelf

(q) *See the ſame Catechiſme, ch.* 15. *of the* 1ſt. *Book, pag* 137, *and the following.*

aroſe in *France* (X) about the Day of his Feaſt after Pope *Urban VIII.* had Publiſh'd the Bull of his Canonization.

His Life has been written by near twenty Authors: one of 'em calls himſelf *Father Euſebius* of *Nieremberg*: His Work was ſeverely cenſured (Y), if we believe Father *Baron*. I need not add that the Jeſuit *Bouhours* is one of his Patriarch's Hiſtorians; it being a thing Notorious enough. What *Grotius* has ſaid of *Loyola* and the Jeſuits, is not the leaſt beautiful part of his Hiſtory. [a] His Expreſſions are well choſen, Grave and Noble. There's nothing in it that ſavours of Invective: But all beſpeaks a Soul ſedately poſſeſſing it ſelf, and able to hold the ballance in *Equilibrio*. But the more he ſhews himſelf exempt from Paſſion and Partiality, the more capable he is of perſuading a thing, which to ſay no worſe of it, has no certainty. He maintains that the Profeſſion of a Jeſuit does not exclude (Z) Marriage; that a Man when he is of the Society may live where he pleaſes, and Cohabit with his Wife. *Paſquier* had ſaid the ſame thing, and was publickly charged with a Lye. I have not found, that he Anſwered the Adverſary, who treated him as an errant Slanderer. *Grotius* was to be pitied, if he had no other Warrant than his.

LOL-

[a] Grotius Hiſtor. l. 3. p. m. 273. & ſeq.

himſelf a Catholick: He could not therefore deny but that his Calumnies had been confuted in the moſt Authentick manner poſſible, and himſelf Condemned by all the Church of *Rome*, acquieſcing in the Pope's Decree. It was a miſerable Come-off to ſay, what his Children did in their Anſwer to *Caraffe*, that he did not believe the Founder of the Jeſuits would one day be Beatified. 'Tis an unlucky Inconvenience in the *Roman* Communion that a Man runs the risk of ſeeing himſelf forc'd to keep the Feaſts of thoſe Perſons devoutly, and invoke them, whom he formerly Satyriz'd. This ſhould make Critical Authors more Circumſpect. I attack a Man, they ought to ſay to themſelves, who perhaps may get into the Litanies before I Die: Let us be cautious of every thing; and conſider that ſtrange things may come to paſs. 'Tis true that *Lewis XII.* did not think a King of *France* obliged to revenge the Injuries offered to a Duke of *Orleans*; But how do we know whether the Beatified are of this Humour? Don't the Country Curates ſay a thouſand and a thouſand times over, that the Saints ſend Plagues and Famines, *&c.* to puniſh the neglect of their Chappels and Images? If the Fault of theſe indevout People is Chaſtis'd by a publick Diſaſter, which (a) falls even on the Innocent; has not this particular Cenſor, Author of the Jeſuits Catechiſm, reaſon to fear St. *Ignatius*'s Reſentment? The Poets adviſe us to be ſparing of our Encomiums.

Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aſpice, ne mox
Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem (b).

And it ſeems that to follow their Counſel exactly, we ſhould ſuſpend our Praiſes of any Perſon till Death had ſecured him from the danger of Inconſtancy. Have you praiſed a Man who dextrouſly hid his Faults? He loſes his Art, is Univerſally cried down, and you are cenſured for your Incence. Perhaps too he becomes your Enemy, and your furious Perſecutor; this has opened your Eyes; you have ſeen the inſide of him, and have turned your Encomiums into Satyr; for which you are expoſed as at Variance with your ſelf. Theſe inconveniencies would not have happened, if you had not been overhaſty in dealing away your Praiſes. Beſides Men of Merit, have not always the gift of Perſeverance, they loſe themſelves in Proſperity, or in other Conjunctures which the general courſe of Affairs produces. You are aſhamed to have been the Herald of their Praiſes; your Ears being ſtunn'd with ungrateful Reproaches on that Account. We might avoid all this, would we wait as long before we pronounced a Man praiſe-worthy, as *Solon* (c) did to pronounce him happy. But as to Cenſure, and Criticiſm, you are not ſecure, though you wait till the Perſon is Dead: There ſhall ariſe, it may be, a Pope who'll inrol among the Saints the Man you have treated ill, and bid you, *adora quod incendiſti, recommend your ſelf to the interceſſion of him whom you have offended.* I don't know but the *French* who have abus'd *Innocent XI.* both in his Life time, and ſince his Death (d) may experience this unlucky Fate. It reſembles thoſe Decrees of Court which force a Man to Marry the Woman he has diſhonoured.

(X) *Some differences aroſe in* France *about the Day of his Feaſt.*] Mr. *Heidegger* relates that the Pope having aſſigned for St. *Ignatius*'s Feaſt the ſame Day which (e) by antient Preſcription had belonged to St. *Germain*, the Jeſuits raſed the Name of St. *Germain* out of the Calander, to put their Founder's Name in its place. The *French* took offence at this by reaſon of their great Veneration by St. *Germain*. The Prince of *Condé* a Patron of the Jeſuits affirmed that St. *Ignatius* appeared to him, the Day he was Celebrating his Feaſt at *Rome*. The Cauſe being brought to *Rome* was determined in the following manner. The Pope Decreed that the Feaſt of St. *Germain*, and St. *Ignatius* ſhould be kept the ſame Day; but if they could not agree together, *Ignatius* as being the Junior ſhould be obliged to ſtay till Leap-year, when he ſhould have the Intercalated Day wholly to himſelf. (f) *Lis ad Pontificem delata ridicule ita deciſa eſt*, ut eodem die ſimul Germanus & Ignatius celebretur: quòd ſi ſimul ſtare nolle viderentur, expectaret Ignatius, ceu recentior, annum biſſextilem, & diem, qui tum intercalatur, ſibi eximium haberet. I wiſh Mr. *Heidegger* had cited ſome good Author, for I don't find all this in the Letter to a Councellor of Parliament upon the writing of Father *Annat*. We find this Letter in the firſt Tome of the Collection of Pieces concerning the New-Teſtament of *Mons*, and this is what we read at the 593 Page; Who knows not that as ſoon as St. *Ignatius* was Canonized, 'the Jeſuiſts ſubſtituted 'him in the place of St. *Germain* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, whom they inſolently raz'd out of the 'Kalendar? Where we ſhould have no more ſeen 'this great Name ſo venerable to all *France*, had 'it not been reſtored by a Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, paſſed upon an excellent Diſcourſe 'of the Advocate General. Mr. *Heidegger* might have cited *John Latus* (g), or rather *James Ravius* (h) but what good would this have done.

(Y) *His Work was ſeverely cenſured if we believe Father* Baron.] This Dominican aſſures us that the Cenſor, who was Commiſſioned to examine this Life, found it ſo full of Faults, that it deſerved to be expunged from beginning to end. (i) *Adeo mendoſum librum ut eſſet inemendabilis, & à capite ad calcem ſpongia delendus; nonnulla etiam notavit quæ ſtomachum & indignationem audientibus moverunt.* Father *Papebroch* (k) anſwering a Carmelite, who alledged this Paſſage, has obſerved, that *Vincent Baron* is not to be credited upon this Subject, and that the Condemnation of the Book of *Nieremberg* concerns only (l) the ſecond Edition, and is found moderated by a *donec corrigatur*. He adds that the third Edition inlarged with the Life of *Francis Xavier*, went off without any oppoſition.

(Z) Grotius *maintains that a Jeſuit's Vow does not exclude Marriage.*] His Words are theſe: (m) *Tranſgreſſi in morem non una habitant omnes. Auguſtum videbatur Societatis incrementa parietibus includere*: DANT NOMINA ET CONJUGES. *Paſquier* pleading againſt the Jeſuits in the year 1564 affirmed (n) that their Society *was compoſed of two ſorts Men, the firſt whereof, ſay they, are as it were of the great Obſervance, and the others of the leſſer. Thoſe of the great Obſervance are obliged to four Vows; for beſides the three ordinary*

(a) Sæpe Dieſpiter Neglectus inceſto addidit integrum. *Horat. od. 2. l. 3.*

(b) *Horat. Epiſt. 18. l. 3.*

(c) Dicique beatus Ante obitum nemo, ſupremaque funera debet. *Ovidius Metam. l. 3. v. 136. This is the Subſtance of the Anſwer* Solon *makes* Cræſus *in* Herodotus. *l. 1. c. 32. p. m. 13.*

(d) *See the Remark* G. *of the Article* Innocent XI.

(e) *To wit the 31ſt. of* July.

(f) Eo impudentiæ ... provecti ſunt, ut ex faſtis & Calendario ipſo Romano, eraſo nomine S. Germani qui eum ſibi diem hactenus vindicaverat, Ignatium ſuum ſubſtituerent. *Heidegg. Hiſt. Papatus, p. 357.*

(g) *Id. ib.*

(h) *In Compendio Hiſtoriæ univerſalis, p. m. 524.*

(i) *In Hiſtoria Pontificum Romanor. p. m. 313.*

(k) *Vincentius Baronius apud Sebaſtianum à Sancto Paulo Carmelitam in libello ſupplici.*

(l) *Daniel Papebroch. reſponſ. ad exhibitionem errorum, p. 286.*

(m) 'Tis *that of* Madrid, 1631.

(n) *Grotius Hiſtor. l. 3. p. m. 274.*

(o) *Paſquier recherch. de la France, liv. 3. c. 43. p. m. 323.*

LOLLIUS (*Marcus*) Conſul of *Rome* in 733. The Emperor *Auguſtus* gave him great marks of his Eſteem; for he not only honoured him with the Government of a noble Province « in the year 719. but made him alſo Governour to [redacted]*ius Cæſar* his Grandſon, when he ſent this young Prince into the *Eaſt*, to ſettle [redacted] affairs of the Empire on that ſide. *Lollius*'s Conduct in this Voyage betray'd the [redacted]ities, which he had all along politickly concealed under the falſe appearance of Ver[redacted]. His diſſimulation was ſo well acted, that tho' Avarice was his reigning Paſſion, he was ever thought (*A*) impregnable to Money. The exceſſive Free-Gifts

« *That which was made by annexing* Galatia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, *and* Piſidia, *after the Death of King* Amintas. *See Father* Noris, Cenot. Pilat.

ordinary on[redacted] Obedience, Poverty and Chaſtity, they make o[redacted] particularly in favour of the Pope ——*Thoſe who are of the little Obſervance are obliged to no more than two Vow[redacted]one reſpecting the Fidelity they promiſe to the Po[redacted]nd the other Obedience towards their Superiours [redacted] Miniſters. Theſe latter don't Vow Poverty; bu[redacted] Lawful for them to hold Benefices without Diſpenſation, to ſucceed their Fathers and Mothers, to acquire Lands and Poſſeſſions, as if they were not obliged to any Religious Vow*—— (*a*) *This ſame Ordinance makes it poſſible for all People to be of this Order. For as in this little Obſervance there are no Vows made, either of Virginity or Poverty, ſo it indifferently takes in Prieſts and Laymen, Married or Unmarried, ſince they are not obliged to reſide, with the great Obſervancers. But they may Inhabit with the reſt of the People, [redacted] that on certain and prefixed Days, they app[redacted] the Houſe common to 'em all, to participate in their Grimaces.* But let us ſee what was Anſwered him by the Jeſuit *Richeome*: (*b*) The fifth Lie ‘ is in the ſame Pleading, where having diſcourſed like a Dotard upon ‘ the Rule of the Jeſuits, and told a great many ‘ pitiful and [redacted] Lies, at laſt he adds one of ‘ larger [redacted]ded with many others, ſaying, ‘ This ſ[redacted]dinance makes it poſſible for all ‘ People, *&c.*——And after having fooled ‘ ſufficiently, he faſtens the Tail to his Chimera, ‘ and concludes. *So that following this Law and ‘ Rule, it is no Abſurdity to ſee a whole Town of ‘ Jeſuits.* This Lie ought not to be reckoned a ‘ ſingle one; for it contains as many as there are ‘ Words. I have been a Member of this Society ‘ above twenty years, and have carefully read its ‘ Conſtitutions but never heard of the little or ‘ great Obſervance among the Jeſuits; nor have I ‘ ever read one word of it, either in their Books, ‘ or in their Bulls expedited by the Pope's for their ‘ Eſtabliſhment. And to one and all the Vows ‘ of Chaſtity, Poverty and Obedience are ſo expreſs, that no Body can doubt of 'em; beſides ‘ who ever ſaw a Married Jeſuit among 'em? ‘ Or rather who ever [redacted] any one ſpeak of it ‘ beſides *Paſquier?*

(*a*) *Paſquier ubi ſupra, p.* 324.

(*b*) *Reſponce de Reé de la Fon pour les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jeſus, ch.* 42. *p. m.* 202. *Alegambe p.* 318. [redacted] *Richeome diſguiſed himſelf under the Title of* Boné de la Fon.

Perhaps *Grotius* m[redacted] found himſelf upon the bare Teſtimony [redacted]*quier*, looking on it as inconteſtable, ſince [redacted] not probable that a Man would venture to utter a falſity of this Nature, in full Parliament, and in ſo Solemn a Cauſe; but the ſureſt way is to miſtruſt Appearances, and never to judge upon the report of one of the Parties. *Audi & alteram partem, keep one Ear for the Accuſed, inform your ſelf of the Anſwer of each Party*, is a Rule that ought never to be forgotten. The Lie that was given to this Advocate, is found in a Work Printed in 1599. *Paſquier* two or three years after Publiſhed his Catechiſm of the Jeſuits, in which he called over again many of the things he had advanced before, and maintained them againſt the Apologiſts for the Society. He (*c*) inſiſted chiefly on an Examination of the ſimple Vows, which the Jeſuits are obliged to make; but does not reply one word about the two kinds of Jeſuits, which he had informed the World of one Married, the other Unmarried. This makes me believe that he diſcovered his Error. The Janſeniſt, who in 1681. Publiſhed an Ap[redacted]or the Cenſures of *Louvain* and *Douay*, ſuppo[redacted] *that there are concealed Jeſuiſts, who without [redacted]earing the Habit, are yet of the Society, and are [redacted]ſt in the World for its Intereſts*; but he does not ſay, that they are permitted to Marry. In vain ſhall we indeavour to excuſe *Grotius* by the Teſtimony of an Anonymous Writer, who Printed a little Book in 1682 intituled, *The Emperor [redacted]pire betray'd, how and by whom.* This [redacted]or advances the ſame thing as *Paſquier*, an[redacted]ſts even the Emperor to be a Jeſuit of the ſecond Claſs. *My Jealouſy*, ſays he (*e*), *of his Imperial Majeſty, encreaſes the more, becauſe it's Notorious, that there are ſeveral ſorts of Religious among the Jeſuits; ſome who are diſpenſed with not only as to the Habit, but who are even allowed to Marry, and to, be inveſted with all ſorts of Imploys and Dignities; that if his Imperial Majeſty, through too great a Zeal for his Religion, was in his younger years unfortunately Engaged in this Order, under the aforeſaid Diſpenſations, we need no longer wonder at any part of his Behaviour to the Proteſtants; for tho' he were only of the leſſer Order, in which it is permitted to Marry, and to poſſeſs all ſorts of Imploys and Dignities, it is however true, that in every thing elſe, and particularly in matters of Religion, he would be under the Obedience of the General of the Jeſuits, and conſequently obliged to make Peace and War, juſt as the General of the Society ſhould think fit for the Intereſts of the Papal Church, and the Society. The War he perpetually makes againſt the Proteſtants of the Upper* Hungary. ——*his immenſe Preſents to the Society*—— *with the ſcandalous and diſgraceful Signing of the laſt Peace* (*f*)—— *all this ſmells ſtrong of an [redacted], which knows no other Duty, nor Rule [redacted] and Piety, than the abſolute command of his Superior: And I ſee nothing in the Conduct of this Prince, whether in his way of Living, and his perpetual Applications to Jeſuitical Comedies, Muſick, or Pilgrimages, ſometimes to one Relick ſometimes to another, together with whatever may diſcover his natural or habitual Inclinations, that contradicts this Opinion.* Yet once more it would be impertinent in favour of *Grotius*, to Alledge ſuch a Libeller, who dares ſo inſolently and diſreſpectfully ſpeak of his Imperial Majeſty. Theſe Writers would be too obligingly treated ſhould we ſay to 'em (*g*), *I expect Proof, and you bring me vulgar Stories.* For they moſt commonly vent, not only what they have heard themſelves, but what they have forged in the Mint of their own Brain. He whom I have cited, and Mr. *Jurieu* would afford matter of Laughter to all the World; the one maintains that the Jeſuits betray'd the Houſe of *Auſtria* in favour of *France*, and the other, that they would be always diſpoſed to betray *France* in favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria* (*h*). That which is certain is, that the Imperial Court has taken ſuch a Conduct for above (*i*) theſe dozen years paſt, as is an invincible Proof, either that the Jeſuits have no credit there; or that their Counſels are adapted to the Temporal Intereſt of the Emperor, preferable to the Advantages of the Catholick Religion in General, and if the Author of the Libel had underſtood Politicks, he might eaſily have ſeen, that the ſigning of the Peace of *Nimegen* was the beſt, and nobleſt Reſolution the Houſe of *Auſtria* could take, conſidering the Poſture of Affairs after the particular Peace of *France* with the United Provinces. But this Author did not conſider it ſo cloſely; and if he had been alive in 1697. I doubt not but he had been the Promoter of News, not unlike what we have ſeen above (*k*). The Hiſtorical Letters of *October* that year have this in them. (*l*) ‘ It has been for ſome time reported, that the Jeſuits had formed a Conſpiracy ‘ againſt the Emperor and the King of the *Romans*, ‘ and that one of 'em had already been Executed. ‘ They write from *Vienna*, that this is a meer Calumny, ſo that the Emperor to Diſabuſe the Publick, has order'd his Council of Regency to Publiſh an Act in *Germany* upon this Subject. The Author of the Hiſtorical Letters gives this Imperial Act in French.

(*d*) *Apologie hiſtorique des deux cenſures de Louvain & de Douai ſur la matiere de la grace p.* 155.

(*e*) *Pag.* 198. *& ſuiv.*

(*f*) *Celle de Nimegue en* 1671.

(*g*) Rumoribus meum pugnas: ego autem à te rationes requiro. *Cicero de nat. Deor. l.* 3. *p.* 601. Voet. *Cicidenius, p.* 1775 *lettre a.*

(*h*) *See Mr.* Arnaud *in his 9. ch. of the* 1. *part of his Apology for the Catholicks.*

(*i*) *This is writ in* 1700.

(*k*) *In the Remark* P.

(*l*) *Lettres hiſtoriques d' Octobre* 1697. *p.* 461.

(*A*) *Impregnable to Money.*] Amongſt other Praiſes *Horace* gives him this:

(*a*) *Non*

Gifts * which he extorted in his Expedition with the young *Cæsar* loſt him that falſe Reputation. He diſcovered ſome other of his Faults in the ſame Employ; for in order to make himſelf more neceſſary, he fomented (B) the Quarrel betwixt *Tiberius* and *Caius Cæſar*; and was ſuſpected of being a Spy of the King of *Parthia*, to retard the Concluſion of the Peace. *Caius* diſcovered (C) his Treachery, when he came to diſcourſe with this Monarch in an Iſle † of *Euphrates*; which made him conceive ſuch an Averſion for this Governour, as drove him to Deſpair; for he killed (D) himſelf. He had vanquiſhed the *Beſſi* in the ‡ Year 738, and carrying the War immediately into *Germany*, received an Affront (E) there; but he had his Revenge, and obliged the *Germans* to make Peace. *Marcus Lollius* (F) his Son

* See the Remark D and G.

† *Paterculus, lib. 2. c. 101.*

‡ *Dio, lib. 54. p. m. 612.*

(a) *Horat. Ode 9. lib. 4.*

(a) *Non ego te meis*
Chartis inornatum ſileri,
Totve tuas patiar labores
Impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
Obliviones, eſt animus tibi
Rerumque prudens, & ſecundis
Temporibus dubiiſque rectus,
Vndem avara fraudis, & ABSTINENS
DUCENTIS AD SE CUNCTA PECUNIÆ,
Conſulque non unius anni,
Sed quoties bonus atque fidus
Judex honeſtum prætulit utili, ET
REJECTI ALTO DONA NOCENTIUM
VULTU: *& per obſtantes catervas*
Explicuit ſua victor arma.

Though a Court Poet makes little Conſcience of beſtowing Elogies on Men that are thought unworthy of 'em, yet we muſt believe, that *Horace* here governs himſelf by Appearances, that is, that he proportions his Praiſes to the eſteem the Perſon praiſed was then in; for we learn from a famous Hiſtorian, that (b) this *Lollius* concealed his evil ties to a Wonder.

(b) Sub Legato M. Lollio homine in omnia pecuniæ quam rectè faciendi cupidiore. & inter ſummam vitiorum diſſimulationem vitioſiſſimo. *Paterculus, l. 2. c. 97.*

(B) *He fomented the Quarrel betwixt* Tiberius.] This we may infer from theſe Words of *Suetonius*: (c) *Nemque privignum Cajum orienti præpoſitum, cum viſendi gratia trajeciſſet Samum* (Tiberius) *alienioremſibi ſenſit ex criminationibus, M. Lollii conſilio & rectoris ejus.* This appears ſtill more plain, by the Teſtimony which *Tiberius* gave *Quirinus*, Governour of *Caius Cæſar*. (d) *Datuſque rector C. Cæſari Armeniam obtinenti Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat, quod tunc patefecit in Senatu, laudatis in ſe officiis, & incuſato M. Lollio quem autorem C. Cæſari pravitatis & diſcordiarum arguebat.*

(c) *Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 12.*

(d) *Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 48.*

(C) Caius *diſcovered his Treachery.*] Conſider theſe Words of *Paterculus*. *Quo tempore M. Lollii quem veluti moderatorem juventæ filii ſui Auguſtus eſſe voluerat, perfidia & plena ſubdoli ac verſati animi conſilia per Parthum indicata Cæſari fama vulgavit.*

(D) Lollius *killed himſelf.*] This we learn from *Pliny* (e) *M. Lollius infamatus regum muneribus in toto Oriente interdicta amicitia à C. Cæſare Auguſti filio venenum biberat. Solinus* (f) ſays the ſame thing; *Paterculus*, who was nearer that time, doubts of it: (g) *Cujus mors intra paucos dies fortuita an voluntaria fuerit ignoro*; but he ſays, that *Lollius* lived but a ſhort while after the Interview of *Caius Cæſar*, and the King of *Parthia*. *Suetonius* ſeems to make *Lollius* live ſome time after his Diſgrace; for he ſays, that *Caius Cæſar* being angry with *Lollius*, was reconciled to *Tiberius*, and conſented that he ſhould be recalled to *Rome*. (h) *Is* (Caius Cæſar) *forte tunc M. Lollio offenſior, facilio exorabiliſque in vitrum fuit.*

(e) *Plin. l. 9. c. 35.*

(f) *Solin. cap. 53. p. m. 85.*

(g) *Paterculus, lib. 2. c. 102.*

(h) *Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 13.*

(i) Loſtianam (*eladem*) majoris infamiæ, quam detrimenti. *Id. in Auguſto, c. 22.*

(k) *Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 97.*

(l) *Scalig. Animadv. in Euſeb. p. m. 171.*

(m) *Dio ubi ſupra.*

(E) *He received an Affront there, but had his Revenge.*] The Shame was greater than the Loſs (i) in our *Marcus Lollius*'s Misfortune. The Eagle of the 5th. Legion (k) was loſt in it. *Euſebius* not mentioning any Diſgrace of *Lollius*, affirms, that the *Germans* were beaten in the Fourth Year of the 190th. *Olympiad*. *Scaliger* (l) pretends, that *Euſebius* is miſtaken, both as to the Fact, and as to the Year; but ſince *Dio* (m) affirms, that the *Germans* being informed of *Lollius*'s Warlike Preparations, and the Emperor *Auguſtus* was making with an Army into *Gaul*, retired into their Country, made Peace, and gave Hoſtages, it's probable they had been beaten in ſome Encounter, as *Euſebius* ſuppoſes.

(F) *His Son was Conſul* (n). *We know not in what Year, and left a Daughter*——*Wife to* Caligula.] There are ſeveral Authors who ſay that *Lollius*, Governour to *Caius Cæſar*, was Father to this young Lady; but it's falſe; *Cæcilia Paulina*, was Grand-Daughter to this *Lollius*. This we find in *Pliny* (p) in expreſs Terms, and we may moreover ſolidly infer it, from her Competition with *Agrippina*, when the Queſtion was about remarrying the Emperor *Claudius*. All the Ladies (q) that were eminent for their Birth, their Beauty, and their Riches, entered the Liſts on this occaſion; at laſt the Diſpute was reduced to this, whether *Agrippina* was to be preferred to *Paulina*, or *Ælia Petina*. Judge then whether this can agree with a Woman about Fifty Years of Age. *Paulina* could not be much younger, if ſhe was Daughter to our *Marcus Lollius*, who departed from *Rome* with his Pupil, about the Year 751, and died Two Years after; but the Diſpute I ſpeak of was in the 801ſt. Year of *Rome*. It is not eaſie to decide, whether he to whom *Horace* addreſſes the 2d. and 18th. Epiſtle of the 1ſt. Book, is the ſame to whom he addreſſes the 9th. Ode of the 4th. Book. Mr. *Dacier*, who affirms it, muſt ſuppoſe, that theſe three Pieces are addreſſed to *Marcus Lollius*, Governour to *Cajus Cæſar*. He believes alſo, that *Lollius* had this Charge, when *Horace* writ the 18th. Epiſtle to him, which he ſuppoſes (r) we may date from the 742d. Year of *Rome*. There are two things to be obſerved againſt this. 1. No Hiſtorian makes mention of *Lollius*'s having this Charge before this young Prince was ſent into the Eaſt. 2. 'Tis no way probable, that if *Horace* had written an Epiſtle to the Governour of *Caius Cæſar*, he would have hinted at nothing that related to this Honour. Now it's certain, there is nothing in this Epiſtle, to ſhew us, that *Lollius* was judged worthy of having the Education of the Emperor's Grandſon committed to him. Where's the Poet, who would preſume to give Advice to the Governour of the preſumptive Heir of a great Empire, without inſinuating at leaſt, that he ſpeaks to a Man moſt qualified to give Leſſons to others upon (ſ) *civil Virtue*, and who actually was made Tutor to a young Prince, by the Choice of a great Monarch? For the ſame Reaſon I am perſuaded, that *Lollius* was not Governour to the young *Cæſar* (t), when *Horace* addreſſed the 9th. Ode of the 4th. Book to him. Could the Poet omit the Compliments due to him on that Head? Beſides *Horace* addreſſes himſelf to a Man, who had been Armin his Youth in *Auguſtus*'s Expedition againſt the *Cantabrians*. (v) *Militiam puer, & Cantabrica bella ſubiſti, ſub duce, qui templis Parthorum ſigna refixit, Et nunc, ſiquid abeſt, Italis adjudicat armis.* This People was ſubdued in the Year 729, when our *Lollius* was Governour of *Galatia*. Hence P. *Noris* (w) makes it appear that *Horace* wrote not the aforementioned Letter to *Lollius*, *Caius*'s Governour. It won't avail (x) Mr. *Dacier* to ſay, that *Auguſtus* undertook his firſt Expedition againſt the *Cantabrians* in the 726th. Year of *Rome*, and that it laſted Four Years, and that *Puer* often ſignified a grown Man; and that *Lollius*'s Age was diſpenſed with, when he was made Conſul in the Year 730; all this doth not weaken Father *Noris*'s Proof. Let us ſay then with this Learned Author, that *Horace* did not write the 2d. and 18th. Epiſtle of his firſt Book to *Lollius*, *Caius Cæſar*'s Governour, as *Glendon* has pretended, at the 747th. Page of his Quæneſtean, but to this *Lollius*'s Son.

(G) *As*

(n) Tacitus *ſays*, Annal. l. 12. c. 1. *that* Lollia Paulina *was the Daughter of M.* Lollii Conſularis.

(o) *Solin* ubi ſupra *le dit.*

(p) *Lib. 9. cap. 35. p. m. 335.*

(q) *See* Tacitus, *cited in the following Remark.*

(r) *Mr. Dacier on Horace, tom. 2. p. 428. Edit. of Holland.*

(ſ) *'Tis on this that the Epiſtle of the 1ſt. Book of* Horace *turns. See the Notes of Mr.* Dacier, ibid. *tom. 9. pag. 146.*

(t) *Mr.* Dacier *on* Horace, *tom. 4. pag. m. 242. believes that* Lollius *had already been poſſeſſed of this place.*

(v) *Horat. Epiſt. 18. l. 1. v. 55.*

(w) *Noris, Cenotaph. Piſan. pag. 355.*

(x) *Remarks on* Horace, *tome 9. pag. 177.*

son was Conſul, we know not in what Year, and left a Daughter, who was Wife to *Caligula*, as I obſerve (G) in the Remark.

LONGOMONTANUS (*Chriſtian*[a]) a great Aſtronomer, Profeſſor of Mathematicks at *Copenhagen* in the XVII. Century, and Canon of *Lunden*, was born in 1562, in a[β] Village of *Denmark*. In the beginning of his Studies, he run through all the Inconveniencies, which generally attend Scholars, who are, as he was, (A) the Son of a Poor Labourer. He lived ſometimes at his Father's, ſometimes at an Aunt's, ſometimes at an Uncle's, always grappling with Ill Fortune, and conſtrained to divide himſelf betwixt the Labours of Tillage, and the Leſſons which the Miniſter of the Place gave him. At laſt, when he had attained to Fifteen Years of Age, he ſtole from his Father's Houſe, and went to *Viburg*, where there was a College. There he ſpent Eleven Years, and though he was forced (B) to earn his Bread by his Labour, he followed his Studies with extreme Application, and

[a] *Ames not* Chriſtopher, *as in* Moreri, *after* Voſſius, *and in the Catalogue of* Oxford, *and in the* Diarium *of* de Witte.

[β] Ab obſcura Cimbriæ Parœcia Longomontanus cognominatus fuit. *Gaſſendus in vita Tychon. Brah. lib.* 3. *ſub fin. p. m.* 430.

(G) *As I obſerve in the Remarks.*] Here I ſhall give the Article of *Lollia Paullina*, Grand-daughter to our *Marcus Lollius*. Her firſt Husband's Name was *Caius Memmius Regulus*, who was Conſul when *Sejanus* was put to Death. Sometime after, being at (a) the Head of an Army, he received Orders to bring his Wife to *Rome*, to be married to the Emperor *Caligula*, I ſay, to be married to him: for this Prince having heard, that *Lollia Paullina's* Grandmother had been a prodigious Beauty, immediately commanded *Memmius* to come to *Rome* to give him his Wife in Marriage, and behave himſelf in the Ceremony, as a Father who Marries his Daughter. *Lollium Paullinam C. Memmio Conſulari exercitus regenti nuptam facta mentione aviæ ejus, ut quondam pulcherrimæ, ſubito ex provincia evocavit ac perductam à marito conjunxit ſibi.* This is what *Suetonius* ſays in the 25th Chapter of *Caligula's* Life, and here's what *Euſebius* ſays in his Chronicle: (b) *Cajus Memmii Reguli uxorem duxit, impellens eum ut uxoris ſuæ patrem eſſe ſe ſcriberet.* If you deſire to ſee a Note of *Caſaubon* upon this place of *Suetonius*, read what follows, and remember, that what he relates from *Dion*, is in the 59th Book, pag. 745. *Ait Euſebius, ſcriberet, nempe in dotali inſtrumento, nam ut omnia acta legitime viderentur, omnia ſolennia ſunt ſervata. Maritus igitur propatre fuit, qui eam Cajo deſponſavit, dotem dixit, & ad novum maritum perduxit. Auctor Dio. Hinc intelligimus Suetonii ſequentia verba,* perductam à marito conjunxit ſibi. This happened in the 791. Year of *Rome*; *Caligula* quickly diſguſted with *Paullina*, divorced her under pretence of Barrenneſs (c), and commanded her never more to have to do with any Man. (d) *Miſſam fecit inderſicto cujuſquam in perpetuum coitu.* Nine Years after this Divorce, *Paullina* diſplay'd all her Charms, to ſupplant her Rivals with the Emperor *Claudius*, whom ſhe'd fain have Married, but her Faction was not ſo ſtrong as *Agrippina's*. *Cade Meſſallina convulſa principis domus orto apud liberos certamine quis deligeret uxorem Claudio calibis vitæ intoleranti, & conjugum imperiis obnoxio. Nec minore ambitu femina exarſerant, ſuam quaque nobilitatem, formam, opes contendere, ac digna tanto matrimonio oſtentare. Sed maxime ambigebatur inter Lollium Paullinam, M. Lollii conſularis filiam, & Juliam Agrippinam Germanico genitam: hujus Pallas, illi Calliſtus, fautores aderant: at Ælia Petina è familia Tuberonum, Narciſſo fovebatur.* Thus *Tacitus* ſpeaks in the 1ſt. Chapter of the 12th Book of his Annals. The Favourite that introduced *Paullina*, alleged, that as ſhe had no Children, ſhe would be a very good Step-Mother to *Claudius's* Children; *Calliſtus*, continues the ſame *Tacitus*, —— *longe rectius Lolliam induci quando nullos liberos genuiſſet, vacuam annuitatione, & privignis parentis loco futuram.* But the Favourite who acted for *Agrippina*, alledged a better Reaſon; ſo that *Claudius* declared for her. This Triumph ought to have aſſwag'd the Hatred, which *Paullina's* Competition had begot in *Agrippina's* Breaſt; yet the happy Rival left no Stone unturn'd to deſtroy the unfortunate; ſhe had her accuſed of conſulting the *Augurs*, and the Oracle of *Apollo*, about the Emperor's Marriage: The Trial ended in a Decree, which condemned *Lollia Paullina* to Baniſhment, and the Confiſcation of the beſt part of her Eſtate. They left her but about 130 thouſand Crowns. *Tacitus's* Words, which I am going to cite, will tell us ſomething of *Paullina's* Parentage.

(a) *According to Dion, l.* 58. *pag.* 731. *he was Governor of* Myſia *and* Macedonia.

(b) *Euſeb. numero* 2056.

(c) Τὸν δὲ ἐκβαλόντα τὴν Παυλλίνην πρόφασιν μὲ πλάσαντα, ὡς δ' ἔλεγε διὰ τὸ ἄτεκνος αὐτὸν γεγονέναι.

Ad præſens vero exturbata Paulina ut ſterili, ſed revera quia ſatietas ejus ipſum ceperat. *Dio l.* 59. *p.* 757. *ad ann.* 792.

(d) *Sueton. in Calig. c.* 25.

(e) *Atrox odii Agrippina, ac Lolliæ infenſa, quod ſecum de matrimonio principis certaviſſet: molitur crimina, & accuſatorem, qui objiceret* Chaldæos, magos, interrogatumque Apollinis Clarii ſimulachrum ſuper nuptiis Imperatoris. *Exin Claudius inaudita rea, multa de claritudine ejus apud ſenatum præfatus, ſororem* L. Voluſii genitam, majorem ex patruum Corn. in Meſſallinum eſſe, Memmio quondam Regulo nuptam (*nam de C. Cæſaris nuptiis cum Lollia Paullina ante edidi*) patricio & matrona [illegible] Pium pulcherrimum, ſedente lictore [illegible] tium ex opibus immenſis exuli relictum. *Agrippinæ* Hatred being ſuch as was not to be ſatisfy'd without the Death of her Rival, cauſed her (f) to be murthered in her Exile, and to be well aſſured that it was *Paullina's* Head that was brought her, which ſhe could not eaſily diſtinguiſh; ſhe opened her Mouth, knowing this Lady had ſomething remarkable in her Teeth (g). Ἡδὴ δέ τινες ἐξ ἐκείνου γνωσθῆναι ζηλώσασαι ἐφύλαξαν, ἐξ ὧν τὴν τε Παυλλίαν τὴν Λολλίαν, ὅτε ἐκείνῃ τινὰ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου συνοικησιν ἐφθόνησεν, ἀνῃρέθη. τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς κομισθεῖσαν αὐτῇ μὴ γνῶναι, τό τε στόμα αὐτῆς ἀνοιξαι ἐπῆλθε, ἐξ ὧν ἐδόκει ἐκείνη ἐκπρεπὲς τι ἔχειν. *Multas illuſtres & nobiles feminas nonnulla invidia perdidit: in quarum numero fuit Lollia Paulina: quæ ab ea propterea necata eſt, quod ſe Claudio nuptuvam aliquando ſperaverat: cujus caput ad ſe perlatum quum non agnoſceret, os ejus manu ſua aperuit, ut dentes inſpiceret, quos illa non perinde ut cætera ſolent habuerat.* By the Sum that *Paullina* had left, we may judge ſhe was extremely Rich, but we ſhall know this better, if we conſider the prodigious Coſtlineſs of her Clothes. *Pliny*, who had ſeen her, ſays, That even on occaſions, which were not the moſt Pompous, ſhe wore in her Dreſs, and on her Head, Jewels, to the value of Four Millions of Crowns. (b) *Lolliam Paulinam, quæ fuit Caji principis matrona, neſcio quidem ac ſolennes cerimoniarum alioquo apparatu, ſed mediocrium etiam ſponſalium cœna, vidi ſmaragdis margaritiſque opertam, alterno textu fulgentibus, toto capite, crinibus, ſpiris, auribus, collo, manibus, digitiſque: quæ ſumma quadringenties H-S. colligebat: ipſa confeſtim parata mancupationem tabulis probare. Nec dona prodigi principis fuerant, ſed avita opes, provinciarum ſcilicet ſpoliis partæ. Hic eſt rapinarum exitus: hoc fuit quare M. Lollius infamatus regum muneribus in toto Oriente, interdicta amicitia à Cajo Cæſare Auguſti filio venenum biberet, ut neptis ejus quadringenties H-S. operta ſpectaretur ad lucernas.* I have ſaid in another place (i) that Archbiſhop *Uſher* is miſtaken, in ſaying that this Woman was Married to *Caius Cæſar*, Grandſon to *Auguſtus*.

(e) *Tacit. Annal. l.* 12. *c.* 22 *ad ann.* 802.

(f) In Lolliam mittitur tribunus, à quo ad mortem adigeretur *Id. ib.*

(g) *Xiphil. in Claudio p. m.* 153.

(b) *Plinius, l.* 9. *c.* 35. *p. m.* 335.

(i) *In the Article of* Caligula, *p.* 764 *P. Noris Cenotaph. Piſan. pag.* 189. *has mark'd this miſtake of* Uſher.

(A) *The Son of a poor Labourer.*] This mean condition did not hinder his Immortalizing his Father's Name in the Title Page of his Books, for he writes himſelf *Chriſtianus Longomontanus Severini filius.* This is rarely practiſed by the learned, but when the Father has been a great Man in the Republick of Learning. An Adverſary who would have pretended that *Longomontanus* was not Famous, might have told him, you explain a thing Obſcure by another more Obſcure, *obſcurum per obſcurius, imo per obſcuriſſimum.*

(B) *Tho' he was obliged to earn his Bread by his Labour he followed.*] Here's what *Gaſſendus* ſays: (k) *Moratus illeic xi. annos partim induſtria victum parans, partim indefeſſo labore literis invigilans.* He forgot that *Longomontanus* taught (l) in this

(k) *Gaſſend. in vita Tychon. lib.* 3. *ſub fin. pag. m.* 430.

(l) *Viburgi Scholæ Rector.* Witte in Diario biographico ad ann. 1647.

and amongſt other Sciences, made a great Progreſs in Mathematicks After this he viſited the Univerſity of *Copenhagen*, and in a Years time got the Eſteem of the Profeſſors to ſuch a Degree, that they earneſtly recommended him to the Illuſtrious *Tycho Brahe*. This Recommendation had a good effect. *Longomontanus* was well received by this Famous Aſtronomer, who then lived in the Iſle of *Hu*[redacted] ſpeak of the Year 1589. He lived with him Eight Years, and was very uſeful to him, either in obſerving the Stars, or in making Calculations, and approved himſelf ſo exact, ſo able an Aſtronomer, and ſo laborious, that *Tycho Brahe* conceived a moſt particular Eſteem and Affection for him [a], and having [redacted] his own Country to ſettle in *Germany*, paſſionately [b] deſired to have him alo[redacted] him. This appears by the Letters he wrote to him [c] in 1598, and 1599. *Longomontanus* comply'd with this Deſire of *Tycho Brahe*, and met him [d] in the Caſtle of *Benach*, near *Prague*. He was a great help to him in all his Aſtronomical Labours; but being deſirous of a Profeſſor's Chair in *Denmark*, *Tycho Brahe* [redacted]ted to deprive himſelf of the Company and Services of this Diſciple, and gave [redacted]m a Diſcharge fill'd with ſuch Marks of Eſteem as turn'd mightily to his Glory. Nor did he forget to furniſh him with large Supplies for the Expences of his Journey. *Longomontanus* returning into *Denmark*, fetch'd [e] a great Compaſs to ſee the Places from which *Copernicus* had Contemplated the Stars. He met with a kind Patron in the [f] Chancellor, and after having for ſome time enjoy'd a genteel Employ in his Family [g] he was promoted to the Profeſſorſhip of Mathematicks, in the Univerſity of *Copenhagen*, in the Year 1605. He diſcharged it honourably to his dying Day, which was [h] th[redacted]th of *October* 1647. He had loſt his Wife 10 Years before, who was Siſter to *Ga*[redacted]*rtholinus* [i]. The Books he left behind him diſcover (C) his great Capacity. He amuſed himſelf with finding out the Squaring of the Circle, and fancied (D) he had found it; he was roundly taken to task on that Head by an *Engliſh* Mathematician. He altered ſomething

[a] *Ex eodem Gaſſendo ib.*
[b] *Gaſſend. ibid. lib. 5. p. 452.*
[c] *Id. ibid.*
[d] *Id. ibid. pag. 456.*
[e] *It's dated from* Prague, *Auguſt the* 4th. 1600. *See Gaſſendi ibid. pag. 459.*
[f] *In Poloniam per Sileſiam divertere ac inter redeundum inviſere loca in quibus obſervaſſet* Copernicus. *Id. ib.*
[g] *He was called Chriſtien Friis de Borreby.*
[h] *Longomontan. Epiſt. dedicator. Aſtronomiæ Danicæ.*
[i] *Gaſſend. ubi ſupra. lib. 6. pag. 473.*
[k] *Moller. hypomn. ad Alb. Bartbol. de ſcriptis Danor. pag. 185.*

School of *Vibourg*. Here's a Man that may be compared to the Philoſopher *Cleanthes*.

(C) *The Books he left behind him ſhew his Capacity.*] Here's the Catalogue of them: (*A*[redacted] *ſtematis Mathematici pars I. ſive Arithmetica*, Hafn. 1611. in 8vo. *Cyclometria è Lunulis reciprocè demonſtrata*, Hafn. 1612. Hamb. 1627. *Paris* 1664, in 4to. *Aſtronomia Danica*, Amſtel. 1622 in 4to. 1640. 1663, in Folio. *Inventio Quadraturæ Circuli*, Hafn. 1634. in 4to. *Coronis Problematica ex Myſteriis trium numerorum, &c.* ibid. 1637. in 4to. *Problemata duo Geometrica*, ibid. 1638. in 4to. *Problema contra Paulum Guldinum de circuli menſura*, ibid. 1638. in 4to. *Rotundi in Plano, ſeu Circuli abſoluta Menſura*, Amſtel. 1644. in 4to. *Regula Proportionis ſeſquitertiæ*, Hafn. 1644. in 4to. *Controverſia cum Pellio de vera circuli Menſura*, ibid. 1645. in 4to. *Admiranda Operatio Trium numerorum, 6, 7, 8. ad Circ. menſurandum*, ibid, 1645. in 4to. *Caput Sextium Libri Primi de abſoluta menſura Rotundi Plani, unà cum Elenebo. Cyclometriæ J. Scaligeri & Appendice de defectu Canonis, &c.* ibid. 1646. in 4to. *Geometria Quæſita XIII. de Cyclometria rationali & vera*, ibid. 1531. in 4to. *Introductio in Theatrum Aſtronomicum*, ibid. 1639. in 4to. *Diſp. de Mathefeos Indole*, ibid. in 4to. 1636. *Diſputationes Aſtronomicæ ſex.* ibid. in 4to. 1622. *De Chronolabio Hiſtorico, ſeu Tempore, Diſputationes tres*, ibid. 1627. in 4to. This is the Liſt we find in the Sieur *Albert Bartholin's* Treatiſe *de ſcriptis Danorum*. It is not compleat. There are many Philoſophical, Aſtronomical and Chronological Diſſertations wanting, which *Longomontanus* had opened in Diſputations in his Auditory at ſeveral times. You'll find the Catalogue of 'em in a Book (*b*) which Mr. *Mollerus* has intituled, *ad librum Alberti Bartholini de ſcriptis Danorum poſthumum hypomnemata hiſtorico-critica paucula è plurimis ſelecta*. You'll alſo find there (*c*) that the Sieur *Witte* (*d*) had no Reaſon to aſcribe to *George Lewis Frobenius*, *Longomontanus's Cyclometry*, printed at *Hambourgh*, without the Name of the Author, in 1627. The Manuſcript of *Longomontanus's* Apology, which he made for *Tycho Brahe* againſt *Cragius* a Scotch Phyſician, was depoſited (*e*) in the Hands of *George Frommius*, who ſucceeded him in the Chair of *Copenhagen*. I don't think it was ever printed. *Tycho Brahe* preſſed him (*f*) to haſten the Concluſion of it, that it might ſerve 'as an Appendix to his Treatiſe upon Comets; for it was upon that Subject (*g*) that *Cragius* attack'd him in the Year 1592, intituled, *Capnuraniæ refutatio, ſeu cometarum in æthereum ſublimationis refutatio*.

[a] *Albert. Bartholinus de ſcriptis Danorum, according to the Edition of Mollerus, 1699. p. 25, 26.*
[b] *Printed in 1699. See in it pag. 188, 189.*
[c] *At p. 187.*
[d] *In diario biographico ad ann. 1645.*
[e] *Gaſſend. ubi ſupra lib. 6. pag. 473.*
[f] *Id. ib. lib. 4. pag. 452.*
[g] *Id. ib. lib. 4. pag. 442. ad ann. 1595*

(D) *He pretended to have found out the Quadrature of the Circle, and was attack'd.*] [redacted]*aillet* has [redacted]d this Diſpute. Mr. *Deſc*[redacted] (*l*) ſays *was drawn into an Engagement among the chief Mathematicians of* Europe, *partaking in the Famous Diſpute, which aroſe that Year betwixt* Longomontanus *and* Pellius, *about the Squaring of the Circle.* Longomontanus——*had undertaken to Demonſtrate the Quadrature of the Circle, that Shelve on which the greateſt Genius's have Foundered; nor was he happyer in his Attempt than others before him, notwithſtanding the good Opinion he had entertained of his Labour. Mr.* John Pell, *an* Engliſh *Profeſſor of Mathematicks in* (*i*) *the College of* Amſterdam, *immediately diſcovered a great deal of falſe Reaſoning in it, and* (*k*) *ſeeing that the Point of the difficulty conſiſted in the Proof of one ſingle Theorem, he firſt made the Demonſtration of it by himſelf, and reſolved to propoſe the thing to all the ableſt Mathematicians of his Acquaintance, and deſired their Opinion of it. Thoſe who examined it* (*l*) *and ſent him their Demonſtrations, were M. de* Roberval, *M. le* Pailleur, *A*[redacted]*cavi, M.* Mydorgius, *and Father* Merſennus, *who was returned from his Travels into* Italy, *about the beginning of* July. *My Lord* Candiche, *or* Cavendiſh, *and Mr.* Hobbs *of* England, John Adolphus Taſſius, *a Mathematician of* Hamborough, John Lewis Wolzogen, *a Free Baron of* Auſtria, *Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King of* Poland, *a* Carteſian *in Philoſophy, and a* Socinian *in Religion; Father* Bonaventure Cavalier, *an* Italian, *Profeſſor of Mathematicks at* Bologna; *M.* Golius, *Profeſſor at* Leiden, *and ſome other* Dutch *Mathematicians. M.* Deſcartes *ſent alſo M.* Pell, *a ſhort Demonſtration upon the ſame Subject, which ſerved much to Authorize what he had advanced againſt* Longomontanus. *M.* Mollerus (*k*) Reports 1ſt, That *Longomontanus* boaſted, even in his Epitaph, that he had found out the Quadrature of the Circle, and that *Gaſpar Bartholinus* made a Poem to Congratulate him upon it, but that *Thomas Bartholinus, Gaſpar's* Son, was of a different Judgment, and found *Longomontanus's* Enterprize, more Ingenuity [redacted]abour, than good Succeſs. 2d. That *Claude* [redacted] Couſſellor in the *Chatelet* in *Paris*, refuted *Longomontanus's* (*l*) Paralogiſms. 3d. That *John* [redacted]*ell*, this *Daniſh* Mathematician's chief Antagoniſt, inſerted in his Book what the moſt excellent Mathematicians of [redacted]ge had Communicated to him. (*m*) *Quorum* [redacted] *ac Demonſtrationes Theorematis, in cujus* [redacted] *totius Controv. Cardo vertebatur, dubii, in Pelliana, in Joh. Pellii* Controverſiæ de vera Circuli Menſura, inter Longomontanum ac ſe An. 1644. exortæ, Parte I. *Amſtelod, An.* 1647.

(*b*) *Baillet vie de Deſcartes tom. 2. pag. 274. ad ann. 1645*
(*i*) *He was ſo afterwards at* Breda.
(*k*) *Vit. Hobbian. auctar. p. 15. & 16.*
(*l*) *Lipſiorp. ſpecim. Philoſ. Carteſ. p. 14.*
(*k*) *Jo. Mollerus hypomn. pag. 187.*
(*l*) *In his Elenchus Cyclometriæ Longomontan. printed at* Paris *in* 4to. *without the Author's Name.*
(*m*) *Id. ib. pag. 188.*

thing in (E) *Tycho Brahe's* System. The Reflection of a Modern Author upon the Inconveniencies and Motives of this kind of Reform, to me, seems worth the relating.

LONGVIC (*a* *Jaqueline de*) Dutchess of *Montpensier*, was a Lady (*A*) of great Merit and Interest towards (*B*) the middle of the XVI. Century. She was

a Jacoba Lonviana *in Mr.* Thuanus.

in 4to. excusa, occurrunt. Mr. *Mollerus* had before observed, that *Longomontanus's* Friends confuted his Antagonists upon other Points. *Peter Bartholinus*, his Disciple (*a*) in 1632. answered the Objections of *Martin Hortensius*, inserted in the Preface of *Peter Lansbergius's* Commentary *de motu terræ diurno & annuo. George Fromius* in his Tract *de mediis ad Astronomiam restituendam necessariis*, published in the Year 1642, made the Apology to the *Introductio in theatrum astronomicum*, a work that *Longomontanus* had published against *John Baptista Morin* in 1639. But as to the Quadrature of the Circle, they could not justify him. His Labours were not so happy. (*b*) *Haud æque felices fuerunt Longomontani Conatus Cyclometrici, circa veram Circuli Quadraturam, Scopulum tot Ingeniorum Subtilium Naufragiis infamem.*

(*a*) *In his Apology pro observationibus & hypothesibus Tych. Brahei.*

(*b*) *Id. ib. pag.* 187.

(*E*) *He altered something in* Tycho Brahe's *System. The Reflection of a Modern Author—to me seems worth relating.*] ' (*c*) There was a ' fourth System, which *Longomontanus*, one of ' *Tycho Brahe's* chief Disciples design'd to bring ' into Vogue, by taking something from all the ' rest, and endeavouring to avoid the strongest ' Objections against 'em. He saw, that in that ' of *Tycho*, the Inconceivable Rapidity of the fixed ' Stars, and in that of *Copernicus*, the immense ' Space he put betwixt the Heaven of *Saturn* and ' the fixed Stars, was scarce sufferable; to Remedy both these Inconveniencies, he made a small ' Change in *Tycho's* System, by giving the Earth a ' Diurnal Revolution about its own *Axis*, by which ' means the Planets, the Sun and fixed Stars did not ' move round the Earth in 24 Hours, but each Planet made its Revolution gently from West to East; ' and the fixed Stars had their slow Motion round ' their Orbit in 25000 Years, as the Moon performs hers in 27 Days, the Sun in a Year, and ' others in Proportion to their Distance, and the ' greatness of their Circle. But tho' this System, ' which was only a small Reformation of *Tycho* ' *Brahe's*, without disconcerting any of its Parts, ' might be defended by very good Reasons; yet ' because of the little Credit of its Author, and ' the great Reputation of those that preceded him, ' very few applauded it; some holding, that ' if the Earth be in the Center, it must be immoveable, but if it does move, that it's Motion ' must be like that of the other Planets. In a ' word, it was believed, that he who form'd this ' System upon the other two, which at that time ' divided all the Learned, only did it through ' the natural Inclination Men have to be always ' refining upon others, tho' these Reformations generally end in spoiling the whole; they who endeavor to Reconcile two opposite Opinions, taking a less reasonable Method, for the most part, ' than that which they refuse to submit to'.

(*c*) *Mr. le Noble, Baron de S. George in the 2d. Tome d' Uranie ou des tableaux des Philosophes, e. 10. pag.* 71. *and the following.*

These last words are capable of a large and fine Comment, which might be filled up with many Reasons and Examples.

(*A*) *Of great Merit.*] *Thuanus* makes a very Honourable mention of her. (*d*) *Sub id tempus Jacoba Lonviana Montpenserii uxor V. Kal. Sept. ex tabe decessit, virili animo & prudentia supra sexum insignis, quæ semper publicæ tranquillitati studuerat, & si diutius vixisset, motus qui postea secuti sunt impeditura credebatur.* The President *de la Place* gives her no less glorious a Character. ' If she had lived longer, *says he* (*e*), 'tis thought ' she would have prevented the ensuing Troubles, ' because she was on one hand well beloved, and ' in Credit with the Queen, and on the other, ' the King of *Navarre* was very much obliged to her; who served as a Bond of Union ' and of Peace and Amity betwixt them. She was ' a Woman of good Understanding, and very well ' versed, even in State-Affairs'. 'Twas to her the Archbishop (*f*) of *Vienna* addressed himself, as to the last resort, when he saw they were going to Ruine the Princes of the Blood, in the Reign of *Francis* II. He dispatched a Person to her (*g*) to tell her, that if she did not keep the Promise she had made of opposing the Designs of the House of *Guise*, all was lost. The President *de la Place*, who relates this Matter at large, has a small fling by the by at the Dutchess; but he insinuates, that it was more owing to the Constable of *Montmorency*, than to her, that the Mischef was not Remedied. ' The said Lady of *Montpensier*, *says he*, (*b*) having heard his Proposition, tho' she was somewhat ' Timorous, dismissed the said Person, who had ' spoken to her to go to the Eath (*i*) of *Aspac* at ' *Liege*, who passing to *Meru*, upon St. *Martin's* Day ' following, spoke to the said Constable, but to little purpose'. We shall see below (*k*) that she was blamed for having ruin'd all by the Advice she gave the King of *Navarre*.

(*d*) *Thuan. lib.* 28. *ad ann.* 1561.

(*e*) *La Place, de l'état de la Relig. & Rep. l.* 6. *fol.* 215. *verso.*

(*f*) *Charles de Marillac.*

(*g*) *See* Thuanus *in the beginning of the* 26*th. Book, and the President* de la Place ubi supra, fol. 100 verso. *d'Aubigné l.* 2. *c.* 21 *is out in saying that Marillac came himself to wait on the Dutchess.*

(*b*) *La Place ubi supra. fol.* 101. *verso.*

(*i*) *He ought to have said* de Spa.

(*k*) *In the Remark I.*

(*B*) *And great interest towards the middle.*] 'Tis believed (*l*) that had it not been for her interest the Duke *de Bouillon* would not have kept the Government of *Normandy* as he did. But let's hear *Brantome*, he'll tell us a great deal of this Lady's interest. Having told the Reasons, why in the Reign of *Francis I.* the Duke of *Montpensier* had so little success with respect to his Pretentions to the Estate of the Constable *Charles de Bourbon*, he adds; (*m*) ' In King *Henry's* time he enjoy'd ' some part of it by means of Madam *Jaquette de* ' *Long-Vic*, of the Antient Family of *Givry*, descended from that of *Chalon*; and from the Palatines of ' *Burgundy*. This Lady Dutchess of *Montpensier*, ' in King *Francis's* Reign, for Reasons and Causes ' at that time talk'd off, (the Duke of *Orleans* serving ' her, what harm was there in all this? Monsieur ' *de Rostain* who is still alive knows it well) had ' great credit at Court, but she could do nothing ' in this Succession for the Reasons I have given; ' besides that she was young, and at that time not ' near so sensible as she afterwards was. In King ' *Henry's* time she was in great favour; for she ' grew very Politick, and got a great Ascendant ' over the Queen. King *Francis II.* came afterwards to Reign, and then too she was in great ' Power, for I have seen her manage so well the ' King and the Queen, as twice with my own Eyes ' to observe, that the King recommended the ' Cause of the said Lady, who did all, and her Husband little, and sollicited for her against his own ' interest. This was very common at Court; insomuch that once the Cardinal of *Lorrain* speaking to the Gentlemen of the Robe in the name ' of the King, who had sent for him to his Seat of ' *Cluny*, when the King went to *Orleans*, recommended to 'em the Right of the said Lady, (who ' was then present) even so far as to say that the ' King would gratify her in that; that he renounced his part and right to that Inheritance, ' and that he would have no part nor Portion of it, ' and that they should manage the matter as little ' to his Interest as they could. In fine, this Princess and Prince, and their Adherents so Laboured ' and Sollicited and Pleaded, that they have come ' in for a snack of every thing, except the Dutchy ' of *Chastelleraut*, which the former Kings would ' never part with, but added to their own Estate, ' which they since gave as a Portion to Madam ' their Lawful Sister, whom we have heard long ' called Madam *de Chastelleraut*, at present Madam ' *d' Angoulesme*.

(*l*) *La Place fol.* 215.

(*m*) *Brantome, Memoires, Tome* 3. *pag.* 276.

Upon this Testimony I think I have a right to charge Father *Anselm* with a Falshood, in saying (*n*) *that King* Francis I. *restored to the Duke of* Montpensier *a good part of the Inheritance of the House of* Bourbon, *as the Dutchy of* Chastelleraut, *the County of* Forrests, *and the Barony of* Beaujeolois, *and* Dombes, *and also the County of* Montpensier, *which was afterwards made a Dutchy and Peerdom in* 1538. *to which was joined the Dauphiny of* Auvergne *with the Lordship of* Combraille *in the year* 1543. *Thuanus* agrees incomparably better with *Brantome* than with this Father; for he affirms that *Charles de*

(*n*) *Hist. de la Maison Roiale pag.* 306.

a Le P. Anſelme Hiſt. de la Maiſon Roiale. pag. 300. See the Remark A.

b Le P. Anſelme ibid.

was (C) youngeſt Daughter a to *John de Longvic*, Seigneur *de Givry*, and was Married in 1538. to *Lewis de Bourbon* II. of the Name, Duke *de Montpenſier*. She was firſt Favourite to *Katherine de Medicis*; and had b ſhe been alive at the time when this Queen gave into Intrigues which had like to have ruined the Kingdom, would perhaps have made her take better Reſolutions. It's poſſible too that her Counſels and good Addreſs might have had no effect on a Soul of ſuch a Temper as hers. Ambition was like a devouring Fire. Be it how it will, ſhe died juſt [redacted] the breaking out of the great Troubles on the ſcore of Religion, the 28th of *Auguſt* 1561. She openly made appear, during a tedious Sickneſs, what her [redacted] had long ſuſpected of her; to wit, That ſhe was (D) a Proteſtant; [redacted] otleſs it was her private Inſtructions, which ſowed in the Soul of ſome of [redacted] Daughters the Seeds of Reformation, which fructified ſome time after: For *Frances de Bourbon*, her eldeſt Daughter, who was Married in 1558 to *Henry Robert de la Marc*, Duke *de Bouillon*, openly profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion, [redacted] the incredible Pains her Father took (E) to reclaim her, could produce no effect. *Charlotte*, this Duke's fourth Daughter, had been put into a Convent, (F) againſt her Mother's Advice, who had a mind to Marry her to the Duke *de Longueville*. She was Abbeſs of *Jouare*; but as that kind of Life did not comport with the Inſtructions ſhe had received from her Mother, nor perhaps with her own Inclinations, ſhe eſcaped into *Germany* in 1572, where ſhe abjured Popery, and was Married two Years after to the Prince of *Orange*. Of the three other Daughters of *Jaqueline de Longvic*, and the Duke *de Montpenſier*, two perſevered in a Monaſtick Life, to which they had been made Victims; and one Married [redacted] the Duke [redacted] of *Nevers*'s Son. She

(a) Mandatorum ſumma hæc erat ut ipſa fidei datæ recordaretur, quamprimum bona mariti ex Caroli avunculi hereditate à rege poſſeſſa recuperaſſet, daturam operam ut Guiſianorum conatus impedirentur, tempus veniſſe Belloiocenſibus ac Dumbaribus receptis quo fidem liberaret. *Thuanus l. 26. init.* La Place *fol.* 100. dit la même choſe.

(b) *In the Argument to the 23d Book of the Hiſtory of Herefy.*

(c) *Varillas, l. 23. of the Hiſt. of the Hereſie, p. m.* 134.

(d) *P. Anſelme hiſt. des Offic. pag.* 313.

(e) *La Place ubi ſupra, fol.* 215. *verſo.*

(f) *This Author did not know that they had had five Daughters*

(g) *Lib. 28 p. m.* 562.

(h) *Hiſt. de Charles IX. to.* 1. *pag.* 61. *See the Remarks of the Article* Soubiſe.

de Marillac writ to the Dutcheſs (a) in 1650, that the time was come in which ſhe was obliged to Act againſt the Houſe of *Guiſe*, ſince it had recovered the Country of *Beaujolois* and *Dombes*, and that ſhe had promiſed to Act, provided right was done her Husband as to the Inheritance of the Conſtable. It had been Abſurd to talk to her in this manner, if the Reſtitution had been made in *Francis* [redacted] time. I know not how we are to believe what *Varillas* ſays (b) that the Dutcheſs fixed her Huſband in the Intereſt of the *Guiſes*, who did not miſtruſt this Duke, but ſuffered him to live at Court, when they Baniſh'd thence the other Princes of the Blood, both becauſe they knew, he perfectly hated the Calviniſts, as alſo becauſe (c) *all the World knew, that* Jaqueline de Longvic *his Wife abſolutely Governed him, and that this Princeſs was ſo intimate with the Queen-Mother, that ſhe would never do any thing, but what her Majeſty pleaſed.* This was the place for this Author to Publiſh what he has done in the Life of *Charles IX.* concerning this Dutcheſs's *Huguenotiſm*; but a Man does not always know when he makes one Book; what he knows when he compoſes another, and hence comes ſo many different Hypotheſes of Mr. *Varillas*.

(C) *She was youngeſt Daughter. Francis de Longvic* her Elder Siſter, was Wife to Admiral *Chabot*, and (d) left ſome Children. Father *Anſelm* therefore has very improperly ſaid, that *Jaqueline* was Heireſs to *John de Longvic*. He gives the ſame Title to *Frances*. The Expreſſion would not be juſt, tho' their Father's Eſtate had been divided betwixt 'em.

(D) *She was a Proteſtant.*] Let's ſee what the Preſident *de la Place* ſays of it. (e) 'She deſired that 'the Duke *de Longueville* might Marry (f) her third 'Daughter, deſigned by her Father for a Nun at '*Frontevault*, to the great Regret of the ſaid Lady, as ſhe gave her Husband to underſtand in her 'laſt Diſcourſes, diſcovering to him what he had 'before ſuſpected, that ſhe was a Proteſtant, which 'ſhe had ſufficiently diſcovered during her ſaid Illneſs, which was long, being at *Fontainbleau*, 'and the King at *Rheims*, in order to his Coronation, where ſhe deſired a Miniſter of the ſaid 'Religion to confer with her about Points of Conſcience. *Malo* being ſent to her, refuſed to Adminiſter the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to 'her, which ſhe deſired, foraſmuch as ſhe was 'alone, and had no body to Communicate with 'her; arguing that this Sacrament was not Inſtituted to be particularly Adminiſtered, like Baptiſm, but rather to be Communicated to many of 'the Faithful at once; with which, however, 'ſhe could not be contented, deſiring by any means 'to make Declaration of the Religion, in which 'ſhe reſolved to Die'. *Thuanus* (g) relates the ſame thing in Subſtance. Mr. *Varillas* has purely and ſimply (h) cenſured it: An evident Sign that he did not believe it was a Huguenot Story; for if he had, he would have made a long Parentheſis to tell us ſo.

(E) *To Reclaim her.*] Amongſt other things, he cauſed two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, and two Miniſters to Diſpute before her, in [redacted] *Auguſt* [redacted]. This Conference could not be held at *Montargis* Houſe, becauſe this Prince would oblige the Miniſters not to Pray to God before the Action, which they would not conſent to. The Conference therefore was broke of; but it was again agreed upon ſome time after, and executed at the Duke of *Nevers*'s. I ſpeak of it in another Place (i). The two Doctors were *Simon Vigor* and *Claude de Sainctes*, the two Miniſters were *Spina* and *Surreau*. They ſpent a great many words in Replies, Rejoinders, &c. and afterwards in Prints, in which each Party aſcribed the Victory to it ſelf; but the Succeſs of the Miniſters was, that the Dutcheſs continued theirs, which was the Prize of the Conteſt. The contrary happened in the Diſpute between the Biſhop of *Meaux*, and Mr. *Claude*: Mademoiſelle *de Duras* adjudged the Victory to the Catholick Champion.

(i) *Under the word* Roſiers.

(F) *Againſt her Mother's Advice.*] This gives me an occaſion to touch upon a Contradiction of *Thuanus*. He ſays in his [redacted] Book, that *Jaqueline de Longvic* was (k) diſſuaded at the Cloiſtering of her *Charlotte*, for two reaſons; one, that ſhe was deſigned for the Duke *de Longueville*; the other, that ſhe had already ſhewn her Repugnance to a Religious Life. In the 51ſt Book, he ſays, that ſhe bred her in the Proteſtant Religion, but ſecretly, through fear of her Husband; and that afterwards this *Charlotte* being ſcarce a Year old, was put into the Convent of *Jouare*; *Vim annicula in Jovarienſe Monaſterium conjecta.* If ſhe was but one Year old, all that he ſaid of her Inſtruction, and the Marks of her Repugnance is falſe and impoſſible. Doubtleſs this Hiſtorian muſt have had ſome Diſtraction of Thought, which was not common to him, or what's more probable, he muſt have underſtood by *annicula* an Age more advanced than one Year. But does he find good Authorities for this Senſe of the Word?

(k) Frementeque Carlottam Longavillano duci uxorem deſtinaverat, & jam tum animadvertere ſibi videbatur ægre filiam in monaſticam vitam conſentire.

(G) *The Duke of Nevers's Son.*] He was called the Count *d'Eu*. I don't find at what [redacted] he Married; but I diſtruſt Father *Anſelm* [redacted] who ſays, (l) 'That *Anne de Bourbon*, was Married by Con-'tract the 6th of *September*, 1561, with *Francis* '(m) *de Cleves* IV. of the Name Duke of *Nevers*, 'and that ſhe died without Children in 1572'. For what appearance is there, that this Princeſs was Married eight or nine Years after her Mothers Death? I inſiſt not on what the (n) Preſident *de la Place* ſays, that the Duke *de Nivernois* died a little after the Marriage of *Henry de Cleves*, his Son, with *Anne de Bourbon*; from whence we muſt conclude

(l) *Ubi ſupra.*

(m) *The Preſident de la Place and Thuanus call him* Henry.

(n) *Ubi ſupra.*

She had followed Queen *Elizabeth* into *Spain*, who (*H*) loved her entirely. If *Jaqueline* had converted her Husband, she had saved a great deal of Proteſtant Blood, and a great deal of Miſery to ſome of her own Sex; for he uſed 'em with the utmoſt Severity, as we may read in *Brantome*. Their Son, who was a good Catholick, did not follow the Leaguers. Though this Lady had only procured to France (*I*), a Chancellor of ſo much Merit, as *Michael de l'Hoſpital*, her Memory ought to be bleſſed for it; for it was not poſſible to make Choice of a better Subject than he, and no Body could have ſo well ſupported the Monarchy in ſo dangerous a Conjuncture. The Wiſdom and Conſtancy of his Counſels, would have been the Arm of Hector [a], to have maintained the publick Repoſe, if the Deſtinies, more powerful than all the Induſtry of Man, had not permitted a froward Generation to baffle all his Deſigns, and oblige him at laſt to retire.

LONGUS, a *Greek* Sophiſt, Author of a Book intituled Ποιμενικα, that's to ſay, *Paſtorales*, (*A*) a Romance upon the Amours of *Daphnis* and *Chloe*. Mr. *Huet*, Biſhop of *Avranches*, who was a great Judge in moſt Things, has ſpoken well enough of this Book; but he obſerves ſeveral Faults in it, the greateſt of which doubtleſs

[a] *Thuanus lib.* 28. *La Place Etat de la Relig. & Republ. liv.* 6. *Diſcours du Duc de Montpenſier, au tome* 3. *de ſes Memoires. See the Article* Baluſe, *Remark* C.

[b] Si Pergama dextra Defendi poſſent, etiam hac defenſa fuiſſent. *Virg. Æn. lib.* 2. *v.* 291.

[c] *De l'origine des Romans, pag.* 65. 66. *Edit. Latina.*

(*a*) *Mr.* le Labourer *is of this Number, Tome* 2. *pag.* 106. *des Additions à Caſtelnau. But* Theodore Beza, *l.* 5. *pag.* 749. *expreſly Remarks, that this Duke* [redacted] *of* February, 1562. *computing the Year from January.*

(*b*) *Apud le Labourer, ibid.*

(*c*) *En* 1561. *Id. ib. p.* 107.

(*d*) *Tome* 1. *pag.* 237.

(*e*) *Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 6. *pag.* 241.

(*f*) *Lib.* 5. *pag.* 748. 749.

(*g*) *Brantome, Diſcours de Catherine de Medicis, dans le tome des Dames illuſtres.*

(*b*) *Dames Galantes, tome* 2. *pag.* 396.

conclude, that this Marriage preceded the Death of the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, if we did not take notice, that they who fix the Duke of *Nevers*'s Death to the Thirteenth of *February* 1561, (*a*) followed the Cuſtom, which was not quite abolished at that time, of beginning the Year at *Eaſter*. Now upon that Ground is plain, the Duke died after *Jaqueline de Longvic*, and ſo the Preſident *de la Place* does not contradict Father *Anſelm*. I had rather depend upon *Brantome*, who ſays, that the Count *d'Eu* went into *Spain* to marry the Princeſs *Anne*. *He was*, ſays he (*b*), *in my Opinion, the fineſt Prince ever ſaw, and the moſt affable and amiable; and reckoned him ſo amongſt us, and when he went into Spain to marry* (*c*) *Madam his Daughter to the Duke of* Montpenſier, *he was there alſo as much admired and eſteemed, both by the Court, and all the Country.* Whom ſhall we believe, *Brantome*, who ſays the Princeſs was married in *Spain*, or *Thuanus*, and the Preſident *de la Place*, who ſay, the former that after her return from *Spain*, ſhe married *Henry de Cleves*; the latter, that the Dutcheſs her Mother recalled her from *Spain* to marry her to him? *Thuanus*, who obſerves, that ſhe died a little after her Marriage, might have ſaid as much of her Husband, who was killed at the Battle of *Dreux* by the going off of a Piſtol of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Cornet. This is what *Brantome* ſays of it, but *d'Aubigne* (*d*) tells it otherwiſe, and gives us to underſtand, that this young Duke of *Nevers* had the Knowledge of the Truth. 'Tis probably for that reaſon, that *Jaqueline de Longvic* was willing he ſhould marry her Daughter. *Beza* ſpeaks of the Death and Religion of this Duke, ſomewhat at large (*e*): and obſerving (*f*) that the Marquis of *Iſles* his Brother, and the Marchioneſs his Wife, aſſiſted at the Exerciſes of Piety with him, and received the Sacrament all together on *Eaſter*-day the 29th of *March* 1562: Obſerving this, I ſay, without ſaying a Word of the Dutcheſs, we might conclude, that ſhe died a little after her Marriage, as *Thuanus* has advanced, did we not ſee two Authors againſt him; one is Father *Anſelm*, affirming that this Lady deceaſed in 1572, the other is *Brantome*, who ſpeaks of her (*g*) as *the Widow of the Count* d'Eu, *afterwards Duke of* Nevers, where he gives the Liſt of the Ladies of *Catherine de Medicis*'s Court.

(*H*) *Queen* Elizabeth——*who loved her entirely.*] *Brantome* informs me (*b*), *that this Daughter to the Duke* de Montpenſier, *a moſt prudent, moſt vertuous and fine Princeſs, and reckoned for ſuch in* France *and* Spain; had been *bred ſome time in Spain with Queen* Elizabeth *of* France, *and had the Place of her Cup-bearer, the Queen being ſerved by her Ladies and Maids of Honour, and each having a Place.* The Queen gave her a Diamond worth between 1500 and 2000 Crowns. A Miſtreſs of Count *d'Eu*, declaring a great Deſire to have that Ring, as ſhe ſaw it on the Count's Finger, eaſily obtained it, and wore it always for his ſake. The Counteſs, whom her Husband had made believe he had loſt or pawned his Diamond, ſaw it *in the Hands of this Gentlewoman, whom he uſed to be her Husband's Miſtreſs, turned her Head aſide, and never ſaid a Word of it to either of 'em.* *Brantome* has Reaſon to praiſe her for it; but what an Inſtance of Corruption is here! This Count lived but a ſhort while after his Marriage, and yet was unfaithful to his Wife.

(*I*) *Procured to* France *a Chancellor.*] *Thuanus* (*i*) acquaints us with this particular, after this manner: *Id autem factum Jacobæ Lonvianæ Montpenſerii uxoris commendatione quæ in Catherinæ amicitia præcipuè florebat, excelſo ingenio mulier, & quæ creſcentem Guiſianorum potentiam ſuſpectam habebat. Illa Catharinam Guiſianorum violentiam jam expertam proprio metu incendebat, & ad imperium anhelanti certiſſimam viam oſtendebat, ſi aliquem deligeret cujus ſalutaribus monitis eorum pernicioſa conſilia revinceret.* See an ample Paraphraſe of this *Latin* in *Varillas*'s (*k*) Life of *Francis* II. where we find alſo how this Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier* (*l*) contributed to ſave the Prince of *Condé*'s Life in the ſame Reign. This Hiſtorian is not ſo favourable to her in *Charles* the IX's Life. He makes her the Cauſe of the King of *Navarre*'s renouncing the Regency in favour of the Queen-Mother. *The Perſuaſions*, ſays he (*m*), *of the Dutcheſs of* Montpenſier, *who was called the* Siren, *carried it above the Remonſtrances of the* Montmorenci's, *the* Chatillon's, *the* Calviniſts, *and the moſt zealous* Catholicks——*The Eaſineſs of this Prince was the Cauſe or Occaſion of all the Miſeries that* France *ſo long groaned under.* But ſince he confeſſes, that the Conſtable and the Admiral, *inſtead of diſſuading him from ſo ſcandalous an Acquieſcence, confirmed him in it by this ſole Reaſon* (*n*), *that his Inconſtancy would too much perplex 'em, and that they could more eaſily manage the Queen, after having obliged her by a Benefit ſo conſiderable, as that was of inducing the firſt Prince of the Blood to give up the Regency to her*, there is not ſo much Reaſon to exclaim againſt the Negotiation of this Dutcheſs. *Thuanus* (*o*) does not blame her.

(*A*) Paſtorales, *a Romance.*] The Word *Paſtoralia*, which Mr. *Moreri* read in *Voſſius*, made him think this Book was in Verſe; *Longus*, ſays he, *left four Books of Paſtoral Verſe, or Eclogues, which* Godfrey Jungerman *has tranſlated into* Latin, *with his Notes upon them, and has dedicated this Work to his Couſin* Lewis Camerarius. *Longus*'s Paſtorals are in Proſe: The *Latin* Tranſlator's Name is *Godfrey Jungerman*; and it was uſeleſs to obſerve, he dedicated this Book to *Lewis Camerarius* his Couſin. *Voſſius*, from whom *Moreri* has taken this Particular, had Reaſons for this Clauſe, in his Book taken from the Time and Place in which he writ; for this Mr. *Camerarius* was well known in *Holland*, where he had been Ambaſſador from the King of *Sweden*: which *Voſſius* alſo notify'd (*p*). *Moreri*, who had not the ſame Reaſons, ought to have omitted the Concluſion, or at leaſt have ſaid, all that *Voſſius* did. Thus he would have given Occaſion to his Readers to Form ſome Idea of the Perſon to whom the Tranſlation of *Longus* was dedicated. Greater Men than *Moreri* have thought, that the Paſtorals I ſpeak of were in Verſe. *Malincrotius* was under (*q*) this Miſtake, as Mr. *Konig* obſerves (*r*), who for his own part was ignorant

[d] *Thuanus, lib.* 28. *Hiſtoriarum ſui temporis, pag.* 1000. *Edit. Genevæ.*

[e] *Tome* 1. *pag.* 9. ad ann. 1560. *He cites the Negotiation of the Dutcheſs of* Montpenſier *with the King of* Navarre.

(*n*) *Stol'n from* Theod. Beza, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 4. *pag.* 406.

(*o*) *Lib.* 25. *pag.* 525.

(*p*) Operam ſuam dedicavit conſobrino ſuo Ludovico Camerario tum Electori Palatino à Conſiliis, poſtea ſereniſſimi Sueciæ Regis Legatio ad Fœderatos Belgas. *Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Græcis, pag.* 517. (*q*) Longus Sophiſta ſcripſit Heroico carmine de amoribus Daphnidis & Chloes libris quatuor. *Mallinerr. Parallipomen. de Hiſt. Græc. pag.* 39. (*r*) *Bibliothec. pag.* 486. before

doubtleſs conſiſt in the Obſcenities (B) that are found in it. This is ſtill more remote from the Politeneſs of our Romances, than the Conduct of *Longus*'s Shepherdeſs; ſhe loves too haſtily, and grants (C) her Kiſſes too ſoon. *Longus* is thought to have been the Promoter of that ſilly Idea of Gallantry, which reigns moſt in Romances. The Shepherdeſs fills out Drink, drinks a little firſt, and afterwards preſents the [illegible]

before *Jungerman*'s Edition, (he calls him *Jugerman*) that the Paſtoral had ever been in *Latin*.

(B) *In the Obſcenities that are found in it.*] I believe it was on this Account that Mr. *Huet* did not finiſh the *Latin* Tranſlation; for he tells us, that he began it in his Youth, before he perfectly knew the Character of the Book, how much the Reading it might corrupt young Men, and how unfit it was for old. (a) *Quum puer eſſem, hunc autorem Latine interpretandum ſuſcepi, cum nondum ſatis haberem exploratum, quid in eo laudabile eſſet, quid vitioſum; & quantum ejus lectio pueritiæ damnoſa ſit, quam parum etiam ætati provectiori decora* This reaſon hindred not a Profeſſor of *Franeker* from tranſlating this Romance, and publiſhing it with learned Notes in 1660. He was apprehenſive of the Cenſure of ſome, whoſe Auſtere and Moroſe Humour can't bear the Example. Obſerve how he is before-hand with them. His Words deſerve relating, becauſe there are ſeveral Authors, whoſe Vertue and Prudence might be conteſted, did we not oppoſe this Buckler of *Longus*'s Tranſlator, to the Surly and Malignant Criticiſm of theſe pretended *Cato*'s. *Dicam hic quod ſentio*, ſays he (b), *Non feram judices noſtra in cauſa*, Caperata fronte Catones, *qui ſine dubio me altum ſtertere, aut cucurbitas pingere mallent, quàm tanto conatu, tam immanes nugas agere, vitioque fortaſſe mihi vertent, quod logos hoſce amatorios (quid enim quaſo eſſe quod non vellicare malignitas poſſit?) haud tamen illepidos, nec inficetos, latine converſos, grandior ætate, & γεγονὼς μὲν ἀλικίας ἤδη πρέσβυς, in lucem edere fategerim. O formidabilem cenſorum ſeveritatem! Quorum cenſura actum erit de Homero, homine ab ipſis gratiis ficto, venereos amores, adulteria, inceſta, ſcelera prolixè deſcribente: quem tamen Alexander tanti fecit, ut ſuo pulvillo noctibus ſingulis ſubdiderit: Actum de Ariſtophane, quem nihilominus Johannes ille Antiochenus, ſummorum Theologorum lumen, qui propter aureum eloquentiæ flumen, Chryſoſtomi cognomen obtinuit, nocturna diurnaque verſaſſe manu, à viris fide dignis memoriæ proditum eſt. Nullum equidem poſtarum invenias, quin multa multorum ſcelera nefaria narret, non quidem ad bonos labefactandos, corrumpendoſque mores; ſed potius ad eoſdem emendandos, atque flagitia illa deteſtanda, abominanda. Multo minus vitilitigatores, (quorum leges in hoc ſeculo denſa eſt) homines, ut Plinius ait, ad venena natos, qui nullum aliud abominati ſpiritus præmium novere, quam odiſſe omnia: At potius rerum humanarum æquos mihi æſtimatores exopto.* This Commentator ſaw himſelf indiſpenſably obliged to touch upon *Longus*'s Impurities, but he did it with ſhewing his Averſion to 'em. What could he do more? *Opus alioqui tam obſcenum eſt*, (as Mr. *Huet* ſays (c), *ut qui ſine rubore legat tum Cynicum eſſe neceſſe ſit.* This *alioqui* refers to a great Fault he had before obſerved; *viz.* that *Longus* begins his Book with the Birth of his Shepherd and Shepherdeſs, and continues it to their Marriage, their Children, and old Age (d), which is tranſgreſſing againſt the Rules of this Kind of Writings. They ought to wind up on the Wedding-Day, and ſay nothing of the Conſequences of Marriage. The *Heroine* of a Romance, with a Big-Belly, or Lying-in, is a ſtrange Image.

(C) *Grants her Kiſſes too ſoon.*] You don't read above five or ſix Pages, before you find *Daphnis* raviſhed with the Pleaſure of a Kiſs from his Shepherdeſs. (e) Τὸ φίλημα κατέσχε, ſays he, ἐκπνεῦσά μου τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐξέλιπέ με καρδία, πέπτωκε ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ δίκην πόλεως ἐπολέμει δίκαι. *Hocce oſculum admirabile eſt, quippe ſpiritus meus extat, cor exilit, anima liqueſcit: attamen iterum ſuaviari cupio.* A Chaſm in the ſame Page, does not hinder our underſtanding the Circumſtances of this Kiſs. A little after we find him handling his Shepherdeſs's Breaſts (f), without any Coyneſs of her ſide. This poor Damſel, ſeeing him ſtark naked, melts with Deſire, ſhe ſaw nothing but what was amiable in him; ſhe was ſo little ſtartled at this Object, that ſhe boldly approached it, and having kiſs'd her Shepherd, helped him on with his Cloaths. (g) Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐφίλει μὲν ἐρῶσα ἀφρόν, ἐκπνεῖν ἐδόκει τὸ πάλλον, ἐξ ἐκόπτετο, μικρὸν αὐτῷ μέρος μέμφασθαι δυνάμενον——. (h) ἐπεὶ δὲ, τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτῷ λαβοῦσα ἐξ ἐναμπισχόνην ἐνέδυσε, καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς φιλήσασα. *Illa enim nudum conſpicata Daphnidem, effloreſcentem in ejus pulchritudinem incidit, atque conſtabuit, cum nullam ejus partem vilipendere poſſet——At illa viciſſim, dato oſculo, veſtem illius, jam loti atque denudati, induebat.* Theſe Things would be monſtrous in the Romances of our Times. People won't forgive the Marquis *d'Urfe*, the little Favours he makes *Celadon* obtain. The Pleaſure he promiſes him of ſeeing *Aſtrea* naked, is charged on him as an unpardonable Crime. Here are the Words of the Acculation, in which *Aſtrea* ſpeaks. 'Tis you, ſays ſhe (i), caſting her Eyes upon *d'Urfe*, 'tis you that are the Author of the Injury I complain of; your raſh Pen has made Blots in my Story, which wound me in the tendereſt part. I don't pretend to be more nice than others, continues ſhe; I excuſe amourous Tranſports, when proceeding from a pure Paſſion; a Kiſs genteely ſnatched, never ſhocked my Modeſty, and I know there are little Privacies, which Love inſpires, and Reaſon does not condemn. But when I conſider, that I am one of the three Shepherdeſſes, which you preſent ſtark-naked before *Celadon*, with what Face can I behold an Adventure ſo injurious to my Honour? And ought I not to believe, that you have an ill Opinion of my Vertue, or elſe took me for a Slave, which you meant to ſell to this Shepherd? I believe, without Flattery to my Beauty, that my Face alone was ſufficient to make a Conqueſt; there was Fire enough in my Eyes to melt a ſtubborn Heart, and I can without Vanity ſay, that my Nakedneſs was not eſſentially neceſſary to my Victory. This is is too common a Fault in the *Greek* Romances (k): The Women make the firſt advances, and the Men are too reſerved. Mr. *Huet* acknowledges, that this Conduct of the Man is commendable, according to the Rules of Morality; but juſtly maintains, that it's abſurd according to Laws of Romance. *Prior amat Hyſmina*, ſays he (l), ſpeaking of *Euſtathius*'s Book, where the Hero anſwers nothing to a Declaration of Love made by his Heroine: *prior amorem & fatetur & offert ſine modeſtiâ, ſine pudore, ſine arte: Atque his blanditiis neque monetur Hyſminias, neque reſpondet. Laudabile id quidem eſt, ſi ad leges Moralis Philoſophiæ; ineptum ſi ad Romanenſia præcepta exigatur.* See above (m) *Theagines* rallied for giving *Caricles* a Box on the Ear, becauſe ſhe would kiſs him. We may ſay, that Mademoiſelle *de Scudery* is the firſt who delivered Romance from an Oeconomy injurious to her Sex, and to Decorum in general. She fear'd ſhe might be taxed of innovating, in giving her Heroines a deal of Modeſty, and her Heroes the ſofteſt Paſſions; and therefore thought her ſelf obliged to give the Reaſons of her Conduct, in the Preface to her *Ibrahim*, which is the firſt of her Romances; theſe are her Words: (n) 'You'll ſee here, Reader, if 'I miſtake not, the Decorum of Things and Conditions exactly enough obſerved; for I have put 'nothing in my Book, but what the Ladies may 'read, without looking down and bluſhing. If 'you don't find my Heroe perſecuted by Women, 'diſtractedly in Love with him, 'tis not that he is 'leſs aimable or unworthy of their Love, but 'tis 'that I might not treſpaſs againſt Decency in the 'Character of the Ladies, and againſt Probability 'in that of the Gentlemen, who rarely act the cruel 'part, and cannot act it with a good Grace. In 'fine, whether things ought to be thus, or whether I have judged of my Heroe, by my own 'Weakneſs; I was not willing to put his Fidelity 'to this dangerous Tryal, and have contented my 'ſelf not to make him an *Hylas*, without making 'him an *Hippolitus*.

(a) *Petrus Daniel Huetius, de origine fabularum Romanenſium, interprete Gulielmo Pyrrhone, pag.* 67.

(b) *Petrus Moll, Sueeanus, J. U. D. & Gr. linguæ Profeſſor ordinarius in Acad. Franekerana, Epiſtola dedicator. Longi Paſtoralium.*

(c) *Huet, ubi ſupra.*

(d) Pejus etiam vitium eſt perverſa & præpoſtera operis œconomia. A paſtorum cunabulis ineptè orditur, & vix in eorum nuptiis deſinit: ad eorum uſque liberos, imo & ſenectutem ſua narratione progreditur. *Id. ibid.*

(e) *Longus, lib.* 1. *pag.* 12. *Edit. Franeker. in* 4.

(f) Κατῆλθεν αὐτῆς εἰς τὰ στέρνα καὶ ἐψηλάφησε τοῦ μαστοῦ. Manu ſua pectori illius admota. *Ib. pag.* 21.

(g) *Ibid. pag.* 18.

(h) *Ibid. pag.* 19.

(i) Parnaſſe reformé, *pag.* 136. Edit. de Hollande. *See the ſame pag.* 187. *Article* 18. *of the Edict of Apollo.*

(k) *Compare what has been ſaid in the Remark* C. *of the Article* Hypſipyle

(l) *Huet. ubi ſupra, pag.* 62.

(m) *In the Article* Heliodorus, *Remark* C.

(n) *Preface to* Ibrahim Baſſa, *fol.* iiii. *Note, that is not ſo, but Mr.* de Scudari *her Brother, who ſpeaks.*

(D)

Glaſs to the Shepherd, in ſuch a manner, that he muſt apply his Lips (*D*) preciſely to the Part where ſhe had applied hers. None of the Antients mention *Longus*, which is the Reaſon why we cannot tell when he lived. We have ſeveral Editions and a great many Tranſlations of his Work.

RME (*Philibert de*) one of the beſt Architects of *France*, in the XVIth. Century, was a Native of *Lions*. He was Almoner in ordinary to *Henry* II. and to *Charles* IX. [a], and Abbot of St. *Eloi* of [b] *Noiomne*; and of the Saints *Sergius* and *Bacchus* [illegible] *Angers*. Thus his Abbies are intitled [c], by *Antony Mizauld*, in the Epiſtle [illegible] catory of the *Nova & mira artificia comparandorum fructuum*, dated at *Paris* the [illegible] of *November* 1567. He is called Abbot of *Livry* in *Ronſard's* Life, and 'tis added, that he had a Quarrel (*A*) with this great Poet, in which *Catherine de Medicis* ſaid he was to blame. He publiſhed ſeveral Books of Architecture, the Titles whereof you may ſee in *La Croix du Maine*.

LORME (*N. de*) one of the moſt famous Phyſicians of *France*, towards the end of the XVIth. Century, and the beginning of the XVIIth. was of *Moulins* in *Bourbonois*. He was firſt Phyſician to Queen *Mary de Medicis*, and after he had long followed the Court, retired to *Moulins* on Account (*A*) of his old Age, and there quietly enjoyed the Glory he had acquired. I don't know the Time of his Death, and

[a] *Du Verdier Vau-Privas Biblioth. Franc. pag. 949*

[b] *And not* pres de Noion, *as is ſaid in* Moreri, *after* la Croix du Maine.

[c] *Ornatiſſimo viro ac Domino, D Philiberto ab Ulmo, & Eligii Noviom. & SS Sergii & Bacchi Andegav. Abbati.*

(*a*) *Huet ubi ſupra pag. 64.*

(*b*) *Vide Longi Paſtoralia, lib. 3. pag. 75. Edit. Franeker.*

(*c*) *Lucianus in Dialogo Deorum, p. m. 129. tom. 1.*

(*d*) Fac primus ego illius tacta labellis Pocula, quaque bibit parte puella bibas. *Ovid. de arte amat. lib. 1. pag. m. 170.*

(*e*) *Hieronym. Epiſt. 2. ad Nepotian. pag. m. 213.*

(*f*) *Idem Epiſt. 47.*

(†) Et quodcunque cibi digitis [illegible] quinque petes, ſit tibi tacta manus, *Ovidius ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) *Voſſius de Hiſtor. Gracis, pag. 517.*

(*h*) *I ſay this on the Credit of the Oxford Ca[illegible] at the end of the 307th. pag. & Gr. Lat. Heid. 1601. 8.*

(*i*) *In the Remark* H.

(*k*) *This is writ in 1694.*

(*l*) *Thuanus, lib. 84. p. 76.*

(*m*) Obſtat Ingenium tenue, & jam feſſo in corpore vires, Ob longam metuam invalida.

(*D*) *Apply his Lips preciſely to the Place, where the Shepherdeſs.*] Mr. *Huet's* Tranſlator explains it after this manner. (*a*) *Ab hoc* (Longo) (*b*) *Euſtathius ſumſiſſe videtur hoc elegans urbanitatis genus, quâ Hyſminam [illegible] miniſtrantem induxit, & qua parte poculi labra delibans labris ſuis ipſa tetigerat, eadem Hyſminia bibituro tangenda leniter offerentem. Euſtathius* might have taken this fine Gallantry higher, for we find it in *Lucian*. This Scoffer introduces *Juno*, reproaching *Jupiter* with drinking [illegible]ede's Snuffs, and applying his Mouth preciſely to the part which *Ganymede* touched with his. (*c*) [illegible] *Interdum autem ubi ſolum deguſtaſti, porrigis ipſi: deinde ipſo bibente calicem arripis, & quantum in ipſo reſtat, ebibis, qua parte ipſe bibit, & ubi labia applicuit, ut & bibas ſimul, & oſculeris.* In *Ovid's* time, the Ladies did not preſent the Glaſs out of which they had drank, but the Gallant endeavoured to take it from 'em, and applied his Lips to the ſame Place, where they had applied theirs. 'Tis a Precept of *Ovid* (*d*). I believe this is ſtill the Faſhion in ſome Countries.

St. *Hierome* deſcribing the Impertinencies of Lovers, ſays nothing of this, but he comes pretty near it, for he ſpeaks of Eatables, which were preſented after they had been taſted (*e*); *Crebra munuſcula & ſudariola, & faſciolas, & veſtes ori applicitas, & oblatos* [illegible]*DEGUSATOS cibos, blandaſque & de[illegible]ſerulas ſanctus amor non habet. Mel meum, [illegible] meum, meum deſiderium, omnes delicias, & lepores, & riſu dignas urbanitates, & cæteras ineptias amatorum in comœdiis erubeſcimus.* He ſays in another Place, (*f*) *ſpectabis aliena oſcula & PRÆGUSTATOS cibos.* See the Precept of *Ovid* †.

(*E*) *Several Editions, and a great many Tranſlations.*] This Romance tranſlated into *French* by *Amiot*, was printed at *Paris* in 1559. *Laurence Gambara* made a Verſion of it, or rather a Paraphraſe in *Latin* Verſe, which is much blamed (*g*) by *Voſſius*. He obſerves, that *Gambara* not only changes, adds and retrenches ſeveral Things, but alſo frequently miſtakes *Longus's* meaning. *Godfrey Jungerman's* Verſion in Proſe, is incomparably better. It was printed at *Hanaw* with the *Greek* Text, and Notes, in 1605. There had been before this a Verſion of it (*h*) at *Heidelberg*, in 1601. and before that, the Work had been printed only in *Greek* at *Florence*, by *Philip Juncta*, in 1598, by the Manuſcript of [illegible] *aldmanni's* Library with *Raphael Columbi*[illegible]*ces*. There is mentioned an 8vo Edition of it [illegible] *Greek* and *Latin*, by *Commelin* in 1606. I have ſaid ſomething (*i*) above, of the *Franeker* Edition. I cannot comprehend, what induced *Voſſius* to ſay, that *Gambara* had tranſlated *Longus* 170 Years ago, for 'twould from thence follow, that 'twas (*k*) of above Two hundred Years ſtanding now, and yet *Thuanus* (*l*) *Gambara's* Death, in the Year 1586. [illegible]*ntius*, he makes him Ninety Years of Age, [illegible] ſo much the more impoſſible to adjuſt *Voſſius's* reckoning by this, as it is certain that *Gambara* ſet about this Work in his old Age (*m*), and whilſt Cardinal *de Granvel*, to whom he had dedicated it, was Viceroy of *Naples*. Mr. *Teiſſier* does not mention *Longus's* Tranſlation in the Catalogue of *Gambara's* Works.

(*A*) *He had a Quarrel with* Ronſard.] This Poet made a Satyr, 'called *la Truelle croſſée*, in 'which he blamed the King for giving Benefices 'to Maſons, and other vile Perſons, in which he 'particularly taxes one *de Lorme*, Architect of the '*Tuilleries*, who had obtained the Abby of *Livry*, 'and of whom we have a tolerable Book of Architecture. And it will not be unſeaſonable to obſerve here the Malevolence of this Abbot, who 'to revenge himſelf, one Day cauſed the Gate of 'the *Tuilleries* to be ſhut againſt *Ronſard*, who 'followed the Queen-Mother; but *Ronſard*, who 'was Satyrical and biting when he pleaſed, 'immediately wrote with a Pencil upon the Door, 'which the Sieur *de Sarlan* cauſed preſently to be 'opened, theſe Words in Capital Letters, FORT. 'REVERENT. HABE. The Queen returning and ſeeing this Writing in the Company 'of learned Men, and of the Abbot *de Livri* himſelf, would know what was the meaning of 'it. *Ronſard*, after *de Lorme* had complained, 'that this Inſcription reflected on him, gave the 'Interpretation; He owned, that by a harmleſs Iro'ny, he had made that Inſcription for him, reading 'it in *French*, but that it agreed better to him 'reading it in *Latin*, cautioning him by it (the firſt 'Words cut off from a *Latin* Epigram of *Auſonius*,) which begins *Fortunam reverenter habe*, to 'look back to his firſt and vile Fortune, and not 'ſhut the Door againſt the Muſes. The Queen aſſiſted *Ronſard* in his Revenge; for ſhe ſharply reprimanded the Abbot *de Livri*, after ſome Laughter, ſaying aloud, that the *Tuilleries* were dedica'ted to the Muſes. *Du Peyrat* relates this Story, and adds a Preamble to it, much to the Prejudice of our *de Lorme*, and which perhaps is not well-grounded; for the Author of *Ronſard's* Life has not made the like Reflection, though it might have ſerved as a farther Juſtification to *Ronſard*. However, theſe are *du Peirat's* Words: (*p*) 'As the 'Modeſty of this Chaplain to *William* the Con'queror, King of *England*, procured him the Ho'nour of the Biſhoprick of *Mans*, and the Praiſe 'of every Body; the Inſolence on the contrary, 'and the Pride of an Eccleſiaſtick of the Chappel 'of the Queen-Mother, *Catherine de Medicis*, ex'poſed him to the Laughter of the Court, and of 'this great Princeſs; he was called *Philibert de 'Lorme*, who having by his Miſtreſſes Favour ob'tained the Abbey of *Livri*, utterly forgot his for'mer Condition; and his Arrogance occaſioned the 'great *Ronſard*, the *French Homer*, to write a Sa'tyr againſt him, called *la Truelle croſſée*. He gives the two Verſes of *Auſonius*, whereof we have only the three firſt Words in *Ronſard's* Life. See the Margin (*q*).

(*A*) *Retired to Moulins on Account of his Age.*] The Letter which the Sieur *Bachot* writ to him, and publiſhed before his Book of vulgar Errors, hits this in it. 'If you——like it, thoſe muſt 'be very nice, who will not like it——; ſince 'our Kings, Queens, Princes and Princeſſes of 'France

(*n*) *Eloges tirez de Thuanus. tom. 2. pag. 45.*

(*o*) Binet, *Life of* Ronſard, *pag. m. 144.*

(*p*) *Du Peyrat, Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi, pag. 204.*

(*q*) Fortunam reverenter habe, quicunque repente Dives, ab exili progrediere loco. *Auſon.*

and I might have made this Article longer, if *Mr. Patin* had (B) publiſhed the Book he deſigned to publiſh. Our *de Lorme* left a Son, whoſe Reputation did not fall ſhort of his Father's, in the Profeſſion of Phyſick. He practiſed (C) in *Paris* with great Succeſs, and beſides did great Honour to his Art by his own long Life. Being loaden with Years, he ſtill found himſelf vigorous enough to (D) be willing to Marry again: This we find in *Guy Patin's* Letters. I have heard ſay, that he actually did Marry, and choſe a very young and pretty Woman, and it was thought that this wou'd ſerve to haſten his Death; but on the contrary it only occaſioned the Death of his young Wife. She got a Phthiſick (E) by her good old Man's ſide, and never cou'd be cured of it. This Mr. *de Lorme* was a Man (F) of admirable Converſation. He had been Phyſician to *Gaſton*, of *France*, Duke of *Orleans*, but did not keep that Imploy long.

[a] *Patin lettre* 415. *pag.* 235. *du* 3. *tom.*

'*France* and *Lorrain* have for ſo long time had, 'and ſtill have ſuch an Eſteem for you and your 'Merit, that nothing had been able to withdraw 'you from their ordinary Service, but an Inability 'to follow the Court, which your great and 'happy old Age, ſtill more loaden with Honours 'than Years, has brought you to. When you re-'tired ſatisfied, and as it were ſatiated with ſo 'many Favours to your own Houſe, and Native 'Country, every one ſaw the Honour which our 'moſt Auguſt King *Lewis the Juſt* did you, in his 'Victorious return from *Languedoc* in *December* '1622. together with the Queen his Mother, 'by taking their Lodgings with you in the begin-'ning of the Year 1623, as a Teſtimony of their 'Benevolence'.

(B) *If Mr.* Patin *had publiſhed the Book he deſigned.*] He would have inſerted in it the Elogy of the Phyſician, who is the Subject of this Article. (a) 'I formerly collected ſeveral Memoirs for compo-'ſing the *Latin* Elogies of the *French*, who have 'been Famous in the Reſpective Sciences, in Imitati-'on of Mr. *Scevola de St. Marthe*, upon which I 'deſigned to work next Winter Evenings; 'but my numerous Diſtempers make me apprehen-'ſive, for which reaſon I dare not give an abſo-'lute Promiſe. You'd oblige me if you wou'd de-'ſire Mr. *de Lorme*, that he would pleaſe to ſend 'me ſome Memoirs concerning his Father, 'whom I know to have been a great Man, and of 'whom I have ſomething Material, which I will 'boldly inſert, concerning the Diſtemper of *Mary* 'de *Medicis*, in which Mr. *du Laurence* diſappro-'ved Bleeding, being deceived by a Paſſage of *Hip-'pocrates*, who ſays, that we are not to Bleed in a 'Flux, *fluente alvo venam non ſecabis*, and on the 'contrary, Mr. *de Lorme* maintined, and preſſed 'Phlebotomy. *Patin* adds, that three Phyſicians of *Paris* were conſulted, and confirmed M. *de Lorme's* Advice (b). 'The Queen Mother was 'let blood and recovered——I deſign, ſays he, to 'make my Characters finer, and more Curious and 'Hiſtorical, than thoſe of Mr. *de St. Marthe*, nor 'ſhall they be Inferiour to his, except in Expreſ-'ſion'. 'Tis a Misfortune that he did not execute 'this good Deſign.

[b] *Id. ib. pag.* 87.

(C) *He practiſed in* Paris *with great Succeſs.*] *Bachot* in the Letter above cited, expreſſes himſelf thus, ſpeaking to M. *de Lorme*, the Father. 'I 'give you an Account of the Subject of this Work, 'which you have encouraged by your Advice, if 'you pleaſe to look favourably on it; as alſo to 'your Son, one of the ſoundeſt and fineſt Wits of 'his Age, and of this Century, in our Profeſſion, 'as he is acknowledged by all the Court, and by 'this Populous City of *Paris*'. *Bachot* writ this in 1626. He prefixed to his Work a Letter, which *de Lorme*, the Son, his Relation, *Counſellor to the King, and his Phyſician in Ordinary*, had written to him, ſending him a ſhort Poem (c) of his mak-ing. Note, that he ingaged Mr. *Gaulmyn*, his Couſin, to write *Latin* Verſes in the Praiſe of this Tract of *Bachot*. They are printed before the Book.

[c] *This is an Acroſtick: It's to be ſeen before the Sieur* Bachot's *Book, with another Song of Mr. de Lorme the Father.*

(D) *To be willing to Marry again.*] We ſhall cite a Paſſage upon this, with all its Circumſtan-ces. I take it from a Letter of *Guy Patin* dated the 18th of *June* 1666. '(d) When you told 'M. *de Lorme*, That M. *Blondel* would prove that '*Antimony* was Poyſon, you ſay he made a great 'Leap. 'Tis very well, if at his Age he can 'Leap ſo, and God be praiſed, that he ſtill is able 'to Leap, but *Antimony* has made thoſe ſtill, who 'will never get up again nor Leap more. God 'preſerve him, and bring him from *Bourbon* in 'good Health; and ſince he has a mind to Marry 'again, I wiſh him ſuch a Wife, as he would 'chuſe. There's nothing like dying of a fine 'Sword. He muſt enter with Honour into the Ho-'ly Synagogue'. In a Letter of the 20th of *Octo-ber*, the ſame Year he ſpeaks thus: (e) *I hear that Mr.* de Lorme *is gone from* Lyons, *and is returning to* Bourbon *or* Moulins, *where he has a deſign to Marry again. He does well, if it be for the Health of his Soul, for as for his Body, I believe he has hardly any need of this piece of Furniture.* This Deſign was neither executed nor quitted, when the ſame *Patin* writ the Letter, in which are theſe words. '(f) I ſaw very lately Mr. *de Lorme*, 'who was a little indiſpoſed but with the ſame 'vigour of Mind, as when in perfect Health. So 'very old as he is, 'tis ſaid, he has a mind to 'Marry again, and that ſome body Incourages 'him in this Folly, to bring him to the Trium-'virate, which will be a dangerous Yoke to him, 'and perhaps fatal; I wiſh it may be for the 'good of his Soul, and for the warmth of his Feet'. He afterwards mentions the Epigram of *Stephen Paſquier*, which we have ſeen above. This Letter is dated from *Paris* the 14th of *January* 1670. It proves that Mr. *de Lorme* lived then in that City, and that he had been twice Married.

[d] *Patin lettre* 407. *pag.* 207. *du* 3. *tome.*

[e] *Idem lettre* 422. *pag.* 251.

[f] *Idem lettre* 506. *pag.* 490.

(E) *She got a Phthiſick by her good old Man.*] Tho' upon the hopes of a large Jointure ſhe reſol-ved upon the Condition of the *Shunamite*, yet ſhe had Reaſon enough to afflict her ſelf upon ſee-ing the ill Effects of this Application, and how contagious an old Man's Bed is to a young Wo-man; ſeveral Phyſicians maintain, that 'tis good for a decrepit Man to lie with a fat and plump Child, but that 'tis dangerous to the Child to have ſuch a Bed-fellow. Nevertheleſs, the Fate of our *de Lorme's* Wife, is what very ſeldom happens, ſo true it is, that old (g) Age is a Cuſtom-Houſe, which admits no Abſolute Exemption! There are many Reaſons to be urged *Pro* and *Con* upon the Queſtion, whether ſuch Marriages, as Mr. *de Lor-me's*, are worſe than thoſe of a *Publicius* and a *Septicia*, two very old Perſons. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that *Auguſtus* annulled *Septicia's* Will, by which ſhe left all her Goods to *Publicius* in Pre-judice of her Children by a former Husband. And the ſame Author extolls the Juſtice of this De-cree to the Skies. (h) *Si ipſa æquitas hæc de re co-gnoſceret, poſſetne juſtius aut gravius pronuntiare? Spernis quos genuiſti: nubis effœta, teſtamenti ordi-nem violento animo confundis: neque erubeſcis ei totum patrimonium addicere, cujus pollincto jam corpori marcidam ſenectutem tuam ſubjeciſti.* We ought perhaps amongſt Chriſtians to break off more commonly than we do thoſe Matches, which join together either two extreams of the ſame Cha-racter, or two oppoſite ones, two Autumns of Age, or the naked Stalk and Flower of Age.

[g] *See the following Remark.*

[h] *Valer. Maximus lib.* 7. *cap.* 7. *n.* 4. *p. m.* 645.

(F) *Mr. de Lorme was a Man of admirable Converſation.*] Two Paſſages of *Guy Patin* ſhall ſerve for the preſent Comment. '(i) Yeſterday 'viſited (k) Mr. *de Lorme* at his Houſe, he recei-'ved me very kindly, and we diſcourſed together 'a good Hour, we were neither of us Mute, he is 'admirable in his Converſation, as well as in 'every thing elſe, he has a wonderful Memory for 'his Age of 85, I think he will die as he lived, 'with his *Antimony* in his Heart and Head, and 'yet what Comforts me, is, that I hope he will never take any, having ſo little need of it.' Some Weeks after, he paid him another Viſit (l) *I yeſterday ſaw Mr. de* Lorme, *whoſe Underſtanding is ſtill clear, and Memory prodigious; theſe two Fa-culties he poſſeſſes in great Perfection, they Savour*

[i] *Patin lettre* 501. *pag.* 459.

[k] *That's to ſay, the* 6th *of* November 1669.

[l] *Idem. lettre* 503. *pag.* 476. *it's dated it be* 13th *of* December 1669.

but a little while. He was much longer Physician at the Waters of *Bourbon*. We shall see in the Remark (G) that he died in 1678.

LORRAIN (*Charles de*) Cardinal and Archbishop of *Rheims*, Son to *Claudius*, first Duke of *Guise*, was born in *February* [a] 1525. He was a Person (A) of very great Abilities; but abused 'em to the great Prejudice of *France*, and to the gratifying an Insatiate Thirst of Riches and Preferments. He stept into a very ample Succession (B) of Beneficies in 1550. by the Death of Cardinal *John de Lorrain*, his Uncle, whose Debts he never (C) paid, tho' he had promised the Creditors he wou'd. At the same time he insinuated himself by sordid Condescensions into the Favour [b] of the Dutchess of *Valentinois*, and obtained so Exorbitant an Authority, as to raise to the noblest Offices of the Kingdom, Persons who were at his Devotion. He did not always stay, till Places were vacant, knowing very well how to dispossess the Owners. The first President of the Parliament of *Paris* [c] sadly experienced it. This Cardinal, who in *Henry* II's Reign had an almost boundless Power, found himself still greater under *Francis* II. when he and the Duke of *Guise*, his Brother, governed the whole Kingdom at their Pleasure, under Pretence that they were Uncles to the young Queen *Mary Stuart*. He made a great Figure at the Conference of *Poissi*, by his Eloquence and Learning, and 'tis very probable that he (D) consented to the holding that Assembly, only to have an Opportunity of shewing his Eloquence and Wit. He made a great shew likewise in the Council of *Trent*; but did not maintain the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, with so

[a] *Counting the Year from* January. Moreri *who makes him be born* 1519 *is mistaken in his Epitaph, shews that he died* vii Kal. Jan. 1574. *and that he liv'd* annos 49. menses 10. dies 8. horas quatuor. *See the* Nomenclator Cardinalium pag. 141.

[b] *See the Remark C.*

[c] *See the Article* Lizet, *Remark A.*

nothing of Age, but I won't Answer for the rest. Maximus est aretalogus. *I'm told he has no good Hand at Practice, notwithstanding his pretended and Mystical Polypharmacy; he is of a powerful Conversation, he knows a great many things, and expresses them wonderfully well; and which is more, he is very reserved, when the Question is about the Merits of some learned Men, that have lived in* France *for this hundred Years past; he happily mixes his Judgment with his Charity,* nemini facit injuriam, nulli quidquam detrahit debitæ laudis: *Take him altogether, he is a great Man, who for his Perfections is greatly indebted to God and Nature: I only wish he were not so great a Romancer, when the Point is to praise some, who don't altogether so well deserve it; but I believe he does this on purpose that he may not be thought vain-glorious or slighting, and this in some Respects is commendable.* From the first of these Passages we may infer, that he was born in 1584.

(G) *That he died in the Year* 1678.] My Proof shall be taken from a Passage of the *Mercure Galant*. 'We have lost a Physician, as old as he 'was famous; it's Mr. *de Lorme*, who always did 'that which is passed into a Proverb against the 'Physicians, and which never fails of being ob-'jected to 'em, *Physician Cure thy self.* He brought 'into Fashion a *Tisan*, which was called the *Bou-'illon-rouge*, by which thousands have found Be-'nefit. The great Summs he spent in Experiments 'are Tokens of the Care he took not to be Igno-'rant in any part of his Profession; he died at the 'House of the Marshal *Crequy*, where he lived, 'and was above an Hundred Years old; he was very 'lively, and I have seen some very handsome 'Verses of his, which I am assured he made with-'in these Fifteen Days'. I Don't think he was above an Hundred, and I rather adhere to Mr. *Patin*'s Calculation, according to which he died in the 94th Year of his Age.

[a] *Mercure Galant for* July, 1678 *pag.* 142, 143. *Dutch Edition.*

(A) *A Person of very great Abilities, but abused 'em.*] Here's the Character M. *de Mezerai* gives of him (b): 'The Cardinal was a Man made all of 'Fire, always in Action, and continually form-'ing Intrigues and Factions for the raising his Fa-'mily; as capable of a quick Invention of 'em, 'as his elder Brother was of a prudent Execution. 'extreamly bent upon heaping up Wealth, lofty in 'Words, and Vindictive; nevertheless Covert, 'Timorous, and Dissembling, except in the Re-'sentment of Injuries: as for the rest, a Man 'who by the help of the Learning he had acqui-'red, and by the Charms of Eloquence, which were 'natural to him, had that Advantage of making 'himself heard'. If you would have a Copy of this Picture, read only what follows. *This* (c) *Prince, whose Name is so famous in History, and who had a mind extreamly lively and penetrating, a Temper Ardent, Impetuous, Violent, a rare natural Eloquence, much more Learning than could be expected in a Person of his Quality, and whom his Eloquence made appear much greater still than he really was, the boldest Man of the Cabinet, in Imagining and Enterprizing great things and vast Designs; but the most timorous and dispirited, when he came to the Execution, which he saw to be full of Danger; he had all his Life an unbounded Passion for the Greatness of his Family.* These Words of Mr. *Maimbourg* precede the Passage in which he relates, how this Cardinal formed in the Council of *Trent* the first Plan of the League.

[b] *Mezerai, Hist. de France, tome* 3. *pag.* 2.

[c] *Maimbourg, Hist. de la Ligue liv.* 1. *pag.* 12. *Edit. de Holland.*

(B) *A very ample Succession of Beneficies.*] Cardinal *John de Lorrain* (d) *had sought his Establishment in* France, *and had made it in contempt of the sacred Canons, and the most Ancient Laws of the Church. He was at the same time Archbishop of* Lions, Reims *and* Narbonne, *Bishop of* Mets, Toul, Verdun, Terou, Lucon-Abby, *and* Valence, *and Abbot of* Gorze, Fecamp, Cluny, *and* Marmouter. His Nephew did not succeed him in all these Preferments, but he did in the greatest part (e). The Bishoprick of *Mets* was given to *Robert de Lenoncourt*, who not long after contributed mainly to the Reducing this City under the Power of *France* (f).

[d] *Varillas, Hist. de François I. li.* 7. *p.* 264. *ad ann.* 1536

[e] *See the following Remark, the Words of* Thuanus.

[f] Thuanus, *lib.* 6. *pag.* 122. *ad ann.* 1550.

Cardinal *John de Lorrain*, experienced, that his Successor would not wait till his Death, to enjoy his Spoils Read what follows. (g) 'Oh base and 'detestable Ingratitude, having not patience, till 'the deceased Cardinal *de Lorrain*, his Uncle, by 'whose Favour he came from the College of *Na-'varre*, to Court; a Man, as to Ambition, of a 'quite different Temper from his Nephews, should 'enrich him with his Spoils by his Decease; he '(b) ceased not to draw every thing that was pos-'sible for him under his Wing, by an Importuni-'ty next a-kin to Violence, and found a way of 'making him desire to remove from Court, fur-'nished him with such Servants as he thought 'fit, and deprived him of others that were most 'faithful to him, under any pretence he pleased, 'and so managed matters, that it was not his 'Fault that he was not stripped to his Shirt, when 'at last a sudden Death carried him off in his re-'turn from the Election of Pope *Julius* III'. This is taken from a Remonstrance addressed to the Princes of the Blood, and inserted by *Lewis de Reiner*, Sieur *de la Planche* in his History of *Francis* II.

[g] *La Planche Hist. de Francois II. pag.* 433, 434.

[b] *That's to say, Cardinal* Charles *of* Lorrain.

(C) *Whose Debts he never paid.*] We must hear *Thuanus*. (i) *At Carolus Guisianus, qui demum Lotaringus dici cepit, cum patruo mortuo opulentissimorum sacerdotiorum possessionem adeptus esset, nequaquam grande as alienum exsolvit sicuti receperat, quo ille mersus plerosque creditores secum una mersit. Is in arctiorem Pictaviensis familiaritatem, qua totum regii animum occupaverat, turpibus obsequiis cum se insinuavisset, auctor illi fuit quo regni negotiorum administrationem penes se haberet, ut, &c.*

[i] Thuan. *ubi supra.*

(D) *He consented to the holding that Assembly, only that he might have an Opportunity of shewing his Eloquence.* Davila confesses, that this Cardinal desired it, (k) *out of the too*

[k] Varillas, *Hist. of* Charles IX *tom.* I. *pag.* 212.

so much vigour (*E*) as the Court of *Rome* apprehended. He found it more [redacted] to the Intereſt of his Family to deal civilly with the Pope. His Credit, [redacted] ſuffered a ſhort Eclipſe by the Death of the Duke of *Guiſe* his Brother, [redacted] again (*F*) ſome time after. He was looked on as the Author of the War [redacted] which the Duke of *Guiſe* had ruined his whole Reputation. I ſhall cite upon this Occaſion a Paſſage (*G*) of *Brantome*, that deſerves to be conſidered. I ſhall cite another

(*a*) *Maimbourg hiſt. du Calvin. pag.* 212.
(*b*) *Varillas ibid. pag.* 52.
(*c*) *This Edict of the* 28. *of Jan.* 1561. *muſt not be confounded with that which was iſſued in Jan.* 1562. *revoking the Edict of July.*
(*d*) *See* Fra-Paolo *tranſlated by* Amelot. *li.* 8. *pag.* 789. *See alſo* Mezerai. Abregé Chronolog. *tom.* 3. *p.* 83.
(*e*) *In the ſame Hiſtory of* Fra-Paolo *pag.* 794. *among the things that this Cardinal was blamed, for in* France *you'll find this*, That he might very well have diſpenſed with compoſing the Acclamations, and much more with thundering 'em out. And thus it often falls out, *ſays the ſame Hiſtorian*, that the vain-glorious, inſtead of the little Honour which they hope to gain, loſe all at once that which they had acquired. *The* 16. *of the* 1ſt. *Book.*

good Opinion he had of his own Eloquence, and a deſire of diſputing with thoſe who had employ'd all their time in the ſtudy of Controverſy. Mr. *Maimbourg* maintains, that (*a*) *this is one of thoſe malignant Conjectures, which have been ſo commonly made to the Diſadvantage of this great Prelate, whom they would on this occaſion tax with Vanity. If he had had as much power*, adds he, *as he had in the preceding Reign, he would doubtleſs have hinder'd the holding this Colloquy.* I believe ſo too, for in the preceding Reign, he would never have ſuffer'd, that the *Calviniſts* ſhould have liberty to complain; but whatever change there was in his Intereſt, he had ſtill Credit enough to have broken off the Conference, if it had diſpleaſed him. Had not he been the cauſe (*b*) by the Remonſtances he made to their Majeſties at the Head of the Clergy; why they durſt not maintain the firſt (*c*) Edict of *January*, that was favourable to the *Huguenots*, and why they went in Perſon, and ſat in the Parliament of *Paris* to find out new Expedients? Had not he been the cauſe, that the Reſolutions which were taken in this Aſſembly produced the Edict of *July*, ſo terrible and ruinous to the P[redacted] teſtants? Had he not thereby triumphed ov[redacted] Queen Regent, ſupported by the Prince of [redacted] the Admiral *de Coligni*, and Chancellor *de* [redacted] *ſpital*? When a Man could do all this, it could not be very difficult methinks, to hinder the Conference of *Poiſſi*. 'Tis therefore probable, that the Cardinal *de Lorrain*, proud of ſo fine an occaſion of ſetting forth his Learning and Eloquence, contributed much to the holding this Conference. Beſides his being aſſured, that the Doctrine of the *Calviniſts* would be there condemn'd by the Biſhops, which would adminiſter new Arms to the zealous and perſecuting Catholicks.

They who know this Cardinal's Vanity by the Symptoms he diſcover'd of it in the Council of *Trent*, will doubtleſs blame Mr. *Maimbourg*. At the concluding of the Council, they were willing to imitate the cuſtom practiced in the *Eaſtern* Church of Acclamation and Prayer, and the Cardinal (*d*) of Lorrain *not only took the pains of compoſing theſe Acclamations, but alſo of pronouncing them, which made him univerſally cenſured* (*e*) *of Vanity, that Function which had been fit for a Deacon* (and which heretofore had been always perform'd by Deacons) *ſeeming but little becoming a Cardinal Prince.* A Man that was capable of falling into ſo childiſh an Oſtentation, in all probability deſired to enter the Liſts with the Miniſters in preſence of all the Court, in order to ſhew his Wit and Eloquence. He was ſo addicted to the Government of the State, and Intrigues of Policy, that he had reaſon to apprehend, he was thought a bad Divine. Indeed he might believe, that the World would excuſe him for having forgot the Notions he had learn'd at the Schools; but the more probable it was, that his profound skill in Politicks made the World believe, that he was not well vers'd in controverſial Matters, the more he was perſwaded that it would be to his Glory, to ſhew he underſtood 'em thoroughly, and that he could diſcourſe eloquently and learnedly upon 'em. Here then is the Rock that his Vanity ſplit upon, and we may ſay that one Vanity cured another; for if he had not had the Ambition to have it ſaid, that he excell'd even in things the moſt remote from his continual Occupations, he would but too much have deſpiſed the Rank and Birth of the Miniſters to have vouchſafed to enter into a regular Diſpute with 'em. I wiſh *Montagne* had ſpoken of him in that Chapter of his (*f*) Eſſays, in which he obſerves, that *it is moſt frequently happens, that every one chuſes rather to diſcourſe on Another's Profeſſion than his own, looking upon that as ſo much new acquired Reputation*, ——— I obſerve how Cæſar *expatiates, in deſcribing to us his Inventions of building Bridges an[redacted]nes, and how reſerved he is in compariſon, [redacted] he ſpeaks of the Offices of his own Profeſſion, [redacted] his Valour and Conduct as a General. His Exploits prove him to be a very [redacted]nt General, and he would make himſelf ap[redacted] excellent Engineer, an Accompliſhment ſo [redacted]ut foreign.* Divinity, you'll tell me, is a Cardinal's Profeſſion: I anſwer, this admits too many Exceptions, and if he be a Cardinal Prince, or a firſt Miniſter of State. Divinity is no more his Profeſſion than that of the General of an Army.

(*E*) *With ſo much vigour as the Court of* Rome *apprehended.*] ' (*g*) The Cardinal of *Lorrain* arrived at *Trent*, attended by a great Number of ' Biſhops, and took upon [redacted]him ſuch Authority ' that the Pope grow[redacted]ous of him, called ' him amongſt his Fri[redacted] *little Pope beyond* ' *the Mountains.* He [redacted]w that he came with ' an Intention to act in concert with the Impe-' rialiſts, to procure ſome ſatisfaction to the *Lu-' theranz*, (whom he deſired to draw off from the ' *Huguenots*, he and his Brother having to that ' purpoſe diſcourſed with the Duke [redacted]*irtemberg*, ' and other Princes of this Faith [redacted]*verne*) for ' which reaſon he had taken care [redacted]ortify him-' ſelf againſt him, by a great Nu[redacted] of *Italian* ' Biſhops, whom from all Parts he ſent to *Trent*, ' before this Cardinal arrived there. Some ' Months after his arrival, Two great pieces of ' News came to the Council; one concerning the ' Death of the King of *Navarre*, the other, at ' ſome Months diſtance, of the winning the Bat-' tel of *Dreux*; both which made the Cardinal ' believe, that his Brother would become Maſter ' of *France*; and this Conſideration much ' heightned his Power in the Council, and by ' conſequence that of the Embaſſadors, with ' whom he had been well united from the Begin-' ning. They propoſed therefore, according to ' the Commiſſion they had recieved, Thirty-four ' Articles of Reformation. ——— The Cardinal ' of *Lorrain* had doubtleſs ſtrongly ſupported ' 'em, if the Death of the Duke of *Guiſe* had ' not happen'd; but as [redacted] good fortune of this ' Brother had elevated [redacted]ourage, the loſs of ' him infinitely caſt [redacted]own; he thought of ' nothing now but of [redacted]compromizing things with ' the Pope, and abating of his great Deſigns; he ' obliged all the Biſhops of his Faction to abate ' too. Thus the Legates, and other Creatures of ' the Court of *Rome*, remained Maſters of the ' Council, and got a great many things to paſs ' according to their Intentions.

(*g*) Mezerai, Abregé Chronologique, *to* 6. *p.* 420. *This is the Diſcourſe of the Church of the* XVI. *Century, ad ann.* 1562, 1563. *See alſo page* 67. *of the* 5. *tome.*

(*F*) *His credit——ſoon out again ſometime after.*] Here is one Sign of it. (*b*) *The Guards deſign'd for the Security of the* Cardinal of Lorrain, *had Orders not only to attend him into the* Louvre; *but alſo not to leave him at the Altar. Thus to mingle the ſmell of Gun-powder and Match with the Odours and Incenſe, and other ſacred Perfumes.* It was *Charles* IX. who granted him this Favour, as Mr. *Auberi* (*i*) obſerves, ſpeaking of a Privilege much like that granted to Cardinal *de Richelieu.*

[redacted] *hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, liv.* 2. *pag.* 87. *du* 1. *tome. édit. de Hollande* 1666.
(*i*) *Ibid.*

(*G*) *I ſhall cite a Paſſage of* Brant[redacted]*on the War of* Italy.] ' (*k*) Theſe Two [redacted] hap-' pen'd by the means of People, wh[redacted] handle ' Arms whilſt they knew nothing [redacted]e Pro-' feſſion. And for this reaſon this great Duke of ' *Guiſe*, after he had been wretchedly baulk'd in ' his *Italian* Expedition, frequently ſaid, I love ' indeed the Church of God; but I'll never un-[redacted]make any Conqueſts upon the Word and Faith ' [redacted] Prieſt. Deſigning hereby to reproach Pope ' [redacted], called *Paul* IV. who had not made good ' [redacted] he had promiſed, by great and ſolemn ' Aſſeverations; or elſe the Cardinal his Brother, ' who was gone to get Reconciliation, and to found ' Matters, as far as *Rome*, and afterwards had

(*k*) *Brantôme, Dames galantes, to.* 2. *pag.* 68.

very

another Paſſage from him, which ſhows the Vanity of this Cardinal, that is to ſay, the Haughtineſs with which he ſpoke to the Dutcheſs (H) of *Savoy*, kiſſing her by main force. Note, that the Kiſs he ſtrugled for, was a Kiſs of Ceremony; he loved [illegible] (I) other Kiſſes, as *Brantome* informs us. I have elſewhere ſpoken * of the Regard to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Satyrical Writings he was expoſed to on this account. I might alſo have obſerved, that he was compared to *Seneca* (K) in one of theſe Satyrs. He was turn'd into ridicule for ſome time, on his having a cutting

* *In the Remarks of the Article* Guiſe (Francis).

'very raſhly puniſh'd his Brother upon it. It may 'be ſuppoſed that my Lord of *Guiſe* meant it of 'both, for as I have heard ſay, the Duke fre-'quently repeated ſuch Sayings before the Car-'dinal, who thinking it was a Stone taken out of 'his Garden, was enraged at it, and could hardly 'curb his Paſſion. The Two Faults *Brantome* 'ſpeaks of, are thoſe of *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, 'and Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*. Lewis

(a) *Id. ib. pag.* 87. '(a) *died in a Battle which he fought againſt the* 'Turks, *not ſo much out of any reaſon, as through the Perſwaſion and Opinionativeneſs of the Cardinal, who ſtrangely governed him, alledging, that he ought not to diſtruſt the power of God and his juſt Cauſe; that tho' he ſhould have, as we may ſay, but Ten Thouſand* Hungarians, *being ſo good Chriſtians, and fighting in God's Cauſe, he might expect to defeat a Hundred Thouſand* Turks, *and he ſo drove and hurried him to this Engagement, that he loſt the Battle; and being willing to retire, he fell into a Bog and was ſmother'd. The ſame happened to the laſt King of* Portugal, Sebaſtian, *who miſerably loſt his Life, when being too weak in Force, he hazarded a Battle with the* Mores, *who were three times ſtronger than he, and this upon the perſwaſion, the Preachments, and Opinionativeneſs of the Jeſuits, who laid before him the Power of God, who by his look alone was able confound all the World, tho' they ſhould be armed againſt him, as doubtleſs it is a moſt true Maxim; however we ought not to tempt nor abuſe his Goodneſs; for he has Secrets that we are ignorant of. Some have ſaid that theſe Jeſuits did this, and ſaid it with a good Intention, as it may be believed; others, that they had been ſuborned and bribed by the King of* Spain, *thus to deſtroy this young and courageous King, all full of fire, that he might the more eaſily ſeize his Dominions, as he afterwards did.* For One Reader who will blame me for having drawn out this Remark to ſuch a length, more than a Hundred will thank me heartily: 'Tis to oblige ſuch, that I ſometimes give a greater Extent to my Remarks than the Text requires; they experience with pleaſure, that they light upon more things by the way, than ever they expected to find. ●

(H) *The Dutcheſs of* Savoy *kiſſing her.*] He had naturally a great reſpect for (b) the Ladies. (b) *Brantome ibid. pag.* 364. 'But he forgot this reſpect, and not without rea-'ſon, towards Madam the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, 'Donna *Beatrix* of *Portugal*. Paſſing once 'through *Piedmont*, in his Journey to *Rome*, for 'the Service of the King his Maſter, he viſited 'the Duke and Dutcheſs; after having diſ-'courſed ſome time with Monſieur the Duke, he 'waited on Madam the Dutcheſs in her Chamber, 'intending to ſalute her, and as he approached, 'ſhe, who was Arrogance it ſelf, offered him her 'Hand to kiſs. Monſieur the Cardinal reſenting 'this Affront, advanced to kiſs her Lips, and ſhe 'continued to run back, when looſing all Pa-'tience, and coming up cloſer to her he took her 'by the Head, and in ſpight of her, kiſſed her 'Two or Three times, and tho' ſhe ſcream'd and 'cry'd out in *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe*, ſhe was 'forced to ſubmit. How comes it, ſays he, 'Madam, that you uſe this Behaviour to me? 'Shan't I, who kiſs the Queen my Miſtreſs, the 'greateſt Queen in the World, kiſs you, who 'are but a little dirty Dutcheſs? And I would 'have you know, that I have lain with as fine 'Ladies, and of as good Families as your ſelf. 'Poſſibly he might ſay true. This Princeſs was 'to blame in carrying it ſo high towards a Prince 'of ſo great a Houſe, or even to a Cardinal, con-'ſidering the high Rank they bear in the Church, 'which is eſteem'd on a level with the greateſt 'Princes in Chriſtendom. The Cardinal was to blame, in taking ſo harſh a Revenge; but 'tis grievous to a noble and generous Heart, of what-ever Profeſſion, to receive an Affront.

(I) *He loved alſo other Kiſſes.*] The following Paſſage is a piece of a Comedy, which the People of the World play: By the People of the World, I mean ſome Princes of the Church, as well as the moſt worldly Laymen. Let's hear *Brantome* ſpeak, he will tell us that the Cardinal *de Lorrain* was no leſs liberal in point of Charity than Gallantry: 'Moſt liberal, ſays he, (c) I may (c) *Ibid. pag.* 361. *& ſuiv.* 'call him, ſince he had not his Equal in his time; 'his Expences, his Gifts, and Bounties, have 'teſtify'd it, eſpecially his Charity towards the 'Poor; he generally carried a great Purſe, which 'his Valet de Chamber, who kept his Money 'for his little Pleaſures, failed not to fill every 'Morning with Three or Four Hundred Crowns; 'and as often as he met with any Poor body, he 'put his Hand in the Purſe, and what he took 'out at adventure he gave, without putting a 'Farthing back again. It was of him, that a 'poor blind Man ſaid, (when paſſing through 'Rome, and being asked an Alms, he, according 'to his cuſtom, threw the Beggar a Handful of 'Gold,) crying out aloud, *O tu ſei Chriſto, O veramente el Cardinal di Lorrenna:* That is, 'Either thou are Chriſt, or undoubtedly the Car-'de Lorrain. If he was an Alms-giver, and 'charitable that way, he was alſo very liberal to 'other Perſons, and eſpecially towards the Ladies, 'whom he eaſily caught with his Bait; for Money 'was not ſo plenty in thoſe times, as it is at pre-'ſent; and for their part, they were more fond 'of Junketing and fine Cloaths. I have heard 'ſay, that when any new Maid came to Court, 'or Lady that was Handſome, he preſently came 'and accoſted her, telling her he would have the 'managing of her with his own Hand; What 'managing did he mean? I believe the Trouble 'was not near ſo great, as managing a wild 'Filly; for at that time it was ſaid, there was 'hardly a Lady or Maid of any ſtanding at Court, 'or newly arrived, that was not kiſſed and caught 'by the Magnificence of the Cardinal; and few 'or none left this Court, either Women or Maids 'of unſpotted Honour. Their Coffers and large 'Wardrobes, were then to be ſeen ſtuff't with more 'Gowns, Petticoats, Gold and Silver, and Silk, 'than thoſe of the Queens and Princeſſes of this 'time. I ſpeak from my own knowledge, of 'Two or Three who had gained all this by their 'Bodies, their Fathers, Mothers and Husbands 'having never bin able to furniſh 'em with ſuch 'Store. The ſame *Brantome* affirms (d) that the (d) *In his Diſcourſe on Admiral Coligni, page* 174. *of the* 3. *tome of his Memoires.* Baſtard Daughter of this Cardinal, called *Arne*, follow'd the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Henry* II. and Wife to *Philip* II. and was Married to *Beſme*, he who aſſaſſinated the Admiral.

(K) *He was compared to* Seneca.] We need not wonder at it, when we know that the Author of the *Parallel* took this Philoſopher for a wicked Man. Let's cite *Montagn's* Words, they are worthy of his good taſte: *Amongſt thoſe Thouſands of little Books*, ſays he, (e) *diſperſed by thoſe of the pretended Reformed Religion, in defence of their Cauſe, which now and then came from a good Hand, and which 'tis great Pity were not employ'd on a better Subject, I have formerly ſeen one, which to lengthen and fill up the Similitude, he pretends to find betwixt the Government of our poor deceaſed King* Charles IX. *and that of* Nero, *he makes a Parallel between the deceaſed Cardinal of* Lorrain *and* Seneca, *compares their Fortunes of having been both the firſt in the Government of their Prince, their Morals, Conditions and Deportments. In my Opinion he does great Honour to the Cardinal; for tho' I am one of thoſe who greatly eſteem'd his Wit, his Eloquence, his Zeal* (e) *Montagne Eſſays, liv. 2 ch. 32. pag. m. 702. 703.*

ting Affront also put upon him in *Paris*, by the Mareschal *(L) de Montmorenci* [illegible] He died the 26th. of *December* 1574. You'll find very curious Things concerning his Death, in the Journal of *Henry* III. The Queen of *Scotland* his Niece was [illegible] lucky enough to elude the Design he had *(M)* of keeping her Jewels for her. [illegible] got to observe, that he was the principal Promoter of an Edict, which [illegible] Parliament of *Paris* of half a Year's *(N)* Continuance. This lasted [illegible] ng. We are told, that the Prediction of an Astrologer gave him frequent Fears, and contributed much to the Pains he took to get the wearing of Arms prohibited, in the Reign of *Francis* II. The Passage I shall alledge on this Occasion, [illegible] inform us

(O) *for Religion, and the Service of his King, and his good Fortune of having been born in an Age, in which it was so new a thing, so rare, and withal so necessary to the publick Good, to have an Ecclesiastical Person of such Extraction and Dignity capable of, and sufficient for his Post; yet to confess the Truth, I reckon his Capacity nothing near so great, nor his Virtue so clean and entire, nor so unshaken, as that of Seneca. Now this Book I speak of to obtain its end, gives a very injurious Description of* Seneca, *borrowing these Reproaches from* Dion *the Historian, on whose Testimony I in no wise depend.*

(L) *On his having a cutting Affront put upon him by the Mareschal* de Montmorenci.] Though *Charles* IX. had forbid the wearing of Arms; yet the Cardinal *de Lorrain* came to *Paris* with a great Retinue of armed Men, and pretended to enter the City with this Guard.' (a) 'He had a Permission 'sealed with the great Seal, for riding with a 'Guard. The Mareschal *de Montmorenci* knew it 'very well; but expected, that the Cardinal should 'have made him a Compliment; and he sent to 'him an Order, by the Provost of the Mareschals, 'to command his People to lay down their Ar[illegible] 'The Cardinal neglecting it, still rode on. [illegible] 'Mareschal, well attended, gave him the mee[illegible] 'and charged him in St. *Denis*'s-Street——— 'The Cardinal's Attendants straggled here and 'there, and he himself escaped into a Shop with 'his (b) Nephew. In the Evening, they all came 'together to *Clugny*-House, which was the Cardi'nal's Lodging. The next Day the Mareschal passed 'backwards and forwards in a kind of Bravado before 'his Gates——The Provost of the Merchants, in 'behalf of the Parliament, accommodated this Af'fair: He obtained of the Cardinal, that he wou'd 'quit the Town, and of the Mareschal, that he 'wou'd suffer this Prince to have armed Guards, 'according to the Permission of the King, of 'which he shewed him the Copy (c). The Reader will be better pleased with *Mr. le Laboureur*'s Account of it. (d) 'He ordered him to be civilly 'told, that he would not recieve him in that war'like Equipage, and the Contempt shewn to the 'Message, obliged him the more to come to Ex'treams, which was to repel Force by Force, and 'do his Duty in putting his Guard to the Sword, un'less they disarmed; and consequently this was done 'without any other Loss, than that of one of the 'Cardinal's Retinue, who not being so valiant, tho' 'more violent than his Brothers, was so frighted at it 'that he ran and hid himself in a Shop in *Iron*-Street, 'near which the Skirmish happened. He was af'terwards conducted to his House, which was *Chu*'ny-Castle, where he remained some Days, with'out shewing himself, and at last retired by Night 'into his Archbishoprick of *Rheims*, to meditate 'more securely his Designs of Revenge, not pub'lick, as his Friends hoped, but secret, and closet'ed, such as are the Resentments of those of his 'Condition, when they can make their particular 'Quarrel an Affair of State. This Adventure was 'published throughout *Europe*, and the *Huguenots* 'forgot it not in their Libels and particularly in a 'Complaint they put in the Cardinal's Mouth, of 'the little Assistance that was lent him for the Exe'cution of his Designs, wherein he speaks thus:

'*Mesmes Paris entier, duquel le Conperage*
'*Estoyt mon frere & moy obligeoit le courage,*
'*Me delaisse du tout. Je le puis voir ainsi*
'*Quand gros St. Innocent me fit Montmorency*
'*Destendre de visage, & gagner un porche,*
'*Magarde desarme, & met à pied; de force*
'*Qu'elle ainsi mise en blanc grand deshonneur en a*
'*Et*

'*Ah! que j'ay depit qu'en abaissant ma corne*
'*Il me fit en public recevoir tel escorne,*
'*Sans que de soi mouvoir nul homme fit semblant*
'*En toute la Cité, & que d'un cœur tremblant*
'*A luy le lendemain j'envoyay me soumettre,*
'*Le requerant vouloir octroyer & permettre,*
'*Me retirer armé, de crainte des Mutins.*
'*Ce que de luy encor tant brave je n'obtins;*
'*Ains m'en allay de nuit, emmenant un bon nombre*
'*Des miens; si qu'en fuyant avois peur de mon ombre.*
'*Oh! quel estois-je lors, ô combien different (bre.*
'*Estoit Charles nouveau, de ce Charles Parent,*
'*De l'espouse à Francois! Oh que cette nuit soye*
'*Differoit du plein jour auquel remply de joye,*
'*Je condamnay en [illegible]ique & déloyal,*
'*A la cruelle mort [illegible] Sang Royal.*

At first there came out a Letter (e), which was presently confuted This Letter was designed to justify the Cardinal, and contained several Reproaches against the House of *Montmorency* and the Admiral *de Coligni*. The Answer was very smart; it proceeded from a better Pen than that of the Cardinal's Apologist. *Thuanus* [illegible] mentions of Pieces published *pro* and *con* on this Affair, and which had been multiplied *infinitum*, if the Parliament of *Paris* had not forbidden the Sale of such Books. This same Historian observes, that *Louis Reynier*, Sieur *de la Planche*, was reckoned the Author of the first Writing that appeared, which was a Relation of the Fact in favour of the Mareschal. He observes also, that this Mareschal had not acted like a good Politician, since he chose rather to provoke a most powerful Enemy, by a great, but not very prejudicial Affront, than ruin him intirely. *Momorantii prudentiam plerique tunc requirebant, qui potentes inimicos levissimo damno læsitare, quàm perdere cum posset, maluerit.* The Prince of *Condé* blamed him for this Conduct (f), and often said, that if *Montmorenci* only meant to divert himself, he did too much; and if he was in earnest, he did too little (g). Perhaps this Prince would not have been sorry, whilst he had no Hand in it, to have been rid [illegible] of so formidable a Family.

The same Year the Car[illegible] of *Lorrain* involved himself in a Controversy, which did not succeed with him. The Scene of this Quarrel was the *Pais Messin*, where *Salsede*, who was Bailiff of it, vigorously opposed the Enterprizes of the Cardinal. This was called the Cardinal's War, of which there was speedily printed a Relation.

(M) *Of keeping his Jewels.*] *Mary Stuart*, after the Death of *Francis* II. her Husband, went over to *Scotland*. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* her Uncle, was of Opinion, that it was her best way to deposite her Jewels with him, till Fortune had decided the Success of her Voyage; but she knowing very well his Intentions, answered him, that whilst she hazarded her self to all the Dangers of the Sea, she should be to blame, in being more concerned for her Jewels than her Person. You see in the Margin *Thuanus*'s (h) Words.

(N) *The Parliament of Paris, of half a Year's Continuance.*] *Thuanus* speaks of it under the Year 1554, and observes, that *John* [illegible], Preceptor at that time to the King's Pa[illegible] Verses a little too bold, to flatter [illegible] Cardinal of *Lorrain*. He compared the [illegible]ment to *Plato*'s Androgynus. (i) *In eam rem Joan. Aurat[illegible], tunc eulcorum puerorum præceptor & meus professor regius, vir divini ingenii, carmen elegantiss[illegible]*

[illegible] respondit, cum se mariæ periculo [illegible]ret [illegible] videre, cæ[illegible] mundo magis quam sibi *Th[illegible]b.* 29. *circa init. p. m.* 580. *ad ann.* 1561. [illegible] *p. m.* 278.

(a) *Mezerai, Abrégé Chronolog. tom.* 5. *pag.* 86.

(b) *The Duke* de Guise.

(c) *This happened in* January 1565. *See* Thuanus, *lib.* 36. *pag.* 743.

(d) *Le Laboureur, Additions aux Memoires de Castelnau, tome* 2. *pag.* 377.

a Journal d'Henri III. ad ann. 1574.

(e) *Lettre d'un Seigneur du pays de Hainaut envoyée à un sien voisin & ami suivant la Cour d'Espagne.*

(f) Certe Condæus — factum improbavit, subindeque dictitans Memorantium si quidem joco ageret plus quam debuerit, si serio minus quam oportuit feciſſe. *Thuanus ubi supra, pag.* 744.

(g) *This was the Saying of a* Turk *upon the Tournaments. See the* Nouvelles de la [illegible] publ[illegible] des lettres, Novembre 1685. art. 9. p. 957.

(h) *Discedenti Reginæ consilium dederat Lotaringus Cardinalis, ut supplicetilem, mu[illegible] q[illegible] [illegible] ma[illegible] pretii, quem in Gallia lucrifecerat, velut in alium orbem transfiturus, apud se deponeret, donec de sui itineris eventu fortuna statuisset; verum illa quæ avunculi ingenium probe committe caveret.*

(i) *Id. lib.*

(O) ... that the Insult he received in coming out of a Courtezan's House, obliged him to bring back the Court to St. *Germain*, in Contempt of an antient Custom. Let us not forget, that he preached on several Occasions; but good God! in a Strain how ... from the Spirit of the Gospel. He handled things according to the Tenor of ... oran, as a true Successor of *Mahomet*, and not of the Apostles; he preached up ... War, and the Effusion of Blood; but while he expressed this barbarous Zeal ag... e Protestants of *France*, he gave Pensions to the Protestants (Q) of *Germany*. ... Farce!

LOTI-

num, ... libertate, in gratiam Cardinalis Lotaringi, qui negotium illud ... at, conscripsit, quo ampliff. ordinem Androg... ce comparet. Note, that *Pasquier* observed ... that Things were *reduced to their former Condition at Three Years end.* *Thuanus* says the same.

(O) *The Passage I shall alledge on this Occasion, will inform us, that the Insult he received.*] (g) The Cardinal 'going very early out of the House of the 'handsome *Romania*, a renowned Courtezan in '*Henry's* Time, who lodged in St. *Catherine's* 'Street, had like to have been handled very rough-'ly by Ruffians, who generally ply about such 'Quarters, in hopes to ... up the Gleanings. 'At which his Sanctity ... alarmed, and persua-'ding himself, and gi... t, that the Hereticks 'laid Ambushes for him, he led the Court to St. '*Germains*, and caused the Queen-Mother, who 'would not on any Account leave the King her 'Son for ever so little a time, to break the Custom 'hitherto inviolable, which obliged the Queens, 'upon their ... nd's Decease, not to stir out of 'their C... for Forty Days, nor see the L... 'of the ... till he was buried. Presently ... 'when the Strangers were gone, he put out an E-'dict, forbidding the carrying any Arms, and es-'cially Pistols and Arquebusses, under great Penal-'ties, revoking all particular and preceding Per-'missions, to whomsoever granted, unless they 'were newly confirmed by the King, so that only 'the *Guises*, and their Friends had armed Atten-'dants. Besides, suspecting the Cloths that were 'then in Fashion, as long Cloaks (c) and large 'Breeches (and indeed they were too excessive; for 'the Cloak reached below the Calf of the Leg, 'and without Sleves, and the Breeches were an Ell 'and a half large (d) or Five Quarters) they in-'duced the Privy-Council to forbid the wearing 'em, forasmuch as Arms might be easily con-'cealed under 'em. And it was said, that the Car-'dinal took that matter more to Heart upon the 'account of a Necro... who had prognostica-'ted to him at *Rome* ... he should be killed by an 'Arquebus, out of ... ry, and through the Enmi-'ty occasioned in ... e, by his being exalted to 'the highest De... Honour, which kept him, 'as it were in Hell, and in a State of Torment (the 'true Wages of those, who go to Conjurers,) even 'while all things bowed and submitted to him. The 'Historian who supplies me with this Narrative, says, 'that the *Guises* did not appear at the magnificent 'Entrance of *Francis* II. at *Orleans*, the 18th. of 'October, 1550. (e) *And it was said it was for fear of meeting with some desperate Fellow; because a Magician (as we have said) had foretold to the Cardinal at* Rome, *that his Brother and he should die a violent Death, and be killed by Arquebusses, so that to avoid this, they were afraid of such Assemblies, though they had forbidden the wearing any Arms, and especially Pistols and Arquebusses, upon pain of Death.* Note, that the Magician's Prediction proved false, for the Cardinal did not die of a violent Death.

(P) *He only preached up War and Effusion of Blood.* ... Witness I produce, is neither a Libeller, ... a *Huguenot*, but the famous *Stephen Pasquier*. Because, *says he* (f), the Ministers 'prevailed upon the People before, by Sermons 'and Exhortations, so the Cardinal *de Lorrain*, 'thought to do the like amongst us. He first 'preached in the Church of *Notre-Dame* ... an 'incredible Affluence of Auditors, and ... s 'in the Church of St. *Germain de l'Auxer...* All 'the Holy-days and Octaves of *Corpus Christi* 'Day, every other Turn, he preaching one Day, 'and the *Minime* (g), of whom I have spoken 'above; another, admonishing the People above all 'things, to submit to Death, and the spilling the 'last drop of their Blood, rather than against the 'Honour of God and his Church, to suffer any o-'ther Religion to prevail in *France*, besides that 'which our Ancestors so strictly and religiously ob-'served. I thought it as great a Novelty to see a 'Cardinal preach, as a Minister a little before. 'He greatly animated the People to Arms. Not 'but that the Pens even of the Poets were dipt in 'the same Design. In short, there was nothing trum-'peted but Fire, War, Murther, and Desolation. If you would see what were the Fruits of these Sanguinary Sermons, consult the same *Pasquier*. (b) 'It would be impossible to tell you what barbarous 'Cruelties are committed on both Sides; where 'the *Hugenots* are Masters, they destroy all the I-'mages, (the antient Bulwark of the common Peo-'ples Devotion) demolish Sepulchres and Tombs, 'and even passing through *Clery*, have not spared 'that of *Lewis* XI. plunder all the Goods of consecra-'ted and devoted Churches. By way of Retalia-'tion the Catholicks kill, murther, drown all 'that they know to be of this Sect, and the Rivers 'overflow with 'em. Not but that amidst these O-'perations, some excute their private Revenges up-'on their Enemies, and put 'em to the Account of 'the publick Quarrel. And tho' the Heads pretend 'not to approve such Conduct, yet they let 'em pass 'by Connivance and Dissimulation. Peace is bet-'ter than War. Though at present the Readers 'see these things only at a Distance, they can't chuse 'but conceive some Indignation against this barbarous 'Sermon-Monger, and especially when they reflect 'upon his Condition. He was a great Cardinal, 'who run no Risk in kindling a Civil War in all the 'Corners of the Kingdom. He was secure of al-'ways following the Court, out of the reach of 'Danger and Trouble; and whilst the Provinces were 'a Theater of Bloodshed, he wallowed in Pleasures; 'his Luxury, his Pomp, his Feasting, his Love-In-'trigues, suffered no Interruption. This is a Subject 'of Scandal, which should prodigiously encrease the 'Horror, such an Incendiary Preacher gives all tru-'ly Christian Souls; a Trumpeter of War, of Pu-'nishment and Butchery; a Man who properly speak-'ing, is not of Jesus Christ's Religion, but of Sa-'tan's, and who indeed practises the same which the 'Priests of *Carthage* did antiently to the Honour of 'their false God. They sacrificed Men to him (i), 'and imagined, that their Religion required such 'Victims.

(Q) *He gave Pensions to the Protestants of* Germany.] The Names of 'em were found in the Book of Accounts of this Cardinal's Steward. A Writing of *Zanchius* confirms it. (k) *Certum mihi est, quod jam dicam coram Deo; Audivi ex viro harum rerum perito, & fide digno, se in libro Thesaurarii illius Cardinalis Lotharingi, paucis ante annis vita defuncti, nonnullorum Germanorum Theologia-Doctorum & Pastorum nomina vidisse: quibus pensiones annuas, ex Archiepiscopatu praesertim Metensi assignabantur. In quem vero finem non fuisse scriptum.* There's no doubt but the Cardinal proposed to himself the keeping up a Discord betwixt the *Lutherans* of *Germany*, and the Doctors of *Geneva*; but this was however but a poor Way of maintaining his own Religion. It was pure Machiavelism. Compare with this what I have said in another Place. I have spoken of some Sermons of this Cardinal; *Languet's* Letters inform us, that they were not disapproved by the Protestants, and that this Cardinal was suspected of *Lutheranism*. 'Twas in the Year 1561, that he preached them at *Rheims*, in the *Lent* Season. (l) *Cardinalis Lotharingius a rigidioribus Pontificis accusatur Lutheranismi. Per hanc Quadragesimam Concionatus est Rhemis cum non parva laude virum nihil aliud unquam egisset*, he had

(a) *Pasquier recherch. liv. 2. ch. 4. pag. m. 65.*

(b) *Louis Reinier Sieur de la Blanche, hist. de Francois II. pag. 28. & 29.*

(b) *Id. ib. pag. 232. 233.*

Stephens, at the 208th. page of his Dialogues, concerning the new French Language Italianized.

(d) *This Mo... e...*

(e) *Louis Regnier ib. p. 618.*

(f) *Pasquier lett. liv. 4. pag. 231. de l. zome.*

(g) *This was Brother* John de Hans, *a Native of Saint Quentin. Pasquier speaks of him, ibid. pag. 203.*

(i) *See* Lactantius, *lib. 1. cap. 21.*

(k) *Hieron. Zanchius respons. ad Wilhelm. Holderum ann. 1566. pag. 20. Hoornb. summa controvers. p. m. 271.*

(l) *Languet, Epist. 44. lib. 2. pag. 112. See also Epist. 45. page 116.*

LOTICHIUS (*Peter*) Abbot of the Convent of *Solitaire*, in the County of *Hanau* in *Germany*, was born in the Year 1501. He quitted the Schools of *Leipſic* at 16 Years of Age, in order to Conſecrate himſelf to a Monaſtick Life in the Convent of *Solitaire*. He received Prieſts Orders in 1523, and peaceably performed the Functions of it till 1525, that is, till the Peaſants War conſtrained him to take Sanctuary with his Abbot and Fraternity, under the Counts of *Hanau*. The Abbot bringing back his Society to the Monaſtery, after theſe furious Troubles were appeaſed, committed [a] the Care of his Church to *Lotichius*; who having read *Luther* and *Melanchthon's* Books, found himſelf capable of Preaching, and doing all the other Functions of his Place better than before. The Abbot died in 1534, and *Lotichius* who ſucceeded him, thinking in good Earneſt to Reform his Abby, opened a School in it, in which a great number of young People were inſtructed, ſeveral of whom became Miniſters of the Goſpel, after having purſued their Studies at *Wittemberg* and *Marpurg*. He openly eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant Religion in his Monaſtery, and in all the Places depending upon it, in 1543, and wrote a fine *Latin* Letter to the Abbot of *Fulda*, to juſtify his Conduct. He was the principal Cauſe of the couragious Reſolution, which the neighbouring Miniſters took to reject the *Interim* in 1549. The reſt of his Life anſwered his great Zeal in Acts of Piety and Charity. His Church, his School, and ſeveral learned Men Experienced the Effects of his Liberal Temper. He died at the Count of *Hannaw's*, the 23d. of *June* 1567. His Body was Buried two Days after, in his own Abbey [b].

LOTICHIUS (*Peter*) Nephew to the former, took the Sirname *Secundus*, that he might not be confounded with his Uncle. He was born at *Solitaire* the 2d. of *November* 1528. His Father, [γ] tho' he was only an honeſt [δ] Country Man, deſigned him for a Scholar; and we need not wonder at it, conſidering what we have ſaid of the Abbot *Lotichius*. This Uncle having obſerved by the Progreſs his Nephew made at *Solitaire* School, that he was admirably qualified for the Sciences, reſolved to take a very particular Care of him, and ſent him to *Frankfort*, where *Micyllus* Taught the Liberal Arts with great Reputation. After having learnt a great deal of *Latin* and *Greek*, and the Rules of *Poetry* much more, to which his Genius ſtrongly Inclined him; he was ſent to *Marpurg* in 1544, and afterwards to *Wittemberg*, whither *Melanchthon* and *Camerarius* drew a great Reſort. The young *Lotichius* quickly gained the Friendſhip of theſe two Famous Profeſſors, as alſo of *George Sabinus*, a Celebrated Poet, and of ſeveral other Learned Men. The War which broke out in *Saxony* in 1546. obliged *Melanchthon* and his Partners to quit *Wittemberg*. The firſt retired to *Magdebourg* [ε] and was followed thither by our *Lotichius*; but when he left that Place to ſeek a better Sanctuary, *Lotichius* inſtead of following him, took up Arms. This kind of Life did not intirely break off (*A*) his Commerce with the Muſes, nor did it laſt long; for we know that in the Year 1548, he lived peaceably among his Books at *Erford*. A little after he returned to *Wittemberg*, whither the Peace had permitted *Melanchthon* to go and continue his Function. He there finiſhed his Studies of Philoſophy, and afterwards went into *France* in Quality of Governor, to *Daniel Stibar's* Nephew, Dean of the Chapter of *Wirtzbourg*, a Man of great Merit, and an intimate Friend of *Joachim Camerarius*. It was in the Year 1559, that he began theſe Travels, which laſted (*B*) near four Years. He made a long ſtay at *Montpelier*; and probably he and his Pupils had ſuffered ſome Inſults [ζ], for having eaten Meat in *Lent*, if *Cluſius*, who lodged at *Bondelet's*, had not interceded for 'em with a Dominican, who performed the Office of Inquiſitor. They were diſcharged for a Sum of Money. He was ſcarce returned into *Germany* before he thought of Travelling into *Italy*. He made this Tour, as he had that into *France*, at the Expence of *Daniel Stibar*; but he had the Misfortune of getting Acquainted with too many ſorts of People. He lodged at *Bologna*, with a young Canon of *Munich*, and though he might have had [ζ] a Complaiſant Landlady at home, he went to make Love abroad. The Landlady being deſperate in Love, and Jealous to boot, prepared a Philtre for him; but by Misfortune *Lotichius* finding his

[a] Eccleſiæ Solitarienſi ut inſpectorem præfecit. *Paul Freher. Theatro, pag.* 213.

[b] *Taken from the Theatre de Paul Freherus pag.* 213. Freherus *cites the Bibliotheque poetique de Jean Pierre Lotichius.*

[γ] *He was called* Louis Loticius. *Melanchthon changed this word into* Lotichius, *which ſeemed to him more Emphatical, on the ſcore of* Peter Lotichius Secundus, *his Scholar.*

[δ] *Le Theatre de Freherus pag.* 1249. *dit* à Marpourg.

[ε] *They threatned 'em with making an* amende honorable.

[ζ] Tum forte (ut ſit) amare foris, quod domi habebat, ut ait Terentius. Id. impatientius ferens hoſpita juvenis formoſiſſimi amore capta *&c. Hagius in vita Lotichii p.* 63. *Edit.* 1609

(*a*) *Id Ep.* 48. *pag.* 120.

(*b*) Cardinalis Lotharingius videtur ſimulare ſe aliquid tale Cogitare: nam Rhemis ita Concinatur ut videatur non multum á noſtris diſſentire ſed viderint alii quantum huic ſit fidendum. *Id. Epiſt.* 63. *pag.* 159.

had formerly ſhewn that he wiſhed for the Reformation of a great many Things, but this was only a blind, as *Languet* well foretold: (*a*) *Cum præſertim Cardinalis Lotharingius, Jam pulchre ſimulet ſe omnino expetere, ut fiat aliqua emendatio in religione & fateatur hoc eſſe plane neceſſarium. Ego ſane in ea re ipſi non Credo ſed exiſtimo, ipſum hoc Ideo facere, quia videt advertendo ſe nihil pene proficere & ſperat ſe ſic agendo plura poſſe impedire, ſed tamen parum proficit.* What is ſaid in a Letter dated from *Paris* the 26th. of *Nov.* 1561, is much more to the purpoſe; for having ſpoken of the Converſion of the Biſhop of *Troies*, it adds, that the (*b*) Cardinal of *Lorrain* made a Shew, as if he had the ſame Intentions; forſo it goes on, he preached at *Rheims* in ſuch a manner, that he did not ſeem very far from *Lutheraniſm.*

(*A*) *Did not entirely break off his Commerce with the Muſes.*] Let us hear what he himſelf ſays of it addreſſing his Diſcourſe to them:

Vos (c) quoque ſum lituos inter veneratus & enſes,
Quodque fuit vacuum tempus ab hoſte dedi.
Deque tot amiſis etiam nunc pauca ſuperſunt
Carmina, militiæ tempore facta meæ.

Mean time, he made only one Campaign, ſo that the Authors cited by Mr. *Baillet* had no Reaſon to ſay in general (*d*) *That what's remarkable is, that* Lotichius *compoſed his Verſes in the Tumult of a Camp, and under Arms.*

(*B*) *Which laſted near four Years.*] This was the Term (*e*) of the whole Travels. Now as they firſt ſaw *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Dieppe*, *Lyons*, and went (*f*) for the moſt part on Foot, having but one Horſe among Eleven of 'em to carry their Cloths; 'tis certain they ſtaid not at *Montpellier* four Years, as an Ingenious Man (*g*) has ſaid. They lived there about two Years together. *Cum biennio jam atque*

(*c*) *Eleg.* 11. *lib.* 1.

(*d*) *Jugemens ſur les Poetes. tome* 3. *pag.* 273.

(*e*) Revertentes tandem igitur poſt exactum jam ferme quadriennium ex Galliis. *Hagius in vita Lotichii p.* 56.

(*f*) *Idem p.* 42. 44.

(*g*) *Teiſier, Addit. ann. Eloges, to.* 1. *p.* 207.

his Broth too Fat, changed it for that (C) of the Canon, and grew immediately Mad upon it. He was relieved by Vomiting up a part of the Potion, which however threw him into a Malignant Fever that made his Nails fall of, and had like to have [illegible] him his Life. *Hubert Languet*, his good Friend, Travelling into *Italy*, found [illegible] in this miserable Condition at *Bologna*. The Poison Operated so violently upon [illegible]us, that it was not above a Year before he had some Returns of his first Malady; [illegible] at last died of it. Before he left *Italy*, he took his Degree of Doctor in Physick at [illegible]a. Some time after his return into *Germany*, he was invited to *Heidelberg* to [illegible] Professorship in that Faculty; he accepted of this Employ, and went to *Heidelberg* in 1557. He there got the Esteem and Friendship of the Elector *Palatine*, *Otho Henry*, and of every Body else; and as he had all manner of Reason to be satisfied with his Employ, [illegible]e refused the Offers that were made him at *Marpourg*, of a Place of Professor in [illegible]ick or Poetry. He did not long Enjoy that pleasant State; being attacked with [illegible] old Distemper in the beginning of *November* 1560, and died the 7th of the same Month, he was a Man of admirable Conversation, and was Candor and Sincerity (D) it self [a]. A Collection of his Poems were published (E) in 1561. It contains so many Love-Verses, that it was thought the Author had need of something of an Apology on this Score. *Hagius* (F) undertook it. The fourth Elegy of the 2d. Book has something surprizing in it; it turns upon a Dream, which

[a] *Taken from his Life, composed by* John Hagius, *his good Friend and published 25 Years after the Death of* Lotichius. *Melchior Adam*, in vitis Medicorum pag. 112. *has given a very full Abridgment of his Life.*

(a) *Hagius ibid. pag.* 63.

(b) *Id. ib.*

(c) *Thuanus lib.* 26. *sub fin.*

(d) [illegible]. *pag.* [illegible]. (e) [illegible]an. *ubi supra.*

(f) *Camerarius, in Epist. Dedicatoria Operum Petri Lotichii.*

(g) *In vita Philosoph. pag.* 210.

eo amplius forte in Academi[illegible]outpeliana vixiſſent, says *Hagius* in the 47th [illegible].

(C) *Changed it wi[illegible]t of the Canon.*] According to *Hagius*'s manner of relating the thing, this Philtre was given in a Soop; but he is strangely mistaken, in imagining, as he seems to do, that the *Italians* give the Name *Minestra* to these enchanting Potions, which the *Greeks* call *Philtron*. *Jus parare*, says he, *[illegible]cio quod malè temperatum ac conciliatum [illegible], Itali minestram illud, hoc philtron Gr[illegible]unt*. The *Italians* by *Minestra*, or *Menestra*, barely understand Pottage or Soop.

(D) *Was Candor and Sincerity it self.*] His Historian gives a most Remarkable Proof of it. He might if he pleased, have Married very Advantagiously; but because he believed he should quickly die, he could not think of deceiving the Woman; and therefore refused all the Matches that were proposed to him. (b) *Quod se sciret supremi diei fui nec vita longioris conscium fallere puellam ingenuam ullam, fœmineumve genus, aut lactare spe connubii fortunaque stabilioris nolle.*

(E) *A Collection of* Lotichius's *Poems were published in* 1561.] *Joachim Camerarius* wrote the Epistle Dedicatory to it, in which he gives *Lotichius* the Character of the best Poet, that his Age, and *Germany* had seen. After this Edition, many others were made with Additions of several Poems, *Thuanus* (c) who has put three Years betwixt *Lotichius*'s Death, and the [illegible]ation of his Poems by *Camerarius*, is out [illegible]koning by two Years. *Moreri* has Copied [illegible]ault, and has added a little false Chronology [illegible] his own upon the Day of his Death, which hapned not as he says, on the 24th of *October*, but on the 7th of *November*. *Thuanus*, who has placed his Death on the 1st. of *November*, is Guilty of a like Fault. *Freherus* (d) also reckons three Years betwixt *Lotichius*'s Death, and the Edition of his Verses. *Thuanus* (e) has rank'd this Poet below *Eobanus Hessus*. *Camerarius* pretends, that if the latter had been alive, he would have owned himself Inferior to *Lotichius*. (f) *Sed & Eobanus & Sabinus, si viverent, cum omnia in Lotichii scriptis magnopere probarent, tum elegantia & suavitate atque exprimendi vetustatis similitudinem contentione, se ab hoc alicubi superari non negarent.* *Hagius* affirms, that the greatest Poets of *Germany* have publickly acknowledged the particular Esteem they had for *Lotichius*'s Verses; and pretends, that in the common Opinion, *Lotichius* equalled the most excellent Poets, both Ancient and Modern, [illegible]as preferable perhaps to some of the Anti[illegible]cites *Paul Melissus*'s Verses, in which the Su[illegible]rity is given to *Lotichius* above all the German Poets in point of Elegy. *Melchior* (g) *Adam* is a little unexact in his Abridgment of this Place, since he makes *Hagius* say, that the greatest Men, and particularly *George Sabin*, *John Stigelius*, *George Fabricius*, *Posthius* and [illegible]us have given *Lotichius* the Palm in Matter of [illegible]k Verse. *Hagius* at the most makes only *[illegible]chius* and *Melissus* expresly give him this Palm; he says nothing of the other three, either expresly or implicitly that can relate to this matter.

I thought that the Edition of *Lotichius*'s Poems procured by *Camerarius* in 1561, was the first: but Mr. *Kortholt* has been pleased to inform me, that there was printed at *Paris* in 1551. at *Vascosan*'s, *Petri Lotichii secundi elegiarum liber, ejusdem carminum libellus ad D. Danielem Stibarum equitem Francum*. The Letter he writ me hereupon is so mislaid among my Papers, that when I was Reviſing this Article, I could not find it; however I remember he gave me several particular Characters of this Edition, and told me amongst other things, that the Dream I shall speak of (b) below, is not found in it. Mr *Kortholt* acquainted me also that he had inserted several Things concerning this *Lotichius* in his Dissertation *de enthusiasmo poetico* printed at *Kiel* in 1696.

(b) *In the Remark G.*

(F) Hagius *undertook the Apology of his Love-Verses.*] He (i) confesses that being very young he made frequent Reflexions with some sort of surprize, on the perpetual Complaints with which the Poets fill their Verses; as that they burn with Love, that they are pierced with Cupid's Darts, and that they find no Remedy for these consuming Flames.

(i) *In vita Lotichii.*

Mille fatigatus verum discrimina vici,
Sæpe graves æstus, frigora sæpe tuli:
Unius haud possum superare Cupidinis ignes,
Nec desideris fortior esse meis.

After these Verses of *Lotichius*, he cites three of *Virgil*'s.

Aspice aratra jugo referunt suspensa juvenci,
Et sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras.
Me tamen urit amor, quis enim modus adsit amori?

He adds, that having asked some Poets the meaning of this, *Lotichius* answered him, that it was the Fire of Divine, and not Venereal Love, that burnt the Poets.

Curvatum pars magna suos decantet amores
Miraris Hagi candide, & causam roga,
Accipe, non illos Veneris fas improba, verum
Æterni amor generosus urit numinis.

This Answer's Ridiculous; 'twas taking *Hagius* for a Child. He does not speak of it as he ought to do; for he only says that *Melissus* explained to him all the Mystery (k) much better. *Melissus* represented to him, that if any thing was capable of attracting Hearts, and conveying invincible Charms into the very Marrow, 'tis the Love that's kindled by a modest and chast Object. The purest Heaven, (l) adds he, formed this Love, and assigned it inflamed Hearts for its Throne. The Stars take care to keep up this Fire; and as the Poets receive the Influences from Heaven, which Inspire their Poetry, we need not wonder that they have so lively a sense of the Fire of Love; for these Influences having the same Origin as (m) Love, both kindle and keep it up.

(k) Quam rem non paulo & copiosius, & luculentius mihi enucleavit Melissus.

(l) Purior hanc ætherolim generavit & intra Successus jussit regna tenere fibras.

(m) Habent alimenta calores Vivida sideris fata perennis focis.

&c

which seems to be a Prediction (G) of the Sacking of *Magdebourg*. I shall make several Remarks on this Subject, which yet are rather Conjectures, than an Explication,

Sic propagare laborat
Iudita naturæ semina quisque suæ.

To reduce this Explication into plain English, and to its just Simplicity, we must Suppose that *Melissus* meant to say, that the same Complexion which disposes a Man to Poetry, disposes him to Love. This Proposition is not easie to be made out; for besides that there are many Persons, who have a Talent at Poetry without being of an Amorous Constitution, 'tis certain there are innumerable People who can't make a Verse, and yet are more furiously tormented with the Fire of Love, than those whose Poems are the most Amorous. How many Love-Verses are printed, which are only Essays of Wit? A Poet never so little touched, appropriates to himself whatever he finds in the most Passionate Elegies; he tries even to carry things higher than his Reading; he Invents new Turns, and Studies the most mournful Characters. Their Design is to make their Verses admired; to Exercise their Vein upon Thoughts, which at once give a Reputation to their Wit, and Flatter the Object of their Passion. There are even some who are wholly unaffected with Love, when they compose this kind of Verses. *Beza* was one of them. (a) *Istos bonos viros non pudet quicquid de poeticæ Candidæ amoribus lusi, (lusi autem certè pleraque, veteres illos imitatus, priusquam etiam per ætatem, quid istud rei esset, intelligerem) ad castissimam & lectissimam fœminam accommodare. Id autem non aliter se habere quàm dico, non ii tantum testari possunt quibuscum per id tempus vixi, verum etiam res ipsa declarat: quum nullos unquam liberos ex uxore susceperim, in meis autem illis carminibus, Candidam prægnantem superis commendem: quod tum mihi minimum illud fictitium argumentum, ut alia subinde multa, occurreret.* You have in these Words an Instance of the Conduct of Poets; they give themselves imaginary Subjects, that they may have an Opportunity of saying Witty Things. But let's come to *Lotichius*'s Apology.

He had Four Mistresses (b) successively; for whom he made Abundance of Verses: he never proposed, as is said, to obtain any Favours from 'em, but 'tis only from himself, a Witness in his own Cause, that we know this. *Non fecit id non honeste, quia & caste amavit Lotichius & sine crimine ac scelere: si modo castissimi Poetæ verbis versibusque dignamur aliquam habere non dubiam fidem, sic etenim ipsemet de amoribus suis canit, & Claudia sua* (c).

Feliciter arsi
Inque meo nullum crimen amore fuit.
. . . . . .
Non ego te, mea lux, deceptam fraude reliqui
Non spolium rapto turpe pudore tuli.
Di mihi sunt testes, fi mentior, æquore vasto
Obruar, & mutis piscibus esca natem.

The Apologist observes, that the Privileges of Poetry allowed *Lotichius* to exercise his Muse upon earthly Beauties, it being an Art which is exercised in the Contemplation, and Explication of all that is beautiful in the Universe. *Fecit Lotichius id primum jure poetices optimo, ad quam scilicet rerum omnium pulcherrimarum quæ magna hac universitate orbis continentur, cœlestium terrestriumque species habilium formarum contemplatio, commentatioque rite pertinet.* Besides, as he was civil and polite, he applied himself to write Love-Verses, and would not be denied this piece of Gallantry, which besides was not unuseful towards polishing his Muse. *Et quo illud faltem consecutus est commodi, ut molles amores cantando mollius carmen redderet.* In fine, he had need of this agreeable Diversion (d) to banish the melancholy Thoughts with which he was haunted.

(G) *A Dream, which seems to be a Prediction of the Sacking of Magdebourg.*] That is, of the dreadful Sacking this Town was exposed to in 1631, being taken by the Imperial Forces. Observe Mr. *Morhof*'s Note. (e) *Illud singulare in hoc viro & propemodum divinum est, ac plus quam Poeticum ingenium argurit, quod in* Elegia 4. lib. 2. *ad Joachimum Camerarium scripta tristissima obsidionis & expugnationis Magdeburgensis fata integro seculo prædixerit. Res omnino notatu digna, ac elegia illa pulcherrima est. Hac ille aurea carmina, quod mireris, inter armorum strepitus ipse miles scribebat.* *Lotichius* in a Dream saw a great Town besieged, a young Woman, who called her self the Protectress of the Place, complaining of the Cruelties that should lay it waste, and reduce it to a heap of Ashes. He does not name this Town, nor know whether it was upon the *Rhine*, or the *Danube*, or the *Elbe*, but he believes it was upon the *Elbe*. However, he must have characterised *Magdebourg*, since this Elegy is intituled, *De obsidione urbis Magdeburgensis.* There's doubtless something surprizing in it, though it must be owned, that the Condition the Poet was then in, diminishes the Wonder. He (f) was in the Army of the League of *Smalcalde*, probably under great Apprehensions of the good Successes of *Charles* V. His Imagination extended it self (g) to all the possible Consequences of *Charles* V's Victory. Possibly this Supposition might have intermixt with his Dream, that the Emperor would severely chastise *Magdebourg*, if the Confederate Army was beaten. The Poet immediately prepared to deplore the Miseries of a stormed Town; and one of his Fictions was, that the Tutelar Goddess (h) makes her Complaints, &c. When we awake, we easily confound the Images, because we forget their Order: Those escape us which were the Bond of Connexion; and hence we imagine, that the Ideas, which we our selves have link'd to one another, came all at once by Inspiration. 'Tis almost as easie to form to ones self Systems about general Affairs sleeping as waking; abundance of People having read great News in a Gazette, draw an admirable Plan of the Consequences it will produce. In a Quarter of an Hour, they conduct the Victors to the Capital City of the vanquished; they fancy to themselves Thrones turned topsy-turvy, and all *Europe* changing its Face at once; and if they are Poets or Orators, they add to all this the Sketches of a fine Poem, or eloquent Oration; they have the Figures ready in their Heads, and represent to themselves the very Mien and Words of the Deputies, who come to deliver up the Keys of a Town. We may be certain, that all the Day long, such things as these are rolling in some Peoples Brains: The Soul, when they sleep, is no less exercised with respect to these Cimera's; they draw Schemes reaching quite out of sight. Such was the Scene perhaps that *Lotichius* acted that Night. I have given the Reason why, when he waked, he might not perceive that he was the Author of this Train of Visions, as they who build Castles in the Air whilst awake, know and perceive themselves to be the true Authors of 'em, without the assistance of any Foreign Intelligence striking in with 'em to reveal Futurities; the true reason why they draw no Presages from 'em.

This is an Observation that might be made upon admitting Mr. *Morhof*'s supposition, namely, that *Lotichius* dream'd this Dream before the Battel of *Mulberg*, in which the Confederate Army was beaten by *Charles* V. But this Supposition having no Foundation, I shall chuse rather to say, that *Lotichius* dream'd thus, during the Siege of *Magdebourgh*, in the year 1550 or 1551. It was easie to imagine that *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, who commanded the Siege for the Emperor, would take the Town, and treat it cruelly. *Lotichius* possessed with this Fear, imagined the sacking of the Town in a Dream, and fell into Poetick Fictions. He failed not to introduce the tutelar Goddess, who made Protestations of her Innocence and Fidelity, tho' the Emperor expelled her from her Habitation, &c. On the Morrow he found this Subject so fit to be handled in Verse, that he made an Elegy upon it, intitling it, *De Obsidione*

(a) *Beza in Epistola dedicatoria Poemat.*
(b) Puellas quoque facile amavit bellas ac bonas formas mortales ac Claudiam quidem primum suam multo carmine celebratam, mihi vero non incognitam, subfuscam, non informem nec inamabilem puellam: deinde Callirhoen, alteram Celtiberam tenicatam, formosam: hinc pectoris custodem, religiosam nimis Italam Panaridem: ac postremum non vero nomine dictam Phyllida pulchram Nicrogenam. *Hagius ubi supra.*
(c) *Id. ib.*
(d) Oblectationem eam animi honestam ad seniendas animi curas, molestias, ægritudines duceret maximam. Quod poeta ipse de se se nostur professetur. *Mollia sæpe quidem deducere carmina tento, Non tamen ut puris auribus illa probem. Sat mihi sit vigilas interdum fallere curas, Solamenque malis grata sit arte meis.*
(e) *Morhofius, Polyhist. lib. 1. c. 19. pag. 226.*
(f) *I speak according to the Supposition of Mr Morhof, which is not the most certain.*
(g) *Mark well his 5th. Verse.* Somnia sunt CURAS hæc imitata meas.
(h) *See what shall be cited from Balzac, in the Remark K. the Article Thomas(Paul)*

cation, that can fully ſatisfie. It's thought ſtrange, that *Julius Cæſar Scaliger* ſhould no

ſidiens urbis Magdeburgenſis. I believe indeed, he imagined there was ſomething Prophetical in this Dream, which proceeded from his not remembering the Beginning of the Scene, and not knowing that he had ſpun all theſe Viſions himſelf, as the Newſmongers do theirs, (*a*) in ſtarting all the Conſequences they are pleaſed to ſuppoſe to Sieges and Battels. Now as the Siege of *Magdebourgh* was terminated, not by taking of the Town, but by a Treaty of Peace, *Lotichius* doubtleſs diſabuſed himſelf; he diſcover'd the Vanity of his Dream, but his Verſes were preſerv'd and publiſh'd after his Death. But who knows whether he did not feign that he dream'd this? Do not Poets daily give themſelves this Liberty? Having well conſidered this, I think it more probable, that he did not dream what he related; but, like other Poets, feigned he dream'd thus.

Since the firſt Edition of this Work, I have been informed by a Letter from Mr. *Kortholt* (*b*), of ſome Particulars, which oblige me to call this matter over-again. In the firſt Place, it is certain, that the Elegy *De obſidione urbis Magdeburgenſis*, is not found in the Collection of Poems, which *Lotichius* printed at *Paris* at *Vaſcoſan's*, the Epiſtle Dedicatory whereof, is dated from *Paris* the 13th. of *February* 1551. If he dated it according to the Style at that time received in *France*, it was in *February* 1552. He knew then, that the Town of *Magdebourg* was in no Apprehenſions; being delivered from the Siege by a Treaty of Peace in (*c*) *November* 1551. If he dated it beginning the Year with *January*, the Siege of *Magdebourg* ſtill continued, and was far from being ended. Whatever Style he made uſe of, it's plain, he ought not to have publiſhed the Poem in Diſpute at that time; the Elegy, I ſay, in which he is ſuppoſed to ſpeak of the Sacking and Burning of *Magdebourg*, and though we ſhould be certain, that he had already compoſed it, we ſhould yet believe he would have been very cautious of inſerting it in the Edition of his *Latin* Poems. In the 2d. Place, Mr. *Kortholt*, who underſtands Poetry very well, and who has collated the ſeveral Editions of *Lotichius's* Verſes, finds a great Difference betwixt that of *Paris* 1551, and thoſe that followed the Death of the Author. He finds *Lotichius* but a mean Poet in the *Paris* Edition of his Poems, compared to what they were after they had been corrected, and in Compariſon of the new Poems added to *Camerarius's* Edition. In a Word, he finds, that *Lotichius* in 1551, was not capable of compoſing ſo excellent an Elegy as that *de Obſidione Urbis Magdeburgenſis*. We muſt conclude then, that it was made when this Town was out of Danger, and therefore the Dream that threatned it with an intire Deſtruction, can't be explained by the Hypotheſis I have alledged. 'Tis a matter has Relation to the Time to come, and conſequently to the Sacking of *Magdebourg* in 1631, as Mr. *Morhof* pretends. To this I have two Replies to make.

I. Firſt I ſay, that *Lotichius* writ this Elegy whilſt he bore Arms, or compoſed it during the Siege of *Magdebourg*, and that either in Conſequence of a Dream, or under the Fiction of a pretended Dream, he ought not to have inſerted it amongſt the Pieces which he publiſhed at *Paris* in 1551. I have given the Reaſons for this already. But he was not obliged to burn it; he therefore probably preſerved it, and having afterwards given it ſome new Touches, and poliſhed it over and over, he worked it to that Perfection which he was not able to give it when his Poems were firſt Printed. Age, Study and Labour had improved his Muſe; he changed into an excellent Elegy, what at firſt was but an indifferent Poem. It was found among his Papers after his Death as he had perfected it at ſeveral Reviews, and it was ſent to his Friend *Camerarius* to be printed (*d*) with his other Writings. Theſe are very probable Conjectures, and therefore thoſe I propoſed in my firſt Edition, loſe none of their Weight. Poets naturally fond of their own Works, won't willingly deſtroy what they have once writ; but carefully preſerve it, even when the Occaſion is paſſed; eſpecially when they perſwade themſelves, that they have treated a Subject well, and that it was very capable of Decorations. Mr. *Menage* having heard that Mr. *Corneille* was dead, compoſed an Epitaph for him, which he thought a good one, and would not loſe the Publick Honour of it, even after he knew that Mr. *Corneille* was alive. He preſerved this Piece ſo carefully, as to inſert it in the Editions of his Poems, and even after his Enemy *Cotin* had ſeverely rallied him for it. Here follows his Raillery, which I believe contains a falſe Suppoſition; for I am perſwaded, the News of Mr. *Corneille's* Death was actually ſpread abroad. *'Tis above Ten Years ago*, ſays Cotin (*e*), *ſince* Menage *made* Corneille's *Epitaph, though* Corneille *be not yet dead, having collected out of* Greek *and* Latin *Poets, abundance of Thoughts upon the Death of a great Poet, he killed his good Friend to exhauſt his common Place, he made him die of a* Peripneumony. Let it be obſerved, that the Subject of *Lotichius's* Elegy was very proper to inſpire the Author with Compaſſion; it is favourable to the Poetick Art, and therefore the Preſervation of *Magdebourg* was not likely to ſuppreſs that Piece of Poetry.

II. But let us grant, that *Lotichius* had written nothing like this, when this great Town was out of Trouble, and the Peace of *Paſſau* had ſecured the Proteſtants of *Germany*; yet muſt we however in the ſecond Place ſay, that the Dream of the Author has nothing extraordinary in it. We muſt remember one thing, which can't well be called into Queſtion, which is, that Poets frequently work upon Subjects of pure Invention; they deſcribe Shipwrecks which they have not ſeen, and which never were; they feign as they think fit, Times, Places, Conſequences and Incidents. They do the ſame with reſpect to the taking of Towns. Theſe are Subjects, which can exerciſe their Talents to Advantage; they make Choice of 'em, not only when they are awake, but alſo when they Sleep. If their Nocturnal Viſions lead 'em to a Beſieged Town, they fancy a general Aſſault, the beſieged forced to give Ground; the Town carried, plunder'd, burnt, *&c.* If it be a Town, which they are greatly concerned for, their Poetical Fancy is heated; they deplore the Misfortune, they form the Draught of a Poem; and when wearied with the Dream, they awake, and know not whether it be a natural, or an extraordinary one; however they take Pen in Hand, and give a Poetical Deſcription of the Viſion. It ſometimes happens, that they have ſuch ſort of Viſions, only becauſe the Day before, they had meditated upon the Deſcription of the Storming of a Town. Experience informs us, that thoſe Objects which poſſeſs our Thoughts in the Day-time, commonly (*f*) preſent themſelves to our Minds the Night following; and there are thoſe who ſooner light on a fine turn of Poetick Thought, whilſt they Sleep, than when they are awake. Their Dreams are vehement, and move and agitate the Spirits with a prodigious Force. They find themſelves, as they awake, in an aſtoniſhing Commotion, they perceive ſomething wonderful in it, which they think deſerves cultivating, and immediately fall to verſifying. If you examine all theſe Things well, you'll find a Foundation for the Conjecture upon the natural Cauſes of *Lotichius's* Elegy.

Let's go on with our Conjectures. There are few who have not obſerved, that they have often dreamt of the ſame thing; as that they were attacked by Robbers, that Lightning fell into their Chamber, that a Mutiny happened in a Town, *&c.* The return of the ſame Dreams is more common, when the Objects make a lively Impreſſion, and when the Conſtitution of the Brain gives way to their making well-purſued and deep-printed Tracks. 'Tis probable, that during the Siege of *Magdebourg*, *Lotichius* dreamed a Dream, that repreſented the ſacking this Town, and purſuant to it, fell to making Verſes the next Day, or a few Days after. If the Town had been taken and ſacked, he had publiſhed

(*a*) *See the Deſcription which Mr.* de la Bruyere. Caracteres de ceſiecle, au titre *du Soverain*, p. m. 371. *and the following, has given us of the Character of theſe Gentlemen, whether in an over Sanguine or, a deſponding Mood.*

(*b*) *Schaſtian. de que ſupra, pag.* 1870. *letre b.*

(*c*) *See* David Chytræus, in Saxonia, *lib.* 17. p. m. 441.

(*d*) *Conſult the laſt Letter of the* 5*th. Book of* Joachim Camerarius.

(*e*) Cotin *Menagerie pag.* 31. *Edit. de la Haie*, 1666.

(*f*) *Apply to this what* Lucretius *ſays, lib.* 4. *v.* 959. Et quo quiſque fere ſtudio devinctus adhæret, Aut quibus in rebus multum ſumus antè morati, Atque in qua ratione fuit contenta magis Mens. In ſomnis eadem plerunque videmur obire: Cauſidici cauſas agere, &c.

no where have (H) praiſed *Lotichius*. We ſhou'd have ſome reaſon to wonder at it, had not *Lotichius's* Reputation been chiefly founded upon the Works that were not printed till after *Scaliger's* Death; but this Critick's ſilence is not in reality ſurprizing, ſince the [a] firſt Editions of *Lotichius's* Poems are much inferiour to that which it was impoſſible for him to have any Hand in.

[a] That of Paris 1551. in 8. that of Leipſic 1552.

LOTICHIUS (*Chriſtian*) younger Brother to the preceding, diſcovered in his Infancy no leſs Diſpoſitions to ſtudy, than he. Therefore his Uncle the Abbot, having firſt cauſed him to be diligently inſtructed in his School of [illegible]*ſtaire*, ſent him afterwards to *Wittemberg*, to ſtudy Philoſophy there, and eſpecially Divinity. It was not in this Univerſity, but in that of *Heidelberg* that he took his Maſter of Arts Degree in 1549. after which his Uncle gave him the Charge of his Church and College. Whilſt he was thus Vicar to the Abby, he was deſired by ſeveral Learned Men, to collect all the Poems of *Lotichius Secundus*, and publiſh them, with an exact Hiſtory of the Life and Studies of his illuſtrious Brother. He was working upon it, when the Death of the Abbot *Lotichius*, his Uncle, interrupted his Labours in 1567. It was in his Power to ſucceed him in his Abbey; for they who had the right to elect, declared for him; but he freely reſign'd his Pretenſions to his Brother-in-law *Sigefroy Hettenus*, Miniſter of the Church of *Grocningen*. He could not have long enjoy'd the Dignity of Abbot, if he had accepted it, for he died in 1568. He pretended to Poetry with tolerable Succeſs. A Collection of his Poems was printed [b] in 1602. by the Care of *John Peter Lotichius*, his Grandſon, who joyned 'em with his own. I have not found in *Freherus*, who ſupplies me with this Article, that *Lotichius Secundus*, and our Chriſtian *Lotichius's* Poems, were ever printed together.

[b] Draudius, Bibliotheca pag. 1573. Edit. 1625.

[c] See Moreri's Dictionary, printed in Holland affirms this in the Citation from Freherus.

LOTICHIUS (*John Peter*) Grandſon to the former, made himſelf known by the great Number of Books publiſhed by him in Verſe and Proſe. He was a Phyſician by Profeſſion, and well vers'd in Human Literature. The Commentary upon *Petronius*, publiſh'd by him at *Frankford* in 1629. anſwers (Y) theſe Two Qualities. The Recompence of his Dedication (Z) of his Epigrams, was the pooreſt imaginable. He was invited to *Vintell*, to a Profeſſorſhip of Phyſick.

[d] See Sainte Marthe in Elog. Macrini.

LOUDUN, in the upper *Poictou*, upon the Confines of *Anjou* and *Touranine*, and the Dioceſs of *Poitiers*, is a very Ancient Town, tho' we muſt not give credit to thoſe [c] who aſcribe the founding of it to *Julius Cæſar*. It became conſiderable in the

[c] Guy Patin, lettre 112. du 1. tome. pag. 433. It's dated the 1. of April 165[illegible]

liſhed 'em doubtleſs about the ſame time; but hearing in his Travels the News of the Peace, he dropped his Poem. We may ſuppoſe at Three or Four Years end, the ſame Dream returned; the Traces it had left the firſt time, formed a Ghannel, the Mouth of which was kept open by the Tumultuous and irregular Agitation of the Animal Spirits; but this Irregularity hindered not their running along the ſame Tracks, and thus the view of the Sacking of *Magdebourg* was renewed. *Lotichius* thinking it perhaps Myſterious, new-poliſhed his Verſes, amplified 'em, and put 'em in the Condition which the Publick has ſeen 'em in. I don't know but he might have fancy'd from his Love for *Magdebourg*, that this new Dream was Prophetical and Supernatural; but in my Opinion, he ought not to have thought it more ſo now than at the firſt Time. Should a Poet only as a Trial of Wit make an Elegy at this time, reſembling that of *Lotichius*, it might well enough happen before Eighty Years come about, that the Town he ſung of in a Frolick, may be bombarded and levelled to the Ground.

(H) *That* Julius Cæſar Scaliger *has not praiſed* Lotichius.] You'll find at the end of the Text to this Article, the Reaſons why we are not to wonder at *Scaliger's* Silence. However, let us hear Mr. *Morhof's* Complaint. (a) *Fuit Phœnix Poetarum Germaniæ Lotichius, omnibus exteris ſi non ſuperior, certe æqualis. Hujus tamen vel ipſis Germanis pene ignotum nomen eſt: exteri nullam ejus mentionem faciunt. J. C. Scaliger cum cenſuram Poetarum Germanorum inſtituit in Hypercritico ſuo ne verbulum quidem de hoc noſtro, qui tamen omnibus cæteris erat anteferendus.*

(a) Morhof. ubi ſupra pag. 225.

(Y) *Anſwers theſe Two Qualities.*] For he there explains by it ſelf, whatever is in *Petronius*, relating to Phyſick; and afterwards, in another part, gives Critical Philoſophical Notes upon the ſame Author. He appears to have more Reading, and a better Memory, than Penetration and Judgment. See what an Opinion *Goldaſt* had of this Commentary: (b) *Mitto tibi Lotichii commentaria in Petronium cum aliorum notis——videbis quantum abs tuo inſtituto ac judicio Lotichius diſſideat. Volebam hominem amicum hac occaſione ad lectionem veterum Medicorum deducere, quorum illum prorſus expertem & negligentem eſſe advertebam. Sed judicio deſtitutus nec in bonis auctoribus verſatus, nobis undiquaque compilavit quæ ad grandiendum librum conveniſſent ex Cornucopia, Calepino, Textoris Officina, Eraſmi Chiliadibus & conſimilibus ſcriptis poterat, ut tandem monſtroſum, horrendum, & inſanum magnum iſtud commentum pareret. Adeo ſibi philautia placet, ut etiam ſordes ſuas putet mera olere cinnama.* This Judgment is very hard, but I think it more reaſonable than that of *Guy Patin*, and I admire that a Man, who was incomparably more enclined to deſpiſe Authors than eſteem them, ſhould ſpeak ſo much to the Advantage of this Commentary on *Petronius*. [illegible] *Lotichius*, formerly 'a Phyſician, and at preſent an Hiſtorian, has 'wrote Two Volumes in Folio, *Rerum Germanicarum*, and perhaps the third is printed; if you 'have 'em, ſend 'em me. Let me know too if he has 'reprinted his *Petronius* in Folio, much enlarged, 'as he deſigned long ago. This laſt is an excellent 'Book, and the Author a very Learned Man. He 'had deſigned to have reprinted it here with all his 'Augmentations in Folio; but I told him 'twas 'impoſſible, there being too many Monks, Je'ſuits, and others, Enemies to good Letters in this 'Place, who merited Indulgences by hindering ſuch 'Impreſſions.

(b) Goldaſtus, Epiſtola ad Hofmannum, inter Richterianas p. 555.

(Z) *The Recompence of the Dedication of his Epigrams.*] He not only dedicated 'em to *Maurice*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*, but alſo gave him a Copy of 'em with his own Hands. The Prince thanked him by an Epigram (d), and that was all the preſent he made him. This was imitating a great Emperor (e). He who furniſhes me with this Particular, ſays alſo, that he dedicated [illegible] many other Books to Princes and Re[illegible] without ever geting a Great for 'em.

(d) Nuper Doctor Lotichius ſua epigrammata illuſtriſſimo Mauritio Haſſiæ Landgravio inſcripſit, & in præſentiarum obtulit, qui ei epigramma euchariſticon honorarii loco redonavit. *Goldaſtus ib. p. 561.*

(e) See what Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 2. c. 4. ſub fin. ſays of Auguſtus.

(A) *In the upper Poictou.*] *Coulon* in the Index of his Book of the Rivers of *France*, places *Loudun* in *Touraine*. Mr. *de Marolles* is in the ſame Error, ſaying (f) that *Loudun was part of Touraine*, tho' *Loudunois be in the Dioceſs of Poitiers*. He ought to have ſaid that *Loudun* was [illegible] this Dioceſs. The truth of the Matter is, that the Election of *Loudun* depends on the Generality of *Tours*.

(f) In the Liſt of thoſe who had made him Preſents of their Books at the Worſ Ghevreau.

(B) Con-

the Civil Wars (A) as well on account of its Castle, which *Lewis* XIII. demolished in 1633. as for its Situation. The Duke of *Anjou* [a] in vain attempted to make himself Master of it in 1569. but the King of *Navarre* [b] reduc'd it Twenty years after with the greatest ease. There are several Convents in it: That of the *Carmelites* is the Rendezvous of all the Devotees, who go [c] on Pilgrimages to *Notre-Dame* of *Recouvrance*. That of the *Ursulins* became extreamly Famous, when in 1633. and 1634. there was so much talk of the Possession of several of these (C) Nuns. The Prote-

[a] *Mezeray Françoise tome.* 2. *pag.* 768.
[b] *D'Aubigné to.* 2. *pag.* 223.
[c] *Du Chesne Antiq. de villes.*
[d] *Id. id.*

(A) *Considerable in the Civil Wars.*] Here is a little Story that does honour to this Town: *D'Aubigné* (a) relates that in 1569. *Puviaut* at the Head of a Company of Sixty Men, being in sight of *Auville*, where the Duke of *Anjou* was quarter'd, *saw Eighty Horsemen come forth, the Heroes of the Court, as the* Guises, Brissac, Pompadour, Fervaques, Lanssac, Jarsaie Fontaine *and others. He* resolutely stood 'em, the Fight was obstinate, and twice renewed; but not one of *Puviaut*'s Men quitted his Post. *D'Andelot* appearing with Twelve Standards obliged the Courtiers to retire, leaving Two of their Men dead upon the spot, and carrying off several wounded. They had a mind to know *who they were that they had fought with*: *the Curate* Jarsaie, *who with* Clermond la Barbee, *and other Volunteers, gloried in following this Captain on occasions*; *instead of naming these Gentlemen, answered, it was the Company of* Puviaut, *and* Lanssac *replying*, What the Sieurs of *Loudun? most of 'em being of this Place, and of such and such Quality. The Duke of* Guise *cried out*, Let's change this Discourse, they are all very good Gentlemen.

(a) *Histoire universelle, tome.* 1. *pag.* 392.

(C) *The Possession of several Nuns of* Loudun.] I have spoke amply of it (*b*) in another place; but I did not then know a thing which I have read a few Days ago, and which I shall relate, after having occasionally taken notice of a Fault of Father *Labbé*. He says (*c*) that in 1566. *a possessed Nun of* Loudun, *so celebrated in Story, was dispossessed by the Holy Eucharist, in presence of above Ten Thousand Men, and amongst others, of* Florimond de Remond, *who soon after, of a* Huguenot *became a Catholick.* Instead of *Loudun*, he should have said *Laon*, which is an Episcopal Town in *Picardy*; it was there that *Florimond de Remond* saw this famous possessed Person, as he relates in Two (*d*) places of his Works. Mr. *de Sponde* (*e*) relates this Fact, and uses the Word *Laudunum*, which probably led Father *Labbé* to believe, that this Adventure happened at *Loudun*. Mr. *Moreri* has committed the same Fault in the Article of *Florimond de Remond*.

(b) *In the Article* Grandier.
(c) *Labbe Chronolog. Françoise, tome* 5. *pag.* 783.
(d) *In his Book of Anticbrist, and in the Work of the Birth & Growth of Heresy. li.* 2. *chap.* 12.
(e) *Spondanus, Annal. Eccles. ad ann.* 1566. *n.* 31.

'Tis affirmed in Mr. *Artagnan*'s Memoirs, that *Grandier* was one of Cardinal *Richelieu*'s *unhappy Victims*. (*f*) 'Some Body had perswaded him that 'he was a Sorcerer, and had possessed the Nuns of 'Loudun with a Legion of Devils. Upon his 'Accusation the Sieur *de Laubardamont*, at 'the Head of his Delegates, against the Opinion 'of a great many of his Judges, condemned him 'to be burnt alive. He frankly told 'em, to 'oblige them to subscribe to so injust a Sentence, 'That if they opposed it so vigorously as Men 'of Honour ought to do, they should have a Jury 'impannel'd upon them, who would soon convict 'em of being Accomplices in his Witchcrafts, 'since he was no more a Sorcerer than they might 'be. He was much more in the right in talking 'to 'em after this manner, than in resolving to 'put an innocent Man to Death. All poor 'Grandier's Crime was his Debauching these 'Nuns; and if he had possessed their Bodies 'with any Devil, it could be no other than 'that of Impurity. Now as these Judges had 'been to see these Nuns as well as he, and might 'as easily have lain with 'em, for they were 'very far from being Vestals, they began to 'consider what they had best do; but being at 'last prevailed upon, they chose to shew them-'selves unjust in condemning an innocent Person, 'rather than hazard themselves by desiring to 'save him; for after all, they might have been 'accused of Sorcery as well as he, and no one 'knows what might have happened, his Emi-'nence being as innocent as he was. I am far 'from warranting the truth of this, or can I perswade my self that *Laubardamont* talked at this rate to the Judges. He was a wicked Man, you'll tell me; *transeat*, be it so; but that had not sufficed Cardinal *Richelieu*, he must have had sense and address besides, but what can be more improbable than to say, That a President of a Commission is ingenious in wickedness, and yet speaks as this Man is made to speak in Mr. *d'Artagnan*'s Memoirs. This, in my Opinion, is foisted in, either by him who has put these Memoirs in order, or rather by the Corrector of the Press. Be it how it will, Mr. *d'Artagnan* gives no great credit to the Story; for at the time of this Devildome of *Loudun*, the Figure he made, and the Places he frequented, could only afford him the most uncertain and popular Reports in this matter.

(f) *Memoires de Mr. d'Artagnan pag.* 160. *& seq. Edit.* 1700

I have (*g*) in another place said a thing which seemed incredible to some People, which is, That the Priest *Grandier* found means of presenting himself in a Nuns Chamber, as an Apparition of the late Ghostly Father of the *Ursulines*. I must now add a Word or Two, to make this Matter more credible; nothing can be more proper for my purpose, than the Abjuration imposed within these Two years (*h*) upon a bare-footed *Augustine*, who had bin guilty of *Molinosisme*. He was convicted of having decieved *Pere Benigne*, by counterfeit Revelations: He'd fain have perswaded him, That the things he had told him on several Occasions, were true and holy; That he was a greater Saint than any in Heaven. For this he refer'd himself to St. *Gaetan*, and shewed himself to *Pere Benigne* in the Habit of this Saint. He also contriv'd false Apparitions of the Holy Virgin, and made use of artificial Illuminations, and many Changes in the Tone of his Voice. Let's set down the Words of his Abjuration: *Confessasti che le Visioni succedenti erano opere tue, esperimente le Revelationi del Padre Benigno, mentre tu gl' apparisti con l'habito di S. Gaetano, con un bellissimo e candidissimo giglio in mano, e barba postiticcia. Il tutto facesti e operasti per far gli credere che le cose dette da te in piu e diversi occasioni erano veridiche e sante e che tu eri un santo maggior di tutti, i santi che stanno in cielo. Facesti apparire la Beatissima Vergine à forza di lume contrafacendo la voce hora in un modo, e hora nell' altro, e per questi tuoi e altri misteri il sudetto* Padre Benigno *credeva fermamente a queste tue visioni, e visitationi celesti, e che dio non le concedeva se non a te puramente.* Mr. *Silvester* (*i*) returning from *Rome*, communicated to me a Manuscript Copy of the Act of the Inquisition, in which are these Words, it's intitled, *Ristretto de l'Abjura semipublica seguita nel' sant' Officio in persona di* Fra Pietro Paulo *di S.* Gio: *Evangelista Romano al Sacello di Casa Granisi, in eta d'anni quaranta, inquisito altre volte nella Cita di Napoli, e in quella di Spoleti.* I pass over the Infamies this Monk was convicted of, as a Quietist, and the abominable Impurities he confessed he had committed with his Votaries; they make ones Hair stand on end, and let us see at the same time, that since the Inquisition was satisfy'd with condemning a bare-footed *Austin*, only to perpetual Imprisonment, it ought to be acknowledg'd on some Occasions a Tribunal of extraordinary Clemency and Gentleness. But these Reflections apart, I content my self to say, that by Facts undoubted and judicially attested, we know that the Secret of representing the dead, and counterfeiting Apparitions of the Holy Virgin, is a thing known and practised in the Monasteries. Why then should we deny that the Curate of *Loudun* appeared to a Nun, as her deceased Confessor? I could never perswade my self, that all the Stories of the Apparitions of the Holy Virgin,

(g) *In the Remark K of the Article* Grandier.
(h) *This is writ in* 1700.
(i) *Confer qua supra pag.* 1776. *lettre f.*

A Confirmation of what has been said of a pretended Apparition of the Confessor of the Nuns of *Loudun.*

Proteſtants about this time loſt the College (*D*) which they had founded there. The laſt National Synod was held in this Town, from the 10th of *November*, 1659. to the 10th of *January*, 1660. *Loudun* has been the Birth-place of ſeveral Learned Men, as *Salmon Macrinus*, *Scevola de St. Marthe*, *Julius Cæſar Bulenger*, *Iſmael Bouillaud*, *Urbane Chevreau*, *&c.* Some call it *Juliodunum* in *Latin*; but (*E*) that's not it's true Name. The Geographer *du Val* [a] was in the wrong, to ſay, That it [redacted] the Title of a Dutchy; if he had conſulted Mr. *Moreri*, he would not have [redacted]eſſed himſelf in the Preſent Tenſe. That Lady of the Family of *Rohan*, in [redacted]e Favour *Moreri* ſays, the Dutchy was Erected, was the Lady *de la Garnache*, [redacted]hom I have ſpoken in her Place.

[a] *In his Treatiſe of France pag.* 144.

LEWIS *VII.* King of *France*, was Crowned at *Rheims* [b] the a[redacted] *October* 1131, and Reigned with his Father till the Firſt of *Auguſt* 1137, and [redacted]wards by himſelf to *September* 1180. He Married *Eleonora*, Daughter and Heireſs to *William*, the IXth. of the Name, Duke of *Guienne*, in the Year 1137 [c]. This Princeſs was a great Fortune, both on Account of her Beauty and of the fine Provinces her Father had left her; but 'tis pretended ſhe was very Lewd, and that her Husband had very good Reaſons to diſſolve the Marriage, if Human Prudence could have ſuffered him to Renounce the Poſſeſſion of *Eleonora*'s great Eſtates by this Divorce. All Hiſtorians blame him for being more Jealous then Politick; for not being able in the Iſſue to bear the weight of his Jealouſy, and the diſhonour he pretended his Wife's irregular Life had brought upon him, he [d] *earneſtly Sued for a Divorce, and obtained it by the Sentence of the Prelates of the Kingdom, Aſſembled at* Baugency, *in the Year* 1152. He did what *Marcus Aurelius* would have done in the like Caſe; but he had Acted a wiſer part (*A*) if he had Imitated that Emperor [redacted] in Conſideration of the Dowry, ſtifled all Thoughts of a Separation. He [redacted]d to the Divorced Princeſs all that belonged to her; and thereby put his moſt dangerous Neighbour in a Capacity of Oppreſſing *France*; for the King of *England* [e] preferring the Intereſts of

[b] *Mezerai, abregé*

[c] *Id. ib. Pag.* 557.

[d] *Id. ib. pag.* 570.

[e] *This was Henry II. He was not King as yet.*

† *That is, are not always the Cauſe; for on the Whole I don't deny that they may be ſometimes, or that the impreſſion which the bare relation or reading of Stories of Apparitions; or an artificial Viſion makes, may not produce the firm Perſwaſion of other Viſions, in which there's no Artifice at all.*

gin, with which abundance of Books are ſtuffed, are either Fictions or Deceptions of ſenſe; the[redacted] a great deal of reality in theſe Stories. The [redacted] poſtors perſonally enter the Chambers, and actually pronounce Words under what Name and Figure they pleaſe: Vapours and Fits of the Mother (†) don't make the Nuns ſee and hear this or that. Their Senſes are really ſtricken with the Objects; all the Deception conſiſts in their attributing to the Divine Favour, what only depends on Human Artifice. The *Engaſtrimythes*, thoſe who ſpeak from their Bellies, and who ſo well manage the Air in their Lungs, that their Voice ſeems to proceed from a Cave or a Garret, are very fit for theſe Myſteries; they are very ſerviceable People; by their means many are made to believe, that the Dead ſuffer much in Purgatory, and come to petition their Heirs to cauſe Maſſes to be ſaid for 'em. Mind the Exceptions which I hint to in the Marginal Note. (†)

(*D*) *The College which they had founded there.*] The Hiſtorian of the Edict of *Nantes* relates, (*a*) *That the Reformed of* Loudun *had loſt their College in the year* 1635. *and that* Laubardamont *had Lodged the pretended Poſſeſſed Women there. After that they were never able to get their Poſſeſſions reſtored, not to indemnify themſelves of what it had coſt them; but the Court being at* Loudun, *in* 1650. *they applied themſelves to the Preſident* Mole, *who was then Keeper of the Seals. The reſult was, that at the deſire of the Queen they were contented with a Summ much below the Price of their College, which was offered 'em in the Name of the* Urſulines. *This Summ pretty nearly equall'd the Value of the fourth Part of the Buildings*, and was not one Half of the Intereſt. See in the ſame Author (*b*) the Treachery made uſe of to deprive 'em of the Exerciſe of their Religion.

(*a*) *Hiſt. de l'edit de Nantes to.* 3. *liv.* 3. *pag.* 145.

(*b*) *Tome* 3. *part.* 2. *pag. and the following ad ann.* 1684. 1685.

(*E*) Juliodunum, *but that's not its true Name.*] Mr. *Valois* the younger, ſays (*c*) that *Macrinus* and *Scevola de St. Marthe*, were the firſt, or Two of the firſt, who by a Poetical Licenſe called *Loudun Juliodunum*, to make their Country participate in the Glory of *Julius Cæſar*. According to him, its Name is *Caſtrum Laudunum*, that of *Laſdunum* is later; ſome have alſo given it the Name of *Lacidunum*, *Landunum*, and *Lodunum*; *William le Breton* has given it this laſt Name, in the 8th Book of his *Philippeides*.

(*c*) *Hadrian. Valeſius, Notit. Galliar. pag.* 265. & 450.

(*A*) *If he had imitated* Marcus Aurelius.] When it was repreſented to this Emperor, that ſince he would not put his Wife to Death, whoſe Debaucheries were arrived [redacted] the utmoſt of Infamy, he ought to divo[redacted]her: He [redacted]red, But if I do that, I muſt reſtore her Portion, that is, I muſt divorce my ſelf from the Empire. (*d*) *Fauſtinam ſatis conſtat apud Cajetam conditiones ſibi & nauticas & gladiatorias elegiſſe: de qua quum diceretur Antonino Marco, ut repudiaret, ſi non occideret, dixiſſe fertur*, Si uxorem dimittimus, reddamus & dotem. *Dos autem quid erat, niſi imperium quod ille ab ſocero, volente Adriano adoptatus, acceperat?* This Anſwer very well became a Philoſophical Emperor. We here ſee that *Marcus Aurelius* knew how to reconcile theſe Two Characters. If he had kept the Empire after the Divorce, he had done an unjuſt Action, and had but ill maintained the Character of a Philoſopher. If he had choſe to be reduced to a private Condition, rather than be a Cuckold, he had ſhewn a contempt of Greatneſs and Authority, and ſo [redacted]ou'd have forfeited his Character of Emperor, [redacted] Juſtice of his Maxim was acknowledg[redacted] *Burrhus*, *Nero*'s Governour; for when this P[redacted]ou'd have divorc'd *Octavia*, the Emperor *Cla[redacted]* Daughter, *Burrhus* (*e*) indeavour'd to diſſ[redacted] him from it, by telling him, That if he divorced her, he muſt reſtore her the Empire. We have here a King of *France*, who practiced this Principle ſo conſcientiouſly, that we may ſay he was ſcrupulous, not only beyond what a Prince ought to be, but beyond what any private Perſon would have been. To prove this, I ſhall ſet down the Words of a modern Hiſtorian, a great favourer of *Eleonora*. *She retired*, ſays he, (*f*) *immediately into the Eſtates of* Guienne, *from which the King withdrew his Garriſons, without retaining any one Place; tho' having Two Daughters by that Marriage, which he kept with him, it ſeems he might under Pretence of Securing their Pretenſions to the Succeſſion, have ſeized on the Forteresſes of the Dutchy. Poſſibly he might have acted thus out of Policy, to prevent the Revolt of* Guienne, *where the People Turbulent, Jealous of their Rights, would never have ſuffered him to make himſelf Maſter to the Prejudice of their Lawful Sovereign; ſo that he judged it [redacted]ent eſt to wait till the Death of this Princeſs, [redacted]ould put her Daughters in Poſſeſſion. Perhaps too it was a pure Nicety of Conſcience; not believing he could juſtly retain the Eſtates of a Princeſs he had Divorced. [redacted]ides he had lately loſt two of the Ableſt Men of the Kingdom; the Abbot* Suger, *and the Con[redacted]rmandois, who died in the ſame Year; and [redacted]ey had the whole Management of the Kingdom, whilſt he never concerned himſelf with it, he*

(*d*) *Capitolinus in Marco Aurelio cap.* 19. *p. m.* 362. *tom.* [redacted]

(*e*) [redacted] ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὴν, ἢ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. Burrho illi quidem reſiſtente, & pr[redacted] ben[redacted] la[redacted] di[redacted] illi[redacted]en-te: dotem igitur ei, hoc eſt, principatum redde. *Xiphilin. in Nerone.*

(*f*) *Mr. de Larrey, in his Heritiere de Guienne pag.* 60. *ad ann.* 1152.

of his Grandeur before the Shame (*B*) of Marrying a Divorced and Disgraced Princess, went as we may say Post * to *Bourdeaux*, when she was offered to him after the Separation, and presently concluded the Marriage. He Sacrificed without any difficulty, and even with a great deal of Pleasure, the Nicety of a [illegible] of Honour to Ambition? The King of *France* had taken *Eleonora* along with [illegible]nto *Asia*, where, as if *Europe* were not a large Field enough for her Gallantri[illegible]s said, (C) she compleated her Ruine, being little Affected with the Sanctit[illegible]he Places she went to see, in Company of Princes Devoted to the Crusade.

* Le Pere de Nicome, ag. 61.

he was in as great a perplexity at their Death, as a Man whom his Guides forsake in the midst of a Forest. So much it imports a Sovereign to be timely Instructed in the Interests of his St[illegible] and to govern by his own Lights, and not [illegible] of his Ministers. However, Queen Elonor[illegible] *very happy, that* Lewis *VII. being more a Monk than a King, listened to the Scruples of his Conscience, rather then the Motives of Ambition.* I have retrenched nothing from this Passage; there's a Justness of Thought runs through the whole, proper to Instruct the Reader. Another Modern Writer Reasons upon the Motives of *Lewis* VII. without intermingling any Scruple of Conscience. Here's what he says: 'Lewis being returned from 'the *Holy Land*, had [illegible]annulled his Marri- 'age with *Eleonora* of [illegible]ne, under Pretence 'that they were Re[illegible] but indeed to punish 'this Queen, for a susp[illegible] Gallantry of hers in 'the East, with a Turk named *Saladine*, and for other 'Debaucheries, too publickly acted to be kept a Secret. 'Pure Discontent put him upon this Divorce, 'with so little precaution, that against all the 'Rules of P[illegible] he sent back *Eleonora* into her 'own Cou[illegible] which he restored to her; no[illegible] 'thinking p[illegible]aps, that either there was any M[illegible] 'so venturous as to Marry a Princess he had Di- 'vorced, or any Prince so little Nice, as to take 'a Disgraced Woman, by whom he had had two 'Daughters. The Event shewed he was mistaken. 'Henry, then Duke of *Normandy*, overlook'd this 'Scruple, to despite *Lewis*, and add *Guienne* to so 'many other fine Territories which he possessed 'in *France*; by which he saw himself in a fair 'way to be one Day as powerful as the King'. Add to this a Passage of *Mezerai*, which I cite in the following Remark.

(a) *Pere d'Orleans, History of the Revolution in England, tom. 1. pag.*

For any thing farther, I pretend not to draw a Parallel betwixt *Faustina* and Queen *Eleonora*; the greatest Detractor can't say that of the latter, which History says of *Faustina*. She went her self to chuse her Gallants on the Sea-shoar (*b*), amongst Watermen and Mariners, and that because they commonly [illegible]naked. My meaning's easily understood.

(*b*) Cujus (*M. Aurelii Antonini*) divina omnia domi militiæque facta consultaque: quæ imprudentia regendæ conjugis attaminavit [illegible] in [illegible]m p[illegible]iæ p[illegible]e- rat, [illegible] in Campania sedens amœna littorum obsideret ad legendos ex muticis, quia plerumque nudi agunt, aptiores. *Aurel. Victor in Cæsaribus, p. m.* 131.

(*B*) *Before the S[illegible] Marrying a Divorced and disgraced Princ[illegible]* A Passage of *Mezerai* will inform us of two things which will amaze good Men, and Men of Honour; the one will be Surprized, that the King of *France* should defer so much to the Severe Laws of the Gospel, and the others, that a Presumptive Heir of *England*, should not defer enough to the Laws of Humane Honour: (*c*) 'Lewis VII. being returned from 'the *Holy Land* was willing to get rid of his 'Wicked Wife, though he had had two Daughters 'by her, *Mary* and *Alix*. To this end having declared to the Pope, that she was related to him 'in a prohibited Degree, he assembled a Council 'at *Baugency*, where the Bishops being secretly 'advertised of the true Cause of this Divorce, 'pronounc'd the Marriage Null: *Eleonora* having 'as passionately desired it as he, because said she, 'he was more a Monk than a King. And truely 'it was well for her that he was; for if he had 'not been somewhat Monkish, he would have 'treated [illegible]er in another manner, and not 'have[illegible] Conscientious, as to restore her 'Guienne [illegible]d Poitou; but have Confiscated 'em 'for her Crime, and for the rest have granted her 'the Favour of her Life, if he had thought fit. 'But we need not wonder that he committed 'such a horrid Solecism in point of Polic[illegible] in 'which he had little Experience, having [illegible]ys 'trusted the Administration, in a word, all [illegible]o- 'vernment and Management of Affairs to his [illegible]er, 'the Abbot *Suger*, who dying the Year bef[illegible] had 'left him as much bewildred, as a Man who 'loses his Guide in a Desert and unknown Coun- 'try. Most honest Men will think this Scrupulous Restitution strange, and Men of Honour 'will, besides, wonder to see that *Henry*, to whom 'Stephen having no Children, had bequeathed 'the Kingdom of *England*, should Marry 'this Princess, whose Debauchery was so 'publick, that the King could not think 'any private Gentleman would have had the meanness to dishonour his Family with her.

(c) *Mezerai, Hist of France Vol. 2. p. 103.*

(*C*) *Into* Asia, *where 'tis said she compleated her Ruine.*] *Pere d'Orleans* had been telling us, that she was suspected of a Gallantry with a Turk, named *Saladin*. This wants a little Explication here, such as this Queen's Apologist has given. During *Lewis* VII's abode at *Antioch*, the Queen (*d*) writ to *Saladin* for the Liberty of one of her Relations, whom she loved much, *and back'd her Letter with a considerable Summ for his Ransome . . . (e). He granted the Queen the Liberty of her Relation, without taking the Ransom, and gave a very Ingenious and Civil Answer to her Letter.* The Prisoner was the Bearer of it, and gave it the Queen, *saying any thing to the King.* He often *of Saladin's* Generosity *to the Queen, and every where praised his genteel Carriage, and great Merit with such Exaggerations as are natural to those who speak of a Benefactor. The King was advertised of it, and was willing to know the Circumstances of the Adventure. The Secret the Queen had made of her Negotiation with* Saladin *look'd Suspicious, and the proceeding of the Sultan seemed so extraordinary for a Turk, that he could not believe his Generosity was Disinterested. He thought an Adventurer such as* Saladin *was, and Head of the Robbers, such as the Turks then were, incapable of so generous an Action, had he not designed to reprize himself by something more advantageous than the Ransome he had refused. He made no long Enquiry what might be his Design. What was told him of the Genteelness and Bravery of* Saladine, *of the Letter the Queen had written to him, and of the Answer he had given her, made him look upon the Queen as a Woman who had betray'd him, and who had settled a Criminal Commerce with* Saladine. *He made no Reflection upon the distance of Places, nor the Quality of the Persons which render'd this Commerce impossible, but fancy'd that this Sultan might come disguis'd to* Antioch, *and that the Queen saw him at her Uncles. Add to this, that this Princess provok'd by his Suspicions, took no Care to Cure him of 'em; but push'd on by her Uncle, who was resolv'd to Revenge a Repulse the King had given him, instead of a meek Behaviour and Complaisance, expressed a great Contempt for him, and proposed the dissolving their Marriage, which the Relation she said, betwixt 'em made unlawful. Then it was, that the King feared, she would quit him the first Opportunity, to follow her Gallant, and 'twas the fear he had of this, that made him send her away in a hurry from* Antioch, *not doubting after such a Proposition, but she had formed the Design. This is what History informs us concerning this Adventure, which might give occasion to the Jealousies of so Weak and Suspicious a Prince as* Lewis VII. *but which cannot justify the Calumnies, with which most Historians have blacked this Queen's Innocence.*

(d) *De Larrey ubi supra. pag. 45.*

(e) *De Larrey ubi supra, pag. 46.*

I grant with Mr. *de Larry*, that the Calumnies founded on this Adventure, as if *Saladine* (*f*) had actually lain with Queen *Eleonora*, are frivolous; but I don't think with him, that *Lewis* VII. betray'd any Symptoms of a Weak and Suspicious Prince in being perswaded there was a Mystery of Iniquity in the Case; the most Resolute and the greatest Prince would have had a just Occasion to be alarmed

(f) *That's to say, the Conqueror Saladin.*

Cruſade. I ſhall ſet down (D) what *Brantome* ſays of it. The Diſcontents ſhe gave her Husband in that Cruſade, were not the leaſt ſenſible Diſgraces that Expedition expoſed him to. St. *Bernard* had not (E) promiſed this ill Succeſs; on the contrary, he had fed him with Hopes of great Victories; and was ſo little daſhed at the Murmurs raiſed againſt him, that had it not been for Perſons leſs zealous, and conſequently more capable of reaſoning aright upon the Conſequences, he had ſtill engaged in a ſecond Expedition. *Lewis* had reaſon to repent all his Life, of the Fault he had committed, in ſuffering the Inheritance of the Duke of *Guienne* to come into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. To oppoſe the King of *England*, he was forced to take a Conduct moſt unjuſt in it ſelf, and of pernicious Examples to all Kings; which was to excite this Prince's Sons to rebel againſt their Father, and to protect 'em in their Rebellion. This he did ſo faintly, and with ſo little Succeſs, that he contributed more to the Glory of his Enemy, than his Prejudice. *Eleonora* was very much diſſatisfied

- See the Remark C.

med. The moſt reſerved Hiſtorians acknowledge that this Princeſs was (a) *wanton*, and *burnt* (b) *with Luſt and Ambition*. Some Months after her Divorce, ſhe Married Henry *Duke of* Normandy, *and Preſumptive Heir of* England, *a Prince Young, Ardent, Red-hair'd, and very capable of Contenting all her Deſires*. She was in Love with him before ſhe was Divorced, and it was that Paſſion that prompted her to preſs the Diſſolution of her Marriage, as Mr. *de Larrey* (c) confeſſes. From a like Motive ſhe was likely enough to run after (d) *Saladin*. I have read in a Book of the Lady *de Villedieu*, a Paſſage that I think Remarkable, and which I ſhall ſet down without Warranting the Truth of it. (e) 'Hiſtory has ſo Celebrated this 'Princeſs's Beauty, that 'twere a vain Attempt to 'Deſcribe it. She it was that Charmed the Fierceneſs of the Brave *Saladin*, Commander of the '(f) *Saracen* Army; and who having given him 'to underſtand, that ſhe believed no Proteſtations 'of Love, but in her own Tongue forced this 'great Captain to that Surprizing effect of Love, 'as to Learn the *French* Tongue in Fifteen 'Days.

(a) *Mezerai. Abr. Chronologique, tom. p. m.* 566.
(b) *Ib. ib. pag.* 571.
(c) *Ubi ſupra, pag.* 59.
(d) *Suppoſing that at this time he were Sultan, or at the Head of a great Army, which I confute below.*
(e) *Annales galantes, 1. partie, pag.* 31. *Edit. de Hollande* 1677.
(f) Saladin *was General of the* Turks, *and not of the* Sarracens.

Mr. *de Larrey* doubtleſs will not take it ill, after I have owned with him, that there's no likelihood *Eleonora* had to do with the great *Saladin*, if I Advertiſe my Reader, that good Hiſtorians who ſpeak of this Queen's Diſorders, don't ſuppoſe her Lover was the ſame *Saladin*, who made himſelf ſo Famous by his Conqueſts. They ſay, then that the Perſon ſhe had an Affair with in *Antioch* (g) was one Saladin, a *Baptized* Turk. Others, without Specifying the Converſion of this Perſon, ſimply ſay, that it was a Turk *named* Saladin. And there are ſome who ſpeak as if he had never been Baptized, they deſcribe her *running after a* Turkiſh *Soldier, whom ſhe had made the Object of her Paſſion, in Contempt of her Religion and Dignity*. 'Tis Mr. *Larrey* himſelf, who ſpeaks thus in his Adverteſſment to the Reader. All this manifeſtly Inſinuates that the great *Saladin* is not the Perſon concerned, for a good Hiſtorian could not in ſpeaking of ſo great a Man, make uſe of the Phraſe one Saladin; a Turk *named* Saludin. Beſides, when this Queen carried her ſelf ſo ill in *Antioch*, *Saladin* was not Sultan of *Iconium*, as Mr. *de Larrey* ſuppoſes (h), nor do I think that Country was ever one of his Conqueſts. He Married one of his Daughters a long time after (i) to *Melich*, the Sultan of *Iconium*'s Son. This does ſome Prejudice to *Eleonora*'s Apology.

(g) *Mezerai, Hiſt. de France, tome* 2. *pag.* 102.
(h) *Pag.* 44. 45.
(i) *See Maimbourg Hiſt. des Croiſades, liv.* 5. *tom.* 2. *pag.* 177. *Edit. de Holl. ad ann.* 1190.

John Bouchet, in his Annals of *Aquitaine*, affirms, that *Lewis* VII. ſuſpected his Wife had a mind to marry the Sultan *Saladin*, and that that Reaſon was alledged by the King in Treating of the Divorce. *Some have written, that if the ſaid King* Lewis *had not brought away his Wife* Eleonora, *ſhe had formed a Deſign by the Advice of her Uncle Duke Raymond, to quit the King, and marry the Sultan* Saladine; *by which means the ſaid Duke* Raymond *would have recovered all his Lands; he did this out of Revenge, becauſe the ſaid King* Lewis *had refuſed to aſſiſt him to recover 'em; but he ſaid nothing to* Eleonora *of it, till he was in* France, *as we ſhall ſee afterwards*. (k). Let us ſee what is contained in the Place he referred to: '(l) The Council being aſſembled, the Queſtion 'was put in Debate by the Archbiſhop of *Langres*, who was alſo ſummoned thither, giving 'his Opinion thus: You know, Gentlemen, what 'our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt formerly ſaid, that Man 'cannot ſeparate thoſe, whom God has joined in 'Marriage; however, he excepts one caſe, which 'is when one or t'other commits Adultery; for 'if that happens they may be diſſolved and ſepa'rated. Now Gentlemen, it is true, as the King 'commands me to ſay, that in a Voyage beyond the 'Seas (from which Thanks to God he is returned) 'through the great Love he had to Madam *Eleo'nora* his Wife, he took her along with him, as 'well to viſit the Sacred Places of *Jeruſalem*, as 'to ſee *Maymond*, the Duke of *Antioch* her Uncle, 'by whoſe means the King expected to have Suc'cours and Aſſiſtance in the ſaid Country, to per'fect his Enterprize; nevertheleſs, the ſaid Lady, 'without Occaſion, Cauſe, or Reaſon, and from 'meer Levity, was minded to deſert the King her 'Husband, and give her ſelf up to Sultan *Saladin*, 'whoſe Picture ſhe had ſeen, and thus betray the 'King and all his Army, and all by the Counſel 'of the ſaid *Maymond* her Uncle. Which curſed 'and damned Enterprize was not executed, as God 'would have it, by the great Diligence the 'King made to retire from the Danger, which he 'never declared to the ſaid Lady. However, he 'has always laid this Fact to Heart, and can anno 'wiſe truſt in her, and would willingly be divor'ced, if he ſaw the Thing were reaſonable, and that 'God would not be offended by it. For as he ſays, 'he can never be aſſured of the Race that proceeds 'from her. The Author adds, that the *Archbiſhop of* Bourdeaux, deſiring that her Divorce might be grounded on ſome other Reaſon, *beſides the Privilege and ill Intentions, the ſaid Lady* Eleonora *was charged with*, propoſed *another more honourable Medium*, which was, that the King and ſhe were Relations, and *that in the Degrees prohibited*. This Overture was accepted, and the Diſſolution of the Marriage founded upon it. The Queen, informed of what had paſſed (m) *fainted away from the Chair ſhe ſat in, and was ſpeechleſs above two Hours; nor could ſhe cry, nor open her Teeth. And when ſhe was a little come to her ſelf, ſhe began with her clear and beautiful Eyes to look upon thoſe who had told her the firſt ſad News, and ſaid to them*, &c.

(j) *Id. ib. fol.* 79. *ad ann.* 1152.
† *He ſhou'd have ſaid Biſhop.*

(k) *Bouchet, Annales d'Aquitaine, fol.* 78. *Edit. de Poitiers,* 1557. *in fol.*
(l) *Id. ib. fol.* 79. *ad ann.* 1152.

(m) *Id. ib. fol.* 80.

(D) *I ſhall ſet down what* Brantome *ſays of it.*] He ſpeaks of *Eleonora*, as on a wrong foot; he blames *Edward* III. for having confined his Mother in a Caſtle for her Love Intrigues. *A ſlight Offence*, ſays he (n), *ſince it is natural; and having dealt ſo much among the Soldiers, and uſed her ſelf ſo much to ramp with 'em amongſt Arms, Tents, and Pavilions, it was hardly poſſible for her to contain, from playing the ſame Pranks within the Curtains, as this often happens; I refer my ſelf to our Queen* Eleonora, *Dutcheſs of* Guienne, *who attended the King her Husband beyond Sea, and to the Holy War, and who by frequent converſing among Arms and the Soldiery, gave her ſelf ſuch a looſe as at laſt to have to do with the* Saracens; *for which the King divorced her, which coſt us dear: Conſider, what ſhe had a Mind to try whether theſe Warlike Men were as brave Champions in a Chamber, as in the Field of Battle, and that poſſibly it was her Humour to love valiant Men, for one Valour ſtrikes another, like Vertue; nor did he ſay amiſs, who ſaid, that Vertue reſembled Lightning, which penetrates every thing.*

(n) *Brantome, Memoires des Dames galantes, tom.* 2. *pag.* 311. 312.

(E) *St. Bernard had not promiſed this ill Succeſs.*] Being ordered to preach up the Cruſade throughout all Chriſtendom, he began in *France*. 'He 'af-

dissatisfied at her second Marriage. She was at least as jealous (F) of the second Husband, as the first had been of her. But the second was much harsher than the first; he put her in Prison, and kept her closely confined (G) for Life, as we shall see

assi[illegible]nal Council at *Chartres*, in which [illegible] was chosen Generalissimo of the Expedition; b[illegible] refused that Office, contenting himself to be th[illegible]peter of it; he published it every where w[illegible]t vehemence and assurance of Success, a[illegible] was believed, with the working so many Mirac[illegible], that Cities and Towns were deserted, and all People listed themselves for this War. (a) The Emperor (b) [illegible]radus marched with an Army of Sixty [illegible] and Horse, and arrived in *Syria*, in *Lent* 11[illegible] *Emanuel* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, ca[illegible] Plaister and Lime to be mingled with the [illegible] which he furnished to *Conradus*, and (c) *gave him Guides, who having led the Army by long Circuits, in which he consumed all his Provisions, delivered it half dead and languishing, into the Hands of the Turks, who cut it all to Pieces, insomuch that the Tenth Part did not survive the Enterprize.* Lewis ran the same risk as *Conrad*; however, he escaped by greater good Fortune than [illegible]denee. *He gained a Battel in passing the Rive[illegible]der; but he reaped no Advantage by it; [illegible]r this, not standing circumspectly enough [illegible] his Guard, he received a notable Check at the [illegible]le of a Mountain. At last he came to* Antioch, *whereof* Raymond *the Queen's Uncle by the Father's side, then held the Principality.* [illegible]re it was that he discovered (his Wife's Com[illegible]) with *Saladin*, and saw himself tempted t[illegible]dissolving of his Marriage. *He found no [illegible]r Remedy to avoid this Scandal, th[illegible]on. taking his Wife by Night from* Antioch, *and sending her away before him to* Jerusalem. He and *Conrad* besieged *Damascus*, and (d) succeeded in this Enterprize, as ill as in all the rest, *thro' the Prodigious Treachery of the very Christians of the Country. Therefore these two Princes detesting the Villany——thought only of returning.* Lewis *being on board his Vessels* (e), *met on the Road the Naval Force of these Miscreants, who laid in wait to take him. As they were at Blows, or even, according to some Authors, as they led him Prisoner, it happened by good Fortune, that the Army of* Roger, *King of* Sicily, *their capital Enemy, conducted by his Lieutenant, arrived, who quickly caused 'em to release their Prisoner, having burut, taken and sunk abundance of their Vessels.* The ill Success of this Cruisade, (f) *Which made so many Widows and Orphans, ruined so many Families, and dispeopled so many Countries, raised Murmurs and Reproaches against* [illegible]Barnard's *Reputation, who seemed to have promised a quite different Event. So that when the Pope at two Years end would have had him preach up another Cruisade, and oblige him to go in Person to the Holy Land, in order to draw a greater Number after him; the* Cisteaux *Monks broke all his Measures for fear of a Second Misfortune, which might have been greater than the first.*

(a) *Mezerai ubi supra, p. 564. ad. ann. 1146.*
(b) *Id. ib. pag. 565.*
(c) *Ibid. pag. 566.*
(d) *Ibid. pag. 567.*
(e) [illegible] 1149.
(f) *Id. ib. pag. 568.*
(g) *See the Article* Bernard, *Remark E.*

(F) *She was at least as jealous of the Second Husband.*] We'll take the Expressions of a Modern Historian already cited. (b) Queen *Eleonora*, the 'Woman of all the World, whom it least became 'to be jealous of her Husband, was extravagantly 'so, and had Reason for it. *Henry* was a Man of 'ill Fame, on the score of Women, and the Mo'nument we have remaining of the famous *Rosamond*, is a Testimony to Posterity, of this 'Prince's Debauchery. She who at the time I 'speak of, inflamed this Queen's Jealousie, 'was *Alix* of *France*, betrothed to the Prince 'Ri[illegible] and given as her Sister *Margaret*, to be ed[illegible] by her Father-in-Law, who was fallen 'in L[illegible] with her. Prompted by this Passion, and 'at the same time, by the fear, that if the Son 'were vanquished, the Father being enraged, might 'come to some Extremity against him, *Eleonora* 'knew so well how to perswade *Richard* and *Geoffry*, that it was their Interest, not to quarrel 'with their elder Brother, that she engaged them to 'enter into the Confederacy of the Malecontents. That all my Readers may understand this, I ought to observe, that the King of *England*'s eldest Son by Queen *Elenor*, was in Rebellion against him. He had stolen the Princess *Margaret* of *France*, Daughter to *Lewis* VII. who was to be his Wife, and whom the King of *England* educated in his own Court. According to some Historians, it was she (i), that raised *Eleonora*'s Jealousie, and it was *Eleonora* (k) who excited her eldest Son to this Rebellion, as afterwards she engaged her two younger Sons to join with their elder Brother. This Plot was hatched, whilst the King was in *Ireland*. As soon as he returned into *England* (l), *the first thing he did was to shut up* Eleonora *in a close Prison, where she remained all the Time her Husband lived, and very dearly paid for the Satisfaction she had sought in a Revenge, which neither respected the Rights of the Throne, nor those of the Conjugal Engagement.*

(i) *De Larrey ubi supra, pag. 86.*
(k) *Idem, pag. 87.*
(l) *Id. ib. p. 90. ad ann. 1173.*

(G) *Confined for Life, as we shall see in the Remarks.*] To remove all Ambiguity, I must say, that *Eleonora* was a Prisoner till the Death of the King her Husband. This Prince died in 1188. *Richard* his third Son succeeded him. He was then in *France*, where he had been engaged in a furious War against his Father. The first thing he did after his Return into *England* (m), *was to deliver Queen* Eleonora *his Mother, who had been a Prisoner Sixteen Years.* He made her Regent of the Kingdom (n) whilst he went into the Holy Land. The Jealousie which still cankered in her Soul, induced her to make a Voyage to *Navarre* to seek a Wife for the King her Son. To understand this, we must know (o) *that was told* this Queen, *in Prison, that* Henry *designed to divorce her——in order to marry the Princess* (p) Alix. *The Fear of this made her hate this Princess mortally; and when she was in a way to revenge her self, she carried Things to an Extremity. As she had a great Ascendant over* Richard, *she indeavoured to put him out of Conceit with this Match, by giving him Suspicions of his Father's Conduct with this young Princess, and seeing that her Suppositions were not sufficient, she added, that* Henry *had debauched her, and had had a Son by her. At last, fearing that the Charms of so fine a Princess would be more prevalent in* Richard's *Heart than her Words, she made all the haste she cou'd to marry him to another. For this Reason she went to the Court of the King of* Navarre, *designing to match* Richard *with the Princess* Berengere, *having obtained Permission to negotiate this Treaty before she left* England. *It was not difficult for her to accomplish it, having so much Address as she had, and the Match besides appearing to* Navarre *so advantagious as it really was.* Afterwards she conducted the Princess of *Navarre* into *Sicily* to her Son, who consummated the Match before he set sail to the *Holy Land. Eleonora* returned into *England*, from whence she went over into *Germany* (q) in 1194. to deliver *Richard*, who was made a Prisoner by the Duke of *Austria*. *Richard* dying in 1199. She formed Cabals for devolving the Crown upon her Son *John*, Earl of *Mortaing*, to the Exclusion of *Arthur* her Grandson, tho' she had more (r) Affection for *Arthur* than for *John*, and though she was perswaded, that *John*'s Pretensions were unjust. But her Ambition was the only Rule of her Conduct. (s) *She apprehended, that if* Arthur *should come to Reign, he would suffer himself to be governed by the Dutchess* Constance *his Mother, a Woman of solid Sense, and excellent Courage, who would not give her any Share in the Authority. Thus she preferred the Earl of* Mortaing *before him, a Prince without Faith or Honour, because she believed, that having need of her Support, he would let her Reign in Conjunction with him.* This Earl is the same who was called *John without Land.* By the Peace he made with *Philip Augustus* King of *France*, in 1201, it was said that the *Infanta* of *Castile* his Niece, was to marry *Lewis, Philip*'s only Son. (t) *Queen* Eleonora, *notwithstanding her great Age, went in quest of this Infanta her Grand-Daughter, to the Court of* Toledo, *and brought her into* Normandy. She was besieged in *Mirebeau*, by Prince *Arthur* her Grandson,

(m) *Idem, p. 137. ad ann. 1189.*
(n) *Idem, p. 141. ad ann. 1189.*
(o) *Idem, pag. 155.*
(p) *Daughter to* Lewis XI. *who not being at Age, was affianced to* Richard, *and put into the Hand of* Henry *till she should be Marriageable.*
(q) *Idem, pag. 210.*
(r) *Idem, pag. 240.*
(s) *Ibid. See also P. d'Orleans ubi supra pag. 281.*
(t) *De Larrey, ibid. pag. 241.*

(b) *Pere d'Orleans, Revolut. d'Angleterre, tom. 1. p. 186.*

(a) *Mezerai ubi ſupra, pag.* 583.
(a) *Mezerai, hiſt. de France, tome* 2. *pag.* 131.
(b) Reverſus indefiliam Cæſaris Juliam quam in matrimonio Marcellus habuerat duxit uxorem, feminam neque ſibi neque reipublicæ felicis uteri. *Paterculus l.* 2. *c.* 93.
(c) Ad ultimum tanto nobis effecta eſt vinculo ſinceriſſimæ dilectionis, quæ Religiones alias quaſi deſpuens, noſtri Ordinis ſuſcipere, & in noſtra prælegit Eccleſia ſepeliri. *Ex Necrologio Fontis-Ebraldi apud Patrem de la Mainferme, Clypeo naſcentis Ordinis diſſertat.* 3. *pag.* 159.
(d) *See the Book of P. de la Mainferme ibid.*
(e) *Ex Necrologio Fontis-Ebraldi, apud la Mainferme ibid. pag.* 158.
(f) *I have prov'd the truth of this: See the Genealogical Tables of this Jeſuit, pag.* 49. *Edit. of* Paris, 1664.
(g) *I have proved the truth of this. See the Hiſtoire de la Maiſon rotale pag.* 78

ſee in the Remarks, with the Sequel of this Queen's Hiſtory. *Lewis* died on the 18th or 20th of *September*, 1180. Two Years after he had made (*H*) a Devotional Voyage into *England*. He had made ſuch another to St. *James's* of *Galicia*, not in the Year 1152. as *Mezerai* affirms, but in 1155. He cauſed his Son *Philip* to be Crowned at *Rheims*, the 1ſt of *November*, 1179. He had him by *Alix de Campaigne*, his third Wife. I inſiſt not upon a Chronological Account of his Actions, becauſe it may be found in *Moreri*.

LEWIS XI.

ſon, in the Year 1262. But *John without Land* ſuccoured her, and took this Prince Priſoner, and murthered him ſome time after. He durſt not do it, they ſay, whilſt *Eleonora* lived. This Queen died, loaden with Years and Sins. Let us uſe Mr. *Mezerai*'s Expreſſions. "(a) This Woman, conſummate in all ſorts of Wickedneſs, lived above Eighty Years, kindled a War that laſted for above Sixty Years, and ſettled a Hatred betwixt *France*, and *England*, that has continued above Three Ages; ſo that with Reaſon we may ſay of her what the *Greek* Poet ſaid of *Menelaus's* Wife, *That we have ſuffered* not a *Ten*, but a 400 Years *Fire and Sword by means of this Woman*. Her Fruitfulneſs deſerves but part of the Epithets which are given to the (b) Fecundity of *Julia*, *Auguſtus's* Daughter, for *Eleonora's* Sons had a great Complaiſance for their Mother's Paſſions, they revolted againſt their Father at her Deſire; and they who reigned ſuffered her to enjoy the Regency; but otherwiſe they brought a Thouſand Miſeries upon their Country. They had Hearts like Lions; but then 'twas not ſo much a true Courage, as a Hardineſs determined to deſpiſe the Maledictions of Fame, and behold with an unconcerned Eye, the moſt Atrocious Crimes. In a Word, they neither did Honour to *France*, from whence they deſcended originally, both by Father and Mother, nor to *England*, the Inheritance of their Father. *Eleonora's* Death is placed on the 31ſt. of *March* 1204. by Mr. *Moreri*, who adds, that coming out of Priſon in 1194. *She retired into a Monaſtery, and died in that of* Fontevraud. He is miſtaken by Five Years, as to the time ſhe came out of Priſon, and much more as to her Retirement; for after her Liberty, ſhe ſhewed her Ambition as much as ever, her intriguing Spirit, her Jealouſie and vindictive Humour. But 'tis true, that ſhe deſired (c) to be buried at *Frontevaux*, and took the Vail of the Order. She was a great Benefactreſs (d) to that Houſe; for which reaſon ſhe is repreſented in the Dead Roll of *Frontevaux*, as one of the moſt virtuous Princeſſes in the World. So ſure a means is Magnificence for obtaining of the Gentlemen Monks Teſtimonials of a good Life, in the midſt of a Conduct ſo ſcandalous, that the moſt flattering Hiſtory dares not conceal it. See the Remark I. of the Article St. *Gregory*, (e) *Migravit à ſeculo domina Alienoris Regina Francia & Anglia, Duciſſa Aquitaniæ, quæ nitore Regiæ ſobolis ſuæ mundum illuſtravit. Nobilitatem generis, vitæ decoravit honeſtate, morum ditavit gratia, virtutum floribus picturavit, & incomparabilis probitatis honore, ferè cunctis præſtitit Reginis mundanis.* I am ſorry Father *de la Mainferme* has not mark'd the Day and Year of *Eleonora's* Death; but if it be the 31ſt of *March*, 1204. as Mr. *Moreri* affirms, it follows that Mr. *de Mezerai*, and Mr. *de Larrey* are miſtaken, in ſaying that *John without Land* durſt not kill his Nephew *Arthur* in his Mother's Life time, Mr. *Pinſſon des Riolles*, whom I deſired to conſult Father *de la Mainferme*, has informed me that this Monk is dead, and that Father *Labbe* (f) in his Geographical Table, and (g) Father *Anſelm* in his Hiſtory of the Royal Family of *France*, mark the time of *Eleonora's* Death, as *Moreri* does.

It muſt not be forgotten that this Princeſs has been put in the Catalogue of Learned Women. *Anno* CIↃCIII. *obiit Eleonora Regina——— Ab eruditione ac prudentia multum celebrata eſt. Scripſit epiſtolas ad Cœleſtinum Papam, Henricum Cæſarem, Richardum & Joannem filios. Vide plura apud Matthæum Pariſium, nec non Balæum.* Thus it is *Voſſius* ſpeaks at the 82. Page of his Treatiſe *de Philologia*, in the *Amſterdam* Edition, 1650. 'Tis among the Additions to his Book. He did not know this Particular, when he wrote the Second Chapter, where he gives a long Catalogue of Learned Women.

(*H*) *A Devotional Voyage into* England.] Let's make uſe of *Mezerai*'s Words. (h) 'As the Devotion 'to the Relicks of St. *Thomas Becket*, increaſed 'by the Example even of King *Henry* himſelf, 'who of his Proſecutor was become his Votary; 'King *Lewis* went over into *England*, paid his 'Devotions at his Tomb, and left ſome Riches 'there, as Teſtimonies of his Piety. That Prince had made one Devout Voyage before. Let us hear what *Mezerai* ſays. '(i) It was not lawful for 'the Kings of *France*, as *Yves de Chartres* ſays, to 'Marry Baſtards. Now common Fame ſaid, that '*Conſtance* (k) was one. For this Reaſon *Lewis*, 'Two years after his Marriage, was willing to 'inform himſelf, and under pretence of going a 'Pilgrimaging to St. *James's* in *Galicia*, he paſſed 'through the Court of his Father-in-law, the 'moſt Magnificent Prince of his time, who re'cieved him, and treated him Royally at *Burgos*, 'and removed the Scruple he had in his Mind. This ſhews that Devotion was one of the principal Qualities of *Lewis* VII. *He was unfortunate in his greateſt Enterprizes*, ſays *Mezerai*, (l) *and too ſlack in Affairs that demanded Vigour; but as Pious, Charitable, Good, Equitable, Liberal, and Valiant, as any Prince of his Age: Yet Two Faults may be laid to his charge, one againſt Prudence, in having divorced his Wife; the other againſt the Laws of Nature, in having ſupported the Rebellion of King* Henry's *Children againſt their Father.* Devotion and Piety are undoubtedly the greateſt of all Vertues. A Prince can no more diſpenſe with 'em than a private Perſon, and if he chuſes with 'em to fulfil his Duty, rather than preſerve his Dominions, he is, in the ſight of God, one of the greateſt Men on Earth; but tis certain that, according to the Courſe of Human Affairs, nothing's more likely to ruin a Nation, than the ſcrupulous Conſcience of the Ruler. If his Neighbours acted like him, we might expect from his Piety, the greateſt Happineſs that a People can enjoy; but if whilſt they practice all the Tricks of State Policy, he preremptorily refuſes to take the leaſt ſtep beyond the ſevere Rules of the Goſpel Morality, both he and his Subjects will infallibly be a Prey to other Nations, and all the World will ſay, he was fitter for a Monaſtick Life, than to wear a Crown, and that he would do well to quit his Place to a leſs ſcrupulous Prince. (m) *Exeat aula Quivolet eſſe pius:* This Maxim eſpecially regards the Head of a Court. I ſpeak not of the Piety, which conſiſts in Building Magnificent Churches, in extending the Limits of his Religion by force of Arms, and extirpating Sects. This kind of Piety (n) is ſometimes ſubſervient to the temporal good of a Prince, to his Greatneſs and Conqueſts. I ſpeak of a Piety, that withſtands the Serpentine Windings of Policy; I ſpeak of a Conſcience that always prefers the honeſt before the profitable part, and that rejects all the Maxims of the Art of Reigning, which are contrary to exact Probity. This Virtue is doubtleſs prejudicial to a temporal Intereſt, becauſe it allows not the reſiſting the Attacks and Caballs of the Enemy. *Lewis* VII. is an inſtance of it, (o) tho' it muſt be owned that his Scruples were of a very particular Nature; for they hindered not his encouraging Children to revolt againſt their Father, and protecting 'em in Rebellion; but they wou'd not ſuffer him to Marry a Baſtard; they forced him to make a Voyage, to know whether his Wife was the lawful Daughter of King *Alphonſus*; he was afraid of offending againſt the Laws of the Kingdom. Why did he not fear to offend againſt the Law of God, which commands Children to honour their Fathers?

I con-

(b) *Mezerai. Abrege Chronolog. to.* 2. *p. m.* 582. *ad ann.* 1178.
(i) *Ibid. pag.* 571. *ad ann.* 1152. *but he ſhou'd have mark'd the year* 1155.
(k) *Daughter of* Alphonſo *VII King of* Caſtile, *Married to* Lewis *in* 1154.
(l) *Mezerai, ibid pag.* 583.
(m) *Lucanus, lib.* 8. *v.* 493.
(n) *This Reſtriction was neceſſary; for ſometimes this Piety brings great Prejudice to the Potenteſt Monarchs, as the Houſe of* Auſtria *has experienced it,* France *ſmarts for it.*
A REFLECTION on ſcrupulous Princes.
(o) *See Pere Maimbourgh,* Hiſtoire des Croiſades liv. 3. pag. m. 357. *& the following where he ſhews that the Scruples of this Monarch, were the cauſe of the ruin of all his Affairs in the Expedition to the* Holy Land.

LEWIS XI. King of *France*, was born at *Bourges*, in 1423. He succeeded *Charles* VII. his Father, in the Year 1461. He was a Prince well verſed in the Art of Reigning. He was conſummate in the Intrigues of Policy, which he very happily imployed to deliver himſelf out of a Thouſand Perplexities; but they ſometimes [a] became a Snare to himſelf, which is the leſs to be wonder'd at, when we conſider that he was not uniform in his Conduct, but ran from one Extream (A) to another, being reſerved to exceſs, for the moſt part, and too open-hearted on ſome Occaſions. It was juſtly ſaid of him, that he made himſelf [β] *as conſiderable by his Vices as Vertues, being apt in one as well as the other, to run into Extreams.* He was neither a good Son, nor good Father, nor good Brother, nor good Husband. At Sixteen Years of age he ſet himſelf at the Head of a Party, and being forced to return to his Duty, he watch'd for other Occaſions of Revolt, and perſiſted (B) in theſe Courſes till the Death of his Father, and even afterwards diſcover'd his unnatural Temper (C) in a ſcandalous manner. He took no Care of the Edu-

[a] *See* Varillas, *Hiſt. de* Louis *XI. liv.* 10. *p. m.* 333. 334.

[β] Paſquier *letr. liv.* 3 *p. m.* 154.

(a) Amelot, *Preface to his Tranſlation of* Machiavel's *Prince, pag.* 3.

I conclude with a Paſſage of Mr. *Amelot de la Houſſaye*, in which he cites *Machiavel*. '(a) *The Man*, ſays he, *in the* 15*th Chapter of his Prince*, who profeſſes himſelf a perfectly honeſt Man, 'amongſt ſuch Numbers as are otherwiſe, will be 'ſure to be ruined. There is therefore a neceſſity 'that the Prince, who would ſtand his ground, 'ſhould learn the Faculty of not being good, 'when he ought not to be ſo (1): *And in his* 18*th 'Chapter, after having ſaid that the Prince ought 'not to keep his Word, when 'tis againſt his Intereſt, 'he frankly confeſſes that* this Precept ſhou'd not 'be given, if all Men were good; but there be'ing ſo many wicked and deceitful, it is for a 'Prince's Security to know how to be ſo too. 'Without which he might loſe his Kingdoms, and 'conſequently his Reputation; *it being impoſſible 'that a Prince, who has loſt the one, ſhould pre'ſerve the other.* Some Pages after he ſpeaks thus: *Some Maxims of State are to be more e'quitably interpreted than is uſually done, the 'Practice whereof is become almoſt abſolutely neceſ'ſary, thro' the Wickedneſs and Perfidiouſneſs of Men. Add to this, that Princes are of ſuch refined Policy, that he who at preſent would act like a downright Honeſt Man, would quickly be a Cully to his Neighbours.*

(1) Plutarch *ſays, that if to Reign well one muſt abſolutely diſcharge all the Duties, and obſerve all the Rules of Juſtice, Jupiter himſelf would not be Maſter.*

(A) *He ran from one Extream to another.*] This is what an Hiſtorian ſays of him. '(b) He was 'the ableſt Prince in the World, to bring Men over 'to his Opinion, to diſcover the Secrets of his Ene'mies, to perplex 'em with Diſtruſts, and divide 'the moſt united; but in his jolly Humour, was 'incapable of keeping his Secrets; every thing 'eſcaped him, and he was more ſubject to commit 'Faults, than able to repair 'em, which he did by 'all manner of ways, and more frequently by bad 'than good.

(b) Mezerai, *abregé Chronolog. tom.* 3. *ad ann.* 1472. *p. m.* 322.

(B) *He ſet himſelf at the Head of a Party——— and watch'd for other Occaſions of a Revolt, and perſiſted.*] *Charles* VII. made (c) a Regulation, which neither pleaſed the great Men, nor the Officers who were fatned by the Miſery of the People: They interrupted it by a dangerous Commotion, which was called *la Praguerie*. The Dukes of *Alenſon*, *Bourbon* and *Vandome*, the Baſtard of *Orleans*, and many others, were concern'd, they complained that the King put the Government in 'the Hands of Two or Three private Perſons; and 'hereupon made a League againſt his Miniſters. '*La Trimouille* himſelf, who was diſgraced, joyned 'with 'em, reſolving to return to Court at 'any rate. To add more weight to this Conſpiracy, the Faction (d) ſet the Dauphin at the Head of 'em, giving out, that they only deſigned *the Reformation of Abuſes*, and to order it ſo, that *all things for the future ſhould be managed by this Prince's Authority, regulated by the Advice of the Princes of the Blood.* (e) They wrote *Letters in his Name to the Towns of* Auvergne, *and other Provinces, where they thought theſe Deſigns might be approved*——But all the Towns abominated this Revolt; and as the King was vigilant, and attacked the Conſpirators, where-ever they appeared, they were forced to have recourſe to his Clemency, and deliver up the Dauphin. This Commotion (f) was quell'd *in leſs than Nine Months*. This ſhews their Compariſon to be juſt, who liken the People to wanton Girls. There are ſome Days in which they are not to be moved with Sighs or Preſents; the next Day they come to hand without any Trouble. We may ſay too, that there are Conjunctures, in which the moſt plauſible Manifeſto's of thoſe who take Arms againſt their Soveraign, ſhake not the Fidelity of the People: At other times half theſe Pretences would be ſufficient for an entire Revolution.

(c) Id. ib. pag. 258, 259. *ad ann.* 1440.

(d) Matthieu, *Hiſtoire de* Louis *XI. liv.* 1. *c.* 6. *p. m.* 18, 19.

(e) Id. ib. c. 7. pag. 20.

(f) Id. ib. c. 11. p. 28. *ad ann.* 1440.

The King having pardoned his Son, kept him near his own Perſon, and watched him narrowly. He led him out to ſome Expeditions, and ſent him upon others, and gave him Opportunities of obtaining a great Reputation, eſpecially by the Defeat of Four or Five Thouſand *Swiſſers* near *Baſil*, (g) who defended themſelves very bravely. He diſtruſted his Son's natural Temper, and kept him ſomewhat ſhort; but the young Prince too haughtily took Head; and 'tis ſaid (h) that he gave a Box o'th'ear to the Fair *Agnes*, the King's Miſtreſs. This joined with other Delinquencies, obliged his Father to ſend him (i) into *Dauphiné* for Four Months. The Dauphin made his Retreat in a menacing manner: He carry'd himſelf with a great deal of Haughtineſs, and committed intolerable Extortions. (k) He made Intrigues with the Neighbouring Princes, and thought of returning no more to Court; he received Orders to return, and did not obey 'em; and knowing that *Charles* VII. was taking Meaſures to ſecure him, he eſcaped to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Court, (l) *and thereby made himſelf ſo much dreaded, that his Father haſten'd his own Death, by too great an Abſtinence, upon the bare Apprehenſions of Poyſon.* *Mezerai* had reaſon to ſay, that *Charles* VII. (m) might juſtly have been called Happy, *if he had had any other Father, or any other Son.*

(g) Id. ib. c. 14.

(h) Matthieu *ibid.* c. 20. *pag.* 48. *ib. cite* Robert Gaguin.

(i) Id. ib. *pag.* 50.

(k) Id. ib. *pag.* 52.

(l) Varillas, *Hiſt. de* Louis *XI. liv.* 11. *pag.* 360.

(m) Mezerai *ubi ſupra, p.* 284. *ad ann.* 1461.

(C) *He diſcovered his unnatural Temper, in a ſcandalous manner, after the Death of his Father.*] This Death '(n) gave him too great a Joy to be 'conſtrain'd, and he betray'd ſuch Symptoms of 'it, as could not but make the Government of 'ſo unnatural a Son to be feared and hated. He 'rewarded him that brought him the firſt News 'of it, beyond his Expectation. He wore Mourn'ing but one Morning, and appeared in Cloaths 'of a White and Carnation Colour after Dinner 'the ſame Day. He even forced the Courtiers, 'who haſten'd to join him at *Guenap*, to follow 'his Example, ſince he would not ſuffer 'em to 'come into his preſence, with Cloaths of a 'different Colour from his own. Another Hiſtorian ſays, that from this King's '*firſt Behaviour* 'it was concluded, (o) that he would Embelliſh 'the Beginning of his Reign with other Tro'phies, than Clemency; he diſcarded almoſt all 'the Officers and Servants of King *Charles* his 'Father, being wonderfully pleaſed to undo what 'he had done, to pull down what he had built, 'and to build what he had pull'd down. 'Tis 'obſerved (p) that he puniſhed his Father's Phyſician, becauſe, following the Rules of his Art, 'he had obliged the ſick King to eat. He who informs me of this, adds, 'That the Pretences 'of *Lewis* XI. took to render the Authority of the 'Sovereign inviolable to the laſt, are not al'lowable. *He is* in the right; but if he fancy'd that it was the true Motive of this Prince; if he believed, I ſay, that he was willing to take example by *Domitian*'s Temper, (q) he is miſtaken. The Phyſician was puniſhed only becauſe *Lewis* XI. had an Averſion for a Perſon, who had endeavoured to ſave *Charles* VII's Life.

(n) Varillas *ubi ſupra, liv.* 10. *pag.* 344, 345.

(o) Matthieu *ubi ſupra, liv.* 2. *c.* 4. *pag.* 86.

(p) *La Mothe le Vayer, inſtruct. du Dauphin, p.* 43. 44. *du* 1. *tom.*

(q) Ut domeſticis perſuaderet ne bono quidem exemplo audendam eſſe patroni necem, Epaphroditum à libellis, Capitali pœna condemnavit (*Domitianus*) quod poſt deſtitutionem Nero in adipiſcendâ morte manu ejus adjutus exiſtimabatur. *Sueton. in Domit. c.* 14.

Education (D) of his Son, and Married his Daughters in such a manner, as shewed he had no Concern for their Welfare. 'Tis pretended that he put his Brother (E) to Death, and 'tis certain (F) he had Mistresses and Bastards. The Peace he made with *England* in 1475. was more useful than glorious; he was jested on for it,

(D) *He took no Care of the Education of his Son, and he married his Daughters in such a manner.*] He 'was an ill Father, and tho' he 'had had his only Son so late, who was afterwards *Charles* VIII. that there was no Probability this young Prince should ever give him the 'same Disturbances, that he remembered he had 'formerly given *Charles* VII. nevertheless he 'looked upon him as a formidable Person. He 'took no care of his Education; he placed none 'but People of mean Quality about him; he had 'him bred up in Sloth and Pleasures; and the 'only Maxim he taught him, was, That a Man 'was incapable of Ruling, that did not know 'how to dissemble. *Anne of France*, his Eldest 'Daughter, was perfectly Beautiful, but she had 'abundantly more Wit than he was willing she 'should have had; and it was to humble her, that 'he Married her to a Younger Brother of the 'House of *Bourbon*, of a Genius so mean, that 'his Majesty had no reason to fear, he should enter into any Intrigues against his Service. *Jane* 'of *France*, his second Daughter was so deformed, 'that the Physicians affirmed, she would never 'have Children; nevertheless he constrained the 'Duke of *Orleans*, the first Prince of his Blood, 'to Marry her, tho' he had reason to foresee she 'would be unhappy with him. He had obliged himself (b) to give the Duke of *Calabria* a Force sufficient to recover the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, 'together with his Eldest Daughter in Marriage; but of the Temper he was of, he 'was far from chusing so Worthy a Man for a 'Son-in-law. He perform'd neither of these 'Promises. —— The Count *de Beaudieu* was 'preferred before this Duke, for no other Reason, but because he was beneath him in Merit 'and Valour; but the Fortune of this Younger 'Brother of the Family of *Bourbon*, was not 'better'd by Marrying *Anne* of *France*. A Contract of Marriage was presented him to sign 'which would have made over all the Estates of 'this House to his Wife, had not he been advised to evade it by some Words which were not 'taken notice of; and as long as the King his 'Father-in-law lived, he employed him only in 'Affairs that made him odious. —— And after all, 'never did him any good. *Peter Matthieu* (c) observes, that *Lewis* XI. hated his Daughter 'Jane, because *she was Black, Little, and Crooked.* 'The Lord *Lesquiere*, her Governour, frequently 'hid her under his long Robe, when the King 'met her, that he might not be afflicted at the 'sight of her.

(E) *That he put his Brother to Death.*] Let us comment this in *Varillas's* Words. (d) 'Tho' '*Lewis* by the advice of *Francis Sforza* had invested 'his Brother with the Dutchy of *Normandy*, 'yet he took it away from him a little after that '*the League for the Publick Good* was broken, 'and gave no other reason for it, but that this 'Province was then one Third of the Revenue of '*France*, and that his Younger Brother would be 'too Rich, should he enjoy it. He chose rather 'to give him *Guienne*; but so repented him afterwards, that the Author of the History of '*Aquitaine*, and the Abbot of *Brantome* pretend, 'he got his Brother poysoned by the Abbot of 'St. *John d'Angeli*. I have else where cited (e) *Brantome's* Words, and will not repeat 'em here. See also *Peter Matthieu*, in the History (f) of *Lewis* XI.

(F) *He had Mistresses and Bastards.*] I observe this as the Proof of the Character I have given him of an ill Husband. He was Twice Married; the first time to *Margaret Stuart*, Daughter to *James* I. King of *Scotland*, in 1436. She (g) died at *Challous* upon the *Marne* the 26th of *August*, 1446. in the 26th Year of her Age. *Hall* and *Grafton* (h) Two *English* Historians, affirm that she disgusted her Husband by her stinking Breath. *Buchanan* is very angry with 'em, and confutes 'em in the first Place by *Monstrelet*, who says she was Handsome and Virtuous; in the second place by a *Scotch* [redacted], who went into *France* with her, and [redacted] forsook her as long as she lived. He [redacted] left it in Writing, that she was beloved [redacted] her Father-in-law, her Mother-in-law, and her Husband, and was highly extoll'd in a piece of Poetry made upon her Death. *Monstrelet's* Testimony does not co[redacted] the *English* Historians: A Woman that's [redacted]me and Vertuous, may however be disgustful [redacted] the Part they mention. The *Scotch* Author is suspicious, a Domestick does not think himself obliged to publish, that his Mistress was hated in the Family of her Husband, and makes no scruple to give out the contrary: 'Tis a Common-place of Praise. Funeral Encomiums, are no Argument against the Indifference of a Husband. It might be proved by Modern Examples, that Princesses much dissatisfied with their Husbands and Father's in-Law, have been praised after their Deaths, in the mos[redacted]nificent Strains by Poets and Preachers. H[redacted]ver lets see *Buchanan's* Words: (i) *Quantam [redacted] existimabimus vel mentiendi licentiam, vel maledicendi libidinem, qua, in ejusdem Regis filiam, utuntur: quam, ob oris gravedinem (nihil enim in morte, homines aliqui tam impudentes, audebant confingere) marito scribunt fuisse ingratam? At Monstreletus [redacted] feriptor aqualis, & probatus [redacted] & fortunæ, memoria prodidit; & [redacted] Pius ejusdem scripsit, ejus Regina, [redacted] & moriens, fuit comes, scriptum reliquit, eam, dum vixit, quegis coram socero, socrui, & marito fuisse, epitaphiumque carmen, omni laude plenum, Gallicis versibus, Catalauni ad Matronam (quo in oppido decessit) fuisse publicatum, quod in Scoticum Sermonem versum, plerique nostrorum adhuc habent.* Monstrelet (k) affirms that *Louis* XI. cou'd never Love his first Wife, because of some Secret Imperfection and so had no Children by her. His Second Wife was *Charlotte* of *Savoy*. (l) This Second Marriage *was Consummated at* Namur *in the Year* 1457. *She was very Ill treated by her Husband for many Years together, and died at* Amboise *the* 1*st of* December, 1483, *being* 38 *Years of Age.* I know not therefore for what Reasons *Mr. Varillas* had Recourse to the Silence of the Historians of *Savoy*. *Lewis*, says he, (m) was subject to [redacted] *fultory Love* . . . *We have read in the* [redacted] *very three Contracts of Marriage, which [redacted]ned in Favour of so many of his Natural Daughters* . . . . *but passing that, the* Savoy *Historians don't charge him with having used Queen* Charlotte *his Wife unkindly.* The following Passage of *Peter Matthieu* will shew, she was unhappy. '(n) In the first Year of 'his Abode there, *Charlotte* of *Savoy* was brought to '*Namure*, to Consummate the Marriage that had 'been treated five Years before. A Marriage 'which being made with Reluctancy, was consequently without Love. When the Duke of '*Burgundy* gave the Dauphine his Pension of 12 'Thousand Crowns, *Oliver de la March* writes, 'that it was upon Condition he Married her, 'which shews he had no great Inclination to it. 'She brought him a Son whom he called *Joachin*. '. . . . The Child died immediately after, which 'gave the Father extream Trouble, who not being yet possessed with the Jealousies which Age 'brought upon him, desired to see him a Man, 'knowing that Children, who are born late, are 'Orphans betimes. The loss of [redacted] Child, 'who was the first that made [redacted] a Father, touched him so sensibly, that [redacted] made a Vow, as *Philip de Comines* says, never to know any other Woman but his own Wife, and yet in several Places of his Chronicle, we find [redacted] amongst the Women, some of which were [redacted] and others Married, and that to [redacted] of mean Fortune raised to Employs, [redacted] abundance of other Strokes of this kind, [redacted] don't bespeak a Continence equal to *Alexander's*,

(a) Varillas *ubi supra, pag.* 361. *He particularizes in his Epistle Dedicatory, the ill Education of* Charles *VIII.*

(b) Varillas *ubi supra, pag.* 362. Voiez *aussi pag.* 325.

(c) Matthieu *ubi supra, liv.* 10. *c.* 11. *pag.* 606.

(d) Varillas *ib. pag.* 364.

(e) *In the pensées diverses sur les Cometes, pag.* 462.

(f) Matthieu *ubi supra, liv.* 5. *c.* 17. *pag.* 256.

(g) Anselme. *Hist. Genealog. de la maison de* France, *pag.* 125.

(h) *See* Buchanan *in Hist. Scotiæ, lib.* 10. *pag. m.* 357.

(i) Buchan. *ibid. pag.* 357.

[redacted] 350.

(k) Anselme, *ubi supra.*

(l) [redacted]

(m) Varillas *ubi supra pag.* 323, 364.

(n) [redacted] *supra* [redacted]. *c.* 25. *pag.* 59, 50.

it, (G) but at bottom was excusable; for considering the great Number of Potent Enemies he had to deal with, 'twas better stoop than be haughty in that Juncture. Of Two Evils the least was to be chosen; it was a cast of Prudence, and a Man ought not to pretend to a *Roman* Courage out of Season. *Lewis* XI. raised a great deal of Money in his Kingdom, and trampled much more on his Subjects than his Predecessors had done, and yet his Personal Expences were so small, that he can't be acquitted (H) of Sordidness. Those of his Houshold were (I) as poor in Proportion. The same may be said of his Embassies; but in other Re-

'anders'. We shall see below (a) the particulars of his Gallantries; but that which is sufficient to convince us, that *Charlotte* of *Savoy* was scarce happy, is that her Husband, at his Death, admonished his Son (b) not to trust her; For, *says he*, I have always found that the Favours the *Burgundian*; Judge whether he could Love her, tho' he believed her otherwise Good and Virtuous. *Mezerai*, having said of this King's first Wife, what we have seen above, adds; (c) *He would very seldom have visited the Second, only in hopes of having an Heir.* Observe this that follows: '(d) 'Every thing gave King *Lewis* apprehensions; he 'always kept his Wife at a distance, and in his 'last Years banished her into *Savoy*'. *Philip de Comines* observes (e) *that this Queen was none of those in whom her Husband could take great Pleasure, but however was a very good Lady.*

(G) *He was jested on for it, but at bottom was Excusable.*] I am going to cite an Author who is none of the most Celebrated; but what then? It suffices that he speaks good Sense. We find, says he, (f) *That* Lewis *XI. King of* France *having too many Affairs upon his Hands, demanded Peace of* Edward *IV. King of* England, *as soon as he understood he was enter'd into* Picardy, *and bought it very dear, little minding that the Count* de Lude, *and others of his Favourites called him Coward, as the Politician* Angevin *has written, because he only made that Peace to Disunite and Waken his Enemies, whilst he might fortify himself to Defeat 'em one after another afterwards, and Master 'em, as he did for the most Part*——(g) *The* Romans *would rather have lost their Dominions, than have had such a Thought; for it never appears during the space of 700 Years, in which they might War with other Nations, that they ever sued for Peace, except of the* Gauls, *who Besieged 'em in the Capital, after having burnt their City, for which they Revenged themselves quickly after. On the contrary being overpowered by King* Perseus, *they would not grant the Conqueror a Peace, unless he submitted himself and his Kingdom to their Mercy, altho' he offered to pay 'em Tribute. And when King* Pyrrhus, *after having obtained some Victories, and received some loss, sent his Ambassadors to* Rome *to Treat of Peace in the Equipage of great Lords who are in another Country; Answer was made that he must first depart* Italy, *otherwise there could be no mention of Peace, which was the Answer of a Magnanimous People, who perceived themselves able to make Head against the Enemy: a thing which would ill become a weak Prince, who ought, as a wise Pilot, to lower his Sails, and obey the Tempest that he may get Safely into Harbour, and not make Necessity Minister to Ambition; like the Vaivod of* Transylvania, *who confidently and openly said, that he would chuse to be a Slave to the Turk, rather than an Ally to* Ferdinand, *which happened to be his Fate. Peter Matthew* relates, 'That *Edward* 'had taken 12 Members of the House of Com- 'mons along with him, who by this time were 'weary of the War, and of Lying in the Field 'like the Soldiers; these approved the Proposals of 'Peace, and said that if it was Just and Reasonable, 'it would be Imprudent to refuse it, and that they 'ought to be satisfied with having reduced the 'King of *France*, to Sue for Peace of the King of '*England*, forasmuch as a great King can't be more 'humbled, nor descend Lower, than to Sue for 'Peace of his Enemy (b)'. This was doubtless a horrid Mortification to *France*; but the Circumstance of the time would allow no other Methods, without exposing the State to greater Evils. Read these words of *Philip de Comines*: (i) 'I believe 'a great many may think that the King debased 'himself too much: but Wise Men may judge by 'what I have said, that this Kingdom was in 'great Danger, if God had not interposed his 'Hand; who disposed the Mind of our King to 'make so Wise a Choice, (and much confounded 'that of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who committed 'so many Errors as you have seen) in this matter, 'after having so much desired what he lost by his 'own Fault. We had at that time a great many 'Secret Heart-burnings amongst us; from which 'great Mischiefs would have ensued to this King- 'dom, and that quickly too, if this Resolution 'had not been taken, and that without Delay, 'both with regard to *Britain*, and other parts.

(H) *He can't be acquitted of Sordidness.*] This is what we find in a Book of [illegible] *Mothe de Vayer*: '(k) Scandalous Parsimony being the opposite to 'Prodigality, is perhaps equally blameable. '*Lewis* XI. made himself contemptible by his vile 'Habit, and his greasy Hats, which History up- 'braids him with, and we can't Read without In- 'dignation in the Registers of the Chamber of 'Accounts, an Article of Twenty Pence for two 'new Sleeves, to mend one of his Doublets, with 'another of Fifteen Pence to Grease his Boots'. Hope a Passage of *Mezerai* will very conveniently come in. (l) *The decisive Sentence of* Lewis *XI. did a little satisfy either Party* (m) *as his Interview with* Henry *King of* Castile *satisfied either* French *or* Spaniards. *The latter Laughed at the Penuriousness, and Sordid and Silly Mein of King* Lewis, *who wore a Surtout of a plain Drab* (1) *over a short and streight Vest, and carried a ladden* Notre-Dame *in his Bonnet; the former were pique'd at the* Castillian *Arrogance, and at the Fastuousness of Count* de Lodesme, Henry's *Favourite. La Mothe, le Vayer, and Mezerai* borrow these Particulars from *John Bodin*; observe how he speaks: '(n) There may be Parsimo- 'ny without lessening the Majesty of a King, or 'the Dignity of his Houshold, or Debasing his 'Greatness, which sometimes is the Cause of the 'Contempt of Strangers, and Rebellion of Sub- 'jects; as it happened to King *Lewis* XI. who 'having expelled some Gentlemen out of his Fa- 'mily, employ'd his Taylor for his Herald of 'Arms, his Barber for Ambassador, and his Phy- 'sician for Chancellor, (as one *Antiochus*, King of 'Syria, made *Apollophanes*, his Physician (2) 'President of his Council) and to mock other 'Kings, he wore a Greasy Hat and the Coursest 'Cloth; and even in his Chamber of Accompts 'was found, &c.——Nevertheless he height- 'ned the Taxes three Millions a Year, beyond his 'Predecessor, and alienated a great part of the 'Crown Revenue.' Here's what he had said in another Place of the same Book: (o) *The King of* Egypt *having seen* Agesilaus *rolling in a Meadow, clad in a plain Cloak of poor Cloth, and Lean, Little, and Lame, made no more Account of him, than was made of King* Lewis XI. *who being chosen Arbiter of a Difference between the Kings of* Navarre *and* Castile, *the* Spaniards *at the Meeting Ridiculed the* French *and their King, who look'd like some Pilgrim of St.* James's, *with his Greasie Hat edg'd with Images, and his Jacket of a tan Colour Cloth, and who had no Majesty in his Face, no more, than in his Manner; and his Train accoutred like himself, for he could not endure to accoutred like himself, for he could not endure to see any body finely Dress'd; whereas the King of* Castille, *and his Retinue, Sumptuously Habited, and their Horses bravely Caparison'd, shewing a certain* Spanish *Grandeur, which made the* Frenchmen *look like their Valets. We shall see below* (b) that we may trace this to an Author who lived before Bodin, and whom *Varillas* did not understand.

(I) *The Expences of his Houshold*——*and of his*

(a) *In the Remark K*

(b) Matrine credito cum enim Sabaudiensis sit Burgundis favere mihi semper visa est: alioquin bonam & pudicam illam sum arbitratus. *Gaguin. History of* France, *l.* 10 *fol.* 288.

(c) *Mezerai ubi supra.*

(d) *Id. ib. pag.* 343. *ad. ann.* 1481.

(e) *Comines, liv.* 6. *chap.* 13. *pag.* 406.

(f) *Honorat. de Meynier responses libres aux demandes curieuses, pag.* 590.

(g) *Id. ib. pag.* 591. 592.

(b) *Piere Matthieu ubi supra liv.* 6. *ch.* 19. *p.* 317.

(i) *Philip de Comines liv.* 4. *ch.* 7. *pag. m.* 222. *ad ann.* 1475

(k) *La Mothe le Vayer opuscules* 1. *part pag.* 83. *in* 8. *tome de ses œuvres.*

(l) *Mezerai, ubi supra, pag.* 290. *ad ann.* 1462

(m) That's to say, John *King of* Arragon, *and* Henry *King of* Castile.

(1) *Short Habits Ridiculous for People of Quality.*

(n) *Bodin de la republique, liv.* 6. *chap.* 2. *circa fin. p. m.* 900.

(2) *Polyb. lib.* 3.

(o) *Bodin ibid. liv.* 4. *chap.*

(b) *In the last Remark.*

Reſpects he was [redacted] Prodigal, and retained Penſioners in moſt Foreign Courts. He ſpent a great deal in Spies, upon Hunting, and (K) upon the Ladies, and rewarded thoſe liberally, who were the firſt Meſſengers of great News. He gave [redacted] Four Hundred Marks in Silver to *Philip de Comines*, and to the Seigneur *de Bouthage*, who brought him the firſt News of the Battle of *Morat*. He [redacted] ſometimes ſaid, *I'll give as much more to another, who will tell me ſuch another piece of News.* [redacted] often uſed to diſcourſe of, and gueſs at the Iſſue of Affairs before he had any [redacted]nt of 'em. This was one Sign of his Impatience, and we need not wonde[redacted] this, that he was the firſt King who [redacted] ſettled the Poſts. He made his Soldi[redacted]y their Quarters punctually, and ſeverely forbid 'em to do any Injury, and [redacted]hed the Diſobedient with the utmoſt rigour. This was the Reaſon (L) that [redacted] Kingdom, tho' ſufficiently loaded with Taxes, did, notwithſtanding grow rich. The enacting

[redacted] See *Matthieu in his Life, lib.* 11. *p.* 699 700.
[redacted] *Ibid.*
[redacted] *pag.* 700.
[redacted] *Id. ib.* He cites Philip *of* Comines.
[redacted] *Id. ib.*
[redacted] *Id. ib. pag.* 696.

his Embaſſies.] Theſe are the Words of *Peter Matthew*, who wrote in the Reign of *Henry* IV. (a) *The Expences of his Houſhold* (b) *were much Inferior to thoſe of ſome Lords of that time—: By the Accounts it appears, that they were Augmented according to the Years, Affairs and Penſions. They did not exceed* 36 *Thouſand Livres till the Year* 1480. *when they came to* 43 *Thouſand Six Hundred Nineteen Livers. In the Year* 1481. *they were* 66 *Thouſand Six Hundred Eighty Livers; and in the laſt Year of his Life* 80 *Thouſand Six Hundred and three Livers. Nevertheleſs he never ſtirred from* Pleſſis *from the* 8*th of* November *to the* 7*th of* September *the Year following, when he was carried to his Grave at* Notre-Dame de Clery. *The number of Servants for the ordinary Service of that Expence, was not great, their Wages were ſmall in Compariſon of what they are in our Days. They ſerved all the Year, and the Year began in* October. *None were in the Liſt of of his voluntary Penſions but theſe following. Two Chaplains at Ten Livers a Month each, and a* [redacted] *of the Chappel at a Hundred Sols. A Va*[redacted] *Chamber of of the King at* 90 *Livers a Year.* [redacted] *Clerks of the Kitchen at* 120 *Livers a Year each. An Overſeer of the Roaſt, the Pottager, the Sauce-maker, the Maſter Cook, a Diſpencer of the Armoury, two Valets of the Sumpters, at ten Livers each a Month. Two Scullions of the Kitchen at* 8 *Livers a Month; a Porter, a Paſtry-Cook, a Baker; two Coachmen, each at Sixty Livers a Year; a Groom of the Stables, and two of his Aſſiſtants at* 24 *Livers a Month; a Mareſchal of the Forges at* 120. *The Maſter of the Chamber of the King's Revenues* 1200 *Livers, and the Comptroller Five Hundred. The Valets Livieries coſt but* 50 *Sols, and the gowns of the Clerks, Notaries and Secretaries of the Houſe and Crown of* France, *but a dozen Livers.*

(a) *Matth. ubi ſupra, lib.* 11. *pag.* 647.
(b) *That's to ſay, of* Lewis XI.
(c) *La Roque traité de la nobleſſe chap.* 96. *pag.* 338.
(d) Oliverius Dandus Legatus Ludovici XI. ad Mariam Burgundiam ab ea ludibrio habitus: ipſa enim quæſivit quid ſibi opus medico cum optime valeret quia erat tonſor ſeu chirurgus. *Id. ibid.* Il raporte cela comme de Gaguin, mais je ne le trouve point dans les Annales de cet Auteur.

We have already ſeen that this Prince employ'd his Barber on Embaſſies. He made him a Noble-Man by Patent in 1474. Inveſting him with the County of *Meulant*, and changed his Name from *Oliver the Devil*, into that of *Oliver le Daim* (c). He ſent him on a Compliment to the Heireſs of *Burgundy*, who laughed at him: (d) What, ſaid ſhe, have I to do with a Surgeon, I am very well? Mr. *de Wicquefort* (e) has mentioned this Deputation of *Oliver le Daim.*

(K) *Upon Hunting, and upon the Ladies.*] *Lewis's* (f) two Predominant Paſſions were for Hunting and the Ladies; and 'tis obſerved that his Bounty ran into an inconceiveable Exceſs, as often as he had a mind to gratify either of theſe two Paſſions. As for the Firſt, he kept a prodigious number of Huntſmen, Falconers, Hawks and Hounds, and was ſo Sollicitous of hindring thoſe who had the right of Hunting, from exerciſing it under any Pretence whatever, that 'twas more dangerous to kill a Stagg than a Man——When he parted from *Lions*, after he had received certain Advice of the Defeat of the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Morat*, he took with him to the great Scandal of good People, from this City, to that of *Paris*, two Miſtreſſes, (4) one called *la Gigonne*, a Widow, and the other *la Puſſelon*, a Merchant's Wife. Immediately after the Prince of *Orange* had made himſelf maſter of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, he ſent for a young Lady, a perfect Beauty, called *Huguette de Fequelin*. But before all this were found in the Kings Library three Contracts of Marriage, which are ſo many Teſtimonies of his Incontinence, ſince he there appears in Quality of a Father of three natural Daughters, and Marries without Diſguiſing the matter. *Peter Matthew* will tell us that this Prince was at Expences for his Amours, even when he was reduced to the Neceſſity of borrowing. '(g) I have ſeen in the Chamber of the Re-'venues, that being on a Progreſs to *Arras*, he 'borrowed of one of his Servants, called *James* '*Hamelin*, the Sum of *three Hundred and Twenty* '*Livers, ſixteen Sols and eight Deniers, to Em-*'*ploy in his Reaſu*[redacted]*nd Voluptuouſneſs*, and 'ſending for a G[redacted]man of *Dijon*, called '*Huguette Faquelin*, [redacted]ow to the deceaſed *Phi-*'*lip Chamages*, in *Auguſt* 1479, (i) one of his 'Carvers, who went to fetch her, advanced the 'Charges both of her Journey and of the ſtay 'that ſhe made at *Tours*.' Note, that at that time 20 Sols went farther than two Piſtols at preſent.

(f) *Varillas ubi ſupra, liv.* 10. *pag.*
(4) *In the Manuſcripts of Meſſieurs du Puy.*
(g) *Matthieu ubi ſupra, liv.* 11. *p.* 707
(i) *This Expence from the* 1*ſt. of* Auguſt *to the* 11*th. of* December, *amounts to* 298 *Livers.*

(L) *That his Kingdom——did* [redacted]*ſtanding* [redacted]*w Rich.*] Thus you ſee how the [redacted] Qualities of a Monarch are ſometimes compenſated with others, which, all things conſidered, make the People as happy as under a good and well-natured Sovereign. What *Tacitus* ſays, That the Diſorders of Government are interrupted by good Princes who ſucceed bad ones; and that this makes a Compenſation, is a good Thought. (h) *Vitia erunt donec homines, ſed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu penſantur.* But we may go farther, and ſay, that in the ſame Perſon the good and the bad Qualities ſometimes ſo Counterpoize one another, that more publick Advantages reſult from it, than from a certain uniform Goodneſs. *Lewis* XI. levied too much Money upon his Subjects, but he made that Money Circulate; for his Troops were obliged to pay exactly for whatever was neceſſary for 'em, and he never ſuffered 'em to Steal or Pilfer. Let us uſe [redacted]quine and Antique Style of *John Couchet*. [redacted] *would have Juſtice Adminiſtred, the Churches Covered and not Pillaged; and he delighted in adorning Images and Monaſteries; and he ordered his Soldiers exactly to be paid their Wages, which his Treaſurers could not fail in without Peril of the Halter. He had a long time in his Pay above four thouſand Men of Arms, and a great number of Foot, called* French *Archers, with whom the Earth was quite covered, from* Bourdeaux *to* Picardy. *Amongſt whom there was ſo good Oeconomy and Military Diſcipline, that no Violence was known to be done to the poor People, except in one Place, where they ſtole ſome Beaſt, and in another, where they filched a Couple of Pullets, for which the Malefactors were immediately Hanged, tho' they were Men at Arms. For this Reaſon, tho' the People were burdened with great Aids and Subſidies, and the King Levied upon 'em four Millions, Seven hundred thouſand Livers in Taxes, yet the Kingdom of* France *was Rich, becauſe the Money which the People gave, paid the Soldiery, and the Soldiery afterwards gave part of what they had re*[redacted]*back, for what they had, and ſo it did not g*[redacted]*the Kingdom. For, this wiſe King never endeavoured to have two Crowns, nor an Imperial Scepter.* Here you may obſerve a *For* well plac'd; nothing exhauſts a Kingdom more than That deſire of making Cr[redacted] in Foreign Countries, either for the Co[redacted]f Elections, or any other Conqueſt. Note th[redacted] this *John Bouchet* contradicts the other

(h) [redacted] 4[redacted]

Hiſto-

ing that Law, which makes Miſpriſion of Treaſon (*M*) a capital Crime, is aſcribed to him. He was ſubject to Caprices and Humours bordering upon Folly, and theſe were ſometimes (*N*) the Rule of his Favours and Benefits. As he was infinitely deſirous

Hiſtor[illegible] who affirm, that *Lewis* XI. much Impover[illegible]is Subjects, and Imploy'd a great deal of Mo[illegible] maintaining Penſioners and Intelligencers in [illegible]gn Countries.

(*M*) *A[illegible]ſion of Treaſon, a Capital Crime.*] This Tex[illegible]t unworthy the Readers Curioſity, but the C[illegible]t much more deſerves it, as containing ve[illegible]icular Circumſtances of *Thuanus*'s Trial. I [illegible] only be the Count *de Brienne*'s Tranſcriber, who was Miniſter and Secretary of State. 'The true occaſion of m[illegible]macy with 'the Chancellor, *ſays he*, (*a*) w[illegible] Promiſe he 'made, and which he faithfully [illegible] of contributing all he could to the Deliver[illegible] of *Thuanus*; 'and indeed he Acted with ſo much Zeal in it, 'that tho' there was a Law made in *Lewis* XI's 'time declaring, that whoever ſhould have notice 'of a Conſpiracy form'd againſt the King's Perſon, 'or Eſtate, and did not come and reveal it, 'ſhould be puniſh'd as the Author of the Crime, 'and Incur the ſame Penalties of loſs of Life and 'Eſtate; tho' I ſay [illegible] compleat a Magiſtrate, as 'the Chancellor, in t[illegible]nowledge of our King's 'Ordinances, could [illegible] ignorant of one of this 'Importance, yet [illegible]mbled the Knowledge of 'it, and carried [illegible]f on this Occaſion, as if 'he made no Account of the Law; for after having often adviſed *Thuanus*, when he was Examined and flew out according to his lively and 'brisk manner, to give himſelf time to hear what 'was aske[illegible]him, and to conſider what he ought to 'Anſwe[illegible] did not ſtick to ſpeak out, and d[illegible] 'clar'd t[illegible]dinal *de Richlieu* himſelf, to p[illegible] him for his Acquittal, that he found no [illegible] which condemn'd to Death a Perſon who had Knowledge of a Conſpiracy form'd againſt the State, unleſs he was an Accomplice in it; that as to the Accus'd, it appear'd indeed that *Fontrailles*, at his Return from *Spain*, had given him ſome Intelligence, but that he diſapproved the Deſign, and blamed this Gentleman for having ſerv'd as an Inſtrument to engage *Monſieur* in ſo Odious a Buſineſs. Cardinal *Richelieu* ſurpriz'd at this Diſcourſe conſulted with ſome of the Commiſſioners of the Chamber, one of which having related the Ordinance I have mentioned, he caus'd it to be Tranſcrib'd from the Body of the Law, and ſhew'd it to the Chancellor himſelf; but tho' he was preſs'd ſo by this Miniſter (whoſe way of Acting on ſuch Occaſions is but too well known) yet he could not be brought off from the Re[illegible]n he had taken of diſcharging the Ac[illegible]; but went on to Invalidate that Ordinance, ſaying, That it was not in uſe in the Parliament of *Paris*, where he had been bred. I can't diſown but when the Votes were taken, he was of the Side of the Decree; but as his Vote could not abſolve *Thuanus*, ſo it was not that which cauſed his Condemnation, and every one who knows the Duty of a Preſident will acknowledge, that he can't depart from a Law, which all the Judges declare Valid, much leſs from a Majority of Opinions when given in Form; 'tis alſo a great Error, and which I am, with all the Lawyers very far from entertaining, that it is in a Judge's Power, as a Pacifick Arbitrator, to pronounce according to Equity, and not according to the Rigour of the Law; for beſides that his Oath obliges him to do Juſtice, the Character of a Judge does not appoint him Maſter, but only Preſerver and Miniſter of the Laws and Ordinances'.

(*a*) *Reponſe aux Memoires de Mr. le Comte de la Chaſtre p. m. 20. & ſuiv.*

Some Particulars relating to the Tryal of *Thuanus*.

This [illegible]ing not only an Hiſtorical but a Critical Diction[illegible]l may be allowed to make ſome Reflexi[illegible] this Narrative of the Count *de Bylienne*. [illegible] then, that there are ſome Paſſages in it, which make not much for the Honour of the Chancellor. That which is alledged in his Excuſe, *of being for the Decree*, has a great deal of Weight; but on the other hand, it may be implead as a Conviction againſt him; for if he ought [illegible] the *Miniſter of the Laws and Ordinances*, he ought not to have attempted to have brought off *Thuanus*, that is, to invalidate the Ordinance of *Lewis* XI. He ſhould either have refuſed the Function of Judge, or have diveſted himſelf of all Friendſhip, as well as Hatred for the accuſed Perſon; and had no other view than the Diſcovery of the Fact, and giving his Suffrage according to the Ordinance. Inſtead of this, we are told here, that he ſeemed to be ignorant, that there was any Law which affected the Criminal; and being adverti[illegible]ſed that there was, he anſwered, *that it was not in uſe*. Why then did he conform to it, in giving his Vote? For what end was he their Preſerver and Miniſter of the Laws! He could not be excuſed, either of oppreſſing Innocence or of Prevarication; for if the Law of *Lewis* XI. was obſolete and out of uſe, *Thuanus* could not be reckoned an Infringer of the Laws, but muſt be declared innocent. But if in pronouncing him guilty, nothing was done but according to Law, it follows, that the Ordinance of *Lewis* XI. had preſerved its Force, and conſequently, that the Chancellor diſcharged the Duties of his Place but ill, in endeavouring to make it believed, that there was no Law of this Nature in being, and when this was made appear, then in alledging, that it was not obſerved in the Parliament of *Paris*. There is reaſon to ſuſpect, that this was a Subterfuge, and that he only ſpoke thus, that he might not be reckoned ignorant of an Ordinance of *Lewis* XI; for [illegible] is it probable, that the Parliament of *Paris* [illegible]d diſpence with the Subjects Obligation of [illegible]vealing Treaſon? This Obligation ſeems inſeparable from the Oath of Allegiance to the Sovereign. Mr. *du Maurier* (*b*) relates, that one of *de Barnevelt*'s Sons was beheaded at the *Hague*, for *being privy to the Conſpiracy* his Brother had formed againſt Prince *Maurice*, and *not revealing of it; having not been accuſed by any of the Conſpirators who were executed in great Numbers in all the Towns of* Holland——(*c*) *He had the ſame Deſtiny as* Francis Thuanus, *who died for not revealing the Deſign that Mr.* de Cinq Mars, *Great Maſter of the Horſe of* France, *had communicated to him. The* Du Puy's *Noble Relations, cauſed to be printed on this Subject, wherein a Diſcourſe to be printed on this Subject, wherein to prove the Iniquity of the Sentence, amongſt o-other Paſſages, they made uſe of this of* Gigas a Milaneſe *Lawyer.* Qui conſilium adverſus Majeſtatem Principis initum cognoverunt, nec probare poſſunt, non tenentur revelare: & qui tales condemnant, non ſunt Judices, ſed carnifices. *They who know a Conſpiracy againſt a Sovereign, and can't prove it, are not obliged to reveal it; and they who condemn ſuch, are not Judges, but Murderers.* By this *Milaneſe* Lawyer's Favour, *Thuanus*'s Judges did their Duty, but the Court did not; for never any Fault of that kind was more worthy of Pardon than *Thuanus*'s. I am not ignorant of the fine Diſtick (*d*).

(*b*) *Du Maurier, Memoires pour ſervir à l'hiſtoire de Hollande p.* 373.
(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 374.
(*d*) *Theſe two Verſes of* Grotius *on the Death of* Thuanus, *are excellent,* O legum ſubtile nefas, quibus inter amicos Nolle fidem fruſtra prodere, proditio eſt. *Menagiana, pag. m.* 313. 314. *Note that* Grotius, *Epiſt.* 627. *part.* 1. *pag.* 945. *mentions that he heard of the Opinion of* Gigas, *&c.*

(*N*) *To Humours which bordered upon Folly, and theſe were ſometimes the Rule of his Benefits.*] He once commanded '(*e*) the Abbot of *Eugne*, 'a Man of great Wit, and who had a knack at 'inventing nevv Muſical Inſtruments, and al-'vvays attended the King, and vvas in his Ser-'vice, to get him (a Conſort of Svvines Voices, 'thinking it impoſſible. The Abbot vvas not ſur-'prized, but demanded Money for the Perfor-'mance; which was immediately delivered him, 'and he wrought a thing as ſingular as was ever 'ſeen. For out of a great Number of Hogs, of 'ſeveral Ages, which he muſter'd up, and placed 'under a Tent or Pavillion, covered with Velvet, '(before which he had a Sound-Board of Wood, all 'painted, vvith a certain Number of Keys) he 'made an Organ, and as he plaid upon the ſaid 'Keys vvith little Spikes, vvhich pricked the 'Hogs, he made 'em cry in ſuch Tune and Con-'ſort,

(*e*) *Bouchet Annales d' Aquitaine, fol.* 146

desirous (O) of prolonging his Life, no Person experienc'd his Liberality more than his Physician. He gave him an absolute Authority over him. He was very credulous as to Astrology; but I know not what to think of a Story related by certain Authors, that at last he preferred an Ass to his (P) Astrologers, and swore that silly

'sort, as highly delighted the King and all his 'Company. *Bouchet* adds to this the Story of a 'Scullion. The King, dress'd in a very plain 'Cloth, went *one Day into the Kitchin*, and 'asked a Boy that turned the Spit some Questions, 'who not knowing him, answered; I am a 'Native of *Berry* (a), such a one's Son, and my 'Name is *Stephen*; I serve the King here in mean 'Quality, and yet I get as much as he. The King 'asked him what the King got? His Expences '(said the Boy), and by my Faith, I will have 'my Expences of him, as he has of God, and he'll 'carry away no more than I. The King (who 'sometimes raised People in a Frolick) was pleas'd with the Answer, and *Stephen* made his 'Fortune by it; for the King made him his *Valet 'de Chamber*, and he grew very rich. Some say 'this was *Stephen* the Usher, who was so loved 'by the King, that when at any Time he gave 'him a Box o'th' Ear in Anger, he pretended to 'be sick, and immediately the King gave him a 'Thousand, or two Thousand Crowns. This 'King was very familiar with those he loved; 'and despised Royal Pomp and costly Cloaths; he eat 'and drank always in the Hall, with all his Lords 'and Gentlemen, and they who were hard Drinkers, 'and they who had any lascivious Jest upon Women, were very welcome. One Day, as he 'entred into a Church, whilst the great Bell 'went, he saw a poor Priest sleeping before the 'Door, and understanding that the Bells went for 'a Canon deceased, whose Benefice was in his 'own Nomination, he ordered the Priest to succeed him, to verify the Proverb, *That he is happy whose good Fortune comes when he is asleep* (b). Let's add to all this, a Passage of *Stephen Pasquier*. (c) *Now, though* Lewis *XI. pretended to great Zeal for Religion and Piety, yet he used them sometimes according to the Convenience of his Affairs, sometimes out of a wonderful Superstition; thinking all things were lawful to him, when he had performed some Pilgrimage. In short, a Man of arbitrary Humours, by means of which, right or wrong, he put in and put out what Officers he pleased, and upon the same Foot, sometimes ran into Fooleries and Impertinencies, in which he would not be contradicted. As when he ordered all the Birds of* Paris *that could speak, to be brought into his Chamber to divert himself with their Gibberish.*

The Jesuit *Garasse* has censured these Words of *Pasquier*, and made himself ridiculous. *For a Subject*, says he (d) *to take the Boldness of thinking, speaking, and writing, that his King was* a Fool, or subject to Fooleries and Impertinencies, *is such an Extravagance and Insolence, as deserves Chastisement*——— (e) *I remember this Device of some old Slanderers, who to stain the Honour of a brave Emperor, said of his Religion, that* aliam sibi aliam servabat imperio, *that he had two Religions in his Sleeve, one for shew, and another for Conscience, one for the Closet, another for the Mall, one for himself, and another for his Subjects*——— (f) *That a Subject should describe his King as an Atheist! who plays with God and Religion, and makes* Theramenes's *Buskins of both, and takes Pilgrimages to canonize his Impieties: I question whether the Ministers have written so much of* Charles IX.——— (g) *This is a Symptom of an unnatural Spirit, and a very undutiful Disposition.* The Answer that was made to this Invective of *Garasse*, could not but confound him; he was shewed (h) what was the Duty of an Historian, and 'twas maintained against him, that the first Scandal proceeds from him who commits the Evil, not from him who relates it, and that *Pasquier* said nothing but what he had found in the Histories of *Lewis* XI. We must not forget the Words of *Tacitus* (i), which teach us, that the main Design of an Historian ought to be the preserving the Memory of good Actions, and making Posterity dread the Infamy of bad ones.

I omit the Four Stories related in *Erasmus*'s Colloquies; for though they denote a very singular and unequal Method of Rewarding, they are rather good Proofs of the Dexterity at distinguishing the Artifices of a Sharper, from true Merit, than Signs of a whimsical Humour. Let's only give the Abstract of one of these Four Stories (k). A Countryman, at whose House *Lewis* XI. in the time of his Disgrace, had sometimes eaten Raddishes, was very well recompenced for the Present he made him of a large Raddish, after he was upon the Throne. This made a Lord of the Court believe, that if he gave the King a fine Horse, he should receive a magnificent Reward, but the King only ordered him the Countryman's Raddish.

(O) *Infinitely desirous of prolonging his Life——he gave his Physician an absolute Authority over him.*] Concerning this Passage, see the *Miscellaneous Thoughts* (l) *upon Comets*, and add to 'em this Reflection. 'Tis believed, that his Devotion for St. *Servatus*, was founded upon this Saint's long Life. The Legendaries say, that he lived three Ages, others are content to give him a Bishoprick, which he enjoy'd above Sixty Years. *Instituit, Belgarum maxime populis opinione, affinem illum Christi, ejusque supperem temporibus extitisse atque inde excepisse tertiam hominum ætatem: sive ita fuerit, neque enim desunt, affirmare hoc ausi, seu notibus ex longissimam Episcopatus sui præfecturam, non altera septuaginta annos illum extendit; prodigaliter annosam ac trisecli senem planè crediderint. Ut hinc suspicari forte quis possit Ludovicum Undecimum Galliæ Regem id eo sibi ornandum delegisse Serbatii templum, ut ab eo inter Divos maximè longævo, longam ipse vitam, cujus erat producendo secupientissimus, impetravit* (m). Let us not forget this, *Lewis* XI. '(n) had often said in his Life-'time, that in whatever Extremity he should be, 'they should never pronounce on him the Word of 'Death, thinking it too harsh for the Ear of a 'a King———They who had the Charge of 'his Conscience, expected, that he himself finding himself going, should acknowledge it. One 'Divine, his Physician, and Mr. *Oliver*, took a 'a Resolution to signify his Extremity to him. 'They went to him boldly, and with little Respect, as People who had added Impudence to the meanness of their Condition, and their Speech 'was in these Words: *Sir, we are obliged to discharge our Consciences, confide no longer in this 'Holy Man, nor in any thing else; for assuredly 'you are no Man for this World, take care of your 'Conscience, for there is no Remedy.* Each of 'em spoke some such short Sentence, to let him 'know, that they were all of the same Opinion 'concerning his Death. He answered, *I hope 'God will assist me, I am not perhaps so ill as you 'imagine.* What shall we say of the Caresses he made to *Francis de Paul*? (o) 'He flattered him, 'supplicated him, threw himself on his Knees 'before him, built two Convents of his Order, 'the first in the Park *du Plessis les Tours*, the second at the foot of the Castle of *Amboise*, that 'he might prolong his Days for him. As to the Authority of his Physician, read these Words, *Lewis* XI. (p) changed his Servants Day after 'Day, and depended on the Unskilfulness of *John 'Cottier* his Physician, to whom he gave Ten 'Thousand Crowns a Month, durst refuse him no-'thing, and promised him all he could ask, provided he would drive away the terrible (1) Phantom of Death, at the mention whereof he would 'run behind the Curtains. This Physician some 'times told him in a Bravado, *I know well enough, 'that some Morning or other you'll send me pack-'ing as well as the rest, but I swear by God, that 'you shall not live Eight Days after.* This poor 'Prince, instead of treating him as *Maximin* (2) 'did his, gave him all he desired, Bishopricks, 'Benefices, and Offices.

(P) *He at last preferred an Ass to his Astrologers.*] The Story is this, which I relate Word for Word, as I find it in a Work printed at *Lyons* in the Year 1650. (q) *Lewis* XI. having a most famous Astrologer in his Court, and intending 'one

(a) *Id. ib. verso.*
(b) *Pierre Matthieu hist. de Louis XI. liv.* 11. *pag. m.* 702. *says, that* Corrozet *relates this Story.* Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *pag.* 959. *of his* Bibliotheque Françoise, *attributes this to* Francis I. *but since he says, he was certainly informed, that the matter passed in the Church of* Nostre Dame de Clery, *we ought to believe, that they gave him* Quid *for* Quo: *for* Lewis XI. *frequented this Church.*
(c) *Pasquier, lettr liv.* 3. *tom.* 1. *pag.* 154, 155.
(d) *Garasse, recherche des recherches, p.* 79.
(e) *Id. ib. pag.* 83.
(f) *Id. ib. pag.* 85.
(g) *Id. ib. pag.* 86.
(h) *See* la defense pour Estienne Pasquier, liv. 2. *sect.* 6. *p.* 181. *and the following.*
(i) Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate & infamia metus sit. *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 3. *cap.* 65.
(k) *See* [illegible] in colloquio cui titulus est Convivium fabulosum, *p. m.* 345.
(l) *A la page* 462. *& suiv.*
(m) *Famianus Strada de bello belg. decad.* 2. *l.* 2. *init. p. m.* 69.
(n) *Matthieu ubi supra, l.* 10. *p.* 598, 599.
(o) *Mezerai ubi supra, pag.* 348. *ad ann.* 1483.
(p) *Matthieu ubi supra, pag.* 593. *Semblable Mezzerai ubi supra, pag.* 347. *where he says, that* James Cottier *snub'd him like a Foot-Boy, and got out of him* 55000 Crowns, *under great many Favours in Five Months Time.*
(1) Alexander Tyrant of Pharos, *lived in such Fears, that the Chamber where he lay, was guarded by two terrible Mastiffs, and there was no coming to it but by a Ladder.*
(2) Maximin *ordered his Physicians to be put to Death, because they could not cure him.*
(q) J. Marcel *in the* 2d. *Book de la Sage folio. ch.* 7. *pag. m.* 107. *and following.*

...lly Beast ſhould ever after be his Oracle before the beſt of the Tribe of Aſtrologers. I ſhall not repeat what I have ſaid [α] in another Place, concerning the Hypocriſie of his Devotions. *Paſquier* has made a right Judgment on 'em, and could not in Juſtice be cenſured [β] for what he had ſaid upon that Point, and ſome others. There never was a King in *France*, whoſe (Q) cruel Conduct and Extortions ſo nearly bord[illegible] upon Tyranny, as thoſe of *Lewis* XI. We ſhall ſee in another [γ] Place in this [illegible]onary, what an abſolute Submiſſion he required of the Parliament of *Paris*. In the m[illegible]time, he had eminent Qualities, and ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary in his Circu[illegible]ces; for without theſe he never could have maintained the Monarchy againſt Do[illegible]ck and Foreign Enemies, againſt ſo many Factions of his own Subjects, and [illegible]rude Attacks of the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſeconded by *England*. He not only preſerved his Dominions in the midſt of ſo many Aſſaults, but alſo enlarged 'em; for he reunited *A[illegible]*, *Maine*, and the Dutchy of *Burgundy* [δ] to the Crown, and acquired *Proven[illegible]* was in his Power to have added to it all the Eſtates

α *In the Penſees diverſes ſur les Cometes, n.* 152. 154. *See alſo* Varillas ubi ſupra, p. 330.

β *See the Rem.* N.

γ *In the Article* Vaquerie.

δ *Matth. ib. liv.* 10. *pag.* 601.

ε *See* Tacitus *Annal. l.* 6. *c.* 21. *(d) Matthieu ubi ſupra, l.* 11. *ch.* 6. *pag.* 674. *& ſuiv.*

(ζ) *The Cardinal* de la Balue, *who invented the Iron Cages, was the firſt who handſelled 'em, and lived in 'em* 14 *Years.* Lacum fudit & aperuit eum, & incidit in foveam quam fecit.

(η) *The Reign of* Antoninus *was ſo mild, that* Herodian *calls it,* [illegible], *that's to ſay, unbloody.*

(θ) *Matth. ib. p.* 672.

(ι) *Id. ib. pag.* 678.

(κ) *Strange Stories are told of his Executions. The Chronicle ſays, that on* Thurſday *the* 8*th. of* October, Triſtan *the Hermit had a Man drowned in the* Seine, *called* Sylveſter *the Monk, a Native of*

one Day to go a Hunting, aſked him, whether it would be fair Weather, or whether he did not ſuſpect it would Rain, who having conſulted his Aſtrolabe, anſwered, that the Day would be fair and ſerene; the King determined therefore to purſue his Deſign; but having rode out of *Paris*, and coming near the Foreſt, he met a Collier driving his Aſs, laden with Coals, who ſaid, that the King would do well to return, becauſe there would ſuddenly be a great Storm; but as what ſuch People ſay is but little regarded, the King made no Account of him, but rode into the Foreſt, and was not long there but the Day grew dark, Thunder and Lightning came on, and the Rain fell in ſuch Abundance, that every one endeavouring to ſave himſelf, the King was left alone, who had no Recourſe, but to his [illegible]'s Heels, to eſcape this Misfortune. Next Day the King having ſent for the Collier, aſked him where he had learnt Aſtrology, and how he could ſo exactly foretell what ſhould come to paſs; the Collier anſwered, Sir, I was never at School, and indeed I can neither Write nor Read; nevertheleſs, I keep a good Aſtrologer in my Houſe, who never deceives me; the King being amazed, aſked him what was his Aſtrologer's Name, upon which the poor Man, quite abaſhed, anſwered, Sir, it is the Aſs which your Majeſty Yeſterday ſaw me leading, loaden with Coal; immediately before bad Weather comes, he hangs down his Ears as he goes, he walks more ſlowly than uſual, and rubs himſelf againſt the Walls; by theſe Signs (Sir), I certainly foreſee Rain, which is the Reaſon that Yeſterday I adviſed your Majeſty to turn home: The King hearing this, caſhier'd his Aſtrologer, and gave his Salary to the Collier, that he might [illegible] much of his Aſs, ſaying: *Vivit enim [illegible], quia deinceps alio non utar Aſtrologo, [illegible] carbonarii aſino.* Alas, poor Aſtrologers, where have you lived, if an Aſs knows more than you? I have ſaid elſewere (a) that *Angelo Catthо*, who had been the King's Aſtrologer and Phyſician, arrived to great Honours. You'll find in *Peter Matthieu*, the Names of this King's other Aſtrologers. It's ſaid, that one of 'em prophecied, that a Lady whom the King loved would die in a Week's Time. The thing happening, *Lewis* XI. ſent for him (b), and commanded the People about him not to fail at a Signal he ſhould give 'em, to take the Aſtrologer, and throw him out of the Window. As ſoon as the King ſaw him: You that pretend, ſays he, to be ſuch a wiſe Man, and know ſo perfectly the Fate of others inform me a little what will be your own, and how long you have to live? Whether the Aſtrologer was ſecretly advertiſed of the King's Deſign, or whether he knew [illegible] the Extent of his Science: *Sir*, anſwered [illegible] without expreſſing any Fear, *I ſhall die three Days before your Majeſty*. The King was ſo [illegible] from having him thrown out of the Window after this Anſwer, that on the contrary, he took particular care not to ſuffer him to want for any thing, and did all that was poſſible to retard the Death of a Man, which his own [illegible] ſo cloſely to follow. This Aſtrologer was [illegible]s ingenious than he who delivered himſelf [illegible] a like Danger in *Tiberius*'s Time. And [illegible]ing asked what the Stars predicted to him that Day; anſwerd, after ſome artificial Preambles, that he found himſelf menaced with an extream Danger. This Anſwer was the reaſon, notonly of his not being thrown from the top of the Houſe, as it had been reſolved, in caſe his Science ſhould be found fallacious, but alſo of *Tiberius*'s honouring him with his Confidence (c).

(a) *In the Article* Catthо.

(b) *Bourfault nouvelles lettres, p.m.* 394. 395.

(Q) *Whoſe cruel Conduct and Extortions ſo nearly bordered upon Tyranny.*] (d) Had *Comines* deſigned to give the Portraiture of a cruel Prince, he could have imployed no ſtronger Colours than theſe which deſcribe his rigorous Priſons, his Iron-Cages and Nets. (3) He ſays, *they were made of Wood, covered with Plates of Iron, which he had got ſome* Germans *to make with very weighty and terrible Irons to put on the Feet, and in which there was a Ring to put one Foot in, very hard to be opened, like an Iron-Collar, with a thick and heavy Chain, and a great Iron-Ball at the end, much heavier than it ſhould have been in Reaſon, and thoſe were called the King's Nets*——The Reign of this Prince was terribly tempeſtuous; but it can't be ſaid of it as of that of *Antoninus*, that it was not ſtained with Blood. (4) *Triſtan* his Grand Provoſt, who juſtly deſerved by his barbarous and bloody Conduct, the Name of *Triſtis*. as *Maximin* did, was ſo ready to execute his rigorous Commands, that he ſometimes deſtroy'd the Innocent with the Guilty, and always diſpoſed this Prince, rather to uſe the Sword to puniſh Offences, than the Bridle to reſtrain Men from offending——*Claude de Seyſſel* could ſay nothing more Satirical on the Memory of this Prince, than what he writ, *that about the Places where he was, were ſeen a great Number of People hanging on Trees, and the Priſons and other Neighbouring Houſes full of Priſoners, which were often heard both by Day and by Night to cry out for the Torments they endured, beſides thoſe who were ſecretly caſt into Rivers.* The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves (e) *that* Lewis XI. *carried his abſolute Power to exceſs. His Provoſt went and took the Priſoners, who were in the Palace-Goal, and cauſed 'em to be drowned near the* Grange aux Mercier, —— —— (f) Beſides the Examples of the Contempt of Juſtice, which are not clearly explained in many Parts of the Hiſtory of *Lewis* XI. in which we ſee Trials begin by Execution, and Executions without Example, (5) It ſays, that in many Proceſſes, he would have Juſtice done according to his own Humour, and would not truſt to thoſe, who had the Diſpenſing of it. A Place alſo is ſtill ſhewn at *Pleſſis La Tours*, where he concealed himſelf to watch his Provoſt, when he examined the Priſoners——(g) There were repreſented to the States which were held after his Death, ſeveral ſorts of Injuſtices, which during his Reign had afflicted the People, each complaining that he had not taken care to maintain the Rules of Juſtice. It was ſaid in that Aſſembly, that the King had raiſed to Offices of Judicature, Men without Sufficiency and Experience, and that blank Patents were ready drawn, to inſert the Names of thoſe who bid moſt, which were given to Soldiers, Huntſmen, Foreigners, and illiterate People;

Auxerre. (g) *Id. ib. pag.* 679. 680.

ſtates (R) of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, by matching the Heireſs with the *Dauphin*; but a ſurpriſing Fatality ſo infatuated him in this Point, that he could not ſacrifice a perſonal Paſſion to the moſt ſolid Advantage he ever could have procured *France* for the preſent and the future. He was blamed that he would ſuffer his Enemies to make Conqueſts in *Germany*, and prolong a Truce, which gave 'em Opportunities of

ple, that they might exerciſe 'em by others, and reap the Profit of 'em; that the Secretaries of the Chancery were paid exceſſively at their Diſcretion, and that for a Seal to confirm a Privilege to a City, they had exacted Four Hundred Pounds of Gold. That Letters of Appeal to the Chancery and Parliament, were denied to thoſe who had Recourſe to the Supreme Juſtice of the King, againſt the Injuſtices and Oppreſſions of inferiour Judges; that they who preſided in the Parliaments, exacted great and exceſſive Fees to reimburſe themſelves for the Offices they had bought; that many had been accuſed of Crimes, of which they were innocent, and the Accuſers rewarded with the Confiſcation of their Eſtates, and ſometimes commiſſioned to make the Trial, or name what Commiſſioners they thought fit; that the Number of Serjeants was multiplied in ſuch a manner; that in the Bailliwicks and Seneſchalries, in which there were wont to be only 20 or 30, there were in his Reign 100, or double the Number. Many Lords and others addreſſed themſelves to this Aſſembly for the Reſtitution of their Goods, Lands and Offices, of which they had been deprived. It was repreſented to the ſame Eſtates (a) *that Men, Women and Children, were in ſeveral Places forced, for want of Beaſts, to labour with the Plough to their Necks, and that by Night, for fear the Day might expoſe 'em to the Commiſſioners of the Taxes.*

(a) *Matthieu, ibid. pag.* 711.

We'll finiſh this Remark with a Paſſage of *Mezerai*. *Comines*, ſays he (b), *deſcribes him to us very prudent in Adverſity, admirably skilled at penetrating the Intereſts and Deſigns of Men, and at drawing and turning them to his own Ends, furiouſly ſuſpicious and jealous of his Power, moſt abſolute in his Will, who never pardoned, and who terribly trampled his Subjects under Foot, and yet with all this, the beſt Prince of his time. He had put to Death above* 4000 *Perſons by different Puniſhments, which he ſometimes delighted to ſee. Moſt of 'em had been executed without Form of Law, many drowned with a Stone tied to their Necks, others precipitated, hanging upon a Swipe, from whence they fell upon Wheels armed with Spikes and cutting Inſtruments; others were ſtrangled in Dungeons*; Triſtan *his Companion, and* Provo *of his Palace, being Judge and Witneſs, and Executioner.*

(b) *Mezerai ubi ſupra, pag.* 348, 349.

(R) *To have added to it all the Eſtates of the Houſe of* Burgundy *by matching——but a Fatality.*] The Princeſs *Mary*, Heireſs of all theſe Eſtates, had a mind to marry the *Dauphin*, and negotiated this Affair by her principal Counſellors. They removed all the Difficulties that *Lewis* XI. propoſed to 'em: His Son (c) he ſaid, was not yet Nine Years old; he was extraordinary little for his Age; his Conſtitution could not either be more weak or more tender. Nothing was more dangerous for him than an early Marriage.

(c) *Varillas ubi ſupra, liv.* 8. *pag.* 167.

They replied (d) that the Affairs of that Princeſs would not admit any Delay of her Marriage; but that when it ſhould be accompliſhed with the *Dauphin*, there might be Ways found to retard the Conſummation as long as it might be judged prejudicial to either of the Parties. That *Mary* of *Burgundy* had declared ſhe would willingly wait as long as they thought convenient; but that her Subjects had at preſent Occaſion for a Maſter. The King replied, that the Means they ſpoke of were not infallible; and that in the mean time, the Health of his only Son was ſo precious to him, that he could not expoſe it to a Danger ſo great for a young Prince, as that of a preſent Marriage to a young Lady, who was but too capable of conſummating it. The *Flemings* in Truth endeavoured to convince *Lewis*, that his Fear was imaginary, and not being able to effect it, they made him a ſecond Propoſition, which was no better received than the firſt. This was the Marriage of the Princeſs to *Charles* (e) Count of *Angoulême*. The King was ſo blind as to ſlip this the moſt glorious and advantagious Opportunity that Heaven could have offered him. *His hatred* (f) *for the Duke of* Burgundy *was extream, and whimſical withal. It did not ſtop at his Perſon, but extended to that of his Daughter, for this only reaſon, that the Duke was her Father. This Daughter had never done* Lewis *any ill, and yet he was ſo little equitable on her Account, as to chuſe, that the Eſtates ſhe inherited ſhould be poſſeſſed by Strangers, rather than aſſure himſelf of 'em in a lawful Way, by ſuch an Alliance.* This ſhews, that the Paſſions of Monarchs don't always turn with the Wind of their Intereſts. They are accuſed of this Fault, and ſuppoſed to diveſt themſelves of Friendſhip and Hatred, with the greateſt Eaſe, when their Grandeur requires it; this may be true, generally ſpeaking, but they all have like other Perſons, ſome ſecret Paſſions, or certain Antipathies, on ſome Occaſions which don't permit them to govern themſelves otherwiſe than according to the Inſtinct of this Diſpoſition; to which they ſacrifice their Glory, their Prudence, and moſt valuable Intereſts. *Philip de Comines* aſcends to a higher Cauſe, and deſerves to be heard.

(d) *Id. ib. pag.* 168.

(e) *Who was the Father of* Francis I. *ſo that by this Management, theſe Countries had been ſoon united to* France. *See* Mezerai ubi ſupra, pag. 332. *but as* Lewis XI. *could not foreſee this, there's no ground to blame him on this Score, eſpecially having ſolid Reaſons againſt aggrandizing the Princes of the Blood. See the* Bourgogne (Marie.)

(f) *Varillas, ibid.*

(g) *Notwithſtanding that* Lewis XI. *was thus free from all Apprehenſions, God permitted him not to take this matter, which was ſo great, by the moſt uſeful Handle; and God ſeems to have ſhewn then, as he has done ſince, that he would rigorouſly perſecute this Houſe of* Burgundy, *both in the Perſon of the Lord of it, and of the Subjects having their Eſtates in it. For all the Wars which they have had ſince, would not have happened, if the King our Maſter had taken things by the end he ſhould have done, to compleat their Happineſs, and unite to his Crown all theſe great Lordſhips, to which he had no Pretenſions of Right. Which he ought to have done by ſome Treaty of Marriage, or have attracted them to him by good and true Friendſhip; which he eaſily might have done, conſidering the great Deſpair, Poverty and Weakneſs, in which theſe Lordſhips were. By doing which, he had reſcued 'em from great Troubles, and at the ſame time had ſtrengthned his own Kingdom, and ſecured it by a laſting Peace——(h) When the Duke of* Burgundy *was yet alive, the King often talked to me of what he would do, if the Duke ſhould die, and he ſpoke with great Reaſon at that time, ſaying, that he would endeavour to marry his Son (who is our King at preſent) to the Duke's Daughter, (who ſince has been Dutcheſs of* Auſtria) *and if ſhe would not hearken to it, becauſe the* Dauphin *was much younger than ſhe, he would endeavour to marry her to ſome young Lord of his Kingdom, to keep her and her Subjects in Friendſhip, and to recover without Conqueſt, what he pretended a Title to; and the King was ſtill in this Mind, till a Week before he heard of the death of the Duke. But this wiſe Reſolution, I ſpeak of, began to change a little, the Day that he knew of the Death of the ſaid Duke of* Burgundy. He expreſſes himſelf ſtill more preciſely in the following Chapter, for he expreſly ſays, that God blinded this Prince, in order to puniſh thoſe who did not deſerve to be happy. (i) Our King's Underſtanding was ſo great, that neither I nor any one elſe in the Company could ſee ſo clearly into his Affairs as he himſelf; for doubtleſs he was one of the wiſeſt and moſt politick Princes of his Time. But in theſe great Affairs, God diſpoſes the Hearts of Kings and great Princes, (which he holds in his Hand) to purſue Methods ſubſervient to the Works which he deſigns to bring about in due time. For beyond all Controverſie, if it had been his Will, that our King ſhould continue the Reſolution which he himſelf had taken before the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Death, the Wars which ſince have followed, and thoſe which are waged at this Day, would all have been prevented; but we were not worthy on any ſcore

(g) *Philippe de Comines, liv.* 5. *chap.* 12. *pag.* m. 300. *ad. ann.* 1476.

(h) *Id. ib. pag.* 301.

(i) *Id. ib. chap.* 13. *pag.* 303.

or

(a) The Ancients, Remark I.

(b) *Horat. Epist.* 2. *l.* 1. *v.* 14.

† *See* Shada, *in the beginning of his History of the Wars of the* Low-Countries: *he says among other things that* Mars *makes Visits to other Countries, but keeps his ordinary Residence here:* Plane ut in alias terras peregrinari Mars, ac circumferre bellum, hic armorum sedem fixisse videatur.

(c) *Varillas, preface du t.* 5. *de l'hist de l'heresie.*

(d) *Rem. on a Dissertation of the Sieur* de Gremonville, *p.* 68. *The Author of the* Religio Medici *had said the same thing before,* 1 *Sect.* 16. *p. m.* 96. De qua (*Hollandia*) superbe satis tyrannus Turcicus, si quantum Hispano molestiæ negotiique ab illa ortum esset, sibi obtigisset, minsurum se fuisse dixit qui ligonibus furculisque in mare conjicerent.

(e) *That's to say,* Holland *against the King of* Spain.

(f) Mala Coil. 1.

of making Additions to their Greatness. This (S) Censure was ill-grounded. He died the 30th. of *August* 1483, after so tedious and severe Ailments of (T) Body and

'or in any respect, to obtain that long Peace which 'was held forth to our Sight; and hence proceeds 'the oversight of our King, and not from any 'Defect in his Understanding; for, as I have said 'before, he was a very great Man. Nothing can be more judicious than this Discourse. We must say of this oversight of *Lewis* XI. what the Physicians say of some Distempers, that there's something supernatural in 'em, *below n.* *Herodotus* would speak out more frankly than any other; he who conceived the Deity (*a*) as a jealous and malignant Nature; for the Event has shewn, that it was for the Punishment of the People that God permitted the Marriage of *Mary* of *Burgundy* and the *Dauphin* should not take Effect.

(*b*) *Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.*

The Marriage of this Princess with *Maximilian* of *Austria*, was the Original of a War, which has lasted above two Hundred Years, and which in all probability will last much longer. It has been sometimes interrupted by the meer Languor of the Combatants, only to return like intermitting Fevers, when the disipated Humours have had time to Recruit. Hence we may derive those Rivers of Blood, those repeated Burnings, Ravagings, and Desolations. There's Reason to wonder how a Country of so little extent has been able to furnish for so many Ages an ample Theatre of War to such numerous Armies †: *France* and the House of *Austria*, the principal Parties, who have Disputed this Piece of Ground, have ingag'd most of the Christian Princes in their Quarrel; for when ever the Ballance of Power has been on the side of the latter, the former has been seconded in its Attacks; and when the former has been but too likely to Conquer, the other has been vigorously assisted. The *Eastern* Nations who know not the Nature of the Country, nor the concurrence of Obstacles, laugh, that so many Battles gained, and so many Towns taken, should not decide this Quarrel. The Conquest of Three or Four Provinces, is with them the Business of a very few Days; their Historians spend but Three or Four Pages in relating it. What would they say, should they know that Two Camels could not carry all the Histories, that have been written upon the Wars of the *Low-Countries*? The Histories of the Troubles which occasioned the Erection of the Republick of the *United Provinces* are so numerous, that when Mr. *Varillas* (*c*) came to *Paris*, no body but Mr. *Naudé* was capable of giving a Catalogue of 'em. And yet these are but a very small part of the Wars of the *Netherlands*, since *Charles* VIII. 'Tis said (*d*) that a *Turkish* Emperor *desiring to see, in a Map, the little* (*e*) *Territory that maintained so long a War against so potent a Monarch, said that if it were his Business, he would send a good number of Pioneers, and make 'em shovel that damn'd little point of Land into the Sea.* These People doubtless pity both those who have lost, and those who have not carry'd all in so long a Series of War. They don't think it glorious to fight so often for the same Towns; they take and restore 'em Two or Three times in the same Reign, and so they are always to begin again. But what would they say, had they Genius enough to reflect upon the Consequence of these Losses? The House of *Austria* would not by this time have had a Foot of Ground in this Country, if it had not lost half of it in the Sixteenth Century. It has experienc'd the truth of this Maxim of the Ancients, (*f*) that Half is better than the Whole. What it lost then has serv'd, and will always serve as a Bulwark to save the rest; but for this it would neither have had what it has preserved, nor what it can never resume. The poor *Flemings*, as *Comines* very well said, have the worst End of the Staff; they are always the Sufferers; whereas by the Marriage of their Princess with the Dauphin, they had probably only seen War at a distance; it would have been kept out of their Bowels, which is an inestimable Advantage. As long as an Inch of Ground is left to be fought for, they will always be the suffering Party; this will be a constant and infallible Ferment of new Wars.

(*f*) Melius [illegible]. Dimidium plus toto. *See* Erasmus, *Centur.* 9. *n.* 115. *pag. m.* 318. 319.

(S) *This Censure was ill grounded.*] It was indeed specious; for, generally speaking, it's true Policy to oppose the Conquests of an Ambitious and armed Neighbour. But there's no Rule without an Exception, and there are Circumstances in which instead of crossing an Enemy in his Enterprise, we ought to beware intermedling in it: As for example, When we foresee that such a one will be hamper'd, and that the Consequences of this may be of advantage to us. This was the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Case, when having conquer'd the Dutchy of *Gueldres*, he formed new Projects against the Empire. Let's hear a Man that understood this Matter admirably. "The said Duke 'prolonged his Truce with the King, and some of 'the King's Servants thought, that he ought not 'to have prolonged it, nor have given so great 'Advantage to the Duke. This seem'd rational 'enough, but they did not understand this Matter, 'for want of Experience, and duly weighing Circumstances. There were others who saw farther into it than they, and who had more Experience, 'as having been upon the Place, who told the 'King, that that Truce was wisely made, and 'that he suffered the said Duke to dash himself 'against the *Germans* (an Enterprize so great and daring, that it was almost incredible) saying that 'when he had taken one Place, or ended one 'Quarrel, he would soon be ingag'd in another, 'and that he was not a Man, ever to be contented 'with the success of any Undertaking (in which 'he was opposite to the King; for the more he was (1) embroiled, the more he would embroil himself) and that there was no better way of 'being reveng'd on him, than letting him go on 'his own way, and even giving him some small 'Aid, without the least Inclination to any Design of 'breaking this Truce; for considering the Greatness and Power of *Germany*, it was not possible but he must soon be ruined and undone to all Intents and Purposes. For the Princes of the Empire, tho' the Emperor was a Man of little 'Virtue, would see it done; and so it happened 'in the issue to the said Duke. (g)

(1) *Understand this of the Duke.*

(T) *After so tedious and severe Ailments of Body and Mind.*] He who supplies me with the Proofs of this, is so valuable a Witness, that it's not possible to have a better; for 'tis *Philip de Comines*. (*b*) He tells us that the King his Master fell sick at *Forges*, near *Chinon*, in *March* 1480. *He lost his Speech, his Senses, and his Memory.——At Two or Three Days end he began to recover his Speech, and his Senses.—— (i) As he found himself somewhat better, he began to enquire, who they were that had hindered him by force from going to the Window? They told him the Truth, and he immediatly expell'd 'em his Family; some he turn'd out of their Places, and never wou'd see 'em more. Others——he only dismissed. The Reason of all this was, that there was nothing he so much dreaded as the losing his Authority.* What Torment, what an Infliction was this? (k) *This Distemper held him about* 15 *Days, and he Recovered perfectly as to his Sense and Speech; but continued very Weak, and in great apprehensions of a Relapse. He accordingly Relapsed the Year following, (l) and lost his Speech a second time, and was thought to be dead for two Hours——They devoted him to Monsigneur St.* Claude——*immediately his Speech returned, and he walked about the House in a very weak Condition. He made a Journey to St.* Claude, *and returned to* Tours (m) *and shut himself up, so that few could see him, and grew wonderful Suspicious of every Body, and Jealous, lest they should take away or diminish his Authority——(n) He did a great many strange things, for which they that saw him, thought him bereft of his Senses; but they did not know him——he knew that he was not belov'd by the great Persons of the Kingdom, nor by many of the meaner Sort, and he had so Taxed the People, as never King did——* (o) *so that its no wonder if he had distracted Thoughts and*

(g) *Philippe de Comines, liv.* 4. *ch.* 1. *pag.* 195. 199. *ad ann.* 1474.

(*b*) *Philippe de Comines, liv.* 6. *Chap.* 7. *pag. m.* 377.

(i) *Id. ib. pag.* 378.

(k) *Id. ib. pag.* 379.

(l) *Id. ib. pag.* 380.

(m) *Id. ib. pag.* 381.

(n) *Id. ib. pag.* 381.

(o) *Id. ib. pag.* 383.

and Mind, that there's hardly a Humane Creature so barbarous as to wish his bitterest Enemy the like. He may well be reckoned in the Number of the Princes, whose bad, much exceed their good Fortune. He performed an Act of Religion,

and Imaginations, and fancy'd he was not wished well, and had great Fears on that Account.——In the First place hardly any one came to du Plessis le-Parc, *(which was the place were he kept) except his Domesticks and Archers, of which he had four hundred, a good number of 'em always standing Centinels, and walking before the Place, and guarding the Door: No Lord or great Person lodg'd within the Court, and but few of the great Lords were ever admitted: No body came near him but Monseigneur* de Boajeu, *the present Duke of* Bourbonne, *his Son-in-Law; he encompass'd the Castle of* Plessis, *with an Iron Pallisade, and fortify'd the Entrance into the Ditches of* Plessis *with forked Iron Turn Pikes; he also caused four Watch-Houses to be built all of Massy Iron, with Port-Holes to shoot at every Angle, and it was a Majestick Piece of Work, and cost above 20 thousand Franks; and he settled forty Cross-bow Men for the Outguard, who Day and Night were in these Trenches, and had Orders to Shoot at any Man who approached 'em, till the Gate was open in the Morning: He fancy'd moreover that his Subjects were somewhat forward to assume his Authority when they saw an Opportunity.* Comines having amply spoken of *Francis de Paul*, goes on ' (*a*) Our King was in *Plessis*, attended by ' very few except Archers, and under the Suspici- ' ons before mentioned; but he had taken all ima- ' ginable Precaution; for he left no Man either in the ' City or Country, of whom he had a Suspicion, but ' sent 'em all away, under a Guard of Archers. No ' body spoke to him of any Thing but the [illegible] ' Men about him: He look'd more like a [illegible] ' than a living Man. He was grown so Meagre ' that there was no knowing him; he cloath'd ' himself richly, more than ever he used to do, ' wearing only Robes of Crimson Satin, furr'd ' with fine Sables, and gave 'em to whom he ' thought fit, without asking: for no body durst ' ask any thing, or speak to him; he order'd severe ' Punishment, to procure Respect, and for fear his ' Subjects Obedience shou'd slacken; for so he told ' me himself. He dismissed Officers, and disband- ' ed Soldiers, lessened the Pensions, and retrench- ' ed on all Hands; and he told me a few Days be- ' fore his Death, That he made it his Diversion to ' place and displace People, and get himself more ' talk'd of in the Kingdom than any King ever ' was, and this he did for fear they should think ' him dead; for as I have said, few saw him: ' but when his Actions were talked off, every one ' was in Suspence, and could scarce believe he ' was Sick; he caused (*b*) all sorts of Beasts to be ' brought him from Foreign Countries, and gave ' a prodigious Price for 'em; and all this to a- ' muse the People that they should not think he ' was Sick. The Historian compares (*c*) *the Evils and Pains King* Lewis *suffered to those he had made others suffer*; because, says he, *I hope that the Miseries he suffered before his Death——will prepare his way to Heaven, and be one part of his Purgatory.* He reckons amongst those Evils, the Indiscretion of those who pronounced him a dead Man. (*d*) *What a Thunderstroke was it to him to hear this News, and this Sentence? For never Man feared Death more, or endeavoured more to find a Remedy for it; and he had all his Life-time said to his Servants, and to me among others, and prayed, that if ever we saw him in Extremity, we should say nothing to him, except,* Speak but little; *and that we should only move him to Confession, without pronouncing upon him the cruel Sentence of Death: for he did not seem to have a Heart to hear this Word——(e) You see then how indiscreetly this Death was signified to him. Which I was willing to repeat——in order to shew, that the Miseries he endured were very great, considering his Nature, who exacted more Obedience than any one else in his Time, and who had had more paid him. So that the least Word of an Answer, contrary to his Inclination, had been a great Punishment for him to endure: Some Five or Six Months before his Death, he was suspicious of all Men, and especially of all who were worthy of Authority; he was afraid of his Son, and caused him to be strictly guarded. No body either saw or spoke to him, except by his Command; he was suspicious at last of his Daughter, and Son-in-Law the present Duke of [illegible], and would know what People enter[illegible] when and where; at last he broke off [illegible]cil, which the Duke of* Bourbon, *his Son-in-Law held there by his Command. When his Son-in-Law and the Count de* Dunoir *came back from reconducting the Embassie, which was come to his Son's Wedding, and the Queen's [illegible] Amboise, and entred* Plessis, *and much People along with 'em, the King, who caused the Gates to be well-guarded, being in the Gallery, which looks into the Court of* Plessis, *ordered one of the Captains of his Guards to be called to him, and commanded him to go and examine the Attendants of the same Lords, whether they had not Coats of Mail under their Cloaths; and that he should do it, as by discourting with 'em, without making too much shew of it. Judge then, whether he who had made so many People live in Suspicion, and fear of him, was [illegible] recompensed; and who were those that he could trust, since he was jealous of his Son, his Daughter, and his Son-in-Law. I speak not this on his Account only. But for all other Princes who desire to be feared, they never feel the Chastisement of it till old Age; for their Penance they are made to fear every Body; and what a wretched thing was it for this King to be pe[illegible] with this Fear, and these Passi[illegible] afterwards* the Author relates (*f*) the Slave[illegible] which the [illegible]cian kept this Prince, and ha[illegible]decried (*g*) the Precautions the King took to secure himself in a House surrounded with great Grates, *&c.* He goes on, ' (*h*) Is it possible to keep a King in sa- ' fer Custody, or in a stricter Prison than he kept ' himself? The Cages in which he kept others, ' were about Eight Foot square, and he that was ' so great a King, had only the small Court of a ' Castle to walk in, though he seldom came there, ' but kept in his Gallery without moving, except ' through the Chambers; and went to Mass with- ' out passing through the aforesaid Court. Would ' not one say, that this King suffered as much as ' others? who thus shut up himself, and had ' Guards about him, who was thus in fear of his ' Children, and of all about him, and of his Re- ' lations, and who changed continually his Ser- ' vants which he had brought up, and who had all ' their Dependance upon [illegible] so as to confide in ' none of 'em, but thus [illegible]n himself to such ' strange Confinements, [illegible] Enclosures? What ' he says in the Thirteenth Chapter, is wonderful. ' (*i*) The Poor and the Vulgar ought to place but ' little hope in any thing in this World, since so ' great a King has suffered and laboured so much, ' and at last left it all, unable to keep off Death ' but one Hour, with all the Diligence he employ- ' ed to do it. I have known him, and have ' been his Servant in the Flower of his Age, and ' in his greatest Prosperites; but I never saw him ' without Trouble and Care. Above all Pleasures, ' he loved Hunting and Birding in its Season, but ' he took not so much Pleasure in this, as in ' Dogs——(*k*) And even in Hunting he ' had almost as much Trouble as Pleasure; ' for he took great Pains at it, he kept up with ' the Stags, and rose very early, and rode some- ' times a long Chase, and lost no time as long as ' he was out; and thus he sometimes returned ve- ' ry weary, and almost always in a Fret [illegible]some ' Body or other.——He was co[illegible] at ' this Sport, and lodged in the Village [illegible]ome ' News came of a War; for most com[illegible]very ' Summer, there was something to [illegible]twixt ' the Duke of *Burgundy* and him, and in the ' Winter they made a Truce——(*l*) Thus the ' Pl[illegible] he took were but for a short Season of ' th[illegible], and were very laborious to his Person, ' a[illegible] said; at the time that he reposed him- ' f[illegible] Understanding was at work; for he had ' [illegible] in a great many Places, and as willingly ' concerned

(*a*) *Id. ib. chap.* 8. *pag.* 386.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *In the* 12th. *Chap. of* 6th. *Book pag.* 397. *and the following,*

(*d*) *Id. ib. pag.* 399.

(*e*) *Ibid. pag.* 400.

(*f*) *Ibid. pag.* 401.

(*g*) *Ibid. pag.* 403.

(*h*) *Ibid. pag.* 404.

(*i*) *Id. ib. chap.* 13.

(*k*) *Id. ib pag.* 406.

(*l*) *Ibid. pag.* 407, 408.

[illegible] inti-[illegible], Additions à Hiſtoire de Louis XI.

a Intitled, Hiſtoire de la Maiſon roiale de France.

on upon which a (U) Modern Author has had ſome Thoughts, which want to be examined. They who ſay he was an illiterate Man, and no way countenanced Learning, have been ſufficiently confuted by a *Gabriel Naudé*. I don't give a Chronological Series of his principal Actions; this you'll find in *Moreri*, copied almoſt word for word from a Father *Anſelm*; which ought alſo to be underſtood of the other

(a) *Id. ib. pag.* 407, 408.

(b) *Ibid. pag.* 408.

(c) Charles *Duke of* Burgundy, Edward *IV. King of* England, Matthias *King of* Hungary, *and* Mahomet *II. Emperor of the* Turks.

(d) *Id. ſur la fin du livre* 6.

(e) *See the Treatiſe of the uſe of* [illegible] *by the Abbot de St. Real, printed at* Paris *in* 1671. *pag.* 235, 236.

(f) *Ibid. pag.* 235, 236.

(g) *Ibid. pag.* 237.

(h) *Ibid. pag.* 238.

(i) *Ibid. pag.* 240.

(k) *As to* Bellona *round the Temple of* Comana, *and to* Venus *round the Temples of* Eryce, *&c.*

(l) *Life, read pag.* 238. *of his Book.*

' concerned himſelf as much in the Affairs of his ' Neighbour as in his own. When he was in War, he ' long'd for a Peace or a Truce; when he had ' made a Truce, he could hardly indite it; he ' concerned himſelf with many little things in his ' Kingdom, which he needed not to have done; ' but ſuch was his Temper, and ſo he lived. The Life of this Prince, before he was King, was not very happy. (a) *Comines* declares it, after which he makes this Concluſion: (b) "Now in what ' time of his Life could it be ſaid he enjoy'd any Plea- ' ſure, conſidering all the things above-mention'd? I ' believe that from his Infancy to his Grave, he ' had nothing but Anguiſh and Fatigues; and ' that, if all the good Days of his Life, in which ' he had more Joy and Pleaſure than Labour and ' Trouble, were reckoned up, they would be found ' but very few; and that there would be Twenty ' of Pain and Labour, for One of Pleaſure and ' Eaſe.

There is no Reader ſo ſtupid as to want a Comment upon what I have been relating; every one is able to imagine that there is no Condition more miſerable than that of a ſick Prince, who dares not own he is ſo, who dreads every Shadow, and is forced to uſe a Thouſand Stratagems, to perſuade People he is not dead. Note, that *Philip de Comines* ſhews, by the Example of (c) Four great Princes, who died in his time, that (d) *Man is but an inconſiderable thing, that his Life is ſhort and miſerable, and that there's nothing deſirable in it.*

(U) *He performed an act of Religion, upon which a Modern Author has had ſome Thoughts which want to be examined.* Lewis XI. (e) made a Contract, which was called *the Donation of* Lewis XI. *to the Virgin* Mary *of* Boulogne, *of the Right and Title to the Fief; and Homage for the County of* Boulogne (*on which the County of St.* Paul *depends*) *to be performed before the Image of the ſaid Lady by his Succeſſors, in* 1478. The Abbot of St. *Real* pretends, that "(f) all Antiquity, whether *Greek* or *Roman*, never ſaw any Man pretend to ' honour himſelf before the People, by beſtow- ' ing Bounties on the Gods, ——— and that this ' Refinement of Devotion was reſerved for *Lewis* XI. He maintains (g) *that an exceſs of this Nature in ſuch a Spirit as his, ought rather to be reputed an Artifice, than an Extravagance.* ——(i) *That this Attempt, however bold it appears, ought to be looked upon by us as the Fruit of a conſummate Wiſdom, and a long Experience of the Judgments of Men: That there is nothing extraordinary in a Prince's conſecrating* ——*the Revenue of Lands to the Service of God and his Saints, to the Uſe of his Miniſters, to the Ornament of their Temples and their Altars, nor even in putting his Eſtates under their particular Protection.* ——(h) *That all this is agreeable to Natural Light; but not ſo as to make choice of Celeſtial Powers for the Objects of our Liberality: That inſtead of asking any thing of 'em, or pretending to have received from 'em, one ſhould take upon him to be their Benefactor; as if they had need of our Goods, as much as we have need of theirs; which they may actually enjoy, as we may theirs, (viz.) their Light and Intelligence, when they pleaſe to communicate ſome Rays of 'em. That notwithſtanding this has been practiced; for (i) tho'* Lewis XI. *made open profeſſion of Inſincerity, as we ſee by his Device, yet it does not appear that at that time any one ſuſpected the leaſt Artifice in ſo extraordinary a Devotion. So true it is* ——*That the bare Shadow* " of an imaginary Intereſt, that ' Heaven has in ſuch ſort of Actions, and the ' ſanctity of Names, that are mingled with 'em, ' may ſo blind the World, as to hinder it from ' perceiving the Extravagance and Mockery. ' This is extreamly ſtrange; but it ſerves the ' better to diſcover the Nature of the Human Mind, ' by its weak and whimſical ſide, that no one ' thou'd at that time reflect on the Extravagance ' of a Man's contracting with the Holy Virgin, juſt ' as one Man does with another, and making her ' at leaſt in fiction accept of a Preſent which he ' remained as much Poſſeſſor of after this pre- ' tended Bounty as before. For, in effect, Were ' Bailiffs, Provoſts, and other Officers of the ' County of *Boulogne*, when they were call'd the ' Virgin's Bailiffs, Provoſts, and Officers, leſs obli- ' ged to obey the King? Did the Church of *Bou-* ' *logne* enjoy the Revenue of the Land, ſo that ſhe ' was better ſerved than before? Was the King ever ' the leſs Count of it, for having given this County ' to the Virgin? Did not the People at that ' time ſee this as we ſee it? they might if they ' had pleaſed; but *Lewis* XI. ſaw all theſe things ' much better than they or we. In the mean time ' this Prince, ſo dexterous in the Uſe of all the ' Inſtruments of Poli y, who had ſo profoundly ' ſtudied that of Religion in particular, and plaid ' this Engine in all the known Methods, thought ' he might ſafely try it this one way more, when ' once he had invented it, and carry it ſo far with- ' out danger; he judged in ſhort that his People ' were capable of bearing it. He muſt have been ' well acquainted with their Nature, to venture ſo ' far. I don't copy any of the reſt of this long Paſſage, tho' it be very ſolid.

I find by ſome Views a great deal of ſolidity in theſe Reflections; but conſidering the Practice that has prevail'd in all times, and which the Abbot of St. *Real* has commended, I don't find any thing ſo very ſtrange in this Conduct of *Lewis* XI. nor any reaſon to expect more Artifice in it, than in the reſt of his Devotions. The Heathens made Donations to their Gods, not only of Precious Stones, and of Veſſels of Gold and Silver, but alſo of (k) Lands. The Catholicks daily give the Holy Virgin, ſome a Pearl-Neck-lace, others a Crown, or a Robe beſet with Diamonds, *&c.* They diſſeiſe themſelves of the Property of theſe Goods, and convey 'em to the Mother of the Son of God. Why won't you allow then, that a Man may as well convey the Title of Sovereign of a certain Fief to her? Is it ſtrange that *Lewis* XI. ſhould declare himſelf her Vaſſal, her Liegeman in reſpect of a County whereof he was Sovereign? What mighty wonder is it, that he ſhould from henceforth command Homage to be paid this Saint? I own he reſerves to himſelf the profitable Demeſnes, and all the other Advantages of Poſſeſſion; but this hinders not his granting away an honourable Right; and the Conveyance he makes of it comes under the ſame Species of Liberality, as the offering a Heart of Silver, or a Crown glittering with precious Stones. The Act of this Conveyance hung up from the Roof of a Church in Letters of Gold, would be as Glorious an Ornament as a Statue of Silver. Wherein then lyes the extraordinary Whimſicalneſs of *Lewis* XIth's Devotion? and why muſt it be ſaid, that he would not have had the Boldneſs thus to impoſe upon the Publick, if he had not profoundly known the Folly and Weakneſs of the People. If he had conſecrated to the Holy Virgin the Revenue of this Fief, to be employed to the uſe of Eccleſiaſticks, and the adorning of Altars, he had practiced a ſort of Devotion, which the Abbot of St. *Real* (l) had judged moſt ſolid. This therefore is a laudible way *to chuſe the Celeſtial Powers* for the Objects of our Liberality; it ought therefore to be permitted, to offer 'em the Sovereignty of ſuch or ſuch Fiefs, and make legal Conveyances to 'em, in order to hold from 'em back again, by Fealty and Homage; for this Right is what a Man may as well diveſt himſelf of, in honour of them, as of the Revenues and mean Profits. Remember that the Victims Sacrificed to the Gods, and all the other Offerings of Devotion, were always conſidered as a Preſent, and that the Prieſts employed 'em neither for Food nor any other Uſe otherwiſe than in quality of the Miniſters of the Celeſtial

other *French* Monarchs. Mr. *Varillas* is miſtaken as to the cauſe he aſſigns of the Antipathy (X) between the *French* and *Spaniards*.

LEWIS *XII.* King of *France*, great Grandſon (A) to *Charles* V. ſucceeded *Charles* VII. upon the 8th of *April*, 1491. He had born the Title of Duke of *Orleans* and had gone through many Diſgraces in the Reign of his Predeceſſor. Nor had all the ſubmiſſion due to a Sovereign: For he had taken up Arms againſt his King, and was taken Priſoner in a Battle gained * againſt thoſe of *Brittany*, by the Arms of *Charles* VIII. He was in love with the Heireſs of *Brittany*, and hoped to marry her; but he had not that ſatisfaction till after the King his Predeceſſor's Death, and it obliged him to an Action altogether odious and unjuſt, to wit, the diſſolving his Marriage (B) with the Princeſs *Jane* of *France*. His Reign was remarkable for great

* *This was the Battel of St.* Aubin du Corminer *gain'd on the 28th of* July, 1488.

Powers. They were not the Proprietors, they were only the Uſufructuaries, and that by a kind of ſecondary Conveyance. The firſt conſiſted in this, That the Man who offered a Victim, or any thing elſe, gave up to the Gods all the Right he had in it. The ſecond in this, That the Gods transferred to their Miniſters the Adminiſtration and Uſe of theſe Offerings. So that at bottom, the Conduct of *Lewis* XI. had nothing extraordinary in it, as not being a Liberality of a new Invention, and we need not wonder that his Subjects were nor ſcandalized at it. 'Tis true, he might have been ſure that his Donation alienated nothing from him; for he ſtill remained Maſter of the Land, he reſerved the mean Profits, *&c.* wholly to himſelf. But we ſhould be to blame, in imagining that he ſought only to decieve; this Act of Religion might in him be as ſincere as any other. 'Tis very probable he believed he had made a Donation which would highly pleaſe the Holy Virgin, diſpoſe her to protect him, and be liberal of her Favours towards him; his Principles and Acts of Piety might all be Wrong, and yet attended with a ſincere Perſuaſion of Mind; one Proof of this is, that he never durſt ſwear Falſly by the Croſs of (a) St. *Laud*, being ſtruck with a Vulgar Tradition, (b) *That they who ſwore by this Croſs, and were Perjured, dyed a Miſerable Death before the Years End.* The Conſtable of St. *Paul* pray'd him to ſwear by that Croſs, (c) *That he would neither do, nor ſuffer any other to do him any harm.* The King anſwered, (d) *That he had ſworn he never would take that Oath for any Man alive; but that there were no other Oaths; but he would willingly take to ſatisfy him.*

(a) *Its at* Angers.
(b) Matthieu *ubi ſupra, liv. 6. ch. 16. pag. 309. ſee alſo* Varillas *in the Preface to his Hiſtory of* Louis *XI.*
(c) *Idem* Matthieu *ibid.*
(d) *Id. ib.*

I wiſh this Reflection may ſerve as a Warning to all my Readers, that there are no Thoughts ſo much to be ſuſpected, as thoſe which are put off in an aſſuming Manner, and with a Majeſtick Tone. The foregoing Reflections of the Abbot of St. *Real* are, of this kind, the fitteſt in the World to dazzle; but diveſt 'em of their Ornaments, and take a near View of 'em, and you'll find nothing ſolid in 'em.

(X) *Mr.* Varillas *is miſtaken, as to the Cauſe of the Antipathy between the* French *and* Spaniards.] (e) Moſt of the Relations both *French* and *Spaniſh*, that were made upon occaſion of the Interview of *Lewis* with *Henry* IV. King of *Caſtile*, aſſign as a reaſon of the ſtrange Change between the Nations, *Lewis*'s extream negligence in Dreſs, unbecoming the Dignity of a Prince of his Rank; and to ſay the truth, before that Interview, the *French* and *Caſtilians* practiced, towards each other, all the Duties of good Neighbourhood. They mutually ſuccoured each other, and performed all the good Offices that Decency and Charity required. Mr. *Varillas* gives ſeveral Inſtances of it, after which he goes on in this manner, (f) *but as ſoon as the Court of* Henry *IV. King of* Caſtile, *which appeared in ſo Magnificent an Equipage, that the like was never ſeen, nor any thing near it, for Three or Four Hundred Years before, ſaw* Lewis *dreſſed in a Drab de Berry, that was not new, and his Head covered with an old Hat, which had nothing remarkable in it but a Leaden Virgin, that was ſtitch'd to it; the* Caſtilians *conceived ſuch a Contempt for the* French *on account of their King, that they took the firſt Opportunity of breaking with 'em; and the Antipathy betwixt the Two Nations, may be dated from that time, which has ſince become Immortal.*

(e) Varillas *ubi ſupra, liv. 10. pag. 323.*

(f) *Id. ib. pag. 324.*

I doubt not but Mr. *Varillas* would be hard put to it, to find any Relations of this Interview, in which the Hatred which has laſted ſo long between the *French* and *Spaniards*, is derived from ſuch an Original. I am certain *Philip de Comines* is the firſt who has made Reflections hereupon, and that almoſt all other Writers are his Tranſcribers in this Particular; but he is far from giving a Foundation to the pretended Diſcovery of Mr. *Varillas*. He has made a Diſgreſſion (g) tending to ſhew that the Interview of Princes is *more prejudicial than profitable*. He gives ſeveral Inſtances of it, the firſt whereof is the Interview of *Lewis* XI. and the King of *Caſtile*: *Now theſe Two Nations*, ſays he, *which had been ſo ſtrictly allied, ridiculed each other.* (h) *The King of* Caſtile *was ill-favour'd, and his Dreſs diſpleaſing to the* French, *who laughed aloud at it. Our King was dreſſed in a ſhort Jerkin, and ſo mean that nothing could be more ſo; and ſometimes he wore a very coarſe Cloath, with a ſlouching Hat, different from the reſt, with a Leaden Image tacked to it. The Caſtilians laughed at him, and ſaid it was out of Sillineſs. Thus in effect that Interview broke up, with Scoffing and Satyre o'both ſides, and thoſe Two Kings never loved one another.* What he has ſaid of the Interview of the Emperor and *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, is (i) equally ſtrong. Should we hence conclude, that the *Germans* and *Burgundians* have hated one another ever ſince? Would not this be falſe? Were not they good Friends, after the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*? Did not they act in conſort againſt *France*, we ſhould have ſeen the ſame betwixt the *French* and *Caſtilians*, had not ſtronger Reaſons interven'd than the Diſcontent at this Interview. *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and many other Eſtates of *Spain* were re-united: And hence proceeded the Hatred of the *French* and *Spaniards*; for ever ſince that Re-union, *France* has been obliged to act either on the Offenſive or Defenſive againſt *Spain*.

(g) *It's the 8th Chap. of his ſecond Book.*
(h) Comines, *ibid. pag.* 105.
(i) *From the Interview of the Emperor and* Charles *Duke of* Burgundy, *they loved one another, neither they nor their People. The* Germans *deſpiſed the Pomp and Speech of the ſaid Duke, attributing it to Pride. The* Burgundians *deſpiſed the Retinue of the Emperor and their poor Habits.* Id. ibid. pag. 105, 106.

(A) *Great Grandſon to* Charles V.] He was Son to *Charles* Duke of Orleans, who was Son to *Lewis* of *France* Duke of *Orleans*, aſſaſſinated in *Paris* by his Uncle the Duke of *Burgundy*, the 23d of *November*, (k) 1407. This *Lewis*, Son of *Charles* V. had Married *Valentina* of *Milan*; ſo that *Lewis* XII. Grandſon to *Valentina*, had the juſteſt Pretenſions in the World to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and yet he could never maintain himſelf in that Country.

(B) *He was obliged to diſſolve his Marriage with the Princeſs* Jane *of* France.] She was Daughter to *Lewis* XI. and Siſter to *Charles* VIII. She was Married at Twenty-two years of Age, to our *Lewis*, in 1476. She carried her ſelf like a good Wife whilſt he was in diſgrace, and it was ſhe who, (l) by her Importunites, brought him out of Priſon, in 1491. but that was not ſufficient to ballance, in her Husband's Heart, the violent Inclination he had for *Charles* the VIII's Widow: This was *Anne of Bretany*. He had loved her, and was beloved by her, before ſhe Married *Charles*; therefore to gratify his Paſſion for her he cauſed his Marriage to be annull'd, and procured ſuch Rewards to Pope *Alexander* VI. that he obtained of him all he had a mind to. There are few but believe he was perjured, in maintaining he had not known her. (m) *He profeſſed he had Married her by force, fearing the Indignation of* Lewis *XI. her Father, who was a Man of an abſolute Will, but that he had never known nor touched her.* This Brantome ſays, but adds, (n) *I believe her Husband, as I have heard ſay, had known her very well, and ſenſibly*

(k) P. Anſelme, *Hiſtoire genealogique pag.* 178.
(l) *Id. id. pag.* 129.
(m) Brantome, *Memoires des Dames illuſtres, p. m.* 277.
(n) *Id. ib. pag.* 288.

great Events, some prosperous, and others unfortunate; but take him all together, he was one of the greatest Men that had been seen for some Ages. The Republick of *Venice* being grown very powerful, and the Haughtiness great Power is attended with, being to too visible in her Conduct, several Estates (*D*) confederated to b[illegible]her to Reason. *Lewis* XII. who came into this Alliance, had almost the

sensibly [illegible] *her, tho' she was somewhat amiss in her Body, she was not so chast as to abstain, having* [illegible] *near him, and so close to his Side, considering* [illegible] *temper, which was a little covetous, and very prone to the Pleasures of* Venus, *as his Predecessor had been; but he was minded to recover his first Love, which was Queen* [illegible] *and that fine Duteby, which threw great* [illegible]*ations into his Soul, and therefore he div*[illegible] *that Princess, and his Oath was believed* [illegible]*ceived by the Pope, who gave him a Dispensation, which was received by the* Sorbonne, *and by the Court of Parliament of* Paris. Mr. *Varillas* will give us the Circumstances of the Injustices which were committed in this Affair. (*a*) " *Lewis* XII. had ' sollicited (1) the Dissolution of his Marriage ' with *Jane* of *France*, Daughter and Sister to ' the Two last Kings, tho' he was obliged to her ' for his Liberty and [illegible] he had sworn before ' the Commissioners [illegible] Holy See, that the ' Marriage had not b[illegible]nsummated, tho' this ' Princess had sworn [illegible] contrary; and the Miracles she afterwar[illegible]rought, seem to confirm ' the Truth of what she had said; he had main- ' tain'd in Writing other Facts upon this Sub- ' ject, which were altogether as improbable, he ' had corr[illegible] by his Money the Legate's Secre- ' tary, (2) [illegible] understanding from him, that the ' Permiss[illegible] to Marry again was expedited, he ' Married [illegible] Queen, without waiting till the ' Dispensation came to his Hands, which was the ' cause of the Legate's poysoning the Secretary. They who will not allow that this Princess work'd Miracles, will not be obliged to acknowledge, that she lived an exemplary Life after her Divorce, and that her Moderation under so sensible an Injury was wonderful; for which reason her Word is more to be depended on than the Oaths of her Husband. For 'tis certain that she declared to the Commissioners, with all that Modesty which her Virtue and her Sex required, that the Marriage had been consummated. (*b*) " *Jane* of *France* be- ' ing interrogated in her turn upon the same Ar- ' ticles, answered——That Modesty would not ' permit her to explain her self clearly (*c*) upon ' the Third Article, and nevertheless that her ' Conscience did not suf[illegible] to assent to it. If it were true, as a Jesui[illegible]s, that great Prodigies were obtery'd upon t[illegible]olution of the Marriage, no one cou'd doubt [illegible] Injustice and Perjury of *Lewis* XII. The Declaration of this Divorce (*d*) *was followed, or at least attended with terrible Prodigies, as Earthquakes, Storms, Tempests, Thunder, and above all, with so great a Darkness, that, in the day time,* says this Author, (*e*) *they were obliged to make use of Torches, to be able to read the Sentence of Separation and Nullity of the Marriage.* These are surprizing Events, of which the Cotemporary Writes ought not to have been silent; for their general silence would have been a stranger Prodigy than the rest. However, its plain they have said nothing of 'em; for if they had, the knowledge of a thing of this Nature would not have been so ill preserved, as that every one should look upon it as a new Discovery in the Jesuits Book. We shall here mention a Reflection of a Modern Author: *How is't possible,* says he, *that an Event of this nature should be unknown to* Brantome[illegible] *Mr.* Varillas, *who have known or read so m*[illegible]*ecret Memoirs? We may observe this small diff*[illegible]*e betwixt the Two, that the latter says expressly, that* [illegible]*een* Jane *wrought Miracles; whereas the first content to say,* She was reckon'd a Saint, and as it were a Worker of Miracles. *In matters of this kind, the farther we are removed from the Fountain Head the more we know of them.* Note, that (*f*) *the People of* Paris *murmured* [illegible]*, at the King's divorcing* the Daughter of L[illegible]*XII. and that there were scrupulous Doctors, who* [illegible]*med him in the Pulpits:* Judge then whether the Prodigies would have been concealed. It might be said that after *Brantome's* Death, many Miracles (*g*) were wrought at this Queen's Tomb, and therefore Mr. *Varillas* might be more positive than he. Be it how it will, the Sentence that declares the Marriage null being pronounced (*b*) the 22d of *December*, 1498. the King Married *Anne* of *Britany* the 8th of *January* following. (*i*)

(*C*) *Others unfortunate.*] Amongst *Lewis* the XIIth's greatest Misfortunes, must be reckoned the loss of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and that of the *Milanese*. He was the Bubble of the King of *Aragon*, as to the first of these Losses; but it could not be wholly attributed to the Frauds of the Court of *Spain*. The *French* were beaten in several Engagements, so that it may be said that the Gen[illegible] of *France* suffered it self to be wretchedly bu[illegible]led by that of *Spain*, and that the *French* Soldiers suffered themselves to be soundly beaten by the *Spanish*. The bad Conduct of *Lewis* the XII's Generals, the manifest Cause of these Disgraces, is no ground of Comfort or Apology, but rather another M[illegible]tification for this Prince, as testifying that he made an ill choice of his Officers. The other loss, to wit, that of the *Milanese* plainly manifested the same defect: He gave the Government of it to (*k*) a Man very much hated, and who in that Post made himself more odious than he was before; and who amongst other Faults, committed that of suffering the *French* to provoke the Jealousie of the Inhabitants, (*l*) by the Liberties they took with the Women. Yet he had the Consolation of quickly recovering the *Milanese*, for which he was indebted to a piece of Treachery, which is very rare among the *Swissers* (*m*); but he never could repair the other Losses in this Country. In vain he raised great Armies, to revenge himself on the King of *Aragon*; he miscarried every where, both in *Italy*, *Biscay*, and *Rousillon*. The Discontent occasioned (*n*) *by so many bad Successes, the loss of his Reputation, and the Inability to unravel all these* Spanish *Deceits, was so great, as to bring upon him a Sickness which reduced him to the last Extremity.*

(*D*) *Several Estates confederated to bring her to Reason.*] *Lewis* was highly provoked against the *Venetians* by Twenty Affronts that they had put upon him (*o*). The Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Spain* (*p*) *Hated 'em no less for different causes, and particularly because they had encroach'd upon the Territories of each.* All these Powers formed a League with that Secrecy against them at *Cambary*, in the Year 1501. (*q*) that as dextrous as they were, they knew nothing of it till it began to be executed (*r*). The *French* Ambassador (*s*) declaims against 'em in a terrible manner, in a Speech he made before the Emperor *Maximilian*, in the Year 1510. He set forth (*t*) *the Origin, Progress, Designs, Artifices, and Maxims of this Republick.* But it must be remember'd, that an Orator who would excite his Auditory to War, is not much concerned about Historical Exactness. However it be, this Republick had been already ill treated otherwise than by Words. This we shall see in the following Remark.

Note, that *John le Maire de Belges, Judiciary and Historiographer* to Queen *Anne* of *Britany*, Wife to *Lewis* XII. writ a Book at least as Satirical as the Ambassador's Oration; he intituled it, *The Legend of the Venetians.* He observes in his Poem, that the intire Ruin of their Republick was fully reckon'd upon, for which were alledged *certain Prophecies, (u) Oracles, and Soothsayings, and Astrological Prognostications, Appearances of Signs, strange Eclipses, Comets, Lightnings, Earthquakes, Monsters, Portents, and divers Presages.* ——— *I have given my self the Trouble,* continues he, *to*

(*a*) Varillas, *Hist. de Francois I. Book* 1. *p.* 8. Hague *Edition*, 1690.

(1) *In the Manuscript Vol. in the King's Library, which contains the the Process of about the Dissolution of the Marriage of* Lewis *XII. with* [illegible] Borgia.

(*b*) Varillas, *Hist. de* Louis *XII. liv.* 1. *p.* 21.

(*c*) *Which was that* Lewis *XII abstain'd from Consummation, Id. ibid.*

(*d*) *Journal des Savans, for* [illegible]*h o*[illegible]*ust* [illegible] *in* [illegible]*-tract of the Life of Queen* Joan *of* France, *written by* Lewis de Bony *a Jesuit.*

(*e*) Louis de Bony.

(*n*) *Nouvelles de la Repub. des lettres, for* Sept. 1684. *pag.* 755.

(*f*) *Mezerai Abregé Chronolog. tome* 4. *pag.* 418.

(*g*) *Hilarion de Coste*, Eloges des Dames illustres, tome 2. *pag.* 20. *says, that* Lewis *XIII. knowing that God works continual Miracles at the Tomb of Queen* Joan, *wrote several times to the Pope, desiring that he wou'd declare her Sainted, and that the Pope named Commissioners to take Information of the Miracles.*

(*b*) *Anselme ubi supra, pag.* 126.

(*i*) *Id. ib. p.* 126. *Mezerai ubi supra, says the* 18.

(*k*) To Trivalcio.

(*l*) Mezerai *ubi supra, p.* 420. *ad ann.* 1500.

(*m*) *They betray'd* Lewis Sforza *into the Hands of the* French *tho' they were in his Pay. See Mezerai ibid. p.* 421. *ad ann.* 1500.

(*n*) *Mezerai, ibid. pag.* 439. *ad ann.* 1504.

(*o*) *Id. ibi pag.* 446.

(*p*) *Id. ib. ad ann.* 1507.

(*q*) *Ibid. ad ann.* 1508.

(*r*) *Ibid. pag.* 447.

(*s*) Louis *Helian.*

(*t*) *See the Preface to this Oration in the* French *Translation published in* 1677. *and bound up with the* French *Translation of* Squittinio della liberta Veneta. *All this was reprinted in* Holland, *together with the History of the Government of* Vienna, *written by Mr.* Amelot de la Houssaye. (*u*) *He instances in a good number.* make

the ſole Glory (*E*) of humbling this Power, which was grown formidable and odious to all its Neighbours. After ſo noble a Succeſs, a League was formed againſt this Monarch, by the Intrigues of the Pope [a], who was not only a great Warrior, but alſo a refined Politician. *Lewis* ſo confounded this Confederacy, that if the Duke *de Nemours* had not been killed in the Battle of *Ravenna*, this Haughty and Warlike Pope, had been forced to ſeek a Sanctuary (*F*) out of *Rome*. *France* would even have depoſed him, notwithſtanding the Death of the Duke *de Nemours*, if almoſt all *Europe* had not conſpired againſt her. Never was ſeen againſt a ſingle Kingdom,

[a] Julius II. See his Article.

make a Collection and ſummary Abridgment of all the Venetian *Hiſtories and Chronicles, which I have reduced to Three principal Points; by which I have found, that if any Prophecies, Divinations, or Prognoſticks of their Ruin have been divulged, it has been by the Foreſight and Pre-admonition of the juſt Judgment of God, which I pretend to prove by the aboveſaid Three Points or Articles.* It's worth while to obſerve all this Bluſter, becauſe it ſerves to diſcover, 1. The Oſtentation of Nations, who ſee a ſucceſsful beginning of their Enterprizes. 2. The Credulity with which People collect and apply Prognoſticks. 3. The Speedineſs wherewith Providence confounds theſe Factious and Superſtitious Diſcourſes; for the Republick of of *Venice* ſoon recovered it ſelf.

(*E*) *Almoſt the ſole Glory of humbling.*] The *Venetians* ſaw him(*a*) 'of their ſide the Mountains, with 'Forty Thouſand Men, beginning the War with 'em, and the Pope at the ſame time thundering 'againſt 'em with Excommunications, which make 'great Impreſſions upon People, when ſeconded by 'the Terror of Arms. The King having paſſed 'the River *Adda*, purſued their Army ſo cloſely, 'as to fight it the Fourteenth Day of *May*, and 'gained that memorable Battle of *Giera-d'Adda*, 'near the Village of *Aignadel*, four Miles from *Caravaz*. Their Infantry were all cut to Pieces, and 'their General *Alviana* having loſt an Eye, was 'taken Priſoner. In Fifteen Days time, the King, 'almoſt without ſtriking Stroke, reduced all the 'Places they had kept from him. He might have 'farther taken *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Verona*, *Treviſo*, 'and all the Places that belonged to the Empire 'or the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if his Juſtice had not 'exceeded his Ambition. He ſent back the Deputies of all theſe Towns, who brought him the 'Keys, to the Emperor, who received 'em under 'Obedience, and put Garriſons in 'em. The Pope 'had marched an Army of Ten or Twelve Thouſand Men, into *Romagna*. King *Ferdinand* had 'only a ſmall Naval Force in the Gulph, and waited 'to make his Markets of 'em, as indeed he did by 'the Labour, and at the Expence of the *French*. 'Now the Loſs (*b*) of the ſingle Battle of *Aignadel*, 'put the State of *Venice* into ſuch a Conſternation, 'that deſpairing to keep any thing on the *Terra firma*, they reſolved to ſhut themſelves up in the 'Iſlands of their Gulf, and in this Deſpair commanded all the Governours of the Places that 'had belong'd to the Pope, or *Ferdinand*, to open 'their Gates to 'em, and recalled their Magiſtrates 'from *Verona*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, and other Places, 'to which the Emperor had Pretenſions. Thus 'you ſee how theſe Three Potentates, by the 'Valour of the *French*, rather than by their own 'Forces, recovered all that had been taken from 'em; and how the Ambition of the *Venetians*, by 'keeping no Bounds themſelves, ſaw thoſe of their 'Dominions in a Trice reduced to the very brink of 'their Canal. You'll tell me, 'tis a *French* Hiſtorian that ſays this, who may be ſuſpected to flatter *Lewis*, in attributing to him all the Effects of the League of *Cambray*. Let us therefore cite *Paulus Jovius*, who acknowledges that the Emperor had ſent little more than Envoys, when the *French* Army had already confined all the *Venetian* Forces within their Canals. This Hiſtorian, to excuſe the Pope for abandoning the League, and reuniting with the *Venetians*, repreſents his Action as the only means of preſerving *Italy*. He does not ſay, that there was any thing to be apprehended from the Emperor, or the King of *Spain*, but only ſpeaks of *Lewis* XII. His Expreſſions are very ſtrong. (*c*) *In præaltis animi receſſibus graviores cauſa pontificem cunctis ſenſibus peracrem, ſtrenuum, indomitum vehementer excitabant, ut ſaluti Italiæ maturè proſpiceret, diligentiſſimeque caveret, ne deletis Venetis, impotenti demum barbaro foret ſerviendum. Namque Ludovicus ubi uno ſecundo prælio Venetas opes contrivit, ac adjunctis tot urbibus continentis, gentem adverſo rerum ſucceſſu conterritam intra paludes, ipſaſque Venetas circumflui maris beneficio permunitas compulit, cunctis formidandus videbatur: præſerat: præſertim quum ad id bellum Maximilianus Cæſar nihil ferè præter legatos & Auguſti nomen attuliſſet. Noverat Julius Galli regis ingenium proferendi imperii maximè avidum: noverat inexhauſtas Gallorum opes: videbat florentiſſimum Mediolanenſium imperium exactis ſortibus Galliæ attributum; Ligures verò ſuos, armis planè domitos, ac arce cervicibus impoſita in ſervitutem redactos. Porrò Venetos, quorum toto orbe terrarum paulò antè ſummas & inveterata fuiſſet auctoritas, unius horæ momento, copiis, imperio, ac dignitate penitus eſſe ſpoliatos. Quibus rebus adductus (uti pium æquiſſimumque & verè Italum pontificem decebat) Venetos, ne ſe tantis fluctibus obrutos, planè demerſos, ac penitus extinctos vellet, ſuppliciter deprecantes, ſublevandos cenſuit.*

(*F*) *Seek a Sanctuary out of* Rome.] Even before *Gaſton* (*d*) *de Foix*, that Thunderbolt of War, who probably would have excelled the two *Scipio's*, if he had lived as long as they; before, I ſay, he had gotten the Victory of *Ravenna*, *Julius* II. was upon the Point of leaving *Rome*, that he might not fall into the Hands of the *French*; and he had abandoned it, if *Lewis* XII. had not ſuffered himſelf to be inchanted by the Charms of Superſtition. This we learn from *Mezerai*. (*e*) *In this Conſternation, feeling no Security for him in Rome, if the Victorious Army of the King advanced, he had thoughts of propoſing an Accommodation, but when he found that the King, hamper'd with troubleſome Scruples of his Wife, had given Orders to* Trivultius, *to make no Attempt upon the Lands of the Church, he ſhewed himſelf more intractable and implacable than ever.* The Victory of *Ravenna* caſt *Rome* into a like Conſternation, though the Commander, who was moſt to be feared, had loſt his Life in the Battle. (*f*) And the Pope was ſupplicated to embark as ſoon as he could, and betake himſelf to Flight. The Charms of the ſame Superſtition, gave him new Confidence once more, and delivered him from Danger. (*g*) *The Aſtoniſhment was ſo great in* Rome, *that the Cardinals in a Body came and ſupplicated the Pope to make Peace with the King.* Ferdinand *and the* Venetians *having given him a little Heart, he had recourſe to his ordinary Artifices, which were to amuſe the King, by Propoſitions of Accommodation, and to put the Ruin upon him, who from Motives of Conſcience, did by her Caveſſes, Intrigues, and Importunities, frequently diſarm him, and cool his Courage.* Who would not pity the Fate of *Lewis* XII. who had ſo dangerous a Domeſtick Enemy, in the Perſon that was moſt dear to him? This is a ſtrong Confirmation of what I have ſaid above (*h*) concerning the Scruples of *Lewis* VII. Nothing's ſo capable of ſtopping an Army ready to lay an Enemy under Foot, or reaching to gather the Fruits of an important Victory, as the Artifice or Bigotry of a Confeſſor. 'Tis ſaid indeed, that *Lewis* XII. once impoſed Silence on his Wife, who continually importuned him; (*i*) *How now, Madam, ſaid he, do you think that you are wiſer than ſo many famous Univerſities, who have approved the Council of* Piſa? *Don't your Confeſſors tell you, that Women are to be ſilent in the Church?* But what could it ſignifie to ſay this once? A Woman ſo tenderly beloved by her Husband, as *Anne* of *Bretaigne* was, is not diſcouraged at Three or Four Refuſals. She ſtill returns to the Charge, till her Demands are granted. Theſe are Birds of the Bed, or the Night,

[b] *Id. ib. pag.* 448.

[c] *Paulus Jovius in vita Leonis X. lib.* 2. *pag.* 73, 74.

[a] *Mezerai, ibid. ad ann.* 1509.

[d] *This is the ſame with the Duke de Nemours.*

[e] *Mezerai ubi ſupra pag.* 457. *ad ann.* 1512.

[f] Erant plerique adeo mente conſternati, ut Julio veluti deſperatis rebus ab Oſtia triremibus fugiendum eſſe trepide ſtuderent. *Jovius in vita Leonis X. lib.* 2. *p.* 107.

[g] *Mezerai, ibid. pag.* 460.

[h] *In the Remarks H. of the Article* Lewis VII.

[i] *Mezerai, Hiſt. de France, tome* 2. *pag.* 890, 891.

Kingdom, ſuch a Concourſe (G) of Enemies, ſo that it muſt be confeſſed, *France* ſaw it ſelf reduced to great Extremities [a]. But beſides its being very Glorious for *Lewis* XII. to have been ſo much the Terror of his Neighbours, as that they ſhould believe it impoſſible, without an unanimous Oppoſition, to ſtop his Carreer; he had another Glory of diſſolving this formidable League (H), by his Negotiations. The Peace he made with the *Engliſh*, contributed much to it. 'Tis true, that by Accident it became fatal to him, having engaged him in a Marriage, which did him more Miſchief, than an Hundred Thouſand Men could have done: for this Prince having eſpouſed *Henry* VIII's Siſter, a very amiable Princeſs, gave himſelf up too much (I) to the Pleaſures of Matrimony. He did not Proportion his conjugal Benevolence either to his own Strength or Age, but to the Youth of his Spouſe, to whom he paid it. Having only had Daughters by his former Queen, he earneſtly deſired that this might give him a Succeſſor. He quickly wore out in that Exerciſe, the Niceneſs of his Conſtitution. He [b] conſummated the Marriage the 10th. of *October* 1514, and died of a Niceneſs the 1ſt. of *January* [c] 1515, in the 53d. Year of his Age [d]. without being able by ſo many Efforts ſo prejudicial to his Life, to get the Queen with Child. This was very happy for *France*; for if the Queen had brought him a Son, inſtead of *Francis* I. they would have had an Infant King, who would have been (K) perhaps a weakly Prince all his Life. *Lewis* XII. was ſo well inclined to promote the Welfare of his Subjects, that he deſerved the Sirname of *Father of the People*, an Elogy a Thouſand Times more glorious than that of the Great, the

[a] *Mezerai Abregé Chronol. tome 4. p. m. 470.*
[b] *Beginning the Year from the 1ſt of January.*
[c] *Mezerai, ib. p. 471.*

Night, whoſe warbling is much to be feared, it perſwades ſooner or later. The Hiſtorian (a) whom I have cited, obſerves, that *ſome Prieſts*, who governed this Queen's Conſcience, *ſo filled her Soul with Scruples, that ſhe never ceaſed to importune her Husband.* Had *Juvenal* known ſuch a Caſe, he'd have bid People beware of a Superſtitious, more than of (b) a learned Wife. The Queen we ſpeak of, obſtinately maintained her Point, the her Husband was forced to grant her all ſhe de red, that is, to make a Sordid Submiſſion to the Court of *Rome*. Here's another Paſſage of *Mezerai*. (c) *The Spirit of the King bore up againſt all theſe Adverſities, but he had one Domeſtick Trouble, which was greater than what all his Enemies gave him. This was his own Wife, who tormented with Scruples common to her Sex, could not ſuffer him to be at Variance with the Pope, or to ſupport the Council againſt him. As ſhe continually ſtun'd him upon theſe two Points, he was frequently forced for Peace ſake, to ſtop the current of his Arms, when his Affairs went beſt, and he was upon the Point of bringing* Julius *to Reaſon. At laſt, being totally vanquiſhed by her Importunities, and by the Remonſtrances of his Subjects, whom ſhe excited on all Sides, he renounced his Council of Piza, and adhered to that of* Lateran, *by his Proxies, who cauſed his Mandate to be read the 8th. Seſſion of the 14th. of December, the Pope preſiding* (d).

(a) *Mezerai, ibid. pag. 891.*
(b) Non habeat matrona tibi quæ juncta recumbit, dicendi genus; aut curtum ſermone rotato Torqueat [illegible] ſciat omnes. *Juvenal. Satyra, 6. v. 446.*
(c) *Mezerai, Abregé Chronolog. tom. 4. p. 469. ad ann. 1513.*
(d) *See the Article* Julius II. *Remark* G.

(G) *Againſt a ſingle Kingdom, ſuch a Concourſe of Enemies.*] *Lewis* XII. had at one time a War to maintain againſt the Pope, the Republick of *Venice*, *Spain*, and *England*; or againſt the Pope. *England*, the Emperor, and the *Swiſs*; and for an Over-charge, he was to maintain a miſerable (e) dethroned King, who brought him no other Aſſiſtance than the Juſtice of his Cauſe, which ſignified nothing: This is a common caſe enough.

(H) *By his Negotiations.*] *France* (f) was then in greater Danger than it had been in of a long Time before. For on one Hand, the *Switz*, extreamly fluſhed with the Victory of *Novara*, entered it by the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and he (g) with the *Engliſh*, attacked it on the ſide of *Picardy*. The *Switzers* beſieged *Dijon* with Twenty Five Thouſand Men, to which the Emperor had joined the Nobility of *Franche Comte*, and ſome *German* Cavalry, commanded by *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*. *La Trimouille* having defended it Six Weeks, thought it adviſable to divert the Courſe of this Torrent, which after the taking of the Place would have overflowed all to the Gates of *Paris*, than render it more violent by Oppoſition. He entred into a Negotiation with 'em, and managed it ſo well, as to ſend 'em back into their own Countries, undertaking that the King ſhould pay Six Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and renounce the Counties of *Piſa*, and the Dutchy of *Milan*. He had no preſs Orders to grant 'em theſe Conditions; he thought he ought to do it for the ſaving of *France*, and gave 'em Six Hoſtages, Two Lords, and Four Citizens (h). At the ſame time, towards the middle of *July*, the Emperor and the King of *England* had beſieged *Terouanne* with above 50000 Men. The *French* Army ſucceſsfully enough, threw a Convoy of Proviſion and Ammunition into the Place; but upon their Return, not being ſufficiently upon their Guard, they were charged and routed. The Battle was fought the 18th. of *Auguſt*, near *Guinegaſte*. 'Tis called the *Battle of the Spurs*, becauſe on that Occaſion, the *French* made more uſe of their Spurs than of their Swords. *Terouenne* (i) capitulated Fifteen Days after. *Tournay* quickly ſurrendred. A Peace came ſeaſonably after theſe Operations, which was concluded (k) at *London* the 2d. of *Auguſt* 1514.

(e) *Mezerai, Abregé Chronolog. tom. 4. p. 469. ad ann. 1513.*
(f) *See the Article* John d'Albert, *King of* Navarre.
(g) *Mezerai, ibid. p. 467. ad ann.* That's *to ſay, the Emperor.*

(I) *Gave himſelf up too much to the Pleaſures of Matrimony.*] *Guicciardin* and *Paulus Jovius* make this Obſervation. *Cælibi Ludovico*, ſays (l) the latter, *ſupra ſolemne pacis ac amicitiæ fœdus, Mariæ Henrici regis ſororis eximiæ venuſtatis virgo deſponderetur. Qua in Galliam perducta, Ludovicus incredibili ſumptu & mira ludorum varietate nuptias celebravit. Sed dum ætatis & valetudinis quæ ei tum erat tenuiſſimæ, penè oblitus, intemperantius (ut ferunt) procreandis liberis operam daret, concepta edaci febricula non multos poſt dies interiit.* Theſe are *Guicciardin*'s Words: (m) *Le re di Francia, mentre che dando cupidamente opera alla bellezza eccellente & alla età della nuova moglie, giovane di diciotto anni, non ſi ricorda dell' età ſua, e debilità della compleſſione, oppreſſo da febbre, e ſupravenendogli accidenti di fluſſo, parti quaſi repentinamente della vita preſente, havendo fatto memorabile il primo giorno dell' Anno M. D. XV. con la ſua morte.* *Mezerai* agrees with theſe two *Italians*. 'Many believed, *ſays he* (n), that his too 'frequent careſſing the young Queen, was the 'cauſe of his Death. Mr. *Varillas* (o) obſerves, 'that the Phyſicians and Courtiers, who ſaw him 'marry again, jointly foretold, that he would not 'long ſurvive this ſecond Match.

(h) *Mezerai, ſays in this Place*, that the King having refuſed to ratify the Treaty, they run a great Riſk of loſing their Heads. The Fear the *Swiſs* were under of loſing the great Sums which he offered 'em, ſaved the Life of theſe Innocents.
(i) *Id. ib. pag. 408.*
(k) *Ibid. pag. 470.*
(l) *Paulus Jovius in vita Leonis X. lib. 3. p. 146.* In the 14th. Book of his Hiſtory he ſpeaks thus: *Sed Rex ætate provecta—— quum intemperantius puellaribus complexibus indulſiſſet, in febrim incidit, nec multo poſt invaleſcente etiam profluvio ventris extinctus eſt.*
(m) *Guicciardin, l. 12. fol. 351. verſo.*
(n) *Mezerai, hiſt. de France, tom. 2. p. 872.*
(o) *Varillas hiſt. de Louis XII livre 11. p. m. 387.*

(K) *Who would have been a weakly Prince all his Life.*] We don't lay down this as infallible, but only as probable, grounding on the Reaſon aſſigned by good Authors, of the Infirmities of *Charles* VIII. '(p) There is no Reaſon to doubt, 'that *Charles* VIII. was of ſo weak a Conſtitu'tion, as we have ſaid, ſince *Comines* aſſures us, 'that this Prince was always (1) *infirm* 'in Body and Mind, and *Gaguin* (2) has 'gone farther than he, in ſaying, *teneris atque* 'imbecillibus membris adeo Carolus fuit, *ut ſedulo* 'ducei illum & geſtari molliter priuſquam ſolide incedere oporteret. Which we may reaſonably believe, proceeded from the great Age of his Father, ſince, according to *Dominicus Mancinus*'s Obſervation,

(p) *Naudé, Addition à l'hiſtoire de Louis XI. pag. 41.*
(1) *Book 8 ch. 13.*
(2) *Initio lib. 11.*

'Proms

the Auguſt, the Magnificent, the Hardy, *&c.* He bore Satyrs (*L*) againſt his own Perſon with much Patience, but not againſt the Queen. He paſſionately loved this Princeſs, and had Conſiderations for her, which were prejudicial to his State. She filled him with Scruples [a] which were not to be claw'd off, and which were ſerviceable to *Julius* II. the moſt Mortal Enemy that ever *France* had in *Italy*: Bating this, ſhe was a great Queen, (*M*) and of admirable Chaſtity. There were many good Sayings [β] aſcribed to *Lewis* XII. I (*N*) ſhall mention one of 'em. I ſhall alſo give

[a] *See the Remark F.*

[β] *See* Mezerai, *Hiſtoire de France, to.* 2. *pag.* 873. 874. & Varillas *Hiſtoire de* Louis *XII. Book* 11. *pag.* 395. *and the following.*

'Pronus (3) *in cunos Ludovicus annos*
'*Cum daret vires animo ſenectus*
'*Corpori auferret, meruit decoram*
'*Gignere prolem.*

'Now amongſt the Evils of old Age, this has 'been always reckoned one of the principal.

(3) *In Carmine de prima ætate Caroli* 8.

'(4) *Coïtus jam longa oblivio, vel ſi*
'*Conteris, jacet exiguus cum ramice nervus.*

(4) Juvenalis *ſatyra* 10.

'Inſomuch that after the uſe of Medicines called 'by the Phyſicians *Entatica*, and a Thouſand a-'morous Incentives,

'*Incendi jam frigidus ævo*
'*Laomedontiades, vel Neſtoris hernia poſſit.*

'a good Off-ſpring can't be expected from this 'Conjunction, becauſe, as *Galen* affirms, (5) *Quæ* '*florentem ætatem vel præcedunt ætates vel ſe-*'*quuntur, aut plane ſemen non effundunt, aut certe* '*infœcundum, aut male fœcundum emittunt.* Which 'in effect was found true in *Charles* VIII. who 'had all the Inconvencies above-mentioned from 'the old Age of his Father.

(5) *Initio* 2. *de ſanit. tuenda.*

(*L*) *Satyrs againſt his own Perſon, but not againſt the Queen.*] For this we'll cite *Brantom*'s Memoirs: *The King*, (*a*) ſays he, *had that Conſideration for* Anne *of* Britany *his Wife, that being one day told, how the Clerks of the* Baſoche du Palais, *and the Scholars had acted Plays, into which they brought the King and his Court, and all the Grandees, he made no more of it, than to ſay that they muſt paſs their time, and that he allowed 'em to ſpeak of him and his Court, but not irreverently; eſpecially he bid 'em forbear ſpeaking of the Queen his Wife in any manner whatever; otherwiſe he would have 'em all hanged. Thus you ſee what Honour he paid her.* I add to this Paſſage theſe Words of *Caſtor*: '(*b*) Our *Lewis* XII. who deſerved the 'Title of *Father of his People*, Was not he acted 'in a full Theatre in his good City of *Paris*, and 'repreſented as an inſatiable Miſer, who drank in 'a great Gold Goblet, without being able to 'quench his unreaſonable Thirſt? He praiſed the 'Invention, and made himſelf as merry as others, 'and perhaps was glad that *his* love of Riches, 'which had never given the leaſt of his Subjects 'occaſion to cry, furniſh'd 'em with a Subject of 'Laughter and agreeable Diverſion. In general this Monarch was of ſo ſweet and *debonaire* a Temper, that the Rigour he exerciſed againſt the Duke of *Milan*, was thought to be of Divine Appointment. (*c*) *He cauſed him to be removed from* Lions *to* Loches, *where he was ſhut up for Ten Years together to his Death, with a Rigor ſo contrary to the Mercy of this good Prince, that it was believed to be a viſible Chaſtiſement of God.* This miſerable Duke of *Milan* was ſhut up in an Iron Cage, where he had not ſo much as the Conſolation of being able to read or write. This one ſevere Action made many conclude, that *Lewis* was of a cruel Temper. (*d*) *Eum tamen previcacis obſtinatæque naturæ, & proinde ſavum & inexorabilem pleriique exiſtimarunt, vel ob id præcipue, quod Ludovicum Sfortiam erepto omni ſcribendi, & quæ cuperet legendi ſolatio, ferratæ in cavea hominum miſerrimum mori coegiſſet.*

(*a*) Brantome *Memoires des Dames illuſtres, pag.* 11.

(*b*) *Caſtor, Lettres, tome* 1. *pag.* 728.

(*c*) Mezerai *ubi ſupra, pag.* 421. *ad ann.* 1500.

(*d*) Paulus Jovius, *Hiſtor. lib.* 14. *ſub fin.*

(*M*) *A great Queen, and of admirable Chaſtity.*] You may ſee her Eulogy in *Brantome*, (*e*) and in (*f*) *Hilarion de Coſte*, I only point to theſe Originals; but I ſhall do more as to *Peter de St. Julian*, whom I ſhall copy concerning a very curious Fact: *Queen* Anne, ſays he, (*g*) *Dutcheſs of* Britany, *and Madam* Anne of France, *Dutcheſs of* Bourbonnois, *the former twice Queen of* France, *and the latter Daughter to King* Lewis XI. *and Regent in* France, *during the Minority of King* Charles VIII. *her Brother, ſo vertuouſly baniſhed Immodeſty, and planted Honour in the Hearts of the Ladies and Gentlewomen, Citizens Wives, and all other ſorts of* French *Women, that they who were known to have blemiſhed their Honour, were ſo diſgraced and degraded, that the Vertuous Women would have thought they injured their Reputation, ſhould they ſuffer 'em in their Company.* I don't think there was a ſurer way to make Virtue flouriſh than this. If once it were the Faſhion for all Women of good Reputation to refuſe the Company of thoſe who were ſuſpected of Gallantries, Wou'd any of our Ladies venture to diſhonour themſelves? It would be eaſie, in my Opinion, for Queens to place their Sex upon a good foot; they need only baniſh the Ladies their Preſence, who were accuſed upon ſufficient grounds: In a Word, they need only imitate *Anne* of *Britany*. A Modern Author (*h*) points out the moſt fruitful Source of our Ages Corruption, when he ſays, that whereas heretofore a Woman who was jealous of her Reputation, would have ſcrupled the Company of another, whoſe Vertue was ſuſpected, at preſent the ſame Reſpect is ſhewn to thoſe of an irregular Conduct, and to thoſe of a regular. 'Tis diſcouraging (*i*) Virtue, to rob it of its temporal Recompence, which is done by paying the ſame Reſpects and Civilities to a Woman of a loſt Reputation, as to another of Virtue and Honour: This is almoſt the paſs that things are come to. (*k*) *In effect, what can we inſtance that is eaſier obtained by thoſe who are continually on their Guard, than by others who are under ſome Diſgrace? Do the former go more confidently than others to great Feaſts, or Ceremonial Meetings, or do they recieve greater Civilities at 'em? Is it any Obſtacle to a great Marriage Settlement, that one has been the Diſcourſe of a whole Nation? Is one leſs praiſed in an Epiſtle Dedicatory, or a Funeral Sermon? By no means; and we may ſay with* Solomon *upon all this, That the ſame thing happens to him that ſacrificeth, and to him that ſacrificeth not.* See the Remark *C* of the Article *Gonzague* (*Eleonorade.*)

(*e*) *Ubi ſupra*, à *pag.* 1. *uſque ad* 31.

(*f*) *Vies des Dames illuſtres, tome* 1. *at the beginning.*

(*g*) Peter de St. Julien, *Antiquitez de Maſon, apud Hilarion de Coſte, ubi ſupra, pag.* 54, 55.

(*h*) *La Chetardye, Inſtruction for a young Princeſſe. See the Nouv. de la Rep. des lettres, Octobre,* 1985. *art.* 1. *p.* 1075.

(*i*) *Nouvelles de la republique des lettres, ibid. pag.* 1076.

(*k*) *Ibid.*

To return to Queen *Anne* of *Britany*: Her Chaſtity was not unſerviceable to the ſupporting her lofty Humour. Theſe are the Words of one of her Panegyriſts: (*l*) "I am not ignorant that 'ſome (6) have written, that this good King find-'ing his Princeſs was very fond of Ruling, let her 'peaceably govern her Dutchy of *Britany*; and 'underſtanding that ſhe was carrying on ſome In-'trengues againſt his Inclination and Service, he 'would not however reſent it, ſaying to thoſe that 'preſt him ſo it: Some Allowance is to be made to 'a Chaſte Woman. There are thoſe who had ra-'ther their Wives were given to Gallantry, pro-'vided they were ſubmiſſive, than have 'em, (*m*) Chaſte, and Imperious with all: *Lewis* XII. was not of this Humour. See the Tenth Satyr of *Boileau*, in the place, where he ſpeaks of the Price, at which a Virtuous Wife knows how to rate her Modeſty.

(*l*) *Hilar. de Coſte ubi ſupra, to.* 1. *p.* 6.

(6) *A. Perron & other Hiſtorians.*

(*m*) Malo Venuſinum quam te Cornelia, mater Gracchorum, ſi cum magnis virtutibus affers Grande ſupercilium. *Juvenal. ſat.* 6. *v.* 166.

(*N*) *I ſhall only mention one of his Sayings.*] (*n*) "After the League of *Cambray*, the *Veneti-'ans* made a Deputation to him to endeavour to 'bring him off. The Senator, who was the chief 'of the Embaſſy, made him a Speech full of the 'Wiſdom of that Republick; and *Lewis*, who 'would neither contradict, nor grant what he de-'manded, anſwered pleaſantly, I'll play ſuch a 'Number of Fools againſt your Wiſe Men, that all 'their Wiſdom ſhall not be able to reſiſt 'em; for 'the Fools are a ſort of People that ſtrike every 'where, without minding where, or underſtand-'ing any reaſon for it. He might well ſay that he would oppoſe Fools to the *Venetians*: for all that

(n) *Varillas, Hiſt. de* Louis *XII. Book* 11. *p.* 397.

alſo give the Deſcription (O) of his Perſon, as we find it in a Book of *Bartholomew Cocles.*

LEWIS XIII. King of *France*, Son and Succeſſor to *Henry the Great*, was born at *Fontainbleau*, the 17th of *September*, 1601. and began his Reign the 14th of *May*, 1610. If the Ten firſt Years of his Reign were diſturbed (A) by various Factions, which ſometimes degenerated into Civil Wars; the Twenty-three others were no leſs agitated by Religious or Foreign Wars: ſo that what *Job* [a] ſays in general, of all Men, is applicable in a more particular manner to this Prince. His Reign, which was ſo little peaceable, was extreamly glorious; nor had *France* of a long time gained ſo many Signal Victories as it did under him: and yet in the midſt of all theſe Triumphs and Glories, this Monarch may be ſaid to have been very (B) unhappy: for his own Family threw him perpetually into Diſcontents. He

[a] *See* Job. Ch. 7. v. 1.

(a) Si Carolus VIII. & Galli tum temporis ita fuiſſent animati, ſicut eſt *Ludovicus* XIV. & ejus conſilium, cujus inſtituta rationeſque fere ſunt mathematicæ, actum fuiſſet de Italia, cujus nulla ampliùs erat vis militaris. Sed ut Galli hanc expeditionem impetu magis quam conſilio, fati non prudentiæ ductu ſuſceperant & executi erant, ita mirum non eſt, idem fatum, deficiente conſtantia, illos deſtituiſſe. *Ulricus Huber Hiſtoriæ civilis Tomo 2. pag.* 112, 113. *Editione Franeker*, 1992.

(b) *Pag.* 44.

(c) *This Book of* Naudé *was printed in* 1630.

(d) *Bartholomæus Cocles lib.* 2. *Phyſiog. quæſtio* 15.

(e) *Teſtament politique de Mr. de Louvois, pag.* 388.

(f) *Id. ib. pag.* 343.

(g) *Ibid. pag.* 388, 89.

that the *French* did in *Italy* under *Charles* VIII. and *Lewis* XII. was an Effect of that Martial Fury, which Foreigners themſelves own to be the Temper of the *French* Soldiers at the firſt Onſet. That Heat and Alacrity produce very good Succeſſes; but as their Generals were not Men of Brains, and very little Conduct was obſerved in the Affairs of *France*, their Conqueſts were as ſoon loſt as gained. There was not much Prudence at that time, either in the Head or Members of the Council. This it was that ſaved *Italy*, as has been lately acknowledged by a Famous Profeſſor (a) of *Frizeland.*

(O) *The Diſcription of his Perſon.*] *Naudé* has inſerted it in his Additions (b) to the Hiſtory of *Lewis* XI. and obſerves, that *he found it in a very ſcarce Book, which was printed* 120 *Years ago* (c). We ſhall ſee the Title of it in the Margin. (d) *Caput non magnum, acutum, frons anguſta, oculi groſſi eminentes, facies macra, capilli curti, nares amplæ & elevatæ, labra groſſa, & mentum acutum, collum curtum & ſubtile, humeri anguſti, manus & brachia ubtilia & longa, epiglottis eminens, furcula pectoris ſtricta, pectus anguſtum, ſtatura potius curva quàm recta, corpus colericum, & motus oculorum velox & ſurſum revolventes ſe, & crura ſubtilia.*

(A) *Various Factions which ſometimes degenerated into Civil Wars.*] When a Man examines the Hiſtory of *Lewis* the XIII's Reign, from the Beginning to the End, he's a thouſand times tempted to put himſelf theſe Queſtions: *But is it true, that I am reading the Tranſactions of* France? *Have I not before me a Book, wherein the Writer, from a Romantick Fancy, has thought fit to Characterize a mutinous People, a Nobility inclined to Rebellion, and to publiſh theſe Characters under the Name of* France, *to conceal that of ſome other Nation?* A Man is the more tempted to ask theſe Queſtions, who ſuffers himſelf to be prejudiced, either by the Railleries of Strangers, who repreſent the *French* as the Idolaters of Monarchy and of their Monarchs, or by the Elogies which ſeveral *French* Authors beſtow upon their own Nation, as if naturally dutiful to their Kings, from an unparallell'd Zeal and Loyalty. Nothing's falſer than theſe Railleries of Foreigners, and Encomiums of *French* Pens. The Author of Mr. *de Louvois*'s Political Teſtament, knew the Genius of the Nation much better; he lays it down, that the only and true way for *France* to avoid Civil Wars, is the abſolute Power of the Sovereign vigorouſly ſupported, and armed with all the neceſſary force to make it feared. *As for turbulent and rebellious People*, ſays he, (e) *it's certain there have been as many ſeen in* France, *in the preceding Reigns, and in the beginning of your Majeſty's, as in any other Country in the World.* He eſtabliſhes the ſame Maxim, when he makes this Reflection upon the *Engliſh*: '(f) 'Tis well known what Diſpoſition they are 'of at bottom, they are as inconſtant and unruly as moſt Nations; but when all is ſaid, they are 'not more ſo: 'Tis the Occaſions and the Form of 'their Government, the Impunity and the Means 'that are left in their Hands, which make them turbulent. We ſhou'd ſee, in other Kingdoms, Subjects who are in appearance the moſt Paſſive, 'grow Mutinous and Factious, if the Prudence, 'the Authority, and Vigour of their Sovereigns, 'did not keep 'em under, and cut off all Opportunities. Conſider how he reaſons upon the difference there is in *France*, betwixt this and the preceeding Reigns. (g) "What's become at 'preſent of thoſe Multitudes of turbulent and 'ſeditious Spirits? Have they not all the Pre'tences they ever had? Do not the Wars and o'ther Expences, with which your Majeſty is obliged 'to maintain the Luſtre of your Glory, conſtrain 'you to impoſe upon the People more exceſſive 'Taxes, than ever were raiſed by *Lewis* XI. Have 'not the Proteſtants been more provoked than 'under *Charles* IX. and *Lewis* XIII? Is not the 'Nobility heavier laden than ever? Does not the 'Clergy contribute to the Neceſſities of the State 'more than ever they have done, either in this 'Age or in all the Ages paſt? And has not your 'Majeſty as many Controverſies with the See of 'Rome as any of your Predeceſſor's ever had? and 'yet all is quiet and ſubmiſſive; there's no Revolt nor Treaſon heard of. War and Confuſions are 'kept off at a diſtance; whereas heretofore they were 'at home and in our Bowels---(b) Whence proceeds 'this difference? ---Whence comes this Change? 'From the difference wherewith your Majeſty 'manages the Royal Authority; from your Prudence to make a right Uſe of it, from your Skill 'in riding that brute Beaſt the People, which being 'unbridled, would run at random every way, whither 'its inſtinct drove it; but which is inſenſibly accuſtomed to be governed by a Bit and Bridle, 'and moves ſurer where it feels an even and ſtrait 'Rein. 'Tis abſolute Power that's the true and 'only Curb to check the intemperate Heat of a 'Blind and Capricious Multitude. He ſays in another place (i) "That the limited Authority of 'the Sovereign and of Republicks has more Inconveniences, and is ſubject to more unlucky 'Conſequences to the State and People than Arbitrary Power. Factions, Seditions, Tumults, 'Civil Wars, frequently do more Miſchief in 'one Year, than all the Exceſſes of an abſolute 'Monarch can cauſe in a whole Life. He may be miſtaken with reſpect to ſome Countries; but there is no Probability that he is miſtaken as to his own Nation, which is of ſuch a Genius, that the worſt State that can befal it, is to live under an effeminate and weak Government; in that Caſe every Gentleman is the Tyrant of his Village; every great Lord is the Tyrant of his Lordſhip, and nothing but Seditions and Inſurrections are to be heard of. (k) Read the *Hiſtory of France*, and eſpecially obſerve the Minorities, and you'll be convinced of what I have been ſaying; you'll find that the Character of this Nation is the very ſame that Mr. *de la Bruyere* gives of Children. (l)

(b) *Ibid. pag.* 392, 393.

(i) *Ibid. pag.* 383, 384.

(k) *See the Paſſage of* Coſtar *in the Remark P.*

(l) La Bruyere, *Caracteres de ce ſiecle, pag.* 438, 439. *Edit. de* Paris, 1694.

(B) *In the midſt of theſe---Glories this Monarch was very unhappy.*] A Modern Author willing to ſhew the Vanity of Humane Proſperities, makes uſe of Two great Examples; he runs over the Life of *Auguſtus*, and then proceeds in this manner: (m) "Let us come to 'the ſecond Inſtance, and behold the moſt 'glorious Potentate of this Age, with ſuch a 'Continuando of the Bleſſings of Heaven, as 'all the Earth has reaſon to be aſtoniſh'd at. 'It may eaſily be concluded that I mean *Lewis* XIII. whoſe Proſperities will doubtleſs be admired by thoſe who come after us, 'if they judge of 'em by the Luſtre of his 'Heroick Actions, by the Number of his 'Trophies, by the Extent of his Conqueſts, and 'by the Greatneſs of his Triumphs. In effect, 'whether you conſider the Monſters he has ſubdued at *home*, or caſt your Eyes on the Advantages he has every where reap'd abroad, you will 'be forced to confeſs, that *France* never had a 'more fortunate King than he. There's not a 'Frontier but he has far advanced into his Ene-

(m) *La Mothe le Vayer, Diſcours de la proſperité &. of his Works pag.* 328. *& the following Edit. of* Paris 1681. *in* 12.

He could not confide either in his (C) Mother, or Wife, or Brother; three Persons who suffered themselves to be governed by turbulent Factions, and ill-[illegible]tioned Spirits. His very Sisters were against him, especially she whom he had [illegible]ied to the King of *England*: For she received with open Arms all the Malec[illegible]s, and cherished her Husband's Inclination for the Interest of *Spain*. *Lewis* X[illegible] having not a Head strong enough to reign by himself, and suffering himself [illegible]e always led by Favourites, furnished but too many Pretences to unquiet Min[illegible]and if in the Necessity he found himself of depending on his Ministers, he [illegible]not at last fallen into the Hands of the great Cardinal *Richelieu*, he had run the Risk (D)

' mies Country. *France* has no Malignants now left in ' her; he has tamed their Pride, and confounded their ' Designs. And if you observe what has past on ' the Ocean, as well as the *Mediterranean*, you'll ' conclude, that all the Elements fought for us, ' under the Command of this Prince. Now the ' Instances of his good Fortune were no less con- ' spicuous in his domestick Affairs; and here ' doubtless he had great Advantages above *Au- ' gustus*. God gave him for a Companion of his ' Bed, a Princess, whose singular Goodness, toge- ' ther with many other extraordinary and truly ' heroical Vertues, might have made her beloved, ' tho' she had not been in other Respects one of the ' most perfect and most agreeable Persons of her ' Time. He saw himself the Father of two ' Sons, most worthy of his Affection; as being ' so beautiful and well-formed by Nature, that he ' could not wish 'em more accomplished; besides the ' Season in which he had 'em, ought to have render'd ' 'em still more dear to him. He was respe[illegible] ' all the World; and on what side soever he[illegible] ' himself in his *Louvre*, he saw nothing but the ' Testimonies of Love and Reverence. Could any ' thing then be wanting to his Felicity, to make it ' more entire, if we judge by Appearances? And ' yet with all this, what should we say, if by his ' own Confession, he never spent one Day without ' some Mortification, nor ever tasted in his Life ' a Joy that was not diluted with the Bitterness ' of Discontent? I shall here take care, not to com- ' mit the Fault of him, whom the *Athenians* ' treated so ill for having obliged 'em to deplore a ' second time the Misfortunes of their Allies, by ' representing 'em on the Stage. And indeed, my ' Imprudence would be greater than his, if I ' should at present enlarge on so ungrateful a ' Subject, as would be that of the cutting Cares, ' and continual Inquietudes of this Monarch. But ' however, since the last Words at the Point of Death, ' which the *Civilians* call Sacred, and which are ' reckoned Oracles in Mouths less sincere than his, ' have assured us, that his Satisfactions were never ' pure, nor his Pleasures exempt from Sadness and ' Affliction, may we not vvell conclude, that all ' his Happiness, as vvell as that of *Augustus*, had ' nothing real in it, and vvas only of the Nature ' of those Things, vvhich subsist no vvhere but in ' Opinion? I make no Reflections on this long Passage, though it vvere easie perhaps to find in it some Subject of Criticism: I shall content my self vvith observing, that vve here see the most con- vincing Proof imaginable of my Text. *Lewis* XIII. confesses he vvas unhappy; no Body could knovv this so well as himself, and he had no Reason to dissemble, in the Condition he vvas in. See in the Remark *E*, my Citation from Mr. *le Laboureur*.

(a) *La Mothe le Vayer, ib.* (b) Tiberius's *Succession of* Augustus, *was the Son of a Person who, the Truth is, declared against* Augustus, *during the War of* Perousa, *and afterwards endeavoured to form a Party in Favour of* Pompey's *Son, and last of all, joined with* M. Antony; *but soon after made his Peace with* Augustus, *and even made a Cession to him of his Wife.* Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. 4.

La Mothe le Vayer says one thing, which obliges me to give a short Supplement. ' *Augustus*, ' says he (a), had the Mortification to leave for ' his Heir to the greatest part of his Estate, and ' Successor to the Empire, the Son of his mortal ' Enemy. This is false (b); but 'tis true, that *Lewis* XIII. left the Regency of his Kingdom to a Person he heartily hated, and herein his Mortification, was greater than that of *Augustus* could have been. 'Tis easily guess'd why this Author did not carry on the Parallel between the Misfortunes of the *Roman* Emperor, and those of the King of *France* on this Head. The following Remark will acquaint us with the little Affection *Lewis* XIII. had for his Wife, whom yet he declared Regent.

(C) *He [illegible] not confide either in his Mother, or his W[illegible]r his Brother.* Here's just matter enough [illegible] three Heads of Division in this Remark.

I. *Lewis* XIII. for the good of his Kingdom, that is, to remove from factious Spirits, the Means of forming dangerous Cabals, was forced to give Orders for his Mother to depart *France*; nor did he come to these Extremities, till after he had rub'd through a long Course of Disturbances, in which the Royal Authority was but very scurvily treated. It was necessary more than once to subdue by Force of [illegible], the Partisans of *Mary de Medicis*.

II. As to his Wife, I refer you to the Memoirs of Mr. *de la Rochefoucaud* (c). ' I have been as- ' sured by Mr. *Chavigny* himself, says this Duke, ' that going to wait upon the King, as from the ' Queen, to beg Pardon for whatever might have ' been done; as also for having di[illegible]d him by ' her Conduct, beseeching hi[illegible]cularly not ' to believe, that she had any H[illegible] in the Affair ' of *Chalais*, or had ever listened to any Propositi- ' ons of Marrying Monsieur, after *Chalais* should ' have murdered the King; His Majesty answered ' Monsieur *de Chavigny*, without any Passion, In ' the Condition I'm in, I ought to pardon her, but ' I'm not obliged to believe her. Note, that the King was just expiring when he spake these Words. It's a Time, in which for the Gener[illegible] a Man speaks what he thinks, especially in M[illegible] ters where a Lye is of no use to him. We m[illegible] conclude then, he died fully perswaded, that his Wife was an Accomplice in a most Hellish Conspiracy, in which it was resolved to take him off, and to marry her to the Duke of *Orleans* his Successor. Now as the Affair of *Chalais* happened in the Year 1629, judge wh[illegible]her this Prince lived a few Years in Distrusts, [illegible]espect to this Queen, and in the Anguish o[illegible]cholly Resentment. Nor ought it any lou[illegible] thought strange, that she continued barren [illegible] so many Years. Could the most incontinent Husbands easily resolve to approach their Wives, if they believed 'em guilty of so black a Treason? It would require a great deal of time for a Prince to digest this Thought; his Confessor (d) must return again and again to the [illegible] Charge, even though a long Course of Years [illegible] should have seamed the Wound. Whether *Lewis* XIII. had Reason or no, it was the same thing. His Heart equally suffered. Mr. *de la Rochefoucaud* says (e), that the King, when he gave this Answer to Mr. *de Chavigny*, believed, that the Queen was still in a Correspondence with the Spaniard, *by means of Madam* de Chevreuse, *who was then at* Brussels. He observes also, that there were an Hundred Engines to be plaid, in order to procure the Regency for the Queen. ' (f) She ' believed the King very far from such a Thought, ' considering the little Inclination he had ever ' shewn for her——— (g) She [illegible] Monsieur, ' who had had but too many Proo[illegible] the King's ' Aversion, and who almost e[illegible] suspected, ' that he designed to exclude tha[illegible]n the Ma- ' nagement of Affairs, sought all possible Ways to ' prevent it. She never would have obtained the Regency, if the King must have left her in full Authority; but in hopes of leaving her only the [illegible]w of it, he past the Declaration. ' (h) He [illegible]r could consent to declare her Regent, nor [illegible]d he resolve to share the Authority betwixt [illegible] and his Brother. The Intelligences of which ' he suspected her, and the Pardon he had lately ' granted Monsieur upon a Treaty of *Spain*, held ' him under an Irresolution, which he could [illegible]

(c) *Memoires de Mr. de la Rochefoucaud*, p. 5.

(d) *Article* [illegible]ius, *Remark* B.

(e) *In his Memoirs*, pag. 3.

(f) *Memoirs de la Rochef. ibid.*

(g) *Ibid.* pag. 4 & 5.

(h) *Ibid.* pag. 4.

(D) at leaſt of his Crown; but this able Miniſter being obliged by his own Intereſt to ſupport the Authority of his Maſter, applied himſelf with ſo much Vigilance to break the Neck of the Cabals, that he ſoon made all their Deſigns vaniſh into Smoke. He was forced to behead ſome great Men; but this Severity (E) was abſolutely neceſſary at that time. Clemency, ſo uſeful on many other Occaſions, had been very pernicious in this We muſt not believe thoſe who venture to affirm, that People were put to Death, whoſe only Fault conſiſted in their having had the Misfortune to diſpleaſe

' have gotten over, if ſome Conditions in the ' Declaration which Cardinal *Mazarine* and Monſieur *de Chavigny* propoſed, had not furniſhed ' him with an Expedient, whereby he hoped to ' limit the Power of the Queen, and to make her ' in ſome Meaſure dependant upon the Council he ' deſigned to eſtabliſh †.

† *See on the whole matter, the Remark* V.

III. As to his Brother, all the World knows his falls and Relapſes; he was engaged in all ſorts of Conſpiracies, whole Provinces made Inſurrections in his Favour; he was in an Intelligence with *Spain*. In a Word, ſince the King believed him an Accomplice in the Affair of *Chalais*, he could not chuſe but look upon him with an Evil Eye: This Object brought to his Remembrance that a Deſign had once been formed to take away his Life, and marry his Widow to the Duke of *Orleans*, who was to have ſucceeded him. I don't know whether Jealouſie, mixed with all the other Diſcontents of *Lewis* XIII. but 'tis poſitively ſaid, that the Queen was highly civil to the Duke of *Orleans*. Let us hear what ſome Memoirs publiſhed in 1685, inform the World. (a) ' Monſieur made his Court daily to ' the Queen's, who reſided at *Paris* during the ' Siege of *Rochel*, carrying himſelf with a great ' deal of Freedom, even to the Reigning Queen, ' with whom he had always been in a good Underſtanding, and never obſerved overmuch Ceremony. When ſhe came into *France*, ſhe called ' him, Monſieur, both ſpeaking to him, and of ' him, and always continued that Style, with ' which ſome found fault, for as much as in Writing to him, ſhe obſerved the Style of Brother. ' During the ſhort Journey that the King had ' made to *Paris*, Monſieur having met the Queen ' one time as ſhe was coming from a Nine Days ' Devotion ſhe had made to obtain a Child, told ' her by way of Raillery, *Madam, you have been ſoliciting your Judges againſt me, I conſent you ſhould carry your Cauſe, if the King has credit enough.* As he is repreſented in theſe Memoirs, he had ſome need of the Advice that was given (b) the Duke of *Valois*. The ſame Book acquaints us, that the King was at leaſt as much diſpleaſed at his Brother's having Children, as at the Barrenneſs of the Queen. Hear what Alarms were given him upon the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans* with the Heireſs of *Montpenſier*. ' (c) *Tronſon*, Secretary ' to the Cabiner, and ſome other particular Servants of the King, who only conſidered the Intereſt of his Royal Perſon, and not that of the ' State, having repreſented to the King, of what ' dangerous Importance it was to him to marry ' Monſieur his Brother to a rich Heireſs, allied as ' ſhe was to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, which had heretofore aſpired to the Crown, and with ſo large a ' Revenue as was ſettled upon him; by which ' Means, his Majeſty having no Iſſue, would only ' be conſidered as a languiſhing King, and the ' Court, which is wholly conducted by Intereſt, ' would abandon him, to go over to Monſieur, as ' a vigorous Prince, who quickly promiſed an ' Heir, upon which every one might found his ' Hopes and Deſigns, which muſt needs be to the ' Prejudice of his Royal Perſon. His Majeſty was ' hereby ſo affected with Jealouſie, that Father *Souffrai* his Confeſſor, coming to wait on him one ' Morning in his Cloſet, his Majeſty juſt riſing out ' of his Bed, threw himſelf on his Neck all in ' Tears, telling him, that he knew to his Coſt, ' that the Queen his Mother would remember all ' her Life, what paſſed at the Death of Mareſchal ' *d'Ancre*, and that the Advantages ſhe procured ' to Monſieur, permitted him not to doubt, but ' that ſhe loved him much more than himſelf. ' The Father being much ſurprized at this Diſcourſe, indeavoured gently to heal this Diffidence in ' the King's Mind, and aſſured him to the contrary, &c. He was pacified, and the Marriage was concluded (d); from which quickly proceeded a Daughter: All this renewed the King's Spleen, and it was good luck for him, that his Siſter died a little after her Lying-in: However, he appeared to be greatly afflicted. See the Margin (e). He was very averſe ever after to a Second Marriage of his Brother.

(a) *Memoirs of the late Duke of* Orleans, *containing all that has paſt in* France, *from the Year* 1608. *to* 1636. *At* Amſterdam, *by* Peter Mortier, 1685, *in* 12.

(b) *See the Article of* Francis V. *Remark* B.

(c) *Memoires du Duc d'Orleans, pag.* 41.

(d) *In* 1626.

(e) *Ibid. pag.* 72.

(D) *He had run the Riſk at leaſt of his Crown.*] They who laid Siege to the Two Queens and Monſieur, had no Expectations under the Miniſtry of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, but had mighty Hopes, provided his Royal Highneſs ſhould aſcend the Throne. There were two Ways of placing the Crown upon his Head; one by making away with the King, the other by treating him like Don *Alphonſo*, King of *Portugal*. The ſecond Means could not eaſily be executed, in a Nation ſo jealous (f) of its Fundamental Laws, and under ſo vigilant and able a Miniſter as Cardinal *de Richelieu*. Therefore the other Expedient was agreed on, if it be true, that *Chalais* had the Deſign above-mentioned (g) in the Paſſage of Mr. *de la Rochefoucaud*. It was impoſſible to convince a great many People, but there was a moſt horrible Myſtery of Iniquity in Agitation, to give at once the Crown and the Queen to the Duke of *Orleans*. I know not what to think of it. See the Life of Cardinal *Richelieu*, printed at *Amſterdam* in 1694, *Tome* 1. *pag.* 304.

(f) *Note, that tho' this Nation is as ſubject as any to Revolts, yet there's always a powerful Party which ſticks cloſe to the rightful Prince in all Civil Wars.*

(g) *Pag.* 1894. *letter* c.

(E) *To behead ſome great Men; but this Severity was* ——— *neceſſary.*] Of all thoſe that were beheaded for Rebellion in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. none was ſo much lamented as the Duke (h) of *Montmorenci*. And truly he was a Lord of great Merit, adored in *Languedoc*, his Government, and admired by all *France*, as appeared by the Zeal with which they ſollicited his Pardon. But this was the very thing which in good Politicks ought to induce a Monarch, not to pardon his Treaſon. It was dangerous letting a Perſon live ſo generally admired, and who might ſo eaſily draw all *Languedoc* into a ſecond Rebellion. Had he done it at the time (i) that the *Spaniards* beſieged *Leucate*, what would have become of *France*? Don't tell me, that Gratitude would have fixed him to his Prince's Service, or the Weakneſs he had diſcovered in the Duke of *Orleans*, have cured his Fondneſs of Revolting in favour of him. Theſe are poor Reaſons. The Duke of *Montmorenci* received to favour, would never have been able to bear the Credit of the Cardinal, and would have taken his Meaſures a ſecond time to deſtroy him. He would have made his Advantage of the Teſtimonies, the Grandees and Provinces had given him of their extraordinary Eſteem, during his Impriſonment, &c. There was need of great Examples of Severity, under a Reign in which the *French* Nobility were ſo familiarized to this ſort of Conſpiracies, Inſurrections, and Correſpondencies with *Spain*, that one would think that the Idea of Infamy, or even of a Fault, did not enter into this ſort of Crimes. It would be in effect turning a Monarchical Government into Anarchy, to let ſuch Abuſes go unpuniſhed. Mr. *le Laboureur* relates a thing which is curious enough; to wit, that the King conſented to the Duke of *Montmorenci*'s Death, only from a Spirit of Servitude. I'll relate the whole Paſſage; becauſe it ſerves to ſhew, that *Lewis* XIII. with a Sceptre in his Hand, and the Crown on his Head, was under greater Conſtraints, and more unhappy, than if he had had Irons on his Feet. *This Reflection ought eternally to renew the Tears of* France, *upon the Deſtiny of* Henry *Duke of* Mommorenci, *and* Damuille, *Admiral and Mareſchal of* France, *only Son to the Conſtable, who fell rather by Misfortune than Inclination, into a ſmall Fault, and who was overwhelmed with all the*

(h) *He was beheaded at* Thouloufe *in* 1632. *See his Elogy.*

(i) *In* 1637.

displeaſe (E△) the firſt Miniſter. Poſſibly they might ſpeak more reaſonably, and the Charge would be ſevere enough, ſhould they ſay, there were ſome beheaded, whoſe Crimes had all gone unpuniſhed, if they would have adhered to his Intereſts. They who ſpake equitably, were content to complain in behalf of ſome [illegible] theſe unhappy People, that the Court had ſubmitted 'em to the moſt ſevere Inter[illegible]ions of the Law, and not mitigated their Puniſhment; they who liſtned onl[illegible] their [illegible]ſions,

Rigour of the Laws; though it had had no ill Conſequences, and though there was no danger of any ill effect from it: I ſay farther, though the King was to loſe by it the Ornament and Glory of his Court, the Honour of his Nobility, the Delight of his Kingdom, and what ſtill ought to be more dear to a great Prince, the moſt auguſt and worthy Subject of Clemency that will ever be ſeen. I have it from the Mouth of the late deceaſed Prince of Condé, that Lewis XIII. *expreſſed to him his Remorſes on his Death-Bed, not with Tears, but with Sobs, and conjured him to believe, that Violence had been done him in that unhappy Journey to Toloufe, which he made againſt his Will, and where againſt his Reſolution, he was overpowered by a Cloud of Pretences, or rather Legerdemains of State, which diſappeared after that fatal Tragedy, and left him under the moſt ſtinging Diſcontents which he had ever ſince concealed in his Boſom. Ah! my Couſin, ſaid he to him afterwards, this is not to reign, but rather to be the Slave of Tyranny, at leaſt to feel all the Pains of it in a lawful Royalty, to hear only ſiniſter Reports, and to be always in diſtruſt of thoſe who are neareſt to us, of our principal Officers, and of thoſe on whom we place our Affections; and to ſubmit and regulate our Conduct, by the Phantoms of Politicks, which are frequently only another's private Intereſt (a).*

(a) *Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Memoires de Caſtelnau, tom. 2. pag.* 152.

There are, I queſtion not, many Truths in this Diſcourſe. I'm perſwaded that Cardinal *Richelieu* more than once repreſented to the King his Maſter, the Deſigns of his Rebellious Subjects, greatly heightned and exaggerated; for in the numerous Conſpiracies that were formed in this Reign, there were many that deſigned only the Ruin of the Cardinal, and meant no harm either to the Perſon or Authority of the Prince; and yet his Eminence had the Policy (b) to inſinuate, and even to perſwade him, that they were contriving to take the Crown from off his Head, in favour of the Duke of *Orleans*. Hence it was that this Prince was brought to conſent to the taking off ſo many Heads. He underſtood theſe Illuſions in the Sequel, and ſecretly lamented them. He was to be pitied; but 'tis very probable, that he was ſenſible he could not deliver himſelf from one Slavery, without ſubmitting to another Yoak, ſtill more incommodious; and this was the Reaſon that hindered his diſplacing the Cardinal, though he really hated him. The removing of this Miniſter had delivered the King bound Hand and Foot, into the Power of the Duke of *Orleans*. They might perhaps have left him the Title of King; they might have governed in his Name; but all Affairs would have been managed according to the Caprices of this Duke's Favourites. 'Twould have been a ſtrange Government. The two Queens and their Creatures, the Duke of *Orleans* and his, would have perplexed and confounded all things, and no great Deſign could have been formed for the Glory of the Monarchy, and againſt the Intereſts of *Spain*; and if any great Events had happened, the King would have ſeen the Duke his Brother carry away all the Honour of 'em; a cruel Subject of Jealouſie, and a Thouſand Times harder to bear, than the Aſcendant of the Cardinal. We are not ignorant how often Jealouſie of Authority, made *Lewis* XIII. uneaſie. He fell ſick, when he was told, that the *Engliſh* had landed in the Iſle of *Rhe*; and could not go in Perſon to the Coaſt of *Poitou*. (c) *He was adviſed to ſend Monſieur his Brother as his Lieutenant-General.* Monſieur's firſt Enterprize having not ſucceeded well, the King wrote to him (d) *a Letter full of Reſentment, for having ſo lightly expoſed the Troops, without any Occaſion, and againſt the expreſs Orders of his Majeſty, which were only to keep things as a ſtand, and to hazard nothing till his Arrival. Perhaps, if Monſieur had ſucceeded in his firſt Attempt, he would have given greater Diſcontent; and it is believed that that Fear made the King anticipate the time of his perfect Recovery, that he might appear in his Camp as ſoon as poſſible.* Here follows a ſtill greater effect of the [illegible] Jealouſie. (e) *The King having declared the* [illegible] Orleans *General* (f) *of the Army in* Italy, *at the Sollicitation of the Queen his Mother, afterwards repented his having given him this Command, from an Apprehenſion, that his Brother might reap a great deal of Glory in* Italy, *which would eclipſe his own. This Thought ran in his Head to ſuch a degree, that it even broke his Sleep. Coming to* (g) Chaliot, *where the Cardinal was, he told him he could not ſuffer his Brother to be Generaliſſimo of the Army in* Italy, *and that a way ſhould be found to remove him from that Poſt. The Cardinal anſwered, That he knew but one way of getting this Command out of the Duke of* Orlean's *Hand, which was, that the King ſhould go himſelf into* Italy; *but if he took that Reſolution, it was neceſſary to depart in Eight Days at fartheſt. The King ſaid he would do it, and immediately prepared for his Expedition.* A Man muſt know but little of Princes, to deny that the Jealouſie they conceive againſt their Sons or Brothers, and in general againſt their Succeſſors, is not more afflictive [illegible], than the Chagrin of depending too much on the firſt Miniſter. See in *Brantome* (f) the furious Jealouſie of *Charles* IX. againſt his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, General of the Troops, that beat the Proteſtants at *Jarnac*, and at *Montcontour*. There is no doubt but it was a leſs Affliction to *Lewis* XIII. to be managed by Cardinal *Richelieu*; than it would have been to ſee his Brother, his Mother, or his Wife, in too great Credit at Court. The Creatures of theſe Three Great Ones would have been eternally forming little Court-Intrigues, which would have ruined the general Affairs. So that the good of the Kingdom (g) required, that Severity ſhould be uſed againſt the Heads of the Rebels, who would put the Government into Hands which were too much in the Intereſt of the *Spaniards*.

(c) Memoires du Duc d'Orleans, *printed in* 1685. *pag.* 81.
(d) *Ibid. pag.* 83.

(e) *The Hiſtory of Cardinal* de Richelieu, *printed at* Amſterdam, 1694. *tome* 1. *p.* 436. *ad ann.* 1629.
(f) *Baſſompier Mem. T.* 1. *page* 521.
(g) *Le Vassor de Fan-vier.*

(E△) *Who venture to* [illegible], *that People were put to Death, whoſe only Fault conſiſted in their Misfortune to diſpleaſe the firſt Miniſter.*] The Author of the Memoirs of Mr. *d'Artagnan* affirms, (h) that the Mareſchal *de Marillac*, and many others, were judged and condemned by Commiſſioners, *though no other Crime could be imputed to 'em, beſides their having preſumed to diſpleaſe the Cardinal.* He afterwards relates, what we have ſeen (i) above concerning the Prieſt *Grandier*, and then adds ' (k) St. *Preuil*'s Caſe exactly remembled that of ' this Unfortunate Prieſt; a Thouſand and a Thouſand Witneſſes were produced againſt him, both ' from the Government of *Dourlens*, which he had ' enjoy'd before that of *Arras*, and from many other ' Places. *Le Mennier* was often confronted with ' him, but though all his Crime, as well as ' *Grandier*'s, conſiſted only in diſpleaſing the high- ' er Powers, he nevertheleſs loſt his Head. Obſerve here three great Falſhoods: for if we examine without Prejudice all the Parts of Mareſchal *de Marillac*'s Trial, we ſhall eaſily ſee, [illegible] he was guilty of infinite Exortions and Depr[illegible]ns, and within the Statute, *which condemns to Death thoſe guilty of Peculation, to the Confiſcation of Body and Goods.* 'Tis true, that interpreting this Law in the moſt mild and favourable Senſe, by the Confiſcation of Body, might be underſtood the Loſs of L[illegible] and not of Life, but from the Judges not t[illegible] it in the milder Senſe, but following the [illegible] Interpretation, it does not follow, that Mareſchal was innocent, and that all his Crime [illegible] in having rendered himſelf diſagreeable to Cardinal *Richelieu*. Many Irregularities are alledged

(h) *Memoires de Mr. d'Artagnan, pag.* [illegible]
(i) [illegible] 18[illegible] *tre a,*
(k) *Ibid. pag.* 161.

(l) *See the Hiſtory of Cardinal* Richelieu, *printed at* Amſterdam, 1694. *tom.* 2. *pag.* 49.

(a) *Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Memoires de Caſtelnau, tom.* 2. *pag.* 152.
(b) *The Conſtable* de Lucries *had made uſe of the ſame Stratagem before he had put it into the King's Head, that* Mary de Medicis *would uſe him as* Catherine de Medicis *had treated* Charles *IX. See the Hiſtory of the Edict of* Nantes, *tome* 2. *Book* 6. *pag.* 288.

(f) *Memoires tome* 4. *pag.* [illegible]. 3. *In the* [illegible]

(g) *See in the Rem. P. the Words of* Coſſar.

Paſſions, extended their Complaints and Curſes even to the Judges themſelves, which could not be juſt with regard to him, who (*EΔΔ*) preſided in the Trial of the Duke of *Montmorenci*. Notwithſtanding the home-bred Conſpiracies the Cardinal had to ſtruggle with, he omitted not applying himſelf vigorouſly to Foreign Affairs. He procu[red] the King his Maſter the Glory of humbling the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which was th[e] terror of all *Europe* at that time. To induce him to make War with *Spain*, he remo[ved] ſome Scruples (*F*) of Conſcience which had reſtrain'd him before; for as

(a) *See the ſame Hiſtory, pag.* 49. & 50.

(b) *See the Miniſtry of Cardinal* Richelieu, *tome* 2. *pag.* 392. *and the following Edit. of* Holl.

ledged (a) in [the] Trial, and all to prove that the Commiſſioners were bribed, and that the Innocence of the accuſed was oppreſſed; but we muſt know alſo, that other Authors affirm (b) the Trial was agreeable to the exacteſt Forms of Law. Conſider well Mr. *du Chaſtelet*'s Obſervations [on] the Life and Condemnation of Marſhal *de Marillac*; 'tis an Anſwer to a Libel the Cardinal's Enemies had publiſhed. We ſhould be too raſh, either to believe without Examination what they maintained, or the Narratives of his Friends in favour of him; the Satyrs of one ſide are as much to be ſuſpected, as the Flatteries on the other. Let us miſtruſt both, and determine nothing till after a thorough Diſcuſſion of the Facts; let's alſo diſtruſt that Natural Biaſs we all have to preſume in their favour, who incur the Diſ[grace] of a too potent Miniſter. (c) "'Tis a Fa[ult] too common in thoſe "who are not called to the Helm, to indeavour to "croſs the Steerage; and as if the confidence of "the Prince, and the favour of the People could "not be united in the ſame Subject, we ſee not a "Man in Place, or who has the leaſt ſhare in the "Conduct of Affairs, whoſe Perſon and Actions "are approv[ed] till after his Death or Diſgrace. "The diffe[rent] Accidents of the Marſhal *de Marillac*'s Life, and the different Affections to"wards him according to his Fortune, furniſh our "Age with a certain proof of this ancient Maxim. "All *France* found fault with the choice the King "had made of him, ſpoke out of his Depredations, "blamed his Promotion to Honours, detracted "from his Courage, and could obſerve no Merit "nor Quality in him worthy ſo high an Advance"ment. As ſoon as his Majeſty was reſolved to puniſh "him, and for weighty Reaſons withdrew his Pro"tection, his former Accuſers wou'd have ſupported "him againſt Juſtice, affirmed he was innocent, wor"thy of Employs, and ſo overſtock'd with Courage "and Honeſty as to deſerve every thing except his "Fall. Thus Mr. *du Chaſtelet* ſpeaks, at the Be"ginning of a Book I have cited above. 'Tis ſaid that Cardinal *Richelieu* underſtanding that the Commiſſioners had paſſ[ed] the Sentence of Death upon him, cried out: *It muſt be own'd that God grant an undeviſ[ing] Heart to Judges, which he does not give to other Men, ſince they who have tried the Marſhal* de Marillac, *have diſcovered Actions in him worthy of Death; I did not believe there was enough againſt him to whip a Page for.* If I had heard the Cardinal ſay this, I ſhould believe he ſpoke it. It's generally ſaid he had been well aſſur'd that in a Conference, wherein it was debated what Courſe ſhou'd be taken with the Cardinal, this Marſhal had given his Vote for killing him; 'tis ſaid too † that he offered his Arm for ſuch an Exploit. Such a Man as this would have been actually puniſhable, and would eſpecially have appear'd ſo to the Cardinal.

(c) *Du Chaſtelet, Obſervat. ſur la vie & la condemnation du Mareſchal de Marillac, init.*

(d) *See the* Abbé *de* Murolles *in his Abridgment of the Hiſtory of Fra[nce]. See alſo the Hiſtory of Cardinal* Richelieu, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 52.

† *See the Memoirs of the Maurier, pag.* 369.

As to what concerns St. *Preuil*, the Memoirs I have cited are much more unreaſonable: He was a Gentleman of *Angoumois*, who had raiſed himſelf by an extraordinary Bravery; as nice on the Point of Honour, and the Reputation of a good Duelliſt and gallant Cavalier, as he was little conſcientious in point of Debauchery and Extortion. 'Tis co[nfeſſed] in Mr. *d'Artagnan*'s Memoirs, that he h[ad] to do with a Married Woman. Who afro[nt] will venture to ſay, *that all his Crime conſiſted in having diſpleaſed the higher Powers?* Is not a Rape puniſhable with Death by the Laws of the Kingdom? Are not they who ſtea[l] a Maid, tho' with her own Conſent, reputed, in [ſome] worthy of Death? St. *Preuil*, by a ſtrong [Rea]ſon, had incurr'd the ſame Puniſhment, [in] carried off a Woman whoſe Husband [was] ſtill alive. I paſs over his Extortions and Violences, of which he was convicted, and which were ſo much the more odious as he commanded in a Place but lately reduced under the *French* Juriſdiction, and which was to be reconciled to their new Dominion, by a Moderate Adminiſtration. The Truth of this Maxim of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, was never more manifeſt than in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. (e) *In cauſis majeſtatis hæc natura eſt, ut videantur vim pati etiam quibus probatur.* It's the Property of all Trials for Crimes againſt the State, that even they who are duly convicted, are thought to have been oppreſs'd. Moſt People are ſo careleſs as not to give themſelves the Trouble of examining who is in the Right or who in the Wrong, however they will be judging of things, and ſo do it the cheapeſt way; they take up with Probabilities, and think it very likely that the greateſt is the injuſteſt ſide. *Dion Chryſoſtome* has made this Obſervation: (f) Οὐ γὰρ ἅ ποιοῦσιν ἐνθυμοῦνται ἀλλὰ τίνες ὄντες· ἀδίκως τε ἀκούσαντες, ἢ βιαζόμενοι ἰδίᾳ τι ἐξαίφνης πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ εἰκὸς βιάζεσθαι τὸν ἀδικούμενον πλέον. *Quidam enim non conſiderant quæ faciant, ſed qui ſint; neque injuriam facientes, neque violentiam paſſos voluus examinare plerumque, ſed quibus veriſimile ſit injuriam fieri ab iis qui plus [poſſunt].* A compaſſion for the miſerable, and the [Ill] Men bear to Men in Power, are a Source of Deception. See the Margin. (g) But that which gives occaſion to this, is the too frequent Experience that they who are in Authority, are apt to abuſe it, to revenge themſelves on their Enemies by oppreſſing them with falſe Accuſations.

(e) *Vide Carmis Gallicanus in Avidio Caſſio, pag.* m. 445. *tome.* II.

(f) *Dio Chryſoſt. orat.* 34.

(g) Τὰς [ἐπὶ] τοῖς δυστυχήμασιν ἐπιχαιρεκακίας, τὸ [φθονερὸν] τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἔχθος. Quippe infelices miſericordia, potentes invidia ſequitur: ac victus acceptiſſe, victor attuliſſe injuriam videtur. *Herodian. lib.* 4. *cap.* 5. *pag.* m. 187. *See the Paſſage of Salluſt cited in the critique general du Calviniſme de Maimbourg, pag.* 209. *Edit.* 3.

(*EΔΔ*) *Could not be juſt with regard to him, who preſided in the trial of the Duke of* Montmorenci.] It was Mr. *de Chateauneuf* Keeper of the Seals. He was in diſgrace, when *Lewis* XIII. died, and great Endeavours were uſed to recal him after the Prince's Death; but Cardinal *Mazarine* oppoſed it to the utmoſt, (a) *in which he was vigouroufly aſſiſted by Madam the Princeſs, who upon the occaſional Pride of the Victory of* Rocroy, *thought every thing due to her, and peremptorily publiſhed that all their Family won'd retire from Court, if the Queen reſtored a Man to the Council, who had preſided at the Condemnation of the Duke of* Montmorenci *her Brother.* Cou'd any thing be more unjuſt than this Princeſs's Pretenſion? Did Mr. *de Chateauneuf* deſerve to be expoſed to the leaſt Reſentment of the Duke's Siſter and Relations? Could he poſſibly wave preſiding at this Trial? Did not his Place require him to accept of this Commiſſion from the King? And could he be of a different Opinion from that of all the Judges, who in ſpight of the vehement deſire they had to ſave the Duke of *Montmorenci*'s Life, gave their Votes for the Sentence of Death. The Prince of *Condé*, his Brother-in-law, and the Princeſs of *Condé* his Siſter, had they been his Judges, could not have given their Voices otherwiſe than Mr. *de Chateauneuf* did. Nothing's more evident, than that a Governour of a Province, who Revolts againſt his King, and gives Battle to the King's Troops, and is taken Priſoner in ſuch a Cauſe, deſerves Death. It was evidently true, that Mr. *de Montmorenci*'s Caſe was this: The Proofs were as clear as the Day, beſides his own Confeſſion. There remained therefore no Shadow of uncertainty, either upon the queſtion of right, or that of Fact, and therefore there could be no difference in Opinion; the Princeſs therefore had no reaſon to complain of Mr. *de Chateauneuf*, and yet ſhe expreſs'd her Reſentment openly, as if it had been a reaſonable thing; ſo true it is, that the Great ſuffer themſelves to be blinded by their Lordly Paſſions, ſo far as to glory in that which is really a Vice, and a lamentable Weakneſs.

(a) *Memoires de Mr. de la Chaſtre p.* m. 333.

(*F*) *Thoſe Scruples of Conſcience which had reſtrain'd him before.*] Mr. *Silhon* informs us of this: *How juſt ſoever*, ſays he, (b) *was the ground of this Rupture*

(b) *Silhon, Eclariciſſement de quelques difficultez touchant l'Adminiſtration du Cardinal Mazarin, liv.* 1. *pag.* 127. *Edit. de* Holl. *in* 12.

as *Lewis* XIII. hated the Proteſtants, he could not eaſily bring himſelf to diſturb the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which had them upon its Hands. The Cardinal turn'd him from theſe Views of Religion, and engaged him in a League with *Holland*. This was concluded in the year 1635. and at the ſame time a War was declared againſt *Spain*. People won't allow that the preſſing Sollicitations of the United Provinces was that which overcame the Repugnance of the *French* to this League. On the contrary, it's pretended, that the *French* were they who in the laſt place (G) expreſſed the greateſt Earneſtneſs for it. Some ſay that the Cardinal drove on this Affair too faſt, and ground themſelves on the Perplexity he was in the very ſecond Campaign; but they don't conſider that the ſublimeſt Human Underſtanding could never have foreſeen that the firſt Campaign would have gone as it did: It began with a compleat Victory over the *Spaniſh* Army, and according to all appearance muſt have diſabled 'em for ſeveral Years; and yet in the iſſue was the pitifuleſt Campaign that ever was. (H) The *French* have long ſince imputed the whole Blame to the Prince

a See the Memoirs of Montreſor, to. 1. pag. 74. where the Cardinal is much blamed.

(c) This is wrote the 7th of December, 1695.

Rupture (a), *they had heſitated upon it, but for the violent inſtances of the* Hollanders, *and the zealous Offices of ſome Friends they had near the King and Cardinal* Richelieu, *the King was averſe to it upon Scruples of Religion, which were removed by an Aſſembly of Doctors, ſummoned upon this Occaſion.* This Prince's Diſpoſitions in his Alliances with Proteſtants will be better known, if we conſult the *Muſæum Italicum* of Two famous Benedictines. (b) "They had the ſight of a Letter of 'the late King *Lewis* XIII. in Cardinal *Francis* 'Barberini's Liberary. Pope *Urbane* VIII. had 'complained to his Majeſty of his Alliance 'with the *Swedes*, whoſe Victorious Arms at that 'time ravaged *Germany*. The King ſecretly an'ſwer'd the Pope with his own Hand, and offered 'to break off his Alliance with the *Swedes*, pro'vided the Catholick King would ceaſe to protect 'the Duke of *Orleans*, who was then retired to '*Bruſſels*, and would join his Forces with thoſe 'of *France*, to turn 'em againſt the Proteſtants 'of *Germany* and the *French Huguenots*. His 'Holineſs communicated the King's Letter to the '*Spaniſh* Embaſſador, who wrote about it to '*Madrid*, and recieved no Anſwer. But for this 'Original Letter the Publick would have been un'acquainted with this curious piece of our Hiſtory. This Paſſage is taken from Mr. *Couſin*'s Journal. Add to this what we find in one of Mr. *Gallois*'s Journals, which will inform us, that if *Lewis* XIII. had followed his own Inclinations, he would have ſuffer'd the Proteſtant Religion to be deſtroy'd by the Emperor in *Germany*, ſince before the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Richelieu*, he did great Services to the Catholick Cau e in the Empire. Here are the Words of Mr. *Gallois* in an Abſtract he gives of the Embaſſy of the Duke of *Angouleſme*, the Counts of *Bethune* and *Chateauneuf*, ſent by *Lewis* XIII. into *Germany*, in 1620. (c) "The 'Motive of this Embaſſy was as glorious to '*France*, as the Succeſs of it was advantagious to 'the Houſe of *Auſtria*. *Ferdinand* II. ſucceeding 'to the Empire, ſaw himſelf diſpoſſeſs'd of the 'Crown of *Bohemia* by the Prince *Palatine*, and 'of that of *Hungary* by *Bethlen Gabor*. He ſaw 'at the ſame time the upper *Auſtria* revolted, and 'moſt of the Proteſtant Princes in Arms againſt 'him. The King might have peaceably waited 'the Ruin of a Prince, whoſe Deſigns could not 'but be ſuſpected to him; but becauſe the Catho'lick Religion might have ſuffered ſome Diminu'tion in *Germany* by the Loſs of this Prince, he 'choſe rather to ſupport him in his Fall, than to 'ſuffer Religion to fall along with him. He offered 'him a potent Aſſiſtance, and at the ſame time to 'ſuccour him with his Counſels, and the Autho'rity of his Name; he ſent the Duke of *Angou'leſme*, and the Counts of *Bethune* and *Chateau'neuf*, Embaſſadors into *Germany*. Upon their 'Arrival they made the Treaty of *Ulm*, by which 'a Ceſſation of Arms was concluded be'twixt the Catholicks and the Proteſtants; 'this was a means of gaining the Battle of *Prague* 'and afterwards of the Re-eſtabliſhment of the 'Emperor's Affairs. Don't imagine that this Language is an Artifice of the Journaliſt; for the Proteſtants acknowledge (d) that this Embaſſy was very ſerviceable to the Emperor, and prejudicial to the Princes, who were confederated againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

(a) That's to ſay, the Declaration of War againſt Spain *in* 1635.

(b) Journal des Savans, for the 26th of Jan. 1688. *pag.* 249, 250. *Edit. of* Holl.

(c) Journal des Savans, March 7. 1667. *pag. pag.* m. 95.

(d) See Wiequefort traité de l'Ambaſſadeur liv 1. *p.* 448. *& liv.* 2. *pag.* 426.

(e) Journal des Savans, pour l'an 1684. *pag.* 49. *Edit. of* Holl.

(f) Quinquam Gallis erat fixum animo, rebus Hiſpanorum labefactatis, ſpe certa magnorum progreſſuum, in bellum adverſus illos erumpere, tam callide tamen hoc conſilium diſſimularunt, ut à *Fœderatis*, quos interim modicis fovebant ſubſidiis, per *integrum annum ſequentem* le rogari & obſervari ſuſtinuerint. Priuſquam animum & arma detegerent, facto opus eſſe judicarunt, ut *Regis fratrem* cum matre *Bruxellis agentem*, ſibi reconciliarent, eumque in Gallia complecterentur. *Ulric. Huber Hiſt. civilis tomo.* 3. *pag.* 180.

(g) Ulric. Huber ib. pag. 182.

(h) In the Remark F.

(i) Silhon, ubi ſupra, pag. 127, 128.

(k) Baptiſte Nani, Hiſtoire de la Republique de Veniſe, tome 4. *liv.* 10. *p.* 7. Holland *Edition,* 1682.

(G) *The* French *were they who in the laſt place expreſs'd the greateſt earneſtneſs for it.*] Mr. *Huber*, who has been ſome time dead, (e) Profeſſor of Law in the Univerſity of *Friſeland*, pretends (f) that the Court of *France*, fully reſolving upon the War, politickly concealed the Deſign as long as the Duke of *Orleans* was at *Bruſſels*. She made her ſelf be courted by *Holland*, and this Game laſted above a year; but, after the return of the Duke, and the Defeat of the *Swedes* at *Nortlingen*, Cardinal *Richelieu* expreſſed a violent deſire to enter into a League with *Holland*. *Neque tamen aliter ſe commiſere, quam ubi præter* Suecos, *etiam* Belgas *fœderatos ſtabili & fidenti fœdere ſibi conjunxiſſent, à quo multi in* Hollandia *imprimis, adhuc erant alieni. Mirum eſt, quanto ſtudio & fervore* Richelius *extremo tempore*, cum prius ſe rogari paſſus eſſet. *in hoc fœdere fabricando verſatus ſit, quod tandem confectum die* 8. Februar. M.DC.XXXV. (g) If you believe the *French*, the Cardinal was not drawn out of his Irreſolution but by the meer force of the Engines the *Hollanders* played. We have already heard Mr. *Silhon* (h) upon this; the following Paſſage will tell us another Story. (i) "That which drew us out of 'that State of Uncertainty, and turn'd the Scale 'againſt ſeveral Conſiderations which were of 'weight in the King's and Cardinal's Mind, was 'the Truce the *Hollanders* gave clearly to under'ſtand they would make, unleſs we reſolved on a 'War. The Conſequences of this Truce (if it 'had been made) were doubtleſs to be feared by us 'and our Allies, but not in the point which was 'then apprehended at Court, and in which Father '*Joſeph* and *Charnaſſe*, who laboured mightily at 'this Wheel, endeavour'd to repreſent it.——— 'The Preſents which were not ſpared on the part 'of the States, during this Courtſhip, ſome time 'after remov'd all the Obſtacles that ſtood in the 'way. Beſides this, as the fear of the Inconve'niencies, with which the Truce threatned us, 'had been the moſt Potent Motive to make us 'hearken to the War, the hopes of the fruits 'we might reap by it, was no ſmall Charm to 'draw us in. Almoſt one Half of what *Spain* poſ'ſeſſes in the *Netherlands*, was to have accrued to 'us by the Articles of the Treaty, and the Di'viſion between the *Hollanders* and us, was 'ſcatch'd out upon Paper ſo nicely, that each had 'what lay moſt convenient for him in this ima'ginary Spoil. With theſe Engines they work'd 'us juſt as they pleaſed, and the Zeal we mani'feſted to follow all their Motions was ſo great, 'that whereas they would have given us Money 'to oblige us to break, if we had kept up the 'Market, they obtained a great Summ from us, 'and would not receive it except in Fifteen-penny 'Pieces and by Weight, that they might more 'advantageouſly convert it into their own Country 'Coins. The beſt of all was our conſentining that 'the Prince of *Orange* ſhould have the whole 'Management of the War, and that our Generals 'ſhould be only his Subalterns, and receive their 'Commands from him.

(H) *Was in the iſſue the pitifuleſt Campaign that ever was.*] Let's hear an Hiſtorian who is neither a *Frenchman* nor a *Hollander*, nor *Spaniard*: *As the* French, ſays he, (k) *marched towards Maſtricht with above Thirty Thouſand Men, and Forty Pieces of Canon, Prince* Thomas *with ſome Troops which*

Prince (*l*) of *Orange*, Generaliſſimo of the Army, and have alſo ſaid, that Cardinal *Richelieu*, with all his great Genius, ſuffer'd himſelf to be tricked (*K*) by the *Holl*[illegible]. The Famous Cavalier *Nani* has given too far into theſe *French* Notions,

which [illegible] *not very ſtrong, attempted to diſpute their Paſſage* [illegible]*lines* (*a*), *where he was beaten, and loſt a great* [illegible] *Men. Afterwards the Victors advancing* [illegible] *Oppoſition, joined the Prince of* Orange, *who expected 'em with Twenty Thouſand Foot, Six Thouſand Horſe, and Eighty Pieces of Canon. This Army appeared terrible, both for its Numbers and Valour, and the World* [illegible] *already in expectation of Succeſſes anſwerable* [illegible] *Greatneſs of its Forces.* But what were [illegible] *Exploits?* It forced (*b*) a little pitiful Town, where dreadful Barbarities were committed: *It* (*c*) *pretended to march to* Bruſſels; *but the Prince of* Orange *having retarded the March, gave the* Spaniards *time to come up with their Army to it.* It beſieged *Louvain* with the following Succeſs: † "The Boldneſs of the 'Aſſailants having been at firſt a little check'd, 'the *French* Army began to diſperſe; for the 'Hollanders ordering [illegible]viſions to be punctually 'brought from the [illegible]bouring Places for their 'own Troops, took [illegible]are of the *French*, who 'tho' by their Brave[illegible]nd Strength they might 'have ſurmounted all other Perils, yet experienc'd 'that Hunger was an invincible Enemy. A great part 'died for want of Bread, a greater part deſerted, who 'were afterwards killed by the Peaſants; ſo that 'their For[illegible]ing extreamly weakened, and Pro'viſions [illegible], the Generals agreed [illegible] 'Neceſſity [illegible]raiſing the Siege, and permitti[illegible] 'to eſcape the beſt they cou'd. Th[illegible] 'manders and the Remnant of the *French* Army 'were reduced to come and take Shipping in *Hol'land*, where the People laughed at 'em, ſeeing no 'more remain of a great Army, which expected 'important Conqueſts, than a Handful of diſpi'rited People all in confuſion, and forced to 'take Sanctuary among their Allies——(*d*) The 'French Army was no ſooner diſpers'd, but the 'Terror, which before ſeized the Provinces de'pending on *Spain*, ſeized the *Hollanders* in their 'Turn, and pierced 'em to the Heart. The Count 'd'*Embden* ſurprized the Fort of *Skenck*——which 'opens a Paſſage into the Heart of *Holland*. The 'Prince of *Orange*, without loſing time, went to 'lay Siege to it. Mr. *Nani* commits a groſs Fault here: He ſuppoſes, on one hand, that the *Spaniards* did not take the F[illegible] *Schenck* till after the diſperſion of the *Fre*[illegible]ops; and on the other, that the *French* h[illegible] ſhare in the Re-taking of this Fort. Theſe are all (*e*) Falſhoods; *Silhon* ſpeaks of 'em in a quite different manner: *But further*, ſays he (*f*) having firſt related the Inſincerity of which he accuſes the *Hollanders*, *as if Fortune had meant to put an Opportunity into our Hands of revenging our ſelves generouſly on the* Hollanders, *and returning Good, for the Ill which they had done us; ſhe permitted the* Spaniards *to ſurprize the Fort of* Schenck *in the* Betau, *that is to give 'em Entrance into the very Bowels of* Holland,——(*g*) *In this ſevere and melancholly Strait* France *was not wanting to them; and without remembring the Treatment our Army had met with from them, ſent Orders to Marſhal* de Brezé, *who was the only Commander left, not to ſeparate from the Prince of* Orange *till the Reduction of the Fort of* Schenck, *which was done many Months after its Attack.*

But here follow more myſterious Reflections. I have read in a Book (*h*) printed in 1664. that the *French* [illegible]amned that the *Hollanders* had ſuffered the [illegible] of *Skenck* to be taken, in order to have a P[illegible]e of ſeparating the Armies, whoſe Conjunction gave 'em Umbrage. See the Words of of this Book: (*i*) *If you'll believe the* French, *they'll give another Account of it; for they ſay that this Loſs was ſuffer'd by the Conſent of the States; who being jealous to ſee the Forces of ſo potent a King come too near their Fronti[illegible] that this Fort be loſt on purpoſe, that they might have a Pretence of ſeparating from the* French *Army, to re-take the Key of their Country; and in maintenance of their Poſition they alledge Two Reaſons; the firſt is, That no conſiderable Garriſon was left in it, and that Two Men of War ſail'd out the very day it was taken. The ſecond, That they deſignedly ſtarved their Army; ſo that of Forty Thouſand Men, there return'd not above Five Thouſand into* France; *which Words are not to be taken for an Article of Faith.*

(*l*) *Have impured the whole Blame to the Prince of* Orange.] I cite no Authors that have written ſince the year 1672. Neither *de Pontis* (*k*) who repreſents this Prince in a perfect Diſtraction at the Victory of *Aveſnes*; nor Abbot (*l*) *Bizot*, who accuſes *Holland* of having acted a treacherous Part at Siege of *Louvain*, and on ſome other Occaſions. I ſhall cite a Book printed in 1651. which ſpeaks after this manner: (*m*) "The *Hollanders* did not 'wait long to make us feel the Effects of this 'Jealouſy. The gaining the Battle of *Aveſnes*, 'which attended the firſt Motions of our Arms, 'contrary to the Expectation of all the World, no 'leſs alarmed them, than the *Spaniards*, who loſt 'it; and for fear this Advantage ſhould draw o'thers after it, as is uſual, and that our Generals, 'Marſhal *Chaſtillon* and Marſhal *Brezé*, ſhould 'puſh the Victory farther, the Prince of *Orange* 'ſent 'em Orders to come and joyn him. How'ever, if *Chaſtillon*, who underſtood nothing but 'Honeſty in the things he was concern'd in, had 'been hearken'd to, they had gone and beſieged *Namur*, and there made a good Eſtabliſhment, 'notwithſtanding the Orders of the Prince of *Orange*. But *Brezé*, who was in the confidence 'of the Cabinet, and in the ſecret of Affairs, op'poſed him, and made his Companion reſolve to 'obey their Generaliſſimo according to the Inten'tention of the Court. This was the firſt Seed 'of Diviſion, which afterwards ſo ripen'd betwixt 'theſe Two Generals, that they came at laſt to 'drawing their Swords one againſt the other.—— (*n*) The Prince of *Orange* marched our Army ſo 'long, without any other Action except the Siege 'of *Tirlemont*, and left it ſo deſtitute of Subſiſt'ence, tho' he was (*o*) obliged to furniſh it, that 'it mouldred away of it ſelf; or rather we may 'ſay, that the *Hollanders* deſtroyed it without 'fighting, and had the Spoil of it, which was 'very great and rich, almoſt for nothing. Be'ſides this, the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, 'and the tedious round-about Marches of his 'Army and ours, without any Meaning or Deſign 'gave the *Spaniards* leaſure to recover from the 'Conſternation the Battle of *Aveſnes* had caſt 'them into, and to call a potent Aſſiſtance from 'Germany, which put us almoſt upon the De'fenſive.

Let's here copy a Paſſage from a Work I have often cited: (*p*) "Much about the ſame time 'came the News of the Defeat of Prince *Thomas* 'at *Aveſnes*, which cauſed a great Conſternation 'in all the Country: The *French* Army after'wards advancing to the very Gates of *Bruſſels*, 'never was ſuch a Terror known among theſe 'People. The Cardinal Infant had already cauſed 'the moſt precious Moveables to be removed from 'the Palace to *Antwerp*, and all his Army to line 'the Coaſts of the Canal, being reſolved to a'bandon *Bruſſels* himſelf, if Hunger and *Picolo'mini*, who arrived with the *German* Succours, 'had not forced our Army to retire. It was ſaid 'too, that the Prince of *Orange* was not over'joy'd to ſee 'em ſo far advanced into the Country. 'The Queen-Mother and Madam, were already 'fled to *Antwerp*, where their Officers were forced 'to conceal themſelves a good while, to avoid the 'Fury of the People, who deteſted the *French* Na'tion after the Sacking of *Tirlemont*. What might not a General have done, who had had Inclination or Ability to make uſe of this ſtrange Conſternation, which had ſeized the Court of *Bruſſels*? A Roman Conſul in the like Caſe would have given a good account of a whole Province, before the End of the Seaſon.

(*K*) *Cardinal* Richelieu——*ſuffered himſelf to be tricked by the* Hollanders.] They '(*q*) were

(*a*) *It ſhou'd have been* A-veln.

(*b*) *Tillemont.*

(*c*) *Nani ib. pag.* 8.

† *Id. ibid.*

(*d*) *The* French *were* [illegible]*'d* [illegible] *of Fort Schenck.*

(*e*) *Read de Pontis & Puyſegur who ſerv'd in the* French *Army, you'll find that the* French

(*f*) *Silhon ubi ſupra, pag.* 133, 134.

(*g*) *Ibid. pag.* 134, 135.

(*h*) *Intitled*, Apologie pour la Maiſon de Naſſau, ou refutation des calomnies contenuës au livre intitulé, *De Staat-houderlijcke Regeeringe, by* P. L. J.

(*i*) Pag. 295.

(*k*) *De Pontis, Memoires, tome* 2. *p.* 70, 77.

(*l*) Hollande *metallique. See the Journal des Savans of the* 19. *of* Jan. 1688. *pag.* 237. *Edit. of* Holl.

(*m*) *Silhon, ubi ſupra, pag.* 131.

(*n*) *Ibid. pag.* 133.

(*o*) *Mr.* Huber *denys this. See the Remark* L.

(*p*) *Memoires de Mr. le Duc d'Orleans, pag.* 271, 272.

(*q*) *Nani ubi ſupra, pag.* 5.

Notions, as a (L) *Frieſland* Civilian has ſhewn him. *Lewis* XIII. died the 14th. of *May* 1643. after a tedious Sickneſs, and ſo weary of his Life, that he ceaſed not to repeat theſe Words of Holy *Job*. *Taedet animam meam vitæ meæ* [a]. He had been a Lover of War, and perſonally ingaged in ſeveral Actions. He bore the Sirname of, JUST; a Title, which according to the Maxim of the Antients, includes all Moral Vertues. He never loved reading, after he had been diſguſted, by

[a] *In juſtitia autem comprehenſim omnis virtus ineſt. Theognis, v.* 147.

'to attack the *Spaniſh* Provinces with Fifty Thouſand Foot and Ten Thouſand Horſe—— they had cantoned the Conqueſts after this manner: *Luxemburgh*, *Namure*, *Hainault*, *Artoiſe*, and *Cambray*, were to be the Portion of *France*, with a part of *Flanders* on this ſide the Line that was to be drawn from *Blachemberg*, betwixt *Bruges* and *Dam*, including in it *Ruremond*. The reſt was to fall to the States of *Holland*, which promiſed to leave the Catholick Religion, in Poſſeſſion of all the Places where it was eſtabliſhed. It was agreed alſo to make neither Peace nor Truce, but with joint Conſent, and to enter into no Accommodation nor Treaty, till the *Spaniards* were intirely driven out of the *Low-Countries*. They were to beſiege the Places alternately, firſt one of thoſe that was deſigned for *France*, and then one of thoſe aſſigned to *Holland*; and to leave the Generals of the Army the choice of attacking, which they thought fit. They were beſides this to maintain jointly a Naval Force at Sea. *France* was to declare War with the Emperor, or any other Prince, who upon this Occaſion ſhould attempt to diſturb the States of the United Provinces. This gives occaſion to a Dilemma; either Cardinal *Richelieu* was perſwaded, that the *Hollanders* would obſerve this Treaty, or he was not. If he was perſuaded of it, where were his Brains? Does not the leaſt common Senſe dictate, that it was incomparably more the Intereſt of *Holland*, that *Spain* ſhould preſerve a part of the *Low-Countries*, than that they ſhould be intirely divided betwixt *France* and the *United Provinces*? If Cardinal *Richelieu* did not think that *Holland* was ſimple enough to conſent, that *Spain* ſhould loſe all this Country, he was very ſimple himſelf to make a Treaty, which he knew *Holland* would never execute, and which the publick Good, the Sovereign Law of States, could never permit 'em to execute. I confeſs, that 'tis hard to draw the Cardinal out of this Labyrinth, and not to ſee, that he committed a Groſs Blunder, unleſs we ſay, that the poor Condition the *Swedes* were reduc'd to, and the barbarous Affront *France* had received, by the Detention of the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, would not ſuffer this Crown to leave *Spain* at reſt, but ingaged it in a League with *Holland* upon Conditions, which it knew would never be intirely executed. The preſent Evil required, that *France* ſhould be ſatisfied with the Execution of one part, and let Time work out the reſt. See Mr. *Silhon*'s Reflections.

'(a) The *Hollanders* by this Means (b) compaſſed 'two Points, which were very much to their Advantage, one was the embarking us in the ſame War 'they were ingaged in, which it was in all Appear'ance impoſſible ever to get out of but by a Peace, 'which would make 'em be acknowledged for Sovereigns, by thoſe who looked on 'em as Subjects; 'which was what was propoſed in their Treaty 'with us. The other, that though the Diviſion 'agreed on, if it came to be accompliſhed, muſt 'be an eternal Principle of Jealouſy; and they muſt 'believe, that the having us for their Neighbours, 'inſtead of the *Spaniards*, was only changing their 'Fears, and perhaps making their Condition worſe; 'yet they thought it more eligible to expoſe themſelves to a certain Evil, (againſt which there 'were many Remedies) to obtain a preſent and very important Good, namely, that of making us 'Partners in their Fortune; that is to ſay, of giving themſelves by this Alliance, a more firm and 'ſolid Baſis than they had before. 'Tis true, they 'would have allowed us to make our ſelves Maſters 'of the *Maritime* Towns, which were ſo fatal to 'their Commerce in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, 'or even of ſome other Places which were Frontiers to ours. But for us to eſtabliſh our ſelves 'in the Heart of *Flanders*, and in the Places which 'bordered on themſelves, was that which made 'them uneaſie, and which they hoped the Courſe 'of the War would hinder of it ſelf, or that they 'themſelves ſhould find means to prevent, either by ceaſing to act againſt the *Spaniards*, and 'imploying, as they always did, a great part of 'their Forces; or taking an Opportunity of reconciling themſelves to 'em, under any plauſible 'Pretence, which the State of Affairs might offer, *&c.*

[a] *Silhon, ubi ſupra, pag.* 130, 131.

[b] *That's to ſay, by the Treaty concluded with France.*

(L) *As a* Frieſland *Civilian has ſhewn the Cavalier* Nani.] This Cavalier imagined, that Prince *Frederick Henry* ſuffered the *French* Army to periſh, to revenge himſelf of an Injury he had received from Cardinal *Richelieu*; and that he ſought occaſions of making it appear to all *Europe*, that himſelf was the greater Genius of the Two. *There is no doubt*, ſays he (c) *but that as ſoon as the United Provinces had agreed to all the Articles which obliged the* French *to an open Rupture with* Spain, *they feared nothing ſo much, after the obtaining their Deſires, as having them for their Neighbours, under the Preſence of Friendſhip. To the general Intereſt of* Holland, *were added the particular Reſentments of the Prince of* Orange, *againſt* Richelieu; *for the latter, though he outwardly profeſſed a Friendſhip for the Prince, and an Intimacy with him; had endeavoured but a few Years before, by ſome ſecret Practice to make himſelf Maſter of* Orange, *a Town whereof the Anceſtors of the* Naſſau *Family bear the Name, and which is ſituate towards* Dauphine; *but as this Deſign did not ſucceed, the Cardinal concealed the thing as much as poſſible, and prevented its being talked of.* Frederick Henry *for his part diſſembled this Injury with as great Artifice as had been uſed to ſuppreſs it, and waited a favourable Occaſion to revenge himſelf. At laſt this Prince found the Means of having it ſaid, that if by the taking of ſeveral Places of Importance, he had obtained the Reputation of great Courage, and Military Experience, he could not be denied in the World, the Praiſe of a great and conſummate Politician, ſince he outwitted* Richelieu: *however*, Richelieu *ſeeing a Neceſſity for the Alliance of the* Hollanders, *and the Friendſhip of this Prince in the War he had undertaken, deſpiſed leſſer Revenges, to apply himſelf to the greater.* Let us ſee Mr. *Huber*'s Anſwer. 1. He ſays, that if the *French* wanted Proviſions, it was their own Fault; why did not they ſettle Magazines? The Treaty (d) did not import, that *Holland* was to furniſh 'em with the neceſſary Proviſions; that if the Victuallers chooſe to ſell their Goods to the *Hollanders* rather than to the *French*, it was becauſe the latter wanted Money, and obſerved no Diſcipline (e). (2). That it was in the *Hollanders* Power to remove the King of *France*'s Territories from their Frontiers, by making Peace with *Spain*, and that the Hatred (f) they had for the *Spaniſh* Nation, did not give 'em time to reflect upon the Evil of being next Neighbours to *France*; and that after all, Cavalier *Nani* judges of their Manners by the Myſterious Artifices of *Italy*. *Non eſt dubium quin* Nanius *Belgarum ingenia moreſque ſecundum* Italos *eorumque profundas artes eſtimet* (g). 3. That the Prince of *Orange* being Generaliſſimo of the two Armies, and having earneſtly laboured the concluding this League, there is no Probability, that to revenge himſelf of ſome Practices of the Cardinal, he would be willing to deprive himſelf of the Glory of a proſperous Campaign, nor expoſe the Republick to the Reſentment of ſo neceſſary and formidable an Ally. 4. Laſtly, that the Alliance having ſubſiſted for 12 Years, the *French* never complained of this pretended Treachery. (h) *Arauſionenſis ſummo ſtudio belli ſocietatem procuraverat, Ludovicum in ipſum Gallorum exercitum ſuo conjunctum acceperat, ut omnis gloria in ipſum redundaret: hoc unice in eam gratiam, ut propter evanidas in arcem* Arauſionenſem *inſidias à Richelio propenſitas, Regem potentiſſimum deformi proditione lethaliter offenderet? Remque publicam tunc ejus* [illegible]

(c) *Nani, ubi ſupra, pag.* 2.

(d) In fœdere non erat comprehenſum, ut *Belgæ* in hoſtili ſolo *Gallis* de commeatu proſpicerent; id ipſis incumbebat pro ſe, uti *Belgæ* pro ſuis id ſatagerunt. *Ulricus Huber Hiſtoria civilis, tome* 3. *pag.* 188.

(e) Si negotiatores *Belgis* quam *Gallis* vendere maluerint, ac inde *Gallorum* inopia ſit orta, id horum rapinis & ſtipendiorum defectui imputandum. Si hac fiducia *Brabantiam* ingreſſi ſunt, quod *Batavi* illos alerent, male rationem putaverunt. *ib.*

(f) Nihil eſt certius, quam odium *Hiſpanicæ gentis* pleriſque *Belgis* tum nequeadum permiſſiſſe, ut *quantum à Gallorum vicinia periculum immineret*, ad animum revocarent. *Id. ibid. pag.* 189.

(g) *Id. ib.*

(h) *Id. ib. pag.* 189, 190.

by being forc'd to read a Book (*M*) that diſguſted him. We may ſay, generally ſpeaking, that he had not been well formed (*M*△) in Literature, and that he did not love it. And yet upon ſeveral Occaſions, he diſcover'd a great (*M*△△) Fineneſs of

micitiæ indignam daret præcipitem, & Societatem tanta Principis ipſius cura ſtudioque contraduƈam in-continenti dirumperet? Quid enim aliud ab immani proditione perfidiâque poterat expectari? Cum tamen eadem Societas per duodecim annos continuata ſit, nec quicquam ejuſmodi tunc temporis vel unquam poſtea Galli de fœderatis Belgis, etiam cum irati eſſent, conqueſti fuerint.

I don't think theſe Arguments of Mr. *Huber* can be oppoſed by what Mr. *Maurier* relates of the Prince of *Orange*'s Reſentment againſt Cardinal *Richelieu*, and his revenging himſelf for the Enterprize he had formed upon the Principality of *Orange*. This Author (*a*) ſays, that the Prince 'concealed his Reſentment, and waited for a favourable Opportunity to expreſs it, which happened to preſent not long after; for——— '(*b*) the Army of *France* having totally routed 'the *Spaniſh* Forces at *Aveſnes*, joined the Prince 'of *Orange*, after having pillaged a Part of *Brabant*; but the Prince who had always at Heart 'the Affair of *Orange*, and who liked the Neighbourhood of the *French*, no better than the '*Spaniards*, by a Scarcity of Proviſions and Subſiſtence, ruined our victorious Army, which retiring into *Holland*, after the raiſing the Siege of '*Louvain*, under the Pretence of the Approach of '*Picolomini* with the *German* Army, periſhed there 'for the moſt part, of Hunger, Poverty, 'and Diſeaſes, the Sixth Part not returning into 'the Kingdom. The Prince of *Orange* looked upon Cardinal *Richelieu* as a reconciled Enemy, 'who courted him only becauſe he had a neceſſary 'Occaſion for him; And therefore, underhand, gave him all the Diſcontents imaginable, favourably receiving all thoſe who were diſgraced in *France*, and honouring 'em with the 'nobleſt Imploys, and even with his Intimacy; amongſt others, Mr. *Hauterive* and Mr. *Beringhen*, whom he conſidered as much to vex the 'Cardinal, as for any Merit of theirs; and Cardinal *Richelieu*, as Potent as he was, ſaw himſelf 'obliged to ſwallow theſe Pills, his Affairs neceſſarily requiring a Diverſion on the part of *Holland*———(*c*) Thus he continued to court 'the Friendſhip of the Prince of *Orange*, and it 'was agreed, that each ſhould forthwith attack 'the common Enemy on his Side. From that 'time he kept up a faithful and perfect Correſpondence with the Prince; and the Prince, who 'was ſufficiently revenged, and drew great Advantages from the Alliance with *France*, afterwards executed the Treaties ſincerely. 'Tis manifeſt, that this is only a Copy of the Cavalier *Nani*'s Reproaches; and beſides, as *du Maurier*'s Memoirs are wrote after the Year 1672. they are not fit to be alledged in Proof. On the whole, we might from a Fact of this kind, collect to what great Misfortunes a King is expoſed, when he is ſerved by a firſt Miniſter, who is perſonally hated in the Countries of his Allies. *Lewis* XIII. would have had the fatal Experience of it; they would have ſacrificed his Armies, to the Paſſion of being revenged on the Cardinal. This Sacrifice would have been a very ingenious way of Revenge; for nothing is more likely to kick up the Heels of a firſt Miniſter, than the bad Succeſs of a War. But let's not believe all this Syſtem of the *Venetian* Hiſtorian, and Mr. *du Maurier*.

(*a*) *Du Maurier, Memoir. pour l'hiſt. de Hollande, p.* 321.
(*b*) *Id. ib. pag.* 322.
(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 324.

(*M*) *By being forced to read a Book that diſguſted him.*] 'Lewis XIII. by not being conducted by his Inclinations, nor by the way his 'Genius led him to, ſo tired with the uſeful but 'diſagreeable reading of *Fauchet*'s Antiquities, that 'it gave him a general and inveterate Averſion for 'all ſorts of Books, which could not be cured to 'his Lives End. The Author (*d*) from whom I borrow theſe Words, cites Gomberville *in the Doctrine of Morals*, and places this Fact under the 24th of *March*. I know not why he choſe that Day. See the *Menagiana*, where you'll find what follows: (*e*) *M.* de Gomberville *of the* French *Academy, was Son to one* Buvetier, *of the Chamber of Accompts. He has written in his* Book concerning the Doctrine of Manners, *that what diſcouraged* Lewis XIII. *from Study, was the giving him* Faucher's *Hiſtory of* France *to read. The bad Language of this Author gave him a Diſguſt, though otherwiſe there were ſome good Things in him.*

(*d*) *Pere David l'Enfant, Dominicain, hiſt. generale de tous les ſiecles de la nouvelle log, mois de Mars, pag.* 160.
(*e*) *Menagiana, pag.* 219. *de la* 1. *édition de Holl.*

(*M*△) *He had not been well formed in Literature, and that he did not love it.*] Mr. *le Vaſſor*, who has publiſhed the firſt Volume of the Hiſtory of *Lewis* XIII. obſerves (*f*), with great Aſtoniſhment, that he has found but *few Things* concerning this King's *Education*. He ſays, that (*g*) the Governour, whom *Henry* IV. appointed him, had not *Qualities equal to that important Employ, and* that (*h*) the *Picture an Author* (*i*) *has lately given us, of the extravagant and romantick Amours, of the wholly* Epicurean *Life and Death of* Vauquelin des Juvetaz, *firſt Preceptor to* Lewis *XIII. is a certain Proof, that* Henry *IV. who had made choice of him from his own Judgment, was not a good Judge of Men of Merit.* He adds, that a Year after the Death of *Henry IV. Vauquelin* loſt this Employ, *through the Jealouſie of ſome People, and that* Nicolas le Fevre *ſucceeded him, a Man diſtinguiſhed by his Learning and Piety, who died a Year after, and that* Florence Rivaut, *an able Mathematician, ſay they, aſcended from the Poſt of Sub-Preceptor, to that of Preceptor in chief. A young Man,* continues he, *who paſſes through ſo many different Hands, ſeldom makes any great Proficiency.* 'Tis certain, that *Nicolas Vauquelin*, Sieur *des Iveteaux*, had Wit and Learning. He was Son (*k*) to Mr. *de la Freſnaie, Preſident to the Bailliage, and Preſidial Seat of* Caen, *in the Year* 1605. *of whom a great Collection of Verſes are ſeen printed at* Caen. *Nicholas le Fevre* was of *Paris*, a Man of great Merit, and of an exact, profound, and extenſive Knowledge, of great Probity, and incomparable Modeſty. *Moreri*'s Article of him is good. See alſo the Elogies (*l*), which *Caſaubon* hath given him. He was choſen by *Henry IV.* to inſtruct (*m*) the Prince of *Conde*, but not to be Preceptor to the *Dauphin*, as *le Grain* affirms (*n*). He was raiſed to this Preferment, under the Regency of *Mary de Medicis* (*o*). He died the 3d. of *November* 1612, aged Sixty Eight Years and ſome Months. But let us ſuppoſe, as much as you pleaſe, that both he and *des Iveteaux* were Men of great Merit, and that the Quality of a good Preceptor, a Quality more rare than that of Preceptor is common, was united in them to that of being Learned: We could not thence conclude, that *Lewis XIII.* had been well educated; for they were but a very ſmall time Directors of his Studies. We ought to know how they acquitted their Charge, who came after *le Fevre*. We can't be over-prejudiced in their Favour, when we conſider, that they perſiſted in making him read *Fauchet*'s Works, which diſguſted him. This was not the Way to form his Judgment, but diſcourage him. 'Tis ſaid however, that he grew very nice upon the point of Eloquence, and that the Haranguers of that Time infinitely diſpleaſed him, though his own Encomiums were the ſubject Matter. Here's my Witneſs: '(*p*) Always to praiſe and 'admire, and to this purpoſe to make uſe of long-'winded Periods and Exclamations, diſguſts even 'thoſe whom we praiſe and admire. The victori-'ous complain of it in the midſt of their Tri-'umphs. And I know from good Hands, that the 'late King beholding himſelf one Day in a Glaſs, 'and wondering at the great Number of his grey 'Hairs, charged 'em upon the Complimenters of 'his Kingdom, and their long Periods. He ſaid 'to the Perſon from whom I have taken theſe re-'markable Words, *I fancy, it's the Harangues that have been made me ſince my coming to the 'Crown, and particularly thoſe of Monſieur le *** 'that have made me grey ſo ſoon.*

(*f*) *Le Vaſſor hiſt. de Louis XIII. tom.* 1. *p.* 667.
(*g*) *Gilles de Souvré.*
(*b*) *Le Vaſſor, ibid. pag.* 668.
(*i*) Vigneul Marville *in his* Melanges d'hiſtoire & de litterature. *See alſo the* 1ſt. *tome of the* Chevræana, *p.* 292. *and the following Edit. of* Holl.
(*k*) L'Abbe de Marolles, *in his Liſt of Authors, who had given him their Books.*
(*l*) *Caſaubo. exercit.* 16. *in Baron. cap.* 80. *p. m.* 551.
(*m*) *Continuat. Thuani, pag.* 318.
(*n*) *Le Grain, decade de Louis XIII. pag.* 2.
(*o*) *Contin. Thuani, ibid.*
(*p*) *Balzac avant propos du Socrate Chreſtien, fol.* 2111.

(*M*△△) *On many Occaſions he diſcovered great Fineneſs of Parts.*] If what *Balzac* has been telling us, do's not ſeem a good Commentary upon this Text, what will you ſay after reading theſe

of Parts. I shall transcribe the Character given him (*N*) in the History of the Edict of *Nantes*. The same Reason which hinders my relating a Series of Actions, according to the order of time in several other Articles, prevents me here; because I would not repeat, what's to be found in Mr. *Moreri*. I am [illegible]ized, that he should forget the solemn Act [a], by which *Lewis* XIII. put his [illegible] and Kingdom under the Protection of the Holy Virgin. Mr. *Godeau* exercis[illegible] Muse on this Subject, with little Judgment. A Learned Critick (O) attac[illegible]him upon it with great Force. I forgot to say, that the Royal Authority ma[illegible]lf more [illegible]nsiderable,

[a] *See the Remark* O.

(*a*) *Chevalier de Mer, traité de l'esprit, pag.* 23. *Edit. de Holl.*

Words of the Chevalier *de Mere*? (*a*) 'How 'comes it then that this Court is so different from 'what it was heretofore? *Henry the Great*, who 'judged well of every thing, though he had hardly studied any thing but the Trade of War, and 'the late King, in my Opinion, have not a little 'contributed to it. This Prince, whom we have 'seen, had a delicate Wit, and said excellent 'Things. Can any thing be more agreeable than 'this Saying: Put on your Hat, *Brion*; my Brother will have it so? And so many others which I 'could relate. As he loved good Raillery, he very much 'disliked that which was bad; and the *C. D. R.* had 'like to have been disgraced, for having written to '*M. D. E.* in a kind of Raillery, tho' all the guilt of it 'consisted in its Folly. Abundance of Readers will better understand the meaning of, *Put on your Hat*, Brion, *&c.* if I tell the Story a little at large, as Mr. *Boursault* has related it. (*b*) *The late Duke of* Orleans, Gaston *of* France, *was so jealous of the Rights belonging to his Quality, that upon this Head, he never excused any Body; that he might have the Pleasure of seeing the Princes of the Blood* [illegible] *Cap in Hand to him whenever he found an O*[illegible] *tunity of speaking to 'em, he kept 'em as lo*[illegible] *possibly he could, and never uncovered himself one single Moment, for fear of forgetting his own Quality,* Lewis *XIII. going one Day from* Paris *to St.* Germain, *in the excessive Heat, in Company of the Duke of* Orleans, *the Lords, who were bareheaded at the sides of the Coach, were hardly able to bear the Violence of the Sun. The King perceiving how they suffered, had the good Nature to say to 'em*; Cover your selves Gentlemen, cover your selves, my Brother gives you leave.

(*b*) *Boursault lettres nouvelles, pag.* 381. *Edit. de Holl.*

(*N*) *The Character that is given him in the History of the Edict of* Nantes.] (*c*) He was 'jealous of his Power even to excess, though he 'could neither understand nor enjoy it. He could 'never in the whole Course of his Life, either 'exercise it by himself, or suffer it in the Hands of 'another. It was equally impossible for him not to 'raise his Favourites to an exceeding Power, and 'abide 'em in the Grandeur, to which he himself 'had raised 'em. By the meer enriching 'em, he 'capacitated 'em to displease him. The excess of 'his Complaisance to 'em, was as it were, the first 'degree of his Hatred; and I don't know, whether we can find in his History, the Example of a 'Favourite, whose Death or Fall he lamented. 'But he always concealed his Sentiments; and because he communicated 'em to few People, they 'who will have the Conduct of Princes to be always mysterious, accuse him of a black and profound Dissimulation. To say the real Truth, the 'Reason of his Silence was, that he neither trusted 'himself, nor any Body else; and was very timorous and weak. Almost all that have spoken of 'him, acknowledge he had Courage; that in danger he lost not his Judgment; that he loved and 'understood War; that he was Master of much 'fine Knowledge; but that he had not the Art 'of Reigning. This Picture seems drawn well enough to the Life.

(*c*) *Histoire de l'edit de Nantes, tom* 2. *liv.* 5. *pag.* 220.

(*O*) *A Learned Critick attacked Mr.* Godeau.] The King's Declaration concerning this Act of Devotion to the Holy Virgin, is dated the 10th. of *February* 1638. You'll find it entire in the *French* Mercury (*d*); I'll only take this part of it: 'FOR THESE CAUSES we have declared, and do declare, that taking the most holy 'and glorious Virgin, for the special Protectress of 'our Kingdom, we particularly consecrate to her 'our Person, Estates, Crowns, and Subjects, beseeching her to inspire us with a Holy Conduct, 'and to defend this Kingdom so carefully against 'the Efforts of all its Enemies; that whether it 'suffers the Scourge of War, or enjoys the Calms 'of Peace, which we beg of God with all our Heart, 'it may never depart out of the Ways of Grace, 'which lead to those of Glory. And that Posterity may never fail to pursue our Desires upon this 'Subject, for the immortal Remembrance, and in Testimony of the present Consecration, which we 'make, we will cause the great Altar of the Cathedral Church of *Paris* to be built anew, with 'an Image of the Virgin embracing her precious 'Son in her Arms, descended from the Cross; we 'will be represented at the Feet of the Son and of 'the Mother, in a Posture of offering 'em our 'Crown and Scepter. We admonish the Sieur 'Archbishop of *Paris* [illegible] at the same time enjoin 'him, that he annu[illegible]n the Day and Feast of 'the *Assumption*, m[illegible] a Commemoration of our 'present Declaration, in the High Mass, which 'shall be said in his Cathedral Church, and after 'the Vespers of the same Day, that a Procession be 'made in the said Church, at which all the Sovereign Companies shall assist, and [illegible] Body of the 'City, with equal Ceremony, as is [illegible]ved at the 'most solemn general Processions [illegible]ich we will 'also have done in all Churches, both Parochial 'and Monasterial of the said City and Suburbs; 'and in all Towns, Burroughs and Villages of the 'said Dioceses of *Paris*. We in like manner exhort 'all Archbishops and Bishops of our Kingdom, and 'at the same time enjoin 'em, to cause the same 'Solemnity to be celebrated in the Episcopal 'Churches, and other Churches of their Dioceses.

(*d*) *Tome* 22. *p.* 284. *the following. See the Histoire de l'edit de Nantes, tome* 2. *pag.* 578.

Mr. *Godeau* made a Hymn upon this Occasion, in which the King addressing to the Holy Virgin, expatiatiates on the extraordinary Merit of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and acknowledges him not only as his Collegue, but as a Collegue who watched in order to let his Partner Sleep. The Jesuit (*e*) who censured Mr. *Godeau*, exceeded the Bounds of Modesty and Temper; but at the bottom he had reason for censuring this [illegible]duct. I'll relate his Censure somewhat at [illegible]nd don't fear being blamed for it, as [illegible]possibly be for many other Citations out of [illegible]Books, which are very common; for this Jesuit's Book is scarce known, and hardly to be met with. We'll therefore boldly cite a large piece of it, which will inform us, that *Lewis* XIII. did not love to have his first Minister praised at his own Cost. He was sensible of his Dependance, but he did not care that any Body should know it, and 'tis even certain, that the Cardinal dextrously managed his Master's Delicacy, both in his Words, and his External Conduct. So that Mr. *Godeau* made use of Flatteries, which were neither conformable to *Decorum* nor Prudence. (*f*) *Cùm Ludovicum XIII. offerentem se ac regnum Mariæ Virgini, inducaret, huic de isto sermonem assinxit, qui totus abhorreat à regis sensu & consuetudine, Cardinalis prudentia, ac voluntate, rei natura. Quid attinuit à rege, sanctis ac religiosis suis ad Dei matrem precibus, cujusquam mortalis laudes admiscere? quid necesse fu[illegible]minutè atque enucleatè exaggerari? quid conve[illegible] multis in tam exiguo carmine?——V[illegible]remitto pessimi poetæ errata, atque condono [illegible]is hoc, Antoni, tibi ignoscat, vel civis bonus[illegible] vir non socors, quòd regi socium & consortem regni invidiosissimè addidisti?*

(*e*) *François Vasseur disguised under the Name of* Candidus Hesychius.

(*f*) *Anton. Godellus, Episcopus Grassensis, in trum Poeta, pag.* 82. *& seq.*

[illegible]Tandis (*i*) qu'un si sage Ministre
[illegible]Avec moy tiendra le timon.

[illegible]*is, perdnellis*? Tenir le timon avec le Roy *tene[illegible] clavum & principatum cum rege pariter? neque est enim istuc pro regem agere, sed una cum rege*

(*i*) *p.* 136.

conſiderable under the Reign (P) of *Lewis* XIII. than it had ever done in *France*; and I don't believe the Parliament of *Paris* ever ſuffer'd a more ſhameful (P△) Mortification, than what it ſubmitted to in 1631. 'Tis true, this illuſtrious Body ſeem'd a little to have forgot it's Duty, and had the Misfortune to ſuffer it ſelf to be thrown out of Temper, by the Artifices of ſome factious Spirits. I ſhall examine, perhaps in another Place « the Horoſcope, that is found in *Sulli*'s Memoirs.

« *In the Article* Riviere.

'Tis very probable that *Lewis* XIII. was not ſorry for the Death of Cardinal *Richelieu*; for he was a Man he rather feared than loved; and whom he would have been gladly rid of, if powerful Reaſons had not prevail'd. He imagined, amongſt other things,

rege regem eſſe. Quod ſi de filio regis unico, herede proximo & vero, patre vivo, dicas, crimen imminutæ majeſtatis incurras: Cùm de alieno, de cive, de adminiſtro, de eo, qui hoc ſine ſcelere cogitare non auſit, dixeris; omni culpa, reprehenſione, pœna liber es? Neſcis quàm retinens Ludovicus auctoritatis? quàm nihil hujus perferens, unde peti vel tantulum majeſtas videretur? quàm gnarus iſtorum cardinalis, neque quidquam tam verens, quàm ne quis iſtiuſmodi parum conſideratus ſermo & improbus ac ſeditioſus ad aures regis accederet, aut in vulgus ſerperet? ut mirum ſit, ni apud utrumque, ſi modo legere ſcriptiuncuſam iſtam tuam curavit, graviter offenderis. Præſertim cùm nihil excuſare poſſes, neque hoc tibi imprudenti excidiſſe, neque ullis verſus anguſtiis, ac neceſſitate coactum feciſſe; cui tam facile fuerit tam apertum nefas advertere, & invidiam verbis atque aſperitatem vel tollere omnino, vel ſic mitigare: Tandis qu'un ſi ſage Miniſtre Deſſous moy tiendra le timon.——*Quod ſequitur, ſatis ridiculum, eumdem Cardinalem unum opponi inferis ac dæmonibus cunctis*: (2) Les enfers n'ont point de demon, dont je craigne rien de finiſtre. *Et hoc arrogans ac propè impium.* (3) C'eſt par luy que tous m'eſt poſſible. *Nempe ſi Cardinalis affuiſſet, non eſſet rex mortuus. Vitandum ſanè fuit, ut ne id uſurpares, in quo aperta aſſentatio minimum eſt, quod reprehendatur, illum ipſum regem futurum fuiſſe, niſi regi adjutor & comes adjunctus eſſet.* (4) Et vous en euſſiez fait un Roy, &c. *Non poſſum verò tibi, Godelle, non ſuccenſere, quòd in tam effuſis adminiſtri regii laudibus, regem deprimis, & nobis exhibes ſomniculoſum, ac nihil agentem, qui hoc etiam confiteatur de ſe:*

(2) p. 136.

(3) p. 136.

Je (5) gouſte en repos le ſommeil, &c.

Quem porrò regem? vigilantiſſimum, laborioſiſſimum, patientia injuriarum cæli ac terræ inſignem, qui multiplici & diverſa in ultimas regni oras expeditione, valetudinem & corpus amiſit, neque vitam longiùs, quàm in quartum (a) & quadrageſimum annum produxit.

(a) *Father Pavaſſeur is miſtaken* Louis *XIII. lived but* 41. *Years, and near upon* 8 *Months.*

(P) *The Royal Authority made it ſelf more conſiderable.*] A remarkable thing! The Royal Power was more ſtrongly eſtabliſhed under a Prince who neither enjoyed Authority nor abſolute Liberty himſelf, than it had been under Monarchs leaſt depending on their Miniſters, and the beſt ſkilled in the Art of Governing. 'Tis properly under *Lewis* XIII. and not in the Reign of *Lewis* XI. that the Kings of *France* had their Manumiſſion. This muſt be aſcribed to Cardinal *Richelieu*; 'tis he that began the Work of Arbitrary Power, and carried it on pretty near to Perfection; but not ſo near, as was then complain'd of; the ſucceeding time has ſhewn, that many things were wanting to this Work, which have been ſince added, or are adding at preſent. The People and Magiſtrates were ſenſible of this Innovation, and murmured at it; (b) it was the Subject of a Thouſand Diſcourſes, *Coſtar* argued once againſt a Politician, who maintained, "That no Princes were more "dangerous, than ſuch as a *Latin* Poet (c) calls "*nimium Reges*, *Sovereigns that are too much Sovereigns*; and *Kings that are too much Kings.* They who would ſee Mr. *Coſtar*'s Reaſons, need only read the laſt Letter of his Diſcourſes: *Under weak Reigns*, ſays he, (d) *Foreign and Domeſtick Wars are inevitable. If a King is not abſolute at Home, it's impoſſible he ſhould be feared abroad; and his Enemies Contempt of his Forces will neceſſarily provoke their Ambition and their Avarice.—— Provided the Cardinal be ſuffered to act, provided God meant not only to ſhew him to Mankind, but to ſuffer us to enjoy for many Years the noble Preſent he has beſtowed upon the Earth; all theſe little Taſſel-Hawks of Kings, which in ſome ſort divided the Kingdom,* † *will ſee their Tyranny at an end; and if they are any farther conſiderable, it will not be through the Power of doing ill, but only by the Merit of their Perſons, and the Uſefulneſs of their Services.——The People for a long time have been compared to the Sea, which is naturally Calm and Smooth, unleſs diſturb'd by the Violence of the Winds; but our Wiſe Pilot has found out a way of binding them, ſhutting 'em up, and maſtering 'em: So that in the Condition he has placed us, if any Trouble or Sedition could poſſibly riſe, whilſt it wanted Heads to conduct and ſupport it, its Remedies would be as eaſie as its Cauſes were light; for this Multitude we ſpeak of is a Monſter, whoſe Heart as well as Brains is in its Head. And* Tacitus *has ſaid of the Populace, that* without a Guide, *it trembles all over, is in pannick Fears, and out of its Wits:* Vulgus ſine rectore, pavidum, ſocors. Obſerve how he apologizes for the Sentences of Baniſhment and Death, to which recourſe was forced to be had to diſperſe the Factions. *In the inteſtine Diſeaſes,* adds he, (e) *with which* France *laboured, there was a Neceſſity to repeat bleeding to ſave its Life.*

(b) *See the Memoires Marolles, pag.* 143.

(c) *Manilius.*

(d) *Coſtar, Entretiens avec Voiture, pag.* 563.

† *Confer quæ ſupra, pag.* 1452. *col.* 1.

(e) *Coſtar ubi ſupra, pag.* 565.

(P△) *That the Parliament of* Paris *ever ſuffered a more ſhameful Mortification than in* 1631.] The King being adviſed of the Preparations for War, which were made in favour of the Duke of *Orleans*, almoſt (f) throughout the Kingdom, and that *Burgundy* was to be the principal Seat of the Rebellion, he flew thither to quaſh it. This Diligence obliged the Duke to retire (g) into the *Spaniſh* Territories with his Abettors. Theſe were declared guilty of Treaſon. The Declaration (h) having been recorded in the Parliament of *Burgundy*, was ſent to the Parliament of *Paris*, where the Opinions (i) *were ſo divided, that there was a Decree of Diviſion, inſtead of a Decree of Verification.* (k) "Whereupon the King being re-"turned to *Paris*, was obliged, that he might not "let ſuch an Irregularity paſs without due cor-"rection, to ſend for the Parliament to the *Louvre*, "with Orders to come thither on foot as culpable, "and in a Condition of receiving the Reprimand it "deſerved, giving them to underſtand that it "was not their Province to deliberate about Affairs "of State; that he did not ſend 'em the Declara-"tions he made upon this Subject for any other "End but only to publiſh 'em, Regiſter 'em, and "make 'em obſerved by the People, and that the "Declaration in queſtion ought to have been pub-"liſhed with ſo much the leſs Difficulty, as there "is a great deal of difference betwixt a Commiſſion "which is delivered for the making the Trial, and "giving Judgment on any one; and a Declara-"tion which is publiſh'd by his Majeſty, to let his "Subjects know who they are he complains of, the "Reaſons he has for ſo doing, and by which they are "guilty of the Crime of High-Treaſon; conſidering "moreover that in a Declaration of this kind his "Majeſty allows 'em a certain time, during which "they may obtain the Favour of his Clemency, if "they have recourſe to it, and even after that all "the Formalities neceſſary in Criminal Cauſes are "obſerved, before Condemnation. This was done "in the *Louvre*, the King ſitting in his Council, "and the Parliament in a Body, kneeling in his "Preſence; and after the Keeper of the Seals had "given 'em to underſtand from his Majeſty, that "they had no Authority to judge of the Declara-"tions of State that were ſent to 'em, he tore

(f) *See the Miniſtere du Cardinal de* Richelieu, *tom.* 1. *pag.* 207.

(g) *At Bezanſon.*

(h) *Ibid. pag.* 215.

(i) *Aubery, Hiſtoire du Cardinal de* Richelieu, *liv.* 4. *chap.* 17. *p. m.* 303, 304.

(k) *Miniſtere du Cardinal de* Richelieu, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 218, 219.

things, that his Troops being commanded by the Creatures (Q) of his Eminence, he could not diſpoſe of 'em as he pleaſed, if he broke intirely with him. He was often

' with his own Hands the Decree of Diviſion ' which had been enter'd in the Regiſters, and ' commanded to ſubſtitute in its Place that of his ' Counſel, by which he annull'd it, with Prohibi- ' on to deliberate for the future upon ſuch like ' Declarations; and finally to expiate the Fault ' of this Body upon ſome Particulars; the Preſi- ' dents *Gayan* and *Barillon*, and the Sieur *Leſné* ' Counſellor, were commanded by the King's Order ' to remove for ſome time from *Paris*, and were ' ſuſpended from the Exerciſe of their Employs, ' for having ſpoken of his Actions and the Con- ' duct of the State with too little Reſpect.

In Foreign Countries abundance of People, imagine that the excluding the Parliaments of *France* from a ſhare in the Sovereignty is a new thing; there are many *Frenchmen* under a like miſtake. It will not be amiſs therefore to ſhew here by certain and indiſputable Facts, that the Parliament of *Paris* has for a long time had the Bounds of its Juriſdiction declared, and that upon the foot of an ancient Cuſtom. This Society being in the *Louvre*, in 1631. in the Poſture before obſerved, (a) *the Keeper of the Seals*, de Ghaſteauneuf *highly blamed* the Proceeding of the Parliament of *Paris*, *and proved to 'em by abundance of Reaſons*, AND BY DIVERSE EXAMPLES *that the Parliament neither can nor ought to take Cognizance of any but private Affairs, and Differences betwixt Party and Party, and not meddle with the Affairs of State, of which the Sovereign reſerves the ſole Cognizance to himſelf. That in the Buſineſs of Trials of Princes, Dukes, and other Officers of the Crown, for their Male-adminiſtration, the Direction of the Treaſury, and the Management of the State, to the end that the Parliaments may take Cognizance of 'em, 'tis neceſſary the King ſhould ſend 'em an expreſs Commiſſion, which in that Caſe extends their ordinary Juriſdiction; or elſe that his Majeſty aſſiſt in Perſon, and authorize by his Preſence the Inſtruction of theſe extraordinary Proceedings. That moreover, there being a great difference between a Commiſſion to make out a Trial, and a Declaration, only denoting thoſe the King complains of, it was never doubted, but the Parliaments ought to take Cognizance of the Cauſe, before they judge upon a Commiſſion; and that on the contrary, they are obliged, without any Delay or Deliberation, to record a Declaration, which always leaves Criminals a certain time, in which they may return to their Duty, and thereby ſtop the proceeding any further in their Proſecution. The Remonſtrance of the Keeper being at an end, the King ordered the Regiſter of the Court to be brought him, and the Leaf ſhewn him, wherein was the Decree of Diviſion, which he himſelf tore out, and inſtead of it, cauſed the Decree of the Council to be inſerted the ſame day, the 12th of* May; *by which* moſt expreſs Prohibitions were made to the ſaid Court of Parliament ever after, to deliberate upon ſuch like Declarations, concerning Affairs of State, its Adminiſtration and Government, at the Peril of loſing their Places, and greater if they fail'd; and for the Fault committed in this Inſtance by the ſaid Court, it was ordered, that the ſaid Letters of Declaration ſhould be withdrawn from it, with moſt expreſs Inhibitions, to take any Juriſdiction or Cognizance of their Contents. No body was ever better acquainted with the Laws of the Kingdom, than Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital*; and yet obſerve how he makes *Charles* IX. ſpeak. *Bodin* (b) will tell you that this Prince made a Decree the 24th of *September*, 1563. forbidding the Parliament of *Paris* to put it to the queſtion, whether they ſhou'd or ſhou'd not record the Edicts his Majeſty ſent 'em. *Francis* I. (c) made a like Ordinance in the Year, 1528.

(a) *Auberi ubi ſupra, pag.* 304.

(b) *Bodin. de republica, lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. *pag.* 319. *Edit. Latina*, 1600.

(c) *Id. ib.*

(Q.) *That his Troops being commanded by the Creatures of the Cardinal he could not diſpoſe of 'em.*] Mr. *d'Artagnan*'s Memoirs inform us that *Cinqmars* the King's Favourite conceived a great Averſion for Cardinal *Richelieu*, after he had obſerved that his Eminence prevented his marrying of a Princeſs. He endeavoured to induce the King to ruin this Miniſter, and (d) *he believed he had* [illegible] *that if his Majeſty did it not, it was* [illegible] *much for want of good will, as becauſe he* [illegible] *afraid of him. His Majeſty had anſwered, that he ſpoke to him of it, that what he propoſed was very difficult, that he did not conſider that this Man was Maſter of all the Places of his Kingdom, and of all his Armies both by Sea and Land; that they were his Relations and Friends who commanded 'em, whom he could cauſe to revolt againſt him, both as often and as long as he pleaſed.* Let's add a Reflection upon this: The Favourites of Princes, or thoſe who have the greateſt Share in the Government, apply themſelves generally with an incredible vigilance to get themſelves, or procure for their Relations the moſt profitable and honourable Imploys. One would ſay, that they look upon themſelves as the Heirs of Mankind: There is no Place vacant, but they beg it for themſelves or for ſome of their Creatures. Some there are who attribute this only to an inſatible Avarice, and a boundleſs Ambition; but it's certain, that if in the Beginning theſe are the only Motives of their Conduct, Prudence obliges 'em to continue it after; for the Maligners and Enemies of a firſt Miniſter daily increaſe in Proportion to his Authority: He has therefore new and hourly Occaſions to make himſelf Supports and Ramparts; for which Reaſon he inceſſantly turns out of Places Perſons who are ſuſpected by him, and advances ſuch as devote themſelves to his Intereſt. Cardinal *Richelieu* maintained himſelf this way, and ſo ſtrengthned his Power, that it laſted all his Life. You have ſeen in the Paſſage of Mr. *d'Artagnan*'s Memoirs, that 'twas this hindred the King from gratifying his Deſire of ruining him. Obſerve now from theſe Words of Mr. *de la Rochefoucaud*, in what Condition Affairs were, after the Death of his Eminence: (e) *I came to Court, which I found as obedient to his Will*, (f) *after his Death, as in his Life time. His Relations and Creatures had the ſame Advantages that he had procur'd them; and by an Effect of his Fortune, of which few Examples are to be met with in Story, the King who had hated him, and wiſhed his Deſtruction, was obliged not only to diſſemble his Reſentments, but alſo to authorize the Diſpoſal the Cardinal had made in his Will, of the principal Imploys and moſt important Places of his Kingdom. He further choſe Cardinal* Mazarine *to ſucceed him in the Government of Affairs, whereby he was aſſured of Reigning more abſolutely after his Death, than the King his Maſter had been able to do for the Thirty-three Years that he wore the Crown.* But to omit nothing, it muſt be obſerved, that it was for the King's Intereſt at that time, that the Armies and Forts ſhou'd not be under the Direction of the Cardinal's Enemies. This Miniſter's Abilities had not been ſufficient to ſupport him, but for the good Succeſſes which attended the King's Arms; he muſt neceſſarily have fallen if *Lewis* the XIIIth's Wars had been unproſperous. It was therefore the Intereſt of his Enemies, that the *Spaniards* ſhould triumph, and put the Kingdom in continual Frights. What would not have been to be feared, if the *French* Generals had wiſhed the Ruin of the Cardinal, and if their particular Fate had not depended upon that of the Miniſter? They who wiſhed his Ruin, were wonderfully pleaſed with the Succeſſes of the *Spaniards* in 1636. And the Count *de Soiſſons*, a Prince of the Blood, ſhew'd himſelf but an ill Subject, when the queſtion was how to ſtop this Tempeſt, by ſaying he could be ſorry if it increaſed even to the Point of forcing the King to ſacrifice the Cardinal to the public Indignation. *We could never have believed*, there are the Words of the King's Declaration, (g) *that after we had pardoned the Count* de Soiſſons, *our Couſin, the ill Offices he had been guilty of againſt our Service in the Year 1636. when we truſted our Arms in his Hands, that he would have embarked himſelf again* [illegible]. See what has been ſaid above, concerning the raiſing the Siege of *Fontarabia*.

(d) *Memoires d'Artagnan, pag.* 180.

(e) *Mr. de la Rochefoucaud, pag.* 2. *See the Remark S.*

(f) *That's to ſay, of Cardinal* Richelieu.

(g) *Dated* June, 8. 1641. *See the Memoirs de Montreſor, pag. m.* 367, 368.

We

often ſollicited either to give Orders or Permiſſion (*R*) for killing the Cardinal, but cou'd never be brought to it. Nor would he even after the Death of the Cardinal, ſuffer his Family to loſe any of its Luſtre; and 'twas believed he deſign'd by this, to perſwade the World that he had not raiſed it out of

We have ſeen at the Beginning of this Remark, that Cardinal *Richelieu* provoked *Cinqmars*, by oppoſing the Marriage of a Princeſs. Not to engage the Reader in the Trouble of conſulting another Book, I'll juſt mention that this Princeſs was the ſame *Mary de Gonzague*, who Married the King of *Poland* ſome time after. She had been beloved by the Duke of *Orleans*, his Majeſty's only Brother; but the Queen-Mother to prevent the Match, (*a*) cauſed her to be ſent to the *Bois de Vincennes*. This Detainment was a little after by the King's Order, who promiſed his Brother, in 1631. (*b*) leave to Marry her. The Duke of *Orleans* made no Advantage of this Conſent; he meditated a Rebellion, which was quaſh'd in its Infancy, and he eſcaped into Foreign Countries, and engaged himſelf to a Siſter of the Duke of *Lorrain*. One of the Six things which gave *Cinqmars* an implacable Averſion to Cardinal *Richelieu*, was, that [illegible] making of the Princeſs *Mary de Gonzague*, he [illegible], that his Mother had a mind to Marry him to her. *Your Mother*, anſwered his Eminence, *is Mad, and if the Princeſs* Mary *has ſuch a Thought, ſhe is madder than your Mother; When ſhe has been propoſed as a Wife for* Monſieur, *would you have the Vanity and Preſumption to pretend to her? 'Tis a ridiculous thing.* (*c*) [illegible]te, that the Author of *the Galantries of the Kings of* France, has vented a [illegible] Diabol[illegible] Satyrical concerning the Amours of *Cinqmars*.

(*a*) *Auberi, Hiſt. du Cardinal de* Richelieu, *liv.* 4. *chap.* 6. *p. m.* 269. *&* 270. *du* 1. *tome.*

(*b*) *Id. ib. chap.* 10. *pag.* 298.

(*c*) *See Journal du Cardinal de Richelieu, pag.* 208, *Edit.* 1648 *in* 12.

(*d*) *Me-*

(*R*) *To give Orders or Permiſſion for the killing of the Cardinal.*] I have related in the preceding Remark, *Lewis* the XIII's Anſwer to the Propoſition of diſgracing the Cardinal. This Anſwer made this young Favourite conclude (*d*) *that when he ſhould have kill'd the Cardinal, the King, inſtead of revenging him, would be the firſt that wou'd be pleas'd at the Deliverance.* Thus continually fortifying his Reſolution of Sacrificing this firſt Miniſter, he attempted to engage *Treville* in the Execution; (*e*) " But *Treville*, who was Wiſe and ' Prudent, anſwer'd him when he ſpoke to him of ' it, that he had never been concern'd in Aſſaſſina- ' tions, and that it was as much as he ſhould be ' able to do bring himſelf to, tho' his Majeſty ſhould ' declare to him, that the good of the State de- ' pended on it. *Cinqmars* reply'd, that if nothing ' was wanting but that, the thing ſhould be quickly ' done, even before [illegible] was Two days older, and ' deſir'd him not to promiſe but upon that ' Condition. *Treville* gave him his Promiſe with- ' out making much Reflection on what he did; ' mean time, whether he only did it becauſe he be- ' lieved the King would never conſent to ſuch a ' thing; he who was daily and hourly repeating ' how terribly diſturb'd he was at having cauſed ' the Marſhal *d'Ancre* to be taken off as he was; ' or whether he gave too much way to his Re- ' ſentment, *Cinqmars* had no ſooner his Word for ' it, but he ſounded the King upon the Matter. ' The King, who was downright, acknowledg'd ' that he ſhould not be very ſorry to be rid of his ' Eminence, not thinking on what Deſign he made ' that Propoſition. He thought that what he ſaid ' to him was only a thing at random, as when one ' is ask'd whether he would be glad or ſorry that ' this or that ſhould happen. However, *Cinqmars* ' making the moſt of this Anſwer, ſent for ' *Trevi*[illegible] and bid him try the King—— ' *Trevi*[illegible]oke to his Majeſty upon this Topick ' that [illegible]day. He anſwer'd nothing but what ' was [illegible]eable enough to what *Cinqmars* had ' endeavour'd to perſwade him.——(*f*) *Cinqmars* ' who was already dextrous at deceiving, and ' putting off a Look or a Wink for expreſs Com- ' mands, thought inſtead of getting the [illegible] to ' ſay all he had promiſed for him, that 'twa[illegible]uch ' as if he declared the ſame things to *Tre*[illegible] that ' he had ſaid to himſelf. *Treville* who [illegible] heard ' the King ſay as much, not once, but an Hundred ' times before, was not ſo thorowly ſatisfied as he imagin'd; he deſir'd that his Majeſty would explain ' himſelf more poſitively upon it; and the thing ' being ſpun out till his Departure, it was reſolv'd ' to execute their Deſign at *Nemours*. The one in- ' gaged only upon the other's Promiſe, which he ' conſtantly made of the King's declaring himſelf; ' and the other made him this Promiſe only, be- ' cauſe he thought to amuſe and inſenſibly oblige ' him to do the thing, without making much Re- ' flection on it. When the Court was come to (*g*) ' *Melun*, *Treville* challenging *Cinqmars* with his ' Promiſe, he referrs him to *Fontainebleau*, where ' the King was to ſtay a Day. He actually ſpoke ' of it to his Majeſty, and preſs'd him to conſent ' to it; but the King deteſting the Propoſition, ' and anſwering him, that he did not think he ' durſt have ſpoken to him of it; he conceal'd ' this from *Treville*, telling him that his Majeſty's ' Anſwer was, That Hints were ſufficient to be ' underſtood, without obliging a King to give a ' poſitive Command. This Game the Marſhal ' *de Vitry* play'd, when he took off the Marſhal ' *d'Ancre*—— (*h*) *Treville* was not at all ſatiſ- ' fied with this Anſwer; and tho' all the Meaſures ' were taken for this Aſſaſſination, he broke it ' off, as ſoon as he ſaw the King would not conſent to it. After this the Author relates, that [illegible]*mars* had a Dagger made to kill the Cardi- [illegible] himſelf; That he *hang'd it to the Hilt of his Sword, as was the Faſhion of that time*; That the Cardinal having notice of the Deſign ſtood upon his Guard; *That Chance, however, order'd it ſo* that he *was Twice ſide by ſide with* Cinqmars on the Road; *but whatever Reſolution this Favourite had taken, he was ſo confounded when the Buſineſs was to ſtrike the Blow, that he had not the Power to lay his Hand to the Poniard, which yet was made on purpoſe to take away his Life.*

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) *Ibid. pag.* 183.

(*g*) *The King ſet out for* Rouſſillion *in* 1642.

(*h*) *Ibid. pag.* 184.

I don't pretend that every thing in Mr. *d'Artagnan*'s Memoirs is to paſs for Truth, but it's certain his Eminence was perſwaded that *Cinqmars* had reſolv'd to execute this Aſſaſſination at *Lions*. See the Letter (*i*) he wrote to his Majeſty the 7th of *July*, 1652. "(*k*) And 'tis plain from the ' King's Letter, that *Cinqmars* made no ſcruple to ' attempt the Perſon of the Cardinal; and that he ' not only propoſed it to the King, as a thing ab- ' ſolutely neceſſary, but alſo offer'd to ex- ' ecute it himſelf; at which his Majeſty was ' aſtoniſh'd, and condemn'd ſo wicked a Thought. Hence we may collect a good Argument, to confute a falſe Story of *Guy Patin*; A World of People take it for a certain Fact, and make a Thouſand Serious Reflections upon it; the thing ſounds ſo very ſtrange and ſurprizing. Theſe are his Words: " (*l*) I have always in my Thoughts ' the Paſſage of the Preſident *Thuanus*'s Hiſtory, ' where mention is made of *Antony Richelieu*, ' *commonly call'd the Monk*, which coſt *Thuanus* ' Grandſon his Life. He had much better not ' have written a Hiſtory at all. Who can tell but ' in ſome Age or other a Tyrant may ariſe, who ' may let looſe his Indignation againſt my Family, ' to revenge ſome truth that I had ſpoken of his ' Anceſtors? *Thuanus* had not loſt his Head, if ' Cardinal *Richelieu* had not ſought an occaſion of ' revenging himſelf upon the Grandſon, for what ' the Grandfather had written. This he wrote the 8th of *November*, 1658. He perſever'd in this Notion, and repeated this Obſervation in writing to a Friend, the 31ſt of *July*, 1669. with this only difference, that he took the Cardinal's Victim for the Hiſtorian's Son, and not his Grandſon. He then was better acquainted with the Degree of Relation. *The Preſident* Thuanus's *Hiſtory*, ſaid he, *is fine* (*m*) *and more than fine; but it ſo diſpleaſed Cardinal* Richelieu, *that it coſt him his Eldeſt Son's Life, who was a very worthy Man, and this on account of a Paſſage concerning* Antony du Pleſſis de Richelieu, *in the 1ſt. Tome under* Francis *II. in the Year* 1560.

(*i*) *It's among the Memoirs of* Montreſor, *pag.* 203. *See alſo pag.* 190.

A CONFUTATION *of* what *Patin* has ſaid of the Cauſe of the Death of *Thuanus*, Son of the Hiſtorian.

(*k*) *Auberi ubi ſupra, liv.* 6. *chap.* 83. *pag.* 321.

(*l*) *Patin lettre*, 124 *pag.* 486. *du* 1. *tome.*

(*m*) *Idem lettre* 492. *pag.* 432. *du* 3. *tome.*

——*This*

of a (S) Slaviſh Condeſcenſion. The ſame Reaſon ſhould have induced him to leave in Priſons or Baniſhment, the Perſons the Cardinal had diſgraced; yet perceiving himſelf near his End, he conſented to the Liberty or (T) Return of moſt of 'em. 'Tis ſaid ſome Economical Motives mingled in this Affair. The ſhort Time that he ſurvived the Cardinal, was perhaps the moſt uncomfortable of his whole Life; for beſides his Bodily Infirmities, he had a great many Troubles of Mind. And as 'tis very probable, he was not ignorant (V) of the Queen's Intrigues, we may reaſonably believe that his Mind was toſſed with a Thouſand Diſturbances.

———*This Paſſage begins thus.* Antonius Richelius vulgo dictus Monachus, &c. The Readineſs of ſo many People's believing *Guy Patin's* Aſſertion in theſe two Paſſages, may convince us, that on ſome Occaſions an Argument is ſtrong enough to perſwade, if it abounds with Extravagance and Crimes: It becomes credible on this very Account, that it ſhocks good Senſe and Probability. But omitting that, let's reaſon a little upon it. 'Tis certain, that *Cinqmars* had undertaken to deſtroy Cardinal *Richelieu*; his Eminence was convinced, that the way of doing it was by an Aſſaſſination. It appears, that *Thuanus* was *Cinqmars's* intimate Friend, at leaſt, that he was admitted to (a) the inmoſt Confidence of this Favourite, as to the Point of ruining the Cardinal's Fortune. Is not this ſearching for Mid-day at Twelve a Clock (if we may uſe this Proverbial Phraſe), to go ſo far as the Expreſſions of *Thuanus* the Hiſtorian, in queſt of the Cauſe of *Thuanus's* Death, the Confident of *Cinqmars*. Could the firſt Miniſter, as vindictive as he was, found his Reſentment upon a Phraſe of the Father, when he knew his Mortal Enemy, had ſo much Intimacy with the Son. Muſt not the Spirit of Revenge have ariſen from this Partnerſhip in the Crime? *Patin* talks like a Man who ſhould affirm, that *Mevius* having received a Stroke of a Cudgel from *Titius*, chaſtiſed him only becauſe *Titius's* Father had not ſaluted a Relation of *Mevius* with Reſpect enough.

(a) *This appears by ſome Pieces of the Proceſs.*

(S) *Had not raiſed it out of a Slaviſh Condeſcenſion.* 'It was (b) believed, as ſoon as he was 'dead, that as the King had hardly ever loved him, 'his Family would not long ſhine with that Luſtre 'he had given it. But his Majeſty, who foreſaw, 'that if he made an Attempt like that, it would 'be teſtifying too openly, as it had been often ſaid 'in the World, that this Miniſter had always kept 'him in Tutelage, from which nothing but his 'Death had freed him, he not only ſupported it, 'but gave it additional Honours; cauſing the 'Mareſchal *de Breze's* Son to be received Duke and 'Peer by the Parliament. We have ſeen (c) above Mr. *de la Rochefoucaud's* Obſervation concerning the Credit the Cardinal's Creatures were in, when he returned to Court after his Eminence's Death. Mr. *de la Chaſtre* (d) has ſpoken of it in the ſame Strain.

(b) *Memoir d'Artagnan, pag.* 198.

(c) *In the Remark* Q.

(d) *La Chaſtre, Memoires, p.* m. 286.

(T) *He conſented to the Liberty and Return of moſt of them——— Economical Motives.*] 'The '(e) King, whoſe Diſtemper increaſed every Day, 'deſirous to give at the end of his Days ſome 'Marks of his Clemency, whether out of Devo'tion, or to teſtify, that Cardinal *Richelieu* had 'had a greater Share than he in all the Violences 'which had been committed ſince the Diſgrace of 'the Queen-Mother, conſented to the return of 'the moſt conſiderable of thoſe who had been per'ſecuted; and he was the more willingly induced 'to it, as the Miniſters foreſeeing ſome Diſorders, 'indeavoured to oblige Perſons of Condition, to ſe'cure themſelves againſt all that might happen in 'a Revolution like that which threatned them. 'Almoſt all who had been baniſhed, return'd. The Author I have this from, is very conſiderable, being a great Lord, who was then upon the Place and who was as diſtinguiſhable by his Parts as Birth. Another Perſon of Quality, and much concerned in the Intrigues, will help to confirm our Text: his following Words contain a Satyrical Stroke upon the King: (f) 'Some time before 'Cardinal *Mazarin* and Monſieur *de Chavigni* had 'induced the King to releaſe the Mareſchals *de Vi'try* and *Baſſompierre*, and the Count *de Cramail*. 'The Means they made uſe of on this Occaſion, 'deſerve to be mentioned, being pleaſant enough; 'for not finding his Majeſty had much Inclination 'to it, they attacked him on his weak ſide, repreſenting, that theſe Three Priſoners were a great 'Expence to him in the *Baſtille*; and that not being in a Capacity of Cabalting in the Kingdom, 'they might as well live in their Houſes, where 'they would coſt him nothing. This took; the 'King being poſſeſs'd with ſo extravagant an Ava'rice, that all who had a Demand of Money up'on him, were as a Weight upon his Shoulders; 'inſomuch, that after the return of *Treville*, *Beaupuy*, and others whom the late Cardinal's 'Reſentments on his Death-Bed had forced him to 'abandon, he ſought an Occaſion of ſnubbing 'each of 'em, to deprive 'em of all hopes of be'ing rewarded for what they had ſuffered for him. 'The Liberty of the Priſoners was followed by 'the recalling ſome Exiles (g). Facts of this kind are ſuch, as many think moſt deſerving the Readers Curioſity. Wherefore I imagine the putting 'em in my Dictonary will be approved.

(e) *Memoires de la Rochefouc. pag.* 7. *&* 8.

(f) *Memoires de la Chaſtre pag.* 296, 297.

(g) *See at the* 309*th. Page of the ſame Memoires* de la Chaſtre, *the recalling of other Exiles.*

(V) *He was not ignorant of the Queen's Intrigues.*] The Movements ſhe made (h) from the Death of Cardinal *Richelieu*, to that of the King, teſtify that ſhe was very ambitious, and that it was not without Reaſon, that the Cardinal herein conforming to the Senſe of his Maſter, kept her ſhort; for had ſhe been ſuffered to meddle in publick Affairs, ſhe would have had her Dependencies and Cabals, the ready way to multiply Factions, which were already but too importunate. Let us ſhew in general, what ſhe did to come at the full Regency, in ſpite of the Purpoſe and Intention of the King her Husband. The Cardinal had remonſtrated to this Prince, that conſidering (i) 'the laſt Conſpi'racy againſt the State, in which *Cinqmars* had 'imployed the Name and Authority of his Royal 'Highneſs, to give greater Weight and Credit to 'his Faction——it would not be proper, in 'caſe of his Majeſty's Deceaſe, to ſuffer the Duke 'of *Orleans* his Brother to aſſume the Regency 'and Government of the Kingdom, much leſs 'the Tutelage and Education of the Sons of *France*. The King reliſhed this Advice of the Cardinal; and underſtanding (k) on the *firſt or ſecond of* December, 1642, that the Recovery of this firſt Miniſter was deſpaired of, he haſted to execute this Counſel, ſo that on *Wedneſday* the 3d. Day of the Month, he ſent for the Preſidents of the Parliament of *Paris*, and the great Officers of the Crown, and told 'em, 'that he had cauſed a Declaration to be drawn 'up, to exclude the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother 'from the Regency, (in caſe God ſhould diſpoſe of 'him) whom he had already pardoned, even to the 'Sixth time, and to whom he did not think he 'ought after this, to intruſt what was moſt dear 'to him, his Kingdoms and his two Sons; that 'the Parliament was to regiſter, as ſoon as poſſible, 'this Declaration ſo important and neceſſary to 'the publick Tranquility. It was regiſtred the 'Fifth of the ſame Month (l) *to be fully and entirely executed.* The King's Health declined every Day, and no Body judged he could live long: Hereupon the Court was filled with Deſigns and Intrigues; ſome were very zealous to offer their Services to the Queen, others were contriving to reſtore the Duke of *Orleans* to Favour. Father *Sirmonde* the King's Confeſſor (m) 'was induced 'to propoſe to him his Brother's Co-regency with 'the Queen——but this Propoſition ſo violently 'diſpleated the King, that after having ſharply 'rejected it, and ſaid ſomething of it to the Queen, 'he would hear his Confeſſor no more, and diſ'miſſing him, under another Pretence, took Fa'ther *Caſtaines* in his place. At laſt the King was reconciled both to the Queen and the Duke of *Orleans*. He made a Declaration, in which '(n) he 'appointed (God calling him to himſelf) the 'Queen his Wife to be Regent, to have the Edu-

(h) *See the Memoires of Mr.* de la Rochefoucaud, *the Anſwer of Mr.* de la Chaſtre, *and the Anſwer of the* Comte de Brienne *to the Memoir of Mr.* de la Chaſtre.

(i) *Auberi hiſt. du Cardinal Mazarin, liv.* 1. *pag.* 124.

(k) *Id. ib. pag.* 125.

(l) *Id. ib. pag.* 127.

(m) *Memoires de la Caſtre, pag.* 295.

(n) *Auberi hiſt. du Cardinal Mazarin, liv.* 1. *pag.* 128.

ſturbances. There was no Body even to the *Dauphin* (X), but gave him the Spleen, without the leaſt ill Meaning or Deſign o'their ſide. We have not as yet ſeen a good Hiſtory of this Reign, which makes us impatiently wait for that, which Mr. *le Vaſſor* has undertak[en] the firſt Volume of it, which [a] reaches to the Time of this Prince's comin[g] Age in 1614, has been well received by the Publick.

LU[B]ERT, (*Sibrand*) Profeſſor of Divinity at *Franeker*, was born at *Longo-worde* in [Fr]*eland*, about the Year 1556. He went through School Learning in the College [of] *Lemmen*, and ſtudied afterwards in the Univerſity of *Wittemberg*, where he learned *He*[brew] to a great Perfection, under the Profeſſor *Valentin Scindlerus*, after which he [went] to *Geneva*, and was a very aſſiduous Auditor of the Lectures of *Beza*, *Caſaubon*, a[nd] *Francis Portus*. His next Remove was to *Neuſtad*, whether Prince *Caſimir* had tranſlated the Pro[teſtant] Profeſſors. He paid his chiefeſt Attendance at the Lecture of *Zachary Ur*[ſinus] and inſinuated himſelf into his Intimacy and Favour. He

[a] *Printed at* Amſterdam *Twice in* 1700. *The* Nouvelles de la Republique des lettres *have told us, that there have been two Tranſlations of it into* Engliſh.

[b] *He was then explaining* Apollonius Rhodius.

(c) *Mr.* Aubery *ib. ſays, that Mr.* du Puy *had furniſhed Memoirs, Inſtances, and Authorities.*

(f) *Memoires de la Chaſtre, pag.* 317.

'cation of their Children, with the Adminiſtration 'of the Kingdom; and the Duke of *Orleans* his 'Brother, to be Lieutenant-General of the Mi-'nor King, in all the Provinces, under the Autho-'rity of the Queen. He will have the Queen-'Regent, and the Lieutenant-General, to be able to 'determine nothing, without the Sovereign Advice 'and Counſel of the Re[gency], compoſed of his Cou-'ſins, the Prince of C[onde] and Cardinal *Maza-'rine*, and the Sieu[r] *Seguier*, Chancellor of 'France, *Boutillier*, Superintendant of the Fi-'nances, and *de Chavigni*, Secretary of the Com-'mands, all Stiled Miniſters of State; and that 'the Prince and the Cardinal were to be chief in 'the Order, as they are named, in the Abſence 'of his R[oyal] Highneſs. It is his Pleaſure alſo, 'that eve[ry] thing be deliberated and reſolved in 'his Co[uncil] by the Plurality of Voices; and 'that by [the] ſame Plurality, Proviſion be made 'both for the moſt important Imploys, and prin-'cipal Offices of the Crown, and alſo for the 'Places of Superintendent of the Finances, firſt 'Preſident, and Attorney-General in the Parlia-'ment of *Paris*, and Secretary of the Commands.

This Declaration being read aloud in his Majeſty's Chamber, in Preſence of the Princes and Dukes and Peers, &c. (a) the 19th. of *April* 1643. *The King ſigned it, and added the following Poſtſcript*; This above is my moſt expreſs and laſt Will, which I will have to be executed. *The Queen and the Duke of* Orleans *ſigned it likewiſe, after having promiſed and ſworn to each other, not to contradict it. Which was not done with reſpect to the Queen, without a Flood of Tears, the Teſtimonies of her Grief and Affliction* ——— *This being done, the Deputies of the Parliament were introduced. The King, ſick as he was, declared to 'em himſelf, that he had cauſed Letters for the Regency to be drawn, which he deſired might be ſpeedily recorded, to which purpoſe he would ſend the next Morning Monſieur his Brother, and Monſieur the Prince, and Monſieur the Chancellor to the Grand Chamber. In effect, they were read and publiſhed the ſame Morning, in the Audience. The Letter of the Seal, which accompanied the Declaration, injoin'd the Parliament (b) to verify it without Delay or Difficulty* ——— *Afterwards to take from the Regiſters, the Declaration againſt Monſieur the King's only Brother, immediately to put it into the Hands of the Chancellor, to be cancelled or torn.* The Queen, very ill ſatisfied with the Limitation affixed to her Regency, was taken up only with the neceſſary Meaſures to avoid the Declaration, and the King had ſcarce cloſed his Eyes, but ſhe pompouſly was conveyed to the Parliament of *Paris*, to obtain a full and entire Regency. It was the antient Cuſtom that the Widows of the Kings of *France* ſhould keep for Forty Days together in their Chamber, without [ſee] Sun or Moon till their Husbands were bu[ried]. *Anne of Auſtria*, *Lewis* XIII's Widow, did not ſhut her ſelf up in that manner; but went to *Paris* the next Day after the Death of the King (c) her Husband, and three Days after appeared at the moſt Pompous and Splendid Co[urt] that could be ſeen at the Parliament of *Pa*[ris] by the Intrigues ſhe had formed before, [to] the laſt Will of the King to be annull'd, that very Declaration of the Month of *April* before, which ſhe had ſworn to obſerve, and which (d) *had coſt ſo much Labour and Pains, and was undoubtedly the Work of Monſieur the Chancellor* Seguier (e) ——— *and Monſieur the firſt Preſident* Mole.

'Tis obſervable, that one of the Means the Queen's Servants imployed to arrive at their Ends, was to induce her to imploy the Creatures of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and like a good Chriſtian to forget the Injuries ſhe had received from 'em. Montaigu (f) *a Devotee by Profeſſion, mixing God and the World together, and joining to the Reaſons of Devotion, the Neceſſity of having a Miniſter inſtructed in the Affairs of State, added farther, (in my Opinion) another Conſideration, which abſolutely gained her, to wit, repreſenting to her, that Cardinal Mazarine was the beſt qualify'd of any one to negotiate a Peace, and that being born a Subject to the King her Brother, he would yield to Advantageous Terms for his Family, which ſhe ought to endeavour to maintain in Power; in order to make it a Support a-gainſt any Faction which might ariſe in* France *in the time of her Regency.* No Prophet could have gueſſed truer than *Montaigu*; for it fell out, that at Sixteen Years end, Cardinal *Mazarine* concluded the Peace with *Spain*, ſo advantageous to that Crown, and diſadvantageous to *France*, that the moſt Intelligent have thought, that that Conduct of his was owing to the Entreaties or Commands of the Queen-Mother, in whom the King her Husband had always obſerved a *Spaniſh* Heart; the Reaſon in part, why he was willing that her Regency ſhould depend on a Select Council. *Lewis* the 'Juſt did not ſo much inſiſt upon Preſidents as Rea-'ſon. He knew that the Queen his Wife under-'ſtood nothing of Affairs, and that ſhe could not 'have any Experience in 'em, having never had 'any Share in the Government. *As the Regency*, 'ſaid he, *is a thing of great Weight, and the 'Queen has not the Ability that is neceſſary for the 'Reſolution of Difficulties, inſeparable from Go-'vernment; we have thought fit to conjoin with 'her, and under her Authority, a Counſel that may 'determine.* That which was particular on this 'Occaſion was, that there being a Rupture betwixt 'the two Crowns, the Queen would be obliged to 'make War with her own Brother, the Catho-'lick King. Mean time, *Lewis* XIII. had here-'tofore upbraided her, that ſhe could not forget 'her Country, and ſeemed too much intereſſed in 'the News of the Affairs of *Spain* (g).

(X) *There was no Body even to the* Dauphin, *but gave him the Spleen without the leaſt ill Meaning or Deſign.*] Mr. *Pourſault* having ſaid, that Kings are ſo nice, that the leaſt thing wounds 'em, and that they who are moſt dear to 'em, ſometimes by the leaſt thing diſguſt 'em, gives an Inſtance of it. 'One Day, as I was with the Preſident *Perrault* in 'his fine Gallery, Monſieur *de la Vrilliere*, Secre-'tary of State, came to ſee him, and from him I 'have the following Story. The King, who was 'then but *Dauphin*, was baptized at St. *Germain* 'the 21ſt. of *April* 1643, being Four Years of 'Age, Seven Months and ſome Days. *Lewis* XIII, 'could not aſſiſt at that Ceremony; he was ſick 'and died Three and Twenty Days after. The 'Dauphin, as he came from Baptiſm, was brought 'to the King, to whom he told that he was juſt 'baptized. I am glad of it, my Son, ſaid the King, 'but what's your Name? *My Name*, replied the 'young Prince, *is* Lewis XIV. without thinking 'on what he ſaid, and perhaps even without 'knowing the meaning of it. And yet this An-

'ſwer

(a) *Pag.* 130.

(b) *Ibid. pag.* 127.

(c) *The King died at St.* Germain.

(d) *Aubery ubi ſupra, liv.* 2. *pag.* 149.

(e) *Aubery ubi ſupra, pag.* 152. 153.

He once received an Elogy (*A*) from him, which at the ſame time was a good Proof of this Profeſſor's Modeſty. Our *Lubbert* had an Offer of being Subſtitute to *Urſinus* in the Logick Profeſſorſhip, with the Promiſe of a better Imploy in due Time and Place; but he modeſtly anſwered, that he did not think himſelf qualified to fill a Place, in which this Illuſtrious Profeſſor had gotten ſo much Glory. Nevertheleſs, *Urſinus* found none amongſt his Diſciples beſides him, fit to be recommended to this Function. It was given to *Fortunatus Crellius*. As ſoon as *Lubbert* found himſelf qualified to be promoted to the Miniſtry; he had a Call from the Reformed Church of *Bruſſels*, and from that of *Embden*; he preferred the latter, by the Advice of *Zachary Urſin*. He was called into *Friſeland* in 1584. to be Preacher to the Governour and Deputies of the States of the Province, and to read Divinity Lectures in the Univerſity of *Franeker*, the Foundation whereof was at that time. He had for his Collegues in the Divinity Profeſſorſhip, *Martin Lydius*, and *Henry Antonides Nardenus*; and tho' they were of much longer ſtanding than he, he far excell'd them. He took his Doctor of Divinity's Degree at *Heidelberg*, when he ſaw himſelf honour'd with a Profeſſorſhip in that Faculty at *Franeker*. He exerciſed this Imploy above Forty years, and in this long Interval, was ſeveral times imploy'd in (*B*) important Affairs. He was one of the Deputies at the Synod of *Dort*; and one of the ſoundeſt Heads in the Aſſembly. His great Induſtry and ſtrong Conſtitution, gave him opportunities (*C*) of compoſing ſeveral Books, which were much eſteem'd. He preached not

'ſwer afflicted the King: In the Condition he 'was, he took it for an ill Omen, and turning of 'the other ſide: *Not yet*, ſaid he, *not yet*. Some 'Flatterers (for Princes have the Misfortune to have 'em before they can ſpeak) had already poſſeſs'd 'this Royal Infant with the great Name he was 'ſoon to bear; which was the cauſe of the little 'Mortification he innocently gave the King his 'Father. (*a*)

(*a*) *Bouvſault lettres nouvelles, pag.* 384, 385. *Edit. de Holl.*

(*A*) *An Elogy——which at the ſame time was a good Proof of this Profeſſor's Modeſty.*] He had miſ-quoted *David Kimchi* in a publick Lecture, and being admoniſhed of it by our *Sibrand*, he acknowledge his Fault in the next Lecture, and pointed to the Auditor who had ſet him right. You'll find a larger account of this in the following *Latin*: (*b*) *Accidit aliquando, ut* D. Urſinus *in lectione publica Kimchium citaret, quem noſter quoque antea ad eundem locum conſuluerat. Deprehendebat adoleſcens,* D. Urſinum, *Kimchii authoritatem, ſive errore μνημονικῷ, ſive quod locum obiter inſpexiſſet, malè allegaſſe. Monuit hac de re præceptorem modeſtè & verecunde. Is miratus juvenis in Ebraïſmo peritiam, introduxit eum in Muſæum, inſpectoque Kimchii Commentario, rem ſeſe ad eum modum habere deprehendit. Tantum abeſt ut offenderit clariſſimum Theologorum hac diſcipuli libertas, ut poſtridie in lectione publica errorem illum ſuum retractaverit, monſtrato* D. Sibrando, *quem ſibi ejus indicium feciſſe profitebatur. Eâ etiam occaſione* D. Urſinus *juventuti ſacra Ebraïſmi ſtudia, paremque diligentiam commendabat.*

(*b*) *Sixtin. Amama in orat. funebri Sibrandi Lubberti, fol. C 2. verſo.*

Pulcrum eſt digito monſtrari & dicier, hic eſt.

It was more to *Urſin*'s Honour thus to acknowledge his Fault, than to *Lubbert*'s to be praiſed for diſcovering it.

(*B*) *Several times imploy'd in important Affairs.*] Count *William* of *Naſſau*, Governour of *Friſeland*, and the Deputies of the States of the Province frequently admitted him into their Council; and when in the Year 1594. the Towns of *Groeningben* and *Ommelandes* were added to the Body of the united Provinces, he was one (*c*) of the Three Miniſters who founded a Church at *Groningben*, and drew up the Statutes of it. Sometime after, a Quarrel aroſe between the Miniſters of *Leuwarden*, which was managed with a Paſſion ſo obſtinate, that the only Means of reſtoring Peace, was to diſmiſs 'em all; whereupon *Sibrand Lubbert*, *Lydius*, *Nerdenus*, and *John Arcerius*, were ſent to the Service of that Church, and continued in it till theſe Diſſentions were ended. He was deputed to the *Hague* in the Year 1606. to aſſiſt in a Preliminary Aſſembly, *ad conventum præparatorium*; and in the Year 1618. the States of *Friſeland* deputed him to the Synod of *Dort* (*d*). One of the *Engliſh* Divines, who aſſiſted at that Synod obſerves, that this *Friſeland* Deputy was eaſily fermented and heated, and contributed much more to perplex things, and to foment Diviſions, than to (*e*) compoſe 'em. I have ſpoken elſewhere (*f*) of his quarrel with *Maccovius*; and I add here, that he had ſome Differences with his Collegue, the learned *Druſius* (*g*).

(*c*) *Monſ. Alting & Martin Lydius, were the Two others.*

(*d*) *Ex Sixtino Amama in orat. funebri.*

(*e*) *See the præſtant. ac eruditor. virorum Epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſt. & Theolog. pag.* 549, 565, 568. *& alibi Edit. in Fol.* 1684.

(*C*) *His great Induſtry and ſtrong Conſtitution, gave him opportunities of compoſing many Books.*] He generally roſe at Three a Clock in the Morning or ſooner, neither Winter nor old Age interrupted this Cuſtom; and nothing afflicted him more in his Diſtempers, than to be deprived of the ſatisfaction of Studying. He was ſcarce ever ſick till the laſt years of his Life, his good Conſtitution having all along held out againſt the ill Effects of violent Study. (*b*) *Robuſtâ & qualis paucis obtingit, valetudine ſemper uſus fuerat, magno Dei beneficio, in tantis adeoque aſſiduis laboribus. Poſtremis annis dolores nephritici ex aſſiduis ſtudiis contracti & catarrhi frequentiores per intervalla cum exercuêre.* He publiſhed a Book againſt *Bellarmine*, upon the Queſtions about the Scripture, the Pope, the Church, and Councils, and replied to *Greſerus*, who had anſwered for *Bellarmine*. He had the laſt Blow in this Diſpute, for *Greſerus* did not reply. Theſe Works of *Lubbert*, procured him ſeveral Letters fill'd with Praiſes; and he was forced to notify one Part of 'em to the Publick, as a Buckler to the Blows of one of his Adverſaries. (*i*) *Quanti autem hos μοχθους labores fecerit Eccleſia, liquere poteſt ex præclaris & honorificis Elogiis Præſtantiſſimorum ejus luminum,* (1) *quorum aliquot vulgationem effrenis adverſarii maledicentia modeſtiſſimæ animæ expreſſit.* Obſerving that when the Socinian Hereſy began to creep into the *Low-Countries*, he publiſhed a Book againſt *Socinus de Chriſto Salvatore*. He wrote alſo againſt *Arminius*'s Letter *ad H. a Collibus*, and againſt *Peter Bertius*, who had ingaged in the Defence of this Letter. Afterwards he writ againſt *Vorſtius*, and againſt a Book which *Grotius* intituled *Pietas Ordinum Hollandia*. Having thus declared himſelf an ardent Champion of the Conſtra-Remonſtrant's Cauſe, he was often obliged to take Pen in Hand; but the Author of his Funeral Oration, did not think it proper to inſiſt on this. He declared on the contrary, that he wiſhed all theſe things might be buried for ever, in the Grave of Oblivion. (*a*) *De iis quæ poſtea ſuſecuta ſunt, malo tacere, quàm τὸ ἀόριστον ὕδωρ θολοῦν. Optem enim ex animo, quod ipſa quoque Synodus vovet, infauſta illa factionum nomina, quæ mihi hic cum cordolio & horrore uſurpanda eſſent, æternâ oblivione ſepulta eſſe. Si volumus coire Eccleſia vulnera & cicatricem ducere, cavendum ſedulo eſt, ne invectivarum unguibus imprudenti zelo reſodiantur.* The laſt Work that *Lubbert* publiſhed, is his Commentary upon the Catechiſm of the Palatinate. He left an *Anti-Bellarminus* quite intire, which had coſt him infinite Labour, and 'twas thought he had Reaſons to deſire, that this important Compoſition ſhould not come out of the Preſs in his Life time (*k*).

(*f*) *In the Article* Makowski *Remark C.*

(*g*) *See the præſt. ac eruditor. viror. Epiſt. pag.* 415.

(*b*) *Amama in orat. funebri.*

(*i*) *Id. ib. Fol. D 2.*

(*1*) *Epiſtolæ D. Bezæ, Rainoldi, Marnixii, Parsi, P. Bironis, Goulartii, vide Replic. Chriſt. Dogm. p.* 8. *& ſeqq.*

(*k*) *See at the* 309. *Page of the ſame Memoirs de la Chaſtre the recalling of other Exiles.*

(*l*) *See the Memoirs de Mr. de la Rochefoucaud, thoſe of Mr. de la Chaſtre. and the Anſwer of the Comte de Brienne to the Memoir of Mr. de la Chaſtre.*

(*D*) *He*

with great Zeal, and was (*D*) instant in censuring Vice, and a severe Observer of the Statutes; he sometimes refused Rectorships, because he feared he could not (*E*) accomplish the Reformation of debauched Scholars. He refused a Chair of Divinity, which was offered him in the *Palatinate*, and became Vacant by the Death of *Kimedontius* [a] Professor at *Heidelberg*. The Governours of the University of *Franeker* opposed that Invitation; and his Wife being unwilling to leave her own Country, he thankfully refused his Electoral *Palatine* Highness *Frederick* IV. He died at *Franeker* the 21st. of *January* 1625 [b]. *Scaliger* himself (*F*) owned him to be a Learned Man. A Letter has been lately published, which informs us, that he was much in King *James*'s Esteem.

LUBIENIETZKI (*Stanislaus*) in *Latin Lubieniecius*, a *Polish* Gentleman, was one of the famousest Ministers, the *Socinians* had in the XVIIth. Century. He was born at *Racow* the 23d. of *August* 1623. He was educated with a particular Care by his Father, who was Minister of *Racow*, and not satisfied to send him to the Schools, he took care that he should see the Diets of *Poland*, in order to introduce him to great Men, and instruct him in all Things agreeable (*A*) to his Birth. He afterwards sent him to *Thorn*, where the young Man settled for Two Years, and joined himself [c] to two *Socinian* Deputies during the Colloquy that was held in this City in the Year 1644, for the re-union of Religions. He drew up a Verbal Process of this Colloquy. Being made Governour to the young Count *de Niemiryez*, he travelled with him into *Holland*, and afterwards into *France*, where he acquired the Esteem of several Learned Men, with whom he conferred upon Points of Religion, without ever dissembling his own, or baulking any Opportunities of maintaining it. He lost his Father in the Year 1648, and returned into *Poland*. He married in 1652, the Daughter of a Zealous *Socinian*, and was made Coadjutor to *John Chiachovius*, Minister of *Siedlisk*; and as he quickly gave great Proofs of his Prudence and Learning, the Synod of *Czarcow* received him Minister, and made him Pastor of a Church of this Name. The Irruption of the *Swedes* made him quit it in 1655. and obliged him to retire to *Cracow* with his Family, the 6th. of *April* 1656. He there imployed his Time in [d] Fasting, and Prayer, and Preaching. The Town falling

[a] He died in 1596.

[b] Taken from his Funeral Oration, by Sixtinus Amama, and printed at Franeker in 1625.

[c] Joan. Slichtingio & Martino Ruaro, qui eò Ecclesiæ nomine venerant, adfuit. *Vita Stanislai Lubienicii, in lumine Historiæ reformat. Poloniæ, fol. 2. ver. fo.*

[d] Totum tempus Cracoviæ commorationis nostræ cum reliquis Ministris prædicatione verbi Divini, frequentibus jejuniis, precibusque transigebat, ipseque præterea ingratium Unitariorum Ungarorum, qui cum Principe Rakoci Cracoviam venerant, Latinè concionabatur, lacramque Eucharistiam administrabat. *Ibid. fol. 2.*

(*D*) *He preached with great Zeal, and was instant in his Censures of Vice.*] He had the Courage to despise the injust Resentment of those, who fell under his Censures, and he always went on his own way. The Word of God was so powerful in his Mouth, that when he pleased, he drew Tears from those, who were most hardened in their Crimes. He did not stand in his Sermons so much to confute Popery, as to reform the Looseness of Manners, Drunkenness, Luxury, *&c.* Let's hear the Author of his Funeral Oration. (*a*) *Nec enim id solum agebat, ut Pontificias superstitiones in animis hominum veritatis flammâ exureret, sed illud vel maximè, ut qui se Evangelicos profitebantur, ab ebrietate, luxu, aliisque flagitiis avulsi, discerent* (*b*) *piè, sobriè & justè vivere. Explevit autem omnes sanctissimi muneris partes in utraque Frisia, ea libertate, ut multorum malorum odia hoc solum nomine sibi concilia verit. Quæ tamen animosus ille Christi pugil, sanctissimi propositi mutatione neutiquam placanda censuit. Quin contra audientior ibat, publicè peccantes, Tros Rutulusve esset, nullo discrimine publicitus arguens. Adfuit huic libertati (Deo laboribus ejus insigniter benedicente) admirabilis efficacia. Qui eum concionantem audivêre, supersunt autem adhuc plurimi, ajunt eum concionantem audivêre, supersunt autem adhuc plurimi, ajunt eum vel pertinacissimis & deploratissimis hominibus lacrimas, quoties volebat, expressisse. Devotæ autem & contritæ animæ vix unquam siccis oculis eum audivêre.*

(*a*) *Amama, ibid. fol. C. 3.*

(*b*) *Tit. 2. 12.*

(*E*) *He sometimes refused Rectorships, because he feared.*] He even desired to be excused assisting at the University Assemblies, and upon that Condition obliged himself to Lectures (*b*) extraordinary; his Reason was, because he could not connive at the Relaxation of Discipline (*c*). He was grave, and used no sort of Complaisance to get the Love of the Scholars. He stoutly reprimanded those who took wrong Courses. They were vexed with him for the present; but the time came, when most of 'em acknowledged, that they were infinitely obliged to him. (*d*) *In omnibus actionibus erat serius & gravis. Gratiam favoremque juventutis non alia ratione, quam privata publicaque industriâ, nec non salutaribus ad pietatem & diligentiam adhortationibus, captavè didicerat. Quæ ratione etsi subindè petulantes adolescentes, ut ea ætas solet monitoribus esse aspera, offenderit, eorum tamen plerosque, jam viros, eo nomine sibi avitus habuit obligatos.* Could he have hoped that the antient Discipline would have been re-established (he would not have forsaken the University Assemblies, he'd have taken his share of the Government; but he chose rather wholly to absent himself, whilst he despaired of a Reformation. (*e*) *Malebat à publico abstinere, quam illud committere, palam ut fieret, quibus flagitiis coercendis impar esset. Ajebat se boni publici casû nullas offensas unquam subterfugisse, sed inanes irritasque, quæ nec sibi nec collegio usui futuræ essent, constanter deprecabatur.* A Year before his Death he was prevailed upon by dint of Sollicitations and Contrivance, to accept of the Dignity of Rector; and there was then a Probability, that the Authority of the Sovereign would intervene, to introduce good Discipline amongst the young Students at *Franeker*. He began the Exercise of his Office, with the Invocation of the Name of God, and by a noble Oration, in which he declaimed against the Drunkards and dissolute Scholars, and against the Debaucheries of the Universities, the Source of the ill State of the Church, and he menaced those with the severest Treatment, who shou'd deserve it: *In Ebrietatem, juventutis irreverentiam, & qui dissolutis Academiarum moribus natales suos debet, miserum Ecclesiarum statum graviter dicebat. Disciplinæ necessitatem nervosè ostendebat, illudque tandem profitebatur sine ambagibus; se bonis fore Rectorem humanissimum, ac malos severiorem præ se non desideraturos.* Here's an Example fit to be recommended to all Heads of Universities.

(*b*) *On* Aristotle's *Logick and Ethicks.*

(*c*) *Id. ib. fol. D 3.*

(*d*) *Id. ib.*

(*F*) Scaliger *himself owned he was a Learned Man; A Letter has been lately published.*] 'Sibrandus *Lubbertus*, who is Learned, and a 'good Writer, is very ugly and rustical in his Per'son. He is rich and covetous (*g*); he tells his 'Apples himself, and walks without a Cloak in 'querpo, as *Felix de Nismes* tells me. I want his 'Book *de Conciliis*. The Letter I speak of, is *Casaubon*'s; you'll find it at the beginning of a Book published in 1699, by a famous Professor (*h*) of *Franeker*.

(*e*) *Id. ib. verso.*

(*f*) *Scaligerana, p. m. 145.*

(*g*) *Compare with this these Words of his Funeral Oration.* Auctoritatem, quam & canities & famæ celebritas ei conciliaverant, augebat vita, in lautissima re, frugalis, abstinens & sobria.

(*h*) *Mr.* Vander Wayen, *Professor in Divinity. See his* Discussio Limborgianæ responsionis, *before the Treatise of* Rittangelius de veritate Religionis Christianæ.

(*A*) *Agreeable to his Birth.*] The Family of *Lubieniezki* is very noble. The Person we speak of, was related in the Fourth degree to the House

falling again into the Hands of the *Poles* in the Year 1657. he followed the *Swediſh* Garriſon together with Two other *Socinians*, to ſupplicate the King of *Sweden* that the *Unitarians*, who had put themſelves under his Protection, might be comprehended in the Amneſty, by the Peace that was to be concluded with *Poland*. He arrived at [illegible] the 7th of *October*, 1657. and was very well received by the King of *Sweden*. He eat at his Majeſty's Table; an Honour this Prince had done him before at [illegible]cow he got into the Acquaintance of ſome *Swediſh* Lords, in ſpite (*B*) of the Oppoſition of the *Lutheran* Divines, and diſcourſed of his Religion on ſeveral Occaſions. 'Tis ſaid too, that he was favour'd with a (*C*) Revelation, during the Siege of *Stetin*. He happened to be at *Oliva* while the Treaty of Peace was carrying on there, and had the Mortification to ſee the *Unitarians* excluded out of the Amneſty granted to other who were not Catholicks. Seeing himſelf thus deprived of the Hopes of returning into *Poland*, he bent his courſe towards *Copenhagen*; he arrived there the 28th of *November*, 1660. and endeavour'd to obtain of the King a Place of Retreat for his Brethren, who had been Baniſhed out of *Poland*. The Prince expreſs'd (*D*) a great Conſideration for him; but as this could not conclude in an Eſtabliſhment for that Sect, our Gentleman returned into *Pomerania* [a], and there made all the Motions he could in favour of his Party. His Adverſaries not ſuffering him to reſt, he was obliged to quit *Stetin*, and betake himſelf to *Hamburgh*, whither he ordered his Family the Year following [b]. He there frequently diſcourſed with Queen *Chriſtina*, upon the Subject of Religion, in preſence of ſome Princes. The Second Voyage he made to the Court of *Denmark* was favourable enough to him: The Magiſtrates of *Friderichsburg* conſented that the *Unitarians* ſhould abide in their Town, and have the Domeſtick Exerciſe of their Religion. But by the Endeavours of the *Lutheran* Superintendent, the Duke of *Holſtein* gave 'em Orders, ſome days after, to depart. *Lubi-*

[a] *He arrived at* Stetin *the 1ſt of* June, 1661.

[b] *The Year* 1661.

(*a*) *This is wrote in* 1695.

(*b*) *Vita Stanisl. Lubieniecii, pag.* 1.

of *Sobieski*, which at preſent Reign (*a*) ſo gloriouſly in *Poland*. (*b*) *Secum ſolebat ad Comitia alioſque conventus Regni Nobilium ducere, vel mittere; notitiaque virorum in patria inſignium habere, omnibus iis imbuere qua & Chriſtianum & Polonia Regni indigenam decebant Nobilem, quippe qui ad Sereniſſimi Regis Poloniæ, qui hodie tanta cum gloria regnat, familiam quarto conſanguinitatis gradu remotus, pertinuerit.* Andrew *Lubieniezki* appeared much at Court, when having imbib'd the Doctrine of the *Unitarians*, he reſolved to Sacrifice his Fortune to the Profeſſion of this Sect. He ingaged in it in ſuch a manner, that having exerciſed the Office of Deacon, he took upon him that of Miniſter, which he exerciſed in ſeveral Places at his own Expence. He died in 1623. about 72 years of age (*c*). He had Two Brothers who followed his Example; they renounced the Favour of their Prince to be *Socinian* Miniſters. One was called *Staniſlaus*, and the other *Chriſtopher*; the former died in 1633. having lived about 75 years, (*d*) the other died a *Cracow*, in 1624. and (*e*) left a Son called *Chriſtopher*, who was a *Socinian* Miniſter at *Cracow* and at *Lublin*, and died in the year 1648. (*f*) He was the Father of him who is the ſubject of this Article.

(*c*) *Bibliotheca Antitrinitar. pag.* 89.

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*e*) *Ibid. pag.* 90.

(*f*) *Ibid. pag.* 142.

(*B*) *In ſpite of the oppoſition of the* Lutheran *Divines.*] 'Tis no wonder that the *Swediſh* Lords had more Complaiſance for our *Socinian* Miniſter, than the Miniſters of the Confeſſion of *Augsburgh*; for 'tis their Buſineſs, and not that of Courtiers, to take care that Hereſy does not ſpread its Poyſon, *ne quid Religio detrimenti capiat*. It was therefore a natural Conſequence that *Lubieniezki* ſhould be oppoſed by the Miniſters of the Confeſſion of *Augsburgh*, whilſt Perſons of Quality paid him Civilites. (*g*) *Cum in Pomeraniâ commoraretur Tractatus pacis expectans, in Magnatum Sueciæ familiaritatem facile venit, aliorum antea contractam amicitiam renovavit, confirmavit, commercium cum iis litterarum habuit, ubique teſtimonium veritati, Rege Principibuſque ultro laceſſentibus, perhibuit. Non defuerunt præſertim Stetini Lubieniecio adverſarii, quorum odia Theologica expertus eſt, illaque Concionatores, etiam ad rudem plebeculam, propagare conabantur, inter quos primarius fuit Johannes Micrelius Vir Stetini celebris. Similia quoque Stralſundi expertus eſt noſter, ſimilia tamen ubique veritati dare teſtimonia non neglexit.*

(*g*) *Vita Lubieniecii, Fol.* 3. *verſo.*

(*C*) *Favour'd with a notable Revelation.*] There is no Sect but, in ſome meaſure, aſcribes to it ſelf extraordinary and miraculous Graces. Here is an Example of it: Our *Lubieniezki* was at *Elbing*, whilſt the Troops of the Emperor and *Brandenburgh* beſieged *Stetin*. He had Two weighty Reaſons to induce him to pray earneſtly to God, that the Siege might be raiſed; for his Wife and Children were in *Stetin*; and a *Swediſh* Count had promiſed to turn *Socinian*, if *Lubieniezki* could by his Prayers prevail, that this Town ſhould not be taken. This Miniſter, moved by [illegible] of his Family, and by the Hopes of gaining an illuſtrious Proſelyte, ſpent Three Weeks in Faſting and Prayer, after which he went to wait upon the Count, and aſſur'd him, that the Town ſhould not be taken. The Count, and they who were with him, look'd on it as the Effects of a Delirium ſince *Lubieniezki* had no ſooner left 'em, but he fell ſick; but when at Six days End it was known that the Siege was really raiſed, the Count was much ſurprized; for no body could tell *Lubieniezki* the News he had declared. The Count was challenged upon his Promiſe, but he anſwered, that having inquired of God, whether he ſhould do well to embrace this Miniſter's Religion; God had confirm'd him in the Confeſſion of *Augsburgh*. To ſhew whether I have been a Faithful Tranſlator, or have romanced the Story, I ſhall ſet down the Words of the Original: (*h*) *Accidit——ut Comes Slippenbachius polliceretur [illegible]aniſlai noſtri Religionem amplecti, modo ipſe [illegible]precibus obtineret, ut Stetinum urbs non ſatis munita nec rebus ad obſidionem toleradam neceſſariis inſtructa, de cujus liberatione propterea deſperabant, liberaretur ab hoſtibus. Lubieniecius imprimis ſuorum miſeriâ motus, tribus hebdomadibus & precibus ad Deum ardentibus & jejunio frequenti conſumptis, veniens ad Comitem, urbem extra periculum eſſe affirmavit, bonoque eos eſſe animo juſſit. Comes adſentatoſque inſanire eum putabant, præſertim quod ab iis reverſus, in morbum incideris. Ejus vero aſſertio poſt ſex dies literis Stetino liberato datis confirmata, graviter pertervefecit Comitem. Id enim temporis Lubieniecius à nemine certus hac de re fieri potuit. Promiſſum cum Lubieniecitus, pro ſua cum Comite familiaritate, aliquando repoſceret, dixit ille, ſeſe in genua procubuiſſe, Deumque oraſſe patefaceret ſibi num Religio Lubieniecii ſuſcipienda eſſet, nec ne, ſed à Deo in confeſſione Auguſtanâ confirmatum eſſe.*

(*h*) *Fol.* 4.

(*D*) The King of Denmark *expreſs'd a great Conſideration for him.*] *Lubieniezki* kept a great Correſpondence by Letters, which was of ſingular Advantage to him, and introduced him to the Company of great Men, who were glad to underſtand by his means many Particulars relating to other Countries. The King of *Denmark*, to whom (*i*) ſome of his Accounts had been read, was ſo pleaſed with 'em, that he beſtowed a Place upon *Lubieniezki*, which was to copy for his Majeſty Letters he received, for which he was to have an annual Penſion (*k*). This Prince declared to [illegible] privately, that he could grant the *Unitarians* a Settlement at *Altona* only by Connivance. He never ſaw him at Court, but he call'd to him

(*i*) Quæ etiam (*relationes*) [illegible] varias [illegible] Regi [illegible] ſermoni [illegible]ctæ, officium illas Regi perſcribendi ipſi peperunt. *Ibi. fol.* 4. *verſo.*

(*k*) Oblatum eſt à Rege honorarium, rogatuſque ut quæ in Europa geruntur per literas aulæ regiæ referret, certus de annuo Regis ſalario. *Ibid.*

Lubienietzki disputed the Ground (*E*) along time with the *Hamburg* Ministers: At last the Magistrates gave him punctual Orders to depart. He was then sick, and promised to obey 'em; but he died some Days after (*F*) very devoutly. He was Poysoned. His Two Daughters died of the same Poyson the 16th of *May*, 1675. He had time to lament 'em in Verse; for he died not till the 18th of the same Month. He was buried at *Altena*, notwithstanding the Opposition (*G*) of the *Lutheran*

to hear him discourse of Matters of Religion; which exposed the *Polish* Minister to Envy, it being feared that the King of *Denmark* would embrace *Arrianism*. *Solebat Rex, quotiescunque Lubieniecium in Aulâ conspexit, relictis cæteris, cum propius ut accederet compellare, & de Religionis capitibus imprimis colloqui. Quæ res invidiam etiam creavit Lubieniecio, timentibus Theologis, ne Rex fieret Arianus* (*a*). This Prince set his Confessor and our *Lubienietzki* to dispute, and assisted at it. *Cum M. Erico Gravio Aulico concionatore & confessionario suo Rex eum commisit, ipseque disputationi adfuit* (*b*). He endeavour'd to prevail with the Magistrates of *Hambourgh*, to let him be at quiet; but his Intercession was not potent enough. (*c*) *Cum iterum iterumque instaret, ut antea fecerat, Magistratus, urbeque per nuntios Lubieniecio interdiceret, frustra Secretariatum Regis Poloniæ obtendenti, nihilque proficientibus ejusdem Regis intercessoriis, in lethalem incidit morbum.* His Friends had obtained for him the Title of Secretary to the King of *Poland*, because they hoped that that would oblige the Magistrates of *Hambourg*, to let him be at peace; but their Hopes were frustrated.

(*E*) *He disputed a long time against the Hambourg Ministers.*] They so frequently and instantly sollicited the Magistrate to make *Lubienietzki* depart, that he received frequent Orders to retire; and 'twas in vain to say, that his *Danish* Majesty honour'd him with his Protection, or that he was innocent; for he was forced to yield to the Storm (*d*). However some Years after, he return'd to *Hambourgh*, believeng no body would think of him more; but he was mistaken: One of the Faculty of Divinity was so vigilant and vehement, as to renew the Instances with the Magistrates; and the People had been so exasperated, by representing *Lubienietzki* as a publick Pest, that he durst hardly stir out of his Lodgings. (*e*) *Post annos aliquot consilio amicorum, credentium jam de furore remisisse adversarios, ob commoditatem dirigendarum litterarum Hamburgum se contulit cum familia, sed nimis vigilantem expertus est Dominum Edsardii Licentiatum Theologiæ, qui indefesso studio id agit, ut cum collegis suis magistratum incitaret ut Lubieniecius urbe ejiceretur. Dignus qui hic nominetur, gloriatur enim, se authore Lubieniecium cum familia urbe exactum. Imo propter Ministrorum zelum, qui etiam ex cathedrâ in templo cum absente Lubieniecio disputabant, eumque hæreticum, deterrimamque civitatis pestem proclamabant; ut ex Lubieniecii manuscripto colligi potest, quod jam fecerant cùm primâ vice per Hamburgum Hafniam transiret anno* 1667. *Lubieniecio ante migrationem, domo exire non semper tutum fuit.* What the Sieur *Edsardius* did in this Town, was practiced at *Fridericsbourg* by the Sieur *Reinbobt*, who stirred up the Duke of *Holstein* to banish the *Socinian* Refugees. (*f*) *His pactis discessit Hafniâ, venitque Fridericopolim, ibique à Magistratu urbis obtinuit ut exules in communionem & sacram & civilem reciperentur, privatumque in ædibus more Polono exercitium Religionis perageretur; quod etiam per literas Fratribus significavit. Lubieniecius in id laboravit, nec sumptibus pepercit & damnum rei familiaris subiit, quo posset eò fratres deducere, deductis succurrere, donec ex urbe secedere jussi sunt à Principe Holsatiæ, quod debent partim Domino Superintendenti Lutherano Joanni Rembotto.* Mr. *Mollerus* witnesses the same thing. *Socinianis*, says he, (*g*) *ab oppidi Fridrichstadiensis Magistratu, & incolendi istud potestatem, & sacrorum exercitii libertatem, a.* 1662. *obtinuit Staniſl. Lubienitzius, promachus sectæ istius non incelebris, sed incassum. Sereniſſ. enim Dux Holsato-Gottorpiensis, quo ignaro hæc erat gesta, edicto publico, suasu Johan. Reinbobtii, Theologi audici, promulgato, & civitate ipsa, & ditionibus suis universis, non multo post iisdem interdixit* (*i*). *Lubienitzius ipse, quem singulari Rex Daniæ, Frid. III. favore dignabatur, urbe, quam per aliquot lustra, connivente Magistratu, incoluerat, Humburgensi a.* 1675. *Edzardi & Pastorum ordinariorum instinctu, jussus excedere, antequam obsequi Senatui posset, veneno, cibis, ipsius inmixto, cum biga filiarum d.* 18. *Maji periit.* There is hardly a Catholick or Protestant, but will praise this conduct of the *Lutheran* Ministers. If you alledge to 'em, that it is expressing too much diffidence of their Cause, they have good Answers ready. They will tell you, that Diffidence is the Mother of Security, and when Jesus Christ promised his Church, that the Gates of Hell should not prevail against her, he meant not to exclude humane means, which are most proper to preserve Orthodoxy: I mean the Edicts of Princes, which stop the Mouth of the Heterodox, and stifle the Knowledge of Objections, which might be made against the Holy Doctrine: If you reply, that after all they behave themselves, as if they had not read the Book (*h*) of *Esdras*, in which the force of truth is represented superior to all others, whether that of Wine, or a King, or of Women; and that on the contrary, they believe it unable to subsist in the places where it sways, if it be left exposed to the Attacks of Three or Four Fugitives; they'll answer you, that the Heart of Man is more inclined to ill than good, and that therefore Error is more capable of seducing him, than truth of undeceiving him, so that Christian Prudence does not suffer us to allow Heretics the proposing their Arguments. I question whether there ever was any Subject more fecund in Replies an Answers; it may be turned several ways in every Sense, and hence an Author will maintain to you to Day, that truth need only shew it self to confound Heresie; and to morrow, that if Heresie be suffered to expose its Subtilties, it will quickly corrupt the People. One Day you shall have truth represented as an immoveable Rock, another you shall be told, that it ought not to be hazarded in dispute as being a Rencounter, in which it would dash it self in Pieces with respect to the Hearers. What are we to do (*i*) in this Volubility of Reasoning? There are some who preserve Truth as they do a piece of China, and seem to be convinc'd, that *as it has the Transparency, so it has the Brittleness of Christal* (*k*).

(*F*) *He died very devoutly.*] These are the Words of his Historian: (*l*) *Commendato spiritu in manus Jesu salvatoris sui, cui fideliter servierat, excessit è vita: Toto tempore ægrotationis ad extremum ferè halitum, sermones habuit plenos in Deum fiducia & interni gaudii, domesticorum benedictionis, admonitionis, nominis Divini invocationis.* It is not said how he was poysoned, but 'tis denied that his Domesticks were guilty of that Action; and a Divine is complained of for blackening them, and imputing this Accident to *Lubienietzki*'s Heresies. (*m*) *Causa morbi fuit venenum, ignotum* (*n*) *ubi infusum; non ut confidenter affirmat ad denigrandos Lubieniecii domesticos adversarius ejus Edsardius, (qui hujus infortunii seriem occasione datâ enarrare voluit,) quod vitio religionis Lubieniecii adscribit, non cogitans multos tam ex Lutheranis Reformatisque quam Pontificiis pejori, non tantum simili, fato animam exhalasse, quasi hujus cladis ipsa conjux filiaque occasionem per imprudentiam dedissent. Sed nimis injurius est veritati. Venenum enim ambas filias confecit. Uxor etiam quod tantillum de cibo sumsisset vix à limine mortis revocata.* Note that a *Socinian* Author confesses that *Lubienietzki* was poysoned by his own Servant-maid (*o*).

(*G*) *He was buried at Altena notwithstanding the opposition of the Ministers.*] We have been just considering the Practice of the established Religions, for they have their State-politicks, as well as temporal Princes. One of the Aphorisms of Ecclesiastical Policy, is always to find some Signs of

(*a*) *Vita Lubieniecii, ib.*
(*b*) *Ibid. Fol.* 5.
(*c*) *Ibid. fol. penult.*
(*d*) Magistratus Hamburgensis ad importunam Sacerdotum instantiam ut urbe excederet denunciavit, idque Magistratu sæpius repetente, Lubieniecio frustra innocentiam suam & Regis protectionem opponente, ad Regem profectus est Hafniam. *Ib. Fol.* 6.
(*e*) *Ibid.*
(*f*) *Ib. Fol.* 5. *verso.*
(*g*) *Mollerus*; *Isagoge ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ, parte* 3. *pag.* 105.
(*i*) *V. Vitam Lubientzii, ejus Historia Reformationis Polonicæ, Freistadii, A.* 1685. *excusa, præfixam, & Ant. Heimreichii Hist. Eccl. Slesv. l.* 4. *c.* 3. *pag.* 227, 228.
(*h*) *III. Book of Esdras ch.* 3. & 4.
(*i*) Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo. *Horat. Epist.* 1. *lib.* 1.
(*k*) *See Commentaire Philosophique on the Texte* Compel 'em to come in, *in the Supplement, pag.* 303, 304.
(*l*) *Vita Lubieniecii, Fol.* 6. *verso.*
(*m*) *Ibid.*
(*n*) *A little lower the same Author says,* Quis autor mortis fuerit non facile divinare, imo ne cui fiat injuria; nec divinare licet.
(*o*) Veneno ab ancilla subornata à nefariis hominibus è medio sublatus. *Histor. Reformat. Polonicæ lib.* 3. *c.* 17. *pag.* 278.

theran Ministers *. I shall say something (H) of his Writings. He had a great Correspondence by Letters † all over *Europe*. I forgot to say that he obtained a Retreat ‡ for his Brother at *Manheim*, a Town of the Elector *Palatine*, the most *Latitudinarian* Prince in the World.

LUBIN (*Eilhard*) born at *Westerdeden*, in *Ammerland*, in the [illegible]ty of *Oldenburgh*, the 24th of *March*, 1565. and Son to the Minister of the Pl[illegible] studied with very great success at *Leipsic*, *Cologn*, *Helmstad*, *Strasbourgh*, *Jena*, *M[illegible]rg*, and *Rostoch*. He became a great Critick in the *Greek* Tongue, could make [illegible] Verses, was an Orator, Mathematician and Divine. He was made Professor of [illegible]etry, in the Universtty of *Rostoch*, in the Year 1595. and Professor of Divinity Ten years after §. He Publish'd (V) several Books, and one amongst the rest, in which he thought he could (X) explain the [illegible] of Sin by a new Hypothesis. He was attack'd upon it (Y) by some Divines. He Married

* Taken from his Life, printed before his Historia Reformationis Polonicæ, printed in 1685.

† See the Remark D.

‡ In the same Life, Fol. 5. verso.

§ Freher. in theatro pag. 410.

God's Anger in the Death of Hereticks. Tho' it be never so true, that the same kind of Death has been common with them and the Orthodox; yet that signifies nothing, it must nevertheless be said, that God has manifested a most particular Judgment in the Catastrophe (a) of their Lives. The Reflections that are grounded on this Foundation, fortify the Persuasion of the Orthodox, and give 'em a greater Aversion to Heresie, which is well worth the trouble that's taken in it. Another Aphorism, or State Policy, is to brand a Heretick's Corps with some Infamy. The *Hambourgh* Divines did not forget this; tho' they could not prevent this *Unitarian* Minister's being buried in *Altena* Church, they at least hindered the Masters of the Schools, attended with their Scholars, from assisting, according to custom, at the Funeral. (b) *Fu[illegible] teravium Hamburgo deductum legitimo prohibuissent Concionatores sepulcro, nisi jam in templo Altenaviensi emptum fuisset; nihil tamen omiserunt quo impedire possent, quod potuerunt effecerunt, ne, ut ibi moris est, in exsequiis Scholarum Rectores cum discipulis funus comitarentur. Sit ipsis benignior Deus quam illi fuerint proximo suo, ob Religionem duntaxat & Conscientiam gravissimè vexato.* The Two Aphorisms before-mentioned, and some others which might be added to 'em, are of so great use, that we can't but praise the Prudence of those who imploy 'em. They are means so proper to cherish the Faith of the People, and prevent 'em from falling off from the Body, that the best managed Arguments, and subtillest Books of Controversy have not half the Vertue. The Taste and Capacity of the Vulgar must be suited to, that's to say, recourse must be had to machnal Impressions, which excite the Passions. If all Men were Philosphers, there would be no need of any thing but good Arguments; but in the State Societies are in, something else besides Reason is necessary to maintain 'em, and to preserve the Preheminence they have once acquired.

(a) *This was what had been published of* Luther, & Calvin.

(b) *Vita Lubieniecii sub finem.*

(H) *I shall say something of his Writings.*] He writ several Books, but most of 'em were never printed. You'll find the Titles of 'em in the *Unitarian Bibliotheque*, (c) the most considerable of those that have been published, is his (d) *Theatrum Cometicum*, divided into Three Parts, *quarum prima continet communicationes de cometis anno 1664. & 1665. cum viris per Europam clarissimis habitas, eorumque Observationes tabulis æneis expressas. Secunda est historia Cometarum à diluvio ad annum Christi 1665. Historia Universalis synopsin quandam continens. Tertia agit de significationibus Cometarum scitis quorundam amicorum objectionibus, responsionibus autoris, & judiciis virorum clarissimorum.* The Editors of it played some Tricks, which obliged (e) the Author to take a Journey into *Holland*. He was engaged in the History of the Reformation of *Poland*; but died before the Book was finished. What was found of it amongst his Papers, was printed in *Holland*, in 1685, in 8vo. The Printers have committed several Faults in that Work, and few things are found in it, which bespeak the last Hand of the Author.

(c) *Bibliotheca Antitrinitar. pag.* 165. *& seq.*

(d) *Printed at Amsterdam*, 1667. *in Fol.*

(e) Eodem anno Hollandiam abire coactus est, ob iniquitatem & versutiam eorum per quos Theatrum Cometicum imprimi curavit. *Vita Lubien. Fol.* 6.

(V) *He published several Books.*] These are the Titles of the chief of 'em: *Antiquarius, sive priscorum & minus usitatorum vocabulorum brevis & dilucida interpretatio, ordine alphabetico digesta*, in 12o and in 8vo. *Clavis Græcalingua, sive vocabula Latino-Græca*, in 12o and in 8vo. He published *Anacreon*, *Juvenal* and *Persius*, with Notes; *Horace* and *Juvenal* with a Paraphrase; the *Anthologia* with his *Latin* Version, and the *Epistolæ veterum Græcorum Græcè & Latinè*. Commentaries upon St. *Paul*'s principal Epistles. *Monotessaron, sive Historia Evangelica ex 4. Evangelistis in unum corpus redacta* (f). His *Latin* Verses are in the Three Tomes of the *delitiæ poetarum Germanorum*. We shall [illegible] in the following Remark the Title of some [illegible] of his Works.

(f) *Taken from Paulus Freherus in theatro, pag.* 410.

(X) *In which he thought he could explain the Origin of Sin by a new Hypothesis.*] He established Two co-eternal Principles, not Body and Vacuum, as *Epicurus*, but God and Nothing; God in Quality of good Principle, and Nothing in Quality of evil Principle. He added, that Sin was nothing but a Tendency towards nothing, and that Sin was necessary, that the Nature of [illegible] might be known. He applied to this Nothing, all that *Aristole* had said of the first Matter (g). 'Tis not hard to perceive that all this is chimerical, and wholly unable to lessen the Difficulties about the Origin of Evil; for who is so stupid as not to see, that nothing is not capable of producing any thing, either as an Efficient Cause or a Passive Subject, and 'tis as impossible for Sin to proceed from Nothing, as it is for the Sinner: Consequently it is as necessary to give a positive Cause to the one as the other. 'Tis no wonder then, that this Hypothesis of *Lubin* shou'd not pass. The Professor *Grawerus*, who confuted it, had no hard Task on't. He had the Suffrages of *Mylius*, *Hutterus*, (h) *Piscator*, *Schlusselburgus*, *Major*, and *Petræus*, and many others (i).

(g) *Taken from the memorabilia Eccles. sæculi XVII. lib.* 1. *cap.* 32. *pag.* 109, 110.

(h) *Professor at Jena, & quite a different Ma[illegible] from the [illegible] taught at* Herborn.

(i) *Ibid. They are* Hieronymus Kromajer in hist. Eccl. 1649. it. Theologia positivo-polemica 296. pag.

(Y) *He was Attack'd upon it by some Divines.*] I'll give Mr. *Baillet*'s acco[illegible] it. "(k) *Eilhard Lubin* —— had com[illegible] Book more than Metaphysical upon th[illegible]gin and Nature of Sin, in which he sufficiently discover'd himself to be of the Number of the *Lutherans* of the old Stamp, concerning Election, Reprobation, Justification, and the Liberty of Man, &c. His Book was printed at *Rostoch*, in the Dutchy of *Mecklenbourgh*, in 1596, and re-printed in the same Town Four Years after, in 8vo and in 12o, with the Title of *Phrosporus, de prima causa, & natura mali Tractatus Hypermetaphysicus, in quo multorum gravissima dubitationes tolluntur. Grawer* —— made an Outcry at *Lubin*'s *Phosphorus*, as if it had been some strange Comet. He accused him of running into the most exorbitant Paradoxes, and wrote against him a little after. *Lubin* answered him, to let him see that his Accusations were pure Calumnies, and printed a New Book at *Rostoch*, in the Year 1600. with the Title of *Apologeticus quo Alb. Graw. calumniis respond.* &c. which was re-printed in 1605, in 4to in the same Town. *Grawer* hereupon was obliged to make his own Defence, [illegible] he did in the *Anti-Lubin*, printed at [illegible]rg, in 1606. in 4to. with the Title of [illegible] *Lubinus*, sive, *Elenchus Paradoxorum Lubini & Emblematum Calvinisticorum*, &c. *De prima causa, & natura mali.* This was only an Answer to *Lubin*'s *Phosphorus*, but *Grawer* made another to it [illegible] Apologetick, which was printed by way [illegible]endix, with the *Anti-Lubin*, under the [illegible] *Responsio Ad elumben Lubini Apologeticum.* I don't know whether *Lubin* appealed to the Divines of the Confession of *Augsbourg*, against *Grawer*'s ill Treatment, and whether with that Intention he writ the Book intitul[illegible]

‘ *Tract*[illegible]

ried (Z) twice, and died the 2d of *June*, 1621. after Ten Months Sickneſs of a Quartan Ague.

LUCILIUS (*Caius*) a *Roman* Knight, and *Latin* Poet, was Born at *Sueſſa* (A) in the Country of the *Aurunci* in *Italy*, towards the Beginning of the Seventh Century of *Rome*. He bore (B) Arms under *Scipio Africanus* in the *Numantine* War, and had a great ſhare in the Friendſhip (C) of this famous General, and in that of *Lælius*. He compoſed Thirty Books of Satyrs, in which he cenſured by Name (D) and in a Cutting manner, ſeveral Perſons of Quality. Some will have him to be the firſt Author of this ſort of Poetry; but others are of a different Opinion. He uſed to ſay, that he deſired to meet with Readers who were neither too (F) ignorant, nor too learned. It

(a) *Eu Prebero ubi ſupra.*

(b) *Auſon. Epiſt.* 15. *v.* 9. *pag. m.* 626.

† *Conſult the Remark E.*

(c) *Juvenal. Sat.* 1. *v.* 20.

(d) *Briet. de Poëtis Latin. p.* 6. *He was deceived by Voſſius* de Poët. Lat. *pag.* 12.

(e) *Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l.* 3. *c.* 8. *p.* 589. *Epitomes Bunonis.*

(f) *Britannicus, Barnabius,* [illegible] *Africano bello Numantino. Briet. ibid.*

(b) *Voll. Paterculi. lib.* 2. *cap.* 9.

(i) *Scalig. Animadverſ. in Euſebium, n.* 1914. *p. m.* 149.

(k) Scipio Africanus & Lælius [illegible] *familiares & amici* Lucilio, ut quodam tempore Lælio circumlectos triclinii ſugienti, Lucilius ſuperveniens eum obtorta mappa quaſi feriturus ſequeretur. *Vetus Commentator Horatii.*

(l) *Horat. Satira* 1. *lib.* 2. *v.* 62.

'*Tractatio Theologica de cauſa pe*[illegible] *Theologos* '*Auguſtanæ Confeſſionis in Ger*[illegible] which was 'Printed the Year following at [illegible], in 4to; 'but I can affirm that all theſe Works have not 'hindered Poſterity from believing him a better 'Humaniſt than Divine.

(Z) *He married twice.*] His firſt Wife, Widow to *James Backmeiſter*, Profeſſor of the *Hebrew* Tongue at *Roſtock*, lived Seven Years with him, and brought him no Children. The ſecond gave him Nine. She was Daughter to *William Laurenberg*, a famous Pl[illegible]n (a).

(A) *Was born at* [illegible] *in the Country of the* Aurunci, *towards the* [illegible] *ning of the Seventh Century of* Rome.] *Euſebius*'s Chronicle places the Birth of *Lucilius*, in the 1ſt. Year of 158th. *Olympiad*, which is the 605th. of *Rome*. *Auſonius* ſpeaks of this Poet, when he ſays, (b) *Rudes Camenæ qui Sueſſæ pravenis: Juvenal* alſo mentions him [illegible] Verſe, (c) *Per quem magnus equ*[illegible] *Auruncæ* [illegible] *alumnus*. And therefore that [illegible] *cilius*'s [illegible] try which I give him, and not *Sueſſa Pometia*, as Father *Briet* will have it. *C. Lucilius*, ſays he (d) *Romanus Eques ex Sueſſa Pometia urbe Auruncorum non procul à Pomptina palude ortus fuit.* If he had conſulted *Cluverius*, he would have found *Sueſſa Pometia* in the Country of the *Volſci*, and not of the *Aurunci*. *Cluverius* diſtinguiſhes two Towns, called *Sueſſa*; one (e) Sirnamed *Pometia*, was in the Country of the *Volſci*, the other ſirnamed *Aurunca*, was in *Campania*, beyond the *Liris*. Some (f) Commentators on *Juvenal*, by a notable Blunder, ſay, that *Lucilius* was born at *Arunia*, or *Aurunca*, a Town of the *Rutuli*. The Time has been worſe miſtaken than the Place of his Birth, by Father *Briet*. *Natus*, ſays he, *Olymp.* cxxxviii. *obiit Olymp.* cxlix. *ætatis* 46 *Neapoli publico elatus funere, ut ſcribit Hieronymus.* St. *Jerome* does not ſay this; and if he had, this Jeſuit would have c[illegible], or forſaken him, ſince according to him, the Poet *Lucilius* bore Arms in the N[illegible] War, Fifty Years later than the 140th. O[illegible] *piad*.

(B) *He bore Arms*——*in the* Numantine *War.*] *Vellejus Paterculus* tells us this. *Celebre*, ſays he (b), *& Lucilii nomen fuit, qui ſub P. Africano Numantino bello eques militaverat. Quo quidem tempore juvenis adhuc Jugurtha ac Marius ſub eodem Africano militantes in iiſdem caſtris didicere quæ poſtea in contrariis facerent.* It muſt be confeſſed, that this does not well agree with *Euſebius*'s Chronicle; for when *Scipio* made War with the *Numantines*, *Lucilius* by this Chronicle was but Fifteen Years Old. Did any one liſt in the Cavalry before he took on the *toga Virilis*? *Scaliger* (i) obſerves, that the Fathers ſometimes brought their Sons to the Army, before the taking this Garment; but this was not what they called *militarem equitem*. Yet this is what *Paterculus* affirms of our *Lucilius*.

(C) *A great Share in the Friendſhip of* Scipio *and* Lælius. They honoured him with ſuch a Familiari[illegible] to droll and play the Fool with him. See H[illegible] Scholiaſt (k), upon theſe Words of the 1[illegible] Satyr of the 2d. Book.

Quin, ubi ſed vulgo, & ſcena, in ſecreta remorant
Virtus Scipiada, & mitis ſapienti a Lælio
Nugari cum illo, & diſcincti ludere, dum[illegible]
Decoqueretur olus, ſoliti. . . ..

(D) *In which he cenſured by Name*——*ſeveral Perſons of Quality.*] Let's hear what *Horace* has ſaid of it.

(l) *Quid cum eſt Lucilius auſus*
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
Detrahere & pellem, nitidus qua quiſque per ora
Cederet, introrſum turpis? num Lælius, aut, qui
Ingenio offenſi? aut læſo doluere Metello?
Famoſiſque Lupo cooperto verſibus? atqui
Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributim,
Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus amicis.

Perſius (m) witneſſes the ſame thing in fewer Words. See *Juvenal*, who relates how *Lucilius* made the guilty tremble with his Pen, as much as if he had purſued 'em with Sword in Hand.

Enſe (n) *velut ſtricto, quoties Lucilius ardens*
Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens eſt
Criminibus, tacita ſudant præcordia culpa.

(E) *The firſt Author of Satyr*;——*others are of a different Opinion.*] They who make him the Inventer of it, ground themſelves on theſe Words of *Horace*: *Quid cum eſt Lucilius auſus* PRIMUS *in hunc operis componere carmina morem?* alledge alſo a Paſſage of *Quintilian*, and theſe Words of *Pliny*: (p) *Si hoc Lucilius qui* PRIMUS *condidit ſtyli naſum, dicendum ſibi putavit.* *Quintilian*'s Teſtimony is thus: (q) *Satira quidem tota noſtra eſt, in qua* PRIMUS *inſignem laudem adeptus eſt Lucilius.* But notwithſtanding theſe Authorities, Mr. *Dacier* has maintained with greater Probability, that *Lucilius* had only given this kind of Poetry a juſter Turn, and ſcattered more Salt in it than his Predeceſſors *Ennius* and *Pacuvius* (r).

(F) *He deſired neither too ignorant Readers, nor too learned.*] There's ſomething in this Deſire, that diſcovers a deal of good Senſe. Theſe two kinds of Readers, are ſometimes equally formidable; the former ſee not enough, and the latter ſee too much; the one kind has not Senſe enough to underſtand what is good, there's no Juſtice to be expected from him; and there's no concealing from the other what's imperfect. One of *Cicero*'s Interlocutors in the Second Book of the Orator, mentions this Thought of *Lucilius*, and approved it, and makes Application of it to himſelf; I mean, he deſires the ſame thing. Here's what he ſays. (f) *Quod addidiſti tertium vos eos eſſe qui vitam inſuavem ſine his ſtudiis putaretis; id me non modo non hortatur ad diſputandum, ſed etiam deterret. Nam ut Cajus Lucilius homo doctus, & perurbanus dicere ſolebat, ea quæ ſcriberet, neque ab indoctiſſimis, neque ab doctiſſimis legi velle, quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortaſſe quàm ipſe de ſe, quo etiam ſcripſit: Perſium non curo legere. Hic enim fuit, ut noramus, omnium fere noſtrorum hominum doctiſſimus. Lælium Decimum volo, quem cognovimus virum bonum & non illiteratum, ſed nihil ad Perſium. Sic ego, ſi jam mihi diſputandum ſit de his noſtris ſtudiis, nolim equidem apud ruſticos, ſed multo minus apud vos. Ælo enim non intelligi orationem meam, quàm reprehendi. Cicero* in another Book, where he ſpeaks in his own Name, declares himſelf to be far from this deſire of *Lucilius*; he requires the moſt penetrating Readers, and fears no Colours. *Nec enim* ſays he (t) *ut noſter Lucilius recuſabo quo minus omnes mea legant. Utinam eſſet ille Perſinus, Scipio vero, & Quintilius multo etiam magis, quorum ille judicium reformidans, Tarentinis ait ſe, & Conſentinis, & Siculis ſcribere: facete is quidem ſicut alias, ſed neque tam docti tunc erant ad quorum judicium elaboraret, & ſunt illius ſcripta leviora, ut urbanitas ſumma appareat, doctrina mediocris. Ego autem quem timeam lectorem, quum* (u) *ad te ne Græcis quidem cedentem, in philoſophia audeam ſcribere?* He had in another Book mentioned this Thought

(m) Secuit Lucilius urbem Te Lupe, te Muti, & genuinum fregit in illis *Perſ. Sat.* 1. *v.* 115.

(n) *Juven. Satira* 1. *v.* 165.

(o) *Horat. ubi ſupra, v.* 48.

(p) *Plinius in præfat.*

(q) *Quintil. inſtit. Orat. lib.* 10. *c.* 1.

(r) *See the Preface to the 6th Tome of Mr.* Dacier's Horace.

(f) *Cicero de Oratore, lib.* 2. *Fol. m.* 72. *B.*

(t) *Id. lib.* 1. *de finib. circa init.*

(u) *He ſpeaks to* Brutus.

It is not probable he died (G) at Fourty-six years of age, as some affirm. Of all his Works we have only (H) some Fragments of his Satyrs remaining. 'Tis a Misfortune; for if we had all his Works, we should doubtless learn a great many things by 'em. *Cicero* has (I) contradicted himself about *Lucilius*'s Learning. I don't think *Horace* cou'd reasonably be blamed (K) for the Judgment he gave of this Satyrist. *Pompey*, by the

Thought of *Lucilius*, and approved and espoused it, as appears from *Pliny*'s Preface, who after so great an Example, doth himself the Honour to espouse it. *Praterea est quadam publica etiam eruditorum rejectio. Utitur illa & M. Tullius, extra omnem ingenii aleam positus, & (quod miremur) per advocatum defenditur.* Nec doctissimis: Manium Persium hæc legere nolo, Junium Congum volo. *Quod si hoc Lucilius, qui primus condidit stylinasum, dicendum sibi putavit: si Cicero mutandum, præsertim cum de Republica scriberet; quanto nos cautius ab aliquo Judice defendimus?* Father *Hardouin* has expunged *Lalium Decimum* out of this Passage of *Pliny*, to incert *Junium Longum*, agreeably to the Manuscripts. He observes, that *Lucilius* more than once made use of this Thought, and named one while some Persons, and another while others; and therefore 'tis a mistake, to pretend, that it was *Lælius Decimus* in *Pliny*, because this Name is found in *Cicero*'s Second Book, *de Oratore*. *Pliny* had not this Passage of *Cicero* in view, but another in his Book *de Republica*. See the Margin (*a*).

(*a*) Videntur porro hæc afferri ex præfatione Ciceronis in libros suos Plinius respicere se plane mox significat. Inde Luciliani versus, qui trochaicus est, finis citatur, *Nec doctissimus*, ut subintelligatur, hæc scribo: Quem alter trochaicus integer mox sequatur, *Manium Persium hæc legere nolo, Junium Congum velo* Ubi metri causa in Manio Persioque iota coit. *Harduinus not. in lib.* 1. *Plinii*, n. 4. p. 14.

(*b*) Cajus Lucilius satyrarum scriptor Neapoli moritur, ac publico funere effertur, anno ætatis 46. *Euseb. in Chron. ad ann.* 2. *Olymp.* 169.

(*c*) *Aulus Gellius lib.* 2. *c.* 24.

(*d*) *Nonius voce* Eugium *cites the* epodos hymnos *of Lucilius. He cites also his Comedy intituled* Nummularia. *See Vossius* de Poët. Latin. *p.* 12.

(G) *That he died at* 46 *Years of Age.*] *Eusebius*'s Chronicle makes him no Elder, which places his Birth in the first Year of the 158th. *Olympiade*, and his Death (*b*) in the 2d. Year of the 169th. which is the 651st. of *Rome*. *Glandorp* ought not to be accused of making him 64 Years old; it being a Fault of the Press, which transposing the Figures, gives 64 for 46. Such Faults are common. To prove *Eusebius* in an Error, we need only consider, that *Lucilius* has mention'd the *Licinian* Law, made against the Expences of Feasts, in the 656th. Year of *Rome*, or thereabouts. *Lex deinde Licinia rogata est——Hujus legis Lævius poeta meminit in his verbis*, Legem citemus Licini (*c*). He therefore lived Five or Six Years after the Time 'tis pretended he died at *Naples*; and if on the other Hand, we consider that he must be born before the 605th. Year of *Rome*, since he bore Arms before *Numantia* in the Year 620. We shall find, that *Horace* might well call him an old Man, without a Figure. 'Tis in the place where he says *Lucilius* committed all his Secrets to his Books, so that we find in 'em his Life, as in a Votive Table.

——*Me pedibus delectat claudere verba*
Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus, olim
Credebat libris; neque, si male gesserat usquam
Decurrens alio, neque si bene, quo fit, ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita SENIS.

These Words of *Horace* are in the 1st. Satyr of the 2d. Book.

(H) *Of all his Works, we have only some Fragments of his Satyrs remaining.*] For Five or Six Words, which remain of his other (*d*) Pieces, deserve no Consideration, besides, that 'tis not agreed these Pieces were his. See *Douza* the Son's Notes upon *Lucilius*'s Fragments, at the 99th. Page. Some say, that he writ the Life of the same *Scipio Africanus*, whose Victories were sung by *Ennius*. *Douza* denies it, for a Reason which I think very weak; he takes it from *Scipio* and *Lucilius*'s living at different times, a very bad proof; for may not a Poet, who lives an Hundred Years hence, write the particular Life of the Prince of *Condé*, or the Mareschal *de Turenne*. However, I believe with *Douza*, that *Lucilius* wrote the Life of the *Scipio Africanus*, with whom he intimately conversed. *Ejusdem Scipionis*, it's *Douza* the Son speaks in his Notes upon the Fragments of our Poet, at the 98th. Page. *Vitam privatam postea descripsit, in quo Pseudoporphyrionem manifesti erroris convincit Pavens meus, qui* Lucilium vitam privatam Scipionis, Ennium verò bella descripsisse *annotat: ubi male nomina Scipionem inter se confusa. Ennium enim Scipinis majoris res gestas cecinisse constat. Lucilius autem ut ejusdem vitam privatam describerit, ratio temporum plane vetat.* Mr. *Dacier* must have believed this Argument to be good, since he speaks thus: '(*e*) *Lucilius* besides his Satyrs, wrote a particular Book, concerning the 'Life of the young *Scipio Africanus*, Son to *Paulus Æmilius*, in which he spoke of his Justice 'and Valour. Such as have thought, that *Lucilius* treated of the great *Scipio*, and that 'tis he 'Horace mentions here, confound Chronology. 'The great *Scipio* was dead above Thirty five 'Years before *Lucilius* was born. If *Lucilius* had died before *Scipio* was born, this had been an invincible Confutation of those who attributed to him the History of this *Roman* General: But to go and confute 'em by this Reason, that he was born Thirty five Years after the Death of this Hero, must proceed from Distraction of Thought. It is not only possible, that this Poet might write the History of *Scipio Africanus* the Elder, but very probable; and that at the Request of *Scipio Africanus*, the Younger, his good Friend, who might furnish him with Variety of good Materials. I don't however contradict my self in what I have advanced; how many Things are there not true, which are yet most probable? *Lucilius*'s Fragments were collected with great care by *Francis Douza*, and published at *Leiden* with Notes in the Year 1597. They stand greatly in need of being better illustrated by some learned Critick.

(*e*) *Dacier to.* 7. *p.* 27. *commenting these Words of* Horace, *Sat.* 1 *l.* 2. Attamen & justum poteras & scribere fortem Scipiadem ut sapiens Lucilius.

(*f*) Sunt plurima vera quidem, sed parum credibilia; sicut falsa quoque frequenter verisimilia. *Quinctil. lib.* 4. *cap.* 2. *pag. m.* 182.

(*g*) *With the* Horace *of Cruquius.*

(I) Cicero *has contradicted himself about the Learning.*] In his Book *De Oratore*, he acknowledges *Lucilius* to be a Learned Man; his Words are worth relating. *Sed ut solebat C. Lucilius sape dicere homo (b) tibi subiratus, mihi propter eam ipsam causam minus quam villebat familiaris, sed tamen & doctus & perurbanus, sic sentio neminem esse in oratorum numero habendum, qui non sit omnibus iis artibus quæ sunt libero homine digna perpolitus (i).* He gives him the same Elogy of *Learned*, in the 2d. Book (*k*) of the same Work, but robs him of it in the first Book (*l*) *De Finibus*. *Quintilian* gives it him, without ever retracting. I'll cite him in the following Remark.

(*b*) *That's to say, to Mutius Scevola*

(*i*) *Cicero de Orator. lib.* 1. *Fol.* 62. *A*

(*k*) *See the Remark F.*

(*l*) *See the Remark F.*

(K) Horace *could reasonably be blamed for the Judgment he gave of* Lucilius.] The Criticks murmured, and he justified himself. Let's see his Words, which begin with a Criticism, and end with an Apology.

Eupolis, (m) atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poëta,
Atque alii, quorum comœdia prisca virorum est:
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut fur;
Quod mœchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui
Famosus: multa cum libertate notabant.
Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus;
Mutatis tantùm pedibus, numerisque facetus:
Emunctæ naris, durus componere versus.
Nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora sæpe ducentos,
Ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno:
Cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles:
Garrulus, atque piger scribendi ferre laborem:
Scribendi rectè: nam ut multum, nil moror.

(*m*) *Horat. Sat.* 4. *l.* 1.

Now we shall see how he justifies himself.

Nempe

...e Mother's side was (L) Grandson, or rather great Nephew to *Lucilius*. I shall observe the Faults of Mr. *Moreri*, and (N) of some other Writers, and particularly (O) a Piece of false Chronology in *Stephen Pasquier*. There are ancient Verses extant,

(a) *Horat. Sat. 10. lib. 1.*

Nempe [illegible] incomposito dixi pede currere versus
Lucili : [illegible] tam Lucili fautor inepte est,
Ut non hos [illegible] scatur ? at idem, quod sale multo
Urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.
Nec tamen hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cætera, namsic
Et Laberi mimos, ut pulchra poëmata, miner.

He afterwards answers *Lucilius*'s Censurers concerning the mixing *Greek* with *Latin* Words, and professes he does not design to rob him of the Crown so justly due to him.

(b) *Ibid. v. 46.*

Hoc (b) erat, experta frustrà Varronia Musa,
Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,
Inventore minor : neque ego illi detrahere ausim
Hærentem capiti multa cum laude coronam.

He demands the same Liberty with respect to *Lucilius*, which every one takes with respect to the greatest Poets, and which *Lucilius* himself took with respect to *Ennius*; and maintains, that if the Author he censures were alive, he would correct his own Works, and write with greater Exactness.

(c) *Ibid. v. 50.*

At dixi (c) fuere hunc lutulentum, fæpe fluentem
Plura quam [illegible] tollenda relinquendis, age, quæso,
Fu[illegible]nagno doctus reprehendi Homero ?
Nil simile Tragici unquam Lucilius Acti ?
Non videt versus Furi gravitate minores,
Cùm de se loquitur, non ut majore reprensi ?
Quid vetat, & nosmet Lucili scripta legentes
Quærere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
Versiculos natura magis factos, & euntes
Mollius ? . . . . . .
. . . . . .

(d) *Ibid. v. 64.*

Fuerit (d) Lucilius, inquam,
Comis & urbanus : fuerit limatior idem,
Quàm rudis, & Græcis intacti carminis auctor,
Quamque Pœtarum seniorum turba : sed ille,
Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in ævum :
Detereret sibi multa : recideret omne, quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur & in versu faciendo
Sæpe caput scaberet : vivos & roderet unguis.

I thought my self obliged to set down all these long Passages, because they acquaint my Reader with *Lucilius*'s Character, and 'tis an uneasiness to be sent out of the Way by References, in reading the Life of a famous Man. Mr. *Dacier* never gave a better proof his Judgment, than when he declared himself (e) for *Horace* against *Quintilian*, 'tis strange, that eloquent Rhetorician should not applaud this Poet's Judgment. His Words will let us see the prodigious Prejudice of many in *Lucilius*'s Favour. (f) *Satira quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus est Lucilius, qui quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non ejusdem modò operis auctoribus, sed omnibus poëtis præferre non dubitent. Ego quantum ab illis, tantum ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium fuisse lutulentum, & esse aliquid quod tollere possis, putat. Nam & eruditio in eo mira, & libertas, atque inde acerbitas, & abunde salis.*

(e) *On Horace's Sat. 4. l. 2. p. 311. du 7. tome.*
(f) *Quintil. l. 10. cap. 1. pag. m. 472.*
(g) *Horat. Sat. 1. l. 2.*
(b) *Apud Franciscum Douzam, notis in reliquias Lucilii, p. 97. col. 2.*

(L) Pompey [illegible] *was Grandson, or rather great Nephew to* Lucilius.] *Porphyrion* upon these Words of *Horace*, (g) *quidquid sum ego, quamvis infra Lucilium ingeniumque*, observes, that *Lucilius* was [illegible]ther to *Pompey*'s Grandmother, and consequently his great Uncle by the Mother's side. *Acron* (i), another old Interpreter of *Horace*, says that *Lucilius* was *Pompey*'s Grandfather. This Opinion is less probable than the former, for if *Lucilia* (i) *Pompey*'s Mother, had been *Lucilius*'s Daughter, I don't think that *Velleius Paterculus* would have forgotten to mention it. We must therefore believe she was Daughter to *Lucilius*'s Brother, and consequently, that *Porphyrion* mistakes the true degree of Relation. Thus the learned *Antonius* (k) *Augustinus*, and *Francis Douza* reason and conjecture:

(i) Fuit hic (*Pompejus*) genitus matre Lucilia stirpis senatoriæ. *Paterculus l. 2. c. 29.*

(M) *I shall observe the Faults of Mr.* Moreri.] I. *Lucilius* was not a Native of *Suessa Pometia*. II. This Town was not in the Country of the *Aurunci*. III. 'Tis not certain, that *he was the first Satyrist in* Latin *Verse*. Mr. *Dacier* shews the contrary: See above the Remark *E*. IV. And he should in no case have pretended, that besides this, he was *the Author of a kind of Verse unknown to the Greeks*; *from Græcis intacti carminis auctor*; for if these Words (l) of *Horace* concern *Lucilius*, they only ascribe to him the Invention of Satyr. V. But the best Criticks (m) have long since observed, that these Words relate to *Ennius*, and not to *Lucilius*. VI. 'Tis not true, that the 169th. *Olympiade* falls in the 651st. Year of *Rome*: an *Olympiad* includes Four Years.

(k) *In libro de familiis Romanor. apud Douzam, ib.*
(l) *Satyr. 10. l. 1. v. 66.*
(m) *Casaubon & Theodore Marsius. apud Dacier on Horace, to. 6. p. 640.*

(N) *The Faults of some other Authors.*] See above (n) those of Father *Briet*, *Gesner*'s Abridger is grossly mistaken about *Lucilius*'s Age, where *Lucilius*, as he calls him, *Floruit*, says he, (o) *secundi belli Punici temporibus*: *Glandorp* [illegible] was of Opinion, that he whom *Cicero* [illegible] of, as an Author, who desired neither [illegible] ignorant nor too learned Readers, is not the same *Lucilius*, who composed the Satyrs. 'Tis an Error. *Charles Stephen* has committed the same Fault. *Lloyd* and *Hofman* have adopted it, and moreover pretended, that our *Lucilius* was Born in the Fifty-third Olympiad, and that he died in the Sixty-ninth, Forty-six years of age; the Absurdity it self is manifest. They cite *Quintilian* 17. 21. which is a Chimerical Citation.

(n) *In the Remark A.*
(o) *Epit. Biblioth. Gesneri, pag. 550. Edit. 1583*
(p) *Onomast. pag. 552.*

(O) *A Piece of false Chronology of* Stephen Pasquier.] His Words are these. *This it was* (q) *that the Advocates of* Rome *sported their Wits with most, when they had a mind to awaken their Judges. See this Piece of* Cicero *in his Oration for Milo.* Est enim hæc, Judices, non scripta, sed nata lex, *&c. You will find it may compare with the finest Verses of all Antiquity; which afterwards grew into such an Affectation and Abuse, that* Lucilius, *a Satyrical Poet ridiculed it very handsomly in one of his Satyrs whose Verses* Aulus Gellius *relates in the Thirteenth Book of his Lucubrations* (r). *Garasse* has not pardoned him this Mistake; let's hear him. (s) " Where I say, Mr. *Pasquier* ' has very handsomly expos'd himself to the ' Laughter of all Men, moderately versed in ' Chronology; for how con'd *Lucilius*, who ' was about an Hundred Years before *Cicero*, ri- ' dicule what was done an Hundred Years after his ' Death? 'Tis just as if I should say, speaking ' of that nice, polished, and accurate Poetry, ' which came in with *Berthaud* and *Malherbe*, ' that *Marot* and St. *Gelais* were disgusted so ' much with it, as to ridicule and satyrize it ' in their Writings. Such was the sufficiency ' of that old Blade mention'd by *Severinus* ' *Boetius* in his Book *de Disciplina Scholarium*, ' who asked whether *Æneas* was not *Julius* ' *Cæsar*'s Wife. Such was the Impertinence of ' that Minister noted by *Horace Dolabella*, in ' the 6th Chapter of his Apology, who being ' asked, *Uter fuerit prior secundum Annales Ec-* ' *clesiæ Constantinus an Nero?* came off very ' ingeniously by these Words of our Saviour, ' *Non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta*, ' Acts 1. Verse 7. And yet I believe these ' Men, tho' very ignorant, if they had seen the ' difference of Style, between *Lucilius* and *Cicero*,

(q) *That's to say,* [illegible] similiter desinentia.
(r) *Pasquier, Recherches de la France, liv. 7. chap. 1. p. m. 565.*
(s) *Garasse Recherche des Recherches, pag. 565.*

tant, which ſhew what a mighty Hazard a Man run, who ventur'd to ſpeak ill of *Lucilius*'s Poems (*P*).

LUCRECE,

'cero, would never have called in queſtion, 'Whether *Lucilius* had been before *Cicero*; as a 'Man need not be very much verſed in Chro- 'nology, to be able to ſay a Hundred Years 'hence that *Alain Charretier*, *Froiſſard*, and '*Monſtrelet*, were before Monſieur *du Vair*; 'and it would be a horrid Ignorance, to ſay 'that *Alain Charretier*, or *Monſtrelet*, improved 'the Style, the Diction and Figures of *Amiot*, or 'du *Vair*. 'Twas hard to make a good An- ſwer to this Cenſure; and therefore we find, that the learned *Paſquier*'s Sons defended him but ill upon this Point: Here's what they an- ſwer, (*a*) Garaſſe *ſays that* Lucilius *was an Hundred Years before* Cicero, *which is falſe for* Cicero *and* Pompey *lived at the ſame time; but* Lucilius *was* Pompey's *Uncle: So that it is eaſie to judge, that our Calumniator is vaſtly out in his Computation. In the ſecond place he ſays*, this might be known by the difference of Style. *This Ignorance is more inſupportable than the former; for* Pliny *expreſly obſerves, that* primus fuit Lucilius qui ſtylum acuiſſe dicitur. Horace *calls him* emunctæ naris, *and ſays he made Two Hundred Verſes in an Hour, and* Quintilian *calls him* principem Satyricorum, *inſomuch that* Adrian *the Emperor prefer'd him before* Virgil. *Obſerve, I pray, into how many Abſurdities a Man runs from the Itch of Criti- zing*, There's nothing good in this Reply, but the Remark on the Hundred Years *Garaſſe* puts betwixt *Cicero* and *Lucilius*. This Jeſuit pre- tending to Criticize one Fault in Chronology, falls into another; for 'tis not true, *that* Lu- cilius *was an Hundred Years before* Cicero, he died ſome Years after *Cicero* was born. It was eaſie for *Paſquier*'s Apologiſts to vouch this; but inſtead of good Proofs, they were con- tented to alledge, that *Lucilius* was *Pompey's* Uncle, *Cicero*'s Cotemporary. They were miſta- ken; *Lucilius* (*b*) paſſes for the Grandfather, or Great Uncle to *Pompey*. They are groſly out, to pretend that there is no Diſtinction to be obſerved betwixt *Lucilius* and *Cicero*'s Style; whereas they differ more than Mr. *Flechier*, and *Clement Marot*. To be ſoon convinced of it, we need only caſt an Eye on the Frag- ments of the *Latin* Satyriſt, and upon *Cicero* at the bare opening his Book. To oppoſe to Father *Garaſſ*, *Pliny*'s (*c*) and *Quintilian*'s (*d*) Words, both ill cited, is to pretend that be- cauſe *Regnier* was the firſt who writ good *French* Satyrs, his Style differs not from that of Mr. *Patru*, or Mr. *Deſpreaux*. *Horace*'s *emunctæ naris* proves nothing; this may be ſaid of *Clement Marot*, and *Regnier*, with a great deal of juſtice, and yet What difference is there between their Language, and Mr. *Pa- tru*'s, and *Boileau*'s? Conſider *Horace*'s whole Verſe, *emunctæ naris* DURUS *componere Ver- ſus*. Has not he been forced miſerably to mu- tilate his Teſtimony, that he might be able to make uſe of it? If he had given it intire, Would he not have furniſhed Arms to his Ad- verſaries? But that proof from *Horace* is much leſs ridiculous than that which follows, and is taken from the ſame Author. *Lucilius*, as *Ho- race* ſays, *made Two Hundred Verſes in an Hour*, therefore he writ as well as *Cicero*. What a monſtrous Conſequence is here, and more amazing ſtill, when we conſider that *Ho- race* relates this as a Fault of *Lucilius* (*e*), and immediately compares this Author's Poems to muddy Streams! the laſt Proof which *Ste- phen Paſquier*'s Apologiſts bring, is no better than the others. It is founded upon a falſe Fact, the Conſequence whereof would make a- gainſt 'em, if it were true. 'Tis not to *Lu- cilius*, but to *Ennius*, *Adrian* gave the Prefer- ence before *Virgil*; and all that this proves, is, that *Ennius*'s Style was more ruſty and mouldy; for this was *Hadrian*'s Taſte, as his Hiſtorian obſerves. (*f*) *Amavit Præterea genus dicendi ve- tuſtum . . . . . Ciceroni Catonem, Virgilio En- nium, Salluſtio Caliun prætulit.*

(*a*) *Defenſe pour Etienne Paſquier contre les impoſtures & calom- nies de Franſois Garaſſe.* *pag.* 791, 792.

(*b*) *See the Remark L.*

(*c*) Pliny *has ſaid*, primus condicit ſtyli na- ſum, *and not* primus fuit Lucilius qui ſtylum acuiſſe dicitur.

(*d*) Quin- tilian *ſays in ſatyra* primus inſignem laudem adeptus eſt Lucilius, *and not ſo*, fuit princeps ſatyrico- rum.

(*e*) Nam fuit hoc vitioſus in hora ſæpe ducentos, Ut magnum ver- ſus dictabat, ſtan- pede in uno. Quum flueret LUTU- LENTUS *Horatius*, *Sat.* 4. *l.* 1. *v.* 9.

(*f*) *Spar- tian. in Hadriano*, *cap.* 16. *p. m.* 158. *tom.* 1.

(*P*) *Ran a mighty Hazard, who ventured to ſpeak ill of* Lucilius's *Poems.*] It's a long time ago ſince I read what I am going to copy. 'Our little Doctor does (*g*) much the ſame. 'And indeed a Man of that Humour, is in a 'fair way of being pounded in a Mortar (I mean as 'far as the Pen and Tongue goes) for we don't 'live in an Age of ſo much Liberty, as was 'that of theſe young *Romans* of Quality, who 'walked the Streets all Day, concealing long 'Whips under their Garments, to chaſtiſe the 'Inſolence of thoſe who did not approve the 'Poet *Lucilius*, if they had the Misfortune to 'meet 'em in their way (*h*). I° fancy'd in reading this over, that ſince *Coſtar* cited no- body, he did not know the Source of this matter, and I put my ſelf upon the enquiry. I light of it in ſome Verſes which have paſs'd for *Ho- race*'s, and have been prefix'd (*i*) to one of his Satyrs in ſome Editions. Mr. *Dacier* has inſerted 'em in his Notes upon this Poet; he cites all he has ſaid upon it; by which we ſhall ſee, that Mr. *Coſtar* magnifies Objects, and that his Imbroidery is too much raiſed.

(*g*) *That's to ſay*, Ge- rac *like* Diogenes' *acts in e- very thing counter to the People.*

(*b*) *Coſtar*, *Suite de la defenſe de Voiture*, *pag.* 40.

(*i*) *La* 10. *du* 1. *livre*,

'(*k*) We may ſay of *Lucilius*, that he 'had the good fortune of ſome Women, who 'with very little Beauty have created violent 'Paſſions. Amongſt his Partiſans, there were 'ſome ſo extravagant as to run along the Streets, 'with Whips under their Garments, to laſh ſuch 'as durſt ſpeak ill of *Lucilius*'s Verſes.

(*k*) Dacier *ſur la* 10. *ſatyre du* 1. *livre d'Horace* *p.* 603. *du* 6. *tome.*

'*Lucili, quam ſis mendoſus, teſte Catone*
'*Defenſore tuo pervincam, qui male factos*
'*Emendare parat verſus. Hoc lenius ille*
'*Eſt quo vir melior. Longe ſubtilior ille*
'*Qui multum puer & loris & fœnibus udis*
'*Exornatus ut eſſet opem qui ferre Poëtis*
'*Antiquis poſſet contra faſtidia noſtra,*
'*Grammaticorum Equitum doctiſſimus.*

'I'll ſhew you Lucilius, *how full they are of* 'Faults, *even by the Teſtimony of* Cato, *your* 'great Patron. *He has a Deſign to poliſh your* 'ill turned Verſes. *As he is a better Man* 'than moſt others, *he has taken the gentleſt* 'and ſofteſt Method. *But he is not quite ſo politick* 'as that learned Knight, *who armed himſelf with* 'good Strops and moiſtned Cords, *to revenge our* 'diſlikes of the ancient Poets. Theſe Verſes 'have been placed at the Beginning of this 'Satyr, as *Horace*'s Proem to it. *Caſterus Lil- lius*, and *Gyraldus*, have been deceived by 'em. 'Tho' they are not *Horace*'s, yet they are not 'bad, and they ſerve to ſhew, that *Lucilius*'s 'Verſes were not always univerſally eſteemed.

(*l*) And

LUCRETIA, a *Roman* Lady, famous for her Beauty and (*A*) Noble Extraction, but much more for her Vertue, was married to *Collatinus*, a Relation to *Tarquin* King of *Rome*. Every one knows the Reaſon that induced her to kill her ſelf. I ſhall however relate the Circumſtances of that Tragical Hiſtory. *Tarquin* not being able to make himſelf Maſter of the City *Ardea*, as ſoon as he thought he ſhould, reſolved on a formal Siege. The Siege was drill'd on a long Time, and did not hinder the young Princes from taking their Pleaſure pretty often. *Sextus* happening to give an Entertainment to his two Brothers and *Collatinus*, the Diſcourſe fell upon the Fair Sex; and a Diſpute aroſe, not about the Beauty of their Miſtreſſes, as it would in our Age, but the Beauty of their Wives. Each maintain'd that his was handſomeſt; the Controverſy growing hot, *Collatinus* propoſ'd a Means of deciding it. To what end are ſo many Words, ſays he, we may in a little Time have viſible Proofs of my *Lucretia*'s Pre-eminence; let's take Horſe, and go and ſurprize our Wives; the Determination of the Queſtion will by this means be eaſier, than if they were prepared to receive us. Wine having heated 'em, they readily embrac'd the Propoſition, and rode to *Rome* full ſpeed. They found * *Tarquin*'s Daughters-in-Law at Table, enjoying themſelves with ſome Perſons of their own Age. They afterwards went to *Collatium*; and, though it was very late, they found *Lucretia*, in the midſt of her Maids, buſily employed about ſome Wollen Manufacture. They agreed, that ſhe excell'd all the Competitors, and return'd to the Camp. *Sextus*, tranſported with a Paſſion for her, return'd a few Days after to *Collatium*, without ſaying a Word to any Body. He was received with all the Civility, that was due to a near Relation, who was the King's eldeſt Son, and who was not ſuſpected of the leaſt diſhoneſt Thought. After he had ſupped, he was conducted to the Chamber deſigned for him. He went not to ſleep, but when he thought the Houſe all quiet, he ſlipp'd, with his Sword in his Hand, into *Lucretia*'s Chamber, and threatning to kill her if ſhe made the leaſt Noiſe, he declared his Paſſion to her; he uſed all the tend'reſt Entreaties, and the moſt terrible Threats, and all imaginable Artifices to touch a Woman's Heart. It was all to no Purpoſe, *Lucretia* continued firm; the Fear of Death did not ſhake her, but ſhe could not reſiſt the Menace that *Sextus* at laſt made of expoſing her to the laſt Degree of Infamy. He declared, that after having kill'd her, he would kill her Slave, and lay him in her Bed, and make it believed, that both the Murthers were the Puniſhment of the Adultery, in which he had ſurprized her. Having thus accompliſh'd his infamous Deſign, he retir'd as content and proud of his Conqueſt, as if it had been gain'd in a fair Struggle, and conſiſtent with the niceſt Laws of Gallantry. The Lady, ſeiz'd with the deepeſt Melancholy, ſent to entreat her Father, who was at *Rome*, and her Huſband, who was at the Siege of *Ardea*, to come immediately to her. They did ſo: She acquainted 'em with her Misfortune, and conjur'd 'em to revenge it. They promis'd they wou'd, and ſaid all they cou'd think of to comfort her; ſhe would by no means be comforted, but drawing out a Dagger, ſhe had hid in her Cloaths, ſtruck it into her Heart. *Brutus*, who was preſent at this Spectacle, found the Occaſion he had long ſought for of delivering *Rome* from *Tarquin*'s Tyranny, and ſo far improved this Occaſion, that the Kingly Power was aboliſhed †: Thus *Lucretia*'s Death was the Cauſe of the Liberty of the *Roman* People, which has given a great heightning to the Immortal Memory of this Lady. Hiſtorians relate her Adventure (*B*) differently. The Epitaph which is ſeen in *Italy*, and is pretended to

* Pergunt inde Collatiam: ubi Lucretiam haud-quaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum æqualibus viderant, tempus terentes, ſed nocte ſera; deditam lanæ inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio ædium ſedentem inveniunt. *T. Livius, lib. 1. pag. m. 35.*

† *Taken from Livy at the end of the firſt Book, pag. 35 & 36.*

(*A*) *And noble Extraction.*] *Lucretia*'s Family was doubleleſs Patrician, ſince we find Conſuls in it, at a time when the *Plebeians* were not admitted unto the Conſulſhip. It made a noble Figure in the Reign of *Tarquinius Superbus*; for this Prince (*n*) gave the Government of *Rome* to *Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus*, our *Lucretia*'s Father, married to a Prince of the Blood. There are Authors, who ſay (*o*), that *Numa Pompilius*, being choſen King of *Rome*, married a Wife call'd *Lucretia*. If ſhe was of the Family I here ſpeak of, as 'tis probable ſhe was, what Proofs ſhould we deſire greater of the famous Antiquity of this Houſe? *Spurius Lucretius*, after his Daughter's Death (*a*), was created *Interrex*, and named *Brutus*, and his Son-in-Law, *Collatinus*, to the Conſulſhip. The latter was ſoon after forced to reſign his Office, and retire to *Lanuvium* (*b*), where he ſpent the reſt of his Life, which was very long. *Valerius* (*c*) being choſen in his Room, took *Spurius Lucretius* for his Colleague, after *Brutus* had been kill'd; but this Colleague died in a few Days (*d*). I find (*e*) a *Titus Lucretius*, who was Conſul the following Year, and a few Years after; and a *Publius Lucretius* (*f*), Colleague to *Valerius*, when he was Conſul the third time. This (*g*) *Titus Lucretius* is thought to be the Father of *Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus*, Conſul in the Year of *Rome* 291. I paſs over ſeveral *Lucretius*'s, who were afterwards in the principal Employs of the State, before it was determined, that the *Plebeians* ſhould be admitted to 'em. But there is no need of all this Compaſs to prove, that the *Lucretii Tricipitini* were of a Patrician Family. What I relate is ſufficient. 'Tis not certain that this can be ſaid of the *Lucretii*, ſir-named *Veſpillo*, or *Ofella*, or of thoſe of any other Sir-name: There are ſome *Lucretius*'s, whoſe Sir-name I am ignorant of, who were of a *Plebeian* Family; for we ſee a *Marcus Lucretius*, Tribune of the People (*h*) in the ſecond *Punick* War. Note, That *Quintus Lucretius*, the firſt who was ſir-named *Veſpillo*, had this Sir-name, for caſting *Tiberius Gracchus*'s Body into the *Tiber*: (*i*) *Cujus Corpus Lucretii Ædilis manu in Tiberim miſſum; unde ille Veſpillo dictus.* *Cicero* (*k*) ſpeaks honorably of one *Quintus Lucretius Veſpillo*, a good Lawyer and Advocate. There was one *Quintus Lucretius Veſpillo* a Senator (*l*), who followed *Pompey*'s Party, and whom the Fidelity of his Wife preſerved (*m*) from the Fury of the *Triumviri*, who had proſcrib'd him. This is probably the ſame who obtained the Conſulſhip (*n*) in the 734th Year of *Rome*. *Cicero* ſpeaks of *Lucretius Ofella*, as an Orator, who was better at making Harangues to the People, than at pleading Cauſes: (*o*) *Aptior concionibus quam judiciis.* Mr. *Moreri* has wretchedly tranſlated this. *He was fitter*, ſays he, *to make Speeches than pronounce Judgments.* Another (*p*) affirms, that *Cicero* repreſents him *fitter to be a Judge than a great Orator.* 'Tis believed (*q*), that *Lucretius Ofella*, is the ſame who quitted *Marius*'s Party, and joined *Sylla*, and retook *Præneſte*, where he forced *Marius* the Younger to kill himſelf. This Piece of Service hinder'd not *Sylla*'s putting him to Death in the midſt of the *Forum*, becauſe he had demanded the Conſulſhip againſt *Sylla*'s Intention (*r*).

(*n*) *Livius, lib. 1. ſub fin. pag. m. 36.*
(*o*) *See* Plutarch in Numa, *p. 74. A.*
(*a*) *Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. 4. cap. 80.*
(*b*) *Id. lib. 5. cap. 12.*
(*c*) *Id. ib. cap. 13.*
(*d*) *Id. ib. cap. 19.*
(*e*) *Livius, lib. 2. pag. 42, & 46.*
(*f*) *Id. ib. pag. 46.*
(*g*) *See* Sigonius in faſtis ad ann. 245.
(*h*) *Livius lib. 27. pag. 464.*
(*i*) *Aurelius Victor de viris illuſtr. pag. m. 177.*
(*k*) *Cicero in Bruto, p. m. 291.*
(*l*) *Cæſar de bello civili lib. 1. p. m. 237. & lib. 3. pag. 307.*
(*m*) *Valer. Maxim. lib. 6. cap. 7.*
(*n*) *Dio lib. 54.*
(*o*) *Cicero ubi ſupra.*
(*p*) *The Baron des Couteurs in his Life of Lucretia.*
(*q*) *See the Onomaſticon of Glandorp, pag. 557.*
(*r*) *See* Livy *in epit. lib. 88, & 89. & Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 27.*

(*B*) *Hiſtorians relate* Lucretia's *Adventure differently.*] *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, and *Livy*, have given the largeſt Deſcriptions of it. They lived at the ſame time, and exactly conſulted the preceding Authors. Nevertheleſs, they agree but in three or four general Facts: 1. That *Sextus* entered by Night into *Lucretia*'s Chamber: 2. That this Lady, reſiſting the Menaces of Death, Intreaties and Promiſes, was overcome at laſt by

to have been ſet up by (C) *Collatinus* her Huſband, is, doubtleſs, a ſuppoſititious Piece. Her Raviſher was not long expoſed to the Remorſes of his Conſcience, or the ſevere Reproaches of his Family, whoſe total Ruin he had occaſion'd. He retired to a Town of the *Gabii*, where he had formerly commanded †, and there periſhed a little after. The Reflections which have been made by ſome Writers, are not only falſe. Wit, but (D) vain Cavilling

† Sextus Tarquinius Gabios tanquam in ſuum regnum profectus, ab ultoribus veterum ſimulatum quas ſibi ipſe cædibus rapiniſque conciverat, eſt interfectus. *Livius, lib.* 1. *in fine.*

by the Fear of Infamy: 3. That ſhe kill'd her ſelf next Day: 4. That *Brutus* laid hold of this Occaſion to change the Government. The firſt of theſe two Hiſtorians gives the more particular and large Account: As for Inſtance, he particularizes (*f*) that *Sextus* promiſed *Lucretia* to marry her; by which means ſhe would immediately be Queen of the *Gabii*, and afterwards of *Rome*, upon *Tarquin*'s Death, whoſe Succeſſor he would infallibly be, as being his eldeſt Son. *Livy* contents himſelf with theſe general Expreſſions. (*t*) *Stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, ſiniſtraque manu mulieris pectore oppreſſo, Tace Lucretia, inquit, Sex. Tarquinius ſum, ferrum in manu eſt: moriêre, ſi emiſeris vocem. Cùm pavida è ſomno mulier nullam opem, propè mortem imminentem videret, Tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare: miſcere precibus minas: verſare in omnes partes muliebrem animum.* But to know the Difference between theſe two Hiſtorians, we need only remember, that *Livy* relates the Story, as we find it in the Text of this *Article*; and at the ſame time take notice of the following Facts: I collect 'em from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*. *Sextus* being ſent to *Collatia* by King *Tarquin* upon Affairs relating to the Siege of *Ardea*, lodged at his Relation's *Collatinus*, who was then at the Camp, and found a proper Seaſon to ſatisfy the Paſſion he had conceived for *Lucretia* in the former Viſit. The Hiſtorian does not ſpeak of the Diſpute of the young Princes, concerning the Beauty of their Wives, which obliged 'em to go to *Rome* and *Collatia*, to end the Difference. This Circumſtance, however, was ſingular enough to merit a Place in *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*'s Story; and was an Incident very capable of embelliſhing the Narration. *Lucretia*, over-whelm'd with Melancholy, took Coach at break of Day, as ſoon as *Sextus* was withdrawn: She took a Mourning Habit, and a Dagger under her Robe, and went to *Rome* with a Countenance dejected, and bath'd in Tears, without telling any one the Reaſon of her Sadneſs. When ſhe came to her Father's Houſe, ſhe threw her ſelf upon her Knees; ſhe cryed without ſaying a Word, and at laſt deſired him to ſend for her Relations and Friends: As ſoon as they were come together ſhe told 'em her Adventure; and, praying the Gods (*a*) to take her quickly out of this World, ſhe ſtabbed her ſelf. *Valerius* was immediately diſpatch'd to the Camp to carry this News to *Collatinus*, and to joyn with him in raiſing an Inſurrection amongſt the Soldiers. He met *Collatinus* and *Brutus* not far from *Rome*, who had heard nothing of what had happen'd. Thus you ſee Variations ſomewhat ſurprizing; and which prove, that the firſt Hiſtorians, the Sources of *Livy* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, did not take the neceſſary care to have an exact Information. Here are more Variations. *Servius* ſays, that 'twas *Aruns* violated *Lucretia*; other (*aa*) Hiſtorians call him *Sextus*, and give the Name of *Aruns* to another Son of *Tarquin*. The ſame *Servius* ſuppoſes, in order to avoid all Diſputes, that he went firſt to *Lucretia* at *Aruntia*, and then to *Rome*; and ſays, that the Slave he took with him into *Lucretia*'s Chamber was a Black (*bb*). I ſay nothing of *Ovid*, who has related (*cc*) *Lucretia*'s Misfortune with ſeveral Circumſtances; of which no Hiſtorian makes mention. He took a Poetical Licenſe, and has invented what he thought moſt proper to adorn his Story. Nay, he has inſerted what the *Greeks* ſaid of *Polyxena* (*dd*), that ſhe took care ſo to ſettle her Cloaths, that, as ſhe fell, nothing might be ſeen that Modeſty would have concealed.

Nec (ee) mora, Celato figit ſua pectora ferro:
Et Cadit in Patrios ſanguinolenta pedes.
Tunc quoque, Jam Moriens, ne non procumbat honeſtè,
Reſpicit; hæc etiam Cura Cadentis erat.

But as he brings no Authority to ſhow that this Raviſher was *Tarquin*'s youngeſt Son, we muſt believe that he followed Tradition. And thus the Hiſtorians are divided on this particular Point; moſt ſay that the Adulterer was eldeſt Son to that Prince, and ſome take him for the Youngeſt.

(*f*) *Dionyſ. Halic. lib.* 4. *cap.* 73.

(*t*) *Titus, Livius, lib.* 1. *pag.* 35. *C.*

(*a*) Θεοῖς τε ἠξίωσεν εὐξαμένη τιμωρίαν τοιαύτην αὐτῇ δῦναι ἢ ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου. Comprecataque deos & dæmonas ut ſe cito è vita eximerent. *Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib.* 4. *pag.* 263.

(*aa*) *Take notice however, that* Florus, *in lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. *ſeems to call him* Aruns.

(*bb*) *Ex ſervio Æneid. lib.* 8. *v.* 646.

(*cc*) *In the ſecond Book of the* Faſti.

(*dd*) *See the Remark* G. *of the Article* Olympias.

(*ee*) *Ovid. Faſtor. lib.* 2. *p. m.* 49.

(*b*) *Glandorp. Onomaſt. pag.* 555.

(C) *The Epitaph that is .... pretended to have been ſet up by* Collatinus.] Theſe are the Words of it: (*b*) *Collatinus Tarquinius dulciſſimæ conjugi & incomparabili, pudicitiæ decori, mulierum gloriæ, vixit annis* XXJJ. *menſ.* iii. *d.* vi. *proh dolor, quæ fuit* [illegible]*na:* 'Tis ſaid, that this Inſcription is ſeen at [illegible], and in the Dioceſs of *Viterbo* (*c*).

(*c*) *Id. ib.*

(D) *Not only falſe Wit, but vain* [illegible].] A modern Author, fancied himſelf, no doubt, very witty in obſerving that *Lucretia* killed her ſelf too late; and that, if ſhe reſolved upon parting with her Life, it was not till ſhe had taſted the Forbidden Fruit. This is the falſeſt Raillery in the World; and there is no reaſonable Man, but will agree, that, on ſuch a Subject as this, to quit a grave Air, and in any wiſe to aim at Jeſting, is not only an audacious Miſdemeanor, but even Stupidity and Brutiſhneſs. *Lucretia*'s Action ſhou'd only excite the Senſe of Pity and Admiration. Her Conduct was exempt from all Tincture of Impurity; ſhe was a bright Sacrifice to the Love of Virtue and Glory: And it would be as ridiculous to ſay, that he is guilty of Prodigality, who throws away his Cloaths to ſave his Life by ſwimming, as to ſay there was any thing of Immodeſty on *Lucretia*'s Part; for this illuſtrious Lady was paſſive only to ſave her Reputation. But if [illegible] ſhould ſee the Efforts of Cavilling, have the Patience to read this long Paſſage of *Henry Stephens* "(*d*) And yet the poor *Lucretia* did "not paſs a right Judgment on her ſelf, when, being "thus violated, ſhe ſaid ſhe had loſt her Chaſtity; "ſince 'tis certain, that Virtue can't be raviſh'd by "any Humane Force: And therefore, what ſhe adds, "that her Body was violated, but not her Thought "(or her Mind) was not culpable, contradicts what "ſhe had been ſaying, namely, that ſhe had forfeited her Honour, it being certain, that the Seat of it "is the Mind, and not the Body; which yet the "Heathens ſeem not well to have conſidered, who have "not only excus'd this Woman's Act, in being her "own Murtherer, but have taken occaſion from it "to extoll her to the Skies, as being a Woman of "Courage, and of a great Soul, in that ſhe revenged, "by her Death, the Out-rage done to her Chaſtity. "Before I anſwer 'em, as to the Out rage they pretend was done her Chaſtity, I would deſire 'em to "tell me, what they mean by the Word Revenge; "Becauſe to me it ſeems a thing againſt all Reaſon, "that the Injury ſhould be revenged, by the Death of "the Perſon who received it, and not of him that "gave it. Whereupon I ſhould alledge to 'em, that "ſhe her ſelf did not ſay, *Mors ultrix erit*, or *vindex*, "my Death ſhall revenge it; but *Mors teſtis erit*, "that is, my Death ſhall witneſs it: As if ſhe had ſaid, "my Death ſhall witneſs to the Eyes of the World, what "I can't diſcover, it being a Secret in my own Conſcience; to wit, that the Pleaſure was ſo far from "making me conſent to ſuch an Act, that my Life is "hateful to me for having committed it. But, to "come to the Anſwer of the other Point, I ſay, that "ſuppoſing this Death to import Revenge, it muſt be "the Revenge of an Out-rage done to the Body, and "not to the Mind, the Seat of Chaſtity. Which a "certain Author (whoſe Name St. *Auſtin* has thought fit to conceal) conſidering in a Declamation, has "this fine Sentence, concerning *Lucretia*'s Misfortune: "A wonderful Thing! Here are two Perſons in the "Act, and yet only one commits Adultery. But St. "*Auſtin* afterwards argues thus; if it is not Unchaſtity "to be forced, ſhe is unjuſtly puniſhed, ſince ſhe is "Chaſte. For 'tis certain, that the more the Adultery "is excuſed, the more the Murther is heighn'd; *& "vice verſa*: (It being once ſuppoſed lawful for a "Perſon to kill himſelf.) And the ſame St. *Auſtin*, "who praiſes this Rhetorician's Saying, ſeems alſo to "have ſucceeded well in that other Argument, (if it "be his) *Si adultera, cur laudata Romulida, cur occiſa?* That is, if ſhe be an Adulteſs, why is ſhe "praiſed? If Vertuous, why was ſhe kill'd? Upon "which Words, a Friend of mine (*e*), a Learned "Perſon, whom God has bleſs'd with many Graces, "the Fruits whereof are ſcattered in many Parts of "Chriſtendom, has lately made an Epigram, with "which I am willing to gratify the Reader.

(*d*) Henry Stephens *Apology for* Herodotus *chap.* 15. *p. m.* 135, 136.

(*e*) *This was* René Laurent. [illegible]

" *Si tibi fortè fuit Lucretia gratus adulter,*
" *Immeritò ex merita præmia cæde petis:*
" *Sin potius caſto vis eſt allata pudori,*
" *Quis furor eſt hoſtis crimine velle mori?*

villing. It has been ſaid in another Place, that Religion had no ſhare in this Action of *Lucretia*

Fruſtra igitur Laudem captat Lucretia: namque
"Vel furioſa rüis, vel ſcelarata cadis."

(f) *Louis Guyon, diverſes leçons, Tom. 3. liv. 4. chap. 14.*

Lewis Guyon (f) ſtole all theſe Things from *Henry Stephens*, without the leaſt Alteration; and without citing him; which Plagiariſm is cuſtomary with him. A *Spaniſh* Jeſuit has amuſed himſelf with the ſame Quirks: But, as we ſhall ſee in the following Remark, he has mixt ſome good Things with 'em. He approves the *Latin* Verſes we have ſeen above; and maintains, that *Lucretia* ſhewed neither Chaſtity nor Courage, and, from a cowardly Spirit, feared her Husband's Knife more than her own. (b) *Ni deſcubrio lo uno ni lo otro: no lo primero, pues conſintio: y como dize Sant Ambroſio a otra de ſu manera.* (1) Facilius oportuit ſanguinem cum ſpiritu fundere, quàm perdere caſtitatem. *Ni tampoco moſtro lo ſegundo, pues por flaqueza de animo temio mas el cuchillo de Colatino, que el ſuyo propio: y por eſto ſe mato con deſeſperacion, la qual* (2) *pone Santo Thomas por hija dela luxuria.* All this is falſe and unjuſt: She manifeſted a reſolved Chaſtity, and a great degree of Courage. When a Man has the Courage to loſe his Life to ſecure his Reputation, do's not he chuſe to die, rather than loſe his good Name? And is there in this the leaſt Symptoms of Cowardize? If it be acting againſt the Rules of true Religion, it is at leaſt conforming to the Ideas of Heathen Heroiſm. But let us reflect a little upon *Henry Stephens*'s Words.

(1) *Lib. de virg.*

(2) *S. Tho. ad Coloſſ. c. 3. lect. 1.*

He accuſes *Lucretia* of Contradiction and Ignorance: She did not know the true Name of Things, ſince ſhe believed ſhe had loſt her Chaſtity, notwithſtanding the Reſiſtance of her Will. She contradicted her ſelf, becauſe ſhe immediately added, that her Body only had been violated. (a) *Quid ſalvi eſt mulieri amiſſa pudicitia?* Theſe are her Words; *Veſtigia viri alieni Collatine in lecto ſunt tuo. Cæterum corpus eſt tantum violatum, animus inſons: mors teſtis erit: ſed date dextras fidemque, haud impunè adultero fore.* I am ſurprized, that *Henry Stephens*, who was ſo good a Grammarian, had ſo little conſidered, that, in the Uſage of all Languages, the ſame Words, without any Impropriety, are taken in different Senſes, more or leſs comprehenſive. Did he think he could read lectures to *Livy* about the Signification of the Word *Pudicitia?* I ſay *Livy*; for 'tis he to whom our *Lucretia*'s Expreſſions belong. The *Latin* that was ſpoke at *Rome*, when this Lady was alive, was not like the *Latin* of this Eloquent Hiſtorian; and there's no Probability, that he any where had found the very Words which *Lucretia* uſed: Each Hiſtorian turn'd 'em to his own way of ſpeaking; the moſt exact were content to retain the Senſe and Force of 'em. 'Tis probable ſhe complain'd, ſhe had loſt her Honour; that ſhe had been diſhonour'd, or that *Sextus* had violated her Honour, *&c.* Thus an *Engliſh* Woman would expreſs her ſelf in the ſame Caſe, though ſhe perfectly underſtood the Language; and though, in ſpite of her Affliction, ſhe took care not to break the Rules of Grammar. They who ſteal away a Maid, and enjoy her by Force, are reckon'd Raviſhers of her Honour: And if the Parents confin'd their Proſecutions to the forcing him to marry her, the Proceſs is moſt properly called, a Proceſs in Reparation of Honour. The ſame Phraſes would be uſed, though the Violence had not been ſo extreme; I would ſay, in caſe the Raviſher had obtain'd (b) ſome ſort of Conſent; as that having propoſed to her Choice, either the acquieſcing to his Paſſion, or elſe Death, the Rack, Famine, or ſome other Pain, able to intimidate the moſt Reſolute, ſhe ſhould chuſe the firſt part of the Alternative, without any kind of inward Approbation. Now, if *Lucretia* could properly ſay, her Honour was loſt, ſhe might very well uſe Words equivalent to *pudicitia amiſſa.* Note, That *Ovid* (c) uſes the Words *pudor raptus* to ſignify the forc'd Enjoyment of a Maid; and *Plautus* (d) expreſſes Deflowering, by the Words *pudicitia pulſa.* Thus the pretended Contradiction, imputed to *Lucretia*, falls to the Ground; for thoſe Maids or Wives, who would at this Day complain of having been violated, diſhonoured or robbed of their Honour, in the Storming of a Town or otherwiſe, would add, without Contradiction, that their Soul had no ſhare in the Pollution.

(a) *Livius, ubi ſupra, p. 36. F.*

(b) Note, *That this would not prevent his Actions being conſtrued a true Rape.*

(c) Tenuitque fugam rapuitque pudorem. *Ovid Metam. lib. 1. v. 600.*

(d) Plane hic ille eſt qui mihi in Epidauro primus pudicitiam Perpulit. *Plaut. in Epidico, Act. 4. ſc. 1. v. 14.*

Henry Stephens underſtands not what he ſays, when he affirms, that the Heathens prais'd *Lucretia, for having reveng'd, by her Death, the Out-rage done to her Chaſtity.* 'Tis falſe, that they gave this Turn to their Praiſes: All therefore that he advances to confute 'em, is a Deception, a Fallacy, which we call *ignoratio elenchi* The Heathens, who praiſe *Lucretia*, grounded their Panegyricks upon her extream Senſe of Glory, and the Reputation of a chaſt Wife, and her great Delicacy as to this Point of Honour; which was ſo very great, as not to permit her to ſurvive the Affront that had been offer'd her. What our Critick borrows from St. *Auſtin*, whoſe Senſe he has not rightly taken, is ſubject to the ſame Cenſure: 'Tis ſtill a falſe Suppoſition, that *Lucretia* kill'd her ſelf to puniſh her own part in the Crime. 'Tis an Ignorance of the State of the Queſtion. This Lady knew her ſelf innocent (e), and yet would die, that no lewd Woman ſhould have the Face to live, under Pretence, that *Lucretia* had the Cowardize to ſurvive her Rape.

(e) Ego me, & ſi peccato abſolvo, ſupplicio non libero. Nec ulla deinde impudica exemp'o Lucretiæ vivet. *Livius, ubi ſupra.*

The Examination of an Objection of St. *Auſtin.*

One of the moſt reaſonable Objections of St. *Auſtin*, is, that Self-Murther is a Crime; and he ſtrengthens his Argument by the Encomiums that are given to *Lucretia*. He Reaſons *ad hominem*, againſt the Heathens, and alledges to 'em the Laws of their own Tribunals. Theſe Laws would have obliged them to puniſh a Man, who had kill'd *Lucretia*. You would therefore be obliged, continues he, to puniſh her, if ſhe was accus'd before you, of having kill'd her ſelf. But if ye anſwer, that 'tis impoſſible to puniſh her, ſince ſhe is not in Being, why do you accumulate ſo many Praiſes upon the Murtherer of a vertuous Perſon? (f) *Sed quid eſt hoc, quod in eam graviùs vindicatur, quæ adulterium non admiſit? Nam ille patriâ cum patre pulſus eſt: hæc ſummo eſt mactata ſupplicio. Si non eſt illa impudicitia, quæ invitæ opprimitur; non eſt hæc juſtitia, quæ caſta punitur. Vos appello, Leges judicesque Romani. Nempe poſt perpetrata facinora, nec quemquam ſceleſtum indemnatum impunè voluiſtis occidi. Si ergo ad veſtrum judicium quiſquam deferret hoc crimen, vobiſque probaretur, non ſolùm indemnatam, verùm etiam caſtam & innocentem, interfectam eſſe mulierem; nonne eum qui id fecifſet, ſeveritate congrua plecteretis? Hoc fecit illa Lucretia, illa, illa ſic prædicata Lucretia innocentem, caſtam, vim perpeſſam Lucretiam inſuper interemit. Proferte ſententiam. Quid ſi propterea non poteſtis, quia non adſtat quam punire poſſitis, cur interfectricem innocentis & caſtæ tanta prædicatione laudatis?* I don't pretend to juſtify thoſe who would ſay, in Favour of this Lady, that St. *Auſtin* has condemn'd her by Principles ſhe did not underſtand; for ſhe was ignorant of the Axioms of the Chriſtian Religion, which forbid the attempting our own Lives: She might therefore have complained of being brought before ſuch a Tribunal: She might have declined the Juriſdiction, and appealed to her Natural Judges, to thoſe Ideas of Grandeur and Heroical Glory, which have perſuaded ſo many People, that it is better to die, than to live in Diſgrace. But, as I have already ſaid, this is an Anſwer, which I ſhan't concern my ſelf with; I chuſe rather this other Reflection. The *Roman* Magiſtrates, whom St. *Auſtin* turns to, and demands for Judges of the Queſtion, might have quickly undeceiv'd him, by ſhewing that, the Laws, which give no Authority to private Perſons over one anothers Lives, debar not any one the Priviledge of diſpoſing of his own. Don't you know, they might have ſaid, in what Admiration the *Cato*'s, the *Brutus*'s, and *Caſſius*'s, and ſo many other illuſtrious *Romans*, have ever been, who preferr'd Death to a Life, that would have made 'em Witneſſes of the Oppreſſion of Liberty, or expos'd 'em to the Diſcretion of their Enemies, or a Languiſhing Condition? Are you ignorant with what Elogies the Courage of (g) *Porcia*, and (h) *Arria* have been crown'd? Are you ignorant, that we have ſeen, with ſome diſlike, that *Cleopatra*, who had diſhonour'd her ſelf by her Debaucheries, had the Glory ſhe did not deſerve of preferring Death before the Diſgrace of being led in Triumph?

(f) *Auguſt. de civit. Dei lib 1. cap. 19. p. m. 68.*

(g) *See* Valerius Maximus, *lib. 4. cap. 6. n. 5.*

(h) *See* Pliny, *epiſt. 16 lib. 3.*

(i) *Horat. od. 37. lib. 1.*

(i) Quæ generoſius
Perire quærens, nec muliebriter
Expavit enſem, nec latentes
Claſſe citâ reparavit oras.
Auſa & jacentem viſere regiam
Vultu ſereno fortis, & aſperas
Tractare ſerpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum,
Deliberatâ morte ferocior:
Sævis Liburnis ſcilicet invidens,
Privata deduci ſuperbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

In a word, are you ignorant how the Reſolution of private Perſons has been admired, or even of whole Towns, in periſhing by Precipice or Fire, rather than falling into their Enemies Hands? The Nation,

cretia. A Learned Man (*E*) has oppoſed this Opinion by Reflections, which will deſerve

whom you look upon as the Favourite People of the True God, blam'd not *Saul*, its firſt King, and one of the valianteſt Princes of his Age, for having prevented, by killing himſelf (*k*), the Diſgrace of falling into the Hands of the Conqueror. His Succeſſor, one of your greateſt Prophets, failed not (*l*) to give him the greateſt Praiſes. Don't the Books of the ſame Nation give the ſame Praiſes (*m*) to a Heroe, who imitated the Action of King *Saul*? And after this, will you tell us, *Whoever ſhould have killed* Lucretia, *would have been puniſhable; and therefore ſhe is puniſhable for having killed her ſelf?* Learn to reaſon better, and remember, that the Maxims of the nobleſt and auguſteſt Sect (*n*) that ever was among the *Greeks*, countenanced this Lady's Proceeding.

(*k*) *I. Book of* Samuel, *cap.* 31. *v.* 4.

(*l*) *II. Book of* Samuel, *chap.* 1.

(*m*) *IId. Book of the* Maccabees *chap.* 14. *v.* 42. *See alſo in* Joſephus *de bello jud. lib.* 7. *cap.* 34, *&* 35. *The Speech of* Eleazar, *and its Effect.*

(*n*) *That of the Stoicks.*

'Tis certain, St. *Auſtin* was out of his Element in recurring to the Maxims of the Heathens, as a Rule for the Condemnation of *Lucretia*. I know well enough, that they were not all of the Opinion of the Stoicks, and there were ſome great Philoſophers, who condemn'd Self Murther. I know alſo, that it has been ſaid, that it was rather Cowardize, than a Proof of Courage, to forego Life, to be rid of Trouble and Pain; and that a Man, who reſolves to ſtruggle long with his ill Fortune, diſcovers as much Conſtancy as he who kills himſelf, ſhews Weakneſs. I know, I ſay, there have been many among the Heathens, who have been of this Opinion; but they wanted on their ſide Glory and Luſtre: They were only conſidered as the Populace: The other Faction was the Nobility, the diſtinguiſh'd Party, the School of Heroiſm; and might have repreſented to 'em, that, like counterfeit Bravo's, they aſſumed honourable Names, and gave the Names of Conſtancy and Intrepidity an exceſſive Love of Life, to an exceſſive Fear of Death. They were ſo fond of Life, that nothing was able to give 'em a diſguſt of it: Diſhonour, Poverty, the moſt ſtinking Dungeons, the moſt (*a*) inveterate Diſeaſes, did not diſfigure it in their Eyes; It appeared amiable even in this Equipage. Death was not able to put on any Maſk that could conceal the leaſt Feature of its aggly Face. Thus you ſee what the Principle of this pretended Courage might be ſaid to be, and what made *Lucretia*'s Action conſidered as the Effect of Cowardize: *Flaqueza de animo*, ſaid the Jeſuit, *John de Torrez*, above-mention'd.

(*a*) *See the Verſes of* Mecænas *in* Seneca *epiſt.* 101. *p. m.* 414.

(*b*) *Auguſt. ubi ſupra. pag.* 69.

A Confutation of St. *Auſtin*'s Dilemma.

Let us now examine St. *Auſtin*'s Dilemma. (*b*) *Ita hæc cauſſa ex utroque latere coarctatur, ut ſi extenuatur homicidium, adulterium confirmetur; ſi purgatur adulterium, homicidium cumuletur: nec omnino invenitur exitus, ubi dicitur, Si adultera, cur laudatur? ſi pudica, cur occiſa?* He pretends, that this Lady's Murder can't be extenuated, without aggravating the Adultery, nor her Adultery extenuated, without aggravating her Murder. But to ſhew that he had not diligently examined this Matter, it ſuffices to ſay, that his Argument proves too much; for by a like Reaſoning, he might blame a Perſon, who deſerved great Praiſes. It ſometimes happen'd, that, in the firſt Ages, very pious young Women, who were conſecrated to Celibacy, for the Service of God, were violated. This is but too common a Caſe at preſent; and we daily hear the Story of an Abbeſs, who with her Society, had paſs'd thro' the Hands of an *Iriſh* Company in *Piedmont*, and who made her Complaints to Monſieur *Catinat*. Let us ſuppoſe, that a Nun ſhould, in this caſe, contract ſuch a Melancholy, as might bring upon her a mortal Diſtemper. Let us ſuppoſe the Teſtimony of her Conſcience, fortified with the ſtrongeſt Conſolations that a Divine could give, unable to relieve her. Let us ſuppoſe ſhe had conceiv'd ſuch a Paſſion for the Purity of Body and Mind, that the bare Idea, of the moſt involuntary Defilement, ſhould caſt her into an inſupportable Diſcontent; of which ſhe ſhould die: would not this be a convincing Proof of an exquiſite Chaſtity? Would not her Innocence and Virtue ſtand in a clear Light? Whereas, if we follow St. *Auſtin*'s Dilemma, as much as you give to her Affliction, you take from her Chaſtity, *ſi pudica, cur mœrtua?* You ſee then, that there's more Subtilty, than Solidity, in this Father's Argument: And thus you ſee *Lucretia* perfectly ſcreen'd from St. *Auſtin*'s Attacks, except in reſpect of the Murther; for if ſhe had died of Grief, both he, and the other Fathers of the Church, had, by this kind of Death, confirmed the Praiſes of her incomparable Chaſtity.

(*c*) Balzac *p. m.* 88, 89. *du* Barbon

Another unfortunate Thought, which *Balzac* gives his *Barbon*, is this: "(*g*) Another Word, miſunderſtood in the Hiſtory of *Dion*, made him calu-

" mniate *Lucretia*'s Chaſtity; that is, throw Dirt on " the fineſt Flower of Antiquity, and ſully the chief " Ornament of growing *Rome*. And although the " Reputation of ſo honeſt a Lady has come down " pure to our Times, this Accuſer of [illegible] had the " impudence to oppoſe his ſingle [illegible] to the " Teſtimony of ſo many Ages: [illegible] that " Heroin's poſſeſſion of her Glory, [illegible] Proceſs be- " gun, *mal a Propos*. He pretends, that *Turquin* be- " gan indeed by Force, but [illegible] by Perſwaſion; " that *Lucretia* would not give her Conſent to the " Crime, but ſhewed ſome Reſpect to his Quality; " and that, after ſhe was enjoy'd, the Remorſe of " Conſcience, for the Sin ſhe had committed, as much " as a Reflection of the Affront, made her reſolve " not to ſurvive her Diſhonour."

The Impudence, that the Hiſtorian *Dion* might furniſh theſe ill-natured People with, conſiſts in his ſaying, *Lucretia*, was work'd upon to ſuffer voluntarily his enjoying her. (*b*) Η'ναγκασεν αὐτὴν ἑκοῦσαν πάθειν: *Coegit eam* NON INVITAM *ſtuprum pati*.... (*i*) Καὶ ἀδὶ τὸ ταῦτ' ἐκόντα δὲ ἐμιάνθη, *Eam igitur ob Cauſam* NON INVITA *adultero Ceſſit*. The Learned Critick, who has publiſh'd ſeveral fine Fragments of *Dion*'s (*k*), blames him for offering ſo cruel an Injury to *Lucretia*, as ſaying, that ſhe was not diſhonoured againſt her Will; he affirms it's ruining all that was ſerious [illegible] in the Narration of this Adventure: And that ſuch a Fact, having brought on a famous Revolution in *Rome*; and being, as it were, the Hinge on which the Hiſtory of the *Roman* People turns, it ought to have been treated in a very ſerious way, that it might appear, that the *Romans*, who had lived under Kings ever ſince the Foundation of their City, did not aboliſh that Form of Government without a very juſt Provocation. So that he muſt not have ſaid, that *Lucretia* voluntarily ſuffered Sextus to ſatisfy (*l*) himſelf, for this was next Door to the Crime; but that ſhe was forced, by having a Dagger clapt to her Breaſt. This Critick adviſes us to compare the Narrative of *Dion* with that of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, which he thinks much inferior to that of *Diodorus Siculus* (*m*); but, adds he, the beſt of all is *Livy*'s.

(*b*) Dio in excerptis a valeſio editis, pag. 574.

(*i*) *Id. ib. pag.* 576.

(*k*) Graviſſima infamia Lucretiam affecit Dio qui eam minime invitam cum adultero commiſtam eſſe ſcribit. *Valeſius not. in excerpta Dionis, p.* [illegible].

Whatever Admiration I may have for the profound Learning and Judgment that appears ſo eminently in the Writings of *Henry Valois*, I cannot be of his Mind in this Place. It ſeems to me that nothing is wanting in *Dion*'s Relation, as to the Point of Gravity; and I think *Lucretia*'s Chaſtity is as well ſet forth there as in any other Hiſtorian, and in all the Circumſtances that can raiſe our Idea of it. The Words, ἑκοῦσαν ἐν ἄκρᾳ, ſignify nothing but what *Livy* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* give us clearly to underſtand. They only ſerve to ſhow a Circumſtance which no Hiſtorian has omitted, *viz.* that *Sextus* did not make uſe of direct Force, as when a Woman would defend her ſelf to the laſt with her Hands and Feet and Teeth, *&c.* But *Dion* gives us to underſtand, that there was ſomething voluntary in *Lucretia*'s Suffering, juſt as a covetous Man's throwing his Marchandizes over-board, when there is no other Way of ſaving his Life, may be ſaid to be voluntary. All the World judges, that he who enjoys a Woman after he has threatned to kill her, or to put her to the Rack, or to ſome other terrible Puniſhment, has effectually forced her; and that he ought to be puniſhed as a Raviſher; and no Body can ſay, that this Woman ſuffered willingly: The Conſent on her part was no other than that of a Man, who delivers his Purſe when a Sword is held cloſe to his Breaſt.

(*l*) Hoc enim proximum Culpæ eſt. *Id. ibid.*

(*m*) *Diodorus Siculus in iiſdem excerptis, pag.* 253.

(*E*) *That Religion had no ſhare in this Action of* Lucretia. *A Learned Man has oppoſed.... by Reflections which deſerve to be diſcuſs'd.*] Three Obſervations have been made in the *Thoughts upon Comets*. 1. That (*c*) *for the three firſt Ages of Antient* Rome, *the Modeſty, Frugality and Chaſtity of Women* were very Illuſtrious; and there were ſome who manifeſted a great Senſe of Honour. 2. That this [illegible] Honour (*d*) *could not be inſpired into the* Roman *Women by the Religion they profeſs'd; ſince it was neceſſary, to that end, that their Religion ſhould teach 'em, that Immodeſty was diſpleaſing to the Gods: But far from that; it taught 'em the contrary, that the Gods themſelves were* [illegible] *Lewd.* 3. That (*e*) *if* Lucretia *had lo-* [illegible] *from a Principle of Religion; or, which is the ſame thing, if ſhe had lived in Obedience to God, ſhe would never have conſented to* Sextus's *Deſires; but have rather choſen to proſtitute her Reputation to Calumny, than her Body to Adultery. However this ſhe did not do. She courageouſly reſiſted this Prince's Purſuits, though*

(*c*) Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes, *chap.* 18*c. pag.* 557.

(*d*) *Ibid. pag.* 559.

(*e*) *Ibid. pag.* 560.

be discuss'd. Father *le Moyne* will furnish me with some thing to my Purpose: He is one of

though he threaten'd to kill her. *But when he threaten'd to expose her Reputation to eternal Infamy, she granted his Desires, and afterwards kill'd her self. This is an evident Proof, that she loved nothing in Virtue, but the Glory that [illegible]; and that she had not in view the pleasing of [illegible]; for they who would please God, would chuse rather to be reckoned Infamous by Men, than commit a Crime. It must therefore necessarily be confess'd, that* Lucretia [illegible] *contributed nothing to her Chastity; and that, in that respect, she had been the very same, though she had never heard there were any Gods at all.* Mr. *du Rondel* in 1685, publish'd (*f*) some Reflections upon a Chapter of *Theophrastus*, which I have read over and over-again with great pleasure. The Place where he makes the Elogy and Apology for [illegible] more especially charm'd me, as having always been an Admirer of this illustrious Lady: And if the Subject could have suffer'd it, I would have pleaded her Cause no less in the *Pensées diverses*, than in the preceding Remark. I therefore heartily applaud all that Mr. *du Rondel* alledges in her Justification, except what relates to the Motives of Religion. He makes two Learned Reflections upon this Point; one (*g*), *that the Lewd Gods were not those who were worshipp'd* (*h*) *in old* Rome; the other, That if *Lucretia* (*i*) *was willing for some Moments, to survive her Dishonour, it was, because she was forced to it by her Religion, and was accountable for her Reputation, before the* Eumenides. (*k*) *She could not discharge her Duty without calling her Husband, her Father, and the rest of her Relations, and exposing her Misfortune to 'em to the least Circumstances; and then killing her self before 'em, in Confirmation of the Truth of what she had said. A Poet, whose Name I don't know, has hit upon this Thought.*

(*f*) See it in the Extract of the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Dec. 1685. Art. 5. pag. 1341. & seq.

(*g*) Du Rondel *Reflections upon a Chapter of* Theophrastus, p. 94. & seq.

(*h*) Id. ib. pag. 96.

(*i*) Id. ib. pag. 97.

(*k*) Id. ib. pag. 99.

Quum fodit infesto castum Lucretia pectus,
Sanguinis & sorrens egrederetur, ait:
Accedant reges, me non faviſſe tyranno
Ante virum sanguis, ſpiritus ante Deos.
Quàm benè, producti pro me poſt fata, loquentur;
Alter apud Manes, alter apud Superos.

But I must fill up here what I say, concerning the Tribunal of the Eumenides. *This is the Account of it. According to the Antient Theologists: Man was composed of a Soul, a Body and a Shade. At Death the Soul was restored to Heaven, where the Thoughts were examin'd before the* Diræ; *the Body was restored to the Earth, where the Actions were examin'd before the* Furiæ; *and the Shade was restored to Hell, where the Reports that had been spread of us were to be accounted for, and that before the* Eumenides. Ne Lucretia, *says an Antient Author,* Castitatis famam deperderet, quippe quam ſine Purgatione futuram eſſe cernebat, invita turpibus imperiis paruit, *There were to be Witnesses and Blood to clear the Party from Calumny, in order to appear with Impunity before the* Eumenides, *or resolve to be damn'd to all the Serpents of Infamy, which was one of these Goddesses,* certis Pœnarum Infamia. *Thus, Sir,* Lucretia *has satisfied her Religion, and is more commendable than has hitherto been imagin'd; since with the Stab of the Dagger, she made an expiatory Sacrifice, which stopp'd the Mouth of Infamy, and cleared her a glorious Way to the* Elysian Fields.

Nothing can be more properly alledged, to confirm the first of these Observations, than what is found in *Dionysius Halicarnaſſeus*, concerning the Laws of *Romulus*. This Prince, the Founder of *Rome*, borrowed from the *Greeks* all that was proper in their Theology, for Divine Service, but rejected the Fables, the Antients had divulg'd, concerning the Crimes of their Gods, and suffered not any thing to be ascribed to the Divine Nature unbecoming the Supreme Felicity. (*l*) Τὰς ὑπὸ παραδόξων περὶ αὐτῶν μύθους, ἐν οἷς βλασφημίαι πολλαὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἢ κατορθώσεις, πονηρὰς ἐργασαμένων ἢ ἐκ γάμους παρανόμους γεγενημένων, ἢ ὑπ' ἄλλων θεῶν ἢ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἡττηθέντων ἔξωθεν, ἢ πεφυκέναι τινὰς ἐκ θεῶν λόγον τῷ ἢ φαῦλον, [illegible] φύσεως. *Ceterum fabulas de ipsis a majoribus traditas, probra eorum continentes ac crimina, improbas censuit, inutilesque ac indecentes, & ne probis quidem viris dignas, nedum diis superis: repudiandas his omnibus, ad bene ac præclare de diis sentiendum lapsendum cives suos induxit, nihil eis affingi posse quod beatæ illi naturæ parum esset consentaneum.* He expressly observes, that the *Romans* did not teach, that *Cælus* was castrated by his Children, or that *Saturn* devoured his; or that *Jupiter*, having dethroned *Saturn*, threw him into *Tartarus*, or that the Gods had been at Wars, or had been wounded in them, or that they had been Slaves among Men. This whole Passage of the Historian is very remarkable: For we see, that *Romulus* establish'd his Religion, not as a Man educated amongst Shepherds, but as an excellent Philosopher, and a thousand times a better Theologist, than the Magistrates of *Greece*. Nevertheless, the other Historians, even they, who, like *Livy*, were more interested than *Dionysius*, in *Romulus*'s Glory, have been silent upon this Article; which Silence is surprizing and unaccountable. But be it observ'd, that this Author, who particularizes so many Things, rejected by the first King of the *Romans*, do's not observe that he had banish'd what concern'd the Adulteries of the Gods. Let us also say, that he falsly advances, that they did not speak of the Castration of *Cœlus*, or the Dethroning of *Saturn*, &c. How durst he affirm things so false? Did he not know, that the *Romans* (*a*) had adopted all the Chimera's of the *Greek* Mythology? Why did he not content himself with saying, that, during the first Ages of *Rome*, they gave no credit to 'em? Be it how it will, though we grant what he says of *Romulus*, we can't thence infer, that our *Lucretia* was persuaded, that the Gods were very Chast.

(*l*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. 2. cap. 18. pag. 90.

(*a*) See Cicero de Natura Deorum.

The Tradition, that *Romulus* was the Son of *Mars*, and of the Vestal *Sylvia*, was, doubtless, very antient in *Tarquin*'s Time; for this Vestal had declared, when she was with Child (*b*), that a God was the Father of it. 'Twas *Romulus*'s Interest that this Fable should be believed, in order to screen the Honour of his Mother, and give himself a Cœlestial Origin. This was moreover well suited to the Temporal Interests of the City he had built; which is probably the Reason why he, rejecting the other Fables of the *Greeks*, did not intimate, that the Amours of the Gods were to be excluded. Let us then be persuaded, that, in *Lucretia*'s Time, one of the Articles of the *Roman* Faith, was, That *Mars* got *Sylvia* with Child, when (*c*) she went to fetch Water, for the Divine Service, to the Wood consecrated to this God. So that *Lucretia* must be so far from fearing to offend the Gods, supposing she had committed Adultery, that she ought to fear the being alone in some Consecrated Wood, and imagine that her Honour would run a great Risk there, the God of the Place being very likely to fall in Love with her, and to force her, with so much the less Scruple, as she had never been (*d*) a Vestal, as the Mother of *Romulus* had. *Note*, That, during the Wars that *Tarquin* made with the *Romans* (*e*) they built a Temple to *Castor* and *Pollux*; that is, to two Bastards of the same *Jupiter*, when they worshipp'd in the Capitol; which is a Justification, even in Respect of old *Rome*, of what is said in the *Pensées diverses*, that Religion did not teach, that Impurity was displeasing to the Gods. Note also, That the first King of *Rome*, by forbidding to impute to 'em the Scandals of *Greece*, intimated, that there ran evil Reports concerning their Conduct. This, doubtless, would occasion at least the Curiosity of informing themselves what these Scandals were; and we know, that in *Tarquin*'s Time, the Oracle of *Delphi* (*f*) was very well known at *Rome*. They had therefore a just Account of the Religion of the *Greeks*; they knew the Stories concerning the Love-Intrigues of the Gods; and, as People easily believe what gratifies their Passions, they easily gave Credit to these Discourses, authorized by a Learned and Ingenious Nation; and which furnish'd the Dissolute with so many Apologies. We only imitate the Gods, said they, in the Beginning; they were bolder afterwards, as the Law of *Romulus* grew obsolete. We know, from the Experience of those last Ages, that the forbidding a Book, wherein the Amours and Corruptions of a Court are exposed, prevents indeed the Inhabitants of the Country from dispersing these Scandalous Stories, but not from thinking and believing them any more than before. Apply this to the Subjects of *Romulus*, with respect to the proscribing the *Grecian* Fables: Add too, that the Building of the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, was, as it were, an Authentick Declaration of *Jupiter*'s Adulteries, and Derogatory to *Romulus*'s Law. The Husband, to the Mother (*b*) of these two Deities, was, by this Edifice, as solemnly declared a Cuckold, as by a Decree of the *Amphictyones*, or the Senate. Whence we must conclude, that the Virtue and good Morals, so conspicuous among the *Romans* for the 3 or 4 first Centuries, did not depend on the Heathen, but only on Natural Religion, &c.

(*b*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. 1. cap. 78. pag. m. 61.

(*c*) Id. ib.

(*d*) That is to say, a Maid who had consecrated her Virginity to the Goddeſs Veſta.

(*e*) Florus, lib. 1. cap. 11.

(*f*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. 4. cap. 75. pag. 254.

(*b*) Leda the Wife of Tyndarus

But

of thoſe who havewrit an Apology for this Lady, and who ſays (*F*), ſhe ſurpaſſed the Pagan Deities. Let us not forget to obſerve, that as ſoon as *Sextus* * perceived his Paſſion for *Lucretia*, he reſolved to have recourſe to Force. This ſhews, either that, in thoſe Times, married Women were not uſed to be Carreſs'd, or elſe that her Virtue ſhone ſo in her Face and Conduct that no Body durſt hope for a Favour. This manifeſts farther, how the Times change; for at preſent, Princes, great Lords, and all Gallants in general, think firſt of declaring their Sentiments, and begin by Wheedling. They think on nothing leſs than offering Violence, as imagining they ſhall have no need of it. And if the worſt come to the worſt, this is their laſt Shift; whereas it was the firſt that *Tarquin*'s eldeſt Son took, a potent King at that Time. He made his firſt Declaration of Love, with a Sword in his Hand, and with the Threats of Death in his Mouth.

* Ibi Sextum Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiæ PER VIM ſtuprandæ capit. *Livius, ibid. pag.* 35. B.

LUCRE-

But then here's a Dilemma. The Religion, eſtabliſhed by *Romulus*, and which repreſented God as a moſt perfect Being, ſubſiſted intire in *Lucretia*'s Time; or was already corrupted by the Fables of *Greece*. In the firſt Caſe, *Lucretia* did not govern her ſelf by the Principles of her Religion, ſince ſhe ſtood more in fear of a (*i*) *What will the World ſay*, than of God himſelf. In the ſecond Caſe, ſhe govern'd her ſelf by the Ideas of Virtue, and the Love of Chaſtity, which the Notion of her Gods did not give her. Let's now ſee what relates to the ſecond Obſervation of our Learned Friend.

(*i*) Succubuit famæ victa puella meru. *Ovid faſtor. lib.* 2.

He muſt give me leave to ſay, that the Learning he has ſhewn upon the Diſtinction of the *Diræ*, the *Furiæ*, and the *Eumenides*, and ſo on, was above the comprehenſion of *Lucretia* and all the other Women of *Rome* or *Athens*. 'Twas a Piece of the moſt Myſtical Theology then in Being: The Women had not the leaſt Notion of it; the Initiates did not aſpire to it: Only the o'd *Adepti* were to be inſtructed in this Article. I queſtion whether *Varro*, the moſt Learned of the *Romans*, or the *Pontifex* (*k*) *Caius Cotta* penetrated ſo far. But moſt certainly *Lucretia* did not know, that her acquitting her ſelf in Heaven and Earth, before the *Diræ* and the *Furiæ*, was to no Purpoſe, unleſs ſhe was furniſhed with the Certificates, which the *Eumenides* demanded in Hell. She did not therefore dye, to provide her ſelf with an Anſwer to an Examination, which ſhe had no Idea of. The bare Intereſt of her Reputation, without the leaſt Regard to Religion, induced her to kill her ſelf, as has been ſaid in the *Thoughts upon Comets*.

(*k*) One of Cicero's *Interlocutors in his Books* de Natura Deorum.

St. *Auſtin* underſtood very well this Truth, and hath juſtly concluded, that *Lucretia*'s Conduct does not equal that of Chriſtian Women, who having ſubmitted to a like Violence, comfort themſelves in God, the Witneſs of their inward Purity; and are far from refuting the Suſpicions of Men, by tranſgreſſing the Laws of God. (*l*) *Quod ſeipſam, quoniam adulterum pertulit, etiam non adulterata occidit, non eſt pudicitiæ caritas, ſed pudoris infirmitas. Puduit enim eam turpitudinis alienæ in ſe commiſſæ, etiam ſi non ſecum: & Romana mulier laudis avida nimium verita eſt, ne putaretur, quod violenter eſt paſſa cum viveret, libenter paſſa ſi viveret. Unde ad oculos hominum mentis ſuæ teſtem illam pœnam adhibendam putavit, quibus conſcientiam demonſtrare non potuit. Sociam quippe facti ſe credi erubuit, ſi quod alius in ea fecerat turpiter, ferret ipſa patienter. Non hoc fecerunt Fœminæ Chriſtianæ, quæ paſſa ſimilia vivunt. Tamen nec in ſe ultæ ſunt crimen alienum, ne aliorum ſceleribus adderent ſua; ſi, quoniam hoſtes in eis concupiſcendo ſtupra commiſerant, illæ in ſe ipſis homicidia erubeſcendo committerent. Habent quippe intus gloriam caſtitatis, teſtimonium conſcientiæ: habent autem coram oculis Dei ſui; nec requirunt amplius, ubi quid rectè faciant, non amplius habent, ne deviant ab auctoritate legis divinæ, cùm malè devitant offenſionem ſuſpicionis humanæ.* If inſtead of maintaining the *Roman* Spirit, which thirſted after (*m*) the Praiſe of Men, ſhe had conformed to the Precepts of ſound Religion, ſhe had choſen to dye by the Hand of *Sextus*, rather than ſuffer'd him to do what he did. She cannot therefore be juſtified at the Bar of Religion; but it ſhe's judged at the Tribunal of Humane Glory, there ſhe'll come off with Flying Colours. For, if on one Hand, Life was leſs dear to her than Chaſtity; ſhe ſacrificed, on the other, to a fair Reputation, what ſhe preferred before Life it ſelf. All this center'd in Self-Love; but had ſhe been a Chriſtian, I ſay, a thorow Chriſtian, ſhe would have acted otherwiſe, and from a Principle of Divine Love. The *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, above-cited, ſtates her Duty aright, and oppoſes to her the Answer of *Lucia*, a Chriſtian Woman. (*a*) *Mal je eganno Lucrecia, y ſi turviera tanto valor de animo como hermoſura, con el primero repararael danno que la hizo la ſegunda. No ſon violadas, dize* (1) *Sant Baſilio, hablando de las virgines:* Quæ vim paſſæ ſunt non conſentiente ad voluptatem anima, imo integram atque incorruptam ſponſo ſuo & fide & virginitate inclytam, majori cum gloria & laude obtulerunt. *Eſto no ſabia Lucrecia, y ſi lo entendia, cegoſe con el puntillo de la honra, y todo lo perdio. Le manera, que por medio de la muerte, quedo muerta: y por temor de la honra quedo deſhonrada.... Quanto mas, que reſpondio muy bien otra no Lucrecia Romana, ſino Lucia Chriſtiana, al Preſidente Paſchaſio, que ſobre el meſmo punto dixo, la pondria en el lugar de las mugeres rameras, para que qualquiera la infamaſſe, y el Eſpiritu divino de que ſe preciava la deſamparaſſe:* Si invitam juſſeris violari, caſtitas mihi duplicabitur ad coronam. There's one thing more, in which the Chriſtian Women St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks (*b*) of, excell'd her. She had her Choice of Death or Conſenting: They were not allowed this Option. Tyrants, Perſecutors and Soldiers made uſe of Violence, without propoſing the Alternative. Being reduc'd to this Condition, all the Defence they had was a Denial of Conſent, and Repugnance of Will; for what would the Reſiſtance of Arms and Hands have ſignified? For any thing further, we muſt preſume as much in favour of *Lucretia*, as in favour of them, and reject the Surmizes St. *Auſtin* has ſuggeſted of this Heathen Lady. Who knows, ſays he, but ſhe was Conſcious of ſome kind of Conſent, which might be the Reaſon of her killing her ſelf? (*c*) *Quid ſi enim, (quod ipſa tantummodo noſſe poterat,) quamvis juveni violenter irruenti, etiam ſua libidine illecta conſenſit, idque in ſe puniens ita doluit, ut morte putaret expiandum? Quamquam nec ſic quidem occidere ſe debuit, ſi fructuoſam poſſet apud deos falſos agere pœnitentiam. Verumtamen ſi fortè ita eſt, falſumque eſt illud, quod duo fuerunt, & adulterium unus admiſit, ſed potius ambo adulterium commiſerunt, unus manifeſta invaſione, altera latente conſenſione, non ſe occidit inſontem.* Theſe are unreaſonable Suſpicions. 'Tis to be believ'd, that her Soul loſt nothing of its Purity; and that (*d*) ſhe was violently robb'd of an immaculate Chaſtity, according to the Literal Meaning of *Brutus*'s Words in *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*. Note, That we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, no Body had ever known young *Tarquin*'s Exploit, if *Lucretia* had not reveal'd it.

(*b*) Chriſtianis fœminis in captivitate compreſſis alieni ab omni cogitatione ſanctitatis inſultant. *Auguſt. ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 68.

(*d*) Τὴν ἐμιαίνετον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν αἰδῶ μιᾶς βίας. Impolluta pudicitia per vim ſpoliata. *Dionyſ. Halic. lib.* 4. *cap.* 86. *pag.* 274.

(*l*) *Auguſt. de civit. Dei lib.* 1. *cap.* 19. *pag.* 69.

(*m*) Vincet amor patriæ laudumque immenſa cupido. *Virgil. Æn. lib.* 6. *v.* 824

(*a*) *Juan de Torres, ubi ſupra.*

(1) *S. Baſil. lib. de vera virg.*

(*F*) *Father* Le Moyne.... *has writ an Apology for this Lady, in which he ſays ſhe ſurpaſſed the* Pagan *Deities.*] I have ſeen, ſays he, (*o*) the Examination of this Caſe, " and the Sentence which is annexed to it in St. " *Auſtin, de Civitate Dei.* I have ſometimes heard, in " Declamations, that one of the moſt Heroick and ſtrict " Ladies of her Sex (*p*) had pleaded againſt her: " And I confeſs, that if ſhe were to be judged by the " Chriſtian Diſpenſation, and Laws of the Goſpel, ſhe " would very difficultly juſtify her Innocence.. But " if ſhe be removed from this ſevere Tribunal, where " *Pagan* Virtue finds no Footing, ſhe is out of Danger " of being condemn'd: If ſhe is judged by the Laws " of her own Country, and the Religion of the Times " ſhe will be found to be the Chaſteſt of thoſe who " then lived, and the moſt Reſolute of all the Heathen. " The noble and virtuous Philoſopher, who accuſes " her ſo often, would pardon her Misfortune, and re" concile her to her ſelf; and every Body muſt con" feſs, that the Crime was leſs her Fault, than the Im" perfection of the *Roman* Law, which had not regu" lated it rightly; and the Scandals of her Religion, " which had afforded ſo many evil Examples: And " truly the Law of that Country, in thoſe Times, was " only ſuperficial and ſide.... As the *Ro*" *man* Religion exalted Ladies of Pleaſure to the " Rank of Goddeſſes, and offered Sacrifices to Adulte" rers, it could not expect to keep Women either Vir" tuous or Chaſte. In this therefore *Lucretia*, nay, " the raviſhed *Lucretia*, was above the Gods of *Rome*. " 'Twas not the Love of Pleaſure, or the Fear of " Death

(*o*) *Father* Le Moyne Jalerie des Femmes fortes, *pag.* 188, 189. Dutch *Edition.*

(*p*) *I ſhould be glad to know who this Perſon is that Father* Le Moyne *means here.*

LUCRETIUS, commonly called, *Titus Lucretius* (*A*) *Carus*, was one of the beſt Poets of his Age. He was born, according to *Euſebius*'s Chronicle (*B*), in the ſecond Year of the 171 Olympiad, and kill'd himſelf in the 44th Year of his Age; that is much as to ſay, that he kill'd himſelf in the 702 Year of *Rome*. He had a Philtre given

" Death that should remove her: 'Twas the Love of Ho-
" nour, and the extreme Apprehenſion, that ſhe had
" loſt it. And if ſhe had not the Reſolution of *Suſannah*,
" who neither felt nor fear'd the Pains of Death, or the In-
" famy; 'tis [illegible] to ſay in her Excuſe, that ſhe
" did not believe [illegible] God: And the Miracle
" had been too great, if a Pagan had equall'd one of
" the ſublimeſt Virtues of the Faithful: Were it not
" for the Law and Grace, what could the Faithful do?
" We need not feign any thing to praiſe *Lucretia*....
" (*q*) Not being able with her Hands to reſiſt an ar-
" med Force, ſhe repulſed it in Thought, and her
" Soul oppoſed as much as poſſible the Stain of Impu-
" rity, with which her Body was defiled."

(*A*) *Titus Lucretius Carus.*] *Lambinus* conjectures, that our Poet was either of the Family of the *Lucretii* ſir-named *Veſpillo*, or of that ſir-nam'd *Oſella*; and that *Carus* his Sir-name, was a fourth Title, denoting (*c*) either his admirable Genius, or the Sweetneſs of his Temper, or ſomething of this kind. He produces ſome Inſtances of others, who had two Sir-names. The Baron *des Coutures* (*f*) goes farther; and affirms, as an undoubted Fact, that *Lucretius was ſir-named* Veſpillo *or* Oſella; *becauſe, in all Appearance, he derived his Pedigree from one of theſe two Families.* The ſame *Lambinus* conjectures, that *Lucretius* was either Brother or Couſin-German to the two Orators, *Cicero* ſpeaks of, one ſirnam'd *Veſpillo*, and the other *Oſella*; or elſe to *Lucretius Veſpillo*, mention'd by *Julius Cæſar*. This laſt *Lucretius* was a Senator, but that hinders not but he might be a near Relation to our Poet; for there were Families, out of which ſome were choſen to the Senatorial Dignity, whilſt others remain'd in the Rank of Knights. To prove this, *Lambinus* makes uſe of a falſe Suppoſition: He ſays, that if *Cicero*'s Brother had not aſpir'd to great Employments, there would have been an Inſtance of two Brothers, one of which was a Senator, the other a ſimple Knight: but he owns, that *Cicero*'s Brother never did. (*g*) *Finge ex his duobus fratribus alterum ſe ad honores petendos, & Remp. gerendam contuliſſe: alterum luce populari carere, ſuum negotium agere, intra pelliculam ſe continere voluiſſe (quod tamen ſecus factum eſt) ſed finge ita eveniſſe, procul dubio is qui ædilitatem majorem, præturam, conſulatum adeptus eſſet, ut Marcus, Senatorii ordinis factus eſſet: ille alter qui nullum Magiſtratum geſſiſſet, in equeſtri ordine manſiſſet.* The Baron *des Coutures* goes ſtill farther, and affirms, that our *Lucretius always continued in the* Equeſtrian *Order*; *and that* Cicero, *who enjoy'd the moſt conſiderable Dignities of the Republick, had a Brother*, Quintus Tullius, *who never roſe higher than the Degree of a Knight.*

(*B*) *In the 2d Year of the 171 Olympiad.*] 'Tis a pretty Current Opinion (*b*), that *Lucretius* was born twelve Years after *Cicero*, in the Conſulſhip of *Lucius Licinius Craſſus*, and *Quintus Mutius Scevola*, in the 658 Year of *Rome*. The Baron *des Coutures* (*i*) is the firſt I know of, who places the Birth of *Cicero* twelve Years later than that of *Lucretius*: And yet he places the Birth of each under the Conſulſhips fix'd upon by other Writers. Here *Lambinus* falls into three Errors. He ſays, that *Euſebius* has plac'd *Lucretius*'s Birth in the 171 Olympiad; that is, in the Conſulſhip of *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, and *Caius Caſſius Longinus*, in the 657th Year of *Rome*; and that others place it in the 272d Olympiad; *i. e.* in the Conſulſhip of *L. Licinius Craſſus*, and *L. Mutius Scevola*, in the Year 658: From whence it follows, ſays he, that this Poet was eleven or twelve Years younger than *Cicero*, who was born in the Conſulſhip of *Q. Servilius Cepio*, and *C. Attilius Serranus*. 1. *Euſebius* places *Lucretius*'s Birth in the ſecond Year of the 171 Olympiad. Now *Domitius Ænobarbus* and *Caſſius Longinus* were Conſuls the Year before 2. Their Conſulſhip, and that of *Licinius Craſſus*, and *Mutius Scævola* don't belong to the 172, but to the 171 Olympiad. 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Lambinus* ſhould ſo carelesly diſtinguiſh theſe two Olympiads by the Years 657 and 658 of *Rome*. 3. Since the Conſulſhip, in which *Cicero* was born, fell in with the 647th Year of *Rome*, he ought to have ſaid, that *Lucretius* was Ten or Eleven Years younger than *Cicero*, and not Twelve or Eleven. *Giſanius*, and his Copyer (*k*), *Daniel Pareus*, placing *Lucretius*'s Birth in the 658th Year, are in the wrong to make him precede *Cicero* by twelve Years.

I have reckon'd up eight Faults in eighe Lines of Father *Briet* (*l*). He will have *Lucretius* born in the ſecond Year of the 175th Olympiad, and that Year to be the 543d of *Rome*. He will have *Lucretius* die in the 584th Year of *Rome*, at thirty-ſix Years of Age, or rather forty in the Conſulſhip of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*; and that this was the Year, in which *Virgil* aſſum'd the *Toga Virilis*: Laſtly, he Fathers upon St. *Jerom* the Saying, that *Lucretius* kill'd himſelf at forty Years of Age. Let's ſumm up his Faults. I. He ſhould have placed the Birth of *Lucretius* in the 171 Olympiad, and not in 175. II. The Olympick Year he denotes, anſwers to the 674 Year of *Rome*, and not to the 543. III. 'Tis abſurd to ſay, that a Man, who was born in the Year 543, and died in 584, died at thirty-ſix Years of Age; and it's ſtill abſurd, though it be corrected by theſe Words, *or rather at the Age of forty*; for beſides that he ſhould ſay forty-one, ſuch a Diſjunctive ought never to be uſed, *as at thirty-ſix or forty*, when 'tis certain that the firſt part of the Propoſition is falſe. This is Father *Briet*'s Caſe. He poſitively fixes *Lucretius*'s Birth to the 543d Year of *Rome*, and his Death to the 584: He ought not therefore to have advanced two different Opinions concerning his Term of Life. IV. As *Craſſus* and *Pompey* were twice Conſuls together, 'tis a Fault, ſimply, to obſerve, that ſuch a thing happen'd in the Conſulſhip of theſe two Men: He ſhould have ſpecified under which Conſulſhip. V. *Craſſus* and *Pompey* were Conſuls the firſt time in the 683 Year of *Rome*, and not in 584. VI. He ſhould either not have mention'd *Virgil* at all, or have ſaid, as *Donatus* does, that this Poet took the *Toga Virilis* the ſame Day that *Lucretius* died. The Point of Singularity conſiſts in the jumping of the Day: And this Father *Briet* enervates, by barely obſerving, that *Virgil* took the *Toga Virilis* the ſame Year *Lucretius* died. VII. 'Twas (*m*) in the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, that *Virgil* took this Robe, and in the 698 Year of *Rome*; he ought not therefore to have placed *Lucretius*'s Death in the 584th Year. VIII. St. *Jerom* has plainly ſaid, that *Lucretius* kill'd himſelf in the 44th Year of his Age. (*n*) *Propria ſe manu interfecit anno ætatis quadrageſimo quarto.* Add to theſe eight Faults that which he has committed a little after, in ſaying, that *Ovid* gave *Lucretius* the Epithet Divine,

Carmina divini tunc ſunt peritura Lucreti,
Exitio terræ cum dabit una dies.

'Tis *Sublimis*, and not *Divini* in *Ovid* (*o*). *Gaſſendus* was ſtrangely miſtaken about the Paſſage of St. *Jerom*: He thought the Year of his Death had been ſpecify'd in it, and not that of his Birth; which (*a*) made him conclude, that *Lucretius* was older than *Zeno* the *Epicurean*, whoſe Auditors *Cicero* and *Atticus* had been. Mr. *Creech* has placed *Lucretius*'s Birth in the 659th Year, and his Death in the 702; and pretends, that *Virgil* was born the ſame Day *Lucretius* died; which would make a *Pythagorean* believe, that *Lucretius*'s Soul tranſmigrated into *Virgil*'s Body. (*b*) *Vix abſoluto opere moritur, eo ipſe die quo natus eſt* Virgilius; *& aliquis* Pythagoreus *credat* Lucretii *animam in* Maronis *corpus tranſiiſſe, ibique longo uſu & multo ſtudio exercitatam Poetam evaſiſſe.* This is a conſiderable Fault; for we muſt hence conclude, that *Virgil* wrote his Eclogues at eight or nine Years of Age. Thus you ſee how the moſt Learned Men confound their Notions. They change the Day that *Virgil* took his *Toga Virilis*, into that of his Birth. *Lamlinus* (*c*) had made the ſame Blunder.

To judge by the Style, we ſhould eaſily conclude, that *Lucretius* was older than *Cicero*; but that Rule would be fallacious. How many Authors have we younger than *Balzac*, who writ in old *French*, whilſt *Balzac* writ eloquently and politely? However, I have read in ſome Moderns, that *Lucretius* preceded *Cicero*. *Paulo antiquior fuit*, (*d*) ſays *Crinitus*, *Terentio Varrone, & M. Tullio, ut quidam ſcripſerunt.* *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd* and *Hofman* have exactly copied him; but *Decimator* copying him without well-placing the Comma's, has uttered a groſs Falſhood. *Lucretius*, ſay he (*e*), *Poeta latinus paulo antiquior Terentio, Varrone & M. Tullio.* In another Book (*f*) he had ſimply ſaid, that *Lucretius* was antienter than *Terence* and *Cicero*. A famous *Engliſh*-Man, whom I frequently cite, will have *Lucretius* to be con-

(*q*) *Id. ib. pag.* 190. [illegible] *Cum [illegible] familiæ cognomen aut Veſpillonis, aut Oſellæ, cognomen Cari acceſſiſſet, vel propter ingenii magnitudinem ac præſtantiam, vel propter morum ſuavitatem, & comitatem, vel propter aliquid tale. Lambinus in vita Lucretii.*

(*f*) *In the Life of* Lucretia, *before his* French *Tranſlation of this Poet, printed at* Paris, 1685.

(*g*) Lambinus, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) *Lambin. Giſanius, Daniel Pareus, in vita* Lucretii, *approve it.*

(*i*) *In the Life of* Lucretius.

(*k*) *The* Dauphin's *Scholiaſt, having printed before his* Lucretius, *the Life of this Poet by* Daniel Pareus, *ought to have known, that, baſing ſome few Defalcations, its Word for Word, that which was compoſed by* Giſanius.

(*l*) *De Poetis latinis pag.* 9.

(*m*) Decimo ſeptimo anno ætatis virilem togam cepit, illis Conſulibus iterum quibus natus erat. Evenitque ut eo ipſo die Lucretius poeta diſcederet. *Donatus in vita Virgilii.*

(*n*) *In Chronic. Euſebii.*

(*o*) *Ovid. amor. lib.* 1. *eleg.* 15.

(*a*) Aliquanto Veruſtior, ſed Romæ fuit. T. Lucretius Carus (obiit enim juxta Euſebium Olympiade 171. cum ageret annum ætatis quadrageſimum tertium. *Gaſſend. de vita Epicuri, l.* 2. *c.* 6.

(*b*) *Thom. Creech in præfat. Lucretii.*

(*c*) *See the end of this Remark.*

(*d*) *De Poetis Latinis, l.* 2. *p. m.* 657.

(*e*) *In Theſauro linguarum voce* Lucretius.

(*f*) *In* 2 *parte ſylvæ vocabulorum imprimis à Francfort in* 8vo. *in* 1591.

(*g*) Pope Blount, Cenſura Authorum, *pag.* 39.

given him, which threw him into a Phrenzy. During this his Madneſs he had (C) ſome lucid Intervals, in which he compoſ'd his ſix Books *de Rerum Natura*, where he Learnedly explains *Epicurus*'s Phyſicks. The ſame Chronicle informs us, that this Work was corrected (D) by *Cicero* after the Death of the Author. Never any Man denied (E) the Divine Providence more hardily than this Poet; and yet he has acknowledged ſome unaccountable Cauſe (F) which ſports it ſelf in the Over-throw of Humane Greatneſs.

contemporary with *Cicero*, but ſomewhat older. He puts in the Margin, that *Lucretius* flouriſhed 105 Years before Jeſus Chriſt. Now, according to him, Our Lord was born (*b*) in the 751 Year of *Rome*; he believes therefore, that *Lucretius* flouriſhed in the 646. He muſt therefore fix his Birth about the Year 600. In which he deviates far from the common Opinion, and from that of St. *Jerome*. *Lambinus*'s Life of *Lucretius*, in the Edition I make uſe of (*i*), imports, that he died in the forty-third Year of his Age, in the third Conſulſhip of *Pompey*, in the 751 Year of *Rome*, the Day that *Virgil* was born. Of the two Faults, which are notorious in this Account, one is, doubtleſs, a Fault of the Preſs, and the other of the Author. *Lambinus*, inſtead of the Day that *Virgil* took the *Toga Virilis*, has put his Birth-Day; and, though we ſhould rectify him thus far, yet we could not clear him of an Error, it being in *Pompey*'s ſecond Conſulſhip that *Virgil* took the *Toga* (*l*) *Virilis*, in the 698 Year of *Rome*.

(*h*) *See what he ſays, of the Death of* Cicero, *pag.* 40.

(*i*) *It's that of the* Dauphin's *Scholiaſt on* Lucretius.

(*l*) *Donatus in vita Virgilii.*

(C) *During this Madneſs he had ſome lucid Intervals, in which he compoſ'd.*] They who ſhall read in *Thuanus* (*m*), that *Taſſo* was ſubject to great Fits of Madneſs, which hinder'd not his writing excellent Verſes, won't think incredible what we here ſay of *Lucretius*. (*n*) *Amatorio poculo in furorem verſus, quum aliquot libros per intervalla inſaniæ conſcripſiſſet.* Some believ'd, that *Statius* had an Eye to this Madneſs, in Saying (*o*), *& docti furor arduus Lucreti*; but others think, that he only meant his Poetick Enthuſiaſm, and that he alluded to theſe Words of *Lucretius*'s firſt Book: *Sed acri Percuſſit thyrſo laudis ſpes magna meum cor.* See *Barthius* upon theſe Words of *Statius*.

(*m*) *Thuan. Hiſt. lib.* 113. *pag.* 686. *ad ann.* 1595.

(*n*) *Chron. Euſebii.*

(*o*) *Stat. Silv.* 7. *l.* 2. *v.* 76.

(D) *Was corrected by* Cicero.] Father *Briet* ſeems inclin'd to believe it, ſince he uſes theſe Words: *In ſuis verſibus, duris quidem, ſed valde latinis, & Tullii lima dignißimis.* Some think (*p*), he only meant, that *Lucretius*'s Poems *had need of* Cicero's *File*; but others believe his Meaning to be, that they do Honour to *Cicero*, by whom they were corrected; or that it plainly appears, they received the finiſhing Stroke from this great Man.

(*p*) *See Baillet, Jugemens ſur les Poetes, Tom.* 2. *pag.* 89.

(E) *More hardily denyed the Divine Providence.*] He ſets out with this impious Exordium.

(*q*) *Lucret, lib.* 1. *v.* 59.

Omnis (q) enim per ſe Divûm natura neceſſe eſt
Immortali ævo ſummâ cum pace fruatur,
Semota à noſtris rebus, ſejunctaque longè.
Nam privata dolore omni, privata periclis,
Ipſa ſuis pollens opibus; nihil indiga noſtri,
Nec bene promeritis capitur, nec tangitur irâ.

He goes on, with giving infinite Praiſes to *Epicurus*, who courageouſly attack'd Religion, and triumph'd over it.

(*s*) *Ibid. v.* 64.

Humana (t) ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret
In terris oppreſſa gravi ſub religione:
Quæ caput à cæli regionibus oſtendebat,
Horribili ſuper aſpectu mortalibus inſtans:
Primum Græjus homo mortaleis tollere contrà
Eſt oculos auſus, primuſque obſiſtere contra:
Quem nec fama Deum, nec fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compreſſit cælum: ſed eo magis acrem
Virtutem incitat animi, confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum clauſtra cupiret.

. . . . . .

Quare religio pedibus ſubjecta viciſſim
Obteritur; nos exæquat victoria cælo.

(*t*) *Primum quod magnis doceo de rebus, & arctis, Religionum animos nodis exſolvere, pergo. lb. p. m.* 30. *v.* 930.

He ſays, in the ſame Book, that one of the things that moſt encouraged him, was the Praiſe he hoped to deſerve, in treating of a Subject quite new, and in breaking the Shackles of Religion (*v*).

(*v*) *Idem lib.* 5. *v.* 1225.

(F) *He has acknowledged ſome unaccountable Cauſe, which ſports it ſelf in the Over-throw of Humane Greatneſs.*] Having deſcribed the Fear which ſeizes Admirals at the Approach of a Tempeſt, their Vows, he tells 'em, are all in vain: So true it is, that a hidden Force ſeems to ſport with the Dignities of the Earth.

Summa (w) etiam cum vis violenti per mare venti
Induperatorum claſſis ſuper æquora vertit,
Cum validis pariter Legionibus, atque Elephantis:
Non Divûm pacem votis adit? ac prece quæſit
Ventorum pavidus paces, animæque ſecundas?
Nequicquam: quoniam violento turbine ſæpe
Correptus nihilo fertur minùs ad vada lethi:
Quique adeo res humanas VIS ABDITA *quadam*
Obterit, & pulchros Faſceis, ſævaſque Securis
Proculcare, ac LUDIBRIO SIBI HABERE *videtur.*

(*w*) *Idem lib.* 5. *v.* 1225.

See here a Philoſopher, who preſumptuouſly denies a Providence, and the Power (*x*) of Fortune; who attributes all things to the neceſſary Motions of Atoms; a Cauſe which knows not whither it tends, nor what it does: Yet all to no Purpoſe, ſince Experience forces him to acknowledge, in the Courſe of Events, a particular Deſign of over-turning thoſe exalted Dignities which appear amongſt Men. 'Tis hardly poſſible not to diſcover this Deſign, when we attentively ſtudy Hiſtory, or only the Tranſactions of the Countries within our own Knowledge. A Life, of any moderate length, ſuffices to ſhew us, how Perſons, raiſed to the higheſt Stations, by a ſwift Courſe of good Succeſſes, fall back again into their Primitive Nothing, by a Reverſe of unproſperous Events. All proſper'd with 'em ſome time ago, but Nothing at preſent: They are daſh'd by a Thouſand Scorms, which ſpare moderate Conditions, tho' ſtanding, as we may ſay, in the ſame Road with 'em. 'Tis againſt them that Fortune ſeems exaſperated; 'tis their Ruin ſhe ſeems to have conſpired, whilſt ſhe ſuffers others to eſcape. I don't wonder then, that *Lucretius* perceived ſuch an Affectation as this, inexplicable by his Principles, and very hard to be explain'd by any other Syſtem. For it muſt be confeſs'd, that the *Phænomena*, in the Hiſtory of Men, caſt the Philoſophers into no leſs Perplexity, than thoſe in the Hiſtory of Nature. That which is moſt conſpicuous in Humane Hiſtory, is (*y*), that Viciſſitude of Exaltation and Debaſement, I elſewhere (*z*) ſpoke of; and which, as *Æſop* ſays, is the ordinary Exerciſe of Providence. How ſhall we reconcile this with the Ideas of a God, infinitely Good, infinitely Wiſe, and Diſpoſer of All Things? Can the infinitely perfect Being delight to raiſe a Creature to the higheſt Pinnacle of Glory, on Purpoſe to hurl it, ſon e time after, to the loweſt Degree of Infamy? Would not this Conduct reſemble that of Children, who no ſooner have built a Caſtle of Cards, but they undo and over-throw it again? This, you'll ſay, is neceſſary, becauſe Men abuſing their Proſperity, grow ſo inſolent, that their Fall is but a juſt Puniſhment of the ill uſe they have made of the Favours of Heaven: A Conſolation to the Miſerable, and a Leſſon to thoſe whom God ſhall Favour hereafter. But were not it better, will another ſay, to mix with ſo many Favours, the Grace of not abuſing them? Inſtead of ſix great Succeſſes, only give four; and add, as a Compenſation for the two others, the Ability to uſe 'em well. It will no longer be neceſſary either to puniſh the Inſolent, or comfort the Miſerable, or inſtruct the Man deſign'd to Exaltation. The firſt thing a Father would do, if it were in his Power, would be to ſupply his Children with the Gift of rightly uſing all the Goods he ſhould beſtow on 'em; for without this, all his Bounties are rather a Snare than a Favour. when 'tis conſidered, that they ſhall produce a Conduct, the Puniſhment whereof muſt be exemplary to others: Beſides that, the Uſefulneſs of theſe Examples is not obſerv'd: All Generations hitherto have had need of this Leſſon; and there is no Probability that future Ages ſhould be more exempt from this Viciſſitude, which *Æſop* ſpoke of, than the preceding. Thus this Checker of Good and Evil, bears not the Character of a Being, infinitely Good, Wiſe and Immutable. I know a Thouſand Reaſons may be thought on to ſolve theſe Difficulties, but we may invent as many Replies: The Mind of Man is more fruitful in Objections, than Anſwers: So that it muſt be acknowledged, that, without the Lights of Revelation, Philoſophy can't unravel the Doubts that are drawn from the Hiſtory of Humane Affairs. 'Tis the Province of Divines, and not of Philoſophers, to explain this. The Heathen Poets had recourſe to an Hypotheſis, which paſs'd very well with the People: They pretended, that among that Multitude of Deities, who

(*x*) *You muſt underſtand by* Fortune *a Deity which acts with Knowledge, but is whimſical, malicious, unjuſt, imprudent.*

(*y*) Quidquid in altum Fortuna tulit ruitura levat modicis rebus longius ævum eſt. *Seneca in Agam. Polyanthea* at the Word, *Fortuna*, is full of ſuch Sentences.

(*z*) *In the Article of Æſop, Remark* K.

Greatneſs. And no one can deny, but his Work is ſprinkled with many (G) fine Maxims againſt Evil Manners. Had he as attentively conſidered the Events which befell private Perſons, as he did thoſe which happen to the Great, he might perhaps have diſcovered

who had a ſhare in the Government of the World, there were ſome who envied the Happineſs of Man; and who, to aſſwage the Gnawings of this Envy, left no Stone unturn'd to ruin their Happineſs. Hence Paganiſm was particularly careful to appeaſe theſe invidious Gods; and the Goddeſs *Nemeſis*, who was repreſented at the Head of 'em, had as great a Share as any other Deity, in the Worſhip and Honours of Religion: And even when a Man was thought to be humbled, as much as theſe envious Powers could wiſh, he (a) ſtill moſt humbly beſeech'd them to ceaſe their Perſecution. If this Hypotheſis were once admitted, it might eaſily be explain'd, how Humane Grandeur is more expos'd to the Inſults of Fortune, than Moderate Conditions; and every one might underſtand the Cauſe of that Affectation, which *Lucretius* himſelf could not deny. Now, of all the Syſtems of Philoſophy, there is none ſo irrecoverably over-whelm'd with the Difficulties I ſpeak of, as that of *Epicurus*. *Lucretius* did not know what to fix upon; he could neither employ the Hypotheſis of the Poets, nor any kind of Morality; for he allow'd not the Gods any Share in the Government of the Univerſe, nor acknowledged in our World any inviſible Being, which underſtood or will'd any thing; conſequently his *vis abdita quædam* is a convincing Argument againſt himſelf. By it he over-threw his own Principles.

(a) Vos quoque Pergameæ jam fas eſt parcere genti, Dique Deæque omnes, quibus obſtitit Ilium & ingens Gloria Dardaniæ. *Virgil. Æn. l. 6. v. 63.*

Epicurus ſhould have allowed Spirits, if he had reaſon'd conſequentially.

Let me ſay, by the way, that it had been very eaſie for him to reconcile the Exiſtence of what People call'd, *Fortune*, *Nemeſis*, good and evil Genius's, with his own Syſtem. He might have left the Gods in the State, in which he conceiv'd 'em, content with their own Condition, and enjoying a Supream Felicity, without concerning themſelves with our Affairs, either by puniſhing Evil, or rewarding Good, *&c.* and have ſuppoſed, that certain Collections of Atoms, which he might give what Name he pleaſed to, were capable of Jealouſy, with reſpect to Man; as alſo of labouring, inviſibly, in ruining exalted Fortunes. I have often wonder'd, that neither *Epicurus*, nor any of his Followers, ſhould conſider, that the Atoms, which form a Noſe, two Eyes, a Brain, have nothing more excellent in 'em, than thoſe which go to the making a Stone (b): And therefore 'tis very abſurd to ſuppoſe, that every Rendezvous of Atoms, which makes not a Man or a Beaſt, ſhould be deſtitute of Knowledge. He who denies the Soul of Man to be a Subſtance diſtinct from Matter, reaſons childiſhly, unleſs he ſuppoſes, that all the Univerſe is animated; and that there are every where ſome particular Thinking Beings; and that, as there are ſome, which don't equal Men, ſo there are others which exceed them. On this Suppoſition, Plants and Stones, would be Thinking Subſtances. 'Tis not neceſſary, they ſhould have a Senſation of Colours, Sounds, Smells, *&c.* but 'tis neceſſary, they ſhould have other Notices: And, as theſe would be ridiculous to deny there were any ſuch Beings as Men, who do 'em a deal of Miſchief, who pluck 'em up by the Roots, who cut and break 'em in Pieces: As, I ſay, they would be ridiculous to deny this, under Pretence that they did not ſee the Arm or Ax which ſmote 'em; ſo the *Epicureans* are in like manner moſt ridiculous, in denying, that there are Beings in the Air, who know us, who do us ſometimes Evil, ſometimes Good, or who are inclined ſome to deſtroy, others to protect us: I ſay, the *Epicureans* would be very ridiculous to deny this, under Pretence, that we ſee no ſuch Beings. They have no good Reaſon to deny Conjuration, Magick, Larvæ, Spectres, Lemures, Hobgoblins, Familiars, and other Things of this Nature. It's more allowable in thoſe who believe the Soul to be diſtinct from Matter, to deny 'em; and yet I know not by what prepoſterous Turn of Mind, they who believe the Mind of Man to be Corporeal, are the readieſt to deny the Exiſtence of Dæmons.

(b) *Compare this with what has been ſaid in the Article* Hobbs, *Remark M.*

(c) *Giſanius in vita Lucretii.* (d) Sed de vitæ hujus annis ſcriptores minus conveniunt, de inſania omnes & turpiſſimis moribus, quos nimis prodidit in verſibus. *Philippus Brietius de Poet. Latin., p. 10.*

(G) *Fine Maxims againſt Evil Manners.*] A Learned Critick, who has laboured upon this Poem, as much as any Man whatever, gives it this Teſtimony: (c) *Ambitionem etiam ſuæ ætatis graviſſimis verſibus libro tertio & quinto reprehendit* (Lucretius). *Quam ſanctis denique fuerit moribus Poeta teſtis eſt locupletiſſimus opus gravissimum, multiſque præclaris ad bonos mores conformandos adhortationibus illuminatum.* So that we know not what to think of that Jeſuit, who has ventured to maintain (d), that all the World is agreed, concerning *Lucretius*'s ill Morals; which, adds he, are but too manifeſtly expos'd in his Book. Upon the Teſtimony of this Jeſuit, Mr. *Baillet* (e) *had Reaſon to ſay, that ſome have found Fault with* Lucretius *for not diſſembling, more than he did, his own corrupt Morals, and ſo much the more, as he had leſs need to expoſe 'em.* But 'tis certain this Jeſuit is in an Error; and that there is nothing in the Poem *de Rerum Natura*, whence it may be reaſonably inferr'd, that the Author was a Man of a diſſolute Life; ſo far is he from glorying in the Corruption of his own Morals. I confeſs, he explains ſome things, concerning Generation, in very rank Terms: But don't our moſt eſteem'd and moſt vertuous Phyſicians do the ſame, at leaſt in the Books where they treat of theſe Matters? Read Mr. *Menjot*'s Diſſertations, who was a Proteſtant, and a perfectly honeſt Man: Read, I ſay, his Diſſertation *de Sterilitate*, where you'll find *Lucretius*'s Verſes preceded by an Explication; which, to ſay no worſe, comes not behind the Verſes themſelves. (f) *Cauſis etiam ſterilitatis annumeratur incompoſitus inter coeundum motus, dum ſcilicet clunibus & coxendicibus ſublevatis lumborum criſitudine fluctuat, ſive, ut dixit Martialis,* (1) vibrat ſine fine pruriens laſcivos docili tremore lumbos *fœmina* σφόλις *(Latini criſſare, Græci* ἀσφυγιζειν *appellant) unde bellua à naturâ edoctæ in congreſſu citrà* σόβησιν *quietæ perſtant. Lucretius,* (2) *quem neſcias utrumne inter Poetas an inter Philoſophos numeres, hanc rationem reddit;*

Nec molles opus' ſunt motus uxoribus hilum,
Nam mulier prohibet ſe concipere atque repugnat,
Clunibus ipſa viri Venerem ſi læta retractet
Atque exoſſatâ ciet omni pectore fluctus.
Ejicit enim ſulci rectâ regione viâque
Vomerem, atque locis avertit ſeminis ictum.
Idque ſuâ cauſâ conſuerunt ſcorta moveri
Nè complerentur cebrò, gravidæque jacerent.

There's a great Difference betwixt the Poets, who publiſh Obſcenities in the way of *Catullus* and *Ovid*, and thoſe who are forced to uſe obſcene Words, in explaining the Effects of Nature. *Lucretius* muſt be reckon'd in the latter Claſs; and conſequently his Poem can't be brought as a Proof againſt his Morals. The Caſe is quite different as to *Catullus*, and ſuch as he, who deſcant in Bawdery only to give the Hiſtory of their Amours, or excite People to the moſt filthy Debaucheries. In a word, *Lucretius* is a Phyſical Poet, and the others are the Authors of Gallant-Verſes: 'Tis lawful for him to make uſe of the Phyſicians Style. But Obſcenity is intolerable in Love-Verſes. I mention not the Poem, in which the Abbot *Quillet* (g) *gives Rules for getting handſome Children.* I am not ignorant what Ruffles Mr. *Baillet* (h) gives him; therefore I forbear ſaying, that, if a Chriſtian Poet, an Eccleſiaſtical (i) Poet, is not excluded from the Number of Men of Probity, on Account of the Deſcriptions he has given *upon the Subject* (k) *of Generation*, *Lucretius* ought not to be excluded.

I won't take Advantage of *Dionyſius Lambinus*'s Teſtimony. He is an Author, who deſigning to prove by Examples (a), the Modeſty wherewith the ancient Poets deſcribed what concerns the Venereal Exerciſe, alledges, amongſt other Paſſages, that of *Lucretius* above-cited. *Ad genera verecundiora redeo. Pindarus Apollinis cum Cyrena concubitum narrans, ita tectis verbis utitur, ut ne virginales quidem aures eis offendi poſſe videantur hoc modo,* Ἦρα δ' οὐ λαχόν κῆπον μαλίνα πόλαν, *&c. id eſt, licet ne ex ejus cubili ſuavem herbam tondere? & ibid. de Antei filia, quam pater optimè currenti præmium propoſuerat.* Χρυσοκόδρου δ' οἱ ἅβας ἀμφὶς ἀθύρουτ' ἀπαλᾶς ἄνθεα ὄρθιον; *id eſt, curſores autem florentem ei pubertatis aureæ fructum decerpere volebant. Lucret. lib. 4 in extr. de muliere motum adhibente in concubitu.* Ejicit enim ſulci recta regione, viaque Vomerem, atque locis avertit ſeminis ictum (†). The Reaſon why I reject this Teſtimony, is, that *Lambinus* had no very nice Taſte upon this Subject: For at preſent we ſhould think ſuch Expreſſions, as he cites, to be very groſs. One of *Pindar*'s Examples, contain'd in the Words I have copied, anſwers this *Engliſh* Expreſſion; They would rob her of the Flower of her Virginity. The Inſtances he cites from *Homer* (c) are for the moſt part as ſtrong as the Expreſſions of *Carnal Copulation, and Cohabitation*; which the Country-Notaries do now make a Scruple of inſerting in the Contracts of Marriage, as was done heretofore. He moreover alledges theſe Words of *Horace*,

(e) *Jugemens ſur les Poetes, Tom. 2. pag. 95.*

(f) *Antonius Menjotius, Diſſertat. Partholgicarum, parte 3. pag. 41. See alſo his Diſſertation* de furore uterino.
(1) S. *Epigr. 79.*
(2) *L. 4.*
(g) *See Mr.* Baillet *Jugem. ſur les Poetes, Tom. 5. pag. 6. This Poem of the Abbé* Quillet *is intitled,* Callipædia.
(h) *Ibid. & p. 62.*
(i) *This, according to the Suppoſition of Mr.* Baillet. *See the Article* Quillet.
(k) *Baillet, ibid.*
(a) Libet huc annotare quam verecunde quamlectis verbis ſoleant poetæ rei venereæ turpitudinem ſignificare. *Lambinus, in Horat. Ode 5. lib. 2.*
(†) *Lambin. ibid. pag. m. 128, 129.*
(c) Εὖνῆ δ' ὑπὸ μιν ἔθηκε. Lecto cum ea nunquam commiſcebatur. Μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ. Cum eo lectum habuit communem. *Lambin. ibid.*

covered some thing unaccountable (GA) that took a Pleasure in molesting meaner Conditions; but perhaps too, he would have rejected this Hypothesis, and set himself in earnest about a Physical Explication of this Affair. They who have written his Life * maintain, that he was a very honest Man. Some will have the Invocation at the Begin-

* See the Remark G.

(d) Robert & Antoine le Chevallier d'Agneaux, Brothers.

Inachiam ter nocte potes; where, says he, *verbum, in quo turpitudo & obscenitas inest, tacetur.* But tho' (d) two Poets, Natives of *Vire* in *Normandy*, have used the like Suppression, as *Horace*, in translating these Words, yet is the Translation obscene. I omit to say, that the Ode, whence *Lambinus* has taken this Example of a vertuous Conduct, furnishes us with a quite contrary Instance presently after.

(e) Horat. epod. 12.

Inachiâ (e) langues minùs, ac me.
Inachiam ter nocte potes: mihi semper ad unum
Mollis opus: pereat malè, quæ te
Lesbia, quærenti taurum, monstravit inertem!
Cùm mihi Cous adesset Amyntas,
Cujus in indomito constantior inguine nervus,
Quàm nova collibus arbor inhæret.

We shan't therefore trust to *Lambinus*, as not being a competent Judge. What he calls Chaste and Modest Expressions, are intolerable, at present, in Love-Verses, in a Book of Wit, in a Sermon, or a Speech. None but Physicians, or Advocates, or Historians or Dictionary-Writers, *&c.* can justifiably employ 'em.

Let's conclude this Head, by a fine Encomium, which an excellent Commentator on *Lucretius* has lately given him. Nothing can better prove what I have affirmed in the Text of this Remark.

(f) Thom. Creech in præfatione Lucretii, Oxonii, editi è Theatro Sheldoniano, 1695. in 8vo.

(f) *Huic calumniæ ita profligatæ succedit alia elatior aspectu, & voce truculentior; clamitans vesanum esse, immodestum, impium voluptatis magistrum, omni denique spurcitie, quæ decet porcum ex* Epicuri *grege, inquinitatum esse. Ego vero nunquam animum meum inducere potui ut* [illegible] Pomponii Attici, *castissimi viri familiarem, Ciceronis delicias, & eximium suæ ætatis ornamentum tot vitiis (de impietate aptior enim dicendi locus) fœdatum: Testes igitur quæro, sed nullibi inveniam; scripta evolvo, at in illis omnia longè dissimilia; multa adversus metum fortiter, intemperantiam severè, libidinem castè disputantur, quæ hortari ad virtutes, ab avaritia, ambitione, luxuria possint deterrere plurima: & qui ad illius præcepta vitam moresque componit, illum privati habebimus integerrimum amicum, civem Reipublicæ.*

The Jesuit *Possevin*, full, as he is, of Scruples, and as earnest as he has been, in advising (g) not to suffer Students to read some Places of *Lucretius*, is yet of Opinion, that they ought to be shewn the fine Precepts of Morality, which are in this Poet, upon the Contempt of Death; the avoiding of Love, and upon the Means of bridling the Passions, and of procuring a Tranquillity of Soul.

(g) Possevin. Bibliothec. selecta, Tom. 2. lib. 17. c. 23. pag. 432.

(h) Id. ib. pag. 433.

Non negaverim perlegi posse (h) in Lucretio quæ de morte contemnenda, de amore fugiendo, de coercendis cupiditatibus, de sedandis animorum motibus, de mentis tranquillitate comparanda .... disputat.

(GA) *He might perhaps have discovered something unaccountable, which took a Pleasure in molesting meaner Conditions; but perhaps too.*] There are few but take notice how the World generally complains, that Infirmity and Death seize the dear Objects of their Love, more commonly than indifferent or hated People. See such a one, say they, he loved his Wife and had good Reason for it; he lost her the 2d. Year of their Marriage, and is not to be comforted: And, whilst he laments this dismal Separation, many a Husband has passed after a Score of Widowhood for twenty Years together, and is still threaten'd with the long Life of his Mate. Observe this Widow, how she mourns, Night and Day, her good Husband carried off by Death in the Flower of his Age: A 100 other Husbands enjoy a perfect Health for a great many Years together, and shall live on several Years longer, and persist in abusing their Wives, without Rime or Reason. Should they happen to dye, Patience would be no Vertue in their Houses. Comfort, Repose, and good Housewifery would there agreeably reign together; and therefore 'tis to be fear'd they live to prevent it. A Child is lately buried, an only Son, the Joy of his Father and Mother's Heart: He was a Youth of promising Hopes, and worthy to succeed to the great Estate he was born to; Death has singled him out, amidst a hundred others, whom she has spar'd, and who are a burthen to their Families. That worthy Man, who made so good use of his Parts, and Riches, is lately dead. His Life was very short; he never enjoy'd a Day of Health: And, if his Constitution had been stronger, he would have done more Service to the World. He is dead, an[illegible]'s in the Neighbourhood are perfectly well, [illegible]ever knew what Sickness is; who seek only [illegible]urb all the World besides, and who abuse th[illegible]h, their Wit, and their Riches, to the oppressi[illegible]nocence, and scandalizing the Publick by a v[illegible]ife. Observe yon Rogue, a Vagabond, and Prof[illegible]te; he fell from the third Story, and never hurt himself. A Gentleman's Son, an only Son, an honest Man, would have dash'd his Brains to Pieces. My Readers will all own, that such Complaints are daily heard; and 'tis even a common Thing. That the Wishes of the Publick, for a wicked Man's Death, have a particular Virtue to prolong his Life. It would be easie to explain this, from the Hypothesis of these Jealous, Envious, and Malignant Powers, which the Heathens admitted. Good Divinity may reason solidly hereupon; but what could *Lucretius* say?

If there were really Deities, who repin'd at the Prosperities of Men, and delighted to mortify 'em, they would doubtless affect to destroy an only Son in the Flower of his Age, [illegible]band tenderly beloved, a Wife, who was the [illegible]ness of her Spouse; and, at the same time, [illegible] over a Villain, who was a Heart-breaking to h[illegible]er and Mother, and preserve a Husband and Wife, [illegible]no were Plagues to one another. Were they to put a Family in Mourning, they would chuse out a Child of the greatest Hopes, and most beloved; and were they to [illegible]ute a Parish, they would reduce to Affliction su[illegible]were the Support of it, by their Charity and [illegible]ense: They would consign 'em to the Bed of [illegible]ss, and afterwards to the Grave; and protect the Wicked from all Harm and Danger. They would delight in mortifying the Publick, by preserving the Objects of their Curses, and speedily destroying the Objects of their Hopes, the Delights of Mankind, the *Marcellus*'s and *Germanicus*'s. Consider what *Tacitus* says, in describing *Germanicus*'s Triumph, and the Disturbance that glorious Day bred in the Mind of those, who remember'd, that the Favour of the *Roman* People imported Misfortune.

(i) Tacitus Annal. lib. 2. cap. 41.

Augebat (i) imaginem ejus eximia ipsius (Germanici) *species, currusque quinque liberis onustus: sed superabat occulta formido reputantibus, haud prosperum in Druso patre ejus favorem vulgi, avunculum ejusdem Marcellum flagrantibus plebis studiis intra juventam ereptum, breves & infaustos populi Romani amores.* Every one knows *Virgil*'s Reflection, that *Marcellus* died young, that the Fates were content just to shew him to the World, because the Gods thought that *Rome* would be too potent, if she long enjoy[illegible]

Ostendent (k) terris hunc tantum fata; neque ultra
Esse sinent: nimium vobis Romana propago
Visa potens, Superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.

(k) Virgil. Æn. lib. 6. v. 870.

'Tis probable, *Virgil* had an eye to the Jealousy attributed to the Gods; but our Divines reason on Principles infinitely more solid. They don't deny in general the Distinctions, which a prophane and impious Heathen would call a studying to vex Men, a Respect of Persons, or even pure Malice, and Envy of Fate: They find in these Distinctions, a Providence full of Goodness, Wisdom and Justice. God weans us from those whom we love most tenderly: He does it with a Design to dis-unite us from the Earth, and to teach us, that the true Good ought to be sought after in Heaven above. He suffers us to be long exposed to Domestick Miseries, in order to prove our Patience, and to purify us in this Crucible. He lengthens out the Days of the Wicked, in order to punish the Sins of Men. They are the Scourges of his Justice; and no Body suffers more than he has deserv'd. Thus good D[illegible] finds nothing inexplicable in all this; but [illegible] *Lucretius* nor *Epicurus* could have easily solved [illegible] Difficulty. They might perhaps have denied the Fact, and maintain'd, that the Authors of the Murmurs, Complaints and Observations, we have seen above, compute a-miss. 'Tis customary for a Man not to reckon enough on [illegible], and to reckon too much on the other. Let a [illegible]ed Man, or a wicked Husband dye suddenly; [illegible]bserved for the present, but a Man quickly forgets his Reflection upon it. But if an honest Man, or a good Husband be nipt in the Bud; this is attentively considered, and never forgotten, the Memory being

a lasti-

Beginning (H) of his Poem to be a good Argument of his contradicting himself, and for-taking his Syſtem at the very firſt Line of his Book. They would have Reaſon, if (I) this Invoca-

a faithful Regiſter. Perhaps as many hated Children die, according to the Wiſhes of their Parents, as only idolized Sons. The Death of the former makes no Noiſe, 'tis but lightly reflected on; but the Death of the other raiſes a thouſand Out-cries and Reflections. Beſides this, we muſt know, that Men are naturally more inclin'd to complain of their Deſtiny, than commend it; and falſly imagine, on a thouſand Occaſions, that their Neighbour's Proſperity exceeds (a) their own. There are ſome ſo ungrateful, and impertinent, as to ſay, *My Son is dead of his Wound; if he had been another's, he would have recovered.* Add, that *Lucretius* would have recourſe to his Phyſicks. Wonder not, he would have ſaid, that a Son, tenderly beloved, ſhould die ſooner, than another, who has lived unregarded; the latter grows robuſt, he hardens himſelf in all Weathers: The other is ſoftned by his effeminate Education, and the leaſt Indiſpoſition carries him off. A young Man of extraordinary Parts is ſickly, and dies before he is thirty Years old: A Sot, a Booby is never ſick, or at leaſt recovers from the violenteſt Diſtemper, and lives to be very old. Have you kept a Regiſter, would *Lucretius* anſwer, of all the Learned of the firſt Rank, who have lived to eighty; and of all the Block-heads who have not attained to Man's Eſtate? Reſume your Counters, and calculate better, you'll find your Accounts are wrong. But after all, what wonder is it, that a great Wit ſhould not be of a ſtrong Complexion. His Contexture is of a finer Web of Atoms, and of the ſlighteſt Wale; and therefore his Reſiſtance to extraneous Bodies muſt be very feeble. A luſty Clown is compounded of more maſſy and ſtrong wrought Parts; and therefore muſt laſt the longer. If the Atoms of Imagination are in a very rapid Motion, they diſorder and diſplace ſeveral Parts of the lucid Train, opening Breaches, by which there evaporates abundance of other Atoms, which are neceſſary to the maintaining of other Organs. The Machine muſt therefore neceſſarily exhauſt it ſelf, and the Principles of Life quickly corrupt. So much for the Explication of the Axiom.

(a) Fertilior ſeges eſt alienis ſemper in agris, Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet. *Ovid de arte amandi, lib. 1. pag. m.* 165.

Immodicis (b) brevis eſt ætas, & rara ſenectus.
Telle (c) eſt la loi du Ciel, nul excés n'eſt durable,
S'il paſſe le commun il paſſe promptement.

(b) *Martial. lib. 6. epigr.* 29.

(c) *See the Letters of* Buſſi Rabutin, *part* 4. *letter* 369. *pag.* 479. Dutch *Edit.*

Theſe Anſwers, which I ſuppoſe *Lucretius* would have given, ought to ſatisfy as to all that is contained in the Beginning of this Remark.

(H) *The Invocation at the Beginning of his Poem.*] The Baron *des Coutures* (d) obſerves, That *this Invocation has ſurprized a great many of the Learned, as being contrary to* Epicurus's *Doctrine.* Lambinus, adds he, *cites a* Florentine, *who pretends to have found the Reaſon of it, becauſe this Philoſopher having maintain'd, that our Crimes provoked not the Anger of the Gods, nor our good Actions their Benefits, admitted however our Prayers, and owned, that they heard thoſe of Men.* I don't examine, whether, from *Epicurus*'s profeſſing to honour the Gods, we may be allowed to conclude, that he profeſs'd alſo to invoke 'em, and to expect a Return to his Prayers. There is no Conſequence between theſe two Things, We may eſteem, reſpect, and venerate a Being on the account of the Perfection of its Nature, without addreſſing our Prayers to it; as perſuaded, that it concern'd it ſelf in nothing, and diſpens'd neither Good nor Evil. Nor yet do I trouble my ſelf to enquire, whether *Epicurus* might not pretend to honour the Deity, only to ſecure himſelf from the Puniſhments eſtabliſh'd againſt Atheiſm. I refer my Reader (e) to a Tract of the learned Mr. *du Rondel.* But I venture to affirm, that *Lucretius* did not invoke the Goddeſs *Venus*, in conforming to the Principles this *Florentine* aſcribes to *Epicurus*, that the Gods are worthy of our Prayers, though they do not govern the World. *I am not of* Lambinus's *Opinion*, ('tis the Baron *des Coutures* that ſpeaks) *who applauds this* Florentine; *nor does he himſelf explain the thing better, by adding, that* Lucretius, *perhaps, addreſs'd himſelf to* Venus, *according to the Cuſtom of the Poets: And that it was not as a Philoſopher that he pretended, her Charms could obtain Peace of* Mars, *as the* Romans *deſired*; or, *becauſe* Epicurus *placed the Supreme Good in the Abſence of Pain, that he addreſs'd himſelf to the Miſtreſs of Pleaſures*; or, *laſtly, becauſe ſhe was the Mother of* Æneas, *from whom deſcended the Founder of* Rome: *For my part, I maintain, that* Lucretius *did not deſert the Notion of* Epicurus, *in the Invocation of* Venus, *it being neither a Sally of Poetry, nor a* Roman *Acknowledgment, but a Reflection of Philoſophy. He did not look upon the Miſtreſs of* Mars *to be a Goddeſs, ſince he himſelf in the ſecond Book ſays, that* Bacchus *and Wine,* Ceres *and Corn, are the ſame Thing: Nor did he any more imagine, that* Mars *was a God; but, as he was writing a Poem concerning the Nature of Things, could be better addreſs himſelf, than to Generation, which he means by the Mother of the Loves; and whom all the Naturaliſts have acknowledged for that ſecret Appetite, which is given every Species for its Propagation.* This removes not the Difficulty; for 'tis certain *Lucretius* conſidered *Venus* after their Ideas, who took her for a Goddeſs. He does not conſider her as the Natural Paſſion, which induces Sexes to unite: For in that Notion, *Venus* is no more the Mother of *Æneas*, than *Epicurus*, and yet he firſt Characterizes her by the Epithet of *Æneadum genetrix.* That which, in my Opinion, is moſt reaſonable to believe, is, that all this is only a Sport of Wit. *Lucretius* ſeeing all the Poets invoke the Muſes at the Beginning of any great Work, was not willing his Poem ſhould be deſtitute of an Ornament of this kind: He therefore ſets out with an Invocation of *Venus*, as the propereſt Deity for a Naturaliſt. But he no ways pretends, that this was an Act of Religion; or that *Venus*, whom he celebrates with ſo many Praiſes, was an Intelligent Being: He has not therefore acted againſt his Principles. I ſhould ſooner accuſe *Lipſius*, of committing an Act of Heathen Idolatry in the Verſes (b) he addreſs'd to the Planet *Venus*, in behalf of his Garden, than aſcribe to our *Lucretius* an Act of Religion, from the Prayer he Addreſſes to the Mother of *Æneas*. Note, That abundance of Chriſtian Poets, infinitely greater Enemies to the Heathen Gods, than *Lucretius* was, ſolemnly invoke the Muſes, or *Bacchus* in their Poems. This is imitating the Ancients, and not performing any Act of Religion; for they have not a thought of invoking the Deity. Note alſo (i), That this Invocation of *Lipſius ad ſtellam Venerem*, and *Lucretius*'s Invocation have been parallell'd, with a Deſign to convict *Lipſius* of an Impiety; but this it could not be, unleſs we ſuppoſe his Prayer ſomething more than a Sport of Wit. But 'twas no more.

By the way, the *Florentine*, mention'd by the Baron *des Coutures*, is the Learned *Peter Victorius*. Mr. *Minutoli* writ me Word of it in 1693. Here are his Words ſomewhat more at large than I gave 'em in the Article of *Epicurus*. "There's in the ſame (m) Col-"lection, at the 19th Page, a Letter of *Petrus Victo-"rius* to *John della Caſa*, Arch-biſhop of *Benevento*, "which turns upon the Queſtion, whether the Poet "*Lucretius*, who, in the Beginning of his Poem, in-"vokes *Venus*, does not in that contradict the Doctrine "of his Patron *Epicurus*; and whether this is conſi-"ſtent with the Inactivity aſcribed to the Gods, by "this Philoſopher. Doth Mr. *du Rondel*, whoſe "Work I have not read, and who endeavours to "make an Apology for *Epicurus* in this Point, men-"tion this Difficulty, or cite this Letter?" *Tycho Brahe* was conſulted upon this Queſtion by *Iſaac Pontanus* in the Year 1596, and gave this judicious Anſwer. *Ad queſtionem illam jocoſam*, ſays he (n), *& nonnihil Criticam antiqui Lucretii, cum is ſectam Philoſophorum Deos eorumque providentiam inficiantium profiteretur, Venerem nihilominus, Æneadum genitricem, primordio ſui operis, ejuſque opem imploret, non habeo ſerio dicere, quomodo hæc reſolvenda ſit, ſi quidem non ad Veneris ſidus cæleſte, quod nos una cum cæteris ſubinde ſcrutamur, ſed ad terreſtrem illam Venerem, Æneadum, uti fingebant Poetæ, matrem, & aliorum quoque hominum genitricem pertineat.... (a) Si quid tamen in his noſtri valent luſus, crediderim Lucretium ad imitationem aliorum Poetarum ſic exorſum eſſe, non quod revera aliquam Deam, quæ Venus appellaretur, aut ulla alia numina ſtatueret. Ideoque ſub hoc nomine voluptatem corpoream, quam etiam Deum ſubinde noncupare non veretur, intelexiſſe arbitror.*

(I) *They would have reaſon, if...: this Invocation were any thing more than a Sport of Wit.*] Before we quit this Subject, we muſt ſay, that had *Lucretius* invoked either *Venus* or *Calliope*, in a Perſwaſion, that his Prayer would procure him any Aſſiſtance, he'd have contradicted himſelf in a manner not only unworthy of a Philoſopher, but even of a Man any way capable of Reaſoning. For he ſcarce has finiſhed this pretended Invocation to *Mars*'s Miſtreſs (b), when he

(d) *Remarks on the firſt Book of* Lucretius *at the Beginning pag.* 340.

(e) *Jacob Rondellus, de vita & moribus Epicuri, Amſtelod.* 1693. *in* 12°. *See the Article* Epicurus, *Remark K.*

(f) *Ubi ſupra, pag.* 343.

(b) *You'll find 'em at the end of the* 27 *Letter of the firſt Miſcellaneous Century.*

(i) *Georgius Thomſon. in vindice veritatis, pag.* 3.

(k) Aut ergo tu ludis in precibus, & votis ad Venerem: aut Venus eſt tibi verus Deus. *Id. ibid, pag.* 2.

(m) *This is the Volume of Letters collected by* John Michael Brutus.

(n) *See the Letters publiſhed by Mr* Matthæus, *at* Leiden, *in* 1695. *in* 8vo. *pag.* 162.

(a) *Ibid pag.* 163.

(b) Nam tu ſola potes tranquilla pace juvare Morraleis: quoniam belli fera munera Mavors Armipotens regit; in gremium qui ſæpe tuum ſe Reficit, æterno devinctus vulnere amoris. *Lucret. lib. 1. v.* 32.

Invocation were any thing more than a Sport of Wit, by which he meant to accommodate himself, in some sort, to a Poetical Custom. It is easily shown, that he has, [illegible] several Occasions, adapted his Style to the (IΔ) common Language, and to the Opinions

(c) *See the Remark E.*

Whether *Epicurus* could possibly have reconciled his System to the publick Worship, and deceived the *Athenians.*

he lays down as a Principle, that the Gods concern not themselves, nor intermeddle with any kind of Affair (c); and throughout his whole Book he makes it his chief Business to explain the *Phænomena* of Nature, by the Motion of Atoms, and to confute those who account for 'em by the Ministration of the Gods. It can't be hence inferr'd, either that he did not believe their Existence, or had no Respect and Veneration for 'em: For, according to his Principles, it is not absurd, there should be Beings formed much more perfect than Man, content with their own Conditions, and no way curious either about knowing or reforming the Actions of others. And as it is most certain, that we admire, with great Veneration, the Merit of some great Men, though we never received any Benefit from 'em nor expect any Favour in Reversion, nor fear any evil Office, nothing hinders, but that *Epicurus*'s Followers might have had an actual Veneration for the Gods. But it may very well be inferr'd from *Lucretius*'s System, that he could not seriously invoke them; and that he look'd upon all the Worship, practis'd at *Rome*, the Vows, Sacrifices, Feasts, *&c.* as wholly insignificant. A Reflection offers here upon the Conduct of the *Athenian* Priests, with respect to *Epicurus*. They had several Times brought the Philosphers to Punishment, whom they accused of Atheism, and they vigorously prosecuted *Anaxagoras* for one simple Act of Profanation (d). How comes it then that they did not teaze *Epicurus?* Was it because he had no Personal Quarrel with 'em, as those they prosecuted sometimes had, and whom perhaps they would not have accus'd of any Irreligion, if it were not to gratify their private Passions, under the Cloak of Piety? Was it because *Epicurus* politickly conformed to the Religion of the Publick, and openly approved it? I believe indeed, they were capable of being satisfied with the Exterior, as the World is at present, without desiring to canvass the Thoughts: But was it not necessary, as at present, that this Exterior should be observed, even in Books and Lectures? Would they suffer a Man to dogmatize in the Schools, contrary to what he profess'd in the Streets or Temple? It's hard to imagine this. Nevertheless, *Epicurus*'s System formally and clearly opposed the Worship of the Gods as practised by the *Athenians:* He could only compromise with the Esteem, the Respect, and Praises of the Gods; but no ways with the Prayers, Sacrifices, and Acts of Repentance. Thus all the Inconveniences, that were to be feared from Atheism, the Destruction of our Confidence in the Protection of Heaven, the Ruin of our Hopes of Happiness by living well, and of our Fears of Misery by living ill: All these Inconveniences, I say, without one Exception, flowed as naturally and as necessarily from *Epicurus*'s Doctrine, as from that of the Atheists. The least discerning Head must easily comprehend, that all the Practices of Religion are founded not upon the Doctrine of the Existence of God, but upon that of his Providence: Since therefore *Epicurus* was tolerated in a City, which punish'd Atheists, it follows, that there was with them, respect of Persons, and that they had double Weights and double Measures: Or else, that the *Athenians*, so Politick and Delicate in other Respects, were very stupid in Point of Religion. They suffer'd themselves to be play'd upon like Children; not perceiving, that in dogmatizing, like *Epicurus*, a Man laugh'd at 'em, if he profess'd, that he approved the Use of Sacrifices, and Prayers, and all the other Parts of Publick Worship. This Reason I should think very strong to prove, that this Philosopher taught the Providence of God, as Mr. *du Rondel* pretends, did I not see *Lucretius* manifestly comparing Providence, without any Subterfuge of Equivocation, or leaving any room for such Apologies as are made for *Epicurus*, and yet living in an entire Tranquillity at *Rome*, a City no less Jealous of Religion, nor less severe against Atheists, than *Athens*. Note, by the way, that the good Morals of a Man, who owns, with *Lucretius*, the Existence, Holiness, Goodness, Immortality of God, without acknowledging his Providence, are as good a Proof of this Position, *Atheism is not necessarily joined with bad Morals*, as the Proof drawn from the good Life of those, who should deny the Providence of God, and his Existence all at once: For 'tis plain, that the Belief of the Existence, without the Belief of a Providence, can be no Motive to Vertue, nor Restraint to Vice.

(d) Miror cur Anaxagoras reus factus sit quia solem esse dixit lapidem ardentem, negans utique Deum, cum in eadem civitate gloria floruerit Epicurus, vixeritque securus; non solum solem vel ullam syderum Deum esse non credens, sed nec Jovem nec ullum deorum omnino in mundo habitare contendens, ad quem preces hominum supplicationesque perveniant. *August. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 18, *c.* 41.

(IΔ) *He has accommodated his Style to the common Language.*] I'll give only two Examples. He believed, that Heaven and Earth would [illegible] for *ever*; and he declares to him, to whom he dedicated his Book, that the Destruction of the World might perhaps happen in their Days; and adds, Fortune, which governs all things, avert this Evil far from us.

(e) *Dictis dabit ipsa fidem res*
Forsitan, & graviter terrarum motibus orbis
Omnia conquassari in parvo tempore cernes:
QUOD PROCUL A NOBIS FLECTAT (f) *FORTUNA GUBERNANS:*
Et [illegible]*us, quàm res persuadeat ipsa,*
Succlamare [illegible]*risono posse omnia victa fragore.*

(e) *Lucret. lib.* 5. *v.* 105. *p. m.* 255.

(f) *Some Manuscripts have* Natura: *It's the same thing as to the Sense. See the Commentary of* Lambinus *in hunc locum, pag. m.* 593.

'Tis plain, that the Vow, or Wish, or Prayer he puts up here, proceeded only from a Habit he had got of speaking like other Men. He daily convers'd with People, whose Language was fill'd with Parentheses, which might have been call'd Religious, if they had not been an Effect of Custom rather than an act of Reflection. His Wife, his Maid, his Friends, and all the *Romans* in general, were accustom'd to lumm in a solemn Wish in the relating any ill Presage, or sad Accident. *Deus [illegible], God avert*, said they; if any Misfortune should happen, *quod abominor, which God forbid.* Authors likewise made use of these ways of Speech, (g) *Di, prohibete minas, Di, talem avertite casum.* I question not, that *Lucretius*, being used from his Childhood to these Forms of Discourse, used 'em in familiar Conversation, without any Reserve, or only substituting the Term *Natura* or *Fortuna* in the room of *Deus*. Thus the Protestants have substituted the Parenthesis, *God receive his Soul*, instead of that, *God absolve him.* The Roman Catholicks use the latter, when they mention their deceased Relations; but as this could not agree with those who denyed a Purgatory, the Protestants have not admitted it; but however have accommodated themselves to Custom by a Phrase placed like the other, and turn'd according to the Maxims of their Religion. *Lucretius* being accustom'd by his Reading and Conversation to this kind of Parenthesis, inferred the Vow or Wish we have seen above. Nothing was more vain than this in the Hypothesis he maintain'd; and it can't be pretended, that he was ignorant of the Inconsistency of such a Wish, with the Doctrine of Atoms: He very well knew, that That Nature or Fortune, which shov'd 'em on, was unable to change or suspend their Course, or even to hear the Desires of Men. If the Trains of their Motion were such as must speedily bring on the Dissolution of the World; this Dissolution was inevitable; the devoutest Prayers of Mankind, Sacrifices and Processions, could not give the least Delay. How then comes *Lucretius* to invoke Nature or [illegible] to put off to another time the Destruction of the Earth? 'Twas because he sometimes spoke according to the current Style. *Note*, That the Doctrine of Fatality did not exclude all Wishes; for, without departing from his Principles, *Epicurus* might be allowed to wish, that the Disposition of Atoms might be favourable to his Health. He could not have desired that it should alter, but only have wish'd, that their Nature might incline 'em to such or such Purposes. *Lucretius* goes farther, as appears by his Expressions. So much for the first Point.

(g) *Virgil. Æn. lib.* 3. *v.* 365.

The second is not very different from it, since immediately after the six Verses, I have related, we find this.

(a) *Qua (a) prius aggrediar quàm de re fundere fata*
Sanctius, & multo certa ratione magis, quàm
Pythia quæ tripode è Phœbi lauroque profatur;
Multa tibi expediam dictis solatia dictis.

(a) *Lucret. ubi supra. v.* 111.

Here he promises much more certain Oracles, than those of *Delphi*, and he made use of the same Comparison, in another Place, to heighten the Importance of the Doctrine of the ancient [illegible] Philosophers.

(b) *Quamquam (b) multa bene ac divinitus invenientes*
Ex ambiguo tamquam certa responsa dedêre
Sanctius, & multo certa ratione magis, quàm
Pythia quæ tripode ex Phœbi, lauroque profatur.

(b) *Id. lib.* 5. *v.* 737. *pag.* 40. 41.

Is not that, in both these Passages, he expresses himself according to the Ideas of the People, and not according to the Principles of his Sect? For, in his Notion, the Answers of *Apollo*'s Priestess were only the Dreams of a distempered Brain; or an ignorant Impostor. He acknowledged no Divinity in the Oracles:

It

[illegible], which he reckoned vulgar Errors. It's pretended, that he was (K) a Diſciple of *Zeno*. They who have criticized this, have not ſucceeded the beſt in the World. As we confute (L) Mr. *Moreri*, and ſome other (M) Writers, we ſhall ſay ſeveral Things concerning *Lucretius*. They who deſire to know the Elogies, that have been given him, need only conſult the Authors, whom *Barthius* * points out to us. Mr. *Creech* who, in 1695, [illegible] an Edition † of this Poet, accompanied with an excellent Paraphraſe, and fine No[illegible]d before publiſhed an *Engliſh* Tranſlation of it. 'Tis pity ſo good an Author had no[illegible]nger Life ‡, and that his End was, in ſome meaſure, like that of the *Roman* Author, whom he had tranſlated and paraphras'd. I am certain, the Abbot of *Marolle*'s *French*

* *Comment. in Statium Tom.* 1. *pag.* 261.
† *Printed at* Oxford *in* 8vo.
‡ *He died in* 1700, *before he was full* 40. *See the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres Sept. 1700 *pag.* 331.

it was not therefore giving the higheſt Idea of a Philoſophical Doctrine, to affirm it excell'd the Delphick Oracles. 'Tis as much as if we ſhou'd affirm, that *Deſcartes*'s Notions deſerve more to be minded, than the Prophecies of your ſtrolling Gypſies, [illegible] Fortune-Tellers. 'Tis plain then, that *Lucretius* [illegible] his Language to popular Opinions: And it [illegible] ridiculous cavilling to maintain, that the Force [illegible] Truth ſometimes drew Expreſſions from him, which overturn'd his Syſtem, and convicted him of groſs Contradiction; for Example, where he owns in two Places of his Poems, that there was ſomething Divine, Super-natural, and Prophetical, in the Oracles of *Apollo*.

(K) *A Diſciple of* Zeno.] If we once admit their Opinion, who ſay, that *Lucretius* was ſent to *Athens* to ſtudy, it can hardly be [illegible]ed, but he was one of *Zeno*'s Diſciples, the [illegible]*us*'s School at that time. Accordingly we ſee, that *Lambinus* and *Gifanius* joined theſe two Opinions together. (c) *Credibile eſt Lucretium.... ſeſe Athenas contuliſſe ibique Zenonem illum Epicurorum Coryphæum audiviſſe.* This is what *Lambinus* ſays: The following Words are *Gifanius*'s. (d) *Præerant hortis eo tempore Zeno acriculus ille ſenex, & Phædr[illegible]homo, ut Cicero ait, humaniſſimus, itaque his vi[illegible] præceptoribus Titus, quos etiam Atticus paulo lice[illegible] poeta grandior audivit.* The Baron *des Coutures* has trod in the ſame Steps. *'Tis probable*, ſays he (e) *that* Lucretius *went to* Athens, *where* Zeno, *who was the Honour of the* Epicurean *Sect, had procured a general Eſteem.* A Letter has been inſerted (f) in the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, containing ſome Reflections againſt this Baron. The laſt is this: *Laſtly, the fifth Blunder is, that* Zeno *is ſaid to be the Honour of the* Epicurean *Sect, whereas he is acknowledged to be the Head of the* Stoicks. The Critick did not obſerve, that there were more *Zeno*'s than one: He thought the Founder of the Stoicks was meant, and upon this Foot he ſhould have found in the Words he cenſured a notable Fault in Chronology, which he does not mention. *Zeno*, the Chief of the *Stoicks*, died the firſt Year of the 129 Olympiad: So that his Death muſt have preceded the Birth of *Lucretius* above 160 Years. He ought therefore to have ſuſpected, that the Author he cenſured, h[illegible] in view, different from the Founder of the [illegible]. And if this Suſpicion had put him upon the Inquiry, he would probably have found, that there was a famous *Epicurean*, named *Zeno* (g), who taught at *Athens* in *Lucretius*'s Time.

(c) *Lambinus in vita Epicuri.*
(d) *In vita Epicuri.*
(e) *In the Life of* Lucretius.
(f) *Tom.* 22. *pag.* 185, [illegible]
(g) *He was of* Sidon. *See* Laërtius *de* [illegible] *vo*[illegible] *Rh*[illegible] *p.g.* [illegible]

(L) *We confute Mr.* Moreri.] I. He ought not to have ſaid, that our Poet was called *T. Carus Lucretius*. *Carus* was not his Name, but his Sir-name, *Cognomen*. II. By theſe Words, *Roman* by Nation, *Moreri* doubtleſs meant, that *Lucretius* was born at *Rome*. This is ill expreſſing his Thought; for where is the Author ſo exact as to ſtick to ſay, that *Cicero* and *Livy* were *Romans* by Nation, as *Demoſthenes* and *Thucydides* were *Greeks* by Nation? III. We have no Proof that *Lucretius* was born at *Rome*: Mr. *Moreri* therefore ought not peremptorily to have given him this Birth-place. IV. Much leſs ought he to have ſaid, that *Lucretius* himſelf declares, he was a Native of *Rome*: I have found in *Lucretius* but one Paſſage, which gives any ground to ſay, that he calls it his Native City: [illegible] this Paſſage is of no Force. 'Tis this.

(b) *Lucret. lib.* 1. *circa init.*
(i) *Lambinus & Gifanius in vita Lucretii. Thomas Creech Præf. ad Lucretii Oxonii editi* 1695.

Funde, [illegible]s placidam Romanis inclita pacem,
Nam neque [illegible]gere hoc patriâ tempore iniquo
Poſſumus æquo animo.

Cicero, Livy, Florus, Seneca, who were all born out of *Rome*, would have ſpoke juſt the ſame way. All the Inhabitants of a Country might ſay, in the time [illegible] Civil War, that their Country is afflicted, though the particular Place of their Birth was exempt from the publick Calamity. Learneder Men (i) than *Moreri* have affirmed what he affirms. Mr. *Morhofius* ſomewhat wiſer, you'll ſay, than the reſt, has uſed the Particle, *Perhaps*; but 'tis certain, that his *Forte* relates to another Doubt: Threfore we can't reckon him amongſt thoſe who poſitively ſay, *Lucretius* was born in *Rome* (k) it ſelf. V. He ſhould not have affirmed, that *Lucretius*'s *Relations ſent him to ſtudy at* Athens. 'Tis, I confeſs, very probable, but yet, ſince there is no Proof of it, he ſhould have mention'd this by way of Conjecture; or at moſt have been content to ſay, as *Gifanius* has done, that no one doubted it. (l) *Adoleſcentulus autem*, ſays he, *quin à parentibus, ſeu propinquis, conſiderata ejus ad bona artes nata pene divina indole, Athenas more patrio ſit miſſus, Athenas non ita pridem à P. Sulla crudeliter vaſtatas, non dubito, poſtulat hoc Romanorum conſuetudo, ac doctrinæ ratio.* VI. 'Tis not true, that *Velleius Paterculus* and *Cicero* have ſaid, that *Lucretius*'s Eloquence *rendred him the ſublimeſt of all the Poets of his Time*. *Cicero* ſpeaks of him but once; nor is it certainly known whether the Praiſes he gives him, are great or moderate; for the Learned are divided about the reading of his Paſſage (m): Some (n) will have it, that there was not ſo much Wit in *Lucretius*'s Poem, though there was a great deal of Art: Others (o) will have it, that this Work ſparkled with a great many bright Thoughts, [illegible]at, nevertheleſs, there was a great deal of [illegible]t. Take the moſt favourable Reading you [illegible] *Cicero* won't be found to ſay, what Mr. *Moreri* aſcribes to him. As for *Velleius Paterculus*, he is content to place *Lucretius* in the Liſt of great Wits; (p) *eminentium ingeniorum notare tempora*: He has ſaid nothing particular of him. VII. 'Tis no ſmall Fault to ſay, that *a Woman, named* Lucilia gave *Lucretius* a Love-Philtre, which threw him into a ſtrange Phrenzy. This is omitting one Capital Circumſtance, to wit, that *Lucilia* is ſaid (q) to be *Lucretius*'s Wife. VIII. *Cicero, Velleius Paterculus*, and *Cæſar*, don't *ſpeak of another, who was probably Brother or Uncle to the Poet*. 'Tis very true, that he whom *Cicero* and *Cæſar* ſpeaks of, the former in his Letter (r) to *Atticus*, the latter in the Civil War, is the ſame Man: But he whom *Velleius Paterculus* ſpeaks of, is another, and probably the ſame who harangued better than he pleaded.

(k) *Words are applied.* Livia virum ſuum occidit quem nimis oderat, Lucilia ſunm, quem nimis amaverat. Lloyd *aſcribes 'em to* Seneca, *but wrongfully.* (l) *Epiſt.* 4. *Lib.* 8. (m) Lambinus in vita Lucretii, *ſub fin. See alſo his Notes on* Horace. (n) *Paſſing by* Florence *I happened to meet with a Commentary of* Victorius, *on a Book of* Ariſtotle; *in which this peeviſh Commentator taxes* Virgil, *good God! what a Raſhneſs! what an Attempt! with miſtaking one Word for another, and with being leſs pure and genuine, in his Diction, than* Lucretius. Balzac 3. defenſe a Menandre p. m. 405. des œuvres diverſes. (o) *Morhof. de Patavin.* [illegible], p. 150. (p) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 36. (q) *Tu to her theſe*

* *Comment. in Statium Tom.* 1. *pag.* 261.
† *Printed at* Oxford *in* 8vo.
‡ *He died in* 1700, *before he was full* 40. *See the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres Sept. 1700 *pag.* 331.
(k) Ecques ergo in tota hac aureæ ætatis claſſe qui perſpicuum hac cenſeri debebat urbanitas, Romanos habebimus præter duos forte Lucretium & J. Cæſarem. *Morhofius de Patavinitate Liviana, p.* 156.
(l) *Ubi ſupra.*
(m) Lucretii poemata, ut ſcribis, lita ſunt multis luminibus ingenii, multa tamen artis. *Cicero ad Quintum fratrem l.* 2. *fol. m.* 105. *A.* Some pretend it ſhould be *non ita*, and not *lita*.
(n) *Charles Stephens, Glandorp, Lloyd, Hofman, Baillet, Pope Blount*, &c.
(o) *Tanquillus Faber, le Baron des Coutures*, &c.
(p) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 36.
(q) *Tu to her theſe*

(M) *And ſome other Writers.*] See above the Remark B. The Baron *des Coutures* makes *Lambinus* ſay, that *Lucretius*'s Elocution is preferable to that of *Cæſar* or *Cicero*. He muſt have uſed a different Edition from that I have conſulted, where I have found theſe Words. (t) *Hoc non dubitanter affirmabo nullum in tota lingua latina ſcriptorem Lucretio Latine mellius eſſe locutum: non M. Tullii, non C. Cæſaris orationem eſſe puriorem.* Some thing like this might be imputed to *Peter Victorius*; for he boldly preferr'd (u) *Lucretius* before *Virgil*. 'Tis ſurprizing, after the fore-going Paſſage, to find *Lambinus* accuſ'd of ſaying, that *Lucretius*'s Latin was bad. (b) *Quo reſpexit forte Dionyſius Lambinus cum Lucretium malum latinitatis autorem vocat, qua tamen cum ſententia ille minime audiendus eſt. Borrichius* ſuppoſes, that *Cicero, Aulus Gellius*, and *Scaliger*, had praiſed *Lucretius* for writing the pureſt *Latin*. (c) *Certe puriſſima latinitatis eſſe omnia in confeſſo eſt.... laudatumque hoc nomine* Ciceroni, Gellio, Scaligero, *alias*. We have ſeen above, that *Cicero*'s Elogy had no relation to the Purity of Style. *Glandorp* (d) is miſtaken in ſuppoſing, that *Lucretius* followed *Empedocles*'s Opinions: If he had conſidered the firſt Book *de rerum Natura*, where *Empedocles* is confuted, he would not have ſaid this.

(t) Lambinus in vita Lucretii, *ſub fin. See alſo his Notes on* Horace. (u) *Paſſing by* Florence *I happened to meet with a Commentary of* Victorius, *on a Book of* Ariſtotle; *in which this peeviſh Commentator taxes* Virgil, *good God! what a Raſhneſs! what an Attempt! with miſtaking one Word for another, and with being leſs pure and genuine, in his Diction, than* Lucretius. Balzac 3. defenſe a Menandre p. m. 405. des œuvres diverſes. (b) *Morhof. de Patavin.* [illegible], p. 150. (c) *Borrichius de poetis Latinis, p.* 45. (d) *Onomaſt.* [illegible]

(M△)

French Tranſlation would not have met with the Fate it did (*Mδ*), had it been as good as this *Engliſh* Verſion.

It will not be unſeaſonable to examine a falſe Reaſoning and Contradiction, that *Lucretius* is reproached with. The falſe Reaſoning relates to one of the Arguments he uſed to ſhew, that Death was to be deſpis'd. *Epicurus* had employ'd it before, but in ſuch a manner that *Plutarch* (*N*) ſeverely cenſured him for it. The Contradiction relates to *Lucretius*'s

(*Mδ*) *The Abbot* de Marolles's .... *Tranſlation would not have met with the Fate it did.*] Queen *Chriſtina* would have thanked him for the Dedication of ſo fine a Book. Her Silence, doubtleſs, mortified the Abbot, who nevertheleſs continued well ſatisfied with his Performance. Let us hear what he ſays himſelf: (e) *When my* Verſion of *Lucretius was Printed, the Noble Mr.* du Mortier, *for whom I have always had a great Eſteem, adviſed me* (f) *to make a Preſent of it to* Chriſtina *Queen of* Sweden: *However it ſignified nothing; nor do I ſo much as know, whether ever ſhe received the Book, which Mr.* Herauld, *who managed her Affairs here with ſo much Care and Fidelity, aſſured me he had ſent her. At leaſt I received no Anſwer; contrary to the Cuſtom of this Princeſs, who was then liberal of her Compliments to Men of Letters. However it be, the Book has not failed of a good Reception from the Publick: And ſome Learned Men, the Count* de Pagan, *the late Mr.* le Palleur, *the Learned Mr.* d'Aviſſon, *Mr.* de la Courvée, *Phyſician to the Queen of* Poland, *and ſome others, have given me Thanks, in the Name of the Publick, for having, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfied the Difficulties that might be formed from the Doctrine of this Poet, in his third Volume, where he treats of the Nature of the Soul. I have ſince much corrected it, and put it in a better ſtate for a ſecond Edition.* The Abbot *de Marolles* did not underſtand the *Latin* Tongue, or *Epicurus*'s Phyſicks thorowly enough to ſucceed in ſuch a Verſion. Yet it has bore two Editions, the firſt in the Year 1650, dedicated to the Queen of *Sweden*; the ſecond in the Year 1663, inlarged with the Tranſlation of the tenth Book of *Diogenes Laertius*, and dedicated to the firſt Preſident.

(e) *Marolles Memoires*, p. 186, 187. *ad ann.* 1650.

(f) *That's to ſay, that I ſhould dedicate it to her.*

(*N*) *That* Plutarch *ſeverely cenſured him for it.*] To comment theſe Words in order, we muſt firſt ſet forth the Driſt of *Epicurus* and *Lucretius*. They propos'd to prove, that Death is not to be fear'd, that Death is nothing, that we have no Part nor Lot in it; and that it does not at all concern us. (g) *Nil igitur mors eſt, ad nos neque pertinet hilum.* Their Proof was taken from hence, that Things diſſolved or ſeparated have no Senſe; and that Things which have no Senſe are nothing with regard to us. *Epicurus*'s Words are theſe. (h) Ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ, τὸ δ' ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. *Plutarch* (i) obſerved, that this Philoſopher made a very bad Syllogiſm, and that there was a neceſſary Propoſition wanting; namely this, Death is the Separation of the Body and Soul: Ὁ θάνατος ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος διάλυσις. *Aulus Gellius* taking *Epicurus*'s Part, agrees, that the Syllogiſm, to be in form, ought to have contain'd this Propoſition: But he maintains, that *Epicurus*, being not obliged to adapt his Reaſoning to Syllogiſtical Rules, ſuppreſs'd it on Purpoſe, as being ſufficiently Self-evident. And it ſhould not be thought ſtrange, that the Concluſion was placed not at the End, but at the Beginning of the Argument; the Philoſopher *Plato*, frequently arguing after the ſame manner; that is, inverting the Order of the Propoſitions of a Syllogiſm. This is what *Aulus Gellius* anſwers to *Plutarch*'s Cenſure: He miſtook the Point, and has been ſeverely criticiz'd in the XVIth Century. He was accus'd of having betrayed his own Folly by endeavouring to cover another's, and of being ignorant of the State of the Queſtion. (k) *Nactus autem eſt patronum* (Epicurus) *tali prorſus cliente dignum Gellium: qui dum alienam ſtultitiam tegere vult, prodit ſuam. Tantum enim abeſt ab eo defendendo, ut ne intelleziſſe quidem videatur, quid in eo reprehenderetur.* It might have been added, that he did not know in general, what a Syllogiſm was; for he ſuppoſes, that That of *Epicurus* is really conformable to the Rules, and that there is nothing wanting, but the Propoſition ſub-underſtood by the Author to make it formally ſo. Now to ſee what this Syllogiſm would be, by adding what *Epicurus* has wilfully omitted.

(g) *Lucret lib.* 3. *v.* 842. *p. m.* 172.

(h) *Diog. Laert. lib.* 10. *n.* 139. *Aulus Gellius lib.* 2. *cap.* 8. *p. m.* 55.

(i) *Plut. lib.* 2. *de Homero apud Gellium ibid.*

(k) *Mureus variar. lect. lib.* 11. *cap.* 16. *p. m.* 1080.

Death is the Diſſolution of Soul and Body:
That which is diſſolved is inſenſible, and what is inſenſible do's not affect us:
Therefore Death do's not affect us.

This Syllogiſm is good for nothing, as manifeſtly † conſiſting of four Terms. We muſt therefore believe, that *Plutarch*'s Objection was not founded on the Suppreſſion of the Major, as *Aulus Gellius* pretends, but upon this, that the Major, which was ſub-underſtood, was no ways a Principle from whence the Concluſion could be deduced. This is aſſuredly the Caſe of this Principle; and you clearly ſee, that, after having granted the *Major* and the *Minor* of the Syllogiſm, juſt now produced, the Conſequence muſt ſtill be denied. *Muretus* is very angry with *Epicurus* hereupon, and treats him as an impertinent Logician. (l) *Illius artis* (Dialectices) *ignoratione ruebat in dicendo: ſæpeque aliquid probare aggreſſus, ea ſumebat, quibus datis ac conceſſis, id tamen quod probare inſtituerat, non concluderetur. Quale eſt, quod cum docere vellet, mortem nihil ad nos pertinere, ita ratiocinabatur:* Ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ. τὸ δ' ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. *Neque enim ſequitur, ſi id quod diſſolutum eſt, ſenſu vacat; idcirco ipſam quoque diſſolutionem non ſentiri. Neque mors eſt τὸ διαλυθὲν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ τὸ διάλυσις. Meritoque Plutarchus ſecundo librorum, quos de Homero compoſuit, imperfecte, atque præpoſtere, atque inſcite ſyllogiſmo uſum eſſe eum dixerat: non quod prætermiſiſſet illud λῆμμα, ὁ θάνατος ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος διάλυσις: ſed quod, ſtupiditate quadam, & craſſitudine ingenii, non pervidiſſet, quantum inter id, quod diſſolutum eſt, & ipſam diſſolutionem intereſſet.* And to convince us that the Fault *Plutarch* has taxed *Epicurus* with, conſiſts not in barely ſuppreſſing the *Major*; he produces a Paſſage (m) of *Alexander Aphrodiſeus*; in which *Epicurus*'s Argument is cenſur'd juſt as he ſuppoſes *Plutarch* had criticiz'd it. I can't think *Plutarch* would have troubled himſelf to cenſure that which the beſt Logicians might have done. Nothing hinders their employing an *Enthymeme*, which is a Syllogiſm wanting either the *Major* or *Minor*. 'Tis made uſe of in the Schools at this Day, whilſt the greateſt Slaves to the Formalities of Diſputation have nothing to ſay againſt it, provided the Propoſition, underſtood, be right: But what Out-cries would they make, if found to be as defective as this before us? Let us unfold the Fallacy.

† *See* Gaſſendi's *Notes on the tenth Book of* Diogenes Laertius. *Oper. Tom.* 5. *p.* 131.

What Turn might be given to this Argument of Epicurus?

(l) *Id. ib. pag.* 1079.

(m) *Ex commentario in primum Topicorum.*

Epicurus and *Lucretius* ſuppoſed, that Death is a thing that do's not concern us, and in which we are not at all intereſs'd. They conclude this from the Suppoſition of the Mortality of the Soul, and conſequently of the Inſenſibility of the Man, after the Separation of the Soul and Body.

Nil (n) *igitur Mors eſt, ad nos neque pertinet hilum,*
Quandoquidem natura Animi mortalis habetur:
Et velut anteacto nil tempore ſenſimus ægri,
Ad confligendum venientibus undique Pœnis;
Omnia cum belli trepido concuſſa tumultu
Horrida contremuere ſub altus æthëris auris:
In dubioque fuit ſub utrorum regna cadendum
Omnibus humanis eſſet, terraque marique:
Sic ubi non erimus, cum Corporis, atque Animai
Diſcidium fuerit, quibus è ſumus-uniter apti,
Scilicet haud Nobis quidquam, qui non erimus tum,
Accidere omnino poterit, ſenſumque movere:
Non ſi terra mari miſcebitur, & mare cœlo.

They are in the right to ſay, that nothing concerns a Man, which happens to him in a State of Inſenſibility: For 'tis the ſame thing to the Statue of *Socrates*, whether its ſelf, or the Statue of *Cæſar*, be broke to Pieces. Since the breaking then of *Cæſar*'s Statue, does in no wiſe concern the Statue of *Socrates*, the latter is by no means intereſted in its own Deſtruction: It neither ſees nor feels any thing of it any more than it would the burning of a Tree under the South-Pole. But ſtill they fall into a Fallacy two Ways? They cannot deny, but that Death happens, whilſt a Man is yet indued with Senſe; 'tis therefore a thing which concerns a Man. And from the Inſenſibility of the ſeparate Parts, they are in the wrong to inferr, that the Accident, which ſeparates 'em, is imperceptible. (o) Thus their firſt Inconſequence conſiſts in their concluding from the Parts ſeparated to the Act of Separation: The latter, ſince it may be painful, and attended with a Thouſand Sorts of troubleſome Senſations, is an Evil which properly and really belongs to Man; and

(n) *Lucret. lib.* 3. *v.* 842. *pag.* 172.

(o) Epicurus .... negavit mortem ad nos pertinere; quod enim diſſolvitur, inquit, ſenſu caret, & quod ſenſu caret nihil ad nos. Diſſolvitur autem & caret ſenſu non ipſa mors, ſed homo qui eam patitur. At ille ei dedit paſſionem cujus eſt actio. Quod ſi hominis eſt pati mortem, diſſolutionem corporis & peremptionem ſenſus, quàm inepcum, ut tanti vis ad hominem non pertinere dicatur? *Tertull. de Anima.*

Lucretius's Doctrine concerning the Soul of Man. He maintains, that this Soul dies with the Body; and yet he obſerves, that it returns to Heaven when the Man dies. They

...ſame in Virtue of their own Principle; that if the Dead are not at all intereſted in their Condition, 'tis becauſe they are nothing. The ſecond Defect of theſe Philoſophers Reaſoning, is their ſuppoſing, that Man fears not Death, but becauſe he imagins it attended with a great poſitive Miſery. They are miſtaken, and afford no Remedy to ſuch as look on the bare Loſs of Life, as a Grand Evil. The Love of Life is deeply rooted in the Heart of Man; and this is a Sign that it is conſider'd as a very great Good: From whence it follows, that Death is feared as a very great Evil, merely for robbing us of this Good. What ſignifies it, againſt this Fear, to ſay, *You'll feel nothing after you are dead?* Will you not quickly be anſwered, *'Tis unhappy enough to be deprived of a Life I love ſo well; but if the Union of my Body and Soul is a State which at preſent belongs to me, and which I paſſionately deſire to preſerve, it can't be pretended, that Death which breaks this Union, is a thing which does not concern me.* Let us conclude, that *Epicurus* and *Lucretius*'s Argument was not juſt, and could only be concluſive againſt the Fear of Pain in another World. There was another ſort of Fear, which they ought to have aſſaulted; to wit, the Fear of the Deprivation of the Pleaſures of this Life. They might ſay, that, taking all together, the Inſenſibility of the Dead is a Gain rather than a Loſs, as being a Deliverance from the Evils of this Life. Now whether theſe Evils ſurpaſs the Goods, as many have believed, or whether they only equal 'em, 'tis an Advantage to be inſenſible; for there's no Man who rightly underſtands his own Intereſts, but would prefer four Hours of good Sleep, before two Hours of Pleaſure, and two Hours of Pain, ſuppoſing 'em equal in degree (*a*).

(*a*) *See* Lucretius, *ubi ſupra, v.* 913. *& ſeq.*

Let us ſee a new Paralogiſm of *Lucretius*. He pretends, that Death would not concern us, even though Senſation ſhould remain in the ſeparate Parts, or tho' Chance ſhould again in time produce a Re-union of Soul and Body. His Reaſon is, that we are compounded of a Soul and Body; and therefore nothing concerns us, but what belongs to us, as we are this Compound. As therefore the Soul, ſeparate from the Body, is not the Man, its Senſations in that State would not be thoſe of the Man; and it would not be true to ſay, that *Scipio* would be unhappy, under Preſence that *Scipio*'s Soul was unhappy after *Scipio*'s Death. I make uſe of this Example, though it is not contained in theſe Words of *Lucretius*;

(*b*) *Lucret. ubi ſupra. v.* 855. *p. m.* 173.

Et (b) ſi jam noſtro ſentit de Corpore, poſtquam
Diſtracta eſt Animi natura, Animæque poteſtas:
Nil tamen hoc ad nos, qui cœtu, conjugioque
Corporis atque Animæ conſtiterimus uniter apti.

He thinks it poſſible, that the ſame Atoms a Man is compos'd of, and which are diſſipated by Death, may take in time the ſame Situation, and reproduce a Man: But he will not allow, that the Events which happen to this new Man, ſhould any wiſe concern the former. The Interruption of Life, adds he, prevents our having any Intereſt in what ſhall happen hereafter, in caſe the Ages to come ſhould reſtore us the ſame Humane Nature we had before. The State we were formerly in, is at preſent a thing intirely indifferent to us; and we may ſay the ſame of the States we may be found in, in the time to come.

(*c*) *Id. ib. v.* 859.

Nec, (c) ſi materiam noſtram conlegerit ætas
Poſt obitum, rurſumque redegerit, ut ſita nunc eſt;
Atque iterum Nobis fuerint data lumina vitæ,
Pertineat quidquam tamen ad Nos id quoque factum,
Interrupta ſemel cum ſit repetentia noſtra
Et nunc nil ad Nos de Nobis attinet, antè
Qui fuimus, nec jam de illis Nos afficit angor.
Quos de materia noſtra nova proferet ætas:
Nam cum reſpicias immenſi temporis omne
Præteritum ſpatium, tum motus Materiai
Multimodi quam ſint; facilè hoc adcredere poſſis,
Semina ſæpe ſtupri, ut nunc ſunt, ordine poſita:
Nec memori tamen id quimus deprendere mente.
Inter enim jecta eſt vitai pauſa, vagéque
Deerrarunt paſſim motus ab Senſibus omnes.

A Confutation of *Lucretius* as to what he ſays of the Senſation which might remain after Death.

If *Lucretius* expected to convince, of theſe two Points, any of his Philoſophy, ſuch as know how to go to the bottom of a Queſtion, he made little uſe of his Underſtanding. Here's an inſtance that will ſet this Matter in a clear Light, though I ſuppoſe it at Pleaſure. Let us fancy a Watch, and let us ſuppoſe it to be animated, to be ſenſible, and capable of Underſtanding what the Maker ſays to it. Let us after this ſuppoſe, that he tells it, he is going to take it to Pieces; that he won't leave two Wheels of it together; that all the Pieces ſhall be ſeparated, and laid each a-part in a Box; that the Senſe ſhall remain, notwithſtanding this Diſſolution; and that the Soul or Principle of Life ſhall retain its Faculties, as to Grief and Joy, *&c.* Is it not certain, on this Suppoſition, that the Watch will intereſt it ſelf in theſe Senſations, which it is told the Diſperſion of its Parts will put an End to? It will be no longer affected as a Watch: But 'tis ſufficient, for its Miſery, that, as a Senſitive Subſtance, it ſhall feel Heat, Cold, Pain and Trouble, *&c.* It will certainly be the ſame Subſtance, which had been expos'd to theſe Evils in the Watch; and the Evil it ſhall ſuffer after the Deſtruction of the Compound will only be a Continuation of the Evil it had ſuffer'd, whilſt the Compound ſubſiſted. Apply this to the Soul, and you ſhall ſee, that, if ſhe remain ſenſible after Death, it would be moſt true to ſay, that the ſame Nature which had ſuffer'd Hunger, and Cold, the Fever, and Stone, *&c.* in a Humane Body, ſuffers other things out of the Humane Body; and that *Lucretius*'s Conſolation is chimerical and ridiculous. What ſignifies it, ſays he, if your Soul be miſerable after Death, you are a Man; the Soul will not be a Man in a ſeparate State; and conſequently the Miſeries of the Soul won't belong to you. A ſilly Conſequence! 'Tis as if *Pythagoras* had ſaid to a Man, at the Point of Death, your Soul ſhall go into the Body of an Ox; which ſhall be almoſt all its Life yoak'd to the Plough, and ſuffer'd to dye of Hunger at laſt; but that Suffering will not concern you, ſince an Ox is not a Man. Would not this be a wonderful Comfort? People don't ſufficiently attend to this Maxim, That the Subject of the Accidents remains always Numerically the ſame, in all the Tranſformations of Bodies. The ſame Atoms that compoſe Water, are in the Ice, in the Vapours, in the Clouds, in the Hail, and in the Snow: Thoſe which compound the Wheat paſs into the Meal, the Paſte, the Bread, the Blood, the Fleſh, the Bones, *&c.* If they were Miſerable under the Form of Water, and under that of Ice, it's the ſame Numerical Subſtance, that is to be pitied in both theſe Eſtates; conſequently all the Diſaſters that are to be feared, under the Form of Meal, concern the Atoms which compoſe the Wheat: And nothing ought ſo much to intereſt it ſelf about the Lot and Condition of the Meal as the Atoms of Wheat, tho' they are not to ſuffer in the State and Compoſition of Wheat.

A Confutation of *Lucretius*, as to what he ſays concerning the Reproduction of the ſame Man.

Let us now confute another Fallacy of *Lucretius*, and reſume the Example of a Watch. If the Watch-maker ſhou'd ſay to it, *I'll keep your Parts diſperſed for three or four Years, but at that Period of Time I'll re-joyn 'em, and make you up again. During the Separation, no Part ſhall feel any Pain; they ſhall all be in a perfect Sleep, but as ſoon as they are reſtor'd to their former Situation, their Labour, their Conſtraint, and State of Suffering ſhall return.* Would not a Watch, that ſhould give credit to theſe Words, be fully perſuaded, that it ſelf and no other ſhould be the Watch, that he would put in order at 3 or 4 Years end? It would have the greateſt Reaſon in the World to believe it, and to intereſt it ſelf in this new Watch's Fate and Deſtiny, as its own. In the mean time its firſt Life would have been interrupted. Let us ſay then, that *Lucretius* too lightly examin'd this Matter, when he affirmed, that Death introducing a long Interval between the firſt and ſecond Life of the ſame Atoms of a Humane Body, would cauſe this firſt and ſecond Life to belong to different Men. I know indeed, that, though we ſuppoſe this kind of Reſurrection, yet we may ſay, that the Miſeries we had ſuffer'd at *Rome* in *Marius* and *Sylla*'s Time, don't at all enter into our preſent Fortune. A total Oblivion will ſeparate us from thoſe Times; nevertheleſs we ſhould have been thoſe Miſerable Perſons; and we ſhould be the ſame Men, who had formerly undergone ſo many Misfortunes: From whence it reſults, that, if we ſhould return again into the World a Thouſand Years hence, all the Miſeries we were to ſuffer in that new Life would properly belong to us; and the certain Knowledge of ſuch a Futurity muſt neceſſarily give us Diſturbance. *Lucretius* therefore has not reaſoned juſtly. There are but two ways a Man can take to calm, in a reaſonable manner, the Fears of another Life. One is to promiſe the Happineſs of Heaven,

They who pretend, that he could not ſay this without contradicting himſelf (O) have but ſlightly read his Work, or but ill comprehended his Thought. This Objection would have given him no trouble: He (P) would have been infinitely harder put to it, to maintain the Attributes of his Gods: For he himſelf lent Arms to thoſe who would attack them; and 'tis in this Part, that his Syſtem appears to be the Production of a Mind that could not reaſon conſequentially.

LUGO

Heaven; the other is to promiſe a Privation of all kind of Senſe. *Note*, That the Spinoziſts had no Pretence to either of theſe two Conſolations. All their Refuge conſiſts in preparing themſelves for an infinite Circulation of Forms, ever accompanied with Thought, but without knowing, whether they ſhall be more happy or more miſerable than under the Humane Form.

(O) They who pretend, that he could not ſay this without contradicting himſelf, have .... but little comprehended his Notions.] *Lactantius* charges this Contradiction upon him, and imagines, that the Force of Truth over powered him, and inſinuated it ſelf into his Soul without being perceived. *(a) Denique idem Lucretius oblitus, quid aſſereret, & quod dogma defenderet, hos verſus poſuit*;

(a) *Lactant. lib. 7. cap. 12. p. m. 480.*

Cedit item retro de terra quod fuit ante
In terram, ſed quod miſſum eſt ex ætheris oris
Id rurſus Cœli fulgentia templa receptant.

Quod ejus non erat dicere, qui perire animas cum corporibus diſſerebat; ſed victus eſt veritate, & imprudenti ratio vera ſurrepſit. A *Dominican*, who has lately written concerning the *Chineſe* Idolatry, perfectly approves this Obſervation of *Lactantius*, and makes uſe of it to corroborate his Proofs againſt the Jeſuits. " *(b)* It would be no wonder that the *Chineſe* ſhould " contradict themſelves, ſince *Lucretius* one of the " learnedeſt Philoſophers of the *Epicurean* Sect, who " durſt openly attack the Doctrine of the Soul's Immortality, confeſs'd, notwithſtanding, that if it " diſperſs'd it ſelf after Death, the groſſer Parts were " loſt in the Earth; and the more Subtil and Cœleſtial Parts re-aſcended into the third Region of the " Air, or into Heaven. Thus, ſays *Lactantius*, he fell " into a manifeſt Contradiction upon the Subject of " the Soul .... *(c)* The Notion of the Learned of " *China*, upon this Point, perfectly reſembles that of " *Lucretius*, and they explain themſelves much as he " did. This Philoſopher maintains, that the Soul " Periſhes with the Body: Nevertheleſs he confeſſes, " that its ſubtileſt Parts aſcend and re-unite in Heaven, " from whence they came. He contradicts himſelf, " though he was a very ingenious Man: And you mention (1), as a great Abſurdity, that the *Chineſe* who " are a People of a very indifferent Underſtanding without Subtilty, Penetration, and almoſt without Principles, as you declare in your Memoirs, ſhould contradict themſelves, if they believed, that the Pictures " of the Dead were the Seats of their Soul." If the Contradiction of the *Chineſe* be no groſſer than that which *Lucretius* is accus'd of, the Adverſaries of the Jeſuits will get little by it; for 'tis certain *Lactantius* had no reaſon to believe, that *Lucretius* contradicted himſelf. See the Verſes I have cited in the Remark *G* of the Article *Jupiter*, they immediately precede thoſe recited by *Lactantius*, and ſignify no more than this, that the Earth, impregnated with Atoms which fall from Heaven along with the Rain, produces Plants, and Beaſts, and Men. *Lucretius* would prove in this Place, that two Kinds of inſenſible Matter may compoſe one entire ſenſible Being. The Earth is inſenſible, the Seeds it receives into its Boſom, and which drop from Heaven, are inſenſible; and yet the Earth, impregnated by thoſe Seeds, produces and nouriſhes Bodies that have Life and Senſe. Death diſunites the Parts of theſe Bodies, but deſtroys nothing of their Subſtance. Thoſe that the Earth ſupply'd are reſtor'd to the Earth; and thoſe which deſcended from the Region of the Æther, aſcend thither again. This manifeſtly means, that the ſubtil Parts which compoſe the Soul, according to *Epicurus*'s Syſtem, evaporate, and exhale, when the Man dies, and diſperſe themſelves in the Air, juſt as we ſee Bodies do in the Chymical Analyſis of Compounds, when the Spirituous Parts gain the Top, and the earthy remain at the Bottom of the Veſſel. *Lucretius* does not pretend, as the *Dominican* ſuppoſes, that the Parts of the Soul, *go and re-unite in Heaven from whence they came*; ſo as to perſevere in a State of Soul, and Thinking Subſtance. He ſuppoſes them † diſſipated, and inſenſible, as they were before the Life of the Animal; and therefore does not believe, that the Soul, *quatenus* Soul, ſurvives the Man: There is therefore no Contradiction in his Doctrine, and he cannot be alledged for an Example of the Contradictions which the *Chineſe* would fall into, if they affirmed, on one hand (e), that the Soul is nothing but the *ſubtileſt Parts of* Thi Kie, *or Matter*; and pretended on the other, that it deſcends *into the Pictures of the Dead from the uppermoſt Region of the Air, where it had* re-aſcended.

(b) *Lettre d'un Docteur de l'Ordre de S. Dominique ſur les ceremonies de la Chine, au R. P. le Comte de la compagnie de Jeſus, pag. 43, 44. edit. de Cologne, 1700.*

(c) *The Author ſets down the Words of* Lactantius *in this Place which we have ſeen juſt before.*

(1) *Memoires du P. Le Comte Lettre 8.*

† Et Nebula ac Fumus quoniam diſcredit in auras: Credo Animam eoque diffundi, multòque perire Ocius, & citiùs diſſolvi corpora priſca, Cum rem lamnibus membris ablata receſſit, &c. *Lucret. lib. 3. v. 437. pag. 222.*

(P) He would have been infinitely harder put to it, to maintain the Attributes of his Gods. A perfect Tranquillity, and compleat Bliſs, were the principal Qualities (f) attributed to the Gods. He maintain'd on the other hand, that the Nature of Things contain'd nothing but Void and Body;

(e) *Lettre d'un Docteur ...: au Pere le Comte ubi ſupra, pag. 43.*

(f) *See the Remark E.*

Omnis (g), ut eſt, igitur, per ſe, Natura, duabus
Conſiſtit rebus; nam Corpora ſunt, & inane.

(g) *Lucret. lib. 1. v. 420.*

He aſſigns his Reaſons and then concludes,

Ergo (h) præter Inane, & Corpora, tertia per ſe
Nulla poteſt rerum in numero natura relinqui;
Nec, quæ ſub ſenſus cadat ullo tempore noſtros,
Nec, ratione animi quam quiſquam poſſit apiſci.
Nam, quæcunque cluent, aut his conjuncta duabus
Rebus ea invenies: aut horum eventa videbis.

(h) *Id. ib. v. 446.*

It's eaſily, without an extraordinary Penetration, perceived, that theſe two Doctrines of *Lucretius* are very inconſiſtent. It's poſſible then that I my ſelf might have diſcovered the Difficulty, which we ſhall ſee by and by; but I had not the Leiſure to conſider it: I have found it, ready to my Hand, in a Book of the Sieur *Cotin*, before I had conſidered this Subject. And, as it is but juſt to give every one his Due, I ſhall ſet down the Words of this Writer. The Gods *(i) have Bodies, or as it were Bodies, ſince betwixt Void and Body, and what reſults from their Union, we cannot ſo much as conceive any other Nature. This* Epicurus *poſitively teaches*;

Rien n'eſt dans l'Univers que le Vuide & les Corps,
Et ce qui ſe fait d'eux par diſcordants accords;

ſays the Interpreter of this Philoſopher, who, moreover, believes, that, if the Soul were Incorporeal, it could neither do nor ſuffer any thing. What Felicity then would the Gods have, if they were Incorporeal? ..... (k) Their Bodies *are compoſed of Atoms .... and there is a Vacuum betwixt the Parts compoſing theſe Divine Bodies .... ſince Vacuum and Atoms are the Principles of all Things. Every Body .... may be reſolved into Parts which compoſe it; and the Heap of Atoms .... can't eternally ſubſiſt in the ſame manner; they are too volatile, and moveable, to remain always at reſt. Cotin* infers from all this, " That *Epicurus*'s Gods, though diſ" charged from Humane Affairs, are not ſo happy " and quiet as he imagins: They are not without " Apprehenſions and Fears of that laſt Separation of " Atoms, which being once diſpers'd through the " Void, will never unite again. Thus, ſays this Phi" loſopher, the Parcels that compoſe the Soul being " once diſpers'd, can never re-unite throughout all " Ages: Otherwiſe we might be, after we had ceaſed to be; that is to ſay, the Reſurrection would " be naturally poſſible. An Hypotheſis, however, " which may be inferr'd from *Epicuriſm*: Why " may not Chance, which had once united the little " Bodies, that compoſed *Pythocles* and *Metrodorus*, " be able to re-unite 'em once again? .... *(b)* Be" ſides .... the *Epicurean* Gods having ſettled their " Manſions amidſt thoſe innumerable Worlds, which " fall foul of one another, and make a dreadful Havock, " how can they ſuſtain, without extream Diſturbance, " ſo many ponderous Maſſes falling round about 'em, " and perhaps about their Ears? For Chance knows " 'em not, and conſequently can pay 'em no Reſpect." *Note*, That this Writer obſerves *(c)*, that moſt of the *Epicureans* have ſaid, that the *Gods .... are not compoſed of Atoms.* What I offer hereupon may be ſeen in the Remark *F* of the Article *Epicurus*. They perceived, that eternal Felicity, which they attributed to the Gods, was not conſiſtent with the Contex-

(i) *Cotin Theoclee, ou la vraye Philoſophie des principes du monde, dialogue 3. pag. 54.*

(k) *Id. ib. pag. 55.*

(b) *Id. ib. pag. 57.*

(c) *Id. ib. pag. 58.*

ture

LUGO (FRANCIS de) elder Brother to the Cardinal of this Name, of whom I ſpake before, was born at *Madrid* in 1580, and became a Jeſuit at *Salamanca* in 1600. He ſo affected to humble himſelf, that, after having taught Philoſophy, he begg'd of his Superiours the Employ of explaining the Rudiments of Grammar, and obtain'd it. Having afterwards taught Divinity, he deſir'd he might be ſent to the Indies, to teach the Infidels their Catechiſm and Grammar. But they employ'd him to higher Purpoſes: They gave him a Profeſſorſhip of Divinity in the Cities of *Mexico* and St. *Fé*. Finding that the Employs given him in this Country did not agree with that Humility in which he deſign'd to live, he deſir'd to be re-call'd to *Spain*. In his Return he loſt (T) the greateſt Part of his Commentaries upon *Thomas Aquinas*'s Summs. He was deputed to *Rome* by the Province of *Caſtile*, to aſſiſt at the eighth General Aſſembly of the Jeſuits, and ſtaid there after the breaking up of this Aſſembly for the Exerciſe of two Employs; that of Cenſor to the Books publiſhed by the Jeſuits, and that of Theologiſt to the General: But finding his Reputation encreaſe daily, after his Brother was made a Cardinal, he return'd into *Spain*, where he was choſen Rector of two Colledges. He died the 17th of *December* 1652*. He is the Author of ſeveral (Z) Books. If any one refuſes to believe what I have been ſaying of this Jeſuit's Humility, I ſhan't proſecute him for Incredulity.

* *Taken from* Nathanael Sotuel, Bibl. Socier. Jeſu *pag.* 255.

LUGO (JOHN de) a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit and Cardinal, was born at *Madrid* the 25th of *November* 1583; but he always writ himſelf of *Sevil*, becauſe his (A) Father kept his ordinary Reſidence there. He diſcovered his Parts at three Years of Age, for he could, by that time, read printed Books and Manuſcripts. He maintained ſome Theſes at fourteen, and was ſent ſoon after to *Salamanca* to ſtudy the Civil-Law. He became a Jeſuit the ſixth of *July* 1603, in Imitation of his elder Brother, and notwithſtanding the Oppoſitions of his Father. He performed his Courſe of Philoſophy with the Jeſuits at *Pampelona*, and ſtudied Divinity at *Salamanca*. After the

ture of Atoms. It was neceſſary therefore to give 'em another Nature; but hereby they ruined the Fundamental Article of their Syſtem, that Capital Principle which is the Baſis of their Phyſicks, that Atoms and Void are the Principles of all Things. I don't think *Lucretius* could ever get clear of this Difficulty. He muſt either have given up the Bleſſed Eternity of his Deities, or his two-fold Principles, there being no Way to retain both theſe Doctrines at the ſame time. Hence we may judge, that the Hypotheſis of the Exiſtence of the Gods; which is the richeſt Jewel in the Syſtem of *Anaxagoras*, and ſome other Philoſophers, and the nobleſt and moſt excellent Piece of the whole Machine, is the weakeſt part of the *Epicurean* Syſtem. Their Founder, having deliver'd himſelf from all Fears, with Reſpect to the Divine Juſtice, found himſelf, in other Reſpects, more embarraſs'd by his Gods, than if he had aſcrib'd to 'em a Providence. He durſt not deny them Exiſtence, and yet he knew not what to do with 'em, or where to place 'em. Whatever he could ſay of 'em, made a Breach in his Syſtem, and expoſed him to invincible Objections. See how *Cicero* has turn'd him into Ridicule, as well (e) upon the Subtilty of the Divine Bodies, as their Humane (f) Shape, *&c.*

(e) *Cicero de Natura Deor. lib.* 1. *ſect.* 68. *pag.* 95. *& lib.* 2. *ſect.* 59. *pag.* 313.

(f) *Id. ib. lib.* 1. *ſect.* 91. *pag.* 132.

Whether *Epicurus* own'd a Providence.

The Sieur *Cotin* taxes him with a palpable Contradiction, upon the Chapter of Divine Providence. "(g) What will you ſay, if I ſhew you, by a preciſe and formal Paſſage of *Epicurus*, that he not only believed a Deity, but alſo owned his Providence? .... This Paſſage is in his Epiſtle to *Meneceus* (1); 'Tis certain there are Gods: But we muſt have a care of attributing to God, [*Mark this*] who is an Immortal and moſt Happy Being, any Quality repugnant to his immutable Felicity. No, he is not impious, who does not believe that Croud of Gods, which the greateſt part of Men imagine and never ſee; but he who believes things too mean and unworthy of 'em. The Gods ſhower upon theſe Profane Wretches, who diſhonour them by their falſe Opinions, innumerable Calamities; and, on the contrary, heap Benefits upon the Wiſe and Good. The Reaſon whereof is this; becauſe they love their Like, and think that what is not agreeable to Vertue, is neither agreeable to their Nature. *Seneca*, *Epictetus* and *Plato* could not ſpeak more Divinely. *Epicurus*, thou, at the bottom of thy Soul, art Religious, becauſe Nature can't wholly deny it ſelf: The Misfortune is, that thou canſt not ſay what thou ſayeſt without contradicting thy ſelf." Here you ſee an Apoſtrophe, and a Piece of Morality, which had been very well placed, if the Author had brought 'em into one of his Sermons. But if he had, they had been ill-grounded; for 'tis not true that *Epicurus* ever writ to *Meneceus*, what *Cotin* aſcribes to him. Let us ſee the *Greek* Words, with the learned *Gaſſendus*'s *Latin* Tranſlation, which will clearly ſhew, that *Epicurus*'s Notion is as remote from *Cotin*'s Senſe, as Heaven from Earth. (h) Ἀσεβὴς ὃν ἐχ' ὁ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θεοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις θεοῖς προσκείμενος. Οὐ γὰρ προλήψεις εἰσὶν, ἀλλ' ὑπολήψεις ψευδεῖς αἱ τῶν πολλῶν ὑπὲρ θεῶν εἰσφοραί. Ἔνθεν αἱ μεγίσται βλάβαι ἄνωθεν, παῖς περιοῖς ἐκ θεῶν ἐπιγίνονται, καὶ ὠφελίαι παῖς ἀγαθοῖς. Ταῖς γὰρ ἰδίαις οἰκειούμενοι διὰ παντὸς τὰς ὁμοίας ἀποδέχονται, πᾶν τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον, ὡς ἀλλότριον νομίζοντες. *Impius eſt proinde, non is, qui vulgareis multitudinis Deos tollit; ſed is, qui multitudinis opiniones, Diis adhibet. Non enim* germanæ *prænotiones ſunt, ſed ſuſpiciones falſæ, ea, quæ de Diis ab hominibus è vulgo traduntur. Arbitrantur quippe & malis detrimenta maxima; & bonis præſidia à Diis advenire: ſiquidem propriis virtutibus, ſeu affectibus immutati, ſimileis ſui Deos admittunt, & quicquid affectuum ſuorum non eſt, id exiſtimant ab ipſis alienum.*

(h) *Diog. Laert. lib.* 10. (n. 122, 124.) *pag.* 46 *Tom.* 5. *operum Gaſſendi.*

But this Contradiction would in no caſe concern *Lucretius*; and, if I have mention'd it, it's only to ſhew the beſt and the worſt Side of the Criticiſms on him.

(g) *Cotin, ubi ſuppra. pag.* 59.

(1) *Diog. Laert. in the Life of Epicurus.*

(T) *The greateſt Part of his Commentaries.*] He was like to have been taken himſelf by the *Hollanders*. *Dum renavigat in Hiſpaniam claſſe ab Hollandis interceptâ, ipſe quidem in terram evaſit in Inſula Cuba, ſed maximâ partis commentariorum ſuorum in totam ſummam Theologicam Sancti Thomæ jacturam ſecit* (i).

(i) *Nathanael Sotuel Biblioth. Societ. Jeſu, pag.* 255.

(Z) *He is the Author of ſeveral Books.*] The Titles are theſe which follow; and which ſhew, that he wrote upon the ſame things as his Brother. *Commentarii in primam partem S. Thomæ de Deo, Trinitate, & Angelis*, at *Lions* in 1647, two Volumes in *Folio*. *De Sacramentis in genere, baptiſmo, confirmatione, & Sacra Euchariſtia*, at *Venice* in 1652, *in* 4°. *Diſcurſus prævius ad Theologiam moralem, ſive de principiis moralibus actuum humanorum*, at *Madrid* 1643, in 4°. *Quæſtiones morales de Sacramentis*, at *Grenada* in 1645 in 4° (k).

(k) *Taken from* Sotuel, *ibid.*

(A) *Becauſe his Father kept his Ordinary Reſidence there.*] He had a very honourable Employ there: I would name it, if I knew how it was called (l) in *Spaniſh*: But not knowing it, I ſhall uſe the *Latin* Words of *Don Nicolas Antonio*. (m) *Joannes de Lugo, Joannis filius civis & Jurati* (quamvis ſecundi ſubſellii decurionas vocant) *Hiſpalenſis*. The States of the Kingdom being called to *Madrid*, he aſſiſted there (n) as Deputy of his Country: He married in the ſame City *Tereſa de Quiroga*, and had (o) the Son by her, who is the Subject of this Article. This Son might have been more rightly ſirnamed *Hiſpalenſis* than *Madritenſis*; for when a Woman lyes in, in a Journey, 'tis not uſual to make that the Child's Birth-

(l) *I believe they are called* Jurados.

(m) *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Hiſpan. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 356.

(n) *Id. ib.*

(o) *Nath. Sotuel, Biblioth. Scriptor. Societat. pag.* 475.

the Death of his Father, he was sent by his Superiours to *Sevil*, to take possession of his Patrimony which was very considerable. He divided it with his Brother's Consent betwixt the Jesuits of *Sevil* and *Salamanca*. He taught Philosophy † for five Years and afterwards was made Professor of Divinity at *Valladolid*. The Ability with which he discharged this Employ, made him esteem'd worthy of a more eminent Chair: Accordingly in the fifth Year of his Professorship he received Orders to go to *Rome*, to teach Divinity there. He set out in *March* 1621; and, having escaped several Dangers in crossing the Provinces of *France*, he arriv'd at *Rome* in the Beginning of *June* the same Year. He profess'd Divinity there 20 Years together, with a mighty Reputation; for he thoroughly understood the School-Men: He made a good Choice ‡ of the Opinions he defended, and was admirable for joining Brevity with Perspicuity. He minded only his own Business, without losing time in making Court to the Cardinals, or frequenting Ambassdors Houses. He never affected to be an Author, but having received a Command to publish some of his Works, his Vow of Obedience did not permit him to dispense with it. He printed seven large (*B*) Volumes in *Folio*; the fourth of which he dedicated to *Urban* VIII. [redacted] Pope made him a Cardinal the 14th of *December* 1643. Some very singular Things are related concerning (*C*) the little Ambition of this Jesuit. Whilst he was Cardinal he shew'd himself very charitable to the Poor: He liberally distributed the (*D*) *Quinquina* to such as were troubled with Agues. He died the twentieth of *August* 1660, leaving all his Substance to the Jesuits of the Profess'd Colledge at *Rome*, and would be buried at the Feet of *Ignatius Loyola*, the Founder of the Order *. He invented the Hypothesis of (*E*) turgid Points, to solve the unsurmountable Objections, both against the Divisibility

† *Nicolas Antonio*, Biblioth. Scriptor. Hispan. Tom. 1. pag. 56. *says, that* de Lugo *taught Philosophy at* Medina del Campo.

‡ Erat quippe in seligendis melioribus sententiis præstantis judicii, in explicandis iisdem eximiæ claritatis, & cum perspicuitate, quod rarum est, conjungebat congruam brevitatem. *Nat. Sotuel Bibliotheca Scriptor. Societ. Jesu, pag.* 471, 472.

* *Id. ib.*

Birth-Place where he was born, but where his Parents lived. This is the Case of Children of Ambassadors, born in the Places of their Embassy. They are reckon'd Natives of the Places where their Father would reside, were they not Ambassadors: And because they are absent upon the publick Account, *Reipublicæ Causa*, their Children have the same Privileges as those who are born at Home. Thus it [redacted] with Cardinal *de Lugo*'s Father; he only so[redacted] *Madrid*, as Deputy of *Sevil*, to the Assem[redacted] States of the Kingdom.

(*B*) *Seven large Volumes in* Folio.] The Ist treats *de Incarnatione Dominica*, and was printed at *Lions* in 1633 and 1653. The IId treats *de Sacramentis in genere & de ven. Eucharistiæ sacramento & sacrificio*, at *Lions* 1636. The IIId treats *de virtute & sacramento pœnitentiæ*, at *Lions* 1638, 1644 and 1651. The IVth, and Vth, *de Justitia & Jure*, at *Lions* 1642 & 1652. The VIth *de virtute divinæ fidei*, at *Lions* 1646 and 1656. The VIIth is a Collection *responsorum moralium*, at *Lions* 1651 & 1660. Besides this, he wrote Notes, *in privilegia viva vocis oraculo concessa societati*, printed at *Rome* in 1645 in 12°; and he translated the Life of the Blessed *Lewis de Gonzague* (*a*) out of *Italian* into *Spanish*. The fourth of these Volumes was dedicated to Pope *Urban* VIII. The Author hereupon was obliged (*b*) to go and pay his Respects to this Pope, whom he had never spoke to. He was favourably received by him; and from that time *Urban* employ'd him on many Occasions, and express'd a particular Affection for him. *De Lugo* seeing himself obliged to be an Author, employ'd no Amanuensis, nor any other Person to fit his Manuscripts for the Press. He himself underwent all this great Labour (*c*). Father *Maimbourg* has made use of a Thought of this Cardinal; which perhaps, will not be improper here, and may assist the Reader in understanding the Principles of this *Spanish* Doctor. *The Church*, says Father *Maimbourg* (*d*), *has not yet thought it necessary to determine any thing essential concerning* the immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin. *It has not used this Method concerning her Exemption from venial Sin, having decided that Point as being an Appurtenance of Faith.... She has consulted the Scriptures, and Apostolical Tradition, and the Sense of the Holy Fathers, upon the Quality of the Mother of God, to discover the whole Extent of it. (1) And as hereupon she found the Exemption from Venial Sin to be comprehended in this Supreme Dignity, as a necessary Consequence in its Principle, she has defined it as a Point of Faith (2), revealed in the Word of God which implies it. This is the Remark of the learned and subtle Cardinal* de Lugo (3), *in his excellent Treatise concerning Faith, which I had the Honour to receive from him at* Rome, *when I was his Disciple.*

(*C*) *Concerning the little Ambition of this Jesuit.*] He was created a Cardinal without his Knowledge, or the least thought that the Pope had any such Design. Hearing the News of his Creation, he was almost confounded [redacted] not give the Messenger, who brought the [redacted] the Present due to him on such Occasions: The Reason he gave for it was, that this News was disagreeable to him; and he would not suffer the Colledge of Jesuits to give any Testimonies of Joy, or Play-Days to the Scholars. He look'd on the Coach, that Cardinal *Francis Barberini* [redacted] him, as his Coffin; and, [redacted] was in the [redacted]pe's Palace, he declared to the [redacted], that were preparing to put on his Cardinal's [redacted], that he desir'd above all things to represent to his Holiness, that the Vows he had made, as a Jesuit, forbad him to accept the Cardinal's Cap. He was answer'd, that the Pope dispens'd with those Vows: *Dispensations*, replied he, *leave a Man to his natural Liberty, which if I am permitted to enjoy, I shall always refuse the Cardinalship.* They were forced to introduce him to the Pope: To whom he exposed his Reasons and ask'd him, whether his Holiness commanded him, in Vertue of Holy Obedience, to accept this Dignity: The Pope answer'd, he did; whereupon *de Lugo* humbly acquiesc'd, and stoop'd to receive the Hat. The Purple did not hinder his retaining a Jesuit constantly near him, as a perpetual Witness of his Actions: He continued to Dress and Undress himself without the Assistance of any of his Domesticks. He would have no Tapestries spread in his Palace; and he settled [redacted] regular Orders in it, that it was a kind of Semin[redacted] This is a good part of Father *Sotuel*'s Story (*e*) [redacted] very one may believe of it what he pleases.

(*D*) *He liberally distributed the* Quinquina.] This Febrifugous Drug came from *Peru*. 'Tis brought to *Rome* in 1650, by the Jesuits; from whence it is called in some Places *Jesuits Powder*. There was an Attempt to cry it down, which made Father (*f*) *Fabri* publish a Book at *Rome* in the Year 1655, intitled *Pulvis Peruvinus Febrifugus vindicatus*. This Powder was then very dear, as the Librarian *Sotuel* affirms. By this he heightens the Cardinal's Charity. (*g*) *Quibusque* (pauperibus) *corticem Peruanum non levis pretii contra febres benigne & liberaliter distribuebat.* It's observed, in *Furetiere*'s Dictionary, at the Word *Quinquina*, that this Drug was called *at first*, *Cardinal* de Lugo's *Powder*.

(*E*) *He invented the Hypothesis of turgid Points.*] To speak more exactly, I think it ought to be said, that finding this Hypothesis almost d[redacted]'d, he adopted it, and gave it a vogue. It d[redacted] remedy the Difficulties that are propos'd ag[redacted] thematical Points: And besides it manifest[redacted] des an inconceiveable Absurdity; which is, that a Corpuscle, which in it self has neither Parts nor Extension, should swell at such a rate, as to fill many Parts of Space. The ordinary Doctrine of the School-Men, co[redacted]ing Rarefaction, occasion'd *John de Lugo*'s attempt to evade the great Inconveniencies of that [redacted]y. The School-Men teach, that a rarefied Bo[redacted]es up more Space than it did before, without acquiring any new Parts of Matter: The same Body, lay

(*a*) *Taken from* Sotuel, *ubi supra.*

(*b*) Ea occasione necesse habuit adire suam Sanctitatem, quam nunquam antea fuerat allocutus. *Id. ib. p.* 472.

(*c*) *Id. ib.*

(*d*) *Maimbourg, Methode pacifique, pag.* 60 *of the* 3*d Edition, which was in* 1682.

(1) *Aug. lib. de nat. & grat. c.* 36.

(2) *Conc. Trid.*

(3) *Disp.* 3. *sect.* 5. *n.* 73.

(*e*) *Ubi supra.* Nicolas [redacted]nio, [redacted]ra, [redacted]e- [redacted] same things.

(*f*) *He disguised himself in the Title-Page of this Book, under the Name of* Antimus Coningius. *Sotuel ubi supra, pag.* 550.

(*g*) *Id. ib. pag.* 472.

ry of Parts *ad Infinitum*, and againſt Mathematical Points. A Fragment of one of his (F) Letters has open'd a pretty curious Myſtery; which is, that there has ſometimes been a nice Piece of Policy in the Devotion to the Holy Virgin. He is ſaid to be the firſt Author of the Diſcovery of the Philoſophical Sin (FΔ).

LUPERCALIA, a Feaſt celebrated by the *Romans*, on the 15th of *February*. [redacted]*ius* † was not the Inventer of it, but *Evander*, who introduced it into *Italy* β, [redacted]er he retired ſixty Years before the *Trojan* War. As *Pan* was the great Divinity of *Arcadia*, *Evander*, a Native of that Country appointed the Feaſt of the *Lupercalia* γ in Honour of this God, to be celebrated in the Place where he built Houſes for the Colony he brought with him; that is, upon the *Palatin* Mount. He there built a δ Temple to this God; and ordained a ſolemn Feaſt, which was celebrated by Sacrifices offered to him; and by the Races of naked People, with Whips in their Hands, wherewith they laſh'd all they met in their way. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* cites *Ælius Tubero*, whoſe Exac[redacted] he commends, to ſhew, that this Feaſt was celebrated, according to *Evander's* [redacted]ution, before *Romulus* and *Remus* thought of building *Rome*. But, as it's pretended, that they were nurs'd by a Wolf, in the very Place which *Evander* had conſecrated to the God *Pan*, no doubt this determin'd *Romulus* to continue the Feaſt of the *Lupercalia*, and to render it more famous. The *Luperci* (which was the Name of the Prieſts, who officiated in this particular Worſhip of *Pan*) were divided into two Claſſes; one of which ζ bore the Name of *Quintilians*, the other that of *Fabians*, to perpetuate, as is ſaid, the Memory of *Quintilius* and *Fabius*, the Heads, one of *Romulus*'s Party, and the other of *Remus*'s. A long time after was added to 'em the College or Society η of *Julians*, in Honour of *Julius Cæſar*. *Mark Antony* (A) got himſelf [redacted]ter'd into this Society. Though the Celebration of the *Lupercalia* was only fit [redacted]isgrace Religion, yet *Auguſtus* θ perceiving, that it had been diſcontinued for ſome Years, gave Orders for the re-eſtabliſhing it (B). This is infinitely

† Valerius Maximus, *l.* 2. *c.* 2. *goes no higher than* Romulus.

β *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, l.* 1.

γ In hujus (*montis Palatini*) radicibus templum Lyceo quem Græci Pana, Romani Lupercum appellant conſtituit. (*Evander*) Ipſum Dei ſimulacrum nudum caprina pelle amictum eſt, quo habitu nunc Romæ Lupercalibus decurritur. *Juſtinus, l.* 43. *c.* 1.

δ *Called* Lupercal.

ζ *See* Ovid Faſtor. *l.* 2.

η Dion, *lib* 44. (*Hofman cites* 24.) *Sueton. in Cæſar. c.* 76.

θ *Sueton. in Aug. c.* 31.

[redacted] (*b*) *Roder. de Arriaga diſput. tom.* XVI. *phyſica, ſect.* 9. *pag.* 421. *& ſeq. edit. Pariſ.* 1639. (*a*) *Morale Pratique des Jeſuites Tom.* I. *pag.* 270. (*aa*) *A la pag.* 119, 120. (1) Dices ſaltem illo bene tempore, quo ſine culpa ignoretur Deus, poſſet aliquis mori ante cognitionem Dei. Quid igitur fieret de illo adulto ſine peccato mortali? Reſpondeo f[redacted] cilè .... in noſtro caſu dicendum pertinere ad eandem providentiam Dei, ut nullus infidelis adultus moreatur, donec vel cognoſcat Deum, vel ſaltem dubiter, [redacted] culp[redacted] ter [redacted] tat [redacted] queſti[redacted] nem, vel, non obſtante illo dubio committat alia peccata gracia: quæ quidem jam eum omnino mortalia, cum opponat ſe periculo offendendi illum Conditorem, de quo dubitat an ſit. *De Lugo Tract. de Incarnat.*

ſay they, ſometimes poſſeſſes a greater Space, and ſometimes a leſſ[redacted]t as this Doctrine is abſolutely incomprehen[redacted]and contradictory, it could be[redacted] but of very ſmall advantage to this Jeſuit. See how *Arriaga* (*b*) confutes him without naming him.

(F) *A Fragment of one of his Letters.*] The Jeſuits teach the immaculate Conception not out of Piety, but out of Hatred to the *Dominicans*, and to render 'em odious to the People. The Cardinal *de Lugo*, a [redacted]it, writ this Letter to one of their Fathers at *Ma*[redacted]. *I deſire your Reverence may be pleas'd to take* [redacted], *that your Society diligently apply themſelves in* [redacted]*r Quarters, to enforce the Devotion of the Concep*[redacted]*tion, which the People of* Spain *are very fond of, to ſee if, by that means, we can give the* Dominicans *a Diverſion, who preſs us hard here in defending St.* Auſtin: *And, I believe, if we can't oblige 'em to employ themſelves upon ſome other Subject, they will conquer us in the principal Points* de Auxiliis (*a*).

(FΔ) *That he is the firſt Author of the Diſcovery of the Philoſophical Sin.*] See the Book intituled, *The Philoſophiſm of the Jeſuits of Marſeilles*, there you'll find the following (*aa*) [redacted]s: "That which em- "baraſſe's *de Lugo*, in [redacted]ing actuall Sins, purely "Philoſophical in a Savage, at leaſt during the ſhort "time in which he ſuppoſes and maintains, that "he may be inculpably ignorant of God, is, that this "Savage may poſſibly die, within this ſmall time, "in his Philoſophical Sins; and that he does not "know what God may think fit to do with, nor "what Judgment he may paſs upon ſuch a Sinner, "nor in what Rank he may diſpoſe of him for Eter- "nity. Others of the Jeſuits conſign him to the "Limbo of Still-born Infants after a Temporal Pu- "niſhment, proportion'd to the Philoſophical Sin, "of what Nature ſoever it be, whether Parricid, "Inceſt, *&c.* But *de Lugo* chooſes rather to eſta- "bliſh a new Order of Providence.... In this "new Order, God, rather than baniſh out of the "World the Philoſophical Sin, which is ſo neceſſa- "ry in it, or be puzzled what to do in the next, "with this ſort of Sinners, will work a Miracle "ſooner than let 'em die in this State. He will af- "ford 'em [redacted]fore they leave this World, juſt as "much K[redacted]e of the true God, as ſhall be ne- "ceſſary t[redacted]ly 'em for ſinning Theologically, or "at leaſt a[redacted]much Light as may be neceſſary to "create a Doubt in their Minds, concerning the Ex- "iſtence of a God, and wait and prolong their "Life till they have committed, with this Know- "ledge or under this Doubt, ſome Sin which [redacted] "may proceed againſt as a Mortal Sin, and pu[redacted], "as eternally puniſhable; becauſe, that, by Sinning "in this State, they expoſe themſelves to the Danger "of offending him, who has given them their Being. "The Thought is wholly new, and worthy of him, "who appears to be the firſt Jeſuit, who made the "Diſcovery of the Philoſophical Sin." One eaſily ſees that the Author, who thus ſets forth the [redacted]this Jeſuit, mixes ſome Touches of Rail[redacted]in what he ſays: But after all, it is not ſtrange that a Doctor ſhould be at a *Non-Plus*, when he endeavours to reconcile the eternal Damnation of a Man to thoſe natural Ideas, which clearly diſcover to us, that, in order to an Action's having on it a Character of Morality, it's indiſpenſably neceſſary, that a Perſon, committing this Action, know whether it be good or bad, or at leaſt is ignorant through his own Fault. Let's conclude that it's no great wonder one ſhou'd ſtumble in ſuch a Way, ſince one can hardly avoid making ſome falſe Steps, even when he propoſes to acquit the Judgments of God, of whatever ſeemingly makes them appear not ſo equitable. The Suppoſition of our *de Lugo* does not tend to diminiſh the Number of the damn'd, but to render 'em more notoriouſly damn'd.

(A) Mark Antony *got himſelf enter'd into their Society.*] *Cicero*, in his ad Philippick, tells him, *Ita erat Lupercus, ut te conſulem eſſe meminiſſe deberes*; whence we may reaſonably conclude, that he was a *Julian Lupercus*; for ſo great a Flatterer of *Julius Cæſar*, as he, would have been far from entering into either of the two ancient Societies, whilſt there was a new one eſtabliſh'd in Honour of *Julius Cæſar*. But, without any need of drawing Concluſions, we find the Fact clearly in *Cicero*'s Oration againſt *Mark Antony*, as *Dion* (*b*) *Caſſius* relates it. Τὰ δὲ Λουπερκάλια ἃ πρότερον ἐν τῷ ἰανουαρίῳ τῷ Γενάλι ἐτέλουντο; that is, according to *Xylander*'s Tranſlation, *Nimirum agenda ei erant Lupercalia uni ex Collegio Julio*. Father *Abram* (*c*) has tranſlated this *Greek* more exactly, thus, *Lupercalia enim erant, & ipſe in ſodalitate Julia erat conſtitutus.* After *Julius Ceſar*'s Death, the Revenues were taken away from the *Luperci*, which he had beſtowed upon 'em. *Mark Anthony* complains of it, in his Letter to *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, which is ſo exactly confuted by *Cicero* in the thirteenth Philippick. *Manutius* reading thus the Paſſage, *Veſtigalia Juliana Lupercis ademiſtis*, is (*d*) in Pain to know whether *Ceſar*'s Liberality extended to all the Colleges of the *Luperci*, or only to that which was conſecrated to himſelf; but Father *Abram* (*e*) is in no Doubt, ſince he follows this reading, *Veſtigalia Julianis Lupercis ademiſtis*. See *Nonius*'s (*f*) Citation of *Cicero*'s Letter to the young *Ceſar*.

(B) *For the re-eſtabliſhing it.*] *Moreri* makes *Suetonius* ſay, that *Auguſtus* reſtor'd the three Societies of the *Luperci*. This ſuppoſes they had been all ſuppreſs'd, but *Suetonius* has no ſuch thing: He only ſays, that *Auguſtus* re-eſtabliſh'd the *Lupercalian* Ceremonies, *ſacrum Lupercale*, which had been by degrees aboliſhed. How many Eccleſiaſtical or Civil

(b) *Lib.* 45.

(c) *Commentar. in* 2 *Philipp. pag.* 704.

(d) *In Philipp.* 13.

(e) *In Philipp.* 13. *pag.* 703.

(f) *Voce* Conſtat. *The Letter is cited in the ſecond Book.*

nitely less strange, than to see it continued under Christian Emperors, and to find, that when, at last, Pope *Gelasius*, in the Year 496, would tolerate it no ‡ longer, there were Christians found amongst the Senators themselves, who endeavour'd to maintain it, as appears by † the Apology which the Pope writ against them. Not only the *Luperci* ran like mad Men along the Streets, during the *Lupercalia*, having only a little Girdle to cover their *Pudenda*; but several young People of Quality, and some (C) of the principal Magistrates, * ran along with them in the same Posture, anointed (D) with Oil of Olives, and lash'd the People who came in their Way. In *Augustus's* † Time, no Beardless Youth was permitted to run with the *Luperci*. The Women were so far from fearing these Stripes, that, on the contrary, they voluntarily § expos'd themselves to them, in hopes of being impregnated, if barren, or being more easily deliver'd, if with Child: But I much doubt what Pope *Gelasius* says, that * the *Roman* Ladies receiv'd the Whip stark-naked, and publickly on these Occasions: I believe they only reach'd out their Hands (E), as a Boy does ‡, who receives the Ferula from

‡ *See* Baronius, *Tom.* 6 *ad ann.* 496. *n.* 28. *& seq.*

† Baronius, *ubi supra, sets it down in-tire.*

* Plutarch, *in the Life of* Cæsar, *and in that of* Mark Anthony. *See also* Festus *in voce* Crepi.

† Lupercalibus vetuit currere imberbes. *Sueton. ubi supra.*

§ Plut. in Cæsare & in Romulo.

* Apud illos nobiles ipsi currebant & matronæ, nudato publice corpore, vapulabant. *Apud Baronium, ubi supra. n.* 38.

‡ *Plut. in Cæsare.*

(g) De Divinat. *lib.* 2. *fol. m.* 318. *verso.*

(b) *In vita Antonii.*

(i) *In vita Cæsar.*

(k) *Ibid.*

(l) *In vita Antonii.*

(m) *In vita Cæsar.*

(n) *Apud Dion. lib.* 45.

Customs are there, which fall insensibly into disuse, though the Bodies or Societies, which ought to practise 'em, subsist with all their Incomes? Do's not *Cicero* say somewhere (g), that the ancient Custom of the *Auspices* was hardly any longer observ'd? And yet the Colleges of the Augurs, Pontiffs, *&c.* subsisted as before.

(C) *And some of the principal Magistrates.*] This we learn from *Plutarch*: Διεθουν δ', says he (b), τῶν εὐγενῶν υἱοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων. *Discurrunt autem & ex nobilibus juvenes multi & ex Magistratibus.* He says the same in another Place (i), and uses the Word, ἀρχόντων. They who translate it, *those who have the greatest Magistracy for that Year*, or who are *then in the Magistracy*, hit it, in my Opinion, not a-miss: For a Parenthesis, which *Plutarch* uses in another Place (k), clearly shews, that he believed the Consuls were obliged to run naked with the *Luperci*. Ἀντώνιος δ' τῶν θεόντων ἦν ἱερεὺς ὑπατεύων (ἦν γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπατεύων.) *Antonius autem unus eorum erat qui sacrum cursum peragebant (gerebat enim Consulatum.)* But 'tis very probable, that *Plutarch* imposes upon his Readers; For if *the Custom was such* (I'll set down his own (l) Words as they are in our *English* Translation) *that on this Day, there were many young Noblemen, and even those who had the greatest Magistracies that Year, who ran stark-naked through the City, anointed with Oil of Olives*, &c. *If* (m) Anthony *was one of those that ran this sacred Course* (of the *Lupercalia*) *as being then Consul, how is it* that *Cicero* ventured to say, in a full Senate (n), that, from the Foundation of *Rome*, not only no Consul, but no Prætor, no Tribune of the People, no Ædile, ever did what *Mark Anthony* dar'd do? Now, what was that Action of his? 'Twas this, that, being Consul, he went naked, and greas'd with Ointments, to the publick Place, under pretence of the *Lupercalia*, got into the Pulpit, and harangued the People. *Mark Anthony* endeavoured to justify this Conduct by his Quality of *Lupercus*: But he was answer'd, that the Quality of Consul, which he then bore, ought to take place of that of *Lupercus*; and that every Body knew, that the Consulship was a Dignity of the whole People, whose Majesty ought ever to be preserv'd, and not exposed or rendred contemptible in any respect whatsoever. Let no Body tell me, that *Cicero* do's not blame this Consul, for his haranguing the People naked; for besides, that the contrary appears from the Citations before-mentioned, we must know, that *Cicero* made use of a Figure, which manifestly contains this Maxim, *The* Lupercalia *might be celebrated in all the Ceremonies belonging to it, without the Consuls dishonouring the whole City, by his Nudity and Postures.* 'Tis certain therefore, that *Plutarch* is deceived: For *Cicero*, more worthy of Credit than he, in what concerns the Dignity of the Consulship, takes it for granted, that the *Lupercal* Races were inconsistent with this Dignity; and that never any Consul, or any of the principal Magistrates of *Rome*, bore a Part in 'em before *Mark Anthony*: But *Plutarch* pretends, that the Consul, and the other Magistrates, were always Parties in 'em.

Who would not be surpris'd to find Father *Abram* (a) draw this Consequence from the Principles and Reasoning of *Cicero*, *That one and the same Person was to be Consul and* Lupercus; *unum & eundem & consulem & Lupercum fieri debuisse.* 'Twas easy for him to confute this Consequence by the Words in which *Plutarch* affirms, as we have already seen, that the young *Roman* Nobility and Magistrates, ran the Races in the *Lupercalia*. He adds, in Confirmation, the Passage of the same Historian, in which 'tis said, that, because *Mark Anthony* was Consul, he was one of these Runners; and thence concludes, that *Plutarch* meant to insinuate, that they who were not Magistrates were excluded from these Races. A Man would almost think of renouncing Study, to see ingenious Men entangled in such Absurdities, upon Things as clear as the Sun. He ought at least to have refuted *Plutarch*, by the long Passage of *Dion*, which he has partly cited, and partly referr'd to.

Britannicus (b) affirms, that 'twas lawful for all, whether Men or Women, to celebrate this Feast: Whence *Plutarch* writes, that *Mark Anthony*, in celebrating it, was carried along the Streets stark-naked in a Coach, by Women and Maids stark-naked (c). This Commentator has but ill expres'd his Meaning; For how could a Man, that was carried by Women, ride in a Coach through the City? But this is not the worst of it; 'tis hardly to be doubted, but he has erroneously father'd this upon *Plutarch*; and that at bottom, it's false. Were it true, *Cicero*'s Philippicks, which don't mention it, would, doubtless, have thundred against it.

(D) *Anointed with Oil of Olives.*] I have followed the Translation of *Xylander*. Others translate *Plutarch*'s Greek, ἀλειμμένος λίπα, *by unguento delibuti.* The Difference is small; *Cicero* speaking of the *Lupercalia* (d) of *Mark Antony*, makes use of the Words *unguentis oblitus. Lloyd* fancies he says a thing but little known, when he tells us, that he had learnt from a Passage of *Appian*, that the *Luperci* anointed their Bodies. *Nudum etiam corpus tunc illis unctum nescio an vulgo notum sit, sed erudo ex Appian. lib.* 2. *Bell. Civil.* He neither cites *Plutarch*; nor *Dion*, nor *Cicero*; but confines himself to the citing *Appian*, who has only copied *Plutarch*, except in the (e) Parenthesis in the Margin, where 'tis expressly observed, that this Unction was a customary thing.

(E) *I believe they only reach'd out their Hands, as a Boy.*] I don't pretend to censure, as false, what *Charles Stephens*, and several of his Transcribers or Originals say, *viz.* that the *Luperci*, running naked through the City, lash'd the Women on their Hands and Bellies: *Nudi per urbem currebant mulierum palmas uteraque caprina pelle ferientes.* But I maintain, that this does not justify Pope *Gelasius*; for it must be, undoubtedly, supposed, that the Blows upon the Belly were given with the Cloaths on. As for the little Story which *Ovid* tells, and which seems to make against me; I answer, 1. That it only relates to the particular time, in which the Oracle was given; and that it must not be believed, that any Women, but those who were then married, and at the Age of Child-Bearing, submitted to the Sentence of the Oracle. I say, 2dly, that *Ovid* does not explain how or by whom they were lash'd; whether naked, or in their Cloaths; whether by their Husbands, or the *Luperci*. Take what way you please, you'll never find the Proof of Pope *Gelasius*'s Assertion; for their Husbands were far from whipping 'em publickly, since the Oracle did not command it; or from suffering the *Luperci* to whip 'em, otherwise than under a Guard: And as the Grand (f) Pontifex whipp'd the Vestals, who had suffer'd the Sacred Fire to go out. This manner of Execution fulfill'd the Sense of the Oracle; and 'tis to be believ'd, that the Husbands went no farther, and, perhaps too, stood ready at Hand to prevent the *Luperci*'s using one sort of Rod for another.

(a) *In Philipp.* 2. *pag.* 704.

(b) *Britannicus in Juvenal. Satyr.* 2. *v.* 142. *pag.* 83. *edit. Paris.* 1613. *in* 4°.

(c) Præter Sacerdotes licebat omnibus tam viris quam mulieribus ludos celebrare, unde scribit Plut. M. Antonium nudum in Lupercalibus curru per urbem fuisse vectum à matronis & virginibus omnia membra nudatis. *Id ibid.*

(d) *Philipp.* 13.

(e) Ἀγρίῳ ὑπεπτέον ἀν αὐτῷ καὶ σκεπτέον ἐν διαφόρῳ τέτε μυρὸς ἀλαλειμμένος (δεῖται γὰρ οἰδαμῶν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἰχρὸς) ἐπὶ τὸ ἅμαξαν ἀναβῆναι μέλλει ἐπιφανῶν διὰ τῆς πόλεως. *Lloyd voce* Lupercalia. The Passage of *Appian* doth say, *Antonius ipsius in Consulatu Collega discurrens nudus & unctus. (ut mos est per id solemne Lupercis) conscendensque rostra diadema capiti ejus imposuit.*

(f) Note, *That this way of Whipping the Vestals was not then in use at* Rome, *since it was* Numa *and not* Romulus, *who instituted 'em. See* Dion. Halicarn. *l.* 2. *c.* 66.

Ovid's

from his Maſter †. As to the Ceremonies the *Luperci* were to obſerve in Sacrificing (which were, doubtleſs, very ſingular, ſince amongſt other things, there were to be two Boys preſent who laugh'd aloud) ſee *Plutarch* in the Life of *Romulus*. And as for the Reaſons of theſe Prieſts being naked, during the Divine Service, and of their running along the Streets, ſee *Ovid*, who gives a great many of them, in his ſecond Book of *Faſ[illegible]* is taken from the ill Succeſs of *Pan*'s Amours, which are pleaſant enough (F) [illegible] which have been wretchedly related by *Du Boulai*.

† *Hence comes this Expreſſion of* Juvenal, Niſi prodeſt agili palmas præbere Luperco. *Satyra* 2. *v.* 142.

LUTHER (MARTIN) a Reformer of Religion in the XVIth Century. His Hiſtory is ſo well known, and is found in ſo many Books, and particularly in *Moreri* that I ſhan't trouble my ſelf to repeat it. I ſhall principally inſiſt on the Falſhoods which have been publiſhed of him. No Regard has been had in this Point either to Probability, or to the Rules of the Art of Slandering: And yet the Authors of 'em have aſſum'd all the Confidence of thoſe who fully believe, that the Publick will implicitly eſpouſe all the Calumnies, be they ever ſo abſurd. They have dared to publiſh that an Incubus (A) [illegible] him on his Mother; and have falſified even the Day of his Birth, to have a Handle for making him (B) a diſadvantageous Horoſcope.

Ovid's Story is this. He ſays (g), that in *Romulus*'s time, Women grew ſo hard to conceive, that this Prince cried out, it had been much better they (b) had never ſtole 'em. They had recourſe to Prayers; Husbands and Wives proſtrated themſelves in a Wood conſecrated to *Juno*. The Goddeſs's Anſwer caſt them into [illegible] Anxiety; for theſe Words were diſtinctly [illegible] *That a Raſcally old Goat ſhould leap the Roman Wives. Italidas matres inquit caper virtus inito.* By good Luck an Augur that was preſent, put 'em out of Pain: He ſacrific'd a Goat (i), and order'd, that the Skin ſhould be employ'd to [illegible] the Women; which they conſenting to, fail'd [illegible] Lye-in in ten Months Time. *Thomas Bartholi[illegible]* who has brought for his Purpoſe the general C[illegible] of their ſubmitting to be whipp'd by the *Luperci*, which *Meibomius* (l) had forgotten, would have found his Account better in the particular Adventure I have related.

(g) *Ovidius Faſtor. lib.* 2.

(b) Utilius fuerat non habuiſſe nurus. *Id. ibid.*

(i) Ille caprum mactat: juſſæ ſua terga mariræ Pellibus exſectis percutienda dabant. *Id. ibid.*

(k) *In his Treatiſe* De flagrorum uſu medico, *pag.* 22.

(l) *In the Treatiſe* de flagrorum uſu in [illegible] venen[illegible]

(m) [illegible] *for* [illegible] *tiquités Romaines, pag.* 237.

(n) *That's to ſay,* Ovid Faſtor. *lib.* 2.

(o) *There* Faunus *is the ſame Deity with* Pan.

(a) Aſcendit, ſpondaque ſibi propiore recumbit: Et rigido corpus durius inguen erat. Interea tunicas orâ ſubducit ab ima, Horrebant denſis aſpera crura pilis. Cæterea tenantem cubito Tirynthius Heros Repulit: è ſummo decidit ille toro.

(b) *Conſult the Article of* Hercules, *Remark* F.

(F) *Which are pleaſant enough.... related by* du Boulai.] As *du Boulai* (m) has related 'em with infinite Variations, I think my ſelf obliged to give a faithful Account of 'em, in order to give my Readers a juſt Miſtruſt of Writers, who tranſcribe one another, without recurring to the Original: Which gives the Story thus. (n) *Hercules* travelling upon a time with *Omphale*, was deſcried by *Faunus* (o), who immediately fell in Love with the Fair One, and ſought, without any loſs of time, to enjoy her. *Hercules* and *Omphale* lodg'd that Night in a Cave, where, whilſt Supper was getting ready, *Omphale* amus'd her ſelf with changing Cloaths with *Hercules*, dreſſing him in her Petticoats and Trinkets, and putting on her ſelf, inſtead o[illegible] the Lyon's Skin, the Club, and the Quiver. [illegible]p'd in this Equipage, and went to ſleep in it. [illegible] were to lye a-part that Night, becauſe in the Morning they were to Sacrifice to *Bacchus*, an Act of Religion which required Continence the preceding Night. *Faunus*, who had purſued his beloved Object, ſtole into the Cave, by Owl-Light, whilſt the Domeſticks were in a deep Sleep; not without Hopes that *Hercules* and his Miſtriſs were as faſt as they; and that, by this means he might perform his Exploit. He grop'd about ſometimes of one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, till at laſt he found *Omphale*'s Bed: But he no ſooner touch'd the Lyon's Skin, but he ſtarted back in a great Fright. A little after, feeling about, he found *Hercules*'s Bed, and judging, by the Fineneſs and Softneſs of the Cloaths, that it was *Omphale*, he (a) laid himſelf along, and with great Eagerneſs began to take up her Coats; and, without being diſcouraged by his briſtly Legs (b), thought to accompliſh his Deſign. Hereupon the Hero, giving him a Thruſt with his Elbow, ſent him out upon the Floor. This awaken'd [illegible]*phale*; ſhe calls up the People, a Candle is bro[illegible] *Faunus* found ſprawling on the Ground, hard[illegible] to riſe, and is made the Laughing-Stock to the [illegible]mpany. *Ovid* pretends, that this is one of the Reaſons of the Nakedneſs of the *Luperci*: *Faunus*, taking an Averſion for the Habits which had thus deceiv'd him, would not ſuffer his [illegible] to wear any at all, during the Ceremonies of [illegible]ſhip.

Let us now reckon up the Faults, which Mr. *du Boulai* has committed in the Space of twenty one Lines. I. He ſays, that *Hercules* was paſſing thro' the Quarters of Mount *Palatin*, when *Faunus* was ſmitten with his Wife: But if he had read *Ovid* (c), he would have found that *Hercules* was then in *Lydia*. II. He does not know whether the Wife, that attended *Hercules*, was *Iole* or *Omphale*. *Ovid*'s Text, without leaving room for a Doubt, fixes us to *Omphale*. III. He ſays, that *Hercules* retir'd into a Forreſt, to avoid the ſcorching Heat of the Sun. *Ovid* makes him retire into a Cave, and only when it was late. IV. He ſays, that *Omphale going to Bed, as being the more chilly and timorous, took the Lyon's Skin, which her Husband wore, to cover her, and the Club to defend her from the wild Beaſts.* There's not one Word in *Ovid* concerning theſe Motives: And beſides, what Incohe[illegible] that, on one hand, the Seaſon ſhould be ſo [illegible]mently hot, as to oblige 'em to retire into a Forreſt; and, on the other, the Nights ſhould be ſo cold, that a young Wife muſt cover her ſelf with a Lyon's Skin to keep her from periſhing? V. He ſays, that *Faunus* obſerved every thing, except the change of the Cloaths: *Ovid* makes him take notice of nothing, nor does he ſend him into the Cave till Mid-Night, when all the Servants, and *Hercules*, were faſt a-ſleep. VI. He ſays, that *Hercules awak'd his Wife, and made her light a Fire, whilſt he held the impertinent Fellow.* In *Ovid* 'tis *Omphale* (d) cries out, and commands not the Fire to be lighted, (this not being the way of expreſſing one's ſelf on ſuch Occaſions) but a Light to be brought. Farther, *Hercules* only puſh'd this Inſolent out of Bed; he did not hold him. VII. He ſays, that *Faunus* was *ſoundly bang'd*: Of which *Ovid* ſays not one Word. VIII. He ſays, that this Adventure was the Reaſon of *Hercules*'s riſing quite naked: But, on the contrary, as *Ovid* tells the Story, he had lain all Night in *Omphale*'s Cloaths. What Likelyhood is there that he ſhould be undreſs'd to riſe upon ſuch an Encounter as this? IX. He ſays, that *Hercules guarded his Wife from Violence.* This is falſe; for the Spark, taking the Husband for the Wife, made no attempt at all upon her. X. He ſays, that, becauſe *Hercules* roſe quite naked, and had ſecured his Wife from Violence, *he added the Ceremony of Nakedneſs to others, which were practis'd at the Feaſt of this God, to appeaſe him for the Treatment he had given him.* All this is falſe and abſurd: The two Cauſes of the Augmentation of the Ceremonies are Chimerical, as we have ſeen; and it was not *Hercules*, but *Faunus* or *Pan*, that eſtabliſh'd the Ceremony of Nakedneſs.

(c) Jam Bacchea nemus Tmoli vinea tenebat.

(d) Inclamat comites, & lumina poſcit Mœonis, illaris ignibus acta patent.

(A) *That an Incubus begat him on his Mother.*] Hathet *Maimbourg* has been ſo equitable as to reject this ridiculous Story. *He was born,* ſays he (e), *at* Illeben *in the County of* Mansfeld, *in the Year* 1483, *not of an Incubus, as ſome, to render him more odious, have written, without any Appearance of Truth, but as other Men are born, a thing never call'd in Queſtion till he became an Hereſiarch, which he might eaſily be, without any need of ſubſtituting a Devil in the place of his Father,* John Luther, *or diſgracing his Mother,* Margaret Linderman (f), *by ſo infamous a Birth.* Such Fables are hardly to be pardon'd in thoſe who mention them only as the Sporting of Wit. This is what an *Italian Theatin* has done in a Poem, in which he ſuppoſes, that *Luther*, born of *Megera*, one of the Furies, was ſent from Hell into *Germany.* This is rather Monkiſh than Poetical.

(e) *Maimbourg, hiſtoire du Lutheran. lib.* 1. *pag.* 23, 24. *See alſo* Spondani Annales ad ann. 1517. n. 13.

(f) Seckendorf, Hiſtor. Lutheran. lib. 1. pag. 20. col. 2. *owns, that this is the true Name of* Luther's *Mother.*

(g) *Cajetanus Vieeich, Thienidos, l.* 1. *See the Journal of* Leipſick 1686, *pag.* 573. *in the Extract of the* Sacer Helicon *of this Author.* Thomas de Vio *ſirnamed* Caieran, *is taken, in this Extract, for the Founder of the* Theatins, *and for the ſame with* Cajetan Thiene. *This is an Error.*

(B) *A diſadvantageous Horoſcope.*] *Martin Luther* was born the 10th of *November*, betwixt Eleven and Twelve

Scope. They accuſe him of having confeſs'd, that having ſtruggled for ten Years together (C) with his Conſcience, he at laſt became perfectly Maſter of it, and fell into Atheiſm. They add, that he frequently ſaid, he (D) would renounce his Portion in Heaven, provided God would allow him a hundred Years of pleaſant Life in this World. They impudently maintain, that he denied (E) the Immortality of the Soul.

They Twelve a Clock at Night, at *Iſleben*, where his Mother was come upon ſome Buſineſs to the Fair, not thinking ſhe was ſo near her time: For we muſt know, that her Husband, a Man of mean Condition, and who work'd in the Mines, did not then live at *Iſleben*, but in the Village of *Mera* (b). The good Woman, being examin'd by *Melanchthon*, about the Year ſhe lay-in of *Martyn Luther*, anſwer'd, That ſhe did not very well remember it; ſhe only knew the Day and the Hour (i). 'Twas out of pure Malice then, that *Florimond de Remond* choſe to place his Birth on the 22d of *October*. He thought thereby to confirm the Aſtrological Predictions of *Junctin*, who, by the Horoſcope of this Day, has defam'd *Martyn Luther*, as much as poſſible. This Aſtrologer was ſtrongly confuted by a Profeſſor of *Strasburg*, who ſhew'd, that, by the Rules of Aſtrology, *Luther* was to be a great Man. *Nihilominus* (k) *Ramundus* diem 22. Octobris *præfert, utmalitioſæ Aſtrologi cujuſdam* Junctini *calumniæ fidem conciliaret, qui ex horoſcopo illius diei ingenium Lutheri miris modis infamare voluit. Hunc* Iſaacus Malleolus *Profeſſor. Mathem. Argentoratenſis anno* 1617, *edita diſſertatione* de genitura Lutheri *refutavit.*

To illuſtrate theſe Words of Mr. *Seckendorf*, I ought to ſay, that *Florimond de Remond* followed *Cardan*'s Hypotheſis more than *Junctin*'s. He mentions both the Dates, that of the 22d of *October*, and that of the 10th of *November*. He prefers the firſt, which is that of *Cardan*, and inſinuates, that *Junctin* went by the latter. *Luther*, ſays he (l), *was born at* Iſleben .... 1483, *the* 22*d of* October, *in the Afternoon, at Eleven a Clock, thirty-ſix Minutes .... Many ſay he was born the* 10*th of* November, *on St.* Martin's *Eve, which made his Parents name him* Martin: *This, it may be, has occaſion'd the Difference; for it is not probable, that* Cardan *and* Junctin, *who with ſo much Curioſity have calculated his Nativity, ſhould be both miſ-inform'd. But* Cardan *ſays he was born the* 22*d of* October; *this is* Luther's *true Birth-Day: The ſame ſays* Junctin. *And, though there be ſome Diverſity between theſe two Aſtrologers, upon* Luther's *Horoſcope, yet it is ſo ſmall that it deſerves not to be conſidered. For in both the Planets are ſituate in the ſame Houſes; the Moon, in both, is in the twelfth;* Jupiter, Venus, and Mars, *in the third; the Sun,* Saturn, and Mercury, *in the fourth.* The Diverſity of theſe two famous Aſtrologers, was not ſo great as that of ſome others, who differ a whole Year about the Birth of *Martin Luther*. I ſhall cite my Author. " (m) There will be as many Themes or Figures (n) " as there are Spectators at different Hours; and " each Aſtrologer, by that means, will make his " own different from the reſt .... They'll certainly " meet, notwithſtanding all this; as heretofore two " of theſe Gentlemen did in *Germany*, who, in making *Luther*'s Horoſcope, who was born the 10th " of *November* 1483, agreed as to all the Events of his " Life, and his Perſonal Qualities, though they diffe'r'd as to the Day of his Birth a whole Year: So " true it is, that this noble Science never fails to " diſcover all Events." The Difference between *Gauricus* and *Cardan*, is a compleat Year, being ſome few Hours. *Gauricus* places *Luther*'s Birth the 22d of *October* 1484, one of Clock, ten Minutes in the Afternoon, and he finds by this Horoſcope the ſame Abominations as *Cardan*. (o) *Hac mira ſatiſque horrenda. 5. Planetarum coitio ſub Scorpii aſteriſmo in nona cœli ſtatione quam Arabes religioni deputabant, effecit ipſum ſacrilegum hereticum, Chriſtianæ religionis hoſtem acerrimum, atque prophanum. Ex horoſcopi directione ad Martis coitum irreligioſiſſimus obiit. Ejus Anima ſceleſtiſſima ad Inferos navigavit, ab Allecto, Teſiphone, & Megera flagellis igneis cruciata perenniter.* Say, if you pleaſe, after this, that the Aſtrologers have not a great Zeal for the Religion they profeſs. But note, that this laſt was a Prelate.

(C) *That having ſtruggled for ten Years together with his Conſcience.*] " (a) *Martin Luther*, who " had made ſuch Progreſs, as to arrive at the Perfection of Atheiſm, confeſſes, notwithſtanding, " that he had fought for ten Years together againſt " himſelf, to ſtifle or blunt that piercing Sting of " Conſcience, which his Atheiſm left in the inmoſt " Receſſes of his miſerable Soul." Such an Accuſation requir'd a Citation of *Martyn Luther*'s own Words; and yet *Garaſſe* begs your Pardon, and does not ſo much as cite this Author's Works in an indefinite manner: But in the 968th Page of his Book, he has not ſo far forgot his Duty; he has cited ſomething: This is what he ſays, *Luther, who was a perfect Atheiſt, owns, in his Table-Diſcourſes, related by* Rebenſtock, *that he had lain ten Years before his Conſcience, the Term the* Greeks *lay before the City of* Troy; *for that was his Compariſon: But that by his Diligence, he had maſter'd it, and reduced his Mind to ſuch a State, as to entertain no farther Scruples. He might, in my Opinion, apply the whole Story, and the taking of* Troy, *to the taking of his Conſcience: For, as* Troy *was taken by Means of a Wooden Horſe, ſo it was by a Wooden Horſe that* Luther *took his own Conſcience, and ſtifled all that Vermin of Scruples: For from that time he became a Horſe, if there ever was an Horſe in the World: And his Diſciple,* Aurifaber, *depoſes, as an Ear-Witneſs, that he had learnt it from* Luther's *Mouth from the Pulpit, that, thanks be to God, he felt no longer any Diſturbance of his Conſcience; and that he began to ſee the Fruits of his Goſpel amongſt his Diſciples;* Nam poſt revelatum Evangelium meum, *ſaid he,* Virtus eſt occiſa, juſtitia oppreſſa, temperantia ligata, veritas lacerata, fides claudа, nequitia quotidiana, devotio pulſa, hæreſis relicta. *I have fought with ſuch Succeſs that I have ſtifled the Seeds of Vertue, oppreſs'd Juſtice, extinguiſh'd Sobriety, rent Truth to Pieces, broken the Pillars of Faith, made Villany familiar, baniſh'd Devotion, and introduc'd Hereſy.* There's no need to obſerve here, that all this is to be underſtood by the Rules of Contraries; the thing ſpeaks it ſelf: And I am certain, there's no honeſt Man, whatever Religion he is of, but will deteſt or pity the Extravagance of ſuch a Slanderer.

(D) *That he would renounce his Portion in Heaven.*] This Accuſation comes from the ſame Hand as the former. " (b) *Quirinus Cnoglerus* has obſerved, in " his *Lutheran* Creed, that he had ſeen a little *German* Book written in Praiſe of SAINT MARTIN LUTHER, which contain'd at large the Legend of this New Saint, canoniz'd by the Miniſters " of *Germany*, in which he had particularly read the " following Paſſage. *Compoſiti ſunt duo verſus in honorem cariſſimi noſtri præceptoris* SANCTI LUTHERI, *debentque omnes Papiſtæ ferre, velint, nolint, ut veri verſus, & pia carmina ſint & maneant: ſunt autem hujuſmodi:*

" IN VITA ÆTERNA.

" *Chriſtus habet primas, habeas tibi Paule ſecundas,*
" *At loca poſt illos tertia,* LUTHER *habet.*"

See the Margin (c).

(E) *That he denied the Immortality of the Soul.*] " (d) *Martyn Luther*, who was a Man wholly carnal, " and compos'd of Fat and Greaſe, teaches, in ſeveral Places, that the Immortality of the Soul is a " meer Chimera; for behold his own Words in the ſecond Tome of his Works of the *Wittemberg* Edition, " in the Year MDLI, in the 27th Article of his Aſſertions. *Quos Leo Pontifex definivit articuli fidei, de immortalite animæ, portenta ſunt*: And in the ſame " Tome of the Edition of the Year MDLII. in the " Articles XXXI. and XLI. he clearly ſays; *Nihil eſt quod dicitur, Anima rationalis creando infunditur, & infundendo creatur: melius hac in re vatis decernit & Poeta dicens, Patrem ſequitur ſua proles.* 'Tis " better to believe (ſays this groſs Blockhead) what " the Poet ſays, than what the Church teaches: " Thus you ſee from what Fountain this Reformer " drew his Articles of Faith; from the lewd Poets, " who have acknowledg'd no other Deity than *Venus*, " nor any other Pleaſure than Senſuality." The firſt of theſe two Paſſages is ſo mutilated, that no Judgment can be paſs'd upon it. 'Tis no ſtrange thing for a moſt Orthodox Man to call thoſe Thoughts Chimera's, which another entertains concerning the Immor-

(b) Seckendorf, *ubi ſupra.*

(i) *Id. ib.*

(k) Seckendorf, *ibid. See alſo a Book (of* John Frideric von der Scraſs, *Miniſter near* Scrasbourg) *intituled,* Memoria Thaumaſandri Lutheri renovata.

(l) Florim. de Remond *hiſt. de l'hereſi lib.* 1 *chap.* 5. *p. m.* 25.

(m) Petit *diſſertation ſur les Cometes, pag.* 104, 105.

(n) That's *to ſay, touching the Hour of the firſt appearing of a Comet.*

(o) Lucas Gauricus *in tractatu Aſtrologico de præteritis multorum hominum accidentibus per genituras examinatis fol.* 691. *verſo edit.* 552.

(a) Garaſſe, Doctrine curieuſe, *pag.* 214.

(b) *Id. ib. pag.* 889, 890.

(c) *The moſt material Point in this Paſſage of* Garaſſe *is this.* To this I anſwer *ſays he,* that the *Lutherans* are much in the wrong ... becauſe *Luther* often proteſted, as *Rebenſtock* informs us, in his Table-Talk, that he wou'd freely renounce all Pretenſions and Proſpects, and provided God would be pleaſed to grant him a hundred Years of good Living in this World, he would give him an Acquittance for his Share of Paradice.

(d) *Id. ib. pag.* 877, 878.

charge him with having (F) groſs and carnal Ideas of Heaven, and with compoſing Hymns in Honour of Drunkenneſs, a Vice to which (G) they make him much addicted.

immortality [illegible] Soul. He would not call the Doctrine of Im[illegible]ity it ſelf thus, but the abſurd Reaſons it m[illegible]e built upon, and the extravagant Conſequences [illegible]duc'd from it. As to the ſecond Paſſage, what can be more abſurd than to pretend a Man teaches the Mortality of the Soul, upon Pretence, that he ſuppoſes it produc'd by another Soul? May he not be perſuaded, with the Fathers of the Church, that the Soul is immortal, and produc'd by way of Propagation, *ex traduce?* But, what do I ſtand on? A Man would be as ridiculous to take Pains to prove, that *Luther* believ'd the Immortality of the Soul, as he who accuſes him of believing it Mortal.

But, to ſhew what Streſs is to be laid upon *Garaſſe*'s Citations from *Martin Luther*'s Table-Talk, let me here obſerve how he cites *Prateolus*. Calvin's *Doctrine*, ſays he (e), *holds, and muſt hold the Mortality of the Soul, if it will be at all coherent, and* du Preau *very well perceived this in his Book of Hereſies*, verbo Athei; *for he there obſerves, that a general Aſſembly being held at* Geneva *of all the States to deliberate concerning Purgatory, one of the moſt ingenious, and moſt conſiderable, ſaid expreſsly, when it came to his Turn to give his Voyce*, Purgatorium cum Miſſâ & Romano Pontifice melius abolebimus quàm ſi dicamus, ſimul animam [illegible] corpore extingui, *ſuch was the Opinion of this [illegible]man. And then afterwards, to confirm this [illegible]ne, came out publick Theſes, printed and diſputed in* Geneva, *in the Year* MDLXVIII, *wherein were theſe Words:* Quicquid de animarum habetur immortalitate, ab Antichriſto ad ſtatuendam ſuam culinam excogitatum eſt. *All that is ſaid concerning the Immortality of the Soul, ſaid this Proponent, is nothing elſe, but an Invention of Antichriſt, to make the Pot boil.* *Du Preau* (f) has only cited *Lindanus*, who ſaid, that the *Italian* Proteſtants, who fled to *Geneva*, deliberating one Day concerning the Means of aboliſhing Purgatory, the Papacy, and other Doctrines of the Catholick Church; one of 'em gave his Opinion, that the beſt Way was to ſay, the Soul died with the Body. By this means, ſaid he, we ſhall deſtroy Purgatory, the Maſs, and the Pope all at once. *Lindanus* (g) cites he Acts of *Valentine Gentilis*'s Trial. 'Tis a Book wherein the Calviniſts complain of ſome Members of the *Italian* Church of *Geneva* who were infected with Arianiſm, and were expell'd for their Errors. Judge if this be proper to ſtain the Calviniſts, or fix any Blot upon the Orthodoxy of the *Geneveſe*. But eſpecially admire Father *Garaſſe*'s Raſhneſs, who has converted a Meeting of ten or twelve *Italians* into a general Aſſembly of all the States; and an Opinion advanced by ſome inconſiderable Perſons in a Chamber, into Theſes publickly [illegible]bded. If this Jeſuit thus Abuſes *Prateolus*'[illegible]rity, what Credit can we give him, when he [illegible] *Martin Luther*'s Table-Talks? I ſhall only confute him in this general Way; for having not the Book it ſelf, I can't confront the Words with *Garaſſe*'s Allegations. I add, that he has related a thing quite otherwiſe than one of his Fraternity. *Articulus ille*, ſays an *Iriſh* Jeſuit (i), *quo creditur* animam eſſe immortalem, *Luthero judice* eſt portentum in Romano ſterquilinio Decretorum quod Papa condidit ſibi & ſuis fidelibus. To give us juſt Suſpicions that this is ill cited, we need only caſt an Eye upon the reſt of this Jeſuit's Diſcourſe. *Si dubites*, continues he, *an fortè contagio hujus portentoſi Paradoxi alios à Reformatione abſtraxerit, Reſpondit Joannes Brentius* (i): Etſi inter nos nulla ſit publica profeſſio quod anima ſimul cum corpore intereat, & quod non ſit mortuorum reſurrectio: tamen impuriſſima & profaniſſima illa vita quam maxima pars hominum ſectatur, perſpicuè indicat quod non ſentiant eſſe vitam poſt hanc. Nonnullis etiam tales voces tam ebrii inter pocula excidunt, quàm ſobriis in familiari[illegible]oquiis. *Quibus declarat, licet non publica, ſa[illegible]uata perſuaſione, & licentia vitæ, hanc invaluiſſe ſententiam, eamque vel ipſos ſobrios profiteri.* Can any thing be more aſtoniſhing? A Paſtor deplores the Corruption of his Flock. *Though there be not amongſt us*, ſays he, *any Formulary of publick Faith, by which we declare that the Soul [illegible] with the Body, and that the dead riſe not again; the impure and profane Life that moſt People lead is a manifeſt Sign, that they believe not the Immortality of the Soul. Some even drop ſuch Diſcourſes not only when they are drunk, but when they are ſober, in common Converſation with their Friends.* Hereupon they accuſe a whole Church of diſ-believing the Immortality of the Soul, and repreſent 'em as only ſtopping at the making it an expreſs Article of their Religion. Who can bear Conſequences, in which the Blindneſs of Paſſion, is ſo ſcandalous? See the Margin (a).

(F) *With having groſs and carnal Ideas of Heaven.*] Let us ſtill cite Father *Garaſſe*. *Luther*, (b) ſays he, *being arrived to perfect Atheiſm, was ſtill more ridiculous, for having deviſed intolerable Fooleries, according to the Confeſſion of his own Diſciple* Rebenſtock; *for he one Day preach'd publickly, that God, to pleaſure his Elect, was reſolved to create, after the laſt Judgment, little Cats, and Lap-Dogs*, Quorum cutis erat aurea, & pili de lapidibus pretioſis, *and beſtow 'em on the Bleſſed to uſe 'em for Play-Things, as the Ladies do who put 'em in their Muffs. He adds, that there will be Serpents, Toads, and Caterpillars in Heaven, but that they ſhall be of the fineſt Ducat Gold; and which is more there ſhall be*, ſays he, *Piſmires, Lice, ſtinking Inſects, and Buggs in Paradice, but they ſhall be all made of precious Stones, and ſhall all ſmell much better than Civet* (c); *for theſe are his very Words.* Ibi formicæ, cyniphes & omnia fœtida, & male olentia animalia, meræ delitiæ erunt, & optimum odorem ſpirabunt. *All the Excuſe I can make to cover the Impiety of this groſs Man, is, that when he ſaid and wrote theſe Things, he was drunk, for it was*, In Sermonibus CONVIVIALIBUS titulo de vitâ æterna, pag. 454.

(G) *In Honour of Drunkenneſs, a Vice to which they [illegible]uch addicted.*] " (d) *Martin Luther*, in [illegible]ome of his Works, in the Chapter of [illegible]ſs, after having authoriz'd this Vice, " and ſhewn, as well as he could, that it was inci- " dent to all the great Perſons that ever were, at " laſt remembring the Eccleſiaſtical Hymns, he was " wont to chant in the Cloyſters, made one in Ho- " nour of Drunkenneſs, which conſiſts of two Stan- " za's; the firſt whereof is this:

" *Si vino te impleveris*
" *Dormire ſtatim poteris,*
" *Et poſt ſomnum, ventriculum*
" *Vino implere iterum,*
" *Nam Alexandri regula*
" *Præſcribit hac remedia.*

" ....(e) We ſee in a Book called *Concordia Proteſtantium*, that *Luther* is dignified with thoſe Elogies, " *Divus Lutherus zelo plenus*: And, as the Painters " uſed to repreſent our Saints by their Perſonal Signs, " St. *Jerom* by a Lyon, (though this be a Fault of " the Painters, authoriz'd by Antient Cuſtom; for " 'tis not St. *Jerome*, but St. *Geraſimus* that ought " to be repreſented by a Lyon) St. *Ambroſe* by a " Swarm of Bees, St. *Auſtin* by a young Child, St. " *Gregory* by a white Pidgeon; ſo 'tis a Cuſtom, " throughout all *Germany*, to paint this new Pro- " teſtant Saint with this ſpecifick Mark; name- " ly, a great Glaſs full of Wine; which, as " I have ſhewn before, and related from *Reben- " ſtock*, he called *Poculum Chatechiſticum*: Such are " *Luther*'s Arms; and *John Matheſius* adds, that " he boaſted no Body could drink off his Glaſs in a " Breath but himſelf; as no Body could manage " *Hercules*'s Club but himſelf." The Paſſage *Garaſſe* refers us to, concerning the *Catechiſtical Goblet*, is in the 50th *Page*; and is this: *The moſt frolickſome of all was* Martin Luther, *as* Rebenſtock, *and* Matheſius *relate in his Life; for this huge Blunderbuſs, being at Table, uſed to have his great Goblet brought him, which he called* Poculum Catechiſticum, *which held about two Pints, and which he ſwallowed at a Draught, boaſting that no Body could do it but himſelf: As* Ulyſſes, *ſaid he, had a Bow, which no Body could bend and draw up to the Arrows Point but himſelf. Now when he was heated with Wine, having three or four times conſulted his Catechiſtical Goblet, he told the pleaſanteſt Stories in the World; for, falling upon the Drapery of the antient Doctors, he uſed to illuminate [illegible]m with the fineſt Colours*, Let's here refute what we [illegible]d in *Fitz Simon*'s Works: I place his Citations in the Margin: (g) *Ait de ſe Lutherus, nihil ſingulare in vita mea eminet. Poſſum jocari, potare, frontem exporrigere, ridere, ſumque commodus & facetus con-*

(a) *Not having the Acts of the Tryal of* Valentin Gentilis *by me at this time, I can't tell whether* Lindanus *has faithfully quoted what he alledges from it; or whether there really was any* Italian, *who believed as* Lindanus *ſays.*

(b) *Garaſſe ubi ſupra. pag.* 320.

(c) *Compare what has been ſaid in the Article* Loyola, *Remark T.*

(d) *Garaſſe ibid. pag.* 772.

(e) *Garaſſe ibid. pag.* 773.

(g) *Fitz-Simon, Britannomachia, lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. *pag.* 95, 96.

(e) *Ubi ſupra, p.* 379.

(f) Iſtiuſmodi complures eſſe Geneveæ in eccleſia, quàm dicunt, Italica, unum illud ſatis ſuperque arguit, quòd cum iſti Calviniſtæ de abolendo ſemel pontificatu Romano, Purgatorio extinguendo, aliiſque Catholicæ Dei eccleſiæ dogmatibus delendis, inter ſe conſulterent, unus præ cæteris eximie ſui magiſtri mendaciorum partis afflatu raptus: Dicamus animam, inquit, una cum corpore extingui, ſic Purgatorium cum Miſſa & Romano Pontifice ſemel abolebimus.... Hæc [illegible]dan[illegible] *Præ[illegible] in Elenchu hæreſ. voce* Athei, *pag. m.* 72.

(g) *In Dubitantio. dialoge* 2. *p. m.* 247, 248.

(i) *Henricus Fitz-Simon, in Britannomachia Miniſtrorum, l.* 1. *cap.* 12. *pag.* 112.

(i) *Brentius, Homil.* 35. *in cap.* 20. *Lucæ.*

addicted. They affirm, that he vomited a Thousand Blasphemies against the Holy Scripture, and particularly (H) against *Moses*. They go so far as to maintain, that he got (I) *Amadis* translated into good *French* to put People out of Conceit with the Scripture, and all Books of Devotion. They observed so little Measures in the Calumnies they publish'd against him, as to accuse him of having said, that he believed nothing (K) of what he preach'd; and that he should be glad to find that other Ministers resembled him in this. Most of these Calumnies are grounded upon some Words in a certain (L) Book published by *Luther*'s Friends; to which they give a horrid

convivator, cumque unum birræ, sive cervisiæ cantharum teneo (*verbi gratia vitrum illud monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, ex Apostolorum symbolo, Dominica oratione, & decem præceptis constans quod uno hausu Lutherus exhaurire consuevit.*) Scatim dolium ipsum totum concupisco, sepiusque benè bonum haustum facio in Dei gloriam. Pro ea itaque quod prius macerabam corpus meum, mox cùm mortuus & in capulo repositus fuero, vermibus venericosum benéque crassum Doctorem escam dabo (1). *Venericosum & benè crassum Doctorem Discipuli Reformati, Evangelistamque jocosum, bibacem, commedum & facetum convivatorem, proprii oris confessione Evangelici nostri Reformatores nacti sunt.* In another place (*h*) of his Book we find these Words: *Quasi vero Lutherus in immani suo vitro catechistico, quod solus ille exhaurire potuit, unam aquæ guttulam instillari tulerit?* Mr. *Juncker*, at Page 195, and 220 of his *Vita D. Martini Lutheri Nummis atque iconibus illustrata*, maintains, that all that is said of this pretended Catechistical Rummer, is an Imposture and gross Fiction; and he cites two or three Works, which prove, that we ought not to take any notice of what is found upon it in the *Colloquia Mensalia*. This Book of Mr. *Juncker* is very curious, and shews, that the Author apply'd himself, with great Diligence and Success, to a Research into every thing that was fit to clear the Matter which he was upon.

(1) *Luth. in colloq. Francof. 1571, f. 445. Matthesius de ritu bibendi super sanitate, lib. 1. c. 9.*

(*h*) *Fitz-Simon, ib. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 270. He cites* Joann. Fredericus Matenes. de ritu bibendi super sanitate, *pag. 76.*

(*H*) *And particularly against* Moses.] "(*i*) "*Martin Luther* had hardly any thing frequenter "in his Mouth, particularly in the Intervals of his "Cups, than that the Commandments of the Decalogue, were the Source and Fountain of all the "Villanies in the World, as *Rebenstock* has related "in his Colloquies, in Page CCCLXIX. and in the "2d Tome of his Works of the *Wittemberg* Edition, "Page 112, he makes a Vow to God, almost of the "same nature of that of the miserable *Theophilus*, "in the first Sonnet of the Satyrical *Parnassus*; for "his part, he solemnly and devoutly promises ne-"ver to keep any of the Ten Commandments: And "in fine, being in the Exercise of his Devotions, he "says, *Tollantur è medio omnia Dei præcepta & cessa-"bunt omnes Hæreses.* To suppress Heresies, talk not "to me of Disputes, nor Conferences, nor War, "nor the Command of Princes: I know a shorter "Expedient than all this, which is, to throw the "Decalogue into the Fire, and there will be no more "Heresies in the World.... (*k*) But if you would "more clearly understand and discover *Luther*'s Opi-"nion concerning the Decalogue, and the Law of "*Moses*, observe how he speaks of them in the first "Tome of his Works of the *Wittemberg* Edition "MDL. Pag. CCXV. *Vide ut sis prudens, & Mo-"sem cum suâ lege, quam longissimè amoliri, & in ma-"lum vam abire jubeas; neque quicquam illius terrore "ac minis moveris, sed, subjectum eum habeto, ut "pessimum hæreticum anathematizatum & damnatum "hominem, malleoque detestandum Papæ & Diabolo.* Be "prudent, says he, and stand upon your Guard; "and when the Question shall be about *Moses*, send "him to the Devil, with all his Old Testament, and "be not concerned at his Menaces; for as much as "he is an Heretical Miscreant, an excommunicated "Wretch, and a damned Soul. In a word, a more "cursed Villain than the Pope, and the Devil." I have already said before, that (*l*) *Luther* having, by *Gerasse*'s own Confession, arrived to *Atheism*, held also the like great Industry, as that of Rebenstock relates, in his Table-Talk. Discourse; as Rebenstock relates, in his Table-Talk. Ego non-plurio facio sanctum Joan Scripturæ, quam pertidem sucum. *Avulsa sex Hundred Places of the Bible, if they should be urged to me, no more than a rotten Nut.* Lastly, he advances, that (*m*) *Luther* used to say after Dinner, *that he knew a good Way to prevent sinning mortally against God; which is, said he, to throw the Decalogue and the Bible into the Fire.*

(*k*) *Ibid. pag. 562.*

(*l*) *Ibid. pag. 237.*

(*m*) *Ibid. pag. 881.*

(*n*) *Intitled*, Lectiones morales in Jonam Prophetam. *It comprehends three Volumes in Fol. printed at Antwerp, the two first in 1680, the last in 1683. See the Journal of Leipsick, 1684, pag. 443.*

(*I*) *That he got* Amadis *translated.*] This fine Lye is found in the Books of an *Italian* Dominican (*n*), called Brother *Angelo Paciuchelli*. His Book, written in the *Italian* Tongue, has been translated into *Latin* by *Charles de Marimont*, a *Lorrain* Theatin. The *Leipsick* Journal mentions it. In which I have found the following Passage; (*o*) *A veritate maxime alienum est, quod Lectione statim prima, qua S. Scripturæ & Asceticorum librorum necessitatem & utilitatem commendat, de B. Luthero tradiderit: seelaratum scelicet illum virum, cum Germaniam execrabili hæresi contaminare decrevisset, profanis eam libris corrupisse, curavisseque ut lingua Gallica liber quidam donaretur, Amadis dictus, & quidem omni elegantia exornatus, per Principum aulas spargeretur; sicque paulatim sacrarum paginarum spiritualiumque librorum nausea curiosorum aulicorum animis instillaretur. Cujus ineptissimæ calumniæ, quæ nobis quidem non indignationem sed risum movet, non potuit non cordatiores ex Romano-Catholicis pudere, quos minime fugit quanto zelo ad sacra Scripturæ, quæ ipsi tunc clavo tantum non fordebat, laicorum usu manibus extorta plane erat, frequentissimam lectionem, omne hominum genus, summos, mediocrimos, infimos Lutherus noster revocaverit, sacris in vernaculam fiscum Bibliis (non Amadis) in vernaculam linguam inæredibili labore atque studio traductis.* What is not a Man capable of, in point of Calumny, diametrically opposite to all Probability, when there are those who dare affirm, that *Luther* desired to bring the Scriptures into discredit: *Luther*, I say, who had no greater Reproach to bear, from all the first Reformers, than that of too much recommending to Lay-Men the reading of the Bible in the vulgar Tongue?

(*o*) *Journal of Leipsick. ibid. pag. 444.*

(*K*) *That he believ'd nothing of what he preach'd.*] "(*a*) There are a great many Christians, who are "Christians in appearance, who make an outward "Profession of believing in God, in a Perfunctory "manner, and by way of Compliment, that they "may not be thought Atheists. *Erasmus* reproach'd "*Beza* with being of this Class, and applied to him "the Saying of *Socrates*, *Hoc unum scire scio, quod "nihil scio*, by a gentle Transposition, *Hoc unum me "credere credo, quod nil credo.* Of this Humour was "the late Moral, *Martin Luther*, who thank'd God, "that he was not singular in his Fraternity: For I "believe nothing, said he, of what I preach; and, "God be blessed, there are many who are infected "with the same Distemper amongst our Ministers; "as *John Mathesius* has written in his Life: This is "what I call, believing in God in appearance, and "these are the Christians in Appearance, who be-"lieve in God by way of Compliment, *Ne nihil cre-"dere videantur.*" Compare this with *Mathesius*'s *Latin*, cited by *Henry Fitz-Simon*, you'll find how *Gerasse* has amplified it. (*b*) *Joannes Mathesius in vitam Lutheri plures concionas composuit, quas tandem in lucem emisit. In earum vero duodecima sic ait: Magister Joannes Musa Praedicans Roehlinensis narravit mihi, se quodam tempore admodum dolenter Luthero questum esse, quod ipsemet ea credere non posset quæ aliis prædicabat. Tum respondisse Lutherum: Respicibus ergo sic Deus, cum idem aliis quod mihi usu venit. Adhuc enim mihi soli id usu venire credidi.*

(*a*) *Gerasse ubi supra, pag. 109, 110.*

(*b*) *Fitz-Simon ubi supra, l. 1. c. 11. pag. 100. He cites* Joan. Mathes. de vita Luth. conc. 12. fol. 147.

(*c*) *Voss. Disput. Theolog. Thes. 4. pag. 698.*

(*d*) *Seckendorf, apud Beauval, hist. des Ouvrages des Savans, Feb. 1692, pag. 262. The Words of* Seckendorf *hist. Lutheran. lib. 3. pag. 643, are these* Libro colloquiorum mensalium minus quidem caute compositio & vulgato.

(*I*) *Of a certain Book published by* Luther's *Friends.*] According to the present Mode, it would have been called *Lutheriana* or *Lutheyana*. But the Title that was given it of *Sermones Mensales*, or *Colloquia Mensalia* is better; for *Luther*'s Table-Talk is the Subject of the Book. It was published in 1569, by *Henry Peter Rebenstock*, Minister of *Eischerim*. *Andrew Rivet*, if I mistake not, says some where, that this Book is a Forgery: But *Gilbert* (*e*) *Voetius*, as zealous against Popery as himself, acknowledges the contrary. Mr. *Seckendorf* has not attempted to prove this Book suppositious, but is content to observe, that these Table-Discourses (*d*) were collected with Indiscretion, and ungroundedly Printed by a Person.... who absurdly idolized Luther. The Controversists of the other Side took Advantage of it, as appears by *Gerasse*'s Passages above.

rid Meaning, and very remote from this Miniſters Thoughts. Not but it muſt be confeſs'd, that it was the higheſt Imprudence to publiſh ſuch a Collection. It was the Effect (*M*) of an inconſiderate Zeal, or rather of an exceſſive Prepoſſeſſion, which hinder'd their diſcerning the Faults of this great Man. It can't be denied, but the impetuous [redacted] of his Temper forced from him ſuch Sayings, as highly deſerve to be condem[redacted]s when he declared his Opinion (*N*) upon St. *James*'s Epiſtle. There were

above-cited, and by the Notes of *Feuardent* upon St. *Irenæus* (*e*). They have made the ſame Uſe of *Luther*'s Letters, publiſhed with little Prudence and Diſcretion. See Mr. *Gaſtineau*'s Controverſial Letters, who cites a great many Pieces from them, diſhonourable to the Memory of the Author. See what Mr. *Salden* has anſwered to *Bellarmine*, who would prove, from *Luther*'s Table-Talk, that he diſcarded *Job* out of the Canon of Scripture. *Impegit* Luthero *quod* Jobi *etiam Libro divinam auctoritatem detraxerit, argumento è convivalibus ejus Sermonibus deprompto, at ludicro plane & calumnioſo; cum neque Libri illius Autor unquam fuerit* Lutherus, *neque eo vivente vel approbante editus ſit.* See the Margin (*g*).

(*M*) *It was the Effect of an inconſiderate Zeal.*] *Voiture*'s Apologiſt makes uſe of a Thought which may be properly applied in this Place: I ſhall relate the Paſſage at length, as containing ſeveral curious Matters. "(*h*) It were to be wiſhed, that the Publick had receiv'd from Mr. *Voiture*'s own Hands "the Preſent that has been made it of his Verſes "and Letters. He would, doubtleſs, have retrench'd "ſome things to have made it perfect..... He would "not have appeared before the World as he has "done in ſome of his Letters, in Diſorder, Undreſs'd, in his Morning-Gown; he would have "put on his Court-Cloaths or even a Ceremonial and "Feſtival [illegible] He would have kept up in all "points to the ſtricteſt Laws of *Decorum*; with the "Rules of which he thought he might lawfully diſpenſe, in a free and ſecret Correſpondence with "his Friends and Confidents. They who have publiſhed his Works.... are fallen into a Fault, which "is ſeldom avoided on the like Occaſions, having "choſen to employ their Diligence in heaping up all "the ſcattered Pieces of our Author, rather than "their Judgment in making a good Choice of 'em. "And indeed, it's no wonder, that ingenious Men, "of ever ſo fine and delicate a Palate, ſhould be miſ-led in this manner. That beloved Freed-Man "of *Cicero*, whom he ſome-where calls the *Reformer "and Rule of his Writings*; and who, particularly "by the Beauty of his Wit, had merited his tendereſt Affections, did ſomething worſe than this. "After the Death of his Maſter, he publiſhed a "Collection of his Railleries, wherein, through an "Exceſs of Paſſion and Zeal, not venturing to leave "out any thing, he inſer[illegible]many ſo cold and inſipid, that *Quintilian*, a Supreme Judge of theſe "Matters, thinks 'em unworthy of ſo famous an "Orator. The meaning of which, Sir, is, that as "Piety conſecrates the vileſt Things, when they have "touched the Bodies of Saints, or only their "Bones and Aſhes; ſo Love and Admiration idolize whatever bears the Name of thoſe extraordinary Men, who have been raviſh'd from them; and, "as if every one was capable of the ſame Devotion "and Worſhip, propoſe 'em to the Veneration of all "the Earth, and of all Ages. The leaſt important "and moſt neglected Letter cannot eſcape 'em, "their Paſſionate Admirers look upon 'em, as precious Relicks of theſe great Wits, worthy to be "engraven on Braſs and Marble, and to be handed "to lateſt Poſterity... In the mean time theſe, whatever elſe may be ſaid of 'em, are not vitious "(*i*) Extreams; for, proceeding from the Violence "of a Friendſhip nobly plac'd, this ſort of Exceſs is more to be eſteem'd, than the Moderation of oth[illegible]ues; and deſerves not only Excuſe, but [illegible]endation. Your ridiculous Curioſities are [illegible]ondemned; ſuch as that of the *Greek*, who bought *Epictetus*'s earthen Lamp, which "he uſed in his Lucubrations, at the Price of "Three Thouſand Drachma's; or of that extravagant Prince, who gave I know not how many "ſeſterces for the Poet *Æſchylus*'s Table-Book; or "other, who corrupted the Prieſts of *Delphi*, to "*Orpheus*'s Lyre out of their Hands, though he "not how to touch it, or even to put it in Tune." I have ſeen a Preface (*k*) in an Edition of the *Scaligerana*, containing the ſame Thoughts in fewer Words. *La plaiſanterie eſt en iſtos literaturum heroas præpoſtera vulgi religio & quædam velut idolomania, ut ne verbulum quillem illis excidere patiatur quod non avide colligat, & inter pretioſiſſima monumenta ſedulo recondat. Pene quemodo hodierni ἁγιολάτραι* diverum cineres, *ungues, pilos, oſſium fragmenta, veſtium fimbrias aut lacinias, & cætera quæ reliquiarum nomine cenſent venerabundi ſeruant. Sic Virgilii ſpeculum, & quidem inter ſacra monumenta, Dionyſiani in agro Pariſienſi Monachi non ſine riſu viſendum præbent. Sic Italos Petrarchæ ſui non modo tumulum adeſque, ſed & urceum & ſedile, imo & domeſtica felis ſceleton cadaver aliaſque neſcio quot ejuſdem farinæ quiſquilias magna pompa peregrinantibus oſtentare refert Jo. Philippus Thomaſinus, libro quem de divini poetæ rebus compoſuit.* Theſe Things fairly repreſent to you the State of the Compilers of *Martin Luther*'s Diſcourſes.

(*N*) *His Opinion upon St.* James's *Epiſtle.*] He called it a Work of Straw, in Compariſon of St. *Paul*'s and St. *Peter*'s Epiſtles. The Catholick Controvertiſts have hereupon made a Thouſand Outcries, without being aſſured, by their own Ears, that ever *Luther* ſaid ſo. *Edmund Campian*'s Adventure is remarkable; he had accuſed *Luther* of uſing this Expreſſion: He had the Lie given him, and afterwards the Confuſion of not being able to make good what he had ſaid, though he was furniſhed with the Books he cited (*a*). This, which in reality was but a vain and imaginary Triumph, was, however, a ſubſtantial one, on account of the Shame it gave the Jeſuit, and the Joy it occaſion'd among the Proteſtants for that time. The learned *Whitaker*, if we believe (*b*) Mr. *Daillé*, enjoy'd a great Satisfaction from it all his Life long: He maintain'd, that *Luther* had not ſpoken in that manner, and that *Campian* ſlander'd him. Let Mr. *Daillé* ſpeak. "(*c*) Mr. *Cottiby* taxes *Luther* with ſaying, "that this Epiſtle is *a Work of Straw*; but he does "not ſhew the Book, nor Place of *Luther*, where theſe "Words are found; which makes me ſuſpect, that, "without having ſeen them, he truſted to *Edmund "Campian* the Jeſuit, or ſome ſuch Author, who, "hurry'd on by a furious Hatred againſt our Religion, make no Scruple to accuſe us of whatever "comes in their Head, be it ever ſo falſe or incredible. I cannot reſolve upon reading *Luther*'s "ſeven or eight great Tomes, to know whether he "writ theſe Words, which your Diſciple charges "upon him. I'll only tell you, that reading over "again what *William* (1) *Whitaker*, a grave and learned Man, anſwered to your *Campian*, who ſaid the "ſame thing of *Luther*, I have found, that he accuſes "him of a *notable Falſhood*; and ſays, that having "carefully ſought for the Preface of *Luther* to this "Epiſtle, from whence *Campian* cited theſe Words, "he had at laſt found it, and that it began thus: "*Though this Epiſtle of St.* James *has been rejected by "the Antients, yet for my particular I praiſe it, and "look upon it to be uſeful and advantagious.* He "adds, that the ſame Perſon in the Book, concerning the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, ſpeaks of it farther "in theſe Words: *I omit,* ſays he, *what many affirm, with great Probability, that this Epiſtle is not "the Apoſtle St.* James's, *nor worthy of the Spirit of "an Apoſtle.* But for *this Work of Straw*, of which "your Father *Campian*, and your new Diſciple "ſpeak, he proteſts he has no where met with it in "*Luther*." It is, however, true, that this is found in a Preface of this Reformer. Let us hear Mr. *Daillé* on. "(*d*) *Afterwards* Mr. Rivet, *anſwering the "Jeſuit* Sylveſter de Pierre Sainte *who alſo advanced "the ſame Calumny, adds*, that ſome have diſcovered to our People, that *Luther* had written in a "*German* Preface upon the firſt Edition of the Bible, "that St. *James*'s Epiſtle, as to its Worth, can't "be parallell'd with thoſe of St. *Paul*, and St. *Peter*, and that, in Compariſon of theſe, it is "an Epiſtle of Straw. We don't approve (ſays "Mr. (2) *Rivet*) this Judgment of *Luther*; and "'tis certain, he was afterwards better inform-"ed: Theſe Words being not to be found in "any of the Editions made after the Year 1526." To ſhew how Authors copy one another, without conſult-

Lib. 3. *cap.* 20. *You there find ſeveral Scraps of the Collection of* Rebenſtock, *as* Garaſſe *obſerves ubi ſupra. p.* 60. *You find ſome ſo in the* Theomachia Calviniſtica *of the ſame* Feuardentius.

(*f*) *Salden in otiis Theolog. pag.* 489. *He cites* Bellarm. de verbo Dei, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 5, 7.

(*g*) *Mr.* Junker *at page* 193, 194. *of the Life of* Luther nummis illuſtrata, *refers us to two or three Writers who have examined what ſtreſs we are to lay on theſe* Sermones convivales.

(*b*) *Coſtar, Defenſe des Ouvrages de Voiture, pag.* 10. *& ſeq.*

(*i*) *Coſtar is miſtaken, they are vicious almoſt always.*

(*k*) *It's aſcribed to Mr.* Daillé, *and I think, not without Ground, I have ſeen ſome who attribute it to Mr.* le Moyne. *This Edition is of* Cologn (*as the Title imports, but I believe its of* Roan) *in* 1667.

(*a*) Qui fronte id auſus es abſolute aſſerere, poſtquam ante multos annos, *Edmundus Campianus* è ſecta tua pſeudomartyr, ſuper ea re falſi convictus fuiſſet in Anglia, ubi cum id objeciſſet, prolatis libris, nihil unquam tale reperire potuit? *Rivetus Caſtigat. notar. in epiſt. ad Balzac. c.* 9. *n.* 6. *Oper. Tom.* 2. *p.* 524.

(*b*) *We ſhall ſee in the following Remark that we ought not to rely on him.*

(*c*) *Daillé Replique à Adam & à Cottiby, part.* 3. *cap* 23. *p. m.* 295.

(1) *Whitaker Reſp. ad Rat. Camp. ad l. p.* 7 *col.* 2.

(*d*) *Daillé ib. p.* 296.

(2) *A. Rivet. Jeſ. Vapul. c.* 9. *§.* 6. *p.* 188.

were ſome Proteſtants, who maintain'd, that he had not ſpoken ſo harſhly as was alledged; and at the bottom they were in the right, but they denied ſome things which they ought (NA) to have granted. If he actually ſaid all the things he is accus'd of uttering

(c) *That of* Luther *on the Epiſtle of St.* James.

(f) *Fitz-Simon ubi ſupra, pag.* 135.

(g) *Hiſt. des Variat. lib.* 3. *n.* 48. *pag. m.* 129.

(3) *De capt. Babylon. T. II.* 86.

(h) *Fitz-Simon ibid. pag.* 132.

(4) *Luth. in* 2. *prooemio Novi Teſt.* 1. *edit.*

(5) *Vide Sixt. Senenſ. præf. in Bibliothecam Sanctam.*

(i) *Campian. ratione* 1. *He cites* Lucherus *præfat. in epiſt. Ja.* vide etiam li. de capti. Babi. cap. de extr. unct. & cent. 2. Magdeb. pag. 58.

(k) *See the Jeſuit* Paul Bombinus *in the Life of* Campian, *c.* 46.

(l) *Vita Campiani cap.* 46. *pag.* 260. *edit. of* Antwerp. 1618.

(m) Hic vero quaſi deſperatæ jam cauſæ Campianus ſerum patronum inde uſque à Germania advocaret, effuſi in perulantem riſum Miniſtri dicentem adhuc illudere. *Ib. pag.* 258.

(n) *Whitak. in reſponſ. ad rationes Campiani defenſione contra confutationem Duræi, p.* 21, 22. *edit. Londin.* 1583.

conſulting the Originals, I obſerve, that *Fitz-Simon*, renewing the Accuſation which his Brother-Jeſuit *Campian* could not prove, cites the ſame Preface (e) that *Campian* had cited. (f) *Idem Deo de Epiſtola Sancti Jacobi quam Lutherus non tantùm ut dubiam, ſed ut contentioſam, tumidam, aridam, ſtramineam, & apoſtolico ſpiritu indignam appellavit.* Mr. *de Meaux* do's not ſpeak of this Epithet *Straminea*, nor cite any of theſe Prefaces, but another Book of *Luther*. "(g) The bold Reformer retrench'd from "the Canon of the Scripture, whatever did not "comport with his Notions; and 'twas with re- "gard to this Unction, that he writ, *in the Captivity* "*of* Babylon, without any Teſtimony of Antiquity, "that this Epiſtle (3) *does not ſeem to be St.* James's, "*nor worthy of an Apoſtolick Spirit.*" *Fitz-Simon* has ſaid, in another place, that *Luther* rejected the three firſt Evangeliſts. (h) *Judicare quoque oportet ejus* (Lutheri) *animum ergà vetus teſtamentum, ex odio ergà precipuam partem novi teſtamenti in his verbis expreſſam.* (4) Non imeritò igitur admonui (*inquit*) in prologo novi teſtamenti lectores, ut hanc falſam aboleant opinionem, quod ſcilicet quatuor ſint evangelia, & quatuor tantùm Evangeliſtæ. Dixi autem Joannis evangelium eſſe unicum, pulchrum, verum ac principale evangelium, aliiſque tribus longè ac longè præferendum, ac anteponendum: adeò ut etiam Pauli ac Petri epiſtolæ longè præcedant tria illa evangelia, Matthæi, Marci, ac Lucæ. *Delevit ergo* (5) *Lutherus pro virili tria ſimul integra evangelia, ut aſcititia, deformia, falſa, vilipendenda.*

Since the firſt Edition of this Dictionary, I have diſcovered, that Mr. *Daillé* and Mr. *Rivet* have not purſued *Campian* and *Whitaker*'s Diſpute, ſo exactly as I thought they would have done. I imagined, that theſe two *French* Miniſters, who were both Men of prodigious Reading, had ſaid all that could be ſaid upon the Subject; but I had no Reaſon for thinking ſo. This we ſhall ſee in the following Remark, with a ſmall Cenſure of the Paſſage from Mr. *de Meaux*.

(NA) They denied ſomething which they ought to have granted.] *Campian*'s Accuſation was contained in theſe Words: (i) *Quid Luthero* (cauſis ſuis) *ut Epiſtolam Jacobi contentioſam, tumidam, aridam, ſtramineam*, flagitioſus Apoſtata nominaret, & indignam ſpiritu cenſeret Apoſtolico? Deſperatio. He pretended then, that *Luther* ſaid, that St. *James*'s Epiſtle was contentious, bombaſtick, dry, and ſtrawy Piece, and unbecoming an Apoſtolick Spirit. This was one of the firſt Points that was diſcuſs'd in the verbal Diſpute, that *Campian* was to maintain at the Tower of *London* (k). He was furniſhed with *Luther*'s Works that he had cited; he was ordered to find out the Words of his Accuſation; he did ſeek, and found only this, *Affirmant nonnulli epiſtolam Jacobi Apoſtolico ſpiritu indignam* (l). He had ask'd leave to ſend for the Editions, publiſhed by *Luther* himſelf, from *Germany*: He had proteſted, that he had read the Words in queſtion in *Luther*; and that before him many famous Writers had accus'd *Luther* of the ſame Crime. But he was laugh'd at (m), as a Man who would ſend to *Germany* for an Advocate in a deſperate Cauſe. *Whitaker*, ſome time after, took Pen in Hand againſt this Jeſuit, and treated him as a Liar, as we have ſeen in the preceding Remark, in the firſt Paſſage of Mr. *Daillé*. But he afterwards own'd, there was ſomething of Truth in the Accuſation; for obſerve his Reply to *John Duræus*, a *Scotch* Jeſuit, who had written in Defence of *Campian*: (n) *Cum viderem accuſatum à Campiano Lutherum, ut ego putabam, injuſtè, levuit mihi falſum crimen verbo notare. Itaque Jacobi epiſtolam eſſe his contumeliis, quas Campianus commemorat, à Luthero affectam negavi, quia in Lutheri libris nihil tale potui reperire. Tu jam verba ipſa profers, quæ tamen nec vidi unquam, nec qui ſe vidiſſe diceret, convici. Utcunque ſe res habet non magni refert. Mihi enim Lutheri quidque dicta minimè præſtanda ſunt. Quamquam mihi plànè ſuſpectam eſſe fidem tuam profiteor, & te aliorum fidei auctoritatique nimium tribuiſſe ſuſpicor. Primùm enim vidi quandam Lutheri præfationem antiquiſſimam, anno* 1525. *Wittenbergæ, in qua Jacobi epiſtolam pro Petri ac Pauli epiſtolis ſtramineam vocat. Sed hoc cum tuis conferendum non eſt. Deinde tibi affirmaſti vo-*

luiſſe oſtendere Jacobi epiſtolam à Lutherò ſtramineam eſſe dictam, hanc ipſam præfationem, atque hæc verba proferunt, de tuis nullam mentionem faciunt. Denique cùm viderem in quadam præfatione hanc epiſtolam pro alteris ſtramineam dici, non exiſtimavi in eadem præfatione dixiſſe, & tumidam & aridam, & contentioſam, & ſtramineam, & ſpiritu Apoſtolico indignam nominari. Quare dum novam hanc editionem tuam video, male, quàm aliquid temerè in alterutram partem affirmare. Obſerve, he confeſſes, that, ſince the Publication of his Book againſt *Campian*'s Reaſons, he had found a Preface of *Luther* printed at *Wittemberg* in 1525; in which it was ſaid, that St. *James*'s Epiſtle, is an Epiſtle of Straw, compared with the Epiſtles of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; but that not finding the Epithetes *contentioſa, tumida, arida, indigna Apoſtolico ſpiritu*, alledged by *Campian*, and repeated by *Duræus*, he will not aſſent to the Truth of the Citations, till the Copy be produc'd, that contains 'em. He declares that, in the mean time, he'll ſuſpend his Judgment betwixt the Affirmative and Negative. *Campian*'s Apologiſts got ſome Ground by this Confeſſion of *Whitaker*; but, to have juſtified him perfectly, they ſhould have produced the Piece before the Eyes of the Publick, in which the Epithetes of *contentioſa, tumida*, &c. were contain'd. It does not appear, that they were able to do it; and therefore *Whitaker*, in anſwering a new Antagoniſt, maintain'd, that *Campian* ſtill lay under the Charge of a Slanderer, ſince nothing more could be proved than the Epithete *Straminea*. Conſider well the following Paſſage, in which *Whitaker* talks to his Adverſary *William Rainoldus*: (a) *Cum copioſam & amplam hujus rei defenſionem ſuſceperis, quare in ea re maximè deficis, ad quam maximè auxilio tuo opus eſt? Nam quod affers de ſtramine, antea fatebantur totum illud, quod verum fuit: tua itaque partes fuiſſent copioſiùs confirmaſſe, Lucherum etiam Epiſtolam illam vocaſſe contentioſam, tumidam, aridam, indignam ſpiritu Apoſtolico; quorum omnium ea in loco illum Campianus accuſavit. Sed cum nihil ad hanc rem probandam afferre poſſis, coactus es fateri Campianum gravius Lutherum, quàm meritus eſt, de hac Epiſtola accuſaſſe: ita ut ſi uno aliquo verbo Jeſuitæ tui, cujus cauſam agis, exiſtimationem defenderis; pluribus tamen eum verbis condemnaſti; quæ tu interim veteratorie omittis, quaſi nec ea unquam dixiſſet Campianus, nec tua res ageretur. Fateor ſanè parum referre, quid de Luthero Campianus finxerit nequiter: at qui eum defendendum ſuſcepiſti, ne putes te officio tuo ſatisfeciſſe, ſi ex multis, quæ ille protulit, in una aliqua re eum defenderis, & in pluribus defeceris. Quare vel deſine tandem de eo iſto verbo litem movere, vel reliqua teſtimoniis confirma.* Let us cite another Paſſage ſtill, in which he tells us, that he had not ſuppreſs'd the Diſcovery he had made, ſince the Publication of his Anſwer to *Campian*'s ten Reaſons. He examin'd, with all poſſible care, as many Copies as he could find, whether *German* or *Latin*, of this Reformer's Works, and having at laſt met with that which concerns the Epithete *Straminea*; he publiſhed it in a Preface to his Anſwer to *Sanders*'s Tract. (b) *Si Lutherus hoc ſcripſerit, miquè ego Campianum falſi reum peregi: ſi non ſcripſerit, turpiſſimè Lutherum Campianus infimulavit. Ut veritatem iſtius rei cognoſcerem, in omnibus exemplaribus, quæ comparare potui, tàm Germanicis quàm Latinis examinandis ſummam induſtriam collocavi: cum autem nulla verba ejuſcemodi, ſed diverſa potiùs, invenirem; credebam, optimè impulſus ratione, totum iſtud excogitatum fuiſſe; itaque falſiſſimum eſſe pronunciavi. Evenit verò poſtea, ut in vetus Germanicum Teſtamentum à Luthero converſum incíderem præfixis ipſum præfationibus, in quibus inveni quiddam, quod aliqua ex parte referret illud quod objecerat Campianus. Cum autem illud legiſſem, non rem diſſimulavi, ſed fatebar in reſponſione mea ad* Gregorium Martinum. *In illa quidem præfatione ſcribit* Lutherus, S. Jacobi Epiſtolam non poſſe dignitate certare cum Epiſtolis S. Petri & Pauli, ſed Epiſtolarum Canonicarum eſſe, ſi cum illis comparetur. *Quam ejus ſententiam non probo; atque in recentioribus editionibus eum feciſſe ſua illa verba, opinor ipſum poſtea Lutherum hanc ſuam ſententiam improbaſſe. Non profectò dubito, quin aliquis lector fatebitur inter hoc, quod ſcribit* Luthe-

(a) *Whitaker, reſpon. ad Rainold. refutationem, pag.* 105, 168.

(b) *Id. ib. pag.* 103, 104.

rus

uttering againſt this Epiſtle, it was, doubtleſs, (NΔΔ) before the Year 1525. I ſhall give ſome Reaſons for this * below. The World was long ignorant of the Raſhneſs he had been guilty of in conſenting, that the Landgrave of *Heſſe* ſhould have (O) two Wives at the ſame time. But at laſt it became Publick: The Roman Catholicks made a great Noiſe about

* *In the Remark* NΔΔ.

run, *atque illud, quod ei objicit* Campianus, *diſcrepantiam eſſe. Etenim aliud eſt loqui planè & ἀνατύπως, aliud uſi comparatione.* Lutherus, *inquit* Campianus, Epiſtolam S. Jacobi ſtramineam vocavit. Lutherus ait præ Pauli & Petri Epiſtolis ſtramineam eſſe. By all this it appears, that Mr. *Daillé* and Mr. *Rivet*, were ignorant of a great many Things relating to this Controverſy. They did not know, that *Whitaker* retracted Part of his Indictment; nor that he himſelf found out the Preface which inform'd him of *Luther*'s bold Expreſſion. The Jeſuits quickly laid hold of it; they made their Boaſts, and exaggerated the Thing, pretending, that he own'd the whole Truth of the Accuſation. We ſhall cite the Author of *Campian*'s Life, in the Place where he gives us the Hiſtory of the Conference, held at the Tower of *London*. (c) *Is matutini certaminis ordo exituſque fuit, viſique hæretici eo lætiores è certamine abſcedere, quòd Lutherum calumnia ſuo judicio exemiſſent: quamquam id quoque gaudium ut vanum ita non diuturnum fuit. Paulo poſt ad inquiſitionem tantæ rei omnium ſtudiis converſis, incorrupti Lutheri codices inſpecti, inque iis inventa ipſa, quæ carpſerat abominis Apoſtatæ Campianus verba. Et quoniam res aperta erat, ipſi hæreſis magiſtri, inter quos Whitakerus fuit, Lutheri inſanas illas voces in vetuſtis exemplaribus legi palàm paſſi; perſonam triumphanti penè jam mendacio, vel invitis ſuis ipſi manibus detraxere.* The more we examine, theſe things, the more we find it an *Herculean* Labour, to diſ-entangle Truth in the midſt of ſo many Diſguiſes and Juggles.

(c) *Vita Campiani ubi ſupra, pag.* 261, 262.

What I have to ſay againſt the Biſhop of *Meaux* won't detain my Readers long. He affirms, that *Luther* has written, *without any Teſtimony from Antiquity*, that this Epiſtle *appears not to be St.* James's, *nor worthy of an Apoſtolical Spirit*. This Obſervation is falſe; you need only compare it with theſe Words of Mr. *Daillé*: 'Origen, many Ages before *Luther*, writ, that ſome rejected this Epiſtle, which (2) *Euſebius* equally teſtifies, and ſays, there were but few of the Antients who had mentioned it; and (3) St. *Jerome* after him relates, that it was affirm'd, *That it was not the Apoſtle himſelf, but ſome other Perſons, who had writ it under his Name, tho' by little and little, in Track of Time, it had been receiv'd*, and authoriz'd (e).' *Whitaker*, in his Anſwer to *Duræus*, proves, at large, that St. *James*'s Epiſtle was ſuſpected by a great many in the Antient Church.

(1) *Orig. in Joann. Tract.* 2ª. *p.* 372.
(2) *Euſeb. Hiſt. l.* 2.
(3) *Hieron. de ſcript. Eccl. in Jacob.*
(e) *Daillé reponſe à Cottibi, part.* 3. *pag.* 296.

(NΔΔ) *It was, doubtleſs, before the Year* 1525.] We have ſeen, that the Epithete, *Straminea*, is found in a Preface printed this Year. But 'tis certain he had been leſs circumſpect ſome Years before. We may therefore preſume, that, cooling by Degrees, he ſoftened and temper'd, in 1525, what he advanc'd too ſcandalouſly in that Paſſage, for Inſtance, which *Campian*, and *Duræus*, and *Fitz-Simon*, &c. charge upon him; and which was intirely effac'd in the Editions after the Year 1525. I have obſerved, that *Cochlæus*, in the Year 1522, accuſes him of having publiſh'd extravagant Prefaces, with reſpect to ſome Books of the Scripture-Canon. (g) *Optimis quibuſque videbatur Lutherus, nimis malitioſè graſſari in ſacram literam novi Teſtamenti. E quorum Canone, audaci cenſura reiciebat Epiſtolam ad Hebræos, Epiſtolam Jacobi, Epiſtolam Judæ, & Apocalypſim Joannis. Quas ſanè & atrocibus infamabat calumniis in ſuis præfationibus. In præfatione verò generali, etiam in ſacratiſſima Evangelia audaciſſimè manum mittebat: volens in primis repudiandam eſſe vetuſtiſſimam hanc & omnibus Chriſtianis notam ac receptam opinionem & ſententiam, Eſſe ſcilicet Quatuor tantum Evangelia, totidemque Evangeliſtas.* Be pleaſed to remember, that this *Cochlæus* had been one of his moſt violent Adverſaries: But, in fine, ſince it can't be denied but the *Straminea* ſubſiſts, 'tis probable, that *Campian*'s whole Paſſage was in ſome antient Preface: For, in reality, the other Epitheres are not more, nor indeed ſo injurious as this. *Whitaker*, like a Cunning-Man, took Advantage of this Jeſuit's Apologiſt's not being able to produce the Edition they wanted. He made good uſe of his Advantages, and skilfully profited by *Luther*'s Reſtriction, though it has not all the Force that is imagined, and be only a palliative Remedy: for whoever ſays, that St. *James*'s Epiſtle is an Epiſtle of Straw, in Compariſon of St. *Paul*'s, really ſays, that it is not Canonical, or the Production of an inſpired Writer. It would be abſurd to pretend, that Writers, inſpired by God, have not an equal Authority, or that ſome are more credible than others. Would not this be to ſay, that the Holy Spirit neglected ſome of 'em, and left 'em to their particular Opinions, true or falſe? This can't be admitted; and conſequently there is a Neceſſity of Saying, they are all, as to us, of equal Authority: So that when a Man affirms, that a Writing, compared with St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, is a Piece of Straw-Work, he can conſider it no otherwiſe than as a Humane Writing. And upon this foot he thinks it lawful to paſs ſuch a Judgment on it, as the Laws of Criticiſm authorize; and to take to Task the Style, the Turn, the Thoughts, as if he were judging of the Works of a *Tertullian*, or an *Arnobius*. This, however, does not excuſe *Campian*'s not mentioning *Luther*'s Reſtriction, if he had found it in the Edition, upon which he proceeded; otherwiſe he fell into the Sophiſm, *a dicto ſecundum quid, ad dictum ſimpliciter*. Still reſerving a Liberty to ſay, that the Reſtriction on that occaſion was only an Appearance of Reſerve, without the Reality; ſince St. *James*'s Epiſtle ſtill remained actually and fully degraded from its Canonical Character, as a Work divinely inſpired.

(g) *Joannes Cochlæus de actis & ſcriptis Lutheri, fol. m.* 83.

(O) *That the Landgrave of* Heſſe *ſhould have two Wives at once.*] Mr. *Varillas* has ſpoken of this Matter at large. '(a) *Philip*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*, was 'of ſo vigorous a Conſtitution, that one Wife was 'not ſufficient for him, and the Surgeons, who o-'pened him after his Death, found a natural Cauſe 'of it, which the Modeſty of our Tongue will not 'permit me to explain (1).... He perſuaded him-'ſelf, that his Infirmity diſpens'd with the Goſpel-'Rigour, and permitted him to have two Wives at 'the ſame time. Nothing diſturb'd him in the Noti-'on he had conceived, like the Novelty of the Thing: 'But he ſuppos'd, that the Approbation of *Luther*, 'and others of the moſt famous Divines of his Sect, 'would juſtify his Action. He aſſembled 'em 'at *Wittemberg*, in form of a Council, in the Year '1539. The Affair was there examined with all the 'Precautions that were thought neceſſary to prevent 'their Deciſion's being turned into Ridicule. They 'foreſaw the unlucky Conſequences of what they 'were going to do: But, in fine, the Fear of diſo-'bliging the Landgrave, carried it for *Luther*'s Opi-'nion, and his chief Diſciples, againſt the Law of 'Jeſus Chriſt, Conſcience, Reputation, and all other 'Humane and Divine Conſiderations. The Reſult 'of the Aſſembly of *Wittemberg*, was written with '*Melanchton*'s own Hand, and ſigned by *Luther* 'and by the other moſt famous Divines of *Saxony*. 'Is was expreſs'd in very pathetical Terms, to leave 'no Doubt or Ambiguity, and was ſent to the Land-'grave in the following Form.' Mr. *Varillas* gives the Act intire in *Latin* and *French*. We there find an expreſs Permiſſion granted to this Landgrave to marry a ſecond Wife, provided, that as few Perſons as poſſible were made privy to it. We there alſo find, that in certain Caſes of Neceſſity, any other Man might marry again in his Wife's Life-Time; and two of theſe Caſes are ſpecified by theſe Doctors. 1. If a Man that is a Captive, in a foreign Country, can't preſerve, or recover his Health, without the Uſe of a Woman. 2. If a Man be married to a leprous Woman. (b) *Certis tamen caſibus locus eſt diſpenſationi, ſi quis apud exteras nationes captivus ad curam corporis & ſanitatem inibi alteram uxorem ſuper induceret, vel ſi quis haberet leproſam; his caſibus alteram ducere cum conſilio ſui Paſtoris, non intentione novam legem inducendi, ſed ſuæ neceſſitati conſulendi, hunc neſcimus, qua ratione damnare liceret.* Mr. *Varillas* ſets down in *Latin* and *French* the Landgrave's Contract of Marriage with *Margaret de Saal*; to which Marriage this Prince's firſt Wife gave her Conſent. This Hiſtorian makes many Reflections hereupon, tending to ſhew, that

(a) *Varillas, hiſt. de l'Hereſie, l.* 12. *p. m.* 87.
(1) *Thuanus, lib.* 41. *ad ann. m.* 1567. Addam, quod plerisque riſu dignum mihi ſilentio minime prætermittendum viſum eſt, ipſum tam inexhauſti ad venereos uſus ſucci fuiſſe, ut cùm uxore ſola uteretur, & *illa* teries illum admittere non poſſet, vir alioquin caſtus quique vagis libidinibus minime oblectabatur ex ejus permiſſu, negotio cum Paſtoribus communicato, concubinam unam ſuperinduxerit, cuius conſuetudine ardore aliquantum perdomito, parcius ac moderatius cum uxore verſaretur. Tandem hoc anno, qui illi climactericus fuit, poſtridie Paſchæ mortalitatem exuit. Inſpecto à Medicis corpore Triorches repertus eſt.
(b) *Apud Varillas, lb. pag.* 93.

about it; and there have been some Ministers, who have not had all the neces[illegible]
(P) Prudence in answering for *Luther*: They have advanced Principles manifestly [illegible] permi-

the Reasons of these Casuists open a very large Passage to Polygamy, and observes, that the two (c) Acts, inserted in his History, (d) *have been faithfully transcribed and collated by the Imperial Notaries with the Originals, which are preserved in the Archives of* Ziegenhain, *belonging equally to the Branch of* Hesse Cassel, *and to that of* Hesse-Darmstadt.

But after him came a more refined Controvertist (e), who has drawn another Piece out of the same Sack, and has made many subtle Reflections upon all this Matter. This other Piece is the Instruction the Landgrave gave to *Martin Bucer*. In this we find on one hand the Reasons which induc'd this Prince to a second Marriage; and, on the other, those by which he would induce the Divines to consent to it. He shews, that he never lov'd the Princess his Wife; and that she was so disgustful, and so subject to Drunkenness, that he neither could, nor ever would abstain from other Women, whilst he had no other Wife but her; and that, nevertheless, he would not incur the Penalties, which the Scripture denounces to Fornicators and Adulterers. (f) *Cum videam quod ab hoc agendi modo penes modernam uxorem meam nec possim nec velim abstinere.* The Physicians, adds he, know the Force of my Constitution; besides, I am often obliged to assist at the Diets; they last a long time, in which there is high Feeding; how then can I preserve my Continence? For I can't always take my Wife along with me, with all her Retinue. (g) *Primo quod initio, quo eam duxi, nec animo, nec desiderio eam complexus fuerim. Quali ipsa quoque complexione, amabilitate, & odore sit, & quomodo interdum se superfluo potu gerat, hoc sciunt ipsius [illegible] Præfecti; & Virgines; aliique plures: cumque ad ea describenda difficultatem habeam, Bucero tamen omnia declaravi. Secundò, quia valida complexione, ut Medici sciunt, sum, & sæpe contingit ut in fœderum & imperii comitiis diu verser, ubi lautè vivitur & corpus curatur; quomodo me ibi gerere queam absque uxore, cùm non semper magnum Gynæceum mecum ducere possim, facile est conjicere & considerare.* He adds to all this I know not how many Threats and Promises, which put his Casuists to their Trumps; for there is great Probability, that if a private Gentleman had consulted 'em upon the like Case, he would have been disappointed of his Desire. It may therefore reasonably be imagined, that they were Men of little Faith; they had not a due Confidence in the Promises of Jesus Christ: They believ'd, that if the Reformation of *Germany* was not maintain'd by the Princes who profess'd it, it would soon be extinguished. The Experience of the Past made 'em timorous; they saw, that the Violence of Persecution and Arms, employ'd by Catholick Princes against the Deserters of the Roman Communion, had ever destroy'd the Reformations in the Birth. It was natural to fear a like Fate, unless Force were repell'd by Force. However it be, it can't be denied, generally speaking, but *Luther*'s Book (h) contain'd several Things favourable to Polygamy. The Sieur *Lyserus* gives (i) several Instances of it. See the Remark *S*. I'll finish this with the Words of the Bishop of *Meaux*. *At present*, says he (k), *all this Mystery of Iniquity is discovered by the Pieces, which the Elector* Palatine, Charles Lewis, *lately deceas'd* (l), *has caus'd to be printed; and whereof, the Prince*, Ernest of Hesse, *one of* Philip's *Descendants, has reveal'd a part, since his turning Catholick. The Book, which the Prince* Palatine *caused to be printed, is intitled*, Conscientious Considerations upon Marriage, with an Explication of Questions hitherto discuss'd, concerning Adultery, Divorcement, and Polygamy. *The Book came out in* Germany *in* 1679, *under the borrow'd Name of* Daphnæus Arcuarius, *under which was conceal'd that of* Laurentius Bæger, *one of this Prince's Counsellors.*

It must here be observ'd, that *Thuanus* was ill inform'd of the Circumstances of this Affair. The Landgrave, according to him, was, on one hand, so vigorous in the Conjugal Exercise, that his Wife could not admit his Embraces as often as he desired; and, on the other, so chaste, that he did not love to stray abroad: And therefore the Princess consented to the Diversion which a Concubine might give to the Forces of her Husband: And the thing having been communicated to the Ministers, they gave the Landgrave a Concubine, who tamed him a little, and obliged him to be m[illegible]derate towards his Wife. This was not tho[illegible]; he had never lov'd her; he married her again[illegible] his inclination: And beginning three Weeks after his Marriage to make use of other Women, he continued the same Course (n) till his second Marriage. 'Tis very probable, that she was ignorant of his Ardour, or knew it only by Hear-say. Away with these scurvy Jesters, who might be able to criticize. *Thuanus*, on his supposing, that the Princess, finding her self unable to bear so fre[illegible] Attacks, called in a Concubine to her Assistance. *Montagne* were a very likely Man to rally this Histo[illegible] upon it, but his Authority is suspected. See here a [illegible]ge of his Essays. (o) *We have farther read of a Difference that happen'd in* Catalonia, *between a Woman, complaining of the too constant Efforts of her Husband; (not that, in my Opinion, she was so much incommoded by them; for I believe no Miracles, except in Faith; as under this Pretence, which is the Fundamental Action of Marriage, to re-trench and bridle the Authority of Husbands over their Wives; and to shew, that their Lust and Naughtiness pass beyond the Nuptial-Bed, and trample under Foot the Charms and Pleasures of* Venus:) *To which Complaint, a Man truely brutal, and unnatural, answered, that even on fasting Days, he could not dispence with less than ten Times. From whence proceeded that notable Decree of the Queen of* Arragon; *by which, after mature Deliberation of the Council, this good Queen, to give a Rule and Example to all A[illegible] the Moderation and Modesty required in a just [illegible]ge; determined, for the Legitimate and Nec[illegible] Bounds, six Times a Day; abating and quitting much of the Occasions and Desires of her Sex, to establish, as she said, an easy Form, and by Consequence permanent and immutable. Whereupon the Doctors cry out, what must be a Woman's Appetite and Concupiscence; since their Reason, their Reformation, and their Virtue is defined at this rate?* See the Remark D of the Article *Gleichen*, and remember that Abundance of Authors, who relate the same thing as *Montagne*, and make their Jests upon it, do this rather to exercise their Wit, than to express their Thoughts. Some of 'em are at least persuaded, that such Things have been told them in a very sincere manner, that's enough:

(a) *Claudite jam rivos, pueri, sat prata biberunt.*

(P) *Some Ministers, who have not had all the necessary Prudence.*] The only Answer that should have been given the Bishop of *Meaux*, was to say, as Mr. *Basnage* has prudently done [illegible]) 1. *That* Luther *ought not to have grante[illegible]grave of* Hesse *the Permission to marry a seco[illegible] whilst his first was alive; and that the Bishop of* Meaux *had reason to condemn him upon that Article.* 2. That the Popes have run into more Criminal Excesses; from whence it follows, that *Luther*'s Fault, censured by the Papists, has no weight; for if this Fault were a just Impediment to his being an Instrument in the Hands of God to declare the Truth, and reform the Church, the Roman Catholicks are to blame in believing that the Popes, who have been guilty of more crying Sins than this, continue, however, living Oracles to the Church, and the Vicars of Jesus Christ. 'Tis certain the Catholicks can infer nothing from this Action of the Reformers, nor from any other to invalidate the Reformation, without destroying a Principle absolutely necessary for their own Support; to wit, that *the greatest Crimes don't hinder the Pope pronouncing* ex Cathedra, *from declaring a Truth, the Belief of which is obliging on all the Faithful.*

Had the Author of the Pastoral Letters been as judicious as Mr. *Basnage*, he would not have expos'd his Cause to Objections, he could nev[illegible]ver. First, he would have confess'd the Fac[illegible]t be permitted to doubt of the Acts, whi[illegible]lector Palatine, *Charles Lewis*, caused to be published, with an Attestation of a Publick Notary, declaring they were copied from the Original, in the Archives of the House of *Hesse*, there will be no Possibility of pro[illegible]s: The most authentick Declarations of So[illegible]Courts, the Privy-Seal, the Great-Seal, and all [illegible]t judicial Testimonies imaginable, will be a feeble Barrier against the Obstinacy of a Disputer. Therefore Prudence required, that it should not be called in Question, whether the Landgrave *Philip* ob[illegible]

(c) *The Consultation of Divines on the Contract of Marriage.*
(d) *Varillas, ib. p.* 86, 87.
(e) *Mr. de Meaux, hist. des Variations, lib.* 6. *n.* 1. *& seq.*
(f) *Ibid. p. m.* 259.
(g) *Ibid.*
(h) *Luthero erroris hujus dicam scripsit Bellarminus haud uno loco. At patrocinium Luthero præstare conatus est Johannes Gerardi*, etiamsi (ne quid dissimulem) maculam illam tam pleue eluere non potuerit, quin concedendum sit, Virum illum magnum imprudentiusculè nonnunquam de materia hac locutum esse. *Saldenus in otiis Theolog. pag.* 363.
(i) *Polygamia triumphatrix.*
(k) *Hist. des Variat. lib.* 6. *n.* 1. *p. m.* 227.
(l) *It's a Mistake, the Son and Successor of* Charles Lewis *was dead when Mr.* de Meaux *wrote this.*

(n) *Initi[illegible] quo eam duxi, nec animo nec desiderio eam complexus fuerim... Si porro diceretur quare meam uxorem duxerim, vere imprudens homo tunc temporis fui, & ab iniquibus meorum Consiliariorum, quorum potior pars defuncta est, ad id persuasus sum. Matrimonium meum ultra tres septimanas non servavi[illegible] sic [illegible]nner exercui. Apud Hist. des Variat. lib.* 6. *pag.* 259. *d*
(o) *Montagne Essays, lib.* 3. *chap.* 5. *pag. m.* 121, 122.
(a) *Virgil eclog.* 3. *v. ult.*
(b) *Basnage, hist. de la Religion des [illegible] Rom[illegible] Tom. pag.* 443.

pernicious: And the moſt tolerable of what they offer is of ſuch a Nature, that they had much better have (Q) ſaid nothing. Mr. *Claude*'s Manner of

obtained [redacted]er, and ſome other Miniſters, a Diſpenſation [redacted]ry two Wives. I ſay further: The Reſpect that is due to the moſt illuſtrious Houſe of *Heſſe*, and to the Memory of a Reformed Elector, do's not ſuffer us to doubt of it: Nevertheleſs, the Author (c) of the Paſtoral Letters has expreſsly declared he doubts of it. But his greater Fault lies here; that, to extenuate the Submiſſion of theſe Miniſters, he expatiates upon every thing, that can ſhew the Law of Marriage, of one with one, to be ſubject to a Thouſand Exceptions; [redacted] would particularly have it ſacrificed to the imperio[redacted]wer of a laſcivious Conſtitution. *There's no* [redacted] *of Compariſon*, ſays he (d), *between theſe two Evils; to wit, the having Recourſe to the unhappy Remedy of a ſecond Marriage, and the launching out into a Thouſand Impurities; which are the undoubted Conſequences of Celibacy in Perſons, whoſe Complexion is not turned to Continency.* This raiſed him up Adverſaries, both among the Catholicks and Proteſtants. The Author of the Hiſtory of Variations anſwer'd, that this Principle would carry him too far. (e) The perpetual 'Indiſpoſition of a Husband to his Wife, is as invincible an Impediment, as Impotence, or Captivity it ſelf: The married Couple therefore muſt unmercifully leave one another in theſe ſad States; beſides, an Unſuitableneſs of Humour, one of the moſt 'incurable Diſtempers, will be a no leſs neceſſary 'Impediment.' This Miniſter found, in his own Commmion, Advocaries enough both Lay-Men and Divines. The Bi[redacted] of *Meaux* (f) produces him a Letter from an[redacted] Miniſter, *who bluſhes for his Brother, on the Score of theſe Neceſſities, alledg'd againſt the Goſpel*, and theſe inevitable Impurities.... *and who perceives the Inconvenience of this impure Doctrine, which introduces Divorce, and even Polygamy, when-ever either of the Parties labours under Diſtempers, I ſay not, incurable, but long; or where any other Impediment may be found, which obliges 'em to live ſeparately.* This Miniſter is not named; but another has attack'd this Doctrine above-board, in order to have it cenſured; and, in fine, has publiſh'ed, that 'tis a Principle naturally (g) productive of this Concluſion, That a Man, who has a ſick Wife, may marry a Second. *There is nothing more certain*, adds he; *an equal Neceſſity gives an equal Privilege; and if an Husband is as much hinder'd from Cohabitation by his Wife's having a dead Palſie, as by his own Captivity among Barbarians, he is equally at Liberty to ſeek a Remedy to his Incontinence, in a ſecond Marriage.* Mr. *de Beauval*, a[redacted]n, has urged this (h) ſtill more ſtrong[redacted]ther Lay-Man has maintain'd, that this Ma[redacted] (i) *opens a Gate to the ſtrangeſt Diſorders; it authorizes an Incontinent Perſon, whoſe Wife is long ſick, to marry another; and ſo another and another, without end, if Providence will have 'em all unhealthy. Thus you ſee a* Turkiſh *Polygamy breaking in by this Gap, into Chriſtianity, and defiling it with its brutal Luſts: You ſee this beſides in Chriſtianity, which was never ſeen in antient Heathenſm, nor is, at this Day, to be found in Mahometiſm; to wit, Women authoriz'd to have ſeveral Husbands at the ſame time, when not having the Gift of Continency, they happen to be joyned to a diſtemper'd Husband: For 'twere ridiculous to pretend, that it's a leſs evil in them, to give way to promiſcuous Luſts, which are, according to this Miniſter, the infallible Conſequence of Celibacy in ſome Conſtitutions, than to recur to the Remedy of a ſecond Husband. We ſee then that his Maxim is a Source of the moſt ſcandalous and filthy Liberties, that ever were ſeen in the World; and that nothing will expoſe our Communion to more mortifying Reproaches, than this Do[redacted]e of Mr.* Jurieu, *unleſs our Synods condemn it. A[redacted]ws which Decency and the Prudence of Magiſtr[redacted]e introduced to binder Widows from marrying a[redacted] time before ſuch a certain Term fall to the Ground, are only a Tyrannical Impoſition, which makes thoſe of a certain Complexion launch into a Thouſand Impurities.* The Author of the Paſtoral Le[redacted] had found out a hundred Expedients (k) to [redacted] himſelf off, with reſpect to ſome other Difficu[redacted] that were propos'd to him concerning Divorce, [redacted] ſecond Marriages; but it was utterly impoſſible for him to diſ-engage himſelf from this. All he could do was to calumniate his Accuſers; for 'tis a Calumny for a M[redacted] to complain, that he has been accuſed of a thing, of which he has not been accus'd (l). Thus you ſee how much it concerns thoſe who anſwer a Book of Controverſy to keep a ſtreight Rein; for if they give way to the impetuous Raſhneſs of their own Thoughts and Temper, they ſpoil the beſt Cauſe.

What I have ſaid of the *Reſpect due to the moſt illuſtrious Houſe of* Heſſe, *and to the Memory of the Reformed Elector*, would not be underſtood by every Body, if I did not explain it: The Acts of this ſecond Marriage were taken (m) *from the Archives of* Ziegenhain, *common to the Branch of* Heſſe Caſſel, *and to that of Heſſe Darmſtadt*, Prince *Erneſt* of *Heſſe Rhinfelds*, having embrac'd the *Roman* Faith, was over-joy'd at their being publiſh'd, becauſe he thought this would fix a Blemiſh on the Church he had quitted (n); and 'tis manifeſt, they were a great Diſgrace to *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*, &c. There is therefore no Appearance, that the Landgraves of *Heſſe Caſſel*, and the Landgraves of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, the former Calviniſts, and the latter Lutherans, would have been ſilent, if there had been any Suſpicion, that theſe Acts were forg'd. Theſe great Princes could not be ſufficiently blam'd, if, having any Suſpicion of this, they had done nothing to oppoſe Landgrave *Erneſt*, a Catholick Proſelyte's Deſign. 'Tis therefore denying 'em their due Reſpect to doubt, whether theſe Acts be genuine; its inſinuating that they ſuffer under the Authority of their Archives, the Reformers to be publickly aſpers'd, and moſt unjuſtly ſlander'd, and a Diſhonour brought upon the Proteſtant Church. As they are not [redacted] a Lukewarmneſs, ſo injurious to either, 'tis moſt certain their Silence clearly proves the Validity of theſe Acts. And as for the Elector *Palatin*, how would he be confounded with Shame, ſhould it be proved, that he order'd one of his Counſellors to publiſh falſe Acts of this Nature? I know indeed, that it was his Intereſt they ſhould be moſt genuine, becauſe he did all that was poſſible to legitimate his Marriage with a Lady he had entertain'd, whilſt his Electreſs was alive; which occaſioned this Princeſs's leaving him, and refuſing to be call'd his Wife any longer: But, in fine, he had too much Honour, and Prudence, to go about to juſtify himſelf by a ſuppoſititious Fact, the Falſeneſs whereof might have eaſily been prov'd by Madam the Electreſs's Relations (u).

(Q) *They had much better have ſaid nothing.*] The Author of the Paſtoral Letters has much enlarged (b) upon the Practice of ſome States. This was giving a Handle for three preſſing Inſtances: For 1. His Adverſary (c) fail'd not to take the Advantage, as if the Civil Laws of Proteſtants left a Man too great a Laxitude in Matrimonial Caſes; and, as if only a ſmall Number of private Perſons had diſapproved it, whilſt he had the general Practice on his ſide. 2. All the Examples he produces, or could produce, are of a different kind from the Matter in Debate; they being not Marriages of a Man with two Wives in the ſame Houſe at the ſame time, as were thoſe of the Landgrave. 3. Laſtly, a Caſuiſt ought not to regulate himſelf upon a Practice tolerated by Sovereigns. Who is ignorant what extreme Abuſes National Laws have authoriz'd or tolerated in Chriſtianity (d) for many Ages together, with reſpect to Marriage? The Church has ſtood out; and, by its Oppoſition, has at laſt cauſed thoſe things to be changed, which were not reconcilcable with the Goſpel. What a fine Caſe ſhould we be in then, if the Caſuiſts would approve of all that Sovereigns permit? Do they not almoſt every where ſuffer Fornication to go (e) unpuniſh'd? If any Suit happens betwixt a Woman and him who has got her with Child, the moſt ſhe has to fear, is (f), that the Man will not be condemn'd to pay her a Sum of Money: As for Cenſures or other Penalties, ſhe's in no Apprehenſion of 'em. The Judges refer all this to her Confeſſor, her Relations, or her Conſiſtory. And are not Comedies not only tolerated, but even protected by the Sovereign? Have not the Actors of Opera's at *Paris* a Guard allow'd 'em, detach'd from the Troops of the King's Houſhould? Nevertheleſs, do the Preachers ceaſe to roar againſt theſe Diverſions? And if any Eccleſiaſtical Author dares to write in Favour of Plays, is he not immediately over-whelm'd with oppoſite Writings, and forc'd to recant (g)? So that a good

(a) *See the Paſtoral Letters of* 1688. *pag.* 166. *in* 12. *and the* 6th *Letter of the* Tableau du Socinianiſme, *pag.* 302.

(b) *VIII Lettre Paſtorale de* 1688, *pag.* 176. *in* 12°.

(c) *Mr. de Meaux, IV. Avert. pag.* 131. Dutch *Edition.*

(d) *Ibid. pag.* 136.

(e) *See the Book of* Elias Saurin, *Paſtor of the* Walloon *Church at* Utrecht, *intitl'ed*, Examen de la Theologie de Mr. Jurieu, *pag.* 801.

(f) *See his Anſwer to the Avi*[redacted] *Pamp*[redacted] *entit'l'd* Declaration de Mr. Bayle, *pag.* 18.

(g) *This happned at* Paris *in* 1694, *on occaſion of a Book in Favour of Comedy, which Father* Francis Caffaro *was ſuppoſed to be the Author of. See the Journal of* Hamburgh 1694, *pag.* 24, 62, 65.

(h) *See the* 6th *Letter of the* Tableau du Socinianiſme, *pag.* 300, *& ſeq.*

(i) *See* Saurin, *ubi ſupra.*

(k) *See the* 6th *Letter of the* Tableau du Socinianiſme, *pag.* 300, *& ſeq.*

(l) *See* Saurin, *ubi ſupra.*

(m) *Varillas, ubi ſupra, pag.* 87.

(n) *See* Varillas, *ibid. & Mr. de Meaux hiſt. des Variat. lib.* 6. *n.* 1. *ſub. fin.*

(a) *She was of the Houſe of* Heſſe.

(b) *See the ſixth Letter of the* Tableau du Socinianiſme, *pag.* 303, *& ſeq.*

(c) *Mr. de Meaux Defenſe de l'hiſt. des Variations.*

(d) *See the Article* Lambert.

(e) *See the Remark* AAAA. *of the Article* Ales.

(f) *I don't ſpeak of thoſe who are got with Child upon Promiſe of Marriage by Perſons of their own Quality: Theſe often obtain Decrees, which condemn the Man to marry 'em.*

of (R) Speaking of this great Reformer is very judicious. He has justified him among other Things upon a Point, which has given occasion to several Writings; 'tis that concerning (S) his Dispute with the Devil upon the Subject of Private Masses. *Luther* died the

a good Moralist will not regulate his Opinions by the Practice of Civil Laws, in a Point concerning Relaxation.

Whoever would see as good an Answer as could be given to the Bishop of *Meaux*, concerning the Marriage of the Landgrave, may be pleased to read Mr. *Seckendorf* (b).

(R) *Mr. Claud's Manner of speaking of Luther.*] These are his Words. "(i) I confess it were to be "wish'd, that *Luther* had been more temperate in "his Way of Writing; And that with his great and "invincible Courage, with his ardent Zeal for the "Truth, with that unshaken Constancy he ever ma-"nifested, he could have discovered a greater Re-"serve and Moderation. But these Faults, which "are most commonly Complectional, prevent not "our Esteem of Men, when, in other Respects, we "perceive in 'em a good Fund of Piety, and Vertues "perfectly Heroick, such as were seen to shine in *Lu-*"*ther*. For we can't refuse to praise the Zeal of *Luci-*"*fer*, Bishop of *Cagliari*, or to admire the great Qua-"lities of St. *Jerome*, though we discover too much "Keenness and Out-rage in their Style. And per-"haps too, there was some particular Necessity at "the Time of the Reformation, to employ the strong-"est Expressions, the better to awaken Men from "that profound Slumber, in which they had lain so "long. However, I grant, that *Luther* ought to "have been more reserved in his Writings; and "that if the Author of the Prejudices would have "concerned himself to complain of the Acrimony "of his Style, we should have been content to ans-"full Answer, to desire him, for the future, not to "imitate himself what he condemned in another." All this is good and solid. I shall only observe, that a general Method of justifying People from hence, that their ill Qualities were very proper, considering the Posture of Affairs, to produce good Effects, is a great Source of Delusion. No Body doubts, that Providence knows how to chuse the most effectual Means to arrive at its Ends: But as the ill Qualities of Men are, at some Seasons, more proper than their brightest Vertues, to execute God's Decrees, it would be very ill Reasoning to conclude, that Violence and Fury are commendable upon Pretence, that the Corruption of the World needs the harshest Treatment. The Wisdom of God, I confess, is eminent in employing such Instruments; but the Instruments may very well be extremely vicious. I have observed above, that Cardinal *Palavicini* has excused *Julius* II. upon the Need the Church then had of a War-like Pope.

(S) *'Tis that concerning his Dispute with the Devil, upon the Subject of private Masses.*] There are some Objections, which the great Controvertists leave to the Disputants of the lower Forms; but there are others which are employ'd by all Authors, great and small (l), by those who preach Controversy from a Bulk in the Streets, and those who dictate from the highest Pulpits: The Objection I speak of, is of this number. The lowest Country Missionary has not fail'd to speak to it: Mr. *Nicolle* has opposed it with a very grave Air. *Never any one*, says he (m), *but Luther durst boast, in a printed Work, that he had had a long Conference with the Devil; that he had been convinc'd, by his Reasons, that private Masses were an Abuse; and that this was the Motive which induc'd him to abolish 'em. But common Sense has ever made all others conclude.... that it was an Excess of Extravagance, to take the Devil for the Master of Truth, and become his Disciple.* Mr. *Claude* answers (n) this Objection very well. This is one of the four Places of his Book, which the Jansenists replied to, in a Work intituled, *A Confutation of the Answer of a Lutheran Minister, concerning the Conference of* Luther *and the Devil.* And they fail'd not to insert this Part of their Reply in the second (o) Edition of the Prejudices. To see a compleat Answer to this Objection, we need only read a Piece, an Extract whereof has been given in the News from the Republick of Learning, in the Month of *February* 1687. This (p) Writing is a solid Confutation of a little Book of the Abbot *de Cordemoi*. The Bishop of *Meaux* (q) forgot not this Reproach against *Luther*; but see how Mr. *Basnage* (r) answer'd him.

The Advantages the *Roman* Controvertists pretend to draw from hence are, doubtless, imaginary; but there's no Ground to take this Story of *Martin Luther* for a kind of a Figure or Parable, as Mr. *Claude* pretends. For *Luther* vouches, in several Places of his Works, that he well knew the Devil's way of Disputing; and that it had cost him many a bitter Night: (s) *Multas noctes mihi satis amarulentas & acerbas reddere ille novit.* He disputes, says he, with that Force, that 'tis sudden Death to a Man; he believes this was the Fate of *Oecolampadius* and *Emserus*. The only Pleasure, according to him, that is found in these Disputes, is, that the Devil quickly dispatches 'em, and suffers 'em not to be spun out to any length, when he finds a Man alone in his House. *Diabolus sua argumenta furtiter figere & urgere novit. Voce quoque gravi & forti utitur. Nec longis & multis meditationibus disputationes ejusmodi transiguntur, sed momento uno & quæstio & responsio absolvitur. Sensi equidem & probè expertus sum, quam ob causam illud nonnunquam evenire soleat, ut sub auroram quidam mortui in strato suis inveniantur. Corpus ille perimere vel jugulare potest: Nec id modo, verum & animam disputationibus suis ita urgere, & in angustum coarctare novit, ut in momento quoque illi excedendum sit, quo sanè me quoque non semel tantùm non perpulit:... Credo equidem quod Emserus & Oecolampadius, aliique horum similes, ejusmodi ignitis Satanæ telis & hastis confossi subitaneâ morte perierint. Nemo enim mortalium citrà singulare Dei auxilium ac robur illas sustinere & perferre potest. Jucundum equidem sese disputando prabet, scilicet. Brevibus enim transfigit omnia, nec diu moras nectit, siquidem virum solitarium domi suæ invenerit (t).* Add to this these Words of *Luther's* 7 Tome at Page 230 of the *Wittemberg* Edition. *Urget* (Satan) *in immensum corda, nec desinit nisi repulsus verbo Dei: & ego plane perfusus sum, Emserum & Oecolampadium & similes, his ictibus horribilibus & quassationibus subitò extinctos esse; nec enim humanum cor horrendum hunc & ineffabilem impetum, nisi Deus illi adsit, perferre potest*, &c. See the second Edition of Mr. *Nicoll's* Prejudices, *Pag.* 366. 'Tis pretended, that *Luther* said, that if the Sacramentarians understand not the Scripture, 'tis because they don't dispute with the Devil, the best Opponent in the World; and that, without carrying him, hung about one's Neck, as he had done, a Man could be nothing more than a Speculative Divine. *Quod Sacramentarii* (inquit Lutherus) *sacram Scripturam non intelligunt, hac causa est, quia verum opponentem, nempe diabolum non habent, qui demum benè docere eos solet.* Subdit: *Quando diabolum ejusmodi collo non habemus affixum, nihil nisi speculativi Theologi (unus (a).... Ego Diabolum intus & in cute novi, quippe quocum plus uno salis modio comederim (b).... Diabolus multo frequentius & propius mihi in lecto accubare solet, seu condormit, quam mea Catherina. Mecum in dormitorio deambulare solet.... Ego Diabolum collo meo affixum habui (c).* Hence I conclude, that Mr. *Claude* ought not to have suspected that this Dispute of *Luther* was only a Parable.

He has applied another Objection of the Author of the *Prejudices*, founded upon this, that *Luther seems to have encouraged his Followers to commit Massacres.* Mr. *Nicolle* accuses him of it, but Mr. *Claude* acquits him. I thought he had repell'd another Attack; to wit, that founded on the famous Words, *Si nolit uxor, veniat ancilla*; but having read over, in some haste, his Defense of the Reformation, and Book of *Prejudices*, I met with nothing relating to it. The Bishop of *Meaux* has not omitted this Reproach of the Missionaries. His Words are these: "(d) I "have always been afraid to speak of those *inevitable* "*Necessities*, which he had discovered in the Union "of the two Sexes, and of the scandalous Sermon he "preach'd at *Wittemberg* upon Marriage: But since the "Sequel of this Story has once obliged me to break "thro' the Restraint that Modesty had imposed, "I can no longer dissemble what is found print-"ed in *Luther's* Works. 'Tis true then, that in a "Sermon he preach'd at *Wittemberg*, he blush'd not "to pronounce these infamous and scandalous "Words: (1) *If they are so obstinate*, (he speaks of "Wives) *'tis fit their Husbands should tell them, If "one won't another Will: If the Mistress won't come, "let*

(b) *Histor. Lutheran. lib. 3. n. 79. addit. 3.*

(i) *Claude Defense de la Reformation. 2 partie, chap. 5. pag. 331. Dutch Edit. in 12°.*

(l) *One might here apply* Juvenal's *Thought:* Exspectes eadem à summo minimoque poeta. *Sat. 1. v. 12.*

(m) *Prejugez legitimes contre les Calvinistes, ch. 2. p. 17. édit. of* Brussels *1682. He cites* Luther, Tom. 6. vide Hospin. part. ult. fol. 131.

(n) *Claude Defense de la Reformation, ubi supra, pag. 333. & seq.*

(o) *That of 1682; the Title Page says it was printed at* Brussels *by* Eug. Henry Frix.

(p) *Mr. Seckendorf is the Author of it. See the Index of the 10 first Tomes of of the Journal of* Leipsick, *& the 8th Tom. p. 70.*

(q) *Hist. des Variat. lib. 4. n. 17.*

(r) *Basnage ubi supra pag. 431. & seq.*

(s) *Luther ubi infra, apud Hospinianum ubi infra.*

(t) *Lutherus de Missa privata, Tom. 6. Jen. fol. 81, apud Hospinianum hist: Sacrament. parte 2. fol. 220. edit. 1681:*

(a) *Fitz-Simon, ubi supra, pag. 90. He cites* Luth. in colloquiis Isleb. de verbo Dei fol. 23. in colloq. Francofurt. fol. 18.

(b) *Idem Fitz-Simon ibid. p. 353. He cites* Emserus & Cocleus de Luth. conciones Dom. reminiscere inter 27. conciones Witebergæ & Argentinæ impressas in 4°. fol. 19.

(c) *Fitz-Simon, ib. pag. 353, 354. He cites the* Colloquia mensalia.

(d) *Histor. des variat. l. 6. n. 11. pag. 235.*

(1) *T. V. Serm. de mistrim. f. 123.*

the 18th of *February* 1546. Infinite Fables have been vented (*T*) concerning his Death. Nor did they forbear publiſhing Lyes (*V*), upon this Subject, till ſuch time as he had left the

" *let the Maid be call'd*.... However, the Husband " ought firſt to bring his Wife before the Church, " and admoniſh her two or three times; after that " divorce her, and take *Eſther* inſtead of *Vaſti*." The Biſhop of *Meaux* expreſſes himſelf thus in another place: (*e*) Luther *explained himſelf againſt Monaſtick Vows, in a terrible manner, ſo far as to ſay of that of Continence (ſtop your Ears, chaſte Souls) that it was as impoſſible to keep it, as to diveſt one's ſelf of his Sex* (2). *It would put Modeſty out of Countenance, ſhould I repeat the Words he uſes, in ſeveral Places upon this Subject, and ſhew how he explains the Impoſſibility of Continence: I can't imagine how he can reconcile this to that Life, which he ſaid he had led, without Reproach, all the time of his Celibacy, till he was 45 Years old.* He is accus'd of having preach'd, That 'tis a Miracle (*f*), if five Maids, and as many Men, be found in a whole City, who have preſerv'd their Chaſtity to twenty Years of Age; and that this would exceed the Purity of the Apoſtolick Age, and the Ages of Martyrs: And that a Man, who diſpenſes with Women, as much tranſcends the Powers of Nature, as if he lived without eating. Theſe are Things which we muſt not attempt to juſtify. They are Exceſſes, and firſt Motions, which *Luther*, doubtleſs, retracted before his Death. What can be ſaid more Satyrical againſt the Laws Canonical and Civil, which force no Body to marry, and which prohibit any more than one Wife? Theſe Principles of *Luther* are inconſiſtent with Monogamy. I doubt not but theſe ardent Sallies of his Zeal, againſt Monaſtick Vows, gave grounds to the Accuſation that was formed againſt him. *George*, Duke of *Saxony*, complain'd, that ſo many Adulteries had never been known, as ſince *Luther*'s teaching; that a Woman, who conceived not by her Husband, might apply to another Man; and that if ſhe happen'd to be brought to Bed, her Husband was to take care of the Child, whilſt a Husband, whoſe Wife was barren, might uſe the ſame Priviledge. This Prince charged this on *Luther* himſelf (*g*), in a Letter he writ to him in the Year 1526. *Quando tam numeroſa perpetrata ſunt adulteria quam poſtea quam tu ſcribere non dubitaſti: ſi mulier à viro ſuo concipere nequeat, ut ad alium ſe transferat à quo poſſit fœcundari, & maritus prolem inde natam alere teneatur: Itidemque vir faciat* (*h*). This was carrying the Point higher than *Lycurgus*.

(*e*) *Ibid. l. 3. n. 49. pag. 130.*

(2) *Ep. ad Velſ. T. VII. f. 305, &c.*

(*f*) Benè cum Republica agi, ſi in aliqua una civitate vel quinque virgines & quinque mares annum vigeſimum caſti attigerint; idque plus eſſe quàm tempore Apoſtolorum, & Martyrum, acciderit.... Demum non minus vires naturæ tranſgredi hominem cælibem, quàm ſi nihil omninò comederet vel biberet. *Luther. Serm. de tribus regibus, p. 198. Colmariæ an. 1523, apud Fitz-Simon ubi ſupra, pag. 155.*

(*g*) *Malfondé: See Seckendorf Hiſtor. Luther. l. 2. p. 39.*

(*h*) *Surius Commentar. pag. m. 195.*

(*T*) *Infinite Fables have been vented concerning his Death.*] Some have ſaid, that he died a ſudden Death; others that he kill'd himſelf; others that the Devil ſtrangled him; others that his Carcaſs ſtank ſo abominably, that they were forc'd to leave it in the High-Way. Nor are they People of mean Figure and Credit, who vent theſe Calumnies, but the moſt famous Writers; which reflects on the whole Body of Popery; for ſuch Fables ought not to paſs the Preſs: The Cenſors of Books ought to expunge 'em, unleſs they ſaw 'em judicially proved. We ſhall ſee who theſe Authors are, that have publiſhed theſe Impertinencies. (*i*) *Pontificii.... aſſerunt mortem Lutheri fuiſſe malam & infelicem, ſed de mortis genere non unam eandemque fovent ſententiam. Quidam contendunt, Lutherum* ſibi ipſi violentas manus inſuliſſe, *ita Lutbero αὐτοχειρίαν tribuit Thomas Bozius* de Signis Eccleſiæ T. 2. lib. 23. c. 8. *Quem locum etiam adducit Cornelius à Lapide, qui* ad cap. 15. poſt Epiſt. Petri *ſcribit.* Lutherum cum veſpere lautè cœnaſſet, noctu deſperatione & furiis Dæmonum actum ſibi injecto laqueo necem inſuliſſe, aſſeruit ejus famulus poſtea ad orthodoxam fidem converſus. *Quidam calumnientur, Lutherum* morte repentinâ obiiſſe. *Ita Bellarminus*, l. 4. de Eccleſ. c. 17. § Lutherus, ex *Cochlæo de vita Lutheri hæc adducit*: Lutherus morte repentinâ ſublatus eſt. Nam cum veſpere opiparam Cœnam ſumſiſſet, lætus & ſinus, & facetiis ſuis omnes ad riſum provocaſſet, eadem nocte mortuus eſt. *Quidam eò impudentiæ progrediuntur, ut* eum à Cacodæmone ſubitum fuiſſe *calumnientur. Ita Guilielmus Beſſous Jeſuita Gallus* in Conclave. Theol. Stobæch. Poſt cineres, p. 102. *de morte Lutheri diſſerit*: Lutherus benè potus, & cibis diſtentus abſque ullo Pœnitentiæ ſigno cubitum ſecedens apud inferos pernoctavit. *Unde & Cellarius in venenato ſuo carmine de morte Lutheri ita canit*:

(*i*) *Joh. Alamus Oſiander, in tractatu Theologico de Magia, pag. 271. & ſeq.*

Infelix ex alvo animam diffudit ARIUS;
Hunc ſequeris nimiè, vane Luthere, mero.

His omnibus pollicem premit Fabianus Juſtinianus, qui in Comment. in cap. VI. *Tobiæ ita ſcribit*: Ipſummet Lutherum ſubitaneâ & improviſâ morte à ſuo Cacodæmone ſublatum, peremptumque plurimi cenſent, quòd vocati ad eum Medici morbum vel ignorare ſe fatcrentur, vel apoplexiam fingerent.... *Extat hiſtoria de morte Lutheri à viris fide dignis, qui ipſi agonizanti adſtiterunt, deſcripta videlicet à Juſto Jona, Michaele Celio, Johan. Aurifabro Vimarienſi, qui coram Deo & in confeſſu Chriſti teſtantur, quòd ſanctâ fide & bonâ conſcientiâ hiſtoriam obitûs Lutheri referant, quæ habetur* Tom. 8. Jenenſ. Germ. *quam videat lector veritatis amans eique addat B. M. Johan. Matheſii concionem* XIV. de vita Lutheri. *Sleidan.* l. 16. Comment. *imò ipſum Jacob. Auguſt. Thuanum Hiſtoricum Pontificium*, l. 2. Hiſt. p. 30. *Quæ omnia Pontificiorum mendacia de morte Lutheri effuſa, facili negotio diſſipare, & in jugulum calumniantium redigere poſſunt... Mortuo Luthero nondum quieſcunt Pontificii, ſed denuò fluctus irarum ſuarum evomunt, & cæno calumniæ poſt mortem ipſius corpus adſpergunt. Fabulantur enim*, corpus electi Dei organi ob intolerabilem fœtorem in itinere fuiſſe relictum. Some there are that have publiſhed, that *Luther* died like *Arius*. Theſe are *Simon* (*k*) *Fontain's* Words: *Some Catholicks, who had Opportunities to know how the thing truly happen'd, have written, that, riſing to caſe Nature, he fell down dead.* Father *Maimbourg* has rejected all theſe ſottiſh Stories, but he has been miſtaken in a notable Fact. *The Elector* of Saxony, ſays he (*l*), *cauſed his Body to be convey'd with a moſt magnificent Pomp to* Wittemberg, *where he erected for him a Monument of white Marble, ſurrounded with the Statues of the twelve Apoſtles, as if he had been the thirteenth, with reſpect to* Germany. Mr. *Seckendorf* (*m*) has ſhewn, that this Monument, and theſe Statues, are Chimera's.

(*k*) *Ubi infra, fol. 230.*

(*l*) *Maimbourg, Hiſt. du Lutheran. lib. 3. Tom. 1. pag. 301, 302, Dutch Edit.*

(*m*) *Seckendorf, hiſt. Lutheran. lib. 3. pag. 645.*

I ſhall here ſet down a Paſſage of an old *Paris* Divine, who reproach'd the *Lutherans* with acting againſt their Principles. *They had always condemn'd*, ſays he (*n*), *the Pomp with which the Catholicks buried their Dead, to pay 'em the laſt Honour of Sepulture, blaming the Sermons that were preach'd in Honour of the Deceas'd: And ſaying, that it were much better to have charitably beſtow'd on the Poor what was thus ſpent in theſe Funeral Pomps and Honours. On the whole, that it was all one, and equally Chriſtian, to be buried in a Dunghill unſeen, as to be depoſited in Holy Ground, with all this* Apparatus. *If what they ſaid before was true, why did they employ ſuch expenſive and coſtly Pomps to lay their* Luther *in his Grave? Why did they not give this Money to the Poor, which was ſpent in conducting him from* Iſleben *to* Wittemberg? *Which could not be done for a ſmall Summ. Why did they not bury him in a Dunghill, where he might have rotted as well as at* Wittemberg? *In ſhort, if this Veneration is condemned by the Holy Scriptures (as they falſly think) why have they uſed it?* It's certain, Reformers don't always conſider, that there are ſome Abuſes, which ſhould not be ſpoken againſt for fear of condemning themſelves before-hand; theſe being Things into which they quickly Relapſe.

(*n*) *Simon Fontaine, Hiſtoire Catholique, lib. 17. fol. 232.*

(*V*) *Nor did they forbear publiſhing Lyes upon this Subject till he had left the World.*] A Writing was publiſhed (*a*) at *Naples*, and in other Places; the Subſtance whereof was this. *Luther*, being dangerouſly ſick, deſired to communicate, and died ſoon as he had received the Viaticum. As he was dying, he deſired that his Body might be laid upon the Altar; but that Requeſt being neglected, he was buried. There aroſe a furious Tempeſt at his Interrment, as if the End of the World was at Hand. The Terror was Univerſal. They who lifted up their Eyes to Heaven, perceived, that the Hoſt, which the Deceaſed had preſumed to take, was ſuſpended in the Air. It was gathered up with great Veneration, and laid in a Sacred Place, and the Tempeſt ceaſed. It renewed the Night following with ſtill greater Fury, and fill'd all the

(*a*) *Seckendorf, ubi infra.*

Town

the World. I have ſaid nothing of his Marriage, becauſe I had ſpoken largely of it in (VΔ) another Place. His greateſt Enemies could not deny, that he had eminent Qualities, and Hiſtory affords nothing more ſurprizing than his Exploits: For a ſimple Monk to be able to give (X) Popery ſo rude a Shock, that there needed but ſuch another intirely to over-throw the *Roman* Church, is what we can't ſufficien[illegible] admire. Some attribute the Revolution, brought about by his Miniſtry, (XΔ) to ce[illegible] Poſitions of

Town with Conſternation. Next Day *Luther*'s Sepulchre was opened, and found empty, and a Sulphurous Scench proceeded from it, which no Body could bear. The Aſſiſtants fell ſick of it, and many of them repented, and returned into the Pale of the Catholick Church. This Pamphlet was (b) written in *Italian*, and 'twas remark'd in it with an Air of Triumph, that it contain'd a Miracle in Honour of Jeſus Chriſt, for the Terror of the Wicked, and the Conſolation of the Good; and that this Event was known by Letters from the *French* Ambaſſador. *Luther*, having read this Relation the twenty-firſt of *March* 1545, cauſed it to be re-printed, and added a Poſtſcript to it. Some *Roman* Catholicks, put to Confuſion by this Impoſture, endeavour'd to ward off the Infamy, by another Fraud. They labour'd to perſuade the World, that *Luther*, or ſome of his Friends, were the Authors of this Romance; but there are very authentick Proofs to the contrary. (c) *Fuerunt ex adverſa parte, quos protervi figmenti puduit, & ideo inventorem ejus ipſum* Lutherum *ſubſtituere voluerunt, vel aliquem ex ſuis; impudenter utique & vane. Extant enim.... litera Landgravii ad Electorem Saxoniæ d.* 12 *Mart. authentica, in quibus ei relationem iſtam Italicam miſit, ſignificans, ſe eam ab Auguſtano quodam, cujus literas etiam adjunxit, accepiſſe, ex quibus percipitur typis excuſam ſchedam [illegible] lam Neapoli & multis alin locis fuiſſe.* W[illegible] Scandal is it to thoſe who underſtand the Nature of Scandal, to find ſuch Effects of a falſe Zeal for Religion?

(VΔ) *I had ſpoken largely of* Luther's *Marriage in another Place.*] To wit, in the Article *Bore*. I have but one Obſervation more to make, and 'tis deſigned for the correcting a Fault of the famous *Joſeph Hall*, Biſhop of *Exeter* (d). He ſays, that a malicious Apoſtate (1) affirms, That *Luther had been the Day before a Monk, the next Day promiſed, the Day after a Husband, and the next Day after a Father.* My (e) Detector, continues he, *maintains this laſt by the Teſtimony of* Eraſmus (2), *who, in one of his Letters to his Friend,* Daniel Mauchius *of* Ulm, *mentions the ſame Story more at large. Pray, Reader, look over all this vaſt Volume of* Eraſmus's *Epiſtles,* Retur. pag. 28, 29. *and if there be no ſuch Perſon (as indeed there is none) nor any ſuch Letter; judge you what we are to think of the Veracity of theſe People.* He is to blame to cenſure the Perſon, who alledg'd *Eraſmus*'s Teſtimony; and he would not have cenſur'd him, if he had known what is found in the 278 Page of *Chytræus*'s Annals. We there find that *Luther*'s Adverſaries alledg'd a certain Letter of *Eraſmus* (f), not printed indeed; wherein he makes mention of the too haſty Lying-in of *Luther*'s Wife. So that *Joſeph Hall* ought not to have inſiſted on this Letter's not appearing in the vaſt Volume of *Eraſmus*'s Letters. If he meant to treat it as a Forgery, he was much to blame. See above the ſame Fact, in another Letter of this Author. That which might be very juſtly ſaid, is, that *Eraſmus* had acknowledg'd the Falſity of this News. From hence we may learn how hard a Task it is to confute a Man in a Matter of Fact; for we muſt know almoſt an infinite Number of 'em to oppoſe with Safety any thing that an Adverſary affirms or denies.

(X) *For a ſimple Monk to be able to give Popery ſo rude a Shock.*] How many States and People did he induce, in a little time, to ſeparate from the Roman Communion? This was repreſented very happily, though in ſomewhat a Burleſque Manner on a Piece of Tapeſtry. Read this Paſſage, taken from a Letter of *Coſter*. *The laſt Time the King was at Chalons, a very rich Piece of Tapeſtry was hung in his Chamber, which came from the late Queen of Navarre; in which were repreſented* Luther *and* Calvin, *who gave the Pope a Glyſter, which put the good Man into ſuch Commotion, that he was ſeen in another Place taken with a great Vomiting and Looſeneſs, and evacuating abundance of Kingdoms and Sovereignties,* Denmark, Sweden, *the Dutchy of* Saxony, *&c. Wicliff, John Huſs,* and ſeveral others had attempted the ſame Thing, but did not ſucceed. This was, you'll ſay, becauſe they were not favour'd with a Concurrence of Circumſtances: They had no leſs Merit nor Abilities than *Luther*; but they undertook the Cur[illegible] e Diſeaſe before the Criſis; and, as we ma[illegible] the increaſe of the Moon. *Luther*, on the o[illegible]ry, attack'd it at a Critical Time, when 'twas arrived to the higheſt Pitch; when it was impoſſible it ſhould grow worſe; and therefore, according to the Courſe of Nature, muſt either ceaſe or diminiſh; For when Things are arrived to the higheſt Point of their Aſcenſion, they commonly (k) begin to decline. He ſow'd in the Full Moon, when the Wane was juſt drawing on: He had the ſame good Fortune, as thoſe Remedies have which are employ'd laſt, and which carry away the Glory of the Cure, be[illegible]e applied when the Diſtemper has diſcharg'd [illegible] Malignity. You may, if you pleaſe add, that [illegible] Concurrence of *Francis* I. and *Charles* V. was f[illegible] this Affair. I anſwer, that all this notwithſtan[illegible], there muſt have been eminent Gifts in *Luther* to produce ſuch a Revolution as he has done. Here's an excellent Thought of Father *Paul*. " (l) If there was any Thing, in the " ſetting up of this (m) Novelty, tha[illegible]ave Scandal, " 'tis well known, that *Leo*'s P[illegible]ſſors made " many like Conceſſions, and fro[illegible]honeſt Motives, and had carried their Av[illegible] and Extor- " ſions farther. But frequently good Occaſions of " doing great things are loſt for want of knowing " 'em (3), or knowing how to make uſe of " 'em. Beſides that, we muſt wait the time, " that God has appointed to puniſh the Sins " and Corruptions of Men. All concurred under " *Leo*'s Pontificate, of whom we ſpeak at preſent. " It muſt be acknowledged, that ſeveral Circumſtances [illegible] concurr'd to favour *Luther*: Good Letters raiſed their Head among the Laity, whilſt Church-Men would not renounce their Barbariſm, and perſecuted the Learned, and ſcandalized all the World, by an unbridled Luſt. See the Margin (n). It was ſaid, with Reaſon, that *Eraſmus*, by his Railleries, prepared the way for *Luther*. He was his Fore-Runner. Dr. *Simon Fontain* complains, that (o) *occaſionally* Eraſmus *did more Miſchief than* Luther, *becauſe* Luther *did only open the Door wider, after* Eraſmus *had pick'd the Lock and half opened it.*

(XΔ) *Some there are who attribute .... to certain Poſitions of the Stars.*] *Paulus Jovius* runs ſo far into this Profane Thought, as to impute to a Malignant Conſtellation, not only what happen'd in *Germany*, by means of *Luther*; but alſo the Converſion of the *Indians* in the Eaſt and Weſt: And when he conſiders, that the Faith of People changed almoſt at the ſame time, in the four Corners of the Earth, ſome embracing Mahometiſm, others Chriſtianity, and others Lutheraniſm, he could not believe but the Influences of the Stars had brought this about by their occult and pernicious Qualities. *Nec multo poſt exarſit in Germania,* ſays he (a), *authore Luthero dira hæreſis, quæ populis, ut in Perſide accideraf, ad inſaniam verſis, Chriſtiani dogmatis placita, & veteres ſacrorum ritus vehementiſſimè conturbavit. Ita ut facilè crediderim ab occulta cœli poteſtate, malignoque ſyderum concurſu proveniſſe, ut religiones toto terrarum orbe exactis ſæculis, uno tempore ſcinderentur, quando non [illegible] modo Chriſtianique, ſed & remotiſſima ge[illegible] aut ſydera aut portenta pro Diis venera[illegible] India quæ ad Orientem vergit, tum in [illegible] Occiduam plagam reperto, novas ſacrorum opiniones induerint.* Florimond de Remond ſeems to applaud this Notion: He gives it in French, and complains of a [illegible] Tranſlator, who had paſs'd theſe W[illegible]ct in Silence. " (b) Almoſt at the ſame " [illegible] ſays *Jovius*, that *Iſmael* ſeized upon the " Empire of the *Perſians*, and chan[illegible]e Re- " ligion, blending it with the ne[illegible]ſtan " Superſtition, there aroſe in *Ger*[illegible]er *Lu-*

(b) Natæ forte hinc eſt immanis illa de ejus obitu fabula, quæ *Tom. VIII. Alt. fol.* 415. *& ſeq.* lingua Italica, & in Germanicam verſa, legitur. Scribunt autem cum magna quidem exultatione & gratulatione, tanquam de miraculo à Deo, *in honorem Chriſti, terrorem malorum, & ſolatium bonorum,* ut impie nugantur, *edito,* ex Legati Regis Galliæ literis innotuiſſe, quod *Lutherus* periculoſe ægrotans, *&c.* Seckendorf, *hiſtor. Lutheraniſmi, lib.* 3. *pag.* 580. *col.* 1.

(c) *Id. ib. col.* 2.

(d) Joſeph Hall's *Apology for the Marriage of Eccleſiaſticks, pag.* 48.

(1) Juſtus Baronius, *formerly call'd* Calvinus.

(e) *That is, he who had wrote againſt* Joſeph Hall.

(2) *Tom.* 2. *Lat. Colloq. Tit. de morbo* Lutheri.

(f) See Seckendorf hiſt. Lutheran. *l.* 2. *pag.* 18.

(k) Invida fatorum ſeries, ſummiſque negatum Stare diu, nimioque graves ſub pondere lapſus, Nec ſe Roma ferens. *Lucanus l.* 1. *v.* 71.

(l) *Fra. Paolo hiſt. du Concile de Trente, lib.* 1. *pag.* 4. *according to the Tranſlation of* Amelot de la Houſſaie.

(m) *That's to ſay the* [illegible] *Indulgences.*

(n) *Add to this the falſe Steps that Popery made in this Conjuncture. I ſhall ſpe[illegible] ma[illegible]*

(o) Simon Fontaine, *Doctor of Divinity at* Paris, *hiſtoire Catholique de nôtre tems, t.* 7. *fol.* 91. *édit. of* Paris 1562.

(a) *Jovius Hiſtor. lib.* 13. *fol. m.* 239. *verſo.*

(b) Florim. *de Remond hiſt. de l'hereſie lib.* 1. *c.* 4. *p. m.* 24.

of the Stars. What ſome affirm that his Enterprize has introduced (*T*) a Contempt of the Chriſtian Religion, is all falſe. He, who would be throughly inſtructed in the Hiſtory of this great Man need only read Mr. *de Seckendorf*'s large Volume *. 'Tis, in its kind, one of the beſt Books that has come out a long time. I ſhould adviſe him alſo to read the *Lutherus Defenſus* of a *Hambourgh* † Miniſter; for there all the Perſonal Reproaches are anſwer'd.

I was amaz'd to find, that Cardinal (*Z*) *Perron* had the Hardineſs to ſay, that *Luther* believ'd the Mortality of the Soul. Should *Francis Garaſſe* vent ‡ a Thouſand ſuch Calumnies, I ſhould not have wonder'd at it; and if I had found it in *Luther*'s Life, publiſhed at Paris in 1577, by the Monk *Noel* † *Talepeid*, or in *Nicholas Grenier*'s

* *Hiſtoria Lutheranismi. See the hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans, Fevrier 1692. Art. 3.*

† *Call'd* John Mullerus.

‡ *See the Remark E.*

† *A Cordelier of* Pontoiſe.

"*ther's* Authority, that monſtrous [illegible], which "endeavour'd to deſtroy the Ca[illegible] Religion, "and all that Antiquity had recei[illegible]; as the "People, enraged and bigotted with their new "Follies and Superſtitions, had done in *Perſia*: "By which means, ſays he, I willingly admit, "that, by a Secret Power of Heaven, and "a malignant Influence of the Stars, all the "Religions in the Univerſe began to change their "Face; ſince not only Mahometans, but alſo Chriſtians, nay, Idolatrous Nations, the moſt remote, "who worſhiped Idols, both [illegible] the *Eaſt-Indies* and in "the *Weſt*, fell into new [illegible]ions and Opinions at "the ſame time. This is [illegible] the *Latine Jovius*, "ſays. But in his *French* Tranſlation, the Reform-"ed Sincerity, the ſcrupulous Conſcience of his "Tranſlator is remarkable, who paſſes over all "that *Jovius* ſays of this Change of Religions, "and this monſtrous *Lutheran* Hereſie ſprung up "in *Saxony*: This grieved him at the Heart. "With what Fidelity do they handle Holy and "Sacred Books, when they thus impudently mu-"tilate the Ancient Hiſtorians to deſtroy one "Sentence [illegible]ing to *Luther*." The Delicacy of ſuch Tranſlators can't be approv'd. If there be Zeal in their Conduct, it is a Zeal ſo blind, ſo ſuperſtitious, ſo mean and childiſh, that it deſerves to be ſubmitted to their Adverſaries Indignation. *Note*, That *Lipſius* attributed alſo to the [illegible]s the Fondneſs of the XVIth Century for Diſputes in Religion. (c) *Fatalis iſta eſt ingeniorum rabies, ut omnes diſputare malint, quam vivere....* (d) *Ita loquor, quia velut à cælo, & ut dixerim, aſtro aliquo eſt hæc peſtis. Atque ut corporum quidam morbi certis temporibus interveniunt; ſic nunc iſte animorum. Viri, fœmina, ſenes, pueri, quæſtiunculis ludunt & laſciviunt: eoque ventum, ut pro parum ſano ſit, qui non ſic inſanit. Myſterium Theologia erat, facta eſt populare oblectamentum.* He pretends, that the Soul is ſubject, as the Body, to ſome Diſtempers, which return from [illegible] time; and he reckons, in the number of theſe Diſeaſes of the Soul, the Spirit of Diſputing, and the Change of Religion, which reigned at that time. He relates a Paſſage of *Nicephorus Gregoras*, containing a Deſcription of the like State: All Places rang with Theological Diſputes; even thoſe that knew not what was to be believed, nor what they themſelves pretended to believe, talked of nothing, but Matters of Religion, in the Markets and Theatres. "(e) *Vis* "*imaginem claram horum temporum? Nicephori Gre-*"*gore iſta lege.* (f) Apud nos etiam opificibus "effuſa ſunt arcana Theologiæ, atque ita omnes "inhiant ratiocinatiunculis & ſermonibus ſyllogi-"ſticis, ut herbæ & paſcuis armenta. Et illi, qui "de rectâ fide ambigui ſunt, & qui nec quomodo "credendum ſit ſciant, nec quid ſit illud quod "credere ſe dicunt; illi inquam & foris & pon-"ticus & theatra omnia Theologiâ compleverunt." Without recurring to Conſtellations, the ordinary Sanctuary of Ignorance, ſecond Cauſes might have been diſcovered on Earth, which God made uſe of to effect the Change that happened in *Germany* in the [illegible] Century.

(c) *Lipſius de civil. doctrina, lib. 4. cap. [illegible] pag. m. 65. per. tom. 4.*

(d) *Idem adverſus Dialogiſtam, pag. 310. ejuſd. tomi.*

(e) [illegible]

(f) *Hiſtor. lib. XI.*

(*T*) *Has introduced the Contempt of the Chriſtian Religion.*] If *Coeffeteau* had ſaid, that *Luther* made Abundance of People damn themſelves by the Profeſſion of Hereſy, he'd have ſpoken according to the Spirit of his Prejudices, and we ſhould have pardoned him; but this is not the Evil he deplores. Let's hear him. "Mean time, [illegible] "(*f*), inſtead of repreſenting to us here the "Sallies of the furious Spirit of *Luther*, whoſe "Impiety diſpleaſed the Calviniſts them-"ſelves, [illegible] *du Pleſſis* ought to have medi-

(f) *Coeffeteau, Reponſe au Myſtere d'iniquité, pag. 1237.*

"tated on the Horrour of his Crime, and repreſented to himſelf the great Loſs of Souls, with "which he is chargeable before God and his Angels, "for having been the Author of all the Diſputes that are ariſen in Chriſtendom. God ordained in the Antient Law (a), that if it happened, that any having a Controverſy with another, ſhould ſtrike a Woman with Child, ſo as to deſtroy her Fruit, his Life ſhould go for "the Life of the Child. What then will the "Divine Juſtice appoint againſt thoſe, who, by "their Ambition, and by the Diſputes, which "they have excited in the Church, have occaſioned the Death of ſo many Millions of Souls "who are diſguſted at the Chriſtian Religion, to "ſee thoſe, who profeſs themſelves Miniſters of it, "ſo *ill* agreed upon the principal Points of the "Holy Goſpel." We may affirm, that the Number of thoſe who were luke-warm, indifferent, or diſguſted with Chriſtianity, diminiſh'd much more than it increas'd by the Diſturbances *Europe* felt at the Occaſion of *Luther*. Every one choſe his Side with Warmth; ſome remained in the *Roman* Communion, others embrac'd the Proteſtant: The firſt conceiv'd a greater Zeal for their Religion than they had before; the latter were all on Fire for their new Belief. It was impoſſible to ſhew thoſe who, as *Coeffeteau* ſays, rejected Chriſtianity, upon Account of ſo many Diſputes. Had he ſaid, that the Diviſions of Chriſtians, and their Conduct towards one another, after having formed themſelves into Sects, are moſt proper to bring the Goſpel into Diſ-credit, I ſhould have agreed with him; but he muſt have ſuppoſed, at the ſame time, a Thing which very few practiſe. He muſt have ſuppoſed, that there are a great many without double Weights; that is, who examine, without Prejudice, what happens at Home and Abroad. But where are theſe to be met with? Where are thoſe, who, by the Force of Cuſtom, do not judge the ſame things to be moſt juſt, when they make others ſuffer them, and moſt unjuſt when they ſuffer 'em themſelves? In ſuch a Diſpoſition as this there's no Danger that the Multiplicity of Sects ſhould create many Pyrrhoniſts: Every one, happen what will, will ſtick faſt by the Party he has choſen. The Antiperiſtaſis, which the new Philoſophers have baniſh'd from Nature, takes place in Religion. Zeal cools, when it is not obſerved, and ſurrounded with other Sects, and rekindles when it is. We may here apply the Verſes that were made upon (g) *Menelaus*, and ſay, that *Coeffeteau* is mightily miſtaken: He has taken that for granted, which muſt happen only in caſe Men reaſon'd after ſuch a certain manner.

Religious Controverſies make few Pyrrhoniſts.

(g) *He was weary of* Helena *while he had her in an undiſturbed Poſſeſſion, and was all on Fire when ſhe was ſnatched away from him.*

(*Z*) *That Cardinal* Perron *had the Hardineſs to ſay, that* Luther *believed the Mortality of the Soul.*] See in what Words he affirms it: "(h) *Luther* "denied the Immortality of the Soul, and ſaid, "that it died with the Body; and that God af-"terwards raiſed both again: So that, in his "Opinion, no one enjoyed the Viſible Preſence of "God; whence he drew an Argument againſt "praying to Saints, ſhewing, that the Saints hear "not our Prayers. The Church believes that the "Souls of the Saints, and of the Bleſſed enjoy the "Preſence of God as ſoon as they are dead; and "*Luther* reckons this amongſt the Impieties of the "Roman Church, that ſhe believes the Immortali-"ty of the Soul." You ſee he is not charged with abſolutely denying the Puniſhments and Rewards of another Life, but only with deferring 'em, till after the final Reſurrection of all Men. This is diminiſhing much of the Heinouſneſs of the Accuſation, with which others proſecuted him, but 'tis

(h) *Perroniana at the Word* Luther *pag. 202. edit. 1669.*

Grenier's Book (*AA*), of which we ſhall ſee a long Paſſage by and by, or in the Books of ſuch like Writers, who have no Reputation to loſe, I ſhould not have been ſurpriz'd: But I could not but think it ſtrange, that a Cardinal, of ſo great a Name, ſhould be guilty of ſo much Raſhneſs. The Curious will not be diſpleaſed to hear of a ſmall Ruffle that had been given Mr. *Arnauld* on (*BB*) occaſion of a Citation from *Luther*. It was impoſſible for him to verify it by the Original Books. This leads me to make this Reflection, that nothing would be more convenient for thoſe who are accus'd of miſ-quoting this Reformer, than the Liberty of the moſt curious Library (*CC*) of Prince *Rodolphus Auguſtus*, Duke of *Brunſwick*. *Luther's* Life, in Medals

nor avoiding the Crime of Lying and Slandering. 'Tis a common Saying, that all Romances are founded upon ſome Hiſtory: I have therefore ſuſpected, that Cardinal *Perron* built this Fable upon ſome Words of *Luther*, ill underſtood, and found in Quotations; and, I having not the leiſure to turn over all the great Volumes of this Miniſter, have conſulted a Divine of the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, and deſired him to inform me if there were any Pretext that could occaſion this Cardinal's ſpeaking thus. The Sum of the Anſwer, he had the Civility to ſend me, is as follows. *Luther* never taught that the Soul died, and was to riſe again with the Body. It can never be proved by his Works that he was of this Opinion; and he has very clearly ſhewn, that he believed the quite contrary. Conſult what he has written upon the eighth Verſe of the fourth Chapter of *Geneſis*, where he ſpeaks of the Death of *Abel*. The Origin of the Calumny is in a Letter he writ at *Amsdorf* in the Year 1522; in which he appears much inclined to believe, that the Souls of the Juſt ſleep to the Day of Judgment, without knowing where they are, *&c.* He do's not pretend to ſay, that they are dead in this Interval, but only caſt into a profound Reſt and Sleep; in which Opinion he followed many Fathers (1) of the Antient Church. He rectified this Opinion, in Proceſs of Time; and though he ſeems in his later Writings to attribute Reſt to the Souls of the Predeſtinate, he does not mean thereby ſuch a Reſt as profound Sleep, which deprives them of the Viſion of God and the Angels. See his Commentary upon the twenty-fourth Chapter of *Geneſis*, where he ſpeaks very largely of the State of Souls departed.

(1) Origen, *St.* Chryſoſtome *and* Theodoret, *among the Greeks:* Tertullian *and* Lactantius, *among the Latins.*

(*AA*) *In* Nicolas Grenier's *Book, whereof we ſhall ſee a long Paſſage.*] This Book is entituled, *The Shield of Faith, by Way of Dialogue, extracted from the Holy Scripture, and Fathers, and moſt antient Doctors of the Church.* The Author, a Regular Canon of St. *Victor*, dedicated it to *Henry* II. I can't tell in what Year he publiſhed it the firſt Time. *La Croix du Maine, and du Verdier Vau-Privas*, mention only the Edition of *Paris* 1566, and 1567. They ſay nothing of that of *Avignon* 1549, which I uſe, and which is not the firſt; for the Title imports, That the Book *was reviewed and augmented by the Author.* The Edition mention'd by *du Verdier Vau-Privas* contains *an Apology againſt the* Lutheran *Hound, which attempted to gnaw the Shield of Faith.* I ſuppoſe he means *Bartholomew Cauſſe*, Miniſter of *Geneva*, Author of a Book entit'led, *The true Shield of the Chriſtian Faith; in Form of Dialogue, demonſtrating, from Holy Scripture, the Errors and falſe Allegations of a Book* entit'led, The Shield of Faith; *formerly written by a Monk of St.* Victor *at* Paris, *calling himſelf the* Bicamillane. My Edition is of *Geneva* 1563, reviſed and amply enlarged. Let this be ſaid in favour of Bibliographers. Let us now come to the Fact, and relate what the Canon of St. *Victor* tells of *Luther.* (*b*) Luther's *Ambition, and Deſire of Glory and Honour, was ſo great, that, though he was but a ſimple Preſbyter, and an* Auguſtine, *an Apoſtate, and an excommun'd Monk, yet he took upon him the Office and Dignity Epiſcopal. But being once in the City of* Lisbon ‡ *he preſum'd to ordain two Preſbyters in St.* Andrew's *Church, impoſing Hands upon them, and ſinging the Anthem,* Veni Sancte Spiritus. *Moreover, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in a pompous Chariot or Litter, as a great Prince, ſurrounded and attended with Gentlemen and Guards. And, in his Entrance into Towns, there were Volleys of Shot, and firing of Cannons. This was not imitating Jeſus Chriſt his Apoſtles, and the Holy Doctors of the Church, who, by their Preaching and Example, ſhewed all Humility and Simplicity. Very different is the Life of true Chriſtians, and Heretical Antichriſts. The Life of the Apoſtles, and Holy Doctors of the Church, was humble, ſober, chaſte, modeſt, and devout: But the Life of the falſe Doctor and Apoſtate,* Luther, *was proud, gluttonous, laſcivious, infamous, and corporal: For 'tis notorious and evident to all, that, having violated his Religious Vows, and Eccleſiaſtical Continence, he took for his Wife or Whore a Nun, by whom he had three Baſtards and Illegitimates. His Gluttony was the Cauſe of his great Incontinency; For, as St.* Jerome *ſays,* Venter mero æſtuans, facilè deſpumat in libidinem. *And, to ſay true,* Luther *ought rather to be called the Prince and Doctor of Drunkards and Gluttons, than of* Saxons *and* Germans. *He was a ſecond* Epicurus *or* Sardanapalus, *ſince its commonly read of him, that at every Dinner and Supper, he drank two Gallons of luſcious, rich Wine; and eat of the moſt exquiſite and delicate Diſhes; which he continued till the laſt: For he died ſuddenly, full-glutted, after having ſupp'd plentifully, and ſtuff'd his Paunch. But let's leave this Wretch.* It's for the Intereſt of the *Lutherans*, and all Proteſtants in general, to re-publiſh the fabulous Impertinencies their Adverſaries publiſhed againſt the Reformers of the XVIth Century. They ſhew, that they were wholly conducted by a blind Prejudice; a Prejudice which is to their reproach and diſadvantage. Here you have a Canon of St. *Victor* of ſo little Judgment, as to employ an Objection, which ruines Pope, Cardinals, and all the Prelacy, whoſe Train and pompous Equipages are diametrically oppoſite to the Life of the Apoſtles.

(b) Nicole Grenier, *bouclier de la foi, pag. m.* 784. *& ſeq.*

‡ *The Author, if I miſtake not, would have ſaid* Illebene, *but by an inexcuſable Negligence he did not well inform himſelf of the Names of Towns, and fell into a ridiculous Equivoque, there being in* Portugal *a City call'd* Lisbone, *where Luther never was.*

(*BB*) *A ſmall Ruffle that had been given Mr.* Arnauld, *on occaſion of a Citation from* Luther.] Mr. *le Fevre*, Doctor of Divinity, of the Faculty of *Paris*, has publiſhed this Fact in a Book printed (*c*) at the *Hague*, in 1685. *Do's not he remember*, ſays he (*d*), ſpeaking of Mr. *Arnauld*, *that about four Years ago, a Miniſter writing to him, that he had falſly cited ſome Paſſages from* Luther *to ſhew, that he denied the Neceſſity of good Works, and amongſt others this*; Let's beware of Sin; but, above all, let's beware of the Law, and good Works, and fix only on the Promiſe of God and Faith: *Words which he cited as from a Sermon of* Luther, *upon a Text in the New Teſtament; he found himſelf obliged to take the trouble of ſearching for this Paſſage in all the* Luther's *of* Paris, *and not finding it could give no other Anſwer to the Miniſter, who had writ to him, than confeſſing he had taken, this Paſſage from* Bellarmine, *and, at the ſame time inſiſting on this Cardinal's Fidelity.*

(*c*) *And not at* Liſle, *as is ſaid in the Title-Page.*

(*d*) *Le Fevre, replique à M. Arnauld pour la defenſe du livre des motifs invincibiles, cap.* 18. *The Pages are not figur'd; 'tis in the laſt Leaf of the Sheet* b i.

(*CC*) *The moſt curious Library of Prince* Rodolphus Auguſtus, *Duke of* Brunſwick.] This Prince, who has joyned the Love of Letters, to all other Qualities worthy his illuſtrious Family, was not ſatisfied with the magnificent Library of *Wolfembuttle*; he ſet up another private One, which he ſtored with Abundance of rare Books. Here we find all the Writings that *Luther* publiſhed from the Year 1517 to his Death: The Editions, I ſay, he gave and corrected himſelf, and which are preferable to the Original Manuſcripts, becauſe in reviſing the Proofs he corrected many things that had eſcap'd him. 'Tis a much certainer Way to have recourſe to theſe Editions, than to thoſe, in which all his Works have been reduced into a Body; for they who collected 'em took the Liberty to mend (*e*), and change what they thought fit: And hence, doubtleſs, it proceeds, that the Citations from *Luther*, upon which any Controverſy ariſes, are ſo hard to be verified. We can hardly have any Recourſe now, except to the Volumes in *Folio*, publiſhed ſince his Death. The compleat Editions of all his Works have made the particular Editions of his Books neglected; and

(*e*) *See the following Citation.*

Medals *, publiſhed in the Year 1699, ſupplies an infinite Number of † Particulars, and affords an infinite Number of Authors, who have ſpoken of this illuſtrious Perſon. We find, in the Advice to the Reader, a Liſt of all thoſe who have compoſed either his Elogy or his Hiſtory. We there likewiſe find a Confutation of the Falſhoods of an anonymous Author, whoſe Dialogues were printed in the Year 1694, with the Title of *Lucien en belle Humeur*. This I only touch upon, to have an Opportunity of ſaying, that there's no Ground to think ɣ, that Mr. *Fontenelle* is the Author of theſe Dialogues. We may poſitively affirm, that he is not; and that he is not capable of ſo imperfect a Production. In the Vatican Library at *Rome* is ſhewn * a Bible, which is ſaid to be of *Luther's Tranſlating, and written with his own Hand. But this is not probable, conſidering the extravagant Prayer* ‡ *at the End of it, and which appears to be of the ſame Hand with the reſt.* Whilſt the Troops of *Charles* V. quarter'd at *Wittemberg* in the Year 1547, there was a Soldier ‡, who gave *Martin Luther's* Effigies in the Caſtle-Church two Stabs with his Dagger. The Emperor did a very generous Action at that time: He would not ſuffer the Tomb of this pretended Hereſiarch to be demoliſhed; and he forbid the attempting any thing of that Nature (*DD*) upon Pain of Death. *Luther* had made a great Progreſs in Scholaſtick Learning, and had even followed the Sect of the Nominals; which ſpun the Thread fineſt in all Abſtract Queſtions; yet no one fell ſo foul as he upon the Method of Philoſophizing at that time; nor was any Man more vehemently bent againſt the great *Ariſtotle*. You'll ſee the Proofs of this in the Extracts I ſhall give (*EE*) of an Invective of Father *Gretſer*, deſign'd to prove this Propoſition, *Luther do's not underſtand Scholaſtick Divinity*. One of their Arguments to prove this,

* *The Author calls himſelf* Chriſtianus Junckerus.

† *See above the Remark G, at the End.*

ɣ Num ſit & hujus auctor *de Fontenelle* qui *les nouveaux dialogues des morts* publicavit Pariſiis.. non habeo. affirmare. *Juncker, ubi infra in pref.* § 17.

* *Miſſon l'voage d'Italie, Tom.* 2. *page* 134. *edit.* 1698.

‡ *Mr.* Miſſon, *ibid.* tells it in High-Dutch *and in* French.

‡ Andreas Sennertus in Arhenis Wittenbergenſib. apud Junckerum in vita Lutheri nummis illuſtrata, *pag.* 216.

and hereby almoſt all the Copies of theſe particular Editions are loſt, which is a Misfortune. (*f*) *Libelli à Luthero ipſo editi diligentius quam factum eſt, aſſervari debuiſſent, non tantum, quod commodius legi poterant, quam in magnis, in quos poſtmodum redacti ſunt, voluminibus, ſed & quia genuini & ab interpolatione aut incuria, quæ compilatoribus tomorum dudum imputata eſt, ſecuri erant.* The Prince I ſpeak of employ'd a Profeſſor of *Helmſtad* (*g*) to publiſh an Account of his Library. See the Book entituled, *Antiqua Literarum monumenta, autographa Lutheri aliorumque celebrium virorum ab A.* 1517, *uſque ad annum* 1546 *reformationis ætatem & hiſtoriam egregie illuſtrantia*, &c. The firſt Tome of it was printed at *Brunſwick* (*h*) in 1690, and the ſecond (*i*) in 1691. The Overſeers, even of Publick Libraries, which are the beſt endowed, ſometimes uſe a blameable Oeconomy. They part with the particular Tracts, when they have once all an Author's Works reduced into a Body: And thus it comes to paſs, that there's no proving from theſe great Libraries, whether an Author, who has cited Paſſages, from the firſt Editions, which differ from the latter, have acted ſincerely.

(*f*) *Acta erudit. Lipſienſ.* 1690. *pag.* 627.

(*g*) *Mr. von der Hardt.*

(*h*) *See Journal of* Leipſick, *for Decem.* 1690, *pag.* 625 (*wrong figured* 601) *& ſeq.*

(*i*) *See the ſame Journal for* Septemb. 1691, *pag.* 422.

(*DD*) *He would not ſuffer* Luther's *Tomb to be demoliſhed.... and forbid.... upon Pain of Death.*] The *Spaniards* inſtantly ſollicited him to pull it down, and would have even his Bones dug up and burnt: But the Emperor very wiſely anſwered, I have nothing farther to do with *Luther*; he has henceforth another Judge, whoſe Juriſdiction it is not lawful for me to uſurp: Know that I make War, not with the Dead, but with the Living, who have ſtill Arms in their Hands againſt me. (*a*) *Violari autem ſepulchrum vetuit Carolus V, Imperator, Wittebergam expugnatam armis miniſque ingreſſus, contra quam urgebant Hiſpani omnes, eo uſque infenſi Luthero, ut & oſſibus ejus inviderent quietem, eaque perinde, ut Huſſo factum fuerat vivo, mallent cremari; quos laudatiſſimus tamen Imperator græviſſimo ſermone caſtigavit, quando dixit:* Nihil mihi ultra cum Luthero, alium ille judicem jam habet, cujus Juriſdictionem invadere noſtrum non eſt, neque mihi cum mortuis bellum eſſe ſciatis ſed cum ſuperſtitibus in nos armatis. *Cumque animadvertiſſet, Hiſpanos Duci Albæo & Epiſcopo Atrebatenſi, ſuadentibus ejus Indignitatem facti, conſentire, ſevere tandem atque etiam vitæ capitiſque periculo ſanxit, inviolatum Lutheri ſepulchrum ut eſſet.*

(*EE*) *In the Extracts I ſhall give of an Invective of Father* Gretſer.] I don't believe I am miſtaken, in aſcribing to him (*b*) the Harangues which were pronounced in the Academy of *Ingolſtad*, the 14th of *November* 1606, when he preſented two Licentiates in Divinity for their Doctor's Degree. One of them made a long Declamation, intitled, *Utrum Lutherus fuerit Scholaſticus Theologus*, wherein he undertook to prove the Negative, and ſomething more. *Lutherum non modo non fuiſſe Theologum Scholaſticum, ſed omnium ſubtiliorum ſcientiarum hoſtem & calumniatorem impudentiſſimum.* The Proof of the firſt Part of this Theſis was reduced to a Syllogiſm, which the Candidate pronounced with a very audible Voice; *Ut autem*, ſaid he (*c*), *rem ipſam ſtatim, cunctis ambagibus omiſſis aggrediar; elata voce proclamo*; Scholaſticus non eſt, qui craſſiſſimos, ſtupidiſſimos, &, ut ſic appellem, decumanos, prorſuſque aſininos contra Theologiam & Philoſophiam, commiſit errores. Lutherus tales errores commiſit; non eſt igitur Lutherus Scholaſticus. He afterwards went upon the Proof of the *Minor*, for the *Major* was ſelf-evident. He had already obſerv'd, that *Luther* boaſts of a thorough Knowledge of all the Secrets of the niceſt School-Divinity; and that *Melanchthon* hereupon has beſtowed great Encomiums on him. (*d*) *Lutherus non ſemel teſtatur, omnia Scholaſticæ Theologiæ myſteria ſibi probè eſſe cognita: omnia adyta perluſtrata: omnes excuſſos angulos.* Credatis forſitan Magiſtri noſtri eximii *(ſic loquitur Lutherus Doctores Lovanienſes & Colonienſes compellans.)* (1) Luthero eſſe notam Philoſophiam & Theologiam veſtram, in qua non peſſimo ingenio, nec ultima ſocordia verſatus ſit plus duodecim annis, interque Sympalæſtritas veſtros detritus. *Et ne ignoraremus, in quam Scholaſticæ Theologiæ familiam nomen dederit, alibi nobis exponit cùm dicit, ſe* (2) Occami *caſtra ſecutum*; *cujus ſectatores, tempore Lutheri, vulgò* TERMINISTÆ *audiebant, longeque ac latè in ſcholis regnabant, teſte ipſo Luthero; qui palam ſcribit: ſe* (3) Occanicæ *ſeu* Modernorum *ſectæ placita & dogmata non tantum à limine ſalutaſſe, aut primoribus labris ſolummodo deguſtaſſe; ſed* penitus imbibita tenere; *his enim verbis ſuam in Scholaſtica Theologia peritiam decantat Lutherus; de qua etiam perpetuus Lutheri encomiaſtes Melanchthon:* (4) Gabrielem & Cameracenſem (*duos inſignes ex Occami gymnaſio Theologos*) pænè ad verbum memoriter recitare poterat Lutherus. Diu multumque legit ſcripta Occami. Hujus acumen præferebat Thomæ & Scoto. The firſt Proof of the *Minor* is taken from *Luther's* having maintain'd, that this Propoſition, *The Word was made Fleſh*, is true in Divinity, and abſolutely impoſſible and abſurd in Philoſophy. (*e*) *Omne verum vero conſonat. Tamen idem non eſt verum in diverſis profeſſionibus. In Theologia verum eſt, Verbum eſſe carnem factum. In Philoſophia ſimpliciter impoſſibile & abſurdum.* The Author diſplays here the common Diſtinctions of Divines, to maintain, that the Philoſophical Arguments, which *Luther* alledges, do not oppugn the Myſtery of the Trinity and Incarnation; and adds, (*f*) *Simili ſtoliditate dicit* (Lutherus) Syllogiſmos prædictos non eſſe malos vitio formæ ſyllogiſticæ; ſed virtute & majeſtate materiæ, quæ in anguſtias rationis ſeu ſyllogiſmorum includi non poſſit. *Quaſi verò nullus ſyllogiſmus & forma & mate-*

(*a*) *Chriſtianus Junckerus in vita Lutheri nummis illuſtrata, pag.* 218, 219. *He cites* Joh. Sleidanus de ſtatu religionis & reipublicæ in Germania l. XIX, pag 665 & 668, *and* Michael Piccartus in obſervationibus hiſtorico-politicis, decade vi, cap. 6. *I have found nothing like it in the* 19th *Book of* Sleidan.

(*b*) *They're aſcribed to him in the* Bibliotheque d'Alexandre, *pag.* 200, *col.* 2.

this, is his Teaching that one and the ſame Doctrine is falſe and true at the ſame time, falſe in Philoſophy (*FF*), and true in Divinity; falſe in Natural Philoſophy, and true in Morality, *&c.* Their next Argument was his Outrage againſt [redacted] Univerſities,

materia probus formari queat de re Cæleſti & Theologica; & divinitus nobis revelata. He forgets not that Maxim of *Luther*, That Divinity claſhes with the Principles of Philoſophy, but that Philoſophy, in its Turn, claſhes much more with the Rules of Divinity: (*g*) *Impingit Theologia in Philoſophiæ regulas*, inquit Lutherus, *ſed ipſa viciſſim magis in Theologiæ regulas.* He takes notice of *Luther*'s Indignation at the *Sorbonne*, which had defined, that what was true in Philoſophy, was ſo in Divinity; and he declares he muſt be a Beaſt, who diſapproves this Determination. (*b*) *Vehementiſſimè ſtomachatur Scholaſticus noſter in Pariſienſem Theologorum Scholam, quam* Sorbonam *vocant. Qua de cauſſa?* Sorbona, mater errorum, peſſimè definivit, idem eſſe verum in Philoſophia & Theologia. *Non tantùm Sorbona optimè & ſanctiſſimè hoc definivit; ſed & Concilium Lateranenſe ſub Leone X. Et certè tam eſt hoc evidens, ut fungum eſſe oporteat, qui diſſentiat: Nam ut album eſt album, ubicunque ponatur; & aqua eſt aqua, ubicunque collocetur; ita & verum eſt verum ubicunque conſtituatur, ſive in Theologia, ſive in Philoſophia.* The Critick's Aſſertion upon the Doctrine it ſelf, I think unqueſtionable; but he is to blame to look upon the contrary Opinion, as Stupidity of Mind; for there have been very ſubtle and penetrating Doctors who maintained *Luther*'s No[redacted]tion in this Matter. (*l*) *Conſidera & hoc* [redacted] *Lutherani indicium*, (this Critick goes on) [redacted] eſt verum in una parte philoſophiæ, quod tamen falſum eſt in alia parte philoſophiæ. *Nimirum naturam eſſe principium motus & quietis, verum erit in Phyſica: falſum in Metaphyſica & Ethica.* Humor humectat, *inquit Lutherus*, eſt veritas in Sphæra aeris, ſed manifeſta hæreſis in Sphæra ignis. *Fortè propterea, quia in Sphæra ignis concreſcit in glaciem. Nam ſi non congelaretur; quomodo non madefaceret Lutherum, ſi integro aquæ dolio perfundcretur?* If the Jeſuit had been a good Natural Philoſopher, he would have been more equitable in this laſt Cenſure; he would have contented himſelf with ſaying, that *Luther* had not clearly enough explained his Thought. I believe *Luther* had a Glimpſe of what the new Philoſophers have a clear and diſtinct Notion of. They (*a*) ſhew, that what the Peripateticks call Humidity, one of the four Elementary Qualities, ought to be called Liquidity: And in this Senſe *Luther* ſaid rightly that Humidity wets in the Air, but not in the Fire; for Flame is a liquid Body, and does not wet; conſequently 'tis true, that the Liquid moiſtens in the Elementary Air, and not in the Elementary Fire. I know this Example, at bottom, makes nothing at all for *Luther*'s Hypotheſis; but we may, however, believe, that his Thought was not well underſtood. I meddle not with the other Proofs of the *Minor* of the Syllogiſm.

Now for a Storm of his Reproaches againſt *Ariſtotle*. (*b*) *Niſi caro fuiſſet Ariſtoteles*, inquit Lutherus (1), *verè diabolum eum fuiſſe, non puderet aſſerere.* Eidem Luthero eſt Ariſtoteles, *Proteus, hiſtrio, qui Græca larva Eccleſiam luſit, vaferrimus ingeniorum illuſor, calumnioſiſſimus calumniator, ſycophanta impiiſſimus, princeps tenebrarum, triceps Cerberus, tricorpor Geryon, verè ἀπωλλύων* (2), *id eſt, perdens, & vaſtator Eccleſiæ*; merus *logodædalus, & logomachus, vaſtator piæ doctrinæ, beſtia, caligo hominum, & quidem teterrima. Momus, imo Momus Momorum.* (3) *Beſtia gentilis, ſimilis hydræ in Lerna. In quo fere nihil eſt Philoſophiæ. Impiiſſimus eſt. Publicus veritatis, & ex profeſſo hoſtis. Gentilis animarum carnifex. Hircus, vel potius hircocervus. Bis ſacerrimus Ariſtoteles. In cute perfectus Epicurus. Non mihi perſuadebitis*, inquit Lutherus, *Philoſophiam eſſe garrulitatem illam de materia, motu, infinito, loco, vacuo, tempore, quæ ferè in Ariſtotele ſola diſcimus: talia quæ nec intellectum, nec affectum, nec communes hominum mores quidquam juvent: tantùm contentionibus ſerendis, ſeminandisque idonea. Quod ſi maximè quid valerent, tot tamen opinionibus confuſa ſunt, ut, quo quis certius aliquod ſequi propoſuerit, hoc incertior feratur, & faces Ebolcas ſpectetur; & ſero tandem cum Proteo ſibi fuiſſe negotium, pœnitet.* It cannot be ſaid, that he did not fly out at this rate againſt the Head of the Peripateticks, till after he was embroil'd with Popery; for it may be proved, that he was of the ſame Mind before he had done any thing to diſpleaſe the Court of *Rome*. Read this Paſſage of *Gretſer*: (*c*) *Neque unquam bene erga* [redacted]*ſtotelem affectus fuit; quod diſces ex his, quæ anno* [redacted]*mini 1516, ad Langum Auguſtinianum prius ſcripſit, quàm apertè inſaniret*: (4) Mitto has literas ad eximium D. Jodocum Iſenacenſem, plenas quæſtionum, adverſus Logicam, & Philoſophiam, & Theologiam, id eſt, blaſphemiarum, & maledictionum contra Ariſtotelem, Porphyrium, Sententiarios, perditæ ſcilicet ſtudia noſtri ſeculi. Sic enim interpretabuntur, quibus decretum eſt, non quinquennio cum Pythagoricis, ſed perpetuò, & in æternum cum mortuis ſilentium tenere, omnia credere, ſemper auſcultari, nec unquam ſaltem levi præludio co[redacted]riſtotelem, & Sententias velitari, & muſſ[redacted] Quid enim non credant, qui Ariſtoteli credi[redacted], vera eſſe, quæ ipſe calumnioſiſſimus calumniator aliis affingit & imponit tam abſurda, ut aſinus (*Lutherus*) & lapis non poſſint tacere ad illa? Nihil ita ardet animus, quàm hiſtrionem illum (*Ariſtotelem*) qui tam verè Græca larva Eccleſiam luſit, multis revelare, ignominiamque eius cunctis oſtendere, ſi oc[redacted] eſſet. Habeo [redacted] manus commentariolos in [redacted]orum, quibus [redacted]bu'am Ariſtei denuò agere ſ[redacted] meum iſtum Protea (*Ariſtotelem*). Pars crucis meæ vel maxima eſt, quod videre cogor fratrum optima ingenia, bonis ſtudiis nata, in iſtis cœnis vitam agere, & operam perdere. This Jeſuit produces a great many other Paſſages, injurious to *Ariſtotle*, taken from *Luther*'s Writings.

(*FF*) *His teaching, that one and the ſame Doctrine is falſe... in Philoſophy, and true in Divinity.*] I have ſpoken of this in the fore-going Remark. But here I add, that the moſt rigid Followers of *Luther* have deſerted him upon this Article; and have, with ſo much Force, oppoſed their Brethren, who revived this Notion, that they have obliged 'em to retract it. Let us ſay alſo, that ſome Miſunderſtanding may mix in this Diſpute, and much Controverſy about Words; and that *Luther*'s Doctrine would be wrongfully blamed, if he had [redacted]ſſed himſelf after this manner, *The ſam[redacted]s which appear falſe and impoſſible, whe[redacted]dge of 'em by Natural Light, are true and [redacted]in when we judge of 'em by the Revelation of the Word of God.* But to pretend, that even after Revelation has certified that a Doctrine is true, it continues to be falſe in Philoſophy, is a groſs Miſtake. It's much more reaſonable to own, that Philoſophical Light, whoſe Evidence hath ſeemed to be a ſure Guide to us in our Judgments of Things, was fallacious and illuſive; and that it muſt be rectified by the new Diſcoveries communicated to us by Revelation. Affirm, as long as you pleaſe, according to the Notions which Logick teaches us, in the Chapter *de oppoſitis*, that a Man is not a Stone; but beware of affirming, as *Ariſtotle* would have done, that its impoſſible a Man ſhould be a Stone: Would not *Ariſtotle* have affirm'd, that it's impoſſible God ſhould be born of a Woman; that God ſhould ſuffer Cold and Heat; that God ſhould dye: In a Word, that God ſhould become a Man? And would he not be miſtaken in th[redacted]ertions? Now ſince we are inform'd, that [redacted]poſition betwixt the Idea of God, and the [redacted] of Man, hinders not that one of theſe Beings may be truly affir[redacted]d of the other, ought we not to ſay that n[redacted] hinders but a Man and a Stone may be [redacted] Subject, and the other the Predicate of [redacted]rmative, and moſt true Propoſition? Let [redacted]ſay then, that the Jeſuit, who exclaims ſo heavily againſt *Luther*, perplexes him[redacted] wretchedly, and keeps a heavy ſtir about [redacted]. One would think he affirm'd it abſol[redacted]poſſible for two created Beings to be [redacted]poſtatically; and can't he ſee, that [redacted] once allow'd impoſſible, the ſame [redacted]onc[redacted]-

(*g*) See Gaſſendi *at the firſt Section of his Phyſicks, l. 6. c. 7. pag. 402. Tom. 1. Oper.*

(*b*) *Id. ib. pag. 13.*

(*l*) *Gretſer ibid. pag. 14.*

(*a*) *See Gaſſendi at the firſt Section of his Phyſicks, l. 6. c. 7. pag. 402. Tom. 1. Oper.*

(*b*) *Gretſer. ubi ſupra, pag. 43.*

(1) *Luth. Tom. 1. Epiſt. 9.*

(2) *Luther. Tom. 1. epiſt. 33.*

(3) *Hæc omnia ſumpta ſunt ex Luthero in explicat. oct. præcepti, Tom. 1. lat. Witeb. & in Reſpon. ad condemnat. Lovanien. & Colon. Tom. 2. lat contra. Obeliſcos Eckij. Tom. 1. lat. Witeb. Lib. contr. Lat. Diſput. Deum ſimplicimiſſimè eſſe unum.*

(*c*) *Gretſer, ibid. pag. 44.*

(4) *Luth. Tom. 1. epiſt. lat. epiſt. 8.*

ſtries, and the (GG) burleſque Expreſſions he made uſe of to turn them and their Doctors to ridicule. This burleſque Way of his might, doubtleſs, be cenſured, but it was not unuſeful at that time; and we know it has been ſaid *, that *Eraſmus* by his Railleries, ſerved for a Fore-Runner to *Martin Luther*. But if it be true, that *Eraſmus* prepared the Way, 'tis alſo true, that this Way was more and more enlarged, and laid open by the wrong Meaſures, that were taken with this Refor-

* See the Remark X.

gainſt the Myſtery of the Incarnation; for which he is ſo angry at *Luther*? *Audite*, ſays he (c), *& obſtupeſcite, vel potius exacramini; non tantùm imperitiam, ſed & intolerabilem blaſphemiam.* Nec minus, *inquit Lutherus*, imo magis [illegible] *rata* eſt prædicatio; Deus eſt homo; quàm [illegible], homo eſt aſinus. *An non hac Lutheri impia [illegible] totum incarnationis myſterium ex imis fundamentis evertit? Si magis diſparata eſt illa*, Deus eſt homo; *quàm iſta*, Homo eſt aſinus: *tunc magis erat falſa illa*, Deus eſt homo, *quàm iſta*; Homo eſt aſinus, *quæ ſimpliciter falſa eſt: cujus falſitas oritur ex diſjunctione* Prædicati *à* Subjecto; *quia enim nullus penitus nexus* eſt Prædicati *cum* Subjecto; *ſic, ut* Prædicatum *non niſi mendaciter de* Subjecto *affirmetur. Si igitur in illa*; Deus eſt homo; *tanquam in majore, eſt* Subjecti *à* Prædicato, *& vice verſâ diſjunctio, &, ut ſic loquar, diſparatio; falſa evidentiſſima propoſitio*; Deus eſt homo; *ſic ut & hac*; Homo eſt aſinus; *quia diſparata non poſſunt de ſe mutuò affirmari, quamdiu nullo communi nexu copulantur. Si autem ſubjectum & Prædicatum illius Propoſitionis*, Deus eſt homo, *vero, reali, ſubſtantiali & hypoſtatico vinculo colligantur; ſequi* [illegible] *mentiri Lutherum, cùm* Subjectum [illegible] *& Prædic* [illegible] *æquè, imò magis, ac* Subjectum *& Prædic* [illegible] *hujus*, Homo eſt aſinus; *diſtare & diſparari prætendat. Qualis ergo Lutherus Scholaſticus Theologus; qui ſtupiditate & fatuitate ſua totam divini verbi œconomiam ſubruit & proſternit; imò Turcicè prorſus, inficiatur; & inficiari volentibus non rimam, ſed ipſas fores latiſſimè aperit?* We need only conſider this Paſſage to ſee the Unfairneſs and blind Paſſion of the Writer.

(c) *Greſſer, ubi ſupra. pag. 6, & 7.*

(GG) *The burleſque Expreſſions he made uſe of to turn the Univerſities and Doctors into ridicule.*] He jeſted upon their Titles, and the Badges of their Doctorſhips. (f) *Habent Doctores in Academiis, ritu veteri, certa quædam inſignia & digmata: Habent titulos & ſuas quaſdam appellationes, honoris & reverentiæ cauſſa. Vocantur* Magiſtri noſtri; *itemque* eximii Magiſtri noſtri. *In certam facultatem, velut in tribum quandam collecti ſunt, ſuos habent loquendi modos; ſuas formulas & voces. Hinc arepta ſcurrandi occaſione Theologica facultas eſt Lutheri* Feculas *à fece & Vaccul* [illegible] *vacca. Doctores facultatis Theologicæ* (5) [illegible] *ſtrolli, noſtrolli, ſeparatim, conjunctim, Magiſtrolli noſtrolli, Theologiſtæ, Theologaſtri, Liripipiati, Magiſtrolliter, Liripipia, qui tria habent Sacramenta* Magiſtrollica, Birretum, Talarem, Liripipium, *ſeu* relipendium.... *Sed recitemus ipſa, Lucianica prorſus in Scholaſticos ſcommata ex ludo Lutheri* (1) *à Sorbona damnati, cujus proculdubio auctor Melanchthon, ut intelligas quam leves, futiles & ſcurriles fuerint Lutherus & Philippus; & quàm ab omni gravitate Scholaſtica averſi.* Decanus noſter almæ Facultatis, *inquit leviſſimus ille Ludio*, eſt Sanctus Petrus in alma Facultate. Et ipſe habet tria ſigna, quæ cogunt eum ſic ſentire, ut non poſſit errare; quæ ſunt, Regiſtrum, Sigillum, & Almutium. Unde patet, quod valde arroganter, & frontoſè ſcripſit iſte hæreticus contra almam Facultatem. Communia autem ſigna ſunt hæc. Et ſic ſic.... Signum autem eorum primum, & maximum, eſt Liripipium, ſeu, ut eruditi dicunt, Relipendi [illegible] quod eſt evidentiſſimum, & notiſſimum ſig [illegible] per quod concluditur ſic: Iſte habet Liri [illegible], ergo eſt Magiſter noſter in fide illumina [illegible] ergò habet Spiritum Sanctum. Aliud ſignum eſt, quod ſedent in ſuperiore cathedra, quando diſputant, & legunt. Per hoc ſignum arguitur ſic: Chriſtus dicit; Super Cathedram M [illegible] ſederunt; quæcunque dixerint, ſervate. Ergo [illegible] cunque dixerint, ſunt vera. Sed illi ſedent in C [illegible] dra, & docent ſic; ergo, non poſſunt errare. A [illegible] ſignum eſt, quod comprehendit multa. Et ſunt inſignia illa Doctoralia; annulus, pyrrhetum, liber, oſcul [illegible] becæ, & pyrrheta diſtributa in aula Doctor [illegible] candelæ ardentes; & ſuper omnia [illegible] Te [illegible] damus, quod in fine canitur. Ul [illegible] gare [illegible] vivium Doctorale. Ultimum

(f) *Ibid. pag. 38. & ſeq.*

(5) *Lut. lib. de miſſa privata abrog. Tom. [illegible] Lat. [illegible] 2. [illegible] Witeb.*

& fortiſſimum ſignum eſt introitus Domini Decani in Sorbona, quando Bedelli cum ſceptris præcedunt, & voce magna clamant: Tranſeat ſpectabilis, & eximius Magiſter noſter, Dominus Decanus almæ Facultatis Theologicæ cum magiſtris noſtris eximiis. Tranſeat ille, tranſeat. Et hoc ſignum eſt valdè bene maſticandum; quia formaliter concludit; Magiſtros noſtros non poſſe errare, *&c. Pudet pigetque plura referre; adeò vana, profana, & Lucianica ſunt, ut quidvis iſtos potius fuiſſe ſuſpicer, quàm Scholaſticos: quos, ut magis Lutherus irrijui exponeret, vocabula quædam ad eorum imitationem finxit, & ſcriptis ſuis, ut ſcurras ſuos oblectaret, inſeruit. Cujuſmodi ſunt Diſſolutio* (2) Catharinitiſſima & Romaniſſima, Thomiſtates, Italitates, magiſteria noſtraliſſima; magiſtraliſſimæ determinationes, Sylveſtraliter, Thomiſtraliter, Colonialiter, Lovanialiter, Catharinaliter, Latomialiter. Thomiſticiſſimè, Thomaſticiſſimè, Henriciſſimè.

(2) *Luth. cum. Cathar. Lat. Reg. Angl. Sylveſt. & in lib. de Miſſa privata abrog.*

Francis Garaſſe has diverted himſelf with this facetious Humour of *Luther*. *This fat Fellow*, ſays he (a), 'writing againſt the Sacred Faculty of 'Divinity, in the ſecond Tome of his Works, 'propoſes certain Concluſions againſt the Faculty, 'and then condemns 'em, as in the Name of the 'whole Univerſity, impertinently playing the Fool 'in a thing of Conſequence. The Title of the 'Tract is this. *Apologia Philippi Melanchthonis adverſus furioſum decretum Theologiſtrorum pro Luthero*, &c. The three firſt Concluſions are theſe. *In 'Libro Joannis Majoris ſunt PLAUSTRA nugarum.* The ſecond, *Quondam fuerunt ſtrenui Mileſii.* The Third, *Spectabilis Domine Decane nos eſtis iratus.* To theſe three Propoſitions he anſwers in the Name of all the Divines of *France*. 'As to the firſt, which ſays, that in *Major*'s Books, 'there are Cart-Loads of Fooleries. *Hæc Propoſitio eſt ſtultè aſſerta, in eo quod intendit nugas 'plauſtris vehi: cùm nugæ ſint res ſpirituales & Plauſtra 'res corporales.* Having formed this Chimera out 'of his own Brain, he fights it, to obtain a falſe 'Triumph, like that of *Caligula*. To the ſecond, 'which ſays, that the *French* Divines were formerly Valiant, as the *Mileſians*: But that they 'have degenerated, he makes our Divines Anſwer, '*Hæc propoſitio eſt ſuſpecta, quia ſcriptura eſt Græca: '& Græci ſunt hæretici: Hoc eſt noſtrum ſentimentum.* 'To the third, which ſays, Venerable Dean of the 'Faculty, you are angry: He makes all the Divines 'Anſwer. *Hæc præpoſitio eſt deriſoria & ſcandaloſa, in eo quod dicit, vos eſtis iratus, eſt enim 'incongrua ſicut ego currit, & à nobis olim damnata: & in eo quòd dicit Decane vos eſtis, intendendo quod ſumus ex cane nati, eſt contumelioſa.*'

(a) *Garaſſe doctrine curieuſe, pag. 520, 521.*

'Tis certain, that a very ſerious and a well-argued Anſwer, would not have been ſo proper at that time, as theſe burleſque Pieces, to expoſe the Univerſities to the laſt Contempt, with a great Number of People. But it might be queſtioned, whether it became *Luther* and *Melanchthon*, thus to divert and amuſe themſelves with Quirks and Conundrums. They ought, you'll ſay, to have been wholly taken up with the important Affair they were engag'd in; and if they had well weighed the great Characters of their Miſſion, they would not have had leiſure for Banter. They knew what Perſecutions their Cauſe was expoſed to in other Countries: They ought therefore ſo to have laid it to Heart, as to have no Deſire to make merry by humorous and burleſque Compoſitions. I don't offer theſe as Objections of weight, and am perſuaded, that they whoſe Intereſt it is to find 'em weak, will eaſily give 'em an Anſwer. For which Reaſon I ſhan't ſtand to diſpute about 'em. I ſhall only ſay, there are a great many Perſons who have not diſapproved the Reflections at the end of Mr. *Bruys*'s Book: "In Truth, ſays he (b), I "can't believe, that the Proteſtants of this King-"dom, who are really ſerious Men, whatever E-"ſteem they have for Mr. *Jurieu*'s Wit and Learning

(b) *Bruys, défenſe du culte exterieur de l'Egliſe Catholique, pag. 340. & ſeq.* Dutch *Edition.*

Reformer. *Eraſmus* obſerved ſeven grand Faults in 'em (*HH*). See a Book of the Sieur † *Richard*, Prior of *Beaulieu* St. *Avoye*, a Catholick Author.

† Intit'led, Sentimens d' Eraſme, *and printed in* 1688.

LUTORIUS PRISCUS (CAIUS) a *Roman* Knight, was puniſhed with Death, for an Offence that can hardly be thought (*A*) Capital. * After having received a good Reward of *Tiberius*, for a Poem he made upon the Death of *Germanicus*, he was accus'd of having compos'd another, on the Death of *Druſus*, whilſt this Prince lay ill *; and 'twas affirmed, that he kept this Poem ready to be produced, with Hopes of a greater Recompence, in Caſe *Druſus* ſhould dye †. The

* *Tacitus, Annal. lib.* 3. *cap.* 49. *ad ann.* 774.

† Corripuit delator, objectans ægro Druſo compoſuiſſe, quod ſi extinctus foret, majore præmio vulgaretur. *Tacitus ubi ſupra.*

" ning, can approve that affected Character of a Humouriſt and Droller in all the Works of this Miniſter, who has forſaken them, and fled into a " Foreign Country, whilſt he daily hears at a diſtance, of the Ruin and Deſolation of his Party. " Methinks if we conſider the Diſpoſition which becomes a Perſon of his Character, the Joy he expreſſes in all his Writings, at his being out of the " Reach of the Danger his Sect is expoſed to, is " not very natural nor warrantable. It ill becomes " him, in my Opinion, to be merry in Security, " whilſt thoſe he has deſerted groan under the " juſt Chaſtiſements, which the Church, as a good " Mother, mixes with the Kindneſſes and Benefits " ſhe employs to reduce 'em to her Boſom: In my " Opinion 'tis acting counter to the Goſpel, to " laugh with thoſe who weep; and I think the " Works of this Author, how fine and delicate " ſoever in other Reſpects, ought to have ſome " Taſte of the Bitterneſs of his Soul, if he were " really more affected with the Affliction of his " Brethren, than with the Tranquillity which he " himſelf enjoys in particular. Inſomuch, as we " may ſay, that if the Calumnies and Reproaches " with which this Author's Works are fill'd, induce " the Catholicks to believe, that a Man, whoſe " Thoughts are ſo remote from Charity, cannot " be a good Chriſtian, though he ſpoke with the " Tongue of Angels: So that ill-natur'd Joy, which " he manifeſts in his Writings, thoſe Strokes of " Raillery and Ridicule, by which all the World " immediately diſcovers the Productions of his " Pen, ought to perſuade all the Pretended Reformed, who have any Judgment, that 'tis impoſſible " for him, who ſo miſ-times his Raillery, whatever Zeal he expreſſes in their Defenſe, to be a " good Proteſtant."

(HH) Seven grand Faults in the Meaſures taken with Luther.] I have mentioned the Book, in which there is a large Account of this Matter; and 'tis a Book that may be eaſily had at the Booksellers; ſo that I ſhall be very ſhort on this Head, and only ſhew in groſs the capital Point of each of theſe Faults. The firſt conſiſted (*c*) in their Suffering a Controverſy about the Gatherings among the begging Monks, and upon the *Theſes of Indulgences to be diſcuſſed before the People in Sermons.* The ſecond, in (*d*) their oppoſing to *Luther* only ſome Mendicant Monks, who were no more than Declaimers and Organs of Slander. The third, in this (*e*) That they did not impoſe Silence on the Preachers of both Parties, and chooſe out *prudent, learned, and peaceable Perſons, who might have inſtructed the People, without any Contention, and enclined 'em to Peace and the Love of the Goſpel.* The fourth in (*f*) this; That they would abate nothing on either ſide. The fifth in (*g*) this; That great *Cruelty was exerciſed againſt the Lutherans, at the Inſtigation of ſome Mendicant Monks.* The ſixth in (*h*) this; That the Biſhops of *Germany*, who were MARTIAL Men for the MOST PART, *did not do their Duty.* The ſeventh in (*a*) this; That they did not bethink *themſelves of appeaſing the Wrath of God by publick Prayers, and by a Converſion, truly penitent and ſincere.* The Catalogue of Faults of the *Romiſh* Party might, perhaps, be enlarged: But that we leave to the Speculative, and content our ſelves with ſaying, that moſt of theſe, ſpecified by *Eraſmus*, could not well be avoided, conſidering the State and Poſture of Affairs the Church was then in. Hence it may be concluded, that *Luther*'s Deſign was hatched in a favourable Juncture of Time. The Prudence of the Court of *Rome* plaid its Part well enough; but it could not prevent the marring the Affair in ſeveral Inſtances, by a Defect in its Inſtruments; and I am certain, Numbers of Proteſtants are convinc'd, that their Party maintain'd it ſelf by the falſe Meaſures of the oppoſite Side, as much as by the Goodneſs of its Cauſe. On the other hand, a great many fancy, that there were ſeveral Faults committed on the part of the Reformation, and that theſe were Incidents favourable to Popery. Thus great Quarrels are generally fed and fomented; each Party makes falſe Steps (*b*), which reciprocally ſerves to ballance and ſupport each other.

(*c*) *Sentimens de Eraſme, pag.* 251.
(*d*) *Ibid. pag.* 258.
(*e*) *Ibid. pag.* 274.
(*f*) *Ibid. pag.* 277.
(*g*) *Ibid. pag.* 284.
(*h*) *Ibid. pag.* 287.
(*a*) *Ibid. pag.* 293.

(A) For an Offence that can hardly be thought Capital.] It is not eaſy to fix the Species of this Action. Very ingenious Men believe (*c*), that *Lutorius*'s Crime conſiſted in *deceiving* Tiberius, *by preſenting him an Elegy on the Death of* Germanicus, *which had been made before for the Death of* Druſus, *who had recovered from a Diſtemper, which 'twas thought he would dye of.* Others believe, that he had made a Sacyr upon *Druſus*. This is the Opinion of *Theophilus Raynaud*: (*d*) *Ex ea item lege*, ſays he, *Lutorius Priſcus apud Dionem*, lib. 57. *quod in Druſi agrotantis mortem, famoſum carmen ſcripſiſſet, mori juſſus eſt Senatus decreto* (*e*). Theſe two Opinions I think falſe, and ſhould chuſe rather to ſay, that *Lutorius* was accus'd of *the Boldneſs of reckoning on* Tiberius's *Son as Dead, and even compoſing Verſes upon it before the Time.* The Author of the News from the Republick of Learning, from whom I borrow theſe Words, immediately adds: (*f*) *It's certain, a Man expoſes himſelf to the Rigour of Juſtice, who ventures, on ſome Occaſions, his unlucky Opinion upon the Sickneſs of Kings. The Phyſician,* du Val, *was ſent to the Gallies, becauſe there was found in his Cloſet a Paper, in which he had predicted, that* Lewis XIII *would dye before the Dog-Days, in the Year* 1631. This Particular is found in ſome Memoirs of the Duke of *Orleans*, which came out in the Year 1685. The Words of *Manius Lepidus* do not oppoſe the Opinion I eſtabliſh ſo much as is imagined: For in an Age of Flattery no Difficulty is made of advancing, that a Poet, who inſtead of making Vows, and confiding in the Fortune of the Republick, whilſt the Preſumptive Heir to the Crown is ſick, ſings the Death of his Prince, and communicates to his Friends the black and diſmal Ideas of ſo lamentable a State, not yet arrived; That ſuch a Poet, I ſay, is poſſeſs'd with an execrable Thought, and poſſeſſes his Hearers with the like. (*g*) *Si, patres conſcripti, unum id ſpectamus quam neſaria voce Lutorius Priſcus mentem ſuam & aures hominum polluerit, neque carcer, neque laqueus, ne ſerviles quidem cruciatus in eum ſuffecerint?* Theſe are the Words of *Manius Lepidus*. Conclude we then, that the Crime this Poet was accus'd of, was anticipating, in his Poem, the Death of *Druſus*, the Emperor's Son. There was, doubtleſs, more Imprudence than Crime in this Action.

I deny not but the Laws have treated thoſe as guilty of a Capital Crime, who conſult the Stars about the future Events of a Prince's Life: (*b*) *Capitale eſt de ſalute principis vel de ſumma Reip. reſpondere aut conſulere.* I know ſeveral have ſuffered Death for ſuch a Curioſity. (*i*) *Valens imperator ſub uno proloquio juſſit occidi omnes qui de ſuo ſucceſſore ſpiritus conſuluerant, nec modo qui conſuluerant, ſed omnes qui aliquid ea de re inaudierant, nec ad ſe detulerant.* The Emperor *Julianus Didius* (*k*), ordain'd by a Law, that all thoſe ſhould be burnt, who conſulted the Diviners upon the Emperor's Fortune. The Canon Laws have excommunicated thoſe who engage in Intrigues about the Succeſſion in a Prince's Life-time. This is what the Learned *John Beloi* repreſented to the Leaguers in *Henry* IIId's Reign. " (*l*) By theſe Means they ſeem to conſpire his " Death, which, in effect, is revoking againſt Nature, good Manners, Chriſtian Piety, and the " Good-will we owe to our King; for whom we " are conſtantly obliged to pray, to wiſh, and pre-

(*b*) *See in the* Penſées ſur les Cometes, *pag.* 793, *a fine Paſſage from the Memoirs* de la Rochefoucaut.
(*c*) *Ameſot de la Houſſaie. Morale de Tacite, de la flaterie,* n. 17. pag. m. 30, 31. *He has chang'd his Opinion in his Verſion of the Annals of* Tacitus.
(*d*) *That's to ſay the Law* in famoſos libellos.
(*e*) *Theoph. Raynaudus de malis & bonis libris,* n. 113. *pag. m.* 72. 73.
(*f*) *For June* 1686, *pag.* 632.
(*g*) *Tacitus Annal. lib.* 3. *cap.* 50.
(*h*) *Jul. Paulus V. Sentent.* 21. *apud Fornſterum in Tacit. Annal. l.* 2.
(*i*) *Forſterus ibid. citant Ammien Marcellin, l.* 29. It's Treaſon to conſult Fortune-Tellers about the Death of the Prince.
(*k*) *Libanius Orat.* 12. *apud Harduinum not. in Themiſtium pag.* 490
(*l*) *Beloi, Apologie Catholique* 1 *partie, fol.* 12. *verſo.*

The Prince's Recovery ſhould have obliged this Poet to ſuppreſs his Piece; yet he had not the Power to deny himſelf the Glory of his Performance, but read it to ſome Ladies; all of whom, except one, durſt not deny the Fact ‡. All his Judges, except two, gave their Votes for his Death. *Tiberius*, who was then abſent †, practis'd (*B*) his uſual Artifices, when he underſtood that the Sentence was executed, and made ſome Regulations for the Time to come. *Manius Lepidus*, who voted only for his Baniſhment, gave (*C*) a very ingenious Turn to his Opinion. We ſhall ſee how the Advocate *Arnauld*, who employ'd it in pleading againſt the Jeſuits, was (*C*△) re-

‡ Ut delator exſtitit, ceteris ad dicendum teſtimonium exterritis, ſola Vitellia nihil ſe audiviſſe adſeveravit. *Id ib.*

† *Dion, l.* 57. *pag. m.* 707.

ſage well: So that to act upon the Preſumption of any unlucky Accident or Misfortune to him, would be againſt all Laws, Civil and Natural; and therefore good People can't approve, that, againſt their King's Deſire, and in his Life-Time, his Succeſſion ſhould be diſputed, and called in Queſtion, which is a thing not in being as long as it pleaſes God to continue him in the World. Therefore, by a Decree in the fifth Council of *Toledo* in *Spain*, which was held in *Honorius* the Firſt's Time (1), about the Year 622, in the Reigns of *Heraclius* the Emperor, and *Chintillius* King of *Spain*: All thoſe were excommunicated, who inform'd themſelves, or preſumed to be ſollicitous and inquiſitive, who ſhould be their King, after him who holds the Scepter. *Therefore*, ſays the Text, *becauſe it's contrary to Piety, and dangerous for Men to think of future Things, of a forbidden Nature, and to inform themſelves about the Accidents of Princes, or to provide for the Future, with Relation to 'em; foraſmuch as it is written, It is not for you to know the Times or the Seaſons, which God has reſerved in his own Power: We ordain, by this Decree, that if there be any Enquirer about theſe Things found, who, in the King's Life-Time, has reſpect to another from a Proſpect of his ſucceeding to the Kingdom, or draws others to him on that Account, he ſhall be expell'd the Society of Catholicks by the Sentence of Excommunication.* (2) The ſame Decree was repeated in the ſixth Council, held in the ſame City of *Toledo*; to which is added a moſt pertinent Reaſon, by which the Authors of theſe Diſcourſes are blamed, as aiming at the Knowledge of Futurity, which God perhaps will never ſuffer 'em to arrive at." I have read in the *French Mercury*, a Story I am going to relate: (*m*) *Noel Le Morgard, Maſter Almanack-Maker ... affirm'd* in his Almanack, for the Year 1614, "that the State of *France* would change, threatned the Perſon of the King, and ſhew'd the Time, the Months and Quarters, in which he ſpoke of ſeveral great Princes, whom he denoted, only tranſpoſing the Letters of their Name. This Almanack being in Sale the firſt Day of the Year, there was an extraordinary Demand for it among the Curious, who ſaid, it was a Prophecy: And that which gave vogue to it was, that *Morgard*, having ſignified in the firſt Quarter of *January*, that a Soldier ſhould play his Son an unlucky Trick, it happen'd, that an old Man, of the Suburbs of St. *Germain*, and who had formerly been a Soldier, kill'd his Son, deſigning to kill a Woman he kept. The Noiſe that theſe new Predictions cauſed among the People, coming to the Ears of their Majeſties, and the Council, *Morgard* was, on the 8th of *January*, clapp'd in the Baſtile, by the Archers of the Grand Provoſt: Nine Days after he was removed to the Common Goal; the tenth of *January*, he was condemn'd by a Decree of the Court, for nine Years to the Gallies; and the ninth of *February* he was put in Chains, to be carried to *Marſeilles*, where he tugs at the Oar in the King's Service."

(1) 2 *Volum. Concil. cap.* 4. *fol.* 739.

(2) *Idem cap.* 17. *fol.* 74.

(*m*) *Mercure François. Tom.* 3. *p.* 304.

Every one may have read ſeveral Things of this Nature, but I venture to ſay, that this was not *Lutorius*'s Caſe. All the Enquirers into Futurity have no other End but to raiſe Conſpiracies, or diſturb the Publick Tranquillity; or, in general, they are ill-minded People, as *Tertullian* obſerves. (*n*) *Cui enim opus perſcrutari ſuper Cæſaris ſalute niſi à quo aliquid adverſus illum cogitatur, vel optatur, aut poſt illam ſperatur & ſuſtinetur? non enim ea mente de carne conſulitur qua de dominis.* Now what is there like this in a Poet's Impatience, who, during his Prince's Sickneſs, prepares a Copy of Verſes to produce 'em in caſe the Prince ſhall dye? There was nothing [illegible] Conduct of *Lutorius*; but Want of Diſcretion. He ought not to have read his Poem: He ſhould not have regaled the Ladies with it, to be regaled in his Turn by their Commendations.

(*n*) *Tertull. apud Lipſium, in Tacit. Annal. lib.* 3. *pag. m.* 140.

(*B*) *Made uſe of his uſual Artifices.*] He praiſed the Zeal the Senate had expreſſed in the Puniſhment of the leaſt Offence committed againſt the Emperor, but deſired they would not be ſo haſty in puniſhing 'em. He praiſed *Lepidus*, and did not blame *Agrippa*. The latter was Conſul deſigned, and voted for Death, *Lepidus* only for Baniſhment. It was reſolved, for the future, that the Decrees of Death ſhould not be executed till the tenth Day after Sentence. (*a*) *Id Tiberius ſolitis ſibi ambagibus apud ſenatum incuſavit, cum extolleret* pietatem, quamvis modicas principis injurias, acriter ulciſcentium; *deprecaretur* tam præcipites verborum pœnas: *Laudaret Lepidum, neque Agrippam argueret. Igitur factum S. C.* ne decreta patrum ante diem decimum ad ærarium deferrentur; idque vitæ ſpatium damnatis prorogaretur. Some (*b*) attribute all this to *Tiberius*'s Ambition; they pretend, that he was diſpleaſed not that they had put *Lutorius* to Death, but that they had condemned him to Death without his Advice. They add, that, to make himſelf Maſter of all Sentences of this Nature, even in his Abſence, he got a Decree paſt, that the Execution ſhould be ſuſpended.

(*a*) *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 3. *cap.* 51.

(*b*) *Dion, lib.* 57. *pag.* 707.

(*C*) *Gave a very ingenious Turn to his Opinion.*] I have already related (*c*) the Beginning of his Diſcourſe; here's another Piece of it. (*d*) *Vita Lutorii in integro eſt, qui neque ſervatus in periculum Reipub. neque interfectus in exemplum ibit. Studia illi ut plena vecordiæ, ita inania & fluxa ſunt: nec quidquam grave ac ſerium ex eo metuas, qui ſuorum ipſe flagitiorum proditor, non virorum animis, ſed mulierculorum adrepit: cedat tamen urbe, & bonis amiſſis aqua & igni arceatur.* There is nothing to be fear'd, ſaid he, by ſuffering *Lutorius* to live; nor will the taking away his Life be any great Example. He's an idle Fellow, who ſpends his Time in Trifles; all his Ambition is to get into the Womens good Graces; we need not fear any ſerious Enterprize, or any thing conſiderable from him.

(*c*) *In the Remark* (*A*)

(*d*) *Tacit. ibid.*

(C△) *Was reflected on by Father* Richeome.] *Arnauld*, pleading againſt the Jeſuits in the Year 1594, amongſt other things has this; (*e*) They ſay, *That they came into France for our great Advantage; Experience has ſhewn, that they have been our Ruine. What need of any longer Tryal? Let them go and advantage our Enemies the ſame way: There's to this purpoſe an excellent Paſſage in* Tacitus, Si, patres conſcripti, unum id ſpectamus quàm nefaria voce aures hominum polluerint, neque carcer, neque laqueus ſufficiant: eſt locus ſententiæ, per quam neque impunè illis ſit, & vos ſeveritatis ſimul ac clementiæ non pœniteat: aqua & igni arceantur. *Thus you ſee the Jeſuits Sentence.* Some Years after he employ'd the ſame Thought in a Writing call'd, *Franc & libre Diſcours*: "Gentlemen, if ye conſider the horrid Wickedneſs of theſe People, hanging will not be ſufficient for 'em; but I know a Means, by which you'll never repent of, either being too gentle, or too ſevere; baniſh 'em all." *Richeome* (*g*) anſwers, that theſe Words are not *ſuch in* Tacitus; and that therefore this Diſcourſer is *a wonderful bold Forger*, writing to his Prince.... *With theſe Words then he condemns us, in Mercy, to Baniſhment..... more cruel and deceitful, by half, than the Heathen, who firſt ſpoke 'em. For in this Place of* Tacitus, Marcus Lepidus, *a* Roman *General, adviſed the Senate to Clemency towards* Lutorius *a Knight, convicted of many great Crimes. Wherein this Man metamorphoſes his Words into an Exhortation to Cruelty, to perſuade the Ruin of many Innocents.* After this he relates a Tranſlation of *Tacitus*'s Sentence, cut off with an *Et cætera*; and complains of his Boldneſs in producing it (*h*) egregiouſly diſguiſed, and confronts the

(*e*) *Pladoie d'Arnauld p. m.* 75.

(*g*) *Richeome, plainte apologetique, n.* 48. *pag.* 180.

(*h*) *Id. ib. pag.* 181.

reflected on by Father *Richeome*. Mr. *Moreri* has committed (*D*) ſome Fault

LUXEMBOURG, the Capital City of the γ Province of that Nam was only a Caſtle in the Emperor *Otho* χ the Great's Time. *Gilbert*, Son to *Ricuin* of *Ardenne*, having obtain'd it of the Abbot *de* St. *Maximin*, enlarged it, and founded the County of *Luxembourg*, with the Conſent of *Bruno*, Duke of *Lorrain*, Brother to the Emperor *Otho* the Great. This Country was made a Dutchy, by the Emperor ξ *Charles* IV, for *Venceſlaus* his Uncle *. The City of *Luxembourg* is very ſtrong. 'Tis not true (*A*) that it was never taken by the *French*, before the Year 1684. Hither *the Miraculous Image of our Lady of Conſolation, Patroneſs to the Dutchy of* Luxembourg, *and County of* Chini, was brought as to a Place of Security; but 'twas carried back *to her Chapel* the 20th of *May* 1685. The Advice ‡ that was given to the Jeſuits about the Proceſſion, they cauſed to be made that Day, has been publiſhed. We find many Foot[illegible] (*B*) of *Roman* Antiquities in this Province, which makes all the Curious [illegible]ly deſire the Publication of Father *Wiltheim*'s Book †.

γ *This is one of the Provinces of the* Low-Countries.

χ *His Reign begins from the Year* 936.

ξ *His Reign begins in* 1346.

* *Taken from the* Itinerarium per nonnullas Galliæ Belgicæ partes *of* Abraham Ortelius, *and* John Vivien, *pag.* 36. *edit.* 1584.

‡ *See the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, *Oct.* 1685. *Art.* 10.

† *See the Remark* B.

the Innocence of the Jeſuits, with *Lutorius*'s abominable Crimes. He commits two Faults at leaſt; for his Complaint of the pretended Falſification of the Paſſage of *Tacitus* is ill-grounded; and he ought not to have ſuppoſed, that *Lutorius* was actually *a deſperate Criminal, guilty of Abomination and Numberleſs Crimes*. He ſhould have regulated himſelf, not by the Phraſes of the Senator *Lepidus*, but by the real Nature of the Fact. He might have found the Quality of the Offence in the very Words of this Senator, I mean in thoſe he ſuppreſs'd by his *Et cætera*.

(*D*) *Mr.* Moreri *has committed ſome Faults.*] He has only conſulted *Dion*, who has too much abrid[illegible] the Matter, not in the 27th Book, as *Mo*[illegible] but in the 57th. *Tacitus* ſhould have b[illegible] ed, whoſe Narrative is larger and cl[illegible]. But *Moreri*'s great Fault lyes in ſaying, that *Lutorius* was accuſed of having written a Poem againſt *Druſus*. Would he have ſaid this, if he had known, that this Poet was accus'd of deſigning to publiſh this Poem, in caſe *Druſus* ſhould die, and believing he ſhould receive a greater Reward for it, than for that he had made upon *Germanicus*'s Death.

(*A*) *'Tis not true that it was never taken by the* French *before the Year* 1684.] When the *French* beſieged it in 1684, I heard People ſay, that it was then a Virgin; a Name vulgarly given to Towns that were never taken. It was not hard to undeceive 'em; for we find in Hiſtory, that the *French* took *Luxembourg* in 1542; and that being recovered by the Emperor's Arms, they retook it in 1543. They loſt it the Year following. *Note*, That they blockaded it in 1682; they bombarded it in 1683; and took it in 1684. They reſtored it by the Treaty of *Ryſwick* in 1697.

(*B*) *Many Foot-Steps of* Roman *Antiquities.*] The Inhabitants of the Dutchy of *Luxembourg* believe, [illegible] to it in this Country; and that anciently the Town of *Arlon* was an Altar of the Moon. Several Images of the falſe Gods have been found there, and many Medals and Inſcriptions (*k*). *Peter Erneſt*, Count of *Mansfeld*, removed 'em to *Luxembourg*, for the Ornament of a Fou[illegible]n he conſecrated to the Memory of his Wife, [illegible] cauſed a magnificent Houſe to be built near it. [illegible] Inſcription of this Foun tain will, perhaps, not be unacceptable here. 'Tis a notable Monument of Conjugal Affection. (*l*) *Porticus in primis amplas mirabamur, quas .... ſe ad id deſtinaſſe dicebat ut in eis reponeret, quæcunque nancifci poſſet antiquitatis monume[illegible] quorum magnam [illegible]am habet copiam, ex diverſis loc[illegible] Arlunio in pri[illegible]is .... pietatem .... Sunt au[illegible]ximæ ex parte ſimulacra deorum gentilium, & epi[illegible]ia, quæ in crepidine fontis illius pulcherrimi, ac claritudinis eximiæ, quo dilecta quondam conjugis Mariæ de Montmorenci memoriam ſanctè conſervat, crebrò ad Mariæ fontem, (ſic eum nuncupavit) adventando ſic ſunt.... diſpoſita ut .... Ipſam prius inſcriptionem, qua Illuſtriſſ. Princeps fontem hunc ſuum decoravit, audiamus.*

(*k*) *Itinerar. Abrah. Ortelii, & Joh. Viviani, pag.* 32.

(*l*) *Ibid. pag.* 33, 34.

Quiſquis huc accedis ſi te æſtus ſitiſve urget. Hic æſtum quietus vitato. Sitim pronus extinguito. Aquam manu haurito. Os lavato. At pede [illegible] turbato. Nudo corpore ne polluito. Quieſce[illegible] bus enim cariſſimæ uxoris manibus tranquillam [illegible] dam ſacravit. Mariæ de nomine Mariæ fontem nuncupavit. Æterni ſui amoris teſtes latentes väſtæ ſub rupe lymphas erui. Vivo lapide cingi. Æternaſq; fluere juſſit.

P. E. C. M.

This is taken from a Relation (*m*) dated at *Antwerp*, the 7th of *October* 1575. [illegible]r. *Baudelot* informs us (*n*) that Mr. *de Balen*[illegible] Nephew to the Reverend Father *Wilfheim*, ſhe[illegible]wn, in Manuſcripte, the Antiquities of *Luxem*[illegible] written by this Father.

(*m*) *It was printed by* Plantin, *in* 1584, *in* 8vo. *the Edition of* Leiden, *which is the third, was printed in* 1667, *in* 12°.

(*n*) *In his Diſſertation on* Ptolomæus Auletes.

M.

MACCIUS (*Sebaſtian*) a learned Humaniſt, flouriſhed in *Italy* at the beginning of the XVII. Century. I ſpeak of him with reſpect only to thoſe things that *Moreri* has forgotten. *Maccius* was a very laborious Man, and compoſed Verſes with a wonderful Facility; whereof he publiſhed a great number. He apply'd himſelf ſo much to Writing, that he made a great Cavity, † in two Fingers, with which he uſed to hold his Pen. He loſt a Son, who was but 18 Years old, and was already a Doctor ♣. 'Tis not true that his (*A*) two Daughters were Nuns. His Definition of Hiſtory, (*B*) contains a Contradiction.

MACCOVIUS, a Proteſtant Divine, ſee MAKOWSKI.

MACEDO, (*Francis* *) one of the moſt fruitful Writers of the XVII Century, was born at *Conimbrica* in 1596: and was made a Jeſuit in 1610. He taught Rhetorick many Years, Philoſophy one, Chronology a great while. He made Profeſſion of the Fourth Vow in the Year *** 1630. Nevertheleſs, he quitted the Jeſuit's Order, and entred into the Cordeliers, in the Year---- but he continued to labour for the (*A*) Glory of St. *Ignatius*. He hotly eſpouſed the Intereſt of the Duke of *Braganza*, promoted to the Crown of *Portugal*, and publiſhed (*B*) many Books for the Juſtice of that Cauſe. He accompanied that Prince's Embaſſadors into *France* and *England*. He was called to *Rome* for honourable Employs; being made Profeſſor of Polemical Divinity in the College, *de propaganda fide*; afterwards of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory in the College *della Sapienza*, as alſo Cenſor of the Holy [illegible]. He went from *Rome* to *Padua* about the Year 1670. to teach Divinity there +. [illegible] a fervent Wit, and pretty univerſal, and had many (*C*) Quarrels. 'Tis a Wond[illegible] that with ſo much Learning and Memory, he grew grey under the Cowl, (cΔ) and was not promoted to a Biſhoprick. He has not failed to complain, that he was much neglected. The *Biliotheques* of the Jeſuits have mentioned none of his Works, (*D*) but

(*a*) *And not* Eritheus, *as* Moreri *ſays.*

(*b*) *Nicius Erythræus pinacoth.* 1. *p.* 279.

(*c*) *Voſſius de* [illegible] *cap.* 4.

(*d*) *Nicius Erythr. lib. pag.* 277.

(*e*) Moreri *ſays* Urbenia.

(*f*) *In Deſcriptione Italiæ, p.* m. 436.

(*g*) *See the* Giornale di Letterati, *of the* 29*th of* December 1669. *pag.* 235.

(*h*) *The* Ruſtick Hexameron, *p.* 29.

(*i*) John Patricius *taught Father* Mabillon *this. See the* Muſæum Italicum *of this Father.*

(*k*) *See the Article* Anglus *remark* E.

(*l*) Leti, *Italia vigente parte* 3. *p.* 193. 194.

(*A*) *That his Daughters were Nuns.*] To ſhew [illegible] *del noſtro Secolo, quando morrè, ſi potrà di lui* [illegible] *quello che eſſo medeſimo ſcriſſe à carte* 12. *del dottiſſimo Abate Ilarione Rancati.* Et tamen, tantus hic Vir domeſticis duntaxat inſignitus honoribus occubuit, & Monaſtico indutus habitu ſepelitur. *Ogni uno poi vede à chi ſpeſſe volte ſi danno i Vſcouadi, e l'altre dignità. Benche Modeſtiſſimo, non hà potuto far di meno tal volta di non ſi dolere della ſua cattiva fortuna, onde per tralaſciare diverſi altri luoghi, nella Prefatione al Lettore del ſuo primo tomo delle* Collationi della Dottrina di S. Tomaſo, e di Scoto. Scribo procul à fuco, longè ab ambitione: omni ſpe honoris non modo abjecta, ſed etiam amiſſa: victima veritatis non macta, ſed mactata. Contigit mihi jactare in Schola, quod ille alter in acie.

Diſce, legens, doctrinam ex me verumque laborem
Fortunam ex aliis: nam te mea Penna Minervæ
Addictum dabit, & nulla inter præmia ducet.

E nella ſeconda Prefatione all' Apologia per ſan Vincentio Lirinenſe, intendendo del P. M. Noris, e di ſe medeſimo. Scias, mi Lector, hujuſmodi Auctoribus nihil eſſe invidendum, præter fortunam. In aliis nihil deſiderari præter eandem. We cannot ſee greater Marks of a preſence of Mind, and a rich Treaſure of Knowledge, than thoſe which Father *Macedo* gave, when for three Days together he maintained a Theſis upon all ſorts of Subjects. Here are the Particulars of it (*m*). *Has Theſes ſumma omnium expectatione, & admiratione exceptas ſuſtinuit Pater Macedo, eventu feliciſſimo, præſentibus multis excellentiſſimis D. D. Procuratoribus S. Marci, & compluribus Senatoribus, & Nobilibus Venetæ Reipublicæ, & magno numero Doctorum, ac Religioſorum Virorum, etiam alienigenarum quos fama exciverat. Interrogarunt, & probarunt hominem innumeris quæſitis, & argumentis Doctores, ac Magiſtri omnium Ordinum quibus ipſe ad votum reſpondit: ac ſi præmeditata omnia habuiſſet. Tanta felicitate, ut nunquam titubarit, nunquam dubitarit, nunquam hæſerit, nunquam cunctatus fuerit. Imo ſæpè accidit, ut arguentibus quæ objiciebant, aut obliviſcentibus, aut male recitantibus, ipſe dicenda ſubminiſtraret, & corrigeret. Inter quos fuit unus qui Sacræ Scripturæ locum male citarat: & alter cui locus Virgilii memoriæ excideràt: & tertius qui nonnullos Autores ſuſpectos pro ſua Sententia allegaverat. Primo igitur teſtimonium Sacræ Scripturæ correxit. Secundo verſus Virgilii ſuggeſſit. Tertio ſubtraxit ſuſpectos Auctores, & idoneos ſubminiſtravit.* Add to this, theſe Werds of Count *Julius Clement Scotus* (*n*). *Romæ commorans, cum omnium profectò digna admiratione, non ſolùm in S. Auguſtini, cujus doctrinæ eſt addictiſſimus, Templo, trium ſpatio dierum anno* 1658. *de omni planè ſcibili theſes expoſuit, ac reſpondit; verùm & ex improviſo de quacumque re ſibi propoſita, copioſum, concinnumque ſermonem habet, oppoſitaſque, ne dum diverſas Doctorum opiniones Catholicorum ingenioſiſſimè diſſudit.*

(*m*) *Il Padre Arcangelo di Parma à carte* 16. *e.* 17. *della ſua Riſpoſta al Padre Noris, apud Leti ubi ſupra pag.* 209. 210.

(*n*) *Pag.* 3. *of his* Notæ ad Hiſtoriam Concilii Tridentini Patris Sfortiæ Pallavicini apud Leti Ibid. p. 208.

(*D*) *Work,*

I am multa in ſcribendo opera fecit; ut in dexteræ manus pollicearqueindice qua parte calamus adſtringitur, ex aſſidua illius tractatione, duo quaſi ſulci alte impreſſi conſpicerentur. *Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth. 1. p.* 278.

♣ *Taken from* Nicius Erythræus *Ibid.*

* *After he became a* Cordelier, *he was called,* Franciſcus à Sancto Auguſtino.

** Nathan. Sotuel Biblioth. Scriptorum Societ. Jeſu. *p.* 235.

† *Taken from* Don Nicolas Antonio, Bibliothecæ Scriptor. Hiſpan. *to.* 1. *p.* 336. *Note, that in many Books which Father* Macedo *publiſhed, whilſt he was Profeſſor at* Padua, *he entitled himſelf, Profeſſor of moral Philoſophy.*

† *In his* Italia regnante. *You will find the Extracts of 'em, in* Morhofius's Polyhistor lib. 1. c. 22. p. 269. & *Seq.*

(D) but thoſe he publiſhed before his entring among the Franciſcans. *Don Nicolas Antonio* gives (E) the Titles of ſome others. *Macedo* was living in the Year 1676. and was more than a Jubilate Lecturer. The Elogies Mr. *Leti* beſtows on him, may very well aſtoniſh all Readers.

MACEDO, (*Anthony*) Brother to the former, was born at *Conimbrica* in the Year 1612. and became a Jeſuit in the Year 1626. He taught humane Learning and Morality; he preach'd, and afterwards went into *Africa* a Miſſionary; and at laſt he was choſen by *John* IV. King of *Portugal*, to accompany the Embaſſador, that he ſent into *Sweden* to Queen *Chriſtina*. He ſo pleaſed this Princeſs, that ſhe ſecretly opened to him the Deſign ſhe had of changing her Religion. She ſent him to *Rome*, with Letters to the General of the Jeſuits, in which ſhe deſired, that two of their Society might be diſpatch'd to her, *Italians* by Nation, and learned Men, who might take another Habit, and with whom ſhe might confer at her eaſe upon Matters of Religion. Her requeſt (T) was granted her; but *Anthony Macedo* returned no more into *Sweden*. He lived at *Rome* in Quality of Apoſtolical Penitentiary to the *Vatican* Church, from the Year 1651 to 1671. after which he returned into *Portugal*, and had * ſeveral Employs at *Lisbon*. He compoſed (Z) ſome Books.

*Modoeſt Ulyſſipone Rector domus probationis, & Magiſter Tironum. *Setuel ubi infra.*

MACEDONIA, (*Alexander the Great King of*) has been the moſt extraordinary Man in the World; and if all that Books relate of him be true, he was not ſo much a Man, as an Incarnate Intelligence. One would ſay that Providence made choice of him to demonſtrate to the Earth, how far the Powers of an humane Inſtrument can reach, when the time of the moſt wonderful Revolutions is come. Poets and Orators are not *Alexander*'s beſt Panegyriſts; Kings who pretend to Wars and Conqueſts, make (A) his Elogy much better, than Writers can do. Let it not be ſaid, that Opportunities (B) were favourable to him; and that ſuch a Prince, who in a long War, gets but little ground, would have ſubdued a great Empire, if he had had to do with the *Perſians*. Theſe are poor excuſes and Conſolations. That rapid ſpeed wherewith *Alexander* employ'd the Occaſion, and uſed his Advantages, would have given him a Harveſt of Triumphs, where many other Kings can do nothing. 'Twas to him it might be ſaid after his firſt Victories, *I expect you in two Years upon the Banks of* Euphrates. I will not pretend to give the Abridgment of his Life, for beſides that other Dictionaries are prolix enough

(f) *This Apology is an* Italian *work, printed at* Verona, *in* 1673. *in* folio. Tomaſo Mazza *the Author of it is a Jeſuit. The* Italian Journal *of the* 28*th of* February 1674. *ſpeaks largely of this work.*

(g) Giornale de Letteratiſ *the* 28*th of* Jan. 1675. pag. 13.

(h) *Or rather* 1663. *as* Nicolas Antonio *obſerves, tom.* 1. *p.* 112.

(i) Ex Natan. Setuel ubi Supra.

(k) *See the Article,* Henry II. *Remarks, G. and H.*

(l) *See the diverſe Thoughts upon Comets, n.* 213.

(m) *Above p.* 876. 877.

(*Z*) *He compoſed ſome Books.*] Theſe are the Titles of 'em: *Luſitania inſulata & purpurata, ſeu Pontificibus & Cardinalibus illuſtrata*, at *Paris* by *Sebaſtian Cramoiſi* (*h*) 1673 in 4°. *Vita P. Joannis de Almeida Societatis Presbyteri in Braſilia. Theſes Rhetoricæ variis eruditionis referta: elogia nonulla & deſcriptio coronationis Sereniſſimæ Chriſtinæ Reginæ Suetiæ*, in proſe and in verſe at *Stockholm*, 1650 (*i*).

(*A*) *Make his Elogy much better than Writers can do.*] There is nothing more proper to fill us with Admiration of *Alexander*, and make us aſcribe to him Qualities beyond all imagination, than to ſee ſo many great Princes in all Ages, with all their Courage, Intrigues, Politicks and good Succeſſes, yet not much aggrandize themſelves. They know how to Conquer, but not to reap the Fruits of their Victories. See the Remark *A* of the Article *Ceſar*. To what purpoſe were ſo many Advantages that *Charles* V. obtained over *France*? Did they augment his Patrimony? Was it not a great deal, after the great Victory that was gained at St. *Quintin*, by his Succeſſor, to recover what *France* had taken from the Duke of *Savoy*, an Ally of the Houſe of *Auſtria*? And was he not fain to obtain this by the Folly or Infidelity of (*k*) *Henry* the IIth's Favourites?

(*B*) *Opportunities were favourable to him.*] I pretend not to deny it; my meaning is only, that they who would by this leſſen his Merit, and juſtify the Princes, who have vainly ſpent all their Life in attempting Conqueſts, are under a Deluſion. I believe indeed, that *Alexander*'s great Deſigns would have totally wreck'd againſt a *Seſoſtris*, a (*l*) *Cyrus*, and a *Ceſar*; but how many great Kings have there been, who, with more numerous and better diſciplin'd Troops than thoſe of [illegible] would have done *Darius* but little harm? [illegible] did not depend upon Opportunities. [illegible] upon *Julius Ceſar*.

(*D*) *Works but thoſe he publiſhed.*] They are Theſes of Rhetorick which he maintain'd at *Madrid*, and Lyrick Poems upon the Apotheoſis of *Francis Xavier*, and St. *Elizabeth* Queen of *Portugal*, or Elegies upon the Death of *Francis de Mendoza*, and beſides this, an Abridgment of Chronology from the beginning of the World to the Year 1633. A Treatiſe concerning the Art of Poetry, and the Life of *Don Lewis de Ataide*, Viceroy of the *Indies*. This laſt Book is in *Spaniſh*.

(*E*) *Don Nicolas Antonio* (*a*) *gives the Titles of ſome others.*] The two I ſpeak of in the Remark *B*; the *Elogia Gallorum*, at *Aix* in *Provence* in 1642. in 4°. The *Teſſera Romana authoritatis pontificiæ adverſus buccinam Thomæ Angli & Litum Luſitanus, hoc eſt Apologia mentis Innocentii X. adverſus Thomam Anglum*, *London* 1654, in 4°. The *Scrinium Divi Auguſtini de prædeſtinatione gratiæ, & libero arbitrio*, at *Paris* 1648. in 4°. The *Mens divinitus inſpirata Sanctiſſimo P. N. Innocentio X. ſuper quinque propoſitionibus Cornelii Janſenii*, *London* 1643. in 4°. The *Schola Theologiæ poſitivæ ad doctrinam Catholicorum & refutationem hæreticorum aperta*, at *Rome* 1664 in *folio*, and many others. I don't warrant for *Don Nicolas Antonio*'s marking well the Place and Year of the Impreſſion. Conſult *Konig* (*b*) who will tell you that *Macedo* publiſhed 47 Volumes; he gives us the Title of ſome, and refers us to the *Italia Regnante* of Mr. *Leti*. The 13th *Giornale de letterati* of the Year 1676 informs us, that the *Schema ſacræ Congregationis S. Officii Romani*, printed at *Padua* in 1676, was the 47th Tome of Father *Macedo*'s Works. The Inquiſition is extoll'd to the Clouds in this Book, why do I ſay the Clouds? He places the firſt Inſtitution of it in the Terreſtrial Paradice, and pretends that God began to perform there the Office of Inquiſitor, and that he continued it out of Paradice againſt *Cain*, and the Builders of the Tower of *Babel*, and that St. *Peter* acted in the ſame Capacity againſt *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, and that he tranſmitted it to the Popes, who inveſted St. *Dominic* and his Succeſſors with it. 'Tis thus that *Macedo* proves by Scripture the Juſtice of this Tribunal. (*c*) I'le make mention below (*d*) of his anſwer to the Critick who wrote againſt the Apologiſt of *Annius Viterbienſis*.

(*T*) *Her Requeſt was granted her.*] Two Jeſuits were immediately ſent her, namely, *Francis Malines*, who taught Divinity at *Turin*, and *Paul Caſatus*, Profeſſor of Mathematicks at *Rome* (*e*). Theſe accompliſh'd what *Anthony Macedo*, the firſt Confident of this Queen's Deſign, began. I call him the firſt Confident, tho' I know that *Heuſchenius* and *Papebroch* aſcribe this Glory to another: but *Setuel* is againſt 'em, and Father *Francis Macedo* has entirely confuted 'em. He took the thing ſo much to heart, for the ſake of his Brother's Intereſts, that he made an Appendix to maintain 'em in a Work that had no Relation to this. This Work is Intituled, *Reſponſio ad notas nobilis Critici anonymi in* (*f*) *Apologiam F. Thomæ Manzæ prodit is a Jo. Annio Viterbienſe*, and was printed at *Verona*, in 1674. See what the *Italian* Journaliſt has ſaid of the Appendix. (*g*) *Si aggiugne nel fine una ſcrittura dove l'Autore prova che il P. Antonio Macedo Gieſuita fù il primo al qual la Regina di Suetia communicaſſe il penſiero della ſua converſione, e non il P. Gottofredo Frankenio, come hanno ſcritto Heuſchenio & Papebrokio nella vita del Bollando.*

(*a*) Bibliotheca Scriptor. Hiſpan. to. 1. p. 337.

(*b*) Konig. Biblioth. vet. & nov. p. 14.

(*c*) *See the* 13*th* Italian *Journal*, 1676. p. 201. 202.

(*d*) *In the* 1*ſt Remark of the following Article.*

(*e*) Setuel Biblioth. Societat. pag. 77.

enough upon this Subject, there is nothing more known by all ſorts of Readers, than the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great. It ſeems moreover, that it would be a ſuperfluous Labour (Bᗅ) to give his Character. 'Tis Sufficiently known, and no body is ignorant, that it was equally compos'd of great Vertues and great Vices. There was nothing moderate in his Perſon, but his Stature; all the reſt, whether good or bad, was in extreams. His Ambition (C) proceeded even to Madneſs. He look'd upon it as a Crime (D) that any one ſhould doubt of the Succeſs of his Deſigns. On one hand he was impious enough (E) to deſire to be thought a God; and on the other he was Superſtitious (F) even

(a) *Plutarch in Alexander pag.* 667.

(b) *The Horſe* Bucephalus.

(c) Plut. de tranquilitate animi p. 466.

(d) Satyra Juven. 10. v. 168.

(e) Archicoraçon, pues cupo en un rincon del todo eſte mundo holgadamente, dexando lugar para otros leis. *Lorenzo Gracian.*

(f) Ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ γε πιστεύσατε ἐμοὶ περὶ ἐμῆς ἀνδρίας καὶ πόνων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀναλώσεως ἐνεκα ἢ πρὸ ὑμῶν συνουσίας; Quis credat, Athenienſes, quanta pericula veſtri præconii cauſa ſubeam? *Plut. in Alexand. p.* 698. E.

(g) Juvenal Sat. 10. v. 166.

(h) Lucianus, quomodo conſcribenda ſit Hiſtoria, Oper. to. 1. p. 694. Salmur. edit.

(i) Quint. Curtius, lib. 8. ſub fin.

(k) Quum omnia profana ipoliaſſent, ne ſacris quidem abſtinuerant: virgines que & principes fœminarum ſtupra perpeſſæ, corporum ludibria deflebant. *Id. lib.* 10. c. 1.

(Bᗅ) *It would be a ſuperfluous Labour to give his Character.*] Let us refer to a Book that every Body may eaſily conſult, and is mightily Sold. See, I ſay, Mr. *de St. Euremont*, in the Judgment upon one of Mr. *Racine*'s Tragedies, called, *Alexander the Great*, in the 1ſt Tome of his Miſcellany Works, and in his Compariſon of *Cæſar* and *Alexander* in the ſame Tome. See him alſo in the 2d Tome at the 97th Page of the *Holland* Edition, 1693.

(C) *His Ambition proceeded even to Madneſs.*] His Father was not miſtaken in believing (a) *Macedonia* too little for his Son. He ſaid this, when *Alexander*, being about 16 Years of Age, had broken one of the moſt terrible (b) Horſes in the World. How was *Macedonia* likely to ſuffice him, when the whole Earth did not ſeem a Kingdom large enough for him? He wept when he heard the Philoſopher *Anaxarchus* ſay, there were infinite Worlds; (c) his Tears proceeded from his Deſpair of conquering them all, ſeeing he had not yet conquered one. *Juvenal* expreſſes this Ambition after a very lively manner; he repreſents *Alexander* ſweating in ſo ſtrait a Lodging, as a Kingdom no bigger than the Earth:

Unus (d) *Pellæo juveni non ſufficit orbis:*
Æſtuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
Ut Gyaræ clauſus ſcopulis parvaque Seripho.

The World was to *Alexander*, what a little Iſland was to Malefactors confin'd in it. If they were ſtraiten'd for Out-lets, *Alexander* for his part looked upon the Poſſeſſion of the whole Earth, as the Miſery of being reduced to a little Corner. A *Spaniſh* Author goes higher than *Juvenal*; he calls *Alexander*'s Heart (e) an *Archicor*, in a Corner of which the World was ſo unſtraitned, that there was room for ſix more. But does it not ſeem, that ſo vaſt a Heart terminated its laſt end upon a very little thing, when it propos'd only to be praiſed by the *Athenians*? 'Tis ſaid that the extraordinary pains he took to paſs the *Hydaſpes*, forced him to cry out, (f) O Athenians, *could you believe, what Dangers I expoſe my ſelf to, to be praiſed by you?* Is not this, you'll ſay, to be at once inſatiable, and yet contented with the leaſt thing in the World? Is it not a Madneſs to expoſe a Man's ſelf to ſo much pain and trouble for the ſake of an Oration?

---(g) *I demens, & ſævas curre per Alpes,*
Ut pueris placeas & declamatio fias.

Say what you will, for me, upon the Contradictions of the Heart of Man, upon its Follies and Extravagancies; Nevertheleſs I ſhall believe that the End *Alexander* propoſed to himſelf was very conſiſtent with the vaſt and immenſe extent of his Ambition. He had a Mind to reach to all future Ages, to the moſt remote Poſterity, and he hoped not this from one or more conquered Worlds, but from Books. He was not miſtaken, for if *Greece* had not furniſhed him with good Pens, he had been for a long time as little talked of, as thoſe that commanded in *Macedonia*, before the Birth of Amphitryo. He concern'd himſelf ſo much with what ſhould be ſaid of him after his Death, that he wiſh'd (h) he might return into the World for ſo long time, as was neceſſary to know how much his Hiſtorians were read. By this inſatiable Deſire of Praiſe, he did more Juſtice to the Valour of his Enemies, than to that of his Captains, for what he took from the latter, and gave to the former, returned to himſelf with Uſury. *Simplicius ſamam æſtimabat in hoſte quam in cive; quippe à ſuis credebat magnitudinem ſuam deſtrui poſſe, eamdem clariorem fore quo majores fuiſſent quos ipſe viciſſet* (i).

(D) *That any one ſhould doubt of the Succeſs of his Deſigns.*] They that by his order had kill'd *Parmenio*, came not to give him an account of that important Service without ſome ſubject of Diſturbance; for [illegible] followed by the Deputies of the P[illegible] they had governed, who had O[illegible]hem of many Crimes. They [illegible] Pillages of theſe Governours, the Sacrileges they had committed, and their Attempts upon the Honour of the Ladies. *Alexander* having examined this Accuſation, declared, That the Deputies had forgotten the greateſt Crime of all; which was, that the accuſed believed, he would never return from his Expedition to the *Indies*; for if they had believed it, ſaid he, they would not have dared to commit theſe Violences. *Rex cognita cauſſa, pronunciavit ab accuſatoribus ſuum & id maximum crimen eſſe prætermiſſum, diſperationem ſalutis ſuæ, nunquam enim talia auſuros, qui ipſum ex India ſoſpitem aut optaſſent reverti aut credidiſſent reverſurum. Igitur hos quidem vinxit*, DC. *autem militum qui ſævitiæ eorum miniſtri fuerant, interfici juſſit* (l).

(l) *Id. ib.*

(E) *Impious enough to deſire to be thought a God.*] Refined Politicks obliged him to make it believed that he was the Son of *Jupiter*, and to admit the Honours of Adoration. He had experienced, that this brought the *Barbarians* to Submiſſion; and indeed, who had ventured to take up Arms againſt a Conqueror who was look'd upon to be a God? It was therefore his Intereſt, the World ſhould have this advantageous Opinion of him; and he dexterouſly encouraged it. He was more reſerved (m) hereupon towards the *Greeks* than the *Barbarians*; becauſe the *Greeks* were wiſer, and leſs oppoſite to his deſigns; he one Day publickly confeſs'd, that his Affairs required, that he ſhould be thought a God, and that he wiſhed the *Indians* would take him for one. (n) *Illud pene dignum riſu fuit, quod Hermolaus poſtulabat à me ut averſarer Jovem cujus oraculo adgnoſcor. An etiam quid Dii reſpondeant, in mea poteſtate eſt? Obtulit nomen filii mihi: recipere ipſis rebus quas agimus haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi quoque Deum eſſe me credant. Fama enim bella conſtant, & ſæpe etiam, quod falſo creditum eſt, veri vicem obtinuit.* I could eaſily perſuade my ſelf, that by often ſaying this to others, and hearing his Flatterers upon this Topick, he came ſometimes to believe that he was a God, or to doubt whether he was not. For there are hardly (o) any Thoughts ſo vain, but extraordinary Proſperity and Power, with the Addreſſes of an unlimited Flattery, will be able to infuſe; but I don't believe that this Opinion or Doubt could ever take root in his Soul. He ſaid that two things hinder'd him from believing that he was Immortal, Sleep, and the Enjoyment of Women. Ἔλεγεν ἡ μάλιστα συνιέναι ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν καὶ συνουσιάζειν ὡς ὑπὸ νόσου ἐγγινόμενον ἀσθενείας τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῦτον καὶ τὸν ἡδόμενον (p). *Dicebat mortalem ſe eſſe intelligere ſe potiſſimum ex ſomno & concubitu, quod ab eadem imbecillitate naturam inceſſat laſſitudo & voluptas.* He reaſoned well, tho' not very conſiſtently with the Principles of the Heathen Theology, that talk'd ſo much of *Jupiter*'s Amours and his good Fortune with the Female Sex: But as the two things that ſerved him for a Proof againſt his being a God, frequently recurr'd, I don't ſee, how the Belief of his pretended Divine Nature could ſtrike anchor in his Soul: I ſhall produce many things upon this Subject in the Remarks of the Article *Olympias*.

(m) Τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησι μετρίως καὶ σωφρονικῶς ἐπεδείκνυτο τὸν ἐξαθανατισμόν. Ad Græcos vero divinitatem uſurpabat modice & parcius. *Plutarch. in ejus vita pag.* 681. A.

(n) Quint. Curtius, *lib.* 8. *cap.* 8. *Conſule* Freinſhemius's *Commentary.*

(o) Nihil eſt quod credere de ſe Non poſſit, cum laudatur Diis æqua poteſtas. *Juvenal Sat.* 4. v. 70.

(F) *He was Superſtitious* (q) *even to a womaniſh Weakneſs.*] This never appeared ſo much as in the Year of his Death; which could not be attributed to the decline of his Age, and the malignant Influences of grey Hairs, ſince he was not 33 Years old when he died. This notable increaſe of Superſtition proceeded from ſome Events, which he was made to think ſo much the more unlucky Preſages, becauſe he had gone to *Babylon* againſt the Advice that was given him by *Nearchus* not to go, in the Name of ſome *Chaldean* Soothſayers. This Repetition of ill Omens ſtruck him in ſuch a Manner, that he diſtruſted both the Gods and Men. He believed the Divine Protection had forſaken him, and that his Friends were grown treacherous. This Diffidence ſo diſquieted his Mind, that the leaſt extraordinary thing, that happen'd to him, ſeemed a Prodigy; His Houſe was never free from

(p) *Plut. in Alexan. p.* 677. B. See alſo *de diſcrim. adulat. & amici pag.* 65. F.

(q) *See the Article*, Ariſtander *Remark A.*

even to a Womaniſh Weakneſs. Whatever Praiſe (G) he deſerved on ſome Occaſion with reſpect to Continence, it muſt be owned, that his Life was not (H) regular, o

(a) Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲν ἧττον τότε πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη ἢ τὰ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἀνδροβάτης τῶν διὰ γυναῖκα, εἰ καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἢ ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον, ἀλλὰ δυσμιάν τε καθαρόν τινα καὶ μανιώδη τὸν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. ὕστερος δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ καταφρονήσεις αὐτῶν· ὃν ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν Σούσων ἐπιδημία ἐκείνου μὲν ἀπέκλεισε τὴν τῶν μάντεων ἀπάτην· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπεσκίασε μᾶλλον. Plutarch. in Alex. pag. 706.

Prieſts and Soothſayers; he only ſpent his time in Sacrifices, Expiations, and Auguries. Let us hear *Plutarch*, who relates not the Thing without adding his Reflection; (a) *Alexander igitur poſtquam ſemel religione obſtrictus eſt tumultuante & trepidante animo præditus, nulla res inſolita & aliena tam oblata exigua eſt quam non verteret in prodigium & oſtentum, ſed ſacrificentium, expiantium, & vaticinantium erat regia referta. Adeo res eſt horrenda incredulitas & contemptio deorum, horrenda item ſuperſtitio, quæ aquæ modo vergit ad demiſſa impleſque abſurdis opinionibus & metu mortales, ut tunc Alexandrum. Such Force*, I uſe *Amiot*'s Verſion, *and Confidence on one hand, has Incredulity and the Impious Contempt of the Gods, when once it takes root in Mens Hearts; and on the other hand, Superſtition, flowing always, like Water, downwards, into Souls debaſed and dejected with Fear, as it then filled* Alexander *with Madneſs, when once Terror had ſeized him.* I muſt obſerve, that the Advices of the *Chaldeans*, imparted by *Nearchus*, made ſo much Impreſſion upon *Alexander*, that he durſt not enter *Babylon*, till the *Greek* Philoſophers, knowing the Foundation of his Scruples, went to viſit him, and by the Force of their Arguments made him own the Vanity of Divinations: He then made his Entrance into *Babylon*. (b) The ill Auguries which his Head was full of, effaced the Impreſſions theſe Philoſophers had given him. He returned to the great Eſteem he had conceived for the Science of the *Caldeans*; he deteſted the Philoſophers, that had perſuaded him to enter into City, and he was in a Paſſion with all thoſe, attempted to make him hear Reaſon. (c) See Things concerning *Alexander*'s Superſtition in the Remarks of the Article *Ariſtander*, his Soothſayer. I have put them there for fear of making this Article too long; I have uſed a like Method with reſpect to many other Facts, and ſhall ſtill uſe it as Occaſion requires.

(G) *Whatever Praiſe he deſerved . . . . with reſpect to Continence.*] In the firſt heat of his Youth he appeared ſo indifferent with reſpect to Women, that his Mother feared that this might go too far, and that it proceeded from Impotence; for which reaſon, by the Conſent of her Husband, ſhe gave *Alexander* a moſt beautiful Courteſan of *Theſſaly* for a Bed-fellow, in order to melt the Ice, and kindle Love in this young Man. *Callixena* (this was the fair *Theſſalian*'s Name) did her beſt over and over again to make him careſs her, and obtained nothing (d). If this Story be true, we muſt believe that Nature, that in all other things had been very diligent for this Prince, was ſluggiſh, and roſe a little too late upon this Point. 'Tis ſaid, (e) that he carried his Virginity into *Aſia*, and that *Memnon*'s Widow (f) was the firſt Woman that had it; and that he had had nothing to do with any other till he married: *Parmenio* was forced to provoke him to careſs her, as capable as ſhe was of enamouring a Man. If this be true, they who ſpeak of *Alexander*'s Complaiſance to *Apelles* are miſtaken. They ſay, that having ordered *Apelles* to draw the handſomeſt and beſt beloved of his (g) Concubines naked, and perceiving that *Apelles* fell in Love with her, he made a Preſent of her to him. This Story and that of *Plutarch* are inconſiſtent; for *Memnon*'s Widow was not taken, till *Alexander* made himſelf Maſter of *Damaſcus*; and it was at *Epheſus* that he knew *Apelles*, a long time before the taking it. Theſe two Stories might be reconciled, if we ſuppoſe *Alexander* had not enjoyed his Concubine, when he gave her to the Painter, or that he ordered her Picture to be drawn after the taking of *Damaſcus*. But the firſt of theſe two Suppoſitions is againſt the Hiſtory in Queſtion; for *Pliny* (h) who relates it, is not content to obſerve that this Miſtreſs was very (i) handſome, and moſt beloved of all *Alexander*'s Concubines, but he further ſays, that he reſigned his Bed and his Affection to the Painter. *Ælian*, who relates the ſame Story, notes this Circumſtance, that the Concubine in queſtion (k) was of *Larriſſa* in *Theſſaly*, and the firſt Woman that had given *Alexander* the Senſe of Venereal [illegible]. The Second Suppoſition has no ſhadow of [illegible]ability would he have ſent to *Epheſus*, a [illegible]man of ſo great Beauty, and whom he ſo [illegible]erly loved, would he have ſent her ſo far, [illegible] to have her painted ſtark naked? And if he [illegible]nt for *Apelles*, ſhould we not have ſeen that C[illegible]nſtance in the Authors, that have preſerved the [illegible]emory of this fine Preſent? Beſides, that this Second Suppoſition does not remove the Inconſiſtence betwixt *Ælian* and *Plutar*[illegible]Hitherto then, this laſt Author has hardly pro[illegible]e Continence of his Heroe; but what he ſa[illegible]reafter, has a greater Force. The Mother, t[illegible]Wife, and the Daughters of *Darius* were *Alexa*[illegible]s Priſoners; the Wife was a perfect Beauty, and her Daughters were like her; the young Prince, who had 'em in his Power, not only paid 'em all the Honours that were due to them, but alſo took care of their Reputation to the utmoſt Punctilio. They were kept as in a Cloiſter, out of the ſight of the World, and out of the reach of every unworthy Object. "Ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ πολεμίῳ, ἀλλ[illegible]ιγείοις καὶ ἀγλώσσοις φυλαττομένας παρθένῶσιν, ἀπ[illegible]ἔχειν καὶ ἀφεγγὲς ἱστίησιν ἁλίσεων (l). *Quaſi non in hoſtium caſtris, verum in ſacris & ſanctis Veſtæ templis ſervatæ, in abdito extra aliorum oculos agerent.* His Viſits, his Reſpects, his Diſcourſes gave no Occaſion for reproach; and in reſpect of the other *Perſian* Ladies, who were alſo Priſoners, and whoſe Beauty and Shape were very charming, he contented himſelf to [illegible]y way of (m) Raillery, when he ſaw them, (m) [illegible] *Perſian* Women made his Eyes ake, and h[illegible]ed by 'em as by handſome Statues. He was angry in earneſt (n) more than once with thoſe, who to make their Court to him, would ſend him handſome Boys; and he ſaid in a Letter, that he had neither ſeen *Darius*'s Wife, nor thought of ſeeing her, and even that he would not ſuffer Diſcourſes to be made him about this Queen's Beauty; (o) Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι ἐωρακὼς ἂν εὐρεθείην τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα ἢ βουλευμένος ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτε τῶν λεγόντων πρὸς με εὐμορφίας αὐτῆς περὶ διελεγόμην. *Egonim non ſolum non vidiſſe inveniar Darii uxorem aut videre cogitaſſe, verum nec verba facientes de ejus decore ſuſtinuiſſe audire.* 'Tis eaſie to reconcile *Plutarch* with *Q. Curtius*; this latter Hiſtorian ſays, (p) that *Alexander* never ſaw *Darius*'s Wife but once, and that by accident, becauſe ſhe was with her Mother-in-Law, whom he viſited the Day they were taken. Upon this ſcore *Alexander* might [illegible]ſer to have ſeen, that is, not to have viſited [illegible] Wife. This is certainly one of the fineſt [illegible]ages of his Life, as to Morality, and I don't [illegible]nder that *Darius* admired it; *Darius*, I ſay, who was in ſuch Alarms for his Wive's Honour. Conſider the Viciſſitudes of his Paſſions upon the News that his Wife was Dead. Firſt he ſuſpected, that the Meſſenger came to tell him, that her Honour had been violated, and he looked upon this as the greateſt of all Puniſhments. Afterwards, underſtanding his Wife was Dead, he believed ſhe was kill'd for reſiſting the impure Deſires of the Victor. That Thought inſpired him with abundance of Grief and Rage: he afterwards underſtood, that *Alexander* had been extreamly afflicted for this Death, and lamented it as much as *Darius* himſelf. This was a cruel Attack; his Grief and Rage abated, but he fell into a diſmal Diſturbance, imagining that *Alexander* bewailed the loſs of her Favours, that had been granted him. At laſt he was aſſured to the contrary, and prayed the Gods, that if they would not reſtore him, they would give hi[illegible]dom to ſo honeſt a Conqueror. *Ludi*[illegible] *ciaturus es mihi, &, ut credo, ipſis* [illegible] *viorâ ſupplicio . . . . . Nec dubitavit D*[illegible] *quin interfecta eſſet, quia nequiſſet contumelium pati. . . . . Ob hæc ipſa amantis animus in ſollicitudinem ſuſpicionem*[illegible] *eſt; deſiderium captivæ profecto à conſue*[illegible] *ori ortum eſſe conjectans. . . . . Dii patrii pri*[illegible] *habilite regnum: deinde ſi de me jam tranſ*[illegible] *actum eſt, precor ne quis Aſiæ rex ſit quam iſte tam juſtus hoſtis, tam miſericors victor* (r).

(H) *Was not regular on this Head.*] [illegible] which his irregular Conduct [illegible] marrying three or four Wives [illegible] Widower, and cauſing his Con[illegible]

(f) She was called Barſina, See Memnon's Article.

(g) Ælian calls her Pancaſte, and Pliny, Campaſpe.

(h) Se viri, nec torum tantum ſuum, ſed etiam affectum donavit artifici. *Plin. l.* 35. *c.* 10.

(i) According to Pliny the Picture of Venus coming out of the Waves, was drawn by Campaſpe's.

(k) Ταύτην καὶ τρώτην φασὶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιλαβέσθαι. Cum qua primum Alexander rem habuiſſe dicitur. Ælian

(l) Plutarch. in Alexand. pag. 676.

(m) Id. ib.

(n) Id. ib.

(o) I ſpeak of [illegible] in the Article Roxane.

(p) Semel omnino eam vidit quo die capta eſt, nec ut ipſam, ſed ut Darii matrem videret. [illegible] que [illegible] chri[illegible] nen[illegible] mæ ejus non libidinis haberet incitamentum, ſed gloriæ. Q. Curtius lib. 4. cap. 10.

(q) 'Tis thus Diodorus Siculus, lib. 17. judges of it.

(r) Quint. Curtius lib. 4. c. 11.

this Head. His Intemperance in Wine was (I) prodigious. The Cruelty he ſhewed to the (K) Inhabitants of *Tyre* is inexcuſable. Notwithſtanding all thoſe Vices, he was after his Death honoured as a God, and even in the times of the *Roman* Emperors, there were ſome Families, that choſe him for (L) their tutelar Deity. Flattery had no Hand

(a) Paſcit amore avidos in te Dea viſus. *Lucret. l. 1. v. 37.*

(b) *Diod. Sicul. l. 17. Q. Curtius l. 6. Says they were in Number 360.*

(c) Exilis domus eſt ubi non & multa ſuperſunt, et dominum fallunt, & proſunt furibus. *Horat. epiſt. 6. l. 1.*

(d) Pellices 360. totidem quot Darii fuerant, regiam implebant; quas ſpadonum greges, & ipſi muliebria pati ſolliciti, quebantur. Hæc luxu & peregrinis infecta moribus veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, averſabantur. *Q. Curtius l. 6. c. 6.*

(e) *Id. l. 5. c. & l. 6. c. 2.*

(f) *Idem l. 6. c. 5.*

(g) *Athen. lib. 13. pag. 603.*

(h) *Q. Curtius l. 8. c. 1.*

(i) *Idem l. 5. c. 7.*

(k) *Eumenes Cardianus, & Diodotus Erythræus, apud Athenæum, l. 10. c. 9. pag. 434.*

(l) *This was a Macedonian [illegible] Curt. ibid.*

drawn na[illegible]. The Pleaſures of Touch did not content hi[illegible]on, he would moreover feaſt his Eyes with t[illegible]akedneſs of his Miſtreſs in her Picture; an[illegible]t ſign that he fed them likewiſe with the original Nakedneſs: he fell therefore into exceſs, and ſuch a one as the God *Mars*, *Venus*'s Gallant, did not know, if we judge of it by *Lucretius*'s Words. (a) This corrupt Pl[illegible]ure of the Eyes would be more eaſily pardone[illegible]e, who, when they can have no other, *Paſcun[illegible]di ſguardi.* But this Lewdneſs of *Alexander*, [illegible]minal as it was, is nothing in compariſon to w[illegible]he did after his great Proſperities. I don't ſpeak of the Concubines he would have in the ſame Number as *Darius*, that is as many as there are Days in the Year, for the Hiſtorian (b) who relates that theſe Concubines preſented themſelves every Evening to the King, that he might chuſe one to ſpend the Night with, declares that *Alexander* ſeldom made this choice: It is certain that the Eaſtern Princes, and *Solomon* in [illegible]imitation, who pretended to *Seraglio*[illegible]omen, did not lie with 'em all, they [illegible]t with 'em almoſt like the preſent *Sultans*, they drew great Numbers of 'em together to have the better Choice of ſome, the others ſerved only to ſhew their Magnificence, like ſo many uſeleſs Moveables in opulent Houſes which are never employ'd, and perhaps (c) are not ſo much as known. The Kings who make an O[illegible]ſtentation of the fineſt Stables, ride but a few [illegible] their Horſes; the greateſt part are ſuffered to [illegible] and die without trying them. Some furniſh Magnificent Libraries, and never touch a Book. It would therefore be but an uncertain Proof of *Alexander*'s Incontinence, to alledge the great Number of his Concubines, tho' 'tis certain, that this (d) Train, and the reſt of the Baggage belonging to 'em, juſtly ſcandalized his ancient Subjects, and is a blot upon his Memory; but here are more formal Teſtimonies againſt his Reputation. He had abundance of Proſtitutes (e) to ſit at his Table, and he accepted *Bagoas*, who had been *Darius*'s Minion. (f) *Naharnanes accepta fide occurrit, dona ingentia ferens inter quæ Bagoas erat ſpecie ſingulari ſpado, atque in ipſo flore pueritiæ, cui & Darius fuerat adſuetus, & mox Alexander adſuevit.* His Extravagance cannot be repreſented in more expreſs Terms than in theſe of *Athenæus*. (g) Φιλόπαις ἦν ἐκμανῶς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος [illegible] βασιλεύς. Διαπαίσαι δὲ καὶ γῦν ἐν τῷ πότει [illegible] δυσὶ βασιλεῦσι τοῖς ἐυτυχῶς ἔτως αὐτὸν φησὶν [illegible] ὡς ἐν ὀλιγοστέτῳ ὅλα καθαιρεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνακλάσαι. καὶ περὶ Θαΐδων ἐπαφανησάντων μὴ κρίνω ἐν ἀπιθάνοις πάλιν ἀνακλάσας ἐρίλησον. *Alexander Rex ad inſaniam amore puerorum exarſit. Dicæarchus libro de ſacrificio quod ad Ilium peractum eſt, eunuchum Bagoam adeo ipſum deperiiſſe ſcribit, ut reſupinus in conſpectu theatri totus cum ſuaviaretur, acclamante vero cum plauſu ſpectatorum turba, & tanquam ad iterandæ oſcula invitante, paruiſſe, atque rurſum inflexa cervice baſia congeminaſſe.*

(I) *His Intemperance in Wine was Prodigious.*] He wou'd be drunk, and when in that Condition was guilty of a Thouſand Diſorders. Wine was the Cauſe of his (h) killing *Clitus*, who had ſaved his Life; and burning *Perſepolis*, one of the fineſt Cities of the Eaſt. The Courteſan *Thais*, who was equally practiſed in drinking, and Venereal Debaucheries (i), drove him on to that horrid Exploit, which Circumſta[illegible]n't chuſe but render the Action more inf[illegible] They (k) that made the Journal of his Li[illegible]ſerved, that he ſlept out his Debauch ſo[illegible]es for two Days and two Nights. If a few Glaſſes would have intoxicated him, he had been the leſs to be condemned for falling ſometimes under that Infirmity, but he ſwall[illegible]owed twenty Cups of a prodigious Bigneſs, befor[illegible] made him drunk. Thus he died of drink[illegible] much; 'twas the Bed of Honour he expired in. He would drink a Health to the (l) greateſt Drinker of hi[illegible]e, and he was to empty a Veſſel (m) of va[illegible] ſoon as he had drank it, he faint-ed[illegible]d with the Diſtemper which [illegible]d duos congios capiebat. *Q. Curtius*

he died of. (n) *Plutarch* confutes this: He (o) ſays, that *Alexander* had not turned off *Hercules*'s Cup, nor did he immediately feel a great Pain in his Back, as if he had been wounded with a Lance; theſe are, ſays he, Inventions deſigned for the Imbelliſhment of a mournful and tragical Scene. Ταῦτα τινὲς ᾠήθησαν δεῖν γεγράφειν, ὥσπερ διεφθαρμένῳ μεγάλῳ τραγικὸν ἔξοδον καὶ πεπονθὸς πλασάντες. *Hæc putaverunt quidam ſcribenda quaſi magnam fabulæ tragicum exodium & lamentabile fingentes* (p). But he confeſſes this Prince did nothing but drink that Day that his Diſtemper ſeized him; which is Confeſſion enough for this general Propoſition, that *Alexander* kill'd himſelf with Drinking. Who would believe, that ſo venturous a Warriour ſhould receive his mortal Wound at Table? Let us hear *Seneca* hereupon: (q) *Alexandrum tot itinera, tot prælia, tot hyemes per quas, victa temporum, locorumque difficultate, tranſierat, tot flumina ex ignoto cadentia, tot maria tutum dimiſerant, intemperantia bibendi, & ille Herculeanus ac fatalis ſcyphus perdidit. Diodorus Siculus* (r) relates, that *Alexander* having already drank too much, would drink off *Hercules*'s Cup, which he had no ſooner done, but he was attack'd with a cruel Pain, as if he had received a great Blow. Thus you ſee the only Poiſon that kill'd him, and which made the Aſtrologers get the Day (s) which the Philoſophers had made 'em loſe: For as for actual Poi[illegible]was not talked of, till 16 Years after *Alex*-Death, and probably thoſe who were the [illegible]mothers, deſired only to cauſe *Olympias* to put a great many People to Death, as ſhe did. *Ariſtotle* was not concern'd in it, but upon the Word of one *Agnothemis*, who, as was ſaid, had heard *Antigonus* ſay, that *Ariſtotle* diſcovered the Poiſon to *Antipater*, that he was to uſe (t). Let us not forget, that *Alexander* cauſed *Calanus*'s Funeral to be pompouſly Celebrated (v). There was a Funeral Oration, Tournaments, ſolemn Plays, and every thing: But conſidering the *Indians* Inclination for Wine, he bethought himſelf of ſetting up a Combat (w) of Dunkenneſs; there were three Prizes for the Conquerors; the firſt was worth a Talent. Of thoſe that entred the Liſt, there were 35 that died upon the Spot, and 6 that follow'd 'em quickly after. The Conqueror named *Promachus* drank four (x) *Congii*, and lived but three Days (y) after his Victory.

(n) *Id. ibid.*

(o) *Plutarch in Alexand. pag. 706. See the Remark of the Article* Hercules.

(p) *Plut. ibid.*

(q) *Seneca epiſt. 83.*

(r) *Lib. 17. ſub fin.*

(s) *See what hath been cited from* Diodorus Siculus *in the Remark F.*

(t) *Plutarch. pag. 707.*

(v) *An* Indian *Philoſopher, who burnt himſelf with great Ceremony.*

(w) Ἀνεγωνίζετο ἀγῶνα, μεθ' οὗ πολὺν οἶνον ἔπιον. *Chares Mitylenæus in hiſtoriis de Alexandro, apud Athenæum l. 10. pag. 437.*

(x) *Ibid.*

(y) *Plut. in Alex. pag. 703.*

(z) *Apply to this theſe words* Hinc ſive invidia Deûm, ſive fato, rapidiſſimus procurrentis imperii curſus parumper.. ſupprimitur. *Florus l. 1. c. 13.*

(aa) *Q. Curtius l. 4. c. 4.*

(bb) *Id. ib.*

(K) *The Cruelty he ſhew'd to the Inhabitants of* Tyre.] *Alexander*'s Fortune, that hitherto had run with the Rapidity of a Torrent, found before this Place a ſtrong Bank, that check'd its courſe many Months. (z) This Prince underſtood but two well, the miſchievous Conſequences of ſuch an Interruption; he loſt the principal Wheel of his Machine, if he gave room to believe, that he could be ſtop'd. Finding therefore a thouſand Subjects of Diſcontent, both in raiſing the Siege and continuing it, he reſolved to make new Efforts againſt this City. (aa) *Hic rex fatigatus ſtatuerat ſolutæ obſidione Ægyptum petere, quippe quum Aſiam ingenti celeritate percurriſſet circa muros unius urbis hærebat, tot maximarum rerum opportunitate dimiſſa. Cæterum tam diſcedere invitum quam morari pudebat. Fama quoque quæ plura quam armis everterat ratus leviorem fore, ſi Tyrum quaſi teſtem ſe poſſe vinci reliquiſſet. Igitur ne quid inexpertum omitteret, &c.* His new Efforts ſucceeded, he forced the Place, but diſhonoured the Victory by his Cruelty. He commanded the Houſes to be fired, and all to be put to the Sword, that ſhould not retire to the Temples; and he cruciſied Two Thouſand Inhabitants, who had not ſo much eſcaped the Fury of the Soldiers, as their Wearineſs of killing. (bb) *Triſte deinde ſpectaculum victoribus ira præbuit regis: duo millia in quibus occidendi deſecerat rabies crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris ſpatium pependerunt.* There is no Prince in theſe Days, but would be degraded from all his Glory in a Thouſand Volumes, ſhould he do the 20th part of what *Alexander* did.

(L) *That choſe him for their tutelar Deity.*] I would not venture to affirm that his Doublet, which they boaſted to have at *Rome*, was reckoned a Pledge of ſome celeſtial Benediction; and we muſt not reckon much upon *Caligula*'s wearing it on a ſolemn Day. *Caligula* was no Superſtitious Man, and if he had been

Hand in this, as when in his Life-time Divine Honours were paid him: but it was a true Superſtitious Worſhip. He died at *Babylon* about the 33d Year of his Age. Some ſay he was Poiſoned, but * more deny it. His Conqueſts were indeed broke into many Pieces after his Death, but theſe Pieces were large Ones, and for a long time render'd the *Greek* Nation Famous and Potent in *Aſia*. He had not much time to perform them in; for he paſſed the *Helleſpont*, the ſecond Year of the 111th Olympiad, and he died the firſt Year of the 114th. He was born the firſt Year of the 106th, and he began his Reign the firſt Year of the 111th †. He had one very particular good Fortune, which is, that it can't be ſaid to eclipſe the Luſtre of his Glory, that Treachery (*L*) had any great ſhare in his Triumphs. There is no need to ſay that *Philip* his Father deſcended from *Hercules*, and *Olympias* his Mother from *Achilles*, and thus his Extraction was as Glorious, as it could have been, if he had had the Liberty of chuſing it in Hiſtory. We ſhall not ſpeak here of his Wives and Children, referring them to the Article *Roxana*. According to the Nature of this Dictionary, I ſhould obſerve all the Faults relating to this Conqueror, yet I ſhall note but ſome of them. The (*M*) *Jews* pretend, that

* *See* Plutarch *in* Alex. *ſub fin. p.* 707. *and above Remark I.*

† Juxta Sethum Calviſium, *who makes the Year of* Alexander's *Death coincident with the* 430*th Year of* Rome *and the* 321*ſt, before* JESUS CHRIST.

been a Chriſtian, I don't think he would have had much Faith for the Scapulary. Not that I pretend to deny, that great Villains have had childiſh Superſtitions. But be it how it will, I can ſay nothing of *Caligula*'s Notion, ſince *Dion* ſays nothing (*a*) of it. *Caracalla* had a flaming Zeal for *Alexander*: This Emperor made uſe of Arms and Goblets, and Soldiers like thoſe of this Conqueror; he perſecuted the *Peripatetick*s, and would burn all the Books of their Maſter, becauſe of the Report that was ſpread, that he was an Accomplice in the Poiſoning of *Alexander*. He teſtified by a Hundred other things his Veneration for him, but I ſhall take care of imitating a learned (*b*) Critick, who makes uſe of theſe Facts to prove, that a Religious Worſhip was paid him. What he cites from *Trebellius Pollio*, and *Lampridius*, has quite another force. The firſt of theſe two Hiſtorians tells us it was believed, that *Alexander*'s Effigies engraven in Silver or Gold, imported Proſperity to whoever wore it. The other Hiſtorian tells us, that there was in the City of *Arcena* a Temple conſecrated to *Alexander* the Great. (*c*) *Alexandri nomen accepit* (Alexander Severus) *quod in templo dicato apud Arcenam urbem Alexandro magno natus eſſet, quum caſu illuc die feſto Alexandri pater cum uxore patriæ ſolennitatis implendæ cauſa veniſſet. Cui rei argumentum eſt quod eadem die natalem habet hic Mammææ Alexander, qua ille Magnus exceſſit è vita.* This Paſſage ſhews that the Inhabitants of *Arcena* kept *Alexander*'s Feaſt every Year the Day that he died. Which is the ſame that is done at preſent in reſpect of many Saints, whoſe Feaſt falls on the Day of their Death. As for *Trebellius Pollio*'s Paſſage, I'll relate it at large, in favour of thoſe, who ſhall read this Dictionary, without having many other Books, or who don't care to ſtir from their Place to conſult this Author. (*d*) *Videtur mihi non prætermittendum de Macrianorum familia, quæ hodieque floret, id dicere quod ſpeciale ſemper habuerunt. Alexandrum Magnum Macedonem viri in annulis & argento, mulieres in reticulis & dextrocheriis, & in annulis, & in omni ornamentorum genere, exſculptum ſemper habuerunt: eo uſque ut tunicæ & limbi & penulæ matronales in familia ejus hodieque ſint quæ Alexandri effigiem de lxciis variantibus, monſtrent. Vidimus proxime Cornelium Macrum in eadem familia virum, quum cænam in templo Herculis daret, paterum electrinam, quæ in medio vultum Alexandri haberet, & in circuitu omnem hiſtoriam contineret ſignis brevibus & minutulis, pontifici propinare, quam quidem circumferri ad omnes tanti illius viri cupidiſſimos juſſit. Quod id circo poſui, quia dicuntur juvari in omni actu ſuo, qui Alexandrum expreſſum vel auro geſtitant vel argento.* I don't alledge the Prayers *Juſtin* ſpeaks of; they are no Proof of a fixed Worſhip and Invocation. The *Macedonians* were then in the utmoſt Conſternation, they imitated drowning People, who catch at every thing they meet with. On ſuch Occaſions People Canonized thoſe who have neither Temple nor Feaſt. If you would however know, what *Juſtin* has ſaid, you may ſatisfy your ſelf without moving. (*e*) *Hæc cum nunciata per omnem Macedoniam eſſent, portæ urbium clauduntur, luctu omnia replentur, nunc orbitatem amiſſorum filiorum dolebant, nunc excidia urbium metuebant, nunc Alexandri Philippique Regum ſuorum numina ſicuti Numina in auxilium vocabant. Sub illis ſe non ſolum tutos, verum etiam victores orbis terrarum extitiſſe, ut tuerentur patriam ſuam quam gloriarum geſtarum cælo proximam reddidiſſent, ac opem afflictis ferrent quas furor & temeritas Prolem Regis perdidiſſet, orabant.*

(*a*) *lib.* 59.

(*b*) Barthius *in* Statium, *tom.* 1. *p.* 404.

(*c*) Lampridius *in* Alexandro Severo, *p. m.* 889. *tom.* 1.

(*d*) Trebellius Pollio *in* 30. *tyran. pag.* 295. *Te.* 2.

(*e*) Juſtinus *lib.* 24. *cap.* 5.

(*L*) *That Treachery had any great ſhare in his Triumphs.*] Read *Pauſanias*, where he ſhews what prejudice was ſeveral times done to the Liberty of the *Greeks* by the Practices of thoſe who ſuffered themſelves to be bribed; you'll there find that *Philip* King of *Macedonia* held thoſe Correſpondences to aggrandize himſelf, but that *Alexander* his Son had the good Fortune to fortify and augment his Power without theſe means. (*f*) Καὶ ὁ τὴν Φιλίππου βασιλείαν τῷ Ἀμύντᾳ, Λακεδαιμονίοις πόλεμον μὲν ἐκ προδοσίας τῶν ἐς Ἕλληνας οὔτε τις ἀν. εἰ ὁ ἄλλος πόλεμος εἰ ἐς τῷ Ἑλλάδι, ἀπὸ προδοσίας μᾶλλον, ἢ ἀπὸ νόου πρότερον ἐ λοιμώδους ἐφθάρησαν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δ τῷ Φιλίππου παραχὲν ἡ εὐτυχία μικρὰ ἐνδεῶν προδόσεων ἐς ἐν ἔξω λόγου ποιεῖσθαι. *Philippo vero Amyntæ filio ad Græciæ imperium adſpirante unam invenias proditionis immunem Spartam: ceteras Græcorum urbes non magis peſtilentia ſuperiorum temporum, quam proditiones deleverunt. Alexandri felicitas effecit, ut nullum magnopere inſigne proditionis exemplum, quo res ejus adjutæ fuerint, poſſit commemorari.* This Oppoſition betwixt the Father and the Son's Character has been very well deſcrib'd by the Hiſtorian *Juſtin*. (*g*) *Nulla apud eum* (Philippum) *turpis ratio vincendi. . . . . Amicitias utilitate, non fide colebat. Gratiam fingere in odio, in gratia offenſam ſimulare, inſtruere inter concordantes odia, apud utrumque gratiam quærere, ſolennis illi conſuetudo. . . . . Huic Alexander filius ſucceſſit, & virtute & vitiis patre major. Vincendi ratio utrique diverſa. Hic aperte, ille artibus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hoſtibus, hic palam fuſis. Prudentior ille conſiliis, hic animo magnificentior.* Fortune has hardly any ways better teſtified the Prodigality of her Favours to *Alexander*; for in fine, all Men are naturally inclined to leſſen the Glory of a Conqueror, or rather intirely to efface it, when they know that he has corrupted the Generals of his Enemies, and the Governours of Places he deſigned to beſiege.

(*f*) Pauſan. *lib.* 7. *cap.* 10. *p.* 546. *Lipſ. edit.* 1696.

(*g*) Juſtin *lib.* 9. *cap.* 8. *pag. m.* 207.

(*M*) *The* Jews *pretend that he determined many Controverſies.*] They ſuppoſe, that three ſorts of People addreſſed *Alexander*, to demand of him the Reſtitution of the Goods, which the *Jews* unjuſtly detained from them. The *Canaanites*, which eſcaped the Arms of *Joſhua* came to complain of the Uſurpations of the *Jews*: The *Egyptians* came to demand the Houſhold Goods, which the *Jews* borrowed of 'em in leaving *Egypt*; the *Arabians*, or the Deſcendants of *Iſhmael*, and the Sons of *Keithura*, came to demand their part of the Succeſſion of *Abraham*. The *Rabbi* (*b*) *Gibea Ben-Peſiſa* pleaded for the *Jews*; the Plaintiffs cited ſome Paſſages of Scripture, and the *Rabbi* anſwering them in the like manner from Scripture, they knew not what to ſay and retired with Shame. Never Cauſe was more eaſily gain'd. I don't underſtand the Anſwer *Gibea* made the *Egyptians*; one would think that he uſed this Principle, that the *Jews* had laboured ſo much for the *Egyptians*, that what they borrowed, equall'd not the leaſt Salary of a Labourer. *Tertullian* has ſaid ſomewhere (*i*), that the *Jews* pretend there were ſome Conferences betwixt the *Egyptian* Envoys and theirs, and that the *Egyptians* renounced their Jewels, when they heard the Pretentions, which the *Jews* founded on their great Labours of *Egypt*. He ſeems in virtue of this reaſon to approve their keeping the Jewels that had been lent 'em; but 'tis certain, that this would be introducing the bad Morality of the modern Caſuiſts, to ground [illegible] ſuch a Right: How could one by th[illegible] a Servant who robs his Maſter, [illegible] of his Wages? 'Tis even tru[illegible] *Iſraelites*, ſince

(*b*) *He was alſo called* GibeaBen Koſan; *he was a famous Lawyer, as* Abraham Zacuth *ſays in* Sepher Juchaſin *f.* 13. *apud Autorem Polygamiæ triumph. pag.* 287.

(*i*) Adverſus Marcionem *l.* 2. *c.* 20. *apud eundem.*

that he determined many Controverſies they had with their Neighbours. Some ſay, that the *Romans* ſent (*N*) Embaſſadors to him. *Livy* (*O*) contradicts himſelf, in ſpeaking of this Prince. One of our moſt excellent (*P*) Poets ſeems to contradict himſelf on the ſame Subject. We ſhall ſee in another Place *, whether it be credible, that the Queen of the *Amazons* took ſuch a long Journey, to Lie with this King; and that the Sea † of *Pamphylia* deſerted its Banks, to facilitate the March of the *Macedonian* Army. If to Rally his Troops he uſed a Horn, the Sound whereof reached Two hundred *Stadia*, ſome of his Hiſtorians that remain would have ſpoken of it, and we need not have ſought for this in a ‡ Manuſcript of the *Vatican*. I don't reckon in the Number of Fables, what is related of the Contempt he had for a Man who gave him the Proofs (*Q*) of an extraordinary Skill.

* *In the Article of* Thaleſtris.

† *In the Article* Phaſelis.

‡ *Father* Kircher, in arte magna lucis & umbræ, *l.* 2. *part* 1. *c.* 7. *ſays, That this Manuſcript treats* de Secretis Ariſtotelis ad Alexandrum.

(*a*) Paraſch. 61. *fol.* 68. *col.* 21. apud Autorem Polygam. triumph. *p.* 283.

(*b*) Ad titul. Sanhedr. *c.* 11. *f.* 91. apud eundem Autor. *p.* 287.

(*c*) Joſeph. Antiquit. *l.* 11. *c.* 8.

(*d*) Clitarchi probatur ingenium fides infamatur. *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

(*e*) Joan. Eiſenhart de Fide Hiſtorica, *p.* 130. ex Ruperto in Hiſtor. univ. Obſ. ad Synopſim min. Beſoldi, *cap.* 18. *p.* 678.

(*f*) T. Livius, *l.* 9. *p. m.* 248.

(*g*) Id vero periculum erat quod leviſſimi ex Græcis qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriæ favent, dictitare ſolent, ne majeſtatem nominis Alexandri, QUEM NE FAMA QUIDEM ILLIS NOTUM ARBITROR FUISSE, ſuſtinere non potuerit populus Romanus. *Livius ib. p.* 249.

(*h*) *It is in the* 8*th Satyr.*

ſince they borrowed their Goods of thoſe, for whom they had not labour'd; their Labour was for the Prince, and they paid themſelves with the Goods of the Subject. 'Tis as if at preſent, the Proteſtants, whom the Perſecution has robb'd of their Eſtates in *France*, ſhould indemnifie themſelves upon their Catholick Fellow-Citizens, when they retire into Foreign Countries. There is therefore no juſtifying the *Iſraelites*, but by the expreſs Command of God, who being Abſolute Maſter of all Things, can tranſlate the Property of one Perſon to another, as he pleaſes. There is no need to ſay, that theſe Suits commenc'd againſt the *Jews* before *Alexander*, are Chimera's; it ſuffices to ſay, That this Story is told ſomething differently in the *Bereſchith Rabba* (*a*) than in the *Gemara Babylonica* (*b*). I ſhall be far from reckoning in the Liſt of Fables, *Alexander*'s March to *Jeruſalem*; the Narrative *Joſephus* (*c*) has left of it, may be fabulous in ſome Points; but let who will ſay, it is ſo in all: The Silence of Heathen Writers, who have ſaid ſo many other things leſs conſiderable concerning this Prince, and that happen'd in Countries as obſcure at leaſt as *Judæa*, may be a ſtrong Argument for others, but not for me.

(*N*) *That the* Romans *ſent Embaſſadors to him.*] 'Tis doubted of, though affirmed by *Clitarchus*; becauſe he doth not paſs (*d*) for a faithful Writer. He was in *Alexander*'s Train, and thereby might be well inform'd of Things; but this ſignifies nothing, when a Man has a mind to Lye. A modern Author (*e*) relates, That this *Roman* Embaſſy is reckon'd Fabulous; becauſe neither the *Roman* Hiſtorians, nor *Ptolemy*, nor *Ariſtobulus*, have mention'd it. *Romanos Alexandrum M. Legatione veneratos eſſe contra* Memnonem, *c.* 24. Plinium, *lib. III. c.* 5. *negant cum* Arriano, *lib. VII. quod de ea re ſileant non ſolum ſcriptores Romani omnes, ſed &* Ptolemæus & Ariſtobulus *hiſtorici, uterque Alexandri Socius, alter etiam Dux & poſtea Rex Ægypti.* I don't find in the 24th Chapter of the Extracts that *Photius* gives of *Memnon*, that *Alexander* receiv'd any Embaſſy from *Rome*: Nor does *Pliny* mention it; but only ſays, that *Clitarchus* has ſpoken of it.

(*O*) Livy *contradicts himſelf.*] He (*f*) ſeriouſly examines, what might have happen'd, if *Alexander*, after having Conquer'd *Aſia*, had brought the War into *Italy*, and he ſays, that the *Romans* had choſen *Papyrius Curſor*, to oppoſe him upon this Suppoſition. *Haud dubie illa ætate, qua nulla virtutum feracior fuit, nemo unus erat vir quo magis immina res Romana ſtaret: quin eum parem DESTINARANT animis magno Alexandro ducem, ſi arma, Aſia perdomita, in Europam vertiſſet.* This Hiſtorian's Digreſſion is not very long; and yet about the middle of it he declares, that he does not believe that the Fame of *Alexander* arrived ſo far as *Rome*. He ſays this, to Anſwer an Objection (*g*). The *Greeks*, envious of the Glory of the *Romans*, who had ſubdu'd them, ſo far as to become Flatterers of the *Parthians*, in order to obſcure it, ſaid, That *Alexander*, by the meer Majeſty of his Name, and by the bare Luſtre of his Glory, would have humbled the Courage of the *Romans*. *Livy* Anſwers, This Danger was little to be fear'd by People that had not ſo much as heard of him: How then had they deſign'd the Command of their Armies to *Papyrius Curſor*, in caſe *Alexander*, fluſhed with his *Aſian* Conqueſts, ſhould bring the War into *Italy*? *Livy* can't be excuſed; his diſtraction of Thought, his want of Attention, in a word, his Contradiction, fly in one's face.

(*P*) *One of our moſt excellent Poets ſeems to contradict himſelf.*] I have not at preſent the Reflections of *Des-Marets* of the *French* Academy, publiſhed againſt [illegible] about the Year 1674. but I have a co[illegible]rance, how this fine and ingenious [illegible]ticis'd (*h*).

MACHIAVEL

Quoi donc à vôtre avis, fut-ce un fou qu' Alexandre?
Qui? cet écervelé qui mit l'Aſie en cendre?
Ce fougueux l'Angeli qui de ſang altéré
Maître du monde entier s'y trouvoit trop ſerré?
L'orage qu'il étoit, né Roy d'une Province,
Qu'il pouvoit gouverner en bon & ſage Prince;
S'en alla follement & penſant être Dieu
Courir comme un Bandit qui n'a ni feu ni lieu,
Et traînant avec ſoi les horreurs de la guerre
De ſa vaſte folie emplir toute la terre.
Heureux! ſi de ſon tems pour cent bonnes raiſons
La Macedoine eût eu de Petites Maiſons;
Et qu'un ſage Tuteur l'eût en cette demeure
Par avis de Parens, enfermé de bonne heure.

The Critick, as I remember, founds himſelf, amongſt other things, upon Mr. *Deſpreaux* praiſing *Alexander* in another place, and comparing him to *Lewis* XIV. No Thanks to *Des-Marets*, that his Cenſure was not turn'd into a criminal Accuſation, capable of caſting the Accuſ'd out of his Prince's Favour. The Publick was ſo prejudic'd in favour of Mr. *Deſpreaux*, and ſo thankful for being diverted by the reading of his Satyrs, at many People's coſt, that no Notice was taken of *Des-Marets* Reflections. Tho' they had been never ſo ſolid and victorious, they would have been deſpis'd; the Seaſon was not favourable for 'em: which an Author ought to obſerve no leſs than a Gardener. To this may be applied what I cite (*i*).

(*Q*) *The contempt he had for a Man ..... of extraordinary Skill.*] We read this Fact in many Moderns. Obſerve how Mr. *de la Mothe le Vayer* uſes it, in his Inſtruction of the Dauphin: (*k*) *There are Arts of ſo little Conſideration, and that conſiſt in ſuch uſeleſs Subtilties, that Princes may very commendably be ignorant of 'em; nor ought they ſo much as to eſteem or reward thoſe that have plac'd their Studies in 'em, except with Recompences as inſignificant as their Works. A Man preſented himſelf to* Alexander (*l*), *ſo dexterous at throwing a Chich-Pea through the eye of a Needle, as to caſt a great many of em, one after another, at a good diſtance, without miſſing.* Alexander *rewarded his Induſtry, by commanding a Buſhel of Chich-Peaſe to be given him. This Example ſuffices to preſcribe the like Occaſions.* The Book and Chapter of *Quintilian* are well cited; but the Words are very ill tranſlated. Let us ſee 'em in the Original. M. [illegible] *quoque eſt quadam, id eſt ſupervacua artis imitatio, quæ nihil ſane nec boni nec mali habeat, ſed vanum laborem: quales illius fuit qui grana ciceris ex ſpatio diſtante miſſa in acum continuò & ſine fruſtratione inſerebat, quem cum ſpectaſſet Alexander, donaſſe dicitur ejuſdem leguminis modio. Quod quidem præmium fuit illo opere digniſſimum.* This Man's Art did not conſiſt, as Mr. *de la Mothe le Vayer* affirms, in *caſting a Chich-Pea through the Eye of a Needle*, ſtanding *at a good diſtance*. This was hardly any more practicable than what was propoſed by (*m*) Our Lord, as a thing impoſſible. But his Artifice was this; he put a Chich-Pea into his Mouth, and with his Breath fix'd it upon the Point of this Needle at a good diſtance. *Naudæus*, without uſing *Quintilian*'s own words, has (*n*) happily expreſs'd the thing, and not miſtaken it as the Author I have cited. I don't remember ever to have read, that *Alexander* was blamed for the little Notice he took of this Pea-Blower. *Plato* would have judg'd as rationally of this Piece of Dexterity as *Alexander*; for he was the only Perſon, that did not admire one *Anniceris* (*o*) who

(*i*) Parcendum & maximè cariſtati hominum, ne temere in eos dicas qui diligunter. *Cicero de Orat. l.* 2.

(*k*) La Mothe le Vayer, *Tom.* 1. *p.* 226. *publ.* 1681.

(*l*) Quintil. *l.* 2. *c.* 12. *ſ.* 10.

(*m*) Εὐκόλως ἐστὶν ἐμβαλεῖν τὸν ἐλάχιστον κόκκον τοῦ ἐρεβίνθου διὰ τῆς τρυμαλιᾶς τῆς βελόνης ἢ τὸν ἐλέφαντα διὰ τῆς τρυπήματος τοῦ ῥαφιδίου (or rather, μᾶλλον) δὲ τὸ τυφλὸν τοῦ ἰαμβείου. *Matth. c.* 19. *v.* 24. *It is eaſier for a Camel* (or rather a *Cable*) *to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God*, Matth. *ch.* 19. *ver.* 24.

(*n*) Alexander Magnus hominem ſolo oris halitu cicera minutiſſima ex magno intervallo in acum certiſſime infigentem, cicerum modio, donari voluit, quo ſe ille nugator in tam ludicræ artis fatuitate diutius exerceret. *Naudæus in Syntagmate de ſtudio liberali.*

MACHIAVEL (*Nicolas*) a Native of *Florence*, was a Man of great Wit, and an excellent Pen: He knew but little † Latin; but he was in the Service of a learned Man, (*A*) who having ſhewn him many fine Places of the ancient Authors, gave him occaſion to inſert 'em in his Books. He made a Comedy upon the (*B*) Model of the Ancient *Greeks*, which admirably took, inſomuch that *Leo* X. would divert the City of *Rome* with it. He was Secretary, and afterwards Hiſtoriographer to the Republick of *Florence*. The *Medicis* procur'd him this laſt Employ with a good Sala[illegible] to appeaſe his Reſentment for having been put to the Rack *. This was done upon [illegible]picion of his being an Accomplice in the Conſpiracies of the *Soderini*, againſt the [illegible] of *Medicis*. He had ∴ the Strength to bear the Torments, and confeſs Noth[illegible] The Praiſes † he gave *Brutus* and *Caſſius* in his Diſcourſes and Books, made him vehemently ſuſpected ∴ Varillas to be the principal Director of the Villainy (*C*) that was diſcovered. Nevertheleſs there was

† In nullis vel certe mediocri Latinarum literarum cognitione. *Jovius, eleg. c. 87. pag. 205.*

* Jovius ubi ſupra *pag. 206.*

∴ Varillas *Secret Hiſtory of* Florence *p. 247.*

† Jovius *ibid.*

(*a*) Paul Jovius, *eleg. c. 87. p. m. 206.*

(*b*) *Id. ib. pag. 205.*

(*c*) Varillas *Secret Hiſtory of* Florence. *p. 248.*

(*d*) Paul Jove *calls this Comedy* Nicia. *This piece is not inſerted amongſt* Machiavel's *Works. Only two Comedies are found there, the firſt is intituled* Mandragola, *and the ſecond* Clitia.

(*e*) Balzacius, *epiſt. ſelect. p. m. 202. 203.*

(*a*) who was ſo good a Coachman, that he could drive his Chariot an hundred rounds, without deviating the leaſt in the world from the ſame track. *Plato* judged, that a Perſon who took ſo much pains to perfect himſelf in ſo uſeleſs an Art, was not capable of great Things. (*b*) Πλάτων, τὸν υἱὸν, Δίωνος αὐτῷ στρατὸν διέβαλεν, οἷπερ ἀδύνατον ἦν, ἢ εἰς μικρὸν ὕστερ, ἢ ἀδικὸν ἔξω τοιοῦτον φρονῆσαι μεταβάλλειν, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων πόνων σπουδαῖον. πᾶσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς ἄσκησιν ἀνωφελῆ ἀνάλωκεν ἀνάγκην δὲ οὖσαν δαιμόνιον θαυμάζοντα. *Plato nimiam ejus induſtriam reprehendit, inquiens, fieri non poſſe, ut, qui rebus tam nullius pretii operam navaret adeò diligentem, poſſit magnis & præclaris negotiis ullis vacare. Quum enim omnis cogitatio in iſta conferatur, neceſſum eſſe, ut ea negligat, quæ revera ſunt admiratione digna.*

(*b*) Plutarch. *in Dione.*

(*A*) *In the Service of a learned Man, who having ſhewn him.*] It was *Marcellus Virgilius*; as we learn from *Paul Jovius*, who had it from *Machiavel. Conſtat enim, ſicuti ipſe nobis fatebatur, à Marcello Virgilio [illegible] & notario, & aſſecla publici muneris fuit, Gr[illegible] Latinæ linguæ flores accepiſſe, quos ſcriptis [illegible] reret* (*a*).

(*B*) *A Comedy upon the Model of the ancient* Greeks.] He brought many *Florentines* upon the Stage, who durſt not expreſs their Reſentments of it. (*b*) *Comiter æſtimemus Etruſcos ſales, ad exemplar Comœdiæ veteris Ariſtophanis, in Nicia præſertim Comœdia; in qua adeò jucundè vel in triſtibus riſum excitavit, ut illi ipſi ex perſona ſcitè expreſſa, in ſcena induſti cives, quamquam præalsè commorderentur, totam inuſtæ notæ injuriam civili lenitate pertulerint: æſtimemque Florentiæ, ex ea miri lepidis fama Leo Pontifex, inſtaurato ludo, ut Urbi ea voluptas communicaretur, cum toto ſcenæ cultu, ipſiſque hiſtrionibus Romam acciverit.* This Paſſage of *Paul Jovius* informs us, that the Pope, hearing what great Succeſs this Play had on the Stage of *Florence*, gave Orders that it ſhould be acted at *Rome* by the ſame Actors, and with the ſame Scenes. I know not where Mr. *Varillas* had ſo many other Particulars, which he did not read in *Paul Jovius*. Here is his Narrative: (*c*) "One Day as *Machiavel* mimick'd the "Geſtures and irregular Motions of ſome of the "*Florentines*, the Cardinal told him, they would "appear much more ridiculous on the Stage, in a "Comedy made in Imitation of *Ariſtophanes*. There "needed no more to put *Machiavel* upon writing "his *Sanitia*(*d*), in which the Perſons he deſign'd to "repreſent were ſo lively deſcrib'd, that they durſt "not ſhew their Reſentment, tho' they were preſent "at its firſt acting, for fear of increaſing the pub"lick Laughter, by diſcovering themſelves. The "Cardinal *de Medicis* was ſo charmed with it, that "after he was Pope, he cauſed the Scenes, the Ha"bits, and the Actors themſelves to be brought to "*Rome*, to divert his Court with it. Mr. *Varillas* not only relates Things that *Paul Jovius* had not ſaid; but he ſuppoſes, againſt the Narrative of this Author, that this Play was acted at the Theatre of *Florence* before *Leo* X. was Pope. Mr. *de Balzac* obſerves, that *Machiavel*'s *Clitia* is a Copy of *Plautus*'s *Caſſina*, and he juſtly blames this *Florentine* for following his Original, even in Things where Matters of Religion were ridicul'd. (*e*) *Scriba quum nihil Florentinus .... è Latinâ bonâ Etruſcam fecit meo judicio non malam. Clitia ſiquidem illius, eadem eſt quæ Plauti Caſſina; ex quâ nonnulla interpres fidiſſimus penè ad verbum reddidit, quædam correxit cum arte, multa feliciſſimè imitatus eſt, aliqua verò aut imprudenter aut perverſè; velut illa Olympionis villici ad Stalinonem hæc:*

Inimica eſt tua uxor mihi, inimicus filius,
Inimici familiares. *Stal.* Quid id refert tua?
Unus tibi hic dum propitius ſit Jupiter,
Tu i[illegible]nutos cave Deos flocci feceris.
Olym[illegible]ge ſunt iſtæ magnæ, quaſi tu neſcias,
Repen[illegible]at emoriantur humani Joves.
Sed tandem ſi tu Jupiter ſis emortuus,
Cùm ad Deos minores redierit regnum tuum,
Quis mihi ſubveniet, tergo, aut Capiti, aut cruribus?

Quæ ſit Thuſcus effinxit Scena ſexta Actus tertii, ubi Pyrrhus hunc cum Nicomacho ſermonem habet.

Nic. Ch'importa à te? Stà ben con Chriſto, & fatti beffe de Santi.

Pyr. Si, ma ſe voi morirſi, e Santi mi tratterebbeno aſſai male.

Nic. Non dubita[illegible]i farò tal parte, che i Santi ti pos[illegible]r poca briga, &c.

Hæc quod ad elegan[illegible]multò inferiora ſunt Plautinis; indigna verò homine Chriſtiano, qui ſanctiores Muſas colit, & in ludicris quoque meminiſſe debet ſeveritatis.

I ſhall here occaſionally ſay a Thing which I promiſed. (*f*) *Leo* X. forgetting the Dignity of his Character, was preſent one Day at a Comedy publickly in the Face of all the World. It was at the Requeſt of Cardinal *Bibiena*, who was a good *Italian* Poet, and writ a Stage Play in Honour of the Dutcheſs of *Mantua*. (*g*) *Poëtices & Hetruſcæ linguæ ſtudioſus, comœdias multo ſale, multiſque facetiis refertas compenſabat: ingenuos juvenes ad hiſtrionicam hortabatur, & ſcenas in Vaticano ſpecioſis in conclavibus inſtituebat. Propterea quum fortè Calandrum comœdi[illegible] à mollibus argutiſque leporibus perjucundam in gra[illegible] Iſabellæ Mantuani principis uxoris per nobiles com[illegible] agere ſtatuiſſet, precibus impetravit, ut ipſe pontifi[illegible] conſpicuo loco deſpectaret.* I could eaſily believe, that the Hiſtorian doth not ſay it, that *Leo* X. was preſent at the acting of *Penulus*. 'Tis a Piece of *Plautus*, that was acted in the Court of the Capitol with all kind of Pomp in the Year 1513. (*h*) *Eodem quoque anno Julianus Medices Leonis frater ab Senatu populoque Romano civitate do[illegible]us eſt: in cujus gratiam, in area Capitolii tempor[illegible]heatrum extructum eſt omni picturarum varie[illegible]ficè cultum. Egere in Scena Plauti Pœnulum d[illegible]rabili, & priſca quidem elegantia Romana juven[illegible]epidiſſimi quique, variaque extra ordinem poëmata recitata, florentibus non alid, fœcundiore ſæculo poſtarum ingeniis. Famian Strada* relates, that this Pope not only aſſiſted (*i*) at the Conferences of the Poets, but that he alſo approved their inſtituting publick Diſputes of which he was an Auditor. 'Tis true he placed himſelf in a Cloſet where he could not be ſeen by the Aſſembly. *In Aulæ omnium ordinum frequentia, & Pontificiis pontificum aſſeclis referta, nullo exadversum, lecique diſcrimine conſidunt. Nam Leo Pontifex ratus inferius eſſe majeſtate Principis, ſi ſe in conſpectum concioni daret; in Aulæ receſſu, loculamento ſe ſuo ſublatus in ſpeculum inſerebat.* (*k*) There is no doubt but the Fiction which *Strada* relates was founded upon ſome known Matter of Fact.

(*f*) *In the Article* Leo X. *at the end of the Remark* ℔.

(*g*) Paul Jovius *in vita* Leonis X. *p. m. 189.*

(*h*) Idem Hiſtoriar. *lib. 11. ſub. fin. See him alſo in vita* Leonis X. *p. m. 334. ſee alſo p. 359. where he ſays,* Fuit id Leoni perjucundum qui explorata haberet illorum ingenia, & ſolitus eſſet interdum ſeveritatem imperii atque acres generis humani curas eruditis hiſce voluptatibus temperare.

(*i*) *Id. ib. prolaſ. 6. pag. 363.*

(*k*) Strada Prolufion Academ. *lib. 2. prolus. 5. p. m.* 241. 242.

(*C*) *Director of the Villainy that was diſcovered.*] It coſt a Poet and one of the Guards, their Lives, if we believe *Paul Jovius*. *Quum dicendo ſcribendoque Brutos & Caſſios laudaret ejus conjurati[illegible]rchitectus fuiſſe putaretur, in qua Ajacetus Poëta, [illegible]dalemanus ex ipſa turma prætoria leviſſimus eques [illegible]ti ſceleris capite pœnas dederunt.* Theſe People had form'd a Deſign to kill Cardinal *Julian de Medicis*, who was afterwards Pope *Clement* VII. He that *Paul Jovius* calls *Ajacetus*, is call'd by others *James Diacetin*, or *Jacetto*, or *Jacobus Jacetus*. "He (*l*) often "[illegible]nted the Houſes and Gardens of *Ruſcellay*. "[illegible]rs, Citizens and Strangers were w[illegible]come "[illegible] and amongſt others, *Zanobi B[illegible]ngui*, "and *Lewis Alamanni*, and they comm[illegible]ur"fed before *Coſimus Ruſcellay* ... an[illegible] "who was carried as in a Cradl[illegible] "chaſe was *Nicolas Machiavel*[illegible]

(*l*) Peter de Boiſſat's Genealogical Hiſtory of the Houſe of Medicis.

was no Profecution againſt him. From that time † he lived in Poverty, ridiculing every thing, and without any Religion. A Medicine he had taken, by way of Prevention, gave him his Death (D) in 1530. Some ſay that recourſe was had to the publick Authority, to force him to receive the Sacraments *. Others ſay that he died ‡ vomiting Blaſphemies. That of all his Books, that is moſt § oppoſed, is a Work of Politicks, (E) Intituled,

† See the Remark D.

* See Varillas it. pag. 248.

‡ Blaſphemans evomuit improbum Spiritum. Thuan. Raynaud. de malis et bonis libris n. 46. p. 29.

§ Theop. Raynaud. ibid. gives a Catalogue of many Authors, that have cenſured Machiavel.

works [illegible] dicated his Diſcourſes, a Work of "a new [illegible]ion to *Coſmo*. These Men of "Learning [illegible] Philoſophy enter'd upon a Project "of killing [illegible]ardinal, not for any Ill Will, but "to reſtore, [illegible]y ſaid, the Republick to its Liber-"ty. *Diacetto* [illegible]ſed it before the Judges, and "he and *le Commis* were condemned and executed. "*Machiavel* was much ſuſpected: *Alamanni* happen'd "to be in the Fields and eſcaped into the Dutchy of "*Urbino*: *Buondelmonte* was forced by his Wife to "leave his Houſe, and to get out of the City, and ſo "eſcaped to *Carſignano*, where the [illegible] *Aridoſi* "was Governour for the Duke of [illegible]*ra*, who "ſaved him. Mr. *Varillas* (a) ſuppoſes that *Leo* X. was alive at the time of this Conſpiracy; he is out in this, as much as in the Interval he puts between (b) *Machiavel*'s Promotion to the Imploy of *Hiſtoriographer*, and the Exaltation of this Pope. But *Paul Jovius*'s Faults are much groſſer. He ſuppoſes, that the chief Quality and diſtinguiſhing Character of his *Ajaccetus* was the being a Poet; which is not true (c). He ſhould have ſaid this of his *Alamannus*, inſtead of making him a Light Horſe-Guard; and he ought not to have put [illegible] in the Number of the beheaded. *Aleſſo* [illegible] a good Wit and a great Poet, was an Accom[illegible]ce of this Conſpiracy, but he was not puniſh'd for it: he eſcaped beyond the *Alpes*, and was very well received by *Francis* I. He publiſhed many Poems in this Prince's Praiſe, and on abundance of other Subjects, and he flouriſhed in *France* in the Year 1540. as *Poccianti* (d) has obſerved, and in the Year 1544. Thuanus is a Chapter (f) concerninghim in *Boccalin*'s *Ragguagli*. He is there blamed for the exceſſive Praiſes, he had given the *French* in an Oration, and 'tis added, that he was quickly diſguſted with this Nation, becauſe the *French* gave him too plainly to underſtand, that they deſpis'd him. Here's a Paſſage of *James Gohory*: "(g) Final-"ly, he made pretty little Tracts, namely, the "Life of *Caſtruccio Caſtracani* (who, as I hear, has a "Relation, a very worthy Gentleman now in this "City) ſent by him to *Luigi Alemanni*, who writ a "Book of *Agriculture*, and tranſlated the Romance "of *Giron* the Courteous, by the great King *Fran-*"*cis*'s Command very elegantly into *Italian* Verſe, "who left two Sons in the Court of *France*, one "the preſent Biſhop of *Macon*, a Man of very good "Learning, the other Steward of the King's Hou-"ſhold very expert in Arms.

(a) *Secret Hiſtory of* Florence. p. 249.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 248.

(c) *See the Article* Jaccetius.

(d) Floruit in maximo pretio in Gallia tranſalpina, 1540. Michael Poccianti in Catalogo Scriptorum Florentinorum p. 7. edit. Florent. 1589.

(f) 'Tis the 19th of the 2. Century.

(g) James Gohory in Machiavel's *Life before his* French *Tranſlation of the Prince, and the Diſcourſes upon* Livy *printed at* Paris *in* 1571.

(D) *Gave him his Death in* 1530.] See the Words of *Paul Jovius* (h) *Fatum ejus eſt quum accepto remedio pharmaco, quo ſe adverſus morbos præmunivit*, VITÆ SUÆ JOCABUNDUS ILLUDERET, *paulo antequam Florentia Cæſarianis ſubacta armis, Medicees veteres dominos recipere cogeretur* (i). He had ſaid a little before, *Fuit exinde ſemper inops, uti irriſor & Atheos*. He ſuppoſes then that the *Medicis* forſook him, as ſoon as they ſuſpected him to be in *Dinecttin*'s Plot; but he is miſtaken. *Clement* VII. was not yet Pope; and we find, that *Machiavel*, dedicating his eight Books of the Hiſtory of *Florence* to *Clement* VII, confeſſes he ſubſiſted by the Bounties of this Pope. *Io vengo allegro in campo ſperando che come io ſono dalla humanità di V. B. honorato e* NUTRITO, *così ſarò dalle armate legioni del ſuo ſantiſſimo giudicio ajutato e difeſo.* This Circumſtance of time manifeſts a notable Falſhood of *Varillas*. He ſays, (k) "That *Machia-*"*vel* writ the Eight Books which we have of the "Hiſtory of his Country in ſo florid and correct a "Style, that it was accuſed of being too florid. "And 'tis pr[illegible]ly in this, that *Boccacio*'s eaſineſs "and agree[illegible]berry is preferr'd before his Wri-"tings. [illegible]arration is ſometimes Malignant "and Sat[illegible]; and *Mark Muſurus* ſo clearly con-"victed him of it that he durſt not reply. *Muſurus* died in Pope *Leo* the Xth's time; he could not therefore criticiſe a Work of *Machiavel*, that came not out till *Clement* VII. Mr. *Varillas* ſtrangly [illegible] verts and falſifies theſe Words of *Paul Jovius*: *Ped. ſtrem patrii ſermonis facultatem à Boccatii [illegible] vetuſtate diſſuentem novis & plane Atticis [illegible] aſtringeret, ſic ut ille caſtigatior, ſed non purior aut gravior [illegible] veteribus exiſtimetur.* According to *Paul* [illegible] ſtyle is more correct than that of *Machiavel*, but it is not purer or graver. However, when I ſay that *Machiavel* dièd in the Year 1530. I accommodate my ſelf to *Paul Jovius*'s Expreſſions; without knowing, whether it will be better to follow him or *Poccianti* (m) who places his Death in the Year 1526. The *Feuillant Peter de St. Romuald* puts it on the 5th of *December* 1530. See the 2d Tome (n) of his Cronological Journal. This doth not agree with *Paul Jovius*. See above Letter *i*.

(h) Varillas *Secret Hiſtory of* Florence *pag.* 248.

(i) Florence *yielded the* 9th *of* Auguſt 1530.

(k) Jovius, *elog. p.* 206.

(E) *A Work of Politicks, Intituled, The Prince.*] This Author's Maxims are ſtark nought; the World is ſo perſuaded of it, that *Machiavelliſm* and the Art of reigning tyrannically, are Terms of the ſame Import. This Work of *Machiavel* was tranſlated into *French* by Mr. *Amelot de la Houſſaye*. The Author of the News from the Republick of Learning, ſpeaking of the 3d Edition of this Verſion (o), makes the following Remark. The Preface "is "full of Reflections that drive the Nail home; we "there read amongſt other things this Notion of "Mr. *de Wiequefort*; (p) Machiavel *generally ſays* "*what Princes do, and not what they ought to do.* 'Tis "ſtrange there are ſo many People, who believe, that "*Machiavel* teaches Princes dangerous Politicks; "for on the contrary Princes have taught *Machiavel* "what he has written. 'Tis the Study of the World, "and the Obſervation of Tranſactions, and not a "fanciful Cloſet Meditation, that have been *Ma-*"*chiavel*'s Maſters. Let his Books be burnt, an-"ſwered, tranſlated, and commented, 'twill be all "[illegible] with reſpect to Government. By a miſerable "[illegible]tal Neceſſity, Politicks muſt ſet themſelves "[illegible] Morality; they don't confeſs it, but yet "they do as *Achilles*, *Jura negat ſibi nata*. A great "Philoſopher of this Age can not ſuffer it to be ſaid, "that it was neceſſary that Man ſhould Sin: I believe "however, that he owns with reſpect to Sove-"reigns. Sin to be now a neceſſary Thing, ditho' "that does not make 'em excuſable; for beſides that "there are few who content themſelves with what "is Neceſſary, they would not be under this wretch-"ed Condition, if they were all good Men. To this may be added the Saying of an ancient Poet, that by the bare Exerciſe of Royalty, the moſt Innocent would learn to be guilty, without any Tutor: *Ut nemo doceat fraudem & ſcelerum vias, regnum docebit* (q). Every Body has heard that Maxim, *qui neſcit diſſimulare neſcit regnare*, and he that denies the Truth of it, muſt be very Ignorant of Affairs of State. *Boccalin* cunningly gives us to underſtand, that the Reign of ſome Popes taught *Machiavel* the Politicks of his Prince. Obſerve the Apology he lends this Writer. (r) *Io in tanto non intendo diſcendere gli ſcritti miei, che pubblicamente gli accuſo, e condanno per empi, per pieni di crudeli, & eſecrandi documenti da governare gli Stati. Di modo, che ſe quella, che ho publicata alla Stampa, è dottrina inventata di mio capo, e ſono Precetti nuovi, dimando, che pur' hora contro di me irremiſſibilmente, ſi eſeguiſca la ſentenza, che a i Giudici è piaciuto darmi contro: ma ſe gli Scritti miei altro non contengono, che quei Precetti Politici, e quelle regole di Stato, che ho cavate dalle attioni di alcuni Principi, che ſe voſtra Maeſtà mi darà licenza nominerò in queſto luogo, de quali è pena la vita dir male, qual giuſtitia, qual ragione vuole, ch'eſſi, che hanno inventata l'arabbiata, è d.ſperata Politica ſcritta da me, ſieno tenuti ſacroſanti, io che ſolo l'ho publicata, un ribaldo, un atheiſta? Che certo non ſò vedere, per qual cagione ſia bene adorar l'originale di una coſa come ſanta, & abbrucciare la copia di eſſa come eſecrabile: è come io tanto debba eſſer perſeguitato, quando la lettione delle Hiſtorie, non ſolo permeſſa, ma tanto commendata da ogn'uno notoriamente hà vertù di convertire in tanti Machiavelli quelli che vi attendono con l'occhiale Politico.* Obſerve theſe laſt words; *Boccalin* pretends, that ſince the reading of Hiſtory is both recommended and permitted, the reading of *Machiavel* is unjuſtly condemn'd. The meaning of which is, that the ſame Maxims are found in Hiſtory, as in this Author's *Prince*. There we ſee 'em put in practice, they are only here adviſed. 'Tis perhaps upon this Foundation, that Men of Sence judge, (s) that it were to be wiſh'd, no Hiſtories were to be Written. This does not excuſe *Machiavel*; he advances Maxims which he does not blame: But a good

o) *News from the Republick of Learning* January, 1687. p. 99.

(p) *The Chancellor* Bacon de augment. Scientiar. *l. 7. c. 2. p. m.* 397. *had ſaid the ſame.*

Eſt quod gratias agamus Machiavello & huſumodi Scriptoribus qui aperte & indiſſimulanter proferunt quid homines facere ſoleant non quid debeant.

(q) Seneca *in Thyeſte, act.* 2. *v.* 312. *He had ſaid v.* 317. Sanctitas, pietas, fides, privata bona ſunt; qua juvat, Reges eant.

(r) Boccalin, Ragguagli di Parnaſſo, centuria 1. *cap.* 89.

(s) *See* Maſcardi de arte hiſtorica

tled, *The Prince*. Many Authors have confuted him. *Possevin*, who had not (F) read him, was nevertheless the Cause of his being Condemn'd by the *Inquisition*. *Machiavel* publish'd Historian, who relates the Practices of these Maxims, condemns it. This makes a great difference between this *Florentine*'s Book, and History; and yet 'tis certain, that, by accident, the reading of History, is very likely to produce the same effect, as the reading of *Machiavel*. There are ingenious People, who have made his (e) Apology, saying, That all those, who have attack'd him, declare their Ignorance in Matters of Policy. (a) *Quicunque sunt hodierni* Machiavellum *sibi sumpsere confutandum, & quorum lices prætexti, suam civilis philosophiæ* [illegible] *nimis aperte prodiderunt. Ita vero cum Aristotele, summo dicendi Magistro, imperitissimi* [illegible] *(a) sive naturæ & insolis politicæ scientia ignorantiam. Enim verò omnes pene videas differere, quasi non aliæ sint Respublicæ, quam quæ primo ac per se, imò unicè, salutem populi spectent, aut verè affectent plenam quatenusque humanæ Vitæ felicitatem; eoque & politico Magistro de solis illis agendum esse: hinc sanè omnem doctrinam, quæ non est de Rebuspublicis, quas illi unicè cognoscendas hominibus arbitrentur, damnare solent, & contra limites politicæ methodi adjicere.* You will find many Reflections of this nature, in the Preface that the learned *Conringius* has prefix'd to *Machiavel*'s *Prince*. Observe, that our *Florentine* is accus'd of enriching himself with the Spoils of *Aristotle*. His Maxims therefore have for a long time been in Books. 'Tis the same *Conringius* that urges this Indictment: (b) *Nicolaus Machiavellus cymbalum illud Politicorum artium nullum fere dominatûs arcanum crudelium Principum sumpsit docere, quod non dudum ante ad tyrannidem & dominatum conservandum facere Aristotelis sit libro V.* (Politicorum) *observatum. Quin sua omnia vaferrimus hic magister Doctor dissimulato plagio ex Aristotele fortasse transcripsit: eo tamen discrimine, quod hic impiè ac impudentissimè Principi commendet, quæ non nisi Dominis ac Tyrannis convenire longè rectius ac prudentius scripserat antè Aristoteles. Gentillet* (c) accuses him of being *Bordelotus*'s Plagiary. I wonder that they don't say, that he has stole his Maxims from the Angelick Doctor, the great St. *Thomas Aquinas*. See in *Naudé*'s *State-Politicks* (d) a long Passage of *Thomas Aquinas*'s Commentary upon the Vth Book of *Aristotle*'s *Politicks*. Monsieur *Amelot* (e) proves, that *Machiavel* was but the Disciple or Interpreter of *Tacitus*, and he makes the same Reflection as *Conringius*. "Of all "those, says he, that censure *Machiavel*, (f) you'll "find that some confess, they never read him; and "the others who have read him, have never under-"stood him; as appears by the taking several "Passages in a literal Sence, which the Politi-"cians know how to interpret otherwise. So "that, to speak truth, he is censured only because "he is ill understood; and he is ill understood "by many, who are capable of understanding "him better, only because they read him with "Prejudice: Whereas, if they read him as Judges, "that is, holding the Balance even between him "and his Adversaries, they would see, that his "Maxims are for the most part absolutely neces-"sary to Princes, who, as the great *Cosmo de Medicis* "says, can't always Govern their States with their "Beads in their Hand" (i). He had been saying, (g) "That it needs not be wonder'd, that *Ma-"chiavel* is Censur'd by so many People; since "there are so few that understand the *Reasons of "State*, and consequently so few qualify'd to be "competent Judges of his Precepts and Maxims. "And I'll say by the way, That there are abun-"dance of Ministers and Princes, that Study 'em, "and even Practise 'em in every Point, who had "Condemn'd and Detested them, before they came "to the Ministry or the Throne. So true it is, "that a Man must be a Prince, or at least a Mi-"nister, to know, I say not the Use, but the ab-"solute Necessity of these Maxims." This is applying to *Machiavel*, what another had said of *Tacitus*; (h) "They that accuse him of holding im-"pious Maxims, and opposite to Good-manners, "must pardon me, if I tell them, That never "Politician handled the Rules of State more rea-"sonably than he; and the most Scrupulous who "have blamed them, whilst they were Private "Persons, have study'd and practis'd 'em, when "they were call'd to the Management of Publick "Affairs." Mr. *Amelot*, having cited those Words of Mr. *de Chanvalon*, immediately confirms them by an Example: "*Germany*, says he (i), has very lately "seen a notable Example of this in the late Bishop "of *Vienna*, who, when he was only *Father Emeric* "*in purè naturalibus*, inveighed in all his Sermons "against the Maxims of Policy, so far as to be-"lieve, there was no Salvation for those who pra-"ctis'd them; but who was no sooner introduc'd "to the Emperor's Court, and drawn into the "Ministry, but he changed his Opinion as his "Fortune, and practis'd himself (but more re-"finedly) whatever he condemn'd before in his "Predecessors, the Princes of *Auersberg* and *Lobkowitz*, whose Disgrace he had procured, and in "the Count *Augustin* of *Waldstein* his Competitor "for the Bishoprick of *Vienna*, and the Cardinal-"ship (a).

We must say something of the Work written by *Innocent Gentillet*, against that of *Machiavel*: 'Tis call'd, in the Edition I use, (k) *A Discourse upon the Means of Well-governing and Maintaining a Kingdom, or other Principality, in good Peace: Divided into Three Books; to wit, concerning the Council, Religion and Policy that a Prince ought to use: Against Nicolas Machiavel a Florentine.* 'Tis Dedicated to the Duke of *Alençon*, Brother to King *Henry* III. There is neither the Name of the Author nor the Printer to it, nor the Place where it was Printed, but only the Date 1576. This Book is commonly quoted, as if Inticled *Anti-Machiavel*. This Citation is shorter than that of the true Title, and that was the occasion of this Blame. Consult Mr. (l) *Baillet*.

I am persuaded, that what I am going to quote from the Sieur *de la Popelinière*, relates to *Gentillet*'s Treatise. He blames the tolerating this *Florentine*'s Books, filled with pernicious Maxims; and then he adds: "(m) Now since Christian Magistrates "connived at such prejudicial Writings, a general "Wit arose in *France*, to confute the Errors and "Impieties which he thought too open, and so "countenanc'd by the Generality, but with so "poor a success, that for grounding himself only "on Authorities, and improper Examples, (which "both Sides may use, and which the *Florentine* "calls *ridiculous*,) and shewing himself unprovided "of strong Reasons, which are the true Arms, "wherewith he challenges all the World to "combat; the poor Author could obtain no other "Recompense for so much Labour in Defending "the State, the Religion and Duty of All toge-"ther, but Injuries and Menaces, instead of Ho-"nours, and other worldly Salaries, that such a "well-meant and laborious Work deserved." If we judg'd of the Merit of a Book, by the multitude of Editions and Translations, that of *Gentillet* might pretend to a high degree of Glory; for it has been Translated into divers Languages, and Printed several times. The Edition of *Leiden* imports, that it had been augmented above One half. The Epistle Dedicatory has been retrenched from it. If we had all the Work Entire, a Part of which was publish'd in the Year 1622. perhaps we should have the best that has been Writ on *Machiavel*'s *Prince*. This Part, full of *Hiatus*'s, is call'd, *Fragmens of the Examination, of* Machiavel's Prince; *in which 'tis discours'd of Confidants, Ministers, and Private Counsellors of a Prince, as also of the Fortune of his Favourites*. 'Tis in 12°, and contains 339 Pages. I have quoted something out of it, in the Article of the *Chancellor de l'Hospital*. There is a New Latin Edition of *Machiavel*'s *Prince* publish'd at *Amsterdam*, in 8°. 1690. *Interprete Casparo Langenhert Phi-lologo, qui suas & Commentarios adjecit*: He who gives this New Translation, (n) *gave it only, because that, we had before, seemed to him to be imperfect*.

(F) Possevin, *who had not read him, was* [illegible] *the Cause* [illegible] *by the* Inquisition [illegible] *very Edition.*

(e) Pro Machiavello inter alios Apologiam scripsit Gasp. Sciopp. in libello Pedia Politices, & Dissertatione adversus Paganinum Gaudentium. Rosius de temperanda prud. Civil. n. 93. apud Magirum Eponymol. p. 552.

(a) Conringius in Præfat. suæ libri de Principe editionis, apud Magirum, p. 554.

(a) Refer to this, these words of the Sieur Naudé, chap. 1. of State-Politicks: To speak of Politicks, as they are handled and practised at this day, without saying any thing of these State-Intreagues, is properly to be ignorant of the Discipline and Method which *Aristotle* teaches, in his *Analytricks*, to speak of all things pertinently, and according to the Principles and Demonstrations proper and essential to 'em: *Est enim pedissequa insciantia nescire quorum oportet quærere demonstrationem, quorum vero non oportet*, as he says in his *Metaphysicks*.

(b) Conringius Introduct. in Polit. Aristotelis, *cap.* 3. p. 583. apud Thomasium de Plagio literario, p. 223, 224.

(c) In Præfat. *lib.* 3. Commentarior adversus Machiavellum.

(d) In chap. 1. p. m. 16.

(e) In his Notes upon Machiavel's Prince.

(f) Amelot de la Houssaye, *Preface to* Machiavel's Prince.

(i) Che gli Stati non si tenevano con Pater-nostri. *Machiavel Hist.* 7.

(g) In the Epistle Dedicatory.

(h) Monsieur de Harlai Chanvalon's *Preface to the Translation of* Tacitus.

(i) In his Critical Discourse before Tacitus's Morals, Printed in 1686. He put it afterwards before his French Translation of the Six First Books of Tacitus's Annals.

(a) In a German Prince's Manuscript Account of the Court of Vienna.

(k) 'Tis in 8vo.

(l) In the 2d Tome of the Anti, p. 129, & seq.

(m) La Popelinière Hist. of Historians, Book 7. p. 405, 406.

(n) Journal des Sçavans, 15th of March, 1700. p. 211. Dutch

publish'd Seven Books of the *Art of War*, which made him pass with the Duke of *Urbino* for a Man very capable of Drawing up an Army in *Battalia*; but he was so wise, that he never durst venture to try (G) his Theory, no, not so much as upon one Squadron. They publish'd, a little while ago, (H) a New *French* Version of the greatest Part of his Works. His Novel of *Belphegor*, a very ingenious Piece, was Publish'd by Mr. *le Fevre* of *Saumur* *, in the Year 1664. There is in the Continuation of the *Menagiana* † a very curious Remark, about the Trick that *Machiavel* us'd, in Writing the Life of *Castrucio Castracani*. This Life was Translated into *French*, by Monsieur *Guillet*. 'Tis alledged, (HΔ) That it was unfaithfully Written: And the same Judgment

* *See the Journ. des Savans of the 12th of January, 1665.*

† *Pag. 96. of the Edition of Holland.*

late, before this Tribunal thought of Condemning this Book. *Machiavel's Prince* was Publish'd about the Year 1515. and Dedicated to *Laurence de Medicis*, Nephew to *Leo* X. It did not prejudice the Author with this Pope, who nevertheless was the first that threaten'd those with Excommunication, that read a Prohibited Book. (a) *Nec tamen à Papa istiusmodi liber ullo fuit sinistro verbo notatus (quamvis Leo omnium primus intenderit vim librorum prohibitoriam, vetitis legi diffidentium Scriptis omnibus sub excommunicationis pœna, quod hactenus carebat exemplo) vel auctor pristino gratiæ loco motus.* Which I observe, to shew, that the Impunity of this Book of *Machavel*, ought not to be attributed to any general Remisness of *Leo*'s Pontificate, with respect to bad Books. The Pope so little discontinu'd the Expessions of his Friendship to the Author, that he employ'd him in Writing a Book that required Secrecy. He order'd him to Write a Treatise concerning the Reformation of the Republick of *Florence*. *Valuit in tantum apud Leonem, ut hujus jussu arcanam dissertationem concinnaverit* de Reformatione Reip. Florentinæ, *quam manuscriptam in bibliotheca Gaddiana superesse testatur Jacobus Gaddus* (p). *Hadrian* VI. Successor to *Leo* X. left *Machiavel*'s Book at rest. *Clement* VII. *Hadrian* VIth's Successor, did more; for he not only approv'd of *Machiavel*'s Dedicating his History of *Florence* to him, but also granted a Priviledge (q) to *Antony Bladus* to Print this Author's Works at *Rome*. *Clement* VIIth's Successors, to *Clement* VIII. exclusively, permitted the Sale of *Machiavel*'s *Prince* in all *Italy*, whereof there were frequent Editions and Translations. It was however known, that this Book did not please some Doctors; for a Book (r) of *Ambrose Catharinus*, Printed at *Rome* in 1552. has a Chapter against the Discourses and *Prince* of *Machiavel*. At last, under the Pontificate of *Clement* VIII. the Writings of this *Florentine* were Condemn'd, after the loud Complaints made at *Rome*, by the Jesuit *Possevin*, and a Priest of the Oratory call'd *Thomas Bozius*: Tho' 'tis certain, that this Jesuit had never read *Machiavel*'s *Prince*; for if you look into the Judgment (a) he has publish'd of four Writers, *Le Noue*, *Bodin*, *Du Plessis Mornai*, and *Machiavel*, you will find, that he supposes *the Prince*, written by the fourth, to be divided into Three Books; which is plainly false: He charges *Machiavel* with such things as are not in *the Prince*. *Conringius* guesses very well, that the Occasion of these Mistakes, was, because *Possevin* never knew this Work, but by the reading of *Gentillet*. (b) 'In ea (Dissertatione *Possevini*) verò 'ita disseritur, quasi à *Machiavello* tres *de Principe* 'libri cómpositi sint: hinc statim initio, ubi de 'Machiavello agit, aliquot ejus sententiis enumeratis, 'hæc quidem, inquit ille, *sceleratum illud Satanæ* 'organum prioribus duobus libris, quibus de Principe 'agit, insipienti mundo obtrusit. Non multò post 'cum diceret: *redeo ad easdem labes* Machiavelli, 'ut cognita pestis magis caveatur. In margine libri 'notat *librum tertium*: quasi libro tertio *Machiavellus* doceat, belli justitiam in ea, quam sibi 'quisque putat esse necessitatem, collocari. At verò certò est certius, non nisi unicum, & quidem exiguum libellum *de Principe Machiavello* 'auctore esse conscriptum, & nusquam terrarum 'tres in partes illum fuisse sectum, nec in hoc 'libello reperiri ea, quæ inter alia criminatur 'Possevinus, religionem Ethnicam Christianæ præferendam, aut Doctores Christianæ Religionis 'nihili faciendos: ut nec quicquam hoc libro (quod itidem Possevinus conqueritur) inclementius dicitur in Romanam Ecclesiam, sed potiùs 'illud Cap. XI. ipsum principatum Pontificium 'non humanis consiliis atque artibus, sed quidam 'inu[illegible] & quidem solius Dei favore, salvum 'esse [illegible] quisquam Zelotici gregis affirmave[illegible]men longè petenda aut hariolanda [illegible] Possevviniani erroris, modò 'quis inspexerit volumen illud, quod *Anti-Machiavelli* titulo ἀνώνυμον oppositum, hinc inde ex 'variis libris *Machiavellicis* excerptis sententiis, 'Innocentius Gentilletus. Hoc enim tres in libros 'est distinctum, & in ejus duobus prioribus repre-'hensa sunt illa, quæ duobus prioribus *de principe* 'libris haberi Possevinus ridicule affirmat: in 'tertio etiam illorum librorum animadvertitur in 'ea, quæ ex tertio libro de Principe frustra re-'petit (c) *Machiavellus*. Ut liquidò appareat, ex 'illo volumine *Anti-Machiavellico*, non autem 'ex *Machiavello* ipso Possevinum sua accepisse, &c.' See in Marg. (d) the Reflection of *Conringius*.

(a) *He Wrote it by the Order of* Innocent IX. *and Publish'd it at* Rome, *in the Year* 1592. *He inserted Part of it in his* Biblioth. Selecta. *Conring.* ib. *in the same* Magirus. ib.

(b) Conring. ib apud eundem, p. 549.

(c) *It seems it should be* Possevinus, *and not* Machiavellus.

(d) Et vero illud Possevini facinus luculente ostendit, non desse etiam eximiæ dignitatis atque existimationis viros, qui scripto publico ne inspectum quidem *Machiavelli* Principem sævo calculo abjecerint. *Conring. apud Magirum ib.* p. 550.

(e) *He was the Son of* Peter de Medicis, *and Nephew to* Leo X.

(f) *Cardan.* l. 3. *de utilit. ex adversi capienda, citante Besoldo de arte jureq; belli*, c. 1. p. 3, & 4. *apud Thomasium Præfat.* 21. pag. 118.

(G) *He was so wise, that he never durst venture to try his Theory.*] He that knows the War only by Reading, ought to keep only to the Theory; for if he should attempt to practise it upon one Regiment, he would expose himself to the Laughter of the meanest Soldier. *Machiavel* is to be commended, for refusing to comply with the Duke of *Urbino*'s Will (e): Perhaps we might have been ignorant of this Particular, if *Cardan* had not mention'd it. *Machiavellum sæculi superioris Doctorem quis tot & tanta de militari Romanorum disciplina disertissimè scripserat, ne unam quidem cohortem, quantumvis eum id ut tentaret, Urbini Princeps hortaretur, instruere ausum esse Cardanus testatur* (f).

(H) *A New* French *Version.*] The Sieur *Henry Desbordes*, a *French* Bookseller at *Amsterdam*, Printed it in Six Volumes in 12's. The First appear'd in the Year 1691. and contain'd the two first Books of Discourses upon *Livy*. The third Book of these Discourses made the 2d Tome, and appear'd in the Year 1692. The *Art of War* was Printed in the Year 1693. The *History of Florence* was Printed in 2 Vol. in 1694. And *the Prince*, and some of the Tracts, in 1696. This last Book was Translated, tho' Mr. *Amelot de la Houssaie* had Publish'd it in *French* a few Years before: I say, that notwithstanding this, it was Translated, because it was believ'd, the Publick would be glad to have the whole Body of the *Florentine*'s Work from the same Hand. They deserv'd to be Translated a-new into our Language, because the Old Version was grown obsolete. I have seen an Edition of *Paris*, later than the Year 1630. but it was a New Edition, for in it are found some *French* Verses written by *Des Essars* the Translator of *Amadis*. Mr. *de Beauval* (g) has told us the Name (h) of him who made the New Version of *Machiavel*, and who has prefix'd to the First Volume a Preface (i) which deserves to be read; it is an Apology for *Machiavel*, and it treats the *Inquisition* as it deserves. The Version wherein are the Verses of *Des Essars*, is doubtless *James Gohory*'s. It contains the Treatise of the *Prince*, and the Discourses upon *Livy*, and was Printed at *Paris* in 1571. in 8vo. This was a 2d Edition, Revis'd very carefully, and much better than the former. The Author did not put his Name to the 1st but to the 2d, lest one of the two Translators of *the Prince* should rob him of the Translation of the Discourses upon *Livy* (k). 'Tis said, (l) That *Machiavel*'s *Prince* was done into *Turkish*, and read by Sultan *Amurath* the Fourth, in that Language.

(HΔ) *That the Life of* Castrucio Castracani *was Written unfaithfully.*] *Vossius* touches upon this in

(g) *Hist. of the Works of the Learned*, Jul. 1691. p. 483.

(h) 'Tis *Mr.* Tetard a French *Refugee and Physician at the* Hague. *He is of* Blois, *of the Family of Mr.* Tetard *Minister of* Blois, *who is often mention'd in the Synods of* France, *at the time of the Disputes of* Saumur, *about Universal Grace.*

(i) *See Mr.* de Beauval, ib. *and the Universal Bibliotheque*, tom. 20. p. 328. *Mr.* Beughem *Bibliographiæ Consp.* 2. p. 192. *is mistaken, when he says, the Translation mention'd in* Bibloth. Univers. ib. *is Mr.* Amelot's.

(k) *See the Epistle Dedicatory of* the Prince, *and that of the Discourses on* Livy, *Translated by* Gohory.

(l) *Sagredo*, Historical Memoirs of the Ottoman Empire. *This Book was Printed at* Venice *in* 1673.

ment θ is made of his (I) History of *Florence*. You will find hereafter some Stories (IΔ) concerning his Impiety. There are some that say ∫ he serv'd *Cæsar Borgia* as his Favourite-Counseller β; and perhaps he was employ'd for him in *France*, when he had at *Nants* that Conversation with the Cardinal of *Rouen*, which he mentions in the 3d Chapter of his *Prince*.

θ Jovius, as above, p. 205.

∫ Bosius de Compar. Prud. Civ. n. 42.

β Conring. Præfat. Principis Machiavelli.

Those who say, that in that Work he design'd to represent (K) *Charles V.* [illegible] him grossly. 'Tis said, It was a Book that *Catherine de Medicis* made her peculiar Study, (L) and that she put it into the hands of her Children: Those who make this Observation, join with it many Words of Reproach both to this Queen and to *Nicolas Machiavel*. There are very few Authors who speak of him * without curs[illegible] his Memory. Some excuse him, and set up † for his Defenders; and there are also some who look upon him

* *See* Clasen *in th.* 9. *of his Treatise of* Politick Religion, *pag.* 162. *edit.* 1682.

† *See the Remarks D & E.*

a few words: *Machiavellus*, says he (m), *plane multa commiscitur in vita Castrucii: nempe quia is hostis fuisset Reipublicæ Florentinæ. Paulus Jovius* complains briskly of the Fraud of *Machiavel*, in his Elogium of *Nicolas Tegrimus* a Lawyer and Historian of *Lucca*, who described very exactly the Actions of *Castracani*. (n) *Sed Machiavellus Florentinus Historicus, patrii veteris odii memor, petulanti malignitate, non interituram memorabilis Ducis famam fabulis involvit, quum vitam acerrimi hostis Etrusco sermone scribere orsus, tam impudenti, quàm astuto illudendi genere, sacrosanctam rerum gesturum fidem corruperit.*

(m) Vossius de Arte Histor. c. 10. p. 56.

(n) Jovius Elog. cap. 141. p. m. 283.

(I) *Of his History of* Florence.] I have already (o) mention'd this Work; and I add, That *Jerom Turlerus* a *German* Lawyer, Printed the First Book of it, in 1564. He rendred it into Latin: And because *Machiavel*, in the First Part of that Work, explain'd the Revolutions of the *Roman* Empire, by the Irruptions of the Barbarous Nations, the Translator takes an Occasion to Write an Epistle Dedicatory, stuff'd with Astrological and Numerical Mysteries, which make the *Mahometan* Religion to cease at the end of an Hundred Years, and points out the Time (p) of the End of the World. *Lazarus Zetznerus* a Bookseller of *Strasburg*, seeing that the *Latin* Version of the First Book sold well, and was often Reprinted, caus'd the rest to be done into the same Language, and Publish'd the whole History, with the Life of *Castracani*. The Edition that I use was in 1610. in 8vo.

(o) *In the Remark D.*

(p) Centro excentrici ad alterum terminum mediocrem pervenientes, speranus ad-fururum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, nam hoc loco circa creationem mundi fuit.

James Gohory says, "That this History of *Florence* "(q) was Written in such Perfection, that the deceased *Milles Perrot*, Treasurer, my near Kinsman, "(the most learned Person of his Time in this "Kingdom in divers Languages and Sciences) "having noted it more carefully with his own "Hand, than his *Livy* and *C. Tacitus*, told me, That "it was so fitted to the Humour of our Times, "that he esteem'd the reading of it more profitable, than of the great ancient Historians, so "different from our present Manners, Fashions "and Customs.

(q) Gohory *Epist. Dedicat. of the Discourses upon* Livy.

(IΔ) *Some Stories concerning his Impiety.*] If I should relate all those which are publish'd about it, I should have a large Field. Here follows one of those Stories: (a) "One comes to that detestable Point of Honour, as *Machiavel* did "when he drew near the time of his Death; for "he had this Illusion a little before he gave up "the Ghost: He saw a Company of poor People "like Beggars, tatter'd, half-starv'd, deform'd, "as being much disorder'd, and the Number was "but small: And it was told him, That those "belong'd to Paradise, of whom it was written, "*Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* When these retir'd, there appear'd an "innumerable Company of Persons full of Gravity "and Majesty; they look'd like a Senate, where "State-Affairs and very serious Matters were "treated of: There was an Interview of *Plato*, "*Seneca*, *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, and others of the same "Condition: He ask'd who these venerable Gentlemen were? and he was told, That they "were the Damn'd, and the Souls reprobated by "Heaven; for, *the wisdom of the world is enmity "with God.* This Vision being ended, he was "ask'd, which of these Companies he would be "of? He answer'd, That he would rather be in "Hell with these great Wits, to Consult with them "about State-Affairs, than be with this Vermin of "Beggars that had been shewn him. And presently "he died, and went to see how the State-Affairs "went in the other World." *Spizelius* (b) relates the same Story in Substance. There are some that tell this Story another way: They pretend that *Machiavel* said, in one of his Works, "That he "had rather be sent to Hell after his Death, "than go to Paradise; for, added he, I shall "find none in Paradise but Beggars and poor "Monks and Hermits, and Apostles; but in "Hell I shall live with Popes and Cardinals, and "with Kings and Princes. *Francis Hotman* (c) testifies, that this may be read in the Commentaries of *Wolfius*, upon the *Quæstiones Tusculanæ* of *Cicero*, and he is very sorry, that, notwithstanding these Blasphemies, and many others, an Impression of *Machiavel's* Works, Translated by a Professor call'd *Stupanus*, should be allow'd at *Basil*. He observes, That *Perna*, who had been many times Imprison'd by Order of the Magistrates, for having Printed divers impious and execrable Books, Printed this Translation. *Hotman* makes this, and some other curious Things, in a Letter dated *December* 25. 1580.

(a) Binet, *of the Salvation of* Origen, p. 359, &c.

(b) Spizelius in Scrutinio Atheismi Historico Ætiologico, *pag. m.* 132. *He cites* Jac. Marchant in Hort. Pastor. *tract.* 1. *lect.* 6. *propos.* 2.

(c) Franc. Hotoman. Epist. 99. p. 139.

(K) *He design'd to represent* Charles *V. abuse him grossly.* I am astonish'd that *James Gohory* has publish'd this Fancy. "*Machiavel*, says he (d), wrote "a Book of a *Prince*, in which he describes particularly all the Offices of a Lord that aspires to "Monarchy, and secretly represents *Charles* V. "then Reigning, as he declares in one Passage of "it." How came he to be ignorant, that this Book was Written, before it was known whether *Charles* V. should acquire a great Reputation? Had he not read in the 21st Chapter, that *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* was alive when *Machiavel* wrote this Book? Had he not read in (e) another Place, that the Author speaks of the Emperor *Maximilian*, as a Prince then alive? Did he not know that that Emperor Died in *January*, 1519. three Years after *Ferdinand*, and that then his Grand-child *Charles* V. was not full Nineteen Years old?

(d) Gohory, *in the Life of Machiavel, before his Translation of the Treatise of the Prince.*

(e) [illegible] chap. 23.

(L) *That* Catherine de Medicis *made it her peculiar Study, and put it into the hands of her Children.*] The Author of the *Alarm against Massacres*, (f) observes, That *Charles* IX. had been very ill Educated, and that he was kept in ignorance of these Lessons in Scripture, (g) "That *a King, who is set "over the People of God, ought not to lift up his heart "above his brethren, but should diligently observe the Law "of the Lord, and read and meditate on it all the days of "his life* ——— (g) "On the contrary, the Queen "caus'd her Children to be instructed in those "Precepts that were more proper for a Tyrant "than a Vertuous King, and to be taught not "only the foolish Fancies of *Perceforest*, but chiefly "to study the Maxims of this Atheist *Machiavel*, "whose Design was rather to teach a Prince how "to make himself fear'd than belov'd, and to "Reign in Grandeur, rather than to Reign Well. "And indeed this Book may very well be call'd "the Gospel of the Queen-Mother; for tho' she "cloak'd her self with the Religion commonly "receiv'd, yet it appears by her Actions, that she "car'd for it no further than was necessary for "her own Defence. And so her chief Counseller "*Morviliers* had always this brave and Christian "Book in his Hand, to read a Lesson out of it "to his Mistress, and never forsook it, no more "than *Alexander* did his *Homer*. In short, 'tis probable, that this Institution of [illegible] was "taken in part from hence; and [illegible] Queen "drew hence her principal Arti[illegible] persuade "the King, that, notwithstanding all the Promises "of Peace and Friendship, and the Ties of Con[illegible]unity, he might take a furious Revenge of "[illegible] whom he esteem'd his Enemies, by "[illegible] hold of any slight Suspicion, [illegible] that "[illegible] be call'd a Suspicion, which a C[illegible]ny is "forg'd at pleasure) for a sufficient Proof." *Davila* relates, That *Corbinelli* re[illegible] *the Prince* and the Discourses of *Machi*[illegible]ke of *Anjou*, who was afterward[illegible] Third.

(f) *Alarm against Massacres*, p. 53.

(g) Deut. 17. 19, 20.

(g) *Alarm*, p. 54.

him as a Writer of great Zeal for the Publick Good (*M*), and think that he repreſented the Arts of Policy, for no other End but to inſpire Men with Horrour againſt Tyrants, and to excite all People to maintain their Liberty. If any Queſtion ſhould be made, what was his true Motive; it ought at leaſt to be acknowledg'd, that he ſhow'd himſelf, in his Co[illegible] (*N*) inſpired with a Republican Spirit. One of the lateſt of his Antagoniſts is [illegible]er *Lucchefivi* an *Italian* Jeſuit, a Conſultor to the Congregation of Rites. See his † [illegible]io della Sciochezza di Nicolo Macchiavelli, Printed at *Rome* in 1697. The Author of [illegible] Appendix to the Treatiſe *de Literatorum Infelicitate*, has plac'd *Machiavel* in his * Cat[illegible]e, and was not to blame for it, for this *Florentine* was perſecuted with bad Fortune [illegible]ell as others.

† *See the Journal of* Leipſick, 1698. *p.* 352. *which has given us an Abſtract of it.*

* *See* Cornel. Tollius in Append. ad Pierium Valerianum, *p.* 20, 21.

MACON, a City of *France* upon the *Saone*, in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. *Cæſar* [a] mentions it, and calls it *Matiſco*. The Tables of *Peutinger* and the Itinerary of *Æthicus* mention it alſo; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* ſay nothing of it. About 500 Years ago, by an ordinary tranſpoſition of letters, *Matiſco* was chang'd into *Maſtico*, from whence came the Name *Maſcon*, which is now pronounc'd *Macon* [γ]. This City was treated cruelly, by the Tumults which the Wars about Religion produc'd in *France* in the Sixteenth Century. The Reformed ſet up there [δ] a Church in 1560, and they multiplied there ſo faſt, that they eaſily made themſelves Maſters of the City [ε], when the Maſſacre at *Waſſi* oblig'd them to look after their own Safety. It was about the beginning of *May*, 1562. that they made themſelves Maſters of it, without much Violence or effuſion of Blood. About three Days after, they heard, that the Images were broken down in the City of *Lyons*, and it was impoſſible for the Miniſters and Elders of the City to hinder the Common People from doing the like there, and from that time the Exerciſe of the *Roman* Religion was ſuppreſs'd there. *Tavanes* endeavour'd many times to retake this C[illegible] without ſucceſs; but at laſt, having got ſecret Intelligence, he ſurpriz'd it [ζ], *A*[illegible]. 1562. He made himſelf Maſter of it, after ſome hot Skirmiſhes

[a] De Bel. Gal. *l.* 7.

[γ] Hadr. Valeſius notit. Gal. *p.* 322, 323.

[δ] Bez. Hiſt. Eccleſ. *l.* 3. *p.* 214.

[ε] *Id. l.* 15. *p.* 407.

[ζ] *Ibid. p.* 422.

(*M*) *Who look upon him as a Writer of great Zeal for the Publick Good.*] This ſavours a little of a Paradox, and therefore we muſt ſet down at ſome length, the very Words of a famous Civilian, who judg'd ſo advantageouſly of *Machiavel*'s Deſign: To which I ſhall ſubjoin a kind of a Preface borrow'd from another learned Man, that ſo at once I may produce two conſiderable Witneſſes, *Albericus Gentilis*, and *Chriſtopher-Adam Rupert*. (*i*) *Ego vero non poſſum hic præterire, qui cane pejus & angue odiſſe* [illegible] *conceptas de autoribus opiniones, accuratiſſimi illi* [illegible]*diguiſſimi cenſoris judicium*, l. 3. de Legationib. [illegible]. *ubi legatum ſuum ex Philoſophia inſtruens. Nec* [illegible]*ro*, inquit, *in negotio iſto vereor omnium præſtantiſſimum dicere, & ad imitandum proponere Machiavellum, ejuſque plane aureas in Livium obſervationes. Quod* [illegible]*unque hominem indoctiſſimum eſſe volunt & ſceleſtiſſimum, id nihil ad me, qui prudentiam ejus ſingularem laudo, nec impietatem ac improbitatem, ſi qua eſt, tueor. Quanquam ſi librum editum adverſus illum conſidero, ſi Machiavelli conditionem reſpicio, ſi propoſitum ſcribendi ſuum rectè cenſeo, ſi etiam* [illegible]*ioni interpretatione volo dicta ipſius adjuvare, non* [illegible]*idem video cur & iis criminibus mortui hominis* [illegible] *liberari non poſſit. Qui in illum ſcripſit* (intelligit *Innocentium Gentilletum* Ictum Delphinenſem) *illum nec intellexit, nec non in multis calumniatus eſt, & talis omninò eſt qualis, qui miſeratione dignißimus ſit. Machiavellus Democratiæ laudator & aſſertor acerrimus: natus, educatus, honoratus in eo Reip. ſtatu; Tyrannidis ſumme inimicus. Itaque Tyranno non favet; ſui propoſiti non eſt Tyrannum inſtruere, ſed arcanis ejus palàm factis ipſum miſeris populis nudum & conſpicuum exhibere. An enim tales, quales ipſe deſcribit principes, fuiſſe plurimos ignoramus? Eccur iſtiuſmodi principibus moleſtum eſt, vivere hominis operâ, & in luce haberi. Hoc fuit viri omnium præſtantiſſimi conſilium, ut ſub ſpecie principalis eruditionis populos erudiret.* Hæc *Albericus Gentilis*. Let us lengthen out a little the Paſſage; for it ſeems to me, that *Rupert* has ſuppreſs'd one part of it, which deſerves to be known, which is as follows: (*k*) *Et eam ſpeciem prætexuit, ut ſpes eſſet cur ferretur ab his qui rerum gubernacula tenent, quaſi ipſorum educator, ac pad*[illegible] *Cæterùm hæc diſceptatio ulterius haud ducitur* [illegible] *favere ſcriptoribus volumus, multa & in hoc* [illegible]*undabimus: aut illa ſaltem feremus in eo, quæ* [illegible]*Platone ferimus, & Ariſtotele, aliiſque, qui non diſſimilia commiſere peccata. Feremus autem, qui meliora deterioribus longe plurima & is habet.* There are two things to be conſider'd in this laſt [illegible] of the Paſſage of *Albericus Gentilis*. 1. He [illegible], that *Machiavel* took this Courſe for inſtructing the People, that Princes might permit his Book to be Sold; which they would not have done, if they ha[illegible]ſider'd him as their Pedagogue, but a[illegible]r Liberty. 2. That this ought [illegible]*iavel*, which was excuſed [illegible]erve, that *Leonclavius* was very far from the Opinion of *Albericus Gentilis*. See the Epiſt. Ded. (*l*) which he prefix'd to the *Diſcourſes of Princes*, written by *Beliſarius Aquaviva*.

(*i*) Chriſtoph. Adamus Rupertus Differt. ad Valer. Maxim. *l.* 1. *c.* 2, 3. *p.* 50.

(*k*) Alberic. Gentilis de Legationibus, *l.* 3. *c.* 9.

(*l*) Keckerman alleges *what is contain'd in it to the diſadvantage of* Machiavel. *See Mr.* Crenius Method. Stud. *part* 2. *p.* 194.

(*N*) *He ſhow'd himſelf, in his Conduct, inſpir'd with a Republican Spirit.*] Mr. *Amelot de la Houſſaie* ſhall be my Commentator. (*a*) "I muſt ſay, that *Machiavel*, who paſs'd every-where for a Teacher "of Tyranny, deteſted it more than any Man of "his time, as may eaſily appear by the 10th Chap-"ter of the 1ſt Book of his Diſcourſes, where he "diſcourſeth very briskly againſt Tyrants. And "*Nardi* (1) his Cotemporary ſays, he made Pane-"gyricks upon Liberty, and upon Cardinal *Julius* "*de Medicis*, who, after the Death of *Leo* X. pre-"tended he would reſtore it to his own Country; "and that he was ſuſpected to be an Accomplice in "the Conſpiracy of *Jacopo da Diacetto*, *Zanobi Buon-*"*delmonti*, *Luigi Alamanus*, and *Coſimo Rucellai*, "againſt this Cardinal, upon the account of the "cloſe Correſpondence he had with them and other "Libertines. (So the Partizans of the *Medicis* (2) "call'd thoſe who would maintain the Liberty of "*Florence*) and probably this Suſpicion depriv'd "him of a Reward for his Hiſtory of *Florence*, "which he wrote by the Command of the ſame "Cardinal, as he obſerves at the very beg[illegible]ning "of his Epiſtle Dedicatory.

(*a*) Amelot. de la Houſſaie *in his Preface to the Tranſlation of the* Prince, *towards the end.*

(*O*) *He was perſecuted with bad fortune as well as others.*] If I ſet down a longer Paſſage of *James Gohory* than my Deſign ſeems to require, it is to obſerve in him a very groſs Miſtake. (*b*) "Thus "he was neither greatly ſupported, nor enrich'd "by the Princes and Lords of his Time, ſuch as "Pope *Clement* VII. to whom he Dedicated his "Hiſtory of *Florence*; nor by the Noble *Laurence* "*de Medicis*, to whom he ſent his *Prince*, who "reſtor'd the Golden Age of Learning in *Italy*, "being the Patron and Defender of all Learned "Men, ſuch as *Marſilius Ficinus*, who Dedicated "to him his Tranſlations and Commentaries "upon *Plato*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Hieronymus Dona-*"*tus*, and many others, whoſe Epiſtles may be "ſeen in the Collection, entituled, *Epiſtolæ Viro-*"*rum Illuſtrium*. *Machiavel* complains of it to him, "imploring tacitly his Aſſiſtance in the Dedi-"cation of his *Prince*, in theſe Terms: *Et ſe* "*voſtra magnificenza d'all'apice della ſua altezza*, "*qualche volta volgera gli occhi in queſti luoghi baſſi*, "*cognoſcera quanto indignamente io ſopporti una grande* "*& continoua malignità di fortuna.*" Theſe words in *Italick* were thus tranſlated by Mr. *Amelot*: "And if you will look down ſome-"times from the high Station in which you are "plac'd, you may perceive how wrongfully I "ſuffer ſo great and ſo long a Perſecution of "Fortune." The groſs Error of *Gohory* was this, that he believ'd *Laurence de Medicis* the Patron of *Poliſian*,

(1) Hiſt. Flor. *l.* 3.

(2) *Ibid.*

(*b*) Gohory *in the Life of* Machiavel.

miſhes which he had with the Inhabitants in the Streets. Then (A) all ſorts of Rob-beries and Barbarities were committed, and the (B) Cruelties * of *Macon*, which I promis'd elſewhere † to diſcourſe of here. I will now perform my Promiſe; and at the ſame time it will appear why I mention theſe terrible Tumults in divers Places of this

* *Call'd Sauteries, becauſe the Reform'd were forc'd to leap into the River Saone.*

† *In the Remark C. of the Artic.* Beaumont.

Politian, &c. was the ſame *Lawrence* to whom *Machiavel* Dedicated his *Prince*; whereas this laſt *Lawrence* was the Grand-ſon of the other.

(A) *All ſorts of Robberies.*] After the Houſes of the Reform'd had been "ſo well gutted (c) that "there ſeem'd to be nothing left in them, Madam "*de Tavanes* knew ſo well how to diſcover the "hidden Treaſures in her cunning way, that for "her Part of the Spoil, ſhe had about 180 Trunks "full of it; beſides the Yarn Stuffs, all ſorts of "Linen, as Bed-Cloaths, Table-Cloths and Napkins, "wherewith *Macon* was reputed to be better fur-"niſh'd than any other City in *France*. As to the "Ranſoms, Rings, Utenſils, and other Trinkets; "the Value is not known, but only ſo far, that "thoſe who had the Management of ſuch Affairs, "ſaid to their Friends, That *Tavanes* got there, as "much as would have purchas'd 10000 Livres a "Year." After this it is not to be wondered, that the great Lords fomented the Diviſions, and encreas'd, as much as they could, the Flames of Perſecution; for it was their time of getting Money, and how-ever bitter to others, very gainful to them.

(c) Bez. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. *lib.* 15. *p.* 429.

(d) Bez. *ib. p.* 429.

(e) *He had ſaid*, pag. 424. *That the Whores of the Prieſts, who had been driven away before, return'd the ſame day it was taken, and ſerv'd theſe cruel Men to ſhew them the Houſes of the Reform'd, and chiefly of thoſe who had driven them away.*

(B) *The Cruelties of* Macon.] I ſhall uſe the very Words of the Hiſtorian, quoted in the preceding Remark. (d) "The Exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Reli-"gion was preſently reſtor'd there, and the "Prieſts and Monks return'd to their former "State, together with (e) the brothel Houſes. "To compleat all the Misfortunes, *St. Poinct* (f) "(a Man of a Sanguinary and cruel Temper, "whoſe Mother had declar'd in open Court to "clear her Conſcience, that he was the Son of a "Prieſt whom ſhe nam'd) was left by *Tavanes*, "Governour of the City, who for his Paſtime, af-"ter he had feaſted the Ladies, was us'd to ask "whether the Farce, which was call'd the Farce "of *St. Poinct*, was ready to be acted. This was, "as it were, the Watch Word, by which his Peo-"ple were wont to bring out of Priſon One or "Two Priſoners, and ſometimes more, whom "they carry'd to the Bridge of the *Soane*; and "when they had appear'd there with their Wives, "after he had ask'd them ſome pretty and pleaſant "Queſtions, he caus'd them to be thrown down "headlong and drown'd in the River. It was al-"ſo an uſual Thing to give falſe Alarms, and "upon that Pretence to drown or ſhoot ſome Pri-"ſoner, or any other whom he could catch of the "reform'd Religion, charging them with a De-"ſign to betray the City." He was kill'd by one *Achon*, with whom he quarrel'd, as he was return-ing *from his Houſe near the City, whither he had car-ried about* 20000 *Crowns of Pillage*. It was a little after the Pacification of the Month of *March*, 1563. *D'Aubigne* (g) admirably deſcribes the Bar-barity of the Man, under the Picture of a School, wherein, during the laſt Service at Table, while the Fruit and Sweet-meats are eating, the young Men and Maids were taught to ſee the *Huguenots* put to Death without Pity. He ſays elſewhere, (h) *That St.* Pont *made himſelf merry at the execution of his Cruelties, and that when his Gueſts departed from the Feaſts he had made them, he entertain'd the Ladies with the pleaſure of ſeeing ſome part of a Bridge blown down.* The Conduct of this Governour was much more cruel than that of *Livius Flaminius*, who (i) gave Order, during the time of Dinner, that a Criminal ſhould be put to Death in his preſence, to pleaſe the Object of his infamous Amours, who had never ſeen any Perſon kill'd. But on the other ſide, the Conduct of theſe Ladies was much more to be blam'd, than that of the Veſtals, whom a (k) Chriſtian Poet has ſo much cenſur'd, for the pleaſure they took in ſeeing the Gladiators kill'd. I doubt not but St. *Poinct* alledg'd in his excuſe, the drowning of the Soldiers (a) of *Montbriſon* by *Des Adrets*; as the latter excus'd himſelf, on the Cruelties that were exercis'd at *Orange*. And thus you ſee how one bad Example draws on ano-ther, almoſt without end: *Abyſſus abyſſum invocat.* Wherefore the greateſt fault is in thoſe who begin; they ſhould be puniſhed for all the Crimes which follow theirs. *D'Aubigne* had not well conſulted the Dates, when he ſays, (b) That the Baron *des Adrets*, being offended with the Sacking of *Orange*, and the throwing Men headlong at *Macon*, march'd to *Pierrelate*, made himſelf Maſter of many Cities, and at laſt came to *Montbriſon*. For it appears by *Theodorus Beza*, (c) that *Pierrelate* and other Cities had been ſubdu'd by *des Adrets* before the 26th of *June*, and that the Soldiers of *Montbriſon* were thrown headlong (d) the 16th of *July*, and that *Macon* was taken by (e) *Tavanes* the 19th of *Auguſt*.

(c) *Lib.* 12. *p.* 265, 269.

(d) *P.* 229.

(e) *P.* 422.

(f) Ma-ſcardi's Diſcourſe upon Hi-ſtory.

(C) *Why I mention theſe terrible Tumults.*] For the Honour of the *French* Nation, and of Chriſtianity, it were to be wiſh'd that the Memory of theſe Inhumanities had been utterly aboliſh'd, and that all the Books which mention them had been thrown into the Fire. Thoſe who ſeem to find fault with Hiſtories, becauſe (f) ſay they, they ſerve only to teach the Readers all ſorts of Crimes, have certainly much reaſon to ſay ſo, with reſpect to the Hiſtory of Religious Wars: For it appears extremely proper to nouriſh in the Minds of Men an irreconcilable Hatred. It aſtoniſhes me to ſee that the *French* of different Religions, have liv'd, ſince the Edicts, in ſo much Brotherly Love, though they had continually in their hands the Hiſtories of our Civil Wars, where they meet with nothing but Sacking of Towns, Profanation of Holy Things, Maſ-ſacres, Overturning of Altars, Aſſaſſinations, Per-juries, and furious Actions. This good Cor-reſpondence had been leſs worthy of Admira-tion, if all private Perſons had been ignorant of the Stories which each Party object to one ano-ther. May it not therefore be ſaid to me, That I ſeem to have a deſign to revive the Paſſions of Men, and to maintain the Fire of Hatred, by ſpreading every-where in my Work the cruelleſt Actions that the Hiſtory of the XVIth Age men-tions? An Age abominable, and, in Compariſon of which, the preſent Generation might paſs for the Golden Age, altho' it be much a Stranger to true Vertue. 'Tis fit that I ſhould ſatisfie this Ob-jection. I ſay then, That I am ſo far from having any Deſign to excite in the breaſts of my Readers theſe Storms of Wrath, that I ſhould willingly agree, that this ſort of Events ſhould never be remembred, provided that by this means every one would learn better things, and do his Duty better, without indulging his Paſſions. But I ought not to forget, that as every thing has two Han-dles, ſo it were to be wiſh'd, for three Reaſons, that the Memory of theſe terrible Tumults were carefully preſerv'd: Three ſorts of Perſons ought to view them every day, and conſider them well. Thoſe that Govern, ſhould employ a Page every Morning, to tell them, *Torment no Body for his Opinions in Religion, and never draw the Sword againſt Conſcience. See what* Charles *IX. and his Succeſſor have got by it, 'tis a Miracle indeed, that the* French *Monarchy was not deſtroy'd by the Catholick Religion. Such Miracles do not happen every day; do not truſt to them. Some would not ſuffer the Edict of* January *to remain; and after more than thirty Years Deſolation, and a Tor-rent of Blood, and many Thouſand Perjuries and Con-flagrations, another more favourable was granted to them.* Thoſe who Govern Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, are the Second ſort of People who ought to remember well the XVIth Century. When they hear any ſpeak of *Toleration*, they fancy they hear a moſt frightful and monſtrous Opinion; and to engage the Secular Power to juſtifie their Paſſions, they cry, That this is to de-prive the Magiſtrates of the beſt Flower of the Crown, if they are not allowed at leaſt to impriſon and baniſh Hereticks. But if they would duly conſider what is to be fear'd from a War for Religion, they would be more Mode-rate. *You will not* (may one ſay) *that this Sect ſhould Pray to God in its own Way, nor Preach its Opi-nions; but take heed, if you come to an open War, leſt, inſtead of Speaking or Writing againſt your Opinion, they overturn your Temples, and endanger your own Perſons. What have you gain'd in* [illegible] *Holland, by adviſing Perſecution? That ſide is the great Numbers. Your Sovereigns have Neighbours, and conſequently*

WHO thoſe are that ought carefully to conſider the Miſ-chiefs which are pro-duced by Civil Wars, for Religion.

(a) *See the Article* Beaumont, *Remark* C.

(b) *Tome* 1. *p.* 224.

this Work. The Memory of these Cruelties † have been render'd more immortal than those of the Isle of *Caprea* (*D*).

† *In the Remark C. of the Article* Beaumont.

MACRIN (*Salmon*) one of the best Latin Poets of the 16th Century, was of *Loudun*. What *Thuanus* has said of him, and Mr. *Teissier* in his Additions, is in every Body's hands since the Edition of *Utrecht*: Thither therefore I referr my Reader, and shall only take notice of one thing very singular (*A*), but a little doubtful, which Mr. *Varillas* had learned of Mr. *Bouillaud*. 'Tis said that *Macrin* (*B*) is not the Name of the Family of our Poet.

MACRO (*Nævius Sertorius*) purchas'd a great Authority under the Empire of *Tiberius*. He was one of the Chief Instruments of the Ruine of *Sejanus*, and was his Successor in the Office of Captain of the Guards ‡. He was excellent for Contrivance, and chiefly when he design'd (*A*) to destroy an Enemy. He refused the Honours which were decree'd him by the Senate after the Death of *Sejanus* *, and I think that

‡ *Dio* 58. *m.* 718.

* *Id. ib. p.* 722.

(*g*) Illi robur & æs triplex Circa pectus erat qui fragilem truci Commisit pelago ratem Primus, nec timuit præcipitem Africum Decertantem Aquilonibus, Nec tristeis Hyadas, nec rabiem Noti. . . . . Quem mortis timuit gradum, Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia, Qui vidit mare turgidum & Infameis scopulos Acroceraunia? *Horat. Od.* 3. *lib.* 1.

(*h*) *'Tis probable that the* French *and* Spaniards *would not have shed so much Blood of the Protestants, if they had not been enrag'd by the overthrowing of their Altars, Images, Reliques*, &c.

(*i*) Suetonius *in* Tiberio, *c* 62.

(*k*) *That's to say* Marot.

consequently your Sectaries will not want Protectors and Assistants, tho' they were Turks. In fine, let these turbulent Divines, who take so much Pleasure in Innovations, continually view the Religious Wars of the 16th Century. The Reformers were the innocent Cause of them, for, according to their Principles, there was no Medium. They must either suffer the Papists to be damned eternally, or convert them to Protestantism. But that People who are perswaded that an Error does not damn at all, should have no regard to Possession, and had rather disturb the Publick Peace, than suppress their own private Opinions, is a Thing that cannot be too much detested. Let them consider the Consequences of their Novelties, and then if they can go about such a Thing without an absolute necessity, they must have the Soul of a Tyger; a more brazen Heart than he, who first ventured his Life in a Ship (*g*). There is no probability, that any Party should arise among the Protestants, to reform their Religion after the same Manner as they reform'd the *Romish* Church; i. e. upon such a foot, that if they will not reform Religion, it must necessarily follow, they will be damned: And so the Disorders that might be fear'd from any innovating Party, would be less terrible than those of the last Century; the Animosities would be less violent than at that time, especially, since none of the Parties could destroy any sensible Object of Superstition in the other; there would be no Topical Deities, nor Tutelar Saints, to be broken, or trampled upon; no Reliques to be thrown away, no Pixes or Altars to be overturn'd. (*h*) There might therefore be some differences between Protestant and Protestant, without fearing all the Outrages that appear'd in the Quarrels between Protestant and Catholick; but still the Mischief would be so deadly, as to deserve our Endeavours to prevent it, by representing to those who are too much addicted to Disputes, the horrible confusions they have produc'd, and that the most fatal Intolerance does not proceed from Sovereigns, who use the Right of the Sword, against Sectaries, but from those private Doctors who, without a very urgent Necessity, rise up against those Errors which have been by care and custom protected, and who obstinately fight against them, at the same time they see all actually in Flames.

(*D*) *Of the Isle of* Caprea.] And yet a famous Historian has inserted them in his Work; and the Place was shown as one of the Curiosities of the Isle. (*i*) *Carnificinæ ejus* (Tiberii) *ostenditur locus Capreis, unde damnatos post longa & exquisita tormenta præcipitari coram se in mare jubebat, excipiente classiariorum manu & cautis atque remis elidente cadavera, ne cui reliqui spiritus quidquam inesset.* But in short I do not believe that the Ancients are to be compar'd with the Moderns, in transferring the same things from one Book to another, and so the Cruelties of *Nero* are to be read in more Places, and have more Monuments for Pledges of their Immortality than those of the Emperor *Tiberius*. It was not for the Credit of those who made use of such a Punishment in the 16th Century, that they should follow the Steps of such a Tyrant. Some perhaps in reading this may remember the Remarks upon the Article *Leucate*.

(*A*) *A Thing very singular, but a little doubtful which Mr.* Varillas.] "His (*k*) great Friend of *Loudun*, who had chang'd his Name from *Mitron* to "*Macrin*, Valet de Chambre to the King, a Latin "Poet, and great Imitator of *Catullus*, as well as "he was, [illegible] unhappy. He was accus'd before the King of being of the new Religion, "and the King threaten'd to hang him, if he was "convicted of it. 'Tis not certain whether he "was guilty or no, but this may be said, that al-"most all the finest Wits inclin'd then to *Calvi-*"*nism*. His Majesty's Menace did so terrify *Ma-*"*crin*, that he went out of the Louvre, and seeing "at a distance, a Crane, an Instrument which "Wine-Coopers make use of to let down Hog-"sheads of Wine into Cellars, he took it for a "Gibbet, and so went mad and drown'd himself "in the next Pond he met with (*a*). The Autho-rity of Mr. *Bouillaud*, a Native of *Macon* as well as *Macrin*, and one of the Men that had the great-est Memory, and knew the best the History of Learned Men, gives a great weight to this Story, especially, if we suppose that Mr. *Varillas* writ down immediately what he had heard from him. On the other side, when I consider that *Scevole de Sainte Marthe*, a Native of *Loudun*, and nearer to that time than Mr. *Bouillaud*, affirms that *Salmon Macrin* died of old Age at *Loudun*, whither he retir'd a long while before; (*b*) 'tis not easy to believe the Account of *Varillas*; for who can believe that so tragical an Accident should remain unknown to all the Authors who have writ of *Macrin*, such as *Scevole de Sainte Marthe* his Countryman, who search'd for Memorials in all Parts, and *Thuanus* (*c*) who search'd no less? Let us therefore place this among those things which require a further Enquiry, since the best Authors are not only silent about it, but also give us a Narrative, inconsistent with it.

(*a*) Varillas *Hist. of Heresy Tom.* 5. *B.* 21. *p. m.* 50, 51. *he puts in the Margin, I learn'd these Particulars from the learned Mr.* Bouillaud.

(*b*) Vitæ cœlibis pariter & aulicæ pertæsus, uxorem duxit, ejusque mortua . . . . . amque suis & amicorum versibus . . . commendavit, susceptis ex ea utrisque sexus liberis, domui suæ senio plane confectus occidisset. *Summarthanus in elog. lib.* 1. *p. m.* 21. 22.

(*B*) Macrin *was not the Name of the Family of our Poet.*] We have already seen that according to Mr. *Varillas*, *he chang'd his Name of* Mitron *into that of* Macrin; but according to Mr. *Baillet*, (*d*) he was called John Salmon, *and for his Leanness he was often call'd in jest* Macrinus *by King* Francis *the First*; so that *seeing that his Name* John *did not please his Wife, he laid it aside, and call'd himself always* Salmonius Macrinus.

This is found in the Bibliotheque of *Vau-privas*, and after such a manner as more plainly denotes the Reason why our *Macrin*, having regard to his Wife, chang'd his Name: "John Salmon, *leaving off his proper Name, which happened to be troublesom to him upon the Account of his Wife, took for a proper Name*, Salmon, *&c.*

(*d*) *Judgments on the Poets, To.* 3. *n.* 1293. *pag.* 258.

(*A*) *When he design'd to destroy an Enemy.*] The hatred of *Macro* was very terrible: *Mamercus Scaurus* had a sad Experience of it. He was a Man of a bad Life, but Illustrious for his Birth, and a great Orator. *Macro* attack'd him upon Pretence, that he had written some Verses in a Tragedy which might concern the Conduct of *Tiberius*. Others accus'd him of Magick and Adultery. He prevented his Condemnation by killing himself, and was encourag'd to do it by his Spouse, who also kill'd her self. Read the Words of *Tacitus*. (*f*) *Mamercus dein Scaurus rursum postulatur, insignis nobilitate & grandis caussis, vitâ probrosus, nihil hunc amicitia Sejani, sed labefecit haud minus validum ad exitia Macronis odium, qui easdem artes occultiùs exercebat: detuleratque argumentum Tragœdiæ à Scauro scriptæ, additis versibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur. Verum ab Servilio & Cornelio accusatoribus, adulterium Livia, Sexti uxore: quæ incitamentum mortis, & par-ticeps fuit. Dio* furnishes us with some Circumstances, which give a light to what concerns the Tragedy wherewith the Emperor was offended. The Title of it was *Atreus*, and it contain'd the Words of *Euripides*, which advis'd a Subject (*g*)

(*c*) *Thuan. lib.* 19 *sub fin. ad ann.* 1557.

(*e*) Du Verdier, *p.* 754.

(*f*) Tacit. *Annal. l.* 6. *c.* 20. *ad ann.* 787.

that Policy had a greater Share in this Refuſal than Modeſty. He took upon him an odious Commiſſion in the Proceſſes which the Delators brought againſt the People; for he preſided when they were put to the Torture in order to diſcover thoſe that were guilty, and to get Witneſſes. After this, the Proofs which he had collected this way, were ſent to the Senate, and the Accuſations of the Delators, ſo that there was nothing left to the Aſſembly, but only the Care of pronouncing the Sentence [a]. It happen'd ſome times that none of the accus'd were abſolv'd; nay, [illegible] were even condemn'd without knowing either by the Letters of *Tiberius*, or the [illegible]ificates of *Macro*, about the Depoſitions of the Tortur'd, wherein co[illegible]d their Crime; and no other Rule was obſerv'd, but what ſeem'd to be a[illegible]ble to the Deſires of the Emperor and of his Captain of the Guards [b]. Every [illegible]y ſaw that *Macro*, uſing ſuch a Conduct, ſtood in need of the Life of the Emperor *Tiberius*, for he had cauſe to fear the worſt Things under a change of Government. This he was very ſenſible of, and hence it came to paſs, that aſſoon as he reflected upon the Age and Infirmities of the Emperor, he labour'd all he could to gain the good Grace of him who was to ſucceed to the Empire. He made his Court to *Caligula*, and the better to inſinuate himſelf into his Favour, he made uſe of the cajoling Tricks of his Wife *Ennia*. (*B*). He manag'd the Matter ſo well, that ſhe expreſs'd her Love for the young

[a] *Id. ib. pag.* 727.

[b] *Id. ib. pag.* 730.

(*g*) Ἵνα πρὸς τὰς ἀβουλίας αὐτοῦ. Ut ſtultitiam imperantis ferret. *Dio lib.* 58. *p. m.* 730.

ject (*g*) to bear the Folly of his King. *Tiberius* imagin'd that this piece of Raillery was meant againſt him, and that upon the Account of the Murders he had committed, he was pointed at under the Name of *Atreus*. I ſhall make of the Author an *Ajax*, ſaid he; and the Threatning was put in Execution; but inſtead of uſing this Pretence, he accus'd *Scaurus* of having lain with *Livilla* (*h*).

(*h*) *Ex Dione ib.*

Let us add another Example of the Power of the Malice of *Macro*: He bore an Ill-will to *Lucius Arruntius*, and ſeeing him involv'd in a Proceſs for a State Crime, he laid hold of the Occaſion; he preſided at the Examination of the Witneſſes, and at the Torture of the Slaves, and ſhow'd [illegible] plainly that the Effects of his hatred [illegible] not be avoided, that the Accuſed put [illegible]ſelf to Death without waiting for the deciſion of the Cauſe. Let us ſee what he anſwer'd to thoſe who adviſ'd him to diſpute the Ground. I have liv'd, ſaid he to them, long enough, and I have no good Proſpect from a longer Life: The times will be more unhappy under the Succeſſor of *Tiberius*, for every thing that's bad is to be fear'd from *Caligula*, being govern'd by *Macro*. *Tacitus* deſcribes this more largely and nobly; let us therefore ſet down here his Words, which will ſerve to know him who is the Subject of this Article. (*k*) *Arruntius cunctationem & moras ſuadentibus amicis*: 'Non eadem omnibus decora, *reſpondit*. 'ſibi ſatis ætatis: neque aliud pœnitendum, quàm 'quòd inter ludibria & pericula anxiam ſenectam 'toleraviſſet, diu Sejano, nunc Macroni, ſemper 'alicui potentium inviſus; non culpâ, ſed ut fla'gitiorum impatiens. Sanè paucos & ſupremos 'Principis dies poſſe vitari; quemadmodum eva'ſurum imminentis juventam. An cùm Tiberius 'poſt tantam rerum experientiam, vi dominatio'nis convulſus & mutatus ſit: C. Cæſarem vix 'finitâ pueritiâ, ignarum omnium, aut peſſimis 'innutritum, meliora capeſſiturum, Macrone duce? 'qui ut deterior ad opprimendum Sejanum dile'ctus, plura per ſcelera Remp. conflictaviſſet. 'Proſpectare jam ſe acrius ſervitium, eoque fugere 'ſimul acta & inſtantia, *Hæc vatis in modum dicti'tans, venas reſolvit.*' Note that *Arruntius* and 2 others (*l*) were accus'd as accomplices of the Conſpiracy of *Albucilla*, a Woman who was no leſs branded (*m*) for her unclean Luſts than were the Heroines of *Buſſi* about 40 Years ago. I believe the Accuſation was founded upon this, That theſe 3 *Romans* were known to be the Gallants *n*) of *Albucilla*; from whence it was probably concluded, That they muſt know of the Conſpiracy, who kept Company with her in a Way of Gallantry. For the moſt part, this way of reaſoning is very good: And if there are ſcarce any Women to be found in Proceſſes for State Crimes, who uſe not ſuch Gallantries; there are likewiſe few to be found, who do not communicate their Plot to their Gallants. The Reaſon of ſuch a Connexion of theſe Matters may be eaſily gueſs'd at, and ſo without much pains it will appear, why the Women who reſemble (*o*) *Hippolita* of *Arragon* Baroneſs of *Alby*, engage moſt frequently in a Conſpiracy. We muſt not forget that *Albucilla* would have kill'd her ſelf, but ſhe had not Srength enough to give her ſelf a Deaths-wound (*p*). *Albucilla irrito ictu a ſemet vulnerata, juſſu Senatus in carcerem fertur.* *Tacitus* who informs us, That the Senate caus'd her to be carried into Priſon, does not tell us what became of her. He obſerves, that 'twas ſuppos'd, that almoſt all the Proofs which were ſent againſt the 3 Perſons accuſed, were the Forgeries of [illegible], who was known to be the declared Enemy [illegible]*rruntius*. (*q*) *Sed teſtimonum interrogationi, tormentis ſervorum Macronem præſediſſe, commentarii ad ſenatum miſſi ferebant: nullaque in eos Imperatoris litera, ſuſpicionem dabant, invalido ac fortaſſe igitur, ficta plerague ob inimicitias Macronis notas in Arruntium.* 'Tis probable that *Macro* behav'd himſelf very unjuſtly in this Affair; but he could not, even by the exact Obſervation of the Methods of the Proceedings at Law, avoid the Suſpicion of having oppreſs'd the Innocent; for when a Monarch, or his Favourites, or Miniſters are hated by the People, 'tis ſcarce ever believ'd, that thoſe whom they puniſh are guilty. This was ſeen in *France* (*r*) under the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Richelieu*.

(*l*) *Cn. Domitius & Vibius Marſus.*

(*m*) Multorum amoribus famoſa Albucilla. *Id. ib. cap.* 47.

[a] Thus I write in the Year 1706.

(*n*) Connectebantur ut conſcii & adulteri ejus. *Id. ib.*

(*o*) See in the Collection of divers curious Pieces to ſerve for Hiſtory, the Conſpiracy of this Lady againſt the City of Barcelona in Favour of the Catholick King, in the Years 1645, 1646, 1647, & 1648. *p.* 43. &c. of the Holland *edition.* 1664.

(*p*) *Tacit. ib. cap.* 48.

(*q*) *Id. ib. c.* 47.

(*r*) See above the Remark (Ξ) of the Article Louis the 13th.

(*a*) *Tacit. lib. c.* 45. *ad ann.* 790.

(*b*) Sueton. *in Calig. c.* 3.

(*c*) We muſt read as Caſaubon very well conjectur'd, Nævii Macronis.

(*B*) *He made uſe of the cajoling Tricks of his Wife* Ennia.] This is the Opinion of *Tacitus*. (*a*) *Supremi Tiberio Conſules, Cn. Acerronius, C. Pontius magiſtratum occepere, nimiâ jam potentiâ Macronis: qui gratiam C. Cæſaris numquam ſibi negletam, atriùs indies fovebat, impuleratque poſt mortem Claudiæ, quam nuptam ei retuli, uxorem ſuam Enniam immittendo, amore juvenem inlicere, pactoque matrimonii vincire, nihil abnuentem dum dominationis apiſceretur.* But *Suetonius* tells the Matter in a different Manner: He thinks that *Caligula* made his Courtſhip to *Macro*'s Spouſe, and that he engag'd her by a Promiſe of Marriage to procure him the good Offices of her Husband. (*b*) [illegible] *(ſpem ſucceſſionis) quo magis confirmaret, amiſ[illegible]a ex partu, Enniam* (*c*) *Nævium Macronis uxorem [illegible] tum prætorianis cohortibus præerat, ſollicitavit ad ſtuprum, pollicitus & matrimonium ſuum, ſi potitus Imperio fuiſſet: deque ea re & jurejurando & chirographo cavit. Per hanc inſinuatus Macroni, veneno Tiberium aggreſſus eſt.* *Dion* chooſes rather to follow the Narrative of *Tacitus* than that of *Suetonius*; for he ſays (*d*) that he was enticed by the Husband himſelf to make Love to his Wife. Turn to which ſide you pleaſe, you will meet every where with Probability: Neither will it deſtroy Probability, to ſay that *Macro*, being more Ambitious than Jealous, mov'd his Wife to catch *Caligula* in her Snares, and to refuſe him nothing which might be proper to captivate a young unchaſt Prince. If *Macro* did this, he acted a part which is very common among Courtiers, and thoſe who have a Mind to make their Fortune. One of their Maximes is that which *Tireſias* told *Ulyſſes*: (*e*) *Scortator erit, cave te roget. Ultro Penelopen facilis potiori trade.* [illegible] Days they would not make a ſhow of [illegible]g (*f*), but go into another Chamber, if [illegible]w their *Mecenas* diſpos'd to careſs their [illegible]s. This would be more decent, than what *Galba* did, who (*g*) having invited Mecenas, the Favourite of *A[illegible]* to Supper, and perceiving he began to wink [illegible]s eyes upon his Wife, and to caſt ſome amorous [illegible] upon her, ſuffe[illegible]m to take the Pleaſure [illegible]er, and made as if [illegible]r aſleep. Suppoſe on the other ſide, that [illegible]a, miſtruſting the Intentions of *Tiberius*, [illegible] being not yet ſure to ſucceed that Emperour, e[illegible] de-bauch the Wife of *Macro*. and [illegible]

(*d*) Ἐς ἐρασθῆναι αὐτὸν τῆς γυναικὸς Ἔννιος Θεσσαλικῆς περιποιήσεως. Eum in amorem uxoris ſuæ [illegible]ni[illegible]-ſy[illegible]l-le[illegible] *Dio lib.* 58. *in fine.*

(*e*) Horat. *Sat. l.* 2. *p. m.* 231.

(*f*) Doctus ſpectare lacunar, Doctus & ad calicem vigilanti ſtertere naſo. Juven. *Sat.* 1. *v.* 56.

(*g*) Plut. *in* Amatorio, *p.* 759. 760. *of* Amiot's *Tranſlation.*

oung Prince, and assur'd him of the Empire, provided he promis'd to Marry her. *Tiberius* was not ignorant of the Plot, and discover'd his mind sufficiently about it (*C*), by a Reproach he made to *Macron*; and indeed he had a mind to overturn the whole Project, but found himself engag'd in so many Difficulties, that he was forc'd to leave it to take its β chance. The Physician *Charicles*, having told *Macro*, γ that *Tiberius* would not live above two Days, he hasten'd to get all things ready to serve the Interest of *Caligula*. While these things were a-doing, a Report was spread abroad, that the Emperor was dead, and immediately *Caligula* march'd to take Possession of the Empire. He was encompass'd with many Courtiers, who came in Crowds to wish him much Joy: But all on a sudden the News came that *Tiberius* was recover'd of the Swooning Fit which was taken for his Death. This News struck the Courtiers of *Caligula* with a Consternation, so that some of them fled on one side, and others another way, and all of them dissembled as well as they could. As for him, he look'd upon himself as a dead Man, and waited in a profound silence for his last hour: But *Macro* was so far from being stunn'd at it, that he order'd *Tiberius* to be Stifled, and all the People to withdraw from him *. Yet neither he, nor his Wife, enjoy'd any long time the Favour they had promis'd themselves under the New Emperor, but were both forc'd to make-away with themselves (*D*). The Husband had obtain'd a very good † Government, but he knew not how to sweeten the fierce Humour of *Caligula*.

β *See the Remark C.*

γ Tacit. Annal. *lib. 6. c. 50.*

* *Ex* Tacito, *ibid.*

† *That of* Egypt. *See* Dio, *lib. 59. p. 743.*

MAETS

he could engage her in his Interest, by a Secret Promise of Marriage, she would oblige her Husband to serve him; is it not a Supposition very probable? The like Conduct has been observ'd a thousand times. Lastly, suppose that *Ennia* being perswaded that *Caligula* would succeed *Tiberius*, endeavour'd to gain his Love, and spar'd nothing which might nourish the Hope of being one Day an Empress, and still we find a great Probability. Nevertheless, I Believe that the Narrative of *Tacitus* is preferable to that of *Suetonius*, in spite of *Philo* who affirms (*b*), that *Macro* was ignorant of the Gallantries of his Wife.

(*b*) *See Remark D.*

(C) Tiberius - - - - *discover'd his mind sufficiently about it, by a Reproach he made to* Macro.] You forsake the Setting-Sun, (*i*) said he to him, and show Respect to the Rising-Sun. This is the way of the World, and 'tis one of the greatest Troubles that attends the old Age of Princes. I will not describe the particular Measures which *Tiberius* had a mind to take, when he knew the Intrigues of *Macro*; 'tis sufficient to relate the words of *Tacitus*: (*k*) *Gnarum hoc Principi; eoque dubitavit de tradenda Republica primum inter nepotes - - - - - Mox incertus animi, fesso corpore, consilium, cui imperat, fato permisit: jactis tamen vocibus per quas intelligeretur providus futurorum: Namque Macroni non abdita ambage*, Occidentem ab eo deseri, Orientem spectari *exprobravit*, &c.

(*i*) Dio, *lib.* 58. in fine.

(*k*) Tacitus, ubi supra, *c.* 46.

(*l*) Dio, *lib.* 59. *p.* 743.

(*m*) *Tho.* Xylander *and* Leunclavius *have translated it; but it had been better translated*, Objecto nimirum ei (*Macroni*) praeter alia eo crimine, quod stuprorum conciliator fuisset.

(D) *Were both forc'd to make-away with themselves.*] *Dion Cassius* relating those things which were blam'd in *Caligula*, does not forget the Ingratitude of the Emperor with respect to *Macro* and *Ennia*, which was great, that he reduc'd them to the necessity of killing themselves. He neither remembred the Love that *Ennia* had for him, nor the Services *Macro* had done him, which were of so great importance, that by them he was advanc'd to the Throne without a Collegue. And not content to take away his Life, he defam'd him, and made use of such an Accusation as reflected Disgrace chiefly upon his Person; for he declar'd that *Macro* had serv'd him as a Procurer: (*l*) Καὶ οἱ αἰσχύνην τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῷ πλήθει μᾶλλον, πρόσχημα πορισάμενος ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπήγαγε. *Et ea infamia oneravit cujus ipse maxima in parte futurus esset, objecto nimirum eo crimine quod stuprorum conciliatores fuissent* (*m*). This is in the 59th Book of *Dion Cassius*: And take notice that this Historian has observ'd, that it is much harsher to force People to make-away with themselves, than to deliver them up to the Executioners. This Observation he makes against *Tiberius*, That to conceal his being the cause of the Death of the Accused, he obliged them by powerful Motives (*n*) to prevent their Condemnation, by putting themselves to Death. (*o*) Προσελάμβανε δὲ τούτου τοὺς ἀνδρώνας ὁ Τιβέριος αὐτοκτονίας γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸς φανερὸς ἀποκτείνων ἦν. ἄσπερ ἢ πολλῷ δεινότερον ἦν αὐτοκράτορι τινὰ ἀναγκάσαι ἑαυτὸν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τὸ δημόσιον αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. *Alliciente per haec Tiberio homines ad cupiendam sibi ipsis mortem ne ipse occidisse videretur: quasi vero non longe gravius sit aliquem ad mortem sibi ipsi consciscendam, quam spiculatori eum tradere.* Suetonius also relates the different Death of *Macro* and *Ennia* [illegible] times of the Emperor. (*p*) *Et* [illegible] *em, ipsam Enniam adjuteres Imperii quibus - - - - pro meritorum gratia cruenta mors persoluta est.* If we did not know *Macro* but by the Picture which a Jewish Author has given of him, he would be more pitied; for one would take him for a very honest Man, and none of those Ill-qualities which *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* attribute to him would be known to us.

(*n*) *Those who were Condemn'd did the cruel Death, and all their Goods were confiscated; but the Goods of those who kill'd themselves before the end of their Tryal, were very seldom confiscated. See* Dio, *ubi supra.*

(*o*) Dio, *lib.* 58. *p.* 723.

(*p*) Sueton. in Calig. *c.* 26.

Philo has given a Catalogue of the Crimes of *Caligula*, in which he sets in the first rank the Murder of the Grand-child of *Tiberius*; and in the second, the Death of *Macro*. He says, That *Tiberius* having discover'd, by his Sagacity and Sharpness of Wit, the corrupt Disposition of *Caligula*, had no desire to leave the *Roman* Empire to him; but that *Macro* applied himself so dexterously to remove all his Suspicions, and to make an Apology for this young Prince, that he always prevented the fatal Blow which might exclude him: And when his Reasons did not work powerfully enough, he offer'd himself to be Surety for all that he alledg'd in favour of *Caligula*. This Promise was of great weight, for he had given very great Proofs of his Zeal for the Imperial Family, and for the Person of *Tiberius* in particular, when he had a Commission to put *Sejanus* to Death. What he did for *Caligula* with *Tiberius*, equals or surpasses any thing that can be done for a Brother or a Son: And to do this, he was induc'd by two Motives, because he saw that his Friendship was cultivated by *Caligula* with the greatest Care; and because he had a Wife who continually solliciting him to lose no Occasion of serving and obliging this young Prince. The Author whom I abridge, observes, that the Reason which oblig'd this Woman to lay the Interests of *Caligula* so much to heart, was a thing kept secret (*a*); but he sufficiently explains it, when he adds, That a Woman, and chiefly one that is unchast, has great power over the Mind of her Husband; for being conscious to her self of her Guilt, she redoubles her Caresses and Flatteries. *Macro*, continues he, knew not of his Domestick Disgrace, and imagin'd that Conjugal Friendship render'd his Spouse so loving to him. (*b*) Δεινὸν δὲ γυνὴ γνώμην ἀνδρὸς παλαιὰν καταγαγεῖν, ἐμαλίσκε μαχλάς. ἔνεκα δὲ συνειδότος κολακικωτέρα γίνεται. ὁ δὲ τῷ διαφθορεῖ τὴν τοῦ γάμου καὶ τὴν οἰκίας ἀγνοῶν, τῷ δοκεῖν κολακείαν εὔνοιαν ἐκμισθοῦσαν εἶναι τοιῶν ἀπατᾶται. *Est autem ad impellendum virum efficax impudica mulier, ut quae blandior sit propter conscientiam. At ille ignarus probri domestici, & ratus ab amore conjugali proficisci eas blanditias, decipitur.* Now remembring that he had sav'd the Life of *Caligula* more than once, he very freely gave him Advice. Like a good Workman, he sought Credit from his Workmanship, by making it lasting; and therefore, by his good Admonitions, he did, as much as was possible, correct the Faults of the Emperor, whom he had created, and inform'd him of the Duty and true Glory of those who are in that Post. *Caligula* refus'd all his Instructions, and boasted openly, That he did not want such a Pedagogue. Thus *Macro* became odious to him. This wicked Prince thought only how to get rid of him, and for that end, to find out plausible Pretences against him. And he believ'd he had found such, when he alledg'd that *Macro* said, "*Caligula* is my Workmanship, and my

(*a*) Ἡ Μάκρωνος γυνὴ διὰ σωφροσύνην αἰτίας. Uxor Macronis propter quiddam tectum silentio. *Philo de Legatione*, p. 997.

(*b*) *Id. ib.* E.

MAETS (*Charles de*) a Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Utrecht*, was born at *Leyden*, Jan. 25th, 1597. He was ſcarce two Years old when his Father tranſported him † to *Middleburg*, where our *Charles* ſtudied till the Year 1615. And then it was time to ſend him to the Univerſities, among which that of *Franeker* was preferr'd to that of *Leyden*, becauſe the latter was then the chief Field of Battle between the Remonſtrants and Contra-Remonſtrants. After he had continu'd long enough at *Franeker*, he went to ſtudy in the Academy of *Sedan*. He made his Tour into *France*, and then return'd home, where he was made a Miniſter in 1620. and ſerv'd the Church of *Scherpeniſſe* in *Zealand*, until he was Call'd to that of *Middleburg* in 1629. Five Years after, he was employ'd, with other learned Miniſters, to Reviſe the *Dutch* Tranſlation of the New-Teſtament, and the Apocryphal Books. In 1636. he was offer'd a Miniſter's and Divinity-Profeſſor's Place; which he would not accept of, becauſe the Magiſtrates and the Conſiſtory of *Middleburg* paſſionately deſir'd to retain him. But the ſame Call being offer'd him in 1639. he accepted of it. He was Inſtall'd the next Year, and exercis'd this double Employ until his Death, which happen'd in 1651. He marry'd (*A*) three Wives. He Publiſh'd (*B*) ſomething *, and very much oppos'd Mr. *Des-Cartes* ß.

MAGINUS (*John-Antony*) Profeſſor of Mathematicks in the Univerſity of *Bologna*, was of *Padua*. He Publiſh'd γ many Books of Aſtronomy, and wholly addicted himſelf to making Horoſcopes. 'Tis pretended, that he was wonderfully ſucceſsful in theſe ſort of Predictions (*C*), and that he was not miſtaken in Foretelling (*D*) his own Fate. The Emperor *Rodolphus*, not being able to allure him to *Vienna*, where he had a mind to give him a Profeſſor's Chair, did nevertheleſs honour him with a very good Penſion. *Maginus* was the firſt that ┼ made Maps, and Commentaries ſ on *Ptolemy*'s Geography. He was ſo big and full of Humours, that it is no wonder he died of an Apoplexy, as he did on the 11th of *February*, 1617 when he was in the 62d Year of his Age. He had three Sons, and a Daughter, who became a Nun. Two of his Sons died while he was alive, and the third was a *Jacobin* ζ.

I ſhall

† *He was driven out of* Flanders, *upon account of the* Proteſtant *Religion.*

* *Taken out of his* Funeral Oration, *ſpoken by* Hoornbeck, *Apr.* 20. 1651. *from whence we may certainly conclude, that Witt was miſtaken, when he plac'd, in his* Diarium Biographicum, *the Death of* Charles Maets *in* Apr. 20.

ß *See Mr.* Baillet, *in the Life of* Des-Cartes, *Tom.* 2. *paſſim.*

γ *Moreri has publiſh'd the Titles of the chief of them.*

ſ *He Publiſh'd them in the Year* 1597.

ζ *Taken from his* Elogium *compos'd by* James-Philip Tomaſini.

┼ Ptolomæi Geographiam primis Commentariis & Tabulis illuſtravit, *Tomaſ.* p. 283. *Note, This is an Error; for others before him publiſh'd* Ptolemy *with Maps and Commentaries.*

" Creature, much more than he is the Creature of " thoſe that begat him. My Prayers have three " times ſtopt the Orders that *Tiberius* would have " given to kill him. I am the Cauſe why he alone " ſucceeded to the Empire after the Death of " *Tiberius*." *Macro* liv'd not long after, but was forc'd to kill himſelf with his own hand. His Wife was reduc'd to the ſame neceſſity, and found no relief by the Love that *Caligula* had had for her: For this Paſſion is not to be depended upon, it is liable to ſo many Diſguſts. (*c*) Λέγεται ὑπ' ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὁ Γάϊος, αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἐξενεγκεῖν ἑαυτὸν, ᾗ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναλέξασθαι συμφορὰν ἡ γυνὴ, καίπερ πρότερον δεινὸν δὲ φανεῖσαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. βέβαιον γὰρ οὐδὲν φιλτρον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τυράννου ἀλλοίωσιν. *Fertur miſer caſtus ſeipſum interficere, uxor quoque habuiſſe eundem exitum, quamvis putaretur conſtuprata à Cæſare: ſed negant in amore firmum præſidium, propter crebra ejus affectus inconſtantiſſimi faſtidia.* The whole Family of *Macro* was deſtroy'd at the ſame time (*d*).

Three things, whereof any one was ſufficient, conſpir'd to ruine him. He had ſav'd the Life of *Caligula*, and procur'd him a great Empire: He boaſted of it; he cenſur'd him. There are few Great Men that can love thoſe to whom they are too much oblig'd (*e*); and 'tis ſeldom ſeen, that thoſe who advance a private Perſon to the Throne, do long preſerve his Favour. They become odious to him, either becauſe he loves not the Perſons who think they have a Right to demand every thing of him, or becauſe they boaſt too much of their Services, or complain that they are not ſufficiently rewarded. I leave you to conſider, whether *Caligula*, the worſt natur'd Man in the World, cou'd long endure a Benefactor, who publiſh'd his important Services, and allow'd himſelf the freedom to give him Advice like a Governour?

(*A*) *He marry'd three Wives.*] The firſt at *Scherpeniſſe*, the ſecond at *Middleburg* (*f*), and the third at *Utrecht*. He left Children by the two firſt; one of his Sons, call'd *Charles*, is become a Profeſſor in Phyſick and Chymiſtry in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, and has publiſh'd ſome Experiments. See the *News from the Republick of Learning* (*g*).

(*B*) *He publiſh'd ſomething.*] We have a Book in 4° of *Charles de Maets*, Printed at *Utrecht* in 1650. and entituled, *Sylva quæſtionum inſignium*. The chief thing he treats of, is a Queſtion which then made a great Noiſe, *viz.* Whether it be lawful for Men to wear Long Hair? A Divine, call'd *James de Revet* (*h*) had written for the Affirmative: *De Maets* put out ſome *Theſes* againſt him; and they were anſwer'd in a Book entituled, *Libertas Chriſtiana circa uſum Capillitii defenſa*: To which he replied in his *Sylva quæſtionum*, where occaſionally he treats of many Caſes of Morality. The Title of this Book was lately altered, which is a ſign that it did not ſell well.

(*C*) *He ſucceeded wonderfully in* Horoſcopes.] He flatter'd no body, for if he foretold to one a Cardinal's Cap, or an honourable Office; he forewarn'd others, that they ſhould be wounded, baniſh'd, or afflicted in divers manners: He declar'd ingenuouſly every thing which his Conjectures taught him to read in the Stars, to which, ſaid he, all things are ſubjected. (*i*) *Urbis proceribus ex natalitia illorum figura multa feliciter divinabat: Equitibus tiarum, & purpuratas togas, hæreditates, & acceſſus ad magiſtratus & aulas principum: aliis vulnera, odia, exilia, domeſtica diſſidia, res adverſas quæ quoad ejus conjecturæ conſequi potuit, prædicebat. Idem aſtrologiam aliorum nugis & inanibus ac ſuperſtitioſis auſpiciis obtenebratam miris conatibus illuſtravit, & æmulis ac inſciæ plebi cuncta cœlo ſubjici, à cœlo cuncta moveri liquidò demonſtravit.*

(*D*) *That he was not miſtaken, in foretelling his own Fate.*] *Tomaſini* obſerves, That *Maginus* being arriv'd at his 61ſt Year, was ſtruck with an Apoplexy, which ſent him into the other World; and that a long while before he had told *Tomaſini* and others, he was afraid of that Year. A little after, this Hiſtorian confutes himſelf, by the Epitaph he produces. This Epitaph teſtifies, That *Maginus* liv'd 61 Years, 7 Months, 28 Days, and an Hour. It ought not therefore to have been alledg'd as an Argument of the Aſtrological Skill of *Maginus*, that he found ſuch Malignities in his Horoſcope, relating to his 61ſt Year, for he liv'd almoſt eight Months after this terrible Year. His Diſciple, *John-Antony Roſſenus*, manag'd better the Honour of his Maſter, for, without mentioning the 61ſt Year, he ſaid only, That *Maginus* died under an Aſpect of the Planets, which, according to his own Predictions, was to be deadly to him. *Infeſtis aſtrorum ſolis ad corpus Martis quos ſibi præsenſerat obtutibus, concedens. Roſſenus*, in Epitaphio *Magini. Obiit --- ſole currente prope diametrum Martis, & circa exagonum Saturni* (*a*). *John Goad* (*b*) cites this Epitaph, to prove, by an Example of great weight, the Certainty of Judicial Aſtrology. He adds that *Roſſenus* knew alſo, by his Horoſcope, the Time of his Death; for, during the Sickneſs of which he died, he affirm'd for certain that he ſhould not eſcape, and that the Figure of his Nativity

(*h*) *In* Latin, Revius.

(*i*) Jacob. Philippus Tomaſinus, in Elog. Virorum illuſtrium, *p.* 283, 284.

(*a*) Tomaſinus, *ubi ſupra.*

(*b*) In Aſtrometeorologia ſana, *p.* 129. *There is mention made of this Book, in the* Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *Jan.* 1691. *p.* 204.

(*c*) *Id. ib.* p. 1000. *D.*

(*d*) *Taken out of* Philo, in Libro de Legatione ad Caium, *p.* 997. *& ſeq.*

(*e*) Beneficia eo uſque læta ſunt, dum videntur exſolvi poſſe: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur, *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 4. *c.* 18. *See in the Life of Mr.* du Pleſſis Mornai, *p.* 257. *a Tranſlation of that applied to the cold Reception he met with from King* Henry *IV.*

(*f*) *She was Siſter to the Wife of* Boxhornius *Profeſſor at* Leyden.

(*g*) *The Month of* September, 1685. *in the Catalogue, n.* 8.

I ſhall here obſerve a groſs Fault in a Book of an Abbot (*E*) of the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*.

MAGIUS β (*Jerom*) was one of the learned Men of the XVIth Century. He was Born at *Anghiari* in *Tuſcany* (*A*); and having learn'd Claſſical Learning, and the firſt Elements of the Civil Law, under *Peter-Anthony Cheti* γ, he went to *Bologna* to improve himſelf by the Lectures of *Robortellus*. He made a conſiderable Progreſs in divers Sciences, and ſhow'd early, how well he was quality'd for Publick Employments, for he was δ deputed to *Florence* in the time of his Youth. He did not confine himſelf to any certain number of Studies, but applied himſelf almoſt to all; for, beſides his knowledge in the *Belles Lettres* and Civil Law, he ſtudied alſo the Military Art, and wrote ſome Books about it ζ; altho' the meanneſs of his Fortune, which oblig'd him to Correct in a Printing-Preſs θ at *Venice*, ſeem'd to reſtrain him from medling with this kind of Study: Yet he ſignaliz'd himſelf by it, when he was ſent to the Iſle of *Cyprus* by the *Venetians*, as a Judge to their Army; for the *Turks* having beſieg'd *Famagoſta*, he perform'd there all the Services which could be expected from an excellent Engineer. He invented ξ certain Mines and Fire-works, whereby he deſtroy'd the Works of the *Turks*, and overturn'd, in a Moment, what coſt them much Time and Pains. But they had too much Opportunity to revenge themſelves for the Delay he gave to their Enterprize; for the City at laſt falling into their hands in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1571. *Magius* became their Slave, and was cruelly treated by them. His Comfort, in this ſad Condition, was, that he now remembred thoſe Things he had formerly learn'd; and as he had a great Memory, he thought it was poſſible for him, tho' he was deſtitute of all ſorts of Books, to compoſe one full of Citations, out of what he had read. In this Work he employ'd the greateſt part of the Night (*B*), being oblig'd to Labour in the Day-time as the vileſt Slave. He conjur'd the Embaſſadors of the Emperor and of *France* to endeavour his Liberty: But whether it was that they laid not his Intereſt (*C*) much to heart, or that their good

β *I ſee his Latin Name, which ſome, as* Du Ryer *in the Verſion of* Thuanus, *have tranſlated* Maggi, *and others* Maggio, *as* Pelletier *in the Verſion of* Gratiani *of the* War *of* Cyprus.

γ Magius Miſcel. *l.* 4. *c.* 1.

δ *Idem* de Tintinnab. *c.* 18.

ζ *See what he ſays of it,* Miſcel. *l.* 1. *c.* 1.

θ Ad hæc Venetiis, ubi Typographis Operam navaſſe fertur, *&c. Fr. Swertius, in Elog. Magii, init. Lib. de Tintinnab.*

ξ Ant. Maria Gratiani, *of the* War *of* Cyprus, *l.* 3.

tivity and his Climacterical Year condemn'd him to die. *Sic enim geneſim ſuam & climactericum annum requirere. Riccioli*us, who reports this, heard him ſay it.

(*E*) *I ſhall here obſerve a groſs fault in a Book of an Abbot.*] I have found there, that *John-Antony Maginus*, Firſt Profeſſor of the Mathematicks in the Univerſity of *Bologna*, died in 1629. and that we muſt reckon, among the Services he did to the Publick, the care he took at his death, to deliver into the hands of *Cæſar Marſilius*, his Friend, ſome Treatiſes of *Bonaventura Cavalleri* a very famous Mathematician, which had never been Printed, or were not ſufficiently known in the Republick of Learning: He recommended to him the Printing of them, and, by this means, was the cauſe that his Friend *Marſilius* obtain'd the Profeſſor's Chair. The Journal of *Leipſick* is quoted for this in the Month of *December*, 1691. *p.* 557. (*c*). And there is no fault in the Citation, but in the ſame Page of the Journal there is found quite another thing; for there we ſee, that *Bonaventura Cavalleri*, hearing that *John-Antony Maginus* was dead in 1629. had a mind to ſucceed him in the Profeſſion of Mathematicks at *Bologna*, and that for this end he gave *Cæſar Marſilius*, his Friend, two Treatiſes which he had written, one about Conic Sections, and the other about the Geometry of Indiviſibles. *Marſilius* communicated them to the Geometricians of the Univerſity of *Bologna*, who admiring them, ſpoke ſo effectually to the Senators on the behalf of *Cavalleri*, that in the Month of *November*, 1629 he obtain'd the Chair which he deſir'd. This is what the Journaliſts of *Leipſick* ſay in their Abridgment of the Life of *Cavalleri*, prefix'd to his *Sphæra Aſtronomica* (*d*) by *Urbano d'Aviſo*. I wonder the Abbot ſhould ſay, that our *Maginus* died in 1629. when his Epitaph mention'd by *Tomaſini* (*e*) places his Death on the 11th of *February*, 1617. And it is yet more aſtoniſhing, that the Latin of theſe Journaliſts ſhould have been ſo little underſtood, which is the cleareſt in the World. And beſides, does ſuch a thing anſwer to the Title of the Work in which it was inſerted? This Title promiſes us nothing but memorable Events about the Church.

(*A*) *He was born at* Anghiari *in* Tuſcany.] In Latin this Town is call'd *Anglara*, and it muſt not be confounded with that which is call'd in Latin *Angleria* or *Anglaria*, or in Italian *Angiera*, which is in the *Milaneſe* by the Lake *Major*. 'Tis a Miſtake in (*f*) *Thuanus*, *Swertius*, *Aubertus Miræus*, *Quenſtedt*, and many others, that they have aſſign'd this laſt Town for the Country of *Maginus*, for he himſelf tells us, that he was of *Anghiari* in *Tuſcany*. Mr. *Trichet du Freſne* has related two Paſſages which are ſo expreſs to the purpoſe, that Mr. *Teiſſier* (*g*) who cites him, ought not, methinks, to leave his Reader in ſuch uncertainty as he does by theſe words: Jerom Maggi *was born at* Anglaria *in the Dutchy of* Milan, *or at* Anghiari *in* Tuſcany *according to ſome*. One of the two Paſſages alledg'd by Mr. *Trichet du Freſne* is taken out of *Book* 1. *ch.* 2. *de Admirandis Civitatibus*; and the other out of *Book* 4. *ch.* 9. of *Miſcellanies*. He cites alſo the Teſtimony of *Gratiani*, which he found in the 3d *Book de Bello Cyprio*, *p.* 181. He might have cited the Place of the *Miſcellanies*, where *Magius* calls *Tuſcany*, *Noſtram Hetruriam*. It is in the 1ſt *Book*, *chap.* 20.

(*B*) *He ſpent a good part of the Night in Writing Books.*] He wrote in Priſon a Treatiſe of *Bells* (*h*), *de Tintinnabulis*; and another, *de Equuleo*. That which made him chuſe theſe Subjects, was partly, that he obſerv'd the *Turks* made no uſe of Bells; and partly, that in his Meditations on the divers kinds of Torments to which his Condition was expos'd, he remembred that no body had yet well explain'd the *Equuleus*. He Dedicated the firſt of theſe two Treatiſes to *Charles Rym* a Native of *Ghent*, Embaſſador of the Emperor to *Conſtantinople*; and the other to the Embaſſador of *France* in the ſame Place. *Jungerman*, in his Notes upon the Treatiſe *de Equuleo*, thinks that this Embaſſador of *France* was *Francis de Noailles*, Biſhop of *Acqs*: And Mr. *du Freſne Trichet* is of the ſame Opinion. See his *Elogium* on *Magius*, at the beginning of the Treatiſe *de Equuleo*, of the *Amſterdam* Edition. Theſe two Treatiſes of *Magius* were not Printed till many Years after his Death. His Manuſcript *de Tintinnabulis* was given by *Philibert Rym* to the Jeſuits (*a*), who permitted it to be Printed with the Notes of *Francis Swertius*, at *Hanaw*, in the Year 1618. The next Year, there was Printed with the Notes of *Jungerman*, in the ſame Place, the Treatiſe *de Equuleo*, the Manuſcript whereof (*b*) was left with *Arnold Manlius* by *Magius* himſelf. They were Reprinted at *Amſterdam*, in the Years 1664, and 1689.

(*C*) *Whether it was, that they laid not his Intereſt much to heart.*] I believe theſe two Embaſſadors to be wrong'd, when ſome affirm, they had no regard to the Prayers of *Magius*; and I cannot underſtand how Mr. *Trichet du Freſne* can accuſe them of being deaf (.) in this reſpect, ſeeing immediately after he cites the Journal of *Manlius* the Phyſician, from whom we learn, that the cauſe of *Magius*'s Ruin, was that by an imprudent Oſtentation, he was brought to the Embaſſador's Lodging, and that he was unſeaſonably ſet at Liberty. *Imprudenti ambitione in noſtram Carvaſſaram ductus - - - Conſtantinopoli intempeſtivè liberatus, ſtrangulari à Mahomete Baſſa in carcere juſſus.* After theſe words, there is no room to doubt but the Price of his Ranſom was agreed upon; but that which ſpoil'd all, probably was this: *Mahomet Baſſa* underſtood that *Magius* had been with the

(*c*) *Taken from a Book Printed at* Tubingen, *in* 1697. *written by* Andreas Carolus *Abbot of* S. George, *in the Dutchy of* Wirtemberg, *and entitled*, Memorabilia Eccleſiaſtica.

(*d*) *In the Edition at* Rome, 1690. *in* 12*s. a Poſthumous Piece.*

(*e*) Jac. Philip. Tomaſinus Elog. *Part* 1. *p.* 287, 288.

(*f*) *Obſerve, that* Thuanus *call'd it* Anglara; *and ſo he was not miſtaken in the Name, but in the Situation.*

(*g*) *Addit. to the* Elogies, *taken from* Thuanus, *Tom.* 1. *p.* 381.

(*h*) *I have more reaſon to give the firſt place to this, than the Journal* des Savans *of* 4 *Jan.* 1666. *has to give it to the Treatiſe* de Equuleo.

(*a*) *Swert. in Elogio Magii.*

(*b*) *Epiſt. Seghers ad Jungerm. & Jungermannus Not. in Tractat. de Equuleo.*

(*c*) Fuit ea fata inclementia & atrocitas, ut Legati (dictu pudendum) ejus precibus ſurdi fuerint, barbarique immiſſo in collum laqueo eum in carcere ſtrangulaverint.

good Intentions were eluded by the Barbarity of the *Turks*, 'tis certain, that *Magius* was so far from recovering his Liberty, that he was Strangled in Prison, the 27th of *March*, 1572, (*D*) or 1573. as is known by the Journal of *Arnold Manlius*, Physician to the Embassador of the Emperor. I give you a Catalogue of the Books which he Publish'd before he went into *Cyprus* (*E*).

MAGNI (*Valerian*) a Capuchin of *Milan*, became famous in the XVII Century. He applied himself not only to Controversy (*A*), but also to Physical Experiments. 'Tis said, that he attributed to himself the Invention of those of *Torricellius* (*B*); that he was convicted of being a Plagiary. He wrote fiercely * against *Aristotle*: But I do not know that there is any thing that made him so well known, as the Use that was made of one of his Thoughts (*C*) in the *Provincial Letters*. He had great Quarrels with

* *See the Remark B.*

(*d*) Journal des Savans *of* Jan. 4. 1666.

(*e*) *This is a Mistake; for he should have said* Equuleo, *and not* Culeo.

(*f*) Trichet du Fresne, *ubi supra.*

(*g*) Hist. *l.* 49. *ad An.* 1571.

(*h*) Swert. in Elog. Konig. Biblioth. *p.* 494.

(*i*) 1572. 27 Martii, nocte diei Jovis necatur in carcere Hieronymus Magius.

(*k*) Hunc librum mihi reliquit D. Hieronymus Magius, paucis post diebus ab impio Mahomete Bassa strangulatus. Const. 1573. *Ex Seghezi* Epist. ad Jungerm.

(*l*) Swert. *ubi supra.*

(*m*) *They are divided into Four Books.* Gruterus *has inserted them into the* 2*d Vol. of his* Thesaurus Criticus. *The Compendium of the Bibliotheque of* Gesner *impertinently distinguishes the* Miscellanea *from the* Variæ lectiones.

(*n*) Trichet du Fresne.

Emperor's Embassador; he thought that he made too much haste; he remembred the Mischief occasion'd by this able Engineer; and this was to him a sufficient Motive for giving Order that he should be Strangled the next Night. Mr. *Gallois* is yet more positive in the Matter (*d*), in an Extract of the Treatise of *Bells*: "The Embassadors (says "he) treated of his Ransom; but while they "thought to procure him Liberty, they did only "promote his Death: For a Bassa, who had not "forgot the Mischiefs which *Magius* had done to "the *Turks* at the Siege of *Famagosta*, having "learn'd that he was carry'd to the House of the "Emperor's Embassador, sent to retake him, and "caus'd him to be Strangled the same night in "Prison.

Thuanus was not sufficiently inform'd about this Matter: He had heard that *Magius* wrote something in Prison; but, 1. He knew not what it was, and *Moreri* should not make him say, that it was a Treatise *de Culeo* (*e*), and another *de Tintinnabulis*. 2. He knew not that *Magius* had Dedicated some of these two Books to the Emperor's Embassador, and the other to the Embassador of *France*, and had pray'd them to use their Endeavours for his Liberty. 3. He knew not that they had us'd their Endeavours for that end. 4. He was ignorant, that he who caused *Magius* to be Strangled, was not his Master; the Author of that Cruelty being *Mahomet Bassa*, whereas the Master of *Magius* was only (*f*) the Captain of a Ship. 5. He knew not the reason why this illustrious Prisoner was put to Death, since he thought that it was done out of Covetousness: *Quasi bos*, says he (*g*), *vetulus ab ingrato aratro fastiditus, ab immani hero sumptibus parcente strangulatus est.* 6. In fine, he ought not to have said, that *Magius* was carried into *Asia*, (which many others (*h*) have affirm'd after him,) for he was carry'd to *Constantinople*, and remained there all the time of his Slavery. From all this I may be bold to conclude, that *Moreri*'s *Dictionary* wanted muchto be corrected in this Article, which was transcrib'd from the words of *Thuanus*.

(*D*) *The 27th of* March, 1572, *or* 1573.] The reason of my describing the Year of his Death with such uncertainty, was, because on one side *Manlius* wrote in his Journal, (*i*) *That* Magius *was kill'd in Prison on* Thursday-night, *March* 27. 1572. and on the other he had written on the first Page of the Book *de Equuleo*, that *Magius* (*k*) having left him this Book, was Strangled a few Days after, by that wicked Wretch *Mahomet Bassa* at *Constantinople*, in 1573. If *Manlius* were now alive, it would concern him to remove the Ambiguity of this Date. *Jungerman* thought he had Light enough to encline him to believe, that the Tragical End of poor *Magius* happen'd in 1573. Mr. *Teissier*'s Printer has put *May* 27. for *March* 27.

(*E*) *The Books he had publish'd before he went into* Cyprus.] *Magius* had Printed, *de Mundi exitio per exustionem libri quinque, Basilæa*, 1562. fol. *Vitæ illustrium virorum, auctore Æmilio Probo, cum Commentariis, Basilæa*, fol. *Lambinus* was accused of having taken many things out (*l*) of those Commentaries, without naming *Magius*. *Commentaria in quatuor institutionum civilium libros, Lugduni*, in 8°. *Miscellanea* (*m*), *sive variæ Lectiones, Venetiis, apud Jordanum Zilettum*, 1564. in 8°. He publish'd also some Books in *Italian*, as he says expresly in the Epistle Dedicatory before the Book *de Tintinnabulis*; and yet one of those (*n*) who has given us his *Elogium*, sets down only one *Italian* Book among those which have been publish'd, the Impression whereof, he says, was *An.* 1584. The Title of it was, *della Fortificatione delle Citta. Magius* wrote many other Books which never appear'd. *Swertius* (*o*) has given us a Catalogue of them: And yet [illegible] of them are mention'd by *Simler*, as if they had been Publish'd, and particularly that which was entitled *Μισονυσία, Odium Padicorum*, a Title far enough different from that which some think that *John della Casa* prefix'd to one of his Poems.

(*o*) *Ubi supra.*

(*A*) *He applied himself - - - - to Controversy.*] His *Judicium de Acatholicorum regula credendi*, publish'd in the Year 1628. expos'd him to a long Dispute, because he was oblig'd to Reply to many Writings of the Protestants. I shall give an Account of it elsewhere (*p*).

(*p*) *At the end of the Dissertation upon* Junius Brutus, *at the end of this Volume.*

(*B*) *That he attributed to himself the Invention of those of* Torricellius.] Mr. *Baillet* informs us of this Matter (*q*): "F. *Valerian Magni* did not "think of making the Experiment of *Torricellius*, "until after he had publish'd at *Warsaw* his Trea- "tise of the *Atheism of Aristotle*, which he Dedica- "ted (*r*) to Father *Mersenne*; and the Edition of "this Book was not only posterior to that Printed "by Mr. *Pascal*, but also to the Death of *Torricellius*. "Altho' the F. Capuchin did nothing but repeat "the Experiment of *Torricellius*, without adding "any thing new to it; yet he ascribed it to him- "self, in the Narrative he caus'd to be Printed the "next Year, as if he had been the Inventor of it, "without acknowledging that it had been try'd "in *Italy* and *France* before him. This Writing of "F. *Valerian* surpriz'd those that were skill'd in "such things, who discover'd his Usurpation, and "his Pretension was presently refuted by *Roberval*, "who alledg'd the Impression of Mr. *Pascal* as an "undoubted Proof against him. He plainly prov'd, "that *Magni* had made his Experiment from the Ac- "count he had seen of it, in the Writing Mr. *Pascal* "caus'd to be sent into *Poland*, and the other Parts "of *Europe*: And the Latin Letter which he wrote "to him about it, being deliver'd to him by means "of Mr. *des Noyers*, Secretary of the Orders of the "Queen of *Poland*, this good Father made no An- "swer to it, but, by his silence, desisted from his "Usurpation." I have [illegible]ok of this Capuchin, Printed at *Warsaw* in 16[illegible] tis a Collection of Philosophical Treatises, [illegible]icated to the Holy Virgin, *de Peripatu*; *de Logica*; *de per se Notis*; *de Syllogismo Demonstrativo*; *Experimenta de Incorruptibilitate Aquæ*; *de Vitro Mirabiliter Fracto.* There is added to it a Letter of a Jesuit, proving, *Experimenta vulgata non vacuum probare, sed plenum & antiperistasim stabilire.* He publish'd at *Venice*, 1639. *Oculoris demonstratio loci sine locato, corporis successivè moti in vacuo, & luminis nulli corpori inhærentis*; and at *Rome* in 1642. *de luce mentium & ejus imagine.*

(*q*) Baillet *in the Life of* Des Cartes, *Tom.* 2. *p.* 329. *ad An.* 1647.

(*r*) *The Date of the Epist. Dedicat. is* 19 Nov. 1647.

(*C*) *The Use that was made of one of his Thoughts, in the* Provincial Letters.] This Thought, is a certain Method of bringing to light Slanderers and Calumniators, who seek to hide themselves in general Terms. "Does it not seem, says Mr. *Pascal* (*r*), "that a Slander so undetermin'd, cannot be prov'd "to be an Imposture? Nevertheless, an ingenious "Man has found out the Secret of it. He is a *Capu- "chin*, call'd F. *Valerian*, of the Hou[illegible]e Counts "of *Magni*. You may learn, by this [illegible]tory, how "he answer'd your Calumnies. He ha[illegible]ppily suc- "ceeded in the Conversion of the Landgrave of "[illegible]mstadt. But your Fathers, as if they had been "troubled to see a Sovereign Prince Converted "without calling for their Aid, presently wrote "a Book against him, for you persecute honest "Men every-where) [illegible]ein fallifying [illegible]f his "Passages, they im[illegible]nto him an [illegible]- "trine. They also [illegible]rs'd a Letter [illegible]m, "wherein they told him, O *what* Th[illegible] to "*discover*, (without telling what) [illegible] *you will*

(*r*) Pascal's Provincial Letters, *p.* m. 252.

with the Jesuits (*D*), and thereby lost his Liberty. He was one of those who Converted β Prince *Ernest*, Landgrave of *Hesse*. I think he has too far extended his Character, by calling himself *Apostolical Missionary to the North Countries*.

He was of a Noble γ, Illustrious and Numerous Family in the *Milanese*, and was Born about the Year 1587 δ. "When he took upon him the Habit of a *Capuchin*, he "assum'd the Name of *Valerian*. He was a long time Master of the Novices, and "was chief Guardian to the Houses of his Order. He profess'd also Philosophy and "Theology, and because he had great Experience in Controversy, Pope *Urban* VIII. "who had much Esteem and Consideration for him, made him Apostolical Missionary "for all *Germany*, *Poland*, *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and Declar'd him the Head of the "Missions to the North. It was believ'd, that he was no less skill'd in Politicks than "Theology, which induc'd the Potentates of *Europe* to send him on several Embassies. "By these Advances, he came near to the Honour of a (*E*) Cardinal's Cap: But his "generous Contempt of the Pomps of this World, made him contented with the Fatigues "of the Mission," which were very great and dangerous. ζ *He suffer'd also much from the Peripateticks, who look'd upon him as an Enemy to their* Aristotle. *He was thrown into a frightful Prison, under some Pretence of a New Enterprize; but was let out of it, to his Honour, by the Assistance of the Emperor* Ferdinand III. *Towards the latter end of his Life he retired to* Saltzburg, *where he Died at the Age* θ *of* 75 *Years, whereof he had liv'd* 60 *in the Order of the* Capuchins. *The History of his Death, is found in a little Book Printed in*

β *He Disputed, for that end, at* Rheinsfeld, *with* Haberkorn, *a Lutheran Professor of Divinity at* Giessen, *in the Year* 1651.

γ Baillet, *in Tom.* 1. *of his Anti.* p. 257, 259.

δ *Id. ib.* p. 259.

ζ *Id. ib.* p. 260.

θ *In the Year* 1661.

"*will be much troubled! For unless you take care of "this Matter, we shall be oblig'd to acquaint the Pope "and Cardinals with it.* What shall I do, *answer'd "he* (*a*), against these general and undeterminate "Reproaches? How shall I convict them of "these Slanders they do not declare? The only "way is this, to declare openly and publickly, to "all those who threaten me, That they are infa-"mous Impostors, and impudent Lyars, unless "they discover these Crimes to all the World. "Let my Accusers therefore appear and publish "these things upon the House-tops, which they "have falsly whisper'd into the Ear with great "Assurance." The Author of the *Provincial Letters* (*b*) observes, That the Jesuits having Answer'd nothing to this Challenge, did nevertheless, some Years after, *attack F.* Valerian *after the same manner, upon another Subject.* He defended himself again (*c*) in the same way. "There are few People, "*says he* (*d*), who are capable of opposing so "powerful a Tyranny; which yet I do: For I "have put a stop to their Impudence, and I shall "put a stop to it again by the same means. "I declare therefore, That they have Ly'd most "Impudently, MENTIRI IMPUDENTISSIME. "Let them prove the Things which they object "against me, or else let them pass for Men con-"victed of an impudent Lye. Their Proceeding "hereupon, will discover who is in the Right. "In the mean time, I desire all the World to ob-"serve, That this kind of Men, who will not en-"dure the least Reproach which they can refute, "appear very patient under those they cannot de-"fend, and disguise their want of Power, with "the Cloak of a false Vertue. Wherefore, I have "boldly attack'd them, and endeavour'd to bring "them to shame; that even the rudest People "may perceive, that if they hold their Peace, "their Patience is not the effect of their Meekness, "but of the Trouble of their Conscience." Mr. *Pascal* had no sooner related this Method of F. *Valerian*, but he made use of it on behalf of the *Jansenists*. "This Father, *says he* (*e*), hath found the Secret "of stopping your Mouths; and thus we must "do, every time you accuse People without "Proof. We need only answer to every one of "you, as the Father *Capuchin* did, *Mentiris Im-"pudentissime.*" He renew'd that Imitation fifteen Days after: (*f*) "You must Speak-out, my Fa-"thers; you must Name him, or else you must "be content to be no more regarded than Lyars, "unworthy of any Credit. After this manner, "the good Father *Valerian* has taught us, *to put "such Accusers to the Torture*, and Expose "them by our Silence, in this Case, will be a "sufficient entire Conviction of a Diabolical Ca-"lumny. The Blindest of your Friends will be "forc'd to confess, *that this is not the effect of your "Virtue, but of your Disability.*" Since that time, Mr. *Arnaud* has more than once made use of this Thought of the Capuchin, and at last it was made use of in some Books of Protestants. It appear'd in Numerical [illegible] (*g*), and produc'd no other Answer in the Book of its First Inventor; the Accuser of this *Cabal* could not Answer the Challenge, but was obstinately Silent. However that be, the Name of Father *Valerian* was every-where famous, upon the account of this Invention.

(*a*) *In a Book Printed at* Prague, *in* 1655. p. 112.

(*b*) Pascal, *ib.* p. 253.

(*c*) *I think it was in his Book* de Homine infami personato sub titulis M. Jocosi Severi medii. *Dannhawer cites some Passages out of it, in his* Vale Triumphale, p. 8, 9. 136. 188.

(*d*) Paschal, *ib.* p. 254.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) *Idem* Paschal, *Letter* xvi. p. 275.

(*g*) *Printed at* Rotterdam, 1691. p. 357, 358. *of the* 2*d Edition.*

(*D*) *He had great Quarrels with the Jesuits.*] What I have quoted out of the *Provincial Letters*, will not suffer us to doubt of it; but we do not perceive that this Father reap'd any advantage by this Secret he had found out, of putting his Slanderers to silence; for tho' he discover'd their disability to Prove their Accusations, yet he was cast into Prison. It was (say some) because he granted to the Protestants, That the Primacy and Infallibility of the Pope, are not founded upon Scripture (*h*), but only upon Tradition (*i*). *In æstu disputationis eò se abripi passus homo est, ut sua victa graviter cædens, quod res est, scriberet,* Primatum & Infallibilitatem Romani Pontificis ex Scripturis probari non posse, sed sola traditione constare. *Quod Majestatis Pontificiæ violatæ nefas interpretati Jesuitæ* λεχθεν, *effecerunt, ut Valerianus in vincula raptus, ex iisdem causam dicere coactus fuerit.* His Quarrels with the Jesuits, did not always run upon Heterodox Opinions, but Pecuniary Concerns were also intermix'd with them. This *Capuchin* complains very much of the Snares that were laid for a Widow, his Kinswoman, to the prejudice of a Pupil. *Est quoddam genus hominum grave,* says he (*k*), *& intolerabile Orbi Christiano, viduis vero pijs specialiter exitiale. ----- Neminem nomino, sed do in argumentum veritatis, si nemo omnium sit, qui nem intelligat quos designo: si nemo eorum sit, qui me postulet reum detractionis apud Judicem competentem. Huic genti, eorumque mancipiis imputo, quæ sub nomine meæ charissimæ cognatæ fiunt. Hos enim nec postulante, Vir omni exceptione major, ex meo scripto monuit, frustra tamen, de omnibus, quæ iniquissimè perpetrantur, velut ex sententia viduæ, in quam gravis artibus conantur devolvere jura hæredis minorennis, futuri hæredes ipsius viduæ, in præmium quòd eam irretierint iis artibus.*

(*E*) *He came near to the Honour of a Cardinal's Cap.*] I shall cite the Words of a *German* Writer, who relates, 1. That this *Capuchin* made an Harangue at *Rome*, in the Congregation for Propagating the Faith, to prove, by strong Reasons, that the Society of certain Women and Maids, which took upon them the Name of *Jesuitesses*, ought to be abolish'd. It was abolish'd by the Bull of *Urban* VIII. publish'd in the Month of *May*, 1631. 2. That the Jesuits hindred him from being promoted to the Dignity of a Cardinal; tho' *Uladislaus*, King of *Poland*, had written on his behalf upon this Subject to Pope *Urban* VIII. (*l*) *Ille* (*Kortholtus ait*) *coram sacra Congregatione de propaganda fide, gravissimam & nervosis rationum momentis instructam orationem Romæ habuit, quæ movit & pevicit, ut nova, & ad morum virtutumque confusionem Viennæ ac Pragæ propagata Jesuitissarum Societas, Pontificia autoritate dissolveretur, & everteretur. Sed eidem deinceps* Lojolitæ, *ne Cardinalitiam dignitatem impetraret, obicem posuere. Quæ* Uladislao, Poloniæ Regi, *de Valeriano fecerit sententia, testatum fecit vel una Epistola ad Urbanum VIII. scripta, qua prædictus Rex Valeriano Cardinalatûs dignitatem acquirere contendit; ac præter difficultatem*

(*h*) *See the Passage of his Book* de Homine infami personato, *quoted by* Dannhawerus, *in* Vale Triumphale, p. 288.

(*i*) Heideggerus Historia Papatus, p. 319. *Note, That by a Passage in* Memorabilia Ecclesiastica, *l.* 6. *c.* 12. *ad An.* 1651. *I find Mr.* Heidegger *has not rightly related this Fact.*

(*k*) In Comment. de Homine infami Personato, apud Dannhaw. *ib.* p. 136.

(*l*) Andreas Carolus, Memorabil. Eccles. Sæculi 17. *l.* 4. *c.* 9. p. 766.

in 1662. in 12°. under this Title, (F) Relatio veridica de pio obitu R. P. Valeriani. I ſhall give ſome account of (F) an Anſwer he made to a Book of *Comenius*.

MAHOMET, the Founder of a Religion which has been for a long time, (A) and is ſtill of a vaſt extent, was born at *Mecca* in *Arabia* in the VI. Century. The Year of his (B) Birth and the Condition (C) of his Family are not agreed upon; But no Body denies that *Abdalla* his Father and *Emina* his Mother were poor. *Abdalla* died * 2 Months before the Birth of *Mahomet*; *Emina* follow'd him 6 Years after; and *Abdolmutleb* the Father of *Abdalla* died two Years after her; and ſo this Infant muſt be educated by *Abutaleb* his Uncle. *Abutaleb* and † his Wife were well ſatisfied with the Behaviour of their Nephew; but not having ſufficient means to marry him, they thought fit to place him in the Service of a Woman who ſent Merchandizes into *Syria*. This Woman call'd *Chadigha*, fell in Love (D) with *Mahomet*, Driver of her Camels, and married him, when he was 25 Years old. He had by this Woman ξ three Sons who died very young, and four Daughters which were well married. Becauſe he was ſubject to the Falling Sickneſs, and had a Mind to conceal this Infirmity from his Wife, he made her believe, that he did not fall into theſe Convulſions (E), but upon the ſight of the Angel *Gabriel*, which he was not able to bear, who came to reveal to him many things in the Name of God concerning Religion. *Chadigha*

* Elmacin *apud* Hotting. *Hiſt. Orient. l. 2. c. 1. p. 205.*

† Abunazarus *p. 161. apud* Hotting. *Ibid.*

ξ *Id. apud eundem* Hotting. *ib. p. 210.*

(a) Hottinger, *ubi ſupra pag. 137.*

(b) Poſtel in præfat. Grammat. Arabicæ. Ludovicus Regius de viciſſitud. rerum. *l. 8. in fine*, in Brerewood's *Enquiries into the diverſity of Languages chap. 14. p. 203.*

(c) Brerewood, *Ib.*

(d) Freherus in Chronologia ad Jus Græco-Romanum Leunclavii.

(e) *Pfeiffer ubi infra pag. 267.*

(f) Erpenius, *Orat. 2. de ling. Arabica p. 42. apud* Hotting. *Hiſtor. Orient. pag. 145.*

(g) Scindlerus *in Lexico apud* Hoornbeek *Summa controverſ. p. m. 76.*

(h) *Vide* Genebr. Chronolog.

(i) Joh. Andreas *in confutione ſectæ Muhammedicæ, apud* Hotting. *ibid.*

(k) *Hiſtor. Orientat. pag. 145.*

(l) *Acta Erud'tor. Lipſ. 1689. pag. 377.*

(m) *Ludovicus Godefredus in Archontol. Coſmogr. apud* Hotting. *ubi ſupra pag. 136.*

(n) *Mahometis Arabis vitam qui deſcripſerunt multi fuerunt, qui etſi non uno modo illius res tradunt, in eo tamen conveniunt omnes quod eum è plebeio vilique genere ortum, pauperibus parentibus, patre Ethnico, matre Judæa affirmant.* Mr. *Mureri* has follow'd this Opinion, which does not agree with the *Arabian* Authors: They do not pretend that *Mahomet*'s Father was rich, but they maintain that he was of great Extraction, and that the Tribe of the *Coreiſchites* to which he belong'd, excell'd in Rank and Dignity all the other Tribes of the *Arabians* (n). *Ibn Calican* an *Arabic* Author ſays expreſly, that *Emina* was of that Tribe, and 'tis very probable, ſince the *Arabians* to this Day do ſtill exactly obſerve the Cuſtom of Marrying (o) with the Women of their own Tribe.

(o) *Ibid. pag. 136.*

(p) *Compare what has been ſaid of* Apuleius *in the Remark I. of his Article.*

(q) Chevreau's *Hiſt. of the World B. 5. ch. 1. p. 10. of the 3d. Tome of the* Dutch *Edition*, 1687.

(r) Samuel Schultetus *in Eccleſia Muhammedana. This Theſis was maintain'd at* Straſburg *in 1667. under* Dannhawerus.

(1) *Zon. 3. p. 127. b.*

(2) *Zonaras l. c. Cedren p. 347. ad A. 21. Heracl.*

(3) *Eutrop. contin. rerum R. l. 18. p. 255.*

(4) *Zonaras To. 3. in Heraclio, p. m. 127. b. Cedren. p. 347.*

(5) *Cedren. anno 21. Heracl. p. m. 347. It. Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius & alii ap. Baron. ad A. 630. n. 2.*

(6) *Cedr. c. 1. Eutrop. contin. rerum Rom. l. 18. p. 255.*

(7) *Elmac. Hiſt. Sar. l. 1. c. 1. apud* Hotting. *l. 1. p. 257.*

(t) *In the Remark R.*

(u) Mahumedes. . . dolo ſuarum uxorum periit an. Heraclii 22. Chriſti 632. Joannes Curopalata, *Hiſtoriar. ſuo tempore mundi ſpatium, ſub Heraclio, p. m. 346. He cites Paulus Diac. l. 18. Ildeph.*

(A) *And is ſtill of a vaſt Extent.*] We muſt not believe thoſe who ſay (b) that it poſſeſſes one half of the World or more; 'tis ſufficient to ſay, "That "if we divide the known Countries of the Earth "into 30 equal parts, 5 of them are *Chriſtians*, "6 of them *Mahometans*, and 19 of them *Pagans*. (c) Thus the *Mahometan* Religion is of much larger extent than the Chriſtian, for that exceeds it by one 30th part of the known World, which is a very conſiderable Country.

(B) *The Year of his Birth is not agreed upon.*] He was born according to ſome (d) in 560, or in 577. (e) According to others in 580 (f) or (g) in 593, or (h) in 600, or (i) in 620: But the moſt probable Opinion is, that he was born in 571, or 572. This is the Opinion of *Elmacin*: Thus you ſee, that tho' a Man adheres to one Author only, there is no avoiding variety. *Elmacin* if we believe *Hottinger*, (k) places the Birth of *Mahomet* in 571, but if we believe *Reiskius* he places it in 572. *Cum nativitas Muhammedis inter Arabes & Chriſtianos hiſtoricos valde ſit controverſa, ex omnibus ſe Elmacinum ſequi profitetur Reiskius, tanquam antiquum in hiſtoria Saracenica ſcriptorem, & ex ſæculo poſt N. C. ſeptimo ſuperſtitem. Emergit vero ſic annus nativitatis poſt N. C. 572, dieſque 22. menſis niſan, h. e. Aprilis:* Thus the Journaliſts of *Leipſick* (l) expreſs themſelves in the Extract of the *Chronicon Saracenicum & Turcicum Wolfgangi Drechſleri*, printed the 1ſt time in 1550, and in the laſt Place at *Leipſick* in 1689. Is it not a ſhame to take ſo little notice of the Year wherein a falſe Prophet was born, who made ſo great a Noiſe during his Life, and is become the Idol of many Nations after his Death?

(C) *And the Condition of his Family.*] An infinite Number of Authors have written that this falſe Prophet was of mean Extraction; and that his Father was a *Pagan* and his Mother a *Jeweſs*. (m) *Mahometis Arabis vitam qui deſcripſerunt multi fuerunt, qui etſi non uno modo illius res tradunt, in eo tamen conveniunt omnes quod eum è plebeio vilique genere ortum, pauperibus parentibus, patre Ethnico, matre Judæa affirmant.* Mr. *Mureri* has follow'd this Opinion, which does not agree with the *Arabian* Authors: They do not pretend that *Mahomet*'s Father was rich, but they maintain that he was of great Extraction, and that the Tribe of the *Coreiſchites* to which he belong'd, excell'd in Rank and Dignity all the other Tribes of the *Arabians* (n). *Ibn Calican* an *Arabic* Author ſays expreſly, that *Emina* was of that Tribe, and 'tis very probable, ſince the *Arabians* to this Day do ſtill exactly obſerve the Cuſtom of Marrying (o) with the Women of their own Tribe.

(D) Chadigha *fell in Love with* Mahomet . . . *and married him.*] Some ſay that he made uſe of Enchantments to make the Woman (p) fall in Love with him; but others pretend that his youth and natural Vigour, which was very ſurpriſing, as we ſhall ſhow hereafter, was ſufficient for that end. Mr. *Chevreau* ſays one Thing which none of the reſt affirm, viz. That this Woman was married when *Mahomet* was a Domeſtick Servant to her. (q) "He was ſold or entruſted with *Abdimenephi*, the "richeſt Merchant of the *Iſmaelites*, to whom he "did very great Services: His Wife *Cha-* "*digha* fell in Love with him; the Factor per- "haps had ſome Qualities which the Maſter want- "ed. If we believe ſome Authors, he was thick set, "of moderate Stature, had a great Head, a dark "Viſage, a lively Colour, a modeſt Carriage, a "noble Air, a nimble and active Body, a civil "Addreſs, an inſinuating Converſation, a fine and "pliant Wit: he was Eloquent, and Strong, and "commonly deſpis'd the Dangers which others "fear." Here follows a Paſſage which teſtifies that he made uſe of Charms. (r) *Tum verò animi æquè ac corporis dotibus . . . ornatus, Chadigham heram ſuam in ſui primum convertit amorem (præſtigiis illud factum ſcribit* Zonaras (1), *habitum eum pro mago teſtantur* Richardus *in Confuſione Alcorani, & non pauca Alcorani* Azoarx) *cujus potitus matrimonio, (2) & cum eâ divitiis ampliſſimis, (3) ingentia moliri cepit, & amplarum regionum Imperium tantùm non deglutire.*

(E) *He made his Wife believe that he fell not into theſe Convulſions.*] He was 40 Years old when he begun to ſet up for a Prophet, and he would have his Wife to be his 1ſt *Proſelyte*. (s) *Uxori ſuæ primum, (4) adjutus Monachi illius Byzantini opera, ſuas perſuaſit revelationes, Gabrielem Angelum à DEO miſſum ſecum colloqui fingens, & de diverſis ad religionem ſpectantibus rebus monere ac inſtruere, cujus aſpectum quod ferre nequiret, ſe oborta ex meru vertigine, collabi, & humi procumbere; hâc autem ratione comitialem morbum quo vexabatur, callidè excuſabat (5). Illa verò Chadigha circum curſitare, maritum ſuum ceu Prophetam deprædicare, in eundemque errorem alias gentiles ſuas pertrahere, pari (6) etiam munere fungente ſervo Zeido, aliiſque, (7) quos auro corruperat Muhammed.* If he begun with ſeducing his Wife, he did it only in proſpect of uſing the common Artifice of Innovators, who affect to have ſome Women among their Devotees, and to employ their Intrigues and Zeal that they may ſucceed in their Deſign. But *Mahomet*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter (t) ſlighted this Stratagem. He had Wives and Concubines in a very great Number; but it was for a Natural Uſe, for the Cure of his Incontinence, in a Word, for Venereal Pleaſure and not for the Propagation of his Faith. He did not win the Affection of his Wives, (u) for 'tis ſaid, they took away

Chadigha being either deceiv'd, or feigning her self to be so, went about, and told ‡ from House to House, that her Husband was a Prophet, and by that means endeavour'd to procure him followers. His Servant and some others whom he employ'd, labour'd in the same Design, and that with so much Success, that the Magistrates of *Mecca* fear'd an Insurrection, and therefore to prevent the Disorders which the rise of a new Sect usually produces, they resolv'd to rid themselves of *Mahomet*. He was made acquainted with it and fled. The Time of (*F*) this Escape is the *Epoch* of the *Mahometans*, from whence they reckon the Years of the *Hegira*. He retir'd to *Medina* accompanied with a few People; but was afterwards joyn'd by many of his Disciples. He made haste to publish his Design, of planting his Religion by Arms. He gave a great Standard † to his Uncle *Hamza*, and sent him on a Party with 30 Men: This First Attempt had no Success, but the Second was Successful; for he charg'd with 319 Men, a Caravan of about 1000 *Koreischites*, and beat them. The Booty was considerable, and he lost but 14 Men, who were honourably plac'd (*G*) in the *Mahometan* Martyrology. After many considerable Battels, he made himself Master of *Mecca*, in the 8th Year of the *Hegira* ξ. He died Three Years after at *Medina*, at 63 Years of Age, according to some Historians *. 'Tis not easy to know the Detail of his Actions; for if the Writers of his own Sect have invented a 1000 Fables to honour him, 'tis no ways probable, that his Adversaries made any scruple of publishing Lyes against him. 'Tis very remarkable that he himself (*H*) says, that he wrought no Miracles, and yet his Followers attribute to him many. They pretend, that

‡ See Remark (*E*).

† Hotting. *ubi supra p.* 269. *ex Elmacino.*

ξ *Idem p.* 271.

* *Id. ib. p.* 273. *ex Elmacino & Patricida.*

away his Life. He was unfaithful to them and beat them; and he even made a Law which permitted Husbands to beat their Wives, when it was necessary; he alledg'd that Edict when he had beat one of his own, and saw that others murmur'd at it, and for fear this Reason should not satisfy them, he joyn'd to it a pleasant Sophism, a ridiculous Distinction. I have not, said he, beaten her as she is my Spouse, but as she is a curs'd old Woman. (*m*) *Licentiam verberandarum uxorum, ex proprio dabat exemplo, nam quum aliquando durius excepisset mulierum suarum aliquam, & cetera indignarentur, ipse tum legis patrocinio usus fuit, tum tali distinctione: quod illam verberasset, non quatenus uxor ejus, sed quod execranda esset vetula.*

(*m*) *Hoornb. Summa controvers. p.* 162.

(*a*) Hotting. *ubi supra p.* 261.

(*F*) *The time of this Escape is the* Epoch *of the* Mahometans.] They call it *Hegira*, which Word signifies *Flight*; but that their *Epoch* might bear an honourable Name; they affected to use this Word in a peculiar Sense, (*a*) I mean, for an Act of Religion, which makes a Man quit his Country to avoid the Violence of those that persecute his Faith. The *Koreischites* look'd upon *Mahomet* as a Seditious Person, and an Impious Wretch who fled to avoid the just Punishment that was prepared for him. He on the contrary and his Companions, in Banishment, pretended that they were holy Pilgrims who fled for the cause of Religion, and of the true God. *Mahomet* had set up for a Prophet a long time before he abandon'd his Country, and had spent many Days in a Cave to prepare his Prophecies. (*b*) *Quod autem seditionem hinc metuerent Mecchani, præveniendum his censuere motibus novis, Muhammedemque seditionis, sub religionis prætenu motæ, accusatum, convictum & condemnatum è medio tollere constituerant, nisi Muhammed de periculo admonitus solum ac civitatem vertisset, quod anno ætatis ipsius quinquagesimo quarto contigit, cum jam* 15. *per annos Pseudoprophetiam in spelunca Garherа (uti Numa cum Egeria) prope Meccham, in quâ multos ad crepusculum usque delituerat soles, partim constasset, partim in vulgus sparsisset.* This Flight happen'd (*c*) on the 16th of *July* 622.

(*b*) Schultet. *ubi supra.*

(*c*) Hotting. *ubi supra p.* 262.

(*G*) *In the* Mahometan *Martyrology.*] These are a pleasant sort of Martyrs, who are kill'd for robbing a rich Caravan, while they practise the Trade of a Soldier and a *Bandite*. *Elmacin* relates, that *Mahomet* made this Incursion only to rob the Caravan. (*d*) *Audiverat autem Abusophianum filium Harethi in Syriam cum magna caravana Koreischitarum* OPIBUS *onusta contendere.* EGRESSUS EST IGITUR EAS DIREPTUM. ... *Vicerunt Musimini occidentes infidelium* 70. *totidemque capientes. Ex Musliminis vero tanquam Martyres occubuerunt* 14. The *Arabian* Authors have very much extoll'd this Flight; the *Alcoran* it self makes mention of it more than once (*e*) as an Affair wherein God and his Angels wonderfully protected a good Cause.

(*d*) Elmacin. *p.* 5. *apud* Hotting. *p.* 269.

(*e*) *See* Hotting. *ib. p.* 269, 270.

(*H*) *He says himself that he wrought no Miracles, and yet his Followers.*] *Grotius* makes use of this Confession to confute *Mahometanism*, after he has observ'd, that *Mahomet* does not deny the Miracles of JESUS CHRIST. (*f*) *Jesus visum cæcis, claudis gressum, ægrotis sanitatem dedit, imo fatente Mahumete, etiam vitam mortuis. Mahumetes* (2) *se missum ait non cum miraculis, sed cum armis, Secuti tamen sunt, qui ei & miracula attribuerunt, at qualia? Nempe quæ aut arte humanâ facilè possunt effecta reddi, ut de columba ad aurem advolante: aut quorum nulli sunt testes, ut de camelo noctu ei locuto: aut quæ sui absurditate refelluntur, (3) ut de magnâ Lunæ parte in manicam ipsius delapsa, & ab ipso remissa ad reddendam fideri restituendam.* I wonder that Mr. *Simon* forgot this fine Miracle mention'd by *Grotius*, that a part of the Moon fell into *Mahomet*'s Sleeve, which he sent back again into Heaven, lest that Star should lose its roundness. The Words of Mr. *Simon* are these. (*g*) " The *Mahometans* attribute some Miracles to their Legislator. They " affirm that he made Water come out of his " Fingers; and that by pointing at the Moon with " his Finger, he clave it asunder. They say also, " that the Stones, Trees and Beasts own'd him " for a true Prophet of God, and saluted him in " these Words. *You are the true Ambassador of God.* " They affirm moreover, That *Mahomet* went one " Night from *Mecca* to *Jerusalem*, from whence " he ascended into Heaven; that he saw Paradise " and Hell, that he spoke with God, tho' this is " reserv'd for the Blessed after their Death; and " lastly, that he descended from Heaven the same " Night, and was in *Mecca* before Day." But we must not leave this Subject before we set down the Remark of a learned *German*: He says, that some *Christians* prompted by a false Zeal against *Mahomet*, accuse him of boasting of certain Miracles, which the *Arabian* Writers never attributed to him. (*h*) " There are some *Arabian* writers " who attribute Miracles to *Mahomet*, but others " deny them. As for Instance, the former say, " *That the Moon drawing near to* Mahomet, *he clave* " *it in two.* Mr. *Pfeiffer* observes after *Beidavi*, " that *Mahomet* never said this, but only that be- " fore the last Day, that Prodigy shall be seen in " Heaven. They make him say, that at the ta- " king of the City of *Chaibar*, a *Jewish* Woman " having presented him with a poyson'd Lamb, " the Lamb being roasted warned him not to eat " it. But *Abulfeda* relating the Story does only " say, That *Mahomet* having tasted a bit of it, " and perceiving that it was poyson'd, and having " spit it out upon the Ground, he said, this Lamb " tells me that it is poyson'd, meaning, I find " that it is poyson'd. In effect he confesses often " in the Alcoran, that he could not work Mira- " cles. Wherefore I look upon it as a Fable what " some tell us of a Pigeon that came to eat in his " Ear, and of a Bull that would eat nothing but what " he gave him with his own Hand. Mr. *Pfeiffer* (4) " acknowledges, that the *Arabians* never wrote " any thing like it, and that these Stories are the " Effects of a distemper'd Zeal of some Christians " against this Impostor."

(2) Azoara, 3. 15. 17. 30. 71.

(3) Azoara 74. *Vide latius hanc fabulam ex capite Ceramur, apud Cantacuzenum Orationem in Mahumetem n.* 23.

(*g*) Simon's *Critical History of the belief of the Eastern Nations, chap.* 15. *pag.* 167.

(*h*) Augustus Pfeiffer *in vol.* 6. *of the Universal Bibliotheq. p.* 247. *The Book an Extract whereof is to be found in that vol. is intitul'd,* Theologiæ ... Judaicæ atque Muhammedicæ principia fabulosa & fructus pestilentes.

(4) *Pag.* 272. 273.

We might represent to Mr. *Pfeiffer*, that the *Christians* have us'd the *Mahometans* in this respect as the Reform'd have us'd the Catholicks: for there are in some Legendary Writers many Miracles, which are not mention'd by grave Authors of the *Roman* Communion, and which they even laugh at. Does it follow therefore, that the Protestant Writers

that even his Birth (*I*) was attended with Circumſtances ſo miraculous, as cannot be ſufficiently admir'd. There are ſome People who imagine that he might believe (*K*) himſelf in what he ſaid, and who diſapprove what is given out by others, That he drew

Writers are Calumniators, or tranſported with too much Zeal, becauſe they object to Catholicks ſuch kind of Miracles? And why may not we ſay, That the *Chriſtians* who have ridiculed the *Mahometans* for ſuch Miracles, as are not now to be found in *Arabick* Writers, had read them in ſome mean Writers, who took the liberty to tell them to the Honour of that Falſe-Prophet, as the Legendary Writers have done to the Honour of Saints. If all that Mr. *Chevreau* tells us, is not to be found in grave Authors, perhaps it may be found in Writers of a bad Character, who are like thoſe who publiſh Stitcht Pamphlets which the Hawkers ſell about the Streets. Let us hear what Mr. *Chevreau* ſays: (*i*) "When the *Koreiſchites* "of *Mecca* (*k*) deſired him to work a Miracle, "that they might know who he was, *he devided* "*the Moon into two pieces, between which they perceiv'd* "*a Mountain. Having call'd upon two Trees, they* "*join'd together to come to him, and parted again as* "*they went back, by virtue of his Command. In all* "*Places where he went, the Trees and Stones ſaluted* "*him with great Reſpect, and ſaid,* Peace be upon "you, the Apoſtle of God. *He made Fountains* "*ſpring forth from between his two Fingers, which in* "*the greateſt Drought furniſhed Water to all his Sol-*"*diers, and to all the Beaſts of Burthen in his Army,* "*which was numerous. With a Kid, and four* "*little Meaſures of Barley, he ſatisfy'd the Hunger* "*of Eighty Men; he fed a great many more with* "*a few Loaves, and at another time all his Troops* "*with a few Dates which a young Maid* [illegible] "*him in her Hand. The Trunk of a Palm-tree* [illegible] "*fore which he was went to Pray unto God, had ſo* "*great a Paſſion for him, that in his abſence it was* "*heard to Cry louder than a Camel, and it never Cry'd* "*after the minute he came near it.* - - - If we ſhould "reckon up all his Miracles, they would amount "to a Thouſand, according to ſome, and to Three-"thouſand, according to others."

(*i*) Chevreau's Hiſtory of the World, *Tom.* 3. *Book* 5. *p.* 8.

(*k*) *i. e.* Mahomet.

I will not deny, but in ſome reſpects the Zeal of our Diſputants is unjuſt; for if they make uſe of the Extravagances of a Mahometan Legendary to ridicule *Mahomet*, they violate the Equity which is due to all the World, to the Wicked, as well as Good Men. We muſt not impute to any Body what they never did, and conſequently we muſt not argue againſt *Mahomet* from theſe idle Fancies which ſome of his Followers have fabled of him, if he himſelf has never publiſh'd them. We have ſufficient Matter againſt him, tho' we charge him only with his own Faults, and do not make him reſponſible for the Follies which the indiſcreet and Romantick Zeal of ſome of his Diſciples has inſpir'd them to write.

(*I*) *That his Birth was attended with Circumſtances ſo miraculous.*] "If we believe (*a*) ſome *Arabians*, "there were Miracles that preceded or accom-"panied the Birth of *Mahomet*, which aſtoniſh'd "the whole World. Emina, *without any uneaſineſs,* "*carry'd this new Prophet in her Womb: She brought* "*him forth without Pain, and he fell, when he came* "*into the World, with his Face againſt the Ground, to* "*do honour to God. When he rais'd his Head up again,* "*he cry'd out,* That there was only One God, and "he had choſen him for his Embaſſador. *He was* "*born Circumciſ'd, as the greateſt part of the Jews be-*"*lieve of* Adam, Moſes, Joſeph, *and* David; *and* "*then the Devils were all driven out of Heaven. His* "*Nurſe* Halima, *or the Debonair Lady, who had no* "*Milk in her Breaſts, found it in them, when ſhe offer'd* "*her ſelf to this new-born Infant. Four Voices were heard* "*at the four Corners of the* Caabah, *and publiſh'd* "*theſe Wonders. The Fire of the* Perſians, *which had* "*always burnt, was extinguiſh'd. A barren Palm-tree* "*put forth Leaves, and bore Fruit. Some Midwives* "*of an extraordinary Beauty, were found preſent, with-*"*out being ſent for: And there were even Birds,* "*which had for their Bills Precious-ſtones, whoſe Splen-*"*dor ſhin'd from the Eaſt to the Weſt.*" There is nothing more ridiculous, than what they make the Guardian-Angels of *Mahomet* do. They (*b*) tranſported him to the top of a Mountain, they cleaved his Belly in two, and then they waſh'd his Entrails ſo well, that they made them whiter than Snow; they open'd his Breaſt, and took out of his Heart the black Kernel, or the blac[illegible] which is the Diabolical Seed, that tor[illegible] all o[illegible] Men: And all this they did to h[illegible] thout p[illegible] ting him to any Pain; and havi[illegible] waſh'd [illegible] clean'd the inner-part of his B[illegible] e return'd [illegible] himſelf to his Houſe. *Note*, Th[illegible] was then but Four Years old.

(*a*) Chevreau, *ib. p.* 7. *See alſo* Hotting. *ubi ſupra, p.* 149, *& ſeq. &* Hoornbeek, Summa Controverſ. *p.* 77, 78.

(*b*) *Hoornbeek*, ib. *p.* 78. He cites Joannes Andreas, in Confuſ. Sectæ Muhammed *c.* 1. & Alcoranum Germanicum, *c.* 4.

(*K*) *That he might believe himſelf in what he ſaid.*] They reaſon after this manner: All Chriſtians are agreed, that the Devil is the true Author of *Mahometiſm*, and that he only made uſe of *Mahomet* as an Inſtrument to eſtabliſh in the World a falſe Religion. We muſt therefore ſay, That *Mahomet* was delivered up to the Devil, by the Providence of God; and that the Power God gave to the Devil over this Wretch, was much more unlimited than that he had over *Job*; for God did not permit the Devil to pervert the Soul of *Job*, as he permitted him to make uſe of the Soul of *Mahomet* to deceive Mankind. The Devil having ſo great a Power over him, by the Confeſſion of all Chriſtians, as to inſtigate him to ſpread his New Opinions; could not he perſuade him, that God had eſtabliſh'd him a Prophet? Could he inſp[illegible]m with that vaſt Deſign, of planting a new R[illegible]ion; could he make him willing to endure a thouſand Troubles, that he might deceive the World: And could he not Seduce him? What reaſon can any one have, to admit the one, and deny the other? Is it more difficult to move the Will to great Deſigns, in ſpite of all the Light of Reaſon that oppoſes them, than to deceive the Underſtanding, by a falſe Perſuaſion, or to encline the Will to embrace a falſe Light, ſo as to acquieſe in it as a true Revelation? I muſt confeſs, that one of theſe things does not appear to me more difficult than the other: But if the Devil could Seduce *Mahomet*, is it not very probable, that he did effectually Seduce him? This Man would be the fitter to execute the Devil's Deſigns, if he were ſo perſuaded, than if he were not. This cannot be deny'd me; for all things being otherwiſe Equal, 'tis plain, that a Man who believes he does Well, will always be more active and earneſt, than he that believes he does Ill. We muſt therefore ſay, That the Devil guiding him with great dexterity in the execution of his Projects, did not forget the Wheel that was moſt neceſſary in his Engine, and which would beſt encreaſe the Motion of it, [illegible]. by Seducing this Falſe-Prophet. If he co[illegible]e would; and if he would, he did it; an[illegible]ave already prov'd, that he could do it. [illegible]ever, ſay theſe Gentlemen, the *Alcoran* is the Work of a Fanatick, every thing in it ſavours of Diſorder and Confuſion; it is a Chaos (*c*) of diſagreeing Thoughts. A Deceiver would have rang'd his Doctrines better; a Comedian would have been more polite. And let none ſay, that the Devil would never have perſuaded him to oppoſe Idolatry, nor to recommend ſo much the Love of the True God, and of Virtue; for this proves too much, ſince from thence we might conclude, that *Mahomet* was not at all his Inſtrument. Beſides this, we may anſwer, 1. That it was ſufficient for him to oppoſe a Falſe Religion to Chriſtianity, tho' it tended to the Ruine of Paganiſm. 2. That 'tis not poſſible to make any one believe that a Religion comes from God (*d*), if it does not teach good Doctrines of Morality. It would be to no purpoſe to alledge, that this Falſe Prophet boaſted of Converſing with the Angel *Gabriel*: For ſince the Scripture tells us, that the *Devil tranſforms himſelf into an Angel of Light*; Cannot we ſay, that he preſented himſelf to *Mahomet* under that Name, and in the Figure of the Angel *Gabriel*? But *Mahomet* would make People believe, that this Angel came and whiſper'd in his Ear, under the Figure of a Pigeon; tho' it was a real Pigeon, which *Mahomet* taught to come and [illegible] at his Ear. We ſhall quickly ſhow (*e*), that [illegible] a Fable, of which the *Arabians* make no [illegible]on. The famou[illegible]*ibert Voetius* does not at [illegible]oubt but *Mahomet* [illegible] an Enthuſiaſt, and one poſſeſs'd with a De[illegible] See his Wo[illegible]nd it will appear, that th[illegible]ave been [illegible]f the ſame Opinion. (*f*) *Non video cur hoc* [illegible] *(epilepſiæ, & maniacis deliriis aut* [illegible]*imis*

(*c*) Rudis indigeſtaque moles: Nec quic[illegible] quam niſi pondus inerſ, congeſtaque cõdem Non bene juncta-rum diſcordia ſemina rerum. *Ovid. Metamorph. l.* 1.

(*d*) *See* Divers Thoughts upon Comets, *n.* 190.

(*e*) *In the Remark V.*

(*f*) Voet. Diſputat. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 1057, 1058.

drew after him so many Followers, only by accommodating his Morals to the Corruption of Mens Hearts (*L*), and by promising them a Sensual Paradise (*M*). Without doubt, the principal Cause of the great Progress he made, was the Way he us'd, to Force

diabolic[illegible]uhammedi adfuisse energema,) *si vitam & actiones ejus intueamur. Et exserte de illo probat* Joannes A[illegible]s Maurus in Confusione sectæ Mahometicæ, [illegible]. *eum a Meccanis civibus pro fatuo & insano, & à [illegible] uxore pro Phrenetico & à Satanæ fœrationibus [illegible], fuisse habitum.* Idem ibid. & Philippus Guadagnolo in apologiâ contra Achmedum Alabadin, *c.* 10. *sect.* 1. *ex libris Saracenicis* Agar & Assifa *probant cum ex vita eremetica, & nimio jejunio factum fuisse insomnem & furiosum, & in spelunca commorantem audisse voces & sermones, loquentem autem neminem vidisse. Ita enim furiosis & dæmoniacis Enthusiastis, ac prophetis Monasteriensibus quos patrum nostrorum ætas vidit, in eo comparari posse.*

How specious soever these Reasons may appear, I choose rather to concur with the common Opinion, That *Mahomet* was an Impostor: For, besides what I shall say elsewhere (*g*), his insinuating Behaviour, and dexterous Address in procuring Friends, do plainly show, that he made use of Religion only as an Expedient to aggrandize himself. (*h*) *Facetus moribus, voce suavi, visitandi & excipiendi vices talionis lege suis reddens, pauperes muneraus, magnates honorans, conversans cum junioribus, petentem à se aliquid repulsa nunquam abigens, aut sermone facili non excipiens.* Had a true Fanatick ever such a Character? Did he ever understand his Business so well? Could a Man believe that God did for some time send an Angel to reveal to him the true Religion, and not perceive the Delusion, when he could not justifie his Mission by any Miracle. In short, this was the Case of *Mahomet*: The *Koreischites* offer'd to embrace his New Religion, provided he wrought Miracles; but he never had the boldness to promise them any: He cunningly evaded their Proposal, by telling them sometimes, that Miracles were not necessary, and sometimes, by referring them to the Excellency of the *Alcoran* (*i*). Was not this sufficient to convince him, that he was not Extraordinarily Call'd by God to found a New Religion? *See* Remark (*N*), *at the End.*

(*L*) *Accommodating his Morals to the Corruption of Mens Hearts.*] As to that Point, I do not doubt but the Persons mention'd in the preceding *Remark*, have better Grounds than they had, as to the pretended Sincerity of *Mahomet*. I do not see that this False-Prophet has derogated (*a*) from the Morality of the Gospel; and, on the contrary, I perceive, that as to Ceremonies, he has considerably encreased the Yoke of Christians. He ordains Circumcision, which is a thing very harsh to Adult Persons: He requires them to abstain from certain Meats, which is a Slavery that does not well agree with Worldly Men: He forbids the Use of Wine, which is a Precept indeed that is not so very harsh to the *Asiatick* People, as to the *Northern* Nations, and which had certainly made *Wilfred* and *Bonifacius* miscarry in their Design: But yet 'tis inconvenient in all Countries where Wine grows; and we know by Ancient and Modern History, that this Liquor does not displease the *Oriental* People. Besides, *Mahomet* impos'd Fastings and Washings, which are very troublesome, and such a frequent Use of Prayers as is tedious and uneasie. He enjoins also Pilgrimages: And, in a word, you need only consider the Forty Aphorisms (*b*) of his Morals, and there you will find every thing opposite to the Corruption of Man's Heart, the Precept of Patience in Adversity, of not speaking Evil of our Neighbours, of being Charitable, of renouncing Vanity, of doing no Injury to Man; and, lastly, that which is the Epitome of the Law and the Prophets, (*c*), *Do to your Neighbour, whatever you would that he should do unto you* (*d*).

It is therefore an Illusion, to pretend, that the only reason why the Law of *Mahomet* was propagated so readily, and submitted to so great an Extent, was, because it eas'd Men of the Yoke of Good Works and Troublesome Observances, and allow'd them in Evil Courses. If I mistake not, the only things wherein it open'd the Gap, which the Gospel had shut, are Marriage and Revenge; for it admits Polygamy, and to return Evil for Evil: But the *Jews* and *Pagans* scarce gain'd any thing by this, for they were already in Possession of a Custom which did not much trouble them in this respect. *Hottinger* (*e*) has given us a long Catalogue of the Moral Aphorisms or Apophthegms of the *Mahometans*. We may say, without flattering this Religion, that the most excellent Precepts that can be given to Man, for the practice of Virtue, and avoiding of Vice, are contain'd in these Aphorisms. *Hottinger* (*f*) makes no scruple to exalt this Morality above that of many Monks. Mr. *Simon* has spoken no less advantageously of the *Mahometan* Religion, with respect to Morality: "It consists, says he (*g*), in doing Good, and "shunning Evil, and therefore they examine "carefully Virtues and Vices; and their Casuists "are no less subtle in these Points than ours." After he has related some of their Principles concerning the Necessity of Faith, and Trust in God, and Humility and Repentance, &c. he adds, (*h*) "I pass over in silence the rest of their Morals, "because what has been said, is sufficient to show "what they are; and I can assure you, that they "are not so loose as those of some Casuists in our "Age. I shall only add, that they have many "good Precepts about the Duties of Private Persons to their Neighbour, wherein they do also "give Rules of Civility. They have also written "of the Behaviour that's due to a Prince,; and "one of their Maxims is, That 'tis never lawful "to kill him, not even to speak evil of him, under "pretence that he is a Tyrant."

(*M*) *And by promising them a Sensual Paradise.*] It must be granted, that this Promise might be a Bait to allure the *Pagans*, who had none but confus'd Notions of the Happiness of another Life; but I do not know whether it was proper to entice the *Jews*, neither do I think that it could have any force upon *Christians*: And yet how many *Christians* have been drawn into Apostacy by this False-Prophet? Suppose what he says of the Pleasures of his Paradise, ought to be literally understood, (*i*) *That each Person there shall have the Strength of* 100 *Men, to enjoy a full Satisfaction with Women, as well as to Drink and Eat.* Yet this would not balance the Idea the Scripture has given us of the Happiness of another Life; for it speaks of it (*k*) as a State which surpasses all that *Eyes have seen, or Ears heard, or hath entred into the Heart of Man to conceive.* So that, if we believe the Scripture, the Happiness of Paradise is something that surpasses Imagination, and has no Bounds set to it. Endeavour to have a fixed Idea of it, you can never compass it, but your Hopes still carry you higher, and launch out further beyond all Bounds. *Mahomet* did not allow you this Liberty, but confin'd you within certain Bounds; he multiply'd a hundred times the Pleasures you have already try'd, and there he left you: But what is a Hundred times, in Comparison of a Number Indefinite? But some may say, The Scripture speaks only of Pleasure in general; and if it makes use of Corporeal Images, as when it promises, (*l*) *that we shall be satisfied with the fatness of the house of God, and that we shall drink of the rivers of his pleasures*, you are presently warn'd, that these are Metaphors under which Spiritual Pleasures are veil'd: But this does not move Worldly Souls like Sensible Pleasures. I answer, That the Souls which are most immers'd in Matter, will always prefer the Paradise of the *Gospel* before that of *Mahomet*, provided they give an Historical Faith to the Description of the Beatifick Vision, though they should give the same Faith to the *Alcoran* (*m*). I shall explain my Meaning, by this Supposition: Let us represent to our selves two Preachers, the one a *Christian*, and the other a *Mahometan*, Preaching before *Pagans*, each of them endeavouring to allure them to his Party, by laying open the Joys of Paradise. The *Mahometan* promises Feasts and Fine Women, and, the better to move his Auditors, he tells them, that in the other World the Pleasures of Sense will be a hundred times more delicious than in this. The *Christian* declares, That the Pleasures of Paradise will neither consist in Eating nor Drinking, nor in the Conjunction of the two Sexes, but

(*g*) *In* Remark T. & LL.

(*h*) Elmacin *apud* Hotting. *p.* 241.

(*i*) *See* Hotting. *ubi supra, p.* 302, & 303.

(*a*) *See* Hotting. Historia Oriental *p.* 247, & *seq.*

(*b*) *You will find them in* Hotting. *ib. p.* 248. & *seq.*

(*c*) *Saint* Matthew, *chap.* vii. *ver.* 12.

(*d*) Si tandem feceris alii quicquid gratum esset, si tibi fieret. *Hotting. ib. p.* 250.

(*e*) Hotting *ubi supra, p.* 315, & *seq.*

(*f*) Ipsi judicent adversarii ex illis quæ ex Arabum nunc monumentis afferemus. Nonne majus sæpe & virtutum studium & vitiorum odium præ se ferant Muhammedani, quam Pontificiorum plerique religiosi. *Id p.* 314.

(*g*) Critical History of the Levant, *p.* 173.

(*h*) *Ib p.* 175, 176.

(*i*) Chevreau, *ubi supra, p.* 14. *See the Remark* Q & GG.

(*k*) 1 Cor. *chap.* ii. *ver.* 9.

(*l*) Psalm xxxvi. *ver.* 9. *See* Gassendus, Æthicæ, *l.* 1 *c.* 2. *p.* m 679. *who keeping close to the Hebrew, renders the Passage thus* Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuæ, & de torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos.

(*m*) *Take Notice of the following Marginal Note.*

force thoſe, by Arms (*N*), to ſubmit to his Religion, who would not willingly embrace it. By this means, the Chriſtian Religion (*O*) has one of the Proofs of its Divinity, *viz.* that which is drawn from its ſpeedy Propagation through the whole Earth

but that they ſhall be ſo Subſtantial, that no Man's Imagination is able to reach them; and that all that can be conceiv'd, by multiplying the Pleaſures of this World a Hundred times, a Thouſand times, a Hundred Thouſand Thouſand times, *&c.* is Nothing, in Compariſon of the Happineſs which God imparts to the Soul, by *ſeeing him face to face*, &c. Is it not certain, that the moſt Unchaſt and Gluttonous Hearers would rather follow the *Chriſtian* Preacher, than the other, tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe that they ſhould give as much Credit to the Promiſes of the *Mahometan*, as to thoſe of the *Chriſtian*? They would doubtleſs do the ſame thing, which a Soldier would do to two Captains, who would hire him for a Price; for tho' he was perſuaded that they were both of them ſincere, and would give all that they promis'd, he would certainly Liſt himſelf with him that offer'd Moſt. So likewiſe theſe *Pagans* would prefer the Paradiſe of the *Goſpel* before that of *Mahomet*, tho' they ſhould be perſuaded that both of theſe Preachers would make good to their Diſciples the Reward they had promiſed (*n*). For it muſt not be imagin'd that a Voluptuous Man loves the Pleaſures of Senſe, merely becauſe they flow from that Source; he would equally love them, if they came from any other: Make him feel more Pleaſure by ſucking in the Air in a Cave, than by eating the beſt *Ragou's*; he will quit, with all his heart, the beſt Meals, to go into the Cave (*o*). Make him feel more Pleaſure in Examining a Geometrical Problem, than in Enjoying a fine Woman, he will readily quit the fine Woman for this Problem; and conſequently it would be unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that a *Mahometan* ſhould draw after him all the Hearers that are lovers of Pleaſure: For ſince they do not love the Pleaſures of Senſe, but only becauſe they can find none better, 'tis plain they would renounce them with eaſe, to enjoy a greater Happineſs. What care I, would they ſay, if the Paradiſe of *Chriſtians* does not furniſh me with the Pleaſures of good Eating, the Enjoyment of fine Women, *&c.* ſince it provides me with other Pleaſures that infinitely exceed all the Senſible Pleaſures of this World. I think therefore, that we muſt not imagine that the Hopes which *Mahomet* has given of the Happineſs of another Life, has allur'd to his Sect the *Chriſtians* that engaged in it. We may almoſt ſay the ſame thing with reſpect to the *Jews*; for it appears by many Pſalms of *David*, that they had a wonderful Idea of the Happineſs of another Life. The *Pagans* were more likely to be entic'd, becauſe their Religion left them in *thick darkneſs*, as to the Particulars of the Joys of Paradiſe: But is it enough to tell People, That after this Life they ſhall enjoy Senſual Pleaſures with much more Satisfaction than in this World? And who are you, might they ſay, that promiſe us that? Who told you ſo? Or how do you know it? We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, in the firſt place, that *Mahomet*, antecedently to his Promiſes of Paradiſe, ſet up for a great Prophet, and that before they were allured by theſe Pleaſures, they were perſuaded of his Miſſion from Heaven, for planting of the true Faith. And ſo the great Progreſs this Sect made, is not owing to the Promiſes of a Senſual Paradiſe; for thoſe who did not believe him ſent from God, did not value his Promiſes; and thoſe who believ'd him a true Prophet, wou'd nevertheleſs have follow'd him, though he had promis'd them only a Spiritual Happineſs in the other World. We muſt not give any Occaſion to the Libertines to retort this Objection againſt the Goſpel, as if it had never been ſo effectual to Convert the *Pagans*, but upon the Account of promiſing a Paradiſe, or an Happineſs which infinitely ſurpaſſes all the Pleaſures that can be imagin'd. And particularly let us abſtain from Raillery upon the Gold and Precious-ſtones, and ſuch-like other Ornaments of *Mahomet*'s Paradiſe; for you will find ſuch things, and all kind of Precious-ſtones that the moſt famous Jeweller has in his Shop, in the Deſcription which the *Revelation* (*a*) gives us of Paradiſe. And let no Man tell me, that a Carnal and Brutiſh Soul will ſooner believe the Pleaſures that are Groſs, than thoſe that are Spiritual; for if any thing appear incredible to ſuch an one, it is chiefly the Reſurrection: Wherefore if *Mahomet* could perſuade him to believe the Reſurrection, *Chriſtian* might have convinced him of the Spiritual Joys of another World. *See the Margin†.*

(*n*) *This is to be underſtood without regard to the Doctrine of Grace, according to which, we muſt ſay, That it is by the Gift of God, and the Favour of the Holy Spirit, that a Man chooſes the true Church. We ſpeak here upon a Suppoſition, wherein the only Motives of Intereſt or Self-love are conſider'd, whereby Men would be determin'd to the Choice of a Religion.*

(*o*) Trahit ſua quemque voluptas. *Virg. Eclog.* 2. *v.* 65.

(*a*) *In ch.* xxi.

(*N*) *To force thoſe to ſubmit to his Religion.*] We need not ſearch elſewhere for the Cauſe of his Progreſs, for this was the ſole and entire Cauſe of it. I do not deny, but the Diviſions of the *Greek* Church, whoſe Sects were unhappily multiplied, the bad Eſtate of the Oriental Empire, and the Corruption of Manners, were a favourable Conjuncture for the Deſigns of this Impoſtor. But how could any reſiſt his Conquering Arms? Ask the *Dragoons* of *France*, who made Uſe of this Method in 1685; and they will tell you, that they'll be ſure to make the whole World ſign the *Alcoran*, provided they have Time to enforce that Maxim, *Compelle intrare*, Compel them to come in. 'Tis very probable, that if *Mahomet* had foreſeen he ſhould have ſo good Troops at his Command, he would not have taken ſo much Pains to have forged new Revelations, and to have put on an Air of Devotion in his Writings, and to join together ſeveral pieces of Judaiſm and Chriſtianity. Without engaging in this troubleſome Buſineſs, he might have been confident of planting his Religion where-ever his Arms were Victorious: And if any thing were capable of perſuading me, that he was much tainted with Fanaticiſm, I ſhould encline to believe it, from the infinite number of things in the *Alcoran*, which appear no-wiſe neceſſary, but in caſe he had no mind to uſe Force. Now there are many things in that Book, which are poſterior to the firſt Succeſs of *Mahomet*'s Arms.

deny but Mahomet *gave a ſtrong Bait to the* Saracens, *by allowing them Polygamy, for they were very much inclin'd to Venereal Acts.* Incredibile eſt quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uſerque ſolvitur ſexus. *Amm. Marcellin. lib.* 14. *cap.* 4. *p.m.* 14.

(*O*) *The Chriſtian Religion has one of the Proofs of its Divinity.*] The Goſpel was preach'd by obſcure People, who were deſtitute of Learning and Eloquence, and of all Human Supports, and were cruelly Perſecuted; and yet in a little time it prevail'd over the whole Earth. This is Matter of Fact which no body can deny, and which plainly proves, it was the Work of God. But this Proof will be of no force, after it can be made appear, that a Falſe-Church was enlarg'd to the like Extent, by the like Means; and 'tis certain that this Argument would be ſpoil'd, if it could be prov'd, that the *Mahometan* Religion ow'd not the Suddenneſs of its great Progreſs to the Violence of its Arms. Since therefore there are two things equally clear in the Monuments of Hiſtory, whereof one is, that the *Chriſtian Religion* was Eſtabliſh'd without the help of the Secular Arm; the other is, that the *Mahometan Religion* was eſtabliſh'd by way of Conqueſt; no reaſonable Objection can be made againſt our Proof, upon pretence, that this infamous Impoſtor ſuddenly overſpread an infinite number of Provinces with his falſe Doctrines. 'Tis well for us, that we have the Three firſt Centuries of Chriſtianity ſecure from this Parallel; for elſe it would be a folly for us to object to the *Mahometans*, the Violence they us'd for the Propagation of the *Alcoran*: They would quickly put us to ſilence, for they need only cite to us theſe words of Mr. *Jurieu* (*b*): "Can any one deny, that "*Paganiſm* was deſtroyed by the Authority "of the *Roman* Emperors? We may be bold to "affirm, that *Paganiſm* would be ſtill in being, "and that Three-fourths of *Europe* would ſtill be "Pagans, if *Conſtantine* and his Succeſſors had "not employ'd their Authority to aboliſh that "Religion. ----- (*c*) The Chriſtian Emperors "have extirpated Paganiſm, by pulling down its "Temples, deſtroying its Images, forbidding the "Worſhip of its Falſe-Gods, by appointing "Preachers of the Goſpel, in the Place of Falſe-"Prophets and Teachers, by ſuppreſſing their "Books, and ſpreading ſound Doctrine." See the 8th Letter of the *Picture of Socinianiſm*, at *Pag.* 501. where the ſame Author affirms, "That doubtleſs, "without the Authority of the Emperors, the "Temples of *Jupiter* and *Mars* would ſtill be "kept up, and the Falſe Gods of the Heathens "would have a great number of Adorers."

We muſt freely declare the Matter as it is: The Kings of *France* have planted Chriſtianity in the Country

(*b*) *Jurieu's Rights of two Sovereigns*, p. 280. *He ſays*, p. 297, 298. That Popery will never be aboliſh'd but by the Authority of the Princes that eſtabliſhed it, and that Paganiſm would be ſtill kept up and reign under the cover of the Doctrine of Toleration.

(*c*) *Ibid.* *p.* 289.

Earth; but we loſe the Proof which is taken from its large Extent (*P*). We muſt not wonder that this Falſe-Prophet never had recourſe to the Artifice us'd by all the Heads of

Country of the *Friſons* and *Saxons* by Mahometan Ways; and the ſame Force was made uſe of to plant it in the *North*. This appears horrible to Moderate Men, when they read it in the Book (*d*) of Mr. *Ornhialms*. The ſame Ways were made uſe of againſt the Sects that durſt condemn the Pope, and will be uſed in the *Indies* (*e*) whenever it can be done. And from all this Conduct it plainly appears, that we can no longer reproach *Mahomet* for having propagated his Religion by Force, I mean, by denying Toleration to any other. For he might argue thus *ad hominem*. If Force was evil in its own nature, it could never be lawfully made uſe of: But you have made uſe of it from the IVth Century, until this preſent Time; and yet you pretend you have done nothing in all this, but what is very commendable. You muſt therefore confeſs, that this Way is not evil in its own Nature, and conſequently, I might lawfully make uſe of it in the firſt years of my Vocation: For it would be abſurd to pretend, that a thing which was very Criminal in the Firſt Century; ſhould become Juſt in the Fourth; or that a thing which was Juſt in the Fourth, ſhould not be ſo in the Firſt. This might be pretended if God had made New Laws in the Fourth Century; but don't you ſound the Juſtice of your Conduct, ſince *Conſtantine* till this preſent Time, upon theſe words, *Compel them to come in* (*f*), and upon the Duty of Sovereigns? You ſhould therefore have us'd Force, if you could have done it, ever ſince the next Day after the Aſcention. *Bellarmin*, and many other Writers of the *Romiſh* Party, would grant him this; for they ſay, (*g*) "That if the Chriſtians did not Depoſe *Nero* and *Diocletian*, it was becauſe they had "not ſufficient Temporal Force to do it, but that "of Right they might have done it, being (*i*) no "ways oblig'd to endure a King over them who "is not a Chriſtian, if he endeavours to pervert "them from the Faith." And ſo they look'd upon themſelves as oblig'd to ſet up a Sovereign over them, who ſhould eſtabliſh the Goſpel, and extirpate Paganiſm, by the means of Authority. Mr. *Jurieu* does not differ much from the Opinion of *Bellarmin*, for he tells us, (*i*) That the greateſt part of the Chriſtians were Patient, only *through their Weakneſs, and want of Power*: And tho' he does not blame their Conduct, in not taking Arms againſt their Princes, yet he thinks they had Right to do it, and if they had done it, they could not have been blam'd. Doubtleſs he believes, that if they had had Power, they might have plac'd upon the Throne a *Conſtantine* or a *Theodoſius*, after the Time of *Nero*. Obſerve, I pray you, that he does not relate the manner of Aboliſhing *Paganiſm*, merely as a Matter of Fact, but as a Thing that was Juſt; for he compares it with the Conduct of the *Proteſtants*, and with that which the Catholick Princes will ſhew in a little time, as he pretends, to Ruine the Church of *Rome*. The Three Examples that he gives, of the Way that Authority may be lawfully employ'd, are, that of the Kings of *Iſrael* (*k*), that of the Chriſtian Emperors, and that of the Reformed Princes: "Theſe laſt, *ſays he* (*l*), have "aboliſh'd Popery in their States, by removing "its Profeſſors, by appointing Doctors of ſound "Doctrine and pure Morals, by burning the "Images, by burying the Reliques in the Earth, "by forbidding all Idolatrous Worſhip. They "were ſo far from doing any thing againſt the "Law of God, that they exactly obſerv'd his "Commands: For 'tis his Will, *that the kings of "the earth ſhould ſtrip the beaſt, and break her image.* "Never did any Proteſtant, to this day, blame "this Conduct, and never will any Man in his "right Mind apprehend the thing otherwiſe. "Things have always been thus, and, if it pleaſe "God, will always be ſo, in ſpite of ſome Liber-"tines and Inconſiderate Men." Conſult the 184th Page of his Book, and you will find there theſe memorable Words: "For the little Profit which (*m*) you "might draw from thence now, the Church would "ſuffer great Loſs, and perhaps you would be oblig'd "to retract in a few Years, and doubtleſs you would "do it. For if the Kings of *France* and *Spain* ſhould "come to uſe their Authority to drive Popery "out of their Dominions, as the Kings of *England*, "and *Sweden* have done, you would be ſo far "from blaming them, that you would think it "very well done. But you may be aſſur'd that "this is to come to paſs; for the Holy Spirit ſays, "*That the kings of the earth who have given their "power to the beaſt, ſhall take it from her, and that "they ſhall make her deſolate, and eat her fleſh.* The "ſame Authority of the Weſtern Kings who "erected the Empire of Popery, ſhall deſtroy it. "And this will be perfectly agreeable to the De-"ſign of God, and to his Will; wherefore we "ſhall find nothing in it to be reprov'd. And there-"fore, that you may be uniform in your Judg-"ment, follow the Truth, which never changes; "and do not govern your Opinions according to "Intereſts, which are changing every Day." You ſee therefore, that he lays it down as an immutable Principle which will hold in all Times, That 'tis lawful to make uſe of Authority, for the Propagation of the Faith. If therefore he enters into Diſpute with the *Mahometans*, he muſt renounce the Arguments which have been always us'd againſt them from the manner of propagating their Religion: For it was not, ſays he (*h*) by putting "a Sword to the Throat of Chriſtians, "to make them abjure *Chriſtianity*, and embrace "*Mahometaniſm*; but by the Poverty, Meanneſs, "Miſery and Ignorance, to which they reduced "Chriſtians;" which are Ways much leſs harſh, and more gentle, than thoſe which, he ſays, may be very juſtly made uſe of to extirpate Popery *See the Remark AA, at the End.*

(*P*) *We loſe the Proof which is taken from its large Extent.*] I cannot yet leave this Subject, until I have made one Obſervation of ſome moment. The Fathers have us'd an Argument, which is impertinently alledg'd againſt the Reformers of the XVIth Century. The Extent of the Goſpel furniſh'd the Fathers with an Argument againſt the *Jews*, and the Sects which were bred in the boſom of *Chriſtianity*; becauſe this diſcover'd the fulfilling of the Prophecies of Scripture, which foretold, that the Knowledge and Service of the True God, under the *Meſſias*, ſhould not be confin'd, as before, in one little corner of *Paleſtine*, but that all Nations ſhould become the People of God (*c*). This Reaſoning overthrew the *Jews* and *Heretick*, and continu'd in full Force until the time of *Mahomet*. Since that time we muſt forſake it; for conſidering only the Extent, the Religion of this Falſe-Prophet might claim to it ſelf the ancient Prophecies as well as the Chriſtian. We ought therefore to be ſurpriz'd, when we find the *Bellarmines* and other Writers of Controverſies affirm in general, That Extent is the Mark of the True Church, and pretend by this Method, to gain their Cauſe againſt the Proteſtants. Nay, they are even ſo imprudent (*d*), as to put Proſperity among the Marks of the true Church. It was eaſie to foreſee, that as to theſe two Marks they would be anſwer'd, That the *Mahometan* may more juſtly paſs for the true Church, than the *Chriſtian*. The Religion of *Mahomet*, is unqueſtionably of much larger Extent than the *Chriſtian*; its Victories, its Conqueſts, its Triumphs, are incomparably more illuſtrious than any thing the Chriſtians can boaſt of in this kind of Proſperity. The Exploits of the *Mahometans* are without doubt the moſt glorious things that Hiſtory can afford. What can be ſeen more admirable than the Empire of the *Saracens*, which extended from the *Straits of Gibraltar*, as far as the *Indies*? Has it fallen? See the *Turks* on one ſide, and the *Tartars* on the other, who preſerve the Grandeur and Renown of *Mahomet*. Find, if you can, among the Conquering Chriſtian Princes, any that can be put in the Balance with the *Saladines*, the *Gingis Chams*, the *Tamerlanes*, the *Amuraths*, the *Bajazets*, the *Mahomets* II. the *Solymans*. Did not the *Saracens* confine *Chriſtianity* within the Bounds of the *Pyrenean* Mountains? Did they not commit an hundred Outrages in *Italy*, and proceed as far as the heart of *France* (*e*)? Did not the *Turks* extend their Conqueſts to the Confines of *Germany*, and to the Gulf of *Venice*? The Leagues, the Croiſades, thoſe grand Expeditions, which drain'd the *Latin* Church of Men and Money, may be compar'd to a Sea, whoſe Waves flow from the Weſt to the Eaſt, to be broken when they

(*d*) *Intitled*, Hiſtoriæ Sueco-rum Gothorumq; Eccleſiaſticæ, *l.* 4. *See the* Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, for the Month of *November*, 1690. *p.* 109, *&c.*

(*e*) *See in the Remark AA. the words of the Jeſuit* Frois.

(*f*) *See upon all this the* Philoſophical Commentary upon *Compel them to come in*, part 1. ch. 7.

(*g*) Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. *l.* 5. *c.* 7. § *quod ſi*, *apud* Daillé's Reply to Adam, *part* 2. *chap.* 21. *p.* 125.

(*h*) Bellarm. *ibid.* § *probatur hujus*, *apud* Daillé, *ib.*

(*i*) *The* IXth Paſtoral Letter *of the Year* 1688. *p.* 202. *edit in* 12°.

(*k*) The Rights of 2 Sovereigns, *p.* 289.

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(*m*) *That's to ſay, from the Court of* France *being perſuaded that it muſt tolerate Falſe Religions.*

(*h*) *The* IXth Paſtoral Letter *of the Year* 1688. *p.* 196.

(*c*) *See Father* Thomaſin, *Of the Unity of the Church*, Tome 2.

(*d*) Elmacin Hiſtoria Saracenica luculentiſſime quos brevi tempore Muhammedica peſtis habuerit progreſſus, quos contra Chriſtianos ſucceſſus Adeo ut mirari lubeat quid animi fuerit Bellarmino, cum ad ejuſmodi lapſus eſt nugas. *Hotting. ubi ſupra*, *p.* 339.

(*e*) *See the Article of* Abderame.

of Parties, in the Caſe * of Hereſies and Sects. He was not ſupported by the † Intrigues of Women; and he did (Q) in no-wiſe engage the Fair Sex in

* *Conſer quæ ſupra in Gregorio I. Remark D.*

† *Except, if you will, the good Offices which* Chadigha *did him at the beginning, as I have noted above.*

they encounter the *Mahometan* Forces, like one that ſplits againſt a ſteep Rock? At laſt the Chriſtians have been forced to yield to *Mahomet*'s Star; and inſtead of looking into *Aſia* for Victory over him, they reckon it a great happineſs when they are able to maintain a running fight in the Centre of *Europe*. See hereafter (*f*) the eternal Monuments which *Chriſtianity* has erected to the Superiority of the Fortune of the *Mahometans*. We may apply to the *Mahometans* and *Chriſtians*, what *Salluſt* has obſerv'd of the *Athenians* and *Romans*. *Athenienſium res geſtæ, ſicut ego exiſtimo, ſatis amplæ, magnificæque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur: ſed, quia provenere ibi magna ſcriptorum ingenia, per terrarum orbem Athienſium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis ea potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo R. nunquam ea copia fuit: quia prudentiſſimus quiſque negotioſus maxime erat. Ingenium nemo ſine corpore exercebat. Optimus quiſque facere, quam dicere; ſua ab aliis benefacta laudari, quam ipſe aliorum narrare, mallebat* (*g*). The *Mahometans*, being more addicted to War than Study, have not written Hiſtories equal to their Actions; but the *Chriſtians*, having many great Wits, have wrote Hiſtories which excel all that they have done. But notwithſtanding this want of Hiſtorians, theſe Infidels can tell us, (*h*) That Heaven has at all times given teſtimony to the Holyneſs of their Religion, by the Victories they have obtain'd. The Chriſtians ought not to uſe that Sophiſm, and imitate them impertinently, as a Father of the Oratory did (*i*). His Book is Scandalous, and of pernicious Conſequence; for it is founded upon a falſe Suppoſition, That the True Church is that which God has moſt enrich'd with Temporal Bleſſings. If we determine Diſputes of Religion by this Rule, *Chriſtianity* would quickly loſe the Cauſe: But Prudence will not permit that they ſhould be decided, in that manner; they muſt be fortified by Confeſſions of Faith, and no regard muſt be had either to the Extent, or greater Number of Victories. I do not know whether we may venture to be try'd by our Morals; but if the Infidels ſhould agree to allow the Preference to Wit, Learning, and Military Virtue, we muſt take them at their Word, for they would infallibly loſe the Cauſe at this time; ſince they are much inferior to the Chriſtians in theſe Three things. A fine Advantage indeed, that we know better than they the Art (*k*) of Killing, of Bombarding, and Deſtroying Mankind! Obſerve, I pray you, that the *Mahometan* Religion had formerly a large ſhare in that Temporal Glory which conſiſts in cultivating Sciences; for they flouriſh'd under the Empire of the *Saracens* with great Luſtre (*l*), who then had fine Wits, good Poets, great Philoſophers, famous Aſtronomers, and moſt renown'd Phyſicians; to ſay nothing of many Califfs, who purchas'd a very good Reputation by their Moral Qualities, and thoſe Peaceable Virtues, which are no leſs valuable than the Military Virtues. There is therefore no kind of Temporal Proſperity wherewith that Sect has not been favour'd in a very diſtinguiſhing manner.

I have already ſaid, That it would not be very ſafe to judge of *Chriſtians*, whether they be a True Church, by their Morals. I do not pretend, that Chriſtians are more irregular, as to their Morals, than the Infidels, but I dare not affirm that they are leſs. The Relations of Travellers do not agree in this; for ſome of them very much commend the Probity, Charity and Devotion of the *Turks*, and repreſent the *Turkiſh* Women as Patterns of Modeſty and Shamefacedneſs: There are alſo ſome that ſpeak very ill of the Morals of that Nation. *Hottinger* quotes an Author that admires the Virtue of the *Turkiſh* Women, and oppoſes it to the Behaviour of the *Chriſtian*. (*m*) *Certe mihi magna admiratio oritur quando honeſtatem quam vidi in fœmineo ſexu inter Turcos conſidere, & impudiciſſimos, improbos & damnatos mores fœminarum inter Chriſtianos conſpicio.* The *Turkiſh* Women never ſhow their Face, ſtir out but little, and would account it a Diſgrace to ride on Horſeback. The Diſcourſe which a Husband holds with his Wife in his own Houſe is ſo modeſt, that nothing of Senſuality is to be obſerv'd in it, no more than in her Countenance. (*a*) *Ita in domibus propriis viri cum uxore nunquam [illegible] motibus vel collocutione minimum indici[illegible] inhoneſtatis deprehendi poteſt.* Sir *John* [illegible] informs us, That in *Perſia* they Marry without ſeeing one another; (*b*) "and that a Man does not ſee his "Wife, until he has conſummated the Marriage, "which he many times does not until ſome days "after he has brought her home; for the Woman "ſhuns him, and hides her ſelf among the "Women, being unwilling to let her Husband "do it. [illegible] things happen often among "Perſons of Quality, becauſe, in their opinion, "it favours Lewdneſs in a Woman to give the "Man ſo much the laſt degree of Favour. The "Maids of the Blood-Royal do more eſpecially uſe "this Way, and ſome Months paſs before they "can be brought to ſubmit." He ſpeaks quite otherwiſe of the *Georgians*, who make Profeſſion of Chriſtianity; for after he has mention'd all the Faults imaginable of the *Georgians*, he adds, (*c*) "The Women are no leſs Vicious nor Wicked; "they are eaſily overcome by the Men, and have "certainly a larger ſhare than they in this torrent "of Impurity which overflows all their Country." The Author quoted by *Hottinger*, does no leſs (*d*) extol the Morals of the *Turkiſh*, above thoſe of the *Chriſtian* Women, than the Behaviour of the *Turks* above that of the *Chriſtians*. Other Relations accuſe the *Turks* of extreme Lewdneſs, and do not forget the multitude of their Concubines, which they buy in the Market, and whom they ſearch and [illegible] over their Bodies before they agree the Price, juſt as the Butchers do when they buy Beaſts. (*f*) *Verè ut Pius II.* (l. 1. Epiſt. 131. *& Boskhierus ex eodem* Philip. 10. *p.* 362) *de Turcis ſcripſerit*, eſſe populum lambentem, fellatorem, Lesbiatorem, fœminarum omnium concubitum guſtantem & delibantem, *addimus & verè fornicatorium, utpote, qui non tantum Virgines violant (ſcribente Bartholomæo Georgievitz.)* (cap. 6. & 7.) *etiam ante ora patrum, ſed etiam maſculos captivos, indomitæ libidinis hi homines ſibi ſubſternunt* (Boskhier. p. 61. & 89.) *In foro venales, nudoſque exponunt viros fœminaſque, videndos & coram omnibus contrectandos, etiam quâ pudor naturæ debetur, nudos currere, ſaltare jubent, quâ vitia, ſexus, ætas, corruptio vel integritas appareant.* Thus a Pope accuſes the *Turks* of many Lewd Actions: But what the Catholick Writers have written of the Court of *Rome*, and what may be written of many Chriſtian Nations, is no better; inſomuch that it ſeems it may be affirm'd in general, that Chriſtians and Infidels cannot juſtly charge one another; and if there be any difference between them as to their bad Morals, that the difference of the Climate is rather the cauſe of it, than the diverſity of Religion.

(*Q*) *He did in no-wiſe engage the Fair Sex in his Concerns.*] The Permiſſion he granted to Men to have many Wives, and to (*g*) Whip them when they were not Obedient, and to Divorce them (*h*) upon any Diſpleaſure, was a Law very prejudicial to the Female Sex. He took care to deny Women the liberty of having many Men, neither would he allow them to part from their Husbands, though they were troubleſome, at leaſt unleſs they conſented (*i*). He ordain'd, That a Woman Divorc'd, could not Marry again, but only twice; and that if ſhe was Divorc'd from the third Husband, and the firſt would not take her again, ſhe ſhould never marry all her life-time (*k*). He was ſo far from permitting them to ſhow their Breaſt, or at leaſt their Neck, that he would not ſuffer their Feet to be ſeen, but only by [illegible] Husband. *Mulieres itaque bonæ ſe curent, ne lumbos aſpiciant, ſuoque populo tegentes collum & pectus, [illegible]que ſuam pulchritudinem, niſi quantum apparere neceſſitas cogat, celent omnibus, ſpeciemque pedum etiam eundo, nili maritis ſuis* (*l*). But 'tis true, that in this he only re[illegible] the Cuſtom obſerv'd in *Arabia*; for we le[illegible]om *Tertullian*, [illegible] the Women of that C[illegible] did thus co[illegible]eir Face, ſo that they co[illegible]ot make uſe but [illegible]e Eye (*m*). *[illegible]unt vel Arabiæ fœminæ Ethn[illegible]ua non caput, [illegible]iem [illegible]que cuperetur ab eo.* *Ib. Surat.* 3. (*k*) *Ibid.* [illegible] (*l*) *Ibid. Surat.* 34. (*m*) Tertul. *de Virginibus velandis.*

(*a*) *News from the* Republick of Learning, *Oct.* 1686. *p.* 1138. *in the Abſtract of the Voyages of Sir* John Chardin.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 1129.

(*c*) Septem-Caſtrenſis de Turcarum moribus, *c.* 8. *p.* 38. *apud* Hotting. *ib. p.* 304.

(*d*) Cornelius Uythagius in Antichriſto Mahometa, *p.* 276.

(*e*) Quæ ſi forte præcepta non obſervaverint, à vobis correctæ & caſtigatæ, in domibus lectiſve[illegible] tent[illegible] ver[illegible] tur, [illegible] quo v[illegible] ſtris nutibus & præcept pareant. *Alcor. Surat.* 9.

(*h*) Quando illæ non amplius tibi placent commutare eas licet. *Ib. Surat.* 8.

(*i*) Mulier ad fugam ſe præparans invito marito re-

(*f*) *See the next Article, Remark D.*

(*g*) *Salluſt. in bell. Catalin.* p. *m.* 14.

(*h*) *See the next Article, Remark D.*

(*i*) Thomas Bozius, *de ruinis Gentium.*

(*k*) *See the Thoughts upon the* Comets, *n.* 141.

(*l*) *See the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of* Hottinger.

(*m*) *Septem-Caſtrenſis, c.* 12. *apud* Hotting. *Hiſt. Oriental. p.* 311. Septem-Caſtrenſis *is a Monk who was a long time Priſoner among the Turks*

in his Concerns. He believ'd that the Valour of his Troops would be ſufficient to his

quoque ita totam tegunt, ut uno oculo liberato contentæ ſint dimidiam frui lucem, quàm totam faciem proſtituere. I be[illegible] 'tis a Miſtake (*n*) to ſay, that *Mahomet* permitted Men to marry as many Women as they would; for he does ſo moderate and limit his Permiſſion, that it plainly appears he had no Mind they ſhould marry above 4, and that he allow'd them as many, provided they thought themſelves capable of keeping them peaceably. (*o*) *Quotcunq; placuerit, duas ſcilicet, aut tres vel quatuor uxores ducite, niſi timueritis eas pacificare poſſe.* But 'tis no miſtake to affirm that he ſet no Bounds to the Number of their Concubines. And indeed the *Turks* may have as many as they are capable of maintaining. It is not the Condition of the 4 Wives deplorable, under a Law which gives the Husband Power to divert what is their due to as many handſom Slaves as he can buy. Doth not this Diverſion of the matrimonial Stock reduce them to the greateſt want, and to an extreme Indigence. Let none tell me of the Proviſion the Law has made for them (*p*), by appointing the 4 Wives to lie once every Week with their Husband. "So that if any one be found "that has not enjoy'd this Privilege for a whole "Week, ſhe has a right to demand it on Thurſ-"day Night in the following Week, and ſhe "may proſecute her Husband in caſe of a Refuſal "in the Courts of Juſtice." For notwithſtanding this Privilege the Law is very harſh, a Law, ſay I, which reduces that to a ſmall Proportion, which would ſcarce ſuffice if it were entire. A fine Satisfaction indeed for the Party offended, to obtain ſo ſmall a thing as one Night in reparation for a Week loſt, beſides the Trouble of citing him before the Judges, and engaging in a Proſecution ſo nice and ſo contrary to Modeſty. And what Pleaſure can any one take in a Matter of this Nature, when it is not obtain'd but by the Execution of a Sentence from the Magiſtrate? This ought not to be a Work that is commanded, *nihil hæc ad edictum Prætoris*: when it is done only by way of Duty, *perfunctorie, & dicis cauſa*, there can be no great Satisfaction in it. We muſt therefore confeſs that *Mahomet* did not uſe the Sex well.

But as to Women he taught many other ſtrange Things: For he did not only make them miſerable in this World, but depriv'd them of the Joys of Paradiſe. He did not only exclude them from that Place, but he turn'd that Joy into an Occaſion of Sorrow to them: For 'tis pretended he taught, that the Pleaſures of Marriage which Men ſhall enjoy after this Life, ſhall be furniſh'd them by Virgins of a raviſhing Beauty, which God creates in Heaven, and which are deſtin'd for them from all Eternity: And as to Women, that they ſhall not enter into Paradiſe, nor approach nearer to it than is neceſſary to diſcover a-croſs the Paliſadoes what ſhall be done there. Thus their Eyes ſhall be Witneſſes of the Happineſs of Men, and of the Pleaſure they ſhall take with theſe Celeſtial Maids. What can be imagin'd more grievous? Is not this to be ingenious in mortifying our Neighbour? *Lucretius* tells us, (*q*) that 'tis pleaſant to ſee a Shipwreck when it is not fear'd.

'Tis Pleaſant when the Seas are rough, to ſtand
And view another's Danger (r) ſafe at Land,
Not 'cauſe he's troubled, but 'tis ſweet to ſee,
Theſe Cares and Fears from which our ſelves are free.

All things are quite contrary in *Mahomet*'s Syſtem for Women; the ſight of a Happineſs of which they are depriv'd muſt needs afflict them, and it will be ſo much the more grievous to them, as well becauſe they diſcover the Pleaſures which another enjoys, as becauſe they'll ſee the Happineſs which they want; for the Torment of Jealouſy proceeds not ſo much from the want of a Thing, as from knowing that others enjoy it. I have heard many People ſay, and I think I have read it, that the Damned ſhall have a very exact Knowledge of the Happineſs of Paradiſe, that ſo the Conſideration of the great Joys which they have miſs'd, may augment their Torments (*s*) and that the Devil will make uſe of the Artifice to render them more miſerable. This is to underſtand very well the Art of heightning the Pains of the Miſerable, and therefore we may ſay in a Word, that *Mahomet* could not have diſcover'd his Cruelty more maliciouſly; for he would have Women ſee at a Diſtance, that which can only create unprofitable Temptations and inſupportable Grief.

But to declare the Matter as it is indeed, I muſt acquaint you, that the learned *Mahometans* do not ſay, that the Women are excluded from Paradiſe (*t*); yet I thought I might relate what I had read in many Authors. I ſhall cite one of them. (*u*) *Hæſce mulieres ſtatuunt non humanas atque ex hominibus genitas, ſed ab æterno in hunc finem à Deo creatas, & cæleſtes eſſe; ſuas enim quas hic habuerunt Muhammedani mulieres ſtatuunt exſortes fore Paradiſi, atque extra eum foris conſtitutas, per cancellos eminus virorum gaudia, & cum aliis ſc. uxoribus congreſſus conſpecturas. Longe plures ibi credunt fore mulieres, quam viros, ſingulisque viris plures vel pauciores pro merito addendas, quibus non ad prolem, ſed unice ad lubitum & ſatietatem voluptatis uſuri ſint; quin & vires ut ſubminiſtrandas majores eum in finem, ut ſæpius coire poſſint, caſque eundem in finem fore mundas à menſtruis.* This Author cites no Body, and had juſt before related ſome Paſſages of the Alcoran, which teach us only that the Dames of Paradiſe (*a*) ſhall have very ſparkling Eyes, of the bigneſs of an Egg, and that they ſhall be ſo modeſt, that they ſhall never look upon any Man but their own Husbands. It is not therefore in the Alcoran that we find what this Author relates concerning theſe Dames; viz. that they ſhall be more numerous than Men, that every Man may have 2 or 3, or more proportionably to his Merit; that they ſhall be given only for Pleaſure and not for bearing of Children; that they ſhall always be in a Condition to ſatisfy their Husbands, being never ſubject to the menſtrual Flux, as the Phyſicians call it, that they ſhall be ſo beautiful and bright, that one of them muſt needs illuminate the whole Earth in the Night-time; that if they ſhould ſpit into the Sea, they would quite take away its Saltneſs. (*b*) *Tanta ipſarum puellarum dicitur præditura pulchritudo & gratia, ut ſi ipſarum modò una aliquando noctu in terrâ appareret, totam eam facilè eſſet collaturam; vel ſi in mare forte diſpueret, totam ejus ſalſedinem extinguere, inque mel dulciſſimum commutare.* I have found a Part of theſe Things in a Letter of *Clenard*, but this is only the Opinion of a private Perſon, and ſo this cannot be juſtly charg'd upon the whole Body of *Mahometiſm* (*c*) *Audi quæſo*, they are the Words of *Clenard*, *quod hic mihi narravit præceptor dum legeremus locum Alcorani de Paradiſo, ubi ſic ſcriptum eſt*, & eo uxores habituri ſunt mundas *inquit*, id eſt, liberas à menſtruis, ſcilicet ut quovis tempore liceat coire. *Quid inquam, an in paradiſo celebrabuntur nuptialia?* Quid ni? Attamen non eſt futura proles, *inquit*. Nam voluptatis cauſa illic erunt uxores, non propagandis liberis, quin & ſingulis viris complures illic futuræ ſunt uxores, pro meritorum ratione. Deuſque huic plus, illi minus virium largiturus eſt, ut vel paucis, vel multis reddat debitum. Let us make the ſame Remark as to what I am going to ſay. It ought not at all to be imputed to *Mahomet*, as *Peter Bellonius* does. They are Fables or falſe Gloſſes, of ſome viſionary or Burleſquing Doctors (*d*)

"After the *Turks* have eaten and drunk their fill "in this Paradiſe, then the Pages being adorn'd "with Gold and precious Stones, and Rings upon "their Arms, Hands, Legs and Ears, ſhall come to "the *Turks*, each of them holding a handſom "Diſh in his Hand with a great Citron or Li-"mon in it, which the *Turks* ſhall take to ſmell "and feel, and on a ſudden, when each *Turk* ſhall "put it to his Noſe, there ſhall come forth a beau-"tiful Virgin well accoutred and adorn'd, who "ſhall embrace the *Turk*, as the *Turk* ſhall do her; "and thus they ſhall remain 5 Years in mutual "Embraces without ſtirring or parting from one "another, taking all ſorts of Pleaſure that a Man "can enjoy with a Woman. And after 5 Years "God will ſay unto them, ſince you have had "great Feaſting in my Paradiſe, I will now ſhow "you my Face. Then he ſhall take away the "Veil from his Face, but the *Turks* ſhall be "ſtruck down to the Ground by the Brightneſs "that comes from it; and God ſhall ſay unto "them: Ariſe you my Servants and enjoy my "Glory, for you ſhall never die, nor be ſad or "diſpleaſed any more. And lifting up their

Heads

(*n*) See the *State of the Ottoman Empire, l. 2. chap. 21. and the Notes of* Beſpier.

(*o*) *Alcor. Surat.* 8.

(*p*) Ricaut *ib. p.* 457.

(*q*) Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis
E terra magnum alterius ſpectare laborem.
Non quia vexari quemquam eſt jucunda voluptas;
ſed quibus ipſe malis careas, quia cernere ſuave eſt. *Lucret. lib. 2. init.*

(*r*) *Sentiments de* Cleanthe *p.* [illegible] 36. [illegible] we apply theſe Verſes of *Perſius Sat.* 3. *v.* 36.
Magne pater Divum, ſævos punire Tyrannos
Haud aliâ ratione velis, cùm dira libido
Moverit ingenium, ferventi tincta veneno: Virtutem videant intabeſcantque relictâ.

(*t*) *See the Article* Hali Beig *p.* 1476. *col.* 1.

(*u*) *Hoornbeck Summa Controverſ. p.* 175.

(*a*) Fruentur fœminis quibus oculi clariſſimi grandesque utova quos non ad alios quam maritos ſuos erigent. *Surat* 48. Ductura virgines decentiſſimas cum oculis immenſis atque pudibundis nuſquam niſi tantum ad maritos ſuos flectendis. *Surat.* 62.

(*b*) *Hoornbeck ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) *Clenard epiſtol. l.* 1. *pag.* 42.

(*d*) Peter Bellonius *ub. infra ch. 9. pag.* 392.

his purpoſe. Perhaps he feared (*R*) the *Perſian* Women, becauſe he intended to eſtabliſh a Code full of harſhneſs againſt the Women. Nevertheleſs he had a moſt violent deſire to enjoy them, and ſome very notable Things are related of his Vigour in this reſpect (*S*). His Lewdneſs was doubtleſs the Cauſe why he permitted Polygamy within ſome bounds,* and Concubines without any Limits. He durſt not be the only Perſon who ſhould enjoy that Privilege (*T*), tho' as to Inceſt he had the bold-

* *See the Remark* (*Q*)

(*q*) Belon's *Obſervations of many Rarities l.* 3. *ch.* 14. *p. m.* 404. *and not in ch.* 9. *as la Mothe le Vayer cites him let.* 90. *p.* 272. *of Tom.* 11.

(*r*) *See Remark G. G.*

(*s*) *By the Oath you have taken how many times do you commonly do it in a Day? Fr. ſix. Pan. and how oft by Night? Fr.* 10. *ſays Brother* John, *that Whore-Maſter counts it ſhameful to exceed* 16 *times.* Rabelais. *l.* 5. *c.* 28.

(*t*) Balthaſar Bonifacius *Hiſtor. ludicra l.* 2. *c.* 7. *p.* 39. *he cites* Bonſinius *deciſ.* (*probably he means* decad.) 1. *lib.* 8.

(*u*) *See Remark L. L.*

(*a*) Hoornbeek *ubi ſupra p.* 117.

(*b*) *Id. ib. p.* 118.

(*c*) *The Author refers us to* John Andreas *confuſ. Muham. c.* 7. *to* Philip Guadagnol contra Ahmedam Perſam *c.* 5. *ſect.* 3. *& c.* 10. *ſect.* 2 *and* 3. *and to* Vincentius Lirinenſis *ſpecul. Hiſtor. l.* 24. *he ſhould have ſaid* Vincentius Bellovacenſis.

(*d*) *Id. ib. pag.* 116.

(*e*) Mothe le Vayer *Letter* 114. *Tom.* 12. *p.* 11, 12.

" Heads they ſhall ſee God Face to Face; and " then every one taking his Virgin again, ſhall " lead her into a Chamber in the Palace, where " he ſhall find Meat and Drink; and having feaſted and taken his Pleaſure with his Virgin, he " ſhall paſs away his time merrily without any " fear of Death. This is what *Mahomet* has related of his Paradiſe, with many other ſuch " like Fooleries; which makes us think that the " Original of the *Turkiſh* Seraglio's is deriv'd " from what *Mahomet* ſays of the Pages and Virgins of Paradiſe: For he ſays that the chaſt Virgins were thus created by God in Paradiſe, " and are well guarded and ſhut up within " Walls. And *Mahomet* ſays, that if one of them " ſhould go forth out of Paradiſe at Midnight, " ſhe would enlighten the whole World like the " Sun, and if one of them ſhould ſpit into the " Sea, the Water of it would become as ſweet " as Honey.

(*R*) *He feared the* Perſian *Women.*] A modern Author (*e*) without quoting any Body, informs me, that this Seducer confeſs'd, " That the ſole Apprehenſion of the Women of *Perſia*, was the Cauſe " that he did not go into that Country, ſince they " were ſo full of Charms, that the Angels themſelves might fall in Love with, and be overcome by them. Probably he fear'd leſt they ſhould regulate his Pen, and his pretended Revelations, and make him give out Laws very Effeminate (*f*), whereby he would have been much cried down; for he was very ſenſible that his unchaſt Actions gave great Scandal. See the Margin (*g*).

(*f*) *i. e. too favourable to the Female Sex, as 'tis ſaid of ſome Laws of* Juſtinian, *that his Wife had a great hand in them.*

(*g*) *Theſe Words are to be found in* Brantome, Damesgalant. *Tom.* 11. *p.* 304. *The* Moors *have an an ancient and common Proverb, that their Prophet* Mahomet *would never go to* Seiras, *leſt if he ſhould ſee one of the beautiful Women there, his Soul ſhould never enter into* Paradiſe *after his Death.*

(*S*) *Some very notable Things are related of his Vigour.*] Authors do not agree as to the Number of his Wives; but generally it is agreed that he had many at a time, and that he perform'd his conjugal Duty with great Vigour. (*h*) " You " may ſee in *Abul-faragius*, that he had, according to ſome, to the Number of 17 Wives, beſides Miſtreſſes which he entertain'd (*i*). It will " not be very difficult (*k*) to believe him a Saint " in their way, when you know that he married " but 14 Wives; and that this great Devotion " was little more than 3 Degrees below that of " *Mahomet* who had 17 Wives beſides Miſtreſſes, " who were exceeding glad to contribute to the " Diverſion of their great Propher. 'Tis true, " that *Ali* was leſs vigorous than his Father-in-" Law, who boaſted that he perform'd Marriage " Duties every Night, and that he had receiv'd " by ſpecial Privilege, the Strength of 40 Men " in this kind of Sport." Let us ſee the Note of Mr. *Beſpier*, upon what Mr. *Ricaut* has ſaid (*l*), That *Mahomet* had 9 Women and *Ali* 14. (*m*) " *John Andreas* in one and the ſame Page at the " Beginning of *chap.* 7. of the Confuſion of the " Sect of *Mahomet*, ſays, that *Mahomet* had Nine " Wives together, beſides Slaves; and in the ſame " Place he ſays, that he had 11 Wives, and proves " it by a Book which he calls *Aſſameil*, which is, " ſays he, the Book of the good Cuſtoms of *Ma-*" *homet*. The Words which *John Andreas* cites out of this Book, ſignify, that *Mahomet* was a Man of ſo great Vigour, that in an Hour's time he could know his 11 Wives. *Robur ejus, ſuper eum pax, tantum erat ut viſitaret (circumiret) uxores ſuas unius horæ ſpacio, licet undecim forent.* (*n*) *Baudier* has given 15 Wives to *Mahomet*, beſides Slaves. *Elmacin* ſpeaks only of 3 Wives of *Mahomet*, but he omits the 1ſt, who was dead before he married the other 3. (*o*) " I believe there is no certainty, ſays " *Beſpier* as to the Number of *Mahomet*'s Wives, and " much leſs as to *Ali*'s, of whom I have not " read to this Day, that he married another Wife " beſides the only Daughter of *Mahomet*, call'd " *Fatima*". Mr. *Pfeiffer* relates, that this falſe Prophet (*p*) " took 17 Wives according to ſome, " and 21 according to others". This would not be very ſtrange; but what *Bellonius* relates, and I have mention'd, is extraordinary. " It is written " in an *Arabian* Book, ſays he, (*q*) entituled, The " good Cuſtoms of *Mahomet*, which praiſes his " Vertues and his corporal Vigour, that he boaſted of lying with 11 Women in one and the " ſame Hour one after another (*r*). Many here will call to Mind Brother *Fredon* of *Rabelais* (*s*). I do not know what to think of the Tale, that *Mahomet* had to do with his Aſs. (*t*) *Turcarum Legiſlator Mahumetes aſellam qua vehebatur ex indomito libidinis ardore compreſſit.*

(*T*) *The only Perſon who ſhould enjoy that Privilege; tho' as to Inceſt.*] To colour his Incontinence, which mov'd him to marry many Wives, he forg'd a Revelation from God, that this was allow'd. He muſt therefore inſert this Article in his *Alcoran*; but becauſe his Servant Maids pleaſed him, and he lay with them, therefore he ſtood in need of a new Relation in favour of Concubinage, and ſo it was neceſſary he ſhould make a diſtinct Article of the Concubinage of Husbands. He had but 2 Wives, when *Marina* his Servant-Maid, a very merry Laſs, pleas'd him ſo well, that he lay with her, before ſhe came to an Age that was Marriagable: His Wives catch'd him in the very Fact, and were tranſported with Rage againſt him. He ſwore to them that he would never return to her any more, if they would keep ſilence; but becauſe he broke his Oath, they made a great Noiſe and went away from his Houſe. To remove this great Scandal, he feigned a Voice from Heaven, which inform'd him that it was lawful to have to do with his Servant-Maids. Thus this Impoſtor begun with committing a Crime, and finiſh'd with converting it into a general Law. This does not at all favour of mad Freaks; a good Touch-Stone to diſcover Mens Pretences to Inſpiration, whether by new Prophecies or by explaining the old, ſuch as the Apocalypſe is, that their Doctrine ſhould be examin'd by this Rule, whether it changes proportionably as the times change (*u*) and as their own peculiar intereſt becomes different from what it was before. (*a*) *Id quoque notandum*, (I make uſe of the Authority of a famous Divine) *Leges iſtas in ſuorum facinorum patrocinium excogitatas ab ipſo ſemper fuiſſe poſt commiſſa illa, non ante; ut ita manifeſtiſſimè liqueat, iſta in criminum ſuorum excuſationem vel defenſionem ab eo commenta dolo peſſimo fuiſſe. . . .* (*b*) *Tale iſtud quod de Muhammede narrant, eum cum puellâ formoſâ ſed infra ætatem, Marinâ in adulterio deprehenſum fuiſſe, à conjugibus ſuis Aaſâ & Chadighâ juramento adactum promiſiſſe, modo tacerent, ab iſthac puellâ poſthac abſtenturum; verum quod non ſervarit: quare illæ eum deſuerint, & ad patrias reverſæ ſint ædes. Quem tumultum ut ſedaret iterum, more ſolito, divinum commentus hoc reſponſum fuit, quod eſt cap.* de prohibitione, *quo datur viris cum ancillis congrediendi poteſtas* (*ancilla quippe Muhammedis erat etiam illa Marina,*) *quando & quouſque libuerit, nequidquam reclamantibus & æmulantibus uxoribus. Sed jam ante hanc confictam legem id facinus commiſerat, & fidem de non committendo interpoſuerat, perjurus adulter & ſtuprator* (*c*). With an Impudence that cannot be ſufficiently admir'd, he forg'd, that God forbid Inceſt to other Men, but allow'd it in him by a peculiar Grace. (*d*) ' *Alius ſevere ipſe interdixit, cap.* de mulieribus, *ne quaſcunque & conſanguineas ducant*: ne commiſceamini cum mulieribus, quæ cognitæ fuerunt à Patribus veſtris, quoniam turpe eſt & malum, & iniquum: prohibitæ ſunt vobis matres veſtræ, & filiæ veſtræ, & amitæ veſtræ, & patrueles veſtræ, & filiæ fratris veſtri, & filiæ ſororis veſtræ, *&c. Sibi vero licentiam tribuit, quaſi ex oraculo divino, quam libet potiundi, Cap.* de hæreſibus, *vel ſectis.* O Propheta, nos certe concedimus tibi, *inquit ei Deus*, poteſtatem in uxores tuas omnes quibus dederis mercedes ſuas, & quaſcunque acceperit manus tua, & filias patrui tui, & filias amitæ tuæ, & filias fratris matris tuæ, & filias materteræ tuæ, quæ peregrinatæ ſunt te-

(*i*) *Ibid. pag.* 19.

(*k*) *i. e.* Ali.

(*l*) *The preſent State of the* Ottoman *Empire To.* 2. *p.* 456.

(*m*) Beſpier's *curious Remarks To.* 2. *p.* 681.

(*n*) *Of the Religion of the* Turks *l.* 1. *ch.* 2. *apud* Beſpier *Ibid. p.* 682.

(*o*) Beſpier *ibid.*

(*p*) Pfeiffer *in Theologiæ Mahommedicæ principiis ſubleſtis, in the Univerſal* Bibliotheq. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 257.

boldneſs to forbid it to his Followers, and to allow himſelf in it by a ſpecial Privilege. Mr. *Moreri* relates a Story to which he forgot to add an eſſential Circumſtance, which is, concerning the Man that was ſmother'd with Stones in a (*V*) dry Well. One of the moſt impertinent Lyes that have been publiſh'd concerning *Mahomet*, is, that he was a Cardinal (*X*). There are ſome Doctors, even in the Communion of the Proteſtants, who have taken him for Anti-Chriſt (*Y*). I cannot believe that his dead Body

' cum, & quamcunque mulierem credentem, quæ ' ſe tibi Prophetæ proſtituere voluerit, idque tibi ' ſpeciatim, & ſingulariter conceditur ; non verò ' aliis quibuſcunque. *Dignum certe Prophetâ privilegium! Et poſt* : copulare cum quacunque ex ' illis tibi libuerit, & tecum fac inhabitare quamcunque volueris, & non erit tibi crimini, vel ad ' hanc accedere, vel ab illâ recedere. Hoc autem ' parum eſt : verum etiam gratum habeant ipſæ ' quicquid tibi libuerit, & non contriſtentur, & ' complaceant ſibi de quacunque re quam illis dederis. *Propudium hominis! ſibi primas in promiſcuâ* ' *& turpiſſimâ libidine explendâ concedens partes.*' He durſt not always ſtretch his Prerogative, for he ſaid he was forbid, for the future, to take away his Neighbour's Wife. He was contented to tell the World, That God approv'd what was paſt, provided he did not relapſe into it again. For the better underſtanding of this, we muſt know, that *Mahomet* had already married Nine Wives, and then eſpous'd a Tenth, which he took from his Servant ; who murmur'd at it, and cry'd out for this Injury The Falſe-Propher, to huſh up the Scandal, made a ſhew of deſiring to reſtore what he had taken, but becauſe he had not really a mind to it, he quickly found out a way to diſpenſe with it. He feign'd, that God had cenſur'd this Reſolution, and had order'd him to keep his Tenth Wife, without paying any Deference to Humane Scandal, to the prejudice of a Celeſtial Approbation. (*e*) *Illam* (uxorem ſervi ſui Zaidis) *conſtupratam mox quaſi ex divino iterum oraculo deſponſavit in uxorem, quamvis novem alias ſtipatus. Quare ut, tum aliis hoc indignantibus factum, tum ſervo Zaidi ſatisfaceret, introduxit in Alkorano, capite citato, Deum ſe reprehendentem, quod cogitaſſet uxorem Zaidi reddere, ab offenſam, quam hinc nempe homines capiebant* : ' Ut cum diceres illi, cui Deus ' beneficia contulit, & tu quoque contuliſti : accipe tibi uxorem tuam, & time Deum, & abſcondebas in corde tuo quod Deus operebatur, ' & timebas homines, & Deus dignior eſt ut ' timeas eum. Cum ergo Zaidus illam cognoverit, ' ſeu deſloraverit eam, nos copulavimus eam tibi, ' ne ſit fidelibus peccatum in uxoribus deſideriorum ' eorum, cum cognoverint eas, & imperium Dei ' complerum eſt : non eſt imputandum ad culpam ' Prophetæ illud, quod Deus ei ſpeciatim permiſit.' He perceiv'd very well that this would alarm all Husbands againſt him ; and therefore, to ſatisfie every Body, he publiſh'd, That for the future, by the Order of God, (*f*) he would let Husbands enjoy their own Wives, tho' he ſhould fall in love with them.

(*e*) *Id. ib.* p. 117.

(*f*) Non licebit tibi poſt hac, O *Mahomet*, ut auferas uxores à viris ſuis, etiamſi earum pulchritudine captus fueris. *Apud eundem ibid.*

(*U*) *Smother'd with Stones in a dry Well.*] This Adventure appears at the end of a long Paſſage, which is now to be ſet down, and which contains many Things concerning our Falſe Prophet. (*g*) " Seeing that he was very ſubject to " Fits of the Falling-Sickneſs, he thought fit " to make his Friends believe, that the moſt " violent Paroxiſms of his Epilepſy were ſo " many Ecſtaſies, and Signs of the Spirit of " God that deſcended on him : He perſuaded " them alſo, that a White Pigeon, which came to " eat Corn in his Ear, was the Angel *Gabriel*, " who came to declare to him, in the Name of " the ſame God, what he was to do. After this, " *he made uſe of the Monk* Sergius *to compoſe an* Alcoran, *which he feign'd to be dictated to him by* " *the very Mouth of God.* Laſtly, *he drew in a famous* " *Aſtrologer, to diſpoſe the People*, by the Predictions " he made, about the Change of Affairs that was " to happen, and the New Law that a Great Prophet was to eſtabliſh, the more eaſily to receive " his, when he came to publiſh it. But perceiving once, that his Secretary, *Abdala Ben-Salon*, againſt whom he had a groundleſs Pique, " begun to diſcover and publiſh ſuch Impoſtures, " he cut his Throat one night in his own Houſe, " and ſet fire to the four corners of it, with a " deſign to perſuade the People next morning, " that this happen'd by a Fire from Heaven, to " chaſtiſe the ſaid Secretary, who had attempted " to change and corrupt ſome Paſſages of the " *Alcoran*. Nevertheleſs, this Contrivance was " not thought ſufficient to his Purpoſe, he wanted " ſtill one to finiſh the Myſtery, which he did, by " perſuading one of his faithfulleſt Domeſticks to " deſcend to the bottom of a Well which was " near a great High-way, and then to cry a- " loud to the great multitude of People that " paſſed by, which commonly follow'd him, " Mahomet *is the Well-beloved of God!* Mahomet " *is the Well-beloved of God!* And this happening " to be done after the ſame manner as he had " propos'd, he preſently Thank'd the Divine " Goodneſs for a Teſtimony ſo remarkable, and " pray'd all the People that follow'd him, inſtantly to fill up this Pit, and build over it a little " Moſque, in memory of ſuch a Miracle ; by " which means this poor Domeſtick was preſently " kill'd, and buried under a ſhowre of Stones, " and ſo there was no poſſible way left of diſcover- " ing the Falſhood of this Miracle, *Excepit ſed* " *terra ſonum, calamique loquaces*(*h*)". *Naudæus* forgot to tell us, how the Publick was inform'd that *Mahomet* had ſuborn'd this Man. Why had he not the Wit to ſuppoſe, that this Wretch had reveal'd the whole Secret to his Wife, who did not fail to tell her Neighbours, and Paſſengers, after ſhe was made acquainted with the Tragical End of her Husband ? The Latin words which *Naudæus* cites, are only an ingenious Application of a Circumſtance of the Fable of *Midas* ; but it no ways clears this Matter, nay rather it inſinuates, that he was not able to find out how this Contrivance came to be diſcover'd. As to the Pigeon, mention'd by *Naudæus*, I muſt tell you, that Dr. *Pocock*, having read the Story in the 6th Book of *Grotius*, (*i*) *de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ*, deſir'd *Grotius* to acquaint him where he had ſuch a thing, which is not to be found in any *Arabick* Author He anſwer'd, That he had related it only upon the Credit of the Chriſtian Authors *Grotius* (*k*) *nonnulla recenſens colombæ ad* Mohammedis *aurem adſolare ſolitæ momenta* ; *cujus cum nullam apud eos mentionem reperirem ac clariſſimorum eam de re conſulerem, ſe in hoc narrando non* Mohammediſtarum, *ſed noſtrorum hominum fide nixum, dixit, ac præcipue* Scaligeri, *in cujus ad* Manilium *notis idem narratur.* See the Remark CC.

(*h*) *The Hiſtory of this Man, who was ſmother'd with Stones in a Well, is to be found in another Book of* Naudæus, *viz. in the* Apology of the Great Men accus'd of Magick, *p.* 232, 233.

(*i*) *Pag. m.* 202.

(*X*) *That he was a Cardinal.*] (*a*) " *Benevenuto* " of *Imola* has ſaid it expreſsly, in his Commen- " taries upon *Dante*." Which is no leſs abſurd, than what was ſaid by him who wrote the Gloſs upon the Canon-Law, That *Mahomet* was the Head of the *Nicolaitans*. (*b*) *Gloſſatorem autem Corporis Canonici qui Nicolaum Mahometum fuiſſe dixit æque abſurdum eſſe notat ac Benevenutum Imolenſem, qui Mahometum Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalem fuiſſe aſſerit.*

(*k*) Edv. Pocockius *Not. in Spec. Hiſtor.* Arabum, *p.* 186, 187.

(*a*) Naudæus *D. al. de Maſſurat* p. 45.

(*b*) Thomas Ittigius *de Hæreſiarchis ævi Apoſtolici apud acta eruditi.* Leipſ. *An.* 1690. *p.* 307, 308.

(*Y*) *Who have taken him for Anti-chriſt.*] See a Diſſertation, entitled, *Anti-Chriſtus Mahometes, ubi non ſolum per S. Scripturam, ac Reformatorum teſtimonia, verum etiam per omnes alios probandi modos & genera, plenè, fusè, invictè, ſolidèque demonſtratur* MAHOMETEM *eſſe Unum illum verum, Magnum, de quo in ſacris fit mentio, Anti-Chriſtum* It was Printed (*c*) in the Year 1666. *Cornelius Uythagius*, a Doctor of Divinity, who is the Author of it, and ſhews very much Zeal againſt Popery, affirms in his Preface, That he does only lay open and prove the Opinion of ſome Reformers. *Sunt ſemperque fuerunt*, ſays he, *qui Mahometem pro Ant.-Chriſto illo magno agnoverunt, & per Babylonem civitatem illam magnam Apoc. cap.* 17. *nobis deſcriptam, Conſtantinopolim, Romam Novam intellexerunt, inter quos ſunt, antiquiſſimus Theologorum Arethas Cæſareæ Cappadociæ Epiſcopus. Angelus Græcus, qui Conſtantinopoli anxit Cælum Secundas Curio. Wenceſlaus Budowec. Cæſaris conſiliarius, qui aliquandiu Conſtantinopoli degit : Boskiercus ; & inter noſtros Reformatos magnus ille Melanctlon, Butcerus, Muſculus, Zanchius : & ſi qui cum*

(*c*) At Amſterdam, *apud* Joannem Raveſteynium. *in* 12.

Body was eaten (Z) by Dogs, as many have affirm'd; and Father *Louis Maracci* had juſt Occaſion to obſerve, That the Chriſtians make ſome Reproaches againſt the Sect of *Mahomet*, which proceed from ſo great an ignorance of Matters of Fact, that the Infidels laugh at them, and grow more obſtinate in their Infidelity *. There has been publiſh'd a Teſtament (AA) under the Name of *Mahomet*, which has very much the Air of a Forgery: It is a Treatiſe of Mutual Toleration,

* Eſſe etiam in illis dicit qui ex rerum Turcicarum ignorantia in medidium proferant quæ riſum potius Mahumetanis excitent, ac in errore eos obſtinatiores reddant. *Lud. Maraccius è congregazione Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei in prodromo ad refutationem Alcorani apud Acta Erudit. Lipſ. 1692. p. 329.*

recentiores, tum antiqui cum illis. The Biſhop of *Meaux* names other Writers who are of that Opinion: His words are theſe: (d) "If every thing muſt "be referred to the end of the World, and to the "time of Antichriſt, would ſo many learned Men "of the laſt Age, as *Annius Viterbienſis*, *John Hau-*"*tenius* of *Mechlen*, and our Doctors *Jodocus Cli-*"*toveus*, *Genebrard*, and *Feuardentius*, who praiſes "and follows thoſe grave Authors, have been "permitted to acknowledge the Beaſt and Anti-"Chriſt to be *Mahomet*, and *Enoch* and *Elias* to be "the Two Witneſſes of Sr. *John*?

(Z) *That his dead Body was eaten by Dogs.*] *Camerarius* has inſerted this Story in *Chap* 1. of *Book* 3. of *Tome* 1. of his *Hiſtorical Meditations* (e). He quotes his Author. "*Mahomet* had foretold to "his Diſciples, That he would depart out of "this World in the Tenth Year of his Reign, but "that on the Third Day he ſhould Riſe again. "Whereupon one of his Diſciples, having a mind "to try whether he ſpake truth, poiſon'd his "Drink; and he having drunk it off, and finding "himſelf near his End, ſaid to thoſe that were "about him, *By Water ye ſhall receive Remiſſion of* "*Sins*; and then all on a ſudden he Died. His "Diſciples guarded the Body, expecting the "Iſſue of his Prediction; but his Body ſtunk "that they could not endure the ſmell of it, "ſo they threw it by, and returning again after "ten Days, they found it had been eaten by "Dogs. I was willing to tranſcribe this Story "from the *Spaniſh* Chronicle written by *John Va-*"*ſæus*, who ſays that he had it from an Author "call'd *Lucas Tudenſis*; becauſe I do not remember "that I had read it elſewhere." I find in *Vaſæus* that he relates this under the Year 628, and cites *Lucas Tudenſis*, with ſome Limitation; *hæc ſive Lucas Tudenſis*, ſays he. *Baronius* has inſerted in his Annals (f) a fragment of the Apology of *Eulogius*, an Author of the VIIIth Century. There are in this fragment many little Tales, and among the reſt, that which I have juſt now related; but it is there, with a Circumſtance that deſerves to be noted; which is, that *Mahomet* had aſſur'd his Diſciples, that the Angel *Gabriel* would come to raiſe him on the Third Day. They kept about the Body for all that time, and then they retir'd, imagining that their Preſence frighted the Angels; but when no body guarded the Body, the Dogs came and eat it, who left but very little of it, which was buried by the Diſciples of this Impoſtor; and in Revenge for this Affront, they put to death every year many Dogs. *Baronius* refers us to many Volumes that have been written about the Life of *Mahomet*; and he confeſſes, that he did the more eaſily refrain from making uſe of them, becauſe he found many Lyes in them. (g) *Abſtinuimus libentius quod multa fabuloſa in eis poſita invenerimus.* A *Lutheran* Author, whom I have cited twice or thrice, and who relates this Story, without believing it, has nam'd divers Authors who make mention of it. Take notice of his Citations. (1) *Cadaver aliquot diebus manſiſſe inſepultum, quod tertio die ſe reſurrecturum dixiſſet, poſteà verò à canibus arroſum ſerbent* Eulogius & Vincentius (2). *Sed-cum parcum ſemper fuiſſe Mahammedem in jactandis miraculis, & ferro, non prodigioſâ virtute ſuam propagandam eſſe ſcripſ rit ſectam, hanc narrationem ſuis potius retinuimus autoribus.* Father *Maracci* was not ſo incredulous; for he did not reject thoſe who ſaid, That the Diſciples of *Mahomet*, upon account of the difference among them about the Primacy, ſo neglected his Body, that the Dogs tore it in pieces. He goes upon this ground, that there are ſome Relations which ſay, That the Sepulchre of this Falſe-Prophet contains but a ſmall parcel of his Carkaſs. (i) *Exiguam corporis portionem in illo invenire, colligit Auctor noſter non abſimile vero eſſe, quod graves ſcriptores prodiderunt, [illegible] pus Mahumeti de imperio proceres certantes, cadaver ejus, nomine in tumultu cuſtodiente, à canibus dilaceratum fuiſſe.*

(AA) *A Teſtament under the Name of* Mahomet.] There was Printed at *Paris* in Latin and *Arabick*, in 1630. a Book entitled, *Teſtamentum & Pactiones initæ inter Muhammedum & Chriſtianæ fidei cultores.* Father *Scaliger*, a Capuchin, brought the M. S. of it from the Eaſt. *Gabriel Sionita* is the Author of the Latin Tranſlation. *John Fabritius* publiſh'd this Teſtament in Latin at *Roſtock*, in 1638. Mr. *Hinkelman*, Miniſter of *Hamburg* (k), publiſh'd it in *Latin* and *Arabick* in 1690. The Criticks are of different Opinions upon this Queſtion, Whether this be a genuine Piece or no? *Grotius* believes it to be a Forgery. *Edidit Gabriel Sionita*, ſays he (l), *ita diebus teſtamentum Muhammedis & [illegible] indultum potius ejus in gratiam Chriſtianorum, quod dubiè à Chriſtianis ſuppoſitum, ut ſub obtentu tanti nominis Muſulmanis æquioribus uterentur. Ille tamen genuinum eſſe affirmat, & perſuadet ita qui naſum non habent.* Voetius (m), *Hoornbeek* (n), *Beſpier* (o), and many other Miniſters, embrace this Opinion. *Hottinger* (p), who had not ſeen the *Arabick*, durſt not determine the Queſtion. *Salmaſius* is of Opinion that it is a genuine Piece. (q) *Vidi nuper teſtamentum Muhammedis. De veritate ejus nullus dubito. Sed nollem ita reddidiſſet interpres; nihil enim minus quam teſtamentum. Fœdus eſt & pactio qua ſecuritatem Chriſtianis dedit, cujus & mentionem facere videtur Almachinus in vita Muhammedis: ubi narrat ex hiſtoriis Chriſtianorum, additum fuiſſe Chriſtianis illum Impoſtorem & benevolum; & cum ad ipſum quidam Chriſtiani veniſſent petentes ſecuritatem, impoſuiſſe his tributum atque in fidem eos ſuſcepiſſe.* Mr. *Hinkelman* is of the ſame opinion with *Salmaſius*; and ſo was alſo Sir *Paul Ricaut*, for endeavouring to prove, that *Mahomet* us'd Craft at the beginning, by making a falſe Shew of a ſincere Intention to live peaceably with the Chriſtians, he ſays, (s) That this Falſe-Prophet "made a Treaty with them, the Ori-"ginal whereof was found in the Monaſtery "of *Mount Carmel*:" And then he adds theſe words, (t) "'Tis ſaid, that this Original (u) "was carry'd from this Place into *France*, and "put in the King's Library. Since it is An-"cient and Curious, I think it will not be im-"proper here to give you the Interpretation of it." Having related the Tenour of it, he goes on after this manner: (w) "Altho' the *Turks* deny that "this Treaty is *Mahomet*'s, yet there are very "good Authors who believe it to be genuine, "and that it was made at the Time ſet down at "the end of it, *viz.* when the Empire of *Mahomet* "was yet very weak, and in its Infancy; for at "this time he was at War with the *Arabians*, and "fear'd leſt the *Chriſtians* ſhould Declare againſt "him: Wherefore, to prevent his being attack'd "by two Enemies at once, he made this Treaty "with them (x) in the Monaſtery of the Monks "of Mount *Carmel*, from whence theſe auſtere "Regulars derive their Name." That which is certain, is that at the time (y) when it is ſuppos'd that *Mahomet* made this Agreement with the Chriſtians, it was good Policy in him not to provoke them. There is a Paſſage in the *Alcoran*, which promiſes Infidels Liberty of Conſci[illegible] Sir *Paul Ricaut* cites it (z). He might have [illegible] Paſſage of *Elmacin*, which informs us, that [illegible]ect treated very civilly a Troop of Chriſtians who came to deſire [illegible]is, *ann.* 1630. *and at* Roſtock *in* 1638. (w) Ibid. *P.* 316, (x) Beſpier *make[illegible] here this Remark. This is not at all pro-*[illegible] *nay the Treaty[illegible]'d at* Medina, *as the Piece ſays, and therefore could not b[illegible] in the Monaſtery of Mount* Carmel, *which is more than 200 [illegible]gues diſtant fr[illegible]dina.* (y) Viz. *in the 4th Year of the [illegible]gyra.* (z) *Ib.* 30[illegible] *the Thoughts upon Comets, n.* 244.

(k) *See the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*, Octob. 1690. *p.* 80.

(l) Grotius *Epiſt. ad Gallos, p.* 239. *apud* Hotting. *Hiſt. Orient. l.* 2. *c.* 2. *p.* 237.

(m) Voetius, *Diſput. Theol. Tom.* 2. *p.* 668.

(n) *Hoornbeek, ubi ſupra, p.* 88.

(o) Beſpier's *Remarks upon* Ricaut, *Tome* 2. *p.* 623.

(p) Hotting. *ibid.*

(q) Salmaſ. *Epiſt.* 20. *l.* 1. *p.* 44.

(r) *See the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*, ubi ſupra.

(s) Ricaut's *State of the Ottom. Empire, l.* 2. *c.* 2. *p.* 307.

(t) *Ib. p.* 308.

(u) *He did not know that this Book was publiſh'd*

(a) *Ad. Ann.* 632. *n.* 9, *& ſeq.*

(b) *A Lutheran Author*, ubi ſup. *p.* 17.

(c) *P.* 204, 205. *I make uſe of the Tranſlation of* Simon Goulart.

(d) *Biſhop of* Meaux, *Preface upon the* Apocalypſe *n.* 13. *p. m.* 32, 33.

(e) *Camerar. Operæ Subſecivæ, Tom.* 1. *Cent.* 7. *c.* 5. *ſ. m.* 364. *Conſer. Acta Mahometis Francofurti cum iconibus Edita ann.* 1597. *p.* 261. (f) *Ludov. Marac. ejus in Prodromo ad refutat. Alcorani apud Acta erudit Lipſ.* 1692. *p.* 331.

(g) *Ibid. n.* 12.

(1) Hotting. *Hiſt. Orient. l.* 2. *c.* 4. *p.* 273.

(2) *Apud* Baron. *ann.* 630. *n.* 9. *l.* 21. *c.* 47. *apud Magd. Cent.* 7.

which, they ſay, was Concluded between him and the Chriſtians. Proofs of the Forgery may be drawn from (*AA△*) the Piece it ſelf. But however this be, 'tis certain, that at the beginning, he had more Humanity for them than for the Jews, which [redacted] ſomething ſtrange; for appearing with the Splendour of a Conqueror, he was th[redacted]re likely to get himſelf followed by the Jewiſh Nation, as the *Meſſias* (*BB*) which

[redacted]---ſecuritatis inſtrumentum ſcripſit. *I make uſe of a bold Verſion. See* Hotting. *ubi ſupra*, p. 36. *citing* Elmacin. *Hiſt. Sarac.* p. 11.

(*e*) P. 305.

leſire of n[redacted]e-guard (*d*); for upon this Occaſion he diſ[redacted]ſuch Orders as made 'em ſure of his Protection. Sir *Paul Ricaut* therefore had good reaſon to ſay, That *Mahomet*, at the beginning, offer'd Peace to the *Chriſtians*: But his Reaſons are not ſo ſtrong, whereby he pr[redacted]nds to prove, that they appear'd formidable to th[redacted]ſe-Propher. "The *Chriſtians*, ſays he (*e*), rec[redacted]nded themſelves by their Zeal, their Devotion, and the "Practice of all ſorts of Virtues. All this "concurr'd with the Purity of their Doctrine, "and a holy and firm Union in the Profeſſion of "the Faith: And becauſe the Emperors were then "Chriſtians, Chriſtianity was not maintain'd only "by Patience, Sufferings, and Hope, as it had "been in the firſt Ages, but was alſo ſupported "by the Arms and Protection of the Emperors." This is contrary to the general Opinion. 'Tis generally agreed, That the Diviſions among *Chriſtians*, their Vices, and thoſe of the *Imperial* Court (*f*), did extremely facilitate the Progreſs of *Mahometiſm*.

I cannot proceed to another thing, till I have made a Reflection upon this. The *Mahometans*, according to the Principles of their Faith, are oblig'd to employ Violence to deſtroy other Religions, and yet they tolerate them now, and have done ſo for many Ages. The *Chriſtians* have no Order, but to Preach and Inſtruct; and yet, time out of mind, they deſtroy, with Fire and Sword, thoſe who are not of their Religion. "When you meet "with Infidels, ſays *Mahomet* (*g*), Kill them, cut off "their Heads, or take them Priſoners, and put "them in Chains till they have paid their Ranſom, or you find it convenient to ſet them "at Liberty. Be not afraid to Perſecute them, "till they have laid down their Arms, and ſubmitted to you." Nevertheleſs, 'tis true, that the *Saracens* did quickly leave off the Ways of Violence; and that the *Greek* Churches, as well the Orthodox as the Schiſmatical, have been preſerv'd to this day under the Yoke of *Mahomet*. They have their Patriarchs, their Metropolitans, their Synods, their Diſcipline, their Monks. I know very well, that they ſuffer much under ſuch a Maſter; but, after all, they have more reaſon to complain of the Covetouſneſs and Extortions of the *Turks*, than of their Sword. The *Saracens* (*h*) were ſtill more gentle than the *Turks*. See the Proofs of it given by Mr. *Jurieu* (*i*), which are taken out of *Elmacin* and *Eutychius*. It may be affirm'd for certain, That if the *Weſtern* Princes had been Lords of *Aſia*, inſtead of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, there would be now no Remnant of the *Greek* Church, and they would not have Tolerated *Mahometiſm*, as theſe *Infidels* have Tolerated *Chriſtianity*. Let us hear Mr. *Jurieu* himſelf (*k*): "It may be "truly ſaid, That there is no Compariſon between "the Cruelty of the *Saracens* againſt the *Chriſtians*, "and that of *Popery* againſt the *true Believers* In the "Wars againſt the *Vaudois*, or even in the Maſſacres "which began on S. *Bartholomew*'s Day, there was "more Blood ſpilt upon the account of Religion, "than was ſpilt by the *Saracens* in all their Perſecutions of the *Chriſtians*. 'Tis expedient to cure Men "of this Prejudice, That *Mahometiſm* is a Cruel Sect, "which was propagated, by putting Men to their "Choice of Death, or the Abjuration of Chriſtianity. This is in no-wiſe true; and the Conduct of [redacted]racens was an Evangelical Meekneſs, [redacted] compariſon of that of *Popery*, which exceeded [redacted] Cruelty of the *Cannibals*. It is not "therefore the Cruelty of the *Mahometans* which "has deſtroy'd *Chriſtianity* in the *Eaſt* and *South*, "but their Avarice. They made the *Chriſtians* pay "dear for their Liberty of Conſcience; "impos'd upon them heavy Taxes; they "them often redeem t[redacted]hurches, which "ſometimes ſold to [redacted]ews, and then the "[redacted]s muſt re[redacted] them again: Po[redacted] deſtroys Wit, and abates Courage. "[redacted] above all, *Mahometiſm* has deſtroy'd *Chri*[redacted] by Ignorance." He repeats the ſame thing, in fewer words, in one of his (*l*) *Paſtoral Letters*, ſuppoſing always that *Chriſtianity* was deſtroy'd under the Empire of the *Mahometans*. But he is miſtaken, and would have ſaid otherwiſe, had he better conſulted the Hiſtorians, but that, it ſeems, is none of his buſineſs. Let us proceed, and obſerve, That he tells us plainly, That the *Saracens* and *Turks* treated the *Chriſtian* Church with more Moderation, than the *Chriſtians* ſhow'd either to the *Pagans*, or to one another: For he obſerves (*m*), That the *Chriſtian* Emperors ruin'd *Paganiſm*, by demoliſhing its Temples, deſtroying its Images, by forbidding its Worſhip of Falſe-Gods; and that the *Reform'd* Princes aboliſh'd *Popery*, by burning its Images, by burying its Reliques in the ground, and forbidding all Idolatrous Worſhip. 'Tis plain, That the Sovereigns who forbid all on a ſudden a Religion, do uſe more Violence, than the Sovereigns who permit the Publick Exerciſe of it, and do only keep it under, as the *Turks* do to the *Chriſtians*.

The Concluſion which I would draw from all this, is, That Men are little govern'd by their Principles. The *Turks*, we ſee, Tolerate all ſorts of Religions, though the *Alcoran* enjoins them to Perſecute the *Infidels*: And the *Chriſtians*, we ſee, do nothing but Perſecute, though the Goſpel forbids them. They would make fine Work in the *Indies*, and in *China*, if the Secular Power there ſhould favour them: You may aſſure your ſelf, that they would make uſe of the Maxims of Mr *Jurieu* there. They have already done it in ſome Places. Read what follows, and you'll find, that Reaſons not being ſufficient to Convert the Infidels, the Viceroy of *Goa* was deſir'd to aſſiſt the Goſpel, by Decrees of Confiſcation, &c. (*n*) *Cum neceſſarium eſſet, ut præter authoritatem Eccleſiæ poteſtas Principum Virorum ad ejuſmodi hanc frugem accederet, quæ obſtacula omnia amoliretur, Deus Dominus noſter Pro ea re tanquam inſtrumento in multis uſus eſt. Itaque ubi Bracmanni rationibus ſe dari victos agnoſcerent, ad diſſimulationem ſatis eſſe putabant, ut quoquo modo de cauſſis effugerent, quod ſe more Majorum vivere profiterentur. Sed cum pro innata animi pertinacia neque unquam ſe victos agnoſcerent, neque rationibus quantumlibet efficacibus crederent; Proceres in compendium miſſo negotio malo huic nodo malum cuneum opponit, legem promulgat, ut intra quadrageſimum diem a decreti promulgatione Bracmanes cum ſuis omnibus, qui Chriſtiani fieri nollent, ſuppellectili omni, quæque in ædibus & cenſu haberent, intra id tempus diſtractis, in exilium abirent; qui non parerent, jacturam ejus fortunæ, & ad triremes abruptum iri commentus eſt.* See in the Margin (*o*).

(*AA△*) *Proofs of the Forgery may be drawn from the Piece it ſelf.*] Conſider a little the words of Dr. *Prideaux* (*p*). "*Grotius* rejects this Capitulation as a "Forgery, and not without reaſon For this Piece is "Dated in the 4th Year of the *Hegira*, at a time when "*Mahomet* was not in a Condition to ſpeak in ſuch "a manner, as he is made to ſpeak in that Writing, "his Power at that time being not ſo formidable "as to move any Perſons to pray him to grant "them his Protection; ſince he had been defeated "a little while before at the Battle of *Ohud*, where "he was ſo cruelly beaten, that at the Time when "this Capitulation is dated, *viz.* on the 4th Month "of this Year, he had not perfectly recovered "his Loſs, and found himſelf much lower than "ever he had been from the time he took the "Sword in hand for *the Propagation of his Impoſture*. "Beſides this, there is another Particular, which "moſt plainly diſcovers the Forgery of this "Piece; for, according to it, *Hoawia*, the Son "of *Abu-Sophian*, was then Secretary to *Mahomet*, "and drew up this Writing; and yet 'tis cer"tain, that *Moawias*, with his Father *Abu-Sophian*, "did then bear Arms againſt the Impoſtor; and "it was not till the time of Taking *Mecca*, which "was four Years after, that they join'd him, and "embrac'd his Impoſture, to ſave their Lives

(*BB*) *At the* Meſſias *which* the Jews *expected*] There are ſome Authors who ſay, That *Mahomet*,

(*i*) *The Hiſtory of the War* 1688.

(*m*) *See what I have cited before, out of* the Rights of Sovereigns.

(*n*) Ludovicus Frois, in Epiſtola ad Fratres in Europa degentes ſcripta Goæ primo die Decembris, 1560. apud Damhaverum in Vale Triumphali, p. 19.

(*o*) *The Barbarities which the* Spaniards *exercis'd in* America *are horrible.*

(*p*) Prideaux, *in the* Life *of* Mahomet, *p.* 158, 159. *of the* Amſterdam *Edition*, 1698.

A COMPARISON between the Toleration of the *Mahometans* and that of the *Chriſtians*.

(*f*) *See* Hotting. *ubi ſupra*, p. 239.

(*g*) *In the 9th Chap. of the* Alcoran. *See* Ricaut, *l.* 2. *c.* 2. *p.* 318.

(*h*) *See* Ricaut, *ib. & c.* 3.

(*i*) Jurieu's *Apology for the Reformation*, Tome 2. [redacted] *Edit. in* 4°. *See alſo, the Thoughts upon Comets*, p. 738.

(*k*) Jurieu, *ib.*

which they expected. The *Mahometans* have a very great Veneration (CC) for him, as it appears by ſeveral Inſtances: They make very devout Pilgrimages to the Place of

for ſome time, gave himſelf out for the *Meſſias*, and that he (*q*) applied to himſelf the Oracles of the Old Teſtament, which had been accompliſhed in Our Lord. By this Artifice, he drew a great many *Jews* after him; and the bad Condition of that Nation in *Arabia*, diſpos'd them ſo much the more to be ſeduc'd. 'Tis ſaid, That they did not break off from him, till he fled from *Mecca*; and there are hardly any good Reaſons given of this Rupture: For, to tell us, as ſome do, That they were diſguſted with him, becauſe they ſaw him eat of a Camel, is to fob us off with Fables. Neither can I underſtand, that they did at any time take him for the *Meſſias*; ſince, on the one hand, the Scripture ſays expreſsly, That the *Meſſias* ſhall ariſe out of the Family of *David*; and, on the other hand, it was notorious, that *Mahomet* was not deſcended from it, but was of a *Pagan* Race. However, let us cite the Authors that have ſaid what I have related. (*a*) *Et quidem primis temporibus Muhammed ſe ipſum apud Chadigam uxorem, Arabes, Judæoſque venditabat pro Meſſia, quem Judæi expectarent, ut eſt apud Enuſtinum in Geneal. Mahom. p. 10. Abbas Urſpergenſis in Chronico, p. m. 150.* Hic erat Pſeudo-Propheta, ſed apud illos magnus æſtimabatur, ita ut etiam in principio adventus ejus æſtimarent hunc eſſe illum, qui ab eis expectatur Chriſtus. - - - (*b*) *Secuti hunc ſunt complures Judæi, qui Muhammedum illico pro vero agnovere Meſſia. Theophanes aliique iſtius temporis ſcriptores ſcribunt, Judæos adhæſiſſe Muhammedo* uſque ad cædem illius; μεχρι σφαγης αυτου. *Pro* σφαγὴν *rectius legi* φυγὴν, *uſque* ad fugam illius, *monet vir literarum Græcarum peritiſſimus Iſaacus Voſſius in allegatis ſibyllinis oraculis, p. 24. aſſerens Theophanem alioſque prævam ſecutos fuiſſe lectionem. Itidem tradunt receſſiſſe Judæos à Mahammedo, cum eum cameli carnibus veſcentem conſpexiſſent. Alias alii afferunt ſeparationis cauſas.* 'Tis certain, the *Jews* did not follow *Mahomet* till his Death, for he Perſecuted them outrageouſly with his Sword and Pen; he deteſts them, in many places of his *Alcoran*; and the War he had with them, was very bloody and deadly to them (*c*). The *Turks*, in this, do wonderfully follow the Genius of their Prophet; for they have a greater Averſion to the *Jews*, than to any People in the World, and they will not permit a *Jew* who turns *Mahometan* to be buried in their Burying-places (*d*). But what ſome ſay, That they will not ſuffer a *Jew* who deſires to embrace *Mahometiſm*, to come over immediately to the Profeſſion of their Faith, but he muſt firſt turn *Chriſtian* before he becomes a *Mahometan* (*e*), is falſe.

(CC) *They have a very great Veneration for* Mahomet.] I might ſet down a great many Circumſtances to this Purpoſe, but I ſhall mention only a few. The Grand-Signior ( ) ſends every Year into *Arabia* " 500 *Chequins*, an *Alcoran* cover'd with " Gold, carry'd upon a Camel, and as much Black " Stuff as may ſerve the Moſque of *Mecca* for a " Tent. When this New Cover is put on, that " of the preceding Year is taken away, and the " Pilgrims preſently cut it in pieces, and every " one carries off what he can of it, ſome more, " ſome leſs. They keep this Rag in their " Houſe as a Relique, and as a Token of their Pil- " grimage. - - - - When the Camel which carries " the *Alcoran* returns, he is adorn'd with Flowers " and other Ornaments, and after he has made this " holy Journey, he is exempt, for all the reſt of his " Life, from any other Labour or Service (*g*)." The *Turks* (*h*) have a great Veneration for a Camel; " and they reckon it one of the greateſt " Sins, to lay too much burden upon him, and to " make him labour more than a Horſe. The reaſon " of this is, becauſe this Beaſt is very common " in the holy Places of *Arabia*, and it has the " honour to carry the *Alcoran*, when they go a " Pilgrimage to *Mecca*. I have obſerv'd, that " thoſe who take care of this Animal, take the " Froth which comes out of his Mouth, after " he has drank in a Trough, and rub it upon " their Beards with great Devotion, as if it were " a Balſam of great Value, and while they do it, " they repeat often, in a religious tone, *Hadgi Baba!* " *Hadgi Baba!* i. e. *O Father Pilgrim! O Father* " *Pilgrim!*" Here follows a Paſſage from *La Mothe le Vayer* (*i*): " Where-ever the Religion " of *Mahomet* obtains, thoſe of his Line which are " call'd (1) *Cherifs*, are held in ſo great Venera- " tion, that none but they dares wear a Green " Turbant (*k*), and they are even exempt from " all Suits in Courts. And 'tis no wonder the " *Turks*, and other *Muſſulmans*, ſhould reſpect the " Poſterity of this Impoſtor; ſince they ſo far " eſteem the Horſes that come from the Mare he " rode upon, that none dares beat them, or evil- " entreat them, as we learn from the Relation " of the Sieur *de Breves*." Many Pilgrims, after having ſeen the Sepulchre of *Mahomet*, put out their Eyes, as if all the reſt of the World were unworthy of any regard, after they have ſeen ſuch an Object. I have read this in *Brantome*: The Reader will not be diſpleaſed to know upon what occaſion he mentions it. " The Day being come, ſays he, " (*l*) that the Ambaſſadors (*m*) of *Poland* waited up- " on the Queen of *Navarre*, ſhe appear'd to them " ſo beautiful, ſo magnificently adorn'd, and " richly dreſs'd, with ſo great Majeſty and Grace, " that they were all confounded with the Sight of " ſo great a Beauty; and among others, there was " one *Laſqui*, one of the chief of the Embaſſy, " whom I ſaw at his withdrawing, ſo dazled " with the Splendour of this Beauty, that he ſaid, " *I will not ſee any thing after it: I could willingly do as* " *ſome* Turkiſh *Pilgrims, when they come from* Mecca, " *where the Sepulchre of their Prophet* Mahomet *is, who* " *are ſo glad, ſo tranſported and raviſh'd with the Sight* " *of ſo fine and ſo ſtately a Moſque, that they will never* " *ſee any thing after it, and therefore they burn out* " *their Eyes with hot Braſs-plates which deſtroy* " *their Sight, and then they ſay, That after this,* " *there is nothing more fine to be ſeen, and they will* " *never ſee any thing more*: So ſaid this Islander, " of the admirable Beauty of this Princeſs." Since the Authority of *Brantome* may not be ſufficient, I ſhall cite two *Maronites*, who tell us (*n*); *Hinc factum eſt ut multi hujus loci deſiderio patriam conſanguineoſque reliquerint: plerique etiam tali inſaniæ dementiæque capti fuerint, ut ſibi ſponte oculos eruerint, ne ſcilicet quicquam mundanum, ut inquiunt, viderent: reliquum vitæ curriculum ibi peregerint.* This puts me in mind of a Thought of Mr. Ogier: In Compoſing a Funeral Oration upon *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*, he uſed (*o*) " all the Knowledge " that he had acquired by the Exerciſe and " Study of many Years in the Art of Rheto- " rick, and then reſolv'd, that after this Work, he " would never concern himſelf with Eloquence; " but follow the Example of a Lord in the " *Low-Countries*, who, after he had Regal'd *Charles* V. " in one of his Houſes, blew it up with Gun- " powder the next Day, as judging that no " Man was worthy to be receiv'd into it after that " Incomparable Prince". I have not yet related all the Honours that are done to Beaſts, for the Love of *Mahomet*. There are in the Territory of *Mecca* an infinite number of Pigeons; for, becauſe they are thought to be the Off-ſpring of that which came to the Falſe Prophet's Ear, therefore it is accounted a great Crime, not only to kill them, but even to take them or put them to flight. *Summa columbarum copia invenitur, quæ quia ſunt de genere atque ſtirpe ejus, quæ ad Mahometis aures* (*ut Moſlemanni nugantur*) *accedebat, eo pollent privilegio atque auctoritate, ut non ſolum eas occidere, ſed eas capere aut fugare nefas eſſe exiſtiment* (*q*). I have tranſcrib'd this Paſſage, to ſhow, that there are famous Writers who affirm, that the *Muſſulmans* mention this Dove which came to *Mahomet*'s Ear, of which the *Arabick* Authors have ſaid nothing, if we believe Dr. *Pocock* (*r*). We muſt not forget the Camel which (*s*) " carry'd *Ma-* " *homet* from *Mecca* as far as *Medina*, to the Door of " the Houſe of *Jul*, a famous *Turkiſh* Captain, whom " this Prophet had a mind to viſit, without know- " ing the Houſe where this Valiant Man liv'd." The *Mahometans* pretend, that this Camel (*t*) will riſe again, and enjoy the Happineſs of Paradiſe. What

(*q*) Plerique Veteris Inſtrumenti loca ad Meſſiam pertinentia impleverit, uti olim jam obſervatum Petro Cluniacenſi apud Iſaacum Voſſium in ſcripto de Sibyllinis Oraculis, p. 25. *Joh. à Lent, de Judæorum Pſeudo-Meſſiis*, p. 28, 29.

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 29.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 30.

(*c*) *See* Hotting. *ubi ſupra*, p. 214, *&c.* Joh. à Lent, *ubi ſupra*, p. 30. *ex* Elmacino, *p.* 6.

(*d*) Ricaut, *ubi ſupra*, c. 3. p. 325.

(*e*) *Id. ib.*

(*f*) Ricaut, *State of the* Ottoman *Empire*, l. 2. c. 23. p. *m.* 482.

(*g*) *I have read, in the Relation of the Entry of* Clement *VIII. into* Ferrara, *that the Horſe or Mule which ſerv'd for this Ceremony, was never put to work afterwards.*

(*h*) *Id. ib.* c 26.

(*i*) Moth Vayer, *Tom.* 8.

(1) Leo Africanus.

(*k*) Spon *Voyage*, Tom. 2. p. 16. *affirms*, That thoſe who are Born when their Mother makes a Journey to *Mecca*, have the ſame Privilege, of wearing the *Green Turbant.*

(*l*) *The Lives of Illuſtrious Ladies, in the Diſcourſe of* Queen Margaret, *f.* 205.

(*m*) *Thoſe who offer'd the Crown to the Duke of* Anjou, *Brother to* Charles *IX.*

(*n*) Gabriel Sionita, & John Heſronita, *ubi infra*, p. 26.

(*o*) *Journal of the Learned*, Febr. 22. 1666. *p.m.* 160, 161.

(*q*) Gabriel Sionita, & Joannes Heſronita, in Tractatu de nonnullis Orientalium urbibus, *c.* 7. p. 21. (*r*) *See above*, p. 1979. *at the end.* (*s*) Chevreau, *ubi ſupra.* p. 14. (*t*) *Id ib.*

of his Nativity, and to the Place where his Tomb is. 'Tis not true, that this Tomb hangs (*DD*) in the Air, as many Writers who tranſcribe one from another have affirm'd; neither is it very certain that any Architect is capable of making ſuch a Con-

(*k*) *See* a Mohe le Payer *letter* 116. *Tome* 2. *p.* 33. *He cites the* Voyage *of* Gouz.

(*w*) *In the* 2*d Tome of* Muſæum Italicum.

(*x*) *Cap.* 125. *See the* Univerſal Bibliotheque, *Tome* 7. *p.* 177.

(*y*) Univerſal Bibliothec. *Tome* 10. *p.* 98. *in an Abſtract of a Book publiſh'd by Mr.* Barrow, *entitled,* An Abridgment of the Faith and Religion of the *Turks.*

(*a*) *Ib.* p. 100.

(*b*) *In the Article* Fatima, *Remark D.*

(*c*) P. 264.

(*d*) Experientia hactenus docuit, & quotidie etiamnum noſtrates docet in Indiæ Orientalis Moluccis, regno Tarnatano, *&c.* ab Ethniciſmo plures poſſe converti, à Muhammediſmo fere nullos aut pauciſmos. *Gisb. Voet. Diſp. Tome* 2. *p.* 668.

(*e*) *See the words of* Voet. *which I have cited juſt now.*

What ſhall we ſay of *Mahomet*'s Shirt? It is kept at *Cairo* in *Egypt*, and (*u*) *carry'd in Proceſſion, on certain Days, with great Ceremony.*

The *Muſſulmans* never teſtified their Veneration for *Mahomet*, by erecting Statues to him; and therefore 'tis falſe, what we read in the Hiſtory of the *Holy War*, publiſh'd by Father *Mabillon* (*w*). The Author there ſpeaks of a *Statue of* Mahomet, *found in a Moſque which he calls the* Temple of Solomon. He ſays, (*x*) "That *Tancred* found it "ſeated on a very high Throne, and that it was "ſo heavy, that *Six of the ſtrongeſt Men could hardly* "*carry it, and that there muſt be Ten at leaſt to raiſe* "*it up. Tancred* made a very pathetical Harangue "to this Statue, wherein he owns that it was "*Mahomet*'s, and cries out, *It is this wicked* Ma"homet *who was the firſt* Antichriſt. *If the* Anti"chriſt *that is to come, was now here with this, truly, I* "*would quickly have cruſh'd him under my Feet.* Thoſe "who know any thing of the *Mahometan* Sentiments, know very well, that they do not keep "any Images, neither in their Moſques, nor in "their Houſes." 'Tis a Queſtion, whether the *Muſſulmans* invoke this Falſe-Prophet, and believe that he is in Heaven: Many aſcribe ſuch a Belief to 'em. (*y*) "But there is none of their ſolemn Prayers "which they do not directly addreſs to God, to "whom they Pray even for *Mahomet*; and they "maintain, That all Souls, that of the *Prophet* as well "as others, are, until the Day of Judgment, in the "Tombs where their Bodies are buried——— "(*a*) The Soul of *Mahomet* is alſo ſhut up in his "Sepulchre; for he refus'd to go to Heaven, "when God offer'd to receive him there, becauſe "he would not be without his Faithful. This "Soul ſhall conduct, at the Laſt Day, all the "*Mahometan* Souls to Heavenly Glory.——— "That you may ſee they Pray to God for *Ma*"*homet*, here follows the Concluſion of one of "their Prayers: O *my God, be propitious to* Ma"homet, *and to the* Mahometan *People, as thou waſt* "*propitious to* Abraham *and his People, becauſe they* "*praiſe and glorify thee.*" If there be no better Proofs that *Mahomet* is not Invok'd by his Followers, I would not deny but that he is; for I have related a Form of Prayer (*b*), which ſhows, that they Invoke God for the ſame Saints whom they Invoke. As to their veneration for the *Alcoran*, ſee what Mr. *Pfeiffer* ſays in the 7th Vol. of his *Univerſal Bibliotheque* (*c*). They adhere ſo firmly to *Mahometiſm*, that ſcarce any can be Converted from it to the *Chriſtian* Religion (*d*), and without doubt, there are many more *Chriſtians* that turn *Mahometans*, than *Mahometans* who embrace the Goſpel. The *Pagans* (*e*) are more eaſie to be Converted. The Diſtinction which *Richardus* the Monk uſes, appears to me to be vain; he ſays, That a *Mahometan* would more eaſily turn *Chriſtian* at the Point of Death, than when he is in Good-health; and that a *Chriſtian* would by no means embrace *Mahometiſm* at the hour of Death; that therefore both of them are agreed, That the *Mahometan* Religion is more Convenient for Living, and the *Chriſtian* more Safe for Dying. (*f*) *Chriſtianus quidem nunquam in morte fieret Saracenus, ſed in vita; Saracenus autem potius in morte fit Chriſtianus, quam in vita: uterque igitur horum potius eligit Chriſtianus mori, quam Saracenus.* This Diſtinction is an Advantage whereof the *Roman-Catholicks* and the *Reformed* equally boaſt. See the Remark *E.* of the Article *Abulpharagius*. But the truth is, except a few People, every body wiſhes to Die in that Religion in which he was Educated. If any one quit it for ſome Temporal Advantage, that Advantage is of no uſe to him when he comes to die, and therefore he wiſhes to die in his firſt Communion. A *Mahometan* is in the ſame Condition with others, if he abjures his Faith for Worldly Conſiderations: For Ignorance does the ſame thing in the Heart of theſe Infidels, that Knowledge does in the Heart of an Orthodox honeſt Man; I mean, it makes them adhere invincibly to their Opinions. But I muſt obſerve, by the bye, that the *Mahometan* Religion is not ſo deſtitute of Apologiſts as is commonly believ'd. There are ſome *Arabians* who have written in favour of the *Alcoran*, and againſt the *Bible*, with great Pains and Skill, to foment Prejudices. *Hottinger* ſpeaks of an Author (*g*) who has laid open the apparent Contradictions of the Bible, and pretends to prove the Miſſion of *Mahomet* even from that Book. We ſhould be very ſimple, to think that a *Turk* who examines this, finds it as groundleſs as we do. He perceives no Force in the Objections againſt the *Alcoran*, but he ſees much Strength in the Objections againſt the *Chriſtians*. So great is the Power of Prejudices!

(*DD*) *That his Tomb hangs in the Air.*] An infinite Number of People ſay and believe, that *Mahomet*'s Tomb being of Iron under a Vault of Loadſtones, hangs in the Air, and that this paſſes for a great Miracle in the Opinion of his Followers: But 'tis a Fable which they laugh at (*h*), when they know that the Chriſtians relate it as a certain Matter of Fact: And if they had us'd any ſuch Trick, it is no more than what a King of *Egypt* formerly attempted to do; who had a Deſign to procure the ſame Advantage to the Statue of his Spouſe, but his own Death and that of the Architect hinder'd him from putting it in Execution (*i*) *Magnete lapide Dinocharen architectus Alexandriæ Arſinoës templum concamerare inchoaverat, ut in eo ſimulacrum ejus è ferro pendere in aëre videretur. Interceſſit mors & ipſius & Ptolemæi, qui id ſorori ſuæ juſſerat fieri.* But if we believe *Auſonius*, this Deſign was executed, for he ſpeaks of it as of a Thing that did actually exiſt; but becauſe the Poets do not ſo narrowly conſider Things, let us rather believe what *Pliny* ſays.

Conditor Ille forſan fuerit Ptolemaïdos aulæ
Dinocharen: quadro cui in faſtigia cono
Surgit, & ipſa ſuas conſumit Pyramis umbras,
Juſſus ob inceſti qui quondam fœdus amoris
Arſinoen Pharii ſuſpendit in aere templi.
Spirat enim tecti teſtudine vera Magnetis,
Afficitque trahit ferrato crine puellam (*k*).

S. *Auſtin* did not at all doubt but that by human Skill and Induſtry ſuch a Thing had been produc'd. He does not ſet down the Place (*l*), but ſays only that in a certain Temple there was to be ſeen a certain Statue hanging in the Air, equally diſtant from the Pavement and the Roof, becauſe the Loadſtone which draws it upwards, and that which draws it downwards have the ſame Virtue. (*m*) *Quamobrem ſi tot & tanta tamque mirifica, ſays he, quæ μηχανήματα appellant, Dei creatura utentibus humanis artibus fiunt, ut ea qui neſciunt, opinentur eſſe divina, unde factum eſt, ut in quodam templo lapidibus Magnetibus in ſolo & in camera proportione magnitudinis poſitis, ſimulachrum ferreum aeris illius medio inter utrumque lapidem, ignorantibus quid ſurſum eſſet ac deorſum, quaſi numinis poteſtate penderet.... Quanto magis Deus potens eſt facere, &c?* He obſerves that the People who did not know the Cauſe of this Effect attributed it to the Power of God. 'Tis likely that the Temple which St. *Auſtin* does not name, was that of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*, for *Ruffinus* gives us the following Account of the Cheats which were diſcover'd in that Temple, when the Chriſtians were Maſters of it: (*n*) *Erat aliud fraudis genus hujuſmodi, natura lapidis magnetis hujus virtutis eſſe perhibetur, ut ad ſe rapiat & attrahat ferrum. Signum ſolis ad hoc ipſum ex ferro ſubtiliſſima manu artificis fuerat fabricatum, ut lapis, cujus naturam ferrum ad ſe trahere diximus, deſuper, in laqueariis fixus cum temperate ſub ipſo radio ad libram fuiſſet poſitum ſimulacrum, & vi naturali ad ſe raperet ferrum, aſſurreziſſe populo ſimulacrum, & in aere pendere videretur.* *Proſper* relates the ſame Thing with a Circumſtance which *Ruffinus* does not mention: He ſays that a good Servant of God, having learn'd by Inſpiration wherein the Artifice conſiſted, took away the Load-ſtone from the Roof, and immediately the Statue fell, and was broken in a 1000 Pieces. (*o*) *Apud Alexandriam in templo Serapidis hoc*

(*g*) *He is call'd* Ahmed Abulabbas, Ben Edris, Sanhaghius, Melkita. *See* Hotting. *ubi ſupra, p.* 337.

(*h*) Unde igitur nobis *Mahumedes* ciſtæ ferreæ incluſus & magnetum vi in aere pendulus? Hæc cum Mohammediſtis recitantur, riſu explodunturque, ut noſtrorum in ipſorum rebus inſcitiæ argumentum. *Pocockius, Specim Hiſtor. Arabum, p.* 180.

(*i*) Plin. *l.* 34. *c.* 14. *in fin. p.* m 150.

(*k*) Auſonius *Edyllio X. de Moſella, v.* 311.

(*l*) *Father* Hardouin *in* Plin. ubi ſupra, *ought not to have affirm'd, that Saint* Auſtin *ſaid this of a Statue which was in the Temple of* Serapis.

(*m*) Auguſt. *de Civit. Dei, l.* 21. *c.* 6.

(*n*) Ruffin. *l.* 2. *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. c.* 23 *apud Coquæum Notis in* Auguſt. *de Civ. Dei, ubi ſupra, p.* m. 961.

(*o*) Proſper, *de Prædict. Part.* 3 *c.* 38 *apud eundem Coquæum, ibid.*

(*f*) Richardus, *Confut. Legis Saracen. c.* 10. *apud* Hoornbeek, *ubi ſupra, p.* 208.

a Contrivance (*DD* △). There are many Predictions which threaten (*EE*) *Mahometism*

argumentum dæmonis fuit, quadriga ferrea nulla basi sustulta, nullis uncis infixis parietibus colligata, in aere pendens cunctis superem ac velut divinum subsidium oculis mortalium exhibebat, quum tamen lapis magnes, qui ferrum sibimet attributum suspendit, eo loco cameræ affixus totam illam machinam sustentabat. Itaque cum quidam Dei servus inspiratus id intellexisset, magnetem lapidem è camera subtraxit, statimque omne illud ostentum cadens confractum comminutumque ostendit divinum non esse, quod mortalis homo firmaverat. If we may believe *Cassiodorus* (*p*), there was in the Temple of *Diana* a *Cupid* of Iron thus suspended. The anonymous Author of the annals of *Tryers* cites a Letter of *Galba Viator*, written to the Sophist *Licinius*, wherein this *Galba* acquaints him, That he saw at *Tryers* a Statue of *Mercury*, made of Iron, and very heavy, which continu'd hanging between Heaven and Earth, by reason of the equal force which drew it upward and downward (*q*): There was a piece of a Loadstone in the Floor, and another in the Roof, and this Statue was plac'd just in the middle above and below these two pieces of Loadstone. I can scarce believe these things, both upon the account of the considerable Distance, which, they say, was between the Statues of Iron, and the Stones which attracted them; and upon the account of the insuperable Difficulties they must meet with, to balance so exactly the Attractions (*r*). I should rather believe, what was said of a Statue of *Mars*, which join'd it self to a *Venus* of Loadstone:

(*p*) Cassiodor. *Var. l.* 1. *cp.* 45. *p.* m. 43.

(*q*) *See* Ausonius Variorum *publish'd by* Tollius, *p.* 403.

(*r*) Gassendus *Oper. Tom.* 2. *p.* 334. *who mentions the Horse of* Bellerophon, *of which they told the same Story as of the Sepulchre of* Mahomet; *but he rejects it all.*

(*f*) *Ferrea Martis*
Forma nitet, Venerem magnetica gemma figurat.
. . . . . .
(*t*) *Cytherea maritum*
Sponte rapit, cælique toros imitata priores,
Pectora lascivo flatu Mavortia nectit,
Et tantum suspendit onus, galeæque lacertos
Implicat, & vivis totum complexibus ambit.
Ille lacessitus longo spiraminis actu
Arcanus trahitur gemmâ de conjuge nodis.

(*s*) Claudian. *de Magnete, v.* 25. *p. m.* 79.

(*t*) *Id. ib. v.* 31.

But at least this is very certain, that the Sepulchre of *Mahomet* ought not to be reckon'd amongst these Wonders. This False-Prophet was buried at *Medina*, where he died. Some Authors say, that it was put into the Tomb of *Aaisca* (*u*), one of his Wives, who lov'd him best, whom the *Mussulmans* call *the Mother of the Believers*, or, *the Mother of the Faithful*, one who understood the Languages, and who study'd History with great Application (*w*). This Tomb is an Urn of Stone, plac'd in a Chapel which no Man can go into, because it is compassed about with Bars of Iron. The Pilgrims of *Mecca* go thither with extreme Devotion, and kiss these Bars religiously. This is what you will find in a little Book *de nonnullis Orientalium Urbibus*, written by *Gabriel Sionita* and *John Hesronita*, and plac'd at the end of the *Geographia Nubiensis*, whereof they publish'd a Latin Translation at *Paris* in 1619. See also the Dissertation of *Samuel Andreas*, *de Sepulchro Muhammedis*. We shall see, in the following Remark, what Mr. *Bernier* says of this false Story of the Suspension of the Tomb.

(*u*) Gabr. Sionita & Jo. Esronita, *ubi infra, p.* 25. *See the Remark MM. where we criticise upon this Expression.*

(*w*) Gabr. Sionita & Jo. Esronita *de Nonnullis Orient. Urbibus, p.* 23.

I cannot leave this Subject, without relating a very ridiculous Story, which I have read in the *Travels* of *Moncony's*. (*a*) "The *Oia* of the "Ambassador said, That there was a Stone at "*Mecca*, hanging in the Air, since *Mahomet* stept "upon it to mount the Bouraq; which, according "to the *Alcoran*, was an Animal less than a Mule, "and larger than an Ass; that God had sent it "to carry him up to Heaven. When the Stone "saw him going up, it followed him; but he perceiving it, caus'd it to stop, and it continu'd in "that Place of the Air where it was then. Others "say, that some Women big with Child having "since past under it, did Miscarry, out of fear it "should fall upon them, and that some Stones "were put under it to support it; but that "they signifie nothing, and that without them "it would nevertheless continue suspended in "the Air.

(*a*) *The Travels of* Moncony's, *part* 1. *in* 4°. *p.* 464, 465. *ad an.* 1648.

(*DD*) *Neither is it very certain that any Architect is capable of making such a Contrivance.*] I can cite, upon this Head, an Authority which is not to be despis'd, and that is the Declaration of one of the best Disciples of the famous *Gassendus*, which he makes in these words: (*b*) "I shall say nothing "of the pretended Suspension of the Iron Sepulchre of *Mahomet* at *Mecca*, between some Loadstones of equal force, and dispos'd as it were "in a kind of Vault, which has [illegible] formerly "said of the Iron Horse of *Bellerophon*, for it is "a thing that exceeds all Humane Skill, either "that several Loadstones should [illegible] of the same "Force, or applied in such a manner, that "Iron in the middle shall not feel more Virtue "on one side than on the other; or that the Iron "should in all its Parts be of that Form, Thickness and Temper which is necessary that it may "be equally attracted throughout: And yet 'tis "evident, that the least Difference, whether in "the Loadstone or the Iron, or in the Situation "of them, would make the Force of one to prevail above that of the other. I might add, as "having been more than a Month at *Gidda* upon "the *Red-Sea*, a small Day's Journey from *Mecca*, "that *Mahomet's* Sepulchre was never at *Mecca*, "but it is at *Medina*, which is about six or seven "Days Journey from thence, and in those Parts "there was never any mention made either of "this Vault of Loadstones, or of this Suspension." Mr. *Vallemont* maintains the Possibility of the Suspension of a Tomb of Iron. Let us see his Proofs: "Father [illegible] says, That he plac'd, "one day, two Loadstones above one another, "and distant about four fingers; and plac'd a "Needle in the middle between these two Loadstones, having found out the exact middle, "where the Needle should be no more attracted "by one Loadstone than by the other, that it "might continue suspended in the Air without "being supported by any thing. It requires "some Time, and a great deal of Skill, to find "out exactly this Point, and to place the Needle "there without falling, which will happen by "the least commotion of the Air. In fine, *Cabeus* "was successful in this Experiment: The Needle "continued in the Air, between two Loadstones, "without touching any thing; and this surprizing Sight continu'd as long as one might repeat "four long Verses: But when he arose to call "some of his Friends, the Motion of the Air "broke, as one may call it, this innocent Charm. "Wherefore this Philosopher does not scruple to "assert, That by this means an Iron-Coffin may "be suspended in the middle of the Air, in a "Chamber whose Walls were inlaid with Loadstones. *Testor me id feciſſe. Potuisset etiam arca "ferrea fieri, & in cubiculo Magnete lapide parietato "ita disponi in medio aëre, ut penderet.* Cabeus, "*l.* 4. *c.* 18. *p.* 334, & 335. This Jesuit says this, "upon Occasion of what is so often related "That the Followers of the impious *Mahomet* "have plac'd his Body in a Coffin of Iron, which "is suspended in the Air between two Loadstones: But he does not at all doubt but that "it is a Fable, as indeed it is." Mr. *Vallemont* relates afterwards the last Words of the Passage of Mr. *Bernier*, which has been quoted above; and he blames him for affirming that it is a thing that surpasses all Humane Skill. "Reason, continues "he (*d*), might evidently prove the contrary; "and the Experiment of Father *Cabeus*, decides "the Matter against Mr. *Bernier*." I dare be so bold as to say, That this Experiment decides it rather for him, for it requires *much Patience and Skill*, and produces nothing that is lasting, and yet it is only about a small Needle. By this you may judge of the Difficulties that must be overcome, to suspend an Iron-Coffin between two Loadstones. Dr. *Prideaux* is of the same Opinion with Mr. *Vallemont*; for after he has said, That the Body of *Mahomet* was buried at *Medina* (*e*) and remains there *to this day*, without any Iron-Coffin, and *without any Loadstones*, he adds these words: "I do not pretend to deny the Possibility of the "thing; I know, that *Dinocrates* (*f*), a famous "Architect, built formerly of Loadstones the "Dome of the Temple of *Arsinoe* at *Alexandria*; "and by this means, the Image of the Princess, "wholly of Iron, was suspended in the middle "of her Temple, without any thing to support it: "But nothing like it was ever attempted in favour "of *Mahomet's* Carcase." See above what concerns the Statue of *Arsinoe*.

(*c*) Vallemont's *Description of the Loadstone found at* Chartres, *p.* 167.

(*d*) *Id. ib.*

(*e*) Prideaux *in the Life of* Mahomet, *p.* 134.

(*f*) Plin. *l.* 34. *c.* 14.

(*EE*) *Many Predictions which threaten* Mahometism.] *Bibliander* (*g*) affirms, That the [illegible]

(*g*) *De Ratione communi omnium linguarum apud Beſoldum over. de siderat. legis & sectæ Saracenorum, p.* 47.

…ometiſm a long while ago: And 'tis ſaid, That *Mahomet* being ask'd how long his Religion would continue? ſhow'd his Fingers extended; which, as it thought, ſignified,

a famous Prophecy among the *Mahometans*, which ſtrikes a [redacted] Terror both into Men and Women, and whic[redacted] That the Empire ſhall be Deſtroy'd by the Sw[redacted] the *Chriſtians*. The Prophecy is expreſs'd in [redacted] following words, which are tranſlated out of [redacted]an into *Latin* by *Georgievitz*. (g) *Imperator n[redacted] veniet, Gentilium Regnum capiet, rubrum malum capiet, ſubjugabit ſeptem uſque ad annos; Ethnicorum gladius ſi non reſurrexerit, duodecim uſque ad annos in eos dominabitur, domum ædificabit, vineam plantabit, hortos ſepe muniet, filium [redacted]iam habebit: duodecim poſt annos Chriſtianorum gla[redacted] inſurget, qui & Turcam retrorsùm profligabit.* [redacted]in (i) publiſh'd a Book in 1570. wherein [redacted]rms, That there is a Prediction, That the Law of *Mahomet* ſhall laſt no longer than a Thouſand Years, and that the Empire of the *Turks* ſhall Fall under the Fifteenth Sultan (k). He adds, That *Leo* the Philoſopher, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, has ſaid, in one of his Books, "That a light Hair'd Family, with "its Competitors, ſhall put all *Mahometiſm* to "Flight, and ſhall ſeize him who is poſſeſs'd of the "ſeven Mountains: *Familia flava cum competitoribus totum Iſmaëlem in fugam conjiciet, ſeptemque colles poſſidentem cum ejus poſſeſſoribus capiet.* The ſame Emperor makes mentio[redacted] a Column which was at *Conſtantinople*, whoſe Inſcriptions the Patriarch of the Place explain'd, and ſaid that they ſignify'd, That the *Venetians* and *Muſcovites* ſhall Take the City of *Conſtantinople*; and, after ſome Diſputes, they ſhall Chooſe, with one Conſent, and Crown a Chriſtian Emperor (l). This *light Hair'd Family*, ſo fatal to the *Muſſulmans*, makes me remember a Paſſage of Dr. *Spon*, which I ſhall ſet down. (m) "Of all the *Chriſtian* Princes, there is none "which the *Turk* fears ſo much as the Great Czar "of *Muſcovy*. - - - - I have alſo heard ſome *Greeks* "ſay, and, among the reſt, the Sieur *Manno-* "*Mannea* a Merchant of the City of *Arta*, a Man "of Wit and Learning for that Country, That "there was a Prophecy among them, which ſaid, "That the Empire of the *Turks* was to be De-"ſtroy'd by a Nation *Chryſogenos*, i. e. light Hair'd; "which cannot be attributed to any but the *Muſ-*"*covites*, who are almoſt all light Hair'd." There is mention (n) made of this, in the *ſeveral Thoughts upon Comets*, on occaſion of I know not what Tradition which is current, That the Fates have promis'd (o) the *French* the Glory of Deſtroying the *Turks*. See the Remark *F.* in the Article *Marcſis* (*John des*). The Prophecy of the *Abyſſines* mentions only a Chriſtian King, who ſhall be born in the *North*. (p) [redacted]*Mahumetem facit* (*Duret*, Hiſt. des Langues, *fol.* 575.) *cujuſmodi Prophetiæ, quam magni æſtimant Abyſſini*; 'quòd nempè, aliquando Mecha, 'Medina, aliæque fœlicis Arabiæ urbes, deſtruen-'tur, Mahometique & ejus ſymmyſtarum cineres 'diſſipabuntur; hæcque omnia facturus ſit Rex 'aliquis Chriſtianus, in regionibus ſeptentriona-'libus natus; qui pariter Ægyptum & Palæſti-'nam ſit occupaturus.' 'Tis pretended, that a Book was written in *Arabick* concerning this Prophecy (q) before the Taking of *Damieta*, and that this Book was found by the Chriſtians. *Wallichius* (r) relates, That the *Turks* find in their Annals, That the Reign of *Mahomet* ſhall continue until the Arrival of the light Hair'd Boys; *donec veniant* ſiglivoli biondi, *i. e. flavi & albi filii, vel filii ex Septentrione flavis & albis capillis.* Some think that this denotes the *Swedes*; but *Antony Torquato*, a famous Aſtrologer, applies it to the King of *Hungary* (s). I ſhall ſay nothing of the Prophecy which was current under the Empreſs *Theodora*, That the Deſtruction of the *Saracens* ſhould be the Work of the *Macedonians*; which was the Cauſe why the Emperor *Monomachus* rais'd ſome Troops in *Macedonia*, and ſent them into the *Levant* (a). The Events did not confirm this Prophecy, nor the Commentary upon the Predictions of the Emperor *Severus*, and upon thoſe of the Emperor *Leo*, Printed at *Francfort* with Fi[redacted]s, in 1597. This Comm[redacted]y (b) promis'd that the *Ottoman* Empire [redacted] be Deſtroy'd under th[redacted]an *Mahomet* [redacted] The Commentary of P[redacted]*ticulus* was not mo[redacted]happy than this, which he [redacted]re upon the *Apocalypſe*; for this *Lutheran* M[redacted]r had foretold (c), by virtue of ſome words of [redacted]m, That the *Turkiſh* Empire ſhould Fall in 1670. *Wolfius* has inſerted, in his *Lectiones Memorabiles* (d), a Piece which is entitled, *Diſcurſus de futura & ſperata victoria contra Turcam, e ſacris prophetiis, aliiſque vaticiniis, prodigiis & prognoſticis depromptus, ac nuviter in lucem datus per Joannem Baptiſtam Nazarum Brixienſem*: Which was Printed in 1570. wherein the Author diſcuſſes many Prophetical Paſſages of Scripture; and he finds, by the manner he applies them, and by calculating the Numeral Letters, that they ſignifie the Ruine of the *Turks*, and by that means an Univerſal Peace for the Year 1572, or 1575. The other Oracles which he conſults, are ſome foretelling Authors, the Signs that have appear'd in Heaven, and the Conſtellations; from all which he concludes, That the *Turkiſh* Empire, and all *Mahometiſm*, draws near its final Period; that they cannot eſcape; and that one may point out the Golden Age, which ſhall eſtabliſh an Univerſal Peace upon Earth. *Beſoldus* (e) is admirable, he mentions both this Treatiſe of *Nazarus*, and another (f) which was written in 1480. and printed at *Paris* about 1520. In it the Chriſtians were promiſed a Hundred noble Triumphs, which have proved meer Chimera's; and yet he averrs, that the Final Period of *Mahometiſm* draws near, which he founds upon this Obſervation, That the Sciences do not now flouriſh there as they have done formerly. (g) *Hæcque omnia, licet vana & fanatica multis videantur, ac etiam ratione temporis vel loci falli poſſint; certum tamen multi habent, adpropinquare quoque Sarracenicæ legis ruinam. Nam ſane jam diu eſt, quod diſciplina & eruditio ab eadem receſſit* The Sieur *Konig* (h) informs us, That Mr. *Baſire*, Chaplain to *Charles* I. King of *England*, declared, as he paſſed by *Leipſick*, when he was going for *London*, after the Reſtauration of *Charles* II. that, according to the *Apocalypſe*, there would quickly be a War againſt the *Turks*. That we were now in the Time of the Sixth Vial: That the *Turks* would be very ſucceſsful in this War, and that they would attack the City of *Rome*; and that after this Victory, their Empire would decline, and fall away; and that the wiſe Men of that Nation were of that Opinion. There was a Book Printed at *Paris* in 1686. in which are inſerted many Prophecies of things fatal to the *Oriental* Nations, which were given out (i) by the Abbot *Joachim*, by St *Nerſes* Patriarch of the *Armenians*, by St. *Catalius* (k) Biſhop of *Trent*, by St. *Angelus* a Carmelite, and by (†) *Berobius* of *Patras*. The Author pretending, that theſe Oracles concern the Moſt Chriſtian King, exhorts him to make War with the *Ottomans*. I ſhall not here repeat what I have ſaid in another Place (l), to which the Reader may have recourſe: I ſhall only ſay, That among ſo many Prophets who have all pronounc'd *Wo, Wo*, againſt the *Mahometan* Empire, there are ſome who have promis'd it great Bleſſings. The Aſtronomers of *Toledo* publiſh'd, in the XIIIth Century, a Prediction, That within Seven Years there ſhould ariſe Diſputes among the *Saracens*, and that they would abandon their Religion, and embrace the Goſpel. A Divine (m) of *Franeker* repreſented to *Comenius* the Falſhood of that Oracle, by citing to him a Theſis wherein *Samuel Marcſius* had ſaid, That it would be eaſie to prove by Scripture, that the *Turks* and *Tartars* ſhall not be Converted, but that they ſhall join with the remains of Antichriſt, and endeavour to deſtroy Chriſtianity: That God, by his Miracles ſhall hinder them, and that they ſhall all at once be ſwallow'd up in an Abyſs, at the Second Coming of JESUS-CHRIST. *Marcſius* was not to oppoſe the Account of the *Millenaries*; they pretend that the *Turk* ſhall be Converted. Let us relate what concerns the Aſtronomers of *Toledo*. (o) *A prout eventu caruit illa Aſtronomorum Toletanorum prædictio ante 400 annos edita, quæ ex Wendovero refertur in* Additamentis Matthæi Pariſienſis, ex edit Londinenſi anni 1632. *& juxta quam intra ſeptennium ab edito illo Oraculo oritura erat* dubietas inter Saracenos, *& exant reliqui* Mahumetias ſuas, *& futuri* unum cum Chriſtianis;

Francfort, *in* 1660. (n) Mareſius *Diſp.* 3 *Th.* 28

(a) See Wolfius, *Lect. Memorab. Tom.* 2. *p.* 803.

(b) Selim *II. who reigned then.*

(c) Wolfius, *ibid.*

(d) Spon's *Travels, tom.* 1. *p.* 270. *of the* Holland *Edition.*

(e) *P.* 783.

(f) *See many Authorities about this Matter, in the Thoughts upon* Comets, *p.* 781.

(g) Beſoldus, *ibid. p.* 48.

(h) *See* Hotting. *in Theſaur. Philologico.*

(i) *In Vita* Mahometis, *p.* 158. *apud* Schultetum, *ubi ſuprà, p.* 22.

(k) *Apud* Leunclavium, *in fin. Epiſt. f.* 844. *citante* Schulteto, *ibid. See the Article* Torquato (Antony.)

(l) Cedrenus, *p.* 515. *apud* Schultet. *ibid.*

(m) Schultet. *ibid.*

(n) Schultet. *p.* 21.

(o) *Tom.* 2. *p.* 884, &c.

(p) *Ubi ſupra, p.* 48

(q) De futuris Chriſtianorum triumphis in Saracenos. *The Author is call'd* Magiſter Joannes Viterbienſis.

(r) Beſoldus, *ibid.*

(s) Konig. *Biblioth. Vet. & Nov. p.* 90. *ex Epiſtola* Lipſiæ *ſcripta die,* 24 *Aug.* 1661.

(t) *See the Journal of* Leipſic *for the Month of* February, 1688. *in the Abſtract of the Theatre of* Turkey, *by* Michael le Fevre.

(k) S. Catalii *Epiſcopi Tridentini,* Act. Lipſ *ib. He ſhould have ſaid,* S. Cataldi Epiſcopi Tarentini.

(†) *I believe it is the ſame with* Bemechobus, *in the Citation* (3) *of the next Column.*

(l) *In the Article* Herlicius, *Remark F.*

(m) Nicolaus Arnoldus *in Diſcurſ. Theolog. contra* Comenium, *printed at* Francfort, *in* 1660. *apud* Arnoldum, *ubi ſupra, p.* 91, 92.

signified, That it would laſt a Thouſand Years, and ſo would have an end in 1639 *. I do not enquire whether the Calculation is exact, neither do I concern my ſelf to refute ſuch things: But I ought to ſay, on behalf of *Chriſtian* Authors, That they are the Followers of this Impoſtor, who publiſh'd the moſt ridiculous Fables about him; for they are the Perſons who inform us, that Rice and Roſes ſprung out of his Sweat (*FF*); and that the Angel *Gabriel* taught him the making of a *Ragou* (*GG*) which gave him great Vigour for the Enjoyment of Women. The Religion of this Falſe-Doctor was ſubject to the ſame Inconvenience which was obſerv'd at the

* *See* Andreas Catolus, *at p.* 953. *of the* Memorabilia Eccleſ. ſæculi, 17.

ſtianis; *ita non debemus nos facile lactare novâ ſpe converſionis Turcarum, quæ nuſquam in Dei Verbo promiſſa eſt.* There are alſo ſome who foretell, That the *Turks* ſhall make great Conqueſts; they ſhall March as far as *Flanders* and *Picardy*. Read what I have tranſcribed. I have put in the Margin the quotations of the Author, without changing any thing in them. (*o*) *Quam* (ſenectutem imperii Turcici) *etiamſi nondum agnoſcant plurimi Gogiticam priùs expectantes irruptionem, vel militiæ Turcicæ Coloniam uſque* (1) *deductionem, tùm Picardiæ, Flandriæ & Brabantiæ* (2), *imò omnium omninò regionum* (3) *per Turcas, præceſſuras incurſiones; nos tamen de Turcicâ ſenectute præſenti non* vaticinia *tantùm, ſed* alia *etiam* indicia *reddunt certiſſimos.* You will find a Supplement to all this, in the Remark *B.* of the Article *Torquato* (*Antony*).

(*o*) Schultetus, *ubi ſupra, p.* 21.

(1) *Methodius apud* Wolf. *Rer. Memor. T.* 2. *ad.* 1571.

(2) Claromontanus *apud* Wolf. *l.* 1.

THE Origine of Prophetical Threatnings againſt the *Turks*.

If we ſhould aſcribe all theſe Prophetical Threatnings to one Cauſe only, we ſhould be miſtaken. The deſire ſome have to comfort themſelves with the hopes of the Deſtruction of a furious Perſecutor, makes them eaſily find this Deſtruction in the Predictions of Scripture, or in ſome other things. Thus, there are ſome who foretell through Credulity and Deluſion: The deſire of Comforting People, and diſſipating their Fears, obliges ſome to ſuppoſe, that the Scripture, Prodigies, and many other Pregnoſticks, promiſe the approaching Ruine of the Power which they fear. There are others, again, who foretell Things to come out of Policy: And thoſe who do it on purpoſe to render their Troops more Courageous, are Prophets of the ſame kind. There are ſome who propheſie, on purpoſe to ſtir up Sedition in an Enemy's Country; as for Inſtance, to encourage the *Greeks*, who acknowledge the Grand-Signior, to take Arms againſt their Lord. Theſe belong to another Claſs, and may be call'd Prophets of Sedition. You may place in what Claſs you pleaſe, I care not which, the *Pagans* mention'd by St. *Auſtin*, who vented a Prophecy, according to which, *Chriſtianity* was to be deſtroy'd, after it had laſted 365 Years. (*p*) *Excogitaverunt neſcio quos verſus Græcos, tanquam conſulenti cuidam divino oraculo effuſos, ubi Chriſtum quidem ab hujus tanquam ſacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem: Petrum autem maleficia feciſſe ſubjungunt, ut coleretur Chriſti nomen per* 365 *annos: deinde completo memorato numero annorum, ſine morâ ſumeret finem.* St. *Auſtin* found, that reckoning theſe 365 Years from the Reſurrection of JESUS-CHRIST, they were ended a Year before *Paganiſm* receiv'd its mortal Blow, by the Deſtruction of its Temples. (*q*) *Sequenti anno, conſule Manlio Theodoro, quando jam ſecundùm illud oraculum dæmonum aut figmentum hominum, nulla eſſe debuit religio Chriſtiana, quid per alias terrarum partes forſitan factum ſit, non fuit neceſſe perquirere. Interim quod ſcimus, in civitate notiſſima & eminentiſſima Carthagine Africæ Gaudentius & Jovius comites Imperatoris Honorii, quarto decimo calendas Aprilis Falſorum-Deorum templa everterunt, & ſimulachra fregerunt.* St. *Auſtin* obſerves, That many *Pagans* were Converted, by the Reflections they made upon the Falſhood of the Oracle. As to the Motives of thoſe who publiſh'd it, ſee what I quote out of *Baronius* (*r*).

(*p*) Auguſtin. *de Civit. Dei, l.* 11. *c.* 83. *See the Bp. of* Meaux's *Explication of the* Apocalypſe, *c* 19. *p.* 231. *of the* Holland *Edition.*

(*q*) *Idem* Auguſt. *ibid. c.* 54.

(*r*) Tanta gloria ejus (*Chriſti*) Eccleſia aucta .... accidit ut Gentiles qui viderent Eccleſiam Chriſtianam tanta gloria auctam, adeoque immenſa claritudine illuſtratam, invidia tabeſcentes, quo ſolatio aliquo lenirent de Chriſtianorum gaudio & incrementis conceptum mœrorem & amicorum acerbitatem, novum oraculum confinxerunt, atque ore omnium diffamârunt Græcis quibuſdam verſibus præcinentes Chriſtianam religionem 365 annis duraturam quorum 313. jam prope elapſi eſſent. *Baronius ad ann.* 313. *n.* 17. *p. m.* 130.

Some of thoſe who have promis'd great Conqueſts to the *Turks*, have been by degrees inclin'd to it, from the Hatred they conceiv'd againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; either becauſe that Hatred made them Fanatical, or becauſe it made them only pretend to Viſions. But others have only follow'd the Syſtem which they had made upon the Prophecies of the *Apocalypſe*, *Gog* and *Magog*, &c. Two things were lately told me: 1. That a famous Miniſter in *Amſterdam* had Preach'd, during the Siege of *Vienna* in 1683, That the *Turks* ſhould take that City; which Prediction he grounded upon ſome Paſſages of Scripture. 2. That the Raiſing of this Siege did ſo affect him with Grief, that he Died of it: Not that he wiſh'd, as *Drabicius* did, that the *Turks* ſhould make great Progreſs in *Germany*; but he was mightily troubled, to be diſappointed. However, we may concluſie, That thoſe who attempt to Reveal Future Things concerning *Turkey*, have miſtaken the Times; for when they threatned it with Ruine, it Triumph'd; when they promis'd it Conqueſts, it loſt Battles and Provinces, as it has done ſince the Year 1683 (*a*). But we may obſerve, That in the time of *Drabicius*, there were ſome People in *Holland*, who promis'd, that the *Turk* ſhould be Deſtroy'd. There were two Pieces publiſh'd at *Leyden* in 1664. which were very different. The Title of the firſt was *de Tartarorum irruptione ſuccincta Diſſertatio* (*b*); and the other was, *Paræneſis ad Chriſtianos, ſuggerens conſilium ad eos liberandos, & opprimendos Turcas.* In the firſt, *Holland* is threatned with Irruptions of *Tartars*, unleſs it furniſh'd great Sums of Money for Levying the Troops that were neceſſary to the War againſt the *Turks*. In the other, the Conqueſt of the *Turkiſh* Empire is promis'd, provided great Levies were made of Men and Money; and the manner of Dividing this Conqueſt is deſcribed.

(*a*) *See the Article* Kotterus.

(*b*) *Having a* Dutch *Verſion on one ſide.*

(*FF*) *That Rice and Roſes ſprung out of his Sweat.*] Here are the words of two learned *Maronites*. (*c*) *Ineptè Mohamedis ſequaces confabulantur, ortam eſſe* (orizam) *ex ipſius Mohamedis ſudore antequam mundo ſe manifeſtaret, mundum infeſtaret penè dixerim, cùm thronum Dei circuibat in paradiſo: Deus enim converſus reſpexit eum, Mohamedes præ pudore ſudavit tergenſque digito ſudorem, ſex extra paradiſum guttas miſit, ex quarum una roſa, ex altera oriza productæ ſunt, ex reliquis quatuor, quatuor Mohamedis ſocii nati ſunt.* This is what ſurpaſſes the abſurdeſt Viſions of Legendary Chriſtians. *Mahomet*, ſay they, made a Tour about the Throne of God in Paradiſe, before he ſhow'd himſelf to Men. God turn'd towards him, and look'd upon him: *Mahomet* was ſo aſham'd, that he Sweat; and having wiped off the Sweat with his Fingers, he let fall ſix drops out of Paradiſe, one of which produc'd a Roſe, and the other a Grain of Rice: The four other Drops form'd four Diſciples of *Mahomet*. (*d*) "What "think you, Sir, of the Viſion of the *Arabians*, "(theſe are the words of *Balzac*) who took the "Roſe away from the Goddeſs *Venus*, to give it to "the Prophet *Mahomet*; and who maintain, "(as *Busbequius* ſays in his Relations) That the "firſt Roſes did ſpring out of the Sweat of this "great Prophet? Don't you admire their "Chronology, that will not allow there were "any Roſes in the World, before the Empire of "*Heraclius*?

(*c*) *Here follows the Compoſition of it,* Solent (*Arabes*) frequenter nutrire pulmento quodam Heriſe dicto, quod ex tritico prius decocto conficiunt, poſt ſoli exſiccandum exponitur, tum in urna contunditur donec emundetur, poſtremò pingui carne ſimul coquitur, donec caro conſumatur, quod ſane palato non eſt ingratum. *Gabriel Sionita, Jo. Eſronita, ibid.*

(*GG*) *A* Ragou *which gave him great Vigour for the Enjoyment of Women.*] He boaſted, That he learn'd from the Angel *Gabriel*, that the Virtue of this *Ragou* (*e*) was to fortifie the Reins. Having eat once of it, by the Order of the Angel, he had ſufficient Strength to fight againſt Forty Men: Upon another Occaſion, he had to do with Women Forty times, without being fatigu'd. (*f*) *Mohamedes ---- affirmabat ---- hoc pulmentum à Gabriele Angelo ſe edoctum fuiſſe, & utilitatem ejus, eodem Angelo teſte, in eo conſiſtere, ut renes corroboret. Quandoque Angeli juſſu Mohamedes ex eo edens una nocte pugnavit adverſus quadraginta viros, aliaſque quadragies indefatigatus rem cum fœminis habuit. Sanè hæc, annum delirantium fabellas aut alicujus Moſquæicæ ſectæ ſeras calumnias eſſe opinaremur, niſi præfatum antiquum*

(*d*) Balzac, *Conference* 5. *c.* 2. *p. m.* 87. *Compare the Remark BB. of the Article* Juno.

(*e*) *Sionita, Jo. Eſronita, ibid.*

(*f*) *Gabriel Sion. Jo. Eſron. ibid.*

of the Birth of Chriſtianity, and the beginning of *Luther*'s Reformation; for after he Propheſied, there aroſe (*HH*) many other falſe Prophets, and his followers were quickly divided. I am leſs aſtoniſhed at his boldneſs, with reſpect to the Promiſe of the *Paraclet*,

(g) 1. c. *If I be not miſtaken*, Mohamedes Ben. Caſem, *of whom they cite*, p. 2. hortus rerum delectabilium.

authorem (g) *juris peritiſſimum eumdemque obſequentiſſimum Mahamedis ſectatorem ea omnia diſerte Arabico ſtylo, capite de quorundam ciborum delectu & utilitate, videremus referentem.* "We have here a grave Author among the *Mahometans*, who relates theſe infamous Things of his Prophet, and therefore we muſt not ſuſpect that the Chriſtians or Jews have invented theſe Tales, on purpoſe to blacken the Impoſtor; and ſo altho' we do not read in the *Alcoran*, that the Pleaſures of the Conjunction between the two Sexes, ſhall laſt each time ſixty full Years, yet we muſt believe that this is a *Mahometan* Tradition. But that every one may the better Judge of this, we muſt relate a Paſſage which informs us, that Dr. *Pocock*, ſo well vers'd in *Mahometan* Authors, ſays nothing of that Tradition. Here is a Note of *Beſpier* upon what Sir *Paul Ricaut* ſays, (*h*) That the falſe Prophet promis'd a Paradiſe wherein there ſhould be fine Women, the Enjoyment of whom would give *exceſſive Pleaſures*, ... *and which would laſt ſixty full Years without diſcontinuance.* " (*i*) The *Alcoran* does no " where ſpeak of the time of this Pleaſure. " *Baudier* makes no ſcruple to extend it to *fifty* " *Years*, p. 691. of his Hiſtory of the Religion of " the *Turks*. This is what he has taken out of " *Vigenere*, p. 208 of his Illuſtrations upon *Chalcondylas*, and what both of them have taken " out of *John Andreas*, p. 72. where he ſays the " ſame thing. I do not complain that they have " Tranſcrib'd him in an infinite number of Places " as they have done, chiefly about the Pleaſures " of Paradiſe, about which they have taken four " or five Pages: But I blame them, becauſe nei- " ther of them names him in the Places which they " have Tranſcrib'd. I do not know whether the " *Summa* ſpeaks of theſe *Fifty Years*, as *John Andrew* affirms; but *Pocock*, who was very exact " in deſcribing all that the *Mahometans* ſay of the " Pleaſures of Paradiſe, ſays nothing neither of " the *Fifty Years* of *John Andreas*, *Baudier* and *Vigenere*, nor of the *Sixty Years* of our Author; " he ſays only, that theſe Infidels affirm, there " ſhall be a Hundred different Degrees of Pleaſure " in Paradiſe, whereof the leaſt ſhall be ſo great, " that to the end the faithful may reliſh it with- " out being over-whelmed, God ſhall give to each " of them the Power of a Hundred Men. *Kowat* " *miat ragiel.*

(h) Ricaut, ubi ſupra. p. 322.

(i) Beſpier's *curious Remarks*, p. 625.

Here we may admire human Infirmity. *Mahomet* Preaching and Practiſing the moſt exceſſive Lewdneſs, did nevertheleſs perſuade a great number of People, that God had appointed him to be the Founder of the true Religion. Did not his Life ſtrongly refute this Impoſtor? For, according to the Remark of *Maimonides*, the chief Character of a true Prophet, is to deſpiſe the Pleaſures of Senſe, and chiefly thoſe that are Venereal," *k) Luceat hic adſcribere quæ habet* Maimoni- " des *in* Moreh, l. 2. c. 40. *ubi quomodo probandi ſunt* " *Pſeudoprophetæ, docet his verbis.* Modus autem ta- " lem probandi, eſt ut perfectionem perſonæ ipſius " animadvertas, & in facta ejus inquiras, & con- " verſationem obſerves; ſignum autem præcipuum " quo dignoſcatur eſt, ſi abdicaverit voluptates " corporeas & eas contemptui habuerit, (hic ſi- " quidem primus eſt gradus ſcientiâ præditorum, " multo magis prophetarum) imprimis vero ſen- " ſum illum qui juxta *Ariſtotelem* opprobrio nobis " eſt, ac turpitudinem rei Venereæ; ideoque hoc " indicio detexit Deus omnes falſo de afflatu pro- " phetico gloriabundos, ut ita patefieret veritas " eam indagantibus, & ne in errorem inducantur." It cannot be ſaid that no Body was deceiv'd in this Caſe, and that thoſe who adher'd to *Mahomet* did it only through Self-love, knowing his Impoſtures. This is a thing that cannot be maintained. The greateſt part of his Diſciples rejected the News of his Death, as a Falſhood which was not conſiſtent with his Heavenly Miſſion, and to undeceive them, it was neceſſary to prove to them by the *Alcoran*, that he was to Die (*l*). They were therefore one ſeduc'd by his Words. Now when at any time once is prepoſſeſs'd with an Opinion, that a certain Man is a Prophet, or a great Servant of God, one is apt to believe rather, that the Crimes are no Crimes which he commits, than to think that he commits any Crime. This is the effect of the fooliſh Prejudices of many little Souls. Did not *Seneca* himſelf ſay, (*m*) That one could more eaſily prove Drunkenneſs to be a commendable thing, than that *Cato* committed a Sin in being Drunk. The Followers of *Mahomet* ſaid the ſame in their Heart; 'tis better to believe that Lewdneſs is not a Vice, ſince our great Prophet is ſubject to it, than to believe, that ſince he is ſubject to it, he is no great Prophet. We ſee every Day ſome inſtances of the ſame Prejudices. If a Man has once acquir'd a Reputation of a great Zealot for Orthodox Opinions, and ſignaliz'd himſelf in Diſputes againſt Hereſie, moſt People are ſo pre-engag'd in his Favour, that you cannot make them confeſs, that he has done amiſs in doing thoſe things which they would condemn if any other ſhould do them. St. *Paul* ſays only, (*n*) That the Unbelieving Wife is ſanctified by the Believing Huſband; but if he had ſpoke according to the Humor of theſe People, he ſhould have ſaid, that all that belongs to a believing Orthodox Man, and all that he does is Sanctified by him.

(*m*) Catonis ebrietas objecta eſt: at facilius efficiet quiſquis objecerit, hoc crimen honeſtum, quam turpem Catonem. *Seneca de tranquillitate animi c.* 15. *pag. m* 674.

(*n*) 1 *Cor.* 1 *v.* 14.

(*l*) *See* Pokock. Ibid. p. 178, 180.

(*HH*) *There aroſe many falſe Prophets.*] I remember the beginning of a Sermon of Mr. *Daillé*, which was grounded on this Thought, That whenever God ſends Men to declare the Truth, the Devil ſtirs up falſe Doctors to teach Hereſies. He rais'd in the times of the Apoſtles *Cerinthus*, *Ebion*, &c. and in the time of the Reformation, *John of Leyden*, *David George*, *Servetus*, and *Socinus*. The deſign of the Devil is to croſs the Progreſs of the Truth; for it was natural to believe, that the *Jews* and *Pagans* would deſpiſe the Goſpel, when they ſhould ſee many Sects among thoſe that Preach'd it. So likewiſe it was probable, that the Catholicks would deſpiſe and inſult the Reformation, when they ſhould ſee *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Muncer* and *Calvin* proceed in different Ways, and maintain Diſputes againſt many Party-Leaders, who, after their Example, would forſake the Romiſh Communion. Two Objections come naturally into one's Mind: 1. If theſe People were inſpir'd by God, they would be unanimous. 2. Suppoſing that we muſt forſake the ancient Doctrine, what Party muſt we chooſe among ſo many new Sects? 'Tis better for us to continue where we are, than to diſcuſs, whether one of them is true, and which it is. The Event did not confirm theſe Conjectures in their full extent; for altho' it cannot be denied, that the multitude of falſe Doctors who aroſe in the Firſt Century, and form'd ſo many Parties in the Boſom of the Infant Church, did a great deal of hurt to the good Cauſe; yet it muſt be confeſs'd, that it did not all the Miſchief the Devil hop'd for. Scepticiſm by it gain'd but little; I have already given the Reaſons of it (*a*). This Remark may be applied to the times of *Luther* and *Calvin*. Theſe two great Reformers did not make all the Progreſs they might have made, had they been united in the ſame Sentiments, and if all thoſe who oppos'd the Romiſh Church had ſpoke the ſame Language. Their Diviſions were a prejudice which kept many Perſons in the Romiſh Communion; nevertheleſs the Proteſtant Religion encreas'd in a little time, and acquir'd a laſting Conſiſtence. However, every body may be ſenſible, that the Devil purſues very well his own Intereſt, if he croſſes the Progreſs of a new Orthodoxy, as Mr. *Daillé* ſuppoſes; but it is not eaſie to conceive, that having raiſed up *Mahomet* to plant a falſe Religion, he ſhould oppoſe againſt him the ſame Obſtacles as he did againſt the Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt*. How comes it then to paſs that falſe Prophets, the Emiſſaries of Satan attempt to deſtroy Mahumetiſm at its firſt appearance? (*b*) Whence comes it that *Mahomet* had his Rivals who boaſted of Heavenly Inſpiration as well as he? How comes it, that *Muſeilema* his Diſciple, abandon'd him to make a ſeparate Sect (*c*)? How comes it that an *Aſwad*, a *Taliha*, an *Almotenabbi*, ſet up for Prophets, and drew after them as many Followers as they could (*d*)?

(*a*) *In the Article of* Luther, *remark T.*

(*b*) *See* Hotting. *Hiſt Orient. l.* 2. *c.* 3 *p.* 258. *d. Id ib.*

Paraclet, than at that of ſome *Arabian* Authors, who boaſt of having read ſome Copies o the Goſpel (*II*), which contained ſome things concerning *Mahomet*, which they pre tend the Chriſtians have blotted out. I do not know, if one may believe what ſome ſay, that *Mahomet* declar'd, that only a third part of the *Alcoran* was true (*KK*).

He that would ſee a Chronological Account of the Actions and Adventu[illegible] of this falſe Prophet juſtified by very good Citations, and a fine detail of C[illegible]ſtances, needs only to read Dr. *Prideaux*'s † Book. It has been Tranſlated out o[illegible]*liſh* into *French*, * ſince the firſt Edition of this Dictionary. In it, among othe[illegible]gs, there are many Proofs, that *Mahomet* was an Impoſtor, and γ that he made [illegible]*poſture ſub-ſervient to his Luſt*. One of theſe Proofs is taken from hence, that t[illegible](*LL*) variations of his Prophetick Spirit were ſuited to the Change of his private Intereſt. What is related of his Amours, is very ſtrange. He was Jealous (*MM*) to the higheſt

* *The French Tranſlat was Pul liſh'd at* Amſterdam *in* 1698.

γ Prideaux, *Life of* Mahomet, p. 155.

could (*d*). 'Tis not eaſie to account for theſe Phænomena, unleſs we ſuppoſe that there is as great a Diviſion among the bad Angels as among Men, or that Men without the Inſtigation of the Devil, will attempt to found falſe Sects. The Heads of the Parties that I have named, call'd *Mahomet* a falſe Prophet. But there aroſe others after his Death, who, without calling in queſtion his Authority, pretended to exceed one another in the underſtanding of the *Alcoran*. The two great Sects which aroſe at firſt, of *Ali* and *Omar*, do ſtill continue. Was not the permiſſion of this prejudicial to Mahometiſm? Was this the Intereſt of the Devil?

(*d*) Id. p. 259.

How great ſoever this Difficulty may appear, ſeveral Anſwers may be made to it. It may be ſaid, that the Devil is not much concern'd, if a falſe Prophet be croſs'd by other falſe Prophets, and if each of thoſe Impoſtors debauches the Followers of his Rivals: The Devil can loſe nothing by that means, for 'tis equal to him, whether [illegible] follow *Mahomet*, or *Muſeilema*, or *Almotenabbi*. The Fights, the Wars, the Confuſions of all ſorts which theſe Diviſions produce, are a more diverting ſight to the Enemy of Mankind, than if Matters went on ſmoothly and ſucceſsfully, there being but one falſe Sect. Beſides, it is a thing very fit to flatter the Pride of an ambitious Spirit, to ſhew that he can ſettle Mahometiſm in ſpight of a Hundred Obſtacles. Could not he hope, that if this Sect did wonderfully encreaſe, altho it was oppos'd in its Infancy by other Sects, this would be look'd upon as a Character of its Divinity; as God never made his Power in protecting the Goſpel, more ſenſibly appear, than by hindring the bad Effects of the Hereſies and Schiſms of the firſt Century?

(*II*) *Of having read ſome Copies of the Goſpel.*] The moſt Incredulous Men ſtagger, when they ſee grave Authors affirm certain things with a great pomp of Circumſtances, as having ſeen them with their own Eyes. It is therefore neceſſary to make it appear by ſome notable Examples, that ſuch Affirmations are ſometimes deceitful. What greater Example can we alledge, than that which I am going to mention; wherein we ſee, that a *Mahometan* affirms, that a Chriſtian ſhow'd him a Copy of the Goſpel, in which there are many things clearly and expreſly ſaid concerning *Mahomet*, and that there is no other Copy in the World but one like this. (*e*) *Inter nomina ſeu titulos blaſphemi impoſtoris* Paracletum *numerant, teſte* Al Jannabio: *quin & aliàs in loco non uno, antè Evangelia à* Chriſtianis *corrupta expreſſam ejus faciam mentionem ſibi facile perſuadent, idque ab ipſis* Chriſtianis *edocti, ut retert Author modo laudatus*; Mohammodem *ſcil.* Al Selencium, *neſcio quem, à Sacerdote quodam magni inter* Chriſtianos *nominis didiciſſe nullibi extare Evangelii exemplar incorruptum, quàm apud ſe unum, ac* Pariſiis *alterum, atque e ſuo multa eorum ipſis legiſſe, in quibus multa & perſpicua de* Mohammede *narrantur.*

(*e*) Pocockius ubi ſupra, p. 185, 186.

(*KK*) *That only a third part of the Alcoran was true.*] Father *Joſeph de Sancta Maria*, a bare Footed *Carmelite*, Apoſtolical Miſſionary in the Kingdom of *Malabar*, affirms, (*f*) That the Inhabitants of *Maſcati* pretend to be the moſt faithful obſervers of *Mahomet*'s Law, and that *Mahomet* declared, that of 12000 Words that are in the *Alcoran*, there are only 4000 that are true. When they are confuted in any Point, and know not how to defend themſelves, they place it in the number of the 8000 Falſities. This is very convenient to come off in a Diſpute.

(*f*) *In the Book intituled* Prima ſpeditione all' Indie Orientali, *Printed at* Rome. *The Journal of* Italy, *March* 31. 1668. *makes mention of it.*

(*LL*) *The variations of his Prophetick Spirit were ſuited to the Change of his private Intereſt.*] We ſhall keep to [illegible] Words of Dr. *Prideaux*. (*g*) " All " his *Alcoran* almoſt was fram'd after this manner, " (*i*) to anſwer ſome private Deſign he had, ac- " cording as occaſion required. If he had any " new thing to ſet on foot, or ſome Objection a- " gainſt himſelf, or his Religion, to anſwer, ſome " Difficulty to reſolve, or ſome Diſcontent among " the People to pacifie; ſome Scandal to remove, " or ſomething elſe to be done for carrying on his " Deſigns, he had commonly recourſe to the *An- " gel Gabriel* for ſome new Revelation; and pre- " ſently he inſerted in his *Alcoran* ſome Addition " proper to anſwer [illegible] he then propos'd to " himſelf. So that [illegible] whole almoſt was Com- " poſ'd upon occaſions of this Nature, to produce " in his own Party the Effect which he propos'd " to himſelf. And all his *Commentators* plainly e- " nough confeſs it, by ſhewing exactly the Rea- " ſons for which each Chapter had been ſent him " from Heaven. But this was the Cauſe of the " many Contradictions that are to be found in " this Book. For as that Impoſtor's Affairs " and Deſigns varied, he was obliged to vary " his pretended Revelations, which is ſo well " known among thoſe of his Sect, that they all " confeſs this to be true; upon which account, when " theſe Contradictions are ſuch that they cannot " be reconciled, they revoke one of the contra- " dictory Places. And they reckon in the whole " *Alcoran* (1) more than 150 Verſes thus revok'd, " which is the beſt Expedient they can take for " ſaving the Contradictions and Inconſiſtencies " that are in it. But herein they diſcover very " much the levity and Inconſtancy of him who " was the Author of it." This Proof of Impoſture, is of great force: I have diſcours'd of it already; but here I ought to add, that it would be too far extended, if it ſhould be made uſe of without exception againſt all the Expounders of the *Apocalypſe*, who change their Hypotheſes (*b*) as the general Affairs take a different turn. It may ſometimes happen that there is nothing but Fanaticiſm in the Inconſtancy of thoſe Men, and not being able to perceive the Diſtemper in their Head, they are no leſs ſincere when they vary than when they do not. Let us therefore make uſe of a diſtinction, and ſay only, that thoſe who change their *Apocalyptic* Syſtem, according to the News in the *Gazette*, and always agreeably to the general deſign of their Writings, publiſh Falſities either without it knowing or knowingly. Their Conduct is very often an Impoſture, but not always.

(1) Johannes Andreas. Guadagnol. Tract. 4. c. 7. Sect. 3.

(*a*) *In the Remark T.*

(*b*) *See the Chimerical Cabal at p. 189. of the 2d. Edition.*

(*MM*) *Jealous to the higheſt degree, and yet he bore with patience the Gallantries of that Wife which was deareſt to him.*] " (*c*) As he became a brutiſh Slave " to the Love of Women, ſo he was extreamly " Jealous of thoſe he had Married. Thus to diſ- " ſuade them from what he fear'd, (2) he threatned " them once with a ſeverer Chaſtiſement than is " given to other Women, not only in this World, " but in that which is to come, ſuppoſing that " they ſhould be unfaithful to him. And when " ſome of his Followers frequented his Houſe too " much, and convers'd there with ſome of his " Wives, he declar'd, as in the Name of God, " theſe Verſes in the *Alcoran*, (3) wherein he " tells them, that they ought not to enter into " the Houſe of the Prophet without leave, and " [illegible] they were invited to Dine at his Houſe, " they ought to go away immediately after Din- " ner, without entring upon any Converſation " with his Wives; and that altho' the [illegible] " was aſhamed to tell them they ſhou[illegible] " yet God was not aſhamed to tell them t[illegible]

(*c*) Prideaux, *Life of* Mahomet, p. 153, *&c.*

(2) *Alcoran, c.* 33.

(3) *Alcoran, c.* 33.

highest degree, and yet he bore with patience the Gallantries of that Wife which was dearest to him: He could never resolve to put her away; and he interpos'd the great Contrivance of his Revelations, to make the People cease to speak evil of her, and to be scandalized at his Love for a Wife of a bad report. His Followers thought at last that she was honest, for they receiv'd as Oracles (*NN*) the Interpretation she put upon the Name of God, had a respect not only for his Person, but also for his Wives and Children. They were not therefore capable of forging such a bitter Calumny against *Ayesha*; but being well acquainted with the real disorders of her Conduct, they murmur'd and complain'd of them as of an intolerable Scandal to the dishonour of the Man of God. We must note, that Jealousie is not always uniform in its Causes and Effects: it deviates from its Rules, and from the common Road oftener than is thought. There are some People that would be Jealous if they were less amorous. The highest degree of Tenderness produces in their Heart a Confidence, which a lesser degree would not produce. There are some Men Jealous, who cease to Love when they think themselves betray'd. There are others whom a known unfaithfulness does not cure. *Mahomet* might very well be of this last Sort, with respect to his dearest Wife. We must always remember that he lov'd her always, and this is what is chiefly to be considered; for if he had only taken care to avoid the Raillery, to which he might have been expos'd by a Divorce, we must ascribe to him only a political Patience, which is common enough in Mankind. The number of those who prefer a cohabitation with an odious Object, to the noise of a Rupture, is not inconsiderable.

" And in the same Chapter he forbids his Wives
" to speak with any Man, unless their Face
" was cover'd with a Veil. Lastly, He carried his
" Jealousie [illegible] beyond the Grave; for not be-
" ing able to endure that any should have to do
" with his Wives tho' after his Death; (4) he for-
" bad severely all his Followers to go towards
" them as long as they liv'd. So that tho' all other
" Women, when they were divorc'd, or became
" Widows, had the liberty to Marry again, yet
" all his Wives were excluded from this Privi-
" lege. Upon which account all those whom he
" left behind him at his Death, (5) remain'd al-
" ways Widows, tho' some of them were very
" young, as particularly *Ayesha*, who was not then full
" twenty Years old, and who liv'd Forty Eight
" Years after, which was look'd upon in this hot
" Country as a very severe Restraint."

(4) *Alcoran, c.* 33.

(5) Johannes Andreas, c. 7.

You see in these Words of Dr *Prideaux*, that the same Wife whom we call'd above (*d*) *Aaisca*, is here called *Ayesha*. The two Authors whom I have cited in that place, do not well express themselves; they say that *Mahomet* was buried in the Grave of *Aaisca*; but since she liv'd longer than he, it had been better to say that he was buried in the Chamber of this Wife.* Thus Dr. *Prideaux* (*e*) expresses himself. He tells us, (*f*) that *Ayesha*, the Daughter of *Abubeker*, *was she of all his Wives, whom* Mahomet *loved most tenderly, and tho' she was a Woman* (6) *that lov'd Gallanting, and was always busie in some Intrigue, yet* Mahomet *could never resolve to put her away. He wrote therefore the twenty fourth Chapters of the Alcoran, to declare her innocent, and at the same time to justifie himself for keeping her. Therefore he declares there to his Musulmans in the Name of God, that all these Reports that were spread to the disadvantage of* Ayesha, *were Impostures, and black Calumnies, forbids them to speak any more of them, and threatens them, at the same time, with terrible Punishments, both in this Life and the other, who should dare to defame good Women.* Mahomet *having Married her young,* (7) *took care to instruct her in all the Sciences that were usually taught in* Arabia, *and chiefly in the elegance and politeness of Language, and the knowledge of their Antiquities: She profited extreamly by her Husband's Care, and became very Polite and Learned.* (8) *She hated* Ali *furiously, because he discovered her Incontinence and Immoralities to* Mahomet. Here is another Proof of the tenderness wherewith she was lov'd by her Husband. " (*g*) *Sewda* was she of all
(9) *Mahomet*'s Wives whom he lov'd least; he had
" even resolv'd to put her away; but he was diverted
" from it by her earnest begging of him, that she
" might still continue to enjoy the Name of *Ma-*
" *homet*'s Wife, and promis'd him that she would
" require nothing more, that when her turn should
" come to lie with him, she would give it to *Ayesha*.
" The Love he had for *Ayesha* made him willingly
" consent to this Bargain, and so *Sewda* continued
" in his House during her Life, upon the Condi-
" tions propos'd."

(*d*) *In the Remark, D. D.*

(*e*) Prideaux, p. 134.

(*f*) Id. ib. p. 139.

(6) Disputatio Christiani, c. 6. Commentat. in Alcoran, c. 24.

(7) Appendix ad Geograph. Nubiensf. c. 8.

(8) Disput Christiani. c. 6. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 4. Abul-Faraghius Abul Feda. &c.

(*g*) Prideaux ib. p. 141.

(9) Gentius in notis ad Musladin. Sadum. p. 568.

Some perhaps may think, that I speak improperly, when I affirm that *Mahomet* bore with patience the Gallantries of that Wife whom he lov'd most tenderly; for one may imagine that he believ'd her very innocent, and in that Case we must not consider him as a Husband tender and jealous, and at the same time insensible of her Conjugal Unfaithfulness. Where will then be the singularity of that Character I have spoken of? I answer, that there is no appearance that he doubted of the Gallantries of *Ayesha*. He heard of them by the relation of *Ali* his Son-in-Law; and he continued to have as great Friendship for, and Confidence in him, as he had before; and doubtless he would not have used him after this manner, if he had taken him for a Slanderer in a Matter so nice as this was. Let us therefore believe, that he was convinc'd of the truth of the Report, and that if the amorous Intrigues of his Wife had not been certain, such Tales and Calumnies had never been forg'd of her, as obliged the false Prophet to have recourse to the Heavenly Authority to put a stop to them. His Followers [illegible] persuaded that he spoke to them in

(*i*) Prideaux, p. 84.

* (*NN*) *They receiv'd as Oracles the Interpretation She put upon their Law.*] Her Credit, after the Death of this false Prophet, was great enough to hinder *Ali* from becoming Caliph. She hated him for the Reason given in the preceding Remark. Her hatred lasted long; for altho' *Ali* (*i*) *had a right to the vacant Throne, being Son-in-Law to the Impostor; he was three several times successively excluded. The Throne was vacant the fourth time, and* Ali *at last came to it; but* Ayesha *appeared in Arms against him, and tho' she succeeded not this way, yet she destroy'd him by stirring up and fomenting that Revolt, which at length ruin'd* Ali *and his Family.* (1) Ayesha *survi'd* Mahomet *full forty eight Years, and enjoy'd a great Reputation in his Sect, who call'd her the Prophetess and the Mother of the Faithful. She was the living Oracle of his Sect, who consulted her in all difficult Points of the Law, to learn of her what was the Sense of the Law-giver. Whatever her Answers were, they* (2) *were receiv'd as Oracles, and have always since passed among them for authentical Traditions. All the Traditions which compose the* Sunnah, *according to them, come from* Ayesha, *or from some one of the Ten Companions of* Mahomet; *so they call those Ten Men, who first join'd that Seducer. But the Testimony of* Ayesha *renders a Tradition very Authentick.* Abdorrahman Ebn Auf. *holds the second Rank.* Note, that *Mahomet* (*a*) did not entrust her with the *Box* of his Apostleship, but *Haphsa* the Daughter of *Omar*. This is a little strange; for this Daughter of *Omar* held but the second (3) Rank in the Heart of her Husband *Mahomet* (*b*). " In this Box were all the Originals
" of his pretended Revelations, which serv'd for
" Materials to Compose the *Alcoran*. After this
" Book was finish'd, *Abubeker* (4) gave the Origi-
" nal of it to *Haphsa*, to be kept in the same Box.
" Which may serve to discover the Error of *John*
" *Andreas*, who pretends that it was *Ayesha*
" who kept it. For this being so considerable an
" Office among the *Mahometans*, what probability
" is there, that if *Ayesha* had been once put in
" possession of it by the Impostor himself, *Abubeker*
" should have endeavoured to dispossess her of it,
" especially she being his own Daughter. But
" *Haphsa* was much older than *Ayesha*, and for
" that reason probably was preferr'd before her,
" to have the charge of the precious *Depositum*."

(1) *For she died in the 53 Year of the* Hegira, Elmachin, l. 1. c. 7.

(2) Johannes Andreas, c. 3

(*a*) Prideaux, p. 142.

(3) Joh. Andreas, c. 7.

(*b*) Prideaux, ib.

(4) Abul-Feda Hottingeri Biblioth Oriental. c. 2 Pocockii Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 362

There is some occasion to wonder, that the *Mahometan* Religion should be so unkind (*c*) to the Female Sex, since it was founded by a Man so excessively lascivious, and since his Laws were deposited in the Hands of a Woman, and another was to give the Interpretation of them as she pleas'd. We have already shown that *Ayesha* was look'd upon as a Prophetess and an Oracle, and that she was indeed a Pope among the *Mahometans*: Mr. *Herbelot* relates (*d*) *That he had among them a*

(5) Joh Andreas, de Confusione Sectæ Mahometanæ. c. 2.

(*c*) *See Remark* (Q).

(*d*) Herbelot, Biblioth Oriental *at the word* Aischah p. 60.

upon their Law. Some Christian Authors have Publish'd a very ridiculous Tale (*OO*) concerning the Credulity of the *Mahometans* as to Miracles. Mr. *Simon* † is blam'd for certain Things he has Publish'd, which tend to extenuate the Infamy of *Mahometism*. See the last Chapter of his Critical History of the Belief and Customs of the Nations in the *Levant*. But if what he says is grounded upon Reason, he deserves to be commended; for we must not foment the hatred of Evil by making it appear more black and hateful than it really is.

† *See the Difficulties propos'd to Mr.* Steyaert *part 6. from p.* 303. *to p.* 316.

MAHOMET the Second, the 11th Sultan of the *Turks*, Born at *Adrianople* the 24th of *March*, 1430. was one of the greatest Men that is mentioned in History, if we consider only the Qualifications necessary for a Conqueror; for as to those of a good Man, we must not seek for them in his Life. 'Tis not true that his Mother was a Christian *. He very well deserv'd the Title of *Great*, which he ambitiously aspir'd to, and which the *Turks* (*A*) did not fail to give him; "for he signaliz'd † his "Reign by the Conquest of Two Empires, Twelve Kingdoms, and Two Hundred "considerable Cities. But his Progress was not the effect of a sudden Revolution, "or of blind Fortune, which led him on from Victory to Victory, without the "assistance of prudent Conduct. The Blood that he shed upon great occasions, "proves, that the Advantages he gain'd were disputed. He rais'd some Sieges, made "hasty Retreats, and lost some Battles; but those Disgraces which blunt the Edge of "common Spirits, encourag'd his, or rather instructed him how to behave himself for "the future, and his Judgment help'd him to repair by patience, what he had "lost

* *See the Remark. F.*

† Guillet *History of* Mahomet II. *p.* 1. *He cites* Phranza l. 1. c. 33. Barlet. de Expug. Scodr. lib. 1. Bapt. Egnat. de Orig. Turc. Phil. Lonicer. lib. 1.

very great Authority, even in matters of Doctrine and Religion, and that they often had recourse to her to learn some Tradition of Mahomet, *and that she undertook to condemn the Caliph* Othman *for Impiety.* She might then have settled Matters upon a Foot very favourable to her Sex. Whence then came it to pass, that she did not do it? Was she of the Humour of certain Women, who are the first and most fierce in defaming their own Sex? May this be look'd upon as a Proof of that which is sometimes said, That the Authority of Men is never greater than when a Woman is seated on the Throne, and that the Authority of Women is never greater, than when the Scepter is in the Hands of a Man? For my part I know nothing of the matter; let speculative Men exercise their Wit as much as they please upon this Question. But consider, I pray you, the influence of the fair Sex upon the Foundation of *Mussulmanism*, and how the Passions of a Woman did quickly spread in it the Seeds of Discord. Follow the Tracks of *Ali*'s Schism, and you will find the Lewdness of *Ayesha*, whom he accus'd, to be the Source of it. This Woman never forgave him: She hindered him three times successively from arriving at the Dignity of *Caliph*, and after he had obtain'd it, she made a League against him (*c*), and put her self at the Head of 30000 Men. She lost the Battle, and was taken, and sent back to *Medina*, where she died, and was buried near to *Mahomet*: But the League she had made to revenge the Death of *Othman* died not with her. *Ali* was at last kill'd upon this pretence, and from thence arose a great Schism, which still continues.

(*c*) Herbelot ubi supra, *and at the word* Ali, *p.* 89. *&* 90.

I cannot conclude without observing a small want of exactness in the *Oriental Bibliotheque* of Mr. *Herbelot*. He says in the Article *Aischah*, that this Widow of *Mahomet*, *undertook to condemn* Othman *for Impiety*. But in another place (*f*) he relates, that she being consulted by the Faction who brought some Complaints against this *Caliph*, made Answer, That he ought to be admitted to Penance, and that she maintain'd it afterwards to *Ali*. I do not object this as a Contradiction, but as an imperfect Account. We must believe, 1. That this Woman judg'd the Cause of *Othman*, and condemn'd him for Impiety. 2. That she pronounced that they ought to be satisfied with his Penance. Mr. *Herbelot* should have join'd these two Facts in the Article of *Aischah*, and in the Article of *Othman*, and not have parted the one from the other, by placing the first in one place without the second, and the second in another place without the first. This Advice is very important for all the Writers of Dictionaries, for to them 'tis very difficult to avoid this fault; I am afraid that I have been guilty of it more than once.

MR. HERBELOT *criticis'd.*

(*f*) *In the Article* Othman, *p.* 696.

(*OO*) *A very ridiculous Tale concerning the credulity of the* Mahometans *as to Miracles.*] A Benedictin of the Low-Countries (*g*) Publish'd a Book in Latin and Flemish, at *Deventer*, in 1524. wherein he vents many Follies, and among the rest this which follows; "A *Genoese* had a great curiosity to see what the *Moors* or *Saracens* practis'd in their Mos-

(*g*) *Intitulated,* Prognosticon Antichristi.

ques, which he enter'd into by stealth, altho' he knew very well the Custom of putting all the Christians to Death who go in there, or forcing them to abjure Christianity. He found himself encompass'd with so great a Croud, that he could not get out, when an Accident happen'd to him which requir'd him to go forth, being very much press'd by a natural Necessity which he could not controul, and in a little time he saw himself in danger of Death, seeing the bad Smell he spread about him discover'd the Mischance. He free'd himself from this Danger, by giving out, that he had been for a long time bound in his Body, and now being come to recommend himself to *Mahomet*, he was presently eas'd. Whereupon they took his Breeches and hung them up in the Mosque, and cry'd out, a Miracle! a Miracle! The words of this Monk are these: (*h*) *Cum ibi esset in medio maximæ multitudnis, & non posset exire, necessitasque ei venisset superfluum pondus corporis deponendi, stercorizavit in femoralibus. Cum autem fœtor esset in illa Moschæa, omnes circumspiciebant qui hujus fœtoris causa fuisset. Inveneruntque ipsum Januensem, quem volentes occidere, ille, qui forte linguam eorum sciebat, eis dixit, vel per interpretem mendacium hoc significavit, scilicet, Quod cum ipse non posset per longum tempus habere beneficium ventris, intravit templum, ut Mahumeto se commendaret, & statim habuit beneficium ventris. Hoc autem audientes & credentes illi homines bestiales, acceperunt femoralia illa stercore infecta, & suspenderunt in Moschæa, clamantes, miraculum! miraculum!* Thus one half of the World laughs at the other; for doubtless the *Mahometans* are not ignorant of the ridiculous Stories that are told of the Monks; and if it were true that they know nothing of them, yet it might reasonably be believed, that they spread Lyes and impertinent Fables against the Christian Sects. If they knew this Story of the Flemish Benedictin, they would say perhaps, these brave forgers of Miracles frame very gross ones for us, not but that they know how to invent much finer, but those they keep for themselves; they drink off the Wine and send us the Dregs.

(*h*) Porgnosticon Antichristi, p. 38. apud Revium in historia Daventriensi, p. 228, 229.

(*A*) *The Title of* GREAT..., *which the Turks did not fail to give him.*] They confess (*i*) "That all the Conquests of his Successors had "his for their Foundation and Pattern, and that it "was easie for them to follow the way he had "opened to them, after he had removed all Impedi- "ments. And therefore when they speak of him they "commonly suppress his Name of *Mahomet*, al- "though in their Language it has the glorious "signification of *Prais'd* or *Lov'd* (*l*), and "they distinguish him from the other Sultans, by "the magnificent Titles of *Bonuc* and *Aboulfetch*, "whereof the one signifies *Great*, and the other "the *Father of Victory*. It is objected to him, that "during his Life, he did ambitiously seek af- "ter the first of these Titles; but did he not "take pains enough to deserve it? The Chri- "stians themselves have not contested it with "him, and 'tis agreed on all Hands, that he was "the first of the Ottoman Emperors, to whom

(*i*) Guillet *History of* Mahomet II. *l.* 1. *p.* 8.

(*l*) Anton. Geufrœus in Nomenclat. Vocabul. Barbar.

our

" loſt by Raſhneſs. He was indefatigable beyond imagination, for he did more than " once begin a Campaign gloriouſly in *Europe*, and finiſh'd it happily in *Aſia*." It was his good Fortune to be Born in an Age, wherein the Valour of his Enemies was infinitely proper (*B*) to advance the Glory of his Triumphs. We need not ſearch among the *Turks* for Matter wherewith to form a juſt Idea of his Merits. The Chriſtians have rais'd (*C*) Monuments to him, which exalt his Victories above what the *Ottoman* Annals do, and above all that the *Turks* could invent to eternize the Grandeur of his Actions. It is therefore very ſtrange, that in Chriſtendom there ſhould be ſome eminent

" our Weſtern Nations gave the Title of *Grand-* " *Signior*, or *Great Turk*, which Poſterity has con- " tinued to his Succeſſors."

(*B*) *The Valour of his Enemies was proper to advance his Glory.*] This is a Happineſs which the great *Alexander* wanted, for he found none but weak Enemies in *Aſia*, tho' they were innumerable. It ſeems therefore that he was not the Favourite of Fortune in the ſame reſpect as *Mahomet* was, who had almoſt always brave Nations to contend with, and overcome, which diſtinguiſhes him from all other great Conquerors very much to his advantage. Let us prove this by the words of a Modern Author, who has given us a fine Hiſtory of this Sultan. (*a*) " It cannot be ſaid, that he had " to do with obſcure Enemies, and Nations that " were not War-like, ſince among the illuſtri- " ous Captains, who made his Fortune waver, " are reckon'd *Huniades*, and *Matthias Corvinus*, " with the Forces of *Hungary*; *Scanderbeg*, with " thoſe of the fierce *Albanians*; the *Valachian* " *Uladus* no leſs fearleſs than they, although in " truth not ſo honeſt a Man; the Emperors of " *Greece* and *Trebiſonde*, the Kings of *Perſia*, of *Na-* " *ples* and *Boſnia*; the Princes of *Greece*, of *Servia*, " of *Sinope* and *Caramania*, the Republicks of *Venice* " and *Genoa*, the Knights of *Rhodes*, and the Ar- " mies of the *Cruſade*, i. e. the choiceſt Sol- " diers of our Weſtern Nations. There was not " one of ſo many Enemies, but what he met " with extraordinary Bravery, and who did not " at laſt yield to his Valour or his Pru- " dence. Chriſtians or *Mahometans*, they were " all the Aim of his Ambition, and the Intereſt of " his Religion was never admitted among the " Maxims of his Policy. Among ſo many Sultans, " never one of them to this Day, but He only, " durſt ſend regular Troops into *Italy*, where " at divers times they gain'd a pitch'd Battle, and " took a good Place; not by a ſudden Aſſault, as " Pirates do, but by the regular Attacks of a " formal Siege.

(*a*) Guillet, ibid. p. 6. & 7.

(*C*) *The Chriſtians have raiſed Monuments to him.*] The ſame Hiſtorian has furniſhed us with the Proof of this, (*b*) " I do not think it any fault to re- " vive the Memory of this Conqueror; for be- " ſides that 'tis impoſſible that his Name ſhould " periſh, (2) there never was any Infidel Prince, " who left among us the like Monuments. The " Catholick Church (3) takes care to put us in " mind of him every Day of the Year, by a re- " markable and perpetual Signal; for the ringing " of the Bell every Day for Prayers at Noon, " was enjoyn'd by one of our Popes, only to " Advertiſe the People to recommend to God the " Faithful that fought againſt this Sultan. (4) " For one Battle that he loſt, we do ſtill every " Year return Thanks to Heaven, by ſolemnizing " the Feſtival of the Transfiguration of our Sa- " viour, which was inſtituted for this Victory. " But it deſerves no leſs our Conſideration, that " he alone gave occaſion to the Convocation of a " general Council, and to the Project of ma- " ny others. His (5) Armies forc'd the Chri- " ſtians to oppoſe againſt him a *Cruſade*, which " was plainly diſtinguiſh'd from all other Holy " Wars, becauſe a Pope march'd with it in Per- " ſon, accompanied with the College of Cardi- " nals. Laſtly, He alone obliged the Weſtern " Emperors to inſtitute the Order (6) of the " Knights of *Auſtria*, who under this great Name " taken from the Houſe of their Founder, and under " the Protection of St. *George*, engag'd themſelves " by formal Vows to put a ſtop to his aſtoniſhing " Progreſs. An (7) Archbiſhop, a Cardinal, and " even a Pope publiſhed during his Life, his " Victories in their Writings, to raiſe up Ene- " mies againſt him in favour of our Altars." The Confeſſion that our Hiſtorians make, is no leſs a Teſtimony to his Glory, than the Preparations which the Pope made to retire to *Avignon*, in caſe that *Italy* was attack'd by *Mahomet* in Perſon. *Mahomet*, who commanded in *Otranto*, went from thence to wait upon his Maſter, (c) " and " confer with him about the Progreſs of his " Arms in *Italy*, whither alſo he promis'd to carry " him. The threats which he us'd at his embark- " ing, threw the *Italians* into a terrible Con- " ſternation, and made them the rather fear a fa- " tal Campagne, becauſe the Ottoman Garriſon " did every Day make Excurſions, and gain'd new " Advantages, ſo that *Otranto* was fill'd with " Chriſtian Slaves and Booty. *Italy* has endur'd " greater Miſchiefs, but it never was put into ſuch " Frights, and it ſeem'd as if the People there were " already condemn'd to wear a Turban. 'Tis cer- " tain that Pope (8) *Sixtus* IV. believing that he " ſaw *Rome* already involv'd in the frightful de- " ſtiny of *Conſtantinople*, deſign'd to truſt it to " the Protection of the Apoſtles, and thought of " nothing but to equip his Gallies to ſail into " *Provence*, and to tranſlate a ſecond time the Holy " See to *Avignon*. The Hiſtorians of that time " have written, that there was no Hopes of Safety " for *Italy*; becauſe in effect there was not one " place ſtrong enough to hold out againſt a hundred " Thouſand *Mahometans*, ſuppoſing that they were " encourag'd by the Preſence of the Sultan. A- " mong all the Teſtimonies of that Conſternation, " I ſhall only relate that of *Sabellicus*, who was of " that Country, and liv'd at that time. (9) *There* " *is no doubt that* Italy *had been undone, if the Pro-* " *vidence of God had not put a ſtop to ſuch a horrible* " *Miſchief by the Death of* Mahomet " I ſhall quick- ly cite a Paſſage of *Platina* (*d*), which may be join'd to the preceding.

(c) Guillet ibid. p. 370, 371. ad ann. 1481.

(8) Cuſpinian in vit. Mahomet.

(9) Sabellic. Ennead. 10 lib. 7.

(*d*) *In the Remark E.*

Here is another Monument rais'd by the Chriſtians to the Glory of this *Turkiſh* Prince. The exceſſive Joy they teſtified at his Death, was equivalent to the fineſt Panegyricks of *Greece*. Let us hear again Mr. *Guillet*. (*e*) *The News of the Death of* Mahomet *was received in Chriſtendom with the greateſt tranſports of Joy that ever were ſeen. At* Rhodes, *where the News was brought ſooner than to other Places, they made ſolemn Rejoycings, but they were not equal to thoſe of* Rome. *Pope* Sixtus *caus'd all the Churches to be open'd, and forbad all Artificers to work at their Trades; he appointed a Feſtival which ſhould laſt for three Days, with publick Prayers and general Proceſſions; he commanded, that during this time the whole Artillery of the Caſtle of St.* Angelo *ſhould be continually diſcharged; and which is moſt remarkable, he put a ſtop to the Preparations for his Voyage to* Avignon, *whither he intended to fly as to a place of Refuge from the* Ottoman *Arms.* The Hiſtorian being ſenſible that ſo many Demonſtrations of Joy might be prejudicial to the Chriſtian Name, becauſe they are not agreeable to that noble Greatneſs of Soul, which ancient *Rome* affected, endeavours to elude or refute this Objection by a pious Remark. *It muſt be confeſſ'd*, ſays he, (*f*) *that the Chriſtian Religion has put a great difference between the manners of the Ancient* Romans *and of the Modern, and that it hath done it with ſuch Juſtice as cannot be too much admired. For ancient* Rome *being prepoſſeſſ'd with its proud Maxims, and a Policy wherein Pride had a larger ſhare than Concern, would not at all repine at the Death of its Enemies for fear of being forced to be ſhamefully afraid of their Power. They* Cæſar *aſſected to lament the Death of* Pompey; *and Paſſion Hiſtory is full of Inſtances of ſuch like Obſervation. But in the Age of* Mahomet, *the Profanation of our Holy Myſteries did juſtly require an exceeding great Joy for the Death of this famous Sacrilegious Robber, as a pious acknowledgment that* Rome *owed to Heaven for the ſafety of Chriſtendom.* I have already ſaid, (*a*) that the Chriſtians gave this terrible Enemy the Surname of *Grand Signior*

(e) Guill. ibid pag. 384

(*f*) ib.

(*a*) *In the Remark A.*

(*b*) Id. ib. p. 4. & 5.

(2) Platina Vit. Caliſt. Girolamo.

(3) Briani. lib. 17.

(4) Pandect. Leunclav. cap. 133. Turco-Græc. p. 62. Petav. ration. temp. par. 1. lib. 9. Briani. lib. 17.

(5) P. Juſtinian. lib. 8. Platina vit. di Pio II.

(6) Lazius lib. 3. rerum Viennenſium.

(7) Leon. Chienſ. Arch. Mityl. Iſid. Ruthen. Card. SS. Pet. & Mart. Pius II.

eminent Writers, who maintain, that Proſperity (*D*) is a ſign of a good Cauſe, and that none but vertuous Princes * have a ſhare in the Favours of Fortune. 'Tis in vain to alledge, that if Chriſtian Princes had not been divided (*E*), they had beat the

* *See what* Bozius *has written againſt* Machia-

ras.

(*c* Septem-Caſtrenſis de moribus Turcarum, c. 11. pag. 40. apud Hottinger. hiſtor. Oriental. pag. 338.

(*c*) *Secundum motivum eſt victoria eorum continua contra Chriſtianos: quod aliquos multum movet. Unde victores ſe nominant, & gloriantur quaſi victores totius mundi. Orant etiam pro victoribus ſpecialiter in omnibus congregationibus ſuis, præſertim in continuis poſt comeſtionem gratiarum actionibus. Superbiunt inſuper, & Chriſtianos faminas deſpiciendo nominant, & ſe viros eorum. Et ut ad hoc magis ac magis incitentur, anteceſſorum victorias deſcribunt, decantant, laudant, ac prædicant.* Let us join another Witneſs to this, (*d*) "The happy ſucceſs of the Arms of theſe Infidels, is another Argument which they make uſe of to maintain the Truth of their Religion. "For ſince they believe that God is the Author of all good Events, they conclude, that the more they have ſucceeded in their Wars, the more God does make it appear, that he approves their Zeal and Religion. This Perſuaſion ma[illegible] *Turks* hate and deteſt the *Jews* above all o[illegible] People in the World. They call them a Peo-ple abandon'd by God, becauſe they have no fixed Habitation upon Earth, and no Prince of their own Nation to protect and defend them.

(*d* Ricaut *Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire*, B. 2. Chap. 3. p.m. 324.

The *Monk*, whom I juſt now cited, tells us a thing that is worthy of our attention, which is, that the *Turks* look upon themſelves as Men, and the Chriſtians as Women. How does this agree with our Hiſtories, which inform us, that the *Turks* never conquer'd the Chriſtians without being ten or twelve to one, and without loſing twenty times as many People as the Chriſtians did? If this were true, would they ſay, that the Chriſtians are Women? I know not what to ſay on this Subject; but I am perſuaded on the one ſide, that our Weſtern Chriſtians have always been as good Soldiers at leaſt as the Ottoman; and on the other ſide, that our Hiſtories are full of Fables, as to the numbers of the Slain, and of the Soldiers that fought: Theſe they encreaſe prodigiouſly on the ſide of the Infidels, and leſſen no leſs on the other ſide. They do what we have ſeen done by the *Gazetteers* of each Party in theſe laſt Campaigns at the two Sieges (*e*) of *Namur*. By turns the *Gazettes* of the Beſieged ſpok of many imaginary Aſſau'ts, wherein the Enemy loſt an infinite number of People; and again they have ſo encreaſed their Loſſes in real Aſſaults, that he who ſhould join together the Slain, the Wounded, the Deſerters, and the Sick, mentioned in theſe Relations, would not find one Man left in the Army of the Beſiegers, who could hear the Beſieged beat a Parley. However Things are chang'd for the better; the *Turks* have ſhown both in *Hungary* and *Greece* ſince the Year 1683, that they are but poor Soldiers, and are not able to reſiſt the Chriſtian Troops inferior to them in number. If they had always been ſo unſucceſsful, they would never have taken Proſperity for the Mark of a true Religion. They have had great Loſſes in *Europe*, and our News-Writers pretend, that they have had fatal Loſſes in *Aſia*; for how often have we read in the *Gazettes*, that † *Mecca*, *Grand Cairo*, and the Neighbouring Provinces have been Sack'd, and that there was a great Conſternation at *Conſtantinople* upon occaſion of theſe Irruptions and Inſurrections (*f*). Theſe were the Shams and politick Frauds which were deſign'd to perſuade the People, that all the Imperial Troops would quickly be upon the *Rhine*.

(*e*) *The firſt in* 1692, *the ſecond in* 1695.

† *Note, that* Mecca *does not belong to the* Turks *as the Gazettes ſuppoſed.*

(*f*) [illegible] *words of* Juvenal, *Sa.* 6. *v.* 407.

It ſeems, that the *Turks*, after theſe Diſgraces, ſhould doubt whether their Religion be good, [illegible] to prosper in this Life, and that if we obſerve it narrowly, we ſhall find the Maxim of *Livy* true, (*i*) that thoſe who fear God ſucceed in their Deſigns, and that Fortune is contrary to the Wicked. This is not all: As to the general *Theſis* it is agreed, that we ſhould not judge of things by the Event, and that thoſe who do ſo, deſerve (*k*) to be Unhappy. But let us repreſent to our ſelves two great oppo[illegible]parties, whereof the one has formed an impo[illegible] Enterprize: If it ſucceeds, they do not fail to infer from thence, that it is juſt; they maintain, that this good Succeſs is a Mark of God's Approbation; the other Party on the contrary maintains, that we muſt keep to the general *Theſis*, and to *caret ſucceſſibus opto*, &c. and that God permits very often for the Puniſhment of Men, that the Wicked ſhould ſucceed in their pernicious Deſigns. But if the Party, who gives ſuch Leſſons of Morality, a little while after forms an Enterprize of Conſequence, and ſees it ſucceſsful, ye ſhall no more hear them ſpeak of the general *Theſis*; but they ſay in their turn, that good Succeſs is a mark of the Juſtice of that Affair, and that it appears God has approved it, ſince he has ſo viſibly accompanied it with his holy Benediction. Then the other Party will not be aſham'd to ſay, that we muſt not judge of things by the Event, *Careat ſucceſſibus opto*, &c. and to vent a hundred fine common Places. Is there any thing more convenient than this? Is not this to be furniſhed with Principles, as we are with Cloaths, whereof one ſort is for Summer, and the other for Winter (*l*)?

HOW Menſport with different Principles about Proſperity and Adverſity.

(*g*) 2 Tim. 3. 12.

(*h*) 1 Tim. 4. 8.

(*i*) Invenietis omnia proſpere eveniſſe ſequentibus Deos, adverſa ſpernentibus, *T. Livius* lib. 5.

(*E*) *That if the Chriſtian Princes had not been divided.*] An infinite number of Books are full of Complaints, that the Chriſtian Princes by devouring one another, have loſt *Conſtantinople*, the Iſle of *Rhodes*, *Hungary*, &c. which they might eaſily have hindred, if they had uni[illegible] their Forces againſt the Common Enemy of Chriſtendom. We have reaſon to believe this, and to complain of a diſagreement which has been ſo profitable to the *Turks*. But it would be very ridiculous, if this Remark ſhould be made uſe of to ſhew, that the falſe Church has not been more favour'd with temporal Proſperities than the true one; for this diſagreement of Chriſtian Princes, is in it ſelf a great unhappineſs: And ſuppoſe the Infidels had not taken Advantage of it, it had nevertheleſs been a great Affliction to Chriſtendom. Obſerve well, that in the Queſtion, whether Chriſtianity has had a larger ſhare of Proſperity than the falſe Religions, we are not to enquire, whether the *Sultans* obtained Victories by the Valour of their Troops, or by the Weakneſs of their Enemies; but whether they conquer'd Kingdoms and gain'd Battles over the Chriſtians. Whether they did theſe things by good Fortune, or by Bravery, it is always a temporal Proſperity: And ſo we get no thing by weakening the Glory of their Triumphs, under pretence of their taking advantage of the diviſions of Chriſtians: Which rather affords a new Proof of the unfortunateneſs of Chriſtians. Let us therefore reckon it as a Monument erected by the Chriſtians to the good Fortune and Glory of the *Turks* that ſo many Harangues have been Pub[illegible], exhorring Chriſtian Princes to unite their [illegible]s againſt the Infi[illegible]. There was a time when our Profeſſors of E[illegible]nce would not ha[illegible]een thought worthy o[illegible] Penſions, unleſs [illegible] made an harangue of th[illegible]Nature, and thoſe H[illegible]s were not the Sportings of Wit, or Schoo[illegible]-

(*k*) Careat ſucceſſibus opto Quiſquis ab eventu facta notanda putat. *Ovid. Epiſt. Phyllid. Demophoont.*

(*l*) *Apply here what St.* Hilary *ſays, lib.* 2. ad Conſtant *againſt the* annuas atque menſtruas de Deo fides, *which were rather* fides temporum quam Evangeliorum. *See alſo the Advice to the Refugees, p.* 85

the *Mahometans*. There are ſome who write, that this *Sultan* (F) was an Atheiſt. This may be true, and at leaſt 'tis certain, that he made War to ſatisfie his Ambition, and not to aggrandize *Mahometiſm*. He preferr'd his own Intereſt to that of the Religion

erciſes, [illegible]he Declamations that were made at *Rome* upon [illegible]*bal* (*a*) and *Sylla* (*b*), but they were ſerious and [illegible] Diſcourſes, deſign'd to perſuade Princes to [illegible]into a ſtrict League, and make a famous Expe[illegible]. *Jerome Reuſnerus* has collected many Volume[illegible] theſe Harangues. Neither did the Princes only ſtand in need of an Exhortation to Concord: There was another kind of Diviſion which did no ſmall miſchief to Chriſtianity. The Eccleſiaſticks depended upon the Laity, and theſe hop'd the Eccleſiaſtick[illegible]ld furniſh the Expences of the War. *Pla*[illegible]s very naturally deſcrib'd the ill Effect[illegible]ch follow'd from that reciprocal Expectation. *Mahometus Arabs*, ſays he, (*c*) *Magnum in Chriſtiano populo excitavit incendium: & ita magnum, ut verear ne ejus ſecta noſtra potiſſimum ætate reliquias Chriſtiani nominis penitus extinguat: adeo tepeſcimus, & animo ac corpore languidi interitum noſtrum expectantes concidimus. Invaleſcit ejus ſecta nunc multo magis quam antea. Nam tota Aſia & Africa, magnaque pars Europæ Mahometanis principibus ſubjecta eſt. Inſunt nunc Thurci terra ac mari: ut nos tanquam cuniculos, in hac Europæ latebras eruant. Sedemus otioſi: alter alterum expectantes, quaſi hoc malum univerſæ reipublicæ Chriſtianæ non immineat. Expectant ſacerdotes ut à ſæcularibus hoc tantum bellum & tam neceſſarium ſumatur. Expectant item ſæculares ut Presbyteri tuendæ religionis cauſa pecunias in ſumptus bellicos polliceantur & ſubminiſtrent, ne in pejores uſus effundant, quemadmodum facere plerique conſueverc, pecunias eleemoſynis & ſanguine martyrum comparatas, [illegible]aureas & argenteas vaſa & pergrandia quidem fundentes, [illegible]parum de futuro ſolliciti: Dei quem tantum utilitatis gratia colunt, & hominum contemptores:*

Bellarmin therefore is very juſtly laugh'd at for placing Proſperity among the Marks of the true Church. (*d*) *Quas ultimo ponit loco notas* Bellarminus IX. & X. infelicem exitum Eccleſiam oppugnantium, felicitatem vero Eccleſiam defendentium, *nomen notarum adeo non merentur, ut mirum ſit non cogitaſſe Cardinalem furioſis hac ratione Muhammedanis contra nos ſuppeditari arma.* It belongs to the *Mahometans* to teach ſuch a Doctrine, as *Hottinger* makes it appear, beſides ſhews elſewhere, that the Name of Catholick, Antiquity, a long and uninterrupted Duration, a large Extent, the ſucceſſion of Biſhops, the Miracles, the Auſterity of Manners, the Teſtimony of Adverſaries, and ſuch other Marks whereby *Bellarmin* pretends to diſcern the true Church, are the ſame which the Followers of *Mahomet* alledge to the advantage of their Religion.

(F) *That this Sultan was an Atheiſt.*] *Paulus Jovius* makes this remark upon this occaſion: (*e*) *Natus erat ex Deſpoti Serviæ filia, quæ puerum Chriſtianis præceptis & moribus imbuerat, quorum mox oblitus adoleſcendo, ita ad Mahometis ſacra ſe contulit, ut neque hos, neque illos ritus teneret, & in arcano prorſus Atheus laberetur; utpote qui unum tantum bonæ fortunæ numen coleret, quod præclarè conciliari vivida efficacique animi virtute prædicabat. Itaque null. addictus religioni, cunctorum hominum accuratas de Diis, tanquam humana nihil curantibus, cogitationes irridebat; eo animi decreto, ut nullum unquam jus amicitiæ aut fœderis, niſi ex commodo, exceptaque ad proferendum imperium occaſione, colendum atque ſervandum arbitraretur.* There are two Obſervations to be made upon this Paſſage: 1. *Paulus Jovius* is miſtaken, when he affirms the Mother of *Mahomet* to have been a Chriſtian. (*f*) "Neither the Name nor the Quality of his Mother "is known, altho' all the Weſtern Hiſtorians being "prepoſſeſs'd with a common Error, have deſcribed her to us, under Names differently forg'd, "ſometimes of *Meliſſa*, and *Irene*; ſometimes of *Mary* "the Daughter of the *Deſpotes* of *Servia*, and call'd "*Deſpane*, a Title of Honour which the *Greeks* "gave to the Eaſtern Chriſtian Princeſſes. But al"tho' this *Deſpane* was Married to *ſultan Amurat*, "yet ſhe was no more than Step-Mother to *Ma*"*homet*, and never had [illegible]Children, as is plainly "prov'd by the Emb[illegible]f the Hiſtorian. (g) "*Phrantzes*, who was [illegible]ollicite her to Marry "the Emperor *Conſtantine* when ſhe was the Wi"dow of *Amurat*. The *Turks*, and the reſt of the "[illegible]are agreed in this .... (*g*). There is a great "[illegible]lity that (2) *Deſpane Mara*, who by a "[illegible]ar Privilege lived there (*h*) in the exerciſe "of the Chriſtian Religion, took ſome care of "him; for ſhe taught him *the Lord's Prayer, and* "*the Angelical Salutation*, not as a Leſſon of Piety, "which *Amurat*, being jealous of his Worſhip, "would have rigorouſly condemn'd, but as a meer "amuſement to a Child, whoſe curioſity already "inclin'd him to all things". My ſecond Reflection is, that *Paulus Jovius* groſly contradicts himſelf; for if *Mahomet* II. acknowledg'd and ſerv'd the Divinity of Fortune, and if he believ'd, that he could gain her Favour by Application, and by virtue of his Courage, he was not at all an Atheiſt, and did not wholly reject Providence. 'Tis plain, that this Fortune whom he ſerv'd could not be conceiv'd in his Mind, but under the Idea of a Being which diſpoſes of Events and Favours to certain Perſons. This cannot be attributed to a blind Being, which is mov'd only by a natural force. But this Being muſt direct its Power according to its deſires, muſt know what Men do, and diſtinguiſh them one from another. Every one may ſee that the Atheiſt's Syſtem is inconſiſtent with the Suppoſition of ſuch a Being (*i*). Father *Maimbourg*, who tranſcribes here from *Paulus Jovius*, has fallen into the ſame Contradiction. *There never was*, (*k*) ſays he, *a greater Atheiſt than this Prince, who ador'd only his own good Fortune, which he own'd to be the only Divinity, to which he was always ready to ſacrifice all things; who laughed at all Religions, at the Chriſtian, in which he was inſtructed from his Infancy by* [illegible]*Sultaneſs his Mother-in-Law, the Daughter of the De*[illegible]*of Servia; and at the Religion of* Mahomet, *whom he* [illegible]*the Ring-leader of the Banditti among his Conſidents; and at all thoſe who believed there was any other Providence but that which every one ought to have for himſelf. From hence it came to paſs, that his Intereſt, Grandeur and Pleaſure were the only Rule of his Actions, and that he neither kept Faith, nor Word, nor Oath, nor Treaty, but only ſo far as he found it convenient or uſeful for attaining one of theſe three Ends, which he always aim'd at in every thing that he undertook.*

'Tis a very common Opinion, that ſome People are Fortunate and others Unfortunate; and we can hardly refrain from believing it, when we conſider publick Events. There are ſome Admirals who are almoſt always croſs'd by contrary Winds, in the moſt important Deſigns. There are others for whom a fair Wind ſeems to riſe, every time they have any great Deſigns to execute. This good and bad Fortune doth not appear ſo manifeſtly in Land Armies; but it cannot be denied but Rain or fair Weather, and many other Accidents which do not at all depend upon our Wiſdom, do croſs or hinder oftener the Deſigns of certain Generals, than they do thoſe of others. It ſeems alſo that it may be obſerv'd, there are ſome Generals, who are never ſeconded with what they call lucky Hits, but when they fight againſt Captains who are counted unlucky. If one ſhould follow the Tracks of the Adventures of private Perſons, we might find there proportionably as many Marks of lucky or unlucky Hits. There is no Atheiſt, no Epicurean, who can admit of this diſtinction of good and bad Fortune, it is not conſiſtent with their Syſtem. Will they alledge the influences of the Stars? But that's not fit to be ſaid but in a Ballad: for the Stars can do nothing, in this caſe, unleſs they are directed by an intelligent Principle; and this is what they do not admit. They will ſay that he is an unlucky Man, who pays for Two Hundred Lots, out of Three Thouſand, and draws no Prize at all; and that he is a lucky Man who pays only for three Lots out of a hundred thouſand, and draws the biggeſt Prize; but they will maintain that this is done without the direction of any intelligent Being, and is a neceſſary conſequence of the mixture of the Lots. In effect, if there were no Providence, ſome Body muſt neceſſarily have the greateſt Prize, and one Perſon rather than a hundred others: But they cannot maintain, according to their Syſtem, that certain Men ſhall always have the great Prizes, who pay only for a few Lots, and that thoſe who pay for a great number ſhall never draw any Prize; for this would plainly teſtifie the direction of ſome Genius that is a Friend or an Enemy. And thus it appears, why they cannot admit the diſtinction, properly

A REFLECTION upon what is commonly believ'd, that ſome People are Fortunate.

(*a*) Clemens & ſævas curre per Alpes, Ut pueris placeas & declamatio fias. *Juven. Sat.* 10. *v.* 166.

(*b*) Et nos ergo manum ferulæ ſubduximus, & nos Conſilium dedimus Syllæ privatus ut altum Dormiret. *Id. Sat.* 1. *v.* 13.

(*c*) Platina in *Bonifacio* 5.

(*d*) Hotting. Hiſtor. Orient. p. 338.

(*e*) Jovius in elog. virorum bellica virtute illuſtrium lib. 3. p. m. 262.

(*f*) Guillet ubi ſupra liv. 1. p. 10.

(*g*) Phran. lib. 3. cap. 2. Chalcond. l. 7. Turco-Græc. p. 22. Annal. Sultan. cap. 93. & 96.

(*g*) Guillet ib. p. 11.

(2) Turco-Græc. 194. Informat. di Paolo Giovio p. 75 Annal. Sultan. c. 99.

(*h*) *In the Seraglio.*

(*i*) *See the Article of* Ceſar,

(*k*) Maimbourg *Hiſt. of the Schiſm of the Greeks, 16 p. 291 of the Holland Edition.* He cites Ducas, c. 33

ligion he profeſs'd, and from hence it came to paſs, that he granted a Toleration to the *Greek* Church, and (*G*) alſo ſhow'd great Civility to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. There is no probability that he made the Vow (*H*) which is attributed to him. 'Tis ſaid, that to ſhew his Soldiers, that Pleaſure was not capable of ſoftning his Warlike Virtue, he cut off the Head of a Miſtreſs (*I*), with whom he was deſperately in love.

This

perly ſpeaking, of People that are Fortunate and Unfortunate *. In a word, to return to *Mahomet*, if he acknowledged the Divinity of Fortune, he was neither an Atheiſt nor an Epicurean.

(*G*) *A Toleration to the Greek Church, and much Civility to the Patriarch.*] I perſuade my ſelf that my Readers will be glad to find here a ſmall Account of a Matter ſo curious as this. I ſhall make uſe of the words of Father *Maimbourg*, who having deſcrib'd the taking of *Conſtantinople*, and *Mahomet*'s triumphal Entrance into that City, continues thus: (*a*) " After this, as he was very dextrous, being " unwilling to loſe Chriſtians, who were the chief " Forces, and who afforded the greateſt Revenue of " his new Empire, he made uſe of a great piece of " Policy, to gain their good Will, by ſhewing them " that he would treat them very favourably like a " good Maſter, and allowing them the free Exerciſe " of their Religion. For underſtanding that the Pa- " triarchal See was vacant by the voluntary Reſigna- " tion of *Gregory Proto-ſyncellus*, who had retir'd to *Rome*, " he would have one plac'd there. And that he " might act at firſt as an Emperor, he ordain'd that " it ſhould be done after the ſame manner that was " uſual under the laſt Princes.——He caus'd ſome " Biſhops to aſſemble, who were then about *Con-* " *ſtantinople*, with a few Eccleſiaſticks who re- " main'd there, and the chief Citizens; and theſe " choſe, according to his Order, the famous Sena- " tor (2) *George Scholarius*, the ſame who had de- " clared ſo briskly for the Catholick Faith at the " Council of *Florence*, and whom *Mahomet*, who " lov'd able Men, had ſpar'd, when he put to Death " ſo many Perſons of Quality, knowing that he " was a very learned Man, and the moſt Eloquent " of all the *Greeks*. He was then choſen under " the Name of *Gennadius*; and the Sultan would " have the ſame Ceremonies obſerv'd on this oc- " caſion, which the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* had " us'd at inſtalling the Patriarchs after this man- " ner.— (*b*) Immediately after *Gennadius* had been " choſen, he was conducted by his Order with " great Pomp into the Palace, where he receiv'd " him with all ſorts of Honour and Teſtimonies " of good Will, made him eat even at his Table, " held long Conferences with him, as if he had " been one of his moſt intimate Confidents. Af- " ter which, being carried into the great Hall, the " Ceremony was perform'd of giving the Paſtoral " Staff into his Hand, in the preſence of the *Turks* " and *Chriſtians*, who flock'd thither to ſee ſuch a " ſurprizing Show; where the Sultan of the *Turks*, " the mortal Enemy of *Chriſtendom*, was ſeen to " give the Inveſtiture of the Patriarchate of *Con-* " *ſtantinople* by the Croſier. He did more than " all this; for tho' the new Patriarch did all that " he could to hinder him, alledging the example of " other Emperors who had never carried Good- " neſs and Civility ſo far; yet he would conduct " him to the Gate of the Palace, and there ſaw " him mounted on a very fine Horſe of his own, " richly harneſs'd with white Sattin, embroider'd " with Gold, and order'd all his Viſiers and Ba- " ſhaws to accompany him, as they did, marching " in good order on Foot, ſome before, and ſome " behind him, in a long and magnificent Train, " a-croſs the (3) whole City, as far as the famous " Church of the Twelve Apoſtles, which he had " aſſign'd to be his Patriarchal Church, in lieu " of St. *Sophia*, whereof he had made a great Moſ- " que. He went alſo to viſit him ſome Days af- " ter in the new Patriarchal Palace of the Church " of *Our Lady*, which he had obtain'd of the " Sultan inſtead of that of the Twelve Apoſtles; " and there he deſir'd him to explain to him the " chief Points of the Chriſtian Religion: Which " this great Man did with ſo much Judgment, " Strength and Clearneſs, and ſo much with the " Approbation of the Sultan, that he deſir'd to " have that Expoſition in Writing, which is to be " ſeen to this Day in *Greek*, *Latin* and *Arabic* half " *Turkiſh*. Thus that able Prince, by this feign'd " Sweetneſs at the beginning of his Empire, " endeavour'd to oblige the Chriſtian *Greeks* to " bear the Yoke more patiently, which they " ſhould not find ſo hard, as they found it ſince " to this Day." Conſult Mr. *Guillet* (*c*) who relates all this largely and exactly, and adds many other things which were done by *Mahomet* in favour of the *Greeks*. The Abſtract of which may be ſeen in the following Remark.

(*H*) *The Vow which is attributed to him.*] " (*d*) " The Supplement (*e*) to the Annals of *Baronius* " in 1469, affirms, that *Mahomet* tranſported with " Zeal for his Religion, made the following ſo- " lemn Vow againſt ours. *I ſwear and proteſt* " *by a Vow, which I make to the only God, Creator of* " *all Things, that I will neither taſte the ſweetneſs of* " *Sleep, nor of good Chear, that I will renounce even* " *the Deſires of Pleaſure, and ſenſual Delights, and* " *that I will not turn my Face from the Eaſt to the Weſt* " *till I have trampled under my Horſe's Feet, all the* " *Gods which the Adorers of Chriſt ſhall make of Wood,* " *Braſs, Silver and Gold, and all the painted Pictures:* " *In a word, until I have purg'd the whole Face of the* " *Earth from their Impieties, from the Eaſt unto the* " *Weſt, that I may cauſe the Praiſes of the true God,* " *and of* Mahomet *his Prophet to be eternally ſounded* " *forth every where.* The *Greek* Hiſtorians of this " time, who could write with certainty about " the Affairs of their own Country, and who did " not ſpare this Sultan in any thing, ſay nothing " of this Vow. Is it poſſible that the *Latin* Hi- " ſtorians, without citing any Authority, ſhould " make *Mahomet* ſo zealous for his Religion, who " maintain, that he profeſs'd none? Will they " ſay, that this Prince had a mind to play the Hy- " pocrite, to flatter his Subjects with a falſe Ap- " pearance of Piety, who was always ſo fierce, " and ſo well-perſuaded of his mighty Pow- " er, that he never us'd any Caution, was " never known to be reduc'd to ſuch a " Condeſcenſion by any Sedition of the Ar- " my or People, nor by any Formality " in the Ceremonies of his Law? It had been " eaſie for him to begin the performance of this " Vow in *Turky*, where his Sacrilegious Nation " would have lik'd nothing better than to ſecond " this falſe Zeal. 'Tis evident, that contrary to the " deſign of this pretended Policy, he would have " made himſelf ridiculous there, by doing every Day " before their Eyes the contrary to what he had " promis'd: For we have deſcrib'd his care to " reſtore the Patriarchal Dignity, to maintain a " kind of familiar Converſation with the Patri- " archs *Gennadius* and *Maximus*, to Authorize from " time to time the Exerciſe of their Religion by " Letters-Patents, or by the Orders of his *Cadies*, " and to People *Conſtantinople* with Chriſtian Fami- " lies, which he drew out of every City of *Greece*, " as fair as by his Arms he Conquer'd them. We " need do no more but conſider the preſent State " of *Greece*, where his Succeſſors have permitted the " Exerciſe of Chriſtianity, according to the liberty " he gave them when they were firſt Conquer'd. " In the moſt famous Monaſteries in that Country, " there are to be ſeen to this Day, the ſafe Con- " ducts and Titles of Exemption which he gene- " rouſly granted to their Prieſts. He did not forbid " the *Greeks* the veneration of uncarv'd Images, which " is ſtill continu'd to them againſt the expreſs " words of this Vow; and he granted the ſame " Toleration for carv'd Images, which were re- " verenc'd by the *Genoeſe* of the *Romiſh* Church, " planted at *Galata*, and by the *Albanians* of the " ſame Principle, who were ſubject to *Scanderbeg*. " The *Latin* Hiſtorians have alſo written, that as " often as *Mahomet* met a Chriſtian, he (4) believ'd " himſelf defil'd with a ſpiritual Taint, and ran " preſently to the Waſhings of the *Alcoran*, and " cleans'd his Eyes and his Mouth: But if this " had been ſo, he muſt have us'd many of this kind " of Purifications, when at the Head of his Army " he met fifty or ſixty Thouſand Chriſtians.

(*I*) *He cut off the Head of a Miſtreſs.*] She was call'd (*f*) *Irene*, and was but Seventeen Years old. (*g*) *A Baſhaw had made her a Slave at the taking of* Conſtantinople, *and given her to the Sultan.* You

may

* *See upon all this the Remarks of the Article* Timoleon.

(*a*) Maimbourg. ib. p. 358, &c.

(1) Phranza. l. 3. c. 9.

(2) Phranza lib. cit. Leo Allat. de perp. conſenſ. l. 3. c. 5. 6.

(*b*) Maimbourg, ib. p. 361, 362.

(3) Turco-Græc. l. 2. *Panmacharioſ.*

(*c*) Ubi ſupra, l. 3. p. 259. &c.

(*d*) Guillet ubi ſupra, l. 6. p. 164. &c.

(*e*) Spondanus *in the continuation of the Annals: he cites the Letter* 380 *of the Cardinal of* Pavia, *and ſays, that one having carried a Copy of that Vow to* Raguſa, *it was Tranſlated into* Italian *and ſent to the* Venetians, *who communicated it to the Pope. Probably this Piece was fram'd either by ſome idle Man, or ſome Politician, to excite the Weſtern Princes to a War.*

(4) Iſidor Ruthen.

(*f*) Guillet. ibid. l. 3. p. 293. ad ann. 1455.

(*g*) Id. ib.

This Story, methinks, is a little Apocryphal. The greateſt part of Chriſtian Hiſtorians in ſpeaking of him, have ſacrific'd (K) their Candor to their Paſſion and Reſentment. He died * on the third of *May*, 1481, in a Town of *Bithynia*, as he enter'd into the fifty ſecond Year of his Age. He was † the firſt of the Sultans who prepar'd for himſelf a peculiar Monument. I think he was alſo the firſt who lov'd the Arts and Sciences (L). His (M) Epitaph deſerves to be conſider'd. I ſhall have ſome Faults to object to (N) Mr. *Moreri*, and will not let paſs the inconſiderateneſs of *F. Maimburg*, who attributes

(b) Ibid. p. 299.

may find [illegible] *Guillet* the Circumſtances of this Adventure [illegible] ſince he obſerves, (b) that all thoſe who m[illegible] it, tranſcrib'd it from (i) *Bandelli*, an *Italia*[illegible]onk, *who ſeems to deſerve no credit by the Faults he has made, contrary to the order of Time, and to the Names and Ranks of the Perſons he introduces there*, I hold it not very certain. Mr. *Scudery* who made ſo many Harangues under the Name of illuſtrious Ladies, made ſome politic Diſcourſes under the Name of Kings. One of t[illegible] Diſcourſes is the pretended Anſwer of our Sult[illegible] to the Complaints of his Army, on the ſame Day he Beheaded this fine Woman.

(i) *This is* Bandel (Matt.) *of whom I have made an Article.*

(K) *Have ſacrificed their Candor to their Paſſion.*] Mr. *Guillet* having obſerv'd, that the Weſtern Nations gave this Sultan the Title of *Grand Signior*, or *Great Turk*, adds immediately; " (a) 'Tis " true, that this favourable Teſtimony of our " People was contradicted by the greateſt part of " the Weſtern Hiſtorians of his Time; for there " was no Reproach nor outrageous Word where- " with they did not [illegible] their Pen blacken this " Prince. Indeed their [illegible] for the Chriſtian Re- " ligion is to be commended, when upon occaſion " they were tranſported againſt the Impieties of *Ma-* " *homet*; but then they ought alſo upon occaſion " to have publiſh'd what commendable Qualities he " had. This is the juſt Moderation which was " obſerv'd by *Philip Comines*, and *Chalcondylas*, and in " the Letter of Pope *Pius* II. who ſpeaking of this " Prince during his Life, laid aſide vulgar Pre- " judices, and obſerv'd ſuch wiſe Reſerves as we " ought always to have for Crown'd Heads. For " in all Times, an unſeemly Cuſtom has baniſh'd " that Moderation, which ought to be us'd a- " mong Writers of a different Religion, and of " different Parties, and hath put them upon in- " vective and bitterneſs; as if Juſtice and Reaſon " ſtood in need of ſuch mean and ſhameful Helps. " And indeed it muſt be confeſs'd, that if a- " mong all the Reproaches publiſh'd at that time " againſt *Mahomet*, you except a few which were " indeed warranted by Modeſty and Piety, the " reſt appear to be ſham Commendations, and " vain Threatnings of thoſe whom they fear'd." This Author draws well the Portraicture of many People, who have appear'd in all Ages and all Nations.

(a) Guillet, ſupra l. 1. p. 9.

(b) Id. ib. p. 15.

(c) Ib. id. p. 16.

(d) Ibid. p. 17. *See about all this F.* Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of the Schiſm of the Greeks*, l. 6. p. 289. *who cites* Phranz. l. 1. c. 33. Leuncl. l. 15.

(L) *The firſt Sultan who lov'd the Arts and Sciences.*] He read (b) often the Hiſtory of *Auguſtus*, and of the other *Cæſars*, and with greater pleaſure that of *Alexander*, of *Conſtantine* and *Theodoſius*, *becauſe all three reign'd in the Countries under his Dominion* — (c); *the love he had for Hiſtory, made him in time eſteem the Hiſtorians, of which he gave them ſome marks.*——*He paſſionately lov'd Painting and Muſick, and apply'd himſelf to Graving and Agriculture.*—— (d) *He lov'd dearly the knowledge of foreign Languages, contrary to the Genius of his Nation; for he ſpoke not only the Arabick, which is affected to the Ottoman Law, and to the Religion of* Mahomet *the Law-giver, but alſo the* Perſian, *the* Greek, *and* French, *i. e. the* Italian *corrupted. But chiefly he excell'd in Aſtrology; and to encourage his own Troops and terrifie his Enemies, he gave out, that the Motions and Influences of the Heavenly Bodies promiſed him the Empire of the World.* To know how well he was ſkill'd in Painting, we need only read in Mr. *Guillet* (e) what *Vaſari* relates of *Gentile Bellino*, a famous *Venetian* Painter, who was for ſome time at *Mahomet*'s Court, and return'd from thence loaded with Preſents. He brought Home the Picture of that Emperor, and ſo it was not difficult for Hiſtorians to tell us how he look'd. *F. Maimbourg* has a little abus'd *F. Boubours* upon this Subject. See (f) the *Critique generale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſm.* I ſhall end this Remark with [illegible] words of *Paulus Jovius*, (g) *Cæterum Mahomet qui impoſitatis apud ſ[illegible] apud noſtros ver[illegible] perfidiæ & inhumanæ cru[illegible]is notam ſubiit, hanc ſa[illegible]ſſione omnium, [illegible] laudem à Barbaris re[illegible] non inſulſe tu[illegible]ſe exiſtimatur, quod ſi litterarum, & præcellentium artium deus cordi fuerit; quando cunctas clariſſimarum gentium Hiſtorias, jubi verti in Turcicam linguam juberet; ut inde hauſtis militiæ præceptis, actionum ſuarum diſciplinam, exemplorum varietate confirmaret, & præclaros artifices pictoreſque præſertim inſigni liberalitate complecteretur. Nam & commentaria rerum ab ipſo geſtarum à Liberto ejus (h) Vicentino conſcripta leginus; veraque ejus imagine ſumus potiti, quam Gentilis Bellinus, è Venetiis Byzantium evocatus pinxerat; quum ibi regiam multis tabulis rerum novarum ad oblectationem jucundiſſimam referret*

(e) Guillet, ubi ſupra, l. 7 p. 381.

(f) Scudery *Illuſtrious Baſhaw*, to. 1 p. 320, 321.

(g) Paulus Jovius, ubi ſupra, p. 265.

(h) *A Nameleſs Angiolello, of whom I have made an Article.*

(M) *His Epitaph deſerves to be conſidered.*] " (i) " His Body was carried into a Moſque, founded " by himſelf, where his Turbant and his Simitar " are to be ſeen to this Day: But that which is " ſingular in his Epitaph is this, that it ſays no- " thing of his great Actions, and ſeems to value " them but little, in compariſon of his laſt Thoughts, " which are only expreſs'd in it as the greateſt " *Elogium*, and moſt faithful Picture of his Cou- " rage. The Inſcription conſiſted only of nine or " ten *Turkiſh* words, which may be expounded by " theſe, *I intended to conquer* Rhodes *and proud* Italy." This very plainly informs us, 1 That *Mahomet*'s Epitaph did not mention any of the Deſigns he had executed, but only the Deſigns he had a mind to execute. 2. That theſe future Actions were ſet down in the *Turkiſh* Language. This is very different from the account of Madam *Scudery*, (k) *As Ambition was the predominant Paſſion of* Mahomet, *ſo it follow'd him until his Death, and he ordred this Inſcription to be put on his Monument in the Latin Tongue, after a long Narrative of all his Victories in the Turkiſh Tongue* HE INTENDED TO HAVE RUIN'D RHODES AND PROUD ITALY. *Spandigunus* (l) agrees with this Account, except that he does not ſay the laſt words were in *Latin*. I find it probable enough, that *Selim* I. to go beyond this Epitaph, caus'd one (m) to be made, wherein it was ſaid, that he ſtill made War after his Death.

(i) Apud Spondanum ad ann. 1481 n. 2.

(k) Scudery, ubi ſupra, p. 321.

(l) Laonicus Chalcondylas *in his Hiſtory of the* Turks, I am the great *Selim*, who conquered the Earth, who ſeek for fights ſtill after my Death Fortune did always bend under my Efforts: My Body is in this Tomb, but my Spirit is at War

(m) *Here follows the Subſtance of the Epitaph, tranſlated by* Du Verdier *in his Hiſtory of the* Turks.

(N) *I ſhall have ſome faults to object to Mr* Moreri.] I. 'Tis not true that *Mahomet* ſubdu'd *Carinthia* and *Stiria*. His Troops made only Excurſions, and ravag'd the Country there, after the Victory of *Liſſonio*, which they gain'd over the *Venetians* in (n) 1467. II. 'Tis falſe that he made his own Epitaph in *Latin*. III. And that he died at *Nicomedia*: For he died in a *Town* (o) *of* Bithynia, *known to the Ancients by the Name of* Aſtacus, *between* Conſtantinople *and* Nicomedia, *which are diſtant from one another a Days Journey*. This Town is call'd by ſome *Teggiur Tzair*, and by others *Gemiſe*. IV He lived above Fifty One Years, and not Fifty Three Years. V It cannot be ſufficiently admir'd, that Mr. *Moreri* ſhould ſay, that *Mahomet did not want Courage* For thus we uſe to ſpeak of a Man ſuſpected of Cowardize, when we endeavour to vindicate him Thus we ſpeak of a very peaceable Prince, who never gave any publick proofs of his Valour, but made it appear in private, that he neither fear'd Death nor Dangers: But 'tis abſurd to expreſs one's ſelf after this manner, ſpeaking of the Thunder-bolt of War, and of ſuch a Conqueror as our *Mahomet* was, who, to uſe the words of an Hiſtorian, whom *Moreri* ſhould have known, (p) *Had by Nature a Body extreamly ſtrong, that could endure all the fatigues of War, which he made his continual Buſineſs during his whole Life, and a very fine Temper, and that he was Prudent, Bold, Enterprizing, and infatiable of Glory, and had a Heart even great above his Birth and Fortune, and an undaunted Courage* VI Mr *Moreri* expreſſes himſelf very ill a little after, when he affirms, that *To ſpeak ingenuouſly, one cannot bear of* Mahomet's *Debaucheries* without Contempt And then preſently he ſays, *That that infamous Wretch would have forc'd the Peace of* Walachia Is it not with Horror, and not with Contempt, that we hear of ſuch a Lewdneſs? VII. *Mahomet himſelf did not cut off the Head of a Woman becauſe ſhe appeared to him too beautiful*; 'twas becauſe his Soldiers murmur'd to ſee him loſe his Reputation, and the fair Opportunities

(n) *See* Paulus Jovius, ubi ſupra, p. 263. & Guillet, l. 7 p. 295, 291.

(o) Guillet, l. 7 p. 377.

(p) Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of the Schiſm of the Greeks*, l. 6 p. 299. *He cites* Leuncl. l. 15 Ionic Hiſt Tur. l. 1 Cuſpin. in Mahom

attributes (O) to the Schiſm of the *Greeks* the Miſchiefs that they ſuffered under this *Turkiſh* Prince.

Landinus, a Knight of *Rhodes*, has collected divers Letters which this Sultan had written in *Syriack*, in *Greek*, and in *Turkiſh*, and Tranſlated them into *Latin*. This Tranſlation has been publiſh'd. (P) I ſhall ſpeak of it hereafter, but 'tis not known † where the Originals may be. I ſhall Diſcourſe alſo of a Letter which Pope *Pius* II. wrote to the ſame Sultan; (Q) which employ'd the Pens of the Controverſial Writers. It may not only

† See Fabricius et. de interpret. p. m. 183.

tunities of Action in the Arms of a Miſtreſs. Beſides the Matter of Fact is not certain (q). VIII. 'Tis falſe that this Sultan, *after the taking of* Conſtantinople *vented his Wrath againſt the dead Body of* Conſtantine. The (r) Chancellor of that Emperor, who (ſ) was in *Conſtantinople*, and *wrote nothing but what he ſaw himſelf*, ſays the contrary: (t) "He aſſures us that the Sultan having cauſed ſtrict "ſearch to be made every where, to find out the "Truth of what was yet doubtful, *viz.* whether "he was alive or dead, his Body was at laſt found "among the Carcaſes of many *Turks* and *Chriſtians* "heap'd one upon another, doubtleſs in the ſame "place where this brave Prince had been kill'd, "with thoſe Valiant Men that died with him, after they had deſtroy'd a great number of the "Enemies; for in the Gates there were none but "the Bodies of Chriſtians, either ſtifled in the "croud, or kill'd while they were endeavouring "to get out in this hurly-burly. He adds, that "the Body, though all diſfigured, was known by "the Boots of Purple, enrich'd with Eagles Embroidet'd with Gold, which the Emperors only "wore, and that *Mahomet* being deſirous to Honour the Vertue and Courage of ſo great a Prince, "commanded all the Funeral Honours to be paid "to him, that were due to the Emperors.

(q) *See the Remark* I.
(r) *He was called* Phranzes.
(ſ) Maimbourg *Hiſt. of the Schiſm of the* Greeks *L. 6. p.* 347.
(t) *Id. ib. p.* 348. *he cites* Phranzes, *l.* 3. *c.* 18.

(O) *Attributes to the Schiſm of the Greeks.*] He does not ceaſe to repeat (a) that the taking of *Conſtantinople*, and the Ruin of their Empire, were the juſt Puniſhment of their Obſtinacy, in refuſing the ſubmiſſion they ow'd to the See of *Rome*. He was little the better for the Cenſures he receiv'd for writing ſo Dogmatically, after the like manner, in the Hiſtory of the *Iconoclaſts*. It was then prov'd to him that this Doctrine was Seditious. He had ſaid (b) *that God took away the Weſtern Empire from the* Greeks, *as a Puniſhment of the Revolt they had ſo often renew'd againſt the Church*; which a Critick thus Cenſures. (c) *None but God knows the Cauſe of the Change of Empires and Kingdoms, and it is at leaſt a raſh thing to attribute it to the Impiety, or the Hereſies, of the Sovereigns, or Subjects of thoſe Empires. Do you think, continues he, that any one is permitted to ſay of a King, or Emperor, that is Heretical, or of a Sovereign, in whoſe State there are Heretics, when we ſee them depriv'd of their Dominions, that they have loſt them upon the account of the Hereſies that aroſe in them? This comes too near, replied* Euchariſtus, *that deteſtable Doctrine, condemn'd for Hereſy in the Council of* Conſtance (1). *For if it may be ſaid of a Prince that he loſt his Sovereign Power, and was depriv'd by God for his Crimes, for his Hereſy, or for the Hereſy that prevailed in his State, is not this to ſay, that thoſe Crimes deſerve the deprivation of a Prince?* This Doctrine is not only Seditious, but alſo an Imitation of the Complaints that were made by the *Pagans* againſt the Chriſtian Church, (d) upon occaſion of the great Havock that the *Goths* made in *Rome*, in all *Italy*, and elſewhere. The City of *Rome* was as ill treated by *Charles the* 5th, in 1527, as *Conſtantinople* was when the *Turks* took it. Would not F. *Maimbourg* take it ill, if the *Greeks* ſhould tell him that *Rome* was then made Deſolate, becauſe ſhe was ſo Ambitious as to require that the *Greek* Church ſhould pay her Obedience? What would he Anſwer to this? that *Rome* was in the Right, and that it was not ſo with the *Greeks*. But would not this be that which is called *Petitio principii?* Men ought not thus to ſearch into the Counſels of Providence. All Parties ſtand in need of this Leſſon; they often attribute the Calamities of a contrary Party to the Qualities of their Doctrine, which is to forget the Declarations of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Father *Maimbourg* would not have been much more unreaſonable, if he had adopted the Story related by *Chalcondylas*. That Hiſtorian pretends that the *Romans* being deſcended from *Æneas*, and being ſtill concerned in the Ruin of *Ilium*, ſaid, that the *Greeks* had ſuffer'd ſo much Miſchief at the taking of *Conſtantinople*, as a Puniſhment of the Outrages they had formerly committed in the Kingdom of *Priamus*. (f) *Facetus eſt Chalcondylas dum ait Romanos ſuis Latinos conſuevisse aſſeverare, hanc cladem contigiſſe Græcis in ultionem eorum quæ olim feciſſent barbaris in deſtructione Ilii: quod videlicet dicantur Romani à Trojanis deſcendiſſe.* According to this idle Fancy we ſhould not leave the numbers, ſuch as they are in the Decalogue. We ſhould believe that God *viſits the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children*, not unto the 4th, but unto the 1000th Generation, and ſo Preſcription ſhould never take place, (g) *Delicta majorum immeritus luet Romane. France* would have reaſon to fear that 2000 Years hence, an Irruption of Barbarians ſhould come to Revenge the Injuries which the *Romans* and *Greeks* receiv'd from *Brennus*.

(a) *In the Hiſtory of the Schiſm of the* Greeks, *l.* 6.
(b) *See the Conferences between* Eudoxus *and* Euchariſtus. *p.* 95. *of the* Holland *Edition.*
(c) *Ib. p.* 96.
(1) Seſſ. 15. quilibet tyrannus, &c.
(d) *See* Oroſius *in his Preface, and Saint* Auſtin de civit. Dei in præfat. & alibi paſſim.
(e) Saint Luke, *ch.* 13.
(f) Spondanus ad An. 1453. n. 17. p. m. 30.
(g) Horatius *Od.* 4. *l.* 3.

(P) *This Tranſlation was publiſh'd, I ſhall ſpeak of it.*] It was printed at *Lyons* (h) in 4° in 1520, and ſince that at *Baſil*, with the Epiſtles of *Symmachus* by *Frobenius*. It was afterwards inſerted in a Collection of Letters which *John Oporin* publiſh'd at *Baſil* (i) in 1554 in 12°. This Collection was compil'd by *Gilbert Couſin*, and intituled *Farrago epiſtolarum Lacenicarum & ſelectarum*. The Tranſlation of *Landin* in 8°, was reprinted at *Marpurg*, in 1604, and again at *Leipſick* in 12° in 1690, by the care of (k) *Simon Gabelius Rombildenſis Francus. Melchior Junius*, profeſſor of Eloquence at *Strasburg*, publiſh'd at *Montbeliard* in 1595, a Collection of Letters, which contains three of them which were written to *Scanderbeg* by *Mahomet* II. The Compiler took them out of a Book of *Marinus Barletius de vita & geſtis Scanderbegi*. There are added to them three Anſwers that were made to the Sultan. The *Turkiſh* fierceneſs does no wiſe appear in theſe three Letters of *Mahomet*; they are written in very civil Terms, and are ſuch as may become the moſt Debonaire Chriſtian Princes to write.

(h) Epit. Bibliot. Geſneri, *p.* 533.
(i) Ibid. *p.* 560.
(k) *See* Crenii, Animadvers. *part* 2. *p.* 26.

(Q) *A Letter which Pope* Pius II. *wrote to the ſame Sultan . . . has employ'd the Controverſial Writers.*] Mr. du Pleſſis Mornai was the Aggreſſor in theſe Words: (l) *The Ambition of* Pius II. *can be no better known than by his Epiſtle* 396, *wherein he offers and promiſes the Empire of the* Greeks, *to* Mahumed *King of the* Turks, *provided he would turn Chriſtian, and Succour the Church, that is, his own Party, and aſſiſt him to rend* Chriſtendom *in pieces, as he did by continual Wars, giving him to underſtand that it was in his Gift, and that thus his Predeceſſors had granted the Empire of* Germany *to* Charlemagne. Coeffeteau fill'd all the ſails of his Eloquence, or rather of his Anger, in anſwering this Place of *Du Pleſſis*. Is it poſſible, ſays he, (m) that Hereſy ſhould ſo far extinguiſh all "Ingenuity as to Condemn what is moſt commendable in the Actions of thoſe whom they "have a mind to Defame? There can be nothing "ſo Learn'd and Eloquent, nothing ſo Solid and "Nervous, nothing ſo Humble and Chriſtian, nothing ſo Pious and Religious, as this Epiſtle; "and yet *du Pleſſis* alledges it to ſhew the Inſolence of its Author. Does any Spark of "Modeſty, any Senſe of Juſtice remain with "him? Here are the Words from which "he would infer the Ambition of *Pius*. "*If you would*, ſays this Pope to *Mahomet*, "*enlarge your Empire among the Chriſtians, you need "neither Gold nor Silver, nor Armies, nor Ships to do "it. One little thing may render you the Greateſt, "the moſt Powerful, the moſt Famous of all that ever "liv'd to this Day. You will ask what is that? 'Tis "not difficult to find it, and you need not ſearch far for "it, it is to be met with in all Parts of the World; "'tis only a little Water wherewith to Baptize you, that "you may embrace the Chriſtian Religion, and believe "the Goſpel. If you do this, there will not be a Prince "in the World that exceeds you in Glory, or equals you in "Power. We will call you the Emperor of the* Greeks, "*and of the* Eaſt, *and what you now poſſeſs by Violence "and Injuſtice, you ſhall then poſſeſs by Right and Equity. All Chriſtians will Honour you, and make you "Arbitrator of their Differences*, &c. And again, *If "you were Baptiz'd, and would go with us into the*

(l) Du Pleſſis *myſtery of Iniquity, p.* 541.
(m) Coeffet. *Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity, p.* 1197.

"Houſe

only bear a ſuperficial Examination, but alſo blind the Eyes of thoſe who read it without any deſign of Criticizing upon it, and repreſent this Pope to them under an advantageous Idea, and worthy of Praiſe. Nay, even thoſe who examine it ſtrictly, and conſider *Pius* II. only under the Notion of a Soveraign Prince of one part of *Italy*, may judge his Letter to be Prudential; but when it is weigh'd in the Balance of the Sanctuary, and when we conſider that he who wrote it calls himſelf the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, and conſequently the Protector of the Morality of the Goſpel, he cannot be excus'd. Seeing therefore this Queſtion has different Faces, none ought to blame me for relating a little largely the Words of the Advocates who plead this Cauſe. My Commentary ought to be conſider'd among other reſpects, under the Notion of a Tome, wherein the Hiſtoriographers inſert all the Pieces for their Juſtification, which they mention in the courſe of the Narrative. Let this be ſaid once for all: There are ſome People who believe that the Letter of *Pius* II. was never (*R*) written to be ſent to *Mahomet*.

MAHO-

" *Houſe of the Lord, the People would no longer dread* " *your Empire, and we would not aſſiſt them againſt* " *you; but rather we would implore your Aid againſt* " *thoſe who ſometimes uſurp what belongs to the* Roman " *Church, and lift up their Horns againſt their Mother.* " *And as our Predeceſſors,* Stephen, Adrian *and* Leo, " *call'd in to their Aſſiſtance* Pepin *and* Charlemaign, " *againſt* Aſtulphus *and* Deſiderius, *Kings of the* " Lombards, *and after they had by them been deli-* " *ver'd from the Oppreſſion of Tyrants, they tranſferred* " *to their Deliverers the Empire of the* Greeks; *ſo we* " *would make uſe of your Aſſiſtance, and we would not* " *be Ungrateful for the Benefit we ſhould receive.* Can " the Reader who reads and conſiders theſe Things " without Paſſion, obſerve any Appearance of " Ambition in this Epiſtle? was it not rather his " Zeal that made him write thus, that he might " move the Pride and Courage of this Barbarian? " And does he promiſe *Mahomet* any thing, but " what all *Chriſtendom* would deſire, if this Barbarian were willing to embrace theſe Conditions which *Pius* propos'd to him. This is ſuch Language as is very fit to Prejudice thoſe againſt *du Pleſſis*, who are not wont to read Books of Controverſy, I mean ſo as to Diſcuſs Matters, and Collate the ſeveral Pieces, that the Anſwers and Replies may the better be compared together. This is almoſt the only way to underſtand, that thoſe who aſſume the moſt triumphant Airs, and make the moſt tragical Exclamations, are for the moſt part reduc'd to ſome Streights, and under a neceſſity of ſupplying by Figures of Rhetoric, what they want of Reaſon. Thoſe who are vers'd in this kind of Reading which I have deſcrib'd, and beſides, are tenderly concern'd for the Glory and Memory of *du Pleſſis Mornay*, will not be afraid when they read all the words of his Adverſary; but if they be Novices, and ſuch as cannot ſpeedily lay hold of this Prejudice againſt *Coeffetau*, that he being a Dominican, does not manage Controverſy fairly, they will be much afraid that *du Pleſſis* was miſtaken, and will think that he is utterly confounded, and therefore they will be impatient to inform themſelves, whether he or any other has anſwer'd *Coeffetau*. Whatever their uneaſineſs may be, they can no longer doubt of the Victory of their Champion, when they examine the Reply of *Rivet*. And this ought to warn us to obey the Precept *audi & alteram partem, hear alſo the other Party*, and that 'tis not ſufficient to Examine what *John* ſays, and what *Peter* anſwers, but we muſt alſo inform our ſelves what is anſwer'd to *Peter*.

(a) Rivet's *Remarks upon the Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity, part* 2. *p.* 617.

Rivet, anſwering for *du Pleſſis*, confeſſes that the long Letter of *Pius* II. to *Mahomet*, contains (*a*) *very good things againſt the belief of the* Turks, *for the confirmation of the Chriſtian Faith*; but then he adds, " beſides that the Deſign appears to be vain of " Converting this Prince by an Epiſtle, which was " no ways probable, there is a diveliſh Malice in " it. For inſtead of ſhowing pity to the poor " Chriſtian *Greeks*, under the Empire of this Barbarian, and exhorting him to treat them Civilly, " he ſeems to have written this Epiſtle on purpoſe " to blacken them as falſe Chriſtians, and to diſcover that their Loſs does not affect the *Latines*. " Our Hiſtory adds, as a Mark of Ambition, that " he propoſes to *Mahomet*, provided he would be " Baptiz'd, the peaceable Empire of all he had " Uſurp'd, and promiſes him that *all will make him* " *Judge of their Debates, and that the whole World* " *will appeal to his Deciſion* (you may think whether " the Princes that have been long Chriſtians are " not mightily oblig'd to him) *that many of them-* " *ſelves will ſubmit to him, and to his Sen-* " tence, &c. He adds, *that the Charity of* " *the Romiſh Church will not only be to him what it is to* " *other Kings, but ſo much greater, as he is higher than they.* " Note this touch. *In fine he repreſents to him that* " *the Romiſh Church would implore his Aid, againſt* " *the undutiful Children that roſe up againſt their Mo-* " *ther.* And in fine, having boaſted that the Popes " had tranſfer'd the Empire of the *Greeks* to the " *French*, he promiſes that he would do the like " for him for his Benefits. There wants a long " Commentary to this Diſcourſe. In a few Words, " this way of Converting Men by promiſing them " the Empire of the World is not Apoſtolical. " 2. 'Tis a thing Ridiculous to promiſe a Foreign " and Potent Prince, what he is already poſſeſs'd " of. 3. 'Tis a thing contrary to Charity, that has no " reſpect of Perſons, to be greater toward thoſe " who are advanc'd more highly. 4. It is againſt " the ſame Charity to diſcover to an Infidel the " Miſeries of *Chriſtendom*, and to deſire his Con- " verſion on purpoſe to make uſe of him againſt " Princes already Chriſtians. 5. 'Tis Vanity, " Ambition and Preſumption to boaſt that the Empire of *Charlemagne* is a Gift of the Pope, and " to pretend that he could Reward, after the ſame " manner, him to whom he ſpeaks. Let the " Reader judge, whether this Diſcourſe becomes him who ſays he is ſeated in the Chair of " St *Peter*: Is it a Diſcourſe *humble, Chriſtian, modeſt and Pious*? Are theſe *Conditions and Promiſes* " *the deſire of all* Chriſtendom? I know not whether *Coeffetau*, or any other Catholick has anſwer'd this Book of *Rivet*; and if I had in my hands the Second Piece of the Antagoniſts of *du Pleſſis*, I would here ſet it down at length, that nothing might be wanting and that my Readers might give Sentence, having a full Knowledge of the cauſe, upon the Charge alledg'd againſt *Pius* II. It ſeems not poſſible to reply any thing that's very material to the Remarks of *Rivet*, but on the contrary, it ſeems very poſſible to make them more unanſwerable; for what can be more horrible and ſhameful to the Chriſtian Religion than to ſee *Mahomet* II. one of the greateſt Criminals that ever liv'd, a Man who had ſhed ſo much Blood, and rob'd ſo many Perſons of their Eſtates by a continual Train of Cruelties and Injuſtices, become lawful Poſſeſſor of all his Uſurpations, provided he would be Baptiz'd. What becomes of that inviolable Law of Chriſtian Morality, that the firſt ſtep of a Repentance that expiates a Robbery, is the Reſtitution of the ill-gotten Goods? What would one ſay, if a *Jew*, who were guilty of a fraudulent Bankrupt for three Millions, ſhould obtain, by the meer Ceremony of Baptiſm, without being oblig'd to make any Reſtitution, a full Abſolution of his Crimes, and a Right to Poſſeſs theſe three Millions? Would not the Infidels have very good Reaſon to complain of Chriſtianity as the peſt of Equity and natural Morality? And yet what concerns the Bankrupt would be only a *Peccadillo*, in compariſon of the Offers which *Pius* II made to *Mahomet*, to make him Lawful Poſſeſſor of his Conqueſts, by means of a few Drops of Water pour'd upon his Face. What would the Apoſtles ſay at the ſight of ſuch a Diſpenſation, and ſuch a uſe of the Keys? Is this agreeable to what St. *Paul* ſays (*b*), or even to what *Ovid* (*c*) an Heathen Poet ſays?

(*b*) *For we are not as many who corrupt the word of God,* 2 Cor. 2. 17.

(*c*) O nimium facilis qui triſtia crimina cædis Flumineâ tolli poſſe putatis aqua. *Ovid. faſt. l.* 2. *v.* 27.

(*R*) *Who believe the Letter of* Pius *II. was never written to be ſent to* Mahomet? I ſhall add nothing to the words which I ſhall borrow from a Catholick Writer (*d*) " Here we muſt add a word about

(*d*) Gaillet *Hiſt. of Mahomet II. Tom.* 1. *p.* 461 & *ſeq. ad ann.* 1461.

MAHOMET GALADIN, Emperor of *Mogul*, was famous for his good Qualities and chiefly for his great Application to hear the Petitions and Complaints of his Subjects. He gave them Audience twice a Day; and that Persons of a mean Condition, who commonly could not or durst not approach his Tribunal, might have an opportunity to declare their Grievances; he caus'd a Bell to be set near him, to which a Rope was tied that went into the Street, and whenever the Bell was rung, he either went out, or order'd him who had pull'd the Rope to be brought in *. He died † in the Year 1605 and none could ever know of what Sect he was. He had thoughts of becoming a Christian, but the *Mahometan* Priests dissuaded him from it for Two Reasons.

* Don Clement Tosi, *a Benedictin of the Congregation of Sylvester in the first Vol. of his* Gentilesimo confutato.

† Morinel 1605. senza sapersi di qual Setta egli fosse stato. Giornale de Litterati, June 27 1669. p. 83. *in the Abstract of* Gentilesimo confutato.

MAYERNE (THEODORUS TURQUET SIEUR DE) one of the most famous Physicians of his time, was Born near β *Geneva* in 1572, or γ thereabouts. He took at *Montpellier* in 1595. his Degree of Batchelor of Physick, and his Degree of Doctor in the same Faculty, *Feb.* 20. 1597. He went from thence to *Paris* some time after, and was very much addicted to the Practice of Chymistry, which was a Study very much decried at that time, and very odious to the Physicians of *Paris*. Upon which account they rail'd most passionately against *Mayerne* and *du Chesne* δ, and endeavour'd to make them appear sworn Enemies to Physick. This appears from a Book that was Printed in 1603, against these two Physicians, which *Mayerne* refuted in another (*A*) Book, and that again was confuted by another. The Matter rested not there, for the Faculty of Physick fell upon him with a Decree prohibiting him to Practise; but notwithstanding this, *Mayerne* was call'd to Court, and was made Physician in Ordinary to *Henry* the Great. After the Death of this Prince, he retir'd to *England*, and there rais'd a very great Fortune. He obtain'd the Friendship of many illustrious Persons there, and so far gained the Favour of the Learned King *James*, that he was not only his first Physician, but also in some measure his Favourite. He was loaded with Honours ‡, and his Fortune still encreas'd under King *Charles* I. He was with an unanimous Consent admitted into the Societies of the Doctors of both Universities of the Kingdom. His Reputation and Practice were extraordinary, and he got a great Estate. He had two Sons and one Daughter, who was Married to the

β *In a Country House call'd* Mayerne *in the Territory of the Republick of* Geneva. Browne in præfat. oper Mayernii

γ *See in the Remark C. the true Day of his Birth*

δ *See the Remark A*

‡ *See the Remark B. the Inscription under his Print*

" the long Letter which (1) *Francesco Sansovino* has " Publish'd, (*c*) under the Name of Pope *Pius* to " Sultan *Mahomet*. For it appears by it, that this " Pope wrote it at a time when the Conquest of *Si-* " *nope* and *Trebizonde* made the *Latin* Princes fear the " like Effort from the *Ottoman* Arms. It shows " at length the Advantages of the Christian " Religion above the *Mahometan*, and pretends to " invite the Sultan to Baptism by great Ex- " amples, representing to him, how glorious it " was for *Constantine* the Great, to have been the " first of the *Roman* Emperors who became a Chri- " stian, and to *Clovis* to have been also the first " of the *French* Kings who embrac'd the Gospel, " and that it would be no less honourable for " him to be the first of the *Ottoman* Monarchs who " embrac'd our Faith. There are many who re- " flecting upon the inaccessible and morose Hu- " mour of *Mahomet*, do not think it probable, " that a Letter on so nice a Subject, was ever de- " liver'd to him, or that any durst expect an An- " swer to it. They add, that at least it would " have found the Mind of the Sultan very little " inclin'd to the Proposal, and that unless by a " Miracle, his Conversation could not be the ef- " fect of the Remonstrances of a Letter. Thus " when the *Italians* would express the little Hopes " there is of Success in any Matter, they say " pleasantly in their Language, *La penna non toglie* " *il filo alla Spada*: That the Pen will not blunt " the edge of the Sword. 'Tis probable therefore, " that it was Publish'd among the Western Na- " tions, after the taking of *Trebizonde*, as a Mani- " festo to justifie the Arms of the *Crusade*, and to " awake the Ardor of the Warriors in *Christendom*, " after they had seen that the Pope had evdeavour'd " in vain to divert the Arms of the Sultan in the " peaceable way of Remonstrances.

(1) Francesco Sansovino *fol* 134.

(*c*) *He seems to be Ignorant, that this Letter is found in the Editions of* Pius II. *his Letters*

(*Z*) *Dissuaded him from it for two Reasons.*] By one Reason applied to the Mind, and another to the Heart. They told him that the Christian Religion propos'd to him Mysteries to be believ'd, which he could not at all comprehend, and that it would oblige him to Marry but one Wife. 'Tis very probable that the second Reason was stronger to him than the first; for those who have been Educated in the Doctrine of Polygamy, and have put it in practice, have a frightful Idea of the Christian Doctrine in this Point; and altho' the *Great Mogul* was told, that this Evangelical Doctrine did not much incommode many Christian Princes, because almost all of them dispens'd with it; not indeed by Marrying many Wives, but by keeping Mistresses, yet he still thought it hard: For indeed there is a great difference between being able to do such things agreeably to Religion, and not being able to do them without violating the Laws of Religion. (*a*) *Poco vi manco che non accettasse la nostra religione, e ne fu ritirato da i Mulasi Sacerdoti Mahomettani dal non poter capir i misteri della fede col, lume naturale, e l'obligo di contentarsi d'una sola moglie.* *Lyserus*, the grand Apologist for Polygamy, does not forget to observe, that the Law of Marrying but one Wife, retards the Conversion of the Infidels (*b*).

(*A*) *Mayerne refuted in another Book, and that again was confuted by another.*] *Guy Patin* mentions this Dispute, but like one that took pleasure in Defaming, and who was an Enemy to innovating Physicians. "The *Sieur de Mayerne Turquet*, says he, " (*c*) was Physician to the King of *England*, and, " as I have been inform'd, a Native of *Geneva*, " the Son of one who wrote the History (†) of " *Spain*, which is now Printed in two Volumes " in Folio. His Father wrote also a Book En- " tituled, the (*d*) *Aristodemocratick Monarchy*, which " was contradicted by *Louis d'Orleans*, (who wrote " the Commentaries on *Tacitus*) in his *Plante Hu-* " *maine*, Printed at *Lyons* and at *Paris*. *Turquet* " wrote an Answer to *Louis d'Orleans*, in 1617. " He dwelt at *Geneva*, or near it, and was of " the Religion of that Country.— (*e*) I believe " that *his Son* is a Physician at *Montpellier*. He " came to *Paris* in 1602, and because he affected " to be a great Chymist, he had a Quarrel with " some of ours; whereupon a Decree was made, " that none should consult with him; yet he had " some Friends of our Profession, who would " visit the Sick with him. From this Quarrel " there proceeded an Apology for the said *Theo-* " *dorus Mayerne*, of which he was no more the Au- " thor than You or I. Two Doctors of our So- " ciety have taken pains in the matter, *Seguin*, our " Ancient, who always bore with the *Charlatans*, " and his Brother-in-Law *Acakia* (*f*). This *May-* " *erne* is still in *England* to this Day, very old, " and almost grown a Child again. 'Tis said, " that he has quitted the King's Party, and turn'd " to the Parliament's side. I saw one of his Chil- " dren in this City studying Physick, who is since " Dead in *England*. 'Tis said, that he is very " harsh to his Children, he is so Covetous, and " that he suffers them to Starve. He was a " great Chymist, very rich, and knows the way " of procuring to himself a great number of *Pis-* " *toles*'s by a consult of five or six Pages. This,

(*a*) Giornale de Litterati *June* 27. 1669. p. 83 *in the Abstract of* Gentilesimo confutato *by* Don Clement Tosi.

(*b*) *See* Polygamia triumphatrix, *p.* 92.

(*c*) Patin *Letter* 8. p. 35. *of* Tom. 1. *It is dated* Nov. 16. 1645.

† *See the end of this Remark.*

(*d*) *This Book was seiz'd, confiscated and forbidden. See the* French *Mercury*, to. 1 ad ann. 1615. p. m. 184.

(*e*) Patin ib. p. 36

(*f*) Id. ib. p. 37

the * Marquis *de Rivigni*. He died at the Age of Eighty Two Years. This is what I gather from the Preface to his Works, (*B*) Printed at *London* in 1700. We shall give in the Remarks (*C*) a more large and exact Account. I must not forget that our *Mayerne* met with some envious Persons, who endeavour'd to blacken him upon occasion of the Death of the Prince of *Wales*, in the Year 1612. But his Honour was perfectly secur'd by some Authentick Acts; I mean by the Certificates which King *James*, the Lords of the Council, and the Officers and Gentlemen of the deceas'd Prince of *Wales*, drew up for him in the best Form that could be wish'd. They may be found, together with a relation of the *Disease*, *Death*, *and opening of the Body* of this Prince in † the Work I have mention'd.

MAIGNAN (EMANUEL) one of the greatest Philosophers of the XVIIth Century, was a *Minime*, a Native of *Toulouse*. He forsook the Opinions of the Schools, and oppos'd them very solidly. He was neither *Cartesian*, nor *Gassendist*, but agreed with the Heads of these two Sects, in rejecting Accidents, Qualities and substantial Forms, and he cultivated Experimental Philosophy. He understood very well the Mathematicks, and had join'd to all these Sciences, so great a skill in Divinity, that he was capable of teaching it even at *Rome* it self *. The manner how he explains the

4 *'Tis a fault: See the Remark*

† *P.* 103. *&c. of the* Opera Medica Theod. Turquet. Mayernii *Edit.* 1700. London

* *See Remark A.*

" among other things, Baron of *Aubonne*, a fine Lord-
" ship in the Country of *Vaux*, near *Geneva*, of
" which a certain Bishop of *Nevers*, called *Paul*
" *Spisame*, was Lord in 1560.—(*g*) This Apology
" of *Mayerne* did not want an Answer. Mr. *Rie-*
" *lan* the Father answered it, by a Book very E-
" legant and Learned, according to his usual
" manner".

(*g*) Ib. p. 39.

Dr. *Brown*, as I have already said (*b*), observes, that *Mayerne* had a Companion of his Fortune, in the Persecution he suffered from the Physicians of *Paris*. He calls his Associate *Quercetanus*, whose *French* Name was *du Chesne*. *Patin* says nothing of that Conjunction, but he speaks very satyrically of this *Quercetanus*. *In the same Year* 1609, says he (*i*), *died a wicked Rogue and Mountebank, who hath kill'd many during his Life, and after his Death, by the unhappy Writings he left behind him, under his own Name, which he had caus'd to be Compos'd by other Physicians and Chymists, here and there. I mean* Josephus Quercetanus, *who went at* Paris, *by the Name of* la Violette. *He was a great Drunkard, and very ignorant; who knew nothing of Latin, and being by his first employment no more than a Surgeon's Boy of the Country of* Armagnac, *a poor, cursed and unhappy Country, pass'd at* Paris, *and particularly at Court, for a great Physician, because he had learn'd something of Chymistry in* Germany. I must observe, that the General History of *Spain*, writ by *Louis de Mayerne Turquet* of *Lyons*, was first Printed in the Year 1587, and after that, by *Abel l'Angelier*, in the Year 1608, at *Paris*, and after that again by *Samuel Thiboust*, in 1635. The Second Edition comprehends Thirty Books, and comes down as far as the Year 1582. The Third Edition is augmented to six Books, and comes down to the end of the XVIth Century.

(*b*) *There is the like fault in the Bibliotheque of Konig. See there p.* 522, *&* 822.

(*i*) *At* London *in* 8. Dr. Charleton *put a Preface to it*

(*B*) *From the Preface to his Works Printed at* London *in* 1700.] They are a pretty large Folio, divided into two Books; the first contains *Consilia*, *Epistolas*, *& Observationes*; and the second, *Pharmacopœam variasque Medicamentorum formulas*. There is before the Book the Picture of Dr. *de Mayerne*, as he was at the Age of 82 Years. It is the most (*k*) happy Physiognomy in the World; he has a lively, serene and majestick Air, and a venerable Beard. Underneath the Picture we read, *Theo: Turquet de Mayerne Eques Auratus, Patriâ Gallus, Religione Reformatus, Dignitate Baro, Professione alter Hippocrates, ac trium Regum* (*exemplo rarissimo*) *Archiater: eruditione Incomparabilis: experientiâ nulli secundus: & quod ex his omnibus resultat, fama late vagante perillustris.* The English Physician (*l*) who had the care of this Edition, affirms, that he had never yet seen any work of *Mayerne*, which was truly his (*m*). *Quicquid hactenus sub Mayernii Nomine Orbem invisit, tam crebris fœdatur interpolationibus, utpote quod partim ex suis, partim ex aliorum Chartis in Bibliotheca sua repertis imperite consuitur, ut nemo hariolari possit, quid Author sibi velit, ejusque se Opum assequi valeat, cum Casus a Remediis pessimo Consilio ubique alienantur.——Nihil hactenus sub ejus nomine comparuit, quod ipsius revera esse dici possit.* He gives us the Reasons which hindred the publishing the Chirurgical Works of this Physician. You may find in *Lindenius renovatus* (*n*) the Title of some Writings of this Author; but do not you imagine that *Theodorus Mayernus Turquetus*, and *Theodorus Turquetus de Mayerne*, who are there mention'd as two different Writers (*b*) are two Persons. No mention could be made there of the *praxeos Mayerniance in morbis internis præcipuè gravioribus & chronicis syntagma*; for that Book was not Printed till (*c*) 1690. The Journalists of *Leipsick* have given us an Abstract of it.

(*k*) *See the Journal of* Leipsick, 1691. *p.* 57.

(*l*) Josephus Browne utriusque Facultatis Doctor.

(*m*) Id. in præfat.

(*n*) *At p.* 997. *of the Edition of* Nuremberg, 1686.

(*C*) *A more large and exact Account*] I shall give all that I have receiv'd from Mr. *Minutoli* who was pleased at my desire to inform himself exactly of all the Circumstances.

" *Theodorus de Mayerne*, Baron of *Aubonne*, Coun-
" sellor and chief Physician to their Britannick
" Majesties *James* I. and *Charles* I. was the Son of
" *Lewis de Mayerne*, famous for the General History
" of *Spain*, which he Compos'd, and for his Mo-
" narchy *Aristodemocratick*, Dedicated to the *States*
" *General*, and of *Louisa*, the Daughter of *Antony*
" *Masson*, Treasurer of War to the Kings *Francis* I.
" and *Henry* II. in *Piemont*. That Family is Origi-
" nally of that Country, having flourish'd a long
" time in the Town of *Quiers*. And as to the Name,
" or Nick-Name of *Turquet*, it came from a Wo-
" man of their Family, who being well Made, and
" of a prety large Size, was thought to resemble
" a fine *Turkish* Woman; which made People com-
" monly give the Surname of *Turquetti*, to all her
" Children. *Lewis de Mayerne* retir'd to *Geneva*
" about the end of the Year 1572, having had two
" Houses demolish'd at *Lyons* upon the account of
" Religion. On the twenty Eighth of *September*,
" 1573. *Theodorus Mayerne* was born to him, having
" for his God-father *Theodorus Beza*. He was in-
" structed in his own Country, in Classical Learn-
" ing, and from thence sent to *Heydelberg*, where
" he continued some Years After which, be-
" ing design'd for Physick, he went to *Montpe-*
" *lier*, where he took his Degree of Batchelor,
" and afterwards of Doctor. From thence he
" went to *Paris*, where applying himself to Pra-
" ctice, he read Lectures of Anatomy to young
" Surgeons, and of Pharmacy to Apothecaries;
" and his Prescriptions gain'd him Esteem; so that
" he was known to Mr. *Ribbit*, *Sieur de la Riviere*,
" chief Physician to King *Henry* IV. who recom-
" mended him so well to His Majesty, that he
" gave him the Place of one of his Physicians in
" Ordinary; and in the Year 1600. he appointed
" him to attend the Duke of *Rohan*, in the Journies
" he made for *France*, towards the Princes of *Ger-*
" *many* and *Italy*. Being return'd, he was much
" esteem'd in the discharge of his Office, and
" was in Favour with the King, who promis'd him
" great Things if he would change his Religion,
" setting, for that end, Cardinal *du Perron*, and other
" Ecclesiasticks, to persuade him to it. Nay, not-
" withstanding his resistance, the King issued out
" a Brief to make him his first Physician, which the
" Jesuits, who knew it, endeavour'd to get revok'd
" by Queen *Mary de Medicis*, a Circumstance and
" Favour which Dr. *Mayerne* knew nothing of
" then; but afterwards in *England*, in the Year
" 1642, he learn'd it from the Mouth of *Cæsar*
" Duke of *Vendosme*, a Natural Son of *France*. In
" 1607, he prescrib'd Physick to an *English* Lord,
" who being Cur'd, carry'd him into *England*,
" where he had a private Audience of King *James*
" And even after the Death of *Henry* IV. he con-
" tinued to be Physician in Ordinary to *Lewis* XIII
" till 1616, when he bargain'd for this Office with

(*d*) *At p.* 57, *&c. of the Year* 1691.

the Preſervation of Accidents, without a Subject, in the Euchariſt, is more happy than that of (A) *Deſcartes*. I have read in ſome of the Journaliſts, that ſome Body is Writing his Life. If I had read it, I would very willingly make a long Article of this Learned Minime. I ſhall ſay a word (A) of his Writings. He is ſometimes confounded with another Philoſopher, call'd (B) *Magnen*. This Article was already in the Preſs, when I diſcover'd that Father *Maignan* was out of his place † in the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary.

Since the firſt Edition of this Dictionary, I have ſeen a Piece, * whoſe Title is, *De vita, moribus, & ſcriptis R. Patris Emanuelis Maignani Toloſatis, Ordinis Minimorum, Philoſophi atque Mathematici præſtantiſſimi elogium.* It was compos'd by Father Paguens ‖, and printed at *Toloufe* in 1697. out of which I ſhall draw a good Supplement.

† *Emanuel Maignan*, Native of Toulouſe who was a Diſciple of Father Maignan, and taught the Philoſophy of his Maſter at Toulouſe, at Bourdeaux, and at Rome, for a long time. He publiſh'd in 1700. a Book of 286 Pages in 12 intitled Accidentia profligata, Species inſtauratæ, ſive de ſpeciebus panis & vini poſt Conſecrationem Euchariſticam duntaxat manentibus. Opus Philoſophico-Theologicum, in which he maintains with ſtrenuous Father Maignan's Opinion about the Sacramental Species.

(a) Printed at Lyons by John Gregoire.

(b) Baillet's Life of Deſcartes, to m. 2. p. 376, 380 ad ann. 1649.

(1) In 1648. in fol at Rome. Perſpectiva Horaria, &c.

(2) Letter M. S. of Maignan to Merſenne, July 17. 1648. p. 512. of the firſt Vol of Letters to Merſennus Variorum.

(c) Ibid.

" a *French* Phyſician. In 1611, the King of *Eng-*
" *land*, by his Ambaſſador, demanded him, to be
" firſt Phyſician to himſelf, and to his Spouſe
" Queen *Anne*, by a Patent, Seal'd under the great
" Seal of *England*, where he ſerv'd the whole
" Royal Family with great Honour and Approba-
" tion till the end of his Life; as he did alſo the
" greateſt part of the Nobility, and People.
" He made an exact Collection of his Counſels in
" Medicine. He compos'd a very curious Phar-
" macopœa of Medicines, Galenical as well as
" Spagyrical; but he never Printed any thing,
" except an Apology againſt the Faculty of Phy-
(f) Part 4. p. 64, &c. " ſick at *Paris*, which had attack'd him. There
" was a Phyſician call'd *Brouent*, who ſent to Do-
" ctor *Bevereovicius*, a Relation of the Bladder of
" *Iſaac Caſaubon*, written by the ſaid *Mayerne*, for
" which he expreſs'd a reſentment. He had two
" Wives, whereof the firſt was *Margaret de Boet-*
(g) Month of March 1692. p. 336. " *ſlaer* of the Houſe of *Aſperen*, by whom he had
" two Sons, which died during his Life. And
" the ſecond was *Iſabel*, the Daughter of *Mr.*
" *Joachimy*, famous for his Embaſſies for the *States*
" *General* in *Muſcovy*, and *Sweden*, and for above
(h) Rohault entretien ſur la Philoſophie, p. 48. " Twenty Four Years in *England*, by whom he
" had two Sons, which died before him, and three
" Daughters, whereof two died while he was a-
" live. He died the 15th of *March*, 1655, at
" *Chelſey*, near *London*, leaving one only Daughter,
" who brought a great Eſtate by her Marriage, to the
" Marquis *de Montpouillan*, Grandſon to the Mar-
" ſhal Duke *de la Force*; but ſhe died at the *Hague*, in
" 1661, becauſe ſhe could not be Deliver'd, or
" at leaſt, in the time of her Delivery.

(i) Id. ib. p. 55. Note, That Dr *Mayerne* had a Niece who was Married to an *Engliſh* Lord of great merit. She was call'd *Louiſe de Frotté*, and by her Marriage was named My Lady *Windſor*. She was a Perſon of a great deal of Wit, and much reading, and for many Years was an Ornament to the City of *Geneva*: She died there about the end of the Year 1691. See her *Elogium* in (f) the *Italia regnante* of Mr. *Leti*. See alſo the Hiſtory (g) of the Works of the Learned.

(k) Id. ib p. 53, 57, &c.

(A) *The manner how he explains the Preſervation of Accidents without a Subject, is more happy than that of* Deſcartes.] Mr. *Rohault* pretended the contrary; but it was becauſe he did not ſee the great Difficulty that is conſequent upon that Explication he takes for the beſt. Let us ſee how he relates that of *F. Maignan*. " (h) There is nothing ſo eaſie as " to explain the manner how the Accidents of " Bread and Wine ſubſiſt without the Bread and " Wine; for in a word, we need ſay no more, but " that the Bread and Wine being taken away, " God continues ſtill to make the ſame impreſſi- " ons upon our Senſes, as they did before they " were chang'd. After this manner this Myſtery " is explain'd, by a famous Divine of the Order of " the *Minimes*, call'd Father *Maignan*." But Mr. *Rohault* blames this Hypotheſis, becauſe it admits two Miracles where we need but one. *Altho' it be true*, (i) ſays he, *that God can produce in our Senſes the Impreſſions of Bread and Wine, after they have been chang'd by Tranſubſtantiation, yet there is no neceſſity after this to have recourſe to a new Miracle, as this good Father ſeems to do: Becauſe it follows from the very Eſſence of the Myſtery* (*which is, that the Bread is really chang'd into the Body of Jeſus Chriſt*) *that we muſt continue to perceive all the ſame appearances as we perceiv'd before*, i. e. *that the accidents of Bread and Wine muſt ſubſiſt*. This *Carteſian* pretends, (k) that the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* does in ſuch a manner take up the place of the Bread, that the ſame Spaces exactly, which ſerv'd for a place to the Bread, are thoſe wherein the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* is diſpos'd, leaving to the Matter which fill'd the Pores of the Bread, the ſame Spaces which it fill'd before. From whence it follows, that the parts of the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* aſſume the Figure, Situation, and in general all the other modes of Bread, and conſequently that they are Bread: For according to Mr. *Rohault*, the Eſſence of Bread, or the Form which diſtinguiſhes it from all other Bodies, is nothing but the concurrence of certain Modifications: And therefore there muſt needs be Bread whereſoever this Concurrence is; and ſo it being found in the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* at the Sacrament of the Euchariſt; this Body is nothing elſe but Bread: From whence it follows, that this great Myſtery conſiſts in deſtroying a bit of Bread, and replacing another piece of Bread in the room of that which was annihilated. This is abſurd, and altogether remote from the Doctrine of Popery. 'Tis true, that in this Suppoſition there needs no Miracle to explain how the appearances of Bread ſubſiſt with reſpect to all our Senſes. This is a natural Conſequence from the Situation of the Body of our Lord in the place of the Bread deſtroy'd: But this Advantage proceeding only from an Hypotheſis which includes ſuch Abſurdities as are inconſiſtent with the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, cannot make the *Carteſian* Explication equal to that of Father *Maignan*, altho' it requires a particular Miracle for the continuation of the appearances of the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt,

(A) *I ſhall ſay a word of his Writings.*] He printed at *Toulouſe* a Courſe of Philoſophy in four Volumes, in 8° in the Year 1652. He publiſh'd it again in Folio (a) in 1673, with many Additions, and Dedicated it to the Preſident *d'Onoville*, who is ſo much commended in the Voyage of Mr. *Bachaumont* and Mr. *la Chapelle*. He added to it among other things a Critical Diſcourſe about the Vortices of Mr. *Deſcartes*, and a Diſſertation about the Speaking-Trumpet, invented by Sir *Samuel Morland*. There is alſo a Book of his relating to Divinity, entituled, *Philoſophia Entis ſacri*, and a *perſpectiva horaria*, printed at *Rome* in 1648, *in Folio*, &c. What follows is found in Mr. *Baillet* concerning this laſt Book. (b) Mr. " *Carcavi* acquainted Mr. *Deſcartes*, that there was " at *Rome* a Minime, call'd Father *Maignan*, who " was more intelligent and profound than Father " *Merſenne*, who had given him hopes of making " ſome Objections againſt his Principles. This " Father was called *Emanuel*, and was born at *Tou-* " *louſe*. But then he dwelt at *Rome*, where he " taught Divinity in the Convent of the Trinity " of Mount *Pincio*, which is otherwiſe called the " Convent of the *French* Minimes. About a Year be- " fore 1) he had put out a curious Work divided in- " to four Books, concerning Clocks and Sun-Di- " als, and about the ſame time he wrote to " Father *Merſenne*, being then alive, (2) that by " his Phyſical Principles, he had prov'd Geo- " metrically the ſame Proportion of Refractions " with that of *Deſcartes*. But he did not believe " that the Principles he laid down for the Mo- " tion of a Luminous Body, which ſwells and " falls, were true, or that ſuppoſing theſe Princi- " ples, it was poſſible that Refractions ſhould be " made, as 'tis certain they are. This is the thing " upon which Father *Maignan* had a great deſire to " put ſome Objections to Mr. *Deſcartes*, as he might " have acquainted Mr. *Carcavi* a Year after. Let us not forget the *Diſſertatio Theologica de uſu licito* [illegible] publiſh'd by our Minime in 1673, in 12°. It [illegible]'d by ſome Biſhops.

(B) *He is ſometimes confounded with another Philoſopher call'd* Magnen.] [illegible]e (I uſe the words of Mr. *Baillet*) (c) have impertinently confo[illegible] *Emanuel Maignan* with *John Chryſoſtom Magnen*, profeſſor of *Pavia*, who publiſh'd in 1648, *De rerum viciſſitudine*, which made the *Dutch* believe [illegible]

Maignan, born the 17th of *July* 1601, was of an Ancient (C) and Noble Family. He gave hopes from his Cradle, that he would have an Inclination to Letters and Sciences, for nothing would sooner put a ſtop to his weeping and crying than to put a Book in his Hand. He would turn over the Leaves, and look upon the Characters with much Pleaſure, and it was perceiv'd after he had paſſed the Age of 5 Years, that he deſpiſed the little Pleaſures of Children, and that he gave a wonderful Attention to Prayers, and Catechetical Inſtructions. Upon this Account he was carefully plac'd betimes under the Direction of a Domeſtick Tutor. After this he had his Education at the College of the Jeſuits, and perform'd with great diligence all the Duties of a good Scholar, both with reſpect to the Exerciſes of Learning and thoſe of Religion. He diſcover'd in all his Conduct ſo much modeſty and Sincerity, that he was afraid of being † infected with ſmutty Diſcourſes, and from thence it came to paſs that he did by Degrees withdraw himſelf from the Company of his School-fellows, and that he choſe rather to leave off the Diverſions proper to his Age, than to expoſe his Innocence to any Danger. His Hours of Recreation were ſpent in walking in the Convent of the Minims, where he met with an old Man who Diſcours'd to him about Salvation. Theſe Diſcourſes were the Seeds of a Religious Life, to which he Conſecrated himſelf ſome time after, and to this he was ſtrongly inclin'd, by a Diſgrace which happen'd to him then when he was Studying Rhetorick: He had compos'd a Poem to Diſpute the Prize of Eloquence, and he believ'd that he was unjuſtly dealt with in adjudging the Victory to another. The Reflections he made, during this Vexation, confirm'd him ſo much in the Thought of quitting the World, that he deſir'd the Habit of a Minim. And it was not long deny'd him, for having well performed the Tryals of his Novitiate, he was admitted to make his Vows at 18 Years of Age, *i. e.* in 1619. He went through a Courſe of Philoſophy under a Maſter very much addicted to the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*, and he loſt no opportunity of Diſputing briskly againſt every thing that was ſuſpected of Heterodoxy in the Phyſicks of that Ancient Philoſopher. This was taken for a good Omen by his Profeſſor, who quickly after was aſtoniſh'd to find that his Scholar underſtood very well the Mathematicks, without (D) any body to read Lectures to him. In this he was his own Maſter. He was quite another Man when he Studied his courſe of Divinity, than he was in that of Philoſophy; for whereas in this he was very incredulous, and ſubmitted every thing to a ſevere Examination, and to the moſt ſubtil Diſcuſſions of Diſpute, in that he ſubmitted humbly † to Theological Doctrines; but as to the Peripatetical Reaſons, which were employ'd to illuſtrate and prove them, he did not think himſelf oblig'd to admit them without Examination, and if he found them not Solid, he rejected them, and made no ſcruple of admitting the aſſiſtance of *Plato* before that of *Ariſtotle*. The Proofs that he gave of his Wit for the 6 Years that he ſate upon the Benches, occaſioned his being look'd upon as a fit Perſon to do the Office of a Profeſſor, and he acquitted himſelf in that Employment ſo Subtilly and ſo Solidly, that his Reputation flew over the *Pyrenees* and the *Alps*, whereupon the General of the Minims ſent for him to *Rome*, in 1636, to take upon him the like Profeſſion. His great Knowledge in Mathematical Inventions, and Phyſical Experiments, became quickly famous, and chiefly by a Conteſt which aroſe between him and Father *Kircher*, which was decided after

† Ad omnes vitæ ſuæ actus, & uſus advocabat honeſtum ac modeſtum illum pudorem, qui abhoret ab omni inquinamento laſcivientis colloquii. Quare cœpit paulatim declinare à ſociis, præeligens omni joco abſtinere, quam facere vel leviſſimum verecundiæ ſuæ periculum. Saguens ubi Supra. p. 5.

† Suimmiſſiſſimum ſe coram Chriſtus (...) fidem offert, refugitque ut a levi ſuſpicula dubitatione, ſic abominatione indagine ex quo audiat ſectatorem Machiatis oppreſſum in a gloria (illegible)

was a *Carteſian* Philoſopher. Mr. *Baillet* cites *Revii Statera*, p. 243. This *John Chryſoſtom Magnen*, was of *Luxeuil*, in *Franche Comte*, and profeſs'd Phyſick at *Pavia*. Beſides the *Democritus reviviſcens*, printed at *Leyden* in 1648, in 12', and whoſe Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated *April* 30, 1646. I have ſeen a Treatiſe (d) *de Manna*, printed by him at the *Hague* in 1658. in 12', and whoſe Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated *April* 5. 1648. Theſe *Dutch* Editions are not the firſt.

(C) *He was of an Ancient and Noble Family.*] His Father was Counſellor to the King, Referendary and Dean of the Chancery of *Toulouſe*, and reckon'd among his Anceſtors the Barons of *Maignan*, who made a great figure in *Armagnac*. He Married the Daughter of *Emanuel Alvarez*, Royal Profeſſor of Phyſick in the Univerſity of *Toulouſe*. Such was the Father and Mother of this *Minim*, of whom we now Diſcourſe, and here follow the Words of his Elogiſt. (e) *Pater ei fuit Petrus Maignanus Conſiliarius Regius, Referendarius & Decanus in Cancellaria Toloſana, vir æquitatem ſervans, & conſpicuus ſplendidiſſimi generis antiquâ nobilitate indubitatâ. Siquidem ut omnes norunt, Maignani Toloſates iſti ſtirpem ſuam trahunt ex illis, quos Eluza urbs nunc obſcura, ſed antiquitate celebrata ad Geſſam amnem ſitam Comitatus Armaniaci Baronl. ſuos ſtemmos, opulentos, regni ſui per multas non interruptorum generationum ſeries reverenter, ac perannumer complexa eſt, Aymericum habuit Gaudiſium de Alvarez clarum filium Eberardi illius Comitis Emanuelis de Alva, a quem Toloſa urbs Literarum omnium [illegible] precipue et politiorum multos ex Lyſitania accerſivit Profeſſores. Ab origine ſuæ claruit ex antiquiſſima Familia Alvarezorum de Eberardi illius genere, & fuit patria Lyſitanica Maignanorum, qui [illegible] nomen Emanuelis obtinuit.*

(D) *He underſtood very well Mathematicks, tho' none had read any Lectures of them to him.*] This is a Second Example of what we ſhall ſhow hereafter in the Article of Mr *Paſcal*; and Father *Saguens* does not fail to confirm the one by the other. Let us ſee the particulars of it: Such things are chiefly to be collected together, and inſerted in ſuch Books as this Dictionary (a *Multo celſiorem de illo opinionem accepit* (Magiſter (b) Ruffarius) *quum occaſione data ſchematis Mathematici, quo ipſe ad explanationem reconditioris cujuſdam Phyſici myſterii, lucem afferebat, intellexit eum eſſe Geometram; ſtupuitque, & cauſam requiſivit cauſam, ac methodum comparatæ, & eo uſque occultæ eruditionis. Verum ut reſponſeret parum modeſtiæ parcam, dicam ipſe ego paulo liberius, quod multo poſt ad ſuadenda rerum Mathematicarum ſtudia enitebat ſibi objiciſſe, ut extra horas unius [illegible] ſuæ claſſis a tempore a [illegible] Chori, & [illegible] ſiſtis uſitato, tot Theoremata, & Problemata demonſtrata per ſe ipſum adinvenerit, ut dum [illegible] non poſſet [illegible] continere. [illegible] Elementorum Mathematicorum. An non decere illum tam magni [illegible] ſtatuiſſent Elementa Logicæ [illegible] Quæritur de clariſſimo Patre Maignano, cujus [illegible] celebrandam [illegible] Deo præſente [illegible] poſſeſſionem convocaſſe. [illegible] Magiſtrum Mathematicum, qui [illegible] cum conatus ultra poſſe [illegible] Crucem Mathematicam habuit [illegible] cum ſruſtra [illegible] ſatorias. At [illegible] occurreret, aut [illegible] quid natus, a Chorea [illegible] Cæſtus genium [illegible], ut a plerisque mos Cathedræ illuc applaudatur*

(a) Id ib p. 8, 9

(b) It is the name of a Maxime, under whom Maignan was [illegible] through a Courſe of Philoſophy

(c) Saguens in elogio Emanuelis Maignani. p. 3

(d) It is bound up with that of Tobacco, by the ſame Author

after ſuch a manner, that the Glory of (E) the Invention, the Subject of the Diſpute, was not deny'd to our *Minim*. His Book *de perſpectiva horaria*, Printed at *Rome* in 1648, at the Expence of Cardinal *Spada*, was very much eſteem'd. No Body had ever undertaken ſuch a Work. In it there is a method of making Teleſcopes which he had inveneted, which he explains at large, and does not imitate thoſe who conceal, as a Myſtery, the Inventions of their Art, and die with their Secret. He was not troubl'd with that Diſeaſe, for if he met with any Artificers, who had a mind to make Dioptrical, or other Inſtruments, according to his Diſcoveries and Method, he communicated to them with the greateſt eaſineſs in the World what he knew of that Matter. He did not return from *Rome* to *Toulouſe* till 1650. and then he was receiv'd in his own Country with univerſal Joy. He was created Provincial the ſame Year, altho' he earneſtly deſir'd that he might not be diverted from his Studies by the Cares of any Office. He Publiſh'd his Courſe of Philoſophy, in 1652, by which Work he may at leaſt expect to be call'd the Reſtorer of it. And if becauſe he explain'd Phyſicks by the Four Elements, the glory of that Invention ſhould be deny'd him, and given to *Empedocles* *; yet it cannot be denied but he did as to this Hypotheſis, what *Gaſſendus* did as to that of the Atomiſts. The Office of Provincial being expir'd at the end of three Years, our *Minim* had more leaſure to go on with his Philoſophick Divinity; but a long Sickneſs, and ſome Journies about the Affairs of his Order, retarded the execution of this Deſign. We ſhall ſee in the Remarks at (F), what time the two Tomes of that Work did appear. If the Author hau been ambitious, he might have found a fair Opportunity of ſatisfying himſelf, when the *French* King deſir'd him to come to *Paris*, which was in 1660.

* Opus vere eximium & ad illa uſque tempora intentatum. *Id. ibid. p.* 17.

gitur ſummis capitibus paginasum, cruce lignea utebatur.

(E) *A Conteſt which aroſe between him and Father* Kircher . . . ., *the glory of the Invention was not denied to our Minim,*] Father *Saguens* inſiſts upon two Books of a wonderful Invention, and vaſt Labour, written in the Monaſtery of the Order at *Rome*, by *Emanuel Maignan*. One was a Book of Opticks, and the other of Catoptricks. The firſt was a Perſpective, (c) whereof the Deſcription is to be found in the *Thaumaturgus Opticus* of the Minim *Niceron*. The other was a Repreſentation of the Heavens, with all the Aſtronomical Circles, (d) *catoptrica anacamptica, complectiturque integram cæli faciem ſuis omnibus ad res Aſtronomicas ſpectantibus circulis interſtinctam.* Father *Kircher* had no ſooner look'd upon it, but he told a *German* Gentleman, who accompanied him, what are you aſtoniſh'd at, is not this the Figure of my Book? *Quid ſtupes, an non hæc eſt figura mei libri?* A Minim who heard this, and underſtood that Father *Kircher* attributed to himſelf the whole Glory of the Invention, anſwer'd very briskly; on the contrary, *this is the Book of your Figure, imo hic eſt liber tuæ Figuræ*, and related the thing quickly after to Father *Maignan*, who being an humble Man ſaid no more than that he did not think himſelf guilty of any Theft, unleſs it were ſuppos'd that his Hands had ſtole the work from his Mind (e). The matter had gone no further, if the Friends of one ſide and the other, had not thought it worthy of a further Enquiry, conſidering that it concern'd the glory of a *German* or of a *French* Mathematician, for the Principal Praiſe is always due to the Inventor. Father *Maignan* was like to have loſt the Cauſe, when a Jeſuit ingenuouſly declar'd that he had ſeen the like work in *France* made by Father *Maignan*. Thus the Learned Men of *Rome* left the Glory of the Invention to each of the contending Parties. This is only an Abridgment of what you may ſee at large in the *Latin* of Father *Saguens*: (f) *Totaque res ibi ſubſiſtiſſet, niſi viſa fuiſſet communibus amicis digna diligentiori examine; quodque ducebant vertendum ad gloriam non mediocrem aut Germani, aut Galli Mathematici. Omninò enim in quovis artium, & doctrinarum genere primum fuiſſe ita glorioſum eſt; ut id poſteritas omnis, quia imitari non poteſt, invidia dignum putet. Primus labor plerumque ſibi aut totum honorem vindicat; aut ſecundo non niſi magna ex parte imminutum relinquit: vel quod difficultatem penè omnem, quam in rebus inveniendis maximam eſſe conſtat, exhauriat: vel quod non parùm emolliat: vel denique quod præſtantioris cujuſdam ingenii acum, judicioque demonſtret. Ecce itaque inter Doctos certatur, & ambigitur uter è duobus eximiæ illius & nunc excogitationis Catoptrico-Gnomonicæ laudem ſit relaturus, gravioſſimoque tandem judicio declinabant ad partes Kircheri, qui prior typis nuper eam commiſerat: nec ſatisfactum acerrimum compellatus occurriſſet alius R. P. Societatis Sectatis Mathematicus, qui feliciter Romam ad ſuos, & ingenuè enarrabat vidiſſe ſe multos annos in Gallia, & in conventu quidem hujus Aquitanicæ Provinciæ noſtræ Albaterrenſi tale quoddam opus Catoptricum à P. Maignano elaboratum. Res ita erat; & Maignanus quidem, me audiente, non ſemel retulit cogitationem illam horographicam ſibi adhuc juniori ſubito immoderatoque impetu occurriſſe; tantaque voluptate mentem occupaſſe, quâ nullam majorem in vita ſenſiſſet. Hinc eruditorum Romanorum cohors ſuam utrique palmam contulit, protulitque paria eſſe in gignendis fortunatiſſimi ingenii Viris Germaniæ Galliæque imperia.*

(c) Ib. p. p. 15.

(d) Id. ib.

(e) Nullius hac in re, *inquit*, furti mihi ſum conſcius, niſi fortè manus meas, opus quod elaboraverunt, menti ſubripuiſſe quis finxerit. Id ib p. 16.

(f) Id ib

* 'Tis not impoſſible but the ſame thing might be invented by two Perſons, tho' one was not aſſiſted by the other.

(F) *At what time the two Tomes of that Work did appear.*] The firſt was printed in 1662, and the ſecond in 1672. There had been a leſs ſpace of time between the Publication of theſe two Volumes, if the Author had not been oblig'd to anſwer ſome Writings that were publiſh'd againſt him. His firſt Antagoniſt was (a) a Jeſuit of the College of *Toulouſe*, who in his Book *de Cycloide* had pretended that Father *Maignan* was miſtaken as to many Aſſertions touching the Structure and Gravity of Bodies, the Acceleration of Motion, and the equality of the Angles of Incidence and Reflection, *&c.* The Minim maintain'd that there was a Paralogiſm in the Demonſtration of the Jeſuit, and this occaſion'd a long Diſpute, the reſult whereof contributed very much to confirm this Aphoriſm of Geometrical Phyſicks, that an excellent Naturaliſt, moderately vers'd in Geometry, is better able to explain Phyſicks, than an excellent Geometrician who has but little Skill in Phyſicks. (b) *Plus proderit, inquit Maignanus, in rebus Phyſicis peritiſſimus Phyſicus mediocriter in Geometricis verſatus, quàm peritiſſimus Geometra parum Phyſicus.* Then he adds, *At ſi utroque genere excellat, nihil prorſus optabilius eſſe poteſt.* This Anſwer of Father Maignan was printed as an *Appendix*, and was follow'd by a ſecond *Appendix*, wherein he confutes the Replies of the Jeſuit, and wherein he mingles very good Obſervations concerning the Succeſſive Propagation of Light, the Scintillation of the fixed Stars, and the Glaſs-drops of *Holland*. The third *Appendix* is an Anſwer to a Diſſertation, which Mr. *Ducaſſe* publiſh'd againſt the Reaſon which *F. Maignan* had given, why the *Dutch* Glaſs-drops break in a thouſand pieces (c), after the little end is broken off. This Experiment was made in the Convent of the *Minims*, in 1662. in the Preſence of many Perſons. The fourth *Appendix* was an Anſwer to a (d) Writer, with whom the Jeſuit at his Death had entruſted the concerns of his Cauſe. This Writer dwelt upon Acceſſories, and gave over the main Point of the Diſpute, which was the Accuſation of a Paralogiſm. He complains of *F. Maignan*, that he had fallen foul upon the moſt famous Jeſuits, *Suarez*, *Vaſquez*, *Mendoza*, *Zaichi*, &c. The *Minim* anſwer'd all theſe Complaints, and forgot not his Proofs of the Accuſation of a Paralogiſm. This fourth *Appendix* was Printed in 1667, at *Bourdeaux*, whether the Author went about the Affairs of his Order. The fifth *Appendix* was an Anſwer to *Theophilus Raynaud*, who wrote againſt the Hypotheſis, which our *Minim* made uſe of to explain the Conſervation of the Accidents

(a) *call'd* Lalouvere.

(b) Id. ib. P. 35.

(c) *See* Rohault's *Phyſicks, part* 1ſt. c. 22. n. 47, *&c.* P. m. 191.

(d) *The Father* Courboulez *a Jeſuit of the College of* Toulouſe.

1660. After His Majeſty himſelf had ſeen an infinite number (*G*) of Machines and Curioſities in the Cell of this Monk, Cardinal *Mazarine*, who view'd them with the King, acquainted Father *Maignan* next Day with the Intentions of this Prince, by Mr. *Fieubet*, firſt Preſident of the Parliament of *Toulouſe*. The Minim teſtified ſo modeſtly and humbly his Inclination to ſpend all his Life in the obſcurity of a Cloiſter, wherein he had been cloathed with the Habit of his Order, that the Affair reſted there. He had therefore the ſatisfaction to ſhun the Pomp in which he would have been engag'd, and peaceably ſpent his time in making Books and Experiments, and reading Lectures. He was conſulted by the greateſt Philoſophers, and gave a Thouſand Anſwers to them either by word of Mouth, or by Writing. Never Man lov'd his Leaſure better than he did; he ſtudied even in his Sleep; for his Dreams (*H*) put him upon ſome *Theorems*, the deduction whereof he purſu'd, until he arriv'd at the demonſtration of them; and he happen'd often to awake ſuddenly, upon the account of the great Pleaſure he had in finding out a Demonſtration. The Goodneſs of his Morals, and the purity of his Virtues, render'd him no leſs worthy of Eſteem than his Wit and Knowledge. He died the 29th of *October*, 1676 *. We muſt not forget that when he went to *Paris* in 1657, he was admitted with great Teſtimonies of Honour to the Philoſophical Conferences at the Houſe of † Mr. *de Mommor*, Maſter of the Requeſts ‡, that he Compos'd with great falicity β, without blots.

MAIMBOURG (Louis) was Born at *Nancy* 1610, and became a Jeſuit in 1626. He taught Claſſical Learning for ſix Years; after which his Superiors employ'd him in the Office of a Preacher; which he diſcharg'd in the chief Cities of the Kingdom *; and I think the laſt Sermons he Preach'd were againſt the Verſion of *Mons*. The Anſwers which the *Janſeniſts* publiſh'd to his Sermons againſt this Tranſlation, repreſent him very much to his diſadvantage. He wrote Three Treatiſes of Controverſie ‖, which are not ill-done; but he acquir'd a much greater Reputation by many Hiſtories * which he Publiſh'd. The *Janſeniſts* criticiz'd upon that of *Arianiſm*, and that of the *Iconoclaſts*, and ſuffered all the reſt to paſs. That which he wrote about *Calviniſm* in 1681, ſtirr'd up againſt him a ſharp War, of which he left all the Operation to his Enemies; for he continued perfectly unactive, and neither acted Offenſively nor Defenſively. He had been turn'd out of the Jeſuits Society when he Publiſh'd the Hiſtory of *Calvinism*, which was done by the General of that Society, becauſe he declar'd too fiercely for the Doctrines of the *Gallican* Church, againſt thoſe of the *Ultramontains*. He retir'd into the Abby of St. *Victor*, and died there *Auguſt* 13th. 1686, after he had made a (*A*) Will which ſhews that he was diſſatisfied with the Jeſuits. He had a large ſhare in (*B*) the Friendſhip of Father *Ferrier*, the King's Confeſſor. I have ‖ elſewhere ſaid, that he ſtudied at *Rome* under *John de Lugo*. The Books that were written againſt him, are ſo common, and contain ſo fully a Character of his Genius and his Conduct, that 'tis nowiſe neceſſary to compile thoſe Facts here. But ſince thoſe who have refuted

dents of the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt This Jeſuit had ſhown, that he underſtood nothing of the State of the Queſtion; for he believ'd that the Opinion of *F. Maignan* was the ſame with that of a certain *Sicilian* call'd *Chiavetta*. In the ſame *Appendix F. Maignan* anſwer'd two other Adverſaries, who were *F. Vincent Baron*, and *F. Nicholas Arnu*, both *Jacobins*. Theſe five *Appendices* having been Printed at ſeveral times, were publiſh'd again all together in 1672 (*e*). I have already (*f*) ſpoken of the Second Edition of his Courſe of Philoſophy, and of the two Treatiſes which were added to it, one againſt the Vortices of Mr. *Des Cartes*, and the other concerning Sir *Samuel Morland*'s Trumpet. I add here, that this Father invented a Machine (*g*) which he caus'd to play before many Learned Men, which overthrows what *Deſcartes* ſuppoſes concerning the manner in which the Univerſe was fram'd, or might have been fram'd, and concerning effort of removing from the Center of Motion by Tangents.

(*G*) *His Majeſty himſelf had ſeen in the Cell of this Monk, an infinite number of Machines and Curioſities.* The Particulars which I ſhall now mention, may ſerve to diſcover the great Induſtry of *F. Maignan*

(*b*) Id ib. p. 31, 32.

(*b*) *Properabat Rex ad celebrandas nuptias ſuas.—— Sed caſu Toloſæ parumper conſtitit: nec inter ea, quæ oculis Regis dignæ conſpectantur, infima fuit cellula Canobitica Patris Maignani, quæ inter Religioſæ egeſtatis anguſtias, ſi quid Matheſis pulchrum coluit, includebat; tubos omnis generis Telescopicos, Microſcopicos, Polyoptricos, Hygroſcopicos, Thermometricos, ut non adjiciam machinamenta Pneumatica, Hydraulica, Magnetica multa, ſtatumque de planiſphæriis, tabellis orbicis, fabricatis tum ad figuras torni induſtrios, tum ad res ſtatuas alimentibus ingenioſiſſimis plurimis: ſpeculariæ ſphæras, qualia nec capaciores Sphæræ, nec nitidiores formæ, nec denique incendii perniciosi ullibi tunc temporis prodebant. In quo copioſiſſimo ſupellectilis Mathematicæ apparatu non tam mirabatur Rex ſuo cum Toloſo Cenobiarcham artificem, quæ totum elaboraverat, quam ad multò plura, & utiliora Reipublicæ mechanica perficienda inſtructam. Quæ recogitans apud ſe ipſum occepit, quantus Matheſios fulgor per univerſam Galliam irradiaret, ſi Tu ille bonus ex Toloſana, ut ſic loquar, eremo in populareni Regiæ urbanitatis, & Aulæ frequentationem educeretur.*

(*H*) *His Dreams put him upon ſome Theorem.* Here follows a Fact which confirms an Obſervation I made above. It is of the Nature of thoſe I mention'd at the beginning of the Remark D. Let us therefore relate it in the Words of the Original. (*k*) *Mentem laboribus iſtis ita ſolicitor affuefecerat* (Maignanus) *ut emenſa diem ſtudio, in nullam nocturnæ corporeæ quietis partem veniret. Quod rarum aliis, frequentiſſimum Maignano fuit, ut idem aſſequeretur ſomni, & ſomni alicujus eruditi initium vel unicamente ad ſolita ſua theoremata, nec abſiſtente dono e de illis demonſtrationem obtinuiſſet, cujus inopinatæ voluptas dormienti ſæpe fuit pro ſatalabulo. Tum ne illa ſuboriens ad inſtar emicaret & fugeret, erectam ſuo ſulcamento recondebat, quâ notulis, quantum id tenuæ patiebantur, in paratâ chartæ exaratis eam ſiſtaret.* Did our Age love Quibles, we would ſay that he was a *Geometrician*, whoſe Stock increaſed in his Sleep.

(*A*) *A Will which ſhews that he was diſſatisfied with the Jeſuits.* See the *News from the Republick of Learning* for the Month of *September*, 1686 (*a*).

(*B*) *In the Friendſhip of Father Ferrier.* He informs us of this himſelf in his Hiſtory of St *Leo*, for after he has ſhown what *a new Opinion that probable againſt the falſe Idea which ſome had framed of it*, he adds, "(*l*) "And this will be found very fully prov'd in the "little Book concerning a probable Opinion, "written by the deceaſed Father *Ferrier* Confeſſor to the "King, and one of the learneſt Divines that "ever I knew, for whoſe Memory I ſhall always "have a ſingular Veneration, as well for his de"ſire of Peace, as for the particular Obli"gations I have received from him, and which I "cannot in honeſty, but I muſt Teſtify "on any occaſion, which I will now leave to "Poſterity.

(*l*) Hiſt.

a *ut ſuſ* Saguens *in his Elogium of* Emanuel Maignan.

**These Conferences are often mentioned in the Letters of* Sorbiere.

† Saguens *loid. p.* 46.

β Eloquarne an tacebo incredibilem illam conſcribendi ſine lituris ullis cogitata ſua rapiditatem, appendicem tertiam tribus horis, quartam conſcripſit tribus hebdomadis. *Id. ib. p.* 48

a Taken from Nathan. Sotuel Bibl Societ Jeſu *p.* 567

‖ *See the Remark D.*

* *The Supplement of* Moreri *Langue d'Oc*

† *In the Article* Lugo, *p.* 195 *Edit.* (*c*)

(*c*) *Taken out of* F. Saguens, *p.* 34, *&c.*

(*f*) *In the Remark A*

(*g*) Saguens, *ib. p.* 42

(*k*) Id ibid *p.* 47, 48.

(*a*) *p.* 343 *&c*

(*b*) Maimbourg *Hiſt of the Pont. ſ. at of St. Leo, p.* 343 *Edit Holl.*

refuted his History of *Calvinism*, have said nothing of a certain Sermon, which furnish'd a Writer of *Port Royal* with a merry Tale (C), I shall make one Remark upon it; and another concerning the Works of *F. Maimbourg* (D); and I shall make a third Remark upon

(C) *With a merry Tale.*] 'Tis in a Preface before the Defence of the Translation of *Mons*, of the *Cologne* Edition, 1668, and which was not reprinted in the Edition at *Geneva*, of all the Pieces which concern this Translation. And hence it comes to pass that this Story is but little known, and was not set forth by the Censurers of the History of *Calvinism*. It will not therefore be impertinent to insert it here in this Remark, as the Author of the Preface tells it

(c) *Preface in the defence of the Translation of the New Testament, printed at Mons against the Sermons of F. Maimbourg the Jesuit. p. 6*

" (c) 'Tis now above twenty Years since I went " by chance into the Chappel of the College of " *Clermont*, and there I saw one mount up into " the Pulpit, of an extraordinary Mien, and who " was none of those whom the Scripture speaks " of, *whose Wisdom shines in their Countenance*. On " the contrary there was nothing to be seen but " fierceness in his Eyes, in his Gestures, and in " all his Air; and he might have struck Terror " into the People, if this fierceness had not been " mingled with a Thousand theatrical Gestures " which made People Laugh.——His Discourse " was yet more astonishing than his Air, and the " oddness of it was so strange, that I can never " forget it. It was the *Sunday* after *Easter*, when " the Gospel about the good Shepherd was read: " From hence he took occasion to magnifie the " Condition of Shepherds, by observing that it " was not formerly the Profession of the meanest " People, as it is at present; but that Kings and " Princes did not then think it unworthy of them. " After this, he reckon'd up a great number of " Princes that were Shepherds: And then he for- " got not the Patriarchs, but carried down the " Catalogues as far as to *David*, upon whom he in- " sisted a long time; for he gave us a comical " Description of his Beauty, the colour of his " Hair, his Cloaths, and lastly of his Dog. *It* " *was*, says he, *a brave Dog, and had so much Cou-* " *rage, that we may believe while his Master fought* " *against* Goliah, *this Dog, to avoid the Disgrace of* " *doing nothing in the mean time, hunted after the* " *Wolves and fought them.* After this good Father " was once enter'd upon the Subject of Dogs, as " if he had been link'd to it by some secret Sym- " pathy, he could not tell how to leave it, and " therefore he divided his Sermon into four " Parts, according to the four several sorts of " Dogs. The first sort were *English* Dogs: The " second were Masty Dogs: The third were " the Lap Dogs: And the fourth the good " Dogs; whereof he made an Application to dif- " ferent sorts of Preachers. The *English* Dogs " were the *Jansenists*, or, as they were then cal- " led, the *Arnaudists*, whom he represented as an " indiscreet People, who tore in pieces all Men " indifferently, and made no distinction between " the Innocent and the Guilty, but oppress'd " every Body with hard Penances. He de- " scrib'd the Masty Dogs as being Cowardly, and " having no Courage but upon their own Dung- " hill, and who being off from that, are always " fearful, which he applied to Preachers of that " Humour. The Lap Dogs, were according " to him, the Abbots of the Court: *They are*, " says he, *shap'd like Lions, and make a great noise,* " *but when they are view'd narrowly, their noise is* " *laugh'd at.* And upon this occasion he de- " scrib'd their Ruffles, their Bands, their Sur- " plices, their Gestures. And lastly, the Good " Dogs were the Jesuits, and such Preachers as he " was. 'Tis impossible to imagine after what " manner he treated this ridiculous Subject, and " to what an excessive Pitch he carried the Buf- " foonry of his Descriptions. I can assure you, " that being then present, I saw all the Reverend " Fathers that were in the Galleries above, hold- " ing their Sides with Laughter, from the begin- " ning of the Sermon to the end of it, and the rest " of the Auditory could not well keep their " Countenance, and look grave: Indeed there " was nothing but a loud Noise, which could " not be stopt. All this diverted the Good " Father, and inspir'd him with a new Ar- " dor to encrease the Laughter of his Auditors, " with new Grimaces. After I had been a Spec- " tator of this strange Profanation, and was inform'd " of the Name of the Jesuit who had Preach'd, " who was said to be *F. Maimbourg*, I went " out more scandaliz'd at the Society than at their " Preacher.

(D) *Concerning the Works of* F. Maimbourg.] He Publish'd at *Rouen*, two Panegyricks in 1640; one is that of *Lewis* XIII. because he had put *France* under the Protection of the Virgin. The other is an Elogium of the Kings of *France*. He had Publish'd at *Rome* in 1638, a Funeral Oration on *Nicholas Zappi* an *Augustin* Monk, and he publish'd at *Paris* his *Lent* Sermons in 1670, in Two Volumes in 8°. Father *Sotuel*, who inform'd me of this, said nothing of the Letters of *Francis Romain*, which is a Work of *F. Maimbourg*; the Title alone gives us to understand, that it concerns the manner how to reconcile the Obedience due to the Pope, with that due to the King. *Sotuel* did not forget the Controversial Treatises, written by *F. Maimbourg*. They are three little Treatises, whereof one is entitul'd, (d) *A peaceable Method to bring back the Protestants without Dispute to the true Faith as to the Eucharist, upon occasion of the* (e) *Contest concerning the perpetuity of the Faith of the same Mystery*. The second is Entituled, *of the true Church of Jesus Christ*. And the third, *Of the true Word of God*. The first of these three Works appear'd so good to the Roman Catholicks, that it holds the fifth Place among the sixteen Methods of converting the *Huguenots*, which were recommended by the Clergy of *France* to the Controversial Writers in 1682. The words of the Memorial drawn up by that Assembly are these. " The fifth is a peaceable Method, and without " Disputes, founded upon the Synod of *Dort*, which " all the Protestants of *France* have receiv'd, and " which has determin'd by the Holy Scripture, " that when there is a Contest about any Article " between two Parties which are in the true " Church, it must be referr'd to its Decision, un- " der this penalty to any one that refuses to sub- " mit to it, that he shall be accounted guilty of " Schism and Heresie". And indeed in this consists the whole strength of the Method of *F. Maimbourg*. He shows by the Conduct which was observ'd in *Holland*, when Disputes arose between the *Arminians* and *Gomarists*, that according to the Doctrine of the Protestants, it belongs to the Church, in whose Bosom the Contests arise to do Justice to the Parties, by deciding which is in the right, and which is in the wrong, and that by virtue of its definitive Sentence, they must cease to Dispute; and that those who will not submit to this Decision, are to be reputed Hereticks, and to be cut off from the Body as unruly Members. According to this Principle, will the Papists say, the Protestants ought to acknowledge, that it belong'd to the Council of *Trent* to give Sentence without Appeal, about the Disputes of *Luther* and *Calvin*; and that after the Decision of this Council, none ought any more to quarrel, but that each of them must conform himself to the definitive Decree with the *Romish* Doctors, upon pain of deserving the Thunder of Excommunication, as a Heretick and Rebel. This is not a place to examine whether this Argument *ad hominem* has any force (a): 'Tis sufficient to say, that the Protestant Church cannot be blam'd for Establishing an Order, without which 'tis impossible that any Society can subsist: For in all Societies there must be a Tribunal to give Sentence without Appeal about the Disputes of private Persons, and who have Power to inflict the Penalties of Rebellion upon those who refuse to submit to its Decrees; for otherwise it would not be possible to cure any Disorder, nor to hinder Disputes from lasting eternally. I know very well, it is objected, that in this respect, there is no other difference between the *Romish* and Reform'd Church, as to the point of Authority, but that one declares it is infallible, and does not permit the private Persons to examine its Decisions; whereas the other acknowledges it self fallible, and permits private Persons to examine the whole, provided that at last they submit to its Decrees. I know very well, I say, that 'tis objected, that in this respect, the way of Authority is no less the last Refuge for Protestants than for Papists; but I know also what the Protestants

(d) *Printed at* Paris *in* 1670. *and Reprinted there the third time in* 1682.

(e) *It was that which made so great a noise between Mr.* Arnaud *and Mr.* Claude

(a) *Mr.* Jurieu *in his Treatise of the Power of the Church, p.* 323. *confesses, that there is Wit and Cunning in this Book of Mr.* Maimbourg. *And p.* 325. *That the turn he gives to the difficulty has something amazing in it which strikes the mind with a great Idea of the Difficulty.*

Answer

Cousin which he had (*E*) who became a Protestant, and is the Author of two or three Books.

MAINUS (JASON) one of the most famous Civilians of his Age, was born in 1435. *Andreot Mainus*, his Father, being banished from *Milan*, for a Crime he had committed, retired to *Pesaro*, and there got his Maid with Child, † who was deliver'd of our Civilian. He was Educated at *Milan*, but his Master treated him very harshly, and did not take the same care of him as he did of the Legitimate Sons of *Andreot Mainus*. He was sent to Study the Civil Law at *Pavia*, where he was so much addicted to playing at Cards,

† Pisaurum ad Galeacium Malatestam oppidi dominum venit, ubi ex ancilla Annete concubina Jasonem filium suscepit *Gudianus Antecedentium rerum*, p 281

Answer. Three (*b*) of their Authors have refuted the Method of Father *Maimbourg*. He whom I name last has taken the best expedient that could be taken; his Reflections are fine and good; but did not always perceive whether his Answers were a Paralogism. I will give an Example of it.

He proposes this Objection in Page 347. (*c*) "If one is not obliged to submit to the Decisions "of Councils and Synods; if it be always lawful "to Appeal from them; if every one has a Power to look upon those Decisions as meer Counsels, "and to reject them when they judge them not "agreeable to the word of God, there will be no "way left of Deciding any Controversy, or put-"ting an end to it" He answers, among other things, That they who value so much this Difficulty, do not remove it by the Doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church. He proves it (*d*) by 200 Heresies, which according to the Calculation of *Bellarmin*, have made great Devastations in the *Romish Church*, which always declar'd, *says he*, that it was Infallible. He adds (*e*) that there is in the Birth of Heresies *je ne sçai*, something Supernatural, and therefore that we must not imagine that we have it always in our Power to stop those Mischiefs, unless God interposes in an extraordinary manner. There are two great Defects in this Answer: 1. 'Tis to confess to the Adversaries, that God has not left in his Church any ordinary Means for determining Disputes. 2. That the multitude of Heresies that have been in *Christendom*, proves that the Doctrine of Autority is not a proper means to extinguish them. Why could not this Author see that these Heresies could never have lasted, if their Followers had believ'd this Doctrine? They themselves maintain'd only by rejecting it: Does this prove any thing against the goodness of the Remedy? Can a sick Man who is not cur'd, because he rejects all that the Physician orders him, testifie that the Physician's Remedies are nothing worth? I say this only *en passant*, to advertise the Readers that there is a large Field for Criticism in Controversial Books.

I return now to the Books of Father *Maimbourg*; but shall not mention the Titles of his Histories, which may be found in the Supplement to *Moreri*. I think it may be said that he had a particular Talent for such kind of Books; for in them he scatter'd many pleasant Things, many lively Strokes, and a multitude of occasional Instructions. There are few Historians, even among those who write better and are more learned and exact than he, that have the Art of ingaging the Reader so much as he does. I wish that those who could exceed him in Candor and Knowledge, would give us all the Histories he had undertaken to write, if he had liv'd 20 Years longer, and that they would set them off with the same Attractives as he did: It would be no small Advantage to the Republick of Learning. I have said in the Body of this Article, that his Histories of *Arianism*, and of the *Iconoclasts*, were Criticiz'd. Those Criticisms (*f*) were burnt at *Paris*, in 1674. They are very good. They were printed again in *Holland* in 1683. His History of the Church of *Rome* was also Criticiz'd, and I have heard say that the Author of the Criticisms was M. *Boileau*, the Doctor. His Work was printed twice, and is very much augmented (*g*) in the 2d Edition. The *News* (*h*) *from the Republick of Learning* mention the first. The Abstract which is found there of this Piece, shows that M. *Maimbourg* succeeded very ill in the Attack he made against the Infallibility of the Pope, and the Superiority of the Holy See over the Councils.

(*E*) *Upon a Cousin he had, nam'd* Theodore Maimbourg] He conform'd to the Custom of the Times in publishing the Motives why he chang'd his Religion. The Letter which he wrote upon this occasion to his eldest Brother, was printed in 1659. He retir'd into *Guienne*, (*i*) to the House of the Marquis *de Bougi*, and wrote a *Summary Answer* to the Method of Cardinal *Richelieu*. He Dedicated it to Madam *de Turenne*, and sent the MS. to *Samuel Maresius*, who publish'd it at *Groningen*, in 1664. The Author calls himself by the Name of *R. de la Ruelle*. He return'd to the *Romish* Communion some time after, and made Profession of it when the Famous Book (*k*) of the Exposition of the Catholick Faith was printed. He made some Reflections upon this work, which were seen in MS. by some of the Reformed Religion. This made Mr *de la Bastide* affirm, (*l*) *That he knew a Catholick who was writing against the Exposition of the Bishop of* Condom. I use the same words which the Bishop of *Condom* cites, as taken out of the 2,d Page of the Preface of Mr *de la Bastides*; but I find in this Preface at p. 3.5, of the 2d. Edition, the following words: "I have been "inform'd that there is a certain Person of the *Ro-*"*mish* Church, who writes against this same Exposi-"tion of the Bishop of *Condom*, and what those of his "own Communion can say concerning their own "Belief, will be of more Weight, and less suspected in their Mouth than in ours. The Bishop of *Condom* observes, that the Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion were impos'd upon, when they were told so. "This were certainly, adds he (*m*), "a strange thing that this good Catholick, whom "the Catholicks have never known, should so "much confide in the Enemies of the Church, "as to tell them of a Book he was preparing "against a Bishop of his own Communion. But "this imaginary Writer has been now expected "for a long time, and the pretended Reform'd "will be very easy to believe any thing, if for "the future they suffer themselves to be amus'd "with such like Promises. The Person meant by Mr. *de la Bastide*, was our *Theodore Maimbourg*, who went into *England* about the Year 1682, to return into the Protestant Church. He took with him divers Manuscripts which he had written, and among the rest, an Answer to the Peaceable Method of his Cousin the Jesuite, and an Answer to the Book of the Bishop of *Condom*. The 1st of these two Pieces was printed at *Rotterdam* in 1683. The Bookseller was earnestly desired to Print the 2d immediately, but the Stile of the first did in no wise incourage him to do it; and so the Work was buried in the dark Corners of a Study. The Author was made Governor to one of the Natural Sons of King *Charles* II. He died at *London* about two or three Years ago (*n*), and if one may believe the Reports that were spread of him, he declar'd to the Ministers that prepar'd him for Death, that he died a *Socinian*, and continu'd Obstinate in that Heresy to the last. I have heard some say that he was a Man of a good Mien, of a great deal of Wit, and who knew the World very well.

There was a Jesuite of *Lorrain*, call'd *John Maimbourg*, who was not Inferiour, neither in Knowledge nor Wit, to the Famous *Serarius*, another Jesuite of *Lorrain*; but he would never publish any Books, tho' he was earnestly exhorted to do it. A Jesuite of the same Country gives us an Account of these Things. (*o*) *Magnum literaue Lotharingiæ lumen, magnum eruditionis omne ornamentum, magnum pietatis, & Christianæ modestiæ decus: Ambo florentes ingenio, erudi ti ambo, ambo in omni genere authorum assidua lectione versati, vel potius omnia tum sacræ tum profanæ doctrinæ partibus absolut. atque perfecti ambo sa rae literæ, & hanc ipsam quæ in suspensum tenebat, inscriptionem,*

Explanare pares, & respondere parati

Alter scriptis in lucem publicam emissis, alter alter ingenio par, eruditione, virtutibus, loco uno duntaxat inferior quod addam nunquam potuit, ut ingenii de fœtu, partuque suæ fœtu exprometi, ac publico mandari paterentur. Alter erat Nicolaus Serrarius, alter Joannes Maimburgius.

(*a*) Nicol Abramus in Pharo Veteris Testamenti, p 256 col 2

(*a*) viz. Mr. Lenfant, *Minister of* Chatillon *upon the Loing, Father of Mr.* Lenfant *Minister at* Berlin. 2 *A Cousin of Father* Maimbourg, *of whom I shall speak hereafter.* 3 *Mr.* Jurieu *in his Letters about the Power of the Church, printed at* Roan *in* 1677.

(*b*) Jurieu's *Treatise of the Power of the Church, Letter* 7. *n.* 9. *p.* 347.

(*d*) Ib. p. 348.

(*e*) Ib. p 351.

(*f*) *The Title is,* Conferences between *Eudoxus* and *Eucharistus* about the History of *Arianism*, and the History of the *Iconoclasts* of Father *Maimbourg*

(*g*) *In* Holland *in* 1686, and 1688.

(*h*) *Month of* April, 1686. p 461.

(*i*) *At the Castle of* Calonge *in* Condomois, *near* Agen

(*k*) *Written by Mr.* Bossuet, *then Bishop of* Condom *This Book was printed the first time in* 1671.

(*l*) *In the Advertisement of his Answer to the Book of the Bishop of* Condom. *See the Advertisement of this Prelate about the* 2d *Edition, p* 25 *of the* Holland *Edition*

(*m*) Ibid

(*n*) *He was written in the Month of* January, 1696

Cards, that he loſt all his Money and his Books, and then went about the Streets (*A*) in a miſerable Condition. He improv'd under the Chaſtiſements of his Father, for he applied himſelf ſo heartily to Study, that he made a wonderful Progreſs both at *Pavia* and *Bologna*, inſomuch that he was judg'd worthy to Teach the Civil Law in 1471. He taught in *Pavia* from that Year till 1486, that he was call'd to *Padua*. Altho' he had a great Salary (*B*,) yet he was not contented with it, and becauſe he could not obtain an Augmentation of it, he retir'd at the end of three Years to *Piſa*, where he had a better Penſion. He was called back again to *Pavia* in 1491, and became ſo famous there, that he had three Thouſand Scholars. He was ſent to *Rome* the next Year, to Congratulate the new Pope *Alexander* VI. to whom he made a very fine Harangue. But that which he made upon the Marriage of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, King of the *Romans*, with the Niece of *Lewis Sforza*, was no leſs applauded at the Court of the Emperor, from whence he returned loaded with Preſents, and (*C*) honourable Titles. He Harangued likewiſe in 1495. when *Lewis Sforza* was declared Duke of *Milan*, which procur'd him new Titles of Honour*. When he became almoſt blind, he broke off (*D*) his Lectures, and could not be engag'd to reaſſume them again, but by the urgent ſollicitations of *Lewis* XII. He was honoured with the Preſence (*E*) of this Prince at one of his Prelections, which was attended with a thouſand Advantages; but the Fief wherewith he was Inveſted, never brought him one Farthing†; but on the contrary put him to great Charges. The Jealouſie between him and (*F*) *Philip Decius*, another Profeſſor, proceeded to a great height. He was not a Man of a very ſubtil Wit, neither did he make any ſcruple (*G*) to make uſe of the Labours of others. He

* *See the Remark C.*

† *See the Remark D.*

(*A*) *He went about the Streets in a miſerable Condition.*] He was forc'd to be Shav'd, becauſe the Scurf had eaten into his Head, and beſides he was very ill Cloath'd. We ſhall make uſe of the Words of *Panzirollus*. (*b*) *In peſtilenti chartarum luſu adeo miſerè deperditus eſt, ut omni conſumpta ſuppellectile etiam jurium volumina in membranis magno pretio deſcripta vendere cogeretur, ad extremamque inopiam deductus vili veſte, & tonſo capite, quod deformi tinea obſitum erat, omnium ſordidiſſimus incedebat.*

(*B*) *Altho' he had a great Salary.*] *viz.* The Sum of 1000 Ducats, which none had ever before him; for all the Penſion that was given to his Predeceſſors was only two or three hundred Ducats. (*c*) *Primus ex noſtris jurium interpretibus mille aureorum ſalarium obtinuit, cum ante ducentis aut ſummum trecentis aureis docerent.* He was alſo the firſt who cauſed 50 Ducats to be given for a Conſultation; nay, 100 and more, whereas before no more than 4 were given (*d*). He was miſtaken ſometimes in his Advice; but I know not whether he kept his Word to his Clients that conſulted him, to whom he promiſed the Reſtitution of the Money he had taken from them, in caſe they loſt the Cauſe. (*e*) *Conſultoribus oneroſus in hoc laudem meruit, quod ſi cauſa excidiſſent, extortam pecuniam ſe reſtituturum pollicebatur, in quibuſdam tamen minus rectè conſuluiſſe arguitur.* There are ſome ſellers of *Febrifuges*, who promiſe the like Reſtitution, in caſe a Fever does not go off. But if it ſhould happen, I do not think that ever they would Refund the Money.

(*C*) *Loaded with Preſents and Honourable Titles.*] (*f*) *Auro argentoque donatus, & equeſtri ac palatina dignitate honeſtatus, Cæſariſque patritius factus lætus in patriam rediit.* Mr. *Bullart* relates, (*g*) "That *Lewis* "*Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, having a mind to promote "the Glory of a Man who was his Subject, prefer'd "him to be a Senator of his Council, and gave "him the Honour of Knighthood, (*h*) and then "ſent him on ſeveral Embaſſies to the Emperors "*Frederick* and *Maximilian*; who judging him "worthy of their Eſteem, for his own Merits as "well as for his Character, did him extraordinary "Honours, and diſmiſſed him loaded with Pre-"ſents." This Story is not well told, for if a Man builds upon theſe words, he may imagine that *Mainus* was ſent ſucceſſively to the Emperor *Frederick*, and the Emperor *Maximilian*. But this is a miſtake, for he was ſent to the *Imperial* Court, only when *Bonna Sforza* Married *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*.

(*D*) *He broke off his Lectures.*] For more than nine Years, if we may believe *Panzirollus*; but he himſelf will not permit us to believe him: for he ſays that King *Lewis* XII. engag'd him to read publick Lectures again, and that *Mainus* being inveſted with a Fief, (*i*) upon condition he would teach the Law, perform'd this Condition, and yet was diſappointed of his Fief (*k*). He complained of this to *Lewis* XII. who diſpatched Letters in his Favour; but they were thrown away, and he that preſented them had a thouſand blows. *Jaſon amicorum opera à Rege literas impetravit, ut ſibi ablata reſtituerentur; ſed nunciis pugnis, & calcibus percuſſus penè cæſus eſt. Literæ in terram projectæ, & conculcatæ fuere.* *Mainus* complain'd to *Guy de Rocheford*, Chancellor of *France*, and did not forget to tell him of the hundred and fifty Crowns, that this Affair had coſt him, without getting one Penny from the Lands the King had given him. *Panzirollus* adds, That theſe things happen'd in the Year 1500, and that he continued to teach until the Year 1511. The breaking off did not begin at the ſooneſt till the Year 1495. where then ſhall we find the nine Years which *Panzirollus* makes it to laſt. Sometimes I am ſurpriz'd when I meet with ſuch Faults of Arithmetick in good Authors; but now I do not wonder any more at it, I have found ſo many of them that I am us'd to them, and pretty well hardned.

(*E*) *With the preſence of* Louis *XII. at one of his Lectures.*] *Louis* XII. being at *Pavia*, had a mind to hear him. *Mainus* being clad in a Robe of Gold, conducted him to the Auditory. The King made him go before him (*l*), and ſaid that the Royal Power in theſe Places was inferior to that of the Profeſſors. He was follow'd with five Cardinal and a hundred Lords. He embrac'd *Mainus* after he came down from his Chair, and preſented him with a Caſtle. This may be compar'd to the Honours given by *Pompey* (*m*) to the Philoſopher *Poſidonius*. The Sieur *Bullart* ought not to have ſaid (*n*) that *Lewis* XII. went often into this Law School; but this is the Common Error of all thoſe who make Elogiums, they never mind the exact Numbers, but multiply them always. The Subject treated of by *Mainus* in this Prælection ought not to be forgotten: He maintain'd that the Dignity of a Knight conferr'd by a Prince upon him who had ſignaliz'd himſelf in a Fight, ought to paſs from Father to Son (*o*) *Ea lectione dignitatem equeſtrem ob ſpectatam in acie facinus de manu Regis traditam, accendendæ virtutis ergo ad poſteros manare definivit.*

(*F*) *The Jealouſy between him and* Philip Decius, *another Profeſſor, proceeded to a great height.*] There is nothing more common than to ſee this kind of Jealouſy produce a Torrent of Reproaches and Slanders; but 'tis rare that thoſe who are Tainted with it ſhould throw Stones at one another, in a literal Senſe, as theſe two Profeſſors did one day. They met one another in a narrow Street, and Diſputed the Wall, and had like to have kill'd one another with Stones. What a ſtrange Sight was this! and how diverting to Children and all Paſſengers! *Jaſonis* (*a*) *nominis invidia exagitatus Philippus Decius, ipſum uſque ad infamas cavillationes numquam inſectari deſtitit. In tantum denique odium prorupere, ut ſemel in angiportu obviam facti, cum de [illegible] contendere cæpiſſent, etiam lapidibus ſeſe inceſſiſſe ferantur.*

(*G*) *Neither did he make any Scruple to make uſe of the Labours of others.*] He had not been well [illegible] to leave him out of the (*b*) Liſt of Plagiaries [illegible] he attributed to himſelf a Book which [illegible] of

(*l*) Rex eum velut præceptorem præire juſſit, quod eo in loco profitentibus regiam poteſtatem inferiorem eſſe diceret. *Panzirol. pag.* 283.

(*m*) Cn. Pompejus confecto Mithridatico bello intraturus Poſidonii ſapientiæ profeſſione clari domum fores percuti de more à lictore voluit, & faſces literarum ſubmiſit is cui ſe oriens occidens. que ſubmiſerat. *Plinius l.* 7. *c.* 30.

(*n*) *Bullart* ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Jovius in elog. c. 66. p. 154. *See alſo* Panzirol. ubi ſupra. pag. 283.

(*a*) Panzirol. p. 284.

(*b*) *He is in the Liſt of* Thomaſius *p.* 471.

* *See the Remark C.*

† *See the Remark D.*

(*b*) Panzirollus de claris legum Interpretibus, lib. 2. cap. 127. p. m. 281.

(*c*) Idem pag. 282.

(*d*) Primus etiam 50. 100. & amplius aureos pro reſponſis accepit, cum prius quatuor aureolis honorarentur. *Panzirol. ubi ſupra pag.* 282.

(*e*) Id. p. 285. *He cites* Marza conſ. 1. fol. 10. & 12. in princ.

(*f*) *Panzirol.* ibid. pag. 283.

(*g*) Bullart's *Academy of Sciences, to m.* 1. *p* 212.

(*h*) Ejus (*Ludovici Sfortiæ*) Senator ac Patritius eſt declaratus *Panzirol ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Caſtrum Properam Rex in feudum Jaſoni, dum viveret, cum multis prædiis & proventibus conceſſit, hoc animo, ut jura profiteri teneretur, niſi valetudine eſſet impeditus Id ib. p 283.

(*l*) Dominus à Corcu regiæ domus magiſter Jaſonem Caſtro ſpoliavit, etſi poſt acquiſitum Caſtrum ſemper docuit. Ib p 284.

He took cruel Fees from those who came to consult him; but he promised to restore the Money again if they lost their Cause †. He was excus'd from reading Lectures in the last Years of his Life; which was a Favour that he obtained from the Duke of *Milan*, and which the bad State of his Mind was sufficient to procure him. This last part of his Life was very sad. He had *lost the use of his Reason, and he had a Nephew that beat him. He died at *Pavia* the 22d. of *March*, 1519. aged 84 Years, and left a Natural Son behind him, who had Offices in the Republick of *Genoa**. The Answer he made to *Louis* XII. is ill related by Mr. *Moreri* (*H*). He is the Author (*I*) of many Books. He Studied by Candle light (*K*) in the Day-time.

† *See the Remark B.*

* Ferunt eum senio confectum delirasse, & sæpe à Com. Hippolyto ex fratre nepote pugnis cæsum fuisse Panzirol. ubi infra p. 286.

MAJORAGIUS (MARK ANTONY) Professor of Eloquence at *Milan* in the 16th Century, got great Reputation by the Politeness of his Style, and by his great Judgment in Critical Learning. He Studied at *Come* under a Professor who was (*A*) his near Kinsman; after which he went to *Milan*, where he met with a Patron †, in whose House he lodg'd five Years, and was so addicted to Study (*B*) that he almost kill'd himself by it. It came into his Head to revive the Custom of Declaiming, which anciently qualified Youth to make Eloquent Harangues, and after he had given many of his Scholars very useful Instructions to this Purpose, and prepar'd them for it in private, he resolv'd to employ himself in it publickly. The Curators of the College were so favourable to him, that they bestow'd that Employment upon him as soon as they knew his Intentions. He was then but 26 Years old, and yet he discharged that Office very well, but at the end of two Years all the Professors were dismiss'd, because the *Milanese* was threatned with a dangerous War. He retir'd to *Ferrara*, where he Studied the Civil Law under *Andreas Alciatus*, and Philosophy under *Vincent*

† Taken out of Panzirol. lib 2 de claris legum Interpretibus c 127

† Called Lancelot Fagniano

Imola wrote, and he hired some Scholars, who took Copies of the Lectures of the most Learned Professors, of which he afterwards made an Advantage. One of these Professors complain'd of it publickly, and was so Mad and Angry with the Cheat, that he chang'd his Opinion out of spite, and Refuted those Opinions which had been stolen from him. Read this Latin, and you will find the Names of the Persons concern'd. (*c*) *Aliorum etiam laboribus Jason libenter fruebatur, siquidem commentarium in titulum de Actionibus ab Alexandro Imolensi scitè elaboratum sibi adscripsisse, & in lucem edidisse, fertur.* (1) *Hieronymi Torti Papiensis, qui cum Jacobo Puteo in patria vespertinas lectiones paulo ante explicuerat, & aliorum scriptis locupletari voluit; Bononiæ quoque dum ibi Bartholomæus Socinus, deinde Carolus Ruinus profiterentur, auditores aluisse dicitur, qui eorum descriptas lectiones ad se referrent: id & ejus commentaria ostendunt, & Ruinus sæpe publicè deploravit, qui, mutata per indignationem sententia, surreptas opiniones confutare consueverat.*

(*c*) Panzirol. ib. p. 285.

(1) Apostil. ad conf. 62. & 163. Decii.

(*d*) Moreri, *at the word* Mayni.

(*e*) Jov. in Elog. c 66. p. 154.

(*f*) Panzirol, p. 283.

(*g*) *Compare with this the Answer of* Allatius, *related in his Article Remark D.*

(*h*) Panzirol. p. 282

(*i*) Ibid pag. 285.

(2) Hieron. Buttigel. in l. 1. § si quis simpliciter. n. 9 ff. de ver. oblig.

(*k*) Linteo capiti obvoluto, etiam meridie occlusis fenestris ad accensum lumen elucubrare consueverat, ne cœli claritate mentem evagari sineret. *Panzirol. ibid.*

H) *Ill related by* Mr Moreri.] "(*d*) *Paulus Jovius* "adds, That *Louis* XII. having ask'd him, why he "was never Married, he answer'd, because he "was perswaded, that by his Majesty's Sollicitati- "on Pope *Julius* II. would make him a Cardinal." This is not to Translate, as he should have done, the words of *Paulus Jovius*. (*e*) *Me audiente interrogatus à Ludovico Gallorum Rege cur nunquam duxisset uxorem, ut te commendante, inquit, Julius Pontifex ad purpureum galerum aptandum me habilem faciat.* Nevertheless we may know by this bad Version that *Mainus* wish'd for a Cardinals Hat; but it avail'd him nothing to discover the secret of his Ambition. (*f*) *Hoc responso animi quidem secretum ostendit, sed nunquam voti compos factus est.* This is what *Panzirollus* says, after he had said what you are going to read. *In domestico colloquio ab eodem* (Rege) *interrogatus Jason, cur nunquam uxorem duxisset, Ut tua, inquit, amplissime Rex, opera Julius Pontifex me ad purpureum Galerum promovere possit* (*g*).

(*I*) *He is the Author of many Books.*] Of a Commentary upon the *Pandects*, and upon the Code of *Justinian*, besides four Volumes of Answers, *Responsa*, and the Explication of the Title *de actionibus* (*h*). He compil'd many things together, but he did not always understand what he borrowed from others. (*i*) *Jason non multum ingenio acutus ob hæsitationem indocilem quandoque articulos reliquit, nec semel male percepta aliorum argumenta recitat, ac in reprehendis receptis opinionibus, quæ Communia vocantur, non nunquam decipitur. Vir alioquin laboriosus, & in æmulandis aliorum dictis diligens,* (2) *quicquid enim legebat, scriptis mandabat, unde à puero calamo Juris studiosum adjuvenem delectabat, & si, quantum studebat, tantum scribere refrenabat.*

(*K*) *By Candle-light in the Day-time.*] I have heard this said of some other Learned Men, and I am very glad to find it printed concerning (*k*) Mainus. The reason of this Conduct may be easily guess'd, for there are some Men who can produce nothing unless they recollect themselves, and concenter their Thoughts within themselves; and they find it very difficult to prevent distracting Fancies: Upon which Account 'tis necessary to remove from their Eyes the great diversity of Objects, which the light Presents to them.

(*A*) *Under a Professor, who was his near Kinsman.*] He was a Person (*l*) of great Merit, and his Name was *Primus Comes*. This Name was the ground of an Ambiguity which surpriz'd *Erasmus*; for this Italian having put his Name at the bottom of a Note, wherein he acquainted him that he intended to give him a Visit, made *Erasmus*, though then very Weak, go forth in all haste to meet him, thinking that he was some great Prince He was much astonished to find only a little Man all alone; but he did not repent of having made haste, for the Conversation of the Man pleas'd him very much. *Majoragius* relates this much better than I do, and so deserves to be heard. (*m*) *Cum in Germaniam ea de causa profectus fuisset, ut Erasmi consuetudine per aliquod tempus frueretur, priusquam ipsum Erasmum conveniret, ad eum literas dedit, quibus adventus sui causam declarabat, quarum in extrema parte nomen suum, ut fit, ita subscripserat, Tui studiosissimus Primus Comes Mediolanensis. Hanc cum Erasmus subscriptionem vidisset, credidit statim magnum aliquem adisse Principem, sui visendi gratiâ venire licet admodum senex & infirmus esset, tamen quo statuto, quoque apparatu potuit, obviam consobrino meo longe processit. Sed postquam hominculum unum, nullo comitatu, nullo servorum grege stipatum, & bene quidem literatum, sed nullo elegantiori cultu vestitum reperit, errorem suum videre jucundissimè cæpit: & tamen eum sibi multò gratiorem advenisse, quam si magnus Princeps fuisset, multis audientibus, testatus est.* He informs us in the same place, that one reason (*n*) why he quitted the Name of Count, was because several People were deceiv'd by it; for *Gryphius* answering a Letter of *Majoragius*, wrote in such a Style to him as if he had been a Prince. (*o*) *Eadem ratione deceptus aliquando fuit in nomine meo vir insignis ac literatus Sebastianus Gryphius. Cum enim ad eum literas dedissem, & me Comitem inscripsissem, ille mihi tanquam alicui Principi respondit, & clarissimum Comitem non semel appellavit.*

(*l*) See Natalis Comes Mythol l 9. c 5 p. m. 960

(*m*) Majoragius, Orat 10 p m 221. 222.

(*n*) *We shall see hereafter in Remark D. that* Majoragius *was called* Antonius Maria Comes.

(*o*) Majoragius ubi supra p. 222.

(*B*) *So addicted to Study, that he almost kill'd himself by it.*] Diversions, Plays, Feasts, had no Charms for him; and it was in vain to tell him that so Sedulous an Application to his Books would kill him, for he would not unbend at all; but at last a dangerous Sickness made him sensible, that he shou'd have yielded to the Exhortations of his Friends And this he himself informs us of (*p*) *Fui apud hunc annos circiter quinque, quo quidem tempore literarum studiis adeo vehementem operam dedi, ut totum illud quinquennium in labore atque contentione animi contriverim, ut me non quærere, non rogare, non æqualium studia, non ludi, non convivia delectarent Tristis est vir iste gravissimus atque ornatissimus Lancillottus Faunianus, patruus meus, qui mihi adest, de me sollicitus est, meum honorem atque exaltationem tuetur Quantum in stu-*

(*p*) Id ib p 196

cent *Magius*, He Publiſh'd (*C*) ſome Pieces, in which he call'd himſelf by the Name of *Marcus Antonius Majoragius*. The alarms of War being appeas'd he return'd to *Milan*, and was reſtor'd to his Profeſſor's Place, with a more conſiderable Salary. His Enemies who had labour'd in vain to hinder this, fell upon him, and drew up a Proceſs (*D*) againſt him upon the Name which he had ſet at the beginning of his Book. He pleaded his Cauſe

dius litearum me continenter verſari videret, magno quodam cum amore ſæpiſſime reprehendere ſolebat, quod acquirendæ ſcientiæ deſiderio, propriæ ſalutis oblivi ſcerer. Teſtes ſunt omnes, qui me norant eo tempore, ut non ſemel propter nimis aſſiduum ſtudium, cum in graviſſimos morbos incidiſſem, de vitæ periculo dimicarim. After he was cur'd he wanted no leſs to be advertis'd, that he took too much pains; the love of Knowledge and of Glory entic'd him ſo much, that he did not conſider the prejudice his Health ſuffer'd by it. (*q*) *Quo quidem munere* (Oratoriam artem publicè docendi) *duos annos ita perfunctus ſum, ut (ne quid arrogantius de me dicam) nemo diligentiam aut induſtriam meam deſideraverit. Quin potius ita noctes & dies in omnium doctrinarum meditatione verſabar, ut non tantum propinqui atque neceſſarii mei, ſed etiam multi ex vobis, P. C. me ſæpiſſime reprehenderent, quod nimios magnos labores & viribus meis impares aſſumere non dubitarem. Ardebam enim (ut ingenue fatear) incredibili gloriæ cupiditate, quam in adoleſcente nequaquam eſſe vituperandam ſapientes omnes exiſtimant. Nullum igitur omnino diem eſſe patiebar, in quo non aut publice docerem, aut private mecum ipſe meditarer, & vel ſcriberem, vel declamarem: frequenter autem eodem die hæc omnia faciebam.*

(*C*) *He Publiſhed ſome Pieces in which he gave himſelf the Name.*] I can hardly reconcile his ſeveral Dates in which he pretends things to have been done. He ſays in his pleading (*a*), that being at *Ferrara*, he reſolv'd, by the Advice of his Friends, to Print ſome Treatiſes. Theſe were (*b*) ſome Harangues and the Apology of *Cicero* againſt *Calcagninus*. After they were Publiſh'd, he began to be known at *Ferrara* by the Name which he had prefix'd to them. Afterwards he return'd to *Milan*, and there reaſſum'd his firſt Profeſſion, notwithſtanding the bad Offices of his Enemies. Some time after he was accus'd of changing his Name, as will appear in the following Remark. This is not eaſily reconcil'd with the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his Anſwer to the Cenſure of *Calcagninus*; it is dated the 8th of *July* 1543, and in it he ſpeaks of himſelf, as of one that peaceably perform'd the Duty of his Profeſſion. It is not therefore true, that this Book came out of the Preſs while the Author was at *Ferrara*, whither he had retir'd when the confuſions of War interrupted his publick Lectures at *Milan*. Another Remark is this; he was born (*c*) the 26th of *October* 1514, and he was made Profeſſor of Rhetorick when he was ſcarce (*d*) Twenty Six Years old, *i. e.* in 1540. He diſcharg'd this Office for two Years (*e*), and then went to *Ferrara*, and ſo he went thither in 1542. Now he was at *Milan* in *July* 1543, and it was then he Publiſh'd his Defence of *Cicero* againſt *Calcagninus*. He is miſtaken therefore when he ſays, that this Book appear'd while the War interrupted his Prælections, and before he quitted *Ferrara* to return to *Milan*. Let us proceed. He ſtudied the Civil Law at *Ferrara*, under *Andreas Alciatus*, who did not begin his Lectures there, until the Year 1543. Therefore *Majoragius* Publiſh'd a Lye, when he ſaid, that he was admitted Profeſſor at the Age of Twenty Six Years, and that at the end of two Years he went to *Ferrara*, where he heard the Lectures of *Alciatus*. In this he is miſtaken; but ſetting aſide this Lye, it will be eaſie to remove all the other Difficulties, and to reſtore the true Date of his Journey to *Ferrara*. Since the publick Lectures ceas'd upon the account of the Army (*g*) that was come from *France* into *Piemont*, this Interruption muſt be plac'd in 1544. The Duke of *Enguien* was ſent this Year into *Italy* with a Reinforcement of Troops, and gain'd the Battle of *Cerizolles*. *Majoragius* being quiet in his Houſe in the Month of *July*, in the preceding Year, had written the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Treatiſe againſt *Calcagninus*; but before he put this Book into the Preſs, he was forc'd to go to *Ferrara*, and while he ſojourn'd there he Publiſh'd it. The ſame Date may be prov'd by ſome places of his Harangue, wherein *Majoragius* juſtifies himſelf as to the change of his Name. He obſerves that he was then Thirty Two Years of Age (*h*). He juſtified himſelf therefore in 1546. He obſerves that *Andreas Alciatus* had taught the Civil Law at *Ferrara* the laſt (*i*) Years. This is not inconſiſtent with the Year 1546. He obſerves that it was a Feat (*k*) ſince he was returned to *Milan*. He return'd therefore in the Year 1545. From whence we may conclude, that the interruption of his Lectures, and his ſtay at *Ferrara* laſted a Year, in which time he Publiſh'd ſome Harangues and the Apology for *Cicero*.

I have obſerv'd elſewhere (*l*) that the Learned are ſometimes careleſs in ſetting down the Dates of their Adventures. Here is one, who made himſelf younger than he was, when he enter'd upon publick Offices.

(*D*) *A Proceſs upon the Name he had taken.*] His Chriſtian Name was *Antony*, as was that of his Uncle by the Father's ſide (*m*). His Mother, by her particular Authority, joyn'd to it the Name of *Maria*, both upon the account of her Devotion for the Holy Virgin, and becauſe ſhe was pleas'd to hear that word. (*n*) *Boni ominis gratia—— nomini meo Mariam addidit, ut ſanctiſſimum illud divinæ matris nomen, materna quadam pietate muliebrique religione mihi additum, gratiorem ex nomine meo ſonum atque amabiliorem ad ipſius matris aures apportaret. Eam enim ſæpiſſime commemini dicere, ſe Mariæ nomine mirandum in modum ſolitam eſſe recreari.* And thus from the Cradle our *Majoragius* was call'd *Antony Maria*. His Father and his Neighbours call'd him by this Name; and by this Name he was known afterwards whereſoever he appear'd. It was therefore a ſurprize to ſee him call himſelf in the Title of his firſt Book *Mark Antony*, ſuppreſſing the true Name of the Holy Virgin which he had always bore. I wonder that this was not the principal Attack of his Accuſers, and that they did not endeavour to convict him of having done an injury to the Mother of the Son of God. The Cauſe was pleaded before the Senate of *Milan* with great Pomp. I do not know whether the pleading of his Accuſers (*o*) was made publick, but we have the Defence of the Accuſed among his Harangues. He juſtifies himſelf very eloquently, and cites a great many illuſtrious Examples of the liberty he took. He confeſs'd ſincerely the reaſon why he durſt not appear in publick under the Name of *Antony Maria*, was this, becauſe he was ſo ſcrupulous in the choice of Words, that he durſt not imploy any but what was to be found in the beſt Latin Authors. That there is no Example in the *Roman* Antiquity, where a Man was call'd *Maria*, and had at once a Maſculine and Femine Name. Upon which account he turn'd the Name *Maria* into *Marcus*, by lengthening out the laſt Syllable, and ſet it before *Antony*: For it had been an uſage unknown to ancient *Rome*, to call himſelf *Antonius Marcus*: He therefore not only lengthened out one of his Names, but alſo changed its Place. Since we have here an example of the Superſtitions of the *Ciceronian* Sect (*p*), we muſt relate the very words of this Author. (*q*) *In verborum delectu, quod C. Cæſar eloquentiæ principium eſſe dicitabat, adeo diligens, & pene dixerim ſuperſtitioſus eram, ut nullum omnino verbum, nullam verborum conjunctionem, nullam dicendi formulam admittendam mihi eſſe cenſerem, quam non apud veteres Latinos atque probatos auctores inveniſſem. Id igitur in nomine meo præ cæteris ſervandum eſſe ſtatuebam, ne, cum Latinæ linguæ candorem & elegantiam profiterer, aliquis mihi barbarum nomen & inuſitatum aliquando poſſet objicere atque eo magis, quod mihi nullo modo convenire videbatur, ut mulcbre nomen cum virili conjungerem. Quis enim apud antiquos unquam talem nominis conjunctionem vel legit, vel audivit, ut quis à viro & muliere nominaretur?* As to the Name *Majoragius* he prefer'd it to that of *Comes*, for the Reaſon I gave above (*r*). Thus inſtead of *Antonius Maria Comes*, by which Name he was call'd before he appeared as an Author, he call'd himſelf *Marcus Antonius Majoragius*, when he ſet up for one. I ſaid, that *Majoragius* had the Name of his Father, and that his Father was ſo called, becauſe he was born in the Village *Majoragio*, near to *Milan*. (*ſ*) *Julianus Comes cum innocentia atque integritate vitæ, tum officii auctoritate ſui nominis facile Princeps, mi-*

(*a*) Ibid. *p.* 198.

(*b*) Ibid. *p.* 200.

(*c*) Hankius, de rerum Roman. Scriptoribus. *l.* 1. *p.* 215.

(*d*) Majoragius ib. *p.* 198.

(*e*) Ibid

(*f*) Cum apud nos maxima eſſet belli ſuſpicio, quoniam ingentes Gallorum copiæ jam Alpes tranſcenderant, atque in Taurinis conſederant, omnes publici bonarum artium Profeſſores, ut ſit in ejuſmodi temporibus, dimiſſi ſunt, & ſtudia literarum intermiſſa *Majorag. ib. p.* 198.

(*g*) Hic eſt exactæ vitæ meæ curſus, P. C. hæc ſtudiorum meorum ratio; hoc duorum & triginta annorum, quibus hactenus vixi, ſpacium, *Majoragius, ib. p.* 201.

(*h*) *Majorag. ib. p.* 198.

(*i*) Ibid. *p.* 199.

(*k*) Ibid. *p.* 190. 213.

(*l*) *In the Article* Agrippa, *Remark C.*

(*m*) Hankius, de Romanarum rerum Scriptori *l.* 1. *p.* 213. *is miſtaken when he ſays*, In avi matterni memoriam . . . Antonius dictus eſt.

(*n*) *Majorag. ib. p.* 194. *he ſays, p.* 222. Cum præſertim Majoragii cognomentum haberem adhuc à patre hæreditarium.

(*o*) *They were call'd* Fabius Lupus, & Macrinus Niger.

(*p*) *Majoragius was a moderate Ciceronian, he did not deſpiſe the terms which* Cicero *did not make uſe of provided they were in the Writers of ancient* Rome. *See the Remark towards the end.*

(*q*) *Majorag. ib. p.* 194.

(*r*) *In the Remark A.*

[redacted] of [redacted] is [redacted] in he justifies the change of his Name.

Cause publickly and won it *. He continued to teach with great Application, which, without doubt, shorten'd his Life, for he liv'd only about forty Years and six Months. He died *April* the 4th 1555. Mr. *Moreri* has given (*E*) the Titles of some of his Books, and has committed (*F*) some little Faults. *Thuanus* (*G*) has also committed some.

Majoragius ought to be put in the (*H*) Catalogue of those who are accus'd of being Plagiaries.

MAJ[redacted]UNIANUS) a *Neapolitan* Gentleman who taught Philological Learning in *Naples*, towards the [redacted]end of the XVth Century †. Among other Scholars he had the famous (*A*) *Sannazar*. [redacted]e contributed much by his Lectures and Books to restore the Elegance (*B*) of

† See the Bibliotheca Neapoletana of Nicolo Toppi, p. 168.

* He names three Brethren, whom Defiderius Kerfti's Lombards, [redacted] Majoragius, promoted to the Dignity of a Count, and to whom he gave a great deal of Land.

fuit, P. C. qui cum Majoragium vicum habitaret, atque ita se comiter liberaliterque gereret, ut vicinis omnibus & charus haberetur; cognomen à loco sortitus est, & Majoragius appellatus. This Julian Majoragius having Married *Magdalen le Comte*, called himself *Comes*, in imitation of his Brothers in Law, who thought it improper to call themselves *de Comite*, or *de Comitibus*. Of this our *Majoragius* informs us. (*a*) *Cum hoc locutionis genus à consuetudine Latini sermonis abhorreret; primo vir eruditissimus avunculus meus, qui permultos annos Med.olani magna cum gloria publice docuit, cum elegantiæ sermonis admodum studiosus esset, non amplius se de Comitibus, ut cæteri faciebant, sed Petrum Comitem capit inscribere.... Hunc imitati sunt ejus fratres Jacobus & Aloysius, atq; etiam pater meus Julianus, qui horum sororem Magdalenam, matrem meam in matrimonio habebat.* Note, that *Julian* and his Wife (*b*) were descended from the same Ancestors.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 221.

(*b*) Idem Orat. 8. p. 141.

(*E*) *Mr.* Moreri *has given the Titles of some of his Books.*] He forgot the Harangues and Prefaces which have been Printed many times. I think that the First Edition was Printed at *Venice* in (*c*) 1582, by the care of *John Peter Ayroldus Marcellinus*. It contains twenty five Harangues, Fourteen Prefaces, and the Dialogue *de Eloquentia*. I make use of the Edition of *Leipsick*, illustrated with Marginal Notes by *Valentin Hartungus*, Professor in Physick. They durst never publish in *Italy* the (*d*) Harangue of *Majoragius* against the Covetousness of the Clergy. It is a very fine Piece, and as finely turn'd as can be. It was Publish'd at *Utrecht* in 1666, in 4°. from the M S. of Mr. *Gudius*. Mr. *Morhof* perceiving that the Copies of it grew scarce, caus'd it to be Re-printed, with the Discourse he made according to this Patern in 1692. These two Pieces are in the Collection of Harangues and Programs by Mr. *Morhoff*, Publish'd at *Hamburg* in 1698. You will find a very long Extract taken out of this Harangue of *Majoragius* in (*e*) Mr. *Seckendorf*'s History of *Lutheranism*. Mr. *Moreri* ought to have explain'd a little better the occasion of the Quarrel of *Majoragius*, with *Calcagninus*, and *Nizolius*. The Quarrel with *Calcaginnus* was in defence of the Offices of *Cicero*, against which *Calcagninus* had publish'd 25 *Disquisitions*. *Majoragius* refuted them all by so many Decisions; which is the Title he gave to his Answers Publish'd in 1543. *James Grisolus* refuted also the *Disquisitions* of *Calcagninus*. These three Pieces, I mean the Censure of *Calcagninus*, and the Answers of *Majoragius* and *Grisolus* were Publish'd together in 8°. in the XVIth. Century. Mr *Grævius* has inserted all this in his excellent Edition of *Cicero*'s Offices. *Nizolius* fell out with *Majoragius* through the Jealousie of his Profession: He came by the worst, because few Learned Men approved his being a riged *Ciceronian*. (*f*) *Hunc Tullianæ elucubrationis genium cum inter cæteros ejus ætatis præferret etiam Marius Nizolius Brixellensis, orta est inter utrumque de primæ laudis acquisitione contentio. multa utrinque de primæ laudis acquisitione contentio. multa utrinque scripta, sive publicè objectantem, ac sua vicissim scripta carpentem: in quo tamen Nizolio adeò accrescens tulit eruditorum judicia, quod Jubacei & tetrica superstitionis, in tanta latinorum proceritate ne hirsutum quidem à Ciceronis formulis recedendum arbitraretur. Sua igitur non inepte tutatus placita Majoragius perdocte ac industrii ingenii nomen emeruit.* We must not forget that *Gaudentius Merula* is to be reckon'd among the Adversaries of *Majoragius*, who accuses him of being a great Plagiary (*g*)

(*c*) Seckendorf, Hist. Luther, *l.* 3. *p.* 342. *&c.*

(*f*) Joh. Imperialis in Musæo Hist. p. 126.

(*F*) *Mr.* Moreri *has committed some little Faults.*] I. He should not have said, that *Majoragius* was a Native of a Castle of the same; for *Majoragio* was only a Village. If any one shall say, that this does not hinder but there might be a Castle in that Village, I will confess it; but then I will add, that *Majoragius* was not born in a Castle; and this I [redacted] from these words. (*b*) *Amplectitur, [illegible]*

(*g*) In Apologia, p. 28. apud Almeloveni in Plagiariorum syllabo p 27.

(*b*) Majoragius Orat 10. p. 220.

(*i*) *illis natu maximus erat, Majoragium vicum extruxit, atque in eo turrim, cujus adhuc in domo mea paterna, post septingentos atque amplius annos, quædam exstant vestigia atque fundamenta; hæc rejici generis auctor fuit.* Would *Majoragius* have talk'd thus of his paternal Seat, if it had been the Castle of the Place; add to this, that he confesses his Father was (*k*) very poor; but not that he was a Domestick of the Lord of the Village. II It was not he but his Father, who from the Village *Majorago*, where he dwelt, took the Name of *Majoragius*. See the Remark *D*. III 'Tis not true, that his Name was *Mark Antony Maria*. IV. Nor that he taught at *Ferrara*.

(*k*) Licet in tenuissimæ familiari versaretur re. *Majoragius* p. 230.

(*G*) *Thuanus also has committed some Faults.*] I. He should not say, that (*l*) *Majoragius was called from his Name from a Town where his Father dwelt.* I have already shown that his Father was call'd *Majoragius*. II. His Epitaph in the *Nefasum* of *Imperialis* says, that he taught for the space of fourteen Years; but in the *Theatre* of *Ghilini*, it says, that he taught only nine Years. *Thuanus* in Mr *Teissier*, makes the Professor's place of *Majoragius* to [redacted] at the end of eight Years, and supposes that he quitted it to *apply himself entirely to the Study of Divinity*. My Edition of *Thuanus* says, that *Majoragius* did not begin this Study till he had spent Thirteen Years in instructing Youth III He says in the same Mr *Teissier*, that *Majoragius* liv'd Forty two Years. The Latin Edition does not allow him but Forty, tho' the truth is, he did live Forty Years, and near Six Months.

(*l*) *I make use of the same Edition that Mr Teissier also, Addit. to the Eloges*, Tom. 2. p. 1. *Lat.* 1696. *The Latins call it*, A Majoragio vico in quo ejus pater, habitabat, ita vocatus [illegible] 1. 1. 6. (*m*) Natalis Comes, Mythol. l. 9. c. 5. p. 959.

(*H*) *In the Catalogue of those who are accus'd of being Plagiaries.*] *Natalis Comes* affirms, that he heard some Learn'd *Florentines* say, that *Majoragius* being indebted to *Peter Victorius* for his Illustrations upon *Aristotle*'s Rhetorick, had not the Gratitude to own it, but adorn'd himself with stollen Goods. (*m*) *Qui locus* (Aristotelis in 3 libro Rhetoricorum) *cum ante nostram ætatem legeretur depravatus, Petri Victorii patricii Florentini ac doctissimi clarissimi ingenio est integritati restitutus ut nobis, cum essem Florentiæ, multis rationibus probarim: quidam eximiæ integritatis & eruditionis, atque ut puto Vincentius Borgfma, vir omnium quos unquam novi, multiplici rerum cognitione præstantissimus. Hoc magnum scelus autoritate commotus non potui non summopere improbare M. Antonii cujusdam Majoragii nescio impudentiam ne appellem, an exquisitam ambitionem qui omnia explicationes propè Aristotelicæ artis ipsis Victorii scriptis acceptas, ut ex iisdem locis illustrissimus cognovi, ex hac emendatione elatus, mox alacer in Victorium ipsum non semel insultavit, & per hujus loci correctionem cæteros omnes clarissimos suæ ætatis reprehendit: atque in primis Hermolaum Barbarum virum præstantissimum.*

(*n*) *He had amongst other Scholars* —— Sannazar.] This appears by the 7th. Elegy of the 2d Book of *Sannazar*, dedicated *ad Jurianum Majum præceptorem*. I shall cite hereafter a long Passage out of it

B To restore the Elegancy of the Latin Tongue.] This is the Commendation that *Sabellicus* gave him *Subjacet his aliquis*, says he, (*n*) *haud omnino vulgaris Turtelorum Aretinum & Jurianum Parthenopæum. Uterque illi industria utrique sua, nec multum inter se diversa verborum utriusque linguæ copiam [illegible]* Published a Book at *Naples* in 1476, *de præstantia verborum*, which was Re-printed in the same City in 149[redacted]. The Second Edition is full (*o*) of Faults occasion'd by the negligence of the Printer: but he praises very much the Printer of the first The words he uses will please the curious; for they acquaint us with the Name of him who first began to practice Printing in that Country. (*p*) *Addit ad hæc quod Germani solerti ac incredibili quodam ingenio usque novam quandam impressionis rationem invenerint, præsertim Matthias Moravus cujus nomen ingens & immortalis elegantia in hac scientia effecit [illegible] Impressorio Blasii Moravi Ramensis*

(*n*) Nicolo Toppi Bibl. Napoletana p 168

(*p*) Janus Majus, Epistola dedicatoria ad Pagem Ferdinandum, apud Nicodemum Addizioni alla Biblioteca Napoletana di Nicolo Toppi p 144

of the *Latine* Tongue, but he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf much more by expounding Dreams (*C*). He was the great *Onirocritick* of his Age; and People flock'd to him from all Parts, to know what ſuch and ſuch Dreams preſag'd. Many pretended that his Anſwers to them were very uſeful. This is not unworthy (*D*) of Reflection.

MAKOWSKI

(1) L. de divinat. c. 24. & l. de inſomniis per decem capita. (2) De quo Alex. ab Alexan. l. 1. c. 11.

merii viri ſacris literis inſtituti ac ſanctis moribus probati, hac noſtra urbe excepiſſe gratulamur, &c. Some believe that *Volaterran* ſpeaks of our *Majus* in the words which follow: (*q*) *Chalcidius Græcorum non erat ignarus, nec imperitus Grammaticus, attamen infans & abſque genio. Dictionibus in primis invigilabat, lexiconque condiderat quod obitu ipſius ſuperveniente Jovinianus ejus diſcipulus ſibi vindicavit.* This *Chalcidius* taught at *Rome*. *Majus* would deſerve a place among the Plagiaries, if *Volaterran* ſpoke of him. On the other ſide, *Calepin* learn'd much from the Book of *Majus*, as *Toppi* remarks. (*r*) *Dicde alla luce un libro della proprietà delle parole antiche, del quale ſe n'è ſervito Ambroſio Calepino aſſai bene.*

(*q*) Volaterranus, *l.* 21. *p m* 776.

(*r*) Nicolo Toppi ubi ſupra.

(*C*) *By expounding Dreams.*] *Alexander ab Alexandro*, who had been his Scholar, ſays wonderful things of his knowledge in theſe Matters. Every Morning the Houſe of *Majus* was full of People, who came to tell him their Dreams, that they might learn from him the Interpretation of them; and among them there were ſome Perſons of Quality. He anſwer'd them not as the greateſt part of others do, in dark Speeches, and a few Words, but clearly and largely. Many Perſons by following his Advice, ſecur'd themſelves from Death, and prevented ſometimes very great Troubles. We may ſee this ſet forth at large if we conſult the *Latin* of *Alexander ab Alexandro*. *Junianus Majus*, ſays he, (*a*), *conterraneus meus, vir bene literatus, in exquirendo adnotandiſque verborum & ſententiarum viribus, multi ſtudii fuit: & præterquam quod in erudiendis juvenculorum animis, imbuendiſque doctrina pueris, caſtigatiſſimæ diſciplinæ, ſomniorum quoque omnis generis ita verus conjector fuit, ut ipſius reſponſa, divina fere monita haberentur. Ad eum meminî, cum puer adhuc eſſem, & ad capiendum ingenii cultum frequens apud eum ventitarem, quotidie ſomniantium turbam, hominesque celebri fama & multi nominis, de ſomniis conſultum veniſſe. Declarabat definiebatque ille, non breviter aut ſubobſcure, ut plerique, ſed expoſite atque aperte ænigmata ſomniorum, ſive boni, ſive mali prænuncia: ita apte, ut judicium factum à veridico diceres. Multi quoque illius monitu, vitæ interitum, nonnunquam animi ægritudines vitarunt. Sannazar*, another Scholar of this Interpreter of Dreams, found it happy both for himſelf and for his Miſtreſs, that he had recourſe to ſuch an Oracle. He extols him to the Skies, and prefers him before all the *Augurs*. Let us remember that he writes like a Poet; and therefore there is no neceſſity that we ſhould give credit to his words without making ſome abatement. However let us hear what he ſays.

(*a*) Alexander ab Alexandro Geniald. dierum *l.* 1. *c.* 11. *p.* 81. 82.

At (*b*) *tibi venturos, Mai, prædicere caſus*
Fas eſt, & nitet conſuluiſſe Deos.
Nec tantum aut aeræ fumos, aut nuntia ſentis
Fulgura, ſed Stygia ſomnia miſſa loco,
Somnia quæ miſeram perturbant ſæpe quietem,
Dum mens incerta pendet imaginibus.
O quoties per te vanum poſuiſſe timorem
Me memini, & lætos continuaſſe dies.
O quoties, trepidus cum non ſpernenda putarem,
In noſtrum cavi damna futura caput.
Sæpe meæ tibi cum narraſſem viſa puellæ,
Dixiſti, certos haud procul eſſe metus.
Sæpe illam madidos luſtrare in flumine crines
Juſſiſti, & miſto ſolvere ſava ſale.
Quod ſi olim terris talem te fata dediſſent,
Sprevi ſſet Teutſcos Martia Roma viros.
Nam ſi quis melius calidas deprendere fibras,
Conſulere aeriæ aut potuiſſet aves?
Ille triumphatum &c.

(*b*) Sannazar. eleg. 7. *l.* 2. *p* 96. edit. Amſtel 1689.

Martin del Rio, who is otherwiſe ſo credulous and ſo little wont to reject fooliſh Fancies, ſpeaks of *Majus* in another tone, and treats him with the laſt degree of Contempt. (*c*) *Cæterorum onirocriticorum veterum, non magna reipub. jactura omnes libri interierunt, præter unum Artemidorum Daldianum, delirum ſanè, aut libros quinque cuncta ab aliis tradita complexum. Brevior eſt Aſtrampſychus Græcè & Latinè in lucem editus: ſed æque nugax ut & alius ille Arabs, qui Græcè barbarizans una cum Artemidoro in lucem prodiit in Gallia. Hodiè in pretio habent Apomaſaris Arabica Apoteleſmata, ex recentioribus Contra. Wimpina, vellem ne tam multa ſine antidoto congeſſiſſet* (1). *Avorum quoque memoria, hanc in Italia vaniſſimè profitebatur artem Junianus Majus* (2): *cujus extant epiſtolæ & libelli quidam Grammatici.*

(*c*) Mart. Del Rio Diſquiſit. Magicar. *l* 4. *c.* 3. *quæſt.* 6. *p. m.* 278.

(*D*) *This is not unworthy of Reflection.*] It were to be wiſh'd for the welfare and eaſe of an infinite number of People, that Dreams had never been mention'd as a thing that fore-tells future Events; for thoſe People who are once poſſeſs'd with this Fancy, imagine, that the greateſt part of the Images that paſs through their Minds in their Sleep, are ſo many Predictions which very often threaten them with future Evils: From whence ariſe a Thouſand uneaſie Thoughts; and where there is one Man that is not ſubject to this Weakneſs, there are a Thouſand that are not able to free themſelves from it. I think we may ſay of Dreams the ſame almoſt as of Inchantments, that they are far leſs myſterious than People believe, and ſomewhat more than the Unbelievers Fancy. The Hiſtories of all Times and Places relate, both with reſpect to Dreams and Magick, ſo many ſurpriſing things, that thoſe who obſtinately deny them all, render themſelves ſuſpected either of want of Sincerity or Judgment to diſcern the force of the Proofs. A violent Prejudice, or a certain turn of the Mind, blinds their Underſtanding, when they compare the Reaſons *Pro* and *Con*. I have known ſome Men of Parts who deny'd all preſages from Dreams upon this Principle, *viz.* None but God, ſaid they, knows things to come, *i. e.* ſuch as are call'd Contingent: But Dreams are ſuppos'd to be Preſages, which moſt times foretel contingent Futurities; God therefore muſt be the Author of thoſe Dreams, and then he muſt produce them by a Miracle, and ſo in all the Countries of the World, he muſt work an infinite number of Miracles, which are no wiſe agreeable to the Character either of his infinite Greatneſs or Sovereign Wiſdom. Theſe Gentlemen urge very much, that the moſt myſtical Dreams are as common among *Pagans* and *Mahometans*, as among the followers of the true Religion. In effect, read *Plutarch*, and the other *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtorians; read the Books of *Arabians* and *Chineſe*, and you will find in them as many Examples of miraculous Dreams as in the Bible, or in Chriſtian Hiſtories. It muſt be confeſs'd that this Objection is of great force, and ſeems to bring us neceſſarily to another Syſtem, *viz.* That which attributes theſe ſort of Dreams, not to God as the immediate Cauſe, but to certain Intelligences, who under the Direction of God, have a great ſhare in the Government of Man. It may be ſuppos'd, according to the Doctrine of occaſional Cauſes, that there are general Laws which ſubject a great number of Effects to the Deſires of ſuch and ſuch Intelligences, as there are general Laws, which ſubject to the Deſires of Men the motion of certain Bodies. This Suppoſition is not only agreeable to an Opinion which was very common among the *Pagans*, but alſo to the Doctrine of the Scripture, and to that of the ancient Fathers (*d*). The *Pagans* acknowledg'd many inferior Gods, who preſided over particular Things, and they pretended alſo, that each Man has a Genius that governs him. The *Roman* Catholicks pretend, that the Doctrine of an Angel-Guardian, and of an Angel that preſides over a whole Country, a City, or a Province, is founded upon the Scripture. If you once lay it down for a Truth, that God has thought fit to appoint certain Spirits as the occaſional Cauſe of Man's Conduct, with reſpect to certain Events, then all the Difficulties that are objected againſt Dreams vaniſh away. We muſt no more wonder, that we do not find a Character of Greatneſs or Gravity (*e*) in the Images, which advertiſe us in Dreams. Tho' they be confus'd or childiſh, and tho' they vary according to Times and Places, and according to the Temper of Mens Bodies, this ought not to ſurprize thoſe who know the narrow bounds of Creatures, and the Obſtacles which occaſional Cauſes, of different kinds, muſt needs reciprocally raiſe againſt one another? Do not we find

A REFLECTION on Dreams.

(*d*) *According to the Theology of St.* Auſtin *which includes, as* F. Thomaſin *teaches, the ancient Tradition of all Men, nothing is done in the World but by Angels or by Demons, or by the Sentiments which God imprints in the Minds of Men.* Arnaud againſt the Syſtem of Malebr. *t.* 1 *p.* 191

(*e*) *There are ſome Dreams that are meer Reveries of* Picardy, *like that which* Brantome *ſpeaks of, which foretold to* Margaret *of* Auſtria, *being deſign'd to marry* Charles VIII. *that* Anne *of* Bretagne *ſhould take from her the Crown of* France *She dreamed, that as ſhe was walking in a Garden, an Aſs came to her and took away the Noſegay ſhe held in her Hand.*

MACOWSKI (John) in *Latin Maccovius*, a *Poliſh* Gentlemam, and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Franeker*, was Born at *Lobzenic* in the Year 1588. He began his Studies ſomewhat late, but he repair'd this ſlowneſs by his great Application and natural Sharpneſs of Wit. He ſtudied *Latin*, and his Courſe of Philoſophy at *Dantzick*, under the famous *Keckerman*; and he improv'd himſelf ſo conſiderably, that he glorioufly excell'd his School-Fellows, and particularly in Diſpute; and when he return'd to his Father's Houſe, he was made Governor to ſome young Gentlemen*. He Travell'd with them, and

* They were called Sieninski.

find by Experience every Day, that our Soul and our Body do mutually hinder one another in thoſe Operations that are peculiar to them? An Intelligence that ſhould act both upon our Body and our Mind, muſt needs find divers Obſtacles in the Laws, which eſtabliſh theſe two Principles (*f*), as the occaſional Cauſe of certain Effects. But whence comes it, may ſome ask, that theſe inviſible *Genii* do not make uſe of a fitter Time? Why do they not advertiſe Men of Things future while they are awake? Why do they wait till they are aſleep? (*g*) *Illud etiam requiro, cur, ſi deus iſta viſa nobis providendi cauſa dat, non vigilantibus potius dormientibus? Sive enim externus, & adventitius pulſus animos dormientium commovet, ſive per ſe ipſi animi moventur, ſive quæ cauſa alia eſt, cur ſecundum quietem aliquid videre, audire, agere videamur, eadem cauſa vigilantibus eſſe poterat: idque ſi noſtra cauſa dii ſecundum quietem facerent, vigilantibus idem facerent; præſertim cùm Chryſippus, Academicos refellens, permulta clariora, & certiora eſſe dicat, quæ vigilantibus videantur, quam quæ somnientibus. Fuit igitur divina beneficentia dignius, cùm conſuleret nobis, clariora viſa dare vigilantibus, quàm obſcuriora per ſomnium: quod quoniam non fit, ſomnia divina putanda non ſunt. Jam vero quid opus eſt circuitione, & amfractu, ut ſit utendum interpretibus ſomniorum potius, quam directo? Deus ſi quidem nobis conſulebat.* Hoc facito, Hoc ne feceris, *diceret? idque viſum vigilanti potius, quàm dormienti daret?* Why do they communicate their Predictions to People of weak Minds, rather than to thoſe of ſtronger Heads? 'Tis eaſily anſwer'd, that thoſe who wake are not proper to be thus advertiſed; for then they conſider themſelves as the Cauſe, of every thing that preſents its ſelf to their Imagination, and clearly diſtinguiſh between what they imagine, and what they ſee. But when they are aſleep, they put no difference between their Imaginations and Senſations; all the Objects which they fancy appear to them to be preſent, and they cannot retain exactly the coherence of their Images: And ſo they cannot perſuade themſelves, that they are connected one with another by themſelves; from whence they conclude, that ſome of them proceed from other Cauſes, and were inſpir'd into them by ſome Spirit that would advertiſe them of ſomething. Can it be deny'd that an Engine is more fit to play when ſome of its parts are at reſt, than when they are not? Let us ſay the ſame of our Brain. 'Tis more eaſie to direct in it certain motions for exciting preſaging Imaginations, when the Eyes, and other external Senſes, are lock'd up, than when they are in Action. Do we know how the effects of Sickneſs or Madneſs make things more eaſie to the Authors of Dreams? Can we doubt but the Laws of Motion, according to which our Organs are mov'd, and which are only to a certain degree ſubject to the deſires of created Spirits, do trouble and confound the Images, which the Author of a Dream would render more diſtinct? *Cicero* ſeems to triumph upon pretence that theſe Images are obſcure and intricate (*h*) *Jam vero quid opus eſt circuitione, & amfractu, ut ſit utendum interpretibus ſomniorum potius, quam directo?——(i) Venit in contentionem, ſit probabile.ne, deoſne immortales, rerum omnium præſtantia excellentes, concurſare omnium mortalium, qui ubique ſunt, non modo lectos, verum etiam gravatos, & cum ſtertentes aliquos viderunt, objicere his quædam tortuoſa, & obſcura, quæ illi exſtergefacti ſomnio ad conjectorem manè deferant. an natura fieri, ut mobiliter animus agitatus, quod vigilans viderit, dormiens videre videatur.* But to this it may be anſwer'd, that every Creature is limited and imperfect: There may therefore be Irregularities, and even ſome Oddneſs, according to our way of judging, in the Effects which are directed by the Deſires of a created Spirit. This may ſerve us for an Anſwer to ſome Objections, which the Wits alſo make to thoſe who talk to them about the exiſtence of Magick. In fine, I ſay, that the knowledge of things future is not ſo great as is imagin'd, in ſuppoſing that there are Dreams of Divination. For if we examine the common Relations and popular Tradition, moſt of theſe Dreams inform us only of ſuch things as happen in other Countries, or ſuch as quickly come to paſs. A Man Dreams of the Death of a Friend or a Relation, and 'tis found, ſay they, that this Friend or Relation died 50 Leagues off at the time of this Dream. To reveal ſuch a Thing as this, does not imply the knowledge of things to come. Others Dream of I know not what, that threatens them with ſome Misfortune, as with Death if you pleaſe. The Genius, who is the Author of this Dream, may know the Plots and Devices which are framing againſt them; it may ſee in the State of the Blood, a near Diſpoſition to an Apoplexy, a Pleuriſy, or ſome other mortal Diſeaſe. But this is not to know things future which are call'd contingent. But ſome may ſay, there are private Perſons who have Dream'd that they ſhould Reign, and they did not Reign till 20 or 30 Years after. I anſwer that their Genius being of a very high Order, Active and Wiſe, had a mind to promote them to a Throne, he (*d*) was reſolv'd to take hold of every opportunity, and did not doubt of a good Succeſs, and from theſe conjectures, which were almoſt certain, he imparted the Dream. Men would do as much proportionably to their Ability.

I do not produce theſe things for Proofs, or ſtrong Reaſons, but only as Anſwers to the Difficulties which are propos'd againſt the common Opinion: And it muſt alſo be conſider'd that I confine my ſelf within the Bounds of natural Light; for I ſuppoſe the Diſputants would not make uſe of the Authority of Scripture. I deſire alſo that it may be obſerv'd, that thoſe who maintain there are Dreams of Divination, need do no more, but Enervate the Objections of their Adverſaries; for they have an infinite number of Facts to alledge for their Opinion, and ſo have thoſe alſo who maintain that there is ſuch a thing as Magick. And this being ſo, it is ſufficient for them that they can anſwer Objections; but it belongs to them who deny theſe Facts, to prove that they are impoſſible, and without this they will never win the Cauſe. I ought alſo to take notice that I do not pretend to excuſe the Ancient *Pagans*, either as to the care they took to relate ſo many Dreams in their Hiſtories, or as to the Proceedings that were conſequent upon certain Dreams. Sometimes they had no other Foundation for (*e*) appointing certain Ceremonies, or for condemning the accuſed. (*f*) *Quum ex æde Herculis patera aurea gravis ſurrepta eſſet, in ſomnis vidit* (Sophocles) *ipſum deum dicentem, qui id ſeciſſet. Quod ſemel ille, iterumque neglexit, ubi idem ſæpius, aſcendit in Areopagum: detulit rem. Areopagitæ comprehendi jubent eum, qui a Sophocle erat nominatus. Is, quæſtione adhibita, confeſſus eſt, pateramque retulit. Quo facto, ſanum illud Indicis Herculis nominatum eſt.* One may juſtly laugh at the Weakneſs of *Auguſtus* (*g*), and much more at the Law (*h*), which enjoyn'd all private Perſons in certain Countries, who had dream'd any thing concerning the Republick, to declare it openly, either by ſetting up a publick Advertiſement, or by a Cryer, and excepting ſome particular Dreams, we may ſay of all the reſt what we read in *Petronius*: (*i*) *Hinc ſatis Epicurum hominem eſſe divinum, qui ejuſmodi ludibria facetiſſimâ ratione condemnat.*

Somnia, quæ mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris.
Non delubra Deum, nec ab æthere numina mittunt;
Sed ſibi quiſque facit. Nam cum proſtrata ſopore
Urget membra quies, & mens ſine pondere ludit.
Quidquid luce fecit, tenebris agit. Oppida bello
Qui quatit, & flammis miſerandas ſævit in urbes, &c.

And I continue in the ſame Opinion which I have declar'd elſewhere (*k*), that there is no employment

(*f*) *viz. the humane Body and the humane Soul.*

(*g*) Cicero de divinat. *l.* 2. *fol. m.* 332. *A.*

(*h*) Cicero *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Id ib.

(*d*) *See the Remark D. in the Article of the* Cimmes.

(*e*) *See* Cicero de divinat *l.* 1 *fol m.* 311. *A*

(*f*) Id. ib *fol.* 308 *B*

(*g*) Somnia neque ſua neque aliena de ſe negligebat *Sueton in Auguſto, c.* 91

(*h*) *See* Caſaubon *upon* Suetonius *in* Aug *c.* 91 *who cites* Artemidorus, *l.* 1 *c.* 2

(*i*) Petronius, p. 178 edit Roterod 1693

(*k*) *In the Article* Artemidorus, *Remark B &c.*

and upon all occaſions improv'd his Talent of Diſputing (*A*) as well againſt the Jeſuites as the Socinians. He ſaw the moſt flouriſhing Academies of *Germany*, *viz.* of *Prague*, *Heidelberg*, *Marpurg*, *Leipſick*, *Wittemberg*, and *Jena*, and then he came to *Franeker*, where he took the Degree of Dr. of Divinity, *March* the 8th 1614. He gave ſo great Proofs of his Wit and Learning, that the Curators of the Academy reſolv'd to detain him, and for that end they made him Profeſſor extraordinary of Divinity, *April* the firſt 1615, and Profeſſor in ordinary the next Year. He diſcharg'd the Office for almoſt Thirty Years, *i. e.* until his Death, which happen'd towards the end † of the Month of *June*, 1644. He Married three Wives, whoſe Families may be ſeen, if any one deſires it, in the Funeral Oration, which furniſh'd me with this Article. *Cocceius* his Collegue, who ſpoke it, informs us, that *Maccovius* maintain'd, with great Zeal, and even with too much heat, the Good Cauſe againſt the *Arminians*, which was to him a Source of bitter Misfortunes (*B*): Theſe are the common Conſequences of this kind of Temper. He had ſome Affairs (*C*) in the Synod of *Dort*. We ſhall hereafter ſhow the Titles of the greateſt

(†) *The* Diarium biographicum *of the Sieur* Witte *places it on the* 24*th of* July, *which cannot be, ſince the Funeral Oration was ſpoken the* 2*d. of* July. Maccovius *was dead eight Days before*, die Lunæ ante octiduum, *ſays*, Cocceius *in the Funeral Oration of* Maccovius

ment more frivolous and ridiculous than that of the Onirocriticks. If we would compare, with what happens to us, an infinite number of Imaginations that ariſe in our Minds, when being awake we abandon our ſelves to all the Objects that offer themſelves, we might find in them as much relation to our Adventures, as in any Dreams, which we look upon as Preſages But ſome will ſay, we do not only ſee in a Dream the Objects, but we hear them tell ſuch things, as we never heard when we were awake, and conſequently whereof we could have no Footſtep in the Brain. We believe ſometimes that we ſee in a Dream a new Book, which we had never heard of before, and we read the Title, Preface, and a hundred other Things in it. This reaſon is of no Force Don't we do all this while we are awake? Do not we repreſent to our ſelves ſuch an one, and ſuch another, who tell us a hundred Things, which we our ſelves do frame? Cannot we imagine, if we pleaſe, that ſuch a one has juſt now publiſh'd ſuch a Book, which contains ſuch and ſuch Things? And ſo this pretended great Reaſon is of no Weight; but I believe at the ſame time, that we cannot doubt of certain Dreams which are mentioned by Authors, neither can we explain them by natural Cauſes, I mean without acknowledging an Inſpiration or a Revelation of them. See *Valerius Maximus* (*l*), and the Letters of *Grotius* (*m*). As to the Objections of *Cicero*, which are indeed very ſtrong, and almoſt unanſwerable, they are of no ſtrength but upon the Suppoſition that God himſelf (*n*) is the immediate Author of our Dreams. *Primum igitur*, ſays he, (*o*) *intelligendum eſt, nullam vim eſſe divinam effectricem ſomniorum. Atque illud quidem perſpicuum eſt, nulla viſa ſomniorum proficiſci à numine deorum. Noſtra enim cauſa dii id facerent, ut providere futura poſſemus. Quotus igitur eſt quiſque, qui ſomniis pareat? qui intelligat? qui meminerit? quàm multi vero, qui contemnant; eamque ſuperſtitionem imbecilli animi, atque anilis putent? Quid eſt igitur, cur his hominibus conſulat deus, ſomniis moneat eos, qui illa non modo cura, ſed ne memoria quidem digna ducant? nec enim ignorare deus poteſt, qua mente quiſque ſit: nec fruſtrà, ac ſine cauſa quid faceret, dignum deo eſt: quod abhorret etiam ab hominis conſtantia. Ita ſi pleraque ſomnia aut ignorantur, aut negliguntur; aut neſcit hoc deus, aut fruſtra ſomniorum ſignificationem tuitur. Sed horum neutrum in deum cadit. Nihil igitur à deo ſomniis ſignificari fatendum eſt* This is his firſt Reaſon. We have already ſeen the ſecond above. Here follows the third. (*q*) *Jam verò quis dicere audeat, vera omnia eſſe ſomnia?* Aliquot ſomnia vera, *ſays* Ennius, ſed omnia non eſt neceſſe. *Quæ eſt tandem iſta diſtinctio? quæ vera, quæ falſa habet? & ſi vera à deo mittuntur, falſa unde naſcuntur? nam ſi ea quoque divina, quid inconſtantius deo? quid inſcitius autem eſt, quàm mentes mortalium falſis, & mendacibus viſis concitare? ſin vera viſa divina ſunt: falſa autem, & inania, humana: quæ eſt iſta deſignandi licentia, ut hoc deus, hoc natura fecerit potius, quàm aut omnia deus, aut nihil, aut omnia natura?* He propoſes a fourth, founded upon the Obſcurity of Dreams, which has been already conſider'd; but let us conſider it a little better. There is no body, ſays he, who has ſufficient capacity to expound Dreams aright; if therefore the Gods ſpeak to us in this way, they will be like the *Carthaginians*, who ſhould harangue the Senate of *Rome* in their own Language, and bring no Interpreter with them. (*b*) *Videtigitur, ne etiam ſi divinationem tibi eſſe conceſſero, quod numquam faciam, neminem tamen divinum reperire poſſimus. Qualis autem iſta mens eſt deorum, ſi neque ea nobis ſignificant in ſomniis, quæ ipſi per nos intelligamus: neque ea, quorum interpretes habere poſſimus? ſimiles enim ſunt dii, ſi ea nobis objiciunt, quorum nec ſcientiam, neque explanatorem habeamus, tanquam ſi Parni, aut Hiſpani in ſenatu noſtro loquerentur ſine interprete. Jam verò quò pertinent obſcuritates, & ænigmata ſomniorum? intelligi enim à nobis dii velle debebant ea, quæ noſtra cauſa nos monerent.*

(*A*) *He improv'd his Talent of Diſputing.*] At *Prague* he attack'd the Jeſuits in one Diſpute; at *Lublin* he entred the Liſts with the Socinians; and when he was at *Heidelberg* he went to *Spire* on purpoſe to Diſpute with the Jeſuits, in the room of *Bertholomew Coppenius*, whom they had Chalenng'd to a Combate, and who could never obtain leave of the Elector *Palatine* to appear there (*c*).

(*B*) *Which was to him a Source of bitter Misfortunes.*] *Cocceius* (*d*) having ſaid that *Maccovius* was not a Dog that could not bark during the Troubles of the Church, but that he fought valiantly for the Truth of Grace, adds, "That theſe ſort "of Wars being wont to produce evil Suſpicions, "Enmities and Diſcords, upon the Account of "humane Infirmity; we muſt not think it "ſtrange that the Infirmity of the Fleſh made "*Maccovius* drink deep of this bitter Cup. Hot "Spirits, adds he, have this Fault, that altho' "they defend a good Cauſe, they appear ſome-"times to be tranſported with Paſſion. It hap-"pens to them as to good Dogs (ſuffer me ſo "far to enlarge a Compariſon borrow'd from "Scripture) who while they keep their Ma-"ſter's Houſe, Bark againſt all Strangers, tho' "they may be the greateſt Friends of the Houſe. "Thus the Defenders of the Truth, whom the "Prophet *Iſaiah* commands to bark aloud, (as being "the great Dogs that keep the Flock) while they "are employ'd againſt the Enemy, and think of "nothing but the Combat, are often ſo heedleſs "in what they do, that they do very inde-"cently uſe harſh and bitter words againſt the "Innocent". After this he makes uſe of the Compariſon of Mariners, who in a violent Storm Murmur and Complain of one another, tho' the general aim of them all is to ſave the Veſſel. This was ſufficient to declare what was the Fate of *Maccovius*. He had raſhly laid about the Heterodox, and Orthodox, and at laſt he in his turn was ſtruck at by both of them. Theſe are the Fruits of Diſputing: Stout Dogs fanſie they ſee every where the Wolf, as often as they meet with any one that does not agree with them in all their Hypotheſes; and if they find a Brother who departs from them, they leave the Common Enemy, and run upon that Fellow-worker, as upon a Traytor (*g*). They tell them their own; *hinc illæ lacrymæ!* Conſider theſe Words of one of the Fathers of the Synod of *Dort*. (*h*) *Qui revera primo quoque auditu videbantur, exceptis uno aut altero, non fuiſſe tanti momenti, ut homo doctus de illis coram Synodo accuſaretur: complurimi ipſorum evant ex iſta receptiſſima diſtinctione agentis phyſice & moraliter ab accuſatore male intellecta*

(*C*) *He had ſome Affairs in the Synod of* Dort.] They read in the hundred thirty Eight Seſſion, the Petition

(*b*) Cicero, ibid. B.

(*c*) *Taken from* Coccejus, Orat. funeb. Maccovii.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*f*) cap. 56.

(*g*) *That it might appear that I do not enlarge upon the Thoughts of* Cocceius, *I would have plac'd them here in Latin, but I could not find again the Funeral Oration.*

(*h*) G. Balcanqualius apud epiſt. Eccleſ. & Theolog. p. 73 col. 1 edit. in fol. 1684.

(*l*) Valer Maximus lib 1 c 7.

(*m*) Grotius epiſt 405 part. 2

(*n*) *It was the ſuppoſition of the Stoicks, whence it comes to paſs that* Cotta *in* Cicero de nat Deor. l 3. ſub fin. *ſpeaks thus to them,* Quomodo idem dicitis non omnia Deos perſequi, idem vultis à Dijs immortalibus hominibus diſpartiri ac dividi ſomnia?

(*o*) Cicero de divinat ubi ſupra, fol. 321. D

(*q*) Cicero, ibid. fol. 322. A.

greateſt Part (*D*) of his printed Writings. I paſs over thoſe which were found among his Papers and were never publiſh'd. He was accus'd (*Da*) of Plagiariſm.

MALDONAT (JOHN) a Prieſt of *Burgos* in *Caſtile* flouriſh'd about the Year 1550. He wrote good Latin, and publiſh'd a piece to recommend the Study of Polite Learning, *præneſin ad litteras politiores*. His Abridgment of the Lives of the Saints was printed many times *. We ſhall ſee (*Z*) whether he had reaſon to boaſt ſo much of his Correction of the Brevary.

* *Taken from Andrew Schottus Bibl. Hiſp. pag.* 350. 351.

MAL-

Petition which he preſented to the Aſſembly; he complain'd of being accus'd of Hereſy before the States of *Frizeland*, by his Collegue *Sibrandus Lubbertus*, and he moſt humbly pray'd the Synod that they would determine this Difference, or permit the accuſer and himſelf to chooſe Commiſſioners in this Aſſembly, who ſhould inform themſelves of the Matter of Fact, and give an Account of it to this Aſſembly. *Lubbertus* being ask'd about this Matter, deny'd that he had accus'd him, and maintain'd that he was only the Mouth of the *Claſſis* of *Franeker*, who were the true accuſers of *Maccovius*, and ſo he would not own himſelf for a Party in this Suit. It was order'd that the Acts ſhould be read, that were come from *Frizeland* about this Affair. They were read in the hundred and fortieth Seſſion, and there were found in them fifty Errors, whereof *Maccovius* was accus'd, which (*i*) appear'd all of them to be of ſmall importance, and were founded upon the bad Senſe which the Accuſer put upon the Words of the Accuſed. Two Apologies of *Maccovius* were read, and ſome Deputies that were Foreigners ſaid, that the whole Accuſation might have been reduc'd to four Heads, and that the Crime of Hereſy, imputed to *Maccovius*, did no wiſe appear. *Quidam ex Exteris Theologis dicebant, potuiſſe illos quinquaginta errores, ad quinque vel etiam quatuor reduci; nec ullum crimen hæreſeos, ſicut objectum fuerat, in illis deprehendi* (*k*). When *Lubbertus* gave his Opinion, he broke out into a great Heat againſt one of the Members of the Aſſembly, and produc'd a new Liſt of the Errors of *Maccovius*. He was anſwer'd, that they had heard from Perſons worthy of Credit, that tho he would not be a Party, yet it was he that had extracted from the Theſes and Lectures of *Maccovius*, the Propoſitions that were pretended to be Erroneous. He was very angry, and ſwore twice that this was not true. (*l*) *Quod ut audiebat D. Sibrandus, vehementiſſime commotus, his Deum vindicem in animam ſuam precabatur ſi iſthæc vera eſſent; adeo ut D. Præſes eum ſæpius modeſtiæ ſanctæ, & reverentiæ Synodo debitæ juſſerit meminiſſe.* In the hundred and forty ſecond Seſſion it was thought convenient not to read before the Synod the third Apology of *Maccovius*, becauſe it contain'd many Perſonal Matters againſt *Lubbertus*. It was not read but in a particular Committee, whereof *Scultetus* (*m*) would be one, altho' he was very unfit to be a Judge, ſince the Divines of *Heidelberg* had already declar'd, that they Condemn'd the accus'd Party. *Certe Exteri mirabantur D. Scultetum nominatum fuiſſe a Provincialibus; & multo magis, D. Scultetum id munus velle ſubire, cum facultas Theologica Heidelbergenſis, cujus ipſe pars eſſet, theſes illas, quæ examinandæ ſunt, jam hactenus tanquam otioſas, metaphyſicas, & falſas damnaverit* (*n*). The Judgment of the Commiſſioners was, that *Maccovius* had been falſely Accuſed, and that he was neither guilty of Paganiſm nor Judaiſm, nor Pelagianiſm, nor Socinianiſm, nor of any other Hereſy; but that he ought not to have made uſe of Obſcure and Ambiguous Phraſes, borrow'd from the Schoolmen, nor to have deny'd certain Propoſitions. They may be ſeen in the Latin, which I ſhall now ſet down. By this means it will appear that he was a Supralapſarian, and that he expreſs'd himſelf harſhly about thoſe Doctrines, wherein he ſhould have ſtudied to pleaſe nice Ears. (*a*) *Legitur judicium deputatorum a Synodo in cauſa Maccoviana: cujus ſumma hæc erat; D. Maccovium nullius gentiliſmi, Judaiſmi, Pelagianiſmi, Socinianiſmi, aut alterius cujuſcunque hæreſeos reum teneri, immeritoque illum fuiſſe accuſatum, peccaſſe eum, quod quibuſdam ambiguis, & obſcuris phraſibus ſcholaſticis uſus ſit; quod ſcholaſticum docendi modum conetur in Belgicis Academiis introducere; quod eas ſelegerit quæſtiones diſceptandas, quibus gravantur Eccleſiæ Belgicæ: Monendum eſſe cum, ut cum Spiritu Sancto loquatur, non cum Bellarmino aut Suarezio: hoc unum vertendum ipſi, quod diſi nullam ſufficientiæ & efficientiæ mortis Chriſti aſſereret eſſe fructum; quod negaverit humanum genus lapſum eſſe objectum prædeſtinationis; quod dixerit Deum velle, & decernere peccata; quod dixerit Deum nullo modo velle omnium hominum ſalutem; quod dixerit duas eſſe electiones. Judicant denique, Titulum hanc inter D. Sibrandum, & D. Maccovium componendum eſſe, & deinceps, neminem debere cum talium errorum inſimulare.* The Synod (*b*) approv'd the Judgment of the Commiſſioners, and this was the Iſſue of that Suit. There was a Deputy of *Frizeland*, who deſired that they ſhould proceed againſt the Accuſers, and offer'd to prove by authentical Writings, that *Lubbertus* had orders to be his Accuſer. This motion made ſuch a buſtle in the Synod, that the political Deputies were forc'd to knock with a Hammer to command ſilence. (*c*) *Communi conſilio earum nomine coram Synodo proteſtor, ſalvo jure ut agant contra accuſatores; partes autem accuſatorias domino Sibrando eſſe demandatas, conſtare ex literis quotquot publicis, quas è ſinu depromſit, ac coram Synodo lectas poſtulavit: increbreſcenti hac in expoſitulatione plausu ſervori, ac multiloquio, modum imponunt Delegati politici malleo ſuo, quo mos eſt ſilentium obſtrepentibus imperare.*

(*D*) *The Titles of his Writings*] I have taken them out of the *Diarium Biographicum* of the Sieur *Witte*, where theſe words are to be found: *d) Reliqua Collegia Theologica: Locos Communes: Diſtinctiones & Regulas Theol. ac Philoſophicas: Opuſcula Philoſophica. Hypomnemata adv. Anabaptiſtarum: Ὑπόμνημα ψευδάδελφον, ſive oſtenſionem primi Falſi Arminianorum: Prælectiones pro Perkinſo contra Arminium: Diſceptationes de Trino vero Deo, &c.* Note, that the greateſt part of theſe Books are Poſthumous, and were Publiſh'd by the care of a *Polander* (*e*), who was Miniſter of a little City of *Friſeland*, and afterwards Profeſſor of Divinity at *Franeker*. He promiſ'd to Publiſh many more, as may be ſeen in his Preface to the common places of *Maccovius*. He caus'd them to be Re-printed with many Corrections and Additions taken out of the Author's MSS. His Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated in 1649. The Edition which I make uſe of, is of the Year 1658.

(*Da*) *He was accus'd of Plagiariſm.*] He who made this diſcovery, propos'd it modeſtly, and did not forget to Praiſe *Maccovius*; which he does in the following words (*f*) *Imo ne abſolvam quidem crimine hoc plane poteſt inter Theologos noſtros ullus aliquot ſubtiliſſimus*, Joannes Maccovius. *Quod ſi eum inſpicere non detrectes Exercitationes ipſius Remonſtrantium hypotheſibus abhinc annos aliquot oppoſitas, docebunt te oculi tui, eruditam earum partem non tantum quoad* (1) materiam, *ſed quoad ipſa etiam verba, e Belgico Latine verſa, e* (2) *Clar. Molinæi Anatome Arminianiſmi compilatam eſſe. Quod in Dolore, extemporanei acuminis honore aliàs celebratiſſimo, miratus ſemper fui.*

(*Z*) *Whether he had reaſon to boaſt ſo much of his Correction of the Breviary*] I find what follows in a Book of Mr. *Thiers*, Publiſh'd in 1699, under the Title of *a Diſſertation concerning the place where at preſent lies the Body of St.* Firmin *third Biſhop of* Amiens. "(*g*) *John Fonſeca*, Biſhop of *Burgos*, "the Capital City of the ancient *Caſtile*, having a "mind to make a new Edition of the Breviary of "his Dioceſs, appointed three Learned Men, *Cor-* "*rera*, *Lara*, and *John Maldonat* to manage it. "This *John Maldonat*, who muſt not be confound- "ed with the famous *John Maldonat* the Jeſuit, "took upon him to Compoſe and put into Latin, "the Lives of the Saints, which were to ſerve "for Leſſons to that Breviary. He underſtood "Latine very well, and acquitted himſelf ſo well "(as he imagin'd) of this Commiſſion, that he "boaſted of his Breviary, as being a moſt "exact Work, the moſt correct and finiſh'd that "ever was." *Theſe boaſts are contain'd in an Epiſtle, which he Printed at the end of this Breviary, and of the Lives of the Saints, of the* Lyons *Edition*, 1561 — *It is addreſs'd to his two Colleges* Carrera *and* Lara (*h*). Mr. *Thiers* gives it at length, and then uſes theſe Words "(*i*) Any body who has once read

(*i*) Balcanquallus, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Id ib.

(*l*) Ib. col. 2.

(*m*) *Deputy of the Palatinate and Profeſſor of Divinity at* Heidelberg.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*a*) Ib. p. 574. col. 2.

(*b*) Leg. tur, & pe plura Synodi ſuffragia approbatur, ſententia deputatorum in cauſa Maccoviana, qui eum ab omni hæreſi abſolvendum cenſuerunt, ſed monendum, ut Theologiam docendi modum commodiorem ſequatur, verbo- rumque formis ex ſacra Scriptura petitis utatur, etiam juſtam eum reprehenſionem incurrere ob quaſdam propoſitiones ab ipſo crudius & lepidius aſſertas. *Baillon quadam, tom. I. p.* 576. *col.* 1.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ad 24 Jul. 1614.

(*e*) *i.e.* Nicolas Arnoldus, *of whom I have given an account.*

(*f*) Baldenus de his Libris, *p.* 156.

(1) Maccovii Col leg. The olog. Disp. 4 & 11.

(2) Molin. Anatom Arminianiſmi, 5 & 6.

(*g*) *Page* 18 *of the Diſſertation of Mr.* Thiers.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 19.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 21.

MALDONAT (John) a Spaniſh Jeſuit (*A*) was born in 1534. He Studied at *Salamanca*, and taught Philoſophy, Divinity and the Greek Tongue there, before he devoted himſelf to the Society of the Jeſuits in the ſame City. He did not take there the Habit of the Order, but at *Rome* in 1562. He was ſent to *Paris* the next Year, to teach Philoſophy there, in the College which the Jeſuits had lately obtain'd. He taught there afterwards Divinity (*B*) with very good ſucceſs; for what is told of the multitude of his Auditors (*C*), is wonderful. He was ſent to *Poictiers* with nine other Jeſuits in 1570. There he read *Latin* Lectures, and Preach'd in *French*; but not finding a good Settlement there, he return'd to *Paris*, after he had maintain'd ſome Diſputes againſt thoſe of the Reform'd Religion. He made an Excurſion into *Lorrain*, and as he paſs'd thro' *Sedan*, he diſputed there againſt more (*D*) than Twenty Miniſters. He was brought into Trouble at *Paris*; for he was not only accus'd of Hereſie, but (*E*) alſo

(k) Taken from Nathan. Sotuel Bibloth. Scriptor. Societat. p. 473.

" this Epiſtle, would believe, that the Lives of " the Saints of the Breviary of *Burgos* are per- " fectly free from Faults: And yet that Epiſtle is " nothing but a *Spaniſh* Rhodomontade, and in " thoſe Leſſons there are many ſilly things, which " are to be found in the ancient Legends.

(*A*) *Spaniſh Jeſuit.*] The place of his Birth is call'd *Las Caſas de la Reina*. It is ſituated near *Larena*, in the Province of *Eſtramadura*, and belongs to the great Maſter of the Knights of St. *James*. *Maldonat* teſtifies all theſe things in a writing ſign'd with his own Hand, which is kept at *Rome* in the Archives of the Jeſuits (*k*). Therefore *George Cardoſus* (*l*), *Thuanus* (*m*), and Mr. *Thiers* (*n*), are miſtaken when they make him a *Portugueſe*. *Alegambe* knew not this very exactly, for he call'd (*o*) *Maldonat*'s Country *Fuente del Maeſtro in ditione Zafrenſi*. *Nicolas Antonio* (*p*) call'd it by the ſame Name. Mr. *Moreri* has perverted this Name into *Fruente deli Maeſtro*.

(l) In Agiologio ad diem 6. Januarii, apud Sotuel ib. p. 475.

(m) Thuanus, *l.* 53. *p.* 1088.

(n) Thiers diſſertat. ſur ſaint *Firmin*, p. 18.

(o) Alegambe, Biblioth. Scriptor. Societ. Jeſu, *p.* 255.

(*B*) *He taught there afterwards Divinity.*] I will not ſay that he taught it full Ten Years, altho' (*q*) *Sotuel* has affirm'd it; for I find this may be a little queſtioned. This Author ſays, that *Maldonat* taught at firſt Philoſophy at *Paris*, whither he had been ſent in 1563, and that he went to *Poitiers* about 1570, and that afterwards he made a Journey into *Lorrain*. He ſpeaks no more of his Lectures of Divinity: Where then ſhall we find theſe Ten Years? *Sotuel* ſhould have ſaid, that after his Journey to *Lorrain*, *Maldonat* began again to be a Profeſſor in the College of *Paris*. *Maldonat* was at firſt a Regent of Philoſophy, and he was made ſo (*r*) in the Year 1564. He ſpent two or three Years in this, for at that time a Courſe of Philoſophy could laſt no leſs. He taught afterwards Divinity, and finiſh'd a Courſe of it in four Years. (*ſ*) *Tradidit ille primum totam Theologiam compendio annis quatuor.* We are come to the time when he was ſent to *Poictiers*. Now ſince a (*t*) Miniſter who had chang'd his Religion, during the *Paris* Maſſacre, accompanied him in his Journey to *Lorrain*; we cannot place this Journey before the Month of *September* 1572. 'Tis very probable, that being return'd to *Paris*, he begun to execute his deſign of dictating a Courſe of Divinity larger than the former; for if he had began to execute it after his return from *Poictiers*, would he have been taken from this Exerciſe, and ſent into *Lorrain*. This larger Courſe was interrupted by a Proceſs of Hereſie, and of a Teſtamentary Cheat which was entered againſt him. (*v*) *Iterum eandem uberius tradere aggreſſus, cum jam procul iſſet progreſſus, alieniſſimo ſane tempore, ab hoſtibus variis calumniis appetitus eſt.* Now this Suit was determin'd in 1575, and *Maldonat*, notwithſtanding his abſolution, quitted *Paris*. I know not therefore where we ſhall find theſe Ten Years, which are mention'd by the two Bibliothecaries of the Jeſuits. I have inſiſted the longer on theſe Trifles to ſhew, that a clear and exact Narrative is a Work more difficult than is commonly thought. Doth not *Alegambe*, who is thought to be very exact, throw us into Confuſion? Thoſe who write Books like his, ought to know what I have criticiz'd here.

(p) In Bibliotheca Scriptor. *Hiſpan.* Tom. 1. p 558.

(q) Totos decem annos Theologiam profeſſus eſt. *Sotuel Biblioth. Scriptor. Societat.* p. 474.

(r) Richeome *Apologetical Complaint*, p. 33.

(ſ) Sotuel ibid.

(t) Du Roſier. See Thuanus, *l.* 53. *p.* 1088.

(v) Sotuel ibid.

(*C*) *Of the multitude of his Auditors.*] The Bibliothecaries of the Society ſay, that People, leſt they ſhould not find a place, went to the School two or three Hours before he mounted into the Chair, and that he was often oblig'd to read his Lectures in a Court, and in the Streets, becauſe the Benches were not ſufficient for all thoſe that came to hear him. They add, that there were alſo ſome Miniſters of the Reform'd Religion, preſent at his Lectures. (*x*) *Ne ipſi quidem Calviniſtæ, & Calviniſtarum Miniſtri ipſius prælectionibus abſtinerent. Duabus quotidie, tribuſve horis ante ſubſellia certatim implebant, quam ludum ille ingrederetur, ne excluderentur. Sæpe in aperto, atque adeo in viis publicis docere coactus eſt ob multitudinem Auditorum, quos nullæ ædes capiebant.*

(x) Sotuel ibid.

(*a*) Alegambe, *p.* 255. Sotuel, *p.* 574.

(*D*) *He diſputed at* Sedan *againſt more than Twenty Miniſters.*] *Genebrard*, an Author ſuſpected, teſtifies, that *Maldonat* overcame them all, and that two of them were converted. " (*b*) *De quo certa-* " *mine Genebrardus ſic ait*, Joannes Maldonatus Ca- " pellum, Holmum, Loqueum, & xx. alios Mini- " ſtros Calviniſtas, primum differendo, deinde de- " clamitando proſtravit: nam in declamationes " diſputationem commutandam Miniſtri cenſue- " rant, quod ejus vim Syllogiſticam non poſſent " depellere. *Additque* Launeum & Henricum Pen- " neterium Miniſtros, qui aderant, fuiſſe conver- " ſos." 'Tis certain, that *Matthew de Launoy*, and *Henry Pennetier*, chang'd their Religion; but this was not a Conſequence of that Diſpute with *Maldonat*. They became Papiſts in 1577, and immediately Publiſh'd a Book of Controverſy, which they Dedicated to the *French* King. There they mention *Maldonat*, but do not ſay that he had diſputed with the Miniſters of *Sedan*, or that his Reaſons had open'd their Eyes. They inform us (*d*), that *du Roſier* a Miniſter who had chang'd his Religion, accompanied *Maldonat*, and left him at *Metz* to go into *Germany*, becauſe the Miniſters of *Sedan* perſuaded him, that if he return'd to *Paris* with this Jeſuit, he would be put to Death, and *that* Maldonat *had given ſome intimation of it, by ſaying that he was ſtill a Heretick.* They do not ſay in what Year this was done; but it may be affirmed, that it was three or four Years before their Abjuration; for as I have already obſerv'd, it was after *Bartholomew-tide*, that *Maldonat* and *du Roſier* were ſent to *Metz*. It was believ'd (*e*) at the Court of *France*, that *du Roſier* having chang'd his Religion, and contributed very much to the Abjuration of the King of *Navarre*, the Princeſs *Catharine*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Wife and Mother-in-Law of this Prince, would be a fit Inſtruſtrument to make Converſions at *Metz*, and therefore he was ſent thither with *Maldonat*. The Duke of *Mompenſier* deſir'd them to go to *Sedan*, that they might diſabuſe the Dutcheſs of *Bouillon* his Daughther, who was a very good *Huguenot* (*f*)

(b) Id. ib.

(d) Folio 139.

(e) Thuanus, *l.* 53. *p.* 1088. ad ann. 1572. See alſo Theod. Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. B. 16. *p.* 475.

(*E*) *He was not only accus'd of Hereſie, but alſo of having ſtole.*] For this let us quote *Alegambe*. (*g*) *Alieniſſimo ſane tempore, ab hoſtibus variis calumniis appetitus eſt: nam & Præſidem Montibrunenſem St. Andreæ moribundum circumveniſſe, & poſteros ejus fortunis evertiſſe, illi perſuadendo ut ſua omnia Societati legaret, dicebatur, ſeductor ſimul & prædo nuncupatur; & a nonnullis Lutetiæ zelo præpoſtero, hæreſis eſt accerſitus; verum ab hac cum injuriâ vindicavit Summi Pontificis Gregorii XIII. auctoritate Petrus Gondius Pariſienſis Antiſtes: ab illa vero publico Senatus conſulto liberatus eſt. Verum quamvis ſic ejus innocentia publice ſatis teſtata foret, ſatius tamen fore putavit, ſi paucorum æmulationi, præſertim ingraveſcente ætate viribuſque labefactatis, cederet, lucemque illam hominum fugeret.*

(f) Thua. ibid.

(g) Alegambe & Sotuel ubi ſupra.

Anthony *Arnould* pleading againſt the Jeſuits, in 1594, ſuppoſes that *Maldonat* was really guilty of ſeducing the Preſident Saint *André*, and that the Parliament of *Paris* had not acquitted him. " Nothing comes out, ſays he (*h*), every thing goes " in, whether People die inteſtate, or make their " Wills, which they extort every Day, repreſent- " ing on one ſide the Terrors of Hell to thoſe that " are near Death, and on the other, pre- " ing an open Paradiſe to thoſe who give to " Society of *Jeſus*, as *Maldonat* did to the Pre- " dent *Montbrun Saint André*, drawing out of his

also of having stole an Inheritance, by seducing the President St. *André*, to leave his Estate to the Jesuites. *Peter de Gondi* Bishop of *Paris* acquitted him of Heresie, and the Parliament (*F*) declared him innocent of the other Crime. But this did not hinder *Maldonat* from a Resolution to go and hide himself in the College of *Bourges*, that he might apply himself entirely to his Commentaries upon the Scripture. He had a Dream which the Event confirm'd (*G*). Having gone to *Rome* by Order of the Pope, to take care of the Edition of the *Greek* Bible; he finish'd there his Commentaries upon the Gospels, and presented them to the General *Aquaviva*, *December* 21. 1582. A little while after he fell sick, exactly according to his own Dream, and was found dead in his Bed on the Eve of the *Epiphany*, 1583. There is, no doubt, but his too earnest Application to Study shortned his Days. He wrote (*H*) many Books, which show that he had a great Capacity *. *Thuanus* gives him

* *Taken from* Nathanael Sorüel Biblioth Scriptor. Societat. p 473, &c.

" his Goods and Purchases, by a Confession full of " Avarice and Imposture, of which Mr *Pibrac* " complain'd as of an abuse in a full Audience." I know not what the Jesuit *Richeome* answer'd as to this Article; for I have not the Apology he Publish'd under the Name of *Francis de la Montagne* against the Plea of *Antony Arnauld*.

(*F*) *Peter de Gondi——acquitted him of Heresie*] The Bibliothecaries of the Jesuits do not say of what Heresie he was accus'd: But here follows a small Account of the Particulars, which Mr *Simon* affords me " *i*) It was very difficult for a " Man of his Merit, and who profess'd to speak " his Mind freely, without minding the Pre- " judices of others, to please every Body Some " false Zealots accused him of having taught " Heresies. Their Accusations proceeded so far, " that they were carried to *Rome*, and Pope *Gre-* " *gory* the XIIIth. sent them back to the Bishop of " *Paris*, to be examin'd upon the spot His Ac- " cusation was, that contrary to the Sentiment of " the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*, he had taught, " that it was not a Point of Faith, that the Holy " Virgin was conceiv'd without Original Sin " The Doctors pursued this Affair with so much " heat, that *Maldonat*, who had done so good Ser- " vices to Religion and the State, was forc'd to " appear before the Bishop's Tribunal, who ac- " quitted him. His Brethren thought it conveni- " ent to Print the Sentence of his Absolution, " before his Commentary after the same manner " it had been Publish'd Yet it is not to be found " but in the first Editions, *viz.* in that of *Pont a* " *Mousson*, which appear'd in 1596, and in the o- " thers till 1615, at which time the Jesuits re- " vised that Commentary in an Edition of *Lyons*; " and I perceive, that afterwards, this reform'd " Edition was generally follow'd, from which " the Sentence of Absolution was taken away, " which I shall here set down entire, as I have " read it in the Edition of *Pont a Mousson*." Mr *Simon* having set down the whole Sentence (*l*) adds, that altho' it was very favourable, (*l*) *Maldonat thought it better to get over his Divinity Lectures, than to give occasion to his Enemies to raise up new Strifes against him. He retir'd to* Bourges *to study there quietly in the College of his Society.*

(*i*) Simon's Critical Hist of the Commentators on the N. Testament, c. 42 p. 620.

(*k*) The 22d of January 1575.

Let us set down here some Extracts from the Registers of the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*. *John Maldonat* read Lectures upon the Master of the Sentences in the College of *Clermont* in 1574, and disputed earnestly about the immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin against the Faculty of Divinity, which made their Members swear, that they would believe this Conception as an Article of Faith. The Rector of the University of *Paris* call'd together the four Faculties, and they resolv'd unanimously to complain of this Jesuit to *Peter de Gondi* Bishop of *Paris*. The Faculty of Divinity being assembled, all the Doctors, except eight or nine, declar'd expressly, that they held it as an Article of Faith, that the Holy Virgin was conceiv'd without Original Sin Hence it came to pass, that the Bishop of *Paris* Publish'd a Censure against the Rector, and the principal Members of the University; but seeing that his proceeding rais'd great Tumults he chang'd his Method, and thunder'd out an Excommunication against the Dean, and the Syndick of the Faculty of Divinity The four Faculties appeal'd from this as a grievance to the Parliament, who disapprov'd the Conduct of the Bishop. This you will find in Latin (*m*) a Book of Mr *Joly*. You will find there also (*n*) that which follows. " I've Months and " Day after the Sentence of the Bishop of *Paris*, " by which *Maldonat* was discharg'd from the " Accusation of Heresie brought against him con- " cerning the Conception; and after the Rector " and the principal Members, the Dean and the Syn- " dick of the Faculty were Excommunicated, for " acting contrary to the Decree of the Council of " *Trent* afore-related. All the Faculties on the " 18th of *June* 1578. declar'd, that the Bishop of " *Paris* had no power to Excommunicate either " the Rector or the principal Members of the U- " niversity, and condemn'd the words of *Mal-* " *donat* as heretical Here follow the words ta- " ken out of the Registers *Recepta Nobili* [illegible] " *dum modo Jam. Maldonatum Societatis* [illegible] " *causa super articulo Immaculatæ Conceptionis* [illegible] " *cum Domino Episcopo Parisiensi, et omnibus* [illegible] " *ter hos duodecim articulos Maldonatum non esse* [illegible] " *condemnandum —— præcepit, dilationem usque ad Concilium* " *Episcopum Parisiensem non posse excommunicare nec* " *quæ Rectorem, neque Decanum, aut Syndicum pœnis ec-* " *clesiasticis coercere, neque Facultatem Theologicam Pa-* " *risiensem Congregationi Generali Cardinalium de Maldo-* " *nato tanquam Hæretico*." Those who know the present State of the Controversie concerning the immaculate Conception, will doubtless admire that a Jesuit should have been persecuted by the *Sorbonne* upon such an occasion

(*m*) *Antonii Joli Opus Theologicum de Immaculata Conceptione Deiparæ Virginis*, Paris 1664.

(*n*) At p. 95. &c. 96.

(*G*) *He had a Dream which the Event confirm'd*] He thought he saw a Man who exhorted him to go on vigorously with his Commentary, and assured him he should finish it, but he should not long survive the Conclusion of it When that Man said this, he show'd him a certain place in his Belly, which was the very same place where *Maldonat* felt the sharp Pains of which he died (*a*) *Cum autem absolvisset primum in totum Evangelia Commentarium, scribere, per aliquot mihi suspecta visum est quendam, qui ut sermone captum opus prosequeretur, exhortari, sive quia ut Patres sententiæ perfectæ: sed opere parum diu superesse jam; atque hæc cum diceret, intento digito certam ad quam ventre partem illi significabat Hoc sane quamquam pro somnio ludibrio habitum, comprobavit eventu, nam a Gregorio XIII. Pontifice Maximo e Gallia in urbem accitus, ut eo ad finem præstaret ad editionem Græcam Novi Testamenti, quam parabat, non diu Pontifici superstes fuit: Is vero cum illam suam absolvisset, & tabulas omnes in Bibliothecam Pontificiam illatas ad dominicæ Nativitatis annum* MDLXXXII *evulsit, ac secundas curavit, accessimus eum dolor incepti operis, quæ tanto jam prius illi fuerat pernecessaria jejunia vesperam.* 'Tis very probable that this was known from *Maldonat* himself, and that he did not intend to deceive those to whom he related it. And 'tis no wise probable that Chance was the Cause of this good Agreement between the Dream of this Jesuit and the Event Such facts as this, of which the World is full, confound more the Unbelievers than they are willing to own

(*a*) Alegambe ubi supra p. 256

(*H*) *He wrote many Book*] He publish'd nothing himself; all that came out was Printed after his Death The first of his Works that was Publish'd, is his Comment upon the four Gospels Mr *Simon* has commended it as much as appears from his own Words which in both Critical and Historical Order is the Commentaries that we have mentioned hitherto there are few which deserve such a Work. It gives care and even with [illegible] Effects, the true Reader of the Gospels [illegible] Jesuit. Dying [illegible] Fifty Years, [illegible] Secrets, to [illegible] commanded his Com- [illegible] when he [illegible] gave Orders to [illegible] the Jesuits [illegible] Publications Copies which he had given them. These Jesuits [illegible] the Work [illegible] Work, they [illegible] something of their [illegible] obliged to mend the [illegible] MS Copy was [illegible] some places,

(*b*) Simon ubi supra, p. 618

† *See Sir Thomas Pope Blount Cenſura Autorum, p.* m. 535

him great (*I*) Commendations †. Some Proteſtants have alſo much commended him, but they complain of ſome paſſionate Expreſſions that have dropt from his Pen (*K*). Others ſpeak of him with the greateſt Contempt. There has been a greater Noiſe than the Matter deſerv'd about one of his Lectures concerning the Exiſtence of

" it not being in their Power to conſult the O-
" riginal which was at *Rome* Beſides, the Au-
" thor having not ſet down in the Margin of his
" Copy, the Books and Places from which he took a
" good part of his Citations, they ſupplied this defect.
" It appears alſo, that *Maldonat* had not read in the
" Original Authors a great many of thoſe Places
" which he cites, but that he had made uſe of the
" Labours of former Writers, as is commonly done
" He is not ſo exact as if he had put the laſt hand
" to that Commentary (*a*). Notwithſtanding
" thoſe Defects, and ſome others which may be
" eaſily mended, it appears plainly, that this Je-
" ſuit took a great deal of pains in Com-
" poſing this excellent Work. He ſkips no Dif-
" ficulty, but examines it very carefully. When
" he meets with ſeveral literal Senſes of the
" ſame place, he uſually chooſes the beſt, with-
" out ſhewing too much regard to the Authori-
" ty of the ancient Commentators, nor even to
" the greater Number, becauſe he minded no-
" thing but the Truth He rejects often the Inter-
" pretation of St *Auſtin*, &c.

(*a*) Thuanus *is of the ſame Opinion.* Nihil vivens publicavit, *ſays he*, l. 78. p. 481. poſt mortem ejus, opera ac cura Clementis Puteani ex eodem ſodalitio viri doctiſſimi, prodierunt eruditiſſima Comentaria in IV. Evangeliſtas Muſſiponti edita, meliora & integriora multorum judicio futura, ſi ſuperſtite auctore edita fuiſſent.

The Commentaries of *Maldonat* upon *Jeremiah*, *Baruch*, *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, were Printed at *Lyons* in 1609, and at *Cologne* in 1611. To which they join'd his Expoſition upon the 109th *Pſalm*, and a Letter about his Diſpute of *Sedan* His Treatiſe *De fide*, was Printed at *Mentz* in 1606, and that about *Angels* and *Demons* at *Paris*, in 1605. As to the *Summa* of Caſes of Conſcience, and the Controverſies about the Seven Sacraments, two Books which have appeared under his Name, the Bibliothecaries of the Society look upon them as Suppoſititious, as appears by their own words. " (*d*) *Summa caſuum conſcientiæ*, quæ tanquam hauſta è ſcriptis & do-
" ctrinâ Maldonati, & collecta per Martinum Co-
" dognat Minimum prodiit Lugduni apud Hæ-
" redes Gulielmi Rovillii MDCIV. Venetiis etiam
" & alibi, partus ſuppoſititius eſt, erroribus ſca-
" tens, Maldonato proſus indignus, & merito ab
" Apoſtolicâ Sede damnatus. Similiter *Diſputati-*
" *onum ac Controverſiarum de ſacramentis circa* VII. *Eccle-*
" *ſiæ Romanæ Sacramenta*, tom II. Lugduni ſine
" Typographi nomine, nec illius nec ullius de
" Societate ſunt, & ſuos etiam errores continent." They ſay nothing of a Folio that was Printed at *Paris* by *Sebaſtian Cramoiſy*, in 1643, with this Title, *Johannis Maldonati Soc. J. Commentarii in præcipuos ſacræ Scripturæ libros Veteris Teſtamenti. Don Nicolas Antonio* (*e*) makes mention of it, and of ſome other MS. Pieces of the ſame Jeſuit. Some Pieces of *Maldonat* were Publiſh'd at *Paris* in 1677, which had never appear'd before, *viz.* his Treatiſe of Grace, that of Original Sin, that of Providence and Juſtice, that of Juſtification and the Merit of Works; his Prefaces, his Harangues, and his Letters. Theſe new Treatiſes do not make Three Volumes in Folio, as Mr. *Teſſier* affirms (*f*), but only one. The two others, Printed at the ſame time by *Pralard*, had already been Publiſh'd There is hopes that ſome other Treatiſes of this Jeſuit, will come forth; and 'tis the more probable, becauſe a great number of People tranſcrib'd what he dictated at *Paris* (*g*). I think that Mr. *du Bois*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, procu'd the Edition of the new Treatiſes of *Maldonat*: He prefix'd (*h*) a Preface to it, which contains a Commendation of this Jeſuit.

(*d*) Alegambe, *p.* 257. Sotuel *p.* 475

(*e*) Biblioth Scriptor. Hiſp. *t.* 1. *p.* 558

(*f*) *Addit. to the Eloges, t.* 2 *p.* 14 *Edit.* 1696.

(*g*) Ex ejus ſchola prodierunt viri eruditi quamplurimi, & vix quiſpiam poſtea fuit in Gallia qui cum ejus auditor eſſe non potuiſſet, quæ in ſcholis dictaverat ſibi domi deſcripta non haberet. *Alleg. p.* 255. *Sotuel, p.* 474.

I have read in Mr. *Joli*, a Paſſage which I will now tranſcribe. " (*i*) The MS. Letters of *Maldo-*
" *nat*, and his Book of the Sacraments, were Prin-
" ted at *Paris* about Twenty or Thirty Years ago,
" but the Jeſuits buy up all the Copies.

(*h*) Simon ubi ſupra *p.* 625.

(*i*) Joli *Preſcriptions concerning the Conception of our Lady*. p. 19. *This Book was Printed in* 1676

(*I*) *Thuanus commends him very much.*] According to him, the Merit of *Maldonat* was the cauſe why the Parliament of *Paris* decreed nothing againſt the Jeſuits, altho' they were ſuſpected by the wiſeſt Heads, and the whole Univerſity hated them very much. Can any Man be better prais'd?

(*k*) *Unus in cauſſa exſtitiſſe merito creditur, ut ſodalitium illud totæ Academiæ valde invi-ſum, & alioqui jam prudentioribus ſuſpectum, ob tanti viri gratiam ac commendationem à Senatu apud quem adhuc indicija pendebat, tamdiu toleraretur; & poſtquam dum rebus ſodalium in urbe confirmatis, Maldonatus poſt conſti-tutam inſigni ſua unius eruditione novo ordini celebritatem, a Gregorio XIII. Pontifice Romam evocatus eſt. Thuanus* ſays, that this Jeſuit join'd a ſingular Piety and Purity of Life, and an exquiſite Judgment, with an exact knowledge of Philoſophy and Theology. (*a*) *Qui ad exactum philoſophiæ & theologiæ ſtudium ſingularem pietatem, morum candorem & acerrimum judicium cum attuliſſet, magna cum laude & frequentia omnium Ordinum concurſu totos X. annos in-terpretatus Pariſiorum, ubi & cum puer audiviſſet, in Claromontana ſchola profeſſus eſt.* He did not know the true Age of *Maldonat*; for he ſuppoſes him to have lived more than Fifty Six Years, when indeed he did not arrive to Fifty. You will wonder the leſs at this Miſtake, when you know that *Richeome* has made *Maldonat* younger than he was, at a time when the Intereſt of his Cauſe requir'd, that he ſhould rather have added more Years to his Life, than have taken any from it. It was objected to the Jeſuits (*b*), *that they put young Men to teach the lower Claſſes*; Richeome anſwers (*c*), *That* John Maldonat *began to read Philoſophy when he was Twenty Seven Years of Age, in* 1564. This is an Error, he ſhould have ſaid, when he *was Thirty Years old*, and thereby, will ſome ſay, the Anſwer had been better. It ſeems ſo at firſt, but when we conſider the Matter more narrowly, this Miſtake of *Richeome* appears to be advantageous to his Cauſe; for his deſign was to prove, that a Man, tho' he be young, may nevertheleſs be fit to teach well. *Maldonat*, whoſe Lectures were admir'd, is an Example of this. Now the younger you make him, the more weight you give to that Example Thus *Richeome* was not miſtaken to his Prejudice

(*a*) Thuanus, *l.* 78 *p.* 481.

(*b*) Richeome *Apologetical Complaint*, p. 32.

(*c*) Ibid. *p.* 33.

I have ſaid elſewhere, that 'tis difficult to Abridge a Book well; I will add here, that 'tis difficult to make pertinent Additions to it. There is ſuch an Addition as requires that twenty places ſhould be corrected. Patience alone does not fit a Man to make theſe Emendations; he muſt look narrowly into all the little things that are leaſt perceptible, and remember them a long time, and whenever it is neceſſary. An Author, who enlarges his own Work, has not always theſe Qualifications; but commonly he ſucceeds better in the Corrections which the Additions require, than one who adds to the Work of another will do. This Fault is to be excus'd in him, when the Addition is far diſtant from the place which is to be Corrected. *Alegambe* ſays, that *Maldonat* died (*d*) at the beginning of his Fifrieth Year, the Fifth of *January* 1583. If he could not ſay it without telling a Lye, yet at leaſt he could ſay it without refuting himſelf, ſince he takes no manner of notice of the Year of his Birth *Sotuel* his Continuator has inſerted ſome Additions in the Article of *Maldonat*; one among the reſt which informs us, that this Jeſuit was born in the Year 1534. From hence it appears, that the words of *Alegambe*, which I have related, muſt be falſe, and yet *Sotuel* has chang'd nothing in them; he has related them, and conſequently he is guilty either of a Contradiction, or of a falſe Calculation.

THAT thoſe who make Additions to a Book, find it a very difficult thing

(*d*) Mortuus in lectulo inventus, ætatis vix dum anno 50, ſalutis vero 1583, ineunte pervigilio Epiphaniarum. *Alegambe p.* 256.

(*K*) *The paſſionate Expreſſions that have dropt from his Pen. Some others*] I will cite *Caſaubon* (*e*) *Quum ubique virulentus ſit ſcriptor in magnos viros pro ſua modulia, pari petulantia & impudentia debacchatur; naſcium tamen maledicæ linguæ ſuæ lacinores habenas indulſit, quam in hac diſputatione: hæreticos tertio quoque verbo nominans illos, aut eandem cum Arianis & aliis ſententiam tuentes* PETRAM *exponi Chriſtum, cujus Majeſtatem dedecere, bodie eſt hæreticum contendere* — (*f*) O[illegible] *in hunc locum Maldonatus, acris & magni ingenii vir; ſi aſperiores ſi linguæ, ſi odio veritatis, parciſſet modestiæ.* Here are things both obliging and offenſive; but ſince he does not obſerve this Temper, he ſays nothing

(*e*) Caſaubon in Baronium, exercitat. 15 *n* 12. *p.* m. 722.

of God, and I wonder that *Pasquier* (L) did not understand the weakness of that Objection.

MAL-

what is ill of this Jesuit. If he allows him to have Publish'd some good Things, yet he robs him of all the Glory of them, because he accuses him of having stolen them, (g) *Maldonatus in Evangelia maledicus, insignia tamen quædam habet bona* Having taken all this *from* Beza, *he speaks ill of him. Quando aliquid habet boni furatur à Calvino, & ut agnoscas, maledixit ei, ut Eusebius ex Africano conatur furta sua tegere.* He denoted him by the word *Lyon*; but he denied it, when he saw that some took Advantage of it. We must believe that he did not remember he had us'd that word, and that he did not intend when he us'd it, that there should be any thing obliging in the Allusion. However this be, my Proofs are these. (h) *Pag* 313. *Insultas Sciopp.o.* Proferat fur (*inquis*) scriptum meum, in quo ulla vestigia exstent, quod Maldonatum LEONEM vocarim. *Proh Deum immortalem! tunc tam impudens es, ut id negare audeas? Credo enim, an non hæc tua sunt verba de Maldonato in Elenchi tui vereci adversus Serarium*, cap xi. fol. 89 Rarò verum dicit, nisi in illis, quæ ab aliis accipit, quibus cum maledicit, putat se furta sua occultare posse. Utinam viveret, non inultas sycophantias ferret. *Sed* LEONI non respondetur post mortem ejus. *I nunc, & Scioppium mendacii postula. R vet* has follow'd the foot-steps of *Scaliger*; he does not allow *Maldonat* one good Quality (i); he makes him a very ill Man, and very ignorant, or at least one who had a false shew of Learning. *Pareus* in his Commentary upon St. *Matthew*, has censur'd this Jesuit very often, and very sharply.

(g) Scaligerana, p. 148.

(h) Oporinus Grubinius in Amphoridibus Scioppianis, p. 254

(i) Non certe merito in eo & verum eruditionem, & fidem, etiam aliquando mentem & sensum requirimus *Rivetus, Comment. in Psalm.* 110. *Oper. tom.* 2 *p.* 329.

C. That Pasquier *did not understand the weakness.*] Here follows a Passage of his Plea against the Jesuits in 1564. "(k) Within these two "Months, your Metaphysician *Maldonat* in one "of his Lectures, endeavours to prove a God by "Natural Reason, and in another by the same "Reason to prove that there is none Now "I would ask, in which is the greatest Impie-"ty and Extravagance, in the first, or in the se-"cond? In effect, these are the Holy Mysteries "by which you become famous among the Peo-"ple; these are the good Seed which you sow a-"mong us." There are three Faults in this Objection. 1. 'Tis contrary to Candor, to pretend, that one who first gives the Proofs of the Existence of a God, and after that proposes the Reasonings and Objections of the Atheists, intends to overthrow what he has establish'd This Advocate therefore cannot be excus'd from a Fault: He reports unfaithfully the state of the Case; he would persuade us, that *Maldonat* did equally intend to prove that there was a God, and that there was none. But this was not at all the intention of this Jesuit; for in both Discourses, he intended to prove the Existence of a God. In the first, by proposing the solid Arguments of those that hold it; in the second, by exposing the weak Arguments of those who deny it. 2. *Pasquier* trifles Childishly, when he blames this method of Disputing, for on all Subjects a Philosopher should examine the Objections of his Adversaries, and not think to enervate them out of Politicy. Thus *Maldonat* a Metaphysician did nothing but his Duty, when he design'd one Lecture for the examination of the Arguments of the Atheists 3. 'Tis an Absurdity, I will not say unworthy of so learned a Man as *Stephen Pasquier*, but of any Man of common Sense, to affirm, that there is as much Impiety, *in proving a God by Natural Reason*, as in proving *by the same Reason, that there is none.* All those that will consider these three Censures of this Passage of *Pasquier*, will easily believe, without farther Proof, that this able Advocate sunk in this Cause. Nevertheless I will show after what manner this Matter was urg'd.

(k) *The Answer of* Renatus de la Fon *to the Plea of* Simon Marion, c. 37. *p.* 373 *Edit.* 1599.

"(l) Before I shew here the ignorance of *Pas-*
"*quier*, I must take notice of the occasion of this
"Calumny *Maldonat* in the Year Sixty Four,
"handled the Question which is usual at all
"times, and necessary in ours; a Question
"which the Master of the Sentences, St *Thomas*,
"and all the other Doctors of Divinity, have
"handled among the Questions *de Deo, an*
"*Deus sit*? Which Question is to
"be handled by natural Reasons, such as are fit
"to convince the Atheists, who admit no Te-
"stimonies from Scripture but only Arguments
"drawn from Nature. The Divines who treat
"solidly this Subject, bring Arguments *Pro*
"and *Con*, and confirm the Truth by strong
"Reasons, and by the same, confute the Fal-
"shood and Impiety of the Atheists, and their
"contrary Arguments, as *Maldonat* has done.
"*Pasquier* neither knowing, nor desiring to under-
"stand the sense of the Question, hath founded a
"Calumny both upon his Ignorance and Malice
"Now in this Question there are two contra-
"dictory Propositions; the one is, *There is a God*
"The other is, *There is no God Pasquier* calls both
"these Propositions equally Impious. And
"herein he first discovers, that he is extreamly
"ignorant, not only in Religion, but also in the
"first Principle of Nature: Secondly, That he
"himself is an Impious Man" The Advocate of the Jesuits spoils his Cause; for he mistakes the meaning of his Adversary, and so confutes a Chimerical Impiety; for *Pasquier*'s meaning was not that there is as much Impiety in this Proposition, *There is a God*, as in that, *There is no God* And yet he ascribes this to him, and spends a whole Page in refuting it, which I do not set down. *Pasquier* meant this, That there is as much Impiety in proving by natural Reason the Existence of a God, as in denying it by natural Reason. His Adversary attacking him in this manner, which was the only way of doing it, quite overthrows him. "(a) He is no less igno-
"rant in the Christian Religion than in Na-
"ture, to think it an Impiety to prove a
"God by natural Reasons, as I shall show very
"plainly. There is no Christian so little instruct-
"ed in our Faith, but he knows that God de-
"monstrates and proves himself by his Works
"There was not any good Philosopher, although
"a Pagan, who did not naturally know and ac-
"knowledge a God from the Works of Nature:
"The Scripture says expressly, that the Creatures
"testify there is a God St *Paul* does purposely
"testify it, when he says, writing to the *Romans*,
"*The invisible things of God are clearly seen, being un-*
"*derstood by the things that are made* And speak-
"ing of the Philosophers, he says, *Who having*
"*known God, did not glorify him as God*

(a) Renatus de la Fon, ubi supra, p 175

It *Pasquier* had been wise, he had been silent all his Life, as to his Objection against *Maldonat*; but tho' he found himself weak, and incapable of assuming on this occasion, that triumphant Air, which he shows in the rest of his Catechism, yet he would not hold his Peace He pretended (b) that the Jesuits who maintain'd *Maldonat*, were fallen into the Heresies condemn'd by the whole *Gallican* Church, and by Pope *Innocent* II. viz. into the Heresie of *Peter Abelard*, who said, that we must believe nothing but what may be proved by natural Reason This was to make his last Condition worse than the first, and it will always be the Fate of those self-conceited Men, who being fallen into gross Mistakes, will neither acknowledge them sincerely, nor hold their Peace, but maintain what they have said to be right It will always happen to them to defend one Falshood with another This is what *Pasquier* did, and he was the worse for it Read what was reply'd to him "(c) It has been
"observ'd that he said, when he slander'd the Le-
"ctures of *John Maldonat*, a Divine of this Society
"that it was as great an Impiety to prove by natu-
"ral Reasons that there is a God, as to prove that
"there is none; which is gross Ignorance and
"Blasphemy against God, who proves and mani-
"fests himself by the whole Nature It is also
"contrary to the Holy Scripture, and against
"all the Creatures in the Universe which tell me
"that there is a most Powerful, most Good
"and most Wise God. How does he clear him-
"self of this Crime? By saying that the Je-
"suits teach *by the Pen of* Renatus de la Fon,
"*that we must not to prove by natural Rea-*
"*sons, an Deus sit, which is an Error and an*
"*Impiety* Here is a double Forgery for his justifica-
"tion; for *Renatus de la Fon* says only, *as Maldonat*,
"and all Divines have said that it may be piously
"taught

(b) Pasquier's Catechism of the Jesuits, b. 2 c. 7 p. m. 239 240

(c) Richeome *Apologetical Compliment*, n. 56 p. 221.

MALHERBE (FRANCIS) the beſt *French* Poet of his time, was born at *Caen*, about the Year 1555, and died at *Paris* in 1628. I ſhall not ſay many things of him. Mr.

" taught that there is a God by natural Reaſon, " againſt the Atheiſts, which is the Catholick Doctrine; and not that the Deity is to be prov'd " only by natural Reaſon, without recurring to " Faith, which is the Hereſie of *Abelard*, who " would believe nothing but what is prov'd by " natural Reaſon, and who deſtroy'd Faith, by " which we believe that which is above Reaſon " and Senſe. And thus inſtead of purging him- " ſelf, he is juſtly charg'd with two new Ca- " lumnies.

Paſquier might have defended himſelf more judiciouſly, by ſaying, That ſince firſt Principles are not to be prov'd, all thoſe who think fit to prove there is a God, do hereby confeſs, that they do not rank among firſt Princi[illegible] this Propoſition, *There is a God*: But it is an impious thing not to reckon it among firſt Principles This Anſwer, tho' leſs groſs than the other, had nevertheleſs been very bad; for it had accus'd of Impiety the moſt Holy and moſt famous Authors, and even the Cuſtom of all Ages, Authoriz'd by the State and the Church. I ſhould never have done, if I ſhould undertake to name all the Authors who have prov'd by natural Reaſon that there is a God. I ſay, pious Authors, who are commendable as well for their Virtue as Learning. And every one knows, that in all the Schools in Chriſtendom, where Philoſophy is taught, there is always one Chapter of Metaphyſicks deſign'd for the Proofs which natural Reaſon affords us, of the Exiſtence of a God, and for the refutation of the Sophiſms of the Atheiſts The greateſt part of the common Places of Divinity that have been Publiſh'd, contain ſuch a Chapter. It would therefore be ridiculous for any one to pretend, that all thoſe who prove by natural Reaſon, that there is a God, are Impious, or do not acknowledge as a firſt Principle this Poſition, *There is a God*. We muſt take notice, that all the Propoſitions which are call'd Principles, are not equally evident. There are ſome which are not prov'd, becauſe they are as clear, or clearer, than any Medium that can be us'd to prove them. Such, for inſtance, is this Propoſition; *The whole is greater than a part*; *if from two equal quantities, you take away equal parts, the remainder will be equal*: *Two and two make four*. Theſe Axioms have this Advantage, that we have not only a clear Idea of them in our Mind, but they alſo fall under our Senſes: Daily Experience confirms them, and ſo the Proof of them would be altogether uſeleſs. We cannot ſay the ſame thing as to the Propoſitions which fall not under our Senſes, or which may be oppos'd by other Maxims, they want to be diſcuſs'd and prov'd. We muſt ſecure them from Objections. It cannot be deny'd that this *Theſis*, *There is a God*, is one of this number: It does not fall directly under our Senſes; it has been deny'd in all Ages by Men of Letters, and who made Profeſſion of reaſoning, and we ſhall ſee hereafter (e), that it is deny'd to this day by ſome flouriſhing Sects. It is not therefore ſuperfluous to undertake the proof of it; nay, it is very uſeful and neceſſary to produce it, although we could not make vulgar Minds ſenſible of it, as we make them ſenſible of the Properties of Numbers. This is what a famous Miniſter pretends (f).

(e) In a Paſſage of Mr. Arnauld

(f) *That truth*, There is a God, *may be demonſtrated, as I believe, but not by a demonſtration on which one may be contented, to convince Men of Senſe, and of true Judgment of Nature and Grace*, p. 248.

But ſome perhaps may ſay, is it not a ſcandalous thing to propoſe it as a Problem in a Metaphyſical Lecture, whether there be a God or no? I have heard of a *German* Prince, who had Founded an Univerſity, that he was about to ſuppreſs it, becauſe this Queſtion was diſputed in it. Probably ſome Body alarm'd him in the ſame manner as ſome Perſons attempted to prejudice the Parliament of *Paris* againſt *Maldonat*. We ſhall add a few words about this Difficulty 'Tis certain, that according to the Rules or Method of Diſpute, we muſt reduce this great and important Truth into a Queſtion, as ſoon as we undertake to prove by Philoſophical Reaſons, that there is a God; for the natural and juſt End of this Undertaking, is to convince thoſe of Falſhood who deny this *Theſis*. Now, according to the Rules of Diſpute, it may and ought to be requir'd of them, that they ſhould lay aſide their Prejudices, and that they ſhould not imploy their peculiar Principles againſt the Reaſons which ſhall be propos'd to them; for if they do this, they fall into the Sophiſm which the Schools call *Petitio Principii*, which is an enormous Fault, and ought to be baniſh'd from all Controverſies, as an eſſential Obſtacle to the deſign of diſcovering the Truth. They have the like right of requiring the ſame thing, ſince in all Diſputes that are well regulated, the Combatants ſhould be equally arm'd. Thus for a certain time, *i. e.* while each Party is alledging his Reaſons, both thoſe who deny, and thoſe who affirm, ought to lay aſide their *Theſis*, without Affirming or denying it. It will be then a Queſtion and a matter of enquiry, wherein to proceed ſincerely, we muſt nor ſuffer our pre-conceiv'd Opinions to add any Weight to the Arguments that favour them, nor to enervate the contrary Reaſons. We muſt examine every thing as if we were a *tabula raſa*. 'Tis not neceſſary actually to doubt, and much leſs to affirm, that all we have believ'd is falſe: 'Tis ſufficient to keep in a kind of ſuſpence; *i. e.* not to ſuffer our Perſuaſion to byaſs us, in the Judgment we are to paſs upon the Proofs of the Exiſtence of a God, and the Difficulties and Arguments of the Atheiſts. This is doubtleſs what *Deſcartes* intended, when he would have his Philoſopher doubt of every thing, before he examines the Reaſons of Certainty If any one will not believe me, let him hear at leaſt a Miniſter, who in a diſpute with the Atheiſts, would have us for a time renounce the Principles to which they do not agree. *Ut clare oſtendamus*, ſays he (g), *quæ iſta tantopere declamata dubitatio eſt, cui tot retro annis tantæ lites motæ atque etiamnum moventur, rem ipſam paulo altius & ab initio repetemus. Conſtat, ab omni tempore repertos eſſe, qui Deo naturam, exiſtentiam, providentiam, & quidquid horum eſt, quibus omnis plane nititur Religio, ut ſcio quibus non ſubtilitatibus aut evertere, aut dubia ſaltem reddere non vereruntur.——Cui tamen malo quantum poſſe obviam eundo, iisque quos inſci ſſer, convincendis, haud pauca ſemper vere docti ac egregii ingenia calamoſque ſuos acuerunt Quibus certe, ſi quid proficere volunt, non ex principiis adverſæ partis negatis, ſed ab eadem conceſſis neceſſario eſt diſputandum; utut illæ alias in ſe ipſæ poſſint eſſe certiſſimæ Quod cum recte perpenderet Carteſius, eaque de exiſtentia Dei argumenta proferre ſtuderet, ad quæ pertinaciſſimus quiſque Sceptaeus obmutesceret, etiamſi potuit aliter, quam ut ea omnia de quibus iſti dubitant, tantiſper ſeponere?* He names *Diagoras*, *Epicurus*, and the Scepticks: He might have cited whole Bodies of the *Chineſe*, as Mr. *Arnauld* has done, who thus addreſſes himſelf to the Jeſuits. " (a) The moſt able Miſſionaries " of *China*, whereof ſome are of your Society, " maintain that the greateſt part of the Learned " Men there are Atheiſts, and that they are not " Idolaters, but thro diſſimulation and Hypocriſie; " like many of the *Pagan* Philoſophers, who ador- " ed the ſame Idols with the Common People, " tho' they did not believe any of them, as may " be ſeen in *Cicero* and *Seneca* Theſe ſame Miſſi- " onaries inform us, that theſe *Literati* do not be- " lieve any thing to be Spiritual, and that the " *King above*, which your *Matthew Ricci* took " for the true God, is nothing but the material " Heaven; and that what they call the Spirits of the " Earth, Rivers and Mountains, are nothing but " the active Virtues of theſe Natural Bodies. " Some of your Authors ſay, that they fell into " this Atheiſm ſome Ages ago, only becauſe they " ſuffer'd the good Diſcoveries of their Philoſopher " *Confucius* to be loſt. But others who have ſtu- " died theſe Matters with greater care, as your " *Longobara*, maintain, that this Philoſopher ſaid " many fine things about Morality and Politicks; " but as to the true God and his Law, he was as " blind as the reſt.

(g) Abraham Heidanus, Conſiderat. ad res quaſdam nuper geſtas, p. 135, 136.

(a) Arnauld *in his fifth Denunciation of the Philoſophical Sin*, p. 38. *See alſo* Father Gobien *in the Preface to the Hiſtory of the Edict of the Emperor of* China.

We conclude therefore, that our *John Maldonat* deſerves not the cenſure which *Stephen Paſquier* has inſerted in his Plea againſt the Jeſuits.

I am ſorry that Mr. *de Saint-Evremont*, whom I admire and honour as much as any Man in the World, hath an Opinion contrary to the Method uſed by *Maldonat*, and that I muſt prefer to it that of an anonymous Writer who Criticiz'd him. " Let's " leave Divinity entirely to our Superiours, ſays

ARTICLE upon the *Carteſian* doubting

Mr. *Moreri* has ſaid enough for the greateſt part of Readers, and thoſe who deſire more may be eaſily ſatisfied in the Books * which are every where to be found. I know upon what Mr. *Moreri* might ground (*A*) what he ſaid, That *Malherbe expreſs'd himſelf with a very ill Grace*: But *Racan* teſtifies the contrary. He informs us of a thing which confirms what I ſaid in the Article of *Lotichius*, *viz.* That the Poets make (*B*) imaginary

* The Life of Malherbe *by* Racan, *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1672. *The Converſations of* Balſac. *A Collection of the fineſt Pieces of the* French *Poets, reprinted in* Holland *in* 1692 *tom p.* 215

" he (*d*), and follow with reſpect thoſe who have " the Care of our Souls. Tho' it muſt be confeſs'd, " that our Teachers do not ſeem to deſerve al- " together ſuch a Deference; they inſpire us " with a ſort of Curioſity that leads inſenſi- " bly into Error. There is nothing ſo well Eſta- " bliſh'd among Men, but what they ſubject " to the extravagance of Reaſoning. They burn " a Man who is ſo unhappy as not to believe there " is a God, and yet they make it a Queſtion in " the publick Schools, whether there be one By " this means you offend the Weak, and make the " Stubborn ſuſpicious. By this you arm the " Furious, and allow them to ſeek for pernicious " Reaſons, with which they oppoſe their own " Opinions, and the true impreſſions of Nature. See the Remark of his Cenſurer. (*e*) *When the Divines ask whether there be a God, 'tis not to doubt of his Exiſtence, but to have certain Proofs of it, and to confound the Atheiſts, as Phyſick inſtructs us in the knowledge of Poiſons in order to cure thoſe that are infected with it.*—— (*f*) *He calls all the Doctors Scandalous and Imprudent Men, and St.* Thomas *himſelf, who in the beginning of his* Summa *Queſt.* 2. *Art.* 3. *demands expreſly, whether there be a God. Can Mr.* S. E. *imagine that any body will take his part againſt ſo many Learned Divines, who have treated this Queſtion in all the moſt famous Univerſities for ſo many Years in the face of the Church?* &c.

(*d*) *St.* Evremont's *Judgment about the Sciences* p. 200. tom. 1. *of his Works, the Dutch Edit.* 1693.

(*A*) *I know upon what Mr.* Moreri *might ground— but* Racan *teſtifies.*] *Moreri* might ground it upon theſe words of *Balzac*: " (*b*) What you have been " told is true; *Malherbe* was a moſt ingenious Man " in Converſation, but he had not a handſome De- " livery, and his way of reciting was very diſagree- " able. We us'd to call him *Antimonidory*; for he ſpoil'd " his good Verſes in pronouncing them. Beſides, he " could not well be heard, upon the account of " an impediment in his Tongue, and the lowneſs " of his Voice: He would ſpit at leaſt ſix times " in repeating a Stanza of four Verſes. And this " occaſion'd *Marini* to ſay of him, that he never " knew a Man more moiſt, nor a Poet more dry. *Racan* ſays quite the contrary. " Such, ſays he, (*c*) " were the ordinary Diſcourſes he had with his " moſt familiar Friends; but they cannot be ex- " preſs'd with ſuch a grace as he ſpoke them, be- " cauſe they deriv'd their greateſt Ornament from " his Geſture, and the tone of his Voice.

(*e*) Diſſertat *on St.* Evremont's *Works, p.* 216. *Paris Edit.* 1698.

(*f*) Ibid. *p* 308.

(*b*) Balzac *Converſation,* 37. p.m 355.

(*B The Poets make imaginary Miſtreſſes.*] As will appear by this Narrative. " *Racan* and *Malherbe* (*d*) one " day were diſcourſing of their Amours; to " wit, of the deſign they had of making choice " of ſome Lady of great Merit and Quality, to be " the ſubject of their Verſes. *Malherbe* nam'd " *Madam de Rambouillet*, and *Racan Madam de Termes*, " who was then a Widow. They found that both " of them were nam'd *Catherine*; *viz.* the firſt " whom *Malherbe* had choſen, *Catherine de Vivonne*, " and *Racan*'s choice, *Catherine Chabot*." They ſpent all the Afternoon, " (*e*) in ſeeking out Ana- " grams to this Name, that might be ſoft e- " nough for Verſe, and they found but three, " *Arthenice*, *Eracinthe* and *Charintee*. The firſt " was judg'd the fineſt; but *Racan* having " made uſe of it in his Paſtoral, which he made " immediately after, *Malherbe* deſpis'd the two " others, and reſolv'd to make uſe of *Rodante*.—— " He was then Married, and far advanc'd in " Years; wherefore his Amours produc'd but " few Verſes, and among the reſt, thoſe which be- " gin thus, *Dear Beauty, how my Soul is raviſh'd*; and " theſe others which *Boſſet* ſet to a tune, *Thoſe Kings* " *of mine Eyes go away* He wrote alſo ſome Letters " under the Name of *Rodante*: But *Racan*, who " was Thirty Four Years younger than he, and " a Batchelor, chang'd his Poetical Love into " a true and lawful one, and made ſome Journies into *Burgundy* for that end." Obſerve well the difference they make between a Poetical Love and a real one. At that Age good *Malherbe* was fit only to love Poetically; and yet if one had judged of him by his Verſes, one would have thought that he had a Miſtreſs, who often made him ſigh, and who embrac'd him very cloſe; tho' he was ſo chilly, that he number'd his Stockings with the Letters of the Alphabet, leſt he ſhould put more upon one Leg than upon the other (*f*): He confeſs'd one Day, that he was come as far as the Letter L. His Infirmities were known, and jeſted upon. It was objected to him one Day in Verſe, that he was in the wrong to make Women his Idols, ſince he had nothing for them but words. Here are other Verſes that concern him

(*c*) Racan's *Life of* Malherbe, *p.* 42, 43.

(*d*) Racan, *ibid. p.* 42, 43.

(*e*) Id ib. *p.* 43, 44

(*f*) Id ib. p 7.

Avoir (*h*) *quatre chauſſons de laine,*
Et trois Caſaquins de ſatanne,
Cela ſe peut facilement.
Mais de danſer une Bourree
Sur une Dame bien parée,
Cela ne ſe peut nullement.

(*g*) Menage's *Obſervations upon the Poems of* Malherbe *p* 497.

To wear four woollen Socks,
And three fuſtian Frocks,
That to him is agreeable.
But to dance a Bouree
Upon a Lady fine and free,
To do that he is not able.

He was ſenſible of his Weakneſs, and complain'd of it very much. " (*i*) I am not buried, " but thoſe who are, are not more dead than I am " I have no reaſon, thanks be to God, to murmur " againſt the Conſtitution that Nature has given " me: It is ſo good, that at the Age of ſeventy " Years I know not one of thoſe Inconveniences " to which Men are ſubject in old Age. And " if to be Well, were nothing elſe but not to " be Ill, I ſee but few Perſons whom I ſhould " envy. But what? becauſe I am not Ill, ſhall " I be ſo fooliſh as to make my ſelf believe that I " am Well? I know not what is the Sentiment " of others, but I am not ſatisfied at ſuch an eaſie " rate. Indolence is the deſire of thoſe, whom " the Gout, the Gravel, the Stone, or ſome ſuch " like Diſtemper, put upon the Rack once a " Month. I deſire not only to be free from " Pain, but to enjoy Pleaſure; not indeed all ſorts " of Pleaſure, for I do not confound Gold with " Copper; but that which Men reliſh by the in- " comparable ſweetneſs of Converſing with Wo- " men". He deſcribes afterwards this ſweetneſs, and then he ſays (*k*), " Judge, if after this, there be " any misfortune equal to that of not being able " to have a ſhare in their Favour; and I am ſure " that you will hardly condemn me. But I muſt " not any longer continue this Diſcourſe, leſt it " ſhould bring me into Deſpair. He ſaid, one day, to Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, "You act the part of a " Gallant and Lover of fine Ladies, and can " you pay a Bill at ſight? This was his uſual " Phraſe to ſignifie, whether he was ſtill ready to " ſerve them. Monſieur *de Bellegarde* anſwer'd him, " Yes *Malherbe* reply'd in theſe words; as I " live, Sir, I had rather reſemble you *in* this, " than in your being a Duke and a Peer (*l*)." Some Caviller perhaps may tell me, that *Malherbe* reſembled one of the Ancients, who would not renounce Love even when Age made him unable to pleaſe Women.

(*i*) Malherbe's *Letter to* Balzac, *p* 63 *of the Collection of new Letters, Printed at* Paris, 1642.

(*k*) Ib p 65.

(*l*) Racan's *Life of* Malherbe, *p* 19

Amare (*m*) *liceat, ſi potiri non licet*
Fruantur alii: non morer, non ſum invidus,
Nam ipſe excrucior qui beatis invidet
Quos Venus amavit, fauit amor, compotes
Nobis Cupido velle dat, poſſe abnegat

Hoc illi faciant quos Venus non invidet,
At nolo caſſe jacitem dilectionem
Amare liceat, ſi potiri non licet

(*m*) Apulerius in *Apologia ſua*, ex Menandro, in veterum Poetarum Catalectis ad calcem Petronii, *p.m* 220

I anſwer, that if *Malherbe* had been ſtill in a Condition to have taken a real Miſtreſs, he would not have made choice of Madam *de Rambouillet*, whoſe Quality, and much more her Virtue, would have left no manner of Hope. *Rambouillet*-Houſe, which is become ſo famous, was truly a Palace

imaginary Miſtreſſes, that they may have an opportunity to vent their Thoughts. 'Tis very probable that *Malherbe* (C) had ſcarce any Religion. His good Friend having no mind that this ſhould be believ'd, has taken ſuch a Method as puts it out of all doubt. In the Article concerning Madam *des Loges*, we have ſet down ſome Facts relating

Palace of Honour. " (n) There was nothing but " Gallantry there, and no Love. Mr. *de Voiture* giving one day his Hand to *Mademoiſelle de* " *Rambouillet*, who was afterwards Madam *de Montauſier*, was ſo bold as to kiſs her Arm. But " *Mademoiſelle Rambouillet* declar'd ſo ſeriouſly, that " his boldneſs did not pleaſe her, that he had no " mind after that to take the ſame Liberty another " time." We conclude from all this, that the Miſtreſſes of Poets, I mean their *Claudina*'s, their *Phyllis*'s, &c. for whom they make ſo many Love Verſes, are not always the Objects they love. Theſe are only Poetical Miſtreſſes, whom they make uſe of, that they may have a fixed Subject, to which they may apply ſome Thoughts.

(C) *That* Malherbe *had ſcarce any Religion.*] " (a) When the Poor ſaid to him that they would " pray to God for him; He anſwer'd them, That " he did not believe they had a great Intereſt " in Heaven, ſince they were left in ſo bad a con- " dition in this World; and that he ſhould like it " better, if Mr. *de Luyne*, or ſome other Fa- " vourite, had made him the ſame Promiſe.—— " (b) In his *Primer*, he had blotted out all the " particular Names, from the Litanies of the Saints, " and he ſaid it was ſuperfluous to name them " all one after another, and that it was ſufficient to " name them in general, *Omnes ſancti & ſanctæ* " *Dei, orate pro nobis.*—(c) He would ſay ſometimes, " *That the Religion of honeſt Men was that of their* " *Prince.*" During his laſt Sickneſs, " (d) He " had much a do to reſolve to confeſs his Sins; for " which he gave this Reaſon, *That he was not wont* " *to do it but at* Eaſter.—(e) He that prevail'd " with him to reſolve upon this, was *Porande*, " a Gentleman who had been bred up a Page to " the great Royal Stable, and was his Scholar in " Poetry as well as *Racan*. To perſuade him to " receive the Sacraments, he told him, that ha- " ving always profeſt to live like other Men, " he muſt alſo die like them; and *Malherbe* " having ask'd him what he meant by that, he " told him, that when other Men died, they con- " feſs'd their Sins, communicated and receiv'd " the other Sacraments of the Church. *Malherbe* " confeſs'd he was in the right, and ſent " for the Vicar of St. *Germain*, who aſſiſted " him in his laſt Hours. Obſerve, that no mo- tive of Religion, no inſtinct of Conſcience pre- vail'd with him to confeſs; but he yielded to a Reaſon purely humane, that we muſt follow the Cuſtom of other Men as well at the point of Death, as during our Life. We ſhall ſee, that at the approach of the fatal Moment, which de- termines our Condition for Eternity, he ſcarce thought of Heaven or Hell (f). " An Hour be- " fore his Death, after he had been two Hours in " an Agony, he awak'd all on a ſudden to reprove " his Land-Lady, who waited upon him, for uſing " a word that was not good *French*; and when his " Confeſſor reprimanded him for it, he told him he " could not help it, and that he would defend the " purity of the *French* Tongue until Death." I have heard ſay, that this Confeſſor having repre- ſented to him the Happineſs of another Life, with very little Eloquence, and ask'd of him, whether he did not feel a great deſire to enjoy quickly that Happineſs. *Malherbe* anſwer'd him, ſpeak no more of this, your bad Style diſguſts me. But I am willing this ſhould be look'd upon as a meer Story, and even that the Truths which *Balſac* (g) thought fit to ſuppreſs, ſhould be thought to have no relati- on to the laſt Hours of this Poet. Let us on- ly inſiſt upon the Facts that are taken out of his Life, written by *Racan* his good Friend: Do not they raiſe a violent Preſumption, that his Faith and Piety were very ſmall? (h) *Racan enquir'd very carefully in what manner he died*, becauſe he had heard him ſay, *That the Religion of honeſt Men was that of their Prince.* This is a Curioſity, which ſhews, that he was ſuſpected of Irreligion, and that this was a good ground for theſe Suſpicions. 'Tis therefore to no purpoſe for *Racan* to tell us, that his Friend (i) *Was very ſubmiſſive to the Commands of the Church; that he did not willingly eat meat on the forbidden Days without leave, altho' he was very old, that he went to Maſs every Holy-day and Sunday, and that he never fail'd to confeſs & and to Communicate at* Eaſter *at his own Pariſh; that he ſpoke always of God and Holy Things with great reſpect, and that one of his Friends made him confeſs one Day before* Racan, *that he had once made a Vow to go from* Aix *to the Cave of St.* Magdalen *bare-headed for the Diſeaſe of his Wife.* *Racan* may tell us theſe things as much as he pleaſes, but he can never take off the bad Impreſſions which the other Facts have produced; and if he gains any thing 'tis only this, That *Malherbe* had determin'd nothing, neither for nor againſt Religion, and that having ſome ſort of Religion in his Mind, not in his Heart, he conform'd to the common Uſage by way of Pre- caution; as being a thing which might be ſerviceable, and could do no hurt. It may be be- liev'd, that in a time of great Affliction, when the Soul is troubled, and turns it ſelf on all ſides, and tries all Remedies that it can think of, he might have had ſome Thoughts which put him upon making Vows; but that this Tempeſt was calm'd in his Heart after the danger was over. We may add to this, that he had Reaſon to fear a real and effective Damage, by not obſerving the Commands of an abſolute Obligation, ſuch as thoſe of his Church are, to Communicate once a Year, to hear Maſs upon Holy-Days and Sundays. A Man of Parts who wants to make his Fortune, or de- ſires to keep himſelf up, will never diſpenſe with this kind of Precepts; he will ſo behave himſelf, that his Neighbours, Friends and Do- meſticks ſhall not know that he deſpiſes the Church, and even carry the matter ſo far, that he will not without leave, eat Meat on the forbidden Days. All the of Religious Actions that *Malherbe* did, were ſo eaſie and ſo neceſſary to his Fortune, and to the Reputation of an honeſt Man, which he maintain'd in all other things, that they cannot balance the Proofs of Irreligion, which the Rela- tions of *Racan* do furniſh us with. When I ſaid, that in all other things he maintain'd the Reputa- tion of an honeſt Man, I had regard to the way of judging, which the Corruption of the Times has introduc'd over all the World; for Mankind is ſo deprav'd, that the purſuit of fleſhly Pleaſures by unlawful Ways, and criminal Gallantries, do not hinder a Man from being accounted honeſt. If we ſhould judge otherwiſe of things, *Malherbe* would not paſs for ſuch an one; for he deſcribes himſelf as one beſotted with thoſe Pleaſures. He repreſents himſelf as one juſt ready to Deſpair, (k) when he thinks that old Age renders him incapable of enjoying Women. Finding himſelf in this State of decay, wherein Nature ſeeks but can- not find herſelf, *quærit ſe natura nec invenit*; he groan'd and ſigh'd, he ſhed almoſt Tears of Blood, and wiſh'd rather to recover his Strength to enjoy Women, than to have the Dignity of a Duke and Peer. In this he differ'd very much from the Opinion of the wiſe *Pagans* (m), who re- ckon'd that among the Advantages of old Age, which he accounted a misfortune. How much was he inferior to the Virtue of *Sophocles*, a Poet like himſelf, but a *Pagan* Poet! Being old, he was ask'd one Day, whether he could ſtill divert himſelf with the fair Sex: God forbid, anſwered he, I am deliver'd out of the Hands of a furious Ma- ſter, with the greateſt Pleaſure in the World. *Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam jam affecto ætate, quæreret, utcreturne rebus venereis: Dii meliora, in- quit. Libenter vero iſtinc, tanquam a domino agreſti, ac furioſo profugi. Cupidis enim rerum talium, odio- ſum, & moleſtum eſt forte aſſe carere. Satiatis vero, & expletis, jucundius eſt carere, quam frui. Quamquam non caret is, qui non deſiderat. Ergo hoc non deſiderare, dico eſſe jucundius, quam frui* (n). *Malherbe* is accu'd of another moral Fault, or rather of two: I mean Vanity and Avarice. He is eaſily convicted of the former, by ſeveral Paſſages in his Poems (o); but the Proofs of the ſecond are of no validity. " (p) Some have thought, ſays Mr. *Baillet*, that there are " in the Poems of *Malherbe*, ſome marks of a " meanneſs of Soul, and of his being too much " addicted

(a) Racan's *Life of* Malherbe, *p.* 15.

(b) Id. ib. *p.* 24.

(c) Ibid. *p.* 45.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid. *p.* 46.

(f) Ibid.

(g) *I cite his words in the Remark D.*

(h) Racan, ib. *p.* 45, 46.

(i) Ibid. *p.* 45.

(k) *See his Letter to* Balzac *cited and pointed out above Remark B.*

(m) Habeo ſenectuti magnam gratiam, quæ mihi ſermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis & cibi ſuſtulit... At non eſt voluptatum tanta quaſi titillatio in ſenibus. Credo: ſed ne deſideratio quidem. Nihil autem moleſtum, quod non deſideres. *Cicero de ſenectute, c.* 14. *p.m.* 421. 423. Illa quanti ſunt, animum tam quam emeritis ſtipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionis, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium, ſecum eſſe, ſecumque (ut dicitur) vivere? *Id. ib. p.* 424.

(n) Id. ib. *p.* 423. Plato de Repub. *lib* 1. *Cicero init. p.m.* 572. 573 *relates this Anſwer of* Sophocles.

(o) *See* Bailler *Jugement ſur les Poëtes, part.* 4. *n.* 1411. *p.* 14, &c

(p) Ib. p 17, 18

relating to *Malherbe*. I shall speak of the best Edition of his Poems (*D*), and I will say something (*E*) of his Translations. The Good and Evil which was said of his Works, was carefully Collected by Mr. *Baillet* *, to whom I refer the Readers. I do not find that *Malherbe* had any great share in the Affection (*F*) of Cardinal *Richelieu*.

He was of the Number of those Authors whom I have mention'd twice or thrice, who write with extream difficulty (*G*), and who put their Mind upon the Rack to correct

* Jugement des Sçavans, *tom.* 3. *n.* 944. & sur les Poetes, *tom.* 4. 1411.

" addicted to his Interest, which took from him " sometimes the natural Sentiments of Humanity. " But I think that this Accusation has no other " Foundation, but the Epitaph of one of his " Relations call'd M. d'Is, whose Heir he was, " wherein he declar'd, that he wish'd to see all his " Kindred buried, that he might have the whole " Estate of his Family. The Verses of *Malherbe* " upon this occasion are these.

Icy git Monsieur d'Is,
Plût or à Dieu qu'ils fussent dix!
Mes trois sœurs, mon Pere, & ma Mere,
Le grand Eleasar mon Frere;
Mes trois Tantes, & Monsieur d'Is,
Vour les nomme-je pas tous dix?

Here lies Monsieur *d'Is*,
I would to God here were Ten,
My three Sisters, my Father and Mother.
The great *Eleazar* my Brother,
My three Aunts, and Monsieur *D'Is*.
Don't I name you all the ten?

(q) Indentidem felicem Priamum vocabat, quod superstes omnium suorum exstitisset. *Sueton. in Tiberio, cap.* 62.

To judge of this impartially, this seems not to be the natural Disposition of *q) Tiberius*, but a Sally of Wit, and a Poetical Jest, in which the Heart hath no share. *Malherbe* could not be comforted upon the loss of his Son (*r*); and he lov'd his Spouse so well, that the Affliction of seeing her sick, awak'd his Religion when it was asleep, and engag'd him to do a thing which he was very much asham'd of afterwards: For he made a Vow to go bare-Headed to St. *Baume* the Cave where St. *Mary Magdalen* did Penance) but he was not pleas'd to find it was known that he was so devout, and he was so far from boasting of it, that he endeavour'd, by all means, to conceal it as a secret (*f*).

(r) See Balzac's Conversation, 37. p. m. 356, &c.

(*D*) *The best Edition of his Poems.*] 'Tis that which *Menage* procur'd and improv'd with many Notes, which was Printed at *Paris* in 1666. *M. Menage* had been long before about it, as appears by what is found in a Letter of Mr. *Balzac*, dated *January* 23. 1651. " (*a*) The News of a Commentary " upon the Works of *Malherbe* surprises me; and " how comes it to pass that our excellent Friend " has given over his design of Publishing *Diogenes Laertius*, and many other Works of great " importance which he had promis'd to the Pub- " lick, to amuse himself with explaining a Poet " so plain and easie as ours is? I have known him, " 'tis true, and that very particularly; and I " know several particulars of him, which all o- " thers, besides my self, are ignorant of. I have " here, as yet, a Man who saw him die, and whom " I sent to him, not being able to go and " see him, upon the account of my Indisposition. " But what I know, Sir, more than others, " cannot be decently written; for there are cer- " tain Truths which are only fit to be suppress'd". I promis'd in the preceding Remark a part of this Passage, it is therefore longer than my Text requires. Mr. *Menage* himself informs us, (*b*) *That he was no more than Twenty Years old, when he first had a desire to Comment upon* Malherbe, and that if his Friends had not diffuaded him, *he would have begun with that to make himself known to the World.* He adds, that before his Notes were Publish'd, Mr. *Chevreau* had Printed a *Commentary upon the same Poems. I do not doubt*, continues he, *but this Commentary contains many very curious things, and very well worth reading: But I am deprived of the pleasure of reading them, lest I should be accused of stealing from Mr.* Chevreau, *if I should happen to hit upon the same Thoughts; or of having a mind to contradict him, if I be not of his Opinion.* Those who have not this Work of Mr *Chevreau* (of whom I am one), may form an Idea of it from the words of Mr. *Baillet*. " (*c*) It were tedious to run over " all the other Faults which are charg'd upon *Mal-* " *herbe*. Those who would be fully instructed " may consult a Book of Remarks which Mr *Che-* " *reau* has made upon our Poet. Mr *Ristaut* de- " clares, that having communicated these Re- " marks, or rather Censures to *Mademoiselle de Scu-* " *dery*, she gave him to understand, after she had " read them, that she was very much surpriz'd " This Learned and Judicious Lady confessed, that " there may be something which deserves Reproof " in some places of *Malherbe*'s Poems; but she " could not seriously imagine, that this famous Poet " furnish'd Matter for so many Corrections

Note, that Mr. *Chevreau* does not grant, that his Remarks had not been seen by Mr *Menage*. See his Narrative and Complaints in a Letter which I quote (*d*). See also in the second Part of his Miscellanies, and of his *Chevræana*, many fine and solid Observations against *Malherbe*.

(a) Balzac's Letter 4th. to Conrart, *l.* 2. *p. m.* 100, 101.

(b) In the Preface to this Edition of Malherbe.

(c) Baillet ubi supra, p. 23.

(d) Ibid. p. 193. Cit. of the first tome of the Miscellanies

(*E*) *Something of his Translations.*] He has Translated some Works of *Seneca*, and some Books of *Livy*, and if he was not successful, yet he had the happiness to be well-satisfied with his Labour (*e*). " His principal Business was to criticize upon " the *French* Language; in which he was so well " skill'd, that some of his Friends desir'd him one " Day to make a Grammar for our Tongue —— " He answer'd them, *That he need'd not take that pain,* " *for they might read his Translation of the Seventh* " *Book of* Livy, *and he would have them to write after* " *that manner.* But every Body was not of this " Opinion *Mademoiselle de Courray*, a Learned " Woman of that time, said commonly, *That this* " *Book appear'd to her like a Bubble of fair Water.* " She meant, that the Language of it was too " plain, and some thought that she was in the " right." Mr *Huet* observes, that the Passion *Malherbe* (*f*) *had to please Courtiers, made him invert the method of his Author, that he neither followed his Pointing nor his Words, and that he studied only to purifie and polish our Language* Mr *Racan* confirms this: " *Malherbe*, says he (*g*), said often, and chiefly " when he was reproved for not following the " Sense of the Authors whom he Translated or " Paraphrased, that he would not dress Meat " for Cooks; meaning, that he did not much " care for the Praises of Learned Men, who un- " derstood the Books he had Translated, provid- " ed he was praised by the Courtiers.

(e) Borel, Biblioth. Françoise p. 269. 2d Edit. 1667.

(f) De claris Interpretibus, l. 2. p. 186. apud Baillet, Jugem. tom. 4. p. 542

(g) Racan ubi supra p. 28

(*F*) *In the Affection of Card.nal* Richelieu.] 'Twas the misfortune of this Poet, that his Laziness was known to this Cardinal He came to know, that instead of writing new Matter, to set forth the Glory of that great Minister, *Malherbe* had only patch'd together old Scraps which he found among his Papers. This was not the way to please so nice a Palate, and one that was so haughty as he was; and therefore he receiv'd this Homage from Mr. *Malherbe* very ill Read these words of Mr *Menage*; " (*h*) I learn'd from Mr *Racan*, that *Mal-* " *herbe* wrote those two Stanza's above thirty " Years before *Richelieu*, to whom he address'd " them, was made a Cardinal, and that he chang'd " only the first four Verses of the first Stanza, to " accommodate them to his Subject I learn'd al- " so from the same *Racan*, that Cardinal *Richelieu*, " who knew that these Verses had not been made " for him, did not receive them well, when *Mal-* " *herbe* presented them to him, which made *Mal-* " *herbe* not to continue them

(h) Menage Observations upon the Poems of Malherbe p. 545

(G) *Of the number of those Authors who write with extream difficulty.*] He who disguis'd himself under the Name of *Eginhardus Germanus*, was not ignorant of this. *It was not*, says he (*i*), *without much watching and labouring, hard, to it* Malherbe *pronounc'd his Divine Poem*. We may compare his Muse to certain Women, who are seven or eight Hours in hard Labour before they can bring forth a Child; and since his Pains were much longer, and more troublesome, than those to which *Balzac* was expos'd in the like Case, they must have been very terrible Consider a little these words: (*k*) " At last it is

(i) Melange d'Histoire & de Literature, p. 223, Paris 1699

(k) Balzac Letter 11 l. 2 to Conrart, p. 111, Edit. Lat.

Correct their own Works. The Vain-glorious way wherewith he ſpoke of his Poems would be more offenſive; were it not that Poets (*H*) have always taken the liberty of praiſing

" finiſh'd; I mean the Diſcourſe which was " mention'd in my laſt Letter, and which is one " of the Five that I have promis'd you. It has " wearied me, ſpent my Spirits, and made me curſe " the Buſineſs a dozen times. Whatever you may " ſay upon this occaſion, I am ſtill leſs difficult " to be pleas'd, than the good Man I have often " mention'd to you, who waſted half a Ream of " Paper to make and unmake one ſingle Stanza. " If your curioſity deſires to know what Stanza " it was, the beginning is as follows.

" *Comme en cueillant une guirlande,*
" *L'homme eſt d'autant plus travaillé.*

" Good God, what pains do we take in ſuch kind " of Trifles! Trifles Moral and Political, in " *French* and *Latin*, in Proſe and Verſe." This is what Mr. *Balzac* wrote to Mr. *Conrart* the 25th of *June* 1651. The good Man here mention'd is our *Malherbe*, as plainly appears from the 5th *Stanza* of his Ode to the Duke of *Bellegarde*.

(*l*) Malherbe's *Poems*, *B.* 4. *p. m.* 102

Comme (l) en cueillant une guirlande,
L'homme eſt d'autant plus travaillé,
Que le parterre eſt émaillé
D'une diverſité plus grande;
Tant de fleurs de tant de coſtez
Faiſant paroiſtre en leurs beautez
L'artifice de la Nature,
Il tient ſuſpendu ſon deſir,
Et ne ſait en cette peinture
Ni que laiſſer, ni que choiſir.

(*n*) He was a Bookſeller of Paris.

If Mr. *Menage* had known this Circumſtance which *Balzac* knew concerning the pains, which that *Stanza* coſt the Author, he had doubtleſs inſerted it in his Notes upon this place of *Malherbe*. I have elſewhere related what is commonly ſaid of the inconceivable Difficulty wherewith Mr. *Balzac* wrote his Books. We have already ſeen what he ſays of it himſelf; and here follows another Paſſage out of his Letters to Mr. *Conrart*. " (*n*) " Mr. *Courbé* thinks perhaps, that I proceed as " faſt as *Salmaſius*, who goes faſter than the " Tranſcribers and Printers. One ſmall Letter " coſts me more pains than a large Book does this " devourer of Books. Happy are thoſe Writers " who are ſo eaſily ſatisfied, who labour only " with their Memory and Fingers, who without " chooſing write all that they know (*o*)". This ſerves me for a Proof; for ſince *Malherbe* was yet more difficult to be pleas'd than Mr. *Balzac* was, whatever repreſents to us the pains of the latter, encreaſes the Idea we have of the great pains, which the other endur'd. What follows is a ſhorter Proof, ſince we find in it, that *Malherbe* ſurpaſs'd *Balzac* in point of trouble. " (*o*) " Good *Malherbe* told me often, that after having Compos'd a Poem of one Hundred Verſes, " or a Diſcourſe of three Sheets, one muſt reſt " Ten full Years. Mr *Courlé* is not of that O- " pinion, neither am I. I don't want to reſt " ſo long after ſuch a ſmall work. But ſhould I " expect that happy Facility, which enables M. *de Scudery* to produce large Volumes, I ſhould be " ignorant of my ſelf, and do my ſelf a greater Honour than I deſerve.

(*o*) Balzac *Letter* 12. *of the firſt Book to* Conrart, *p.* 50. *See what he ſays in Letter* 24 *of the* 2 *B.* O happy Writers, *Salmaſius in Latin*, and *Scudery in French*! I admire your eaſineſs and plenty! You can write more *Calepins* than I can *Almanacks*.

(*a*) Balzac's *Letter* 16. *of the ſame Book*, *p.* 58.

There are ſo many things to be collected about this Character of Mens Wit, that after the many Citations I have already produc'd elſewhere (*b*) upon this Subject, there remains ſtill more to be added. *Caſaubon* was free from the ſlavery under which theſe Authors groan, who write their Letters many times over and do nothing but blot out. He has made an authentick Declaration of it. *De mih. quæſo*, ſays he (*c*), *ut αὐτεχνως & ὡς ἐπὶτὸν ἀσκον γνω λόγο tecum loqui liceat. Polire impenſa cura quæcunque ſcribas, præſertim autem epiſtolas, &*

(*b*) See Linacer *Remark I*

(*c*) Caſaubon Epiſt. 173.

de ſingulis verbis ire in conſilium, diligentiaris eſt hominis atque, ut ingenue dicam, ἀνοητου. φλεγματικὸ quam ego ſum. The Phraſe he makes uſe of to expreſs the Scruples of a Writer, who deliberates upon every word, is that of *Seneca* (*d*) the Father. The Exceſſes committed in this kind, are very much to be blam'd, and are indeed a Yoke which reduces the Pen ſometimes to a kind of barrenneſs. *Quintilian* cenſures it very juſtly, and ſays, *This is to be Condemn'd to the unhappy Puniſhment of ſtandering one's ſelf.* (*e*) *Nec enim rurſus eos qui robur aliquod in ſtylo fecerint, ad infælicem calumniandi ſe panam alligandos puto. Nam quomodo ſuffiuere civilibus officiis poſſit, qui ſingulis actionum partibus inſu.ſcat? Sunt autem quibus nihil ſit ſatis: omnia mutare, omnia aliter dicere quam occurrit, velint: incredulí quidam, & de ingenio ſuo peſſime meriti, qui diligentiam putant, fuere ſibi ſcribendi difficultatem.* It is not eaſie to determine, adds he, whether thoſe who approve whatever they write, are more to be blam'd than thoſe who are always diſcontented. He obſerves, that this great niceneſs is attended ſometimes with ſpite and Deſpair; and he relates what was ſaid to a young Man, who was vex'd for having taken a great deal of needleſs pains for the ſpace of three Hours to find out the Exordium of his Subject: Would you, ſaid one to him, write better than you can do? The Words of *Quintilian* have more Beauty and Strength. (*g*) *Nec promptum eſt dicere, utros petere validius putem, quibus omnia ſua placent, an quibus nihil. Accidit enim etiam ingenioſis adoleſcentibus frequenter, ut labore conſumantur, & in ſilentium uſque deſcendant nimia bene dicendi cupiditate. Qua de re memini narraſſe mihi Julium ſecundum, illum æqualem noſtrum, atque à me, ut notum eſt, familiariter amatum, miræ facundiæ virum, infinitæ tamen curæ, quid eſſet ſibi à patruo ſuo dictum. Is fuit Julius Florus, in eloquentia Galliarum (quoniam ibi demum exercuit eam) princeps, alioqui inter paucos diſertus, & dignus illa propinquitate. Is cum Secundum ſcholæ adhuc operam dantem triſtem forte vidiſſet, interrogavit, Quæ cauſſa frontis tam obductæ? Nec diſſimulavit adoleſcens, tertium jam diem eſſe, ex quo omni labore materiæ ad ſcribendum deſtinatæ non invenuret exordium: quo ſibi non præſens tantum dolor ſed etiam deſperatio in poſterum fieret. Tum Florus arridens,* Num quid tu, *inquit*, melius dicere vis, quam potes? Ita ſe res habet: Curandum eſt, ut quam optime dicamus: dicendum tamen pro facultate. Ad profectum enim opus eſt ſtudio, non indignatione.

(*d*) Quiqui ſ.ſ.ſius ſ.ſ.ent, qui ſe ſingulis verbis in conſilium veniunt, neceſſe eſt quæ totiens animo ſuo admoverint noviſſime affigant. *Seneca præf. lib.* 1 *controverſ. p. m.* 72.

(*e*) Quintil. l. 10. c. 3. p. m. 484.

(*g*) Quintil ubi ſupra.

(*H*) *The Poets have always taken the liberty of praiſing themſelves*] I have (*h*) elſewhere blam'd *Malherbe* for giving himſelf Elogiums more becoming a Captain upon the Stage than an honeſt Man: And I have cited two Authors, whereof one (*i*) condemns him, or (*k*) juſtifies him only ironically, and the other excuſes him in earneſt (*l*), and ſhows, that the liberty of giving one ſelf pompous Elogiums, is an ancient privilege of the Sons of the Muſes. He obſerves, that *Virgil*, *Horace* and *Ovid* have made uſe of it. He treats this Matter more largely in another Work, wherein he relates † the places in which *Ennius*, *Nævius*, *Plautus*, *Catullus*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, *Propertius*, *Lucan*, *Statius* and *Martial* praiſe themſelves. He ſhows alſo (*m*) that the Moderns (*n*) have imitated thoſe Examples. Note, that he goes back as far as the *Greek* Poets; for he cites (*o*) *Pindar*, *Heſiod*, *Theocritus* and *Moſchus*. I refuted a Man the other Day, who told me, that thoſe who pretend that the *Grecians* knew nothing but what they had learn'd from the *Phœnicians*, had forgot a Remark which favours them; which is this, That the Poets who promis'd Immortality to ſome Perſons whom they prais'd, had borrow'd this Idea from the *Epithalamium* contain'd in the 45th *Pſalm*, which ends thus according to the Verſion of *Buchanan*.

Nec ſu carminibus regina tacebere noſtris,
Quæque patet tellus liquido circumſona pon.
Fœmineas te ſ.ra canet, quamque aurea volve.
Aſtra polus, in mori ſ.ſ.ſ celebrabere fama.

(*h*) In the *new Letters againſt* Maimbourg. *p.* 123.

(*i*) Coſta's *Letter* 50. *vol.* 1. *p.* 126.

(*k*) *Idem continuation of the defence of* Voiture, *p. m.* 32.

(*l*) Menage's *Obſervations upon the Poems of* Malherbe, *p.* 331, *&c.*

† Id. Anti-Baillet, *tom.* 2. *p.* 139.

(*m*) Id. *c.* 137. 140.

(*n*) F. Caſimir Sarbieſchi, F. Vavaſſeur, F. Rapin, F. Commire, *in their Latin Verſes*: Ronſard, Joachim du Bellai, Malherbe, *and* du Perier *in their French Verſes*

(*o*) Men ib. c. 138.

praiſing themſelves exceſſively. I don't doubt but that 'tis he whom *Balzac* ſpeaks of when he laughs at a certain Tyrant of Syllables (*I*).

MAMMILLARIANS, a Sect among the *Anabaptiſts*. I do not know the time when this new Schiſm aroſe; but the City of *Haerlem* * is ſaid to be the Native Place of this Subdiviſion. It owes its Original to the liberty which a young Man took of putting his Hand into the Boſom of a Maid whom he lov'd, and had a mind to Marry: This touch of her Breaſt came to the knowledge of the Church; and hereupon they conſulted what Puniſhment the Delinquent ought to ſuffer. Some maintain'd that he ought to be Excommunicated; others ſaid that his Fault deſerv'd favour, and would never conſent to his Excommunication. The Diſpute grew to ſuch a height, that it caus'd a total Rupture between the two Parties. Thoſe who declar'd for Indulgence to the young Man, were call'd (*A*) *Mammillarians* †. In one ſenſe this does a great deal of Honour to the *Anabaptiſts*; for it is a proof that they are much more ſtrict in their Morals (*B*) than thoſe who are called *Rigoriſts* in the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries. I ſhall relate to this purpoſe a certain Story (*C*) which is told of *Labadie*. I have been told that ſome People of Senſe maintain'd one Day in Converſation, that there will never be (*D*) any *Baſiarians*, or *Oſculatians* among the *Anabaptiſts*

* *See* Micrælius ſyntagm. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. p 1012. *edit.* 1679.

† *See* Stoupp's *Religion of the* Hollanders, *Letter* 3. *p. m.* 16. *See alſo the Syntagma of* Micrælius *ubi ſupra.*

MAMURRA,

Quant eſt de moi, à ton nom & ta gloire
Ecrai eſcrits d'éternelle memoire,
Et par leſquels les gens a l'avenir
Sans fin voudront te chanter & benir.

I told this Man, that his Remark appear'd to me Childiſh, and that he was much to blame to wonder, that Mr. *Menage* had not made uſe of it. Mr *Menage* had too much Judgment to mix prophane and ſacred Authorities together.

(*I*) *When he laughs at a certain Tyrant of Syllables.*] The Deſcription is very lively, and may convince us that there are People, who are little reſpected after their Deaths, by thoſe Perſons who gave them a thouſand tokens of Veneration, and who fancy, that provided they don't name them, they may be as ſharp upon them as they pleaſe. This is my proof for it

(g Balzac Socrate Chreſtean Diſcourſe 10. p. m. 267, 268.

" (g You remember the old Court Pedagogue, who " was formerly call'd the Tyrant of Words and " Syllables; nay, when he was in a good Humour " he call'd himſelf the *Grammarian* with Spectacles " and gray Hair. We muſt not imitate the ri- " diculous things which are related of this old Do- " ctor, our Ambition is to follow better Exam- " ples. I pity a Man who makes ſo great a " difference between *Pas* and *Point*, who treats " of *Gerunds* and *Participles*, as if they were " two Neighbouring Nations jealous of their " Frontiers. This Doctor in the vulgar Tongue, " us'd to ſay, that he had endeavour'd to *Ungaſcon* " the Court, but that he could not obtain his " End. Death ſnapt him minding a Period, and " he was ſurpriz'd by his Climacterical Year, " whilſt he was deliberating whether *Doute* and " *Erreur* were Maſculine or Feminine. With what " Attention did he deſire to be heard, when he " dogmatiz'd on the Uſe and Virtue of Particles?

(*A*) *Were called* Mammillarians.] I need not here turn Etymologiſt: All that underſtand *French* know, that the word *Mammelle*, which is now little us'd, ſignifies the ſame thing as *Teton*, a Teat.

(*B*) *Who are much more ſtrict in their Morals than the Rigoriſts.*] The looſeſt Caſuiſts's, the *Sanchez*'s, and the *Eſcobars* condemn the touching of the Paps. They agree that it is an Impurity and a branch of Luxury, one of the ſeven mortal Sins. But if I miſtake not, they do not impoſe upon him that is guilty of it any very ſevere Penance; and there are many Countries in *Europe*, where they are forc'd to treat this as one of the ſmall Faults, which are called *quotidianæ incurſionis*. This bad Practice is ſo common in thoſe Countries, and it is a thing ſo ordinary even in the middle of the Streets, eſpecially among the common People, that the moderate Caſuiſts perſuade themſelves this prevailing Cuſtom blots out one half of the Crime. They think that it is look'd upon under the Idea of a very diſhoneſt Liberty, and that the offence of the Spectators is very ſmall: Upon which account they ſlightly paſs over this Article of Confeſſion. I do not believe that any Rigoriſt did ever, upon ſuch an occaſion, delay the Abſolution of his Penitent, not even in thoſe Climates where this kind of Fumbling is little us'd, and paſſes for one of thoſe Liberties, at which Women are oblig'd to be angry. Thus the *Anabaptiſts* are the moſt rigid of all the Chriſtian Moraliſts, ſince they condemn to Excommunication one that touches the Boſom of a Miſtreſs whom he has a mind to Marry, and break off Eccleſiaſtical Communion with thoſe who will not Excommunicate ſuch a Spark.

(*C*) *A certain Story which is told of* Labadie.] All who have heard of this Man, know that he recommended to his Devoto's both Men and Women ſome Spiritual Exerciſes, and that he prepar'd them for inward Recollection and mental Prayer 'Tis ſaid, that having given to one of his devout Women a ſubject of Meditation, and recommended to her earneſtly an entire and cloſe Application to this great Object for ſome Hours, he came near her when he thought that ſhe was moſt recollected, and put his Hand into her Boſom. She beat him off briskly, and declar'd to him her great ſurprize at this kind of proceeding, and was preparing to cenſure him when he prevented her. *I perceive, my Child*, ſaid he to her, without being diſturb'd, and with a devout Air, *that you are ſtill very far from Perfection: Confeſs humbly your weakneſs, beg pardon of God for having been ſo little attentive to the Myſteries you are meditating upon. If you had had all the attention that was neceſſary, you would not have perceived that which was done to your Breaſt. But you was ſo little abſtracted from Senſe, ſo little concentred with the Deity, that in a moment you knew when I touched you. My deſign was to try your fervour in Prayer, whether you were raiſed above Matter, and united to the Sovereign Being, the living Source of Immortality and Spiritualty, and I perceive, with much grief, that you have made but a very ſmall progreſs. Let this, my Child, fill you with Confuſion, and excite you to perform better for the future the holy Duty of mental Prayer.* 'Tis ſaid, the Maid having good Senſe as well as Vertue, was no leſs angry at theſe words, than at the Action of *Labadie*, and that ſhe would no more hear of ſuch a Guide. I do not warrant the certainty of all theſe Facts, but I do affirm, that 'tis very probable, that ſome of theſe Spiritual Devoto's, who make People believe, that a ſtrong Meditation will raviſh the Soul, and hinder it from perceiving the Actions of the Body, have a mind to fumble their devout Siſters with Impunity, and to do ſtill worſe: of which the *Molinoſiſts* are accus'd. In general, there is no thing more dangerous to the Mind, than too myſtical, and too much abſtracted Devotions, and doubtleſs the Body in that caſe runs ſome hazard, and many are glad to be deceiv'd.

(*D*) *There will never be any* Baſiarians *or* Oſculatians.] Theſe would be a ſort of People who would cut Men off from their Communion, becauſe they would not conſent to Excommunicate thoſe who kiſs their Miſtreſſes. Thoſe who denied that any ſuch Schiſm can be expected, did it upon theſe grounds. Such a Schiſm is not poſſible, ſaid they, unleſs ſome Caſuiſts ſhould be ſo ſevere, as to make Excommunication the Puniſhment of a Kiſs, as ſome have been found ſo rigid, as to make a Man undergo that Penance who had touch'd the Breaſt of his Miſtreſs. Theſe two Caſes are no-wiſe parallel. The Laws of Courtſhip in certain Nations, continued they, have eſtabliſh'd from Generation to Generation, and chiefly among Perſons of the third State, that Kiſſes ſhould be the firſt favour, and that touching the Breaſt ſhould be almoſt the laſt, or the laſt but one When People are educated in theſe Principles, they do not believe that they do, or ſuffer any great matter by Kiſſing; but they believe

MAMURRA, a *Roman* Knight, a Native of *Formium*, purchas'd prodigious * Riches in *Gaul*, where he attended *Cæsar* in the quality of Overseer of the Work-men, if I may so translate the *Præfectus Fabrûm* in *Pliny*. He us'd his Riches as voluptuous Men do; he heap'd them up with great Avarice, and a devouring Extortion, and spent them prodigally in all sorts of Luxury. *Alieni appetens, sui profusus*, as is said of *Catiline* †. He built a House extreamly magnificent at *Rome* upon Mount *Cœlius*; all its Walls were cover'd with Marble, and he was the first * that built one with that Magnificence, which consisted in placing handsomely little pieces of Marble very thin, and of divers Colours, all over the Walls. There was no Column in this House but what was all of the most precious Marble. *Catullus* (*E*) made very Satyrical Verses against the immense Robberies of *Mamurra*, and the debauch'd Life which he supposed between *Julius Cæsar* and him: We have spoken of it in the Article of this Poet.

* Cicero ad Attic. l. 7 Epist. 7. Plin. ubi infra.

† Sallust. in bello Catilinar.

MANARD (JOHN) Born at *Ferrara* in 1462, was one of the ablest Physicians of his Age: You will find in *Moreri*, that he was Physician to *Uladislaus* King of *Hungary*, that afterwards he was Professor in Physick at *Ferrara*, and that having Married when he was very old a young Wife, he run into Extravagancies (*A*) which kill'd him. The Poets did not fail to jest upon this occasion, and chiefly those who knew that an

*Primum Romæ parietes crusta marmoris operuisse totius domus suæ in Cœlio monte Cornelius Nepos tradidit Mamurram Formiis natum, equitem Romanum, Præfectum fabrum C. Cæsaris in Gallia. Neq; indignatio sit tali auctore inventa re, hic namque est Mamurra Catulli Veronensis carminibus pro scissus, quem & res & domus ipsius clarius quam Catullus dixit habere quidquid habuisset comata Gallia &c. Plin. l. 36. c. 6.

they do or suffer a great deal by the handling of the Breast. And therefore, tho' those who administer the Canonical Laws, complain'd very much of the young Man, who was protected by the *Mammillarians*, it does not follow that they would do so against the other kind of Courtship. No, they would allow something to Custom, and pardon those Liberties which pass for the first Element, and the Alphabet of caressing Civilities. I relate these things, only to show, that there is no Subject to which the Conversation of Persons of Merit will not sometimes descend. 'Tis not useless to discover this weakness of intelligent Men. Does such a Speculation deserve in Conscience to be examin'd? And after all, had it not been much better, not to have given a decisive Answer about a thing future? *De futuro contingenti non est quoad nos determinata veritas*, is the judicious saying of the Masters of the Schools of Philosophy.

I observe, by the by, that in some Countries it was suppos'd, that the first Kiss a Maid receiv'd from her Gallant, was that of her Betrothing. This we read in the History of *Marseilles*. (*a*) *The Man gave commonly a Ring to the Woman on the Day of their Betrothing, and made also some considerable Present in acknowledgment for the Kiss he gave her. In effect*, Fulco, *Viscount of* Marseilles, *made a Grant in* 1005, *to* Odila *betrothed to him, for the first Kiss, of all the demesns he had in the Territories of* Sixfours, Cireste, Soliers, Cuges *and* Olieres. *This Custom was founded, as I take it, upon the Law* (1) 16. Si a Sponso, *which ordained, that when the Marriage did not take effect, the Woman betrothed should get half of the Presents she had received from the Man; for the Ancients believed that the purity of a Virgin was defiled by one single Kiss; but this Law at present is abrogated in this Kingdom.*

(*a*) Russi. *Hist of* Mars. *tom.* 2. *p.* 391. *edit.* 1696.

(1) *Leg.* 16. *Cod. lib.* 5.

(*E*) Catullus *made very Satyrical Verses.*] Here follows the beginning of his Thirtieth Epigram:

Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati
Nisi impudicus, & vorax & helluo?
Mamurram habere quod Comata Gallia
Habebat unctum, & ultima Britannia.
Cinæde Romule hæc videbis & feres,
Es impudicus & vorax & alco.

The 58th Epigram is yet more sharp.

Pulcre convenit improbis Cinædis,
Mamurræ Pathicoque Cæsarique.

(*c*) Corradus, & Lambinus.

Some Interpreters (*c*) of *Cicero*, think that these words of the 52d. Letter of the 13th Book to *Atticus*, *Tum audivit de Mamurra, vultum non mutavit* (*d*), signifie, that *Cæsar* did not change his Colour, when he was told, that *Catullus* had written Verses against him and *Mamurra*: But this explication is ill-grounded. *Cæsar* being return'd from the defeat of *Pompey*'s Sons, was then at a Country-House of *Cicero*'s. Now what probability is there, that he was then ignorant of the Verses of *Catullus*, and that it was any News to inform him of them? We have shown at large (*e*) in another place, that the defeat of *Pompey*'s Sons was long after the Reconciliation of *Cæsar* and *Catullus*. *Manutius* imagines, that some then spoke to *Cæsar* about the neglect of the sumptuary Laws, of which *Mamurra* was then guilty. This is more probable than the Explication of *Lambinus*.

(*d*) *The Edition of Mr.* Grævius *has it* non mutavi.

(*e*) *In the Article of* Catullus.

(*A*) *Extravagancies which kill'd him. The Poets did not fail.*] *Paulus Jovius* accuses him of great want of Judgment. When he was very Old and Gouty, says he, he married a Wife whose Beauty and Youth requir'd a Man in the Flower of his Age. The worst of it was, adds he, that he fell into intemperance, even at the expence of his Life: He show'd a greater desire to have Children than to live, and he was willing to hasten the Hour of his Death, provided he could obtain the Title of Father. (*a*) *Duxit autem uxorem plane senex, & articulorum dolore distortus, ab ætate, formaque, florentis juvenis toro dignam, adeo levi judicio, & letali quidem intemperantia, ut maturando funeri suo, aliquanto prolis, quam vitæ cupidior ab amicis censeretur.* You may find in *Moreri* (*b*) an Epigram consisting of six Latin Verses upon this Subject, by *Cursius*; but you will not find there this distich of *Latomus*.

(*a*) Paulus Jovius in Elog. *c.* 81. *p.* 190.

In fovea qui te peristurum dixit Aruspex,
Non est mentitus: conjugis illa fuit.

(*b*) *It is in* Paulus Jovius, ibid.

This *Distich* was so much descanted upon, that at last some said, that *Manard*, to shun the Prediction, kept at a distance from all Ditches. He dream'd of nothing but the literal sense, and never mistrusted the Allegorical: But he knew by experience, that it is not always the Letter which kills, and that the Allegory sometimes gives the mortal Blow. He died on the Night of his Marriage, in the very Minute of Enjoyment, and thus the Prediction was fulfill'd. Thus some Writers circumstantiate the thing. I wonder they did not compare him to Bees (*c*) who die by the Stings which they give. (*d*) *Johannes Manardus——cum ab Astrologo ipsi prædictum fuisset, vitæ periculum in* FOVEA *ipsi imminere, à foveis sibi timuit & fossis, non satis perspecta oraculi κρύψει. Cum vero illiberis, prolis aliquanto quam vitæ cupidior, plane senex uxorem duceret juvenculam, prima nuptiali nocte cum dilecta concumbens, desideratis intentus amoribus, in genitali fovea extinctus, suavi morte oraculi implevit scopum, & funus maturavit suum.* I believe they are mistaken; for such a Circumstance would never have been omitted by those who first spoke of this matter; and I observe that *Paulus Jovius* induces us to believe that *Manard* did not die so soon. No body informs us whether his endeavours were attended with some fecundity, and whether he had at least the consolation to leave his Wife big with Child. To labour much, and after all return empty, is very unpleasant.

(*c*) Animasque in vulnere ponunt. *Virgil. Georg.* [illegible] *v.* 242.

(*d*) Vera Eleusinia patefacta, *p.* 181, 182, *edit. Francof.* 1684.

Αἰνῶς γ' (*e*) τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὰ μὴν ἐν τε γένεσθαι.
Nam turpe diuque manere inanemque redire.

(*e*) Homer Il. *l.* 2. *v.* 298

If it were true, that this good old Man died in the Night of his Marriage, a Soothsayer who had foretold him what is to be seen in the two Verses, which are in the close of a Passage I am now to transcribe, had answer'd much better than he that made the Latin Distich already cited. The Passage is taken out of [illegible] Chevreau, and is very pat to the purpose, for it is concerning the Incidence of old Men who Marry. "(*f*) If you had "consider'd seriously the principal end [illegible] "riage, you would easily have perceived [illegible] "principal

(*f*) Chevreau's *Miscellanies, part* 1. *p.* 149. *in a Letter dated* October 15. 1691.

an Aſtrologer had foretold he ſhould die in a Ditch. He died at *Ferrara* in *March* 1536. at the Age (*B*) of Seventy Four Years, and was * interr'd in the Cloiſter of the *Carmelites*. 'Tis ſaid in the Inſcription of his Sepulchre, that he had (*C*) reſtor'd Phyſick to its ancient Dignity, after he had many times put to flight the many baſe Pretenders that diſhonour'd it. His Letters † are the beſt part of his Works. *Calcagninus* commends them, and ſpeaks (*D*) of their Author with great Eſteem.

* Tandemque redit ad pulpita notum Exodium cum perſonæ pallentis hiatum In gremio matris formidat ruſticus infans. *Juvenal Sat.* 3. *v.* 174.

† *They are didided into twenty Books: you may find a Summary of them in* Geſner's *Bibliotheque.*

MANDUCUS. Thus the *Romans* nam'd certain Figures, or Perſons whom they produced in a Comedy, or (*A*) at other publick Sports, to make ſome laugh, and to terrifie others. 'Tis not difficult to gueſs why theſe Perſons were thus call'd. We need only remember, that they had great Cheeks, a great open Mouth, and long and ſharp Teeth, which they cracked luſtily. *Juvenal* * informs us, that Children were frighted with them: And from hence doubtleſs the Mothers took occaſion to threaten their Children who would not obey † their Commands, that *Manducus* would come and eat them. It was therefore made a Night Scare-crow or Spectre. This did not ill agree with the Tradition of the *Lamiæ*; for 'twas ſaid, that they alſo devour'd Children. If we muſt believe *Scaliger* (*B*) *Manducus* was call'd *Pytho Gorgonius*, by a Poet who thus entitled a Dramatick Piece. This Poet applied himſelf chiefly to the Comedies call'd *Atellanes*, wherein this kind of Figures above-mention'd, did chiefly take place. Our Remarks contain a proof of all this. In a parallel between the Ancient and Modern Cuſtoms, one ſhould join together *Manducus* and *Loupgarou*; *i. e.* *The Man-Wolf*. See our Article of *Acco*.

(†) *See the Commentary upon the Emblems of* Alciatus, *p.* 717 *of the edit of* Padua, 1661.

MANICHEANS, Hereticks, whoſe infamous Sect founded by one (*A*) *Manes*, [illegible] in the Third Century, and ſettled in many Provinces, and

(*g*) Id. ib. pag. 150.

(*h*) Patin's *Letter* 96. *p.* 383. *of tom.* 1.

(*l*) F. Agoſtino Superbi da Ferrara, Theologo e Predicatore de Minori Conventuali, apparato degli huomini illuſtri della citta di *Ferrara*, *p.* 74.

(*m*) Geſner in Biblioth. *fol.* 455.

(*n*) *It is in* Agoſtino Superbi, *who ſays 'tis to be ſeen in the Cloiſter of the* Carmelites *of* Ferrara.

(*o*) *I do not know whether the ſe four Letters ſignifie* plus minus ſexaginta.

(*p*) Calcagninus epiſt. 54. l. 20. inter Eraſmianas, *p.* 1019

" principal end does not belong to us who are " Eighty Years old: And I offer at a venture to " maintain at my own Charges the Nurſes of the " firſt Fruits of your Family, provided you have " no helper, and do not delight in rocking " other folks Children in the Cradle at your Houſe. " (*g*) The Counſel of St. *Paul*, *That 'tis better to marry than to burn*, in my Opinion does neither belong to you nor to me: And I could relate to " you many examples and Authorities of the ridiculouſneſs of old Men, who reſolve to marry, " when they ought to think of their Funerals. " This ridiculouſneſs is always mortal; and you " may underſtand me without a Commentary, " when I put you in mind of the Verſes which *Hardy* aſcribes to a Confident of *Alcyoneus*, who " thought that in order to get the States of his " King, he ſhould marry his Daughter.

" One and the ſame Torch you ſhall have,
" To light you both to Bed and the Grave."

Let us add to this a Paſſage of *Guy Patin* (*h*). *A Counſellor of the great Chamber, being almoſt upon the brink of the Grave, would needs marry a pretty young Daughter of another Counſellor. I think the good Man fanſies he has done a fine Exploit; but ſee how well theſe good Men are capable of judging our Cauſes who commit ſuch follies.* We have ſeen in another place what Dr. *Patin* ſaid of ſuch another Paſſion of Dr. *de Lorme* a famous Phyſician, and who had, as ſome ſay, a Fate very different from that of our *Manard*; he was the occaſion of the Death of his young Spouſe, and hereby ſhow'd that the Aphoriſm, *The weakeſt goes to the Wall*, is not always true.

(*B*) *He died in March* 1536, *at the Age of* 74 *Years.*] This is ſet down in his Epitaph. Brother *Auguſtin Superbi* of *Ferrara* is miſtaken when he affirms (*l*), that our *Manard* died in 1545. *Geſner* (*m*) on the other ſide, who wrote his Biblioteheque in 1544, and who tells us, that he heard ſome ſay, that *Manard* died about ſix Years before, was not well inform'd.

(*C*) *He reſtored Phyſick to its ancient Dignity.*] The words of his (*n*) Epitaph are theſe. *Ann.* (*o*) *P. M. L. X. Continuato inter tuos Docendo & Scribendo, tum innocentiſſime medendo omnem Medicinam ex arce bonarum literarum ſæde prolapſam, & in Barbarorum Poteſtatem ac ditionem redactam, Proſtratis ac profligatis hoſtium copiis identidem ut Hydra renaſcentibus in Antiquum Priſtinumque ſtatum ac nitorem reſtituit.*

(*D*) Calcagninus *ſpeaks of* Manard *with a very great eſteem.*] This is in a Letter he wrote to *Eraſmus* in 1525, wherein you may ſee that having declar'd his Affliction for the Death of *Camicenus*, he adds: (*p*) *Una res mihi ſolatio fuit, quod* Joannes Manardus *vir* Græcè *&* Latine *doctiſſimus, rem medicam curæ arcanæ iſdem veſtigiis proſequitur, cujus rei ſpecimen dare poſſunt epiſtolæ, quas proxime edidit: eas puto in manus tuas pervenſſe, quod ſi nondum pervenſſe ſignificaveris, dabo curam, ut quamprimum ad te perferantur. Scripſit ille quidem alia plurima digna immortalitate, ſed vir minime ambitioſus ea nondum publicam materiam fecit: hoc ſuperſtite minus Leonicenum deſideramus.*

(*A*) *Or at other publick Sports.*] I prove it by theſe two Verſes of *Plautus* (*q*).

CH. *Quid ſi aliquo ad ludos me pro Manduco locem?*
LA. *Quapropter?* CH. *Quia pol clarè crepito dentibus.*

(*q*) Rudent. act. 2. Scen. 6. *v.* 51.

Upon which the Commentator *Philippus Pareus* makes this Note which he borrow'd from *Scaliger*. (*r*) *Manducus eſt μορμολυκεῖον quod in ludis circumferebatur inter cæteras ridiculariaſ & formidoloſas perſonas, magnis malis, lateque dehiſcens & clarè crepitans dentibus. Scaliger* adds, that this was done chiefly when the *Atellanes* were acted, and cites the Paſſage I have related out of *Juvenal*. *Dentes*, continues he, *magnos & voracitatem attribuebant nocturnis illis terriculamentis; quo nomine factum ut Lamiam puerorum infantium deglutricem fingerent.*

(*r*) Scalig in Varron. de ling. Lat. p. 150

(*B*) *If we muſt believe* Scaliger.] Here is the ſequel of the words alledg'd in the preceding Article. *Inde Pomponius Atellanarius Poëta inſcripſit exodium quoddam Pythonem Gorgonium, qui nihil aliud erat, ut puto, quam ille Manducus, de quo dixi. Nam Pythonem pro terriculamento, & Gorgonium pro Manduco, quia ſpectabat cum magnis dentibus pingebantur. Itaque apud Nonium ita leges,* gumiæ Guloſi. *Lucilius libro* XXX.

Illo quid fiat Lamia, & Pytho oxyodontes.
Quo veniunt illæ gumiæ, vetulæ, improbæ, ineptæ

(*A*) *Founded by one* Manes.] He was a *Perſian* by Nation, of a very mean Birth, but *well-ſhap'd and of a good Wit*, (*a*) which was the reaſon that a Widow who bought him, *had took an Affection for him, adopted him for her Son, and took care to have him inſtructed by the Magi, in the Diſcipline and Philoſophy of the Perſians, wherein he improv'd ſo much, that being otherwiſe naturally Eloquent, and expreſſing himſelf eaſily and with a good Grace, he acquir'd the Reputation of a ſubtil and learned Philoſopher.* He ſtudied chiefly the Books of a certain *Arabian* call'd *Scythianus*, and took from him the greateſt part of his wicked Doctrines. *Terebinthus* Heir to the Eſtate, Money, and Impieties of *Scythianus*, had brought upon himſelf a great Perſecution, for having Publiſh'd ſome Doctrines in *Perſia*, and fled to this Widow's Houſe. He made a very Tragical End; his Books and Money remained with the Widow, and by this means *Manes* found in her Houſe the Writings of *Scythianus*. " (*b*) When, according his to cuſtom, " he aſcended in the Night-time to the top of the " Houſe (*c*) to invoke upon the Platform the Demons of the Air, which the *Manichæans* have us'd " ſince in their execrable Ceremonies, he was ſuddenly ſtruck with a Blow from Heaven, which " threw

(*a*) Maimbourg's *Hiſt of St.* Leo. *B.* 1 *p.* 11

(*b*) Maimb ib

(*c*) *i. e. the Widow's Houſe*

and continu'd a very long time, tho' they taught ſuch Doctrines, as of all things in the World ſhould create in us the greateſt Horror. Their weakneſs did not conſiſt, as at firſt it may ſeem, in their Doctrine of two Principles, one good, and the other bad; but in the particular Explications (*B*) they gave of them, and in the practical Conſequences

" threw him down from the top to the bottom up-
" on the Ground, whereby his Head was cruſh'd
" and his Neck broken." St. *Epiphanius* relates (*d*) that *Scythianus* had the ſame fate; *i. e.* that he fell from the top of his own Houſe. Others ſay, that the Devil carried *Terebinthus* into a Deſert, and there ſtrangled him, and that *Scythianus* was cruſh'd under the Ruins of his Houſe at *Jeruſalem*. (*e*) *Scythianus autem domus ſuæ ruina oppreſſus miſere periit. Diſcipulum autem & ſucceſſorem doctrinæ ſuæ habuit quendam nomine Buddam, cognomine Terebinthum, qui & ipſe à Satana in ſolitudinem abreptus ſtrangulatus eſt.* They ſay alſo (*f*) that *Manes* Married the Widow who enfranchis'd him, and hereby they find a continuation of the Parallel they make between him and *Mahomet*. They add, that he was flea'd alive, becauſe of the Enchantments and Witchcraft he us'd to kill the King's Son. *Poſtquam ſuis incantationibus Regis Perſarum filium necaſſet, vivus ab eo excoriatus eſt* (*g*). But it is much more probable, that he did all that lay in him to cure him. This is certain, that he pretended to reſtore his Health, but he did not perform his promiſe. "(*h*)
" The Report being ſpread every where of the
" great Power he was ſaid to have of working Mi-
" racles, he was ſent for by King *Sapores* to cure
" his Son who was very ſick. At firſt this bold
" Deceiver drove away all the Phyſicians who had
" undertaken the Cure of this young Prince, and
" promis'd the King to reſtore him quickly to per-
" fect Health, without any other Remedy but
" that of his own (*i*) Prayers. But the Child dy-
" ing between his Arms, the King being furiouſly
" provok'd againſt him, caus'd him to be put into
" Priſon, from whence he eſcap'd and fled into
" *Meſopotamia*. There he was twice confuted in
" two ſolemn Diſputes, by the Holy and Learn'd
" Biſhop (*i*) *Archelaus*, who had much a do to
" ſave him from the fury of the People, who
" would have torn him in pieces. Nevertheleſs
" this ſecur'd him but a little while, for in a ſhort
" time after he was re-taken by ſome Horſe-Men,
" who were ſent every where after him, and car-
" ried to *Sapores*, who caus'd him to be flea'd a-
" live, and then threw his Body to the Dogs to
" be devour'd by them, and hang'd up his Skin
" ſtuffed with Straw before one of the Gates of
" the City.

(*B*) *The Explications they gave of them, and the practical Conſequences.*] According to the *Manicheans* (*k*) the two Principles fought together and in this Conflict there was made a mixture of Good and Evil. Ever ſince the good Principle labour'd to ſeparate what belong'd to him: He ſpread his Vertue among the Elements to make in them this ſeparation. The Elect alſo labour'd in it; for all that was impure in the Meat they did eat, ſeparated from the Particles of the good Principle, and then theſe Particles thus ſever'd and purify'd, were tranſported to the Kingdom of God, their firſt Country, upon two Veſſels appointed for that purpoſe. Theſe two Veſſels are the Sun and Moon. (*l*) *Ipſam vero boni a malo purgationem ac liberationem non ſolum per totum mundum, & de omnibus ejus elementis virtutem Dei facere dicunt; verum etiam Electos ſuos per alimenta quæ ſumunt, & eis quippe alimentis, ſicuti univerſo mundo, Dei ſubſtantiam perhibent eſſe commixtam, quam purgari putant in Electis ſuis eo genere vitæ, quo vivunt Electi Manichæorum, velut ſanctius & excellentius auditoribus ſuis* —— (*m*) *Quicquid vero undique purgatur luminis per quaſdam naves (quas eſſe lunam & ſolem volunt) regno Dei tanquam propriis ſedibus reddi.* Theſe Hereticks " (*n*) imagin'd, that to ſave Souls God had made a great " Machine, compos'd of twelve Veſſels, which inſenſibly carried the Souls on high, and afterwards unladed them in the Moon, which having purified theſe Souls by its Rays, convey'd them into the Sun and into Glory, and hereby they explain'd the different appearances of the Moon. It was in the Full, when the Veſſels brought thither a multitude of Souls, and it decreas'd proportionably as theſe Souls were removed out of it into Glory." There were in theſe Veſſels, ſaid they, certain Vertues which aſſumed the ſhape of a Man, on purpoſe to make the Women of the other party fall in Love with them; for during the motions of Luſt, the Light which is entangled in the Members flies away, and is receiv'd into the tranſport Veſſels, which reſtore it to its natural place. (*o*) *Eſſe autem in eis navibus ſanctas virtutes, quæ ſe in maſculos tranſigurant, ut illiciant fœminas gentis adverſæ, & per hanc illecebram commota eorum concupiſcentia fugiat de illis lumen, quod membris ſuis permixtum tenebant, & purgandum ſuſceperant ab Angelis lucis, purgatumque illis navibus imponatur ad regna propria reportandum.* While ſome Vertues aſſumed the ſhape of a Man, others took upon them that of a Woman, to entice Men to love them, and ſo reciprocally to make the laſcivious Fires ſeparate the ſubſtances of Light from the ſubſtances of Darkneſs. (*p*) *Certè iiii libri Manichæi ſunt omnibus ſine dubitatione communes, in quibus libris illa portenta ad illiciendas, & per concupiſcentiam diſſolvendos utriuſque ſexus principes tenebrarum, ut liberata fugiat ab eis, quæ captivata tenebatur in eis divina ſubſtantia, de maſculorum in fœminas, & fœminarum in maſculos tranſfiguratione conſcripta ſunt.* If you add to this, that they fancy'd that the parts of Light (*q*) were much more intermix'd with the parts of Darkneſs, in Perſons that do the Work of Generation than in others, you may underſtand the monſtrous Alliance they made between theſe two Doctrines, whereof one was, that Men muſt not marry nor procreate Children; the other is, that they may give the Reins to the tranſports of Nature, provided they hinder Conception. *Et ſi uruntur conjugibus, conceptum tamen generationemque devitant, ne divina ſubſtantia quæ in eos per alimenta ingreditur vinculis carneis ligetur in prole* (*r*). It ſeems they believ'd that *Saclas*, one of the Princes of Darkneſs, a greater devourer of Children than *Saturn*, could not find a better way of holding in cloſe Priſon the Divine Particles he had eaten, than that of Generation, and that for this end he came near his Wife, and begot two Children on her, which were *Adam* and *Eve*. (*a*) *Adam & Evam ex parentibus principibus fumi aſſerunt natos, cum pater eorum nomine Saclas ſociorum ſuorum fœtus omnium devoraſſet, & quicquid inde commixtum divinæ ſubſtantiæ ceperat, cum uxore concumbens in carne prolis, tanquam tenaciſſimo vinculo, colligaſſet.* Now becauſe they look'd upon their Elect as very good Purifiers, I mean as Perſons who did admirably ſilter the parts of the Divine Subſtance, entangled and impriſoned in the Aliments (*b*), they gave them the Principles of Generation to eat, and 'tis ſaid, that they mixed them with the Symbols of the Euchariſt, a thing ſo abominable, that the Biſhop of *Meaux* had reaſon to ſay, (*c*) *That one dares not think, and much leſs write of it.* The words of St. *Auſtin* are theſe; (*d*) *Qua occaſione vel potius execrabilis ſuperſtitionis quadam neceſſitate coguntur Electi eorum velut Euchariſtiam conſperſam cum ſemine humano ſumere, utcumque inde, ſicut de aliis cibis quos accipiunt, ſubſtantia illa divina purgetur.* —— (*e*) *Ac per hoc ſequitur eos, ut ſic eam & de ſemine humano, quemadmodum de aliis ſeminibus, quæ in alimentis ſumunt, debeant manducando purgare. Unde etiam Cathariſtæ appellantur, quaſi purgatores, tantam eam purgantes diligentiam, ut ſe nec alba tam bovem: cibi turpitudine abſtineant.* They did not own that they committed this Abomination; but 'tis pretended (*f*) that they were convicted of it: To which purpoſe a Modern Writer tells us, " (*g*)
" Since they believed that the Spirit came from a
" good Principle, and that the Fleſh and the Body
" were from an ill one, they taught that Men ought to
" hate, deſpiſe and diſhonour it by all ways poſſible;
" and upon this pretence, there is no ſort of exe-
" crable Uncleanneſs wherewith they did not de-
" file themſelves in their Aſſemblies." St. *Auſtin* does not attribute to them this reaſoning; yet I do not ſay that *Maimbourg* is miſtaken, for the Doctrine and Conduct of the *Manicheans*, is related many different ways, which came to paſs without doubt, either becauſe they varied their Doctrine from Age to Age, or becauſe all their contemporary Doctors did no explain it after the ſame manner; or laſtly, becauſe all their Adverſaries did not rightly underſtand them. It was thought fit to deſtroy

all

(*d*) Epiphan. adv. hæreſ. *p.* 620.

(*e*) Lamb. Danæus notis in librum Auguſt. de hæreſibus, *fol.* 118. *verſo.*

(*f*) Id. ib. *fol.* 120.

(*g*) Id. ib.

(*h*) Maim. ibid. *pag.* 13, 14.

(*i*) Yet St. Epiphan. ib. p. 621 *ſays, that he uſed Remedies.* Τινὰ καὶ φαρμακείαις προσέγναι. Cum medicamenta quædam adhibuiſſet.

(*i*) Hier. de Script. Eccl. in Archelao

(*k*) Auguſtin. de hæreſ. c. 46.

(*l*) Id. ib. *fol.* 115. *edit.* Lamberti Danæi.

(*m*) Ibid. *fol.* 115. *verſo.*

(*n*) Baſnage's *Hiſt. of the Religion of the Reformed Churches*, tom. 1 p. 125, 126.

(*o*) Auguſt. ibid.

(*p*) Id ib. *fol.* 116

(*q*) In cæteris autem hominibus, etiam in ipſis auditoribus ſuis, hanc partem bonæ divinæque ſubſtantiæ, quæ mixta & colligata in eſcis & potibus detinetur, maximeque in eis qui generant filios, arctius & inquinatius colligari putant. *Ib. fol.* 115.

(*r*) Auguſtin. *ibid. fol.* 117.

(*a*) Ib. id.

(*b*) *See the laſt Remark.*

(*c*) *Hiſt. of the Variations*, B. 11. n 15. p. m 129

(*d*) Auguſtin. *ubi ſupra, fol.* 117. *verſo*

(*e*) Ibid. *fol.* 116. *verſo*

(*f*) Id ib. *fol.* 116

(*g*) Maimbourg ubi ſupra, *p.* 17, 18

quences which they drew from them It muſt be confeſſ'd, that this falſe Tenet (C) which is much ancienter than *Manes*, and cannot be maintain'd by any one that admits the Holy Scripture,

all the Books of the *Manichæans*, which may have been of [illegible] uſe; but this little Inconvenience flows from it, that we cannot be ſure of their Doctrine, as we might have been by conſulting the Works of their moſt Learned Authors. By the Fragments of their Syſtem we meet with in the Fathers, it plainly appears, that they were not happy in their Hypotheſis, when they came to Particulars. Their firſt Hypotheſis was falſe, and it grew worſe in their Hands by the little Art and Philoſophical Skill they employ'd in explaining and applying it.

(C) *A Tenet much ancienter than* Manes.] We have already ſeen that he found it in the Books which *Terebinthus* inherited from his Maſter *Scythianus*. 'Tis not true, as St. *Epiphanius* ſuppoſes (*b*), that this *Scythianus* liv'd in the times of the Apoſtles; he ſhould have ſaid only, that he might have been *Manes*'s Grandfather: But 'tis very true, that the Doctrine of two Principles was known in the World a long time before the Preaching of the Apoſtles. *Scythianus* was indebted to *Pythagoras* for it, if we may believe *Epiphanius* (*i*). Some ſay (*k*), that *Terebinthus* borrow'd it of *Empedocles*. The *Gnoſticks*, *Cerdonians*, *Marcionites*, and many other Sectaries, who introduc'd this ill Doctrine into Chriſtianity, before *Manes* was ſpoken of, were not the Inventers of it; but they found it in the Books of the Pagan Philoſophers. *Plutarch* informs us of the Antiquity and Univerſality of this Cuſtom, not as a mere Hiſtorian, but as a faithful Follower of it. "'Tis impoſſible, ſays he, "(*l*) that one Cauſe alone, whether good or bad, "ſhould be the principle of all things together, "becauſe God is not the cauſe of Evil, and the "Harmony of this World is compos'd of Contraries, like a Harp whoſe Muſick conſiſts of "high and low Notes, as *Heraclitus* ſaid, and to "the ſame purpoſe ſaid *Euripides* alſo:

"The Good was never ſeparated from the Evil,
"The one is always mix'd with the other,
"That all things in the World may go on the better.

"Wherefore this Opinion is very ancient, and deſcended from Divines and Lawgivers in times "paſt unto the Poets and Philoſophers, but without knowing who is the firſt Author of it, although it is ſo firmly imprinted in the Minds "of Men, that it can by no means be defac'd "or rooted out, it is ſo frequently taught, "not only in private Diſcourſe, and common Reports, but at the Sacrifices and Divine Ceremonies of the Gods, as well in the barbarous Nations, as among the *Greeks* in many places, that "neither does this World float in uncertainty without being govern'd by Providence and Reaſon; "neither is it one Reaſon alone which maintains "and governs it with I know not what Rudders, "and Reins of Obedience; but there are many of "them mixed with good and Evil; and to ſpeak "openly there is nothing here below which Nature brings forth and produces, that is in itſelf pure and ſimple; nor is there one only Diſpenſer of the two Tuns, who diſtributes to us "all Affairs, as a Vintner does his Wines, by "mingling and brewing them one with another. "Thus this Life is govern'd by two Principles "and two Powers contrary to one another; one "of which directs and conducts us to a right "End by a right Way, and the other, on the "contrary, diverts us from it and turns us back. "Thus this Life is mix'd, and this World, if not "all of it, yet at leaſt the Lower and Terreſtrial "part of it below the Moon, is unequal and variable, ſubject to all the Changes that are poſſible: "For nothing can be without a preceding Cauſe, "and what is good in itſelf can never be the cauſe "of Evil; Nature therefore muſt have a Principle "from which Evil proceeds as its Cauſe and Principle, as well as another from which Good proceeds. 'Tis the Opinion of the greateſt part "and the wiſeſt among the Ancients; for ſome "think there are two Gods of different Profeſſions; the one the Author of all Good, and the "other of all Evil: Others call him God who is "Author of all Good, and the other a Dæmon, "as did *Zoroaſter* the Magician, of whom 'tis ſaid, "that he liv'd Five Hundred (1) Years before the "times of the *Trojan* Wars He therefore call'd "the good God *Oromazes*, and the other *Arimanius*: "And moreover he ſaid, that the one reſembled "Light more than any other ſenſible thing, and "the other Darkneſs and Ignorance; and that there "was between them two one call'd *Mithres*; where"fore the *Perſians* do ſtill call him that intercedes "and mediates *Mithres*; and he taught Men "to Sacrifice to one, to deſire of him all good "Things; and to the other, to divert and keep off "all Evil and Unfortunate Things. —— (*m*) The "*Chaldæans* ſay, that among the Gods, of the Planets "as they call them, there are two who do Good and "two who do Evil, and three which are common, "and in the middle between both. And as to the "*Greeks* Opinion concerning this, no body is ignorant of it. That there are two parts of the "World, one Good, which belongs to *Jupiter "Olympius*, i. e. Heavenly; the other Bad, "which belongs to the Infernal *Pluto* And they "feign moreover, that the Goddeſs *Harmonia*, i e "Harmony, was born of *Mars* and *Venus*, whereof "the one is Cruel, Moroſe and Contentious, and "the other Mild, Loving, and Fruitful Obſerve that the Philoſophers themſelves agree in "this; for *Heraclitus* openly calls War the Father, "King, Maſter and Lord of all the World, and "ſays, that *Homer* when he pray'd,

"May all War ceaſe in Earth and Heaven,
"Both between the Gods and Men,

"did not conſider that he curs'd the Generation "and Production of all things, which come into "being by the ſtruggle and contrariety of the Paſſions, and that the Sun would not tranſgreſs the "bounds prefix'd to him, otherwiſe the Furies, "the Miniſters and Aſſiſtants of Juſtice ſhould "meet him. And *Empedocles* ſays the Principle of "Good, is call'd Love and Friendſhip, and often "Harmonia; and the cauſe of Evil is

"A bloody Fight and Peſtilential Noiſe

"As to the *Pythagoreans*, they denote and ſpecifie "this by many Names, calling the Good Principle, One, Finite, Reſting, Streight, Odd, "Squar'd, Right, Luminous; and the Bad, "Two, Infinite, Moving, Crooked, Even, more "Long than Broad, Inequal, Left, Dark *Ariſtotle* calls the one Form, and the other Privation. "And *Plato* ſhadowing as it were and covering "his meaning, in many places calls one of theſe "contrary Principles The Same, and the ſecond "The other: But in his Book of Laws which he "wrote when he was old, he no more calls them "by ambiguous and cover'd Names, nor by ſignificant Notes, but in plain terms he ſays, that "this World is not manag'd by one Soul only, "but by many at a venture, at leaſt by two, "whereof one is beneficient, and the other contrary to it, and produces contrary Effects. And "between theſe two there is alſo a third Cauſe, "which is not without a Soul, nor without Reaſon, nor unmoveable of it ſelf, as ſome "think, but adjacent and adhering to the two "others." *Plutarch* in another Book (*a*), ſays expreſly, that the Nature of God does not permit him to do any thing but what is Good, nor to be angry with any one, nor to hurt him This Author therefore muſt have been perſuaded, that the Afflictions which ſo often torment Men, proceed from another Cauſe than God, and conſequently that there were two Principles, one that did nothing but what was Good, and the other which did nothing but what was Evil I add, that the *Perſian* Philoſophers (*b*), who are much ancienter than thoſe of *Egypt*, have conſtantly taught this Doctrine.

Plutarch carries the matter too far (*c*), when he pretends, that it appeared in the publick Acts of Religion among the *Barbarians* and *Greeks*, from thence that it be true, that the Pagans have acknowledg'd and honour'd hurtful Gods; yet they taught alſo both by their Books and by their Practice, that the ſame God

(*b*) *St.* Epiphan. adverſ. hæreſ. p. 620. *ſuppoſes, that* Scythianus *went to* Jeruſalem *to confer with the Apoſtles. He went therefore before* Titus *took the City; and ſo his Diſciple could not be contemporary with* Manes *in the Third Centur.*

(*i*) Ib. p. 619.

(*k*) Suidas in Μάνης.

(*l*) Plutarch *in his Treatiſe of* Iſis *and* Oſiris *p.m.* 1043. *This Paſſage in the Greek and Latin Edition of* Franckfort, 1620, *is* [illegible]

(1) *He ſhould ſay* 5000: *See the Remark E, of the Article* Zoroaſter *at the beginning*

(*m*) Ib. p 1046

(*a*) Non poſſe ſuaviter vivi juxta Epicurum p. 1102

(*b*) Diog Laertius in prooemio & *Agathias*, *Hiſt.*

(*c*) *Obſerve that I conſider* Plutarch *only for what reſpects the Perſians, and not for what he ſays of the Egyptians, which I ſhall examine in the Article* Typhon, *Remark* [illegible] *where I ſhall ſhew that there were ſome Gods, the good* Jupiter *for inſtance, who could do no hurt, but what was given*

Scripture, either in whole or in part, would not eaſily be refuted, if it were maintain'd

God who beſtow'd ſometimes good things upon a Nation, did alſo afterwards ſometimes afflict them, to take Vengeance upon them for ſome Offence. If you read the Greek Authors never ſo little, you will plainly perceive this: We may ſay the ſame thing of *Rome*. Read *Livy*, *Cicero*, and other Latin Writers, you will clearly underſtand, that the ſame *Jupiter*, to whom Sacrifices were offer'd for a Victory gain'd, was honour'd upon other occaſions, to the end he would ceaſe to afflict the People of *Rome*: And though there was one *Vejovis* much more inclin'd to do Evil than to do Good; nevertheleſs it was belived that *Dijovis* or *Dieſpiter*, i. e. the good *Jupiter* darted the Thunderbolt. *Aulus Gellius* expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he clearly diſtinguiſhes *Jupiter* from *Vejovis*. (*d*) *Cum Jovem igitur & Dijovem à juvando nominaſſent: eum quoque contra deum, qui non juvandi poteſtatem ſed vim nocendi haberet (nam deos quoſdam ut prodeſſent celebrabant, quoſdam ne obeſſent placabant)* Vejovem *appellaverunt, demptæ atque detractâ juvandi facultate. —— Simulachrum dei* Vejovis, *quod eſt in æde, de qua ſupra dixi, ſagittas tenet, quæ ſunt videlicet paratæ ad nocendum: quapropter eum deum plerique Apollinem eſſe dixerunt. —— Virgilium quoque aiunt, multæ antiquitatis hominem ſine oſtentationis odio peritum, numina læva in Georgicis quoque deprecari, ſignificantem quandam vim eſſe hujuſcemodi deorum in lædendo magis quam in juvando potentem. Verſus Virgilii hi ſunt:*

(*d*) Aulus Gellius, *l.* 5. *c.* 12

> In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria, ſi quem
> Numina læva ſinunt, auditque vocatus Apollo (*e*).

(*e*) *See concerning theſe two kinds of Gods, a Paſſage of* Arnobius *in the Remark G of the Article* Paulicians.

Plutarch is alſo miſtaken, when he thinks that the Philoſophers and Poets are agreed in the Doctrine of two Principles. Did not he remember that *Homer* the Prince of Poets, their Pattern, their common Original, that *Homer*, I ſay, ſet only one God over the two Tuns of Good and Evil?

> Δοιοὶ (*f*) γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὐδει
> Δώρων οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερον δὲ ἑάων·
> Ὧ μὲν κερμίξας δῶκε Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος,
> Ἄλλοτε μὲν τὸ κακῶ ὄγε κύρεσε, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῷ·
> Ὧ δέ κε τῷ λυγρῶν δῷη, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε·
> Καί ἑ κακὴ βόρβωρος ἐπὶ χθόνα δῖαν ἐλάυνει.
> Φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.
>
> *Duo quippe dolia jacent in Jovis limine*
> *Donorum quæ dat, alterum malorum, alterum vero bonorum:*
> *Cui quidem miſcens dederit Jupiter fulmine gaudens,*
> *Interdum quidem in malum ille incidit, interdum & in bonum:*
> *Cui vero ex malis dederit, injuriis omnibus obnoxium facit,*
> *Et illum exitialis dolor acerbiſſimus ſuper terram alumem exercet:*
> *Vagaturque, nec diis honoratus neque mortalibus.*

(*f*) Hom. Iliad. lib. ult. p. 527.

Mr *Coſtar* has juſtly cenſur'd theſe words of Mr. *Girac*. *It ſeems that you would imitate* Homer's Jupiter, *and that drawing out of Tuns, you pour out with both Hands as he did, this diverſity of Matter by chance and without choice.* Here follows the Cenſure. The Compariſon " (*g*) of *Jupiter* doth me Honour, " but it doth little Honour to him who alledges it " ſo impertinently. *Homer* (1) who is the Inven- " ter of this Fiction, and *Plato* who relates it (2) " in his Republick, do not ſay, that *Jupiter* having " drawn out of his two Tuns all the Goods and E- " vils of Life, ſcatters them *inconſiderately* upon " miſerable Mortals. They ſay only, that ſome- " times he pours them out pure, ſometimes he " mixes them; from whence it comes to paſs, that " among Men ſome are always Unhappy, and " the Fortune of others is nothing but a reciprocal " Flux of Unhappineſs and Miſery." But Mr. *Coſtar* forgot one thing which deſerv'd to be obſerv'd: He did not ſay that of the three things which *Jupiter* could do with theſe two Tuns, he does but two of them: For he might either take out of the good Tun, or out of the bad, or partly out of one, and partly out of the other. *Homer* took care not to ſpeak of theſe three Offices; for he knew too well, that the firſt does never take place, and I think he had done well to have ſuppreſs'd the ſecond, for is there any Man ſo unhappy as to enjoy no manner of Good? *Plato* rejected this Thought of *Homer*, becauſe it is eſſential to God to do nothing but what is Good; from whence he concluded that God is not the cauſe of ſome Events that befal Men. Οὐδ' ἄρα ὁ θεὸς, ἐπειδὴ ἀγαθὸς, πᾶσί γε ἂν αἴτιος εἴη αἰτίῳ, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν· ἀλλ' ὀλίγων μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιος, πολλῶν δ' ἀναίτιος· πολὺ γὰρ ἐλάττω τἀγαθὰ τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν οὐδένα ἄλλον αἰτιατέον· τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἄλλα ἀττα δεῖ ζητεῖν τὰ αἴτια, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν θεόν. (*h*) *Non igitur Deus, quum bonus ſit, omnium cauſa eſt, ut multi dicunt, ſed paucorum quidem hominibus in cauſa eſt, multorum vero extra cauſam. Multo enim pauciora nobis ſunt bona quam mala. Et bonorum quidem ſolus Deus cauſa eſt dicendus. Malorum autem quamlibet aliam præter Deum cauſam quærere decet.* He ſays, that the Poets who give us this Fiction of two Tuns, ſpeak fooliſhly of God, and are guilty of a great Sin. Οὐκ ἄρα ἀποδεκτέον ἐστὶ θρηνοῦντας, ἢ ἄλλα ποιοῦντας ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνοήτως ἁμαρτάνοντας, καὶ λέγοντας ὡς δοιοὶ πίθοι. *Neque Homeri igitur, neque alterius poëtæ admittendum eſt peccatum, ſtulte de Diis dicentis, in Jovis limine duo jacere dolia* (*i*). We ſhall elſewhere give a larger account (*k*) of the Platonick Hypotheſis concerning the Original of Good and Evil.

(*h*) Plato de Repub. l. 2. p. m. 605. *D.*

(*i*) Id. ib.

(*k*) *In the Remark* KΔ *of the Article* Paulicians.

The Apology of *Coſtar* being ſcarce in foreign Countries, I ſhall make no ſcruple to cite a long Paſſage out of it: " (*l*) It may be, that Mr. " *Girac* believ'd the *Roman de la Roſe*, which " makes Fortune a Vintner, which diſtributes by " Pots and Pints the ſeveral Liquors of theſe two " Tuns, according to her caprice Fancy;

(*l*) Coſtar ubi ſupra p. 226, 227.

> " *Jupiter en toute ſaiſon*
> " *A ſur l'iſſue de ſa maiſon,*
> " *Ce dit Homer, deux pleins tonneaux,*
> " *S'il n'eſt vieulx Homs ne Gacronneaux*
> " *Ni n'eſt Dame ni Demoiſelle,*
> " *Soit vieille, jeune, laide ou belle,*
> " *Qui vie en ce monde reçoive,*
> " *Qui de ces deux tonneaux ne boive.*
> " *C'eſt une Taverne pleniere,*
> " *Dont* Fortune eſt la Taverniere,
> " *Et en trait, en pots, & en coupes,*
> " *Pour faire à tout le monde ſoupes.*
> " *Tous elle en abreuve à ſes mains,*
> " *Mais aux uns plus, aux autres moins.*
> " *N'eſt nul qui chacun jour ne pinte,*
> " *De ces tonneaux, ou quarte, ou pinte.*
> " *Ou muy, ou ſeptier, ou chopine,*
> " *S'il, comme il plaiſt à la mecheine,*
> " *Ou plene paulme, ou quelque gonte,*
> " *Que la Fortune ou bec, luy boute:*
> " *Et bien & mal à chacun verſe,*
> " *Si comme elle eſt douce & perverſe.*
>
> " *Jupiter* at all times
> " Has at the Threſhold of his Houſe,
> " As *Homer* ſays, two full Tuns;
> " And there is neither old Man, nor young,
> " Neither Woman nor Maid,
> " Wherher ſhe be old or young, handſome or ugly,
> " Who receives Life in this World,
> " But drinks of theſe two Tuns.
> " 'Tis a full Tavern,
> " Whereof *Fortune* is *the Vintner*,
> " And mingles Pots and Cups,
> " To make all the World Soups;
> " She gives all Drink with her own Hands,
> " But to ſome more, to others leſs:
> " There is none but every Day drinks
> " Out of theſe Tuns, either a Quart or a Pint,
> " Or a Tierce, or a Gallon, or a Chopin,
> " As it pleaſes Fortune,
> " To give either with a full Hand or a few Drops,
> " Which ſhe puts into their Mouth:
> " And pours out Good or Evil upon every one,
> " According as ſhe is in a good or bad Humour.

(*m*) *See the words of Father* Thomaſſin *in the Remark D. of the Article* Paulicians.

The ancient Hereſie of two Principles prevails ſtill in ſome oriental Countries (*m*), and 'tis believ'd that it was very common among the ancient barbarous People of *Europe*. (*n*) *Apud Slavos nondum quidem Chriſti fide imbutos, ſimile dogma receptum fuiſſe, Helmoldus* (3) *auctor eſt, qui malum illorum Deum* Zeevuboch *vocatum ſcribit. Parthi & de aliis Germanorum populis Voſſius* (4) *conjicit. Atque hodienum.*

(*n*) Tobias Pfannerus, Syſtema Theol. gentilis, p. 258.

(3) Helmold. Chronic. Sclav. *c.* 53.

(4) Voſſ. de Orig. idololatr. *l.* 1. *c.* 8. p. 280.

(*g*) Coſtar, Apol. p. [illegible]

(1) Iliad. [illegible]

(2) Dialog. [illegible]

tain'd (D) by some *Pagan* Philosophers, well skill'd in Disputes. It was a happy thing that St. *Austin*,

hodiernum, Provinciæ Fetu *in Africa incolas persuasum sibi habere, esse aliquod Numen, cui omnia mala, aliud cui bona accepta ferenda, Joh. Guil. Mullerus* (5), *Danicæ in Africa Ecclesiæ quondam Pastor, testatur.* The *Gurdes*, a Nation in *Asia*, worship two Principles, one as the Author of Good, the other as the Cause of Evil; but with this difference, that they are infinitely more exact in the Worship of the latter than of the former (*o*).

(*D It would not easily be refuted, if it were maintain'd by some Pagan Philosophers.*] By reasons *a priori* they would quickly have been put to flight: But the Reasons *a posteriori* were their strong Holds; with these they might have fought a long time, and it was difficult to force them. You will understand me better by the Explication I shall now subjoin. The most certain and clear Idea's we have in our Minds, teach us, that a Being which exists by it self, which is Necessary and Eternal, must be one, Infinite, Almighty, and endow'd with all kind of Perfection. If therefore we consult these Ideas, we shall find nothing more absurd, than the Hypothesis of two eternal Principles, and independent on one another, whereof one has no Goodness, and puts a stop to the Designs of the other. This is what is call'd a Reason, *à priori*; which necessarily leads us to reject this Hypothesis, and to admit only one Principle of all Things. If nothing but this were requir'd to prove the goodness of a System; the Cause would be determin'd to the confusion of *Zoroaster*, and all his Followers. But every System, requires these two things to make it good; one, that the Ideas of it be distinct; the other, that it should give an account of matters of fact. We must see therefore whether the Phænomena of Nature can be conveniently explain'd by the Hypothesis of one Principle alone. When the *Manicheans* tell us, that since we see in the World many things that are contrary to one another (*a*), as Heat and Cold, White and Black, Light and Darkness, there must necessarily be two Principles, they argue pitifully; for the opposition between those Beings, tho' confirm'd as much as they will, by what we call Variations, Disorders and Irregularities of Nature, cannot make one half of an Objection against the Unity, Simplicity and Immutability of God. A Reason may be given for all those things, either by the different Powers God has given to Bodies, or by the Laws of Motion which he has Establish'd, or by the concurring of occasional intelligent Causes by which he is pleased to act. This does not require the Quintessences which the *Rabbins* have imagin'd, and which have supplied an *Italian* Bishop with an Argument *ad hominem*, in favour of the Incarnation. (*b*) *Di questa unione parla diffusamente l'Autore, portando gli esempi e le similitudini, con cui la spiegano i Rabbini (alcune delle quali sono le medesime che adoprano i nostri Theologi per esplicar l'Incarnatione) e con le stesse loro dottrine prova evidentemente ch'ella non sia altro che un inspiratione, cioe due nature sfereita, e Divinita insieme in un supposto.* They say that God has united himself to Ten most pure Intelligences call'd *Sefira*, and that he acts with them in such a manner, that all the Variations and Imperfections of Effects must be attributed to them. (*c*) *Attribuendosi a Dio ne' sacri libri atti frà se contrarii e imperfetti, per salvare l'immutabilita e sua somma perfettione, hanno posta una Gerarchia di dieci Intelligenze purissime, per mezo delle quali, come istrumenti della sua potenza, egli opera tutte le cose, ma in modo che à loro sole s'attribuisce ogni varieta, imperfettione, e mutatione.* Without such an Hypothesis, the Simplicity and Immutability of the Ways of God may be sav'd; the sole Establishment of occasional Causes is sufficient for that, provided we are only to explain the Phænomena of the Bodies, and do not concern our selves about Man. The Heavens and the rest of the Universe, declare the Glory, Power, and the Unity of God; Man alone the Masterpiece of his Creation among things visible, affords the greatest Objection against the Unity of God.

Man is Wicked and Unhappy; every one knows it by what he feels in himself, and by the Commerce he is oblig'd to have with his Neighbours. He that lives only five or six Years (*d*) may be perfectly convinc'd of these two things; and those who are much engag'd in Worldly Affairs, know this still more clearly. Travels afford perpetual Lectures upon this Subject; they show every where the Monuments of Mens Misfortunes and Wickednesses: This appears every where by the many Prisons, Hospitals, Gibbets, and Beggars. Here you see the Ruins of a flourishing City; elsewhere (*e*) you can hardly find the Ruins of it.

Jam (f) seges est ubi Troja fuit, resecandaque falce
Luxuriat Phrygio sanguine pinguis humus.

Read these fine words taken out of a Letter that was written to *Cicero*: (*g*) *Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Ægina, ante Megara, dextra Piræeus, sinistra Corinthus: quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata & diruta ante oculos jacent.* Studious Men without going out of their Studies, make the greatest discoveries of these two Articles, because in reading History they take a review of all the Ages and Countries of the World. History, properly speaking, is nothing but a Collection of the Crimes and Misfortunes of Mankind; but we must observe, that these two Evils, the one Moral, and the other Physical, do not wholly fill up History, and include all the experience of private Persons. There are every where some things that are physically and morally Good; some Examples of Virtue, and Happiness: And this is that which makes the Difficulty; for if there were none but Evil and Unhappy Men, we should not need to have recourse to the Hypothesis of two Principles; it is the mixture of Happiness and Virtue with Misery and Vice, which requires this Hypothesis; and this is that strong Hold of the Sect of *Zoroaster*.

To the end it may appear how difficult it would be to refute this false System, and that we may conclude, that it is necessary to have recourse to Revelation to overthrow it, let us feign here a Dispute between *Melissus* and *Zoroaster*, who were both *Pagans* and great Philosophers. *Melissus*, who acknowledg'd but one Principle (*h*), would say, at first, that his System agrees admirably well with our clearest Ideas. A necessary Being is not bounded; and therefore it is Infinite and Almighty, and consequently one, and it would be a monstrous thing, and a contradiction to say, that it has no Goodness, but the greatest of all Vices, *viz.* an essential Malice. I confess to you, would *Zoroaster* answer, that your Idea's are very consequential, and I am willing to grant, that in this respect your Hypothesis surpasses mine. I will not insist upon an Objection which I might make use of, which is this, that Infinity must include every thing that is real, and that Malice (*i*) being no less a real Being than Goodness, the Universe requires that there should be both wicked and good Beings; and that since a Sovereign Goodness and a Sovereign Malice cannot subsist in one and the same Subject, there must be in Nature one Being essentially Good, and another essentially Evil: I do not insist, I say, upon this Objection (*k*); I will allow that your Notions are more regular and orderly; but explain to me I pray you by your Hypothesis, whence it comes to pass, that a Man is Wicked, and subject to Pain and Grief? I defie you to find in your Principles a Reason of this Phænomenon, as I can in mine; and now I have regain'd the advantage you had; for as you surpass me in the Beauty of Ideas, and in Reasons *à priori*, so I surpass you in the Explication of the Phænomena, and in Reasons *à posteriori*. And since the principal Character of a good System is to give an account of Matters of Fact, and that the bare incapacity of explaining them, is a proof that an Hypothesis is not good, how beautiful soever it appears, you must grant, that I have hit the Mark by admitting two Principles, and that you have not hit it by admitting but one.

Here, without doubt, lies the stress of the whole Matter: Here *Melissus* has a great occasion to show his Parts; *Hic Rhodus, hic saltus. Res ad triarios redit.*

(5) Guil. Muller. Beschreibung der Africanischen Landschaft Fetu pag. 43, 44.

(*o*) Veneziano conte i Manichei due principii, uno del bene e l'altro del male: con questa differenza che poco pensando al primo, come quello che credono non poter loro far alcuun malo, attendono solo al culto del secondo. *Giornale de Letterati of the* 31*st of* March, 1673, *p.* 33. *in the Abstract of* del Viaggio, *the Voyage to the* East Indies *of* Vicenzo Maria *of* St. Catherine *of* Siena, *Procurator General of the* Carmelites.

(*a*) *See St.* Epiphanius *when he speaks of* Scythianus, *p.* 619. *adv. hæres.*

(*b*) Joseph Ciantes *Bishop of* Marsico, in discursu de sanctissima incarnatione clarissimis Hebræorum doctrinis ab eorumdem argumentorum oppositionibus defensa *in the Journal of* Italy *Aug.* 27. 1668. *p.* 102.

(*c*) *The Journal of* Italy, *ib.* 101.

(*d*) *At that Age he has play'd and suffer'd various Tricks, he has had Grief and Sorrow, and has comitted many time, &c.*

(*e*) *See* Conversation 30 *of* Balzac.

(*f*) Ovid Epist. Penel. ad Ulyss.

(*g*) Sulpicius ad Ciceron. Epist. 5. l. 4. Cicer. ad famil.

(*h*) *See* Diogenes, *l.* 9. *n.* 24 *&c. in Menagium*

(*i*) *I e a malic our Action I make this Note, lest any one should alledge, that Evil is nothing, but a privation.*

(*k*) *I have read in the Journal of* Italy, *Aug.* 31. 1674. *p.* 121. *that* Piccinardi *in the* 3*d Book of his* Dogmatica Philosophia Peripatetica Christiana, *refutes this Thesis,* An alius Deus sit possibilis, *which was maintain'd by, Father* Peter Conti *against* Columera.

St. *Auſtin*, who knew ſo well all the Wiles of Controverſie, abandon'd the *Manichean* Hereſie; for he would have removed its groſſeſt Errors, and framed ſuch a ſyſtem as by his management would have puzzled the Orthodox

Nunc animis opus Æneæ, nunc pectore firmo. Let us hear *Zoroaſter* continuing his Diſcourſe.

If Man is the Workmanſhip of one only Being ſovereignly Good, Holy and Powerful, can he be expos'd to Diſeaſes, to Heat and Cold, Hunger and Thirſt, Pain and Grief? Can he have ſo many bad Inclinations? Can he commit ſo many Crimes? Can Sovereign Holineſs produce a Criminal Creature? Can Sovereign Goodneſs produce an unhappy Creature? Would not Sovereign Power joyn'd with Infinite Goodneſs, furniſh his own Workmanſhip plentifully with good things, and ſecure it from every thing that might be offenſive or vexatious? If *Meliſſus* conſults the Notions of order, he will anſwer, That Man was not wicked when God made him. He will ſay, That Man was Created by God in a happy State, but he not following the light of his Conſcience, which was intended by the Author of his Being, to conduct him in the way of Virtue, became wicked, and ſo deſerv'd that God who was Soveraignly Juſt as well as Good, ſhould make him feel the Effects of his Wrath. God therefore is not the Cauſe of moral Evil, but he is the cauſe of Phyſical Evil, *i. e.* of the Puniſhment of moral Evil; a Puniſhment which is ſo far from being inconſiſtent with a Principle Sovereignly Good, that it flows neceſſarily from one of his Attributes, I mean from his Juſtice, which is no leſs eſſential to him than his Goodneſs. This anſwer, which is the beſt that *Meliſſus* could make, is good and ſound at the bottom; but it may be oppoſed by ſuch Reaſons as have ſomething more ſpecious and dazzling: For *Zoroaſter* would not fail to repreſent, that if Man were the Workmanſhip of a Principle infinitely Good and Holy, he ſhould not only have been Created without any actual Evil, but alſo without any inclination to Evil, ſince that Inclination is ſuch a Defect as cou'd not have ſuch a Principle for its Cauſe. It remains therefore that we ſay, that Man coming out of the Hands of his Creator, had only the Power of determining himſelf to Evil, and that having determin'd himſelf to it, he was the ſole cauſe of the Crime which he committed, and of the moral Evil which was introduc'd into the World. But firſt, we have no diſtinct Idea, that can make us underſtand, that a Being which does not exiſt by it ſelf, can nevertheleſs act by it ſelf. *Zoroaſter* therefore will ſay, that the free Will which was given to Man, is not able to determine actually it ſelf, ſince it exiſts continually and totally by the Action of God. 2. He will put this Queſtion: Did God foreſee that Man would make an ill uſe of his free Will? If you anſwer Yes, he will ſay, That it ſeems not poſſible, that any thing can foreſee that which depends wholly upon an indeterminate Cauſe. But I will grant you, will he ſay, that God did foreſee the Sin of his Creature, and from thence I conclude, that he would have hindred him from ſinning; for the Ideas we have of a Cauſe infinitely Good and Holy, which can hinder the introduction of moral Evil, will not ſuffer us to believe that it did not hinder it, eſpecially ſince by permitting it, God was oblig'd to oppreſs his own Workmanſhip with grievous Penalties. If God did not foreſee the fall of Man, yet at leaſt he muſt think it poſſible; ſince therefore in caſe it ſhould happen he ſaw himſelf oblig'd to depart from his Paternal Goodneſs, and to make his Children very miſerable, by exerciſing upon them the Office of a ſevere Judge, he would have determin'd Man to moral Good, as he determin'd him to that which is Phyſical; he would not have left in the Soul of Man any Power which ſhould incline him to Sin; no more than he has left any to incline him to Miſery. This is what our clear and diſtinct Ideas lead us unto, when we follow ſtep by ſtep, what a Principle infinitely Good ought to do: For if a Goodneſs ſo bounded as that of Earthly Fathers does neceſſarily require, that they ſhould prevent as much as is poſſible, the bad uſe their Children might make of the good Things they give them; much more will an Infinite and Almighty Goodneſs prevent the ill Effects of his Gifts. Inſtead of giving them Free-will, it will determine its Creatures to that which is Good; or if it gives them a Free-will, it will always watch over them to keep 'em from ſinning. I believe indeed that *Meliſſus* would not remain ſilent; but all that he could anſwer would be preſently oppos'd by Reaſons as plauſible as his, and ſo there would be no end of the Diſpute (*a*).

If he had recourſe to Retortion, he would very much perplex *Zoroaſter*; but by granting him one of his two Principles, he would leave him an open way to come at the Explication of the Origin of Evil. *Zoroaſter* would go back to the time of the Chaos, which is a State as to his two Principles, very like that which *Hobbs* calls the State of Nature, and which he ſuppoſes to have preceded the firſt Eſtabliſhment of Societies. In this State of Nature one Man was a Wolfe to another, and every thing belong'd to the firſt Poſſeſſor: None was Maſter of any thing except he was the ſtrongeſt. To put an end to this Confuſion every one agreed to quit his right to the whole, that he might have a Property in ſomething; they tranſacted one with another, and the War ceas'd. The two Principles weary of this Chaos, wherein each confounded and overthrew what the other would do, came at laſt to an Agreement; each of them yielded ſomething, each had a ſhare in the Production of Man, and in the (*b*) Laws of the Union of the Soul. The good Principle obtain'd thoſe which procure to Man a Thouſand Pleaſures, and conſented to thoſe which expoſe him to a Thouſand Sorrows; and if it conſented that moral Good ſhould be infinitely leſs in Mankind than moral Evil, he repair'd the Damage in ſome other kind of Creatures, wherein Vice ſhould be much leſs than Virtue. If many Men in this Life have more Miſery than Happineſs, this is recompenc'd in another State; what they have not under a humane Shape they ſhall recover under another (*c*). By means of this Agreement the Chaos was a paſſive Principle, which was the Field of Battel between thoſe two active Principles. The Poets (*d*) have repreſented this diſentangling under the Image of a Quarrel ended. This is what *Zoroaſter* might alledge, boaſting that he does not attribute to the good Principle, the production of a Creature at his own pleaſure, which was to be ſo Wicked and Miſerable; but only after he had found by experience that he could do no better, nor better oppoſe the horrible Deſigns of the evil Principle. To render his Hypotheſis the leſs offenſive, he might have denied that there was a long War between the two Principles, and lay aſide all thoſe Fights, and Priſoners which the *Manicheans* ſpeak of. The whole might be reduc'd to the certain knowledge of the two Principles, that one could never obtain from the other but ſuch and ſuch Conditions. And thus an eternal Agreement might have been made upon this Foot.

A Thouſand great Difficulties might be objected to this Philoſopher; but as he would find Anſwers, and after all deſire to be furniſh'd with a better Hypotheſis, pretending to have ſolidly refuted that of *Meliſſus*, he would never be brought back into the way of Truth. Human Reaſon is too weak for this end: It is a Principle of Deſtruction and not of Edification; it is only fit to ſtart Doubts, and to turn all manner of ways to perpetuate a Diſpute: And I think I am not miſtaken if I ſay of Natural Revelation, *i. e.* of the Light of Reaſon, what Divines ſay of the Moſaical Oeconomy. They ſay, that it was only fit to diſcover to Man his Weakneſs, and the neceſſity of a Redeemer, and of a Law of Mercy: It was a Pedagogue, (they are their own words) to bring Men to *Jeſus Chriſt*. Let us ſay the ſame of Reaſon; it can only diſcover to Man his Ignorance and Weakneſs, and the neceſſity of another Revelation, which is that of the Scripture. There we find what is ſufficient to confute unanſwerably the Hypotheſis of two Principles, and all the Objections of *Zoroaſter*. We find there the Unity of God, and his infinite Perfections; the Fall of Man, and the Conſequences of it. Let any one tell me a

(*a*) *All this is more largely diſcuſſ'd in the Remark of the Article* Paulicians.

(*b*) *Apply here what* Juno *ſaid to* Venus *in* Virgil, *Æneid l. 4. v. 98* Sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto? Quin potius pacem æternam pactoſque hymeneos Exercemus? Commune hunc ergo populum, paribusque regamus Auſpiciis.

(*c*) *Note, that all thoſe of the greateſt part of thoſe who admitted two Principles, held the Metempſychoſi..*

(*d*) Hanc Deus & melior LITEM natura diremit. *Ovidius Metam. lib. 1.*

thodox Christians. Pope *Leo* I. acted very vigorously against the *Manicheans*; and his Zeal being (*E*) supported by the Imperial Laws, this Sect receiv'd then a very great Blow. It became formidable in *Armenia* in the Ninth Century, as I have said elsewhere *, and it appear'd in *France* in the time of the *Albigenses* †. This cannot be deny'd; but it is not true, that the *Albigenses* * were *Manicheans*. These, among other Errors, taught that the Souls of Plants are rational; and condemn'd Agriculture as a murdering Exercise; but they permitted it to their Hearers in favour (*F*) of their Elect.

In the Article Paulicians.

See Mr. Beaux's Hist. of Variations l. II.

Since

See Mr. Basnage *Hist. of the Religion of the Reformed Churches*, part 1. ch. 4, *&c.*

pompous Show of Arguments, that it was not possible that moral Evil should be introduc'd into the World by the Workmanship of a Principle infinitely Good and Holy; we shall Answer, that this was nevertheless done, and consequently that it is very possible. There is nothing more foolish than to reason against Matter of Fact; this Maxim, *ab actu ad potentiam valet consequentia*, is as clear as this Proposition, two and two make four. The *Manicheans* perceiv'd what I have just now observ'd, and therefore they rejected the Old Testament; but what they retain'd of the Scripture supplied the Orthodox with strong Arms against them. And so it is not very difficult to confound those Heretics, who otherwise childishly entangled themselves when they came to particulars. Now since the Scripture affords us the best Solutions, I shall not be blam'd for saying, that it would be a thing difficult to get the Victory over a Heathen Philosopher in this Cause. This is the Text of this Remark.

(*f*) *To that of the* Paulicians.

How long soever I have been, I shall not make an end, till I have Advertis'd my Reader, that there remains still three Observations to be made, for which I refer the Reader to another Article (*f*). In the first I shall declare, whether the Fathers have always reason'd well against the *Manicheans*, and whether they could always silence them. In the second I shall show, that according to the Doctrines of *Paganism*, the Objections of *Zoroaster* had no great force: And in the third, in what sense it may be said, that the Christians do not reject the System of the two Principles. 'Tis more difficult for them than the *Pagans*, to resolve these Difficulties, in the way of Reason, because they have among them Dispures about Liberty, in which the Aggressor (*g*) seems always to have the better; and because the small number of those who are Predestinate, and the Eternity of Hell afford such Objections as *Melissus* would not very much fear.

(*g*) *See the Remark F. in the Article of the* Marcionites.

(*E*) *The Zeal* of Pope Leo *was supported by the Imperial Laws.*] There were (*h*) *Manicheans* at *Rome* when St. *Austin* came thither in 383. "For he "lodg'd in the House of a *Manichean*, and con- "versed very often with those of that Sect. —— "But after *Carthage* had been taken and destroy'd "by *Genseric* King of the *Vandals*, in 439, the "greatest part of the *Manicheans* in *Africa* fled as "well as the Catholicks into *Italy*, and chiefly to "*Rome*." Pope *Leo* (*i*) oblig'd the People to make an exact search after these Hereticks, and show'd by what marks they might be discover'd. "(*k*) "To create in all Men the greater abhorrence "of so detestable a Sect, he held an Assembly, to "which, together with the Bishops, he invited "the chief of the Clergy, of the Senate, of the "Nobility of *Rome*, and of the Common People "(1). There he produc'd the most considerable "among the *Manicheans*, and one of their Bishops "who made a publick Confession of their abomi- "nable Lusts, which I dare not declare for fear "I should offend the Ears, or rather the chast "Eyes of my Reader; and which those same Per- "sons who had been guilty of them, by Order of "this false Bishop, declared before all the World, "and discovered at the same time what their Bi- "shops and Priests were, and the secret Places "where they assembled, their prophane Myste- "ries and sacrilegious Ceremonies, all which was "authentically taken down in Writing. And St. "*Leo* gave an account of all this to the People a "little while after in a Sermon, which he made "for the Fast of the Four Ember-Weeks, where- "in he declar'd (2), that they were oblig'd in "Conscience to accuse those whom they knew "to be engag'd in so infamous and pernicious a "Heresie; that all ought to unite and act with "the same Zeal, and with equal Vigilance against "those common Enemies; and that those who "thought they ought not to discover them, would "be guilty of a very criminal Silence before the "great Tribunal of JESUS CHRIST, tho' "they did not partake in their Errors. In fine, "he us'd so great a care in searching after the *Ma- "nicheans*, and was so well seconded by the Peo- "ple, that none of them could escape them, "so that he had the good Fortune to deli- "ver *Rome* entirely from that Heresie. For ma- "ny of those Hereticks being strongly affected by "his powerful Exhortations, were seriously con- "verted to God; and after they had made a pub- "lick abjuration of their Heresie in the Church "(3), and sign'd the Form which was presented to "them, containing a Condemnation of *Manes*, and of "his Doctrine and Books, they submitted to the "Penance which was imposed on them. Those "who continued obstinate in their Error, and "refus'd to subscribe this Condemnation, were "condemned by the Judges to Banishment, ac- "cording to the Laws and Edicts of the Empe- "rors. But because the most wicked and dan- "gerous Followers of this execrable Heresie, fear- "ing the Punishment of their Crimes, had fled a- "way; he gave notice of it to the Bishops of *Italy*, "and other Provinces by a Circular Letter, wherein "after he had declar'd to them all that was done "at *Rome* in this Cause of the *Manicheans*, he ex- "horted them to prosecute those Fugitives, and to "give all necessary Orders to prevent their retire- "ing into their Dioceses, protesting, that they "would be inexcusable before God. (4) if it "should ever happen that any of their Subjects "were seduc'd by these Impostors, for want of "due care to discover them, to drive them away, "and to hinder them from spreading among the "People the Venom of their detestable Doctrine "And that which finish'd the extermination of "this Heresie, was that the Emperor *Valen- "tinian* the IIId. knowing that the Pope had "discover'd the Crimes of the *Manicheans*, caus'd "an Edict to be Publish'd (5), wherein he con- "firms and renews all the Ordinances of his "Predecessors against them, declares them infa- "mous, incapable of any Offices, and of bearing "Arms, making a Will, contracting and doing "any valid Act in the civil Society; forbids all "the Subjects of the Empire to conceal and shel- "ter any of them, and requires them to discover "and prosecute them, that they may be punish'd as "soon as they shall be known. Thus this Heresie "which came from *Africa* into *Italy*, was quickly "banish'd from it by the effectual Zeal of St *Leo*" Father *Thomassin* did not forget this example of the use of the Penal Laws against Heresie. "St. *Leo* the "Pope, *says he* (*a*), in his first *Decretal* says, that "many *Manicheans* were converted at *Rome*, but "that some among them were so far ingag'd in "those detestable Errors, that no Remedies that "could be us'd, were sufficient to reclaim them; "that afterwards the rigor of the Laws had been "made use of, and according to the Constitutions "of the Christian Princes, the publick Judges had "condemn'd them to a perpetual Banishment, "lest their contagious Conversation should in- "fect the rest of the Flock." I put in the Margin (*b*) the words which he quotes from St *Leo*. A little after he cites the *Code of Justinian*, to inform us that the 11th Law of the 5th Title of the 1st Book condemns (*c*) *the* Manicheans *to lose their Head, in whatever part of the* Roman *Empire they may be found.* Manichæo in loco Romano deprehenso caput amputare The next Law, continues he (*d*), *is of the Emperor* Justin, *and it distinguishes the* Manicheans *not only from the Hereticks, but also from the* Greeks, *i. e. from* Pagans, Jews *and* Samaritans. *The* Manicheans *are punish'd with Death; all others are only Condemn'd as Hereticks, who cannot be preferr'd to any Magistracy, or Dignity, nor discharge the Office of Judge, or Patrons, or Fathers of Cities.*

(1) Ep. 93. ad Turib. Ser. 5. de jejun. decim. mens.

(2) Contra communes hostes pro salute communi una communis debet esse vigilantia; — & qui tales non prodendos putant, in judicio Christi invenientur rei de silentio, etiam si non contaminentur assensu. *Ser. 5. de jejun. decim. mens.*

(3) Ut damnarent Manichæum cum prædicationibus & disciplinis suis publicè in Ecclesia professione, & manus suæ subscriptione compulimus. *S. Leo. Ep. 2. ad Epis. per Italiam: & Epist. 93. ad Turib. Asturic.*

(4) Ante tribunal Domini de reatu negligentiæ se non poterit excusare, quicunq; plebem suam contra sacrilegæ perversionis auctores noluerit custodire *Ep. 2. ad Ep. per Italiam.*

(5) Nov. Valent. 3. de Manic

(*F*) *In favour of their Elect.*] The *Manicheans* were

(*h*) Maimbourg's *Hist. of St.* Leo, B. 1. p. 14.

(*i*) Id. ib. p. 18.

(*k*) Ib. p. 20. ad ann. 443.

(*a*) Thomassin *of the Unity of the Church.* tom 1. p. 339

(*b*) Aliquanti vero, qui ita se demerserunt ut nullum his auxiliantis possit remedium subvenire, subditi legibus, secundum Christianorum Principum constituta, ne sanctum gregem sua contagione pollucrent, per publicos judices perpetuo suntexilio relegari (*c*) Thomassin ib p. 377

(*d* Ibi p. 578

See at the end of this Dictionary an Explanation relating to what has been ſaid concerning the Doctrine of the *Manichees*.

MANTO, the Daughter of *Tireſias*, and as great a Diviner as her Father. She was ſo highly eſteem'd, that when the *Argivi* robb'd the City of *Thebes*, they thought they could not acquit themſelves of the Vow they had made to *Apollo*, to Conſecrate to him the moſt excellent thing they had among their Spoils, but by offering to him this Maid. She was therefore ſent to the Temple of *Delphi*: But this did not oblige her to make any Vow of Continence, or, if ſhe was engag'd to it, ſhe did very ill obſerve her Vow; for we read that *Alcmæon*, who was Generaliſſimo of the Army that took *Thebes*, had two Children by our *Manto*; a Son whoſe Name was *Amphilochus*, and a Daughter who was very handſome, and was call'd *Tiſiphone*. Theſe were the fruits of a Courtſhip which had ſomething very ſingular in it, ſince it happen'd during the fury which ſeiz'd *Alcmæon*, after he had put his Mother to Death. This is what *Apollodorus* * tells us indeed concerning *Manto*. Others ſay, that ſhe was carried to *Delphi* with the other *Theban* Priſoners †, but that the Oracle having order'd them to go and plant a Colony, they went (Y) to *Claros*, where *Rhacius* had ſettled one; and that *Rhacius* having learn'd from *Manto* who thoſe were by whom ſhe had made this Journey, and for what end they made it, took her to Wife, and had a Son by her nam'd *Mopſus*. *Diodorus Siculus* inſtead of this γ tells us, that the Daughter of *Tireſias* was call'd *Daphne*; that ſhe was ſent to *Delphi* as an Offering, by a vow of the *Argivi*; that ſhe improv'd the Prophetick Illuminations ſhe had [illegible] acquir'd, and wrote a great number of Oracles; that 'tis pretended *Homer* took from her many Verſes to adorn his Poems; and that ſhe was nam'd *Sibylla*, becauſe ſhe was often ſeiz'd with a Divine Spirit, and gave many Anſwers δ. *Pauſanias* ſays ζ, that in his time at *Thebes*, before the Porch of a Temple, the Stone was ſhown on which *Manto* ſate, and which was call'd the Chair of *Manto*. He ſpeaks of the Tomb of *Manto* in another place η; but there he means another Perſon who was the Daughter of *Polyidus*. She of whom *Virgil* (Z) ſpeaks is the ſame with the Daughter of *Tireſias*. And this Shows that this poor Propheteſs is ſaid to have been a great Traveller; for *Virgil* κ Tranſports her into *Italy*, not to keep her Virginity there, but to bring forth a Child which built *Mantua*.

* Bibi. l. 3. p. m. 196, 200.

† Pauſanias, l. 7. p. m. 207.

γ Biblioth. l. 5. c. 6.

δ *See one of her Oracles in* Ovid Metam. l. 6. *upon occaſion of the Worſhip of* Latona.

ζ Pauſan. l. 9. p. 289.

η l. 1. p. 41.

κ Æneid. lib. 10. v. 199.

MARCA (PETER DE) one of the moſt illuſtrious Ornaments of the *Gallican* Church, was born at *Gant* in *Bearn*, *January* 24. 1594. He was Baptiz'd by a Prieſt (A) in the Dioceſs of *Tarbes*, and went thro' his School-learning λ, and a Courſe of Philoſophy μ under the Jeſuits, and then he ſtudied the Civil Law ξ for three Years; after which he was admitted in 1615, Counſellor in the ſupreme Council of *Pau*. He was not the firſt of his Family who had an Office (B) in the long Robe. All his Collegues were then of the Reformed Religion *: But the Face of Things was quickly

λ *At* Auſch.

μ *At* Touloufe.

ξ *At* Touloufe.

* Stephanus Baluzius in vita *Petri de Marca*, p. 12.

divided into two Orders, that of the Elect, and that of the Hearers. The former were not allow'd to exerciſe Agriculture, or even to gather Fruit; the latter were allow'd to do theſe things, and were aſſur'd that the Murders they committed in this exerciſe, were pardon'd them by the Interceſſion of the Particles of God, which came out of Priſon, when the Elect did eat them. Thus the Remiſſion of theſe Murders was founded upon this, that they furniſh'd the Elect with Food, and procur'd liberty to the Particles of the Divine Subſtance that were impriſon'd in Plants. St. *Auſtin* relates theſe Chimæras, and Scoffs at them as they deſerve. (c) *Cæteras animas & in pecora redire putant, & in omnia quæ radicibus fixa ſunt, atque aluntur in terra. Herbas enim atque arbores ſic putant vivere, ut vitam, quæ illis ineſt, & ſentire credant, & dolere, cum læduntur, nec aliquid inde ſine cruciatu eorum quenquam poſſe vellere, aut carpere. Propter quod agrum ſpinis purgave veſas habent. Unde agriculturam, quæ omnium artium eſt innocentiſſima, tanquam plurium homicidiorum ream dementes accuſant; ſuiſque auditoribus ideo hæc arbitrantur ignoſci, quia præbent inde alimenta Electis ſuis, ut divina illa ſubſtantia in eorum ventre purgata impetret eis veniam, quorum traditur oblatione purganda. Itaque ipſi Electi nec in agris operantes, nec poma carpentes, nec ſaltem folia ulla vellentes, expectant hæc afferri uſibus ſuis ab auditoribus ſuis, viventes de tot & tantis ſecundum ſuam vanitatem homicidiis alienis.*

(Y) *They went to* Claros.] I do not underſtand why *Pauſanias* did not add what *Pomponius Mela* ſays (a), that *Manto* flying from the Conquerors of *Thebes* built the Temple of *Apollo Clarius*, and that her Son (b *Mopſus* built *Colophon*. Take notice of theſe words of *Mela*, *Fugiens victores Thebanorum Epigonos*; for if I am not very much miſtaken, they ſhew that *Charles Stephanus*, *Lloyd*, and *Hoffman* are in the wrong to ſay, that *Manto* fled from the Tyranny of *Creon* and *Theſeus*, when ſhe went to build the Temple of *Clarus*. *Moreri* had nothing to ſay of *Manto*, tho' he might have found matter enough about her.

(Z) *She of whom* Virgil *Speaks.*] *Servius* (c) informs us, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Tireſias*, for *Virgil* does only call her as a Propheteſs, and ſpeaks of her Amours for the *Tiber*.

Ille (d) etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris
Fatidicæ Mantûs & Tuſci filius amnis,
Qui muros matriſque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen.

The ſame *Servius* adds, that ſome made *Hercules* the Father of this Propheteſs. *Leander Albertus* relates a vaſt number of Traditions concerning this Founder of *Mantua*. Conſult him if you pleaſe in his (e) Deſcription of *Italy*.

(A) *He was Baptiz'd by a Prieſt in the Dioceſs of* Tarbes.] The exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion was forbidden in *Bearn* ever ſince the Edict of 1569; ſo that the few Catholicks who remain'd in that Country, were forc'd for want of Prieſts, to get their Children Baptiz'd in the Churches of the Reform'd (f). *James de Marca* would not follow their Example. He caus'd his Son to be carried to the Monaſtery of St. *Peter de Generes* in *Bigorre*. There our Archbiſhop was Baptiz'd by a certain Monk, who was Curate of the Parish. This refutes *Papin*, who ſays ſomewhere, that this Prelate was born of the Reform'd Religion. See the following Remark.

(B) *He was not the firſt of his Family who had an Office in the long Robe.*] The Family of *Marca* is Originally from *Garcias de Marca*, who commanded the Cavalry of *Gaſton* Prince of *Bearn* [illegible]ege

(a) Auguſt de hæreſ. c. 46. fol. m. 116. verſo.

(b) Lib. 1. c. 17.

(b) Mopſus *according to* Strabo, *was the Son of* Apollo *and* Manto, *and not as* Pauſanias *would have it of* Rhacius *and* Manto. *See the Article* Mopſus.

(c) *In* Virgil. ubi infra.

(d) Virgil Æn. l. 10. v. 198.

(e) *Pag.* m. 602, *&c.*

(f) Stephanus Baluzius de vita & rebus geſtis *Petri de Marca*, p. 8. *edit.* 1663. *in* 8.

† The eldest Galactorius de Marca succeeded in his Father's Office, I mean that of President in the Parliament of Pau.

quickly chang'd; for in a little time after, none could be admitted into that Council erected into a Parliament, who was not of the *Romish* Religion *. *Peter de Marca* had a great hand in the Intrigues which produc'd this Change. He Married a Lady of the ancient Houſe of the Viſcounts of *Lavedan*; but loſing her in 1632, after he had had many Children by her †, he would not Marry again. He was made Preſident in the Parliament of *Bearn* in 1621, and Counſellor of State in 1639. Three Years after the King nam'd him for the Biſhoprick of *Conſerans*. He had already been employ'd to write (C) a Work of great Importance. He was ſent into *Catalonia*

* Ib. p. 13.

Siege of *Saragoſſa*, in the Year 1118. His Poſterity followed the Profeſſion of Arms; but about the Year 1440, there was one *Peter de Marca* a good Civilian, who after he had been Attorney General to the Prince his Maſter in all his Dominions, was made Preſident of his Councils (g). I have read in a Book which was Printed in the time of the League, that one *de Marque* (h) ſecond Preſident in the Parliament of *Pau*, *could never be admitted to his Office* ——— *till he had made the Proteſtation againſt the Maſs, together with the Faith of the* Calvinian *Faith, appointed by the late* Queen of Navarre, Mother to *Henry* the Great. This Author is *Patin*, who affirms, that our Mr. *de Marca* was of a mean Birth. Let us relate the Paſſage which contains many Falſhoods; for to ſay nothing of the reſt, 'tis falſe that this Prelate was ever either a Miniſter or a Jeſuit. We ſhall here have an Example of the falſe Reports that are ſpread againſt great Men: One cannot collect too many ſuch Examples to bring the World to a Spirit of incredulity in this reſpect. "(i) We are inform'd here that the Archbiſhop-"rick of *Toulouſe* is beſtow'd upon Mr. *de Marca*, "Biſhop of *Conſerans*, by means of 50000 Crowns "which he has given to Cardinal *Mazarin*. This is "a good Fortune for that ambitious Man. He is of "a mean Original; after he had ſtudied, he be-"came a Miniſter to the Party of the Reform'd (k), "of whom he was one. After he had chang'd "his Religion, he became a Jeſuit; and then "quitting the Society he Married, and became "Counſellor into the Parliament of *Pau*, and "after that Preſident: Afterwards he came to "*Paris*, and by the favour of the Chancellor "Seguier, he was made Counſellor of State; "after that Intendant of *Catalonia*, and then "Biſhop of *Conſerans*, after he had a long time "waited for his Bulls, which he could not "get from *Rome* becauſe of the Quarrel he had "with the Jeſuits after he had quitted them, "and at laſt he had them not till he had recon-"cil'd himſelf to them: And then he was made "Archbiſhop of *Toulouſe*. When he has paid his "Debts, if a red Hat be offer'd to him, he will "be ſure to purchaſe it for Money. I cannot "better compare Mr. *de Marca* than to the late "Mr. *le Jay*, who from a ſmall beginning "became firſt Preſident in the Parliament of "*Paris*.

(g) Id. ib. p. 6, 7.

(h) *An Anſwer of the true* French *Catholicks to the Advertiſement of the* Engliſh *Catholicks*, p. 53. edit. 1589.

(i) Patin *Letter* 69. p. 294. *of* tome 1. *dated* June 28. 1652.

(k) *Note, that in order to juſtifie* Patin *the conſtraint that was put upon the Preſident* de Marca *can not be alledg'd; for our* Peter de Marca *was the Son of a Swordman. He had not therefore been oblig'd to make an Abjuration to preſerve an Office. See the Life of* Peter de Marca *by the Abbot* Faget, *p.* 7, 8.

(l) *It was a Prieſt of* Paris, *called* Herſens. *See the Life of* F. Morin, *p.* 52. *The Jeſuit* Michael Rabardeau *wrote an Anſwer to him, which was cenſured at* Rome. *See* Theophilus Raynaudus, *de bonis & malis libris, n.* 514, *p. m.* 293.

(m) Baluzius ubi ſupra, *p.* 23, 24.

(C) *He had already been employ'd to write a Work of great Importance.*] The Hiſtory of *Bearn*, which he Publiſh'd in 1640, confirm'd extreamly the good Opinion, which was conceiv'd of his Knowledge and great Capacity. It was therefore believ'd, that he would be very fit to be imploy'd about a nice and important Matter, which offer'd it ſelf a little while after. The Volume of the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, which *Peter de Puy* had Publiſh'd, alarm'd the Partizans of the Court of *Rome*; and ſome of 'em endeavoured to make it believed, that theſe were the Preliminaries of a Schiſm which was deſign'd by Cardinal *Richelieu*; as if that Eminence had had ſome Thoughts of erecting a Patriarchate in the Kingdom, that ſo the *Gallican* Church might have no dependance upon the Pope. A *French* Divine under the Name of *Optatus Gallus* wrote upon this Subject, and inſinuated that the Cardinal had gain'd a great Perſon who would make an Apology for this new Eſtabliſhment. This great Perſon was no other than *Peter de Marca*. (m) *Sequens menſis Martius materiam dedit novis ſermonibus, ob editionem Libelli Petri de Marca ad Antiſtites Regni, de cavendo ſchiſmate, quem præ ſuribus adeſſe nunciabat Optatus Gallus. Sub eo namine latere voluit ; ſatis alioqui cognitus, quam illi detrahere liberet. Occaſionem turbandi ſit ex editione Voluminum de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ, quæ anno ſuperiore prodierant curâ Clariſſ. Petri Puteani ; atque item ex rumore vulgi, diſ-ſerentis eam Cardinali Richelio mentem eſſe, ut omiſſo Epiſcopo Romano, Patriarcha in Gallis conſtituatur. Ajebat præterea, magnum virum in partes tractum promiſſis ingentibus, qui ſcripto defenderet quæ pro ea cauſa Cardinalis facturus erat, neque dubitatur, quin Marcam intelligeret.* The King underſtanding that an Accuſation of this Nature would render him odious, by reaſon of the Hatred to which it expos'd the Cardinal, gave Orders to Mr. *de Marca* to refute this *Optatus Gallus*, and to keep a certain *Medium* which ſhould not prejudice the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, and ſhould ſhow that they did not leſſen the Reverence due to the Holy See. He accepted of this Commiſſion, and executed it in the Book, *de Concordia ſacerdotii & imperii, ſive de libertatibus Eccleſiæ Galliçanæ*, which he Publiſh'd in 1641 (a). He declared in his Preface (b), that he would not enter upon the Diſcuſſion of the Right, but only inſiſt upon Matters of Fact, *i. e.* that he would only ſhow the Bounds which at all times had parted the two Empires, *viz.* that of the Temporal and that of the Spiritual Prince. But tho' he Collected an infinite number of Teſtimonies concerning the Pope's Power; yet his Book diſpleas'd the Ultramontanes, who have very tender Ears. (c) *Quorum aures tenerîtudine quadam plus trahuntur, ut ait Auxiliaris præfectus apud antiquum ſcriptorem vitæ ſancti Hilarii Epiſcopi Arelatenſis.* The Court of *Rome* ſhow'd it ſelf very backward to diſpatch the Bulls which were deſir'd for this Author, who was lately nam'd to the Biſhoprick of *Conſerans*. They acquainted him that he muſt in the firſt place ſoften ſome Paſſages of his Work, which they caus'd to be examin'd with great exactneſs. *Holſtenius*, one of the Examiners, declar'd, that he found many things in it which wanted Explication, and ſome others that ſecretly wounded the Rights of the Church. (d) *Holſtenius quidem quamplurima in eo contineri retulit, quæ explicatione indigerent; quædam etiam eſſe quæ Romana jura violent, ſed in occulto. Tanto quippe ac tam ſingulari artificio librum hunc eſſe perfectum, ut diſtingui vix poſſit, quæ pars ejus Eccleſiæ Romanæ faveat, quæve noceat.* One of the other Examiners gave it a better Teſtimony; he aſſirm'd that this Book prov'd ſo ſtrongly the Authority of the See of *Rome*, that the Author of it deſerv'd to be rewarded. His Approbation was conceal'd, and Mr. *de Marca* could never get a Copy of it. After the Death of *Urban* VIII. Cardinal *Bichi* ſollicited earneſtly *Innocent* X. to grant the Bulls to the Biſhop of *Conſerans*; but the Aſſeſſor of the Holy Office reviv'd the Complaints which had been made againſt the Book *de concordia ſacerdotii & imperii*, which made the Pope examine the Book a-new. (e) *Innocentius naturâ cunctator, & qui per imprudentiam nihil eorum prætermitti volebat quæ ad dignitatem Sedis Apoſtolicæ pertinere exiſtimabat, librum hunc examinandum de integro commiſit Cardinalibus Bauberino &c.* Mr. *de Marca* perceiving things thus drawn out to a great length, and hoping for no good Iſſue unleſs he made ſatisfaction to the Court of *Rome*, Publiſh'd (f) a Book wherein he explain'd his Opinion according to the Mind of the Ultramontanes, and wrote a very ſubmiſſive Letter to the Pope, wherein he made great Promiſes of Fidelity. He confeſs'd that he had diſcharg'd in his Book the Duties of a Preſident in the Parliament, much better than thoſe of a Biſhop; but it will be better to relate the very words which he made uſe of. (g) *Fateor eo in libro Principis partes pro muneris mei ratione ſoviſſe, Præſidemque potius implevi ſſe quam Epiſcopum* ——— *& ne libri publicati invidia deſiderius meus obeſſet, libello altero Barcinone edito, quem huic chartæ adjunxi, hallucinationes meas deprecatus ſum; Opus cenſuræ Beatitudinis Veſtræ ſubmiſi, quam prona mente amplexurum voveo, & aſſertorem vindicemque libertatis Eccleſiaſticæ futurum.* He did not forget in his Book the great ſervice he pretended to have done the *Ultramontanes*, by (h) Publiſhing

(a) Id. ib. p. 24, 25.

(b) Sic ſcriptionem ſuam temperavit, ut relicta diſcuſſione juris quod utrique Poteſtati competit, ad ſolam facti inquiſitionem, qua fines veterum poſſeſſorum demonſtrare poſſet, ſe contulerit; ut ipſe præfatur in Admonitione ad Lectorem *Id. ibid. pag.* 25.

(c) Ibid. pag. 26.

(d) Ibid. pag. 28.

(e) Ibid. pag. 30.

(f) *At* Barcelona 1646 Quo editionis librorum de Concordia Sacerdotii & Imperii conſilium exponit, opus Apoſtolicæ Sedi cenſura ſubmittit, & Reges Canonum cuſtodes, non vero auctores eſſe docet *Ibid. p.* 31.

(g) Ibid. p. 32.

(h) *See the Remark M*

lonia in 1644, to exerciſe there the Office of *Viſitor General*, and Intendant; which he diſcharg'd till the Year 1651. with ſo much capacity that the *Catalans* lov'd him (*D*) to ſuch a degree as is ſcarce to be parallell'd. He went to take Poſſeſſion of his Biſhoprick in *Auguſt* 1651. The next Year he was nam'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *Toulouſe*, and wrote to the Pope a Letter (*E*) which deſerves a Remark. He took Poſſeſſion

Publiſhing the decretal of Pope *Vigilius*. The Court of *Rome*, according to their uſual cunning, continued ſtill their delays after this ample ſatisfaction: But at laſt Mr. *de Marca* obtain'd his Bulls in the Month of *January* 1647. He was ordain'd Prieſt at *Barcelona* in the Month of *April* 1648. and conſecrated Biſhop at *Narbonne*, in the Month of *October* following. In this Year he was put upon a tryal, and he made it appear, that he was ſincere in promiſing a great Zeal for the Intereſt of the Pope. They had a mind to know his Opinion about a Queſtion which † made a great noiſe, and he gave it ſuch as *Innocent* X. could wiſh. (*i*) *Mota erat temporibus illis gravis quæſtio, de duplici capite in Eccleſia, pleriſque unicum tantum caput, videlicet B. Petrum, in ea conſtituentibus; quibuſdam vero cenſentibus Paulum quoque Eccleſiæ caput cum Petro fuiſſe. Cum hæc quæſtio diſtraheret in partes ingenia hominum eruditorum, atque interim dignitas Romanæ Sedis tentari videretur; Innocentius, qui apprime noverat Marcam in primis Eccleſiaſticæ antiquitatis peritum eſſe, ratus præterea eveniſſe occaſionem qua ejus animum erga Sedem Romanam experiretur, aperire ſententiam jubet. Ille nihil cunctatus* Exercitationem *Barcinone* v. *Kalendas Junii anno* M.DC. XLVII. *ſcripſit* de ſingulari Primatu Petri, *quæ nondum edita eſt: quam Innocentio, ad quem ſtatim miſſa eſt, valde placuiſſe ex eo intellectum eſt, quod eam publice legi juſſit, ac ſingularem quandam de Marca in Sedem Romanam propenſione acceptæ opinionem.*

† *That about the two Heads of the Church of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 37, 38.

Two things we may conclude from this Narrative: 1. That 'tis a great Slavery for the Court of *France*, to want the Pope's Bulls for the making of Biſhops; for it hinders thoſe who are capable of maintaining the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, and the Intereſt of the King in his Quarrels with *Rome* from uſing all their ſtrength: They aſpire to Prelacies, and they ſee that they cannot arrive at them if they render themſelves too odious to the Court of *Rome*; or at leaſt that they muſt make a ſhameful Satisfaction. It is not long ſince (*k*) this happen'd to ſome Members of the Aſſembly of the Clergy in the Year 1682. The ſecond thing I conclude is, that Mr. *Sallo* had no reaſon to take for an Artifice what was done at *Rome* in 1664, againſt the new Edition of Mr. *de Marca*'s Book. 'Twas pretended that *Baluzius* had Publiſh'd that Book *ex retractatis ſcriptis Petri de Marca*. This was not without ground. Did not this Prelate make a Retractation in the Writing Publiſh'd at *Barcelona*? Did not he write to the Pope to ask his Pardon? Let us ſet down the very words of the Decree, and the Reflexion of Mr. *Sallo*. (*l*) *Decretum ſacræ Indicis congregationis, quo damnati, prohibiti, ac reſpective ſuſpenſi fuerunt infra ſcripti omnes libri. Romæ*, 17. *Novembris* 1664. *De concordia Sacerdotii & Imperii, ſeu de libertate Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ liber, à Stephano Baluzio impreſſus Pariſiis, anno* 1663. *Perperam adſcriptus Petro de Marca, ex cujus retractatis ſcriptis aliorumque erroneis ſententiis operâ præfati Baluzii editus eſt.* " (*m*) The Court of *Rome* having always " their Aim, 'tis not very ſafe to adhere ſcrupulouſly to their cenſures. Wherefore this " Decree ought not to hinder us from having always as great an eſteem as we had for the Book of " the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, written " by the late Mr. *de Marca*. In effect it contains nothing but very certain Maxims, and " which may paſs for the fundamental Laws of " this Monarchy. Likewiſe we ought not to " have the worſe Opinion of the ſincerity of " Mr. *Baluzius*, altho' he is accus'd in this Decree " of having falſly attributed this Book to Mr. *de* " *Marca*. For 'tis plain that the Congregation " made uſe of this Artifice, becauſe they durſt not " directly attack the Memory of this great Archbiſhop, and they thought it would be more eaſie " to cry down his Book by ſubſtituting in his " place a Perſon of leſs eminent Dignity in the " Church."

(*k*) *I writ this the* 18*th of* Decemb. 1695.

(*l*) *See the* Journal des Savans *Jan.* 12. 1665.

(*m*) Sallo, Journal des Savans. *ibid.*

To conclude the Hiſtory of this Book, I muſt add further, that Mr. *Baluzius* has procur'd two Editions of it ſince the Death of the Author; one in 1663, and the other in 1669. Theſe Editions are larger than the firſt, as it appears from theſe *Latin* words. (*n*) *Opus* de concordia ſacerdotii & imperii——*altero ab ipſius obitu anno auguſtiori habitu adornatum, iterum emiſit in lucem Baluzius, & non ſaltem priores quatuor libros recenſuit, additionibus ab Auctore compoſitis auxit, ac ſuis notis, ubi occaſio tulit, illuſtravit; ſed & integrum Tomum alterum nunquam antea editum ex autographo ſummi Viri deſcriptum addidit, nonnulla Antiquitatis illuſtria monumenta adjecit, integroſque in eo Libros, quod Gallice eſſent ſcripti, in Latinam linguam vertit. Cumque Opus hoc tanto favore eruditorum fuerit exceptum & communi approbatione commendatum, ut intra breve tempus diſtracta exempla fuerint, iſtud anno M DC LXIX. recognitum emendatius, copioſiuſque literato iterum orbi dedit.*

(*n*) Acta Eruditor. Lipſienſ. ann. 1682. p. 327.

Deckherrus has committed ſome groſs Faults, when he ſpeaks of the writing of *Optatus Gallicus*, and of the Book of our Mr. *de Marca*: They were critically obſerv'd (*o*) in a Letter added to the new Edition of his Book in 1686.

(*o*) *See* Deckherrus de Scriptis adeſpotis, p. 384. edit. 1686.

Note, that the Author of the famous Book *de libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ*, publiſh'd in 1685, does not ſpeak favourably of the Conduct of the Author of the *concordia ſacerdotii & imperii*. " (*a*) " He inſinuates, that Mr. *de Marca* is not upright " in his Ways, and that tho' he wrote like a Man " that made his Court in *France*, yet he had a " cautious regard for the Court of *Rome*; for it " ſeems in certain places, that by virtue of his " Citations, he has eſtabliſh'd the thing, but all on " a ſudden he gives the Advantage to the other " ſide, by citing Examples and Teſtimonies contrary to the former, or by limiting the former " with a thouſand Reſtrictions: And then after " all this, he leſſens alſo the Advantage of the ſecond Party. At firſt he grants all, and then he " regains it inſenſibly, but in ſuch a manner that " he makes the Balance turn towards the ſecular " Power.

(*a*) *News from the Republick of Learning*, July 1685. p. 718. *of the* 2*d. Edition.*

(*D*) *The* Catalans *lov'd him to ſuch a degree as is ſcarce to be parallell'd.*] This appears by the Prayers and Pilgrimages which they made for his Health, in 1647. (*b*) The City of *Barcelona* made a publick Vow to our Lady of *Montſerrat*, and ſent thither in their Name twelve Capuchins, and twelve Maids. Theſe travell'd with their Hair hanging down, and their Feet naked. Mr. *de Marca* was perſuaded, that ſo many Vows and Prayers obtain'd his Health, and he would not leave *Catalonia* without going to offer up his Prayers at *Montſerrat*. Thither he went in 1651, and there (*c*) he wrote a little Treatiſe, *de origine ac progreſſu cultus B Mariæ Virginis in Monteſerrato*, which he left in the Archives of the Monaſtery. It was loſt by Negligence, becauſe perhaps the Author did not admit all kind of Traditions. He ſent a Copy of it in 1663, to *Francis Creſpus*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Lerida*, who was writing a Hiſtory of this Convent of *Montſerrat*. He adviſ'd him to uſe a little more Diſcretion than the *Spaniards* do. (*d*) *Paucis agit de antiquitate loci; admonetque Creſpum, ne in ea hiſtoria ſcribenda, falſis, uti Hiſpani ſolent, teſtimoniis utatur*; quæ Gallis, *inquit*, fabularum iſtiuſmodi detegendarum peritiſſimis, ludibrium debent, & reliquæ narrationi, licet alioqui veræ, auctoritatem demunt. This Diſſertation was Publiſh'd in 1681, by the care of Mr. *Baluzius*. Note, that Mr. *de Marca*, that great Author, did not diſdain to write about ſuch things, as were more becoming to a Monk than a Counſellor of State: As when he wrote the Hiſtory of our Lady of *Betaram* (*e*), at the deſire of a devout Prieſt call'd *Charpentier*, who was the Founder of that Chappel, as he was afterwards of that of *Mont Valerien*, near *Paris*. This Hiſtory was Publiſh'd at *Barcelona* (*f*).

(*b*) Baluzius ubi ſupra p. 45.

(*c*) Id. ib. p. 46.

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 48.

(*e*) *In* Bearn *in the Diocеſs of* Leſcar.

(*f*) *Taken from the Life of Mr.* de Marca, *written by the Abbot* Faget, *p.* 43.

(*E*) *He wrote a Letter to the Pope which deſerves a Remark.*] The tranſlation of a Biſhop from one See to another, ſtands in need of a particular Favour from the Court of *Rome*: Wherefore Mr. *de*

Poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhoprick of *Toulouſe*, without any Pomp, in the Month of *March* 1655. He aſſiſted the next Year at the General Aſſembly of the Clergy of *France*, where he oppos'd the (F) *Janſeniſts*. He prepar'd himſelf for reſidence in 1658; when, to remove all the Scruples that might trouble him, if he had continu'd a long time at *Paris*, the King made him Miniſter of State. He follow'd the Court in a Progreſs to *Lyons*, and then was preſent in the States of *Languedoc*, from whence he went to *Toulouſe* in the Month of *April* 1659. He preſided in the States of that Province in the ſame City while the King was there, and preſented the Rolls to His Majeſty. The next Year he went to *Rouſſillon*, to regulate the limits with the Commiſſioners of the King of *Spain*. Theſe Conferences were of a very ſingular Character;

(g) O me felicem, quando veteris illius atque ſanctiſſimi Sacerdotis Exuperii exemplo, (qui ex Præſidatu in Hiſpaniis acto Cathedram illam ſuſcipiens, eam deinde rexit juxta pium atq; prudens Innocentii primi ad ejus conſulta reſponſum) licebit per Innocenti X. decretum poſt geſtos Magiſtratus Regios in Gallia & Hiſpania, Epiſcopatus quoque curis funcio mihi, Toloſanæ Sedis adminiſtrationem capeſſere. *Baluzius ubi ſupra p.* 53.

de Marca Biſhop of *Conſerans*, being nam'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *Toulouſe*, paid his reſpects to the Pope with the greateſt Addreſs that was poſſible; and tho' he knew that *Exuperius* Biſhop of *Toulouſe*, was not the ſame *Exuperius* who had Commanded in *Spain*, yet he gave it out as a thing certain in the Letter he wrote to *Innocent* X. By this means he drew an agreeable parallel between Pope *Innocent* I. and Pope *Innocent* X. and between himſelf and this *Exuperius* (g): And therefore he made no ſcruple to vent this Falſity, which he thought proper to tickle the Pope, and to render him more favourable to himſelf. Some Body obſerv'd that this was a Falſhood, but Mr. *de Marca* being told of this Criticiſm, laugh'd at it, and call'd ſuch a Cenſurer a little Soul, who did not ſee the difference between a Letter of Complement and a Hiſtory. Mr. *Baluzius* has given us ſo good a Narrative of this, and in Terms ſo well-choſen, that it would be an injury to the judicious Reader, not to ſet down his words: There he will find much more Matter for Reflexions than in the ſhort account I have given of it. *Sciebat ſane vir eruditiſſimus diverſum ab Exuperio Epiſcopo Toloſano fuiſſe Exuperium illum, qui Præſidatum in Hiſpanis egit. Quis enim ignorat? Verum cum argumentum eſſet accommodatiſſimum ad rem quam tractabat, ſciretque præterea Principum aures ita eſſe formatas, ut nihil niſi jucundum lætumque accipere velint, vim aliquam inferre veritati non abnuit, ut Pontificem aliqui difficilem ac moroſum, ſibi faventem ac propitium habere poſſet. Quod ideo retuli, ut eatur obviam ſcrupuloſæ cujuſdam ſcriptoris diligentiæ, qui in adverſariis ſuis adnotavit lapſum hoc eſſe Marcam: de quo admonitus a me vir optimus paucis ante obitum menſibus, riſit hominis ſupinitatem, qui non animadverteret cujuſmodi argumentum in ea epiſtola tractaretur. Neque enim hiſtoria ſcribebatur. Non diſplicet profecto hominibus eruditis, quod oratores veri limites nonnunquam excedant in compoſitione verborum, ut auditorum aures aliqua voluptate permulceant, & alliciant* (h)

(F *And there oppos'd the* Janſeniſts] It was an unhappy thing for them that this great Prelate met with ſo great Difficulties at *Rome*, when he wanted a Bull to be Biſhop of *Conſerans*. This taught him that he muſt not loſe any occaſion of repairing the damage which his *Concordia Sacerdotii & Imperii* had done him in that Country. Now what more favourable occaſion could he expect, than that of ſeconding the Court of *Rome* in the proceedings againſt the Diſciples of *Janſenius*? Add to this, that he had been repreſented as a *Janſeniſt* beyond the Alps, and that this bad Office had for a long time retarded the expedition of the Bull, which was neceſſary for making him Archbiſhop of *Toulouſe*. I do not know if among the many Pieces that have been written about this Calumny, it was ever thought fit to write one concerning the uſefulneſs of that Crime. Thoſe that would employ themſelves about this matter, would be much to blame, if they forgot the Advantage that may be drawn from Calumny in Diſputes of Religion; for ſometimes an able and very active Man, would keep himſelf neuter, or endeavour to accommodate Matters in a fair way, if he was not deſam'd as a favourer of Hereticks. Then to clear himſelf, and to prevent the diſadvantage that may ariſe from ſuch a Reputation, he is oblig'd (i) to ſet up for a Perſecutor: Whatever might be the cauſe of M. *de Marca*'s Zeal againſt the Party of the *Janſeniſts*, 'tis certain that they found him a terrible Adverſary. *Alexander* VII. thank'd him heartily for it. *Clerici Gallicani Comitia Parifiis habebantur. Illuc ivit de Marca ſe conferens anno* M. DC. LVI *perhonorifice eo cœtu ſuſceptus* XIII *Kalend. Aprilis, de ipſius plurimis occaſionibus, quibus oſtendit quanto ingenii vi polleret, & quam præclara eruditione ac doctrina præditus eſſet. Nam auctoritatem Romani Pontificis, quam per ſummum nefas aliqui deprimere conabantur, fortiter & ſtrenue vindicavit adverſus æmulos. Quarum id Alexandro* VII. *qui poſt abſoluta demum Comitia, honorificas ad Marcam literas die* XVII. *Novembris anni* M. DC. LVII. *ſcripſit: quibus ei gratias egit, ob aſſertam Sedis Apoſtolicæ dignitatem, & ut deinceps pergeret in eadem reverentia, verbis amantiſſimis hortatus eſt. Janſeniſmum vero, tum maxime vires ſuas colligentem, ſi magiſtratu & auctoritate ſua repreſſit, ut ob hoc ipſum promeritus ſit iram hominum ejuſdem ſectæ, qui ne mortuo quidem pepercerunt.* He adds, that before the Concluſion of this Aſſembly (l), there appear'd a Satyr againſt Mr *de Marca*, which was ſuppreſs'd by another ſome time after. (m) *Ineunte ſpatio prodiit libellus famoſus, ſub titulo hypothetico illuſtriſſimum Dominum de Marca Archiepiſcopum Tolonenſem, quo ejus fama atrociter proſcindebatur. Ab hoc Romanæ Sedis per ſummum ſuum in aperto violabatur. Libellum hunc ſecutus eſt alius, haud moderatior, & ipſe, ut prior, abſque auctoris nomine.* Some of his Friends advis'd him not to anſwer thoſe Libels, and others advis'd him to do it. He conſider'd with himſelf which Advice he ſhould follow, and at laſt reſolv'd to be ſilent (n). He was contented to ſee the Agreement of the Empire and the Prieſthood with reſpect to theſe two Libels; for they were condemn'd to be burnt both at *Paris* and at *Rome*. Here follow the Titles of three Pieces that appear'd againſt him. *A Letter from the Author of the moſt important Rules to my Lord* de Marca *Archbiſhop of* Toulouſe, 1657. *An Anſwer to the Letter of my Lord Archbiſhop of* Toulouſe *about the Conſultation of the Clergy*, November 14. 1656. *An Anſwer to a Letter lately publiſh'd about what paſs'd in the Aſſembly of the Clergy* November 14. 1656. The firſt of theſe three Pieces was preceded by this; *Very important Rules drawn from two Paſſages, one of the Council of* France, *and the other of* Glaber, *alledged by my Lord* de Marca *Archbiſhop of* Toulouſe. This is not at all Satyrical

I have juſt now caſt my Eyes upon a Book (o), wherein I find ſomething which ſhews that the heat of the *Janſeniſts* is not yet cool'd. In this Book 'tis related, that the Archbiſhop of *Rouen* (p), had a mind to compoſe the Diſputes of *Janſenism* during the general Aſſembly of the Clergy in 1657 "(q) This Negotiation went not far. The Arch-" biſhop of *Rouen* had audience upon this Subject " *May* 3. of Cardinal *Mazarine*; who, as this Pre-" late related the ſame Day to Mr *Bagnols*, teſti-" fied he had a mind to accommodate this " Affair, and that they had agreed, his Emi-" nence and he, to treat of this Matter with Mr " *de Marca* Archbiſhop of *Toulouſe*, who probably " made no ſecret of it to *F. Annat*. After a ſecond " Audience which the Archbiſhop of *Rouen* had of " the Cardinal the next day; this Prelate related, " that having been two full Hours in Conference " with that chief Miniſter, and with the Archbiſhop " of *Toulouſe*, his Eminence had ſhewn more firm-" neſs than he had done before, and had made a grea-" ter oppoſition to the Project of Accommodation, " and that the Archbiſhop of *Toulouſe* ſpoke bitterly " againſt it, and call'd the diſtinction of the *Jan-" ſeniſts* as a Chimerical Fancy. This is very cre-" dible; for this Prelate being wholly a Politi-" cian, was the Father of the Inſeparability of the " Right and the Fact, a true Chimera wherewith he " was in Love, or ſeem'd to be ſo, becauſe it " ſerv'd his Ends. This Prelate did not care to " give over his own Deſigns in order to follow " thoſe of the Archbiſhop of *Rouen* in his. He knew " much more than he, in Matters of Policy and " Intrigue. He had fram'd his Scheme, and taken " his Meaſures with *F. Annat*, upon another Plan " than this, which could not pleaſe that Fa-" ther

(h) Id. ib. p. 53, 54.

(i) *Compare with this the Article* Ferrier.

(k) Baluzius, *ibid. p.* 59.

(l) *It ended in the Month of* March 1657.

(m) Ibid. p. 64

(n) Id ib. p. 65. *Yet he wrote ſomething againſt thoſe Libels, which Mr* Baluzius *publiſh'd in* 1681.

(o) *Printed in* 1710 *and intitled,* The Peace of *Clement* IX.

(p) Francis Harly *who died Archbiſhop of* Paris.

(q) *The Peace of* Clement IX. *p.* 144.

Character; for he was oblig'd to make (G) ſeveral Critical Remarks upon ſome words of *Pomponius Mela* and *Strabo*. He made a Journey to *Paris* in the Month of *September* in the ſame Year, and died there *June* 29th 1662, a little after (H) he had obtain'd the Bulls for the Archbiſhoprick of the ſame City, to which he was nam'd without any canvaſſing, after the King had accepted the Reſignation of Cardinal *de Retz*. He left the care of his MSS. to Mr. *Baluzius*, who did belong to him ever ſince the 29th of *June* 1656 *. He could not chooſe a more worthy Depoſitory; for Mr. *Baluzius* made it appear from that time, that he had a great Zeal (I) for the Glory of the Deceas'd, and all the Parts requiſite for Publiſhing ſuch a Depoſitum. He promis'd the Life of his *Mæcenas* as a very large Work, wherein the detail of the noble Actions, and fine Qualities of this Prelate would be ſeen. I think he has not executed this Deſign. The Publick hath loſt much by it, altho' the Letter I have † cited, and from which I have taken the Chronological Narrative, which I have ſet down, does very clearly, and at ſome length, declare the Virtues, Merits and Actions of this Archbiſhop. Some time after his Life appear'd written by the Abbot *Faget*, attended with three or four Diſcourſes; which rais'd a Diſpute (K) between him and Mr. *Baluzius*. There are in the Work of this Abbot many Particulars, which may be read with Pleaſure, when one loves to know all that concerns great Men. There we may ſee how Mr. *de Marca* renounc'd all the Pleaſures of Youth, out of Love for his Books, while he was a Scholar. He foretold his School-Fellows, who loſt their

" ther. In fine, he had for this kind of Affairs " and many others, an entire Confidence from " the Cardinal, and all the ſupport of the Court. " Thus the Archbiſhop of *Roan* took care not to " inſiſt upon this Affair, when he was better in- " form'd.

(G) *To make ſeveral critical Remarks upon ſome words of* Pomponius Mela.] It was ſaid in the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, that the limits between *France* and *Spain* in the County of *Rouſſillon*, ſhould be the ſame with thoſe which anciently ſeparated *Gaul* from *Spain*. It was therefore neceſſary to examine where the ancient Geographers bounded *Gaul* on that ſide. The Learning of our Archbiſhop was a great help. You will find the particulars of all theſe Conferences in a Poſthumous Work of this Author (d).

(H) *He died a little after he had obtain'd the Bulls.*] The little time that he liv'd after his Nomination to the Archbiſhoprick of *Paris*, invited ſome Body to write an Epitaph upon him of ſix Verſes, which is known to every Body.

Cy git l'illuſtre de Marca,
Que le plus grand des Rois marqua,
Pour le Prelat de ſon Egliſe:
Mais la mort qui le remarqua,
Et qui ſe plait à la ſurpriſe,
Tout auſſi-tot le demarqua.

(I) *That he had a great Zeal——and all the parts.*] To be convinc'd of this Truth, we need only ſee the Prefaces, Notes, Additions, &c. wherewith he has enrich'd the Poſthumous Pieces of his *Mecenas* as he Publiſh'd them. I have already ſpoken of the new Editions which he procur'd of that famous Work, *de concordia imperii & ſacerdotii*. I muſt now add that he publiſh'd three or four Diſſertations of that Learned Man in 1669 (e). They concern the Authority of the Pope, and that of the Patriarchs and Primates; a very difficult Canon of the Council of *Orange*, and the firſt Eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Faith in *Gaul*. He publiſh'd many others in 1681, the Subjects whereof you may ſee in the Journal of (f) *Leipſick*. In 1688 he Publiſh'd a Folio, with this Title, *Marca Hiſpanica, ſive limes Hiſpanicus, hoc eſt Geographica & hiſtorica deſcriptio Cataloniæ, Ruſcinonis, & circunjacentium populorum auctore illuſtriſſimo viro Petro de Marca.* All the Journaliſts make mention of it.

(K) *A Diſpute between him and Mr.* Baluzius.] The Abbot *Faget*, an ancient Agent of the Clergy, and Son of an Aunt by the Mother's ſide to Mr. *de Marca*, Printed at *Paris* in 1668, the Life of this Prelate, together with a Treatiſe of the Euchariſt, another of the Sacrifice of the Maſs, another about the Erection of the Patriarchat of *Conſtantinople*, another in *French* about the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, and ſome other Sacraments. He was the Author of the Life, but not of the Diſſertations which are joyn'd with it; theſe were written by Mr. *de Marca*. He could never obtain the approbation of the Faculty of Theology, without conſenting that all the *French* Treatiſes ſhould be left out, and that ſome Leaves ſhould be printed a-new to alter ſeveral things in the others. The Printer, who was of the Reform'd Religion, knew very well that ſome Leaves were Printed a-new, on purpoſe to take out ſome things that favour'd the Proteſtants. What does he do? He keeps in all the places which were to be chang'd, and ſo he deliver'd a Copy to Mr. *Claude*, juſt ſuch as he had Printed it before the Commiſſioners of the Faculty of Theology made theſe changes in it (g). From this Copy, or ſuch another (h) an Edition of the Book was Printed in foreign Countries, as Mr. *Baluzius* (i) had foreſeen. To this Edition were joyn'd the Letters which Mr. *Baluzius* and Mr. *Faget* wrote one againſt another: For you muſt know, that Mr. *Baluzius* thought he ought not to keep ſilence, when he ſaw that the Probity and Orthodoxy of Mr. *de Marca* were call'd into queſtion. He wrote therefore, one after another, two Letters (k) to Preſident *de Marca*. I will here give one Paſſage of the firſt: " (l) You know, Sir, " that his Enemies have wickedly Publiſh'd, that " in the Affairs which paſs'd thro' his Hands, he " did not ſo much conſider Truth and Juſtice as " his Intereſt and Ambition, having always en- " deavour'd to riſe higher and higher in the " Church, and that theſe Conſiderations were " the reaſon why he often betray'd the Truth to " flatter the Court of *Rome*. I was going about to " ſtop theſe Diſcourſes, and hinder them from " making any impreſſion on the minds of rational " Men. But Mr. *Faget* with one daſh of his Pen, " has overthrown, if we may believe him, all that " the true Servants of the deceas'd Archbiſhop " were able to eſtabliſh in the ſpace of many " Years" Let us ſee another Paſſage taken out of the ſecond Letter. " (m) I think my ſelf ob- " lig'd to acquaint you, that the Book which Mr. " *Faget* has Printed, makes a great noiſe in this " City, upon the account of ſome Expreſſions " that have crept into it, which ſeem to favour " the Error of the *Calviniſts* and *Lutherans* con- " cerning the Sacrament of the Euchariſt; which " is one of the moſt eſſential Points of our Reli- " gion, and at this Day moſt controverted. If " it be true, which I can hardly believe, that the " deceas'd Archbiſhop wrote the Treatiſes which " Mr. *Faget* has Printed under his Name, of which " he boaſts in the Preface, and in the Life, to " have the Originals written with the Author's " own Hand; we cannot hinder the deceas'd " Archbiſhop from being accounted by many " People a Heretick on the Subject of the Eu- " chariſt, and conſequently his Reputation will " receive great Damage. You cannot imagine how " this Edition has given occaſion to all ſorts of Peo- " ple to talk of him. The *Huguenots* expreſs a great " joy in it, as being a thing which comes very ſeaſon- " ably

* *Taken from a Latin Letter of* Mr. Baluzius *written to* Sorbiere, de vita, rebus geſtis, moribus, & ſcriptis illuſtriſſimi viri Petri de Marca, *Printed at* Paris *in* 1663. *in* 8°.

† *It has been inlarged at the beginning of the Book* De concordia Imperii & Sacerdotii, *of the edit.* 1669.

(d) *Entitled* Marca Hiſpanica. *The* Biblioth. Univerſ. *has an Abſtract of it at the beginning of* Tom. 15.

(e) *See the Journal of* Leipſick, 1682. *p.* 327.

(f) Ib. p. 328. *See alſo the* Journal des Savans, *March* 21. 1681. *p.* 117.

(g) *A Letter of* Mr. Baluzius *to the Biſhop of* Tulle, *printed at the end of the Book publiſh'd by* Mr. Faget *edit.* 1669.

(h) Mr. Baluzius *in his ſecond Letter to Preſident* de Marca, *confeſſes that* Mr. Fager had already preſented his Book, and that the Printer had ſold ſome of them, *before there was any thought of ſuppreſſing the Edition.*

(i) *Provided there remain but one Copy in the Hands of a private Perſon, ten thouſand ſhall be printed from that whenever they have a mind to make it publick. Which I am certain they will not fail to do, ſpeedily in* Holland, *and at* Geneva. Baluzius's ſecond Letter to Preſident *de Marca* at the end of the Book of the Abbot *Faget*, Edition of 1669.

(k) *The Son of the Archbiſhop of* Paris.

(l) 'Tis *dated at* Paris April 22. 1668.

(m) *Dated at* Paris May 27. 1668.

their Time in vain Recreations, what a difference there would be one Day, (*L*) between their Glory and his. This was at *Toulouſe* that he laid the Foundations of his great Knowledge. He neglected no Means whereby he might become a good *Grecian* (*M*); which very much diſtinguiſh'd him from other Learned Men. One of his chief Excellencies was, that he could explain the moſt intricate Matters without (*N*) needing a Guide.

MARCELLINUS (AMMIANUS) has an honourable Name among thoſe who wrote, the *Roman* Hiſtory. He was a *Greek* Originally (*A*), as he declares at the end of

" ably to confirm their Opinion, and the Ene-
" mies of the late Archbiſhop take occaſion
" from thence to blaſt his Memory, and blacken
" his Reputation. The Abbot *Faget* being trea-
ted with the utmoſt Contempt in thoſe two
Letters, was Mad at it, and publiſh'd two
other Letters full of Rancor. I ſhall not
dwell upon it, but only touch one Point
which relates to a Fact I have mention'd in the
body of this Article. Mr. *Faget* denies (*a*) that
Mr. *de Marca* entruſted his MSS. with Mr. *Baluzius*.
Let us ſee what Mr. *Baluzius* did when he ſaw
himſelf bely'd upon this Head. " I will obſerve
" to you, *ſays he to the Biſhop of* Tulle, that
" having caus'd him to be rebuk'd by a good
" Prieſt of *Roüergue* of his Acquaintance, call'd
" *Guibert*, becauſe, to the prejudice of the Truth
" well known to him, he has affirm'd in that
" Life, that I was guilty of Forgery, when I pub-
" liſh'd, that the deceas'd Archbiſhop had given
" me his Papers when he was dying, and entruſt-
" ed me with the Edition of his Works; he an-
" ſwer'd, That it concern'd him in Point of Re-
" putation, becauſe, ſaid he, if this were belie-
" ved, it would follow, that the deceas'd Arch-
" biſhop had not a good Opinion of him, and did
" not think him capable of taking care of the E-
" dition of his Works. And this he ſaid alſo in
" general terms to a Perſon of great Merit and
" Virtue, whom you know, who did me the ho-
" nour to tell me of it. This is, my Lord, the fine
" Principle upon which he grounds his Calumny
" and Impoſture." Without eſpouſing any Par-
ty in this Quarrel (*b*), I will only ſay in general,
that there are a thouſand Falſhoods Printed which
have no other Foundation than the point of Ho-
nour; for when once we perceive, that a naked
Declaration of the Truth will do us a prejudice
in the World, things are related quite otherwiſe
than they happen'd.

(*a*) In Vita Petri de Marca, p. 118.

(*b*) *Note, That Mr.* Baluzius *in the Life of Mr.* de Marca, *edit.* 1669. *refutes Mr.* Faget *about the* Depoſitum *and many other things.*

(*L*) *What a difference there would be one Day between their Glory and his.*] A young Man of your Quality, would they ſay to him, ought not to ſhun Company, nor to forſake Play, Dancing, and ſuch other Diverſions. You are like one that's dead and buried. A Time will come, anſwer'd he to them, when I ſhall make my Name famous, but ye ſhall remain in Darkneſs. (*c*) *Exprobrabant adoleſcentem genere clarum non decere, a virorum & mulierum nobilium civitatis colloquiis & ſocietate recedere, nec præſtantes animi dotes exerere, non ludos, nec ludicra, neque nocturnas hyemis choreas, ut aliis ſolitum erat, frequentare, poſſeque eum, virum abſconditum jure nominari. Ad quæ ille, quum veniſſet temporis occaſio, futurum ſe omnibus pervotum, ubi latendum illis foret, peracute reſpondit.* The Event juſtified this Anſwer. Mr. *de Marca* became one of the greateſt Men of his Age, and appear'd on the higheſt Stages; and perhaps thoſe who gave him this Reproof, were never known two Leagues from their own Pariſh. This is a good Leſſon for Scholars that are ſtudious, and for thoſe that are debauch'd. 'Tis good to ſet before their Eyes ſuch an Example as this; which was the reaſon why I made this Remark.

(*c*) Fagetus, in Vita Petri de Marca, p. 9.

(*M*) *He might become a good* Grecian.] He gave proof of this in 1642, by publiſhing a *Greek* MS. he found in the King's Library (*d*), which he Tranſlated into *Latin*. It was the Decretal Epiſtle of Pope *Vigilius*, confirming the ſecond Council of *Conſtantinople*: He added to it a Learned Diſſertation, the *Anathema*'s of the ſame Council, a Letter of *Eutyches* to this Pope, and this Pope's Anſwer (*e*). Theſe *Anathema*'s, and theſe two Letters had never appear'd before but in *Latin*. The Decretal had never been publiſh'd in any Language (*f*). He pretended to have done a great ſervice to the Pope by this Work; for he obſerved in the Book he Printed at *Barcelona*, in 1646. to remove the occaſion of Complaint which retarded the diſpatching of his Bulls; he obſerved, I ſay, that the publiſhing of this Decretal ſerv'd very much to confirm the Authority of the Holy See above the Oecumenical Councils, which was much ſhaken in the Schools of *France*. (*g*) *Quid de hac editione poſtea ipſe ſenſerit, accipe ex libello ejus Barcinone edito* M. DC. XLVI. *cujus ſupra mentionem feci:* Sane explicari non poteſt, quantum hujus Epiſtolæ publicatio profuerit ad firmandam Apoſtolicæ Sedis auctoritatem erga Concilia Generalia; quæ apud Gallicanos Academiarum Magiſtros, majorum ſuorum decretis inhærentes, valde nutabat See the Margin (*h*). The Diſſertation was inſerted in the Edition of the Councils which was publiſh'd at the *Louvre*, as alſo the Diſſertation of the ſame Author, *De primatu Lugdunenſi & cæteris primatibus, cum notis ad Canones aliquot Concilii Claromontani ſub Urbano II. celebrati*). I know not how to believe the Tale of the Abbot *Faget*, that *de Marca*, coming from his Studies and returning from *Toulouſe* to his Father's Houſe, did ſo confound ſome *Huguenot* Gentlemen, who provok'd him to diſpute in a Baron's Houſe, that they were forc'd to ſend for a Miniſter of *Pau*, a Man famous for his Learning, to come to their aſſiſtance; who propos'd ſome Sophiſms, which this young Scholar diſcover'd the weakneſs of, by a Paſſage of St. *Paul* (*k*). The Miniſter could not reply any thing, but that the Text of St. *Paul* was not ſo as alledged. *De Marca* taking out of his Pocket a *Greek* New Teſtament, prepar'd himſelf to juſtifie his Citation; but the Miniſter declar'd that he underſtood nothing of that Language. This Relation of Mr. *Faget* looks like a Tale forg'd at pleaſure. (*l*) *Allatis quibuſdam argutiis, quarum acies citato ex Epiſtolis Divi Pauli loco novus athletes omnino retudit. A tam expreſſo rei probandæ textu Pſeudomiſan nullo alio modo explicare ſe potuit, quam aliter in Divo Paulo legi pertinaciter conteſtando. Marca vero conſiſtim in Novi Teſtamenti Græci abſque interpretatione Latina, quem fere ſemper ſecum ferebat, codice, laudatum locum ipſiſmet, quæ attulerat verbis, conceptum indicavit. Sed cum ſibi penitus ignotam eam linguam profiteretur Pſeudominiſter, ſi non omnino cauſſa cecidiſſe, deluſus ſaltem ab adoleſcente ſuis etiam viſus eſt.*

(*g*) Id. ib.

(*h*) *Here are the words of the Abbot* Faget, ubi ſupra, *p.* 44. Eam (*decretalem.*) non ſolum ut hactenus incognitam ille plurimi fecit, ſed etiam quod multum ad firmandam Apoſtolicæ Sedis auctoritatem contra quorundam Theologorum ſententiam in Concilia generalia prodeſſet.

(*i*) Baluzius ubi ſupra, p. 40.

(*k*) Faget ubi ſupra, p. 11.

(*l*) Id ib. p. 12

(*N*) *Without needing a Guide.*] Moſt Learned Men are only fit to cultivate the Lands which have been already Till'd: They can ſmooth or enlarge a way which has been already made. There are but a few, (*m*) *quibus arte benigna & meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan*, that can plough up the Grounds that were never Till'd, and make a way through a Foreſt, where no Man had ever paſs'd. Mr. *de Marca* was of this ſelect number. (*n*) *The Rank he held among the Criticks, was no leſs conſiderable in the Commonwealth of Learning, than that he had among the Prelates in the Church and State.* The Author of whom I borrow theſe words, relates the Praiſes which Father (*o*) *Combefis*, and *F* (*p*) *Labbee* have given to the great Parts of this Prelate, and he adds, *That the certainty of his Conjectures, and the liberty of ſpeaking his Thoughts — would have induc'd him to carry his Criticiſms much further, if he had not been reſtrained by Conſiderations which every one knows.*

(*m*) Juvenal Sat. 14. v. 34.

(*n*) Baillet *Judgments of the Learned*, tom. 2. p 295.

(*o*) Combef. recenſion. Auctor. Concionat p 15.

(*p*) Labbe, Epiſt. dedicator. Diſſertat. de Scriptor Eccleſ & tomo XI. Concil. general. ad Concil. Claromontan.

(*A*) *A Greek Originally, as he declares at the end of his laſt Book.*] This Paſſage will be cited elſewhere; I ſhall now mention three others One is in Chap. 8. of the 22d Book, ἐνθένδε, *Græci dicimus ſtultum*: The ſecond is in Chap 15 of the ſame Book, *ad ignis ſpeciem, τὸ πυρῶδες, ut nos dicimus extenuatur in cornu*: The third is in Chap. 6. of the 23d Book, *tranſire, διαβαίνειν dicimus Græci. Voſſius* (*q*) makes uſe of the ſecond, which wants the Clauſe that he has join'd to it, *nempe nos Græci.* Had he remember'd the other two places, in which the Author has us'd the very word *Græci*, he would rather have cited them than this But we ſee the greateſt Memories have not that

(*q*) De Hiſtor. Lat p 201.

of his laſt Book, and a Native of *Antioch*, as may be gather'd from a Letter of *Libanius* *. This, together with the Military Life which he follow'd, ought to make us excuſe the harſhneſs of his Latin. This Defect, and that of ſome high-flown Digreſſions, are abundantly compenſated by many excellent Qualities which are to be found in this Author; as for inſtance, the little Partiality he ſhow'd againſt Chriſtianity, although he was (*B*) a *Pagan*, and the exact Enquiries he made, that he might write nothing but what he was certain of, and whereby he has inform'd us of many things which otherwiſe we ſhould not have known. His Authority is beſides very conſiderable, becauſe he was an ocular Witneſs of many things he wrote. He began betimes to liſt himſelf a Soldier, and was preſently enroll'd among thoſe who were call'd *Protectores domeſtici*; which may induce us to believe that he was of a good Family β, ſince it was uſual with the Youths of the firſt Quality to enter themſelves into that Body, and he that could be promoted to it, thought himſelf well rewarded for his long Service. Thus our *Marcellinus* began to take his Aim, but we do not know whether ever he roſe higher (*C*), only we find that in this Imployment he follow'd *Urſicinus* General of the Cavalry in many Expeditions. He was order'd to go with him into the Eaſt, when the Emperor *Conſtantius* ſent him thither in 350. *Urſicinus* being re-call'd from thence in 354, and oblig'd to come to *Milan*, brought back with him *Marcellinus* into *Italy*. They went into *Gaul* the next Year, and quickly reduc'd the Tyrant *Sylvanus* to Reaſon; after which *Conſtantius* ſent for *Urſicinus* to *Sirmium*, and ſent him back again into the Eaſt. The bad Offices which ſome did *Urſicinus* with this Emperor were the cauſe why he was recall'd, and his Office given to another. He obey'd, but being arriv'd in *Thrace*, he found Orders there, which oblig'd him to return immediately towards *Meſopotamia*, though the Command was not reſtor'd to him, which had been given to *Sabinianus*. Nevertheleſs he did the Emperor great ſervices. *Marcellinus* who always follow'd him, did alſo the Emperor much Service, both as a Soldier, and as a manager of Affairs, as he himſelf relates, without exceeding the bounds of Modeſty. He did not quit the Service, when *Urſicinus* was utterly diſgrac'd, in the Year 360; but as I have already ſaid, 'tis not known whether he was advanc'd, or whether he continu'd always in his Poſt of *Domeſtick Protector*, even when he follow'd *Julian* in the War againſt the *Perſians*. It may be gather'd from ſome places γ of his Books, that he lived at *Antioch* under the Empire of *Valens*. He came afterwards to ſettle at *Rome*, and there Compos'd (*D*) his Hiſtory. He recited ſeveral

* *See the Preface of* Henry Valeſius *to* Ammian. Marcellin. *The Printers of* Moreri *have put* Labienus *inſtead of* Libanius.

β Valeſius ubi ſupra.

γ Lib. 29. cap. 1. *Where he ſays*, that he ſaw the torments of many Perſons whom *Valens* put to Death at *Antioch* in 371. *and lib.* 30. *c.* 4. *where he* complains of the tricks that had been put upon him in the Eaſt.

always ready at hand which they ſtand in need of.

(*B*) *Altho' he was a* Pagan.] 'Tis ſo eaſie for thoſe who weigh every thing exactly, to diſcover that he was one, that we muſt needs think it very ſtrange, that ſo able Men as *Petrus* (*a*) *Pithœus*, and *Claudius Chiffletius* (*b*) ſhould take him for a Chriſtian. Would a Chriſtian who wrote his Hiſtory under the Emperors, who reduc'd Paganiſm to the laſt gaſp, have been contented to ſpeak honourably of the Chriſtian Religion, and have never carried the Matter ſo far as to declare ſometimes, that it was the only good and true Religion, and that the Worſhip of the Pagan Deities was an Idolatry? Under ſuch Emperors would a Chriſtian have been ſo inconſiderate as to praiſe *Julian* the Apoſtate (*c*), and never declaim ſharply againſt his Apoſtacy, and his hatred of JESUS CHRIST? Would he have ſpoken of *Mercury* and the Goddeſs *Nemeſis*, and the Goddeſs *Themis*, and the Augural ſuperſtition of Paganiſm, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſpeaks of them? I know of no Chriſtian Authors who did not, even in the hotteſt Perſecutions, ſpeak contemptibly of the Pagan Idolatry, and in ſome manner inſult over it; and 'tis incomparably more eaſie to conceive that a *Pagan* ſhould uſe moderation, ſpeaking of the Goſpel, than that a Chriſtian ſhould do it when he ſpeaks of the Worſhip of falſe Gods. The Proofs alledg'd by *Chiffletius* for the pretended Chriſtianity of *Marcellinus* need no refutation, except one Paſſage of Book 27. where having cenſur'd the Luxury of the Biſhops of *Rome*, he oppoſes to it the Auſterity of ſome Biſhops of the Provinces: *Quos*, ſays he, *tenuitas edendi potandique parciſſime, vilitas etiam indumentorum & ſupercilia humum ſpectantia, perpetuo numini veriſque ejus cultoribus ut puros commendant & verecundos.* But all that can be inferr'd from theſe words is only this, that according to this Author, Sobriety and Humility recommend Men to God, of whatſoever Religion they be, and that the *Pagans* themſelves had a veneration for Chriſtian Biſhops, who teſtified by their manner of living, that they did not ſeek any temporal Advantage. As to the definition he gives us of Martyrs, (*d*) *qui deviare à religione compulſi perdulces evitabiles pœnas aduſque glorioſam mortem intemerata fide progreſſi*, it proves only that the *Pagans* themſelves might admire ſuch a firmneſs of Soul as was not ſhaken by the moſt cruel Torments. *Intemerata fides*, is not oppos'd in this place to a falſe Religion, but to the change of a Party. What he had ſaid in the preceding Page, that a Biſhop (*e*), who turn'd Informer, had forgotten that his Profeſſion advis'd him to nothing but what is juſt and gentle, *profeſſionis ſuæ oblitus, quæ nihil niſi juſtum ſuadet & lene, ad delatorum auſa feralia deſciſcebat*, proves only that he knew what the Chriſtians made Profeſſion of; and we would ſay as much of the *Chineſe* Prieſts, if we knew that their Rituals oblig'd them to a great Purity of Life. Is it neceſſary to be a Chriſtian? May not a little Reaſon ſuffice to ſhow, that an Eccleſiaſtick who ſets up for an informer to Princes, as this Biſhop of *Alexandria* did, *apud patulas aures Conſtantii multos exinde incuſans ut ejus recalcitrantes imperiis*, diſhonours his Character. Theſe are the ſtrongeſt Proofs of *Chiffletius* for the pretended Chriſtianity of *Marcellinus*. But if he be depriv'd of this Happineſs which is attributed to him, yet at leaſt this praiſe is due to him, that he ſpoke very honourably of a Religion he did not follow. There are but few Examples of ſuch a moderation. Father *Poſſevin* (*f*) who is not contented with it, ſeems to be too nice, and we need not fear that our Poſterity will diſpute concerning the Religion of thoſe who write Hiſtory at this Day (*g*). I confeſs that *Marcellinus* wrote under the Chriſtian Emperors; but that Reaſon did not ſet bounds to the Malice of *Libanius* and *Zoſimus*.

(*C*) *We do not know whether ever he roſe higher.*] *Moreri* therefore hath too raſhly affirm'd, that *Marcellinus Compos'd his Hiſtory after he had gone through the moſt honourable Offices of the Army.* He tranſcrib'd this from *la Mothe* (*h*) *le Vayer*.

(*D*) *And there Compos'd his Hiſtory.*] This Work contain'd in 31 Books, what paſs'd (*i*) from *Nerva* till the death of *Valens*. The firſt thirteen are loſt, which brought down the Hiſtory to the Empire of *Conſtantius*, (for he enlarged leſs upon theſe times which he could not know but by the information of others) the eighteen which remain have been very much abus'd, either by the ignorance of Tranſcribers, or the raſhneſs of the Criticks. I know that *Claudius Chiffletius* makes ſome upon pretty good Reaſons, that this Hiſtory contain'd Thirty two Books, and that there is a Book

(*a*) Apud Hadrian. Valeſium Præf. edit. 1681.

(*b*) In Vita Amm. Marcellini. *'Tis to be found in the Edition of* Valeſius 1681.

(*c*) *The Abbot* de Billi, Schol. ad Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 2. in Julian. *ſays thus*, Hinc perſpicuum eſt Marcellinum Græcæ ſuperſtitionis cultorem plus gratiæ quam veritati tribuiſſe, cum ſcribit, nulla Juliani definitionis à vero diſſonans reperitur.

(*d*) Lib. 22. c. 11.

(*e*) *This was* George *Biſhop of* Alexandria *who periſh'd in a popular Sedition, in* 362.

(*f*) Diligenter ſcripſit, ſed ea quæ pertinent ad Chriſtianos traducens ac detorquens. *Poſſev. Appar. ſect.* 3. *cap.* 15.

(*g*) *See the News from the Republick of Learning*, July. 1684. p. 487. *of the* 2*d Edition.*

(*h*) *Judgment upon the Hiſtorians*, p. 240. tom. 3.

(*i*) Hæc ut miles quondam & Græcus à principatu Cæſaris Nervæ exorſus, adusque Valentis interitum pro virium explicavi menſura. *Ammian. Marcellin. lib.* 31. *ſub fin.*

several parts of it as he Compos'd them *, and they were receiv'd with great Applause. 'Tis not known when he died, but without all doubt he was alive in 390, since a Consulship, which happen'd to be in this Year, was not unknown to him †. He had some Suits *, which put him in so bad an Humour against the Practisers in the Law, that he could not forbear to make a long Digression against them. It is an Invective almost as sharp as the Comedy intituled *Grapinian*.

MARCHE (OLIVER DE LA) a Son of a Gentleman of the *Franche Comté* *, was made Page to the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Philip* the Good, in 1439, at the Age (*A*) of about thirteen Years †. He serv'd this Prince and Duke *Charles* his Successor with great Zeal, and was Steward and Captain of the Guards to the latter §. He incurr'd the Indignation of *Lewis* (*B*) XI. when he made the Bastard *Rubempré* Prisoner in *Holland* in 1463. He was one of the Knights γ who were created by the Count δ of *Charolois* at the Battle of *Montleheri* in 1465. He fell into the Hands of his Enemies ζ at the unhappy Battle of *Nancy*, where his Master lost his Life in the beginning of *January* 1477. Having paid his Ransom he was set at liberty, and he had the Office of η great and chief Steward to *Maximilian* of *Austria*, who married the Heiress of *Burgundy*. He had the same Office ϑ under the Archduke *Philip*, Son to this *Maximilian*. He was sent Embassador to the Court of *France* * to compliment the new King after the Death of *Lewis* XI. He wrote some Memoires, which were Publish'd (*C*) at *Lyons* in 1562, in Folio, by the care of *Denys Sauvage* Historiographer of *France*. He died † at *Brussels* *Febr.* 1. 1501.

MAR-

* Epist. Liban. apud Valesium ubi supra.

† Neotherium postea Consulem tunc Notarium ad eandem tuendam ire disposuit. *Amm. Marcel. lib.* 26. *cap.* 5. That Man was Consul with Valentinian II. in 390. *Valesius ibid.*

* Oliver de la Marche's *Memoires*, B. 1. c. 1. p. m. 76.

† Id. ib. c. 4. p. 1. 3.

§ Id. *in the Preface of the first Book*, p. 74.

γ Id. ib. c. 35. p. 314.

δ *The Son of* Philip *the Good.*

ζ Id. B. 2. c. 1. p. 408.

η Id. ib. c. 8. p. 409.

ϑ Id. *in the Preface*, p. 1. *and in* c. 13. *of the* 2*d Book* p. 425.

* Id. B. 2. c. 10. p. 415.

† Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. p. 767.

(*c*) *In fol. and in* 4°.

(*f*) p. 76.

(*g*) p. 2.

(*b*) Valerius Andreas Bibl. Belg. p. 777.

(*i*) Oliver de la Marche, b. 1. c. 35. p. 512.

(*k*) Id. ib.

(*l*) Mezer. *Abridgment Chronol.* tom. 3. p. 292. *ad an.* 1464.

(*m*) Id. ib.

(*n*) Oliver de la Marche, ib. p. 513.

(*o*) *See the Advertisement to the Reader.*

* Lib. 30. c. 4. *See* la Mothe le Vayer, *Judgment about the principal Historians, p.* 247. *of the* 3. tom. in 12°.

HISTORY of the Editions of *Marcellinus*. The Faults of *Moreri*, &c.

(*a*) Hen. Valesius Præfat. ad Ammian. Marcel.

(*b*) Moreri *takes this A. for* Aulus, *but according to* Konig *he should have said* Angelus.

(*c*) Moreri *having seen in* Valesius, Sig. Gelenius, *believ'd by a mistake that it meant* Sigebert.

Book between the Thirtieth, and that which we now reckon the Thirty first, which is certainly the last of all. He had heard that the first Books which are now wanting of *Marcellinus*, were to be found in the Library of Cardinal *Pool*. Mr. *de Marolles* publish'd a *French* Translation of this Historian in 1672, with Remarks; but the Undertaking was two weighty for him.

Valesius the Eldest (*a*) says, that the first Edition of *Marcellinus* was that of *Rome* in 1474, which was prepar'd by *A.* (*b*) *Sabinus* a Poet Laureate; that the second was Printed at *Bologna*, in 1517, by *P. Castellius*, a Man void of Wit and Judgment; that the next Year *John Frobenius* counterfeited at *Basil* this Edition of *Bologna*; that in 1538, there appear'd two new Editions, one at *Augsburg*, Corrected by *Mariangelus Accursius*, the other at *Basil* by the care of (*c*) *Sigismond Gelenius*; that the Edition of *Accursius* was augmented with the five last Books which had never been Printed before; that the Edition of *Gelenius* had the same Addition, except the last Book, and the last Page of the last Book but one; that in 1546, *Jerom Frobenius* who had printed the Edition of *Gelenius*, made another Edition with the last Book; and that it seems, all the Editions which have appear'd since in *France* and *Germany* till that of the Year 1609, which *Frederick Lindenbrogius* Publish'd with Notes, were Printed from this 2d Edition of *Frobenius*. That of *Lindenbrogius* is very good; but that which *Valesius* publish'd in 4° in 1636, is incomparably better. We shall hereafter say something of that of 1681. Mr. *Moreri* knew not how to transcribe the Preface of *Valesius*; for he saw some things in it which are not there: He saw there that *Accursius* was the first that publish'd the first five Books of *Marcellinus*, and that *Gelenius added the last Book with the last Page of the thirtieth which we had not.* All this is false; *Gelenius* was so far from making this Addition, that on the contrary what he publish'd wanted just this Book which was in *Accursius*'s Edition; and 'tis so far from being true, that *Accursius* publish'd the first five Books, that to this Day all the thirteen are wanting, as Mr *Moreri* had said a little before. Mr. *Valesius* commends the Edition of *Accursius*, but he mightily praises that of *Gelenius*: Which makes me wonder, that *Vossius* who speaks with approbation of the former, says nothing of the latter. He is extreamly dry, I know not why, upon the Article of our *Ammianus Marcellinus*. *Accursius* who boasts he had Corrected five Hundred Faults in this Author, is commended by *Claudius Chifletius*, but in such a general way, that he says nothing of his chief Excellency, I mean his publishing the last Books. Is it not strange, that *Chifletius* should say nothing of this, and yet that he should give *Gelenius* the Glory of being the first who publish'd the 27, 28, 29, and 30th Books? He observes, that *Sebastian Gryphius* inserted in his Edition the end of the thirtieth Book, and was the first who publish'd it. *Valesius* says nothing of the first of these two Facts, and he refutes the second by saying, that *Accursius* publish'd the last five Books. *Toppi* in his *Bibliotheque* of *Naples* d), falsly ascribes the publishing of the sixth Book of *Ammianus Marcellinus* to *Mariangelus Accursius*, and says nothing of his publishing the five Books of this Historian, which had never appear'd before. *Valesius* the younger publish'd our *Ammianus* at *Paris* in 1681, in Folio. This ought not to have been omitted in the Dictionary of *Moreri*. In this Edition there are added, 1. Many new Notes of *Valesius* the Elder: 2. Those which *Lindenbrogius* had publish'd in 1609, and those which he added to them since, and which were found among his Papers: 3. The Life of *Ammianus Marcellinus* by *Claudius Chifletius*, Professor of Law at *Dole*. 4. Some Corrections and Observations of *Valesius* the younger. Mr. *Gronovius* reprinted this Edition at *Leyden* in 1693 (*e*), and added good Notes to it.

(*A*) *At the Age of about thirteen Years*] This agrees with what he says in Chap. 1. of the first Book (*f*), that he was between eight and nine Years old, when in 1434, his Father put him to School at *Pontarli*, but not with what he says in his first Preface (*g*), that he was sixty six Years old when the Archduke *Philip* was not ten. This Archduke was born in 1478. *Oliver de la Marche* was then 52 Years, and so his 60th Year falls in with the 14th of the Archduke. This is not the first time I have observ'd that Authors speak of their Age with a thousand Confusions. Note here a gross Fault of *Valerius Andreas*. He (*h*) assigns the Year 1380, to be that of the birth of our *Oliver*, and places his death in 1501, without taking notice of such an extraordinary old Age; whereas an Author like this, who had liv'd one Hundred and Twenty One Years, ought to be plac'd in the number of notable Things. The truth is, as I have already said, that the Year 1426, was the Year of his Nativity.

(*B*) *He incurr'd the Indignation of* Lewis XI *when he seiz'd* —— *the Bastard* Rubempré.] He was seiz'd, because he was suspected of having a design (*i*) to carry off the Count *de Charolois*. Our *Oliver de la Marche* carried the News of this seizure to Duke *Philip* who was then at *Hedin*, where he conferr'd sometimes with *Lewis* XI. (*k*). The Duke hearing of this went off quickly without the knowledge of this Monarch. A Report was spread abroad (*l*) that *Lewis* XI had a design to secure at one time the Father and the Son. He sent Embassadors to the Duke (*m*) to complain of this, and demand *Oliver* to be deliver'd up to him; for he look'd upon him as the Author of all these Calumnies, and of what those suspicions had produc'd, and he had a mind to punish him severely. The Duke answer'd, That *Oliver was his Subject and his Servant, and that if the King, or any other had any thing to do and of him, he would do them justice* (*n*). Read the first Chapter of *Philip de Comines*.

(*C*) *Which were publish'd at* Lyons (*o*) 1562.] The Manuscript was taken out of (*o*) the Library of the House of *Cluny* in *Franche-Comté*. There was a second Edition of it at *Gien* in 1567, in 4°. with Notes and Corrections in the Margin, and a Preface which informs us that the Author of these Me-

MARCIONITES. So they call the Diſciples of *Marcion* an *Hereſiarch*, who liv'd (*A*) in the Second Century. He was Born at *Sinope*, a City of *Paphlagonia*, upon the *Euxine* Sea, and he had a Good and Pious Biſhop for his Father. He firſt apply'd himſelf to a Monaſtick Life, but he obſerv'd very ill the Laws of Continency, for he debauch'd a Maid. His Father exercis'd all the rigour of the Diſcipline upon him; he excommunicated him, and would not yield either to his Prayers or offers of Penance. Then *Marcion* being expos'd to the Laughter and Contempt of the whole City, went ſecretly out of it and retir'd to *Rome*, where he could never be (*B*) receiv'd

moirs was rather a Calumniator than an Hiſtorian, with reſpect to the Civil Wars of *Flanders* (*p*). As to the other Books Compos'd by this Writer, Printed and not printed, ſee the *Bibliotheque* of (*q*) *Du Verdier Vau Privas*. They have lately publiſh'd in *Dutch* (*r*) the State of the Houſe of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*; which is a Tranſlation of a Treatiſe which this Author had written in *French*, and which was publiſh'd at the end of his Memoirs (*ſ*) in the Edition of *Louvain*, 1645. *Gollut* inſerted ſomething of it in (*t*) his Memoirs of *Burgundy*. *Du Chêſne* (*v*) will inform you that this State of the Houſe of Duke *Charles* was written in 1474, and that it was Printed at *Bruſſels* in 1616, in 4°. and that the Memoirs of the ſame Author were Printed at *Lyons* in Fôlio, in 1612, and at *Bruſſels* in 4°. in 1616.

(*A*) *Who liv'd in the Second Century.*] This may be ſaid for certain; but as to the Year when he came to *Rome*, and the Time when he begun to ſet up for a falſe Doctor, they cannot be clear'd from the Contradictions, which are found on this Subject in the ancient Fathers. According to St. *Epiphanius*, he came to *Rome* after the Death of Pope *Hyginus*, *i. e.* according to the account of the *Romans*, after the Year of Grace 157. *Tertullian* pretends that he came to *Rome* under Pope *Anicetus* (*b*), i. e. if we believe Mr. *Weſtein*, under the Empire of *Antoninus Pius*, (*c*) *Romanis tunc imperante Antonino Pio, unde Tertull.* l. 1. c. 19. adv. Marc. *eum* Antoninianum hæreticum, ſub Pio impium *vocat, id eſt circa annum Chriſti* 154. But ſince the two Paſſages of *Tertullian*, the one in Verſe, the other in Proſe, are contrary one to another, we cannot confirm the one by the other, nor refer them both to the Empire of *Antoninus Pius*. Conſult the Annals of *Baronius*, and there you'll find the Death of this Emperor under the Year 163, and that of Pope *Pius*, and the promotion of *Anicetus* under the Year 167; ſo that if it be true, that *Marcion* came to *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, 'tis falſe that he came thither under *Antoninus Pius*, and conſequently *Tertullian* could not ſpeak the truth in his Verſes, without telling a falſhood in his Proſe, and *vice verſa*. He ſays in another place, that this Heretick was again and again turn'd out of the Communion of the Faithful under Pope *Eleutherius* (*d*) *Conſtat illos* (Marcionem & Valentinum) *neque adeo olim fuiſſe, Antonini fere principatu & in Catholicam primo doctrinam credidiſſe apud Eccleſiam Romanenſem, donec ſub Epiſcopatu Eleutherii beneficii ob inquietam ſemper eorum curioſitatem quia frequens quoque vitabant, tamel & iterum ejecti, Marcion quidem cum decretis ſeſtertiis ſuis quæ Eccleſiæ intulerat, navigaſſe in Pontum diſſidium relegati venena doctrinarum ſuarum diſſeminaverint.* This leads us far away from the Empire of *Antoninus Pius*, for *Eleutherius* was created Pope in 179. Beſides it is no-wiſe probable that the Excommunication of *Marcion* ſhould have been delay'd till the Pontificate of *Eleutherius*, ſince he had render'd himſelf ſo abominable by his Hereſies, under the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, that St. *Polycarp* calls him the eldeſt Son of Satan. Conſult St *Irenæus* (*e*), who relates that St. *Polycarp* being gone to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Anicetus*, reclaimed many of the Followers of *Marcion*, and repelled this Heretick with the Encomium that I have related: Which ſerv'd as an Anſwer to the Queſtion that *Marcion* put to him (*f*), *Do not you know me? Baronius* (*g*) obſerves, that *Marcion* begun to dogmatize under the Empire of *Hadrian*; which he proves by *Origen* who ſays, that the Philoſopher *Celſus* that wrote againſt the Chriſtians under that Emperor, ſpeaks often of the Errors of this Heretick. *Philaſtrius* ſeems to confound this, when he ſays, that *Marcion* before his coming to *Rome*, was convicted of teaching falſe Doctrines in *Aſia* by St. *John*, and driven away from *Epheſus*. (*h*). Suppoſe as much as you will, that he was excommunicated ſeveral times, and that he made many Journies to *Rome*; you can never excuſe *Tertullian*'s want of exactneſs in his account of him.

Let us ſee a Paſſage of *Lambert Danæus*, in which there are ſome Faults. (*i*) *Venit* (Marcion) *Romam quemadmodum lib.* 1. *Adverſ. eum ſcribit Tertull. ſub Antonino Pio, circa annum à Chriſto paſſo* 115, *ſub Hygino, ut ait Platina*: *Tertullian. ſub Eleutherio. Cæpit autem poſt Cerdonem innoteſcere illius hæreſis ſub M. Antonino Philoſopho imperatore, & Aniceto Pontifice Romano, circa annum à paſſo Chriſti* [illegible] *quinquam Clemens lib.* 7. *Stromat. vult* [illegible] *eo tempore vixiſſe Romæ Valentinum hæreticum* [illegible] *jam ſenem Marcion juvenis viderit.* In the firſt place it is an error, that he did not perceive *Tertullian* would have been miſtaken, if he had ſaid, that the Popedom of *Eleutherius* and the Empire of *Antoninus Pius* were contemporary. 2. 'Tis a fault in Chronology to place the Pontificate of *Anicetus* under *Antoninus Pius*; for *Anicetus* was not promoted to that See, till five Years *k*) after the death of this Emperor. 3. *Clemens Alexandrinus* does not ſay, that *Valentinus* was alive ſtill under the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*; he ſays only that *Baſilides* and *Valentinus* having begun to ſpread their Errors under *Hadrian*, liv'd unto the Reign of the firſt of the *Antonini*'s. 4. He was ſo far from affirming that *Marcion* in his Youth ſaw *Valentinus* in his old Age, that he ſays *Marcion* convers'd with theſe other Hereticks as an old Man does with young People (*l*).

(*B*) *He could never be receiv'd to the Communion—This denial oblig'd him.*] I ſhould deceive my Readers, if I ſhould leave theſe words without a Commentary; and it would be in vain to ſay, that St. *Epiphanius* having deceiv'd them firſt, I need not ſcruple to do it after him: They would not approve ſuch a bad Apology: Let us therefore ſhow wherein the fault of St. *Epiphanius*'s Account conſiſts. None can read this Father but he muſt think, that the Church of *Rome* never admitted *Marcion* to her Communion, and that the Governors of this Church having told him, *We cannot admit you into Communion without the leave of your Father who has excommunicated you*, he threatned them with a Schiſm, and was as good as his word. (*m*) Τί μὴ ἠθελήσασί με ὑποδέξασθαι; τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὅτι ἡ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τὰ τιμία παρέχειν σοι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις, καὶ μία ὁμόνοια, καὶ δυνάμεθα ἑναπιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῶ. παρὲξ δὲ σοῦ. Ζηλώσας λειτὸν, καὶ εἰς μέγαν ἀφορμὰς δυμὸν καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν, τὸ ὁρισμα ἐργάζεται ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἑαυτῷ τὴν ὄρεσιν προσαιρούμενος, καὶ εἰτῶν. Ὅτι ἐγὼ ὁρῶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔχω ὁρισμα ἴζαλεν ἐ μικρὸν, ἢ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν σχίσας, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ πειθομένους. *Give me, impute, receipere nolu ſtis? Reſponderunt illi, Nobis impoſſe venerandi Patris tui facere iſtud non licet. Una ſiquidem fides eſt, & animorum una conſenſio: neque contra ſpectatiſſimum Collegam patrem tuum moliri quippiam poſſumus. At ille abſcendentius exaudi ſcens, ac ſuperbia tumidique perditus Schiſma conflavit, ac privatum Hæreſin erexit: & Eccleſiam, ait, veſtram ego deſero, in cui Schiſma ſuſcitatum invenitur. Quod illi verò non modo quidem injuſtè non ita tamen ut Eccleſiam, ſed ut ſe potius ac ſuos deſeruerit.* If St. *Epiphanius* had conſulted *Tertullian*, he would have known, that *Marcion* was ſeveral times driven out of the Communion of the Orthodox; which is an evident proof that they were more than once ſatisfy'd with the Proteſtations he made of renouncing his Errors, and that they had reconciled him to the Church. Perhaps alſo if Death had not prevented him, he had been ready to perform the Condition required of him the laſt time, he appeared Repentant, [illegible] that he ſhould deceive thoſe whom he had perverted from the true Faith. (*n*) *Poſtmodum Marcion pœnitentiæ*

(*p*) Valer Andr ubi ſupra (*q*) *Tom.* II. p. 932.

(*r*) *See the veteris ævi analecta publiſh'd by Mr.* Matthæus *at* Leyden, *in* 1698.

(*ſ*) *See the Preface to this Work of* Matthæus.

(*t*) *In ch.* 109. *B.* 10.

(*v*) Du Cheſne *Biblioth. of the Hiſtorians of* France, *p. m.* 199.

(*a*) Epiphan. adv. hæreſes, p. m. 302.

(*b*) A quo Pio ſuſcepit Anicerusordine ſortem, Sub quo Marcion hic veniens nova Pontica peſtis. *Tertull. carm. l.* 3 *adverſus Marcion.*

(*c*) Joh. Rodolphus Werſtenius, not. in Origenis dial. contra Marcionitas, *p.* 3. *edit* 1674.

(*d*) Tertull. de præſcript. c. 30.

(*e*) Iren. l. 3. c. 3. *See alſo* Euſeb. l. 4. c. 14.

(*f*) *See the Notes of* Henry Valeſius *upon* Euſeb. l. 4. c. 15. *where theſe words are put into Latin for an Interrogation* Dost not Salute me.

(*g*) Baronius ad ann. 146. n. 7.

(*h*) Philaſtrius de hæreſ. *cap.*

(*i*) Lambertus Danæus in Comment. ad librum D. Auguſtini de hæreſibus, *fol.* 58. *edit. Genevenſis* 1578. in 8.

(*k*) *See* Baronius ad ann. 167.

(*l*) Μαρκίων γὰρ καλὰ τὰν αὐτὰν αὐτοῖς ἡλικίαν γενόμενος, ὡς πρεσβύτης, νεωτέροις συνεγένετο. Marcion enim cum natus eſſet eadem, qua ipſi ætate, verſabatur ut ſenex cum junioribus. *Clemens Stromat. lib* 7. *p.* 764. *D.*

(*m*) Epiphanius adverſus hæreſes, p. 303.

(*n*) Tertullian de præſcript. c. 30.

...r'd to the Communion *, altho' he made uſe of the Artifices of a Woman who went before him to prepare the way †. This denial oblig'd him to ſet up out of ſpite for the Head of a Party. He became the Diſciple of *Cerdo* *, and that he might be the better able to maintain the Doctrine of two Principles, which he had learn'd of this Heretick, he apply'd himſelf (*C*) to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. He had a great number of Followers, who did not only maintain themſelves after his Death, but alſo ſpread themſelves in all Parts, and form'd Churches in ſpite of the Orthodox (*D*) wherever they could. It was neceſſary to employ againſt them the ſecular Power, when the Empire was devolv'd to the Chriſtians; and ſome Ages paſt before this good Remedy againſt this Sect put an end to it. They boaſted (*E*) of their pretended Martyrs. This

* Romam præmiſit mulierem, quæ decipiendos ſibi animos præpararet. *Hieron. tom. 2. Ind. Script. Eccleſ. in Cerdone, p. 263.*

...erſ. hæreſ. p. m. 92, 303.

Epiph. biſupra.

(*p*) Rodolphus Wetſtenius ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(*q*) Wetſtenius, ibid.

(*f*) *This is* Zeno Eleates, *who paſſes for the Inventer of Logick. See* Gaſſendus de Logicæ Origine, c. 1. to. 1. oper. p. 37, 38.

(*a*) Id. Wetſtenius ibid. p. 5.

(*b*) Epiphanius ubi ſupra, p. 302.

(*c*) Denique Epiphanius ſcribit ſuo ſeculo adhuc quoſdam Marcionitas Romæ natos fuiſſe. *Lambert. Danæus ubi ſupra fol. 39.*

SEVERAL pieces of a Controverſial Proceſs put together.

(*d*) Maimbourg *Hiſt. of Calviniſm*, B. 1. p. 33.

(*e*) *He means the Proteſtants*

(*f*) Jurieu, *Apology for the Reformers*, c. 12. p. 171. *of tom. 1 edit. in 4°.*

feſſus, cum conditionis datæ ſibi occurrit, ita pacem recepturus ſi cæteros quoque quos proditioni eruperat, Eccleſiæ reſtitueret, morte præventus eſt. There are ſome who ſay (*p*), that after he was turn'd out of the Church with his Money, he joyn'd with the Sect of the *Cerdonites*; which they prove by ſome Paſſages, wherein *Tertullian* and *Philaſtrius* affirm, that he was the Diſciple of *Cerdo*. I believe they confound the Times, for the Expulſion they mention was the laſt, and it happen'd under *Eleutherius*; but 'tis no-wiſe probable that *Cerdo* was then alive.

(*C*) *He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy.*] In this I have follow'd the Opinion of a learned Commentator. (*q*) *Marcionitas hæreſin propagaret, Philoſophiæ ſe mancipavit, Stoicæ præſertim: Tertull.* de præſcr. hær. c. 30. *Unde idem Tertullianus*, c. 7. ejuſd. libri *Philoſophiam & Dialecticam exagitat, velut matrem hæreſeon, & Prudentius* in Hamartigenia, *Dialecticæ oſtentationem ei exprobrat*, p. 192.

Hæc tua Marcion gravis dialectica vox eſt. *Norunt enim omnes a Zenone* (*f*) *Stoico dialectam eſſe inventam.* But I do not blame thoſe who believe that he was already a good Stoick, when he was excluded from the Communion of the Church the firſt time.

(*D*) *Form'd Churches in ſpite of the Orthodox, wherever they could.*] Let us cite again the ſame Commentator. (*a*) *Poſt ejus obitum Marcionitæ Eccleſias, in æmulationem Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, ubique locorum erexere: unde Tertull.* l. 4. c. Marc. c. 5. Faciunt ſavos & veſpæ, faciunt Eccleſias & Marcionitæ. St. *Epiphanius* (*b*) teſtifies, that the Hereſie of the *Marcionites* continu'd ſtill not only at *Rome* and in the reſt of *Italy*, but alſo in *Egypt*, *Paleſtine*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, in *Thebais*, *Perſia*, and in other places. Is it not ſtrange that *Lambertus Danæus* who makes uſe of this Paſſage of St. *Epiphanius*, to prove that this Sect had made a great Progreſs, did not alſo uſe it to prove that it was largely ſpread in this Father's time. He cites *Epiphanius*, as to his own time, only (*c*) to prove that there were then at *Rome* ſome *Marcionites*. If we ſhould make a Collection of ill-choſen Citations, the moſt famous Authors would be found very often to be guilty of them. This part of Criticks would be no leſs uſeful than the reſt: It might teach us how to diſcern between thoſe who are truly learn'd, and thoſe who only make a ſhow of it.

(*E*) *They boaſted of their pretended Martyrs. It gave occaſion to a Diſpute.*] Let us produce the ſeveral pieces of this Proceſs, according to the Rank they deſerve.

I. The firſt ſhall be furniſh'd by Mr *Maimbourg*, (*d*) whoſe words are theſe: "(*e*) They "cannot be ignorant that the moſt famous of "their Doctors, who wrote that Hereticks ought "to be puniſh'd, caus'd *Marcion* to be a Sacrifice, "who remain'd obſtinate until Death, to be burnt "at *Geneva*, and that according to the Doctrine "of the ancient Fathers, who ſay it is not the "Suffering but the Cauſe that makes the Martyr, "he did not give him this illuſtrious Title, no "more than he did to the *Marcionites*, and many "other ancient Hereticks, who ſuffer'd the moſt "cruel Deaths with an incredible ardour for their "own Sect.

II. Let us ſee what Anſwer was given him. "(*f*) I do not know that ever there was an "ample of ſuch prodigious ignorance given by "any Man that undertakes to write, or of ſo great "a boldneſs in an Author, who knows that his "Book is to be rigidly examin'd. The *Marcionites*, ſays he, willingly expos'd themſelves to "the Torments of Death for their Sect. Now "in the firſt place we muſt know that the *Marcionites* prevail'd in the ſecond and third Century, wherein the Chriſtians were under Perſecution, how then could they ſend the *Marcionites* and other Hereticks to the place of Execution, who had no Judges, no Tribunals, and "when themſelves were every Day Condemn'd to "Death? We muſt moreover obſerve, that in the "Age of the *Marcionites*, the Diſcipline of the "Church was ſo ſevere, that moſt Chriſtians did "not think that they could with a good Conſcience execute the Office of a Magiſtrate. They "condemn'd wicked Men to Death, how then could "they ſentence Hereticks to loſe their Lives? But "chiefly we muſt obſerve, that the *Marcionites* were "a Branch of the *Gnoſticks*, and that the general Error of the *Gnoſticks* was, *That God and not the Son for the Blood of Chriſt was*, and that Jeſus Chriſt "*did not expect Salvation from our Death.* Wherefore "they ridicul'd the Martyrs, and laugh'd at the "pretended folly of thoſe who expos'd themſelves "to Death for their Religion. And even *Tertullian* tells us, that the *Gnoſticks*, *Valentinian*'s, and "other Hereticks in the time of Perſecution, "were the moſt forward to perſecute others, to "ſave themſelves from being Perſecuted (1) *Sic igitur fides æſtuat, & Eccleſiarum ſic figura rubi tunc Gnoſtice compuncti, tum Exſultantium proſerpunt, tunc omnes martyrorum refugatores ebullunt talentes, & ipſi offendere, figere, occidere.* And upon theſe words, *omnes martyrorum refugatores*, *Rigaltius* makes this Obſervation: He means the "*Gnoſticks*, who endeavour'd to hinder every body "from ſuffering Martyrdom, and by all means "oppos'd it. Such were the Hereticks, who ac"cording, to the learned *P. Maimbourg*, embrac'd "Torments and Death for their Sect with an in"credible ardour. But that this declamer may "not eſcape us, we deſire him if he will quit "the Age of the *Marcionites*, to ſhow us what "Hereticks ſuffer'd Death in great numbers to "maintain their Hereſie, and when this happen'd. "For as to us, who know nothing of Hiſtory but "what Books teach us, we find no ſuch Ages, we "meet with no ſuch numbers of Hereticks who "died for their Errors. We know only that in the "fourth Century ſome Orthodox Biſhops perſe"cuted certain *Spaniſh* Hereticks to Death. 'Tis "very unhappy for a Man to go out of his Sphere. "*P. Maimbourg* has been taken up of late Years with "writing modern Hiſtories; but if he had been "wiſe, he would never have ſaid any thing of "ancient Hiſtory; for he can ſay nothing of it "which does not diſcover his Ignorance. And "I muſt confeſs that theſe Diſcoveries give us "great ſatisfaction; for they ſhow that this great "Author, who undertakes to write ancient Hiſ"tories, as among others, that of *Arianiſm*, is "only a poor Tranſcriber, who knows nothing "of Antiquity.

(1) Scorpiac. c. 1.

III. Let us now ſee what was replied on behalf of Mr. *Maimbourg*. (*g*) "Whatever deſire we may "have to diſcover the Faults of an Author by "criticizing upon him, methinks we ſhould ne"ver draw up a Charge againſt him in a matter "which is capable of a good Senſe as well as of "a bad. What Mr. *Maimbourg* has aſſerted about "the *Marcionites*, is of this nature. It may be ta"ken in a bad Senſe, by laying with the Apoſ"tate, that the *Marcionites* were not forward to "run in crowds to Martyrdom, ſince the Primi"tive Chriſtians, were neither able nor willing "to put them to Death for their Sect, both be"cauſe they were under Perſecution, and had no "Courts of Judicature, and alſo becauſe they "were averſe to execute the Office of a Magi"ſtrate. But on the other ſide the *Marcionites* "might run to Torments, and die for their Sect, it "to ſhow that it was good, they ſuffer'd Marty"dom for the Cauſe of Jeſus Chriſt, as well as "other Chriſtians who were not of their Opi"nion. This Senſe is no leſs natural than the

(g) Jurieu, *Apology for the Reformers*, c. 12. p. 173. *of tom. 1 edit. in 4°.*

This gave occaſion to a Diſpute, of which it will not be needleſs to give a particular Account.

" other, but rather more; and I doubt not but " Mr. *Maimbourg* had it in his view, when he ſpoke " of the *Marcionites*: I am perſuaded of it, becauſe he " only ſays, the *Marcionites* willingly ſuffer'd Death, " and not that the Chriſtians Condemn'd them " to it. The Apologiſt has added this of his " own Head; but we may ſay, that his Com- " mentary is not agreeable to the Opinion of the " Author whom he interprets. If this be ſo, as I " believe it is, Mr. *Maimbourg* has not ſhown a " prodigious Ignorance, ſuppoſing it may be " prov'd, that there were pretended Mar- " tyrs among the *Marcionites*. The Apologiſt " maintains, that theſe Hereticks were ſo far " from expoſing themſelves to Martyrdom, that " they were of the number of thoſe who oppos'd " it, and laugh'd at thoſe who ſuffer'd it. If I " did not profeſs to baniſh from this Diſpute all " offenſive words, I might ſay the Apologiſt is " fallen into that ignorance he objects to his Ad- " verſary. But I retract the word Ignorance, " and will not only uſe a ſofter word, but I " ſhould be glad to find another Expreſſion than " what I am oblig'd to uſe, by telling him that " he is miſtaken: Which I prove thus. (2) *Euſe-* " *bius* tells us, that one of thoſe whom God raiſed " up to write againſt the *Phrygiſts*, oppos'd in " his third Book, thoſe who boaſted of having " had many Martyrs among them. *After they* " *have been convicted, ſays this anonymous Author,* " *of all the points I have mention'd, and have no-* " *thing to anſwer, they alledge their Martyrs, af-* " *firming, that they have many, and that it plain-* " *ly proves the power of the Prophetick Spirit which* " *they pretend to in their Party. But in my O-* " *pinion they are miſtaken; for the followers of* " *other Hereſies boaſt alſo of having many Martyrs;* " *and yet we do not go over to their Opinion, nor* " *ever confeſs that the Truth is on their ſide. The* " Marcionites *ſay, that they have many Martyrs of* " Jeſus Chriſt, *notwithſtanding which they are of* " *a Religion contrary to that of* Jeſus Chriſt. I " might obſerve alſo againſt this Apologiſt, that " the *Marcionites* did not prevail ſo in the ſecond " and third Century, but that there were ſtill " ſome of them left in the fourth, ſince St. (3) " *Epiphanius* tells us of a Diſpute he had with a " *Marcionite*. But I paſs over this as a trifle, that " I may come to ſomething more conſiderable— " (1) If it may be ſaid, as certainly it may, that " one *dies for Hereſie*, who expoſes himſelf to Mar- " tyrdom in hopes of promoting it, we ſhall eaſi- " ly find other Martyrs beſides thoſe of the *Mar-* " *cionites*; among whom we may alledge thoſe of " the *Phrygiſts*, which are mention'd by the ano- " nymous Author in *Euſebius*. Many of theſe " Hereticks expos'd themſelves to Martyrdom, " and ſuffer'd it for the end I have mention'd, as " appears by the nameleſs Author who oppos'd " their Hereſie. St. *Auguſtin* relates (1), that in " the times when Idols were publickly ador'd, " great Crowds of the *Donatiſts* would appear at " the Pagan Solemnities, and throw themſelves " head-long a-croſs thoſe Idols, that they might " be kill'd by their Adorers. Here are Here- " ticks who ran in Crowds to Death.

IV. 'Tis but juſt we ſhould hear what Mr. *Maimbourg* replies for himſelf. " (a) Mr. *Fer-* " *rand*——does only tell him with the grea- " teſt modeſty in the World, that he is mi- " ſtaken in all theſe Heads: For firſt he ſhows " him that I never ſaid nor pretended, that the " *Marcionites* were ſentenc'd to Torments by the " Chriſtians, but only by the perſecuting Pagans. " 2dly, That the *Marcionites* were not only in the " ſecond and third Centuries under the Pagan " Emperors, but alſo in the fourth, as he proves by " St. *Epiphanius* (2), and I ſay further, as I have " already prov'd in their Hiſtory, that there were " ſome alſo in the ſixth under the Chriſtian Em- " perors, when according to the Imperial Laws " (3) and Conſtitutions Hereticks were puniſh'd " with Death. In the third place he ſhows, that " the *Marcionites*, and many other Hereticks, wil- " lingly expos'd themſelves to Torments, that they " might honour their Sect with a pretended Mar- " tyrdom, as I had ſaid. This he proves to him " by very convincing Teſtimonies, and chiefly by " that of *Euſebius*, that he may know, that what " what he boldly ſays does not appear in Hi- " ſtory, is very evident in it. For *Euſebius* tells " us in his Hiſtory, when he relates what was " ſaid by an ancient Author, whom God raiſed " up to write againſt the *Phrygians* or *Cataphry-* " *gians*, Hereticks who boaſted they had among " them many Martyrs: (4) *After they were con-* " *victed of all the points I have mention'd.* (They are " the words of that nameleſs Author, as they are " related by *Euſebius* in Greek, and by Mr. *Ferrand* " in *French*) *and have nothing to anſwer, they alledge,* " &c.——(b) What will the Apologiſt ſay now? " Here are the *Cataphrygians*, and many other an- " cient Hereticks, who are expos'd to Torments " by ſuffering a pretended Martyrdom; and here " are alſo the *Marcionites* who ſuffer it, and they " ſuffer from the Pagans, and no wiſe by the or- " der of the Chriſtians, becauſe, as he himſelf " ſays, they had not at that time any Judicature. " Here then is a very authentick Teſtimony of " Hiſtory which fully juſtifies me, and over- " throws him, and perfectly deſtroys all that he " has ſaid againſt me on this Subject. (5) And if " the Confuſion which this ought to put him in, " would permit him to advance one ſtep further, " he might find in what is cited to him from St. " *Auſtin*, (6) great numbers of *Donatiſts*, who ran " in Crowds on Death, and pretended to be Mar- " tyrs, when they threw themſelves head-long a- " croſs the Pagans, to maintain their Sect, by re- " ceiving Death from the Hand of theſe Idolaters. " But is it poſſible, that this Apologiſt who be- " lieves himſelf ſo learned a Man, ſhould be igno- " rant of that which almoſt every one knows, " *viz.* That upon occaſion of the pretended Mar- " tyrs of the *Donatiſts*, St. *Auſtin* has uſed in " more than one place of his Works, this Sentence " ſo good and ſo common, (7) *That it is not the* " *Torment, but the Cauſe for which a Man ſuffers that* " *makes him a Martyr.* This he learn'd from St. *Cy-* " *prian*, who had ſaid it a long time before him, " upon occaſion of the Schiſmaticks and Hereticks " who boaſted of their Martyrs, (8) *He that is not* " *united to the Church, cannot be a Martyr; he may* " *be put to Death, but he cannot be Crown'd.* And " does not our St. *Gregory* produce to this pur- " poſe this Opinion of St. *Cyprian*, but uſing the " words of St. *Auſtin*, to ſtop the Preſumption " and Pride of the Schiſmatical Biſhops, who " boaſted that they ſuffer'd Perſecution as Mar- " tyrs? (9) *You ought to know*, ſays he to them, " *that according to St.* Cyprian, *it is not the Torment* " *but the Cauſe that makes the Martyr: And this be-* " *ing ſo, 'tis very unjuſt and unreaſonable, that you* " *ſhould dare ſtill to boaſt of that Perſecution which* " *you ſuffer.* Were there not then in the times " of theſe Holy Fathers Schiſmaticks and Here- " ticks, who pretended to have Martyrs in their " Party, ſince they are told, that they are miſta- " ken, and that it is neither the Perſecution nor " the Torment, nor Death it ſelf, when it is " ſuffer'd, that makes the Martyr, but the good " Cauſe and the Truth for which one ſuffers. " After all that I have ſaid, what Credit can be " given to People, that write ſo boldly, and " even inſultingly of things which are plainly " prov'd to be falſe?

V. There is yet one Piece to be produc'd, and that is the Reply of the Cenſurer of Mr. *Maim-* *bourg*, the Reply, I ſay, which he made to Mr. *Ferrand*. He " (c) accuſes me of Ignorance, be- " cauſe I did not know a Paſſage of *Euſebius*, " wherein 'tis ſaid, *That the* Marcionites *ſay they* " *had many Martyrs of* J. CHRIST. I ſhould " not be aſham'd to learn of Mr. *Ferrand* in point " of Quotations; but I can aſſure him, that I " both read and obſerv'd this Paſſage of *Euſebius* " before he gave me notice of it. Neither will it " oblige me to retract the leaſt thing I have ſaid " againſt M. *Maimbourg*. For I. I did not conſi- " der what the *Marcionites* ſaid, but what is the " real truth of the matter. I doubt not but af- " ter the Danger was over, and Peace was re- " ſtor'd to the Church, the *Marcionites* would " boaſt as others did, of their having Martyrs. " This Honour they would aſſume to themſelves " tho' it coſt them nothing. But it was falſe that " they had any Martyrs. *Tertullian*, and all the " other

(2) B. 5. c. 16. p. 182. C. D. p. 183. A. edit. Gr. Lat. Paris. 1658.

(3) Hæreſ. 48. num. 2. p. 403.

(1) Ferrand, ib. p. 217.

(1) Epiſt. 50. ante med.

(a) Maim *Hiſt. of the Pontificate of St.* Gregory, B. 4. *p.* 427. *edit. Holland.*

(2) Hæreſ. 48 n. 2

(3) Cod. lib. 1. leg. 5 11. 12.

(4) Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 16.

(b) Maimbourg. ib. p. 428.

(5) Page 218.

(6) Aug. Ep. 50. L. 3. cont. Ep. Parm. & alibi. Optat. l. 3.

(7) Chriſti Martyrem non facit pœna, ſed cauſa. *L.* 3. *contr.* *Creſcon.* *c.* 4. *inſp.* *Pſa.* 34. & 68.

(8) Eſſe Martyr non poteſt qui in unitate non eſt; occidi poteſt, coronari non poteſt. *Cypr.* *l. de unit.* *Ep.* 52. *ad* *Antonian.*

(9) Debetis enim ſcire, ſicut beatus Cyprianus dixit, quia Martyrem non facit pœna, ſed cauſa. Dum igitur ita ſit, incongruum nimis eſt de ea vos quam dicitis perſecutione gloriari. *Greg. l.* 1. *ind.* 10. *Ep.* 36.

(c) Jurieu, *true Syſtem of the Church*, p. 644, 645.

Account. If we will judge charitably, *Marcion* died in a good temper, he

" other Accounts, are more to be believ'd than the " *Marcionites* themſelves, who far from being perſe- " cuted were foremoſt in the crowd of Perſecu- " tors. I confeſs I would gladly know, if a few " words ſpoken faintly, and by the by like theſe, " *The Marcionites ſay they had many Martyrs of* " JESUS CHRIST, be ſufficient to aſſert with " great aſſurance, *that the* Marcionites *run to the* " *place of Execution with incredible Ardour, that they* " *might die for their Sect?* One that reads this, " would be apt to think, that Mr. *Maimbourg* has " ſeen a Martyrology of the *Marcionites*, wherein he " has read the Hiſtory and all the Circumſtances " of the Death of theſe Martyrs, and among o- " ther things has obſerv'd their Conſtancy and " incredible Zeal. Certainly, I may tell him once " more, that if he had read *Tertullian*, he would " not have aſſerted ſuch a Falſhood with ſo great " aſſurance: And therefore, without any offence " to Mr. *Ferrand*, we may ſay, that Mr. *Maimbourg* " is neither Chriſtianly nor univerſally learn'd. In " what follows Mr. *Ferrand* makes a long digreſſi- " on, and quotes a vaſt number of Paſſages out " of the Ancients about the Torments of He- " reticks: Whereof ſome would have them left " to their own Conſcience; others would have " them reſtrain'd, but not by inflicting a Capital " Puniſhment upon them; and laſtly, others " think fit that they ſhould ſuffer Death. He con- " cludes his Chapter with citing long Extracts out " of *Optatus* and St. *Auſtin*, which prove this " Maxim, *cauſa non pœna facit Martyrem.* It " ſeems that Mr. *Ferrand* is under an Oath to ſay " nothing to the purpoſe: For what is all this " for? Who denies that 'tis not the Death but " the cauſe of the Death that makes the Martyr? " Who denies but there have been Hereticks who " died for their Hereſie? The thing to be prov'd " was, whether it is poſſible for Hereticks to die " for their Hereſie, 1. In great numbers. 2. Per- " ſons of both Sexes, *&c.*

My Readers have now the Proceſs as fully inſtructed as is poſſible; for the Parties have produc'd all that they have to ſay: It remains only that they ſhould give ſentence, who is in the right who is in the wrong, and I hope I may be allow'd to give my Opinion in this caſe.

In the firſt place it ſeems that Mr. *Maimbourg* did not ſufficiently weigh his words; his Expreſſions are hyperbolical; for it is neither certain that the *Marcionites* had many Martyrs, nor that thoſe Martyrs ſuffer'd Death as they were *Marcionites*. It had been therefore more prudent to have ſaid only, that this Sect boaſted of having Martyrs. II. But if the Expreſſions of Mr. *Maimbourg* are Hyperbolical, thoſe of the Cenſurer are much more ſo; for upon pretence of uſing too high words, one ought not to be accus'd either *of a prodigious Ignorance, or of too great Boldneſs.* III. The Cenſurer hath been ſo paſſionate, that did not we perceive a great air of moderation in the whole Work of Mr. *Ferrand*, the exceeding great Modeſty which he ſhows in this place, might paſs for a malicious Trick, deſign'd to diſcover the hideous Deformity of the Criticiſm he refuted. When I read this Page of his Book, I fancy I ſee fine Pearls about the Neck of an *Æthiopian*, whoſe Luſtre is encreaſed by the blackneſs which encompaſſes them, whilſt they add new degrees of obſcurity to the blackneſs (*d*). IV. According to all appearance, the Cenſurer knew nothing of this Paſſage of *Euſebius*, when he Publiſh'd his Apology for the Reformers, and he did not know that the Sect of the *Marcionites* did continue in the fourth Century. How then comes it, may one ſay, that he *affirms he had read and obſerv'd this Paſſage before Mr.* Ferrand *gave him notice of it?* Does not he himſelf overthrow all his Conſtruction, by confeſſing that he was not ignorant of this place in *Euſebius*? Since therefore this Confeſſion was prejudicial to him, we muſt conclude that he was ſincere in it. I anſwer, That of two Evils we muſt always chooſe the leaſt. Thus in comparing the Evil which might happen to him by his Confeſſion, with that which might happen by a Conduct quite oppoſite, the damage is leſs which he ſuffers by the firſt than by the ſecond: and therefore he boaſted of knowing what *Euſebius* ſays concerning the Martyrdom of the *Marcionites*. Now if he had confeſs'd that he knew nothing of it, all his Readers would have entertain'd the worſe Opinion of his Learning; for the moſt ſtupid might have Wit enough to conclude with a great deal of eaſe, that he was a meer Novice in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and that it was very indecent in him to object this fault to his Adverſary with ſo much Haughtineſs. The Evil was great; the Danger unavoidable, and the Prejudice not to be eaſily repair'd. But what had he to fear in boaſting that he was well acquainted with his *Euſebius*? I will tell it you here in two words, and more particularly hereafter. He might fear that the Readers who reaſon well, and take the pains to compare exactly the Objections with the Anſwers, and to conſider, whether a Proof that's good in itſelf does not loſe its force by ſuppoſing this or that, would perceive the weakneſs of his Criticiſm. This Evil is not very great, for of a Thouſand Readers there are ſcarce two who will trouble themſelves with theſe Enquiries, or who are capable of making them; wherefore the Danger is infinitely greater, when one is expos'd to be taken for an ignorant Perſon by all thoſe that can read, than when he is in danger of being taken for a bad Logician by a ſmall number of Readers. Did he ſtand in need of a greater Motive to manage himſelf as he did? It was worth his while to boaſt that he knew very well the Pretenſions of the *Marcionites* related by *Euſebius*, being in ſuch Circumſtances wherein he was expos'd to the great inconveniences, which I ſhall now lay open. V. The Proofs that were made uſe of againſt *Maimbourg*, may be reduc'd to this: The *Marcionites* liv'd only in the ſecond and third Centuries, therefore they had no Martyrs; for at that time the Chriſtian Church had not any Courts of Judicature, and beſides they taught with the *Gnoſticks*, That it was a fooliſh thing to expoſe one's ſelf to Martyrdom. This reaſoning ſuppoſes, that the Followers of *Marcion* were neither Perſecuted by the Chriſtians nor by the Pagans. Could any one be ſo bold as to ſay this, if he knew, 1. That an Author cited by *Euſebius* (*a*) confeſſes, that they boaſted of the multitude of their Martyrs? 2. That *Euſebius* does not deny the matter of Fact, but only denies, that the great number of the *Marcionites*, that were Martyrs, was a proof of the goodneſs of their Sect? VI. This Paſſage of *Euſebius* utterly ruins the pretenſion of the Critick, *viz.* That the followers of *Marcion* taught with the *Gnoſticks*, that none but Fools would loſe their Lives for their Religion, and that *they were the moſt forward among the Perſecutors, to keep off Perſecution from themſelves.* How could they teach this, when they pretended to prove by their Martyrs, that they were the true Church? VII. 'Tis impertinent to cite *Tertullian*, ſince he ſays nothing expreſly of that Sect, and 'tis ridiculous to pretend, that thoſe who join the Note of *Regaltius* with the words of *Tertullian*, will not talk of any *Marcionites* that were Martyrs. VIII. 'Tis very true, that *Marcion* agreed with the *Gnoſticks* in ſome things, but nevertheleſs his Sect was different from theirs; and ſo without an expreſs Teſtimony and particular Proofs, 'tis not juſt to aſcribe to him the Opinion of the *Gnoſticks* concerning Martyrdom. Otherwiſe it might be lawful to argue thus: *The Arminians are a branch of the Proteſtants; therefore they believe the real Preſence like thoſe of the Confeſſion of* Augsburg, *and abſolute Predeſtination like thoſe of the Confeſſion of* Geneva. IX. 'Tis very ſtrange, that one who durſt inſult Mr. *Maimbourg* for his ignorance of Antiquity, ſhould not know that the Sect of the *Marcionites* flouriſh'd very much towards the end of the fourth Century, as St *Epiphanius* informs us. It flouriſh'd ſtill in the time of *Theodoret*, who informs us, that he Converted and Baptized more than Ten Thouſand *Marcionites* (*b*). Note, That *Lambertus Danæus* was not ignorant, that theſe Sectaries boaſted of their Martyrs; but with St. *Cyprian* he pretends, that thoſe who ſuffer'd Death for Religion were not Martyrs. (*c*) *Martyres etiam ſe habere jactant, ut ſcribit Euſebius lib.* 5. *cap.* 16 *inter quos recenſet Methodorum Smyrnæ crematum, lib.* 4 *cap.* 16 *falſo, nam*

(*a*) Καὶ οἱ πανταχοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν Μαρκίωνος καὶ αἱρέσεως ἐπιφανείας καὶ λαμπρότητος, πλείστους ὅσους ἐπέχειν χρόνους μάρτυρας λέγουσιν ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν γε Χριστὸν αὐτὸν καθ' ἁλήθειαν ἐχ' ὁμολογεῖν. Plurimi certe qui Marcionis hæreſin ſequuntur, vulgo Marcionitæ cognominari, quamplurimos habere ſe dicunt martyres Chriſti. Tamen Chriſtum ipſum revera minime confitentur. *Euſeb. Lib.* 5 *cap.* 16 *p.* 182 *D*

(*b*) Theodor epiſt. 146 apud Baron. ad ann. 424 n. 19.

(*c*) Lambert Danæus ubi ſupra fol. 59

(*d*) *Every body knows this Aphoriſm of the Schools,* Contraria juxta ſe poſita magis eluceſcunt.

he was not ſo dogmatical in his Hereſie as his Diſciples were. We muſt ſay of his Syſtem the ſame thing as of that of the *Marcionites*. He did not know how (*F*) to manage

(*c*) Euſeb. l. 4. c. 15. p. m. 135. *Compare this with what Mr.* Jurieu *ſays*, It was falſe that they had any Martyrs. *Conſult* Baronius, ad ann. 424. n. 14. *where he ſays*, Facilius eſt invenire Marcionitam à Gentilibus olim occidi, quam à Chriſtianis Eccleſiæ redditum.

(*f*) Epiphan. adv. hæreſes, n. 66. p. m. 627.

(*g*) Ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος γνὺς τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ τὸν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνὺς, ἔζεσε τὸν θυμὸν. ὥσπερ λέων ὠρυόμενος, καὶ ζῆλον θεὸν ἀναλαβὼν, ἐπεμέρετο ὁρμῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ χειρώσασθαι τὸν ποιμένα. Archelaus re omni perſpecta dentibus fremens, rugientis leonis inſtar, ac divino quodam ardore percitus ad Manichæum potius proſiſci cupiebat, hominemque capere, *id. ac p.* 624

(*h*) Id. ib. p. 625.

(*i*) Jurieu *Apology for the Reformers*, tom. 1. p. 172.

naim cauſa facit martyres, quemadmodum Cyprianus ait, non autem pœna. He ſpeaks of a *Marcionite* Prieſt that was burnt at *Smyrna* at the ſame time that St. *Polycarp* ſuffer'd. (*e*) Ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν γεγονὼς, καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια συνῆπτο καλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν σμύρναν πεπεραγμένα ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν πολεμὸν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς τοῦ Πολυκάρπου μαρτυρίας· μαθ' ὧν καὶ μαρτυρίου τῆς καλὰ μαρκίωνα πλάνης, πρεσβύτερος εἶναι δοκῶν, πυρὶ παραδοθεὶς ἀνῄρεθη. *Sed & alia martyria ſub idem tempus quo Polycarpus paſſus eſt, apud Smyrnam facta, in eadem epiſtola conjunctim leguntur. In quibus & Metrodorus quidam qui Marcionis ſectæ presbyter dicebatur, flammis conſumptus interiit.* X. Perhaps it may be probably affirm'd, that theſe People reckon'd thoſe for Martyrs among them who were kill'd in ſome popular Commotion of the Orthodox. 'Twould be no great wonder if ſome did believe, that even before the Emperors were Chriſtians, the Hereticks were expos'd ſometimes to the violence of the Catholicks; for we learn from St. *Epiphanius*, that *Manes* had like to have been kill'd by the Common People in the City of *Caſchara*, where he publickly diſputed with the Biſhop of that place. He had infallibly loſt his Life there, if a very honeſt Man, call'd *Marcellus*, had not by his venerable Preſence, put a ſtop to the burning Zeal of the People (*f*) Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μάνης ἁρπάσας, βυλομένων τῶν δήμων αὐτὸν λιθοβολῆσαι, εἰ μὲ ὅτι παρῆλθεν εἰς μέσον Μάρκελλος, καὶ τῷ αἰδησίμῳ ἀπὸ προσώπῳ καταδυσώπησε τὸς δήμους, ἐπεὶ ἂν ὁ πάλαι νεκρὸς μόνον πάλαι ἐλεδήνικει. *Secundum hæc Manes fuga ſibi conſulit. Populus enim lapidibus illum obruere volebat; niſi Marcellus in medium prodiens vultu ipſo veneratione pleno aſpectuque repreſſiſſet. Quod niſi feciſſet, jam dudum infelix ipſe periſſet.* This honeſt Man had us'd the ſame moderation before to hinder the Biſhop from cauſing *Manes* to be kill'd. This Prelate was call'd *Archelaus* (*g*), who was in ſo great a Rage, when he knew what *Manes* had writ to *Marcellus*, that he would preſently have ſeiz'd this Heretick; but *Marcellus* hindred him by his Prayers. Some Days after he had occaſion again for all his Eloquence to reſtrain the Zeal of this Prelate. *Manes* having receiv'd the Anſwer of *Marcellus*, went to him. *Archelaus* was of opinion that he ſhould be kill'd like a wild Beaſt, who ravag'd the Lord's Sheep-fold. But *Marcellus*, by his wiſe Diſcourſes, inclin'd him to mildneſs, and made him agree to confer peaceably with this Hereſiarch. Perhaps I ſhall not be believ'd, unleſs I cite the Greek words, and therefore I will ſet them down. Ὁ δὲ Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀρχέλαος ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ ζηλωτικὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐζυλυσύλο, εἰ ἦν δυνατὸν, ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα ὥσπερ παρδαλιν, ἢ λύκον, ἢ τι ἕτερον τῶν θηρίων ἀρτύσας, δυνατῷ παρδῦναι, ἵνα μὴ λυμανθῇ τὸ ῥεύματα, τοῦτο θηρός, [ἢ ὁδὸ] τὴν εἴσοδον καλυπτῶν. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἰξίκ, καὶ ἀνεξικάκως τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν διάλογον ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενέδαι (*h*). *At Archelaus Epiſcopus præter doctrinam fidei inſuper ardore præditus, author erat, ut ſi fieri poſſet, homo ille, pardi inſtar ac lupi, vel cujuſvis alterius beſtiæ, interceptus morti traderetur, ne ejuſmodi feræ incurſione pecora læderentur, cum illius ingreſſum cognoſceret. Marcellus contra patienter ac lenius potius illum in colloquio tractandum putabat.* This ſhows, that under pretence that the Orthodox had not any Courts of Judicature for the firſt three Centuries, one muſt not conclude ſo magiſterially that the Hereticks could not boaſt of having Martyrs. All Communions agree in honouring with this Title ſome of thoſe who die for their Religion by the Factions of the Common People. XI. I obſerve that Mr. *Jurieu* ſhould not have been inſulted for making long *Extracts out of* Optatus *and St.* Auſtin *which prove this Maxim*, Cauſa non pœna facit Martyrem; for it was neceſſary for him to make them to anſwer the Challenge of the Apologiſt, and to ſhow his raſhneſs: Once more here is the Tenor of this Challenge; " (*i*) But that this Declaimer may " not eſcape, we deſire him, if he will quit the " Age of the *Marcionites*, to ſhow us what Here- " ticks died in crowds to maintain their Hereſie, " and when this happen'd. As for us, who " know nothing of Hiſtory but what Books teach " us, we find no ſuch Ages, we meet with no " ſuch crowds of Hereticks, who died for their " Errors: We know only, that in the fourth Cen- " tury, ſome Orthodox Biſhops proſecuted to " Death certain *Spaniſh* Hereticks. This Chal- lenge does plainly contain this Aſſertion. *In the firſt four Centuries there were no other Martyrs that were Hereticks but ſome Priſcillianiſts.* The contrary to this was prov'd to him by the long Citations aforeſaid. What then can be more ridiculous than to laugh at thoſe long Extracts, and to ſay they are impertinent, and (*a*) that *he does not deny that there were Hereticks who died for their Hereſie*, and that *he was not concern'd in this Enquiry, whether it be poſſible for Hereticks to die for their Hereſie*; but only whether it be poſſible in the Circumſtances alledg'd by him, which are five in number? 'Tis manifeſt that this Challenge contains nothing relating to thoſe Circumſtances, and ſo this Author is notoriouſly guilty of acting inſincerely. He challenges one to prove ſuch a thing to him; and when he ſees it prov'd demonſtratively, he complains of the length of the Proof, and ſays, the Queſtion was not about this, but about ſome other thing. That which is moſt aſtoniſhing is, that a Man ſo much vers'd in Controverſie, ſhould dare to give ſuch a Challenge as this; ſince almoſt all the *Romiſh* Controverſial Writers, in anſwer to what is alledg'd of the Martyrology of the Proteſtants, that the ancient Hereticks boaſted of the ſame thing. I ſhall only quote a Jeſuit, who wrote againſt *Peter de Moulin*, and whom this Miniſter and *Andrew Rivet* have refuted. *Vetus delirium hæreticorum eſt*, ſays he (*b*), *Eccleſiam Catholicam in Martyrum cenſu æmulari velle. Ita de Marcionitis & de Cataphrygibus ſeu Montaniſtis ſcribit (1) Apollinaris Epiſcopus Hierapoleos, antiquiſſimus Theologus; ipſos, cum omnia quæ pro ſe attulerant argumenta, fuiſſent rationibus conſentaneis rejecta, ad Martyres confugiſſe, & ad propheticum illorum ſpiritum. Invehuntur pariter tum ſanctus Cyprianus contra pſeudomartyres Novatianos, tum ſanctus Epiphanius contra Euphemitas: qui ob eorum multitudinem ſe Martyrianos vaniſſime appellarunt. Habuere ſuos Donatiſtæ; tantâque inſaniâ Martyrii eam larvam affectarunt, ut cum Eccleſiæ tyrannorum perſecutio deeſſet, ſe aliquoties dederint præcipites exanimaverintque; deque his Optatus Milevitanus, divus Auguſtinus, & Theodoretus meminerunt. Non caruerunt iis quoque Ariani & Priſcillianiſtæ, quorum inſiſtere veſtigiis ſat agunt Sectarii noſtri temporis, & ideo ſuos habent Martyrologos, qui mendacia intexunt ineptiis dicerem lepidiſſimis, niſi jocari in re tanti momenti facinus eſſet.* Note, *Petraſanctæ* is miſtaken, as well as *Baronius* (*c*), in thinking that *Apollinaris* was the Author whom *Euſebius* quotes. *Rufinus* and *Nicephorus* are guilty of the ſame Error. See how they are refuted in the firſt Tome (*d*) of the Bibliotheque of Mr. *du Pin*, according to the Reaſons which *Henricus Valeſius* (*e*) and *Peter Halloix* (*f*) have alledg'd.

(*a*) Jurieu *Syſtem of the Church*, p. 645.

(*b*) Silveſter Petraſancta in notis in epiſtolam Petri Molinæi ad Balzacum p. 36, 37.

(1) Apud Euſeb. hiſt. l. 5. c. 15.

(*c*) Ad ann. 173. n. 20. *&c.*

(*d*) Pag. 68. *Dutch Edition.*

(*e*) *In* Euſeb. l. 5. c. 6.

(*f*) In notis ad vitam S. Apollin. c. 3.

THE Advantages of collecting the Writings of ſuch Controverſies.

It were to be wiſh'd, that a good Critick would take the pains to collect together all the Pieces of ſuch like Controverſies, and place them one after another. as I have done, as to the diſpute about the Martyrs of the *Marcionites*. I have given here a Specimen of this Work, to encourage thoſe who are able to undertake it. It would be a Work of very great uſe, either to diſcover the diſingenuity of ſome Diſputants, or to accuſtom Authors to a greater exactneſs: For knowing that very few, if any, compare together the Replies and Rejoinders which are ſcatter'd in many Volumes, they do not fear the Conſequences of their diſingenuous Practices; which they would certainly be afraid of, if they knew that ſome will make ſuch a Collection of the Objections and Anſwers, and of the Replies and Rejoinders, as will be moſt proper to ſhow in a moment the Strength and Weakneſs both of the one and the other; which might be ſeen the more eaſily if there were added to it ſuch Obſervations as I have made above. The beſt way of doing it, would be by ranging the whole in two or three Columns. See the Preface to the Project of this Dictionary towards the end.

(*F*) *He did not know how to manage his principal Point.*] If ſuch a Wit as *Deſcartes* had been to manage this Affair, none could have confounded the Syſtem of the two Principles ſo eaſily as the Fathers did, when they had none to oppoſe, but *Cerdon*, *Marcion*, *Apelles*, and *Manes*, who knew

manage his principal Point, but entangled himself in a multitude of ill-contriv'd Explications; from whence it came to pass, that the Fathers did easily confound the *Marcionites*, who it seems were overthrown by the first Answer that was given them: For as soon as they were told of the inviolable privileges of humane Liberty, they were altogether silent and mute like Fishes, tho' it was easie (Ϝ Δ) to reply to this.

knew not how to make use of their Advantages, either because they admitted the Gospel, or because they had not Knowledge enough to avoid the Explications (*g*), which were most subject to great inconveniences. It was the most ridiculous thing in the World, to maintain that *Christ* did indeed appear upon Earth, but not with a true humane Body, and to give this reason of it, because the Flesh is not the Work of a good Principle but of an ill one. The *Marcionites* Dispute pitifully about this. In general, if we judge of their strength by the Objections they propose in the Dialogue (*h*) of *Origen*, we must think very meanly of them. They did not urge the Difficulties about the Origin of Evil, for it seems, that after they were answer'd, that Evil came from the bad use of the Free-will of Man, they knew not what to reply; or if they insisted upon the fore-sight of this mischievous use, they were satisfy'd with the first Answer, how weak soever it was. *Origen* (*i*) having answer'd, that an intelligent Creature, who had not enjoy'd Free-will, had been immutable and immortal like God, stops the Mouth of the *Marcionite*, for he has nothing to reply. Nevertheless it would be easie to refute this Answer; for we need only ask *Origen*, whether the Blessed in Paradise are equal to God in the Attributes of Immutability and Immortality. He would doubtless make Answer, they are not: And consequently, it may be replied to him, a Creature does not become a God, because it is determin'd to good, and is depriv'd of that which you call Free-will. You do not therefore answer the Objection; for it was ask'd of you, wherefore God fore-seeing that a Creature would Sin, if it were left to its own Free-will, did not determine it to that which was Good, as he does continually determine the Souls of the Blessed which are translated into Paradise? You answer after such a manner as shows, that you think it had been ask'd of you, why God did not give a Creature a Being as immutable and independant as himself is? But there was never any such Question put to you. St. *Basil* has given another Answer which has the same fault. God, says he, would not have us to love him by constraint, and we our selves do not think our Servants well-dispos'd to our Service, while we hold them in Chains, but only when they obey us of their own free Pleasure (*k*) "Ὅτε γὰρ σὺ τοὺς οἰκέτας, οὐχ ὅταν δεσμοῖς ἔχῃς, εὔνους ὑπολαμβάνεις, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἑκουσίως ἴδῃς ἀποπληρώσαί σοι τὰ καθήκοντα, καὶ Θεῷ τοίνυν οὐ τὸ ἀναγκαστὸν φίλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐξ αἱρέσεως καλοῦ δόμενον· αἵρεσις δὲ ἐκ προαιρέσεως καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίνεται. *Quoniam & tu servos, non quando vinctos in custodiâ tenes, benevolos esse tibi existimas; sed cum sponte omnia, quæ erga te oportet, videris agere. Sic item Deo cum pura fore amicum, non qui coactus, sed qui sponte suâ virtuteque illi obtemperat. Virtus enim ex voluntate perficitur, non ex necessitate.* To convince St. *Basil* that his Opinion is very false, we need only put him in mind of the state of Paradise: God is there lov'd and serv'd perfectly well, and yet the Blessed do not enjoy Free-will; they have not that fatal privilege of the Power to commit Sin. Must we therefore compare them to those Slaves who do not obey but by force? What did St. *Basil* think of? Since he answers the Difficulties by the Parallel we have produc'd, 'tis a sign that the followers of *Marcion* and *Manes* made no reply, when they saw themselves overthrown by this Argument, and that they never thought to put their Adversaries in mind of the state of the glorified Souls. If there were any *Marcionites* at this Day, able Disputants, as either the *Jesuits* or the *Jansenists* in their Disputations against one another, they would begin where their Ancestors left off. They would attack the last Intrenchment of *Origen*, viz. Free-will, and before they had advanc'd three Syllogisms, they would oblige the maintainer of it to confess, (*l*) that he does not understand what he affirms, and that they are unsearchable depths of the Sovereignty of the Creator in which our Reason is swallow'd up, and that nothing but Faith can support us. Revelation is the only Magazine of the Arguments, which we must oppose to these People: By this means we are able to refute the pretended Eternity of an ill Principle But when we go about to determine after what manner the Creator has acted, with respect to the first Sin of the Creature, we find our selves very much entangled. All the Hypotheses that are laid down by Christians, can hardly ward off the blows that are level'd at them (*m*): They are triumphant when they act offensively; but they lose all their Advantage when they sustain the Attack. Our Ideas in this matter are only as clear as 'tis necessary to make an eternal War; like those Princes, who cannot hinder others from ravaging their Frontiers, tho' they are strong enough to make incursions into the Enemies Country. It does not appear that *Marcion* and his Followers did well understand the Strength and Weakness of the Orthodox.

Prudentius, who wrote a Poem about the Origin of Sin, has not well (*a*) answer'd the Objection of those Heretics.

(*g*) *Compare what was said in the Article* Manicheans, *Remark B.*

(*h*) *I mean the Dialogue against the* Marcionites *attributed to* Origen, *of which Mr.* Wetstein *Professor at* Basil, *publish'd an Edition in* 1674, *being the first in which the Greek appear'd.*

(*i*) *A Dialogue against the* Marcionites, *Sect.* 3. *p.* 79. 80. edit. Basil. 1674.

(*k*) Basilius Magnus, tom. 1. in homilia, *Quod Deus non sit auctor mali*, p. 369.

(*l*) *They would pretend that such a Confession does not differ from that which is call'd, to be reduc'd* ad terminos non loqui.

(Ϝ Δ) *Tho' it was easie to reply to this.*] I have already shown in the preceding Remark, that to refute invincibly the Answer of St. *Basil*, it was sufficient to desire him to consider the state of the Blessed. I add here, that it was not necessary to put him upon such a high Contemplation; for it was sufficient to desire him to consider the state of the Just in this Life. 'Tis by virtue of the Grace of the Holy Spirit that the Children of God, while they are Travellers, I mean while they are in this World, do love their Heavenly Father, and perform good Works. Neither St *Basil*, nor the other Greek Fathers could deny this, tho they did not assert the necessity of Grace efficacious by it self so highly as St *Austin* did. Does the Grace of God reduce the Faithful to the condition of a Slave who obeys only by force? Does it hinder them from loving God voluntarily, and from obeying him with a good and sincere Will? If one had put this Question to St *Basil* and the other Fathers, who refuted the *Marcionites*, would not they have been oblig'd to answer negatively? But what is the natural and immediate Consequences of such an Answer? Is it not to say, that without infringing the Liberty of the Creature, God could infallibly determine it to that which is good? And therefore Sin does not proceed from hence, that the Creator could not prevent it without destroying the Free-will of the Creature; but we must find out some other cause of it. I wonder that the Fathers of the Church did not see the weakness of their Answers, and that their Adversaries did not give them notice of it. I know very well, that these matters had not then pass'd thro' all the Discussions which have appear'd in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries; but 'tis certain the Primitive Church knew distinctly the Agreement of humane Liberty with the Grace (*b*) of the Holy Spirit The most rigid Christian Sects acknowledge at this Day, that the Decrees of God did not impose upon the first Man a necessity of sinning, and that the most efficacious Grace does not destroy the Liberty of a sinful Man They confess therefore, that the Decrees of preserving Mankind constantly and invariably in a state of Innocence, how absolute soever they had been, would have permitted all Men to perform their Duty very freely The *Thomists* maintain, that Physical pre-determination perfects the Liberty of our Soul, far from destroying or weakening it; and yet they teach that this pre-determination is of such a nature, that when it is intended to produce an act of Love, 'tis not possible *in sensu composito*, that it should produce an act of Hatred. I frankly confess, that I believe they do not very well understand, how the liberty of the Creature is perfected by this Physical pre-determining Quality, which the first Cause, by the

(*m*) *See in the Article* Paulicians, *what I have said of the Judgment of* M. Jurieu *about the loose method of explaining Grace. See also what a* French *Minister answer'd to the* Lutherans. *Mr* Beauval *has inserted it in the History of the Works of the Learned*, Novem 1695. p. 1185, & *but chiefly see the Judgment of* Bernardinus Ochinus

(*a*) *See one of the Remark in the Article* Prudentius

(*b*) *See Grace, Remark* [illegible]

this. I shall make (G) a few Obſervations againſt *Moreri*.

MARESTS (JOHN) a *Pariſian*, Sieur *de* St. *Sorlin*, was one of the finest Wits of the XVIIth Century; but he became at laſt viſionary and fanatical. He was mightily belov'd by Cardinal *Richelieu*, and we may ſay that among other * places, he had under his Eminence (A) an Employment of Wit. He himſelf has left us a Deſcription of his Manners, which is not very much to his Advantage; for he confeſſes, that to ſeduce the (B) Women who oppos'd him out of a concern for their Salvation, he made no ſcruple to incline them to Atheiſm. He was a Member of the *French* Academy in the beginning of its Foundation, and one of its principal Ornaments. He wrote † many Dramatick Pieces, which were much applauded, and chiefly that whoſe Title is, *Les Viſionaires*. He undertook an Epic Poem ξ, which coſt him the labour of many Years, and he believ'd he ſhould have taken a longer (C) time

* *He was Comptroller General of the extraordinaries of the War, and Secretary General of the Marine of the* Levant. Hiſt. of the French Academy. p. m. 342.

† *See the Titles of them and thoſe of ſeveral other Pieces of his in the* Hiſtory of the French Academy, p. m. 343.

ξ *Intitul'd* Clovis.

they, produces in the Soul of a Man before it acts; but whether they do underſtand it or no, 'tis certain, that they afford what is ſufficient totally to overthrow the Solution which St. *Baſil* gave to the Objections of the *Manichees*. As for the *Moliniſts*, they cannot make uſe of ſuch a Solution, for they do not reject the Grace of God, which infallibly ſecures a Man's Predeſtination; they do not deny but God, if he pleaſes, can ſecure a Man who always acts freely from ever falling into Sin in the moſt dangerous Temptations.

(G) *I ſhall make a few Obſervations againſt* Moreri.] I. His Remark, that *Sinope*, a City of *Paphlagonia*, had formerly been a City of *Pontus*, is very falſe, ſince *Sinope* was at the ſame time a City of *Paphlagonia* and *Pontus*. II. 'Tis not true (c), that *Marcion* was never receiv'd into the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. III. Nor that *after he had followed a long time the Errors of* Cerdon, *he invented new ones in* 134. We have ſhown before that he came to *Rome* under *Antoninus Pius*, who did not begin to Reign till 138. *Baronius* (d) building upon ſome Paſſages of *Tertullian*, believ'd that *Marcion* began to publiſh his Tenets at *Rome* in 146; and yet there are other Paſſages of this Father which teſtifie, that *Marcion* did not come to *Rome* till the time of Pope *Anicetus* (e): Which ſuppoſes that he did not arrive there till 20 Years after the birth of his Sect. *Tertullian* (f) had reaſon to ſay, that he was not well inform'd of the time when this Heretick began to dogmatize. IV. Since *Cerdon* went to *Rome* (g) in Pope *Hyginus*'s time, who was not created till the Year 153, how was it poſſible that *Marcion* ſhould invent new Hereſies in 134, after he had follow'd a long time thoſe which *Cerdon* taught him at *Rome*? V. 'Tis falſe, that *Marcion call'd himſelf* JESUS CHRIST *ſent to aboliſh the Law as being wicked*. *Moreri* ſlanders him in aſcribing this to him. If it be ſaid, that *Moreri* in theſe words, *He call'd himſelf* JESUS CHRIST, does not refer to *Marcion*, but to one of the Gods of this Heretick, to him whom he own'd *for the Author of the Goſpel, and the Redeemer of the Univerſe*; this will not clear *Moreri*, but he will ſtill be guilty both of expreſſing himſelf ill, and of reporting amiſs the Opinion of this Heretick. *Marcion* admitting of two Gods, one good and the other bad, ſaid (h), that one made the World, and the other was the Father of JESUS CHRIST. Perhaps the Confuſion wherewith *Baronius* ſpeaks of this, deceiv'd *Moreri*. (i) *Dus poſuit Deos* (Marcion) *ſibi contrarios, quorum alter bonus, malus vero eſſet alter; alter legis veteris auctor, alter autem novæ* ——— *ab illoque malo mundum eſſe creatum, à bono autem reſtitutum atque redemptum, huncque fuiſſe Jeſum ſolventem legem atque Prophetas à Deo patre miſſum.* Thus this Paſſage is read in my Edition of *Baronius* (k). I know not whether the Printers have omitted ſome words, or whether we muſt attribute to *Baronius* the Contradiction which is found there, and which conſiſts in ſaying, that JESUS CHRIST was the good Principle, and that his Father ſent him into the World.

(A) *He had under his Eminence an Employment of Wit.*] So we muſt underſtand what he ſays of himſelf under the name of *Euſebius* in one (l) of his Books. " With the help of ſome, by whom I " was ſupported to arrive at the height of the Pa- " lace of Fortune, I came at laſt to his Apart- " ment, who bears rule in this high Place. There " I taſted a Thouſand raviſhing Pleaſures by the " eſteem he had for me, by the Careſſes both " publick and private, wherewith he honour'd " me, by the applauſes I receiv'd from all parts, " and by the Victories I often gain'd over my " envious Enemies. ——— (m) You will force " me to tell you ſome of theſe nice reliſhes where- " by you may judge of the reſt, and which will " ſerve to ſhow the indefatigable Virtue of the " Genius of this great Man, who could not reſt " from a Labour of the Mind, but by another " Labour of the Mind. Immediately after he " had ſpent ſome Hours in ſettling the Affairs " of State, he often ſhut up himſelf with a Learn- " ned Divine, to handle with him the ſublimeſt " Queſtions of Religion, where Wit gather'd a " new ſtrength in theſe kinds of Converſation. " After this he commonly call'd me in alone, to " divert himſelf about Matters more gay and nice, " in which he took wonderful pleaſure. For ha- " ving obſerv'd in me a fruitful Wit to bring " forth ſudden Thoughts, he confeſs'd to me, " that his greateſt pleaſure was, when in our " Converſation, he improv'd my Thoughts by his " own: And if I propos'd another Thought be- " yond his, then his Wit made a new effort with " very great ſatisfaction. —— Now judge you, " if I did not reliſh by turns the ſame Pleaſure, " which ſeem'd to him ſo great, ſince it often " happen'd, that I improv'd his Thoughts by my " own.

(m) Ibid. p. 105.

(B) *That to ſeduce the Women.*] He does not only ſay, (a) " That he ſtaid ſome time in the Cottage " of carnal and groſs Pleaſures, which had but one " ſign, courſely painted, and whereon *Bacchus* and " *Venus* were repreſented; and that finding that " theſe Pleaſures ruin'd his Body and his For- " tune, he reſolv'd to ſeek after thoſe which were " more ſublime. *He adds*, (b) That he ought to " mourn with Tears of Blood for the bad uſe he " had made of his Eloquence among the Women; " for I made uſe of nothing but diſguiſed Lyes, ſub- " til Tricks, and infamous Treacheries. I endea- " vour'd to ruin the Souls of thoſe whom I feign'd " to be in Love with; I ſought out deceitful " Speeches to diſturb, to blind, and ſeduce them, " that I might induce them to believe, that Vice " was Virtue, or at leaſt a thing natural and in- " different. I betray'd even God himſelf, by in- " terpreting his Laws maliciouſly, and ſetting off " the falſe and damnable Reaſonings of the vo- " luptuous and impious, ſuch as you are, and I " employ'd all the Efforts of my Eloquence to " extinguiſh the ſenſe of Virtue in a Soul. (c) *It was prov'd to him, that* " He had denoted himſelf " by thoſe individual and perſonal Characters"; ſo that what his *Euſebius* ſays, is his own Hiſtory.

(a) Ibid. p. 3.

(b) Delices del'Eſprit, *p.* 73. *See the new Critical Letters againſt* Maimbourg, *p.* 746, 747.

(C) *A longer time to finiſh it, if Providence had not had a deſign.*] 'Tis he alſo who reveal'd this little Myſtery; for he begins his *Delices de l'Eſprit* (d) *with a kind of Prodigy, which he pretends happen'd to him; which was*, ſays he (e), " That God " did ſo ſenſibly aſſiſt him in finiſhing his great " Work of *Clovis*, thereby to bring him the " ſooner to ſuch things as were more uſeful, " and more ſublime, that he durſt not ſay in " what time he finiſh'd the nine Books which re- " main'd, and refin'd the others." The Gentlemen of *Port Royal* make the following Reflection upon this Paſſage. " (f) Thus, according to " *Mareſts*, it was the Spirit of God which [illegible] him to write theſe nine Books, which [illegible] to refine the reſt, and which in- [illegible] to publiſh this Work. It was the [illegible] God which aſſiſted him in publiſhing [illegible] Chriſtians ſo many [illegible] ridiculous Fables. It was [illegible] that mov'd him to tempt [illegible] by ſo many dangerous Images, and the [illegible] ſeduction

(c) *The Gentlemen of* Port Royal *in their* Viſionaires, *Letter* 8. *p.* 456. *Edit. of Cologne*, 1683. *in* 8°

(d) Les Viſionaires, *Letter* 1. *p.* 256.

(e) *Preface to the* Delices de l'Eſprit.

(f) Viſionaires, *ibid.*

(g) Irenæus, l. 1. c. 28. apud Baron. ibid. n. 2.

(h) *See* Damous ubi ſupra, *fol.* 36. *citing* Iren. l. 2. c. 1. *and* l. 4. c. 87. *and other Fathers.*

(i) Baronius ubi ſupra, n. 9. p. 117.

(k) 'Tis that of Antwerp. 1597.

(l) Delices de l'Eſprit, p. 4.

time to finish it, if Providence had not had a design to employ his Pen in Works of Devotion. He wrote also Romances, wherein (D) he departed from those Ideas of Virtue which were then represented in this kind of Writings. He d ed in 1676. He declar'd himself an Enemy to the *Jansenists*, and without doubt he had better never have meddled with that Quarrel; for had it not been for this, his Visions (I) which are so well describ'd by these Gentlemen, had lain conceal'd in Darkness. He

" sentation of so many Criminal Passions. It was " the Spirit of God that induc'd him to write a " Romance, which no-wise differs from others, " only it is more extravagant." Moreover, The Abbot *de Marolles* informs us of one particular, from whence we may conclude, that our *John Des-Marests* set a high value upon his *Clovis*. He gave me his *Delices de l'Esprit*, says the Abbot (g), and " some other of his Works in Prose and " Verse, at such time as I had no difference with " him, as I have had since, because he took in a " sense contrary to mine, what I had written of " his *Clovis*, which I had not preferr'd above the " *Æneids*, although I had an esteem for it, and " thought it not unworthy of him.

(g) Michael de Marolles, *enumeration of the Authors, who gave him their Books.*

(D) *Romances wherein he departed from those Ideas of Virtue.*] Upon this account he is pleasantly expos'd in the *Parnasse Reformé*, which puts this Complaint in the Mouth of *Ariana* his Heroine. " (h) There are no places with me but what are " infamous, each Book furnishes one of them at " least; and the Heroes of the Romance are so " accustom'd to frequent those Places, that one " would take them for common Soldiers or " Musqueteers. To give me a Visit, and to go " to (you know my meaning) is but one and the " same thing; the one is now confounded with " the other. I don't wonder after this, if " he makes me appear naked; it had been " irregular to have us'd me otherwise; and since " *Astræa*, who had not the advantage of the Place " as I have, shows herself to *Celadon* in this Po- " sture, there was an indispensable necessity that " I should do the like." It is not therefore for the Romance of *Ariana*, that *Des-Marests* was concern'd in the last part of the Censure I am now to relate, and which is principally address'd to him. " (i) A writer of Romances and Plays is a pub- " lick Poisoner, not of the Bodies but of the " Souls of the Faithful, who ought to be look'd " upon as guilty of an infinite number of spiri- " tual Murders, which he has either actually " committed, or might have been the cause of " by his pernicious Writings. The more care " he takes to cover with a Veil of Decency the " criminal Passions he describes, the more dan- " gerous he renders them, and the more capable " of surprizing and corrupting simple and inno- " cent Souls. These sorts of Sins are so much " the more dreadful because they always subsist; " for the Books do not perish, and they always " spread the same Venom in those who read them." He cannot justly defend himself against the *Parnasse Reformé*, by saying he follow'd the Precept of the ancient Masters, that Romances ought (k) to be probable; for there is a *medium* between a Heroine which is not very Vertuous, and one that is too much so, and this *medium* does not exceed probability.

(h) Parnasse Reforme, *p.* 148, 149.

(i) *Veronafres Letter* 1. *p.* 253.

(k) Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris. *Horat. de arte Poetic.*

(I) *His Visions which are so well describ'd by the Gentlemen of* Port Royal.] When I first read their Letters, I was seiz'd with an extraordinary surprize, that a Wit, who was the Author of such pleasant Pieces, and such as were fitted for the Stage, should boast very seriously, (m) *That God of his infinite Goodness had sent to him a Key of the Treasure of St.* John's *Revelation, which was known but to very few Persons before him—and that by the Order of God* (n) *he was to raise* 144000 *fighting Men, whereof one part was already muster'd to make War against the Wicked and the* Jansenists. My surprize was encreas'd when I reflected upon the Time and Place where these Chimera's were vented, and it was still re-doubled when I took notice, that not only the management of his own Estate was left to this pretended Prophet, but also the Office of an Inquisitor was bestow'd upon him: And that no body intrigu'd more than he, and was more active for the extirpation of *Jansenism*. If I had then known what I saw twenty Years after, I should not have been thus surpriz'd; but certainly I was excusable to think it strange at that time, that one who publish'd at *Paris* so many Chimera's, should obtain greater Authority than ever he had before. Oh what Irregularity is this! " (o) The Archbishop of *Paris* makes use of him for " his Apologist, admits him to his Table, receives " him into his House. The Archbishop of *Aux* " approves of the design of his Army. He is per- " mitted to be the founder of a new Order, " to set up, though he is wholly a Layman, " for the Director of a great number of Women " and Maids, to take an account of their " most secret Thoughts, to write for them Let- " ters of Conscience, stuffed with an infinite " number of very dangerous and imprudent " things, to say no more, and to frequent many " Convents of Virgins, and publish there his " mad Fancies and new Spiritualities And lastly, " The Archbishop of *Paris* cast his Eyes upon " him to help him to reform the Monastery of " *Port Royal* at *Paris*. His Instructions are there " greedily receiv'd, and they confer with him a- " bout mental Prayer; they give him an account " of the state in which they are, whether of Com- " fort or Misery.

(m) Delices de l'Esprit, *part* 3d. *p.* 2. *in the* Visionaires, *Letter* 1. *p.* 241.

(n) *Advices of the Holy Ghost to the King*, *p.* 242.

(o) Visionaires, *Letter* 1. *p.* 28.

The Book which he publish'd entitl'd, *The Advice of the Holy Spirit to the King*, has all the Characters of Fanaticism. He there explains *Three Prophecies of Scripture, which he pretends are to be understood of the* Jansenists; as being to be destroy'd by the *French* King with the Pomp of a great Army. *One Character* (p) *which is the popular mark of Fanaticks, is this, That how Spiritual soever the People endeavour to appear, yet if they be narrowly observ'd, their Spirituality commonly aims at some external and sensible Effect; and they are never satisfied till they have carried on their Imaginations and Allegories to some great Event that is sensible, of which they fancy they are to be not only the Spectators, but also the Ministers.* The Author from whom I have these words, proves this by many Examples, and then continues his Discourse after this manner " (q) The Imaginations of the Sieur *Des-Marests*, " being of the same kind with those of other Vi- " sionaries, must also terminate in something Ex- " ternal, and he must be willing, like others, to en- " joy in this World the Fruit of his Prophecies " 'Tis true, he does not seem to come to that all " of a sudden; for in the beginning he did all that " he could to keep at a distance from it by Spi- " ritualizing every thing, and reducing the most " terrible Beasts in the *Revelations* into Chime- " ra's, or quintessences of Mystical Theology " But at last he grew weary of those airy Spi- " ritualities, and the natural bias of his Fanatical " Imagination carried him on to frame, like o- " thers, a vast design in this World; for the ex- " ecution whereof he believed that he was chosen " by God. The Idea of it is not very No- " ble and Sublime. But lest you should think " that I impose upon him, I will represent it to " you in his own words. This design therefore " is to draw up an *Army to oppose and destroy every* " *where Impieties and Heresies.* The number of " those who shall Compose it, *is to be according to the* " *Prophecy of St* John 144000, *who shall have the* " *mark of the living God upon their Foreheads, i. e.* " *who shall plainly make it appear by their Lives, that* " *God lives in their Hearts.* And because every " Army stands in need of a General, he has pro- " vided one for it, by offering this Office to the " King, *That so the Zeal and Valour of his Sacred Per-* " *son, who shall be the General of this brave Army, as* " *being the Eldest Son of the Church, and the principal* " *King of all Christians, may encourage all the Soldiers.* " As to the inferior Offices, he declares to his " Majesty, that they are design'd for the Knights " of the Order. *Your Royal Band*, says he, *of the* " *Knights of the Holy Ghost, ought to march at their* " *Head, if they be as Noble and Valiant as they pre-* " *tend to be.* And to inflame their desire of Ho- " nour, he adds, *That they will be very much ashamed* " *to be as ready as the rest of the Holy Army to do and* " *suffer all things.* As for the Means to be em-

(p) Ib. p. 29

(q) Ib. p. 280

He promis'd the *French* King by his expounding of the Prophecies (*F*), that he should have the Glory of deſtroying the *Mahometans*. We ſhall elſewhere * ſhow his Conduct againſt one *Morin*, who call'd himſelf the Son of God. *Des-Mareſts* wrote ſomething

* *In the Article of the* Morin.

" ploy'd in this War, and which this numerous " Army are to make uſe of, he does not as yet " diſcover them, but reſerves the declara- " tion of them to a proper Time, having " learn'd them from the Holy Spirit. He " ſays only by the bye, *That they will extirpate* " *all Impieties, not by Temporal but Spiritual Arms,* " † *according to the Heavenly means and methods which* " *God hath appointed, and which ſhall be particularly* " *declar'd.* But leſt it ſhould be thought, that " this was only a Viſion, and leſt the expectation " of an Event very remote, ſhould not make an " impreſſion upon the King's Mind, he declares, " that the greateſt part of this Army is already " raiſed. *God*, ſays he, *Sir, hath already anticipa-* " *ted your deſign, and you have a long time ſince* " *had an Army of ſuch Perſons as are faithful to him,* " *and who are devoted to him as victims of his juſt* " *Wrath which has been kindled by ſo many Abomi-* " *nations, to pray to him without ceaſing, and to ſuffer* " *all things, that ſo it may pleaſe him to convert the* " *falſe Chriſtians, and to extirpate by your Authority* " *ſo many Sects and deteſtable Vices, as now reign in* " France. *This Army is Compos'd only of valiant* " *and ſtout Souls, who fight without ceaſing, Sa-* " *tan and his Supporters.* And in the Vow of U- " nion he affirms, *That there are of it already many* " *thouſand Souls.* Nevertheleſs ſince it has not " yet arriv'd to the prophetick Number of " 144000, the Sieur *Des-Mareſts* has a Commiſſion " from Heaven to publiſh every where, that thoſe " who have a mind to liſt themſelves, may do it " by his means; and to this end the *Advices of the* " *Holy Ghoſt* are particularly deſign'd. *We muſt*, " ſays he, *communicate theſe Holy Advices to all the* " *World, that we may encourage many faithful Souls* " *to offer themſelves to God as Victims, by liſting them-* " *ſelves in this holy Army.* And as it is uſual to " make Soldiers take an Oath, M. *Des-Mareſts* has " tram'd one for thoſe who ſhall compoſe this " Army, which he has Printed at the end of " theſe Advices with this Title, *The League and* " *Vow of each Knight or Soldier in the Army of* JE- " SUS CHRIST. He has alſo preſcrib'd to " them an Exerciſe for every Day, whereby it " appears, that theſe People are all KNIGHTS " OF THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE " POPE." He has foretold alſo all the Exploits which this Army are to perform (*a*); for he expreſly ſays, That they are to obtain a Victory over the Enemies of God by the deſtruction of Impieties and Hereſies, and that then an innumerable number of all ſorts of Nations and People ſhall be openly united to the Church, and ſhall pray before the Throne of God within themſelves. *And all this is to happen under the Reign of* Louis XIV. *who will be the* Joſhua *of this Army*, i. e. *the Captain and General to lead on and animate the Troops and fight valiantly with them, under* (*b*) *the inviſible Conduct of the four Princes of the Heavenly Hoſts, St.* Michael, *St.* Gabriel, *St.* Raphael *and St.* Uriel.

This *Janſeniſt* Author has made a Reflexion upon this too judicious to be here omitted. " I am " willing to believe, *ſays he*, (*c*) that the Sieur " *Des-Mareſts* has not yet a deſign to make his Vi- " ctims take up rebellious Arms, and that his " Army is ſtill wholly Spiritual and Extatical; " but he knows not what he will be at to " Morrow, becauſe he knows not whither " his fanſie will carry him, nor what he will " diſcover in the *Revelations*. Such a Man as he " who takes all his Thoughts for ſo many Inſpira- " tions, cannot anſwer for himſelf. The Figures " of the *Revelation* change often in his Head, and " they ſignifie ſometimes one thing, and ſome- " times another, and always by inſpiration " from God." There are here ſome Examples of the variations which had already appear'd in his Prophetick Doctrine. See the whole fifth Letter of this *Janſeniſt*; wherein he ſhews ſo many Chimeras of the Sieur *Des-Mareſts*, that to underſtand how a Man could fill his Head with ſo many Viſions, without loſing that part of common ſenſe which hinders People (*d*) from running about the Streets, one muſt conſider the Reflection which a great Wit has inforc'd with Examples. *'Tis one of the miſeries of Mankind*, ſays he (*e*), *that Reaſon and good Senſe are ſometimes overthrown and dethron'd, if I may ſo ſay, in one of their Provinces, and continue Maſters in the others, wherein a violent Imagination does not prevail.* Conſult the Article *Tulenus*. Let us now ſee ſome other Lineaments of St. *Sorlin*'s *Fanaticiſm*.

(*F*) *He promiſed the* French *King—the glory of deſtroying the* Mahometans.] " (*f*) That which ele- " vates the Prophets, is, Firſt, the greatneſs of the " Events which they foretell; and Secondly, the " clearneſs wherewith they expreſs the particu- " lar Circumſtances, which make them appear to " be true Prophecies, and not Diſcourſes in the " Air, among which we may meet by chance with " ſomething that is agreeable to the Event. This " is what the Sieur *Des-Mareſts* takes care to avoid " above all things. He uſes a Language that " is obſcure and enigmatical, and is a moſt " intelligible Prophet. He refuſes to tell us " a Story of times paſt, and ſets down the " Time, Place and Circumſtances in poſitive and " intelligible Terms. He does not refer us to a " time very remote, to verifie his Prophecies; " and yet they are the greateſt things that any " Man can ever Propheſie. Let us hear him " ſpeak, for he expreſſes himſelf very clearly. " *This valiant Prince*, foretold, according to him in " *Jeremiah*, by the words of the *Son of the Juſt*, which " unfortunately are not to be found in this Prophet, " *is to deſtroy and drive out of his Dominions Impiety and* " *Hereſie, and to reform the Eccleſiaſticks, the Courts of* " *Juſtice and the Treaſury. And then by common Conſent, he, and the King of* Spain, *ſhall call together* " *all the Princes of* Europe, *with the Pope, to re-unite* " *all Chriſtians to the true and only Catholick Religion.* " *He ſhall ſend for the Pope to come to* Avignon, *that* " *there they may conſer together about the means neceſſary for ſo great a Good, becauſe otherwiſe*, (ſee how " circumſpect he is) *he would*, ſays he, *be oblig'd to* " *go to* Rome *with a great Army worthy of a* French " *King, to conſer there in Perſon with him, and the* " *Pope will rather chooſe to come to* Avignon, *than to be* " *burden'd at* Rome *with a great Army.* Hitherto " you have ſeen great things, and very particu- " lar, the deſtruction of all Impieties, the He- " reticks and impious Perſons driven out of " *France*, the Eccleſiaſticks, Courts of Juſtice, " and the Exchequer reform'd, the Convocation " of the Princes and Pope at *Avignon*, the Re- " union of all Chriſtians to the Catholick Reli- " gion. But theſe which follow are greater ſtill. " *After*, ſays he, *the Re-union of all Hereticks under* " *the Holy See, the King will be declar'd the head of* " *all Chriſtians, being the eldeſt Son of the Church,* " *and with the Forces of Chriſtendom he will go and* " *deſtroy by Sea and Land the Empire of the* Turks " *and the Law of* Mahomet, *and propagate the Faith* " *and Kingdom of* JESUS CHRIST *over the* " *face of the whole Earth*; i. e. in *Perſia*, in the Em- " pire of the *Great Mogul*, in *Tartary* and *China*. " What can be deſir'd more, except that all theſe " great things ſhould be particularly mention'd in " the Prophecies? And of this the Sieur *Des-Mareſts* " does confidently aſſure us. *All this*, ſays he, " *is ſpecially foretold by the Prophet, as will be made* " *appear to the King, to whom alone God hath given* " *the power to bear ſo great a Secret, and ſo great* " *Novelty, and the illuſtrious proſpect of a Life ſo* " *glorious, during which the Kingdom of God, which* " *is to laſt unto the end of all Ages, will be eſtabliſh'd* " *every where.* And to make theſe Events the " more credible, he has ſet down the means of " bringing them." He ſets down alſo the Rea- ſons why other People cannot ſupport theſe great De- " ſigns. " The Queens themſelves, *adds he*, (*a*) " cannot endure at firſt, that the King ſhould " take the reſolution of quitting *Paris*, and going to *Avignon*, " when he ſhall be call'd by a Special Prophecie, " ſtay there a long time with the Pope, that " may call all *Chriſtendom* by common Conſent " ſent with the King of *Spain*, as is ſet forth " an expreſs Prophecy.

The Reflection of the *Janſeniſt* is very and

(*e*) Peliſſon, *Chimeres de Mr.* Jurieu, Part 2. Sect. 2. p. 69. Dutch Edition.

(*f*) Viſionaires, *Letter* 5. p. 395, 396.

(*a*) Viſionaires, ibid p. 398.

† *Note, that the greateſt part of the Viſionaries begin thus; but they find afterwards that temporal Arms ought alſo to concur: all the furies of War come into their Plan, under the notion of pious Actions.* Proh ſuperi quantum mortalia pectora cœcæ Noctis habent! ipſo ſceleris molimine Tereus Creditur eſſe Pius laudemque à crimine ſumit *Ovid, Metam. lib. 6. v.* 472.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 282.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 283.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 286.

(*d*) *The* Viſionary *whom* Horace *ſpeaks of was of this ſort; he did not run about the Streets, he was alſo reaſonable in many things.* Cætera qui vitæ ſervaret munia recto More, bonus ſane vicinus, amabilis hoſpes, Comis in uxorem, poſſet qui ignoſcere ſervis, Et ſigno læſo non inſanire lagenæ: Poſſet qui rupem & mutum vitare patentem. *Horat. Epiſt.* 2. *lib.* 2.

ing againſt * the Satyrs of Mr. *Boileau* in his latter Years. I ſhall ſay ſomething of his eldeſt Brother (*G*) in a Remark.

* *See the Remark (G) of the Article* Macedonia.

MARESTS (ROLAND DES) See the laſt Remark of the Preceding Article.

MARESIUS (SAMUEL), in *French Des-Mareſts*, a Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity, was one of the moſt famous Divines of the 17th Century. He was born at *Oiſemond* in *Picardy*, the 9th of *Auguſt* 1599, and from his Infancy diſcover'd a ſtrong inclination to Study. When he was thirteen Years old, he was ſent to *Paris*, where he improv'd much in School-learning and Philoſophy. Three Years after he was ſent to *Saumur*, where he ſtudied Divinity under *Gomarus*, and Hebrew under *Lewis Cappel*. He return'd to his Father's Houſe in 1618, and then he went to *Geneva* to finiſh his Studies of Divinity. He return'd to *France* the next Year, and to fit himſelf for Preaching he went to *Paris*. The Probation-Sermons he made at the Houſe of Mr. *Durant*, one of the greateſt Preachers of that time, pleas'd him very much, and that Miniſter adviſ'd him to betake himſelf quickly to the Holy Miniſtry. His Youth and his low Stature (*A*) made him averſe to this Counſel; nevertheleſs he follow'd it, and preſented himſelf before the Synod of *Charenton* in the Month of *March* 1620; and altho' he has given us a Picture that reſembles many People, and ſhows the univerſal Spirit of the makers of Predictions. " (*b*) There is doubtleſs " ſomething inconvenient in theſe words; the " under Age of the King of *Spain* makes him for " a long time incapable to conſentung to this great " Deſign: So that it ſeems the Sieur *Des-Mareſts* " had in his view the deceas'd King of *Spain*, who " died notwithſtanding this expreſs Prophecy. " But perhaps if M. *Des-Mareſts* was preſs'd upon " this Point, he would extricate himſelf after " the ſame manner, as another Prophet very like " him did, from ſuch another Objection. He " was call'd the Prophet *John*, and waited upon " the Queen of *Poland* when ſhe was at *Paris*, and " had retir'd to the Monaſtery of *Port Royal*. He " endeavour'd to prove to her by the *Revelation*, " that the Empire of the *Turks* was to be deſtroy'd " under the Reign of *Louis* XIII. and the Ponti- " ficate of *Urban* VIII. She propos'd to him an " Objection which was very natural, *viz.* That " both of them were already Dead. But this " Prophet, without troubling himſelf about this " Difficulty, anſwer'd gravely, That he would " never diſpute, and thereupon he left the Prin- " ceſs. The Sieur *Des-Mareſts* will find ſome ſuch " Anſwer to the Difficulties of his Prophecy, " and will tell us, That he meant the Queen " Regent of *Spain*, who acts in the Name of " the King. For to put us off to the time of " the King of *Spain*'s being of Age, would be at- " tended with too great inconveniencies, ſince " he could not begin too ſoon, when he is " to conquer the whole World, and to finiſh " his Conqueſt during his Life.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Petrus Hallæus ubi infra.

(*d*) Tantum exiſtimationis in operibus aliorum examinandis ſibi quæſiverat, ut eundem Borbonium, ſe ſibi magis ab uno Mareſio, quam à cæteris omnibus cenſoribus timere, ſæpe affirmantem audiverim. *ib.*

(*G*) *I ſhall ſay ſomething of his eldeſt Brother in a Remark.*] He was call'd *Roland Des-Mareſts*. He was born at *Paris* in 1594, and pleaded at the Bar for ſome time; but being diſguſted with the Noiſe and Clamours that are heard there, he conſecrated himſelf to a quiet Life. Being neither covetous of Riches, nor ambitious of Honours, he applied himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of Human Learning, and ſought for his Happineſs in the Boſom of the Muſes, and the ſhades of his Retirement. (*c*) *A cupiditate gloriæ, reique ſtudioſius augendæ deſiderio prorſus alienus, ſuæ animi conſcientiæ teſtimonio ac domeſticis copiis contentus, ſe modeſte exhibere, quam operoſis fortunæ famæque bonis avide captandis immiture malut.* Yet he cultivated a Friendſhip with learned Men, and conferr'd with them about his Studies. He became a very good Critick (*d*), inſomuch that *Nicolas Bourbon*, a Man of excellent Parts, fear'd no Man's Cenſure ſo much as that of our *Roland*'s. He publiſh'd ſome Letters in Latin, which appear'd to be very well written, and therefore after his Death they were join'd with others which he wrote ſince, and were found among his Papers. Mr. *de Launoy*, and the two *Valeſius*'s; who publiſh'd them at *Paris* [illegible] in 1655. They were re-printed in *Germany* 1687. He was never Married: He employ'd ſome of his leiſure Hours in the Education of a Niece, whom he found fit for ſtudy, and taught her the Latin and Greek Tongue (*f*) *Puellam Mariam Prætæam, ſororis filiam, quæ [illegible] ſtare videbatur, ſolici vim ingenii & acumen ka[illegible] exprimebat, ſuccessu incredibili Latinis Græciſque literis non [illegible] ſuccessu imbuit.* There was all along a ſtrict Friendſhip between him and *John Des-Mareſt*. his Brother. His Health was very good, but by ſtudying too much he ſo weaken'd his Conſtitution, that he fell into a languiſhing Diſtemper, which waſted him by degrees, till at laſt he gave up the Ghoſt about the end of *December* 1653 (*g*) The Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* took advantage of the approbation he gave to their Method of teaching the Latin Tongue; for they caus'd the Letter wherein this Approbation is contain'd, to be Printed at the beginning of the Book

(*c*) *Intitled* Rolandi Mareſii epiſtolarum philologicarum libri duo.

(*f*) Petr. Hallæus, ibid.

WHAT is found concerning the Letters of *Rolandus Mareſius*, in the *Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature*, written by (*h*) *Vigneul Marville*, is very curious and Judicious.

(*A*) *His Youth and his low Stature*] There are but few Perſons who at twenty Years of Age have not attain'd to ſo great a height as Nature deſigns for them. Mr. *Mareſius* was none of thoſe; he was a true *Zaccheus* at the Age of twenty one, and was always call'd the little *Propoſant*. But he grew after that till he was twenty five Years old, and then he was of a pretty tall Stature. (*i*) *Mareſius qui eum* (Durantium) *ſibi maxime imitandum deligerat, nonnullas in ipſius ædibus habuit Propoſitiones, quæ ipſi adeo placuêre, ut hic author ſuavit operam ſuam Eccleſiis offerendi; a quo alias conſilio ut abhorreret duo efficiebant, nempe & quod ætate valde juvenis eſſet; & quod ſtatura & vultu, majorem adhuc præ ſe ferret juventutem: Etſi enim nunc ſatis ſit procerus, tamen ita parvus manſit uſque ad annum 21. ſuæ ætatis, quo demum uſque ad 25 celerrime crevit, ut vulgo parvi Propoſitionis nomine deſignaretur.* I will remark another thing very ſingular, which may ſerve to comfort the Fathers and Mothers who have infirm Children; This is not always a certain Argument, that they ſhall not arrive to old Age, and that they ſhall never be ſtrong *Samuel Mareſius*, who was ſo weak in his Infancy, that he was fed with Milk and Butter, and left to lie in his Bed for many Days together, liv'd till he was ſeventy four Years old, and was ſo vigorous, that the ſtrongeſt Men could hardly endure the Fatigues and Exerciſes which he endur'd, without being ſick at any time. When he begun to be ſick at *Groningen*, (*k*) he had for the ſpace of thirty Years diſcharg'd a very laborious Profeſſion, and had continually been publiſhing many Books The Latin I ſhall here ſubjoin will give a more particular account of the infirmities of his Infancy. (*l*) *Infantiam habuit imbecillem & ita tenera conſtitutionis, ut ſere lacte & butyro ſuerit educandus; Puer carne elixâ veſci non poterat, nec jure, nec ullis oleribus: & ſemper occulta quadam antipathia poma, pyra, cerœſa, fraga & id genus alia pueronum, ita eſſe adverſatus, ut in hunc diem nihil ex illis unquam degluerit. Quamvis autem puericiam haberet languidam & valetudinariam, ex qua cum vix ſuperviturus [illegible] plurimi, ſæpius ex oculis, aliiſque fluxionibus laboraſſet, aliquando ex genuum dolore per 15. dies officus lecto; unde metuebant parentes, eum ſi vir fieret, futurum podagricum, licet hic uſque nihil tale Dei beneficio ſit expertus; non ſemel ex lapſu aliiſque caſibus puerilibus in preſens vitæ diſcrimen adductus; tamen animo erat erecto, tenaci memoriæ, & ad ſtudia tam proclivis, ut ante ſeptennium exactum, non modo legere poſſet & literas accurate pingere, ac jam rudimentis Linguæ Latinæ operam daret, ſed etiam bis univerſa Biblia a capite ad calcem evolviſſet, ut à puerilibus fere ab illis occupationibus abduceretur [illegible] ut ego*

(*g*) *Taken from his Eloge compoſed by* Petrus Hallæus, *and plac'd before the Letters of* Rolandus Mareſius

(*h*) *At p.* 171 *and* 172 *of the 1ſt edit at* Rouen.

(*i*) Effigies & vitæ Profeſſorum Groning. p. 138.

(*k*) *I have read this in his Funeral Oration in M.*

(*l*) Effigies & vitæ Profeſſorum Gronin. p. 135.

* *Upon the Frontiers of Champagne.*

† Petito tamen quoad profeſſionem ſpatio aliquo ad ſtudia ſua ſcholaſtica recollegenda, quo paratior illam capeſſeret. *Vitæ Profeſſorum Groning.* p. 142.

although the Examination was then very ſevere, yet he gave full ſatisfaction. The Church given him was that of *Laon*. The Circumſtances of the Time and Place rendred the Exercife of his Miniſtry very difficult; yet he diſcharg'd his Duty very well. The Anſwer he wrote to a Lady who had chang'd her Religion, provok'd his Adverſaries ſo much, that 'tis thought Father *d'Aubigni* the Jeſuit ſuborn'd an Aſſaſſin, who (*B*) gave him a ſtab with a Knife *December* 13. 1623. But although the Wound was dangerous, yet it was cur'd in a ſhort time; and then it was thought fit to diſengage him from a Church, which he could no longer ſerve without great danger, and to lend him for a Year to the Faithful of *Falaiſe* *. This was order'd in a Synod of the *Iſle of France* in the Month of *March*, 1624. In a little while after he accepted the call of the Church of *Sedan*, and was inſtall'd in the Room of *James Cappel* in the Month of *October* of the ſame Year. He was to be Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity; but † he was diſpens'd with the Duties of this laſt Office, till he had recover'd the Ideas of his Scholaſtick Studies. He obtain'd alſo leave to go into *Holland* to take his Degree of Doctor of Divinity, which he did at *Leyden* the 8th of *July* 1625. Having made a ſmall trip into *England*, he return'd to *Sedan*, and there began to exerciſe his Profeſſion of Divinity on the 24th of *November* in the ſame Year: And continuing in that place he met with a great deal of Trouble; for he had ſome Storms to weather, which he endur'd with great Reſolution, by the favour of the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Affection of the Church. But one of the ſtrongeſt Barriers which he thought fit to oppoſe againſt his Enemies, was (*C*) to Marry. He Married therefore a Widow, who had fled to *Sedan* for Religion with her firſt Huſband in 1622. The Marriage was celebrated the 2d of *May* 1628: In this Year alſo he Publiſh'd his firſt Book *, after which there follow'd an infinite number of others (*D*). He follow'd the Duke of *Bouillon* into *Holland* in 1631, to be his Chaplain

* *Intitul'd*, A preſervative againſt Apoſtacy. *Note, That in* 1623, *there was printed without his knowledge, and without his Name, one of his Sermons about Predeſtination, upon* 2 Tim. 2. 12. *It was reprinted many times.*

(*a*) Uxor nobilis cujuſdam cui *Hurtebiſæo* nomen erat, & qui ut ſibi conſervaret Heræ præfecturam, jam ante biennium defecerat, maritum ſuum tandem ſequuta fuerit, circa finem anni 1622. *Ibid.* p. 142.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 140, 141.

(*c*) Vulnus erat profundum & quoad ipſius capacitatem, illeſo non pati ad penetraret. *Ibid.* p. 140. Quamvis autem vulnus periculoſum valde fuerit, & ex quo candelam ei objectam poterat *Mareſius* extinguere, brevi tamen tempore ex eo convaluit. *Ibid.* p. 141.

ergo, quam alii ſolent à luſu ad illa magis ſeria revocari. You ſee in theſe laſt words the proof of what I ſaid concerning the inclination which appear'd early in him to his Studies. It was harder for him to leave them, that he might divert himſelf with the Plays of Infancy, than it is for others to leave their Play and apply themſelves to Study. This is a proof that the Application of the Mind is not always hurtful to weak Conſtitutions, and it is an Example that affords comfort to thoſe Parents, who are affraid, leſt their ſtudious and weak Sons ſhould die quickly.

(*B*) *Aſſaſſin who gave him a ſtab with a Knife.*] *Mareſius* having heard that the Wife of the Governor of *la Fere* (*a*) had chang'd her Religion, after the example of her Husband who turn'd Roman Catholick that he might keep his Government, wrote a Letter to her full of Exhortations to return to the Sheepfold. She wrote a large anſwer to him to juſtifie her Conduct, and ſent him a Printed Relation of her Converſion. This Relation being ſtuffed with Falſhoods, he thought it his Duty to refute it, and at the ſame time to anſwer the Reaſons this Lady had alledg'd. The Jeſuits had been imploy'd to convert her, and found the Anſwer of this Miniſter too bold, and threatn'd to puniſh him for it. This made People imagine, that the Wound he receiv'd ſome time after, was the effect of this Menace; and if Father *d'Aubigni* was chiefly ſuſpected, it was becauſe he had been the Converter of this Lady, and was then Preaching the Advent Sermons at *Laon*. (*b*) *Nec dubitatum redemptum fuiſſe Sicarium, ob literas ſupra commemoratas, à Monachis, præſertim ab Albigio Jeſuita, illo eodem, qui duodecennio ante Ravaillaci parricidæ Henrici* IV. *Confeſſarius fuerat, & coram Ampliſſimo Senatu dixerat, ſe dono oblivionis pollere poſt auditas Confeſſiones, excuſaturus quod Regii parricidæ Confeſſionis non amplius meminiſſet. Is enim & Hurtebiziana delectioni fuerat obſtetricatus, & tum Laduni ſolemnes Adventus habebat conciones. Nec aliud totâ urbe, maxime inter Reformatos, perſuaſum fuiſſe, univerſa Laodunenſis Eccleſia comprobavit adhuc non ita pridem, ſolemni ſuo Teſtimonio, conſcripto à R. & Doct. Viro D.P. GEORGIO illius Paſtore anno* 1647. 18. *Auguſti, paullo priuſquam ad Deum evocaretur.* The Aſſaſſin eſcap'd, and the Magiſtrates did not think fit to enquire further into this Affair. He waited for Mr. *Mareſius* in the Streets, who was returning home after he had ſupp'd with his Unckle, and ſtruck the Knife in his Breaſt: By good fortune (*c*) the blow did not hurt his Lungs.

(*C*) *Which was to marry.*] He thought that he was expos'd to a Storm, only becauſe he had no Wife, and had refus'd one. This thought oblig'd him to Marry, and preſently the Tempeſt was calm'd, and after it Halcyon-Days ſucceeded, and he liv'd in Peace with all his Collegues. *Cum hos fluctus decumanos ſibi videretur pati, quod cælebs eſſet, & nonnullis, ut credebatur, maneret* alta mente repoſtum judicium Paridis ſpretæque injuria formæ; *vitâ cælibe relictâ tandem vitæ ſociam ſibi aſcivit* Abigalem le Grand, *natam Aquiſgrani honeſtiſſimo loco, patre* Jaſpare le Grand *Tornacenſi, Mercatore Magnario* —— *Ab eo tempore* Mareſius *Alcyonia Sedani obtinuit, & cum Reverendis ſuis Collegis omnibus, in ſuo munere, tranquille verſatus eſt* (*d*). There is in this Narrative one thing eaſie to be underſtood, and one thing that's very obſcure. We can eaſily underſtand, that a Man who has refus'd a Woman, is expos'd to the ill Offices of the Relations of that Perſon whom he refus'd to Marry. 'Tis an Injury which the Fair one will not pardon, and if ſhe have any Intereſt, or be capable of managing Intrigues, ſhe may give a great deal of Trouble to a Miniſter and a Profeſſor. Theſe Gentlemen have their Friends Enemies, and from hence ariſe Factions and Diſcords, which the Family that's angry for the contempt of the Affinity they would have contracted, can make uſe of to ſatisfie their Reſentment. It was no wonder therefore that *Samuel Mareſius* endur'd at *Sedan* many troubleſome Perſecutions, after he had provok'd a Family by a Judgment ſomething like that of *Paris, ſpretæque injuria formæ*. But 'tis ſtrange, that by Marrying a Widow whom he had never refus'd, he ſhould calm that Storm, and be reconcil'd to all his Enemies. This is what I cannot comprehend. The Marriage with the Widow was a new occaſion of Anger to the Party deſpis'd. If *Mareſius* had liv'd always a Batchelor, it might have been believ'd that his refuſal proceeded from a general indifference for the Sex, which was a kind of Comfort to the Fair one refus'd: But after ſhe ſaw him Married, ſhe could only look upon it as a peculiar indifference, and a contempt of her ſelf: This is a vexing thing, which muſt needs increaſe one's Anger, and bad Offices. Here is therefore ſomething that is kept in the dark: The Narrative is not exact; there are many things wanting here, which I would not report, tho' I knew them. I know part of them.

(*d*) Vitæ Profeſſor. Groning. p. ...

(*e*) *It is not in the laſt Edition, nor in the two firſt. It reaches to the Year* 1654, *in the Lives of the Profeſſors of* Groningen.

(*D*) *There followed an infinite number of others.*] You will find a Chronological Catalogue of his Works at the end of his (*e*) Syſtem of Theology. The number of them is prodigious, and the variety of the Subjects ſhows that his Mind was not ſtinted. We may ſay that he was very laborious, and wrote very eaſily, and with much quickneſs of Thought and Learning. He had a mind to collect into one Body all his Works, as well thoſe that were Printed as thoſe that were not. He review'd them for this end, and made Additions to them. They would have made up four Volumes in *Folio*. His Death hinder'd the

plain in the Army. The next Year he return'd into the ſame Country, together with the Prince's Mother, and engag'd in the Service of the States, who appointed him Miniſter to the Church of *Maeſtricht*. He oppos'd both by word of Mouth and by Writing the Efforts which the Eccleſiaſticks of *Liege* made to hinder the Eſtabliſhment of the Reform'd Churches in that Country; and he had a Thouſand Difficulties to maſter, after the Duke of *Bouillon* (E) had Married a Catholick Woman. He endeavour'd, but in vain, to retain him in the Profeſſion of the Reformed Church, and by this means he incurr'd the hatred of the Dutcheſs; which being added to his other Troubles, made him look upon the Call which the Church of *Boſleduc* gave him in 1636, as a piece of good Fortune, and therefore he did not refuſe it. The next Year he became Profeſſor in the illuſtrious School of the ſame City, and he diſcharg'd that Office with ſo much Application and Succeſs, that he was deſir'd to come to *Franeker* in 1640, and to *Groningen* in 1642. He refus'd the firſt Call and accepted the ſecond. He made his inaugural Oration at *Groningen* the 20th of *January* 1642 *. And from that time to his Death he did ſo great Services to this Univerſity, that it paſs'd for one of the moſt flouriſhing in the Low-Countries. The Magiſtrates of *Bern* being well inform'd of his great Parts, offer'd him with great Advantages a Profeſſor's Chair of Divinity at *Lauſanne*, for which he thank'd them. The Univerſity of *Leyden* deſir'd him for the like Profeſſion in the Month of *March* 1673 †. He accepted it, but had not time to go and take Poſſeſſion of it. He died at *Groningen* the 18th of *May* of the ſame Year, leaving two Sons, of whom I (F) ſhall ſay ſomething.

I ſhall

* *Taken from his Life, printed in the Work entituled,* Effigies & vitæ Profeſſorum Academiæ Groningæ. *Printed at* Groning. *in* 1654.

† *And not in* 1675, *as Mr.* Hofman, *and after him* Konig. *affirm.*

(f) Hinc primum mihi nata eſt hæc *Synopſis Theologica*, non tam aliis, quam mihi & meis diſcipulis primitus deſtinata: etſi favorabilius publice excepta fuerit quam putaſſem, adeo ut ſæpius recudi debuerit, & in omnibus ſcholis Reformatis vel publice explicari, vel privatim proponi ſibi à viris clariſſimis in cynoſuram ſuorum Collegiorum non fere conſtans fuerit. *Mareſ. in præfat. editionis.* 1673.

the execution of this Project. The firſt Volume ſhould have contain'd all that he had publiſh'd before he went to *Groningen*; among which there had been many Pieces in Latin which had been publiſh'd only in French. The ſecond Volume ſhould have contain'd his *Opera Theologica didactica*; the third his *Opera Theologica polemica*; the fourth ſhould have had this Title, *Impietas triumphata*, and was deſign'd to contain *Hydra Socinianiſmi expugnata*, & *biga fanaticorum everſa*, & *fabula Praadamitarum refutata*. Theſe are three Works which had been Printed at ſeveral times. The Syſtem of Theology of this Author was found ſo methodical, (f) that it was us'd in other Academies, and was many times re-printed. The laſt Edition was inlarged with a great number of Notes, wherein the Author explains his Sentiments, and refutes with his ordinary heat the Cenſures of his Enemies. It was Printed at *Groningen* in 1673. If I obſerve that *Grotius* was one of thoſe whom he attack'd, 'tis only that I may have an opportunity to undeceive thoſe, who having read the *Acta eruditorum*, might think that he durſt not do it without a diſguiſe. We find in the Journal of *Leipſick* (a), that Mr. *Ittigius* cenſur'd *Matthew Pool*, who had ſaid, that *Claudius Salmaſius*, under the Name of *Simplicius Verinus*, refuted *Hugo Grotius* his Explication of ſome Paſſages of the New Teſtament which relate to Antichriſt. *Ittigius* pretends, that it was our *Mareſius*, who under the Name of *Johannes Simplicius*, refuted this Explication of *Grotius*. I have three things to ſay againſt this. 1. 'Tis very certain, that *Salmaſius* did aſſume the Name of *Simplicius Verinus* in two Works he Publiſh'd againſt *Grotius*, in 1646; but theſe Works have no reference to the Treatiſe of Antichriſt: One of them concerns the diſcuſſion of the Apology of *Andrew Rivet*, with whom *Grotius* had been for very long time at War about the Reunion of Chriſtians. The other concerns Tranſubſtantiation. The Title of the firſt is this, *Simplicii Verini ad Juſtum Pacium epiſtola, ſive judicium de libro poſthumo H. Grotii.* 2. *Mareſius* did not diſguiſe his Name when he wrote againſt *Grotius* about Antichriſt, for he put all this in the Frontiſpiece of his Book. (b) *Diſſertatio de Antichriſto, quid expenditur & refutatur nupera Commentatio ad illuſtriora eâ de re Novi Teſtamenti Loca, Il. V. Hugonis Grotii credita; ſimulque Eccleſiarum Reformatarum ſententia de Antichriſto Romano defenditur & confirmatur; authore Samuele Mareſio, S. S. Th. Doctore & Profeſſore, in Schola Illuſtri Sylvæducenſi, nec non ibidem Eccleſiæ Gallo-Belgicæ Paſtore.* 3. The Socinian Jonas Schligtingius diſguiſed himſelf under the Name of *Johannes Simplicicus* to write againſt the Treatiſe of *Grotius de Antichriſto*. This appears by the Bibliotheque of the *Antitrinitarians*, at Page 128. This was doubtleſs the Original of the Error of *Matthew Pool*, who was not rightly cenſur'd by Mr *Ittigius*. You may obſerve by the by, that the Work of the Socinian Author was

(a) Lapſum deprehendit in Matthæi Pooli Hugonis Grotii commentationem ad loca quædam Novi Teſtamenti à Salmaſio Simplicii Verini nomine reſutatam ſcribit, cum tamen Mareſio ſub Johannis Simplicii nomine refutata fuerit. *Act. Editor. Lipſ.* 1690. *pag* 213. (b) *This Work was printed in* 12mo *in* 8°.

put in the vaſt Collection which is call'd, the great Criticks Note, that *Grotius* was not ſilent with reſpect to *Mareſius*; for he Publiſh'd an *Appendix ad interpretationem locorum Novi Teſtamenti quæ de Antichriſto agunt aut agere putantur*, where he treats him very ill. He ſcorns to name him, but denotes him only by the reproachful Name of *Borboritæ* in alluſion to the *French* Word *Bourbe*, (i. e. Dirt,) which agrees very well with the Moraſſes. This *Appendix* was vigorouſly refuted by a Work which was Printed in 2 Vol. in 8°. in 1642, with this Title, *Concordia diſcors & Antichriſtus revelatus: id eſt Ill. Viri* HUGONIS GROTII *apologia pro Papa & Papiſmo quam prætextu Concordiæ inter Chriſtianos ſarciendæ, exhibet illius Appendix ad Interpretationem Locorum Novi Teſtamenti de Antichriſto, modeſte refutata duobus Libris, per Samuelem Mareſium S. Theol. Doctorem & Profeſſorem in Schola Buſcoducenſi & Eccl. Gallo-Belgicæ ibidem Miniſtrum.* It was objected (c) to *Grotius* among other things in this Reply, That he had not been cautious enough of the Rights of Kings. This ſurely is ſingular, for *Grotius* is every Day refuted (d), becauſe he hath too much ſubjected the People to the Royal Power. Why ſhould it be ſaid after this, (e) that the *Lutherans* are the only Perſons who approve the Maxims of *Grotius*, ſince here is a Calviniſt Miniſter, who thinks that *Grotius* has not ſpoke favourably enough of Monarchy. The Biſhop of (†) *Meaux* has obſerv'd the ſame thing, and many inconſequences in the Hypotheſes of *Grotius*

(E) *The Duke of* Bouillon *had married a Catholick Woman.*] This Marriage caſt *Mareſius* into a Thouſand Troubles (f). The Duke had promis'd to Abjure when he Married Mademoiſelle *de Berghes* (g), but he thought fit for many Reaſons to delay the performance of his Promiſe. That People might think his change proceeded from a Motive of Conſcience, he propos'd a Thouſand Doubts to his Miniſter, and put off the thing for four or five Years. *Mareſius* drew up a Relation of this Affair; I know not why he did not Print it: There would be ſeveral curious things in it. (h) *Dum altius in conſilia & aſtutias Jeſuitarum penetrat, quam voluiſſent, ſibi accerſivit novæ Conjugis odium ſatis vehemens, & ſenſit* DUCEM *pedetentim ad publicam Pontificiorum communionem gradum ſibi ſtruere, in quo moliendo per mille fraudes Jeſuiticas, anni* 1634, *&* 1635, *tranſacti ſunt. Intereſſet Eccleſiæ, ſpecialem Hiſtoriam iſtius defectionis, a Mareſio diligenter collectam, publici juris fieri, ut conſtaret quibus artibus Egregius alias ille Princeps, Reformatam Communionem deſeruit, & ab illo tempore, non ſine occulto Dei judicio, in illas incidit calamitates continuas, quibuſcum quoad vixit, luctatus eſt.* Mr *de Puyſegur* (i) informs us, that this Prince became a Catholick in *January* 1636, and that for ſome time it was known only to few.

(F) *Leaving two Sons of whom I ſhall ſay ſomething.*] The Eldeſt was born at *Sidan*, and was preſented to

(c) Id præſertim tolerari non poteſt in Grotio, quod ſatis aperte negat Reges eſſe inſtitutionis divinæ; quandoquidem judicibus illis eximiis, *quorum inſtitutio a Deo*, ut apparet Num. xi 16. opponit Reges, quos *voluntas primum populi reperit*. Sim. Mareſius in Antichriſto revelato *tom.* 1. *p.* 345.

(d) *See the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*, Novem. 1695. p. 127.

(e) *An Important Advice to the Refugees*, p 216, 217.

† *See his fifth Advertiſement againſt Mr* Jurieu.

(f) Ex conjugio Ducis Bullionæi cum Berghenſi Comitiſſa, eximiæ formæ & ſublimis ingenii fœmina, ſed ſupra modum Pontificia, nova fuerunt certamina illi ſuſtinenda. *Vitæ Profeſſor. Groning. p.* 148.

(g) Quam deſerturum harum nuptiarum gratia jam antea clam receperat. *Ibid.* (h) Vita Profeſſor. Groning. p 149. (i) Puyſegur's *Memoirs*; tom 1. p 135. Dutch edit.

I ſhall alſo ſay ſomething (G) of his Anceſtors. We muſt not forget that in * 1652, he was appointed ſole Miniſter to the *Walloon* Church of *Groningen*, where till then, he had Preach'd once every *Sunday*, to eaſe the Paſtor of that Church, tho' he was not obliged to it. The Academy of *Montauban* had a deſire to call him after the Death of *Garriſoles*; and likewiſe the Univerſity of *Marpurg*, when it began to be reſtor'd †. Among all the Diſputes he was engag'd in, there was none longer and hotter than that which he had (H) with Mr *Voetius*. He had one with Mr. *Daillé*, which was very hot, but it laſted not

* Vitæ Profeſſor. Groning. p. 153.

† Ibid. p. 152.

to Baptiſm by *Elizabeth* of *Naſſau*, Dutcheſs of *Bouillon* (k), who gave him the Name of *Henry*, which was that of the Prince whoſe Widow ſhe was. He ſtudied the Civil Law, and after he had taken his Licentiate's Degree, he begun to prepare himſelf for the ſtudies of the Bar in the Houſe of *Charles Des-Mareſts* his Unkle, a famous Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*. He pleaded ſome Cauſes with good ſucceſs, and yet he abandon'd all on a ſudden this Profeſſion, to conſecrate himſelf to the ſtudy of Theology, and to the Miniſtry of the Word of God. What follows is a Diſcourſe his Father made to him in an Epiſtle Dedicatory: (l) *Tu quidem, Henrice, tyrocinia poſueras ſacræ facundiæ in Auguſtiſſimo Pariſienſi foro, ubi poſt Licentiæ in utroque Jure gradum ſuſceptum, cæteras Advocati munere defungi, ſub Auſpiciis Conſultiſſimi & Ampliſſimi fratris mei. Et belle tibi prima illa publice dicendi initia proceſſiſſe, audivi ipſe ex ore Illuſtriſſimi Præſidis Belleurei, cum ad Celſiſſimos Ordines Generales Legatum extraordinarium Regis Chriſtianiſſimi ageret, ſiquidem ipſo Præſide & Judice in aliqua cauſa peroraveras & triumphaveras: adeoque poſtquam tuopte nutu, nec ſine Numine, me ab initio ob cauſas ſæculares (quid diſſimulem?) diſſuadente, & Domino Patruo tuo tandem conſentiente, animum appuliſti ad ſacra ſtudia, & corpus Juris cum corpore Scripturarum permutaſti, exemplo plerorumque virorum magnorum in veteri & renaſcente Eccleſia, omnia facultiora expertus es.* He was admitted Miniſter in 1652, and his firſt Employment was to Preach in *French* in the Academical Church of *Groningen*. In the ſame Year he was call'd to *Caſſel*, to be Miniſter there to the *French* Church. He had a Call the next Year from the *Walloon* Church of *Boſteduc*, and accepted it, tho' he was very well ſatisfied with the Court of *Heſſe*, where he receiv'd great Teſtimonies of their Goodneſs and Eſteem (m). He ſerv'd the Church of *Boſteduc*, untill he accepted that of *Delft* in 1662. Since that time he has been fix'd at *Delft* (n), where he has acquir'd the Eſteem of every body. He refus'd in 1669, the Call he had from the *Walloon* Church of *Leyden*. *Daniel* DES-MARESTS his younger Brother, was born at *Maeſtricht* in 1635. After he was admitted to be a Miniſter, he was Collegue to his Father in the *French* Church of *Groningen*, untill the Year 1656. After which he was call'd to *Middleburg*, and ſerv'd the *French* Church there, untill he had a Call from that to the *Hague* in 1662. His Wit, Eloquence, and Judgment, and in a word, his great Merit, procur'd him ſo great an Eſteem at the Court of the Prince of *Orange*, that one might very verily ſay, that he was in favour. The Throne of *England* to which this Prince was advanc'd in 1689, added a new Luſtre to the favour this Miniſter continu'd ſtill to enjoy, and which he ſtill enjoys to this Day in the Glorious and agreeable Retirement of *Houtſlaerdyke*. His Health not permitting him to continue in the exerciſe of his Miniſtry, he retir'd to this fine Houſe, where he ſpends his time in ſuch Employments as are uſeful and agreeable to H. B. M. Theſe two Gentlemen have been concern'd in the Edition of the Bible which is call'd *Mareſius*'s, wherein the Bookſeller *Elzevier* ſpar'd no coſt for the beauty of the Letter and Paper. Their Father on his part undertook with great Labour to adorn this Edition with Notes, wherein he was aſſiſted by his two Sons. I add, that they publiſh'd (o) "A curious Hiſtory of the "Life, Behaviour and true Sentiments of *John* "*Labbadie*, with a modeſt refutation of the Declaration, Publiſh'd in the form of a Manifeſto by "the ſaid *Labbadie*, to juſtifie his Deſigns and "ſchiſmatical Reſolutions, which were the juſt "cauſe of his Depoſition.

(k) Sam. Mareſius epiſt. dedicatoria 3 editionis Syſtematis Theologici.

(l) Id. ib.

(m) Sylvæ ducenſes——te, Henrice, ad ſe evocarunt Caſſellis, ubi in aula Sereniſſimi Principis Lantgravii (à quo & ægre dimiſſus es, nec ſine ſpecialibus benevolentiæ & beneficentiæ ſuarum Serenitatum teſtimoniis) linguâ Gallicâ fungebaris miniſterio ſacro, ferme à tempore tuæ hîc ad illud ordinationis. *Mareſius ubi ſupra.*

(n) *I writ this the 4th of* February 1696.

(o) *At the* Hague, *in* 1675, *in* 12°.

(p) Vitæ Profeſſor. Groning. p. 134.

(G) *Something of his Anceſtors.*] They had conſiderable Offices in *Picardy*. (c) *Mareſii inter ſuos Maſſ[illegible] Depoſitos Præfectos, Gamachienſeſque Caſtellanos, Pontivi nuncupare; nec ita pridem* Davidis *patruelis, Brillac in Armorica, Sardinio Gubernatore, Propræfectum egit.* Vaucquetiorum *vero familia, totâ Picardia nota eſt. Verum in eo potiſſimum ſolet* Mareſius *gloriari, quod ex parentibus ſit ortus piis & probis, ac Religioni puriori ſub Βρέφος addictiſſimis.* The Titles and Offices of *David* DES-MARESTS the Father of *Samuel*, were as follows. (d) *Pater ei fuit Ampliſſ. & Conſultiſſimus* David Deſmareſts *Dominus du Feret, Avimontii ejuſque Commendæ Prætor ſive Juridicus ordinarius, Baronatus item Chepienſis, Sancti Mauentii aliorumque pagorum Judex Civilis & Criminalis; in Regia Præfectura Vimacenſi Juriſconſultus & cauſarum Actor eximius, & Notarius Regius, Regiſque Chriſtianiſſimi, Rerum Maritimarum in Occiduo Mari Commiſſarius; eoque nomine gaudens eadem immunitate à Tributis ordinariis quâ Nobiles.* He Married in 1588 to *Magdalen Vaucquet*, the Daughter of a conſiderable Man (e), and very zealous for the Reform'd Church, and died in 1649. His Widow was ſtill alive in 1654. *Lambert* DES-MARESTS the Father of *David*, was very zealous for the ſame Religion. *Lambertus Davidis pater, Civis Blangiacenſis honoratus & opulentus, Senior fuit in Eccleſia Domeſtica Principis Porciani, ſub auſpiciis Reformationis* (f).

(d) Ibid.

(e) Johannes Vaucquetius Magdalenæ pater, Prætor Sanmanvizii Fontiumque, & Juris patrii conſultiſſimus in Præfectura Vimacenſi, atque Regius Notarius, itidem columen fuit inter ſuos Eccleſiæ Reformatæ; quem Mareſius recordatur ſe admodum puerum vidiſſe, venerandâ canitie ſenem, natum 93. vel 94. annos, integris mentis & corporis viribus ſacra noſtra frequentantem. *Ibid.*

(f) Ibid.

(H) The Diſpute *he had with* Voetius] It begun in 1642. *Voetius* had publiſh'd a Diſputation, *de idololatria indirecta*, wherein he blam'd the Conduct of the Magiſtrates of *Boſteduc*, concerning a fraternity of the Virgin ſettled in their City for ſome Ages. They had (g) oblig'd the Roman Catholicks to admit into it the Proteſtants, after they had taken away the Ceremonies, which the Reform'd Church could not allow. *Voetius* maintain'd, that the Proteſtant Magiſtrates ought not to tolerate ſuch Fraternities, and that private Perſons who enter'd themſelves into them did very ill. *Mareſius*, who was at this time Profeſſor in the *Schola Illuſtris* of *Boſteduc*, was deſir'd to write an Apology for the Magiſtrates who tolerated the Fraternity of the Virgin, and enter'd themſelves into it. His Book was Printed in 1642 with this Title, *Defenſio Pietatis & Sinceritatis Optimatum Sylvæducenſium, in negotio Sodalitatis quæ à B. Virgine nomen habet, teſtibus veritate & charitate.* A little while after there appear'd a Book † of *Voetius*, entitled, *Specimen aſſertionum partim ambiguarum aut lubricarum, partim periculoſarum, ex tractatu nuperrime ſcripto pro ſodalitatibus B. Mariæ inter Reformatos erigendis aut interpolandis, titulo*, Defenſio pietatis & ſinceritatis, *&c.* Theſe were the firſt Acts of Hoſtility on both ſides, and after this there was no means of getting off; for the Combatants had not only joyn'd Battle, but there was alſo Blood ſpilt between them.

(g) *See the Life of* Deſcartes *written by Mr.* Baillet, *tom.* 2. *p.* 180, &c.

† *Tus in* 4°.

(h) *Ubi ſanguine bellum*
Imbuit, & primæ commiſit funera pugnæ,
Deſerit Heſperiam, & cæli convexa per auras,
Junonem victrix affatur voce ſuperba:
En perfecta tibi bello diſcordia triſti:
Dic, in amicitiam coëant, & fœdera jungant.
Quandoquidem Auſonio reſperſi ſanguine Teucros.

The Battle grew hot, and the Combatants did often charge one another. *Mareſius* who had only (i) Skirmiſhed in the Years 1643, and 1644, gave Battle in 1645. This is the Title of the Book he publiſh'd. Samuelis Mareſii *Theologi Ultima patientia tandem expugnata* à D. G. Voetio *Ultrajectino Profeſſore & quibuſdam illius aſſeclis; ſive Modeſta & neceſſaria defenſio tripartita, tum ſui ipſius, tum eâ occaſione cauſæ Procerum Sylvæducenſium & Decretorum Ordinum circa illam, ipſi extortæ variâ ac longâ contumeliarum ſerie, ac præſertim nupero libello famoſo, Belgicè edito, & inſcripto,* Kort ende oprecht verhael, *&c.* The Profeſſor of *Utrecht* did ſcarce appear in the Field of Battle (k); but he ſent thither either his Son or his Friends: The Profeſſor of *Groningen* nevertheleſs continue to ſtrike directly at the Father. You may underſtand how things ſtood, after the War had laſted as long as the Siege of *Troy*;

(i) *See thoſe skirmiſhes in the Appendix of the* Tribunal iniquum, *p.* 151, 152.

(k) *He appear'd perſonally in it in* 1648, *at the beginning of his* 1ſt *Vol. of Theological Diſputations. See the long Preface to that Volume.*

not long. I ſay ſomething of it elſewhere *. If I be not miſtaken the laſt Adverſary whom he wrote againſt, was *Wittichius* a great *Carteſian* and Profeſſor of Divinity. Our *Mareſius* cannot be ſufficiently commended for his Zeal againſt the Enthuſiaſts, and the foretellers of great Revolutions. He baffled *Comenius* †, *Labadie* and the *Millenarian Serarius* (*l*). The Extracts I ſhall give out of the Book wherein he refuted this *Millenarian*, will be acceptable to Men of good Senſe. He did a great

* *In the Article* Daillé *Remark K and L.*

† *See the Remarks F. and G. of the Article* Comenius.

Troy; I ſay, you may underſtand it by the Book which *Mareſius* publiſh'd in 1652, with this Title, *Auctarium primum Bibliothecæ Theologicæ* D. Gisberti Voetii *nuper recuſæ cum virulentâ præfatione; continens*, 1. *Summariam deductionem litis decennalis quæ ipſi cum* Samuele Mareſio, *licet pacem & amneſtiam ſemper deprecante, hactenus interceſſit.* 2. *Vindicias Conditionum Amneſtiæ & Reconciliationis partibus oblatarum, à R. R. Deputatis Synodi Groning. Omlandicæ, ab hoc admiſſarum & ab illo rejectarum.* 3. *Conditiones iniquiſſimas & impracticabiles, ab ipſo* D. Voetio *pro imperio præſcriptas; Ad ejus pertinax odium & animum invincibiliter irreconciliabilem toti Belgio demonſtrandum.* 'Tis a Book in 8°. It is believ'd, that this Quarrel which laſted eighteen Years, had never ended but with the Death of the Parties, if a common Intereſt had not induc'd them to come to an Agreement, that they might unite all their Forces againſt a Party of Divines (*l*), who were as odious to the Profeſſor of *Groningen* as to him of *Utrecht*. It was obſervable in this Diſpute, that on the one ſide the Curators of the Univerſity of *Groningen*, and on the other, the Magiſtrates of *Utrecht* offer'd their Mediation to the Parties, and that they having accepted it, at firſt it was order'd there ſhould be a Ceſſation of all acts of Hoſtility during the Treaty of Peace. After this, they conſulted about the Preliminaries, and the Mediators diſpatch'd ſeveral Couriers to agree about the Time and Place wherein the Conferences ſhould be held, and upon the choice of the Deputies Plenipotentiaries. All this was labour in vain, becauſe during theſe Preliminaries, the Party of *Utrecht* broke the Truce, having publiſh'd a very injurious Book againſt *Mareſius*. The forcible carrying away of the Prince of *Furſtemberg* did not more diſſolve the Conferences about the General Peace which was treated at *Cologne* in 1674, than this Book did the Project of Peace between theſe two Profeſſors. If you would ſee my Proofs in the Original, you need only read what follows. (*m*) *Caduceum injicere conati ſunt Nobiliſſimi & Ampliſſimi hujus Academiæ p. t. Curatores .. Scripſerunt eum in finem Ultrajectum, & ſtipulati ſunt ut interim dum ipſi convenirent cum Delegatis quibuſdam ex N. N. & A. A. illo Magiſtratu ad totum negotium componendum, armiſtitium bonâ fide ſervaretur, nec quicquam* directe vel indirecte, mediate vel immediate *ultra emitteretur. Sed vix dum in has conditiones N. N. & A. A Magiſtratus Ultrajectinus, recommunicatâ cum* D. Voetio *& ſuis bonâ fide conſenſerat, & adhuc de loco, tempore & perſonis conventus præliminariter agebatur per Tabellarios hinc inde inter Proceres utroſque miſſos, cum ecce novus interim libellus convitioſus & famoſus, ſub nomine Cibabanæi, contra fidem publicam in me Ultrajecti prodiit.*

(*l*) *Thoſe who are call'd*, Cocceians. Mareſius, de ſtatu afflicto ſtudii Theologici, p. 3. *calls it* factionem Carteſio-Loveſteniano-Remonſtranticam.

(*m*) Mareſius in Præfatione Theologi paradoxi retecti & refutati. *This Book was printed at* Groningen *in* 1649.

This Quarrel being one of the (*a*) moſt remarkable that has been ſeen between two Proteſtant Divines, and having produc'd more Books than can be imagin'd, I deſign'd to give the whole Hiſtory of it, with a Chronological Catalogue of all the Writings it produc'd; but I found that this undertaking requir'd fuller Inſtructions, and deeper Enquiries than I could afford, and that it would fill up too many Pages; and therefore I leave it to thoſe that write Eccleſiaſtical Annals, or the *Hiſtoria Literaria* of the XVIIth Century, and ſhall conclude this Remark with a thing which I know not well how to Circumſtantiate. I have heard in *France* from many People, that (*b*) Jeſuit publiſh'd a Book, which contain'd nothing but the Reproaches which theſe two famous Profeſſors divulged one againſt another, and that he concluded after this manner: "Altho' it were "ſuppos'd, that two thirds of theſe Accuſati-"ons were falſe on both ſides, yet the other "third being true, renders theſe two Writers "worthy of corporal Puniſhment, who yet pro-"teſted, during the progreſs of this Quarrel, that "they wiſh'd a good Reconciliation." I found no Body in *Holland* who knew of ſuch a Book; and ſome People, worthy of Credit in theſe Matters, told me, that there never was any ſuch Book. But at laſt Mr. *Grævius* inform'd me, that a Jeſuit of the Low-Countries had publiſh'd a Collection of this nature.

(*a*) *Concerning its Origin ſee Letter* 463 *of* Voſſius.

(*b*) *Some ſaid he was call'd* James Tirinus; *but that is falſe. He died before the beginning of this Quarrel. Thoſe who ſaid ſo, ſeem'd to have this ground for it, That* Mareſius *having publiſh'd two Volumes againſt* James Tirinus, *had probably provoked him.*

(*l*) *The* Millenarian Serarius. *The Extracts I ſhall give.*] *Peter* (*c*) *Serarius* Publiſh'd a Book in 1663, wherein he declar'd, that the Conjunction of the Planets in the ſign of *Sagittarius* foretold great Revolutions. The ſame News was publiſh'd in many other *Latin* and *French* Books. *Mareſius* refuted this Pretenſion in ſome *Theſes* which he maintain'd. *Serarius* wrote againſt theſe *Theſes*, which oblig'd *Mareſius* to publiſh (*d*) a Book which he entitul'd, *Chiliaſmus enervatus*, and which contains, beſides theſe *Theſes*, three Diſcourſes againſt one part of the Anſwer of *Serarius*. He Dedicated this Book to his Adverſary, and prudently repreſented to him, that the Doctrine of the *Chiliaſts* render'd the Reform'd Religion odious to the ſupreme Powers; for ſince they pretend, that the Proſperity of the Church depends upon the deſtruction of all temporal Powers, they excite the People to Inſurrections, that they may bring in the golden Age of Chriſtianity, or the Reign of a Thouſand Years. He repreſents to him the Seditions that had been rais'd in *England* by the Doctrine of the fifth Monarchy Men, and the mortification the *Chiliaſts* had lately had by ſeeing all the Hopes they had grounded upon the difference between *France* and the Pope vaniſh into nothing by the Peace of *Piſa*. The Affront done to the Duke of *Crequi* at *Rome* in 1662, provok'd very much his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: He ſent ſome Troops into *Italy*, and then the credulous People, chiefly the *Millenarians*, doubted not but the Beaſt in the *Revelation* was ſuddenly to be deſtroy'd, and they could not refrain from publiſhing their Hopes: And ſo the Treaty of *Piſa*, which ended this Difference, without any effuſion of Blood, or any real damage to the Court of *Rome*, was like a clap of Thunder to them. *Mareſius* takes care to put his Adverſary in mind of this terrible Mortification. He obſerves, that it had been publiſh'd at *London* in 1656, that *Rome* would be deſtroy'd in 1666, and that the Day of Judgment ſhould happen in 1711. Many People flatter'd themſelves, that the War which was deſign'd in *France* againſt *Alexander* VII. to revenge the Affront done to the Duke of *Crequi*, the Ambaſſador of this Crown, would verifie the firſt Article of the Prediction: Judge then whether the Peace of *Piſa* was acceptable to them. What he ſays concerning the conjunction of the Planets in *Sagittarius*, is curious, which happen'd on the 11th of *December* 1662. A *Dutch* Author, following the obſervations of the Aſtrologer *Theodorus Hoen*, affirm'd, that the like Conjunction had not been ſeen ſince that which was in the ſign (*e*) of *Aquarius*, in the time of *Noah*'s Deluge. *Serarius* building on this *Dutch* Book, and another that appear'd in *Germany*, wrote a Latin Diſcourſe to ſhow, that the Conjunction of the Planets in *Sagittarius*, the laſt ſign of the fiery Trigon, *ignæ triplicitatis*, being well conſider'd with all its Circumſtances, *Antecedents* and *Conſequents*, foretold the approaching coming of JESUS CHRIST for the Converſion of the *Jew*, the Ruin of the Pope, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Millenary Kingdom. *Mareſius* refutes him ſolidly, and obſerves, that according to *Alſtedius*, this Monarchy ſhall begin in 1694, and according to *Theodorus Hoen*, the Conjunction in *Sagittarius* was to produce the univerſal Conflagation. He laughs at this, and ſays, that *Sagittarius* cannot paſs for fiery Sign, but becauſe it obliges People to keep good Fires in their Houſes that they may not be a cold; and he obſerves, that at the time of this Conjunction, it was a terrible Froſt for many Weeks. And whereas *Serarius* ſaid, that the Conjunction which was in the ſame Sign, *October* 9 1663, did ſtill produce its bad Effects; *Mareſius* anſwers him pleaſantly, That 'tis very ſtrange it has

(*c*) *I ſhall ſay ſomething of him at the end of this Remark.*

(*d*) *In the Year* 1664.

(*e*) *According to* Serarius *who built upon the ſame* Hoen, *and upon the Tables of Conjunctions. It happen'd in the ſign of* Piſces.

a great (*K*) injury to the *Janſeniſts*, without thinking of it, by declaring that their Opinions were the ſame with thoſe of the Reform'd. His Reputation gave him great Authority even in foreign Countries; inſomuch that one who had written a Book very (*L*) ſevere againſt him, was order'd to ſuppreſs it.

* Proſper Mandoſius in Biblioth. Romana, centur. 5. n 66.

MARGARIN (CORNELIUS) Abbot of Mount *Caſſin*, and *Archiviſt* General of the Order, was one of the greateſt Compilers that liv'd in the XVIIth Century. He was born in 1605, and died *February* 11th 1681 *. The Works which he Publiſh'd gave but an imperfect Idea of his indefatigable Induſtry. To make a true Repreſentation of it, we muſt join to that which is Printed, (*A*) that which is not as yet Publiſh'd.

MARGARET; Queen of *Navarre*. See NAVARRE.

MARIANA

not yet diſcharg'd all its Poiſon, *mirum eſt ejus virus nondum defecbuſſe*. He adds, that *Serarius* was a good Friend to *Paul Felgenhawer*, who Printed a Book (*f*) in 1655, wherein he aſſumes to himſelf more than once a prophetick Spirit, and promiſes the *Jews* all ſorts of good News. But he does not agree with the Author of a Piece entituled, *Judæorum excitabulum matutinum, ſive Judæus redux*, wherein 'tis affirm'd, that the Converſion of the *Jews* ſhall begin in 1664, and that it ſhall quickly after be follow'd with their return into *Paleſtine*, where they ſhall live moſt deliciouſly above all other People in the World.

(*f*) *At* Amſterdam. *It was entituled*, Bonus nuncius Iſrael

REVOLUTIONS of Religion hoped for by the *Mahometans*.

When I conſider'd this multitude of Chriſtian Doctors, who have foretold for ſo many Ages a great Revolution of the Faith, I was curious to know whether there were not ſuch kind of People in other Religions; and among other things I find that there are ſome *Mahometans* who leave Legacies (*g*) to an unknown Prophet, who is to come and deliver the World from the tyranny of Antichriſt: And the *Perſians* believe, that *Mahomet Mahadi*, the Son of *Haſſen*, ſecond Son of *Ali*, is not dead, but lies hid in ſome place, from whence he ſhall come forth one Day and refute all Errors, and re-unite all Men in the ſame Belief. He will Preach on Horſe-back, and begin to do it in the City of *Mazadel*, where there is always a Horſe kept ready for him (*h*). This in ſome things reſembles the Opinion of many Chriſtians concerning the Prophet *Elias*. We need not wonder that the *Mahometans* believe ſuch Chimera's, ſince the Prince of *Baſſora* can perſuade them that he is the chief favourite of *Mahomet*, and that his Credit is ſo great with that Prophet, that by his Letters of Exchange, he can procure the Bearers ſuch or ſuch a Place in Paradiſe. There is a Bank in his Houſe for the diſpatch of theſe Letters; he ſigns a Policy, by which the Poſſeſſion of a certain place in Heaven is acquir'd, that is more or leſs advantageous, in proportion to the ſum that is pay'd him. (*i*) *Il prencipe di Baſſora pretende eſſer de' Confidenti di Maometto, e haver maggior autorita degl' altri, in vertu della quale concede à gente ſimplice pezze di cielo, ſegnando polize di cambio da tanto e tal ſito nel Paradiſo, ſecondo il danaro che ne riceve.*

(*g*) Ne teſtamenti ſi fanno legati à certo profeta incognito, che deve venir liberar il mondo dalla tirannide del Anticriſto. *Giornale de' Letterati, March* 31. 1673. *p.* 33 *in the Extract of the* Voyage to the Indies, *by Father* F. Vincenzo Maria *of St.* Catharine *of* Siena, *Procurator General of the* Carmelites.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid.

WE will in a few words acquaint the Reader who this *Petrus Serarius*, or *Serrurier* was, againſt whom *Mareſius* wrote. I find at p. 297, of a Book (*k*) Printed in 1670, that he was *lately dead* and that above forty Years before he was depos'd from the Miniſtry for the fanatical Errors of *Swenckfeldius*, to which he was wholly addicted; that he Publiſh'd a ſmall Piece in favour of *Labadie*, in 1669, and entitul'd it *Examen Synodorum*, and addreſs'd it to the *Walloon* Synod; and that at the beginning of this Book he call'd himſelf *A Miniſter of the Goſpel of the Univerſal Church*, and that he was a Man who Communicated with no Church.

(*k*) *Entituled*, Modeſte relevation de la declaration en forme de Manifeſte *Publiſh'd by* John *Labadie*.

(*K*) *A great injury to the* Janſeniſts.] In 1651, he Publiſh'd a Book in 4°. with this Title, *Synopſis veræ Catholicæque doctrinæ de Gratia & annexis ejus articulis; propoſita partim libello quo anno ſuperiore à Janſenſtis in Communione Romana Gallicæ proaret ſub hoc titulo*, Catechiſmus Gratiæ, *& poſtea recuſus fuit ſub alio*, Elucidationes quarundam difficultatum de gratia; *partim breviter, ad illarum Scholas Theologicis*. The next Year there was publiſh'd at *Paris* a little Book written by the Jeſuits, and entitul'd, "The *Janſenſts* "own'd for *Calviniſts* by *Samuel Mareſius*, Doctor "and chief Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſi- "ty of *Groningen*, and Miniſter in ordinary of the "Academical Church, in his Latin Verſion of "the Catechiſm of Grace of the *Janſenſts*, Print- "ed at *Groningen* in 1651." The Author of this Book inſerted the Preface which *Mareſius* put before his *Synopſis*, and took advantage of all that he has obſerv'd, to ſhow, that in the Doctrines about Grace, and thoſe that are concomitant, the Opinions of the *Janſeniſts* are the ſame with thoſe of *Calvin*. From that time few Books appear'd againſt the *Janſeniſts*, wherein this Agreement, which the Profeſſor of *Groningen* had own'd between them and his Sect, was not objected to them. This gave a great deal of trouble, and did great prejudice to theſe Gentlemen, which made them write bitterly againſt him. Mr. *Daillé* put him in mind of it in the Defence of the Apology for the National Synods of *Alençon* and *Charenton*. (*a*) *Hoc ne ſciat, narro illi iſtos, quos tantopere prædicat Janſenianos, quos* cordatos *dicit, quos* graviſſimos argumentatores *cenſet, hos inquam ipſos narro jam ante quadriennium tres libellos longe ſacerrimos ac nequiſſimos, convitiis & maledictis prodigioſis refertos, contra ipſum edidiſſe; in quibus, quod credo, auſus eſſet iis male palpari: ita ferociter recalcitrant, ut nihil mitius cogitaſſe videantur, quam ut laudatorem hunc ſuum miſere diſcerperent ac laniarent. Scin' tu quas ei pro ſuis laudibus grates reddant? Quibus elogiis virum talibus pro meritis exornent?* (1) Virulenriſſimum ſcriptorem *vocant*; artis diabolicæ multoties convictum, hominem frontis ad omne mendacium proſtitutæ, Theologaſtrum, Sophiſtam, Sycophantam dira calumniandi libidine citra modum ac legem efferatum, protervum, ominoſum convitiatorem, audaciſſimum impoſtorem, fanaticum vatem. *Piget plura de teterrimis iſtorum convitiatorum venenis dicere. Hos ſuos rabioſiſſimos ac maledicentiſſimos obtrectatores, pro laudibus, quibus immerentes afficerat, turpiſſima probra rependentes, & plenis in eum plauſtris effundentes habet tamen Epicrita pro* cordatis, gravibuſque *diſputatoribus* (*b*). The ſame Apology informs us (*c*) 1. That *David Blondel* wrote to *Mareſius*, and blam'd him for meddling with the Diſputes between the *Janſeniſts* and Jeſuits. 2. That the *Janſeniſt* (*d*) who treated *Mareſius* ſo very ill, had forged a Lye, *viz.* That the Miniſters of *Charenton* had urg'd him of *Groningen*, to own the Diſciples of *Janſenius* for Orthodox, on purpoſe to render them odious to the Jeſuits, and to be reveng'd for the Reproaches the *Janſeniſts* had publiſh'd againſt *Labadie*. Mr. *Daille* anſwers, that thoſe who are accus'd of this Trick, are ſo innocent of it, that they would have counſell'd their Brother of *Groningen* with all their heart, never to engage in that Quarrel, but to leave the two Parties to diſpute it out. *Quæ quam falſo, quamque mendaciter conficta ſint, nemo ſcire vel teſtari melius atque certius poteſt, quam Epicrita, qui ſui in eduudis illa Janſenianæ catechiſeos cenſura conſilii unus ſibi optime conſcius eſt. Nos quidem, quos fabulator totius rei auctores fuiſſe fingit, tantum ab eo quod iſte commiſcetur, abfuiſſe novit Deus, ut Epicritam, ſi nos ille conſuluiſſet etiam à ſcribendo deterreturi fuerimus, ſuaſuriique ut bene compoſitos cum ſuis Bacchios inter ſe dimicatiari, dignuſque utrimque Romano ſupercilio iris ac ictibus lacerari ſineret; neve quos certandi rixandique æſtus ac libido tam commode commiſcrat, eos intempeſtivo ſuo divelſos in ſe provocaret, atque converteret ac).*

(*d*) *'Tis Mr.* Hermant, *who diſguiſed himſelf under the Name of* Hieronymus ab Angelo forti.

(*e*) Dallæus ibid. p. 133. Altingius.

(*f*) *See the fifth Tome of the Works of* Pag. 393

(*a*) Dallæus, in Viniciis Apologiæ pro duabus Synodis, parte 1. c. 6. p. 130, 131.

(1) Hier. ab Angelo forti Epiſt. 1. *a.* D. 1654. edita p. 14, 15.

(*b*) *Mr.* Daillé *at page* 428 *of the ſame Book ſpeaks thus*: Ex his ſuis laboribus nihil ad eum pro exſpectatis triumphis rediiſſe vidimus, quam à Romanis quidem librorum cenſoribus eam notam, de qua non erat, quod hic tantopere gloriaretur, Janſenianis vero tria convitiorum & maledictorum plauſtra, quæ in eum ab Hieronymo illo perſonato, de quo alibi ſupra diximus, tota plaudente caterva fundi inviti ac dolentes ſpectavimus.

(*c*) Page 428.

MARIANA (JOHN) Born at *Talavera*, in the Dioceſs of *Toledo*, turn'd Jeſuit *January* 1. 1554. When he was a Student at *Complutum*, being ſeventeen Years old. He became one of the ableſt Men of his Age; a great Divine, a great Humaniſt, one of a profound Skill in Eccleſiaſtical and Prophane Hiſtory, a good *Grecian*, and learned in the Holy Tongue. He went to *Rome* in 1561, and taught there Theology. At the end of four Years he went into *Sicily*, and taught there for two Years. He came to *Paris* in 1569, and there explain'd *Thomas Aquinas* for the ſpace of five Years. His Health would not ſuffer him to continue, but oblig'd him to follow ſuch Studies as were leſs laborious. He return'd into *Spain* in 1574, and ſpent the reſt of his time at *Toledo*. He died there *February* 17th 1624, (*A*) being 87 Years of Age. The Inquiſition made uſe of him in many Affairs of importance; but for his part he ſtood in need of Patience (*B*), and of great Courage not to ſink under the ſevere trials of Adverſity *. What is obſerv'd of his (*C*) Chaſtity, is altogether ſingular.

* *Taken from* Nathanael Sotuel, Biblioth. Scriptor. Societat. p. 477.

(*g*) Proſper Mandoſius, Biblioth. Romana, centur. 5. n. 66. p. 332.

(*h*) Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Hiſpan. *tom.* 1. *p.* 561.

(*i*) Bernardin. Giraldus Patavinus, in Apologia pro Senatu Veneto, *dated at* Padua *Decem.* 1. 1634.

(*k*) Alegambe *and* Sotuel *mention it in the Article of* Mariana. Don Nicolas Antonio *does not mention it in the long Catalogue he has given of the Writings of* Thomaius *printed and to be printed. He calls him* Tamajus.

(*l*) *Mr.* Teſſier Biblioth. Bibliothecar. p. 308. *&* 385. *calls him* Tamaus.

(*m*) Alegambe, p. 258. Sotuel, p. 477.

(*n*) *See the new Letters*, p. 685.

(2) Caſtitatis cultor ſtudioſiſſimus, cujus aliquis effectus eſſe potuerit quod mortuo manus fuerint ita tractabiles ac ſi viveret. (*a*) Lyſerus, Polygamia triumphatrix, p. 314. (*b*) *Thus this Author calls the Roman Catholicks, as if they held the Holy Virgin for the head of their Reli-*

corroborazione della verita di un inſtrumento conſervante la famiglia de Capizucchi. Bullarium Caſinenſe in 2 Tomes. *Inſcriptiones antiquæ Baſilicæ ſancti Pauli de Urbe. Dictionarium Longobardicum.* His unprinted Works are a large undigeſted Collection of Papers, which make eight Volumes, that are kept in the Vatican. The Title of them is this, *Theſaurus Hiſtoricus ſacræ & politicæ veritatis in S. R E. Agro ipſis Autographis monumentis à veruſtiſſimis antiquitatum latibulis per diurna ſæcula abſconditus, in tomos octo diſtributus, & ad ſanctiſſimos Innocentii XI. P. M. pedes ea quæ decet veneratione & alacritate humillime depoſitus, per D. Cornelium Margarinum Abbatem Caſinenſem, ad certam Chronologiæ normam juxta Indictionum rationem ipſa teſtante veritate expoſitus* (*g*).

(*A*) *February the* 17*th* 1624, *being* 87 *Years of Age.*] *Don Nicolas Antonio* who had read all this in *Alegambe*, does nevertheleſs affirm (*h*), that *Mariana* died *February* 17, 1623. Aged 90 Years. As to this I truſt more to the Jeſuits, who have compil'd the *Bibliotheque* of their Order, than either to him, or *Bernardin Giraldi* (*i*), who affirms, that *Mariana* died in 1632, Aged 96 Years. *Jeſuitarum quos ætas noſtra vidit annoſiſſimus, qui abhinc biennium pie obiit diem ſuum nonagintæ ſex annos natus.*

(*B*) *For his part he ſtood in need of Patience.*] If I could have conſulted his Life written (*k*) by *Thomas Thomains* (*l*) *de Vargas*, Hiſtoriographer to the King of *Spain*, I could doubtleſs have given here the detail of the Perſecutions which *Mariana* endur'd; but I can now only ſay theſe words of two Jeſuits; (*m*) *Ipſe viciſſim multa perpeſſus adverſa, admirabili animi æquitate, & omnium virtutum documento ſe malis ſuperiorem eſſe probavit. Exercitam ſenectutem Toleti produxit uſque ad diem* XVII. *Februarii anni Domini* MDCXXIV. Add to this Paſſage what they will tell us hereafter, when I ſhall ſpeak of the Book about the alteration of Money.

(*C*) *Of his Chaſtity, is altogether ſingular.*] Thoſe who have read the new Letters of the Animadverter upon *Maimbourg*, have ſeen there this ſingularity expreſs'd after this manner, "(*n*) You "are not like to believe this, nor perhaps that "which *F. Alegambe* teſtifies of the Jeſuit *Mariana*, "who died in 1624, after he had liv'd almoſt 9 "Years in the moſt exact Chaſtity; from whence "perhaps it came to paſs, adds the Hiſtorian, "that his (2) Hands were as ſupple and pliable "after his Death, as if he had been alive. I con"feſs freely that I ſee no Connexion between "theſe two things." I believe with him, that it would be a difficult thing to give a natural Reaſon of ſuch an effect of Charity; and as to miraculous Reaſons, I know not upon what Ground or Analogy they can be founded, unleſs perhaps upon the Argument of Contraries, and that in Conſequence of a Monkiſh Tradition, which lays it down for a certain Truth, that all thoſe who have had to do with Nuns, are accuſed after their Death, and convicted of this Action by the —— which is obſerv'd in that part which had been made uſe of to commit the Sin. (*a*) *Notabile eſt quod Mariani* (*b*) *dicunt, eum qui ſpurium ex moniali procrearit, ſingulariſſime à Deo poſt mortem puniri, uti celeberrimus Medicus* Leonellus Faventinus c. 7. ſecundæ partis Practicæ Medicinalis *hoc myſterium naturæ aperuit*, Qui coit, *inquiens*, cum Monachâ vel moniali, quando talis moritur, remanet virga ejus tenſa, *Unde dicitur in carmine apud vulgares:*

Qui monacha potitur, virgâ tendente moritur.

Cujus & meminit Wolfgangus Hildebrandus Mag. Nat. l. 1. c. 31. p. 34. Erford. impreſſ. 16. 22. *Et fortean etiam moniales ſtupratæ poſt mortem peculiari ſigno notantur, quod honoris & pudoris ergo reticetur. Certe ſi miracula hæc quotidie contingerent pauciores ſpurii invenirentur.* The words of *Leonel Faventinus*, which I have now related, were cited by *Henry Kornann* in Chap. 67 of the 4th Part of the Miracles of the Dead.

I will obſerve upon this occaſion ſome very notable ſingularities which are to be found in *Alegambe* about the Chaſtity of certain Jeſuits. He ſays, that Father *Gil*, who died in 1622, Aged 73 Years, knew not any Woman by her Face, ſuch a ſtrict watch did he keep over his Senſes that they ſhould not fix upon theſe Objects. He was afraid of himſelf, and could not endure to touch himſelf; and he thank'd God that he had a bad ſight, becauſe this furniſh'd him with a good Remedy to preſerve Chaſtity. (*c*) *Erat ſeveriſſimus ſuorum ſenſuum cuſtos: nullam tot annis fœminam de facie noverat: ſe quoque ipſum attingere quodammodo horrebat. Agebat Deo gratias pro hebetata ſibi acie oculorum; ex quo multa commoda caſtimoniæ perſentiſceret.* Father *Coſterus* declar'd, (*d*) that his Chaſtity was never overcome by any irregular motion, nor by any obſcene Imagination. Father *Coton* who was Confeſſor to a very lewd Prince, and whoſe Court follow'd the Maxim, *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*, died a Maid, and preſerv'd his inward Chaſtity in ſuch a manner, that he had a horror for every thing that might be offenſive to this Virtue; and he had ſo nice a Smell in this reſpect, that if the Perſons who came near him had violated the Laws of Chaſtity, they would produce in him the ſmell of an intolerable ſtink. (*e*) *Caſtitatem impenſe coluit, & Virgitatis decus ad extremum uſque obtinuit. Senſus fœnabat accuratâ cuſtodiâ, & horrore quodam impuritatis; quam etiam in iis qui ſe illa fœdaſſent, ex gravolentiâ neſcio qua diſcernebat.* Father *Spiga*, who died in the Year 1594, Aged 74 Years, was accounted a Maid, he had never look'd upon any Woman. He knew not how to diſtinguiſh his own Nieces one from another, altho' he had been their Confeſſor, and he would never enter into their Houſe for any thing in the World, when he knew they were alone. (*f*) *Caſtitatis tuendæ, nunquam fœminas intuitus eſt. Neptes ſuas, quas crebro confitentes audierat, inter ſe diſtinguere neſciebat; ad illas, ſi domi ſolæ eſſent, non poterat induci ut intraret, quantiscunque momenti negotio urgeretur. Opinio conſtans fuit, Virginitatis illi decus uſque ad extremum conſtitiſſe.* I wonder that *Alegambe* ſhould not know what is related of *Poſſevin* the Jeſuit, "That being to read "*Tibullus* upon account of his fine Latin, he "pray'd to God with his Knees upon the Ground, "that the Verſes of this Poet about Love might "not inſpire him with Love. Mr *Menage*, (*g*) who relates this, ſays juſt before, "That he "heard Father *Sirmond* ſay, that having read the "Judgment which *Photius* gave of the Romance "of *Achilles Statius*, by which it appears, that "this Romance is ſtuffed with obſcene Stories, "he would never read it. To this purpoſe I will add, how *Melchior Canus*, who was no Friend to the Jeſuits, made himſelf merry one day at their Expence, when he was at the King of *Spain*'s

SOME Particulars about the Chaſtity of ſome Jeſuits.

(*c*) Alegambe, p. 369. col. 1.

(*d*) Virginitatem nulla unquam cogitatione aut indecoro motu oppugnaram ſe ſervaſſe faſſus eſt ipſe aliquando. *Idem pag.* 118.

(*e*) Idem pag. 379. col. 2.

(*f*) Idem pag. 401 col. 1.

(*g*) Menage, Anti-Baillet, *to* 2 *p.* 333. *quoting* Nicius Erythræus *in the Eloge of* Poſſevin. *This Eloge is not in the three* Pinacothecæ *of* Erythræus

gular. He publiſh'd ſeveral Books †, and among the reſt a Hiſtory (*D*) of *Spain*, which many look upon as a Maſter-piece. He Printed a Book of *Lucas Tudenſis* *, about the Life to come, and againſt the *Albigenſes*. His Treatiſe of the alteration of Money

† *See the Titles of them in* Moreri.

* *Thus we muſt call him, and not* Tridentis *with* Alegambe *and* Sotuel.

Court. He ſaid, that they carry'd about them an Herb which mortified Nature in ſuch a manner, that by the Efficacy of this Simple they could converſe with Women with Impunity. *Philip* II. taking this in a literal Senſe, had a mind to know what this Herb was, and having given order, that the Jeſuits ſhould be preſs'd to name it, he learn'd that it was call'd the Fear of God. (*h*) " *Feſtivum* " *eſt quod refert Nicolaus Orlandinus libro quinto hi-* " *ſtoriæ Societatis* JESU. *Petrus Faber & Antonius* " *Araoxius aulam Philippi ſecundi Hiſpaniarum Regis* " *adierant, & tum primum in illud regnum Societatis* " *nomen invexerant.* Quibuſdam autem inſtar e- " rant miraculi, quod cum omni genere ſexuque " promiſcue tam verſarentur innoxii. Nec dubi- " tavit in media curia Melchior Canus belle jocari, " Patres Societatis JESU herbam quandam ſecum " ſolitos circumferre, quæ vim haberet interi- " mendæ libidinis: eaque velut antidoto tuto " poſſe inter fœminarum verſari greges, & conſi- " tentibus puellis aurem ſalva integritate præbere, " *&c.* Ea vox, *&c.* ſenſim ſparſa per curiam ad " Principis pervenit aures. Qui rei auditæ curio- " ſus inveſtigator Johannem de Zuniga (is erat ei " velut morum magiſter ac cuſtos) ad Patres miſit " ſciſcitatum quod herbæ genus illud eſſet, *&c.* " *Non negavit Araoſius hujus virtutis herbam ſe ha-* " *bere: & cum Johannem aliquandiu ſuſpenſum re-* " *ſponſi ambiguitate tenuiſſet, quo majorem audiendi* " *cupiditatem accenderet,* Hæc, inquit, herba com- " muni ſermone Timor Dei nuncupata, *&c.* hoc " igitur principi, velim, narres, hoc fidelibus re- " feras." *Jarrige* does not faithfully repeat the Circumſtances of this Story. " *Philip* II. ſays he, " (*i*) their great Protector, and a Prince of a fine " Wit, ask'd them in jeſt one Day, how they " could be Chaſt, having private and familiar " Converſations with all the fine Ladies of this " magnificent Court. We have, ſaid they, by the " report of their Hiſtorian, an Herb which we " carry about us, by which we avoid the danger " of Uncleanneſs, and reſiſt all its Attacks. Be- " ing preſs'd by the Monarch to name it, they " anſwer'd, that it was *the Fear of God*; but I aſ- " ſure you, if they had it then, I am very certain " they have loſt the Seed of it now, and that it " does not grow in their Garden.

This Herb of *Melchior Canus* brings to my Mind the Indian Hermits who practiſe a harſh Penance all their Life time, and renounce even the ſight of the Female Sex. They hold in their Hands a Cane, by which they drive away all impure Thoughts and Temptations, as if they were chaſing away a Dog. *I Ruxis è Hiobioli abitano ne' deſerti paſcendoſi di foglie, e frutti ſalvatici, occupati quaſi ſempre nelle meditatione de' lor dii, profeſſano perpetua verginita, fuggendo la viſta delle donne, portano una canna in mano con la quale dicono tener lontano i diletti, tentationi, e travaglii* (*k*).

(*D*) *A Hiſtory of* Spain—*as a Maſter-piece.*] It is divided into thirty Books, after which follows an *Appendix*. The firſt twenty were Printed at *Toledo*, in Folio, in 1592. He added to them ten other Books ſome time after (*l*). He Tranſlated this Hiſtory himſelf out of *Latin* into *Spaniſh*, and publiſh'd (*m*) this Verſion at *Toledo* in 1601. It was Reprinted often. He ſometimes departs from the Original, as if he were writing, not a Tranſlation, but a new Book (*n*). The *Appendix* contains nothing but a little Summary of ſome Events from 1515, till the time it was written; for the Author having finiſh'd his great Work at the Death of *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, in 1516. thought it would be more for his Intereſt to publiſh a meer Hiſtorical *Index* of matters ſince that time, than exact Narratives of them, which he could not do without departing from that Sincerity he had hitherto follow'd, or offending ſome Perſons ſtill alive. Wherefore he took the ſureſt and honeſteſt way, and that which wiſe Men (*o*) have always moſt approv'd. He would not write the things which happen'd in his own Time, or a little before. Let us ſee the Elogies which Father *Rapin* has beſtowed upon this Hiſtory. " (*p*) None of " the Modern Hiſtorians has written more ſenſi- " bly than *Mariana* in his Hiſtory of *Spain*. It " is a Maſter-piece of theſe laſt Ages for this ſingle " Property. There ſhines in all the Work a Wiſ- " dom which never ſuffers him to dwell too long " on noble Exploits, nor to neglect thoſe that are " not ſo. This equality ſo judicious, which is " always the ſame in the inequality of Matters " which this Author handles, is little known to " the Hiſtorians of theſe laſt Times." To underſtand the full force of this Elogy, we muſt add to it this Deſcription. " To write ſenſibly, *according* " *to Father* Rapin (*q*), is to go directly to one's " end in any Matter about which a Man writes, " without wandring or amuſing himſelf by the " way. It is to expreſs things with a kind of " Wiſdom and Reſervedneſs, without giving way " either to the heat of his Imagination, or the " briskneſs of his Wit. It is to know how to " ſuppreſs what is ſuperfluous in the Expreſſion, " as thoſe Adverbs and Epithets are which di- " miniſh things by heightning them; to leave " nothing in it that is idle, languiſhing and uſe- " leſs; to leave out generouſly what muſt not be " ſaid, how fine ſoever it be; to take always leſs " care of the Ornaments (*r*) than of ſolid Truth; " not to ſhow heat and warmth where a Man ought " to be cool and ſerious; to examine one's " Thoughts, and meaſure one's Words with that " exactneſs of Senſe, and accurate Judgment, " that nothing may paſs but what is exact and " judicious. It is to reſiſt the Temptation we " naturally have to diſcover our Wit——It is to " leave room for thoſe who read Hiſtory, to ima- " gine what ought not always to be ſaid. Laſtly, " It is to know well how to avoid Contradictions, " and to lay down Probabilities in all that is ſaid. " And this ſenſible Spirit, this Character of Wiſ- " dom which Hiſtory requires, is a kind of " watchfulneſs over one's ſelf, which allows of " no Exaggeration, and uſes continual precau- " tion againſt thoſe bold Imaginations to which a " Man is ſubject, when he has a Wit too bright or " too fruitful; to the end that he may expreſs " great matters in a few words, as *Salluſt* does." Father *Rapin* does not ſtop here, but he adds further (*s*), " That *Mariana* is one of the moſt ac- " compliſh'd Writers among the Modern Hiſto- " rians, becauſe he is one of the plaineſt. *That* " *nothing* (*b*) gives the Hiſtory of *Mariana* ſuch an " air of Grandeur, as the Art of this Author in " fetching into it by way of Digreſſion, all the " conſiderable things that have paſs'd in the World, " all that's admirable in the fabulous Times; all " that was remarkable in *Greece*, in *Sicily*, in the " *Roman* Empire; a very particular Account of " the Republick of *Carthage*, which is no where " better done than there; the Sieges of *Sagun-* " *tus* and *Numantia*; the Paſſage of *Annibal* into " *Italy*; the ſucceſſion of the Emperors; the birth " of Chriſtianity; the Preaching of the Goſpel; " the Conqueſt of the *Arabians*, and many other " great Tranſactions. He is a Genius who treats " of nothing but great Matters, which always " have ſome reſpect to the Hiſtory of *Spain*. Up- " on which account never did any Hiſtorian do " ſo much Honour to his Country by any Book; " for he has imparted to his Nation the greateſt " Actions that have been done in the World. " Among the Moderns, *continues Father* Rapin(*c*), " I find *Mariana*, *Davila*, and *Fra Paolo* admi- " rable for Hiſtory. *Mariana* had the Talent " of Thinking, and expreſſing nobly what he " thought and ſaid, and of imprinting a Character " of Greatneſs upon any thing he conſider'd— " (*d*) None of the Moderns exceeds *Mariana*, either " for the greatneſs of his Deſign, or the nobleneſs " of his Style. He is more exact than others, " judges ſoundly of every thing." Let us ſee ſo many Elogies not what is ſaid by an- Jeſuit (*e*) in favour of *Mariana*, but what a tant ſays of him. (*f*) *Inter Latinos omnibus* *palmam præripit Johannes Mariana Hiſpanus, rerum* *Hiſpanicarum cognitione, ni fallor, ſecundus. Valuit vero* *Mariana inſigni eloquentia, prudentia, & magnanimi-* *tate dicendi: hinc libertatis ſtudioſiſſimus in* *ſuos ſæpe eſt mordax.*

How excellent ſoever this Book of *Mar* et

(*g*) Ibid. p. 230.

(*q*) Delectus verborum habendus & ponderandus ſingulorum examinanda. *Fab. lib.* 10. *cap.* 3.

(*r*) Rapin, ib. numb. 5. p. 236.

(*s*) Ibid. num. 22. p. 280.

(*b*) Ibid. num. 26. p. 293.

(*c*) Ibid. ſub fin. p. 305.

(*c*) Quid? Mariani gravem & decoram conſtructionem, ſonantia verba, ſplendorem, narrandique ſublimitatem, copiosum ingenium in non impari materia, qua ætas non reverebitur? *Clarus Bonarellius in Amphitheatro honoris lib.* 2. *cap.* 13. *p. m.* 192.

(*f*) [illegible] Confingius de regno Hiſpan. apud Pope Blount, Cenſura Autorum p. 614.

(*d*) Ibid. num. 27. p. 305.

(*e*) Quid? Mariani gravem & decoram conſtructionem, ſonantia verba, ſplendorem, narrandique ſublimitatem, copiosum ingenium in non impari materia, qua ætas non reverebitur? *Clarus Bonarellius in Amphitheatro honoris lib.* 2. *cap.* 13. *p. m.* 192.

(*f*) [illegible] Confingius de regno Hiſpan. apud Pope Blount, Cenſura Autorum p. 614.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 230.

(*h*) Nicol. Abramus, Commen. in Orat. Ciceronis *tom.* 2. *p.* 599, *col.* 1.

(*i*) Jarrige, Jeſuites ſur Fécha-faud, *c.* 6. p. m. 65.

(*k*) Giornale de Letterati, *March* 31, 1673, *p.* 35. *in the Extract of the* Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, *by* F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena.

(*l*) *The thirty Books with the Appendix are in the Edition of* Mentz, 1605, *in* 4°

(*m*) *At* Madrid *in* 1616, *and* 1650, *in Fol.* & alibi Nicol. Anton. ubi infra.

(*n*) *See* Nicolas Antonio Biblioth. Scriptor. Hiſpan. *to.* 1. *p.* 560.

(*o*) *See the Remark D. of the Article* Bonfadius, *and the Remark E. of the Article* Haillan.

(*p*) Rapin's *Reflexions upon Hiſtory*, n. 3 p. m. 232.

Money (*E*) brought him into trouble at the Court of *Spain*, and expos'd him to a Puniſhment (*EΔ*) which is ill related by Mr. *Varillas*: But there had been more reaſon to moleſt him upon the account of another Book, which *Spain* and *Italy* ſuffer'd to go abroad, and which was burnt at *Paris* by the Sentence of the Parliament, becauſe of the pernicious Doctrine it contain'd. There is nothing more ſeditious, (*F*) nor more capable of expoſing Kingdoms to frequent Revolutions, and even the Lives of Princes to the

(*g*) *ſince the Royal Printing-Houſe an Edition more correct.* Nicol. Anton. ubi infra tom. 2. p. 170.

yet it has ſome Faults which have been critically obſerv'd in ſome meaſure by a Secretary of the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, who calls himſelf *Pedro Mantuano*. He publiſh'd his Critical Remarks at *Milan* (*g*) in 4°, in 1611, and entitul'd them *Advertencias à la Hiſtoria de Juan de Mariana*, when he was yet but twenty ſix Years of Age. *Thomas Tamaius de Vargas*, who anſwer'd in behalf of Mariana, relates a thing that looks like a Prodigy; which is, that *Mariana* would never caſt his Eyes upon the Work of his Cenſurer, nor of his Apologiſt; tho' the latter offer'd him his MS. before he gave it to the Printer, and deſir'd him to Correct it. (*h*) *Noluiſſe Marianam legere, nec Mantuani cenſuram, nec Tamaji amiciſſimi capitis apologiam, etiam ante editionem ſibi ab authore ad pervidendum & emendandum oblatam, quod credet vix poſteritas.* There was publiſh'd in the *Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*, at p. 139, of the Month of *November* 1693, the deſign of a *French* Tranſlation of *Mariana*, with good Notes. The Publick ought to wiſh they may quickly enjoy this Work. There was Printed in *Holland* in 1694, a Chronological Abridgment of the Hiſtory of *Spain*, taken chiefly from *Mariana*, which is attributed to (*i*) a Gentlewoman of *Rouen*, now a Refugee in *England* for her Religion.

(*h*) *It was Printed at* Cologne *in* 1609. *with ſix other Treatiſes of* Mariana.

(*i*) *call'd* Mademoiſelle de la Roche.

(*E*) *His Treatiſe* (*k*) *of the alteration of Money brought him into Trouble.*] *Alegambe* does only tell us, that this Work diſcover'd the Frauds of the Times, and that at the Requeſt of the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, it was ſtopp'd by *Paul* V. but that the ſequel ſhow'd, that *Mariana* being Perſecuted for this Book, was a lover of Juſtice and Truth. (*l*) *In tractatu de Monetæ mutatione cum acrius corruptelam ſui temporis perſtrinxiſſet, gravem in ſe concivit procellam; & tractatus ipſe poſtulante Catholici Regis Oratore, à Summo Pontifice Paulo V. tantiſper ſuſpenſus fuit, donec invidiæ & cum ea tempeſtas conquievit; docueruntque poſteriora tempora veri rectique amantem fuiſſe Marianam. Nicolas Antonio* in ſome reſpects ſpeaks more generally, though he declares, that the chief Miniſters of State accus'd *Mariana* of having cenſur'd the Government. *Nec tamen*, ſays he (*m*), *vir tot meritis ad famæ immortalitatem nitens effugere valuit læuæ famæ diſcrimina, interpretantibus quædam ejus ſcripta principibus in Curia viris tanquam iniqua exercendæ injuriosa ſibi ipſis, ac publicæ adminiſtrationi. Cujus rei nomine ſolemniter accuſatus non niſi poſt agitatam diu cauſam ægreque ſtatui priſtino fuit reſtitutus.* But here is an Author who ſpeaks out more clearly; and he aſſures us, that *Mariana* diſcover'd ſo well the waſting of the Treaſury, by ſhowing the Robberies that were committed in the Coining of Money, that the Duke of *Lerma* who found himſelf plainly pointed at, could not reſtrain his Anger. It was not difficult for him to vex the Author, becauſe King *Philip* III. was clearly cenſur'd in this Work, as a lazy Prince who left the great Affairs of his Kingdom to the Diſcretion of his Miniſters. Monarchs who are moſt govern'd by a Favourite, are eaſily provok'd againſt thoſe who expoſe them to publick Contempt by a juſt and free cenſure of this Slavery. *Mariana* was caſt into Priſon, and did not come out till the Year's end; but the Event ſhow'd that he was not deceiv'd in foretelling, that the Abuſes which he reprov'd, would throw *Spain* into great Confuſion. The Writer who tells this is call'd *Bernardin Giraldus*, whom I have cited once before. *Quarum* (diſſertationem) *una fuit*, ſays he (*n*), *de* Monetæ mutatione *in Hiſpania, quâ quidem fraudes, & inepti Miniſtrorum Regiorum Monetas publicas adulterandi detegebantur, oſcitantia, & dormitatio Philippi III. Regis Catholici perſtringebatur, ingentia denique damna in univerſam Hiſpaniam ex improbiſſimo Regiorum peculatu certo exoritura prænuntiabantur: quem librum qui legat, & hodiernum Hiſpaniæ ſtatum non ignoret, abeſſe haudquaquam poſſe judicet Marianam divinum hominem fuiſſe agnoſcat, ea, quæ hodie Hiſpania patitur mala, tanto antea vates occinerit) vel certe etiam genus divinationis eſſe intelligat. Verum ea res Lermæum Ducem, Regiæ Hiſpanicæ Sejanum, pupugit: quippe qui fundi Hiſpanici calamitas eſſet, ſeque à Mariana deſignari ſatis intelligeret. Hominem ergo in vincula poſcit, in iſque annum vertentem amplius continet.*

(*k*) *Mariana's Anſwer to the Criticiſms of Dr.* Burnet, p. 84. *Particulit.*

(*EΔ*) *And expos'd him to a Puniſhment which is ill related by Mr.* Varillas.] This Hiſtorian (*o*) pretends that *Ribadeneira* "durſt not write in *Spain* under the "Reign of *Philip* II. what *Charles* V. had contribu- "ted to oblige the Court of *Rome* to proceed to "the laſt Extremities againſt *Henry* VIII. One "muſt have as little knowledge of the Court "of *Spain* as Dr. *Burnet* has, *continues he*, to be "ignorant that the ſame *Philip* II. baniſh'd *Ma-* "*riana* into *Sicily* for fifteen Years, upon a leſs im- "portant occaſion than that of writing againſt "*Charles* V. ſince it was only for writing a Trea- "tiſe about Money, which did not ſo directly "concern the Majeſty of the Catholick Kings, as "the Conduct of *Charles* V. with reſpect to *Henry* "VIII. There are three Falſhoods in theſe words. 1. *Mariana* was never baniſh'd into *Sicily*; much leſs did his Baniſhment, as is pretended, laſt fifteen Years. 2. *Philip* II. was dead when this Jeſuit wrote about Money. 3. This Treatiſe offended much more (*p*) the King of *Spain* who then Reign'd, than the Book of *Ribadeneira* would have offended *Philip* II. if he had deſcrib'd in it the Conduct of *Charles* V. towards *Henry* VIII. I take no notice of the Abſurdity that is in his Remark upon *Ribadeneira*, becauſe it has been ſolidly refuted (*q*) by the learned Man who reply'd to him.

(*o*) Varillas's *Anſwer to the Criticiſms of Dr.* Burnet, p. 84. *Particulit.*

(*p*) *See in the preceding Remark the word of* Bernard. Giraldus.

(*F*) *There is nothing more ſeditious than this Book of* Mariana.] The Title of it is, *de Rege & Regis inſtitutione*, and it was Printed at *Toledo* in 1598, with the King's Licenſe, and the uſual Approbations. The Author deſigning to enquire in the ſixth Chapter of the firſt Book, whether it be lawful to kill a Tyrant, enters on this Subject with a Narrative of the tragical End of *Henry* III. He admires the Courage of *James Clement*, and ſays there were different Opinions about the Action of this young Monk: Some commended it, and thought it worthy of Immortality; others blam'd it, becauſe they were of Opinion, that it is never lawful for a meer private Man to kill a Prince declar'd King by the Nation, and anointed with the ſacred Oil according to Cuſtom, although this Prince becomes a wicked Man and a Tyrant. (*a*) *De facto monachi non una opinio fuit, multis laudantibus atque immortalitate dignum judicantibus: vituperent alii prudentiæ & eruditionis laude præſtantes, fas eſſe negantes cuiquam privata auctoritate Regem conſenſu populi renunciatum, ſacroque oleo de more delibutum ſanctumque adeo perimere, ſit ille quamvis perditis moribus, atque in tyrannidem degenerarit.* We may clearly perceive, that *Mariana* is one of thoſe who approv'd the Action of *James Clement*; for he rejects the Principle, by virtue of which Wiſe and Learned Men condemn'd it. Beſides he affects to extoll the Courage and undaunted ſteddineſs of this Aſſaſſin, without dropping one word that tends to render him odious to the Reader. This Obſervation does admirably diſcover the whole venom of the Doctrine of this Jeſuit; for 'tis certain, that he only made uſe of the Example of *Henry* III. that he might deſcend from that Poſition to the Hypotheſis, and to ſhow the People a notable caſe of Tyranny, that ſo at all times when they ſhould find themſelves in the like Condition, they might think that their Circumſtances did warrant them to make uſe of the Knife againſt their Monarchs. But if it be once lawful to do this, when People live under ſuch a Prince as *Henry* III. I know not what Monarchs ought not to fear that they ſhall be aſſaſſinated or dethron'd: For often times the Good and Evil of two Conditions do balance one another when they are compar'd together. If therefore the faults of Government are not the ſame as they were under *Henry* III. yet it will be ſaid, that all things duly conſider'd they are equal, and from thence People will conclude, that they are in the

(*a*) Mariana de rege & regis inſtitutione *l.* 1. *c.* 6. *p. m.* 54.

(*l*) Alegambe, p. 258. col. 2.

(*m*) Nicol. Anton. ubi ſupra, p. 560.

(*n*) Bernard. Giraldus Patavinus, pro Senatu Veneto apologia, ſive de juſtitia decreti, quo Senatus Venetus adoleſcentes ditioni ſuæ ſubditos ad Jeſuitarum ſcholas accedere interdixit: deque conditionibus quibus Jeſuitæ redirum ad Venetos videntur impetrare poſſe. *This Piece is in a Collection entituled* Arcana Societatis Jeſu, *Printed at* Geneva *in* 1635, *in*

the Knife of the Aſſaſſins, than this Book of *John Mariana*. It expos'd the Jeſuits, and chiefly in *France*, to a Thouſand bloody (G) Reproaches, and to very mortifying

(b) *He refutes them at the end of this 6th Chapter.*

ſame Condition which the Jeſuit has deſcrib'd. However let us go on with the Explication of his Syſtem.

Mariana relates the Reaſons of thoſe who blam'd *James Clement*, i. e. according to him, the Reaſons of thoſe, who teach, that every one muſt patiently ſubmit to the Tyrannical Yoke of his lawful Sovereign, and before he anſwers them (b) he alledges the Arguments of the contrary Party built upon this fundamental Principle, (c) that the Authority of the People is ſuperior to that of Kings. This is his belov'd Poſition, for proof of which he ſpends (d) two whole Chapters. Having alledg'd the Reaſons of each Party, he declares, 1. That according to the Opinions of Divines and Philoſophers, a Prince who by force of Arms, and without the conſent of the People, is poſſeſs'd of the Sovereign Power, is one whom every private Perſon has a right to kill; (e) *Perimi à quocunque, vita & principatu ſpoliari poſſe.* 2. That if a Prince who is lawfully created, or who is a lawful Succeſſor to his Anceſtors, overturns the Religion and publick Laws, without hearkning to the Remonſtrances of the Nation, he muſt be turn'd out in the ſafeſt and ſureſt way. 3. That the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way of doing it, is to aſſemble the States, and in this Aſſembly to depoſe him, and there to order that an Army be rais'd againſt him, if it be neceſſary for removing his Tyranny. 4. That ſuch a Prince may be lawfully put to Death (f), and that each private Perſon who ſhall have the Courage to attempt to kill him, has a right to do it. 5. That if any Aſſembly of the States cannot be held, and it appears nevertheleſs to be the Will of the People to deſtroy the Tyrant, there is no private Perſon but may lawfully kill this Prince to ſatisfie the Deſire of the People (g), *qui votis publicis favens eum perimere tentavit, haud quaquam inique eum feciſſe exiſtimabo.* 6. That the Judgment (h) of a private Perſon, or of many, is not ſufficient; but they muſt be govern'd by the Voice of the People, and alſo conſult grave and learned Men. 7. That indeed it ſhows greater Courage to riſe up openly againſt the Tyrant; but there is no leſs Prudence to attack him ſecretly, and deſtroy him in the Traps that are laid for him. (i) *Eſt quidem majoris virtutis & animi ſimultatem aperte exercere, palam in hoſtem reipublicæ irruere: ſed non minoris prudentiæ, fraudi & inſidiis locum captare, quod ſine motu contingat minori certe periculo publico atque privato.* He deſires therefore either that he ſhould be attack'd in his own Palace with open force, or that a Conſpiracy ſhould be form'd againſt him; he will have it that open War, crafty Devices, Frauds and Treacheries are equally lawful: And if the Conſpirators, adds he, are not kill'd in the Attempt, they ought to be admir'd as Heroes all their Lifetime: If they periſh in it, then they are Victims acceptable to God and Men, and their Efforts deſerve immortal Praiſes. (k) *Aut in apertam vim prorumpitur ſeditione facta armiſque publice ſumptis— aut majori cautione, fraude & ex inſidiis pereunt, uno aut paucis in ejus caput occulte conjuratis, ſuoque periculo reipublicæ incolumitatem redimere ſatagentibus. Quod ſi evaſerint, inſtar magnorum Heroum in omni vita ſuſpiciuntur: ſi ſecus accidat, grata ſuperis, grata hominibus hoſtia cadunt, nobili conatu ad omnem poſteritatis memoriam illuſtrati. Itaque aperta vi & armis poſſe occidi tyrannum, ſive impetu in regiam facto, ſive commiſſa pugna in conſeſſo eſt. Sed & dolo atque inſidiis exceptum.* 8. That altho' there ſeems to be no great difference between an Aſſaſſin who kills a Man with the ſtab of a Knife, and one that Poiſons him; yet becauſe Chriſtianity has abrogated the Laws of the *Athenians*, which appointed Criminals to drink a poiſon'd Cup; *Mariana* does not approve that a Tyrant ſhould be kill'd by Poiſon mix'd with his Meat; but if any would make uſe of Poiſon, he would have it applied to his Cloaths, or to his Saddle. (l) *Ergo me auctore neque noxium medicamentum hoſti detur, neque lethale venenum in cibo & potu temperetur in ejus perniciem. Hoc tamen temperamento uti, in hac quidem diſputatione licebit, ſi non ipſe qui perimitur venenum hauſire cogitur, quo intimis medullis concepto pereat: ſed exterius ab alio adhibeatur nihil adjuvante eo qui perimendus eſt. Nimirum cum tanta vis eſt veneni, ut ſola eo aut veſte delibuta vim interficiendi habeat.*

(c) A republica, unde ortum habet regia poteſtas, rebus exigentibus Regem in jus vocari poſſe, & ſi ſanitatem reſpuat principatu ſpoliari, neque ita in Principem jura poteſtatis tranſtulit, ut non ſibi majorem reſervarit poteſtatem. *Mariana ib. p.* 57.

(d) *The 8th and 9th of the firſt Book.*

(e) Ibid. p. 58.

(f) Principem publicum hoſtem declaratum ferro perimere, eademque facultas eſto cuicunque privato, qui ſpe impunitatis abjecta, neglecta ſalute in conatum juvandi rempublicam ingredi voluerit. *Id. p.* 60.

(g) Id. ib.

(h) Neque enim id in cujuſquam privati arbitrio ponimus, non in multorum, niſi publica vox populi adſit, viri eruditi & graves in conſilium adhibentur. *Id. ib.*

Such is the Syſtem of this Jeſuit. The laſt part of it is very impertinent; it is a ridiculous diſtinction: For he that drinks Poiſon without knowing it, and believing it to be good Food, does not any ways contract the Guilt of thoſe who are the cauſe of their Death; and yet to preſerve a Tyrant from ſo great a Crime, *Mariana* would not have him to drink or eat Poiſon (m). Moreover, if it were true, that in drinking off the Poiſon, without knowing of it, he would be guilty of his own Death; he would be no leſs guilty in taking and putting on a poiſon'd Shirt: And yet *Mariana* makes no ſcruple to conſent, that his Cloaths ſhould be Poiſon'd, his Saddles, or any other things which act from without upon the inward Parts. I ſay therefore, that the Eighth Article of this Jeſuit is unworthy of a Man who underſtands Reaſoning; and I am ſurpriz'd, that a Man who had ſo much good Senſe, and ſo much Logick, ſhould trifle ſo childiſhly. Abating this many People are perſuaded, that his Syſtem is finely contriv'd, that the parts of it are well connected together, and that he proceeds naturally from one Conſequence to another. Suppoſe once, ſay they, that a King holds of the People, as being his ſupreme Judge, and that he is accountable to them, all the reſt will naturally flow from this Fountain. And therefore the Author who refuted *Mariana*, laid down a fundamental Principle quite oppoſite to this. *viz.* (n) *That Sovereign Princes depend only upon God, to whom alone it belongs to call them to an account.* I ſhall not enter upon the Diſcuſſion of this Queſtion, but ſhall only obſerve, that as the Doctrines of *Mariana* are very deſtructive of the publick Good; it had been better that he had argu'd inconſequently, than that he ſhould follow, like a good Logician, the conſequences of his Principle.

(m) Crudele exiſtimarunt, atque à Chriſtianis moribus alienum, quantumvis flagitiis coopertum eo adigere hominem, ut ſibi ipſi manus afferat pugione in viſcera adacto, aut lethali veneno in cibo aut potu temperato. Perinde enim eſt, neque minus humanitatis legibus, jurique naturæ contrarium: quo in vitam ſuam ſævire vetatur omnibus. Negamus ergo hoſtem, quem fraude dedimus perimi poſſe, veneno interfici jure. *Mariana ib. p.* 66.

(n) Rouſſel *in ch.* 17. *of his* Anti-Mariana.

(G) *Expos'd the Jeſuits —— to a Thouſand bloody Reproaches.*] The Catholicks and Proteſtants thundred upon them, out-vying one another, upon occaſion of theſe Doctrines of *Mariana*, and chiefly after the horrible Murder of *Ravaillac*: For it was ſaid, that the reading of *Mariana* had inſpir'd this cruel Aſſaſſin with the infamous deſign of ſtabbing *Henry* IV. Wherefore Father *Coton* publiſh'd a Letter which he wrote to *Mary de Medicis*, the Widow of that Prince, wherein he quotes ſome famous Jeſuits who taught the contrary to what *Mariana* had maintain'd: And beſides he aſſerted, that the Book of this *Spaniſh* Jeſuit was condemn'd in 1606, in one of their Congregations. I ſhall ſet down his own words: "(o) Such is the Senſe "and Sentence of theſe grave and eminent Do- "ctors of our Society; and therefore how can "the private Opinion of *Mariana* prejudice the Re- "putation of the whole Order, which, accord- "ing to its Inſtitution, being extreamly careful "of holding faſt the holy Ordinances of the "Church, and reſpectful to the Power and Au- "thority of Kings, who as to Temporals depend "upon God only, has of a long time diſown'd "the raſhneſs of a bold Pen, and particularly in the "Provincial Congregation of *France*, held in this "City of *Paris*, in 1606, wherein *ex abundanti*, "the Reverend Father *Claudius Aquaviva*, Gene- "ral of our Society, was requeſted, that thoſe who "had written to the prejudice of the Crown of "*France*, ſhould be reſtrain'd, and their Books "ſuppreſs'd: Which the ſaid Reverend Father "did afterwards very ſeriouſly and exactly, be- "ing very ſorry, that through miſtake, in his ab- "ſence, and without having ſeen the Work, "they had made uſe of his Approbation. The "words which he us'd in his Anſwer are theſe: "(a) We have approv'd the Judgment and the "Care of your Congregation, and are very "much troubled, that this was not perceiv'd be- "fore the Printing of ſuch Books; which never- "theleſs we have commanded to be Corrected, "and we will take very great care for the future, "that

(o) Coton *Letter declaratory of the Doctrine of the Jeſuits, p.* 8. & 9.

(a) *See the following Remark.*

(i) Ibid. cap. 7. p. 65. (k) Id. ib. pag. 64. (l) Ibid. pag. 67.

tifying Inſults, which are repeated every Day, and will never be ended, and Paſſionate Hiſtorians will tranſcribe them from one another; they appear the

" that ſuch things ſhall not happen. One Copy of " *Mariana* would ſcarce be found now, were it not " for the pernicious Liberality of the Heirs of " *Wechel*, who are known to be of the pretended " Reform'd Religion, and who Printed it at their " own Charges, not out of any deſire to ſerve " the Publick, as may be eaſily preſum'd, but " from a particular deſign to prejudice our So- " ciety. As to what concerns the reading of *Mariana* by *Ravaillac*, 'tis aſſerted in the ſame Letter (*b*), that the Parliament knew " by " the repeated Depoſition of this Wretch, that " *Mariana* contributed nothing to this execrable " Parricide, and could not influence him, ſince " the Wretch had not ſufficient knowledge of the " Language wherein his Book was written. Which " diſcovers, *adds Father* Coton, the uncharitable " Intention of thoſe who go on ſtill to ſay, that " he had it all by Heart." In another Book Father *Coton* returns to the Charge. " The " Hereticks of *France*, ſays he (*c*), will have *Ma-* " *riana* to have induc'd *Ravaillac* to give that un- " happy and execrable blow, as having learn'd " his Book by Heart: To which it will be re- " ply'd a hundred times, on peril of Honour " and Life, that *Ravaillac* did never ſee nor " read it, and did never ſo much as hear the " Name of *Mariana*, except when he was ask'd " whether he had read his Book; and he anſwer'd " no, and that he did not know what it was; " witneſs the Reverend Father M. *Coffeteau*, wit- " neſs alſo the verbal Proceſs which was made " of the Matter: From whence we may infer " what ſhameleſs Calumny will do; for there being " nothing more falſe than to ſay, that this Wretch " ſaw the Book of *Mariana*, yet ſome of the Com- " mon People by much hearing this, imagine " that he knew it from one end to the other, as " has been ſaid. I will add, that tho' *Ravaillac* " had read it, yet 'tis moſt falſe that *Mariana* " taught the Murder and Parricide which this " Wretch committed: But this is what the Ca- " lumniator both in this place and through his " whole Book endeavours to perſuade. Nay, " in ſome reſpect it were to be wiſh'd, that *Ra-* " *vaillac* had read *Mariana* in caſe he could have " underſtood him; for *Mariana* teaches expreſly, " as *Gretſerus* ſhows, that a lawful Prince ought " not to be kill'd by a private Perſon upon his " own private Authority." Father *Coton* is miſtaken, the Book of *Mariana* was very fit to inſpire one with the attempt of Aſſaſſinating *Henry* IV. for that Jeſuit ſays, that the Action of *James Clement* was good, and that if the Voice of the People, and the Counſel of ſome learned Perſons concurr to declare that the Prince oppreſſes Religion, a private Perſon may kill him. By joyning theſe two things together, one may infer the juſtice of Aſſaſſinating *Henry* IV. For if *Henry* III. a Catholick to the higheſt degree, was an oppreſſor of Catholiciſm, becauſe he labour'd for the Rights of an Heretical Prince who was to be his Succeſſor, one may believe in general, that every Prince who is favourable to Hereticks deſigns to oppreſs Religion. Now if it be lawful to kill an Oppreſſor of Religion, 'tis lawful doubtleſs to kill him who has a mind to oppreſs it as ſoon as he can: For Prudence will not permit that we ſhould ſuffer Evil to encreaſe till it be come to ſuch a height that 'tis difficult to put a ſtop to it; but we ought to prevent it and attack it whilſt it is weak. Beſides by the Voice of the People we muſt not underſtand the Judgment of all private Perſons; 'tis ſufficient that in every City there are many Perſons who join their Voices for certain things. Now it is paſt all doubt, that the Kingdom was full of People who ſuſpected *Henry* IV. had a mind to make the Reform'd Religion triumphant as ſoon as he could, and that he undertook a War againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* only upon this proſpect. Thus *Ravaillac* reaſoning upon the Principles of *Mariana*, and joyning to them, according to *Coton*, a ſenſe of *accommodation*, might very well believe, that he had no leſs Right than *James Clement*. There were but too many learned Men, and in his Judgment very Pious, who confirm'd him in his pernicious deſign, and all for the good of Religion. See in the Remark *HΔ*. his Anſwer to them who ask'd him why he had committed this Aſſaſſination, and remember that he declar'd before the Judges, that he had a mind (*d*) to kill " the King, becauſe that Prince " had not endeavour'd (as he had Power) to re- " duce thoſe of the pretended Reform'd Religi- " on, to the Catholick, Apoſtolick and Roman " Church, and becauſe (*e*) he had heard that the " King would make War againſt the Pope, and " tranſlate the Holy See to *Paris*; for, making " War againſt the Pope, ſaid he (*f*), was to make " War againſt God, in as much as the Pope was " God, and God was the Pope.

A Catholick Writer (*g*) who refuted the Declaratory Letter written by Father *Coton*, in a Book Entitul'd *Anti-Coton*, informs me of ſome things which deſerve a place here. " This Book of *Ma-* " *riana*, ſays he (*h*), having been firſt Printed at " *Toledo*, was brought into *France* about eight " Years ago, and preſented to the King; and the " ſeditious Clauſes of this Book being repreſented to " his Majeſty, he call'd for Father *Coton* and ask'd " him, whether he approv'd of this Doctrine? But " the ſaid Jeſuit, who complies with Occaſions, " and ſuits himſelf to the Times, ſaid, that he " did not approve it. According to which An- " ſwer, his Majeſty, by the Advice of Monſieur " *Servin* his Advocate General, commanded *Coton* " to write againſt it; but he excus'd himſelf, " knowing very well, that he could not write a- " gainſt it without oppoſing the General of the " Order, and the Provincial of *Toledo*, and a " great Body of Jeſuits who had approv'd this " Book. But when he ſaw that by the Death of " this King the Jeſuits were loaded with an Uni- " verſal Hatred, and that he was urg'd by the " Court of Parliament, and by the *Sorbonne*, he " wrote an Epiſtle Declaratory, wherein he " condemns *Mariana*, but in terms ſo ſoft and " doubtful, that it plainly appear'd he is afraid " of offending him, for he ſays only, that it is " the *raſhneſs of a bold Pen*, whereas he ought to " have accus'd the Perſon of Hereſie, and perfi- " dious and barbarous Treaſon, and the Doctrine " of Impiety and Enmity to God and Men. And " if he had reprov'd *Mariana*, as he deſerves, " it had been too late; but he ſhould have " written when the King commanded him, " and not have ſuffer'd this Opinion to take " root in the Minds of the People, which coſt " the King his Life a few Years after." Father *Coton* found eight Lyes in this Narrative. See his Apologetical Anſwer to the (*i*) *Anti-Coton*. If the Jeſuits of *France* were troubled upon the account of their Brother *Mariana*, thoſe of *Germany* had likewiſe a ſhare in this Storm, as appears by the Apology which *James Gretſerus* (*k*) was oblig'd to publiſh. Let us add this Paſſage of *Conringius* (*l*). *Prodiit & alius ejus* (Marianæ) *libellus* de Inſtitutione Regis, *multa præclara continens, in quo liberrime judicat quo modo Reges inſtituendi ſunt: Non dubitavit autem & aperte quoad docere, ſi Rex vel anathemate tactus, vel excommunicatus, ac nonnihil recedit a* Romana Eccleſia, *facere in illum gladio, igne ſcilicet animadvertere. Ea tamen pietate videri voluit, ut diceret Regem omnino tolli non licere, quaſi vero. Combuſtus vero hic eſt liber ob talem horrendam doctrinam Pariſiis, & caute fuere Jeſuitæ diſſonſum profiteri. Non dubitavit & Mariana ſcarium* Henrici quarti *Regis Gallia inter Sanctos memorare.* I think that *Conringius* is twice miſtaken: *Mariana* did not affirm that it is lawful to kill a Prince who departs never ſo little from the Romiſh Communion, or who is nearly excommunicated: And ſince his Book was Printed above ten Years before the Death of *Henry* IV. he could not mention *Ravaillac* in it. If he had ſpoken of this Monſter in other Books as a Saint, doubtleſs this had been objected to the Jeſuits, every time that the ſeditious Maxims of *Mariana* were repreſented to them, ſince the Impreſſion of theſe other Books; but I do not think that it was ever done. There has always been a great difference put between *Parricide* and *Tyrannicide*. The latter had ſome that publickly approv'd him, nay, ſome that commended him highly; but the other

(*b*) Coton ib. p. 13.

(*c*) *Apologetical Anſwer to the* Anti-Coton, p. 34.

(*d*) *The* French Mercury, *tom* 1 *fol.* 440. *See alſo fol.* 442 *verſo.*

(*e*) Ib. *Fol.* 442 *verſo.*

(*f*) Ibid. *fol* 443.

(*g*) *This Work was falſely, but to the Monſter* Peter du Moulin.

(*h*) Anti-Coton, *Printed in* 1610, p. 12, & 13.

(*i*) *Pag.* m. 37. *See alſo the Anſwer of* Eudæmon Johannes *to the* Anti-Coton, p. 84.

(*k*) *See his* Veſpertilio hæretico Politicus. *Father* Coton *ſpeaks of it in his Let. de Declaration,* p. 7. *and in his Apology and Anſwer,* p. 33.

(*l*) Herman Conring. de regno Hiſpan. apud Pope Blount Cenſura Autorum. p. 614.

the more plauſible, becauſe the Book was Printed (*H*) with good Approbations. It has been publiſh'd in Print, that *Ravaillac* drew from it the abominable Deſign he executed againſt the Life of *Henry* IV. and that he (*H* Δ) confeſs'd it in his Anſwer to his Interrogatories. This was publickly contradicted. Another Treatiſe of the ſame Jeſuit has made a great

other never had any ſuch that I know of. The Reaſon of this is plain, *Henry* III. was excommunicated when he was kill'd, but *Henry* IV. had been for a long time reconcil'd to the Pope when he was kill'd.

(*a*) Seckendorf Hiſt. Lutheran. *l.* 3. *p.* 332. *n.* 68.

Let us upon this occaſion make a Critical Remark upon Mr. *Seckendorf*. He pretends that the Doctrine of *Mariana* conſiſts in this, that a meer private Perſon being excited either by his own Zeal or the Pope's Orders, may attempt the Life of an Heretical King. *Dudum quoque, male audit*, ſays he (*a*), *Jeſuitarum Societas propter doctrinam* Joh. Marianæ, *itidem Jeſuitæ Hiſpani, aliorumque, qui ſtatuerunt, licitum, immo laudabile eſſe, ſi quis, privatus licet aut ſubditus, Regem aut Principem hæreticum, mandato Pontificis, vel etiam ex zelo religionis quovis modo è medio tollat.* But 'tis certain that *Mariana* laid down his Poſition in general Terms, and ſaid nothing in particular, either of heretical Princes, or the Permiſſions and Diſpenſations of the Court of *Rome*; his Maxims reſpect all Nations and all Tyrants: He excludes not from his Rules the Proteſtants, who ſhould live under a Tyrannical Government; he excludes not from them the *Mahometans*, nor the *Pagans*: He treats this Queſtion altogether as *Ariſtotle* would have done; neither do I ſee in what *Milton*, and ſuch like Writers, who are ſo numerous, can blame the Hypotheſis of this *Spaniard*, unleſs they ſhould condemn the Preamble which he made uſe of in favour of *James Clement*: But this Preamble is not exactly his Doctrine; it denotes only by way of Conſequences, the Application the Author would make of his Maxims (*b*).

(*b*) *Note, that* James Gretſer *has ſhown, that there are Books more pernicious than that of* Mariana. *See alſo the Book Entituled,* A Collection of Pieces about the Romiſh Doctrine and Practices of depoſing Kings, *&c. Printed at* Geneva, 1627, *p.* 251, *&c.*

(*H*) *Was Printed with good Approbations.*] *Peter de Onna*, Provincial of the Regulars for the Redemption of Captives, having read and examin'd it by order of the King of *Spain*, prais'd it and judg'd it worthy to be Printed. The Author obtain'd a Licenſe of his Catholick Majeſty for ten Years. *Stephen Hojeda*, a Jeſuit, Viſitor of the Province of *Toledo*, and Authoriz'd by the General of the Society, permitted the Impreſſion of this Work, after he knew the good Teſtimony which learned and grave Jeſuits gave of it. The Author of the *Anti-Coton* made this a ſufficient ground for aſcribing the Doctrine of this Author to the whole Society. " And that you may know, *ſays he* " (*c*), that this is not the Opinion only of a few " Jeſuits, in the Frontiſpiece of *Mariana*'s Book, " there is an Approbation and Permiſſion to " Print it from the General of the Order *Aquaviva*, and from *Stephen Hojeda*, Viſitor of the So- " ciety of *Jeſus*, in the Province of *Toledo*. *Nay,* " *in the ſame Permiſſion to Print it, there is this* " *Reaſon given,* (1) That before the Permiſſion " was granted, theſe Books of *Mariana* were ap- " prov'd by Learn'd and Grave Men of the Or- " der of the Jeſuits. From whence it follows, " that tho' the General *Aquaviva* had been ſurpriz'd, (as Father *Coton* would make us believe, " by forging Letters at his pleaſure from this *A-* " *quaviva*) yet the Viſitor and Jeſuitical Doctors, " who examin'd the Book before it was Printed, " could not be ſurpriz'd." I ſhall here add the Anſwer of Father *Coton*, which contains ſomething very ſurprizing. " (*d*) The Calumniator " calls in queſtion the Anſwer of the R. Father " General *Claudius Aquaviva*; but the Tenor of " it here inſerted in the Margin (2) will ſhow, " that I do not impoſe upon as he does. And as " to the Doctors of whom he makes ſo great a " noiſe, who approv'd *Mariana*, they are no more " than three; which is a much ſmaller number " than that of thirty or forty, who have approv'd " the thirteen or fourteen Books of ſome of our " Society, who have taught and maintain'd the " contrary to *Mariana*, agreeably to the Council " of *Conſtance*. And if the Authority of the Reverend Father General is to be alledg'd to this " purpoſe, is it not more conſiderable in the Permiſſion he gave to a great number of Authors, " to Print, the aforeſaid Books, than in that ſingle " Permiſſion he gave to *Mariana*, which is now " objected?

(*c*) Anti-Coton, p m. 11, 12.

(1) Quippe approbatos prius à viris doctis & gravibus ex eodem noſtro ordine.

(*d*) Coton's *Apologetical Anſwer*, p. 35, 36.

(2) Ad ea quæ Congregatio Provinciæ proponenda cenſuit: reſpondeo, Probamus judicium ac ſtudium Congregationis; & ſane dolumus vehementer, ubi aliqua hujuſmodi poſt librorum tantum editionem obſervari cognovimus, & ſtatim emendari juſſimus, & in poſterum ut caveantur ſerio monuimus, ac monituri porro ſumus.

That which is ſurprizing in theſe words is, that Father *Coton* confeſſes, that the General *Aquaviva* approv'd the Book of *Mariana*, and Licens'd the Impreſſion of it. But this does not appear at the beginning of this Book, where we find only that the Father Viſitor, having a ſpecial Commiſſion from the General, permits the Book of *Mariana* to be Printed. This proves only that the General *Aquaviva* had entruſted this Viſitor with the Office of permitting or forbidding the Impreſſion of ſuch Books as were written by the Jeſuits; in conſequence whereof this Viſitor allow'd that *Mariana* ſhould publiſh his Book. But this does not prove, that the General knew either that *Mariana* had written *de inſtitutione principis*, or that this Book contain'd a pernicious Doctrine. There are Cenſors of Books in all Countries, who exerciſe this Office by Authority from the Prince, or from the Biſhops, *&c.* If they approve a Hereſie, does it follow that the Prince or the Biſhop from whom they receiv'd their Commiſſion, does alſo approve that Hereſie? By no means, unleſs it be known, either that they communicated the MS. to their Maſter, before it was approv'd, or that their Approbation was ratified by him. 'Tis very ſtrange, that neither Father *Coton*, nor Father *Richeome* (*e*) did never make uſe of this Reaſon. Their Brother *Eudæmon Johannes* had not ſuch a Miſt before his Eyes in this reſpect. See what he anſwers to the Author of the *Anti-Coton*: (*f*) p. 15. *Affirmas Marianæ librum à Generali Societatis atque à Provinciali Toletano approbatum fuiſſe*: *pag.* 23. *Apologiam meam pro Henrico Garneto editam eſſe cum approbatione Præpoſiti Generalis. Utrumque mendacium eſt. Nam moderatores noſtri libros non recognoſcunt ipſi, ſed aliis tradunt recognoſcendos; qui ſi eos probaverint, tum demum poteſtatem edendi faciunt.——Neque difficilis eſt forma diplomatis, quod legitur in libro Marianæ, cujus edendi poteſtatem Generalis non fecit, ſed Viſitator, non, ut tu ſcribis Provincialis, cui partes in ea re ſuas Generalis delegerat, ut ſi liber is deſignatis eam ad rem Theologis probaretur, imprimendi ejus facultatem dare poſſet.* The true way of rendring *Aquaviva* an Accomplice to the frightful Doctrine of *Mariana*, were to prove, that after he knew what his Subdelegate or Commiſſary had Licenſed he was content with it, and he conſented that *Mariana* ſhould leave in his Book all that was in it. But the Jeſuits took care not to be catch'd this way: They publiſh'd (*g*) that their Father General, being advertis'd by *Richeome* in 1599, and by the "Fathers in *France*, commanded that " the Book of *Mariana* ſhould be Correct- " ed, and there had never been, ſay they, any " Copy without Correction, had not the Here- " ticks who thought it would be for their ad- " vantage, preſently reprinted it." They publiſh'd a Fragment (*h*) of *Aquaviva*'s Letter upon this occaſion, and alſo the general Order he ſent to all the Colleges of the Jeſuits, wherein he forbids them to publiſh and teach any Doctrine, which tends any wiſe to the ruine of Sovereigns. (*i*) *Præpoſitus Generalis cum de Marianæ libro à Patribus Provinciæ Franciæ acceppiſſet, reſpondit*; Primum collaudare ſe ſtudium, judiciumque Provinciæ; deinde ægerrime tuliſſe, quod libri ii ante emiſſi eſſent, quam ejus rei quicquam ad ſe deferretur. Cæterum, & ubi primum rem acceppiſſet, mandaſſe uti corrigeretur, & ſedulo daturum operam, ne quid ejuſmodi in poſterum acciderat. *Neque eo contentus* (*cogit enim me importunitas tua effiare in vulgus ea, quæ Societatis legibus vulgari non oporteret*) *decretum etiam addidit vehemens & grave; ne quis è noſtris hominibus aut publice quicquam ſcriberet, doceretve; aut privatim conſilii cuiquam daret, quod in principum perniciem ulla ratione vergeret. Quod, quia vulgandi ejus Præpoſitus Generalis mihi poteſtatem fecit, ipſis ejus verbis adſcribam* (*k*). See the Reflexions which are made upon all this by *George Hornius* (*l*), Profeſſor at *Leyden*.

(*e*) Richeome *a Categorical Examination of the Libel* Anti-Coton, *ch.* 10. *p.* 168, 169.

(*f*) Eudæmon Joannes in Confutatione Anti-Cotoni, *p* 52.

(*g*) Richeome ubi ſupra, *p.* 16. 3.

(*h*) Id. ib.

(*i*) Eudæmon Joannes in Confutatione Anti-Cotoni, *c* 1. *p.* 39.

(*k*) *After this we ſee in the Book of* Eudæmon Joannes *the Decree of the General of the Jeſuits.*

(*l*) In Diſſertation. Hiſtor. & Politicis, *p.* 116, *&c.*

(H Δ) *That* Ravaillac *drew from it— and that he confeſs'd it in his Anſwer to his Interrogatories. This was*

great noiſe. 'Tis that wherein he obſerves the faults (*I*) in the Government of his Society; but his Brethren are not agreed that he is the Author of ſuch (*IΔ*) a Book.

contradicted.] The Paſſages of Father *Coton* related in the Remark G. are a ſufficient Proof of this Text; nevertheleſs I will add ſomething to them. The Interrogatories of *Ravaillac* are in the *Mercure François* (*n*), but not a word of *Mariana*. We find that the two Days he was kept at the *Hotel de Raiz*, he anſwer'd to thoſe who ask'd *what mov'd him to this Aſſaſſination?* "The Sermons which I "have heard, by which I learn'd the Cauſes for "which it was neceſſary to kill the King. *Likewiſe* "*as to the Queſtion, whether it was lawful to kill a* "*Tyrant; he knew all the Evaſions and Diſtinctions,* "*and it was eaſie to perceive, that he had been carefully* "*inſtructed in this matter; for in all other points of* "*Theology he was ignorant and wicked, ſometimes ſay-*"*ing one thing, and ſometimes denying it?* This is in no wiſe a proof that he had read *Mariana*'s Book, for he might have learn'd either by Word of Mouth, or by reading many other Books, whether Printed, or in MS. all the Principles of this Spaniſh Jeſuit. It is very poſſible that this Propoſition ſhould be true, *Such an one knew perfectly the maxims of* Mariana, *and yet he knew not that there was ſuch an Author as* Mariana. To prove therefore that *Ravaillac* had read this Jeſuit's Book, there muſt be ſtronger Reaſons than this, *He knew the Doctrine of this Writer*; there muſt be other Arguments than this Paſſage of the *Mercure François*. "(*o*) The ſame "day of this Execution (*p*), becauſe *Ravaillac* in "all his Anſwers to the Queſtions which the Arch-"biſhop of *Aix*, the Preacher *Coeffeteau*, and ma-"ny others put to him during his Impriſonment, "about the Parricide he had committed, help'd "himſelf out very ſubtilly by the Maxims of "*Mariana*, and others, who have written, that it "is lawful to kill Tyrants: Before they pro-"ceeded to a new Prohibition of ſuch Books, "the Court deſir'd the Conſultation of the Fa-"culty of Theology, and enjoyn'd the Dean and "Syndic, *&c.* Note, That altho' it were moſt certain, that the Aſſaſſin had never read *Mariana*, yet it was reaſonable for the Abbot *du Bois* to make ſuch a Remonſtrance to the Jeſuits as he made from the Pulpit. They complain'd of it to the Queen, and accus'd this Abbot: "That dur-"ing the Octave (*a*) of the Holy Sacrament, "when he Preach'd at St. *Euſtachius*'s Church, in "handling the Queſtion, *whether it was lawful to* "*kill Tyrants*, and refuting the Book of *Mariana* "and others, he made an Exhortation to the Fa-"thers Jeſuits, *That they ſhould for the future take* "*great care, that no Author who might give offence* "to France, *ſhould come forth with the name of their* "*Society, and the Approbation of their Superiors, un-*"*leſs they had a mind deſignedly to expoſe them-*"*ſelves to dangers, which all their Prudence, ſup-*"*ported by the Authority of their Conſidents, could not* "*avoid.* Theſe are the principal Points of Accu-"ſation, upon which they told the Queen, that "theſe words were to move like a Sedition a-"gainſt the Jeſuits. The Biſhop of *Paris* was or-"der'd to hear the ſaid Abbot, who told him in "his vindication, that it was neither Paſſion nor "Hatred againſt the Jeſuits, or others, that mov'd "him to Preach as he had done, but the dreadful "horror and unſpeakable Grief he had for the "ſurpriſing Death of his very good Maſter, and "the probability of danger to which the King "and Queen were expos'd, as long as theſe curs'd "Books of *Mariana*, and others, were ſpread a-"mong the People: Which being underſtood by "the Biſhop, he diſmiſs'd him, after he had gi-"ven him a gentle Admonition to live in Unity "with all the other Servants of God, and chiefly "with the Jeſuits; and to continue to preach the "Obedience due to the King and Queen, and to "praiſe the high Merits of the deceas'd King, "without offending any body.

(*n*) *Tom.* 1. *fol.* 440, *&c.*

(*o*) Mercure François, *tom.* 1. *fol.* 457.

(*p*) *i. e. of* Ravaillac.

(*a*) Ibid. *fol.* 493.

(*I*) *The Book wherein he obſerves the faults in the Government of his Society.*] While the Duke of *Lerma* detain'd him Priſoner for the Cauſes above-mention'd, all his Papers were rigidly examin'd by *Francis Soſa*, Biſhop of *Oſma*, and Counſellor of State, who had orders to deſtroy all the MSS. he ſhould find there, wherein the negligence of the King, and the tricks of the Duke of *Lerma* were cenſur'd. This Biſhop found a Book written with *Mariana*'s own Hand, of the Government of the Society of *Jeſus*, wherein the Author repreſents the deadly Miſchiefs wherewith the Society was threatn'd unleſs they corrected the diſorder of their Government; to which end he offers very good Advices. The Biſhop of *Oſma* made no ſcruple to give this MS. to his Friends that they might read it, and to permit them to take Copies of it. Hence it came to paſs, that this Book fell into the Hands of ſome (*b*) Perſons who ſent it into *France*, *Germany* and *Italy*. A *French* Bookſeller Printed it not only in *Spaniſh*, which was the Original Language, but alſo in *Latin*, *French* and *Italian*. After it was carried to *Rome*, the Jeſuit *Florentius*, Confeſſor to *Urban* VIII. read it, and cry'd out, *heu! heu! actum eſt de nobis Jeſuitis, quando nimis vera ſunt quæ liber hic canat.* The General of the Jeſuits ſpar'd no pains to obtain the Condemnation of this Book, which at laſt was granted in 1631. (*c*) The Author I cite alledges ſome Paſſages of this Book of *Mariana*. You may find it intire in *Spaniſh* and *French* in the ſecond Tome of the *Mercure Jeſuitique*, Printed at *Geneva* in 1631, and you may ſee the whole ſixth Chapter of it in the *Arcana Societatis Jeſu*, Printed at *Geneva* in 1635. Father *Alegambe* could not paſs over in ſilence this Book of *Mariana*; which he mentions after this manner. (*d*) *Circumferuntur præterea Hiſpanice, Gallice, Italice, Latine, excuſæ, Diſcurſus de erroribus, qui in forma gubernationis Societatis Jeſu occurrunt, conſtans 20 capitibus. Burdigalæ per Joannem de Bordes 1625, in 8°. & alibi. Sed clam illi ſubductus a malevolo quopiam ad eam landem Societati invidiam, extruſus in lucem eſt, adjecta etiam fortaſſe non paucis, ut pronum eſt exiſtimare, ab ipſius obſervationibus & animo alienis.* Conringius is much miſtaken when he ſays, that *Mariana* himſelf publiſh'd this Book: (*e*) *Tantam libertatem aſſumpſit ut & libellum ediderit de membris* (*f*) *Societatis, quem licet ſupprimerent Jeſuitæ, tamen in media Roma editum eſſe conſtat. rariſſimus hodie eſt inventu.* I can hardly believe that it was Printed at *Rome*, tho' *Conringius* affirms it.

(*IΔ*) *The Jeſuits are not agreed that* Mariana *was the Author of it.*] This appears from an Affair wherein they were concern'd in 1697, which made a great noiſe. The Archbiſhop of *Reims* publiſh'd a very learn'd Decree the 25th of *July* in that Year, againſt two *Theſes* which had been maintain'd by the Jeſuits of *Reim.*, and made uſe (*g*) of the Treatiſe of *John Mariana, of ſuch things which require amendment in the Society of the Jeſuits.* He ſays (*h*), that this *Spaniſh* Author, who liv'd in the time of the Congregations *de auxiliis*, informs us of the ſad Conſequences that follow'd, from the Liberty which *Molina*, and ſo many others took to publiſh their Viſions—— *Mariana* ſays therefore in Chap. 4. "*That from the* "*liberty every one took in teaching his own Opinions,* "*there follow'd many Contentions with the* Dominicans, "and he declares, *that the Jeſuits had better have* "*own'd them for their Maſters.* He adds, *That upon oc-*"*caſion of a Book which Father* Molina *wrote about* "*Grace and Free-will, theſe Fathers were ſo much of-*"*fended, that they had recourſe to the Inquiſition, and* "*from thence to* Rome, where he ſays, *That at the* "*time of his writing, the Proceſs ſtill continu'd, and* "*was manag'd with great Arrogance and Paſſion; and* "*that though the Jeſuits ſhould come off victorious,* "*which was very doubtful, yet it would coſt them* "*many great Summs, beſides the Vexation of many* "*Years.* I paſs by the other Extracts out of the ſame Book, which are to be found in the Decree of this Prelate. But let us ſee the Jeſuits Anſwer to him. They alledge at firſt two or three Arguments, and then they proceed after this manner. "(*i*) But, my Lord, without ſo much ar-"guing, I ought to tell you, that this Book did "not deſerve the honour to be cited in a great "Archbiſhop's Paſtoral Letter. This is, in few "words, the Hiſtory of it ſuch as our Enemies relate "it, the truth of which I do not pretend to vouch. "This MS, ſay they, was taken from *Mariana* "when he was put in Priſon at *Madrid* for another "Book he wrote about the change of Money, and "wherewith the Miniſters of *Spain*, and chiefly "the Duke of *Lerma*, were much offended. The "thing happen'd in 1609, or 1610. By this it ap-"pears, that the Enemies of the Jeſuits kept the "MS. for the ſpace of fifteen or ſixteen Years; *i.e.* "during all the remainder of the Life of *Mariana*.

(*n*) *And particularly into the Hands of* Nicolas Ricardus *a Dominican, ſurnam'd the* Monſter, *upon the account of his great Hair and Learning.* Bernardin Giraldus ubi infra.

(*o*) *Taken from* Bernardin Giraldus Apologia pro Senatu Veneto *p.* m. 140, *&c.*

(*d*) Alegambe, *p.* 258 *col.* 2.

(*e*) Conringius de Regno Hiſp. apud Pope Blount, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) *Perhaps it ſhould be* Moribus, *or* Morbis.

(*g*) *The Decree of* Charles Maurice Tellier, *p.* 55 *of the Delft Edition,* 1698.

(*h*) Ibid. *p.* 57.

(*i*) *A Remonſtrance to the Lord Archbiſhop of* Reims, *p. m.* 157. *&c.*

Book. His *Scholia*'s upon the Scripture have deserv'd the Approbation (*K*) of Father *Simon*. I had forgot to observe, that the Evil he said of *Henry* III. was (*L*) partly the cause why his Book of the Institution of a Prince was Condemned at *Paris*.

I doubt whether he wrote the Book (*M*) *de Republica Christiana*, which a *German* Writer praises very much.

MARY or MIRIAM the Sister of *Aaron* and *Moses*, makes a notable Figure in the Scripture twice or thrice at least. She was the cause why her Mother was chosen by the Daughter (*A*) of *Pharaoh* to be Nurse to *Moses*. She put herself at the Head

(1) Page 57.

(2) Marianæ Opuscula, *p.* 415, 416, 430, 431, *&c.*

(*k*) Colomiés, Biblioth. choisie. *p.* 174, *of the 2d Edition observes, that* Auger de Mauleon, Sieur de Granier, *Translated into French,* The Treatise of Father *Mariana* about the Reformation of the Government of the Jesuits. *See concerning Mr.* Granier, *the History of the* French Academy, *p.* 225.

(*l*) *Critical Hist of the Old Testament*, B. 3. c. 12. p. m. 426.

(*a*) *Critical Hist. of the principal Commentators of the New New Testament*, c. 42. p. 637.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 639.

(*c*) *Critical Hist of the Old Testament*. B. 3. c. 18. p. 463.

(*d*) By Balthazar Lippius, 1665. *That which I make use of is of the Year* 1611. Typis Wechelianis apud hæredes Joannis Aubrii.

" who might have disowned it, either as a Supposititious or falsify'd Book It was not Printed till 1625, immediately after the Death of this Father, who died in 1624, being about 90 Years of Age. This single Circumstance renders this Book suspected, and some Books have been accounted Supposititious for weaker Reasons. It was Printed only to defame our Society; and can it be doubted, whether they did not at least alter and add many things in it? But that which puts the Cheat out of all doubt, is this, that the Original was never produc'd, nor the place named where it was, although the Jesuits at that time presently complain'd of it as a Forgery. In effect, the very place which is cited in the Pastoral Letter, is so contrary to the Notions of *Mariana*, in the matter *de auxiliis*, that we must believe him a Fool, if we believe it to be his. For he is made to say in this place, that the Jesuits had done better, as to the Controversies about Grace, (1) *to own the Dominicans for their Masters*, than to contend with them (2) And *Mariana* in his Book entituled, *de morte & immortalitate*, which he wrote in the greatest heat of these Disputes, as he himself observes, show'd so strong a byass against the Doctrine of the *Thomists*, that *Molina* himself could not have done more." See the Margin (*k*).

(*K*) *His* Scholia's *upon the Scripture have deserv'd the Approbation of Father* Simon.] " (*l*) The *Scholia's*, " or Notes of *Mariana* upon the Old Testament, " may also be very useful for understanding the " literal Sense of the Scripture, because he chiefly " applies himself to find out the proper signification of the Hebrew words. Thus at the beginning of *Genesis*, he has judiciously observ'd, " that the Hebrew word *bara*, which is commonly Translated *to Create*, does not properly signifie *to make out of nothing*, as is commonly believ'd; " and that even the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors who invented the word *to Create*, could not use it " in this Sense, for as much as that which is now " call'd Creation, or the production of a thing " out of nothing, was altogether unknown to " them. Altho' these Notes are short enough, " yet he might have avoided some Remarks, " which serve only to show his Learning, and " not to explain the Text. Yet this sort of Digressions happen to him but seldom, and we " may say, that *Mariana* is one of the ablest and " most judicious Scholiasts that we have upon the " Bible "Tis true, that he had but a moderate " knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew Tongues; " but the sharpness of his Wit, and his great Application supplied in some measure this want. " He commonly made choice of the best Sense, " neither is he tedious in the different Interpretations he relates." In another Book Father *Simon* says: " (*a*) As for *Mariana*, his Notes " upon the New Testament are true *Scholia*'s, " wherein there appears no less Judgment than " Learning. (*b*) It were to be wish'd, that " the Observations of this learned Man had not " been so short. Nevertheless, he says much in a " few words. See also what the same Author says (*c*) about the Book of *Mariana* for the *Vulgar Edition*

(*L*) *He Evil he said of King* Henry III. *was partly the cause.*] This is manifest by the Tenor of the Decree; " The Court having seen—the Book of *John* " *Mariana*, entitul'd *de Rege & Regis Institutione*, Printed at *Mentz* (*d*), and other Places, which contains many Reproaches against the deceased King *Henry* " III. of most happy Memory, the Persons and States of Sovereign Kings and Princes, and other " Propositions contrary to the said Decree.—The " said Court hath ordain'd, and doth ordain, that " the said Book of *Mariana* shall be burnt by the " publick Executioner, before the Church of *Pa-*" *ris*—Done in Parliament *June* 8. 1610. If *Mariana* had only said, that *Henry* III. in his elder Years had stain'd all the Glory he acquir'd in his Youth, he could not be blam'd; for 'tis certain that no Prince ever became more unlike himself than he was. (*e*) *Felix futurus, si cum priscis ultima contexuisset, talemque se Principem præstitisset, qualis sub Carolo fratre Rege fuisse credebatur adversus perduelliones copiarum belliquæ dux: qui illi gradus ad regnum Poloniæ fu- procerum ejus gentis suffragio. Sed cesserunt prima postremis, bonaque juventæ major ætas flagitio obliteravit. Defuncto fratre revocatus in patriam, Regnoque Galliæ renunciatus, omnia in ludibrium vertit.* There was not a greater difference between *Hector* (*f*) victorious over *Patroclus*, and his Carcase drag'd by a Chariot, than between the Duke of *Anjou* victorious at *Moncontour*, and *Henry* III. beset by Monks and Minions, and forc'd to quit *Paris* to the Duke of *Guise*. Debauchery first began to enervate his Courage; but bigotry made him perfectly Effeminate. His Fraternities of Penitents, and their Sack-cloths bring to my Mind this place of Mr. *Despreaux*:

Dans ce sac ridicule où Scapin s'enveloppe,
Je ne reconnois plus l'Auteur du Misantrope.

I cannot any longer under this Sack-cloth, under this Equipage of a false Penitent, discern that brave Warrior who triumph'd over the Protestants at *Jarnac* and *Moncontour*, and who deserv'd the Suffrages of the *Polanders* for a great Kingdom. *Ultima primis Obstant, dissimiles hic vir & ille puer.* But *Mariana* did not confine himself to the observation of this change.

Note however, that 'tis falsly asserted in the last (*g*) Edition of *Moreri's* Dictionary, *That he publish'd the Book* de Rege & Regis Institutione *to justifie the Assassination of* Henry III. *King of* France. That was no-wise his design. He treated the matter according to the extent of the Title of his Book. What concerns the Authority he gives to Subjects over tyrannical Kings, is but a very small part of his Book, and he does not speak of *Henry* III. but occasionally and in a few words.

(*M*) *The Book* de Republica Christiana, *which a* German *Writer praises very much.*] He says, that it is an excellent Work publish'd by *John Mariana* in *Spanish*, in 1615, and dedicated to *Philip* III (*h*) King of *Spain*; and that after many other ingenious Devices and wise Proposals, he gives a description of the Head of a good Prince, with the lawful use of his five external Senses. If *Mariana* had publish'd such a Book, would the Writers of the Bibliotheque, of the Society, and *Don Nicolas Antonio* have pass'd it over in silence?

(*A*) *That her Mother was chosen to be Nurse to* Moses.] The Scriptures relates, that after he was expos'd, his Sister kept at a distance (*i*) to see what became of him, and that she said to *Pharao*'s Daughter, who had the Child brought to her (*k*). *Shall I go, and call to thee a Nurse of the Hebrew Women, that she may Nurse the Child for thee?* And that after she receiv'd an Answer, she fetch'd her Mother who had orders to Nurse him. *Josephus* thinking that this Story was not sufficiently circumstantiated, supposes that the Daughter of *Pharaoh* employ'd at first *Egyptian* Nurses, but that the Infant would not suck any of them; and that *Mary* feigning to come there only out of curiosity, represented to the Princess that it was to no purpose to fetch a Nurse but one of the Hebrew Women, and that it would be well done to try whether it would be more tractable with a Woman of that Nation. The young Maid had order to seek out one, and she fetch'd her Mother, and because she

(*c*) Mariana de Rege, *l.* 1. *c.* 6. *p. m.* 54.

(*f*) In somnis, ecce, ante oculos mœstissimus Hector Visus adesse mihi, largosque effundere fletus; Raptatus bigis, ut quondam, aterque cruento Pulvere, perque pedes trajectus lora tumentes. Hei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore; qui redit exuvias indutus Achillei, Vel Danaûm Phrygios jaculatus puppibus ignes! *Virgil. Æn. l.* 2. *v.* 270.

(*g*) *That of* Paris. 1699.

(*h*) Post multa alia ingeniose excogitata cordateque prolata. *Andreas Carolus Ambas Sacrorum in Duc. Wirtembergico Memorab. Eccles. seculi* 17 *l.* 2. *c.* 26. *p.* 388.

(*i*) Exod.

He cites Selenian. An. 2. 4. (*k*) Ibid. ver

Head of all the Women of *Iſrael* after the Paſſage through the Red Sea, that they might ſing (*B*) the ſame Song that the Men had ſung. She joyn'd with her Brother *Aaron*

(*l*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. 2 c. 5.

Child ſuck'd her freely, ſhe was appointed his Nurſe (*l*). This Supplement of Circumſtances is not ill contriv'd, although it multiplies Miracles a little. Note, that there are ſome Commentators, who think, that even according to the Relation of Holy Scripture, there is a Lye in the words of this Infant's Siſter; for ſhe feign'd that ſhe would go and ſeek out another Woman than her Mother. Whereupon they relate to us all the Examples of officious or pious Frauds that we read of in the ſacred Writers, that of *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, *Michol*, &c. and conclude, that there are Devices that are commendable, and a Deceitfulneſs that is of neceſſary uſe, not only in the profeſſion of Arms, and the Political Adminiſtration, but alſo in Domeſtick Affairs (*m*). This you will find in the Commentary of the Cordelier *John Nodinus* on the 2d of *Exodus*, and he grounds it upon the Authority of St. *Baſil*, and St. *John Damaſcen*. But this is altogether impertinent; for our *Mary* did nothing contrary to Sincerity, ſhe denied not that the Woman ſhe would fetch was her Mother: She only did not confeſs it, becauſe ſhe was not ask'd about it, nor oblig'd upon any account to tell what ſhe knew. The defenders of Equivocations cannot find any thing here that favours them.

(*m*) Ex Joanne Nodino in priora 15. capita Exodi, *p.* 67. *edit. Lug.* 1611.

(*B*) *That they might ſing the ſame Song that the Men had ſung.*] When I ſpeak thus, I confine my ſelf to the order of the Narrative in the Scripture. You ſee in the 15th Chapter of *Exodus*, the whole Song which *Moſes* and the Children of *Iſrael* ſung after the deſtruction of the Army of *Pharaoh*, and then you read thus: (*n*) *And Mary the Propheteſs, the Siſter of Aaron, took a Timbrel in her Hand, and all the Women went out after her with Timbrels and with Dances. And Mary anſwered them, ſing ye to the Lord*, &c. The word *præcinebat* in the vulgar Latin, ſeems to me better than the word *anſwer'd* in the *Geneva* Verſion; for it is very probable that *Mary* begun and ſet the Song and led the Dance of the Women. Conſult *Philo* who ſuppoſes that *Moſes* appointed two Quires, one of Men, and the other of Women, and that himſelf directed the Muſick in the former, and gave the management of the other to his Siſter, and that theſe two *Chorus*'s anſwer'd one another. There are ſome who think, that *Moſes* either alone, or with the Men, ſung the Song, and that the others ſung only the beginning of it, which they repeated from time to time like the Burden of it. (*o*) *Oleaſter hæc ſcribit.* Credi derim equidem, Moſen & viros Hebræos Canticum hoc incœpiſſe, fœminas vero reſpondiſſe: ita quod Moſes aut ſolus, aut ſimul cum viris Canticum proſequebatur, fœminæ vero reſpondebant ſeu repetebant illud exordium Cantici *Cantemus Domino*, ut conſtat ex fine hujus Cantici, ubi talia verba repetuntur à Maria. Hoc enim ſolebat in aliis etiam Canticis fieri, ut patet in Pſal. 135 ubi unus aut duo dicebant: *Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus, quoniam in æternum miſericordia ejus.* Et deinceps proſequebantur alios verſus: Cœtus autem aliorum repetebat ſemper illud: *Quoniam in æternum miſericordia ejus.* Idem quoque obſervare licet in primo libro Samuelis capite decimo octavo. Solebant enim Prophetæ choros canentium ducere, dum laudes Dei celebrarent *Sic Oleaſter*. Philo tamen in libro tertio de vita Moſis, ait, Moſen diſtribuiſſe omnem populum in duos choros, unum virorum, in quo ipſe viris præibat Carmen: alterum, in quo ſoror ejus Maria præcinebat fœminis. Ergo Moſes prior quemlibet verſum hujus Cantici canebat, & deinde populus eundem verſum cantabat. Sed enim idem Philo in libro de Agricultura, ſcribit, factos eſſe duos choros: unum mulierum: alterum virorum, è diverſo ſtantes, & alternis carminibus ſibi invicem reſpondentes. A Modern (*a*) Poet fancies, that this great Prophet plac'd himſelf in the middle of the two *Chorus*'s, and diſtributed the parts of the Song, and kept time with his Rod. You may ſee a deſcription of the Habits and Geſtures of *Mary*, I ſay you may ſee it in this Paſſage of Father *Menetrier*. "(*b*) After the Paſ-
" ſage through the Red Sea, *Moſes* and *Mary* his
" Siſter, to thank God for the preſervation of his
" People, and the deſtruction of the *Egyptians*,
" who were drown'd in the purſuit of them,
" made two great *Chorus*'s ſeparated from one an-
" other, the one of Men and the other of Wo-
" men, and dane'd to the Tune of a Song, which
" makes the fifteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, a Song
" of Thankſgiving. A Modern Poet has elegant-
" ly deſcrib'd this Dance in the ſixth Book of his
" Poem intituled *Moſes Viator*.

(*n*) Exod. xv 20, 21

(*o*) Pererius in c. 15. Exodi Diſput. 1. p. m. 484.

(*a*) *It is a Jeſuit of* Lyons, *call'd* Antonius Millinæus. *See* Alegambe, *p.* 40.

(*b*) Menetrier *of Ancient and Modern Songs*, p. 9, &c.

" *Nunc* (1) *igitur memores animos ad Carmina mecum*
" *Adjicite; alternas ſubſultent caſtra choreas;*
" *Littora divinas referant ad ſidera laudes.*
" *Sic fatus jubet in partes diſcedere turmas*
" *Adverſiſque choris medius, geſtumque, modoſque*
" *Dividit, & virga modulans præit Enthea verba.*
" *Hæc poſtquam ſaltata Viris, modulataque Vate*
" *Chorona, paribus ſtimulis agit impetus idem*
" *Hæbreas cantare nurus, Diamque Pronæam*
" *Tinnula concuſſis ad tympana pſallere ſiſtris.*
" *Proſiluit ſancto Moſis ſoror exacta Phœbo,*
" *Prætexta lambente pedes, cinctuque modeſto*
" *Caſtigante ſinus: volat alto a vertice Sadon*
" *Carbaſina & Zephyros Zona retinente volucres.*
" *Subtileſque tument telæ pellentibus auris,*
" *Cærula jam niveos compleſſit tunica crines,*
" *Saltibus extremæ volitant per ton pora plantæ.*
" *Aſſultant digitiſque pedes, pulſuque moventur*
" *Ora, pedis, digitique pari, non molliter edunt*
" *Brachia, non humeri, aut ſuperis, aut corpore toto*
" *Vox ſonat, & cunctis loquitur Symphonia membris.*
" *Exiliunt paribus ſtudiis examina matrum*
" *Virgineique greges, hæ ſiſtra ſonantia pulſant*
" *Hæ citharas & plectra movent, hæ nabla canunt:*
" *Nec vultus torſiſſe pudor, caſta omnia caſti*
" *Obſequii decorat pietas. Tot Elisabetha virgo*
" *Inchoat, & geſtu cantum comitante figurat.*

(1) Antonius Millinæus, *l.* 6. Moſis Viatoris.

Here follows another Paſſage of the ſame Writer which contains many things that do not relate to *Mary*; but ſince the whole is curious, I will not part what concerns the Song from the reſt (*c*). " It is the moſt ancient Song (*d*) we have, and " the greateſt part of the Interpreters of this " Song are of Opinion, that it is the firſt Com-" poſition in Muſick, which appear'd (*e*) three " Hundred Years before the Birth of *Linus* and " *Orpheus*, whom the *Grecians* make the Fathers of " Poetry. This Song is a meer Narrative; but " that which we have in the 32d Chapter of *Deu-*" *teronomy*, has all the beauties of Poetry and of " great Eloquence. God commanded *Moſes* to " write this Song the Day before his Death, to " ſerve for the Condemnation of the People of " the *Jews*, whoſe Ingratitude was exceeding " great. This faithful Miniſter of the Will of " God, did not only write but ſing it: And as " the Author of the Book of the Wonders of the " Scripture, which is inſerted among the Works " of St *Auſtin*, thought that God wrought a Mi-" racle with reſpect to the firſt of theſe Songs, " having inſpir'd all the People to ſing it with a " juſt Harmony, and a regular Conſort of ſo ma-" ny Voices without any Confuſion; ſo ſome " Interpreters are of Opinion, that God wrought " another Miracle with reſpect to the ſecond, " by giving *Moſes* a Voice ſo ſtrong and extenſive, " as to be heard by all the People, how diſtant " ſoever a great part of that prodigious Multitude " was from him.

(2) Menetrier, *Repreſentation en Muſique*, p. 9, &c.

(3) He ſpeaks of that which was ſung after the paſſage thro' the Red Sea.

(c) Here is why Pererius ſays ubi ſupra, p. 485, 486. Inter alias porro hujus Cantici excellentias, illa profecto perinſignis eſt, quod eſt primum omnium Canticorum, quæ fuiſſe unquam facta vel cantata, ſive in Cœlis, ſive in profanis literarum monumentis proditum ſit, nam Lini, Muſæi, & Orphei, qui ante bellum Trojanum fuerunt, hymnos, carmina, & cantus, plus trecentis annis poſt hoc Canticum Moſis eſſe factos, certatem-porum obſervatione compertum eſt.

Note, That it is ſomething probable, that Mr *Herſant* is not altogether of the ſame Opinion with the Jeſuit *Menetrier*. *He hath Printed a Little Book with this Title*, the Song of *Moſes* in the 15th Chapter of *Exodus*, explain'd according to the Rules of Rhetorick. *He pretends that this Piece which was written in Hebrew Proſe, exceeds all that is moſt Ingenious in this kind in Prophane Authors, and that* Virgil *and* Horace, *the moſt perfect Patterns of poetical Eloquence, have nothing that comes near it.* This we read in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for the Month of *March* 17[illegible], p. 353, with this Circumſtance, that Mr. *Herſant* is at preſent with the Abbot de Louvois, *and that he was before Profeſſor of Rhetorick in the College of* Pleſſis. There is Reaſon to believe that he looks upon the Song of the

Aaron in murmuring againſt *Moſes* (*C*), and was ſeverely puniſh'd for doing it; for ſhe became Leprous, * and was ſeparated from the Camp for the ſpace of ſeven Days. She would not have been deliver'd from this Affliction, if *Moſes* had not implor'd the Mercy of God. She † died before her two Brethren, and in the ſame Year with them, β and was interr'd with Pomp, and at the Expence of the Publick in the Mountain of *Sin*. 'Tis believ'd that ſhe liv'd a Hundred and Thirty Years, or thereabout. The *Rabbins* make a ridiculous Remark, becauſe the ſacred Text does not contain the ſame Clauſe (*D*) concerning the Death of as *Mary*, as concerning the two Brethren. He that would know the Relation that is between this Siſter of *Moſes*, and the Pagan Goddeſſes needs only read Mr. *Huet*'s Demonſtration γ.

MARY the *Egyptian*, an infamous Debauchee, and a famous Convert. When ſhe was twelve Years old, ſhe went out of her Father's Houſe, into the City of *Alexandria*, where ſhe ſpent twenty ſeven Years in lewd Practices, and then ſhe went to *Jeruſalem* to continue there the ſame kind of Life. But an inviſible Power having hinder'd her from entering into the Temple on the Day of the Exaltation of the Holy Croſs, ſhe felt ſuch a remorſe of Conſcience as oblig'd her to proſtrate her ſelf before an Image of the Holy Virgin, and to promiſe that ſhe would forſake her lewd Courſes. After that ſhe enter'd into the Temple, and having ador'd the Croſs, ſhe enquir'd of the Holy Virgin what ſhe ſhould do to pleaſe God. She heard a Voice which order'd her to go into the Deſert; which ſhe obey'd, and did Penance forty ſeven Years, without ſeeing any Body. She was ſerv'd there by Angels for the laſt Thirty Years. The Author ♪ who furniſhes me with theſe Materials, ſays nothing of the (*A*) Payment ſhe would have made to the Mariners for her Paſſage.

* Numb. chap. 12.

† Ib. c. 28.

β Joſeph. Antiq l. 4. c. 4. p. m. 109.

γ Huet. Demon. Evangel. prop. 4 c. 10. p. m. 252. *&c.* & in præfat. fol. c. 2. verſo.

♪ [redacted], Eſquire, Sieur de Petit-Puy *in his Dictionary ſerving for an univerſal Library, Printed at* Paris *in* 1649, *in fol. p.* 254. (*wherein he cites* Sophronius *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. Nicephorus Calliſtus, B. 8 ch. 5. *of his Hiſtory. St.* John Damaſcen, *in his* 3. Oration of Images) *&* p. 325.

15th Chapter of *Exodus*, as more beautiful than that in Chap 32 of *Deuteronomy*. And this is not the Opinion of the Jeſuit *Menetrier*. We ſhall conclude with cenſuring a miſtake of Mr. *Simon*, who ſays (*f*) that the Song in Chap. 15. of *Exodus* was Compos'd by *Mary*.

(*f*) Simon's *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 514. Note, *That this* Simon *is different from him who wrote the Critical Hiſtory of the Bible.*

(*C*) *She joyn'd with her Brother* Aaron *in murmuring againſt* Moſes.] The Scripture relates this in theſe words. (*g*) *And Miriam and Aaron ſpoke againſt Moſes, becauſe of the Ethiopian Woman whom he had married; for he had married an Ethiopian Woman: And they ſaid, hath the Lord indeed ſpoken by Moſes? hath not he alſo ſpoken by us?* In our Age many Readers complain, that a thing is not written ſhort enough, and accuſe all Authors of Prolixity, who do not leave the beſt of their Thoughts to be gueſs'd at. Such Readers would find theſe two Verſes of *Moſes* admirable, tho' they ſhould not believe them inſpir'd by God; for things are expreſs'd there by halves, and parted from one another by a great Gap. There are many Connections wanting, which they muſt ſupply, and ſince they love this Exerciſe, they may here find Matter for ſuch an agreeable Employment. The words of the ſacred Author, which I have related, are equivalent to theſe: *Mary and Aaron ſpoke ill of Moſes, becauſe of his Marriage with an Ethiopian Woman, and their evil-ſpeaking was expreſs'd after this manner, Does none Propheſie but he? If he is a Prophet, we are ſo too.* We do not ſee at firſt bluſh, how the Wife of *Moſes* was the cauſe of theſe Interrogations? The leap is a little too great from the Principle to the Conſequence, and the Mind is divided into divers Conjectures about the Connexion of Relation between theſe things. I think the famous *Toſtatus* did not conjecture amiſs, who ſuppoſes that *Sephora* the Wife of *Moſes*, was proud of the Glory and Prophetick Authority of her Spouſe, and from thence took occaſion to inſult her Siſter-in-Law, and affected to exalt the Merit of her Husband above that of *Aaron*. The Siſter-in-Law, and the Brother-in-Law, having no better way to humble her Pride, Criticiz'd upon the Marriage of *Moſes* with a Woman of another Nation, and boaſted that they had a ſhare in Propheſie as well as he. (*h*) *Veriſimile eſt, quod ait Abulenſ. Sephoram more muliebri* (*hic enim ſexus, cum ſit imbecillis ingenii & judicii, ambitioſus eſt, & ſui honoris ſtudioſus*) *voluiſſe ſe præferre Mariæ, eo quod uxor eſſet Moſis, Moſenque ſuum, quaſi populi ducem, verbis extulſſe, ac præpoſuiſſe Mariæ & Aaroni: qua re primum concitata Maria, deinde Aaron, ſe erigere cæperunt, volentes ſe non tantum Sepholæ, ſed & Moſi æquare, jactitando ſe tam nobiles eſſe prophetas, quam erat Moſes. Id ita eſſe, colligitur tum ex v. ſeq. tum ex v. 6. ubi Deus hanc murmuris cauſam indicat, & præſumit, docetque eos in ambitione ſua falli; eo quod Moſ præſtantiſſimus, fidelliſſimus, Deoque familiariſſimus ſit propheta, cui nec quis alius comparari poſſit.* This Suppoſition of *Toſtatus* connects the disjointed Pieces, and diſpels the obſcurity in the reaſoning of the ſacred Hiſtorian. Note, That there are ſome Commentators who maintain, that *Sephora* might be call'd an *Ethiopian*, tho' ſhe was of *Arabia* (*i*). But others pretend (*k*), that the Seventy Interpreters, and the Author of the Vulgar Latin, did not underſtand the true ſenſe of the Hebrew word, which they have tranſlated an *Ethiopian* Woman. Note alſo, that this Chapter of the Book of *Numbers* is proper to prove, that the Title of a Propheteſs which is given to *Mary* in Chap. 15. of *Exodus*, did properly belong to her, and that according to the higheſt ſignification of the word; *i. e.* That ſhe had a ſhare in the Divine Inſpiration (*a*).

(*g*) Num. c. 12. v. 1. & 2.

(*i*) Corn. à Lapide in Exod. c. 12. v. 1. p. m. 856.

(*i*) *See* Cornelius a Lapide. Ibid.

(*k*) *See Mr. le* Clerc *upon this place of* Numb.

(*D*) *The ſame Clauſe concerning the Death of* Mary, *as concerning that of the two Brethren.*] This Clauſe in the Verſion of *Geneva* ſignifies, that *Aaron* and *Moſes* died *according to the Command of God*; but the *Jews* pretend it ſignifies *by the Mouth of God*, as if the Breath of God had ſoftly drawn out their Soul. They add, that *Mary* died not after this manner, which is not fit for the feminine Sex, and that the Worm has no power over thoſe who die ſo. What Impertinence is here! (*b*) *De Moſe quidem*, Deut. cap. xxxiv. v. 5. *De Aharone autem*, Numb. cap. xxxiii. v. 38. *dicitur, quod moriens fuit* עַל פִּי יְהוָה ad os, *i. in oſculo*, Domini, *quaſi anima eorum ipſius Dei halitu ſuaviſſime rapta fuerit. De eorum ſorore Mirjam dicunt, eam mortuam quidem* כנשיקה *ſed non* עַל פִּי יְהוָה ad os Domini, *quaſi hæc locutio ſequiori ſexui non conveniat. In hos vero vermem non habuiſſe poteſtatem in libro Jalkut legitur.* The *Pagan* Superſtition is well known, which made Kinſmen apply their Mouth to that of dying Perſons. See the Commentators of *Virgil* upon theſe words of *Dido*'s Siſter: (*c*) *Et extremus ſi quis ſuper halitus erat, Ore legam.* All thoſe who treat (*d*) *de funeribus* ſpeak of this Cuſtom.

(*a*) *See* Rivet in Exod. *c.* 15. *v.* 20. *Oper. tom.* 1. *p.* 963.

(*b*) Lomeier. genial. dierum decad. 1. *p.* 337, 338.

(*c*) Virg. Æn. *l.* 4. *v.* 684.

(*d*) *See among others* Kirchmannus de funeribus Romanorum, *l.* 1. *c.* 5.

(*A*) *Of the Payment ſhe would have made to the Mariners.*] Having no Money to give them for her Paſſage, ſhe offer'd to give them leave to uſe her Body as they pleas'd This made the famous *Peter du Moulin* ſay, that the Authors of the *Legends* had no Judgment, and manag'd the matter ſo, as if they deſign'd to ridicule the Saints they write of. (*e*) *Vitas Sanctorum ſic deſcripſerunt Pontificii, quaſi propoſitum iis fuiſſet eos differre populo, & exſibilandos proponere. Mariam Ægyptiam perhibent cum non haberet unde naulum ſolveret, voluiſſe facere nautis corporis ſui copiam, ut quod non habebat in ære lucret in corpore.* You will eaſily believe me, when I ſay that I will not take the part of the *Legendary* Writers; nevertheleſs I may ſay, that a judicious Writer might relate what Mr *du Moulin* alledges as a Proof of Indiſcretion: For if it were true, that *Mary* the *Egyptian* would have proſtituted herſelf to the Mariners for Payment of what ſhe owed them, becauſe ſhe had no Money; I do not ſee why any Hiſtorian ſhould ſuppreſs it: Is it not very proper to exalt the Mercy of God, and the Efficacy of

(*e*) Petrus Molinæus in Hyperaſpiſtes adverſus Silveſtrum Petrafanctam, *p.* 46.

Paſſage. The *Confeſſion of Sancy* (*B*) has too much abridg'd the Hiſtory of this Woman: It is in the Chapter wherein there is a fraud (*C*) concerning St. *Dominick*, and a Nun call'd MARY. This Name will make my Remark not altogether impertinent; but

Spirit? The more enormous the extravagance of a debauch'd Woman has been, the more we ought to admire her Converſion, and the long auſterities of her Penance: And therefore Diſcretion does not oblige an Author to ſay nothing of the ſingular Circumſtances of the Lewdneſs of the Convert. Moreover it cannot be objected to the Legendary Writers, that they tranſgreſs the Rule of Probability; for theſe Creatures, which are the Victims of publick Impurity, as *Tertullian* calls them, are ſometimes reduc'd to the laſt Farthing, or elſe they had rather gratifie their Creditors with the uſe of their Body, than diſcharge the Debt by paying the Money.

(*B*) *Has too much abridg'd the Hiſtory of this Woman.*] Here follow the words of *d'Aubigne*. " (*f*) " The Legend of the Saints is the Garden of the " Soul: In this Garden are Herbs, which at leaſt " give reſt, if they do not cure. A Spark " who complies with the Neceſſity of the Times, " knows what the Country People call Robbing. " If he finds that his diſſolute Soul cannot change " its Life, there is in the Legend, in the Chap. of " the Annunciation, an Example of a Knight, who " Robb'd without pity both Poor and Rich, and " was acquitted for ſaying once every Day, *Ave* " *Maria*. And as to the Soldiers of theſe Days, " it is what they commonly practiſe. If a Lady " of the Court feels in her diſſolute Soul, that " ſhe cannot leave her Great, Catholick and Uni- " verſal Lewdneſs, has not ſhe *Mary* the *Egyptian* to " comfort her, who from the Age of twelve Years, " till ſhe became contemptible for old Age, never " refus'd a Man? And have not we the Example " of St. *Magdalen* ſo ancient in famous Chrono- " cles. The writers of the Legend have after- " wards taught us, how ſhe by her Charms made " many Men of good Families ſell their Goods " for her; many valiant Men cut their Throats " through jealouſie of their Love, and then " ſhe had no ſooner left off, but preſently ſhe " was Canoniz'd." The omiſſion of this Author, with reſpect to St. *Mary* the *Egyptian*, and St. *Magdalen*, is inexcuſable; for he ſuppoſes that theſe two Proſtitutes were immediately advanc'd from their infamous place, to the Rank of Canoniz'd Saints, and by this Suppoſition he pretends to prove, that the Legend is very fit to let looſe the Reins to thoſe Ladies, who have a boundleſs deſire to ſpend their time with Men. If he had dealt candidly, he ſhould have told us of the long Penance of theſe two Saints; but ſince this would have ſpoil'd the Rallery he intended in the Objection againſt the Legendary Writers, he thought it would be better to ſay nothing of it, or even to deny it (*g*). Let us learn from hence, that Satyrical Writers are the People in all the World, againſt whom a Reader ſhould moſt guard himſelf. Theſe are the Men who reaſon the worſt of any, and by the pleaſantneſs of their Wit, hinder us from enquiring into their Sophiſtical Arguments. But let us remember, that if they can diſpenſe with many Rules, yet they ought to be no leſs ſubject to the Laws of Reaſoning (*h*) than grave Authors.

(*C*) *Wherein there is a fraud concerning St.* Dominick.] I make this Remark only to ſet in a clearer light what was ſaid juſt now; and therefore it ought not to be condemn'd as being foreign to this place. (*i*) " When I was a *Huguenot*, (*they are* Sancy's " *words*) I found nothing that made me laugh " ſo much as the Legend of *Brother Jacopon*. " There is alſo a Book in our Houſe, on which " I have made fine Annotations, as particularly " upon making his Brother confeſs his Sins by " Signs. Madam *de Villeroy* enquiring, how " he confeſs'd his Whoring, had alſo the cu- " riority to ask, how they call'd in Greek, that " light Oil which St *Dominick* ſpilt between the " Nuns Thighs, and call'd it the Oil of Love." 'Tis certain, that *d'Aubigne* falſifies the Legend, that he may give the Story a more diverting air; but I think that neither the Laws of Rallery, nor even of Satyr do allow of this. The Legend ſays (*k*), That a Nun being in an Extaſie, thought ſhe ſaw him come into her Chamber, accompanied with two Friars, and that he took out from under his Garment an Ointment of a very good ſmell, wherewith he rubb'd her Leg, and call'd it the ſign of Charity. (*l*) *Maria ſanctimonialis in Extaſi vidit Dominicum cum duobus fratribus ante lectum ejus intrantem, qui de ſub cappa ungentum miræ fragrantiæ proferens, tibiam ejus inunxit, quam unctionem dilectionis eſſe ſignum dixit.* By comparing theſe words with thoſe in the *Confeſſion of Sancy*, what falſifications do we not find? The Legend does not ſay, that *Dominick* applied an Ointment to the Nun's Leg, but it ſays, that the Nun being in an extaſy, thought ſhe ſaw this Saint who rubb'd her Leg with the Ointment; and ſo it was only a Dream, or a Viſion At leaſt *d'Aubigne* ſhould have ſtopt at the Nun's Leg, and not have corrupted the Text, by the falſe gloſs of ſpilling light Oil between the Legs. If the Queſtion was about the Trunk of a Tree, it would be a ſmall miſtake; a little nearer to, or farther from the Earth, would make no difference; but in ſuch a Subject as this the difference is Capital. Mr. *du Moulin* in his Anſwers to *Petra-ſancta*, promiſes to ſpeak elſewhere (*a*) of this Unction of St. *Dominick*. I do not know whether he kept his word, but his Brother-in-Law *Andrew Rivet* anſwering the ſame Jeſuit, does very candidly ſtop at the literal ſenſe of the Legend; he owns, that this anointing of the Leg was only a Dream; but he declares, that theſe extatick Viſions were ridiculous and juſtly ſuſpected (*b*) It was at this, as he pretends, that *du Moulin* ſcoffed, and not meerly at the uſe of Ointments for healing of the Sick, a thing practis'd by the Apoſtles. (*c*) *Accuſat Molinæum, quod riſerit* Dominicum *ſanantem* mulierem *oleo, & Franciſcum* aviculis *concionantem. Primum illud non potuit ſimpliciter irridere Molinæus, qui noverat initio Chriſtianiſmi Apoſtolos unxiſſe ægros oleo, & ſanaſſe, Marc.* 7. *Sed riſit & merito, quod in legenda Dominici legatur, quod* Maria Sanctimonialis, &c. (*d*). Obſerve that *Petra-ſancta* knowing that in the Library of *Sedan*, they had laughed at this Action of *Dominick*, did not make uſe of the Anſwer which the Legend could have furniſh'd him with, *viz.* That it was a Dream; for he was ignorant of this Circumſtance: But he anſwer'd very ſeriouſly, That they might as well make ſuch a rallery at *Jeſus Chriſt*, who anointed a dumb Man with his Spittle. (†) *Sedani, dum Bibliotheca, his qui mecum advenerant, oſtenderetur, nihil fermè auditum eſt, præter Sanctorum irriſiones. Riſit aliquis ſanctum Dominicum, perſanantem oleo mulierem ægram Rideat perinde Chriſtum Dominum aut ſaliva utentem, aut luto, dum os muti aperiret, & dum oculis unius cæci nati explicaret lucem & diem* This is a bad Anſwer, for this is to own the Matter of Fact After all, the Ralleries of *d'Aubigne* muſt needs be falſe, ſince they are founded upon a Lye And this ſhould teach the Readers, that if they would be well inſtructed in Controverſie, they muſt neither conſult Satyrs, nor Books of Burleſque: This were to ſit in the Seat of the Scorners, an Action condemn'd in the firſt *Pſalm* Such People when they have a mind to divert themſelves (*f*), ſpare not their beſt Friends, but they care little for Truth (*g*). See the Remark (D). Thus when the Poet whom I cite, makes this demand, " (*b*) Can any thing hinder one that jeſts " from ſpeaking the Truth? *He might be anſwer'd* " you'll find an Anſwer to this in your 4th Satyr, " where you ſay that a Jeſter gives no Quarter " even to his beſt Friends; much leſs does he re- " gard the Circumſtances of a Story." Nevertheleſs the Queſtion put by *Horace* is reaſonable, for it ſignifies no more but that 'tis poſſible for one in Rallery to ſpeak the Truth; and this is inconteſtable.

The Injury done by *d'Aubigne* will be better diſcover'd, if we conſider, that in all probability the Apology for *Herodotus* was his Original: In which Book I find theſe words " (*i*) I will not " forget another act of the ſame St. *Dominick*, re- " lated

(*f*) Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy, *B.* 1. *c.* 2. *p. m.* 329.

(*g*) *This* d'Aubigne *does in theſe words*, She had no ſooner left off, but ſhe was preſently Canoniz'd.

(*h*) *See the Article* Colomies *Remark C.*

(*i*) D'Aubigne ubi

(*k*) *In* Jacobus de Voragine.

(*l*) Jacobde Voragine in Aurea Legenda, apud Rivetum in Caſtigat. notarum in epiſtol. Molinæi ad Balzacum, *c.* 6. *n.* 2. *Oper. tom.* 3 *p.* 511

(*a*) De Dominico conſricante femur puellæ unguento amoris ſuo loco agetur. *Molinæus ubi ſupra p.* 47

(*b*) Effaſes illæ monialium quæ monachos *Sommant* ingredientes & earum ungentes tibias unguento dilectionis *de ſub cappa*, & ridiculæ ſunt & ſuſpectæ. *Rivet ubi ſupra*

(*c*) Id ib.

(†) Petra-ſancta, nor in epiſtol. Molinæi ad Balzacum, *c.* 3 *p.* 32.

(*f*) Fenum habet in cornu, longe fuge dum modo riſum Excutiat ſibi non hic cuiquam parcet amico. *Horat. Sat.* 4. *lib.* 1

(*g*) *Compare the Article* Broſſier, *Remark A.*

(*b*) Ridentem dicere verum Quid vetat? *Horat. Sat.* 1. *lib.* 1. *v.* 24.

(*i*) Henry Stephen's *Apology for* Herodotus, *c.* 24. *p.* 367, 368

but ſince it is moreover deſign'd to oppoſe the bad Inclination Men have to truſt too much (CΔ) to Satyrical Writers, I hope I ſhall be excus'd for irregularity of placing it here.

If I could have conſulted (D) the Work, which is entituled S. *Maria Ægyptiaca*, *muſta*

" lated towards the end of his Legend, an Act " truly of a good Companion, at leaſt related in " ſuch a manner as will make good Companions " laugh, and afford them matter of jeſting; which " was this, that a Nun call'd *Mary*, having a pain " in her Thigh, endur'd it for the ſpace of five " Months, and deſpair'd of curing it. Then ſhe " ſaid to her ſelf, that ſhe was not worthy to pray " unto God, nor to be heard by him, and there- " fore ſhe deſir'd St. *Dominick* to be a Mediator be- " tween God and her, to obtain for her the Bleſ- " ſing of Health. And after this Requeſt, being " aſleep, ſhe ſaw near her St. *Dominick*, who took " from under his Garment an Oil of a good ſmell, " wherewith he anointed her Thigh. And when " ſhe ask'd how the Ointment was call'd, St. *Do-* " *minick* anſwer'd, that it was the Ointment of " Love." Thus you ſee that even by the Confeſſion of *Henry Stephens* the Nun was aſleep.

(k) Jurieu Prejug. 1. *part. p.* 198.

Mr. *Jurieu* confeſſes the ſame thing, but according to his Cuſtom he takes little care to ſpeak exactly. His words (k) are theſe. " The " ſame Legend ſays, that a Nun call'd *Mary*, ha- " ving for the ſpace of five Months a great pain " in the Parts next to thoſe which I dare not " name, St. *Dominick* appear'd to her in a Dream, " and pull'd from under his Habit an Ointment " of a very good ſmell, wherewith he rubb'd the " part affected, and being ask'd by the Maid what " it was, he anſwer'd, that it was call'd *unguen-* " *tum amoris*. This is as chaſt as the Amours of " *Francis* for St. *Clara*, and his Paſſion for Friar " *Maſſius*, whom he embrac'd and rais'd from the " Ground in his Arms. Which put Father *Maſſius* " in ſo great a heat, that he was like one in the " midſt of a Fire, ſays the Book of the *Conformities*." Note, that he puts in the Margin this Summary; *The Abominations of St.* Francis *and St.* Dominick; and conclude from thence, that he treats the Controverſie as if he were playing at Blind-Man's-Buff with his Eyes clos'd. I leave it to thoſe who believe it is not lawful to act deceitfully for the Religion, *i. e.* to tranſgreſs the Duties of Religion for the ſake of Religion; I leave it to them, I ſay to judge, whether Honour and Conſcience can permit, that the word *tibia* ſhould be tranſlated by *the Parts next to thoſe which I dare not name*. It is a Circumlocution which would be abſurd in all ſorts of Subjects; for in ſhort the word *Leg*, which anſwers that of *tibia*, has nothing in it which obliges a Man to uſe any Periphraſis: But to make uſe of it on purpoſe to give one an Idea of Impurity, is to carry the matter beyond an Abſurdity, and is a criminal Fraud. The Cheat does no leſs appear in the change of theſe Terms, *ſignum dilectionis*, into thoſe of *unguentum amoris*. But what will you ſay of a Writer, who rather than loſe the Compariſon he had found in the Apology (l) for *Herodotus*, compares the Viſion of a Nun in an Extaſie, with the Embraces of two Men full of vigor? Tho' it were certain the Nun had dream'd that St. *Dominick* came to Bed to her, and committed Uncleanneſs with her, muſt we therefore conclude that he was guilty? Are we anſwerable for the wild Fancies of another Perſon? Did the Mother of *Julius Cæſar* loſe any thing of her Merit, becauſe her Son dream'd (m) that he had to do with her? Here is a Controverſie who calls the Application of an Ointment the *Abomination of St.* Dominic, which was only an Appariſion in a Dream, as he himſelf ſays.

(l) Ubi ſupra, *p.* 368.

(m) Sueton. in Cæſare, *c.* 7.

(CΔ *The bad inclination which Men have to truſt much to Satyrical Writers.*] Theſe Writers are like thoſe Jeſters, who ſacrifice every thing to the pleaſure of putting off their Jeſts. *Horace* has very well deſcrib'd this Paſſion in the Verſes cited above. *Quintilian* makes uſe of the ſame Colours for drawing the Picture of ſuch ſort of People, and for giving a diſtaſte of their Character. Let us beware of the Maxim of thoſe, who had rather loſe their Friend than their Jeſt. (n) *Ludere nunquam vetimus, longeque abſit propoſitum illud, potius amicum quam dictum perdidi.* *Cicero* obſerves, that they ſlight all the Conſiderations of Decency, and have no regard either to Perſons or Occaſions, and could more eaſily keep Fire in their Mouths than a Jeſt. (o) *Parcebat* (Craſſus) *adverſarii dignitati, in quo ipſe ſervabat ſuam, quod eſt hominibus facetis, & dicacibus difficillimum, habere hominum rationem & temporum, & ea quæ occurrant, quum ſalſiſſime dici poſſint, tenere. Itaque nonnulli ridiculi homines hoc ipſum non inſulſe interpretantur. Dicere enim ajunt Ennium flammam e ſapiente facilius ore inardente opprimi quam bona dicta teneat: hæc ſcilicet bona dicta quæ falſa ſint. Nam ea dicta appellantur proprio jam nomine.* We muſt not wonder that they do not ſpare their Friends, for they do not ſpare themſelves: They make themſelves pleaſant at their own Coſt; and their Character is like that of thoſe Buffoons, who ſtrike indifferently themſelves and others. *Ariſtotle* (a) deſcribes them by this. They ſpare neither God nor Men; and the Religion of their Heart does not eſcape their poynant Wit. It is too weak a Barrier to keep off the irruption of a flaſh of Wit. Judge then, whether the Religion which they believe to be falſe can reſtrain ſuch ſallies of Wit. The Glory and Satisfaction which they expect from the boldneſs of a Jeſt, tranſports them beyond all other Conſiderations; and thoſe who have ſaid that a Poetick Vein (c) *is a vomiting Potion, whoſe Operation cannot be ſtop'd without great danger of choaking*, have given us a lively Image of the Paſſion of theſe People. We may add, that when they have their Pen in their Hand, they quit all things to run after ſome Satyrical Thoughts; and when they diſcover any Foot-ſteps of them, tho' far diſtant, they throw themſelves on that ſide at a random; and leſt they ſhould digreſs to no purpoſe, they force in and wind any Matter till they have adjuſted it to their purpoſe; and if they find it too long and too groſs, they contract and ſmooth it as much as their Intereſt requires. Theſe Writers (d) may be compar'd to *Procruſtes*, who made all his Priſoners equal to the meaſure of his Bed. Theſe words of *Montagne* agree to them exactly. " (e) There are ſome Fools that turn " out of their way a quarter of a League to hunt " after a fine word, *aut qui non verba rebus aptant* " (1), *ſed res extrinſecus acceſſunt, quibus verba con-* " *venant*. And that other Paſſage, (2) *Qui alicu-* " *jus verbi decore placentis vocentur ad id quod non* " *propoſuerant ſcribere*."

(o) Cicero de Orat. l. 2. *c.* 54. *fol. m.* 81 *C.*

(a) Δ' δὲ βωμολόχοι ἦτ- χον ἐξ τῆς γελοίας ὑ ὅτε ἑαυτῶ, ὅτε τῶν ἀλλων ἀπεχόμε- νοι δὲ γελοῖα ποιοῦσι. Scurra autem ridiculo moderari non poteſt, cum nec ſibi nec aliis parcat, dummodo riſum moveat. *Ariſt. de morib. ad Nicomach. l.* 4. *c.* 14. *p. m.* 42, 43.

(c) *I have read this in a Romance entituled, The* Queen of Æthiopia, *Printed in* 1670, *or* 1671.

There is more or leſs in all this, and I do not put together all theſe Ideas to prove, that all thoſe who delight in Rallery and Satyr, do equally, and without exception, adopt theſe Exceſſes. But it is a matter of moment to diſcover by the ugly ſide this Character of Wit, whereby Men are ſo eaſily deceiv'd. A Writer of Controverſies who has a good Wit, diverts many Readers of his Party, when he turns things maliciouſly, and with an Air of Rallery, Satyr and Burleſque; and the more he diverts them, the more forcibly he perſuades. Now, ſince the Method he adopts, engages him into a Thouſand Cheats, and a Thouſand Falſifications, 'tis neceſſary one ſhould know that he is a dangerous Impoſtor. This will inable as to ſtand upon our guard, to read an Author as one we muſt diſtruſt, to take nothing upon his word, to examine what he ſays, and to confront him with the Originals; and if we find he has chang'd *ſignum delectionis* into *unguentum amoris*, we'll tell him I am not your Cully, addreſs your ſelf to others.

(d) *See in the* Critique Generale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſm *againſt* Maimb. *Letter* 5. *p.* 95. *of the third Edition, what uſe has been made of this Parallel. See alſo in p.* 517. *of* Menage's *Etymologies of the Italian Tongue, & p.* 355. *of his 1ſt Vol. of his* Antibaillet, *another compariſon between* Procruſtes *and the* Sonnet.

(D) *The Work entitul'd* S. Maria Ægyptiaca.] *Theophilus Raynaudus* is the Author of it. I have ſeen in another of his Books, that he ſuppos'd the truth of the Hiſtory of this Saint, notwithſtanding all the Efforts of the Centuriators of *Magdeburg*, who look upon it as a Fable (f), that ſhe liv'd on two Loaves ſeventeen Years; that ſhe was taken up into the Air; that ſhe went over the River *Jordan* without ſwimming, and without a Boat, and that

(e) Montagne, *Eſſays*, B. 1. c. 25. p. m. 261.

(1) *Words not ſuit words to matter, but force in things impertinent, to which their Words may agree.* Quinct. l. 8. (2) *Who ly the allurement of a word which pleaſes them, are carried away to that which they had no deſire to write.* Senec. Epiſt. 59.

(f) Centur. 4. c. 10. p. 1334.

(n) Quintil. *l.* 6. *c.* 3. *p. m.* 288.

...musca de extremo fluminum Ægypti, sibilo Domini evocata I might have enlarg'd very much in this second Edition the Article of St. *Mary* the *Egyptian*; but not being able to recover it, I can only make this Addition. This Saint liv'd without Meat and Cloaths the last thirty Years of her solitude, and was so disfigur'd * with Heat and Cold, that she might have been taken for an *Æthiopian*. Two Loaves and some Herbs suffic'd her for the first seventeen Years of her Penance †.

...contis ... frigore & æstu tosta ut videretur Æthiopissa. *Cornel. a Lapide in Deuteron. c. 8. v. 4. p. m. 1010.*

† *Taken from* Cornelius à Lapide, *ibid.*

MARILLAC (CHARLES DE) Archbishop of *Vienne*, was born in *Auvergne*, about the Year 1510. He was Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, when perceiving himself suspected of Lutheranism, he follow'd *John de la Forest* Ambassador of *Francis* I. to *Constantinople*. Thus he avoided the terrible Persecution, which was to be fear'd from the Inquisitors. He was made Ambassador to the Sultan after the Death of *la Forest*, and afterwards was entrusted with several other Embassies ‡. which he perform'd very well. He was Abbot of St. *Pere* *, Archbishop of *Vienne*, and Counsellor in the Privy-Council, when there was an Assembly of great Men call'd together at *Fontainebleau* in the Month of *August* 1506. In it he deliver'd an Harangue (*A*), wherein Learning and Eloquence did no less appear than his Zeal for the Reformation of the Disorders in the Church and State: And there he also advis'd, among other things, the Convocation of a National Council, and a meeting of the States General. The *Guises* were offended at his Harangue, and obstructed the good Effects of his Counsels. He endeavour'd to take good Measures to prevent the Mischiefs where-with

‡ In England and Germany, &c.

* Abb. Melun.

that some Lions took care of her Burial. I have seen also, that *Nicolas Harsplsfeld*, under the Name of *Alanus Copus* (*g*), has refuted on this Subject the Centuriators, and that there is in the Book of *Theophilus Raynaudus* an *Appendix* concerning the Women who left their Lewdness and became Saints. *Porro hujus operis Mantissa est, Tractatio* de mulieribus Sanctis e cœno turpitudinum emersis (*h*).

(*g*) Dial. 2. c. 1. & 14.

(*h*) *Taken from* Theophilus Raynaudus, Syntagm. de libris propriis, n. 24. p. 42. & 43. Apopompæi.

(*A*) *A Harangue, wherein Learning and Eloquence did no less appear than his Zeal for*] You will find it entire in the President *de la Place*, in the 3d Book of the State of Religion and the Republick; and in the History of *Francis* II. written by *Lewis Regnier*. These two Writers agree in saying, that the Archbishop of *Vienne*, who gave his Opinion after the other Counsellors of the Privy-Council, carried away the Prize of Honour. "(*i*) For as he was a "Person endow'd with singular Gifts and Graces, "and had been employ'd in Embassies of great "Importance far and near with great applause; "so he did not only deliver his Opinion very "Learnedly, as was believ'd, but also gave satisfaction to the greatest part of the Company." These words of *Lewis Regnier* precede the Harangue of *Marillac*, and when he says: "(*k*) "Such was the Learned, Wise and Christian "Speech of this great Person, who liv'd not long "after it, being frighted by those whom he had "displeas'd. Others say, that seeing how things "grew worse and worse he died of Grief." Mr. *Varillas* gives us an Abridgment of this Speech, but not without some falsifications, of which this is one: He supposes, that *Marillac* represented (*l*), "That the ancient Affection of the *French* for "their King was notably diminish'd, and that "there was no other way to restore it but by an "Assembly of the States: That this was the only Tribunal appointed to hear the Complaints "of the whole Nation, and to satisfie them, as "the other Tribunals were for ending Differences "between private Persons: That the ancient "Founders of the *French* Monarchy had only reserv'd to themselves this Place, wherein they "might share with the King in the absolute Authority they had given him; where they might "be admitted to a kind of Equality, which was "necessary for repairing what the Prince had usurp'd over his Subjects, and what the Subjects has "usurp'd over their Prince; and lastly, where the "supreme and unlimited Power, wherewith they "had invested him should not hinder them from "Negotiating, and concluding Treaties with him, "which should be obligatory on both sides: "That this moderate Liberty had maintain'd the "Crown for Eleven Hundred Years, by the wonderful Counterpoise wherewith Power and Submission were balanc'd." 'Tis certain that the Archbishop of *Vienne* said nothing that contain'd these Maxims either formally or *virtually*, if I may use this word. How can we trust the Abstracts which this Historian makes of MSS. when we see how he corrupts Printed Speeches? You may see in the next Remark, how far he took the Liberty to alter and falsifie them.

(*i*) Lewis Regnier *Hist. of* Francis II. p. 523, 524.

(*k*) Id. ib. p. 553.

(*l*) Varillas *Hist. of* Francis II. B. 2 p. m. 23.

(*B*) *There he advised——the calling——of the States General.*] He made use of the most solid Reasons that could be alledg'd, and answer'd very well the Objections, and particularly that which was taken from his saying, *That the Authority of the King would be diminish'd.* Those who say this, answered he, "(*m*) seem to me not to know "the Hearts of the *French*, who have always done "for their King what lay in their Power; and to "require more were an unjust Exaction and an Impossibility. And therefore to propose to Kings "things that are just, is to establish their Authority, and not to diminish it, since they cannot do otherwise without violating the Name "of a King; and by that means the King "may obtain every thing he has a mind to, "since he has so good a People that they will "refuse him nothing. And if it be replied, that "the King stints himself who has nothing without the consent of the People; I answer, That "since without assembling the States, and hearing the Reasons which mov'd the Prince to encrease the ancient Offices, the People have "formerly obey'd, without Contradiction, what "will not they do when they believe, that "the Reasons of the demand, made to the "States, will be found just? If it be urg'd, "that this is to make the People Judges, whether "what the King demands is just It may be replied, that among many People assembled, the "greatest part of them will seek the publick "good, and that the People are capable of understanding what is for their own Advantage, and "so of consenting to it, since the Voice of the "People is commonly that which is approv'd "by God." Can any thing be more contrary than this Discourse of the Archbishop of *Vienne*, and the words of *Varillas* related before? But the better to discover that this Historian did not apprehend the design of what he undertook to abridge, I must here set down another Passage of *Marillac*'s Speech. We shall there see what were his Thoughts, as well with respect to Policy as to Religion: And we shall find, that as to the latter he resembled *Erasmus*; for he would have Abuses reform'd, but none to make use of Arms, either to support the Reformation, or to oppress the Reformers The fourth Preparative, says he, (*n*) is, "That in expectation of the Coun-"cil, the Seditious be check'd and restrain'd. "so that they may not disturb the Tranquility and "Peace of good Men, and to take this for an undoubted Maxim, that 'tis not lawful to take up "Arms for any thing whatsoever, without the "Will, Command and Permission of the Prince "who has the sole disposal of them This I say because of the sad Examples that have lately happen'd, and whereof we have daily new Informations On one side we have seen the Tumult of *Amboise*, under colour of presenting a Confession, whereas it ought to have been brought with "all humility. On the other side several Preachers have endeavour'd to raise up the People for "the extirpation of the Protestants under colour "of a Holy Sedition; as if Religion allow'd, that

(*m*) Lewis Regnier, ubi supra, p. 548

(*n*) Lewis Regnier, ib. p. 557

with the Kingdom was threatned; but ſeeing no probability of ſucceeding in it, he fell * into a melancholy, which brought upon him a Diſeaſe, whereof he quickly after died; which happen'd *December* 2. 1560, at his Abby of *St. Pere*. *Gabriel de* MARILLAC, his Brother, died Advocate General in the Parliament of *Paris* in 1551, and was an able underſtanding Man, and of an exemplary Probity: Conſult *Thuanus* †. You will find in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, a very long Article of our *Charles Marillac*, and a long account of many Perſons of this Family; but you will find nothing there about *Francis de* MARILLAC, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, under *Henry* II. I ſhall ſay ſomething of him (C) in my Commentary. I don't think that the Advocate I have mention'd in another place was a different Man from this *Charles Marillac*,

* Unde Viennenſis in profundum mœrorem & mœrore in letalem morbum incidit, ex quo paulo poſt deceſſit. *Thuan. ubi infra.*

† Thuan. l. 26. init. p. m. 520. ad an. 1560. *See the Remark E.*

" either for the planting or preſerving of it, to " make uſe of Sedition. Thus on both ſides " there was a fault: For as before Men were " kill'd upon pretence of being Proteſtants; ſo " on the contrary the Judges were forc'd, and " the ordinary Courts were aſſaulted to make " them deliver up the Proteſtant Priſoners: And " thus under the Mask of Religion, many uſurp'd " the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and took up " Arms, which was no wiſe lawful, being for- " bidden to them all. For the deſign of the Law is " to live Godlily, and not to offend any Body: " And the deſign of Arms is to make the Law " obey'd. The King therefore being the Con- " ſervator of the Law, and for that end ordain'd " by God, is conſequently the ſole diſpoſer of " Arms, which are given him to puniſh thoſe that " tranſgreſs the Law. Wherefore to conclude, " he makes himſelf King, who takes up Arms by " his own Authority, and is not ordain'd by God " to be one. And hence it follows, that every " body ſhould oppoſe him, as being one that re- " ſiſts the Ordinance of God, which is the ap- " pointment of a King.

WHETHER the meeting of the States General is profitable in *France*.

How wiſe ſoever the Advices of this Archbiſhop were concerning the Convocation of the States, they were much cenſur'd by a famous Lawyer: For *Stephen Paſquier* writes thus upon this Subject. " (b) He who firſt gave this Advice of holding a " Meeting of the States, was *Charles Marillac*. He " in the Aſſembly at *Fontainebleau* (either becauſe " the Affairs of *France* were not govern'd accord- " ing to his mind, or upon ſome other occaſion) " by a ſudden impulſe of Nature made a brisk Re- " monſtrance, wherein after he had conſider'd all " ſorts of Advices he could think of, he declar'd " that he found no Remedy more effectual for " the preſent Evil, than to call together the " States. It is an old Folly, that runs in the " Mind of the wiſeſt *French*, that nothing can ſo " much relieve the People, as ſuch Aſſemblies: " Whereas on the contrary, nothing does them " greater Prejudice, as I could prove by an infi- " nite number of Reaſons, but that I ſhould ex- " ceed the bounds of a Letter. This Opinion at " firſt troubled a little the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, " who was afraid leſt it ſhould give a check to the " King, and deſtroy the Authority which he and " the Duke of *Guiſe* had in the Government dur- " ing the Minority of the young King their Ne- " phew. And indeed from that time this Arch- " biſhop was never look'd upon by him with a good " Eye, and voluntarily baniſh'd himſelf from Court. " Nevertheleſs after he had conſulted with his " Servants, of what Conſequence this Convoca- " tion of the States might be, and finding that " it could be no prejudice to the King, whom he " and his Brother had made the moſt powerful, " he was ſo far from rejecting this Opinion, that " he embrac'd it very heartily, as thinking it " might prove a means for baniſhing with the " greater aſſurance and ſolemnity all the Prote- " ſtants out of *France*." *Paſquier* obſerves, that the Death of *Francis* II. ſpoil'd in an inſtant the Deſigns of this Cardinal; and having related part of what was inacted in the meeting of the States of *Orleans*, he adds, " (c) But for a ge- " neral Concluſion, they have granted for five " Years to the King, a ſubſidy of five *Sous*, for " each Barrel of Wine that is brought into " the Walled Towns. This is for the moſt part " the End and Concluſion of ſuch Aſſemblies, " to draw Money from the People, by an honeſt " bargain between the King and his three States." Note, I pray you, that *Paſquier* boaſted that *he had an infinite number of Reaſons*, to prove that nothing is more pernicious to *France*, than the meeting of the States General. I do not doubt but he could have produc'd many Reaſons upon this Subject, and I believe alſo that our *Charles Marillac* could have replied to them all, and that it is a matter which Men may diſpute eternally *Pro* and *Con*. But if we appeal to Experience, 'tis apparent, that the Opinion of *Paſquier* muſt prevail: For it would be very difficult, to ſhow any Advantages *France* has drawn from theſe Aſſemblies, and eaſie to prove (d), that they have ſerv'd to foment Factions. The *Engliſh* have reaſon to ſay, that the frequent meeting of Parliaments is neceſſary for the good of their Country; but *France* cannot ſay the ſame thing of the meeting of her States General. They were often call'd together under the Reign of the Sons of *Henry* II. and *France* was never more embroil'd and haraſſed than at that time; and inſtead of finding a Remedy by theſe Meetings, the Grievances were made worſe by them. No Man ought more freely to own this Truth than thoſe of the Reform'd Religion, for in theſe Aſſemblies their Enemies got new ſtrength. There are ſome who compare the meeting of the States General with the Councils. They are, ſay they, Aſſemblies that bode ill; they ſignifie that the publick Evils are great, and that Men begin to deſpair of curing them. It happens then, as in Diſeaſes that are almoſt deſperate; many Phyſicians are call'd for and ſent for from remote places; they conſult, they diſpute, they ſeldom agree, and at laſt they muſt come to a majority of Votes, and ſo manage the matter that the ſick Man may ſay (e), *The multitude of Phyſicians has kill'd me.* Fine Harangues are not wanting in theſe Aſſemblies, and much leſs Cabals and Intrigues; and for the moſt part the Concluſion is not the effect of Juſtice and Truth, but of the moſt powerful Faction.

(b) *Paſquier's Letters*, B. 4. p. 192, 193 *of the firſt tome.*

(c) Id. ib. p. 195.

(C) *I ſhall ſay ſomething of* Francis de MARILLAC.] He and *Peter Robert* were appointed Council to the Prince of *Conde*, in 1560, in the Suit about a capital Crime, which made ſo much noiſe, and which, as was thought, would have made him loſe his Head upon a Scaffold. (f) *Cum præcipiti Guiſianorum violentia, amputatas omnes moras videret Condæi uxor, libello ſupplice à rege petit & impetrat, ut marito homines ſpectatæ eruditionis ac prudentiæ darentur, quorum conſilio uteretur: Nominati à Rege Petrus Robertus & Franciſcus Marillacus celeberrimi in foro patroni.* I cite theſe words of *Thuanus*, becauſe they diſcover the Reputation of *Francis Marillac*. It had been not long before Advocate to *Annas du Bourg*. They have put in the Table of the Hiſtory of *Francis* II. that *Marillac* the Advocate betray'd *du Bourg* in pleading for him. This ought to be explain'd, for otherwiſe it might be inferr'd from it, that this Advocate was a Traitor and a Prevaricator, and this would be a great Injury done to him, ſince there was nothing in all his management but an officious Lye, which was deſign'd to ſave his Client's Life. The matter of Fact is thus related by the *Sieur de la Planche*. " (a) His cauſes of Recuſation (b) were by a De- " cree pronounc'd by *Olivier*, declar'd admiſſible, " and it was order'd that he ſhould have Coun- " cil, which had been before deny'd him, " ſo that the Cardinal was confounded. The " Advocate *Marillac* was aſſign'd him for Coun- " cil, and he us'd all his endeavours to make " him depart from his Confeſſion, alledging, that " without this he could not avoid Death; but " not being able to prevail with him to do it, he " perſuaded him to let him plead without in- " terrupting him, and then he might ſay what " he thought fit. Being therefore come before " the Judges, the Advocate remonſtrated the " Merits of the Cauſe, the manner of the Impri- " ſonment.

(d) *One of the Reaſons that* Charles Marillac *had to oppoſe was this: He denied not the fact.* Some, *ſays he; ubi ſupra*, p. 550. have ſet forth, what happen'd in the time of King *John*, when the States oblig'd the *Dauphin* to take many undecent Courſes.

(e) Hinc illæ circa ægros miſeræ ſententiarum concertationes, nullo idem conſente ne videatur acceſſio alterius. Hinc illa infelicis monumenti inſcriptio, Turba ſe medicorum periſſe. *Plin. l. 29. c. 1. p. m. 667.*

(f) Thuan. *l. 26. p. 522. col. 1.*

(a) Lewis Regnier *Sieur de la* Planche *Hiſt. of* Francis II. *p. 53.* Beza *has tranſcrib'd all this Paſſage word for word in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. of the Churches l. 3. p. 222.*

(b) *i. e. thoſe writs* du Bourg *had alledged.*

rillac, of whom *la Croix du Maine* * says, that he was a *Gentleman of* Paris, *a Kinſman of the Archbiſhop of* Vienne, *an Advocate in Parliament*, &c. *a young Man very learned in the Greek, and well verſed in many Sciences, and that he died at* Paris *in* 1581, *or thereabouts, to the great grief of all his Friends.* I ſee in Father *Anſelm* † one *Charles de* MARILLAC, who died Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris, April* 10. 1580, and who was Son to *William de* MARILLAC, Brother to the Archbiſhop of *Vienna:* There is no difference between (*D*) that Advocate and this Counſellor. Note, that *la Croix du Maine* obſerves that this Prelate β *wrote many Books, of which there are but few Printed, and that thoſe that are in Print, are not Licenſed there being a Reaſon for it. Gilbert de* MARILLAC, Baron of *Puiſac* and St. *Geneſt*, Eldeſt Brother to our Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, γ *writ a Hiſtory of the Houſe of* Bourbon, *and among the reſt, the Life and great Actions of the Conſtable* Charles *de* Bourbon, *till the Month of* March 1521. *when he began his revolt.* Antony de la Val, *the King's Geographer, and Captain of the Caſtle of* Moulins——*has inſerted in this Hiſtory his Works Printed in* 1605. The true Name (*E*) of this Family was *Marlhac.*

MARILLAC (Lewis de) Marſhal of *France*, Son to *William de* MARILLAC, who was Brother to the Archbiſhop of *Vienna*, was a Poſthumous Son, born in 1573 δ, or according to others, in the Month of *July*, 1572 ϑ. You will find in *Moreri*'s Dictionary ζ the Employments that he had ſucceſſively, till he was ſeiz'd in *Italy* by the King's Order in 1630. He was try'd and condemn'd to loſe his Head, and was executed at *Paris May* the 10th 1632. The Curioſity of the *Pariſians* was ſo great η, that a Hundred Thouſand Perſons were witneſſes of the Execution, and that *ſome Windows were let for eight Piſtoles.* The moſt common Opinion is, that he was an innocent Victim, ſacrificed to the Reſentment of Cardinal *Richelieu*; but this can (*A*) hardly be believ'd

* La Croix du Maine, p. 46.

† Anſelm *Hiſt. of the great Officers*, p. 252.

β La Croix du Maine, ibid.

γ Vigneul Marville Melang. d'hiſtoire & de literat. *tom.* 2. *p.* 17. *Dutch edit.*

δ Anſelm *Hiſt. of the great Officers*, p. 251.

ϑ The Paris Gazette, May 17. 1632.

ζ *Correct what he ſays ſuit*, that he ſerv'd *Henry* III. on divers occaſions. *He ſhould have ſaid* Hen IV.

η The Paris Gazette, *ubi ſupra*

(*a*) Vigneul Marville Melange, *tom* 2 *p.* 16 *Dutch Edition.* 1700.

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*f*) *That is*, the Paris one, ex Officina Putеana 1563. *in* 16°

(*g*) Maludan Epiſt ad Lambinum, *p.* 367, Epiſtol clarorum, virorum *edit. Lugduni* 1561. *I found this Paſſage in Mr* Joly's *Note on* Loiſel's opuſcules, *p.* 707. *ſee there in the* 130 *Page, a Paſſage of the* Ciceronianus *of* Peter Ramus

(*h*) *That is to ſay* Denys Riant *made the King's Advocate in* 1551.

(*i*) *That is to ſay* Gabriel Marillac *who was made the King's Advocate in* 1545.

(*k*) *I mention in* Octob. 1732.

" ſonment which was ſuch as never had been practis'd, and much leſs the manner of *Bertrand*'s " proceeding, who being void of all Shame and " Modeſty, had acted two or three Parts in " preſiding and aſſiſting at the three preceding Judgments. Whereby the Error did not " only moſt evidently appear, but alſo the nullity " of the Sentences and Decree; ſo that it was " neceſſary to begin the Proceſs anew, to null " and make void all the proceedings, ſince no " forms of the Courts of Juſtice had been obſerv'd. " But inſtead of concluding for his Appeal, he " ſubmitted, and had recourſe to the Mercy of " the King and the Court; confeſſing that his " Client had grievouſly offended God and Holy " Mother the Church, provok'd the King, and " had been diſobedient to his Biſhop, to whom " and the whole *Roman* Church he deſir'd to be " reconcil'd. Whereupon *du Bourg*, who was preſent, endeavouring to oppoſe what had been ſaid, " *Marillac* made a ſign to the Preſidents, deſiring " that his Life might be ſav'd by this means, who " inſtead of giving him a hearing, to know whether he acquieſced in what had been ſaid by his " Counſel, ſent him preſently back to his Priſon. " But while they were conſulting to depute two " among them, to acquaint the King with his " Converſion, and to beg his Pardon, behold a Paper written and ſign'd by *du Bourg* came, where- " in he diſown'd the Concluſions of his Advocate, " perſiſting in his Appeal, and in his Confeſſion " of Faith made before the King.

(*a*) Loiſel Dialogues des advocates du Parlement de Paris, *p.* 520.

(*b*) Loiſel's Opuſcul, *p.* 707.

(*c*) Loiſels, ubi ſupra, 551.

We ſee in a Dialogue of *Antony Loiſel*, that the chief Advocates of the Parliament of *Paris* were " (*a*) Mr. *James Canaye* of *Paris*, *Claudius Mangot* of *Loudun*, and *Francis Marillac* of *Auvergne*, who was " more eſteem'd than the other two, becauſe he " made very good Replies, but he was taken away " in the prime of his Years, ſo that his Houſe is " reduc'd to nothing, at leaſt if compared to " thoſe of *Canaye* and *Mangot*." Note (*b*), that he was of the ſame Family with the other *Marillac*'s.

(1) Blanchard *names two* Charles de Marillacs *Counſellors; one in* 1541, *who was—at laſt Archbiſhop of* Vienne; *the other was admitted the* 20th *of* March, 1576, *and is the Advocate of whom we are ſpeaking.*

(2) *In* 1580. Blanch.

(*D*) *There is no difference between that Advocate and this Counſellor.*] We'll ſee what is ſaid of him in the ſame Dialogue of *Antony Loiſel*. " (*c*) Mr. " *Charles Marillac* ought not to be paſſed over in " ſilence, for he acquired as much Honour in that " little time he was at the Bar, as others do in all " their Lives. 'Tis true, anſwer'd *Mr. Paſquier*, he " was one of the moſt ſenſible and learned Men " that were then; but you know the Times in " which we live, and the ſmall value that is ſet upon Advocates in compariſon of the Counſellors, as " we complain'd at the beginning, and not without cauſe. His Relations did not give him " time to ſhew his ſufficiency, and the ſtrength of " his Parts as an Advocate, nor Death, what he " promiſed as a Counſellor; (1) for he was taken " off in the Flower of his Age. (2) I would ſay " more of him, if he had not learned of me.

(*E*) *The true Name of this Family was* Marlhac] " (*d*) 'Twas thus, That *Gabriel Marillac*, Advocate " General of the Parliament of *Paris*, ſign'd in all " the publick Acts and in his private Letters." The Author whom I quote aſſures us (*e*), that *He learn'd this from an ancient Counſellor of State, who knew very well the illuſtrious Houſes and Families of* France. After which he brings two Paſſages to prove, that this Advocate General, *was as famous for his profound Knowledge as his rare Honeſty*; one is from *Thuanus*, and the other from *the Supplement to the Chronicle written by* John Carion. He ſuppoſes that in the latter 'tis *Gabriel Marillacus*, but in my (*f*) Edition 'tis *Gabriel Marlacus*. This might have ſerv'd him to confirm what he had advanced. We may add to theſe two Paſſages, what *Maludan* writ to *Denys Lambin*. (*g*) *Marilliacus Rigii Patronus*, a. d. XI. *Kal. Maias horâ quartâ pomeridianâ exceſſit è vitâ admodum Chriſtianè. Poſtridie funus duxerunt amici & propinqui ſine ullâ pompâ, ut moriens juſſerat: ſed non ſine omnium bonorum lachrymis. Deſiderant etiam inimici nunc ejus, λόγως ὀνησιμαλικὸς καὶ βδέλυς, καὶ χρειώδεις. Eo patrono ſiſcum nemo unquam dicere potuit, licuit, ut loquebatur olim Trajanus. In demortui locum ſuffectus eſt rideus (h).* But nothing is more proper to confirm what was ſaid by a Counſellor of State to Mr. *de Vigneul Marville*, than the Marginal Note which is in the 504 Page of *Antony Loiſel*'s *Opuſcules*: Here 'tis entire. " (*i*) He " is call'd *Marlhac* by *Miraumont* and *Coquille*, who " in his Commentaries on the Cuſtom of *Nivernois*, " Chap. 1. Art. 5. relates a Maxim of his in the " *French* Law (with great praiſe) in theſe words: " *And as that very learned and good Man, Mr.* Gabriel Marillac *ſaid, who was the King's Advocate " in Parliament, and a good Model for the young Advocates who uſed to be at the Pleadings in the ſaid " Parliament*, every Fraud deſerves in *France* extraordinary and corporal Puniſhment, if it be " manag'd as a Civil Affair.

(*A*) *That he was an innocent Victim——but that can hardly be believ'd by ſuch Perſons as——ſubmit only to certainty*] The Remark ΕΔ in the Article of *Lewis* XIII. might ſuffice for a Commentary upon this Text. Nevertheleſs I ſhall add to it many things. And at firſt I ſhall obſerve (*k*), that it is at preſent much more difficult to diſcover the Truth, than at the time when the Proceſs againſt Mr *Marillac* was entred, for then any one might be inform'd of matters by an infinite number of Perſons who knew this Marſhal: Then one might have enquir'd in the places where he Commanded, and one might have known the Names, the Titles, the Intereſts, and Reputation of the Witneſſes, and the Practices that were us'd on both ſides to put them on, either to depoſe or to retract. All this, and a hundred other things which at the time of the Proceſs were eaſie, are now impoſſible to be known. That Generation is now wholly paſt and gone, and we can only make uſe of the Prejudices and Books, which remain of that time. Let us enquire a

lieu'd by ſuch Perſons as are not govern'd by Prejudices, and ſubmit only to certainty. I ſhall make ſome Obſervations upon this occaſion, and I imagine I ſhall not little what the Favourers of this Marſhal might ſay to thoſe whom they would perſuade of his Innocence, and who are fully reſolv'd to admit nothing but upon good Proof.

In the firſt place they might ſay, that the publick was then perſuaded and is ſtill, that he was guilty of nothing but diſpleaſing the Cardinal. 2. That it is notoriouſly known, that the Cardinal was ſo revengeful, that he ſpar'd nothing to ſatisfie his Reſentment. 3. That he was a Perſon of ſo great Credit, that he could compaſs his Deſigns, either by Promiſes or Threatenings. 4. That the Proceedings were attended with ſo many Irregularities wholly unjuſt, and fit to oppreſs the moſt innocent Perſon, that this alone is ſufficient to ſhow that the Marſhal was not guilty. 5. That his Sentence was reverſed by a Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, after the Death of Cardinal *Richelieu*. The greateſt part of People do ſo little diſpute the Grounds on which they are made to believe ſome things, that they would eaſily acquieſce in the five Reaſons now propoſed: But there are others who have ſo little Faith, and are ſo very hard to be perſuaded, that they would not think them ſufficient grounds for their belief.

HOW much Cardinal *Richelieu* was hated.

I. To the firſt Reaſon they would anſwer, That the publick Opinion cannot be more ſuſpected in any caſe than in this. Cardinal *Richelieu* was become ſo odious through all *France*, that all the Evil that cou' 'be ſaid of his Conduct, was eaſily believ'd without any enquiry. He was in ſuch a Poſt wherein moſt Men are expos'd to Calumny and the Hatred of the People, and he behav'd himſelf in ſuch a manner as to draw upon him an infinite number of Enemies; for he daily encreas'd the Sovereign Authority, and puniſh'd great Men who durſt riſe up and cabal. This was to force them from an evil Cuſtom which was very pleaſant, and had been often profitable to them. He oppreſſed the People much more than had been done in other Reigns. In a word, the Yoak of the Royal Authority, which had always been too heavy in the People's Opinion, was become more unſupportable than ever under his Miniſtry. The People therefore were much diſpos'd to ſpeak ill of his Perſon, and they ſwallow'd down with joy, and as a kind of reſtorative, all the Satyrs, Complaints, Murmurings which were ſpread againſt his Reputation. *France* was then full of Malecontents, what was formerly call'd the *Catholicon*, and which cauſed ſo many Miſchiefs, and had left ſome Roots that remain'd ſtill. The greateſt part of the Devout People, and all the Bigots, were enrag'd, becauſe the Cardinal maintain'd the Proteſtants of *Holland* and *Germany*, and hindred the Houſe of *Auſtria* from ſubduing them. If he did good to ſome Perſons, they were thought unworthy of it: If he Perſecuted ſome, his Enemies complain'd, and bewail'd their being unworthily us'd. What relations were made of the laſt Moments of thoſe whom he got Condemn'd? What care was taken to collect all their pious Diſcourſes, all their acts of Love to God? It ſeem'd as if they had a deſign to ſwell the Martyrology, or to imitate that *Famius* whom have I mention'd in another place. The Execution at *Lyons* was not ſpoken of, but in a Style of Complaint: Which was very lawful as to *Thuanus*; but as to Mr. *de Cinqmars*, it was not enough to pity him; but they ſhould alſo have deteſted his Vanity, Ingratitude and Rebellion. Now ſince the Publick was thus diſpos'd towards Cardinal *Richelieu*, thoſe who will believe nothing but what is ſupported with good Proofs, can never be gain'd by this Argument: *The general Opinion is, that Marſhal* Marillac *was only guilty of diſpleaſing the Cardinal, therefore he was guilty of nothing elſe.*

II. The ſecond Reaſon has nothing in it that is convincing, ſince the Experience of all Tyrannick Reigns ſhows, that wicked Men fall ſome times into diſgrace under a bad Prince, or a very unjuſt Favourite, who ſacrifices to his Revenge every Body, who has the misfortune to diſpleaſe him. Read *Tacitus*, and the other relations of the ſame time, and you will find ſome Criminals among thoſe that were puniſh'd under *Tiberius* and *Nero*. The Informers attack'd ſometimes Perſons of a bad Life, and who could eaſily be convicted of the Crimes they were accus'd of. For any one therefore to conclude, becauſe ſuch an one loſt his Head upon the Scaffold under a bad Reign, therefore he was innocent, is to admit a falſe Conſequence, and to be deluded by a great Sophiſm. Much more ought we to take heed of this kind of Reaſoning, when we ſpeak of *Lewis* XIII. who was a very good King, and whoſe chief Miniſter, how violent and revengeful ſoever he was, was oblig'd to obſerve better Meaſures than are obſerved in a Tyrannick Reign.

III. To the third Reaſon the ſame Anſwer may be given as to the ſecond. Thoſe, whoſe Power was ſo great, that they could find Witneſſes and Judges enough to take away the Lives of innocent Men have had ſometimes Enemies who are wicked Men, and whom they puniſh'd with Death without doing any thing that is unjuſt and unreaſonable. Thus, tho' Cardinal *Richelieu* had been a hundred times more unjuſt and more powerful than he was, yet we cannot thence infer the innocence of any one of thoſe whom he got Condemn'd: For perhaps this Concluſion might be drawn in favour of thoſe guilty Perſons, who periſh ſometimes in the Courts of Tyrants. We muſt therefore lay aſide all Prejudices, and examine each Proceſs in particular. This is the only Expedient, for diſcovering whether ſuch and ſuch are innocent Victims ſacrific'd to the Anger of Cardinal *Richelieu*.

IV. Now we are come to the great and only Expedient. The Perſons whom I ſpeak of, who carefully enquire into the truth of what is propos'd to them to be believ'd, would deſire that the monſtrous irregularities might be prov'd which are alledg'd to be in the proceedings of the Commiſſioners who condemn'd our Marſhal: And if they were anſwer'd, that all thoſe, who might witneſs the truth of it, are dead; they would reply, How then do you know this matter of fact? To which the other Party might anſwer, that it is clearly ſet forth in two Printed Pieces, whereof one is entituled, *A true Relation of what paſs'd at the Tryal of Marſhal* Marillac, *and of the execution of the Sentence given againſt him by the Commiſſioners appointed at* Ruel, *and of his laſt Words and Actions juſt before his Death*; and the other is entituled, *The happy Soul of Marſhal* Marillac, *to the unhappy Soul of Cardinal* Richelieu. 'Tis true, will the others reply, we ought to examine theſe two Pieces; but withal we muſt examine a Printed Piece, which appear'd at the ſame time with this Title, *Obſervations on the Life and Condemnation of Marſhal* Marillac, *and upon the Libel entituled*, A Relation of what paſs'd at his Tryal, and at the Execution of the Sentence given againſt him. The Author of thoſe two firſt Pieces is not known; but 'tis certain the third was written by Mr. *du Chaſtelet*, a Man remarkable (*a*) for his Birth and his Offices; for he was Advocate-General in the Parliament of *Rennes*, Maſter of the Requeſts, Councellor of State in ordinary, and Intendant of Juſtice in the Royal Army. His Piece therefore ought to be eſteem'd of greater weight than the other two that are anonymous, which are to be ſeen in the Collection of what was publiſh'd in defence of the Queen Mother. Now we ſee that Mr. *du Chaſtelet* denies and refutes all that had been alledg'd about unjuſt and irregular Proceedings, and maintains that the moſt exact formalities were obſerv'd in the Tryal of Marſhal *Marillac*: Unleſs therefore you prove that he has falſly aſſerted ſome matters of fact and deny'd others, we cannot acquieſce in thoſe two anonymous Pieces. One thing which he does not deny, and we know moſt certainly, is, that Mr. *Marillac* was not try'd by the Parliament of *Paris*, but by Commiſſioners. This is a ſtrong Prejudice to the diſadvantage of the Cardinal; 'tis very well known what Judges extraordinarily created are capable of, when they are choſen by ſuch as are Enemies to the Party accuſed. However ſince we now ſeek for inconteſtable Proofs, or ſuch at leaſt as are ſtronger than great Preſumptions, we cannot pretend that this can determine us to believe the Marſhal innocent. We have ſome inſtances under that Reign, which prove, that ſome Commiſſioners choſen by Car-

(*a*) *See the Hiſt. of the* French Academy, *p.* 246, 247. *edit of* Paris. 1672.

not be blam'd, if I ſet down part of the things which Mr. *du Chaſtelet* publiſh'd to the diſadvantage of this Marſhal. Every one may believe as he pleaſes, and ſince he was his Enemy, I am willing that he ſhould paſs for a very ſuſpected Witneſs. I ſhall not

dinal *Richelieu*, did all that could be expected from a Court of the greateſt Integrity. Thoſe who judg'd Mr. *de Cinqmars* follow'd the practice in Criminal Cauſes with the greateſt exactneſs (*c*). Mr. *de Laubardemont*, who was thought to be entirely devoted to the Paſſions of the Cardinal, was the Reporter of the Proceſs. His Report was Printed (*d*), which is as clear, exact and agreeable to Rules as ever was ſeen. The Fact was prov'd by clear and full Evidence, and after this no good Judge in the Kingdom could judge otherwiſe than the Commiſſioners did who Condemn'd Mr. *de Cinqmars*. There was an extraordinary Court appointed in the next Reign for judging Mr. *Fouquet*, and none had reaſon to ſay that it oppreſs'd the innocent: Much leſs could any ſuch thing be ſaid of that which repared the Proceſs of Mr. *de Luxembourg* and judg'd him. If we inſiſt upon Prejudices, they will be found to favour Cardinal *Richelieu*, as to the Commiſſioners of Marſhal *Marillac*. The chief Man of the long Robe, the Keeper of the Seals, was plac'd at the head of them: The others were either Maſters of the Requeſts, or Preſidents, or Counſellors in the Parliament of *Burgundy*, &c. They referr'd to the Council of State the greateſt part of the Matters that came before them, and proceeded no further in them, but by virtue of the Decrees of that Council: So that if we will ſuppoſe that Marſhal *Marillac* was an innocent Victim, we muſt ſuppoſe that his Judges in number twenty three, and the greateſt part of the Counſellors of State, had conſpir'd the ruin of an innocent Man. This were a harſh ſuppoſal; for common Senſe inclines us rather to believe, that a Soldier has been guilty of evil Practices (*e*), than to believe that ſo great a number of ſuch Magiſtrates ſhould agree to condemn an innocent Man. Note, I pray you, that tho' ten of the Judges did not think him worthy of Death, yet all of 'em thought him guilty: And for this I refer my ſelf to the Narrative of Mr *du Chaſtelet*. "(*f*) After each of "the Judges had with an equal affection to Juſtice, prov'd his Opinion by the beſt Reaſons "the Subject could afford, and the Laws and "Proofs had been argued for the ſpace of two "Hours, all their Votes were reduc'd to theſe "two Opinions. Thirteen judg'd him worthy "of Death, and ten of them were for depriving "him of his Honour, his Offices and Eſtate, and "changing the ſentence of Death into perpetual "Baniſhment or Impriſonment, at the choice of "the King, and in ſuch a place as his Majeſty "ſhould pleaſe to keep him, as had been often "practis'd with ſuch Perſons." One of the Apologiſts for Mr. *Marillac* confeſſes, that the Cardinal "(*g*) mixed among the new Commiſſioners "three or four Perſons of great Integrity, which "he did, *as he adds*, the better to conceal his "Deſign, when he believ'd that his Party "was ſo ſtrong, that they would carry it for "his Condemnation." Is not this to acknowledge that three or four Perſons of great Integrity judg'd him worthy of perpetual Baniſhment or Impriſonment? And would any good Man vote againſt him, whom he believes to be innocent? In fine, I obſerve, that among ſo many People, whom Cardinal *Richelieu* Perſecuted, Baniſh'd and Impriſon'd, there were but few whom he try'd in Courts: Which is a ſign, that he did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to find Witneſſes and Commiſſioners to his Mind. He did not therefore appoint Commiſſions, but when he was ſure that the behaviour of an Enemy, ſuch as that of *St. Preul* was for inſtance, would furniſh ſufficient Proofs to the Commiſſioners.

V. As to the fifth Reaſon, ſee hereafter the Remark *K*.

Here two Objections do offer themſelves, which deſerv'd to be diſcuſs'd. It may be alledg'd: 1. That we muſt not conſider the Writing of Mr. *du Chaſtelet*, and the two anonymous Pieces I have cited as being of equal weight. 2 That the injuſtice of the Cardinal is viſible at leaſt in this, that he caus'd a Marſhal of *France* to be put to death, for ſuch Crimes as did not deſerve ſo great a Puniſhment, and which he left unpuniſh'd when People had not diſpleas'd him.

As to the firſt of theſe two Difficulties, I muſt obſerve, that I had reaſon to pretend, that the Writing of Mr *du Chaſtelet* is of equal weight with the two anonymous Pieces I know very well, that being appointed one of the Judges (*a*), he was excepted againſt as the Author of a very bitter Satyr againſt Mr. *Marillac*, and that the Marſhal, when he was at the Bar, did very much provoke him by his Reproaches. I know alſo that he own'd himſelf to be juſtly excepted againſt, and that he did not aſſiſt at the Judgment, and that he made in Priſon thoſe Remarks I have mention'd. to reconcile himſelf to the Court, and to procure his own Liberty (*b*). He was therefore one, you will ſay, who wrote on one ſide to ſatisfie his hatred, and on the other, to gain the favour of Cardinal *Richelieu*. But pray, upon what Motives did the other write the two Pieces, which I let againſt Mr. *du Chaſtelet's*? Had not he an extreme hatred againſt the Cardinal, and a paſſionate deſire to favour Marſhal *Marillac*? Ought we to diſtruſt leſs a Writer of Invectives than a flattering Writer? Do you think that thoſe fugitives who wrote at *Bruſſels* (*c*) for the Queen-Mother, thinking to make their Court to the *Spaniards* by defaming the Cardinal, and being exceeding angry to ſee, that the advantages they expected by adhering to the Intereſt of this Queen, were all vaniſh'd away, by the ſuperiority of the Cardinal's Party: Do you think, I ſay, that theſe Writers were more credible than thoſe who were hir'd by this chief Miniſter and Worſhipp'd him. 'Tis no partiality to ſuſpect all of them.

Satyr and Flattery are the two Plagues of Hiſtory, two Sources that poyſon the Relations of human Events; but we may ſay, that the Contagion of a detracting Writer, who is govern'd by Hatred and Reſentment, is more pernicious to Hiſtory, than the Contagion of thoſe who write Panegyricks. One of the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians of Antiquity obſerves (*d*), That the Hiſtories of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius* and *Nero*, were not faithful, becauſe they were either written in their Life-time, or a little after their Death: The Writers of the former told Lyes for fear, and the latter Hiſtorians were provok'd to be unfaithful by the freſh hatred they had for them He obſerves in another place, that the Truth had been corrupted on one ſide by the Flatterers of Princes, and on the other by the Malecontents of the Government, and that all of them took little care to inform Poſterity right; for the Readers muſt either chooſe an Hiſtorian that is officious to pleaſe, or one that is an Enemy But one can more eaſily ſecure himſelf from the Impoſture of a Flatterer, than of a Cenſurer: Mercenary Pens eaſily diſguſt, and Men greedily ſwallow Detraction and Malice Flattery is look'd upon as a vile Slavery, and the Malice of the Writer as a generous Love of Liberty. 'Tis impoſſible to think of theſe things more juſtly, and therefore I ſhall give you the Original of ſo ſenſible an Obſervation: (*e*) *Peſtquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potiſtatem ad unum conferre pacis interfuit; magna illa ingenia ceſſere. Simul veritas pluribus modis infracta, primum inſcitia Reipublicæ ut alienæ, mox libidine aſſentandi, aut viſus odio adverſus dominantes. Ita neutris cura poſteritatis, inter infenſos vel obnoxios. Sed ambitionem ſcriptoris facile adverſeris: obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis inſit.* 'Tis certain, commonly ſpeaking, that the Praiſes of Flatterers ſink with thoſe to whom they are given, and that Poſterity is not deceiv'd by them; but a Critical Hiſtory of great Men, written with a well-govern'd Malice, is never loſt. This kind of Falſhood does more eaſily impoſe upon ſucceeding Ages than the other, for its Energy is Eternal. The Flatterers themſelves gather up this like Manna many Ages after, and make uſe of it to ſet off the merit of their Heroes. They praiſe without any bounds, and to make you believe

(*c*) *See at the end of the Memoirs of* Montreſor, *the Advices and Inſtructions which the Cardinal gave concerning the Proceſs and the way how the Judges managed it.*

(*d*) *See the ſame Memoirs of* Montreſor.

(*e*) *Note, that this is not given for a Rule; for it is well known that many Judges have been corrupted: But here I inſiſt upon the circumſtances of this particular trial.*

(*f*) Chaſtelet's *Obſervations upon the Life and Condemnation of Marſhal* Marillac, *p.* 806, 807. *of the Collection of divers Pieces to ſerve for Hiſtory. Edit. of* 1643. *in* 4°.

(*g*) l'Eſprit bienheureux du Mareſchal de Marillac, *p. m.* 60.

(*a*) *See the Relation of the Proceſs and Condemnation of Marſhal* Marillac, *p.* 7.

(*b*) *See the Hiſtory of the French Academy*, p. 248.

(*c*) *Note, that the anonymous Pieces I have mention'd are printed in the Collection of the Pieces for the defence of the Queen-Mother*

WHETHER Flatterers corrupt the Truth of Hiſtory more than Satyrical Writers.

(*d*) Tiberii, Caiique, & Claudii, ac Neronis res, florentibus ipſis, ob metum falſa, poſtquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compoſita ſunt. *Tacit Annal. lib.* 1 *cap* 1

(*e*) Idem hiſtor *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.

not offer theſe things but as detractions which he publiſh'd, not in that * *Latin Satyr*

that they do not love Flattery, they revile without Mercy thoſe that are dead; and herein they are the very reverſe of old Men (*f*). Mr. *le Laboureur* diſcover'd this Trick in ſome Writers of his time. "If I purſue, *ſays he* (*g*), each good "or bad Hero to his Cradle, I will alſo examine "his private Actions, as well as thoſe which "appear'd great in the Eyes of the World; be"cauſe this is the only way to deſtroy all the un"juſt Monuments that Flattery has erected, and "to break off or diſgrace the wretched Trade of "many Writers, who are devoted to a ſervile "and diſhoneſt intereſt, and are ſo indiſcreet, as "to addreſs that to Poſterity, which they have "written only to ſerve a turn. We have many "Examples of it, but I find none that deſerves "more to be blam'd than that of ſome Mo"dern Writers, who to make it appear, that "they were forc'd by the truth to write in Com"mendation of ſome Perſons that are odious, or "whoſe Merit is very doubtful, and have no"thing in them more commendable, but that "they are ſtill alive, and have it in their power "to do the Writer good, I ſay, to make this ap"pear, they affect to defame the moſt accom"pliſh'd Men, from whom they have nothing to "hope or fear, and treat them rather in the ſtyle "of a Satyr than of a Hiſtory, and freely beſpat"ter their Memory with all the foul things, that "a baſe and mercenary Detraction can inſpire.

Let us ſay ſomething of the ſecond Difficulty, and let us grant, that 'tis very probable, if Marſhal *Marillac* had not endeavour'd to ruin the Cardinal, he needed not have fear'd anything from a Court of Juſtice; and that if he had adher'd to the Intereſt of the Cardinal, his embezling of the publick Money, and taking of Bribes had not hinder'd the advancement of his Fortune. He was perhaps leſs guilty than ſuch and ſuch, who did not only commit the ſame Crimes with Impunity, but were amply rewarded for their Services by the recommendation of his Enemy. He repreſented to his Judges, "(*k*) That all his "Accuſation conſiſted in Facts ſo inconſiderable, "that they might be objected to every one that "had the leaſt command in the Army; *and he "ſaid on the Day of his Execution*, (*i*) That it was a "ſtrange thing he ſhould be Proſecuted as he had "been, when the Proceſs was only about Hay, "Straw, Stones, Wood and Lime, and that there "was nothing in all this for which a Lacquey "would be whipp'd." Mr. *du Chaſtelet* (*k*) refutes this by very ſtrong Proofs; but it is certain, that the Commanders of the Troops at that time did commonly make uſe of a Thouſand unjuſt ways to enrich themſelves. He makes a Remark to this purpoſe, that the Marſhal's Faults had paſs'd unpuniſh'd, if he had not incurr'd upon other Accounts the Indignation of the Court. Weigh well theſe words: "(*l*) The moſt rigorous "States have allow'd, that common Crimes ſhould "be paſs'd over in the chief Perſons: Their "Splendor and eminent Station, together with "the Favour of their Maſter, with which they many "times have cover'd their common faults: But "if it happen that Malice and Ungratefulneſs "deſtroy the favour they enjoy they are then "level'd with the meaneſt of the Kingdom, and "their Faults appear equal, and they become "ſubject to the Penalties appointed againſt other "Subjects. All Men employ'd in great Offices, "come to them only by the favour of their So"vereign, in whoſe Hand all the Laws are like "flaming Fires, to enlighten thoſe who pleaſe "him, and to conſume others when he think fit. "Robberies and bad Intrigues joyn'd together ruin"ed this Man." He means that the Court would have wink'd at ſuch-like Concuſſions made by another Marſhal of *France*, the reſt of whoſe Conduct had tended to the welfare of the State; but ſince this Man's Factions tended (*m*) only to ſow Diviſion in the Royal Family for the advantage of the *Spaniards*, it was thought neceſſary to deliver him up to the rigour of Juſtice. To ſpeak freely, thoſe who form'd Factions with *Mary de Mediciſ*, were altogether inexcuſable; for inſtead of cheriſhing in this Princeſs the paſſionate Deſire of Dominion, they ſhould have adviſ'd her to be quiet and peaceable. She [illegible]ted ſufficiently of the Royal Power in h[illegible]usband's Life-time, and during the Minorit[illegible]her Son. When he became of Age and wa[illegible]rried, ſhe ought to have ſtudied only to lead [illegible]teeable Life as a Queen *Dowager*, without endeavouring to preſcribe to *Lewis* XIII. the choice of ſuch and ſuch Miniſters, and without quarrelling with them. I believe one might apply to her what *Tiberius* ſaid one day to the Widow of *Germanicus*, You take every thing for an Injury which hinders you from Reigning. (*n*) *Nurum Agrippinam, poſt mortem mariti, liberius quiddam queſtam, manu apprehendit: Græcoque verſu*, Si non dominaris, *inquit*, filiola, injuriam te accipere exiſtimas? The *Paris-Gazette* contains a remarkable thing, concerning the Reaſons which oblig'd the King not to grant Letters of Grace upon this occaſion. "(*o*) The Death of Marſhal "*Marillac*, (ſo the Gazetteer expreſſes himſelf in "the Article from *Bruſſels*, dated *May* 15. 1632.) "makes People here talk differently: Neverthe"leſs the common Opinion is, that thoſe who "wrote in the Names of the Queen-Mother and "the King's Brother, Letters full of threats ad"dreſs'd to his Judges to fright them, inſtead of "doing him any Service, have been the cauſe of "his ruin, becauſe they hindred the King from "granting him a Pardon, and forc'd his Majeſty "to give him over to Juſtice, inſtead of that Cle"mency which he might have found from his Ma"jeſty, if the King had not apprehended with "great reaſon, that the favour would have been "imputed to his Weakneſs and Fear, which had "been owing only to his Mercy.

As to the Queſtion, whether the embezeling of the publick Moneys could be puniſh'd with Death, I refer you to Mr. *du Chaſtelet*, who maintains, that the Sentence paſs'd upon Marſhal *Marillac* does not exceed the rigour of the Laws. We have much ado to approve this Opinion, and the Judgment paſs'd upon the Marſhal would be better approv'd than it is, if it was like that which was paſs'd upon Mr. *Fouquet*. At the time of his Tryal there was publiſh'd a learn'd Book about embezeling the publick Moneys.

If it be conſider'd, that even to this Day there are ſome Writers who plead for the innocence of Mr. *Marillac*, the diſcuſſions I have now propos'd in this Remark, will not be found improper in a Critical Dictionary. For 'tis more uſeful than is commonly believ'd, not to [illegible] one's Readers to ſuffer themſelves to be drawn by the popular Opinions concerning the Conduct of Sovereigns. But 'tis eminently dangerous to be deceiv'd herein, when we underſtand that the common Opinions are fortify'd by the Apophthegms that come out under great Names. This is the preſent caſe; read therefore what an ingenious Man has lately publiſh'd. (*l*) "'Twas "under pretence of robbing the publick Trea"ſure, that Cardinal *Richelieu* cut off Marſhal *Ma"rillac*'s Head. They alledged againſt that Lord, "that he had employ'd the King's Money in "ſumptuous Buildings on his fine Eſtate at *Tour"nebu*. This fine Eſtate worth about two Thou"ſand Livers *per Ann.* is in *Normandy*, on the Ri"ver *Seine*, between *Vernon* and *Andely*. Mr. *de "Marillac*, who inherited it from his Anceſtors, "began to build a Houſe there worth about ten "or twelve Thouſand Crowns, but left it un"finiſh'd. One day the Prince of *Conde*, Grand"father to the preſent Prince, paſſing by this "magnificent Building, when 'twas about half "done, and had neither Doors nor Windows, "ſtopt on a ſudden, and having view'd it well, "ſaid to the Gentlemen who were with him: "*This Building is alledg'd as a reaſon why* Marillac's "*Head ſhould be cut off; but 'tis not worth while to "give a Page a Box on the Ear for it.*" See how this ſaying runs about: Some aſcribe it to Cardinal *Richelieu*, others to Mr. *de Marillac* himſelf, and others to the Prince of *Conde*. If that Prince ſpoke in this manner, he did not deſign to be very exact; for he ſuppo[illegible]at this Building was the Baſis of the Accuſa[illegible], which caus'd the Marſhal *de Marillac* to [illegible] his Life, and perhaps in the whole Tryal there was not one word of the Houſe of *Tournebu*. The Judges [illegible] have enough to do, if they were to inform [illegible]es

(*f*) Horace de arte Poëtica *ſays, that old Men praiſe the times paſt, and blame the preſent.* Laudator temporis acti Se puero, cenſor caſtigatorque minorum.

(*g*) Le Laboureur *Preface to the Hiſt. of* Charles VI. *fol.* e iij *verſo. Compare what is ſaid in the* Nouvel. de la Rep. des lettres, *June* 1686. *art.* 1. *at the end.*

(*h*) *Relation of the Proceſs of Marſhal* Marillac, *p.* 8.

(*i*) Ib. p. 18.

(*k*) Chaſtelet ubi ſupra, *p.* 821, 822.

(*l*) Id. ib. *p.* 804, 805.

(*m*) *After all the evidence and ſtrong preſumptions that his Majeſty might have, that he was a Perſon guilty of the troubles and diſcoyons that were begun in* France, *for the only advantage of Strangers, will any body believe this Juſtifical Hiſtorian, or one of his Accomplice think it unjuſt that he was thus proſecuted*, Id. ib. p. 823.

(*n*) Sueton. in Tiberio, *c.* 53.

(*o*) Paris Gazette, May 24. 1632. *p.* 24. *Edit. of* Rouen, *in* 8°.

(*a*) Chaſtelet ubi ſupra, *p.* 807, *&c.*

(*l*) Vigneul Marville, Mélange d'hiſtoire & de literature. *tom.* 2. *p.* 15. *Dutch Edit.* 1700.

in Proſe turned into Rhime, wherein the ſporting of Fancy might have too large a ſhare, but in a ſerious and grave writing, wherein he refutes the Apologiſts of his Enemy. He ſays * therefore, that the Father of Marſhal *Marillac*, "was advanced from the "Office of Maſter of the Accounts, to that of Controller General of the Treaſury, and "left a very little Eſtate to his Children. He was born with a handſom Body and a "ready Wit, and employ'd himſelf chiefly in learning his Exerciſes, which he attain'd to "perfection. Becauſe he was not rich enough to ſubſiſt of himſelf, he liv'd commonly "with the Marquis *de Cœuvre*, who being highly in favour with the Dutcheſs of *Beau-* "*fort*, had much a-do to ſave his Life, and obtain his Pardon, after the Murder of *Ca-* "*boche*, whom he had kill'd upon a ſmall Provocation, and when he was not in a "Condition to defend himſelf. Theſe great Obligations engag'd him more cloſely to "ſerve his Benefactor, who entruſted with him the ſecret of his Amours, and becauſe "he was not faithful in that Affair, he broke off all further Converſe with him. He "liv'd afterwards in the Court upon his good Mien, and under the Name of handſome "*Marillac*, ſeeking all Opportunities of ſhowing his Addreſs and fine Shape in pub- "lick, and of making himſelf agreeable to the deceaſed King, who nevertheleſs treated "him always as a mean Perſon, and one day at *Zamet*'s Houſe turn'd him out "from the Table where he ſat, with many others. All theſe Miſadventures did "not hinder him from charming (*B*) one of the Queen's Maids of Honour." He Married her, and thought that after the Death of *Henry* IV. *under* † *the Government of the Women, his outward ſhow, and the appearance of his Virtues, being joyn'd with his little Services, his Cajolling, Attendance and Complaiſance, would procure him all that he could not obtain* before.—— *The difference between the Profeſſion of his Brother, who was the Maſter of Requeſts, and his running at the Ring, rather than his handling the Sword, procured him the Name of* Gendarme. *He was always the buſieſt Man in the Liſts and Turnaments.*——*The Queen being concern'd by her Alliance to deliver him from his neceſſitous Condition, gave him an Office in the Company of the Duke of* Orleans, *encreas'd his Sallary, and deſir'd the Marquis* d'Ancre *to make uſe of him. The Marquis became Marſhal of* France——*and was ſecretly inſtructed by* Marillac *in the Method and Policy of War*, and gave him hopes (*C*) of a good Reward. ‡ His Death, and the removing of the Queeen-Mother, left *Marillac burden'd with a Wife, and with their common Poverty.*——*He had a mind to comply with thoſe that who ſat at the Helm, being very unwilling to depart from his Pretenſions at Court, which were his chief Inheritance.* But he was given to underſtand, *that his Preſence was not grateful to the King. Whereupon he return'd to his Miſtreſs, alledging a falſe Pretence of ſuffering Baniſhment upon her account*; and after ſome refuſals, he was reſtor'd to her Favour, (*D*) and was

* Du Chaſtelet *Obſervations on the Life and Condemnation of Marſhal* de Marillac, *p.* 770. *of the Collection of Several Pieces uſeful for Hiſtory. Edit.* 1643. 4°.

† Id. ib. p. 771.

‡ Id. ib. p. 772.

ſelves of future Expences, and 'twould be a fine thing to Condemn a Man for a Houſe which is not yet built. But what need is there of diſpute? We need only read the Decree made by the Commiſſioners, and we ſhall find that the Accuſation was grounded upon ſomething very different from the deſign of a Building.

(*B*) *From charming one of the Queens Maids of Honour.*] The words which follow in Mr. *du Chaſtelet* are theſe: "(*c*) She was deſcended from a Branch "of the Houſe of *Medicis*, before the Crown of *Florence* came into it. She was poor and indifferently "handſome; and had already had ſeveral deſigns "to make a more advantageous Alliance, which did "not ſucceed. The proſpect ſhe had of meeting "with no better Fortune, and the fear ſhe was "in, that it would be more difficult for her "being a Stranger than for another, to live for "the future with the troubleſome Title of an "old Maid, made her reſolve to Marry him. 'Tis "true, the Match was eaſily made up, ſince ſhe "had nothing for an Eſtate, but a great Name, "and her Lover could afford nothing but his "fine Mien and Gallantry. But they con- "ceiv'd great hopes of Advancement, and joyn- "ed to the natural Addreſs of an *Italian* edu- "cated at Court, the Tricks and Intrigues of "one, who after he had been fifteen Years there, "had learn'd all the Arts of deceiving, and ap- "pearing to be what he was not" This Lady died during the Proceſs againſt her Husband; whereof we have a Proof in the Diſcourſe of the Marſhal to his Judges. He repreſented to them (*d*) *What method the deceas'd Lady his Wife had taken to get acceſs to the King by the means and permiſſion of Cardinal* Richelieu, and he added, *That ſhe was inhumanely abus'd, baniſh'd, and worſe treated than if ſhe had been among Barbarians, being forc'd to retire into a Village, and to dwell in a borrow'd Houſe, where ſhe died of Diſcontent, and almoſt without any Relief.* The Contract of this Marriage was made *December* 20. 1607. They had no Children (*e*).

(*C*) *The Marquis* d'Ancre *became Marſhal of* France——*and gave him hopes of a good Reward.*] Mr. *du Chaſtelet* paraphraſes this maliciouſly. The new Marſhal of *France*, ſays he, (*f*) *took upon him the Command of the Armies without going thither: And to make People believe that he was Maſter of a Profeſſion, which he had never learn'd, he procur'd Mr* Marillac *to inſtruct him ſecretly in the Method and Policy of War. After a Month's Converſation, they were ſo well ſatisfy'd with their Courage and Skill, that they were quickly perſuaded they could undertake any thing ſafely. The Maſter of a Military School, who pretended nothing but to make himſelf rich, and underſtood the ways of making an advantage by the expences of War, deſir'd of his Scholar as the firſt favour, to be made Commiſſary General, together with a Power which made all the Commanders or Paymaſters of the Troops tributary to him, by taking from them all means of making a prey of the Soldiers without him. This brave Office, which would have brought in ſo good a Revenue, he was aſſur'd of, if the Death of the Marquis* d'Ancre *had not prevented this deſign, together with many others.*

(*D*) *He was reſtor'd to her Favour, and was made Marſhal de Camp at* Pont de Se.] The Paraphraſe which follows is no leſs malicious than the former. "(*g*) The fate of Diſgrace, which "requir'd all ſorts of People to be employ'd, the "Tears of his Wife, the Advices and little Ser- "vices, which the Party receiv'd from the other "*Marillac* his Brother, being aſſiſted by the Mi- "niſtry of ſome Religious Correſpondence, "procur'd all things paſt to be forgotten: "He had the Tone and Look of a Command- "ing Officer, and could talk of Entrenchments, "Halfmoons and Redoubts, and had ſo many "young Men about him, who could better de- "fend than deſign them, that for want of ano- "ther, and of being better known, he was made "Marſhal *de Camp* at *Pont de Se*. Experience "quickly diſcover'd, by the Undertaking, Per- "formance and keeping of the Works, which "were all equally bad, that he was a much bet- "ter Soldier and Captain upon Paper than in the "Field——The ill Opinion which the Sol- "diers had of his Valour in his Youth, was not "made better after the fight at *Pont de Se*, which "they attributed to his being frighted, and want "of Experience. See the Margin (*h*).

(*g*) Id ib. p. 772

(*h*) *Note, that* Pont de Se, *a place upon the* Loire, *was attack'd and taken by the King,* Auguſt 8 1620 *from the Troops of the Queen-Mother, who had declar'd for the Malecontents.*

(*c*) Chaſtelet, ubi ſupra, p. 770, 771.

(*d*) *A true Relation of what paſs'd at the tryal of Marſhal* [illegible]illac, [illegible] & 9.

(*e*) Father Anſelm's *Hiſt. of the Great Offices*, p. 252.

(*f*) Chaſtelet, ubi ſupra, p. 771.

(*L*) *With*

was made Marſhal *de Camp* at *Pont de Se.* He did not well diſcharge this Office, and yet it was confirm'd to him by the King at the Prayer of the Queen-Mother. * He conceiv'd great Hopes in 1624, becauſe *Michael de* MARILLAC his Brother, was advanc'd to the Office of Superintendant of the Finances, and Cardinal *Richelieu* was made Miniſter of State. The firſt Command that he receiv'd *was to go into* Campagne *under the Duke of* Angouleſme *with a* (E) *Commiſſion to be Purveyor General for the Army.*——*As this was his firſt Commiſſion, ſo it was alſo the firſt beginning of his Robberies* (F). They became more enormous when he was employ'd in the *Fortification and* † *Building of the Citadel of* Verdun, *of which the King made him Governor, and appointed him Lieutenant-General of the three Biſhopricks, with the Power of a Pay-Maſter-General.* He was employ'd in the War of *Rochelle* ß in 1627. He was preſent at the defeat of the *Engliſh* (G) in the Iſle of *Rhé*, and ſerv'd γ "as Marſhal de Camp in the Quarters of the "Duke of *Angouleſme*, with ſo bad ſucceſs, that in all the Sallies that were made, and all "the Attacks for taking the Fort of *Thadon*, and blowing up with a Petard the Gates "on the ſide of the Moraſs, he was always forc'd to excuſe himſelf, and to juſtifie his "not being where he ſhould have been. He was conſtantly accus'd by the Soldiers "of ſome miſtake, and of being the cauſe why things ſucceeded ſo ill; ſo ſtrong "was their Opinion, that he was not ſo valiant as he was thought to be." It was during the Siege of *Rochelle*, that he begun to cabal againſt Cardinal *Richelieu*; which he did chiefly by endeavouring to render him odious to *Mary de Medicis.* δ *Marillac continuing at* Rochelle, *contributed at a diſtance as much as lay in his power, towards carrying on the Monopoly; and as he confeſs'd at his Tryal he wrote often to the Queen Mother, and gave Inſtructions to thoſe of his Gang, that Mr.* Bouthillier, *then her Secretary, ſhould ſee none of his Diſpatches; that they ſhould be convey'd by the Ladies of the Bed-Chamber, and that this good Princeſs might know nothing of the diſtruſt that he had*——*Thoſe who form'd this Conſpiracy became skilfull Men in the Practice and Government of Women.*——Marillac *became the Hero of the Faction, and therefore a deſign was laid to* make him *Marſhal of* France; and the Queen-Mother *was ſo well perſuaded, that it was for her Honour and Service to puſh on this matter*, that ſhe us'd the ſtrongeſt Recommendations which obliged the Cardinal ζ *to ſnatch this Staff from the Hand of the King, and give it to this importunate Suitor at the Siege of* Privas. This new Marſhal of *France* and his Brother, continu'd their endeavours to ruin the Cardinal, which they hop'd to compaſs in *Italy*, and for this end they did what they could to hinder the King from approaching *Piedmont*, and with the ſame proſpect, the Marſhal ξ *ſlighted the Orders which the King ſent him* (H) *to bring the Army from* Campagne *into* Italy. At laſt he went from thence, but he ϑ kept thoſe Troops near *Lyons*, to

* Id. ib. p. 773.
† Id. ib. p. 774.
ß Id. ib. p. 778.
γ Id. ib. p. 780.
δ Id. ib. p. 783.
ζ Id. ib. p. 785.
ξ Id. ib. p. 793.
ϑ Id. ib. p. 799.

(E) *With a Commiſſion to be Purveyor.*] "(a) He "executed this Commiſſion ſo ill, that the ſupport he had from the Queen-Mother, and the "intereſt of his Brother, who became daily more "powerful, did not hinder him from being accus'd to the King from this time of evil Practices and Robbery. In this firſt Attack he "had recourſe to the Cardinal by Letters, and afterwards at his Tryal, he ſhow'd the Cardinal's "Anſwer of the 7th of *April* 1625; which contain'd "an aſſurance, that he had remov'd out of the "King's Mind this bad Impreſſion, and adviſ'd him "ſo to behave himſelf for the future, that he "ſhould not ſtand in need of ſuch aſſiſtance.

(a) Id. ib. p. 773.

(F) *This was alſo the beginning of his Robberies.*] A beginning which was attended with continual Conſequences of the ſame Nature, if we believe our Author. *And it will be found*, ſays he (b), *what ever declaration has been made of his Innocence, that after this, till the time of his Impriſonment, he did not manage, or treat of any Affair relating to Money for his Majeſty, but he practiſed all poſſible ways to make an advantage of it.* The detail he gives about this is dreadful; for in it we ſee ſo exceſſive and ſordid Miſdemeanours, that Mr. *du Chaſtelet* was oblig'd to anſwer an Objection that was very obvious, ſince he had repreſented the Marſhal as a Perſon ambitious of Glory. It ſeems, ſays he, that one (c) "who minds ſuperficially "this Diſcourſe, would think it could not be "meant of the ſame Man: In him we ſee the "meaneſs of all ſorts of Villanies, and the high "thoughts of Honour and Offices. We find alſo, that *Marillac* applied himſelf to great things, "and at the ſame time took the poor Peaſants by "the Throat to rob them of their Goods. Yet "'tis eaſie to underſtand that theſe Fruits proceed from the ſame Root, and that he might "be capable of both theſe Extreams, if any one will remember, that he was malicious and proud, and that to bear the "weight of his ambitious Poverty, he wanted to "have recourſe to vile Courſes that diſhonour'd his Life. And becauſe his Hopes could "not keep pace with his Advancement, he was "tranſported by the impetuous Current of his "Faction, wherein Women and many People incapable of War had ſo much Authority, that "he who had a good Mien, could talk much "and make a noiſe, eaſily acquir'd the Opinion "of great valour with thoſe who had no experience in his Profeſſion.

(b) Id. ib. p. 793.

(c) Id. ib. p. 793.

(G) *He was preſent at the defeat of the Engliſh in the Iſle of* Rhé.] We ſhall now inform you who was the Author of an anonymous Relation, which appear'd at this time. "(d) 'Tis obſervable, that "the Keeper of the Seals (e) became the Hiſtorian of the Tranſactions in that Iſle at the defeat of the *Engliſh*, that he might give all the "Glory of them to his Brother. He would not "put his Name to it, that the Relation might be "the leſs ſuſpected, and that he might give it the "more credit againſt the publick Voice of all "thoſe who return'd after the Fight. He was "very indiſcreet to make the great and only Harangue of his Book about him: For beſide, "that he was accounted by the Soldiers a Man "great in words, but little in Deeds, he juſtified "the Name which the Soldiers gave him of *Marillac the Bridge of Gold*, becauſe he gave ſo many "Reaſons for not fighting. He makes him come "near the Enemies to have a view of them in "theſe Words. He approach'd them in ſpite of "the Volleys of the advanc'd Soldiers, which he "was forc'd to ſtand. Whereupon it was ſaid, "at the firſt reading of this Panegyrick, that he "found them of a bad taſte, and ſuch as he had "never taſted but this time.——In a word, he "makes him the only Author of all the feats of "Courage and Conduct, and allows Marſhal "*Schomberg* only to approve his Counſels, and "*Thoiras* to make raſh and revengeful Overtures for the Death of his two Brethren. Yet "all the World knows, that after this Action "which the Romance of his Brother attributes "wholly to him, he was more complain'd of than "before, *&c.* I ſuppreſs the reſt, becauſe it is "too Satyrical.

(d) Id. ib. p. 779.

(e) i.e. Michael de Marillac, *Brother to him of whom I ſpeak in this Article.*

(H) *He ſlighted the Orders the King ſent him, to bring his Army from* Champagne *into* Italy.] His Diſobedience laſted "(f) till the 9th or 10th "of *September*, when an expreſs Command came "from

(f) Id. ib. p. 793.

* Id. ib. † Id. ib. p. 823.

to put in execution the *Reſolutions that were taken againſt the Perſon of the Cardinal.* The King's recovery ma[illegible] his Plot miſcarry. The Marſhal went over the *Alps*, and obtain'd the ſame [illegible] * over the Armies that the Marſhals *de la Force* and *Schomberg* had; but [illegible]abal having fail'd in their main Deſign, I mean the Queen not being able to o[illegible]he favour ſhe deſir'd of her Son the King, to remove the Cardinal from his Co[illegible] the Marſhals were undone: *The King* † *having taken away the Seals from the El[illegible] which were powerful and dangerous Inſtruments in ſo bad Hands, cauſed him to be carried to* Lizieux, *and commanded the Marſhals* de la Force *and* Schomberg *to ſeize the other, and ſend him Priſoner under a ſtrong guard to the Caſtle of Saint* Menehouſt. Theſe are ſome [illegible]tracts out of the Book of Mr. *du Cheſnelet*, who mentions alſo the Obligations which the (*I*) eldeſt of theſe Gentlemen had entred into with the League. *Moreri* tells us, that the Marſhal *always refus'd* the offers his Friends made him to deliver him out of Priſon, and that his Sentence was revers'd by a Decree of Parliament after the Death of Cardinal *Richelieu*. This deſerves (*K*) a Reflection.

† *Father* Anſelm's Hiſt. of great Offices, p. 104 *ſays, that he was carried to the Caſtle of* [illegible], *and from that to the Caſtle of* Chateaudun, *where he died in Priſon,* Auguſt 7. 1632.

MARI-

" from the King to depart under a great Penalty. " He acquainted thoſe of *Paris*, that he was there " as a Shield to ſecure them againſt the Forces of " the Emperor, that waited only for his removal, " that they might enter into *France*. He fill'd " the Kingdom with Letters written to his Friends, " containing the cauſes of his delay, which he " excus'd to the King, ſometimes by falſe News, " and ſometimes becauſe he could not draw " Troops out of the Garriſons without paying the " Soldiers and Communities which had maintain'd " 'em. This delay was a great damage to the King's " deſigns; for all the Reſolutions of thoſe whom " he entruſted with his Affairs, and with the " Army beyond the *Alps*, remain'd in ſuſpence " upon the uncertainty of his coming, which he " promis'd in one diſpatch, and preſently delay'd " by another for reaſons frivolous and deceitful: " Which occaſion'd ſuch a loſs of Men and Time " that if he had come in the beginning of *July* to " *Suza*, as he might eaſily have done, and was " commanded to do, the Paſſage of *Veillane* had " been ſecur'd, and the relief of *Cazal* infallible " at the beginning of *Auguſt*. If he had obey'd, " as he might, the Men had not fallen into the " ſeaſon of the Peſtilence and a mortal Diſeaſe, " which deſtroy'd twenty Thouſand *French* in the " Autumn, in the Plains of *Piedmont*. The ſtate " of the Beſieg'd, and of our Troops had not " forc'd the Generals to agree in *September* to the " *Spaniards* entrance into the City and Caſtle, by " a Truce, which the event only excus'd; and " the bad Air of *Lyons* poyſon'd with ſo many " Impurities, had not put the King in danger of " his Life." Here you may ſee the confirmation of a Remark I made above, that it was for the good and ſervice of *Lewis* XIII. that his Troops ſhould be commanded by the Friends of Cardinal *Richelieu*; for there being nothing more proper to deſtroy this Cardinal than the bad ſucceſs of the War, it was to be fear'd, that Enemies would favour at leaſt indirectly the Enemies of *France*. See (*b*) how the *Marillac's* contriv'd the matter ſo, that the Expedition of *Italy*, of which he had the Direction, prov'd unfortunate. I believe they did not deſire the ſucceſs of the *Spaniards* as ſuch, but only as a means to procure the fall of the chief Miniſter. However, it is certain, that they prejudic'd the intereſt of the Crown, and that *Lewis* XIII. ſuffer'd for it.

(*b*) Chaſtelet ib. p. 789.

(*I*) *The Obligation which the eldeſt of theſe Gentlemen had entred into with the League.*] The Circumſtances of this are very remarkable. Mr. *du Chaſtelet* affirms, that among other things it was repreſented to Cardinal *Richelieu* (*c*), "That it would not " be difficult to make People believe the ingratitude " and diſguiſes of *Marillac* the Keeper of the Seals; " and that he, whom all the World believ'd poſſeſs'd with ſuch a furious Paſſion, as to ſign the " League with his own Blood; who had a mind " from a *Frenchman* to become a *Spaniard*; who from " Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, became " an Aſſiſtant to an Attorney, to impriſon the " moſt illuſtrious Society of the World; who " departed from his Pretenſion of being Gentleman, to be a Deputy of the third State of the " League, tho' he was an Officer in the higheſt " Court; who from a Lay-Counſellor became alſo " a Clerk to the Bull thundred out againſt " the King; and who from a furious Leaguer be[illegible] a Domeſtick to the Dutcheſs of *Bar*, and her [illegible]dent ſo far as to go to a Proteſtant Sermon, " might on this occaſion, have aſſum'd all the Faces, " Changes and Reſolutions that were moſt agreeable " to his Paſſion." The Author whom M. *du Chaſtelet* refutes had ſaid, that Marſhal *Marillac* recommended to his Nephew, *That he ſhould always ſerve the King faithfully next to God.* Upon which words Mr. *du Chaſtelet* criticizes thus. " Upon what other Grounds, *ſays he* (*d*), was the " Rebellion of the League founded? Did *Buſſy*, " the *Spartacus* of our Age, being encourag'd " by the Preſence and Duty of Marſhal *Marillac* " who aſſiſted him, uſe any other Prologue for " his driving the Senate from their Seats, and " dragging them to Priſon?

(*d*) Id ib p. 839

(*K*) *This deſerves a Reflection.*] The Memoirs of Mr. *Puyſegur* cited in the Dictionary of *Moreri*, ſay, That the ſame Day the Marſhal was ſeiz'd, the Captain of his Guards (*e*) " propos'd to him " to procure his eſcape; and *that the Marſhal anſwer'd him*, That he would not make his eſcape, " if he could, that he fear'd nothing, for he had " always been a true Servant to the King, and " gave him orders to ſerve him faithfully, and to " tell all his Friends to do the ſame. Mr. *Puyſegur* publiſh'd this as having *learn'd it afterwards from* Mr. de Marillac, *when he guarded him at* Pontoiſe. Thoſe that will read what is related four Pages after this, will not think that *Moreri* has inform'd us faithfully, nor that Mr. *Marillac* had never any intention to make his eſcape. The King had a mind to know whether Mr. *de Puyſegur* would be anſwerable for this Marſhal, and conduct him to the great Hall of the Vicarſhip of *Pontoiſe* (*f*). " I ſaid, *they* " *are the words of Mr* Puyſegur, that I could not " anſwer for him, that Mr. *de Marillac* Keeper of " the Seals had there a Daughter who was a Nun, " that was very powerful and much belov'd, that " I would not run the hazard of carrying him " thither, and that there was another reaſon which " hinder'd me, which I would not tell him then; " but the King knew afterwards, that it was an " Intrigue of that Nun, and the Queen Mother, " whereby Mr. *d'Argouges*, who belong'd to her, " would have given me a hundred Crowns to ſet " *Marillac* at liberty.

(*e*) Puyſegur Memoir p 8; *Dict. Crit.*

(*f*) Id ib. p 87.

The other Obſervation of *Moreri*, viz. that the Parliament of *Paris* revers'd the Sentence againſt Marſhal *Merillac*, might have overthrown what I ſaid in the firſt Remark of this Article, if that Parliament had reviſ'd the Proceſs, and declar'd that the Judges who Condemn'd this Marſhal, did willingly oppreſs him, or were deceiv'd by falſe Witneſſes. But I cannot believe that the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris* contain'd any ſuch thing. I muſt confeſs that I do not know the Tenor of it, and I do not remember that I have ſeen any Book except *Moreri*'s Dictionary, wherein it is mention'd. Father *Anſelm* ſays nothing of it, and yet he was a Man who was very careful to oblige the Families he wrote about. Common ſenſe tells us, that if the Parliament of *Paris* had declar'd Marſhal *Marillac* innocent of all the Crimes for which he was Condemn'd to Death, they had ſet a mark of Infamy upon thoſe who had Condemn'd him, and chiefly upon Mr. *de Chateauneuf* their Preſident. This had been a ſtain to Black, ſo ſhameful and abominable, that I cannot underſtand how Mr. *de Chateauneuf* could have appear'd in public, and yet it was after the Death of Cardinal *Richelieu*, which, according to *Moreri*, was the time when the Sentence againſt *Marillac* was reverſ'd, that he was deliver'd from his Diſgrace: Now it ought to be obſerv'd, that he was advanc'd a ſecond time to be

Keeper

MARINELLA or MARINELLI (LUCRETIA) a *Venetian* Lady of a great deal of Wit, who publiſh'd among other Books (*A*) one entituled * *La Nobilta e l'eccellenza delle donne con diffetti e mancamenti de gli huomini.* She carried the Pretenſions of her Sex, not only to an equality, as ſome (*B*) Authors have done, but alſo to a ſuperiority.

* *It was Printed at* Venice *in* 1601, *in* 4°.

Keeper of the Seals in (*g*) 1650. See the Margin *. I could therefore eaſily believe, that the Decree which *Moreri* mentions, does not concern the things whereof the Marſhal was accus'd, but only the method of proceeding: Which could not but be offenſive to the Parliament; for the erection of an extraordinary Court to judge the Officers of the Crown, was a thing irregular, and contrary to the Rights of Parliament. Beſides, Marſhal *Marillac* had often declar'd, that he did not own the Commiſſioners that try'd him to be his natural Judges. This might afford the Parliament of *Paris* a ſpecious Reaſon, that the Marſhal was not lawfully judg'd; but 'tis no proof at all, that they declar'd him innocent of the Crimes upon which the Condemnation was grounded. Here is a convincing inſtance of what I ſay. After the Battle of *Rocroy*, and the taking of *Thionville*, the Court having a mind to make ſome acknowledgement to the Duke of *Enguien*, (*h*) reſtor'd to the Prince of *Conde the fine Houſe of* Chantilli, *and ſome other parts of the Inheritance of the Duke of* Montmorency, *to whom the Princeſs of* Conde *was Heireſs. The Decree of the* Parliament of Paris *intervening upon the Letters of the Grant, ſays expreſly, that the Duke of* Montmorency *was not rightly judg'd: And this is founded upon one of the moſt certain Maxims of the Kingdom; That the Dukes and Peers cannot be judg'd but by the King in Perſon, and in his Court of Parliament, pretty full of Eccleſiaſtical and Lay-Peers*, According to theſe Maxims the Marſhal *de Biron* had not been rightly judg'd; for *Henry* IV. did not aſſiſt in Perſon at his Tryal. But ſetting aſide all Cavils, I ſhall only obſerve, that what was inſerted in favour of Mr. *de Montmorency*, in the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, does no ways hinder but that he was certainly guilty of Rebellion, and cannot impeach the probity of his Judges. They were incompetent if you pleaſe, but they gave ſentence according to Law, and againſt a Perſon who was really guilty. It often happens that inferior Judges are guilty of irregular Proceedings which are null'd by ſuperior Courts, and the accuſed gains nothing by it, but only a little time; for the Proceedings are renew'd with all the requiſite Formalities, and he is duly Convicted, and the firſt Sentence is confirm'd in the main.

Note, That I do not intend to deny, that honour of ſome Perſons who were puniſh'd with Death, has been reſtor'd in ſuch a manner as did import a judicial Declaration of their Innocence; but commonly this is the Conſequence of a Reviſion of the Proceſs, attended with new Writings in juſtification of the Party, and with convincing Proofs of the Corruption or Raſhneſs of the Judges. Without this, the reſtoring of the honour of thoſe that are puniſh'd with Death, is nothing but a favour granted for the good Services that have been receiv'd, or are expected from a conſiderable Family. This is a Comfort to a Family and a kind of Barrier againſt the inſulting Reproaches of its Enemies. I cannot tell exactly what kind of Reſtoration that was which follows: "(*a*) In 1549, a little after the Death of King "*Francis* I. *James de Coucy*, Lord of *Vervin*, the "King's Lieutenant at *Bologne*, and *Odoart de Biez* "Marſhal of *France*, his Father-in-Law, were "Condemn'd; the former to Death, becauſe he had "not well defended *Montreuil* againſt the *Engliſh*, "the other to loſe his Dignity of Marſhal, becauſe "he had betray'd and ſurrender'd *Bologne* to *Hen*"*ry* King of *England*. Theſe two Lords were "declar'd innocent in 1577, in the Reign of *Hen*"*ry* III. at the Suit of *James de Coucy*, Son to the "ſaid Lord of *Vervin*, and Grandſon to the ſaid "Lord Marſhal *Biez*: And the verification and "publication of their Innocence was made at "*Bologne*, *June* the 14th.

To ſpeak Truth, the Letters Patents, Edicts, and Decrees of Princes, contain often ſome honourable Things, which, properly ſpeaking, are nothing but Compliments, and muſt be underſtood after the manner of Compliments. Do you think that *Henry* III. ſpoke according to his own Judgment, when he declar'd (*b*), that the Duke of *Alençon* his Brother, the King of *Navarre* his Brother-in-Law, the Prince of *Conde*, and all the other Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers and Inhabitants of his Kingdom, who had a Hand in the laſt Troubles, *had been in this his good and loyal Subjects and Servants*; and when he teſtified, *that he was well and duly inform'd of the good intention of the ſaid Duke of* Alençon, *and that there was nothing done by him, nor by thoſe concern'd with him, whoſoever they were, the Living as well as the Dead, but what was for his Service?* Do you think that *Lewis* XIII. ſpoke ſincerely (*c*), when he declar'd, that *he believ'd that what was* done by the Prince of *Conde* and his Followers, *had been done with a good intention and for his Service?* The like Clauſes are commonly (*d*) to be found in all the Edicts of Peace, ſince the firſt Civil War for Religion under *Charles* IX. and are now become a Form that will be us'd at all times when the exigencies of the State ſhall require it. The Heads of a Party in a troubleſome Civil War, do commonly capitulate ſo happily for themſelves and their own Intereſt, that they commonly obtain the State of a Marſhal, or the blew String, or the Government of a Place, beſides Letters. I do not ſay, of amneſty, but wherein the King declares that he is perſuaded, that what they did was for his Service. Neither the Prince who ſpeaks, nor the Secretary of State who draws up the Writing, nor the Chancellor who ſeals it, believe any thing of this to be true; yet the neceſſity of the times forces them to expreſs themſelves after this manner. But no body underſtands this literally; People continue to ſay or to think, that they bore Arms againſt the King, and were rank Rebels. The reſt muſt paſs for Compliments under the great Seal, and Chancery-Lyes.

What Kings do in their Edicts and Declarations, is alſo done ſometimes in a Parliament, either by their Order, or upon their Recommendation, and ſometimes tho' they are not concern'd in it. I mean, that the honour of Perſons is reſtor'd ſometimes upon one pretence, and ſometimes upon another, upon a proſpect, that this will ſerve the Relations for ſome purpoſe: But the Judges who have Condemn'd, are not accounted infamous, or look'd upon as puniſhable, unleſs the Decree of Reſtoration be grounded upon a reviſion of the Writings, and it be order'd, that the Judges or Witneſſes ſhall be immediately Proſecuted. I think that no body dare ſay, that the Parliament of *Paris* order'd any thing like this againſt Mr. *de Chateauneuf*, or againſt his Aſſeſſors, or againſt the multitude of Witneſſes whom they examin'd and re-examin'd. If Mr. *Moreri* had cited ſome Authors, he might have eas'd me, and perhaps inabled me to know, that what I have juſt now obſerv'd is needleſs. See the Margin (*e*). It muſt be confeſs'd, that in Hiſtorical Matters, thoſe who abound with exact Quotations, do extreamly abridge the way of Inſtruction.

(*A*) *Among other Books.*] She wrote a Book entituled, *la colomba ſacra*, the Life of the Virgin *Mary*, and of St. *Francis*. I find this in (*f*) *le coſe notabili & maravigliose della Citta di Venetia.*

(*B*) *As ſome* (*g*) *Authors have done.*] I ſhall name only two: One is Mademoiſelle *de Gournay*, who wrote a Book *of the equality of Men and Women*. Her Pretention was diſapprov'd by Mrs. *Schurman*: (*h*) *Nobiliſſimæ Gornacenſis diſſertationculam — ut ab elegantia ac lepore improbare minime puſſim: ita eam per omnia comprobare nec auſim quidem nec velim; licet ad ſapientum teſtimonia quæ illa nobis exhibuit, brevitatis cauſa provocarim.* The other Author is one who publiſh'd at *Paris* in 1673, a Book entitul'd, *Of the equality of the two Sexes, a Diſcourſe Phyſical and Moral, wherein is to be ſeen the importance of clearing the Mind from Prejudices.* He thought that ſome would write againſt him, and (*i*) he was threaten'd with it: But finding that none appear'd to refute him he himſelf wrote againſt his own Book; for he publiſh'd a Treatiſe in 1675, *Of the excellency of Men, againſt the equality of*

(*a*) Richeome *Apologetical Complaint*, n. 50, p. 184, 185.

(*b*) Auberi *Hiſt. of Cardinal* Mazarin *B.* 2 *p.* 208.

(*g*) Anſelm ubi ſupra, p. 105.

* *The Prince of* Conde *remembring that Mr. de* Chateauneuf *preſided at the Tryal of Mr. de* Montmorency, *croſs'd him as much as he could, and at laſt cauſ'd the Seals to be taken from him.* See Priolo, l. 5. c. 16, & 29. & alibi. *Would not he have alledg'd, the Infamy wherewith the Parliament of* Paris *had mark'd him?*

(*b*) *The Edict of* 1576. Art. 49, 53.

(*c*) *Edict of the Month of* May, 1616. Art. 17.

(*d*) *See* Mr. Daillé's *Reply to* Adam *and* Cottiby, 2. *part. c.* 18. *p. m.* 112, 113.

(*e*) Balzac *in the* 13 *Letter of the firſt Book to* Mr. Conrart, *dated* April 30. 1653, *mentions a Letter he had written to a Gentleman of* Languedoc, wherein, *ſays he*, I have ſpoke of the Reviſion of the Proceſs of Marſhal *Marillac*, altho' no body be named in it. *I confeſs I know not what he mean by that Reviſion. I want a great many Books and Memoirs.*

(*f*) *At p.* 311. *of the* Venice *edit.* 1655.

(*g*) *See the Article* Fonte.

(*h*) Anna Maria Schurman *in opuſcul. p.* 85.

(*i*) *See the* Journal des Savans, *March* 16. 1676.

Superiority above the Maſculine. Mrs. *de Schurman* * did not approve the Deſign of this Book; and therefore ſhe would have blam'd Mrs (C) *Jacquette Guillaume*.

MARIUS, ſirnam'd ÆQUICOLA, becauſe he was born in the Country (A) of the *Æqui* in *Italy*, flouriſh'd at the end of the XVth Century, and in the beginning of the XVIth. He ſtudied † at *Paris* Phyſicks and Mathematicks under *Faber Stapulenſis*. He was one of the Wits in the Court of *Francis Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantua*, and he wrote (B) in *Italian* a Hiſtory of *Mantua*, wherein he enlarges very much upon what concerns the illuſtrious Houſe of *Gonzaga*. He wrote (C) many other Books: What he wrote (D) about the Nature of Love, was re-printed many times,

* Tantum vero abeſt ut hoc, cum virginali modeſtia aut ſaltem innato mihi pudore congruere arbitrer, ut vel perlegere pigeat tractatum cætera inſignem Lucretiæ Marinellæ. *Anna Maria à Schurman in opuſculis p.* 85.

† *He himſelf ſays ſo, as I learned by a Memorial, which a certain Perſon communicated to me, but would not be named.*

Sexes. If you conſider well all that he ſays, you will diſcover, that he had no deſign to refute his firſt Book, but rather to confirm it indirectly. However it be, theſe two Books were re-printed at *Paris* in 1679. It was a long time before the Author of them was known: It was ſaid in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for the Month of *Octobre* (k) 1685, that his Name was *Frelin*; but ſome time after it was declar'd there (l), that he ſhould rather be call'd *Poulain*. And indeed this is his true Name, altho' he aſſum'd that of *la Barre* (m) at the beginning of the third Edition in 1691, and at the beginning of the third part of his Work publiſh'd in 1692. I muſt tell you by the bye, that he was an Eccleſiaſtick of *Lorrain*, who imbrac'd at *Geneva* the Proteſtant Communion.

(C) *She would have blam'd Mrs.* Jacquette Guillaume.] Who publiſh'd at *Paris* in 1665, a Book entituled, *The Illuſtrious Ladies, wherein is prov'd by good and ſtrong Reaſons, that the Female Sex in all reſpects exceeds the Male.* There was publiſh'd at *Paris* a Book in 8°. in 1643, with this Title, *The generous Woman, who proves that her Sex is more Noble, more Politick, more Valiant, more Learned, more Virtuous, and more Frugal than that of Men*, by L. S. D. L. L. I add, that Mr. *Scheffer* informs me (n), that there was Printed at *Upſal* in 1650, a Treatiſe entitul'd, *La donna migliore dell huomo, Paradoſſo*, written by *Jacobus del Pozzo*, (i. e. *de Puteo.*)

This Theſis had been a long time maintain'd by ſome Wits. *Jerom Ruſcelli* publiſh'd in 1552, an *Italian* Book, wherein he gave the Superiority of Perfection to the Women, (o) CHELA DONNA *ſia di gran lunga piu nobile & piu degna dell' HUOMO*. He obſerves that *Plutarch, John Boccacio, Il Corteggiano l'Agrippa, il Portio, il* (p) *Lando, il Domenichi*, and ſeveral others had handled this Queſtion, and notwithſtanding that, we do not find that their Reaſons have made the World believe, that the Women ſurpaſs the Men. He quotes (q) *Maggio*, and *Bernardo Spina*, who writ in defence of the ſame Opinion. I have a Book which was Printed at *Paris* in 1617, with this Title, *Replique, à l'Antimalice, or a Defence of Women, of the Sieur* Vigoureux, *otherwiſe called* Brye-Comte-Robert——*by the Sieur* de la Bruyere, *a Gentleman of* Bearn. This Gentleman declares (r) *That his intention is to confute what* the Author of the Defence had *ſaid*, that the *Women are better than the Men, and more Virtuous in all things*. Note, that this Defence was the refutation of a Piece of one (s) *James Olivier*, and that he who publiſh'd it, (t) *to have a larger Field of Diſcourſe, undertook to appropriate to the Men——what was attributed to the Women*, in the Book which he refuted. You will find other Writers in the 2d *Tome* of *Vigneul Marville*'s *Melanges*, at the 27th and 28th Pages of the *Dutch* Edition.

(A) *Becauſe he was born in the Country of the Æqui.*] This is the Opinion of *Leander Albertus* in his Deſcription of *Italy* (u). *Æquicolorum nomen ſuperiori memoria Marius Alvetius plurimum nobilitavit cognomento Æquicolæ.* The *Italian* words of this Author are theſe, (a) *ha illuſtrato gli Equicoli Mario di Alveto.* We muſt not wonder that *Nicodemo* (b) did not make uſe of them to refute *Nicolas Toppi*, (c) who plac'd this *Mario* among the *Neapolitan* Authors; for there was great reaſon for placing him there. *Marius Æquicola* was of *Alvito*, and if on the one ſide many Geographers believe that this place was ſituate in the Country of the ancient *Æqui*, 'tis certain on the other ſide, that at preſent it belongs to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

(B) *He wrote in* Italian *a Hiſtory of* Mantua.] Let us cite the words of *Leander Albertus*: (d) *Diu inter Franciſci Gonzagæ Mantuani Marchionis familiares fuit, & lingua vernacula preleganter Gonzagarum vitas ſcripſit.* Do not believe what he ſays of the Elegance of this Book; for I know that the Style of it was ſo harſh, that *Benedict Oſanna* was oblig'd to correct and poliſh it, when a new Edition of that Hiſtory of *Mantua* was made in 1608. *Maximam vitæ partem Mantuæ egit Marius inter familiares Iſabellæ Eſtenſis uxoris Francici II Marchionis in cujus gratiam ſcripſit de Mantuana hiſtoria breves commentarios a rerum Origine, ad ſua uſque tempora lingua Patina, eaq; rudi & rancida, ut ea ætas ferebat. Verum ſeculo ſequenti Bened. Oſanna Mantuanus cum Marii hiſtoria reuderetur, vetere obſoletas uſitatis commutavit, & ſtylum rubiginæ ſqualliddum lima ut ornavit atque* (e). It is divided into five Books: The three firſt are dedicated to *Francis* II. Marquis of *Mantua*, who died in 1519. The fourth being wholly deſign'd for the Life of that Marquis, was dedicated to *Frederick Gonzaga* his Son, to whom *Marius* was Secretary, if we may believe *Bonacciuoli*. The fifth contains the Hiſtory of this *Frederick*, till the Year 1521. Of this I have been inform'd by a Memorial which Mr—— was pleaſed to ſend me.

(C) *He wrote many other Books.*] A Treatiſe *De opportunitate*, Printed at *Naples* in 1507, in 4°. *Epiſtola ad Maximilianum Sforziam Mediolani ducem de liberata Italia*, Printed in 1513, in 4°. A Latin Apology *againſt the ſlanderers of the French Nation*. It was tranſlated into *French* by *Michael Roſe*, and that Verſion was Printed at *Paris* in 1550 in 8°. *D Iſabellæ Eſtenſi Mantuæ Principis iter in Galliam Narbonenſem deſcriptum.* I ſhall ſpeak hereafter of the Deſcription of that Journey. We find in the *Bibliotheque* of *Draudius* one (f) *ariæ Aquivolus Olivetanus*, the Author of a (g) Book of Theology Printed at *Munich* in 1584, and one *h*) *Marius Æquicolius*, the Author of a Harangue *de laud. hujus trium Philoſophiæ facultatum.* *Toppi* (i) aſcribes the firſt of theſe two Treatiſes to our *Marius Æquicola*. He gives us the Title of it with a Clauſe which *Draudius* has forgotten, *viz.* that *Anſelm Stockius* firſt publiſh'd this Book after he had Corrected it. *Leonard Nicodemo* (k) mentions this Title, *Introduzione di Mario Equicola al comporre ogni ſorte di rima della lingua volgare, con uno eruditiſſimo diſcorſo della Pittura, e con molte ſegrete allegorie, intorno alle Muſe, e alla poeſia*, at *Venice* 1555, in 4°. Add to this what will be ſaid in the following Remarks.

Let us ſee what Mr.—has inform'd me of as to the relation of a Journey, which *Iſabel la d'Eſte*, Marchioneſs of *Mantua*, made into *Provence* to viſit the *Sainte Baume*, to which ſhe was oblig'd by a Vow. The Author declares that he knows not the reaſon (l) of that Journey, and would not tell it if he knew it. Here is his Dedication. *Marius Æquicola Ferdinando Gonzagæ Franc. March. Mantuæ* iiii. *filio S. D. P. In hoc ſcribendo non minus equidem laboravi animo quam corpore fatigabar, cum ea adirem de quibus diximus loca. Sequitur enim laſſitudo animi, ut corporis. Jam vero animo Tui rarus non Heros ad poſſem fixamur, ſed in templo Veneris genitricis conſeremus. Illius ergo hoc ad te. Vale.* He begins his Relation with enquiring into the Original of Vows among the Ancients. After this, he leads his Heroine through *Italy* over the *Alpes* into *Provence*, and gives a ſhort and good Deſcription of the Places through which ſhe paſs'd. The Impreſſion of the Book is faulty; for there is no Year to it, nor is the Year of the Pilgrimage mention'd; but it ſeems it was before 1512.

(D) *What he wrote about the Nature of Love was reprinted.*] *Toppi* mentions only the Edition of

(d) Leander Albertus ubi ſupra.

(e) *The words are taken from a Manuſcript which Mr—— has been pleaſed to ſend me.*

(f) *At p.* 283 *of the Edition of* Francfort, 1625.

(g) In quo tractatu unde anti quorum latria, & vera Catholica religio incrementum ſumpſerint: cum epiſtola Anſhelmi Stockii Equitis.

(h) At p. 1451.

(i) Nicolo Toppi, ubi ſupra.

(k) Nicodemo, ubi ſupra, p. 171.

(l) Cauſas nonnat ahi, non diſſimulo ne neſciere: quod etiamſi ſenem, diſſimulaſem

(a) Leander Albertus in deſcript. Ital. *p.* 225 (b) fol. m. 149. verſo. (b) Nicodemo Addiz. alla Biblioteca Napoletana, p. 172. (c) Nicolo Toppi Biblioteca Napoletana, *p.* 206.

(p) *See his Article at the end of the Remark Z.* (q) Id. ib verſo. & fol. 15. (r) *In his Preface.* (s) *Intituled* Alphabet de l'imperfection & Malice des Femmes. (t) *Preface to the* Replique à l'Antimalice. *This* Anti *is not to be found in Mr.* Baillet's *Collection.* (u) Leander Albertus in deſcript. Ital. *p.* 225 (a) fol. m. 149. verſo. (b) Nicodemo Addiz. alla Biblioteca Napoletana, p. 172. (c) Nicolo Toppi Biblioteca Napoletana, *p.* 206.

times, and yet is very difficult to be got. I have said something of him in another place *. *Scaliger* the Father (*E*) praiſes him very much. The Epitome of *Geſner's Bibliotheque* deſerves to be cenſur'd.

* *In one of the Remarks of the firſt* Vergerius.

MARNIX (PHILIP DE) Seigneur *deu mont Sainte Aldegonde*. See SAINTE ALDEGONDE.

MARNIX (JOHN DE) Baron *de Potes*, &c. is not known to me but by a Book entituled, *Reſolutions Politiques, ou Maximes d'Eſtat*, Printed at *Bruſſels* in 1612. in 4*o*. It contains ſome good things, and chiefly in the Margins. He dedicated it to the Arch-Duke *Albert*, Sovereign of the Low Countries, whoſe Subject he owns himſelf to be. He put out ſome Years after a ſecond † Edition of it very much enlarged, and Dedicated it to the *Infanta Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, this Arch-Duke's Widow. I have not ſeen his other Book entituled *Repreſentations*, which the Catalogue of *Oxford* mentions to have been publiſh'd at *Bruſſels* in 1622, in 4*o*.

† *See* Paſquier, *Recherches de la France, l.7.c.6.p.m. 613*

MAROT (CLEMENT) Valet de Chamber to *Francis* I. and the beſt Poet of his Time, was of *Cahors*. He infinitely exceeded *John* MAROT his (*A*) Father, who was pretty ‡ good at making Verſes. Some ſay, that *He was Educated* (*B*) *in the Quality of a Page to* Nicolas de Neufville, *who was the firſt of his Family that was Secretary of State*. They add, that about 1520 he was appointed to ſerve the Princeſs (*C*) *Margaret*

‡ *It was alſo Printed at* Rouen *in* 1624.

(*m*) Toppi, ubi ſupra.

Venice 1536, in 8°. which is not the firſt; for he ſays (*m*), *Un libro di natura d'amore, riſtampato e corretto. Nicodemo* (*n*) takes notice of the Edition of *Venice* 1554, in 12°. which is entitled, *Libro di Natura d'amore di Mario Equicola di nuovo con ſomma diligenza riſtampato, e corretto da M. Lodovico Dolce. Con una tavola delle coſe piu notabili che nell' opera ſi contengono.* He ſays, that *Doni* mentions this Book with praiſe in his firſt *Libraria* at p. 73. of the *Venice* Edition 1550. This Book of *Æquicola* was re-printed at *Venice* in 1563, and 1583. *Gabriel Chapuys* made a *French* Tranſlation of it (*o*), which was Printed at *Paris*. The following Paſſage of *Auguſtin Niphus* will not be ſuperfluous: (*p*) *Temporibus noſtris Marius Æquicola Olivetanus amiciſſimus noſter meo Judicio fertiliſſime de amore ſcripſit, & licet vulgari atq; materno ſermone, tamen nihil intentatum præterit.* Do not take *Olivetanus* for a fault of Impreſſion; for the Author calls himſelf (*q*) *Æquicolam Olivetanum* in his Book *De opportunitate*. It was not becauſe he was of the Order of the Monks of Mount *Olivet*, as *Poſſevin* affirms in his *Apparatus*; but becauſe he believ'd the place of his Birth might be call'd *Olivetum* (*r*) as well as *Alvitum* or *Alvetium*.

(*n*) Nicodemo, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) *See* du Verdier's Biblioth. Françoiſe *p.* 433.

(*p*) Auguſt. Niphus de amore, *c.* 1.*p.m.*285.

(*q*) *Mr.— in the Memorial cited above.*

(*r*) Ab Oleis ibid.

(*E*) Scaliger *the Father praiſes him very much.*]. He inſcrib'd a piece of Poetry to him, which begins thus:

Maxime (*ſ*) *vir, geminas cui circum tempora laurus*
Purpurea facilis nectit Apollo manu:
Æquicola Aonidum decus, acceptiſſime rerum
Numinibus veſtris, numinibuſq; meis:
Quid faciam miſer?

(*ſ*) Julius Cæſar Scaliger in Lacrymis, *part.* 1. Poematum, *p.* 535, *edit.* 1591.

This Poem was written in 1517, if we believe (*t*) *Joſeph Scaliger*, who adds, that his Father and *Matthew Bandel* contracted a very cloſe Friendſhip, while they were both inſinuating themſelves into the favour of *Æquicola*.

(*t*) Joſephus Scaliger contut. fabulæ Burdonum, *p.* 264. *See alſo p.*240, 241.

(*F*) *The Epitome of* Geſner's Bibliotheque *deſerves to be cenſur'd.*] *Marius Æquicola* is (*v*) there ſurnam'd *Alvelanus*, which is a fault; it ſhould be *Alvetanus*. 'Tis ſaid there, that his *Italian* Treatiſe *De natura amoris*, Corrected by *Thomas Fazellus Porcacius* was Printed at *Venice* in 1563. I know no Author who has thoſe three Names. There *Marius Æquicola Alvetanus*, the Author of that Book, is impertinently diſtinguiſh'd from *Marius Æquicolus, vir nobilis, Italus, eques auratus, qui ſcripſit pro Baptiſta Mantuano defenſorium in ſycophantas librum* 1. *Item de opportunitate. Item de natura & de amore.*

(*v*) Epit. Biblioth. Geſn. *p.* 773.

(*A*) John MAROT *his Father who was pretty good at making Verſes.*] He was born at *Mathieu* near to *Caen*, if we may believe *Moreri*. Others ſay only (*w*), that he was of *Caen*, and add, that he was Poet to Queen *Anne* of *Bretagne*, and then Valet de Chamber to *Francis* I. The Collection of his Works contains *Le Doctrinal des Princeſſe & nobles Dames, deduit en* 24. *Rondeaux. The Journies to* Genoa *and* Venice, *victoriouſly finiſh'd by King* Lewis XII. *Other forty nine Rondeaux. An Epiſtle of the Ladies of* Paris *to King* Francis I. *being* in *Italy after he had defeated the* Swiſſers. *Another Epiſtle of the Ladies of* Paris *to the Courtiers of* France, *who were then in* Italy. *Another Epiſtle to Queen* Claudia. *The Church ſpeaking to* France. *A Royal Song about the Conception of Our Lady, and another Royal Song in honour of* Jeſus Chriſt (*a*).

(*w*) La Croix du Maine, *p.* 242.

(*a*) *Taken out of* du Verdier Vau-Privas Biblioiotheque Françoiſe *p.* 718.

(*B*) *That he was educated in the quality of a Page.*] Mr. *de Rocolles* (*b*) aſſerts this matter of fact, againſt whom I offer two Reaſons. *Nicolas de Neufville*, who was the firſt of his Family that was preferr'd to the Poſt of Secretary of State, was born (*c*) in 1542; and therefore he could not have *Clement Marot*, who was then fifty five Years old. *Nicolas de Neufville* his Father died very ancient (*d*) in 1599; nevertheleſs we may very well ſay, that he was born a long time after our Poet. Now we never ſee Gentlemen much younger than their Pages. This is my firſt Reaſon. The ſecond is taken from a Poem, wherein *Marot* relates, that after he left his Country, he was always in the Retinue of *Francis* I.

(*b*) Rocolles, *true Hiſtory of Calviniſm*, l. 5. p. 153.

(*c*) *According to F.* Anſelm Hiſt. of the great Officers, p.273. *He died in* 1617, *Aged* 75 *Years.*

(*d*) Anſelm, ib.

A (*e*) *bref parler, c'eſt Cahors en Quercy,*
Que je laiſſay pour venir querre icy
Mille malheurs, auſquelz ma deſtinée
M'avoit ſubmis. Car une matinée
N'ayant dix ans en France fus mené:
La ou depuis me ſuis tant pourmené,
Que j'oubliay ma langue maternelle,
Et groſſiment apprins la paternelle,
Langue Françoiſe es grands Cours eſtimée:
Laquelle en fin quelque peu s'eſt limée.
Suyvant le Roy Frnçois premier du nom,
Dont le ſavoir excede le renom.
C'eſt le ſeul bien, que j'ay acquis en France
Depuis vingt ans en labeur, & ſouffrance.

(*e*) Marot *in the Poem entituled* Hell, *p.*42. *Dutch edit.* 1700.

However 'tis true, that he was a Page to one *Nicolas de Neufville*; and Mr. *de Rocolles* ſays with good reaſon, that *Marot dedicated to this Lord of* Neufville *one of his Poems entituled*, The Temple of Cupid; *and that the Epiſtle wherein he dedicates this Poem, is dated at* Lyons, May *the* 15*th* 1538.

(*C*) *He was appointed to ſerve the Princeſs* Margaret.] Mr. *de Rocolles* affirms (*g*), *that ſhe took him into her Service as her Secretary.* But *Marot*, who is more to be believ'd than any other, tells us, that he was not in that Employment.

(*g*) Rocolles ubi ſupra, *p.* 154.

Rien (*h*) *n'ay acquis des valeurs de ce Monde,*
Qu'une Maiſtreſſe, en qui git, & abonde
Plus de ſavoir, parlant, & eſcrivant,
Qu'en autre femme en ce Monde vivant.
C'eſt du ſvanc Lys l'iſſue Marguerite,
Grande ſur terre, envers le Ciel petite:
C'eſt la Princeſſe à l'eſprit inſpiré,
Au cueur eſlu, qui de Dieu eſt tiré
Mieux (& m'en crois) que le feſtu de l'Ambre:
Et d'elle ſuis l'humble Vallet de chambre.
C'eſt mon eſtat. O Juge Plutonique:
Le Roy des Francs, dont elle eſt ſœur unique,
M'ha fait ce bien: & aucune jour viendra,
Que la ſœur meſme au frere me rendra.

(*h*) Marot ibid. p.43.

Theſe Verſes inform us, that he was appointed by *Francis* I. to ſerve the Princeſs his Siſter; which appears alſo by the following Paſſage:

Ainſi (*i*) *je ſuis pourſuy, & pourſuivant*
D'eſtre le moindre, & plus petit ſervant
De voſtre hoſtel (magnifique Princeſſe)
Ayant eſpoir que [illegible] nobleſſe
Me recevra, non pour aucune choſe,
Qui ſoit en moy pour vous ſervir encloſe:

(*i*) Id. *in the Depourveu à Madame la Ducheſſe d'Alençon*, p. 104.

Margaret the King's Sister, and the Duke of *Alençon*'s Wife. He followed that Duke to the Army * in 1521. He was Wounded and made Priſoner at the Battle of *Pavia* (*D*). This Adventure is leſs taken notice of than the Perſecution he ſuffer'd from the Bigots, who put him in Priſon (*E*) as one ſuſpected of Hereſie. When he was deliver'd out of their Hands by the Protection of *Francis* I. he was ſtill in great fear of theſe People, and ſo much the more, becauſe he had very naturally deſcribed the injuſtice of the *Chatelet* † in one of his Poems. And therefore when he knew that they begun again to ſeek after him, and that they had ſeiz'd his Books, he had not the courage to return (*F*) to

* See the Epiſtle of Marot from the Camp of Attigny, (p. 104. Dutch edit. 1700.) and the following.

† See the Remark F. Letter c.

Non pour prier, requeſte, ou rhetorique,
Mais pour l'amour de voſtre Frere unique,
Roy des François qui à l'heure preſente
Vers vous m'envoye, & à vous me preſente
De par Potion, gentilhomme honnorable.

(*D*) *Wounded and made Priſoner at the Battle of* Pavia.] The Author of the Life of *Clement Marot* inſerted in the Collection (*k*) of the moſt excellent Pieces of the *French* Poets, has not omitted this Adventure. He produces the following Verſes of *Marot*, without telling us from what Piece he had them (*l*).

(*k*) Printed at Paris by Claudius Barbin, 1692.

Là fut perce tout outre rudement
Le bras de cil, qui t'ayme loyaument :
Non pas le bras, dont il ha de couſtume
De manier ou la lance, ou la plume :
Amour encor le te garde, & reſerve,
Et par eſcrits veult que de loing te ſerve.
Finalement, avec le Roy mon maiſtre
Delà les monts priſonnier ſe vid eſtre
Mon triſte corps, navré en grand ſouffrance.
Quant eſt du cueur, long temps y ha, qu'en France
Ton priſonnier il eſt ſans meſpriſon.

(*l*) It is from the firſt Elegy, p. m. 47. It is not inſcribed to the King as is affirm'd in the Life of Clement Marot before his Works in the Dutch Edition, 1700.

(*E*) *Who put him in Priſon as one ſuſpected of Hereſie.*] This was done at the inſtance of Doctor *Bouchard*, when *Francis* I. was a Priſoner of *Charles* V. in *Spain*. The firſt of theſe two Things is prov'd by theſe words of *Marot*:

Donne (m) reſponſe à mon preſent affaire,
Docte Docteur. Qui t'ha induit à faire
Empriſonner depuis ſix jours en ca,
Un tien Amy, qui one ne t'offenſa ?
Et vouloir mettre en luy crainte, & terreur
D'aigre juſtice, en diſant, que l'erreur
Tient de Luther ? Point ne ſuis Lutheriſte,
Ne Zuinglien, & moins Anabaptiſte :
Je ſuis de Dieu par ſon filz Jeſu Chriſt.

(*m*) Marot's Epiſtle to Mr. Bouchart, Dr. of Divinity, p. 116.

In the remainder of this Letter, he continues to proteſt that he is Orthodox and a good Catholick. The Proof of the ſecond thing is contain'd in the Verſes I ſhall now tranſcribe. Note, that *Marot* relates at the ſame time what paſſed between his Judges and him during his Impriſonment.

Or (n) ſuis-je loing de ma Dame, & Princeſſe,
Et pres d'ennuy, d'infortune, & deſtreſſe,
Or ſuis-je loing de ſa treſclere face.
S'elle fuſt pres (ô cruel) ton audace
Pas ne ſe fuſt miſe en effort de prendre
Son ſerviteur, qu'on n'ha point veu meſprendre
Mais tu vois bien (dont je lamente, & pleure)
Qu'elle s'en va (helas) & je demeure
Avec Pluton, & Charon nautonnier.
Elle va veoir un plus grand priſonnier :
Sa noble mere vers elle accompagne
Pour retirer noſtre Roy hors d'Eſpagne.

(*n*) Marot in the Poem entituled Hell, p. 43.

I know not the Circumſtances of the Concluſion of this Proceſs; but I believe that the King and the Princeſs *Margaret* protected our Poet. Do not tell me, that it is manifeſt the Letter (*o*) he wrote to *Francis* I. on the 15th Day of his Impriſonment, was very well receiv'd, and that the Prince (*p*) was ſo charm'd with it, that he wrote himſelf to the Court of Aydes, to procure the liberty of Clement Marot; for this concerns another Impriſonment, not about Hereſie, which was after the King's return into *France*. 'Tis eaſie to prove all theſe particulars. *Marot* declares (*q*), that he had been in Priſon fifteen Days, and that he was accus'd of taking a Priſoner out of the Hands of the Serjeants. It appears by the Regiſter (*r*) of the Court of *Aydes* at *Paris*, that the Letter of *Francis* I. concerning the enlargement of *Marot*, is dated from *Paris*, *November* 1. 1527. This Prince declares, *That he was duly inform'd of the cauſe of the ſaid Impriſonment, which was the reſcue of certain Priſoners, and* enjoins, *that all Excuſes being ſet aſide, Marot* ſhould be deliver'd out of Priſon; which Orders the Court obey'd. Here then is a fault to be Corrected in the Collection of the moſt excellent Pieces of the (*s*) *French* Poets, and in the new Edition of the Works of *Clement Marot*. The Life of this Poet in both theſe Works, ſays, that the Letter of *Francis* I. to the Court of *Aydes*, which deliver'd *Marot* out of Priſon, was written when he was put in upon ſuſpicion of Hereſie. Did the Court of *Aydes* meddle with that? This ought to teach thoſe, who write the Life of private Perſons, that it concerns them to be very careful in enquiring after the ſmalleſt Circumſtances

(*s*) That at the Hague. 1700.

(*F*) *He had not the Courage to return to* Paris.] Let us hear what he himſelf ſays: He tells us, that as he was returning thither, he turn'd back the ſame way, when he underſtood that the King was prepoſſeſt againſt him. The Verſes which I cite, are in a Letter which he wrote to that Monarch.

Pour (a) revenir à mon propos,
Rhadamanthus avecques ſes ſuppoſts
Dedans Paris, combien que fuſſe à Blois,
Encontre moy fait ſes premiers exploits,
En ſaiſiſſant de ſes mains violentes
Toutes mes grands richeſſes excellentes,
Et beaux treſors, d'avarice delivres.
C'eſt à ſavoir mes papiers, & mes livres,
Et mes labeurs. O Juge ſacrilege,
Qui t'ha donne, ne loy, ne privilege
D'aller toucher, & faire tes maſſacres
Au cabinet des ſaintes Muſes ſacres ?
Bien eſt-il vray que livres de deffenſe
On y trouva : mais cela n'eſt offenſe
A un Poete, à qui on doibt laſcher
La bride longue, & rien nelui cacher.
. . . . . .
Le (b) Juge donc affecté ſe monſtra
En mon endroit, quand les premiers outra
Moy, qui eſtois abſent, & loing des villes,
Ou certains fols ſeirent choſes trop viles,
Et de ſcandale : helas, au grand ennuy,
Au detriment, & à la mort d'autruy.
Ce que ſçachant, pour me juſtifier,
En ta bonté je m'oſay tant fier,
Que lors de Blois party, pour à toy Sire,
Me preſenter : mais quelcun me vint dire,
Si tu y vas amy, tu n'es pas ſage :
Car tu pourrois avoir mauvais viſage
De ton Seigneur. Lors comme le Nocher,
Qui pour fuir le peril d'un Rocher
En pleine mer ſe deſtourne tout court,
Ainſi pour vray m'eſcartay de la Court,
Craignant trouver le peril de durté,
Ou je n'euz onc fors douceur, & ſeurté.

(*a*) Marot in his Epiſtle to the King during his exile at Ferrara, p. 149.

(*b*) Ib. p. 18.

Note, that he begins this Letter with repreſenting that his Flight is no Proof that he owns himſelf to be guilty, but only that he is convinc'd of the bad adminiſtration of Juſtice.

Je (c) penſe bien que ta magnificence,
Souverain Roy, croira que mon abſence
Vient par ſentir la coulpe, qui me point
D'aucun meſfait : mais ce n'eſt pas le point
Je ne me ſins du nombre des coulpables :
Mais je ſçay tant de Juges corrompables
Dedans Paris, que par pecune prinſe,
Ou par amis, ou par leur entreprinſe,
Ou en faveur, & charite piteuſe
De quelque belle humble ſolliciteuſe,
Ilz ſauveront la vie orde, & immunde
Du plus meſchant, & criminel du monde
Et au rebours, par faute de pecune,
Ou de ſupport, ou par quelque rancune
Aux innocens ilz ſont tant inhumains,
Qu'ilz content ſuis ne tomber en leurs mains.

(*c*) Ib. p. 176

to *Paris*: He left *Blois* where he had learn'd this News, and retir'd to the House of the Queen of *Navarre* * his ancient Mistress, and not thinking himself safe there, he went into *Italy*, and stay'd at the Court of the Princess *Renata of France*, Dutchess of *Ferrara* †, who was a good Friend to those of the Reformed Religion. He obtain'd of *Francis* I. (*G*) leave to return in 1536, but he was so well known to be a follower of what was call'd the new Opinions, that he made his escape some Years after to *Geneva*. 'Tis alledg'd that there (*H*) he debauch'd his Land-lady, and that the Penalty of Death

* The Dutchess of Alençon was become Queen of Navarre by her Marriage with John d'Albret.

† See the Epistle which Marot wrote to the King during his Exile.

Non pas que tous je les mette en un compte.
Mais la grand' part la meilleure surmonte.
Et tel merite y estre authorisé,
Dont le conseil n'est ouy, ne prisé.
Suyvant propos, trop me sont ennemys
Pour leur Enfer, que par escrit j'ay mis,
Où quelque peu de leurs tours je descœuvre,
Là me veult on grand mal pour petit œuvre:
Mais je leur suis encore plus odieux,
Dont je l'osay lire devant les yeux
Tant elervoyans de ta majesté haute,
Qui ha pouvoir de reformer leur faute.

He informs us afterwards of a thing his Historians take no notice of, *viz.* That he was seiz'd while he was under a great Sickness, and that the King gave orders he should be let alone.

(d) Ib. p. 177.

(*d*) *Mesmes un jour ils vindrent*
A moy malade, & prisonnier me tindrent,
Faisans arrest sus un homme arresté
Au lict de mort, & m'eussent pis traité,
Si ce ne fust ta grand' bonté, qui à ce
Donna bon ordre avant que t'en priasse,
Leur commandant de laisser choses telles:
Dont je te rends graces tresimmortelles.

Then he goes on, and censures the *Sorbonne*, and protests that the suspicions of Heresie they had endeavour'd to raise in the King's Mind against him, were altogether unjust. See what he says against the *Sorbonne*.

(e) Id. ib.

Autant (e) comme eux, sans cause qui soit bonne
Me veult de mal l'ignorante Sorbonne:
Bien ignorante elle est d'estre ennemie
De la trilingue, & noble Academie,
Qu'as erigée. Il est tout manifeste,
Que là dedans contre ton vueil celeste
Est deffendu qu'on ne voise allegant
Hebrieu, ny Grec, ny Latin elegant:
Disant, que c'est langage d'Heretiques.
O povres gens de sçavoir tous ethiques!
Bien faites vray ce proverbe courant,
Science n'ha hayneux que l'ignorant.
Certes, ô Roy, si le profond des cueurs
On veult sonder de ces Sorboniqueurs,
Trouvé sera que de toy ils se deulent.
Comment douloir? Mais que grand mal te veulent,
Dont tu as fait les lettres, & les arts
Plus reluisans, que du temps des Cesars:
Car leurs abus vond on en facon telle.
C'est toy, qui as allumé la chandelle,
Par qui maint œil void mainte verité,
Qui sous epesse, & noire obscurité
A fait tant d'ans icy bas demeurance.
Et qu'est-il rien plus obscur qu'ignorance?
Eux, & leur court en absence, & en face
Par plusieurs fois m'ont usé de menace:
Dont la plus douce estoit un criminel
M'executer.

I do not set down the Heroick Vow which he adds. He wish'd he might be sacrificed to their Rage, provided the Church were not subject to their Frauds. I doubt whether he would have carried on his Zeal so far as he said; but I do not doubt of what he says, that those Doctors had a mind to keep up Ignorance. This part of the XVIth Century will be an eternal blot to the *Sorbonne*, who manag'd things at that rate. Let us now go on to the Protestations this Poet made of his being Orthodox.

(f) Id. ib. p. 178.

Or (*f*) *à ce coup il est bien évident,*
Que dessus moy ont une vieille dent,
Quand ne pouvans crime sur moy prouver,
Ont tresbien quis, & tresbien sceu trouver
Pour me fascher, brisve expedition,
Inte donnant mauvaise impression
De moy ton Sire, pour après à leur aise
Mieux mettre a fin leur voulonté mauvaise:
Et pour ce, ilz n'ont certes eu honte
Faire courir de moy vers toy maint compte,
Avecques bruit plein de propos menteurs,
Desquelz ilz sont les premiers inventeurs.
De heriste ilz m'ont donné le nom:
Qui droit ce soit, je leur responds que non.
Lutheriste pour moy des cieux n'est descendu:
Luther en Croix n'ha point esté pendu
Pour mes pechez: & tout bien adviſé,
Au nom de luy ne suis point baptizé:
Baptizé suis au nom qui tant bien sonne,
Qu'au son de luy le Pere éternel donne
Ce que l'on quiert: le seul nom sous les cieux
En, & par qui ce monde vicieux
Peut estre sauf. Le nom tant fort puissant,
Qu'il ha rendu tout genouil flechissant,
Soit infernal, soit celeste, ou humain:
Le nom, par qui du Seigneur Dieu la main
M'ha preservé de ces grands loups rabis,
Qui m'espioient dessous peaux de Brebis.

(*G*) *Leave to return in* 1536.] This Date is verified by his Poem (*g*) entitul'd, *A God bl ſs you to the Court*, which he wrote a little after his arrival: In it he speaks of the Death of the *Dauphin*, and (*h*) of the Marriage of the Princess *Magdalen*, and observes, that she was upon her departure. Now the *Dauphin* was poyson'd in *August* 1536, and the Princess *Magdalen* Married the King of *Scotland* on the first Day of the Year 1537. Add to this, that *Marot* says he arriv'd at *Lyons* a little after *Francis* I. set out (*i*) from thence.

(g) p. m. 191.

(h) He calls her Queen Magdalen: But this does not prove that the Marriage was finished, it being sufficient that it was agreed upon.

(i) This Prince departed from it after the Emperor Charles V. retir'd from Provence in the Autumn of the Year 1536.

Si (k) qu'à Dieu rends graces un million,
Dont j'ay atteint le gracieux Lyon,
Où j'esperoys à l'arriver transmettre
Au Roy FranÇois humble salut en mettre
Conclud estoit. Mais puis qu'il en est hors,
A qui le puis je, & doy je addresser, fors
A toy qui tiens par prudence loyale,
Icy le lieu de sa hautcur Royale.

(k) Marot in his Poem to Cardinal de Tournon. p. 189.

Mr. *Maimbourg* (*a*) says, that the Dutchess of Ferrara *obtain'd of the King, the return* of our Poet, *upon Assurance given, that he should be more wise for the future.* Others say, that King *Francis* I. did not grant the Dutchess her Petition, but *upon Condition that* Marot *should return to the Romish Religion, and should be more discreet for the future.* I do not see in the Works of *Marot* that that Princess meddled with this; and I doubt whether her Zeal for the Protestant Religion, would permit her to treat of the recalling of any Man upon such Conditions. This is certain, that *Marot* having prayed the *Dauphin* to obtain him a Pass for Six Months, declar'd that he had learn'd in *Italy* to be very circumspect in his Discourses, and never to speak of God.

(a) Maimbourg ubi infra pag. 97.

(b) The Life of Marot in the Collection of the most excellent Pieces of the French Poets.

Il (c) le feroit s'il savoit bien comment
Depuis un peu je parle sobrement:
Car ces Lombards avec qui je chemine,
M'ont fort apris à faire bonne mine:
A un mot seul de Dieu ne deviser,
A parler peu, & à poltronniser.
Dessus un mot une heure je m'arreste:
S'on parle à moy, je respons de la teste.
Mais je vous pry mon sauf-conduit ayons,
Et de cela plus ne nous esmayons (d).

(c) i. e. The King would recall me.

(d) Marot Epist. to my Lord the Dauphin pag. 183.

(*H*) *That he debauch'd his Land-lady, and that the Penalty of Death.*] All those who affirm this, build upon the Testimony of *Cayet*, who must be taken for the First, and the only Person that deposed it. *Florimond de Remond*, who is also cited, is only his transcriber (*e*). " As if by reading and meditating on " the Psalms which he translated so ill, *they are the* " *Words of Mr.* Maimbourg, " he was not become a " better Man, (*i*) " afterwards according to " his former Custom leading a very licentious Life, " he had debauch'd his Land-lady, which " punish'd with Death at *Geneva*. *Calvin* by

(e) Maimbourg Hist. of Calvinism l. 2. p. m. 99.

(i) Hist. Eccles. des Eglises Ref. l. 1.

Death, which he fear'd, was chang'd into that of Whipping at the Requeſt of *Calvin*. He left *Geneva* and went to *Piedmont*, where he died (*I*) in 1544. aged about 60 Years. The Fault of Chronology, which it ſeems Mr *Maimbourg* (*K*) is guilty of, concerning the Firſt Flight of *Clement Marot* is very ſlight. As to the other Faults he has committed ſpeaking of this Perſon, you may ſee a Refutation of them in the Authors who wrote againſt his Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*. You may find in *Sleidan* † and *Paſquier* * a fine Elogy upon *Clement Marot*. It may be ſaid without Flattery, that *French* Poetry never appeared with ſuch natural Charms and Beauty as he adorn'd it, and that in all the Remainder of the XVI. Century, there appear'd nothing that came near his happy Genius, his Native Elegance, and the Smartneſs of his Poems. The Poets of the *Pleiad* are dull in compariſon of him: And if in the next Age a *Voiture*, a *Sarrazin*, a *Benſerade*, and ſome others exceeded him, 'tis only becauſe they found the Times improv'd to a better Judgment and a more refined Style. Mr. *De La Bruyere*, whoſe Words may be ſeen in the Article *Ronſard*, confirms this. The incomparable *La Fountaine*, who own'd himſelf to be his

(*b*) *Sleid. lib. 7. ann. 1543. fol. m. 366.*

*Paſquier, *Recherches l. 7. c. 5. p. m. 613, 614.*

(*a*) Cayet *in his* Formul. Flor. de Rem. *l. 8. c. 18.*

(*f*) *The Life of* Clement Marot *in the Collection of the moſt excellent Pieces.*

" Authority chang'd (*a*) this rigorous Penalty into " another more mild, which was that of Whip- " ping, which he endur'd thro' all the Streets. Here follow the Words of another Writer. "(*f*) Having " committed at *Geneva* a Notorious Adultery, he " had certainly been hang'd, if the Authority of " *Calvin* had not converted the Puniſhment into that " of Whipping through all the Streets of *Geneva*, " as *Cayet* ſays. But *Beza* conſidering he was one " that followd the ſame Errors with himſelf, and " whoſe Pſalms he had finiſh'd, does not ſo clear- " ly declare this Fact." 'Tis true that *Theodorus Beza* does only obſerve in general, that *Clement Marot* could never reform the Habit of Immorality he had got at the Court of *France*. (*g*) *Quamvis* (*ut qui in Aula, peſſima pictatis & honeſtatis magiſtra, vitam fere omnem conſumpſiſſet*) *mores parum Chriſtianos ne in extrema quidem ætate emendarit.* This general Expreſſion ſignifies very much, and inſinuates that *Marot* did no wiſe edify the *Genevois* by his Chaſtity However, I do not think it probable what *Cayet* ſays; for if a Poet ſo famous as *Marot*, and ſo much hated in the Romiſh Communion, had been whipt through all the Streets of a great City, all Europe had quickly known of it; he had been inſulted upon the account of this Infamy in many Books; he durſt not have preſented himſelf before thoſe who commanded for the French King in *Piedmont*; we ſhould not have been reduc'd to the ſingle Teſtimony of *Victor Cayet*, ſo many Years later than this Adventure. Some may ſay that the Proteſtants themſelves would have publiſhed this Puniſhment, to ſhow the Severity of their Diſcipline at *Geneva*: but it muſt be granted that this Allegation is not well grounded; for without being perfect in the moſt refined Politicks, any one will judge that the Reputation of a Brother that is perſecuted muſt be managed to the beſt Advantage (*b*). To conclude, it is ridiculous to object to the Proteſtants the publick uſe of *Marot*'s Verſion, ſuppoſing he had been puniſhed for his Adulteries: For the Immorality of a Poet, who tranſlates the Pſalms of *David* well, ought not to prevent the ſinging of his Tranſlation in Churches; no more than the Immorality of a Painter or Statuary, hinder thoſe who worſhip Images to conſecrate a Picture or Statue.

(*b*) *Note that the publick Regiſters of* Geneva *make no mention of this Puniſhment of* Marot. *See* Jurieu, *Apol. for the Reform'd. c. 7. p. 124.*

(*i*) Sammarthanus *Elog. l. 1. p. m. 24.*

(*k*) *At p. 383.*

(*l*) *At p. 387.*

(*m*) Edidit illos quinquaginta Pſalmos hoc anno Genevæ, quo ſeſe receperat cum in Galliis propter [illegible] animi ſuſpicionem parum eſſet tutus. Triginta quidem pſalmos ediderat ante biennium. *Sleidanus l. 15. fol. m. 366. verſo ad ann. 1543*

(*n*) *At. p. 413.*

†Beza ubi ſupra

* p. 65.

(*I*) *Where he died in* 1544. *aged about* 60 *Years.*] The firſt of theſe Two Facts is told us by *Sainte Marthe*, and the ſecond by *Theodorus Beza*. But we muſt not think that *Sainte Marthe* condeſcended to tell us, that *Marot* died in 1544. This had been too plain, and he wanted ſomething elſe to expreſs himſelf in pompous Phraſes: In order to it he tells us that this Poet died the Year in which the Battle of *Cerizolles* was fought. (*i*) *Cum extorris & rerum egenus Taurini apud Inſubres procul à ſuorum aſpectu deceſſerit, eo ipſo anno quo ad Ceriſolam illius agri oppidum regius exercitus Anguiano duce inſignem de Cæſarianis victoriam reportavit.* There is among the Poems of *Marot*, (*k*) a *Stanza of Ten Verſes to the King, ſent from* Savoy *in* 1543. and (*l*) *a Salutation from the Camp of the Duke of* Anguien *at* Cerizoles. This ſhows that he left *Geneva* the ſame Year (*m*) that he publiſhed his 50 Pſalms. There is an Eclogue (*n*) upon the Victory of that Duke of *Anguien*. As to the 60 Years of *Marot*'s Life, I muſt have Recourſe to other Witneſſes; for *Sainte Marthe* does not ſtoop to take notice of it. I ſhall therefore quote *Theodore Beza*'s Words, † *Circiter annum Ætatis Sexageſimum mortuus.* 'Tis probable that 'twas theſe Words of *Beza*, that the *Croix du Maine* * ſay that *Marot* died at the Age of 60 Years or thereabouts. I believe that they are miſtaken. The Verſes which are cited above ſeem to prove that in 1526 he was but 30 Years old.

(*K*) *The Fault of Chronology, which it ſeems Mr.* Maimbourg *is guilty of.*] He ſays that *Clement Marot* did not run away till 1535. (*p*) When " he ſaw that the King his Maſter declared aloud " in the Hall of the Biſhoprick, that he would " ſpare no body in this Caſe, he was afraid leſt he " ſhould be ſeiz'd, and therefore he fled quickly " into *Bearn*, and after that he went farther over " the *Alpes* to *Ferrara*, to the Dutcheſs *Renata* who " protected the Proteſtants. The King's Declaration in the Hall of the Biſhoprick (*q*) was in the Year 1535. Mr *Maimbourg* relates it under that Year (*r*) with many Circumſtances Now we have ſhown above, that *Marot* return'd from *Ferrara* into *France* in 1536 and we find in his Poems (*s*) a Letter from *Lyon Jamet* to *Marot*, of which the laſt Verſes are theſe:

(*p*) Maimbourg ubi ſupra p. 97.

(*q*) *See* Boucher's *Annals of* Aquitain *fol. m* 271.

(*r*) *p.* 30. *& ſeq.*

(*s*) *At p.* 174.

C'eſt à Ferrare au huictieme an
De la ſienne proſcription.
Mais à la tienne intention
Que ce ſoit le dernier. Amen.

This is a Proof will ſome ſay, that the Flight of *Marot* could not be at the lateſt till the Year 1528. But thoſe who will ſay ſo, are very much to blame; for *Lyon Jamet* marks the time of his own Proſcription, and not of *Marot*'s. It will be ſaid, that this latter in a Letter which he wrote to *Ferrara*, upon the Departure of Madam *de Soubiſe*, ſays, (*t*) that this Lady left a Court wherein ſhe had continued Seven Years. 'Tis probable that ſhe followed *Renata* of *France*, who was married in 1527. to the Duke of *Ferrara*; from whence it might be concluded that ſhe returned into *France* in 1534. which would prove that *Marot* was beyond the *Alpes* in that Year. But I confeſs this Proof appears to me weak, when I conſider that *Rabelais* (*v*) wrote the Return of this Lady as a Piece of News. Since I ſee nothing in the Works of *Marot*, which can make us believe that he ſtay'd long at the Court of the Duke of *Ferrara*, I do not think that Mr. *Maimbourg* is much miſtaken; for *Marot* himſelf tells us that he ſtay'd but a little while at the Court of the King of *Navarre*.

(*t*) *The Works of* Marot *p. m.* 209.

(*v*) *See the Article* Ferrara.

Si (*w*) *m'en allay, evitant ce danger,*
Non en pas, non à Prince eſt'anger,
Non point uſant de fugitif deſtour,
Mais pour ſervir l'autre Roy à mon tour,
Mon ſecond Maiſtre, & ta ſœur ſon eſpouſe,
A qui je fis des ans a quatre & douze,
De ta Main noble heureuſement donne.
Puis toſt apres, Royal chef couronné,
Scachant pluſieurs de vie trop meilleure,
Que je ne ſuis, eſtre bruſlez à l'heure,
Si durement, que maint'e nation
En eſt tombee en admiration,
J'ai audonnay, ſans avoir commis crime,
L'ingrate France, ingrate, ingratiſſime
A ſon Poete.

(*w*) Marot's *Epiſt. to the King in the time of his Exile at* Ferrara *p.* 180. 181.

Comparing this Paſſage with that which I have cited above, we may eaſily diſcover the true Epoch of the Retreat of *Clement Marot*, and in what Manner the Circumſtances are to be ordered. The Enemies of this Poet accuſ'd him to the King in the time of the *Placards*, and doubtleſs they rendred him ſuſpected of being an Accomplice in the Inſolence

his Scholar (*L*), has contributed very much to reſtore the Credit of this ancient Poet's Verſes. An infinite Number of curious Perſons ſought after his Works, and could hardly find them; which oblig'd a Bookſeller β at the *Hague* to Reprint them. This is a very fine Edition. You may ſee in the Judgments † that have been collected about *Clement Marot*, "that the *French* Poets are indebted to him for the *Rondeau*, and that they "do in a manner owe to him the modern Form, or the Reſtoration of the *Sonnet*, and "*Madrigal*, and of ſome other kinds of little Verſes. We may add, that he was the Inventer ‡ of the Mixture of Maſculine and Feminine Rhymes, a thing without which our Poetry would be very harſh and unpleaſant. There are but too many obſcene (*M*) Pieces among

β Adrian Moetjens: *his Edition is of the Year* 1700. *in* 2 *Vol.* *in* 12°.

† Baillet Jugem. ſur les Poetes, *tom.* 3. *p.* 206.

‡ *See the Obſervations of Mr.* Menage *upon the Poems of* Malherbe *p.* 402. *But Note, that* Marot *ſometimes diſpens'd with this Mixture.*

Inſolence of thoſe who poſted them up. He had notice of this, and was reſolv'd to go and juſtify himſelf: But becauſe he was told that he could not compaſs his end, he retir'd to the Queen of *Navarre*, and being inform'd there that *Francis* I. caus'd ſome *Lutherans* to be burnt, he remov'd farther ſtill from *Paris*, and eſcaped into *Italy*. And thus Mr. *Maimbourg* is miſtaken only in a few Months: Whereas he thought that *Marot* did not retire to *Bearn* till after the Harangue of the King; he ſhould have ſaid, that he retir'd ſome Weeks before (*y*).

(*y*) *The Affair of the* Placards *happen'd in the Month of* November 1534. *The Proceſſion and the Harangue of* Francis I. *belong to the Month of* January 1535.

(*L*) La Fontaine *own'd himſelf to be his Scholar*] See what he wrote to Mr. *de Saint evremont*:

Vos (*a*) *beaux Ouvrages ſont cauſe,*
Que j'ay ſceu plaire aux neuf Sœurs.
Cauſe en partie, & non toute:
Car vous voulez bien ſans doute,
Que j'y joigne les Ecrits
D'aucuns de nos beaux Eſprits.
J'ay profité dans Voiture,
Et Marot par ſa lecture
M'a fort aide, j'en convicns.
Je ne ſçay qui fut ſon Maiſtre,
Que ce ſoit qui ce peut eſtre,
Vous eſtes tous trois les miens.

(*a*) La Fontaine *poſthumous Works*, *p.* 107. *Dutch Edit.*

"I had forgot Maſter *Francis Rabelais*), whoſe Diſ-"ciple I acknowledge my ſelf to be, as well as Mr. "*Vincent*'s and Mr. *Clement*'s. What he ſays, that he did not know whoſe Scholar *Marot* was, gives me occaſion to relate a Paſſage of *Lewis Camerarius*, which will inform us, that *John le Maire de Belges* was *Marot*'s Maſter. (*b*) *Audivi ego ex viris dignis fide, Eum illum Belgam, hominem doctum, & in linguæ latinæ antiquioribus ſcriptis multum verſatum, Primum fuiſſe, qui rationem & modum demonſtraret elegantioris ſermonis Gallici loquendo, ſcribendi autem quaſi artis viam indicaſſe, quam cum ipſe ſequeretur uſurpando, tum aliis præcipiendo traderet: Eumque Poetam quem Gallia habuit celeberrimum, & cujus ornatam copiam venuſtatemque imprimis admirata eſt, Clementem Marottum, eundem percoluiſſe, & componendi verſus ſcientiam edocuiſſe.* Theſe Latin Words are very ill plac'd; the Author ſhould not have taken Advantage of the Liberty which the ancient Tongue of the *Romans* allow'd, by making uſe of Expreſſions that may be underſtood in different Senſes. We muſt conſult Chronology, to know whether he means that *Clement Marot* taught *John le Maire*, or wherher *John le Maire* taught *Clement Marot* to make Verſes. The latter is the true Senſe; but we cannot diſcover it without a cloſe Attention to the Author's Deſign, and the Help of Chronology. Wherefore ſhould he thus weary the Mind of his Readers without Neceſſity? I will remark upon this occaſion another thing againſt the ſame Writer, concerning the Book out of which I have taken the aforeſaid Paſſage. It is the Latin Tranſlation of the Treatiſe of Schiſms, written in *French* by *John le Maire de Belges*: It was printed at *Lipſick* in 1572, with Notes. *Lewis Camerarius* knew not that *John Sharidius* had already printed a Latin Tranſlation (*c*) of the ſame Book in 1566. *Voſſius* (*d*) knew nothing of the Latin Tranſlation of *Lewis Camerarius*, for he mentions only the other. Note that *Marot* in his Letter to Madam *de Soubize*, ſpeaks of *John le Maire* without taking notice that he had been taught by him.

(*b*) Ludovicus Joach. Camerarius in procem. verſionis latinæ tractatus de differentiis ſchiſmatum.

(*c*) *At* Baſil *with the* 4 *Books of* Theodoricus à Niem hiſtoriarum ſui temporis.

(*d*) Voſſius de hiſt. Lat p 650

Or (*e*) *adieu donc, noble Dame, qui uſes*
D'honneſteté toujours envers les Muſes.
Adieu par qui les Muſes deſolées
Souventes fois ont eſté conſolées.
Adieu qui voir ne les peult en ſouffrance.
Adieu la main qui de Flandres en France
Tira jadis Jean le Maire Belgeois,
Qui l'ame avoit d'Honneur le Gregeois.

(*e*) Marot *Epiſtle to Madam* De Soubize *p.* 209.

But ſee what I find in the *Recherches* of *Stephen Paſquier*: "Our Country-man *Clement Marot* in "the Second Impreſſion of his Works owns that "it was *John le Maire de Belges* who taught him, "*&c.* (*f*).

(*f*) Paſquier *Recherches l.* 7. *c.* 5. *p. m.* 612.

(*M*) *There are but too many obſcene Pieces among his Works.*] He follow'd in this the Humour of the Times, and of the beſt Poets in Antiquity, and which is worſe, his Inclinations and Courſe of Life; for he was not only a Poet of the Court, but alſo a Man that loved Women, and could not renounce his ſenſual Pleaſures. We have ſeen (*g*) in Latin the Teſtimony that *Theodorus Beza* gives of him. Let us now ſee what he ſays of him in *French*: (*h*) "*Clement Marot* "after his Return from *Italy* to the Court, was "very much hated by the *Sorbonne*, for tranſlating "very happily 30 Pſalms of *David* into the *French* "Tongue, which are dedicated to the King, who "thought them worthy to be printed. But he "was forc'd to make his Eſcape, and retreated to "*Geneva*, where he tranſlated 20 more of them. "He had always been bred up in a very bad "School, and could not live in Subjection to the "Reformation of the Goſpel; and therefore he "went and ſpent the reſt of his Days in *Piedmont*, "which was then in the Poſſeſſion of the King, "where he liv'd in ſome Security under the Fa-"vour of the Governours. Yet it muſt be confeſs'd that the Obſcenities of *Clement Marot* are leſs groſs, and more cleanly than thoſe of the Roman Poets, and of many *French* Poets Companions of *Theophile*. That which is ſtrange, is, that the Talents of his Wit, his Smartneſs, the agreeable, lively, eaſie, ingenious Turn of his Muſe are never perceiv'd more than when he writes upon a laſcivious Subject. Is it not ſtrange, that the greateſt part of Poets have an unhappy Gift of doing better on this than on other Subjects? Such a Poet whoſe Verſes would be inſipid, unleſs he gives a Looſe to his Pen, makes excellent (*i*) Pieces when he lays aſide all Modeſty. This cannot proceed from the Nature of Poetry it ſelf, but muſt come from the Corruption of Man's Heart. Whatever may be the Cauſe of it, the Effect appear'd certain to thoſe who have given it for a Maxim, that a Poet ought to be chaſte as to his Perſon, but not as to his Verſes, ſince they cannot be acceptable, and ſeaſoned with Salt, unleſs they be a little ſmutty.

(*g*) *In the Remark H Letter g.*

(*h*) Beza Hiſt. des Egliſes Reform. *l.* 1. *p.* 33.

(*i*) *Poetically but not Morally ſpeaking*

Nam (*k*) *caſtum eſſe decet pium poetam*
Ipſum. Verſiculos nihil neceſſe eſt:
Qui tum denique habent ſalem, ac leporem,
Si ſunt molliculi, ac parum pudici,
Et quod pruriat incitare poſſunt,
Non dico pueris, ſed his piloſis,
Qui duros nequeunt movere lumbos.

(*k*) Catullus *Ep.* 16.

Which is a falſe Maxim, or at leaſt very pernicious, and deſerves not to be look'd upon as a Rule, by Men that are ſincerely good. But 'tis with this, as 'tis with the itching Deſire of ſpeaking a Jeſt: No Conſideration can reſtrain it; and when a Poet thinks himſelf capable of doing Wonders in an Epigram, provided he admits ſome obſcene Thoughts *in it*, he *quits in Favour of his Wit* the Sentiments of his Mind. This is what *Des Accords* did. (*m*) "I wiſh, *ſays he*, I had not been "ſo looſe and wanton at that Age, but I can't "help it now. I will excuſe my ſelf by this "Diſtich, which I gave to a learned and ſevere "Senator of our Parliament of *Dijon* together "with the Book,

(*m*) Des Accords, *in his Preface to his* Bigarrures

Putidulum

among his Works, and this gives just Occasion to blame him. I shall relate some (A) curious

Putidulum scriptoris opus ne despice, namque
Si lasciva legis, ingeniosa Leges.

" And indeed, I never affected to appear " ingenious that I might be lascivious; but " I have been lascivious only that I might be in- " genious. Such Writers may find a good Lesson in this last Verse of an (n) Epigram of Martial, *tanti non erat esse te disertum:* A Lesson which he gave to others, and which himself stood in need of as much as any body, but he never practised it. We must return to *Marot*, and say, that in all Probability his Heart agreed with his Mind: However it be, he gave no ill turn to this kind of Verses. His Epigram of a wild Spouse, was thought worthy by *Menage* to be inserted almost entire among his Observations, (a) where he endeavours to prove that it was formerly said, *j'ai Mors* for *j'ai Mordu*.

(n) *The 43. of the 12. Book.*

(a) Menage, Observations sur la langue Francoise tom. 1. p. 90. edit. of Paris 1675.

(A) *I shall relate some curious Things concerning ... the Psalms.* | *Florimond de Remond* affirms that *Marot* after his Return from *Ferrara* into *France*, was exhorted by *Vatablus* to turn the Psalms of *David* into *French* Verse, and that he following his Advice, publish'd a Version of 30 Psalms, and dedicated it to *Francis* I. It was censur'd by the Faculty of Theology at *Paris*, who, moreover, made some Remonstrances and Complaints of it to that Monarch. " (c) The King, who lov'd *Marot* for " the Fineness of his Wit, made use of Delays, " and said that he had approv'd the first Draughts, " and desired to see the rest. Upon which " Account the Poet sent him this Epigram.

(b) Florimond de Remond *Hist. of the Birth and Progress of Heresy l. 8. c. 16. p. m. 1042 & seq. See also Mr.* Varillas *his Transcriber Book 21. of the Revolutions p. 48. &c. Dutch Edit.*

" *Puis que voulez que je poursuive, ô Sire,*
" *L'œuvre Royal du Psautier commencé,*
" *Et que tout cœur aymant Dieu le desire,*
" *D'y besongner me tiens pour dispensé:*
" *S'en sente donc qui voudra offensé,*
" *Car ceux à qui un tel bien ne peut plaire,*
" *Doivent penser si à ne l'ont pensé,*
" *Qu'en vous plaisant, me plaist de leur desplaire.*

" Nevertheless the Publication, after many Remon- " strances made to the King, was forbidden. But

(c) Id. Flor. de Rémond. ib. p. 1043.

" *Des hommes plus la chose est desiré,*
" *Quand plus elle est aux hommes prohibé.*

" They could not be printed so fast as they were sold " off. They were not then set to Musick, as they are " now, to be sung in Churches; but every one gave " them such a Tune as he thought fit, and " commonly that of a Ballad. Each of the Princes " and Courtiers took a Psalm for themselves. " King *Henry* II. lov'd this Psalm, *Like as the* " *Hart doth breath and bray*, and took it for his own, " which he sung at Hunting. Madam *de Valentinois* " whom he lov'd took this, *Lord, to thee I make* " *my Moan*, and made choice of it for her self. " The Queen chose the Psalm, *Lord in thy Wrath* " *reprove me not*, which she sung to a merry Tune. " *Antony* King of *Navarre*, took the Psalm, *Judge* " *and Revenge my Cause*, O *Lord*, which he sung " at a Dance of *Poitou*, and so did the rest. " In the mean time *Marot* fearing lest he should " be clapt up in Prison a second time, because he " could not hold his Tongue, fled to *Geneva*, " where he continued his Version as far as 50 " Psalms. " *Beza* (d) put the remaining hundred " Psalms into Verse, and the (e) Psalms, which " he rhym'd in Imitation of *Marot*'s, were " generally receiv'd by all Men with as much Ap- " plause as ever any Book had. For not only all " the *Lutherans*, but also the *Catholicks* took Plea- " sure in singing them; because they were plea- " sant, easie to learn, and fit to be play'd upon " the Violin, and Musical Instruments. *Calvin* " took care to put them in the Hands of the best " Musicians in Christendom; and among the rest, " he pitched upon *Godimel*, and another call'd " *Bourgeois*, to set them to Musick..... (f) After " this, 10000 Copies of these Psalms in Metre " were printed, and dispers'd every where. Then " every one begun, even the Catholicks, to carry " them about, and sing them as Spiritual Songs, " thinking there was no hurt in doing it. For there " were not yet, nor till some Years after, a Form " of Religious Worship among the *Calvinists*; " but afterwards they were appointed to be sung " in their Assemblies, being divided into small " Sections, which was done in the Year 1553, to " serve as a resting Place, where they might take " breath, after so long a Devotion as theirs is. " For the singing of Psalms at Church for the most " part lasts half a quarter of an Hour. After they " were bound up with the *Calvinian* and *Geneva* " Catechisms, the use of them was wholly forbid- " den, and the former Prohibition renew'd, with a " severe Penalty; so that to sing a Psalm was to be " a *Lutheran*. The Substance of this Narrative of *Florimond de Remond* was turn'd into elegant Latin, by *Famianus Strada* (g), who particularly observes, (h) that *Francis* I. often sung this Translation of the Psalms.

(d) Id. ib. p. 1044.

(e) Id. ib. p. 1049.

(f) Id. ib. p. 1050.

(g) Strada de bello Belg. dec. 1. l. 3. p. m. 130 131.

(h) Rex Quamvis ejus (*Marot*) versiculos identidem cantitaret *Id. ibid.*

Since I intend here chiefly to insist on Matters of Fact, I have not taken notice of the Critical Observations of *Florimond de Remond*. He alledges, that *Marot* has falsified the Hebrew Text, though *Vatablus* gave him a very good Version of it. The Criticisms of this Historian have been confuted (i) not only by reasons, but also by Authorities Mr. *Jurieu* has produc'd (k) " *the Approbation of the Doctors of the* Sorbonne, *upon which* Charles IX. *in* " *the greatest Heat of Persecution, granted a Licence* " *to* Antony Vincent, *a Printer at* Lyons, *for the* " *Printing of these Psalms. The Approbation runs* " *thus*. We Doctors of Divinity whose Names are " here subscrib'd, do certify, that in a certain Trans- " lation of the Psalms presented to us, beginning " at the 48th Psalm with these Words, *C'est en ta* " *très Sainte race*, and ending with this Verse, *Contente* " *jamais ton Empire*. We have found nothing contrary " to our Catholick Faith, but agreeable to it, and " to the Truth of the Hebrew Text: In Testimony " whereof we have sign'd the present Certificate, " Octob. 16. sign'd J. de Salignac Viboult *The Li-* " *cence granted to* Plantin, *for Printing these* " *Psalms, says also, that these Psalms before the Im-* " *pression* had been examin'd, view'd and approv'd " by Mr. *Josse Schelling* Portionary of St. Nicolas " at *Brussels*, deputed for this end by the Council " of *Brabant*. And that after the Impression was " finish'd, they were view'd again, and found " to be no wise repugnat to the Catholick " Faith. „ That the Dates may appear, we must add to these Words, what the same Author says Three Pages after; which is, that the Edition for which *Charles* IX. granted a Licence to *Antony Vincent*, a Printer at *Lyons*, (l) " *is to be* " *seen at this Day, bearing Date* 1562. *and that* " *the Privilege of the 16th of* October, *is of the* " *same Year. Three Years after* Plantin *Printed* " *them at* Antwerp, *Licensed by* Philip *King of* " Spain. „ Mr. *Bruguier* Minister and Professor of Divinity at *Nîmes*, has related the very Words of the Licence of *Charles* IX. The most Authentick Approbation of this Work, *says he*, " (m) was that of King *Charles* IX. in 1561, who, " after he had caus'd these Psalms to be examin'd " by some Persons well vers'd in the Scripture, " and the Languages, found that they were faith- " fully translated according to the Truth of the " Hebrew Text, whereupon being in Council, he " readily gave his Approbation, and Licence for " printing and singing of these Psalms. The " Words of the Licence, which are still to be " seen in our old Psalms, are these. *by a special* " *Favour full Power and Royal Authority we have given* " *and granted to* Antony *the Son of* Antony Vin- " cent, *Bookseller at* Lyons, *the Privilege, Leave,* " *License and Permission for the Space of Ten Years next* " *following, to print or cause to be printed, when and* " *wheresoever he shall please, All the Psalms of the* " *Prophet* David, translated according to the Truth " of the Hebrew Text, *turn'd into* French Verse, " *and set to good Musick, as it is well known, and has been* " *examin'd by Men learned in the Holy Scripture, and* " *in the said Languages, and also in the Art of Mu-* " *sick.* „ There are some Difficulties in all this, for 'tis hardly conceivable that *Charles* IX should have granted to a Bookseller of *Lyons* a Licence dated *October* the 19th, 1562, for printing the Psalms of *Clement Marot* and *Theodorus Beza*. The first Civil War for Religion was then in its greatest Height. *Lyons* had been in the Power of the Huguenots for five Months, and *Roan* was actually be- sieged. 'Tis therefore more probable that this Li-

(i) See Mr. Jurieu *Apolog. for the Reformers. tom. 1. p. 126 & seq. in 4°.*

(k) Ibid. p. 127

(l) Ibid. p. 130

(m) Bruguier, *Discourse about the singing of Psalms. p. 32, 33. This Discourse was printed in* 1664.

curious Things concerning his Verſion of the 50 Pſalms. The moſt notable Particulars

Licence was granted in 1561, as Mr. *Brugnier* ſays: But this Difference of Dates between him and the other Miniſters (*n*) is inconvenient. Beſides 'tis inconceiveable that in 1561 or 1562, the Tranſlation which was ſung at *Geneva* ſhould have been examin'd by the *Sorbonniſts*, without the firſt 47 Pſalms; for according to *Florimond de Remond*, the 50 Pſalms which *Marot* tranſlated, were bound up with the 100 other Pſalms, tranſlated by *Theodorus Beza*, and with the *Calvinian Catechiſms* in the Year 1553, and from that time (*o*) "the uſe of them was wholly forbidden, and the "firſt Prohibitions were renew'd with ſevere Penalties. Note, that the 48th Pſalm which was the Beginning *of the Tranſlation preſented* to the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, was not tranſlated by *Clement Marot*, but by *Theodorus Beza*. I muſt not forget that the Sieur *de Pours* (*p*) in his vaſt Catalogue of the Pſalms that have been printed with Licence, ſays nothing of the Edition of *Lyons* approv'd by the *Sorbonne*, and authoriz'd by *Charles* IX; but he obſerves (*q*) that the Edition of *Plantin* approv'd by a Doctor *deputed to that end by the Council*, having a Royal Licence, dated *June* the 16th 1564, was compleatly printed in the Month of *September* next following, and that the Names of *Clement Marot* and *Theodorus Beza*, do not appear in it.

He obſerves (*a*) that the 50 Pſalms of *Clement Marot* were printed at *Strasburg* in 1545, with the Eccleſiaſtical Liturgy. "The Muſick of thoſe "Pſalms, *ſays he*, is not every where like that "which was afterwards made uſe of. The Poetry is "alſo in many Places different from that which is "in thoſe old Editions .... The firſt Pſalm in it "ends thus:

Car le chemin des bons eſt approuvé
Du Seigneur Dieu, qui touſiours l'a trouvé
Droit & uni: Car on ne s'y ſourvoye.

"The Pſalms are intire without Stops and "Marks of Diſtinction. The Apoſtle's Creed, "and ſome other Canticles are ſet alſo to Muſick, and beſides the common Decalogue there "is alſo another.

Oyons la voix que de ſa voix
Nous a donné le Createur,
De tous hommes legiſlateur,
Noſtre Dieu ſouverain. Kyrie-Eleiſon.

"Which is repeated at the end of every Verſe of "the Decalogue." What follows deſerves to be conſider'd. (*b*) "The firſt Preface prefix'd to the "Pſalms of *Marot* by the Church of *Geneva*, is "dated *June* the 10th 1543, written by Mr. *John* "*Calvin* ... All the Pſalms with their Muſick, "were printed the firſt time at *Geneva*, with a "Preface concerning an Agreement for the Relief "of the poor Refugees at *Geneva*, which then the "other Printers, who printed from the firſt Copies, "ſhould voluntarily and liberally furniſh. The "Deacons of *Geneva* in 1567, after the Preface to "the Sermons of Mr. *Calvin* upon *Deuteronomy*, "complain with Grief, *of thoſe who print-*"*ed or caus'd to be printed every Day, and who had* "*heretofore printed the Pſalms turn'd into Metre by* "*Mr.* Beza. *For every one of them knows very well,* "*that they could not with a good Conſcience, and ought* "*not to print them, without paying to our Poor, what was* "*promis'd and agreed upon before ever they were printed* "*the firſt time.*" De Pours obſerves, *that* (*c*) Lewis Bourgeois *ſet* 83 *Pſalms to Muſick in Four, Five and Six Parts, which were printed at* Lyons *in* 1561, *and* (*d*) *that* Guidomel (*e*) *ſet to Muſick the Pſalms of* David *printed at* Paris *by* Adrian le Roy *and* Robert Ballard *in* 1565; *and that* (*f*) *our Pſalms were ſet to Muſick in Four and Five Parts by* Claudius Guidomel, *and after that by* Claudius le Jeune, *who was of* Valenciennes.

I wonder he doth not ſpeak of him who was the firſt Author of the Ordinary Muſick; for Muſick in ſeveral parts was never uſed in the Reformed Churches. Here is what a Profeſſor of *Lauſanne* did me the Honour to write to me. "(†) I have diſcover'd a thing that is curious "enough: 'Tis a Teſtimonial which *Beza* "gave under his Hand, and in the Name of the "other Miniſters, to *William Franc*, the 2d "of *November* 1552, where he declares that it is "he who firſt ſet the Pſalms to Muſick, as they "are ſung in our Churches: And I have ſtill "a Copy of the Pſalms printed at *Geneva*, where "*William Franc*'s Name is; and beſide, a Li-"cenſe from the Magiſtrate, ſigned *Gallatin*, ſeal'd "with Red Wax, in 1564. where he is alſo ac-"knowledged to be Author of this Muſick. "Our *Plantin* in his *Lauſauna Reſtituta* gives him "the ſame Teſtimony.

Here follows the Anſwer of Mr. *de Pours* to *Florimond de Remond*, concerning the Conformity of the Tunes of ſome Pſalms with thoſe of vulgar Songs. "(*g*) *Florimond* ſays, the Tune of our 38th "Pſalm,

"*Las en ta fureur aigue*
"*Ne m'argue,*
"*Dequoi fait Dieu tout puiſſant,*

"agrees with this Ballad,

"Mon bel ami, vous ſouviene,
"De Piene,
"Quand vous ſerez par dela.

"And that the Tune of the 130th Pſalm, agrees "with this,

"*Languirai-je plus gueres,*
"*Languirai-je touſiours!*

"If it had pleaſed this Councellor, he might "have added a Song of the Adverſity of *England*, "chang'd into Proſperity, to the Tune of the "38th Pſalm.

"*Tous les Huguenots de France,*
"*Mille cinq cens & cinquante,*
"*La Regente,*
"*Qu'on appelle Eliſabeth.*

"Of whom it is ſaid,

"*Comme auſſi en Angleterre,*
"*Lonne terre,*
"*Dieu ſa grace a fait couler,*
"*Leur donnant en ce Royaume*
Une Dame
"*Qui ne veut point vaciller.*

"This ſeems to be more ancient, ... without "making any mention of the aforeſaid Pſalm.

"*Sus Cardinaux, Archeveſques,*
"*Et Eveſques,*
"*Venez tous me ſecourir,*
"*Moines, preſtres & Hermites,*
"*Jeſuites,*
"*Venez pour me voir mourir.*
"*Papauté ſuis appellée,*
"*Qui meſſee*
"*Me ſuis de perdre la gent,*
"*Envoyant dedans la flamme,*
"*Corps & ame*
"*Du riche & de l'indigent.*
"*Je veux que de moi on chante,*
"*La meſchante,*
"*Qui juſqu'au ciel s'eſlevoit,*
"*Elle eſt cheute & abiſmee,*
"*La damnee,*
"*Qui tout le monde enchantoit.*

"Now they muſt know that thoſe delicate Strains "are taken away from the wanton Poets, as being "unjuſt Poſſeſſors of them; and their Wanton-"neſs is turn'd into Holineſs. That which was "wont to belong unto them is taken from them, "and is as it were ſanctified: Anciently any thing "that was of common uſe, tho' it were even the "Spoil of an Enemy, being ſet apart and ſe-"queſtred with ſome Ceremonies, and ap-"plied to the Service of the Sanctuary, was re-"puted a holy Thing." After this he makes uſe (*b*) of Recrimination, and ſhows that the Tranſlation of the Pſalms into *Flemiſh* Verſe, printed at *Antwerp* (*i*) by *Simon Cock* in 1540, with the Imperial Licence granted at *Bruſſels* in 1539, contains a Muſick borrow'd from common Songs, and that it is ſaid ſo at the beginning of each Pſalm. "(*k*) You will find, *ſays he*, in the Pſalms "of *Cock* theſe following Inſcriptions ſet down "according to the Pſalms. The 72d Pſalm is "ſung to the Tune of, *D'ou vient cela.* The "81ſt to the Tune of, *Sur le pont d'A-*"*vignon.* The 95th to the Tune of, *Que* "*maudit ſoit ce faux vieillard.* The 103d Pſalm "to that of, *Languir me faut.* The 113th to that "of, *de triſteſſe & deſplaiſir.* Likewiſe, the 120th "Pſalm to that of, *Madame la regente ce n'eſt pas la* "*façon.* The 128th Pſalm to that of, *Il me ſuffit* "*de tous mes maux.* The 135th to that of, *Le ber-*"*ger & la bergere ſont a l'ombre d'un buiſſon.* "'Tis

(*n*) Drelincourt *in his Dialogues againſt the Miſſionaries about the Service of the Reformed Churches, p.* 59. *affirms that all the Pſalms were printed at* Lyons *and* Paris *with an Authentick Licence of King* Charles IX. *in* 1562.

(*o*) Flor. de Remond ubi ſupra *p.* 1050.

(*p*) Jeremiah de Pours, *Divine Melody of the Holy Pſalmiſt p.* 570. *& ſeq.*

(*q*) Id. ib. *p.* 571.

(*a*) Id. ib. *p.* 570.

(*b*) Id. ib. *p.* 582

(*c*) Ibid. *p.* 575.

(*d*) Ibid. *p.* 581.

(*e*) *He ſhould be call'd* Goudimel.

(*f*) Ibid. *p.* 721.

(†) *A M.S. Letter from Mr.* Conſtant de Rebecque

(*g*) Ibid. *p.* 577, 578.

(*b*) *This Recrimination was alſo made uſe of when* Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of* Calviniſm *was anſwered; for the Songs that are ſung at* Chriſtmaſs, *and the Spiritual Songs of* Colleter, *and thoſe which the Author of* L'Eveque de Court *did ſo much laugh at, were objected. See* Jurieu ubi ſupra *p.* 128, 129. *and Mr.* Rou Remarks upon the Hiſtory of Calviniſm *p.* 39. *&c.*

(*i*) Id. de Pours Ib. *p.* 571.

(*k*) Id. ib. *p.* 578.

ticulars are to be found in a Letter little after the Death of *Henry* the IId. (O) written to *Catherine de Medicis*, a

We must not forget that the Church of *Geneva*,

" 'Tis a *Flemish* Pſalter, and thoſe Inſcriptions " which at firſt were all in *French*, are plac'd " there in *Walloon*, according to the Imperial " Style mention'd in our Preface, which puts the " *Walloon* Language for good *French*.

I have quoted in the Margin two Authors, who have objected to the Catholicks the prophane Tunes of their *Chriſtmaſs* Songs, *&c.* I add, that there has been lately re-printed at *Geneva*, a Piece which had been publiſh'd in 1645, and which affords Matter for a ſharp Recrimination: Out of which I ſhall tranſcribe what follows. (*m*) *Nullo delictu ſacra profanaque juxta habet*, (hæc gens) *imo tam præpoſtero cultu divina curat, ut pios Eccleſiæ uſus nullis non ſemper inſanientis ſæculi ludis perverſat, ſordibuſque contaminet. Quæ quidem ſatis denno experti ſumus, his Natalis Chriſti nuper exactis temporibus, cum omnia templa putidis profanarum cantionum vocibus perſonarent: ubi quotannis ipſum Incarnationis Myſterium turpiſſimis ſecularium cantuum odis conſpurcatur; tantuſque amor eſt Eccleſiaſticos hymnos ad mundanas ejuſmodi cantilenas inflectere, ut nulla quantumvis obſcæna vulgetur, quin ſtatim in Eccleſiis ridicule detorta audiatur; unique in indignatione riſum teneo, quoties recordationem ſubit alicubi videri ſacrorum cantuum rituale, in quo hanc* (*ut alias omittam omnino turpes*) *rubricam legere eſt:*

MAGNIFICAT to the Tune of

Que ne vous requinquez-vous vieille:
Que ne vous requinquez-vous donc?

Why don't you trick up and ſet out your ſelf, old Woman? Why don't you trick up your ſelf then?

The Piece I ſpeak of was written by an Advocate call'd *Muret*, who inſcribed it to the famous *Gaſſendus*, to repreſent to him the ridiculous Ceremonies of the *Provençals*.

(O) *The moſt notable Particulars are to be found in a Letter.*] It is dated *Auguſt* 26th 1559, and was ſent to *Catherine de Medicis* " by a Gentleman who had ſerv'd " the deceas'd Queen of *Navarre*, and ſubſcrib'd " himſelf *Villamadon*, with whom the foreſaid La- " dy (*n*) had formerly conferr'd privately about " her Affairs, and even about Points of Religion " (*o*)." I will make uſe of the very words of the Letter; for the Modern *French* does not retain the boldneſs and force of the Expreſſions, which were us'd at that time. " (*p*) I ſhall begin, Madam, " with telling you, that in the Reign of King " *Francis* and the late King, who was then *Dauphin*, " being return'd from *Piemont*, where he forgot " himſelf ſo far as to commit a vile and foul Adul- " tery, by the Counſel and Management of certain " Minions, Wicked and Unfaithful Servants, and " by whom moreover, the wretched Wife of the " great *Seneſchal*, *Diana* of *Poitiers*, who was the " publick and common Receptacle of ſo many de- " bauch'd and diſſolute Men, ſome of whom are " Dead, and others are ſtill Alive, was introduc'd " to him as a fine Ring, from whom he would " learn a great deal of Vertue. And after the News " was come that the Baſtard Child was born of the " foreſaid Adultery, you were talk'd of, Madam, " by the foreſaid Scoffers, and the ſaid old Whore, " who declar'd among themſelves, that you was " uncapable of ſo great an Honour, as to be the " Wife of a *Dauphin* of *France*, becauſe you would " never have any Children, ſince you had been ſo " long without getting any, and it was not the " fault of your Lord and Husband. I remember " that at the Caſtle of *Rouſſillon* upon the *Rhône*, " they had a great talk about it, notice whereof " was brought to the deceas'd Queen of *Navarre*, " who lov'd you very well, and told me . . . . . " (*a*) You was not ignorant, Madam, of this " Miſchief which was deſign'd againſt you; but " you had then a bloody Wound in your Heart, " and you ſought after the Lord with Tears " and Prayers, becauſe you wanted him: And at " that time you acknowledg'd him, honouring the " Holy Bible, which was kept in your Trunks, or " lay upon the Table, in which you look'd and " read ſometimes. And your Women and Ser- " vants had the happy opportunity to read in it; " and there was none but the Nurſe, who did " not love you much, no more than ſhe did God, " who was angry at it. . . . . God did not an- " ſwer you preſently, but left you for many Years " in a Languiſhing Condition, that you might " ſeek after him, pray and beſeech him, that he " would awake for your aſſiſtance. . . . . The Al- " mighty, your Protector . . . . . (*b*) prepar'd and " open'd a Way, from whence all the Bleſſings of " the King and your ſelf were to ſpring, and to " come to Perfection. For this Father being full " of Mercy, put it in the Heart of the deceas'd " King *Francis*, to take great pleaſure in the thirty " Pſalms of *David*, with the Lord's-Prayer, the " Angelical Salutation, and the Apoſtles Creed, " which the late *Clement Marot* had tranſlated, " and dedicated to his Majeſty; who com- " manded the ſaid *Marot* to preſent the whole " to the Emperor *Charles* V. who receiv'd the " ſaid Tranſlation graciouſly, highly valu'd it, " and preſented him with two hundred *Spaniſh* " Piſtoles, and alſo encourag'd him to finiſh the " ſaid Work, by Tranſlating the reſt of the ſaid " Pſalms, and deſir'd him to ſend him, as ſoon " as he could, the Pſalm *Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus*, becauſe he particularly lov'd it. " And the Muſicians of thoſe two Princes, nay, " all the Muſicians of *France*, ſtrove one with an- " other, who ſhould beſt ſet the ſaid Pſalms to " Muſick, and every Body ſung them. But if " any Perſon lov'd them dearly, and commonly " ſung them, and caus'd them to be ſung, it was " the late King *Henry*, who lov'd them ſo well, " that good Men bleſs'd God for it; and his Mini- " ons and his Whore lov'd them, or feign'd ſo " great a love for them, that they were wont " to ſay, Sir, ſhall not this be mine? Give me " that if you pleaſe: Whereby this good Prince " had much a do to pleaſe every one's Fancy, ac- " cording to his deſire. Nevertheleſs he kept " for himſelf the following Pſalm, as you may " remember:

" *Bienheureux eſt quiconque*
" *Sert à Dieu volontiers, &c.* (*).

" He himſelf made a Tune to this Pſalm, which " was very good and pleaſant, and very ſuitable " to the words. He ſung it, and caus'd it to " be ſung ſo often, that he plainly ſhow'd he " had an earneſt deſire to be that bleſſed Man " whom *David* deſcribes in the ſaid Pſalm, and to " ſee you the truth of the Figure of the Vine " therein mention'd. This was when he was re- " covering of his Sickneſs at *Angouleſme*. The " Queen, my Miſtreſs, (who was then with King " *Francis* her Brother) intreated him to uſe " with Pity and Clemency the Citizens of *Ro-* " *chelle*, inſtead of maſſacring them, and ſent me " to you to be inform'd of his Sickneſs; which I " found ſo much abated, that he begun to ſing " the ſaid Pſalms, with Lutes, Violins, Spinets, " and Flutes, attended with Voices; and he took " great delight in them, and commanded me to " come near him, becauſe he knew that I lov'd " Muſick, and could play a little upon the Lute " and Guittar; and he order'd the Tune and the " Parts of it to be given me, which I carried " to the Queen my Miſtreſs, with the news of " the recovery of your health. I muſt not for- " get your Pſalm, which you often deſir'd to be " ſung, and which was this.

" *Vers l'Eternel des oppreſſez le pere*
" *Je m'en iray, luy monſtrant l'impropere*
" *Que l'on me fait, luy ſera ma priere*
" *A haulte voix, qu'il ne jette en arriere*
" *Mes pitoyez cris, car en lui ſeul j'eſpere* (*c*).

" When my ſaid Queen of *Navarre* ſaw theſe two " Pſalms, and heard how they were frequently " ſung, even by the *Dauphin*, ſhe admir'd it ve- " ry much, and told me, I know not how " the *Dauphin*'s Lady came by this Pſalm, *Vers* " *l'Eternel*, &c. for it is none of thoſe that were " Tranſlated by *Marot*. But 'tis not poſſible to " find another, wherein her Affliction is better " deſcrib'd, and by which ſhe may more clearly " ſhow the Grief that ſhe feels, and deſire of " God to be eas'd of it, as indeed ſhe will be. " For ſince it has pleas'd God to put this Gift into " their Hearts, behold the Time, behold the " Days are at hand when the Eyes of the King

(*m*) Querela ad Gaſſendum de parum Chriſtianis Provincialium ſuorum ritibus, &c. p. 71. edit. Genev. 1700.

(*n*) That is to ſay, Catherine de Medicis.

(*o*) Beza *Eccl. Hiſt.* B. 3. p. 225.

(*p*) Recueil des choſes memorables faites & paſſees pour le faict de la Religion & eſtat de ce Royaume depuis la mort du Roy Henry II. *tom.* 1. *p.* 501. *Edit.* 1565. *in* 12°.

(*a*) Ib. p. 502.

(*b*) Ib. p. 503, *&c.*

* 'Tis the 128 *Pſal.*

(*c*) This is the beginning of *Pſal.* 141.

Geneva, which was the first that made use of this Version of the Psalms, was (*P*) the first that forsook it to make use of another Version more suitable to the present Style of the *French* Tongue. 'Tis not known whether other Churches will conform to this Change. I do not remember that I ever took notice, that *Marot* mentions his Wife in his Poems; but I have found in them a place which shows that he was a Father,

" shall be satisfied, the Desires of the *Dauphin* " shall be fulfill'd, the Hopes of the Enemies of the " *Dauphin*'s Lady shall be disappointed, and my " Wishes also, and the Faith of my Prayers shall " come to an end. Within the space of a Year, the " merciful Visitation of the Lord will appear, " and I dare say that she shall have a Son for " the greater joy and satisfaction ——(*d*) A- (*d*) Ib. p. 505.
" bout thirteen and Fourteen Months after this, " you brought forth our King *Francis*, who is " now alive ——(*e*) But when this good God (*e*) Ib. p. 506.
" made you fruitful, then the late King began to " be negligent and forgetful of such a Benefit: " Whence it came to pass, that God being pro- " vok'd, permitted this poor Prince to be infatua- " ted with that old Whore *Diana*, who admitted " into his House a young (*f*) Serpent, which (*f*) He means the Cardinal of Lorrain.
" secretly lick'd her Bosom: He was her Oracle, " and she was the Organ of it; he began to blame " the said Psalms of *David*, which teach us to " forsake all Sins, which encourage Chastity, and " strengthen Vertue. Then he brought in the " lascivious Verses of *Horace*, which excite the " Flesh to all sorts of Wantonness and Lewdness, " and other foolish Songs which were made about " their infamous Amours, by those Poets of the " Devil; not only to indulge their impure and (*p*) In the Latin Style we should say, that these Propositions were antiquata, for the result was antiqua maneant. Note, That the Churches of France could not decide this matter, because since this Version was made, they have not had Leave to hold a National Synod.
" unchast Life, but also to plunge them into the " Abyss of all Iniquity and Excess, and even of all " Impiety. For seeing that the great *Seneschal*'s " Lady had in imitation of you a Bible in *French*, " he set himself to despise and condemn it, and " making a great sign of the Cross, and striking " his Breast with his Hand, and fetching deep Sighs " like an Hypocrite, he represented to her, that " she must not read it, that such reading did " not belong to Women, and was attended " with great danger; but that instead of one " Mass she should hear two, and content her self " with her Bead and Primer, in which there " was so much good Devotion, and so many fine " Pictures. And by this means this old Sinner " persuaded the late King to believe all she said, " and you had such a force put upon you, Ma- " dam, that your Confessor *Boutcillier* was ta- " ken from you, who taught and administred " to you the pure Word of God, and instead of " the said *Boutcillier*, her Doctor *Honuyer*, a Sorbon- " nist, was obtruded upon you, to suborn your " Conscience; who was also given afterwards to " the late King, to govern his, and imprint upon " it what he pleas'd. In short, he robb'd you both " of that Holy Treasure which never perisheth, " and which procures Immortality to him that is " possess'd of it. He conceal'd it from you, " and made you both Slaves to vain Superstiti- " ons, by the Snares of an old Woman, whom " he had first blinded, the better to carry on his " Design.

(*P*) *The Church of* Geneva, *which was the first that made use of this Version, was also the first that forsook it.*] It is now a long time ago, since it was perceiv'd in *France*, that certain Passages of this Version were become barbarous; which gave the rise to Mr. *Conrart*'s design of revising it. He began this Work, and Mr. *de la Bastide* finish'd it. But their new Version was never introduc'd into the publick service of the Reform'd. If any Proposals were made about it, they were only examined; but the decision (*g*) was always, that they would keep where they were. The *French* Churches settled in foreign Countries since the revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, have continued to sing the Translation of *Clement Marot* and *Theodorus Beza*. At last it was resolv'd in good earnest in the Church of *Geneva* to use them no more, and to introduce in their room the Version of Mr. *Conrart* and Mr. *de la Bastide*, after they had been revis'd, and a few Alterations made in them. The Pastors and Professors of *Geneva* acquainted the Publick with their Intention (*h*), by an Advertisement which was prefix'd to the Edition they publish'd of this new Version in 1695, and some Years after they quite abolish'd the use of the old Translation, and requested the other Churches by their Circular Letters to do the like. (*i*) The Churches of *St. Gall* and *Neufchatel* have admitted this Innovation *upon the same foot with the Church of* Geneva. The rest yet known (*k*) what the Churches in *England* and *Brandenburg* will do; but 'tis well known, that the *Walloon* Synod assembled at *Rotterdam*, in the Month of *August* 1700, resolv'd to retain the ancient Custom, and to change only some Expressions and Words in the old Psalter. (*i*) Ib. p. 11.

We have seen a Letter of a Gentleman of *Montpellier*, dated *June* the 5th 1700, upon which I will make two Observations. This Gentleman says, " That after Mr. *Godeau* had Printed his " Paraphrase upon the Psalms, the Jesuit *Chavassur* " put forth a Question whether he was a Poet, " in a Latin Dissertation, which appear'd with this " Title, *An Godellus sit Poëta*. He is mistaken; the Dissertation of this Jesuit, *Antonius Godellus, Episcopus Grassensis utrum Poëta*, contains nothing that relates to the Psalms of Mr. *Godeau*. He says, " that we may apply to the Poems of *Marot* and " *Beza*, what *Quintilian* says of *Ennius*: Let us re- " verence the Verses of *Ennius*, as we reverence " the Groves that are venerable for their great " Age, and whose old and lopp'd Oaks, though " they have little Beauty, yet do strike us with " a Religious awe. Ennium sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia & antiqua robora jam non tantam habent speciem, quantam Religionem. *Quintil. lib.* 10. *cap.* 1. He might have found in *Quintilian* another Passage more proper to his purpose, where he observes, that the *Salian* Priests themselves did scarce understand the Song they sung; but that Religion did not allow of any change, and that 'tis fit to retain such Customs as have been Consecrated. (*a*) *Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis sacris intellecta, sed illa mutari vetat religio & consecratis utendum est.* When it is alledg'd, that it is sufficient to take from the old Translation sometimes one word, and sometimes another, according as they are become obsolete, obscene and unintelligible; it seems to be founded on very plausible Reasons: For indeed, to avoid great Confusion, all changes of this Nature must be made insensibly. If many Ages be spent in following this Method, it will be with the Version of *Marot* and *Beza*, as it was with the famous Ship of *Theseus* *. It was preserv'd as a precious Thing, and no Repairs were made in it but what were necessary, *i. e.* as any piece rotted, so much was made new. Which was at last an instance made use of by the Philosophers who disputed, whether the Bodies be the same or no, whereof the Matter has been changed. (*a*) Quintilian, *l.* 1. *c.* 6. *p. m.* 39.

I shall make but one Note on the Letter which Mr. *Jurieu* has Printed, wherein he condemns the Innovation. He says, that the Churches of *France receiv'd from the Church of* Geneva, *a Liturgy and a Book of Psalms, which was made and sung at* Paris, *before it was at* Geneva. This is not exactly true, since the Verses made at *Paris* contain'd only thirty Psalms, and those who sung them were indifferently either Friends or Enemies to the Reform'd Religion It was at the Court of *Francis* I. that they were chiefly sung; and 'tis very well known how much this Prince persecuted the Reform'd Religion. And if afterwards the *French* sung the other twenty Psalms of *Marot*, and those of his Successor, it was before the Reform'd distinguish- ed themselves by this way of singing, and made it a part of their Exercises of Devotion. Now this was not done, till the whole Psalter was set to Musick at *Geneva*, and bound up with the Catechism, and from that time the Catholicks left off the singing of these Psalms, as may be seen above in a Passage of *Florimond de Remond*. It cannot therefore be pretended that these Verses were sung at *Geneva* before they were at *Paris*. I say, this cannot be pretended in the sense I speak of: For the Question is about a singing peculiar to the Reform'd, and making part of their pious Exercises. In this sense its Birth was at *Geneva*; and it cannot be denied that the Church of *Geneva* begun first to sing these Psalms. * See Plutarch in Theseo, p. 10[illegible]

(*g*) See the Letter entitled, An Answer to a Printed Letter, which Mr. *Jurieu* wrote to a French Minister at *London* against the change of the Verses propos'd by the Church of *Geneva*. The Answer is dated July 24. 1700. (*k*) I write this in October, 1700.

Father, and beſides it appears that *Michael* MAROT (Q) his Son wrote Verſes, which were Printed.

MARTELLIUS, or rather MARTELLUS, (HUGOLIN) Biſhop of *Glandeves*, was of *Florence*, and one of thoſe *Italians* who made his Fortune on this ſide of the *Alps*, by the Intereſt of *Catherine de Medicis*. There are ſcarce any * Particulars left concerning his Life, and I have not be enable to conſult the *Gallia Chriſtiana* of Meſſieurs *de Sainte Marthe*. He publiſh'd ſome (A) Books of Litterature, and ſome (B) Treatiſes

* *See the Remark B.*

Pſalms. I know very well what may be alledg'd concerning the numerous Aſſemblies of the Reform'd at *Paris* about 1558: Of whom *Beza* ſpeaks in the following manner. "(c) Thus the Aſſembly daily multiplied at *Paris*, where it happen'd, "that ſome being in the place call'd *le pre aux* "*Clercs*, a publick place of the Univerſity, began "to ſing Pſalms; which being heard, a great many of thoſe who were walking, or playing at "divers Games, joyn'd to the Company that was "ſinging, ſome for the novelty of it, and others "to bear a part in the Muſick. This was continued for three Days in a very great Aſſembly, "where were preſent the King of *Navarre* himſelf, "with many Lords and Gentlemen both of *France* "and other Nations, who fell a ſinging. And "altho' in a great Multitude there is frequently "great Confuſion, yet there was ſuch an Harmony and Devotion, that every one preſent was "raviſh'd with it, even thoſe who could not ſing, "nay, the moſt ignorant got up upon the Walls, "and the places round about, to hear this ſinging, and declar'd that it was ill done to forbid "ſo good a thing." But who does not ſee that all this happen'd after thoſe of *Geneva* had added the Pſalter to the Catechiſm? Note, that before *Beza* tranſlated a hundred Pſalms, thoſe of *Marot* were ſung in the Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies of *Geneva*; for without doubt the following words ought to be underſtood of an Aſſembly at *Geneva*. "(d) "Beza *writes thus in his Paraphraſe upon the Pſalms* "*in* 1581. It is now thirty two Years (*viz. from* "*the Year* (e) 1549) that this 91ſt Pſalm was the "firſt that I heard ſung in the Aſſembly of Chriſtians, being the firſt time that I was preſent "there; and I may ſay, that I was ſo rejoyc'd to "hear it ſung, that ever ſince I have had it as it "were engrav'd in my Heart.

(c) Beza *Eccl. Hiſt.* B. 2. p. 141. *See alſo* Jeremy de Pours, ubi ſupra, p. 731, 732.

(d) De Pours, ib. p. 736.

(e) *I do not think that* de Pours *reckon'd right, for* Beza *coming to* Geneva, *October* 24. 1548, *'tis no wiſe probable that he did not begin to aſſiſt at the Aſſemblies of the Faithful till* 1549.

(Q) *That he was a Father—*Michael MAROT, *his Son, wrote Verſes.*] You will find this in the deſcription of *Clement Marot*'s flight.

J'abandonnai (f), *ſans avoir commis crime,*
L'ingrate France, ingrate, ingratiſſime
A ſon Poëte: & en la delaiſſant,
Fort grand regret ne vint mon cueur bleſſant
Tu ments Marot, grand regret tu ſenti.,
Quand tu penſas a tes Enfans petits.

(f) Marot *in his Epiſtle to the King at the time of his Baniſhment at* Ferrara, *p. m.* 181. Add, *that in the Poem wherein he prays the Dauphin to procure him a Paſs*, p. 182. *He ſays*, Not to go and viſit my Caſtles, but to ſee my little *Marot*'s.

We may certainly conclude from hence that he was Married; for he was not ſo profligate as to tell *Francis* I. in a Letter, that he was ſorry for the loſs of his Baſtards. La *Croix du Maine* (g) relates, that *Michael Marot*, the Son of *Clement Marot*, *wrote ſome French Poems, which were Printed with the* Contredits à Noſtradamus, *written by the Lord du* Pavillon——*Printed at* Paris *in* 1560, *by* Charles l'Angelier.

(g) La Croix du Maine, p. 326.

(A) *Some Books of Litterature*] I find in *Konig*'s *Bibliotheque* one *Hugolinus Martellinus*, who publiſh'd a Commentary upon the ſecond Ode of the fourth Book of *Horace*, and I am perſuaded that he ſhould be call'd *Martellus*, or *Martellius*, and not *Martellinus*. The Catalogue of *Thomaſius*'s Library, at p. 324. of the ſecond part, has theſe words: *Hugolini Martelli Epiſcopi Glandat. in Odas in quæ Calpurnii & Nemeſiani loci aliquot illuſtrantur.* This Work was Printed at *Florence* by the *Juntas*, in 1590. *Naudæus* obſerves, that one *Hugolinus Martellinus* wrote a whole Treatiſe upon an Epigram of *Auſonius*, and ſo perplex'd it with his Explications, that it is impoſſible to underſtand any thing of it. If he had known that he ſpoke of a Biſhop of *Glandeves*, he would have made a more honourable mention of him, and not have cenſur'd him with ſuch palpable Contempt. Let us relate at ſome length his words, for they explain an obſcure Paſſage, and on the other ſide are ſomewhat liable to Cenſure. (h) *Auſonii . . . . Muſa . . . . Demoſthenes ea de re indicium, perbrevi ſane hoc* (i) *Epigrammate, ſed multo tam in obſtructo & ſentatibus comprehenſum, ut . . . .*

(h) Naudæus ſyntagm. de ſtudio liberali, p. m. 84.

(i) *The* 141. *Epigram, of* Auſonius

Diſcere ſi cupias, doctis quam multa licebit
Quæ noſti, meditando velis inoleſcere menti,
Quæ didiciſti, haud dum, diſcendo abſumere tendas

Sic enim illud exhibent Typographi recentiores, cum tamen ante ſeptuaginta annos Aldinus codex, & Gryphius poſtea liquido habuerint in primo verſiculo Doctus, *quæ vox malè intellecta fucum procul-dubio fecit illuſtriſſimo Eliæ Vincto, cujus operâ atque induſtriâ, Auſonii monumenta emendatiora explicatioraque habemus. Hic enim (ut probum Virum, atque ingenium decet) ſincere fatetur, ſe mentem hujus epigrammatis aſſequi non valuiſſe; quam paullo poſt Hugolinus quidam Martellius, operæ pretium eſſe duxit integro volumine declarare: ſed ſatius illi profectò fuiſſet micare digitis, aut incurbitas pingere, cum huic potius tam ſpiſſæ (vulgo ſepis) aramentum infudit, ut illud vix clarè poſſe quidquid eſt aquarum in Hippocrene, & Pegaſi; adeò ſingula quæque verba male torquendo, quo ſex in illis gradus ad expedite diſcendum invenuret, omnem ferme Epigrammatis ſenſum corrupit, qui ſic (meo quidem judicio) reſtituendus eſt, ut nihil aliud ſibi velit Auſonius, niſi modum edocere, quo docti homines multa loqui, & dicere poſſint ex tempore, qui quidem modus in hoc tantum conſiſtere videtur, ut, quæ tacite optime norunt, velint ea inoleſcere menti, id eſt, formæ inſcribere, ac imaginationi & ingenio commendare; qui modum eodem ſenſu dixit Agellius,* Natura induit nobis inolevitque; *quæ vero nudum bene didicerint, frequenter dicendo & repetendo aſſumere, & altius memoriæ infigere conantur; ſicque totum Epigramma lego, & interpungo.*

Diſcere ſi cupias doctus quam multa, licebit.
Quæ noſti, meditando velis inoleſcere menti:
Quæ didiciſti haud-dum, dicendo aſſumere tendas (a).

(a) *According to the Correction of Mr.* Grævius *in the Edition of* Tollius, *there wants in the firſt Verſe* cupis à doctis, *and in the laſt* diſcendo aſſumere.

The miſtake of *Naudæus* conſiſts in this: He ſays, that ſeventy Years before, the Edition of *Aldus* put *Doctus* in the firſt Verſe; but he wrote about the Year 1633. He pretended therefore that the Edition of *Aldus* was in the Year 1563, or thereabouts. Now this was a miſtake; for that Edition was in the Year 1517. If any one has a mind to put another ſenſe upon his Expreſſions, he may alledge that he means, that the modern Editions which have put *Doctis*, are later by 70 Years than that of *Aldus*; but beſides that this ſenſe would be ill expreſs'd, he muſt alſo be underſtood to mean certain Editions made in 1587. Now no body has obſerv'd any Edition of *Auſonius* in that Year, and 'tis certain, that thoſe of 1588, do not deſerve to be mention'd rather than the foregoing.

(B) *Some Treatiſes concerning the Reformation of the Calendar*] Mr. *Thomaſſin Mazaugues* Counſellor in the Parliament of *Aix*, was pleas'd to give himſelf the trouble to inform me of the following Particulars. "(b) *Hugolinus Martellus* was a *Florentine*. He "came into *France* with *Catherine de Medicis*, and "was made Biſhop of *Glandeves*, *January* 10th "1572. The Printed Books which I have of his "are theſe: *De anni integra in integrum reſtitutione*, "Dedicated to Cardinal *Sirlet*, and Printed in 4° "at *Florence* in 1578. It is divided into thirty four "ſmall Articles, and contains in the whole but "forty three Pages. He reprinted this Book at "*Lyons* in 1582, in 8°. with Additions, and joyn'd "to it the following Treatiſe, *Sacrorum temporum* "*aſſertio*, which he Dedicated to *Lewis Martelli*, "his Brother, a Canon of *Florence*. In 1583, he "Printed alſo at *Lyons* in 8 the following Book, "*La chiave del Calendario Gregoriano*, which he "Dedicated to *Ottavio Bandini*, Referendary "Abbot of *Caſanuova*, which is a Work of "362 Pages, and the moſt conſiderable. This, "Sir, is what I know of this *Martellus*. "There are no conſiderable Monuments of his "in his Church: He gave ſomething to pious "Uſes, and that is all. His Family had no ſucceſſion in this Province. We had a famous "Phyſician of his Name, who wrote ſomething, "and died fifteen Years ago. This Phyſician "was very learned, and always talking of

(b) *Taken from a Letter written at* Aix *in* Provence, *Aug.* 2 1705

tiſes concerning the Reformation of the Calendar. *Naudæus*, who knew ſo many Authors, was ignorant of his being a * Biſhop, and took him to be a very poor Writer.

* *See the Remark A.*

† *Taken out of the Libraria Breſciana nuovamente aperta da Leonardo Cozzando, parte prima, p. 307, &c.*

MARTINENGHUS (TITUS PROSPER) a Benedictin Monk, Native of *Breſcia*, and of the Family of a Count, made himſelf famous by his skill in the learned Languages. The Reputation he got, made the College of Cardinals ſend for him to *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Pius* IV. to give him a Commiſſion to reviſe and correct the Works of St. *Jerom*, which were afterwards Printed by *Paul Manutius*. He Revis'd alſo the Works of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and thoſe of *Theophilact*, and the Greek Bible which was Printed at *Rome*. To recompenſe him for ſo many pains, *Pius* V. had a mind to promote him to ſome Dignities; but as ſoon as this Monk heard the News, he retir'd to a Convent in his own Country, where he ſpent the time in publiſhing (*C*) many Books. He died very old at *Breſcia*, in the Monaſtery of St. *Euphemia*, in 1594†.

MARTINI (RAYMUND) a Dominican Monk very skilful in the Oriental Tongues, flouriſh'd towards the end of the XIIIth Century. He was engag'd in the ſtudy of theſe Languages upon this occaſion. *Raymund* β *de Pennafort* his General, having on one ſide a great deſire to purge *Spain* from Judaiſm and Mahometiſm which had infected it, and knowing on the other ſide the truth of the Maxims, which the Primitive Fathers have ſcatter'd in their Works, about Conſtraint in matters of Religion, caus'd to be ordain'd in a Chapter held at *Toledo* in 1250, that the Monks of his Order ſhould apply themſelves to the ſtudy of Hebrew and Arabick. He impos'd this task upon ſome particular Perſons, among whom he named our *Raymond Martini*; and he obtain'd a Penſion from the Kings of *Arragon* and *Caſtile* for thoſe that ſhould ſtudy theſe Languages, that they might endeavour to convert the Infidels. From hence it came to paſs that *Raymond Martini* applied his Studies that way, in which he had very good ſucceſs. He γ was not of *Barcelona*, as δ ſome have publiſh'd; but there he took upon him the Habit of a Dominican, and he was born at *Sobirats*. Having attain'd the skill that was neceſſary for reading the Works of the Rabbins; he took out of them ſuch things as might ſerve him to beat the Jews at their own Weapons, as he has ſhown in his *Pugio Fidei*, which was (*A*) Printed at *Paris* in 1651 ξ. 'Tis believ'd, that *Peter Galatin* a Cordelier, took out of this *Pugio Fidei* all that he has ſaid to any good purpoſe in his Book *De arcanis Catholicæ veritatis*. But it is more probable (*B*) that he ſtole from a *Carthuſian* of *Genoa*, call'd *Porchet* ζ *Salvago*, who flouriſh'd about ε the Year 1315. 'Tis true, that this *Carthuſian* had taken from *Raymund Martini* what he thought good, as he acknowledges

β *He was the third General of the Jacobins.*

γ Natione Catalanus, patria Subiratenſis *Altamura Bibl. Ord. Prædicat. p. 451.*

δ Antonius Senenſis in Chronico Ordinis Dominic. & Bibliotheca. Franc. Diagus in Hiſtor. Provinciæ Aragoniæ Fratr. Prædicat. Poſſevinus in Appar. *apud Altamur ibid.*

ξ Ex Altamura, *ibid.*

ζ Porchetus de Sylvaticis.

ε Rafael Soprani, Scrittori della Liguria, *p.* 244.

" the abuſes of Phyſick, and wrote upon that Sub-" ject.

(*C*) *In Publiſhing many Books.*] He publiſh'd *Le bellezze dell' huomo conoſciter di ſe ſteſſo*; they are Diſcourſes that the reading of *Plato* afforded him. He underſtood the Greek Tongue, and had a great inclination to Poetry. Hence it came to paſs that he publiſh'd many Poems, both in Latin and Greek, moſt of them upon matters of Devotion. That which he made in honour of the Holy Virgin, is divided into many Hymns, which are equal to the number of Years that ſhe liv'd. This Poem is entituled *Theotocodia, ſive Parthenodia*. He made a Panegyrick upon *Sixtus* V. in Latin and Greek (*c*).

(*A*) *Which was Printed at* Paris *in* 1651.] Many Perſons contributed to this Edition. Mr. *Boſquet*, who died Biſhop of *Montpellier*, light upon that Manuſcript, when he was ſearching with great diligence at *Toulouſe* all the Corners of the Library of the College *de Foix*, about the Year 1620. He read it and tranſcrib'd ſomething out of it, and after ſome Years when he had learn'd the Hebrew, by the care of a learn'd *German* call'd *James Spiegbel de Reſcenbach*; he ſhow'd it to his Maſter of the Hebrew Tongue, and gave it to him to tranſcribe. This *James Spiegbel* being very well vers'd in theſe matters, and having frequent Diſcourſes about them with Mr. *de Mauſſac*, put him upon publiſhing this Book, from a Copy very neat and well Punctuated, which he gave him of it: But although Mr. *de Mauſſac* was a very able Man, yet he wanted an Aſſiſtant who was the principal in overſeeing and preparing this Book. This Aſſociate was Mr *de Voiſin*, the Son of a Counſellor in the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*. *Thomas Turc*, General of the Dominicans, ſollicited powerfully the Promoters of the Edition, and did not only write to them Letters equally preſſing and obliging, but alſo gave order, that they ſhould have all the Manuſcripts of the *Pugio fidei* that could be recover'd. *John Bapt. de Marinis*, his Succeſſor, continu'd to take the ſame care. At laſt the Order concern'd themſelves in it ſo far as to be at (*d*) the Charges of the Impreſſion. The Work came out of the Preſs in 1651, with many Prefaces and Approbations, which ſhew all that I have ſaid. Mr. *de Voiſin* compar'd the Manuſcript of the College *de Foix* with three others, whereof the firſt belong'd to the Dominicans of *Toulouſe*, the ſecond had been ſent from *Barcelona*, and the third was come from *Majorca*. He noted in the Margin the various Readings, and wrote Notes upon all the difficult places. He detected all the Thefts of *Galatinus*, and made good Supplements by way of Commentary upon the Preface of *Raymund Martini*. 'Tis a ſurpriſing thing, that *Gabriel Naudæus* did not know, that *Scaliger* was miſtaken in ſpeaking of *Galatinus* and *Sebondus*. See hereafter the Remark C. and here follow the words of *Naudæus*: (*a*) *Omnium ut majori conatu, ſic etiam feliciori eventu, Petrus Galatinus Monachus ex ordine ſancti Franciſci; aut potius Raimundus Sebondus profeſſione Medicus, cujus, præter libros de Theologia naturali, duo inſuper volumina ingentia in Collegio Fuxenſi Tholoſano etiamnum hodie ſub titulo Pugionis fidei conſervantur. Ex quibus, ſi Joſepho Scaligero fides eſt habenda, omnia ſua hauſit & tranſcripſit Galatinus, diſſimulato ipſius Sebondi nomine; non tam propter acerrimum, quod ſemper extitit inter Dominicanam familiam & Franciſcanam, odium, quemadmodum maligne cavillatur Scaliger; & fortaſſis etiam imperite; quam ut eruditum illud opus acceſſione quadam augeret & ſibi vendicaret locupletatum ita atque expolitum.* There was a ſecond Edition of the *Pugio fidei*, at *Leipſick*, in 1687. with a learned Introduction (*b*) *in Theologiam Judaicam.*

(*a*) Naudæus in Bibliographia Politica, *p. m.* 35.

(*b*) *Written by* Jo. Benedictus Carpzovius Theologiæ Profeſſor Lipſiæ.

(*B*) *It is more probable.*] Which is prov'd by Father *Morin*, who affirms that he found the ſame things in *Porchet* and *Galatinus* in all places where he compar'd them together. He adds, that all the Artifice which *Galatinus* has made uſe of to conceal his Theft, conſiſts in ſome changes of Expreſſion, and of the diviſion of the Chapters, in writing by way of Dialogue, and in his frequent Citations of a *Rabbi* (*e*) unknown to *Martini* and *Porchet*, and alſo to the *Jews*. (*d*) *Plagium ſane portentoſum cui vix ſimile unquam factum eſt, nam Galatini liber nihil aliud eſt quam Porcheti exſcriptio ipſiſſimis Porcheti verbis, atque etiam Hebræorum textuum tranſlationibus [illegible] hoc ſi excipias, quod elegantiæ cauſa quædam verba & verborum conſtructiones immutantur. Eſt enim Porcheti phraſis Galatini multo ſimplicior. Deinde alius eſt ordo Galatini nutius diſtinctus, idco ex uno Porcheti capite tria componit & varie digerit, in qua dialogi[illegible]mutatione*

(*c*) *He is call'd* Rabenu Hakados, *and his Book* Gal Razeia, *according to* Morin. *Others call him* Hakadoſch.

(*d*) [illegible] *c.* 1 *c.* 2 *p. m.* 16. *Vide etiam p.* 19.

(*d*) *Prodiit pugio fidei Pariſiis apud Joannem Henault anno* 1651. *in folio, impenſis Ordinis. Altamura, p.* 451

acknowledges in his Preface. This Confeſſion acquits him from being a Plagiary; from which *Galatinus* cannot be purg'd, who never mentions *Porchet* nor *Martini*. The learned *Joſeph Scaliger* (C) has been guilty of ſome Faults, in accuſing juſtly *Francis Galatin* of being a Plagiary. *Martini* finiſh'd his Work in the Year * 1278. And hereby they are refuted, who pretend, that *Raymund de Pennafort* was the Author of it; for it is plainly prov'd, that he died † *January* the 6th, 1275. There are ſome who think β that *Martini* wrote another Book entituled *Capiſtrum Judæorum*, and a Refutation of the *Alcoran*; and that the Copy of the *Pugio fidei*, written with his own Hand in Latin and Hebrew, is at *Naples* in the Convent of St. *Dominick*. The great Knowledge he diſcover'd in the Books and Opinions of the *Jews*, made ſome believe γ that he had been of their Religion; but this is falſe.

* *He teſtifies it* parte 2. Pugion. c. 10. apud Altamur. *p.* 453.

† Vide Altamurum, *ibid.*

β Poſſev. in Appar. Sacro.

γ Auguſtin Juſtiniani Præfat. ad Porcheti Victoriam.

MARTYR (PETER) a Proteſtant Divine in the XVIth Century. *See* VERMILII.

MARULUS (MARCUS) a Native of *Spalato* in *Dalmatia*, liv'd in the beginning of the XVIth Century, as is obſerv'd in *Moreri*'s Dictionary; who has not given us the right Title of one of his Books. It is a Latin Book which was tranſlated into *French*, and into ſome other Languages ζ. The (D) *French* Tranſlator did a thing very ſingular, which deſerves to be related. *Geſner* δ confounds this *Marulus* with *Marullus* the Poet.

ζ Into Spaniſh and German.

δ Geſn. in Biblioth. *fol.* 495. *Verſo.*

MARULLUS, a Poet of *Calabria*, in the Vth Century, went to wait upon *Attila* at *Padua*, after this King of the *Huns* had open'd a way into *Italy* by taking of *Aquileia*, and had ruin'd and ſubdu'd all that came in his way. This Poet expected a great Reward for the Flatteries wherewith he had fill'd the Panegyrick of *Attila*. But when this Prince knew by his Interpreters, that the Poem which *Marullus* had repeated, deriv'd his Pedigree from the Gods, and call'd him God, he order'd that theſe Verſes, and the Author of them ſhould be burnt. He moderated this Puniſhment, when he reflected that this ſeverity might induce other Authors to write nothing in his praiſe η.

η Ex Callimacho Experiente, in vita Attilæ.

MARULLUS

nationè alium paulo colorem induxit..... Non id tantum ſemel deprehendimus, ſed toties quoties id periclitatiſumus, mirati ſane Galatinum Porcheto reconcinnatæ Judæorum Hiſtoriæ nihil ſuperaddere præter frequentia teſtimonia ex libello, &c. *Galatinus* dedicated his Book to the Emperor *Maximilian* I. and did not believe that *Porchet*'s Book was to be Printed ſo ſoon. We may ſay alſo, that he hop'd this Manuſcript ſhould never be publiſh'd, for it was exceeding rare: But *Auguſtin Juſtiniani*, Biſhop of *Nebbio*, did nevertheleſs find it out by virtue of Money, and publiſh'd it at *Paris* in 1520, with this Title, *Victoria Porchetti adverſus impios Hebræos.*

(C) Joſeph Scaliger *has been guilty of ſome faults.*] He believ'd firſt, that the Author of the *Pugio fidei* was call'd *Raymund Sebon*. 2. That *Raymund Sebon* was a Dominican, and that he liv'd at *Toulouſe* about the Year 1376. 3. That *Galatinus* ſtole immediately from the *Pugio fidei*: Which may be ſeen in his Letters, wherein he mentions this twice (e) to *Caſaubon*, and once (f) to *Thomſon*. *Scito illos libros* (Galatini) *eſſe compendium duorum ingentium voluminum quibus titulum Pugionem fidei fecit auctor Raimundus Sebon Monachus Dominicanus, eximius Philoſophus.* This is what he ſays in Letter 84, which he thus confirms in Letter 93. *De Galatino ſcito me vera dixiſſe, nam non ſolum illa omnia è Raimundo Sebone expiſcatus eſt, ſed & opus ejus nihil aliud eſt quam breviarium Pugionis fidei, ita enim opus ſuum doctiſſimus Dominicanus ille inſcripſerat qui Toloſæ ante CC. plus minus annos ſcribebat, ejuſque operis duo ingentes tomi in Collegio Fuxenſi ejuſdem civitatis ante annos XXI quum ego ibi eſſem, extabant. Cum judicio tamen illi libri legendi ſunt, qui utinam typis excuſi eſſent. Hoc unicum exemplum, præter aliud quod penes Matthæum Beroaldum fuit, Toloſæ extare ſuo.* In Letter 241, written in 1606, two Years after the 93, he changed ſomething as to the Age of *Raymund Sebon, qui ante* CCXXX *plus minus annos*, ſays he, *Toloſæ vivebat* Father *Morin* (g) obſerves, againſt *Scaliger*, that *Raymund Sebondus*, who does not appear to have underſtood the Hebrew Tongue, was a hundred Years younger than *Raymund Martini*, the true Author of the *Pugio fidei*. He adds, that it is at leaſt three Centuries ſince this *Martini* wrote his Book, becauſe *Nicolas de Lyra* ſpeaks of him. He ſhows, that *Galatinus* did not ſteal immediately but from *Porchet*. Mr. *de Mauſſac* (h) has reckon'd up yet more exactly the faults of the great *Scaliger*. He does not only ſay, that *Raymund Sebondus* was neither a Monk, nor learn'd in the Oriental Tongues, and that, according to *Trithemius* and *Simlerus* (i), he died in 1432. but he ſays alſo, that the Manuſcript of *Martini* in the College *de Foix*, contains three Volumes; that beſides this and the Copy of *Beroaldus*, there is one at *Naples*, one with the Dominicans of *Toulouſe*, one at *Barcelona*, and one at *Majorca*. If any one would deal as rigidly with *Manſſac*, as he hath done with *Scaliger*, he might be told that he did unjuſtly attribute to *Scaliger* (k) the firſt diſcovery of the Theft of *Galatinus*. *Matthew Beroaldus* ſpoke of it, before the Manuſcript of *Toulouſe* was known to *Scaliger*; which may be thus demonſtrated. *Scaliger* wrote in the Year 1604, that 21 Years before he had ſeen at *Toulouſe* the *Pugio fidei*; ſo that he ſaw it in 1583. Now *Beroaldus* publiſh'd his Chronology in 1575, and had occaſion to obſerve, that *Galatinus* had publiſh'd as his own the Writings of *Raymund Martini*, having made ſome alterations in them. Let us ſet down all that he ſays. (l) *Galatinus (ut hoc obiter moneam) Martini Raymundi ſcripta pro ſuis edidit, commutato rerum ordine & argumento nonnihil variato, ut plagii poſſit accuſari. Galatinus: quod planum me facturum ſpero ſi dederit Dominus, ut pugionem ipſius Raimundi ſcriptum ad imperitorum perfidiam jugulandam maxime autem Judæorum in lucem proferam. Is autem liber ſtudiis Hebraicis maxime utilis pervenit ad me ex Bibliotheca Franciſci Vatabli Mecenatis mei.* This Paſſage informs us, that *Beroaldus* had a deſign to publiſh the *Pugio fidei*, and that his Copy came from *Vatablus*. Probably it was by the Book of *Beroaldus*, that *Poſſevin* knew that *Vatablus* had ſuch a Manuſcript, and when he mention'd this particular (m), he accuſed *Galatinus* of being a Plagiary. Note, That *Scaliger*'s Letters were not made publick till after the Printing of *Poſſevin*'s *Apparatus*; ſo that here we have a ſecond diſcoverer of this Theft before *Joſeph Scaliger*. I have obſerv'd, that *Toppi* in his *Biblioteca Napoletana* ſays the latter diſcover'd it firſt; and therefore he is miſtaken.

(e) *Epiſt.* 84, & 93.

(f) *Epiſt.* 241.

(g) Ubi ſupra, *p.* 19.

(h) Vide Prolegomena ad Pugionem fidei.

(i) Epit. Biblioth. Geſner. *But he ſays*, claruit, *and not* obiit anno 1430. *He had better have cited* Geſner *himſelf.*

(k) Primus Galatini furta ſubodoratus eſt *Mr.* Carpzovius *ſays, the like.* Idque (*Scaligero*) gratias agere quod primus Galatini plagium prodidiſſet ..... Ex quo Scaliger Galatini furta primus ſubodoratus eſt. *Introduct. p.* 97.

(l) Beroald. in Chronic. *p.* 3. *a.*

(m) Poſſev. Appar. *tom.* 2. *fol.* 411.

(a) Martinus Delrio, diſquirit. Magicar. *tom.* 3. *lib.* 5. *ſect.* 1. *p.* 710.

(b) *Cited in* Biblioth. Geſn. 495. *verſo.*

MARULLUS (MICHAEL (*A*) TARCHANIOTA) retir'd into *Italy* after the Turks took *Conſtantinople*, where he was born. He did not leave his Country out of Zeal for Chriſtianity; for his Opinions in Matters of Religion were very far from being Orthodox (*B*). But it was doubtleſs the fear of Slavery, or the deſire he had to avoid the cruel Vexation of ſeeing and hearing the Inſults of an Inſolent Conqueror, that made him remove from *Greece*. He liſted himſelf a Soldier in *Italy* (*C*), and ſerv'd in the Cavalry *, under *Nicolas Ralla*, who was of *Lacedemon*. He join'd Learning with his Arms, and would be no leſs a Poet than a Soldier: and becauſe he fear'd leſt his Skill in making Greek Verſes ſhould not be thought any thing extraordinary †, he apply'd himſelf with great diligence to the ſtudy of Latin Poetry, and by this means he acquir'd a great Reputation. His Latin Verſes conſiſt of Four Books of Epigrams, and Four Books of Hymns. He begun a Poem about the Education of Princes, which he never finiſh'd. What was found of it among his Papers, was printed with the Epigrams and Hymns, of all which there have been ſeveral Editions. Authors are divided in their Opinions about theſe Poems. For ſome Criticks, ſuch as the two *Scaligers* ‖, ſpeak very ill of them. But other Writers § have commended *Marullus* very much. He got many Enemies by cenſuring ¶ too freely the ancient Latin Poets. *Floridus Sabinus* undertook their Defence, and treated him harſhly. *Politian* ** had a great Quarrel with him upon the ſame Occaſion. I †† ſpeak elſewhere of the Marriage of *Marullus* with the learned *Alexandra Scala*. But here I muſt take notice that he was of a reſtleſs Spirit (*D*), and could never find a fixed Place for his Body nor for his Studies. Other Learned Men became famous by tranſlating Books: but he deſpis'd (*E*) this Labour ‡‡, either as a thing below him, or too hazardous, and he was thinking of ſomething

* Jovius in Elogiis, c. 28. Militari ſtipendio ſeſe alere coactus. Pier. Valer. de Liter. infel. lib. 2.

† Jovius ibid.

‖ Jul. Cæſ. Scaliger, Poët. l. 6. c. 4. Joſ. Scalig. in Catull. Epigr. 67.

§ Crinitus de honeſta diſcipl. l. 23. cap. 7. Jo Secundus Epigr. Jovius ubi ſupra. Pontanus apud Jovium ib. Pier. Valerian. de Liter. infel.

¶ Aub. Miræus de ſcriptor. ſæculi XVI. p. 9.

(*d*) Naudæus in pentade quæſtion. Jatrophilol. p. 150. Edit. Genev. 1647.

(*e*) Guillet *Life of* Mahomet II. tom. 1. p. 258. ex Turco-Græc p. 91.

(*f*) Deſcripr. Ital. p. 44.

(*g*) Not. ad Sannaz. p. 189. edit. Amſtel. 1689. See alſo p. 221.

** Scaliger ubi ſupra.

†† Paulo ante Græcorum nomini favens, cum Politiano ejus gentis ingenio infeſto, maledicentiſſimis epiſtolis lites extenderat. Jovius, *ibid.*

‡‡ *In the Article* Scala.

§§ Jovius ubi ſupra.

De religioſe vivendi Inſtitutione lib. 6. per exempla ex veteri, novoque Teſtamento collecta ex authoribus quoque D. Hieronymo Presbytero, Gregorio Pont. Max. Euſebio Cæſarienſi, Jo. Caſſiano nonnulliſque aliis qui vitas conſcripſere ſanctorum, digeſta per capita ſive locos communes 70. Miræus has too much abridg'd this, for he only ſays: (*c*) *Scripſit libros ſex exemplorum, hoc eſt dictorum factorumque memorabilium*; and yet *Moreri* thought it too long, for he only ſets down *lib. 6. Exemplorum*. The Printers having tranſpos'd the figures, have given us an Edition of the Works of *Marullus* in 1610, which, according to *Miræus*, was in 1601. *Gabriel Naudæus*, who wrote a Diſſertation to prove that 'tis lawful for Phyſicians to tell a great many Lies to a ſick Perſon, does not forget to cite our *Marullus* who maintain'd, that a Man who lies in favour of the Commonwealth, or for the greater Glory of God, does an Act of ſingular Prudence and Piety. (*d*) *Marullus Spalatenſis lib. 4. memor. c. 4. ob Reipublicæ bonum vel majorem Dei gloriam mentiri fore ſummæ pietatis ingentiſque prudentiæ contendit.* O wicked Morality!

(*A*) *Tarchaniota.*] I believe it was the Name of his Mother's Family; for in the Firſt Book of his Epigrams, there is an Epitaph upon *Michael Tarchaniota* his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, and another upon *Euphroſyne Tarchaniota* his Mother; and in the Third Book there is one upon *Paul Tarchaniota* his Uncle by the Mother's Side. As to his Grandfather by the Father's Side, whoſe Epitaph is to be ſeen a few Pages after, he was call'd *Philip Marullus*. One of the Four Learned Greeks, who fled for Refuge into *France*, under the Reign of *Charles* VII, and were recommended by *Philelphus* to *William des Urſins*, Chancellor of *France*, was call'd *Nicolas* (*e*) *Tarchaniotes*.

(*B*) *Very far from being Orthodox.*] This is what we learn from *Leander Albertus* (*f*) who makes this Obſervation by the by, when he ſpeaks of the River wherein *Marullus* was drowned, Flumen Cecina *Marulli Bizantini viri docti, ſed de Chriſtiana pietate haud ſanè ſentientis interitu illuſtratum.* He who publiſh'd ſome curious Notes upon *Sannazar*, makes uſe of Two Proofs againſt thoſe who pretended that *John Francis Picus* aſſiſted *Marullus* in making his Hymns. The Firſt is, that *Picus* was ſo much addicted to the Study of Chriſtian Theology, that it is no wiſe probable he ſhould have troubled himſelf about any Politeneſs of Style: The Second is, that there is no Footſtep of Chriſtianity in the Hymns of *Marullus*. (*g*) *In hymnis adeptum eſſe a Joann. Franciſco Pico erant qui aſſerarent Lilio Gyraldi ætate, quod tamen mihi neutiquam veriſimile fit, cum conſtet Picum tanto ſtudio incubuiſſe Chriſtianæ Theologiæ, ut omnem prorſus ſtyli atque eloquii cultum ornatumque neglexiſſe merito videri poſſit. Marullum vero ſi legas, nec volam, nec veſtigium hominis Chriſtiani invenias.* This ſeems to me good Reaſoning. *Pierius Valerianus* relates, that this Poet utter'd horrible Blaſphemies when he died. *Ferunt illum primo ſtatim caſu vehementer excandeſſe, atque erat iræ impatiens convitia & maledicta in ſuperos detorſiſſe* (*h*). *Eraſmus* thought *Marullus*'s Poems tolerable, if they had contain'd leſs *Paganiſm*: *Marulli pauca legi*, ſays he in his *Ciceronianus, tolerabilia ſi minus haberent paganitatis.* This *Paganiſm* was not the greateſt Fault of *Marullus*, his Impieties are much more to be condemn'd; which doubtleſs were the Cauſe why *Lucretius* pleas'd him ſo much, that he put out a new Edition of it, and endeavour'd to imitate it (*i*), and ſaid, (*k*) that we muſt only read other Poets, but get *Virgil* and *Lucretius* by heart. *Joſeph Scaliger* in his Notes upon *Catullus* thunders againſt this Edition. Here follows a Proof of the impudent Impiety wherewith *Marullus* blaſphem'd Heaven:

At (l) pia pro patria, pro diis, ariſque tuendis,
Indueras Latium dux caput arma tibi.
Ultorſque deos jurata in bella trahebas,
Si modo ſunt curæ juſque piumque deis.
Sed neque fas, neque jura deos mortalia tangunt,
Et rapit arbitrio ſors fera cuncta ſuo.
Nam quid priſca fides juvit, pietaſque Pelaſgos?
Nempe jacent nullo damna levante Deo.
Aſpice Byzanti quondam gratiſſima divis
Mœnia, Romanæ nobile gentis opus.
Hæc quoque jampridem hoſtili data præda furori eſt,
Solaque de tanta gloria gente manet.

(*b*) De Liter. infel. l. 2. p. m. 70.

(*i*) Gyral. Dialog. 1. de Poet. ſui temp.

(*k*) Crinitus l. 23. c. 7.

(*l*) Marullus Epigr. l. 1. p. m. 16, 17.

(*C*) *He liſted himſelf a Soldier in* Italy.] The Author of the *Anecdotes de Florence* (*m*) ſays, that *Marullus* went from *Greece* into *Italy* in a company of *Cuiraſſiers*. This may be; but *Paulus Jovius* whom this Author follows moſt, in what concerns the learned Men of that Time, ſays no ſuch thing. His Words are theſe. *Inter alarios equites deſcriptus, Nicolao Ralla Spartano duce in Italia militavit.* I do not believe that *Alarius Eques* ſhould be tranſlated a *Cuiraſſier*.

(*m*) P. 179. *The Printers, who have miſerably miſprinted the Proper Names in this Book, have put* Marcilius *for* Marullus. *At* p. 161. *they have put* Trachamore *for* Tarchaniote.

(*D*) *Of a reſtleſs Spirit, and that he could never find a fixed Place.*] I will cite for this Two Authors: (*a*) *Inquieto ingenio nullibi ſedem ſtabilem nactus, in curſu ſtudiorum ac itinerum ſemper fuit.* (*b*) *Nullius unquam principis liberalitate ita adjutus, ut in literarum otium ſe conferre poſſet.* I know not whether one may oppoſe to their Teſtimony that of *Crinitus*. Let every one do as he pleaſes: Here it is in Verſe:

Et (c) gradum
Pierius ad ultima ſi Ter.,
Quæ noſter Medices Pecridum parens
Marulle hoſpitium dulce tibi exhibet,
Ac te perpetuis muneribus fovens
Phœbum non patitur tela reſumere
Laurens Camœnarum duces.

Marullus therefore had a good *Mæcenas* in the Perſon of *Laurence de Medicis*. *Crinitus* praiſes *Marullus* very much, particularly in his *Næniæ de obitu Poëtæ Marulli.*

(*a*) Jov. in elog. c. 28.

(*b*) Pier. Valerian. de infel. litter. l. 2.

(*c*) Crinitus l. 2. Poëmat. p. m. 828.

(*E*) *He deſpis'd this Labour.*] Mr. *Varillas* tells us (*d*) that *Laurence de Medicis* deſir'd *Marullus* *in his Letters which are ſtill extant*, to tranſlate the Moral Works of *Plutarch*, and that *Marullus* "had "ſo great an Averſion for that ſort of Work, "wherein

(*d*) Anec. de Flor. p. 179.

omething of much greater importance, when he drown'd himſelf (*F*) in a River of *Tuſcany* blaſpheming againſt Heaven. This was (*G*) in the Year 1500. I have read in a late Book, that this misfortune was foretold him a long while before; but the witneſs who is alledg'd for it, ſays (*H*) no ſuch thing.

MASCARDI (AUGUSTIN) was a learned Man, and one of the beſt Orators of the XVIIth Century *. He was born at *Sarzana* † in 1591, and died there in 1640. You will find in *Moreri*, that he was Chamberlain to *Urban* VIII. and that this Pope *founded for him a Profeſſor's Chair of Rhetorick in the College* della Sapienza in 1628. He granted him †† for Life a Penſion of five hundred Crowns. If *Maſcardi* was always in want, and oppreſs'd with Debts, it was not ſo much becauſe he neglected his Buſineſs, as becauſe he diverted himſelf too much; for it muſt be confeſs'd, that his manner of living was not ſo highly eſteem'd (*A*) as his Wit. He was * for ſome time Prince

(e) Dum viclam qui olim Cecina licebatur. *Pier. Valer. ubi ſupra.*

(f) *Anecd. p.* 179.

(g) Cecina amnis ſolito inflatior fallente equum cæco vado violenter abripuit. *Jovius ubi ſupra.*

(gg) Pier. Valer. ubi ſupra.

(h) *A great Confidence in that ſort of People makes a Man ſometimes as bold as Madneſs or Drunkenneſs.*

(i) Don Secondo Lancellotti da Perugia Abbate Olivetano; *in the Book entituled* Chi l'indovinà è Salvio, l. 1. diſapanno 3. p. 64. *he cites* Paul. Cort. l. 1.

(k) Jo. Jovianus Pontanus diſcipulum habuit Marulum Conſtantinopolitanum hoſpitem meum, quicodem die quo à me Volaterris diſceſſit in amne Cecina ſubmerſus fuit, vir [illegible] ingenii tum judicii. *Volat. lib.* 38. *p. m.* 1462.

(l) Id [illegible] XVII. Kal. Jul. an. CIↃIↃCXI. (m) Labbe, Chron. [illegible] (n) Jugement ſur les Poetes. *n.* 1.44

" wherein one muſt, ſaid he, make himſelf a Slave " to the Sentiments of another, that it was im- " poſſible for him to finiſh the firſt Page of that " Verſion.

(*F*) *He drowned himſelf in a River of* Tuſcany.] It is that which runs by *Volterra*, and which the Ancients call'd *Cecina*. It ſtill retains the ſame Name, as *Cluverius* and *Baudrand* affirm, ſo that I cannot underſtand why *Pierius Valerianus* ſays (*e*), that it is now nam'd *Sicla*, nor why *Varillas* calls it the River (*f*) of *Volterra*. *Paulus Jovius* ſays, that it was more ſwell'd (*g*) than ordinary, that Day on which *Marullus* drown'd himſelf in it: But *Valerianus* ſays the quite contrary; and ſince he is more particular in this matter, he is more worthy of Credit than the other, and it appears, that he had examin'd the Circumſtances. *Marullus*, ſays he, perceiving that his Horſe was ſo plung'd with his fore Feet in the Water, that he could not diſengage himſelf, grew angry and gave him the Spur; after which he fell down with his Horſe, and having his Leg entangled under the Belly of the Beaſt, there wanted but little Water to choak him. (*gg*) *Fluvium vel exigua tunc aqua fluentem ingreſſus, ſive equum potaturus ſive alia de cauſa tantillum immoratus, ſenſit equum anterioribus pedibus ita in arenas alvei ſemper infidi vorag- inoſas abſorberi ut emergere inde non poſſet .... modica admodum ejus proſluentis aqua ſuffocatus interiit.* The liberty that *Varillas* takes in paraphraſing upon what he borrows from another, was ill-tim'd upon this occaſion. To turn into *French* the words of *Paulus Jovius*, *ſolito inflatior* he ſays, that *the Rains had extraordinarily ſwell'd* the River, and yet according to him *Marullus paſs'd over the Ford.* He muſt therefore, as any would think, have been Drunk or Mad; the Adverb *extraordinarily* ſhews it upon this occaſion. Let us not go ſo faſt: I remember I have read in a Book of *Lancelotti* of *Perugia*, that the Inhabitants of the Country advertis'd our *Marullus* not to paſs the River, becauſe great Rains had fall'n that Night. To whom he anſwer'd, that he was afraid of *Mars* and not of *Neptune*; for he rely'd (*h*) upon the Aſtrologers who had caſt his Horoſcope, and told him, that he ſhould be afraid of Arms, and that he would do well not to go to the War (*i*). *Volaterranus* (*k*) obſerves, that *Marullus* who had lodg'd in his Houſe, parted from him the ſame Day he was drown'd; and he ſpeaks honourably of him. *Voſſius* in his Treatiſe of the Latin Poets, would have that Day to be the fifteenth of (*l*) *June* 1511. I believe that this Error proceeded originally from the too haſty reading of a Paſſage in *Paulus Jovius*, wherein the Day on which *Marullus* died is ſet down in this manner. *Eo die quo Ludovicus Sfortia captus ut Ferrara in carcere miſer expiraret, in ulteriorem Galliam eſt perductus.* Some body not minding the Words narrowly, confounded the Day on which *Ludovic Sforza* was ſeized with the Day of his Death; and becauſe his Death happen'd in 1511, they concluded that our Poet died alſo in the ſame Year. The [illegible] was on the eleventh (*m*) of *April* 1511. Mr. *Baillet* follows (*n*) the Chronology of *Voſſius*, abating one Day.

(*G*) *This was in the Year* 1500.] The manner in which *Paulus Jovius* characteriſes this Year, does not ſuffer us to doubt that it was the laſt of the XVth Century. See the preceding Remark at the end.

Peter de St. Romuald is wrong by half a Century; for thus he ſays under the Year 1545. " (*o*) *Michael Marullus*, a Native of *Conſtantinople*, " who wrote very elegantly in Latin Verſe, in " imitation of *Catullus* and *Tibullus*, and who had " ſerv'd the Emperor *Maximilian* in the quality of " a Captain, drown'd himſelf in *Toſcan*; which " an *Italian* Poet deploring in his Epitaph, ſays " at the end of it, that if he was to loſe his Life " in Water,

" *Mergier Aonio flumine deberet*

" Which way of ſpeaking did not pleaſe the late " Mr. *de Balzac*.

Sandius refutes *Voſſius* by this Reaſon, becauſe *Pontanus* who died in 1503, or 1505, made Verſes upon the Death of *Marullus*. He obſerves that there are ſome who place the Death of *Marullus* on the 16th of *May* 1466, and he convicts them of Falſhood by the Epigrams of that Poet againſt Pope *Innocent* VIII. and upon the Death of *Theodorus Gaza*, and *John Picus Mirandula*. This Pope ſate in the See of *Rome* from 1484, to 1492. *Theodorus Gaza* died in 1478, and *John Picus Mirandula* in 1494. therefore the Proofs of *Sandius* are very good; and he had reaſon to reject the Opinion of thoſe who ſaid, that *Marullus* flouriſh'd in the Year (*p*) 1520.

(*H*) *Says no ſuch thing.*] To determine this Queſtion of matter of fact, we need only compare the Paſſage of the modern Author with the words of *Pierius Valerianus*, who is his Witneſs. (*q*) *Suffocatus eſt* Marullus *in Tuſcæ amne Cecina fallente equum veſtigio. Miſerabile id leti genus multis annis ante illi prædictum fuiſſe, indeque ſemper aquas timuiſſe auctor eſt Pierius Valerianus in Dialogis de Literatorum infelicitate, qui rei veritatem ignorare non potuit, ipſamque adeo carmine quodam ſuo, multo ante Marulli mortem poſteritati palam fecerat.* According to this Narrative we have not here one of thoſe Predictions made after the Event, which are ſo frequent, but a Prediction publiſh'd a long time before the event; which would therefore be of great moment, if the matter of fact were certain. Now let us ſhow, that *Pierius Valerianus* ſays nothing of the Prediction, and that his Verſes were made after the misfortune of *Marullus*. I have cited above (*r*) a long Paſſage out of his Tract *de Literatorum infelicitate*, the concluſion whereof was, *aqua ſuffocatus interiit*: After which words immediately follow theſe: *Verum igitur fuit quod modo Petrus jam tum puer de Marullo cecinit.* CAT. *Quidnam? illud muſica recita obſero quonam libenter ejus cantilenas arripuit.* Then the Verſes of *Petrus* are related, which run upon this Thought, That *Marullus* muſt not be troubled for periſhing in Water. The fear which is attributed to him reſpects only the time, in which his Horſe fell under him in the *Cecina*. But ſome perhaps may ſay, *Petrus* was very young when he made thoſe Verſes, *jam tum puer*; he made them therefore before the Year 1500; for according to *Thuanus* he died in 1552, Aged eighty three Years. I anſwer, that *Thuanus* is miſtaken. *Imperial.* (*s*) places the Death of *Petrus* in 1558. and makes him live ſix more than eighty one Years of Age. And thus he would have been but twenty three Years old when *Marullus* died. Now it is not without Precedent in good Latin Authors, to call one of that Age *puer*; and however it be, the Verſes of *Petrus* did not precede the Death of *Marullus*.

(*A*) *His manner of living was not ſo highly [illegible]*] To this purpoſe I ſhall cite a Paſſage, whereby we learn that *M. Scard.* lodg'd always in other People's Houſes, and that Provifionary, and ſpent his Money with-

* Michel Giuſtiniani, gli ſcrittori Liguri deſcritti, *p.* 24. Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth. 1 *p.* 113.

† *A Town in the State of* Genoa.

† Giuſtiniani, *ib. p.* 25

†† Giuſtiniani, *ib. p.* 24.

* Id *ib. p.* 25.

(*o*) St Romuald, Abregé du theſor Chronologique, tom. 3. p. m. 3 [illegible] *See* Balzac, Socrate Chretien, *p. m.* 228.

(*p*) *Taken out of* Sandius, Not. in Voſſium de Hiſt. Lat. *p.* 227.

(*q*) Not. ad Sannazari eleg. *p.* 191 *edit. Amſtel.* 1689.

(*r*) *In the Preface*, Col. Letter *f*.

(*s*) *See his* Muſeum hiſtoricum, *p.* 49.

Prince of the Academy of the *Humoriſts*; and he had a Paper-War with (*B*) *Paganinus Gaudentius*, and other Authors. He Printed at his own expence his Treatiſe *dell' arte hiſtorica*, and had loſt a conſiderable Sum by it, if Cardinal *Mazarin* (*C*) had not procur'd many Copies to be ſold at *Paris*. The Authors who ſpeak of him, and to whom *Moreri* refers us *c*, are quoted by *Michael Juſtiniani* *γ*.

There is in the Works of *Balzac* a certain Diſcourſe, wherein he ſharply cenſures (*D*) our *Maſcardi* without naming him.

MATMAN (RODOLPHUS) born at *Lucerne* in *Switzerland*, became a Jeſuit at eighteen Years of Age. He taught Rhetorick for twenty Years, and died at *Munich* *September* 18. 1612, after he had been thirty Years in the Society. He prepar'd many Books for the Publick *δ*. He wrote againſt *Scaliger* a little Book (*E*), which many People have attributed to *Scioppius*.

MAUSOLUS, King of (*A*) *Caria*, is more known as the Husband of *Artemiſa*, than upon any other account; although during a Reign of twenty four Years he had many *ζ* Intrigues, and became very formidable. After the Example of his Predeceſſors, he was much more inclin'd to the Party of the *Perſians* than to that of the *Greeks*; and it appears *ϑ*, that in favour of the *Perſians*, (but chiefly out of a deſire to enrich himſelf) he committed many Piracies upon the Neighbouring Iſles. He was one who took Money with both Hands, and gave no Quarter to the Purſe of his beſt Friends, but made (*B*) uſe of ſly Tricks to enrich himſelf at their Expence. He

c Inſtead of Maracci, Bibliot. Mariam, *read in* Moreri Maracci, Bibliotheca Mariana.

γ Ubi ſupra.

δ Alegambe, in Bibl. Script. Societ. Jeſu, *p.* 417.

ζ Diod. Sicul. *l.* 16.

ϑ In argumento Orationis Demoſth. contra Timocrat.

(*g*) Balzac's *Letters to* Conrart, *p. m.* 96.

(*h*) *It contains ſcarce more than* 20 *Pages in the Edition of* 1611, *in* 12°.

(*i*) Scaliger, confut. fabulæ Burdonum, *p. m.* 324.

without any Diſcretion. *Utinam ſecundiore prudentia ac* SANCTITATIS *fama fuiſſet, nec in hac parte vitæ, ut fama eſt, claudicaſſet; profectò ad egregias ejus virtutes hæc quoque præſtantiſſima omnium laus acceſſiſſet. Sed homo in re familiari negligens, profuſus, nulla pecuniæ acceſſione ſuppeditare ſuis ſumptibus poterat; in ſuis nummis nunquam, in ære alieno ſemper: &, quod mireris magis, nunquam certis ac conductis ædibus habitavit, ſed incertis atque precariis* (*a*).

(*a*) Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth. 1. *p.* 113.

(*B*) *A Paper-War.*] In his Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy of the Count *de Fieſque*, he very often attacks the Relation of *Ubert Folietta*. He did the like in his other Books againſt ſome Writers; which was the reaſon why he alſo was attack'd in his turn. (*b*) *Venendo eſſo parimente tacciato da Paganino Gaudentio, mi ſi dara motivo di far qualche reſſeſſione nel lebro de gli Accademici Humoriſti, per vedir quale di loro ſoſtien meglio le ſue accuſe.* The ſecond Edition of his Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy of the Count *de Fieſque*, is enlarg'd with the Objections that were made to him, and his Anſwers to them. I know not whether his Anſwer to *Brunor Taverna* concerning that Hiſtory has been publiſh'd: The Abbot *Michael Juſtiniani* (*c*) read it in Manuſcript.

(*b*) Michael Giuſtiniani, gli ſcrittori Liguri deſcritti, *p.* 25.

(*C*) *If Cardinal* Mazarin *had not procur'd many Copies*] Among an infinite number of ridiculous things which are objected to this Cardinal during the Troubles of *Paris*, it was ſaid that he traded in all manner of Merchandize, and that he even made an Auction of Books in the Palace *d'Eſtrée* (*d*). *Naudé* anſwer'd in his behalf thus: " (*e*) I believe I have ſufficiently prov'd the contrary. But now to juſtifie likewiſe this ſale of " Books, which was the beſt and moſt decent way " the Cardinal could uſe, to teſtifie the care he " always took of learned Men; we muſt know " that the Sieur *Agoſtino Maſcardi*, who was accounted the beſt Writer of *Italy* in his time, " thought fit to Print in 1636, a Book of his " own making, entituled, *dell' arte Hiſtorica* " *trattati cinque* (*f*), in Quarto, and ſo thick, " that it contain'd near a Hundred Sheets; " and becauſe *la Tavola di Cebete*, *le Pompe* " *del Campideglio*, *la Congiura dei Fieſchi*, *le* " *Proſe*, *i diſcorſi Academici*, *Silvarum ſive variorum* " *Carminum libro*, IV. and in a word, all his " Works had ſold very well, he caus'd many more " Copies of it than of thoſe to be Printed: Where- " in he was ſo unſucceſsful, that the greateſt " part of the Copies were left in his Hands, be- " cauſe few People delighted in ſuch kind of mat- " ters. As he was complaining of this one day to " my Lord *Mazarin*, he offer'd to ſend ſome Bales " of them to *Paris*, where he had a Man to manage " his Buſineſs, who ſhould take care to ſell them " for him, and pay him the Money he took: " Which the Sieur *Maſcardus* very willingly accep- " ted of; and by this means he prevented a great " loſs, which was otherwiſe almoſt unavoidable. " I have this Story from the Man himſelf, who " manag'd at that time his Affairs in that City.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 27.

(*d*) *See* Naudé *in his* Dialogue de Maſcurat, *p.* 70.

(*e*) Naudé, ib.

(*f*) Naudé *had conceiv'd a good Opinion of this Work. See his* Bibliographia politica, *p. m.* 67.

(*D*) *Who can be ſharply cenſures our* Maſcardi *without his naming him.*] This is in a Diſcourſe which was Printed with the *Socrate Chretien*. It conſiſts of ſome Remarks upon divers Pieces: Thoſe which concern the Philoſophical Orator, point at him who is the ſubject of this Article. Of this *Balzac* informs us, in theſe words of a Letter which he wrote to Mr. *Conrart*, *January* 4th 1651. " (*g*) It is *Maſcardi* whom I mean, for certain very " ill things which I obſerv'd in him, before he " refin'd his Style, and form'd his Judgment.

(*E*) *A little Book which many People have attributed to* Scioppius.] It was Printed at *Ingolſtad* in 1608, in 4°. with this Title; *Cornelii Denit Brugenſis tres Capellæ, ſive admonitio ad Joſephum Juſtum Burdonem Julii Burdonis F. Benedicti Burdonis N. prius Scaligerum nunc Sacrilegum. Scioppius* reprinted it in 1611, with his *Oporini Grubinii Amphotides Scioppianæ*. *Scaliger* ſpeaks with great contempt of this little Book (*h*): *Hoc mittimus*, ſays he (*i*), *ad Apoſtolum Japponenſem, retrimentum inſcitiæ, imparum Auctorem libelli de tribus Capellis, cujus inſcitia certat cum improbitate: quanquam non deſunt qui Furem Veſpillonis filium auctorem aſſerant.* Theſe laſt words ſignifie that ſome attributed this Book to *Scioppius*. Mr. *Placcius* obſerves that this is (*k*) the Opinion of ſome Perſons, and refutes thoſe who ſhould deny it upon this Ground, that it is not in the Catalogue of the Writings of *Scioppius*. The Author of the *Decas Decadum* (*l*) cites a Paſſage of *Scioppius*, to ſhow that the Jeſuits of *Ingolſtad* are the true Authors of the Book *De Tribus Capellis*; but he knows not the name of the Jeſuit who wrote this Satyr, and he alledges a Paſſage (*m*) of *Scaliger*, which does not at all prove, as he pretends, that it was *Martin Delrio*. Mr. *Baillet* (*n*) has already obſerv'd, that *Denius Burgenſis*, *Cornelius*, is a diſguiſe for *Ralph Matman*; and ſince *Alegambe* affirms it (*o*) we muſt believe it.

(*h*) *Scaligerana*, *Thuana*, *Perroniana*, *Pithœana*, *Colomeſiana*, *Naudæana*, *Patiniana*, *Vindiciæ Vindiciarum*, *Epiſtolæ Scaligeri*, *Epiſtolæ Scioppii*, *Scioppius de Stylo*, *Scioppius de Arte Critica*, *Scioppius de Arte Rhetorica*, *Scioppius de Arte Grammatica*, *Scioppius de Arte Dialectica*, *Scioppius de Arte Poetica*, *Scioppius de Arte Hiſtorica*, *Scioppius de Arte Oratoria*, *Scioppius de Arte Typographica*, *Scioppius de Arte Politica*, *Scioppius de Arte Militari*, *Scioppius de Arte Magica*, *Scioppius de Arte Cabbalistica*, *Scioppius de Arte Alchymica*, *Scioppius de Arte Aſtrologica*, *Scioppius de Arte Geographica*, *Scioppius de Arte Chronologica*, *Scioppius de Arte Architectonica*, *Scioppius de Arte Muſica*, *Scioppius de Arte Pictoria*, *Scioppius de Arte Statuaria*, *Scioppius de Arte Fabrili*, *Scioppius de Arte Nautica*, *Scioppius de Arte Venatica*, *Scioppius de Arte Agricultoria*, *Scioppius de Arte Coquinaria*, *Scioppius de Arte Medica*, *Scioppius de Arte Chirurgica*, *Scioppius de Arte Pharmaceutica*, *Scioppius de Arte Anatomica*, *Scioppius de Arte Botanica*, *Scioppius de Arte Chymica*, *Scioppius de Arte Metallica*, *Scioppius de Arte Mineralica*, *Scioppius de Arte Lapidaria*, *Scioppius de Arte Gemmaria*, *Scioppius de Arte Numismatica*, *Scioppius de Arte Sigillaria*, *Scioppius de Arte Gnomica*, *Scioppius de Arte Emblematica*, *Scioppius de Arte Symbolica*, *Scioppius de Arte Hieroglyphica*, *Scioppius de Arte Allegorica*, *Scioppius de Arte Metaphorica*, *Scioppius de Arte Proverbialis*, *Scioppius de Arte Epigrammatica*, *Scioppius de Arte Epiſtolica*, *Scioppius de Arte Dialogica*, *Scioppius de Arte Satyrica*, *Scioppius de Arte Comica*, *Scioppius de Arte Tragica*, *Scioppius de Arte Lyrica*, *Scioppius de Arte Elegiaca*, *Scioppius de Arte Heroica*, *Scioppius de Arte Bucolica*, *Scioppius de Arte Didactica*, *Scioppius de Arte Parodica*, *Scioppius de Arte Paradoxica*, *Scioppius de Arte Encomiastica*, *Scioppius de Arte Panegyrica*, *Scioppius de Arte Declamatoria*, *Scioppius de Arte Sophistica*, *Scioppius de Arte Logica*, *Scioppius de Arte Metaphyſica*, *Scioppius de Arte Ethica*, *Scioppius de Arte Politica*, *Scioppius de Arte Oeconomica*, *Scioppius de Arte Rhetorica*, *Scioppius de Arte Grammatica*, *Scioppius de Arte Dialectica*, *Scioppius de Arte Poetica*, *Scioppius de Arte Hiſtorica*, *Scioppius de Arte Oratoria*, *Scioppius de Arte Typographica*, *Scioppius de Arte Politica*, *Scioppius de Arte Militari*, *Scioppius de Arte Magica*, *Scioppius de Arte Cabbalistica*, *Scioppius de Arte Alchymica*, *Scioppius de Arte Aſtrologica*, *Scioppius de Arte Geographica*, *Scioppius de Arte Chronologica*, *Scioppius de Arte Architectonica*, *Scioppius de Arte Muſica*, *Scioppius de Arte Pictoria*, *Scioppius de Arte Statuaria*, *Scioppius de Arte Fabrili*, *Scioppius de Arte Nautica*, *Scioppius de Arte Venatica*, *Scioppius de Arte Agricultoria*, *Scioppius de Arte Coquinaria*, *Scioppius de Arte Medica*, *Scioppius de Arte Chirurgica*, *Scioppius de Arte Pharmaceutica*, *Scioppius de Arte Anatomica*, *Scioppius de Arte Botanica*, *Scioppius de Arte Chymica*, *Scioppius de Arte Metallica*, *Scioppius de Arte Mineralica*, *Scioppius de Arte Lapidaria*, *Scioppius de Arte Gemmaria*, *Scioppius de Arte Numismatica*, *Scioppius de Arte Sigillaria*, *Scioppius de Arte Gnomica*, *Scioppius de Arte Emblematica*, *Scioppius de Arte Symbolica*, *Scioppius de Arte Hieroglyphica*, *Scioppius de Arte Allegorica*, *Scioppius de Arte Metaphorica*, *Scioppius de Arte Proverbialis*, *Scioppius de Arte Epigrammatica*, *Scioppius de Arte Epiſtolica*, *Scioppius de Arte Dialogica*, *Scioppius de Arte Satyrica*, *Scioppius de Arte Comica*, *Scioppius de Arte Tragica*, *Scioppius de Arte Lyrica*, *Scioppius de Arte Elegiaca*, *Scioppius de Arte Heroica*, *Scioppius de Arte Bucolica*, *Scioppius de Arte Didactica*, *Scioppius de Arte Parodica*, *Scioppius de Arte Paradoxica*, *Scioppius de Arte Encomiastica*, *Scioppius de Arte Panegyrica*, *Scioppius de Arte Declamatoria*, *Scioppius de Arte Sophistica*, *Scioppius de Arte Logica*, *Scioppius de Arte Metaphyſica*, *Scioppius de Arte Ethica*, *Scioppius de Arte Politica*, *Scioppius de Arte Oeconomica*.

(*i*) Scaliger, confut. fabulæ Burdonum, *p. m.* 324.

(*k*) Tres Capellæ.. Scioppianæ videntur nonnullis. *Placcius de anonymis*, *p.* 65.

(*l*) Johannes Albertus Faber, dec. decadum, *n.* 28.

(*m*) *Taken from the* Confutatio fabulæ Burdonum, *p.* 330.

(*n*) Baillet, Auteurs deguiſez, *p.* 547.

(*o*) Alegambe, Biblioth. Script. Societ. *p.* 417.

(*A*) *King of* Caria.] *Aulus Gellius* has obſerv'd, that *Cicero* gives him this Title, but that ſome Greek Hiſtorians give him one that is leſs honourable. (*p*) *Mauſolus fuit, ut M. Tullius ait, rex terræ Cariæ; ut quidam Græcarum Hiſtoriarum ſcriptores Provinciæ Græciæ præfectus, Satrapen Græci vocant.* I know not who they are that have call'd him the Governor of a Province of *Greece*. The word *Satrapa*, which is *Perſian*, is ſufficient prove, either that *Aulus Gellius* is miſtaken, or that it is not he who ſaid, *Provinciæ Græciæ*. *Charles Stephens*, *Loyd* and *Hofman* have rais'd no ill ſuſpicions about this Paſſage, but cite the laſt part of it, without changing any thing in it. *Iſocrates* (*q*) has given to *Hecatomnus* the Father of *Mauſolus*, the Title of Κεφαλὴ ἐπισάβμου, *i. e.* according to the Paraphraſe of *Harpocration*, *Cariæ Satrapes*. *Mauſolus* is call'd by the ſame *Harpocration*, and by *Suidas* ἄρχων Καρῶν, *imperans Caribus*, by *Libanius* Καρίας ὑπαρχος (*r*) *Cariæ præfectus*; but by (*ſ*) *Polyænus*, and many others, βασιλεὺς Καρίας, *Rex Cariæ*.

(*p*) Aul. Gellius, *l.* 10. *c.* 18.

(*q*) *In Panegyr.*

(*r*) Argum. Orat. Demoſth. proRhod.

(*B*) *Made uſe of ſly Tricks*] Read upon this Subject *Polyænus* (*a*). and *Ariſtotle* (*b*), and there you may ſee, that if on one ſide the Court of *Perſia* tax'd *Mauſolus* with great Sums, he knew on the other how to indemnifie himſelf and exact the ſame Sum from others with Uſury. In this he was more unjuſt than thoſe great Partiſan, who after they have

(*ſ*) Polyænus ſtratag. *l.* 7. *c.* 23.

(*a*) Polyænus Stratag. *l.* 7. *c.* 23.

(*b*) Ariſtot. Oecon. *l.* 2.

He engaged himſelf for Money (*C*) in all ſorts of wicked Actions. We muſt not therefore wonder, that his Conduct was ſometimes contrary to the Intereſt of the Court of *Perſia*, and that by this means he brought himſelf into great Trouble *. He was much concern'd in the War which was call'd Confederate (*D*), and which begun in the 105th Olympiad, between the *Athenians* on one ſide, and thoſe of *Rhodes*, *Chios*, *Cos* and *Byzantium* on the other. It was he who contriv'd this League † againſt the *Athenians*. Among other Exploits he changed during this War the Democracy of *Rhodes* into an Ariſtocracy; but neither his Conqueſts, nor his good Mien, nor his Bravery, nor any of his Actions procur'd him ſuch an immortal Name ** as his Wife did by the ſtately Monument which ſhe built for him, and by the tender and friendly Reſpect ſhe preſerved for his Memory; of which we have diſcours'd in the Article of *Artemiſia*. *Mauſolus* died the laſt Year of the 106th Olympiad, as we have ſhown in the Remarks upon the ſame Article. He had ſome Predeceſſors (*E*) whoſe Names we know, and ſome Succeſſors, whoſe Names are alſo come down to us. The Phyſician who cur'd *Mauſolus*, demanded a great Reward (*F*), but like a generous Man.

The Houſe of *Mauſolus* in *Halicarnaſſus*, was built with Brick, and lined with Marble. *Pliny* knew no Building more ancient than that which was adorn'd with this kind of incruſtation, and this made him conjecture that the Art of Sawing Marble, was an Invention of the *Carians*; which yet he does not affirm. This Houſe continu'd to the time of *Pliny*. See the Proofs of all this in the (*G*) Remark.

MAUSOLEUM. Thus the Magnificent Monument was firſt call'd, which *Artemiſia* erected to *Mauſolus* her Husband, and which was reckon'd one of the ſeven Wonders of the World. See a Deſcription of it in *Pliny* II and (*A*) in the Supplement

* *See the Harangue of* Iſocrates ad Philippum, *in the place where he ſpeaks of* Idrieus *and his Brother. This Brother was our* Mauſolus.

† Libanius in Argument. Orat. Demoſth. pro libert. Rhodior.

** *See* Lucian Dial. Mort. Diog. & Mauſ.

†† Plin. *l.* 36. *c.* 5.

have been tax'd cauſe their ſubordinate Officers to be deliver'd up into their Hands. You may ſee moreover in *Ariſtotle*, that under the King of *Caria*, it was very well known how to make an Advantage of the *Lycians* Inclination to wear long Hair. They invented a kind of a Tax which was very gainful. See alſo what I cite out of *Ariſtotle* in the Remark *E*.

(*C*) *He engag'd himſelf for Money.*] The words of *Harpocration* tranſlated by *Suidas*, are theſe; Φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν Θεόπομπος μηδενὸς ἀπέχεσθαι πρᾳγματος χρημάτων ἕνεκα. *De quo Theopompus ſcribit cum à nullo facinore pecuniæ cauſa ſibi temperaſſe.* Without doubt theſe Words are taken out of the Hiſtories of *Theopompus*; but he took care not to ſpeak thus in the *Elogium* he made upon this Prince, which won the Prize that *Artemiſia* propos'd to the Orators, who would make a Panegyrick upon her Husband. Then for certain *Theopompus* made our *Mauſolus* a moſt accompliſh'd Prince, and adorn'd him with all ſorts of Vertues; and yet you ſee what he ſays of him in another Book. This double Mind and Tongue is an ill thing: Every thing ought to be ſuſpected in ſuch kind of People who divide themſelves into two Perſons, and think it lawful when they conſider themſelves as Orators, to tell ſuch Lyes as they would not adopt, when they write a Hiſtory, by which no Prize is to be got. This diſtinction is a plain Sophiſm, and is no better than that wherewith ſome would ſave the Honour of *Procopius*. An Author of private Memoirs, and a Writer of Hiſtory, are entirely and jointly reſponſible for all that comes from their Pen, when they are one and the ſame Writer. To conclude, altho' *Vitruvius* ſpeaks rather to the advantage than diſadvantage of *Mauſolus*, yet he hints in his words (*c*) the Extortions of this Prince. He praiſes the Magnificence, and the good contrivance of his Buildings, and the great Conveniencies in them

(*D*) *Which was called Confederate.*] *Morери* and *Hofman* have falſly imagin'd, that there are two *Mauſolus*'s, and that he who was concern'd in that War, was not the ſame with him who was the Husband of *Artemiſia*, buried in the *Mauſoleum*. If they had taken the pains to conſult the Originals, they would have made but one Article, which ſhould have been for this Husband, and had been full enough without taking notice of his Wife.

(*E*) *He had ſome Predeceſſors.*] We read in *Suidas*(*d*), that *Lygdamis* Contemporary with *Herodotus*, was the third Tyrant of *Halicarnaſſus* after *Artemiſia*. Now altho' *Herodotus* does not ſay, that *Lygdamis* the Father of *Artemiſia* had been King of *Halicarnaſſus*, yet 'tis very probable, that ſhe was the Daughter of a King, and the Widow of a King. We may therefore go back as far as her Father, who at leaſt, according to the Teſtimony of *Herodotus* (*e*) dwelt in *Halicarnaſſus*. She had a Son call'd *Piſindelus*, whoſe Son was another *Lygdamis*, who drove away *Herodotus* from *Halicarnaſſus*. But he return'd thither (*f*) and drove away the Tyrant 'Tis very probable that *Lygdamis* the ſecond of that Name, was immediately ſucceeded by *Hecatommus*, whoſe three Sons *Mauſolus*, *Idrieus* and *Pexodarus*, reign'd ſucceſſively in *Caria*, (See the Article of *Ada*) but 'tis not certain that *Hecatommus* was the Son of *Lygdamis*. Who knows if *Lygdamis*, being driven away by *Herodotus*, recover'd his Poſt? Who knows but *Hecatommus* eſtabliſh'd himſelf by Uſurpation without being related to *Lygdamis*? One thing is very well known, that he was of (*g*) *Mylaſſa*, and ſetled there the Seat of his Royalty; and there alſo *Mauſolus* was born *Vitruvius*, who informs us of this, tells us moreover (*h*), that *Mauſolus* caus'd his Houſe to be built in *Halicarnaſſus*, becauſe he found that City excellently well ſituated. *Ariſtotle* (*i*) informs us of another particular. *Mauſolus* having a mind to raiſe Money upon the City of *Mylaſſa*, repreſented to the Inhabitants, that ſuch a City as theirs, which was his native Place, and the Capital of his Kingdom, ſhould not be without Walls, eſpecially ſince the *Perſians* threatned it. Every one contributed according to his Ability: But when *Mauſolus* had got the Money into his Hands, he told them that it was not yet the Will of God that the City ſhould have Walls.

(*F*) *The Phyſician who cur'd* Mauſolus *demanded.*] This was *Dexippus*, a Native of the Iſle of *Cos*, and a Diſciple of *Hippocrates*. He was deſir'd by *Hecatommus* King of *Caria*, to cure *Mauſolus* and *Pexodarus*, who were extreamly ſick, and given over by the Phyſicians. He cur'd them, but upon this Condition, that the King, their Father ſhould deſiſt from the War againſt the Iſle of *Cos*. (*k*) Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἰάσατο τὸ παῦσαι πρὸς κῶας (*for it muſt be read, and not* κᾶρας) τὸν αὐτῶ ἐπιστάντα πόλεμον. *Eos ea conditione ſanavit, ut bellum quod tum adverſus Coos gerebat deponeret.* Was not this very generous? Could there be a better Subject? Was not his Heart fill'd with Love for his Country?

(*G*) *The Proofs of all this in the Remark.*] They are contain'd in this ſhort Paſſage of *Pliny* (*l*) *Secundum marmor in cruſtas neſcio an Cariæ fuerit inventum Antiquiſſima, quod equidem invenio, Halicarnaſſi Mauſoli* (*m*) *domus protinus ſic marmore cauta ut lateres tus parietibus. Vitruvius* explains this more exactly. *Halicarnaſſi*, ſays he (*n*), *Potentiſſimi regis Mauſoli domus cum Proconneſio marmore, omnia circumeunte ornata, parietes habet latere ſtructos, qui ad hoc tempus egregiam præſtant firmitatem, ita ſcobes operibus expoliti ut vitri perluciditatem æmulentur Lapis.*

(*A*) *In the Supplement to* Moreri.] The Author Tranſcribed from Mr *Chevreau*, without confronting him with *Pliny*. If he had compar'd him with his Original, he might have ſeen (*o*), *That the Front of the* Mauſoleum *was not a little broad than its*

(*c*) Halicarnaſſi Potentiſſimi regis Mauſoli domus... Parietes habet latere ſtructos qui ad hoc tempus egregiam præſtant firmitatem — neque is rex ab inopia hoc fecit, infinitis enim vectigalibus erat fartus, quod imperabat Cariæ toti. *Vitruv. de Archit. l.* 2. *c.* 8.

(*d*) Suidas in Ἡρόδοτος.

(*e*) Herod. *l.* 7. *c.* 99.

(*f*) Suidas, ibid.

(*g*) Strab. *l.* 14. *p.* 453.

(*h*) Vitru. de Architect. *l.* 2. *c.* 8.

(*i*) Ariſt. Oeconom. *l.* 2.

(*k*) Suidas in Ἀξιοπ.

(*l*) Plin. *l.* 36. *c.* 6. *p.* 287.

(*m*) Quæ etiam nunc durat, *ſays he*, B. 35. *c.* 14. *p.* 749

(*n*) Vitruvius, *l.* 2. *c.* 8. *p.* 29

(*o*) Chevr. *Hiſt. of the World*, tom. 4. *p.* 36. *Dutch edit.* 1687.

ment of *Moveri*. Afterwards the ſame Name was given to all coſtly Monuments *. Thus the ſtately Monument was call'd, which *Auguſtus* caus'd to be built † during his ſixth Conſulſhip, between the *Via Flaminia* and the *Tiber*, to be a Burial-place for him and his Family; which *Strabo* has deſcrib'd to us in his fifth Book. It is alſo the Name which *Florus* ** gives to the Monument of the Kings of *Egypt*, wherein *Cleopatra* ſhut her ſelf up and put herſelf to Death. The Latin Dictionaries of *Lloyd* and *Hofman* afford us many Authorities, which ſhow, that the word *Mauſoleum* was given by the *Romans* to thoſe Sepulchres whoſe Structures were Magnificent; but there are two Verſes (*B*) of *Martial*, which are not to be joyn'd with thoſe Authorities. The *French* Language has adopted this word in the ſame ſenſe with the *Romans*. We call the Monuments of the Kings of *France Mauſolées*. This word is alſo extended to the Repreſentations of a Monument, which make part of a Funeral Pomp, and laſt no longer than the time of the Funeral. Mr. *Furetiere* is in the right to call them *Mauſolées*; but he adds a thing (*C*) very uncertain.

MECCA, a City of *Arabia*, is not only famous as being the place of Mahomet's Nativity, and becauſe the Followers of this falſe Prophet go a Pilgrimage to it with great ſuperſtition, but alſo becauſe it had a Temple, which in the times of old Paganiſm, was no leſs reverenc'd among the *Arabians* (*A*), than that of *Delphos* among the *Grecians*. Thoſe who had the Government of this Temple, were very conſiderable at *Mecca* ††, and this ſhows the Error of thoſe who ſay, that *Mahomet* was of mean Extraction; for he was of a Family which had for a long time enjoy'd (*B*) the Government

* Μίμβος δὲ ἐλέω δή πέτρ μίγας ἢ ἐς καλασκευὴν πολυτελῆ τοῦ θανάτου χάριν, ὅτε καὶ ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλως δή τι αὐτὸν θαυμάζουσι τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπαγωνὴ μνήματα Μαυσωλεῖα ὀνομάζουσιν. Ea fuit operis magnitudo & ornamentorum magnificentia ut Romani valde illud mirantes magnificentiſſima quæque apud ſe monimenta Mauſolea appellarint. *Pauſanias*, *l.* 8. *p.* 205.

† Sueton. in Aug. *c.* 101.

** Lib. 4. *c.* 11.

†† *See the Remark B*

(*p*) Pliny, *l.* 36. *c.* 5.

(*q*) Harduin. in Plin. ib.

(*a*) Mart. Spect. init.

(*b*) Prideaux, *Life of* Mahom *p.* 100.

(1) Shareſtani. Goli notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 8 & 9. Makrizi. Pocockii Spec. hiſt. Arab. *p.* 110 & 111.

(*c*) Prideaux, ib. *p.* 97, 98.

(2) Abul Feda. Abul Faraghius. *p.* 102. Johannes Andreas, *c.* 6. Pococ. Spec. Hiſt. Arab *p.* 175.

extent from South to North, but on the contrary a little leſs. *Patet ab Auſtro*, ſays *Pliny* (*p*), *& Septentrione 63 pedes, brevius a frontibus.* Father *Hardouin* (*q*) ſays, that *Dalecampius* and *Leo Allatius* did not underſtand this Chapter.

(*B*) *Two Verſes of* Martial.] 'Tis an evident Miſtake to think, that theſe words,

Aere (*a*) *nec vacuo pendentia Mauſolea,*
Laudibus immodicis Cæres in aſtra ferant,

prove, that by *Mauſoleum*, the Latin Authors underſtand in general a Magnificent Monument; for *Martial* ſpeaks there only of the firſt Mauſoleum.

(*C*) *He adds a thing very uncertain.*] He ſays, that *the Relicks of a Saint were alſo call'd* Mauſoleum. I doubt of it; for altho' Mr. *du Cange* has inform'd us, that in the lateſt Latin Authors *Mauſoleum* ſignifies *ferctrum Sancti alicujus* and *Mauſoleare* a Burial, it does not follow, that *Mauſoleum* has been ſo us'd in *French*; however he ſhould have given ſome Proofs of it.

(*A*) *A Temple, which in the times of old Paganiſm, was no leſs reverenc'd among the* Arabians, *than that of* Delphos *among the* Grecians.] Dr. *Prideaux* furniſhes me with this Compariſon; his words are theſe: "(*b*) As to the Temple of *Mecca*, and what "it was before *Mahomet*, all that is true of it, is "this. It was an *Heathen Temple* in the ſame Vene"ration among the *Arabs*, that the *Temple* of *Del*"*phos* was among the *Greeks*, where all their "(1) *Tribes* for many Ages came once a Year to "perform their *Idolatrous Ceremonies* to their *Gods*, "till at length *Mahomet* having forc'd them to "change their *Idolatry* for another *Religion* alto"gether as bad, made this *Temple* alſo undergo "the ſame change, by appointing it thenceforth "to be the chief place for the performing of that "falſe Worſhip which he impos'd, in the ſame "manner as it was before of that which he abo"liſh'd; and ſo it hath continu'd ever ſince." (*c*) From the beginning of his Impoſture he order'd his Diſciples, "to pray (2) with their Faces to"wards *Jeruſalem*, which he had uſed to call the "*Holy City*, and the *City of the Prophets*, and in"tended to have order'd his *Pilgrimages* thither, "and to have made it the chief place where all his "Sect were to Worſhip. But now finding that his "Followers ſtill bore a ſuperſtitious Veneration "to the *Temple* of *Mecca*, which had for many A"ges before been the chief Place of the *Idolatrous* "*Worſhip* of the *Arabians*, and that it would be a "very prevalent Argument to reconcile his Fel"low-*Citizens* to him, if he ſtill preſerv'd their "*Temple* in its former Honour, he changed his "former Law to ſerve his preſent purpoſe, and "henceforth directed his *Diſciples* to pray with "their Faces towards (3) *Mecca*, and ordained the "*Temple* of that place, which from its ſquare Form "was call'd the *Caaba*, (that word ſignifying a "Square in the *Arabic Tongue*) to be the chief "place of Worſhip for all of his *Religion*, to which "they were ſtill to perform their *Pilgrimages* as "in former Times." The Author had been ſaying, "(*d*) It was uſual among the People of the "*Eaſt*, of all the *Religions*, to obſerve one parti"cular Point of the *Heavens*, towards which they "all turn'd their Faces when they Pray'd. The "*Jews*, in what part of the World ſoever they "were, pray'd with their Faces (4) towards *Jeru*"*ſalem*, becauſe there they had their *Temple*; the "*Arabians* (5) towards *Mecca*, becauſe there was "their *Caaba*, the chief Place of their *Heathen Wor*"*ſhip*." The Order which *Mahomet* gave his Followers to turn towards *Mecca* when they made their Prayers, was in the ſecond Year of the *Hegira*: And ſince that time, adds Dr. *Prideaux*, "have we (*e*) all thoſe Fabulous Stories invented, "which the *Impoſtor* tells us concerning that *Temple*. "As that it was (6) firſt built in *Heaven* to be the "place where the *Angels* were to Worſhip, and "that *Adam* Worſhipped at it while in *Paradiſe*; "but being caſt down from thence, (for they "place *Paradiſe* in *Heaven*) he pray'd *God*, that he "might have ſuch a *Temple* on *Earth*, towards "which he might Pray, and go round it in holy "Worſhip unto him in the ſame manner as the "*Angels* went round that which he had ſeen in "*Heaven*. That thereupon *God* ſent down the "ſemblance of this *Temple* in Curtains of Light, "and pitch'd it at *Mecca*, in the place where the "*Caaba* now ſtands, which is, ſay they, exactly "under the *Original*, which is in *Heaven*: That "there, after the Death of *Adam*, *Seth* built it "with Stones and Clay, and that all the People "of *God* there Worſhip'd till the *Flood*, by which "it being overthrown, *God* commanded *Abraham* "again to re-build it, having ſhown him the "Form of the Fabrick in a Viſion, and directed "him to the place by his viſible *Shechinah* reſid"ing on it: That accordingly (7) *Abraham* and "*Iſmael* re-built it in the place where it now "ſtands: And that *Iſmael* ever after, living at "*Mecca*, there Worſhip'd *God* with the true "Worſhip; but his Poſterity afterwards corrup"ted with *Idolatry*, and prophan'd this Holy *Tem*"*ple* with *Idols*, from which he was now to purge "it, and Conſecrate it a-new to the true Wor"ſhip of *God*, to which it was primitively in"tended. And he did not only thus retain the "*Temple of Mecca*, but alſo the *Pilgrimages* thi"ther, and all the abſurd Rites which were per"form'd at them in the Times of *Idolatry*. For "theſe being the things which long uſe had crea"ted a great Veneration for in the Minds of the "*Arabians*, by adopting them all into his *new* "*Religion*, he made it go down the eaſier with "them" Add to theſe laſt words what ſhall be ſaid in the Remark *F*

(*B*) *Which had for a long time enjoy'd the Government of that City and Temple.*] They go as high as one *Coſa*, as Dr. *Prideaux* informs us "(*f*) "*Coſa* (8) was very famous among the *Koraſhites*, "for gaining to his Family the keeping of the "Keys of the *Caaba*, and with them the Preſi"dency of that Temple, which is the ſame to "which

(*d*) Prideaux, ib. *p.* 96.

(4) Dan. *c.* 6. *v.* 10. Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, *c.* 10 Maimonides in Halachoth Tephillah. *c.* 1 *Sect.* 3.

(5) Abul Faraghius, *p.* 102.

(*e*) Prideaux, ubi ſupra, *p.* 98, &c. *See the Remark F. of the Article* Abraham.

(6) Shareſtani. Pocockii Spec. hiſt. Arab. *p.* 115. Sionita Appendix ad Geographiam Nubienſem, *c.* 7.

(7) Alc. *c* 2, 3 & 22. Al Jannabi in vita Abrahami Shareſtani. Zamach Sharidum ad *c.* 2. Alcorani Sharifol Edriſi Liber Agar. Johannes Andreas, *c.* 1.

(*f*) Prideaux ubi ſupra, *p.* 2.

(8) Abul Feda. Pocock. Spec. hiſt. Arab. *p.* 42, 50, & 342. Ecchelenſis Hiſt Arab. *p.*, 1. *c.* 3. Foralitium Fidei, *l.* 4. Conſid 1

(3) Alc. *c* 2. Johannes Andreas, *c.* 2. & 6.

ment of the City and Temple. People did *not* fail to tell Stories concerning the miraculous Protection which Heaven (*C*) afforded to that sacred Place. The Inhabitants of *Mecca* liv'd in very (*D*) gross Ignorance, and yet they rejected the Visions and Doctrines which *Mahomet* taught them as ridiculous*. He was an instance of the truth of this Maxim, *No Prophet in his own Country*. He could never make his own Country-men relish his pretended Revelations; and both because they thought them impertinent, and because they† suspected he had a mind to destroy the old Religion, and to aspire to Tyranny under the auspicious Title of a new Prophet, they oppos'd his Designs so vigorously, that he was forc'd to ** betake himself to flight; and it was only by way of Military Conquest, that he establish'd in that place his new Law. There was a sharp War between him and those of *Mecca* for six Years after he fled away: After which there follow'd a Treaty of Truce ‡, which was to last ten Years, but it continued only two; for in the 8th Year of the *Hegira* †† this Impostor accompanied with ten Thousand Men, march'd against *Mecca*, under pretence

(4) Zamachshari. Bidawi. Jalalani, &c.

(5) Prid. ubi supra, p. 38, 39.

(6) Alex. & Johannes Andreas, c. 2. Pocockii Spec. hist. Arab. 156. Disputatio Christiani, c. 12. Richardi Confutatio, c. 3.

(7) Al Bochari. Pocock. ib.

(8) Shareftani. Pocock. Spec. hist. Arab. p. 156.

(9) Shareftani. & Pocock. ib. hottin. Hist. Orient. l. 1. c. 1.

(10) Pocockii Spec. hist. Arab. p. 157.

(11) Elmacin. l. 1. c. 1. Bartholomæus Edeffenus.

(12) Pocockii Spec. hist. Hist. Arab. p. 157.

(13) Ebnol Athir Pocock. ib.

(*a*) Prid. ibid. *p.* 81.

(1) Abul Feda Al Masudi. Eccheiensis hist. Arab. *part.* 1. *c.* 10. Pocockii Spec. hist. Arab. *p.* 62.

(*b*) Prid. ib. *p.* 82, &c.

(2) Al Jannabi Ahmed Ebn Yusef. Eccheiensis Hist. Arab *part.* 2. *c.* 1. Pocockii Spec hist. Arab. *p.* 63.

(3) Abul Feda Al Jannabi Ahmed Ebn Yusef. Zamachshari Bidawi, & Jalalani in Comentar. ad *c.* 106. Alcorani. Pocockii Spec. Hist. Arab. *p.* 64. Gola notæ ad Alfraganum, *p.* 54.

(*g*) Prid. ib. *p.* 3.

(*b*) Ib. *p.* 4.

"which the *Mahometans* now make their Pilgrimage at *Mecca*, and was then as much celebrated for the *Heathen* Worship among the *Arabs*, as it hath since been for the *Mahometan*; and therefore the *Presidency* of it was a matter of great moment, as being a Station, which render'd him that was in it honourable through all *Arabia*. It was before in the Possession of *Abu-Gabshan*", who was so simple (*g*) as to part with it for a Bottle of Wine, in an unhappy moment when he was in a humour to drink. He had afterwards a mind to get off from such a prejudicial Bargain, and was supported by the People of his own Tribe; but both he and they were driven out of *Mecca* by *Cosa*. "(*b*) And "from that time the whole possession of *Mecca* remain'd to the *Koraishites*; and *Cosa* and his Posterity in a right Line down to *Mahomet*, had the *Presidency* of the *Temple*, and the chief *Government* of the *City* ever after." *Cosa* was Great Grandfather of *Mahomet*'s Grandfather.

(*C*) *Stories concerning the miraculous Protection, which Heaven afforded to that sacred place.*] "(*a*) About 50 Years before the time of *Mahomet*, there reign'd over the *Homerites* an ancient Nation of the *Arabs*, lying to the *South* of *Mecca*, a certain *King* call'd (1) *Du Nawas*, who having embrac'd the *Jewish Religion*, Persecuted the *Christian*, which had been planted there for at least three Hundred Years before, and did the utmost he was able to extirpate it out of his *Dominions*." .....(*b*) This Persecution drove several of the *Homerite Christians* to fly into *Æthiopia* for safety; where making their complaints to the King who was a *Christian*, of the cruel Persecution of *Du Nawas* against them, prevailed with him to send *Aryat* his Uncle, with an Army of seventy Thousand Men for their Relief; (2) who having overthrown *Du Nawas* in a Battle, pursu'd him so hard, that he forc'd him into the Sea, where he perish'd. Whereon the *Kingdom of the Homerites* fell into the Hands of the *Æthiopians*, and *Aryat* govern'd it twenty Years. After him succeeded *Abraham Al Ashram*, who having built a famous (3) Church at *Sanaa*, the chief City of the *Homerites*, abundance of *Arabians* resorted thither to the *Christian Worship*, so that the *Temple of Mecca* began to be neglected, and the *Heathen Worship* there hitherto perform'd with so great Concourse from all Parts of *Arabia*, to grow into decay: At which the Men of *Mecca* were exceedingly disturbed. For they had the chief of their support from the great resort of *Pilgrims*, who came thither every Year from all Parts of *Arabia* to Worship their *Heathen Deities*, and perform their annual solemn Ceremonies unto them. And therefore to express their Indignation against *this Church*, which so much threatned their main Interest with total ruin, some of them went to *Sanaa*, and getting privately into the Church, did in a most contumelious manner defile it all over with their *Excrements*. At which *Abraham* was so incensed, that to revenge the Affront, he swore the Destruction of the Temple of *Mecca*. And accordingly, to effect it, march'd thither with a great Army and Besieg'd the City. But not being able to compass his end, (I suppose for want of Provisions for his numerous Forces in so desart and barren a Country) he was forc'd to march back again with Loss and Disgrace; and because he had several *Elephants* in his Army, for that reason this was call'd, *The War of the* Elephant; and the *Æra* by which they reckoned from it, *The Æra of the* Elephant. And to this War is it, that the 105th Chapter of the *Alcoran*, call'd the *Chapter of the* Elephant, doth relate; where *Mahomet* tells us, How *the Lord treated them that came mounted upon Elephants to ruin the Temple of* Mecca, *and that he defeated their treacherous Design, and sent against them great Armies of Birds, which threw down Stones upon their Heads, and made them like Corn in the Field, which is destroy'd and trodden down by the Beasts*. Where (4) the *Commentators* of the *Alcoran* tell us, That to preserve the Temple of *Mecca* from the intended Destruction, *God* sent against the *Æthiopians* great Armies of Birds, each of which carried three Stones, the one in the Mouth, and the other two in the two Feet, which they threw down upon their Heads; and that these Stones, altho' not much bigger than Pease, were yet of that weight, that falling upon the Helmet, they pierced that and the Man thorough; and that on each of them was written the Name of him that was to be slain by it; and that the Army of the *Æthiopians* being thus destroy'd, the *Temple of Mecca* was sav'd.

(*D*) *The Inhabitants of* Mecca *liv'd in very gross Ignorance.*] (*c*) *Mahomet* was "an *Illiterate Barbarian* (5), that could neither Write nor Read "But this was not so much a defect in him, as "in the *Tribe* of which he was, with whom it was "the Custom as to all manner of Literature, to "continue (6) in the same ignorance with which "they came out of their Mothers Bellies, unto "their Lives end. And therefore at the time when "*Mahomet* first set up for a *Prophet*, there was "not any one Man of *Mecca* that could either "write or read, excepting only (7) *Winakab*, a "Kinsman of *Cadigha*'s, who having first turned "*Jew*, and afterwards *Christian*, had learned to "write *Arabick* in *Hebrew* Letters. And for this "Reason, the Men of *Mecca* were call'd (8) the "*Illiterate*, in opposition to the People of *Medina*, "who being the one half *Christians*, and the other "half *Jews*, were able both to write and read; "and therefore were call'd (9) the *People of the* "*Book*. And from them several of *Mahomet*'s Followers, after he came to *Medina*, learnt to read "and write also, which some of them had begun "to learn before of *Bassar* the *Gendian* (10), who "having sojourned at *Anbar*, a City of *Irak*, near "*Euphrates*, there learnt the Art; from whence "coming to *Mecca*, and marrying the Sister of *Abusophian*, he settled there, and from him the "Men of *Mecca* are first said to have received the "Art of Letters. Among the Followers of *Mahomet*, *Othman* was the greatest Proficient herein, which advanc'd him afterwards to (11) be "*Secretary* to the *Impostor*. But for want of Paper "at first, as in a place where there was never before any occasion for it, they were forc'd to "make use (12) of the *Spare bones* of Shoulders of "Mutton, and of Shoulders of Camels, to write "on; which was a device anciently made use of "by other *Tribes* of the *Arabs*, who had Letters, "but wanted *Traffick* to accommodate them with "more convenient Materials for this Purpose, "and therefore their Books, in which their *Poems*, "and other Matters they delighted in were written (13), were only so many of those *Spare bones* tied together upon a String.

tence that it had broken the Truce, and very eaſily ſubdued it (*E*). He baniſh'd out of it all Idolatry, and in a little while after applied himſelf to other Expeditions. He went * a Pilgrimage to *Mecca* in the 10th Year of the *Hegira*, he entred into it *on the great Day of that Solemnity. The People ran in crouds from all places of* Arabia *to ſee their new Maſter: He inſtructed them in his Law, after which he return'd to* Medina, and died there the next Year. He had the Policy, during the Truce he concluded with the Inhabitants of *Mecca*, to command his Followers to go a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*. This was a Solemnity which the *Arabians* (*F*) for many Ages had held in great Veneration: He believ'd therefore, that by preſerving it, he would diſpoſe them the ſooner to ſubmit to the new Yoak he had a mind to impoſe upon them. And doubtleſs this thing had a good effect to his purpoſe upon the Inhabitants of *Mecca*, ſince they reap'd a very great advantage from this Religious Cuſtom, and an advantage which they ſtood much in need of, for they have the moſt barren and fruitleſs Soil that is in the World. I have ſhown above † the lamentable State to which their City was reduc'd in the IVth Century of the *Hegira*. It had ſuffer'd in the firſt Century of the ſame *Æra* **, all that the fury of War uſually produces. Some Authors ſay ††, that *Solyman*

* Id ib.

† *In the Article* Abudhaher.

** *See the* Bibliotheque Orientale *of Mr.* d'Herbelot. p. 569.

†† Gabr. Sionita & Joan. Heſronita de nonnullis Oriental. urbibus, p. 19.

(*E*) *And very eaſily ſubdu'd it. He baniſh'd out of it all Idolatry.*] He march'd ſo diligently to this City with his Army, (*d*) that he was at the Gates of it "before (14) they were aware of his Deſign; and "therefore being totally unprovided in that Sur- "prize to put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence "againſt him, they found themſelves neceſſitated "to yield unto him. Whereupon *Abu Sophian* "taking with him *Al Abbas*, one of the Uncles of "the *Impoſtor* (who although of his *Religion*, had "it ſeems tarried ſtill at *Mecca*) went out unto "him, and by turning *Mahometan*, ſaved his life; "and the City, without any oppoſition, was ren- "dred to him at diſcretion. On his entry into "it having put to Death ſuch as had been moſt "violent againſt him, all the reſt, without any "further oppoſition ſubmitted unto him, and em- "brac'd his *Religion*. And therefore having thus made "himſelf abſolute Maſter of the Place, he immedi- "ately ſet himſelf to purge the *Cauba* of its *Idols*, "and Conſecrate that *Temple* a-new to his *Religion*, as "having reſolv'd ſtill to continue it in its priſtine "Honour, by making it the chief place of Wor- "ſhip for all his Sect. There (15) were a multi- "tude of *Idols* within the *Temple*, and as many "without, ſtanding round its *Area*, all which "*Mahomet* caus'd to be pull'd down and deſtroy'd, "and the place to be totally clear'd of them. The "chief among thoſe *Idols* were thoſe of *Abraham* "and *Iſmael* within the *Temple*, and that of *Hobal* "without. The reſt were of *Angels* and *Prophets*, "and others of their principal *Saints* departed, "whom they Worſhipped only as *Mediators*, in "the ſame manner as the *Romaniſts* now do their "*Saints*, and the *Images* which they erect unto "them. For the *Arabians* always held, that there "was (1) but only one *God, the Creator and Gover- "nor of all things*, whom they called *Allah Taal*, i. e. "the *Supreme God*, and *God of Gods*, and *Lord of* "*Lords*, whom they durſt never repreſent by any "*Image*. But being (as they held) ſo great and "high as not to be approached to by Men while "here on *Earth*, but through the mediation of "Advocates or Interceſſors interpoſing for them "unto him in *Heaven*; that *Angels* and *Holy Men* "*Beatified* might perform this Office for them, "was the reaſon that they ſet up their *Images*, "and built them *Temples*, and directed their Wor- "ſhip and Devotions unto them. And in this "did conſiſt the whole of the *Arabian Idolatry*, "which *Mahomet* now by deſtroying theſe *Idols*, "put a total end unto.

(*d*) Prid. ib. 126, *& ſeq.*

(14) Abul Farag. p. 103. Elmacin. l. 1. c. 1.

(15) Pocockii Spec. hiſt. Arab. p. 95, 96, 97, 98.

(1) Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 107, & 108.

(*a*) Prid. ubi ſupra, p. 117, &c.

(*F*) *To go a Pilgrimage to* Mecca. *This was a Solemnity which the* Arabians *held in great Veneration.*] "(*a*) This was an ancient Rite of the *Heathen A- "rabs*, it having been a conſtant Uſage among "them for many Ages foregoing to come once a "Year to the Temple of *Mecca*, there to Wor- "ſhip their *Heathen Deities*. The time of this their "*Pilgrimage* (2) was in the Month of *Dulhagah*; "and on the Tenth Day of that Month was their "great *Feſtival*, in which the chiefeſt Solemnities "of their *Pilgrimage* were perform'd, and there- "fore it was called *Ayd al Cabir*, i. e. *the great* "*Feſt*; and alſo, becauſe theſe Solemnities did "chiefly conſiſt in offering up Sacrifices and Ob- "lations, *Ayd al Korban*, that is, *The Feaſt of Obla- "tion*; and the whole Solemnity, *Al Hagah*, i. e. "*The Solemn Feſtival*, in the ſame ſenſe as the *He- "brew* Word *Chag*, from which it is derived, ſig- "nifieth any of the three *Solemn Feſtivals*, on which "the *Jews* were thrice every Year to appear be- "fore the *Lord* at the *Temple of Jeruſalem*. And "from hence the Month in which this *Feſtival* "falls, is called among them *Dulhagha*, which is "as much as to ſay, *The Month of the Solemn Feſti- "val*. And that all might have free liberty ſafely "to come to this *Feſtival* from all Parts of *Arabia*, "and again ſafely return, was the Reaſon that "not only this Month, but alſo the preceding "and following were held *Sacred* among them, "in which it was not lawful to uſe any Act of "Hoſtility againſt any Man, as I have afore "ſhewn. (*b*) And therefore this *Solemn Pilgrimage* "*to Mecca* having been a *Religious Uſage*, which all "the *Tribes of the Arabs* had long been devoted to, "and was had in great Veneration among them, "*Mahomet* thought not fit to ruffle them with any "Innovation in this Matter, but adopting it into "his *Religion*, retained it juſt in the ſame manner "as he found it practiſed among them with all "the ridiculous Rites appendant thereto, and ſo "it is obſerved even unto this Day by all of that "*Religion*, as one of the *Fundamental Duties* of it. "For the *Crafty Impoſtor* taught them concerning "it (as he did of all the other *Heathen Rites of the* "*Arabs*, which he found neceſſary to retain) that "it was a *Command* from *God* to *Abraham* and *If- "mael*, annually to obſerve this *Pilgrimage* to "*Mecca*; and that it was given unto them on their "rebuilding the *Cauba*; and that at firſt it was "only uſed to the Honour of *God* in the coming of "all the *Arabs* thither once every Year, there to "Worſhip together before him in one Holy Aſ- "ſembly, in the ſame manner as the *Jews* were "after commanded thrice every Year to Worſhip "before him in their three Solemn Feſtivals at "*Jeruſalem*: But that in proceſs of time it be- "came perverted to *Idolatry*, from which he was "now commanded again to reſtore it to its pri- "mitive Uſe. And in the making of this Eſta- "bliſhment, he had no ſmall reſpect to his *Native* "*City*, that he might preſerve to it the ſame be- "nefit of this *Pilgrimage*, which it had before ſo "long enjoy'd. And in thus providing for the "Intereſt of that People in the very *Religion* which "he was a framing, he thought he might the eaſier "prevail to draw them over unto it. And in this "he was not miſtaken. For had he totally abo- "liſh'd this *Pilgrimage*, it being the greateſt Ho- "nour and Benefit which that place enjoy'd, and "by which indeed it did moſtly ſubſiſt; their In- "tereſt would have engaged them to that vigo- "rous Oppoſition againſt him, that in all like- "lihood he would never have become Maſter of "that *City*, and for want thereof have miſcarried "in the whole Deſign.

(2) Shaheſtani. Makrizi. Gobii notæ ad Alfraganum p. 8. & 9. Pocockii Spec. hiſt. Arab. p. 177.

(*b*) *See the laſt Paragraph of this Remark.*

This Reflexion is very judicious; there is nothing that does more prejudice Men againſt Innovations in Matters of Religion, than when they ſee that the change of Worſhip would put a ſtop to their Trade, and be *Lucrum ceſſans, & damnum emergens*. I know very well, that Superſtition alone is ſufficient to make a City obſtinate in retaining the Worſhip of its Idols: The hope of their Protection is ſometimes the only Advantage that is reap'd from them. The Worſhip of Idols is not always attended with Profit; the Artificers and Merchants do not always get by it, and it does not always occaſion a great Concourſe of Strangers

man erected there an University about the Year 949 of the *Hegira*, and that the College which he built there, and the Revenue wherewith he endow'd it, were worthy of his Magnificence. Authors do not agree as to the ſituation of *Mecca*. *Morery's* Dictionary places it a Days Journey from the Red-Sea. Mr. *Baudrand* makes it forty *Arabick* Miles diſtant from it; and Mr. *d'Herbelot* three Days Journey. Some * place it almoſt under the Line, and others † in 21 deg. and 40 min. of North Lat. The uſe of Arms ** is forbidden within its Territory, which is 6 Miles to the Eaſt, 12 to the North, 18 to the Weſt, and 24 to the South: But the Robbers laugh at this Prohibition, and rob where they can, which obliges Travellers and Pilgrims frequently to carry Arms in thoſe Parts, to ſecure themſelves from the Inſults of thoſe Robbers. An Author whom I have already nam'd affirms ††, that *Mecca* is ſituated near the River *Betius*, which is now call'd *Chaibar*. Yet a few Lines after he ſays, that all the Water of that Town was in the Well (*G*) of *Zemzem*, and in the Ciſterus where the Rain was kept; but that in the laſt Century it was convey'd from ‡* Mount *Arafat* by means of an Aqueduct, which coſt a great deal of Money. See the Remark *G*. I ſhall ſay ſomething of the Prince to whom (*H*) *Mecca* belongs.

* Id. ib. p. 17.

† *See Mr.* d'Herbelot. ubi ſupra.

** Gabr. Sionita & Jo. Heſron. ib. p. 20.

†† Baudrand, p. 696.

‡* Id. ib. *He cites* Gollius (*it ſhould be* Golius) not. in Alfraganum.

MEY

Strangers and devout Travellers, who leave a great deal of Money behind them. Without this kind of aſſiſtance, the Zeal of a People for their ancient Gods may inſpire them ſtrongly to oppoſe the extirpation of Idolatry; but it is quite another thing, when the publick Worſhip is a Source of Gain to private Perſons. Whence came that popular Commotion, which made ſo many cry out (when St. *Paul* was Preaching) *Great is the Diana of the Epheſians?* Was it not from the Remonſtrance of one (*c*) *Demetrius, a Silver-Smith who made Silver-Shrines for* Diana, *which brought no ſmall gain to the Crafts-men?* He aſſembled them and told them, *Sirs, ye know that by this Craft we have our Wealth*; and gave them to underſtand, that it was not only for their Profit, but for the Advantage of the whole City of *Epheſus*, to ſuffer no longer one *Paul, who perſuaded and turned away many People, ſaying, they be no Gods which are made with Hands.* From hence we may conclude, that the Inhabitants of *Epheſus* would have been more tractable with reſpect to the Goſpel, if their great *Diana* could have been taken away, without doing any Prejudice to their Gain, or to the Veneration which all the World had for their Temple. They would in ſuch a caſe have been infinitely more teachable by the Lectures of St. *Paul* againſt Idols. We muſt confeſs therefore that *Mahomet* found out a notable Device to draw in the Inhabitants of *Mecca*. He preſerv'd the Concourſe of Pilgrims, which was ſo profitable and glorious to them; he left their Temple in its ancient Privileges; he took care to indemniſie them: This was an excellent Remedy againſt the Veneration which the ruin of their ancient Idolatry might occaſion.

(*c*) Acts *of the Apoſtles, c.* 19. *v.* 24.

Note, That Dr. *Prideaux* in the place where he obſerves, that the *Arabians* had no leave to do any act of Hoſtility, during the Month of their great Feſtival, nor in the Month *preceding or next following*, adds this (*d*) *as I have afore ſhown*. I think he means that he has ſpoken of this, when in the Pages 85, and 86, he mentions the War, "in "which *Mahomet* (3) firſt entred the School of "War under his Uncle *Abu Taleb*, being then "twenty Years old. It was called the *Impious "War*, becauſe it proceeded to that heat and fury, "that they carried it on even in thoſe Months, "when it was reckon'd impious among them to "wage War. For it was (4) an ancient Conſti"tution through all *Arabia*, to hold four Months "of the Year ſacred, in which all War was to "ceaſe: And theſe were the Months of *Mokar"ram, Rajeb, Dulkaada*, and *Dulhagha*; the firſt, "the Seventh, the Eleventh, and the Twelfth of "the Year, in which it was obſerved with the "greateſt Religion among all their *Tribes*, to uſe "no Act of *Hoſtility* againſt each other, but with "how great Fury ſoever one *Tribe* might be en"gaged againſt another (as was uſual among "them,) as ſoon as any of thoſe Sacred Months "began, they all immediately deſiſted, and tak"ing off the Heads from their Spears, and lay"ing aſide all other Weapons of War, had inter"courſe, and intermingled together, as if there "had been perfect Peace and Friendſhip between "them, without any fear of each other; ſo that "if a Man ſhould meet on thoſe Months him that "had ſlain his Father, or his Brother, he durſt "not meddle with him, how violent ſoever his "Hatred or Revenge might prompt him to it."

(*d*) *See above Letter b.*

(3) Al Kodai. Al Kamus, &c. Pocockii Spec. hiſt. Arab p. 174 in Margine.

(4) Al Jauhari. Al Shareſtani Al Kamus Cazwini. Golius in notis ad Alfraganum. p. 4, 5, & 9. Pocockii Spec. hiſt. Arab. p. 174, &c. 176.

This Paſſage and the other don't agree together, one mentions four Months which do not immediately ſucceed one another; the other mentions three Months that follow one another.

(*G*) *The Well of* Zemzem.] Others call it *Zamzam*, or *Zauzani*, as I have ſhown above. This Well is one of the moſt ſacred Curioſities of *Mecca*. It is ſaid to be a Spring of Water which was produc'd under the Feet of *Iſhmael*, when he was dying with Thirſt. The Pilgrims are oblig'd to make uſe of this Water to waſh their Body and Head three times: They muſt alſo drink of it; and, if they can, muſt carry ſome of it away with them. (*c*) *Poſtquam ſacellum illud, atque lapidem prædictam inviſerunt, ſe ad aliud intra templum ſatis amplum ſacellum conferunt, ubi puteus eſt dictus Zam Zam; & eſt inquit* Jacub Ben Sidi Aali, *fons ſeu ſcatebra quæ fluxit ſub pedibus Iſmaël dum gemeret ſitibundus, quam Hagar primo videns filio ait lingua Coptitica Zam, Zam, hoc eſt, ſiſte, ſiſte gradum. Ex hoc puteo multi ſunt qui aquam exhauriunt, atque dant peregrinis quibus præceptum eſt corpus & caput eadem aqua terſe lavare, atque ex eadem bibere, ſecumque ſi poſſint deferre.* " (*d*) *Mahomet*, to render the Town of *Mecca*, the " place where he was born, more conſiderable, " to raiſe the Devotion of the People, and invite " thither a greater multitude of Pilgrims, be" ſtowed great Encomiums upon the Waters of " this Well. For there is a Tradition of him re" ceiv'd by the *Kaliſe Omar*, which ſays, that the " Water of the Well of *Zemzem* ſerves for a Cure, " and gives Health to thoſe that drink of it; but " that thoſe who drink plentifully of it, and " quench their Thirſt with it, obtain the Par" don of all their Sins. And it is reported of " *Abdallah*, ſirnamed *Al Hafidh*, becauſe he knew " by heart a great many Traditions, that being " ask'd a Queſtion about his Memory, he anſwer" ed, that ever ſince he had drank great draughts of " the Water of *Zemzem* to ſtrengthen it, he had for" got nothing that he had learn'd." Mr. *d'Herbelot* from whom I have theſe words, has collected many other Particulars concerning this Well. Conſult his *Bibliotheque Orientale* at the word *Zemzem*. I ſhall take from it only this: " (*e*) The Town of " *Mecca* continued a long time without any other " Water than that of the Well of *Zemzem*, till the " great concourſe of Caravans oblig'd the Kalifs " to build an Aqueduct, which affords now a " ſufficient quantity of it." This ſuppoſes that the Aqueduct is more ancient than Mr (*f*) *Baudrand* affirms upon the Credit of *Golius*.

(*c*) Gabr. Sionita & Jo. Heſronita de Oriental. urbibus, p. 19.

(*d*) d'Herbelot Biblioth Orient. p. 928. col 2.

(*e*) Id ib

(*f*) *See the Text of the Article towards the end.*

(*H*) *Something of the Prince to whom* Mecca *belongs.*] He is deſcended from *Haſcem*, Great Grandfather of *Mahomet*, and ſtyles himſelf the Head of the *Haſcemeans*. He alſo gives himſelf the Title of *Scherif* or *Emir*. He formerly held of the *Soudan*, or *Egypt*, and afterwards of the *Turkiſh* Sultans, but he always preſerv'd his own Dominion and his Power (*g*) *Et quanquam olim Ægyptii Sultanorum, ac modo Othmannorum* (*h*) *pareat imperio, nunquam tamen ſuo dominio auctoritateque fuit ſpoliatus.* The Grand Signor is ſo far from pretending to be the Sovereign of *Mecca* and *Medina*, that he calls himſelf their humble Servant. The *Emir* or *Scherif* of *Mecca* is commonly poor; although he has large Incomes, and receives many Preſents from Princes and Pilgrims; but he has always ſome Quarrels with his Brothers who aſpire to Dominion, and with the *Arabian Beduins*. He receives from the Grand Signor

(*g*) *Appendix Geogr. Nubienſis ubi infra.*

(*h*) *i. e. as appears by the whole ſequel of the Diſcourſe*, that he is under the Protection of the great Turk

MEY (JOHN DE) a Doctor of Phyſick, Profeſſor of Divinity, and Miniſter at *Middleburg* in the XVIIth Century, wrote many * Books in *Dutch*. He wrote alſo a Latin Book † entituled *Sacra Phyſiologia*, wherein he explains the Paſſages of Scripture which concern Phyſical Matters. There are ſome who have ſpoke of that Treatiſe (*Z*) with a great deal of Contempt. This Author died the 8th ot *April* 1678, being aged fifty nine Years, as *Witten* obſerves in the 116th Page of the ſecond Part of his *Diarium Biographicam*.

* *They are all collected in one Volume in Folio, Printed at* Middleburg *in* 1681.

† *Printed at* Middleburg *in* 1661, *and not at* Venice *in* 1602, *as* Konig *ſays.*

MEYNIER (HONORATUS DE) the Author of a Book entit'led, *Les demandes curieuſes & les reſponſes libres*, which he Publiſh'd at *Paris* in 1635. He had born Arms thirty ſix Years ‡. This Book runs upon Political and Military Subjects, and contains ſome Reaſons and Examples which are not exquiſite, but however they are judicious. I have cited it ſometimes.

‡ *See his Advertiſement to the French Nobility.*

MELAMPUS, a great Sooth-ſayer among the ancient *Pagans*, was the Son (*A*) of *Amythaon* and *Aglaia*. He had a Brother call'd *Bias*, for whom he expreſs'd a great Affection upon two occaſions; firſt in procuring him a Wife, in the ſecond place in procuring him a Crown. *Neleus* ℭ who reign'd at *Pylus* in *Peloponneſus*, requir'd of thoſe who would Marry his Daughter, that they ſhould bring to him the fine Oxen of *Iphiclus*, which were fed in *Theſſaly*. *Melampus* to put his Brother in a capacity of making this Preſent to *Neleus*, undertook to carry off the Oxen. In this deſign he did not ſucceed, for thoſe who kept them made him Priſoner; but becauſe he Propheſied in Priſon, about ſuch things as *Iphiclus* deſir'd an explication of, he obtain'd as a Reward the Oxen he had a mind to ℽ. Thus he was the cauſe (*B*) of the Marriage of his Brother, and procur'd to him a Kingdom in the following manner. Being deſir'd to cure the Women of *Argos* of a furious Diſeaſe, he would not do it unleſs they would promiſe to give him half

ℭ Pauſanias, l. 4. ſub. fin.

ℽ Id. ib.

Signor a third part of the Revenues of *Egypt*, on condition that he ſhall protect the Pilgrims of *Mecca*, and ſecure them from the Inſults and Robberies of the *Arabians*. (*i*) This I have taken from the *Appendix* to the *Geographia Nubienſis*. Mr. *d'Herbelot* affirms (*k*), "That the moſt ancient Original "of the *Emirs* or *Scerifs* of *Mecca*, as they are "now call'd, is that which is related by *Ben* "*Schoulnah*, under the Reign of the *Aioubites*, or "Princes of the Poſterity of *Saladin*, who reign'd "in *Jemen* in *Arabia*. For he writes, that at that "time, there was a Prince at *Mecca* and another "at *Medina*, who had the Title of *Emir*, and that "in the Year 633 of the *Hegira*, one *Cotadah*, the "Son of *Edru*, of the Race of *Ali*, of the Branch "of *Haſſan*, was *Emir* of *Mecca*." I remember, that during the laſt War (*l*), the News-writers of the Allies, publiſh'd from time to time, that the Affairs of the *Turks* went very ill in *Aſia*, and that *Mecca* had been taken from them. The News-Writers of *Paris* were vex'd at it, and declar'd in the firſt place, that it was not true, and in the ſecond, that the Conſequence drawn from it was not good, ſince *Mecca* does not belong to the *Turk*, and the Port gets no Revenue from it, but rather ſends thither Preſents and Penſions.

(*i*) Gabr. Sionita & Jo. Heſronita ubi ſupra ſive in appendice geograph. Nubienſis, p. 21.

(*k*) d'Herbelot ubi ſupra, p. 569. col. 2.

(*l*) *I write this in* October 1700.

(*Z*) *Who have ſpoke of that Treatiſe with a great deal of Contempt.*] *Valentin Henry Voglerus* accuſes him of collecting without Judgment the Opinions of other Authors, and of being too fond of Novelty. Another accuſes him of being a Plagiary. Here follows the Proof: (*n*) *Induſtriam ſuam non approbavit Valentino Henrico Voglero, qui in ſuo commentario poſthumo de eodem argumento cenſet* Malum non tam ſuam ſcientiam declaraſſe, quam alienas ſententias excripſiſſe, idque nullo fere delectu novitate præcipue opinionum pellectum. *Quod judicium inclementius aliquanto videri poterat, cum in ejuſmodi ſcriptoribus aliter fieri vix oportebat, quibus non tam induſtriæ gloria quam legentis utilitas ſpectatur, niſi id reprehenſione dignum eſt quod Malus ex eo bonorum genere eſſe videtur, qui ſupprimendis autorum nominibus unde ſua exſcripſerunt, neſcio quam ingenii laudem affectant.*

(*n*) Godofredus Vockerodt, in præfat. diſputationis de fœtura artificioſa Jacobi. *This Book was Printed at* Jena *in* 1689, *in* 4°.

(*A*) *The Son of* Amythaon *and* Aglaia.] See in the Remark *A* of the Article *Amphiaraus*, the Genealogy of *Amythaon*, which 'tis needleſs here to repeat. I ſhall only ſay, that *Melampus*'s Mother, call'd *Aglaia* by *Diodorus* (*o*) *Siculus* is call'd *Eidomene* (*p*) in *Apollodorus*, who adds, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Phorcus* (*q*) the Son of *Cretheus*.

(*o*) Diodor. Siculus, l. 4. c. 70. p. 258.

(*p*) Apollod. l. 1. p. 45.

(*q*) Id. ib. p. 51.

(*B*) *Thus he was the cauſe of the Marriage of his Brother.*] The Narrative of *Pauſanias* which I have follow'd, does not agree with that of *Apollodorus* which I ſhall now abridge. *Bias* deſir'd in Marriage *Pero* the Daughter of *Neleus*, who was at the ſame time Courted by many others. *Neleus* told them, that he would not Marry her to any Man but to him that ſhould bring him the Oxen of *Phylacus*, which were kept by a Dog who no Man or Beaſt durſt approach. *Bias* implor'd the aſſiſtance of *Melampus*, who promis'd to bring him thoſe Oxen, after he had continu'd a Year in Priſon. He was actually ſeiz'd when he endeavour'd to commit this Robbery; he was loaded with Chains and made a cloſe Priſoner. He had already been near a Year in this Captivity, when he heard the noiſe of Worms eating the Beam of the Roof of the Houſe. He ask'd them how much was eaten of it; they anſwer'd, there remain'd but a very little. Thereupon he deſir'd to be tranſported to another place, which was done, and in a little while after the Houſe fell. *Phylachus* admir'd this, and knowing that *Melampus* was a very good Diviner, he ſet him at liberty, and demanded of him after what manner his Son *Iphiclus* might have Children: The Prophet promiſed him every thing that depended on his knowledge, provided he would grant him the Oxen. He us'd ſome Ceremonies to call forth the Birds; a Vultur preſented it ſelf, which inform'd him, that when *Phylachus* gelded ſome Rams, he had left near *Iphiclus* the bloody Knife; and that *Iphiclus* being ſeiz'd with fear, fled away, and fix'd the Knife in a Tree; that he muſt take it away from thence, and ſcrape off the ruſt of it, and make *Iphiclus* drink it ten Days ſucceſſively in Wine. *Melampus* did as the Vultur ſignified to him; *Iphiclus* became the Father of *Podarces*, and the Diviner brought to *Pylus* the Oxen which were to be given to *Neleus*, after which he caus'd the Marriage to be celebrated between *Bias* and *Pero*, and ſtay'd at *Meſſena* (*a*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Apollodorus, l. 1. p. 47. *See alſo* Homer. Odyſſ. l. 15. p. m. 462.

Let us obſerve two things from *Pauſanias*; one is, that in thoſe Ages (*b*) the greateſt care of rich People, was to have abundance of Oxen and Horſes. That this was the chief deſire of that Time, he proves, 1. By the Conditions which *Neleus* ſtipulated when he would Marry his Daughter. 2. By the Order which *Euryſtheus* gave to *Hercules* to bring him the Oxen of *Spain*. 3. By the Conditions of the Combat between *Eryx* and *Hercules*. The firſt, if he was overcome was to loſe his Kingdom, and if he did overcome he was to gain the Oxen which *Hercules* had carried away from *Erythia*. 4. By the preſent of a Hundred Oxen, which *Iphidamas* the Son of *Antenor* made to his Father-in-Law when he Married. The ſecond Obſervation from *Pauſanias* is this, that thoſe who Married their Daughters, expected a Preſent from their Sons-in-Law (*c*). This brings to my Mind how *Saul* (*d*) oblig'd *David* to bring him a hundred Foreſkins of the *Philiſtines*. But I muſt add, that *Pauſanias* has omitted ſomething, which hinders us from judging exactly in this Affair. By his Narrative it would ſeem, that it was the deſire of having fine Oxen, which was a ſign of Pompous Riches at that time, that mov'd *Neleus* to require of the Lovers of *Pero*, that they ſhould bring him the Oxen of *Iphiclus*. But the

(*b*) Ἐσπουδάκεσαν δὲ ἄρα οἱ τότε πλούτου τινὰ συλλέξεσθαι τοιοῦτον ἵππων καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας. Fuit hoc præcipuum illis temporibus divitiarum ſtudium Juculentâ habere equorum & boum pecuaria. *Pauſan. l. 4. ſub. fin.*

(*c*) Ἔστι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δυγατρὶ ὅτι τὸς μνωμένους. A filiæ proci ſponſalitium munus depoſcebat. *Id. ibid.*

(*d*) 1ª Sam. 18. 25.

half the Kingdom of *Argos*. This Condition at first was deny'd him; but when the Diſeaſe increas'd, they return'd to him and promis'd him what he demanded: But not being ſatisfied with this, he would have them alſo reſign up to his Brother the third part of the Kingdom, to which they conſented. This Adventure (C) is differently related. He was the firſt * who taught the Greeks the Ceremonies of the Worſhip of *Bacchus*. He was not the Inventer of them, if we believe *Herodotus*, but he acquir'd the know-

* Herodot l. 2. c. 49.

the truth is, it was another Paſſion which inſpir'd him to act after this manner. Part of the Eſtate of *Tyro* his Mother had been uſurp'd (*e*) by *Iphiclus*; he had a mind to have the loſs repair'd, and to be reveng'd upon the Uſurper. And therefore he deſir'd, that he who ſhould marry his Daughter ſhould do this exploit. There is ſcarce any fault of omiſſion, but makes a History deceitful: And this Fault is very common in moſt of the Relations of the ancient Mythology. The only way to make them good, is to joyn together the ſeveral pieces which are diſpers'd in divers Authors: Which *Muretus* hath done as to the Expedition of *Melampus*, and by this means has given us a compleat relation of it. Let us fetch from him thoſe Circumſtances which *Pauſanias* and *Apollodorus* have omitted.

(*e*) *See* Muretus in Propertium eleg. 3. l. 2.

Melampus was ſerv'd in Priſon by a very good Man Married to a bad Wife: From the former he receiv'd a thouſand Civilities, and from the latter many Indignities. The Worms which corroded the Beam, having diſcover'd that the Houſe would quickly fall, he pretended to be very ſick, and deſir'd to be tranſported elſewhere with his Bed. The Husband went before, the Wife follow'd after; and as ſoon as his Bed was got out of Doors, the whole Houſe fell down and cruſh'd the Wife. The Huſband having learn'd of *Melampus* the whole ſecret of this Affair, acquainted *Phylachus* with it, who inform'd *Iphiclus*. The latter knowing the Skill and Deſign of *Melampus*, was very kind to him: You ſhall have my Oxen, ſaid he to him, provided you will enable me to get Children. The Diviner gave him hopes; he ſacrific'd, he obſerv'd from what Quarter the Preſages came: All ſorts of Birds came thither except the Vultur; but none of them could tell him what he muſt do to enable *Iphiclus* to get his Wife with Child. At laſt a Vultur preſented himſelf, and did more than all the reſt: He ſhow'd the Cauſe of the Barrenneſs, and then the Remedy. *Phylachus*, ſays he, being one Day angry with his Son, purſu'd him with Sword in Hand, and not being able to overtake him, he fix'd his Sword in a Pear-Tree, and there it continues from that time wrapt up in the Bark. You will find it in ſuch a place, take it from thence, and make *Iphiclus* drink the ruſt of it ten Days together in Wine. The fear wherewith he was ſeiz'd that Day, is the cauſe of his impotency; you may cure it by the Receipt which I have preſcrib'd (*f*).

(*f*) *Taken from* Muretus ubi ſupra.

This Narrative may ſerve as a Commentary upon ſome Verſes of *Propertius*, which deſerve a little cenſure, for a fault which *Muretus* did not perceive. *Propertius* having ſaid, that Love is a Paſſion which conſtrains young Men to endure all things, proves it by the impriſonment of *Melampus*.

PROPERTIUS criticiz'd.

Ac (*g*) *veluti primo taurus detractat aratra,*
Mox venit aſſueto mollis ad arva jugo.
Sic primo juvenes trepidant in amore ferores,
Deinde domiti poſt hæc æqua, & iniqua ferunt:
Thepia perpeſſus vates eſt vincla Melampus
Cognitus Iphicli ſubripuiſſe boves:
Quem non lucra, magis Pero formoſa coegit,
Mox Amythaonia nupta futura domo.

(*g*) Propert. Eleg. 3. l. 2.

This Example is impertinently alledg'd; for it was not the Love of a Maid, but Brotherly Kindneſs which induc'd *Melampus* to expoſe himſelf to the Diſgrace of a Priſon. *Theocritus* ſerv'd as a Guide to lead *Propertius* aſtray. He has plac'd *Melampus* alſo among the Examples of the Power of Love.

Τὰν (ὁ ἀγέλαν χ' ὡ μάντις ἀπ' Ὄθρυος ἄγε Μελάμπους
Ἐς πύλον· ἁ δ' ἐμάνη Βίαντος ἐν ἀγκοίνοισιν ἐκλίνθη
Μάτηρ ἁ καλὰ Μελάμπος ἀγήνορα πατρὸς ἀπ' Ὀθρυος ὄρευς
Ἐς Πύλον. Ἐν ἀμφιέλιξι δὲ Βίαντος μαῦτο
Πολυκάρυμα Πηρὼ μάτηρ σαφρονίοντος Ἀλφεσιβοίας.

(*h*) Theocrit. eidyll. 3. ſub fin. p. m. 25.

Inde (*h*) *boves actos Melampus egregium ab Othry monte*
In Pylum. In amplexu vero Bianiris jacuit
Pulcherrima Pero mater ſapientis Alpheſiboæ.

The deſire of ſhewing one's Learning hath extorted many impertinent things from the ancient Poets. *Ronſard* and many others in the XVIth Century have ſplit upon this Rock.

(C) *This Adventure is differently related.* I have follow'd the Relation of *Herodotus*, but here follows another. *Prætus* having diſputed the Kingdom of *Argos* with *Acriſius* his Brother, was driven out of the Country, and could not ſettle again but at *Tirynthus*. He had three Daughters who grew Mad, as a Puniſhment for an Act of (*a*) Indevotion. The Fury that ſeiz'd them was ſo violent, that they ran through the Fields with all (*b*) ſorts of Indecency. *Melampus* who underſtood not only the Art of Divining, but alſo Phyſick, promis'd to cure them, provided their Father would give him the third part of his Kingdom. *Prætus* finding that the cure of his Daughters would coſt him too much, would not purchaſe it at this price. They grew worſe and worſe, and the Diſtemper became contagious: The other Women of *Argos* were ſo tormented with it, that they kill'd their Children, and went into the Deſarts. The Evil encreas'd every Day, ſo that *Prætus* was willing to pay *Melampus* for the Medicine according to his own demand: But the price of it was enhanc'd, and he demanded another third of the Kingdom for his Brother. This was granted him; for it was fear'd leſt a refuſal ſhould engage him to demand a greater Recompence afterwards. He made choice of the moſt vigorous young Men to run with loud out-cries after thoſe poor ſick Women, who were purſu'd as far as *Sicyon*. The Eldeſt of the Daughters of *Prætus* died by the way, the two others were purged; *Melampus* Married one and *Bias* the other. Some time after there was born to *Prætus* a Son, who was call'd *Megapenthes* (*a*). We may obſerve, that 'tis ſaid, that *Melampus*, beſides part of the Kingdom (*b*), demanded in Marriage one of the three Daughters that he ſhould cure.

(*a*) *Taken from* Apollodorus, l. 2. p. 85, *& ſeq.*

(*b*) Servius in Virgil. Eclog 6. v. 48.

Another Relation of it is this. Under the Reign of *Anaxagoras*, the Son of *Argeus*, the Son of *Megapenthes*, the Women were ſeiz'd with ſuch a malignant Fury, that they ran up and down the Streets, and over the Fields. *Melampus* having cur'd them, found *Anaxagoras* ſo thankful, that he receiv'd from him two thirds of his Kingdom; that is, this Prince divided it equally with him and *Bias*. Since that time the Kingdom of *Argos* was poſſeſſed by three Kings, till the Poſterity of *Melampus* and *Bias* fail'd, of the former in the ſixth Generation, and of the latter in the fourth. The Poſterity of *Anaxagoras* at laſt reunited all the three parts of the Kingdom, and continu'd till *Cylarabes*, who died without Children. After which *Oreſtes* the Son of *Agamemnon*, invaded *Argos* (*c*). Thus you ſee there is a great difference in Chronology between *Pauſanias* and *Apollodorus*.

(*c*) *Taken from* Pauſanias, l. 2. p. 60.

Some think that the Diſeaſe of theſe Women, was nothing elſe but the Uterine Fury; which is the Opinion of Mr. *Menjot* (*d*). Their Fancy was ſo diſordered, that they thought they were Cows.

(*d*) Antonius Menjotius diſſert. patholog. parte 1. p. 122.

Prætidis (*e*) *implerunt falſis mugitibus agros*
At non tam turpes pendum tamen ulla ſecuta eſt
Concubitus: quamvis collo timuiſſe securim,
Et ſæpe in levi quæſiſſet cornua fronte.

(*e*) Virgil Eclog 6. v. 48.

However it be, the Ancients relate, that Religious Remedies were uſed to cure the Malady. *Pauſanias* ſays, that the Daughters of *Prætus* hid themſelves in a Cave, and that *Melampus* drew them out by virtue of ſome myſterious Ceremonies, and Expiations, and brought them to a Village call'd *Luſi*, where he cur'd them in the Temple of *Diana* (*f*). Ἃς ὁ Μελάμπους τελεταῖς τε ἀποῤῥήτοις καὶ καθαρμοῖς καὶ ἀγυιὰς χωρὶς ἀνέκαθεν Λυσοῦς —— καὶ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν. Quas Melampus arcanis quibuſdam ſacris & expiationibus eductas in viam quæ Luſos nuncupant —— & ab inſania liberavit in Dianæ templo. We ſhall ſee hereafter (*g*) that he made 'em alſo take ſome Remedies.

(*f*) Pauſanias, l. 8. p. 252, 253.

(*g*) *See the Remark* G.

D) The

knowledge of them by the Converſation (*D*) he had with the *Phœnicians*. 'Tis pretended that he underſtood (*E*) the Language of Birds, and learned of them what was to come to paſs. Some ſay alſo, that the Worms which eat Wood, made anſwer to his Queſtions. And yet, thoſe who built him a Temple * after his Death, and who offer'd him Sacrifices, and celebrated his Feſtival every Year, did not attribute to him any kind of Divination †. I could eaſily refute the Argument that was made (*F*) uſe of to prove, that he certainly foretold future things. If the Poets had not made large Excurſions upon what concerns him, they would only have told us, that he was (*G*) an able Phyſician, and if *Statius* ſpoke Hiſtorically, we ought to

* *He was in a City call'd* Ægiſthena *in the Country of* Megara. *Pauſan. l.* 1 *ſub fin.*

† Καὶ θύουσι τῷ Μελάμποδι καὶ ἀγῶνα πᾶν ἔτος ἐπιτελοῦσιν· οὐ μὴν μαντεύεσθαί γε ὅτι δὴ ὀνειδίζουσιν αὐτὸν ἄλλοι τε ἄλλα λέγουσι. Melampodi ſacrum faciunt & feſtum diem quotannis celebrant: futura vero prædicendi neque è ſomniis neque ex ulla alia ratione ei ſcientiam tribuunt. *Id. ibid*

(*h*) Herodot, l 2. c. 49.

(*i*) Barthius in Statium tom. 2. p. 834.

(*k*) Plut de malign. Herodoti, p. 857.

(*l*) Pauſan. l. 7 p. 230.

(*m*) Barthius ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Diodorus Siculus, l 1. c. 96. p. m. 83.

(*o*) *In the Remark C. of the Article* Caſſandra, *and the Remark B. of the Article* Tireſias.

(*p*) Apollodor, l. 1. p 47.

(*q*) *The* Hierozoicon *of Mr.* Bochart B. 1.

(*r*) Cicero l. 2. de legibus, fol. 334. D.

(*D*) *The Converſation he had with the* Phœnicians.] I mean with *Cadmus* (*b*), and thoſe who accompanied him into *Bœotia*. I ſhall obſerve two faults in *Barthius*: (*i*) He ſays, that *Plutarch* affirms, that *Melampus* taught the *Grecians* many things that were borrow'd from the *Egyptians*. *Plutarch* does not ſay ſo, but on the contrary (*k*) blames *Herodotus* for ſaying ſo, and taxes him with a wicked Prevarication, for endeavouring to rob *Greece* of part of its Glory. You muſt know, that the *Grecians* did not confeſs, that they were the Diſciples of the *Phœnicians* in Matters of Religion. *Pauſanias* (*l*) had a long Conteſt with one of that Country about it. The ſecond fault of *Barthius* is, that he ſays *Herodotus* affirms, that *Melampus* brought from *Egypt* the Feſtivals and Worſhip of *Bacchus*. (*m*) *De Bacchi ſacris ex Ægypto in Græciam allatis ab Melampode, non tamen perfectis ſcribit etiam libro ſecundo Herodotus.* *Herodotus* does not ſay that *Melampus* made a Journey into *Egypt*, but on the contrary, ſuppoſes that *Cadmus* and his Companions who came into *Bœotia*, were thoſe who inſtructed *Melampus*. 'Tis not improper to ſet forth this kind of Faults, to ſhow, that 'tis not ſufficient to have the Authors that we cite before our Eyes; for if we do not examine them narrowly, even to the leaſt word, we ſhall make 'em ſay a thouſand things which they never thought of. Take notice, that I do not abſolutely deny, that our Diviner made a Journey into *Egypt*: I know that the *Egyptians* (*n*) affirm'd it.

(*E*) *That he underſtood the Language of Birds.*] I have already ſpoken of this (*o*) in other places, but I ſhall here ſet down the very words of *Apollodorus*. (*p*) Μελάμπους ἐπὶ τῶν χοιρίων διαλελῶν, ὅσης πρὸς τὴν οἰκήσιν ἀπῆν ὁρυιᾶς, ἐν ᾗ φωλεὸς ὄφεων ὑπῆρχεν, ἀποκτεινάντων τῶν θεραπόντων τὰς ὄφεις, τὰ μὲν ἑρπετὰ, ξύλα συμφορήσας, ἔκαυσε· τὰς δὲ τῶν ὄφεων νεοττὰς ἔθρεψεν. οἱ δὲ, γενόμενοι τέλειοι, περιπαίζοντες αὐτῷ κοινωμένῳ τῶν οἴκων ἐξ ἑκάστου, τὰς ἀκοὰς ταῖς γλώσσαις ἐξεκάθαιρον· ὁ δὲ, ἀγασθείς, καὶ γενόμενος παιδὸς, τῶν ὑπερπολιόντων ὀρνίων τὰς φωνὰς συνίει καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων μανθάνων, πρέλεγε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ μέλλοντα. προσέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερείων μαντικήν· περὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν συνέτυχεν Ἀπόλλωνι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἄδοντι ἦν μαθών. *Melampus cum rura ageret, ac pro ipſius ædibus quercus eſſet, in eaque ſerpentium latebra eſſet, occiſis a miniſtris ſerpentibus, cætera quidem reptilia congeſtis lignis concremavit, at ſerpentium pullos educavit: qui cum ad juſtum corporis modum ſuccreviſſent, ipſum jam dormientem circumſtabant, & ex utroque humero illius aures linguis extergebant. Tandem expergefactus, excitatuſque, ac perterrefactus, ſupervolitantium avium voces intelligebat, & quæ ab iis futura edocebatur, mortalibus prædicebat. per haruſpicinam præterea vaticinari ab iis didicit. Ad hæc Apollini prope Alpheum obviam factus, cæca cætera vaticinandi peritiſſimus evaſit.* You will find many Remarks concerning this Faculty of Serpents in the Book (*q*) which I direct you to.

(*F*) *I could eaſily refute the Argument that was made uſe of to prove.*] The force of that Proof lies in this. The Reputation of this Diviner would not have laſted for many Ages, if he had not convinc'd the World by inconteſtable Experience, that he had the Gift of Propheſie. *Permultorum exemplorum & noſtra plena eſt reſpublica & omnia regna omneſque populi, cunctæque gentes, augurum prædictis multa incredibiliter vera cecidiſſe: neque enim Polidæ, neque Melampodis, neque Mopſi, neque Amphiarai, neque Calchantis, neque Heleni tantum nomen fuiſſet, neque tot nationes id ad hoc tempus retinuiſſent Arabum, Phrygum, Lycaonum, Cilicum, maximeque Piſidarum, niſi vetuſtas ea certa eſſe docuiſſet. Nec vero Romulus noſter auſpicato urbem condidiſſet, neque Attii Navii nomen memoria floreret tam diu, niſi hi omnes multa ad veritatem, & mirabilia dixiſſent* (*r*). This reaſoning is like the Objection which *Cicero* raiſes againſt himſelf in favour of the Oracle of *Delphos*. You may read it in (*ſ*) *Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes*, with ſome Reflexions which refute it. Thither therefore I muſt refer you for an Anſwer to the Paſſage in the ſecond Book *de Legibus*. There is in *Cicero* a Maxim, which might be brought to aſſiſt this Paſſage; he ſays, that Time deſtroys Fictions, but confirms the Judgments that are founded upon Nature. (*t*) *Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.* From whence it may be inferr'd, that the Oracles having continu'd many Ages, were not a Fiction. But let us refute *Cicero* by *Cicero* himſelf. He acknowledges in his ſecond Book *de Legibus*, (*v*) that the Art of the *Augurs* did not then continue: It had therefore the fate of the Opinions which human Wit brings forth, ſince time, inſtead of confirming it, deſtroy'd it.

(*G*) *That he was an able Phyſician.*] *Apollodorus* makes him the Inventer of Purgatives, and ſays, he uſed them in curing the Daughters of *Prætus*. (*w*) Μελάμπους——μάντις ὢν καὶ τὴν διὰ φαρμάκων καθαρσιὸν θεραπείαν πρῶτος εὑρηκώς—— (*x*) Ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς πυχάσαις καθαρσιῷ σωφρονῆσαι συνέβη. *Melampus*——*vaticinandi cognitionc inſignis & qui potionandi expurgandique rationem primus invenit*——*reliquæ vero repurgatæ reſipuerunt.* *Servius* (*y*) obſerves, that he was ſirnam'd Καθαρσίης, *i. e. The Purger*: But let us not build upon this, ſince the ſame Grammarian intimates, that the Purifications invented by *Melampus*, and uſed for the Daughters of *Prætus* belong'd to Religion. (*z*) *Prætidas ipſe purgavit Inſtrationibus quas invenerat. hoc dicit, convaleſcente morbo, nec medicinam prodeſſe nec religionem.* That is, by theſe words

(*b*) *Ceſſere magiſtri*

Phillyrides Chiron, Amythaoniuſque Melampus,

we muſt underſtand, that Diſeaſes in a certain ſtate are above the Power of Phyſick and Religion. *Chiron* is therefore repreſented there as a Phyſician, while *Melampus* is repreſented as a diſtributer of ſupernatural Remedies. But I will rather keep to *Servius* upon the Eclogues of *Virgil*, where we find *Melampus* repreſented as a mixt Perſon, partly as a Phyſician, and partly as a Prophet. He firſt appeas'd *Juno*, and then made the Sick take a certain Medicine. (*c*) *Quas* (Prætidas) *Melampus—placata Junone, infecto fonte ubi ſolita erant bibere, purgavit & in priſtinum ſenſum reduxit.* Note, that καθαρμὸς ſignifies not only a Purgative Medicine, but alſo that which we call an Exorciſm, or rather a form of Magical Words.

There is a kind of *Hellebore* (*d*), which upon his account was call'd *Melampodium*. Which is a ſign that he made uſe of it, and one may very well believe that he did not omit it in the grand Cure, which was to purchaſe him a Kingdom. Yet *Pliny* intimates nothing of this, but makes *Melampus* appear only as a Prophet; for he does not attribute to him the Cure of the Daughters of *Prætus*, but ſays, it was aſcribed to a Shepherd (*e*) *Melampodis fama divinationes artibus nota eſt. Ab hoc appellatur unum ellebori genus Melampodion. Aliqui paſtorem eodem nomine inveniſſe tradunt, capras purgari paſſo illo animadvertentem, datoque lacte earum ſanaſſe Prætidas furentes.* If *Voſſius* (*f*) built upon this Paſſage, when he ſays, that our *Melampus* cur'd the fury of the Daughters of *Prætus*, by mixing black Hellebore with Goat's Milk, he has not faithfully related it, and he ſhould produce ſome Authorities for what he ſays. He is in the right to cenſure *Peter Caſtellan* and *John Neander*, for making *Melampus* poſterior to *Empedocles*. In this they were guilty of a miſtake; for *Melampus* liv'd before the *Trojan* War. As to the Writings we have under his Name, they are ſuppoſititious. We have *Melampi ex palpitationibus divinatio*, Printed in Greek at *Rome* in 1545. *Ex nævis corporis divinatio*, Printed at *Rome* in Greek the ſame Year, and in Latin at *Venice* in 1552. (*Nicolas Petreius* is the Author of that Verſion) and in Latin and Greek,

(*r*) Cicero de natura Deorum.

(*ſ*) Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes, n. 45.

(*t*) Cicero de natura Deorum.

(*v*) Dubium non eſt, quin hæc diſciplina & auſ augurum evanuerit jam & vetuſtate, & negligentia. Itaque neque illi aſſentior, qui hanc ſcientiam negat unquam in noſtro collegio fuiſſe, neque illi qui eſſe etiam nunc putat. *Id. lib. 2. de legibus ubi ſupra.*

(*w*) Apol. l. 2. p. 85.

(*x*) Id. ib. p. 87.

(*y*) Servius in Virgil. Georg. l. 3 v. 560.

(*z*) Id. ib.

(*b*) Virgil. Georg. l. 3. v. 549.

(*c*) Servius in Virgil. Eclog 6. v. 48.

(*d*) Plin. l. 25. c 5. p. m. 389.

(*e*) Id ib.

(*f*) Voſſius de Philoſophia, c. 11. n. 19. p. m 84.

to believe that *Melampus* arriv'd to (*H*) a great Age. He left ſome Children * behind him. *Heſiod* † commended him in a Book that is loſt.

MELANCHTHON (PHILIP) Born at *Bretten* in the Palatinate of the *Rhine*, *Feb.* 16. 1497. was one of the wiſeſt and ableſt Men of his Age. He gave ſo early marks of his Capacity, that they begun very early to inſtruct him; which was done by the care of his (*A*) Grandfather by the Mother's ſide, more than by his Father's. He ſtudied firſt in the place of his Nativity, at firſt in a publick School, and then under a Tutor, when it was known that the Maſter ß of that School had the Pox. He was ſometime after ſent to *Pforſheim*, where there was a famous College, and he lodg'd with a Relation who was Siſter to *Reuchlin*. Upon this occaſion it was that he was quickly known to this learned Perſon γ, who lov'd him with great tenderneſs. Having liv'd there about two Years, he was ſent δ to *Heidelberg* ζ in the Year 1509, and there he made ſuch a conſiderable improvement, that the Sons of a certain Count η were entruſted with him to teach them, though he was under fourteen Years of Age. He has been juſtly reckon'd (*B*) among Illuſtrious Children. Being troubled that he was refus'd his Degree of Maſter in Philoſophy, and finding that the Air of *Heidelberg* did not agree with his Conſtitution, he left that Univerſity in 1512, and went

* *See the Remark H.*

† Pauſan. l. 9. p. 576.

ß Joach. Camerarius in vita Melanchthonis, p. m. 5.

γ Id. ib. p. 7, &c.

δ Id. ib. p. 10.

ζ Melch. Adam. in vitis Theol. German. p. 328.

δ Id. ib p. 329.

η *It was the Count of* Leonſtein.

Greek with the *Metopoſcopia* of *Cardan* at *Paris* in 1658. See *Lindenius renovatus*, at p. 804. The Abridgment of *Geſner's Bibliotheque* informs me, that *Melampus hierogrammateus ſcripſit de auguriis ex ſaltibus corporis, quæ Auguſtinus Niphus in librum primum de auguriis tranſtulit.*

(H) Melampus *arriv'd to a great Age.*] *Statius* ſuppoſes, that *Amphiaraus* was aſſociated with *Melampus* for conſulting the Auguries concerning the War of *Thebes*:

(g) *Solers tibi cura futuri*
Amphiaraë, datur, juxtaque Amythaone cretus
Jam ſenior ſed mente virens Phœboque Melampus
Aſſociat paſſus: dubium cui dexter Apollo
Oraque Cyrrhæa ſatiarit largius unda.

(g) Statius Thebaid. l. 3 v. 451.

Melampus was the Great Grandfather of *Amphiaraus*: The latter had then many Children, and one among the reſt, who was Generaliſſimo of the *Argivi* ten Years after; from whence we may conclude, that *Melampus* had been very old. But the Poets make no ſcruple of *Anachroniſms*. *Statius* ſuppoſes in another place, that *Thiodamas*, the Son of *Melampus*, was choſen to ſucceed *Amphiaraus* in overſeeing the *Augories*. He repreſents him as the ſecond in that Art, but yet of ſo great modeſty, as oblig'd him to own himſelf unworthy of the Succeſſion, juſt as the Son of a great King is afraid in his Infancy, that he cannot diſcharge the Office of his deceas'd Father.

Concilium (h) *rex triſte vocat: quæruntque gementes,*
Quis tripodas ſucceſſor agat? quo prodita laurus
Tranſeat? atque eorum vittæ decus. Laudat maror, cunctis
Inſignem fama, ſanctoque Melampode cretum
Thiodamanta volunt, qui cum ipſa arcana deorum
Partiri, & viſas uni ſociare ſolebat
Amphiaraus aves, tantæque haud invidus artis
Gaudebat duci ſimilem, juxtaque ſecundum.
Illum ingens confundit honos, inopinaque turbat
Gloria, & oblatæ frondes ſubmiſſe aquarat,
Sequeque oneri negat eſſe parem, cogique moretur.
Sicut Achæmenius ſolium, gentiſque paternas
Excepit ſi forte puer, cui vivere patrem
Tutius, &c.

(h) Id. ib. l. 8. v. 275.

Would he have made ſuch Compariſons if he had known that *Thiodamas* was Brother to the Grandfather of *Amphiaraus*? Add to this, that *Statius* is the only Perſon, if I be not miſtaken, who gives ſuch a Son to *Melampus*. The Two which *Homer* (i) gave him, were call'd *Antiphates* and *Mantius*. To mention this by the by, the Father of *Amphiaraus* was the Son of the latter, it we may believe (k) *Pauſanias*. But the common Opinion is, that *Antiphates* was the Father of *Oicles*.

(i) Homerus Odyſſ. l. 15. p. m. 462.

(k) Pauſan. l. 6. p. 195.

(A) By the care of his Grandfather by the Mother's ſide more than by his Father's.] Since I do not pretend to favour one of 'em to the prejudice of the other; I ſhall now ſhew, why *George (l) Schwartzerdt*, the Father of our *Philip*, did not take care of the Education of his Son. He was taken up in the Affairs of the Elector *Palatin* his Maſter, whom he ſerv'd as Ingineer, or Commiſſary of the Artillery (m) *Huic* (avo materno) *patre occupato negotiis principum, præcipua educatio & inſtitutio Philippi curæ fuit. Camerarius* inables me to make uſe of the words I have quoted, for thus he ſays: (n) *Orto pernicioſo bello inter Palatinos & Bavaros cognatos Principes cum Georgius patriæ ſuæ Principi Philippo operam officiumque quod debebat, fideliter præſtaret, impri[illegible]arum tormentorumque ratione adminiſtranda.* I think that this Ingineer was at firſt a meer Gunſmith, who growing very skilful in his Art, came to be known and belov'd by Princes. He invented the moſt uſeful Arms, as well Offenſive as Defenſive, both for Turnaments and Battles. 'Tis pretended that *Maximilian* the Emperor made good uſe of thoſe Inventions in a Duel. This ſingular matter of fact I ſhall here relate, to excite my Readers to ſearch curiouſly into the Circumſtances of it. Read therefore carefully this Character of the Father of *Melanchthon*: (o) *Ipſe Georgius & probitate, integritate, taciturnitateque & fide, etiam prudentiâ atque ſolertiâ, & quod admirabili artificio opera armorum elaborare ſciret, quibus & defenderentur contra vim adverſariorum in conflictu, & inſtruerentur ad hos percellendam ſternendumque qui manum ſive in acie cum hoſtibus, ſeu in ludis equeſtribus, cum ſuis (quæ exercitationes tum in aulis Principum ſtudioſiſſime frequentabantur) conſerere vellent: Harum igitur artium ille peritus, & iis virtutibus quas commemoravimus ornatus, in notitiam pervenit maximorum & potentiſſimorum Principum, iiſque carus fuit, in quibus nominaſſe ſatis ſit & Regem optimum & bellatorem Invictiſſimum Divum Maximilianum Imperatoris Friderici filium. Quem Georgius aliquando cum glorioſo provocatore Italo, cui nomen Claudio Batavo, certamine ſingulari congreſſurum ita inſtruxit, & ſi arma ipſius machinando paravit, ut fortiſſimo Viro Maximiliano voluntaria certa facile etiam & celeriter contingeret Claudius enim non diu repugnans, cum, quanto omnibus rebus eſſet inferior ſentiens, ad pedes Maximiliani ſe adjeciſſet, ita in poteſtatem ejus ſe tradidit.* He was born at *Heidelberg*, (p) but he ſettled at *Bretten* by Marrying the Daughter of *John Reuterus*, who had been Mayor of that Town ſome Years. He died eleven Days after his Father-in-Law, the 29th of *September* 1508. His Widow did not Marry (q) till after ſhe knew that *Melanchthon* her Son was Married. She was in ſome trouble for it, and this diſcontent oblig'd her to Marry a Citizen of *Bretten*, about the Year 1520. She died the ſixth of *June* (r) 1529. Her Son *George* younger (*f*) about four Years than *Melanchthon*, ſurviv'd his Brother (t), and diſcharg'd the higheſt Offices (v) of his Country.

(o) Id ib. p. 2. & 3

(p) Id ib.

(q) Mater vidua manſit annis totis 12. poſtea cum Philippum duxiſſe uxorem audiiſſet, non ſine quadam offenſiuncula nupſit iterum viro honeſtiſſimo civi Brettano *Id. ib.* p. 5.

(r) Melch. Adam in vitis Theol p. 528.

(*f*) Camerarius ubi ſupra, p 4.

(t) Melch Adam in vit. Philoſ p 184.

(v) Camer ib. p 8.

That this Remark may not only become Hiſtorical, but Critical, I will add, that the Jeſuit *Hambourg* was to blame for ſaying (w), that *Melanchthon* was *of a little Village in the Lower Palatinate*, and of *a mean Extraction*. Which is refuted by what I have already ſaid. See alſo Mr. *Sekendorf* in the ſecond Book of the Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm, Page 158.

(w) Maim. *Hiſt of* Lutheran. B. 2. p. 181. *Dutch Edition*

(B) *He has been juſtly reckon'd among illuſtrious Children.*] The Chapter which Mr *Baillet* has beſtow'd upon him in his *Hiſtorical Treatiſe of Children that became famous by their Birth or Writings*, was due to him, and is very curious. There we ſee, that at the Age of thirteen Years he dedicated to *Reuchlin* a Comedy which he wrote all alone. This fact was unknown to me: I only knew what follows. This young Scholar being at *Pforſheim*, taught his School-fellows the ſeveral parts of a kind of a Comedy, which *Reuchlin* had lately publiſh'd. His Deſign was to Act that Piece in the Preſence of the Author, which was perform'd very handſomely: (a) *Tunc & æqualibus ſuis ſcripſit quoddam ludicrum Reuchlini inſtar Comœdiæ ad finem ejus ſibi ſatis deſtruxit, & ſuaſuque*

(a) Camerar. p. 9.

went to see that of *Tubingen* *, where he stay'd six Years †. There he heard the Lectures of all sorts of Professors, and publickly explain'd *Virgil*, *Terence*, *Cicero* and *Levy*; and being very laborious, he found time also to serve *Reuchlin* in his Quarrels with the Monks, and to oversee a (*C*) a Printing-House β. He was moreover very much addicted (*D*) to the reading of the Word of God. He accepted in 1518, the Chair of Professor in the Greek Tongue, in the University of *Wittemberg*, which *Frederick* the Elector of *Saxony* offer'd him upon the recommendation of *Reuchlin* γ. He made so fine an Inaugural Oration δ, that he not only remov'd the Contempt to which his Stature and Mien expos'd him, but also rais'd great admiration of him. The Lectures he read upon *Homer*, and upon the Greek Text of the Epistle of St. *Paul* to *Titus*, drew a great crowd of Auditors, and rais'd in them an earnest desire of understanding the Greek Tongue ζ. One of the greatest Services he did to the Sciences, was to reduce them ϑ into a System, which was then difficult, considering the confusion wherewith they had been taught for a long time. There was quickly an intimate Friendship contracted between him and *Luther* ι, who taught Divinity in the same University. They went together to *Leipsick* in 1519, to dispute with *Eccius*. The following Years were to *Melanchthon* a complication of hard Labour; he wrote many Books, he travell'd to found Colleges, and visit λ Churches: But nothing cost him more pains than the task that was given him in 1530, of drawing up a Confession of Faith; which is call'd the *Augsburg* Confession, because it was presented to the Emperor at the Diet in that City. All *Europe* was convinc'd, that he was not so averse as *Luther* was, to an Accommodation, and that he would have sacrific'd many (*E*) things to the love of

* Id. ib.

† Id. in vitis Philosoph. p. 186.

β Id. ib. & in vit. Theol. p. 330.

γ Camerar. ibid. p. 24.

δ Melch. Adam. in vit. Theolog p. 330.

ζ Id. ib.

ϑ Id. ib. p. 331.

ι Camerar p. 30, 31.

λ In 1527

(*b*) Melch. Adam. in vit. Philosoph. p. 185.

(*c*) Id. ib. p 186.

(*d*) Teissier, addit. to Hel. log. tom. 1 p 188.

(*e*) Scaligerana.

(*c*) Melch. Adam. in vit. Theolog. p. 331.

(*f*) Id. ib.

(*g*) Id. ib. p. 332.

(*h*) Privatim ac publice cum magna laude & admiratione docuit (*Tubinga*) & scripta quædam ceu primos fœtus ex quibus satis apparuit qui proventus in posterum expectandi forent, in lucem edidit. Id. in vitis Philosoph. p. 186.

(*i*) Erasmus, Præfat. in Theocr. apud Jo. Jac. Grynæum Epist. Select. p. 52

cuique partes assignavit, ut coram Reuchlino ad se revorso fabula ea ageretur. Quod etiam factum est cum summa ipsius voluptate atque lætitiâ. He might then be in his thirteenth Year, or he might be younger, for he stay'd two Years at *Pforsheim*, and went from thence to *Heidelberg* (*b*), where he was matriculated, *October* 13, 1509. Mr. *Baillet* adds, *That he was entrusted to make the greatest part of the Harangues and Discourses of Eloquence, that were spoken in publick* in the University of *Heidelberg*. This agrees with the words of *Melchior Adam*: (*c*) *Scripsit jam adolescentulus professoribus in eâ schola orationes, quæ publice recitatæ sunt.* Here follows a Passage which is not exactly true. " (*d*) at the Age of thirteen " he wrote a Comedy to the honour of *Reuchlin*. " He was but nineteen Years old when he pub- " lish'd his Rhetorick: The next Year he put " out his Logick, and in his twenty fourth " his Grammar. Immediately after he wrote " many Pieces of Theology, and at twenty six " Years of Age he publish'd his Common-Places, " which were equally esteem'd by (*i*) Protestants " and Catholicks: For being publish'd under the " Name of *Mister Philippo di terra nera*, and car- " ried to *Rome*, all the Copies were sold there." You have already seen what I have said about this Comedy *to the Honour of Reuchlin*; which I will not repeat. I only say, that Mr. *Tiessier* did not well observe these Latin words. (*e*) *Anno decimonono evulgavit Rhetoricam; sequenti Dialecticam: vicesimo quarto Grammaticam, aliis deinde annis alia.* These words signifie the Years of the Century, and not of *Melanchthon*; and therefore M. *Teissier* should have said that he was 22 Years old when he publish'd his Rhetorick, &c. 'Tis certain that he wrote many Pieces of Theology before he publish'd his Grammar; for he put out several Treatises of that nature (*f*) in 1521, three Years before his Grammar was Printed. In fine, 'tis false that he publish'd his Common-Places at the Age of twenty six, for he publish'd them (*g*) in 1521, when he was but twenty four Years old.

Note, that all the Pieces which *Melchior Adam* names, are posterior to his being Professor of *Wittemberg*. But we must remember what he says elsewhere, that *Melanchthon* (*h*) publish'd some Books whilst he was Professor at *Tubingen*. There is reason therefore to believe, that he was an Author in Print before the Age of twenty or twenty one, and so he deserv'd very well to be plac'd in the Catalogue of Mr. *Baillet*. I have read in the Parallel which *Jacobus Grynæus* made between the Prophet *Daniel* and *Melanchthon*, a fine Encomium upon the Latter. (*i*) *Ardum immortalem, quam non ipse de se præbet, admodum etiam adolescens & pene puer, Philippus ille Melanchthon, utraque literatura per exactus? Quod inventionis acumen? quæ sermonis puritas? quanta reconditarum rerum memoria? quam varia lectio? quam verecunda regiaque pectoris indoles? festivitas?* This is what *Erasmus* said in 1515.

(*k*) " *And to oversee a Printing-House.*] This Remark is, properly speaking, an *Appendix* to the preceding, for it relates to *Melanchthon*, as he wrote Books in his Youth: For to put in good order a confus'd heap of Collections, is in effect to make a Book. So Mr. *Baillet* thought; for having observ'd that *Melanchthon* *k*) " made it his recre- " ation to Correct the Printing-Press of the place, " he adds, that to such a Pastime we owe, among " other Books, the Edition of *Naucleru* at *Tubin-* " *gen*. It was a heap of Chronicles and Fables " bundled together among Histories in a strange " confusion. *Melanchthon* took the pains to purge " it, and to select out of it what was passable, " and put it in order; so that one may say, this " Book is the Work of *Melanchthon*." *Camerarius* observes, 1. That the labour of *Melanchthon* upon *Naucleru*, consisted, not only in putting things in order, and new moulding them, but also in inlarging them. 2. That the Corrector of this Book took upon him to Revise all the Works which *Thomas Anshelmus* should Print. (*l*) *Librum hunc* (Naucleri) *exprimendum suscepcrat Thomas Anshelmus, qui Typographicam officinam habebat Tubingæ. A quo perfectum fuit, ut & illius scripti & aliorum, quæ a se ederentur, curam respectumque Philippus susciperet, quo prodirent correctiora. Is tunc & in hoc opere Naucleri partim disponendo, partim augendo, partim etiam retexendo id præstitit, ut lectio libri istius à plurimis expeteretur & fructu voluptateque non careret*, Note, that this Edition of *Naucleru* was the first of all.

(*b*) Baillet's Enfans celebres, p. 132.

(*l*) Camerar. ubi supra, p. 16. *See also* Melch. Adam. in vitis Philosoph. p. 186, 187.

(*D*) *Very much addicted to the reading of the Word of God.*] He had a Copy of the Bible, which *John Frobenius* had lately Printed at *Basil* in a small Volume, which he carried always about him, and chiefly when he went to Church. Those who saw that during the celebration of the Divine Offices, he held always in his Hands a Book much larger than a Primer, believ'd that he was reading quite another thing than what the Time and Place requir'd of him His envious Enemies took occasion from hence to defame him. This is what we learn from *Camerarius* (*m*). Another Author (*n*) observes, that *Reuchlin* made him a present of that Bible.

(*m*) Camer. ubi supra, p. 15.

(*n*) Melch. Adam. in vitis Philosoph. p. 185.

(*E*) *Would have sacrificed many things to the love of Peace.*] This appears chiefly by the Book he wrote concerning things indifferent, which was so ill receiv'd by the Faction of *Illyricus*. (*a*) *Suaserat Philippus* de Adiaphoris *ne scrupulose contenderent, modo nihil idololatria illatum ac ceremoniæ haberent adjunctum, & festivitatem aliquam, quæ sine impietate fit, sustinendam. Illyricus* on the contrary cry'd out, that People should rather desert all the Churches, and threaten to make an Insurrection, than to bear a Surplice. (*b*) *Contra Flacius vociferabatur potius cessitatum faciendam in templis, & principes motu seditionum terrendo, quam saltem linea vestis admittatur.* Some *Romish* Catholicks have been inspir'd with the same Spirit, if we may believe the anonymous Author of a Letter publish'd by Mr. *Jurieu*. " I inquir'd, *says he*, as much as possibly " I could, whether a Protestant would be receiv'd " into the *Romish* Communion, upon the Bishop of " *Meaux* his Explication of the *Romish* Doctrine, as " it is made use of to instruct those who seek to

(*a*) Id. ib. p. 195.

(*b*) Id. ib. p. 196

(*c*) Suite du Preservatif contre le changement de Religion. p. 173. of the Hague edit. 1683.

of Peace. Wherefore *Francis* I. judged him a proper Perſon to appeaſe the Diſſentions about Religion in his Kingdom, and deſir'd him to (*F*) come thither. The King of *England* * wiſh'd alſo to ſee him, but neither of theſe two Monarchs did ever ſee him. Since I have a mind to mention but ſome of his chief Actions, I ſhall only ſay, that in 1541, he aſſiſted at the Conferences of *Ratisbon*, where the Controverſies between the Catholicks and Proteſtants were warmly diſputed, and that in 1543, he waited upon the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, to aſſiſt him in introducing a Reformation into his Dioceſs, which turn'd to no account. The Affair of the *Interim* took up much of his time. He was preſent at † ſeven Conferences upon this Subject in 1548, and wrote all the Pieces that were preſented there, and the Cenſure of that *Interim*. He was one of the Deputies whom *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, was to ſend to the Council of *Trent* in 1552. He waited ſome time at *Nuremberg* for a ſafe Conduct, but becauſe of the War which then begun to break forth, he return'd from thence to *Wittemberg* ß. His laſt Conference with the Doctors of the *Romiſh* Communion was at *Worms*, in 1557; and of all the Diſſentions which broke his Heart, there was none more violent than that which was rais'd by *Flacius Illyricus*. He died at *Wittemberg April* 19th, 1560. which was the 63d Day γ of his 64th Year. He was buried near *Luther* in the Church of the Caſtle, two Days after. His Funeral Oration was ſpoken by *Winſhemius*, a Doctor of Phyſick, and Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue. The Teſtimonies of Piety with which he ended his Days, were admirable ∫; and 'tis obſervable, that one thing which made him look upon Death as a Happineſs, was, that it deliver'd

* Melch. Adam in vit Theo. p. 336.
† Id. ib. p. 343.
ß Id. ib p. 343, 346.
γ Ætatis ſuæ climacterico cum diebus lxiii. egreſſus. *Thuan. lib. 26. ſub fin. p. m.* 538.
∫ *See* Melchior Adam in vit. Philoſ p 202.

" comply with the Times. Every one told me no, " and ſome Body added that no Abjuration was to " be ſign'd, but that in which all the *Romiſh* Superſtitions were included. Theſe are the very " words he made uſe of. This calls to my Mind " what a Jeſuit ſaid, that he would not put out a " Torch tho' it were to convert all the *Huguenots*.

What *Melanchthon* ſaid to his Mother, plainly ſhews, that he hated Diſputes in Religion, and that nothing could engage him in them, but the neceſſity of acting the Part he was to act in the World. Being gone to the Conferences at *Spire* in 1529, he made a little Journey to *Bretten*, to ſee his Mother. This good Woman ask'd him what ſhe muſt believe among ſo many Diſputations, and repeated to him the Prayers ſhe was wont to make, and which contain'd nothing that was ſuperſtitious. Continue, ſaid he, to believe and pray as you have done hitherto, and never trouble your ſelf about Controverſies. (*d*) *Ab ea cum interrogatus eſſet*: quid ſibi in ejuſmodi controverſiis credendum? *reſpondit, auditis illius precibus, quæ nihil ſuperſtitionis habebant, ut* pergeret hoc credere & orare quod credidiſſet & oraſſet hactenus: nec pateretur ſe turbari conflictibus diſputationum. This refutes invincibly a ſilly Story which *Florimond de Remond* publiſh'd. 'Tis written, ſays he (*e*), *that* Melanchthon *being at the point of Death in* 1560, *his Mother being loaded with Years diſcourſed to him after this manner*: " (1) *My Son you ſeem to me to be* " *at the point of Death, and to be leaving this World,* " *to go and give an account to the great Judge of what* " *you have done. You know I was a Catholick, and* " *you induc'd me to change my Religion, and to aſſume* " *one that is different from that of my fore Fathers.* " *Now I adjure you by the Living God, to tell me pre-* " *ſently, which of them is the beſt, and do not con-* " *ceal this from me. Ha! ſaid* Melanchthon, *the* " *new Doctrine is more plauſible, but the old is more* " *ſafe and certain: And turning himſelf about he ſaid* " *aloud*, Hæc plauſibilior, illa ſecurior." 'Tis falſe, that *Melanchthon* induc'd his Mother to change her Religion, and 'tis certain that the death of this Woman preceded her Son's more than thirty Years.

(*d*) Melch. Adam. in vit. Theo. p. 333.

(*e*) Florimond de Remond *Hiſt. of the Birth and Progreſs of Hereſie, B. 2. c. 9. p. m* 186, 187.

(1) *See* Morus, l. 2. de Miſſ. & Francis Montagnes, *in his Book entituled*, la verité defendue.

(*F*) Francis I. *thought him a proper Perſon* ——— *and deſir'd him to come into* France] Let us relate the Paraphraſe which *Maimbourg* has made upon the Narrative of *Florimond de Remond*. " (*f*) The " Queen of *Navarre*, who knew that her Brother " the King paſſionately deſir'd the Peace of the " Church, hop'd ſhe might lay hold of him by " that means: For that end ſhe often talk'd to " him of one very good Man, as ſhe ſaid, who " was call'd *Philip Melanchthon*, whom ſhe was " continually praiſing to him as the moſt learned " Man of his time, who does not indeed approve, " added ſhe very dextrouſly, certain Abuſes which " are manifeſtly to be ſeen in the Doctrine, Manners and Diſcipline of the Chriſtians of theſe " laſt Ages; but then he deteſts the Schiſm " which has been made upon this occaſion in " *Germany*, and which he has always endeavour'd " to extinguiſh by all ſorts of means. She aſſur'd " him that he was a peaceable Man, of a mild " Spirit, who had nothing of that fierce and vio- " lent Spirit of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, one who had " always endeavour'd to reconcile them among " themſelves, and with the Catholicks, that he " might re-unite all Mens Minds in one and the " ſame Belief, and reſtore to the Church Peace " and Union, for which he ſigh'd continually; " that ſhe did not doubt but if ſo holy and able a " Man could confer with the Doctors of the *Sor-* " *bonne*, who deſir'd alſo nothing but Peace, they " would quickly find the means of procuring it " to the Church, and of deſtroying a Schiſm, " which might eaſily extend it ſelf from *Germany* " into *France*, and produce there the ſame Trou- " bles and Diſorders, which were to be ſeen in the " Empire. In fine, ſhe told him ſo many things " to *Melanchthon*'s Advantage, and gave him ſo " great Hopes of being able to put an end by this " means to the Differences which begun to ariſe " in *France* as well as in *Germany*, about many Ar- " ticles of Religion, that he was perſuaded to it. " Whereupon this Prince, who otherwiſe had a " great deſire to bring into *France* the ableſt Men " of his Time, wrote to (2) *Melanchthon*, and invited " him to come to *Paris*, to join his Endeavours " with our Divines to reſtore the ancient Policy " of the Church." He relates afterwards how the Cardinal of *Tournon* warded off the Blow, and perſuaded the King (*g*) *to revoke ſuddenly the leave he had granted to* Philip Melanchthon. In fine, he affirms, that this Change at firſt aſtoniſh'd the Hereticks; but that *as ſoon as they had recover'd themſelves from this Aſtoniſhment* ——— *they had the confidence* to poſt up Placards full of Blaſphemies *at the Gates of the Louvre, and even at the King's Chamber Door.* You ſee how this Jeſuit relates theſe things. 1. The Queen of *Navarre* perſuaded the King to ſend for *Melanchthon*. 2. The King wrote to this Doctor. 3. The Cardinal of *Tournon* chang'd this Deſign of the King. 4. The Innovators ſet up Placards. 5. Theſe four things happen'd in the Year 1534. *Florimond de Remond* places them in the ſame Order. Now I will ſhew that they are miſtaken, and I am much ſurpriz'd that *Beza* ſhould lie under the ſame Miſtake; he ſays alſo (*h*), that the buſineſs of the Placards was poſterior to the Reſolution which *Francis* I. had taken to ſend for *Melanchthon*. Note, that he obſerves that thoſe Placards were fix'd up in the Month of *November* 1534.

(*f*) Maim. *Hiſt. of Calviniſm, b.* 1. *p.* 25. *at the Year* 1534.

(2) Epiſt. Franciſc. Reg ad Phil Melanc apud Flor Rem. l 7. c. 4.

(*g*) Id ib p 29

(*h*) Beza Hiſt Eccleſiaſt b. 1 p 15, 16.

Here follows a better Chronology of all theſe Matters of Fact. The Placards were affix'd at the time obſerv'd by *Theodorus Beza*. *Francis* I. aſſiſted at a famous Proceſſion *January* 21, 1535. and cauſed ſome Hereticks to be burnt. *Melanchthon* was exhorted (*i*) to endeavour to mitigate the King's Anger: He wrote a Letter to *John Sturmius*, who was then in *France*, and another to *John du Bellai* Biſhop of *Paris*. A Gentleman (*k*) whom *Francis* I. had ſent into *Germany*, ſpoke to *Philip Melanchthon* (*l*) of a Journey to *France*, and aſſur'd him, that the King would write to him about it himſelf, and would furniſh him with all

(*i*) Camerar ubi ſupra, p 144

(*k*) Call'd Barnabas Vore Sieur de la Foſſe.

(*l*) Id ib p 146

liver'd him from (*G*) Theological Perſecutions. He Married * to a Daughter of a Burgomaſter of *Wittemburg*, in 1520, who died in 1557. He had two Sons (*H*) and two Daughters by her. Since, the Deſcription of his good moral Qualities may be found in a Book † more eaſie to be conſulted than this Dictionary, I ſhall ſay nothing of them. But I will add to what has been ſaid, that he was credulous, as to Prodigies,

* Id. ib. p. 190.

† *In the Additions of Mr. Teſſier to the Eloges taken out of Thuanus, tom. 1. p. 187. edit. 1696*

ſorts of ſafe Conducts. When he return'd into *France* (*m*), he aſſured the King, that *Melanchthon* would make this Journey, if the King would do him the honour to write to him about this Matter. This Prince diſpatch'd immediately this Gentleman to carry to *Melanchthon* the Letter he wrote to him. It is (*n*) dated at *Guiſe* the 28th of *June* 1535, and declares the pleaſure the King had when he underſtood by the Relation of the Gentleman, and by the Letter which *William du Bellai* had receiv'd from *Melanchthon*, that this Doctor was diſpos'd to come into *France* to endeavour to paciſie Controverſies. *Melanchthon* wrote (*o*) to the King the twenty eighth of *September* the ſame Year. He aſſured him of his good Intentions, and that he was ſorry he could not as yet ſurmount the obſtacles to his Journey. The Gentleman who carried this Letter to the King, found him (*p*) very buſie about his Preparations for the War in *Italy*; and *Melanchthon* could never obtain leave (*q*) from the Duke of *Saxony* to go to the Court of *Francus* I. altho' *Luther* (*r*) had earneſtly exhorted that Elector to conſent to this Journey, by repreſenting to him, that the hopes of ſeeing *Melanchthon* had put a ſtop to the Perſecution of the Proteſtants in *France*, and that there was reaſon to fear, leſt they ſhould renew the ſame Cruelty when they ſhould know that he would not come. The Elector had very good reaſons not to ſuffer this Journey (*ſ*), for he was afraid to expoſe himſelf to the Anger of *Charles* V. and he ſaw no appearance that *Melanchthon* would do any thing for the good of Religion. He wrote to *Francis* I. an Excuſe that he could not ſuffer *Melanchthon* to go into *France* (*a*). His Letter is dated the 28th of *Auguſt* 1535. Note, that in the Month of *December* of the ſame Year, *Langei* ſollicited in *Germany*, that *Melanchthon* ſhould be ſent, or ſome other Divines to the King his Maſter (*b*). How will this agree with the Narrative of *Maimbourg*? Or with the account of *Mezerai*, who affirms (*c*), that in 1533, the King wrote to *Melanchthon* by (*d*) *William du Bellai Langei*, but that the Cardinal *de Tournon*, and the Divines of *Paris*, mov'd him to ſend word, *that he would excuſe him from this Trouble?* I do not meddle with the confuſions of Mr. *Varillas*, which I will expoſe afterwards (*e*). Note alſo, that *Melanchthon* ſent into *France a* ſmall Piece, which contain'd his Advices about the reconciling of the Controverſies. He did not publiſh it, but it is to be found in the Collection of *Pezelius* (*f*).

I have read in a Letter (*g*) written to *Eraſmus* by Sir *Thomas Moor*, that *Tyndal* had ſent word that *Melanchthon* was at the Court of *France*, that he ſpoke to him, and that he had ſeen him enter into *Paris* accompanied with 150 Horſe. *Tyndalus hæreticus noſtras, qui & nuſquam & ubique exulat, ſcripſit huc nuper* Melanchthonem *eſſe apud Regem* Gallæ: *ſemet collocutum cum eo, qui illum vidiſſet exceptum* Pariſiis, *comitatu C. L. equorum: addebat ſe timere* Tyndalus, *ne ſi* Gallia *per illum reciperet verbum Dei, confirmaretur in fide Euchariſtiæ contra* Vicleficam *ſectam.* Is it poſſible that deſerving Perſons ſhould acquaint their Friends with ſuch Lies?

(*G*) *That Death deliver'd him from Theological Perſecutions.*] Some Days before he died, he wrote upon a piece of Paper in two Columns the Reaſons why he ought not to be ſorry for leaving this World. One of thoſe Columns contain'd the Advantages which Death procur'd him; the other contain'd the Evils from which Death deliver'd him (*h*). He put only two Articles (*i*) into the latter; 1. That he would ſin no more. 2. That he ſhould be no longer expos'd to the Vexations and Rage of the Divines. The other Column contain'd ſix Heads: 1. That he ſhould come to the Light. 2. That he ſhould ſee God. 3. That he ſhould Contemplate the Son of God. 4. That he ſhould underſtand thoſe admirable Myſteries which he could not comprehend in this Life. 5. Why we are Created ſuch as we are. 6. What is the Union of the two Natures in *Jeſus Chriſt* (*k*). Note, that the State of Man appear'd to this great Divine one of the moſt incomprehenſible Myſteries of Religion; and yet there is none who believes without examining, that imagines there is any difficulty in it. From hence it came to paſs, that ſome were ſo ſurpriz'd to underſtand by my Dictionary, that the Followers of *Manicheiſm* could make entangling Objections. But let us keep to our Text, and add, that Nature which gave *Melanchthon* a Peaceable Temper, made him a Preſent ill ſuited with the juncture of Time in which he was to live. His Moderation ſerv'd only to vex him. He was like a Sheep in the midſt of Wolves; no Perſon liked his Mildneſs, which expos'd him to all ſorts of Reproaches, and depriv'd him of the Means of anſwering a Fool according to his Folly. The only Advantage it procur'd him was to look upon Death without fear, by conſidering that it would ſecure him from the *Odium Theologicum*, and from the *inſidos agitans diſcordia fratres* (*l*). I ſhall ſpeak hereafter (*m*) of the Slavery wherein he liv'd. He ſaid in one of his Works, that he had held his Profeſſor's Place forty Years, without ever having any aſſurance that he ſhould not be driven from it before the end of the Week. (*n*) *Publice non dubitavit affirmare* (1), *ego jam ſum hoc, Dei beneficio, quadraginta annos: & nunquam potui dicere aut certus eſſe me per unam ſeptimanam manſurum eſſe.*

(*H*) *He had two Sons and two Daughters.*] I find nothing concerning his two Sons; but I know that *Anne* his eldeſt Daughter, was the Wife of *George Sabinus*, one of the good Poets of his time. He Married (*o*) her at *Wittemberg*, *November* 16, 1536, when ſhe was but fourteen Years old. Her Husband carried her into *Pruſſia* (*p*) to the great grief of *Melanchthon*, in 1543. There had been ſeveral Quarrels between the Father-in-Law and the Son-in-Law, becauſe the latter being very ambitious, had a mind to be preferr'd to civil Employments, and did not like the Humility of *Melanchthon*, who confin'd himſelf to the learn'd Profeſſion, and would not fatigue himſelf to advance his Children (*q*). *Anne* (*r*) underſtood Latin very well, and was very handſome: Her Father lov'd her (*ſ*) tenderly: Judge then of the Grief he had (*t*) when ſhe remov'd ſo far from him in 1543, and afterwards when ſhe died at *Koningsberg* in 1547 (*v*). And infer from all this, that he was neither happy at Home nor Abroad. (*w*) *Narrationem talium ideo nequaquam omittendam duco* ——— *ut hujuſmodi quaſi vulneribus inſpectis quam miſera interdum vita ſit magnorum virorum intelligatur, cum ad onera Reipublicæ pondus etiam domeſtici doloris adjicitur.* His other Daughter was Married (*x*) in 1550 to *Gaſpar Peucer*, who was an able Phyſician, and very much Perſecuted. If you ſhould doubt whether *Melanchthon* was a good Father. I would deſire you to conſider, that a *Frenchman* found him one Day holding a Book in one Hand, and rocking a Child with the other. *Melanchthon* ſeeing him ſurpriz'd with this, made ſuch a pious Diſcourſe to him about the Duty of a Father, and the ſtate of Grace in which Children are with God, that this Stranger went away much more learn'd than he was when he came in (*y*).

I muſt not forget this Reflexion. It is a great Happineſs to ſtudious Men to be free from Ambition and Avarice. This ſaves them much Time, preſerves them from mean Submiſſions, and great Diſorders. But that a Man may enjoy the benefit of this good Diſpoſition, 'tis not ſufficient that he himſelf poſſeſſes it; his Kindred alſo muſt be provided with it; for a Wife, a Son-in-Law, a Son, a near Kinſman, who will get Riches, or advance themſelves to Honours, will not ſuffer the Man of Learning to be at reſt; they will have him to Sollicite, to Canvaſs, to make his Court,

(*m*) Id. ib. p. 151.

(*n*) *It is the 29th of the firſt Book among the Letters of* Melanchthon.

(*o*) *This Letter is the 30th of the firſt Book of thoſe of* Melanchthon.

(*p*) Camerar. ibid. p. 153.

(*q*) Id. ib. p. 151.

(*r*) Luther tom. 6. fol. 491. apud Seckendorf Hiſt Lutheran. l. 3. p. 107.

(*ſ*) *See* Seckend. ibid. p. 109.

(*a*) Seckendorf ubi ſupra, p. 110.

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*c*) Mezerai, Abreg. Chronol. tom. 6. p. m. 407, 408.

(*d*) *It was not he who carried the King's Letter.*

(*e*) *In the Remark N.*

(*f*) Seckendorf ibid p. 108.

(*g*) *It is the 10th in the 27th Book of the Letters of* Eraſmus, p. 1510. (*h*) Melch. Adam. in vit. Philoſ. p. 202. (*i*) Diſcedes à peccatis, liberaberis ab ærumnis & à rabie Theologorum. *Id. ib.*

(*k*) Id. ib.

(*l*) Virgil. Georg. lib. 2. v. 496.

(*m*) *In the Remark L.*

(*n*) Melch. Adam. in vit. Theol. p. 257.

(1) To. 1. enarrat. Evangel. p. 358.

(*o*) Melch. Adam. in vit. Philoſ. p. 227.

(*p*) Camerar ubi ſupra, p. 206.

(*q*) Id. ib. p. 207.

(*r*) Melch. Adam. ib.

(*ſ*) Camerar. ib. p. 208.

(*t*) *See what he wrote to* Camerar. apud Melchior Adam. in vit. Theo. p. 358.

(*v*) Id ib.

(*w*) Camerar. ib. p. 207.

(*x*) Melchoir Adam. in vit. Medic. p. 377.

(*y*) Melch. Adam. in vit. Philoſ. p. 198.

Prodigies, Aſtrology † and Dreams *, and I will make ſome Reflections upon the Inclination to Pyrrhoniſm for which he is blam'd (*l*). Some have falſly accus'd him of hating

† See the proofs of it in the Hiſt. of the Variations by the Bishop of Meaux l. 5. n. 34.

* See Melch. Adam in ejus vita paſſim.

and if he does it not they grumble and complain. *Melanchthon* and his Son-in-Law are a Proof of this. (*z*) *Inter ſocerum ac generum non quidem odium aut ſimultas, ſed alienatio tamen quædam & prope diſſidium ortum fuit—Fons autem erat omnium, quod Sabinus ſocero nimia cupiditate Illuſtris fortunæ videatur ardere. Ille autem non tantum adjuvari & quaſi promoveri ſe ab ipſo quantum optabat & poſſe arbitrabatur, ægre ferebat.* From whence I conclude, that it is difficult to live happily in this miſerable World, ſince a happy Life requires not only that a Man ſhould govern his own Paſſions, but alſo that thoſe of his Kindred ſhould be well governed.

(z) Camerar. ibid.

(*l*) *The Inclination to Pyrrhoniſm for which he is blam'd*]. " (*a*) He ſeem'd to have been brought " up in the School of *Pyrrho*, for a Thouſand " doubts beſet his Soul, for fear, ſaid he, of er- " ring. His Writings were perpetually full " of Scepticiſm " The Author who ſays this, cites ſome Teſtimonies, and tells us no more than what an infinite Number of Writers have obſerv'd. See in the laſt place the Biſhop of *Meaux* in his *Hiſtoire des Variations*. I believe that he exaggerates the Matter, but I think alſo that *Melanchthon* was not free from doubts, and that there were many Subjects about which he could not poſitively ſay, *This is thus, and it cannot be otherwiſe*. He was of a mild and peaceable Diſpoſition, he had a great deal of Wit, much Reading, and a vaſt Knowledge. He had ſuch Qualities of Temper, as being joyn'd with his acquir'd Accompliſhments, are commonly a Source of Irreſolution. A great Genius ſupported with a vaſt Knowledge, will ſcarce find Error to be altogether on one ſide. He diſcovers a ſtrong and a weak ſide in each Party, he underſtands what is moſt ſpecious in the Objections of his Adverſaries, and what is not ſolid in his Proofs; he does, I ſay, all this, provided he be not of a cholerick Temper; for if he be, he is ſo prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of his own Party, that his Knowledge ſerves him in no ſtead. He does not only perſuade himſelf that he has Reaſon on his ſide, but he has ſuch a tender Regard to his own Sentiments, as moves him to hate bitterly the Doctrine he oppoſes. From the Hatred of Opinions he quickly proceeds to hate the Perſons; he aſpires to Triumph, and being heated with Diſpute, he is fretted till he obtains the Victory: He is angry with thoſe who repreſent to him, that it is for the Intereſt of heavenly Truth, that we ſhould not have Recourſe to Expedients of human Policy. He is no leſs troubled if he hears anyBody ſay, that his Doctrines are not certain and evident, and that the contrary Party can alledge good Reaſons. Being of ſuch a Temper, he examines things only for this end, that he may be more and more convinc'd, that the Doctrines he has embrac'd are true, and he does not fail to find much Solidity in his own Arguments; for there is no Mirror ſo flattering as Prepoſſeſſion. It is a Paint that embelliſhes the ugliеſt Faces; it does the ſame Offices to a Doctrine that the *Venus* of the *Roman* Poet did to her Son.

(*a*) Flor. de Remond ubi ſupra b. 2. c. 9. p. 181.

(*b*) Virgil Æneid. lib. 1. v. 588.

Reſtitit (b) Æneas, claraque in luce refulſit;
Os humeroſque Deo ſimilis: namque ipſa decoram
Cæſariem nato genitrix, lumenque juventæ
Purpureum, & lætos oculis afflarat honores
Quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
Argentum, Pariuſve lap. circumdatur auro.

Melanchthon not having this Temper, could not be ſo ſteady in his Opinions. He was of ſo cool a Temper, that he examin'd Matters freely *pro* and *con*; and becauſe he lov'd Peace, and deſir'd the Confuſions which the Schiſm gave Birth to, he was more diſpoſed to judge favourably of many Doctrines, which hot Men made the Foundation of a Rupture, and which he would have tolerated to facilitate a Re-union. His Modeſty and Experience render'd him a little diſtruſtful. He was perſuaded that his Knowledge might encreaſe every day, for he remember'd that he had corrected many things in his own Writings, which he believed to be good when he firſt publiſhed them; but Time taught him to withdraw his Approbation, and to apply to himſelf a fine Paſſage of *Terence*. (c) Could he be poſitive that time would not teach him better ſtill? This is what hindred him from being peremptory in his Opinions. He liv'd among a ſort of People who appear'd to him paſſionate, and too forward to mix human Ways and the Supports of the ſecular Power with the Affairs of the Church. His Conſcience being tender (*d*) made him afraid that there was a Character of Reprobation in it. Wherefore then did he continue in that Party, will you ſay, if he had no poſitive aſſurance that it was the Cauſe of God? Whither would you have him go? Would not he have found in the Romiſh Communion more things that deſerved to be condemned, and more Heat and Oppreſſion of Conſcience? Don't you think that he had well-weigh'd all theſe Inconveniencies when he caſt his Eyes upon *Paleſtine*, thinking to retire thither in caſe his Enemies ſhould drive him away. (*e*) *Non frangor animo, propter crudeliſſimam vo...m meorum hoſtium, qui dixerunt ſe mihi non relicturos eſſe veſtigium pedis in Germania. Commendo autem me ſuo Dei. Si ſolus expellar: Decrevi Paleſtinam adire, & in illis Hieronymi latebris, in invocatione Filii Dei, & teſtimonia perſpicua de doctrina ſcribere, & in morte Deo animam commendare.* Compare with this the Deſign that *Abelard* (*f*) had to retire among the Infidels.

(c) Melanchth. apud Melch. Adam in vitis Theol. p. 157

(*f*) See the Article Alcuinus (John Paul) at the Remark (g).

Let us here admire the peculiar Character of the Fate of Man. His Virtues are liable to bad Conſequences, and have their Inconveniencies; his bad Qualities on the contrary produce ſome good effects upon many Occaſions. Modeſty, Moderation, Love of Peace, form in the Minds of the moſt learned a certain Principle of Equity, which makes them in ſome Meaſure luke-warm and unreſolv'd. Pride and Anger make a great Doctor ſo dogmatical and ſelf-conceited, that he is not ſenſible of the leaſt doubt, and will undertake and endure any thing for the Advancement and Propagation of his own Opinions. If by good luck he lights upon the Truth, what Service will he not do to it? They will doubtleſs be greater, than they would be if he were of a more moderate Temper. The Bonds of prejudice, or if you pleaſe, the Biaſs of the Paſſions, do more ſtrongly faſten the Soul to the Truth, than the Charms of it. Note, that I ſet aſide the good Effects of Grace, both upon the Tempers that are too phlegmatick, and too cholerick. I conſider the matter only Philoſophically, and under this Notion we may truly ſay, that as to what concerns the Intereſt of a Sect, a Man that is conceited and violent, is preferable to a wiſe Man. And if any Founder of a Sect deſires that his Diſciples ſhould labour with Succeſs, in propagating his Doctrine, he ſhould wiſh that they were of ſuch a Humour, as never to depart from any thing, and to eſpouſe for all their Life the firſt Party they embrace. If they pitch upon it before they are capable of weighing well the Reaſons on both ſides, it is ſo much the better; they will be the farther from doubting for the future, and the leſs they doubt, the more dogmatical they will be: Whereas thoſe who expect to receive more Light every day, do not think themſelves obliged to ſhow a very great Zeal, for they imagine, that what appears true to them to day, will appear to them at another time leſs probable than what they do not at all believe. *Cicero*, expreſſes very well theſe different Characters, ſpeaking of the Scepticks and Dogmaticks. *Neque noſtræ diſputationes*, ſays he, (*g*) *quicquam aliud agunt, niſi ut in utramque partem dicendo, & audiendo eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum ſit, aut ad quam proxime accedat. Neque inter nos & eos qui ſe ſcire arbitrantur quicquam intereſt, niſi quod illi non dubitant, quæ ea ſint quæ defendunt: Nos probabilia multa habemus, quæ ſequi facile, affirmare vix poſſumus. Hæc aut mihi aut ſimilibus & ſolutiores ſumus, quod intelligamus eſſe judicandi pertinaces, neque ut omnia quæ præcepta & quaſi imperata ſint, defendamus, neceſſitate ulla cogamur. Nam ſæpe primum ante tenentur aſtricti, quam quid eſſet optimum, judicare potuerint. Deinde infirmiſſimo tempore ætatis aut elapſi amico cuidam, aut una alicujus quem primum audierunt, oratione capti, de rebus incognitis judicant, & ad quamcunque ſunt diſciplinam quaſi tempeſtate delati, ad eam tanquam ad ſaxum hærent. Quæ*

(g) Cicero Acad. quæſt. l. 2. n. 2.

(d) Conſult the Paſſages cited by the Biſhop of Meaux Hiſt. des Variations l. 2. n. 44. l. 4. n. 2. l. 5. n. 34.

(e) Melanchth. apud Melch. Adam in vitis Theol. p. 157

(f) See the Article Alcuinus (John Paul) at the Remark (g).

(g) Cicero Acad. quæſt. l. 2. n. 2.

(a) Flor. de Remond ubi ſupra b. 2. c. 9. p. 181.

(b) Virgil Æneid. lib. 1. v. 588.

(z) Camerar. ibid.

(c) Num quam ita quiſquam bene ſubducta ratione ad vitam fuit, Quin res, ætas, uſus, ſemper aliquid apportet novi, Aliquid moneat ut illa, quæ te ſcire credas, nescias, Ea ſæpe tibi putaris prima, in experiendo ut repudies Quod in hujus evenit nunc. *Terent. Adelph. act. 5. ſc. 4. init.*

(d) Conſult the Paſſages cited by the Biſhop of Meaux Hiſt. des Variations l. 2. n. 44. l. 4. n. 2. l. 5. n. 34.

Nam

hating (*K*) the Peripatetick Phyloſophy. There is infinitely more Reaſon to pretend that he did not believe the real Preſence (*L*), nor that * Grace was irreſiſtable. Father *de St. Romuald*

* *See the Article Synergiſts.*

Nam quod dicunt, omnino ſe credere ei, quem judicent ſumm. ſapientem, probarem, ſi id ipſum rudes & indoctî judicare potuiſſent. Statuere enim quid ſit ſapiens, vel maxime videtur eſſe ſapientis. Sed ut potuerunt omnibus rebus auditis, cognitis etiam reliquorum ſententiis judicaverunt, aut reſum. audita ad unius ſe autoritatem contulerunt. Sed neſcio quomodo plerique errare malunt, eamque ſententiam quam adamaverunt, pugnaciſſime defendere, quàm ſine pertinacia quid conſtantiſſime dicant exquirere.

(*K*) *Of hating the Peripatetick Philoſophy*] I have cited (*b*) elſewhere Father *Rapin*, who places *Melanchthon* in the Catalogue of the modern Hereticks, who declaim'd againſt *Ariſtotle* and his Philoſophy. This Accuſation is not well grounded, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter (*i*), and it will be ſufficiently refuted by ſetting down here what *Melanchthon* wrote to the Chancellor of *Bavaria* in 1535. (*k*) *Vere judicas plurimum intereſſe Reipublicæ ut Ariſtoteles conſervetur, & extet in ſcholis ac verſetur in manibus diſcentium. Nam profectò ſine hoc autore, non ſolum non retineri pura philoſophia, ſed ne quidem juſta docendi aut diſcendi ratio ulla poterit.* The Logick of the Schools of all the parts of Philoſophy was that which was leaſt grateful to the Reformers; for they look'd upon it as the cauſe of vain Subtilties, which made young People loſe a great deal of Time, and corrupted Theology; yet *Melanchthon* declar'd for Logick. His Teſtimony was cited by *Caramuel* in the Catalogue he has given us of ſome Proteſtant Doctors, who recommend the ſtudy of that part of Philoſophy. *Philippus Melanchthon*, ſays he (*a*), *Lutheri diſcipulus fuit, & tametſi Magiſter parvi Logicam penderet, ipſe maximi eam fecit, & inter alia in præfatione Erotem. Dialect. hæc ſcripſit.* Hos & adhortor, & propter gloriam Dei, ac propter Eccleſiæ ſalutem obteſtor ne dialecticen negligant, nec applaudant inſulſis ſermonibus eorum qui vituperant eam & Eccleſiæ inutilem eſſe &c. imo Dialectica opus eſt non ſolum ut doctrina lucem habeat, ſed etiam ut ſit concordiæ vinculum. The Jeſuit *James Gretſer*, oppoſing the hatred which *Luther* expreſs'd againſt the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, cites a long Paſſage out of *Melanchthon* the Diſciple of *Luther*: *A quo*, ſays he (*b*), *hanc Apologiam mutuabimur, niſi ab illo, cui Lutherus plurimum tribuere ſolebat; quique ea, quæ olim in Ariſtotelem conjecerat, maledicta laudibus poſtea diſpunxit? Is eſt Melanchthon, qui in oratione de Ariſtotele* (1) *à Flocco quodam Norimbergenſi recitata his verbis Logicam Ariſtotelicam adverſus Lutheri criminationes nobis dat defenſam.* Nunc quædam de genere Philoſophiæ addam, cur Ariſtotelicum maxime nobis in Eccleſia uſui eſſe arbitremur. Conſtare arbitror inter omnes, maxime nobis in Eccleſia opus eſſe Dialectica, quæ methodos recte informat, quæ dextre definit, juſte partitur, apte connectit, judicat, & divellit monſtroſas connexiones. Hanc artem qui non norunt lacerant materias explicandas, ut catuli panniculos. Libet enim uti Platonis ſimilitudine. Vere eam Plato laudibus effert, inquiens igniculum eſſe, quem Prometheus è cælo attulerit, ut in mentibus hominum lumen accenderet ad recte judicandum. Sed artis præcepta nuſquam tradit. Carere igitur Ariſtotelis monumentis non poſſumus. Stoica non extant, & apparet intricatos Labyrinthos, & corruptelas artis fuiſſe, non ſimplicem diſſerendi viam, utilem explicationi magnarum rerum. *Hæc Philippus pro Ariſtotelis Logica contra Lutheri amentiam.* The ſequel of this Paſſage of *Melanchthon* related by *Greſſer*, contains great praiſes upon the Phyſicks and Morals of *Ariſtotle*.

It is not therefore neceſſary to juſtifie *Melanchthon* upon this Head, his own Works ſufficiently juſtifie him; but I muſt not forget a Miſtake of Father *Rapin*. He cites a Theſis (*c*) maintain'd by *Luther* at *Heidelberg* in 1518, wherein *Ariſtotle* was ill us'd. "*Luther*, continues he, lets no Occaſion ſlip in his Books of inveighing againſt "this Philoſopher, wherein he is followed by "*Zuinglius*, *Peter Martyr*, *Zanchius*, *Melanchthon*, and "by all thoſe who have oppos'd the Doctrine of "the *Roman* Church: Which made *Melchior Canus* "ſay, &c." All this, and what he had ſaid of the *Anabaptiſts*, is taken out of a Book of *George Hornius*, which he cites. Now the words of that Author are theſe: (*d*) *Ibique* (Lutherus) *pluribus Ariſtotelem exagitat. Zwinglius etiam, P. Martyr, Zanchius & alii excellentiſſime florebant Philoſophiæ laudibus. Omnes tamen exſuperavit divinum* Philippi *Melanchthonis ingenium, qui ſcriptis ſuis totam Philoſophiam ita illuſtravit, ut vere author ejus & fatalis in Germania inſtaurator dici poſſit. Illuſtravit Dialecticam, Ethicam, Phyſicam, & Mathematicas diſciplinas: expurgavit ſpinas Philoſophorum: id denique effecit, ut Philoſophia mox florentiſſima efficeretur.* The Particle *etiam* being put a little after the words which ſignifie that *Luther* inveig'd againſt *Ariſtotle*, made *Rapin* think, that *Zuinglius*, and the other Reformers nam'd by *Hornius*, inveigh'd alſo againſt *Ariſtotle*; but he might eaſily have known that this was far from the Thoughts of *Hornius*. The Elogium he beſtowed upon *Melanchthon* might be further enlarg'd; for this great Man did not only illuſtrate all the parts of Philoſophy; but there is ſcarce any Art or Science about which he did not write, and endeavour to facilitate the ſtudy of them by eaſie and plain Methods. What ſhall we ſay then of thoſe (*e*) who were ſo impudent as to publiſh, that *Melanchthon* and *Carloſtad* cried down all the Sciences, that they turn'd Artificers, and rendered all the Schools like a Deſart, ſo that there was nothing to be ſeen in them but Spiders Webs? It would be difficult to find any Profeſſors who read as many Lectures, and to ſo (*f*) many People as he did. It often happen'd that he read three or four Lectures in a Day (*g*); and there is reaſon to believe, that when he Married he did not interrupt his Academick Exerciſes, except on his Wedding Day, which may be inferr'd from this diſtich:

A ſtudiis hodie facit ocia grata Philippus,
Nec vobis Pauli dogmata ſacra leget.

This was the Advertiſement (*h*) which was given on that Day to his Auditors. He was the principal Support of the Univerſity of *Wittemberg* (*i*) *Sua induſtria atque eruditione Wittembergicam Academiam præcipue ſuſtinuit: nec paſſus eſt vel bellis civilibus, vel inteſtinis odiis ſeſe ab ea abſtrahi: binas, ternas, quaternas quotidie ſcholas habuit eaſque frequentiſſimas: nullam autem horam vacuam à legendo, ſcribendo, diſſerendo, conſulendo.*

To ſpeak the Truth without diſſimulation, I muſt here declare, that *Melanchthon* at the beginning follow'd the Dance that *Luther* led him, and ſpoke ill of *Ariſtotle*: But he quickly chang'd his Dialect, and continu'd to commend the Philoſophy of this Founder of the *Lyceum*. Wherefore Father *Rapin* had no ground for the Accuſation mention'd in the beginning of this Remark; for we muſt not judge of a Man by thoſe Opinions which he quickly forſakes; but by thoſe wherein he continues all the reſt of his Life. Father *Greſſer* might have taught Father *Rapin* how to ſpeak about this matter. See what I have already cited from that *German* Jeſuit, and what I am going to cite from the ſame Author. (*k*) *Quid ad nos, quid Ariſtoteles impurus homo dicat?* vociferatur Philippus (2). Et in Locis Anno Chriſti, M. D. XXIII. Argentorati editis: (3) *Ariſtotelis doctrina eſt in univerſum quædam libido rixandi, ut eum inter paræneticæ philoſophiæ ſcriptores ne poſtremo quidem loco dignemur. Quid ad me quid ſenſerit ille rixator?* inquit in iiſdem locis (4) Philippus. Quanquam poſtea Vertumnus iſte ſtylum vertit, & maledicta in benedicta convertit. See the Margin (†).

(*L*) *To pretend that he did not believe the real Preſence.*] *Pucer* was heard to ſay (*l*), 1. That *Melanchthon* his Father-in-Law having read the Dialogue of the *Oecolompadius de Cœna Domini*, forſook the Opinion of the Oral Manducation, and that afterwards he triumph'd in the Argument from the Authority of the Fathers. *Patribus doctrina Synuſiaſtarum fuit ignota: Auguſtinus craſſiſſimus fuit Swinglianus, ergo*, &c. 2. That he did not believe a Man could die with a greater Glory than for the Doctrine of the Euchariſt, and that he was angry with himſelf that he did not ſhow a greater Courage in making an open Profeſſion of his Opinion. *Ah utinam poſſem eſſe fortior in confeſſione iſtius cauſæ, & alibi eſſem. Sed his moribus, his temporibus inter hos homines fieri id non poſſe, & habeo*

(*a*) Jo. Caramuel Theolog. rational. tom. 2. p. 42. edit. Francof. 1654. *in fol.*

(*b*) Jacob. Gretſer inaugur. Doctor. p. 60, 61.

(1) Melanchth. tom. 3. Declamat.

(*c*) Rapin, Reflexions ſur la Philoſophie, *p. m.* 451.

(*d*) Georg. Hornius Hiſt. Philoſ. lib. 6. c. 9. p. 315.

(*e*) *The Jeſuit* Creſollius *is one of them. See* Morhoff. Polyhiſt. p. 7, & 8.

(*f*) *See in the Remark P. what* Sabinus *anſwer'd to Cardinal* Bembus.

(*g*) Konig. Biblioth. p. 527.

(*h*) Melch. Adam. in vit. Philoſ. p. 190.

(*i*) Id in vit. Theo. p. 355.

(*k*) Jacob. Gretſer. ubi ſupra, p. 45.

(2) Phil. in Apolog pro Luth. & in Ludo contra Pariſienſ.

(3) Tit. de peccato.

(4) Tit. de lege.

(†) *This may be confirm'd by the words of* Eraſmus Epiſt. ad fratres Germaniæ inferioris, p. m 2127. Nonne Melanchthon aliquando damnavit ſcholas publicas? Nunc hic dicit, maneant ſcholæ quæ bonæ ſunt, vitia corrigantur.

(*l*) Abrah. Scultetus narrat. apologet. p. 20, & ſeq.

St. *Romuald* affirms that his Body was burnt at *Munich* (*M*). This appears to me to be a very groſs Fiction. Mr. *Varillas* has publiſh'd ſo (*N*) ſtrange Falſhoods, that it may

(m) A Jeanne Triderico Electore rer illi decretum fuiſſe carcerem *Id. ib.*

(n) *See* the Hiſtoria Carceri *and the Preface to the Treatiſe* De præcipuis divinationum generibus.

(o) *See his* 2d *Volume* Hiſtoriæ Sacramentariæ, p. 231. & paſſim alibi. *Conſult alſo the Biſhop of* Meaux Hiſt. des Variat. l. 8. n. 39.

(a) *See particularly* p. 428. & *ſeq.* Hiſt. Sacrament. tom. 2.

(b) Hoſpin. ib. p. 430.

(c) *The Biſhop of* Meaux Hiſt. des Variations, b. 5. n. 16.

(1) Peuc. Epiſt. ad vit. Theod. Hoſp. p. 2. fol 193, & ſeq.

(2) Mel. l. 4. Epiſt. 315.

(3) Lib. 4. 255.

(4) Peter de St. Romuald Abregé Chronol. *tom.* 3 *p.* 398 *ad ann.* 1560.

(*a*) *He ſhould have ſaid* Bretten.

(*b*) *In the Year* 1597

graves rationes mei conſilii. Interim dico ſententiam meam ubi video opus eſſe. 3. That in 1544, he explain'd himſelf freely to an *Hungarian*, who ask'd his Thoughts about the Euchariſt, and that the thing being reported to *Luther* and *Pomeranus*, the latter one Day made this Apoſtrophe to the People in a Sermon. *Moſt dear Brethren, the Church runs a great hazard, pray to God almighty for ſome great Perſons that are fall'n into Error.* 4 That *Melanchthon* underſtanding that this was meant of him, could not bridle his Anger, but went out of the Church in the ſight of all the Congregation; that he related this Affair to *Cruciger*, and that they concluded to withdraw from *Wittemberg*; which they would have put in execution, if *Luther* had not paſs'd his Word, that the Court of *Saxony* ſhould do them no hurt upon this occaſion. 5. That *Melanchthon* liv'd under hard Bondage at *Wittemberg*, and (*m*) run the riſque three times of being clapt up in Priſon. 6. That he diſapprov'd the Concordate made in the Year 1536. and the fearfulneſs of *Bucer*, which made him yield too much to *Luther*. *Nec tacebat de concordia Wittembergica inter Lutherum & Bucerum anno* 1536. *icta. Melanchthonem audebat Bucerum ſæpe hortatum fuiſſe ne tantum Lutheri largiretur, ſed Bucerum fuiſſe timidum, circumſpectum ab inimicis. Reliquos etiam ſuperioris Germaniæ Theologos nimis facto & demiſſo animo fuiſſe.* Theſe are the Diſcourſes which *Peucer* had with *Sculterus*, who went to ſee him at *Deſſau* in the Year 1589.

But if one would be aſſur'd of the ſincerity of this Relator, he needs only read the Works (*n*) of *Peucer*, and particularly that which was Printed in 1596, by the care of *Quirinus Reuterus*, which is entituled, *Tractatus hiſtoricus de clariſſimi viri Philippi Melanchthonis ſententia de controverſia cænæ Domini, à D Caſparo Peucero ante plures annos ſcriptus, ſed jam primum ſeparatim bon. publica ergo excuſus: Cum appendice ſelectorum epiſtolarum & judiciorum aliquot Philippi, aliorumque præſtantium virorum de eadem materia.* *Hoſpinian* (*o*) will prove to you at large, that *Melanchthon* was undeceiv'd and turn'd from *Lutheraniſm* as to the point of the Real Preſence, altho' the fear of Oppreſſion did not ſuffer him to declare his Judgment publickly. He hath carefully Collected together (*a*) many Proofs of this Fear. The famous *Melanchthon* being threatned with Baniſhment (*b*), teſtified at laſt that he wiſh'd for it as a kind of deliverance. He "(*c*) knew of no other Reme- "dy for all thoſe Evils, but flight, and his "Son-in-Law *Peucer* (1) informs us, that he was "reſolv'd upon it. He himſelf writes (2), that "*Luther* was ſo violently tranſported againſt "him, about a Letter receiv'd from *Bucer*, that "he thought of nothing but withdrawing from "his Preſence. He liv'd under ſuch continual "fear from *Luther* and the Heads of the Party, "and was ſo oppreſs'd with Labour and Vexation, "that he wrote to his Friend *Camerarius* 1 am, "ſays he, (3), *in Bondage, as if I were in the Cave of "the Cyclops; for I cannot diſguiſe my ſentiment to "you, and I have often thought of making my eſcape.* "*Luther* was not the only Perſon that offer'd "him violence. Every one has the command "at certain times among thoſe who forſake the "lawful Authority, and the moſt moderate are "always the moſt enſlav'd". Note, that this Paſſage of the Biſhop of *Meaux* does not concern the conſtraint that *Luther* was in with reſpect to the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

(*M*) *That his Body was burnt at* Munich. "(*d*) "*Philip Melanchthon*, a Native of *Bretten* (*a*) in *Ger-* "*many*, died at *Wittemberg*, being a little above "ſixty three Years of Age. He was the conſtant "Companion of *Martin Luther*. He was buried "like him very honourably by ſome of his "own Faction; but ſometime after, (4) the Ca- "tholicks dug up his Body and burnt it with "great Zeal at *Munich*: And becauſe in the mean "time the Caſtle took Fire, and the Lyons eſ- "cap'd, not without great danger to the Inha- "bitants of the City, *Du Tillet-Vernay* took oc- "caſion from thence to cry out, *Juſta Domini judi- "cia.* This is in a Letter he wrote, to the Sieur *Lancelot de Carle Burgundus.*" This good Monk quotes no Body, and he ſets down the Year 1597, which is a good proof of his Ignorance; for *Langius* died in 1581.

(*N*) *Mr.* Varillas *has publiſh'd ſo ſtrange Falſhoods.*] "They give no leſs different (*f*) accounts of *Me-* "*lanchthon*'s Death, which happen'd almoſt at the "ſame time: he was then 63 Years and (*g*) three "Days old—His Mother having conjur'd him at "his Death to declare which of the two Reli- "gions was the beſt; he anſwer'd her, that the "new was more plauſible, but the Catholick was "more ſafe. Yet that which was moſt ſurpriſing "in him was, that his inconſtancy in Matters of "Religion, did not hinder him from ſhowing a "great firmneſs of Soul under Adverſity. He "ſpent all his Life in Study, and ſeem'd not to "be capable of any other Labour. He ſubſiſted "with his Wife, and the many Daughters he had "(*h*), upon the Salary he receiv'd from *John Fre-* "*drick* Elector of *Saxony*, as Profeſſor of Divinity "in the Univerſity of *Wittemberg*. This Sa- "lary was juſt ſufficient to maintain *Melanch-* "*thon*'s Family, who receiving it Quarterly "without fail, never troubled himſelf much "about the time to come, becauſe he ſuppos'd this "would be an inexhauſtible Spring to ſupply "him. But it happen'd, as we have ſhown in the "16th Book of this Hiſtory, that the Elector of "*Saxony* loſt his Dominions and his Liberty, and "that *Melanchthon*'s Salary was no longer paid. "His Moveables were of ſo little value, that they "were not ſufficient to maintain him for any long "time; and within a few Months he was re- "duced to the neceſſity of begging of importu- "ning his Friends, every one of whom had "ſuffer'd conſiderable Loſſes in the general Re- "volution of *Saxony*. Both theſe Extremities "were equally unpleaſant to him; and there- "fore he choſe rather to get his Livelyhood "with the Sweat of his Brows, by ſerving in a "Calling very different from his. He hired him- "ſelf to a Brewer of Beer, and ſerv'd three "whole Years in the Brew-houſe, till Duke "*Maurice* being put in poſſeſſion of the Electorate "of *Saxony*, re-eſtabliſh'd the Univerſity of *Pit-* "*temberg*, and the Salary of *Melanchthon*." Note, that the Mother of *Melanchthon* died in 1529, how then could ſhe aſk any Queſtion in 1560? See above what I have ſaid in the *Remark E.* (*i*) againſt *Florimond de Remond*. I will not trouble my ſelf with proving, that he never hir'd himſelf to a Brewer: This is a Story whoſe falſity may be diſcover'd by a bare inſpection of the Courſe of the Life of this learned Perſon. I ſhall only add by the by, that thoſe who ſay that *Luther took* (*k*) Melanchthon *out of a Baker's Shop, to whom he had bound himſelf Apprentice to get a Livelyhood* (*l*) with the Sweat of his Brows, are groſly miſtaken.

To go on with the Faults of *Varillas*, I ſhall here inſert the Narrative he has given us of the Deſign of *Francis* I. with reſpect to *Melanchthon*. He ſuppoſes (*m*) that the Siſter *n*), and the Miſtreſs of this Prince (*o*) were extreamly engag'd in Intrigues to introduce the new Religion into the Kingdom, and that not ſucceeding in their Attempt (*p*) built upon a Sermon of the Curate of St *Euſtache*, they made uſe of another Device, which was to perſuade the King to gain the Proteſtants of *Germany*, which would be very advantageous to him for oppoſing the too great Power of *Charles* V and they repreſented to him, that nothing would be more effectual to gain them, than to make a ſhow of a great deſire of a Conference with *Melanchthon*. The firſt ſtep which this Prince made in this Affair, "was the Order which "*Langey* receiv'd, who had known this Divine "(*q*) in *Saxony*, to ſound him if he were inclin- "able to change his Chair of Theology in *Wit-* "*temberg*, whoſe Revenue was only 2 Crowns "a Year, for a Royal Profeſſor's Chair in the U- "niverſity of *Paris*, whoſe Revenue was twelve "Hundred Crowns a Year." The ſecond ſtep that he made was "to entruſt *Langey* with doing "ſome private Offices at the Court of *Saxony*, to "clear [illegible] Melanchthon *deſir'd*, and with "a Letter for the Elector *Dane* ſign'd with the "King's own Hand——" The Elector of *Saxony*

(*f*) Varillas *Hiſt de l'Hereſie, tom* 5 *l.* 24 *p.* 227. *of the Dutch Edit.*

(*g*) *He lived juſt* 63 *Days.*

(*h*) *He had but two*

(*i*) *Letter*

(*k*) Florimond de Remond *Hiſt de l'Hereſie, l.* 1 *c.* 51 *p.* 95

(*l*) Id ib. l. 2 c. 2. p. 126

(*m*) Varillas *Hiſt del'Hereſie, tom* 2. *l.* 10. *p* 312

(*n* Margaret *Queen of* Navarre.

(*o*) *The Dutcheſs of* Etampes

(*p*) Id ib. p. 317, 319.

(*q*) Id ib p. 321

(*r*) Id ib p. 322

may be justly thought a needless Labour to confute them. The violence wherewith * *Melanchthon* was calumniated during his Life, * Persecuted him even after his Death. It is astonishing, that amidst so many other Occupations he could write so many Books. The number of them is prodigious; a Chronological Catalogue of them was publish'd in † 1582. Because he saw that his Works, tho' he did not finish them, were nevertheless profitable to the Youth, he ‖ rather chose to Print many of them, than to perfect a small Number: And so he preferr'd the Profit of his Neighbour to his own Glory. We may believe also that the happy Genius he had receiv'd from Nature, gave him some assurance that his Works would be esteemed ¶, tho' they were not finished. His Latin Verses pleas'd the Hypercritical ♣ *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*. He sometimes

* See Melchior Adam. in vit. Theolog. p. 357, 358. & Buchholcer. ad. Chron. ad ann. 1560. p. m. 600.

† Mar. Mylius *is the Author of that Catalog.* See Melch. Adam. in vit. Theolog. p. 347.

‖ See Melch. Adam. ib. p. 361.

¶ See Erasmus in Ciceroniano.

♣ Jul. Cæsar Scalig. Poët. l. 6. p. m. 736.

"did no sooner hear that the most Christian "King desir'd *Melanchthon* to come, but he ima- "gin'd that this would make all *France* turn *Lu- "theran*—He did not deliberate an instant upon the "demand that was made, and did not only grant "a Man whom he believ'd to be still very necessa- "ry to him, but also exhorted him presently to "set forward in his Journey. Yet *Luther* de- "tain'd him a long time, because he had no "mind to part with him, upon pretence that he "was to Concert, or, to speak more properly, to "Polish with him, his last Book against the *Anabap- "tists.*" *Melanchthon* wrote a civil Answer to *Fran- cis* I. and concludes (*f*) "with an excuse for not "coming away at the Minute that the Elector his "Lord had given him leave. The Cardinal *de Tournon* (*t*) had the Courage *to oppose this Intrigue of the Queen* of Navarre *and the Dutchess of* Etampes. He made a Discourse which *Francis* I. reliss'd well; "(*v*) "but the Virtue which *this Prince* affected most "was to keep his Word, and he suppos'd that it "would be thought the more strange, if he should "break it with respect to *Melanchthon*, because that "Divine had not attempted of his own Head to "come to *Paris*, neither had he consented to do "it, till he was invited in an honourable Way. "There was nothing therefore resolv'd upon, "and his Majesty's indifference had probably "continu'd longer, if the same *Lutherans* who "had so dextrously inspir'd him with the desire of "seeing *Melanchthon*, had not also dispossess'd him "of it by an insolent Action, which put him "quite out of conceit with them." They had already posted up some Placards at his Closet-Door, which had made him very angry; but he (*w*) was much more offended "at the Printed "Bills, which they slipt into his Dining-Room "by means of *Ferret* a Servant to his Apo- "thecary. It was suspected that they were com- "pos'd by *Farel*—The reading of these Bills fini- "shed the Design which Cardinal *de Tournon* had "begun, and *Melanchthon* was countermanded. "The spreaders of these Bills were searched for, "and a very severe Edict was publish'd, which "the Cardinal Chancellor *Duprat* drew up against "the *Lutherans*. On the 29th of *January* 1535, "there was a solemn Procession, at which the "King assisted on Foot bare Headed, and with a "Wax-Taper in his Hand.

(*f*) Id. ib. p. 323.

(*t*) Id. Ib. p. 324.

(*v*) Id. ib. p. 325.

(*w*) Id. ib. p. 326.

(*x*) *Note, that* Florimond de Remond, b. 7 c. 3. *lays the same thing, but his authority is not better than that of* Varillas.

There are many Falshoods in this Narrative. In the first place I desire a security, before I believe upon the Authority of *Varillas* (*x*), that the Dutchess of *Etampes* concern'd her self out of Love to the Protestants, among other Intrigues, in that of *Melanchthon*'s Journey, and that he was offer'd the Chair of *Regius* Professor. 2. It appears by the King's Letter to *Melanchthon*, that he who carried it was call'd *la Fosse*: And therefore it was not given to Mr. *de Lange*. 3. The Elector of *Saxony* was so far from believing that *Melanchthon*'s Journey would make all *France Lutheran*, that one of the Reasons why he would not consent to it, was, that he thought it would rather hinder than further the Progress of the Reformation. This appears by (*y*) the Original Letters which he wrote upon this Occasion. 4. He was so far from granting *Melanchthon* the Liberty that was necessary without any deliberation, and moreover from *exhorting him to set forward in his Journey presently*, that on the contrary he could not be prevail'd upon (*z*), neither by the intreaties of that Professor, nor of *Luther*, nor by the good Offices of the Ambassador of *France*. He wrote his Excuses (*b*) to *Francis* I. the 28th of *April* 1535. The Ambassador continu'd still to sollicite, and all to no purpose, (*c*) in the Month of *December* of the same Year. 5. *Luther* did not *detain* Melanchthon *a long time*, but reiterated his Application to the Court of *Saxony* for his Journey (*d*). *Extant* Lutheri *ad Electorem literæ d.* 17. *Aug. datæ* tom. VI. fol. 491. *in quibus repetitis & enixissimis precibus contendit ut Philippus ad tres menses dimittatur.* 6. 'Tis a horrible Impudence to say, that *Melanchthon* in a Letter to the King, *concluded with an excuse that he had not come away that very minute that his Lord gave him leave.* There is no such thing in his Letter, and he could not without telling a Lye, mention the Permission of his Master. 7. The time of the Placards ought not to be distinguish'd from that wherein the Bills were slipt into the Palace of *Francis* I. and if *Varillas* had a mind to have made a distinction, the Bills should have preceded the Placards. Indeed *Florimond de Remond*, whom *Varillas* here does only Paraphrase upon, supposes that the Hereticks did not post up any Placards, before they had *dispers'd many Books* (*e*) *here and there*——*and caus'd their Articles of Faith to be thrown into the King's Closet by his Apothecary's Servant call'd* Ferret, *and even little Bills* (*f*) *into his Dining-Room.* 8. The sharpest things that were said against the Mass and the Priests, were not in those Bills, but (*g*) in the Placards. 9. *Varillas* cannot prove that *Francis* I. countermanded *Melanchthon*; he still demanded him in the Month of *December* 1535, after the Letter he receiv'd from the Elector of *Saxony*, full of Excuses for not granting to this Doctor leave to go into *France*. It is therefore very probable that *Francis* I. was never under a necessity to countermand him. 10. 'Tis very certain that the Placards did not induce him to do it, for they were posted up in the Month of *November* 1534. The King punish'd this Insolence, and expiated that Outrage, in the Month of *January* following; and he wrote to *Melanchthon* five Months after. Can any one sufficiently admire the negligence of Mr. *Varillas*? He gives the Substance of the Letter which *Francis* I. wrote to *Melanchthon*, and he might have seen that it is dated *June* twenty eighth 1535. He says (*h*), that the expiatory Procession was made the 29th (*i*) of *January* 1535; and yet he affirms, that the occasion of the Procession was the cause why the *German* Divine receiv'd a Counter-Order.

(*y*) See Seckend. ubi supra, b. 3. p. 109, 110.

(*z*) Seck. ubi supra, p. 107.

(*a*) Id. ib. p. 107.

(*b*) Ib. p. 110.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 107.

(*e*) Florimond de Remond ubi supra, b. 7. c. 5. p. 859.

(*f*) Varillas *attributes this to the Servant, and so does not keep to his Original.*

(*g*) Florimond de Remond, ibid.

(*h*) Varillas ubi supra, *p.* 326.

(*i*) *Beginning the Year with the Month of* January.

If he complains that his History of Heresie has been taken for a Romance, he has scarce any better reason for it, than *la Calprenede* had, who took it very heinously, that his *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra* were not look'd upon as Histories. "Nay I will say for the honour of these "Works, *says he* (*k*), that Justice is not done "them by the Name that is given them, tho' "perhaps they have been very well receiv'd in "the World, and that instead of calling them "Romances, as the *Amadis*, and other such like, "wherein there is neither Truth, nor Probability, "nor Geography, nor Chronology, they may be "look'd upon as Histories embellish'd with some "Invention, which by these Ornaments per- "haps lose nothing of their Beauty. In effect I "can truly say, that in *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra*, "there is not only nothing contrary to the Truth, "although there be some things beyond it; but "that there is not any place wherein I can be "convicted of a Lye, and that I am able to main- "tain all the Circumstances of the History to be "true when I please. And indeed there are some "intelligent Persons, who have given the same "Judgment of 'em, and who look'd upon me as "a Man better skill'd in the Affairs of the Courts "of *Augustus* and *Alexander*, than those who "have writ their Histories." This is a notable Rhodomontade, and there are few things more Romantick than this in the [illegible] this

(*k*) La Calprenede *Pref. to* Pharamond.

sometimes assum'd a false Name in the Title Page of his Books (O). Cardinal *Bembus* desir'd three things (P) which deserve to be related.

MEMNON, General of *Darius*'s Army, the last King of *Persia*, was of the Isle of *Rhodes*. He understood the Art of War very perfectly, and gave his Lord the best Advices that could be given in the juncture of *Alexander*'s Expedition. Had he liv'd but a few Years longer, the Successes of this Conqueror had not been so swift, and perhaps the whole face of Affairs might have been chang'd. His design was to carry the War into (A) *Macedonia*, whilst the *Macedonians* were making War against the King of *Persia* in *Asia*. He had already done brave Exploits in the Isle of *Lesbos*, which had very much terrified the other Isles; and he sow'd Discord among the *Grecians*, to make a Party there against *Alexander*: But this great Design was ruin'd by his

(l) Maximil. Sandæus in pædia Academici Christiani, commentat. 7. p. 250. Edit. Colon. 1638. in 8°. *apud Crenium ubi infra.*

(m) Crenius, animadv. philolog. & histor. parte 2. p. 24, *& seq.*

(n) Seckendorf, ubi supra, l. 1. p. 108. *& seq.*

(o) Placcius de Pseudonymis, p. 185, 186.

(p) *Hoornbeeck* summa controvers. l. 2. p. 979. Edit. 2.

(q) Teissier addit. aux elog. tom. 1. p. 192.

(r) Crenius, animadv. philol. & histor. parte 2. p. 23.

(s) *Great Grandson of* Polycarp Lyserus, *of whom I have made an Article.*

(t) *He was Rector of the College of* Hall *in* Saxony, *and then Physician, and at last Burgo-master of the same City. He died in* 1589.

(v) *It is at the end of the third part of the Animadversions of Mr.* Crenius.

Author. Nevertheless I dare repeat it, that Mr. *Varillas* could not make the like Complaints with much more reason. Besides 'tis matter of Astonishment, that so many *French* Writers should be guilty of the Sophism *a non causa pro causa*, speaking of this Affair of *Melanchthon*. They pretend that the fixing up of Placards by the Protestants hindred his Journey; and yet 'tis certain that by accident they were the cause why he was sent for. How blameable soever they be, yet they are less to be blam'd than the Jesuit *Sandæus* (*l*), who durst call in question what *Thuanus* relates, that *Francis* I. wrote to *Melanchthon*, &c. Consult Mr. *Crenius* (*m*), who solidly refutes the impudence of this Writer, and his unjust Contempt of *Melanchthon*.

(O) *He sometimes assum'd a false Name in the Title Page of his Books.*] He call'd himself *Didymus Faventinus* in the Answer he wrote in 1520, to a Harangue which *Thomas Rhadinus*, a Dominican and Professor of Divinity at *Rome*, publish'd against *Luther*. You will find an Abridgment of that Answer (*n*) in Mr. *Seckendorf*: But let no Man think, because the Author declaims very briskly against the Errors of the School-Men, that I was to blame to maintain, that he did not disapprove *Aristotle*'s Philosophy. To know exactly the Sentiments of an Author, we must not insist upon what he says in one Invective written against another; but we must learn his Judgment from his didactical Writings or his Letters, or in general from such Works as do not savour of Declamation. Every one knows how a Man is heated and transported beside the Business in Harangues. After all, because a Man censures very sharply the dangerous Niceties wherewith the School-Men's Philosophy is stuffed, it does not follow that he condemns *Aristotle*'s Philosophy. Mr. *Placcius* (*o*) having observ'd that *Hoornbeeck* (*p*) attributed to *Melanchthon* the Greek Version of the *Augsburg* Confession, which appear'd under the Name of *Paul Dolscius*, believ'd that the Translation of *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Psalms* into Greek Verse, are the Work of *Melanchthon*. This Opinion of *Placcius*, which was adopted by Mr. *Teissier* (*q*) and Mr. *Crenius* (*r*), is found to be false. Mr. *Lyserus* (*s*) Ecclesiastick Counsellor to H. E. H. the Duke of *Hanover* has prov'd that the Translations of the Psalter, *Ecclesiastes* and *Ecclesiasticus* into Greek Verse, and of the *Augsburg* Confession into Greek Prose, do really belong to *Paul* (*t*) *Dolscius*, whose Name they bear. See the Letter (*v*) which he wrote to Mr. *Crenius*. Here let us note a negligence of *Melchior Adam*. He (*w*) affirms, that in 1559 *Melanchthon* wrote in Greek to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and sent him a Copy of the Greek Version of the Confession of *Augsburg*, which Version, adds he, was made by *Melanchthon*, altho' it was publish'd under the Name of *Dolscius*: And presently after he cites these words. (*x*) *Mitto tibi interpretationem Græcam confessionis sine meo consilio editam. Probo tamen phrasin, ac misi Constantinopolim.* These Words are *Melanchthon*'s, and show that he did not make this Version. Wherefore we may say, that *Melchior Adam* produces a Witness against himself, when he thought to prove what he had affirm'd.

It is pretended (*y*), that *Melanchthon* did sometimes call himself *Hippophilus Melangæus*; But I have seen nothing of his under this disguise.

(P) *Cardinal* Bembus *desir'd three things.*] *Melanchthon* (*z*) wrote to him a Letter, to recommend to him *George Sabinus*, who was going to see *Italy*. The Cardinal was mightily pleas'd with this Recommendation, he show'd great Civility to *Sabinus*, and desir'd him to dine with him. He ask'd him many Questions during the time of Dinner, and particularly these three: *What is the Salary of* Melanchthon? *What is the Number of his Auditors? And what is his Judgment concerning another Life and Resurrection?* To the first *Sabinus* answer'd, that *Melanchthon*'s Salary was three Hundred Florins a Year. O ungrateful *Germany*, said the Cardinal, which purchases at so cheap a rate so many Works of so great a Man! The Answer to the second Question was, that *Melanchthon* had commonly fifteen Hundred Auditors. I cannot tell how to believe it, reply'd the Cardinal, for I know not in all *Europe* any University besides that of *Paris*, where the Auditory of a Professor is so numerous. Yet *Melanchthon* had often two Thousand five Hundred Persons at his Lectures. To the third Question it was answer'd, that the Writings of *Melanchthon* testifie sufficiently his full assurance of Faith as to these two Articles. (*a*) I should have a better Opinion of him, reply'd the Cardinal, if he did not believe this I have given you this little Story as I find it in *Melchior Adam*.

(A) *To carry the War into* Macedonia.] This was the way the *Romans* us'd to force the terrible *Annibal* to abandon *Italy*; they sent a good Army into *Africa* under the Conduct of *Scipio*, which so alarm'd *Carthage*, that they recall'd *Annibal*. This has been practis'd a hundred times to good purpose. *Memnon*, who had a mind to make use of it, fansied it to be the surest Expedient that he could take for supporting the Affairs of *Persia*. He consider'd that no decisive Battel could be fought against the *Macedonian* Forces, as long as they were only oppos'd in *Asia*, he expected only interchanged Blows, and Sieges rais'd or caus'd to be raised. At the beginning of the War he had attack'd *Cyzicus* (*b*), and could not make himself Master of it; but a little while after he forc'd *Parmenio* to raise the Siege of *Pitane* (*c*) These little Successes serve only to perpetuate the War. And therefore when it was debated what Course should be taken against the King of *Macedonia*, who had already pass'd the *Hellespont*, and was advancing as far as he could toward the Provinces of the King of *Persia*, his Advice was, that they should destroy all the Frontiers, and Embark all the Troops to transport them into *Macedonia*. By this means *Europe* would be made the Seat of War; *Asia* would be at Peace; the Enemy not finding any means of Subsistence in a Country that had been wasted, would be forc'd to march back and return into *Europe* to secure his own Kingdom. And certainly it was the safest way that the *Persians* could choose; but the other Generals did not like this Advice; they thought it not becoming the Grandeur of their Monarch, and therefore they concluded that they must give the Enemy Battel. (*d*) *Persarum duces——quam belli contra Alexandrum gerendi inirent rationem, congressi deliberabant. Memnon ibi Rhodius, imperatoris artibus perquam celebris, ne collatis signis dimicarent, sed agris longe latèque pervastatis, necessariorum omnium ulteriùs progrediendi facultatem Macedonibus interciderent, navalibusque simul & terrestribus copiis in Macedoniam deportatis, totam belli molem in Europam transferre censebat. Etiamsi vero consilium hujus optimum erat (ut eventus postea docuit) reliquorum tamen ducum assensionem impetrare nequivit, ac si conscisset ea quæ magnitudini animorum in Persis neutiquam convenirent. Quare cum sententia de consilio in eum hostibus ineundo pervasisset, &c.* The Satrap

(a) Haberem virum prudentiorem si hoc non crederet. *Id. ibid.*

(b) Diodor. Siculus, l. 17. c. 7.

(c) Id. ib.

(d) Id ib. c 18 p m. 826, 827.

(w) Melch. Adam. in vit. Theol. p. 351. (x) Melanchth. Epist. ... Bergensium apud Melch. Adamum, ibid. (y) *See* Moreri *at the word* Melanchthon, *and Mr.* Baillet *in the Catalogue of Authors* ... Melch. Adam. in vit Theol. p. 360.

his Death. He had the advantage to know by the Conduct of *Alexander* (B) with reſpect to him, that he was highly eſteem'd, and alſo much fear'd by this great Monarch. He perform'd his Duty very well at the Battel * of *Granicus*, where the *Perſians* were ſo unfortunate as not to hinder the Enemy from paſſing over the River, and getting the Victory. He ſignaliz'd himſelf afterwards † in the Defence of *Halicarnaſſus*. He acted like a Perſon of Honour and a brave Soul in chaſtiſing a Soldier who (C) rail'd at *Alexander*. His Widow was the firſt Woman (D) whom *Alexander* knew. Mr. *Moreri* has not (E) clearly expreſs'd himſelf, when he mentions the Advice which this General gave, to deſtroy all the Country through which the Enemies Troops were to march.

* *He commanded the left Wing in the Battel.* Diodor. Sicul. l. 17. c. 19.

† Id. ib. c. 24, & ſeq.

of *Phrygia* declar'd (*e*), that he would never ſuffer the leaſt Village under his Government to be ſet on Fire. *Arſanes* was more wiſe ſome time after, for he practis'd in *Cilicia* (*f*), what *Memnon* had advis'd. O how ſtrange a thing is War! when the moſt charitable thing that can be done, is very often to ſet fire to great Cities, and to burn all in many Provinces, becauſe without this the whole Kingdom would be loſt; and the pity which one ſhould ſhow to one of the Members, would be a Cruelty to the whole Body (*g*). It is then Pity to the whole, which inſpires Men with a Cruelty to a part. Unhappy Neceſſity! This is a deadly Maxim when applied to Matters of Religion, as was done by *Catherine de Medicis*. " (*h*) " The King being ſomewhat doubtful, the Queen " to encourage him, among other Things ſpoke " theſe words; *Will it not be better*, ſaid ſhe, " *to tear in pieces thoſe rotten Members, than the Heart of the Church, which is the Spouſe of Chriſt our Lord?* " She concluded with a Sentence taken from one " of the Sermons of the Biſhop of *Bitonto*, in theſe " words: *Che pieta lor ſer crudele? Che crudelta lor ſer pietoſo?*" Let us return to *Memnon*. After the Battel of *Granicus*, he retir'd to (*i*) *Miletus*; he defended like a brave and skillful General the City of *Halicarnaſſus*; and not being able to force the General to raiſe the Siege, he left a good Garriſon in the Citadel, and tranſported the Inhabitants, with their Effects, to the Iſle of *Cos* (*k*). He thought always of the Deſign he had propos'd in the great Council of War, and that he might move *Darius* to put an entire Confidence in him, he ſent (*l*) to the Court of *Perſia* his Wife and Children, as a Pledge of his Fidelity. Having receiv'd great ſums of Money, and being made Generaliſſimo, (*m*) he made great Preparations by Sea and Land; he ſubdu'd the Iſles of *Chios* and *Lesbos*; he threatned alſo *Eubœa*; he held Correſpondence with the *Grecians*, and corrupted many of them with his Preſents. In a word, he was ready to cut out great deal of Work for his King's Enemies in their own Country, when a Sickneſs ſuddenly ſeiz'd him, and in a few Days remov'd him out of this World. (*n*) *Chium itaque ſibi adjungit, & Lesbum cum claſſe petens, Antiſſam, Methymnum, Pyrrhum & Ereſſum, non magno negocio, capit. Sed Mitylenen & Lesbum, quia major erat, magnoque apparatu & propugnatorum multitudine probe inſtructa, per multos dies oppugnatam, poſt magnam ſuorum jacturam difficulter tandem expugnat. Cujus ſtrenuitatis fama, cum ſubito percrebuiſſet, Cycladum Inſularum plerœque de pactionibus ineundis legationes miſerunt. Rumor tunc allapſus erat Græciæ, Memnonem totâ cum claſſe Eubœam invaſurum: unde factum, ut magno Inſulæ civitates metu perculſæ eſſent, & Græcorum nonnulli Perſarum ſocietatem amplexi, animos rerum novarum ſpe erectos haberent. Huc acceſſit, quod Memnon Græcorum non pautis largitione corruptis, ut ſuas ad Perſarum ſpes aggregatos vellent, perſuaſerat. Atqui viri hujus virtutem ad ampliora progredi fortuna non permiſit, cum enim in valetudinem adverſam incidiſſet, periculoſo quodam morbo correptus, è vita deceſſit, ejuſque morte res Darii labefactatæ ſunt. Rex enim totam belli molem ex Aſiâ in Europam tranſlatum iri ſperaverat.*

(*a*) Arſites Phrygiæ Satrapa ne unum quidem tugurium eorum qui ſibi ſubeſſent incendi ſe paſſurum adfirmaverat, inque ejus ſententiam à ceteris itum erat. *Freinſhem. ſuplem. ad Curtium, lib. 2. c. 5. n. 10. He cites* Arrian. l. 4. 20.

(*b*) D'Aubigné, to. 2. b. 1. c. 4. p. m. 542.

(*f*) Q. Curtius, l. 3. c. 4.

(*g*) *See in the Supplements of* Freinſhemius *to* Q. Curt. l. 2. c. 4. *the Reaſons upon which* Memnon *built his Opinion.*

(*i*) Diod. Sicul. l. 17. c. 22.

(*k*) Id. ib. c. 24, & ſeq.

(*l*) Ibid. c. 23.

(*m*) Ibid. c. 29.

(*n*) Ibid. p. m. 834, 835.

(*o*) Freinſhemius, ubi ſupra, l. 2. c. 5. init.

(1) Polyæn. 4. 3, 15.

(2) Curtius, 3. 1, 31.

(B) *By the Conduct of* Alexander *with reſpect to him.*] This young Prince marching with his Army near the Territories of *Memnon*, ſtrictly forbad his Soldiers to commit the leaſt diſorder in them. His deſign was either to render him ſuſpected to the *Perſians*, or to entice him to his own Party. (*o*) *Alexander quum inter progrediendum agrum à Rege Perſarum Memnoni dono datum adtigiſſet*, maleficio (1) abſtineri *jubet*, coloniſque & fructibus parci: *callido commento ſuſpectum facturus hominem induſtrium, & quem* (2) *ex omnibus hoſtium ducibus unum non contemneret; ſi in ſuas partes tranſducere nequiviſſet. Quumque* levitatem regis *admirati quidam*, acerrimum (3) callidiſſimumque Macedonum hoſtem, quam primum in poteſtatem redactus eſſet, interficiendum, atque interim quibus poſſet cladibus vexandum eſſe *dicerent*: quin, *inquit*, potius beneficiis ſupplantamus hominem, & amicum ex inimico facimus, eadem virtute & ſolertia pro nobis ſaturum. I have put in the Margin (*p*) the words of *Quintus Curtius*, which *Freinſhemius* refers to.

(3) Them orat. 9.

(*p*) Nondum Memnonem vita exceſſiſſe cognoverat (*Alexander*) in quem omnes intenderat curas, ſatis gnarus cuncta in expedito fore ſi nihil ab eo moveretur.

(C) *He chaſtis'd a Soldier who rail'd at* Alexander.] I have not taken you to be my Soldier, ſaid he to him, ſtriking him with his Javelin, to rail at this Prince, but to fight againſt him. (*a*) Μισθοφόρον τινὰ πολλὰ βλάσφημα ἐκ ἀσελγῆ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου λόγουσα τῇ λόγχῃ παίσας, Ἐγὼ σε, ἔφη, τέρφω μαχέμενον, ἀλλ' ὑ λοιδορέμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. *Militem quendam mercenarium ſuum, qui multis & impuris conviciis Alexandrum proſcindebat, lancea feriens, Ego, inquit, te alo, non ut maledicas Alexandro, ſed ut contra eum pugnes.* This is a good Maxim, but it was ſcarce practiſed in the time of *Francis* I. and *Charles* V. and I know not whether it be better practis'd at preſent. *Freinſhemius* obſerves, that *Memnon* vigorouſly oppos'd ſome fugitive *Grecians*, who were ſo full of hatred againſt the *Macedonians*, that they would not ſuffer *Alexander* to bury his Dead, tho' notwithſtanding that Permiſſion they might boaſt of the Victory. *Memnon* would not liſten to the Paſſion of theſe Fugitives, and granted a Ceſſation of Arms, and the dead Bodies which *Alexander* demanded. This was done at the Siege of *Halicarnaſſus*. Read what follows: (*b*) *Alexander quamquam ea res opinione Græcorum* (1) *de victoria concedentis videretur; corpora ſuorum, qui ſub ipſis mœnibus oppetierant, inducias poſtulatis ab hoſte repetere, quam inhumata dimittere maluit. At* (2) *qui cum Perſis erant, Ephialtes & Thraſybulus Athenienſes, quum plus apud ipſos odium adverſus Macedonas, quam humanitatis ratio valeret, negabant* indulgendum hoc eſſe infeſtiſſimis hoſtibus. *Non tamen permoverunt Memnonem, quin* Græcorum moribus indignum eſſe *diceret*, ſepulturam invidere cæſis hoſtibus. ARMIS ET viribus in adverſos & obſiſtentes utendum: neque contumeliis pugnandum in eos, quos bonis maliſque noſtris ſua dies exemiſſet.

(*a*) Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.

(*b*) Freinſhem. ubi ſupra, c. 9.

(1) Juſtin. 6. 6, 9.

(2) Diodor. 17. 25.

(D) *His Widow was the firſt Woman whom* Alexander *knew.*] *Plutarch* aſſures us of this: (*c*) Οὗτος τύτων ἐθίγησε, ὅτι ἄλλην ἔγνω γυναῖκα πρὸ γάμε, πλὴν Βαρσίνης. *Nec has attigit, nec mulierem ante nuptias cognovit ullam, excepta Barſene.* She was call'd *Barſene*, and was the Daughter of *Artabazus*, whoſe Mother was a Daughter of a King of *Perſia*. She was Mild and Civil, and underſtood Greek and the Manners of the *Grecians*, and was very Beautiful: So that *Parmenio*, conſidering that beſides all this, ſhe was of great Parentage, exhorted the King his Maſter to divert himſelf with this Priſoner (*d*). She was taken at the ſame time with the Mother, the Wife and Daughters of *Darius* (*e*). The Counſel of *Parmenio* was follow'd, whereupon ſhe prov'd fruitful and bore a Son (*f*) to *Alexander*. She had two Siſters (*g*) whom this Prince Married very advantageouſly.

(*c*) Plut. in Alexand. p. 676.

(*d*) Id. ib.

(*e*) Curtius, l. 3. ſub fin. Plutarch ib. *ſays that ſhe was taken at* Damas.

(*f*) *Call'd* Hercules, Plut. ubi infra.

(*g*) *One was the Wife of* Eumenes, *and the other of* Ptolomy. Plut. in Eumene init. p. m. 583.

(E) *Mr.* Moreri *has not clearly expreſs'd himſelf.*] Theſe are his words in the Article of *Alexander*: *Darius would not make a Devaſtation in* Aſia, *according to the Advice of* Memnon. This is equivocal; for if I ſhould write to a Man, *I have not anſwer'd that Letter according to your Advice*, thoſe who ſhould read theſe Words, would rather think that he advis'd me not to anſwer, than to do it. At leaſt they would think the firſt Senſe as good as the other; and therefore I may affirm, that if one did not know what *Memnon* did adviſe, he could not certainly underſtand what *Moreri* meant. So neceſſary it is to place our Words right, if we would be underſtood, even when we uſe the Reader's Mother-Tongue.

(*h*) *In*

march. I ought not to forget, that *Mentor*, the Brother of *Memnon*, did very great Services to King *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and was well rewarded for it *. He reſtor'd his Brother and Brother-in-Law † to the Favour of this Monarch; for he caus'd them to be recall'd from the Court of *Macedonia*, whither they had fled, after their bad Succeſs in a Civil War ζ.

Mr. *Chevreau* γ affirms, that MEMNON, *General of an Army, who is mentioned at the end of the twelfth Book* of the Expedition of *Cyrus*, by *Xenophon*, was Deceitful, Covetous, Ambitious, a Slanderer and an Impoſtor. Thus he gives the Character of this wicked Wretch; but he ſhould have obſerv'd that *Xenophon* calls him *Menon*, and not *Memnon*.

MENAGE (GILES) in Latin *Ægidius Menagius*, was one of the moſt learn'd Men of his Time, and the *Varro* of the XVIIth Century. It would be needleſs here to give his Elogium and an Abridgment of his Life; which is to be found in Books that are every where diſpers'd δ, and which may be more eaſily tranſported into remote Countries, than this great Dictionary. His illuſtrious Friends erected a very glorious Monument to him, in the Collection entituled (*A*) *Menagiana*, which is already in every one's Hands. Had it not been for this, I ſhould have taken pleaſure, and thought it my ſpecial Duty to put here a long Article of Mr. *Menage*. I ſhould have inſiſted upon the Diſputes he had with Perſons of great Merit; but I would have paſs'd lightly over the Quarrel he had (*AΔ*) with the Count *de Buſſi Rabutin*.

Some Perſons whom I infinitely eſteem, did not approve of making the Article of Mr. *Menage* ſo ſhort in this Dictionary, and oppos'd the Reaſons I have given for my

* *See* Diodorus Siculus, l. 16.

† *He was call'd* Artabazus; *and Married the Siſter of* Memnon, *and had by her* 11 *Sons and* 10 *Daughters.* Id. ib. c. 57.

ζ Id. ib.

γ Chevræana, 2. part. p. 55. *Dutch Edit.*

δ *In the* Journal des Savans, *Aug.* 11. 1692. *In the* Mercure Gallant *of the ſame Year. In the continuation of the* Menagiana *at the beginning.*

(*A*) *In the Collection entituled* MENAGIANA.] Thoſe who can judge of Things aright, will confeſs, that this Collection is very proper to diſcover the extent of Wit and Learning, which is the true Character of Mr. *Menage*. And I may be bold to ſay, that the learned Works which he publiſh'd will not diſtinguiſh him from other learn'd Men ſo advantageouſly as this. To publiſh Books of great Learning, to make excellent Greek and Latin Verſes is not a common Talent, I own it; but it is not extremely rare. It is incomparably more difficult to find Men, who can furniſh Diſcourſe about an infinite number of Things, and who know how to vary them a hundred ways. How many Authors are there, who are admir'd for their Works upon the account of the vaſt Learning that is contain'd in them, who are not able to bear themſelves up in a Diſcourſe *viva voce*? Some have a Memory full of holes like a Sieve, or like the Cask of the *Danaides*, which receiv'd every thing, but retain'd nothing; every thing they take in would be quite loſt, if they had not ſome Conſervatories well prepar'd. Such are their Collections, which are Treaſures that fail not in time of need, when one writes a Book, but are very needleſs in learned Diſcourſes. Thoſe who know M *Menage* only by his Books, might think that he reſembled thoſe learned Men: But if you ſhow the MENAGIANA, you diſtinguiſh him from them, and make him known by a Talent that is given to very few learned Men. There it appears, that he was a Man who ſpoke off hand a thouſand good Things. His Memory was ſo extenſive as to comprehend Ancient and Modern Learning, what belong'd to the Court and the City, the Dead and Living Languages, things Serious, and things Jocoſe, in a word, a thouſand ſorts of Subjects. That which appear'd a triſle to ſome Readers of the *Menagiana*, who did not conſider nicely the Circumſtances, caus'd admiration in other Readers, who minded the difference that is to be made between a Man that ſpeaks without preparing himſelf, and one that prepares ſomething in order to print it. This *Menagiana* contains ſome things of ſuch a Nature, that one may ſay of them what one of the Ancients ſaid of Inſects (*i*). And therefore we cannot ſufficiently commend the care which his illuſtrious Friends took to erect to him a Monument ſo capable of giving him immortal Glory. They were not oblig'd to rectifie what they heard him ſay; for in ſo doing they had not been faithful Hiſtorians of his Converſations. The moſt happy Memories are liable to be deceiv'd, and beſides Mr. *Menage* ſays ſometimes concerning certain Perſons, what other People being ill inform'd had told him. We muſt not therefore wonder, that there are ſome miſtakes in the *Menagiana*, and ſome things falſly aſcrib'd to ſome Perſons. He is miſtaken in what he ſays of me.

(*b*) Turrigeros elephantorum miramur humeros, taurorumque colla, & truces in ſublime jactus, tigrium rapinas, leonum jubas, cum rerum natura nuſquam magis, quam in minimis, tota ſit. *Plin.* l. 11. c. 2. Ariſtotle *alſo ſaid*, Μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἢ μειζόνων ἴδοι τις ἂν τὴν τῆς διανοίας ἀκείσωσιν. Magis in minore genere (*brutorum*) quam in majore videris intelligentiæ rationem. *Hiſt. Animal.* l. 9 c. 7.

(*AΔ*) *The Quarrel he had with the Count* de Buſſi Rabutin.] This may paſs for a Quarrel of Authors, although this Count was a Man of War, and had a high Poſt in the *French* Army. This Affair was determin'd by a Paper-War. He firſt attacked Mr. *Menage* in a Piece he wrote, and offended him cruelly; but the Verſes which Mr. *Menage* Printed againſt him, were the moſt outragious and bloody that could be made. Let us firſt ſee the Attack, and after that we will ſee the Retaliation. "(*a*) *Menage* being in Love with "Madam *de Sevigny*; his Birth, his Age, and "his Look, oblig'd him to conceal his Love "as much as he could: And being one Day "with her, when ſhe had a mind to go out "to buy ſome Things, her Waiting-Gentlewoman not being in a condition to follow her, "ſhe bid *Menage* come into the Coach to her. He "ſeeming to be in jeſt, but in effect being troubled, told her, that it was ſtrange to him, that "ſhe was not ſatisfied with the hardſhips ſhe had "put upon him for a long time, but ſtill deſpis'd "him, by thinking that none could ſpeak ill of "Him and Her. Come, ſaid ſhe, come into the "Coach, if you trouble me, I will go and viſit "you." Thus you ſee that the Provocation was very great; but the Latin Epigram of the Perſon provok'd far exceeded it.

FRANCORUM (*b*) *proceres, media (quis credat?) in aula*
Buſſiades ſcripto læſerat horribili.
Pœna levis: LODOIX *nebulonem carcere claudens,*
Detrahit indigno munus equeſtre Duci.
Sic nebulo, gladiis quos formidabat Iberis;
Quos meruit, Francis fuſtibus eripitur.

If the Author of theſe Latin Verſes had had a Benefice with cure of Souls; if he had been not only a Curate, but a true Curate; he would have taken the meer Accuſation of making Love to Madam *de Sevigny*, as a horrid Reproach; but as his Ingagement in the Clerkſhip, went no farther than his being qualified to enjoy ſome Penſions out of Benefices, without acting againſt the Modern Diſcipline, that which troubled him in the Diſcourſe of Count *Rabutin*, was not contain'd in the firſt four or five words. He made no ſcruple to confeſs, that he had been amorous, which I do not prove by his Poems, for that Proof would be doubtful, becauſe that Language is deceitful; but he affirms it in a very ſerious Epiſtle Dedicatory. "I pray "you to remember, *ſays he* (*c*), *ſpeaking to the Chevalier* de Meré, that when we made our Court "together to a Lady of great Quality and Merit, "whatever Paſſion I had for that illuſtrious Perſon, I willingly ſuffer'd that ſhe ſhould love you "more than me, becauſe I lov'd you more than my "ſelf." He promis'd a Work which he never publiſh'd, wherein he was to give an account of his Amours: And the reaſon why I believe it, is taken from theſe words: "Why did he not men"tion Madam *de la Fayette* and Madam *de Sevigny*, "who are his Acquaintance?" 'Tis Father *Bouhours* who ask'd this Queſtion. Mr *Menage* anſwer'd him:

"*Parce* (*d*) *Paburſe, ſto. Sibylla Pariſius,*
"*Deſideramus hic tuam prudentiam.*

(*a*) Hiſtoire amoureuſe des Gaules, p. m. 189, 190.

(*b*) Menage *Epigram.* 138. p. 147, 148. *Edit.* Amſtel. 1687.

(*c*) Menage *Epiſt. Dedicat. to the Obſervations upon the* French *Tongue, fol.* a iij. *See alſo what he confeſſes in a Dialogue of* Sarraſin, p. m. 146. *and which is related in the new Letters againſt* Maimbourg. p. 777.

(*d*) Id. *Obſervat. upon the* French *Tongue, tom.* 2 p. 211, 212.

my Brevity. It ſeems to them, that the three Books to which I refer the Reader, will not be in the Hands of all thoſe who will ſeek here for the Hiſtory of this learned Man. I do not agree to their Opinion, and if I enlarge this Article in this ſecond Edition, 'tis only to ſet down a Circumſtance which the * three Authors refer'd to, do not relate; which concerns the good Fortune of Mr. *Menage* as to his Memory. This was a Gift which he eminently poſſeſs'd (*B*), and which he preſerv'd to old Age, and what is

* *Add to thoſe three, two others that have appear'd ſince the firſt Edition of my Work, viz.* Moreri *of the* Paris *Edition,* 1699, *and the Elogiums of Mr.* Perrault.

" The Reverend *F Bouhours* accuſes me in this " place of having lov'd Madam *de Sevigny* and Ma- " dam *de la Fayette*. I will anſwer this Accuſation in " the defence of my Courſe of Life; and I will " make ſuch an Anſwer, that the Scoffers, whoſe " Suffrages *F. Bouhours* courts, ſhall not be of his " ſide." After all, the Correſpondence Mr. *Menage* had with ſome Ladies of great Wit, have done him much Honour in the World, and will be glorious to him hereafter: For it is ſo rare, that ſo much Greek and Grammar as he had, ſhould not quite ſtifle the Talents which are neceſſary for a polite and genteel Converſation with Ladies of Quality, that it is a kind of Prodigy. To conclude, the ſharpneſs of the Reſentment which he expreſs'd in his Latin Verſes, did not hinder him from acknowledging the Merit of the Author who had offended him. " Mr. *de Buſſy Rabutin* is a fine Wit, " *ſaid he* (*e*), and I cannot but do him this Ju- " ſtice, altho' he has endeavour'd to give a baſe " Character of me in his *Hiſtorie des Gaules*. " No Man can write with more Spirit and Fire " than he has done in that Hiſtory." This looks like a Man that is very ready to be reconcil'd. Such a Reconciliation would not have been thought ſtrange, ſince Madam *de Sevigny*, who had been ſo ill treated in the ſame Work, forgot the Affront, and liv'd with the Author as a very good Kinſwoman. This appears by the Letters ſhe wrote to him, and which were Printed with thoſe of Mr. *de Rabutin*.

(*e*) *Continuation of the* Menagiana, p. 336. *Dutch edit.*

(*B*) *Memory was a Gift which he eminently poſſeſs'd, and which he preſerv'd—— he recover'd it.*] To remember things very happily in one's Youth is no rare thing: But it was a peculiar favour of his Stars, that when he began to grow old he did not perceive his Memory to decay much, which is the too common Misfortune of learned Men. We will here cite a thing which was Publiſh'd in 1685. Many Hiſtorians (*f*) are guilty of a very abſurd Fault, which is this: " That they relate " the ſame thing ſometimes one way, and ſome- " times another. It would be more for the Ho- " nour of their Memory, that they ſhould be al- " ways miſtaken; but on the other ſide it may be " ſaid, that ſince the Memory is the firſt thing " that dies in a learned Man, and the faculty " which is moſt impoſſible to be retain'd, we muſt " not examine too rigorouſly the Faults which " Forgetfulneſs may occaſion. It ſeems we ought " to allow the ſame Excuſe for theſe Faults, as " Divines do for thoſe which they call *quotidianæ* " *incurſionis*, ſince 'tis certain that Forgetfulneſs is " an imperfection into which we relapſe every " moment. From whence it appears, that the Sci- " ences are not proper to make a Man happy in " this Life; for ſince that which is moſt pleaſant in " Learning is to remember many things, and it is a " Talent that is weakned and deſtroy'd very quick- " ly, a learn'd Man ſees himſelf every Day expos'd " to the mortification of finding that what is moſt " pleaſant to him, forſakes him. Happy is the Man, " who like the illuſtrious Mr. *Menage*, makes no " fine Verſes to complain of the decay of his Me- " mory, till after he has enjoy'd it a long time." What has been juſt now ſaid, that *Memory is the firſt thing that dies in a learned Man*, was obſerv'd by *Thuanus*, (*g*) *memoria in longævis ex omnibus animi facultatibus prima debilitatur & vacillat. Seneca* the Father made the ſame Obſervation, after he had experienc d in his own Perſon this bad effect of old Age. *Cum multa jam mihi*, ſays he (*h*), *ex me deſideranda ſenectus fecerit, oculorum aciem retuderit, aurium ſenſum hebet averit, nervorum firmitatem fatigaverit, inter ea quæ retuli memoria eſt, res ex omnibus partibus animi, maxime delicata & fragilis: in quam primum ſenectus incurrit.* The Paſſage which I have cited from the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, informs us, that Mr. *Menage* made ſome Verſes to complain of the decay of his Memory: They are to be ſeen in the firſt Book of his Poems at p. 13, of the *Amſterdam* Edition 1687. My Reader, if I miſtake not, will be glad to ſee ſome of them here; and they will not be ſuperfluous, ſince they contain a deſcription of this fine Talent, whereof Mr. *Menage*, as I have ſaid, was poſſeſs'd. Here follows therefore the beginning of the Hymn which he addreſs'd to the Goddeſs of Memory.

(*f*) Nouvelles de la Republique des lettres June 1695. art. 1. p. 602. *of the* 2*d Edition.*

(*g*) Thuanus, lib. 134, p. m. 1082. col. 1.

(*h*) Seneca Pater præfat. l. 1. controverſ. p. m 70.

Muſarum (*i*) *veneranda parens, quam Juppiter ipſe,*
Ille pater Divûm, magno dilexit amore,
MNEMOSYNE, *fidum tu me patrona clientem*
Deſeris? Ah memini, juvenis cum mille Sophorum,
Mille recenſerem Sectarum nomina: mille
Stemmata narrarem, totaſque ex ordine gentes.
Nunc oblita mihi tot numina. Vix mihi numen
Hæret mente meum. Memini, cum plurima Homeri,
Plurima Peligni recitarem carmina Vatis:
Omnia Virgilii memori cum mente tenerem.
Nunc oblita mihi tot carmina. Non ego poſſim,
Condita quæ nuper mihi ſunt, meminiſſe meorum.
Gallia quem ſtupuit, ſtupuit me maximus ille
BIGNONIDES, *legum capita omnia commemorantem.*
Fabellas lepidas & acute dicta Sophorum
Narrabam juvenis, juvenum mirante caterva.
Ingenii pars illa mei, placuiſſe puellis
Quod potui, periit: nunc illis fabula fio.
Pendebant olim, memini, narrantis ab ore.
Fabellas eaſdem, verſus eoſdem repetentem
(Has narraſſe ſemel, ſemel hos recitaſſe putabam?
Id me hodie monuit fiduſque vetuſque ſodalis)
Nunc me faſtoſæ medio in ſermone relinquunt.

(*i*) Menag. *Poem. l.* 1. *p m.* 13.

You ſee that among other things he owns that he was told, that he repeated the ſame Stories, thinking it was the firſt time he had told them. Afterwards he ſupplicates the Goddeſs, either that ſhe would not abandon him, or that ſhe would ſo utterly forſake him, that he ſhould not ſo much as remember that he had ever known any thing.

Si (*a*) *tales tu, Diva, preces audire recuſas,*
Diva, precor, memorem omnem nobis eripe mentem.
Orbilius fiam, cunctarum oblivio rerum:
Nec meminiſſe queam, tot rerum non meminiſſe.

(*a*) Id. ib. p. 14.

His Prayer was heard in the moſt favourable ſenſe, his Memory return'd to him; and he did ſolemnly and publickly thank the Deity which was ſo propitious to him. Here follows the beginning of the Thankſgiving, which he publiſh'd *November* 27, 1690, Aged 77 Years, 3 Months and 7 Days.

MUSARUM *veneranda parens; quam Juppiter ipſe,*
Ipſe pater Divum, tenero dilexit amore;
Audiſti mea vota. Seni memorem mihi mentem
Diva redonaſti. Magnorum nomine mille,
Et proceres omnes ab orig.ne Sablolienſes,
Leges Romanas, Sectas memorare Sophorum,
Tulli mille locos, & Homeri carmina centum,
Et centum poſſum verſus recitare Maronis.
Ingenii pars illa mei, juvenis placuiſſe
Quod potui, ecce redux. Tua ſunt hæc munera, Diva.
Ingenii per te nobis renovata juventa eſt.

Let us alſo ſet down the Concluſion of this little Poem, wherein the Author ſupplicates the Deity, which had reſtor'd to him the remembrance of ſo many things, to take from him the remembrance of the Injuries he had receiv'd.

Muſarum veneranda parens, quam Juppiter ipſe,
Ipſe pater Divûm, tenero dilexit amore;
O diva, ô noſtræ merito pars maxima famæ,
Eſt aliud ſupplex quod ego tua numina poſco.
Si te non pigeat, ſi non indebita poſco,
Quæ mihi tot rerum, rerum mihi jucundarum,
Quas oblitus eram, rurſum meminiſſe dediſti,
Da, Dea; da nobis, atrocia tot nebulonum,
Immeritum qui me pergunt vexare libellis,
Dicta oblivi ſci, memori mihi condita mente.

But notwithſtanding this happy Reſtoration, there is proof that *Menage* did not ſpeak exactly of the thing. Conſider a little theſe Words of the *Menagiana*. " (*b*) I ſaid ſome Years ago, that I had loſt " one half of my Memory, becauſe I remembred " very well what I had learn'd, and did not at all re- " member what I had been told. This was related " in *Holland*, and thoſe who knew me, bewail'd " my Condition, thinking that I had entirely loſt " it. Yet I have ſtill a pretty good Memory, " and I have given ſufficient proofs of it by the " Books which I have publiſh'd ſince that [illegible]".

(*b*) Menagiana, 3[illegible] the *Dutch* dition.

is more rare, he recover'd it after ſome interruption. There are many People who could wiſh, that he had publiſh'd ſome (C) of his Pleas.

MESTREZAT (JOHN) a Miniſter of the Church of *Paris*, and deſcended from (A) a very good Family, was born at *Geneva* in 1592. He was ſent very young to the Academy of *Saumur*; and there he gave ſingular Proofs of his excellent Genius in a publick Diſputation (B) He was but eighteen Years old when he was offer'd the Chair of a Profeſſor in Philoſophy; and he was appointed to be Miniſter to the (C) Church of *Paris*, as ſoon as he was admitted into the Miniſtry; a thing altogether extraordinary. They had no cauſe to repent of having call'd him ſo early; for his Conferences with the Roman (D) Catholicks, his (E) Deputations, his Sermons (F) and his Books made him appear to be one of the ableſt Men the Reform'd had in *France*. There is a very particular Circumſtance related of a Tryal (G) he had in the Parliament of *Paris*. He

How could he think, that the report of a Diſcourſe in Converſation ſhould perſuade any in *Holland*, that he had entirely loſt his Memory? Had they not ſeen his Hymn to *Mnemoſyne*, wherein he declared to all the World that he remembred nothing. To know the Strength and Capacity of his Memory, one needs only conſider what he ſays of it, and what the Abbot *du Bos* adds at the 309, 310, 311, Pages of the firſt Edition of the *Menagiana* in *Holland*.

(C) *That he had publiſh'd ſome of his Pleas.*] His firſt Profeſſion was that of an Advocate, as we learn from himſelf in this Paſſage of his *Origines*. (c) *In 1632, I was admitted Advocate at* Angers, *which is the place of my Birth, and there I pleaded my firſt Cauſe againſt Mr.* Ayrault, *my Couſin-German, who was ſince Counſellor in the Parliament of* Bretagne, *and Comiſſary in the Chamber of Juſtice. I came to* Paris *in the ſame Year, where I was alſo admitted Advocate, and where I pleaded for many Years. In* 1634, *the Parliament of* Paris *held their extraordinary Seſſions at* Poitiers, *where I pleaded alſo. And this made Mr.* Coſtar *ſay, that as there were Serjants ſerving Warrants through all the Kingdom, ſo I was an Advocate pleading through all the Kingdom: And upon the ſame account Father* Jacob *a* Carmelite *told me, in one of his Catalogues of New-Books, he did me the Honour to inſcribe to me,* Atque erit in triplici par tibi nemo foro. The Memoirs for the Life of Mr. *Menage*, Printed at the beginning of the continuation of the *Menagiana*, inform us, that he pleaded many Cauſes in the Parliament of *Paris*, *one among the reſt for M.* Sengebere *his Maſter-in-Law, who had a mind to Divorce his Wife for Adultery.* I am ſure this Plea would be very acceptable to many People, if it were Printed.

(A) *Deſcended from a very good Family.*] *Ami* MESTREZAT, his Father, was Firſt Syndick of *Geneva*, and had another Son who was Firſt Syndick of the ſame City; which is one of the principal Offices of that State. *Philip* MESTREZAT Nephew to the Miniſter of *Charenton*, was a famous (d) Profeſſor of Divinity at *Geneva*. His Eldeſt Son who died a few Years ago (e), had exercis'd the Office of Syndick of the Republick with great Honour. N. MESTREZAT, the other Son of *Philip*, is at this Day an able Phyſician at *Geneva* (f).

(B) *In a publick Diſputation*] He obſerv'd, that the Profeſſor of Philoſophy, who preſided at the Diſputation, anſwer'd to an Argument, *tranſeat major, nego minorem*, and he roſe up to argue, after he who oppos'd had made an end. His Subject was, that the Minor could not be deny'd, if the Major was right, and he maintain'd this with ſo much ſtrength of Reaſon, that he oblig'd the Profeſſor to own it was a fault. Mr. *du Pleſſis Mornay* was preſent at this Act (g).

(D) *He was appointed Miniſter of the Church of* Paris *as ſoon as he was admitted into the Miniſtry.*] He preſented himſelf to the Synod of *Charenton* to be admitted to the Miniſtry. Mr. *du Moulin*, who was entruſted to find a Paſtor for the Church of *Orleans*, had caſt his Eyes upon him for this Office; but young *Meſtrezat* being examin'd in the Conſiſtory of *Charenton*, diſcover'd ſo much Learning, that this Church thought fit to keep him for their own Service (h).

(D) *His Conferences with the Roman Catholicks.*] I have been told that his Conference with *F. Veron* was Printed, and that he gloriouſly triumph'd over this famous Diſputant. That which he had with the Jeſuit *Regourd* in the preſence of Queen *Anne* of *Auſtria*, was never publiſh'd, and it is a common Tradition among the Reform'd in *France*, that this Princeſs being aſtoniſh'd to find that this Jeſuit who had boaſted he could eaſily confound all the Miniſters, was reduc'd to the greateſt Confuſion by *Meſtrezat*, requir'd that the acts of this Diſpute ſhould not be Printed, which thoſe of the Reform'd Religion punctually obey'd.

(E) *His Deputations.*] 'Tis ſaid, that being deputed by a National Synod to *Lewis* XIII. he anſwer'd admirably to three Queſtions, which Cardinal *Richelieu* ſuggeſted to that Monarch to be put to him. 1. Why do you make uſe of the Liturgy of *Geneva*? 2. Why do you join in your Prayers the *Papiſts* with the *Turks* and *Pagans*? 3. Why do you ſuffer Miniſters that are not *French*? He anſwer'd, 1. That ſince they made Profeſſion of the ſame Religion with thoſe of *Geneva*, it was not ſurpriſing that they ſhould make uſe of the ſame Liturgy. 2. That it was no wonder, that at a time when thoſe of the *Romiſh* Communion treated the Proteſtants as *Turks* and *Pagans* would have done, they ſhould joyn the Papiſts with thoſe Infidels; but that they had taken the word *Papiſts* out of the latter Editions, even under the Reign of *Henry* IV. and that if it remain'd ſtill in ſome, they had not been Printed in *France*. 3. That it were to be wiſh'd, that ſo many *Italian* Monks that are now in *France*, had as great a Zeal for his Majeſty, as theſe foreign Miniſters had, who acknowledg'd no other Sovereign in the Kingdom but the King. Whereupon Cardinal *Richelieu*, putting his Hand on his Shoulder, ſaid, *Behold the boldeſt Miniſter in* France (i).

(F) *His Sermons and his Books.*] His Language did not come near the Polite and clean Style of Mr. *Daillé*; but he Preach'd with greater depth of Judgment, Strength and Reaſon, and more Learning than he did. There are no Sermons that contain a more ſublime Theology than thoſe he Preach'd upon the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, which were Printed in many Volumes. 'Tis ſaid (k), that having met in the Street an Eccleſiaſtick of his Acquaintance, who had Preach'd a whole *Lent* with Applauſe, and having congratulated him for it, *I took*, anſwer'd the other, *out of your Sermons, the beſt things that I ſaid in mine.* He handled the Controverſie about the Authority of the Scripture (l), and of the Church (m), with a peculiar ſtrength of Reaſon, and he refuted upon thoſe important Subjects all the Subtilties of Father *Regourd* and Cardinal *du Perron*. He ſhow'd by theſe Works that he was very well vers'd in the Fathers, and underſtood Philoſophy and the Scripture. His Treatiſe concerning (n) *Communion with Jeſus Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt*, is highly eſteemed. His Heirs (o) have ſtill by them many Manuſcripts, which were found in his Study; his Sermons (p) upon the Catechiſm; the Explication of the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Galatians*, and of ſome Chapters of the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*; ſelect Sermons upon divers Texts, and many Tracts. Note, that he publiſh'd at *Sedan* a Volume of Sermons in 1625, 8°. Thoſe which he wrote upon the 1ſt Epiſtle of St. *John* are in two Volumes.

(G) *Of a Tryal he had in the Parliament of* Paris.] He who preſided at the Audience where the Cauſe was pleaded, having obſerv'd by his Look that he was not well ſatisfied with his Advocate, interrupted him, and addreſſing himſelf to the Miniſter, It ſeems, ſaid he to him, that what is alledg'd for your Cauſe does not pleaſe you; the Court gives you leave to plead for your ſelf. 'Tis ſaid, that Mr. *Meſtrezat* did argue ſo well in his own Cauſe, that he carried it without any difficulty (q).

(c) Menage, Origines de la Langue Françoiſe, *at the word* rachat, p. 611, edit. 1694. *See the Memoirs of Mr.* Marolles, p. 96.

(d) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of a Volume of his Uncle's Sermons upon the Epiſtle to the* Hebrews.

(e) *I write this in* 1697.

(f) *Taken from a Memorial ſent by Mr.* Pictet. *Note, that after this Memorial was communicated to me, I heard that Mr.* Meſtrezat *the Phyſician was promoted to the Office of Counſellor to the Republick.*

(g) *A Memorial communicated by Mr.* Pictet.

(h) Ibid.

(i) *A Memorial of Mr.* Pictet.

(k) Ibid.

(l) *In the Book entituled,* A Treatiſe of the Holy Scripture, wherein is ſhown the certainty and fulneſs of the Faith, and its independence upon the Authority of the Church. *At Geneva* 1632, *in* 8°.

(m) *In his Treatiſe of the Church Printed at* Geneva *in* 1649, *in* 4°.

(n) *Printed at* Sedan 1625, in 8°.

(o) *The Memorial of Mr.* Pictet.

(p) *Some of them are Printing at* Geneva, *with others of Mr.* Daillé. *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *November* 1702 p. 586.

(q) Ibid.

(*) That

He died the 2d of *May* 1657, in the forty third Year of his Miniſtry. He left but one * Daughter †.

METELLA. There were ſeveral Ladies of this Name in ancient *Rome*, who were of very bad Reputation. *Cæcilia* METELLA, the Siſter of *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus*, Married *Lucius Lucullus* From their Marriage proceeded the famous *Lucullus*, who made War againſt *Mithridates* β. We learn from *Plutarch*, that this *Metella* was much defam'd for her bad Life γ. I cannot believe that it was ſhe whom *Horace* and *Valerius Maximus* (*A*) have mention'd. *Cæcilia* METELLA, the Daughter of *Quintius Cæcilius Metellus Pius*, the Son of *Numidicus*, Married firſt *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus*, and in a ſecond Marriage the famous *Sylla*. She had by her firſt Marriage a Son and a Daughter. The Son *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus*, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf upon many accounts, and chiefly by the magnificent Theatre which he built. The Daughter call'd *Æmilia*, was firſt Married to *Marcus Acilius Glabrio*, and afterwards to *Pompey* the Great, and died in Child-Bed δ. Theſe two Children found *Sylla*, the ſecond Husband of their Mother, to be a good Patron; for tho' *Metella* did not govern her ſelf well, nevertheleſs ſhe was ζ much reſpected by *Sylla*. This was, as 'tis ſaid, becauſe he knew nothing of the Debauchery of his Wife, which he firſt heard the News of at the Siege of *Athens*. He treated this City very harſhly becauſe of the Defamations they utter'd againſt *Metella* upon the Ramparts ϑ. Having got two Twins by this Wife, the one a Son and the other a Daughter, he gave the Name of *Fauſtus* to the Son, and that of *Fauſta* to the Daughter κ. The latter did not at all degenerate (*B*), but improv'd beyond

(*A*) *That it was ſhe whom* Horace *and* Valerius Maximus *have mention'd.*] *Horace* tells us, that *Æſop*'s Son diſſolv'd in Vinegar a Pearl of great price, and drunk it off; and he obſerves that this Pearl had ſerved as a Pendant at the Ear of *Metella* (*d*). An old Scholiaſt upon *Horace* ſays, that this *Metella* was the Wife of *Æſop*'s Son. I ſhould rather believe that there was only an unlawful familiarity between them; and this is the Opinion of Mr. *Dacier*. He doubts (*e*), *whether this* Metella *was not the Siſter of* Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus, *who was married to* L. Lucullus. I cannot believe that it was ſhe, for the Wife of this *Lucullus* was probably old, when the Son of *Æſop* begun to be able to make Love. She had a Niece who Married *Sylla* in the Year 665 of *Rome*, and who had by another Husband two Children fit for Marriage. We have ſeen (*f*) that the Daughter of *Sylla*'s Wife was Married to *Pompey*: But ſhe had been Married to another Husband; and we know that *Sylla* who caus'd her to Marry *Pompey*, died in 672. If this Niece was a Grandmother at that time, we may reaſonably think, that the Great Aunt was ſcarce a fit Object to be Courted. Add to this, that *Lucullus* the Son of *Metella*, the Great Aunt, commanded the *Roman* Army againſt *Mithridates* as Conſul in the Year of *Rome* 679, and that *Cicero* ſome Years after the Battel (*g*) of *Pharſalia* makes mention of *Æſop*'s Son (*h*), as of one that created him much trouble. It is not eaſie therefore to adjuſt the times of the Love of theſe two Perſons.

As for what concerns *Valerius Maximus*, I find in the *Onomaſticon* of *Glandorp* a Period that is liable to Cenſure; which is this: (*i*) *Eamdem eſſe volunt de qua Valerius libro primo capite quinto, auctor de viris illuſtribus capite ſexageſimo ſecundo, ut viris duobus nuptam fuiſſe intelligamus.* He means, that *Metella* the Siſter of *Metellus Numidicus*, and Mother to *Lucius* † *Lucullus*, was the ſame with her, whom *Valerius Maximus* and *Aurelius Victor* have ſpoken of. This is not amiſs as to the laſt Author, ſince 'tis certain that he ſpoke expreſly of *Metella*, the Siſter of *Metellus Numidicus*; but the other Writer ſpoke in ſuch an indefinite way, that he may be conjectur'd to be as well for as againſt it; and ſo *Glandorp* ſhould not have ſtuffed his Paper with Conjectures about the things he mentions. But I may relate the matter of Fact, which is curious.

Cæcilia, the Wife of *Metellus*, had a Niece fit for Marriage, who carried her one Night into a Chappel to ſeek for Nuptial Preſages. This was the Cuſtom when any one deſign'd to marry a Maid. The Aunt ſate down and the Niece ſtood by her: They were a long time liſtening before they could hear any thing. The Maid finding her ſelf weary with ſtanding, deſir'd her Aunt to let her ſit down a few Minutes: *With all my Heart*, reply'd the Aunt, *I will give you my Place.* Theſe words were the Omen that were ſought for: *Cæcilia* died quickly after, and her Husband married the young Niece. This is what *Valerius Maximus* (*k*) relates. *Cicero* (*l*) relates it alſo: He had it from *Lucius Flaccus* (*m*) a Prieſt of *Mars*. There is a Note of *Pighius* in *Valerius Maximus Variorum*, which ſays, that this *Lucius Flaccus* was Conſul in 622. But this was a long time before *Cicero* was in a Condition to hold a familiar Diſcourſe with great Men. *Pighius* adds (*n*), that this *Cæcilia* was the Siſter of *Metellus Numidicus*, and he proves it by *Aurelius Victor*, who ſays, that this *Metellus* would not make a Funeral Oration for *Metellus* his Brother-in-Law. But *Aurelius Victor* has not nam'd this Brother-in-Law, and ſo *Pighius* builds upon a falſe Suppoſition. *Metellæ ſororis ſuæ virum laudare noluit, quod is ſolus judicium contra leges detrectaret.* Theſe are the words of *Aurelius Victor* in the good Editions. What ſeems to me moſt memorable in this Fact, is the ſtrange Superſtition of ancient *Rome*. Not only Servant Maids ſought after Omens for Marriage, but the Ladies of Quality, and thoſe who were of a Rank equal to that of our Dutcheſſes, amus'd themſelves with thoſe Fooleries, and went out, expecting the firſt word that Fortune ſhould make them hear. Even to this Day the Quality of a Dutcheſs does not free one from theſe augural Superſtitions, wherewith the Citizens Wives are infatuated.

(*B*) Fauſta *did not at all degenerate.*] She was one of the unchaſteſt Women in her time; and it was at leaſt true with reſpect to her and *Metella* her Mother, that the World grows worſe and worſe. *Metella* was lewd; but *mox datura* (*o*) *progeniem vitioſiorem. Fauſta* had for a third Husband the famous *Milo*, whom the Murder of *Clodius*, and the Oration of *Cicero* have made ſo well known. It was not ſafe to jeſt with him, and yet his Wife ſcarce ever fear'd him; for ſhe admitted her Gallants with ſo little precaution, that one of them was one day catch'd by *Milo*. He would have been run through if he had not had much Money; but he redeem'd his Life by paying the ſum to which *Milo* condemn'd him, after he had given him a hundred laſhes with a Whip. (*p*) *M. Varro in litteris atque vita ſide homo multæ & gravis, in libro, quem ſcripſit* Pius aut de pace, *C. Salluſtium ſcriptorem ſeriæ illius & ſeveræ orationis, in cujus hiſtoria notiones cenſorias fieri atque exerceri vid. mus, in adulterio deprenſum ab Annio Milone loris bene cæſum dicit, & quum dediſſet pecuniam, dimiſſum.* 'Tis a ſad thing that this ſhameful Diſgrace ſhould happen to a great Author; for it was *Salluſt* the Hiſtorian who was ſo ill treated at *Fauſta*'s Houſe. But the Gallants were never the better for this Example; for one *Villius* is ſaid to have receiv'd a hundred blows with the Fiſt in the ſame place, and narrowly eſcap'd being ſtabb'd (*a*). Some ſay, that this *Milo* treated him after this manner (*b*). It was well for him that he was robuſt, for if he had not, his Arms would not have been able to ſtrike as often as was neceſſary thoſe who came to kiſs his Wife. But others think with more probability, that he who treated thus the unfortunate *Villius*, was another Gallant of *Fauſta*, who being with her when *Villius* came in, drove him away diſgracefully. This *Villius* courted *Fauſta*.

* *He married her to* James Maubert *Sieur de* Boiſgibaut.

† *Taken from a Memorial ſent to me from* Geneva *by Mr* Pictet *Profeſſor of Divinity.*

β Plut. ubi infra.

γ Ἡ Μέτελλα ὡς κ βασιλικῶς σωφρονοῦσα.

δ Plut. in Sylla, p. 473.

ζ Ibid. p. 455.

ϑ Ibid. p. 473.

κ Ibid. p. 473.

(*d*) Filius Æſopi detractam ex aure Metellæ (Scilicet ut decies ſolidum exſorberet) aceto Diluit inſignem baccam. *Horat. Sat.* 3. *l.* 2. *v.* 239.

(*e*) *Remarks upon this place of* Horace, to. 7. p.m. 301, 302.

(*f*) *In the Text of this Article.*

(*g*) *It was fought in* 705.

(*h*) Quin etiam Æſopi filius me excruciat. *Cicero ad Atticum, epiſt.* 15. *l.* 11.

(*i*) Gland. p. 170.

(†) *He who overcame* Mithridates.

(*k*) Lib. 1. c. 5. n. 4.

(*l*) De Divinat. l. 1. fol. m. 511. C.

(*m*) L. Flaccum flaminem Martialem ego audivi quum diceret. *Ibid.*

(*n*) Ipſam vero Cæciliam Q. Numidici ſororem fuiſſe ex auctore de viris illuſtribus eſt colligere, qui cap. 62. ſcribit Numidicum ſororis ſuæ virum Metellum laudare noluiſſe, quod is olim ſuum judicium & leges derrectarat. *Pighius in Val. Maximum ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) *See* Horace Ode 6. l. 3.

(*p*) Aul. Gellius, l. 17. c. 18.

(*a*) Villius in Fauſta Syllæ gener (hoc miſer uno Nomine deceptus) pœnas dedit uſque ſuperque Quam ſatis eſt pugnis cæſus, ferroque peritus, Excluſus fore quum Longarenus foret intus. *Horat. Sat.* 2. *l.* 1. *v.* 64.

(*b*) Vetus interpres Horatii.

beyond her Mother. Since *Metella* was of an Age to have Children, I do not understand (*C*) the Reflexion of *Plutarch*. *Metella* became dangerously sick, at a time when her Husband was making great Entertainments for the People upon occasion of a great Vow. He had Consecrated to *Hercules* the tenth part of his Estate, and treated the People magnificently for many Days. The Priests declar'd to him, that it was not lawful for him to go and see his Wife, nor to suffer his House to de defil'd by the Death of any one whatsoever. Whereupon he sent a Letter of Divorce to *Metella*, and order'd that she should be carried out of his House before she died. Superstition * mov'd him to do all these things against his Inclination; for he was much afflicted to lose his Wife, and made her a very magnificent Funeral to ease his Grief. Upon the same account he made great Feasts for his Friends, without any regard to the Sumptuary Laws, which he himself had enacted †. These he violated boldly, tho' he durst not violate the ridiculous and barbarous Ceremonies which the Priests had appointed him. If the Son of *Æsop* was belov'd by one *Metella* (*D*), as there is some probability, I am strongly inclin'd to think, that the two gallant Ladies I have spoken of, are not the only Persons of that Name who behav'd themselves ill. Some Authors ‡ have given the Name of METELLA to one of *Pompey*'s Wives, whom he divorc'd for Unchastity; but she should rather be call'd *Mucia*: And of her I treat under that word.

* Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀκεκλῶς τὸ νόμιμον ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐτήρησε, τὸν δὲ τῆς ταφῆς δεῖζον τὴν δαπάνην νόμου αὐτὸς παρανομήσας πρός ἐνὸς μηδενὸς ἀναλώματος φείσατο. Atque hac in re leges curiose ex superstitione servavit: at legem funerariam, quam tulerat ipse, convulsit nullo habito sumptus modo. *Ibid. p.* 474. *B.*

† Id. ib.

‡ *See* Bisselius, ruinar. illustr. decade 4. parte 4. p. 2984.

METELLUS

chiefly because she was of the first Quality. *Horace* laughs at this foolish Conceit, and shows that it does not proceed from Nature (*c*), which teaches better things (*d*). This censure prov'd useless, and *Persius* was oblig'd to renew it.

(*c*) Huic si Mutonis verbis mala tanta videntis Diceret hæc animus: quid vis tibi? nunquid ego à te Magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum Velatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira? Quid responderet? magno patre nata puella est, At quanto meliora monet pugnantiaque istis Dives opis natura suæ. *Horat. Sat.* 2. *l.* 1. *v.* 68.

(*d*) Nec magis huic inter niveos virideſque lapillos (Sit licet hoc Cerinthe tuum) tenerum est femur aut crus Rectius, atque etiam melius persæpe togatæ. *Ibid. v.* 80. (*e*) Persius sat. 6. sub fin. (*f*) Mr. Dacier it Horat. tom. 7. p. 145. (*g*) Macrob. Saturn. l. 2. c. 2. p. 324. (*h*) Plut. in Sylla, p. 453.

(*e*) *Nunc nunc impensius unge,*
Unge puer caules. Mihi festa luce coquatur
Urtica, & fissa fumosum finciput aure;
Ut tuus iste nepos olim satur anserus extis,
Cum morosa vago singultiet inguine vena,
PATRICIÆ *immejet vulvæ.*

"And there are still many People like *Villius*, who "like nothing in their Mistress but their Name and "their Quality." These are the Words of an able Commentator (*f*). I have not yet nam'd all the Gallants of our *Fausta*, whose Memory is transmitted to us in Books. She had two at the same time, whose Names gave occasion to a witty saying of her Brother. *Faustus Sullæ filius cum soror ejus eodem tempore duos maechos haberet, Fulvium fulloni filium & Pompeium Maculam, miror, inquit, sororem meam habere Maculam cum fullonem habeat* (*g*). *I wonder*, said he, *that my Sister should have a Spot, since she has a fuller.* But the Latin is infinitely more graceful.

(*C*) *I do not understand the Reflexion of* Plutarch.] He says, that *Sylla* before he Married *Metella*, had three Wives, whereof the last call'd *Cælia*, was fairly divorc'd upon pretence of Barrenness; but, adds *Plutarch*, the Marriage which *Sylla* contracted a few days after with *Metella*, shows that he had unjustly alledg'd against *Cælia* this reason of Divorce. (*h*) Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Μετέλλαν ἔδοξε διὰ τοῦτο τὴν Κοιλίαν ὡς κακῶς αἰτιάσασθαι. *Verum quod paucis diebus post Metellam duxit, apparuit eum immerito illam causam in Cæliam prætendisse.* To make this reasoning of *Plutarch* good, we must suppose, that according to the Course of Nature and a judicious Conduct, a Man who has divorc'd his Wife for Barrenness, should not make haste to take another: But common Sense tells us, that this cannot be suppos'd without falling into an Error; for every one that divorces his Wife, and does it only upon the account of Barrenness, testifies by that, that he wishes to have Children. And therefore Reason requires that he should Marry again quickly to another Woman, who is like to be Fruitful: And if he should not Marry again, or delay for a long time to do it, he would thereby plainly declare, that he had given a false Reason for his Divorce. What did it concern him, might one say, whether his Wife was Barren or no, since after her Divorce he continues unmarried? And therefore it is not true, that *Sylla* Marrying quickly to *Metella*, was a Confutation of the reason for which he said that he divorc'd *Cælia*; on the contrary that Marriage did confirm it, and justifie his Conduct. The Reason of *Plutarch* were good, if *Metella* had been past the Age of Child-bearing; but he informs us himself that she was brought to bed of two Twins. That which deceiv'd him seems to be this: He reason'd thus with himself; *Sylla* would not have concluded his Marriage with *Metella* a little while after her divorce, if he had not been in Love with her some time before, and prepar'd things for his new Marriage before the dissolution of the former. It was therefore his desire to Marry *Metella*, that push'd him on to a Divorce; and so the Barrenness of *Cælia* was only a vain pretence. *Plutarch* might have Reason at the bottom; perhaps the only Motive of *Sylla* was the desire he had to Marry *Metella*. However since *Plutarch* builds his Proposition upon a very ambiguous Proof, and which, according to the order of Nature and good Sense, must needs be false, he is guilty of a Paralogism. I have said elsewhere, that such a Criticism as this, which may be call'd a Logical Criticism, may do young Readers more service than a Grammatical Criticism.

(*D*) *If the Son of Æsop was belov'd by one* Metella.] That which makes me express my self after this manner is this, That the Words of *Horace* do not necessarily signifie, that the Lady whose Pearl was swallow'd by *Æsop*'s Son, was in Love with him. *Horace* might have mention'd *Metella*, in case she had been a Lady stately adorn'd with precious Stones; for since he designed to set forth the extravagant Prodigality of *Æsop*'s Son, he was to describe the Pearl by such lively strokes as might strongly affect the Reader. If therefore there had been a Lady call'd *Metella*, famous for the magnificence of her precious Stones, he would have given a great Idea of the price of a Pearl, by saying, that it serv'd as a Pendant to the Ear of such a Lady; and so the Expression of *Horace*, *detractam ex aure Metellæ*, would not be useless, even tho' it should be suppos'd that the Son of *Æsop* did not become Master of that Pearl but by purchase. Yet I think it very probable, that this *Metella* behav'd her self very ill with the Son of this Comedian: And perhaps it may very well be, that she was the same with that *Metella* who is mention'd in *Cicero*'s Letters. There are some Commentators who think, that when *Cicero* complains (*i*) of being tormented by the Son of *Æsop*, he means that this Man was a Companion of *Dolabella* (*k*) in the Debaucheries which so much vex'd *Tullia*, and which were one of the causes of breaking off her Marriage with *Dolabella*. 2 That these Debaucheries were the intrigues of *Dolabella* with some merry Ladies, and particularly with *Metella*. This Conjecture is grounded upon a Passage in another Letter of *Cicero*, wherein *Metella* is reckon'd among the causes of the Divorce of *Tullia*. (*l*) *Melius quidem in pessimis nihil fuit discidio aliquid fecissemus ut vivi, vel tabularum novarum nomine, vel nocturnarum expugnationum, vel Metellæ; vel omnium malorum.* Some think that this *Metella* (*m*) was she whom *Lentulus Spinther* divorc'd, and that the *Metella* of *Æsop*'s Son (*n*) was she that was divorc'd by this *Lentulus*. What is certain is, that there was about that time a very merry Lady call'd *Metella*, whose Amours afforded as much Matter to the Poets, as Madam *d'Olonne* has done to the Writers of the XVIIth Century. Here

(*i*) Quin etiam Æsopi filius me excruciat. *Cicero ad Attic. epist.* 15. *l* 11.

(*k*) Quia socius Dolabellæ in adulteriis Pellicum Tulliæ, ut Metellæ de qua epist. 23. *Poema in editione epist. Cicer. ad Atticum Graviana, tom.* 2. *p.* 248.

(*l*) Cicero ad Attic. l. 11 epist. 23.

(*m*) Corradus in Cicer ad Attic epist 7 *l* 13.

(*n*) Et Lentulum cum Metella certe feciſſe divortium. *Cicero ib epiſt.* 7 *l.* 13 *See alſo epiſt.* 5. *l* 12

METELLUS CELER (QUINTUS) Conſul in the Year of *Rome* 693, diſcharg'd the Office of Prætor in the Year of *Cicero*'s Conſulſhip ζ, and did good Service to the γ Commonwealth in oppoſing the Troops of *Catiline*, which were marching into *Gallia Ciſalpina*; of which Province he obtain'd the Government after his Prætorſhip. He was a Perſon of Merit, but very unhappy in chooſing a Wife; for he Married (*A*) a Siſter of *Clodius*, who firſt diſgrac'd him by her lewdneſs, and then Poyſon'd him. She was his Couſin ♪ German. 'Tis ſhe that under the Name of *Lesbia* is ſo much defam'd by *Catullus*. *Cicero* (*B*) loſt a very good Friend by the Death of this *Metellus* in 694. I ſhall obſerve a miſtake (*C*) of *Turnebus*. Our *Metellus* was of the College of the *Augurs* ζ.

ζ *In* 690
γ Salluſt. in bell. Catilin. p m. 81. 176.
♪ Cicero pro Cœlio, p. 518. edit. Abrami.
ζ Cicero in Vatinium, p. 306. ejuſdem edit.

METELLUS (LUCIUS) a Tribune of the People when *Cæſar* made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, at the beginning of the Civil Wars, had more Courage than all the other Magiſtrates.

Here follow two Verſes of *Ovid* taken out of the ſecond Elogy of the ſecond Book *de Triſtibus*:

Et quorum libris modo diſſimulata Perillæ
Nomine nunc legitur dicta, Metelle, tuo.

We learn from *Apuleius* how the Author was called who diſguis'd the Name of *Metella* by that of *Perilla*. *Eadem opera accuſent*, ſays he, p. 279 of his Apology, *C. Catullum quod Lesbiam pro Clodia nominavit, & Ticidam ſimiliter quod quæ Metella erat, Perillam ſcripſerit.*

(*a*) Plutarch. in Ciceron. vita, p. 875.

(*A*) *He married a Siſter of* Clodius.] This is the *Clodia* whom *Cicero* has ſo well deſcrib'd in his Pleading for *Cœlius*, a Provincial, and a fine Youth, who was accus'd of many Crimes, and among the reſt of having a deſign to poyſon *Clodia*, to excuſe himſelf from paying the ſumms of Money which he had borrow'd of her. *Cicero* was his Advocate, and pleaded for him with ſo much ſtrength of Reaſon, that he was acquitted. *Clodia* undertook this Affair, only to be reveng'd upon him for a ſenſible Affront he had put upon her, which was this, That *Cœlius* after he had diverted himſelf with her ſo much, and for ſo long a time, as he had a mind to, forſook her, and made his Courtſhip to another. *Plutarch* relates (*a*), that ſhe was call'd *Quadrantaria*, becauſe one day one of thoſe who had lain with her, did not pay her but in very bad Money. He put into his Purſe, not pieces of Silver, but ſmall pieces of Copper (*b*), much like Farthings. *Apuleius* informs us (*c*), that ſhe was the Miſtreſs about whom *Catullus* has made ſo many Verſes under the Name of *Lesbia*: And ſo ſhe deſerv'd for many Reaſons the Title which *Plutarch* has given her; for the *Lesbia* of *Catullus* was at laſt a common Whore, and one who waited for her Prey at the Corner of the Streets. She was for the firſt ſhe met, and without doubt took what was offer'd her. She proſtitued her ſelf for a ſmall matter, *Scortum diobolare, aut triobolare.* Did ſhe not therefore deſerve the Name of *Quadrantaria*? See in the Margin the Verſes of *Catullus*, which were probably addreſs'd to *Cicero*'s Client (*d*). She purchas'd a Garden on the Banks of the *Tiber*, that ſhe might have an opportunity of ſeeing the Swimmers in that River, and the better to chooſe thoſe whom ſhe had a mind to draw into her Net. *Habes hortos ad Tiberim: ac diligenter eo loco paraſti quo omnis juventus natandi cauſſa venit, hinc licet conditiones quotidie legas* (*e*). Of all the Siſters of *Clodius* this was the moſt ſuſpected (*f*) of Inceſt with him. Being yet very young, he pretended to be fearful, that he might have leave to ſleep with this Siſter. *Propter neſcio quam, credo, timiditatem, & nocturnos quoſdam inanes metus, tecum ſemper puſio eum majore ſorore cubitavit* (*g*). There is an Epigram (*h*) in *Catullus* which ſhews, that he lov'd *Clodia*, and that he fell out with her before the Death of her Husband.

(*b*) *Which they call'd at* Rome Quadrantes.

(*c*) Apuleius in Apol. p. m 279. *I have cited his own words in the Remark D. of the preceding Article.*

(*d*) Cœli, Lesbia noſtra, Lesbia illa, Illa Lesbia quam Catullus unam Pluſquam ſe atque ſuos amavit omnes; Nunc in quadriviis & angiportis Glubit magnanimos Remi Nepotes. *Catull. ep. gr. 59.*

(*e*) Cicero pro Cœlio, p. 445. edit. Abrami.

(*f*) Plut. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Cicero ibid.

Lesbia mi, præſente viro, mala plurima dicit,
Hæc illi fatuo maxima lætitia eſt.
Mule (i), nihil ſentis. Si noſtri oblita taceret,
Sana eſſet, quod nunc gannit & obloquitur
Non ſolum meminit, ſed quæ multo acrior eſt res
Irata eſt: hoc eſt uritur & loquitur.

(*h*) *It is the* 84.

(*i*) *It is not a proper Name as many have believed. See* Muret *upon this Epigram.*

(*B*) Cicero *loſt a very good Friend.*] I will ſet down his own Words, that we may know the Merit of this *Metellus*, and his Friendſhip for *Cicero*; and alſo the difference there is often between a Man and a Husband. *Metellus*, with reſpect to *Cicero*, is an illuſtrious *Roman*; for *Cicero* conſiders him only as he is a Man. But the ſame *Metellus*, with reſpect to *Catullus*, is a Sot, a Fool, a Mule (*k*), becauſe *Catullus* conſiders him only as a Husband. *Catullus* was convinc'd that the Wife of *Metellus* was very naughty. He knew ſo well all the effects of Love, that he was perſuaded, that ſince ſhe ſpoke ſo ill of him, it was a ſign that ſhe ſtill felt the remains of her Paſſion. What eſteem then could he have for *Metellus*, who was catcht in ſuch a wretched Net, and ſuffered himſelf to be Cuckolded, and then cheated by his Wife? Let us ſee the words of *Cicero*: (*l*) *Pro Dii immortales cur interdum in hominum ſceleribus maximis aut connivetis, aut præſentis fraudis pœnas in diem reſervatis? Vidi enim, vidi, & illum hauſi dolorem vel acerbiſſimum in vita, quum Q. Metellus abſtraheretur è ſinu, gremioque patriæ: quumque ille vir, qui ſe natum huic imperio putavit, tertio die poſtquam in Curia, in roſtris, in Republica floruiſſet, integerrima ætate, optimo habitu, maximis viribus eriperetur indigniſſime bonis omnibus, atque univerſæ civitati. Quo quidem tempore ille moriens, quum jam cæteris ex partibus oppreſſa mens eſſet, extremum ſenſum ad memoriam Reipublicæ reſervabat: quam me intuens flentem ſignificabat interruptis, atque morientibus vocibus: quanta impenderet procella urbi, quanta tempeſtas civitati: quum parietem ſæpe feriens eum, qui cum Q. Catulo fuerat ei communis, crebro Catulum, ſæpe me, ſæpiſſime Rempublicam nominabat: ut non ſe tam emori, quam ſpoliari ſuo præſidio quum patriam, tum etiam me doleret. Quem quidem virum ſi nulla vis repentini ſceleris ſuſtuliſſet, quonam modo ille furenti fratri ſuo patruelis Conſulari reſtitiſſet, qui conſulem incipientem furere atque conantem, ſua ſe manu interfecturum, audiente Senatu dixerit? Ex hac igitur domo progreſſa iſta mulier de vencui celeritate dicere audebit? nonne ipſam domum metuet, ne quam vocem eliciat? non parietes conſcios, non noctem illam funeſtam ac luctuoſam perhorreſcet?* *Cicero* obſerves in another place (*m*), that *Clodia* liv'd ill with her Husband.

(*k*) *See Epigram* 84. *in the preceding Remark.*

(*l*) Cicero ubi ſupra, p. 514.

(*m*) Ea eſt ſeditioſa: ea cum viro bellum gerit, neque ſolum cum Metello, ſed etiam cum Fabio. *Id. epiſt.* 1. *ad Attic. l.* 1. *p. m.* 175.

(*C*) *I ſhall obſerve a miſtake of* Turnebus.] He believ'd that *Catullus* ſpoke of our *Metellus Celer* in Epigram 68. *Ita Cæcilia placeam, cui credita nunc ſum.* The Poet brings in the Door of a debauch'd Woman ſpeaking thus; but this Woman was not *Clodia* or *Lesbia*, for the Woman meant in this Epigram had Married an impotent Man, whoſe Father was ſo officious, that he conſummated the Marriage which his Son had contracted. 'Tis not known whether he did it becauſe he lov'd her, or becauſe he was perſuaded that his Son had not a ſufficient power to do it. Conſult theſe Verſes of *Catullus*:

Primum (n) igitur virgo quod fertur tradita nobis.
Falſum eſt: nunque illam vir prior attigerat,
Languidior tenera cui pendens ſicula beta,
Nunquam ſe mediam ſuſtulit ad tunicam;
Sed pater ipſius nati violaſſe cubile
Dicitur, & miſeram conſceleraſſe domum:
Sive quod impia mens cæco flagrabat amore,
Seu quod iners ſterili ſemine natus erat:
Et quærendum aliunde foret nervoſius illud,
Quod poſſit zonam ſolvere virgineam.
Egregium narras mira pietate parentem,
Qui ipſe ſui gnati minuerit in gremium.

Scaliger (*o*) refutes *Turnebus* by two Reaſons: The firſt is, that the Scene of this Adventure was *Verona*, and not *Rome*. The ſecond is, that no body ever ſaid that *Clodia* committed Inceſt with her Father. *Cicero* had certainly objected it to her, if ſhe had been of bad Reputation upon that account. Theſe two Reaſons of *Scaliger* are very good; but he did not obſerve [illegible] was with her Huſband's Father, and not with her own, that the Maid mention'd by *Catullus* loſt her Maidenhead.

(*n*) Catul. *Epigram* 68.

(*o*) Alienum à vero prorſus ſcribit Adr. Turnebus, Gallorum doctiſſimus, hunc eſſe Cæcilium, cui Clodia nupſerit: Hoc enim non Romæ, ſed Veronæ manifeſto actum ſcribit Catullus. Deinde nihil tale de Clodia narratur, ut conſuetudinem ſtupri nefandam cum patre ſuo habuerit. Hoc enim non tam [illegible] cuiſſet capitalis hoſtis ejus fratris Clodii [illegible]

Magiſtrates. The City of *Rome* appear'd ſo ſubmiſſive (*A*) to the Will of *Cæſar* the very firſt Days, that it was ſaid, ſhe had been a long time accuſtom'd to the Yoke of Bondage. *Metellus* was the only Perſon that durſt oppoſe *Cæſar*, who had a mind to ſeize the Treaſure that was kept in the Temple of *Saturn*. *Cæſar* laugh'd at the Oppoſition, and the Laws (*B*) which were objected to him, and went ſtreight to the place where the Treaſure was depoſited. He found it ſhut, and becauſe the Keys were refus'd him, he gave orders that the Doors ſhould be broke open, whereupon *Metellus* renew'd his Oppoſition and *Cæſar* threaten'd to kill him: *Young Man*, ſaid he, *you are not ignorant that it would be more eaſie for me to do it than to ſay it.* The Tribune reſiſted no longer (*C*), but went away very quietly; and *Cæſar* took in this Treaſury whatever he had a mind to *. He took great care not to relate how the thing happen'd; for he diſguis'd it (*D*) ſo in his Hiſtory † of the Civil War, that you can perceive nothing of Injuſtice or Violence in it. Thus they uſe to do who write their own Lives; they conceal thoſe Circumſtances which do not make for the Glory of their Name.

* Plutarc. in Cæſare, p. 725.

† Lib. 1.

‡ *One was called* Maloeta, *and the other* Mylaon.

METHYDRIUM, in Greek Μεθύδριον a City of *Peloponneſus* in *Arcadia*, was ſo call'd upon the account of its ſituation between two Rivers ‡. *Orchomenes*, who was the Founder of it, built it upon a riſing Ground. There was near *Methydrium* a Temple

(*A*) *Appear'd ſo ſubmiſſive to the Will of* Cæſar.] We muſt not wonder at this, for he was conſider'd as a Man who with an armed Force had invaded *Rome*, and it was fear'd leſt he ſhould have pillag'd it.

(*p*) Lucan. Pharſ. l. 3. v. 99.

(*p*) *Namque ignibus atris*
Creditur, ut captæ rapturus mœnia Romæ
Sparſuruſque Deos: fuit hæc menſura timoris.
Velle putant quodcunque poteſt.

The good Fortune of *Rome* ſet Bounds to his Power, when the Senate and People had ſet none to their ſubmiſſion. This will not be the laſt time, that even in ſuch a juncture of Affairs, wherein effeminate ſoftneſs is more inexcuſable than at that time, ſome will be leſs aſham'd to ſuffer things to be taken, than others to take them, and that they'll be beholden for their Preſervation to the Diſcretion of others.

(*q*) Id. ib. v. 108.

Omnia (*q*) *Cæſar erat, privatæ Curia vocis*
Teſtis adeſt. Sedere patres cenſere paveti
Si regnum, ſi templa ſibi, jugulumque Senatus
Exiliumque petat. Melius quod plura jubere
Erubuit, quam Roma pati.

(*a*) Lib. 2. Bell. civil. p. m. 241.

(*B*) *And the Laws which were objected to him.*] *Appian* (*a*) tells us, that after the fatal Wars which the *Romans* had with the *Gauls*, certain ſums of Money were laid by, which every Body was forbidden to touch, under pain of a publick Execration, except it were in caſe of a War againſt the *Gauls*. It was objected to *Cæſar*, that their Anceſtors had given the Curſe of the Country to any one that ſhould touch this Money, except in caſe of neceſſity. He laugh'd at this Curſe, and ſaid, that having ſubdu'd the *Gauls*, he had deliver'd *Rome* from the Obligation, under which ſhe might lye when ſhe founded this Treaſury. *Lucan* has made an ingenious Reflection indeed, but I think it is a little ſtrain'd. He ſays (*b*), that the Laws, Privileges and Liberty are leſs laid to Heart than Money, and that it was only for the love of this Treaſure that they attempted to reſiſt *Cæſar*. He mentions the oppoſition of *Metellus*.

(*b*) Uſque adeo ſolus ferrum, mortemq; timere Ærì neſcit amor, pereunt diſcrimine nullo Amiſſæ leges: ſed pars viliſſima rerum Certamen moviſtis opes. *Lucan. ib.* v. 118.

(*C*) *The Tribune reſiſted no longer.*] *Lucan* ſuppoſes, that *Metellus* was ambitious of the Glory of being ſacrific'd by the violence of a Tyrant, but that *Cæſar* did not think him worthy of that Honour, and told him:

(*c*) *Vanam ſpem mortis bonæſtæ*
Concipis: haud (inquit) jugulo ſe polluet iſto
Noſtra, Metelle, manus. Dignum te Cæſaris ira
Nullus honor facit, te vindice tuta relicta eſt
Libertas? non uſque adeo permiſcuit imis
Longus ſumma dies, ut non, ſi vole Metelli
Serventur leges, malint à Cæſare tolli.

(*c*) Idid. v. 134.

This Poet ſuppoſes another thing, *viz.* that *Metellus* did not retire till after the ſolid Remonſtrances of *Cotta*. Liberty, ſaid *Cotta*, ruins Liberty, when the Monarchical Power curbs it; and if you would not quite deſtroy it, if you deſire at leaſt to retain the ſhadow of it, appear willing to do what is commanded you. This thought is very fine, and *Lucan* expreſſes it nobly.

(*d*) *Tum Cottæ Metellum*
Compulit audaci nimium [illegible] cepto.
Libertas, inquit, populi, [illegible] regna coercent,
Libertate perit; cujus ſervaveris umbram,
[illegible] quicquid jubeare, velis.

(*d*) Ibid. v. 342.

[illegible] *it.*] It is rather a total ſuppreſſing of it; for he is ſo far from granting, that he us'd threats againſt *Metellus*, and that he carried off in ſpite of his Teeth the Money that was in the Treaſury, that he declares he went out of *Rome*, that he might not be a long time entangled in the diſpute that was raiſed againſt him by means of *Metellus*. Is not this an inſinuation that he was ſo gracious and complaiſant, that he choſe rather to quit the Place than to ſtruggle with this Tribune of the People? (*e*) *Subjicitur etiam L. Metellus Tribunus plebis ab inimicis Cæſaris, qui hanc rem diſtrahat, reliquaſque res quaſcunque agere inſtituerit, impediat. Cujus cognito conſilio, Cæſar fruſtra diebus aliquot conſumptis, ne reliquum tempus omittat, inſeſtis iis quæ agere deſtinaverat, ab Urbe proficiſcitur.* If he mentions the publick Treaſury, he does not tell us that he fear'd upon it; but he only ſays, that the falſe Report of his arrival ſo frighted his Enemies, that the Conſul *Lentulus*, who went to the Treaſury to take thence the Money he could find in it, that he might ſend it away to *Pompey*, departed ſuddenly without putting his deſign in execution. According to all the Editions of *Cæſar*, (*f*) the fear of this Conſul was ſo great, that it did not give him leave to ſhut up the publick Treaſury; but a Critick (*g*) of a good Judgment is of Opinion, that this Paſſage ſhould be corrected by inſerting the Particle *non*, and then the meaning of *Cæſar* will be, that the Conſul fled away before he had open'd the Treaſury. According to the Editions, *Cæſar* tells a thing very different from what all the other Hiſtorians aſſum. They obſerve, that he caus'd the Doors of the publick Treaſury to be broke open, or that he threaten'd to do it when the Keys were deny'd him (*h*). The common reading ſuppreſſes this violence, becauſe it ſuppoſes that the Doors were left open If we follow the Conjecture of *Rubens*, we ſhall leſſen the inſincerity of *Cæſar*'s Pen: But yet he will always be guilty of a notable concealment of the Truth; for he ſays nothing of his taking Advantage of this juncture, and of his entring into the Treaſury which *Lentulus* had not ſhut. *Voſſius*, I think (*i*), has given no good reaſon againſt this Correction of *Rubens*. *Sed profecto*, ſays he, *ſequentia refellunt, nam quia mirum poterat videri, quod relinqueret apertum ærarium profugiens, eo ſubjungit.* Cæſar enim adventare, &c. This reaſon is taken from the words which *Cæſar* uſes to ſhow the cauſe why *Lentulus* was frighted: But it is not very ſtrong; for it is very ſtrange, that when a great War is coming on, a Conſul who is ready to take out the Money of the Treaſury, and ſend it away to the General, ſhould fly away before he ſecures that Money. So that if *Cæſar* had made uſe of a Negative Particle, as *Rubens* ſuppoſes, he would have been oblig'd to give a reaſon for the fear of *Lentulus*; a fear which would not have allow'd him the time neceſſary to provide himſelf with Money. *Voſſius* therefore, without any ground, ſuppoſes that a needleſs Reaſon would be alledg'd, if the fact which *Cæſar* relates was agreeable to the Criticiſm of *Rubens*. I think alſo, that the common Reading carries the Matter to a hyperbolical height. For what probability is there, that a *Roman* Conſul ſhould have been ſo ſeiz'd with Conſternation, that he could not ſee that the time which was neceſſary to ſhut up a Door would not laſt long enough to hinder him from making his eſcape?

(*e*) Cæſar, de bello civ. lib. 1. p. m. 250.

(*f*) Quibus rebus Romam nunciatis tantus repente terror invaſit, ut cum Lentulus conſul ad aperiendum ærarium veniſſet ad pecuniam Pompejo ex Senatuſconſulto proferendam, protinus aperto ſanctiore ærario ex urbe profugeret, Cæſar enim adventare jam jamque, & adeſſe ejus equites falſo nunciabantur. *Il. p.* 239.

(*g*) Philip Rubens Lector, l. 1. c. 24. apud Voſſium de hiſtor. Lat. p. 63. *would have it read* protinus non aperto.

(*h*) *See* Lucan, Plutarch *and* Appian ubi ſupra, *Dion l.* 41. *p.* 181. Cicero, ad Attic. Lib. epiſt. 4. *Florus l.* 4. c. 2. *n.* 21.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*A*) Temple of *Neptunus Equeſtris*, and a Mountain which was call'd *Thaumaſius*, that is, Miraculous, whither it is pretended that *Cybele* fled being with Child by *Jupiter*, and that *Hoplodamus* and (*B*) the Giants in his Retinue prepar'd to relieve her, in caſe *Saturn* her Husband ſhould offer her any violence. It was not denied that ſhe was brought to Bed upon Mount *Lyceus*, but ſome maintain'd (*C*) that ſhe cheated her Spouſe upon Mount *Thaumaſius*, by giving him a Stone inſtead of a Child. On the top of this Mountain the Cave of *Cybele* was ſhown, in which no Perſon was ſuffer'd to ſet a Foot, except the Women conſecrated to the Goddeſs *. *Methydrium* was nothing but a Village in the time of *Pauſanias*, and belong'd to the *Megalopolitans* †. This Article will diſpleaſe many People, becauſe it ſhews that there were in the times of Paganiſm certain places of Devotion, whoſe pretended Sanctity was grounded only upon ridiculous Tales: For there are many Conformities which are not lik'd at all. *Pauſanias* is a troubleſome Author, and deſerv'd to be reviſ'd by the Commiſſioners *Librorum expurgandorum*.

* *Taken out of* Pauſanias, l. 8. p. 266.
† Id. ibid. p. 246.

METRODORUS of *Chios*, a Diſciple of *Democritus*, had among other Diſciples the Philoſopher *Anaxarchus* and *Hippocrates* the Phyſician β. Others affirm that he was the Scholar of *Neſſas*, who had been the Diſciple of *Democritus*, and that he was Maſter to *Diogenes*, the Maſter of *Anaxarchus* γ. He taught the Eternity of the World; for if the World, ſaid he, had a Beginning, it would have been produc'd out of nothing. He made it alſo Infinite for a Reaſon drawn from its Eternity; and Unmoveable, for a Reaſon drawn from its Infinity. He ſaid that the Clouds, and afterwards the Rain, were form'd of condens'd Air, and that the Rain which fell upon the Sun extinguiſh'd its Light, but that the Rarefaction which ſucceeded this extinction lighted it again; that at length it grew thick by dryneſs, and that the glittering Water ſerv'd it for Matter to produce Stars. Thus he gave an account of the alternative ſucceſſion of Day and Night, and in general of Eclipſes δ. He is thought to be one of thoſe who deny'd certainty; and a Paſſage (*A*) of *Cicero* is cited to that purpoſe. There is no certain proof that *Pliny* cited our *Metrodorus*, for he never gives the Sirname *Chius* to the Perſon whom he cites. That Sirname is given him by ζ *Athenæus*, together with a Work entituled Τρῳϊκὰ, *i. e.* An account of the Affairs of *Troy*.

β Suidas in Δημόκριτος.
γ Euſeb. præpar. Evangel. l. 14. c. 16. p. 785.
δ *Taken out of* Plutarch in Stromatis, apud Euſebium ubi ſupra, l. 1. c. 8. p. 24, 25.
ζ Athen. l. 4. c. ult. p. 184.

METRO-

(*A*) *There was near* Methydrium *a Temple—— and a Mountain.*] I make this Remark only to correct a Word in the Text of *Pauſanias*. This Author ſays, that the Town of *Methydrium* was ſituated (*k*) between the River *Malæta*, and the River *Mylaon*, and that there was a Temple upon the latter, and a Mountain upon the River *Molottus*. 'Tis plain, that here is a River too much, and that this Paſſage of *Pauſanias* has been ſpoil'd by the Tranſcribers. I will ſet down the Greek. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ, Ποσειδῶνός τε Ἱππίου ναὸς, ὑπὲρ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Μυλάονι ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Θαυμάσιον καλούμενον, κεῖται μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Μολοσσόν. *Eſt Methydrii Neptuni equeſtris ædes ad Mylaontem fluvium: mons vero thaumaſius dictus ſupra Molottum amnem eſt.* I believe that inſtead of Μολοσσόν, we ſhould read Μαλοΐδα, which is the Name of the other River, whereof *Pauſanias* had ſpoken a little before. Note, that upon reading this a long time after it had been written, I thought that I ſhould conſult *Pauſanias* Printed at *Leipſick* in 1696, which did not come to my Hands till a few Months ago: And there I found a Note which informs me, that *Stephanus Niger* believes, that *Malæta* and *Molottus*, or *Moloſſus* in *Pauſanias* were two different Rivers, but that others think that μαλοΐδα is a fault of the Tranſcribers. 2. That *Kuhnius* is not poſitive in the caſe, and knows not what to make of certain Names which occur but once.

(*k*) Μαλοΐδα τε ποταμὸν καὶ μυλάονος μέσον. Medio loco inter Malœtan & Mylaontem flumina. *Pauſan. l. 8. p. m.* 266.

(*B*) Hoplodamus *and the Giants in his Retinue prepar'd to relieve her.*] *Natalis Comes* underſtood not the Paſſage of *Pauſanias*, for he ſuppoſes that the Giants call'd in to the aſſiſtance of the Goddeſs the Mountain *Thaumaſius*. (*a*) *Qui mons fuit ab Hoplodamo, aliiſque illius ſocio Gigantibus in auxilium accitus, ſi forte Saturnus illi vim inferre paraviſſet.*

(*a*) Natalis Comes Mythol. l. 9. c. 5. p. m. 950.

(*C*) *That ſhe was brought to Bed on the Mount* Lyceus, *but ſome maintain'd that ſhe deceiv'd her Spouſe on Mount* Thaumaſius.] This is the true ſenſe of the words of *Pauſanias*, and tho' it be not very clear by the Grammatical Conſtruction, yet it follows plainly from the reaſoning and intention of the Author. Nevertheleſs you may here ſee what it is for any one to expreſs himſelf ambiguouſly by the wrong placing of his words, which leads aſtray the moſt learned Men. I have juſt now read a Commentary which is full of profound Learning, and there I find (*b*) it attributed to *Pauſanias*, that he ſaid, the Cave (*c*) of *Rhea* was to be ſeen upon the back of Mount *Lyceus*, and that no Perſon was permitted to enter into it but only the Women who ſacrific'd to this Goddeſs. *Pauſanias* ſays ſo only of Mount *Thaumaſius*, for he affirms two things of the ſame Mountain; one is, that *Saturn* was deceiv'd there, taking a Stone for the Child his Wife had brought forth; the other is, that the Cave of that Goddeſs was to be ſeen there. Now it was upon Mount *Thaumaſius* that *Saturn* was thus deceiv'd; *Stephanus Byzantinus* ſays ſo (*d*); therefore, *&c.* I know very well, that *Pauſanias* relates many wonders of Mount *Lyceus*, that *Jupiter* was Educated in it; that there was to be ſeen there a Fountain which cauſed Rain, when a great Drought obliged People to have recourſe to this Remedy, by uſing the requiſite Ceremonies; that there was alſo to be ſeen a Place Conſecrated to *Jupiter*, which all Perſons were forbidden to enter into, and that if any one was ſo bold as to enter into it in contempt of Religion, he died infallibly the ſame Year; and that the Beaſts as well as Men, who enter'd into it (*e*), caſt no ſhadow (*f*). But all this does no prejudice to the Wonders of the other Mountain.

(*b*) Ezekiel Spanhemius Obſervat. in Callimachum, p. 5. Friſchlin *is in a like Error* Not. in hymn. Callim. in Jovem, p. 372. edit. Græv.

(*c*) *She is the ſame with* Cybele.

(*d*) Stephan. Byzantinus in Θαυμάσιον.

(*e*) Οὐ πάσῃ βέβηκέναι ζώων. Nullas è coporibus ſuis umbras reddere. *Pauſanias l. 8. p. 269.*

(*f*) *Taken from* Pauſanias, ib. p. 268, 269.

(*A*) *And a Paſſage of* Cicero *is cited to that purpoſe.*] Mr. *Menage* Commenting upon theſe words of *Diogenes Laertius*: (*g*) Ὅς (Μητρόδωρος) ἔλεγε μηδὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἶδέναι ὅτι οἶδεν οὐδέ: *Hic* (Metrodorus) *ſe ne id quidem ſcire dicebat quod nihil ſciret*, has theſe words: *Chius Metrodorus initio libriqui eſt de natura: nego, inquit, ſcire nos, ſciamuſne aliquid, an nihil ſcimus, ne id ipſum quidem neſcire aut ſcire, ſcire nos, nec omnino ſit ne aliquid, an nihil ſit.* His Citation is out of the fourth Book (*h*) of the Academical Queſtions of *Cicero*. I have read again and again this Paſſage, and it always ſeem'd to me that it was *Democritus*, and not *Metrodorus* of whom *Cicero* ſays this. 'Tis true indeed, that *Metrodorus* was a Sceptick; for *Sextus Empiricus* (*i*) reckons him among thoſe who admitted no *Criterium*, whereby the Truth may be diſcern'd. I do not apprehend how either *Democritus* or *Metrodorus*, or any other, could be ſo extravagant as to maintain, that they knew not whether there was any thing; for they could not doubt but they doubted, nor imagine, that what doubts is nothing, and does not exiſt. It muſt therefore be own'd, that they pretended to except their own Exiſtence.

(*g*) Diog. Laert. in Anaxarcho, l. 9. n. 58.

(*h*) *It is in my Edition the* 2*d Book fol.* 207. *D*

(*i*) Sextus Empiricus adverſ. Mathemat. p. 146, 153.

Note, that *Ariſtocles* may confirm the ſenſe which Mr. *Menage* gives to the words of *Cicero*; for after he had obſerv'd (*k*) that *Metrodorus* of *Chios* admitted, as *Democritus* his Maſter did, a *Plenum* and a *Vacuum* for two Principles, one as a Being, and the other as nothing; he adds that his Book of Nature began thus: Οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν οὐδὲν οἶδεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πότερον οἴδαμεν, ἢ οὐκ οἴδαμεν. *Nemo noſtrum quidquam novit, ne hoc ipſum quidem utrum aliquid noverimus necne.* It cannot be pretended that *Metrodorus* contradicted himſelf, affirming this on one ſide, and maintaining on the other (*l*), that we muſt only believe our Senſations and Imaginations; for theſe two Doctrines agree very

(*k*) Ariſtocles apud Euſebium præpar. Evang. l. 14. c. 19. p. 765.

(*l*) Idem apud eumdem, ibid. c. 20. p. 766.

METRODORUS, a good Painter, and a good Philoſopher; was made choice of by the *Athenians* to be ſent to *Paulus Æmilius*, who, after he had taken *Perſeus* King of *Macedonia*, demanded of them two Men, one to inſtruct his Children, and another to paint his Triumphs. He declar'd that he wiſh'd the Tutor might be an excellent Philoſopher. The *Athenians* ſent to him *Metrodorus* who excell'd both in Philoſophy and Painting, *Paulus Æmilius* was very well ſatisfied with their choice, as *Pliny* tells us (*B*). We ſhall ſee in the Remarks, if it be true that *Cicero* (*C*) ſpeaks of this *Metrodorus*, as Father *Hardouin* pretends. I ſhould rather believe that he ſpeaks of METRODORUS of *Stratonice* (*D*) who forſook the *Epicurean* School and follow'd *Carneades*.

*Pelliſſon *Hiſtory of the* French Academy, p. m. 256.

MEZIRIAC (CLAUDIUS GASPAR BACHET Seigneur de) was one of the ableſt Men of the XVIIth Century. *He was of* * Breſſe, *of a noble* (*A*) *and ancient Family*, as Mr. *Pelliſſon* well together. He ſaid that all things are in a perpetual Flux, and that upon this account *Homer* deriv'd their Original from the Ocean. *Protagoras* (*m*) inferr'd from this Principle, that Man is the meaſure of all things, that each of 'em is juſt what it appears to be, and that we can make no Judgment of others. This is perfect Pyrrhoniſm; for there you find on one ſide, that our Senſes are the only rule of our Opinions, and on the other, that nothing is certain, that there is nothing in the nature of things that is ſtable, nothing that does not undergo an infinite number of changes.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*B*) *As* Pliny *tells us.*] The Reader will be pleas'd to ſee his own words: (*n*) *Ubi* (Athenis) *eodem tempore erat Metrodorus pictor, idemque Philoſophus, magnæ in utraque ſcientia auctoritatis. Itaque cum L. Paulus devicto Perſeo petiſſet ab Athenienſibus ut ſibi quam probatiſſimum Philoſophum mitterent ad erudiendos liberos, itemque pictorem ad triumphum excolendum, Athenienſes Metrodorum elegerunt profeſſi eundem in utroque deſiderio præſtantiſſimum: quod ita Paulus quoque judicavit.* Voſſius (*o*) is miſtaken when he affirms that this *Metrodorus* was a Phyſician.

(*n*) Plin. l. 35. c 11. p. m. 230.

(*o*) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græcis, p. 389.

(*C*) *That* Cicero *ſpeaks of this* Metrodorus.] Father *Hardouin* imagines (*p*), that this Paſſage of *Pliny* concerns a Man, who was a Hearer of *Carneades*, and who wrote a Book *de Architectonice*, and another *de Poetis*. He aſſerts three things of him; the firſt is founded upon the Authority of *Cicero* in Book 1. *de Oratore*; the ſecond upon the Authority of *Pliny*, in the *Index* of the 35th Book; and the third upon the Teſtimony of *Plutarch*, in the Book againſt the *Epicureans*. I ſhall examine theſe three things, beginning with the laſt. 'Tis plain, that *Metrodorus* cited by *Plutarch* (*a*) as having writ about the Poets, is he who was a Friend to *Epicurus*. He did not live therefore in the time of *Perſeus*; for *Epicurus* who ſurviv'd him ſeven Years (*b*), died (*c*) in the ſecond Year of the 127th Olympiad; but *Perſeus* was not taken by the *Romans* till about the 152d. The *Index* of the 35th Book of *Pliny* contains nothing that obliges us to aſſign the *Metrodorus* of *Perſeus* to be the Author of the Book about Architecture: And as to the Paſſage of *Cicero*, which here follows, it ſcarce appears to agree to this *Metrodorus*: (*d*) *Audivi ſummos homines quum quæſtor ex Macedonia veniſſem Athenas florente Academia, ut temporibus illis ferebatur, quod eam Carneades, & Clitomachus, & Æſchines obtinebant. Erat etiam Metrodorus qui cum illis una ipſum illum Carneadem diligentius audierat.* It is the Orator *Craſſus* that ſpeaks. The Time which he denotes is in all appearance the Year 650 of *Rome*. How then can one imagine that *Perſeus*'s *Metrodorus* was ſtill alive, ſince he was ſent to *Paulus Æmilius* about the Year 585, as one of the moſt excellent Philoſophers that could be choſen in *Athens*? 'Tis more eaſie to refute *Volaterran* (*e*), who did not only think that the *Metrodorus*, who was ſent to *Paulus Æmilius*, was the Scholar of *Carneades* mention'd by *Cicero*, but alſo that his Artificial Memory was commended by *Cicero*. The *Metrodorus* who was commended upon this account, was a Native of *Scepſis*, and different from the Scholar of *Carneades*; of which I will here give you a demonſtrative Proof. *Craſſus* heard the latter (*f*) in *Athens*, and the other in *Aſia*. (*g*) *Paulum, fatiens*, ſays he, *iſtarum artium de quibus loquor, guſtavi quæſtor in Aſia, quum eſſem æqualem fere meum ex Academia rhetorem nactus Metrodorum illum de cujus memoria commemoravit Antonius.* 'Tis plain that he ſpeaks of *Metrodorus* of *Scepſis*; for *Antonius* the Orator had ſaid: (*h*) *Vidi ego ſummos homines & divina prope memoria, Athenis Carneadem, in Aſia quem vivere hodie ajunt Scepſium Metrodorum, quorum uterque tanquam liberis in cera ſic ſe ajebat imaginibus in iis locis quas haberet, quæ meminiſſe vellet, perſcribere.* A little after *Craſſus* ſpeaks after this manner: (*i*) *Audivi —— & Athenis cum eſſem doctiſſimos viros, & in Aſia iſtum ipſum Scepſium Metrodorum quum de his ipſis rebus diſputaret.*

(*a*) Plutarch. non poſſe ſuaviter vivi, p. 1094. E.

(*b*) Diog. Laert. lib. 10. n. 23.

(*c*) Id. ib. n 15.

(*d*) Cicero de Orat. lib. 1. fol 60. D.

(*e*) Volaterr. l 17. p m. 426.

(*f*) *See the Citation d.*

(*g*) Cicero ibid. l. 3. fol. 92. B.

(*h*) Id. ib. lib. 2. fol. 88. A.

(*i*) Id. ib B.

(*D*) *That he ſpeaks of* METRODORUS *of* Stratonice.] We have already ſeen (*k*) that his *Metrodorus* follow'd *Carneades* with great application. He ſays in another Book (*l*), that *Metrodorus* of *Stratonice* might very well know *Carneades*. It might therefore be imagin'd, that theſe two Places concern the ſame Perſon. Beſides we ſee in *Diogenes Laertius* a *Metrodorus* of *Stratonice*, who forſook *Epicurus* to follow the School of *Carneades*. The Hiſtorian is miſtaken as to the Time, for the Death of *Epicurus* preceded the Birth of *Carneades*, but yet his Error may make one believe, that *Metrodorus* mention'd by *Craſſus* the Orator, was *Metrodorus* of *Stratonice*. As to the miſtake of *Diogenes Laertius*, ſee Mr. (*m*) *Menage*, and the Pieces inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans*, which I have cited (*n*) in another place.

(*k*) *In the preceding Remark, Letter d.*

(*l*) Bene autem noſſe Carneadem Stratonicæus Metrodorus putabatur *Cicero, Academic. quæſt. lib* 2 *fol.* 293 *B.* Note, that theſe words have ſcarce any relation with the preceding, ſo that one would think that there is a *hiatus*

(*A*) *Of a Noble and Ancient Family.*] It owes its Nobility to Learning. "(*o*) *Peter Bachet* Seigneur "*de Meyſeria, de Vauluyſant*, and *de Lyonnieres*, whom "the Family of the *Bachets* owns for their Stock, "was a Counſellor, and Lieutenant General in "the *Bayliwick* of *Breſſe*, under King *Henry* II. "and then Chief Judge, after Reſtitution was "made to Duke *Emanuel Philibert* of his Domin- "ons. He did Homage to this Prince in the Year "1563, for the Lordſhips of *Meyſeria, Vauluyſant*, "and *Lyonnieres*; his Teſtament is dated *Septem-* "*ber* 5. 1565. He was one of the great Men "of his time, admir'd for his Probity and for his "Learning; a notable Lawyer whom the People "came to conſult from all the Neighbouring "Countries; and a great Latin Poet. There are "ſtill to be ſeen two Manuſcript Tomes of his "Conſultations, a Collection of his Latin Poems, "and a Book of Epiſtles which he wrote to the "moſt Learned Men of his Age, and their Anſwers "to him, the Publication whereof would confirm "the Teſtimony I give to his Memory" He Married the 10th of *Decem.* 1540. *Frances de Soria* the Daughter of *Antony de Soria* a *Portugueſe* Gentleman, and chief Phyſician to *Beatrice* of *Portugal*, Dutcheſs of *Savoy*. By this Marriage came *John Bachet*, who was Counſellor to the Duke of *Savoy*, *and Judge of the Appeals of* Breſſe, *which was the chief Magiſtracy in that Country during the Government of* Savoy; *he was a Perſon of as much Learning and Integrity as his Father; his laſt Will is dated* July *the* 5*th* 1586. He left beſides other Children, our Mr *de Meziriac*, and (*p*) *William Bachet, Seigneur* de Vauluyſant, *Counſellor to the King, and Preſident in the* Election of Breſſe, *who made his Will* April 22. 1631, *and died without Children. Among other good Qualities which recommended him, he was a very good French and Latin Poet, of which he has left us many Proof, particularly in that excellent and natural Tranſlation of ſome of* Ovid's *Epiſtles, which are Printed with thoſe of* Claudius-Gaſpard Bachet, *Seigneur* de Meyſeria *his Brother* †. You may obſerve, that *Guichenon* the Hiſtoriographer of that Country calls always *Meyſeria* the Lordſhip, which the Author, of whom I here give an Article, always names *Meziriac* in the Title Page of his Books. Doubtleſs he took the liberty to change the Name to make it more ſmooth, and leſs grating to the Ears of the *French*, and more capable of coming into Verſe.

(*m*) Menag. in Diog Laert l 1 . n. 9.

(*n*) *In the Remark N. of the Article* Carneades.

(*o*) Guichenon *Hiſt of* Breſſe, *part* 3 *p.* 9.

(*p*) *He was the Eldeſt.*

† Id. ib.

Pelliſſon informs us, with many other Particulars very curious, which I have no mind to copy, becauſe they are in a Book * which is in the Hands of every body. I ſhall only take out of it two things; the firſt is, that Mr. *de Meziriac in his Youth ſpent a great part of his Time at* Paris *and at* Rome, *and that in this laſt place he made many Italian Verſes, in emulation of Mr.* Vaugelas, *who was there alſo.* The ſecond is, *That when he was at* Paris, *it was ſaid, that he would be made Preceptor to* Lewis XIII. *and that this was the reaſon why he left the Court in haſte, and he ſaid afterwards, that he never was in ſo much pain, for he thought he had already upon his Shoulders the heavy Burden of the whole Kingdom.* Moreri's Dictionary affirms †, *that afterwards he return'd to* Paris, *and was a Member of the French Academy.* The latter of theſe Facts is true, and the former falſe β. This learned Man was made choice of to fill up one of the places in the Academy at its Birth, although he was abſent; and when his turn came to make a Diſcourſe there, he ſent one γ which was read in the Aſſembly by Mr. *de Vaugelas.* In a Book of *Colomies* we meet with a Particular, which is not mention'd by Mr. *Pelliſſon*, which is this, *That* δ *Mr. de* Meziriac *was a Jeſuit at twenty Years of Age, and went thro' his firſt Claſs at* Milan, *where falling ſick he turn'd again a Secular* ζ. He died at *Bourg en Breſſe, February* 26. 1638 ϑ. and η left many Children by his Marriage with *Philiberta de Chabeu.* It will appear by the Remark (*B*) concerning his Writings, that he was a Man of ſuch a large Capacity, that he could find convenient room for the Sciences which had no relation to one another. He was a good Poet in *French*, *Italian* and *Latin*, an excellent Grammarian, a great Grecian and a great Critick. He knew the ſmalleſt matters relating to Fables: He was ignorant of nothing in Mythology. He was θ *a Philoſopher, and a Divine well vers'd in Controverſies*, and he did admirably get out of the moſt abſtracted Queſtions of Algebra and Mathematicks. *Guichenon* ſays φ that "without doing any injury to his Memory, one may give him the Elogium which "*Quintilian* gave to a great Perſon of his Time, that he might have left better Works "if he had pleas'd, *Felix ingenium, quod voluit potuit! ô utinam meliora voluiſſet.*" I (*C*) ſhall

* *The Hiſt. of the French Academy.*

† *At the word* Bachet.

β *I don't deny that* Meziriac *made Journies to* Paris, *but only that he came to ſettle there according to* Moreri's *meaning.*

γ Pelliſſ. ubi ſupra, p. 104.

δ Colomiés, Recueil de particularitez, p. m. 109, 110. *He obſerves that he had it from Mr.* Patin.

ζ Guichenon Hiſt. de Breſſe, 3 part. p. 10.

ϑ Pelliſſ. ubi ſupra, p. 262.

η Guichenon ubi ſupra.

θ Id. ib.

φ Id. ib.

(*B*) *By the Remark concerning his Writings.*] The firſt Book which he Publiſh'd was Printed in 1613, with the Title of *Problemes plaiſans & delectables qui ſe font par les nombres.* He *publiſh'd it* (*q*) *as well to give an Eſſay of his Ability, as to try what Judgment would be made of his Works, and that it might ſerve as a fore-runner to his* Diophantus. Eleven Years after he put out a ſecond Edition (*r*) of it, *corrected, with the Addition of many Propoſitions and Problems.* And becauſe he fear'd leſt, his *Diophantus* being already Publiſh'd, any one ſhould admire, *that he who wrote a Work ſo ſerious* and full of profound Speculations as his *Diophantus* was, ſhould trifle away his Time in reviſing his Problems, he reſolv'd to give this Anſwer among others in his Preface: "(*ſ*) That Books are the "Children of our Minds, and that beſides the "natural Inclination which all Fathers have to-"wards their Children in general, they have a "particular Affection to their firſt born; where-"fore this Book being the firſt that came from my "Hand, and as it were the firſt born Child of "my Mind, I have reaſon to cheriſh it tenderly; "for as I have brought it into the World, ſo I "would take care of its Preſervation and Growth." Mr. *Pelliſſon* obſerves (*a*), 1. That the Book of *Arithmetical Recreations*, is a Work *wherein Mr. de* Meziriac *taught all manner of Subtilties, in playing with Numbers, and from whence is taken* (*b*) *part of the* Recreations Mathematiques. 2. That his *Diophantus* tranſlated out of Greek into Latin with a Commentary, is a Work *which Mr. de* Fermat, *and all thoſe who underſtand Algebra, do highly eſteem*, and that Mr. *de Meziriac* ſaid himſelf, *that he wondred how he could compaſs this Work, and that he had not finiſh'd it had it not been for a melancholy proceeding from a quartan Ague, of which he was then ſick. Voſſius* (*c*) is miſtaken as to the Year of this Edition of *Diophantus*, which he ſays was in 1623, for it was in 1621. The Hiſtoriographer of *Breſſe* was not guilty of this Fault; for he multiplies too much the Editions of this Book. The Works which *Meziriac* Printed, ſays he, are (*d*), "*Diophanti Alexandrini Arithmeticorum libri ſex, & de numeris multangulis liber unus*, a Book very rare, which "he reſtor'd in a great meaſure, and enrich'd "with very learned Commentaries: It was Print-"ted firſt at *Paris* in 1621, and dedicated to the "great Oracle *Antony Faure* chief Preſident of "*Savoy*; afterwards it was Reprinted many "times in *Germany. Problems of Arithmetick and* "*Mathematicks. A Tranſlation of ſome Epiſtles of* "Ovid *into French Verſe, with very curious Commen-*"*taries. A Treatiſe of Tribulation tranſlated out of* "*the* Italian *of* Cacciaguerra. Epiſtolæ, & Poe-"*mata Varia. The Life of* Alexander Luſagus. *The* "*Life of* Æſop, wherein, according to the Judg-"ment of Learned Men, there are very excellent "and fine Remarks." Mr. *Pelliſſon* clears what is here ſaid confuſedly of the Poems of our Author. (*e*) *There is of his a little Book of* Italian *Poems, wherein are imitations of the beſt compariſons, which are in the eight firſt Books of the* Æneids. *And another of Latin Poems; and many Poems in French; ſome of which have been inſerted in the Collection printed in* 1621, *with this Title,* Delices de la Poeſie Françoiſe, *and in that of the Year* 1627. Note, that *Diophantus* had never appear'd but in Latin. *Xylander* publiſh'd it in this Language in 1575. Theſe words of Mr. *Konig* (*f*) *Caſp. quoque Bachetus An.* 1613. *profundiſſimis ſpeculationibus eum* (Diophantum) *illuſtravit*, would be right, if inſtead of 1613, he had put 1621. I believe the Printers inſtead of 1623, have put 1613, for doubtleſs *Voſſius* was the Original of Mr. *Konig*; and of this I am the more eaſily perſuaded, becauſe I find theſe words in *Voſſius*: (*g*) *Anno* CIↃ IↃ CXXIII. *Caſper Bachetus Diophantum illuſtravit. Imo profundis in eum ſpeculationibus immortalem ſibi gloriam comparavit ut judicium eſt Jacobi de Billy Compendienſis, præfatione in Algebram.* As to the Remark of Mr. *Konig*, that Mr. *Boullauld* publiſh'd an Edition of *Diophantus*, I believe it to be falſe. I will here give you a blunt Anſwer of *Malherbe*. "(*h*) Mr. "*de Meziriac*, attended with two or three of "his Friends, brought him a Book of Arith-"metick, written by a Greek Author, call'd *Dio-*"*phantus*, whom he had Commented upon. His "Friends prais'd the Book exceedingly, as being "very uſeful to the Publick; whereupon *Mal-*"*herbe* ask'd them, whether it would bring down "the price of Bread." We ſhall ſee in the next Remark what eſteem Mr. *Deſcartes* had for that Work of Mr. *de Meziriac.*

(*C*) *I ſhall ſpeak apart of the Writings which he deſign'd for the Preſs.*] "(*i*) He had undertaken a new "Tranſlation of all the Works of *Plutarch*, toge-"ther with Notes, wherein he intended to ſhow "the Faults which *Amyot* had committed in his "Verſion of this Author, to explain many Paſ-"ſages which had never been underſtood, and "to lay open to us the Treaſures of Antiqui-"ty. There wanted but a ſmall matter to finiſh "this great and laborious Work when he died, "which was an unexpreſſible loſs to the Publick; "all learned Men expected it with impatience, "which was increas'd by the fine Letter which he "wrote to the *Academy of Paris*, to thank them "for the Honour they had done him, to admit "him into their Society, wherein he gave an ac-"count of his Deſign. He has alſo left us many "Pieces finiſh'd but not Printed, which [illegible]

(*f*) Konig Biblioth. p. 252.

(*g*) Voſſius ubi ſupra, p. 341.

(*h*) *The Life of* Malherbe p. 10.

(*i*) Guichenon ubi ſupra.

(*a*) Pelliſſon *Hiſt. of the* French Academy, p. m. 263.

(*b*) *It is the Title of a Book which was Printed many times. I have an Edition of it Printed at* Paris, 163[illegible], *in* 8° *with the Remarks of* Claudius Mydorgius

(*c*) Voſſius de ſcient. Mathem. p. 341, & 464. (*d*) Guichenon ubi ſupra, p. 10.

(*q*) Meziriac *Preface to the 2d Edition of his Problems.*

(*r*) *At* Lyons *by* Peter Rigaud, 1624, in 8°.

(*ſ*) Meziriac ubi ſupra.

shall speak apart of his Writings which he design'd for the Press. It is a mistake to affirm

" to be wish'd the Publick should no longer be " depriv'd of, *viz. Elementorum Arithmeticorum, lib.* " 13. *Tractatus de Geometricis quæstionibus per Alge-* " *bram.* These are the two Works which he pro- " mis'd at the end of his Preface upon *Diophantus.* " *The rest of* Ozanam's *Epistles without Commentaries.* " *Apollodori Athenæensis Grammatici Bibliotheces,* " *sive de Deorum Origine libri tres*, of his own " Translation, with very learned Observations. " *Agathemeres*, a Greek Geographer not yet Prin- " ted." This Passage of Mr. *Guichenon* is not ex- act; for he gives us as a Letter of Thanks, written to the Gentlemen of the French Aca- demy, a Discourse which Mr. *de Meziriac* Compos'd in conformity to the Rules of the Academy. " (*k*) They made by Lot with Billets a Cata- " logue of the Members of the Academy; 'twas " order'd that every one should be oblig'd to " make in his turn a Discourse upon such a Mat- " ter, and of such a length as he pleas'd.—(*l*) " There were twenty of these Discourses spoken " successively in the Academy——(*m*) The seven- " teenth was sent by Mr. *de Meziriac*, and read in the " Assembly (1) by Mr. *de Vaugelas*: It was entituled " *De la Traduction.* In this Discourse the Author, " who was accounted most learn'd in Polite Learn- " ing, and chiefly in the Greek Tongue, after he " has prais'd the Wit, the Pains and the Style of " *Amiot* in his Version of *Plutarch*, and as it seems " with Ingenuity enough, pretended to show that " in divers Passages which he has observ'd, to the " number of two Thousand, this great Translator " has committed many great Faults of divers sorts, " of which he gives many Examples." I know that the Abbot *Nicaise*, whose Zeal for the advance- ment of Learning is very well known, has been very busie in finding out the *Apollodorus* of *Meziriac*, and it is none of his fault that the Booksellers have not put it into the Press.

(*k*) Pelisson ubi supra, p. 99.

(*l*) Id. ib. p. 100.

(*m*) Id. ib. p. 104.

(1) *The* 10*th of* Decemb. 1635.

Here follow some matters of fact, which con- cern another Work of this Writer. Mr. *Baillet* (*n*) relates that Mr. *de Descartes* " highly esteem'd the " Wit and Capacity of Mr. *Meziriac*, chiefly for " Arithmetick and Algebra, which he was Master " of to so great a degree, as equall'd him to *Vieta*— " His pains upon *Diophantus* of *Alexandria*, is more " than sufficient to justifie the Esteem which *Des-* " *cartes* had for him: But 'tis credible that the " Publick would have improv'd this Esteem, if " they had seen the Treatise of Algebra of Mr. " *de Meziriac*, and some other Manuscripts of the " same Author, the chief of which is that of the " (2) 13 Books, of the *Elements of Arithmetick sub-* " *servient to Algebra*, written in Latin, and pur- " chas'd of the Heirs of Mr. *de Meziriac* about fif- " teen or sixteen Years ago, by one of the Reform'd " Religion, who did not fail to carry it out of the " Kingdom, at the time of that Revolution of " the State, in which the Reform'd were before " the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*." There is in this Narrative a Circumstance which should be rectified, about which I have receiv'd the fol- lowing Memoial (*o*). " Besides the three Books " which Mr. *Bachet de Meziriac* wrote about " Numbers, and which he prefixed to his Com- " mentaries upon *Diophantus*, he wrote the Ele- " ments of Arithmetick, divided into thirteen " Books, which were never Printed. After his " Death, Mr. *de Meziriac* his Son was sollicited to " give them to be Printed; but he set so great a " Price upon the Manuscript, that no body would " buy it. At last he sold it to Mr. *d'Alibert*, Trea- " surer of *France* at *Montauban*, for 1500 Livres. " Mr. *d'Alibert* intended to Print it at his own " Expence, but being surpriz'd by Death before " he could execute his Design, at his Death he " gave to one of his Friends this Manuscript, " which is all written with the Hand of Mr. *de Mezi-* " *riac* the Father. This Friend gave it afterwards " to Mr. *Case*, who gave it to Mr *Picard* one of " the Royal Academy of Sciences. In the Year " 1679, Mr. *Picard* gave it to the Abbot *Gallois*, " who to accomplish the good Intention of Mr. " *d'Alibert*, offer'd it to many Booksellers to Print " it. But because these Elements are of an " abstracted Science, and in Latin, there has " not been found any Bookseller, who " would undertake the Impression. There is " also something to be Corrected in the 291 " Page of the first Part of the Life of *Descartes*; " for he who purchas'd this Manuscript was not " one of the Reform'd Religion; and he to whom " it was given, did not carry it out of the King- " dom; and the Manuscript is still at *Paris*." It appears by a Letter of *Sarravius* (*a*), that Mr. *Morus* had undertaken to collect the Manuscript Books of Mr. *de Meziriac*, and that it was with'd he would perform his Promise. Doubtless *Sarravi- us* had inspir'd him with this good Design, when he desir'd him (*l*) to buy for him all the Works of that Learned Man, for he spoke of them with pe- culiar Praises. This was in a Letter which he wrote *March* the 14th 1644. He thought that *Me- ziriac* had been Dead ten Years; he was ignorant of the true time.

(*n*) Baillet's *Life of* Des- cartes, tom. 1. p. 291.

(2) *A Ca- talogue of the Manu- scripts of* Meziriac, *sent to me from* Bourg en Bresse.

(*o*) *Drawn up by the Abbot* Gallois, *and sent by Mr.* Simon Valhe- lert.

(*a*) *It is the* 185*, or* 195 *of the Ed.- tion of* Utrecht.

(*l*) *See his* 70 *Letter at p.* 68, *he calls him always* Mezeria- cus *instead of* Mezi- riacus.

'Tis not to be wondred, that no Printer could be found for the Commentary of *Meziriac* upon *Apollodorus*. The relish of this kind of Learn- ing is wholly lost, and 'tis very probable, that if *Meziriac* was now alive, they would not do him the Honour to send for him in *Bresse*, to give him a place in the *French* Academy. That which for- merly procur'd him this Advantage, would now be a reason for neglecting him. The politeness of his Stile, the beauty of his *French* Verses, were not the cause why he was thought worthy to be one of the Academy; for it must be ingenuously con- fess'd, that neither his Prose nor his Verses in that Language had any thing that was exquisite, and that in this respect he was inferior to almost all his fellow Members: It was only the Reputation of his Knowledge, and the Proofs he gave of his vast Learning that made him be chosen. The Times are chang'd; and an Author is now of no ac- count who perfectly understands Mythology, the Greek Poets, their Scholasts, and can make use of them to clear, or correct some difficult Pas- sages, a Point of Chronology, a Question of Geo- graphy, or of Grammar, different Narratives, *&c.* Men do not only prefer to the Works of such an Author, those that have no such thing in them; but also call * such kind of Learning a Pedantry. Which is the true way to beat off all young People of good Parts from following the Study of Philology. There is no Reproach more offensive than to be call'd a Pedant, and there- fore Men will not take the pains to acquire much Learning; because they are afraid of being exposed to this scandalous Treatment, if they should make it appear, that they have read the ancient Authors. And are there any Men who do not love to procure themselves Honour from what they know, and who are not encourag'd by the hope of Glory? Take away this Hope, and you cool the most earnest Students, you increase the laziness of those who fear a painful Applica- tion. Without doubt, one of the principal Reasons why the study of polite Learning is so much disus'd, is this, that many who either pretend to be, or really are great Wits, have in- troduc'd a Custom of condemning as a Science fit only for the Schools, and a gross piece of Pedan- try, all Citations of Greek Passages, and learned Remarks. They have been so unjust as to extend their Railleries to Writers who were Polite, and knew the World; as *Cæsar* for instance. Who would after this have aspired to the Glory of a fine Wit, by setting off his read- ing and critical Remarks? If they had only condemn'd those who cite impertinently *Plato* and *Aristotle*, *Hippocrates* and *Varro* †, to prove a thought common to all Ages and Nations, they had not discouraged so many People; but in a disdainful manner they have excluded those our of the Number of fine Gentlemen, and confin'd them to the Colleges, who durst declare that they had made Collections: They laugh'd at *Cæsar*, and even at the Letters of *Pasquier*, which were intermix'd with Latin. The effects of this Censure were so much the greater, because it was cloak'd with a very fair Pretence, which was this, That we should labour to polish our Wit, and form our Judgment, and not heap up in our Me- mory the sayings of others. The truer this Maxim is, the more it did flatter superficial and lazy Wits, and push them on to ridicule all Discourse of Learning. Their principal Motive perhaps was, that by vilifying the Merit of others they might

* See La Bruyere *in the* 1*st part of* Judg- ments, p. 408 & seq.

THE decay of Polite Learning.

† Herillus *will al- ways cite w[illegible] Spar- tan, Lacedæ- monian or Mycen. He makes the Prince of Philoso- phers say, that Wine inebriates, and the* Roman Orator, *that Ha- tred tempers it. If he talks of moral[illegible], it is not he, but the Divine* Plato, *who affirms, that Love is amiable, and Love onius, and that both the one and the other do turn to a Hair. It is a common and trivial thing, which [illegible] ashamed to think of, are asked by the Latin and Greek Authors.* La Bruyere ibid p. 5.

affirm that he (*D*) was not *much above 45 Years old* when he died, but I cannot ſet down preciſely the number of his Years. 'Tis ſaid *, that "Mr. *D. S.* who is — of the Family "of this famous Academiſt, ſeems to have inherited his knowledge of the Fables: He "is writing a Mithological Hiſtory, of which there is no Circumſtance, but what will "be grounded upon, or adorn'd with ſome Paſſages of a Greek or Latin Poet.

MICYLLUS (JAMES) Born at *Strasburg*, *April 6.* 1503, held an honourable Rank among the learned Men of his Age. He ſtudied in the moſt famous Univerſities of *Germany*, and ſpent near five Years at that of *Erfort*, where he contracted a very cloſe Friendſhip with *Joachim Camerarius*, which laſted as long as his Life. The Name of his Family was *Moltzer* †. The Name of *Micyllus* was given him, becauſe he admirably acted the Part of (*A*) *Micyllus* in a Piece upon the Stage, wherein a Dialogue of *Lucian* ‡ was repeated before a great number of Auditors. He was early known to be a Man well qualified to make a College flouriſh; for in the Year 1527, he taught the Latin and Greek Tongues in the College of *Francfort*: And he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that at *Heidelberg* he was choſen Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue in 1532. Thither he went; but he ſtay'd not long there, for the Magiſtrates of *Francfort* having recall'd him, he re-aſſumed his former Poſt in their City. He (*B*) return'd to *Heidelberg* when the Reformation was receiv'd there β, and taught there publickly the Greek Tongue, and at his Houſe the Latin Tongue with good ſucceſs, till he died, which happen'd the 28th of *January* (*C*) 1558. He had not long before a Conference with *Melanchthon* who was come to *Heidelberg* at the deſire of *Otho Henry*, to concert the new Statutes of the Univerſity. *Micyllus* was one of the beſt Poets (*D*) of his Time in *Germany*. He had a great many Children; but he left only two Sons, whereof one ſtudied the Law, and was Chancellor to the Elector *Palatin*; the other was a Taylor by Trade in *Heidelberg* γ. I will ſay ſomething of his Works (*E*).

MIL-

* Diverſitez Curieuſes, to. 7. p. 121, 122. *Dutch Edition.*

† Moreri *calls him* Moltzel; *Mr.* Teiſſier *in his Additions to* Thuanus, Melcher; Konig *in his Biblioth.* Motzlerus.

‡ *That whoſe Title is* Somnium, ſeu gallus.

β *i. e. in* 1546. ex Sleidano, lib. 16.

γ *Taken out of* Melchior Adam in vitis Philoſoph.

might raiſe their own; for if one ſhould tell them, *You condemn this Author who cites Greek and Latin: Could you do as much? Lay your Hand upon your Heart, would you blame him if you were able to imitate him?* 'Tis very probable, that they would be hard put to it to prove their Sincerity. But let us abridge this Digreſſion, and conclude with ſaying, that things are come to that paſs, that the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for the laſt Month (*c*) inform us, that the Bookſeller of *Paris*, who would print the Verſion of *Homer*, made by Madam *d'Acier*, will not print the Original with it. He is afraid, no doubt, that the ſight of the Greek Character will frighten the Readers, and hinder the Sale of the Book. Conſider, I beſeech you, what was written from *Paris* to Mr. *Bernard*, and what he has inſerted in his *Nouvelles* for the Month of *October* laſt (*d*). The *Telemachomania* is a Book *full of Wit and Fire*: It is divided into two Parts: (*e*) The Author ſhows in the firſt Part, that the Church had always an Averſion for Romances. (*f*) *The ſecond Part is much longer than the firſt, but it is alſo more tedious, becauſe the Author makes it his only buſineſs to ſhow the Anachroniſms and Faults in Hiſtory and Mithology which are in* Telemachus. By this you may judge what is the prevailing Humor, and conclude, that the Commentary upon *Apollodorus* would be laugh'd at in *Paris*; and this the Bookſellers know well enough, and therefore they will not Print it. It is a Work wherein there is too much Learning.

(*c*) Bernard, Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, Nov. 1700. p. 586, 587.

(*d*) Idem Nouvel. *for the Month of* October, 1700. p. 385.

(*e*) *i. e the Abbot* Faydit.

(*f*) Id. ib. p. 389, 390.

(*g*) Baillet Jugem. des Poetes, *tom.* 4. *n.* 1432. *p.* 98.

(*D*) *That he was not much above* 45 *Years old.*] This Age is aſſign'd him in the Hiſtory of the *French Academy*. Others ſay (*g*), that he liv'd forty ſeven Years. But 'tis certain that he died not ſo young; for his Father who had him by the firſt Marriage, Married again in 1586. The Contract of this ſecond Marriage is dated *September* 27, as Mr. *Guichenon* informs us. I wiſh he had been as careful to ſet down the Day of the Peoples Birth, as the Day of their Marriage and Wills. The one had not been more difficult to him than the other as to the Family of Mr. *de Meziriac*. He knew the Son of this learned Man, and by him probably he recover'd the Memoirs which taught him what he relates of this Family. Why then did he not ask him the Days of their Births? If he had done it, we might have known certainly how long this Member of the *French* Academy liv'd.

(*A*) *The Part of* Micyllus.] *Hagius* in the Life of *Peter Lotichius*, gives an exact account of this Adventure; but inſtead of ſaying that he learn'd it from a Man who was a Spectator of it at *Francfort* (this was *John Lonicerus* Greek Profeſſor at *Marpurg*) he ſhould have cited (*h*) *Micyllus* himſelf, as *Melchior Adam* hath done.

Fortuito quondam Micylli nomina caſu
Repperi, & in mores tranſiit ille meos.

(*h*) Lib. 1. Sylvarum.

There is in *Moreri*, *fortitudo* inſtead of *fortuito*, which was Corrected in the *Dutch* Edition by *Ludendo*. I have every where put *Micyllus*, although I know that *d'Ablancourt* who calls him *Micylus* in his Tranſlation of *Lucian*, was approv'd by Mr. *Menage* (*i*). If I had been condemn'd for this by that learned Man, yet I ſhould not have been cenſur'd for Orthography; for I do not ſay, *Mycillus*, *as the greateſt part of the German Writers call him when they ſpeak of* Jacobus Micyllus, *wherein*, ſays he, *they are ſo much the more to blame, becauſe this Name was given him, for acting well the Perſon of* Micylus *in* Lucian, *when he was a Scholar*. *Menage* is not the only Perſon (*k*) who ſays, that *Micyllus* was then a Scholar, which is very likely: But it is not very eaſie to reconcile this with what is related above, that this Piece was Acted at *Frankfort*; for it does not appear, that *Micyllus* ſtudied there. *Melchior Adam* makes him go from *Straſburg* to the moſt famous Univerſities of *Germany*.

(*i*) *Obſervat. upon the French Tongue. vol.* 1. *p.* 346.

(*k*) Voſſius de ſcient. Mathem. p. 78. Teiſſier Addit. t. 1. p. 139. Konig Bibliothec. p. 540.

(*B*) *He return'd to* Heidelberg.] *Melchior Adam* deſcribes the time of this Return only by the Characters of the War of *Smalcald*, and the reception of the Goſpel in *Heidelberg*. *Donec ſub bellum Smalcaldicum cum variis Germaniæ concuteretur motibus, atque Heidelbergæ Evangelii doctrina reciperetur, eodem ad Græcanicæ linguæ profeſſionem accerſitus rediit.* This denotes the Year 1546, or 1547, and agrees with the Marginal Note, wherein this Author ſays, that *Micyllus* was twenty Years in the Service of *Francfort*, and more than ten, tho' with ſome interruption, in the Service of the Electors *Palatin*.

(*C*) *The* 28*th of* January 1558.] This ſhows that *John Hagius*, who ſays (*a*), that *Micyllus*, *Melanchthon* and *Lotichius Secundus* died the ſame Year, was miſtaken: He ſhould have ſaid it only of the two laſt, for they indeed died in 1560. *Moreri* is miſtaken only in the Day, who ſays, that *Micyllus* died the twenty third of *January*: Probably the *duodetrigeſimo* of *Melchior Adam* caſt a Miſt before his Eyes.

(*a*) In vita Lotichii Secundi, p. 69.

(*D*) *One of the beſt Poets.*] Nevertheleſs the Criticks have obſerv'd a great many faults in his Verſes, and even ſuch faults, as are falſe quantity. See the Cenſure or the *Promulſis Critica* of *John Peter Lotichius*, in Chap. 14. wherein there is a fault of the Impreſſion concerning the Year of the Birth of *Micyllus*, which is ſaid to be 1553, inſtead of 1503. We learn from that Book, that *Micyllus*, after the example of the Poets of Antiquity, had a very ſmall ſhare in the favour of Fortune: *Variam ac movercantem, dum viveret, expertus fortunam —quæ ſors illi cum majorum gentium veteribus poëtis fuit communis.*

(*b*) Apud Melchior Adam. p. 181. Philoſoph. German.

(*E*) *Something of his Works.*] His Treatiſe *De re metrica*, is a Maſter-piece, as *Melanchthon* ſays. See what he ſays of it. (*l*) *De re metrica [illegible] eruditiſſimi & conſummatiſſimi libri tres Jacobi Micylli [illegible]*

* Samuel Maresius in Anti-christo revelato, lib. 2. cap. ult. p. 562, & seq.

† Cum obmutuisset in frequenti senatu. *Id. ibid.*

‡ Taceo aliud culinæ suæ subsidium ex publica sollicitatione in Curia negotiorum famosæ cujusdam meretriculæ tanquam affinis suæ, est enim soceri sui spuria. *Id. ib. p.* 565.

* MILLETIERE (THEOPHILUS BRACHET SIEUR DE LA) had a Reputation much greater than good for meddling in Matters of Religion, and endeavouring to reconcile the Catholicks and Proteſtants in *France*. One of his Antagoniſts deſcrib'd him after the following manner; * That after he had ſtudied the Law ſuperficially at *Heidelberg*, he was admitted Advocate; that he was ſo much in love with an Attorney's Daughter, that he fell dangerouſly ſick, and that he neither would nor could be cured but by Marrying her; that he hop'd to find Cauſes by means of his Father-in-Law, and upon this account follow'd the Bar; but being at a ſtand in one Pleading † he was ſo diſguſted with the Practice of the Law, that he ſet up for a Divine; that he was heard to diſpute about Matters of Religion in the Palace, whither he went ſtill as an Advocate that came to hear, and ſpoke Hebrew; that he affected a great Zeal againſt *Arminianiſm*; that he manag'd the Conference of *Camero* with *Tilenus*; and that by all theſe motions he obtain'd the Office of an Elder in the Conſiſtory of the Church of *Paris*, and afterwards was made Deputy of the Province to the Aſſembly of *Rochelle*; that he had the chief hand in the tumultuous Reſolutions of that Aſſembly, which overturn'd the ſtate of the Churches; that his Conduct in this Deputation is very well known, and with what heat he wrote againſt *Tilenus* (*A*) his particular Enemy, and how little the ſucceſs of his Journey to the States General anſwer'd the Hopes he had rais'd in the Aſſembly at *Rochelle*; that being return'd Home, he ſollicited the Affairs of the Duke of *Rohan* at Court, and that he was ſuſpected of being concern'd in Enterprizes pernicious to his Country, and of holding Correſpondence with Strangers; that he was apprehended and ſent to *Toulouſe* (*B*), where, after he had endur'd the torture and a long Impriſonment, he fram'd the firſt draught of Syncretiſm; that having recover'd his Liberty by the Clemency of the Prince, and the Interceſſion of his Friends, he engag'd to reſtore all the Reform'd to the Romiſh Communion, and that by this means he thought to make his Acknowledgement for the annual Penſion of a Thouſand Crowns that were given him; that he Printed many Books (*C*) about the Re-union of the Religions, and becauſe he did not pay a deference to the Remonſtrances of the Conſiſtory of *Charenton*, he was at laſt excommunicated, which did not hinder him from going to Church conſtantly; that he ‡ bore the Expences of his Family another way, which was

(*c*) *The Epitome of the* Bibliotheque *of* Geſner, *excepts the Metamorphoſis; but we ſee in the Catalogue of* Oxford *the Notes of* Micyllus *upon the fifteen Books of the Metamorphoſis.*

(*d*) *See the Titles of his other Works in the Epitome of the* Biblioth. *of* Geſner.

(*e*) French Mercury, tom. 7. ad annum 1621 p. 223.

(*f*) *It is inſerted in the* French Mercury. ibid.

(*g*) *At Page* 165, *&c. See alſo the Hiſtory of the Edict of* Nantes, B. 8. p. 423.

nemo Latine ſcripſit proſodiam eruditius aut diligentius. His other Works are Notes upon *Ovid* (*c*) and *Lucan*, the Tranſlation of ſome Pieces of *Lucian* with *Scholia*; ſome Notes upon the Genealogy of the Gods Compos'd by *Boccacio*; many Greek and Latin Verſes; a Tranſlation of *Tacitus* into the *German* Tongue; *Arithmeticæ logiſticæ libri duo* (*d*), &c.

(*A*) *With what heat he wrote againſt* Tilenus.] In the beginning (*e*) of the Month of *March*, 1621, there came forth under the Name of *Abraham Elintus*, an Advertiſement (*f*) to the Aſſembly of *Rochelle*, wherein the Reform'd were earneſtly exhorted to ſubmit to their Prince, and not to undertake to preſerve by a War the Poſſeſſion of the Edicts. *Elintus* was the Anagram of *Tilenus*, who was the Author of this Advertiſement. *La Milletiere* Secretary to the Aſſembly of *Rochelle*, wrote an Anſwer to this Piece, and entituled it, *A Diſcourſe of the true Reaſons why thoſe of the Reform'd Religion can, and ought, to reſiſt with force of Arms the open Perſecution of the Enemies to their Religion and the State. Tilenus* reply'd in a Book which was entitul'd, *An Examination of a Book entitul'd, A Diſcourſe of the Reaſons why thoſe of the Reform'd*, &c. See in the 8th Volume (9) of the *French Mercury* the Contents of theſe two Works. Note, that the *Chamber of the Edict* ſitting at *Beziers*, caus'd the Anſwer of *La Milletiere* to the Advertiſement of *Tilenus*, to be burnt by the Hand of the Hangman, and that they order'd inquiry ſhould be made into the Name of the Author; which Decree was made *October* 6. 1626. See the twelfth Volume (*h*) of the *French Mercury*. Father *Ange de Raconis*, a Capuchin Preacher, did maliciouſly make uſe of many Extracts out of thoſe Writings of *Tilenus* and *La Milletiere*; and he informs us (*i*), that *Du* Moulin *among all the reſt choſe* La Milletiere, *to oppoſe him againſt* (*k*) Raconis, *when the Baroneſs* de Courville *was inſtructed*. Note, that *Grotius* (*l*) did not approve of *La Milletiere*'s publiſhing a Work ſcapable of rendring the Cauſe of the Reform'd odious to the ſuperior Powers.

(*B*) *That he was ſent to* Toulouſe, *where after he had endur'd the torture.*] He himſelf informs us of a very peculiar Circumſtance in his Proceſs. *I had in my Hands*, ſays he (*m*), *the Sentence of my Death, drawn up by the Hand of the firſt Preſident* Maſuyer, *under the Authority of the Parliament of* Toulouſe, *in which I found my ſelf condemn'd as one convicted of the Crimes charg'd upon me, and this Sentence was put into the Hands of the Recorder, before the Conſultation about it in Parliament, which, by an Interlocution, was the occaſion of the delay, whereby I obtained my Life from the Sovereign Authority.*

(*C*) *That he Printed many Books about the Re-union of the Religions.*] He begun with a Letter which he publiſh'd in *French* in 1634, and it was followed two Years after by a Latin Work divided into two Parts. In the firſt he examined the Diſputes about the Primacy of St. *Peter*, about Juſtification, Prayers for the Dead, the Invocation of Saints, and the Euchariſt. In the ſecond he treated of Nature and Grace, and of Predeſtination. This Book he ſent to the ableſt Miniſters; and many Anſwers were made to it: Among the reſt that of Mr. *du Moulin* was very ſharp, to which he wrote a Reply (*a*) in *French*, which *Grotius* did not deſpiſe. I think none anſwer'd the ſecond Book of *La Milletiere* better than Mr. *Daille*, whoſe Anſwer is entituled, *An Examination of the Advices of Mr.* de la Milletiere, *about the Accommodation of Differences in Religion*; which he publiſh'd in Latin and French 1636. This Examination was refuted by Mr *de la Milletiere*, and that Refutation oblig'd Mr. *Daille* to write an Apology; (*b*) but he did not publiſh it. His Adverſary publiſh'd a new Book (*c*) after the holding of the National Synod of *Alençon* in 1637. with this Title, *The means of Chriſtian Peace by the Re-union of the Catholicks and Proteſtants as to the differences of Religion.* After this he publiſh'd many other Books, whoſe Titles need not be ſet down. I will only add, that he became ſo captious, that he wrote an Apology for the method of *Peter Baron*. He thought he had juſtified it by Reaſons which no Miniſter could anſwer: Of which he boaſts in the 9th Page of his *Catholique Reformé*, Printed at *Paris* in 1642.

Let us ſee the Judgment that is given of him by the Hiſtorian of the Edict of *Nantes*, "(*d*) "*La Milletiere* was a raſh conceited Man, who "thought that none came near his great Merits "and Capacity. Moreover, either the fear that "the Court, remembring what was paſs'd, ſhould "give him Trouble, or the hope of his purchaſ-"ing much Glory, or of making a great For-"tune by the ſucceſs of that Enterprize, or the "praiſes which the Jeſuits gave him, to draw "him to their Party, ſo depraved his Mind,

(*a*) Molinæus dum expectato miſſum ad ſe librum excepit duo reſponſa, ut & priorem fecerant tum ipſe tum Rivetus Reſcripſit Molinæus Molinæo ſalutatis, quippe Gallico ſermone quo plus valet, & quædam dixit ad Molinæum pertinentia non vane. *Grotius ep. ult.* 541 *inter epiſt. ad Voſſ. & Thuan.* p. 79, *edit. in fol.*

(*b*) *The Life of Mr.* Daillé, p. 41.

(*c*) *Hiſt. of the Edict of* Nantes, tom. 2. lib. 10. p. 515.

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 514, 515.

(*h*) *At p.* 607, *& ſeq.* (*i*) Ange de Raconis, Glaive de Jezabel, c. 3. p. 313. (*k*) *Nephew to the Capuchin.* (*l*) Grotius epiſt. 174. part. 1. p. 65. *See alſo the Letter* 175. (*m*) La Milletiere *in cb.* 12. *of the* Catholique Reformé, *p.* 197, 198.

was by ſolliciting as a Brother-in-Law, the Proceſs of a famous Curtezan, to whom he was indeed related in this degree of Affinity, for ſhe was a Baſtard of the Attorney whoſe Daughter he had Married; that no body denied, that he was grafted into honourable (*D*) Families, yet it was well known * what Profeſſion his Grandfather practiſed in *Orleans*. This I have taken out of a Book Printed in 1642. It may be ſeen elſewhere †, that *La Milletiere* continu'd ſtill in the external Profeſſion of the Reform'd Religion in 1645, at the time of the National Synod of *Charenton*. The Proceedings of that Aſſembly againſt him ‡ oblig'd him to declare himſelf openly, that is, he imbraced the Romiſh Communion. He abjur'd towards the end of *March* 1645. He continu'd ſtill to write Controverſies, and to ſay (*E*) that the Re-union of the two Religions was an eaſie thing. The firſt Work that he publiſh'd after his Abjuration ‖ was that which contain'd the motives of his Change. He begun many other Books afterwards, but did not finiſh them, either becauſe his firſt Thoughts ceas'd to charm him, or becauſe of the want of the Approbation of the Doctors vex'd his Spirit; for they did not agree to all his Opinions, and he oppos'd their Remonſtrances. He was ſo offended at a Sermon Preach'd by a Biſhop, who in a Parallel drawn between the Virgin *Mary* and JESUS CHRIST ſet her in all things above, or at leaſt equal'd her to the Son of God, that he declar'd freely, that he would return to the Pale of the Proteſtant Church in caſe he were oblig'd to hear many ſuch Sermons §. See the Memoirs of the Abbot *de Marolles*, who had a great Eſteem for him. He never was a Miniſter, although Father *Jacob* ¶ made him a Miniſter of *Charenton*: Neither was he a Phyſician, as Mr. *de Vigneul Marville* at p. 229 of his Miſcellanies has imagin'd. He would not confeſs that one of his Books had been (*F*) cenſur'd by the Sorbonne, and yet Mr.

* Id. ib. p. 561.

† *In the Article* Aimyraut *in the Text*

‡ *See Letter* 110, *and* 114, *of* Sarravius *Edit. of* Utrecht, 1697.

‖ Sarravius, Epiſt. 118. p. 121.

§ Ex eodem Sraravio Epiſt. 170. p. 173, 174.

¶ Ludovicus Jacob a Sancto Carolo Carmelita, Biblioth. Pontific, p. 471.

(*c*) Samuel Mareſius, Aurich. revelat. l. 2 p. 561.

(*f*) *Abbot* de Marolles *Memoires, p.* 322, 323.

(*g*) *Hiſt. of the Edict of* Nantes, ubi ſupra, p. 515, 516. *Add to this theſe words of B.* 11. *p.* 578. his Writings were condemn'd at *the National Synod of* Alençon in 1637, and they wrote to this Reconciler, that if he did not give within 6 Months an authentical declaration of his Repentance to the Conſiſtory of *Paris*, he ſhould be no longer accounted a Member of the Reformed Church.

(*h*) *Abbot* de Marol. ubi ſupra, p. 241, 242. *See alſo p.* 129, 193.

" that he was altogether for the Project of the " Cardinal, and drew up a Plan of an Accommodation exactly in the Terms which that Prelate deſir'd. He juſtified the Romiſh Church " in moſt things; and in thoſe which he did not " approve, he made uſe of the ſofteſt Expreſſions, " under pretence of explaining them, giving them " out as Queſtions, which ought not to hinder " the Reform'd from being reconcil'd.

(*D*) *That he was grafted into honourable Families.*] Let us relate the very Words of him who affirms this. (*e*) *Homo male feriatus putavit non aliter quam alios contemptim deprimendo, imaginariam ſuam Nobilitatem poſſe commendari. Quaſi neſciretur quam ortum avus ipſius Aureliæ exercuerit; ipſum vero à ſuis collactaneis ſemper cum riſu exceptum, quoties nobilitatis ſuæ ſermonem pro inſita ſibi vanitate auſus eſt injicere; quamvis non negem eum honeſtis eſſe inſitum familiis, quas dehoneſtat quantum in ſe eſt.* The Abbot *Marolles* informs us, that *La Milletiere* (*f*) *was the Son of* Ignatius Brachet, *Sigeur de la* Milletiere, *and of* Antoinette Faye, *the Daughter of* Bartholomew Faye, *Seigneur* d'Eſpaiſſes, *Counſellor in the Parliament, and Preſident of the Inqueſts in* 1541. By theſe Relations our Reconciler of Religions belong'd to many illuſtrious Families, as this Abbot ſhows at large.

(*E*) *He continued ſtill to write Controverſies, and to ſay, that the Re-union of the two Religions was an eaſie thing.* " (*g*) After divers Admonitions which " did no good upon him, the Synods declar'd, " that he was no longer a Member of the Reform'd Churches; and there was not one of them " that would receive him into their Communion. " He became therefore a Catholick out of neceſſity, that he might be of ſome Religion; and " after this he conſtantly acted the part of a Miſſionary, and look'd out for Conferences, at which " he was always ſo ill-treated as to daſh his boldneſs, if he had not been ſo ſelf-conceited, that " nothing could daunt him. *Charles Drelincourt* one " of the Collegues of *John Daillé*, and the true " Scourge of ſuch as were of *Milletiere*'s Temper, " did perfectly defeat him in a Conference, the " Acts whereof was publiſh'd." Among other Books he publiſh'd at *Paris*, Le Triomphe, *&c. The Triumph of Truth for the Peace of the Church, to invite the King of* Great Britain *to embrace the Catholick Faith.* Of this I ſhall ſpeak hereafter in the laſt Remark.

Here follows a Paſſage ſomewhat curious: " (*h*) The firſt Conference intended by M. *de la Milletiere*, to re-unite the Churches that were " divided. This vertuous Man thought it eaſie " to compaſs the Return of the Proteſtants to " the Catholick Church. And when I ask'd him " many times the grounds of his Perſuaſion, " ſince the great Differences of Opinions, which " occur in certain Points, were difficult to be " reconcil'd; he anſwer'd me with a Spirit of Charity, which gives him as much Zeal as Know- " ledge, that this Reconciliation depended only " upon a good Reformation on our part, and on " knowing the Motives of the ſeparation of thoſe " who have left us; which he has ſhown in many " Books written to that end. One needs only " read his *Flambeau de l'Egliſe*, and his *Flambeau de la vraye Foy*, to which no Anſwer has been " given, neither can a good one be made to them, " becauſe they are ſo many invincible Demonſtrations; and if the Adverſaries do not " confeſſes it, one needs only enquire what they " ſtick at, and try to bring them to a regular " Conference. In the mean time Mr. *de la Milletiere* is perſuaded that he has demonſtrated, " or that it is not impoſſible for him to demonſtrate the infallibility of the Catholick Church, " whoſe primitive and abſolute Authority reſides " in the Holy See, and in the Perſon of the Pope, " without the Concurrence of a general Council. " ——I ſay he is perſuaded, that in his Book " of the Euchariſt and Tranſubſtantiation he hath " clearly demonſtrated the true Doctrine which " we have always profeſs'd, according to the deciſions of the holy Councils, and the pure " Word of God, which is very expreſs in this " Point, together with Tradition: And therefore they muſt no longer require of us the Teſtimony of the Senſes and of Reaſon, to prove " that there is no other Tranſubſtantiation than " that of paſſing from the knowledge of a ſenſible Subſtance to the knowledge of an intelligible Subſtance." Thus the Abbot *de Marolles* ſpoke of him in the Year 1656.

(*F*) *That one of his Books had been cenſur'd by the Sorbonne, and yet Mr.* Rivet.] This Miniſter anſwering a little Book of *Grotius* (*a*), put in an Appendix twelve Theſes (*b*) which he extracted from a Treatiſe of *La Milletiere* about the Power of the Pope, and the cure of Schiſms, to which he added a Decree of the *Sorbonne* againſt the *Means of Chriſtian Peace*, &c. This Decree bearing Date the 15th of *December* 1637, ſhould have (*c*) been publiſh'd at *Paris*, but was not. Nevertheleſs *Andrew Rivet* having got a Manuſcript Copy of it, Printed it in *Holland*, in 1642, in the Appendix I have mention'd. *La Milletiere* was much troubled at it, and affirm'd that this Piece was ſuppoſititious, and that (*d*) it was only the particular cenſure (*e*) of Mr. *Chappellas a Native of Bourdeaux, and formerly a Jeſuit*, who was created Syndick of the Faculty of Theology, in the Month of *December* 1637. *At the ſame inſtant wherein he was confirm'd, being willing to do ſome famous act for his own Reputation, and worthy of the humour of his Climate, and his fiery Temper, he propos'd the Examination of my Book to the Society. La Milletiere* adds, that his Book was never examin'd, and that (*f*) *Chappellas*, who had alledg'd an Order from the Sovereign Authority, found himſelf very much out in his reckoning. " The Reaſons of theſe different Mo- " tions being afterwards repreſented in the " place from which the Syndick pretended to " ſupport his deſign with a ſuperior Authority, " his

(*a*) *Notes upon the Conſultation of* Caſſander.

(*b*) *See the* 3*d Vol. of the Works of* Andrew Rivet, p. 976, 977.

(*c*) Ne hujus operis condemnati quemquam lateat, cenſuram hanc typis vulgandam eſſe decrevit. *Ib. p.* 978.

(*d*) La Millet. Cathol. Reform. p. 194.

(*e*) Id. ib. p. 188.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 193.

* *In* Germany *in* 8643. *See* Sarravius Epiſt. 53. p. 51.

Mr. *Rivet* publiſh'd an Act which bears the Name of the Faculty. I have heard ſay, that Mr. *de la Milletiere* had a Son who was kill'd * in the Wars, and that one of his Daughters was Married to Mr. *Catelan* Secretary to the Council, and that from this Marriage came a Daughter, who was Married to the Count of *Jonſac*. I muſt not forget (G) the Work which he dedicated to the King of *England*.

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(g) *See p.* 1037 *of the* 3*d Tome of his Works.*

" his Proceeding was found ſo impertinent, that " he and Mr. *de Val* the Subdean, receiv'd an ex- " preſs command to deſiſt from it. Nevertheleſs " he us'd the Authority that his Office of Syn- " dic gave him, to have his private Cenſure in- " ſerted in the Regiſter of the Faculty, which " was dated *December* 15, ſign'd by him and Mr. " *du Val*, by whoſe means he obtain'd the Place " of Syndic. It is therefore the Cenſure of Mr. " *Chappellas*, which Mr. *Rivet* has Printed, and not the " Cenſure of the Faculty of the *Sorbonne*." He ſhows by many Signs, that this Piece did not proceed from the Faculty. Mr. *Rivet* (g) was not able to ſhow that this Declaration was falſe. But as to other things he refuted his Adverſary ſolidly, and promis'd to give a fuller Anſwer; for he entituled his Book (h) *Prodromus ad pleniorem refutationem calumniarum*, &c. *La Milletiere* reply'd in Latin in a Diſſertation entituled *crurifragium prodromi*. *Rivet* changing his deſign, did only publiſh a Letter (i) of *Cuthbert Haglandius*, that is to ſay (*) *Sorbiere*, which contain'd an Advice, not to enter the Liſts any more with ſuch an Adverſary, and a long Catalogue of the faults of the Latin which were in the *Crurifragium*. Yet I learn from *Grotius* (k) the Title of a *French* Book which *Rivet* Printed at *Rouen* in 1642. *An Anſwer to three Letters, with a Defence of Mr.* Rivet *againſt the Calumnies and Forgeries of Mr.* de la Milletiere.

(h) *It is at p.* 1035, *of the* 3*d Vol. of his Works.*

(i) *At p.* 1114 *of the ſame Vol.*

(*) *See the Preface of the* Serbenona.

(k) Grotius Epiſt. 640. part. 2. p. 949. col. 1.

Note, that in 1644, the Cenſure of one of *la Milletiere's* Books by the *Sorbonne* appear'd at *Paris*. It had been ſoftned twice or thrice in favour of the Approvers. The Letters of *Sarravius* will tell you more of it (l). *Grotius* (m) acquainted his Brother, that the three Doctors of the Sorbonne, who had approv'd the Book of this Reconciler, were ſuſpended for a Year; and that Mr. *Arnaud* wrote a Book againſt *la Milletiere* upon a politick Account. (n) *D. Arnaldus ſcripſit contra Miletierium ut ejus odio ſuum elueret. La Milletiere* was alſo of the ſame Opinion as to the Motive of this Doctor of the Sorbonne. Read the Words of *Sarravius*: (o) *Arnaldius etiam, quem ſibi clam adſtipulari Bachetus* (p) *arbitrabatur, epiſtolam edidit ad Præſules ſui libri Approbatores ſcriptam, in qua damnatum poſtea librum erroris, falſitatis, & hæreſeos accuſare prævertit. Hæc tamen omnia κατ' ειρωνειαν fieri, jactat Henotes.* Credat Judæus Apella. *Sed quid huic homini faciat? Eum ego, qui tam inſanum ſapit, Deorum ſuo relinquo.*

(l) Sarravius Epiſt. 85, 86.

(m) Grotius Epiſt. 712. part. 2. p. 969. *It is dated* July 2. 1644.

(n) Idem Epiſt. 714. p. 969. *It is dated* July 16. 1644.

(o) Sarravius Epiſt. 85. p. 85, 86.

(p) *It is a fault of the Printer for* Brachetus. *There are many other ſuch like faults in the Letters of* Sarravius.

Since the Impreſſion of what you have read, I have run over the Piece which is mention'd above, *viz.* that which was Printed at *Rouen* in 1642. Its Title is *Reſponſes, &c. An Anſwer to three Letters of the Sieur* de la Milletiere *on his means of a Re-union in Religion; by* Andrew Rivet —— *with a Defence of the ſaid Sieur* Rivet *againſt the Calumnies and Suppoſitions of the ſaid Sieur* de la Milletiere, *in his pretended Catholick Reformed, with a Letter of a learned Perſon of this Time concerning the ſame Treatiſe.* There is one Chapter in it about *the Hiſtory* which Mr. *de la Milletiere* had given, *of the pretended falſe Cenſure attributed to the Faculty of the Sorbonne.* Mr. *Rivet* proteſts (q), that neither Mr. *Chappellas*, *nor any one in his Name* had *put* that Cenſure *into his Hands*, or *procured it to be Printed* —— (r) *He that gave him a Copy of it in* Holland, told him *that it was ſent by* Grotius. He leaves to Mr. *Chappellas* the Trouble and Care *of defending himſelf againſt what was objected againſt him*; but he refutes two Objections which *la Milletiere* had made to prove the Nullity of the Cenſure of the *Sorbonne*. " (ſ) The firſt is, *That they are not uſed to talk at* " *Random, and without a due Application and Specifi-* " *cation of the Errors contain'd in the Writings they* " *cenſure* The ſecond, *That 'tis not their Cuſtom* " *to ſound an Alarm againſt Books which they cenſure,* " *and to end with Apoſtrophes to the Prelates of the* " *Church.* —— (*) I ſhall give him two Examples " ſufficiently known of the contrary to what he " ſays, e[illegible]ly when they condemn the Book " [illegible] who is out of their Communion. " In [illegible] MDCXI. the 22d of *Auguſt* they " publiſh'd a Cenſure againſt a Book of the late " Mr. *Du Peſſis* of happy Memory, which was " intitl'ed *The Myſtery of Iniquity*, &c. There they " ſpecifie nothing, but ſay in general, *That being* " *adviſed that the Book bearing that abominable Title,* " *ought to be condemn'd, deteſted, and the reading of it* " *wholly forbidden to Chriſtian People, as being hereti-* " *cal, very extravagant and ſeditious, contrary to the* " *Divine and Natural Laws, to the Writings of the an-* " *cient Fathers*, &c. And a little after, they add a " caution in theſe Words, that *They adviſe good* " *People who are zealous for the defence of the Holy* " *Church*, &c. of the danger which may accrue by " the reading of that Book; *Praying and Conjuring* " (pray mark this) *in a moſt humble manner, the Pre-* " *lates of the Catholick Church, and the Civil Magi-* " *ſtrates*, &c. *That they would endeavour with all* " *their Power, generouſly and effectually to hinder the* " *Courſe of ſuch a dangerous and fearful Peſtilence.* " This is a Cenſure conform in thoſe two Points to " what the Perſon cenſured by the diligence of " the Sieur *Chappellas*, formally denies to be the " Style of the *Sorbonne*. Will he ſay, *That this Cen-* " *ſure, injurious to the Perſon of the Author, and which* " *doth not ſet down any Sentence or Maxim of the Book* " *which it affects, to qualifie them by a Name, which* " *denotes, the reaſon of the Cenſure, did not proceed from* " *the Judgment of that Society?* Here is another " without any Specification, and without making " any Application, of the Year CIↃ IↃ CXXIX, " againſt the ſmall (t) Pieces of *Peter Poiret*, who " died in the Communion of the Romiſh Church, " in a little Priory of the Abby of *Eſſom*, where- " in without any Specification, on the firſt of " *September*, they *Condemn* (u) Pichetel's *Book as* " *wicked and abominable, infected with the ſtinking* " *Leproſie of Calviniſm, and ſtinking like the Pit of* " *Hell. And will have this Cenſure to be publiſh'd,* " *for fear the Domeſticks of the Faith ſhould be* " *wrack the Conſciences as it were in a Storm, and* " *circumvented by the reading of that fraudulent Book.* " 'Tis alſo *injurious to the Perſon of the Author*, for " it calls him *Deſertor & Perduellis*, and theſe two " Cenſures are publiſh'd, being ſign'd by the Secre- " tary to the Recorder of the *Sorbonne*

(q) Rivet Reſponſes au trois Lettres, p. 163.

(r) Id. ib. p. 164.

(ſ) Id. ib. p. 167.

(*) Ib. ib. p. 168.

(t) Id ib. p. 168.

(u) *See Mr.* Colomies *his* Biblio-theque Choiſe *about this Book of* Pichetel p. 21, 22. *of the* 3*d Edition*

Mr. *Rivet* declares at the end of this Chapter, that he had *received the Cenſure Printed at* Paris *with the Extract of the Regiſters of the Faculty, in the manner of proceeding, with theſe words at the end*, Excerpta ex monumentis præfatæ facultatis ſign'd *Philip Bouvot*, firſt Beadle and Tranſcript of the Faculty, the firſt of *July* 1642. He make afterwards (w) *ſome Reflexions on* La Milletiere's *new Sally in his* " Remonſtrance to the Gentlemen of the Fa- " culty of Divinity aſſembled in the *Sorbonne*, the " firſt of *Auguſt* 1642, on the Nullity of the Cen- " ſure of the Sieur *Chapellas*, &c." He ſays, that (x) the act of this Cenſure " put Mr. de la " *Milletiere* to his laſt ſhifts, and made him leave " no Stone unturn'd to beat down the Sieur *Cha-* " *pellas* if he could; that he accuſes him of hav- " ing forged it himſelf, and cauſed it to be Prin- " ted contrary to the intention of the College, " by a meer ſurprize, not having declar'd to " them for what reaſon he demanded that Act, " and to what purpoſe he would make uſe of it." This informs us of two things; 1 That Mr. *Chapellas* being deſirous to refute the Reveries of Mr. *de la Milletiere*, let the Publick ſee the Proceedings of the Faculty. 2 That the latter continued to clamour and wrangle. Now as this may ſerve to ſhow us his bold, vain, ſtubborn and ſhuffling Humour, 'twas not improper to let you ſee it; and I am perſuaded in general, that theſe Abſtracts which I have given of *Andrew Rivet's* Letters, will appear very curious and inſtructive

(w) Id ib. p. 167.

(x) Id ib.

(G) *The Work which he dedicated to the King of* England] The Title of it is mention'd above; and tho' I have not read it, I imagine, that the Character of the Author, the eager deſire of making himſelf neceſſary upon ſignal occaſions, and the love of Vain-glory, appear in it as much

MILTON (John) a famous Apologiſt for the Murder of *Charles* I. King of *England*,

or more than in any Book he has publiſh'd. My Conjectures are grounded upon ſome places of the Anſwer which was made to his Epiſtle Dedicatory. This Anſwer is the Work of an Engliſh Biſhop who was with K. *Charles* II. during his Exile. It was Printed at *Geneva* in 1655, in 8°. The Preface to the Reader contains this among other things; Mr. *de la Milletiere having once paſs'd this Rubicon*, " became one of our moſt cruel Adverſaries, " and there was no Miniſter whom he did not " vex, and by an infinite number of little Vo- " lumes, he imagin'd that he had drain'd the whole " Ocean of Controverſies, of which ſo many " great Wits of both Religions have been weary. " The greateſt part of his Works were neglect- " ed, and finding but few Antagoniſts that would " run ſuch a carrere with him, it was thought " that being fully ſatisfied with the Titles of " Honour, which his great ſufficiency had ob- " tain'd for him from the liberality of the Prince, " he was reſolv'd to keep a perpetual ſilence; " till Mr. *Aubertin* having writ a learned Trea- " tiſe of the Euchariſt, according to the Senti- " ments of the Fathers, this Book which gave an " alarm into the very Heart of *the great City*, did, as " it were, on a ſudden awake Mr. *de la Milletiere*, and " made him put Pen to Paper to refute it after " his manner. But it was more ſurprizing to all " the wiſe Men of both Religions, to ſee him ſo far " forget himſelf, as to Dedicate his Book to the " King of Great *Britain*, a Prince whom he very " well knew to be of a Belief quite contrary to " that which he eſtabliſh'd in his Book, and to " whom he could not addreſs things of that Na- " ture, without drawing upon himſelf his juſt In- " dignation, and fomenting unjuſt ſuſpicions in " his rebellious Subjects. His Epiſtle Dedicato- " ry is nothing but a torrent of Reproaches a- " gainſt the Church which he hath forſaken, af- " ter having torn her Bowels, of horrible Pre- " judices againſt the Memory of the late King " of *England*, of flattering Inſinuations to his " Succeſſor, and imaginary Victories over thoſe, " whom neither he, nor the Heads of his Party " durſt have look'd in the Face: And all this fine " Stuff, together with the pretended Refutation " of Mr. *Aubertin*, bears the ſpecious and pom- " pous Title of, *The Triumph of Truth for the Peace of the Church*. Although the King of *England* " at firſt took this Dedication very ill, yet he " was like to be perſuaded to deſpiſe it, without " ſhowing any diſtaſte of it in publick: But " conſidering afterwards that this attempt gave " occaſion to the Inſults of his Enemies, he com- " manded a learned Biſhop, who was then near " his Perſon, to write an Anſwer to it, without " touching, except by the by, upon that lofty " Book to which it was prefix'd." This is ſufficient to ſhow that *la Milletiere* wrote with- out Judgment. All the World knew, that the Enemies of *Charles* I. accus'd him of being a Favourer of Popery, and that nothing was more fit to foment the Averſion of the Engliſh Republicans to the Royal Family, than this Opinion, that the King was not a Proteſtant; and yet here is a Writ- ter who had the boldneſs to dedicate to *Charles* II. a Book wherein he ſuppoſes (*y*), that *Charles* I. died an inviſible Member of the Romiſh Church. The Author that wrote an Anſwer to him, made a very moderate Remonſtance upon it. *Many, and the wiſeſt Men think*, ſays he to him (*z*), *that it was very indiſcreetly done to publiſh a Treatiſe of ſuch a nature as yours is, under the Protection of his Majeſty, without his Leave, and againſt his Conſcience. Is it poſſible that you ſhould be ignorant, that ſuch like inſinuations as yours, and the Reports rais'd without any ground, about the deſign the late King his Father had to unite himſelf to the Romiſh Church, made him loſe the Affection of many of his Subjects? And if you knew this, how durſt you tread in the ſame Steps, on purpoſe to take from the Son all hopes of ever recovering it?* The Anſwer which he gives him elſewhere, is ſomewhat more lively. " (*) You have the Im- " pudence to affirm, that this Prince died a true " inviſible Member of your Church, as it is di- " ſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of the Chriſtian World. " This is an old pious Fraud, and one of your " *Machiavelliſtical* Tricks, to gain Credit to your " Religion by any means whatſoever, lawful or un- " lawful: But it is quite contrary to the Confeſ- " ſion which he made at his Death, contrary to " what thoſe do certainly know who aſſiſted at " the Murder of this pious Monarch; and all " this, as I imagine, upon this vain Preſumption, " *That there is no other Church but yours that is* " *capable of begetting ſuch a Child.*" Note, that the Author oppoſes to this Maxim a Doctrine very re- markable, which the Biſhop of *Chalcedon* main- tain'd " (*b*) in two Treatiſes that he publiſh'd, " *viz.* That *if thoſe who live in the Communion of the* " *Proteſtant Church, endeavour to learn the Truth, and* " *cannot attain to it by reaſon of their inſufficiency, but* " *implicitely embrace it by preparing their Hearts to* " *receive it, which they are always ready to do, when-* " *ſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to reveal it unto them,* " [which is the Duty of every good Chriſtian,] " *they cannot fail of the true Church, of Faith and Sal-* " *vation.*" This is a Maxim (*c*) which might af- ford many Reflexions for a Supplement to the Phi- loſophical Commentary upon theſe words, *Compel them to come in.*

If *la Milletiere* had not been engag'd in the ſtu- dy of Controverſies above 25 or 30 Years, what we read in this Paſſage of his Antagoniſt, ſhould be look- ed upon as a greater piece of boldneſs than the firſt. " You take upon you (*d*) to enquire, or rather to " decide, *why the Hand of God and of the Parliament* " *was ſo heavy upon the Head of the late King and of his* " *Son*; and particularly that of God, *becauſe*, ſay " you, *he had aſſum'd the Title of Head of the Church*; " *God intending by this Puniſhment to teach Princes* " *who live in Schiſm, with what ſeverity he can vin-* " *dicate his Glory againſt the injury done to the Unity* " *and the Authority of the Church*: And as to the " Hand of the Parliament, *becauſe this Prince would* " *not give his conſent to the abolition of Epiſcopacy, and* " *the ſuppreſſion of the Liturgy and Ceremonies of the* " *Church of* England." Nevertheleſs I think that this Raſhneſs is more excuſable than the other, in a Man that had been ſo long verſed in diſ- putes of Religion; for it is hardly poſſible, that ſuch a Man ſhould not contract a habit of at- tributing the Proſperities of the Orthodox to their Zeal for the Faith, and the Misfortunes of the Hereticks to their falſe Religion. It is not neceſ- ſary here to obſerve how mean and popular thoſe Thoughts are, and yet they do eaſily admit of the falſe Ornaments of Rhetorick, which give them Emphaſis and Pomp. Let us rather take notice of the modeſty of the Engliſh Prelate who an- ſwer'd *la Milletiere*. " (*e*) By applying theſe parti- " cular Afflictions according to your ill-grounded " Fancy, what exceſſive boldneſs and liberty have " you given to other Men? Who if they would " arrogate to themſelves the Liberty that you " have taken, of judging of the Misfortunes of " other Princes, might as well ſay, that God " afflicts them becauſe they will not turn Pro- " teſtants, as you ſay of the late King, that " God has puniſhed him becauſe he would not " turn Papiſt." Thus you ſee what was the concluſion of the Anſwer of this Prelate, to this part of the indiſcreet and raſh Reflexions of our *Theophilus Bracher*. This Anſwer contains many other judicious Conſiderations which I do not mention. 'Twas ſufficient for me to take notice of that which is moſt proper to undeceive all rea- ſonable Men; for to diſcover the Falſhood of this common place (*f*), we need only obſerve that all Sects make uſe of it, and, if I may ſay ſo, it is a Saddle that fits all Horſes. To all this we may add ſtill this Imperfection, that it may be retorted againſt thoſe who alledge it with the greateſt Confidence. *La Milletiere* found it ſo by Experience. " Till you " make appear the truth of what you ſay, *replied* " *the Engliſh Prelate* (*g*), give me leave to obſerve, " that neither the conſtancy which plainly ap- " pear'd in Queen *Mary* (*h*) for the Roman Catho- " lick Religion, nor the change of *Henry* IV. who " imbrac'd the ſame Religion, could exempt them " from a cruel and bloody Death. What reaſon " then have you to impute the miſchiefs, which " the King ſuffer'd, to his Errors in Religion? Be " you your own Judge.

But nothing ſhows more clearly the vanity of *la Milletiere*, and his boundleſs deſire of being admir'd, than the means he propoſes to the King of *England*

to

(*b*) *Anſwer to la* Milletiere, p. 165.

(*c*) *Compare what* Caramuel *ſays in* Nicolle's *Treatiſe of the Unity of the Church*, p. 71.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 42.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 45, 46.

(*f*) *See what was ſaid in the* Critique generale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme, *Letter* 19. *n.* 3. *p.* 351. *of the* 3*d Edition, as to what* Maimbourg *ſaid of the Prince of* Condé *kill'd at* Jarnac.

(*g*) *An Anſwer to* la Milletiere, p. 166. 167.

(*h*) *He means the Queen of* Scotland, *Mother to* K. James I. *and Grandmother to* Charles I. *King of* England.

(*y*) *An Anſwer to the Epiſtle Dedicatory of* la Milletiere, p. 34.

(*z*) Ib. p. 35.

(*) Ibid. p. 163.

land was born at *London* (*A*) in 1608. He himſelf informs us *, that after he had ſtudied the Languages, and a little Philoſophy in the place of his Birth, he was ſent to *Cambridge* where he continued 7 Years (*B*), at the end of which he return'd to his Father's Houſe, who liv'd then in the Country. That having ſpent five Years there in reading Greek and Latin Authors, he went a Journey into *France* and *Italy*, in which he ſpent more than three Years. That finding *England* at his return involv'd in the Confuſions of a Civil War, he thought fit to ſhut up himſelf in his Chamber, and to leave the event of it to the care of Providence. That the Authority of the Biſhops being weaken'd, and every Body ſpeaking againſt them, he hop'd that this great beginning of Liberty might deliver Mankind from the Yoke of Bondage. That he thought himſelf bound to endeavour this to the utmoſt of his power. That to this purpoſe he wrote two Books about

* Defenſ. 2. pro populo Anglic. p. 60. *&c.* Edit. Hag. Comitis, 1654.

to recover his Dominions. His Tongue, if you will believe him, was ſufficient to produce this great Revolution. He affirms on the one hand, that this Monarch ſhall be reſtor'd (*i*) to his Kingdoms, *provided he would turn Roman Catholick*; and on the other hand he ſays, that if this Prince would be preſent at a Diſpute between ſome Catholick Doctors and the Miniſters of *Charenton*, he would quickly be converted. By this means he gives us to underſtand, that if there was ſuch a Diſpute, he would be one of the chief Diſputants for the Romaniſts, and conſequently the principal Cauſe of a Triumph whoſe Conſequences would be admirable. Conſider a little his Chimera's, according to all the degrees, to which the Engliſh Author has reduc'd them. "(*k*) But let us now come to the moſt ſpecious place of all your Epiſtle; which is this "ridiculous Propoſal you make *of a Conference by the Authority of your Monarch, and at the requeſt of our King, before the Archbiſhop of* Paris *and his Coadjutor, between ſome Roman Catholick Doctors, and the Miniſters of the Church of that great City*, to whom you juſtly give an ample Teſtimony *of their Zeal and Sufficiency*. You go on further; for you ſuppoſe, *That thoſe Miniſters will accept of a Diſpute, or elſe by their refuſing it, they will betray the weakneſs of their Cauſe*: And you conclude with an unmeaſurable Confidence, *That theſe ſame Miniſters ſhall be convinc'd of the Falſhood of their Religion, and that their Converſion or Conviction will give an ample occaſion to the King of Great* Britain *to embrace the Romiſh Communion, and that his Converſion will bring back all the Proteſtants who have yet any Conſcience left, into the Pale of the Church, and the Obedience of the Holy See*. Give me leave to make an Abridgment of theſe fine Conſequences: If the King of Great *Britain* deſires a ſolemn Conference, the King of *France* will order it: If he orders it, the Miniſters will accept of it: If they accept of it, they will certainly be overcome: If they are overcome, the King of *England* will change his Religion: If he changes his Religion, all the Proteſtants will do the ſame." One may eaſily gueſs, that the Anſwer out of which I take this Paſſage, contains a ſtrong Confutation of theſe Illuſions, and that it did not coſt the Engliſh Prelate much pains

(*i*) *See the Anſwer to* la Milletiere, p. 150.

(*k*) Ib. p. 132, 133.

OBSERVATIONS about the Stature and Mien of *Milton*.

(*A*) *In* 1608.] This we learn from an Inſcription which is at the bottom of his Picture in (*l*) one of his Books; for it ſays, that in 1671 he was 63 Years old. He denoted his Age after a manner ſomewhat general, in his ſecond Apology written in 1653, or in 1654, where he only ſays, that he was above (*m*) forty Years old. It will not be improper here to obſerve, why he informs the Publick of this Circumſtance, ſince it will give occaſion to take notice of ſome falſities. It had been objected to him, that he was but a little Man who had nothing but Skin and Bones, and it was a corrective added to the (*n*) Application that had been made to him of theſe words of *Virgil*, *Monſtrum horrendum, informe, ingens cui lumen ademptum*. To which he anſwer'd (*o*), that he did not believe that ever his Perſon was eſteem'd Ugly; that his Stature was rather of a middle ſize than little; that he felt ſtill the Courage and Strength which he had formerly, when he wore a Sword, and thought himſelf able to look ſuch Men in the Face as were much ſtronger than he; that his Face was ſo far from being Pale, Thin and Wrinkled, that it did him a great deal of Honour, ſince at the Age of forty Years he ſeem'd to be younger by almoſt ten Years; that to witneſs all this he appeal'd to an infinite number of People, who knew him by ſight, and might juſtly ridicule him if he did not ſpeak the Truth. He confeſſed the plain Truth, as to his being Blind, but did not forget to ſay, that his Eyes did not appear to have the leaſt defect. No body after this can doubt, but Mr *Morus* and *Salmaſius* were impos'd upon, as to the Stature and Shape of *Milton*; I ſay *Salmaſius*, for he has alſo told us in his Reply, that he heard ſay, his Adverſary was as little as a Dwarf, *&c.* (*p*) *Relatum quippe eſt mihi ab illis qui viderunt, eſſe ſtatura pumilionem.* (*q*) *Ab ea laboriosa & anxia longaque meditatione languorem etiam videtur contraxiſſe delicatum illud & infirmum corpuſculum tuum.* Mr. *Morus* did not conteſt about this, only he proteſted (*r*), that he never pretended to reproach *Milton* for being Blind, ſince he did not know it but by his Anſwer, and that if he had ſaid any thing that related to Blindneſs, he meant the blindneſs of his Mind. By this he owns himſelf the Author of the Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*. Now ſince he had ſaid there, that there could be nothing more Ugly and Lean than *Milton*, I believe he would have found it very difficult to reconcile his Epiſtle Dedicatory with that place of his Anſwer where he ſays, that he believ'd *Milton* was a handſome Man, eſpecially ſince he ſaw his Picture ſo curiouſly done before his Poems. *An deformitatem* tibi vitio verterem, *qui bellum etiam credidi maxime, poſtquam tuis præfixam poematibus* (*a*) *comptulam iconem illam vidi? Salmaſius* ſeems to boaſt of having been the cauſe that *Milton* loſt his good Health, and his Eyes, by anſwering the Apology for *Charles* I. and is ſo far from objecting to him any natural Deformity, that he pities him maliciouſly for having no longer that Beauty, which render'd him ſo lovely during his Travels in *Italy*. *Inde etiam fortaſſe cerebrum tibi nimis inquies in oculis diſtillaverat eoſq; affluxerat. Malo iſto magnam partem tuæ pulchritudinis deperiſſe, pro eo ac debeo dolco. Nam in oculis maxime viget ac valet formæ deus. Quid Itali nunc dicerent ſi te viderent cum iſta fœda lippitudine. Non haberent amplius quod in te laudarent. Non ergo miror ſi Salmaſium iſtum odiſti, propter quem tantum tibi laboris & oneris impoſitum eſt, unde ægritudo tibi corporis & mentis hæc accidit, & præterea detrimentum tantum priſtini decoris paſſus es* (*b*). *Iſte jam lippitus vel caculus potius, olim bellulus puſio* (*c*). He expreſſes himſelf more plainly in another place (*d*). I do not know what *Milton* anſwer'd to this laſt Slander, when he had occaſion to ſpeak to his Friends concerning the Poſthumous Reply of *Salmaſius*: But I have heard ſay, that when he was inform'd that his Enemy boaſted that he had made him loſe his Sight, *and I*, anſwer'd he, *have made him loſe his Life*. This Story is very probable, ſince we find the ground of it in theſe two Writers Books; as you may ſee. *Sunt*, ſays, *Milton* (*e*) *qui nos etiam meis ejus* (Salmaſii) *reos faciunt, iiſdemque noſtros nimis acriter ſtrictos oculos, quos dum repugnando altius ſibi infixit, dum quod pro manibus habebat opus vidit ſpiſſius procedere, tempus reſponſionis abiiſſe, operis gratiam periiſſe recondatione amiſſæ famæ, exſtinctam, Principum denique favorem, ob rem regiam male defenſam ipſa ſe immunuiſſe, triennali tandem mœſtitia & animi magis ægritudine quam morbo confectum obiiſſe.*

(*B*) *At the end of which he return'd to his Father's Houſe.*] The Author of *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*, affirms upon a hear-ſay (*f*), that *Milton* being driven out of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* for his Miſdemeanors, forſook the Country and retir'd into *Italy*. *Milton* denies all this, and gives another Account which is extreamly to his Advantage. Now ſince neither *Morus*, in anſwering the Book

(*l*) *It is his Logick.*

(*m*) Quadragenario Major. Milton, Defenſ. 2. p. 31.

(*n*) Quamquam nec ingens quo nihil eſt exilius, exſanguius, contractius. *Epiſt. dedicat. Clamor. Regii Sang.*

(*o*) Milton ib p. 30.

(*p*) Salmaſ. Reſponſ. ad Milt. *p.* 3.

(*q*) Id. ib. p. 15, 16.

(*r*) Def. public. p. 31.

(*a*) *By the Anſwer which* Milton *wrote to theſe words, p.* 84. *it appears that theſe Poems were publiſh'd in* 1645, *and that he was not ſatisfied with his Engraver.*

(*b*) Salmaſ. ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Id ib. p. 19.

(*d*) Tu quem olim Itali pro fœmina habuerunt, cui quam audeas, quod parum viſit, objicere? *Ib. p.* 23.

(*e*) Milt *Defenſ* 2. *p* 11.

(*f*) Ajunt hominem Cantabrigienſi Academia ob flagitia pulſum, dedecus & patriam fugiſſe, & in Italiam commigraſſe? &

about the means of reforming the Church of *England*; and after that two others against two Biſhops who had written in favour of Epiſcopacy. That having ſeen the end of this Diſpute, he conſider'd, that beſides Eccleſiaſtical Liberty, for which he and ſo many others had labour'd ſucceſsfully, there were two others, *viz.* the Domeſtick and Civil, which were of no leſs Importance. That he made uſe of his Pen for the Domeſtick Liberty, while the Magiſtrates were labouring very earneſtly for Civil Liberty. That having conſider'd that Domeſtick Liberty related to three things, to Marriage, the Education of Children, and the right of Philoſophizing without reſtraint, he wrote upon (*C*) Divorce, and ſhow'd that the Goſpel had not chang'd the Laws under which the Jews liv'd as to this matter; and that it would be in vain to cry Liberty, Liberty, in the publick Aſſemblies, if a Man was a Slave at Home to that Sex which is inferiour to ours. That afterwards he wrote about the Education of Children, and laſtly about the Liberty of the Preſs, that a ſmall number of unjudicious Men, and who moſt times are reſolv'd to ſuppreſs every thing that is not conſiſtent with popular Opinions, may not determine by a final Judgment, what ought, and what ought not to be Printed. That after the Sentence of Death was paſs'd upon King *Charles* I. he wrote (*D*) upon the general Theſis of the Right of the People againſt Tyrants, and made a Collection of the Opinions of many grave Divines upon this Subject, to put thoſe to ſilence who ſaid, that the Doctrine of the Proteſtant Churches was contrary to the late Tranſactions at *London*. That after this, while he was writing a Hiſtory (*E*) of *England*, the Council of State which was then eſtabliſh'd by Authority of Parliament, having a mind to make uſe of his Pen, order'd him to confute the *Icon Baſilice*, which went under the Name of the deceas'd King. That he entituled his Confutation * *Iconoclaſtes*. That being made choice of to refute a Book which *Salmaſius* had publiſh'd againſt the Parliament of *England*, he engag'd in that Work †, although he had almoſt loſt one Eye, and the Phyſicians foretold it as a thing certain, that he would loſe the other if he engag'd in it. This is what he tells us of himſelf: And we may add, that he became in effect Blind about this time, and that his Anſwer to *Salmaſius*'s Book made him talk'd of (*F*) over all the World ‖. He anſwer'd ſome time after a Book entituled *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad cœlum*, which he aſcribed to Mr. *Morus*, although it was *Peter du Moulin*

* *I have the French Verſion of it made from the ſecond Edition in* England, *and Printed at* London *in* 1652.

† Ib. p. 35.

‡ *See the Remark A.*

‖ Ib. p. 95.

which contains this account, nor *Salmaſius* in his Reply, wherein are many defamatory Tales againſt *Milton*, have ſaid nothing of this diſgraceful leaving of *Cambridge*, which was objected to him, we have reaſon to believe that it is a Fable; for certainly there muſt be, for ſuch kind of Accuſations, ſome Principles that cannot be deny'd, and upon which a good Proof may be grounded: And what Principles are more worthy of this Rank, than to ſee a Man publickly accus'd of things which 'tis eaſie to prove, deny thoſe things publickly, while none of the adverſe Party dares maintain the Accuſation againſt him? Whatever Evaſion Men may find in Metaphyſical Subtleties to defend themſelves againſt this proof of Falſhood, it muſt be granted, that morally ſpeaking, it is a convincing one: Seeing therefore *Milton* did produce ſuch a Proof for himſelf, we may reckon as one of the Lyes that were ſpread abroad againſt him, that which concerns his pretended leaving of *Cambridge*.

(*g*) *Printed at* London *in* 1644.

(*h*) *Printed at* London *in* 1645.

(*i*) *Printed in* 1645.

(*k*) *In a Preface of* George Crantzius, *Dr. of Divinity prefix'd to the ſecond Apology of* Milton, *of the Dutch Edition* 1654. *See alſo* Clam. Reg. Sang. p. 8.

(*l*) Defenſio pro ſe, p. 40. *edit.* Lond. 1655, in 12°.

(*C*) *He wrote upon Divorce.*] It appears by his ſixtenth Letter written in 1654, that *Aitzema* had a mind to get that Book of *Milton* tranſlated into *Dutch*, and that the Author deſir'd rather to have it tranſlated into Latin, having experienc'd that the People were prejudic'd againſt all Opinions that were not common. He there informs us, that he had written three Treatiſes upon this Subject; whereof the firſt was entituled (*g*), *Of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce*; the ſecond was entituled, *Tetrachordon* (*h*), wherein the four principal Paſſages of Scripture were explain'd which concern this matter; the third was entituled, *Colaſterion* (*i*), wherein he refutes a certain Scribler It was objected to *Milton* (*k*), that he had call'd the Doctrine of JESUS CHRIST concerning Divorce, Diabolical, as it is explain'd by the Fathers, by Ancient and Modern Divines, and by all the Univerſities and Churches of *England*, *Holland* and *France*; and that for his own part he pretended, that Divorce ought to be allow'd, even when a contrariety of Humors is the only ground of it. To this (*l*) he anſwers theſe two things: Firſt, That the ſenſe given by the generality of Interpreters to the words of Scripture, whereby they are made to ſignifie, that after a Divorce made in a caſe of Neceſſity, it is not lawful to proceed to a ſecond Marriage, might very well be call'd a Diabolical Doctrine. 2. That it is not true, that all the Fathers, the Ancient and Modern Divines, and all the Univerſities are agreed about this matter, and that he has ſhown in his *Tetrachordon*, that his Doctrine was the ſame with that of ſome of the Fathers, of *Bucer*, *Fagius*, *Peter Martyr* and *Eraſmus*. See his ſecond Apology, p. 58. 'Tis to be obſerv'd that *Milton*, who tells us ſo many Particulars of his Life, ſays nothing of his Marriage. Nevertheleſs *Salmaſius* had heard ſome ſay (*m*) that he was Married, and not only ſo, but that he had divorc'd his Wife at a Year's end, becauſe ſhe was ill Humored (*n*). In another place he ſuggeſts, that Jealouſie, or even Horns were concern'd in the matter. *Milton* therefore was not ſo unintereſted in his pleading for Divorce and Polygamy as *Lyſias* (*o*); his perſonal Intereſt mov'd him to ſay what he did.

(*m*) Uxorem ſuam poſt annum à nuptiis dicitur reſtuas ſibi habere juſſiſſe ob graves tantum mores. *Salmaſ. reſp. ad Milton. p.* 253. *See alſo p.* 3.

(*n*) Si Eunuchi omnes fuiſſent qui domum ſuam frequentabant, uxorem fortaſſe non repudiaſſes. *Ibid. p.* 23.

(*o*) *See the* Nouv. de la Repub. des Lettres, *April* 1685. p. 101.

(*D*) *He wrote upon the general Theſis about the Right of the People.*] This is probably the Book which he mentions in his ſecond Apology (*p*), when he ſays thus. *Id fuſius docui in eo libro qui noſtro idiomate* Tenor *ſive* tenura Regum & Magiſtratuum *inſcriptus eſt* ——*Illic ex Luthero, Zuinglio, Calvino, Bucero, Martyre, Paræo, citantur ipſa verbatim loca, ex illo denique Knoxo quem* unum *me* Scotum *ais* innuere, quemque hac in re reformatos omnes præſertim Gallos illa ætate condemnaſſe. *Atqui ille contra, quod ibi narratur, ſe illam doctrinam nominatim à Calvino, ſummiſque aliis ea tempeſtate Theologis, quibuſcum familiariter conſueverat, hauſiſſe affirmat.* As to what the Author of *Clamor Regii Sanguinis* accuſes *Milton* (*a*) of having writ to the Parliamentarians to determine a thing about which they remain'd in ſuſpence, I mean the Death of the King, *Milton* denies it, and pretends that he never wrote upon thoſe Queſtions till after the Death of that Monarch.

(*p*) p. 9.

(*E*) *While he was writing an Hiſtory of* England] He was, according to *Salmaſius* (*b*), a School-Maſter in *London*; *Ludi triviales magiſter Londinenſis*; *ludimagiſter in ſchola trivali Londinenſi, de pedanco magiſtro Secretarius Parlamenti rebellis factus.* But ſince in the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*, which gives a ſhort Relation of his Adventures, it is not ſaid that he was a School-Maſter, and beſides 'tis probable, that he durſt not have related very particularly the ſeveral Conditions and Employments of his Life, without ſaying any thing of his being a School-Maſter, if he had been really ſo, it ſeems that *Salmaſius* was but ill ſerv'd by his Spies. Nevertheleſs we muſt not altogether truſt to theſe Probabilities: We ſhall ſee (*c*), that there was ſome ground for what he ſaid.

(*b*) Reſp. p. 13, 14.

(*c*) *In the Remark K.*

(*F*) *Made him talk'd of over all the World.*] I believe

* *They were reprinted at* Leipsick *in* 1690.

Moulin that wrote it. Because this Answer defam'd Mr. *Morus* horribly, he would not let it pass without a Reply: But *Milton* wrote a second Answer no less bloody than the former. He liv'd very quietly under the Usurpation of *Cromwel*, and by a good fortune, which was very extraordinary, he was not disturb'd nor prosecuted after the Restauration of *Charles* II. but he liv'd quietly at his House, although no Writer did ever more insult a Crown'd Head, than he did King *Charles* I. and his banish'd Family. His Impunity did not proceed from the good Nature of *Charles* II. but from his not being excepted out of the General Amnesty. Some of his Latin Letters were Printed in 1674 at *London*, and some Orations which he spoke in Latin when he was a School-Boy. The Latin Letters which were Printed in 1676 *, and had been written by the Usurpers to several Princes, are of his own making. He (G) lov'd Poetry, and many of his Poems both in Latin and English have been publish'd either in his Life-time, or after his Death. *Patin* has vented many (H) Lyes.

Since

believe that all the Books in Prose which *Milton* publish'd before the Confutation of *Salmasius*, were in English; yet it appears by this Confutation, that he was very ready at the Latin Tongue. It cannot be deny'd that his Stile is smooth, lively and florid, and that he dextrously and ingeniously defended the Cause of the Anti-Royalists; but without offering here to give my Opinion about the matter, I think it may be said, that the manner in which he manag'd this great Subject, appears to be very bad, because he did not observe any decent Gravity. He is every Minute, I do not say throwing out sharp Railleries against *Salmasius*, for this would not spoil his Work, and might serve to make People laugh on his side; but he every where acts the part of a Banterer and Buffoon. This fault does more plainly appear in his two Answers to Mr. *Morus*, which are stuffed with Quibbles and biting Jests: And hereby the Character of the Author does plainly appear, that he was one of those Satyrical Wits, who please themselves very much in heaping up all the Reports which are spread abroad to the disadvantage of any Person, and in making his Enimies write all the Calumnies they know of him; but much more do they please themselves in inserting these Calumnies in the first Book they publish against him. His Answer to *Salmasius* was burnt at *Paris* and at *Toulouse* by the Hand of the Hangman (*d*); which serv'd only to procure him more Readers. It was not the Parliament of *Paris*, as is affirm'd in the *Clamor Regis Sanguinis*, which condemn'd his Book to the Fire, but the Lieutenant Civil. *Milton* (*e*) does not pass over this mistake of his Adversary in silence. He boasted that Queen *Christina* (*f*), who, as he pretends, so highly esteem'd this Book of his, that she did even despise *Salmasius*, who was then at her Court. 'Tis certain, that this Book was read very greedily, as Mr. *Ziegler*, who speaks of it with an extreme Contempt, assures us in the Preface to his *Exercitationes ad Regicidium Anglorum*. The anonymous Author, who publish'd an Apology, (*g*) *Pro rege & populo Anglicano contra Johannis Polypragmatici* (*alias Miltoni Angli*) *defensionem destructivam regis & populi Anglicani*, complains very heavily of the unequal Fate of *Salmasius* and *Milton*. It has not been possible, says he, without a Thousand Difficulties, to procure an Edition of *Salmasius*'s Book; but that of *Milton* has been Printed many times. (*h*) *Quod ornatissimus Salmasius ad tuendum jus & honorem Caroli Britanniæ Monarchæ, Sceleratorum manibus interfecti, prudenter scripserat, unâ tantum impressione, idque, magnâ cum difficultate in lucem erupit: tanto odio hisce ultimis temporibus, veritatem mundus persequitur. Sed quod scelestissimus Miltonus, ad lacerandam famam Regis defuncti, & subvertendum in Subditos dominium hæreditarium, invidiose elaboravit, illius tot sunt exemplaria, ut nisi cui lectorem remitterem, se mendaciorum & convitiorum amore flagrant homines; volumine in decimo sexto perditissimi preti., usus sum.*

(d) Defens. 2. p. 93.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ib. p. 8. 52, 96.

(g) *I make use of the Edition of* Antwerp 1651, *in* 12°.

(h) In monito ad lectorem

(G) *He lov'd Poetry.*] *Salmasius* having said (*i*), that some who knew *Milton* thoroughly, did very seriously maintain, that he understood not Latin, that he was not capable of writing in Latin, adds, that for his own part he is of quite another Opinion, and that *Milton* being a Poet, might also be an Orator. Whereupon he scoffs at his Poems, wherein he says the Laws of quantity are violated; and this he proves by Examples; and thence he concludes, that altho' the Author had not set down at what Age he wrote them, one would have perceived, that they are the Work of a School-Boy. But *Milton*, says he, is answerable for the Faults of his Youth, since he has Printed them a few Years ago at *London*. By the second Letter of *Milton* it appears, that he caus'd some Latin Verses to be publish'd in 1628, and by the 10th, which is dated *April* 21. 1647, that he publish'd some time since a Collection of English and Latin Poems; which Collection came out in 1645: This would not savour very much of a Man, who gave no credit to false Reports concerning *Milton*, if *Salmasius* were rigorously dealt with. He says, that in the Opinion of many People (*k*) *Milton* never wrote the Apology for the People of *England*, and that he only lent his Name to the Book of a Master of a *French* School, who taught Children at *London*. All this is a Fable which I am glad to relate, that Authors may henceforth learn to give no Credit to Calumnies, wherewith their Heads are fill'd against their Antagonists. Some think to make their Court by this means to a Man, and occasion his publishing a hundred Fooleries. I do not place in this Rank the four Thousand Livres *per Ann.* which *Milton* got by writing for the Parliament, if we may believe *Salmasius* (*l*); for it is very probable, that *Cromwel* rewarded him bountifully. *Milton* has written two Poems in blank Verse; one about the Temptation of *Eve*; the other about the Temptation of *Jesus Christ*. The first is entituled *Paradise lost*; the second, *Paradise regained*. The former passes for one of the best pieces of Poetry that ever was seen in English. The famous Poet *Dryden* made a Play out of it, which was extreamly applauded. The other is not near so good, which made some jesting Men say, that *Milton* is easily found in Paradise lost, but not in Paradise regain'd. These Poems were translated into Latin Verse, and publish'd in 1690, by *William Hog*, a Scotch-Man.

(i) Resp. p. 4. & 5.

(k) Eam & multi negant illum autorem debere agnoscere nisi solo titulo, conscriptam enim esse à ludimagistro quodam Gallo de ruvio qui Londini pueros nihil sapere docet, *p.* 4.

(l) Usi supra, p. 16.

The same *Dryden* admiring *Paradise lost*, declar'd, that *Greece*, *Italy* and *England* have produc'd three Poets in different Ages, *Homer*, *Virgil* and *Milton*; that the first excell'd in sublimity of Thought, and the second in Majesty; and that Nature not being able to advance further, fram'd the third by a Concurrence of the Perfections of the other two. This is the subject of an Epigram of Mr. *Dryden*, inserted by Mr *Toland*, at p. 1. of the Life of *Milton*.

Three Poets in three distant Ages born,
Greece, Italy *and* England *did adorn:*
The First *in loftiness of Thought surpass'd,*
The Next *in Majesty; in both the last.*
The Force of Nature could no further go,
To make a Third, *she joyn'd the former* Two.

(H) Patin *has vented many Lyes*] "Mr *de* "*la Mothe Vayer* (*b*), who came just now to see me, "has brought me one of his Books lately writ- "ten, and tells me, that *Milton*'s Book against "the late King of *England* was burnt by the Hand "of the Hangman; that *Milton* is a Prisoner, "and like to be Hang'd; that *Milton* writ "this Book only in English; and that one "call'd *Peter du Moulin*, the Son of *Peter* who "was Minister of *Sedan*, who had put it into "good Latin, was in danger of his Life." Mind the Person who vented this News to *Guy Patin*. It was not a sorry News-monger of the *Font neuf*, or of the third Pillar of the Great Hall; it was the Preceptor to the King's Brother; it was the *French Cato*, a Man very learned: He honestly believ'd, that *Du Moulin* run the hazard

(b Patin Letter 187, tom. 2. p 155. *It is dated* July 13, 1660.

Since the firſt Edition of this Dictionary, there was publiſh'd * at *London* the Life of *John Milton*, written in Engliſh by Mr. *Toland*, which will afford me a pretty long Supplement to this Article. *Milton* was born (*I*) a Gentleman, and had an Education ſuitable to that Rank. He had an inſatiable Paſſion for Learning, inſomuch, that from the Age of twelve Years, he was wont to ſit up till Midnight, and neither the weakneſs of his Sight, nor the frequent pains in his Head, were capable of abating his ſtudious Inclination. He was ſent to *Cambridge* at fifteen Years of Age, and in the ſame Year he Paraphras'd ſome Pſalms in Engliſh Verſe. He wrote at ſeventeen Years of Age many Pieces of Poetry, ſome in his Mother-Tongue, and others in Latin, and all of them of ſuch a Character and Beauty as was much above his Age. He took his Degree of Maſter of Arts at *Cambridge*, and return'd to his Father's Houſe. Thoſe who have ſaid, that he return'd thither, being driven away by the Univerſity of *Cambridge* for ſome Fault, or at leaſt that he was full of Reſentment, becauſe he could not get any Preferment there, have maliciouſly wreſted ſome Verſes contain'd in a Latin Elegy which he addreſs'd to his good Friend *Charles Diodati*. Upon the ſame ground it was given out, that he ſpent his Time with Ladies of Pleaſure at *London*, and was every Day at a Play. His Journey into *Italy* procur'd him the Friendſhip of the fineſt Wits, and the moſt famous learned Men that were in that Country †. He learn'd the *Italian* Tongue ſo well, that he was about to write a Grammar of it, and he made very good *Italian* Verſes. He had a deſign to have gone into *Sicily* and *Greece*, but being inform'd of the beginning of the Troubles in *England*, he did not think fit to ſpend his time in diverting Journeys, while his Countrymen were bearing Arms for the maintenance of their Liberty. He return'd therefore into his own Country, and as he paſs'd thro' *Geneva*, he contracted an Acquaintance with ſome conſiderable People there, who informed him afterwards of the Adventures of *Alexander Morus*, againſt whom he had occaſion to write. He arriv'd in *England* at the time of King *Charles* I. his ſecond Expedition into *Scotland*, and becauſe he was entruſted to be a Guardian to his Nephews ‡, he reſolv'd to ſet up for their Maſter (*K*), and he taught alſo ſome other Scholars. He Married in 1643, *Mary Powel*, the Daughter of a Juſtice of Peace in *Oxfordſhire*. It was not long before this young Woman was diſguſted at him (*L*), whereupon ſhe left him at a Month's end, and plainly declar'd, that ſhe would not return to him at all. Where-

* *In 1699, prefix'd to the Works of* John Milton *in folio, and by it ſelf in 8.*

† *Such as* Carlo Dati, Gaddi, Freſcobaldi, Francini, Bonmattei, Coltellini, Chimentelli, John Baptiſt Manſo.

‡ *His Siſter's Sons.*

hazard of his Life for having tranſlated *Milton*'s Book into Latin. And yet this *du Moulin* was one of the Confeſſors of the Royal Party; he wrote againſt the Rebels, and his Fidelity was quickly rewarded by *Charles* II.

(*I*) *He was born a Gentleman.*] *John Milton* his Father being deſcended from the Family of the *Miltons*, which was conſiderable in *Oxfordſhire*, was the Son of a Roman Catholick, and was diſinherited becauſe he turn'd Proteſtant. *Chriſtopher Milton*, his other Son, ſtudied the Law, and was not very ingenious. He was a ſuperſtitious Man, and much addicted to the Royal Party, who nevertheleſs liv'd obſcurely after the Royal Family was reſtor'd. But King *James* II. having a mind that ſome Judges ſhould declare him to be above the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, created him a Serjeant at Law, and Baron of the *Exchequer*, and after that Judge of the Common-Pleas. Theſe Offices came quickly after to an end by the Death of him who was poſſeſſed of them (*c*).

(*c*) *Taken from the Life of* Milton, *written by Mr.* Toland.

(*K*) *He became their Maſter, and——ſome other Scholars.*] This is the ground of what was ſaid above. I thought that *Salmaſius* had been ill ſerv'd by his Spies, but now I know that he is not to be blam'd, but only for giving an odious turn to what he had ſaid, that *Milton* was an inconſiderable School-Maſter. Mr *Toland* confeſſes, that *Milton* being entreated to do the ſame Service to ſome of his Friends Children, as he did to his Nephews, *i. e.* to teach them the Languages, Hiſtory, Geography, *&c.* granted them this favour. 'Tis true therefore, that he kept a School in his Houſe, tho', properly ſpeaking, he could not be call'd a School-Maſter, as the Expreſſions of his Enemy inſinuate. But this was no juſt occaſion of inſulting him, even tho' his Poverty had reduc'd him to that painful Task, provided he acquitted himſelf of it faithfully, and like an able Maſter. About this conſult his Hiſtorian.

(*L*) *It was not long before this young Woman was diſguſted at him.*] Many Conjectures are alledg'd as to the cauſe of her quick return to her Father's Houſe. She had been Educated in Pomp and Pleaſure, and that was probably the cauſe why ſhe could not brook *Milton*'s Philoſophical way of Liveing: Perhaps alſo the Perſon of his Spouſe was diſagreeable to him; or ſhe being of a Royaliſt Family, could not endure the Republican Principles of *Milton*: And 'tis not impoſſible but her Father might expect ſome Preferment from the King by diſſolving the Knot of this Marriage. However it be, his Daughter return'd to his Houſe a Month after the Celebration of the Marriage, upon pretence of ſpending the reſt of the Summer in the Country. Her Husband conſented to it upon condition that ſhe ſhould return at *Michaelmaſs*, and becauſe ſhe did not return at that time, he wrote her many Letters, to which ſhe did not vouchſafe to give any Anſwer; but at laſt ſhe declar'd Categorically, that ſhe would not return at all, and ſent back the Meſſenger from *Milton* with Contempt. At this he was ſo angry, that he reſolv'd never to own her more for his Spouſe; and to ſhow the Publick the Juſtice of this Deſign, he publiſh'd a Book about Divorce in 1644. The Reaſons which he there propoſes to prove, that Marriages ought not to be indiſſoluble, ſeem to be ſuſpicious, as coming from one intereſted in the Cauſe; but his Hiſtorian obſerves, that this cannot weaken them, for otherwiſe this muſt be a Prejudice againſt the Apologies of the Primitive Chriſtians, ſince they were written by Perſons who groan'd under the rigor of Perſecution. He adds, that to judge right of the Advantages of a temperate Country, a Man ſhould ſpend part of his Life in Climates that are either too Hot or too Cold; and that in like manner no Man can ſo exactly give the Reaſons which favour a good Cauſe, as he that has experienc'd the inconveniencies of the ill one. Thoſe who treat of a matter in which they are not perſonally concern'd, produce nothing but the conceits of their Fancy, and do nothing but amuſe themſelves at their leiſure Hours, or, which is worſe, they declaim without that Strength and Vigor which experience inſpires From whence we muſt conclude, that thoſe who never try'd the inconveniences of Marriage, are infinitely leſs fit than *Milton* to lay down and maintain the Arguments againſt the Tyranny of the indiſſolubility of the Marriage-Bond. It might have been thought, that the Treatiſes he publiſh'd about Divorce, were either an effect of his Anger, or of a Deſire to ſhew his Wit in maintaining ſuch a Paradox, rather than the effect of hearty Perſuaſion. But to prevent any ſuch Judgment of him, and to ſhow that he was in good earneſt, he put in practice his own Hypotheſis *. To this

* viz. *That a Husband may not only part with his Wife, but alſo marry another.*

Whereupon he took his Meaſures accordingly, and after he had publiſh'd a Book about Divorce, he prepar'd for a ſecond Marriage; but ſhe bethought herſelf, and deſir'd him ſo earneſtly to take her back again, that he was melted into Compaſſion. After this Reconciliation, within a Year, he had a Daughter by her, and after that many other (*M*) Children. This Wife dying in Child-bed, he Married another *, who died after the ſame manner at a Year's end. He continued a Widower for ſome Years, and Married not again till after the Reſtauration of *Charles* II. and the Amneſty which he obtain'd from that Monarch. He had offended him, as by other Books, ſo by that which is entituled *Iconoclaſtes*, which is the Refutation of a Book attributed to *Charles* I. He maintain'd, that this Monarch was not the Author of (*N*) it. Time hath ſhown that he

* *Captain* Woodcock's *Daughter.*

this end he deſir'd in Marriage a young Woman of great Wit, and very Handſome. But being one Day at a Friend's Houſe, whom he went often to ſee, all on a ſudden his Wife came in and threw herſelf at his Knees, and with Tears in her Eyes, acknowledg'd her Fault, and begg'd his Pardon. He was at firſt inflexible, and one would have thought, that he would be inexorable; but this hard heartedneſs was quickly ſoftned. His natural Generoſity, and the interceſſion of his Friends, quickly mov'd him to a Reconciliation, and to forget all that was paſt. He received into his Houſe the Father, Mother, Brethren and Siſters of his Wife, when the Royal Party was falling in Pieces, and protected and maintain'd all this Kindred till they ſaw better Times (*a*). Is there not therefore ſufficient Reaſon to reckon him among good Husbands, and to make him a Proof of the Remark which ſo many People have made, that there is no Man more *debonair* than a Husband to his Spouſe who hath offended and diſgrac'd him? He had upon his Hands not only the Reſentment of a Husband, but alſo the Intereſt of an Author: He had, as I may ſay, bound up his own Hands by his Writings: His Theſis of Divorce ſupported by his Replies, oblig'd him to keep to his Reſolution. Add to all this, that he felt new Flames for a Maid of a charming Beauty and Wit; and yet two or three Tears of his Spouſe overcame him, and he conſented to every thing ſhe had a mind to. His former Reſolution, that he would ſee her no more, his Obligation as an Author, his new Amours, every thing ſubmitted to the victorious force of a *Peccavi*, ſpoken by a weeping Wife. See the Margin (*b*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Milton's *Life.*

(*b*) *Thoſe who have a mind to ſee part of* Milton's *Reaſons for Divorce, need only read the Abſtract of his Life in the Journal of Mr.* de Beauval, *for* Feb. 1699. p. 81, *&c.*

(*M*) *And after that many other Children.*] A Son who died in 1652, and three Daughters who ſerv'd him as Readers. He taught them to pronounce exactly Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, French and Spaniſh; and as he had occaſion for a Book, one of them read it to him. And becauſe they did not underſtand the meaning of what they read, this Exerciſe was very unpleaſant to them, as he perceiv'd by their murmuring; and foreſeeing that for the future this Task would become more and more tedious to them, he diſpens'd them with it, and taught them ſuch things as were more ſuitable to their Condition and Sex (*c*).

(*c*) *Taken from* Milton's *Life.*

(*N*) *He maintain'd that* Charles I. *was not the Author of that Book. And Time has ſhown, that he maintain'd that upon good grounds.*] Perhaps there never happen'd any thing more ſingular than this, in what concerns the Hiſtory of Books. The Diſpute that was rais'd about this Matter of Fact, has been very fruitful in Books. The Parties thinking that this Matter would be attended with many notable Conſequences, grew hot, and us'd all manner of Induſtry in their Diſcuſſions. This warrants me to give a particular account of this Affair. I begin with the Book itſelf, whoſe Title is Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. It was Tranſlated out of Engliſh into divers Languages. The Sieur *Porrée* Tranſlated it into French, and added to it a very long Preface, and dedicated his Tranſlation to the King of *England*, *Charles* II. I make uſe of the *Paris* Edition by *Lewis Vendoſme*, 1649, in 12°, whoſe Title Page runs thus: EIKΩN BAΣIΛIKH LE POURTRAICT DU ROY LA GRAND BRETAGNE. *Fait de ſa propre main, durant ſa ſolitude & ſes ſouffrances.* Rom. 8. *Plus que vainqueur &c* Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium eſt. *Reveuë, corrigée & augmentée de nouveau.* *Milton* who refuted this Book, ſuppos'd that ſome Friends of *Charles* I were the true Authors of it, and that they publiſh'd it on purpoſe to render the Conduct of the Parliamentarians more odious. I have a French Verſion of his Anſwer in 12°; and the whole Title Page runs thus: "ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ, or, an Anſwer to a Book entituled, 'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'; or, the Portraicture of his Sacred Majeſty during his Solitude and Sufferings. By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Tranſlated from the ſecond and larger Edition, and reviſed by the Author. To which are added divers Pieces mention'd in the foreſaid Anſwer, for the greater convenience of the Reader. At *London*, by *William Du-Gard*, Printer to the Council of State, in 1652. And are to be ſold by *Nicolas Bourne* at the South-Gate of the *Old Exchange*." I will here ſet down a Paſſage of the Anſwer of *Milton* to *Clamor Regis Sanguinis*, which concerns the Order that the King gave upon the Scaffold to the Biſhop of *London*, which was to acquaint his Son, that he would never have him puniſh the Authors of his Death. This Biſhop being preſs'd by the Judges to declare what the King had recommended to him, confeſs'd at laſt it was this. Whereupon *Milton* made this Remark. (*d*) *O magis, regemne admiremur pietatis, an Epiſcopum rimarum plenum, quorum tam ſecreto in pectore ſuæ fidei commiſſum ut ſtaret, tam facile expugnari potuit. At ô taciturnè jampridem Carolus hoc id in inter alia præcepta filio mandaverat, in illa Icone Baſilica, quam libenter edo ſerpentum ſatis apparet, ut omnes cum diligentiâ notis ſuis involutas ſecretum illud, qua oſtentatione ſimulatum erat, eruditi paulo poſt evulgaretur. Sed vobis plane deceſſe vos Carolum quendam abſolut ſſimum, Cum Stuartum hun., at ſaltem hyperboreum alioquem & ſtupidiſſimum, ſuccatis quibuſdam coloribus depictum, imperitis rerum obtrudere: ita fabulam hanc velut a.roama quoddam, adverbii. & ſententiolis pulchrè diſtinctam, naſo quem etthologum imitatus, ad inſciandas vulg, auris putide concinnaſti.* The Opinion of this Writer made no impreſſion in ſtrange Countries: Every body there was perſuaded that King *Charles* I wrote the Book which bears his Name. Which did ſo much Honour to his Memory, and appear'd ſo fit to make him be look'd upon as a true Martyr; that it was thought that *Milton* endeavouring to rob him of it, did only uſe the Trick of Advocates, who deny every thing that is too favourable to the contrary Party. Thoſe of the *Cromwellians* who remain'd in *England*, agreed to *Milton*'s Judgment: But their Opinion was ſuſpected for the Reaſon I have juſt now given. All the Partizans of the Cauſe of *Charles* I. oppos'd this Opinion very earneſtly; and becauſe their believing that this Prince was the true Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, was a thing that favoured the Intereſt of their Cauſe, they might have been ſuſpected as well as the others of uſing the Artifice of Advocates. Nevertheleſs their Opinion prevail'd in *England*, and could not be beaten down by certain Matters of Fact, till at laſt ſome things happen'd which have deſtroy'd it. Here follows the beginning and progreſs of that Affair, according to the Narrative of Mr. *Toland*.

(*d*) Milt. Defenſ. p. m 86.

In the Year 1686, Mr *Millington* happening to ſell the late Lord *Anglſey*'s Library by Auction, put up an *Icon Baſilice*; and a few bidding very low for it, he had leiſure to turn over the Leaves, when to his great Surprize he perceiv'd written with the ſame noble Lord's own Hand the following *Memorandum*. "King *Charles* II and the Duke of *York*, "did both (in the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, "1675. when I ſhew'd them in the Lords Houſe "the written Copy of this Book, wherein are "ſome Corrections and Alterations written with "the late King *Charles* the Firſt's own Hand) aſſure "me, that this was none of the ſaid King's com-"piling, but made by Dr *Gauden* Biſhop of *Exeter*: "Which I here inſert for the undeceiving of o-"thers in this Point, by atteſting ſo much under "my own Hand.

"ANGLESEY."

Since

he maintain'd this upon good grounds. He lay conceal'd when *Charles* II. was call'd home again, and did not ſhow himſelf till after the Amneſty was proclaim'd. He obtain'd Letters of Pardon, and was only puniſh'd by being excluded from all publick Offices. Some have thought that this Moderation proceeded rather from the King's Forgetfulneſs

Since this Particular came to be known, there was much Diſcourſe about it, and ſome ask'd Dr. *Walker* about this Matter, becauſe they knew he had been well acquainted with that Biſhop of *Exeter*. He declar'd to them what he knew of it, and being provok'd and much offended by Dr *Hollingworth*, he publiſh'd for his own juſtification an account of this Book. He declar'd that Dr. *Gauden* communicated to him the whole Project of that Affair, and ſome Chapters of the *Icon Baſilice*, and the Plan of ſome others: He related the Evaſion which this Doctor made uſe of, when he told him he did not approve of this way of deceiving the Publick. He told many other Particulars, and among others theſe three, which he ſaid he had from Dr. *Gauden*. 1. That the Biſhop of *Salisbury* took upon him to write two Chapters of that Book. 2. That Dr. *Gauden* ſent to the King in the Iſle of *Wight* a Copy of the *Icon Baſilice* by the Marquis of *Hertford*. 3. That the Duke of *York* knew very well, that Dr. *Gauden* was the Author of it. He added, that the Son of this Doctor, his Wife and Mr. *Gifford*, who tranſcrib'd this Book, did firmly believe it had been compos'd in the place where they dwelt. He affirm'd, that it was the common Opinion of the Family that Dr. *Gauden* wrote it; and that they always ſpoke of him as the Author of it, whether he were preſent or abſent, and that he never deny'd it. I paſs over in ſilence many other Proofs and Confirmations which are in the Account of Dr. *Walker*.

His Narrative was ſome time after confirm'd in ſuch a manner as paſt for a full proof of the Impoſture: Which happen'd thus. A Merchant of *London* call'd *Arthur North*, a Man of very good Credit, and a Member of the Curch of *England*, having Married a Siſter of the Wife of *Charles Gauden*, Son to the Doctor, after the Death of his Brother-in-Law, had the management of the Widow's Affairs. He found among the Papers of the Deceas'd a Bundle, which only concern'd the Affair of the *Icon Baſilice*. The Widow of Dr. *Gauden* had left this Packet with her Son *John Gauden*, whom of all her Children ſhe lov'd moſt tenderly, and he left it to his Brother *Charles*. In this Bundle there was found, 1. A Letter of Secretary *Nicholas*, written to Dr. *Gauden*. 2. The Copy of a Letter which this Doctor wrote to Chancellor *Hyde*, wherein, among other Services he had done, he mentions one that was truly Royal, and worthy of a Royal Reward, ſince he deſign'd by it to ſtrengthen and encourage the King's Friends, and to expoſe and convert his Enemies. 3. The Copy of a Letter which he wrote to the Duke of *York*, earneſtly repreſenting the good Services he had done. 4. A Letter written with Chancellor *Hyde*'s own Hand, dated *March* 13. 1661, wherein the Chancellor declares, that he is ſorry for his Importunity, and excuſes himſelf that he cannot do him Service. The Concluſion of this Letter is remarkable, which is in theſe words: "The Particular you mention has indeed been imparted to me as a Secret; I am ſorry I ever knew it: And when it ceaſes to be a Secret, it will pleaſe none but Mr. *Milton*." The ſame Bundle contains, among other Papers, a long Narrative written by Dr. *Gauden*'s Wife. This Relation proves irrefragably, that her Husband was the Author of *Icon Baſilice*: It contains a full Confirmation of Dr. *Walker*'s Account, and moſt of the Facts hitherto related, with many other Circumſtances very curious and extraordinary. This Narrative being Tranſcribed from the Original, in the Preſence of ſome Perſons of Learning and Integrity, was Printed in a Book entituled, *Truth brought to Light*. Theſe are the Means by which this Impoſture was fully diſcover'd. This great Secret which had been contriv'd with much Artifice, and which the Perſons concern'd to conceal it, had manag'd ſo dextrouſly, happen'd to be diſcover'd by very nice and unforeſeen Accidents. If Dr. *Gauden* had not been diſappointed of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, he had not inſiſted ſo much upon the Service he had done by writing this Book. His Widow would not have written a Narrative if ſhe had been gratified with one half Years Rent after her Husband's Death. The two Princes, the Sons of *Charles* I. laid open the Secret by a caſual Surprize, when my Lord *Angleſey* ſhow'd them ſome Writing of the King their Father. And if another than *Millington* had ſold that Lord's Books, the Declaration which was then made by thoſe two Princes had never been known. And if Dr. *Hollingworth* had not by his indiſcreet Zeal provok'd Dr. *Walker*, he had never publiſh'd his Account; and if he had never publiſh'd it, the Papers of Mr. *North*, which compleat the irrefragable Proofs of this Matter of Fact, had never been made uſe of for the Diſcovery (*a*).

Note, that in all this, I neither ought nor can be conſider'd but as a meer Tranſcriber of *Milton*'s Life publiſh'd in Engliſh. Note alſo, that this Paſſage of the Life of *Milton* has been oppos'd; for Mr. *Wagſtaff* publiſh'd ſome Obſervations to weaken the Teſtimony of my Lord *Angleſey*, the Narrative of Dr. *Walker*, and the Papers of Mr. *North*: But Mr. *Toland* has refuted them all in his *Amyntor*, wherein he has further diſcuſs'd all the Teſtimonies that are alledg'd to aſſert the Property of *Icon Baſilice* to King *Charles* I. I have been told, that as to both theſe (*b*) parts of his Apology, he has omitted nothing that was neceſſary to maintain the full evidence of his Proofs, and all the ſtrength they appear'd to have, before any one wrote againſt them. This is all that I can ſay, having never read any thing that was written againſt him, nor what was reply'd by him.

I will conclude this Remark with a thing that Mr. *Milton* made a great noiſe about, and which was renew'd in the laſt Diſpute about the *Icon Baſilice*: Which is this, that the Prayer (*c*) King *Charles* I. *deliver'd to Dr.* Juxton, *immediately before his Death, entituled*, A Prayer in the time of Captivity, *which is Printed at the end of the beſt Editions of his Book*, is perfectly like a Prayer which is found in a Romance, I mean in Sir *Philip Sidney's Arcadia*. This will appear by the Parallel which *Milton* placed at the end of his Anſwer (*d*) after the following manner.

"*The Prayer of K.* Charles, "*ſtil'd*, A Prayer in "time of Captivity.	"The Prayer of *Pamela* "being under Impri- "ſonment, to a Heathen "Diety. *Arcadia, p.* 248. "*Edit.* 1674.
"O Powerful, O E- "ternal God, *to whom* "*nothing is ſo great that it* "*may reſiſt, or ſo ſmall,* "*that it is contemned; look* "*upon my Miſery with thine* "*Eye of Mercy, and let thine* "*infinite Power vouchſafe* "*to limit out ſome propor-* "*tion of Deliverance unto* "*me, as to thee ſhall ſeem* "*moſt convenient: Let not* "*Injury, O Lord, triumph* "*over me, and let my Fault* "*ly thy Hand be corrected;* "*and make not my unjuſt* "*Enemies the Miniſters of* "*thy Juſtice. But yet, my* "*God, if in thy Wiſdom* "*this be the apteſt Chaſti-* "*ment for my unexcuſable* "Tranſgreſſions; *if this* "ungrateful *Bondage be fit-* "*teſt for my over-high De-* "*ſires; if the Pride of my* "*(not enough humble) Heart* "*be thus to be broken, O* "*Lord, I yield unto thy Will,* "*and* chearfully *embrace* "*what Sorrow thou wilt* "*have me ſuffer: Only*	"O *All-ſeeing Light and* "*eternal Life of all things,* "to whom nothing is ſo "*great* ſo great that it "may reſiſt, or ſo ſmall, "that it is contemned; "look upon my Miſery "with thine Eye of Mer- "cy, and let thine infinite "Power vouchſafe to li- "mit out ſome propor- "tion of Deliverance un- "to me, as to thee ſhall "ſeem moſt convenient. "Let not Injury, O "Lord, triumph over "me, and let my Faults "by thy Hand be cor- "rected; and make not "mine unjuſt Enemy the "Miniſter of thy Juſtice. "But yet, my God, if "in thy Wiſdom this be "the apteſt Chaſtiſement "for my unexcuſable Fol- "ly; if this *low* Bon- "dage be fitteſt for my "over high Deſires; if "the Pride of my not "enough *humble Heart* "be thus to be broken,

"O

(*a*) *Taken from* Milton's *Life.*

(*b*) *That is to ſay, the Anſwer to the Objections of Mr.* Wagſtaff, *and the Anſwer to the direct Proofs alledg'd by the Partizans of King* Charles.

(*c*) Milton *in his* Iconoclaſtes.

(*d*) *That is to ſay of his* Iconoclaſtes.

ſelneſs than his Clemency. But others ſay, that *Milton* had Friends in the Houſe of Commons and the Privy Council, who interceeded for him. He did not finiſh his great Poem, *Paradiſe loſt*, without many Interruptions; for his Vein did not happily flow at all times, but only in the Spring and Autumn. He publiſh'd his Hiſtory of *England* in 1670. It comes down to *William* the Conqueror, but we have it not altogether according to the Author's Original; for the Licencers of Books expung'd ſeveral Paſſages out of it, wherein he expos'd the Superſtition, Pride and Cunning of the Ancient Clergy, which they imagin'd might be applied to the Modern Clergy. The laſt Book which he publiſh'd, is a Treatiſe *of true Religion, Hereſie, Schiſm, Toleration, and the beſt Means that may be uſed to prevent the Growth of Popery.* I ſhall ſet down (O) a Paſſage out of it. Thoſe who ſay that Poverty forced him to ſell his Library, are groſly miſtaken; for he did not ſell it upon that account, but becauſe he believ'd he could make more Money of it than his Heirs could do; and 'tis certain that he left a conſiderable Sum behind him †. The Gout was the Diſeaſe that troubled him moſt, and he died of it without great pain in 1674, being ſixty ſix Years Old. He was a Man of an agreeable Converſation, of a mild and equal Temper, extraordinarily Sober, and who delighted infinitely in Muſick. The Sect which pleas'd him moſt in his Youth was that of the *Puritans*; but in his middle Age he was beſt pleas'd with the *Independants* and *Anabaptiſts*, becauſe they allow'd more Liberty to every private Perſon, and in his Opinion ſeem'd to come neareſt to the Primitive Practice: But in the latter part of his Life, he ſeparated himſelf from all Communions, and did not frequent any Chriſtian Aſſembly, nor made uſe of their peculiar Rites in his Family. He expreſs'd the profoundeſt Reverence to God as well in Deeds as Words ‡. There was an Edition of all his C Works at *London* in 1699, in three Volumes in Folio. The two firſt contain what he wrote in Engliſh, and the third his Latin Treatiſes. You'll ſee in the Remark *N*, the Parallel which *Milton* made between a Prayer that is in King *Charles* I.'s Book, and a Prayer that is found in the famous Romance entituled, *The Counteſs of Pembroke's* Arcadia.

† 1500 *l.* beſides other things.

‡ *Taken from* Milton's *Life by Mr.* Toland.

C *Except his Poems.*

MYR-

" *thus much let me crave* " *of thee (let my craving,* " *O Lord, be accepted of,* " *ſince it even proceeds* " *from thee) that by thy* " *Goodneſs, which is thy* " *ſelf, thou wilt ſuffer* " *ſome Beam of thy Ma-* " *jeſty ſo to ſhine in my* " *Mind, that I who in my* " *greateſt Afflictions ac-* " *knowledge it my nobleſt* " *Title to be thy Creature,* " *may ſtill depend confi-* " *dently on thee. Let Ca-* " *lamity be the Exerciſe,* " *but not the overthrow* " *of my Vertue. O let* " *not their prevailing Pow-* " *er be to my Deſtruction;* " *and if it be thy Will,* " *that they more and more* " *vex me with Puniſhment,* " *yet, O Lord, never let* " *their Wickedneſs have* " *ſuch a hand, but that* " *I may ſtill carry a pure* " *Mind, and ſtedfaſt Re-* " *ſolution ever to ſerve* " *thee without Fear and* " *Preſumption, yet with* " *that humble Confidence* " *which may beſt pleaſe* " *thee; ſo that at the laſt* " *I may come to thy eter-* " *nal Kingdom, thro' the* " *Merits of thy Son, our* " *alone Saviour,* Jeſus " Chriſt, *Amen.*

" O Lord I yield unto " thy Will, and *joyful-* " *ly* embrace what Sor- " row thou wilt have " me ſuffer. Only " thus much let me " crave of thee, (let my " craving, O Lord, be " accepted of thee, ſince " even that proceeds " from thee) let me " crave even by the no- " bleſt Title, which in " my greateſt Afflicti- " on I may give my " ſelf, that I am thy " Creature, and by thy " Goodneſs, which is " thy ſelf, that thou " wilt ſuffer ſome Beam " of thy Majeſty to ſhine " into my Mind, that it " may ſtill depend con- " fidently on thee. Let " Calamity be the Ex- " erciſe, but not the o- " verthrow of my Ver- " tue. Let their Pow- " er prevail, but not " prevail to Deſtru- " ction. Let my Great- " neſs be their Prey: " Let my Pain be the " ſweetneſs of their Re- " venge: Let them, if " ſo it ſeem good unto " thee, vex me with " more and more Pu- " niſhment; but, O " Lord, let never their " Wickedneſs have ſuch " a hand, but that I " may carry a pure Mind " in a pure Body.

(O) *I ſhall ſet down a Paſſage out of it.*] To the end that the Principles of this Writer may be known, which is as neceſſary as any thing in the Articles of an Hiſtorical Dictionary concerning Authors.

(a) Milton *in his Treat of true Religion, Hereſy,* &c.

" (a) It is a human Frailty to err, ſay I be, and no " Man is infallible here on Earth. But ſo long " as all theſe, *Lutherans, Calviniſts, Anabaptiſts, So-* " *cinians* and *Arminians*, profeſs to ſet the Word " of God only before them as the Rule of Faith " and Obedience; and uſe all Diligence and Sin- " cerity of Heart by Reading, by Learning, by " Study, by Prayer for Illumination of the Holy " Spirit, to underſtand this Rule and obey it, " they have done what Man can do: God will " aſſuredly pardon them, as he did the Friends of " *Job*, good and pious Men, tho' much miſtaken " (as there it appears) in ſome Points of Doctrine. " But ſome will ſay, with *Chriſtians* it is other- " wiſe, whom God has promis'd by his Spirit to " teach all things. True, all things abſolutely " neceſſary to Salvation: But the hotteſt Diſputes " among *Proteſtants*, calmly and charitably inqui- " red into, will be found leſs than ſuch. The *Lu-* " *theran* holds Conſubſtantiation; an Error indeed, " but not mortal. The *Calviniſt* is tax'd with Pre- " deſtination, and to make God the Author of " Sin; not with any diſhonourable Thoughts of " God, but, it may be, over-zealouſly aſſerting his " abſolute Power, not without Plea from Scri- " pture. The *Anabaptiſt* is accus'd of denying " Infants their right to Baptiſm; again they ſay, " that they deny nothing but what the Scripture " denies them. The *Arian* and *Socinian* are charg'd " to diſpute againſt the Trinity; yet they affirm " to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, " according to Scripture and the Apoſtolick " Creed. As for the terms of Trinity, Trinunity, " Coeſſentiality, Tripersonality, and the like, " they reject them as Scholaſtick Notions not to " be found in Scripture, which, by a general *Prote-* " *ſtant* Maxim, is plain and perſpicuous abun- " dantly to explain its own meaning in the pro- " pereſt words belonging to ſo high a Matter, " and ſo neceſſary to be known; a Myſtery indeed " in their Sophiſtick Subtilties, but in Scripture " a plain Doctrine.—The *Arminian* laſtly is con- " demn'd for ſetting up Free Will againſt Free " Grace; but that imputation he diſclaims in all " his Writings, and grounds himſelf largely up- " on Scripture only. It cannot be deny'd that the " Authors or late Revivers of all theſe Sects or O- " pinions, were Learned, Worthy, Zealous, and " Religious Men, as appears by their Lives writ- " ten, and the Fame of their many Eminent and " Learned Followers, perfect and powerful in the " Scriptures, holy and unblamable in their Lives: " And it cannot be imagin'd that God would de- " ſert ſuch painful and zealous Labourers in his " Church, and oft times great Sufferers for their " Conſcience, to damnable Errors and a reprobate " Senſe, who had ſo often implor'd the aſſiſtance " of his Spirit; but rather, having made no Man " infallible, that he has pardon'd their Errors, " and accepts their pious Endeavours, ſincerely " ſearching all things according to the Rule of " Scri-

MYRRHA, the Mother of *Adonis*, and Daughter of (*A*) *Cinyras* King of *Cyprus*, or *Assyria*, fell in love with her Father, and never rested till she had lain with him. Her Nurse, whom she had made her Confident, contriv'd the means of satisfying her Passion; she took her opportunity during the Feast of *Ceres*, while the Queen was (*B*) for nine Days to abstain from her Husband's Bed, and made this Prince believe that a beautiful young Maid long'd to grant him the last Favour, without being seen. The Proposal was accepted; the young *Myrrha* was introduc'd by Night to her Father's Chamber. When the sport * was pretty well over, he had a desire to see the Maid he had enjoy'd; he call'd for a Light, and found he had lain with his own Daughter. *Cinyras* being enrag'd, took his Sword to kill her. *Myrrha* ran away, and escap'd into the Country of the *Sabeans*, where she was transform'd into a Tree which yields Myrrh. The Child she had conceiv'd grew nevertheless, and came out of the (*C*) Trunk

* Cum tandem Cinyras avidus cognoscere amantem, Post tot concubitus illato lumine vidit Et scelus & natam. *Ovid. Metam. l.* 10.

" pture, with such Guidance and Direction as they " can obtain of God by Prayer. What *Protestant* " then, who himself maintains the same Princi- " ples, and disavows all implicit Faith, would " persecute, and not rather charitably tolerate " such Men as these, unless he means to abjure " the Principles of his own Religion? If it be " ask'd how far they should be tolerated? I an- " swer, doubtless equally, as being all *Protestants*; " that is, on all occasions to be permitted to give " an account of their Faith, either by Arguing, " Preaching in their several Assemblies, pub- " lick Writing, and the freedom of Printing." After this *Milton* shows, that Popery ought to be wholly deprived of the benefit of a Toleration, not as it is a Religion, but as it is a Tyrannical Faction which oppresses all others. He shows also, that the most effectual means of hindering its encrease in *England*, is to tolerate all sorts of Protestants, and in general all other Sects whose Principles neither countenance Vice nor Sedition.

By this Specimen of *Milton*'s Doctrine, it plain appears, that no Man was more zealous for a Toleration than he; for those who do not exclude Popery from it, and consequently limit it much less than he does, are not, as one might think, his most Faithful Followers. The latter by an excessive fondness of Toleration, are not for tolerating in the least the persecuting Sects: And since Popery has been Time out of Mind the Party which Persecutes most, and incessantly torments both the Body and Soul of Christians wheresoever they can do it, the most zealous Advocates for Toleration do chiefly design its exclusion. They pretend to reason consequentially, and they do not understand, how the Edict of the Emperor of *China* can agree with that high Wisdom for which he is commended. I mean the Edict for a Toleration which he has granted to the Christians, of which a Jesuit (*a*) has given us a fine History. They think that a wise Prince should not have allow'd the Pope's Missionaries, and their new Converts, Liberty of Conscience, before he knew their Principles and how their Predecessors have made use of them. If he had inquir'd into them, as a good Politician would have done, he would never have allowed the Missionaries what he granted them; for he would have known that they pretend to be the People whom *Jesus Christ* has appointed to *compel us to come in, i. e.* to Banish, Imprison, Torture, Kill and Dragoon all those who refuse to be Converts to the Gospel, and to dethrone the Princes who oppose its Progress. It does not appear how the Emperor of *China* could clear himself from an inexcusable Folly, if having known this, he had nevertheless granted such an Edict (*b*). We must therefore believe for his honour, that he knew nothing of it, and he is to blame for that very thing, that he did not sufficiently inform himself of what he ought to have known. In all probability he will not live long enough to have ground to repent of his neglect: But we cannot answer, that his Posterity won't curse his Memory; for they may possibly find themselves oblig'd sooner than we think, to struggle with dangerous Seditions, excited by the followers of a new Religion, and to cut their Throats to save their own. Possibly they may be forc'd at last to play the same sly Game that those of *Japan* play'd before. Don't think the Missionaries will fall out among themselves, when they are to put in practice the Doctrine of Forcing, Insurrections and Dragooning. The *Thomists*, the *Scotists*, and the *Molinists* will then forget all their Differences, and jointly concur to execute the Command, *Compel them to come in.* All *Europe* at this (*c*) time rings with their Disputes; they accuse one another at *Rome*; the Congregations of Cardinals, the *Sorbonne*. Princes and Authors, are in a ferment upon that account. And it is very strange, that the Divisions of the Missionaries, their Disputes, their devouring one another, which cannot be unknown to the new Christians of the *Levant*, should suffer them to make the great progresses (*d*) they boast of. There would be no Misunderstanding, if the only Question among them were how to vex and Torment the Idolaters of *China*. But let's break off this Subject, which disturbs the Tranquillity of a Writer, and that of many a Reader. They are sufficiently vext, that they can't read over a *Gazette* without finding Accounts in it of multitudes Persecuted and Tormented in *France*, in the *Palatinate*, &c.

But to return to *Milton*, I must say, that it would be a hard matter for me to point out the Reasons why he separated from all Christian Communions: His own Historian leaves the Question undecided, whether it was on account of an infinite number of Disputes among 'em, void of all Charity; or by reason of a Spirit of Tyranny, and an inclination to Persecution, which he look'd on as a piece of Popery inseparably annex'd to all Sects; or whether from an Opinion, that one may be a good Man without subscribing to the Confessions of any Sect, and that all Sects had in some measure corrupted the Laws of *Jesus Christ* (*e*).

(*a*) *Father* Charles le Gobien: *His Book was Printed at* Paris *in* 1698, in 12°.

WHETHER the Emperor of *China* acted a wise part in granting the Roman Catholicks an Edict of Toleration.

(*b*) *See the Philosophical Commentary on the words* Compel 'em to come in, *part* 1 *p.* 81, *&c.*

(*c*) *I write this in* November 1710

(*d*) *See the Supplement to the Philosophical Commentary on the same words.* p. 117. *& seq.*

(*e*) *Taken from* Milton's *Life.*

(*A*) *The Daughter of* Cinyras.] *Antoninus* (*f*) *Liberalis* calls her *Smyrna*, and says she was born of *Theias* and the Nymph *Orithya* upon Mount *Libanus*: But according to others, she was the Daughter of *Cinyras* and *Cenchreis*. *Ovid* was of this Opinion, and I wonder *Mezeriac* (*g*) shou'd deny it as to *Cenchreis*. This Poet observes, 1. that the Mother of *Myrrha* was the Wife of *Cinyras*, when *Myrrha* was in love with her Father:

Conataque sæpe fateri,
Sæpe tenet vocem, pudibundaque vestibus ora
Texit, & O, dixit si licuit CONJUGE MATREM!

2. That the Nurse of *Myrrha* took her opportunity when *Cinyras* lay alone, his Wife *Cenchreis* being busied with other Women in the Mysteries of *Ceres*:

Turba Cenchreis in illa
Regis abest conjux, arcanaque sacra frequentat.
Ergo legitima vacuus dum conjuge lectus.

Is not this to say, that *Cenchreis* was the Mother of *Myrrha*?

(*f*) *Cap.* 34.

(*g*) *Comment. on* Ovid's *Epistles*, p. 397.

(*B*) *The Queen was for nine Days to abstain from her Husband's Bed.*] What prodigious difference between those Times and ours! For since the Nurse took this critical Opportunity, 'tis an Argument, that the King lay with his Wife all other Nights in the Year, as regularly as the meanest Citizen. In our Days any Month in the Year would be as proper a time for this Nurse, had she such an Affair upon her Hands.

(*C*) *And came out of the Trunk of the Tree.*] Some say (*h*), that the Daughter of *Cinyras* was chang'd into a Tree while her Father pursu'd her with Sword in Hand. They add, that the cut he gave that Tree made it bring forth *Adonis*. Others say (*i*), that *Myrrha* was deliver'd of the Fruit of her Womb, after her Incest had been detected; and that *Jupiter* afterwards chang'd her into a Tree, on her earnest Prayer, that she might not have a Being among the Living or the Dead.

(*h*) Hygin. c. 164. Fulgent. Mythol. l. 3. c. 8.

(*i*) Anton. Liberal. c. 34

(*D*) *The*

Trunk of this Tree when the Reckoning was out. The *Naiades* took care of it; 'twas the beautifuleſt Boy in the World: In a word, 'twas *Adonis*, of whom I have ſpoken in his proper place *. Some Authors maintain, that *Myrrha* did not conceive this Paſſion of herſelf; but that the misfortune proceeded from a higher Cauſe, to wit, the Wrath of ſome offended Divinity (*D*). Thus you ſee how the Pagans repreſented their Gods, under the Idea of a Being which puniſhes one Crime, by leading the Offender into the Commiſſion of another. *Ovid* has not follow'd theſe Authors in this particular of *Myrrha*; on the contrary he declares that *Cupid* † waſh'd his Hands of it, and lays all the blame on the Infernal Furies. They who think that *Myrrha* was the Wife of *Cham* (*E*), the Son of *Noah*, take the Story a little too high.

MODREVIUS (ANDREAS FRICIUS) Secretary to *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*, King of *Poland*, gain'd a great deal of Eſteem by his Learning and his Writings. He reliſh'd pretty betimes thoſe Opinions which were call'd β the new; and tho' he carried himſelf diſcreetly, yet he was ſuſpected by the Catholicks, and at laſt detected ſo far, as to be reputed (*A*) an Apoſtate; by a γ Letter he had wrote to *John Laski* in 1536, he was diſcover'd to be no Enemy to the *Lutherans*. His Treatiſe *de Eccleſia*, deſign'd to be the fourth Book of his Work *de Republica Emendanda*, which he ſent to the Preſs at *Cracow* in 1551, met with Cenſors who put a ſtop to the Impreſſion δ for two or three Years. He publiſh'd it afterwards with an Apology explaining thoſe Points at which ſome took offence. He was to go to *Trent* ξ with the Ambaſſadors of *Poland*, but this Deſign was chang'd. The *Antitrinitarians* of *Poland* have plac'd him in the Catalogue of their Authors. We ſhall ſee below the Titles (*B*) of his principal Works, with ſome Particulars concerning them. ο *Grotius* reckons him among the Reconcilers of Religions.

MOLIE-

* *See alſo* Plutarch *in his Parallels, p. m.* 310. *citing the Metamorphoſes of* Theodorus Servius *in* Elcog. 10. Virg.

† *See the Remark D.*

β Staniſlas Lubieniecius, Hiſtor. reformat. Polon. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 18.

γ *It's the* 9. *of the firſt Century in the Collection of Letters publiſh'd by* Simon Abbes Gabbema.

δ *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory, and the Preface to the* 4*th Book* de Republica Emendanda.

ξ Modrevius præfat. lib. 4. de repub. emendanda, p. 193. edit Baſil. 1554. *in fol.*

ο Grotius in conſultat. Caſſandri.

(*D*) *The Wrath of ſome offended Divinity.*] Some ſay, that a Reſentment of the Sun (*i*) was the cauſe of this inceſtuous Paſſion. Others (*a*) have recourſe to *Venus*, incenſed, that *Cenchreis* the Mother of *Myrrha* ſhou'd prefer the Beauty of her Daughter to that of this Goddeſs; or (*b*) at *Myrrha*'s ſaying as ſhe comb'd her Head, that her Hair was more beautiful than that of *Venus*. There's Impiety in all theſe Suppoſitions; 'twas ſporting with the Divine Nature, and taking a greater freedom than an honeſt Hiſtorian dare take with the Reputations of the worſt Men, unleſs he had convincing Proofs. See the Margin (*c*), and take notice that *Ovid* has clear'd *Cupid*, and lays all the blame on the Furies:

Ipſe (*d*) *negat nociſſe tibi ſua tela Cupido*
Myrrha, facieſque ſuas à crimine vindicat iſto.
Stipite te ſtygio tumidiſque adflavit Echidnis
E tribus una ſoror.

(*E*) *That* Myrrha *was the Wife of* Cham] They ſuppoſe (*e*), that the Wife of *Cham* accompanied by *Adonis the youngeſt of her Family*, was the firſt who ſaw the Nakedneſs of *Noah*, and that ſhe diſcover'd it to *Cham, who ſpoke of it to his Brethren*. Now ſince in the Stile (*f*) of the Hebrews *to ſee or diſcover the Nakedneſs of any one*, ſignifies two Things, either the ſimple Sight or the Enjoyment, it happen'd that *Myrrha*, who only ſaw her Father's Nakedneſs, came under the ſcandal of having proceeded to act. This Explication is confirm'd (*g*) by a Paſſage, wherein we read, that the Nurſe of *Myrrha* found *Cinyras* Drunk:

Nacta (*h*) *gravem vino Cyniram male ſedula nutrix.*

But ſince ſome Authors ſay *Myrrha* made her Father Drunk, that ſhe might lie with him, 'twould ſeem more proper to take her for one of the Daughters of *Lot*, than for one of the Daughters-in-Law of *Noah*, if the fact could in other reſpects be reconcil'd with this Conjecture.

(*A*) *That they look'd on him as an Apoſtate*] See after what manner *Simon Starovolſcius* ſpeaks of him: (*i*) *Regius Secretarius, ſeu mavis lutulenti illius ſubulci Lutheri, cujus nefariis dogmatibus imbutus, infeſtabat Eccleſiæ portas, docendo quæ non oportuit, ſcribendo quæ non licuit, & agendo quæ non decuit.* It appears from a Preface of *Modrevius*, that *Pius* V. order'd him to be puniſh'd; for thus he complains to this Pope: (*k*) *Non alis re mihi faciet viſus ſum, ſi ipſe ad te has controverſias deferem, tibique hunc librum dicarem, qui occaſionem præberet tibi eas dijudicandi: ſimulque ſtudia mea exilia tibi commendaret. De quibus tu videris ſiniſtram opinionem concipere: ac propterea ut, penes quos eſt poteſtas, edixeris, ut me de poſſeſſiunculis meis dejicerent. fortunis everterent. ac extorrem facerent domo, foro, penatibus, congreſſu hominum. Hoccine eſt præmium hujus meorum & Hoccine humanum factum ſanctiſſime Pater?* Pope *Paul* IV hauds he, had diſpatch'd the like Orders to the Biſhop of *Vladiſlavie*, but recall'd 'em when he heard my Reaſons. (*l*) *Non ſum oblitus, à multo Papa ejus nominis quarto ſimile edictum in me ſcriptum fuiſſe ad Joannem Drohoviium Epiſcopum Vladiſlavienſ. Cui quidem Papæ reſcripſi ego libro illi dicato de Ordinibus Eccleſiæ. In quo rationem illi reddidi vitæ, & actionum mearum: ſimulque cauſas oſtendi quamobrem in me non debuerit eſſe immitis & adeo ferox. Aſſenſus eſt ille orationi noſtræ non obſcuræ, nec ullam deinceps pernicem nobis machinatus eſt. Drohoviius quoque nihil in me cogitavit, quam quod virum bonum & optimum Principem deceret.* I am perſuaded, that neither this Treatiſe of *Modrevius*, nor the Treatiſe which follows it, had mov'd *Pius* V. to recall his Order, and that the Condition of the Author was no better after he wrote this Book, than while he was Compoſing it. He informs us that he wrote it in the midſt of a thouſand Troubles, often forc'd to change his Lodgings, and diſtracted with the Apprehenſions of loſing all he had. (*m*) *Partim labores domeſtici, partim cura liberorum, partim negotia civilia, magnæ autem frequens curſitatio domicilii quærendi cauſa me ſibi vendicarunt.* (*n*) *Hæc ſcripſi ſolicitus de bonis meis patriis avitiſque, de quibus perditor authoritatis tuæ prætextu quæ abs te tanquam fulmen quoddam vulnificum vibrata eſt.*

(*B*) *The Titles of his principal Works*] His five Books *de Republica Emendanda*, whereof the firſt treats *de Moribus*, the 2d, *de Legibus*, the 3d, *de Bello*, the 4th, *de Eccleſia*, and the 5th, *de Schola*, were Printed at *Cracow* in 1551, if we believe the (*o*) abridger of *Geſner*, but we muſt not (*p*) rely on him. They were Reprinted at *Baſil* by *Oporin* in 8°, and in fol. in 1554, with two Dialogues of the ſame Author, *de utraque ſpecie Euchariſtiæ à Laicis ſumendâ*, and an Explication of the Words of St. *Paul* (*q*). It is good for a Man not to touch a Woman. There was publiſh'd at *Baſil* in 1562 in 4 another Collection of his Pieces, which contain three Books, *De peccato originis, de libero arbitrio, de providentia & prædeſtinatione*; three Books, *De Media* [illegible], *quibus acceſſit narratio ſimplex rei novæ & ſalutaris paſſim exemplis: ſimul & querela de injuriis, & expoſtulatoria Stanislao Orichovio Roxolano* (*r*). He wrote another Book by order of the King his Maſter, to ſettle the Differences which reigned in *Poland* about the Trinity. It is divided into four Parts. The firſt is dated in *December* 1565, and treats *de tribus perſonis & una eſſentia Dei*. The ſecond is of the ſame date, and treats *de* [illegible] *ad ſalutem ſufficiat*. The third is dated in *June* 1568, and treats *de Chriſto Deo, & homine, eodemque Deo & homine*. The fourth, is dated in [illegible] and treats *de Ecclesia & de* [illegible]. Theſe four Parts were together with an Appendix upon the Queſtion [illegible]

(*a*) Hygin c. 58.

(*b*) Scholiaſt Theocriti in Eidyll. 1

(*c*) *Compare the Article* Alcinoe, *and the Article* Egialea *at the Remark* C.

(*d*) Ovid Metam lib 10. (*e*) *See the* Bibliotheque Univerſ. tom. 3. p. 8. (*f*) Ibid. p. 21. (*g*) Ibid p. 20 (*h*) Ovid Metam. l. 10. (*i*) Simon Starovolicius in centum Polonorum elogiis, p. 81. (*k*) Modrævius in præfat Silvæ tertiæ, p. 152, 153.

(*l*) Id ib. p. 154, 155

(*m*) Id in 2 præfat. Silvæ 3. p. 157.

(*n*) Id in fine Silvæ 3. p. 210.

(*o*) I pitome Bibliothecæ Geſneri, p. m. 453.

(*p*) *There is a necessity to read the Preface of the* 4*th Book Printed at that time.*

(*q*) I Cor. Corinth chap 7.

(*r*) Epit. Geſn. ib.

MOLIERE, a famous Comedian. See *Poquelin.*

MOLIONIDES, thus they call two Brothers who have a good ſhare in the fabulous Hiſtory. They were the Sons of (*A*) *Actor* and *Molione*; the Name of one was *Eurytus*, and that of the other *Creatus*. Some pretend *, that *Actor* was only the ſuppoſed, and *Neptune* their real Father. Others † will have it quite contrary. We may ſee under the word *Actor*, that he I here ſpeak of, Reign'd in *Elis* in Conjunction with *Augias*. The *Molionides* were the braveſt Men of their Time; 'twas to them *Augias* gave the Command of his Troops, when he underſtood that *Hercules* was coming to attack him. A Diſtemper having ſeiz'd *Hercules* in the beginning of the Expedition, he was glad to make Peace with the *Molionides*; but they being afterwards inform'd, of his Indiſpoſition, made uſe of the Opportunity; ſurpriz'd his Army, and kill'd a great many of his Men. Some time after *Hercules* play'd them a Trick; he laid an Ambuſh for

* Scholiaſt Homeri in Il. l. 11. v. 749. & 750.

† Apollod. Bibl. l. 2.

modo unio divinæ & humanæ naturæ Chriſti facta ſit in perſona non in natura, cum tamen eadem prorſus res ſint natura & perſona in Domino noſtro, were Printed at *Racovie* in 1590 (*f*). The Abridger of *Geſner* (*t*) mentions this laſt Work in 1583, as a Book not Printed, and which contain'd only three *Sylva*'s, whereof the laſt treated of Infant Baptiſm. The firſt of theſe three Facts is true, the two others are falſe. Note, that *Modrevius* (*v*) had ſent his *Sylva*'s to be Printed by *Oporin* at *Baſil*, who was to ſend Copies of 'em to learned Men, and to the *Catholick*, *Lutheran* and *Calviniſt* Univerſities. But *Trecius* (*w*) having a mind to hinder the Publication of this Book, pray'd *Oporin* to ſhow him the Manuſcript, and having once got it into his Hands would never reſtore it. The Author complain'd of this to the Palatine of *Cracow*, and earneſtly ſollicited that the Plagiary ſhould be oblig'd to make Reſtitution. This he could not compaſs, and ſo was oblig'd to Compoſe the Work over again. (*x*) *Tandem potentiæ Palatini Trecio patrocinantis cedere: poſtremo ſerinia ſua excutere & rejecta omnia nova, opus illud ex adverſariis & chartis fere rejectaneis denuo moliri, & abſolvere, antequam mors eum occuparet. Atque ita tandem præſtantiſſimum illud, licet mole perexiguum Sylvarum opus, ab interitu vindicatum habemus.* The Author of this Latin ſuppoſes, that *Trecius* play'd him this Trick, becauſe *Modrevius* gave more force to the Arguments of the *Anti-Trinitarians*, than to thoſe of the *Trinitarians*. *Ille prædam petitam in caſſes ſuos nactus & inibi argumenta veritatis reſponſionibus, exceptionibus & objectionibus Trinitariorum longe fortiora animadvertens, Baſilea protinus exceſſit, evaſit, erupit, & librum Fricianum bona fide ſibi commodatum abſtulit & ſic editionem libri ſufflaminavit* (*a*). *Zanchius* had ſeen the firſt of theſe four *Silvæ* in Manuſcript, and finding it dangerous, anſwer'd it in his Book *de tribus Elohim*. He does not point out the Author, but by the Name of *Mediator*, and he makes a ſcruple of it, as appears by his Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Edmund Grindal* (*b*). The Sceptical manner of *Modrevius*'s examining the Myſteries, diſpleas'd both Catholicks and Proteſtants. 'Tis true tho', that he was oblig'd to uſe this Method in obedience to the Command he had receiv'd from the King of *Poland*. He had been charged with the drawing up a State of the Caſe (*c*) as Mediator of the Agreement: It behov'd him then faithfully to repreſent the Arguments of both ſides, and diveſt himſelf of all Prejudice. He had heard *Dudithius* ſay one thing, which to him appeard very ſolid, that a Man who had eſpous'd either ſide, either for or againſt the Trinity, was not fit to be an Arbiter or Judge between thoſe who deny, and thoſe who believe it. (*d*) *Is negabat eum qui alterutri ſui de Trinitate ſeu de quavis re alia ſententiæ adhæreſcat, medium ſe inter partes ipſas inſerere, controverſiamque dirimere atque ſedare poſſe. Neutri parti addictum eſſe oportere qui vel partes ipſas in concordiam reducere vellet æqualitate decernendi, vel ſecundum partem alteram decernere quod juſtum & legibus conſonum eſſe judicaret. Qui ad eum modum neuter non eſſet, eum partes judicem capere non ſolere, & ab alio dictum ejurare conſueviſſe: vimirum quem ex opinione imbibita prædictem verſimile eſſet vel tacita reprehenſione contrarium ſentientes condemnaſſe. Nam ut pius eſſet & eruditus ani & diſcerneret & judicaret, fieri tamen poſſe ut ob unius prudentia cata mium falſum judicaret.* This Notion of *Dudithius* is very conſonant to Cuſtom, for where's the Man who would chuſe for Arbiters or Judges of his Differences, thoſe whom he knew to be prepoſſeſt againſt him? It's even true, that ſuch Men are ſcarce capable of pronouncing an equitable Sentence. It's a misfortune, that ſuch a Rule as this can't take place in the Diſputes of Religion; but the ſtate of things is ſuch, that theſe Diſputes muſt neceſſarily be determin'd in the very Church where they grow, which inevitably makes the ſame Perſons Judges and Parties. It would be to no purpoſe to murmur at this, for Neceſſity has no Law. Note by the way, one of the Reaſons which fruſtrates the Endeavours of all Mediators in Religion, and makes them odious. If they are believ'd to be perfectly Neuters, they are deteſted as Atheiſts; if they are thought to have a Bias to one ſide, they are ſuſpected and hated by one of the Parties, and don't fully ſatisfie the other: They'll have all or none.

On the whole, his Books *de Republica Emendanda* are much eſteem'd: They have given the Author a rank amongſt the moſt judicious Writers upon Politicks. (*e*) *Gravioribus politicis haud dubie annumerandus eſt, egregie enim diſputat, magnaque libertate in vulgares errores politicos invehitur.* I add to this a Paſſage of the Speech *Cunæus* made to ſhew that the Univerſity of *Leiden* had reaſon to puniſh a Scholar with Death, who had kill'd a Townſman. The Prince *Janutius Radziwil*, who ſtudied then at *Leiden*, had declaim'd ſharply againſt the Judges: *Novit illuſtriſſimus Princeps Razevilius*, it's (*f*) *Cunæus* ſpeaks, *noverunt omnes qui ejus ſtudiis præſunt quam ſint pulcra & luculenta ea quæ de cæde cujuſcunque hominis in regno Poloniæ ultimo ſupplicio puniendâ ſcripſit vir ampliſſimus & rerum civilium ac Reipublicæ regundæ gnariſſimus Andreas Fricius Modrevius ad Sigiſmundum ſecundum Poloniæ regem. Modrevius* in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Book *de Republica emendanda*, makes mention of a Book, in which he largly explains the neceſſity of puniſhing Murtherers with Death. This Tract is intituled *Laſcius*, and conſiſts of four Orations, which have been added to the Volume *de Republica Emendanda*, in the *Baſil* Edition 1559.

Let me be permitted not to blot out a thing I had written before I could conſult the Book *de Republica Emendanda*. It's this; "'Twas doubtleſs "for this Book, that *Modrevius* receiv'd the Praiſes "contain'd in the *Bibliotheque* (*g*) of the *Antitrinitarians*. This doubtleſs was that Book of his "which was Tranſlated into *French*, *High Dutch*, "and *Spaniſh*. I could ſpeak more poſitively, if I "had the Preface in my Hands, a piece of which "is recited in this *Bibliotheque*. *Sandius*, who cites "it, is inexcuſable for leaving us in ſuſpence. He "ought to have uſed a Parentheſis, to fix the in-"determinate meaning of theſe Words of *Modre-*"*vius, eſt qui laudando librum meum dicat*, &c. I "am perſuaded they are clear enough in the Ori-"ginal: What goes before 'em, does, no doubt, "explain which is the Book in Queſtion. But "when they are cut off from the main Work, they "become obſcure. It was *Sandius*'s Duty to have "remedied it, and this is a good Caution to thoſe "who cite Authors, and an Anſwer to ſuch as "pretend, I make too long Citations. I only do "it, that what I cite may be clearly underſtood" 'They who know how to judge of things, will own, that I might have left this in the ſtate I found it, after I had ſeen, by reading *Modrevius*, that the Book in Queſtion is that *de Republica Emendanda*.

(*A*) *Sons of* Actor *and* Moliones.] 'Tis commonly believ'd with *Pauſanias*, that they were called *Molionides* from their Mother (*b*). *Homer*'s Scholiaſt is of another Opinion, that they were call'd Μολίονε in the 749th Verſe of the Eleventh Book of the *Iliad*, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν μάχην μολύνσεως. He goes upon a Principle which *Euſtathius* enforces on another occaſion; to wit, that *Homer* deſcribes no body by Names borrowed from the Mothers.

(*f*) Bibliot Antitrinit. p. 36.

(*t*) Epitome Geſn. ubi ſupra

(*v*) Modrev præf Silvæ 4

(*w*) Stanisl. Lubieniecius, hiſtor. reform. Poloniæ l. 2. c. 9. p. 221.

(*x*) Id. ib. p. 222. *See alſo* Biblioth. Antitrin. p. 38.

(*a*) Id. ib. p. 221.

(*b*) *See the Preface by him who set the four Sylva's Printed.*

(*c*) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his firſt Book.*

(*d*) Modrevius præf. Sylvæ 1.

(*e*) Joh. Andreas Boſius, diſſertat. iſagogica de comparanda prudentia civili, p. m 361.

(*f*) Cunæus orat. 17. p. 341. edit. Lipſ. 1693. *This Speech was deliver'd the 11th of* Febr. 1632.

(*g*) *At the 37th pag.* ex præfatione Silvæ tertiæ Modrevii

(*b*) Καὶ ἐκλήθησαν Μολίονες ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς. Pauſan. in Arcad. p.

for 'em at *Cleone*, when they were deputed by the *Eleans* to aſſiſt at the general Sacrifices of *Greece*, during the Celebration of the *Iſthmian* Games, and ſlew 'em This we learn from *Apollodorus* *. *Pauſanias* aſcribes this Heroe's ill Succeſs neither to his Diſtemper, nor to the Treachery of the *Molionides*, but to their Valour alone †, and the Neceſſity which forc'd him to deliver himſelf from ſuch Enemies by ſo baſe a way. He cauſed them, as I ſaid, to be kill'd at *Cleone*, when they were going to aſſiſt at the *Iſthmian* Games. *Molione* their Mother laboured ſo induſtriouſly to diſcover the Authors of the Murther, that ſhe found 'em out; but the *Argians* would not deliver up *Hercules* ‖ to the *Eleans*. The latter deſired the *Corinthians* to exclude the *Argians* for the future from the *Iſthmian* Games, as infractors of the ſacred Laws obſerv'd in 'em: But they cou'd not obtain it. Whereupon *Molione* laid her Curſe on all the *Eleans*, who ſhould be preſent at this ſight; which made ſuch an impreſſion on em, that even in *Pauſanias*'s Time the Champions of this Nation appeared not at the *Iſthmian* Games. The *Molionides* had Married β the two Daughters of *Dexamenus* King of *Olen.* Each left a Son; that of *Eurytus* was call'd *Thalpius*, and that of *Creatus*, *Amphimachus*. They Reign'd after *Augias*'s Death conjointly with his Son *Agaſthenes*. By the way, the Fables ſay, that the *Molionides* were a couple Coachmen, who had two Heads, four Hands and four Feet, and only one Body betwixt them; one held the Bridle, and the other the Whip; they kept a perfectly good underſtanding, ſo that *Hercules* could never conquer 'em but by Artifice. This Emblem was probably deſign'd to repreſent γ the Power of Concord. Some have ſaid (*B*), that theſe two Brothers came into the World in a Silver Egg. I don't know whether *Suidas*'s (*C*) two *Molons* were taken from the *Molionides*.

MOLSA (FRANCIS MARIA) one of the good Poets of the XVIth Century, was of *Modena*. His Latin and Italian Verſes brought him into ſuch Reputation, that if it had been ſeconded by a prudent Conduct, he might have riſen to a great Fortune; but he carried himſelf ſo ill, that the Patrons of Wit could never advance him, how well ſoever diſpos'd in his Favour δ. He was ſo debauch'd, that he ſlighted (*A*) the moſt indiſpenſable Precautions for thoſe who would avoid the laſt Contempt. He added Vileneſs and Impudence to his Debaucheries, ſo as we need not wonder that he died of the Pox ζ. He had one favourable Opportunity of ſhewing he was a good Orator, and that his Proſe was equal to his Poetry. Seeing the Roman People full of Indignation againſt *Lorenzo de Medicis*, who had cut off the Heads of ſeveral ancient Statues; he impeach'd him on this Article, and ſpoke with ſuch a force as fill'd his Adverſary with Confuſion (*B*) and Deſpair. He did not die in the Year 1548, (*BΔ*) as *Thuanus* affirms,

* Ibid. *See alſo* Pind. Olymp. od. 10.

† Ἀπὸ γὰρ ᾗ τόλμη καὶ τοῖς ἡλικίαις τὸ Ἡρακλέους τῶν μὲν δυναμαζόντων, ἐτρέσαν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀεὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. Herculis enim auxilia ab Actoris filiis audacia & ætate vigentibus facile rejiciebantur. *Pauſan. lib.* 5. *p. m.* 148.

‖ *He liv'd then at* Tirynthus

β Idem. p. 149.

γ *See* Plutarch *at the beginning of his Treatiſe of Brotherly Love*, & Adr. Junius Adag. 31. cent. 5.

δ *See the Remark A.*

ζ Ab illa (*Venere*) meritum pudendo contactu miſerabili morbi quæ perierat venenum hauſit. *Paul. Jovius, elog.* l. 4 *p. m.* 244.

(*a*) Athen. l. 2. c. 16.

(*b*) In ranis act. 1 ſc. 2.

(*c*) Adag. 1ma Chil. 3. cent. 5.

(*d*) Adag. 31 cent 5.

(*e*) *In the* 4th *Vol.* p. 2947.

(*f*) Paulus Jovius in elogiis, cap. 104. p. m. 243.

(*B Some have ſaid, that theſe two Brothers*] See the Verſes of *Ibycus* cited by *Athenæus* (*a*), but take notice that *Dalechamp*'s Tranſlation is neither free from Faults of Omiſſion, nor Commiſſion. It does not expreſs the τέκνα Μολίονος of the Original, and it tranſlates κλανόντα by *interfecerunt*, inſtead of *interfectorem*.

(*C*) Suidas's *two* Molons.] This Author having ſaid, that *Molon* is a proper Name, cites a Paſſage of *Ariſtophanes* (*b*), which ſhews there was an old ſaying by way of Proverb, *As little as* Molon. This might be ſaid by the Rule of Contraries, or by an Irony, as when our Country Fellows ſay, *As nimble as a Cow*: But *Suidas* takes the thing litterally; he ſays theſe words were applied to Men of a low Stature, and that there were two *Molons* who were Jugglers and Robbers. *Eraſmus* (*c*) has followed *Suidas*'s Explication; but he makes him ſay, that one of theſe two *Molons* was a Juggler, and the other a Robber. *Suidas* does not ſay ſo; he makes no diſjunction of theſe two Trades; and far from favouring *Eraſmus*'s Conjecture, which is, that theſe two *Molons* were of a dwarfiſh Stature, known to every Body, he oppugns it in ſome ſort by the word λωποδύται, which ſignifies thoſe who rob upon the High-Way; thoſe who rifle and uncaſe Folks, which little Fellows dare hardly venture on; 'tis rather the Buſineſs of a huge Monſter, a brawny Dog. *Adrian Junius* (*d*) who underſtood Greek very well, has taken *Ariſtophanes*'s Proverb in an ironical Senſe; ſo that *Molon*, with him, is a Man of a Gigantick Stature. I believe he has more reaſon of his ſide than *Suidas*. Mr. *Hofman* ſays (*e*), that according to *Didymus*, there were two *Molons*, one a Juggler of an exceſſive Stature, the other a Pilferer of Cloths *furo ſtlarius*, and a very little Fellow.

(*A*) *So debauched that he neglected the moſt neceſſary Precautions.*] The prodigious Corruption reigning in the World does not hinder People even of little Vertue from conceiving a Contempt and Averſion for ſuch as obſerve no decency in the uſe of unlawful Pleaſures. Hence *Molſa* loſt his Reputation, and ſtopped the Current of his Fortune; which would not have happen'd, if his Debaucheries had been manag'd with more diſcretion. Let's hear *Paul Jovius*. (*f*) *Latinis Etgis, & Etruſcis rythmis pari gratia ludendis Muſas accepit; tanta quidem omnium commendatione, ut per triginta annos, qui Romæ Mecœnatis nomen tulere, inſigni liberalitate, ſtudioque adjutum adeptus ſecundis honoribus eſſe recentibus invidere: prægravante ſuper ejus Genio, quem videlicet otiis amoribus occupatus, parum ingenio ſtudiisque juſtraheret, neque habitu, vel meſſu, ullove nobilitatis noſtræ carminum famam tueretur; facile prodigus, honeſtique neſcius pudoris, negligendarum rerum omnium ad immodicæ libertatis nomen revocabat uſque adeo ſupine, ut ſummæ laudis, & clarioris fortunæ certiſſimam ſpem facile corruperit.*

(*B*) *Fill'd him with Confuſion and Deſpair.*] 'Twas believ'd that *Lorenzo de Medicis*, was ſo ſtruck at the Infamy with which that Oration branded him, that to efface it, he reſolved to reſtore the City of *Florence* to its Liberty, by the Aſſaſſination (*g*) of *Alexander de Medicis* his near Relation. (*h*) *Sempiternam ingenii laudem retulit* (Molſa) *non a jucundo tantum carmine, quo laſciviſſe videtur, ſed pedeſtri etiam gravique facundia, qua Laurentium Medicem, ſtatuas libidine antiquas ſtatuis noſtræ civitatis capita detrahentem, apud Romanos ob ea in primis diros peregrinos accuſavit. Ea enim perſcripta oratione, tanta verecundiæ ſimul & pudoris, & metus populi Romani proditis conſcientiam ferunt, ut atrocitate animi, quæ in tam generoſæ notam novitate facinoris obſtupuerit, ſui ſceleris Principes, amicique ſingulatim immane compilare & horrere cœperit; ſollicitæ Dis invitis patriæ libertatis parentes.*

(*BΔ*) *He did not die in the Year* 1548, *as Thuanus affirms, but in* February 1544.] I had never perhaps have paſs'd over the Error of *Thuanus*, if I had not by chance light upon the Volume of *Luke Contile*'s Letters. In which I met with one to *Bernardo Spina*, dated from *Naples* the 14th of *February* 154[4]. He there tells him he had ſeen *Molſa* that Morning, and had found him ſeiz'd with an incurable Diſtemper. 'Twas a Dropſie, which had not only ſwell'd his Legs, as uſual, but his very Head. *A. Joſeph* kept always by his Bed ſide, and diverted the Patient the beſt he could. *Era ſempre al capezzal del letto di buon Criſtoſo, & burlava, & gramola coll' Molza, & ogni ne pigliava ſpaſſo, & perche in mona la tagiava per vecchio, ogni volta mi ſi fea, per ſcherzo, con mia vergogna. Ha fatto voto, &c. dol. mi ſono ſtato a morte.* Theſe Italian Words ſerve us to underſtand, that *Contile* had a mind to ſee

(*g*) *Id. comment. de reb. ſuis in* 15[37].

(*h*) Jovius ibid. p. 244.

(*i*) Luca Contile lettere I. 1. p. 82. edit. de Pavia 1564. 8°.

firms*, but in *February* 1544, and left a Son who was Father of a famous Daughter, I ſhall

* Thuan l. 5. circa finem.

the laſt of him, which every body judg'd to be near at hand. Nor were they miſtaken; for we learn from a Letter he wrote from *Milan* the 21ſt of *February* 1543, to *Claudio Tolomei*, that he had aſſiſted at *Molſa*'s Funeral: (*k*) *Havrete ſaputa la morte dell'unico Molza. io gionſi à tempo di vederlo vivo & mi fu lecito d'accompagnarlo al ſepolcro morto.* I did not doubt on reading theſe Particulars, that *Thuanus* had been miſtaken, nevertheleſs I was willing to have the beſt Certificates, and therefore addreſſed my ſelf to Mr. *de la Monnoie*, who was pleas'd to write me ſeveral Particulars concerning *Molſa*; 'twill perhaps be a ſatisfaction to my Reader to ſee 'em in this place, "(*l*) *Molza* did not die in 1548, "but in 1544. This is prov'd by three Letters of "*Annibal Caro* his intimate Friend; the firſt writ"ten from *Rome* to *Molza* ſick at *Modena*, is of the "2d of *January* 1544, the ſecond of the 11th of "*February* the ſame Year, being an Anſwer to that "which it appears *Molza* had written to him, and "the third of the ſixth of *March* following, in "which he ſends an account to *Varchi* of the death "of *Molza* as a thing that had lately happen'd: *Con le lagrime à gli occhi*, theſe are the words he begins "with, *vi dico che'l noſtro da ben Molza è morto, e per lo graviſſimo dolore ch'io ne ſento, non ne poſſo dir altro*——This *Molſa* was a Man of happy Parts, "which he perfected by Study. He added Learn"ing to Politeneſs, the Knowledge of Greek, and "as *Lilius Gyraldus* ſays, of Hebrew too, to that of "Latin, and his own Tongue. He ſucceeded in "Proſe, in Verſe, in the grave and comical Stile: "So that going far beyond the Judgment his "Countryman *Sadolet* had made of him, that he "might excel in any kind of Compoſition, which "he would apply himſelf to, he excell'd in all "without confining himſelf to any. Father *Rapin* "reckons him as a Model of Latin Elegy among the "Moderns. His Character was that of *Tibullus*, "upon which you may ſee *Bartholomew Riccius de imitatione*. His Pieces would perhaps have been "more correct if Death had not prevented him. "——'Tis hard to excuſe him on his licentious "Life, without admitting that corrupt Morality, "upon the Principles whereof he perſuaded him"ſelf, that provided he abſtain'd from great "Crimes, ſuch as Atheiſm, Robbery, Murther, "and all kinds of Violence, he might with an in"nocent Liberty, taſte the Pleaſures of Senſe. "Taking the matter thus, he was purer than Er"mine, and no Life was more irreproachable than "his. He flatters himſelf, that ſome hereafter, "taking a thorough view of it, would propoſe it "for an Example, and that this will be the Subject "of his Panegyrick:

"*Tum* faciles *memoret mores, &* puriter *acta*
"*Percurrat vitæ tempora quæque meæ*,

"ſays he, in that fine Elegy he made a few Days "before his Death His Prediction met with a "ſpeedy Accompliſhment. *Paul Panſa*, a good "Latin Poet, Preceptor to the famous *John Lewis de Fieſque*, gave him ſuch Praiſes as he deſir'd.

"*Hoc-ne meret* probitas? *hoc-ne meret* pietas?

"ſays he, and four Verſes after,

"*Quid prodeſt vixiſſe* pium, *aut odiſſe profanum*
"*Vulgus, & à* ſævis *abſtinuiſſe malis?*

"what's more, *Sckradcrus* and *Sweertius* mention "a glorious Inſcription conſecrated to his Memo"ry in the Cathedral of *Modena* in theſe words: "*Si animarum auctio fieret, Franciſcum Molzam licitarentur Virtutes, Patria, & Catharina ejus uxor, quæ illi & ſibi vivens hoc poſuit*——*Gudicione*, after"terwards Biſhop of *Foſſombrona*, has ſpoken no leſs "honourably of *Molſa*'s Virtue. *Datemi novelle del Molza*, ſays he in a Letter to *Tolomei*, *ch'io lo deſidero fuor di miſura, cioè ſe egli vuol fare povero il mondo, e ricchi i cieli con la ſua anima, perche intendo che egli è infermo d'una acuta febre. Paulus Jovius*, who at bottom blam'd him only for "not ſaving the appearance, ſhould not have "been ignorant, that he, whoſe Conduct he cenſur'd, had been parallel'd even for his Morals "with himſelf, and a great many worthy Gentle"men his Co-temporaries by *Longueil* in his ſecond "Defence. *Quid hic Paulum Jovium commemorem? Angelum Colotium, Antonium Maroſticum? Quid Marium Molſam, Hieronymum Nigrum, M. Antonium Flaminium, Georgium Sauromanum, viros tum "ac omni elegantiore doctrina inſtructiſſimos, tum ingenua animorum probitate optimos, atque totius vitæ "innocentia integerrimos?* Yet *Molſa* was then in "the height of his Debauchery. He had a Miſtreſs named *Furnia*, whom he paſſionately lov'd, "even to the calling himſelf *Furnius*, and perhaps "it was from her he took the Diſeaſe he died of. "We have a Letter of the ſame *Longueil* to *Furnius* *Marius Molza*, wherein are theſe curious "words: *Cujus quidem rei me primum ſuis literis certiorem fecit Flavius Chryſolinus, deinde Q. Lælius Maximus, quem Quinti prænomen ſecutum eſſe arbitror, quod Quintiæ alicujus, ut tu Furniæ, conſuetudine iſtic teneatur.* She quickly after turn'd common "Miſs. Which is another Particular we learn "from *Longueil*. *Nam de agreſti illâ*, ſays he Book "Book 4. writing to *Flaminius*, *in quam ſe abſtruſurum eſſe Furnius Molſa affirmaret, ſpelunca, factus ſum à Briſſone noſtro certior. Ac de Furnio quidem non valde ſum miratus, vult enim Furniam ſuam imitari, quam ſeſe in recentem iſtum luparum furnum jam abdidiſſe intelligo.* At the end of this Letter, "as he was ready to fold it, he mentions in a Poſt"ſcript the ſurprize he was under at the News of "a Wound which *Molſa* had receiv'd. *His ſcriptis, nec dum datis, accepi à Mariano literas ex quibus cognovi quid Molſæ noſtro iſtic accidiſſet. O caſum acerbum. Ait ille quidem à medicis hominem nondum eſſe deploratum, quanquam ad ſeptum tranſverſum vulnus pertingat. Verum me ſolicitum habet continens iſta febris, quæ niſi cito diſſolvitur——Sed non quo plura præ dolore ſcribere.* We may ſee alſo a Letter which follows this, and an *Italian* one of *Sanga*, in a Collection of *Atanagi*, writ"ten from *Tortoſa* the 27th of *June* 1522, to *John* "*Baptiſt Mentebuona*, where this Wound is men"tion'd, and *Molſa* is ſaid to be diſguſted with his "*Furnia*. It's eaſie to gueſs at the Reaſon, from "the Paſſage I have cited out of *Longueil*'s Letter "to *Flaminius*. *Che non credaro io horamai*, ſays *Sanga*, "*poiche il Molza ha ſoſtenuto di mutare amore, e laſciare quella, quella, tanto unica S. Furnia, e laſciarſi cadere in amore, dove havra men bella materia di ſcrivere? In un tempo medeſimo ho inteſo che fu ferito, e che era ſenza pericolo; poiche così è, manco me ne duole. Pregovi vedendolo che mi raccomandiate a lui, & alreſto della compagnia beſtiale, e benche ſia il fior d'eſſa, pur ſeparatamente mi raccomandarete al divino, diviniſſimo M. Gabriello, &c.* Hence "it appears, that there was then at *Rome* an Aca"demy of Wits under the Name of *Compagnia beſtiale*, perhaps becauſe of the Indolence and Su"pineneſs in which they profeſt to live. I have not "as yet been able preciſely to determine at what "Age *Molſa* died, I only conclude he was not far "advanc'd in Years, from theſe Verſes of the fine "Elegy I have cited:

"*Hic jacet ante annos crudeli tabe peremptus*
"*Molſa: ter injecto pulvere paſtor abi.*

"And upon himſelf towards the end:

"*Ante diem Elyſios cogor cognoſcere campos.*

"This is alſo the Senſe of that fine place of *Paul* "*Panſa* in his Elegy on the Death of this famous "Man,

"*Cur Atropos auſa es*
"*Pendula adhuc tereti rumpere penſa colo?*"

I thought I ſhould have found a great many Particulars concerning our *Molſa* in the *Iſtoria della volgar poeſia*, lately publiſh'd by the Abbot *Giovanni Mario de Creſcimbeni*; but I have only learnt (*a*), that this Poet liv'd o' this ſide the Year 1540, and died pretty old at the Court of Cardinal *Farneſe*. This is indefinite, and not conſonant to *Contile*, an Eye-witneſs, who ſays he died at *Modena*, in *February* 1544. I know indeed that this Letter is dated in 1543, but this muſt be ſuppoſed according to their Calculation, who begin the Year at *March*, or *Eaſter*; for otherwiſe there would be a miſtake in the Date. See Mr. *de la Monnoie*'s Proofs, and add to 'em this Paſſage of a Letter, which was written from *Rome* the 15th of *January* 1544, to *Triſon Benzio*. (*c*) *Raccomandatemi, vi prego, caldamente al Molſa e datemi avviſo de la ſanità ſua, perch'a giorni paſſati n'havevo udite diſpiacevoli nuove.* They are *Claudio Tolomei*'s Words. He had written the eleventh of *December* 1543 a Letter to *Triphon*, deſiring him (*d*) to give his Service to *Molſa*, and to make a Sonnet or Epigram on the Death

(*k*) Id ib. fol. 86.

(*l*) La Monnoie, lettre M. S.

(*a*) At p. 106.

(*c*) Lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei libro terzo fol. 114. edit. de Venitie 1553.

(*d*) Ibid. fol. 93.

I shall speak of her by and by. *Boccalini* has highly diverted himself (C) at *Molsa*'s Cost.

I have seen Letters of his *, in which he complains sadly of his Poverty, and the avarice of Pope *Paul* III. His Latin Pieces came out under the Name of *Franciscus Marius Molza*; for he thought † that the Feminine *Maria*, made *Masculine* by the *Tuscans*, would hardly suit with the Latin Tongue. His *Capitolo in lode de' Fichi*, went under the Name *del P. Siceo*, and was honour'd with a Commentary by *Ser Agresto*; that is to say, by *Annibal Caro*. This Commentary (D) was Printed in 4to. in 1539 ‖ *Molsa* took the Sirname *Furnius*, from a Mistress of his named *Furnia*. She afterwards turn'd common Courtesan. See the Remark B△, where you'll find some further Encomiums bestow'd upon this Author, with several other Particulars. 'Twas said of him, among other things

* They were written in 1583, and are Printed with those of Cardinal Sadolet, lib. 16. p. 643, and the following of the Lions Edition of 1554.

† Giovanni Mario de Cresciembeni, istoria della volgar poësia, p. 106.

‖ Ex eodem, ibid. p. 328. We shall see below, that the Printer of the Edition of 1584, says, that the first was of the Year 1538.

Death of (e) a certain illustrious Lady. I observe this by the way to let my Readers know that *Triphon* was a Poet.

(C) Boccalini *has highly diverted himself at* Molsa's *Cost.*] He introduces *Christopher Columbus, Fernand Cortez, Magellanus, Vasco de Gama, Americus Vespusius*, &c. petitioning *Apollo*, that in consideration of their discovery of a new World, the great Advantages of which they set forth with a deal of skill, their Memory might be consecrated to Immortality, by Monuments proportion'd to the Service. The Chancellor of *Parnassus* was just upon minuting the Decree, when *Molsa* stood up to oppose their Request. The Hair of his Head was all peel'd off; not a stump was standing on his Chin; the Bridge of his Nose was fallen, and his Face cover'd all over with Blotches and Plaisters. See here, cry'd he, shewing his Wounds, here are the Rubies and fine Presents which these Gentlemen have brought us from their new World; they have brought us a cursed Disease unknown (f) to our Ancestors, Contagious (g), Scandalous, fatal to Procreation; the damn'd *Neapolitan* Disease, the Effects of which you see upon my Face, and with which my whole Body is over run. Upon this he turns to *Christopher Columbus*, and begins to unbutton his Breeches; but the Muses who fear'd, that an Object so foul should defile the purity of their Eyes, got an Order of Court, forbidding him to produce any farther Proofs. He stopt his Hand, but went on with his Speech, declaring with that vehemence against the Mischiefs the discovery of the new World had brought along with it, that *Apollo* told the Petitioners, they'd do well to withdraw immediately with their Silver, and Gold, and Pox: (h) *Comparue Mario Molza, Poeta di molto grido, ma per non haver nel capo, e nella barba pelo alcuno fatto molto diforme, oltre che piu mostruoso lo rendeva l'esser senza il naso, pieno di Gomme, e di Croste, e di doglie, il quale col dito mostrando le sue piaghe, con alta voce, qu ste d'sse (ò Sire) che qui vedete nella mia faccia sono i nuovi Mondi, i nuovi riti, & i nuovi costumi de gl' Indiani — Con queste gioie, delle quali tutta mi vidate bollata la faccia, & impiagata la persona questi temerarii, hanno abbellito, & arrichito il Mondo; con queste croste, e con queste eterne, e crudelissime doglie, ch'ho per tutta la vita; questi implacabili nemici del genere humano, hanno corrotta la stessa humana generatione. Poi voltatosi il Molza verso il Colombo con modesto sdegno le brache, quando le Serenissime Muse, per non contaminare con la vista di qualche cosa oscena, i purissimi occhi loro, a i Lettori commandarono, ch'egli fosse impedito*

There are a great many who comparing this Chapter of *Boccalin*, with a Scene of *Moliere's Precieuses*, would make no scruple to affirm, that our Comedian had pirated the Italian Author; but I am far from any such Thought. *Moliere*'s own Genius might easily furnish him with such an incident; a thousand meaner Wits than he might have hit upon it. The Scene's this; *Jodelet* and *Mascarille* reckon up their pretended notable Exploits, before the two *Precieuses*. The first speaks thus. "(a) In good Faith I have reason to remember it: "I was wounded there in the Thigh with a hand "Granado; feel a little, pray Madam, feel what "a bang it was CATHOS. A great gash indeed. MASCARILLE Lend your Hand here, "Madam, and feel a little here, Madam, just in the "Pole of my Neck. Do you feel? MAGDELON. Yes, I feel something. MASCAR. "It's a Musket-ball I receiv'd the last Campagne "I made. JODELET. Here was a shot which "let the Sun shine through me at the Attack of "*Gravelin*. MASCAR. (*Laying his Hand on the Button of his Breeches*) I'll shew you a terrible "Wound. MAGDEL. You may spare your "self the trouble, we'll believe without seeing. "MASCAR. These are honourable Badges, "which shew what a Man is. CATH. We "don't doubt what you are.

Boccalin had some Mystery in saying, that *Molza* (b) died of eating too many Figs; for we must know this Poet had wrote a Copy of Verses ont his Fruit, with allusion to the nameless Parts. These Verses are at least as obscene, as those of *John de la Casa*, which have rais'd the Protestant Out-cries; but as *Molza* was never made a Judge of the Inquisition, nor enjoy'd any Ecclesiastical Preferments, his Impunities have not been objected to the Roman Communion. "'Tis certain if the Employs, "which Monseigneur *de la Casa*'s Merit procur'd "him, had not oblig'd him, in Quality of Nuncio, "to prosecure some Persons of his time, who "prevaricated in Religion, his *Capitolo* would no "more have been taken notice of, than those of "*Bernia*, of *Mauro*, and *Molza*, which are no less "licentious; and which the sole good Fortune of "having been written by Authors of no Conse- "quence, has saved from the Protestants Cen- "sures." This is what Mr *de la Monnoie* (c) wrote to the Abbot *Nicaise*, and which was communicated to Mr. *Menage*. Note, that the Book in which *Poetus* met with the *Capitolo del forno*, that is *John de la Casa*'s Verses, which have made him reckon'd as a Panegyrist of *Sodomy*, is a Collection of obscene Pieces, compos'd by several Poets, and particularly by our *Molza*. This appears by the Title (d), *Il primo libro dell' opere burlesche di M. Francesco Berni, di M. Gio della Casa, del Varchi, del Mauro, di M. Bino, del Molza, del Dolce, e del Firenzuola*. This Book was Printed at *Florence* by *Bernard Junta*, in 1548. Mr. *Vost* lodged his Copy in the Library of *Utrecht* (e), as in a place of safety; but his Precautions were useless: This Book disappear'd, and 'tis not doubted, but the French made it away (f), whilst they were Masters of *Utrecht* in 1672, and 1673; this by the by. I have occasion still for a Passage of Mr *Menage*. *The* Capitoli in terza rima, *says he* (g), *upon innocent Subjects, but which had relation to things dishonest, were very much in vogue at that time; as appears by* Mauro's Capitolo della Fava, *and by* Molza's delle Fiche, *famous for the Commentary of* Ser Agresto, *that is*, Annibal Caro. Let us see *Boccalin*'s Judgment upon the *Capitolo della Fava*, and *delle Fiche*. He introduces the famous *Laura Terracina*, who being taken into the sacred College of the Poets, and desiring to chuse either *Molza* or *Mauro* for her Husband, examin'd the Figs of the former, and the Bean of the latter, and determin'd for the Bean; finding it much more luscious and juicy than the Figs. (i) *Volle prima, che amendue le mostrassero le Poesie loro, le quali dapoi, che con istatissima diligenza più volte ella hebbe rivolte, e ben considerate, trattandole le Fiche di Molza, come cotate con stile osservato, e molto languido, si attaccò alla Fava del Mauro, nella quale le parve di trovar maggior fuoco di concetti, e che quell' argomento fosse di stile con più gravità descritto*. I don't believe *Boccalin* design'd by this to give us a favourable Idea of *Laura*'s Chastity.

(D) *The Commentary was Printed in* 4° *in* 1539] It was reprinted in 8°. in 1584, to serve as a Convoy to *Aretin*'s *Ragionamenti*; and by this you may judge of the quality of the Book. The intire Title of it is: *Comento di Ser Agresto da Bargagnano, sopra la prima Ficata del Padre Siceo. Con la dotta e bella Noia*. The Printer taking the Title of *Barbarossa*'s Heir, promises himself, that this new Edition should be no less agreeable than the first of 1538, and declares he gives it to acquit himself of a Promise he had made when he publish'd *Aretin*'s *Ragionamenti*.

(e) All' hora che Mario Molza per lo soverchio uso de fichi passò all' altra vita *Ragionam.* 3. *entr.* 1 *f.* m. 90.

(c) *See the* Anti-Bailler, tom. 2 p. 151.

(d) *See the Bibliographical Dissertation on* Gilbert Voetius, tom. 1 p. 25.

(e) Exemplar illud inveni in Bibliothecam publicam, ut sub publica custodia perpetuum Sanctitatis Romanæ monumentum extaret, & perfrictæ negantibus ostendi posset *Voet. ad.*

(f) *See* Lomeyer de Bibliothecis, c. 1. p. 3.

(g) Anti-Bailler, tom. 2 p. 119

(h) Boccalin, Ragguagli, &c. centur. 2.

things, that he made ſo perfectly a Chriſtian End, that it could not be doubted but his Soul (*E*) went directly to Heaven.

MOLSA (TARQUINIA) Grand-Daughter to the preceding, was one of the moſt eminent Ladies of her Age. Her Wit and Learning joyn'd to the graceſulneſs of her Perſon (*A*) were ſupported by an uncommon Virtue. Having loſt her Husband, without having had any Children *, ſhe never would Marry a ſecond, tho' ſhe was very young. The Sorrow ſhe expreſt for him might juſtly found a Parallel between her (*B*) and *Artemiſia*. Her Father finding that ſhe was born with a Talent for the Sciences, had her inſtructed (*C*) by the beſt Maſters of his Time. She was in great Eſteem at the Court

* Hilarion de Coſte, eloges des Dames illuſtres, tom. 2. p. 800. *He only tranſlates the Elogy of this Lady Compos'd by* Peter Paul de Ribera.

Raggionamenti. Ecco (Amorevole Leggitore) che io non mi domentico punto della promeſſa che ti feci a meſi paſſati, quando per mezza della ſtampa mia ti preſentai i Ragionamenti di Pietro Aretino, concioſia coſa che da quella moſſo, hoggi io mi ſia riſoluto di preſentarti anchora il piacevole, & ſottil Commento del valente Ser Agreſto da Ficarvolo, ſopra la prima ficata del Padre Siceo, il quale mi giova di credere, che non ti debba eſſer punto hoggi men caro di quello che egli ti foſſe l'anno 1538. *quando, dalla felice memoria del mio babbo, ti fu preſentato la prima fiata, ne (credo) che ti debba eſſer men caro, che ti ſieno ſtati i prenomati Ragionamenti.* The Printer of the firſt Edition was call'd *Barbagrigia*, and addreſs'd his Preface conjointly to the Author *Molſa*, and the Commentator *Annibal Caro*, telling 'em, that in compariſon of many Greek, Latin and Italian Pieces, their Work might be reckon'd very modeſt, ſince their Obſcenities were not bare-fac'd, but vail'd from Head to Foot, and that after all, they had done prudently, to deliver themſelves of them upon Paper; for if they had kept them in, they might have flown up into their Heads, or at leaſt have corrupted their Chaſtity, it being almoſt impoſſible in theſe Caſes, but a Man muſt either act or ſpeak. *Quanto alla laſcivia——Meſſer Lodovico Fabbro da Fano, che m'e——conſiglier dell'opere, che io ſtampo: mi dice, che gli hanno pur tanto di gentilezza, & di modeſtia: che deve quelli de gli altri in queſto genere, tanto de' Greci, quanto de' Latini, & de' Volgari, vanno la piu parte ignudi, & ſenza brache: eſſi vanno tutti veſtiti, & con le mutande. Et quello, che piu importa, è, che eglino non vi ſtanno piu in corpo. che coſi. oltre al pericolo detto di ſopra di farvi impazzare: potrebbono al meno far divenir laſcivi, & ſcorretti voi quali eſſi ſono. Sendo quaſi forza, che quello, che non ſi dice, ſi faccia.* The Commentator has begun with a Prologue worthy of the Piece. He repreſents in it firſt, that the Author of the *Ficheide* or the *Ficheido* having taken Figs for his Subject, aſcribes to 'em both Sexes, and promiſcuouſly imploys the litteral, and the Allegorical Senſe. (*i*) *Baſtivi per hora di ſapere, che'l Poeta, non ſenza miſterio li battezza hermafroditi: & che per tutta l'opera troverete, che hanno confuſamente due ſeſſi, & du ſenſi, & di queſti uno è ſecondo la lettera, l'altro ſecondo il miſterio, come di ſotto vedrete.* 2. That he is a very competent Judge in this Matter, that he has ſpent more time in examining it, than *Endymion* in contemplating the Motions of the Moon, and that if he has not been able to go to the bottom of it, he has gone farther than all before him. (*k*) *Ma per moſtrare quanto ſia competente giudice in queſta cauſa (come dicono i Legiſti) mi par ſolamente da dirvi: che egli, oltre all'eſſer gran Poeta: e grandiſſimo Filoſofo naturale: & ha ſpeſo piu tempo a inveſtigare i ſegreti della Natura Ficale, che Endimione a ſpeculare i moti della Luna. Et ſe quelle ne fu tenuto dalla Luna per innamorato: queſto n'e ſtato chiamato dal mondo per padre: come ſe ognuno li foſſe figliuolo. Et come Alberto fu detto Magno per havere ſcoperti i ſegreti delle donne: eſſo cognominato Divino, & Perfetto, per haver rivelati i ſegreti de' Fichi. Et con tutto, che di ſotti conſigli di non havernne tocco anchor fundo, ſi vede pure, che s'e diſteſe piu a dentro, che neſſun altro.* I mention theſe Particulars only to ſhew what judgment was made of *Molſa*. We may further infer from 'em, that there reign'd a great Licentiouſneſs among the Latin Poets of that Age. They vy'd with one another in exerciſing their Wits on Subjects which bore a double meaning; Mr. *Menage* might have added the famous *Bembo* to the Examples he has cited, who choſe an Herb for his Subject, the very Name of which diſcover'd the Drift and Deſign of his Poem. I'll explain my ſelf in the words of another Writer. "(*a*) There was one *Petrus Matthæus* "a Doctor of both Laws, who in 1587, made a "Collection of ſeveral Latin Poems of the Italian "Poets——Amongſt theſe the ſineſt Pieces were "the obſceneſt; *Bembo's Priapus*, where he exerciſes all his Wit, ſpeaking of the Herb which "we call *le Mante*, upon the affinity between this "word and the Latin *Mentula*; the *Siphilis* of *Fracaſtor*, in which he deſcribes the Origine and "Progreſs of the Pox, *&c.*

(*i*) Proemio del Commentatore, p. 10.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*a*) Paſquier Catechiſme of the Jeſuites, l. 3. c. 9. p. m. 378.

(*E*) *His Soul went directly to Heaven.*] *Contile* imploys this among other Reaſons, to comfort thoſe who were afflicted at the Death of this Wit. He had firſt alleg'd the Reaſons, why they ought to lament him, and afterwards turns the Tables thus: (*b*) *Debbano adunque i ſuoi parenti e amici piangerlo con dolore intenſo. Non debbano poi dolerſene, perche hanno conoſciuto, che quella era la ſua hora, nella quale moſtro tanto zelo chriſtiano, che dicono à viva voce eſſer lui ſalito in cielo. era la ſua hora parimenti inquanto alla età, la quale ſtanca di queſta vita, hà moſtro il ſuo determinato fine, fuggendo il pericolo delle morti ſubbitane, le quali ſuccedono quaſi ſempre à quella età. So che voi in prima fronte vi dorrete di quello honorato amico, dipoi non vi dorrete, ma reſtarete contento di quel fine, che certifica la ſalute di quell' anima, che in queſta vita valſe tanto.* To conſider this Man's Morals, one would think he needed ſome Years ſtay in Purgatory, notwithſtanding the good Diſpoſitions he ſhew'd at his Death.

(*b*) Luca Contile ubi ſupra, fol. 16. verſo.

(*A*) *The graceſulneſs of her Perſon were ſupported by an uncommon Virtue.*] *Franciſcus Patricius*, one of the learned'ſt Perſons of that Time, is my Authority; here's what he ſays in one of his Letters to her after having particulariz'd on the things ſhe underſtood. (*c*) *His tot tantiſque ingenii ornamentis comites ſeſe addiderunt nobilitas generis, pulchritudo eximia, mores animi inſignes, pudicitia ſingularis.* A Canon of *Lateran* has drawn out this Elogy to a greater length. "She was "naturally agreeable, *ſays he* (*d*), and exceeding "Beautiful, ſo that when ſhe was ſomewhat advanced in Years, her Face, her genteel Manner, and "graceful Behaviour, confirm'd the ſaying of *Euripides*, that not only the Spring, but alſo the "Autumn of true Beauties is agreeable: And yet "the Perfections of her Mind did very much ſurpaſs thoſe of her Body, having equall'd the moſt "eminent Perſons in Virtue and Learning. Nor "has ſhe come behind any of her Sex in Chaſtity "and Modeſty, Vertues ſhe always made Profeſſion of, with ſo much the more Glory and Advantage, as ſhe was honour'd with the Viſits of "the moſt accompliſh'd (*e*) Perſons of ſeveral "Countries, who hearing of her rare Vertues and "Endowments, had a mind to ſatisfie their Curioſity, and came far and near to ſee and diſcourſe "her, as the wonder of her Age. This kind of Vanity, which ſo eaſily intoxicates the Minds of "the Female Sex, had never been able to touch "hers; on the contrary, ſhe ſhun'd with great "Prudence and Modeſty all Occaſions which "might betray her into a reliſh of it, preferring "a retir'd Life to the Condition her extraordinary "Qualities might have rais'd her to; the Temper "ſhe had happily found, favour'd neither of Con"fidence of her ſelf, nor Contempt of others." Theſe are originally the Latin words of *Hilarion de Coſte* a *Minime*, but here Tranſlated from the *Italian* of a Canon of *Latran*. Add to them a Citation which I am juſt going to give from the ſame Minime.

(*c*) Franciſcus Patricius in epiſt. dedicator. tertii tomi diſcuſſionum Peripateticarum.

(*d*) Pierre Paul de Ribera ubi infra, *according to the Verſion of* Hilarion de Coſte, éloges des Dames illuſtres, to. 2. p. 800.

(*e*) *Let's confirm all this by the words of* Francis Patritius. *ubi ſupra.* Legantes ac docti viri quique non cives tantum tui, ſed quotquot Italia, quotquot Europa protulit, Mutinam viſunt, ut te Mutinæ viſant, ut miretur, ut colant, cerebrum Jovis penè ſupremi alteram Minervam.

(*B*) *Found a Parallel between her and* Artemiſia.] This I ſay of her upon the Authority of a great Philoſopher: *Proh dolor!* ſays he (*f*), *poſtquam maritus tuus Paulus Porrinus, virorum optimus ad ſuperos migravit, Muſas omnes ac Gratias, luctu ac tenebris obduxiſti. Artemiſiam alteram te fatlam dolemus. Fuit quidem ille tibi maritus incomparabilis. Sed & tu uxor illi incomparabilis & admiranda. Da locum prudentiæ, ac ſortunæ tuæ, da finem lachrymis.* The Epiſtle Dedicatory from whence I have taken theſe words has no date; but the Book, in which 'tis found, was Printed at *Baſil*, in 1581.

(*f*) Franciſc. Patricius, *ib.*

(*C*) *Had her inſtructed by the beſt Maſters.*] "(*g*) *Camillus*

(*g*) Hilarion de Coſte ubi ſupra, p. 799, 800. *& ſuiv.*

Court of the Duke of *Ferrara*: In a word, her Merit was so illustrious, that the City of *Rome* honour'd it with a Privilege, of which there never had been a Precedent in the Person of a Woman, to wit, that of the (D) Citizenship of *Rome*. You'll find all these Particulars in the Remarks.

MONANTHEUIL (HENRY DE) in Latin (A) *Monantholius*, a Native of *Reims* in *Champagne*, was Royal Professor of Mathematicks at *Paris*, in the (B) Year * 1577. He was also † Dean of the Faculty of Physick at *Paris*. He had been brought up at the Feet of *Ramus* in the College of *Prele*, and was a very zealous Stickler for the Philosophy of this new Founder of a Sect. *Thuanus*, who informs us of this † Particular, makes

(b) *Confirm this by these words of* Patricius *ubi supra*, Quanti te sereniſſimus Alphonſus Ateſtinus II. Princeps noſter? Quanti te principes mulieres Lucretia atque Leonora, ſorores ejus faciunt?

(i) *Call'd* Pierre Paul de Ribera *of* Valence. *He has written the Elogy of our* Tarquinia *in the 14th Book of a Work entit'led*, Le glorie immortali de'Trionfi, & Heroiche impreſe d'ottocento quaranta cinque Donne illuſtri antiche, e moderne, dotate di conditioni e ſcienze ſegnalate: Cioe in ſacra Scritura, Theologia, Profetia, Filoſofia, Retorica, Grammatica, Medicina, Aſtrologia, Leggi Civili, Pittura, Muſica, Armi, & in altre virtu principali.

(a) Patricius ubi ſupra.

"*Camillo Molza*, Knight of the Order of St. *James* "of *Spain*, and Son to the great *Francis Maria Molza* "of *Modena*, an Orator, and excellent Latin and "Italian Poet——obſerving from her Youth the "Felicity and Excellency of her Genius, ſent her "with her Brothers to learn the Rudiments of "Grammar. *John Politiano*, a Native of *Modena*, ad-"mirably skill'd in all the Sciences, a Man of great "Virtue and Piety, was her Maſter. She learn'd the "human Arts beſides, as alſo to write a fair Hand, and "Compoſe correctly under the care of *Lazaro Labi-*"*dini*, a famous Grammarian of thoſe Times, "which ſhe has elegantly reduc'd to practice in "her Compoſitions in Proſe and Latin Verſe. "She went through *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetorick, under "*Camillo Corcapani*. The Mathematician *Antony* "*Guarini*, taught her the Doctrine of the Sphere. "She learnt the Art of Poetry under *Francis Pa-*"*tricio* a famous Philoſopher; Logick, and a "Courſe of Philoſophy under *P. Lateni*, as alſo "the intire and perfect Knowledge of the Greek "Tongue *Rabi Abraham* taught her the Prin-"ciples of the Hebrew Tongue: This *Rabbin*'s "Grandfather had been Hebrew Maſter to her "Grandfather, the great *Molza*, by all which helps, "by her own Induſtry, and the inclination for "Study, which theſe great Men obſerv'd in her, "ſhe made ſo extraordinary a Progreſs, that the "ſubtleſt Queſtions in Divinity were no difficul-"ty at all to her. *John Maria Barbier*, a Man of "great Learning and Judgment, perfected her "in the Purity of the *Tuſcan* Tongue; ſhe Com-"poſ'd many eaſie and elegant Poems in it, ſeve-"ral Letters, and other Works eſteem'd by the "Politeſt and Learned'ſt Men of *Italy*. She has "mix'd abundance of Tranſlations from the Greek "and Latin with her own Productions, and has "ſo happily and ſo properly expreſs'd the Thoughts "of her Authors, that her Readers have doubted "whether ſhe had not a more perfect knowledge of "thoſe Tongues than of her own. She began to "learn Muſick, only to entertain and unbend her "Mind from her more ſerious Studies; but ſhe "excell'd all the Ladies, who had ſung with the "greateſt Applauſe, and raviſh'd all their Hearers. "The way of managing her Voice which ſhe had "acquir'd by Rules founded on Reaſon, and by "the Leſſons of the beſt Maſters, many of which "had the laudable Ambition to ſhow her ſomething "curious in that Art was admirable. Amongſt "others of theſe Maſters were *Giaches d'Uuerc*, *Lu-*"*ſaſco Luſachi* and *Horatio* called *of the Violin*, on "which Inſtrument, as well as on the Lute, *Tar-*"*quinia* us'd to play a part, joining another Hand "with her own Voice, and that with ſo much "Art and Skill, that nothing ſeem'd to be want-"ing, ſo that *Alphonſo* II. (b) Duke of *Ferrara*, a "moſt judicious Prince, and who had an extreme "Paſſion for all fine Accompliſhments, was ra-"viſh'd with admiration, finding many more Per-"fections in this Lady, than had been reported of "her. A little after, ſhe inſtituted that famous "Conſort of Ladies, which has done her ſo much "Honour, and who after her Huſband's Death, "always invited her to their Company, that by "her Preſence ſhe might perfect the Choir of "Muſick which ſhe had ſo happily begun." Theſe Words are Tranſlated from the *Italian* of a (i) Regular Canon of St. *John* of *Lateran*. He does not clearly enough ſignifie what *Patricius* taught this Lady: And therefore I help'd out his Narration with the Words of *Patricius* himſelf, who tells us he taught her the Greek Tongue, and read *Plato* to her. All he has ſaid in Praiſe of *Tarquinia*, with reſpect to her Learning, is worth relating, and may ſerve for a Supplement to *Ribera*'s Narration. *Non tu*, ſays he (a), *ut alia ſolent, femineis labris libros attigiſti. Tu non modo Hetruſcam politiſſimam linguam, ſed Latinam, ſed Græcam, optime calles. Tu hanc non modo Hiſtoricos atque oratores, ſed & philoſophos. Sed & Platonem ipſum, Jovis eloquium æmulantem, ſed & poetas quoſlibet, ſed & Pindarum, ſine hac Græcorum ulla, & legis & intelligis. Hanc tu, quod omnium hominum admirationem vincat, in Platone, tribus menſibus me prælegente edidiciſti. Tu in Latina omnium generum carmina pangis, in Hetruſca poemata condis, quam ſalita, Jupiter, atque arguta! Tu logicas omnes ſpinas demetiſti. Tu moralem Philoſophiam, Platonicam, Ariſtoteliam, Platonicamque evibiſti. Tu magno profectus in Phyſiologia feciſti. Tu Theologiam catholicam, toto pectore hauſiſti. Quid Muſicen omnis generis referam? In qua te omnis, non modo Muſarum, ſed & Muſarum chorus & admiratur, & ſtupet. Te ne citharœdorum quidem ullus in muſica præſtantiſſimorum, non modo non ſuperat, ſed nec adæquat. Cum ad lyram chordam canis, cum acutam gravemque eodem utramque tempore, alteram ad lyram pulſas, alteram cantas, Gratiæ te omnes ornant, circumſtant, ſtupefaciunt. Quas utinam poſſim ita exprimere, ut qui hæc legeret, te audire putaret. Sed Dii boni, quæ eloquentia? quæ argutiæ, qui ſales? quæ jucunditas in converſatione, quæ humanitas, quæ urbanitas? Longe merito patricios ſimus Benedictus Manzolius civis tuus & Epiſcopus Regienſis te, non ſolum patri tuo Camillo viro eloquentiſſimo, ſed etiam ævo tuo, viro uſquequaque ingenio Franciſco Mario Molzæ audæ præferre.*

(D) *That of the Citizenſhip of* Rome] "(b) All "the World has given an univerſal Applauſe to "her Merit, but particularly the Senate and Peo-"ple of *Rome*, by an authentick Teſtimonial and "Acknowledgement, having in a Decree of the "Senate (wherein mention is made of all her "Qualites and Perfections) honour'd her with "the Title of *Only Perſon*, giving her the Privi-"lege of a *Roman* Citizen, and for her ſake to all "the Family of *Molza*, as you will ſee by the "words of the Grant or Patent——*Quod Fabius* "*Mathæi Franciſcus ſoricius Equ. Dominicus Co-*"*nſ. de Tarquinia Molſa Mutinenſi Camilli filia* "*Civitate Romana donanda ad Senatum referre S. P.* "*Q. R. decreverit ita fieri cenſuit. Eſt novum atque* "*inuſitatum eſt in civium numerum a Senatu famina* "*cooptari, quarum virtus, ac fama domeſticarum pa-*"*rietum finibus contineri cum debeat, raro publicos in ne-*"*gotiis uſus Reipublicæ eſſe ſolet; tamen ſi aliqua inter* "*eas unquam extiterit, quæ non ſolum ceteras ſui ordi-*"*nis, ſed viros etiam virtutibus pene omnibus ſuperare* "*dicatur, æquum eſt, ut novo exemplo, novaque inſtitu-*"*tiſque meritis, novi quoque honores inuſitatique perſol-*"*vantur. Cum itaque Tarquinia Molza Mutinæ anti-*"*quiſſima ac florentiſſima Populi Romani Colonia, Ca-*"*millo Patre in equitum ordinem D. Jacobi ab Hiſpaniæ* "*Regibus inſtitutum, ob (c) merita ac nobilitatem ad-*"*jecto, genita, celebres illas Romanas Heroinas æmulet-*"*tur, virtutibuſque exprimat, ut ei nihil præterpatriam* "*Romanam deeſſe videatur, ne hoc unum ad abſolutam* "*ejus gloriam deſiderari poſſit, Senatus Populuſque Ro-*"*manus Civitate donandam cenſuit*, &c. *Ribera* has "only put theſe Latin words in *Tarquinia Molza*'s "Elogy, and all this Patent in Italian, wherein "are related all the Qualities and Studies of this "Heroine, the Nobility of her Family, and the "Deeds of her Anceſtors, which I have ſpoken of "above. The Decree was made in the Capitol "the 8th of *December* M. DC. *Curtio Martolo* being "for the time Chancellor of the Senate, and of "the *Roman* People, *Angelo Foſco* being Chancellor "of the Senate and People.

(A) *In Latin* Monantholius] This is doubtleſs his true Latin Name; but becauſe *Voſſius*, I know not why, calls him *Monatholius*, Mr. *Moreri* has not only omitted his French Name, which he ought to have given, but has alſo put him under a Latin Name, ſomewhat diſguiſ'd, I mean that of *Monatholius*. He has added nothing to a little Article, which he found of him in *Voſſius*.

(B) *In the Year* 1577] I could eaſily believe he entered upon this Profeſſion in 1574, being at that time a Profeſſor of Phyſick; I could eaſily believe this, I ſay, from the Title of the Oration related by *Du Breul* in the Supplement to the

(i) Hilarion de Coſte, ib. p. 82 &c.

(c) Hilarion de *has tranſlated this word by*.

Du Breul, Antiq. de Paris, p. 567.

†Menage. Rem. ſur Ayr. p. 264.

† Thuan. de vita ſua, lib. 1.

makes an honourable mention of *Monantheuil*, who had taught him Arithmetick and Geometry. He had been Preceptor to the learned *Peter* C *Lamoignon*, whoſe Epitaph *Beza* has written in Latin Verſe. He publiſh'd at *Paris* γ in 1599, his Latin Tranſlation of *Ariſtotle*'s (C) Mechanicks, and added to it a very learned Commentary. Death prevented his finiſhing a large Work of Mathematicks, upon which he had labour'd a long time, and which was to be entit'led *Heptatechnon Mathematicum*. We ſhall take notice of his other Works in the Remarks. He was one of *du Vair* the Keeper's particular Friends, and is the *Muſæus* mention'd by *du Vair* in his Book of Conſtancy. He had a Son call'd *Thierri de* MONANTHEUIL, who was Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, and who Compos'd a Book entit'led (D) *de Puncto*, which he Dedicated to his Father. This *Thierri* died at *Paris* in 1621, in the 50th Year of his Age. His Siſter *Catharine* was Married to *Jerome Goulu*. See Mr. *Menage* δ.

MONARDES (NICHOLAS) a Phyſician of *Sevil*, flouriſh'd in the XVIth Century, and came into great Reputation by his Practice ζ, and by the Books (E) he publiſh'd. Some think he died in the Year 1588. But 'tis more probable he died in 1578 ϑ. We ſhall ſhew in the Remark, that the Editions of his Books have not been faithfully reckon'd by Don *Nicholas Antonio*.

MONIMA, Wife to *Mithridates*, ſmote the Heart of this Prince from the firſt moment he ſaw her. 'Twas in the Town of *Stratonicea*, ſoon after the great Advantages obtain'd by him over the *Roman* Generals *Oppius*, *Manius*, &c. He liked the Maid ſo well, that he ſecur'd her Perſon, and order'd her to be ſent to his Seraglio ι. Others ſay, ſhe was of *Miletus*, and that *Mithridates* never could obtain the laſt Favour, but by taking the fair way, that is, by Marrying her. He try'd her with fine Promiſes; he made her a Preſent at one time of fifteen Thouſand Crowns, but all in vain, he was forc'd to buckle to the formality of a Marriage Contract θ; nor would ſhe ever bed with him, till he had fairly ſign'd it, and adorn'd her with the royal Diadem and Title of Queen. This Conduct made her famous throughout all *Greece* φ. Her Condition after all was nothing but meer Parade; the ſolid part of (A) Happineſs was wanting. The poor *Monima* often regretted her native Country and made a ſad End; for *Mithridates* overcome

C *Uncle to the firſt Preſident* de Lamoignon. Menage, *ib.*

γ Voſſius de ſcient. Mathem. p. 306.

δ Ubi ſupra.

ζ *See the Remark.*

ϑ Nicol. Antonius in Biblioth. Script. Hiſpan. tom. 2. p. 122.

ι Appian. in Mithridaticis, p. m. 123.

θ Plutarc. in Lucul. p. 503. A.

φ Ταύτης ὁ πλοῦτος ἦν λόγος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι τῷ Βασιλεῖ πειθώνιος αὐτὴν, καὶ μυείης πολλαχοῦ λίθους χρυσοῦς περιπεμψάντος, αἰθόμενος, μίχεις ἢ γάμου ἐγένετο συνθῆκας, καὶ διάδημα πέμψας αὐτῇ, βασίλισσα ἀνηγόρευσεν. Erat hujus celebre inter Græcos nomen, quod quum eam rex attentaret, & quindecim millia aureorum miſiſſet, eatenus fuerit reniſa, dum ſponſaliis factis miſſoque diademate appellavit reginam. *Id. ibid.*

the Epitome of *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheque*. *Henrici Monantholii Rhemi Scholarum Medicinæ Profeſſoris, oratio pro Mathematicis artibus, Pariſiis habita, ibidemque excuſa* in 4. *apud Dionyſium à Prato* 1574. If this other Title of an Oration at the 367th Page of the ſecond Part of *Thuanus*'s Catalogue did not keep me in ſuſpence, *Henrici Monantholii Oratio pro ſuo in regiam Cathedram ritu* 8. *Pariſ.* 1585.

(C) *His Latin Tranſlation of* Ariſtotle's *Mechanicks.*] When I find on one Hand, that the Sieur *Konig* (d) upon *Cardan*'s Teſtimony, tells us of one *Francus Monotholius* Author of a Book entit'led *Ludus iatromathematicus*, and on the other, that *Henry de Monantheuil* wrote a Book call'd (e) *Ludus iatromathematicus, Muſis factus ad averruncandum tres Academiæ perniciosiſſimos hoſtes, πόλεμον, λιμὸν, λοιμὸν*, I am ſomewhat diſpoſed to believe, that here are two Authors made of one, and that the *Petrus Monantholius*, mention'd immediately after, as an Author who publiſh'd Commentaries at *Paris* upon *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetorick in 1599, is a Multiplication of the ſame Writer, and miſtaking his Rhetorick for a Treatiſe of Mechanicks. However, I venture not to determine the Point, having not a Library ſufficiently furniſh'd at my command.

(d) Biblio. p. 548.

(e) *See* Lindenius renovat. p. 397.

(D) *A Book intit'led* de Puncto.] *Monantheuil* the Father had wrote upon the ſame Subject: See in *Thuanus*'s Catalogue this Title, *Henr. Monantholii de Puncto primo Geometriæ principio* 4. *Lugd. Bat. Commel.* 1600. The *Oxford* Catalogue wants this Treatiſe, but we find in it a Panegyrick *Henrico IV. Galliarum Regi dictus*, Printed at *Paris* in 1594. and an *Admonitio ad Jac. Peletarium de angulo contactus*, Printed at *Paris* in 1581.

(E) *The Books he Publiſh'd*] The Book intit'led *de Juvanda vena in pleuritide inter Græcos & Arabes Concordia*, was Printed at *Sevil* in 1539, in 4°. His Tract *de roſa & partibus ejus; de ſucci roſarum temperatura; de roſis perſicis ſeu Alexandrinis; de malis, citris, aurantiis, & limoniis*, was Printed at *Antwerp* in 1565, in 8 *a)*. The Spaniſh Book wherein he explain'd the Vertues of American Drugs, *a. las drogas de las Indias*, was extreamly uſeful to Mankind, for it contain'd the Remedies for ſeveral Diſeaſes. It alſo got *Monardes* a deal of Glory. Let's hear what he ſays upon it. *b) Quæ* (prima pars) *ſuperioribus annis tam felicibus auſpiciis in publicum prodiit, ut inde hominum vita tot morborum periculis objecta, multiplicia eademque præſentanea remedia ſibi paraverit, atque ego bonorum judicio non mediocrem eruditionis & diligentiæ laudem reportaverim.* Thus he ſpeaks concerning the firſt part of this Work in an (c) Epiſtle Dedicatory to Pope *Gregory* XIII. He adds, that the deſire of promoting the publick good, weighed much more with him, than the Applauſes he receiv'd in Compoſing a ſecond Part, and he obſerves that 'twas exceedingly uſeful. (d) *Poſtea non tam aurea popularis (quamquam ea ſecundiſſime afflabat) ſuavitate illectus, quam communis utilitatis amore commotus alterum ejuſdem argumenti Syntagma concinnavi: in quo innumera medicamenta quæ hactenus intra naturæ arcana delituerant, magno humanæ ſalutis emolumento in lucem produxi.* Before he publiſh'd any thing on this Subject, he was acquainted by a long Experience with the Soveraign Vertues of the *American* Medicines. (e) *Quum rerum medicinalium ab occidentali uſque India, ad nos convectarum utilitates adeo mirabiles ut ægrotos quamplurimos pene jam deploratos ſanaverint, aſſidua med.ndi peritiatione atque longinqui temporis uſu percepiſſem; eas res —— via ac ratione tractare conſtitui.* Don *Nicolas Antonio* ought to have told us, that the two firſt Parts of this Work were Printed one after another. This he did not know; for he would have us believe they were publiſh'd both together, and that the firſt Edition was in 1569 in 8°. *de las drogas de las Indias*, ſays he (f), *duobus tomis, qui primum editi ſunt ab authore anno* 1569. What he adds is not more exact, *Poſtea adjuncto tertio, unum ex tribus majoris formæ volumen publicavit anno* 1580. 4. 'Tis certain that the third part was Printed, with the two others in 4°. in 1574, at *Sevil*, by *Alonzo Eſcrivano*. I have this Edition: It's dedicated to Pope *Gregory* XIII. And 'twas to oblige this Pope, that the Author publiſh'd it in this manner. (g) *Quæ meorum ſtudiorum monumenta quum ejuſcemodi Genium habuerint, ut ſanctitati tuæ ſumme placuerint, eaque Romam ex ultima Hiſpania deferenda curaverim, operæ pretium me tibi factturum exiſtimavi, ſi utramque hujus operis partem conjungerem, ac nunc primum tua potiſſimum cauſſa tertiam adjicerem.* He added to it three Dialogues; the 1ſt. *de la piedra Bezaar, y de la yerva Eſcuer onera:* The 2d. *de la nieve y del bever frio:* The 3d. *de las grandezas del Hierro, y de ſus virtudes medicinales.* The two (h) firſt had been publiſh'd before, but not the third. *Nicolas Antonio* did not know of any other Edition of the third than that of the Year 1580. All theſe *Spaniſh* Works of our *Monardes* have been tranſlated into Latin by *Cluſius*, and into Italian by *Annibal Brigantus*. The ſame *Cluſius* hath alſo tranſlated into Latin *Monardes*'s three Books *de varios ſecretos y experiencias de medicina*. Thoſe of *American* Drugs were tranſlated into Engliſh by I know not whom, and into French by *Anthony Colin*, ſworn Apothecary to the Town of *Lyons*. The *Lindenius renovatus* does not mark the Year of any Spaniſh Edition.

(b) Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Script. Hiſpan. tom. 2. p. 122.

(c) Nicol. Monardus epiſt. dedicat.

(d) Id. ib.

(e) Id. ib.

(f) Nicol. Anton. ubi ſupra.

(g) Nicol. Monardus ubi ſupra.

(h) *That* de la piedra Bezaar, *&c. at* Seville, 1569, in 8°. *That* de la nieve, *&c. at* Seville, 1571, *in* 8°. Nicol. Anton. ubi ſupra.

(A) *The ſolid part of Happineſs was wanting* —— *ſhe*

(c) *It's before the Edition of* Seville, 1574.

come by *Lucullus*, and fearing leſt his Wives ſhould fall into the Hands of the Enemy, order'd 'em all to be put to Death. He * had given the Government of *Epheſus* to *Philopœmen Monima*'s Father. It can't be doubted that his Paſſion for this beautiful Perſon was conſtant; ſeeing after his Death there were found amongſt his Papers ſome wanton Letters which had paſs'd between 'em †.

MONIN (JOHN EDWARD DU) a Native of *Gny*, in the County of *Burgundy*, publiſh'd a great many (*B*) Poems in the Reign of *Henry* III. He has been plac'd in the Catalogue of extraorninary (*C*) Wits. He was kill'd at twenty ſix Years of Age ‡. 'Tis ſaid, that *du Perron* was accus'd of being an Accomplice (*D*) in his Murther, and that he was forc'd to ſue out his Pardon. I think *d'Aubigné* has been guilty of (*E*) an Anachroniſme in ſpeaking of *du Monin*.

MONSERRAT MONTANNES (MICHAEL) liv'd in the XVIIth Century. He was a *Spaniard*, who forſook the Church of *Rome* to go over to the Proteſtant Communion, and publiſh'd ſome ſmall Pieces of Controverſy. I have ſeen one of 'em γ intit'led *aviſo ſobre los abuſos de la Igleſia Romana*. He ſhews in it that he had read the Scripture much, for he cites it at every turn. He concludes his Book by exhorting his

* Appian, ubi ſupra, p. 134.

† Plut. in Pompeio, p. 639.

‡ Du Verdier Vau-Privas. Biblioth. Franc. p. 729.

α *See the Remark C.*

γ *Printed at the* Hague *in* 1633, *'twas approv'd by* Henry Arnold *Miniſter of* Delft.

ſhe regretted her native Country and made a ſad End] All this *Plutarch* tells us in the place, where he relates how *Mithridates* flying from *Lucullus*, ſent *Bacchides*, one of his Eunuchs to his Siſters and Wives, with Orders to put 'em to Death. "The "poor Lady, *ſays he* (*i*), *ſpeaking of our* Monima, "ever ſince this barbarous King had Married her, "lived in great diſcontent, continually deploring "her unfortunate Beauty, which inſtead of a "Husband, had given her a Maſter, and inſtead "of that conjugal Society, which was befitting a "Lady of Honour, had given her a Guard and "Garriſon of Barbarians, who kept her as a Pri"ſoner, far from the ſweet Country of *Greece*, in "a place where ſhe had only the Dream and Sha"dow of the Happineſs ſhe hoped for, and on the "contrary had really loſt the Subſtance, which be"fore ſhe enjoy'd in her native Country: And "when this *Bacchilides* came to them, and had laid "before 'em the King's Command, that they might "chuſe that way of dying, which each thought the "eaſieſt, and leaſt painful, ſhe ſnatch'd her Royal "Diadem from off her Head, and tying it about "her Neck, hang'd her ſelf; but the Wreath not "being ſtrong enough, immediately broke, where"upon ſhe cry'd out, O! curſt and unfortunate "String of Gold, wilt thou not do me this one "ſad piece of Service? At which words, ſhe twir"led it to the Ground, and ſpit upon it, and "then ſtretch'd out her fine Neck that *Bacchilides* "might cut her Throat.

(*i*) Plut. on Lucullo, p. 503.

(*B*) *Publiſh'd a great many Poems.*] Here's the Catalogue of 'em, as we find it in *du Verdier's Bibliotheque*: "(*k*) A Philoſophical Compariſon "of the Sun and Moon with our Soul and Intel"lect, according to *Mere. Triſmegiſtus*, and ſome "Platonicks. Together with ſome Poetical Diſ"courſes and Sonnets; the whole Printed at the "end of the Latin Verſion he has made of the "Week of *William de Saluſte*, Sieur *du Bartas*, "which he entit'led *Ber ſithias ſive mundi creatio*, "publiſh'd at *Paris* in 8°, by *Hilary le Bouc*, 1579. "The new Works of *John Edward du Monyn*, Phi"loſophical Poet, containing Diſcourſes, Hymns, "Odes, Amours, Counter-Amours, Eclogues, "Elegies, Anagrams and Epigrams, Printed at "*Paris* in 12. by *John Parent* in 1582. *Uranologie*, "or the Heavens, containing, beſides the ordi"nary Doctrine of the Sphere, many fine Diſ"courſes, Printed at *Paris* in 12°. by *William Ju"lian*, 1583. *Miſcellanеorum Poeticorum libri.* [*Pa"riſiis* 8°." *Claude du Verdier* (*l*), Son to him who has furniſh'd me with this Paſſage, has cenſur'd our *du Monin* in many things, and Father *Leſcalopier* obſerves on the Subject of *du Bartas*'s Latin Tranſlation, (*m*) *Mominus——nimis incultus Poëta viſus eſt, interpreſque parum fidus.*

(*k*) Du Verdier, p. 729.

(*l*) *See his* in auctores pene omnes, antiquos potiſſimum cenſio.

(*m*) Leſcalop. in Cicer. de natur. Deorum, p. 234.

(*C*) *In the Catalogue of extraordinary Wits*] *Gabriel Naudé* deſigning to prove that (*n*) *Picus* Count of *Mirandola*, was not the only Perſon who had acquired a prodigious ſtock of Learning in his Youth, ſays, that *Paul de la Scale* (*o*) *maintain'd in* 1553 *at* Bologne, *one Thouſand, five Hundred forty Three Concluſions upon all ſorts of Subjects, and that before he had attained to the Age of two and twenty.* He produces afterwards the Examples of *Poſtel*, *Geſner*, *Erasmus*, *Agrippa* and *Maldonat*; "and laſt of all, that of this "*Edward du Monin*, who, we may ſay, was com"pounded only of Fire and Spirit, ſince he had ac"quired before the twenty ſixth Year of his Age, in "which he was kill'd, the knowledge of the Italian, "Spaniſh, Latin, Greek and Hebrew Tongues, "and of Philoſophy, Phyſick, Mathematicks and "Divinity, with ſuch facility in the Poetry of all "theſe Languages, that he Tranſlated *du Bartas*'s "Work of the Creation, in leſs than fifty Days, "and ſaw Printed before his Death five or ſix con"ſiderable Volumes of his Poems, which were "highly commended by the fineſt Wits of the laſt "Age, *Fumeus*, *du Perron*, *Goulu*, *Dourat*, *Morel*, "*Baif* and *du Bartas*.

(*n*) Naudé apolog. des grans hommes, p. 499. *See him alſo in his* Syntagma de ſtudio liberali, p. m. 87. *and in his Dialogue of* Maſcurat, p. 468.

(*o*) Id. ib. p. 503.

(*D*) Du Perron *was accuſed of being an Accomplice in his Murther*] This I find in a Book of *Gisbert Voetius*, in the place where he relates the Progreſs of Cardinal *du Perron*'s Fortune. *Perronus*, ſays he (*a*), *ſi cum illo* (Pleſſæo Mornæo) *comparetur, quis qualiſve fuerit, judicent illi qui virum propius norunt; Miniſtri reformati filium fuiſſe conſtat, cui nomen Perroni fuit inditum à vico ejuſdem nominis in quo Genevæ habitaverat pater, priuſquam in Normandiam veniret. A patre initio fuiſſe educatum in ſpem Miniſterii, ſed à D. de Matignon, cui carmina quædam obtulerat induſtum fuiſſe ut Lutetiam ſe conferret, ubi fortunæ lautioris poëtæ ſoes eſſet ſub Henrico III. ibi innotuiſſet, & cum aliis nonnullis poſtulatum fuiſſe cædis Edwardi du Monin, etiam poëtæ, qui verſibus ſuis eum perſtrinxerat, adeo ut literas gratiæ, quas vocant, a Rege obtinuerit; cui à lectionibus fuit, donec oratione apud eum habita, qua probabat Deum eſſe, † obtulit ſe die ſequenti contrarium probaturum, ſi Regi adlubeſceret. Quam ob cauſſam juſſus aula excedere, paulatim tamen ſe nonnullis inſinuavit, maxime Cardinali Vindocinenſi. Et tandem ſe immiſcuit iis qui Regem Henricum IV. ad religionis mutationem pertraxerunt, unde et ad Epiſcopatum primo, deinde ad Cardinalatum patuit via.* Note, that he cites no body, and yet he was very much addicted to Citations.

(*a*) Gisb. Voetius deſper. cauſa Papatus, p. 677, 678.

(*E*) d'Aubigné *has been guilty of an Anachroniſme*] He ſays (*b*), that *du Monin*, whom the King nam'd the *Poet of the Light Horſe*, play'd a Lady a malicious Trick, who had deſir'd him to write an Elegy upon the Diſturbance the Coaches caus'd in the Streets. He excus'd himſelf, and telling her (*c*), "He was "going to *Lions*, that he might conceal his flight to "the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhe deſir'd him to get her a ſuit "of Tapeſtry wove in Emblems. He diſcharg'd his "Commiſſion, and got her a Set repreſenting four "(*d*) Triumphs, each of which conſiſted of three "Pieces; the firſt was the Triumph of Impiety; "the ſecond of Ignorance; the third of Cowar"diſe; the fourth of Beggery. The Embroidery "of the Groteſque Work is a writing in Cypher, "which no body underſtood: But *du Monin*, who "having nothing more to fear, ſince he had paſs'd "the Mount *du Chat*, ſent the Explication and Ac"count of it all at length to the (*e*) *little Knight*." The Lady, whom *d'Aubigné* deſign'd to ridicule, is doubtleſs the Sieur *de la Varenne*'s Wife, he ſuppoſes ſhe had told *du Monin*, that the King had taken from Madam a ſuit of Tapeſtry, worth a Hundred and fifty Thouſand Crowns, to give it the Dutcheſs, and that it would be *more becoming his Maj eſty, now ſhe was dead, to make a Preſent of it to Monſieur, than to make himſelf the Heir of the Deceas'd.* The Dutcheſs here mention'd is *Gabriela d'Eſtre*, Miſtreſs to *Henry* IV. who died in 1599. *D'Aubigné* muſt therefore imagine, that *du Monin* was alive that Year. But how can this Hypotheſis be reconcil'd with what we have ſeen (*f*) above, that he was kill'd in the Reign of *Henry* III. at

(*b*) D'Aubigné *in the 4th Book of the Baron* de Faineſte, ch. 16. p. m. 285.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 286.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 288.

(*e*) *We are by this word to underſtand the Husband of the Lady who ſpoke to* Du Monin.

(*f*) *In the Remark D.*

his Nation to convert themſelves, and by a deſcription of the Diſorders (*F*) which the Vows of Celibacy caus'd in *Spain*. He obſerves, among other things, that the Confeſſors ♪ allow the Nuns a Remedy of the moſt criminal Incontinence, when they declare they burn. All this is follow'd by a great number of Scripture Paſſages in praiſe of Marriage. He Printed ζ another Tract in 1631.

MONSTRELET (ENGUERRAND DE) Author of a Chronicle of *France*, which has often been (*G*) Printed, and which reaches from the Year 1400 to 1467, liv'd in the XVth Century. He ϑ *deſcended from a Noble and Ancient Family*, and was Governor of the Town of *Cambrai*. As that Town ſtood Neuter betwixt the *French*, the *Engliſh*, and *Burgundians*, he enjoy'd all the Repoſe that an Hiſtorian could deſire, and the convenience of hearing the Relations of all ſides. Some ſay, that he wrote η *with the more Fidelity, as he was in a place, where nothing obliged him to ſeek the Friendſhip of one Party, or fear the Hatred of another*; but 'tis more certain, that he ſhew'd himſelf (*H*) a little too partial to the Houſe of *Burgundy*. He * kept a Correſpondence with the Heralds, with the Agents, and with other Perſons, that *were conſiderable for their Station*, and help'd out his *Intelligence by the publick Reports*. He has *enrich'd his Hiſtory with Edicts, Kings and Princes Letters, remarkable Sayings, Articles of Peace, Treaties, Capitulations of Towns, Challenges, Summonſes*, &c †. I don't know the Year of his Birth, nor that of his Death.

MONTAIGU (JOHN DE) High Steward of *France*, under *Charles* VI. had the misfortune to diſpleaſe the Duke of *Burgundy*, who abus'd the Authority he had obtain'd in the Kingdom to ſuch a degree of Violence, that he caus'd him to be Beheaded the 17th of *October* ‡ 1409. Some ſay, that the Memory of this (*A*) High Steward was juſtified three Years after, when the Credit of his Oppreſſor was at an end, and that his Bones were honourably interr'd by a publick Order. *Francis* I. made a Reflexion on this, which gave occaſion (*B*) to a very notable Anſwer. We ſhall ſee it below. Conſult the *Continuation of the Menagiana* β.

MONTAUBAN, a Town of *Guienne* in *Querci*, upon the River *Tarn*, is famous on ſeveral accounts. A Gentleman of Worth γ has already communicated to me ſome very good Memoirs concerning this Town; but as he has given me a Promiſe of others much larger, and more exact, I ſhall defer this Article, in hopes of putting it one time or other into the beſt Condition. I only touch upon one thing, which is ſomewhat extraordinary

♪ Y a las en cerradas Monias, ſus Confeſſores les conſeden que tengan ſu viril de barro para ſus concupicentias por que dizen que ſe queman, y aſſi las remedian con eſte grand pecado. *p.* 126.

ζ *At the* Hague, *with the Approbation of the ſame* Arnold. *It's written in Spaniſh with this Title, that the Pope is Anti-Chriſt.*

ϑ Bullart Academ. desScien. tom. 1. p 129.

η Id. ib.

* Id. ib.

† Id. ib.

‡ *And not the 7th of* October 1408, *as* Moreri *affirms. According to him this Man had been Arreſted, Try'd, put to the Queſtion, ſentenced to loſe his Head, and actually Beheaded all in one Day.*

β Pag. 87, 88, ed. of Holl.

γ *Monſieur* YSARN *her before Magiſtr. of* Montauban *now of* Amſterdam. *His merit is well known, even by good Books publiſh'd by him.*

twenty ſix (*g*) Years of Age, and that his chief Works were Printed (*h*) in 1584? He was ſtill living in that Year, as *la Croix du Main* aſſures us (*i*). Either *d'Aubigné* perplexes and confounds the Times, or elſe he ſpeaks of another *du Monin*

(*F*) *The Diſorders which the Vows of Celibacy caus'd in* Spain.] He affirms that the Secular and Regular Clergy walk abroad well arm'd, and fight ſo deſperately when they are attack'd, that the Officers of Juſtice are afraid of 'em. (*k*) *Quanto al voto, bien ſabeys lo que los religiozos y clerigos hazen, que ſalen de ſus caſas con eſpada y broquel, que la miſma juſticia y corxetes temen de encontranſe con ellos, por que dan golpes dezatinados por cauſa del gran ardor libidinoſo, y tambien por no ſer preſos y conocidos. Y muchos Canonigos, por mas modeſta, ſe van a los partidos, deſpues de los maytines a purgarſe con las rameras, para poder dormir. Los demas de la Cleresia tienen ſus deſguaceros y concubinas y muchos hijos dellas.*

(*G*) *Which has often been Printed.*] I know no older Edition than that (*l*) of 1512 at *Paris*. There was another in the ſame City in 1572. The latter was Review'd and Corrected (*m*) *by the Copy in the King's Library*. *Du Cheſne* ſpeaks of an Eddition (*n*) of *Paris* 1603. Add to theſe the Edition of the *Louvre*.

(*H*) *He ſhew'd himſelf a little too partial to the Houſe of* Burgundy.] Mr. *de Sponde* calls him (*o*) *Burgundi fautorem*, tho' in another place (*p*) he owns he is a ſincere Writer, and very exact in ſetting down the Times. *La Popeliniere* makes him ſuſpected, for thus he ſpeaks: (*q*) *Enguerrand de Monſtrelet collecting the moſt notable Tranſactions in* France *after* Froiſſard, *has hardly ſhewn himſelf a better or more judicious Writer, tho' ſomewhat truer perhaps, and leſs paſſionate.* As he had been accuſing *Froiſſard* of extreme partiality for the *Engliſh* againſt the *French*, it could not be his deſign to acquit *Monſtrelet* of impartiality. An Hiſtorian who is ſomewhat leſs prepoſſeſt than another who is ſo to exceſs, is none of the faithfulleſt. He adds, that *Monſtrelet* continued his Hiſtory to *Lewis* XII. and places him in the Year 1500. I believe he is miſtaken as to this laſt date; and I am ſure, that *Monſtrelet*'s Chronicle is not carry'd further down than the five or ſix firſt Years of the Reign of *Lewis* XI. for it ends at the Funeral of *Philip* the Good, Duke of *Burgundy*. *La Popeliniere* made uſe of an Edition, to which the Booksellers had added Supplements, as far as *Lewis* XII. This was the occaſion of his Error.

(*A*) *The Memory* ——— *was juſtified.*] Mr. *Menage* denies it: Theſe are his Words which are full of curious Matter: "(*a*) *James du Breuil* in "his *Paris* Antiquities, at the Chapter concerning "the Foundation of the Celeſtins of *Marcoucy*, has "written that *John de Montaigu*'s Corps was carried "to *Monfaucon*, in a Sack fill'd with Spices; and "that all the time it was at *Monfaucon*, the Cele"ſtines of *Marcoucy* daily gave a certain Sum to "the Executioner of *Paris* to look after it, and that "four Years after his Execution, his Memory ha"ving been vindicated at the ſollicitation of *Vi"dame de Laonnois* his Son, Son-in-Law to the Con"ſtable *d'Albret*, his Eſtate was reſtor'd to his Heirs. "'Tis true, the Body of *John de Montaigu* was taken "down from the Gallows the 27th of *Septemb.* 1412. "after it had hung ſome Years at *Monfaucon*. But "what *du Breuil* ſays of the Sack fill'd with Spices, "and the Executioner's having a charge of his Bo"dy, is a Fable. Nor is it true, that his Memory "had been vindicated. As for his Eſtate, tho' "he had been condemned without the knowledge "of *Charles* VI. yet this Prince granted the forfei"ture to *Lewis* Duke of *Guienne*, the Dauphin. "But 'tis certain, (as I have learn'd from Mr. *Per"rone* (*b*), who has been particularly curious a"bout the Life of *John de Montaigu*) that his E"ſtate was at laſt reſtor'd to his Heirs.

(*B*) *To a very notable Anſwer.*] I'll give it in *Stephen Paſquier*'s Words. "The ſame King, *ſays he*, "(*c*) *ſpeaking of Francis* I. paſſing by the *Celeſtins* of "*Marcoucy*, and asking ſome of the Monks, Who "founded that Monaſtery, was anſwered, that it was "*John de Montaigu*, High Steward of *France*, in the "Reign of *Charles* VI. This Lord had bin hang'd "on a Gibet at *Paris*, to gratifie the Duke of "*Burgundy*, who then domineer'd all *France*. King "*Francis*, as 'twas his uſual way, always to hold "ſome material Diſcourſe, ſaid to the Company, "that he greatly wonder'd, how he who had ſo "long govern'd the King his Maſter, ſhould be "con-

(*a*) Menage, Hiſtoire de Sable, l. 10. ch. 5. p. 271.

(*b*) *He has publiſh'd a Book entitled,* l'Anaſtaſe de Marcouſſy, ou recherches curieuſes de ſon origine, progrès, & agrandiſſement. *Journal des Sçavans of the* 13th *June* 1695. *ſpeaks of it.*

(*c*) Paſquier, Recherches de la France, l. 6. c. 8. p. m. 471.

(*g*) *In the Remark* C. (*h*) *In the Remark* B. (*i*) *Pag.* 221. *of his* Bibliotheque. (*k*) Monſerrate Montannes, p. 126. *I copy him word for word to the very Errors in the Impreſſion if there be any.* (*l*) La Croix du Maine, p. 75. (*m*) Du Verdier Biblioth. Franc. p. 777. (*n*) Du Cheſne, Biblioth. des hiſtor. de France, p. m. 50. (*o*) Spondan. ad ann. 1415. n. 52. p. m. 753. (*p*) Id. ad ann. 1467. n. 2. (*q*) La Popeliniere, hiſtoire des hiſtoires, liv. 8. p. 435.

traordinary, it relates to a ſmall Book, which the Abbot (C) *de la Roque* has inſerted in his Memoirs of the Church.

MONTECATINUS (ANTONY) a Native of *Ferrara*, flouriſhed in the XVIth Century. He read Publick Lectures upon ſeveral Subjects for ſome time, and afterwards was made firſt Profeſſor of Phyloſophy there. He was very particularly favour'd by *Alphonſus* II. Duke of *Ferrara*, who deputed him to the Courts of *Rome* and *France*, and honour'd him with many other (D) Employs. He died at *Ferrara* in 1599. in the 63d. Year of his Age. * We have ſeveral Volumes (E) of his Compoſing.

MONTGAILLARD (BERNARD DE) known by the Name (A) of the *little Feuillant*

* *Taken from* Agoſtino Superbi da Ferrara, pag. 83. & 84. dell' apparato de gli huomini illuſtri della citta di Ferrara.

"condemned to Death; conſidering, that after "ſome Years, his Bones were honourably Interr'd "in this Place, by a Decree of Juſtice: From "whence it was eaſie to conclude, that the Judges "had paſs'd an unrighteous Sentence. Upon which "a Monk anſwer'd the King ſomewhat bluntly, "that his Majeſty was in ſome meaſure miſtaken, "for the *Sieur de Montaigu*'s Trial was not "by Judges, but by Delegates; meaning that "Commiſſioners pack'd to the Humour of a Lord "whoſe Power was then Exorbitant, ſeldom pre-"ſerv'd in their Judgments the Conſcience of "good Judges. Whether this was ſpoken by the "Monk from meer Simplicity, or a well meant "Affectation, it gave occaſion of Laughter, and "ought to have turned to Edification: For to "ſay Truth, Commiſſioners, tho' they are not "pack'd, yet are ever ſuſpected by all grave Per-"ſons, and moſt People think that ſuch Judges "are choſen extraordinarily, only to obtain ſome "advantageous Decree, or to execute ſome pro-"jected Revenge under the Mask of Juſtice; "which the Parliament having taken into conſi-"deration, to prevent Scandal, and give ſome "check to the numbers of People, who are ready "to offer their Service on all ſuch Occaſions. Up-"on a Preſident's Speech in our own time, it was "by a ſolemn Oath decreed, that no Counſellor of "that Court ſhould ever accept or act in any ſuch "Commiſſion, unleſs all the Commiſſioners were "taken from the ſame Body, and not pick'd here "and there out of ſeveral Courts. Which how-"ever is not giving the Diſeaſe an intire Cure, but "only ſome Abatement (d). Theſe good Orders "are but ill obſerv'd.

(d) *See the Article* Grandier, *remarque* F.

(C) *A ſmall Book, which the Abbot de la Roque.*] The Title of it is, *Montauban juſtified, or an Anſwer to the Faithful of the P. R. R. who ask, 1 Whether Salvation may be had in the Roman Church. 2. Whether it be lawful for any Temporal Advantages, and particularly in times of Affliction to change Religion, by J. D. B. and J. L. J. Miniſters of the Holy Goſpel.* To ſhew upon what occaſion this Work was Publiſhed, we muſt know that there happened a popular Tumult at *Montauban* about the Year 1661. Soldiers were ſent thither ſome Months after, and quarter'd for the moſt part in the Proteſtants Houſes; and as they were ſuffer'd to commit Diſorders and live at Diſcretion, and a great many had Billets upon the ſame Houſe, their Landlords began to apprehend that they ſhould ſoon be reduc'd to Beggery. On the other Hand, all the Inhabitants who turned Catholicks, were eaſed of Quartering; This obliged a great many Burghers of *Montauban* to embrace (e) this Religion; Which gave occaſion to the Book we ſpeak of, wherein the Author undertook the Apology of the Inhabitants, who rather choſe to go to Maſs, than to ſee their Families ruined. 'Twas eaſie to diſcover in this Writing, the trace of a Miſſionary's Pen; and yet the Abbot *de la Roque* many Years after, inſerted it intire (f) into his Memoires of the Church, as the Work of a good Proteſtant. He advances with a moſt egregious Confidence, that this Book was Publiſhed by two Miniſters of upper *Guienne*, in the Face of all their Congregations, and all their Brethren; whilſt no Body of the Party was at the Pains of diſabuſing the Publick, as to the Point which theſe two Divines had advanc'd, that the *Huguenots* might without Scruple of Conſcience turn Catholicks, *&c.* With the ſame Aſſurance, he affirms that this Work pacify'd the Troubles and Diſturbances in Conſciences and Families, when many Inhabitants of *Montauban* abjured the Proteſtant Religion, to be freed from quartering Soldiers: For which Reaſon, adds he, I inſert it intire in my Memoires, as well becauſe it is a curious Piece, as becauſe it is very ſcarce, there being hardly a Copy of it to be found. This Conduct is the effect either of groſs Ignorance, or inexcuſable Fraud. No Proteſtant ever took the Book of *Montauban juſtified* for that of a Miniſter. Father *Meynier*, a great Perſecutor in the way of Law-Suit, was ſuſpected to be the Author of it; as alſo of (g) an Oration, which had been ſpread ſome time before, and which Mr. *Euſtache* Miniſter of *Montpellier* anſwered by a little Book Intit'led *the Orator Tertullus convicted* The Suſpicion was well grounded; for *Aligami*'s *Continuator* aſcribes the Book we ſpeak of to the Jeſuit *Meynier*. Could the Abbot *de la Roque* be ignorant of this Fact? And were not there ſufficient Marks of Impoſture in all this Work? By the way, it is ſo full of Paſſages of Proteſtant Authors, wherein the true Church is acknowledged to be diſperſed in ſeveral Communions without excepting the Roman, that 'tis ſtrange Mr *Naude* ſhould look upon Mr. *Jurieu*'s Syſteme as a new thing.

(e) *Moſt of them return'd to the Proteſtant Religion as ſoon as the Storm was over.*

(f) *Publiſh'd at* Paris 1690.

(g) *It is of the Title of* Harangue des Sages de la R. P. R. à la Reine.

(D) *With many other Employs.*] This is what was put in *Montecatinus*'s Epitaph, as it is related by *Agoſtino Superbi* (h). *Alfonſo II Duci ſerenissimo aures, conſilia, operam fideliter præſtitit. Legatimus pro illo ad Regem Gall. Ad Summos Pont. perfugit. Urbem Regii rexit; non ſemel univerſam ditionem Conſiltarius pro Dux adm.niſtravit. Ferrariæ tribunatum geſſit.*

(h) *In his apparatus to the Hiſtory of the Illuſtrious Perſons of* Ferrara, *pag.* 84.

(E) *We have ſeveral Volumes of his Compoſing.*] He Publiſhed at *Ferrara* in 1587. a Commentary upon *Ariſtotle*'s Politicks. It is in Folio, dedicated to Cardinal *Ruſticucci*, and Printed by *Victorio Baldino* Printer to the Duke. At the beginning, there are 22 Tables, containing an Analyſis of *Ariſtotle*'s entire Work of Politicks. He made ſuch another Commentary on the ſecond Book of the ſame Work of *Ariſtotle*, which was Printed at *Ferrara* by *Benedict Mamarellus* in 1594. *in Folio* with this Title, *Ariſtotelis Politicorum, hoc eſt, civilium librorum liber ſecundus, ab Antonio Montecatino in Latinam linguam converſus, & partitionibus, reſolutionibus, ſcholiis illuſtratus* He Dedicated it to Cardinal *Peter Aldobrandin*, Nephew to *Thomas Aldobrandin*, who tranſlated *Diogenes Laertius*; he ſays that a Diſcourſe he had had at *Rome* with this Tranſlator 28 Years before, was what determined him to Dedicate his Book to this young Cardinal. The Year does not appear in the Date of the Epiſtle Dedicatory, but doubtleſs we are to underſtand the Year 1594. He adds three other Tracts to this Volume, namely, *Platonis libri decem de Republica, & Antonii Montecatini in eos partitiones, & quaſi paraphraſis quædam: Platonis libri duodecim de legibus, vel de legumlatione & Epinomis, & leges quæ in libris illis ſparſim ſunt diffuſæ, ab Antonio Montecatino in epitomen & ordinem quemdam redactæ: quinque veterum rerumpublicarum Hypodamiæ, Laconicæ, Creticæ, Carthaginenſis, Athenienſis contra quas Ariſtoteles in poſteriori parte ſecundi politici diſputavit, antiqua fragmenta.* His Commentary upon the third Book of *Ariſtotle*'s Politicks, was Printed at *Ferrara* in 1597. *in Folio*, by *Victorio Baldino*. He had in 1591. Printed (a) his Commentary *in octavum librum phyſicæ Ariſtotelis.* I don't know the Year of the Impreſſion of his Commentary *in primam partem libri tertii Ariſtotelis de anima.* Let us ſee whether *Naude* ſpeaks advantageouſly of this Author. *Ad Platonem quod attinet*, ſays he (b), *tres, quos noverim, commentatores ſibi nimirum nactus eſt, Antonium nempe Montecatinum qui libros de republica Platonis & Ariſtotelis duodecim notis, tabulis, diſtinctionibus explicare conatus, ninguam neque ſibi, neque lectori ſuo ſatisfecit.*

(a) In folio.

(b) Naudæus bibliogr. polit. pag. m. 27.

(A) *By the Name of the* little Feuillant] This would induce us to believe, that he was a very little Man, and yet he was of a middling Stature. But the Name was given him, when he firſt began to be known at *Paris*. He was then very little, and tho' he was 20 Years old, he had not done

growing

Feuillant in the times of the League, Son of *Bertrand de Percin* (B) Lord of *Montgaillard*[b] was born in 1563. He became a *Feuillant* in the Year 1579. and immediately fell to Preaching, tho' he had not ſtudied Divinity. He Preached at *Rieux*, at *Rhodes*, and *Toulouſe* with ſuch Succeſs, that theſe Words of Scripture were applied to him, *Bleſſed is the Womb that bare thee.* The Court of *France* was no leſs charm'd with his Sermons, than the Province of *Languedoc*. He went to *Paris*, when King *Henry* III. invited the Order of the *Feuillants* thither; and had not Preached twice, before this Prince and the Queen-Mother apponited him to Preach the Sermon at the Inſtallment of the Knights of the Holy Ghoſt, which was to be perform'd at the *Auguſtines*. He ſucceeded admirably in this Sermon, and came off with no leſs Reputation in Preaching at the *Louvre*, and elſewhere; which made the King deſire that he ſhould Preach all the *Lent*, in the Royal Pariſh of St. *Germaine de Lauxerrois*. Theſe Sermons and thoſe he Preach'd at St. *Severine*, got him the Reputation of the famouſeſt Preacher, that *had been known at* Paris *in the Memory of Man, ſo many Talents he had for the Pulpit, and eſpecially for moving and maſtering the Paſſions, and ſubduing Souls.* Some devout Women, and amongſt others Dame *Acarie*, choſe him (C) for their Director. He exerciſed ſo many Acts of Mortification amongſt the *Feuillants*, that the Pope commanded him to quit that Order, to prevent the ſhortning his Life. Having eſpouſed the Intereſts of the League (D) with too much heat, he retired into the *Netherlands*, where he was in great Eſteem. He ſpoke ſome †Funeral Orations by order of the Archduke **Albert*, and afterwards that of this Prince in the Year 1622. He was then Abbot of *Orval*. He died of a Dropſy in that Abbey the Eighth of *June* 1628. *He had always deſired to be buried under a Gutter, and 'twas only to avoid the charge of Affectation, that he at laſt conſented, that his Body ſhould be laid at the Foot of the Stairs which go from the great Dormitory to the Church.* His Life has been Publiſhed, and all the great Miracles are recounted in it, which God had wrought (E) for him

† *That of the Archduke* Erneſt *Brother of the Archduke* Albert, *and that of the Empreſs their Mother.*

* *The Archduke died the 13th of* July 1621. *His Funeral was ſolemnized the 12th of* March *following; the Abbot* d'Orval. *Preach'd the Sermon.*

growing (c). This Name ſtuck by him, even when a maturer Age had put him out of the number of little Men. This Account comes to me from the ſame Hand which ſent the Body of the Article, I am indebted for both to the Curious and Learned Author of the Notes upon *Sancy*'s Confeſſion, and the *Catholicon* of *Spain*.

(b) *Son of* Bertrand de Percin *Lord of* Montgaillard.] And of *Antoinette du Vaillet*, both of noble and ancient Families in the City of *Toulouſe*. The Family of *Montgaillard* is ſtill in Luſtre. The Biſhop of St. *Pons* ſo well known by his Writings, and ſo much eſteemed by the Proteſtants, for his openly diſapproving the Violence that was done the Reformed, by forcing 'em to Communicate, is of this Family.

(C) *Dame* Acarie *choſe him for their Director.*] She was Wife to the Sieur *Acarie* Maſter of Accompts. He was called "by Irony, the Lacquey of the "League (a) becauſe, tho' lame of a Leg, he was "one of thoſe who went and came, and beſtirr'd "himſelf with the greateſt Zeal for the Intereſts "of the Party; he was the Husband of the Bleſ-"ſed *Mary* of the Incarnation, by whoſe good "Examples he profited ill. The Author of the New Notes upon the *Catholicon*, has communicated to me a Reflection he has made. Whilſt this furious Leaguer's Wife, ſays he, was under the Direction of the little *Feuillant*, ſhe was far from diſapproving the League: It was not therefore on this Account, that her Husband profited ill by her Example. The better to know this Woman, we muſt read what follows: "(f) *Mary* "*Alais*, this Man's Wife, was a Devote, (1) known "at preſent by the Name of *the Bleſſed* Mary *of* "*the Incarnation*: In her Widowhood ſhe re-"tired to the Houſe of the *Beguines*, called the "Chapel of St. *Avoye*; which is a Houſe for "Widows, where ſhe was made Superiour (2). Her Life is printed at *Paris* by *Thierry*.

(D) *Having eſpouſed the Intereſts of the League with too much Heat.*] The Author of the Notes upon the Confeſſion of *Sancy* informs me, that that part of the Life of the little *Feuillant* in the Book, is very ſlightly touched, the Extracts of which he has communicated to me. Wretched Law of Panegyrick, which permits the ſuppreſſing the Infamy of thoſe who are to be praiſed! But in vain are they ſuppreſſed in this Book; they are to be be found elſewhere. Here's a Paſſage from the *Catholicon*, where a Proceſſion of the League's deſcrib'd. (g) "Amongſt others there were ſix "Capuchins, having each a Helmet on his Head, "with a Plume of Feathers on it, they were "dreſt out in Coats of Maile, with Swords by "their ſides, girt on over their Habits; one car-"rying a Launce, another a Croſs, a third a Jave-"lin, a fourth an Arquebuſe, a fifth a Croſs-bow, "all cover'd with ruſt out of a Catholick Humi-"lity: The reſt had Pikes, which they often "ſhook, for want of better Paſtime, except one "lame *Feuillant* (3), who being armed Cap-a-pe "made himſelf way with Broad-Sword and a "Battle-Ax, (his Breviary ſlung behind him) and "drew the Eyes of all the Spectators, whilſt "ſtanding on one Foot, he flouriſh'd his Sword "before the Ladies." I have put in the Margin the Note of the Edition of 1677. The Author of the new Notes has obſerved at the 308th Page, that *this Action of Brother* Bernard de Montgaillard *is moſt true*, but not in a Proceſſion for the ſucceſs of the League in 1593. as the Author of the *Catholicon* ſuppoſes, but *at the Muſter of the Eccleſiaſticks and Monks at the Siege of* Paris *in* 1590. He refers us to *Thuanus*, whoſe Words I am going to cite: (h) *Omnium oculos in ſe convertebat Bernardus è Foliceano ordine adhuc juvenis nuperâ Henrico III. Rege concionibus notus apud populum, qui altero pede claudus nuſquam certo loco conſiſtens, ſed huc illuc curſitans, modo in fronte, modo in agminis tergo latum enſem ambabus manibus vocabat, & claudicationis vitium gladiatoria mobilitate emendabat.* Mr. *Maimbourg* will tell us, what ſhare this Monk had in the horrible Crimes of the Leaguers. "(i) The "Preachers, the moſt famous whereof were the "Curates *Pelletier*, *Boucher*, *Guincheſtre*, *Pigenat*, and "*Aubry*, Father *Bernard de Montgaillard*, ſirnamed "the little *Feuillant*, and the famous *Cordelier Feu-*"*ardent*, preaching in the Pariſhes of *Paris*, during "the Feſtival of *Chriſtmaſs*, changed their Sermons "into Invectives, againſt the ſacred Perſon of "the King, *&c.* . . . (k) The Dutcheſs was re-"ceived at *Paris* with all imaginable Honour, "and an incredible Joy of the People, who re-"verenc'd her as the Mother of two Holy Mar-"tyrs; and the little *Feuillant* preaching (1) One "Day before her, forgat himſelf ſo far, as to ſay, "turning about to her, but addreſſing his Words "to the late Duke of *Guiſe*, *O Holy and Glorious* "*Martyr of God, bleſſed is the Womb that bare thee,* "*and the Paps that thou haſt ſucked*;" Nor was he content to be a Trumpeter of Sedition in the Pulpit, but ſuborned an Aſſaſſin to Murther *Henry* IV. See the Remark G.

(E) *The great Miracles are recounted in it, which God had wrought for him and by him.*] He was heal'd twice by a Miracle, at the interceſſion of the Holy Virgin his Protectreſs. The firſt of theſe Miracles, "(b) was wrought at *Paris* about the "Year 1589. by *Roze* Biſhop of *Senlis*, who at the "Sollicitation of the Provincial of the Jeſuits, "conſented at laſt to touch this Man's Tongue, "whoſe Speech had been taken away by a mortal "Catarrhe; ſo that upon pronouncing the Word "*Eſtata*, by the Holy *Roze*, followed with the "Hymn *Ave maris ſtella*, ſung by Monſieur *de* "*Mayenne* and *Nemours*, with the Monks of the "Convent, when they came to the Words *ut vi-*

"*dentes*

(a) *Marets* Samuel des) *remark A.*

(c) *He uſes the Notes on the Catholicon; that is, the Notes of the Edition of 1677. but theſe Notes ſay only that he was called* Lacquey by an Irony, becauſe he was lame. *This is a bad Reaſon, what* Maimburg *ſupplies is more probable; but he ſhould not have forgot the circumſtance of Lameneſs as one part of the Reaſon why he was call'd Lacquey.*

(f) *Notes on the Catholicon pag.* 478. *edit. of Holland* 1696.

(1) Maimbourg, Hiſt. de la Ligue l. 1. en 1584.

(2) Bonfons Ant. *of* Paris, *fol.* 165. *Edition of* 1665.

(g) *Catholicon p.* 15.

(3) *This was Brother* Bernard, *called the little* Feuillant, *who afterwards quitted* Flanders, *where he lived a long time and enjoy'd an Abbey.*

(h) Thuan lib. 98. circa fin. pag. m. 359. ad ann. 1590.

(i) Maimbourg hiſt. de la Ligue, liv. 3. pag. 205.

(k) Id. ib. pag. 305.

(1) Journal de Henri III.

(b) *From the Memoir communicated by the Author of the Notes on the Confeſſion of* Sancy.

him and by him. No Body will offer to deny but he had gone thro' a great deal of (*F*) evil Report: But 'tis alleg'd that 'twas all Calumny, and that he (*G*) never attempted the Life of *Henry* the Great. * We muſt ſay a Word or two of a (*H*) Print of him. Nor ought we to forget † that *Juſtus Lipſius* has much extolled this Monk's Piety and Eloquence.

† *See the 79th Letter of the Century of* Lipſius. *ad Germanos & Gallos.*

* *Taken from a Memoir which has been communicated to me by the Author of the Notes on the Catholick Confeſſion of* Sancy, *and on the Catholicon of* Spain. *He took it from a Book, the Title of which he finds me in theſe Words:* Les ſaintes montagnes & collines d'Orval & de Clairevaux, vive repreſentation de la vie exemplaire & religieux trepas du reverend Pere en Dieu Dom Bernard Montgaillard, Abbé de l'Abbaye d'Orval, de l'Ordre de Ciſteaux, au pais de Luxembourg, Predicateur ordinaire de leurs Alteſſes Sereniſſimes, ſur le modele de l'incomparable Sainct Bernard Abbé de Clairevaux, & du grand Legiſlateur Moiſe. Au jour & celebrité de ſes exequies faites ſolennellement trois jours durant, en l'Egliſe d'Orval les 10 11 & 12. jours d'Octobre l'an 1628. Par reverend Pere en Dieu Meſſire I. André Valladier, Docteur en Theologie, Conſeiller, Aumoſnier, & Predicateur ordinaire du Roy Treſ-Chreſtien, Abbé de l'Abbaye Royale de Sainct Arnould de Metz, de l'Ordre de Sainct Benoiſt. Imprimé à Luxembourg chez Hubert Reuland 1629 (*a*) *From the Memoir communicated by the Author of the Notes on the Confeſſion of* Sancy. (*F*) *Taken from the ſame Memoir.* (*G*) *The only Paſſage that appears under his Name, is the Funeral Oration of Archduke* Albert.

" *dentes Jeſum*, the dying Perſon (for whom the " Prayer *Egredere anima Chriſtiana* had already " been ſaid,) repeated *Jeſum*, ſpoke afterwards and " preached the Sunday following, the ſecond Day " after the Miracle. The other Adventure is of " the Year 1619. at which time Father *Bernard* " being almoſt given over, having had a Stoppage " of Urine for 14 Days, the Virgin of *Montaigu*, to " whom nine Days Devotion had been made in his " behalf, deliver'd him of 22 Pounds of Water, " and a Stone which he voided at the ſame time." This Monk's Panegyrick is beſides ſtuffed with " (*c*) Revelations, Contemplations, and Extaſies, " which were ſo frequent with the Deceas'd, that " they deſtroyed his Appetite for Eating and " Drinking, and he'd have died of 'em, if he had " not himſelf prevail'd with God, that he might " be deliver'd from any violenter Degrees in this " kind.... Scarce was he expired, when a Dropſy, " of which he died, gave Occaſion to a Miracle. " As he was extraordinarily ſwollen, his Body " could not at firſt be got into the Leaden Coffin " deſign'd for him. And while they were waiting " till it was made wider, a Monk ſeized that Oppor- " tunity to kiſs once more his poor Abbot: At that " Moment he perceiv'd to ſtream from the Face " of the Dead, ſo Divine and Miraculous an " Odour, that he ſeem'd to him to be perfectly " renovated in Body and Soul. . . . A Religious " of great Merit and Quality, having always " had the profoundeſt Veneration for the Holy " Abbot, ſpake to him in his Sleep: Sure you " are happy; to which he anſwer'd, Yes, I am " happy. His Panegyriſt was beſides ſo perſuaded, " that he had not paſs'd through the Fire of Pur- " gatory, that during the three Maſſes, which he " celebrated to his Memory, during the Three " Days of his Obſequies, it never came once " into his Thoughts to pray to God for his Soul." By theſe Samples, the Reader may eaſily Judge, that our Panegyriſt has not falſified his Character. I wonder the Catholicks dare reproach the Proteſtants, that *England* has ſwarm'd with Fanaticks ſince the Reformation.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*F*) *He had gone thro' a great deal of evil Report.*] " (*d*) Tho' he ever affected to be thought very " Chaſte and Diſcreet, yet he was accuſed more " than once, of giving Women of a lewd Life fre- " quent acceſs to his Houſe (a Scandal which his Pa- " negyriſt complains he had himſelf ſhar'd in com- " mon with him). 'Tis ſaid alſo that the little *Feuil-* " *lans*, had put one of his Monks to a cruel Death: " As ſoon as it was heard that this Monk, who " as 'twas ſaid, had the overſeeing of one of the " Forges of the Abbey of *Orval*, was fall'n into " the Forge, and burn'd to Aſhes, it was preſently " given out that he had thrown himſelf into it: " But upon further Inquiry, it was not at all " doubted in *France*, that his Abbot had cauſed " him to be caſt into it upon ſome Affront re- " ceiv'd from him. Another time he was accuſed " by a Gentleman at two different times of de- " ſigning to Aſſaſſinate him: 'Tis true, this Gen- " tleman is ſaid to have been baffled in his Accu- " ſations, but whether for want of Proof, or thro' " the exceſs of the Archduke's Favour to this Ab- " bot, does not appear

(*d*) *Taken from the foreſaid Memoir.*

(*G*) *He never attempted the Life of* Henry *the Great.*] To conſider theſe Words of *Peter Victor Cayet*, one can hardly acquit him of this horrible Deſign. " The next Day after the Prior of " the *Jacobins* was taken, the *Sieur de Rougemont* " was alſo ſeiz'd, who underſtanding that King " *Henry* IV. was in the Suburbs of *Paris*, came " thither: But upon ſome advice the King had " received of his Deſign, he was ſecur'd and car- " ry'd away, together with the ſaid Prior, to the " Goal of *Tours*. Being examined, he Confeſs'd " that being of the Pretended Reformed Reli- " gion, he had retired in the Year 85 to *Sedan*, from " whence the Neceſſity of his Family obliged him " to return to his Houſe, by becoming a Catholick. " But in *July* laſt, meeting with the little *Feuil-* " *lant* at *Paris*, after much Diſcourſe about his " Converſion, falling from one Subject to ano- " ther, on the Neceſſities and Indigence of the " ſaid *Rougemont*, the ſaid *Feuillant* told him it was " in his Power to do a great deal of Service to " God and the Church: he anſwer'd him, that he " ſhould think himſelf very happy if he knew " how; the ſaid *Feuillant* told him, it was by kil- " ling the King of *Navarre*, by executing which, " he could aſſure him, he ſhould never want a " comfortable Livelihood, that having had much " Diſcourſe at ſeveral times with the ſaid *Feuil-* " *lant*, upon this Propoſition and the Means of " accompliſhing it; at laſt it was agreed, that " he ſhould go into the King's Army, and pre- " tending once more to turn Heretick, ſhould " take his Opportunity to Piſtol the King of *Na-* " *varre*. But he telling him, that he had not " Money to put himſelf in an Equipage to go into " the Army, the ſaid *Feuillant* gave him 4 or " Crowns, upon the Receipt of which, he re- " tired to his Houſe near *Corneil*, promiſing to " execute the Conſpiracy: But inſtead of that, " gave notice of it to Monſieur *de la Noue*, deſiring " him to acquaint the King with it. That when " the ſaid little *Feuillant* had ſome time after writ- " ten to him, ſolliciting him to execute the De- " ſign: He kept his Letters, and ſent him Ex- " cuſes for his Money, and was now come to the " Suburbs of *Paris*, only to do the King Service. " All theſe Excuſes had been impertinent, if he " had not prov'd his giving intimation of the whole " to Monſieur *de la Noue*. After a long Impriſon- " ment, he was forbidden by a Decree to come " within ten Leagues of the King's Perſon; theſe " are horrible Deſigns for Churchmen to be " guilty of." This Paſſage is found in the 228th Leaf of the 1ſt Tome of *Peter Victor Cayet's Novenal Chronology* under the Year 1589. and was ſhewn me by the Author of the New Notes upon the *Catholicon*. The little *Feuillant*'s Panegyriſt inſiſts but ſlightly on the Years of the League: He ſpeaks of 'em in a rambling manner, and ſhews every thing on the faireſt ſide; he declares in general, that this Monk (*c*) " had the Glory of " being the moſt Powerful, the moſt Thundering, " and Zealous, as well as the moſt Sincere and " Diſintereſted Inſtrument in bringing *Henry* IV. " into the Pale of the Church. 'Tis true he inſi- " nuates, that he was accuſed of being an Ac- " complice in ſome Conſpiracies againſt this " Prince's Life, but adds, that this Prince clear'd " him by his Ambaſſadors to *Clement* VIII. to " whom they were alſo order'd to ſignifie *Henry* IV's " Eſteem for Father *Bernard*." This needed a Citation of ſome printed Book of undoubted Authority.

(*H*) *A Word or two of a Print of him.*] " (*f*) Our " Abbot's Panegyriſt tells us, that he always lay " upon a Plank, and that a Joint-Stool ſerved him " for a Pillow. But to make himſelf amends, " it appears he took his Eaſe in the Day-time; " for his Print repreſents him ſeated in an eaſie " Chair, filled with a noble Cuſhion, which ſeems " to be ſtuffed with the fineſt down. Before his " Eyes is placed a Picture of a N D to whom " the Holy Abbot ſheds theſe Words from his " Pen: *O Domina mea, quid hæc facio? educe de ca-* " *cere animam meam, ad confitendum nomini tuo.* At " a Diſtance is ſeen a heap (*a*) of Volumes a " Fire, and by the ſequel of the Book, we find " they are the Volumes Compoſed by the little " *Feuillant*, which this Abbot himſelf ſet Fire to " out

MONTMAUR* (Peter De) Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue in the College Royal of *Paris*, in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. was reckoned (*A*) the greateſt Paraſite of his time, and made himſelf ſo odious to (*B*) the Wits; that they employ'd againſt him all the Art and Artillery of the moſt ſcurrilous Satyr. He ſtudied *a* Humanity under the Jeſuits of *Bordeaux*, and as he had an extraordinary Memory, he gave ſuch Hopes of his Progreſs, that they prevailed with him to take the Jeſuits Habit. He was ſent *γ* to *Rome*, where he taught Grammar for three Years with great Reputation. He was afterwards diſmiſs'd, on account of his weakly Conſtitution. He ſet up *ξ* for a Druggiſt at *Avignon*, and got a great deal of Money that way; then he came to *Paris*, and *μ* not finding his Account at the Bar, he betook himſelf to Poetry *φ*, hoping to ſhare in the Favours by which Cardinal *Richelieu* diſtinguiſh'd the good Poets; he cultivated the childiſh Part of that Art, I mean Anagrams, (*C*) and ſuch like playing with Words. He ſucceeded *Δ Goulu* in the Royal Profeſſors Chair of the Greek Tongue. Theſe are the true Facts I thought I might borrow from his Life, compos'd by Mr. *Menage*, and intermixt

* *I have found this Name ſpell'd ſeveral different ways in printed Books,* Monmor, Mommor, Monmaur, Mommaur, Montmor. *I have follow'd that which he himſelf uſed*

" out of Humility, upon recovering from a fit of " Sickneſs; ſeeing one of his Monks, whom he " had commanded to do it, expreſs a Reluctance. " Of one Side of him ſtands a Lamb, which the " Book ſays had appear'd to him, when at the " ſame time he heard a Voice, juſt before the rai- " ſing of ſome Calumnies againſt him in *Flanders*, " cry out thrice in one Night, *have a Care.* At " his Feet are four Mitres, that of the Biſhoprick " of *Angers*, which a little after his arrival at " *Paris*, *Henry* III. offer'd him by Mr. *de Mon-* " *thelon* and *Miron*, Counſellors in the Court, and " which he refuſed; thoſe of the Biſhoprick of " *Pamiez*, and of the famous Abbey of *Marimond*, " which he alſo refus'd, and employ'd his Intereſt " to get them beſtow'd on others; and that of the " Abbey of *Nizelle*, which the Arch-duke gave him, " that he might always be near him, but which " he kept no longer, than the firſt Vacancy of the " great and opulent Abbey of *Orval*.

a Menagius in vita Gargilii Mamurræ p. m. 10.

γ Id. ib. pag. 11.

ξ Id. ib.

μ Id. ib. pag. 12.

φ Id ib. pag. 15.

Δ Id ib pag. 17.

(*A*) *Was reckoned the greateſt Paraſite of his time.*] I'll only cite four Verſes of Mr. *Boileau*.

Tandis (*b*) *que Pelletier crotté juſqu' à l'echine,*
S'en va chercher ſon pain de cuiſine en cuiſine,
S avant in ce metier, ſi chér aux beaux Eſprits,
Dont Monmaur autrefois fit leçon dans Paris.

(*b*) Boileau ſatire 1. p. m. 19.

(*B*) *He made himſelf ſo odious to the Wits, that they employld againſt him.*] The Commentary of this Text ſhall be taken from the *Valeſiana*. " (*c*) " The Profeſſor *Montmaur* loved to make good " Chear at anothers Expence. He gave himſelf " admittance into the Houſes of Great Men, who " kept the beſt Tables, by the help of ſome " Greek and Latin Sentences, the Coin in which " he always paid for his Ordinary. After he " had Eat and Drank plentifully, to divert " his Entertainers, he fell to ſlandering all the " Learned both living and dead, and not one " of 'em could eſcape his Laſh. Moſt of the " Learned thought themſelves obliged to cele- " brate him as he deſerved, and to do him Juſtice. " Mr. *Menage* was the firſt who ſounded, as I may " ſay, the Alarm againſt him. He Compoſed his " Life in Latin, and at the end of this Piece in a " ſmall Epigram of five Verſes, he exhorted all " the Learned to take Arms againſt this common " Enemy. I (*d*) was not willing to be one of the " laſt, that ſhould engage in ſo pleaſant a War; " I Printed two Latin Pieces of this Profeſſor, " one in Proſe, and the other in Verſe, with " Notes: And tho' theſe two Pieces together con- " tain but eight Pages, I divided 'em into two " Tomes. I added afterwards his Life written " by Mr. *Menage*, and all the Latin and French " Verſes I could collect from ſeveral Hands, to " which I joyned ſome Latin Epigrams, which " I had made upon him. As every one took Mar- " tial Names, I did the like, taking that of *Quin-* " *tius Januarius Fronto*. Theſe three Names fitted " me perfectly well, *Quintus*, becauſe I was the Fifth " Brother, *Januarius*, becauſe I was born in *January*, " and *Fronto*, becauſe I have a large and high Fore- " head. This Book was Printed at *Paris* in 1643. " in 4*to*. with this Title, *Petri Montmauri Græcarum* " *Literarum Profeſſoris Regii Opera in duos Tomos di-* " *viſa, iterum edita & notis nunc primùm illuſtrata à* " *Quinto Januario Frontone.* It's very ſcarce."

(*c*) *Valeſiana pag. 36. and the following Edition of* Holl.

* *You'll find it below at the Remark. I.*

(*d*) *That's to ſay* Hadrian Valois.

As ſcarce as it is, I have ſeen one Copy of it. Mr. *Simon de Valhebert* (*e*) did me the Favour to ſend it me. Poor *Montmaur* was made ſo ridiculous, that the moſt ſtupid began to hoot at him; for the firſt Tome of his Works, they Publiſh'd a Writing Intit'led *Nemeſis in maledicos calumniatoris Busbe-* *quii Manes, ob convicia ab eo temere, malignè, falſò, & contra jus gentium Epiſtolæ XLII. inſerta adverſus Auguſta Galliæ Parlamenta*, which only contains two Pages. In this there is nothing but Proſe; but the Second Volume contains a mixture of Proſe and Verſe. The Proſe conſiſts in a Letter of three Pages, *amiciſſimo, doctiſſimo & ſupra ſæculi fidem & morem candido* D. D. MAIGNE DUCIS FRONTIACI *quondam præceptori*. The reſt is of the ſame length, and conſiſts of an Elegy, the Title whereof is almoſt as long as the Piece it ſelf; which is this: *Epicedion Generoſiſſ. & Illuſtriſſ. Principis* ELEONORI AURELIANENSIS DUCIS FRONSIACI, *quem XXXV. vulneribus confoſſum in obſidione Montiſp ſſulani fortiter & ſtrenuè dimicantem acerbæ & immaturæ mors oppreſſit annos natum. XVII. paucis ante diebus quam pax firmaretur. Et matris mæſtiſſimæ Illuſtriſſ. Princip.* ANNÆ NOMPARIS CALMONTIÆ *proſopopœia*. This was Printed in the Year 1622. ten Years before the ſhort Invective againſt *Busbequius*. I have ſeen alſo by the Favour of Mr. *Simon de Valhebert*, a Book in 12*mo*. Printed in (*f*) *Germany* in 1665. It is Intit'led *opulum paraſiticum, quod eruditi conditores, inſtructoreſque* Car. Feramuſius, Ægid. Menagius, Jo. Franciſcus Saracenus, Nic. Rigaltius, & Jo. Lud. Balſacius *hilarem epulantibus in modum* Macrino Paraſitogrammatico, Gargilio Mamurræ Paraſito Pædagogo, Gargilio Macroni paraſitoſophiſtæ, G. Orbilio Muſcæ, L. Biberio Curculioni atque Barboni *jucunde apparurunt & comiter*. All this is preceded by a very Learned Preface, and very well ſuited to the Subject. This Collection contains the five ſharpeſt Satyrs that have appear'd againſt *Montmaur*. Thus you ſee, that Men of profound Learning were concern'd in it: You ſee Mr. *Rigault* in the Title of this Collection: 'Tis he that made the *Funus Paraſiticum, ſive L. Liberii Curculionis Paraſiti Mortualia ad ritum priſci funeris*. This is one of the five Pieces It has been join'd to *Kirchmannus*'s Treatiſe *de Funeribus Romanorum*, in the *Amſterdam* Edition 1672. The Ingenious *Sarraſin*, who engaged in this War, was one of the braveſt Combatants. We ſee great Politeneſs, and a Literature happily choſen, and finely applied in his *Attici ſecundi G. Orbilius Muſca, ſive bellum Paraſiticum, ſatira*. This alſo is one of the five Pieces. It has not been omitted in the Collection of *Sarraſin*'s Works.

(*e*) *Abbe* Bignon's *Library Keeper.*

(*f*) *At* Nuremberg.

I ſhall mention ſome other Pieces, that were made againſt *Montmaur*, beſides thoſe I ſhall ſpeak of below. (*g*) Mr. *de Vion d'Alibrai* made 73 Epigrams *againſt this Paraſite: The Collection is Intit'led* Anti-Gomor, *and is one of the* Anti's, *which Mr.* Baillet *has forgotten*. You'll find two of theſe 73 Epigrams in the Second Edition (*h*) of the *Menagiana*, with ſome Verſes of *Malleville* upon the ſame Subject. *Hadrian Valois* was not the only Perſon, who undertook to Publiſh this Paraſite's Writings with Notes; for I find theſe Words in the Life of *Mamurra* written by Mr. *Menage*: (*i*) *Præter eos autem* (libros Mamurræ) *qui in vulgus ſunt editi, in quos doctiſſimæ juxta atque elegantiſſimæ extant M.* DENTONIS *Notæ, ſcripſit & alios.*

(*g*) Menagiana pag. 314: de la 2. edit. de Hollande.

(*h*) Ibid. pag. 314-315.

(*i*) Menag. in vita Gargilii Mamurræ pag. 31.

(*C*) *Anagrams and ſuch like playing with Words.*] Here's a Paſſage out of Mr. *Menage*'s Origine of the French Tongue: " (*k*) MONTMORISME. So we have call'd of late all Quibbles, conſiſting in a mere gingle of Words, " which

(*k*) Menage, Origines de la langue Françoiſe pag. 511. edit. 1694.

mixt with many Ingenious and Satyrical Fictions. I have not been able to discover in it his Native Country, but if we take some Words of another Satyr litterally, we must suppose him born (*D*) in *Quercy*; and yet it's a mistake, for *Limosin* was the Place of his Birth. I have read in the Memoirs of the Abbot *de Villeloin*, that in 1617 he was Tutour (*E*) to the Mareschal *de Praslin*. I shall touch upon one curious Passage, which will at once shew his own venial Romancing, (*F*) and the falsity of a Story Published against him. It may in my Opinion be said without Favour or Affection, that this Man was not near so contemptible as he is represented. He loved good Eating; he went to Dine with great Men oftner than he ought to have done; he talk'd to 'em I don't doubt, with great

" which the Latins call *annominationes*. And this " Name we give 'em from *Peter Montmaur*, " King's Professor of Greek, who affected this " way of Punning. The *Greeks* in like manner " term'd it γοργιάζειν, from the Rhetorician *Gorgias* the *Leontine*, who affected these (*a*) An- " nominations. See *Philostratus* in his Epistle to " *Julia Augusta*." Add to this a Passage out of the Catalogue of Authors, who presented their Works to the Abbot of *Marolles*. (*b*) *Peter de* " *de Montmaur*, Professor Royal in the Greek " Tongue; for many Latin Devises and Inscrip- " tions, which generally consist in a base affinity of " Names, and in Words of a double meaning, in " which he had a faculty that pleas'd himself highly.

(*a*) 'Twas not in this that the Character of Gorgias consisted.

(*b*) Abbé de Marolles denombrement des Auteurs pag. 425.

(*D*) *We must suppose him born in* Quercy] *Feramus* Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, was one of *Montmaur*'s most malignant Satyrists. He writ a Latin Poem call'd *Macrini parasitogrammatei* HIMEPA *ad Celsum* which Mr *de Valois* the Younger inserted in his Collection, and Mr *Menage* afterwards printed in his Book (*c*) of Miscellanies. 'Tis also one of the five Pieces of the *Nuremberg* Collection. Here's a fragment of this Poem: We'll give others in the following Notes.

Tu (*d*), MEMMI, *decus Aonidum immortale Sororum,*
Qui famam ingentem meritis superantibus implet,
Tu desperatis rectas spes unica rebus.
Et Musas quòd doctus amas, quòd Pallade Græcâ
Insignis, mediis clarum caput inseris astris,
Nacrinum pateris bonus, & miseris egeni
Tabentisque fame, nullo miserante, Sophistæ.
Græca etenim cum verba sonat, licet ore Cadurco,
Illa placent, seris didicit quæ Græculus annis.
Ecce tibi properatus adest, & Κοίραν χαίρε
Ingeminans, mensæ optatum sortitur honorem.

(*c*) It's in the Collection of Hadrian Valois

(*d*) Menagii Miscellan. pag. 11. in libri adoptivi.

But the Anonymus Author of the History (*e*) of the Life and Death of the great *Mogor*, expresses himself more clearly, and affirms, that *Montmaur* was born at *Cahors*, and that his Mother was a noted Prostitute. I mistrusted these Satyrical Writings, and applied my self for better information to Mr *Simon de Valhebert*, who I thought might have heard Mr. *Menage* mention several particulars in Conversation, and might be furnish'd with several Pamphlets about *Montmaur* at the *Abbé Bignon*'s. He had the Civility to inform me amongst other things, (*f*) that this *Professor was a Native of the Parish of* Betaille, *in the lower* Limousin. I have read since a Poem of *Balzac*, which shews that the Province of *Limosin* was his Native Country.

(*e*) *It's in the Collection of* Hadrian Valois

(*g*) Balzac, *at Page* 162. *of* Barbon

Ne (*g*) *jactet nimis Auratum, cunasque Mursi:*
Nobilis hunc quoque tam claris natalibus, asper
Eduxit pago Lemovix; dein magna Tholosa
Civem habuit, proprumque tenet nunc maxima rerum,
Haud cedens Dominæ formosa Lutetia Romæ

We may observe by the way, that those who have Satyrically written his Life, send him first to *Pourdeaux*, without mentioning his Journey to *Toulouse*, and next to *Paris*.

(*E*) *He was made Tutor to the Mareschal de Praslin in* 1617] The Abbot *de Marolles* observes, that the three Sons of the Duke of *Nevers*, had but " one " Tutor called *G. G* of *Orleans*, a Man of no Ge- " nius, who yet was preferr'd before many, and a- " mongst others before *Peter Montmaur* the Grecian, " who succeeded the other as Tutor to the eldest " Son of the *Mareschal de Praslin*." What Mr. *Menage* says, that he was firnamed the *Grecian* by an *Antiphrasis*, is only a Satyrical Piece of Wit. (*h*) *Sed quod fidem omnem superat, Græce tunc nesciat, GRÆCUS enim ex temeritate per antiphrasim, quod minimè Græcus esset, ab Invidis ac Malevolis vocabatur*

(h) Menagius in vita Gargilii Mamurræ. pag 16.

(*F*) *A Passage . . . which will shew his own Romancing and the falsity of a Story*] I have read this Story in a Book, scarce known out of the Country where it was Printed. This encourages me to give it intire There's no need of Translating it, 'twill suffice to observe on their behalf, who understand not Latin, that our *Montmaur* having told the Chancellor, that such and such things were to be found in such and such Authors, had the confusion of not being able to prove it, when the Books were laid upon the Table. (*i*) *Mommorius Græcarum Literarum Professor Regius, solus sui ordinis eques, & apud Urbis Proceres inexhaustæ dictionis, eruditionis, ac memoriæ, ideoque gratus mensarum assecla, coram Illustrissimo Cancellario, (is repente me accersi jussum, & curru suo humaniter acceptum, in villulam amœnam, paulò ultra Sabaudia, exspatiatum duxerat) multos authores laudavit, Græcos & Latinos, ad locum quemdam D. Pauli, ubi ad hæsi arios & damnatos alludit. Ego subdubitavi de fide laudantis, aliosque qui aderant, in meam sententiam adduxi, nonnisi consultis libris ei credendum. Postridie, ubi diluxit, scripsi ad unum è familiaribus & domesticis Illustrissimi Cancellarii, me animi causâ, domum vesperi reversum adisse authores allegatos, nil eorum quæ dixerat, reperisse. Non credidram fore, ut id referret Dominus, aut parvo sui curâ dignum duceret. Biduo post ad solitum prandium vocat Mommorius, multis jocis super mensam exagitat me, tanquam falsi suspectus, aut planè reus. Illico hom. mirè confidentiæ partes agere, velut in scena, cœpisse, nec fuisse, vix exspectare dum è mensa surgeretur, appellare singulos & universos. Præsertim Illustrissimam Matronam, quæ ad latus viri erat, ut, quæ testis & conscia objectorum fuisset, suo de Accusatore triumpho interesse vellet: & credo, inquit, libros, Hesychium, Manilii Astronomica, Strabonem, alios; qui cùm sat cito reperiri non possent à novo nomenclatore, quamvis in refertissima Bibliotheca, mittitur consistim servus à pedibus meos postulatum, nos etiam currus, qui me adveheret. Adventu meo non parva expectatio omnium, quorsum res evaderet, nam, tametsi hominis histrioniam satis intelligebant, ob ingentem tamen fiduciam, vel à me ipso vera dicere prope credebatur. Itum est in cubiculum superius, prolato omni librorum instrumento, sedit Illustriss. Cancellarius tamquam supremus judex, assidebant duo Libellorum Supplicum Ex-magistri, Consistoriani Comites, aliquot Abbates, & viri honesti complures utrimque: Totam controversiam exposuit asserte & dilucidè Heros ille maximus, laudatâ nonnihil etiam modestiâ meâ, tum jussit Mommorium ex libris, quorum jam copia fieret, suæ authoritates petere. Ibi noster tergiversari, aliena concionari, verborum diverticula quærere, concesso semel quod petierat, me aliud requirere, eas editiones parum commodas causari, nec in re mea de sententia decedere, nec manus dare; cum urgeretur à Cancellario, nihilominus comperendinationem petere. Sequi-horam ferè tenuit ea dilatio, donec pronuntiatum est, falsi manifestum esse, & soluta risu concione, Batavus Ex-legatus ad ignem, ex tempore hos vernaculos recitavit à se factos.*

Mommor, c'est fait de ta memoire,
Tu bronches sous le vieux Bourbon,
Tous les Autheurs te font faux-bond,
Si tu n'as recours au Grimoire.

(*i*) Nicolaus Borbonius epistola 5 ad Claudium Memmium, Avauxium, pag 471. *It's to be found at the latter end of* Charles Ogier's *book intitled* Iter Danicum Suecicum, Polonicum *printed at* Paris 1656 in 8.

Nicholas Bourbon's Letter, from whence I take this Story, is dated the third of *November*, 1637 The thing happened (*k*) five or six Days before. *Montmaur* was not forbad the Chancellor's-house, at the time that his Life was Satyrically written by Mr *Menage*. (*l*) in the Year 1636. 'Tis therefore probable, that the Words I am going to cite are a pure Fiction, or founded on a false report (*m*) *Mamurram e Convivio propter nescio quid infandum Magnus Nomophylax turpiter ejicit: quo infortunio Magnus acerbius nomen Parasito accidere nullum potest. Aristippum quidem Dionysius olim conspuit, ac post mensa ut accumberet jussit: sed tamen ut accumberet jussit, nec cenâ, ut Mamurra, privatus est. Aristippus Mr. Ferrand*, who made a Poem against *Montmaur*, (*n*) before Mr. *Menage* Published the Life of *Gargilius Mamurra*, supposes in several Places

(*k*) Dicerat Simoni & Judæ Apostolis Sacer *fuit* pag. 47.

(*l*) *The Epistle Dedicatory to the Life of* Gargilius Mamurra *is dated from* Angers *the* 20th *of* October 1636.

(*m*) Menagius ubi supra pag. 22.

(*n*) *This appears from the Epistle Dedicatory of the Life of* Mamurra.

great aſſurance, but if the happieſt Memory, if his Reading (G), if his ready Wit had not recommended him, would he have had ſuch acceſs to the Chancellor, to the Preſident *de Meſmes*, and to ſome other Perſons eminent for their Quality, their good Judgment and Erudition? Let's beware how we take the Satyrical Deſcriptions of his Perſon and Actions, for a faithful Picture. The beſt Poets and Wits of his Time gave each other the Word, conſpir'd againſt him, and endeavonr'd to out do one another in turning him into ridicule, ſo that they have invented numberleſs Untruths of him. We muſt therefore look on what they have ſaid (H) as a trial of Wit, a meer Romance, and not an Hiſtorical Narration. *Balzac* liſted with ſo much Zeal in this *Cruſadò*,

Places, that the Chancellor had forbad this Profeſſor his Houſe. He expreſſes this Admirably.

(o) *Sed plurimus hæret*
Claras ante domos atque alta Palatia magni
SEGUERII, *cum fortunæ, ſortiſque recordan-*
(Qua licuit quondam divinæ accumbere menſæ)
In vetitas audax irrumpere cogitat ædes.
Ah! quoties votis precibuſque, & ſupplice fletu
Admitti petiit. Sed inexorabilis ille
Janitor, Helvetiæ duris de rupibus ortus,
Arcet ab ingreſſu, prohibetque, & juſſa minatur
Verbera, & offenſi Domini pro crimine pœnas,
Intentans fuſtem, ſumptamque iratur haſtam,
Ni cedat procul & retro veſtigia vertat.

(G) *If the happieſt Memory, if his Reading, if his ready Wit had not recommended him.*] See what Mr. *Menage* was forc'd to confeſs: (a) *Cum felici adeo Mamurræ eſſet memoria, ut legentis modo, cuncta quæ olim in libris didicerat, poſſet referre, memorem illum convivam* MEMMIUS *non oderat.* In all probability, *Montmaur* created himſelf many Enemies by the excellence of his Memory. It made him top upon all Companies, or rather ſet up as a kind of a petty Tyrant over 'em. He who can command whatever he has read, and aſſumes Magiſterial Airs, rolling a Torrent of Literature from his Lips, with the greateſt eaſe, ſilences and ſtuns other learned Men in Converſation. They look little and meer Dwarfs by him: They can't hinder his engroſſing the whole Diſcourſe, nor dare they attempt it: They ſometimes ſuſpect he is in the wrong, but have not the aſſurance to contradict him, diſtruſting their own Memory, and dreading his, even in things, which they fancy he miſtakes. We have ſeen above, that the learned *Nicolas Bourbon*, tho' full of Doubts as to ſome Citations of *Montmaur*'s, yet durſt not attack him, till he had at leiſure conſulted his Library. If you add to this, that *Montmaur* was detractive and impudent, you'll eaſily ſee, that he muſt needs be hated. A haughty Beauty who obſcures and eclipſes all others in the Circle, is an odious Object to the Ladies. The Learned are little better diſpos'd in like Caſes. They who ſaw they were not able to make head againſt this Profeſſor with their Tongue, had recourſe to the Pen, and ſtrove which ſhou'd worry him moſt with their Writing.

I have heard ſay, that an Advocate, the Son of a Cryer in one of the Courts, made a match one Day with ſome of his Friends, to mortifie *Montmaur*, who was to dine with the Preſident *de Meſmes*. The Conſpirators met betimes at the Preſidents. The Advocate and his Friends had agreed not to let this Profeſſor have a word of the Diſcourſe, but relieve each other, and the Moment one had done ſpeaking, another was to take up the Diſcourſe *Montmaur* no ſooner appear'd in the Room, but the Advocate cry'd out, *Hare, Hare.* You degenerate mightily, ſays *Montmaur*, your Father never cry'd any thing but *Peace, Peace.* This was a Thunder-ſtroke, that diſconcerted the whole Plot. The Advocate was ſo daſh'd, that he had not a word to ſay all Dinner time I believe *Montmaur* by his Talkativeneſs and Confidence frequently diſengag'd himſelf from the like Plots. I don't know whether by Accident or a laid Deſign, but as he dined one Day with the Chancellor *Seguier*, the Servant ſpilt a Plate of Soop on him as he was taking away. He kept his Countenance to a wonder, and looking (b) at the Chancellor (whom he ſuſpected to have been the Author) he told him: *Summum jus, ſumma injuria*, by which *extempore* Alluſion, he turn'd all the Laughter on his own ſide. 'Twas a lucky hit, but the Humour of it can't be expreſs'd in any Engliſh Verſion

A great many blam'd Mr. *Menage* (c) for Compoſing ſo Satyrical a Piece upon *Montmaur*; but he excus'd himſelf by this among other Reaſons, that he did not intend to give the deſcription of any particular Paraſite, but the Character it ſelf by touches of invention. This was juſtifying himſelf by a Lye *Non paraſitum unum aliquem, non aſſentatorem, ſed omnes paraſitos, omnes aſſentatores ſub Mamurræ fictis conquiſitiſque vitiis deformati perſona, deſcribere mihi mens fuit* (d). I don't think Mr. *Menage* ever wrote any thing wherein Learning, Wit, and fineneſs of Language have been better mix'd than in this. Mr. *Simon de Valhebert* writes to me, that he has a Piece by him which *ſeem'd to be Mr.* Menage's: *It's exactly the Style of his* Requete des Dictionaries: Written in a Hand which he does not know, *but with ſome Corrections in Mr.* Menage's *Hand*, and intit'led, *The Petition of* Petrus Montmaur *King's Profeſſor in the Greek Tongue to the Parliament.* It contains above three hundred Verſes, *wherein his Hiſtory ſeems very well written, and theſe Verſes are of the ſame meaſure with thoſe of his* Requête des Dictionaires. I have obſerv'd, that Mr. *Menage* has not eſpouſed the Story, which is found in ſome Pieces of the Collection of *Hadrien Valois*, to wit, that *Montmaur* gave the Porter of the College of *Boncour* ſuch a ſtroke over the Head with a Billet, that the Fellow dy'd of it. See the following Remark.

(H) *Look on what they have ſaid as a Trial of Wit— and not an Hiſtorical Narration*] But what ſhall we ſay to the fact juſt before mention'd? One would think the virulenteſt Satyriſt incapable of publiſhing ſuch a Falſhood, as that a Man is actually in Priſon for Murther. And yet ſome of *Montmaur*'s Adverſaries affirmed, he was impriſon'd for a Crime of this Nature. Did they ground themſelves on any Reality? 'Twere infinitely more hazardous to affirm than deny it; eſpecially when we take notice, that moſt of the Satyriſts were ſilent as to this Murther, which yet was the moſt favourable Handle imaginable for rendering *Montmaur*, as they propos'd, the Horror and Execration of the Publick However let us ſee his Accuſation:

Quoy (e) que ſe ſoit, le Pgraſite,
Eſt mieux traitté qu'il ne merite:
On ne luy peut faire d'ennuy;
Metamorphoſer ſa perſonne
En Loup, en Pore, en une Tonne,
C'eſt encor trop d'honneur pour luy.
Qu'il ſe ſoit en une Marmite,
En Tournebroche ou Leichefrite,
En Perroquet, en un Corbeau;
C'eſt une grace tres-viſible,
Le bien ſaçonner n'eſt poſſible
Qu'aux pieds delicats d'un Bourreau
Auſſi ce Meſſer Cicofante,
Pour monſtrer que c'eſt ſon attente,
Fit l'autre jour un joly tour,
Caſſant d'une buſche flotiſe
La lourde caboche ſçavantee
Du gros Janitor de Boncour.
Mais ce grand chercheur de lippée
N'eſt pluſtoſt fait cette equippee,
Qu'il ſe vit abſous du peché:
Car il receut telle morn'ſte
Sur ſon gras muzeau qui veniſte,
Que ſon œil en reſta poché.
Et qui pis eſt, Dame Juſtice
Pour chaſtier ſon maleſice,
Grippant ce Cuiſtre entriſte arroy.
Les pieds nuds, un torchon en teſte,
Conduiſit cette malle beſte
Dans la noire maiſon du Roy.
Tous ſes compagnons de cuiſine,
Et ceux qui craignent la famine,
S'oppoſent à ſa liberté,
Crians par tout que ſa preſence
Sans doute affamera la France,
Et qu'elle à cauſe la diette

The following Latine is ſuch another ſport of Wit (f).

Horatii

(a) Miſcellan. Menag. p. 9. libri adoptivi. *See alſo* p. 16. & 19.

(b) Menag in vita Mamurræ, p. 19.

(c) *See the continuation of* Menagiana, P. 201. edit Holl.

(d) Nec ſperat in nos mique fuere qui hunc nobis de Mamuria ludum —— velut atrox & flagitioſum ſcrimus objecerunt. *Menag. ſub fin. ſ. d. dicat. vitæ Mamurræ.*

(e) *The Hiſtorical Elegy of the Sieur* Gomor *in the Collection of* Hadrian Valois.

(f) *In the ſame Collection at the end of the* Orbilius Muſca *of* Sarraſin.

fada, that he was willing to be at the pains of deſcending (*I*) from the Altitudes of his Gravity, and giving his Thoughts an Air of comical Humour: Which was much a harder Task upon him, than it would have been for *Scarron* to write in the ſerious and bombaſt Style. He did more, he ſounded the Alarm; he animated his Friends to take Pen in Hand, and to furniſh their Quota. It's pretty remarkable, that the Members of the Faculty of Arts in the Univerſity of *Paris*, did not come in to the aſſiſtance of their Brother *Peter Montmaur*. It's a ſign he could not gain the Love either of the Regents of the College, or of the Wits. What a ſtrange hurly-burly had there been, if theſe Regents had made a Counter-League in his favour, and oblig'd themſelves to bend all their Grammar and Rhetorick in Proſe and Verſe againſt his Perſecutors. There were ſome Men of Merit, who condemn'd (*K*) the Outrages of the latter. The Paſſages

Horatii Gentilis Peruſini in MAMURRAM, ob cæſum ab eo Collegii Harcurtii Janitorem.

CÆDE *nocens, hominiſque reus Mamurra perempti*
Emiſſus vinclis eſt, Genovefa, tuis.
Et potuit reperire vades, quia plurima crimen
Elevat hoc ratio, nil graviuſque meret.
Janitor occiſus nimirum haud penditur aſſis,
Nec propter dabitur talio vile caput:
Cûmque illi Mamurra petitum ſtipite grandi
Comminuit cerebrum, perdiderat proprium.

(*I*) Balzac *liſted himſelf——was willing——to deſcend from the Altitudes of his Gravity——and animated his Friends to take Pen in Hand.*] He was not the firſt who preach'd up this *Cruſade*: That Honour is due to *Mamurra*'s Hiſtorian; as we have ſeen above. This Hiſtorian concludes his Book with an Epigram, in which, by his Exhortations and Imprecations, he invites the whole World to come in to the War againſt *Montmaur*.

Quiſquis legerit hæc, poeta fiat:
Et de Cenipeta mihi jocoſos
Scribat Gargilio repente verſus.
Qui non ſcripſerit, inter eruditos
Inſulſiſſimus ambulet patronos.

Here you ſee the Concluſion of the Hiſtory of *Mamurra*. It may therefore be ſaid with a great deal of Reaſon, that Mr. *Menage* ſounded the Alarm to raiſe the Mob. Mr. *Balzac* fail'd not to liſt himſelf, and exhort his Friends to take up Arms. He ſerv'd both in the Infantry and Cavalry. The *Barbon* (*a*) a Work in Proſe, which he ſent to Mr. *Menage*, was accompanied with two Poems, one of which (*b*) is entit'led, *Indignatio in Thoncem Ludimagiſtrum Ex-Jeſuitam laudatorem ineptiſſimum Eminentiſſimi Cardinalis Valetæ*; the other is a Letter to Mr. *Boiſrobert*, in which he intreats him to attack *Montmaur*, and to approve his inviting Mr. *Feramus* to the ſame Enterprize.

Nec (c) ſolum tibi Semidei, dicantur, at ipſe
Therſites, ipſe antique qui dictus Homero,
Ore animoque canis; pridem cui ſenſus honeſti eſt,
Extinctuſque in fronte pudor. Fœdiſſima longas
Baſtia det pœnas. Deſcende ad probra Latini
Nominis, ac turpes Mamurra interprete Graios,
Pollutumque notis omni ex Auctore volumen.
Monſtra reſer verborum, alio quæ vexit ab orbe,
Terribiles Gryphos, &c.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Hic (d) docto te Marte potens, Ferrame, voramus,
Ante alios: (ea vota meo ſint grata Metello)
Cum tot tela volent, tot in unum tela parentur,
Otia aga, tuaque arma neges communibus armis?
Vana pium-ne putet deformi parcere Monſtro,
Religio? Tu-ne invictos torquebis lamos
In caput alterius? Vivet-ne oliſcamus amato,
Atque hoſtis Muſarum, omnis temerator Honeſti,
Pond. tera lues? Poſtem tamen ille minorem
Scalgeri Tullique clients, & Cæſare læſo
Conjuratus Cacis, nigro devovit Averno:
Nec tales Verona tulit ſine vindice Bartas.

(*a*) *'Twas Printed at* Paris *in* 8. *in* 1648.
(*b*) *It's in the Collection of* Hadrian Valois.
(*c*) Balzac, p 160, 161. *of the* Barbon.
(*d*) Id. ib. p. 165

Conſidering the Methods theſe Gentlemen took to ſtrengthen their League, and raiſe the whole Poſſe of the Republick of Learning, one would think the Queſtion was, not how to make the Barbarians raiſe the Siege of *Parnaſſus*, when determin'd to give up the Muſes to the Soldiers diſcretion; but how to re-take it from theſe *Vandals*, and reſtore to their Liberty the chaſt Daughters of Memory, detained in the dark Dungeons of a ſacrilegious, impure and abominable Nation.

There were thoſe who cenſur'd ſomething in theſe Verſes of *Balzac*. They tax'd 'em with Inhumanity and Obſcurity. The Obſcurity conſiſted in the words, which deſign the Poet *Catullus*. We have ſeen above (*e*) what *Balzac* anſwer'd on this Head; and you may ſee in his Diſcourſes, his Anſwer as to the Charge of Inhumanity. He there ſhews, how wrong it is to ſay, that he's more inhumane to the new *Mamurra*, than *Catullus* was to his Enemies. "I have with'd him, "*ſays he* (*f*), only a ſimple Poetical Curſe, or at "moſt a ſimple Death; for in good Latin to devote "to Hell, or *Avernus*, means no more than Death; "and Poyſon, a Halter, or the Sword may give "it. But the Vindictive *Catullus* exceeds theſe "common Puniſhments: He condemns his bad "Poet to be burnt alive, as a Sorcerer or Atheiſt.

Infelicibus uſtulanda flammis.

And lower,

Et vos interea venite in ignem.

(*e*) *In the Remark K. of the Article* Catullus.

Others blam'd him for meddling with a kind of Compoſition which they did not think him fit for. Conſider pray theſe Words of Mr *Gueret*: "(*g*) "Men have, beſides, that diſtemper'd Fancy as to "pretend to ſucceed in every thing; they are not "willing to be reckon'd of a ſtinted Genius: As "there is hardly any Poet but extends his Juriſ"diction from the Epigram up to the Epick Poem, "ſo there's no Orator who from Panegyrick does "not deſcend to the Biller-deaux—*Scarron*, whom "Nature had fram'd entirely for Burleſque, and "whoſe Mind and Body ſeem'd deſignedly turn'd "for this Character, had yet the boldneſs to attempt "a Tragedy, and would doubtleſs have finiſh'd "it, if Death had not prevented the temerity of "his Enterprize. In fine, *Balzac* himſelf has fol"low'd this bad Example, and not content with "the Glory of the Sublime Style, would fain "have ſhewn by the *Barbon*, that he was no leſs "fit for Raillery: But he was much at a loſs in "this Head; the meeſt Judges diſapprov'd his "Taſte, and his *Barbon* has only wrong'd his other "Works. Let's always follow our Genius, and "never wander out of our own Province, nor "envy others a Glory for which we our ſelves are "not form'd." Mr *de Balzac* had receiv'd much more agreeable News, about his *Barbon*, *viz.* that it met with great ſucceſs, and was admir'd at *Paris*. See this beginning of one of his Letters to Mr *Menage*. (*h*) *Bene eſt, abunde eſt, plus ſat eſt etiam mihi. Quæ ſcripſi ego olim, municipalis ille & Orator & Hiſtricus, prolata nuper ſunt Lutetiæ Pariſiorum In ampliſſimo orbis Terrarum theatro Barbo meus* Saltavit & placuit. In my Opinion Mr. *Gueret*'s Judgment is not the moſt equitable. The *Barbon*, I confeſs, is of too ſerious a Style. The Raillery has not all that eaſie and gay Turn which others would have given it; but his Ridicule on Pedantry is expreſs'd happily and to the Life by many ſingular Characters.

(*f*) Balzac, entret. 17 p. m. 264.

(*g*) Gueret, Guerre des Auteurs p. m. 137, 138.

(*h*) Balzac epiſt. ſelect. p. m. 182.

If any one would ſee an Excuſe for the ſharpneſs of *Balzac*'s Reſentment, let him conſult *Feramus*'s Poem, where we may read that *Montmaur* not only exerciſ'd his ſlandering Faculty againſt the *Scaligers*, the *Salmaſians*, and the *Grotians*, but alſo treated Mr. *de Balzac* with the laſt Contempt.

Te (i) quoque BALZACI, noſtri ed cavande Decoris,
Urbe vetat, patriâque jubet te poſſeſſe relictâ,
Indecorem Regnaque tuo nova tonare Regna
Quærere & effate Virtutes Promere dignas.

(*i*) Ferramus apud Menagium in Itinerario p. 14.

Here you ſee that the Affront was Perſonal and that the Publick Cauſe was not the only one he had to defend. I have ſome ſuſpicion, that the Paſſage I have cited in the Article *Desbarreaux* concerns our *Montmaur*. That would be ſtill a ſtronger Proof of the violence of *Balzac*'s Reſentment.

(*K*) *There were ſome Men of merit who condemn'd the Outrages of* Montmaur's *Perſecutors.*] Three Authorities will ſuffice on this Head. I ſhall firſt cite Mr *Conrart*: "Among'ſt the Poems, *ſays he*, "that (*k*) Mr *Menage* Compoſ'd at that time there "were two which made a great noiſe. One was

(*k*) Journal des Savans *of the 11th of* Auguſt 1692, *in the* 1st *Edit. of* Holl.

Paſſages I ſhall mention on this Head, contain things that will explain this Article.
Montmaur

" the Metamorphoſis of the Paraſite-Pedant into " a Parrot. Under this Name he meant a Profeſ- " ſor of the Greek Tongue, againſt whom many " other Poets had bitterly inveigh'd, black'ning " him in Sport and Merriment, with injurious " and inhumane Satyrs. The other was the fa- " mous *Requete des Dictionnaires*." Thus he ſpeaks in his pretended Elogy of Mr. *Menage*, where you may pleaſe to obſerve, that he ſays nothing of the Life of *Mamurra*, which is another-guiſe Work than the Metamorphoſis he has cited. But I wonder leſs at his ſilence, than at Mr. *Menage*'s Friends, who have prefix'd an Abridgment of his Life to the *ſuite du Menagiana*. They ſay nothing of this Life of *Mamurra*.

My ſecond Witneſs is call'd by his Nick-name, *Vigneul-Marville*. We'll copy a part of his Diſcourſe. " (*a*) The Profeſſor *Montmaur* was not " ſo deſpicable a Man as moſt believ'd him. He " was an excellent Wit, and had great Talents " The Greek and Latin Tongues were, as it were, " natural to him. He had read all the good Au- " thors of Antiquity; and being favour'd by a " prodigious Memory, joyn'd to a great Vivaci- " ty, he made the juſteſt Applications of what- " ever he had obſerv'd moſt curious. 'Tis true, " there was generally a touch of Satyr in 'em, " which provok'd the Fury of theſe, who were " the Objects of his Wit: By theſe Talents " he eaſily introduc'd himſelf to Perſons of Qua- " lity, who lov'd the Recreations of *Parnaſſus*. " *Avarice* undid him; for he had an Eſtate which " he made no uſe of; and he was too great a " ſmell-Feaſt. He uſed to tell his Friends; Gen- " tlemen, do you find Diſhes, and Wine, and I'll " find Salt. And the truth is he dealt it about " plentifully, at the good Tables which he fre- " quented. His Satyrical Humour had no Bounds, " he was a *Lucian* all over. But he chiefly wor- " ried the bad Poets——(*b*) Never were ſo " many Satyrs in Proſe and Verſe written againſt " any one Man, as againſt *Montmaur*. Every Bo- " dy ſpent his whole Stock this way upon him. " Entire Collections are ſtill extant of 'em. The " beſt are thoſe of Mr. *Menage*. *Montmaur*'s Friends " adviſ'd him to print his Witiciſms upon theſe " troubleſome Writers: But the love of quiet " tied up his Hands, and he was contented to " laugh at their Trifles and deſpiſe 'em. One of " his Friends having told him, that Mr. *Menage* " had Metamorphos'd him into a Parrot: Very " well, ſaid he, I ſhan't want Wine then to cheer " my Heart, nor a Beak to defend me; and as this " Metamorphoſis was much prais'd, no wonder, " added he, that ſuch a great Prater as Mr. *Me-* " *nage* ſhould make a good Parrot. *Montmaur* took " much more to Heart Mſſrs. *Dupuy* refuſing him " admittance into their Cloſet, which was the Cen- " ter of the fineſt Gentlemen of *Paris*. Theſe Gen- " tlemen of a Gravity, like that of *Cato*, took the " Sciences by the moſt ſerious Handle, and could " not eaſily bear thoſe who were only (as one " may ſay) the *Punchinello*'s of Learning. They " did not underſtand Raillery: 'Twas ſafer com- " mitting a Soleciſm in the face of a whole Uni- " verſity, than deſcending to Humour and Drol- " lery in their Preſence

(*a*) Vigneul Marville Mélanges d'hiſtoire & de litterature, p. 86. de la 1 edit. de Rouen.

(*b*) Id. ib. p. 88.

My third Teſtimony is Father *Vavaſſeur*. He has not nam'd *Montmaur*, but deſcribes him in ſo particular a manner, that we may be ſure he is the Man he means. He gives him no Encomium; he charges him with ſome very great and odious Faults; but otherwiſe does him juſtice upon his Learning; and condemns not only the Authors who ſo virulently abus'd him, but even the Magiſtrates who permitted ſuch a Liberty. He afterwards makes a Reflexion that's judicious enough; to wit, that by a juſt Judgment of God it often happens, that Princes and their Miniſters who neglect to puniſh the boldneſs of Satyriſts and Libellers, are puniſh'd ſoon or late for their unconcernedneſs, in the ſame kind, and expos'd to the fury of ſlandrous Tongues. I give but a rude ſcetch of this Jeſuits Thoughts, who has very nobly expreſs'd 'em in a Work which is hardly now to be met with in the Bookſellers Shops. I ſhall therefore add his own Words. (*c*) *Vidimus quemdam nuper non expertem literarum, ſed cui nihil placeret, nec pulcrum videretur, niſi quod eſſet ſuum. Hunc propter ipſius odioſiſſimos mores, nemo tum poeta ſcriptor alius nefas duxit conſcindere omnibus probris. Quanquam non recte nec ratione, mea quidem ſententia, & peſſimo exemplo. Non enim, ſi id quis is contumelia; perhoneſti, graves & literati viri aiqui tamen, qui contumeliam inferrent Et erant alioquin iniſto, quæ amare poſſes ſine moribus, memoria, cognitio ſermonis Græci, varietas aliqua doctrinæ & copia; unde diſcerent nonnihil etiam periti, quamvis hominem non probarent. Sed valuit nimirum maledicentia, grata cunctis, etiam iis, qui neque ſibi maledici, neque maledicere ipſi aliis velint. Atque hanc, ut a me ante dictum eſt, maledicentiam vetant, natura, ratio, mos, diſciplina, jura; leges: ubique gentium ac terrarum, atque in omni memoria pœnæ maledicis graves propoſitæ. crimen tamen impunitum perſæpe & olim fuit, & nunc eſt, & erit, vel veterno & ſocordia, vel prævaricatione eorum, a quibus oportuerit pro officio vindicari. Ac multa peccant principes, & in his illud, quod tantam petulantiam, ita ut meretur, quantumque poſſunt, non coerceant, nec populo caveant ſatis, nec privatos conſervent ab injuria. Interim nutu divini numinis & providentia quid ſit? Ne ab iſtis quidem abſtinetur tam lente ferentibus probra in alios: immo linguas hominum magis infeſtas habent, minuſque ſermones effugiunt obtrectatorum: & audire plerumque coguntur ipſi, quæ nolint, quia de aliis patiuntur dici, quæ non debeant.*

(*c*) Franciſcus Vavaſſor de epigrammate, c. 10. p. 98, 99. *This Book was Printed at* Paris *in* 1672, *in* 8.

Thus I have given you the three Authorities I promis'd. If we barely conſider the formal and expreſs Declarations, the Jeſuit *Vavaſſeur* paſſes the ſevereſt Sentence on our Gentleman's Adverſaries: But if we weigh the Circumſtances *Vigneul Marville* is the ſevereſt Judge, for declaring that *Montmaur was an excellent Wit*, who had read all the good Authors of Antiquity, *and who had great Talents*, a profound Underſtanding of Greek and Latin, a *prodigious Memory joyn'd with a great Vivacity*, &c. He accuſes the Satyrs that were made on him, of extream Injuſtice. All his Conceſſions in favour of *Montmaur*, are as ſo many ſtrokes with a Rod of Iron on the Heads of theſe Satyriſts, ſince they all conſpire to make this Profeſſor thought the moſt ignorant Blockhead in Nature: And Note, that the Praiſes he has given him, ought to have the more weight, becauſe he has not diſſembled his Faults. What he obſerves of his Inſenſibility is ſurprizing, and I know not what could have been imagin'd wiſer, than to laugh, as he did, at his Cenſurers Writings. But 'tis prodigious, that a Man of ſo much Reading, Wit and Memory ſhould write nothing on that occaſion, or hardly ever publiſh a Book in all his Life. We muſt believe, that the Fire of his Wit requir'd the quickning influence of living Objects, and that his vaſt Memory ſunk in a great meaſure, when the Buſineſs was to Compoſe in ſilence, and in the ſhade of a Cloſet. We muſt ſuppoſe and ſay, that *Montmaur* found by Experience, as ſeveral others do, that it's infinitely eaſier to diſcourſe off-Hand, than to write a good Book. The way to make this Profeſſor's Knowledge uſeful to the Publick, had been to have given him a judicious Diſciple, who ſhould conſtantly have attended him, and Collected whatever he had heard him ſay. In that caſe we ſhould have had a *Montmauriana*, which perhaps would have been a good Book. I believe there were thoſe who diſapprov'd that Contempt which our *Montmaur* expreſs'd for the Satyrs made upon him, and who could have wiſh'd he had demanded Juſtice of the Courts; for his Adverſaries not content to accuſe him of Ignorance, and of being a vain Trifler in Anagrams, and fooliſh Gingles, Charges of which the publick Juſtice takes no Cognizance, *nihil hæc ad edictum prætoris*; reflected on him as a Baſtard and Murderer, as we have ſeen (*d*) above; and here's a Paſſage charging him with Forgery and Sodomy

Jadis (e) dans un fameux procez,
Dont il eut un honteux ſuccez,
Il appella d'une Sentence,
Qui n'eſpargnoit que la potence.
Quand de tout point il eût eſté
Convaincu d'une fauſſeté:
Car il imitoit de nature
Toute ſorte de ſignature,
Et gagna tout en jugement
Quand il ne tint qu'à ſon ſerment.
Il eut d'autres vices encore
Que je tairay, car je l'honore.

(*d*) *In the Remarks D. and H.*

(*e*) Hiſtoire de la vie & de la mort du grand Mogol; p. 25, 26. au recueil d'Hadrien Valois.

Montmaur lodg'd in the College (*L*) of *Boncour*, and this Circumſtance furniſh'd matter of Raillery. He died in (*M*) 1648. He publiſh'd ſomething againſt *Barbequins* *. It's ſaid † he had five Thouſand Livres *per Ann.* and was very covetous.

MONTPENSIER (Dutchess of) Favourite to *Catherine de Medicis*. See LONGWIC.

MOPSUS. There are principally but two Perſons of this Name in the Books of the Ancients. One was ‡ Son to *Ampycus* and *Chloris*; the other was the Son of *Tireſias*, according to ſome, or of the Daughter of *Manto Tireſias*, according to others. We ſhall ſay ſomething of each. MOPSUS, the Son of *Ampycus* was inſtructed by *Apollo* B in Augury, and became very conſiderable by means of this Art during the Expedition of the *Argonauts*. He was ſirnam'd *Titareſian* γ from the Place of his Birth, a Village in the Country of the *Lapithæ* in *Theſſaly*. However his own Country was not the Scene where he accquir'd moſt Honour, but that of *Africa*. He landed there, having loſt his Way in his return from *Colchos*, and died δ by the bite of a Serpent. He was buried near ζ *Teuchira* (*A*), one of the Towns of *Pentapolis*, and honour'd (*B*) with a Temple in the Province of *Cyrene*, which became famous for an Oracle: The firſt Inſtitution of which ϑ is attributed to *Battus* the *Cyrenean*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us η, that the heroical *Manes* of *Mopſus* who was buried in *Africa*, aſſwaged ſeveral kinds of Pain, and commonly healed 'em. This Hiſtorian is guilty of an Error in this Point (*C*) which is

* Barbequinum mortuum nec reſponſum invaſit. *Menag. in vita Manurræ*, p. 30. *See the Remark B.*

† Suite du Menagiana, p. 200. edit de Holl

‡ Hygin. cap. 14. Scholiaſt. Apollon. in l. 1. v. 65.

§ Hygin. ibid. Apollon. Argonaut. l. 1. v. 65. Valer. Flaccus Argon. l. 1. v. 383. & paſſim alibi. Statius Theb. l. 3. v. 521.

γ Apollon. ibid. Heſiod in Scuto

δ Apollon. l. 1. v. 80. & l. 4. v. 152.

ζ Lycophr. Caſſand. v. 877. Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. l. 1. & Clem. Alex. ib. η Lib. 14. c. 8.

L'on dit que ſon valet un jour
L'accuſa de la ſale amour
Imputant à ce Paraſite
Le crime d'eſtre Sodomite.

This exceeds Raillery: A Man's anſwerable for ſuch an Accuſation in a Court of Juſtice. The *actio injuriarum* (*f*) lies againſt him in this Caſe; and the accus'd may plead the Law of the Code, *ſi quis famoſum*, according to which the Defamer who does not produce Authentick Proofs, is puniſh'd as a Slanderer.

(*f*) *Compare with this theſe words of* Horace, epiſt. 1. lib. 2. Quin etiam lex Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam deſcribi.

(*L*.) *Lodg'd in the College of* Boncour, *and this furniſh'd matter of Raillery.*] Let's prove this fact from Mr. *Menage*'s Words.

Qua (*a*) *collis Genoveſa tuus ſupereminet Urbem,*
Stat Becodina domus, docti celeberrima quondam
Atria Gallandi, ſummo Rectore juventæ.
. . . . . .
Illic exiguo conduxerat ære penates
Gargilius.

And by theſe fine Verſes of *Feramus*,

Qua (*b*) *poſuit ſtabiles Pariſina Academia ſedes*
In monte excelſo, mons eminet altior. illic
Exiguâ parvos habitat mercede penates.
Non illuc ſtudia, & docti vicinia Phœbi
Pellexere hominem, ſed ut hinc toti incubet Urbi,
Majoreſque alto ſpeculetur vertice fumos,
In tua jejunus ruiturus præſidia MEMMI,
Vel famoſa tuæ, BONELLI, fercula menſæ,
Seu veſtras, HANE QUINE, dapes tantâ arte paratas,
Et quicumque alij menſâ præſtatis opimâ
Luculli illuſtres, Mæcenateſque beati

You ſee they alledge he lodg'd in this College the better to diſcover the Smoke of the Kitchens of *Paris*, it being the higheſt part of the Town. But if it was convenient on this ſcore, it was very inconvenient in another reſpect, by being at too great a diſtance from the Houſes, where the Paraſite uſed to dine. This put him to the expence of keeping a Horſe. Mr. *Menage* talks very pleaſantly upon it. (*c*) *Verum cum ſummo in cacumine montis Genoveſani tum temporis habitaret, ut hinc ſcilicet culinarum fumos, ex quibus auguria capiebat, commodius proſpicere poſſet; atque adeo horum omnium quos aſſidue colebat, ab ejus ſuggerio domus longe diſtaret, ne ad illorum cænas ac prandia tardius accederet, Equum ſibi comparavit: qui, quoniam Becodiana in ſchola, (1) quam Parnaſum Pariſienſeum Ronſardus vocare ſolebat, ſtabulabatur, Pegaſus eſt appellatus; de quo Carmen eſt SPESSEI.* The Thought in the beginning of this Paſſage is pleaſant enough; to wit, that *Montmaur*, in conſulting the Auguries, did not wait for the appearance of Vultures, or any other kind of Birds, but was attentive to the Smoak of the Kitchens only. He ſhould conſequently have ſaid, that *Montmaur* having an Opinion of the Augural Art, apply'd himſelf chiefly to *Capnomancy*. Theſe Gentlemen's Raillery is become a common Place to all who would Characteriſe a Paraſite. A Paraſite, ſay they, going out of his Lodgings, without knowing where he ſhall dine, guides his Steps through the Streets of *Paris* by the Smoak of the Kitchens, and this Smoak is his Compaſs and Polar Star.

(*c*) *Menagius in vita Manurræ*, p. m. 20.

(1) *Binetus in Vita Rond.*

(*M*) *He died in* 1648.] This I look on as unqueſtionable, tho' I have not found it in any Author, for Mr. *Simon de Valhebert*, who has taken the pains to inform me, was told ſo by the Abbot *Gallois*, who conſulting the Regiſters of the College Royal, found that *Montmaur* in 1623. had the reverſion of the Place of Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue after *Jerome Goulu*, that he died in 1648, and was ſucceeded by *James Pigis*.

(*A*) Teuchira, *one of the Towns of* Pentapolis.] Here I have follow'd the Opinion of the Learned Mr. *de Valois* (*d*), who has prov'd from *Ptolemy*, that *Mopſus* was buried near *Teuchira*. However, I ſhall not diſſemble, that in examining the Paſſage of this obſcure Poet, I could not find that our *Argonaut*'s Tomb was leſs Characteriz'd in him, with regard to *Auſigda* upon the River *Cinyps*, than with regard to *Teuchira*. Now this River is not far from (*e*) *Pentapolis*. Beſides I own I can't conceive, why Mr. *de Valois* pretends (*f*), that if *Mopſus* had been buried in *Pentapolis*, *Ammianus Marcellinus* ought not to have mention'd *the Shoar of* Africa, *and the Punick Glebe*; he may eaſily be juſtified by their Authority, who ſay that *Mopſus* died in *Africa*, amongſt which are *Tertullian* and *Apuleius*, to whom we may join *Apollonius* and ſeveral others (*g*) who make him die in *Libya*. This reaſoning ſuppoſes, that *Pentapolis* was not a part of *Africa*; but I can't imagine, conſidering how many great Men have maintain'd the contrary, why *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſhould not be permitted to do the ſame: He ſometimes runs into Poetical Phraſes, wherein the general Name is preferr'd before the particular. After all, in *Lycophron*'s *Caſſander*, we ſee that the Coaſt of *Teuchira* is call'd the Manſions inhabited by *Afer*. Is not this meant to ſignifie in general the Coaſts of *Africa*?

(*d*) Henric. Valeſius in Marcell. p. 41.

(*e*) *See* Mela. l. 1. c. 7.

(*f*) Quod ultra eſt male lit. Africa littus, & ceſpitem Punicum poſuit Marcellinus. *Vid. ubi ſupra.*

(*B*) *Honour'd with a Temple.*] If we had rather have the Teſtimony of a Heathen, than that of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, we need only read theſe words of *Apuleius*: *Tantum ab Diis appellant qui ex eodem numero juſte ac prudenter vitæ curriculo gubernato, pro numine poſtea ab hominibus prediti ſunt. Cæterimonis vulgo adverſantur, ut a Battia Amphamanus, IN AFRICA MOPSUS, in Ægypto Oſiris, alius alibi gentium (1) Intuatur* the Scholiaſt of the Poet *Statius* ſays, in ſpeaking of the ſame *Mopſus*: *In tantum magna fuit in augurali peritia ut poſt mortem templa ei dicata ſint, è quorum adytis ſæpe homines reſponſa acciperent.* We have already ſeen *Marcellinus*'s (*i*) Teſtimony.

(*g*) *See the Remark B.*

(*h*) Apul. de Deo Socratis.

(*C*) *Which is common to him.*] It's his confounding *Mopſus* the *Argonaut* with the Son or Grandſon of *Tireſias*. *Barthius* (*k*) obſerves, that even the Ancient Writers put one for the other, and he expreſly accuſes *Servius* on this Head. But he does him wrong ſince *Servius* (*l*) ſpeaks only of *Mopſus* in general. The Charge would be much juſter againſt *Ammianus Marcellinus*, from whom *Barthius* cites that Paſſage as a good proof of theſe two things. 1. That *Mopſus*'s Tomb was in *Africa*. 2. That it was not poſſible for *Strabo* to have ſeen it in *Cilicia*. He leaves us to judge which of theſe two ancient Authors is miſtaken, and does not perceive *Ammianus Marcellinus*'s Error in the Paſſage he cites. Mr. *Valois* is the Perſon who obſerves it. The thing's plain. This Hiſtorian ſays on the

(*i*) *In the Body of this Article.*

(*k*) *In* Statium tom. 2. p. 818.

(*l*) *In* Eclog. 6. v. 72.

is common to him with ſome other Authors. As to the other Mopsus, I find that the ſame *Strabo*, who makes him the Son of *Tireſias* at the end of the 9th Book, makes him the Son of *Apollo* and *Manto* in his 13th and 14th Books. And that *Pauſanias* * makes him the Son of *Manto* and *Rhacius*, the Head of a Colony which paſs'd from the Iſle of *Creet* into *Aſia*. Nothing of all this can be eaſily reconciled with his being King of *Argos*, or with the National Epithete of *Argian* (*D*) which has been given him. All who mention him, make him a great Maſter in the Art of Divination. It's ſaid, that he broke the Heart of *Calchas*; the famous *Calchas* who was Super-intendant of the Augurs, during the long War of *Troy*, that he fairly broke his Heart in a Diſpute between 'em (*E*) which was the beſt Diviner. *Calchas* went on Foot from *Troy* to *Claros*, in Company of *Amphilochus*, and to try *Mopſus*'s Ability; he asked him, ſhewing a big-bellied Sow, how many Young ſhe might carry. He anſwer'd three, one of which was a Sow-Pig. The thing was found true. *Mopſus* ask'd *Calchas* in his turn, how many Figs there were on ſuch a Fig-Tree. *Calchas* could not tell, and died of Grief †. Nobody ever ſo little vers'd in Books, will wonder, that this Story ſhould be differently related; for to judge of things by Experience, There's a Fatality in this which humane Nature can't avoid. There are Authors then who ſay ‡, that it was *Calchas* asked the number of Figs §, and that *Mopſus* anſwer'd ten Thouſand, and that they might all be very near contain'd in a certain Meaſure which he nam'd. This Anſwer found exactly true upon trial, made *Calchas* die of Vexation. Others will have it, that *Calchas* bid him but tell how many young Ones the Sow went with, and that the Truth of his Anſwer to this Queſtion was that which broke his Heart, ſo that there was no need of *Mopſus*'s propoſing a Queſtion in his turn, which *Calchas* could not reſolve. There are ſome who maintain ‖, that all this happened not at *Claros*, but in *Cilicia*.

Mopſus

* Lib. 7. p.m. 207.
† Strabo l. 13. p.m. 442. Lycophr. v. 425.
‡ Strabo idid.
§ Servius in Eclog. 6. Virgil. v. 72. *Grounding himſelf on the Poet* Euphorion, *ſays they were Apples.*
‖ Strabo, lib. 14. p. 464.

hand, that the City of *Mopſus* was the place of the Habitation of *Mopſus* the Diviner, and on the other, that this *Mopſus* having been driven on the Coaſt of *Africa*, in his return from the Conqueſt of the *Golden Fleece*, died there, and that his Tomb wrought Miracles. He who gave his Name to *Mopſueſtia*, and he that founded ſeveral Towns in *Cilicia*, are doubtleſs one and the ſame *Mopſus*, but the latter was contemporary with *Calchas* and *Amphilochus*, and flouriſh'd after the *Trojan* War; it was not he therefore who went the Voyage with the *Argonauts*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* has not taken notice of this, ſince, as Mr. *de Valois* obſerves, he thought the *Mopſus*, who flouriſh'd at the time of the *Trojan* War, had been a Party in this Expedition. I don't object to him what (*a*) others might do, that length of Days, which this Suppoſition would infer; but he ought to have remember'd, that this Perſon loſt his Life in his return from *Colchos*. *Pamelius* (*b*) takes him for the *Argonaut* who gave out Oracles in *Cilicia*. We ſhall preſently ſee a falſe ſtep or two of *Meurſius*. They diſtinguiſh in *Calepin* three *Mopſus*'s. 1. The Augur, who founded the Town of *Phaſelus* upon the Confines of *Pamphylia*. 2. The *Lapithyte*, the Son of *Ampycus*. 3. He that diſputed againſt *Calchas*.

(*D*) *The National Epithete of* Argian.] Mr. *de Valois*, to diſtinguiſh our two *Mopſus*'s (*c*), names the firſt (*d*) *Lapitham* or *Theſſalum*, and the latter *Argivum*. But when I conſider that *Tireſias* was a *Theban*, and think on the fierce and relentleſs War which the *Argians* made twice upon the *Thebans* during the Life of *Tireſias*, we can't ſee how he could have a Son, who for his diſtinguiſhing Title, ſhould be call'd an *Argian*. If *Manto* was a Prieſteſs of *Delphos*, and *Apollo* begat *Mopſus* upon her, why ſhould this *Mopſus* be call'd an *Argian?* Or why if he ſprung from the Marriage which ſhe contracted with *Rhacius* in *Aſia* ſhould he bear this Title? There would be leſs difficulty in this, were he her Son by *Alcmeon* (*e*) However, *Cicero* affirms, he was King of *Argos*. (*f*) *Amphilochus & Mopſus Argivorum Reges fuerunt, ſed iidem Augures, atque urbes in ora maritima Ciliciæ Græcas condidere.* If ever *Meziriac*'s Commentary on *Apollodorus* comes out, which I rather wiſh than expect, we ſhall learn many things about the two *Mopſus*'s (*g*).

(*E*) *Which was the beſt Diviner.*] *Moreri*'s Continuators have been guilty of ſeveral Faults in relating this Diſpute. I. They have repreſented *Mopſus* as the Agreſſor, which they ought not to have done, ſince he does not appear ſo in any of the different Relations, which *Strabo* has given. II. They ought not to have cited *Heſiod*, without adding, that what he has ſaid upon this Head, is to be met with only in *Strabo*. This Addition is neceſſary as often as we cite an Author whoſe Work is loſt, and is known only from other's Citations. III. They ought not to have cited *Heſiod* on any ſcore, ſince they don't relate the matter as he does. They ſay, that *Mopſus* put the Queſtion to *Calchas* how many Pigs the Sow had? Whereas *Heſiod* ſays it was *Calchas* ask'd *Mopſus* that Queſtion. They were doubtleſs deceiv'd by *Charles Stephens* (*h*), after Mr. *Lloyd* and *Hofman*. IV. They ought not to have cited the firſt Book of the *Iliad* which has nothing to their purpoſe I am leſs ſurpriz'd at all this, than at the ſtrange miſtake of *Meurſius*. This Learned Man (*i*) imagines, that *Mopſus* was worſted in this Diſpute, it we be decided by *Seneca* the Tragedian. *Seneca Mopſum inferiorem factum vult in Medea:*

Omnibus verax ſibi falſus uni
Concidit Mopſus, caruitque Thebis
Ille qui verè cecinit futura.

Firſt, he does not ſpeak of *Mopſus Calchas*'s Antagoniſt in this place, but of *Mopſus* the *Argonaut*. Secondly, *Seneca* ſays no more than this, that *Mopſus* with all his prophetical Skill, died in the Expedition. I'll ſet down the whole Paſſage, ſince it is not free from Falſhood on another ſcore.

Ite nunc ſortes, perarate Pontum
Sorte timenda.
Idmonem, quamvis bene fata noſſit,
Cendidit ſerpens Libycis arenis.
Omnibus verax, ſibi falſus uni
Concidit Mopſus, caruitque Thebis
Ille qui vere cecinit futura.

Here are three Examples of the ſad Fate of the famouſeſt Sooth-ſayers The laſt is that of *Tireſias*, who died a Fugitive, and baniſh'd from *Thebes*. The firſt is that of *Idmon*, who dy'd in *Africa* by the bite of a Serpent; the other is that of *Mopſus* of whom *Seneca* is content to ſay in an indefinite manner, that he died. But here it's plain he takes one for the other: He attributes to *Idmon* what does not belong to him; for *Mopſus* was he who died in *Africa* of the bite of a Serpent. Beſides, *Apollonius* whom I have cited, obſerves how *Hyginus* (*k*) ſpeaks of him. *Mopſus Ampyc. filius ab ſerpentis morſu in Africa obiit.* I am not ignorant what ſtrains are given to this Paſſage, and how many different ways of pointing it the Criticks have invented. *Rhodiginus* (*l*) doubtleſs applauded himſelf on having put a Point after *condidit*, and taking *ſerpens* for a Participle. But I don't believe any judicious Perſon does at preſent think this more reaſonable than ſaying, that the Latin Poet was under a miſtake. Don't we ſee the beſt Hiſtorians confound Facts which are near their own Time, and ſuch as are no leſs remarkable than the Death of the Sooth-ſayer of an Army could be in the Imagination of a Tragick Poet? Did *Gruterus* (*m*) who refers the *caruit Thebis* to *Mopſus*, think, that *Mopſus* was a *Lapithyte?* He changes I know not how many Preter Tenſes into Futures: He'll have *Seneca* to have tranſgreſs'd againſt Hiſtory; but not that the temptation of crouding many great Examples of Morality into a *Chorus*, has made him have recourſe

(*a*) Loyd *who alledges againſt thoſe who confound the two* Mopſus's, quod Argonautica expeditio generatione integra bellum Trojanum anteceſſit; *& Barth.* ubi ſupra, *who aſſerts that* ille Argonautarum vates attingere minime potuit tempora à reditu Trojæ. *Calviſius maintains the contrary*, ad ann. mundi 2727.
(*b*) In Tertull. de anima, c. 46.
(*c*) In Ammian. Marcell. l. 14. p. 40. & 41.
(*d*) *This is the Epithet* Strabo *gives him.*
(*e*) *See* Apollodorus Biblioth. l. 3 p.m. 205.
(*f*) Cicero de divinat, l. 1.
(*g*) *See his Commentary on* Ovid's *Epiſtles, p.* 911.
(*h*) Dolore contabuit quod propoſita ſibi à Mopſo caprifico (ut refert Heſiodus) aut (ut Pherecides mavult) ſue gravida, conjicere non potuiſſet, quot in illa ficus eſſent, quotve hæc utero ſuculas gereret: quos tamen Mopſus ſine ullo errore divinavit. *Car. Steph. in voce* Calchas, *p. m.* 546.
(*i*) Comment. in Lycophron, p. 205.
(*k*) Fabula 14. p.m. 46, 47.
(*l*) Antiq. lect. l. 29. c. 15.
(*m*) Apud Senecam Scriverii, p. 237.

Mopſus loſt his Life (*F*) in another kind of Conteſt; for 'tis ſaid *, that he and *Amphilochus* parted together from *Troy*, and ſet about building the Town of *Mallus* in *Cilicia*. That *Amphilochus* left him there to go to *Argos*: That miſſing his Aim he came back again to *Mopſus*, who would have no more to do with him: That they fought a Duel in which both of 'em fell, and that their Tombs which were ſhewn at *Margaſa* near the River *Pyramus*, were ſo ſituated, that one of them could not be ſeen from the other. 'Tis certain that *Cilicia* was not the leaſt Theatre of *Mopſus*'s Actions: He built ſeveral Towns in it †; that which was call'd *Mopſueſtia* ‡, had a particular relation to his Perſon: *Cilicia* was principally the place where he was Worſhipped ζ as a God, and where he gave out Oracles. *Plutarch* γ tells a Story of 'em, which confounded the incredibility of the Epicureans.

Note, That *Mopſus*'s applying himſelf to Divination did not hinder his getting Children. He δ had three Daughters, *Rhode*, *Meliadé* and *Pamphylia*. Their Names were given to ſome Countries.

MORGUES (MATTHEW DE) Sieur *de St. Germain*, Preacher in ordinary to *Lewis* XIII. and firſt Almoner to *Mary de Medicis*, this King's Mother, got himſelf mightily talk'd of by the numbers of Libels he publiſh'd againſt Cardinal *Richelieu*. He was born ζ in *Vellai* in *Languedoc*, and was of a Family which had been praiſed ϑ by *Lewis Pulci* Preceptor to *Leo* X. He took on with the Jeſuits, and taught ſome ν Claſſes at *Avignon* in the College of the Society. He quitted this Profeſſion ſome time after, and ſcaling dextrouſly the Walls of ϕ the College, he Capitulated at liberty, and (*A*) made up the Buſineſs the beſt he could. He imploy'd in his juſtification (*B*) a kind of *Dilemma*, which was retorted upon him, He Preach'd (*C*) in *Paris* with great ſucceſs λ, and in the Year 1613, was appointed Preacher to Queen *Margaret*. From thence he was prefer'd to be Preacher to the King in 1615, in Father *Portugais*'s place, and in 1620, was turn'd over to the Queen-Mother. He had had the Cure of *Notre-Dame des*

* Id. ib. & Lycop. v. 439.

† Cicero, lib. 1. de Divinat. Pompon. Mela l. 1. c. 14. & ibi Iſaac Voſſius.

‡ Μόψια. quaſi Lares Mopſi. *See* Strabo, l. 14 p. 466. Mopſueſtia vatis illius domicilium Mopſi, *ſays* Ammianus Marcellinus, l. 14 S. Jerome *calls it*, Mopſi viculum *See* Berkelius in Stephan p 567. & Photius Biblioth. n 176 p 392 C Tertull. de anima, c. 46. Origenes, l. 3. contra Celſum. Euſeb de laudibus Conſtant.

γ De Oracul. defectu

δ Photius Bibliot n. 176 p 392 ex Theopompo.

ζ Matthieu de Morgues, lettre de change proteſtée, p m 946.

ϑ Id. ib p. 947.

ν Premiere lettre de change de Sabin à Nicocleon, à la p 711 des pieces pour ſervir à l'hiſtoire edit 1643 in 4°.

ϕ Ibid. p 713.

λ Matthieu de Morgues, reparties ſur la reponſe à la remonſtrance au Roi, p 7. (*d*) Premiere lettre de change de Sabin à Nicocleon, p. 716. (*e*) Ibid p. 730. (*f*) Premiere lettre de change de Sabin à Nicocleon, p 711. (*g*) *Becauſe he had claim'd the Advocatary for taking the Name of* Cleonville, *half Greek half Latin.* (*h*) Morgues reparties a la reponſe, p m 11

courſe to the *Aſylum* of a *Prolepſis*, or confound his Chronology. I can beſides all this maintain, that *Seneca*'s Words are no Proof of what Mr. *de Valois* would have 'em, I mean *Mopſus*'s Death in *Africa*. The Paſſages he produces from *Tertullian* and *Apuleius*, only prove that *Mopſus* was honour'd as a God in that Country; but he ought to have alledged ſomething more expreſs from his Authors, before he offer'd 'em as Witneſſes of a Man's Deceaſe in ſuch or ſuch a Place.

(*n*) Strabo, l. 14. p 464.

(*F*) *In another kind of Conteſt*] This by no means reſpecting *Calchas*, I ſhall venture ſay, that *Strabo*'s Tranſlator has not render'd theſe words right, ἐ μόνον δὲ τὴν περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς ἔριν παρῃτεύκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, (*n*) *neque de divinatione duntaxat eos contendiſſe fabulantur, ſed etiam de imperio* This *eos* neceſſarily refers to *Calchas* and *Mopſus*; we muſt therefore expect to ſee 'em diſpute for Command: Yet nothing of this appears by the Sequel; 'tis *Mopſus* and *Amphilochus* that fall out. *Strabo* has expreſs'd himſelf in ſuch a manner as not to have any ſhare in this ſmall Cenſure.

(*A*) *And made up the Buſineſs the beſt he could*] What he advances on this Subject, is incompatible with what was objected to him. This Objection imports, "(*a*) That he became a Prieſt in a ſtate of "Apoſtacy, before he had by a Diſpenſation diſ- "engaged himſelf from the Bonds which ſtill tied "him by one end, to an Order he had deſerted. "Many, *continue they*, might have heard Cardinal "*Spada* ſay as much, before whom you ſtood "crying a long time to ſee if you could move him "to ſome Compaſſion." Now hear what he anſwered to an Author, who call'd him an *Apoſtate Jeſuite*: "(*b*) He whom you accuſe, declares "he was very young when he entred into the So- "ciety, and that he neither quitted it out of Le- "vity nor Libertiniſme. He might have Mar- "ried in his retreat if he pleaſed, or have choſen "any other Profeſſion that that he took, being in "no ſacred Orders, nor of an Age to take 'em." Does not this import that he quitted the Jeſuits before he had made any Vow? How then could he be faſt ty'd to their Order by one end of the Tedder? Note, that he anſwers nothing, to what was ſaid of his teaching ſome Claſſes in the Jeſuits College at *Avignon*. We muſt therefore believe the Accuſation true. Whence it follows, that he diſguiſes things, in ſaying he was free to Marry when he left the Society.

(*a*) Premiere lettre de change de Sabin à Nicocleon, à la page 716. du recueil des pieces pour ſervir à l'hiſtoire edit. 1643. in 4°.

(*b*) Morgues reparties ſur la reponſe à la remonſtrance, p. 7.

(*B*) *A kind of Dilemma which was retorted upon him.*] "(*c*) He tells us, that if the Jeſuits be Men of "Probity, he ought to be praiſed for having kept "good Company; if not, he deſerves no Reproach "for having left 'em. But it is true, they are Men "of Probity, and 'twere a Sin not to have continu'd "with 'em, ſuppoſing either that a Man left 'em to "turn Libertine, or that he could not leave 'em with "a good Conſcience, or that they themſelves could "not diſpence with one who had not made Pro- "feſſion among 'em." This is his Anſwer: Let's ſee what was replied to him: "(*d*) Your Argu- "ment reſembles thoſe Daggers which were an- "ciently made uſe of in Tragedies: It enters in- "to it ſelf without giving the leaſt Wound. I "turn it againſt you, and ſay; if the Jeſuits "are Wicked, you deſerve blame for having "kept ill Company; if good, you can't de- "ny, but you are to blame in having left 'em "There's nothing to be ſaid againſt this. But 'tis true, they are Men of Probity and Virtue; ſay you. "This has always been my Opinion; but "it has not been always thine. You did not "ſpeak in this manner, when having weigh'd the "Jeſuits and *Huguenots* in a Ballance, you equally "condemn'd 'em to depart the Kingdom Your "Diſcourſe is ſtill to be ſeen in Print" Let's add to this another Paſſage, which more diſtinctly informs us, that he hated the Society he had left. "Tell us (*e*) of what Order was that young "Monk of your Claſs, whom you got to hold "your Writings a top of the Wall while you "leap'd down; for 'tis not certain, whether "he was a *Carmelite*, or *Jacobin*——Tell us, "what was the true reaſon of that Sentence, by "which in one of your Books, you have ſince con- "demn'd thoſe whom you deſerted, to be ba- "niſh'd *France*. Who ſays, that it was only the "vexation of ſeeing one of the Society at the "King's Ear, who you fear'd wou'd not recom- "mend your Preaching to his Majeſty? Who "dare pretend that it was only out of pure ſpite "to him? But 'tis moſt certain, that another of "their Enemies having ask'd you why baniſhing "Monſters and Jeſuits together, you would ſend "theſe good Fathers into a better Country than "their fellow Refugees, to whom at bottom you "deſign'd much leſs harm? You anſwer'd, It "was, that finding themſelves in a better Con- "dition, they ſhould think leſs of returning into "the Country from which you expell'd 'em" Some Pages before (*f*) he had been taxed with writing a Book *againſt a Jeſuit, which he could not defend before the King in the Louvre*, and had been reminded (*g*), *that of the three words of which he compoſed his fine Title, the two firſt were borrowed from* Rome, *and the third from* Athens.

(*c*) Id. ib. p. 8.

(*C*) *He Preach'd in* Paris] He affirms *it* in a Writing

des Vertus near *Paris*. They who writ againſt him accuſed him (*D*) of having ſold this Cure, but he denied the Fact. He was nam'd to the Biſhoprick of *Toulon* by *Lewis* XIII. but never could obtain his Bulls. He gave his Anſwer to the Reproaches, which were made him on this Occaſion, the beſt turn (*F*) that could poſſibly be given it. He retired to his Father's Houſe upon the Confinement of *Mary de Medicis*. Cardinal *Richelieu* who had taken meaſures to make him Priſoner (*F*) in that Retreat, failed of his aim; for St. *Germain* made his eſcape before the Archers arrived. The Queen-Mother having left *Compeigne* * and deſigning to Publiſh an Apology, ſent for him and commanded him to Anſwer a Writing, Intit'led *the Defence of the King and his Miniſters*, in which the Honour of this Princeſs had been treated with great Liberty. He Publiſhed the

* Matthieu de Morgues ubi ſupra pag. 5.

Writing publiſh'd in 1631, that he had Preach'd Two Thouſand times in the Capital City of the Kingdom, and ſays in another place (*i*), that there was not a Pariſh in this great City, but he had Preach'd in. "(*k*) All the Court, *adds he*, admir'd my Preaching: The Doctors, Batchelors, "Regulars, and the moſt celebrated Lawyers of "*Paris* have run about after my Sermons: Many "of the curious have filled their Table Books "with 'em, and a great number of Citizens of good "Senſe have found in 'em wherewithall to ſolace "their Conſciences

(*i*) Id lettré de change proteſtée pag. 925, 926.

(*k*) Ibid. pag. 940.

(*D*) *Accuſed him of having ſold this Cure, but he denied the Fact.*] *John Sirmond* under the falſe Name of *Sabin*, talks to him after this manner: (*l*) "Thou "underſtandeſt not ſo much as the two *Languages*, "which common uſe makes moſt familiar to well "bred Men. And therefore I look upon it, as a "kind of ſpiritual Prodigality in that honeſt Man, "who to recompence that little, thou wert capable of teaching thoſe Children, he had "committed to your Inſtruction, gave you this "(*m*) Cure, which you ſold after a few Years, "to go and put off thy bad French at the Table "of the late Queen *Margaret*." Note that 'tis obſerved (*n*) he had been Paſtor of *Auberviller*.. Let's ſee how he defends himſelf againſt the Charge of ſelling his Cure of *Notre-Dame des Vertus*. "I reſign'd it *ſays he*, into the Hands (*o*) of "the deceaſed Mr. *Galemant*, firſt Director to "to the *Carmelite* Nuns in *France*. It was not "poſſible to commit Simony with a Saint, who "did ſo many Miracles in his Life, and after his "Death, that they talk of Canonizing him. "Thus to thruſt me into Hell, *Sabin* would pluck "a Bleſſed Saint out of Paradiſe. The Truth is, "Queen *Margaret de Valois* drew me out of that "Station, where the great reſort of People, kept "a continual Noiſe and Din, Enemies to the neceſſary repoſe of a Man of Letters. The Cardinal *de Joyeuſe* commanded me from that Princeſs to reſign the Benefice into the Hands of "Mr. *de Galemant*, who had been his great Vicar "at *Rohan*: He reſigned it preſently after, to the "Fathers of the Oratory, who poſſeſs it ſtill, "and who know I never had any recompence "for it.

(*l*) *He gave his Anſwer to the Reproaches made him, the beſt turn that could poſſibly be given it.*] On the Popes refuſing him his Bulls, one of his Adverſaries Publiſhed this: (*a*) He's a Renegado "Jeſuit, the common Subject of whoſe Converſation, was inveighing againſt the Power of "the Pope, under pretence of defending the Priviledges of the *Gallican* Church, by that means "ſowing as much as he could, the Seeds of Diviſion between the Church and State. The intimateſt Friend he ever had was *Fancan*, a Man "notorious for his Impiety, a reputed Atheiſt; "and who was convicted of having always favoured the Intereſts of Hereſie, both within "and without the Kingdom. This kind of Converſation and Company got him ſo ill a Reputation, that the King having at the recommendation of ſome, who did not thorowly know the "Man, nominated him to the Biſhoprick of *Toulon*, he could not procure Teſtimonials from "worthy Men, ſufficient to induce his Holineſs "to grant him his Bulls; ſo that he has been "forced to quit his Biſhoprick" I paſs over (*b*) *Matthew de Morgues*'s Anſwer concerning his intimacy with *Fancan*, and only inſiſt on what concerns the refuſal of the Bulls. "(*c*) He whom he "accuſes, aſſures him he never enter'd into a "Diſpute either for, or againſt the Privileges "of the *Gallican* Church. Nor was that the thing "which Stopped his Bulls, but the ill Offices of "the Cardinal, who was perſuaded by two ma"licious Men, that the Dignity of a Biſhop, "would render more conſiderable with the "Queen, a Perſon whom they had always kept "at a diſtance from her, becauſe they were jea"lous of his Capacity and Courage. If *Mulot* "did once fall out with the Cardinal, he'd lay o"pen his management with the late Mr. *Herbault* "Secretary of State; and if the Biſhop of *Mande* "*du Pleſſis* were alive, and would ſpeak the truth, "we ſhould know all the Tricks the Cardinal "play'd in this Affair. His Holineſs was no "Stranger to the Malice; and one of the wiſeſt "Gentlemen of *France* can Witneſs, what the Pope "ſaid upon this Subject in granting the Bulls, "which were demanded, when leave was deſir'd "to require a Free Gift from the Biſhoprick upon "other Conſiderations." He anſwered much the ſame to the Sieur *Sirmond*. "(*d*) *Sabin* alleges "too, that the Bulls for the Biſhoprick of *Toulon* "were refuſed me: He is miſtaken. Cardinal "*Richelieu* has retarded 'em by his Artifices, but "has not been able to get 'em refus'd. His Holineſs is too juſt to deny me the Recompence of "the Services I have done the Church theſe 20 "Years, and the King too Powerful to ſuffer his "Nomination to be condemned. Some againſt "the Rules of Charity, ſtruck in with the "Cardinal who oppoſed me: But the main Difficulty was removed, when of my own Mo"tion I beg'd of the King, that he would permit "me to recommend a Biſhop: Which his Maje"ſty granted with regret. I enjoy a part of the "Revenue, which the Revenge of the Cardinal "has deprived me of, becauſe I defended the Re"putation of the Princeſs, who has given him "a hundred times as much. He does not diſown his Friendſhip and Intimacy with Mr. *Servin*, *Gillot*, and *Derivaux*, (*e*) *thoſe true Frenchmen, worthy Magiſtrates, and incorruptible Judges.*

(*m*) *In pag. 714. he had been reproached with* ſelling his Cure of Notre-Dame des Vertus.

(*n*) Ibid. pag 729

(*o*) Morgues lettre de change proteſtée pag 923, 924

(*d*) Idem lettre de change proteſtée pag 924, 925

(*e*) Id. ib. pag. 925.

I relate theſe things only to ſhew the Spirit, which advanced or retarded Promotions at that time. I believe theſe baſe Intrigues will laſt as long as the World.

(*F*) *To make him Priſoner in that Retreat.*] *Cardinal* Richelieu (*f*) *diſpatched a Commiſſion to the Sieur* de Machault *Intendant of* Languedoc, *to ſeize the Perſon of* Matthew de Morgues. The Intendant charged the Provoſt of *Niſmes* and *Villai* with the Execution of it, and wrote "to Judge *Mage* "*du Puy* and ſome Lords, to aſſiſt the King's Officers in taking him. *The Commiſſion ran* to take "St *Germain* dead or alive, to ſeize all his Papers, "without making an Inventory of 'em, and "ſend 'em to *Beaucaire*; whilſt the Priſoner "ſhould be conducted to *Mande*, to be put into "the Hands of the Biſhop." The Author believes that this Prelate, who had been Valet to the Cardinal, would have got him *ſtrangl'd or poiſon'd without Noiſe*. He had notice of the Enterprize *the Night before* the intended Execution, quitted his Father's Houſe, and found a Retreat *in the wildeſt Country of* France, *where he was conceal'd for ſix Weeks, with the greateſt Hazards in point of Health. . . . . What was cruelleſt*, ſays he, *in all this Proceeding, was the Affliction which the ſight of the Provoſt and Archers* gave my Father and Mother, who were very old, for I was *the youngeſt of eight Children, and got when they had both grey Hairs*. He pretends that the Cardinal deſign'd to ſend him out of the World, to prevent his writing a Hiſtory. "This "good Lord, *ſays he* (*g*), well knew that St. *Germain* was not a Man of the times, that God had "given him a little Sence to obſerve how things "were manag'd, that his Soul was ſo good, as "not to ſuffer Innocence to be overwhelm'd "without a ſigh, and that his Courage was not ſo mean

(*f*) Idem reparties

(*a*) Reponſe au libelle intitulé tres-humble &c. remonſtrance au Roi, à la page 56 du recueil des pieces.

(*b*) *It's to be ſeen at the 113 and 127 pages of* Reparties.

(*c*) Morgues, reparties pag 10.

(*g*) Id. ib. pag. 3. & 4.

the Anſwer ſhe (G) deſired in 1631. and back'd it by ſeveral others afterwards, againſt the *Flatterers of the Cardinal *Richelieu*. His Misfortune was that he had before (H) Publiſhed Books full of this Cardinal's Praiſes. This gave his Enemies the Pleaſure of beating him with his own Weapons. He followed *Mary de Medicis* out of the Kingdom, and returned not into *France*, till after the Death of the Cardinal. He forc'd Father (I) *Sirmond*'s Nephew, one of his principal Antagoniſts, to quit the Field, and as he

* Du Chatelet, Sirmond, Balzac, Dupleix &c.

" mean as to forſake his Miſtreſs in her Sufferings. " The Cardinal was jealous of theſe Qualities, " which are not for his turn; he ſuſpected what " was not, but what might be.... He reſolved " to impriſon a Man, who did nothing that could " juſtly diſpleaſe him, but who one Day might " give a true Hiſtory of the times, and frankly " declare what he had known good in the Queen's " Conduct, and evil in the Cardinal's.

It's probable the Cardinal dreaded St. *Germain*'s Pen, and had a Preſage of the Libels it was hatching, and which afterwards ſadly mortify'd his Eminence. By all theſe Negotiations for recalling the Queen-Mother, it appears he articled (b) that St. *Germain*, who *by defamatory Libels, had omitted nothing to rob him of his Reputation*, ſhould be delivered up to the King. This great Man had the weakneſs to be infinitely ſenſible of Satyr, as I have related (i) elſewhere.

(b) *See the Life of Cardinal* Richelieu tom. 2: pag. 162, 175. édit. de Holl. 1694.

(i) *In the Article* Grandier.

(G) *He Publiſhed the Anſwer ſhe deſired in 1631.*] " It's Intit'led true and wholeſome Advices of " *Francis Fidele*, concerning the Calumnies and " Blaſphemies of the Sieur *des Montagns*, or an " Examination of a Libel, Intit'led, A Defence " of the King and his Miniſters." 'Tis one of the Principal Tracts of the Collection of Pieces in Defence of the Queen-Mother, which has been ſo often Reprinted.

(H) *He had before Publiſhed Books full of this Cardinal's Praiſes*] The Author (k) of the Anſwer to the Remonſtrance to the King, cites ſeveral Paſſages of it, to convict him of Contradictions, which deſtroyed all his Credit. An Extract alſo of a letter (l), which he wrote the 7th of *June* 1627, to the Cardinal, was alledged, in which he promiſed him a perpetual and inviolable adherence, founded on the remembrance of the great Benefits he had received, and on his Admiration of the eminent Qualities of this Miniſter. This gave ſome perplexity to *de Morgues*, let's ſee what he ſays in his own Juſtification. In the firſt Place, he ſuppoſed that his Adverſaries wou'd repreſent him as a Satyrical Author, from the Books he had written before his Rupture with the Cardinal. But this was not their thought, they only inſiſted on the Books he publiſhed for the Queen-Mother, after ſhe was at Variance with this Miniſter. He might ſo eaſily have underſtood their Meaning, that there's ground enough to ſuſpect him of Inſincerity in this Point. In the Second Place he pretended, that the Cardinal's ill Deſigns did not ſhew themſelves, till after the Perſecution ſtirr'd up againſt the Queen-Mother. Let's cite his own Words to each of theſe Points.

(k) *It's in the Collection of* Mr. du Chatelet.

(l) Ibid. p. m. 560, 561.

" (m) St. *Germain* never writ any thing but two " Pieces concerning Publick Affairs, one by Com- " mand of the Cardinal, and the other at his in- " ſtant Requeſt. The firſt was Intit'led *Chriſtian* " *Truths* in 1625. maintaining that the Queen had " Reaſon to complain of thoſe, who robb'd her " of the Education of her Children.... The Car- " dinal highly approv'd this Writing which was " the Manifeſto of *Angers*: Poſſibly he calls that " at preſent a Defamatory Libel, which he once " declared was a Work full of Divine and Hu- " mane Reaſons, and which has ſerved his Deſign. " The Second Piece, which he would ſtigmatize " with the Name of an *infamous Libel, is, the De-* " *vine without Paſſion*, written in Defence of the " Cardinal, and to ſilence abundance of Foreign " Writers, aſſiſted with the Memoirs of ſome " *Frenchmen*, who had given ſo much trouble to " this good Lord, that his Mind and Body were " equally indiſpoſed. If he owns this Book is " falſe, which is to be ſeen poſtſcripted and en- " larged with his own Hand, in the Original " Copy drawn up from Memoirs furniſhed by " himſelf, ſacrificed to his Intereſts, and to the " Command he cauſed the Queen-Mother to give " the Author (who was a good Miſtreſs, was wil- " ling to ſave the Cardinal from deſpair) the " Writer will condemn himſelf for rather for hav- " ing exceeded in Praiſes, than offended by Calum- " nies. Beſides it ought to be conſidered, that " this Piece was written in 1626, at which time the " Cardinal kept within ſome bounds, was in the " good Graces of his Miſtreſs, and concealed his " Deſigns, till ſuch time as he had obtained Power " to make them take effect: ſo that it can't be ſaid, " that the things which have been ſaid to his Ad- " vantage, before he threw the Kingdom and all " *Europe* into Confuſion, can ſerve to juſtifie him, " when accuſed only of more recent Crimes; nor " to convict a Man, who eſteemed the Card nal, " before he was changed or detected.... (a) If " you ſay that St. *Germain* changed his Note, he'll " tell you, the Cardinal changed his way of Life; " that God himſelf treats us in a different manner " when we are Sinners, from what he does when " we are in his Grace. The Cardinal had not yet " diſcovered his Deſigns... He whom you ac- " cuſe of Levity... has detected ſince the Year " 1626, the ill Actions the Cardinal had com- " mitted before that time; and thoſe which are " Publick and which we have ſeen, induced us " to inform our ſelves with more exactneſs of " thoſe tranſacted in the dark.... Contradi- " ction muſt relate to the ſame time and to the " ſame Action.

(m) Morgues, reparties pag. 8.

(a) Id ib. pag. 12.

It muſt be allowed, that it was hardly poſſible to make a better Apology than this, for that Inconſtancy of Pen which he was accuſed of. Whether he acted ſincerely in this Defence, is another Queſtion. We may venture to ſay by way of Conjecture, that if the Intereſts of the Cardinal had always been the ſame with thoſe of the Queen-Mother, and he had been guilty of every thing elſe, except the Hardſhips on her; St. *Germain* wou'd have continued to praiſe and to defend him, againſt the Libels of the *Auſtrians* and *French* Malecontents The Diſcoveries he might have made of this great Miniſter's Deſigns, would never have been deſtined to the information of the Publick. Let it however be confeſs'd, that he was to be commended on ſeveral Accounts; for he'd never have been ill treated by the Cardinal, if he had not manifeſted a ſteady Soul, unſhaken by Cowardize, and capable of ſacrificing his Fortune to his Fidelity, for the Intereſts of his Miſtreſs. We ſhall ſee (b) below the Praiſes a Critick has given him

(b) *In the Remark K.*

Note, That he owns, in a Letter of the 7th of *June* 1627, he had great Obligations to the Cardinal, and had receiv'd ſeveral Benefits from him. Nevertheleſs, in a Work Publiſhed in 1631. he ſpeaks thus, (c) " This good Prelate, who calls the " Pen *Mere nary, which had written for the Cardinal*. " ... has forgot to ask him, what he gave St *Ger-* " *main* for *the Divine without Paſſion*, and what in " Recompence of many other ſignal Services; as " particularly, for an exact Search made by him " within and without the Kingdom, for Papers, " Memoirs, Inſtructions, and Tracts, which might " give him an inſight into Foreign Affairs; and " for a great number of Curioſities and in- " genious Inventions, which he was fond of, " and received with thanks, but which were fol- " lowed the next, or even the ſame Day, by ill " Offices with the Queen, and eſpecially with his " Holineſs's Nuncio; to whom he ſignify'd, that " St. *Germain* was Author of *the Divine without* " *Paſſion*, in which he himſelf was ſtruck at under " covert Expreſſions, tho' the Cardinal had added " with his own Hand, the only Paſſage that cou'd " offend him. Here's the Coyn in which he has paid " the Pen, which is called *Mere nary*." This is not only curious, but even highly probable. The Cardinal had ſuch diſtant Views, ſo much Ambition, and ſo many Enemies to deal with, ſo many Ambuſhes to prevent and to lay, that he was forced to ſpread his Snares every where, and always have two Strings to his Bow

(c) *Morgues, reparties pag. 9.*

(I) *He made.... Father* Sirmond's *Nephew quit the Field*] This I find in the Hiſtory of the French Academy " (a) Mr. *Sirmond*.... wrote ſeve- " ral

(c) Pelliſſon, hiſtoire de l'Acad Françoiſe p. m. 3[illegible].

he had foretold during his Disgrace, * he obtained the Royal Priviledge to Publish his Books. He lived † to the Year 1670. He lodged a long time at the *Incurables*, in the Suburbs of St. *Germain*, and died there in the ‡ 88th Years of his Age. He Preached there every Year the Panegyrick (*K*) of St. *Joseph*. He boasted much of the History he had written of *Lewis* the Just, and said he won'd enjoyn his Heirs to Print it after his Death. *Patin* has spoken (*L*) more than once of this Work. *Balzac* treats *Matthew de Morgues* very hardly in the First Letter of the Eighth Book. *To Crown his Inconstancy*, says he, *of a Deserter, as we have known him from at least a dozen Parties, he must for the last Scene turn Parasite to the* Spaniards, *and Secretary to the traiterous* French at their Court.

* *See the Remark I.*

† Patin, lettre 53e. page 580. du 3. tome.

‡ Id. ib. pag. 579.

MORIN

" ral Pieces for the Cardinal, upon the Affairs of " the time, and most of them under feign'd " Names. The Abbot de St. *Germain*, who " was a Writer of the opposite side, used him very " ill in the Book, which he entit'led the *Chimerical Embassador* He writ an answer to it, which " is inserted in Mr *du Chastelet*'s Collection. The " Abbot de St. *Germain* replied, and treated him " still more injuriously, which obliged him to set " about a new writing in his Defence. But Cardinal *Richelieu* and King *Lewis* XIII. happening to " die in this Juncture, he could never obtain under the Regency, a Licence to Print this Book. " This Troubled him heartily, and seeing at " the same time his Enemy return'd to Court, and " the Favour veering to the opposite side, he retir'd " into *Auvergne*, where he soon died being about " 60 Years old. "This Mr. *Sirmond* was a Member of the French Academy, and yet you see he had the Mortification to be forced to yield to a Rebel-writer, who had not only used him *ill*, but even attack'd the whole Body of the Academy, which had almost the same Destiny as *Sirmond*; for not finding any redress, it saw the Triumph of its Censor, and the Works of this haughty Critick Printed with the Royal Licence. Mr *Pelisson* supplies me with Proofs, " The first that write a- (*f*) Id ib. pag 67. & suiv. " gainst the Academy, *says he* (*f*), was the Abbot " St. *Germain*, who was then at *Brussels*, accompanying the Queen-Mother *Mary de Medicis* " in her Exile. As he never left inveighing in " his Writings, and that with the greatest Animosity against every Action of Cardinal *Richelieu*, he fell upon the *French Academy* in a very " injurious manner, confounding it with that o- " ther Academy, which the Gazzettier *Renaudot* had " erected in the Office of Intelligence; whether " he designed this Mistake, or whether he was " actually misinformed of what past in *Paris*. The " Academy would not answer him by a Book on " purpose; but Mr. *du Chastelet* who was a Mem- " ber of it, and whose Pen the Cardinal made use " of to answer most of these *Brussel* Libels, was " desired upon an offer first made to the Assembly " by himself, to add a few Lines on this Head; " which were afterwards read, and approved by " the Society (1). The Pieces of the Abbot *de* (1) Reg. 9. & 30 Juillet 1634. " St. *Germain* against Cardinal *Richelieu*, have been " since Printed at *Paris* in two Volumes, after " the Death of *Lewis* XIII. Mr. *du Chastelet*'s An- " swers were part of a Work, which he had not " finish'd, being prevented by Death, and which " has never been Printed.

(*K*) *He Preached there every Year the Panegyrick of St.* Joseph.] This I learn from a most ingenious Criticism, which is a continuation of *Parnassus* Reformed, and is Intit'led, *the War between the Ancients and Modern Authors*. Mr. *Gueret* there supposes (*k*) that upon the arrival of Abbot *de Morgues* at *Parnassus*, Cardinal *Richelieu* and *Balzac* would oppose *his taking a Place among the Historians*; and that his Eminence made the following Speech. " Behold, behold, here the Man, who alone " had attempted to disturb the Glory of my Mini- " stry; behold the only Pen, which I was never " able to gain, and yet I now have met with " him, after whom I have sometimes marched " intire Legions in vain, and the quest of whom " had cost me the Successes of more than one " Campaign. I well knew, continued he, that I should " meet with him at last in one World or t'other; " 'tis but fit he shou'd now pay for all the Dam- " mage he has done me, 'tis fit I revenge my self " of that invincible Malignancy, which neither " the fear of Punishments, nor the Hopes of " Rewards could correct in him; and if the Di- " vinity, which presides here, does not do me " Justice, I'll quickly make him sensible, that I " have not spent all my Force against *Rochelle*." He supposes that this Abbot " (*i*) of an undaunted " Look, and above all Fear, only shook his Head, " and looking upon his Eminence, your haughty " Carriage, *says he*, is out of date; you have no " Armies here to back it, the Day of your Reign " is over, and I have this Advantage of you, that " Truth marches by my side, and that I am in a " Place, where you hold no other Rank, than that " of an Author. *Mr.* Gueret *adds* (*k*) *that the Abbot escaped the* Storm, that was like to be raised " against him: But there ensued a tedious Con- " test, what Place he should hold, whether among " the Historians or the Libellers during the Wars. " Each side offer'd very plausible Arguments on " this Head, and the Dispute had never been end- " ed, if he himself, tir'd out with this trouble- " some Formality, had not bethought him of " gaining a little rising Ground which join'd to " *Parnassus*, where all the Learned of his Chara- " cter and Profession, place themselves out of the " way, that they may have no fellowship with " the rest, whom they term profane. *Brioüat*, " who first descry'd him, ran forward to meet his " Friend, and after several mutual Embraces, You " renounce then, says he to him, the Panegyrick " of St *Joseph*, and this good Saint has lost in you, " one of the zealousest of his Adorers and his " Preacher in ordinary.

(*i*) Id. ib. pag. 106.

(*k*) Id. ib. pag. 109.

If I have collected more Particulars than the Text of this Remark required, 'twas by the Way of an Introduction, which informs us, what the Opinion of a fine Wit had been of our *Matthew de Morgues*.

(*L*) Patin *has spoken more than once of this Work.*] Here is an Extract of his 351th Letter, dated the 20th of *March* 1665. " (*a*) Yesterday, being the Fe- " stival of St. *Joseph*, Mr. *Matthew de Morgues* who " is 82 Years of Age, Preached the Sermon in " the *Incurables*, in Honour of St. *Joseph* before " the Queen's Majesty: He is the Author of the " Pamphlets publish'd at *Brussels* against Cardinal " *Richelieu*, and in Vindication of the Queen-Mo- " ther, whose Almoner he was: He's a Learned " Great Man, and has by him a just History of " the late King *Lewis* XIII. which he does not " design for the Press till after his Death; he has " got six Manuscript Copies of it, which he has " committed to six of his best Friends, who will " not fail to execute his Intentions in due time. Let's see also what he has said in the 458th. Letter. " (*b*) It's probable this History (*c*) will be confu- " ted by that which we are promised by Mr. *Mat- " thew de Morgues*, Sieur *de* St. *Germain* who begins " from the Birth of *Lewis* XIII. and continues it " to his Death: This Gentleman will not suffer " his History to be Printed in his own Life-time, " but he tells me he has put it into the Hands of " those who will be faithful to him: You must " know he is 84 Years old; I am far from wishing " his Death, yet I should be glad to see this Hi- " story, whereof I have heard him tell some very " notable Particulars and surprizing Truths, to " Cardinal *Richelieu*'s dishonour, and in defence " of the Queen-Mother. *This Man, says he, in* " *another Place* (*d*), knows most of the Court In- " trigues for 60 Years past, part of which he has " been an Eye Witness to, having liv'd in the Fa- " mily of the Queen-Mother: The History he has " written will be very curious, and will bring to " light several Memoirs hitherto conceal'd, and " bold Truths concerning the Ministry of this " Cardinal, who ruled *France* most cruelly, and " with a Rod of Iron." Here you see two Men, one of which was not fit to write, the other not the best disposed to read the History of Cardinal *Richelieu* impartially. *Patin* hated all abuse of Power; Reason and Nature indued him with this Passion

(*a*) Patin lettre 351. pag. 39 du 3. tome.

(*b*) Idem pag 345. du meme tome.

(*c*) *That of Cardinal* Richelieu *by* Pere le Moine.

(*d*) Idem lettre 529. pag 574. du meme vol.

(*k*) Guerres des Auteurs pag. 14 édit. de Holl.

MORIN (JOHN BAPTIST) Physician and Royal Professor of Mathematicks in *Paris*, was Born the 23d of *February* 1583, at *Villa Franca* in *Beaujolois*. He went thro' his Course of Philosophy at *Aix* in *Provence*, afterwards studied Physick at *Avignon*, and was admitted Doctor there in that Faculty in 1613. The Year following he went to *Paris*, and was entertain'd in *Claude Dormi* Bishop of *Boulogne*'s Family, who sent him to make Discoveries about the Nature of Metals in the Mines of *Hungary*. He was often let down into the very deepest Pits, and believing he had discovered that the Earth is divided like the Air into three Regions; he wrote a Treatise (*A*) on this Subject. Upon his Return to his Prelate, who had entertain'd (*B*) a *Scotch* Astrologer, he began to relish Judicial Astrology, and by the Rules of his Art calculated the Events of the Year 1617. He found that the Bishop of *Boulogne* was threatned either with Death or Imprisonment, and fail'd not to give him warning. The Prelate laughed at him *; but meddling soon after in some Intrigues of State, and mistaking the right Side, he was treated as a Rebel, and cast into Prison. *Morin* was entertained by the Duke of *Luxembourg*, Brother to the Constable *de Luines*, (*C*) in 1621, and liv'd in his Family eight Years. As soon as he heard of the Death of *Sainclair* † Royal Professor in Mathematicks; he put in for his Place and carried it. He took the Oath of Professor in *February* 1630. He was advised to Marry his Predecessor's Widow; but the first Visit he made her, he found she was going abroad (*D*) to be buried. From that time he set on a firm Resolution never to Marry, and kept it all his Life. He made himself many Friends. He had access

* *And yet he was infatuated with an Opinion of Astrology.* Morin. Astrolog. Gall. lib. 23 pag. 648.

† *He died the 28th of June* 1629

(*e*) Statuit res gestas populi Romani perscribere eo magis quod mihi à spe metu, partibus Reip. animus liber erat. *Sallustius in proœm. bel. Catilin.*

(*f*) *In the Article* Marillac.

(*g*) Utenim tres in regiones aer distinctus est, sic etiam triplex regio interræ viticeribus animadverti potest summa, media, infima, & id quidem validissimis rationum momentis adeo stabilivit, edito hujus argumenti ad annum 1619. libello, ut hæc sententia etsi nulla Philosophorum veterum authoritate fulciatur, suos tamen habeat sectatores. *Vita Jo. Bapt. Morini, p. 3. n. 16.*

(*h*) Vincentius Panurgus in epistola de tribus impostoribus, pag. 14.

(*i*) Morinus, in defensione suæ dissertationis de atomis, & vacuo, p. 5.

(*k*) *Twas printed at* Paris *in* 1635.

(*l*) Vita Morini. p. 4. n. 21.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

Passion, which betray'd him into an inconceivable Aversion for the Cardinal; he gave credit to all the Slanders an Historian could invent of him, and therefore could not judge as he ought to do, of the Merit of this History: for to pass an equitable Judgment, a Man must be intirely exempt from Hatred or Affection. By a stronger Reason we must say, that *Matthew de Morgues* was wholly incapable to write the History in question. He had been persecuted by his Eminence; he hated him mortally, he would consequently have envenomed the Accusation, every thing must have appear'd Criminal to him, and if any thing had looked fair in his own Cause, he'd have suppress or tarnished its Lustre. 'Tis certain that they who have had to do with the Cardinal, have left us wretched Pictures of him, some have said too much good, and others too much ill; some meant to acknowledge, or to obtain his Favour, and others to revenge themselves for his Injuries; they all wanted that Coolness, which is (*e*) essential to an Historian, they either hoped, or feared, or hated. *Matthew de Morgues* would however have had this Advantage, that most Readers would have given a specious Name to the Liberty he had taken. You'll find above (*f*) in a Passage of *Tacitus*, the Confirmation of what I have said. It must be own'd, that we are naturally more inclined to suspect the Historians who praise, than those who blame. See the Remark A of the Article of the Marshall *de Marillac*.

(*A*) *He wrote a Treatise on this Subject.*] 'Twas the first he Published; it came out in 1619. under the Title of *Mundi sublunaris Anatomia*. They who have written his Life, pretend that he proved by so many solid Arguments, that the Bowels (*g*) of the Earth are divided into three Regions, that he gave a Vogue to this Opinion, without supporting it by the Authority of any ancient Philosophers; this Work was dedicated (*h*) to Mr *du Vair*, Keeper of the Seals, who had been Patron to our *Morin* at *Aix* in *Provence*, when he was first President there, and who was also his Disciple in Mathematicks in 1588. Finding how well qualified he was for the Sciences, he encouraged him to resume his Studies. *Morin* himself relates this (*i*) *Anno quippe* 1608, *illustrissimus D. Du Vair, Senatus Aquensis Protopræses, fuit mons in Matheseos adjapetus; qui observata mei ingenii ad has aptitudine, tam valide mihi persuasit studia mea per decennium intermissa repetere, ut anno* 1609, *Aquis Sextiis ingressus sim Philosophiæ cursum, sub D. Marco Antonio, tunc temporis Philosophiæ Professore*; *& anno* 1611. *cursum Mathesis sub Professoribus Regiis Fontano & Mersnelo, veris earum disciplinarum editione famosis.*

(*b*) *A Scotch Astrologer, he began to relish judicial Astrology*] His Name was *Davidson*, he renounced Astrology, applied himself to Physick, and became very famous by his Works, and by the course (*k*) of Chymistry, which he exhibited publickly in the Royal Garden of *Paris* (*l*). He was invited into *Poland*, and had the Honour to be first Physician to the Queen (*m*). One thing I must not forget which is odd enough, that *Davidson* grew out of love with Astrology, because of the Uncertainty of this Art, and betook himself to Physick. *Morin* on the contrary for a like Reason was disgusted with Physick, and applied himself to Astrology. *Est vero quod in ipso* (Davidsono) *a Morino non leviter admiramur, artium nempe quas profitebantur facilem ab utroque velut permutationem: Astrologiam Scotus, scientiam alter medicam fecitabatur, utroque prout tempora, post experimenta complura in arte propria, sibi subesse certi deprehendit, unde animus amborum fluctuans, in quo pedem figeret, non invenichat. Tædet itaque hunc & illum aberrantis plerumque judicii, Medicus ergo in Astrologum vertitur, & in Med. cum Astrologus, tam secundo exitu ut beati tranfugæ, inter hujus ætatis viros insignes annumerari mereantur* (*n*)

(*n*) Ibid.

(*C*) Morin *was entertained by the Duke of* Luxemburg *in* 1621.] They who have given us his Life, leave a Chasm here which betrays their want of Judgment. They say the Imprisonment of the Bishop of *Boulogne* had left *Morin* destitute of support, if he had not been entertain'd by the Duke in 1621. and they had just before said that his Bishop was imprison'd in 1617. What became of *Morin* in this Interval of four Years? This ought at least to have been notified. Let us fill up this blank by a passage of *Morin* himself, who tells us, that after his Prelate's Fall, he lived with the Abbot of *Bretonniere*, as Physician in Ordinary, till he was entertain'd by the Constables Brother during the Siege of *Montauban*. *Manet* says he, (*a*) *apud Ep. scopum 4 annos, tum solicitatus a reverendissimo D. De la Bretonniere Sancti Eutropii in Normania Abbatis optimi, ne cum ipso durante gravi peste Parisiensi in Normanniam contuli, ejus Medicus ordinarius. Anno autem* 1621, *dum Rex obsideret Montem Albanum, vocatus fui in Aulam ab illustrissimo nobisque valde amico Domino Ludovico Tronsono, Regi a sanctioribus Consiliis & secretis, ut ejus Medicus ordinarius Ducis a Luxemburgo, quod ægre tulit optimus Abbas.* He often complains of this Duke's Ingratitude, and says it was the Reason of his quitting him (*b*), and as he was taking his leave, he threatned him with a Disease which carried him off in two Years.

(*a*) Morin in defensi suæ dissertationis de atomis, pag. 106. 107

(*b*) Quem demum sui coactus deserere ob summam ejus ingratitudinem, prædicens ibi ante discessum morbum lethalem intra biennium ex quo etiam mortuus est *Morin Astrolog. Gallica, lib. 1. pag.* 598.

(*D*) *He found she was going abroad to be buried*] *Morin* govern'd himself by the Stars; and finding they did not advise him to Marry, he resolved to live a Batchelor. However, the Persuasions of his Friends shook him in such a manner, that he thought on Matrimony in good earnest, the rather, because *Sinclair*'s Widow was reputed Rich, and a favourable Occasion of her succeeding, not only to this Professor's Chair, but also to his Bed and Bags. He was on the Road to pay his Devoirs to the Widow, and to make the first Overture of his Design. But seeing the Door of the House in mourning, and understanding from the Neighbours that the Gentlewoman was just going to be buried; he was seized with an extream Astonishment, and immediately fell on a firm Resolution never to Wed. No doubt this confirmed the good Opinion he had conceived of Astrology. (*c*) *Hæc nunc magis quam illud in familiaribus amicorum conventibus populo fabulas facere didicerunt, quod ea, antequam ortus in mundi molem sanctam, non aliter concipere animo posset, quam plane, & omnibus numeris consummatum Brutiam perfectus fama jactabat, Parisiensem*

(*c*) *Vita Morini, p.* 6 *n.* 32.

9 L 2 *quam*

ceſs to Great Men, and even to Cardinal (E) *Richelieu*: And he obtained from Cardinal *Mazarine* a Penſion of Two Thouſand Livres, which was all along duly paid him. He was conſulted about Futurity by ſeveral Perſons, who pretended his Horoſcopes (F) often foretold

quiunt, at quemadmodum Sanclari *cathedræ, ſic & eiuſdem opibus ducta ipſius uxore ſuccedas: conſilio iſtiuſmodi ſæpius repetito* Morinus *tandem acquievit, Dominamque inviſere ea mente conſtituit, & procum gerere prima vice: propior factus ædibus nigra veſte videt limen obſeptum, docentque vicini* Sanclari *conjugem eſſe mox ad tumulum efferendam. Id audiens quantum obſtupuerit, cogitate: tum vero de cœlibatu perpetuo conſilium ſibi quondam ducibus aſtris injectum, certiſſimum fore decrevit, omnibuſque in poſterum renunciare nuptiis, & quicquid vitæ reliquum eſſet in doctrinis ac librorum ſeu lectione, ſeu ſcriptione placido tenore tranſigere, atque in amicorum convictu ſuaviſſime conſeneſcere. Hoc ſixum apud ſe ratumque nunquam poſtea violavit. Quid enim libero lectulo jucundius? nunquid uni conjugi moleſtiarum plerumque ſeminario tot amicos tamque illuſtres anteferret?* All this is worthy of a Profeſſor of Mathematicks. His Friends had been often forc'd to return to the Charge in perſuading him to Marry; they back'd and ſupported the Motives of Duty in the Caſe, by thoſe of Intereſt; and when at laſt they had got his Conſent, he prepar'd for his firſt Viſit with ſo much deliberation, that the Lady had time enough to die before ſhe received it. He was ſo little inquiſitive about his Miſtreſs, that he heard nothing of her Sickneſs, before he knew ſhe was going to the Grave, nor did he know that, but by coming himſelf to the Place, to make the firſt Declaration of Love. This has much of the Philoſopher in it.

(n) See the Remark O.

(e) Die nona Julii 1605, duo periculoſiſſima vulnera propter famoſam mulierem. *Morin. Aſtrolog. Gall. l.23.p.617*

The Scheme of his Nativity (d) preſag'd him nothing but Misfortunes from the Female Sex. He confeſſes that in the Year 1605, he received two dangerous Wounds on account of (e) a Woman, and that next to the Grace of God, he owes to Aſtrology the Happineſs of ſtopping the fatal conſequences of his Conſtellation: For having diſcovered the Influence of a certain Star in the Exaltation of *Venus*, which was found in his Horoſcope, he took ſpecial Care of himſelf, being appriz'd from whence all the Misfortunes came, which he had gone thro' on the ſcore of Women. (f) *Tot mala, infortunia, magnaque vitæ pericula mihi propter mulieres acciderunt in juventute, ut jam illa recogitando ſtupeam, multoque plura & forſan deteriora mihi accidiſſent, niſi Deus Opt. Max. mei miſertus fuiſſet, ab eiſque me liberaſſet, & Aſtrologiæ circa 35. meæ nativitatis annum quo huic ſcientiæ ſtudere cæpi, infauſtæ & mihi per experientiam periculoſæ illius conſtitutionis monuiſſet.*

(f) Id.ib.

(g) Pag.6. n.33.

(h) See the Remark H at the end.

(E) *And even to Cardinal Richelieu*] The Author of *Morin*'s Life, ſpeaks of it in theſe Terms: (g) *Richelianus Cardinalis immenſus ille genius, judicio nunquam, ubi quempiam pertentaſſet, errante, dignum ea exiſtimatione* Morinum *duxit, ut ipſum ad ſecretius Muſæum admitteret, deque negotiis momenti graviſſimi conſuleret.* This is a very mangled Story, and ſuch as Panegyriſts uſually give: We don't find in it the Cardinal's Charge to *Morin*, nor this Aſtrologer's furious rage againſt the Cardinal. Let's ſupply this Omiſſion. *Morin* being falſly perſuaded, that he had found out the true Science of Longitudes, and that the Cardinal did him a very great Injuſtice (i) by refuſing him the Recompence which ſuch a Diſcovery deſerv'd, conceived an extream Indignation, and a moſt lively Reſentment againſt him, which laſted as long as he lived. He went no more to wait on his Eminence, and 'twas only out of love to Mr *Chavigny* his Patron, and for the Glory of Aſtrology, that he made a Prognoſtick, which the Cardinal deſired of him. (i) *Priuſquam Pariſiis diſcederet* (k) *optavit ſcire quid de ſua valetudine atque vita ſentirem eo in itinere, non quidem per ſe (qui ab annis 4, non videram ob denegatam* (l) *mihi remunerationem ſcientiæ longitudinum a me inventæ, utcunque ſuo ſcripto eam mihi pollicitus fuiſſet) ſed interpoſito Magnate ſibi fidiſſimo, & mihi amico, ſcilicet illuſtriſſimo D. Comite de Cheverny, qui ad tertiam uſque vicem meum ea de re petiit, quod libenter recuſaſſem ſi potuiſſem, at ipſius Magnatis obſtrictus beneficiis, & pro honore aſtrologiæ tandem reſpondi Cardinalem eo tempore cum vitæ periculo ægrotaturum.* He ſpeaks diſadvantageouſly of his Eminence in moſt of the Books he has written, and imputes to him all the Misfortunes of *Europe* (m), and eſpecially the War between *France* and *Spain* in 1635. He obſerves that the Cardinal declar'd this War without conſulting either the States of the Kingdom or the Parliaments. (n) *Galliæ bellis civilibus, & extraneis adhuc vigentibus, admodum attenuatæ, Cardinalis Richelius, inconſultis Regni comitiis, aut Senatibus, ſed ſponte propria, horrendum bellum inter Reges Galliæ & Hiſpaniæ declaravit, quod adhuc perdurat, quamvis omnia paſſim ad extremam deſolationem redacta conſpiciantur.* See what Mr. *Bernier* anſwer'd, who accuſed him of Ingratitude, and of ſpeaking evil of the Perſon of *Lewis* XIII. and even of invalidating the Royal Authority: (o) *An-ne, quantumve ſit crimen publice efferre, non poſſe Chriſtianiſſimum Regem indicere bellum, inconſultis Comitiis, aut Senatibus, diſceptare meum non eſt——verum jus belli indicendi abſtuliſſe Regi, ut illud tranferres in Cardinalem Richelium, non video qui poſſit id crimen à publicis ac Regiis animadverſoribus tolerari. Præterea quam injurius, & ingratus ſis adverſus tantum Cardinalem, à quo tot bona accepiſti, & cui maledicere tamen tam privatim quam publice non deſinis, eo dumtaxat nomine, quod exſtatuere immenſam tuam aviditatem noluerit, dum, ob tuam illam chimæram longitudinum inventarum, contendiſti tibi ab illo deberi montes aureos. Nempe hoc loco illi attribuis non modo uſurpatam tyrannice authoritatem,* &c.

(m) Qui bellis per totam Europam excitatis pluribus hominum millionibus ferro, flamma, fame, peſte, aliiſque modis cauſa mortis extitit. *Ibid.* 23. *pag.* 613. Pluribus per totam Europam ferro, flammis, ſanguine, fame, peſte, & cadaveribus horridam, idem contra Cardinalem deprecantibus, quod olim Brutus poſt cladem Philippicam noctu aſtra intuens contra Antonium, ex Apiano, *Jupiter ut feras, qui horum eſt cauſa malorum.* Ib. p 647.

(n) Id in Diſſert.de atomis & vacuo, p. 31.

(o) Berner. Anatom. ridiculi muris, p. 192, 193.

(F) *That his Horoſcopes often foretold the truth*] His firſt Eſſay was that of foretelling the Impriſonment of the Biſhop of *Boulogne*; but his Maſterpiece this way, and what gave him a mighty Reputation in his Art, was the foretelling that *Lewis* XIII ſhould be ſeiz'd with a dangerous Diſtemper at *Lions*, but not die of it. *Præſignificatus Bononienſi Præſuli carcer——quaſi primum in hac facultate ſpecimen Morino fuiſſe dici poteſt. Ab hoc tyrocinio magiſterium aſſecutus eſt Ludovico XIII Lugdunum ægrotante* (a) The Queen-Mother alarm'd at the fatal Predictions of ſome other Aſtrologers, writ to Cardinal *de Berulle*, deſiring he would prevail with *John Baptiſt Morin* to calculate the King's Horoſcope *Morin* readily obey'd, and found by the Stars that the King's Sickneſs ſhould be great, but not mortal His Prediction was right, and met with a Royal Recompence. The other Aſtrologers were ſent away to the Galleyes. (b) *Quod cum ex prædicto contigiſſet ſplendidam vati ſuo mercedem ac Rege dignam contulit, cæteris qui malè monuerant, ad remum* (c) *amandatis, forſitan quod minimè juſſi in annos Principis inquiſiſſent.* Hereupon we are aſſured he (d) was the only Perſon permitted to contemplate the King's Stars, as heretofore there was only one Perſon, who had the privilege of Painting *Alexander* the Great. One of the Phyſicians (e) of *Lewis* XIII. propoſed the erecting a new place of Court-Aſtrologer in favour of *Morin* who ſhould be a kind of Aſſiſtant to his Majeſty's Phyſicians. His having frequently experienc'd the Truth of this Man's Predictions, was what induced him to make this Motion However the Project did not take *Is* Morinum *vera ex ſideribus vaticinantem cum ſæpius comperiſſet, ac crebro ejus operam feliciter atque utiliter expertus eſſet, multis cum meritis ſibi planè addixit, hocque agitaverat animo, & ipſa re jam ſatagebat cum Aſtrologum inter aulica miniſteria conſtituendum eſſe, qui primario medicorum Regis comes eſſet adjumento futurus, & quidem ex* (f) *Galeni placito. Morin* having ſent word that *Lewis* XIII. was threatned with ſome ill Accident, this Prince was adviſ'd not to ſtir abroad that Day. He kept up all the Morning, but after Dinner, being weary of his Confinement, he would ride out a Setting and got a fall. *Don't let* Morin *know it*, ſays he, *'twill make him too proud.* (f) *Pomeridiano tempore continere pertæſus aviculæ ponit retia jubet, dumque ipſe attentus ea tendere non advertens concidit, funeſtus tibiis alligato, qui ſcindi nec mora debuit. Rex aſſurgens, cavete, inquit, Morinus riſeat, nimium ex caſu meo rumoris admitteret.* Cardinal ceſſum eſt Alexandrum in tabula pingere. *Vita Morini ibid.*

(a) Vita Morini, p. 13. n. 61.

(b) Id. ib.

(c) Compare with this what has been ſaid in the Article Lutorius.

(d) Morino ſoli regalem horoſcopum intueri ac examinare licebat, ut olim uni Apelli conceſſum eſt Alexandrum in tabula pingere. *Vita Morini ibid.*

(e) Vautier, who had been firſt Phyſician to Marie de Medicis

(f) Vita Morini, p. 13. n. 62.

(i) Morin. ubi ſupra l. 23. p. 613.

(k) This relates to his Journey to Rouſſillon in 1642.

(l) Teſtan ur quidem omnes Aſtronomi me ſcientiam illam perfectè demonſtraſſe, ſed Cardinalis Richelius perfidia & proditione Commiſſariorum meorum me promiſſo præmio inique fraudavit. *Morin. ubi ſupra lib. 24 pag.* 687.

(i) Lib. 3. de diebus decretoriis.

retold the Truth. He was not very fortunate in his Predictions concerning a Secretary of State, who depended very much (G) on his Aſtrological Oracles. He publiſh'd

dinal *Richelieu* (g) having an intereſt to know whether *Guſtavus Adolphus* was long liv'd, ſent the Hour of this Prince's Nativity to *Morin*, who miſs'd but by a few Days of ſhewing the time of this great Warriour's Death, and that Miſtake happen'd only for want of noting the Hour of his Birth with the neceſſary exactneſs; ſome Minutes were amiſs in it over or under. Something like this we are told of *Guſtavus*'s Sword, which fell into *Morin*'s Hands: The Figures are deſcribed which this Aſtrologer obſerv'd on it, for he was skill'd it ſeems in the *Taliſmanick* Art. They add (h), that Cardinal *Richelieu* had a very good Opinion of our *Morin*'s Skill, that he got him to calculate his own Horoſcope, and would not ſet out on his Journey to *Perpignan* before he had conſulted this Aſtrological Oracle, who was out but ten Hours as to the time of his Eminence's Death (i). Having ſeen the Scheme of *Cinqmar*'s Nativity without knowing whoſe it was, he ſaid that Man would loſe his Head. I omit a World of other Inſtances, a Catalogue of which is given us, and only ſay, that 'tis pretended the greateſt Objections againſt him were, that he was miſtaken (k) ten Days in the Death of *Lewis* the Juſt, and (l) ſixteen in the Death of the Conſtable *de Leſdiguieres*; and had not given his Benefactreſs *Mary de Medicis* the requiſite Aſſiſtance in his way; for this good Queen often complain'd, that the Aſtrologers had been the cauſe of her Misfortunes. The Anſwer on the laſt of theſe Heads is this, that *Morin* never had conſulted the Stars about the Deſtiny of this Queen, and being order'd to do it a few Days before ſhe left the Kingdom, he had not time to finiſh his Calculations. The Queen departed without giving *Morin* notice, and without ſtaying till her Horoſcope was taken. (m) *Cur amabo fidelium illi ad eo peritus, & per ea rerum futurarum acerrimus indagator, Dominam ſuam* Mariam Medicæam *meritam de ipſo quam optime nulla opitulationis ab ſtellis obtenta juvit? Sic ajunt æmuli: nonne ſæpius exaggerant iidem de ſuis fatidicis aſtrologis cognita eſt, ſe tanquam à præſtigiatoribus deceptam in tot calamitatum incidiſſe voragines, unde emergere nequiverit? Enumervo quidnam iſti caperata fronte Cenſores dicturi ſunt, ubi audierunt Reginæ hujus nativitatem nunquam à* Morino *exploratam fuiſſe? cum tamen paucis ante diebus quam ad exteros ſe fuga reciperet, id ipſum fieri juſſerit, aſtrologo autem* Morino *non admonito re infecta diſceſſiſſe.* We ſhall ſpeak below of his Predictions againſt *Gaſſendus*. I am very ſure the moſt incredulous can't but be pleas'd with the Paſſages which I have here related; becauſe they ſhew how the greateſt Stateſmen (n) ſuffer themſelves to be infatuated with judicial Aſtrology, and that even in the XVIIth Century they have not been exempt from this Phrenzy at the Courts of the greateſt Princes in *Europe*. Queen *Chriſtina* (o) was overjoy'd to ſee *Morin* the firſt time ſhe had been at *Paris*, and declar'd ſhe took him to be the greateſt Aſtrologer in the World. It's a ſign ſhe had employ'd him in ſome Horoſcops, or had taken the pains to conſider thoſe he had erected. I obſerve that the miſtake of ſix Days in the Death of *Lewis* the Juſt ſeems to ſignifie nothing, when we conſider it only by a general view; but when we know the Circumſtances of it as related by *Gaſſendus*, we can't forbear ſaying, that it was one of the greateſt Mortifications an Aſtrologer could receive.

GASSENDUS relates how *Morin* paid him a Viſit the 29th of *April* 1643, and ſaid to him, I remember you confeſs'd to me five or ſix Months a go, that if I could notifie the Day on which a certain great Perſon ſhould die, on whoſe Horoſcope I had taken much pains, and who was then indiſpoſed, you would look on it as a convincing Proof both of my Capacity, and of the Excellence of my Art. I now come to acquaint you that the King will die upon the eighth of *May* next. *Gaſſendus* has not forgot to obſerve, that *Morin* had given him no Anſwer concerning this great Perſon (p) who was ill at that time, and who died ſoon after. He obſerves alſo, that about the [illegible] of *April* 1643, the Phyſicians declar'd, that *Lewis* XIII. would die in a ſhort time, but as to the Day of his Death, there was a diſagreement among 'em. *Morin* declar'd to *Gaſſendi*, that the third of *May* would be extreamly dangerous to this Monarch, who however ſhould linger out five Days longer and no more. *Gaſſendi* without dwelling on the Conſideration, that this Prognoſtick was made, at a time when there was no hopes of the King's Recovery, waited for the Event as a thing that might be of ſome Conſequence to Aſtrology, ſince he had no reaſon to ſuſpect that the Symptomes obſerv'd by the Phyſicians, ſerv'd as a Foundation to *Morin*'s Prediction, and knew withal, that this Aſtrologer had ſtudied the Nativity of *Lewis* XIII with infinite Application, and boaſted that he had by it diſcover'd the Days of each particular Incident in the Courſe of this Monarch's Life. If therefore his Art had any kind of certainty, it muſt be in relation to the laſt Day of the King's Life. By the way, *Gaſſendus* was inform'd, that *Morin* had told others, that by the Rules of Aſtrology, the King was in danger of dying not only the eighth of *May*, and ſome Days preceding, but alſo on the 16th and 17th of the ſame Month. He ſaid nothing of the 14th, which yet was the Day of his Death (q). Thus we manifeſtly ſee, that his pretended Science was illuſive, and that the Miſtake of ſix Days in this Caſe a deciſive Blow.

(G) *Concerning a Secretary of State—who depended on his Oracles.*] I mean the Count *de Chavigni*, and ſhall give an inſtance of his extream Credulity with relation to Aſtrology. Having determin'd (r) to go into *Provence* in 1646, he deſir'd to have *Morin* along with him, but as this Aſtrologer never undertook any thing without the Approbation of the Stars, he would not venture upon this Journey, except they promis'd him good Succeſs. He therefore deſir'd time to conſult 'em, and after that, promis'd to accompany his *Maſter*. He deſir'd he would (ſ) leave it to him to chuſe a propitious Hour for their Departure, and aſſured him he had learnt from Experience, how material a thing it is to ſet out in an Enterprize under a favourable Aſpect of the Stars. Mr. *Chavigni* would conteſt no ſuch Point with him, but aſſured him of his entire ſubmiſſion. *Morin* found, that the beſt time to ſet out would be upon the 9th of *May*, nine Minutes after four in the Morning, and deſired that every thing might be ready that Moment. The Orders of the Secretary were ſo punctual and ſo well executed, that every thing was accordingly ready at that inſtant. He had four good Dials in his Garden, on which they obſerv'd for half an Hour together the Approach of the Critical Minute, and took Coach precisely at the time when the ſhadow on the Dial had reach'd this Minute. They arriv'd happily at *Antibes*: And when Mr. *Chavigni*, who was Count of it was about to return to *Paris*, he was inform'd by his Aſtrologer, that 'twas requiſite to conſult the Heavens about the Hour of their departure. He was no leſs tractable now than he had been the firſt time; he order'd every thing to be got ready with ſuch exactneſs, that he and his Retinue were on Horſeback preciſely (a) at twenty ſeven Minutes after four in the Morning of the ſecond of *July*. Their Return was very proſperous, the Maſter, and Servants, and Horſes arriv'd all in good Health, notwithſtanding the Heat of the Seaſon. But when he came to *Paris*, he diſcover'd ſome Intrigues of the Court againſt his Fortune. He was accuſed (b) among other things, of having taken an Aſtrologer with him to conſult about the Deſtiny of the King, the Queen, and Cardinal *Mazarin*, &c. Finding that his Adverſaries had made him greatly ſuſpected, he twice deſir'd *Morin* to ſpeak whether the Stars threaten'd him with any Misfortune. *Morin* anſwer'd him they did not, and adviſ'd him to wait on the Cardinal, but premonitſh'd him, that all Hours were not alike propitious, and that he would chooſe him one by the Rules of Aſtrology. He choſe him an Hour in which the tenth Houſe, which is that of Dignities, was (c) very well diſpoſed. *Morin* follow'd his Directions, and was very well received by the Cardinal. (d) I only relate theſe things to ſhew the Weakneſs of thoſe who ſometimes ſit at the Helm. The Deſtiny of Nations

(g) Ibid. p. 14. n. 65. *See alſo* Morin, Aſtrolog. Gall. l. 17. p. 399.

(h) Vita Morini, p. 15. n. 74.

(i) Ibid. n. 73.

(k) Ibid. p. 13. n. 63.

(l) Ibid. n. 64.

(m) Ibid. p. 15. n. 76.

(n) *See the following Remark.*

(o) Quæ primum vice Lutetiam venit Morinum ad videndum accerſiri juſſit, quem in Aſtrologicis omnium perſpicaciſſimum palam & clare teſtata eſt. *Vita Morini, p. 16. n. 18.*

(p) *This was undoubtedly Cardinal* Richelieu.

(q) *I take this from the* 128, *& 129. Page of Mr.* Bernier's anatomia ridiculi muris, *but 'tis a Paſſage which Mr* Bernier *gives from* Gaſſendi's *Apology* adverſus alas Jo. Morin.

(r) Morin, Aſtrolog Gallica, l. 25. c. 7.

(ſ) Illuſtriſſimum Dominum ——— ab Aſtrologia non alienum rogavi, ut ipſi placeret me diem & horam ad proficiſcendum fortunatam eligere, ſequæ experturum quanti eſſet momenti ſuſcepta ſub congruo cœli ſtatu in choare. *Morin. l. p. 778.*

(a) Hucque ſe recipiens omnes pro diſceſſu parata ad ipſum momentum, exſpectavitque me cum illuſtriſſimus Dominus in hoc vehiculo, feneſtris ad Orientem apertis donec ſolem ortum conſpexit quo poſtea me ſequi ſine mora conſcendit equum cum toto comitatu. *Morin ubi ſupra, p. 782.*

(b) Ibid. p. 783.

(c) Ibid. p. 784.

(d) Ibid.

lish'd a World (*H*) of Books, but had not the satisfaction to see his favourite Work Printed,

tions and Kingdoms is in their Hands, whilst their own depends upon the Caprices and Visions of an Astrologer. Their Passions and Ideas have commonly a greater share in the Government, than the Will of the Monarch, because they dextrously infuse into him whatever they have a mind to. And thus whilst they are manag'd by the Counsels of an Astrologer, may it not be said, that the Happiness and Misery of the People depend on this Astrologer? This Secretary of State was (*e*) named in 1645, for the Embassy of *Munster*. It's probable he would have taken *Morin* along with him, to know the Critical Minute when this or that Memoire ought to be presented, or this, or that Answer given. Would not this have been hazarding a thousand good Opportunities of advancing the general Peace so necessary to all *Europe*? *Morin* made such account of the Doctrine (*f*) of Elections, that he believed (*g*), there was nothing more advantageous to Kings, or their first Ministers, than a Council of three Astrologers who should have the Schemes of Nativity, not only of all the Neighbouring Princes, but also of all the great Men of the Court. By this means, said he, we should know the favourable Conjuncture to begin a War, what Confederate Prince would act first, and what Generals were to be chosen. We should not give the first Command as is usually done to an unsuccessful Prince; we should not take the Year that is most averse to him, and most propitious to the Prince his Enemy; we should not chuse unfortunate Generals: And what I have said, adds he, of War, ought to be applied to the Marriages of Kings, Embassies, *&c.* Let's now come to the falsities of his Predictions concerning the Count *de Chavigni*.

He had foretold he should have a fit of Sickness, but said nothing of his Imprisonment: Yet Mr. *de Chavigni* continued in good Health, but was made a Prisoner. Now see how they excuse this Astrologer: They pretend that he foresaw both the Imprisonment and the Sickness, and was more inclin'd to determine for the former, but did quite the contrary, because Mr. *de Chavigni* had declar'd, that he laugh'd at any Prediction of his Imprisonment. (*h*) *Ultimum quod insimulant Chavignii carcer est, quæ solum fuit erroris interceptio. cum enim in anima ipsius revolutione ex astris & morbum & carcerem collegerit, & ad carcerem prædicendum proclivior fuisset astrologus, ægritudine tamen rem dissimulat. Namque & ipse* Chavignius *hujus sortis qui carceris esset, metus dissimulator, aut tale nihil sibi metuens (scilicet quippe apud animum gratissimum esse confidebat) carcerem sibi frustra intentari dixerat; vates itaque noster artis suæ non satis credulus hac vice hallucinatus est.* A paltry excuse! He was afterwards charged with being deceived about the Marriage of this Lord's Daughter. I relate Mr. *Bernier*'s Words somewhat at length, because they let us see the knavery of this sort of People: (*i*) *Illis* (quos habere amicos vultis & à quibus magnam mercedem speratis) *fictæ omnia fausta, ac vitam præcipue longævam fœlicemque; nam aliqua quidem hîsce, illisque utpote ex excelsa prosapia; sed longinqua est siderum aspectus, qui malas portentosas, illa superanda præsignificet. Sæpe etiam ne fi quid in dispergere odium, ac invidiam possit; cum loquuti ad gratiam, & juxta mundi vulgi placita, spem nam illos inflatos, quod de illis eadem sentiant, mirum quibus vos, artemque vestram divis devoveant. Id vero, ut tibi imprimis caveriger, familiare est, cui publicitus exprobrata sunt mendacia propè, & nota publicè exempla, ut circa filiam illustris Comitis Cinchonæ; ut circa filium illustris Præsidis Galliæ; ut circa Præfectum ærarii Bullonicum; ut circa [illegible] ex quo causa casus insultibus, litem intentatam coram Medice sancta Genovefæ*

(*H*) *He complain'd of the abundance of Books.*] Since I have already spoken (*k*) of the first, I shall here begin with the second. It was Printed in 1623, under the Title of *Athenæum earum domorum catalogus*. In 1624 (*l*) not being able to answer by word of Mouth (as he had prepared for it) the Theses which *Antony Villon* (*m*) would maintain, he answer'd them in Writing. This *Villon*, who commonly went by the Name of the Philosophical Soldier, had posted up Theses against *Aristotle*'s Doctrine, which were to be defended at the late Queen *Margaret*'s Palace. The Assembly was very numerous, when the first President sent a Prohibition to *Villon* and his two Companions, not to maintain their Propositions. There was afterwards a Decree of Parliament against them, and against their Theses. See (*n*) the *French Mercury*, where you'll find an Abstract of *Morin*'s Writing against the Doctrine of those Innovators. 'Tis said in his Life (*o*), that this Book got him the Reputation of an able Chymist, and a subtil Philosopher, and upon this occasion we are told a thing which is worth relating. *Morin* had applied himself to Chymical Operations at the Bishop of *Boulogne*'s, and afterwards had Conferences with the greatest Masters about this Art; he had also convers'd about the great Work with two famous Persons, one of which had seen the Philosopher's Stone, and the other had been present at the Experiments, which one *Sylvius* had made of his Powder of Projection before the King. This *Sylvius* was condemn'd for his Crimes; but his Art was no ways reprov'd: His Writings were kept by Cardinal *Richelieu*, who made use of 'em for finding the Philosoper's Stone at his House at *Ruel*. (*p*) *Alter* Sylvio *quodam ipsimet regi sui pulveris experimentum præbente interfuerat, quod quidem enarrare prolixius non est hujus loci; nosse sufficerit ob scelera damnato* Sylvio, *artis tamen ejus mysterium minime damnatum esse, composita* Richelæus *Cardinalis ex hujus disciplina damnati, scriptis ab eodem tradita, in fornaculis Ruellianis instituit multa tentari.* In 1633, *Morin* published *trigonometriæ canonicæ libros tres*; and in 1634, a Book intituled *quod Deus sit* (*q*). He Compos'd it in a Geometrical Method, to recover one of his Friends, who was fallen into Atheism. He dedicated it to the Clergy of *France*, and thought (*r*) he deserv'd a *handsome Pension* for it all his Life. He enlarg'd it in 1655 (*s*), and Re-printed it with this Title, *De vera cognitione Dei ex solo naturæ lumine*; 'tis the first Book of his *Astrologia Gallica*. One *Peter Baudouin* Sieur *de Montarcis* his old Disciple appear'd against him on occasion of this Treatise, pretending 'twas only the Copy of a Treatise of *Richard de St. Victor*. He charged him with the same Crime on the same Subject of Plagiarism, with respect to several other of his Writings. This the Author of *Morin*'s Life (*t*) tells us; but *Morin* himself says nothing of the matter (*u*) but on the contrary, that this Mr. *de Montarcis* had pirated him. This Accusation was doubtless the reason of his Adversary's recriminating and maintaining, that *John Baptist Morin* was a Plagiary. It were to be wish'd, there was less Confusion, and more Chronological Order, in the Catalogue that is given us of his Works. This Confusion hinders my doing my Duty in this place; for 'twould require more Time and more Books to rectifie it than I have by me. *Morin* publish'd a Book in 1631, which engag'd him in some Replies; he intituled it, *Famosi problematis de telluris motu vel quiete hactenus optata solutio*. He declares against *Copernicus*, and maintaines this first Work against a Physician call'd *Lansberg*, and against Mr. *Boullaud*; for he publish'd in 1634, *responsio pro telluris motu*; and in 1642, *Tycho Brahæo in Philolaum pro telluris quiete*. The Year following he wrote against *Gassend* upon the same Subject, as we shall see below. His Dispute upon the Longitudes was no less opinionative: He pretended he had fix'd 'em to a certainty; this appears by his Book *Longitudinum terrestrium & cœlestium nova & hactenus optata scientia*, publish'd in 1634. The (*w*) *Hollanders* had promis'd a Hundred Thousand Francs to him that could make the Discovery: The King of *Spain* had promis'd three Hundred Thousand: *Morin* pretended he had merited the Reward, for he thought he had discovered the Longitudes, and had given a demonstrat on of 'em (*x*) in an Assembly held in the Arsenal at *Paris* the 30th of *March* 1634; but that Glory was disputed with him. Some skillful Persons nominated by Cardinal *Richelieu* were of a different Opinion. *George Fromm.us* (*a*) maintain'd, that that Invention was due to *Longomontanus*: Father *du Lors* the Pecollect boasted, that he himself had come nearer the matter. *Hallangrenus* Cosmographer to his Catholick Majesty (*b* at *Brussels*, pretended, that 'twas he had made the Discovery. *Morin* had all these Adversaries upon his Back, and (*c*) was oblig'd to defend himself by Certificates

(*e*) Ibid. p. 779. *This nomination was revok'd.*

(*f*) *Thus the Astrologers call the Choice of the Times, according to the Aspects of the Planets, and the Position of the Heavens.*

(*g*) Morin ibid c. 3. p. 773.

(*h*) Vita Morini, p 16.n.79.

(*i*) Berner. Anatomia ridic mutis, p 138. Morin. Defens Differt. p 121. *answering* Bernier, *down what concerns the Daughter of Mr.* de Chavigni.

(*k*) *In the Remark A.*

(*l*) *See his Life, n. 9. n 38.*

(*m*) *He was of* Provence Vinc. Panurgus de tribus impostoribus, p. 67.

(*n*) Tom. 10. p. 504 *and the following.* ad ann. 1624.

(*o*) Pag. 9 n. 38.

(*p*) Vita Morini, ib. n. 39

(*q*) *The Judgment M.* Descartes *gave of this Book is to be seen in his Life written by Mr.* Baillet, tom. 2. p. 118.

(*r*) Propter quod pensionem congruam in reliquum meæ vitæ tempus meruissem à Comitiis Gallicani Cleri convocatis ann. 1635. *Morinus, defens. suæ dissert. de atomis & vacuo, p.* 90.

(*s*) Vita Morin. ib.

(*t*) Ibid.

(*u*) Morin. ubi supra, p. 90, 91. *He says this Plagiary had publish'd in* 1651. Tractatus de fundamentis scientiæ generalis & universalis.

(*w*) Vita Morini, p. 11. n. 56.

(*x*) Ibid. n. 51.

(*a*) *Professor at* Copenhagen.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 8. n. 34.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 12. n. 52.

which had coſt him thirty Years Labour, and did not come out till after his Death. I ſpeak of his * *Aſtrologia Gallica*. He had among other Adverſaries the (*l*) famous *Gaſſendi*.

* See the Remark E.

Certificates againſt the Report made by Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Commiſſioners. He was not diſcourag'd in the leaſt, but maintain'd the affirmative without retracting a Tittle: See the Book he publiſh'd in 1640. *Aſtronomia jam a fundamentis integrè & exactè reſtituta.* His great Comfort was, that he obtain'd a Penſion in 1645, of two Thouſand Livres. (*d*) *Hunc denique laborem voluit in agro ſterili non periiſſe commonſtrat præmium ab ipſo rege, conſilioque ipſius ſecretiore tandem obtentum, cum enim ipſis annis* 1645. *libellum ſupplicem obtuliſſet, bina librarum millia in penſionem annuam ex Regii montis abbatia conſecutus eſt.* Let's not omit his Aſtrological Notes againſt the Marquéſs *de Villemor*, nor his Confutation (*e*) of the Preadamites. This Marquiſs pretended to Aſtrology, and was willing the Publick ſhould know it; for he got a Book on this Subject Printed (*f*), which is aſcrib'd to *Ptolemy*. About four Years after *Morin* attack'd him with a little too much heat, as the writer of his Life (*g*) confeſſes, excuſing him however on his great Zeal (*h*) for the truth. I am indebted to Mr. *Clement*, who ſo well deſerves the Place he is in (*i*) on account of his Learning and obliging Temper, I am, I ſay, indebted to him for a Catalogue of *John Baptiſt Morin*'s Works, wherein I have found Treatiſes not mention'd by the Writer of his Life: Here are two of this Nature. *Ad auſtrales & boreales aſtrologos pro aſtrologia reſtituenda epiſtolæ* (*k*). Letters written to the Sieur *Morin*, approving his Diſcovery of the Longitudes, and his Anſwer to *Herigone* (*l*).

We'll lengthen out this Note to give more light to *Morin*'s Pretenſions about the Longitudes. He maintain'd (*m*) with the utmoſt confidence, that the Commiſſioners nam'd by the Cardinal ſtarted a thouſand Cavills upon him the day of the Experiment; but that he came off ſo happily as to force 'em to own to the Aſſembly, that his Demonſtrations were good. Ten Days after, continues he, the Sieurs *Paſchal*, *Mydorge*, *Beaugrand*, *Boulenger* and *Herigone* (*n*), met by Order of the Cardinal to examine this Doctrine a-new upon the four Points, which his Eminence preſcrib'd 'em. They gave a Judgment quite contrary to their firſt Declaration, and ſhew'd it the Cardinal, who commanded 'em to publiſh it. *Morin* appeal'd from them to the moſt famous Aſtronomers of *Europe*, and obtain'd their Deciſions, condemning the ſecond Sentence of the Commiſſioners. (*o*) *Ab illis Commiſſariis proditus, & à Cardinali Richelio fraudatus promiſſo præmio, de illa ſecunda ſententia provocavi ad celebriores Europæ Aſtronomos quibus ſcripſi librumque meum tranſmiſi, qui omnes ſuis ad me reſponſis primam ſententiam approbarunt, ſecundam vero falſitatis & iniquitatis unanimiter condemnarunt.* This did him no kindneſs as long as the Cardinal liv'd, but was not uſeleſs after his Death; for *Morin* addreſſing himſelf to the King's Counſel, and publiſhing a long relation, obtained Juſtice by a Penſion of two Thouſand Livers. He made it appear, that the Commiſſioners had betray'd their Conſcience to pleaſe the Cardinal. I relate this as I find it in his own Book; but I give little credit to it. (*p*) *Poſtulatamen meam narratoriam quanta potui arte compoſui, ut evidentiſſime pateret injuſtitia in me perpetrata à Cardinali Richelio, quam conabar exteſſe Commiſſarios meos ut ſuam in me ſecundam ferrent ſententiam primæ ac veræ prorſus contrariam.* He eſpecially meant the Sieur *Herigone*, and wrote violently againſt him. He denies that he was his Diſciple. See the Margin (*q*).

(*l*) [Amongſt other Aids to ſave the famous Gaſſendi] The Original of the Diſpute was this. In 1642, *Gaſſendi* Printed two Letters which he had written to *Peter du Puy*, *de motu impreſſo à motore tranſlato*. Here he ſtoutly reaſons againſt their Objections, who ſay the Earth does not move: *Morin* was one of 'em, and a great Adverſary to *Copernicus*. He therefore believ'd himſelf the Perſon attack'd, and complain'd, that *Gaſſendi* violating the Laws of their ancient Friendſhip, became the Aggreſſor. In a word, he took Pen in Hand and publiſh'd a Book (*r*) againſt *Gaſſendi* in 1643. *Gaſſendi* anſwer'd it (*ſ*) the ſame Year, without any heat, but with much ſtrength of Reaſon. He forbore publiſhing this Book, and oblig'd himſelf to ſuppreſs it for ever, when he was reconcil'd to *Morin* (*t*) by the Mediation of the Baron of *Tourves*: It was Printed for all this in 1649, with a violent Preface Compos'd by *Neuré* the Author's Friend. *Gaſſendi* excus'd himſelf upon it to *Morin*, and proteſted he knew nothing of the Printing this Piece (*v*). His Letter was publiſh'd by *Morin* in a Poſtcript to a Book of his. *Gaſſendi* writ him another Letter, complaining of his having publiſh'd the former. But *Morin* yet farther Printed a fragment of this ſecond Letter, together with a new Libel. Hereupon *Gaſſendi* broke off all Correſpondence with him, and ſcorn'd to take any more notice of the Writings of ſuch an Adverſary! But his Friends reſented the thing in another manner; they publiſh'd his ſecond Letter entire, and reſolv'd to ſcout this Aſtrologer. Accordingly when his Diſſertation came out *de Atomis & Vacuo*, publiſh'd at *Paris* in 1658, againſt *Epicurus*'s Philoſophy, which *Gaſſendi* had (*w*) ſet forth, they handled it unmercifully. *Bernier* publiſh'd a Book (*x*) intit'led *anatomia ridiculi muri*, which was followed two Years after by the *favilla ridiculi muris*, in which he quite confounds the Apology which *Morin* Printed to his Diſſertation (*y*). This enrag'd him to that degree, that he Printed (*z*) a Book with this Title; *Vincentii Panurgi epiſtola de tribus impoſtoribus*. Theſe three Impoſtors were *Gaſſendi*, *Bernier* and *Neuré*.

He was chiefly expos'd on his preſuming to foretell that *Gaſſendi* ſhould be ſeiz'd with a mortal Diſtemper in 1650, and that the effects of it ſhould appear either at the end of *July*, or the beginning of *Auguſt*. This Aſtrological Prediction was falſe, and drew on the Author a terrible Peal of Reproaches and Inſults. *Quæ providentia factum dicam*, they are Mr. *Bernier*'s Words (*aa*), *ô rerum humanarum inaniſſime, fatuiſſimeque Morine! ut ultro mihi præbueris anſam, quam captare ab aliquot elapſis menſibus geſtiebam (neque ego ſolus, ſed multi etiam alii, quibus moritura [illegible] ſi ut propalarem, ſollicet mendaciloquium illud inſigne, quo in æternum opprobrium tuæ damnatæ aſtrologiæ anſus es ſcurrè atque impudenter prædicere ter, & publicis etiam ſcriptis evulgare.* Gaſſendum mortali morbo laboraturum, & vim morbi extremam, ex qua deberet ejus mors conſequi, futuram in ipſomet Julii, Auguſtique confinio ſuperioris anni milleſimi ſexcenteſimi quinquageſimi. *Morin* (*bb*) anſwer'd, as all falſe Prophets do, that he did not poſitively foretell *Gaſſendi*'s Death that Year, but only warned him of a mortal Danger, which might be avoided by good Precautions. One of his Antagoniſts was more exact than Mr. *Bernier*, for he acknowledg'd the Aſtrologer's Reſtrictions (*cc*) *Aſtrologus Morinus ad ſubterfugiendam amplius ſuarum prædictionum certitudinem jam ſat ex aſtris ac divinat, ſed cum præcautionibus conſuetis Almanachiſtarum quod D. Geſſendus moriatur anno* 1650. But notwithſtanding all his little Precautions, the Aſtrologer deſerv'd to be expos'd as he was. I ſhan't relate all that *Gaſſendi* (*dd*) has obſerv'd upon it, but content my ſelf with theſe words of his Abridger. "(*ee*) Here I might particularly re-
" late the Horoſcope (*ff*) of Mr. *Naudé*, a Mem-
" ber of the great Council, in which we might ſee
" that the Aſtrologer *John Baptiſt Morin* who caſt
" ed it, has ſucceeded much like *Abraham* in
" that of Mr. *Saſſeray*; but 'tis all to full of Fool-
" eries and Banters, and falſe Events, and ſmells
" ſo ſtrong of the Fortune-teller and Gipſy, whoſe
" end is only to deceive and get a piece of Mo-
" ney, that I can hardly think of it with pa-
" tience. I ſhall only ſay to the eternal Shame of
" this Aſtrologer *Morin*, that perceiving Mr *Gaſ-*
" *ſendi*, who made a Profeſſion of his judicial Aſtrology,
" was intirely and for ever ſunk in Deſpair on his
" Lung, he was ſo impudent as to foretell and
" publiſh to the World in a Printed Paper,
" that

(*a*) Ibid. n. 54.

(*c*) Refutatio compendioſa erronei ac deteſtandi libri de Præadamitis. *Ib.* p. 10 n. 45.

(*f*) Centiloquium Ptolemæo vulgò adſcriptum. *Ib.* n. 43.

(*g*) Si quid in eis eſt quod quiſpiam jure poſſit carpere, non diffitebor contra Authorem hunc nobilem calentis ingenii leves quoſdam inſultus haberi. *Ib.*

(*b*) Præfervidi erat, neque ſat tolerantis animi, ſed qui amore veritatis caleret ardentius. *Ibid.*

(*i*) *At* Paris *in the King's Library*

(*k*) *Printed in* 1628. *in* 8.

(*l*) *Printed in* 1635. *in* 4°.

(*m*) Morin. Aſtrologia Gall. l. 23 p. 603.

(*n*) *They were Commiſſioners in that Cauſe.*

(*o*) Morin. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) *Fallitur* præceptorem. Nam dum in illum ſcripſi, quod fuiſſet ignarus, perfidus & proditor Judex in mea Longitudinum cauſa: pro ſua defenſione mihi reſpondens mania, non oblitus fuiſſet mihi exprobrare, quod ejus fuiſſem diſcipulus [illegible] *Morin. in defenſ. aſſert. p.* 107.

(*r*) Intitul. ex Ala telaris tractat.

(*ſ*) His Confutation is contain'd in the 3d Letter of the Treatiſe de motu impreſſo à motore tranſlato, Oper. to. 3 edit. Lugdun. 1658.

(*t*) Morin in defenſ. diſſertat. p. 21.

(*v*) Ibid. Secretaire Anatomiſte ridiculi muris p. 8.

(*w*) *At* Lyons *in* 1649. *in* 3 vol. *in fol.*

(*x*) *At* Paris *in* 1651.

(*y*) *At* Paris *in* 1651.

(*z*) *At* Paris *in* 1654.

(*aa*) Bernierus in Anatom. ridiculi muris, p. 127.

(*bb*) Mor. in defenſ. diſſertat. p. 114.

(*cc*) Apud Morin. ib. p. 112.

(*dd*) Gaſſend Phyſicæ, ſect. 2 l. 6 p. 747. to 1. Operum.

(*ee*) Bernier, Abregé de la Philoſophie de Gaſſendi, tom. 4. p. 385, 386 edit. de 1684.

(*ff*) See it in Grafſeus ib. p. 744, 745.

Gaſſendi. He died at *Paris* the ſixth of *November* 1656, and was buried in his Pariſh Church of St. *Stephen du Mont* *. What *Guy Patin* has ſaid of him (K) deſerves relating.

* *Taken from his Life Printed in Latin before his* Aſtrologia Gallica. *I could not find that which was Printed in French at* Paris *in* 1660, *in* 12°.

" that he ſhould die about the latter end of *July*, " or the beginning of *Auguſt* 1650; pretending " hereby to erect a Trophy to his Aſtrology; in " the mean time *Gaſſendi* was never better than at " that time, and he to gather'd up ſtrength, that on " the fifth of *February* the next Year (*gg*) we " walk'd I remember up the Mountain of *Toulon* to " make the Experiment of a *Vacuum*.

'Tis pleaſant enough to ſee how many Evaſions *Morin* made uſe of, when his Predictions fail'd. He ſuppos'd, that the Influences of the Stars did not act neceſſarily, and that a wiſe Man could over-rule 'em. (*a*) *Poteſt qui ſciens eſt* (*hoc eſt qui propria vel alterius ſcientia monitus eſt*) *multos ſtellarum affectus avertere, ex Ptolemæo Aphor. 5. centiloquii.* Qui eſt ipſemet Aphoriſmus quem citat D. Thomas, dum ſuperius dixit *ſapiens dominabitur aſtris.* Applying this to his Prediction againſt *Gaſſendi*, He obſerves that this Philoſopher avoided the Blow (*b*) by good and ſalutary Precautions, by a regular Diet, and moderate Exerciſes, and by removing to *Toulon* where the Air was more agreeable to his Conſtitution. He adds, that perhaps the fear of the Prediction (*c*) made him pray to God more earneſtly to preſerve his Health, and that his Prayers being heard contradicted Aſtrology, which otherwiſe would not have been Erroneous. (*d*) *Deinde etiamſi data prædictio mea Tabellioni, ſuiſſet quò ad effectum ab Aſtris naturaliter inevitabilis, nonne Gaſſendus prædictionis meæ conſcius ex ſupra poſitis, potuiſſet ut Ezechias lib. 4. Reg. cap. 20. rogare DEUM ſecretò, quo ipſum à morbo vel morte liberaſſet ſupernaturaliter, ſicque deluſus & adhuc profalſo propheta habitus fuiſſem? Nonne ægroti & nautæ in procella de vita naturaliter deſperantes votis liberantur* ——, *His ergo omnibus ſupernaturaliter liberatis, nunquid Aſtrologus mortem eo tempore prædictam ex cauſis naturalibus, pro falſo Propheta erit habendus? Certe non magis quam Jonas, qui ex ipſius DEI verbo Niniviten, & urbis & hominum univerſalem prædixit ſubverſionem; quæ tamen non eſt ſubſecuta, quod inſigni pœnitentiâ à Rege ad minimum pecus, ſibi præcaverint adverſus iram DEI, qui illorum miſertus eſt.* Courage Gentlemen Aſtrologers, you can never be baffled, while you ſhelter your ſelves under Scripture Examples. Threaten what you pleaſe, Death, Exile, Impriſonment; promiſe on the contrary, Health, Riches, Honours: Happen what will, you have an Anſwer at hand. Thoſe whom you promis'd good Fortune to, which they never enjoy'd, did not carry themſelves a-right: They did not pray to God devoutly. They whom you threatn'd with Misfortunes were Prudent and Devout: This puts me in mind of the Commentators on the *Revelation*, who having promis'd a Deliverance that never came to paſs, imputed it to the ill Morals of their Neighbours. This is a ſure Sanctuary. Let us not forget two good Reflexions of *Gaſſendi*'s Diſciples. 1. That it is a piece of Impudence puniſhable by the Magiſtrate, to publiſh, that this or that Perſon ſhall die in ſuch an Year; for how many are there whom ſuch a Menace is able to kill? (*e*) *Fieri nihil poſſe impudentius, quam mortem homini viventi publico ſcripto prædicere, eſſe nihil virgâ cenſoriâ publicique cognitoris animadverſione dignius, quam captandæ mortis occaſionem ingerere, quam oculos omnium in unum, quaſi in communi aliquod ſpectaculum, convertere; quam illi ſi credulus fuerit, (uti nemo ſive non eſt) cauſam mortis objecere; cum conſtet multos ex ſolo mortis hoc modo prænunciatæ metu, morbum, mortemque contraxiſſe* —— (*f*) *Ecqua eſt certe vindictæ ſpecies adverſus credulum inimicum major, quam ut illi prædicatur ab Aſtrologo futurum, ut tali tempore moriatur, aut in gravi mortis periculo ſit; cum exinde nihil fieri poſſit illius animo ærumnoſius, nihil, quod, ob cauſam jam dictam, poſſit illi magis & morbum, & mortem inducere?* 2. That ſuch Prophets are almoſt unavoidably engag'd in Unchriſtian Practices, which is to be curiouſly inquiſitive after the State of thoſe they have threatn'd; and to be grieved at their Health: For where's the Man who had not rather ſee the Perſon go to his Grave, whoſe Death he has foretold, than to find himſelf expos'd to the Infamy of being a falſe Prophet? *Permiſit Deus durare adhuc te, ſi forte acturus pœnitentiam fores; cum ob mala alia, tum ob id, quod ipſemet volens faciſtis tibi neceſſitatem experiendi mort in tui proximi, ut cogereris deluſæ artis, prædictionisque ſuiſ convictæ eam confuſionem ſuſtinere, quæ ad deſperationem te adigeret* (*g*).

During this Quarrel ſeveral Stories were publiſh'd againſt *Morin*. They reproach'd him amongſt other Things; 1. With being a School Maſter, till 40 Years of Age, and then being ſeen (*h*) with a Pen behind his Ear, and his Desk at his Girdle, asking from Door to Door if any one would learn to Read and Write, or caſt Account for ſo much a Month. 2. That he (*i*) promis'd a young Gentleman, whoſe Scheme he had erected, great ſucceſs in Arms, and eſpecially in Duells; which occaſion'd the Youths growing Quarrelſome, and fighting one for a ſmall Offence who kill'd him. They added, that the Gentleman's Elder Brother hearing of *Morin*'s Prediction, diſcharg'd his Fury on the Aſtrologer's Shoulders, that the Blows were ſo heavy as to oblige the Surgeons to draw up a verbal Proceſs, and that the Complaint was brought into the Court of St. *Genevieve*; but that the Fathers of the Chriſtian Doctrine interpos'd to ſtop the Suit, cauſing a good Sum to be given to the batter'd Perſon, which he receiv'd as the ſweeteſt Conſolation. 3. That he was ſordidly Covetous, work'd at his Horoſcopes only to get Money by 'em. He anſwers the firſt Reproach (*k*) by proving, that from the time he was admitted Phyſician, till he was made Profeſſor of Mathematicks, he had liv'd either with the Biſhop of *Boulogne*, or the Abbot of *Bretonniere*, or the Duke of *Luxembourg*. Obſerve, that he was but thirty Years old when he was made Doctor of Phyſick. See the laſt Remark. He (*l*) confutes the ſecond Reproach, by maintaining, that if they enquire of his Neighbours, and particularly of Mr *Colletet*, or of the Judges of St. *Genevieve*, or of the Fathers of the Chriſtian Doctrine, they'll find that they never heard of this Adventure. Laſtly, he ſays, that he is not Covetous, nor never was, and that the Stars ſhew him to be as Liberal as *Gaſſendi* is Niggardly, according to the Scheme of his Nativity He maintains, that private Lectures of Aſtrology had been worth to him an Hundred Thouſand Francs, if he would have taken all the Scholars that he might have had: But that he had always refus'd even thoſe who were Eminent for their Quality: That he need only inſtance his Nieces: God has provided for 'em, ſays he, by my Labours and Expences. I have put two of them into the Convents of *Villa Franca*; and as to the third who has a mind to an Husband, I have a Thouſand Crowns in ready Money for her Portion whenever a Match offers. (*m*) *Nec curent amplius de pecuniis nec. ſſariis ad conjugia nepotularum mearum* —— *Placuit enim DEO ſuam erga illas providentiam exercere meis laboribus atque expenſis: duas enim feci Religioſas Francopoli, in Monaſteriis B. Mariæ Viſitationis, & Divæ Urſulinæ; & quia nubere vult tertia, ad hujus præſentaneam dotem, ſeorſim repoſita ſunt à me librarum tria millia. Quod abſit à me dici vanitatis gratia: ſed duntaxat ad repellendum à me tetrum illud avaritiæ ſordidæ crimen, quod mihi imponit Anatomiſta murium. Etenim pro tenuitate mea etiam à pueru fui ſemper liberalis; quippe tantum natus ad liberalitatem, quantum Gaſſendus ad avaritiam, ut ex utriuſque figuris cœleſtibus atque vitâ patebit, nulliſque unquam peperci ſumptibus pro veritatis & honoris mei defenſione. Siquæ lucri & pecuniarum fuiſſem cupidus, plus quam centum millia librarum mihi comparaſſem Pariſiis, ex privatis ſolum Aſtrologiæ lectionibus; ſed nullos habere volui diſcipulos etiam Magnates, mihi qualem voluiſſem mercedem offerentes.* In another (*n*) Book he acquaints the Publick, that he had Married her as ſhe deſir'd, notwithſtanding the Misfortunes of the War. This is no ſuch mighty Matter, for he confeſſes his (*o*) annual Income was about four Thouſand Francs. He acknowledges he was oblig'd to Aſtrology for this Fortune: It was by that he got into the good Graces of *Marie de Medicis*, who procur'd him the Profeſſorſhip (*p*).

(*K*) *What* Guy Patin *has ſaid of him*] " (*q*) *I* " *hear that the Aſtrologia Gallica* of the Sieur *John* " *Morin* a Native of *Villa Franca* in *Beaujolois*, ſome" time Doctor of Phyſick at *Valence* (*r*), the King's " Profeſſor in Mathematicks in our College Roy" al, is at laſt finiſh'd at the *Hague* in *Holland*. I " am told there are a great many abuſive Reflexi" ons in it on the Phyſicians of *Paris*, and o" thers

(*a*) Morin in defenſ. diſſertat. p. 114.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 116, 117.

(*c*) Fortaſſis Giaſſendus mortem admodum metuens, nec omnino ſuæ conſidens rigidæ diætæ, DEUM precatus eſt, qui ipſum exaudivit. *Ib.* p. 120.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*e*) Bernerius, Anatomia ridiculi muris, p. 133, 134.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 137.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 136.

(*h*) Me calamo ſupra aurem & ſcriptorio in latere, oſtiatim mendicaſſe Scholaſticum, ut ſtipendio menſurno docerem legere, ſcribere & computare. *Morin. in d. finſ. d. ſſertat. p.* 106.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 108.

(*k*) Morin. in defenſ. diſſertat. *p.* 106, 107.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 108.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 120.

(*n*) In præfat. Aſtrolog. Gallicæ, p. 31. *See his words,* Tertiam ad votum ſuum marito copulavi etiam difficillimis bellorum noſtrorum temporibus.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Guy Patin, lettre 233. datée du 18. Fevrier 1661. p. 319 du 2. tome.

(*r*) *He ſhould have ſaid of* Avignon.

lating: He ſpeaks of him as of a Fool; and it's certain there was a ſpice of Madneſs in that Head of his. This Gentleman was ſtrangely perplex'd about his having told, that (*L*) Antichriſt was Born. But as abſurd as he was in moſt of his Principles, he was well appriz'd of one thing, in which the Peripateticks are never to be undeceived, *viz.* that all they teach concerning ſubſtantial Forms, is (*M*) infinitely impertinent. We

" others who won't approve Judicial Aſtrology, " or Chymiſtry; and I don't wonder at it, for " the Man was Mad: There are two Volumes of " it in *Folio*. The Queen of *Poland* has given two " Thouſand Crowns towards the Charge of the " Edition, at the inſtance of a Secretary of hers " who is fond of Aſtrology. Thus you ſee how " Princes are chous'd: If it were a good Book " that might be uſeful to the Publick, could no " Printer or Bookſeller be found that would un- " dertake it?" He had ſaid in another Letter (*f*), " I have yet another Death to tell you of. " 'Tis that of the Sieur *Morin* of *Beaujolois*, King's " Profeſſor in Mathematicks. So that you ſee " him dead at the Year's end as well as Mr. *Gaſ- " ſendi*: But there's no danger of their biting one " another now; for one lies at St. *Nicolas* in the " Fields, the other at St. *Stephen*'s on the Hill. One " was a very ſober Man, the other crack-brain'd " and half mad: But be it how it will, 'tis cer- " tain their Noſes will be much of a length in the " other World in ſpite of all the Mathematicks, " and all the pretended judicial Aſtrology, which " *Morin* was bewitch'd with." It's true, that *Morin*'s *Aſtrologia Gallica* was Printed at the *Hague* in 1661. But its only one Volume in *Folio*, divided into twenty ſix Books. The Author was thirty Years about it: He hop'd to have liv'd to ſee it out of the Preſs (*a*); for he had already ſent the fourteen firſt Books to the *Holland* Bookſeller, but Death came on and cut off that Hope. There are two Epiſtles Dedicatory before this Volume; one is the Author's to JESUS CHRIST, the other is by an anonymous Hand to *Louiſa Mary de Gonzague*, Queen of *Poland*. This Princeſs encourag'd *Morin* to this great Labour, and paid the Charges of the Impreſſion. (*b*) *Authori animum ne tanto operi deſſet, ſubſidium ut illud in publicum proferret, regali cura, regali munificentia addidiſti.* When there was a talk of Marrying her to ſome ſmall Prince, *Morin* declar'd, that this Marriage would never take effect, and that ſhe was deſtin'd to Marry a Monarch. This was one of his beſt Predictions; and the Author of his Life makes the moſt of it. *At quam omnibus ſuis partibus abſolutum fuit vaticinium illud* Mariæ, *tunc Principi, nunc vero Reginæ Poloniæ ab* Morino *editum! de futuro ipſius conjugio cum illuſtriſſimo Principe dicebatur rumor, quod quidem potiſſimum illi fuiſſet, ac plurimæ dignitatis: nihilominus tamen haud ineundum foro noſtro aſſruit, cum Regem ei conjugem aſtra pollicerentur* (c). I could eaſily believe, that he had the impudence to make this Prediction: For beſides that this Princeſs was a Royal Match, and probably enough might Marry a King; we muſt know, that *Morin* was naturally very fool-hardy, and had a great many back Doors to ſave himſelf by (*d*), in caſe his Prediction prov'd falſe. Beſides this Lady had a great confidence in Aſtrology, and 'tis to ſuch the Aſtrologers moſt ventuouſly promiſe Dignities. The Abbot *de Marolles*, who perfectly knew her, deſerves to be cited. " Another time, *ſays he* (e), ſpeaking againſt " judicial Aſtrology at the Princeſſe's, who was " very well inclin'd in favour of it, becauſe of " the advantage and ſatisfaction there was in " knowing Futurities, I had againſt me not on- " ly her Secretary, who was a Man of Senſe, and " vers'd in this Science, and her firſt Phyſician " *Auguſtine Corade*, who practiſes with ſo much " ſucceſs, but alſo the Abbot of *Belozane*, and ſome " others." We need not wonder at her Expences on a Book, the Author of which had flatter'd her betimes with the hopes of a Crown, which ſhe then actually wore. 'Tis poſſibly to this Aſtrological Promiſe ſhe alluded, when ſhe gave the following Anſwer. " (*f*) She was at the Pallace " of *Orleans*, where at the Abbot *de la Riviere* told " her, he paſſionately deſir'd to ſee her Mon- " ſieur's Wife; ſhe reply'd laughing, that Mon- " ſieur was not a King, and that ſhe was deſtin'd " to be a Queen." The Abbot *de Marolles* tells this, where he relates what Viſits ſhe made after the Ceremony of her Marriage with the King of *Poland*.

(*f*) *The 8th. It's dated the 7th of* November *1656. See p. 419. of the 1ſt tom. of* Patin's *Letters.*

(*a*) Jam editionis hujus operis triginta annos integros accuratiſſimè limati ſtabat in procinctu libroſque quatuordecim priores ad Typographum Batavum tranſtulerat cum id meditantem mors oppreſſit. *Vita Morin. p. 22. n. 55.*

(*b*) Epiſt. dedicat.

(c) Vita Morini, p. 14. n 72.

(*d*) *See the Remark of this Article.*

(e) Memiores, p. 148. ad ann. 1643.

(*f*) Memoires, 166. ad ann. 1645.

(*L*) *That Antichriſt was born.*] And was immediately to appear, and in a little time to make all the Conqueſts which Tradition promiſes him. When *Morin* was ask'd, how it was poſſible for Antichriſt to ſeize on ſo many fortify'd Towns; he anſwer'd, that he would ſend an Army of Magicians from the Clouds, who ſhould ſwallow up the Soldiers and Inhabitants. Almoſt half Mankind, added he, are Magicians, as they aſſure us, who have been at the Devil's Sabbath; and all Magicians are Military Men. (*g*) *Eccui enim jam fabula non es ob famoſam illam non modo adventantis, ſed etiam jam pro foribus exiſtentis Antichriſti prædictionem; de qua dum ex te quæreretur, an poſſet tam cito, ac ipſe efferres, expugnare Antichriſtus tot arces munitiſſimas; Solitus fuiſti excipere; cum ex relatu eorum, qui ex Sabbatis Magorum adveniunt, dimidia pene hominum pars in Magis ſit, ac Magi omnes milites ſint, qui Satanæ nomen dederint, quique ab Antichriſto, tanquam ſummo Duce deducendi in militiam ſunt; fore, ut cum vol.t Antichriſtus expugnare urbes, quæ ſpontaneam ſui dedit onem non fecerint, eam Magorum nubem emittat ſuſum in aerem, quæ ſuperne irruens ſtragem tam civium, quam militum immanem edat.* The Author of his Life makes three Excuſes for him. 1. That he had read in a Book of Cardinal *Cuſani*, that the Oracles of Scripture fix the end of the World to the Year 1675. In the 2d place, that *Alabaſter*, a Man excellently vers'd in the *Cabala* and the Bible, had publiſh'd the ſame thing. 3. That many diſpoſſeſs'd People in ſeveral Countries had declar'd to their Exorciſts, that the Beaſt of the Revelation was born. (*h*) *Cardinalis* Cuſani *ſcriptoris minime contemnendi* conjecturam de ultimis temporibus *legerat, quo libro ad annum* 1675. *totius orbis terminus ac interitus ex literis aſtrorum inſpiratis. Id ne ſcripſit Anglus* Alabaſter *in rubarum ſpiraculis libro cæco, author, inquam, Orientis ignotus, & ſcripturas & Cabalam mirifice callens. Complurium exorc ſmorum qui habentur excuſi volutarat* Morinus *hiſtorias, in quibus paſſim Energumeni ex variis regionibus natam eſſe b ſtiam proclamarunt, quod creditu facile nonnulla temporis noſtri præſtat & ſuadet.* Three very fine Reaſons!

(*M*) *Concerning ſubſtantial Forms is infinitely impertinent.*] If we did not know it by Experience, we ſhould hardly believe it poſſible for Men of Senſe, who ſpend all their Life in Philoſophizing, to maintain, that a Subſtance diſtinct from Matter, is nevertheleſs material (*i*), and ſubſiſts only dependently on Matter; that it is educ'd from the power of Matter without exiſting in it previouſly; that it is not compounded either of Matter, or any other pre-exiſting Thing, and that notwithſtanding 'tis not a Created Being: Laſtly, That without the Aſſiſtance of any Knowledge to direct it in its Operations, it produces the Machines of Animals and Plants. They ſtill maintain all theſe monſtrous Doctrines, after having been overwhelm'd with the Objections of a Father *Maignan*, of a *Goſſend.*, &c. *Morin* diſcover'd all theſe Abſurdities, and abandon'd the Peripatetick Sect upon all theſe Points (*k*) *Quæſtionem de ortu vel productione formarum ſubſtantialium eſſe totius Phyſices difficilimam; quæque maximorum Doctorum ac præſertim Noſtrorum ingenia torſerit. Item alii volunt eas educi de potentia materiæ, alii ipſas de novo creari, alii eas eſſe tantum quandam eminentiam qualitatum proportionum; quas eas eſſe accidentales, & alii alia. Ego vero in Aſtrologia Gallica lib. 20. qui inſcribitur, de actione intellectuum corporum cæleſtium, ſectione 4 cap. 1e 7: omnes hæſce opiniones Rationis examini ſubjecio, ac evidenter probavi eas ipſarum eſſe poſſe veras: omnium autem abſurdiſſimam, eſſe eductionem formæ de potentia materiæ.* The worſt of it is, he ſubſtituted in the room of theſe Doctrines, an Hypotheſis perplex'd with Difficulties. He eſpous'd the Notion he thought he had found in the Books of a *Dane* (*l*); namely, that the ſubſtantial Form of each Body is an immaterial Spirit, which God at the Beginning of the Creation inveſted with the neceſſary Knowledge for forming the Organs, to which this Form was

(*g*) Bernerius, Anatomia ridiculi mundi, p. 183.

(*h*) Vita Morini, p. 16. n 77

(*i*) *See the Remark of the Article* Goriæus (David.).

(*k*) Morinus in defenſ. diſſert p. 66.

(*l*) Petrus Severinus, in ſua Medicina Philoſophica.

We must not forget, that he receiv'd several Marks (*N*) of Mr. *Descartes*'s Esteem; and that he very nearly equall'd *Cardan*, by an ingenuous Relation of several things to his own (*O*) disadvantage.

MORIN

to be united. (*m*) *Arbitor formam Physicam substantialem corporum mixtorum, (animæ rationali excepta) aliud non esse, quam spiritum immaterialem seminis cujusque rei; cui Severinus ipse proprias & specificas attribuit signaturas internas coloris, odoris, saporis; mirabilemque scientiam à* DEO *inditam initio creationis; quâ seminis cujusque spiritus quilibet ad generationem excitatus à causis efficientibus, congrua sibi primo adsciscit rei generandæ principia corporis ac elementa, quæ sunt ipsius rei materia, à qua ipsa forma primo & per se differt; deindeque corporis sui fabricæ & organisationi incumbit per innatam ac essentialem sibi scientiam ipsam adeo regulariter; ut ejusdem plantæ omnis flores inter se, folia inter se, & fructus inter se, conveniant in omnibus signaturis, & similiter conveniant, cum suis floribus & fructibus cujusvis alterius plantæ ejusdem speciei: quod sane cum scientia mechanica, talis seminis virtuti indita, ejusque signaturis essentialibus, concipi facile potest; quasi mentis alicujus regulare opus, quod in aranearum telis, apum alveolis, cæterisque animalium actionibus patet adhuc evidentius: aliter vero concipi nequit cum assensu rationis.* He has ground enough to say, that nothing's more absurd, than maintaining, that the bare motion of Atoms is able to produce that wonderful Regularity in Plants, that Conformity in Fruits and Leaves of Trees of the same Species, *&c.* It's a thousand times harder to form the Leaf of a Tree, than to print a Page of *Cicero*: Seeing then, no Position of the Letters, which is not directed by any choice, could ever produce a Page of *Cicero*; we must not believe, that a fortuitous placing of Atoms could produce a Leaf of a Tree, or an Apple. We must therefore give an intelligent elective Principle to Plants capable of disposing the Materials of the Leaves in their due Order, *&c.* (which is *Morin*'s Opinion) or else suppose the Plant to be Organiz'd in the Seed, which is the Opinion of many *Cartesians*. (*a*) *Nihil excogitari potest absurdius quam quod illa similitudo florum, foliorum & fructuum ejusdem arboris in colore, odore, sapore & conformatione, prodeat ex solo motu atomorum, à quo sunt situs & ordo ipsarum: Nec inter omnes flores, folia & fructus pomi, ullus accidat flos, folium vel fructus pyri aut alterius plantæ ab ipso atomorum motu. Hic enim nisi prius aliquam regatur specificam scientiam, quæ in atomis concipi vel explicari nequit, causabit duntaxat certitudo situs & ordines atomorum, qui vel nunquam efficient aliquam determinatæ speciei plantam; vel saltem hanc multis extraneis foliis, floribus & fructibus inficient, si tantum planta generetur, & non potius chymæra diversarum generum rerum.*

(*N*) *He receiv'd several Marks of Mr.* Descartes's *Esteem.*] He came acquainted with him in 1626 (*b*). Some time after he presented him with his Book of Longitudes, and was thank'd for it in a most (*c*) obliging Letter from him. He sent him (*d*) Objections concerning Light, in 1638. These Words of his Letter are remarkable. "I have "ever been one of your Favourers, who by my "Temper naturally hate and detest that Rascality of invidious Wits, who seeing some exalted Genius, like a new Star appear above 'em, "instead of congratulating him on his Labours and "new Inventions, swell with Envy against him, "and have no other design but to eclipse or extinguish his Name, his Glory and his Merits; "tho' they themselves are retrieved by him from "Ignorance, and receive the Knowledge of Things "from him *Gratis*. I have pass'd through these "Pikes, and know what it is by Experience. Posterity will resent my Misfortune, and speaking "of this Iron Age, will truly say, that Fortune "did not favour Learned Men. I wish however, "she may be more favourable to you, than me." What Pride and Vanity is here! Mr. *Descartes* answer'd the Objections; *Morin* reply'd, "(*e*) "And we have this second Writing inserted in "the first Tome (1) of Mr. *Descartes*'s Letters, and "follow'd by a new Answer Mr. *Descartes* made "to it in *September*, with a Dispatch which surpriz'd him, but which let him know that he "had a Consideration for him. Mr. *Morin* (2) "pretended not to be entirely satisfied with this "second Answer, and thence took an occasion of "making him a new (3) Reply in *October*, that he "might have the Honour of writing last. Mr. "*Descartes*, who was ever very free from the Ambition of so false a Glory, did by that Mark perfectly discover Mr. *Morin*'s Character of Mind. "He would not refuse him the satisfaction he "propos'd to himself, since it cost him so little. "And (4) therefore writ to Father *Mersenne* about "the middle of *November*, that he would not give "any farther Answer to Mr. *Morin*, since he did "not desire it." 'Tis certain Mr. *Descartes* did not despise this Man's Objections. (*f*) He judged 'em worth his notice when he had receiv'd "'em, and preferable to those of Mr. *Petit*, as "well for their Solidity, as for the nature of the "Difficulties in 'em. He wrote (5) more than "once to Father *Mersenne*, to desire him to let Mr. "*Morin* know from him, that he not only took "his writing kindly, but that he was oblig'd to "him for his Objections, as being very proper to "make him search for Truth with greater Application; (6) and that he would not fail to "answer them in the most punctual and civil "manner, and as soon as possible." Let's not end this Remark without relating a thing which may edifie the Readers, as much as the fastuous Complaints of the Royal Professor in Mathematicks must have scandaliz'd 'em. We have seen that *Morin* "(*g*) had finish'd his Objections by—— "Complaints of the Misfortune he was under "from the Dealings of invidious Natures, wishing "that Fortune might be more favourable to him "than she had commonly been to the generality of "the Learned. Mr. *Descartes*, who could hardly "relish this Language, was harder put to it to "answer this Conclusion than all the rest." "(7) "*I no ways pretend, said he to him on this Subject, to deserve the Civilities you express to me at the end of your Writing, and yet it would not become me to confute 'em. Therefore I can only say, that I condole with you on the Blindness of Fortune, in that she does not sufficiently acknowledge your Merit. But as for my own particular, I thank God she has never yet done me either Good or Ill: And I know not for the future, whether I ought rather to desire her Favours, or to fear them. For as it does not seem honest to borrow any thing which a Man can't return with Usury, I should think it a great Burthen upon me to find my self indebted to the Publick.*" Here you see what ought to be the Language of a true Philosopher. Mr. *Descartes* would have merited this Title by that one Quality he here speaks of. But as for *Morin*, he disgrac'd Philosophy by his Murmurs against the Injustice of his Age. He manifested a Soul that was Mercenary and greedy of Pensions and Recompences: A meer Quack Philosopher and Scholar.

(*O*) *Of several Things to his Disadvantage.*] He says (*h*), that his Mother on her Death-Bed disinherited him, and denied him her Blessing. She was somewhat recovered from this Aversion for him; the Priest and Relations represented to her, that her Will would be null, and that she'd besides run a great risk of Damnation, so she consented to give him her Blessing, and leave him a Legacy tho' the smallest that could be. He pretends, that the cause of this Hatred, was his having said to his Elder Brother, when their Father and Mother were both Sick, that he had rather have his Father than his Mother Live, if one of 'em must needs Die. The Mother died two Days after, with the Dispositions before mention'd against her Son. Here you see a Fact very little honourable either to Mother or Son; but nothing costs an Astrologer too dear, when he can assign the Reasons of it by his Principles. This is *Morin*'s Case; he finds (*i*) in his Horoscope, that his Mother was to hate him. He finds he was to be often Imprison'd, and confesses (*k*), that in his Youth he found himself on the brink of this Misfortune, by means of his Whoring, and vindictive Temper. The malignant Influence of some Planets of his Horoscope having been Corrected by the favourable Aspect of some others, the Prison was changed into an Evil of another kind, which had some affinity to a captive State; for from the Age of sixteen to forty six, *Morin* was always under some Master. He was Servant

(*m*) Morigus, ibid.

(*a*) Morin in defens. dissertat. p. 67.

(*b*) See Mr. Baillet, Vie de Descartes, tom. 1. p. 138.

(*c*) 'Tis the 57*th of the* 1*st Volume of* Descartes. *See the Life of* Descartes *by Mr.* Baillet, tom. 1. p. 265.

(*d*) *See the* 58*th Letter of the same Volume.*

(*e*) Baillet, ib. p. 357.

(1) Pag. 221. *of the* 1. tome.

(2) Pag. 234. *of the* 1 tome.

(3) *This writing is to be found in the* 1*st Vol. of the Letters of Mr.* Desc. p. 242.

(4) Pag. 416. tom. 2.

(*f*) Baillet, ibid. p. 355.

(5) Tom. 3. des lettres, p. 390.

(6) Pag. 396 t. 2. & p. 360.

(*g* Baillet, ib. p. 356.

(7) Pag. 219, 220, tom. 1.

(*h*) In Astrologia Gallica, l. 17. p. 398.

(*i*) Ubi supra.

(*k*) Parumque abfuit quin in mea juventute verificatum fuerit obvinedictæ & libidinis passiones. *Ibid.*

MORIN (SIMON) a Fanatick, burnt at *Paris* in 1663. His Mind had (*A*) been diſorder'd a long time. He taught *, that there would quickly be a *General Reformation of the Church, and that all Nations ſhould be Converted to the true Faith.* He pretended that *this great Renovation was to be accompliſhed by* JESUS CHRIST *at his ſecond Advent in State of Glory, incorporated in* Morin *himſelf; and that for the execution of the Things, to which he was deſtined, he was to be attended with a great number of perfect Souls, and ſuch as participated in the glorious State of* JESUS CHRIST, *whom he therefore called the Champions of Glory.* The Sieur *John Des-Mareſts* (*B*) of the French Academy, feign'd himſelf his Diſciple, and thereby diſcover'd this horrible Enthuſiaſm. *Morin* had already ſome

* *See the Preface of the* Lettres Viſionaires.

Servant to no leſs than ſixteen ſucceſſively; he liv'd with Notaries, with Writing-Maſters, with Preſidents, Biſhops, Abbots, and at laſt with the Duke of *Luxemburg*. The reaſon of his changing his Service ſo often, was, that he often quarrell'd with the Miſtreſs of the Houſe, or ſome unforeſeen Accident happen'd, or the Maſters were guilty of intolerable Ingratitude. (*n*) *Quod autem per carceres fieri non potuit, per ſervitutem effecit cumulus ille Planetarum in duodecima domo ——— ſi enim ſervitus ——— ſpecies quædam incarcerationis quod homo in aliena domo non liber, ſed alteri mancipatus vivere teneatur. Siquidem ab anno 16 ad 46. vita meæ fuit perpetua ſervitus, dominoſque habui 16. quos omnes dereliqui vel ob jurgia cum dominabus, quarum imperium cum ferre nollem odia paſſus ſum ——— vel ob caſus repentinos, vel ob dominorum intolerabilem ingratitudinem.* He finds the Cauſe of all theſe Events in the Scheme of his Nativity; his Wranglings with the Miſtreſs, the Ingratitude of his Maſters, the mean Condition of ſome, the middle State of others, and the high Dignity of a third ſort. No Stars hit truer, tho' ſhrewdly to his Coſt, than (*o*) thoſe that threatned him on the Score of Women. I have already (*p*) mention'd two Wounds he receiv'd for a Miſs. This probably was in a Baudy-Houſe. I reckon as nothing (*q*) the Violence offer'd him by ſome Soldiers, who at the inſtigation of a parcel of Whores, enter'd his Houſe. An honeſt Man is not ſecure from ſuch Affronts; Let's alledge nothing that's Ambiguous. He confeſſes (*r*), that having had the Honour to be known to Kings and Queens, to Princes and Cardinals, and principal States Men, there were at moſt but five Perſons of high Rank who lov'd him, or did him any good; whether becauſe of his Skill, or the Candour of his Nature, or by Smypathy; and that on the contrary, Envy or Antipathy had expos'd him to the Hatred of ſo many People, that it frighted him to think of it. (*ſ*) *Horret memoria referre quot inimicos habuerim vel ob invidiam, vel ob antipathiam.* To ſay no more, can we conceive a greater Folly than that of a Man, who complains he had been the Object of Envy, and boaſts of being belov'd by great Men, for the ſake of his Learning? His greateſt Accuſers on the Chapter of Vanity, and a mercenary Nature, are his own Books. He boaſts in one of his Anſwers, that he had maintain'd a perpetual War for ſeventeen Years together, againſt fifteen Mathematicians or Philoſophers, and had forc'd 'em all to a diſhonourable Retreat. He ſays: that in the Year 1636, his (*a*) Reputation was ſpread over almoſt all *Europe*. At every turn he tells us of his pretended Demonſtration of the Longirude, as a thing publickly acknowledg'd by the moſt famous Mathematicians. He ought therefore to be content; the Glory of the Invention was his own, and the Publick did him Juſtice by its Praiſes. Nevertheleſs *Morin* hardly ever ſpeaks of this; but he brutiſhly flies out againſt the firſt Miniſter, who had not ſuffered him to finger the Money this diſcovery deſerv'd. Was not this betraying a Mercenary, Baſe and Sordid Soul, which inſtead of labouring for Glory, or rather from Motives wholly diſintereſted, reckons Glory nothing, when Penſions, and pecuniary Recompences are not a part of it? Beſides, he was not ſo well known throughout all *Europe* from the Year 1636, as he pretends. His Name and Books have found no place in a Book (*b*) of *Voſſius*, in which we ſee a long Catalogue of Mathematicians and Aſtrologers, &c. both Ancient and Modern.

(*n*) Morin. Ibid.

(*o*) Propter ☽ & ♀ in duodecima quæ mihi exparte mulierum multa mala damna vitæque pericula pepererunt. *Id. ibid.*

(*p*) *In the Remark D.*

(*q*) Ibid. l. 23. p. 649.

(*r*) Ibid. l. 17. p. 398.

(*ſ*) Ibid. p 398, 399.

(*a*) Tunc vero nominis mei fama per totam ferme Europam diffuſa eſt. *Ib. l.* 23. *p.* 649

(*b*) That de ſcientiis Mathematicis. *It reaches to the Year* 1646, *and farther.*

(*A*) *His Mind had been diſorder'd a long time.*] See the Book intitul'd, *Thoughts of* Simon Morin; it was Printed in 1647. It has neither Name of Printer, nor Place where it was Printed. The Author was in Priſon at *Paris* for the Errors of the Illuminated, when *Gaſſendi*'s Friends writ againſt the Aſtrologer *John Baptiſt Morin*, whom they reproach'd with either being the Brother or near Relation of this Priſoner. The Aſtrologer will have this to be the ſecond of their Lyes. (*c*) *Secunda* (impoſtura) *dum aſſerit quendam Simonem Morinum in carceribus Archiepiſcopatus hujuſce aſſervatum, ob illuminatorum doctrinam quam profitetur, eſſe meum conſanguineum ſive fratrem.*

(*B*) Des-Mareſts *of the French Academy, feign'd himſelf his Diſciple, and diſcover'd.*] He was himſelf (*d*) a great Enthuaſiaſt, and waited for a wonderful and holy Revolution: But imagining it would not happen in the way that *Morin* declar'd, nor in that of another Viſionary, named (*e*) *Charpy de Sainte Croix*, it took him in the Head to oppoſe 'em both. "(*f*) *Charpi* pretended, that all theſe "Wonders were to be brought about by a certain "Lieutenant of JESUS CHRIST, of the Race "of *Judah*, to whom he applied the cleareſt Pro "phecies of the Meſſiah." We have ſeen in the Body of this Article *Morin*'s Pretenſion, and here follows that of the Sieur *Des-Mareſts*. I relate it in the Words of an Author, who maks uſe of the Preſent Tenſe, "(*g*) The Sieur *Des-Mareſts* teaches "with them, that it is true, the World is about "to be Reform'd, that all Sects ſhall be united to "the Catholick Religion; but that all this muſt "be done by the great Prophet *Elacham Michael*, "which is no other than the Sieur *Des-Mareſts* of "*Sorlin*, and by an Army of a Hundred forty four "Thouſand Victims, or humbled Souls, which he "was to Muſter, and give up to the King, that "they might execute this great Enterprize un"der his Command, according to the Lights "which the Sieur *Des-Mareſts* was Divinely in"ſpir'd with 'Tis very plain, that this laſt Pro"phet could not compromiſe with the two others, "and that he had in his Viſions wherewithal to "deſtroy theirs. For, as we have ſeen one Mad"Man, who fancy'd himſelf God the Father, ſi"lence, in a convincing manner, another Mad"man who fancy'd himſelf God the Son, becauſe, "ſaid he, I, who am God the Father, know very "well that I have not begotten you. So the "Sieur *Des-Mareſts* could with the greateſt eaſe "prove to himſelf, that *Morin*'s and *Charpi*'s No"tions were falſe. *Charpi*, ſaid he, imagines that "the World muſt be Reform'd by a Lieutenant "of JESUS CHRIST joyn'd with the *Jews*: "And *Morin* ſays, this will be by JESUS CHRIST "himſelf incorporated in him, and accompani"ed by the Combatants of Glory. Now I am "very certain that they are both miſtaken, and "it is by my ſelf, *Des-Mareſts* of S. *Sorlin*, *Elacham Michael*, and by my Victims that all this muſt "be wrought. After having thus condemn'd "them of Illuſion by this moſt demonſtrative "Proof, he thought himſelf oblig'd to Proſecute "'em with all his Might, and never reſted till "he had deſtroy'd *Morin* by the baſeſt Treachery, "unbecoming both an honeſt Man and a Chriſti"an. He boaſts in his Anſwer, that he had been "the Cauſe of *Charpi*'s Impriſonment.

(*c*) Jo. Baptiſta Morinus in defenſione ſuæ diſſertatione de atomis & vacuo, p. 15. *This Book was printed in* 1654.

(*d*) *See his Article above.*

(*e*) *He was a Man of a Bad Character, L'Ancienne nouveauté de l'Ecriture Sainte, which Mr.* Arnaud *cenſured. The Journal des Savans of the 11th of* March 1666, *makes mention of this Cenſure. In it is found the mention that is here. See the* Queſtion curieuſe ſi Mr. Arnaud eſt heretique, p. 147 *edit.* 1695.

(*f*) *In the Preface to the* Lettres Viſionaires.

(*g*) Ibid.

See what Methods he took: He (*h*) depoſes, that he had ſome Diſcourſes with Dame *Margaret Langlois*, call'd *La Malherbe*, and with another called *Mademoiſelle de la Chapelle*; "*That at firſt ſhe* "*was ſhy of diſcovering any thing, but by degrees began* "*to be familiar, and to communicate her ſelf to him,* "*and began by ſpeaking of this* Morin *and his Wife*; "*that ſhe told him it was certain, the Spirit of* JE"SUS CHRIST *was Incorporated, and raiſed a*"*gain in* M. Morin, *for his ſecond coming upon Earth* "*that he was the Son of Man to whom God had given* "*all Judgment upon the Earth.* After this he de"ſcribes his Interview with *Morin*, which happen'd the Day after, and ſays, that at firſt *Morin would*

(*h*) *See the ſecond* Lettre Viſionaire, p. m. 261. *He Depoſition of the ſieur* Des-Mareſts *recited.*

ſome Followers. I have heard ſay, 1. That he had promis'd to riſe again on the third Day, and that hereupon abundance of Rabble got together at the Place where he was burnt. 2. That the firſt Preſident *Lamoignon* ask'd him, whether it was any where written, that the great Prophet, or new Meſſias ſhould be burnt, and that *Morin* being already Condemn'd, cited this Verſe of the 16th Pſalm; *Igne me examiniſti, & non eſt inventa iniquitas.* The Author whom I cite in the Remarks obſerves, that the XVIIth Century was (C) fruitful of Fanaticks. I have juſt receiv'd a moſt curious (D) Memoire concerning our *Morin*.

MORI-

" *fain appear to him as a very Holy Man, and of a* " *very collected Spirit; but after ſome Diſcourſe, finding,* " *that if he humbled himſelf too much before him, who* " *would be thought ſo high, he might treat him a long* " *time as a Novice, and that he had not ſo much Time* " *to loſe, he told him plainly what he knew of the in-* " *ternal States according to their Degrees, and of Spi-* " *rituality: That then* Morin *overjoy'd, took him by* " *the Hand, and preſſing it betwixt both his, told him,* " *he ſaw very well, that he was a Spiritual Man,* " *and in a ſtate of Grace, and that he wanted but* " *little of being Perfect and in a ſtate of Glory*—— (i) " He relates in the Sequel of his Depoſition ma- " ny Errors, which he learnt from *Morin*'s own " Mouth in another Diſcourſe he had with him; " *as that he muſt no longer think of the Death of* " JESUS CHRIST; *that Impeccability is a Pro-* " *perty of thoſe who are Divine and Perfect; that all* " *ſorts of Works are indifferent.* During theſe Viſits, " which the Sieur *Des-Mareſts* paid to *Morin* and " his Gentlewoman, he ſtill feign'd himſelf deſirous of being his Diſciple——But *Morin* to be " more ſecure of him, ſent him, as he ſaid in " this Depoſition, *a Letter the 21ſt of* December (k), " *being St.* Thomas's *Day, which was brought him by* " *his Eldeſt Daughter, by which the ſaid* Morin *de-* " *manded of him a blind and ſincere Submiſſion, im-* " *plicitely and ſincerely to obſerve whatever he com-* " *manded, without reſerve of Time or Thing, as* " *may be ſeen in the ſaid Letter. This Demand* " *of* Morin *bred ſome Scruples in his Mind, not being* " *willing to give any Conſent to a thing that might be* " *ill*——*But at laſt*——*judging, that if he did not* " *comply with every thing, in order to diſcover the* " *Secrets of the Cabal, all Commerce betwixt them* " *would ceaſe of courſe, he reſolv'd to ſend him his Conſent* " *in Writing, implicitely and ſincerely to obſerve whatever* " Simon Morin *ſhould command him*: To which he " added theſe Words, *on the part of God, and ac-* " *cording to God*——(l) This was not the laſt of " the Sieur *Des-Mareſts* diſguiſes. He held ſeveral " other Conferences with *Morin* in the ſame Spirit " of Diſſimulation and Deceit. He wrote to " him ſeveral Letters as his Diſciple, he receiv'd " many from him as from his Maſter. He ſuffer'd " this Illuminate, and theſe abuſed Gentlewomen " to conſider him as being intirely of their Ca- " bal. And at laſt proceeded to that prodigious " Extravagance, which I an going to relate in his " own Words. *To hinder* Morin *and his Wife, who* " *was tormented by her Devil upon his account, from* " *ſuſpecting him, he reſolv'd to give him a Declara-* " *tion, by the firſt Letter he writ to him, that he ac-* " *knowledg'd him for the Son of Man, and for the* " *Son of God in him, knowing well that* Morin *was* " *the Son of Man, and that the Son of God was in him,* " *as every where elſe. This Letter*, ſays he, *of the* " *firſt of* February *was ſo acceptable to* Morin, *that* " *to make him an acknowledgement for that De-* " *claration, which he believed very expreſs, he writ* " *an Anſwer to him the ſecond of* February, *by which* " *he gave him, as by a great Grace, the Title of his* " *Forerunner, calling him a true* John Baptiſt *riſen* " *again.*

The *Janſeniſt* whom I copy, does afterwards confute this Treachery of the Sieur *Des-Mareſts*, by the Principles of St. *Auſtin*. He ſays almoſt the ſame Things, which Mr. *Arnold* has ſince obſerved, in complaining of the Impoſture of a falſe *Arnold*, by which a Profeſſor of *Douay* was caught in a Snare.

(i) Ibid. p. 267.

(k) 1661.

(l) Ibid. p. 268.

(C) *Was fruitful of Fanaticks.*] See the Words of this Author: " (a) Our Age, which has been " as Fruitful as any other in extraordinary Things, " has particularly been ſo in Fanaticks: And it " looks as if Mens Heads were turn'd I know not " how, this way, and that they had a natural Bias " towards it; for, as in contagious Diſeaſes, we " commonly ſee all other Diſtempers degenerate " into Plagues and Carbuncles, ſo we have ſeen " in this Age irregular Devotions, and ſuch as " are built upon humane Freaks, degenerate into " Fanatical Illuſions. The Story of the Hermits " of *Caen* has been celebrated all over the King- " dom; and if we made a due Inquiry into the " Society of the Holy Sacrament, we might per- " haps diſcover a great many Things of this Na- " ture." He afterwards particularizes the Viſi- ons of *Charpi de St. Croix*, of *Morin*, and *Des-Ma-* *reſts*. If he had added thoſe that at the ſame time (b) were vented in *Holland*, he would have much ſtrengthen'd this Poſition. The Cloſe of this Age does not bely the other Parts of it, *dignum patella operculum*.

(a) *Preface of the* Lettres Viſionaires, p. 225.

(b) *See the Remark I. of the Article* Marets (Samuel des.)

(D) *A moſt curious Memoir concerning our* Morin.] Here are ſome Paſſages of it in the Words of the Original: " *Simon Morin* was a Native of *Aumale*, " and had heretofore been Commiſſioner to Mr. " *Charron*, extraordinary Treaſurer for the War. " He was a Man of no Letters, and groſsly Igno- " rant, who pretending to Spirituality, fell into " great Errors. He was not content to publiſh " 'em in private to ſeveral Perſons, who look'd " on him as a Mad-man, but ſet forth part of " 'em in a Book which he Printed ſecretly in 1647, " in 8, under the Title of *Thoughts of* Morin, " Dedicated to the King: 'Tis a mixture of Vi- " ſions and Nonſenſe, which include the princi- " pal Errors ſince condemn'd in the Quietiſts, " except that he carries 'em further than any other " has ſince done; for he formally teaches, that " the greateſt Sins do not deſtroy Grace, but " ſerve on the contrary to humble humane Pride. " He applies the Words of St. *Paul*, which are " commonly underſtood of Temptations to the " higheſt Enormities. He ſays, that in every " Sect and Nation, God has his Elect, which are " true Members of the Church. That among the " Means of depriving themſelves of all Preſump- " tion, a Director may forbid his Penitent from " coming to Maſs on Holy-Days, or to the Com- " munion, *&c.* order him the Communion without " Confeſſion, forbid what is commanded, and " command what is forbidden.

" That God permitted that St. *Peter* ſhould de- " ny him to humble his Preſumption; that his " deſire of dying for *Jeſus Chriſt*, was not a per- " fect Virtue; nor his Denial, a Vice deſtructive " of Virtue; that he denied him with his Lips " and not with his Heart.

" He denies that St. *Peter*'s Sin was a Sin unto " Death.

" He ſays, that St. *Paul* was not only in the " Infirmity of the Fleſh, but that he ought to be " ſo, and ſubmit to it, and that he had given way " to the Temptations of the Fleſh.

" That frequent Communion is profitable only " to Beginners, becauſe *Jeſus Chriſt* is much better " found under the Bread of Croſſes, than under " the Milk of Bread.

" That one may eat before the Communion, " not only for Infirmities ſake, but by Advice of " the Director, in order to mortifie himſelf.

" That every ſlip preceded by Fear, and fol- " lowed by Pleaſure, is not a Sin, but a Teſti- " mony of our Weakneſs which ought to humble " us.

" This is pretty nigh the Tenour of this Fa- " naticks Doctrine, which is void of any Principles.

" He Printed with theſe Thoughts ſome Spiritual " Songs, the Stile of which is very pitiful.—(d) He " was for ſome time in Priſon, and releaſed as a " Viſionary, till 1661. At which time *Des-Ma-* " *reſts* St. *Sorlin*, who had had great Intimacy with " him, and pretended, as he himſelf confeſſes in " his Writings, to own him for the Son of Man, " raiſed from the Dead; impeached him, and be- " came his Accuſer——Upon this occaſion he was " tried, and Condemned to be burnt Alive; " which was executed in *March* 1663. 'Tis ſaid,

" that

(d) *The Original contains in this place the Particulars of the Viſions and Impieties of this Man.*

MORISON (Robert) a Phyſician and Profeſſor of Botany at *Oxford*, was Born at *Aberdeen* in 1620. He took his Maſter of Arts Degree in 1638, and a little after taught Philoſophy there. He ſtudied Mathematicks at the ſame time, and afterwards applied himſelf to Botany, and as his Father and Mother deſir'd he ſhould be a Divine, he learnt Hebrew, and Compos'd a Hebrew Grammar for his own Uſe. But his Inclination for the Knowledge of Herbs was ſo ſtrong, that they were forc'd to let him bend all his Studies that way. He made a great progreſs in it, when the Civil Wars forc'd him to leave his Country, though not till he had ſignalized his Zeal for the King's Intereſt, and his Courage in a Battle fought upon a * Bridge betwixt the Inhabitants of *Aberdeen*, and the Presbyterian Troops. He was there dangerouſly wounded in the Head. As ſoon as he was cured of that Wound, he went to *France*, and fixing in *Paris*, applied himſelf with great diligence to Botany and Anatomy. He took his Doctor of Phyſick's Degree at *Angers* in 1648, and as he had the Reputation of an excellent Botaniſt, the Duke of *Orleans* entertain'd him in the Year 1650, and gave him the Direction of the Royal Garden of *Blois*. He kept this Employ till this Prince's Death, and then went over into *England* in *Auguſt* 1660. *Charles* II. to whom the Duke of *Orleans* had preſented him in the Month of *February* of the ſame Year, ſent him to *London*, and gave him the Title of his Phyſician, and of Royal Profeſſor in Botany, with a Penſion of two Hundred Pounds a Year. The *Præludium Botanicum*, which he publiſh'd at *London* in 1669, made him ſo eſteem'd, that the Univerſity of *Oxford* invited him to the Profeſſorſhip in Botany; he accepted it, with the good liking of the King, and diſcharged the Duties of his Place with wonderful Application and Ability. He died at *London* in 1683, in the 63d Year of his Age. The Publick has ſeen a very conſiderable part (*A*) of the Works he Compos'd, wherein he follow'd a Method entirely new, which has been mightily approv'd by good Judges †.

MORLIN (Joachim) a rigid Follower of (*A*) *Luther*; was Born in 1514. He was Miniſter in ſeveral Places ‡, and particularly at *Arnſtad*, from whence the Magiſtrates expell'd him § in 1543, not being able to bear his (*B*) too flaming Zeal. He was call'd to a Profeſſorſhip at *Konigsburg* in *Pruſſia*, and was there opponent in a Diſpute againſt *Oſiander*, who maintain'd a new Doctrine about Juſtification. He impugn'd that Novelty with extream heat both in his Writings and Sermons; but was worſted by the Credit of his Adverſary, who got him expell'd out of *Pruſſia* in 1552, notwithſtanding ‖ the Interceſſions of the People. He retir'd to *Brunſwick*, where he was made Colleague to the famous *Chemnitius*. He enter'd into the Diſputes (*C*) of the Times, and was almoſt in all the Conferences, in which the Queſtions about Free-Will, and the neceſſity of good Works, &c. were diſcuſs'd. He return'd into *Pruſſia* in 1566, and was there made biſhop of the Province of *Sambia* by *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*, King of *Poland*, and by *Albert* Duke of *Pruſſia*, who was no longer infatuated with his *Oſiander*. He

* Ad pontem fluminis Deæ. *Vita Rob. Moriſoni.*

† *Taken from his Life before the third part of* Plantarum Hiſtoria Oxonienſis univerſalis.

‡ Melch. Adam in vit Theol p. 456.

§ Seckendorf Hiſt. Lutheran. l. 3. 468. n. 9. *See alſo* Micrælius Syntagm. Hiſt Eccleſ. p. 771.

‖ Etſi plebs ad principem pro eo ſupplex intercederet *Melch Adam. Ibid.*

" that he had ſome Diſciples, who were ſent to " the Galley's; the deceas'd Mr. *de Neuré* ſays he " had ſeen one of 'em, who believ'd *Morin* was riſen from the Dead. But they who knew Mr. " *de Neuré*, knew there was no great dependance " on the Stories he told, when they tended to " Libertiniſm. For he repreſented this Man, as " convinc'd in earneſt of *Morin*'s Reſurrection. " This Man died with Conſtancy enough, and it " was then ſaid, that the Judges had been too rigourous, and that it had been enough to have confin'd him to a Mad-Houſe. They defended themſelves by the numerous Impieties, which he " had own'd for his Opinions, and which he maintain'd, not indeed with Argument, but however in cold Blood, and with great Obſtinacy

(*A*) *The Publick has ſeen a — part of the Works he Compos'd.*] Being in the Service of *Gaſton* of *France*, Duke of *Orleans*, he brought into the Garden of *Blois* 250 Plants, which no one had given the Deſcription of before, and invented a new Method of explaining Botany. He ſhew'd it this Duke, who encourag'd him to make a Hiſtory of Plants upon this Model, and promis'd to ſupply the Expences, and to give him all the Profit. This Prince's Death prevented the Execution of this Deſign. But when *Moriſon* had a Penſion from the King of *England*, he had more Thoughts than ever of this great Work. I have (*e*) ſpoken of the *Præludium Anatomicum*, which he publiſh'd in 1669. I add, that in 1672, he publiſh'd the 9th Section of the ſecond Part of his Hiſtory of Plants. The Univerſity of *Oxford* contributed a great deal to the Impreſſion of this Book, which the Author gave as a Specimen of this great Work. He was ſo encourag'd by the Praiſes and Exhortations written to him, that he publiſh'd in 1680, the ſecond Part of his Hiſtory of Plants. 'Tis a large Volume in *Folio*, intitul'd, *Plantarum hiſtoriæ Univerſalis Oxonienſis, pars ſecunda, ſeu herbarum diſtributio nova per tabulas cognationis & affinitatis ex libro naturæ obſervata & detecta.* This Work was much eſteem'd; we may ſee what Commendations (*a*) Mr. *Herman* gives it in the Preface to his *Hortus Lugduno-Batavus*. Some blam'd that part of this Volume intitul'd, *Hallucinationes Caſpari Bauhini*, &c. They thought there was ſomething of Pride in the liberty he had taken to cenſure the Writers, who had done ſo good Service in Botany. Our Author encourag'd by the good ſucceſs of this great Volume, labour'd diligently on a Continuation, but died before he could put the laſt Hand to the third Part; therefore recourſe was to be had to the Induſtry of another. They caſt their Eyes on *Jacob* (*b*) *Bobart*, a moſt able Botaniſt, and excellently vers'd in the Method he had learn'd from *Moriſon*. 'Tis by his Labour, that this third Part has at laſt ſeen the Light in 1699 'Tis in *Folio*. We don't know what's become of the firſt (*c*)

(*A*) *A rigid Follower of* Luther.] This I learn from *Melchior Adam*. (*d*) *Fuit Lutheri ſectator & acer doctrinæ ejus in toto miniſterio ſuo cuſtos — in articulo de Cœna ſententiam Lutheri retinuit, quod Chriſti corpus in, ſub, aut cum pane ſit.*

(*b*) *His too flaming Zeal.*] *Melanchthon*, who doubtleſs knew him, repreſents him of too fiery a Temper, and too much addicted to Wrangling. Having heard that *Heſhuſius* was return'd to *Roſtock*, with deſign to be preſent at the Diſpute of *Bremen*, he thought that *Morlin* was the Author of all this Stir. I often foretold, adds he, that he would raiſe a Storm, he never would be able to lay. (*e*) *Cogitavi horum conſiliorum architectum eſſe Morlinum, & is habet ſocios horum technarum artifices. Scribam Davidi Chytræo ne inſtituant diſputationem theatricam, quæ non parvos motus excitatura ſit, ſi procedat. Tibi etiam hortator ſum, ut ſis in certamen vocabunt peſtiles tibi quoque concedi ut accerſas Petrum Martyrem, me, & alios quoſdam amicos. Non genuſim Morlini: & ſæpe ei prædixi, eum moturum, quæ ſedare non poterit.*

(C) *He entred into the Diſputes of the Times.* The Author I cite in the preceding Notes, might well ſay, there was hardly any Age wherein the Diſputes of Divines were more frequent than in our

(*b*) *He's Director of the Garden of the University of* Oxford.

(*c*) *Taken from the Life of* Moriſon *before the third part of his Hiſtory of Plants.*

(*d*) Melch. Adam. in vitis Theologor. p. 457.

(*e*) *In the Body of the Article.*

(*a*) *Profeſſor in Phyſick and Botany at* Leyden.

(*e*) Philipp. Melanth. epiſt. ad Albertum Lardenbergum, apud Melchior. Adam. *Ibid.*

Morlin's

He continu'd in that Poſt all the reſt of his Life, and died in 1571, being cut for the Stone againſt the Advice of his Phyſicians. He publiſh'd (*D*) ſeveral Books *, and left a Son as great a lover of Theological Diſputes (*E*) as himſelf. I forgot to ſay, that when he was admitted Doctor of Divinity at *Wittemberg*, a Queſtion of *Luther*'s was propos'd to him, concerning (*F*) the uſe of Church-Revenues.

MORUS (ALEXANDER) one of the greateſt Preachers of his Age among the Reform'd, was the Son of a *Scotchman*, who was Principal of a College which the Reform'd had at *Caſtres* in *Languedoc*. He was Born in 1616, in that City, and being of a very quick Apprehenſion, the Progreſs in the Courſe of his Studies was very ſwift. When he was yet ſcarce twenty Years old †, he was ſent to *Geneva*, there to continue his Studies in Theology; and finding the Greek Profeſſor's Place, then vacant, was to be diſputed for, and that the Curators of the Academy by their Program had invited Strangers as well as Citizens to enter the Liſts; he ſtood for it among ſeveral other Competitors, Miniſters, Advocates and Phyſicians, who were almoſt all of them elder by one half than he; and was ſo much admir'd φ for his fine and eloquent way of turning Things, in all the Proofs of Learning that were to be produc'd, that he obtain'd the Prize of the Diſpute. Having diſcharg'd this Office about three Years, he ſucceeded to all thoſe Offices ‡ which Mr. *Spanhemius* who was call'd to *Leyden* θ had left vacant, which were that of the Profeſſor's Place of Divinity in the Academy, and that of Miniſter in the Church of *Geneva*. Being a very celebrated Preacher, and having added to this Gift a vaſt Stock of Learning ξ, it's no wonder if all his Collegues were not his Friends. But it muſt be own'd, there were many other Things which created him Trouble; for beſides his manners, which in all the Places where he ever had liv'd, were a Subject of Defamation, on the ſcore of his Love for Women, his beſt Friends never deny'd, that he was very Imprudent (*A*) and Impatient. However it be, there were two Parties

* *Taken from* Melch. Adam. ubi ſupra.

† Alex. Mori Fides publica, p. 225.

‡ *See the Life of* Stephen le Clerc *one of th. Competitors, Printed at* Amſterdam 1685. *before the* Quæſtiones Sacræ *of* David le Clerc, *&c.*

φ Mori fides publica, p. 226.

θ *He came thither in* 1642.

ξ *See what* Tanaquil le Fevre *writes to him* Epiſtolar. l. 1. p. 219.

Morlin's Time. Setting aſide the great Diſputes between the Roman Catholicks and the Proteſtants; let's only conſider Lutheraniſm. Good God! what Diviſions don't we ſee among the Divines of that Party; and with what Heat and Virulence were they maintain'd? All the fiery Wits that ever *Africa* and *Aſia* produc'd were but Phlegm in Compariſon of theſe *German* Doctors. 'Tis ſaid, that our *Morlin* oppoſed the Burial of thoſe who went to the Sermons of *Andrew Oſiander*, and could never be perſuaded to Baptize their Children (*f*). Was there ever a more extravagant Prejudice, and more furious Zeal than this? That which is wonderful in it is, that *Lutheraniſm* ſtands its Ground in the midſt of theſe violent Diſputes: Contrary to the Maxim, *Concordia res parvæ creſcunt; diſcordiâ maximæ dilabuntur* (*g*). We might hence draw a Proof of the ſpecial Protection of God; for one ſhou'd think, that what JESUS CHRIST has ſaid in his Goſpel, ought to hold in the Courſe of Humane Affairs, *Every Kingdom divided againſt it ſelf is brought to Deſolation, and every City or Houſe divided againſt it ſelf ſhall not ſtand* (*h*). If therefore there are any Exceptions to this Rule, we muſt ſuppoſe the Finger of God in it. This way of Reaſoning is ſpecious, and very probable; but let us obſerve by the by, that our Lord has alledged this Maxime, as an Axiom, the Truth of which is univerſal not in a Metaphyſical, but in a moral Senſe; and I believe he only made uſe of it *ad hominum* againſt the *Jews*. The Growth of the *Roman* Commonwealth in the midſt of violent and continual Diviſions, is as remarkable an Exception to this general Rule, as the preſervation of *Lutheraniſm* amidſt the Schiſms which diſtracted it, and which furniſh'd ſuch a Theme for the Inſults and Inferences of the common Enemy. Let's return to our *Morlin*, and relate what *Melchior Adam* ſays of him: (*i*) *Bruſvigæ diù eccleſiaſten egit; variæ, ut* nullum ferè ſeculum feracius fuit Theologicarum rixarum, quàm ſuperius, *excitatæ fuerunt, ſuper variis capitibus religionis controverſiæ, utpote* de neceſſitate bonorum operum: de libertate voluntatis humanæ: de Adiaphoris: de particula ſola in enunciatione illa: *Fide juſtificamur: & de aliis. Harum cauſa plerique conventibus actionibuſque inſtitutis interfuit Morlinus*

(*D*) *He publiſh'd ſeveral Books.*] *Melchior Adam* gives theſe Titles of them. *Pſalmorum Davidis enarratio Catechiſmus Germanicus. Poſtilla & explicatio ſummaria Evangeliorum dominicalium. Refutatio mendacii Theologorum Heidelbergenſium, de Luthero. De vocatione Miniſtrorum, & quatenus magiſtratui fas ſit eos ab officio removere. Deſenſio adverſus accuſationem novorum Wittembergenſium Theologorum. De peccato originis contra Manichæorum deliria. Epiſtola ad Oſiandrum.* Mr. *de Seckendorf* (*k*) ſpeaks of a Book publiſh'd by our *Morlin* in 1565, in which many things are found at large, which *Luther* utter'd in the Preſence of ſome Perſons a little before his Death.

(*E*) *As great a lover of Theological Diſputes as himſelf.*] He was call'd *Herom Morlinus*. He joined with *Wigandus*'s Faction, againſt *Hſhuſius* in the Diſpute *de abſtracto* (*l*).

(*F*) *Concerning the Uſe of the Church Revenues.*] Mr. *de Seckendorf* has inſerted in his Hiſtory of *Lutheraniſm* (*m*), the Queſtion as it was propos'd. It was ask'd (*n*), whether the Revenues, which were deſign'd for the Maintenance of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, and for Schools, ought to be taken away from thoſe who oppoſe the Goſpel, that is the Monks and Romiſh Clergy. He that put the Queſtion, gave the Reaſons, which held him in ſuſpence. On the one hand, ſays he, it is not for the Miniſters of the Goſpel to conſtrain any Body, and we can't take their Eſtates from the Wicked without exerciſing Violence. On the other hand we know, that St. *Auſtin* maintain'd, that the Emperor was in the right to give the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues of the Donatiſts to the Orthodox. The Magiſtrates are oblig'd to ſee, that every Body injoys what rightfully belongs to him. But the Revenues in Queſtion do not belong (*o*) to impious Canons, but to the true Church, and therefore Orthodox Magiſtrates ought to deal with theſe Wretches as with Robbers. If they do not, the good Paſtors and poor Scholars muſt periſh. If *Morlinus* had deſign'd to anſwer according to *Luther*'s Mind, he might eaſily have decided that Queſtion; for *Luther*, as it plainly appears, was of Opinion, that the Revenues of the *Roman* Church ought to be appropriated to the Maintenance of Miniſters and Schools.

(*A*) *Very Imprudent and Impertinent.*] It's own'd in a Preface (*a*), which was written in behalf of Mr. *Morus*, that his fiery Temper, his too great liberty of Speech, and his violent deſire of exalting himſelf above others, had often raiſed thoſe Enmities which reign'd betwixt him and his Rivals. This Author adds, that he had never heard Mr. *Spanheim* ſay any thing worſe againſt *Morus*, than that he was Proud: He ſays alſo, that in the Judgment of *Salmaſius*, Mr. *Morus* truſted too much to his falſe Friends, and that he did not care for taking Pains, but was otherwiſe a very fine Wit, and had a Head for any thing. Mr. *Diodati* in a Letter (*b*) he wrote in favour of Mr. *Morus*, confeſſes, that this Miniſter "aim'd at no "thing more than making an innocent Defence, "but did this generally with a Warmth and Vi-

"gour

(*f*) Dogma *Oſiandri* quantopere deteſtentur qui confeſſionis Auguſtanæ cenſeri volunt, cum ex Wittenbergenſium Doctorum cenſura, tum ex Matthiæ Flacci, & Joachimi Merlini non ſcriptis magis quam factis, abunde cuivis perſpicere licet. Nam quo loco Merlinus habuerit eos, qui cum gregis ſui eſſent, Oſiandri ſermones audiebant, obſcurum non eſt Nec ſepultura mortuos dignabatur, ne infantes eorum ut baptizaret, adduci potuit. *Hoſius de expreſſo verbo Dei, apud Pratcolum, Elencho hæret, p. m.* 512. (*g*) Salluſt de bello Jugurth, p. m. 214. (*h*) Evang. de Saint Matth. ch. 12. v. 25. (*i*) Melch. Adam. ubi ſupra, p. 456.

(*k*) Seckendorf, hiſt. Lutheran, l. 3. p. 693.

(*l*) Micrælius, Syntagm. hiſt. Eccleſ. *p.* 771.

(*m*) Lib. 3. p. 313. n. 12.

(*n*) Li (*Morl no*) ut moris eſt, quæſtio propoſita fuit per ephebum a Luthero conſcripta, his verbis, utrum reditus donati Eccleſiis ad Evangelii Miniſtros alendos, *&c. Ibid.*

(*o*) Hi reditus non ſunt impiorum Canonicorum, ſed ſunt veræ Eccleſiæ. Quare Magiſtratus Eccleſiæ debet eriam pœnam ſumere de impiis tanquam prædonibus. *Ib.d.*

(*a*) *Before the Apology of* Milton, edit. Hagæ Comit. 1645. George Crantzius *Doctor in Divinity, is the Author of this Preface.*

(*b*) *Produced in th.* Fides publica, p. 111, *&c.*

Parties form'd in *Geneva*; one for, and the other againſt him. Nor is it at all to be doubted, that the firſt of theſe Parties was compoſed not only of ſuch as had an Eſteem and Friendſhip for Mr. *Morus*, but of others alſo, who without any real Love or Eſteem for him, ſaw their Enemies at the Head of the contrary Party. Every Day that paſſed afforded Inſtances of this kind. I know not how Mr. *Morus* got himſelf into the good Graces of Mr. *Salmaſius*; but 'tis certain that the latter drew the other into the United Provinces. Some think he did this purely to vex Mr. *Spanheim* (*B*) who had quarrelled with Mr. *Morus* at *Geneva*. At firſt Mr. *Salmaſius* endeavour'd to procure him * a Profeſſor of Divinity's Place at *Harderwick*, and this not ſucceeding, he got him call'd to *Middleburg*. Mr. *Morus* accepting of the Call, parted from *Geneva* in 1649, and carry'd a good Teſtimonial (*C*) of his Orthodoxy. He preſented himſelf before the Synod of the Walloon Churches †, aſſembled at *Maeſtricht*, Preach'd with the Applauſe of the whole Auditory, and then went to take Poſſeſſion at *Middleburg* of the Office of Profeſſor of Divinity in the *Schola illuſtris*, and of that of Paſtor to the Church. The Gentlemen of *Amſterdam* at his arrival in *Holland* ‡, offered him the Place of Hiſtory-Profeſſor, which was become vacant by the Death of *Voſſius* in their *Schola illuſtris*; but not being able to diſengage himſelf from the Obligations he lay under to the City of *Middleburg*, they ſent for *David Blondel*: And yet three Years after, hearing that Mr. *Morus* was offered a Divinity Profeſſor's Place in *France*, they renew'd their Offers to him. He accepted the Call, and diſcharg'd the Place like an able Man. He diſappear'd

* *See the Remark C.*

† Fid. publica, p. 157.

‡ Ibid. p. 213.

" gour cut thoſe to the Quick who aſſaulted him. " ——That he was good Natur'd without Fraud " or After-game, Free and Noble——warm, and " very ſenſible of Affronts, but eaſily reconcil'd; " that he never was the Aggreſſor, but had ter- " rible Nails to defend himſelf withal. I ſcarce " ever knew any one, *continues he*, who had rea- " ſon to boaſt of attacking him. *Conſcia virtus*, " and if you add to it, *genus irritabile vatum*, fur- " niſh him a compleat ſuit of Armor againſt his " Aſſailants." Give me leave to make a Reflexion in this Place upon the Illuſions, occaſion'd by Friendſhip. Here you ſee that Mr. *Diodati*, from a tender Reſpect for Mr. *Morus*, reckons that for nothing, which is indeed a Capital and moſt unbecoming Vice in a Miniſter I mean a vindictive Spirit in the higheſt Degree, and extream Pride and Paſſion. It's in effect black'ning a Miniſter, and diveſting him entirely of the Spirit of the Goſpel, which ought to be inſeparable from his Character, to confeſs what Mr *Diodati* has here confeſs'd of him; and yet he does not think that this abates any thing to ſpeak of in the Praiſes which he beſtows plentifully upon his Friend He excuſes as well as he can this vindictive Humour of Mr. *Morus*. " The Importunity, *ſays he* " (*c*), of his Enemies ſeem'd ſometimes to de- " ſerve the ſevereſt Rebukes to teach them to be " quiet. I every Day meet with ſuch who are Blind the ſame way with reſpect to a Miniſter of whom they have a great Opinion, who mention his very *Iſmaeliſm* (*d*) almoſt with Commendation. *He is a dangerous Enemy*, ſay they, *he has a Bill and Claws, and woe be to him* (*e*) *who provokes him*; as if they deſign'd to ſpeak like Heathens of a Colonel of Dragoons, or as if a Miniſter of the Goſpel were a Knight of the Thiſtle, arm'd with a threatning Device,

Nemo me impune laceſſit, nul ne s'y frotte (*f*).
Qui me (*g*) *carmorit, (melius non tangere, clamo)*
Flebit & inſignis tota cantabitur urbe.

One can hardly believe, that ſuch Miniſters are bound to Religion by any other Ties than thoſe of Vanity; and becauſe it furniſhes 'em with a Pretence of ſetting up for petty Tyrants. But once more, run through all the Faults to which humane Nature is ſubject, and you'll find none more oppoſite to the Spirit of Chriſtianity, than the Violence that appears in the Quarrels of ſome of theſe Gentlemen. They ſhew by all their Proceedings, that they have a mind to make their Power known, that no Perſon for the future may preſume to reſiſt them: Tho' they never read *Homer*, yet they practiſe the Words of *Agamemnon* much more than any Text of Scripture.

(*h*) Ἐγὼ δ' ἢ κ' ἄγω Βρισηΐδα καλλιπάρηον
Αὐτὴν ἰὸν κλισίηνδε, τὸ σὸν γέρας· ὄφρ' ἐυείδῆς
Ὅσσον φέρτερός εἰμι σέθεν, σύγε δ' ἢ κε καὶ ἄλλος
Ἴσον ἐμοὶ φάσθαι, καὶ ὁμοιωθήμεναι ἀντην.

Ego autem abducam Briſeïda pulchram-genam,
Ipſe profectus ad tentorium, tuum præmium: ut bene intelligas
Quanto potentior ſum te: timeat autem & alius
Æqualem ſe mihi dicere, & comparari contra.

See *Milton* at p. 44. and 193, of his Reply. See alſo the Hiſtory of the Edict of *Nantes* (*i*), where 'tis confeſs'd, that *Morus* " among all his good " Qualities, had ſome which did him no Honour; " *that* he was Imprudent, Imperious, Satyrical, " Contemptuous, *and that* he ſcarce allow'd any " thing good but his own Works, and the Pſalms " given 'em by thoſe who approv'd 'em.

(*B*) *That it was to vex Mr.* Spanheim] For this *Sorbiere* ſhall be my Witneſs, who writes thus to Mr. *Patin*: " (*k*) I can only tell you of Mr. " *Spanheim* what was publiſh'd at the time of his " Death, that *Salmaſius* had Murder'd him, and that " *Morus* was the Dagger. The Story is long, but " to give it you in a few Words, I ſhall only ſay, " that M. *Salmaſius* hated the late *Spanheim* from an " emulation of Wit and Reputation in the Schools; " to mortifie him, he caus'd Mr. *Morus* to be ſent " for into *Holland*, tho' he knew him only by " Name, becauſe he was the Scourge and Abhor- " rence of his Collegue: That the Doctor mov'd " Heaven and Earth to hinder his coming, and " died juſt as he receiv'd the News that his " Adverſary had ſet out on his Journey "——To this he adds a ſhort Eulogy on Mr *Spanheim*, and then concerning Mr *Morus* he ſays, " I cannot give " my Judgment of him without being ſuſpected " by you, becauſe he had been my intimate Friend " ſince I came to the College, *i. e.* for above " twenty five Years, and I fought the Battels *with* " him, *in* which *F Jarrige* was engag'd. But this " is certain, and all the World owns it, that he " is of a very fiery Temper, that he has vaſt " Thoughts, that he affects to make a mighty " Noiſe and Figure

THE Letter (*l*) which M *Spanheim* wrote to *Voſſius* in *March* 1648, deſerves to be conſider'd, and may ſerve for a Confirmation of ſome Things which Mr. *Sorbiere* has ſaid. In it we find this particular, that Mr (*m*) *Godefroy* had not given ſo advantageous and glorious a Teſtimony to M *Morus*, but out of hatred to Mr. *Spanheim*, who threaten'd to publiſh all the Tranſactions at *Geneva* relating to the good Teſtimonials he had obtain'd there, and what had been his manner of Life and Behaviour in that City I learn in the ſame Letter, that Mr *Morus* proteſted upon Oath to the Magiſtrates of *Geneva*, that he had not Mr *Spanheim* in view when he made the Harangue which ſhall be ſpoken of (*n*) hereafter.

(*C*) *And carry'd a good Teſtimonial of his Orthodoxy.*] This Teſtimonial was given him by the Church of *Geneva*, *January* 25, 1648 It is ſet down at full length in Latin and French in the (*b*) *Fides publica* of Mr. *Morus*, where we find beſides, that the Enemies of this Miniſter to fruſtrate the good Intentions of *Salmaſius*, who had a mind to ſettle him as Profeſſor of Divinity in *Gueldr*, had ſpread abroad in the World, that Mr *Morus* was a pernicious Heretick, who not only believ'd, that according to the Intention of God, JESUS CHRIST ſuffered equally for all Mankind, and that the Sin of *Adam* was not imputed to us; but alſo that the Holy Spirit is not God, or that we are not bound to believe he is. Upon this occaſion the Church of *Geneva* gave the Perſon

(*c*) Ibid. p. 114.

(*d*) Milton, Defenſ. pro ſe p. 134. *produces a Letter, in which is ſaid of Mr.* Morus *what was Prophecy'd of* Iſmael, *that* his Hand was againſt every one, and every one's Hand againſt him.

(*e*) Δυσμενέων παῖδας τῶσῶ μένει ἀνιαζείαν.

(*f*) 'Twas that of a King of Navarre. *See* Pere Bouhours Entret. des Deviſes, p. m. 463, 464.

(*g*) Horat. Satyra 1. l. 2.

(*h*) Hom. Illiad. l. 1. v. 184.

(*i*) Hiſt. de l'édit. de Nantes, tom. 3 p. 454.

(*k*) Sorbiere, letter 64. p. 442.

(*l*) *Its the* 447. *of thoſe which were written to* Voſſius.

(*m*) *Profeſſor in Law at* Geneva.

(*n*) *In the Remark L.*

(*b*) Pag. m. 81.

appear'd for some time, having taken a long Voyage (D) into *Italy*, which 'tis said he had no cause to repent of (E). During this Voyage he wrote a fine Poem * on the Defeat of the *Turkish* Fleet by the *Venetians*. This Poem was thought to be worth a Chain of Gold, which the Republick of *Venice* presented him. He return'd to discharge his Office, and after having weather'd some (F) Storms in the Walloon Synods, he went into *France*, to be Minister there of the Church at *Paris*, where a great part of the People wish'd for him: Others oppos'd him, and presented to some Provincial Synods, and afterwards to the National Synod of † *Loudun* Sacks full of Papers against Mr. *Morus*. All their Accusations were eluded (G) or found null; he was admitted Minister of the Church of *Paris*. Mr. *Daillé* (H) who had serv'd him with all his Credit in several Synods, quickly repented of what he had done; for there arose a terrible

* *See its Elogy in the Letters of* Tanaquil le Fevre, l. 2. p. 157.

† *It began the* 10th *of* Novemb. 1659. *and ended the* 10th *of* January 1660.

son accus'd a Testimonial so full of Praises, that it look'd rather like a Retorical Panegyrick than a Sentence of Absolution. By it Mr. *Morus* appear'd whiter in all respects than Snow, both as to Life and Doctrine. They affirm (*c*), that his most inveterate Enemies can object nothing to him that deserves any Censure. Yet we shall show hereafter (*d*), that *Milton* receiv'd several Memoires from *Geneva*, which blacken our *Morus* frightfully.

(*c*) Si vitæ integritatem spectes, hinc te niveus morum candor retrahit, illinc admirabilis & sibi semper constans innocentia. Apostolus vult Episcopum esse ἀνεπίλημπτον. Nihil utique illi vel ab infensissimis hostibus & livoris felle maligno turgentibus meritò objici queat, quod justæ sit reprehensioni obnoxium.

(*d*) *In the Remark M.*

(*c*) Panegyrique de Mr. Morus, imprimé à Amsterdam 1695. p. 14.

(*f*) *Here are the Words of the Synod Article* 27. The Assembly declares, that the said *Alexander Morus* is incapable of exercising any Function of the Holy Ministry of the Gospel among us, or of partaking of the Holy Supper of the Lord, till by a sincere Repentance of his Sins, and a blameless Conversation he makes a Reparation as well for the Scandals he has brought upon us, &c. (*g*) The Assembly has judged, that the former Assembly had sufficient Reasons to pronounce this Sentence; and wherefore the present Synod has approv'd ratify'd and confirm'd a new the 27th Article of the former Synod. *Acts of the Synod of* Nimuegen *of the Month of* Sep. 1659. *Art.* 21

(*D*) *He disappear'd for some time having taken a Voyage into* Italy.] This we find in a Latin Oration which he spoke at *Amsterdam*, after his Return from *Italy*, showing the Reason why he return'd no sooner; he sets forth in it, that he had run through various Dangers. They who say he undertook this Journey without acquainting his Superiors, are not much in the wrong; for the Leave given him at *Amsterdam* the 20th of *December* 1654, was only for a Journey into *France*, which was to last three or four Months. But upon his Return he appear'd before the Synod of *Leyden* in *May* 1656, told 'em he saw great probability of advancing the Glory of God in *Italy* by the Preaching of the Gospel, and was thank'd for his good Advice.

(*E*) *He had no reason to repent of his Journey into* Italy.] 'Tis reported, that having fallen dangerously ill at *Florence*, he said so many fine Things to the Physician who had him in hand, that the Man was perfectly in Raptures, and that having given an account of him to the Great Duke, he gave his Highness a longing Desire to see this learn'd Stranger. Whereupon Mr. *Morus* being recover'd, was introduc'd to an Audience from the Duke, and so charm'd him with his Discourse, that he receiv'd several Marks of a particular Favour and Esteem. Others will have it, that Mr. *Morus* was known to this Prince before he fell ill. Here's what is said in a small Book just publish'd. "(*e*) "The Great Duke of *Tuscany* receiv'd Mr. *Morus* "very graciously into his Country and Capital "City; he favour'd him with his Friendship and "Esteem; he sent him his own Physician when "he was sick at *Florence*; he made him rich Pre"sents, worthy both of him that gave, and of "him that receiv'd them. 'Tis said, that the "Physician whom the Duke sent him, was so sur"priz'd to hear him reason with so much Force, "Judgment and Penetration about all the Sciences, "and particularly that of Physick, that tho' an "able Man in his own Profession, he declar'd his "Patient knew more of it than he who had be"stow'd all his Care and Pains on that Science.

(*F*) *Having weather'd some Storms in the Walloon Synod.*] In effect the Synod of *Tergou* summon'd him [in *April* 1659, to answer certain Articles exhibited against him. He went to *Tergou*, but did not think fit to appear before the Synod, and only acquainted 'em, that he depended on no Church but that of *France*, to which he had engag'd himself. This did not prevent his Condemnation as he hop'd it would; for the Synod declar'd him incapable of exercising the Office of a Minister in this Country to the Edification of the People, or holding Communion in it (*f*). The Synod of *Nimeguen* confirm'd this Censure (*g*) in *September* 1659, notwithstanding the Letters of the Church of *Paris*, concerning the Admission of Mr. *Morus* into their Church, accompany'd with an Act of the Synod of *Ai*, dated *May* 8. 1659, ratifying this Admission. Mr. *De Thou*, who was then Ambassador of *France* at the *Hague*, concern'd himself about this matter in favour of Mr. *Morus*, by presenting a long Memorial to the States General, who by an Act of *April* 6th 1666, which was communicated to the Synod of *Haerlem*, order'd that Informations might be laid before 'em of all the Proceedings in this Affair. The Synod deputed three Pastors and two Elders to the States, to give them the Account which they desir'd. And here I think the Matter rested.

(*G*) *All their Accusations were eluded or found null.*] We shall relate what is found about this Matter, in the History of the Edict of *Nantes*. The King's Commissioner to the National Synod of *Loudun* "(*h*) did not oppose the reading of the Informa"tions sent from *Holland* against *Alexander Morus*, "whose Ministry was then enquir'd into by the "Church of *Paris*. He desir'd them in judging "upon it, to have regard to these Acts, and to "ground their Resolutions upon them: But he "caus'd to be inserted in the Decree of the Synod "a kind of Protestation, importing, that Judg"ment should be given according to the Free"doms of the Edict, the Laws of Discipline, and "the Customs of the Kingdom, without being "subject to any Authority, Jurisdiction, or fo"reign Decision; or remitting the Party accus'd "to the Jurisdiction or Judgment of others with"out the Kingdom, contrary to the Orders and "Edicts, made for the Benefit and Advantage of "the King's Subjects. By this means the Com"missioners judg'd of the Affair rather than the "Synod, because the Process not being finish'd "in the Country where the Accusation was "brought at first, and the Protestation of the "Commissioner hindring to remit *Morus* thither, "to justifie himself upon the Place, the Infor"mations were not found sufficient to convict "him: He was therefore Absolv'd and his Vo"cation confirm'd. But it would be difficult to "say, whether this Vocation did more Hurt or "Good, because it made such a Division in the "Consistory, that what one of the Parties call'd "Edification, the other call'd Scandal: Which "appear'd by the great Excesses on one side, and the "passionate Suspicions on the other; every thing "being sifted and enquir'd after that tended to "destroy *Morus*, and all violent Means made use "of to support him. A Provincial Synod of the "Province of *Berry* ended the Affair by the King's "Permission, and was accus'd of being too partial "in favour of the accus'd, and of pleasing them"selves too much in mortifying a Consistory so "famous as that of *Charenton*, which by the Me"rits and Capacity of the Members who Com"pos'd it, was then as it were the Oracle of all "the Churches.

(*h*) *Hist. of the Edict of* Nantes, tom. 3. B. 5. p. 315. ad ann. 1659.

(*H*) *Mr.* Daillé *who had serv'd him with all his Credit.*] I think my self oblig'd to set down here the Insults which Mr. *Daillé*'s Adversaries offer'd him upon this Occasion, and what Answer he made 'em in his own Justification; for this is a part of Mr. *Morus*'s Adventures. Here then is what Mr *Cottiby* formerly Minister of *Poitiers*, objected to Mr *Daille*: "(*a*) That which surprizes "me most, is to see my self accus'd by you, Sir, "from whom I might have hop'd for the surest "Protection and Support, if by Misfortune I "should have happen'd to fall into any Fault, "which had oblig'd me to appear before these "Tribunals, in which you commonly hold so "eminent

(*a*) Cottiby, Replique à Mr. Daille, p. 17.

rible Quarrel between them, which produc'd a thouſand partial Doings in the Flock. In general, Mr. *Morus* in the midſt of the Applauſes which his inimitable (*I*) Way of Preaching procur'd from an extraordinary Croud of Auditors, had the Mortification at *Paris* to ſee his Reputation attack'd by Perſons of Merit, who accus'd him a-new to (*K*) the Synods from which he was ſav'd only as by Fire. His Death which was very edifying, and the ſigns of Piety which he ſhow'd in his laſt Sickneſs, blotted out the Remembrance of any Irregularities in his Behaviour. He died at *Paris*, at the Houſe of the Dutcheſs of *Rohan*, in the Month of *September* 1670. He was never Married. We ſhall ſee below the Titles of his Works (*L*).

I ſhall

" eminent a Place; for what elſe could I reaſonably " expect from a Man who in the Perſon of one of " his Brethren, is the declar'd Defender and Advo- " cate of one of the impureſt Lives in the World, " and who, after he had pleaded his Cauſe in a " Provincial Synod of the Iſle of *France*, was " hardy enough in a National Synod, whereof he " was the Head, (a fine Head for ſuch a Body) to " Patronize him openly; I will not ſay againſt " the faithful Memoirs of the Miniſters of *Rohan*, " of *Caen* and *Lyons*, but which is more aſtoniſhing, " againſt a Multitude of Accuſations from ſome " entire Provinces, and all this by I know not " how many Turns, much leſs innocent than " thoſe of the Tongue." Father *Adam* made him almoſt the ſame Reproaches, whom Mr. *Daillé* anſwer'd in theſe Words: " (*b*) Wherefore would " you have me condemn him, and judge him un- " worthy of thoſe charitable Offices which are " owing to our Neighbour in neceſſity; me " who have heard him, me who have not only " heard him, but who, after an exact Enquiry in- " to the Cauſe with all the Diligence and Appli " cation I was capable of, was convinc'd of his In- " nocence? Although I were oblig'd only by my " own Conſcience to do him theſe ſmall Offices of " Kindneſs; yet this alone would ſufficiently " juſtifie me againſt thoſe Violences and *ſtrange* " *Calumnies*, to which your Proſelyte is tranſport- " ted againſt me in this place. But both you and " he do ſo much the more unjuſtly blame my " Conduct in this Affair, as I did him thoſe Of- " fices, which you reprove in me, not from any " private Opinion of my own, but by the Order " of my Superiors; firſt by Order of the Conſiſtory " of my own Church, which entruſted me and " the Deputies with this Affair in the Synod of " the Iſle of *France* mention'd by your Proſelyte, " which was held at *Ferté* by *Juare* in 1657; and " then two Years after, not only by Order of my " own Conſiſtory and Church, but alſo by that " of the General Synod of theſe Provinces held at " *Ai* in *Champagne*, in 1659. I have done, with " as little ill Grace as was poſſible for me, what " the Aſſemblies, on whom I depend, expreſly " enjoyn'd and commanded; what my own " Conſcience was ſo far from being ſhock'd at, " that I approv'd it as Juſt and Reaſonable What " Crime have I committed in all this? Certain- " ly altho' the Defendant were in reality Guilty, " as I believe him Innocent, yet its evident I " ſhould be no Partner in the Crime, from which " in this Caſe he has been acquitted by two Judg- " ments; becauſe I have only defended a Cauſe " which I did, and ſtill do believe to be very juſt. " I neither had, nor could have any Vote in the " Sentence given; for I did the Office of an Ad- " vocate and not of a Judge. Beſides, I muſt " add, that I neither did the one nor the other in " the National Synod, which made the laſt De- " cree about this Affair; for the Defendant him- " ſelf being preſent there, pleaded his own Cauſe " in five or ſix full Hearings, with ſo much Force " and Evidence, that Thanks be to God there was " no need of any Body's Help." See below the Remark *M.* towards the end.

(b) Daille replique au Pere Adam, part. 3. p. 154.

(*I*) *His inimitable manner of Preaching*] It conſiſted in certain Sallies of Fancy, which contain'd ingenious Alluſions, and I know not what Air of Paradox very fit to ſurprize the Hearer, and engage his conſtant Attention. But his Manner of delivering theſe Things was what was moſt taking. Whence it came to paſs that his Sermons in Writing were not near ſo much admir'd; and that the greateſt part of thoſe who endeavour to imitate him, only make themſelves ridiculous. The deſire of imitating him, which began to corrupt many of the young Miniſters, oblig'd the Synod of the Iſle of *France* in the Year 1675, to make an Act which was read in the Pulpit of *Charenton* and elſewhere, by which all Perſons were commanded in Expounding the Word of God to avoid the Sportings of Fancy, and playing with Words, &c. It will not be amiſs in this place to ſee the Judgment of an Hiſtorian, who knew Men incomparably better than I do. *He was* (), ſays he ſpeaking of our *Morus*, *extraordinarily followed by the People, and they who leaſt knew why he deſerv'd Admiration, were nevertheleſs his moſt paſſionate Admirers. It's a Diſpute among Perſons of good Judgment, whether his Excellency lay in any thing that was ſolid, or only in ſhew, whether it deſerv'd to be call'd a flaſh of Lightning, or a ſteady Light But even thoſe who gave Sentence againſt him, could not but hear him with great pleaſure, and feel in themſelves the ſame Paſſions, which he rais'd in others. Some have thought that he had much leſs Learning than is commonly imagin'd: But no Body doubts that he knew how to ſet forth to the beſt advantage that which he was Maſter of, and to give a luſtre to any thing he expos'd to publick view. However, never did any Man receive more flattering Applauſes than he, nor could that which was ſaid of another be better apply'd to any Man than him; that if he did not deſerve the eminent gross Character given of him, at leaſt he ravi[ſh]'d his Hearers ſo that they could not ſpeak to his Diſadvantage* He had ſaid p. 316. *that* Morus's *Way did not pleaſe all the World, and that they who affected to imitate him, had almoſt always bad Succeſs.*

() *Hiſt of the Edict of Nantes*, tom. 2. p. 463.

(*K*) *A-new to the Synods*] Mr. *Morus* did not live long at quiet in the Church of *Paris*; for after the Month of *September* 1661, Complaints were brought againſt him before the Conſiſtory, which came to nothing and perhaps the Reaſon was becauſe he ask'd leave to go into *England* in *December* 1661; but he return'd in 1662 And then the Complaints being immediately renew'd, the Conſiſtory order'd that he ſhould be heard; but that in the mean time he ſhould forbear Preaching. His Partizans would have him Preach in ſpite of the Conſiſtory, and to that end ſeiz'd upon all the Avenues to the Pulpit, and would not ſuffer Mr. *Daillé*'s Son to get up into it, which caus'd ſo terrible a Commotion, that there was no Preaching that *Sunday* Morning Some Maſters of Families had recourſe to the Parliament, which upon *July* 27 1662, order'd a Veſtry to be ſummon'd upon it. This Meeting ſuſpended Mr. *Morus* for a Year. The Synod of the Iſle of *France* confirm'd and even heighten'd the Suſpenſion; but that of the Province of *Berry*, to which this Miniſter appeal'd, reſtor'd him to his Office (*c*) This kind of Appeals is allow'd by the Regulations of the National Synods

(*c*) *All this is related at large in the Hiſtory of the Edict of Nantes, at the end of the 5th Book of the 3d Tome*

(*L*) *The Titles of his Works*] There's a Treatiſe of his *de gratia & libero arbitrio*; another *de Scriptura ſacra ſui ipſius*; *de cauſa Dei*; a Commentary on the 53d Chapter of *Iſaiah*; Notes *ad loca quædam vet. fœderis*; an Anſwer to *Milton*, entitled, *Ad Andr. Mori fidem publicam*; Orations and Poems in Latin Some Fragments (*c*) of his Sermons have been Printed ſince his Death, and ſome entire Sermons We ſhall add one word about his Orations He ſpoke three of them at *Geneva*, which are very fine. The Latin of them is rather Learned than Elegant He affected uncommon Words, and ſuch ſignifications of Words as there are ſcarce any Examples of to be found Of theſe three Orations, one is a Panegyrick upon *Calvin*; another is entitled *de pace*, wherein he briskly condemns, without naming any Body, Mr. *Amyraldus* and *Spanheim*, who were at open War about Univerſal Grace He tells 'em their own roundly. This was a true Juniper Lecture; it comforted the very Cockles of the Hearers Hearts. Let's alſo ſay a word about his Latin Poems. Thoſe which he made on the Birth of our Saviour were much eſteem'd, and ſo were thoſe which were a Thouſ-

(*c*) *At the* Hague *in* 1685 *, ſee the* Nouvelles de la Republ des Lettres, *for the Month of* March, 1685 p. 333, *of the Edition. Eighteen of his Sermons have been Printed in the Collection of Sermons Printed in the Low Countries, at* Amſterdam *in* 1691.

I ſhall ſay ſomething of his Quarrel (*M*) with *John Milton*: And obſerve, that there are ſome things in the *Menagiana* (*N*) very much to his Glory, and others which are not. One of his laſt Panegyrical Writers relates a Fact (*O*) which is not true.

The

giving to God after a great Sickneſs. Mr. *Perachon*, who was then a Proteſtant, tranſlated 'em into French Verſe, and publiſh'd 'em at *Paris* in 16—I do not remember that I ever ſaw any other French Verſes of Mr. *Morus*'s except the Anſwer he made in the ſame Rhyme to a Sonnet which *Corras* inſcribed to him after his Abjuration.

(*M*) *His Quarrel with* John Milton.] The ground of the Quarrel was this; in 1652, Mr. *Morus* got a Book of *Peter du Moulin* the Son to be Printed at the *Hague* (*a*), and Dedicated as from the Printer (*b*) to the King of Great *Britain*. This Book which is entit'led, *Regii ſanguinis clamor ad cælum adverſus parricidas Anglicanos*, is a bitter Invective againſt the Parliamentarians, and particularly Mr. *Milton* is extreamly ill treated in it. The Epiſtle Dedicatory does not handle him more civily, but he is much more furiouſly beſpatter'd in ſome Verſes at the latter end of the Book. *Milton*, who had let ſeveral violent Books publiſh'd againſt the Parliamentarians to paſs without any Reply, could not contain when he ſaw this, in which he was perſonally concern'd to ſuch a degree, as well by the vaſt Elogiums given in it to *Salmaſius*, as by the terrible Reproaches heap'd upon himſelf. He anſwer'd therefore, and ſuppoſes either ſincerely or craftily, that he might have the more Scope againſt the Perſon whom he refuted, that *Morus* (*c*) was the Author of this Book. He treats him like a Dog, or rather like a Goat; for he accuſes him of a thouſand lewd Actions, and particularly of having Debauch'd a Maid-Servant at *Geneva*, and of having entertain'd her ſince ſhe had a Husband, and of having got a Chamber-Maid of Madam *Saumaiſe* with Child under Promiſe of Marriage. He accuſes him of being Convicted of ſeveral Hereſies at *Geneva*, and of having ſhamefully abjur'd them with his Mouth, but not with his Heart. He repreſents him as depriv'd at *Geneva* of eight or ten Months Salary, and of his Offices of Profeſſor and Miniſter, on account of a Charge brought againſt him for Adultery, *&c.* the Iſſue whereof was, that he muſt have been Condemn'd, if he had not avoided the definitive Sentence, by declaring he would quit the City. He accuſes him alſo of being forbidden the Exerciſe of the Miniſtry by the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*. In fine, he defames him after the crueleſt manner in the World, interlarding the Stories he makes of him with a World of buffoon ſcurrilous Jeſts. Mr. *Morus* defends himſelf by a long Liſt of Teſtimonials, of his Orthodoxy and good Life, which the Conſiſtories, the Academies, the Synods and the Magiſtrates of the Places where he had liv'd, had given him. He makes it appear, that the Judges as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtical, which took Cognizance of the Pretenſions of the Chamber-Maid of Madam *Saumaiſe*, had declar'd 'em null, and clearly acquitted him in this Affair, notwithſtanding the Plots of this Lady (*d*) who ſet all her Engines at work to ruin his Reputation. He makes it appear by the Authentick Certificates of the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, of the *Walloon* Conſiſtory, and of the Curators of the *Schola illuſtris* of the ſame City, that he was never forbid the Exerciſe of his Miniſtery. I am not ignorant that ſome Exceptions may be alledg'd againſt his Certificates of a good Life, and it's a little ſtrange, that thoſe which *Morus* obtain'd at *Geneva* ſhould be ſo different from the Teſtimony of publick Fame: For after all, its certain, that *Milton* receiv'd Memoirs from *Geneva*, and that he produc'd (*e*) a Letter written from that City, telling, that all the World admir'd how he came to be ſo faithfully inform'd about the Conduct of Mr. *Morus*. He did not come ſhort of him in Certificates; particularly he ſays as to thoſe of *Geneva* (*f*), that they were given before thoſe who accus'd Mr. *Morus* of Adultry had formally proſecuted him. Beſides, it's well-known, that the greateſt Storm this Miniſter endur'd at *Geneva*, was rais'd ſince the time of his obtaining the Atteſtations of *January* 25. 1648; and a certain Perſon has publiſh'd (*g*), that the Magiſtrates of that City ſtifled the Depoſitions againſt Mr. *Morus* before the Conſiſtory, and commanded the Conſiſtory to give this Miniſter a Teſtimonial of good Life. But after all, there are incomparably more Exceptions to be alledg'd againſt the defamatory Reports, which ſuch an Author as *Milton* is capable of Collecting, than againſt theſe Certificates and Teſtimonials. Upon the whole, I ſhould be of Opinion, that conſidering thoſe Certificates which have been produc'd by his own Party, and the Inconveniences juſtly to be apprehended, if ſuch Accuſations as are uncertain and without judicial Proof, ſhould be preferr'd before Juſtifications drawn up in due form, that he deſerves to be ſtigmatiz'd as a publick Calumniator, except as to thoſe Facts in which he can defend himſelf by the help of ſome Authentick Acts. Particularly I am of Opinion, that the Diſtich he has inſerted in the *London Gazett*, ſhould be declar'd a Diabolical Slander. That Diſtich is in theſe Words, for I can't think (*h*) Mr. *Colomies* would have produc'd another.

Galli ex concubitu gravidam te (i) Pontia Mori,
Quis benè moratam morigeramque neget?

Milton's Hatred was inveterate enough, as appears by a Letter (*k*) he wrote to the National Synod of *Loudun*, when Mr. *Morus*'s Affair was in agitation. He believ'd, that tho' they ſhould decree nothing more than the depoſing this Miniſter, ſomething might be ſaid for that Synod which could never yet be ſaid for any other, *viz.* that it had had a happy Iſſue. *Synodo interea proteſtantium Loudunenſi, (l) propedicm, ut ſcribis, convocandæ, precor id quod nulli adhuc Synodo contigit, fœlicem exitum, non Nazianzenicum; fœlicem autem huic nunc ſatis futurum ſi nihil aliud decreverit quàm ejiciendum eſſe Morum.* This Letter is dated *December* 20. 1659; i. e. the 30th New Style. The Synod had already ſat near two Months, and yet Mr. *Milton* ſpeaks of it as an Aſſembly to come, which ſhows, that he had ſcarce any Correſpondence in *France*. In another Letter (*m*) he ſpeaks yet more harſhly of Mr. *Morus*'s Call to *Charenton*, but without naming him.

(*N*) *In the* Menagiana *which are very much to his Glory.*] "(*n*) Mr. *Morus* declar'd ſome time before "his Death, that no one had tempted him to "change his Religion ſo much as I. The Dutcheſs of *Aiguillon* order'd me to offer him in her "Name four Thouſand Livres Penſion. I communicated this Affair to Mr. *Perefix*, then Archbiſhop of *Paris* by Abbot *Gaudin*, and Mr. *Perefix* ſpoke of it to the King. Whereupon his "Majeſty ſaid, that it was not a fit time, and "that it would do hurt to Mr. *Morus*, becauſe he "was engag'd in a Difference or Suit with his "Brethren. Mr. *Morus* made Diviſions wherever "he came: This he did in *Holland* and elſewhere, "and even at *Paris*. One might compare him to "*Helena*, who kindled a War wherever ſhe came. "——(*o*) Marſhal *Grammont* having been by the "King's Order to viſit M. *Morus* in his laſt Sickneſs: The Marſhal told the King at his Return, "when he ask'd him how he did; I ſaw him die; "he died a good *Huguenot*. But one thing I can't "but pitty him for, *viz.* that he died in a Religion as much out of Faſhion now as a High-Crown'd-Hat.

(*O*) *A Fact which is not true.*] "The whole *Sorbonne* was one Day (*p*) ſurpriz'd, and there happen'd a thing very glorious for Mr. *Morus*, which "made all its Doctors bluſh, and which they "look'd on as a kind of an Enchantment. A certain Man whoſe Face was altogether unknown "to 'em, and whom they took at firſt ſight for "the Prieſt of ſome Village, being preſent at "their Diſputes, deſir'd the Profeſſor who preſided in that Aſſembly, to give him leave to "propoſe ſome Arguments; and acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he quickly gain'd the Eſteem "of all the Doctors; and becauſe this new Antagoniſt urg'd his Arguments with a terrible "Force, and beyond what was expected from him, "their Eſteem was chang'd into Admiration. But "when they ſaw that this powerful Enemy treated 'em after a hoſtile manner, and that they "could

(*a*) *See* Daillé Replique au P. Adam, 2. partie, p. 127. Colomies Biblioth. choiſ. p. 19.

(*b*) *There were ſome Copies to which Mr.* Morus *had put his Name as* Milton *ſays,* Defenſ. pro ſe, *p.* 23, 25.

(*c*) *The* Oxford *Catalogue aſcribes it to* Morus.

(*d*) Illa mihi graviter jamdudum inſenſa—nihil intentatum reliquit ut me in naſſam infauſtiſſimi matrimonii compingeret. Quod ubi fecaſit innotuiſſe vulgo, me vero palam vehementiſſimeque reluctari, *A. Iverona movebo*, inquit, *& per dam ipſum*, quâ ſæpe formulâ utitur. *Morus, Vitæ privatæ, p.* 190.

(*e*) Milt Defenſ pro ſe, p. 132.

(*f*) Ibid P 92. 141.

(*g*) Ludov. Molinæus, Paræneſi ad ædificat. P. 433.

(*h*) Bibl choiſie, p. 19.

(*i*) *This he call'd the Chamber-maid of Madam* Saumaiſe. *Mr.* Morus *without telling what her Name was, denies that* Milton *call'd her by her right Name. See* Miltoni Defenſ. pro ſe p. 164

(*k*) *It's the* 29.

(*l*) *He ſhould have ſaid* Juliodunenſi, *or* Lauſdunenſi, *&c.*

(*m*) *It's the* 24th, *and dated the* 1ſt *of* Auguſt 1657.

(*n*) Menagiana, p 153. *of the* 2d *Edit of* Holland.

(*o*) Suit du Menagiana, p. 82.

(*p*) *That's to ſay at the force of Mr* Morus's *Genius.*

The Judgment which Mr. *Chevreau* has made of the Character of Mr. *Morus*, is very agreeable to that which is given by many other good Judges of Men, and shows (*P*) at the same time, that the Things which are written to a Man, do not always resemble those which are said of him, in Letters written to other People. I shall not pass over in silence, that the illustrious Mr. *Huet* gives very great Elogiums to Mr. *Morus* in some Latin Poems which he inscrib'd to him. See p. 30, and 77, of the Poems of this learned Prelate, of the † *Utrecht* Edition 1700.

MOSYNIANS, or β MOSYNOECIANS. Thus certain Mountainers were call'd, who liv'd in γ Trees, or in the Walks δ of some Woods ζ in the Neighbourhood of the *Euxine* Sea. Their Customs were so opposite η to those of other Nations, that those things which others do privately in their Houses, they did in the Face of the World; and what others do in publick, they did in their private Recesses, not excepting the Work (*A*) of Generation from this preposterous Rule. The highest part of the Wood was the Habitation of their King, a miserable Prince, because he must determine all their Differences as a Judge, and if he happen'd to give a wrong Judgment, they made him a Prisoner upon the spot (*B*), and allow'd him no Food nor

† It's the 4th; his Notes on the Anthologia are joined to Daniel Heinsius, inhabiting Towers. See Apollonius & Strabo ubi infra.

γ Strabo l. 12 p. 548.

δ Id. ib.

ζ Pomponius Mela Bithynia, & Dionysius Periegetes, v. 795.

η Apollon. Argon. l. 2 v. 1025 &c.

" could stand against the force of his Reasons no " longer, all their Admiration and Esteem was " chang'd into Anger and Indignation; and the " Dispute grew so hot, that if he had not quickly " got out of so dangerous a Place, there was reason to fear they would have done him some Mischief. But he imitated *Jesus Christ* our great " Master, when he went out of the Temple to " shun the Snares of the Pharisees whom he came " to confound: For after he had stopp'd the " Mouths of these Pharisees of the latter Ages, " he amus'd 'em with soft Words, went out of " their Synagogue, and so left 'em. After he " had made his Escape, they order'd one of their " Scholars to follow him at a distance, and watch " where he went in, and afterwards enquire what " kind of Man this was who knew more than all " the *Sorbonne* together: But the Matter being " observ'd by him whom they so much desir'd to " know, he turn'd about to him who follow'd " him, and said only these two words *memento* " *Mori*; this made those who sent him presently " conclude, that he who had given 'em so much " Trouble, was that famous Man who is one of " the Pillars of the Church of *Charenton*, and " the Terror of the Romish Church (*a*)." This I find in a Book publish'd about a Year ago, which is worth the reading. It's now twenty five Years since I told this Story in the Presence of a Doctor of Divinity, Curate of R. a Man of Wit, and well vers'd in the Customs of his Religion. I was persuaded of the Truth of the Fact, for I had heard it told upon several Occasions by Men of good Sense; and at the Age I was then of, I scarce distrusted any thing that came from such Persons. The Doctor answer'd me, it's a pretty Story indeed, and the Conclusion is very ingenious; but assure your self it's a Romance, for they who propose Arguments against the Theses that are maintain'd in the *Sorbonne*, are always such Persons as are well known, and Graduates in the Faculty, and oblig'd to wear the Habits or Badges of their Degree. Had the Author of this Story known as much, he would have shifted the Scene.

(*a*) Panegyrique d'Alexandre Morus, imprimé à Amsterdam chez Jean du Fresne l'an 1695. p. 14, 15, 16.

(*P*) *The Judgment which Mr* Chevreau——*is very agreeable—and shows at the same time*] Read the two Letters (*i*) which he wrote to him in 1665, the one in French, and the other in Latin, and compare 'em with this Passage of his Letter to Mr. *le Fevre*: " (*c*) You know there are some who " naturally love Incense from what Hand soever " it comes, and who are so accustom'd to it, " that it's impossible to please, unless one has " always a Censer in his Hand. This is a failing " that deserves to be pitty'd; but it's a human " Failing; besides, that the profound Attainments " of (*d*) our Friend in human Learning and an exact Knowledge of the Greek, and of all the Oriental Tongues, do justly render him consi " derable, and distinguish him from so many o- " thers who resemble him only in his Defects. " That which pleas'd me in the frequent Conversations we had together, was, that he always " told me sincerely he thought himself infinitely " below Mr. *Daillé*, whom he believ'd to be a " more solid Divine than your-self. But with- " al, a certain *Proposant*, whom you know lately " assur'd me, that Mr *Morus* was preferr'd before " Mr. *Daillé* by the general Voice of the World, " that his fantastick Turn of Imagination and " Freaks of Fancy, please People much more by " their Novelty, than the Eloquence of Mr. " *Daillé*, who was fit to be his Master——(*e*) " But what I fear is, that he'll be intoxicated by " these extraordinary Applauses, that he has not " the power to offer the least Violence to his " free Humour, and that he will not hear his " Inclination —— without any regard to his " Character, his Reputation, or his Fortune." Mr. *Morus*, says he (*f*), in another Letter, " has a " deal of Wit and Learning, but little Religion " or sound Judgment. He's Indiscreet, Ambitious, Restless, Changeable, Bold, Presumptuous and Wavering. He understands Latin, " Greek, Hebrew and Arabick, but does not understand human Life.

(*b*) Oeuvres mêlées de Mr. Chevreau, p. 40. & 50.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 48.

(*d*) That's to say, Mr Morus.

(*A*) *Not excepting the Work of Generation from this preposterous Rule*] *Apollonius* had reason to compare 'em to Swine, since they were not asham'd to do the Act before the Eyes of their Neighbours

Οὐδ' (*g*) εὐνῆς αἰδῶς ἐνδημίου, ἀλλὰ συῶν ἀϊ
Φῦλα δίκην ἐρέουσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι πάντες ὅτῳ
Μίσγονται χαμάδις ξυνὸν φόλιτιν γυνὸ κεῖ
Nec cos in populo pudet actus Veneris facere in medio
populorum
Grege gallum, nihil quicquam reverita arbitros,
Hunc & in propatulo commisceri cum uxoribus corpora

(*e*) Apoll. Argon. l. 2 v. 1028 p. 243, 244

The Scholiast observes, that we must not understand this as if they joyn'd Couples in publick with all Women indifferently, but each with his own Wife. *Pomponius Mela* makes no such Distinction *Propatulo vesci*[untur], says he (*h*), PROMISCUE *concumbunt & palam*. I know not what ground the Scholiast had for this Distinction. Had he a mind to make use of the Maxim, that in doubtful Matters we should always embrace the more favourable Opinion, and pass the mildest Sentence. But the Phrases of *Apollonius* seem very clear against this Exception, and do plainly authorize the Words of *Pomponius Mela*; *Di aurus Siculus* (*i*) has given them little less Authority. Note, that we find in *Xenophon* (*k*), that the *Mosynoecians*, with whom he made a League, had a great mind to live with the Wenches that follow'd the Camp of the *Grecians*, and that publickly according to their own Custom. This inhumous Impudency has been known in (*l*) other Nations.

(*h*) Pomponius Mela l. 1 c. 19 p. m. 22.

(*i*) Diod. Siculus, l. 14 c. 31

(*k*) Xenophon. de Exped. Cyri l. 5. p. m. 329.

(*P*) *They made him a Prisoner upon the spot, and allowed him no Food nor Nourishment.*] We finding give the very Words of *Apollonius*

(*l*) Conf. Plutarch. de Vitios. Pudore & Herodot. l. 1 p. 57. Strabo l. 17 p. 1161. Justin. l. 44 c. 3. Ammian. Marcell. l. 14 c. 6. Plutarch. in Lycurgo. Aelian. Var. Hist. l. 3 c. 38. Athenaeus l. 13 c. 3. Aristot. Politic. l. 2 c. 6. Plutarch. in Apophthegm. Lacon. Aristot. Oeconom. l. 1 c. 5. Aristot. Politic. l. 7 c. 16. Plutarch. in Lycurgo. Aelian. Var. Hist. l. 3 c. 38. Athenaeus l. 13 c. 3. Aristot. Politic. l. 2 c. 6. Plutarch. in Apophthegm. Lacon. Aristot. Oeconom. l. 1 c. 5.

(*m*) Apollon. ubi supra, v. 1032.

(*n*) Pomponius Mela ubi supra.

nor Suſtenance θ. Their Kingdom was Elective, and they always kept their Prince ν in Chains and under ſtrong Guards. They liv'd upon Acorns and the Fleſh of wild Beaſts, laid Traps to catch Travellers λ, and treated Strangers very ill μ. They mark'd themſelves in ſeveral parts of their Bodies φ. Conſult *Xenophon* in the Fifth Book of the Expedition of *Cyrus* the Younger. He has given a long Account of their manner of Arming and Maintaining themſelves. He ſays, that when they were alone they Talk'd, Laugh'd and Danc'd, as if they were in a great deal of Company.

θ *Taken from* Apollonius ibid.

ν Pompon Mela, l. 1. c. 19 *See alſo* Diodorus ſiculus, l. 14. c. 31.

λ Strabo, ibid.

φ Pomp. Mela, ib.

μ Id. ib.

MOTHE LE VAYER (FRANCIS DE LA). See VAYER.

MOTTE-AIGRON (JAMES DE LA) became famous in the quality of an Author during famous Conteſt betwixt *Balzac*, and Father *Goulu*, General of the Feuillant Monks. He wrote a Preface to *Balzac*'s Letters, and was Commiſſion'd joyntly (*A*) with Mr. *Vaugelas*, to carry to Father *Goulu* a Copy of *Balzac*'s Apology, in which he treated a certain young Feuillant very harſhly. Father *Goulu* took the ſending of this Copy * as a Challenge, and immediately ſet himſelf to write againſt *Balzac* in an outrageous manner, and ſpent ſome of his ſmall Shot upon Mr. *Motte-Aigron*, particularly in ſaying that he † *was the Son of a very honeſt Apothecary, and that he commonly liv'd at* Balzac's *Table*. It's pretended, that this was in ſome meaſure violating the Laws of Hoſpitatility, ſince Father *Goulu* had more than once lodg'd at β Mr. *Motte-Aigron*'s Father's: On the other ſide, it's a Preſumption, that he knew things from the firſt Hand. Be that how it will, he exaſperated his Man moſt bitterly, and occaſion'd ſome one's informing the Publick in the Dedication of a Book, that the pretended Apothecary of Father *Goulu* was *Abraam Aigron*, Eſquire, Counſellor to the King, and Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms of *Angouleſme*. This Epiſtle Dedicatory is not ill written γ; but being in Latin, and prefix'd to the Anſwer which *Motte-Aigron* wrote in French to Father *Goulu*, there's an Affectation in it which only ſerv'd to beget a diſlike of the grand Elogiums which the Author very liberally beſtows on his Father, and which he turns in ſuch a manner, as might moſt effectually remove all ſuſpicion of Pharmacy. Nor ſatisfy'd with touching this Matter in the Preamble, he informs us δ in the Body of the Book, that *his Great Grandfather having accompanied* Henry II. *in his Journey to* Germany, *was one of the chief Captains which the King left* in *Metz*, and one of thoſe who defended that Place with great Bravery againſt *Charles* V. He adds, that his Great Grandmother *Catherine de la Rovde* was of as noble a Houſe as any in her Country, and that his *Great Uncle by the Mother's ſide, had the Honour to be Secretary of the King's Edicts, and Principal Miniſter to* Margaret *ſince Wife of* Henry Albret *King of* Navarre. Father *Goulu* had already chang'd his Note, ſince before the publiſhing of this Book, he had ſaid ζ, *that Mr.* La Motte-Aigron *was too honeſt a Gentleman to deny*, &c. Let any one that pleaſe conſider whether this be equivalent to a fair Retraction: I don't think it is. And I have heard ſome ſay, that the Father of Mr. *Motte-Aigron* had been really an Apothecary at firſt, but better'd his Condition by buying the place of a Commiſſioner of the Taxes, and at laſt became Mayor of *Coignac* in *Angoumois*. Mr. *Malleville* has given a hint of this in an *Epigram* (*B*) which never was inſerted in the Collection

* *Preface to the ſecond Part of the* Lettres de Phillarque & 1. *Letter of the* 2 *part.*

† Lettre 13. de Phyllarque 1. partie.

β LaMotte-Aigron, Reponſe à Phyllarque, p. 318, 322. *See the Article* Goulu (Jean) *R mark N.*

γ *See among the Letters of* Balzac, *that which he wrote in* 1622 *to* LaMotte-Aigron, *where he compliments him highly, eſpecially on his fine Latin.*

δ *Page* 306, 307.

ζ *Preface to the* 2d *part of the* Lettres de Phillarque.

in the Collections of *Stobæus*. *Mela verba illa* ad famem illo die, *pro* illius diei *accepit*. *At Apollonii enarratores contra intelligunt, eo ipſo die quo contra jus pronunciaverit in carcerem trudi, quoad fame pereat, citanque ſuæ expoſitionis aſſertores Ephorum & Nymphodorum. Addo ego aſtipulari interpretibus Apollonii, Nicolaum de moribus gentium referente Joanne Stobæo* (*a*). The whole Paſſage of the Scholiaſt is this: Ἴσως δὲ ἔφορος καὶ νυμφόδωρος περὶ τούτων, ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀδικόν τι πείναντα, ἐγκλείσοι καὶ λιμαγχονῆσαι. I have related this on purpoſe to ſhow, that the Critick ſtrains his Privileges a little too far; for it's not true, that the Scholiaſt gave the Explication of *Pintian* to the Words of the Text, and afterwards proved it by the Authority of *Ephorus* annd *Nymphodorus*; for he only cites what theſe two Authors ſay, I am therefore of *Pintian*'s Opinion, and find that *Iſaac Voſſius* has refuted it pitifully. He ſuppoſes (*b*), that the *Moſynæcians* condemn'd their King for ſlighter Faults to faſt a Day, and that for greater Faults they condemn'd him to die of Hunger. He gives this (*c*) as the true ſenſe of the Words of *Apollonius*, and maintains they were well interpreted by *Pomponius Mela*. *Interpretatio Melæ*, adds he, *ut facilior ita quoque melior*. This is ſtrange! *Apollonius* would have inform'd us of the Diſtinction which this People made between the ſmall and the greater Offences of their Prince. He would inform us, that for the former the Prince was to faſt a whole Day, and for the latter to be famiſh'd to Death; and yet there ſhan't be the leaſt Phraſe or Word in his Relation which inſinuates any ſuch Diſtinction. *Pomponius Mela* ſhall be ſaid to have given the ſenſe of *Apollonius* faithfully, and yet he ſhan't ſay a Syllable of the Puniſhment of the greater Faults. He ſhall dwell on Characters the leaſt diſadvantageous to the Nation, which *Apollonius* intended to defame; he ſhall be wholly ſilent with regard to ſuch Matters as might render it the moſt odious of any: In a word, there ſhan't be a hint in any Expreſſions of his of the leaſt Footſteep of the Diſtinction in queſtion. What Man alive can digeſt this? What does *Iſaac Voſſius* take his Readers to be? A thouſand ſuch Faults might be found in the beſt Writers, if one would take the pains to examine their Books rigorouſly.

Note, that it muſt be granted, that *Apollonius* expreſſes himſelf very confuſedly, which occaſion'd *Pomponius Mela*'s Miſtake. I wonder *Diodorus Siculus* ſays nothing of this Law, who obſerves, that theſe Barbarians (*d*) ſhut up their Prince all his Life in the Dungeon of their chief City.

(*a*) Pintianus, Caſtigat. in Pomponium Melam, p. m. 37.

(*b*) Iſaacus Voſſius in Melam, p. m. 164.

(*c*) Hic quidem videtur ſenſus eſſe verborum Apollonii quæ recte interpretatus eſt Mela, licet contrarium exiſtiment Pintianus aliique viri magni. *Id. ib.*

(*d*) Locus iſte aliorum caſtellorum veluti caput & primaria regionis arx, fuit: in cujus parte editiſſima rex aulam habebat. Patrius autem hic mos pro lege erat, ut per totam inibi vitam rex ſubſiſtens mandata populis inde diſtribuerit. *Diodor. Siculus, l. 14 c. 31. p. m. 592.*

(*A*) *Joyntly with Mr.* Vaugelas. Father *Goulu* in the Preface to the ſecond part of his Letters, ſays, that he who accompanied *Motte-Aigron* was the Prior of *Chives*; (there are ſome Letters to this Prior among thoſe of *Balzac*) but *Motte-Aigron* informs (*e*) us, that he with whom he went to make a viſit to Father *Goulu* was Mr. *Vaugelas*.

(*B*) *In an Epigram which never was inſerted.*] *Sorel* having obſerv'd (*f*), that *Motte-Aigron to ſhow where the Buſineſs ſtuck with thoſe who underſtood ſomething of the matter, and to create a great Opinion of his Family, dedicated his Book to his Father in a Latin Epiſtle with very high Titles*; adds theſe Words: *If it were proper in this place we ſhould ſet down the Epigram which Mr.* Malleville *made upon this occaſion; but ſome Officers of* France *being concern'd in it too, 'twould look like inſulting their Misfortunes in the preſent juncture of Affairs.* As for me who know not what this juncture might mean, and who believe it by

(*e*) Reponſe à Phyllarque, p. 299.

(*f*) Bibliotheque Françoiſe, p. 132. de la 2 edit.

Collection of his Poems. I cannot diſcover what became (C) of our Author, after the publiſhing his Anſwer in 1628, or what became of the Deſign he ſeem'd to have, after he had humbled the General of the *Feuillants*, of retrieving the Fruits of his Labours which a Fire had deſtroy'd. Thoſe Labours of his § concern'd the Hiſtory of *Spain*, and ſome other Matters. It belongs to thoſe who write the *Bibliotheque* of *Angoumois*, to inform us about 'em.

§ See his Epiſtle Dedicatory.

I ſaw a Book ſome Days ago, in which it is affirm'd, that the pains *Motte-Aigron* took in Writing againſt *Phyllarchus*, and in favour of *Balzac*, was the Seed of ſome Animoſities between him and the latter, for *Balzac* would fain (D) have been thought the true Author of the Book which appear'd under the Name of *Motte-Aigron*.

MOUGNE (Robert) publiſh'd in 1616 * a Book entit'led, *The Cloſet of a Chriſtian Widow, containing Prayers and Meditations upon divers Subjects of the Holy Scripture*, and dedicated it *to the moſt Prudent and Virtuous Lady* Benigne de Rabutin, *Baroneſs of* Huban, *Lady of* Eſpeville *and* Brinon. She informs us in the Epiſtle Dedicatory dated at *Blois, July* 7. 1615, that ſhe had been a *Widow twenty ſix Years*. After this Epiſtle we find a Sonnet *to Madamoiſelle* du Cheſne Belon *my Mother, upon her Cloſet of a Chriſtian Widow*. *Nicolas Vignier*, a Miniſter of the Holy Goſpel, is Author of this Sonnet, and informs us, that the *immortal Pen* of the Husband of our *Mougne deſcribes in his learned Writings the Virtues of that Woman*. She was of the Reform'd Religion, and ſhows in her Book a judicious Piety, nouriſh'd with the good Juice of the Word of God. The Lady *Rubutin*, whom ſhe calls *a rare Patron of Piety, Chaſtity and Charity, and one who may ſerve as a Pattern to all Chriſtian Widows*, was alſo of the Reform'd Religon.

* At Paris by Antoine Joallin in 16

MUCIA

by this time intirely over, I ſhall make no ſcruple to ſet down that Epigram, which is as follows:

Objet du mepris de Goulu,
Que ton inſolence eſt publique;
Depuis que ton pere eſt Elu,
Et qu'il a fermé ſa boutique:
Mais bien que cette qualité,
Si l'on en croit ta vanité,
N'en trouve point qui la ſeconde;
Il n'en eſt pourtant pas ainſi:
C'eſt un beau titre en l'autre monde;
Mais on s'en moque en celui-ci.

(g) Menagiana, p. 132. de la 1. edit. de Holl.

Since the writing of this Article, a Book (g) has happen'd to fall into my Hands in which theſe Verſes are to be found.

(b) *It's the* 37th *of the* 6th *Book of fol. Edition.*

(C) *What became of our Author.*] I only know by a Letter of (b) *Balzac*, dated *July* 29th 1634, that *Motte-Aigron* was Married at *Rochel*, that he had ſome Place in the Government, and that there was ſome Quarrel between them two. The *Menagiana* (i) informs us, that he was a Lawyer in the Preſidial Court of *Rochel*.

(i) *Pag.* 131.

(D) Balzac *would fain have been thought the true Author.*] You may ſee the particular Account of all this in theſe Words of *Javerſac*: "(a) Notwithſtanding this, I was ſenſible how grievouſly he had "provok'd me by his Demand and Manner of Proceeding: Which I thought the leſs ſtrange, when "I conſider'd after what manner he had treated Mr. "*Motte-Aigron*, whom the ſtricteſt Bonds, with which "Nature unites the Minds of two Brothers, had "link'd to his Fortunes: The Obligation of a Thouſand good Offices which his frank Kindneſs had "laid him under, the Innocence of all his Actions "from their firſt Acquaintance to this preſent "Time, were not ſo conſiderable with him as his "own Vanity. After they had communicated to one "another their deſign of Writing againſt *Phyllarchus*, and *Balzac* had taken to himſelf the larger "Field of Matter, as being the more barren Genius, and more concern'd than the other; he was "not ſatisfy'd with having more than a Year's "Leiſure and Liberty to advance his Work, while "his Friend was all that time forc'd to dance Attendance to his Judges, upon a Proſecution of "which he was honourably acquitted by the "Court: But would needs for ſeveral Reaſons ſuppreſs a Book, which after this Suit was over his "Friend had leiſure enough to get to the Preſs. He "does well in order to Monopolize the Title of "Eloquent, to hinder all others from Writing, for "if he deſigns to be a Nonpareil, it muſt be where "no one is found with whom he may be compared. I'm apt to think him capable of acting "like that crafty Maſter Poet who put to Death "the moſt ingenious of his Scholars, for fear "they ſhould excel him in his Art. He's ſo jealous of the Glory even of his Friends, that he "never would confeſs that Mr. *Motte-Aigron* wrote "the Preface to his Letters, it being a kind of "Death to him that any one ſhould ſhare in the "Glory of that Work: And even at this Day I am "certain, that by an ungrateful and vain Impoſture he endeavours obliquetly to inſinuate; "that as to the Book which is now expected, Mr. "*La Motte* is only the Godfather who gave it a "Name, but that he himſelf is the true Father. "Which I know to be ſo much the more falſe, as "I am aſſured that Mr. *la Motte* has broke off all "Correſpondence with Mr. *Balzac*, and rejoices "in being diſoblig'd by him, that he might have "a juſt Reaſon to ſhun him, and grow wiſe at the "Coſt of his Apologiſt (l), whoſe Reputation he "had blaſted, which was eſteem'd much greater than his own." Mr. *Motte-Aigron*'s Preface may ſerve for ſome Proof of this Narrative; thus he begins it: (c) *The Advice that's come to me from ſeveral Hands, that tho' this Book is not extraordinary, yet ſome would aſſigne it another Maſter according to their fancy, obliges me to inform you, that this Adventure is wholly mine, and there is nothing here of a* Roger *who fights under the Arms of* Leo; *Tho' I can't indeed ſufficiently commend the Complaiſance of thoſe who ſuffer Children to be Fathered upon them, and am even raviſh'd with their good Nature; yet I don't find I have Generoſity enough to be of their Principle, nor can I endure that any one ſhould make Books for me. I cannot ſo far command my Fancy, as to perſuade my ſelf, that a Work of this kind is really mine; nor ſhould I make more Conſcience of taking another Man's Goods, than of receiving Benefits of this Nature.* The Concluſion of this Preface is of the ſame ſtrain with the Beginning, for it contains what follows. *But to return to what concerns me, altho' it be very true, that I have not led ſuch a Life, but that I have known, and among them, even ſome who underſtand the Art of writing Books, yet be it known to you, that as to what concerns the framing of this Work, they are as much Strangers to me as they who live in the furthermoſt Part of the World; or, as thoſe were for whom who paſs'd on the Opinion of ſome for the Preface of the Book, which I have order'd to be taken to the end of this Diſcourſe.* This is ſpoken like a Candid Perſon; none but the meaneſt ſpirited Creature would paſs for the Author of a Book he had never wrote. It's a vain Excuſe to ſay they have ſo ardent a Paſſion of Glory, that they would act in it by Adoption, when they cannot by Generation; for ſuch a Deſire of Glory betrays a meanneſs of Spirit. The *Cuſtodino*'s of a Biſhoprick have leſs of the Poltron than the *Cuſtodino*'s of a Book. Theſe latter are guilty of willful Cuckoldom; let 'em ſay as much as they pleaſe, that it's only a Cuckoldom in the Commonwealth of Wit; it's nevertheleſs a Blot, it's a ſhameful Thing

(a) Javerſac, diſcours d'Ariſtarque à Calidoxe, p. 158, & ſuiv.

(b) *See the Remark D. of the Article* Balzac.

(c) La Motte-Aigron, avertiſſement au lecteur dans ſa Reponſe à Phyllarque. *See the Remark D. of the Article* Balzac.

(d) *That's to ſay, the Preface to* Balzac's *Letters.*

(l) And

MUCIA the Wife of *Pompey*, was the * third Daughter of *Quintus Mutius Scevola*, and the Siſter (*A*) of *Quintus Metellus Celer*. She committed Adultery ſo openly, that her Husband was forc'd to diſmiſs her, although he had had three Children † by her. 'Twas during the War againſt *Mithridates*, wherein he gain'd ſo much Glory, that *Mucia* was debauch'd. When firſt he heard this ill News, he was not much mov'd at it; but as he came nearer *Italy*, he conſider'd with a ſedate Judgment the Importance of this Diſhonour, and was ſo diſturb'd at it, that he ſent his Wife a Bill of Divorce ‡. People remark'd (*B*), that Providence by this Diſaſter deſign'd to give a Counterpoiſe to the Glory he had lately acquir'd. He complain'd of *Julius Cæſar* (*C*) as the debaucher of *Mucia*, and was wont, not without ſighing, to call him his *Ægyſthus*, in alluſion to the Gallant of *Clytemneſtra*, the Wife of *Agamemnon*; nevertheleſs he made an Alliance with him ſome time after. The intereſt of (*D*) his Ambition extinguiſh'd all Thoughts of a juſt Reſentment. He was expos'd to the bittereſt Reproaches ¢ on this Score. *Mucia* quickly found another Husband, for ſhe Married *Marcus Scaurus*, and had Children by him. *Pompey* was a little diſguſted at this new Husband: He took it ill that any one ſhould ſlight (*E*) his Judgment to ſuch a degree. *Auguſtus* γ made uſe of this *Mucia*, to diſſuade *Sextus Pompeius* her Son from joining with *Mark Anthony* againſt him, and to win him over to his own Party againſt *Mark Anthony*. No doubt he had a very great Reſpect for her, ſince after the Battle of *Actium* δ, he gave *Marcus Scaurus* this

* Aſconius Pedianus in argum. orat. Ciceronis pro Scauro, p. m. 17.

† *See the words of* Suetonius *in the Remark C.*

‡ Plut. in Pompeio, p. 641.

¢ *See the Remark C.*

γ Dio. l. 48. p. m. 418. ad ann. 714.

δ Id lib. 51. p 508.

(*A*) *And the Siſter of* Quintus Metellus Celer.] *Cicero* informs us of this in a Letter he wrote to *Metellus*. *Ego cum Claudia*, ſays he (*e*), *uxore tua, & cum veſtra ſorore Mucia, cujus erga me ſtudium pro Cn. Pompeii neceſſitudine multis in rebus perſpexeram, ut eum* (*f*) *ab illa injuria deterrerem.* This Paſſage ſhows, that Q. *Metellus Celer*, and Q. *Metellus Nepos* were Brothers to *Mucia*, i. e. according to *Manutius* (*g*), her Couſin-Germains, or her Brothers by the Mothers ſide. The laſt Opinion ſeems to me moſt probable. I believe the Mother of *Mucia* Married *Quintus Mutius Scevola*, after ſhe had by *Quintus Metellus Nepos* the two Brothers I have now mention'd. See below a Paſſage of *Dion*.

(*e*) Cicero epiſt 2. l. 5. ad famil. p. 229, 230.

(*f*) *That's to ſay*, Quintus Metellus *Couſin-German to him whom* Cicero *writes to.*

(*g*) Manutius in Cicero. epiſt. 2. l. 5. ad famil.

(*B*) *People remark'd, that Providence by this Diſaſter deſign'd to give a Counterpoiſe.*] *Plutarch* has made this Obſervation: "So that now by all theſe Acts, "*ſays he* (*h*), *ſpeaking of* Pompey, he well hop'd to "return into *Italy* in the greateſt Splendor and "Glory of any mortal Man, having likewiſe a "paſſionate deſire to be ſeen of his Family, where "he thought he was equally deſir'd: But that "God, whoſe Providence and Charge it is always "to mix ſome Ingredient of Evil even with the "greateſt and moſt glorious Goods of Fortune, "had privily provided a bitter Pill at home "for him, whereby to make his Return more "ſorrowful; for *Mucia* during his Abſence had "diſhonour'd his Bed: Whilſt he was abroad at "a diſtance, he gave little heed to the Report; "but when he drew nearer to *Italy*, where the "Report grew warmer, and that his Thoughts "were at leiſure to muſe upon the Crime and Re-"proach, then he ſent her a Bill of Divorce; but "neither then in Writing, nor afterwards in Diſ-"courſe, did he ever give a Reaſon why he diſ-"charged her, but the Cauſe is mention'd in *Ci-*"*cero's Epiſtles.*" Hence we learn, that *Plutarch*'s Memory was rather Vaſt than Faithful. He remember'd that *Cicero* had writ ſomething about the Divorce of *Mucia*, and that not without ſome Praiſes of *Pompey*'s Conduct. Upon the Credit of his Memory, and without ever conſulting *Cicero*'s Letters, he affirm'd, that the Cauſes of this Divorce were to be found in them: But there he was miſtaken, and if we had all the Authors the other has alledg'd, we ſhould find him very often guilty of the like Faults. All that *Cicero* ſays is this: *Divortium Muciæ ſatis commode probatur* (*a*). This is found in a Letter written in the Year of *Pompey*'s Triumph; *i. e.* in the Year of *Rome* 692.

(*h*) Dio, ubi infra.

(*a*) Cicero epiſt 12. l. 1. ad Atticum, p. 67.

(*C*) *He complains of* Julius Cæſar *as the Debaucher of* Mucia.] *Suetonius* having nam'd ſeveral Women whom *Cæſar* lov'd, ends with *Mucia*, and expreſſes himſelf thus: *Etiam Cn. Pompeii Muciam. Nam certè Pompejo & à Curionibus patre & filio, & à multis exprobratum eſt quòd ejus cauſſa poſt tres liberos exegiſſet uxorem, & quem genetrix Ægyſthum appellare conſueſſet, ejus poſtea filiam potentiæ cupiditate in matrimonium recepiſſet.*

(*c*) Μέτελλον ὃν ὠνόμαζε τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦτον παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχων, ἀπεπέμψατο, καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἀλλα. πραξεν.

Metellus vero Pompejo iratus qui ejus ſororii, ſuſceptis etiam ex ea liberis nuntium remiſiſſet, in omnibus ei actionibus obſtitit. *Dio. l. 37. p. 58 ad ann. 693.*

(*d*) Plutarch. in Cæſare, p. 713. *See alſo in* Pompeio, p 644.

(*D*) *The Intereſt of his Ambition extinguiſh'd.*] Men of the greateſt Courage act upon ſeveral Occaſions like the greateſt Cowards. They forget the moſt ſtinging Reproaches, provided their ambitious Deſigns make it their Intereſt to be reconcil'd. *Pompey* at his Return from the War of *Mithridates* (*b*), would have all his Conduct approv'd and ratified, and Lands diſtributed to his Soldiers: This ſhew'd he had vaſt Deſigns in his Head. He got two Perſons choſen Conſuls, from whom he expected the greateſt Favour: But he was miſtaken; the one, *viz. Afranius*, was better at Dancing than any thing elſe; the other, *viz. Metellus Celer* (*c*), reſenting the Divorce of his Siſter *Mucia*, oppos'd him in all Things and in all Places. Thus *Pompey* having obtain'd nothing, and finding his Credit declining, form'd a League with *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*, which was the curſed Source of the Overthrow of the State. Here for the moſt part we find the firſt Link of the greateſt Revolutions; trace 'em to their Original Cauſe, and you come up to Adultry at laſt. If *Mucia* had been an honeſt Woman *Cæſar* had not lain with her; nor had *Pompey* divorc'd her: If he had not divorc'd her, *Metellus Celer* would have continu'd his Friend; if he had been his Friend, *Pompey* would ne're have joyn'd in a League with *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*; a deadly Aſſociation, as *Cato* (*d*) wiſely foretold. New Marriages were projected in order to cement the League. *Cæſar* who had promis'd his Daughter to *Servilius Cepio*, broke his Word, choſe *Pompey* for his Son-in-Law, and gave *Servilius* hopes of *Pompey*'s Daughter, although ſhe was deſign'd for *Sylla*'s Son. *Piſo*'s Daughter was Married to *Cæſar*, which procur'd *Piſo* the Conſulſhip. Then it was that *Cato* could not refrain crying out againſt this kind of bawding, againſt this baſe bartering Dignities for a Petticoat. "(*e*) Ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ σφόδρα μαχλυομένων Κάτων, καὶ βοῶν, ὡς ἀνεκὸν εἴναι, γάμοις διαμασχοπουμένης τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ διὰ γυναίων εἰς ἀπραξίας καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ δυνάμεις ἀλλήλας ἀνθισουμένων. *Quo tempore palàm teſtatus eſt Cato, clamavitque rem indignam eſſe, at adderetur nuptiarum lenocinis imperium, ac per mulieres mutuo ſe ad provincias, imperia, exercitus provecherent.*

(*b*) Plutarch *in Life of* Pompey. p. 144. *Engliſh Tranſlation.*

(*c*) Id. ib p. 714. *A.*

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 675.

(*E*) *He took it ill that any one ſhould ſlight his Judgment.*] And made *Scaurus* feel the Effects of his Indignation (*f*) when he was accus'd of Extortion in the Year of *Rome* 690. *Scaurus* (*g*) had a great Confidence in *Pompey*'s Favour; for he had a Son who was Brother by the Mother's ſide to *Pompey*'s Sons; this was the Foundation of his Hope. But he was deceiv'd, for *Pompey* did him no manner of Service. He was leſs ſenſible of the Relation of Conſanguinity between his Sons, and thoſe of the Perſon accus'd, than of the Affront put upon him by *Scaurus*'s expreſſing a great Eſteem for a Woman he had diſgrac'd. I ſay nothing here but what I have read in an ancient Writer, and what is probable enough (*h*) *In eo judicio neque Pompejus prop.ſum adjutorium præbuit, videbatur enim apud animum ejus non minus offenſionis contraxiſſe, quod jud.cium ejus in Mutiam, crimine impudicitiæ accuſatam, levius ferſſe exiſtimaretur, cum eam ipſe probaſſet, quam gratiæ acqui neceſſitudo is*

(*f*) Aſconius Pedianus in argum. Orat. Cicer. pro Scauro, p. 168.

(*g*) Id. ib. p. 172.

(*h*) Id. ib.

this Lady's Son his Life, and ſhew'd him ſo much Clemency purely on *Mucia*'s account. This ſhows, that moſt great Lords in all Ages have look'd upon Cuckeldom as a Diſgrace only among Citizens,—and that the Ladies who loſe their good Name, do not therefore loſe their good Fortune and Credit. I ſhall obſerve by the by, that *Pompey* was not (*F*) happy in his Marriages.

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(*i*) Ἐξελαυνομένης τῆς Ἀντιστίας ἀτίμως καὶ ἀνικήτως Expellitur Antiſtia ignominioſe miſereque. *Plut. in Pompeio, p.* 613. *B.*

(*k*) *Taken from* Plutarch, ib.

(*l*) Plut. ib p 644.

(*m*) Id. ib. p. 647. B. *You'll alſo find theſe words there, p.* 644. E. Ταχὺ μὲντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαλακίσθη τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔρωτι καὶ προσετίθει ἐκείνην πολλὰ καὶ συνδιημέρευεν ἐν ἀγρεῖς καὶ κήποις, ἡμέλει δὲ τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν πραττομένων. Brevi tamen ipſe quoque uxoris juvenculæ emollitus eſt amore, ac ferè aſſiduus cum ea ruri, & in hortis egit. Poſtmiſit etiam negotia forenſia

(*n*) Ex Plutarch. ib. p 647.

(*o*) Id in Cæſare, p 719 C.

(*p*) Id in Pompeio, p. 644.

(*q*) Id ib. p 659. A.

neceſſitudinis jure, quod ex eadem uterque liberos haberet) neque Cato ab æquitate ea, qua & vitam ejus, & magiſtratum illum decebat, quoquam deflexit.

(*F*) Pompey *was not very happy in his Marriages*] He had had five Wives; the firſt was call'd *Antiſtia*; he divorc'd her much againſt his Will, to comply with *Sylla* the Dictator, who would have him Marry *Æmilia* the Daughter of *Scaurus* and of *Metella*, who was then the Wife of *Sylla*. *Æmilia* had been Married before, and was big with Child; ſo that *Pompey* took her to Wife in pure Obedience to the imperious Will of the Dictator. He did not in his Mind approve the forcing away *Æmilia* big with Child from her own Husband, and the Obligation this muſt lay him under of divorcing *Antiſtia* (*i*), whoſe Father had been kill'd purely on a ſuſpicion that he favour'd the Party of *Sylla* for *Pompey*'s ſake. The Mother of *Antiſtia* kill'd her ſelf upon hearing the Tragical End of her Husband. *Pompey* did not live long with *Æmilia*, for ſhe died in lying in of that Child (*k*) which ſhe was big of when ſhe Marry'd *Pompey*. He afterwards Marry'd *Mucia*, and after her Divorce *Julia* the Daughter of *Cæſar*, who was to have (*l*) Married *Scipio* in a few Days. Whether he really lov'd (*m*), or was tenderly belov'd by her, he never would ſtir from her: He amus'd himſelf in going about with her from Place to Place, and ſhowing her the fine Seats of *Italy*, without concerning himſelf in any Affairs. This effeminate Life did him hurt and expos'd him to Calumny. But it did not laſt very long. One Day at an Aſſembly of the People, a Murder happen'd to be committed near him, and ſome of the Blood having ſprang upon the Cloaths he wore, he was oblig'd to ſend for others. *Julia* happening to ſee 'em all bloody in the Hands of his Servants, was ſo ſtruck, that ſhe ſwooned away and Miſcarried upon it. Some time after ſhe was big with Child again, and died in Child-birth of a Daughter (*n*), which liv'd but a few Days (*o*). At laſt he Married *Cornelia*; and tho' ſhe was a Perſon of great Merit, he had the Mortification to hear, that this Marriage was much condemned. Here follows a Citation out of *Plutarch*, which is very curious: "(*p*) No ſooner did *Pompey* return into the City, "but he Married *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, not a Virgin but a Widow, the late "Relict of *Publius*, (the Son of *Craſſus*) who died "in *Parthia*, and with whom ſhe cohabited from "her Virginity: This Lady, beſides the Charms "of her Beauty, had many attractive Qualities "from her Education; for ſhe was learned e-"nough in moſt Sciences, play'd well upon the "Lute, was ſkill'd in Geometry, and took great "Pleaſure in hearing Diſcourſes of Philoſophy; "to theſe may be added, her Graces in Morality, "and in this ſhe was extreamly commendable, "that her Humour was free from Peeviſhneſs "and Curioſity, Vices very common to Ladies "of ſuch liberal Endowments. Her Father alſo "was very conſiderable, as well in the Honour "of his Family, as that of his own Virtues; "however, theſe unequal Marriages were not ve-"ry pleaſing to ſome ſort of People; for *Cornelia*'s "Age was more agreeable with that of *Pompey*'s "Son than his own: But the wiſer ſort thought "the Concerns of the City quite neglected, "when he (to whom alone they had committed "their broken Fortunes, and from whom alone, "as from their Phyſician, they expected a Cure "to theſe Diſtractions) went crown'd with Gar-"lands, and was revelling in his Nuptial Feaſts: "Never conſidering, that this Conſulſhip was a "publick Calamity, which would never have "been given him contrary to the Rules of Law, "had his Country been in a flouriſhing State." This illuſtrious Lady (*q*) repented ſhe did not execute the Reſolution ſhe had taken to kill her ſelf when ſhe was bereft of her firſt Husband. She repented, I ſay, when ſhe ſaw *Pompey* in a forlorn Condition on the Coaſt of *Mytilene*, after the Battle of *Pharſalia*. She had been left in this City during the War, and there receiv'd ſo good News (*r*) of the Battel of *Dyrrachium*, that ſhe thought it deciſive, and expected to hear of nothing after but her Spouſe's purſuing *Cæſar*. The Loſſes of the Enemy were magnified to Flatter and Cheer her according to Cuſtom. Judge of the Grief and Diſtraction this poor Lady was in, when ſhe ſaw her Husband flying to the Iſle of *Lesbos* in a borrowed Ship (*s*). She was his faithful Companion (*d*) in his flight as far as *Ægypt*, and having recover'd his Aſhes, ſhe buried them (*t*) on Mount *Alba*. But this Faithfulneſs was by accident that which deſtroy'd him, for if ſhe had not follow'd him, he had fled to the Country of the *Parthians*, and not into *Ægypt*, where he was ſlain. 'Tis ſaid, that the only thing which made him change his Deſign of going towards *Euphrates*, was a fear of the Diſhonour to which the Beauty and Youth of *Cornelia* might expoſe her among a laſcivious People. He was ſo nice upon this Head, that he could not bear even the moſt groundleſs Surmiſe. Thus ſhows that he was not very happy in his laſt Marriage, and that a Young and Beautiful Wife is not the beſt Fellow-Traveller (*f*). Be that how it will, you'll be pleas'd to find here this Paſſage of *Plutarch*: "(*g*) but "*Theophanes* the *Lesbian* thought it madneſs to leave "*Ægypt*, (that was but a Voyage of three Days "ſailing) and forſake *Ptolomy*, (who was juſt come "of Age, and highly oblig'd to him for that "Friendſhip and Favour which he had lately ſhewn "to his Father) only to put himſelf under the *Par-*"*thian*, and truſt the moſt treacherous Nation in "the World: Or what is worſe, to ſubject himſelf "to the Tyranny of *Ariſtus* the King of *Parthia*, "and make him his Lord, (a Power which he "was not able to compaſs in the Life-time of "*Craſſus*) rather than try the Clemency of a ge-"nerous *Roman*, and one that had been his Fa-"ther-in-Law, to whom if he would but yield "to be Second, he might aſſure himſelf to be the "firſt and chief over all the reſt: Beſides, he "thought it would be great Cruelty to expoſe a "young Lady, deſcended from the noble Family "of the *Scipio*'s, among ſuch a barbarous People, "who govern by their Luſts, and meaſure their "Greatneſs by their Power to commit Affronts "and Inſolences; from whom, though ſhe ſuffer "no Diſhonour, yet it would be thought ſhe did, "being in the Hands of thoſe who had the Power "to do it: This Argument alone they ſay, "was ſo perſuaſive, as to divert his Courſe, "that was deſign'd towards *Euphrates*, if it were "ſo indeed that any Council of *Pompey*'s, and "not his own Fate, made him take this other "way.

I know not to which of theſe five Spouſes of *Pompey* what we read in *Suetonius* is to be applied. A very learned Grammarian (*t*) had for his Patrons *Pompey* and *Caius Memmius*. He carried an Aſſignation from *Memmius* to *Pompey*'s Wife. The Lady gave it her Husband, who forbad him his Houſe. All things rightly conſider'd, this ought not to be taken for good Fortune in Marriage, but rather for a Misfortune. It's a trouble to be betray'd by a learned Man whom a Body had a Kindneſs for; to be betray'd, I ſay, by a Man of Letters, and a Gentleman of one's own Family. It's far from agreeable to think, that ſuch a Man as *Caius Memmius* endeavours to debauch your Wife, writes her a *Billet-Doux*, and prejudges an Aſſignation. One's well pleas'd, that inſtead of giving him a Meeting, ſhe ſhows her Husband the Letter, and names the Bearer; but after all, 'twere better if no ſuch thing had ever happen'd: for the Imagination does not ſtop where a Man would have it. Who can ſay that ſuch Addreſſes have been always, or will always be repulſed after this manner? Who'll anſwer, that it ought not to be

(*r*) Id. ib. p 658

(*s*) Id. ib.

(*d*) Id. ib. p 659. & ſeq.

(*t*) Id ib. p. 662.

(*f*) See the Remark (*o*) of the Article Sulla

(*g*) Id ib. p 660

(*t*) Curtius Nicias hoſtis Cn. Pompeio & Cajo Memmio ſed quem cubiculo Memmii ad Pompeii uxorem deſtitutum perfuliſſet, proditus ab ea Pompeium offendit, domoque ejus ejectus eſt. Cæſar

MUNUZA, ζ a valiant Mooriſh Captain (*A*), and Governor of *Cerdaigne* for the *Saracens* who Conquer'd *Spain* in the beginning of the VIIIth Century, made a ſecret Alliance with *Eudes* Duke of *Aquitain*, to the Prejudice of theſe Conquerors. He complained that they treated the *Moors* ill: But beſides this Reaſon, which perhaps was only a Pretence for covering the Treachery which he was meditating, he had another much more powerful. He was in Love with the (*B*) Princeſs of *Aquitain* to an exceſs

ζ *Others call him* Munioz. Roderick *of* Toledo *calls him* Muniz

(*g*) Hiſtor. Sarracen. l. 1. p. m. 81.

here be ſaid, *Non amo nimium diligentes*, too much Precaution is a Trick; you diſcover one Intrigue that you may conceal others, and cover your ſelf from all Suſpicion. The Imagination, I tell you, is a ſtrange gadding thing, which turns it ſelf on every Hand when once it's rouz'd; 'twere to be wiſh'd, that it were rather lull'd to Sleep.

If any one think it ſtrange, that I bring things in here which are foreign to the Article of *Mucia*, I would have 'em know I do it, that every thing which concerns the Marriages of *Pompey* may be found together. The Article of this great Man affords ſo much Matter, that I'm oblig'd in Prudence to anticipate ſome Pieces of it to make it ſelf leſs prolix. I have elſewhere done the ſame on the like Occaſions.

(*A*) *A Mooriſh Captain.*] *Auguſtin Curio* (*i*) ſpeaks of two Gothiſh Captains, Subjects of the King of *Spain*, who favour'd the *Sarracens*, one of which was call'd *Mugnuza*, and the other *Mugnos*: The latter Lord of *Cerdania*, *Cerdaniæ Regulus*, obtain'd of the *Sarracens* the Government of ſome Neighbouring Places; and as he knew the Country, and was beſides very cruel, he did (*k*) much Miſchief to the *Spaniards*, who from the Mountains and Woods, in which they ſhelter'd, made Excurſions upon the *Sarracens*. Preſuming to make ſome Complaints, that the Treaty made by his Mediation with *Eudes* his Brother-in-Law, was not obſerv'd; he was Beſieg'd by *Abderamus*; but eſcap'd, and was afterwards taken and Beheaded. Thus, ſays my Author (*l*), did theſe Traytors to their Country periſh ſuddenly. What Confuſion is there in this Hiſtory! Some ſay, that *Munuza* was a Mahometan *Moor*, who rebell'd againſt his *Caliſe*; others, that he was a *Spaniard* and a Chriſtian, who went over to the Party of the *Sarracens*, and continu'd faithful to them, except as to ſome Complaints. *Roderick* of *Toledo* ſays (*m*), that *Muniz*, Son-in-Law of *Eudes*, put ſeveral Chriſtians to Death, and burnt the Biſhop *Anambaldus*.

(*i*) Lib. 2. p. 112.

(*k*) Contra quos exercitum duxit Mugnoces vir immaniſſimus, qui quod regionum & locorum peritus eſſet, magnis eos cladibus afflixit. *Auguſt. Curio, hiſt. Sarracen. l. 1 p. m.* 88.

(*l*) Hiſt. Arab. c. 13.

(*m*) Abreg. Chronol. tom. 1 p. m. 192. Moreri *has copy'd this Fault*

(*B*) *The Princeſs of* Aquitan.] She was the Daughter of *Eudes*; but I confeſs, I do not know how ſhe was call'd, although I have read in *Mezerai* (*n*), that her Name was *Lampagia*, and in another Author (*o*), that ſhe was call'd *Menine*, or *Numerana* (*p*). What keeps me in ſuſpence as to *Lampagia*, is the Chronicle (*q*) of the Biſhop of *Auxerre*, which gives this Name to the Daughter of another *Eudes*, the Wife of *Aimon*, King of *Savageſa*. *Contigit eo tempore* (thus ſpeaks this Chronicle) *Pipinum filium prioris Karoli Aquitaniam ex vocatione Eudonis Aquitanorum Ducis adverſus Aimonem Caſaraugaſtæ Regem perrexiſſe, qui Lampagiam ipſius Eudonis filiam in conjugium ſumpſerat, & fœdus conjugis ruperat.* 'Tis very certain, that the Author does not mean the Father-in-Law of *Munuza* in this Paſſage; for beſides, that he died ſome Years before *Pepin* ſucceeded to *Charles Martel*, no Perſon ſays, that he had ever recourſe to his Neighbour, to revenge the Injuries done his Daughter by her Husband. Here then is a *Lampagia*, who was never the Wife of *Munuza*. However, ſince there are Writers (*r*) who apply to *Eudes* the Father-in-Law of *Munuza*, the Words of the Chronicle of *Auxerre*, and which conſequently makes him the Father of *Lampagia*, it is not improbable, that by the like Error ſome have ſaid, that the Daughter which was given to the Governor of *Cerdaigne*, was call'd *Lampagia*. Thus we can diſcover nothing certain concerning the true Name of the Wife of *Munuza*. Let's now go on to the other Names given her. It's pretended (*f*), that ſhe was call'd *Menine* or *Numerana*; and ſome endeavour to prove it from Monuments in *Biſcay*, upon the Credit of which *Garibai* relates that *Eudes* had a Daughter call'd *Menina* or *Numerana*, who was the Wife of *Froila* King of the *Aſturia's*. To make ſomething of this Proof, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the Princeſs of *Aquitain* with whom the Governor of *Cerdaigne* fell in Love, was Married a ſecond time to *Froila*, King of the *Aſturia's*. And this is what they ſuppoſe. (*t*) *She was Married twice; the firſt time to* Munioz *King of* Cerdaigne, *a* Sarracen, *who revolted againſt* Iſcan Miramolin, *who under the Conduct of* Abdiramus, *his Lieutenant General in* Spain, *and of* Froila *King of the* Aſturia's, *who was then the Ally of* Miramolin, *defeated* Munioz, *who was ſlain in the Field of Battel* (*v*) *in* 747, *and left behind him this fine Widow in the power of* Abdiramus, *who deſign'd her for the Seraglio of* Iſcan—— *But King* Froila *being paſſionately in Love with her,* Miramolin *very honourably diſmiſs'd her, and* Froila *Married her*——*The* French *and* Spaniſh *Authors have therefore falſely aſſign'd two Daughters to* Eudes, *one by the Name of* Menina, *Married to* Froila, *the other by the Name of* Numerana, *Married to* Munioz; *for it is certain that it was one and the ſame Woman, who was Married ſucceſſively to theſe two Kings, whoſe Names were ſomewhat wreſted to the* Spaniſh *and* Mooriſh *Idioms, but were in reality the ſame.* This Suppoſition is founded only upon theſe Words of *Sebaſtian* of *Salamanca*. (*w*) *Numinam quandam adoleſcentuiam è Waſconum præda ſibi ſervari præcipiens* (*Froila*) *poſtea eam in regale conjugium copulans.* But who does not perceive the weakneſs of this Proof? In the firſt place, the Wife of a Governor of *Cerdaigne*, a *Moor* by Nation, and who had no *Gaſcogn* Troops in her Service, could not be a part of the Prey which was taken from the *Gaſcogns*. In the ſecond place, the Wife of this Governor was deliver'd up to *Abderamus*, who ſent her to his *Caliſe*. She was not therefore the *Numina* of *Sebaſtian* of *Salamanca*; for ſince *Froila* gave order, that this *Numina* ſhould be ſet a part for him, it's plain, that *Abderamus* had not the diſpoſal of her. It ſeems therefore probable alſo, that if he had been preſent in the Action wherein this *Numina* was taken Priſoner, *Froila* could have given no Command as to this part of the Prey. In the third place, if theſe Words, *Froila commanded, that a certain young Gentlewoman ſhould be kept for him, which was found among the Priſoners taken from the* Gaſcogns, could be explain'd after this manner, *Froila became paſſionately in Love with the Widow of the Governor of* Cerdania, *who was ſain under the Power of* Abderamus, *and had been ſent to* Miramolin, *who diſmiſs'd her very honourably, and* Froila *Married her.* If, I ſay, theſe kind of Explications were once allow'd, there's nothing but what may be found in any Words, nor would it be a hard matter at this rate to prove that Black is White. I don't here ask, whether it's probable, that any Author would treat the Daughter of a Duke of *Aquitain*, the Widow of a Governor of a Province, who was become Head of a Party, the fineſt Princeſs of her Time, in the Style of *quandam adoleſcentulam è Waſconum præda*. I do not ask this, I ſay, how reaſonable ſoever it might appear, for fear I ſhould be anſwer'd, that the Authors of that Time, wrote in a very ſimple and careleſs manner. I have ſeveral other Proofs beſides this againſt the Suppoſitions of Mr. *Audigier*. For without making much a-do, one need only conſider the Words (*u*) immediately preceding thoſe which he cites, and he may point at the place which diſcovers the Fallhood of his Pretenſions; *Vaſcones rebellantes ſuperavit atque edomuit, Numinam quandam adoleſcentulam ex Waſconum præda ſibi ſervari præcipit.us*, &c. It's manifeſt, that this Prey was taken, not when the Governor of *Cerdaigne* revolted, but when the King of *Aſturia's* puniſh'd the Rebellion of ſome of his own Subjects. Now ſince this King of *Aſturia's* could have no rebellious Subjects beyond the *Pyrenean* Mountains, with which he would have any concern, 'tis plain the *Gaſcogns* whom he quell'd, were not under the Obedience of the Duke of *Aquitain.*: How then could the Daughter of *Eudes* be a part of the Prey? The Learned *Ambroſius Morales* (*x*) has ſhown, that the *Gaſcogns* mention'd in

(*f*) Audigier, ubi ſupra, p. 245.

(*q*) *See the Extracts in the* 1 *tome* Veterum Franciæ Hiſtoricorum, *publiſh'd by the* Ducheſne

(*r*) Othenart, Not. Vaſcon. p. 367. Audigier, Orig. des François, tome 2. p. 220. *Note, that* Audigier, p. 245, *ſays quite the contrary, that* Lampagia *was the Daughter of* Hunaud *Son of* Eudes.

(*t*) Id. ibi.

(*v*) *See the following Remark.*

(*w*) Othenart, Not. Vaſcon. p. 191. *ſays, that in the Manuſcript of the College of* Navarre *at* Paris, *it's* Muniam, *and in the Printed Edition* Munimiam.

(*u*) *He has cited the Paſſage in* p. 224.

(*x*) Lib. 13. c. 17. & 25. apud Othenart, p. 192.

in

teſs of Paſſion, and knew very well, that he could not obtain her, but by making her his Queen, and by promiſing to enter into a War againſt the *Saracens*, and thereby prevent their giving *Eudes* Duke of *Aquitain* any Diverſion, while he attack'd *Charles Martel*: Love therefore was the great Principle of the Revolt of *Munuza*. He was the hardeſt Favour'd Man alive; on the contrary, the Daughter of *Eudes* was a great Beauty: Beſides, he was a *Mahometan*, whereas the Princeſs was zealous for Chriſtianity. Yet all could not hinder her being yielded to him. The Ambition of the Father prevail'd over the Reluctance of the Daughter. *Munuza* was as good as his Word, he took up Arms as ſoon as the Marriage was concluded; but with ill Succeſs. *Abderamus* the Governor * of *Spain*, puſh'd him ſo briskly, that he was forc'd to ſhut himſelf up in *Puycerda*. *Munuza* had ſome hopes of holding out here, as *Don Pelagius* had done in the Mountains of *Aſturias*; but Water beginning to fail, and he finding himſelf odious to the Inhabitants, quitted this Poſt, and endeavour'd, by Ways which he thought unknown, to retire with his Wife to the Duke of *Aquitain*. He was cloſe purſued, and grown perfectly Deſperate, in this ſad Condition, he threw himſelf headlong from the top of the Mountains †. that he might not fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies. His Head was carried to *Abderamus*; his Wife was alſo (*C*) carried to him; but *Abderamus* thinking her too beautiful for himſelf, ſent her to the *Caliſe* ζ. He choſe to make this Preſent to his Soveraign in favour of his Ambition, rather than keep her for his private Pleaſures. There's no doubt but he diſcover'd the Alliance between *Munuza* and *Eudes*, and that among other Motives, he deſign'd to chaſtiſe the Father, who had excited the Son-in-Law to riſe in Arms. Accordingly we find that no one was more alarm'd than *Eudes* at this Expedition of *Abderamus*, and that no one ſuffered ſo much as he, which may ſerve to refute thoſe who accuſe him of having invited in the *Saracens*, as I have elſewhere obſerved γ.

* Cæliphe Iſcam *had given him this Government.*

† En. 731.

ζ *See the Hiſtory of* France *by* Cordemoi, *tom.* 1 *p.* 403.

γ *In the Remark I. of the Article* Abderame.

MUSCULUS (WOLFGANGUS) one of the moſt famous Divines of the XVIth Century, was Born at *Dieuze* in *Lorrain September* the 8th 1497. His Father who was a Cooper by Trade, finding he had an Inclination to Learning, deſign'd to make him a Scholar; but the Scholar muſt provide his own Subſiſtence, that is, beg his Bread by ſinging from Door to Door. He ſung one Evening at *Veſpers* in a Convent δ of the Benedictins with ſuch ſucceſs, that they offer'd him *gratis* the Habit of the Order. He accepted the Propoſal, and was then but fifteen Years of Age. He applied himſelf hard to his Studies, and became a very good Preacher. He approv'd *Luther*'s Opinions, and maintain'd 'em ſtoutly upon all Occaſions; which made a great Impreſſion upon ſeveral of his fellow-Friers, for the greater part of the Benedictins of this Convent quitted the Habit. On the other ſide he made himſelf a great many Enemies, and was expos'd to ſeveral Dangers; but at laſt deliver'd himſelf out of theſe Broils, by making an open Profeſſion of *Lutheraniſm*. He eſcap'd to *Strasburg* towards the end of the Year 1527, and there Married in the face of the Church on the 27th of *December* of the ſame Year, *Margaret Barth*, to whom he was Contracted before he came out of the Monaſtery. Having nothing to ſubſiſt upon, he plac'd his Wife a Servant in a Miniſter's Houſe, and bound himſelf Apprentice to a Weaver, who turn'd him off about two ξ Months after. He reſolv'd to earn his Livelihood by working at the Fortifications of *Strasburg*; but the Evening before he was to begin this ſervile Work, he was inform'd that the Magiſtrates deſign'd him to Preach every *Sunday* in the Village of *Dorliſhem*. He was very glad of this, and diſcharg'd the Office with great Care, which did not oblige him to Reſidence, for he went from *Strasburg* every *Saturday* Morning, and return'd on *Munday* Morning. He lodg'd the reſt of his Time (*A*) at *Martin Bucer*'s

δ *In the Country of* Lutzelſtein.

ξ *The reaſon of this was becauſe* Muſculus *would be always diſputing with an Anabaptiſt Miniſter who lodg'd at the Weaver's.*

in this Paſſage of *Sebaſtian* of *Salamanca*, are the Inhabitants of *Alava*, *Alavenſes*. Hence we conclude, 1 That there is no probability, that the fine Widow did ever ſee *Europe* again, after ſhe ſet Foot in the Seraglio of *Caliſe Iſcham*. He was far from any Thoughts of parting with ſo ſweet a Bit in favour of *Froila*, whoſe Alliance with *Miramolin* I take to be very doubtful. 2. That the Daughter of *Eudes*, Wife to *Froila*, King of *Aſturias*, mention'd in the Monuments of *Garibai*, is different from her that was Married to *Munuza*. 3. That the *Nunina* whom *Froila* order'd to be kept for him, and whom he afterwards Married, is not the ſame with *Menina* or *Numerana*, the Daughter of *Eudes*, who was the Wife of *Froila*, according to the Monuments of *Garibai*. 4. That without giving our ſelves too much trouble to reconcile *Garibai* and *Sebaſtian* of *Salamanca*, it will be beſt to ſay, that one of the two was miſtaken, and in all Caſes to prefer the latter before the former. *Catel* obſerves (*e*), that *the Name* of the Daughter of *Eudes* Married to *Munios* Lord of *Cerdaigne*, is not known.

(*e*) Hiſt. du Languedoc, p. 525.

(*C*) *His Wife was alſo carried to him*] Here are two expreſs Paſſages to this purpoſe (*d*), the firſt of *Roderick* of *Toledo*, the ſecond of *Iſidore* of *Badajos*. *Viri exercitus caput Muniz præcipitio jam colliſum cæde ſecunda detruncant, & cum filia Eudonis regi ſuo læti præſentant. Abdiramen autem de rebelli interitu jucundatus ejus uxorem, cum eſſet pulcherrima, ſummo regi trans maria honorifice aſtinavit.* I ſhall now hear *Iſidore* of *Badajos*; *cujus caput ubi eum jacentem repererunt trucidant, & regi una cum filia Eudonis memoratæ ducis præſentant; quam ille maria trajiciens Elano ſublimi principi procurat honor ſue diſtinationis.* By this it appears, that Mr *Audigier* is miſtaken when he ſays, that *Munioz* remain'd among the Dead in the *Field of Battle in* 737. For firſt the Death of this Governor preceded the Expedition of *Abderamus*, and therefore happned before the Year 732. 2. This Governor was not kill'd in a Battle, for he eſcaped by Ways unknown, and being purſued, for fear he ſhould fall alive into the Hands of the *Saracens*, he threw himſelf Head-long from the top of a Rock. *Mezerai* is miſtaken (*f*) when he ſays, that *Abderamus* took *Munuza* Priſoner in *Cerdaigne*.

(*d*) Apud Audigier, tom. 2. p. 225. *He attributes at p.* 245. *to* Iſidore *of* Badajos *what he had attributed to* Roderick *of* Toledo *at p.* 220.

(*f*) Abreg. Chronolog. tom. 1. p. 192.

(*A*) *He lodg'd the reſt of the time at* Martin Bucer's *Houſe.*] There he earn'd his Diet by Transcribing; for *Bucer*'s Hand was ſo bad, that the Printers could not read it; and he himſelf was often at a loſs, and had much a do to decypher it. But *Muſculus* who could read it with eaſe, tranſcribed it in a wonderful good Hand, and did *Martin Bucer* a great deal of Service, who was at that time employ'd on ſeveral Books for the Preſs. I ſhall here ſet down the Words of *Melchior Adam*, relating to this

* *Taken from* Melchior Adam in vita Musculi p. 367. & seq. vitar. Theologor. *All that he says is taken from the Life of* Musculus *written by* Abraham Musculus *his Son. It's to be found before the* Synopsis festalium concionum Wolfgangi Musculi. *edit. of* Basil, 1595 *in* 8

Bucer's House. Some Months after Affairs look'd with another Face, and it was thought fit that he should reside; accordingly he remov'd to *Dorlisheim*, and there (*B*) suffer'd extreme Poverty with a constant Mind. He was recall'd to *Strasburg* at a Year's end, to be employ'd as a Deacon in the principal Church. Having discharg'd this Office about two Years, he was call'd to *Augsburg*, and began to Preach there *January* 22. 1531. The Office of the Ministry which he there discharg'd was very painful during the first Year; for he did not only dispute with the Roman Catholicks, but also with the Anabaptists. He oppos'd those who were of Opinion, that the latter should be put to Death, and by degrees obtain'd of the Magistrates, that Popery should be wholly (*C*) banish'd. He serv'd the Church of *Augsbourg* till such time as the Magistrates were so weak as to receive the *Interim* in the Year 1548; then he quitted this City, and retir'd into *Switzerland*. His Wife and Children follow'd him after some Weeks; he went to meet them at *Constance July* 30, and having waited at *Zurich* till some convenient Call should offer, he was at last invited by the Lords of *Berne* to be Professor of Divinity. He accepted it with a very good Will, and discharg'd the Duty of the Place with all Diligence; and to testifie his Acknowledgement to the City of *Berne*, he refus'd Employments (*D*) that were offer'd him in other Places. He confin'd himself to Theological Lectures, and would not accept of a Preacher's Place (*E*) which was offer'd him. He died at *Berne August* 30, 1563 *. He was a very laborious learned Man, and publish'd several Books (*F*). He was also employ'd in some Ecclesiastical Deputations,

Matter. (*a*) *Adeò malè pingebat Bucerus; ut quæ scribaret, a Typographis, imò ab ipsomet sæpè Bucero, difficilimè legerentur: Musculus verò ea legebat expeditissime, & pingebat elegantissimè. Descripsit itaque ei cum alia plura, tum vero potissimum explicationem Zephaniæ Prophetæ, quæ extat, in cujus fronte ejus leguntur carmina, & Psalterium illud totum, quod sub* Aretii Felini *nomine in lucem edidit. Erasmus, Lipsius,* and several other great Authors, had the same Defect as *Martin Bucer*; and there were very few learned Men who could write as well as *Musculus*; for this was more rare in the XVIth than in the XVIIth Century.

(*a*) Melch. Adam. in vitis Theolog. German. p. 374.

(*B*) *And there endur'd extreme Poverty with a constant Mind.*] He had no Houshold Goods, but a little Bed which he brought from his Convent; his Parishioners were so charitable as to offer him necessary Utensils; but (*b*) he lay generally on a little Straw spread upon the Floor. The Historian observes (*c*), that his Wife was about that time ready to be brought to Bed; and 'tis from hence Mr. *Baillet* takes occasion to say, *That* (*d*) *the Protestants reckon it amongst the most heroical Mortifications of* Musculus, *that he lay on the hard Ground, and had the generosity to resign to his Wife the Bed he brought from his Convent, as soon as she wanted it to lie in.* He serv'd the Church a Year in this Village, without receiving one Farthing of his Pension. At last the Magistrates of *Strasburg* took pity of him, and assign'd him something of a publick Salary. (*e*) *Annum totum in illa ecclesia docuit, cum ne teruncium quidem à quoquam stipendii loco acciperet, nec etiam peteret; sed in summa paupertate patientissimè & tranquille viveret. Quo minus autem illi stipendium solveretur; in causa erat Abbas Cœnobii* Hohenforst, *qui cum omnes illius ecclesiæ decimas, & census annuos colligeret; ministro tamen Evangelii stipendium pendere recusabat; tandem verò Argentinenses ut ipsius penuriam sublevarent, aliquam illi pecuniæ summam, è publico ærario benignè numerarunt.*

(*b*) Parum autem straminis solo instratum illi pro lectica erat. *Id. ib.*

(*c*) Cum uxor ejus jam partui vicina esset. *Id. ib.*

(*d*) Baillet au 1. tom. des Anti p. 169.

(*e*) Melch. Adam. ubi supra.

(C) *That Popery might be wholly banish'd.*] *Musculus* was at first a Minister to the Church of the Holy Cross. The Catholicks who still possess'd the Church of *Notre Dame*, and many others better than that, and the greatest part of the Convents, mov'd Heaven and Earth, not only to maintain their Possession, but also to expell the *Lutherans*. They were stoutly oppos'd by all the Ministers; but the Zeal of *Musculus* flam'd much higher than that of any of his Collegues. Hence it came to pass that the Catholicks had him chiefly in Detestation. He so far prevail'd by his Importunity, that on the 22d of *July* 1534, the Senate and People of *Augsburg* absolutely forbad them to Preach in any part of the City, and left them only eight Places where they were permitted to say Mass: They abolish'd it every where else, together with their Images. And at last the great Council on the 17th of *January* 1537, expell'd all the Priests and Monks, and purg'd these eight Places of Idolatry, and Consecrated them to the Service of the Protestants. Upon this *Musculus* was made Minister of the Church which had been Consecrated to the Holy Virgin. He began to Preach there *July* 15th 1537, and continued to do so quietly till the 30th of *July* 1547 (*f*). But from that Day forward, to the time of his quitting *Augsburg*, his Ministry expos'd him to great Troubles. *Charles* the Vth having made his publick Entry into that City, caus'd the Church of *Notre Dame* to be restor'd to the Catholicks. *Musculus* Preach'd in the other Churches with his usual Zeal and Freedom. He was watch'd, he was accus'd to the Emperor as a seditious and railing Preacher. *Michael Sidonius* Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Mayence*, went often to hear his Sermons, and took Notes of 'em in his Table-Book. The Senate fearing least this Minister should be affronted, appointed three Men to guard him constantly to Church, and home again. There were often Tumults at his Door: The Domesticks of the Cardinal of *Augsburg* gather'd a Mob there who call'd him all to naught, scoffed at him, and broke his Windows with Stones from the Street. The *Spaniards* and Priests laid Snares for him, and overwhelm'd him with Slanders and Noise (*g*). Thus all humane Things are sometimes up and sometimes down, and every Dog has his Day.

(*f*) Melch. Adam. ubi supra, p. 377.

(*g*) *Taken from* Melchoir Adam. ubi supra, p. 380, 381.

(D) *The Employments that were offer'd him in other Places.*] He was thrice invited into *England*, and chiefly after the Death of *Martin Bucer*. The City of *Augsburg* having recover'd it's former Liberty in 1552, reckon'd him among its banish'd Ministers whom it recall'd. Those of *Strasburg*, the Electors *Palatine*, *Otho Henry*, and *Fredrick*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse* did often sollicit him to come and serve their Churches and Academies, and promis'd him great Pensions. He excus'd himself as for other Reasons, so chiefly because he had a mind to consecrate the rest of his Life to the Service of the Republick of *Berne*, who had so civily receiv'd him in the time of his Exile (*h*). This Conduct was very commendable, and there are not many who have the Courage to follow it.

(*h*) Ex eodem, ibid. p. 384, 385.

(E) *He confin'd himself to Theological Lectures, and would not accept of a Preacher's Place.*] This shows, that *Thuanus* ought not to have said, that he exercis'd the Office of a Pastor at *Berne*, (*i*) *Pastoris munere defungens.*

(*i*) Thuan. l. 35 (*and not as* Konig *cit.*) sub fin p. m. 716.

(F) *And publish'd many Books.*] He began with Translations out of Greek into Latin. The first Book which he publish'd of this Nature (*k*), was St. *Chrysostome*'s Commentary upon the Epistles to the *Romans*, *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians* and *Thessalonians*. He publish'd (*l*) afterwards the second Tome of the Works of St. *Basil*, and then the Scholia of the same Father upon the *Psalms*, and several Treatises of St. *Athanasius* and St. *Cyril*; the Ecclesiastical History of *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, *Evagrius* and *Polybius*. The principal Books which he wrote of his own Composing are these: Two Sermons, *de Missa Papistica*, Preach'd in the time of the Diet at *Ratisbon* in 1541, which were Printed at *Wittemberg*, and then at *Augsburg*, *cum additione de externis Missæ abusibus. Cochlæus* wrote

(*k*) *At* Basil *by* Hervagius *in* 1536.

(*l*) Ibid. ann. 1540.

Deputations (G) of great Importance. He became a great Maſter of the Greek and Hebrew Tongues, tho' he began very late (H) to ſtudy 'em. We ſhall ſet down ſome Judgments that have been made of his (I) Writings. It's obſerv'd *, that he renounc'd the

* Micræ-lius Synt hiſt Eccl p. 781. edit. 1699.

wrote againſt this Book in 1544, and from thence came the *Anti-Cochlæus* (m) which *Muſculus* publiſh'd in Latin and High Dutch the ſame Year at *Augsburg*. He publiſh'd five Years after four Dialogues under the Name (n) of *Eutychius Myon*, and with the Title of *Proſcerus*, upon this Queſtion, whether a Proteſtant can hold external Communion with Popiſh Superſtitions? They were tranſlated into French at *London*, and publiſh'd under the Title of *The Temporiſer*, by *V. Poulain*, in the Year 1550, in 12°. Note, that the word *Proſcerus* is an alluſion to the Greek word *πρόσκαιρος*, *Temporarius*. His Commentary on the *Pſalms* was publiſh'd in 1550, and that upon *Geneſis* in 1544, and one upon the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans* in 1555, and another upon *Geneſis* in 1557: One upon the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* in 1559: One upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* to the *Galatians* and *Epheſians* in 1561. His Commentary upon the Epiſtles to the *Philippians*, *Coloſſians* and *Theſſalonians*, and upon the firſt Chapter of the firſt to *Timothy*, was after his Death publiſh'd by his Heirs. His Common Places are a Work which took him up ten Years, and which he publiſh'd in 1560 (a). A certain Perſon obſerves, that in it he has diſcover'd the ſordid Abuſes in the Rates of the Romiſh Chancery. This Obſervation would be good for nothing in an Engliſh Verſion; let's give it therefore in Latin. (b) *Minimè ridiculus hic* MUSCULUS *Papiſtis habetur, præcipuè cum turpiſſimam illam Nundinationem, Taxarum ſcilicet Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ, id eſt ſcelerum omnium & blaſphemiarum theſaurum toti Mundo in Locis ſuis Communibus aperuerit. quo facto craſſi illi Romani Elephanti, inſatiabiles ventres, furere videntur, non ſecus ac ſi ipſorum in proboſcidas, mures, ad rabiem uſque eoſdem vexantes, irrepſiſſent. Magnus igitur* MUSCULUS *exiſtimandus, qui in Romani Plutonis Purgatoriique Regis aurcam Cameram atque Adyta penetravit.* I ſay nothing of the Books which *Muſculus* wrote in the German Tongue; but ſhall add, that he wrote (c) all this vaſt number of Volumes with his own Hand, and never had any *Amanuenſis*; and that if his Works were very uſeful to the Proteſtant Party in thoſe Days, as doubtleſs they were, they are no leſs uſefull ſtill: Yet no Body reads them now, nor has done of a long time, which perhaps proceeds from too nice a Reliſh, and too great an Affection to the Modern Methods. The Works of *Muſculus* and other Divines of thoſe Days, are ſold almoſt for nothing at all Auctions.

(m) *See Mr.* Baillet ubi ſupra.

(n) Epit. Biblioth. Geſneri, p. m. 825.

(a) Ex Melch. Adam. ib. p. 383. *I wonder* Melch. Adam. *does not ſpeak of the Commentary of* Muſculus *on the Goſpel of St.* Matthew, *and that of St.* John.

(b) Jac. Verehiden in effigiebus & elogiis præſtantium Theologorum, p. 101.

(c) Melch. Adam. ib.

(G) *Employ'd in ſome Eccleſiaſtical Deputations.*] He was deputed, together with *Boniface Lycoſthenes*, by the Senate of *Augsburg* in 1536, to the Synod that was to be held at *Eiſenac*, where he was to treat of the Re-union of Proteſtants as to the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. There was nothing done at *Eiſenac*: *Luther* wrote to the Divines who were met there, that his Health would not permit him to undertake a long Journey, and therefore pray'd them to come a little nearer him. Whereupon they departed from *Eiſenac*, and went as far as *Wittemberg*, and there ſram'd and concluded a Concordat. *Muſculus*, and many others being fully perſuaded of the falſhood of *Luther*'s Doctrine about the Real Preſence, conſented nevertheleſs to the Articles of Agreement, whereby they forſook thoſe clear and diſtinct Explications which they had hitherto made uſe of. They had good Reaſons for this Condeſcenſion, for they hop'd, they ſhould by this means, to the great Benefit of the Church and Commonwealth, put an end to a conſiderable Controverſie, and reſtore the Peace which had been ſo long wiſh'd for: But the Event ſhow'd, that as they did not ſatisfie the more Obſtinate by this diſguiſe of Words, ſo they led the ſimpler ſort into an Error, and occaſion'd ſome to think, that the Followers of the figurative Senſe had chang'd their Opinion. Thus oblig'd 'em to reſume their firſt Expreſſions, to explain their Meaning fully and clearly, and openly to declare their Sentiments. I write, you ſee, upon a very nice Affair, and perhaps unleſs I make it appear, that I only tranſlate the very Words of the Author of the Life of *Muſculus*, I ſhall expoſe my ſelf to the Cenſure of ſome Readers; therefore to prevent their Malice, I ſhall tranſcribe the Latin from the Original. (d) *Quibus autem rationibus, cùm ipſe* (Muſculus) *tùm alii multi boni viri, impulſi ſint; ut, cum in hac cauſa craſſam quorundam ſententiam minimè amplecterentur, in hanc tamen concordiam conſentirent, deque ſua, qua hactenus docuerant, perſpicuitate nonnihil decederent, prudentes vos facilè intelligunt. Nimirum quod perſuaſum hoc illis eſſet, facturos ſe id ſummo cum eccleſiæ & Reip bono. Sic enim ſolum gravem & malè conſultam illam de hac cauſa controverſiam tolli, eccleſiis diu deſideratam pacem reſtitui, & Reſpub. etiam firmius conjungi & conſociari poſſe. Poſtquam verò, rerum eventu edocti, hos quaſi ſuis verborum pertinacioribus non ſatis fieri, ſimpliciores verò in errorem abduci, ſeque apud omnes bonos in ſuſpicionem mutatæ ſententiæ venire cernerent, ad priſtinam ſuam perſpicuitatem reverſi, & palim quid ſentirent, profeſſi ſunt.* They who tell us in a declaiming way, that we muſt put an end to Controverſies by indeterminate, ambiguous and intricate Forms of Expreſſion, wherein each Party may find their own Account; can they ſhow many Treaties of Religion by this means peeably concluded? Was not that done at *Wittemburg* which they think ſo uſeful? We have juſt now ſhown that the Fruits of it laſted not long.

(d) Ibid. p. 179.

Muſculus was deputed from the Senate of *Augſburg* to aſſiſt at the Conferences held between the Proteſtant and Catholick Divines during the Diet of *Worms*, and during that of *Ratisbonne* in 154 , and 1541. He was one of the Secretaries of the Conference at *Ratisbon*, between *Melanchthon* and *Eccius*, and drew up the Acts of it (e). The Inhabitants of *Donawert* having embrac'd the Reformation in 1544, pray'd thoſe of *Augsburg* to ſend them a Divine, who might form a Church among 'em, and lay the Foundations of the true Faith. *Muſculus* was made choice of for this Office, and Preach'd his firſt Sermon *December* 28 to thoſe new Converts, and after that Preach'd the Word of God every Day for three Months together (f).

(e) Melch. Adam. ib. p. 379, 380.

(f) Id. ib.

(H) *He began very late to ſtudy 'em.*] He began to ſtudy Hebrew when he was Miniſter of *Augsburg*, being then thirty two or thirty three Years of Age. He's ſaid to have made a very ſwift Progreſs in this Language (g) *Tantam Irenæus in linguæ cognitionem ſui comparavit, ut non ſolum Biblia; ſed & Rabinorum diſcurſiones commentarios, & Chaldaicos etiam interpretes, perfecte intelligeret.* Some add (h), that while he was at *Augsburg* he learn'd Arabick to a great Perfection without the help of any Maſter. He was forty Years old when he began to ſtudy the Greek Tongue. *Wolfgang Betuleius*, firſt Regent in the College of *Augsburg*, taught him the firſt Rules of it (i). It's wonderful, that *Muſculus* beginning ſo late to ſtudy the Greek Tongue, ſhould acquire ſo great a knowledge of it.

(g) Id. ib. p. 378.

(h) Id. ib. p. 376.

(i) Id. ib.

(I) *Some Judgments that were made of his Writings.*] Mr. *Huetius* commends his Tranſlations in ſome reſpects, but does not think him learned enough either in Greek or Latin. (k) *Offenderunt Muſculus, vir bonus, ſed Græca linguæ notitia imperitus, non ſatis Latina valde inſtructus, brevitate & nitore, fortaſſe etiam ac fide commendatus. nam & ea quæ non intelligebat, uti poterat, expreſſit: nihil videas illum ſtudio prætermittere, nihil alienum ſubſtituere. ceterum in haluc naufragia ſæpe, utpote carens arbitro, quæ qu. celant, incidit.* You would do well to conſult the whole Paſſage of *Caſaubon* which Mr. *Huetius* has an Eye to, there you'll find a Parallel between *Perot* and *Muſculus*, as to the Tranſlation of *Polybius*. Let's ſee what is ſaid of another Verſion of this Miniſter. "(l) *Muſculus*, a Proteſtant undertook a new Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, which he perform'd tolerably enough. He "adheres very much to the Letter, and has tranſlated the Text with great clearneſs and brevity. "But he did not always well underſtand his Author, and there are ſeveral faults in his Verſion." Some think (m), that in his Commentary upon

(k) Huet. de claris interpret p. m. 225.

(l) Caſaub. Præfat. ad Polyb.

(l) Du Pin Biblioth. to 2 p. 4. col 1 edit. de Holl.

(m) Simon *Critical Hiſtory of the New Teſtament, l. 3 ch. 14. p. m. 438.*

the Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, in the Concordat of *Wittemberg*, and embrac'd it a-new, after he retir'd from *Augsburg*. See the Remark *G*. We muſt not confound him with *Andrew* Muſculus a *Lutheran* Author, and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, and Superintendant General of the Churches of the Country of *Brandenburg* in the XVIth Century. He was Born at *Schneberg* in *Miſnia*, and died in 1580*. He was a zealous promoter of the Doctrine of *Ubiquity* (*K*), and explain'd it after a very bold manner. He publiſh'd a great † number of Books, and being perſuaded that he ſhould ſoon ſee great Revolutions in *Germany*, and that the End of the World was near at Hand; he wrote on theſe Matters with the aſſurance of one who pretends to have a Key to all the Oracles of the Old and New Teſtament. The Romiſh Writers of Controverſie have found in one of his Works (*L*) on this Subject, a thing which they have ſufficiently harp'd upon.

* Ex Micrælio hiſt Eccleſ. p. 781. edit. 1699.

† *See the Epitaxy of* Geſner's *Bibliotheque*, p. 46, & 47.

MUS-

" upon the *Pſalms*, he has ſhown much more Modeſty, and alſo more Reſpect for Antiquity than " the greateſt part of other Proteſtants——that " the Method he follow'd is very exact——it may " be ſaid, that this Author knew the true way of " explaining Scripture, but had not all the helps " that were neceſſary to be perfect in it, not " being ſufficiently vers'd in Languages and " Critical Learning. Yet he examines without " Prejudice the Ancient Greek and Latin Tranſ- " lations, and he had Lights ſufficient to diſcover " that the Points which are at this Day in the He- " brew Text, were not in it at the Time of the " Seventy and St. *Jerome*'s Tranſlation." We ſhall ſhow elſewhere (*n*) what Opinion ſome have of his Commentary upon the Goſpel of St. *John*, and the Epiſtle to the *Romans*. *Baudouin* obſerves, that *Muſculus* publiſh'd in his Common-Places ſeveral Things which ſhould have made *Calvin* more moderate in puniſhing of Hereticks, but which rather fier'd his Zeal; for writing upon *Zacharias* he carries this Doctrine ſo far, that he ſeems to put the Sword into the Hand of private Perſons to kill Hereticks (*o*). I don't vouch this Matter of Fact for true, but I relate it only to ſhow my Readers, that 'tis thought *Muſculus* diſapprov'd the Puniſhment of *Servetus*. Some think, that by a Fault very incident to Diſputants, he carried the Matter ſo far from one Extreme, that he came too near the other; as when in oppoſing the *Anabaptiſts*, he raiſes the Authority of Paſtors more than he ought. See the Paſſages which Mr. *Crenius* has Collected (*p*) upon this Subject.

(*n*) Idem *Critical Hiſtory of the Commentators on the New Teſtament, chap.* 50. *pag.* 749. *and the following*

(*o*) *See* Fr. Balduini reſponſio altera ad Jo. Calvinum.

(*p*) Crenius animadverſ. parte 7. p. 149. & ſeq. *See him alſo at* p. 148.

Note, that Mr. *Simon* pretends, that *Muſculus* in his Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the *Romans* obſerves a Neutrality between the different ways of explaining Predeſtination. " (*q*) He alledges " upon the Places which are moſt intricate, the " Expoſitions given by the moſt ancient Commen- " tators, and he himſelf declares for no ſide. " Wherefore upon theſe Words of Chap. 9. *Itaque non volentis neque currentis*, &c. He gives an A- " bridgment of the various Interpretations he had " read without eſpouſing any Party. He endea- " vours to reconcile Grace with Free-Will, by " attributing to each what is its due. *Ab hujuſmodi contentionibus*, ſays he, *nos libenter abſtinemus, credentes hominis quidem eſſe voluntatem & conatum, ſed quatenus ad velle & currere divinitus, vel ex gratia, vel ex indignatione Dei fuerit motus.* " Nevertheleſs he rejects the Opinion of thoſe " who with the Greek Fathers have recourſe to " the Preſcience of God, and thinks that this can- " not be reconcil'd with the Judgment of St *Paul*: " *Hæc ſententia planè aliena eſt à Paulo, qui omnia tribuit miſerentis Dei liberæ voluntati & gratiæ.*" I do not underſtand the Management of this Miniſter; for the Latin Paſſage which Mr. *Simon* mentions, contains in effect whatever's moſt rigid in *Calvin*'s Hypotheſis. They who oppoſe Free-Will with the greateſt rigour, never denied but that the Soul of Man Wills or Inclines to this or that, according as it is mov'd by God.

(*q*) Simon *Critical Hiſtory of the Commentators of the New Teſtament, ch.* 5. *p.* 515

(*K*) *A zealous promoter of the Doctrine of* Ubiquity, *and explain'd it after a very bold manner.*] *Hoſpinian* obſerves, that this Doctrine was invented by *Brentius*, and that *James Andreas* added to it the Hypotheſis of the *Majeſtatick Body of* JESUS CHRIST; but withal, that it appear'd *Eutychian*, and aſſerted only one Nature in *Chriſt*, even in the Judgment of many of the *Lutheran*, and that in effect it is plainly refuted by that Article of the Apoſtle's Creed, *He aſcended into Heaven*. For which reaſon, adds he, *Andrew Muſculus* coming up to the Succour of *James Andreas*, at ſo hard a Pinch, maintain'd, that the Aſcenſion of JESUS CHRIST was nothing elſe than a ceaſing of the viſibility of his Fleſh here upon Earth. He aſſerted that this Fleſh was ſtill in the Clouds where it vaniſh'd out of the ſight of the Apoſtles; and that according to the ſtyle of Scripture, and the propriety of the words Aſcending and Deſcending, we muſt imagine no change of Place in the Aſcenſion of JESUS CHRIST. I ſhall give you the Words of *Hoſpinian* at ſome length, becauſe in the relating of ſuch Paradoxes, the ſhorter a Man is, the more danger he runs of impoſing upon his Reader. " (*a*) *Idcirco Jacobo Andreæ ſuccenturiatus eſt in gravi iſto periculo* Andreas " Muſculus, *qui aſcenſionem Chriſti in cœlos dixit eſſe* " diſparentiam, & evaneſcentiam *duntaxat carnis* " *Chriſti in his nubibus, ubi adhuc ſit, & videtur, ſed non viſibili modo, forma, & eo converſationis genere, quo ante aſcenſionem & mortem converſatus eſt cum ſuis Apoſtolis. Sic enim Sectione* 3. *Articulorum Marchiticorum, Articulo* 6. *ſcribit*; " Conſtare ex Spiritus ſancti Grammatica, & vocabuli Deſcendere vel Aſcendere proprietate, " Filii hominis aſcenſionem in cœlum nihil aliud " eſſe, quàm viſibilem diſparentiam, ac ut propriſſimè loquitur Lucas Actor. 1. Subductionem per nubem ex oculis Apoſtolorum, diſceſſionem ex hac mortali hominum vita, tranſmigrationem ex viſibili converſatione hominum, evaneſcentiam ex oculis hominum palpabilis & viſibilis hujus vitæ converſationis, ingreſſum in " cœlum, regnum Dei Patris glorioſum. *Et Artic.* " 7. Hanc, *dicit*, aſcenſionem non factam eſſe motione Phyſicâ de loco in locum, &c." Thus the *Carteſians* reaſon about the motion of Spirits; they admit no change of Place with reſpect to them, and pretend, that the departure of the Soul out of the Body is nothing elſe, but the ceaſing of a Relation, which during the Life of a Man, took place between the Modifications of the Brain and the Thoughts of the Soul. But when People advance ſuch Hypotheſes concerning thoſe Beings which are really extended, as the Body of JESUS CHRIST, it's impoſſible to make them comprehended by any one. The ſame *Muſculus* declares in a Sermon in 1564, that they who teach that JESUS CHRIST died only as to his humane Nature, belong to the Devil both Soul and Body, and that the Orthodox Doctrine is, that he died both as to his Humane and Divine Nature. " (*b*) " *Andreas Muſculus* quoque hoc anno feria quarta " ſeptimanæ Magnæ ante Paſcha publicè pro " ſuggeſtu ad populum hæc verba inter alia locu- " tus eſt. *Hic eſt Diaboli, qui docet Filium hominis* " *paſſum & mortuum eſſe: Et quiſquis in hac ſententia* " *perrexerit, Diaboli eſt. Iterum dico: Quicunque docent, Chriſtum ſecundùm humanitatem tantùm mortuum eſſe, anima & corpore, Diaboli ſunt. Hæc autem vera eſt ſententia, Chriſtum ſecundùm utramque* " *naturam, divinam & humanam, mortuum eſſe.*" He publiſh'd a Book in 1575, to ſhow that, it is no-wiſe neceſſary that the Glorious Body of JESUS CHRIST ſhould Phyſically fill up any Space: (*c*) *Contra neceſſitatem phyſicæ locationis in corpore Chriſti clarificato & glorioſo.* What's very ſtrange and melancholy in all this is, that theſe abſurd Doctrines which ariſe one from another after the real Preſence of J. CHRIST in the Sacrament once aſſerted, &c have had ſuch Defenders, as neither wanted Wit, nor Eloquence, nor Learning, and ſuch as have infinite Ways to elude the Objections of their Adverſaries. It muſt be ingenuouſly confeſs'd, that to ſatiſfie the Reaſons of the *Ubiquitarians*, ſome are forc'd to ſay things no leſs unconceiveable than *Ubiquity* it ſelf.

(*a*) Hoſpin. hiſtor. Sacrament. part. 2. p. 492. ad ann. 1561.

(*b*) Id. ib. p. 553. ad ann. 1564.

(*c*) Id. ib. p. 600. *See alſo* Beza *in his Tractatiſe de unione hypoſtatica*, p. 89 tom. 3. operum.

(*L*) *In one of his Works on this Subject one thing which*

MUSSO (CORNELIO) Biſhop of *Bitonto*, one of the greateſt Preachers of his Age, was Born at *Placentia* in *Italy*, in the Month of *April* 1511. He dedicated himſelf to the Order of St. *Francis*, to fulfil a Vow (*A*) of his Mother; and when he was nine Years old he enter'd into a Monaſtry of that Order at *Placentia*. The quickneſs of his Wit, the ſtrength of his Memory (*B*), his good Qualifications to become a great Preacher, induc'd Father *James Roſa* of *Candazzo* to take him for his Diſciple. He carried him to *Carpi* and other Places, where he ſtudied under good Maſters. The young Man learn'd Humanity very perfectly, and Preach'd ſo eloquently, that he ſoon acquir'd a great Reputation, and the Friendſhip of *Leonello Pio* of *Carpi*, who ſent him to *Venice* with Letters of Recommendation, to give him an opportunity of Preaching before the Senate, and getting a Settlement in the Univerſity of *Padua*. This Deſign had

Y He had a Son who became a Cardinal.

(*d*) Ala, p. 47.

which they have ſufficiently harp'd upon.] The Epitome of the *Bibliothec* of *Geſner* (*d*) informs me, that *Andreas Muſculus* publiſh'd a Book at *Frankfort* upon the *Oder* in 1577, *de Meſech & Kedar, de Gog & Magog, de magna calamitate ante finem mundi*; and that in 1578. he had Printed in the ſame place, *Conſiderationes appropinquantis ultimi judicii*. Before theſe two Books there was an Expoſition of a Prophecy of JESUS CHRIST, applied to the Miſeries now impending over *Germany*. (*e*) *Prophetiam Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, de imminente Germaniæ infortunio, expoſuit anno* 1557. *Francoford. ad Viadrum.* 'Tis in this laſt Piece the Paſſage is found which the Romiſh Controvertiſts have ſtrain'd to make the World believe that the Proteſtants deſpiſe their Miniſters to that degree, that they refuſe all Affinity with them by Marriage. An *Iriſh* Jeſuit having given this Title, *quam infamis ſit ubivis conditio Miniſtrorum*, to one of the Chapters (*f*) of his *Britannomachia Miniſtrorum*, alledges in the firſt place this Paſſage of *Andrew Muſculus*, and cites the 27th Folio of the Treatiſe of Prophecy. *Ut jam quis prædicantem agere velit, præoptaret, ſcio, nunquam ſe in lucem hanc prodiiſſe. Parentes quoque in primo lavacro aquis ſuffocatum eſſe malunt. Quod ſi etiam aliqui ex noſtris liberis prædicantes fieri fortaſſe cuperent, infamiæ & turpitudinis metu adſpirare non poſſunt. Uſu venit etiam, cum quis juvenis virginem aliquam ſibi in matrimonio locari peſcit; ut cum parentes virginis, aut etiam virgo ipſa, ſciſcitentur, utrùm prædicans fieri cogitet. Habemus etiam (quod multò magis horrendum eſt auditu) eorum exempla, qui ne repudiarentur, hac lege & conditione matrimonium contraxerunt, ut ſe prædicantes nunquam fore jurejurando promitterent.* Afterwards he ſays, that *Downham* at p. 67. of his Sermons makes the ſame Complaint as to *England*. I believe *Downham* had in view the firſt Times of the Reformation under Queen *Elizabeth*; for *Sanders* relates (*g*), that the *New Preachers were at the beginning ſo negligent or unhappy in chooſing their Wives, that they almoſt always lit on lewd Women and Adultreſſes, which gave Scandal to the meaner ſort of their own Sect, and was the Sport of the Catholicks.* Elizabeth *put forth a Proclamation that the Biſhops and Prieſts ſhould take no Woman in Marriage that was not of good and honeſt Reputation in the Judgment of ſome; but*, adds he, *this did not remedy the Evil, becauſe on the one hand many could no more live without Wives, than they could without Bread, to uſe their own Expreſſions; and on the other, they could find no Man either among the Catholicks or the Hereticks themſelves, who would give his Daughter in Marriage to a Preacher; for it was counted a ſcandalous thing to be the Wife of a Prieſt, and according to the Laws of the Kingdom, ſuch Marriages are no better than Adultery, and ſuch Women are not rank'd among Married Perſons, the thing being contrary to the Nature of true Marriage.* Elizabeth, *ſays he, would not admit the Wives of Prieſts into her Court: People of Quality would not converſe with them; the Wives of Archbiſhops had no Rank nor Title, and their Husbands were oblig'd to keep 'em at Home, as Inſtruments and Veſſels of their Uncleanneſs and Neceſſities.* All the World knows that *Sanders* writ this Book with ſo much Rancour and Paſſion, that he deſerves little Credit. But Things are in all reſpects chang'd much for the better ſince thoſe Days, as to the Article we are now upon: And as to the Paſſage of *Andreas Muſculus*, 'tis plain the Adverſaries have abus'd it. 'Tis eaſily perceiv'd that this *Lutheran* Doctor being big with his Hypotheſis, that *Germany* was ſhortly to feel the Scourge of Divine Juſtice, contain'd in a Prophecy of JESUS CHRIST, exaggerated the Contempt that was ſhown to the Word of God, and declaim'd very ſharply againſt the want of a due Reſpect to the Miniſters. Being heated with theſe Ideas, he repreſents by Hyperbolical Figures the Averſion the People had to the Miniſtry; as if a Father would rather chooſe to ſee his Son die in the Cradle, than ſee him a Preacher; and as if the Parents of a young Maid, and the young Maid her ſelf would carefully enquire of him that ſought her in Marriage, *Have you any Thoughts of being a Miniſter?* In fine, as if to prevent a Refuſal in Courting a Maid, a Man muſt proteſt upon Oath, that he never would be conſecrated to the Miniſtry of the Word of God. The Enemies (*a*) of the Proteſtants have not fail'd to make an Advantage of theſe Exaggerations. But when they make the moſt of it, it may be truly ſaid, that the Proteſtants of *France* have given no occaſion to ſuch a Reproach: They had always a very good and laudable Cuſtom of Honouring and Reſpecting their Paſtors; and 'tis certain, that they who were Miniſters of the Goſpel, Married to more Advantage than if they had been Laymen.

(*f*) *The 10th Section of the 5th Chap. of the 3d Book of* Henry Fitz-Simon, p. 342.

(*g*) *Hiſtory of the Schiſm of* England.

(*a*) *See* Hypocriſis Marci Antonii de Dominis detecta auctore Fideli Annoſo Veremetano Theologo. *See alſo* Julius Calvinus in Analyſi Tertulliani de præſcript. adverſ. hæret. c. 41. n. 5. p. m. 131. & *Sylveſter Petra Sancta* n. 1 in epiſt. Molinæi ad Balſacium, c. 1. *where they ſpeak of the Corpſe that was burnt.*

(*A*) *to fulfil a Vow of his Mother*] Note firſt, that he was Born upon *Wedneſday* in *Eaſter* Week. His Mother by an over ſtrict obſervance of the Faſts of the Church, had impaired her Health, and 'twas thought ſhe could not out live the Pains of Childbearing. In this weak Condition ſhe implor'd Help from on High, and had recourſe to the Interceſſion of the Holy Virgin, and to that of St. *Francis*, and having a particular Devotion for this laſt Saint, ſhe made a Vow, that if her Pains went off, and ſhe ſhould bring forth a Son, ſhe would conſecrate him to God as a Member of his Seraphick Order. After ſhe had made this Vow ſhe found her ſelf reliev'd, and was brought to Bed of our *Cornelio*, He was nam'd *Nicolas* after his Grandfather by the Father's ſide, but being enter'd into a Religious Order, would be call'd *Ira Cornelio*, becauſe his Mother was call'd *Cornelia*. He knew the Vow ſhe had made when ſhe was in Travail with him, and often thought of it after her Death, and this was it that induc'd him to be a Monk (*b*)

(*b*) *Eſſendo io in his Lafe mortale.* (c) Don Giuſeppe Muſſo

(*B*) *The ſtrength of his Memory and his good Qualifications to become a great Preacher.*] After he had heard a Sermon he was perfect Maſter of it, and could repeat it ſo readily, that one would have ſaid he had made it. This was extraordinary! (*d*) *Si ſcoprì di ſpirito coſì gentile, e dotato di memoria coſì eccellente, ch' era da gran maraviglia, e da ſtupore a tutti, intanto che ſtando egli ad udir le prediche che ſi facevano dall' hora in Coro, le apprendeva coſì bene e le recitava poi con tanta gratia che parevano veramente coſe fatte.* When he repeated ſuch Sermons, he would perfectly imitate the Way and Geſtures of the Preacher. They try'd him this way more than once before the Preacher in ordinary to the Conventual Cordeliers, who was mightily ſurpriz'd to find himſelf ſo well copy'd. (*d*) *Queſto commoſſe di modo il fratello, che altre volte ſperanza alle ſue prediche, ove egli recitava in refettorio, l'imitava con i movimenti e co' geſti, che parea ſteſſo fatto nel predicar aſſiduamente ammaeſtrato e eſſercitato da lui.* It was eaſie for ſuch a young Man to become a good Orator. He had nothing more to do than propoſe to himſelf the Action of ſome great Maſter as his Model. Note, that *Muſſo* had the Talent of Diſcourſing well without much preparation. A Funeral Oration; a Panegyrick upon a Saint coſt him but a little Time. Whenever his Superiors had occaſion for ſuch extemporary Diſcourſes (*e*) they addreſs'd themſelves to him.

(*a*) Hoc tactum ut funebribus oppugnam eruditionis ornatum dicendi, vel laudationem factis ſtatis hebus reproberetur patrum ſuorum monitu celebrandis præter Muſſum ſufficeret nemo *Imperialis in Muſeo Hiſtorico p.* 68.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) *Ibid.*

had good Succeſs. *Cornelio Muſſo* little and lean as he was (*C*), was admir'd for his Sermons; and *Peter Zeno*, *Lewis* and *James Cornaro*, eſpous'd him with ſo much Zeal, that they procur'd him an honourable Poſt in the Convent of the Franciſcans of *Padua*, where without neglecting the Art of Rhetorick, he apply'd himſelf to the Study of Philoſophy, under the famous *Zimara*, and to that of Divinity under Father *Simonetta*. He took the Degree of Batchelor, and read Lectures, and held Diſputes, which got him the Reputation of a rare Wit. He Preach'd a Couſre of *Lent*-Sermons at *Padua* with great Applauſe. He maintain'd Theſes for ſeveral Days together, and was at laſt promoted the Degree of Doctor in Divinity, as a Reward of his Merit. *Peter Bembo* who was afterwards Cardinal, honour'd him with his Friendſhip, and gave him good Advice as to Rhetorick, and about a Latin and Tuſcan Style. *Lampridius* * inſtructed him in the Greek Tongue, and others in the Hebrew and Chaldee, for the underſtanding of the Text of Scripture. He was appointed to Preach a whole *Lent* in the Convent of his Order at *Venice*. He perform'd the ſame Office in the moſt illuſtrious Pulpits in *Italy*, particularly at *Milan*, where he was much eſteem'd by the Duke †. He was made Profeſſor in ordinary of Metaphyſicks in the Academy of *Pavia*, and had this Prince frequently for his Auditor. This Academy being diſpers'd after the Death of the Duke, by the Confuſions of War, he was call'd to *Bologna*, to be Profeſſor of Metaphyſicks, and had a greater Salary ſettled upon him, than ever was given to any Regular before; but ſeveral Cities ‡ vying, as it were, which ſhould make moſt Intereſt to get him for their *Lent* Preacher, his Academical Lectures were diſpens'd with during this Seaſon; to however make amends, he was oblig'd to read Lectures upon the Scripture on the Feſtival Days at other times of the Year. The Epiſtles of St. *Paul* were the Subject of theſe Lectures. A Concurrent ſtruck up who by explaining the ſame Epiſtle after a Heterodox manner rais'd great Tumults, and drew after him a great many Followers. *Campegio* Biſhop of *Bologna* was oblig'd to employ his Authority, to put a ſtop to this Diſorder, by expelling the Innovators, and impoſing upon the Competitor the Penance of a publick Recantation. From this time he conceiv'd a particular Eſteem for *Cornelio Muſſo*, and preſented him to *Paul* III. who kept him at *Rome* to Preach at St. *Laurence* in *Damazo*, and to live in quality of Theologiſt with the Cardinal his Grandſon. Not long after *Ochinus*, who had Preach'd in this Church, retir'd from *Rome*, after he had diſputed with our *Cornelio*, who convicted him of being a falſe Brother. The new Preacher of St. *Laurence* drew a great Croud to his Auditory, and being about four Years after promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Bertinaro*, he did not diſcontinue his Preaching, only when he had a mind to read Lectures upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* in the ſame Church. They were very well reliſh'd, and as the Pope had a mind to hear him ſometimes, but could not with convenience, out of the Apoſtolical Palace, he took him from theſe publick Exerciſes, and gave him another Office, which was to Preach in Latin upon the Goſpel for the Day, in his Holineſſe's Chamber, or at his Table, and immediately after to maintain a Diſpute, and anſwer what Objections ſhould be propos'd to him. There was an extraordinary Concourſe of Eccleſiaſticks Regular and Secular at theſe Exerciſes. Some Cardinals and ſeveral Prelates were preſent at 'em: The Pope himſelf propos'd ſometimes both Anſwers and Objections, and being very well ſatisfy'd of the Ability of *Muſſo*, he promoted him † to the Biſhoprick of *Bitonto*, and ſent him to the Council as a proper Perſon (*D*) to diſpute among the reſt of the learned Divines upon any Matters which might offer. The Article about Juſtification paſs'd through the Hands of *Muſſo*; he digeſted it, and explain'd it with very great Diligence and Application. The Council being tranſlated from *Trent* to *Bologna*, was at laſt interrupted.

Paul III.

* Lampridio Maeſtro in quei tempi delli illuſtriſſimi Signori Gonzaghi *Giuſeppo Muſſo ubi infra.*

† *This was* Francis Sforza.

‡ Accio che poteſſe predicare e ſodisfare alle Citta di, che a gara l'una dell' altra un'anno o due avanti lo ricercavano ſempre *Id. ib.*

† *By exchange for that of* Bertinoro.

(*b*) Drelincourt, demandes à l'Evêque de Belley, p. m. 37. *He cites a Sermon of the Biſhop of* Bitonto *on the* Magnificat, *in which the Preacher invokes the Virgin in the words of* Terence. Lucina Lucina fer opem.

(*a*) Palavicin, iſtor. del Concilio l. 5 c. 8. n. 9. ad ann. 1545.

(*b*) Id. ib. c 17. n. 9.

(*c*) Fra-Paolo, hiſt du Concile de Trente l. 2. p. m. 121. ad ann. 1545.

(*d*) Id. ib. p. 122.

(*e*) Palavic. ubi ſupra, c. 18.

(*f*) Fra-Paolo ubi ſupra, p. 140, 141.

(*C*) *Little and lean as he was.*] The firſt time he was ſeen in the Pulpit at *Venice*, there was nothing expected from one of his mean Appearance, but they were undeceiv'd as ſoon as they began to hear his Voice. (*f*) *Quivi invitati li primi ſenatori di Vinegia, lo fece ſalire in pulpito, ove veduto da loro coſi g evenetto, di p.ccola ſtatura, languido e eſtenuato nell' aſpetto, ogn' uno fra ſe ſteſſo faceva giudicio ch' egli non haveſſe ne ſcienza, nè forze, per negocio tale, ma udita c'hebbero la voce, e che furono ſatti i ſuoi alti concetti, con quella ſingular' attione naturale nata a lui da Dio, tutti all' hora reſtarono.* There are ſome Preachers who may be compar'd to the Nightingale, ſuch as being meager and ſmall, have yet ſo ſounding a Voice, that they make all the Vaults of a Church ring again; ſo that one who heard without ſeeing 'em, would think they were Perſons of a Gigantick Stature. Look at 'em and you are as much ſurpriz'd as one is who compares the ſmallneſs of a Nightingale with the ſtrength of its Notes. If I ben't miſtaken there's a Fable to this purpoſe, and I remember the Thought of a *Lacedæmonian* who having pluck'd off the Feathers of a Nightingale (*g*), deſin'd it a Thing which was nothing but Voice. How happy a Forerunner in favour of him who ſpeaks in publick is a good Mein! It diſpoſes the Aſſembly to liſten and canvaſſes for Votes before he opens his Mouth. He does not want half the Eloquence that's neceſſary for a Preacher of a bad Mien to gain Applauſe. This gives an extraordinary Idea of our *Muſſo*'s Action and Way of Thinking; conſequently the Remark I have made is not uſeleſs. You muſt know he is call'd the *Chryſoſtom of the Italians*, as Mr. *Drelincourt* obſerves (*b*).

(*f*) Gioſeppe Muſſo, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Plut. in Lacon. apophth. p. 233. A.

(*D*) *He ſent him to the Council as a proper Perſon to diſpute among the reſt of the learned Divines upon all Matters which might offer.*] Let's here collect all *Muſſo*'s Tranſactions at the Council of *Trent*. He was one of the firſt that went thither: (*a*) The Legates found only the Biſhop of *Cava* at *Trent*, but were quickly follow'd by *Thomas Campeggio* Biſhop of *Feltre*, and by *Cornelio Muſſo*. This latter Preached in Latin at the opening of the Council (*b*). His Sermon, an Abridgment of which you'll find in Father *Paul* (*c*), was Criticiz'd (*d*). *Palavicin* (*e*) has much a do to anſwer and confute this Critick, altho' he employs all his Learning to do it. A ſort of People more troubleſome than Cenſurers, aroſe againſt the Biſhop of *Bitonto*; for his Creditors, I mean thoſe who had Penſions out of his Biſhoprick, proſecuted him in the moſt rigorous manner; of which this Account is given by Father *Paul*: "(*f*) In the Congregation of the "fifth of *March* 1546, the Biſhop of *Bitonto*, who "had been lately cited to *Rome* by the Auditor, at "the Requeſt of his Penſioners, who endeavour'd "to force him by an Excommunication, accor-"ding to the ſtile of that Court, to pay what was "owing

Paul III. died. *Julius* III. ſucceeded him, who ſhew'd a great deal of Kindneſs to the Biſhop of *Bitonto*, and made choice of him for his Domeſtick Prelate and Aſſiſtant. He would not part with him to go to the Council till as he was inform'd by the Legate, that the Preſence of a learned Biſhop was abſolutely neceſſary. The Aſſembly having broke up, *Muſſo* went to ſee his Biſhoprick, and reſided upon it the Elevation of *Pius* IV. then he made a Journey to *Rome*, and was again employ'd by the Pope after the ſame manner as he had been under *Julius* III. and *Paul* III. for *Pius* IV. entertain'd him to Preach, and to maintain Diſputes at his Table. He remembred, that when he had been *in minoribus*, he had often diſputed with him in the ſame place, under the Papacy of *Paul* III. Some time after † he ſent him with his Nephew into *Germany*, which gave him an opportunity of raiſing himſelf a great Reputation at the Court of *Ferdinand*. He was afterwards employ'd at *Rome* in the Affairs of the Inquiſition, and in the examination of Matters that were treated of at *Trent*. This Prelate departed from *Rome* after the concluſion of the Council, and retir'd to *Bitonto*, where he apply'd himſelf to the Reformation of Abuſes, and to all the Offices of a good Biſhop. He had a mind to ſettle a Seminary, but he was forc'd by the Difficulties he met with to give over that Deſign. After a Reſidence of ten Years, he reſolv'd to go and pay his Duty to *Pius* V. then ſee his own Country, and afterwards take a Journey to *Venice*, to put ſome Books in the Preſs. He arriv'd at *Rome* about the time that *Gregory* XIII. ſucceeded *Pius* V. The new Pope detain'd him for his Aſſiſtant, and would not ſuffer him to continue his Journey till the opening of the Jubilee. *Muſſo* did not live ſo long: He died at *Rome* *January* 9. 1574, Aged near 63 * Yeras. He is mightily commended for his Chaſtity (*E*), his Sobriety, his forgetting of Injuries (*F*), his Devotion, &c. He wrote ſeveral

† In 1560.

* And not 64, as Moreri and Ghilini.

" owing to him, complain'd of this way of proceeding, and ſaid, that the Demands of his Penſioners were juſt; but that he was not to be blam'd, becauſe he could not live at the Council and pay his Penſions: So that he muſt either be diſcharg'd, or be gratified with an equivalent Sum (1) The poor Prelates concern'd themſelves for him, looking upon it as a common Cauſe; and ſome ſpoke out plainly, that 'twas an Affront to the Council, that an Officer of the Court of *Rome* ſhould proceed by Cenſures againſt a Biſhop who aſſiſted at it: That after ſuch an extravagant Proceeding the World would have reaſon to ſay, that the Council was not free: That to vindicate their Honour, they muſt cite the Auditor to *Trent*, or at leaſt give ſuch a Demonſtration of their Reſentment as might ſecure the Dignity of the Council. Others ſet themſelves to ſpeak againſt Penſions, and ſaid, it was very juſt, that the Rich Churches ſhould relieve the Poor, but in a way of Charity, and not by Conſtraint, nor ſo as to deprive themſelves of Neceſſaries, and that St. *Paul* taught the ſame thing (2): That it was unjuſt, that the poor Biſhops ſhould be forc'd by Cenſures to retrench themſelves of Neceſſaries to accommodate the Rich; and that this Abuſe deſerv'd very well to be provided againſt by the Council, and the ancient Uſage re-eſtabliſh'd. But the Legates conſidering whither ſuch juſt Complaints might tend, put an end to them, by promiſing that they would write to *Rome*, to ſtop the Proceedings againſt the Biſhop, and to grant him ſome Means " wherewith to ſubſiſt at the Council" *Palavicini* affirms (*g*), that the Acts of this Congregation ſay nothing of theſe Complaints, or of theſe Reflexions of the Prelates. He adds, that they would have been groundleſs, ſince it was very unjuſt to diſpenſe with paying one's Debts, upon pretence of aſſiſting at a Council. He does not deny that *Muſſo* being cited before the Auditor, repreſented modeſtly to the Legates his Neceſſities, and deſir'd their Aſſiſtance: Which he obtain'd; for upon their Recommendation, the Pope at that time reliev'd him very well, by making him a Preſent of a hundred Pieces of Gold, to the value of five and forty Pounds ten Shillings.

It is obſerv'd (*h*), that this Biſhop maintain'd ſtoutly, that the Scripture and Traditions deſerv'd an equal Reſpect; but at laſt abated a little, and propos'd, that inſtead of an *equal Reſpect*, it ſhould be ſaid, *a like Reſpect*, which Propoſal was rejected. *Palavicin* blames the Abatement *Ben è di maraviglia*, ſays he, *che il Muſſo havendo per se la bontà della cauſa, la forza della ragione, e'l numero de' ſeguaci, ſi ritiraſſe nella vegnente Congregazione, dalla ſentenza felicemente deſa; e proponeſſe che in luogo d'uguale, ſi poneſſe*, ſimigliante. *Il che non ſorti approvazione.* This Prelate was more Orthodox as to the matter of Reſidence, for he aſſerts (*i*) by many Reaſons, that it was *jure divino*. He practis'd this Doctrine too rollerably well (*k*) *Fanno ultimamente, e chiedo il parere, e ragionando eſſo Monſignore di ritornare alla ſua Chieſa, fu ſua renitenza, e mettere in oſſervanza il ſacro Concilio, anzi quello ch' egli haveva ſempre predicato al mondo, mantenuto nel medeſimo ſacro Concilio, e perſuaſo a ſua Beatitudine in materia della reſidenza, con dire ſpeſſo, ubi oves, ibi paſtor; ibi paſtor ubi oves ——— che ſe licenza à ſua Beatitudine, e l'hebbe, coſi parti per Bitonto.* His Explications of the Doctrine of Juſtification (*l*) were applauded in the Council. He rejected the rigid Hypotheſes (*m*) as to the Point of Predeſtination, and made an Apology for the Court of *Rome* (*n*) againſt thoſe who aſcrib'd the Abuſes in the Elections of Biſhops, and thoſe in the plurality of Benefices to the Pope's. In a word, he was look'd on (*o*) as the Right Hand of the Council. He and the Archbiſhop of *Matera* were the two whom the Diſpatches from the Legates extoll'd moſt (*p*).

Here follows a Paſſage which contains in it an Error of Commiſſion, and another of Omiſſion (*q*) *Inde Bertanori, mox Bitontii antiſtes electus Germaniam ad ſuadendum Ferdinando Imperatori concilium tranſmiſſus. ad id porro Tridentii alia tertia orbi celebritate mutum Julii tertii, non ita quarti Pontificum nutu hos profectus, diſputatoris, arbitri, examinatoris ſuſe pram acriter provinciam exercuit.* *Muſſo* was ſent to the Council by *Paul* III. and was not ſent thither by *Pius* IV. He has not therefore ſaid that which he ſhould have ſaid, and he has ſaid that which he ſhould not have ſaid. If you would have another Error, you need only conſider, that 'tis ſuppoſed he was ſent to *Germany* before *Julius* III departed him to the Council, which is palpably falſe, for it was *Pius* IV. that ſent him to the Court of *Ferdinand*.

(*E*) *He is mightily commended for his Chaſtity, his Sobriety.*] 'Tis pretended that he died a Virgin. (*a*) *Viſſe egli caſtiſſimo, e così nel ſuo, come in tutto il tempo ſuo, e ſi tiene che di quella integrità ſi ſegnaſſe, che nacque, ſi morìſſe ancora, poiche non ſi ſcoſſe mai in eſſo ne detto, ne fatto men ch'hon ſi in tutta la ſua vita, di che n'hanno fatto fede quelli che l'hanno praticato dalla gioventù fino alla ſua morte. Nel mangiare, e nel bere fu molto ſobrio, poiche bevea più acqua che vino, e di una o di due ſorte ſole de cibi, e quelli ſimplici contentava.*

(*F*) *His forgetting of Injuries.*] He was expoſed to the Perſecutions and Calumnies of envious Men, and never ſhow'd the leaſt Reſentment: (*b*) *Come huomo pazientiſſimo, e modeſtiſſimo in ſoppor ar le persecutioni e le calumnie de' ſuo emuli e adversarii cosi egli eran fatte, rendendo à ciaſcuno ſempre ben per male, e pregando il ſignore che a loro perdonaſſe.* His Calumniators who endeavour'd to oppreſs him, did not ſucceed in their Deſign, on the contrary all the Confuſion

(1) *Out of 600 Crowns which his Biſhoprick was worth, he paid* 200 *Penſion.*

(2) Veſtra abundantia illorum inopiam ſuppleat. 2 Cor. 8. Unuſquiſque prout deſtinavit in corde ſuo, non ex triſtitia, aut ex neceſſitate. Hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus. 2 Cor. 9.

(*g*) Palavic. lib. 6. c. 13 n. 4. p. m. 636.

(*h*) Id ib. c. 14 n. 3. p. 639

(*i*) Id. l. 6. c. 13. p. 709

(*k*) Giuſeppe Muſſo ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Pallavicin ubi ſupra, l. 8. c. 4 n. 14.

(*m*) Fra-Paolo, l. 7. p. 495

(*n*) Id ib. p. 531, 532

(*o*) Pallavicin ubi ſupra, c. 7 n. 4 p. 781.

(*p*) Id ib.

(*q*) Imperialis ubi ſupra.

(*a*) Giuſeppe Muſſo ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Id ib.

several Books, some of which (G) have been publish'd γ.

MUSTAPHA, Emperor of the *Turks* succeeded his Brother *Achmet*, who died *November* the 15th 1617 δ. The People soon found their Mistake in thinking him more capable of reigning than *Osman* the Son of *Achmet*. They therefore depos'd him about two Months After, and plac'd *Osman* upon the Throne of his Father. We shall shew elsewhere ζ, how *Mustapha* was restord, and then depos'd a second time.

MUSURUS (MARK) a Native of *Candia*, distinguish'd himself among the Learned Men who appear'd in *Italy* towards the beginning of the XVIth Century. He taught Greek in the University of *Padua* with great Reputation, and with so much Application in the discharge of * his Office, that he scarce miss'd reading publick Lectures four Days in a Year. He read 'em commonly at seven a Clock in a Morning. He was admirably skill'd in the Latin Tongue, which had scarce been observ'd before of any Greek transplanted into the West †, and he studied Philosophy with extraordinary Application. This is what is said of him by one who knew him (A) Personally. Some say, that the hopes of raising his Fortune, was that which (B) oblig'd him to go to *Rome*, to make his Court to *Leo* X. His Journey was not in vain, for he obtain'd of this Pope the Archbishoprick of *Malvazia* in the *Morea*, but scarce was he dignified with his high Title, when he died at *Rome* in the *Autumn* of the Year 1517 *, of a Dropsie, if we may believe *Paulus Jovius* ‡, who adds, that meer Grief at his not being promoted to a Cardinal's Hat, threw him into a languishing Disease. They add, that he was a good Poet, and that the Elogium of *Plato*, which he wrote in Greek Verse, and prefix'd to the Works of this Philosopher, was receiv'd with great Applause, and look'd on as a Piece which equall'd the best Poems of Antiquity. The same *Paulus Jovius* pretends, that the League which made War against the *Venetians*, oblig'd *Musurus* to quit his Professor's Place, and lie by for some time in his Study. This is not relating Matters accurately ||. Mr. *Varillas* has a very pleasant Article ‡ upon our *Musurus*: But all his Embellishments

γ *Taken from his Life written in Italian by* Giuseppe Musso, *sua creatura. It's Printed before the* prediche quadragesimali, *&c. di Cornelio* Musso. *I make use of the* Venice *Edition in* 1603.

δ Mercure François, tom. 5. ad ann. 1617. p. m. 185.

ζ *In the Article* Osman.

* Erasm. epist 5. l. 23 p 1209

† Id. ib.

‡ Paulus Bombasius epist. ad Erasmum 23. l. 2. inter Erasmianas.

‖ In elog c 30.

‡ *See the Remark* B

‡ Anecdotes de Florence, p. 180, 181, 112.

Confusion fell back upon themselves (c) Yet they put a stop to the advancement of his Fortune, and hinder'd his attaining some Dignities which had been promis'd him (d). If we knew all the Particulars of these Proceedings, we should the better know how far it's to be wondred at, that such a Man obtain'd as a Reward of all his Pains nothing more than the Bishoprick of *Patonto*.

(G) *Several Books: some of which have been publish'd*] His Treatise *de visitatione & de modo visitandi*, was Printed under the Title of *Synodus Bitontina*. The Author (e) who informs me of this, adds, that the three Books *de Deo & de divina historia*, would soon be Printed I find in *Ghilini* (f), that there are five Books of *Cornelio Musso, de historia divina*. But the principal Works of this Prelate are his Sermons: Several Volumes of 'em were publish'd after his Death (g) *Scrisse molte volumi di prediche, chiamati quadragesimali, oltre quelle stravaganzi che vanno fuori di diverse materie e soggetti.* There's a Discourse of *Bernardin Tomitano*, at the beginning of the first Volume, concerning the Beauty, the Method and the Character of the Sermons of our *Cornelio* The *prediche quadragesimali*, were dedicated to Cardinal *Farnese* in 1586, by *Giuseppe Musso*. You may see in *Moreri*, that *Gabriel Chapuis* publish'd a French Translation of the Sermons of this Prelate in 1584

(c) *See* Ghilini teatro parte 1. p. 59

(d) Communi literatorum fato livoris terros expertus aculeos destinata sibi honorum fastigia non attigit *Imperialis ubi supra.*

(e) Giuseppe Musso ubi supra.

(f) Ghilini ubi supra, p. 40.

(g) Giuseppe Musso ibid.

(A) *One that knew him personally.*] I mean *Erasmus*, and I'm persuaded that several will read with pleasure what he says of *Musurus*. (h) Patavii *nemineni vidi celebrem, mortuos tantum commemoro, præter* Raphaelem Regium *hominem admodum natu grandem, sed cruda viro viridisque senectus. Erat tum, ut opinor, non minor annis septuaginta, & tamen nulla fuit hyems tam aspera quin ille mane hora septima adiret* M. Musurum Græcè *profitentem, qui toto anno vix quatuor intermittebat dies quin publicè profiteretur. Iuvenes hyemis rigorem ferre non poterant, illum senem nec pudor nec hyems abigebat ab auditorio.* Musurus *autem ante fuit* [illegible] *tem peritis, postquam ex benignitate* Leonis *captivat esse Archiepiscopus, vir natione* Græcus, *numerum* Cretensis, *sed* Latinæ *linguæ usque ad miraculum doctus, quod vix ulli* Græco *contigit præter* Theodorum Gazam, *&* Joannem Lascarem *qui adhuc in vivis agit. Deinde totius Philosophiæ non tantùm studiosissimus, vir summis rebus natus, si licuisset superesse.* The Letter from whence I take these words, was written in 1524 *Erasmus* says something in it of the Father of *Mark Musurus*, a good old Man (i), who knew only his Mother-Tongue. It's somewhat considerable, and very glorious to the Greek Professor, that so learned a Man as *Raphael Regius* should so constantly frequent all his Lectures at seventy Years of Age. If all the Elogiums, which *Musurus* has receiv'd from *Gelius Rhodiginus* in an (k) Epistle be true, we cannot justly deny him the Title of a great Person

(h) Erasm epist 5. l 23. p. 1209.

(i) Quodam die cum domi ipsius cœnaturus essem & adesset pater seniculus, qui nihil nisi Græce sciebat. *Id ibid.*

I shall now cite an Author who gives him much Reading, a great Memory, a very penetrating Judgment, an admirable clear Head, and an exceeding Tenderness for his Father. (l) *Nihil erat tam reconditum, quod non aperiret, nec tam involutum quod non expediret Musurus, vere Musarum custos & antistes. Omnia legerat, excusserat omnia. Schemata loquendi, fabulas, historias, ritus veteres ad unguem callebat. Hanc tam consummatam eruditionem etiam insignis pietas commendabat, dum patrem Græculum jam grandævum amanter fideliterque foveret.*

(B) *The hopes of advancing his Fortune oblig'd him to go to* Rome] According to *Paulus Jovius* (m), the War forc'd him to quit his Professor's Place at *Padua*, when a formidable League (n) was form'd against the Republick of *Venice*: He must therefore have left *Padua* in 1509. *Paulus Jovius* would have *Musurus*, after this Retreat, to live quietly in his Study, till he went to *Rome*, whither *Leo* X. enticed him by the Rewards he bestow'd upon the most famous Wits. But having seen in a Letter written to *Erasmus* in 1518, that (o) the Senate of *Venice* had given publick notice, that at the End of two Months they would choose a Professor of the Greek Tongue in the room of *Mark Musurus*, I am tempted to reject what *Paulus Jovius* says; for I think it improbable, that after the *Venetians* had in 1509, beaten back the Emperor *Maximilian* who had besieg'd *Padua*, and that their Affairs were settled again in a better Condition than ever, they should not think of filling the Professor's Place of the Greek Tongue till 1518. But here are some Words of *Aldus Manutius*, which inform us, that *Paulus Jovius* did not speak exactly They shew, that *Musurus* read Lectures in *Venice* upon the Ancient Greek Authors, at the time that he was invited by *Leo* X. (p) *Hæc autem à nostris præstari tibi potuerunt suasore adjutoreque M. Musuro, quem nuper heroicarum literarum decus Venetis propagantem Græciæ priscis autoribus partim illustri juventuti enarrandis non sine laude, partim emendatione castigationeque in pristinum nitorem. quod ejus fieri potuerit, restituendis, Leo X. Pont Opt. Max. sponte sua nihil tale cogitantem admirabili consensu sacrosanctorum Cardinalium in Archiepiscopalem dignitatem evexit. Aldus Manutius* owns there the Assistance he had receiv'd from *Musurus* for publishing *Pausanias*. I shall add by the way, that at the Beginning of this Edition, there is a Greek Letter of *Musurus* to *John Lascaris*, which Mr. *Perrault* might have made an Advantage

(k) *Before the* 14th *book* des Antiques leçons

(l) Beat. Rhenan. in vita Erasmi, p. m. 33, 34.

(m) Jovius In elogiis, c. 30.

(n) Sæva conjuratione externarum gentium afflictis bello Venetis inde exturbatus. *Id. ib.*

(o) Scias in Senatu *Veneto* sanctum esse, atque etiam præconio publicatum, eligendum esse successorem *Marco Musuro*, qui publicè Græcas literas auditores doceat, stipendiumque centenorum aureorum decretum: *Epist. Erasm.* 28. l. 10. p. 530.

(p) Aldus Manutius præfat in Pausaniam.

ments to me shall seem Romance (C), till he produces better Proofs of his Narrative. We shall make (D) some Reflections on this Narrative, and on the Abridgment given of it

tage of, for it refutes those who admire none but the Ancients.

To rectifie this Narrative of *Paulus Jovius*, I think we must suppose, that *Mark Musurus* at his leaving *Padua*, retir'd to *Venice*, and there read Lectures till such time as he went to *Rome*. We must also say, that the Successor which the Senate of *Venice* had a mind to appoint in 1518, was to fill not the Professor's Chair at *Padua*, but that at *Venice*. We shall see hereafter (a) in a Passage of *Pierius Valerianus*, that *Musurus* taught first at *Padua*, and afterwards at *Venice*.

(a) *In the Remark ΕΔ.*

(C) *All his Embellishments to me shall seem Romance.*] He informs us, that *Musurus* had already signaliz'd himself in *Candia* by his Criticisms upon the Greek Authors, when the Republick of *Venice* gave him a Professor's Chair at *Padua*; that "The number of his Auditors in this last Place "was so great, that they were forc'd to enlarge "the publick School, and give *Musurus* leave to "teach Grammar in the Morning and Poetry at "Night, to satisfie those who had a mind to hear "him explain these two liberal Arts: That he "continu'd Professor till the War dispers'd his "Audience, and oblig'd himself to provide for his "own safety: That he retir'd to *Rome*, where he "wrote *a* (b) *Poem, which was thought too excellent "to be Compos'd by him; and therefore many would* rather suppose that he had found it in some ancient Manuscript, and publish'd it under his own Name: *That their* Distrust was grounded on this, "that it was not possible any Man should in those "Days compose a Piece, in which the Stile and "Beauty of the Greek Poetry in the Age of *Alexander* were retriev'd in the highest Perfection: *That* Musurus *himself help'd to confirm this "Opinion*, for he would write nothing more of that "kind, lest by a weak Piece, or one less finish'd, "he should diminish the high Reputation to "which he was advanc'd all of a sudden, and "without ever expecting it: That he contented "himself by explaining to the *Romans*, the finest "Places of *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Theocritus* and *Anacreon*, "to shew he was able to imitate them, since he "understood so perfectly the Turn and Delicacy "of their Verse; and to live so regular and even a "Life that People left off insensibly, the suspecting "him of any Fraud: That he was on such a Foot "when *Leo* X. was chosen Pope: *That he experienc'd the earliest Liberalities of this Pope, and was "promoted to the Archbishoprick of* Ragusa: *That he "presently set about* canvassing to be made a Cardinal: That he quitted his Books to study Intrigues, in which he became so able a Man, "that the Pope astonish'd at this Change, used to "chide, and sometimes rally him: That nevertheless he persisted in this way, and took such "new Measures with those whom he saw in "greatest Favour at Court, that they assur'd him "of a Cardinal's Hat the first Promotion; but "that the Pope purposely disappointed them, "that he might have the Diversion of seeing how "*Musurus* would turn himself next: That *Musurus* "did not forget to furnish his House, to encrease "his Train, and even prepare a Speech of Thanks "which he intended to make use of: *That not being included in the Promotion* of thirty one, who "were added at one time to the sacred College, "his Virtue prov'd too weak to digest the Affront "he thought he had receiv'd: That he complain'd "of it as a Contempt of the whole Greek Nation "in his own Person, and to carry his Resentment "as far as he could, fell sick of a Dropsie and "died.

(D) *Some Reflections upon this Narrative.*] In the first place I can hardly imagine, that if it had been necessary to enlarge the publick School, *Erasmus*, who could not be ignorant of this, should say nothing of it in the Passage above cited (c), where he tells us at what Hour, and with what exactness *Musurus* read his Lectures; how great was the Diligence of an old Man of 70 Years of Age to be present at them, and how much it exceeded that of the young Students in the coldest Weather. II. I have already said (d), that *Musurus* quitting *Padua*, when the *Venetian* State was ravag'd by the Enemy in 1509, did not wholly withdraw himself from the Service of the Republick of *Venice*. I add, that according to *Paulus Jovius*, he writ his Panegyrick upon *Plato* before he went to *Rome*: Where then has Mr. *Varillas* found that this Poem was written in *Rome*? III. If this Poem be only one of the Epigrams Printed before the Works of *Plato*, as *Vossius* (e) and Mr. *Baillet* (f) affirms; it's an Exaggeration beyond all the Bounds of good Rhetorick, to say all that Mr *Varillas* has said of it. He had better have translated *Paulus Jovius* litterally, an Author who does not much stand in need of a Paraphrase, he himself is a Paraphrast upon his own Thoughts, and loves to enlarge and spin 'em out in a great number of affected Words. Now see what he says of this Elogium of *Plato*: (g) *Est tot id poema, & in limine operum Platonis legitur, commendatione publica cum antiquis elegantiæ comparandum.* But once more, if this Poem be nothing but an Epigram, what can be more Childish than the Remark of *Paulus Jovius* (h), that the War did not reduce *Musurus* to such a state of Idleness, but that he made Verses in the praise of *Plato*? Does not this plainly suppose, that a Professor who is forc'd to quit his Place, is not wholly given up to Idleness, if it appear that he has made an Epigram? I shan't conceal what *Vossius* (i) has said, that it was believ'd, that *Leo* X. promoted *Musurus* to the Archbishoprick, chiefly upon the account of this Epigram. Mind the Exhortation which I shall make below (k). IV. It's a poor way of proving one's Innocence as to the stealing of other Men's Thoughts, to alledge, that he leads a good Life; it never was observ'd that a Plagiary is less *reclus in curia*, with respect to Manners, than they who cite their Authors, and scorn to deck themselves with another's Feathers. It's doubtless a moral Fault, and a real Sin to pirate Authors; but it's a Sin of such a Nature, as prevails neither more nor less in one who is Sensual and Debauch'd, than in the Chaste and Sober. V. *Musurus* did not obtain the Mitre till 1517; and therefore it's not true, that he experienc'd the earliest Liberalities of *Leo* X. who was made Pope in 1513. VI. He was not promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Ragusa*, but to that of *Malvasia* in the *Morea*. *Archiepiscopus Epidaurensis* in *Paulus Jovius*, signifies neither the Old nor the New *Ragusa*; but is the same Bishoprick with that which others call *Monembasiensis*. Thus we find that a Friend (l) of *Erasmus*, writing to him about the Death of *Musurus*, makes use of these words, *Marcus Musurus qui paulo* (m) *ante Monovasiensis Archiepiscopus esse caperat, hic autumno Romæ agens in communem abiit locum. Laurenzo Crasso* (n), who knew nothing almost of *Musurus* but what he had read in *Paulus Jovius*, has taken *Archiepiscopus Epidaurensis* for *Archbishop of Ragusa*: And several others have been mistaken in this as well as he. VII. There was so little time between the Nomination of *Musurus* to the Archbishop of *Malvasia*, and the Promotion of the thirty one Cardinals, that what Mr. *Varillas* makes him do in this Interval, all his canvassing for Votes, and all the Measures he took to arrive at a Cardinal's Hat, can be nothing but pure Romance. Besides, *Musurus* would not have been the last who complain'd of the small Regard they had at *Rome* for the Greek Nation, when there was made a Promotion of 31 Cardinals. We have already shown, that *Erasmus* made this Complaint to *Paul* III. VIII. The Passage (p) I have cited proves, that Mr *Varillas* has misrepresented the Complaint that *Musurus* made. I grant, that an Historian may represent Persons according to what they think, altho' they do not openly express themselves. But this requires two Conditions; one is, that it be manifest, or at least very probable that they think such a thing; the second, that the Historian give notice, that the Party has not said so or so; but however has sufficiently discovered,

(c) *In the Remark A.*

(d) *In the Remark B.*

(c) Vossius de Poët. Græc. p. 84.

(f) Jugemens sur les Poëtes, tom 3. p. 1248. p. 118. *Here's nothing of* Musurus *in the Edition of* Plato *at* Frankfort *in* 1602. *Translated by* Ficinus, *not at all of* 1578. *of* Henry Stevens, *Translated by* de Serres.

(g) Jovius ubi supra.

(h) Inde exturbatus ita tranquillum otium quæsivit, ut Græco carmine divi Platonis laudes decantaret. *Id. ib*

(i) Ubi supra. Konig *in relating this put* Leo XI *by a mistake for* Leo X.

(k) *In the Remark F*

(l) Paul Bombasius *His Letter among those of* Erasmus, *in the* 23*d of the* 2*d Book, and dated the* 6*th of* December 1517.

(m) Paulus Jovius *says to the same sense*, Vix ostentatis mitræ insignibus expirarit.

(n) Istor. de' Poeti Greci (p) Quum sæpe quæreretur Græci generis neminem quisi probro gentis lectum fuisse, quando princeps in donanda purpura maxime liberalis, uno comitiali die supra triginta nationum omnium delecta capita galero perornasset *Jovius's Elog. cap.* 30

it (*E*) in the Supplement to *Moreri*. *Muſurus* has not been forgotten in the Catalogue of unfortunate Learned Men (*EΔ*). But he is repreſented in it as a Man free from all Ambition, that Dignities appear'd to him an unſupportable Burden. Thus you ſee how differently Authors ſpeak of him. He publiſh'd only a ſmall number of Greek Verſes (*F*), and ſome Prefaces in Proſe. The Publick is indebted to him for the firſt Edition (*G*) of *Ariſtophanes* and for that of *Athenæus*. We ſhall mention the Judgment *Eraſmus* (*H*) gave of him. *Andreas Schottus* (*I*) ought not to have aſcrib'd to him the Great *Etymologicon*. The Sieur *Paulus Freherus* has committed a groſs Fault (*K*).

cover'd, that he thinks it. Mr. *Varillas* has not obſerv'd the laſt of theſe two Conditions; he repreſents *Muſurus* not as complaining inwardly in his Heart, but as expreſſing his Complaint *viva voce*, and in expreſs Words, that the Greek Nation had been deſpis'd in his Perſon. He did not complain ſo, he only ſaid, that to create more than thirty Cardinals in one Day, without promoting any one *Greek*, was an Affront to that Nation. Here's nothing in theſe Words that concerns the Perſon of *Muſurus*: The Expreſſions may admit of this Senſe, that if any Greek had been promoted, *Muſurus* had not complain'd that he was forgotten. It plainly appears, you'll ſay, what his Thought was. I own it, but then we muſt ſay he thought ſo and ſo, and not that he ſaid it.

(*E*) *Given it in the Supplement to* Moreri.] I have nothing to ſay of it, more than that the Author of the Supplement has not corrected any thing in the *Anecdotes* of Mr. *Varillas*.

(*EΔ*) *In the Catalogue of unfortunate Learned Men.*] Theſe are the Words of *Pierius Valerianus*: (*a*) *Neque Marci Muſuri ſortem quiſquam lætam dixerit, qui licet & Patavii, & Venetiis apud nobilitatem veſtram ſumma omnium commendatione, & gratia complures annos Græcas litteras docuiſſet, & doctrinæ nomine ab Leone Decimo Pontifice Maximo duplici flaminis honore decoratus, à Julio ejus Pontificis fratre tunc Cardinali ſacerdote, qui nunc eſt ſummus Pontifex, in amicitiam ſuſceptus magna omnium dilectione coleretur, neſcio qua tamen animi mæſtitia clam exulceratus, ut qui non modo non dignitatem ullam, aut beneficii commodum in eo vitæ colore duceret, qui hominum opinione judicatur ampliſſimus, ſed ſibi ſumma in libertate verſari ſolito ſummam etiam deformitatem, & miſeriam arbitraretur, in occultum ex ea cura incidit morbum, cujus nulli Medicorum cauſa cognita, interque tacitas anxietates, miſerrimaſque fortunæ ſuæ deplorationes diutiſſime vexatus expiravit.*

(*F*) *Only a ſmall number of Greek Verſes.*] Theſe Words of *Geſner* appear to me remarkable: (*b*) *Marcus Muſurus Cretenſis ſcripſit epigrammata aliquot, præcipuè in Græcos libros per Nicolaum Blaſtum Venetiis impreſſos circa annum* 1500, *quibus ipſe opinor corrigendis præfuit: item præfationes aliquas proſa, ut in Etymologicon Græcum, &c.* They appear to me remarkable for two Reaſons; becauſe they give me an opportunity to exhort thoſe who have proper Libraries at their command, to declare in the firſt place, whether the Epigram upon *Plato* is to be found among the others which *Muſurus* publiſh'd towards the Year 1500; in the ſecond place, whether he was Corrector of *Blaſtus*'s Printing Preſs at *Venice*, as *Geſner* believ'd. One might laugh heartily at *Paulus Jovius*, and ſome others, if it ſhould appear that this Epigram preceded the famous League of *Cambray* againſt the Republick of *Venice*.

I hop'd that the Exhortation juſt now read might procure me all the Information I ſtood in need of; and yet no body has had the goodneſs to come in to my Relief: However I have found ſomething to my purpoſe in a Book of Mr. *Chevillier*. There I find that our *Muſurus* was really Corrector of a Printing-Preſs, and *that he* (*d*) *Corrected the great* Etymologicon, *which was Printed at* Venice *in Folio in* 1499, *by* Zachary Calliergus, *at the Expence of* Nicolas Blaſtus. I have found alſo, "that "*Aldus Manutius with whom he Corrected the Greek* "*Manuſcripts, and Revis'd the Printed Sheets, inſerted* "*his Elogy in theſe Words in the Greek* Plato *of* 1513. "Muſurus Cretenſis, magno Vir judicio, magnâ "doctrinâ, qui hos Platonis Libros accuratè re- "cognovit, cum antiquiſſimis conferens Exempla- "ribus, ut unà mecum, quod ſemper facit, mul- "tum adjumenti afferret & Græcis & noſtris ho- "minibus." I was ſtill at a loſs as to the Poem wherein *Muſurus* made *Plato*'s Elogium, but am ſet right by the good Offices (*c*) of Mr. *Villemandi*, who has taken the pains to conſult the Copy in the Library at *Leyden*. He writes to me, that the *Plato* Printed at *Venice, in ædibus Aldi & Andreæ Soceri*, in 1513, contains after the Epiſtle (*f*) Dedicatory, a Greek Poem of two Hundred Hexameter and Pentameter Verſes, which fill up four Pages, and written after *Muſurus*'s ſtrain, being an Elogium of *Plato*. From hence we conclude, that *Voſſius* ought not to have call'd it an Epigram: However *Paulus Jovius*'s Proof from it, that the Author was not idle after his Departure from *Padua*, is certainly ridiculous.

(*G*) *For the firſt Edition of* ——— *and* Athenæus.] We have already obſerv'd in the proper Place, that *Caſaubon* thought this Edition very defective: Yet *Aldus Manucius* who Printed it, praiſes the Care of *Muſurus*. Thus he ſpeaks: *Muſurus noſter libros hos ſic accurate recenſuit collatos & cum multis exemplaribus, & cum epitome, ut infinitis pene in locis eos emendaverit, carminaque quæ veluti proſa in aliis legebantur, in ſua metra reſtituerit. Adde quod primus & ſecundus liber, qui in aliis deerant, ex epitome additi ſunt cum bona parte tertii libri: erat enim hic ſine capite, quo factum eſt, ut iidem ferè hi exiſtimari poſſint, qui erant integri, quoniam ea eſt materia, ut non multa ſubtrahi ex eis potuerint* (*b*).

(*H*) *The Judgment which* Eraſmus *gave of him.*] See what I have already cited (*i*) out of one of his Letters; and add what here follows: (*k*) *M. Muſurum propius novi, virum inſigniter eruditum in omni diſciplinarum genere, in carmine ſubobſcurum & affectatum: oratione proſa præter unam alteramve præfationem nihil, quod ſciam, reliquit. Mirabar hominem Græcum tantum ſcire Latine. Et hunc fortuna retinuit à Muſis, dum Leonis favore Romam accitus incipit Archiepiſcopus eſſe, fato præreptus eſt.* Theſe Words incline us to believe, that *Muſurus* renounc'd the Profeſſion of Letters from the time when *Leo* X. did him the favour to invite him to *Rome*: Yet 'tis certain that he was Profeſſor at *Rome*, as appears by theſe Verſes:

Ce (*l*) *mien Pere, Angevin, gentilhomme de race,*
L'un des premiers François qui les Muſes embraſſe,
D'ignorance ennemi, deſireux de ſçavoir,
Paſſant torrens & monts juſqu'a Rome alla voir
MUSURE *Candiot: qu'il ouit pour apprendre*
Le Grec des vieux auteurs, & pour docte s'y rendre:
Où ſi bien travailla, que dedans quelques ans
Il ſe fit admirer, & des plus ſuffiſans.

(*I*) Andreas Schottus *ought not to have aſcrib'd to him the great* Etymologicon.] Mr. *Menage* (*m*) was he who clear'd this Miſtake, and refuted it by obſerving that *Euſtathius* has cited this *Etymologicon*. This deſerv'd the Parentheſis I am now to ſet down. *Auctor magni Etymologici quiſquis tandem ille ſit* (*Nicam eſſe ſcribit amicus noſter Iſaacus Voſſius in notis ad Pomponium Melam: quod an verum ſit neſcio: certe falſum eſſe ſcio, quod vir doctiſſimus Andreas Schottus, in præfatione ad proverbia Græcorum, exiſtimabat, auctorem hujus libri eſſe Marcum Muſurum, ſiquidem ab Euſtathio Magnum Etymologicon laudatur Auctor, in quam Etymologici conditorem Academia, & Academum & Ecademum fuiſſe dictum ſcribit.*

(*K*) Paulus Freherus *has committed a groſs Fault.*] He has not only rank'd *Muſurus* in the number of Cardinals, but has built his Aſſertion on the Teſtimony of *Paulus Jovius*. He cites this Author alone, and ſets down his Words, which plainly ſhew, that *Muſurus* died of Grief, at his not obtaining the Purple. And yet *Paulus Freherus* ſays (*n*), *Vix deguſtata Cardinalatus dignitate Romæ exſpirarit.*

(*a*) Pier. Valer. de literat. infelicit. l. 1. p. 11.

(*b*) Geſner in Biblio. fol. 495. verſo.

(*d*) Chevillier, origine de l'imprimerie de Paris p. 194.

(*c*) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des lettres, Oct. 1685. art. 5. & Auguſt 1686. art. 6.

(*f*) *Addreſſ to* Leo X.

(*b*) Aldus in præfat. Athenæi.

(*i*) *Above in Remark A.*

(*k*) Eraſm in Ciceronian.

(*l*) *It's* Antony de Baif *who ſpeaks of* Lazarus de Baif, *his Father, in a letter to* Charles IX. *it's before his Works Printed at* Paris *in* 1573. *in* 8.

(*m*) Notis ad Diog. Laertium l. 3. n. 7. p. 141.

(*n*) In Theatro viror. erudit. p. 25.

A N
Hiſtorical and Critical
DICTIONARY.

N.

NANNIUS † (JOHN) a famous *Dominican* Monk, commonly call'd *Annius Viterbienſis*, was raiſed to the degree of Maſter of the Sacred Palace in the Year 1499. He died on the 13th of *November* 1502, at the age of ſeventy Years β. The City of *Viterbo* was ſo proud of being the Place of his Nativity, that in the Year 1618 * they repair'd his Epitaph. He was one that wanted no Learning according to the time he liv'd in. He underſtood the Oriental Languages ‡, and wrote Commentaries on the Scriptures ⸸. He was a long time Profeſſor of Divinity: But nothing brought him ſo much into the Eye and Vogue of the World, as his Edition (*A*) of ſome very ancient Authors whoſe Works were ſuppos'd to have been loſt. 'Tis true, almoſt all the (*B*) Learned have but little valu'd this Edition, as looking upon it to be ſuppoſititious; of which we are now more than ever convinc'd; for although there have been from time to time certain Authors (*C*) that have defended him, yet

† *He is ſo nam'd in his Epitaph.* Altamura in Bibliotheca Dominican. p. 223.

β *He was not therefore born in the Year* 1437, *as* Moreri *aſſures us, after* Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 609.

* Altamura ubi ſupra.

‡ Leand. Albert. in Deſcripe. Italiæ, pag. m. 115.

⸸ *See the Catalogue of 'em in the Epitomy of* Geſner's *Bibliotheque.*

(*a*) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his Queſtions*, pag. 594: *Edition of* Antwerp 1552 *in* 8vo.

(*b*) Lib. 7. de Salomo. cap. 27. Numb. 4. apud Theophil. Raynaud. de malis & bonis libris n. 269. pag. m 164.

(*c*) *Entituled* Hiſpaniæ Bibliotheca. *See there, pag.* 354, *&c.*

(*d*) Schottus in Hiſpaniæ Bibliotheca, pag. 355.

(*e*) *Printed in the Year* 1557. *See* Bibliotheca Hiſpan. Script. *of* Nicolao Antonio. T. 1. pag. 398.

(*f*) *The Hiſtory of Hiſtories.* p. 209.

(*g*) In Antiquitatibus Veronenſibus.

(*h*) In Ceſoraph. Pitanis, p. 5. *This Work was printed in the Year* 1681.

(*i*) *His Name is* Francis Sparaverius, *a Native of* Verona.

(*k*) De Hiſt. Latinis, p 609.

(*l*) In Bibliotheca Dominic.

(*m*) Ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Sigonius de antiquo jure Italiæ. L. 1. c. 25. fol. m. 54 verſo.

(*o*) *The Italian Journal of the* 28*th of* Feb. 1674, *mentions it.*

(*p*) *See the* Italian *Journal of the* 26*th of* January 1675.

(*q*) *See the* 8*th* Italian *Journal of the Year* 1678, p. 121.

(*A*) *His Edition of ſome very ancient Authors.*) Here follows a Liſt of the Pieces contain'd in this Collection of *Annius*: *Archilochi de temporibus Epitome lib. I. Xenophontis de Æquivocis lib. I. Beroſi Babylonici de Antiquitatibus Italiæ ac totius orbis lib. V. Manethonis Egyptii ſupplementa ad Beroſum lib. I. Metaſthenis Perſæ, de judicio temporum, & Annalibus Perſarum lib. I. Philonis Hebræi de temporibus lib. II. Joannis Annii de primis temporibus, & quatuor ac viginti regibus Hiſpaniæ, & ejus antiquitate lib. I. Ejuſdem de antiquitate & rebus Ethruriæ lib. I. Ejuſdem Commentariorum in Propertium de Vertumno ſive Jano lib. I. Q. Fabii Pictoris de aureo ſæculo, & origine urbis Romæ lib. II. Myſili Lesbii de origine Italiæ, ac Turrheniæ lib. I. M. Catonis fragmenta de originibus lib. I. Antonini Pii Cæſarus Auguſti Itinerarium lib. I. C. Sempronii de Chorographia ſive deſcriptione Italiæ lib. I. Joannis Annii de Etruſca ſimul & Italica Chronographia lib. I. Ejuſdem Quæſtiones de Thuſcia lib. I. Cl. Marii Arctii, Patricii Syracuſani de ſitu inſulæ Siciliæ lib. I. Ejuſdem Dialogus in quo Hiſpania deſcribitur.* The firſt Edition of this Work was publiſh'd at *Rome* by *Eucharius Silber* in 1498. The ſecond at *Venice* the ſame Year by *Bernardino Veneto*; but without our Author's Commentaries. As for other Editions, there were ſeveral publiſh'd afterwards in divers Places. I make uſe of that of *Antwerp.* publiſh'd in 1552 in 8vo. The Author dedicated thoſe Books to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, becauſe, he tells them, they were recovered at the time Their Majeſties ſubdued the Kingdom of *Granada*. He pretends to have found them at *Mantua*, when (*a*) he was there with his Patron *Paul de Campo Fulgoſo* Cardinal of St *Sixtus*. This Work is not divided into 27 Books, as *Moreri* will have it, but into 17; which however may not be *Moreri*'s Fault, but his Printers.

(*B*) *Almoſt all the Learned have but little valu'd.*] The Article *Annius* of *Viterbo* in *Voſſius*, is very well fill'd, and Mr *Moreri* has not a little profited by it; whence it comes, that you find in his Dictionary ſo ample and curious an Account of this Dominican. You meet alſo there with the Names of ſeveral Learned Men that have confuted him; but one would do well to have recourſe to *Voſſius* himſelf, who not only names divers other Criticks, but quotes their Words. *Pineda* (*b*) alſo names ſeveral. *Andrew Schot* has inſerted in one (*c*) of his Books two learned Digreſſions: Firſt, a ſhort Account of the Antiquities of *Antwerp*, publiſh'd by *Goropius Becanus*; and, ſecondly, a Tranſlation of the Cenſure *Gaſpar Barreiros* publiſh'd upon *Annius*. This Author printed his Book firſt at *Rome* (*d*) in *Latin*, and afterwards in his Mother-Tongue, the *Portugueſe*. This Cenſure is inſerted, according to the *Latin* Edition, in the Collection of *Annius*'s Works, printed in *Germany* by the *Commelins*; whereas *Andrew Schot* has given it us from the *Portugueſe*, which he tranſlated himſelf into *Latin*. Don *Nicolas Antonio* did not know that *Gaſpar Barreiros* had publiſh'd this Cenſure in *Latin*; he ſpeaks only of the *Portugueſe* Edition (*e*). *Barreiros* and *Goropius Becanus* ſhow the Forgery of *Annius* plainly. *La Popeliniere* has alſo written (*f*) againſt this Author, but I know not whether his Work was ever publiſh'd. The learned *Onuphrius Panvinius*, (*g*) declar'd openly againſt theſe Writings; and there appeared at *Bologna*, in the Year 1638, a Letter of *John Baptiſt Aguchi*, wherein theſe pretended antient Authors are refuted. Father *Noris* (*h*) has alſo quoted a Perſon, (*i*) who had lately written againſt this Work of *Annius*. I think *Volaterran* and *Sabellicus* were the firſt that declar'd they look'd upon theſe Authors to be ſpurious.

(*C*) *Certain Authors that have defended him.*] When I ſay the greateſt part of the Learned have look'd upon theſe Pieces of *Annius* as ſpurious, I do not deny, but there have been ſeveral famous Authors who have thought them Authentick. *Voſſius* (*k*) names among theſe laſt *Leander Alberti*, *Nauclerus*, *Driedo*, *Valerius Anſelmus*, *Joannes Lucidus*, *Medina*, and *Sixtus Senenſis*; nay, if we believe *Altamura* (*l*), *Pineda* ought alſo to be join'd with them: But *Theophilus Rainaud* (*m*) reckons him among thoſe that have rejected the Writers of *Annius*. I find *Albert Krantz*, and even *Sigonius*, have eſteemed theſe Writers Authentick. Here follows a Paſſage of *Sigonius*: (*n*) *Quibus Epitomis* (Caronis) *meritò tantam ego tribuo auctoritatem, quantam incorruptis veteribus monumentis meritò tribuendam eſſe.* An *Italian* Dominican, one *Tomaſo Mazza*, publiſh'd (*o*) a Folio at *Verona* in the Year 1573, whoſe Title was, *Apologia per Frate Gioanni Annio Viterbeſe.* His principal Intent was to prove, that if there were any Falſity in that Publication, it was not to be imputed to *Annius*: But he goes farther, and maintains thoſe Writings were Authentick; nay, he endeavours to anſwer all the Objections againſt them. This Apology having been criticized, Father *Macedo* fell upon the Critick, not (*p*) with a Deſign to maintain that the *Beroſus*, &c. publiſh'd by *Annius*, was the true *Beroſus*, but to ſhow that *Annius* had not forg'd thoſe Manuſcripts. A more modern Apologiſt pretends to prove both the one and the other: His Name is *Didimus Rapalligerus Livianus*. He publiſh'd at *Verona* in the Year 1678, a Work in *Folio*, Entituled, (*q*) *I Gothi illuſtrati; ovvero Iſtoria de i Gothi antichi.*

yet for the moſt part, even the *Dominicans* have acknowledged his Works to be ſpurious. They content themſelves with affirming, that their *Annius* was an honeſt Man, and not an (*D*) Impoſtor, as he is commonly ſaid to be. A Perſon that had ſeen him ſaid †, he was a Fool.

† Scaligerana voce *Annius.*

NAOGEORGUS ‡ (THOMAS) a Native of *Straubingen* in *Bavaria*, liv'd in the XVI Century. He compos'd divers Latin (*X*) Verſes, which did not pleaſe the *Romans* Catholicks, becauſe they were ſevere Satyrs againſt them. A *Sorbon* (*Y*) Doctor, who in the Year 1670, publiſh'd ſome Treatiſes againſt the Rejoycings of the *Twelfth-Day*, obſerves that *Naogeorgus* had not omitted to reproach the Catholicks with Superſtitions and Exceſſes at that Feaſt. The *German* Name of this Author was * *Kirchmaier*. He was one that underſtood *Greek* indifferently well (*Y*). He was born ‡ in the Year 1511, and dy'd in the Year 1578, or thereabouts.

‡ *And not* Naogeorgius, *as* Borrichius *calls him; nor* Neageorgius, as Konig.

One of his Dramatick Pieces was repreſented at *Heidelberg* under ſo benign a Conſtellation, that, as it is ſaid, the Heavens declar'd in (*Z*) its Favour. This Paſſage deſerves to be related.

NAPLES (JOAN I. Queen of) deſcended from (*A*) *Charles* of *Anjou* Brother to St.

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antichi. In this Piece he gers together all the reaſons he can to prove that the Writers which *Annius* publiſhed were Authentick, and that this Dominican by no means invented them. 'Tis very well known, ſays he, *Beroſus* was given him at *Genoa*, by Father *George* of *Armenia* a Dominican; and that he had all the reſt, except *Manetho*, from *William* of *Mantua*. Now, though we know not whence he had *Manetho*, yet ought we not to believe he forg'd it: His Candour in all other Reſpects ought to ſecure him againſt this Cenſure. As to thoſe who accuſe him of trumping up Marble Tables, pretending them to be antick though he had forg'd them, this Author defends him, ſhewing that Acculation is calumnious; ſome of theſe Tables having been diſcovered before *Annius*'s Birth, and others by Perſons that preſented them to Pope *Alexander* VI. (*a*) *E tacciato per impoſtore d' alcune tavole di marmo dalle quali diede in luce la ſpiegazione. Se però ſi deve ponderare la verità, con ſodi argomenti queſt' Autore libera dall' impoſture de ſuoi Avverſarii Annio, con provar evidentemente eſſer le due tavole da lui chiamate Libiſcille dal luogo, ove furono trovate, ſtate diſſepellite molto tempo avanti che Annio naſceſſe..... E in quanto alle due Cibelarie, e la Longobarica, furono da altri trovate e preſentate ad Aleſſandro VI. per tacere dell' Oſiriana che avanti che naſceſſe Annio, fu reſa alla luce.*

(*a*) Giornale viii. de Letterati 1678, pag 122.

(*D*) *And that* Annius *was not an Impoſtor.*] I have already mentioned thoſe Perſons that endeavour'd to defend him, and refer my Reader to the Appendix of (*b*) *Altamura*, where he will meet with the names of divers other Apologiſts. I was ſurpriz'd to find there that *Altamura* was not acquainted with any Author before *Petrus a Valleclauſa* that had accus'd *Annius* of *Viterbo* of Impoſture: But let us take notice, that this *Petrus a Valleclauſa*, Author of a Book *de Immunitate Cyriacorum a Cenſuris*, was no other than *Theophilus Rainaud*. Now it is certain, that before him an infinite number of Authors had accus'd *Annius* of Impoſture: See in *Moreri* the Paſſage of *Antonius Auguſtinus*. That which is pleaſant is, that in a certain Book, where *Theophilus Rainaud* was not in an ill humour with the Dominicans, as when he conceal'd himſelf under the name of *Petrus a Valleclauſa*, he declares, that conſidering the Profeſſion of *John Annius*, he was inclinable (*c*) to believe him innocent. Let us conclude with the Words of a Lutheran, who believed the Authors which *Annius* publiſh'd, were Authentick; and, that if there were any faults found in them, they were rather to be imputed to the Ignorance or Malice of the Copyers, than to this Monk. *Quod enim*, ſays he (*d*), *per Deum immortalem, prodigium fuerit clauſtralem illum & minime tam profunde doctum Monachum talia comminiſci poſſe? Ais multa ineſſe ficta, minime pro iis auctoribus. Nec nos negamus interpolatos univerſos illos auctores, ruptos, fractos, minime bona aut fide aut intelligentia tranſlatos, tamen antiquitus ex legitimis veriſque auctoribus excerptos, talia argumenta ſunt, ut quæ contra aſſeruntur omnia evanelcant. Vel unum Catonem mihi vide. Cerſe, recenſe, damna etiam ut libet, videbis tamen veri illius Catonis, & fateberis etiam, ingenium ſtilumque hic ſupereſſe, quos mentiri aut fingere non fuit talium hominum.*

(*b*) Appendix Bibliothecæ Dominic. pag. 527.

(*c*) Fortaſſis tamen ab alio quopiam impoſitum eſt ipſi Annio, quem doli expertem fuiſſe malo exiſtimare, cum Religioſum inſtituerum Prædicatorum ſit profeſſus. Th. Raynaudus de malis ac bonis libris, n. 269, pag. m. 164.

(*d*) Earthius in Animadverſionibus ad Gallum. pag. 62.

(*X*) *He compos'd divers* Latin *Verſes.*] The moſt famous of his Poems was that entituled *Bellum Papiſticum*. He publiſh'd it in the Year 1553, and dedicated it to *Philip* Landgrave of *Heſſe*: It is in Hexameter Verſe, and divided into four Books. The Author reſided at *Baſil* when he printed it. He compos'd alſo divers Tragedies which may be ſtil'd *Controverſial*: Such is that entituled *Pammachius*, which he dedicated to *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The Prologue begins with theſe four Verſes:

Quid adferamus ſi vacat cognoſcere
Spectatores, paucis exponam ſingula:
Pammachium, qui Romanus eſt Epiſcopus,
Evangelicæ doctrinæ cepit tædium.

It came out in the Year 1537: Such another is this that follows, (*e*) *viz. Incendia, ſive Pyrgopolinices tragœdia, nefanda quorundam Papiſtarum facinora exponens.* His *Mercator* (*f*) is of the ſame kind; whoſe Title runs thus, *Mercator, ſeu judicium in qua* (Tragœdia) *in concilio ponuntur Apoſtolica & Papiſtica doctrina, quantum utraque in conſcientiæ certamine valeat & efficiat, & quis utriuſque futurus ſit exitus.* He (*g*) alſo compos'd five Books of Satyrs, *An abridgment of Eccleſiaſtical Tenets*, and ſome other Poems.

(*e*) *Publiſh'd at* Wittemberg *in the Year* 1538.

(*f*) *Publiſh'd in the Year* 1539.

(*g*) *See* Borrichius de Poetis. pag. 134; *or rather the Epitomy of* Gesner's *Bibliotheque.*

(*Y*) *He underſtood Greek indifferently well.*] He tranſlated into *Latin* divers Tracts of *Plutarch*, *Dion Chryſoſtom*, and the Letters of *Syneſius*.

(*Z*) *That the Heavens declar'd in its Favour. This Paſſage deſerves*, &c.] This Dramatick Piece of *Naogeorgus* is entitled *Haman*. It was repreſented at *Heidelberg* on the 24th of *Auguſt*: The Elector's Scholars (*h*) were the Actors in it. A Theatre was erected for that purpoſe in a Court of the Monaſtery of the Cordeliers. There was ſo great an Appearance of much Rain while the Actors were preparing themſelves, that it was thought it could not be play'd: But all of a ſudden the Sky clear'd up, the Sun appear'd; which laſted not only for a moment, but during all the time of the Repreſentation. (*i*) *Ibi ſubito qui poſt nubila latuerat ſol, quaſi ad ſpectaculum venit, tus videns prorupit, nec uſque dum ludi exacti eſſent vel minimæ nubeculæ locum conceſſit.* Yet the Play was no ſooner over than the Air began to be cloudy again; and ſo remain'd for great part of the Winter (*k*). Mr. *Fabricius*, Profeſſor at *Heidelberg*, relates this in a Diſſertation, wherein he maintains that a good uſe may be made of Stage-plays. This he oppos'd to a certain popular Report, that as often as Plays were acted, a Tempeſt was ready to riſe. *Quoniam nuper inaudivi te nescio quas jactare obſervationes de tempeſtatibus quoties Comœdiæ edebantur ex improviſo obortis, operæ pretium fuerit brevem tibi narrare hiſtoriolam qua & imaginaria tua experientia confutetur, & quid olim hic factum ſit edoceatis.* From this Remark, we learn that thoſe who condemn any Practice, are uſed to ſuppoſe that Heaven declares in their Favour: This they eaſily make People believe; and thereby keep their Minds in Slavery. But the beſt way would be to make them prove their Aſſertions, or elſe oppoſe them with contrary Obſervations.

(*h*) Frederick *the Prous.*

(*i*) Joannes Ludovicus Fabricius de Ludis ſcenis, pag. 101.

(*k*) Ipſa vero hora qua ſpectatores domum redierant redierunt & nimbi, nec abillo die (erat autem xxiv. Auguſti) in adultam uſque hiemem ceſſarunt. *Id. ibid.*

(*A*) *Daughter of* Charles of *Anjou*, *Brother to St.* Lewis.] *Charles* of *Anjou* created King of *Naples* and *Sicily* by the Pope in the Year 1266, did not obtain a peaceable Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom before the Defeats (*l*) of *Manfred*, and (*m*) *Conradin*. He died in the Year 1285. *Charles* the Lame his Son, ſucceeded him, and was married to *Mary* of *Hungary*, Siſter and Heireſs of *Uladiſlaus* IV. King of *Hungary*. From this Marriage came ſeveral Children: The eldeſt known by the name of *Charles Martel* was King of *Hungary*: The ſecond named *Robert* was King of *Naples*: The third nam'd *Philip*, founded the Branch of the Princes of *Taranto*: And the fourth, nam'd *John*, founded that of the Dukes of *Durazzo*. *Robert* King of *Naples* was Father to *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*, who died the 10th of *November* 1328. and who had two Daughters, *viz. Joan*, who is the Subject of this Article, and *Mary* married

(*l*) *The* 26*th of February* 1266. *Anſelm Hiſt. Genealog. p.* 336.

(*m*) *The* 23*d of* Auguſt 1268. *Id. ibid.*

St. *Lewis* King of *France* succeded King *Robert* her Grandfather in the Year 1343. She was (*B*) already married to her Cousin *Andrew*, Son to *Charles* King of *Hungary*. They reigned together three Years *; at the end of which, 'tis said, she caus'd him to be strangled; And, if we believe the scandalous Chronicle, the Cause was, because he was not sufficiently (*C*) provided for her. She had recourse in a short time (*D*) to a second Marriage, marrying *Lewis* † Son of *Philip* Prince of *Taranto*: But she did not peaceably enjoy

ried to *Charles* of *Durazzo* her Cousin. *Robert* being then Grandfather to *Joan* bequeath'd her his Kingdom, and died at *Naples* the 19th of *January* in the Year 1343 (*a*). *Pandolphus Collenuccio* (*b*) is deceiv'd, where he says, that *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*, left three Daughters. *Tomaso Costo* (*c*) has mended this fault in his Supplement to the History of that Author.

(*B*) *She was already married to* Andrew.] Here follows a new Error of *Collenuccio*: He pretends (*d*), that *Joan* married *Andrew* after the Death of *Robert*, and that purely to comply with the Will of her deceased Grandfather; but he should have said that *Robert*, a little after the Death of the Duke of *Calabria*, thought of marrying his Grand-daughter to one of the Sons of *Charobert* King of *Hungary*, his Nephew. The Proposal he made to the King of *Hungary* was accepted. *Charobert* went to the Kingdom of *Naples* in the Year 1333, with *Andrew* his second Son, aged about seven Years. The Nuptials were solemniz'd at *Naples* with great Pomp on the 26th of *September* 1333. The Year following the King of *Hungary* return'd home, leaving his Son at *Naples* with King *Robert* (*e*). I never yet read when the Marriage was consummated, perhaps immediately, which might be the Cause of that Weakness which was so fatal to the Husband. I have read in an *Italian* Author, that he was but seven Years old when he married the Princess *Joan*: Yet I find in Father *Anselm* (*f*), that he was born the 30th of *November* 1327; then he must hardly be six Years old at the time of his Marriage. There is great likelihood he consummated it betimes; and having an *Italian* Wife, something elder than he, and consequently more ripe for Marriage, it could not be expected that he should perform the Duties of Matrimony without weakning himself; which gave occasion to those Reproaches of Effeminacy, which we shall speak of in the following Remark. *Spondanus* relates, that Queen *Joan* began to despise her Husband, because, being but 19 Years of Age, he could not content her. (*g*) *Sunt porro qui dicant Joannam in contemptum viri devenisse, tum ob subbarbaros mores Hungariæ, tum ob ignaviam, & quod usu Veneris libidini ejus non sufficeret adolescens tunc annorum undeviginti.* If she complain'd of him when he was 19 Years (*h*) old, could she be satisfied with him when he was but fifteen? However it be, they liv'd but ill together in the Year 1343. The Queen of *Hungary*, Mother to *Andrew*, made a Journey to *Italy* this same Year; and return'd much dissatisfied with the Behaviour of her Daughter-in-Law, and the unfortunate Condition she found her Son in. (*i*) *Elizabeth Regina mater Ludovici visitavit sedem Apostolicam, transivit per Apuliam, cui fuit obvius Andreæ filius suus cum Johanna Regina conjuge sua: & ex Neapoli veniens fuit valde honorata etiam a populo Romano. Ex Neapoli redut in Hungariam male contenta de moribus Johannæ nurus suæ, quam vidit male tractare Andream filium suum in regno Apuliæ.*

(*C*) *Not sufficiently provided for her.*] Let us see how *Brantome* relates this. "(*k*) *Joan* eldest Daughter (*l*) of King *Robert*... had for her first Husband her Cousin-German (*m*) *Andrew*; with whom having reigned some time, she began at length to be disgusted at him; so both being one Night in the City of *Aversa*, he being absent, she sent for him, under pretence of discoursing him about some Affairs that had newly happened: He going to know her pleasure, and coming under a Beam, was taken and hang'd by Order from the Queen. Most People agree this was occasion'd by his not being able to satisfie her inordinate Lust, though he were young, brisk, and in good Health. It has also been reported, both at *Naples* and elsewhere, that the same Lady making one Day a Gold string of a more than ordinary size, her Husband *Andrew* ask'd her what she was making it for; she answer'd, To hang him. It seems she made so little account of him, that she car'd not what she said to him; whilst he, poor Man, took no notice of her Threats; yet the Event shew'd she was as good as her Word." *Montagne*, speaking against those who complain that their Wives are not satisfied with them, among other things, says, (*n*) *Inconstancy is peradventure, more pardonable in them than in us: They may allege, with us, a common Inclination to Variety and Novelty, and even without us, that they purchase a Pig in a Poke.* Joan *Queen of* Naples, *caus'd her first Husband*, Andrew, *to be strangled at the Grates of her Window, with a Gold and Silk String twisted with her own Hand, because in the Matrimonial Exercise, she did not find his Shape, Beauty, Youth and Disposition, answer the Expectation she had conceived of them.* A little after he quotes some Verses out of (*o*) *Martial*, which he thought proper to be attributed to this Princess; yet he does not say all that a more modern Author reports of her. Here follow the Words of this Modern: "(*p*) *Andrew* King of *Naples*, never saw either the rising or setting of the Sun: That Planet always found him in Bed; He went to Bed betimes, and always rose late. Moreover, his Wife had but little Kindness for him, because he was not a good Precker, says *Michael Montagne*, Book III.„ Observe, *Brantome* has only translated *Pandolphus Collenuccio*, whose Words are these: (*q*) *La cagione per molti fu che fu, perche detto Andreasso, anch'esso fusse molto giovene, non era si bene sufficiente alle opere veneree, come lo sfrenato appetito della Regina haveria voluto. Tomaso Costo* (*r*) observes, that *Collenuccio* is too spiteful, and too little vers'd in Affairs to deserve Credit. He adds, 1. That *Villani* the *Florentine*, has not related this Story of the Death of *Andrew*, but on the Report of an *Hungarian*, who was then in the Service of that unfortunate Prince; 2. That *Petrarch* has given a Description exceedingly disadvantageous of the *Hungarian* Barons, who govern'd the Kingdom under *Andrew*. 3. If we join this with the Hatred they had for Queen *Joan*, we shall easily conceive how much the Relation of *Villani* may be suspected of Falsity. 4. That *Boccacio* has not said that this Queen was concern'd in that Execution. (*s*) *Il Boccacio ne'casi de gli huomini illustri da tutta la colpa a congiunti, e niente alla Reina.* Mr *Mezerai* seems to me to have related this Story more faithfully. "(*t*) *Andrew* not "being over-well lik'd by *Joan*, and having caus'd "himself to be crown'd King by the Pope, as pretending the Kingdom belong'd to him; some Conspirators took him away from her in the Night-time, and "hang'd him at a Window. *Charles* Prince of *Durazzo*, who was also of the Blood of the Kings of *Sicily*, and who had married *Mary* Sister to *Joan*, "was the chief Counsellor and Author of this infamous Action: *Joan* her self was not wholly innocent. She might cry if she would, but her Tears "and Lamentations justify'd her yet less than her entering Marriage with *Lewis* her Cousin-German, a fine "Prince, and agreeable to her Appetite."

(*D*) *She had recourse in a short time to a second Marriage.*] King *Andrew* was hang'd the 18th of *September* 1346. Queen *Joan* was great with Child, and brought to Bed of a (*u*) Son the 26th of *December* following: She married her second Husband the 20th of *August* 1347 (*w*). This is according to the Calculation of *Tomaso Costo*. He does not make the Widowhood of the Queen to last quite a Year. But he has ill observ'd the Year of King *Andrew*'s Death, which makes me wonder, that in Cases of this Nature, Historians are not more exact as to the Circumstance of time. *Villani* assures us (*x*), that King *Andrew* was strangled the 18th of *September* 1346. They that pretend that this Prince (*y*) was 19 Years old, and that he liv'd three Years (*z*), with his Wife after the Death of *Robert*, ought to suppose that he dy'd in the Year 1346: It is nevertheless certain, he was hanged in the Year 1345: Of which this is a demonstrative Proof. Queen *Joan* his Widow, some few Days before her lying in, (*aa*) requested the Pope to stand Godfather to her Child; to which his Holiness sent her a favourable Answer (*bb*), dated from *Avignon* the first day of *February*, in the fourth Year of his Pontificat. Now he was created Pope the 7th of *May* 1342: His answer must then have been made the 1st of *February* 1346; and consequently this Princess, who was brought to Bed on Christmas-Day, as it appears by another Letter

* Felinus Sandeus, Epitome de Regibus Sicilia. pag. 34. *See the Remark* D.

† Felinus Sandeus, ubi supra.

(*a*) *Taken out of Father* Anselm's *Genealogical History of the House of* France. Chap. 14.

(*b*) Pandolfo Collenuccio, Hist. del Regno di Napoli lib. 5. fol. m. 82. verso.

(*c*) Tomaso Costo Cittadino Napolitano Annotazioni e Supplementi. fol. m. 111.

(*d*) Collenuccio, *ib.*

(*e*) Tomaso Costo, ib. fol. 108. verso. *He quotes* Michael Ricci, *and the two* Johns Villani, *the* Neapolitan, *and the* Florentine.

(*f*) *General Hist. of the House of* France, p. 343.

(*g*) Spondanus ad Ann. 1345. n. 4.

(*h*) *Note, he never arrived at this Age.*

(*i*) Felinus Sandeus, Epitome de Regibus Siciliæ, p. 69. Spondanus *speaks of this Voyage* ad An. 1343. n. 6. *quoting* Thurof. *Par* 3. *Cap.* 4. Bonfin. 2. dec. 10.

(*k*) Brantome's *Lives of Illustrious Women*, p. 347.

(*l*) *He should have said Grand-daughter.*

(*m*) *He is mistaken, he should have said they were Cousins descended from Cousin-Germans.*

(*n*) Montagne's *Essays*, *Book* pag. m. 179.

(*o*) Deinde experta laras, maque didoque familiam loro Inguina, nec lassa stare coacta manu, Deferat umbelles thalamos, mollemque maritum. *Martial Epigr.* 87, *lib.* 7.

(*p*) Cæsar de Rochetort *his general and curious Dictionary*, pag. 130. *Col.* 1.

(*q*) Collenuccio, *lib.* 5. *fol.* 82 *Edition of* Venice, 1601 *in* 4o.

(*r*) ubi supra, *fol.* 111.

(*s*) *Ibid.*

(*t*) Mezerai's *Chronological Abridgment. Tom.* 3. *p.* 30.

(*u*) *He called an Infant in* Hungary, *whither* King Lewis, *Brother of* Andrew, *had sent him.* Tomaso Costo, *ib. fol* 112. *verso.*

(*w*) *Taken out of* Tomaso Costo. *Ibid. fol.* 112.

(*x*) Apud Tomaso ubi supra, *fol.* 111.

(*y*) *See above, Col.* 1. *Letter* g.

(*z*) *The Father of this Article (see the Lives of those Popes that have resided at* Avignon, *published by Mr* Baluze; *Printed at* Paris *in* 1693. *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 389.

(*aa*) *It is related by Mr* Baluze, *Ibid.*

Spondanus. (*bb*) *See* Felinus Sandeus *quoted in the Body of this Article.*

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enjoy the Happineſs of her ſecond Marriage: For *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, being deſirous to revenge the Death of his Brother *Andrew*, marched into the Kingdom of *Naples* with a conſiderable Army in the Year 1348, and forc'd the Queen to ſave her ſelf into † *Provence*, where ß ſhe ſold *Avignon* to the Pope for a very inconſiderable Sum. Her Huſband, who follow'd her, did not obſerve a neceſſary (*E*) Moderation in his Careſſes; for he thereby ruin'd his Health, and died ſuddenly, if we may believe *Collenuccio*: But it is certain this Author went too far; for the ſecond Marriage of *Joan* laſted 15 years. She * was recalled into her Kingdom ſo ſoon as the King of *Hungary*, who had ſubdued *Naples* in few Days, was return'd home; who, after having hang'd *Charles* of *Durazzo* ‡, chief Promoter of the Death of *Andrew*, and who was violently ſuſpected to be the Queen's Gallant, ſet forward for his own Country. This Princeſs, accompanied by her Huſband, re-enter'd *Naples* in the Month of *Auguſt* 1348, and recover'd part of her Towns; but the King of *Hungary* returning in the Year 1350, put her to ſome ſtraits. At length the Pope ended this War to the Advantage of *Joan*: For he oblig'd the King of *Hungary* to leave her in quiet Poſſeſſion of her Dominions: Both ſhe and her Husband were afterwards crown'd at *Naples* on *Whitſunday* 1352 ‖. Having loſt her Huſband in the Year 1362, ſhe quickly married again to the *Infant* of *Majorca*, whoſe Head ſhe caus'd to be cut off (*F*) ſo ſoon as ſhe came to know he had a Miſtriſs. At length in the Year 1376, ſhe married again to a *German* Prince; with whom ſhe lived peaceably till ſuch time as *Charles* of *Durazzo*, General of the *Hungarian* Troops, conquer'd and took him Priſoner: ſoon after which ſhe was forc'd to ſurrender her ſelf. Some ſay this Conqueror had her (*G*) ſtrangled, but others will have it ſhe was ſtifled with a Cuſhion. This was

† Id. ib.

ß Bouche's *Hiſt. of* Provence.

* Tomaſo Coſto, *in his Supplements to* Collenuccio. *fol.* 113, *&c.*

‡ Era ſtato conſapevole & conſenziente alla morte d' Andreaſſo, e era opinione che anchor' egli haveſſe havuto comercio venereo con la Regina. *Pandolfo Collenuccio, Hiſtoria del Regno di Napoli. lib.* 5. *fol. m.* 83.

‖ *Id. ibid.*

(*cc*) *It is related, ib. pag.* 690.

(*a*) Brantome ubi ſupra pag. 348. & 349.

(*b*) *Id. ib.* pag. 353.

ter (*cc*) from the ſame Pope, lay down the 25th of *December* 1345: Her Husband was not therefore hanged in 1340. See the Acts and the Lives of the Popes that reſided at *Avignon*; which Mr *Baluze* has publiſh'd and embelliſh'd with very fine Notes.

(*E*) *A neceſſary Moderation in his Careſſes.*] (*a*) "She married ſoon after one of her Couſins, Son "to the Prince of *Taranto*, whom ſhe had had a "Kindneſs for during her Husband's Life: She us'd "him well, and liv'd with him in great Affection "three Years; but at length he dy'd, exhauſted, as "'twas thought, by the many amorous Combats he had "perform'd in her Service." The Author from whom I had theſe Words declares himſelf an Apologiſt for the Queen on this Head; and ſee after what manner he does it: (*b*) *As for her Couſin, Son of the Prince of* Taranto, *who died for having exhauſted himſelf in her Service, She could not help it; for who can hinder a Man from getting drunk with his own Wine? And then if Wine gives its Owner a mad Fit, it is not to be blam'd, but the Drinker of it. Without all doubt the great Beauty of this Queen, her Addreſs, her Majeſty, her winning Behaviour, her charming Enticements, her bewitching Embraces, and ſoft Touches, were more than ſufficient to make this young Man endeavour at performing more than Nature would allow: But ſtill this Effort was owing to him, and not to her; for in theſe caſes a Man is not to be forc'd, not even with a Cudgel, as one may ſay; for all muſt come from the Humour of the Perſon, and his Ability, but above all from an ardent Deſire. And, ſuppoſe it were not ſo, how could he better die, than in the Service of his Queen and Lady, in ſhowing what an ardent Affection he bore her, ſince he ſpar'd neither Pains, Vigour nor Violence to content her; and choſe rather prodigally to expoſe his Life, than not give her the utmoſt Satisfaction. We read how* Medor *and* Claridan, *when they ſo furiouſly aſſaulted the Camp of* Charlemagne, *kill'd a certain Lord, one* Albret, *in his Miſtriſs's Arms, where he had ſlept that Night ſo deliciouſly, that every one could not but envy his Death: How much more then ought this Prince to be envied, who dy'd ſo happily in the Service and ſoft Embraces of his Queen, his Wife and Couſin.* Collenuccio (*c*) Remarks, that *Lewis* liv'd not above three Years after his Marriage. *Da tre anni ſtette il Re Lodovico Tarentino in ſignoria, e ellenuato per lo inordinato e frequente uſo delle coſe veneree con la Regina, che di quella ſola era vaga, finalmente morì; ne molto ſtette la Regina poi la ſua morte, che preſe ill terzo marito, chiamato Giacomo Tarraconeſe infante di Majorica, il quale era tenuto il più leggiadro e bell' huomo, che in quel tempo ſi troveſſe.* But *Tomajo Coſto* (*d*) ſhows either the Malice or Ignorance of this Author. *Lewis* married Queen *Joan* in the Year 1347: He was crown'd with her at *Naples* in 1352, and he did not die till the Year 1362. There happen'd many great Things in his Reign; whereof he acquitted himſelf like a brave Prince: The Particulars of them you may find in *Tomajo Coſto*.

(*c*) Collenuccio ubi ſupra *fol.* 83. *verſo.*

(*d*) Tomaſo Coſto, ubi ſupra. *fol.* 115, *&c.*

(*F*) *Caus'd his Head to be cut off, ſo ſoon as ſhe knew.*] *Collenuccio* does not affirm this poſitively; he contents himſelf with Saying, 'tis the Opinion of ſome Hiſtorians. (*e*) *Morì queſto Giacomo infra pochi anni, chi ſtrive per morte naturale, e chi dice che la regina li fece tagliar la teſta per havere uſato con un' altra femina. Come ſi ſia egli morì, e la regina tolſe il quarto marito.* Let us ſee what *Brantome* ſays: "(*f*) She married afterwards, for her third Husband, one *James* of (*g*) "*Tarencen*, Infant of *Majorca*, who was one of the "moſt prudent and fineſt Perſons that was to be found "in that Country: Yet ſhe would not ſuffer him to "aſſume the Title of King, but made him content "himſelf with that of Duke of *Calabria*; for ſhe "had not a Mind to part with her Supreme Authority, "nor could endure any Rival in it: But as ſhe had "reſerv'd this Power to her ſelf, ſo ſhe ſoon made uſe "of it upon her Matrimonial-Lord: For coming to "underſtand he had made uſe of another Woman, tho' "he could not have a finer than his Queen, ſhe caus'd "his Head to be ſtruck off; and ſo he died." That which is pleaſant, is, that though *Brantome* was verily perſwaded (*h*) the Queen had not put her third Husband to Death; yet he is not aſhamed to make a long Apology for it. *As for her third Husband*, ſays he, (*i*) *the Infant of* Majorca, *whom ſhe caus'd to be beheaded for violating her Bed, and forſaking her for another Woman, though ſome Hiſtorians ſay he died a natural Death; ſuppoſing it to be true, had ſhe not reaſon to puniſh the Adultery, ſince he had no more power to commit it againſt her, than ſhe had againſt him? For the Law of God is equally binding to both, and no leſs ſevere to the Husband than the Wife: Moreover, if he had found her doing ſuch an Act, what would he not have done to her? I appeal to the Jealous, and ſuch Perſons as are nice in that Particular. Altho' he were not abſolute King, nor had any Power, but what he derived from her; yet I do not doubt but in ſuch a caſe he would have murther'd her; and therefore ſhe made uſe of her Royal Authority to do the like by him. And though all theſe Reaſons ſhould not have been; who is that Judge ſo eaſy and merciful, that would not have condemn'd ſo notorious a Delinquent; one that could violate his Faith to ſo fair a Queen, ſo great a Princeſs, the greateſt perhaps of that time; nay, forſake her to go and co-habit with another that had not, it may be, the fourth part of her worth? Wretch, that he was, ſince he did like one, who having a clear and pure Fountain to drink out of, goes to quench his Thirſt in a naſty and muddy Creek.*

(*e*) Collenuccio ubi ſupra. fol. 83. verſo.

(*f*) Brantome ubi ſupra, pag. 349.

(*g*) *The* Italian *Words of* Collenuccio, chiamato Giacomo Tarraconeſe, *ſhould have been rendered* called James *of* Tarragona *that is of* Arragon.

(*h*) *He relates, as a fact, which he believes that which* Froiſſard *ſays concerning the natural Death of the Infant of* Majorca.

(*i*) Brantome *ibid.* p. 355.

(*G*) *Some ſay the Conqueror had her ſtrangled.*] *Charles of Durazzo*, having made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom, and of the Perſon of Queen *Joan*, ſent Word to the King of *Hungary* how matters ſtood, and deſir'd to know his pleaſure, what he ſhould do with the Queen. Hereupon the King of *Hungary*, "(*k*) ſent back to *Charles* "two of his Barons to congratulate him upon his Victory. And to let him know his Pleaſure was, he "ſhould carry the Queen to the place where ſhe had "hang'd her Husband *Andrew*; and there, in the ſame "place, and after the ſame manner, hang her; which "was accordingly done: and her dead Body, being "carried to the Nunnery of St *Clara* at *Naples*, after "it had remain'd there three Days, was buried. The "two Barons having ſeen this Execution perform'd, "return'd

(*k*) *Ib'd.* pag. 351.

was in the Year (*H*) 1382 *: She died about fifty eight Years old. There are some Hiſtorians who give her great Commendations, and deny moſt of the Things I have related of her. See her *Elogium* in one † of the Books of Father *Maimbourg*. Conſult alſo *Brantome* (*I*), who has done all he could to excuſe her, though he faithfully relates ſeveral Satyrical Reports that went of her: He makes mention of a Book wherein ſhe is compared to *Mary Stuart* (*K*) Queen of *Scotland*; and he has not forgot to inſert the ſhort, but thundering Anſwer (*L*) ſhe receiv'd from the King of *Hungary*. No great ſtreſs ought to be laid on the favourable Sentence (*M*) it is pretended ſhe obtain'd of the Pope; for if

* Mezerai's *Chronology abridg'd, Tome* 3, *pag.* 119.

† *Schiſm of the Weſt. Lib.* 2. *p.* 150. *Edit. of Holl.*

" return'd to carry the News to their Maſter. After " this, the Head of *Mary*, the Queen's ſecond Siſter, was " cut off; ſhe had been a lewd and infamous Woman, " and a great Promoter of the Death of *Andrew*. This " *Mary*, being Wife to *Robert* of *Artois*, was belov'd " by *Boccacio*, who flouriſh'd in that time: Upon " whom he wrote thoſe two Excellent Books in his " Mother-Tongue, Entituled, *Fiammetta* and *Philoco-* " *po*. „ This is the Tranſlation which *Brantome* makes of the *Italian* of *Collenuccio*: But *Tomaſo Coſto* (*I*) obſerves, 1ſt, That *Collenuncio* is the only Author that ſays the Queen was hang'd: 2*dly*, That the Earl of *Artois*'s Wife was called *Joan*, and not *Mary*; 3*dly*, That ſhe was Niece, and not Siſter to this Queen; 4*thly*, That ſhe that was prais'd and belov'd by *Boccacio*, was neither Niece nor Siſter to *Joan*, but natural Daughter to King *Robert*. *La Maria per cui ſcriſſe il Boccac. fu figliuola baſtarda del Re Roberto avanti ch'ei fuſſe Re: vedilo chiaramente eſpreſſo nel principio del Filocopo* (*a*).

(*I*) In quanto al morire della Reina Giovanna, chi dice ch'ella fu ſtrangolata, e chi affogata: ma impiccata lo dice ſolo il Collenuccio. *Tomaſo Coſto, ubi ſupra. fol.* 121.

(*a*) Tomaſo Coſto ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Stephanus Baluzius in notis ad vitas Paparum Avenionenſium, *pag.* 1257, 1258.

(*H*) *This was in the Year* 1382.] This cannot be denied: It is then a little ſtrange her Obſequies were not perform'd in *Avignon*, by order of the Pope, before the fifth of *May* 1385; and that the News of her Death was not ſent to the Inhabitants of *Marſeilles* by the ſame Pope before that time. Mr. *Baluze* had reaſon to wonder thereat. I inſert the Extract which he gives us of the Journal of *John Le Fevre*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, with his Obſervation upon it. " (*b*) *The* " *fifth Day the Pope caus'd a Maſs of ſolemn Requiem to* " *be ſaid for* Joan *Queen of* Sicily, *put to Death by* " Charles de Durazzo. *The Maſs was ſaid by the Car-* " *dinal of* Coſenza; *who, at the ſame time, preach'd an* " *excellent Sermon upon the Occaſion. The King was pre-* " *ſent, and was afterwards conducted Home by the Car-* " *dinals of* Coſenza *and* Ambrun. Sed mirum eſt tum " primum in his regionibus auditum nuntium de mor- " te iſtius Reginæ, quam conſtat anno ſaltem milleſimo " CCCLXXXII. occiſam fuiſſe die XXII. menſis " Maji. Et tamen primum auditum hinc liquet, " quod paulo poſt verba quæ mox deſcripſimus ex dia- " rio Epiſcopi Carnotenſis ſequitur: *Alio it was de-* " *termin'd to ſend a Solemn Meſſage to* Marſeilles *to* " *ſignify the Death of the Queen; and that there ſhould* " *be a Sermon*. „

(*b*) Maimbourg's *Schiſm of the Weſt. Lib.* 2. *p.* 151. 152, *ad. ann.* 1382.

(*I*) Brantome *has done all he could to excuſe her*] Obſerve (*c*) what he ſays concerning the Death of the ſecond and third Husband; and add thereto what he remarks touching that of the firſt; and concerning thoſe many Marriages. (*d*) *For as to reproaching her with having four Husbands, and for that reaſon to believe her Unchaſte, we ought by no means to do it, ſince Marriage is good and holy, having been ordain'd of God: Alſo it was far better ſhe ſhould marry than burn, or what is worſe, proſtitute and abandon her ſelf to every Body, as many Queens, Princeſſes, and great Ladies have done, and ſtill do; whether they be Maids or Widows, who make Love and Fornicate with whom they pleaſe, and all this rather than marry; to which they prefer prohibited Whoredom, which Queen* Joan *never did: For tho' ſhe burnt never ſo much with a deſire after the Fleſh, yet ſhe did always enjoy it lawfully with her Husbands. As for* Andrew, *her Husband, whom ſhe put to Death, 'tis ſaid he was a drunken, malicious and dangerous* Hungarian; *who, whilſt he ſeem'd a ſilly Man and a Fool, would have murther'd her to make way for himſelf to the Throne; but ſhe was before-hand with him, and did that Kindneſs for him, which he had deſign'd for her.*

(*c*) Hereabove Remark E, Letter *h*; and Remark F, Letter *i*.

(*d*) Brantome ubi ſupra, *pag.* 352, 353.

(*K*) *Wherein ſhe is compar'd to* Mary Stuart.] " (*e*) " I have ſeen a Book printed in *England*, entituled, *A* " *Defenſe of the Lawful Sentence, and moſt juſt Executi-* " *on of the deceaſed* Mary Stuart, *late Queen of* Scot- " land. In this Book there are many Compariſons be- " ween Queen *Joan* of *Naples*, and the Queen of *Scot-* " *land*, as well in what relates to their Lives and Man- " ners, as to their Amours and kinds of Death. " There they are painted by the ſame hand, and no- " thing is ſo like as they two, if you believe the " Author. „ He afterwards relates in ſhort the Parallel of theſe two Queens, which he divides into twelve Heads.

(*e*) Brantome, *ib. pag.* 380.

(*L*) *The Anſwer ſhe received from the King of* Hungary.] It is this: " (*f*) Thy former diſorderly Life, " thy Uſurpation of the Kingdom, which thou haſt " always kept to thy ſelf; thy not proſecuting the " Murtherers of thy Husband; thy marrying ſoon af- " ter to another Man, together with the Excuſe thou " afterwards ſenteſt me, are to me plain Indications that " thou wert Accomplice and Acceſſory in thy Husband's " Murther. „ They that have a mind to have it in *Latin* may read what follows. (*g*) *Johanna, inordinata vita præ-* *cedens; retentio poteſtatis in regno; negletta vindicta; vir alter ſuſceptus; & excuſatio ſubſequens; recta vni tui te probant fuiſſe participem & conſortem.*

(*f*) *Id. ib. pag.* 348.

(*M*) *The favourable Sentence . . . . ſhe obtain'd of the Pope.*] Let us ſee the Words of Father *Maimbourg*, " (*h*) As to the Death of her firſt Husband, *Andrew*, " which many have imputed to her; ſhe has fully ac- " quitted her ſelf, as well by the ſevere Juſtice ſhe made " the Murtherers undergo; not one of which offered to " accuſe her while under the greateſt Torments; as by " her Eloquent Apology which ſhe made in a full Con- " ſiſtory before Pope *Clement* VI. and the Ambaſſa- " dors of ſeveral Chriſtian Princes, with that Energy and " Force, that the Holy Father afterwards pronounced " her in an Authentick Act, not only innocent of that " Crime, but that it was not in the leaſt to be ſuſpect- " ed that ſhe had any hand in it. „ This Hiſtorian quotes no Body as to this particular Fact. Obſerve that *Brantome*, who copies (*i*) from *Froiſſard* the Harangue which this Queen made to the Pope, with the Pope's Anſwer, ſays not a Word of the Sentence of Abſolution: I'll tell you the reaſon preſently; He contents himſelf with ſaying (*k*), that the Pope engaged himſelf to protect the Heir of this Princeſs. Obſerve likewiſe, that the Harangue, which *Froiſſard* puts into the Mouth of Queen *Joan*, contains divers Falſities: As, 1ſt, That *Joan* was Daughter to *Robert*; 2*dly*, That ſhe was not married to *Andrew* of *Hungary*, till after the Death of *Robert*; 3*dly*, That ſhe had never a Son by that Prince; 4*thly*, That *Andrew* died young at *Aix* in *Provence*; 5*thly*, That her ſecond Husband became a Priſoner to the King of *Hungary*, and died in that Kingdom, whither that King had ſent him: And, 6*thly*, That the Daughter which ſhe had by her ſecond Husband, and whom ſhe married to the Earl of *Artois*, died in Priſon with her Husband; and that afterwards Queen *Joan* and her fourth Husband, *Otho* of *Brunſwick*, entered into a Treaty of Peace; whereby they recovered their Liberty, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, by giving up *Apulia* and *Calabria* to Prince *Charles* of *Durazzo*, their Conqueror. All theſe are are very great Falſities, as may appear by what I have already ſaid in my former Remarks, and what I am about to ſay. The two Daughters which Queen *Joan* had by her ſecond Husband, died Infants. The Wife of the Earl of *Artois* was Niece to this Queen, being the Daughter of *Charles* of *Durazzo*, whom the King of *Hungary* put to Death, and of *Mary* Siſter of *Joan*. This *Mary* had been a long time dead, when her Siſter was ſtrangled: Therefore Mr *Mezerai* is miſtaken, when he tells us (*l*) Queen *Joan* and her Siſter *Mary*, ſurrender'd themſelves to *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who ſtrangled them both in Priſon. The Earl of *Artois* and *Joan* his Wife died the 20th of *July* 1387, as their Epitaph (*m*) ſhows, and conſequently they muſt have ſurvived Queen *Joan*. Likewiſe it is falſe, that this Queen either enjoy'd her Liberty or Kingdom, after ſhe had ſurrender'd her ſelf to the Duke of *Durazzo*. Let us conclude then that her pretended Harangue to Pope *Clement*, is a meer Forgery of *Froiſſard*, and that *Brantome* laid a Snare for us, into which he fell firſt himſelf; when

(*i*) *She humbled her ſelf greatly before Pope* Clement *at* Fondi, *confeſſing her ſelf to him, and diſcovering to him all her Game and Tricks without Reſtraint. (This Word betrays her Wantonneſs.)* Froiſſard *uſes theſe very Words, and diſcovered her Secrets to him, and afterwards regarded her Harangue, which I ſhall deliver in the ſame terms as the Author preſents them, without altering them.* Brantome ubi ſupra, *pag.* 359.

(*k*) *Ibid. pag.* 364.

(*l*) Mezerai *Chronolog. Abridgment T.* 3 *pag.* 119. Brantome *is in the ſame Error*

(*m*) *It is to be ſeen in a Chapel of the Church of St* Laurence *at* Naples, *in theſe Words:* Hic jacent corpora illuſtrium Dominorum Domini Roberti de Artois, & Domina Jeharne Duracii, conjugum qui obierunt anno Domini MCCC LXXXVII. die XX. menſ. Julii. *Tomaſo Coſto ubi ſupra fol.* 121.

he

if she obtained it of *Clement* VI. it may be objected she gave him *Avignon*, or did as good as give it him. If she obtain'd it of *Clement* VII. it may be said he was an Anti-Pope, who having occasion for the good Reputation of those Princes that acknowledg'd his Title, would certainly neither condemn her, nor suffer her to be expos'd to any infamy. The other Anti-Pope did not deal so kindly by her: For he declared she had forfeited * her Crown for divers Crimes and Misdemeanours, but chiefly for siding with his Rival, *Clement* † VII. She had a Sister, with whom *Boccacio* was (*N*) in Love, as some Authors affirm: But I will show they are mistaken; and that *Froissard* has related a great many Falsities ‡. You will find in the following Article who were the Successors to this Queen. Her Death was reveng'd in *Hungary*, if we may believe *Brantome*; but, when he speaks

* *In the Year* 1379. Per sentenzia privo del regno di Napoli la Regina Giovanna per molti delitti, e massimamente per haver prestato luogo e favore alla scisma, & havere prestato obedientia a Clemente VI. *Collenuccio ib. fol.* 84. *verso.*

† 'Tis so he ought to have said; *and not* VI. *as* Collenuccio

‡ *See Remark M.*

he says (*n*), *Let us then believe* Froissard, *who says this Queen confess'd her self to the Pope, and who has been curious to collect her own Words, pronounced by her own Mouth, which must best testify her Life.* What he says presently after is as follows: *I do not say but* Froissard *touches on some Passages of her Life, as the Death of* Andrew, *and other such Amorous Slips; but still I can never believe she was so wicked and debauched as that foolish* Neapolitan *Historian would make her.*

The better to comprehend the confus'd Relation of *Froissard*; we must observe that he supposes Queen *Joan* went to wait on the Pope at *Fondi*; and that it was there she made him that Harangue. But it is certain *Clement* VII. left *Italy* in the Year 1379 to go and reside at *Avignon*. How then could Queen *Joan* make an Harangue to him at *Fondi*, after she was clapt up in Prison in the Year 1381? It is not to be wonder'd at, that we should not find the Sentence of Absolution in *Froissard*, since it is plain he never pretended to speak but of such matters as pass'd between *Clement* VII. and Queen *Joan*. Now it was by *Clement* VI. that she was absolv'd, as you may find hereafter: But all this is very confus'd. *Brantome* says we may read in the History of *Anjou*, that in the (*a*) *Schism of the Church .... among other Princes that declared for* Clement, *there was the King of* France, *his Brothers, and good Queen* Joan .... *who went to visit Pope* Clement; *by whom, and all the Cardinals, she was honourably receiv'd .... And that after she had remain'd some time at his Holiness's Court, she requested he would be pleased to hear her Confession, and absolve her from her Sins. The good Pope willingly and kindly granted her Request, which he could by no means deny, since she deserv'd a Secret, Auricular and Ocular Confession, and a Penance light and easy to be born. After this Confession made in Presence of his Holiness, and the sacred College of Cardinals, the said Queen .... remonstrated the many ill Turns, and ungrateful Tricks had been play'd her by her Nephew* Charles *of* Durazzo; *who had many times sought her Life to enjoy her Kingdom. Moreover, that she desiring to observe the last Wills of her Father and Grandfather. did, in presence of all the Nobility there assembled, resign and yield up to his Holiness, as well her Kingdoms of* Sicily *and* Naples, *as her Dutchies of* Apulia, Calabria *and the Earldom of* Provence. *All this is related in the express Words of* Froissard. *The Pope having accepted this, through the perswasion of his Council, she adopted* Lewis *of* Anjou *for her Son; to whom were given Charters and Authentick Letters; but the Pope purchased the County of* Avignon *from her .... This being over, the Queen took her leave of his Holiness, and return'd to her Kingdom, where* Charles *of* Durazzo, *having some time after taken her Prisoner, caus'd her to be stifled between two Feather-Beds; and this when he came to understand the Adoption she had made.* If one believ'd this Relation, one would be tempted to think that the Fact of which Father *Maimbourg* speaks, belongs to the Pontificate of *Clement* VII. and not to that of *Clement* VI. But I would not advise any Body to rely either on the Relation *Brantome* has from *Froissard*, or that which he borrows from the History of *Anjou*: 'Tis impossible to reconcile them together, they are full of Confusion and Uncertainty. Let us then stick to what I am going to say. It is certain, Queen *Joan* having made her Apology in the Year 1348, before the Pope and Cardinals, was declar'd (*b*) innocent of the Murther of her Husband, yet this Declaration was slightly made, and there is great probability it proceeded from the Passion the Pope had for *Avignon*. In short, the same Affair having been brought in question three Years after, the Queen was oblig'd to confess she had been induc'd by Witchcraft not to love her Husband, which gave encouragement to several Persons to conspire against him. The Judges being favourably enclin'd towards her, said, *It would be hard to condemn her for an Inchantment which she could not resist*, and consequently acquitted her: When one has recourse to such a Trick as this, 'tis a sign his Cause goes ill. 'Tis plain, the Pope, who was chosen Judge in this Matter, had a mind to preserve to her the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he could not have done, unless he had found her innocent; for the Truce he mediated between her and the King of *Hungary* in the Year 1350 (*c*) imported, that if *Joan* were found guilty, she should be oblig'd to surrender her Kingdom to that Monarch; which, on the contrary, he was to have no Pretensions to, if she were declared innocent. Consider well the following Words of *Spondanus*: (*d*) *Cum remissa ex pacto Causa Johannæ Reginæ ad judicium Sedis Apostolicæ, agre inveniretur modus asserendæ ejus innocentiæ, nec tamen justum videretur famam ejus diutius in dubium relinquere; demum admissa est ejus excusatio de maleficio seu fascinatione, cujus vi fragilis ejus natura coacta fuisset minus amare virum quam deceret, indeque alii conspirare in eum ausi essent: productisque pluribus ejus rei testibus, declarata est a benevolis Judicibus innocens eorum omnium quæ ex ejusmodi fascinatione secuta essent.* Father *Maimbourg* has not then acquitted himself like a faithful Historian since he has not mention'd one Word of the Revival of this Process.

(*b*) *See* Spondanus ad ann. 1348. *n.* 3. *He quotes* John Villani, *lib.* 12. *cap.* 114. Matthew Villani, *cap.* 18. *and* Summonte *lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

(*c*) Spondanus ad. ann. 1350. *n.* 6. *pag.* 505. *He quotes* Matthew Villani, *lib.* 1. § 89, 91, *&c.*

(*d*) *Idem* ad. ann. 1351. *n.* 1. *p. m.* 509.

(*N*) *With whom* Boccacio *was in Love.*] *Tomaso Costo* has shown this Mistress of *Boccacio* was a Bastard of King *Robert*. I have quoted him before; but *Brantome* (*e*) knew nothing of the Matter. He makes several Reflections upon this trifling Amour, without touching the principal Point, which was to prove, that *Boccacio* had not aspir'd so high, as to make Love to the Sister of so great a Queen. Perhaps the Reader will be glad to find here some passages of *Brantome*. "(*f*) If it be true he lov'd her Sister *Mary* Countess "of *Artois*, and that he wrote his two Books *Fiammetta* and *Philocopo* for her sake, then I think he ought "to have written more amply and advantageously of "the two Sisters than he has done; for no Man knew "better how to do it than he, by reason of his great Learning: But I believe, as is common with great Talkers, "he never had so great a Passion for that Lady as his Writings seem'd to intimate; nothing being more frequent than for an Author to form a fine Object in his "Mind, the better to help his Imagination. So Poets, "(*g*) and other Composers, have always some imaginary "Mistriss to raise their Fancy, or make the World believe their Fortune is greater than it really is; and "this, that they may procure themselves the greater Respect. Moreover, it is highly improbable that so great a "Princess would have submitted to such mean Things, "as he describes in his *Fiammetta*; for then you might "conclude she was ravish'd with him, would die for "him, or run away with him where-ever he went. Very "likely indeed, if he were such a Person as his Picture represents him, which I have seen at *Florence*, "*Naples*, and many other places, and which by no "means show'd him either amiable or agreeable. "To which I add, that her Husband, the Earl, "was a hundred times more desirable than he." *Brantome* adds, this Princess might have lov'd him *for his great Wit*, and not for any thing she had seen in his Person, as he says he has *known several great Ladies to have done:* Whereupon he relates what a certain Dauphiness once answer'd after she had kiss'd a Poet that was (*h*) a-sleep. Afterwards he goes on thus: "(*i*) *It is possible this Princess* Mary *may have* "*lov'd* Boccacio *for his Excellent Parts, and fine Pen, to* "*the end he might render her Immortal, by celebrating her* "*Virtues to the whole World; wherein this Gallant de-*"*ceiv'd her: For he did nothing but write these two* "*lying Books, which rather scandaliz'd than prais'd* "*her; though he never enjoy'd her. But it is a* "*common thing for Authors, Poets and Courtiers, to* "*publish those Favours they have never enjoy'd, though* "*I have known some Poets* (*k*), *who have had Favours* "*conferr'd on them; which I shall have occasion to speak* "*of hereafter.*

(*e*) *Remark G. towards the end.*

(*f*) Brantome ubi supra, *pag.* 370, 371.

(*g*) *This confirms what I have formerly said in the Article* Lotichius, *as also in Remark I. of the Article* Malherbe.

(*h*) Alain Chartier. *See the Continuation of the Critical Observations upon* Maimbourg's *History of Calvinism. Letter* 18. *pag.* 591.

(*i*) Brantome ubi supra, *pag.* 372.

(*k*) *See the Continuation of the Critical Observations upon* Maimbourg's *History of Calvinism.* ubi supra, *pag.* 590, *&c.*

(*O*) *When*

ſpeaks of that, he falls (O) into ſome Errors. To conclude, the Barbarity, exercis'd upon the unhappy *Andrew*, was a plain Indication he had render'd himſelf odious to others (P) beſides his Wife.

NAPLES (JOAN II. Queen of) deſcended from (A) *Charles* of *Anjou*, Brother of St *Lewis*, and was the Daughter of *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who caus'd Queen *Joan* I. to be put to Death. She was born in 1371, and married to *William* of *Auſtria* † about the Year 1402. She became a Widow in 1406 †; and *Ladiſlaus* her Brother, King of *Naples*, dying without lawful Iſſue in 1414, ſhe ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, and the Year following

(l) Brantome ubi ſupra. *pag.* 364, 365.

(m) *He had ſaid that Queen* Joan *was Daughter of King* Robert.

(n) *She whom the* Hungarians *call'd King* Mary. Collenuccio *ibid. fol.* 88. *verſo.*

(o) *Collenuccio ibid. fol.* 89.

(a) Exultaſſe ferunt Urbanum ad nuncium mortis, cultrumque quo ictus fuerat ad ſe delatum, recenti ſanguine reſperſum, aviditſime conſpexiſſe. *Pogius apud Felinum Sandeum de Regibus Siciliæ*, p. 30.

(b) Matthieu *Schism of the W. Jo. Lib.* 3. *p.* 223. *He quotes* Thuroſius *and* Lonnius.

(c) Rampale *has made a Diſcourſe against this Mistake.*

(d) *That is to ſay, the* XVII.

(e) *Urban ſixth Clementis* VI. *p.* 246. *edit.* Baluzianæ 1693.

(g) Clem. VI. in Collatione facta contra intercessores Andreæ, apud Baluzium, notis ad vitas Paparum Avenionenſium. *p.* 85.

(O) When he ſpeaks of the revenging of the Death of Joan, *he falls into ſome Errors.*] Obſerve what he ſays " (*l*), Alſo God, the juſt Avenger of innocent Deaths, " reveng'd hers both upon the *Hungarian*, and *Charles* " *Durazzo*, whom *Margaret*, eldeſt Siſter of Queen *Joan*, " and Grand-daughter of King *Robert*, whilſt he was " at *Buda*, whither ſhe had invited him to a Banquet, " during his drinking a Glaſs of Wine, caus'd " to be ſtruck in the Nap of the Neck with a " Hatchet; of which Wound he inſtantly dyed." *Brantome* affirms four things: 1*ſt*, That *Charles Durazzo* was kill'd by order of the Queen of *Hungary*; 2*dly*, That this Queen's Name was *Margaret*; 3*dly*, That ſhe was eldeſt Siſter to Queen *Joan*; and, 4*thly*, That ſhe was Grand-daughter to King *Robert*. Now theſe things four are all Untruths; and in the laſt *Brantome* (*m*) contradicts himſelf. When *Charles* of *Durazzo* went into *Hungary*, after he had put Queen *Joan* to Death, he found theſe two Queens, *viz.* the Widow and Daughter of the deceas'd King *Lewis*: Now the Widow's Name was *Elizabeth*, Daughter of the King of *Boſnia*, and the Daughter's (*n*) *Mary*. They had both conſented that *Charles* ſhould be crown'd King of *Hungary*; but afterwards the Widow gave Orders to have him murther'd. (*o*) *Fu coronato in Alba Regale di volonta della Regina Iſabetta, & del Re Maria ſua figliuola, le quali ogni loro ragione li rinuntiarono; ma poi andato a Buda, e con finte blanditie della Regina invitato ad un convito, mentre beveva li fu dato d'una ſecure nella coppa per ordinatione della Regina, e fu morto dell' anno* 1386. *a dì* 3. *di Giugno.* This is what the Author, whom *Brantome* follows, teaches us; whence we may collect another Falſity of *Brantome*, it being by no means to revenge the Death of *Joan*, that the Queen of *Hungary* caus'd *Charles* of *Durazzo* to be murthered: She deſigned thereby only to gratify the Ambition of her ſelf, and her Daughter *Mary*. Let us obſerve by the bye, that *Urban* VI. who had many ill offices done him on the part of *Charles*, and who, for that reaſon, excommunicated and depos'd him in the Year 1385, was not a little pleas'd with the News of his Death. 'Tis ſaid (*p*) he contemplated with a great deal of pleaſure the Hatchet, yet reeking with the Blood of that Prince. His Death nevertheleſs was not long unreveng'd; for a Lord of his Party having ſurpriz'd the two Queens in the Country (*b*), threw Queen *Elizabeth* into the River. 'Tis a miſtake (*c*) to believe the World grows worſe and worſe every Day; ſince the Age (*d*) wherein we live has not been able to furniſh us in the Weſt with a Series of Enormities in few Years, comparable to thoſe that that were acted in it, between the Years 1345 and 1390.

(P) Odious to others beſides his Wife.] There are ſome Hiſtorians who ſay, that his threatning to puniſh ſeverely ſeveral Lords of his Court, that had ill behav'd themſelves; to puniſh them, I ſay, ſeverely, ſo ſoon as he was Crown'd, caus'd thoſe Offenders to conſpire againſt him. (*e*) *Occaſio autem hujus ſceleris ſpecialiter fuiſſe dicitur, quia ipſe, tanquam virtuoſus & audax, verbo & facto monſtrabat ſe vel e punire aliquos quos videbat criminoſos & malè ſe habentes, quam primum per coronationem plenum dominium dicti regni ad ipſum perveniſſet. De quo malè ſibi conſci & merito formidantes cogitaverunt adverſus eum modo præmiſſo ſibi ipſis præcavere.* But theſe Conſpirators muſt needs have been animated by a perſonal Hatred, beſides the deſire of preventing their being puniſh'd; ſince they could carry Matters to that Height, as to exerciſe ſo great Inhumanities upon that Prince. They tormented him barbarouſly in all his Members; nay, they were ſo far from ſparing thoſe we forbear to name that they exercis'd their greateſt Cruelties upon them. The Informations *Clement* VI. caus'd to be exhibited againſt the Murtherers, contain ſo many barbarous Particulars, that they are not to be read without great Horrour. (*g*) *Statim cum per eos vocatus venit ad gazophylacium vel deambulatorium quod eſt ante cameram, aliqui poſuerunt manus ad os, ut clamare non poſſet, & ita impreſſerunt illos gan-*

taletos ferreos circa os ejus, quod etiam veſtigia & characteres apparebant poſt mortem. Alii vero funem in collo poſuerunt ut ſtrangularent eum, ſicut etiam characteres poſt mortem oſtendebant. Alii vero receperunt eum per genitalia, & adeo traxerunt quod multi qui dicebant ſe vidiſſe retulerunt mihi quod tranſcendebant genua. Alii capillos de capite evulſerunt. Alii eum in platea trahendo projecerunt. Alii dicunt quod cum fune cum qua eum ſtrangulaverant eum quaſi ſuſpenſum in platea projecerunt. Alii ſuper eum cum genibus aſcenderunt, & eum uſque ad compaſſionem cordis oppreſſerunt. Et audivi quod etiam de hoc veſtigia exterius apparebant. Fuit etiam nobis dictum quod volebant eum projicere in puteum profundum, ſicut projectus fuerat ille ſanctus Jeremias in foveam, & poſtea dicere quod reperat extra regnum de conſilio aliquorum fidelium ſibi, qui diſpoſuerunt poſtea capere & mittere Regi Ungariæ captivos ac ſi eſſent ubi eſſet. Et perfeciſſent, niſi natura dicti Regis ultra ceſſiſſet.

(A) Deſcended from Charles *of* Anjou, *Brother of St.* Lewis.] She was Daughter of *Charles* of *Durazzo* III. He was Son of *Lewis* of *Durazzo*, Count of *Gravine*, whoſe Father was *John* of *Durazzo*, Brother of *Robert* King of *Naples*, and Son of *Charles* the *Lame*, Son and Succeſſor of *Charles* of *Anjou* Brother of St *Lewis* (*b*). It is eaſy to apprehend by this Genealogical Account, that *John* of *Durazzo*, Brother of *Robert*, founded the Family of *Durazzo*: He died the fifth of *April* 1335, leaving three Sons, *Charles*, *Lewis*, and *Robert*.

Charles married *Mary* Siſter of *Joan* I. Queen of *Naples*. He was (*i*) both Adviſer and Author of the Death of King *Andrew*. (*k*) *He was made Lieutenant-General, and Governour of the Kingdom of* Naples, when *Joan* retir'd into *Provence*, *upon the coming of* Lewis *King of* Hungary, *into* Italy. Not being able to oppoſe the *Hungarians*, he was vanquiſh'd, taken and beheaded (*l*). Others (*m*) ſay he went with other Lords, and offered to pay Homage to the King of *Hungary*; who, having convicted him of the Death of *Andrew*, firſt put him to Death, and afterwards hang'd him. The greateſt Evidence againſt him was a Letter he had written to the Count of *Altomonte*. *Dicendo al Duca di Durazzo che gli moſtraſſe il luogo, dove ſu morto ſuo fratello. E benche il Duca moſtraſſe di ſaperlo il Re lo convitò con molti ogli una lettera ſcritta da eſſo Duca a Carlo d'Altomonte, intorno al trattato della detta morte, e chiamandolo traditore lo fece in quell' inſtante occidere e buttar dal medeſimo verone, onde era ſtato buttato Andrea* (*n*). *Charles* of *Durazzo* left no Son, whatever *Collenuccio* pretends, but only four Daughters.

Lewis of *Durazzo* his Brother, Count of *Gravine*, (*o*) *was impriſon'd in the Caſtle dell' Ovo at* Naples, *by order of Queen* Joan I. *and that on a ſuſpicion ſhe had, he intended to invade her Territories: Wherefore ſhe made him ſhadow Poiſon, of which he died in the Year* 1362. *He was buried in the Monaſtery of the Nuns of* Santa Croce *at* Naples. *Some place his Death in the Month of* June, *and others on the 22d of* July. He left one Son nam'd *Charles*, who retir'd to the Court of *Lewis* King of *Hungary*; to whom he did many great Services, being his General againſt the *Venetians*: He happily ended that War, which procured him the honourable Sir-Name, *Della Pace*. It was he was ſent to *Naples* to drive thence Queen *Joan*, when the King of *Hungary* was ſolicited by Pope *Urban* to take poſſeſſion of that Kingdom. (*p*) Charles *had great Obligations to this Queen; ſhe had brought him up tenderly in her Court, as her own Son; ſhe had married him to the Princeſs* Margaret *her Niece; ſhe deſign'd him for her Succeſſor, and kept his Children with her. Yet the execrable Ambition of Reigning made him Ungrateful, and violated all theſe Ties of Amity. He was crown'd King of* Sicily *at* Rome *in the beginning of the Year* 1381: *Afterwards he march'd for* Naples; *where, having been receiv'd without Reſiſtance, he beſieg'd the Queen in the Caſtle dell' Ovo, and at length forc'd her to ſubmit, having defeated and taken her Husband,* Orho

of

(i) Corneil Eutic. Anſelm, Hiſt. ubi ſupra, *p.* 360. *calls him* Duke of Auſtraſia.

† Father Ante'm's Chronology of Hiſtory of the Houſe of France. *p.* 358.

(k) See Father Anſelm's Genealogical Hiſtory of the Houſe of France *p.* 364. *&c.* Hiſtory of the Lords of Durazzo.

(*l*) Mezerai's Chronological Abridgment. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 30.

(*k*) Anſelm *ibid. p.* 355.

(*l*) Collenuccio, *Lib.* 5 *fol.* 83.

(*m*) Tomaſo Coſto *in his Supplement to* Collenuccio. *fol.* 112. *who quotes* Matthew Villani.

(*n*) *Ib. id.*

(*o*) Father Anſelm, ubi ſupra. *pag.* 356, 357.

(*p*) Mezerai's Chronological Abridgment. *Tom.* 3. *pag.* 118.

ing married *James* of *Bourbon*. This Prince, not being able to endure her scandalous Life, depriv'd her both of (*B*) her Gallant, and all Authority: But he was not Politick enough to maintain himſelf againſt the (*C*) Subtleties of this Princeſs; for ſhe at length got the upper-hand of him, and proſecuted her Advantage ſo well, that in a ſhort time ſhe oblig'd him to return to *France*, where he turn'd Monk †. The Queen having rid her ſelf of this Huſband, ſoon found her ſelf involv'd in new Troubles; for ſhe had ſo diſoblig'd the brave *Sforza* of *Cotignola*, that he invited *Lewis* of *Anjou* to the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*; promiſing that he himſelf would head the Malecontents. Pope *Martin* V. favoured *Lewis*; whereupon he beſieg'd *Naples* both by Sea and Land, and had certainly made himſelf Maſter of it, had not *Alphonſus* of *Aragon* ſent a powerful Succour to the Queen: He did this becauſe ſhe had promis'd to adopt him, and ſhe kept her Word with him; but the ungrateful Prince dealt ſo ill by her that ſhe revok'd her Adoption, and transferr'd it to *Lewis* of *Anjou* γ. This Prince reduc'd all the Cities which held for the *Aragonians*, and behav'd himſelf ſo well towards the Queen, that when he died in the Month of *November* 1434 *, the Grief ſhe conceiv'd of Brunſwick, *and caus'd her to be ſtrangled in Priſon in the Year* 1382. In the mean time *Lewis* of *Anjou*, Brother of *Charles* V. King of *France*, had been adopted by this Queen *Joan*, and crown'd at *Avignon* by Pope *Clement* VII. The News of the Tragical Death of this Queen, did not hinder him from leading a fine Army into the Kingdom of *Naples*, to drive *Charles* thence; but his Misfortune was ſuch, that Famine deſtroy'd his Troops, and he died of Grief in the Year 1384 (*q*). *Charles* by this means remain'd in quiet poſſeſſion of that Kingdom. He afterwards fell out with the Pope; but having been invited by the *Hungarians* into *Hungary*, who were diſſatisfied with the Government of the Daughter and Widow of their King, he went thither and was crown'd by the Archbiſhop of *Gran*: He nevertheleſs periſh'd there ſoon after by the Contrivance of the Queen Dowager, as has before been ſaid (*r*): His Son *Ladiſlaus* ſucceeded him, and vanquiſhed *Lewis* II. Duke of *Anjou*, who endeavour'd to maintain his Father's Right: This *Ladiſlaus* was a brave and bold Prince, and had he liv'd longer might have done many great Things, but (*ſ*) he died the 16th of *Auguſt* in the Year 1414, aged 38 Years. We ſhall ſee hereafter (*t*), how he came to be put to Death. His Siſter *Joan*, we treat of in this Article, ſucceeded him.

Robert of *Durazzo* "(*v*) took upon him the Quality "of Prince of *Morea*. He was Arreſted in the "City of *Averſa*, and carried Priſoner into *Hungary*, "together with his Brother the Count of *Gravine*, by "Order of the King of *Hungary*. Having been ſet at "Liberty in the Year 1352, he came into *France*, "where he challeng'd *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, accuſing him of having put to Death his Brother *Charles* "of *Durazzo*, without any Reaſon. Some time "after, being in the Retinue of King *John*, "he was at the fatal Battle of *Poictiers*; where he "died (*t*) honourably in the Field the 19th of *September* 1356."

(*B*) *Depriv'd her both of her Gallant and all Authority.*] When ſhe went to her Husband "(*a*) ſhe carried along with her a *Napolitan* Gentleman, nam'd "*Pandolfo Alopo*; whom ſhe exceedingly countenance'd, and created her Chamberlain with her own "Hand: Her Chamberlain indeed, for he ſerv'd "her well in her Chamber both Day and Night; "but not without the Obſervations and Reflections of the Courtiers and People. To appeaſe "them, ſhe, by the Advice of her States, reſolv'd to marry, which ſhe ſoon after did to *James* "of *Narbonne*, as the Hiſtory of *Naples* ſays: But "Meſſire *Olivier de la Marche*, a great Lord and faithful Hiſtorian, calls him *James* of *Bourbon*; which "latter Opinion I am rather inclinable to be of, ſince "he liv'd in that time. Upon concluding the Marriage, it was ſtipulated he ſhould not bear the Title of "King, but only that of Prince, Duke or Count, but "he would have no other Title than what he "had. At length the Queen's Captains, who bore "a mortal Hatred and Envy both to *Pandolfo* and "*Sforza*, put it into his Head to aſſume the Title of "King; which, going one Day to wait on him, they "all ſaluted him by, except the brave *Sforza*, who "would ſtile him no otherwiſe than Count. Hereupon *James*, by the Advice of thoſe about him, ſent "*Sforza* to Priſon, and had him tormented, and cauſed "*Pandolfo*'s Head to be cut off.... As for the Queen, he "laid her aſide, depriv'd her of her Power, and in a manner confin'd her to her Chamber, ſeldom or never admitting her either to his Preſence or Bed: Nay, he "was ſo unkind, as to ſay many reproachful Things "to her, which ſhe always artfully and maliciouſly diſſembled her Diſlike of." *Brantome* has all this out of *Pondolfo Collenuccio*. (*b*) *Tutto il governo di ſe, della corte, e del regno poſe in mano à Pandolfello Alopo Napolitano, Conte Camerlengo e letiſſimo giovene, e ſuo creato, il quale ella ſommamente amava; e havendolo menato ſeco quando andò a marito al Duca di* (*c*) *Sterlic, morto il Duca il ritornò a Napoli, e ſempre lo tenne con publica infamia di venereo commercio con lei.... il* (*d*) *Conte Giacomo .... poſta la Regina da parte non le laſciava maneggiar coſa alcuna, e in alcune camere quaſi relegata la teneva, non ammettendola molte volte ne'anche a gli atti matrimoniali, e con repulſe e villane parole da ſe lontana la teneva.*

Note, that *Brantome* imagin'd falſely that there was ſome difference between *Olivier de la Marche* and *Pandolfo Collenuccio*, concerning the Husband of Queen *Joan*, ſince it may eaſily be obſerved they agree well enough together. The former ſays (*e*) *this Queen was married to a noble and vertuous Knight of the Blood Royal of* France, *and of the Houſe of* Bourbon, *both by Name and Arms, called Meſſire* James *of* Bourbon, *Count* de la Marche: The latter (*f*) ſays, *eleſſe Giacomo di Narbona Provenzale, Conte della Marca, e di ſtirpe regale di Francia ancor' egli.* They ſpeak both of the ſame Man, and draw his Character much after the ſame manner; the only difference is, the *Italian* Author makes him of *Provence*, and calls him *James* of *Narbonne*. He was certainly miſtaken in the firſt Reſpect; but as to the laſt, I believe 'tis only a fault in the Printer, who has put *Narbona* for *Borbone*; or if the Printer has not done ſo, then it muſt have been in the Authors which *Collenuccio* copy'd, and that either thro' the Negligence of the Tranſcribers or Printers. Let us not leave this Matter till we have mended two Faults in *Mezerai*. Although, ſays he, (*g*) Joan *was firſt married to* James *of* Bourbon *Count* de la Marche; *yet was ſhe never the leſs governed by the Counſels of* Pandolfo Alopo, *and* Mutio Sforza *the Stock of the Dukes of* Milan, *who, 'twas ſaid, were her Friends.* This is to ſuppoſe, 1*ſt*, That *Joan* had never been married before ſhe was to *James* of *Bourbon*; and, 2*dly*, That ſhe married another Husband, after ſhe had loſt this; both which however are falſe. Now, if I ſhould likewiſe remark the faults in the Stile, I could find a third Error in this Hiſtorian; for by the placing his Words, he ſeems to have a mind to make us underſtand, that the *Sforza*'s Dukes of *Milan* went for Queen *Joan*'s Friends.

(*C*) *To maintain himſelf againſt the Subtleties of this Princeſs.*] "(*b*) She play'd her part ſo well, that one "*Giulio Ceſare* of *Capua*, who had formerly offended "her, to make his Peace, offer'd to kill her Husband "*James*; when ſhe, not leſs Politick than malicious, "took hold of the occaſion, as well to revenge her ſelf "on *Giulio*, as to regain her Husband's Favour. Seeming therefore to hearken to the Propoſal, ſhe bid "the Traytor be ſure to conſider of doing it effectually; for which end ſhe gave him eight Days. In "the mean while ſhe went and acquainted her Huſband with the whole matter, telling him he ſhould lie "conceal'd with ſome of his moſt faithful Domeſticks, "where he might hear how the whole Villany was to "be tranſacted: Accordingly the eighth Day being "come ſhe convey'd *Giulio* privately into her Chamber, where they two diſcourſing ſomewhat loudly "of the Conduct of their Affair, the King, of a "ſudden, ruſh'd forth and cut off *Giulio*'s Head, embracing at the ſame time his Queen, and declaring "he thought her the moſt loyal of Wives. *Caſi ſi pigliano le volpi*, ſays the *Italian* Proverb. Soon after the Queen had her Liberty, governing all as formerly;

† Brantome *in his Lives of Illuſtrious Women, p.* 388, *&c. rails at him ſeverely.*

γ *See Father* Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of the great Schism, lib.* 6.

* *And not* 1431. *as* Mezerai *ſays in his Chronological Abridgment, ad hunc ann.*

(*q*) *ibid. p.* 121.

(*r*) *In the Remark O of the foregoing Article.*

(*ſ*) Anſelm *ubi ſupra, p.* 359.

(*t*) *In the Remark E in the Paſſage of* Mezerai.

(*v*) Anſelm, *ibid. pag.* 355.

(*t*) Chron. *of Father* Ptolemy *of* Lucca.

(*a*) Brantome *of illuſtrious Women, p.* 384.

(*b*) Pandolfo Collenuccio Hiſt. del Regno di Napoli Lib. 5. fol. 93. verſo.

(*c*) *Neither* Brantome *nor* Collenuccio *have underſtood this Word. According to* Baudrand, Auſtria *is call'd in High-dutch* Oeſterreich, *and pronounc'd* Eſterich, *whence* Collenuccio *hid his* Duca di Sterlic, *and* Brantome, *pag.* 348, *his* Duchelie de Sterlich.

(*d*) Idem Collenuccio, *ib. fol.* 94.

(*e*) Olivier de la Marche's *Memoirs, lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. *p. m.* 76.

(*f*) Collenucio, ubi ſupra, *fol.* 93. verſo.

(*g*) Mezerai's *Hiſtory of* France. *Tome* 2. *pag.* 627.

(*b*) Brantome, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 386.

ceiv'd at the Loſs of him (D) depriv'd her of Life ſoon after ‡. She had nam'd for her Succeſſor † *René* of *Anjou*, who had not Forces ſufficient to poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom; and therefore left to his Deſcendants only a bare Title. He was more fit to make a quiet State happy, than to quiet a diſturb'd one; and ſpent more time in Painting (DΔ) than in preparing for an Expedition. The true Succeſſor of this Princeſs was *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*; of whom I ſhall treat in the following Article. No Body will deny but this Queen diſhonour'd her ſelf greatly (E) by her Laſciviouſneſs. *Brantome* (F) vindicates her very ill. It was perhaps to expiate this Crime that ſhe was ſo kind to the

‡ *The 2d of* February 1435.

† *He was Brother of* Lewis.

(i) Serò nimis exiguæ tam patientis & obſequentis filii habitæ curæ, mortiſque ei ſummâ ingratitudine conciliatæ ingentibus gemitibus ſeſe incuſavit. *Spondan. ad ann.* 1434. *n.* 16.

(k) Petrus Alcyonius in Medice legato poſteriore de exilio.

(l) Matthew's *Hiſtory of* Lewis XI. *Lib.* 9. *p. m.* 503.

(a) Balzac *in his Prince ch.* 126. *p. m.* 88, 89.

(b) Scudery *in his Illuſtrious* Baſſa. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 326.

(c) Le Pays, Nouvelles œuvres 2 *part.* 1 *Lib. Let.* 35. *pag. m.* 71, 72.

(d) See Matthew ubi ſupra, *and* Ruffi. *Hiſtory of* Marſeilles. *T.* 1. *p.* 269, *&c.*

(e) *He died in the Year* 1480.

(f) Collenuccio, *Lib.* 5. *ſub fin. fol.* 100 *verſ.*

(g) Ubi ſupra, *p.* 39.

" formerly; through which means, being one Day at " a Banquet, which ſhe had prepared on purpoſe; " and ſeeing her Opportunity, ſhe gave the Watch- " word to her Friends and Accomplices, who on a " ſudden, riſing with great Clamours, ſeiz'd, kill'd " and plunder'd the *French* Officers, and clap'd up " the King in the Caſtle of *Ovo*. Being there, he " found means to eſcape to *Taranto* in a *Genoeſe* Ship " that happen'd then to be in the Port; which the Queen " hearing of, ſhe ſent to beſiege him; when, not " being able to hold out againſt her, he ſurrender'd " and got away into *France*, where, applying himſelf " to Religion, he turn'd Monk."

(D) *The Grief ſhe conceiv'd at the Loſs of him, depriv'd her of Life.*] Her Concern was the more afflicting, in that ſhe had not anſwer'd by a like Treatment, the Reſpect he had all along paid (i) her.

(DΔ) *And ſpent more time in Painting, than in preparing for an Expedition.*] See what an *Italian* Author ſays on this Head. (k) *Qualis avorum memoria Renatus Neapolitanus Rex fuit. Hic enim picturæ maxime delectabatur, & ob ejus ſtudium res maximas conficere negligebat. Illum & familiares, & propinqui reguli admonebant, è dignitate regia non eſſe dies noctesque in pingendo conſumere, ſemperque tabellas contemplari, & de figuratione corporum diſceptare. Ad quos reſpondebat ſe non minus pictorem quam Regem natum eſſe. At quàm melius conſuluiſſet ſibi & poſteris ſuis, ſi tantam curam non egiſſet artis illius pulcerrimæ quidem, ſed Regibus nunquam admodum neceſſariæ, profectò ex illo regio ſolio non excidiſſet, nec privatus in Galliam Narbonenſem navigiſſet.* Let us add to this Teſtimony another of a *French* Hiſtorian. " (l) He " ſpent his time upon Pictures ſo excellent (1) " that they are yet to be ſeen in the City of " *Aix*. He was painting a Partridge when News " was brought him of the Loſs of the Kingdom of " *Naples*, yet would not he give over his Work; ſo " much was his Mind ſet upon it." *Balzac*, having ſaid that *Lewis* XIII. had not miſpent his Time in Exerciſes unbecoming a King, adds theſe Words: (a) *I do not doubt but he had read with a great deal of Contempt the Story of King* René, *laſt Earl of* Provence, *who was found finiſhing the Picture of a Partridge by him that brought him News of the Loſs of his Kingdom of* Sicily; *and I likewiſe aſſure my ſelf, that if* Selym, *Emperor of the* Turks, *had not in that Picture he made and publiſhed, repreſented a* (1) *Battle he had gain'd, this King would not eaſily have pardon'd him the making himſelf known to be a Painter.* Mr *de Scudery* obſerves (b), that *Selym* ſent this Battle, painted with his own Hands, to the *Venetians*, who keep it to this Day in their Treaſury. This Occupation of *Selym* did no injury to his Memory, for it did not hinder him from Conquering; but a like Application diſhonour'd the good King *René*, who loſt almoſt all his Dominions. " (c) A certain Painter having ſeen a Picture of " this King *René* at *Aix*, ſaid wittily, *'twas a great* " *deal of pity* René *was a King, and that he had not* " *been a Painter by Trade.*" Obſerve the Inhabitants of *Provence* (d) were very happy under this Painting King, who liv'd a (e) long while.

(E) *No Body will deny but this Queen diſhonour'd her ſelf greatly by her Laciviouſneſs.*] Let us alledge firſt, the Words of *Pandolfo Collenuccio*: (f) *Fama lascivo di le inſtabile e impudica, dicendoſi di lei, che nulla onestà ſola fu ſtabile, e che ſempre ne fusta innamorata, havendo in più modi e con molti la ſua laſciva macchiata; ma ſopra tutto con Pandolfello Alopo, e Urbano Auniglia, e M. Giovanni Caracciolo gran Siniſcalco, tutti tre Gentilhuomini, e molto deſti, virtuoſi, e coſtumati; ma ſopra ogni coſa di perſona e effigie vellisſima.* *Brantome* (g) has tranſlated this after the following manner. " Now the Hiſtory of *Naples* ſays, this " Queen left behind her the Character of an unchaſte " and diſorderly Woman; inſomuch, that it was " ſaid of her, ſhe was conſtant only in inconſtancy, " and that ſhe was always in Love with ſome Body or " other, having many ways, and with many Perſons " made a Pleaſure of her Body:" *Collenuccio* is ſo well known for Partiality againſt the Houſe of *Anjou*, that not only the *French* Hiſtorians, but alſo ſome (h) *Italians* have cenſur'd his Virulency and Calumnies, and that chiefly in regard of Queen *Joan* I. But they let paſs, and even follow his account of *Joan* II. Is it not a plain ſign that the Irregularities of the former are doubtful; whereas thoſe of the latter are certain? The Paſſage I am going to quote is very curious: " As *Ladiſlaus* (i) was very lewd and exceedingly ha- " ted for his Cruelties, ſo was he poiſon'd after " a baſe manner, receiving his Death from the " very Source of his Pleaſure and Life. A Phyſi- " cian (k) perceiving his Familiarity with his Daugh- " ter, gave her a poyſonous Drug to rub her ſelf with- " al; which ſhe thought was only a Philtre to raiſe " a greater Deſire in her Lover, but it proved the " Cauſe of both their Deaths. The King's Siſter " *Joan* II Relict of *William* of *Auſtria*, ſucceeded " him. She was then four and forty Years old; " which Age far from abating her Paſſions, enflam'd " them to the greateſt degree." See what I quote from *Spondanus* (l); and alſo obſerve, that tho' the Jeſuit *Maimbourg* play'd ſo much the Panegyriſt and Apologiſt in favour of the firſt *Joan*, yet he confeſſes of this (m) that *ſhe diſhonour'd her Reign by her exceeding ſcandalous Life; and that ſhe at length abandon'd both her Perſon and Kingdom to the Pleaſure of* John Caracciolo, *he of all her Favourites whom ſhe lov'd moſt.*

(F) Brantome *vindicates her very ill.*] Theſe are his Words: " (n) The Hiſtory of *Naples* ſays, this " Queen .... was always in Love with ſome Body or " other, having many ways, and with many Perſons " made a Pleaſure of her Body; which is the leaſt " fault in a great and fair Princeſs: whereas when " ſhe is malicious, revengeful and tyrannical, as " many now a-days are, the People ſuffer more " thereby, than by her Amours; as I have heard " a great Man diſcourſe." 'Tis much after the ſame manner *Paulus Jovius* has endeavour'd to defend the voluptuous Life of *Leo* X. as I have formerly obſerv'd, where I made my Reflexions on ſuch kind of Apologies: To which I now add, there's a great deal of difference between the known Laſciviouſneſs of a King, and the ſcandalous Amours of a Queen. Without doubt 'twere much better for the Subjects that their Sovereign ſhould ſcandalize them with a great number of Baſtards, than load them with Taxes, and tyrannize over them: And it is very poſſible a Prince, inordinately given to Women, may preſerve order in his Dominions, make Juſtice and Commerce flouriſh, and no ways inure his Subjects. I confeſs alſo a People may be more happy under an unchaſte Queen, in caſe ſhe treats them gently and prudently, than under one that is chaſte, yet withal covetous, cruel and ambitious. But it ſeems to me morally impoſſible, that in a Country where the Laws of Religion and Honour are ſo ſevere againſt Female Unchaſtity, as they are in our Weſtern Parts of the World, a People ſhould be happy under a Queen that tramples under-foot Modeſty and Virtue, though proper to her Sex. The Indulgence we commonly have for the unlawful Amours of a Monarch, hinders us from concluding, that ſince he gives ſuch a Looſe to that Paſſion, he will likewiſe be incapable of governing himſelf in any other. Whereas the ſeverity of Honour againſt the moſt Impurities of a Woman of what Quality ſoever, induces us to believe, that a Queen who has tranſgreſs'd thoſe Bounds, will ſtop at no Excels whatſoever: She muſt neceſſarily have loſt all manner of Shame, be inſenſible of Glory, and have a mean Soul, that can reſolve to ſacrifice her Honour and Conſcience, together with a publick Eſteem, to a Criminal Paſſion, which ſhe has conceiv'd either for one of her Domeſticks or Vaſſals: Can the Subjects of ſuch a Princeſs have any Reſpect for her, after they have

(h) Tomaſo Coſto, Summonte, *&c.*

(i) Mezerai's *Abridgment, Tom.* 3. *pag.* 190. *in the Year* 1414. *See alſo his Hiſtory at large. To* 2. *p.* 627.

(k) Collenuccio *relates this at large*, ubi ſupra, *fol.* 93. *and* Brantome *after him*, ubi ſupra, *p.* 404.

(l) *In the Remark* G. *Letter a.*

(m) Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of the great Schiſm of the Weſt. Book.* 6. *p. m.* 284.

(n) Brantome, ubi ſupra. *p.* 395.

CONSIDERATIONS *upon the unlawful Amours of* QUEENS

the Church (*G*), and that ſhe permitted *Capiſtran* to vex the *Jews*. I have elſewhere ſpoken of *Caracciolo*, one of her Gallants. What *Brantome* has ſaid of her is taken from *Collenuccio*. I muſt here ſpeak a Word or two concerning (*GΔ*) *Bartolomeo Coglione*.

NAPLES (ALPHONSO I. King of) by his Vigour and Art join'd the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Dominions he inherited from his Father *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, who died in the Year 1416. *Joan II.* Queen of *Naples*, being beſieg'd in her Capital City by *Lewis* of *Anjou*, had recourſe to our *Alphonſo*, promiſing to adopt him for her Succeſſor, in caſe he could deliver her from her Enemies. *Alphonſo*, who had juſt then ſignaliz'd himſelf in *Sardinia*, would not let ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity of raiſing himſelf; therefore ſending a Fleet to *Naples*, he rais'd the Siege; and was thereupon adopted by the Queen in *September* 1420. This Friendſhip, nevertheleſs, between the Queen and her adopted Heir, did not laſt; for the Adoption was annull'd in *June* 1423, after many great Quarrels, which were at length converted into violent Hoſtilities. Hereupon *Lewis* III. of *Anjou* was adopted by the Queen, and *Alphonſo* thought fit to return for *Spain*: For this end he embark'd at *Naples*, in *October* 1423, and took *Marſeilles* in his way. This Conqueſt of his was due to the good Counſel that had been given him, to puſh his point after he had poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Harbour, and to attack the City all Night, not giving the Inhabitants time to recover out of their Aſtoniſhment. During his Abſence the Faction of *Anjou* got the upper-hand again at *Naples*; but as Queen *Joan*, who, to ſpeak Truth, was a Perſon of no great Conſideration, was ſurrounded by a ſort of People that minded only their own Intereſt, and were not a little inconſtant in their Inclinations, the Faction of *Arragon* regain'd its Force when it was the leaſt expected. *Alphonſo* then found himſelf immediately ſollicited to return. The Duke of *Anjou* died in *November* 1434, and Queen *Joan* followed him ſome few Months after. Now all ſa-

have formed ſuch an Idea of her Life? Can they help having the laſt Contempt for her; and may not ſuch a Contempt produce many Seditions? Moreover, It is next to impoſſible but ſuch an unchaſte Conduct in a Queen muſt debauch all the Ladies of her Court, and likewiſe ſpread throughout her Kingdom a pernicious Neglect of that *Decorum* which all Women ought to obſerve. Then what was only deſpis'd before will immediately become odious and abominable to all that have any regard to the Publick Good. What can one expect will be the Conſequence of ſuch a Behaviour, but Factions and Revolts? The Libertinage of a Sovereign Prince is not liable to the ſame Inconveniences. Ambition, an Arbitrary Luſt of Power, a falſe Idea of Grandeur, have almoſt always had a greater ſhare in the Downfal of their Favourites, than Love: Whereas an amorous Queen is wholly plung'd into thoſe Diſorders, that debaſe her, by the Brutal Paſſion of carnal Pleaſure: Let us add this other Conſideration. A Queen that abandons her ſelf to her Gallants, becomes their Slave; ſhe can deny them nothing, and conſequently, properly ſpeaking, 'tis they, and not ſhe, that reign. Their Vain-Glory, and their other Paſſions, which are a Source of Diſorders, become yet more pernicious thro' the Jealouſies they raiſe in the Minds of the great Men. Endeavours are uſed to undermine them, they cabal, they retire, which does not a little exaſperate the People: Can any Subjects be happy under ſuch a Government? Experience confirms what I ſay, and Hiſtory has plenty of Examples, that ſhew the Miſerable Reigns of ſuch Queens, as have been inordinately amorous and unchaſte: What Troubles were there not in *Naples* during the Reigns of theſe two *Joans*? What Wars of all kinds? What Ravagings? Wherefore we may conclude, contrary to the Opinion of *Brantome*, that Unchaſtity in a Queen is a very blameable Vice, and a capital Defect; nay, ſuch as the People have no ſmall reaſon to apprehend ill Conſequences from.

A Lawyer of thoſe Times made this Quibble in *Italian* againſt the firſt *Joan*. She is, ſaid he, (*p*) not *la Regina*(*q*), but *la Ruina* of the Kingdom of *Naples*; and againſt the ſecond *Joan* there went a Prophetick Verſe, that ſhe ſhould be the Deſtruction of her Country. (*r*) *Della quale un verſo profetico per il reame ſi diceva:*

Ultima Durazzi fiet Deſtructio Regni.

This Lawyer was for the Salique Law: He (*ſ*) was not for admitting Women to the Throne. All things duly conſider'd, one would be oblig'd to confeſs, that the Statutes which permit Kingdoms to fall to the Diſtaff, have not been wiſely conceiv'd. It is not that Women have leſs Wit or leſs Capacity than Men: There have been ſome that have reign'd with ſo great Glory, and diſcover'd ſo great Wiſdom, Courage and Ability, that the greateſt of Kings have ſcarce deſerv'd to be compar'd with them. But then it may happen, that thoſe States which obſerve not the *Salique* Law, may expoſe themſelves to ſeveral Inconveniences for want of it: Of which this is not the leaſt, that he that marries the Heireſs of the Crown, is almoſt always upon the (3) *Qui vive* both with his Subjects and Queen. They, for the moſt part, look upon him only as their Queen's Husband; and ſhe is not diſpleas'd that they ſhould do ſo; nay, moſt commonly, even ſhe her ſelf does not allow him the Title of King. 'Tis from thence that many Diſorders aroſe in the Kingdom of *Naples*, during the Reign of the two *Joans*. Read in the Hiſtory of *England* the Reign of Queen *Mary* I. Wife of *Philip* II. The Father and Grandfather of the latter under went a like Tryal, the one in *Spain*, and the other in the *Low Countries*. Father *le Moyne* furniſhes me with a Supplement: He has refuted by very good reaſons the looſe Morality of *Taſſo*: (*a*) He ſuppoſes that that famous Poet being in Love with the Princeſs *Eleonora d'Eſt*, ſacrificed the Intereſts of Virtue to thoſe of his Paſſion, in maintaining that Chaſtity was not neceſſary to any but ordinary Women: This Wicked Philoſophy was vigorouſly attack'd, and among the other remarks on it, is this. (*b*) "The Publick decency is joyned to the honour of pri- "vate Perſons againſt that new Morality of *Taſſo*. Im- "purity is not only more filthy, and worſe in eminent "Perſons; 'tis alſo more contagious and of more dange- "rous Conſequence. An evil Example is an infected Air, "which there is reaſon always to fear, from whence "ſoever it comes, and what ever Wind drives it on: "But there is a more ſubtle Poiſon, and a more pene- "trating Malignity when it comes from great Fami- "lies; when it blows from a Mouth of Authority; "when it is carried in Habits of Silk and Gold: and if "at this time Princeſſes, and thoſe who approach their "Quality, ſhould declare for *Taſſo*'s wicked Doctrine; "the next Day every Body would believe that it was "for their Honour to be gallant; and the Licence of "the Ladies would come into faſhion, as well as their "Cloaths and Head Dreſſes."

(*G*) *To expiate this Crime that ſhe was ſo kind to the Church, and that*, &c.] *Spondanus* ſays thus much expreſly, in relation to the ſmall Pomp ſhe ordered ſhe would be buried with. *Sepulta eſt*, ſays he, (*a*) *in Eccleſia Virginis Annunciatæ ignobili ſepulturâ, ut ipſa juſſerat, in pœnitentiam luxurioſæ vitæ quâ vehementer infamata eſt.* See what he adds in reſpect to the care ſhe took of the Chriſtian Faith. (*b*) *Inter vitia quibus fœdata eſt, egit & multa pia opera, tam in Eccleſiarum quàm in ſtatus regni utilitatem, quæ Summontius Neapolitanus enumerat. Inter quæ ſunt, quod profeſſatem fecit Fr. Joanni Capiſtrano inſigni Ordinis S. Franciſci profeſſori, interdicendi Judæis uſuras & alia ab Eccleſia prohibita; & cogendi ferre ſignum Thau, ut dignoſcerentur à Chriſtianis.* So furious a Zealot as was this Cordelier, who had been appointed Inſpector of the Conduct of the Jews, and who made them wear the Letter *Thau*, to diſtinguiſh them, might well be ſuppoſed withal to have made them undergo divers Vexations.

(*GΔ*) *A Word or two concerning* Bartolomeo Coglione.] He was one of the moſt famous Captains of his Time.

(*p*) Collenuccio, ubi ſupra. *fol.* 85. *verſo.*

(*q*) *That is to ſay, not the Queen, but the Ruine.*

(*r*) *Id. ib. fol.* 92. *verſo.*

(*ſ*) Ponendovi queſti due verſi in biaſimo del ſeminil governo. *Regna regunt vulvæ, gens tota clamat ſimul, oh. veh. Interitus regni eſt à muliere regi.* I quali verſi in vulgar noſtro ſuanono coſi, La vulva rege, ohime gridan le lingue, Il femminil governo il reg' o eſtingue. *Id. fol.* 8. *verſo.*

(3) *Jealous of his Authority.*

(*a*) *Father* le Moyne, Galer. des Femmes fortes. *p.* m^d 192.

(*b*) *Id. ib. pag.* 195.

(*a*) *Spondan. ad. ann.* 1435. *n.* 3. *pag.* 831. *He had ſaid in the Year* 1414. *n.* 6. *p.* 734. Succeſſit in regnum ſoror ejus *Joanna* hujus nominis ſecunda, vidua Guillelmi Auſtrii, annum agens jam 44. ſed amore cujuſdam Pandolfelli Alopi Neapolitani conſpicuâ formâ juvenis à multo tempore infamis.

(*b*) *Id. ib. ad. ann.* 1435. *n.* 3

" (*c*) He

favour'd *Alphonſo*, although the People of *Naples* had already proclaim'd *René* of *Anjou* King, for he was no formidable Rival. *France* was very (*A*) unlucky at that time; but notwithſtanding all theſe favourable Appearances on the part of *Alphonſo*, the Beginnings of the Enterprize were very unfortunate. He firſt beſieged *Gaeta*, and was taken Priſoner in a Sea Fight † he loſt againſt the *Genoeſes*, who were come to relieve that Place. Then it was ſeen there are a ſort of People that cannot be wholly unfortunate, ſince good Fortune ſprings for them β even out of the midſt of Adverſity. The Duke of *Milan* was the chief Cauſe of *Alphonſo*'s Elevation to the Throne of *Naples*: The Duke of *Milan*, I ſay, whoſe Priſoner *Alphonſo* now was, did not content himſelf with giving him his Liberty, but alſo furniſhed him with Troops for a Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*. But this was not the work of a Day: The Preſence of *René* of *Anjou* γ ſupported his Faction for ſome time; yet at length the City of *Naples* fell into the Hands of *Alphonſo* in the Year 1442, which was the ultimate Deciſion of the Difference. This Prince entered that City in Triumph after the manner of the Antient *Romans*, the 26th of *February* 1443, and found the Temper of *Eugenius* IV. very mild in his Reſpect. He had, 'tis true, been thwarted by that Pope ſo long as Fortune did not declare her ſelf; but ſo ſoon as ever ſhe had pronounced Sentence to the prejudice of *France*, *Eugenius* did not pretend to the Virtue of *Cato* δ, but immediately acknowledg'd *Alphonſo* to be the lawful Poſſeſſor of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in conſideration of a certain annual Tribute to be paid him. This Conqueſt procured *Alphonſo* a great Reputation, and gave him an Opportunity to make the *Florentines*, and ſome other People of *Italy*, feel the force of his Victorious Arms; ſo that he was careſſed by all the Princes who at that time fear'd the *Ottoman* Power. He met with ſo many Charms in *Italy*, that he had no Thoughts of returning to *Arragon*. He was a Prince throughly accompliſh'd, and who did great Honour to *Spain* *. He was a great lover (*B*) of Letters and Learned Men, and

† *The fifth of* Auguſt 1435.

β *See* Jovian Pontanus de Principe *fol. m.* 62.

γ *He arrived at* Naples *in the Month of* May 1438.

δ Victrix Cauſa Diis placuit; Sed victa Catoni. *Lucanus Lib.* 1. *v.* 128.

* Princeps ſua ætate clariſſimus, nulli veterum poſthabendus, Hiſpaniæ gentis lumen decuſque perpetuum. *Mariana l.* 22. *c.* 18. *See* Vatillas's *Hiſtory of* Charles VIII. *l.* 2. *p.* 178. Edit. *of* Holland.

(*c*) *Varillas, Anecdotes de Florence pag.* 35.

" (*c*) He was born in the Neighboorhood of *Bergamo*, " and his Family had been almoſt entirely deſtroyed " in the Quarrel between the *Guelphs* and the *Gibelins* " He beg'd till he was eighteen Years old; when, coming to *Naples*, and no Body daring to diſpute " with him the Prize of Wreſtling or Running, by " reaſon of his prodigious Strength and incompa- " rable Agility, Queen *Joan* II. who valu'd Men only " for their Vigour, made him her Minion. But he " was quickly weary of this infamous Employment, " and conſequently ſtealing from the Court, went to " learn the Exerciſe of Arms under the famous *Braccio*." It will not be amiſs to acquaint the Reader that the ſame Relation is to be met with among the Panegyricks of *Paulus Jovius*, ſince the bare Authority of the *French* Hiſtorian would not be ſufficient to hinder us from doubting the Truth of it. See the Words of the Original he has made uſe of. *Fuit Coleo corporis ſtatura erecta atque habili, adeoque formoſus atque agilis ut Reginæ Joannæ, ingenio proca i mulier, avidaque virorum fortium Co'conis amore caperetur, quam ea ſpectante cenſtis in palæſtra jactuque ferrei veſtis & ſaltu curſuque certantes cum magno ſpectantium plauſu ſuperaret* (*d*).

(*d*) Jovius Elogior. virorum bellica virture Illuſtrium, *Lib.* 3. *p. m.* 237.

You may hereby come to underſtand the Nature of this Queen: During the Solemnity of a publick Show, ſhe ſpies an Adventurer of a good Mien, and good Complexion, who bore away the Prize of Wreſtling, Running and Jumping, from all thoſe that contended with him; who, in a word, threw the Javelin farther than any other could do, which the perceiving, waits for no better Tryal, but immediately chuſes him for her Favourite. To her therefore may be apply'd the Fable of the Mare, related in the *Mercure Galant* of the Year 1673, which, as I remember, concludes with this Moral Stanza.

Maintes connois qui trompent à leur mine,
Et ſont du goût de la jument,
Il n'importe qu'il ait comment,
Pourveu qu'il ait bon rable & bonne echine.

(*A*) *France was very unlucky at that Time.*] It is permitted us at this Day to ſay of Fortune what the Pagans ſaid, who did not underſtand by that Word, with the ſame Evidence as we have, a Direction of the moſt wiſe and juſt Hand of God, we ſhould be apt to accuſe her of too great Partiality towards *Spain* againſt *France*; for 'tis not poſſible to read the Hiſtory of the XV and XVI. Century, where it treats of the Affairs of *Italy*, without obſerving the Aſcendant and Superiority the former had over the latter; which ought alſo at this Day to give Confuſion to the *French*, and Pride to the *Spaniards*. But herein the Providence of God ought to be admired: He is the common Father of all People, and thoſe Temporal Bleſſings he affords one Nation in one Century, he deprives them of in the next. The XV. and XVIth. Centuries brought good to *Spain*, and the XVIIth. took it away from them: The Aſcendant and Superiority of *France* was reſerved for that Age. I only clear and paraphraſe on the Text of *Mariana*; (*e*) *Sic fortuna ludit in rebus humanis: ſic nos noſtraque verſamur. Aragonio nimirum cælum viam ad regnum ſtruebat cui nihil eſt arduum.... Multum ei familiæ* (Andegavenſi) *ſuperi per hæc tempora adverſati videntur, Gallorum genti infenſi, ac Aragoniis propitii. Sed eſt fere ut aliarum rerum ſic felicita'is orbis: per varias gentes atque familias inerrat, nulli propria* (*f*). What may comfort *France*, is, that it was even then thought infinitely more formidable than *Spain*; and conſequently ſtronger Leagues were made to hinder her eſtabliſhing her ſelf in *Italy*, than to hinder *Spain* from making any Conqueſt in that Country. The Princes of *Italy* hop'd to be able to put a ſtop to the *Spaniards*, but deſpair'd to reſiſt the Efforts of the *French*. For this reaſon at all Times, and in this Age more than ever, the Leagues againſt *France* will be difficult to be diſſolved, the Fear of each Member ſerving for a good Cement to unite them the ſtronger.

(*e*) *Mariana l.* 21. *c.* 7.

(*f*) *Confer quæ Horatius Od.* 29. *Lib.* 3. Fortuna ſæ vo læta negotio & Ludum inſolentem ludere pertinax, Tranſmutat incertos honores, Nunc mihi nunc alii benigna.

Whilſt (*g*) this Page was reprinting I came to underſtand, by the publick News, that a Duke of *Anjou* ſecond Son to the Dauphin of *France*, ſucceeds not only to the Crown of *Naples*, but likewiſe to all the Dominions of the Monarchy of *Spain*. This confirms what I have ſaid concerning the XVIIth Century's bringing on the Turn of *France*; ſince it is an Age, whoſe laſt Year confers on a Prince of the Blood Royal of that Kingdom the whole Dominions of (*a*) the King of *Spain*.

(*g*) *This was writ the* 25*th of* November 1700.

(*a*) Charles II. *who died the firſt of* November 1700.

(*B*) *He was a great Lover of Letters and Learned Men.*] Over and above what ſhall be related in the following Remark, I ought to let you know here that he honour'd, with a particular Eſteem, *Laurentius Valla*, *Antonius Panormita*, *Georgius Trajezuntius*, and *Bartholomeus Facius*: But I had rather let *Mariana* ſpeak, whoſe Words are, (*b*) *Literas in pretio habuit, viriſque eruditione præſtantibus tantum tribuit, ut iis ſe inclinata quamvis ætate recognoſcendum præberet. Laurentio Vallæ familiariter eſt uſus, Antonio Panhormita, Georgio Trajezuntio immortali laude viris. Bartholomæum Facium cujus extant de rebus Alf nſi commentarii, menſe novembri ſuperioi* (*c*) *extinctum tulit ægerrimè. Philelphus* having brought him his Satyrs, return'd loaded with Preſents, and honour'd with an Order of Knighthood. (*d*) *Philelphum poetam ad ſe ſatyras diutiſſime evigilatas deferentem illaſque canentem ac prope agentem, non prius quam militiæ honore decoratum præmiſque auctum remiſit.* He held a Correſpondence by Letters with *Leonard Aretin*, and endeavoured to bring him to his Court: But the old Age and bad Health of that Learned Man would not permit him to benefit himſelf by thoſe Offers. *Poggius a Florentine* tranſlated the *Cyropædia* of *Xenophon*, by King *Alphonſo*'s Order; and was conſiderably rewarded for it. In a Word; this Prince brought to his Court, from the moſt remote Countries, a great number of Learned Divines, and advanced ſome of them to the moſt conſiderable Imployments. His Court was full of Learned Men, who all ſhar'd in

(*b*) *Mariana l.* 22. *c.* 18.

(*c*) *That is to ſay in* 1457.

(*d*) *Anton. Panormit. de Dict. & Fact. Alphonſi. l.* 3. *n.* 11.

and many extraordinary Things (C) have been related of him on that account. He died at *Naples* the 27th of *June* 1458, aged 64 Years ‡, leaving his Dominions in *Spain* to his Brother, and the Kingdom of *Naples* to his Baſtard Son, *Ferdinand* ‖. What Mr *Moreri* ſays is not true, *viz.* "That *Antony* of *Palermo* wrote a very exact Hiſtory of "King *Alphonſo*, entituled, *De Factis & Dictis Alphonſi Regis*"; for the Work that bears this Title is nothing but a Collection of pleaſant Repartees, witty Sayings, and ſome extraordinary Actions of this Prince: And altho' there may appear divers Particulars of his Life in the ſeveral Circumſtances wherein he has ſaid or done theſe Things; yet cannot ſuch a Work be properly term'd *An exact Hiſtory of this King*. 'Tis a ſtrange Negligence of *Paulus Jovius*: He was ignorant that *Alphonſo* (D) was eldeſt Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*; and that he was (E) married, and reigned much above twenty two Years. Mr *Varillas*, without doubt, meant this Prince in his Preface to his *Anecdotes*,

‡ *Jovius Pontan. de Bell. Neapol. l. 1.*

‖ *Taken out of the Hiſtory of* Spain *of* Mariana.

his Liberality. He (e) maintain'd many poor Scholars of good hopes (f), at his Expence. I had almoſt forgot *Bracellius* (g), who was one of the Learned Men of his Court, and who left a Hiſtory of the Wars of this Monarch.

(C) *And many extraordinary Things have been related of him on that account.*] During an Indiſpoſition he labour'd under at *Capua*, every one brought ſuch Things to him as they thought might divert him. *Antonius Panormita* (h) made choice of Books, and brought among others *Quintus Curtius*: Hereupon this Prince hearkn'd with ſo great Pleaſure to the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the *Great*, that he was in a manner cur'd by it the firſt Day; which greatly ſurpriz'd the Phyſicians. He continu'd this Exerciſe thrice every Day, till ſuch time as *Panormita* had read the Book through: Whereupon he rail'd the Phyſicians, laugh'd at their *Avicenna*, and loaded *Quintus Curtius* with Praiſe. Being told there was an Epitaph in old Characters on the Tomb of *Cicero*, near *Formium*, he could not be at reſt till he had ſeen it; therefore cauſing himſelf immediately to be tranſported thither, he tore away the Buſhes that grew about the Sepulchre with his own Hands: But he found not the Name of *Cicero*, but that of one *M. Vitruvius*. (i) *Quod rex ut primum accepit lætitia pene perditus ire nihil cunctatus eſt, & ſentibus rubiſque primo tumulum purgans mox legere inceptans, non M. Tullii, ſed M. Vitruvii epigramma eſſe comperit.* At the Siege of *Gaeta* (k), when he was told there was no more of thoſe large Stones with which he loaded his Mortars to be had, but at an old Country Seat, which, according to the Tradition of thoſe Parts, had once belong'd to *Cicero*; he anſwer'd, he would rather chuſe to let his Artillery be uſeleſs, than to profane any thing that had belong'd to that great Man. We ſhall ſee elſewhere (l) the Reſpect he had for *Livy*, and the Honour he paid to that great Author, and (m) the Country of *Ovid*. He collected (n) with great care the Medals of the *Roman* Emperors, and above all thoſe of *Julius Cæſar*, keeping them in an Ivory Box, almoſt as choicely as Reliques. He always carried (o) along with him the Commentaries of *Cæſar*, and never let a Day paſs without reading ſomething of them attentively. He took (p) for his Device, *An open'd Book*. His Soldiers (q) knew ſo well his Paſſion for Books, that whenever they plunder'd any place they ſtrove which ſhould carry him ſome ſooneſt. One Day, as ſome Body was talking of the Loſs of precious Things, he proteſted (r) he had rather loſe all his Jewels, of how great value ſoever, than the meaneſt of his Books. He always caus'd ſeveral to be laid about his Bed; and when-ever he wak'd, would order ſome one to be given him to read. He would ſometimes go on Foot (s) to the Lectures of Profeſſors, though never ſo diſtant from his Palace: He eſteemed (v) that Day loſt which he had ſpent without reading ſomething; and would not ſuffer a time allotted for a Lecture to be any otherwiſe employ'd, though he had never ſo much Buſineſs on his Hands. (w) *Antonio poetæ incredibili quadam voluptate operam dabat, aliquid ex priſcorum annalibus referenti, quinetiam veterum ab eo ſcriptorum lectiones ſingulis diebus audiebat, ac licet multis magniſque interim gravaretur curis, nunquam tamen paſſus eſt horam libro dictam à negociis auferri.* He had read the Bible (x), with the Gloſs and Commentaries upon it, fourteen times, and could remember abundance of Paſſages in it. Finding one Day his Library ſhut (y), and not having Patience to wait his Library-Keeper's return, he took an Inſtrument to break open the Door; which ſurprizing the Standers-by, one of them ask'd, *If his Majeſty would condeſcend to do that with his own Hands?* To which he anſwer'd; *What! do you think God and Nature has given Kings Hands for no uſe?* He always read with ſo great Attention (z) that no Dancing or Sound of Inſtruments ſeem'd to diſturb him: An Inſtance of this we have in the extraordinary Attention he gave to a certain piece of Eloquence. *Jannot Manetti* (aa) Deputy of the *Florentines*, making him one Day a learned and long Harangue, the King not only had his Eyes all along fix'd upon him, but alſo ſtood ſo motionleſs that he did not drive away a Flie that had plac'd it ſelf on his Noſe from the beginning of the Harangue: The Orator could not ſufficiently admire this Patience; but as ſoon as he had done ſpeaking *Alphonſo*, drove away the Flie, which he ſuffer'd to be at quiet during all that long, but charming Diſcourſe. One would now a-days laugh at ſuch a ſight; and I believe there were Perſons in thoſe Times of the ſame Temper.

(e) *Ex Anton. Panormit. ib. l. 2. ſub fin.*

(f) *Ibi l. n.* 52.

(g) Et qui bellorum ejus hiſtoriam non illepidè perſcripſit Bracellius Ligur. *Jovius elog. l.* 3.

(h) *See his Work*, de Dictis & Factis Alphonſi. *l.* 1. *n.* 43.

(i) *Ib. n.* 47.

(k) *Ibid. n.* 48.

(l) *In the Article of* Titus Livius.

(m) *In the Article of that Poet.*

(n) *Idem. Anton. Panormit. ib. l.* 2. *n.* 12.

(o) *Ib. n.* 13.

(p) *ibid. n.* 14.

(q) *Ibid. n.* 15.

(r) *Idem l.* 4. *n.* 34.

(s) Cum libris ſub ſponda ſolitum dormire regem ſcimus experrectum illos cum lumine poſcere ac lectitare.

(t) *Ibid. n.* 31.

(v) *Ibid. l.* 1. *n.* 39.

(w) Diem illam in qua nihil legeret ſe perdidiſſe dicebat. Sed & cum auditet Veſpaſianum Cæſarem (he ſhould have ſaid Titum) eam diem ſe perdidiſſe ſolitum dicere in qua nihil quicquam alicui donaſſet, egiſſe gratias rex dicitur immortali Jeſu Chriſto, quod eo modo nec diem ipſe perdidiſſet. *Ib. n.* 16.

(x) *Panorm. ib. n.* 17. *Gratiani* de caſib. vir. *p.* 19. *ſays* quadragies: *he is miſtaken.*

(y) *Panor. ib. n.* 37.

(z) *Idem. l.* 4. *n.* 15.

(aa) *Idem l.* 1. *n.* 46.

(D) *That* Alphonſo *was the eldeſt Son of* Ferdinand.] This is what *Mariana* obſerves in expreſs Terms, whoſe Words I ſhall relate becauſe they contain ſomething that belongs to the Life of our *Alphonſo*. *Interea*, ſays he, (a) *Valentiæ Rex Aragonius Alfonſi* MAJORIS *filii nuptias inſigni celebrabat apparatu... Sponſam è Caſtella Sanctius Rogius deduxit... nuptiæ confectæ pridie Idus Junii.* In the following Chapter he ſpeaks after this manner. *Alfonſum* NATUM MAXIMUM *regni hæredem ſcripſit.* The Words of *Antonius Panormita* deſerve alſo a place here becauſe they contain a ſingular Paſſage. "Ferdinandus pater & ipſe inclytus "rex, moriens Alphonſum filium iis pene verbis allo-"locutus fertur; *optime fili, quoniam regna quæcunque* "*dum Deo placuit obtinui, ad te* ÆTATIS PRÆROGA-"TIVA *deferri & ſcio & volo, optavim eas modo terras* "*quas ea parte Hiſpaniæ quam Caſtellam vocitant habe-*"*mus, Joanni fratri tuo, ſi modo per te liceat, relinque-*"*re. Quod ne moleſtè feras ais te peto, & ſi pateris* "*etiam rogo*" Ferdinand has a mind to leave ſome Lands to his younger Son, and entreats in a manner *Alphonſo* to conſent to it: *Alphonſo* anſwers like a Hero, that if his Father be pleas'd, he conſents with all his Heart, that his Brother ſhall not only inherit ſome Lands, but the Crown likewiſe; and that for his part he does not pretend to ſucceed to it any otherwiſe than through Grace and Favour. (b) *Ego, mi pater ac domine, ſatis intelligo iſthæc regna & tua ferè omnia ad me quidem pertinere, ſed non aliter quam beneficio tuo. Idcirco & pluris ſemper voluntatem tuam & feci & faciturus ſum, quam ætatis privilegium. Imo vero ſi pro tua ſingulari prudentia regnis ita demum proſpicere iri conſultum, ſi Joannem regni ſucceſſorem reliqueris, nihil recuſo, quin ipſum vel ad omnia inſtituas hæredem: non aliter (mihi credas velim) voluntati per me tuæ uſque ad poſtremum ſpiritum parebitur, quàm divinæ.* Muſt it not now be acknowledg'd that *Paulus Jovius* took a great deal of care to inform himſelf (c) of the Qualities of thoſe whoſe Panegyricks he wrote? I am not very far from believing that he thought it better a younger Son ſhould become a King, than an elder conquer another Kingdom.

(a) *Mariana. lib* 20. *c.* 7. *ad ann.* 1415. *pag.* 223. *edit. Mogunt.* 1619. *in* 4.

(b) *Antonii Panormitanus de dictis & factis Alphonſi lib.* 2. *n.* 30.

(E) *And that he was married.*] We have already quoted *Mariana* on this Head: Now follows a ſecond Teſtimony, which will inform us that *Alphonſo* met with an excellent Wife. "(d) Acceperat aliquando à "Maria ſingularis exempli uxore literas quas cum ſemel "atque iterum attentiſſimè perlegiſſet, mox inquit, "*inſtitueram olim nihil de uxore extra thalamum dicere,* "*ne benedicens uxorius aut immodeſtior haberer. At* "*nunc mihi proſus mutandum conſilium, & quidvis* "*homines obloquantur quocunque in trivio curque obvio,* "*ſine modo & modeſtia de uxoris virtute atque conſtan-*"*tia prædicandum.*" He once reſolv'd never to ſpeak

(c) Ad magnum imperium novumque regnum... vehementiſſimè contendebat, poſtquam ipſum naturæ jus ad Joannem fratrem majorem natu paterni Tarraconenſis imperii hæreditatem detuliſſet. *Jovius elog. bellicæ virt. illuſtr. l.* 3.

(d) *Panormit. ubi*

any

lates, though he denoted him by a falſe Chronology. What he ſays of him (*F*) is very curious. It is falſe that our *Alphonſo* ſent Aſſiſtance to *Scanderbeg* for the Siege of *Belgrade*; and if he once informed him that the *Italians* were not leſs formidable to their Friends than their Enemies, this nevertheleſs was not (*G*) at the time of that Siege. He was a greater King than a good Huſband; and in his old Age he had a Concubine, whom he would (*H*) have married, if he could have known how to divorce his Wife.

I have juſt hit upon a Paſſage which ſeems to me very curious, and learns us the (*I*) Cauſe any thing of the Merit of his Wife, leaſt he might be thought too fond of her, a thing Perſons of his Rank have little reaſon to fear; but having receiv'd a certain Letter from her, he chang'd his Mind, and would be talking of her Virtues on all occaſions. This Deſign was both good and honeſt, but then he ſhould have remembred her in his Will, where there was not the leaſt mention made of her: On which account Hiſtory ſays he would have repudiated her, that he might marry a Concubine. (*e*) *Reginæ nullâ mentione factâ: fama fuit & magni viri teſtantur ea repudiata Lucretiam Alaniam pellicem ducere cogitaſſe.* This Concubine was in hopes the Pope would have conſented to her Marriage, and therefore took a Journey on purpoſe to *Rome*, with the Equipage of a Queen; but ſhe obtain'd not what ſhe deſir'd (*f*): Others ſay only, that *Alphonſo* would have married her, if his Queen had been dead. This *Lucretia* was a fair *Neapolitan*, who knew ſo well how to cajole the good old King, that ſhe obtain'd of him what ever ſhe deſir'd (*g*) *Hæc eſt illa Lucretia, cujus per orbem terrarum amores fuere quàm notiſſimi. Eam Alphonſus adamatam propter formæ quæ præſtabat excellentiam, ſuaviſſimis etiam puellæ illecebris ſenex ipſe delinitus, divitiis, opibus, authoritate ita extulerat, ut plerique arbitraventur, ſi Maria vita exceſſiſſet, legitimæ uxoris eam loco habiturum.* I know not well of what Woman thoſe two Daughters were born which *Alphonſo* married advantageouſly, one to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the other to the Duke of *Seſſa* (*h*). *Mariana* agrees that Incontinence (*i*) was a Fault in *Alphonſo*. *Ferdinand*, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Naples*, was a Baſtard he had in *Spain* (*k*), and who had no great reaſon to have any kindneſs for *Lucretia*, the laſt Concubine of *Alphonſo*; ſince ſhe embraced (*l*) the Faction of *Anjou*. Now is it not ſtrange that *Paulus Jovius* ſhould talk of the Celibacy of this Prince? (*m*) *In cælibatu ſingularem eamque pauci incompertam liberi & tranquilli animi felicitatem repoſuit, ſic ut cum nunquam pœnituerit connubia rejeciſſe, quem filium Ferdinandum regiæ indolis ex nobili concubina in ſpem regni ſuſceperat.* *Antonio Maria Gratiani* was not in the ſame Error with *Paulus Jovius*, but he was not in a much leſs: He believ'd *Alphonſo* ſoon became a Widower. (*n*) *Ex uxore quam juvenis duxit Caſtellæ Regis propinqui filia liberos non tulit, eaque brevi amiſſa cælebs inde permanſit.*

(*F*) *What Mr.* Varillas *ſays is very curious.*] "(*o*) Never King was ſo concern'd at what ſhould be ſaid of "him after his Death, as was the laſt *Alphonſo*, who "wore the Crown of *Naples*. He not only labour'd to "get Battels, and do ſuch Actions as had much of "the *Roman* in them; but alſo made it his buſineſs to "ſeek out ſuch Pens as might be able to record and "embelliſh them. There was hardly anyone that was "famous, but attempted this Subject; and thoſe that "ſucceeded receiv'd from him Penſions or Preferments in "whatſoever Country of *Europe* they liv'd: Nevertheleſs, there was never any Monarch whoſe Deteſts "have been more particulariz'd than his. The leaſt "Circumſtance of his Weakneſſes is not unknown; "and one may read as long as one will in *Pontanus*, "*Panormita*, *Benedicti*, and ſixty four other Hiſtorians, that he poſſeſs'd all the great Qualities that "can make a Hero; for no Body will believe it; and "People are rather apt to hearken to *Bernardino Corio*, "who attributes to him only ordinary Qualities, "though this *Corio* was but a pitiful Hiſtorian." Now I cannot perſwade my ſelf that this relates to the laſt *Alphonſo*, Son of *Ferdinand* the Baſtard; for on one hand his Reign was ſo ſhort (*p*) it could not allow him time to make all thoſe Searches after Hiſtorians Mr. *Varillas* ſpeaks of; and on the other, this Prince was ſo openly vicious, and unprovided of thoſe great Qualities, that could make any amends for great Vices, that he was not a Subject proper for ſo many flattering Hiſtorians to paint an Hero by. It muſt then be *Alphonſo* the Grand father, whom one may look upon as ſuſceptible of ſuch ſort of Accounts. See what Mr. *Varillas* has ſaid (*q*) of the laſt *Alphonſo*, after having given a ſtrange Relation of the Life of *Ferdinand*. "There remains only to re- "mark that his Son *Alphonſo* II. imitated and even "ſurpaſſed him in that he had leſs care to conceal his "Vices: He obſerv'd neither Divine nor Humane "Laws; and no Body could have known he was a "Chriſtian, but becauſe he had been baptiz'd: The Ra- "viſhing Ladies of the greateſt Quality and Virtue, "paſs'd with him for Gallantry. He gave to Violence "the Name of his Prerogative; and it is held for cer- "tain, that it was he that counſell'd his Father to "maſſacre the Senators of *Naples* in the Church of "St. *Leonard*." Would any one ſay of ſuch a Prince, as Mr. *Varillas* does of him he ſpeaks of in the Preface to his *Anecdotes*, that an Hiſtorian who was no Flatterer, *has particulariz'd his Deteſts* to us, has informed us of *the leaſt of his Weakneſſes*, and the like? Without doubt the Author of the *Anecdotes* meant the King of *Naples*, whom we treat of in this Article; but then he ſhould not have deſcrib'd him by theſe Words, *The laſt* Alphonſo *who wore the Crown of* Naples; for if we look upon, as nothing, *Alphonſo* II. his Grandſon, then would there be only one *Alphonſo* King of *Naples*; and conſequently 'twould be to no purpoſe to call him the *Laſt*.

(*G*) *It was not at the time of that Siege.*] However unexcuſable ſoever my Reader is, he will be apt to gueſs there may be Hiſtorians that affirm what I deny in the Text of this Remark: But as every one is not able to know thoſe Hiſtorians, 'tis neceſſary that I ſhould tell it. See then what I find in a Quotation out of *Baylet*, in the Hiſtory of (*a*) *Mahomet* II. "*Scanderbeg* undertook "the Siege of *Belgrade*, a City of *Albania*, which the "*Turks* had taken from him. The better to "bring his Intent about, he beſought the Aſſiſtance of "*Alphonſo* King of *Naples*, the moſt zealous of his "Allies; demanding of him, among other Things, "Miners and Gunners; and telling him pleaſantly "enough and with a Freedom an old Friend might aſ- "ſume, that the *Albanian* Soldiers were only fit to fight "with Men; whereas he knew the *Italians* were able "to force Stone Walls. Hereupon *Alphonſo* ſent him "both Men, Money and Artillery, adding, by way of "Anſwer, agreeably enough, That the *Italians* that "were come to join him were not only proper to fight "with Men and Walls, but alſo to triumph over the "Ladies of *Albania*; and therefore adviſed him to let "his Country-men take care they did not entertain Do- "meſtick Enemies, inſtead of Foreign Friends. "*Scanderbeg* ſhew'd this Anſwer to his Army, and "laugh'd heartily at it. But he had reaſon to repent "of his beſieging *Belgrade*, for never Enterprize of "his was ſo unſucceſsful." 'Tis plain here muſt be a miſtake; for in 1465, when this Letter is ſaid to have been ſent, there was no King of *Naples* that had the Name of *Alphonſo*.

(*H*) *He had a Concubine whom he would have married.*] This appears by the Paſſage I have formerly quoted out of *Mariana* (*b*): But do not believe, becauſe of the amorous Slips of this Prince, that his Reader (*c*) has told an Untruth; where he tells the World, that his Maſter never uttered a ſmutty Word, nor ever diſcovered certain Parts of his Body to be ſeen. All Licentiouſneſs has its bounds: Laciviouſneſs does not always extend it ſelf to the Tongue and the Eyes; and 'tis not impoſſible but *Alphonſo* and *Lucretia* might have reciprocally kept their Age from each other's amorous Myſteries. It would ſignify little to alledge, that where one grants the moſt, one grants the leaſt, ſince there are good Anſwers to be given to ſuch an Objection. See the *Captain Lucas* (*d*) of *Sebaſtian Rouhaut*. Our King *Alphonſo* the Eighth (*e*) there was no greater Folly than to look for a Wife after he had Eloped, *hos maxime inſanire dicebat qui uxorem à gige ſibi fugitivam petere vellent*. This ſhews he would not have taken ſo much pains in Caſe Queen *Mary* his Wife had left him. He could not therefore be ſuppoſed to love her extraordinarily.

(*a*) *By* Mr. Guillet. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 83. *ad Ann.* 1465. *He quotes* Barlet. *l.* 6. *f.* 8.

(*b*) *In the Remark* E, *Letter* e.

(*c*) Antonius Panormitanus *had this charge with King* Alphonſo: *See what he ſays in the Life* 41. *of his 4th Book.* Ab ore Alphonſi nunquam omnino cerebum obſcœnum cucullo ſcimus, nunquam interiora membrorum eius quempiam vidiſſe.

(*d*) *In the 48th page you may read theſe Words*: Le force & contraint à leur honte commune de reveler ce vergogneux ſecret de mariage; *quod vellet factum ſic appetit. Sint, ut tamen celetur.* and at the tenth page there, *Sit ut lovdroue defend a la femme de ne jetter les yeux ou les mains petulantes ou la honte de ſon mary ſe cache, à mondre raiſon doit il ne ſe permis à l'homme de divulguer qu'elle ait ſeulement de celles de ſon ſexe.* Nam etiam (*Divit Quintilian*) ſocietate conjugali omnia adeo miſcentur, ut arcanum non habeat aliquid ſecretum.

(*e*) *Pontan. l.* 4. *n.* 8.

(*f*) *Mariana. ib.*

(*g*) *Pontanus de Bello Neapolit. l.* 2. *fol. m.* 145. *verſo.*

(*h*) Gratianus de Caſibus virorum illuſtrium. *P.* 24.

(*i*) Id maxime intemperantiæ vitium in Alfonſi moribus accuſare licet. *Mariana. ibid.*

(*k*) Alfonſo mortuo Ferdinandus ſuccedit quem hæredem in regno Neapolitano Pater inſtituerat, natum Valentiæ in Hiſpania exteriore, atque ex muliere ſuſceptum quam Valentiæ cum ageret in deliciis habuiſſet. *Portanus ib. lib.* 1. *fol.* 103.

(*l*) *Idem fol.* 145.

(*m*) *Voſſius ſupra.*

(*n*) *Gratian. ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) Varillas *Preface to the Anecdotes of Florence.*

(*p*) *It laſted about a Year.*

(*q*) *In the Life of Charles* VIII. *l.* 3. *pag.* 281. *Edit. of Holland.*

(*a*) *Mariana. l.* 22. *c.* 18.

(*b*) *Mariana. ib.*

(*c*) *Pontanus de Bello Neapolit. l.* 2. *fol. m.* 145. *verſo.*

(*d*) Gratianus de Caſibus virorum illuſtrium. *P.* 24.

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(*m*) *In the Life of Charles* VIII. *l.* 3. *pag.* 281. *Edit. of Holland.*

(I) Cauſe of the miſunderſtanding between *Alphonſo* and his Queen. We muſt ſay ſome thing of his (K) Deſcendants, and of the Pretenſions of the Houſe of (L) *Trimouille*.

NARNI, an *Italian* Capuchin, and a great Preacher, flouriſh'd about the beginning of the XVIIth. Century. Some think *Balzac* (A) ſpoke of him in the Paſſage that ſhall

(I) *The Cauſe of the Miſunderſtanding between* Alphonſo *and his Queen.*] Don *John Vitrian*, who has added many Notes to his *Spaniſh* Verſion of the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines*, maintains, that a very jealous Humour in a Woman often does a King a great deal of Service. (f) *Paſion es ella de los celos y ſoſpechas, que à las Damas ſuele quitar el juicio, y à los Principes darlo en lo concerniente à ſu imperio. Donna Juana* of *Caſtile*, adds he, loſt her good Senſe by giving way to a Jealouſy of her Husband, Don *Philip*, one of the fineſt Gentlemen in the World. The Queen, Donna *Maria* of *Arragon*, was a Woman of extraordinary Judgment, yet a like Jealouſy made her commit a Thouſand Extravagancies. She caus'd Donna *Margarita d' Ixar*, one of her Maids of Honour, and who was accounted the Mother of *Ferdinand* I. King of *Naples*, to be ſtrangled, as alſo *Lopez de Concut*, whom ſhe ſuſpected of being the Miniſter to her Husband King *Alphonſo* V's Amours; which occaſion'd that King (g) to go to *Naples*, where he died without ever ſeeing her more: So that this may be a reaſon why he made no mention of her in his Will. Let us conclude, that the reciprocal Diſguſt to each other muſt have been very great, ſince it could make him rather abandon his Kingdom of *Arragon*, than live with his Wife; and her to chuſe rather to forego any ſhare in the Crown of *Naples*, than to return to her Husband. It was very fortunate for *Alphonſo* that he could make himſelf amends for the Dominions he quitted beyond the *Pyrenées*; but, it may be, if he had not met with ſo good a Reception at *Naples*, he would have rather choſen to paſs the remainder of his Days like a Knight-Errant, than conſent to reign in *Arragon* with his Queen. The Neceſſity of living under the Bonds of Wedlock is ſometimes ſo irkſome, that a Man would rather chuſe to go to the end of the World. (h) *Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet & glacialem Oceanum.*

(f) Vitrian, *in his Notes upon* Philip de Comines, *Chap.* 1. *Letter E, pag.* 2.

(g) Le hizo irſe à Napoles, y morir ſin jamas verla. *Id. ib. pag.* 3.

(h) *Juven. Sat.* 2. *v.* 1.

(K) *Say ſomething of his Deſcendants.*] *Ferdinand* I. his natural Son ſucceeded him, and was married twice, firſt to *Iſabella* of *Clermont*, and afterwards to *Joan* Siſter to the King of *Spain*. The Children by his firſt Wife were *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria*, *Frederick* Prince of *Altamura*, *John* a Cardinal, *Francis* Duke of St. *Angelo*, Donna *Beatrix* Wife of *Matthew* King of *Hungary*, and Donna *Leonora* Dutcheſs of *Ferrara*. He had only one Daughter by his ſecond Wife, *viz.* Donna *Giovanna*, whom he married to King *Ferdinand* II. his Nephew. He had likewiſe ſome Baſtards, and reign'd 35 Years, dying in the beginning of the Year 1494, aged 71 Years.

(i) *Taken out of* Tomaſo Coſto, *in his Book, entituled*, Nomi delle Provincie citra ... del regno di Napoli, dei Re che vi regnarono con le lor diſcendenze figurate in alberi &c.

Alphonſo II. Duke of *Calabria*, and his eldeſt Son, ſucceeded him, being married to *Hippolita Maria*, Daughter of *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*; by whom he had two Sons and one Daughter: His Sons were Don *Ferdinand* and Don *Pietro*; his Daughter was Donna *Iſabella* Dutcheſs of *Milan*. His three Baſtards were Don *Alphonſo* Duke of *Biſegli*, Don *Cæſar*, and Donna *Sancha* Wife of *Geofrey Borgia*. The Dread he had of *Charles* VIII. of *France*, made him reſign his Dominions to his eldeſt Son *Ferdinand*. He reign'd about a Year.

Ferdinand II. ſucceeded, by the Abdication of his Father *Alphonſo*; and was driven out of his Kingdom by the *French*, but re-eſtabliſh'd by the Aſſiſtance of the *Great Captain*, yet he died ſoon after in 1495. He left no Children: He had married his Aunt Donna *Giovanna*.

(k) *The common Orthography is thus; but the true and antient way of Spelling the Word is* Tremoille.

Frederick Son of *Ferdinand* I. ſucceeded *Ferdinand* II. and was depriv'd of his Dominions in the Year 1501, without either he or any of his Childrens being able to re-eſtabliſh themſelves (i).

(l) *A Memorial containing the Right of Mr.* de la Tremoille *to the Kingdom of* Naples, *pag* 2 *&* *ſeq.* 1664.

(L) *The Pretenſions of the Houſe of* (k) Trimouille.] To diſcover the bottom of this, I need only produce the Extract of a Memorial which ſhews what the Fate of King *Frederick* and his Family was.

" (l) This Prince, after he had reigned ſome " Years, was ſo unfortunate, that *Lewis* XII. of *France*, " and *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, ſir-named the Ca- " tholick, agreed to diſpoſſeſs him: Hereupon their " Armies enter'd his Kingdom, made themſelves Ma- " ſters of it, and divided it.

" The King ſeeing himſelf thus diſpoſſeſs'd, choſe " rather to truſt to *Lewis* XII whoſe Probity was u- " niverſally known, than to *Ferdinand* the Catholick: " Wherefore he retir'd into *France*, where he died.

" *Frederick* was twice married, firſt to *Anne* of *Sa-* " *voy*, Daughter of *Amadeus* IX. Duke of *Savoy*, and " of *Yolande* of *France*, Siſter of *Lewis* XI. Of the firſt 1478. " Marriage he had only *Charlotte* of *Arragon*, who, " during her Father's peaceable Poſſeſſion of the King- " dom of *Naples*, was married in *France* to *Guy* XVI. " Count of *Laval*, one of the greateſt Lords of *Europe*, 1500. " and of one of the moſt illuſtrious Families.

" King *Frederick* married a ſecond time *Iſabella de* " *Baux*, by whom he had three Sons, *Alphonſo*, *Cæſar* " and *Ferdinand*; and two Daughters, *Iſabella* and " *Julia*. Of theſe five Children there were but two " that married, *viz. Ferdinand* and *Julia*. This laſt " married *George* Marequiſs of *Montferrat*, but ſhe died 1533. " the very Day her Nuptials were to have been conſum- " mated.

" *Frederick* Duke of *Calabria*, defended the City of " *Taranto* againſt the *Spaniards*, who took it after a " long Siege; and, notwithſtanding the Capitulation, " by which that Prince was to retire whither he " pleas'd, they carry'd him into *Spain*, and forc'd him " to marry two old Princeſſes: The firſt *Mencia de* " *Mendoza*, Widow of *Henry* of *Naſſau*; and the ſecond " *Germaine de Foix*, Reliſt of *Ferdinand* the Catholick. " He had no Children by either of theſe two Wives; " and died in 1559.

" *Alphonſo*, call'd the Infant of *Arragon*, came from 1512. " *Naples* into *France*; where, after he had received 1515. " the Honours due to his Birth, he died without Iſſue, " in like manner as *Cæſar* and *Iſabella* had done.

" Of all the Children of the unfortunate *Frederick*, " laſt King of *Naples*, there was none but *Charlotte* of " *Arragon* his Daughter, by the firſt Venter, that left " any Poſterity. She had by *Guy* XVI. Count of *La-* " *val*, one Son, who was killed in a Duel without ha- " ving ever been married; and two Daughters, *Ca-* 1522. " *therine* and *Anne* of *Laval*.

" *Catherine* was married to *Claudius de Rieux*, who " took the Name of *Laval*; and whoſe Houſe has been " entirely extinct by the Deceaſe of *Guy* XX. Count of " *Laval*, who died without having ever been mar- " ried, in the Year 1605.

" *Anne* of *Laval*, ſecond Daughter of *Charlotte* of " *Arragon* and of *Guy* XVI. was married to *Francis de la* 1521. " *Tremoille*, Son of *Charles de la Tremoille*, Prince of " *Talmond*, kill'd at the Battle of *Marignan*, and Grand- " ſon of *Lewis* II. *de la Tremoille*, kill'd at that of " *Pavia*.

" Now 'tis certain, Daughters and their Deſcen- " dants have ever ſucceded to the Kingdom of *Na-* " *ples*; therefore Mr. *de la Tremoille* has an un- " queſtionable Right to that Kingdom, as Deſcendant " in a Right-line from *Frederick* of *Arragon*, laſt King " of *Naples*; and that with ſo much the more reaſon, " becauſe by *Charlotte* of *Arragon*'s Marriage-Contract " with *Guy* XVI. Count of *Laval*, that Princeſs had " expreſsly reſerv'd to her ſelf and her Heirs, all the " Right to the Succeſſion of King *Frederick*, and " his Heirs, for want of Heirs Male. Now this is what " oblig'd the Houſe of *Tremoille* to ſend their Plen- " potentiaries to the Aſſemblies of *Munſter* and *Nime-* 1648. " *guen*, to ſet forth their Right, and claim Juſtice 1678. " from the Mediators: which having been refus'd " them, they enter'd their Proteſtations againſt their " Proceedings." This is what I have taken from a Memorial, printed in *France* with neceſſary Proofs. It was ſhown to the Mediators at *Nimeguen* in the Year 1678, and at *Ryſwick* in the Year 1697, by Monſieur *Sanguiniere*, Counſellor of the *Chatelet* at *Paris*, and Deputy from the Duke of *Tremoille*. You may ſee further, in the beginning of the 4th *Tome* of (a) *The Acts and Memoirs of the Negotiation of the Peace of* Ryſwick, all that relates to this Deputation.

(a) *Printed at the* Hague, *by* Adrian Moetjens *in the Year* 1680.

(A) Balzac *ſpoke of him in the Paſſage that ſhall be quoted.*] " (b) And when that Excellent Capuchin " of Pope *Gregory*, preaching one Day at *Rome*, con- " cerning the Obligation of Reſidence, ſtruck ſo " great a Terror into thirty or forty Biſhops that heard " him, that they all immediately repair'd to their re- " ſpective Dioceſes. And when, at another time, he " converted a whole City with one of his Lent-Ser- " mons; inſomuch, that going out of the Church " they all cry'd, *Mercy*, and as they paſs'd through the " Streets; and in the Holy Week it was computed " two Thouſand Crowns were expended in Cords for

(b) Balzac *in his Miſcellaneous Works Diſcourſe* 6. *entituled*, Paraphraſe ou de la grande Eloquence, *p. m.* 164

" Diſci-

ſhall be quoted hereafter. He admir'd him * in the Pulpit, but had not ſo good an Opinion of him in the Preſs: See the judicious Critical Obſervations he has made on the † Sermons of this Capuchin. I have elſewhere ſaid ‖ they have been publiſh'd in *French*; and that *d'Ablancourt*, who tranſlated them, yielded all the Glory and Benefit of them to Father *du Boſc*. I have alſo ſaid that our *Narni* and *Balzac*'s Father were like one another. I have juſt now conſulted an Author, who tells me this Monk's Name was *Jerom Mantin* of *Narni*, that, after having made himſelf famous in divers Cities of *Italy*, and even at *Rome* it ſelf, he was made choice of to preach before the Pope and Cardinals; and that he had all the Qualifications requir'd in an excellent Orator, *viz.* a good Geſture, fine Language, great Purity of Manners; and ſo vehement a Deſire to reform the Faults of Men, that he render'd himſelf odious to all Impenitent Sinners. When he ſaw he could gain nothing (*B*) upon the Corruption of his Auditors, he reſolv'd to appear no more in the Pulpit; and having obtain'd that Permiſſion, cloiſter'd himſelf up in a Cell, where he apply'd himſelf to writing the Hiſtory of the Capuchins; but the granting this Diſpenſation was ſoon repented of, and he was perſuaded to reſume his Function of a Preacher. He appear'd again in the Pulpit, and had the ſame diſſatisfaction as before, to ſee the Inutility of his Cenſures and Exhortations; and that People came to hear him only to pleaſe their Ears. His ill ſtate of Health at length, procured him an entire *Quietus*. As the Reputation he had for his good Life, was not leſs than that he had acquir'd by his Eloquence, he was inter'd with greater Pomp than ever any Monk of his Order had been before. His Sermons were printed as ſoon as he was dead; which did not come up to the Expectation (*C*) of the publick, which had entertain'd too advantageous a Notion of 'em. This was very prejudicial to 'em; and beſides they were deſtitute of the good offices of Action: This is what I have learnt from *Nicius Erythræus* ‖.

* Balzac, *Letter 27. Book 2. to Ch. Jeſuit.*

† See Colomies, *Bibliotheque*, p. 171.

‖ *In the Name of his Country*: Narni *is a City of Italy.*

‖ *In Pinacoth.* 1. *pag.* 143, 144.

NAVARRE (MARGARET de Valois Queen of) Siſter to *Francis* I. was born * in the City of *Angouleſme* the 11th of *April* 1492. She was a Princeſs of extraordinary Merit, and who made her ſelf admir'd by her Vertue, Piety, Wit, and the productions of her Pen. She was educated † at the Court of King *Lewis* XII. with very particular care, and married the Duke of *Alençon* in *December* 1509. She became a Widow in *April* 1525 ‡. Her Affection to her Brother King *Francis* I. was to be admired. She went into *Spain*, when he was Priſoner there, and did him all the Services (*A*) that a good and ingenious Siſter was capable of doing: She was very ſerviceable to

* *Moreri, Dict. Geogr.*

† *Hilarion de Coste Eloy of Illuſtrious Ladies, t.* 2. *p.* 292.

‡ *Idib.*

" Diſcipline; though 'tis no very dear Marchan-
" dize; tell me, I beſeech you, what could this
" poor Chriſtian Philoſopher want of the Power of a
" Monarch, ſince he had ſo perfect a Submiſſion af-
" forded him by all People? Did not he triumph in his
" Raggs, and tatter'd Cloaths? Was not his Meanneſs
" full of Majeſty, and environ'd with Glory? Was
" not he Lord, and almoſt a Tyrant over thoſe that
" gave him Alms, *&c.*" 'Tis a great Fault in this Author to deſcribe People by ſuch uncertain Characters. There were fifteen Popes of the Name of *Gregory*; therefore how ſhou'd a Man be able to gueſs in what Time this *Capuchin of Pope* Gregory wrought ſuch wonderful Exploits by his Eloquence? Ought not *Balzac*, who, I ſuppoſe, intended to write not only for the time preſent but for that to come, to have manag'd matters ſo, that after his Death his Readers might underſtand who the Perſons were he ſo commended? Father *Rapin* avoided this Fault. " (*c*) 'Tis ſaid of a certain Capuchin, ſays
" he, nam'd (*d*) *Philip de Narni*, who liv'd under the
" Pontificate of *Gregory* XV. that he preach'd at *Rome*
" with ſo great Force, Eloquence and Vehemence, that
" he never ſpoke (*e*) in Publick, but he made the People
" as they came out from his Sermon, cry for *Mercy*,
" as they paſs'd along the Streets. 'Tis alſo ſaid, that
" as he was one Day haranguing before the Pope, con-
" cerning the Obligation Biſhops lye under of reſiding
" in their Dioceſies, he ſo frighten'd, through the Ve-
" hemence of his Diſcourſe, thirty Biſhops his Audi-
" tors, that they hurried away next Morning to their
" reſpective Dioceſes."

(*c*) Rapin's *Reflections on the Eloquence of the Pulpit, n.* 15. *of the firſt Edition of* Holland 1686.

(*d*) Nicius Erythræus *calls him* Jerome.

(*e*) Balzac *ſays this only of a Lent-Sermon, and does not ſay that it was at* Rome.

I fancy *Peter de St. Romuald* miſtakes the Teſtimony of *Balzac*, for he applies it to another Capuchin than Father *Narni*: Nay, he does worſe, he falſifies it, pretending to find things in it which are not there. Any one will be eaſily convinc'd of this; and we need only compare the Words of *Balzac*, with theſe that follow, to give a thorough Demonſtration: " (*f*) About this
" time Father *Alphonſo le Loup* a Capuchin, and Na-
" tive of the City of *Medina Sidonia*, died. 'Twas
" ſaid of Father *Tollet* a Jeſuit, that he taught well,
" and of *Panigarolus*, another great Preacher, that he
" pleas'd; but of this great Man (meaning *Philip de*
" *Narni*) that he touch'd the Heart, and that with
" good Reaſon; for *Balzac* aſſures us in his Miſcella-
" neous Works, that this Perſon preaching one Day
" before Pope *Gregory*, concerning the Reſidence of
" Biſhops, he ſo frighten'd thirty or forty Biſhops his
" Auditors, that they hurried the next Morning to
" their reſpective Dioceſes: As likewiſe that upon
" another Sermon of his preach'd at *Salamanca*, the
" chief Univerſity in *Spain*, eight hundred Scholars
" renounced all the Honours, Riches and Pleaſures of
" this World, to profeſs a Religious Life in ſeveral
" Orders, eſpecially that of St. *Francis*."

(*f*) Peter de St. Romuald *his Abridgment of the Chronological Treaſury. To.* 2. *pag. m.* 485. *ad an.* 1600.

(*B*) *That he could gain nothing upon the Corruption.*] This is very different from the Relation *Balzac* has publiſh'd, and which you have juſt read. I leave it to thoſe that have leiſure to reconcile thoſe Matters; for my part I ſhall content my ſelf with relating the following Teſtimony for my Warrant. (*g*) *Vitiorum incuſatio & querela ita acris ac vehemens, ut iis, qui eidem adhærebant, cum nollent exaudiri, gravis & moleſta accideret: quamobrem ille, cum intelligeret aliquandiu ſe operam perdere, & ſurdis, ut dicitur, fabulam canere, valetudinis excuſatione, eo ſe munere abdicandi & in ſolitudinem aliquam abeundi poteſtatem ſibi fieri poſtulavit: quæ impetrata, totum ſe ad hiſtoriam ſui ordinis ſcribendam contulit: ſed rurſus, ad eandem provinciam revocatus, cui, non minore libertate, in corruptos eorum mores, apud quos docuit, invehebatur; ita ab aliquibus audiebatur, ut qui delectationem ex eo quærere, non autem vitiorum, quibus laborabant, medicinam aliquam petere, aut oblatam accipere vellet, fixum ac deliberatum haberent. Itaque in perpetuum, (præſertim infirma valetudine cum eſſet,) ejus vacationem muneris obtinuit.* A great many People will give more Credit to *Nicius Erythræus* than to *Balzac*.

(*g*) Nicius Erythræus *Pinacoth. 1. pag.* 143.

(*C*) *Which did not come up to the Expectation of the Publick.*] I have obſerved the ſame thing concerning Mr *Maimbourg*; to whom we may apply that Paſſage of *Nicius Erythræus*, as well as to Father *Narni*. (*a*) *Laber ejus concionum, ſimul ac diem obiit, ſtatim impreſſus apparuit, cui nihil tam obſtet, quam expectatio, quæ de ejus ingenio & eloquentia labebatur; quæ efficiebat, ut omnia quantumvis magna, minora expectatione viderentur. In quo etiam falſi non eſt palam, quanta in actione vis inſit, & quam jure primas illi Demoſthenes, ſecundas, & tertias dederit, cum ea deficiente oratio eadem alia eſſe exiſtimetur.*

(*a*) Nic. Erythr. *ubi ſupra*

(*A*) *All the Services that a good and ingenious Siſter was capable of doing.*] We'll comment this Text with *Brantome*'s Words: " (*b*) When the King was thus
" ſick, being a Priſoner in *Spain*, ſhe went to viſit
" him, as a good Siſter and Friend, with the leave and
" Paſſ-port of the Emperor; and ſhe found her Bro-
" ther in ſo wretched a Condition, that had ſhe not
" come he had died; inaſmuch as ſhe underſtood his
" Temper and Conſtitution, and treated him, and
cur'd

(*b*) Brant *Memoirs of Illuſtrious Ladies, p.* 313, 314.

to him in the Affairs of (B) Government. He had alſo an unexpreſſible Friendſhip and Conſideration for her; whereof he gave Proofs even (C) before the Recovery of his Liberty. He married her in 1527 to *Henery d' Albret* II. King of *Navarre*, and gave him great advantages in the Contract (D) of Marriage. She diligently applied her ſelf with her Huſband to all the Functions that were capable of raiſing their States (E) to a more flouriſhing Condition: And there was a time when ſhe deſired to plant the Eccleſiaſtical Reformation in them. She much inclined to what they called the *New Opinions*, and protected thoſe (F) who were perſecuted on that account. She wrote a Book which was cenſur'd

" cauſed him to be treated accordingly, ſo as to re-
" cover him: Therefore the King often ſaid, that had
" it not been for her he had died; and that he was
" ſo much oblig'd to her for it, that he ſhould for
" ever acknowledge it, and love her for it (as he did)
" to his dying Day; and ſhe mutually returned this
" Love: Inſomuch, that in his laſt Sickneſs, I have
" heard, that ſhe ſpoke to this purpoſe. Should the
" Courrier, who brings me the News of the King
" my Brother's Recovery, be never ſo tired, ha-
" raſs'd and dirty, I would embrace and kiſs him
" as the fineſt Prince and Gentleman of *France*; and
" ſhould he want a Bed, and not be able to find one
" to repoſe himſelf, I would give him mine, and gladly
" lye on the hard Ground for the ſake of the good
" News he would bring. But, when ſhe heard of his
" Death, ſhe fell into ſo great a Lamentation, and
" ſuch cutting Sorrow, that ſhe could never after
" come to her ſelf, and take care of her Affairs; as
" I have heard my Relations ſay. When ſhe was in
" *Spain* ſhe ſpoke ſo bravely and handſomly to the
" Emperor, concerning his ill Treatment of the King
" her Brother, that he was amazed at her.... Theſe
" Words ſo gravely ſpoken, and in ſo great a Paſſion,
" brought the Emperor to Conſideration; ſo that he
" moderated himſelf, and viſited the King, and pro-
" miſed him a great many fine Things; but which,
" notwithſtanding, he never had. But if this
" Queen ſpoke ſo well to the Emperor, ſhe did no leſs
" to thoſe of his Council, where ſhe had Audience,
" and where ſhe triumph'd with her fine Speaking,
(d) *Id. ib. pag.* 315. " and good Grace, with which ſhe ſpoke.... (d)
" She obtain'd, at laſt, that her Arguments were al-
" low'd to be good and pertinent; and ſhe continu'd
" in great eſteem with the Emperor, his Council and
" Court.

(B) *She was very ſerviceable to him in the Affairs of Government.*] We'll go on with the Expreſſions of *Brantome*: (e) " Such was her Diſcourſe, that the
(e) *Id. ib. pag.* 312. " Ambaſſadors, who ſpoke to her, wonderfully admir'd
" it, and gave great accounts of it to their Country
" men at their return, as how ſhe eaſed the King
" her Brother; for they always waited on her after
" their principal Embaſſy, and frequently, when they
" had great Buſineſs, referred the Definition and total
" Reſolution of it to her, who knew how to entertain
" and pleaſe 'em with fine Diſcourſes; and was very
" dextrous at pumping their Secrets out of 'em: Inſo-
" much, that the King ſaid often, that ſhe extremely
" aſſiſted him and diſburthen'd him of his Trouble;
" as alſo did the two Siſters in Emulation, as I have
" heard ſay, who ſhould ſerve their Brother beſt, the
" one the Queen of *Hungary* her Brother the Emperor,
" and the other King *Francis*; but the former by way
" of War and Force, the latter by the Induſtry of her
" fine Wit and good Nature." Add to this, this o-
ther Paſſage of the ſame Author. (f) *Whilſt the*
(f) *Id. ib. pag.* 316. *King her Brother was in Priſon, ſhe was greatly aſſiſtant to the Regent her Mother in governing the Kingdom, in contenting the Princes, and Grandees, and gaining the Nobility; for ſhe was very acceſſible, and won the Hearts of People by the fine Qualities ſhe had in her.*

(C) *Whereof he gave Proofs, even before the Recovery of his Liberty.*] He ſubſtituted her under his Mother
(g) Hilarion de Coſte Elog. *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 271. (g) *to be Regent and Governeſs of* Dauphiné.... *with the ſame Honours and Powers as he declares in theſe Words*, in his Edict made at *Madrid in November* 1525. " And if it happen that our ſaid Lady and Mother by
" Sickneſs, and Indiſpoſition, or other Impediment,
" or by Death (which God of his Mercy and Good-
" neſs prevent) ſhall not be able to exerciſe the ſaid
" Command, with reſpect to our ſaid Son, and our
" other Children: WEE, in that caſe, Will and Or-
" dain, that our moſt dear, moſt beloved and only
" Siſter, *Margaret* of *France*, Dutcheſs of *Alençon* and
" *Berry*, ſhall in all things, reſpecting the ſaid Com-
" mand, ſucceed our ſaid Lady and Mother; and do
" all that is above-ſaid, and have the like Power,
" Command and Authority, as our Lady and Mother
" aforeſaid."

(D) *Gave him great Advantages in the Contract of Marriage.*] " (b) By the Treaty of this Marriage, (b) *Id. ib.*
" concluded in the Caſtle of St. *Germain en Laye*,
" King *Francis*, promiſed and accorded, that he
" would ſummon the Emperor to reſtore to this Prince
" his Kingdom of *Navarre*, with its antient Juriſdicti-
" ons; and, upon his Refuſal, furniſh him with a
" ſufficient Army to make himſelf maſter of it. Be-
" ſides this, the King gave him in Marriage the Dut-
" chies of *Alençon* and *Berry*, and the County of
" *Armagnac*; the latter whereof ſhould deſcend to his
" Poſterity, whether Males or Females proceeding from
" this Marriage."

(E) *Applied her ſelf ... to all the Functions that were capable of raiſing their States to a more flouriſhing Condition.*] Let us hear the ſaid *Minim*, who has ſupply'd us with the Comment of the two preceding Notes. (i) *This new married Couple deliberated .... how to put* Bearn *in a different ſtate from what it was. This Country, naturally good and fruitful .... lying in a bad Condition, uncultivated and barren, through the Negligence of its Inhabitants, quickly changed its Face by their endeavours. Husbandmen were drawn out of all the Provinces of* France, *who rented, improved and fructified the Lands: They cauſed the Towns to be adorned and fortified; Houſes and Caſtles to be built; that of* Pau *amongſt others, with the fineſt Gardens that were then in* Europe. *After they were well houſed, they took care of the Polity and Laws; eſtabliſhing a Court for the differences of their Subjects to determine 'em without appeal; and they reformed the Common Law of* Oleron, *which ſerves to the Country; which, ſince its laſt Reformation in* 1288, *had been greatly corrupted. By their Converſation and Court they made the People more civil, and to guard themſelves from a new Uſurpation from* Spain, *they covered themſelves with* Navarrins, *a Town upon one of the* Gaves, *which they fortified with good Ramparts, Baſtions and Half-Moons, according to the Art then in uſe.* This is one of the fineſt Elogies, that can be given this Queen of *Navarre*. (i) *Id. ib. pag.* 272, 273.

(F) *Protected thoſe that were perſecuted for the new Opinions.*] The Catholick and Proteſtant Writers are agreed upon this Point. Let us firſt alledge the Teſtimony of *Beza* in the place where he relates the firſt Perſecution which the Reformed ſuffered in *France*, which was that of *Meaux* in 1523. (a) *And ſuch was the Iſſue of this Perſecution, that the Biſhop of* Meaux *would not go farther:* Marrial *publickly retracted* .... Fabri (b) *retired to* Blois, *and from thence at laſt to* Nerac *in the Dutchy of* Albret *by the countenance of the King's only Siſter, afterwards Queen of* Navarre, *a Princeſs of excellent Underſtanding; and at that time raiſed by God, to break as much as poſſible the cruel Deſigns of* Antony Duprat, *Chancellor of* France, *and other Abbettors of the King againſt thoſe whom they called Hereticks.* The ſame Author having ſpoken of ſome Perſons that were martyred, and carried his Narration to the Year 1533, goes on thus: " (c) During theſe (c) *Id. ib. pag.* 13.
" Tranſactions, *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, only Si-
" ſter to King *Francis*, did all that was poſſible to
" mollify her Brother; wherein ſhe did not totally
" loſe her Labour, making uſe of *William Farel*,
" Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, Biſhop of *Senlis*, and Con-
" feſſor to the King; who, to gratify her, and not
" for any true Zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, printed (d) *Id. ib. pag.* 14.
" the Primmer in *French*, having firſt ſtruck out part
" of that which was moſt Superſtitious. After this Im-
" preſſion ſhe publiſhed her ſelf a Tract of her own in (e) 'Twas Gerard Rouſſel *Doctor of the* Sorbonne, *and* Bertault *and* Couraut Auguſtin *Monks.*
" *French* Rhyme, called *The Mirrour of a ſinful Soul*;
" wherein there were many ſtroakes unuſual in the
" Church of *Rome*, having made no mention either of
" Male or Female Saints, or of Merits, or any other
" Purgatory, than the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt; and even
" the Prayer, commonly called *Salve Regina*, ſhe ap-
" ply'd in *French* to the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt....
" (d) The Queen of *Navarre* purſuing her point, had
" adorned *Paris* with (e) three excellent Preachers,
" declaring the Truth ſomewhat bolder, than had been
" formerly done."

(a) Beza *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Book* I. *pag.* 5.
(b) That is James Faber Stapulenſis.

We

censur'd by the *Sorbonne*, and found (*G*) her self expos'd to the Indignation of the Divines; so that the King her Brother was forced to employ his Authority to restrain their Insolence. She had taken such Measures, as would perhaps have induc'd him ‡ to favour the Reformation, if the extravagance of some hot headed People, who posted up some Placarts in 1534, had not exasperated him to such a degree, as to make him become afterwards a violent Persecutor † of Lutheranism. She was obliged after that to be cautious, and to conduct her self by a Method, that (*H*) the Calvanists have highly condemned, and which

‡ *See* Beza *Hist. of the Churches, Book I. p.* 15.

† *This was the Name in* France, *of what is now called Calvinism.*

We shall see a more particular account in this Narrative of *Florimond de Raemond*: (*f*) *The Queen of* Navarre, *a good, but too easie a Princess, lends an Ear to 'em, receives their Pamphlets at first by the Hands of her Ladies, causes the Latin Prayers of the Church to be translated into* French, *by the Bishop of* Senlis, *the King's Confessor. She talks to him of the Lutherans, and discourses of the Articles of their Religion, hoping to make him more soft and pliable; out of Commiseration she opens her Houses to banished and proscribed People and commands they should be their Retreat and Sanctuary. This is particularly observed by all the Historians of both Parties; that this Princess alone was the cause, without designing any ill, of the preservation of the* French *Lutherans; and that the Church, which afterwards took the Name of Reformed, was not stifled in the Cradle: For besides that she lent an Ear to their Discourses, which at first were specious, and not so bold as afterwards; she kept many of them at the Colleges, not only in* France, *but also in* Germany, *with a good meaning. She had a wonderful care to preserve and secure those that were in danger for the Protestant Religion, and to succour the Refugees at* Strasburg *and* Geneva. *Thither she sent to the learned at one time a Benefaction of four thousand Livers ... (g) I have read in the privates Registers of our (h) Parliament, that entering the Court as Governess in the absence of the King her Husband, she made an earnest request to the Court to release one Andrew* Melancthon *accused of Heresie, and Prisoner in the Court-Gaol, which* Philip Melancthon, *she said, Counsellor to the Duke of* Saxony *had earnestly required of her by his Letters: The* Andrew, *under the pretence of teaching School, came to disseminate his Relation's Doctrine in the* Agenois; *settling in the Town of* Tonneins, *where he so industriously sowed his Heresy, according to the* Augsburg *Confession, that the roots of it could never since be extirpated. In short, this good-natur'd Princess had nothing more at heart for the nine or ten Years, than to procure the Evasion of such as the King exposed to the rigour of Justice. She frequently talked to him, and by little strokes endeavoured to impress on his Soul some pity for the Lutherans.* This Historian gives also this account: (i) "*Rousset* being returned from his Travels, and received "in Favour by this good Princess, and entertained in her "Houshold, discours'd agreeably to her of the Protestant Religion. He perswades her to read the "Bible, then blockishly turned into *French*; which "she did with so much pleasure, that she compos'd "a Tragi-Comical Translation almost of all the New-"Testament, which she caused to be represented in the "Hall before the King her Husband; having for that "end obtained the best Comedians that were then in "*Italy*. And as these Buffoons are only to make "sport, and, like Apes, to be pleasant Imitators of the "Humours and Desires of their Masters; so they, "perceiving the Queen's Inclination, amongst their "Sports, intermingled many Stanza's and Roundelays "upon the Subject of Ecclesiasticks. Some poor Monk "or Religious had always some part in the Comedy "or Farce. It seemed they could not be merry "without laughing at God and his Ministers. But "these Laughing quickly turned into Tears. The "King her Husband, a Prince as good-natur'd and easie "as the Queen, came from Comedies to Preachments, "which they called Exhortations, which were made "in his Chamber, both by *Rousset*, and a fugitive "Carmelite of *Laval*, called *Solon*. These Preachers, "particularly *Solon*, who was more sharp and poignant than his Companion, vomited Abales against "the Pope and Church-men: A brave and courageous "Monk, who before he died, dispatch'd five Wives. "They mingled some appearance of Piety and Devotion, with an Ostentation of the pure understanding "of the Gospel: Hereupon the Cardinals *de* * *Foix* "and *Grammont*, not being able to bear these extraordinary ways of the King, who but perfunctorily "went to Church, retired from his Court. But, as "from the Comedies of his Hall he was led to the "Exhortations of his Chamber; so from these Prayers "he descended to the Manducations in the Cave, or "at least in the secret places of the Mint; which is "upon the descent of the Castle of *Pau*. This was "the Name they then gave their Ceremonies, which "at present they call the *Supper*." 'Tis added (*k*), that *Francis* I. *advertised of this fine Trade that was driven at* Pau, was angry, and sent for his Sister, that she *came to him, conducted by the Lord* de Burie, *Governour of* Guienne, *who was seized with the same Folly*: That at her *coming* the King rebuk'd her, though he *lov'd her infinitely*; that she answer'd *like a Catholick*; that she nevertheless proposed to the King the introduction of a reformed Mass, which was called *the Mass in seven Points*; that she caused him to hear the Sermons of three Lutheran Preachers; that at her request *Rousset*, one of 'em, who had been put in Prison, was released; that the King was (*l*) *something shaken at the proposal of* a Mass of seven Points; and had it not been for the Placarts, it was to be feared his Sister's Address would have made great a Progress.

(i) *Id. ib.*

(k) *Id. ibi.*

(l) *Id. ib. pag.* 854.

(*G*) *A Book which was censured by the* Sorbonne, *and found her self exposed to the Indignation of the Divines.*] This book was intituled, *The Mirrour of the sinful Soul*, and was printed in 1533. I have spoken of it above (*m*). "The Contents of it (*n*) extremely provok'd "the *Sorbonne*, and particularly *Beda*, and others of "his Humour; so that they could not forbear attacking her in their Sermons: And particularly a Comedy was acted in the College of *Navarre*, where-"in she was transformed into a Fury of Hell; which "is more, they condemned her Book: Whereupon, "complaining to the King her Brother, some of the "Actors of this Comedy were imprison'd; and the "King demanding upon what Reasons the Condemnation of this Book was founded; The University, who "then had *Nicolas Cop* for their Rector, expressly "disowned the Censure of the *Sorbonne*, which, "in some measure, abated the fury of our Masters, "and greatly strengthened the little number of the "faithful. At that time also *John Calvin*, upon his "return from his Studies of the Law, came to *Paris*, "where he greatly promoted the Work of the Lord, "not only by teaching the Truth, but also by opposing "Hereticks, whom the Devil indeavour'd to intrude into "the Church, particularly that wretched Monster *Michel Servetus*, who denied amongst other Blasphemies "the Holy Trinity and the Eternity of the Son of God; "which *Servetus* having appointed to dispute with *Calvin* at a certain Day and Hour, durst not appear. Then "it was also that he first repulsed the Libertines, which, "in our Time, have renewed the abominable sect of the "Carpocratians, removing all distinction between "Good and Evil. It happened at the same time, that "upon the Custom of the University of *Paris* assembling at *All Saints* in the Church of the *Mathurins*, "where the Rector is to be harangued; *Cop* be-"fore-mentioned, spoke an Oration, which had been "made for him by *Calvin* in a quite different "manner from what was usual. This being reported "to the Parliament, the Rector was sent for with a "design to retain him, and Serjeants were also sent to "the College of *Forteret*, where *Calvin* then liv-"ed." This we have from *Beza*. You'll find a fine Narrative upon this, with all the Circumstances of the Fact, in a Letter (*a*) written by *Calvin* to *Francis Daniel* in 1533, where, amongst other Things, it is said, that after the Satisfaction, which was made by the Rector of the University, the King commanded that the Bishop of *Paris* should appoint the Preachers in the Parishes. This was in order to hinder the Sorbonnists from continuing to dispose of 'em, according to their Caprices, and to make choice of the most outrageous Preachers. (*b*) *Allatum est regium diploma, quo Parisiensi Episcopo permittitur præficere quos velit singulis parochiis concionatores, qui potius pro tuendine illorum eligebantur, ut quisque erat clamosissimus & stolido furore plenus quem illi zelum vocant.* We have seen in another place the furious Insolence where with a Guardian of the Cordeliers preach'd against his Queen.

(m) *In the Remark F.*

(n) Beza *ubi supra pag.* 13.

(a) *To the first in the Collection of* Calvin's *Letters.*

(b) Calvinus Epist. 1. *p. m.* 3.

(*H*) *By a Method that the Calvanists have highly condemned.*] *Beza*, relating the Consequences of the ri-

* Florimond *is here mistaken; there was no Cardinal* de Foix: *Others say the Cardinal* d'Armagnac. *See* Hilarion de Coste, *ubi supra. pag.* 273.

which has occasion'd the Papists to say she perfectly renounced her Errors. There are Proofs that she took very great pleasure (I) in reading the Bible. She had some Mortifi-

gorous Persecution, to which the Faithful were exposed, after the business of the Placarts, says, that " (d) " the greatest Misfortune was, that most of the " Grandees began to accommodate themselves to the " humour of the King; and by degrees grew such " strangers to the study of the Scriptures, that at last " they became worse than all the rest; nay, even the " Queen of *Navarre* began to behave her self quite " otherwise, falling into Idolatries like the rest; not " that she inwardly approved such Superstitions, but " because *Ruffi*, and others like him, persuaded her " they were indifferent Things: The Issue whereof, " was, that finally she was blinded with a Spirit of " Errour, having admitted into her House two desperate Libertines, *Quintin* and *Pocques*, whose Blasphemies and Errors, with an ample Confutation of " 'em, are to be seen in *John Calvin*'s Works." He speaks more gently of her in his *Icones*; for, having in a few Words represented the good Services she had done the Reformed, he contents himself to add, that she a little eclipsed her Glory by her Credulity in her latter Years. (e) *Quamvis ipsius gloriæ nonnullam in ultima tandem ipsius ætate credulitas labem asperserit.* Many are perswaded, that in compliance to the King her Brother, she observed all the externals of Popery, with an exactness that deceiv'd this great Monarch. Read the following Passage; (f) *The Constable of* Montmorenci, *discoursing .... one Day with the King, did not scruple to tell him, that if he would exterminate the Heretick of his Kingdom, he must begin with his Court, and with his nearest Relations, naming the Queen his Sister; to which the King answered, Let us not speak of her; she loves me too much; she'll never believe but what I believe, nor be of a Religion to the prejudice of my State.* Brantome had been saying (g), That this Queen was suspected *of Lutheranism, but out of respect and love to the King her Brother, who loved her entirely, and always called her his Minion, she never made any profession, nor appearance of it; and if she believed it, she always kept it secret to her self, because the King violently hated it, saying, that this, and every other Sect, tended more to the Destruction of Kingdoms, Monarchies and Dominions, than to the Edification of Souls.* Others believe, that it was not possible for *Francis* I. to be ignorant that the Queen of *Navarre* was a Lutheran in her Heart; her correspondencies with the Party, and the protection of the Fugitives for this Cause, were not things the King of *France* could be ignorant of: He only pretended not to know 'em, and was satisfied with the exterior of a Princess whom he loved and was not willing to grieve. But if she inwardly adhered to the Roman Communion, it was not till towards the end of her Life; for 'tis certain, that *Roussel* (h) whom she made Bishop of *Oleron*, was nothing less than a Papist (i), though he did not come to an open Rupture. However, let us see what a Catholick Writer says of the end of this Queen. *But not*, says he, (k) *to obscure the Honour and Glory of so great a Princess .... 'tis certain that some Years before her Death, she was sensible of her Fault, and escaped from the Precipice into which she was falling, resuming her first Piety and Catholick Devotion, protesting to her Death, that she had never departed from it, that what she had done for them, proceeded rather from Compassion, than any ill-will to the ancient Religion of her Fathers .... Lying upon her Death-Bed, she received the Body of her Creator, and resigned her Soul, embracing the Cross she had upon her Bed, as I have heard it related by* Giles Caillau, *a good Religious Confessor, who gave her the extreme Unction, and assisted her to the last Gasp. The Lady* de Riberac, *a good and vertuous Woman, of the Family of* Candalle, *who was educated with her, told me, that* Calvin .... *frequently exhorted her, both by Letters and Messages to maintain the Truth; and that she desired him to come to her, to make her see and acknowledge her Error, and to restore her to the way of Salvation.* Hilarion de Coste relates, that " (l) in her latter Years " she frequented the Sacraments of Confession and the " Altar, in the Church of the *Blancs-Manteaux* at *Paris*, " where .... she confess'd to *Francis le Picard* .... " Doctor of Divinity .... communicated from the " Hand of this Holy Person, having heard his " Mass and Sermon." He adds, that she built and founded (1) *at her Expence, in her latter Years, Churches and Hospitals, amongst others that of the* Enfans Rouges *at* Paris, *where are maintain'd and educated the Orphan Children, whom she named* the Children of God

(d) Beza ubi supra pag. 22.

(e) *Idem in iconibus, fol.* T. iij.

(f) Brantome *illustrious Ladies. p.g.* 310.

(g) *Id. ib. pag.* 309.

(h) *The same that* Beza *calls* Ruffi.

(i) *See* Florimond de Remond, ubi supra, *pag.* 850, 851.

(k) *Id. ib. chap.* 4. *pag.* 855, 856.

(l) Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra, *pag.* 275.

(1) L. du Breuil *in his Antiquities of* Paris.

the Father. Here is still a stronger Testimony: " (m) " she died a good Christian and Catholick, against the " Opinion of many: But as for me I can affirm, being " a little Boy in her Court, with my Grand-mother " and Mother, never to have seen her do any contrary " act; so that when she retired into a Nunnery, in " *Angoumois*, after the Death of the King her Brother, " called *Tusson*, where she performed her *Quarantine*, " and staid a whole Summer, and built a fine House, " she was often seen to do the Office of the Abbess, " and to chant with the Nuns at their Masses and " Vespers."

From all this we may infer, that *Mezerai* did not much examine things, when he writ (n), that the Queen of *Navarre*, being censured by the King her Brother (o) in 1535, *protested to him, she would never more depart from the Catholick Religion, and even shew'd her self an Enemy to its Opposers; nevertheless, towards the end of her Days, which was in* 1549, *she seemed to repent of her Repentance, and desired* Calvin *by Letters, to come and instruct and comfort her.* Such strange Falshoods give mighty prejudices against this Author; and if there arise any good Censurers of his Histories, I am certain it will be wonder'd, how he made himself so much esteemed. We'll observe, by the by, two other Faults: He says (p), that after *Briconnet*'s Recantation (q), *James le Feure* retired to *Nerac* to Queen *Margaret*, and that *Roussel* was Bishop of *Oleron* at the time she was reprimanded by *Francis* I. (r). All this is false; *Bricomnet* retracted in 1523; and our *Margaret* was not married till 1527 to the King of *Navarre*, Lord of *Nerac*: *Roussel* was not Bishop till a long time after the Reprimand here in question.

Beza's Words, which we have seen at the beginning of this Remark, greatly want to be explained. He gives us to understand, without any Reserve, that the Queen of *Navarre* suffer'd her Mind to be corrupted by two wretched Libertins, whose illusions and Blasphemies *Calvin* confuted. This should not be so expressed; for *Beza* himself has own'd in another Book, that this Queen did not follow (s) the mystical Doctrines of these Men; and that she was abused no farther by 'em, than to believe 'em honest Men. What he there says rectifies the former Passage, and stands in need of a farther softning; for the term of fascinating or bewitching is too strong on this occasion. (a) *Offensa est tho libro in Libertinos edito Navarrena, quod ab illius horrendæ sectæ Antesignanis duobus Quintino & Pocqueso, quos nominatim Calvinus arguerat, (rem pene incredibilem) eo usque fuisset fascinata, ut quum alioquin illorum mysterium non teneret, pro tonis vinis illos haberet, ac proinde sese quodammodo per eorum latus consolari arbitraretur. Beza* needed not wonder, that this Queen, though not conforming to the Spiritualities of these fanatick and mystical People, believ'd 'em however to be honest Men, fully perswaded of what they said, and possess'd with a true desire of serving God, according to their Understanding. Her Charity induc'd her to protect em; and it was not difficult to make a good use of their Maxims, which tended to quicken the inward Man. And 'tis less to be wonder'd that she was provok'd against *Calvin*, who with that cutting Stile, peculiar to him, had severely handled the Persons, protected and maintain'd by her. She caused her Complaints to be made to him, and she wrote (b) a respectful Letter to him, to justify her Conduct. Note, that at the time he wrote to her, that is, on the 20th of *April* 1545, she was still acknowledg'd (c) the Protectress of the Reformed.

(I) *That she took very great Pleasure in reading the Bible.*] See in the Remark F of (d) this Article *Florimond de Remond*'s Words, and in the Remark O of the Article *Marot*, what was written to *Catherine de Medecis*, and strengthen this with the Testimony of *Peter Olhagaray*. Bearn, says he (e), *was the Sanctuary of the Persecuted, and King* Henry *permitted 'em not to be disturbed.* James Faber Stapulensis, *the Light of his Time, as his Philosophical Writings witness, was very ne come there, having an honourable Pension from* Margaret, *that learned Queen, the best in the World; that so perfect Instrument, who retrieved King* Francis *her Brother from Prison, always attentive to reading, particularly of the Scripture; which our* Elias (f) *in his Collection declares to have observ'd of her, being in her*

(m) Brantome, ubi supra, *pag.* 318.

(n) Mezerai *Chronological Abridgment. To.* 6. *p.* 409.

(o) *He should say in* 1533.

(p) *Id. ib. pag.* 406.

(q) *Bishop of* Meaux.

(r) *Id. ib. pag.* 408.

(s) *'Tis thus, I interpret the Words, illorum mysteriûm non teneret of* Beza's *Passage cited in the following Letter a. Those which would have 'em signify, that she knew not their Hypocrisy, seem to me to be mistaken; and if they would have 'em mean, that she understood nothing of the Jargon of these Fanaticks, they come up to my Sense of 'em.*

(a) Beza in vita Calvini, ad. an. 1544.

(b) *'Tis* Calvin's 62 *Letter.*

(c) Cum acceptis illis literis statim ad hanc responsionem me contulerim, qua eo tibi nomine à me satisfactum curarem, ne quid de eo affectu remitteres, quem erga pios hactenus abunde præ te tuliti & ipsa exhibuisti. *Calvin. epist.* 62. *p. m.* 151.

(d) *Letter* i.

(e) Peter Olhagaray, *History of* Foix, Bearn *and* Navarre, *pag.* 502.

(f) *This is an Author who has writ the History of the Counts of* Foix *in Latin.*

City

Mortifications to bear from her Husband, and loved not (*K*) to hear talk of Death. The Curiosity that induc'd her to an attentive Consideration (*L*) of a dying Person, clearly shews, that she had not the Ideas of a true Philosopher concerning the Nature of the Soul; but some very great Wits, and very great Philosophers have thought no better than she upon that important Subject. Her *Heptameron*, which is a Book after the Taste of *Boccacio*'s Novels, has some Beauties in that kind which are wonderful. She dy'd (*M*) in *December* 1549, and was honoured with abundance * of Elogies. Of four Children, which she had by her second Marriage, † a Son and three Daughters, only one Daughter

* Hilarion de Coste, *ib. pag.* 275, 276. *Thuan. lib.* 6. *p.* 117.

† Hilarion de Coste, *ibid. pag.* 272.

City of Appamyers, *where he received this grave Advice from this brave and wise Princess: That he should never let pass a Day, without an attentive reading of some Pages of this Holy Book, which watering our Souls, said she, with an heavenly Liquor, administers faithful Preservatives against all sorts of Mischiefs and Temptations of the Devil.* The Author relates *Bertrand Elias*'s Words; which I doubt not many Readers will be glad to know. *Cujus etiam manibus sanctissimum illud veteris novique Test. volumen, quod Bibliam appellant, nunquam vel raro exit, semper divinis ut verè Christianam decet intenta libellis: nihil unquam nisi divinum cogitat, suadetque adeo ut ipse etiam meminerim me aliquando ab ea cum Appamyam venisset humanissime submonitum, jussumque partem aliquam vel veteris vel Novi testamenti maximo affectu, orationis instar quotidie legere, quo sane, ut ipsa ajebat, no que etiam politica experti sumus, nostra mens à vitio averteretur, & ad virtutes facilius accederet* (g).

(g) Elias *fol.* 104. *apud* Olhagaray, *ib.*

(*K*) *She had some Mortifications to bear from her Husband, and loved not to hear talk of Death.*] *Hilarion de Coste* gives out (*b*), that *Henry* II. King of *Navarre*, "having intimation, that they used in his Wife's "Chamber some Form of Prayer and Instruction con- "trary to that of his Fathers, enter'd into it, resolved "to chastize the Minister; and, finding they had con- "trived his escape, the remains of his Anger fell up- "on the Queen, who receiv'd a Box o'th' Ear from "him, saying to her, *Madam, you are willing to be "over-knowing*, and immediately gave advice of it to "King *Francis*." *Brantome* having given some Instances of Matrimonial Discord betwixt Princes, adds this: "(*i*) And lately King *Henry d' Albret* with Queen "*Margaret* of *Valois*, as I have it from good Hands, "who treated her very ill; and had done worse, had "it not been for King *Francis* her Brother, who spoke "home and rough to him, and charged him with "threatnings to honour the Queen his Sister, considering "the Rank she bore." Note, by the way, what little reliance there is upon an Epitaph; that of this Princess says in great Characters, that her Husband lived with her in the most entire Agreement, CONCORDISIMUS. I have spoken elsewhere (*k*) concerning Fallfhoods of this kind.

(*b*) Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra. *pag.* 274. *He cites P.* Matthew.

(*i*) Brantome ubi supra, *pag.* 242.

(*k*) *In the Rem. G of the Article* Herlicius.

As for the other part of the Text of this Remark, I'll cite a Passage of *Brantome*: "(*l*) This Queen "was used to say, to those that discours'd to "her of Death, and Blessedness, All this is true, "but we remain a long time dead in the Earth, before "we come to it: Insomuch that I have heard my Mo- "ther say, who was one of her Ladies, and my Grand- "mother her Maid of Honour, that when it was told "her, in her extreme Sickness, that she must dye, she "thought that Saying very severe, and immediately "repeated what I have been saying; and that she was "not yet so super-annuated, but that she might still "live some Years." She had inherited this from her Mother, as the same Writer informs us. I'll only alledge, says he (*m*), *the Example of the late Queen Regent, Mother to the Great King* Francis I. *She was in her time, as I have heard many say, who have seen and known her, a very fine Lady; but very worldly withal, and was the same in her declining Age, and hated the Discourse of Death, even from Preachers in their Sermons: As if (said she) we did not well know, that we must all dye some time or other; and these Preachers, when they have nothing else to say, and are at the end of their Lessons, like ignorant Block-heads, fall to talk of Death. The late Queen of* Navarre, *her Daughter, liked no more than her Mother, these Lessons and Preachments concerning Death.* We have seen elsewhere the weakness of *Lewis* XI. upon the same Subject.

(*l*) Brantome ubi supra.

(*m*) *Idem, Memoirs of Gallant Ladies. T.* 2. *p.* 331.

(*L*) *To an attentive consideration of a dying Person.*] Here is something that is singular: (*o*) I have heard say of her, says *Brantome*, *that one of her Maids of her Bed-Chamber, whom she had a great Affection for, being near Death, she had a mind to see her dye; and, whilst she was at the brink of Death, she stir'd not from her, fixing her Eyes stedfastly upon her, even till after she was dead; some of her more intimate Ladies, ask'd her why she beheld so wistly this dying Creature? she answered, that having heard so many learned Men discourse, that the Soul and Spirit departed from the Body, as soon as it deceased; she had a mind to see, whether there proceeded from it any wind or noise, or the least Sound at the Separation, but that she perceiv'd nothing at all; and she told a reason which she had from the same Doctors, that having ask'd 'em why the Swan sung before his Death; they answer'd, it was for the sake of the Spirits, that labour'd to pass through his long Neck: In like manner, she said she had a mind to see the Soul go out, or perceive and hear what this Soul or Spirit did at its departure; and added, that if she was not well-settled in the Faith, she should not know what to think of this Dislodgment, and parting of the Soul and Body, but that she resolved to believe, what her God and his Church commanded her, without entering farther into other curiosities; as indeed she was one of the devoutest Ladies in the World, who had God as frequently in her Mouth, and feared him as much as am.* This Passage would bear many Reflections, but we'll only observe two things; one is, that this Princess is very excuseable for conceiving the Soul of Man as a Being, that separates locally from the Body at the Moment that the Man expires; for in that Age, this was the universal Opinion of the Divines and Philosophers, and is at present the Opinion of all the Doctors, that are not *Cartesians*. They suppose that the Soul is locally present in the Organs of the Humane Body, and is extended with the Matter that she animates; but that at the moment of Death, she ceases to possess that place, and passes locally and physically into another. I confess this does not prove, that we ought to believe this Transmigration to be accompanied with any noise or sibilation, as the Queen of *Navarre* imagined; but 'tis not strange that a Lady, that carried her Views farther than the generality, should suspect, that a subtle, invisible, and yet actually extended Substance, must fly out of the Body with some sort of noise, like that of the flight of an Arrow, or of spirituous Liquors, when they find their way out through some chink of a Vessel that contains 'em. The other thing I have to say, is, that the Queen of *Navarre* conducted her self in her doubts in the wisest manner possible. She imposed Silence on her Reason, and her Curiosity, and humbly submitted her self to Revelation.

(o) Brantome *Memoirs of ill. Illustrious Ladies, p.* 319, 320.

(*M*) *She dy'd in* December 1549.] These Words are *Brantome*'s (*a*), and he adds *that she died in* Bearn *in the Castle* (*b*) Dandaus, *and that she took* (*c*) *her Illness looking at a Comet, which then appear'd upon the Death of Pope* Paul III. *and she was of that Opinion, but possibly it appear'd for her; and immediately her Mouth was a little distorted; which her Physician Mr* d Elcurans *seeing, had her thence and ordered her to Bed and took care of her; for it was a Catarrh, and she died eight Days after. Brantome* is mistaken as to the place, and does not note the Day. She died in *Bigorre* and not in *Bearn*. *Olhagaray* (*d*) calls the place *Eudos*, and others (*e*) *Odos*. (*f*) *Odosii Ligeronum decessit*, says Mr. *de Thou*. (*g*) *Fato functa est Odosii Tarbellorum*, says *Scevola de Sainte Marthe*. Mr. *de Thou*'s Words have not been well translated by *du Rier*, nor *Sainte Marthe*'s by Mr *Teissier*. (*h*) The former translates *Ortez in Bigorre*, the latter *Tarbes in Gascogne*. *Peter de St. Romuald* (*i*) is the most out; for he will have this Queen to have died in *Bretagne*. I believe *Spondanus*, who was of those Parts, specifies better than all other Writers, the name of the Castle she died in. He calls it *Audos*; (*k*) *Apud Audosium e castrum in Bigerronibus vitam finivit.* I have said elsewhere that the *Parisians* pronounce the Diphthong *au* like *o*; which might deceive Mr. *de Thou*. They vary as to the Day of her Death. Father *Labbe* (*m*) has mark'd the 24th of *December*; *du Tillet* (*n*) the 14th, Mr *de Thou* the 21st; which last Opinion we must hold to, it being the date upon her Epitaph. It is therein noted also that she lived 59 Years; but this cannot agree with the Historians, who all say she was born in *April* 149..

(a) Brantome ubi supra, *pag.* 318.

(b) *I believe, that* Brantome *had writ* d' Audaus, *or rather* d' Audos; *and that the Transcribers or Printers have corrupted this Word.*

(c) *Id. ib. pag.* 318.

(d) Olhagaray, ubi supra, *pag.* 505.

(e) Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra, *p.* 275.

(f) *Thuan. lib.* 6. *p.* 117.

(g) Sammarth. *elog. lib.* 1. *p. m.* 28.

(h) *See Mr* Teissier *Elog. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 17 & 19. *Edit.* 1696.

(i) *St* Romuald *Abridgment of the treas. Chron. ad. ann.* 1549. *pag. m.* 306

(k) Spondanus *ad. ann.* 1549. *n.* vi.

(m) Labbe *Chron. Tom.* 2. *p.* 701

(n) Du Tillet *Chr. of the Kings of France, a Liege ed. p. m.* 196.

Daughter remained. I ſpeak of her in the following Article. The two others were born before their time, and dyed the Day of their Birth. The Son died two Months old ‡. I deſign a Remark for what concerns (N) this Queen's Writings: And I will not forget

‡ *Id. ibid.*

(N) *For what concerns this Queen's Writings.*] She compoſed many Works of Poetry; the Titles whereof we have in (o) *du Verdier Vau-Privas*. They were collected into one Body by *John de la Haye*, her Valet de Chambre, and publiſhed in the Year 1547, with the Title of *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princeſſes, tres illuſtre Royne de* Navarre. *Du Verdier* relates this Title very well; but he has ſome groſs Faults upon other points; for he ſays, that this Queen's *Poetical Works, were collected and put together after her deceaſe, by the diligence of* Simon Sylvius, *called* de la Haye, *her Valet de Chambre, who printed them in* 8vo. *at* Lyons, *by* John de Tournes 1547. I have ſeen this Edition, and obſerved that the Priviledge granted by the Parliament to *J. Sylvius*, called *de la Haye*, is of the Year 1546. This then is one fault of *du Verdier* to call him *Simon*, whoſe name was *John*: But this fault is not ſo groſs as the following. He pretends that a Book printed in 1547, came out after the Death of the Queen of *Navarre*. If he had read the Epiſtle (p) before the Book, he would have known that this Queen was ſtill alive, when *John de la Haye*, the Author of this Epiſtle, printed *Margaret de Valois*'s Poems. Mr. *Moreri* is miſtaken in ſomething. He ſays, that this Queen publiſh'd amongſt other Works, "*La Marguerite des Marguerites*, which contain'd ſome "Poems and divers other Comedies. *The Mirrour of a* "*ſinful Soul. The Triumph of the Lamb. The Hepta-*" *meron.*" There is nothing exact in this. This Title, *la Marguerite des Marguerites* is falſe: The true one is (q) *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princeſſes*. *Paſquier* (r), and many other Writers, have committed the ſame fault. Theſe Words, *contain'd ſome Poems and divers other Comedies*, are good for nothing; and I wonder *Moreri*'s Reviſors have not yet perceived it. There is no oppoſition betwixt Poems and Comedies; for Comedies are generally in Verſe, and there were hardly any other ſeen among the *French* in that Age. He ſhould not then have noted a diſtinction between the Queen of *Navarre*'s Poems and Comedies: Much leſs ought he to have ſaid *other Comedies*; ſince this ſuppoſes, that other pieces had been ſpecified which were Comedies; but this had not been done. But the moſt conſiderable miſtake is to ſay, that *the Mirrour of the ſinful Soul*, and *the Triumph of the Lamb*, are two different Works from the pretended *Marguerite des Marguerites*, ſince one of them is the firſt Work that appears in the Collection, entituled, *Marguerites de la Marguerite*, &c. and the other is (s) in the 2d ſide of *fol.* 182 to the 212 of the ſame Collection. Note, that *du Verdier Vau-Privas*, by ſaying that *Simon Sylvius* collected the Poems of the Queen of *Navarre*, occaſion'd another Error in Mr. *Moreri*; for this made him believe (t) that *Simdon Boſius*, whoſe Learned Notes we have upon *Cicero*'s Epiſtles to *Atticus*, was called *de la Haye*, and had been *Valet de Chambre* to *Margueret* Queen of *Navarre*: He might have avoided this miſtake, had he conſidered, 1. that this Princeſs's Valet de Chambre was old (u) when he publiſh'd the *Marguerites*, &c. 2. that *Simdon Boſius* died young, as *Sainte Marthe*, cited by Mr. *Moreri*, informs us. Note, that (w) there was printed at *Pau* in 1552 in 4o. an Eclogue which had not appear'd in the Collection of the *Marguerites*; and which was compoſed by the ſame Queen. Dr. *Sibylline* in 1693, ſent me from *London* a Copy of the *Tombeau de* Margeurite *Royne de* Navarre. Some Body had written in it, that this Princeſs was the Author of a Book, entituled, *the Pious Meditations of a Chriſtian Soul*, which was tranſlated into *Engliſh* by Queen *Elizabeth*, and printed at *London* in 8o. in 1548.

Let us now ſpeak of the *Heptameron*, and firſt cite *Brantome*: "(x) She wrote in her gay "Hours a Book, entituled, *The Novels of the Queen of* "Navarre; which ſhe did in a Stile ſo ſoft and "flowing, and ſo full of excellent Diſcourſes and fine "Sentences, that I have heard ſay the Queen-Mother, "and the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, undertook to write No"vels ſeparately, in imitation of this Queen of *Navarre*, "well knowing that ſhe was writing ſome; but when "they had ſeen hers, they were ſo diſguſted with "their own, which no ways came up to 'em, that "they threw 'em into the Fire, and would not publiſh "'em. .. She compoſed all theſe Novels generally in "her Litter, as ſhe travelled; for ſhe had great Oc"cupations when ſhe was retired. I have heard my "Grand-mother alſo tell this, who always went with "her in her Litter, and held her Desk for her; and ſhe "writ 'em as faſt and as well, or better, than if they "had been dictated." This confutes the Uncertainties of *la Croix du Maine*: You'll find 'em at the end of the following Paſſage; *The Heptameron*, ſays he, (y) *or the Queen of* Navarre's *ſeven Days, is a Book full of divers Hiſtories, for the moſt part fabulous, in imitation of* John Boccacio *a Florentine. This Book has been methodiz'd by* Claude Gruget *of* Paris, *and intituled the* Heptameron, *or the Hiſtory of* Fortunate Lovers; *Novels of the moſt illuſtrious and excellent Princeſs* Margaret de Valois *Queen of* Navarre, *&c. Printed at* Paris *by* Gilles Robinot *in the Year* (z) 1567: *I queſtion whether this Princeſs compoſed this Book; foraſmuch as it is full of bold Diſcourſes and tickliſh Words.* If *la Croix du Maine* had read the Epiſtle Dedicatory of *Claude Gruget*'s Edition, he could not have been dubious; for this *Gruget* addreſſing himſelf to *Jane d' Albret*, only Daughter to Queen *Margaret*, declares that he had reſtored the Book of this Queen's Novels to its firſt ſtate; becauſe the firſt Edition *had, as it were, totally transformed it, and omitted or concealed the Name of this Princeſs. Wherefore*, adds he, *to make it worthy of its Author, as ſoon as it was publiſhed, I collected from all parts, the Manuſcript-Writings that could be recovered, and collated 'em by my Copy; and I have taken care to reduce 'em to the true order, in which ſhe wrote 'em. Since that, by the King's Permiſſion, and your conſent, they have been put into the Preſs to be publiſh'd as they ought. Such a preſent*, continues he, *will not be new to you, who will only recognize it, as your Mother's Heireſs: However I perſwade my ſelf, that it will be acceptable to you to ſee it by this ſecond Impreſſion reſtored to its Primitive State: For (as I have heard) the firſt diſpleas'd you; not but that he who undertook it was a learned Man, and had taken pains in it; and, as is eaſie to believe, would not have thus diſguis'd it without ſome reaſon for it; yet his labour was diſagreeable.* Theſe Paſſages of *Claude Gruget's* Epiſtle Dedicatory may ſerve for two purpoſes: They acquaint us with ſomething of the Hiſtory of the *Heptameron*, and invincibly confute all thoſe who believe the Queen of *Navarre* did not compoſe theſe Novels. Would any one have ventured to talk to the Princeſs her Daughter, as he does in the Epiſtle Dedicatory, if this Book had been ſuppoſititious, or if the Liberty had been taken to add Thoughts or Expreſſions that were too free and exceptious? Mr. *de Thou* does not doubt, but that Queen *Margaret* was the Author of this Work; he does not think it becoming the Gravity and latter Conduct of this Heroine; but he excuſes her upon the Time and Youth in which ſhe writ it. (a) *Ejus nomine & fabellarum volumen imitatione Joa. Bocatii editum circumfertur, ſi tempora & juvenilem ætatem, in qua ſcriptum eſt, reſpicias, non prorſus damnandum, certe gravitate tanta heroina, & extrema vitæ minus dignum.* The Sieur *Sorel* denies this Princeſs to be the Author of the *Heptameron*. I relate his Words, becauſe they contain a bad Reaſoning, that ought to be refuted. "(b) We have the Novels of the Queen of *Navarre*; "in which there is a Story of a Gentleman, who lay "with his Mother, and afterwards married the Daugh"ter that he had by her, who was at once his Siſter, "his Wife and his Daughter. There are alſo in it "many execrable Stories of Prieſts and Cordeliers; "all which things never were, but were the Inven"ons of a Huguenot, who was the Author of the "Book." The Argument this Writer alledges, has two great Faults. In the firſt place it proves too much; for it it were good, we muſt ſay that *Boccacio*, and many other *Italians*, who have written Novels, and fill'd 'em with an hundred bad Actions of the Monks, were *Lutherans*. In the ſecond place; It it were peculiar to a Huguenot to write ſuch Stories, the Queen of *Navarre* might do it; for ſhe was a good Friend to the Party, ſecretly at leaſt, for a good many Years together.

Note, that the *Heptameron* was grown very ſcarce; which cauſed the Bookſellers of *Amſterdam* to reprint it in 1698. They made two Editions of it, one by that of *Claude Gruget*, the other metamorphos'd into new *French*: The latter will pleaſe Foreigners, who only underſtand the modern Language, and many ignorant and lazy *French-men*, who care not to be at the pains of informing themſelves, how they ſpoke in the Reign of *Francis* I. I ſhall ſay ſomething elſewhere (c) againſt the falſe and ſhameful Delicacy of theſe People

(o) *In page* 843 *&* 844 *of his* French *Biblioth.*

(p) *It is addreſs'd to Madam the Princeſs of* Navarre *Daughter to Queen* Margaret.

(q) *It muſt be obſerv'd, that* Marguerite *is the name of a Flower; and that by a metaphor ſlorid Diſcourſes, Compliments of a high and ſtudied Strain, were formerly called* Marguerites.

(r) *In the Searches of* France, *Book* 7. *ch.* 5. *p. m.* 614.

(s) *In the* Paris *Edition by* Stephen Grouleau 1552. in 10.

(t) *See* Moreri *in the Article* Bois (Simon du.)

(u) *This appears by the Epiſtle Dedicatory.*

(w) Du Verdier, *ubi ſupra. pag.* 844.

(x) Brant. *ubi ſupra, f.* 320, 321.

(y) La Croix du Maine, French Biblioth. *P.* 309.

(z) *When he ſpeaks of* Claude Gruget, *p.* 58, *he only ments ons the Edition of* 1561, *by* Gilles Robinot: *And, note that* du Verdier Vau-Privas *ubi ſupra, pag.* 844 *only quotes the Edit. of* 1578, *by the ſame. in* 4°.

(a) Thuan. *lib.* 6. *p.* 117. *col.* 2. *D.*

(b) Sorel *Remarks upon the* 12 *Book of the extravagant Shepherd. p.* 720.

(c) *In ſome of the Remarks of the Article* Oſiat.

forget the baſe Attempt (O) of Admiral *de Bonnivet*. It would be needleſs to adver-
tiſe my Reader here, that *The Hiſtory of* Margaret de Valois *Queen of* Navarre, *Siſter to* Francis I. Printed † at *Amſterdam* in two Volumes in 12*o* in 1696, is a Contexture of Fictions and Romantick Chimera's from the beginning to the end, upon a little Foundation of Hiſtorical Facts. It had been much better that the Perſon, who thus abuſ'd his Leiſure in forging ſuch Fables, had employ'd it in giving the true and entire Hiſtory of this illuſtrious Princeſs. Such an Hiſtory had been more for the Honour of this Queen, than the Quality of a Heroine of a Romance fond of a * Prince, not knowing whether ſhe ſhould be his Wife, and with whom ſhe was never married. There is infinitely leſs Heroiſm in ſuch a Paſſion ‡, invented by the Writer, than in the Generoſity, wherewith our *Margaret de Valois* actually protected many Perſons of Merit perſecuted (P) for Religion.

† *According to the* Paris *Edition.*

* *The Conſtable* de Bourbon

‡ *Note, that according to the ordinary Courſe of humane Actions, Virtue is compatible with the love of a Maid for a Man, tho' ſhe knows not more than ſhe ſhould with how. But according to the Idea of Perfection, ſuch a Love is contrary to Virtue. It ought not to be found in a Lady from 16 at Pleaſure, for a Model of Perfection. This is what the Writers of Romances cannot conform to, for they take it for a Rule, that Love is the Soul of their Works.*

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People. The other Edition will only be uſed by the reaſonable and judicious *Frenchmen*.

Before we leave off, let us make a more conſiderable Obſervation. Here we have a prudent, moſt vertuous and moſt pious Queen, who nevertheleſs compoſes a Book of Stories pretty free and ſmutty, and would have the World to know her to be the Author of it. How many Ladies are there actually plunged in the Diſorders of a filthy Gallantry, who would not, for all the World, write in that Strain? What they write, and even what they ſpeak, has the Air of an extraordinary Modeſty: One would ſay their Imagination durſt not approach Obſcenity within two hundred Leagues: Diſcourſes never ſo little free, that a Man ſhould offer in their Preſence, would put 'em to the bluſh, and give 'em a ſerious Demeanour that beſpoke an extreme Indignation. It is not impoſſible but they may be inwardly full of Reſentment, and diſguſted with ſuch a Converſation; for there are ſtrange Inequalities in a humane Soul, and great diſparities betwixt the Head and Heart. Such an one has greater Purity in his Heart and Morals, than in his Tongue: Another has his Heart corrupted, a Concubine or two; and at the ſame time an extreme diſguſt to the Tales of *Boccacio*, Farces, and all Writings that bear not the Character of a rigid Gravity. This being the turn of his Head, his Taſte goes no farther, and has no influence on his Heart and Morals. The Queen of *Navarre* was of a different Temper: "(d) She frequently compoſed "Comedies and Moralities, which at that time were "called Paſtorals; which ſhe cauſed to be acted and "repreſented by the young Ladies of her Court. She "delighted much in compoſing Spiritual Songs; for "ſhe had her Heart much addicted to God; and "therefore ſhe had for her Device the *Marigold* (e).... "with this Inſcription, *Non inferiora ſecutus*, to ſignify "that ſhe directed and intended all her Actions, "Thoughts, Will and Affections, to this great Sun "which is God; and for this Reaſon ſhe was ſuſ"pected of Lutheraniſm." Theſe laſt Words are very remarkable, and do as much Honour to the Reformed, as diſhonour to the Catholicks: but that is not the Point in queſtion. I am only to obſerve, that a Princeſs, fully poſſeſs'd with the Love of God, notwithſtanding exerciſ'd her Pen upon obſcene Matters, as are thoſe of the *Heptameron*.

(d) Brantome, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 308, 309.

(e) Brantome *ſays here that this Flower has more conformity with the Sun than any other; and that it turns always with the Sun from Eaſt to Weſt.*

(O) *The baſe Attempt of Admiral* de Bonniver.] He loved our *Margaret de Valois*; and 'tis ſaid (f) *that this Princeſs's Virtue, inſtead of conquering* this Lover's *Paſſion* by *denying him all hope*, made him *commit Follies*, which had no ſucceſs, and which had been puniſh'd, *if the King had not had greater condeſcenſion for him, than Juſtice for his Siſter*. Mr. *Varillas*, who gives us this Fact, has theſe Words in the Margin: "He attempted to force her three times; and ſhe de"fended her ſelf ſo well, that the ſecond time he was "oblig'd to keep his Chamber above five Weeks, by rea"ſon of his Scratches." This Hiſtorian obſerves in another place (g), that *Charles* V. pardoning the Crime (h) of *Mary de Padilla*, would have the Cauſe of it declared in the Act of Abolition, but that *Francis* I. *did not uſe that Form in the Impudent Action, that* Bonniver's *Love put him upon. The Court coming to viſit him in one of his Eſtates, he had the Policy to lodge a great Princeſs, whom he loved, in a Chamber ſo ſituate, that he might enter it from his own through a Trap-door, which he ſlip'd through in the Night; but the Prince's waking at the Noiſe he made in taking up the Trap-door, called her Women, and by their appearance ruined* Bonniver's *deſign. The King, when he heard it, only laugh'd at it; and alſo immediately departed, to ſave his Favourite the Shame he would have had, if the Court had ſtay'd longer at his Houſe.* Brantome tells this Story with a Circumſtance that overthrows the laſt part of *Varillas's*: For he ſuppoſes that *Francis* I. did not know of this Adventure. He ſays (i) that the Princeſs deſign'd to complain to the King her Brother, but that Mr (k) *de Chattillon's* Widow, her Lady of Honour, induced her not to ſpeak of it; and alledged good and prudent Reaſons, which the Queen of Navarre has related in one of her (l) Stories. 'Tis her own Adventure, that ſhe recounts in it. *And if you would know*, ſays *Brantome* (m), *who is meant in the Novel, it was the Queen of* Navarre *her ſelf*, and Admiral de Bonnivet, *as I had it from my deceaſed* (n) *Grand mother: In which methinks the Queen ought not to have concealed her Name, ſince the other could gain nothing upon her Chaſtity, but was put to confuſion; and ſhe would have divulged the Fact, but for the good and prudent Remonſtrance of this Lady of Honour*, Madame de Chaſtilon. *Brantome* was more reſerved in the Elogy of Admiral *de Bonnivet*; he indeed alludes to human Enterprize related in the Queen of *Navarre's* Novels, but he adds, he will not divulge the Name of the Princeſs, whom this Favourite had endeavour'd to ſurprize.

(f) Varillas *Hiſt. of* Francis I. *Book* 4, *p.* 256. *Holl. Edit.* 1690.

(g) *Id. ib. Book* 13, *pag.* 397.

(h) *See the Article of this* Padilla.

(P) *Generoſity wherewith our* Margaret .... *protected many Perſons of Merit proſecuted for Religion.*] I don't examine whether *Florimond de Remond* has it from good Memoirs (a) that ſhe proteſted at her Death, that *what ſhe had done for* the Followers of the New-Opinions, *proceeded rather from Compaſſion, than any ill-will to the antient Religion of her Fathers*. Granting her proteſtation to be ſincere, I maintain, there was ſomething more Heroical in her Compaſſion and Generoſity, than there would have been, had ſhe been perſwaded that the Fugitives ſhe protected were Orthodox: For a Princeſs, or any other Woman, to do good to thoſe, whom ſhe takes to be of the Houſhold of Faith, is nothing extraordinary, but the common effect of a moderate Piety. But for a Queen to grant her Protection to People perſecuted for the Opinions ſhe believes to be falſe; to open a Sanctuary to them, to preſerve 'em from the Flames, into which their Enemies would thruſt 'em, to furniſh 'em with a Subſiſtence, liberally to relieve the Toils and Inconveniences of their Exile, is an heroical Magnanimity which has hardly any *Precedent*. 'Tis the Effects of a Superiority of Reaſon and Genius, which very few can aſcend to: 'Tis to be able to pity the Misfortune of thoſe that err, and admire at the ſame time their Conſtancy to the Dictates of their Conſcience: 'Tis to know how to do Juſtice to their good Intentions, and to the Zeal they expreſs for the Truth in general: 'Tis to know they are miſtaken in Hypotheſis, but that in Theſis they conform to the immutable and eternal Laws of Order, which require us to love the Truth, and to ſacrifice to it the Temporal Conveniences and Comforts of Life: 'Tis, in a word, to know how to diſtinguiſh in one and the ſame Perſon, his oppoſition to particular Truths, and his love for Truth in general, a Love, that he evidences by his great Zeal to the Doctrine he thinks to be true. This was the diſcerning Judgment of the Queen of *Navarre*. 'Tis difficult for all ſorts of Perſons to arrive at this Science: but eſpecially difficult to a Princeſs like her, who had been educated in the Communion of *Rome*, in which nothing was talk'd of for many Ages, but Faggots and Gibbets againſt thoſe that Err. Family Prejudices potently torcify all the Obſtacles that Education had put in the way of this Princeſs; for ſhe entirely loved the King her Brother, an implacable Perſecutor of thoſe they called Hereticks, a People whom he cauſed to be burnt without Mercy, where ever the indefatigable Vigilance of Informers diſcovered them. I cannot conceive by what Method this Queen of *Navarre* raiſed herſelf to ſo high a point of Equity, Reaſon and good Senſe: It was not through indifference to Religion, ſince 'tis certain ſhe had a great

(i) In the 4th of the 11th Day of the Heptameron.

(k) *He that died at* Ferrara *of the Wound he received at the Battle of* Ravenna.

(l) *Id. ib. pag.* 155.

(m) *She was given for Lady of Honour to the Queen of* Navarre, *by* Francis I. *after Madam* Chaſtillon's *Death. Id. ib.*

(n) Florimond de Remond *was* ſupra, *p.* 850

NAVARRE (JOAN d' Albret Queen of) Daughter of the preceding, was one of the moſt Illuſtrious Princeſſes of her Age. She was not yet eleven Years of Age *, when *Francis* I. married her to the Duke of *Cleves*. This Marriage, celebrated at *Chatellerand* with (*A*) an extraordinary Pomp † the 15th of *July* 1540, was declared null ſometime (*B*) after; and indeed it had been concluded in ſpite of the Proteſtations of the young Lady, and againſt the Will of *Henry d' Albret*, and *Margaret de Valois* her Father and Mother. She married at *Moülins* in *October* 1548, *Antony de Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendome*. They had * *in the three or four firſt Years of their Marriage, two Sons that died both* (*C*) *in the Cradle by extraordinary Accidents.* She found her ſelf with Child again the third time † in 1553, being in *Picardy* with her Huſband, who was Governour of that Province, and commanded an Army againſt *Charles* V. When *Henry d' Albret* her Father, underſtood that ſhe was with Child, ß he *recalled her Home to him.* She departed from *Compiegne* the 15th of *November*, and arrived at *Pau* the fourth of *December*, and was brought to Bed of a Son γ the 13th of the ſame Month ζ. She manifeſted in her Pains of Child-Birth an extraordinary Courage and (*D*) Force. She became Queen of *Navarre* by the Death of her Father θ the 25th of *May* 1555; and had, as well as her Huſband, much Indulgence χ for the Reformed Religion; a nd 'tis very probable, they would have ſoon publickly profeſſed it, if ‡ the Menaces of the King of *France*, and thoſe that Cardinal *d' Armignac* made them of the Pope's Indignation, had not reſtrained 'em. The deſign of preventing † *Henry* II's ill Intentions, obliged 'em to make a Journey to the Court of *France* in 1558. They paſſed through *Rochelle*; and there happen'd an

* Spond. ad. ann. 1541. *n.* 5.

† Olhagaray *Hiſt. of* Foix, Bearn *and* Navarre, *p.* 504. Spondanus *is miſtaken in the Year: He hath placed this Marriage in* June 1541.

* Perefixe *Hiſt. of* Henry *the Great, pag. m.* 13.

† *Id. ib. pag.* 14.

ß *Id. ibid. pag.* 15.

γ *Who was afterwards* Henry IV. *King of* France.

ζ *Id. ibid.*

θ Olhagaray, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 508.

χ *See the Remark* F.

‡ *Id. ibid. p.* 517.

† *Id. ibid.*

great Piety, and ſtudied the Scriptures with a ſingular Application. It muſt therefore be the Beauty of her Genius, and the Greatneſs of her Soul, that diſcovered a Path to her, which hardly any one had trodden. It will be ſaid perhaps, that ſhe needed only conſult the primitive and general Ideas of Order, which moſt clearly ſhow, that involuntary Errors hinder not a Man who intirely loves God, as he has been able to know him, after all poſſible Inquiries, from being reckoned the Servant of the true God, and that we ought to reſpect in him the Rights of the true God. But I might immediately anſwer, that this Maxim is of it ſelf ſubject to great Diſputes; ſo far is it from being clear and evident: Beſides that theſe primitive Ideas ſeldom appear to our Underſtanding without Limitations and Modifications, which obſcure 'em a hundred Ways, according to the different Prejudices contracted by Education: The Spirit of a Party, the Addiction to a Sect, and even Zeal for Orthodoxy, produce a kind of a Ferment in the Humours of our Body; whence the Medium thro' which Reaſon ought to behold thoſe Primitive Ideas, is muddied and darkned. Theſe are Infirmities that will attend our Reaſon, as long as it ſhall depend on the Miniſtry of the Organs. 'Tis the ſame thing to it, as the low and middle Region of the Air, incorporated with Vapours and Meteors. There are few that can elevate themſelves above theſe Clouds, and [*b*] poſt themſelves in a true Serenity: If any one can do it, we muſt ſay of him, what *Virgil* ſaid of *Daphnis*:

Candidus (*c*) *inſuetum miratur* (*d*) *lumen Olympi,*
Sub pedibuſque videt nubes & ſidera Daphnis.

And he would leſs reſemble a Man, than the immortal Beings, placed upon a Mountain (*e*) above the Region of Winds and Clouds, *&c.* There is almoſt as much need of being above the Paſſions to come to the Knowledge of ſome kind of Truths, as to act virtuouſly. Now we know that this Mountain is the Emblem of a good Man, whom no Paſſion withdraws from the Road of Juſtice.

(*f*) *Sed ut altus Olympi*
Vertex, qui ſpatio ventos hiemeſque relinquit,
Perpetuum nulla temeratus nube ſerenum,
Celſior exſurgit pluviis, auditque ruentes
Sub pedibus nimbos, & rauca tonitrua calcat:
Sic patiens animus per tanta negotia liber
Emergit, ſimiliſque ſui; juſtique tenorem
Flectere non odium cogit, non gratia ſuadet.

I think I have ſet off the Queen of *Navarre*'s Heroiſm to good Advantage.

(*A*) *Celebrated with an extraordinary Pomp.*] *Spondanus* (*g*) obſerves that the Coronation of *Charles* V. was leſs expenſive than this Wedding; and he juſtly condemns the laviſh Humour of *Francis* I. as to theſe vain Magnificences. *William Paradin* has deſcribed (*h*) *the Juſts* that were made at that time, and the *triumphal Palaces in the antick way. in which were armed Knights, who ſtood in honour of their Ladies.* See alſo *William du Bellai's* Memoirs (*i*).

(*B*) *Was declared null ſometime after; and indeed it had been concluded in ſpite.*] Olhagaray (*k*) tells, that *Francis* I. cauſed *Joan d' Albret* to be educated at *Pleſſis* in *Tours*, and ſuffered her not *to go from thence*; for he feared that her Father would marry her to *Philip* the Emperor's Son. He adds, that ſhe wearied her ſelf to Death in this Place, and fill'd *her Chamber with Complaints*, and Sighs: "Which King *Francis* "hearing, married her to the Duke of *Cleves*, without "the conſent of her Father or Mother.... upon which "ſhe proteſted, and cauſed to be proteſted, in the "Preſence of *John* Sieur *d' Abere*.... Therefore this "forced Marriage, *continues this Author*, had no o-"ther Fruit than Ceremonies... and our Prince (*l*) "*Henry* cauſed this Marriage to be condemned, and "the Form that had been uſed, by the Pope's Authori-"ty; ſo that quickly after, on an *Eaſter-Day*, it was "declared null, in the Cathedral-Church of *Tours*, "and both Parties were left at Liberty to marry whom "they pleas'd: Whereupon the Duke of *Cleves* mar-"ried the Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, "the Emperor's Brother." Note, by the way, a Fault of *Spondanus*: He will have *Joan* to be diſ-engag'd from her Contract, only becauſe the Duke of *Cleves* had married *Ferdinand*'s Daughter.

(*l*) *That is, the King of* Navarre, *Father to the Bride.*

Brantome relates a Fact, that proves, that the Queen of *Navarre*, the Bride's Mother, was preſent at the Marriage: The thing is curious. "(*m*) The Day that "Madam the *Princeſs* of *Navarre* was married to the "Duke of *Cleves* at *Chaſtelleraud*, as ſhe was to be led "to Church, becauſe ſhe was laden with Jewels and "Cloth of Gold and Silver, and by reaſon of the "weakneſs of her Body could not walk, the King "commanded the Conſtable to take his little Niece in "his Arms, and carry her to the Church; at which "all the Court was ſurprized, as being an Office not "ſuitable or honourable in ſuch a Ceremony for the "Conſtable; and which might well be diſpoſed of to "another: Wherewith the Queen of *Navarre* was no "ways diſpleaſed; and ſaid, There is the Man (*n*) "who would ruin me with my Brother, who ſerves "at preſent to carry my Daughter to Church. I have "this Story from the Perſon I have mention'd; and "alſo that the Conſtable was much diſguſted with "this Office, and was greatly enrag'd to be made ſuch "a Spectacle to all the Company; and ſaid, There is "an end of my Favour, Farewel to it; as it happen'd; "for after the Entertainment, and the Wedding-Din-"ner, he was diſmiſs'd, and departed immediately. "I have this from my Brother alſo, who was then "Page at Court, who ſaw the Myſtery, and remem-"ber'd it very well; for he had a very happy Me-"mory."

(*m*) Brantome's *Memoirs of Illuſtrious Ladies, p.* 311.

(*n*) *See the Remark* H *of the foregoing Article.*

(*C*) *Died both in the Cradle by extraordinary Accidents.*] "(*a*) The firſt was ſtifled with Heat, becauſe "his Governeſs, who was chilly, kept him too hot. "The ſecond loſt his Life by the Foolery of a Nurſe; "for one Day, as ſhe was playing with the Child with a "Gentleman, and they were throwing it to one ano-"ther, they let it fall to the Ground, and it pined "away."

(*a*) Perefixe *Hiſt. of* Henry *the Great, p. m.* 13.

(*D*) *An extraordinary Courage and Force.*] The King of *Navarre* her Father (*b*) promis'd to put his Will into her Hands, aſſoon as ſhe ſhould be delivered, *but upon condition that in her Child-Birth ſhe ſhould ſing a Song*, to the

(*b*) *Id. ib. pag.* 16.

(*b*) Munita tenere Edita doctrina ſapientum templa ſerena. *Lucret. lib.* 2. *v.* 7.

(*c*) *Virgil. eclog.* 5. *v.* 56

(*d*) *Moſt editions ſay* limen.

(*e*) *That of* Olympus. See Apuleius in Libro de Mundo, *p. m.* 73. *and* Homer's *Verſes, which he cites.*

(*f*) Claudian. de Mallii Theod. conſulatu, *pag. m.* 6. *col.* 2.

(*g*) Spond. ad. an. 1541. *n.* 5.

(*h*) William Paradin *Hiſt. of our Time. Book* 4. *p. m.* 406. *& ſeq.*

(*i*) *In Book* 8. *ad. ann.* 1540, *p. m.* 909.

(*k*) Olhagaray *Hiſt. of* Foix, Bearn *and* Navarc, *pag.* 503, 504.

an Adventure, during their ſtay there (E), which is very curious. 'Tis obſervable that Queen *Joan* ſhewed her ſelf more Luke-warm (F) than her Husband, both whilſt they were at the Court of *France*, and after they returned to their Dominions; but that at laſt he totally renounc'd Calviniſm, and became its Perſecutor; and that ſhe made open Profeſſion of it, and declared her ſelf (G) its Protectreſs with all imaginable Zeal *. They

* *Beſides all that ſhall be ſaid in the Remark G, I ſhall here ſay, that ſhe caused the New Teſtament, the Catechiſm and the Liturgy of Geneva, to be tranſlated into the Biſcay Language, that it was printed at* Rochel *by* Peter Haultin *in fine Characters. See* Mr de Thou, *Book* 51 *pag.* 1059. & de vita ſua *lib.* 2. *pag.* 1182. *where he relates that he ſaw in* 1582, *at* Baſtide de Clarence, John Licarragues *Miniſter of the place, and Author of the aforeſaid Tranſlation.*

the end, *ſays he*, you may not bring me a crying and a crabbed Child. *The Princeſs promiſed him, and had ſo much Courage, that, in ſpite of the great pain ſhe ſuffered, ſhe kept her Word, and ſang in her* Bearniſh *Language, as ſoon as ſhe heard him enter her Chamber.* Theſe are the Words of the Song: (c) *Noſte Donne deou cap deou pon, adjouda mi en aqueſte houre*; that is, *Our Lady, at the end of the Bridge, aſſiſt me at this Hour.*

(c) Hilar. de Coſte *Elogies of Illuſtrious Ladies, T.* 1. *p.* 614. *He cites A.* Favin *in his Hiſtory of* Navarre

(E) *An Adventure during their ſtay there, which is very curious.*] Mr *Vincent* has found in *Peter Pacheau*'s Journal a large Relation of the *Magnificent Reception* the *Rochellers* gave the King and Queen of *Navarre* in 1558. He found alſo theſe (d) very Words: "Whilſt the "King of *Navarre* was in this City, the Word of God "was miniſter'd to us in St. *Bartholomew's* Church by "his Preacher Mr. *David*, who was a wiſe and good "Preacher." But here foollws the Adventure mentioned in this Remark. "(e) Whilſt the King and "Queen of *Navarre* ſtaid at *Rochelle*, there came a "Company of Comedians. One Day that they had a "notable Comedy to repreſent (which they had given "publick notice of) the King and Queen came with "their Court; and there was alſo an extraordinary "Affluence of People: They repreſented a Woman "a dying, who fetch'd deep Sighs and Groans, and "demanded immediately to be confeſs'd. The Cu"rate of the Parith was ſent for; he came with all his "Equipage and did all he could; but the ſick Wo"man was ſtill impatient, ſaying ſhe was not "well confeſs'd. Other Eccleſiaſticks came after the "Curate, and had no better Succeſs than he. After "them came the Monks of the ſeveral Orders in their "Turn, and ſpared neither for Relicks nor Indul"gences; whereof they had Sack-fulls, and which "they read one by one to the Sick, who, for "her laſt Remedy was cloathed in St. *Francis*'s Habit. "All this operated nothing to give her Conſcience "repoſe; ſhe ſaid, lamenting, that none of em all "knew what it was to confeſs well. Hereupon one of "her Acquaintance came upon the Stage, and look"ing about on all ſides, as having a Secret to tell, "which he would not have any Body to hear, he ac"quainted the ſick Perſon, that he knew a Man who "would confeſs her as ſhe ought, and reſtore her to a "good Condition; but that the Day being prejudicial "to this Man, he only came out by Night: The Wo"man prayed and preſſed he ſhould be ſent for. After "having waited ſometime, this Man came in an or"dinary Habit, and, coming to her Bed-ſide, he "ſpoke to her, ſo as thoſe preſent could not hear any "thing he ſaid; they only obſerv'd by the Woman's "Geſtures that ſhe appear'd to be very well ſatisfy'd. "At laſt he drew a little Book out of his Pocket, which "he gave her ſaying aloud, that this Book contain'd "infallible Receipts againſt her Diſtemper, and that "if ſhe uſed it, ſhe would in a few Days find her "Health perfectly reſtored. When the Man was gone, "the Woman aroſe found and entirely cured, and, "having taken two or three Turns upon the Stage, "ſhe told the Spectators, that this unknown Perſon "had done what was impoſſible for all the reſt; and "that it muſt be confeſs'd his Book contain'd admi"rable Receipts, as might be ſeen from the ſpeedy Ef"fect ſhe had found of it; That if any of 'em was ſeized "with the ſame Diſtemper, ſhe would adviſe em to "have recourſe to this Book; which ſhe would glad"ly lend them, but admoniſhing em withal, that in "touching it they would find it ſomewhat hot; and "that there proceeded a vehement Odour from it, "ſmelling of the Faggot: That, for the reſt, it the "Aſſiſtants deſired to know her Name that ſpoke, "and the Name of the Book, they were Riddles, that "ſhe left them to divine. The King and Queen of "*Navarre* declar'd they were pleas'd with this Co"medy, and ſo did all the Court; and by their Ex"ample a great number of the Spectators, many "whereof were already diſguſted with the Romiſh Re"ligion. They eaſily underſtood that this ſick Perſon "was *Truth*; that the firſt that had not well confeſs'd "her, were ſuch as took the Title of Doctors and "Paſtors; and who, inſtead of confeſſing the Truth of "God, held it in Unrighteouſneſs: That this laſt "Comer was one of the pretended Hereticks, whom "Perſecution conſtrain'd to hide themſelves; and "who alone, when they were called, duly confeſs'd "the Truth, which they had known: That, laſtly, "the hot Book, which ſmelt of the Faggot, was the "*New Teſtament*, which they were forbidden to have "and read in the vulgar Tongue, upon peril of being "burnt. But that which ſo well ſatisfied ſome, as "much diſpleas'd others: eſpecially the Eccleſiaſticks "were offended, and went to make their Complaints "to the King of *Navarre* himſelf, and afterwards to "the Magiſtrates of the Town, who already talk'd of "drawing up an Information: So that the Comedians "thought it the beſt way to depart as ſilently and as "ſuddenly as might be; and they wou'd not have "come off ſo eaſily had it not appear'd that they be"long'd to this Prince, and the Queen his Wife." See the Margin (f).

(d) Philip Vincent *Inquiries into the beginning and progreſs of the Reformation in the Town of* Rochelle, *pag.* 31.

(e) *Id. ib. pag.* 36 *& ſeq.*

We muſt ſay a Word or two of the Preacher *David*, who followed the Court of *Navarre* in their Progreſs to *Paris*. He was a Monk (g) who came into *Guienne* with the Mareſchal *de St Andre* in 1555, when this Mareſchal *came to conſult about his Health that Excellent Phyſician* Julius Cæſar de l'Eſcale. This Monk's Sermons *awaken'd the Minds of many, who began to meet ſecretly.* This cauſed the Biſhop of *Agen* (h) to *force him to abſent himſelf: But God made uſe of this abſence for the Benefit of the City of* Nerac, *where Preaching was allowed by the King and Queen of* Navarre, *in the great Hall of the Caſtle, who began in ſome meaſure to taſte the Truth; which, from henceforth, took ſuch Root in that Country (though there was no mention yet of any ordinary Miniſtry) that it could never ſince be extirpated.* You ſee here that in the Year 1555, the King and Queen of *Navarre* clearly manifeſted their Inclination to a Reformation. We ſhall ſee divers Facts of this Nature in the Remark G.

(f) See Mr de Thou, *Book* 51 *pag.* 1059. & de vita ſua *lib.* 2. *pag.* 1182. *where he relates that he ſaw in* 1582, *at* Baſtide de Clarence, John Licarragues *Miniſter of the place, and Author of the aforeſaid Tranſlation.*

(F) *More Luke-warm than her Husband.*] *Brantome* relates (a) that the King of *Navarre* cauſed his Miniſter *David* to preach in the Towns *he paſſed through*; and that *he brought him to the Court which was then at* Fontainebleau; and that King *Henry* did not like his bringing this Miniſter along with him. The Queen of *Navarre* at that time, continues *Brantome*, (b) *who was young, handſome, and a moſt worthy Princeſs, and who loved a Dance as well as a Sermon, was not pleaſed with this Novelty of Religion, nor ſo much as has been ſaid, and this I have from good Hands, tha ſhe remonſtrated one Day to the King her Husband, and boldly told him that if he had a Mind to ruin himſelf, and have his Eſtates confiſcated, ſhe would not ſuffer hers, nor the little which remained to her of the Kings her Predeceſſors to be minions, who for Hereſie had loſt the Kingdom of* Navarre. *Beza* agrees well enough with this. See his Words in the following Remark.

(a) Brantome *Life of* French *Captains. I.* 3. *p.* 237.

(b) *Id. ib.*

(G) *She declared her ſelf the Protectreſs of* Calviniſm.] We'll give here a ſhort account of the Progreſs that the Proteſtant Religion made in *Bearn* under this Queen. We have ſeen (d) what was done at *Nerac* in 1555. I find that in 1557 the (e) Sieur *de St. Martin* went to *Geneva* (f) for a Miniſter *for the King of* Navarre's *Court, to whom all the Houſhold gave an Ear.* The Court of *France* having notice of it, threatned the King of (g) *Navarre* to make War upon him, if he continued *to give the Proteſtants Liberty to preach publickly in* Bearn. This *made him obligingly deſire the Miniſter* Boiſnormand *to retire elſewhere.* The Miniſter retired, but he *continued to preach ſome time after, induced by the Entreaties of the Courtiers at* Mazeres les Pau *one of the moſt antient Families of* Bearn, *and moſt faithful to the Proteſtant Intereſt.* The King and Queen of *Navarre* going into *France* in 1558 took with them *Peter David* (h) *and made him generally preach in a Prieſt's Habit without a Surplice.* We have ſeen above that he preached at *Rochelle*, and it appears by *Letter i, it appears that ſhe only imitated her Mother in making uſe of like Comedies.*

(d) *In the Remark E Letter b.* (e) O'Hagaray, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 517. (f) *Called* Francis le Guay *et ſurnamé* Beau Normand (Beza *calls him* Boiſnormand) *and commonly* la Pierre. *Id. ib.* (g) *Id. ib.* (h) Beza ubi ſupra, *p.* 103.

(g) Beza *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Book* 2. *pag.* 102. (h) *Id. ib.* (a) Brantome *Life of* French *Captains. I.* 3. *p.* 237. (b) *Id. ib.* (c) *Id. ib.* (d) *In the Remark E Letter b.* (e) O'Hagaray, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 517. (f) *Called* Francis le Guay *et ſurnamé* Beau Normand (Beza *calls him* Boiſnormand) *and commonly* la Pierre. *Id. ib.* (g) *Id. ib.* (h) Beza ubi ſupra, *p.* 103.

They returned to *Bearn* before the Death of *Henry* II. This Abſence of the King of *Navarre* favoured the *Guiſes*, in the Uſurpation of the Government in the Reign of *Francis* II. He did not make ſo much haſte to *Paris* as the Conſtable of *Montmorenci* deſired, and

the (*i*) Prayers he uſed at the beginning and end of his Sermon, that his Language was that of a Miniſter. This King having ſeen *Henry* II. at *Fontainebleau* (*k*) returned to *Paris*, and (*l*) *took Courage, ſo as to appear in ſome meetings amongſt People of mean Condition: Which is more, it happening that two Miniſters of* Paris *were ſurprized in their Chamber; one whereof was diſmiſs'd by the Serjeants, who had ſome Crowns put in their Hands; the other named* Antony Chandieu .... *was impriſon'd in the* Chaſtelet: *This King went himſelf the next Day to own him as one of his Family, and brought him off ſafe.* He was preſent at the publick Aſſemblies in a Field, where *David*'s Pſalms were ſung. (*n*) The Cardinals *de Bourbon* and *Lorrain*, having promiſed a large Benefice to *Peter David*, he *undertook* to reſtore his Maſter and Miſtriſs to the Roman Communion more than ever: This coming to his Maſter's Ears, he turn'd him out. When this Prince left *Bearn* with his Queen, he left his Son (*o*) under the Direction of *Suſanna de Bourbon*, *John d' Albret*'s Wife; and under that of *Lewis d' Albret* Biſhop of *Leſcar*. (*p*) *The Abſence of* the King and Queen, *by the Protection of the Regents tho' Roman Catholicks, elevated the Proteſtants: Inſomuch that they held notable Aſſemblies in the Country, with the Permiſſion of the Governours; a thing, ſays the Original, that is very remarkable, That by means of a Child, a Biſhop and a Woman, the main Foundations of Religion were laid in* Bearn. *This News was ſpread abroad; the King of* Navarre *pretended to be ſorry, though he had given his Conſent; ſo that he permitted, that* George Cardinal d' Armagnac *ſhould come to* Bearn, *and made him Lieutenant-General with my Lord the Prince. Being arrived, he was ſo far from hindring the Pretenſions of the Proteſtants by a Conference, he ſaid he would have in* Bearn; *that on the contrary, they reſolved amongſt themſelves not to give way to the Violence of their Lieutenant, who began with impriſoning* Henry de Barran, *their Miniſter, who had been a* Dominican, *but received without any Offence, to be preſented to the King at his return; who commanded him to go on with the faithful Exerciſe of his Duty, which God had given him.* The King of *Navarre* was retired from the *French* Court, much diſcontented; and that, amongſt other Reaſons, becauſe no care was taken of his Intereſts at the Treaty of *Cateau*. He returned to *Paris* after the Death of *Henry* II. 'Tis true, he did not uſe that haſte, which the Conſtable of *Montmorenci* adviſed him to: He arrived a little too late, and could not maintain his Priviledges during the Minority of *Francis* II. Let us hear *Beza*:

" (*q*) At laſt he enter'd upon his Journey and made " wonderful Promiſes to the Miniſters of the Churches, " through which he paſs'd, who remonſtrated his Duty to him, both as to the State in general, and to the " poor Churches, which he knew to have been ſo long " ill treated, by thoſe who abuſed the late Kings: But " when he came to Court, though he was very well " attended, to aſſume the Authority due to his Rank; " in which he would have been aſſiſted with the favour and principal Forces of the Kingdom; yet ſuffering himſelf to be govern'd by two of his Train, " namely the Sieur *d' Eſcars*, and the Biſhop of *Mande*, " who were dealt with by his Enemies, after he had " ſuffered a thouſand Indignities, he ſeemed not ſo " much as to reſent them; and after he had aſſiſted " at the Coronation of the King at *Reims* the 18th of " *Septemb er* the ſame Year, he was ſent back into his " Country with a Commiſſion to conduct the Queen of " *Spain*, the King's Siſter, to the King of *Spain* her " Husband." Having conducted the Queen of *Spain*, (*r*) *he retired to* Bearn, *and for ſome time deſpiſed the Court, openly countenancing the Proteſtants, and a Monk adminiſtring the Sacrament, in his Habit on* Eaſter-Day, *in* Pau *Church, where he had preach'd the Lent, whoſe Name was* Arnauld Guilhem Barbaſte, *a* Carmelite, *he was willing to communicate; although* Francis le Gay, *who was recall'd into* Bearn, *celebrated it the* Tueſday *after in the Houſe of* Caſſe, *where was a great concourſe of Nobility, and particularly a Lady of the Family of* Carmaing, *who had been a Nun in* Caſſes. After the Affair of *Amboiſe*, the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* his Brother, had Orders to come to the Court of *France*. They came: The Prince was immediately put into Priſon, and would have been beheaded, if *Francis* II. had not died †. The King his Brother was alſo in a ſort of Confinement. He had declared before his Journey, that he highly favoured the Reformed. " (*s*) He publickly complained of the " Houſe of *Guiſe*, and found himſelf well attended " with Gentlemen, almoſt all profeſſing the Proteſtant " Religion, who promis'd him, upon that Complaint, " Succour and Aſſiſtance.... A few Days after (*t*) " came *Beza* to *Nerac*, whom the King of *Navarre* " had ſent for from *Geneva*, which wonderfully ſtruck " all the Adverſaries.... (*v*) At that time alſo was " printed a Petition in *French*, addreſs'd to the King " of *Navarre*, and other Princes of the Blood, for " the Liberty of the King and Queen, and the King- " dom, againſt the uſurp'd Government of the *Guiſes*, " which ſerv'd but to inflame the Cardinal more: " And, as this made a great Noiſe, the Cardinal *d' Armagnac* came alſo to *Nerac*, bringing a great Bull with " him, by which the Pope excommunicated *Boynormand* " the Sieur *de la Gaucherie*, Preceptor to the Prince of " *Navarre*, and their Adherents; but no great account " was made of him or his Benedictions, which he " gave at his Entrance into the Town, which were " laugh'd at by every Body. The King of *Navarre* at " that time, ſhewed himſelf zealous for the Proteſtant " Religion; foraſmuch as he would have no more " Maſs, and only talk'd of God (thinking only, as " every one affirmed on the means of advancing the " Kingdom of Chriſt.) But the Queen his Wife behaved herſelf very coldly, fearing to loſe her Eſtate, " and being unwilling to leave many things of this " World, to put her ſelf under the Conduct of a purer " Religion: In which at laſt appeared the inſcrutable " Wiſdom of the Judgments of God; for the King a " little after quitted all, upon the bare arrival of the " Sieur *de Curjol*; and had little Concern for the future. The Queen his Wife on the contrary began a " little after to profeſs it entirely; and with ſuch a Perſeverance, that ſhe became an Example to all the " Princeſſes in Chriſtendom. The Cardinal *de Bourbon*, and the Sieur *de Cruſſol* came alſo to *Nerac* to " forward the Conſpiracy that was formed againſt the " two Brothers; at whoſe arrival all went backwards: " For the King and Queen of *Navarre* ordered Maſs to be " ſaid at the Convent of the Cordeliers; at which they " were preſent, and obliged their Son, the little Prince, " to be there too .... (*w*) The Queen of *Navarre* after " her Husband's Departure, retir'd to *Bearn*, where " ſhe had notice in few Days of the taking of the " Prince at *Orleans*, and the Conſpiracies againſt her " Husband, and how ſome Councils were held in *Spain*, " to ſurprize her Principality of *Bearn*, and the Remainder of *Navarre*. Thus ſeeing all the Confidence ſhe had in Men loſt, and all Humane Aſſiſtance failing her, being inwardly touch'd with the " Love of God, ſhe made her recourſe to him with " all Humility, Lamentation and Tears, as to her only " Refuge; proteſting ſhe would keep his Commandments: Inſomuch, that at the time of her greateſt " Tribulation, ſhe made publick Profeſſion of the pure " Doctrine; being fortified by *Francis le Gay*, alias " *Bonormand*, and *N. Hemy*, faithful Miniſters of the " Word of God, and referring all to his Mercy, took " a Maſculine and courageous Heart, going to viſit and " provide for a long time her Forreſts of *Navarreins* " in *Bearn*: For the Report was, that the *Spaniards* " meant to ſurprize it; in which place ſhe heard of " the King's Sickneſs (*a*), and quickly after of his Death. " Upon which News, on Chriſtmaſs-Day (*b*) afterwards, ſhe again made a publick and clear Confeſſion of her Faith, and communicated in the Holy Sacrament. And quickly after ſhe ſent to the King her " Confeſſion of Faith, drawn up, written and ſigned " with her own Hand, as being a Woman of extraordinary Senſe."

What *Beza* affirms, that the King of *Navarre*, after the Sieur *de Cruſſol* had engag'd him to go to the Court of *France*, *was little concern'd for the Reformed Religion*, is very falſe; for this Prince after the Death of *Francis* II. kept ſtrictly united for ſome time with the Admiral, and other Huguenot-Leaders, and by their means obtain'd the Poſt of (*c*) *Lieutenant General, repreſenting the Perſon and Authority of the King throughout the Kingdom*, and that the Regent *Catharine de Medecis* ſhould do nothing without his Conſent. They made a great advantage of this: I'll deſcribe it in the Words of Mr *Maimbourg*. " (*d*) The King of *Navarre*, who " had openly declar'd for 'em, in order made ſcrupe to " ſay

(*i*) *You'll find it in Mr.* Vincent's *Writing, pag.* 31 *& ſeq.*
(*k*) Beza, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 140.
(*l*) *Id. ib.*
(*n*) *Id. ib. pag.* 103.
(*o*) Olhagaray, ubi ſupra *pag.* 518.
(*p*) *Id. ib.*
(*q*) Beza, ubi ſupra, *Book* 3, *p.* 226.
(*r*) Olhagaray, *pag.* 520.
† *See the Remark H.*
(*s*) Beza, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 324. *ed. ann.* 1560.
(*t*) *That is, about the end of* June 1560.
(*v*) *Id. ib. pag.* 325.
(*w*) *Id. ib. pag.* 326.
(*a*) *That is, of* Francis II.
(*b*) *'Tis then the* 25*th of* December 1560. *Note that* Olhagaray ubi ſupra, *pag.* 530. *ſays, that this Queen always* made Profeſſion of the Romiſh Religion, till the Year 1565, who on *Eaſter-day* at *Pau* having publickly proteſted, received the Sacrament *the Day* 1565, *is either a Fault of the Printers, or a groſs Ignorance of the Author. He ſhould ſay* 1561.
(*c*) Maimbourg *Hiſt. of Calviniſm, pag.* 189, *Holl. Edit. ad ann.* 1561.
(*d*) *Id. ib. See alſo* Varillas' *Hiſt. of Charles* XI. *Book* 1. *p.m.* 37.

and being at last arrived, he was no wise capable of establishing himself in the exercise of the Priviledges, which his quality of first Prince of the Blood gave him. They removed him upon pretence of conducting † the Queen of *Spain* to the Frontiers of the Kingdom; and when he was recalled, with the Prince of *Conde* his Brother, it was only *(H)* to oppress them. They were saved by the Death of *Francis* II. They disputed their

† Elizabeth of France, *Daughter to* Henry II. *married to* Philip II. *King of* Spain *in* 1559.

" say to the *Danish* Ambassador, that he might assure " his Master that in a Year's time, he would cause " the pure Gospel to be preach'd all over *France*: " And whereas the Ambassador, who was a Lutheran, " had desired that it might be according to the " Doctrine of *Luther*, and not of *Calvin*; *Antony* " answered, that these two Doctors were agreed in " forty Articles against the Pope, and only differed in " two or three Points; and therefore the first thing to " be done, was for the Lutherans and Calvinists to unite " in destroying the Papacy, and after that they " shou'd apply themselves to find means of Ac- " commodation. Such an open Declaration of the " King of *Navarre*, inspired the Huguenots with that " Presumption, that they thought they might, in spight " of all the Edicts, make publick Exercise of their " Religion, with Impunity, as they did openly at *Fon-* " *tainebleau*, whilst no Body durst oppose 'em, since " the Court permitted it. And indeed the Princes, " and the Admiral, who made no doubt, that " the Queen would keep her Word, caus'd Sermons " to be preach'd in the Chambers they had in the " Castle; and then it was .... *(e)* that Heresy was " seen to enter, as in Triumph, into the Palace of the " most Christian Kings, there to erect the Throne of " its Empire: It may be said, that it then exercis'd a " full and entire Dominion, being supported with the " Authority of the two first Princes of the Blood, and " the favour of the Queen." This Author adds *(f)*, *that not only* the Queen *permitted the Ministers to preach in the Apartments of the Princes, where the People flock'd in shoals to hear 'em; whilst a poor* Jacobin, *who preach'd the Lent-Sermons at* Fontainebleau *was deserted* (1); *but she also was present her self with all the Ladies at the Sermons of the Bishop of* Valence, *who preach'd openly in one of the Halls of the Castle the new Doctrines he had drawn from the Heresies of* Luther *and* Calvin. Collate with this the Remark *F* of the Article of the Chancellor *de l'Hospital*: You'll there see that the good Condition the Protestants of *France* were in, in the Year 1551, proceeded from the King of *Navarre*'s Adherence to their Party; and that the decline of their Affairs dated its Origin from this King's Change. He was gain'd by the Chimerical Hopes of the Kingdom of *Sardinia*: He was caught in the Snares of Love by the Stratagems of a wanton Maid of Honour of *Catherine de Medicis*. Hence he changed from white to black; he became the Enemy of the Protestants, and *(h)* would constrain the Queen his Wife to abandon 'em; but he took not that Method till after the Colloquy of *Poissy* (*i*). She was present at it, and we have seen elsewhere with what Pomp she caus'd Sermons to be preach'd in the Borough of *Argenteuil* the 25th of *September* 1561. Note, that before the left *Nerac* for the Court of *France*, in *August* the same Year, he had *(l)* given the *Convent of the Cordeliers, which was then void, for the entertainment of the Ministers, and making a College of it*; And that passing through *Perigueux*, the *(m)* *committed* the *Ministers* Erastier *to the Protection* of the Canons, who had put him in Prison, and assur'd 'em *that if they did him any injury, they should answer for it, which preserved him for that time.* Note also, that 'tis very probable that the King of *Navarre* only made an outward change, and grew a Persecutor with the meer prospect of obtaining the advantages which the Court of *Rome* and *Philip* II. had given him hopes of; for when he saw Death was like to cut off his Hopes, he unmask'd. " *(n)* He died " repenting (some say) that he had changed his Reli- " gion, and resolved to carry on the Reformation " more than ever, as he sent Word to the Prince his " Brother by a Steward of his Houshold, called *Os-* " *querque*. This was said by some of our Party. Mr *de Thou* (*o*), *Mezerai* (*p*), *Varillas* (*q*), and many other Historians relate in general the same thing more or less. See also *d'Aubigné* *.

(*c*) Maim. *ib. p.* 190.

(*f*) *Id. ib. pag.* 192.

(*i*) *The last Session of this Colloquy was the 26th of* September 1561.

(*l*) Beza, ubi supra, *Book* 5, *pag.* 793.

(*m*) *Id. ib.* 794.

(*n*) Brant. ubi supra, *pag.* 244.

(*o*) Thuan. *lib.* 32. *pag.* 668.

(*p*) Mezer. *Abr. Chronol. Tom.* 5. *pag.* 64.

(*q*) Varill. *Hist. of* Charles IX. *Tom.* 1. *p. m.* 267.

* D'Aubigné, *Tom.* 1. *book* 3. *Chap.* 10. *page* 220.

The Constancy wherewith *Jane d'Albret* resisted the Severities of her Husband, and the Solicitations of *Catherine de Medicis*, has been related in another place. Let us continue to relate what she did for her Religion. She returned to *Bearn* sometime after her Husband's Revolt; and understanding that many Violences had been committed against the Huguenots in the Country of *Foix* (*s*), *she was much offended at it, and writ roughly to the* Sieur de Pailles; *and remembring her Subjects of* Foix, de Gibel *and* Haute-rive *and other places, she obtain'd for them an entire discharge of all their Impositions, and fortify'd 'em by her Letters fill'd with notable Consolations taken from Scripture. This rais'd their Hearts, much sunk by their extreme Afflictions past: And seeing* Bearn *resolv'd to stand by her Desires, she absolutely forbid the exercise of the Romish Religion; caus'd the Images and Altars to be pull'd down and sent to* Geneva, *to the* Sieur du Merlin; *and a little after, at a great expence, she recall'd twenty Ministers of* Bearn, *to preach in the Country Language, and some Basques to instruct the lower* Navarre, *and especially forbid all publick Processions.* The Cardinal *d'Armagnac* writ to her hereupon a long Letter the 18th of *August* 1563. She return'd him a very fine Answer *off Hand* (*t*), and calling (*u*) a Synod at *Pau*, she communicated to all the Ministers both these Letters. She caused Regulation to be made for the Receipt of the Ecclesiastical Dues, and for the giving up of Accounts, and for her Academy, and commanded her Seneschal to *hold Assizes thro' her Country of* Bearn, *which are somewhat like those, that are called* les Grands Tours *in* France. Whilst she was at the Court of *France* in 1566, there was held an Assembly in *Bearn* (*w*) in *June* " by those of the Protestant Religion; in " which it was concluded *to depute to her* Michael de " Vignaux *Minister of* Pau, to beseech her to proceed " to the entire Abolition of the Ceremonies of the " *Romish* Church, and to regulate the Country, ac- " cording to the Laws agreeable to the Gospel; and " that against all Whore-masters, Robbers, Usurers, " Drunkards, Tavern-Haunters, Card Players, and Con- " temners of Discipline. She received the Deputy " very graciously, and immediately caused her Coun- " cil to proceed in the Examination of all his Remon- " strances: And in *July* she answered to them, by Let- " ters Patents, containing a certain Regulation about " the Time, that the exercise was permitted to the Pro- " testants, forbidding all Swearings, Blasphemies, " Whoredoms, Games of Hazard, dissolute Dances, " publick or private, publick Processions, burying in " Churches, and enjoyning the Ecclesiastical Senate, " established by her Majesty, to find out a good num- " ber of Children, capable of Letters, and to main- " tain 'em at the College, at the publick Charge, that " they might be serviceable to the Republick, and the " Attorney-General to prosecute Usurers, ordaining, " that excommunicated Persons, who remained above a " Year so, should be prosecuted and fin'd by the same " Senate: She took away the Power from Ecclesiasticks " of conferring Benefices, impowering the Patron to " present whom he pleas'd, provided he profess'd " the Protestant Religion: She ordered a Pension for the " Ministers, reserving the rest till the return of from " Court." Understanding that *Grammont* (*x*), who feared some Disorder, had suspended the publication of her Patents for some time, she returned to *Pearn*; and assoon as she had some leisure at *Pau*, she caused 'em to be fully executed. (*b*) She appointed *Commissioners to proceed every where in the abolishing of Images and Altars in all places of her Dominions.* The Roman Catholicks rose in several places, and made Conspiracies, but were quell'd by the Queen. (*c*) The States of *Bearn* assembled at *Pau*, urgently demanded the Revocation of her Patents; but she only granted an Amnesty for *the Rebels of* Oleron, *who were in the Hands of the Executioner, ready to be executed*, and absolutely refused the Restrictions or Modifications which were required. She lost her Dominions by the Rebellion of her Catholick Subjects, supported by the Troops of *France* in the third War. But the Count of *Montgomery* recovered 'em; and willing to finish (*d*) *his Trophies with a new Victory over Scandals and Impieties, he called a Synod at* Lescar *the tenth of* October 1569, *where the Discipline of the Sovereignty of* Bearn *was renewed.* I imagine that the Queen also then renewed her Edict, concerning the Abolition of the Mass, and the Confiscation of all Ecclesiastical Estates; for which Reason most Historians (*e*) fix the Date to the Year 1569, though the true Date is *July* 1656.

(*s*) Olhagaray, ubi supra, *pag.* 535.

(*t*) *These Letters are at length in* Olhagaray's *Hist.*

(*u*) *Id. ib. pag.* 552.

(*w*) *Id. ib. pag.* 563.

(*x*) *Id. ib. pag.* 565.

(*b*) *Id. ib.*

(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 569.

(*d*) *Id. ib. pag.* 622.

(*e*) *The Historian of the Edict of* Nantes. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 38, *is one of 'em.*

(H) It was only to oppress them.] The Prince of *Conde* was try'd, and condemn'd to lose his Head; and

their Authority with the *Guiſes* the firſt Year of *Charles* the IXth's Reign; and no doubt if they had not been divided, they would have carried the point; but the King of *Navarre* leaguing with the Catholick Party, periſhed in it in a little time. He died the 17th of *November* 1562, of the Wound he had received at the Siege of *Rouen* the 25th of *October* the ſame Year. The Embaſſy of Obedience, which he and *Joan d' Albret* had ſent to Pope *Pius* IV. in 1560, had been favourably received, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the King of *Spain* *. This Queen, ill-uſed by her Husband, after his renouncing the Proteſtant Religion, retired from the Court of *France*, and arrived in *Bearn* in ſpight of (*I*) *Monluc*'s Endeavours to ſtop her Paſſage. This was a Man that deſigned her much Miſchief. She did not content her ſelf with eſtabliſhing the Reformed Religion in her Dominions, but alſo aboliſhed Popery, and ſeized γ the Goods of the Eccleſiaſticks, deſigning them for the Maintenance of Miniſters and Schools ‡. The Pope cited her to *Rome* in 1563, and *cauſed the Citation to be fixed on the Gates of St* Peter, *and thoſe of the Inquiſition, declaring that if ſhe did not appear, all her Lands and Lordſhips ſhould be confiſcated, and that her Perſon would incur all the Pains of Hereticks*; but the Court of *France* thought this Procedure ſo contrary to the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, that it cauſed the Citation to be revoked †. This Queen met with much Diſobedience in her Catholick Subjects, they frequently rebell'd; and 'tis alſo ſaid that they formed a horrible Conſpiracy to put her and her Children into (*K*) the King of *Spain*'s Hands, who would have delivered 'em up to the Inquiſition; but ſhe defeated all their Conſpiracies, and never condeſcended to abate any thing of the Prerogatives of Sovereign Authority. She left her Dominions in 1568, to go and joyn the Proteſtant Leaders. She had a Conference at *Cognac* with the Prince of *Conde* her Brother-in-Law, and preſented to him † *her Son the Prince of* Navarre, *whom ſhe devoted, as young as he was, to the Defence of the Cauſe, with her Rings and Jewels, which were afterwards engaged to contribute to the Charge of the Army; and ſhe writ to Foreign Princes; and, retiring to* Rochelle, *ſhe ſent to the Queen of* England, *an ample Account of the Deſolations of* France, *and its great Miſeries, praying her to have Compaſſion of ſo great a People, unjuſtly oppreſs'd in the midſt of the Kingdom of* France; *and to believe, that ſhe was not induced to take up Arms, but with a great and extreme neceſſity. She wrote to her by the Sieur* de Chaſtelier *the 15th of* October 1568. The Catholicks of *Bearn* took advantage of her Abſence; and, with the Succours they received from *Charles* IX. they ſeized on the greateſt part of the Country; but *Montgomery*, whom ſhe ſent, retook the Places, and fully reſtored the Queen's Authority. He put ſome Leaders of the Rebellion to Death, though they had obtain'd the promiſe of Life in their Capitul-

* Spond. ad ann. 1561. *n.* 6.

γ Grimond. Hiſtor. Galliar. *lib.* 6 *pag. m.* 310.

‡ Mezerai *Abridgment of the Hiſtory of France. Tom.* 2, *p. m.* 425.

† Spond. ad. ann. 1563. *n.* 50, *pag. m.* 952.

† Olhagaray, ubi ſupra *pag.* 572.

(*f*) *See* Olhagaray ubi ſupra, *pag.* 325 *&c ſeq.* Thuanus, *Lib.* 29. *p.* 522. Jurieu *Apology for the Reformation. T.* 1. *p.* 344 *& ſeq.*

(*g*) Olhagaray, *ubi ſupra pag.* 53[illegible]

(*h*) Beza, ubi ſupra. Thuan. *lib.* 29. *p.* 525. Spond. ann. 1562. *n.* 7.

(*i*) The other two were Madam d'Aſſier, *Daughter to the Gallican Queen Mother of the Antelopes of France, and the third Madam de Loyac. T.* 1. *p.* 795.

(*k*) *Id. ibid.*

(*l*) Olhagaray, ubi ſupra, *p.* 574.

(*m*) *Id. ib. pag.* 575.

(*n*) Monluc's *Memoirs. T.* 2. *pag. m.* 242 *& ſeq.*

(*o*) *In page* 35 *of the firſt Tom.*

(*p*) Thuan. *lib.* 36. *pag.* 728.

(*q*) Spondan. ad. ann. 1564. *n* 8.

(*r*) *Id.* ad. ann. 1562. *n.* 51.

(*a*) Vidimus de his literas earundem Reginarum, & Navarræ quidem propria ejus manu ſcriptas quæ ibi diſerte tenentur. *Spondan. ibid.*

tis believ'd, he would have loſt it by the Hand of the Hang-man, if *Francis* II. had lived a little longer. The Story goes, that the *Guiſes* had perſwaded *Francis* II. to ſtab the King of *Navarre*; and that he promis'd 'em, but that his Heart failed him at the moment of the Execution: 'Tis added, that they endeavoured to poyſon him; and that miſſing of their aim, they bethought themſelves of another Expedient, which was to cauſe him to be aſſaſſinated, as he was hunting (*f*). See above the Remark *B* of the Article *Guise* (*Francis*).

(*I*) *In ſpight of* Monluc's *Endeavours .... this was a Man that deſigned her much Miſchief.*] The King of *Navarre* quitting (*h*) *the Proteſtant Religion* would force the Queen his Wife to do ſo too; *ſo that being ſomewhat ill-treated at his Court, ſhe took the Road to* Bearn, *where ſhe thought fit to retire; but was purſued by the Sieur* de Monluc, *who had undertaken to arreſt her at* Nerac; *which, being caution'd of, ſhe gave advice of it to her Subjects of* Bearn, *who under the Conduct of the Sieur* d'Audaux, *went to receive her upon the Bank of the River* Garonne. *Beza* tells a Circumſtance, which ſhews *Monluc*'s Animoſity, and is expreſſed in Terms that favour more of the Soldier, than a reaſonable Gentleman. I will cite the Hiſtorian's Words ſomewhat at large, as containing a fine Elogy of this Queen. (*i*) 'God 'raiſed up to the poor People, afflicted for his Names-'ſake .... three Ladies amongſt others, whoſe Me-'mory ought to be precious for ever for their great 'Charities; one (*k*), and the firſt, was the Queen of 'Navarre, verifying in effect the Saying of the Pro-'phet, that *Queens ſhould be Nurſing-Mothers to the* 'Church of God, though at that time ſhe was menaced 'and terrified, as much a Queen as ſhe was, all man-'ner of ways, ſo far as to let her underſtand that ſhe 'ſhould be divorced by the Pope, deprived of her 'kingdom and Eſtates, and condemn'd at leaſt to 'perpetual Impriſonment. What is more: *Monluc* 'puffed up with the Victory obtain'd againſt *Duras*, 'and, forgetting that he was a little Muſhroom, ſtart-'ed up of a ſudden, durſt publickly ſay, that he ho-'ped, that having made an end in *Guienne*, the King 'would command him to go to *Bearn*, having a 'great deſire to try, whether he could not lye as well 'with Queens, as with other Women; a Saying truly 'becoming ſuch a Man, but wholly unworthy of ſuch 'a Queen and Princeſs, whom God reſerved, for the 'preſervation of his poor Children, and for greater 'Things, as ſhe ſhewed from that time to her Death: 'For I may moſt juſtly ſay, ſhe was the moſt precious 'Jewel in the World, and one of the moſt accom-'pliſh'd Queens and Princeſſes, in good Senſe, Piety, 'and all extraordinary Virtues, that ever was ſeen." *Olhagaray* relates (*l*), that in 1568, the Cardinal *de Lorrain charged* Loſſee, *that if he could not perſwade the Queen of* Navarre, *to come to* France, *to uſe Force, and to take the Prince her Son from her; in which the Sieur* de Monluc *was to help him* This Deſign miſcarried: The Queen having received the Sacrament the 6th of *September, paſſed the River* Garonne, *the 8th .... (m) under the Noſe of the Sieur* de Monluc, *whom ſhe knew how to lull aſleep, accompanied only with fifty Gentlemen, moſt her own Domeſticks. And this old and ſkilful Warriour formed his Troops at* Villenabe d' Agenois les Toneins. See in *Monluc*'s Memoirs (*n*) how he excuſes himſelf for not hindering her to paſs this River.

(*K*) *Formed a horrible Conſpiracy to put her .... the King of* Spain,] The Author of the Hiſtory (*o*) of the Edict of *Nantes*, gives this Fact for moſt certain, and applies it to the Year 1564. *Thuanus* (*p*) relates all the particulars very well circumſtantiated. *Spondanus* (*q*) looks upon it as a thing uncertain, or rather as a Fable, invented by the Huguenots. He ſays (*r*) nevertheleſs, that he had ſeen Letters written by the King of *France* to *Monluc*, which ſhewed that this Monarch had an account, that the King of *Spain* offered the Queen of *Navarre's* Subjects ſome things; from which it might be concluded, that there was ſome Conſpiracy going on. This Hiſtorian had been ſaying, that the King of *Spain* being adverti's'd by the Court of *France* of what the Pope had done againſt the Queen of *Navarre*, anſwered, he was ſo far from approving this Conduct of the Court of *Rome*, that he offer'd his Protection and Aſſiſtance againſt all that attempted to ſeize *Joan d' Albret*'s Dominions. This Anſwer of *Philip* II was communicated by *Catherine de Medicis* to the Queen of *Navarre*; who, in Conſequence thereof, ſent a Gentleman to thank his Catholick Majeſty, and to intreat him to continue his Good-will. *Spondanus* declares, that he ſaw the Letters (*a*) of theſe two Queens; and ſhe concludes with theſe Words, *Quam dubia ſunt Regum conſilia!* How hard it is to judge of the Conduct of Kings! Here one of 'em offers to oppoſe all thoſe that ſhould attack the Queen

Capitulation. The Queen would not have that Article (*L*) of the Capitulation obſerv'd; in which, doubtleſs, ſhe was to blame, and gave occaſion to *Monluc* to make a great Slaughter at *Mont de Marſan*. If any thing could excuſe her, it would be to ſay, that at that time, the violation of Capitulations was ſo frequent, that it was thought a Trifle. There are two things in this Princeſs's Life, that look like a Prodigy; one is, that ſhe had a ſufficient Courage to aboliſh the Maſs in her Dominions; the other is, that this ſo well ſucceeded, that the Regulations ſhe made againſt Popery, have ſubſiſted either in whole or in part till *Lewis* XIII's. perſonal Expedition to *Bearn* in 1620. I believe indeed that an *Amazon*, * the brave *Penthefilea*, would have ventur'd to have aboliſh'd a Religion ſhe believ'd falſe; but in thoſe Ages they did not know what our *Joan d' Albret* could not be ignorant of. They did not know that the People, whoſe Altars are deſtroyed, have Directors of their Conſcience, who incourage them to Rebellion, and find an hundred ways to conſpire againſt the Lives of Kings. If it be ſtrange that the Queen of *Navarre* was ſo undaunted as not to fear ſuch Dangers, which ſhe was perfectly acquainted with; it is ſtill more ſurprizing that ſhe maintain'd her ſelf, ſurrounded as ſhe was on both ſides, with potent Princes, the King of *Spain*, and the King of *France*, both poſſeſs'd with ſuch a Cruelty againſt the Sectaries, as has few Examples, both animated and encouraged ‡ by the ſtrong Sollicitations of the Court of *Rome*. But if ſhe had all the neceſſary Vigour to quell the Seditions of her Subjects, and to triumph over the Forces lent 'em by the Court of *France*, ſhe had not a ſufficient Prudence to diſcover the Treaſon that was formed againſt her, under the ſpecious Propoſal of the Marriage of the Prince her Son with the Siſter of *Charles* IX. She conſented to it, and came to *Paris*, where ſhe was poyſon'd, as 'tis believ'd §, while ſhe was making Preparations for the Marriage. She died the tenth of *June* 1572 in the 44th Year of her Age †. This Death could not but be very ſeaſonable to this Princeſs, who would have been paſt Comfort, had ſhe ſeen the *Paris* Maſſacre, and heard the Reproaches that might have been made her for being the innocent cauſe of the loſs of ſo many brave People, by her Misfortune of falling into the Snare. There could have been no great Conſolation in the Anſwer ſhe might have made, that it was not probable, that the Wickedneſs of *Catherine de Medicis* was ſo extenſive, or that *Charles* IX. whoſe Paſſion had no bounds, ſhould be capable of ſo long, ſo profound and artificial a Diſſimulation; and that after all, the Artifice muſt have been very † ſubtle, ſince Admiral *de Coligni*'s Reaches were deceived by it. This Queen's Vertue was very great; and had we no other Teſtimony of it than (*M*) her Deſire to draw her future Daughter-in-law immediately from the Corruption of the Court of *France*, we ſhould have a very high Opinion of it. Her Will contain'd things ‡ that ſhew'd the Generoſity of her Soul, and her prudence and ardent Zeal for the Religion ſhe profeſs'd. I will examine below γ what *Moreri* ſays, that *ſhe compoſed divers Pieces in Proſe and Verſe*. She left a Son, whom I have ſpoken of in his place *, and a Daughter, who was her perfect Copier both in Virtue and Religion; for her Conduct was moſt prudent and regular in the midſt of the bad Examples of that time; and no

* Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis Penthefilea furens, mediuſque in millibus ardet. *Virgil Æn. lib.* 1. *v.* 490

‡ *See* Spond. *ad.* 1568. *n.* 26.

§ *See* d' Aubigne. *Tom.* 2. *Book* 1. *ch* 2. *p. m.* 531. & Olhagaray ubi ſupra, *pag.* 627.

† Thuan. *lib.* 51. *pag.* 1058.

† Mezerai *Abr. Chron. Tom.* 5. *p. m.* 149. *pretends, that if God had not blinded the Eyes of the Proteſtants, they would eaſily have perceived the Knives that were ſharpen'd to cut their Throats.*

‡ Vide Thuanum, ubi ſuprr.

γ *In the Remark* Q *at the end.*

* *In the Article* Henry IV.

(*b*) *Advertiſement of the Engliſh Catholicks, pag. m.* 53.

(*c*) Du Pleſſis Mornai's *Memoirs, Tom.* 1. *p.* 633.

(*d*) Capitibus inter Teridam & Montgomerium perſcriptis comprehenſi Sancolumbus, & vi. alii torquari equires, qui vita Salva dimitti debebant. *Thuan. lib.* 45. *p.* 915. *Col.* 1. *D.*

(*e*) *See his Hiſtory of the Troubles. book* 8. *fol. m.* 244.

(*f*) *In Tome* 1. *of his Hiſtory Book* 5 *ch.* 14. *pag. m.* 421.

Queen of *Navarre*; and in the mean time the Court of *France* is adverti's'd, that he is conſpiring ſomething againſt her Dominions.

(*L*) *The Queen would not have that Article of the Capitulation obſerved; in which, doubtleſs, ſhe was to blame; and gave occaſion to* Monluc.] If I had read this Fact only, in the furious *Lewis Dorleans*'s Libel, I would not believe it; for this Author accompanies it with a Calumny ſo manifeſtly falſe, as to render himſelf unworthy of all Credit. He affirms in the ſame Page, where he alledges *Montgomery*'s Action, that the Queen of *Navarre* was perfectly Unnatural. *What Honour*, ſays he (*b*), *did ſhe do to the Memory of King* Henry d' Albret *her Father in ſuffering his Tomb at* Caſtelgelous *to be broke open? and after the Huguenots had plunder'd that Golden Collar wherewith he was buried, to leave his Body to be devoured by Dogs? Who knows not in the Country, that the Catholicks gathered up the Father's Bones, and buried 'em ſecretly, to preſerve them from the barbarity of this cruel Daughter, and her pretended Reformed?* Let us ſee the Anſwer that Mr *du Pleſſis* made to this Paſſage of the *Engliſh* Catholick: (*c*) *King* Henry d' Albret *was buried at* Leſcar *in* Bearn, *with his Predeceſſors, where his Body and his Tomb are ſtill entire; and thereby judge either of the Ignorance or the notable Malice of the Petitioner.* Notwithſtanding this I muſt ſay, that *Lewis Dorleans* does not lye in what he preſently relates concerning the murther of *Montgomery*'s Priſoners; for if he had lyed on that account he woul have been confuted by *Du Pleſſis*, as in his other Falſhoods. But 'tis certain that *Du Pleſſis* has obſerved a profound Silence in this particular; and we find that *Thuanus* expreſſly notes, that the Capitulation obtained by *Terride* (*d*) imported that the Garriſon ſhould have their Lives, and particularly *Sainte Colome*, and others afterwards put to Death. *La Pope meire* (*e*) a Proteſtant Hiſtorian makes the ſame confeſſion without exception or reſerve. *D' Aubigné* (*f*) dodges and cavils a little; but 'tis eaſily apparent, that he does not believe his ſhifts to be of any force. I have found in *Thuanus* a groſs Fault of Geography; which I ſhall ſhew by the bye. He ſays (*g*), that *Montgomery* having croſs'd the County of *Foix*, paſs'd the *Garonne* at *St. Gaudens*, and a little after the *Ariege*, and made great Marches towards *Bigorre*. A Man cannot caſt his Eyes upon the leaſt Map of *France* but he muſt manifeſtly ſee, that *Montgomery* could not paſs the *Garonne* till after he had paſs'd the *Ariege*. Here is *Monluc*'s Paſſage that will ſerve me for a Proof: "(*h*) Hereupon arrived "Monſieur *de Savignac*, Captain *Fabien*, and ſome o-"ther Gentlemen with 'em to tell me, that the Garri-"ſon (*i*) would ſurrender, and to ſee whether I would "give 'em Terms in capitularing with them: Per-"ceiving Monſieur *de Savignac*, and Captain *Fabien* "had a Mind to ſave *Favas*, and give him quarter, be-"cauſe he had the Reputation of a good Soldier, I "told them they might make what Capitulation they "thought fit, I would ſign it, tho I had a great deſire to "diſpatch 'em out of the way. For this Reaſon, when "they were gone, I ſent after 'em a Gentleman, to go and "talk ſecretly with the Soldiers, and ſome Captains, "that as they were parlying, they ſhould take care to "enter on one ſide or other, and put all to the Sword; "for the Death of thoſe Gentlemen was to be reveng'd, "who had been ſo miſerably maſſacred at *Navarrens*; "becauſe, contrary to the promis'd Faith, they had "ſtab'd the Sieur *de Sainte Colombe*, and ſeven or eight "others, who had yielded at *Orthez*, upon Condition "of Life, when Monſieur *de Terride* was taken. This "Execution was made upon pretence they were the "Queen of *Navarre*'s Subjects." The thing ſucceeded according to *Monluc*'s deſire. The Soldiers ſcaling the Walls on one ſide, whilſt they were parlying on the other, enter'd, *and put all to the Sword* (*k*).

(*M*) *Her deſire to draw her future Daughter-in-Law immediately from the Corruption.*] Here is an Extract of a Letter ſhe writ to her Son, whilſt ſhe was at the Court of *France*, to marry him with *Margaret de*

(*b*) Monluc's *Memoirs. To.* 2. *Book* 7. *pag.* 369, 370.

(*i*) *Of* Mont de Marſan.

(*k*) *Id. ib. pag.* 371.

no Marriage (*N*), upon Condition of going to Maſs, was acceptable to her. *Henry* IV. her Brother, who had a moſt particular Affection and Eſteem for her, in vain exhorted her to turn Catholick. He married her to the Duke of *Bar*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Lorrain* in 1599. She found no great ſatisfaction in (O) that Alliance, and was forced to go † and receive the Sacrament out of the City of *Nanci, and was allow'd only Preaching and Prayers for her ſelf and Dependents.* She died in the beginning of the Year 1604, with the falſe Opinion of her being with Child. The Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Bar*, *conjur'd her in the extremity of her Sickneſs to think of her Salvation; but ſhe told them, that ſhe was reſolved to dye as ſhe had lived*; and ſo ſhe ſwerved not at the laſt Moment of her Life from the Conſtancy ſhe had always ſhewn for her Religion, which had reſiſted the ſtrongeſt Temptations, and the moſt obſtinate Importunities in the World. She had had † *Salmon Macrin*'s Son for her Tutor, and underſtood well ‡ the *Latin* Tongue. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* † calls her *a Princeſs of a lofty Spirit: She began ſo early*, adds he, *to imitate* thoſe two knowing *Queens of Navarre*, Margaret *of* France, *and* Joan d' Albret, *her Grand-*

† Matthieu *Hiſtory of the Peace. Tom 2. p. m. 677. ad. ann.* 1604.

† Sammarth. *Elog. lib. 1. p. m. 21.*

‡ *See the Remark N*

† Biblioth. France. *pag.* 144.

* Le Labourcur addit. to. Caſtelnau. *Tom. 1. p.* 903, 904.

† Jurieu *Apology for the Reformation. Tom. 1. p.* 413, 414. *He cites* le Labourcur's Additions, *Book 3.*

(a) He hath changed ſome Words, but without changing the Senſe: 'Tis nevertheleſs a want of exactneſs.

(b) Cayet, *Septennial Chronology of the Hiſtory of the Peace, fol.* 50. *verſo ad. ann.* 1598.

(c) Id. ib. fol. 51.

(1) Moſt Faithful is a Title given to the Kings of Navarre, *as Moſt Chriſtian is to the Kings of* France.

Valois. " *She is handſome and prudent, and of a " good Mien, but bred in the moſt curſed and cor- " rupt Company in the World; for I ſee no Body " but has a Tincture of it. Your Couſin, the Marchi- " oneſs, is ſo chang'd by it, that ſhe has no appear- " ance of Religion: This Meſſenger will tell you how " licentious the King is; 'tis pity: I would not for " any thing in the World that you ſhould make any " ſtay there. You ſee the Reaſon, why I deſire you to " marry, and that you and your Wife ſhould get out " of this Corruption: For, though I believed it very " great, I find it ſtill greater. The Men here don't " importune the Women, but the Women importune " the Men." Mr *Jurieu* † uſes theſe Words (*a*) to ſhew the Corruption of the Court of *France* at that time.

(*N*) *No Marriage, with the Condition of going to Maſs, was acceptable to her.*] There are few Princeſſes who had more Offers than Madam *Catherine de Navarre*, only Siſter to *Henry* IV. Here follows a long account upon this Subject, which I have from a Man who might know things, as being this Princeſs's Miniſter. He ſays (*b*), that there were great Difficulties in the Negotiation of the Duke of *Bar*'s Marriage, both becauſe ſhe would not *depart* from the Religion ſhe was bred in, and becauſe *ſhe could not prevail with her ſelf to go out of* France. *And indeed*, continues he (*c*), " to ſay the Truth, ſhe " was courted by many great Princes; to whom, for " one or other of theſe Cauſes, or for both together, " ſhe would not give her Conſent. Firſt, to reſume the " thing higher, as ſoon as ſhe was born, which was " the 7th of *February* 1558, there was a Talk of " marrying her to *Francis*, who was afterwards " Duke of *Alençon*, and Earl of *Flanders*; and that " by the Kings their Fathers, *Henry* II. Moſt Chriſtian " King of *France*, and *Antony* I. Moſt Faithful (*1*) " King of *Navarre*.... Which Conſent of the ſaid " Madam *Catherine*, was deſired by *Francis*, and that it " ſhould be effected in the Year 1582: But the Diffi- " culty was then greateſt in point of Religion, conſi- " dering the Importunity that was made to the King of " *Navarre* her Brother, to reduce him to the Catho- " lick Religion, by Force of Arms. And before " this, King *Henry* III. returning from *Poland* deſired " her: And 'tis ſaid, that if ſhe had been in the Jour- " ney to *Lyons* at his return, and the King had ſeen " her, he would infallibly have married her; but the " Queen-Mother *Catherine de Medicis*, repreſented " her a Dwarf, and crooked, which was very falſe; for " ſhe was of a a middle ſize, and finely ſhap'd: " It is true, ſhe had one Leg a little ſhorter than the " other (which is a Mark of the Family of *Albret*, in- " cident to *Alain* Sire *d' Albret*, Father to King *Dom* " *Juan*, great Grand-father to this Princeſs *Catherine*.) " The Queen-Mother, diſdaining to advantage the " King of *Navarre*, did that ill office to her God- " Daughter. This great Match failing, the Duke " of *Lorrain* (who afterwards was her Father- " in-Law) would marry her, provided the King liked " it, and the King of *Navarre* was much averſe to " it. Departing from Court, after the King of *Navarre* " her Brother, ſhe was much loved by the Prince " of *Condé*. King *Philip* of *Spain* ſent alſo in the Year " 1580, to ſee her; promis'd the King of *Navarre* " great Advantages, ſo far as to adviſe him to " make himſelf King of *Gaſcogne*, to which purpoſe he " would aſſiſt him with Men and Money; and even " kept for a long time eight hundred Thouſand Du- " cats in *Ochagavy*, a Village of the upper *Navarre*, " above *Roncevaux*, to make War in *France*, if the ſaid " King of *Navarre* would have accepted them. This " failing, the Duke of *Savoy* in 1583, ſent to her twice, " with a promiſe no ways to diſturb her Religion: His " Agent arrived at *Viſezenſac* in *Bigorre*; from whence, " being refuſed, he went to *Spain*, and there proceeded " to the Marriage of the Infanta *Catherine Michelle* with " this Duke. In 1586 the King of *Scotland* ſent Mr. " *Melvin* a *Scotchman*, the Sieur *de Liſle Groſlot* a " *Frenchman*, and the Sieur *de Barthas*, with ſuch Im- " portunity, that the Queen of *England* writ to her in " theſe Terms, *that if ſhe would come over into her* " *Iſland, for her ſake* (calling her her Siſter of *France*, " by a good Omen) *ſhe would in her Life-time ſecure* " *her of being Queen of* England *after her deceaſe.* " The Prince of *Anhalt* coming to the Succour of the " King her Brother, upon his Advancement to the " Crown of *France*, demanded her himſelf in Perſon; " but by reaſon of the War, which was in all " Parts in *France*, he returned as he came, not without " diſcontent. During theſe ſame Wars, two other " Princes of the Blood ſought her, the Count of " *Soiſſons*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier*: but the near- " neſs of Relation, the Difference of Religion, and " the unſettled Poſture of Affairs, would not ſuffer " their good Deſires to take effect." The ſame Hiſtorian relates, that after the Ceremony of the Marriage, the Princeſs *Catherine* (*e*) *ſhewed all poſſible ſatisfaction.... coming to that which ſhe was uſed to ſay*, (*f*) Grata ſuperveniet, quæ non ſperabitur hora. *For this Lady underſtood* Latin *well*; *and remember'd this* Latin *Verſe, the rather becauſe ſome People had ſaid*, She would never be married: *Others had one Day placed half a Verſe oppoſite to another, which ſhe had written with her own Hand in her Houſe of* Caſtelbeziat, *at* Pau (*which the Queen her Mother had built on purpoſe for her*) *namely, upon a certain Commotion, happening during theſe latter Wars: Seeing her ſelf obliged to go to her Brother, (which the* Bearnois *did not eaſily conſent to) ſhe writ theſe Words*, Quo me fata vocant. *Immediately waſhing her Hands to ſit down to the Table, ſhe found the Verſe fill'd up thus*, Ne quo te fata vocarent. *Now this was an Ambiguity by an Antiperiſtaſis, to diſſuade her from her Journey; yet they that did it got nothing by it, for ſhe was reſolved to go into* France *to her Brother, according to his Order.* If we may believe *Clement* VIII. what I have ſaid is liable to ſome exception: There was a time when the Princeſs *Catherine* was ready to change her Religion, provided ſhe could have had the Husband ſhe had a mind to. We'll quote a Paſſage of the 348 Letter of Cardinal *d' Oſſat*, written from *Rome* the 16th of *June* 1603. " (*dd*) One of the greateſt Difficulties that he put on " me (*ee*) was, that when that Marriage (*ff*) was in " Agitation, Madam the King's Siſter acquainted him, " that if his Holineſs would uſe his Intereſt with the King " to get her married to the Count of *Soiſſons*, ſhe " would be a Catholick: From whence his Holineſs " had good reaſon to judge that it was not Conſcience " which kept her to her Sect, but a certain Oſtenta- " tion and Preſumption, which ſhe had, that the Holy " See, and every thing elſe ought to accommodate " themſelves to her Deſires: and becauſe that Objecti- " on was very home, I waved it, and told him, that the " Princeſs would be ſo much the eaſier to Convert; " which Hopes I had counted for one of the ten Cau- " ſes of the Diſpenſation which we required."

(*O*) *She found no great ſatisfaction in that Alliance.*] She was a good Huguenot, and her Husband was a zealous a Papiſt. This different Zeal for Religion had made 'em very indifferent for Marriage, and had formed ſome Difficulties (*g*) that had ſpun out this Affair *for above two Years together.... Both the Parties were diſſatisfied to be ſacrificed by their Relations to the Intereſts of State, againſt the Sentiments of their Conſcience.* The Husband's Zeal abated for the firſt ſix Months of the Marriage; but then it grew ſo warm, that the Duke of *Bar* look'd upon the Conjugal Action, as a great Sin, and

(*e*) *Id. ib. fol* 63. *ad. ann.* 1599.

(*f*) *'Tis a Verſe of* Horace *Epiſt. 5. lib.* 1. *See in the New Letters againſt* Maimbourg, *pag.* 663. *what was ſaid of a Marriage ſhewn at a diſtance, and as the Empire was ſhewn to* Galba, *by theſe Words, &* tu Galba quando- que de- guſtabis imperium.

(*dd*) *Letters of Cardinal* d' Oſſat. *Tom. 2. pag.* 625.

(*ee*) *That is* Clement VIII.

(*ff*) *That is, the Marriage of the Duke of* Bar, *and the Princeſs* Catherine.

(*g*) Mezerai *Chron. Abridgment. Tom. 6. p.* 194.

Grand-mother and Mother .... to produce at one time the Flowers and the Fruit which the Muſes ſow, that ſhe compoſed Garlands of all the Colours that could be required, having ſcarce attained the Age of twelve Years: Beſides (which is wonderful) ſhe made Verſes in her Sleep, as 'tis ſaid in an Ode made on that occaſion, and addreſſed to her Excellency by one of her Preceptors. 'Tis ſaid, that in the Tapiſtry which ſhe worked with her own Hands, ſhe affected to ſhow ſome Monuments of (*Oo*) Liberty, which ſhe pretended to have acquir'd in ſhaking off the Popiſh Yoke. We'll examine (*P*) a thought of *Scaliger*. 'Tis a baſe Falſhood and religiouſly abſtain'd from it. Let us uſe Mr. *Mezerai*'s Expreſſions. "(*b*) He ſuffer'd his Confeſſor to "throw ſo many Scruples into his Conſcience, that he "ſeparated from her Company, and took the occaſion "of the Jubilee to go and ask the Pope's Abſolution "and Diſpenſation for the future. The Pope flatly re"fuſed him this laſt point, without *Catherine*'s Con"verſion; and for the other, he put his timorous Con"ſcience ſo much upon the Rack, that he promis'd to "return to his Wife no more, but to divorce her, unleſs "ſhe turn'd Catholick. For that Proteſtation he was "ſecretly reſtor'd to the Communion of the Faithful; "for in order to be received into it publickly, the Fault "being publick, he muſt have undergone Penance for "the ſame. A ſmart Word or two from the King "would have obliged the Court of *Rome* to remove all "thoſe Difficulties, and ſuffer the Husband to return "to his Wife: For want of this Vigour the poor Prin"ceſs remained for ſome time a Widow in the midſt "of Marriage." Can any thing be more tyrannical than the Yoke ſo many Chriſtians have ſubmitted to from the Court of *Rome*? Here is a Prince married by the Duke his Father to a Lady, authoriz'd by her Superiours: The Marriage is ſolemnly celebrated, and bleſſed by an Arch-biſhop; and yet you ſee a Husband go to *Rome* ſix Months after, only to beg Pardon for having ventur'd to enjoy his Wife, and leave to do it for the future: He obtain'd favour upon very harſh Conditions on the firſt Point, but all the ſecond was rigorouſly deny'd him. See in the Hiſtorian (*a*) of the Edict of *Nantes* all the Train of Diſcontents and Diſguſts that the Princeſs *Catherine* was oblig'd to ſwallow. It had been much better that thoſe who predicted, ſhe would never by married, had been good Prophets: The Anſwer ſhe made 'em that this time coming, when it was leaſt thought on, would be moſt acceptable, was not ſo juſt as ingenious. This Maxim could not be better apply'd, generally ſpeaking; for commonly an old Maid, who is paſt Hopes of Marriage, joyfully receives the News of a Sweet-heart: She receives, I ſay, the News with ſo much the more Joy, as it was unexpected. But the particular Fate of the Princeſs *Catherine* contradicted the general Rule.

For the reſt, I ſhould be deſirous to know, whether her Husband would have been expoſed to the ſame ſcruples with reſpect to the enjoyment of a handſome Concubine, and whether his Confeſſor would have been able to govern him in the caſe of Adultery, as magiſterially, as he govern'd him in a Marriage contracted with an Heretical Wife. We ſeldom find, that a Confeſſor's Authority has the ſame effect with reſpect to the Gallantries of Princes, as was obſerv'd in the Conduct of the Duke of *Bar*. Not but that the Miſtreſſes of Princes are very liable to be diſcharged, but the Confeſſors are very ſeldom the cauſe of it. Diſguſt, the diſcovery of an Infidelity, or of ſome Intrigue, the Charms of a new object, commonly produce all the diſgraces of a Miſs.

Since the Printing of what precedes, I have diſcovered a thing which diſcovers the ſuſpicions I had, and which I durſt not declare. It ſeemed to me that the Duke of *Bar*, Acted leſs by a ſcruple of Conſcience, than by the deſire he had to be Un-married, becauſe he was diſguſted at his Wife. This was his true motive, as I have read it in a new Edition of Cardinal D'*Oſſat*'s Letters. That Duke's Confeſſor demanded alternatively (*g*) either a diſpenſation, or an Order to ſend the Dutcheſs back again. Mr. *Amelot* commeats on it thus: (*h*) "The Duke "of *Bar* covered under the vail of Conſcience and "Religion, the diſguſt he had taken for his Wife, "whom he did not Love nor was beloved by her, and "as he durſt not ſend her back for fear of angring "the King his Brother-in-Law, he endeavour'd cun"ningly to engage the Pope to command him to di"vorce her, that he might lay all the blame on him, "and have the Liberty to marry another Princeſs. But "the Pope was wiſer and more cunning than the Duke "of *Barr*, and the Cordelier his Confeſſor, who "according to the uſual Saying of his Holineſs would "catch a Serpent with another Man's Hand." This Author treats of this more at large in the Life of Cardinal (*i*) D'*Oſſat*, and refutes Mezerai, who, as we have ſeen before, did not believe that the Affair of the diſpenſation was ſo difficult.

(*Oo*) *To ſhew ſome Monuments of Liberty, which ſhe pretended to have acquir'd by ſhaking of the Yoke of the Pope.*] I have no other Commentary to give, than the Words of a Jeſuit. As ſhe naturally had a fine, curious and knowing Mind, ſays he, "(*k*) ſhe endeavour'd to re"ſtify not only with her Pen in printed Books, which "are called the Stories of Queen *Joan* (*l*), the Liber"ty which ſhe pretended to take according to her own "belief; but alſo with the Point of her Needle: For as "ſhe was very much given to Invention, ſhe made fine "and large Pieces of Tapeſtry; among which was a Suit "of Hangings of a dozen or fifteen Pieces, which "ſhe called *The Priſons open'd*; by which ſhe gave us "to underſtand that ſhe had broken the Bonds, and "ſhook off the Yoke of Captivity to the Pope. In the "middle of every Piece is a Story of the Old Teſta"ment, which favours of Liberty; as the Delive"rance of *Suſannah*; the Coming of the Chi'dren of "*Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; the ſetting *Joſeph* at Liberty, "*&c.* and at all the Corners are broken Letters, "Shackles, and Gibbets, and over them, in great "Letters, theſe Words of the 3d Chap. of the "ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *Ubi Spiritus, Ibi "Libertas*. And to ſhew the Animoſity yet more, "which ſhe had conceived againſt the Catholick Re"ligion, and particularly againſt the Sacrifice of the "Maſs, having a fine and excellent Piece of Tapeſtry, "made by her Mother *Margaret*, before ſhe was "cajoled by the Miniſters, in which was perfectly "well embroider'd the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and a "Prieſt, who ſhew'd the Holy Hoſt to the People, ſhe "took out the Square in which this Hiſtory was; and "inſtead of the Prieſt put in a Fox, who making an "horrible Grimace with his Paws and Mouth, ſaid "theſe Words, *Dominus Vobiſcum*." The ſame thing is found in the Continuation (*m*) of *Flormond de Remond* at the 5th and 6th pages of the 9th Book.

(*P*) *We will Examine a thought of Scaliger.*] (*c*) "Madam *Catherine* Siſter to King *Henry* IV. was very "vain; ſhe deceiv'd me, I did not think ſhe would "have been ſo conſtant in her Religion as ſhe was," Theſe are *Scaliger*'s words; his Miſtruſt was founded upon his obſerving this Lady to be conceited with her Grandeur, and having lofty and high thoughts; and 'tis certain, this gave ſome reaſon to conclude ſhe would turn to that ſide, where more worldly Grandeur and advantages appear'd; that is, ſhe would imitate *Henry* IV. who in caſe ſhe would have abjured her Religion, would have rais'd her, to the higheſt point of credit, and have married her to the greateſt advantage in the World; but ſeeing her perſiſt in Calvinism, he was obliged (*d*) by maxims of State to neglect her. Nevertheleſs, as there are different kinds of vanity, or Fondneſs of Grandeur, *Scaliger*'s argument might perhaps be turned to a quite contrary ſenſe. There are People proud and ambitious, who to ſatisfy their vanity, ſtoop to an hundred baſeneſſes; but others find no better way to content their paſſion, than to appear inflexible, whatever ill conſequence their Stiffneſs may draw after it. It is not unuſual to ſee Perſons of Quality very virtuous, and moſt zealous for their Religion, and at the ſame time ſo jealous of their rank, and ſo induſtrious to have Honours paid 'em, that they are always upon theſe punctilio's on that account. Madam *de Turenne* is an Example of it. Her Virtue and Piety are not more memorable, than her exact precautions to preſerve the priviledges of Highneſs, and the preferences ſhe pretended to above the Dutcheſſes. Madam *Catherine de Navarre* might well be ſtruck with this kind of Infatuation, as virtuous and pious as ſhe was. Could ſhe that was deſcended from ſo many Kings, that was the only Daughter of a Queen adored by the Proteſtants, that was Siſter to their leader who was afterwards King of *France*, forbear taking a ſtrain of grandeur and loftineſs, that *Scaliger* and many others thought too vain? It ſhould not however have been concluded, as a thing certain, that ſhe would change her Religion; for beſides the conſiſtency of the character

(*b*) *Id. ib. pag.* 222.

(*a*) *Hiſt. of the Edict. of* Nantes. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 268, *&c ſeq.*

(*g*) *Letters of Cardinal* D'Oſſat. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 251 Paris *Edition.* 1698.

(*h*) Amelot de la Houſſaie *Notes on the* 247*th Letter of Cardinal* D'Oſſat. *p.* 261. 2 *Tom. See alſo pag.* 173. *of the ſame Tome.*

(*i*) *Pag.* 30, 31

(*k*) Garaſſe *curious Do* Rheims, *p.* 225, 229.

(*l*) *I believe that 'tis a Lye, and that* Margaret de Va'ois, *Siſter to* Francis I *is confounded with* Joan d' Albret *Queen of* Navarre.

(*m*) Claude Malingre *general Hiſtory of the progreſs and fall of the modern Herely.*

(*c*) Scaligerana, *p. m.* 46.

(*d*) *See the Hiſtory of the Edict of* Nantes, *ubi ſupra. p.* 267

hood to ſay, as has been done in a publick Work, that Queen *Joan d' Albret* contracted a Marriage of Conſcience with a Man, whoſe Name (Q) is not told; and that *d' Aubigné* the Hiſtorian was the Fruit of it. We will conclude with the Words of *Peter Matthieu* *: She "would have the Safety of Conſcience preferr'd before the Aſſurances "of Honours, Grandeurs, and Life it ſelf; and was uſed to ſay to thoſe of her Party, "that Arms ought never to be laid down, but upon theſe three Conditions, either of a "ſafe Peace, or an entire Victory, or an honourable Death †."

NAVARRE (MARGARET de Valois Queen of) Daughter-in-Law to the precedent, and Daughter to *Henry* II. was born the 14th (A) of *May* 1552. She was a Princeſs of infinitely more Wit and Beauty than Virtue. Her violent Zeal for Popery, whereof (B) ſhe gave mighty Proofs from her Infancy, ſtood her in no ſtead, as to good

* Matthieu *Hiſtory of the Peace. Tom.* 1. *p. m.* 198. *ad. ann.* 1599.

† See Peter Matthieu's Marginal Note, *Joan d' Albret Queen of* Navarre, *was d* 12 *Medals to be made at* Rochelle *with this Inſcription, ſafe* Peace, entire Victory, honourable Death.

racter with a ſtrong perſwaſion of the truth of her Sect, and an averſion to a Religion, which perſecuted that which ſhe profeſs'd, an averſion that, to take it rightly, frequently makes up three fourths of one's Love for his Religion: Beſides this, I ſay, is not Pride ſometimes the cauſe of our doing nothing that can expoſe us to the reproaches of inconſtancy? I ſay this, without eſpouſing the Narration of *Peter Victor Cayet*; (e) *Madam* Catherine .... *would not change the pretended reformed Religion, in which ſhe was bred, for the ſake as ſhe ſaid of her deceaſed Mother Queen* Joan *of* Navarre, *from whom ſhe had her Life and all her imitable Actions. This is one of the things that moſt retain'd her in that Religion, as ſhe often declared. Beſides, ſhe apprehended the reproach of levity in her Age, as ſhe ſaid, if ſhe chang'd her Religion, having returned to this, after ſhe had once been a Catholick.*

(e) Cayet, ubi ſupra. *fol.* 62.

(Q) *'Tis a baſe Falſehood to ſay .... that Queen* Joan d' Albret *contracted a Marriage of Conſcience .... whereof* D' Aubigné *the Hiſtorian was the Fruit.*] I have read in a Book (f) printed more than once, that a *Genealogiſt had orders to make* Madam *de Maintenon deſcend from* Joan d' Albret *Queen of* Navarre; *who after the Death of the King her Husband, married ſecretly to one of her Gentlemen, who was, as is pretended, Father to Mr* d' Aubigné *Grand-Father to Madam* de Maintenon. Invincibly to confute this Story, we need only attend to theſe two points of Chronology; one is, that the King of *Navarre*, *Joan d' Albret*'s Husband, dyed not till *November* 1562: The other, that Mr. *d' Aubigné* was born in 1550, as appears by his Epitaph (g), which every one may read in the Cloyſter of St. *Peter*'s Church at *Geneva*. He made this Epitaph himſelf a little before his Death, at 80 Years of Age, and dyed the 29th of *April* 1630; whence it follows, that he was born in 1550. He ſays it himſelf in expreſs Words (h), at the beginning of his Hiſtory: It is not therefore poſſible that he ſhould be the Son of *Joan d' Albret*, and of a Man married to this Queen after the Death of *Antony* King of *Navarre*. There is in the *Mercure Galant* of *September* 1688, a Genealogy of the *d' Aubigné*'s: If you conſult it, you'll find no Shadow nor Foot-ſtep of this pretended Extraction, related by the Author, whom I confute. If, in his Excuſe, it be ſaid, that it ſhould be *Margaret* inſtead of *Joan*, this would be as groſs a Miſtake; for *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, *Joan*'s Mother, dyed (a) before the King her Husband, and before *d' Aubigné* was born. If we take the thing by another Handle, and ſuppoſe him to be the natural Son of the King of *Navarre*, *Joan*'s Father, this could not be confuted by Chronological Arguments, ſince 'tis certain this Prince died not till 1555, and that he had (b) a Miſtreſs; but it might be overthrown, by what *d' Aubigné* has written (c) of his Father.

(f) *Gallantries of the Kings of* France. *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 293. Bruſſel's Edit. 1694. *and page* 84 *of the* Cologne *Edition* 1695.

(g) 'Tis in Spon's *Hiſtory of* Geneva, *pag.* 504. 505, *of the* Utrecht *Edition of* 1685.

(h) *In the middle of the XVI. Century, the Native Year of the Book and the Author.* D'Aubigné, *pag.* 1.

(a) In December 1549.

(b) *Mr.* de Pereſixe, *Hiſt. of* Henry IV. *p. m.* 15. *obſerves, that in* 1553, *Joan d' Albret* had a great deſire to ſee her Father's Will, becauſe it had been told her, that it was made to her diſadvantage in favour of a Lady, whom he had loved.

Having confuted the Falſhoods inſerted in the Gallantries of the Kings of *France*, 'tis neceſſary to touch upon a ſort of Tradition, which makes *Joan d' Albret* to be clandeſtinely re-married, but not without the Approbation of her Miniſters; to whom ſhe confeſs'd, as 'tis ſaid, that ſhe could not contain. I never heard this ſaid but by ſuch as had no ſort of Proof to alledge: This made me one Day ask an Advocate, very well read in the Hiſtories of the XVIth Century, whether he had met with this Fact in the Libels ſpread about by the Catholicks againſt this Queen of *Navarre*: He anſwer'd, No; but that he had not read all that kind of Writings, nor the main part of 'em; but otherwiſe, he found nothing in it improbable, nor injurious to the Memory and Honour of *Joan d' Albret*; that Continence and Incontinence, being rather Qualities of Conſtitution, than of Morality, it was not the acknowledgment of a Vice, to confeſs ſhe was incontinent, and reſolv'd only to make uſe of lawful Remedies; that ſuch a Reſolution couples Chaſtity and Incontinence together; and whereas many Miniſters of that time, the better to manage their Diſputes againſt the Vow of Celibacy, had treated of Continence as a very particular, and even extraordinary Grace of the Spirit of God, it was no more a ſhame for the Queen of *Navarre* to acknowledge her Incontinence, than for a primitive Chriſtian to confeſs he had not the Gift of Languages nor Prophecies; and that, laſtly, it was to the Glory of this Princeſs to have had ſo tender a Conſcience, as not to ſuffer her to ſatisfie the Neceſſities of Nature by ways forbidden in the Word of God. I anſwer'd him, if he had no other Reaſons to alledge, he could not deliver me from my Doubts; and that I only conſulted him to know whether he had any printed or Manuſcript Authorities; and that, ſince he had none, it was to no purpoſe to talk more upon the Subject. I have not from that time found any Light, and I confeſs, that, in compoſing this Article, I have not been able to conſult any Work, in which *Joan d' Albret*'s Actions are cenſur'd: However I much queſtion that Tradition, or rather believe it falſe.

(c) See his *Hiſtory in the places, mark'd in the Table, under the Word* Aubigné the Author's Father.

I have found no Foot-ſtep of it in Mr. *le Laboureur*, who is one of the *French* Hiſtoriographers that is beſt acquainted with ſuch particulars. He knew that this Queen (d) made *an extempore* Stanza *the* 21*ſt of* May 1566, *when ſhe went to ſee* Robert Stephens's *Preſs*. He relates it thus:

Art ſingulier, d' icy aux derniers ans,
Repreſentez aux enfans de ma race,
Que j'ai ſuivi des craignans Dieu la trace,
Affin qu'ils ſoient les meſmes pas ſuivans.

He alſo relates the Sonnet, that (e) *Robert Stephens, who was a Proteſtant, made in anſwer to it in the Name of the Preſs*; as alſo (f) a long intire Letter this Lady wrote to the Prince her Son, the 6th of *March* 1572. I have cited ſomething of it in the Remark M. He obſerves (g) *that amongſt other Languages ſhe ſpoke Latin and Spaniſh*: But he ſays nothing of this clandeſtine Marriage. For the reſt I doubt not but this Stanza, and the Letter he has inſerted in his Book, were the occaſion of Mr. *Moreri*'s Saying, that *Joan d' Albret compoſed divers Pieces in Proſe and Verſe*: Which is to make her an Author, and to miſlead us. For the Letters that a Prince writes, let 'em be never ſo fine, cannot paſs for the Compoſition of an Author, unleſs they receive the form of a Book, deſigned for the Republick of Learning.

(d) Le Laboureur *Additions to* Caſtelnau. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 901.

(e) *This could not be* Robert Stephens Henry's *Father, but* Henry's *Brother.*

(f) *Ibid. pag.* 902 *& ſeq.*

(g) *Ibid. pag.* 901.

(A) *Was born the* 14*th of* May 1552.] *Hilarion de Coſte*, citing *du Tillet*, gives her this Birth-day; and ſo doth Father *Labbe*, Father *Anſelme*, and many others. We have reaſon therefore to believe that ſhe was above ſeven Years old in *June* 1559, and yet ſhe affirms (i), that ſhe was but four or five when ſhe made a Repartee to the King her Father, who held *her upon his Knees to make her talk*, a few Days *before that fatal Blow* (k) *he died of*. She ſuppoſes the ſame thing when ſhe ſays (l), that in 1561, at the time of the Colloquy of *Poiſſi*, ſhe was but ſeven or eight Years old. 'Tis pretty odd, that a Daughter of a King of *France* ſhould be two Years out in the reckoning of her Age: Can Princeſſes be ignorant of what every Body knows, when their Birth-day is noted in the Almanacks, in the Copper-Cutts of the Picture-Sellers, and in abundance of common Books; or dare they make themſelves younger than they are? This little Piece of Sophiſtry may be of uſe to Tradeſmens Daughters, who cannot eaſily be contradicted; but it can be of none to the Daughters of Kings. It ſeems however, that our Queen of *Navarre* was ſo uſed to leſſen her Age, that ſhe habitually ran into the ſame Stile in compoſing her *Memoirs*.

(i) *Memoirs of* Queen Margaret, *p.* 7.

(k) *He received this Blow in a Turnament the* 30*th of* June 1559.

(l) *Ibid. pag.* 12.

(B) *She gave mighty Proofs of her Zeal to Popery from her Infancy.*] The Particulars ſhe tells us of it are very curious, and contain a piece of the Whimſical Inconſtancy of *Henry* III. Never Man had more Averſi-

on

good Morals. She was married to the King of *Navarre* the 18th of *August* 1572, a few Days before the horrible Maſſacre on St. *Bartholomew*'s Day. They attempted ſoon after to diſſolve this Marriage; for † they that had begun the Conſpiracy of butchering the Proteſtants, were diſturb'd at the ſaving the Lives of the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*; they thereby ſaw, that they *had fail'd of their principal Deſign, which was not ſo much againſt the Huguenots as the Princes of the Blood, and knowing that* the King of *Navarre* being married to *Charles* IX's Siſter, *no Body would attempt him, they contriv'd another Plot*, which was to perſwade *Catherine de Medicis* ‡ that the Princeſs *Margaret ought to be unmarried*. This Deſign miſcarried (C) by the Anſwer the new Bride made when ſhe was asked, whether ſhe

† *Memoirs of Queen Margarer pag.* 66 Paris *Edition* 1628.
‡ *Ibid. pag.* 67.
* *Ibid. pag.* 68.

on for the Huguenots than this Monarch, and yet he had zealouſly learnt their Notions, and endeavour'd to poſſeſs others with them. Our *Margaret* thinks (*m*) that in her *childiſh Actions*, there were ſome, *as worthy to be recorded, as the Child hood of* Themiſtocles (*n*) *and* Alexander; *the one expoſing himſelf in the midſt of the Street to the Horſes Feet of a Carman, who would not ſtop at his Requeſt; the other deſpiſing the Honour of the Prize at the Race, if he did not diſpute it with Kings.* To prove this, ſhe alledges amongſt other Things, the *Reſiſtance I made*, ſaid ſhe (*o*), "to preſerve my Religion at the Time of the Colloquy of *Poiſſi*, when all the Court was infected with Hereſy, "to the imperious perſwaſions of many Ladies and "Lords at Court, and even of my Brother *d' Anjou*, "who was afterwards King of *France*; whoſe Infancy "could not eſcape the Contagion of wretched Hugue"notiſm, who importun'd me continually to change "my Religion, often throwing my Primmer into the "Fire, and inſtead of it giving me the Huguenots "Pſalms and Prayers, and forcing me to carry them; "which, aſſoon as I had, I gave to Madam *de Curton* "my Governeſs, whom God had been pleas'd to pre"ſerve a Catholick, who took me often to the good "Man Cardinal *de Tournon*, who adviſ'd and incou"rag'd me to ſuffer all Things for the Maintenance of "my Religion, and gave me again a Primmer and "Beads, inſtead of thoſe my Brother (*p*) *Anjou* burnt: "and his other particular Friends, who had indea"vour'd to ruin me, finding them about me, paſſionate"ly reproach'd me, ſaying, it was Folly and Child"hood made me do it; that it was plain I had "no Underſtanding; that all People of Senſe, of "whatever Age or Sex, upon hearing Charity preach'd "had forſaken the Corruptions of this Bigottry: "But that I was as fooliſh as my Governeſs. And my "Brother *d' Anjou* adding Threatnings, ſaid, the "Queen my Mother would have me whipp'd; which he "ſaid of his own Head, for ſhe knew not of the Error "he was fallen into; and as ſoon as ſhe did, ſhe ſe"verely reprimanded him and his Governours; and "cauſing 'em to be inſtructed, conſtrain'd 'em to re"ſume the true, holy and antient Religion of our "Fathers; from which ſhe never had departed. I "anſwer'd him to his Menaces, melting into Tears, as "the Age of ſeven or eight Years I was of is but ten"der, that he might cauſe me to be whipt and kill'd, "if he pleas'd; that I would ſuffer all that could be in"flicted on me, rather than damn my ſelf." Add, that, by reaſon of the Difference of Religion, ſhe was very averſe to the marrying *Henry* IV. We may prove this by a very curious Paſſage, which I take from a Letter written to this Prince. (*a*) *She told me*, tis *Joan d' Albret* that ſpeaks concerning our *Margaret*, *that when theſe Diſcourſes were ſet on Foot, it was known that ſhe was a Catholick and a zealous one. I told her that thoſe who had engag'd in it, did not ſay ſo; and that the Buſineſs of Religion was repreſented very eaſy, and that ſhe had ſome affection for it; that otherwiſe I ſhould not have proceeded ſo far, and I deſired her to conſider of it. At other times that I ſpoke to her, ſhe did not anſwer me ſo abſolutely, nor ſo roughly. I believe ſhe ſpeaks as ſhe is prompted; and alſo that the Diſcourſes we have heard, concerning her Zeal for Religion, were only to make us believe it.*

(*m*) *Ibid. pag.* 7.
(*n*) 'Tis of Alcibiades *and not of* Themiſtocles *that this was ſaid. See* Plutarch in Alcibiade, *pag.* 192. D.
(*o*) *Ibid. pag.* 9 & 29 *ſeq.*
(*p*) *See the Remark* ΑΔ *of the Article* Cipierre.
(*a*) Le Laboureur *Addit to* Caſtelnau *Tom.* 1. *pag.* 594.

(C) *The Anſwer the new Bride made when ſhe was asked whether ſhe was a Woman.*] We will make uſe of Queen *Margaret*'s Relation. "(*b*) They attempt to "perſwade the Queen my Mother, that I ought to be "unmarried: Upon that Reſolution, going one Holy"day to her Levee, when we were to perform our *Eaſter-Devotions*, ſhe conjur'd me to tell her the Truth; "and ask'd me whether the King my Huſband was a "Man; ſaying, if he was not, ſhe had power to un"marry me. I beſeech'd her to believe, that I was "not ſufficiently ſkill'd to give her an anſwer. (I "might ſay then, as that Roman Lady, whom her "Huſband chid for not acquainting him with his "ſtinking Breath; that ſhe thought all Men had the "ſame, having never come near any other than him"ſelf.) But be it how it would, I would abide where "ſhe had placed me; very much apprehending, that "the deſign of ſeparating me was to do him an ill "Turn." 'Tis not probable this Princeſs was ſincere in this Diſcourſe: She was above twenty Years old; ſhe had been bred in a Court every way corrupt, and particularly in the Article of Immodeſty. Obſerve how a Man of Wit characterizes this Court (*c*), *Mr. Saint André .... Maid of Honour to* Catherine de Medicis *is of ſo tractable a Virtue, that the Prince of* Joinville *will teach her nothing new in marrying her. A thing*, continues he, *which ought not to ſurprize you, ſhe is handſome, educated amongſt the great Ones, where Example is ſome ſort of Authority; ſhe is almoſt ſixteen Years of Age: An Age, in which the Honour of a Maid begins to enjoy its Rights; we ſee few that carry their Continence ſo far; and good Senſe will not ſuffer you to wonder at a thing that cuſtom has render'd ſo familiar: But, Couſin, here's ſomething that ought to ſurprize you*, &c. Judge whether our *Margaret* was like to remain in an Ignorance, which the chaſteſt of the Veſtals, and the honeſt of all the Religious, in the moſt ſimple and innocent Ages, cou'd hardly boaſt of. But to prove that her account is unfaithful, and that ſhe has retrench'd many Circumſtances; it ſuffices to ſay, that her Mother was not a Woman to be ſatisfied with ſo ambiguous and oblique an Anſwer as this. *Catherine de Medicis* being reſolved to diſſolve the Marriage, if it had not been conſummated, would have made, or cauſed to have been made, a ſecond Interrogatory, which would have capacitated her Daughter to explain the Matter, and given her ſufficient Underſtanding for it, in ſpite of that profound and very extraordinary Ignorance ſhe intrench'd her ſelf in: She would have taught her the Definition of a Man, not by the Properties of a reaſonable Creature, like the Books of Philoſophers, but by the particular Attributes, agreeing with the individual or ſpecifical Relation of a Huſband; and afterwards would have made exact Compariſons betwixt that Diſſinition, and things that happen'd in her Nuptial-Bed. You ſay you don't underſtand what a Man is; but you well remember whether, *&c.* has the King of *Navarre*, *&c.*? anſwer Ay, or No. Thus *Catherine de Medecis* might have preſs'd, or cauſe to have been preſs'd this pretended ignorant Lady, and, though her Daughter had continued to declare that ſhe did not know how the Affair in queſtion could be known by ſuch ſigns or marks, yet ſhe would not have failed to reſolve the Query, and give full ſatisfaction to the Queen-Mother. But as lame as her Narration was, we may infer from it, that *Catherine de Medicis* was fully convinc'd by her Daughter's Anſwer, that there was not the leaſt Grounds to commence a Suit of Impotence againſt her Son-in-law. I don't think that any one ventur'd to ſay, that the Marriage was not conſummated; and yet this Argument had been one of the ſtrongeſt of thoſe that were ſo carefully collected, when they proceeded to declare the Marriage null. Let us here give a Paſſage of the *Satyrical Divorce*: (*e*) *This Manifeſto* ('tis *Henry* IV. that is made to ſpeak) *will one Day inform the Lovers of Truth what I was willing to conceal, out of Modeſty to our Holy Father, and Cardinal* Joyeuſe *his Commiſſioner, deputed to hear me upon the Subject of our Divorce; having not upon twenty two Articles of his Interrogatory, anſwer'd any thing that might give him any blame or diſhonour, unleſs perhaps to his Enjoy, whether, even during the Marriage, we had any Commerce together: To which I anſwer'd, conſtrain'd by Truth, that we were both ſo young, when we were married, and ſo much given to whoring, that we could not forbear.* That which is ſaid of *Margaret*'s Conſtitution very well agrees with the Hiſtory of her Adventures. Now there is nothing more proper than that ſort of Complexion to awaken a certain Curioſity, which early expels an Ignorance which ſhe pretended to boaſt of: 'Tis a Curioſity which has ſo ſudden Effects that every Body is amazed at it.

(*b*) Queen Margaret's *Memoirs*, *p.* 67, 68.

(*c*) The Author of a Romance, entitled, the Prince of *Conde*, *pag.* 32. Holl. *Edit.* 1681.

(*e*) Satyrical Divorce among the Pieces printed with the Journal of Henry III. *pag.* 206, 207.

Read

ſhe was a Woman. Her Anſwer is very remote from the Calumnies (D) that may be read in printed Books. She was advertiſed by a Catholick Gentleman named *Mioſſans* * that her Huſband and her Brother the Duke of *Alençon* deſigned to eſcape, and put themſelves at the Head of ſome Troops, whilſt the Court, who had accompanied the Duke of *Anjou* King of *Poland* as far as *Beaumont*, were in their return to *Paris*. She diſcovered this Deſign to *Catherine de Medicis*, and *Charles* IX. and made 'em Promiſe to be contented with preventing their eſcape without doing any injury to theſe two Princes. They kept their Word with her till the Conſpiracy was known, for which † *la Mole* and *the Count de Coconas* loſt their Lives, but after this diſcovery they arreſted 'em, *and Commiſſioners of Parliament were deputed to hear them.* Margaret *drew up in Writing what* her Huſband *was to anſwer.* She was in very ill eſteem with *Henry* III. and in very good with her other Brother the Duke of *Alençon*. This Duke and the King of *Navarre* were in Love with Madam *de Sauve*, which much weakned the Union that was betwixt 'em. *Buſſy* the Duke's Favourite grew ſuſpected of being *Margaret*'s Gallant, and this Princeſs was obliged to ſend away (E) *Mademoiſelle de Torigni* her confident. She took this very heinouſly, as what might * much *prejudice her reputation*, and declared her reſentment to her Huſband, who for his part had but little value for her β. *They neither lay together, nor converſed with each other.* She knew the reſolution of her Huſband and Brother to depart from Court. Her Brother eſcap'd firſt γ: her Husband did the ſame ſoon after ♪ without taking leave of his Wife. *Henry* III. imagining ſhe would go and join them, or if ſhe was left at Liberty at Court, would be their Spy, arreſted her. She received very obliging Letters from her Huſband, and ſome Civilities from the King her Brother, who was obliged to act in that manner, becauſe the Duke of *Alençon* would not diſarm, unleſs ſhe was ſatisfied. She accompanied the Queen her Mother to the Conferences, that were held near *Sens*, and where the Treaty of Peace ζ was concluded with the Duke of *Alençon*. After this ſhe deſired to retire to the King her Huſband, who earneſtly demanded her, but η *Henry* III. would not ſuffer her. Under the falſe pretence of an indiſpoſition ſhe took a Journey to the Spaw *Waters*, in order to favour the deſign that had been put into the Duke of *Alençon*'s Head of getting himſelf elected Sovereign of the *Netherlands*. ~~Being returned into France, ſhe teſtified a freſh her deſire to~~ go

* *Ibid. pag.* 69.

† *Ibid. pag.* 74.

* *Ibid. pag.* 119.

β *Ibid.*

γ *In* 1576.

♪ *Ibid. pag.* 129.

ζ *In* 1576.

η *Ib. pag.* 157, 162.

(f) Buſſi *Letter* 316 *of the* 4th *part, pag.* 421. *of the* Holl. *Edit.*

Read theſe Words of the Count *de Buſſi*: (f) "You "have heard of the Paſſion of.... for her Husband "when ſhe married him. This they ſay is much "changed. The little Lady can no longer bear him. "'Tis ſaid to excuſe her, *that which appears to you to "be the Man, is not the Man*; which made every Body "inquiſitive, how a young Maid of thirteen or four-"teen Years of Age came to learn what was requiſite "to make a Man, a Man."

(D) *Her Anſwer was very remote from the Calumnies that may be read in printed Books.*] What a vaſt difference there is betwixt *Margaret*'s Relation of her Conduct, and what others have publiſhed of it! She pretends to all the Ignorance of little Children, upon the Theory of Marriage; and might have been impoſed upon, according to her own Story, and ſhe never the wiſer. But caſt your Eyes a little upon theſe Words of the *Satyrical Divorce*; in which, as I have already ſaid, *Henry* IV. is introduc'd ſpeaking: "(g) "I was not able to avoid my Misfortune, though King "*Charles*, who reigned at that time, who well knew "his Siſter's Temper, gave me ſome Senſe of it under "this Oracle, when aſſuring the Huguenots of a pre-"tended Peace, to allure and deceive them, he pro-"teſted with a Thouſand Oaths, that he gave not "his *Margaret* for a Wife only to the King of *Navarre*, "but to all the Hereticks of his Kingdom. Oh the too "true Prophecy and worthy of a Holy and Divine In-"ſpiration! if he had put the general and not the "particular, and inſtead of the Huguenots alone, had "comprehended all Mankind; for there is no ſort nor "quality of Men in all *France*, with whom this Strum-"pet has not exerciſ'd her Laſciviouſneſs; nothing "comes amiſs to her Pleaſures, and ſhe values not "Age, Greatneſs nor Extraction, provided her Luſts "be ſatisfied and ſatiated; and never ſince ſhe was "eleven Years old, has ſhe denied any Body: At "which Age *Antragues* and *Charins*, (for they both "of 'em thought they had firſt obtained this Glory,) "had the firſt Fruits of her Heat; which augmenting "daily, and they being unable to extinguiſh it, tho' "*Antragues* made an Effort, which afterwards ſhor-"ten'd his Life: She caſt her Eye on *Martigues*, and "fix'd it there ſo long, as to liſt him under her Banner, "and the thing was made ſo publick, that it "was the common Diſcourſe and Converſation of "all the Soldiers in the Armies; in which *Martigues* "was known not only for his Valour, but as Colonel "of Foot." 'Tis added, that after *Martigues*'s (a) *Death the Duke of* Guiſe *was obliged to go through her Hands, by the Mediation of Madam* de Carnavalet, *a young, brave and ambitious Prince, who already beginning to build that Machine, which being too ſuddenly ſhaken, will fall upon him, expected by his laſcivious Kiſſes to come to Marriage, and thereby fortifie his Pretences and Deſigns; having dexterouſly broken off her Treaty of Marriage with the King of* Portugal, *already far advanced.... ſhe quickly after added her young Brothers to her ſalacious Conqueſts; one whereof, namely* Francis, *continued this Inceſt all his Life; and* Henry *grew ſo out of conceit with her, that he could never love her afterwards; having at length perceived, that Tears, inſtead of cooling her Deſires, augmented their Fury, and that, being moveable as* Mercury, *ſhe ſhook at the leaſt Object that approach'd her. Here is a Virgin for you; which my Relations and the publick Good obliged me to take for good and virtuous to the great diſcontent of her and her Favourites; amongſt whom* Antragues, *as the Marſhal* de Retz *formerly told me, was like to dye of deſpair, or of a great Loſs of Blood, which the violence of his Pain to ſee us married forced out in divers places.* If you would ſee another Teſtimony, read the firſt Dialogue of *Euſebius Philadelphus Coſmopolite*, where you'll find this at the 44th Page of the *Edinburgh* Edition 1574. "(b) "Hereupon the King pretending to be vex'd with ſo "many Delays, blaſpheming and raging, ſwore, that "he would have the Marriage conſummated with-"out more a-do: That if Cardinal *de Bourbon* would not "marry them, he would lead them himſelf to a Huguenot "Meeting to have them married by a Miniſter; and that, "by Chriſt, he would not have his *Margaret* (for ſo he "called his Siſter) kept any longer in this languiſhing "Condition."

"*Ali.* The good Lady took care not to ſtay ſo "long: Her Brother very well knew that he had her "Maidenhead.

"*Hiſt.* I did not know that; but I have heard ſay, "that ſhe was ready to lye in, when the Queen was at "*Xaintles*.

"*Ali.* It is ſo, I aſſure you."

(E) *To ſend away Mademoiſelle* de Torigni *her Confident.*] *Le Guaſt*, *Henry* the IIIth's Favourite, repreſented to him (c), *that he ought not to ſuffer young Princeſſes to have Maids, with whom they had ſuch a particular Friendſhip*, and ſo fully convinc'd him of this Maxim, that he declared to the King of *Navarre* (d) *that he would never love him more*, if Mrs. *Torigni* was not removed *the next Day*. The King of *Navarre* was therefore forced to deſire his Wife, and even *to command her* to diſmiſs this Maid. The Queen of *Navarre* obey'd with the greateſt Reluctance. Mrs. *Torigni* (e) *departed the ſame Day*, and retired to her Couſin, Mr. *Chaſtelas*. The King ſometime after, *to give* his Siſter (f) *the cruelleſt Mortification imaginable*, ſent ſome People to *Chaſtelas*'s Houſe, *under Pretence of taking* Mrs. Torigni, *and bringing* her to Court, *to do own her*

(g) *Satyrical Divorce, pag.* 189.

(a) *Ibid. pag.* 190.

(b) *The Reveille-matin of the* French *and their Neighbours pag.* 44. *the Interlocutors are* Philalthia, Alithia, *and the Hiſtoriographer.*

(c) Queen Margaret's *Memoirs, pag.* 117.

(d) *Ibid. pag.* 118.

(e) *Ibid. pag.* 119.

(f) *Ibid. pag.* 131.

earneſtly demanded her, but || *Henry* III. would not ſuffer her. Under the falſe Pretence of an Indiſpoſition ſhe took a Journey to the Spaw-waters, in order to favour the Deſign that had been put into the Duke of *Alençon*'s Head of getting himſelf elected Sovereign of the *Netherlands*. Being returned into *France*, ſhe teſtified afreſh her deſire to go to her Huſband. It was conſented to at laſt, and the Queen her Mother conducted her † to the King of *Navarre*, who came to receive them ‡ at *la Reolle*, and treated his Wife kindly during *Catherine de Medicis*'s ſtay in *Gaſcogne* §. They attended her as far as *Caſtelnaudarri*, when ſhe returned; and afterwards went to reſide at *Pau* in *Bearn*, and quickly fell out, both becauſe *Margaret* preſs'd her Huſband to diſgrace a Secretary, and alſo on account (*F*) of the Gallantries he engag'd in. The Reaſon of her demanding

|| *Ibid.* pag. 157, 202.

† *In the Year* 1578.

‡ *Ibid.* pag. 313.

§ *Ibid.* pag. 315.

her in a River hard by: But ſome Troopers, who went to join the Duke of *Alençon*, delivered her (*g*). We may affirm, generally ſpeaking, that the Principle which *Guaſt* reaſon'd upon, is good; for Princeſſes could never ſucceed in any Intrigue of Gallantry, if they had not their Chamber-Confidents: And 'tis a ground of Suſpicion to ſee much Intimacy betwixt 'em, and the Maids that wait on 'em. A great Lady deſires to be punctually ſerved, and is diſturbed and chides, if it be not done. This is the way to be little beloved by one's Servants. Liberality it ſelf is not a very certain means of procuring their Affections, unleſs it be attended with Carreſſes and Civilities. But a Lady ſeldom ſtoops ſo low, unleſs in ſome Caſes of Neceſſity, in which ſhe has occaſion for the Diſcretion and Mediation of her Women: Careſſes are not then ſpared; openneſs of Heart, and Familiarity then diſpoſe the Inferiours to love their Superiours (*h*), *Facinus quos inquinat, æquat*. The Ladies muſt be excepted from this Rule, who, by a prudent Conduct, have obtained a very good Reputation: But as our Queen of *Navarre* was none of thoſe, it can't be thought ſtrange that her Intimacies with Mrs. *Torigni* were ſuſpected by *Henry* III. 'Tis a point of nice Policy in a King to place about his Children not ſuch Perſons as aſpire to be Confidents, but ſuch as are contented with being honeſt Spies: And therefore ſuch People are generally made choice of, and others removed that anſwer not thoſe good Intentions. Once more, *Henry* III. would not have been to blame to follow the Counſel that was given him, if he had only aimed at correcting his Siſter's Fault, and removing ſome evil Inſtrument; but the violence he uſed was inexcuſable; he would have drown'd the Confident: From whence it may be ſuſpected that his Motives were Criminal. He was willing to ſatisfie his Jealouſie; he was enrag'd that his Brother poſſeſs'd the Heart of Queen *Margaret*. The ſcandalous Chronicle makes 'em both to love her criminally, and to be loved by her one after the other; but at laſt ſhe gave the preference to the Younger, and not to the right of Eldership: A Right, that unchaſte Women (*i*) have but little reſpect for.

(*g*) *Ibid.* pag. 135.

(*h*) Lucan. Pharſ. lib. 5. v. 290.

(*i*) *The Author of the Romance of the Prince of* Condé *ſuppoſes*, pag. 120. *that this Prince being loved by the Mareſchaleſs* de St. Andre, *who had refuſed her Heart to the King of* Navarre, *the King told the Mareſchaleſs*, I plainly ſee that the being younger Brother by ſeven or eight Years, is a recommendation to your Favour.

(*F*) *On Account of the Gallantries he engag'd in.*] The Love he had for (*a*) *Dayelle* Maid of Honour to *Catherine de Medicis*, did not embroil him with his Wife. But when Queen *Catherine* was gone, he † began to ſeek out Mrs. *Rebours*, *who was a malicious Maid, who did not love* Margaret, *but did her all the ill Offices ſhe could* with her Huſband. She remained ſick at *Pau*, when the King of *Navarre* left it; and, as this (*b*) Prince, *when he loſt ſight of her, loſt his Affection too, he began to engage with* Mrs. Foſſeuſe. The Duke of *Alençon* (*c*) alſo fell in Love with her. *This had like to have excited* the King of *Navarre to break* with his Wife: For He believed, that *ſhe did good Offices to her Brother again him*; which, when *ſhe underſtood, ſhe was ſo importunate with her Brother* to deſiſt, that he ſpoke no more to *Foſſeuſe*. The latter, to remove from the King of *Navarre*, whom ſhe extremely loved, his Jealouſie of the Duke of *Alençon* (*d*), ſo gave her ſelf up to content him in every thing he deſired, that the great misfortune was, ſhe grew big with Child. *Finding her ſelf in this Condition ſhe quite altered her Behaviour to me* ('tis Queen *Margaret* that ſpeaks;) *and whereas ſhe was uſed to be free, and to do me all the good Offices ſhe could with my Husband, ſhe began to conceal her ſelf from me, and to do me as many bad Offices as good ones before. She ſo poſſeſs'd the King my Husband that in a little time I perceiv'd him quite altered. He grew reſerved, and my preſence was no longer agreeable to him, as it was the four or five happy Years I had ſpent with him in* Gaſcogne, *whilſt* Foſſeuſe *behaved her ſelf there with Honour* She relates afterwards how *Foſſeuſe* put it into the King of *Navarre*'s *Head, for a Cloak to her Big Belly, or at leaſt, to get rid of it, to go to the Bath in* Bearn. This Prince *earneſtly preſs'd* his Queen to go thither, telling her, *that his Daughter (for ſo he called* Foſſeuſe) *had occaſion to drink the Waters for the illneſs of her Stomach, and that there was no probability ſhe would go without her Miſtriſs, and that this would occaſion ſuſpicion where there was no reaſon for it.* All that he could obtain was, *that two of her Companions ſhould go with her*, Rebours *and* Villeſavin, *and alſo the Governeſs. They went with her*; *and I* (*e*), ſays Queen Margaret, *waited* (*f*) *at* Baveire. *I had conſtant advice from* Rebours (*who was ſhe that he had loved, a corrupt and deceitful Creature, who only deſired to exclude* Foſſeuſe, *thinking to ſucceed in her place in the favour of the King my Husband*) *that* Foſſeuſe *did me all the ill Offices ſhe could*; *commonly abuſing me, and perſwading her ſelf that if ſhe had a Son, and could make away with me, ſhe ſhould marry the King.... At a Month or five Weeks end,* (*g*) *we returned to* Nerac, *where finding every Body talked of* Foſſeuſe's *being with Child, and that not only in our Court, but round the Country, it was the common Diſcourſe*; *I was reſolved to try if I could quell this Noiſe, and to ſpeak with her about it.* The Queen offered her aſſiſtance, (*h*) and to *do the Office of a Mother*, that is to take her to a remote Houſe; and whilſt the King was a hunting another way, *not to ſtir from her till ſhe was delivered* (*i*). *She, inſtead of thanking me, with an extreme Arrogance ſaid, ſhe would make all thoſe Lyars, who had ſpoken of it*; *that for ſome time I had not loved her, and only ſought a pretence to ruin her: And, ſpeaking as high as I had ſpoke low, ſhe flies in a paſſion from my Cloſet, and went to the King my Husband*; *ſo that he was very angry with me for what I had ſaid to his Daughter, ſaying, ſhe ſhould make all her Accuſers Lyars*; *and kept this Countenance with me a long time, even for ſome Months, till her Hour came. As ſhe was taken in the Morning at break of Day, lying in the young Ladies Chamber, ſhe ſent for my Phyſician, and deſired him to go and acquaint the King my Husband, which he did. We lay in the ſame Chamber in different Beds, as we had accuſtomed. As the Phyſician told him this News he was in great trouble, not knowing what to do, fearing on one hand ſhe would be diſcovered, and on the other, that ſhe would be ill aſſiſted, for he loved her very much. He reſolved at laſt to confeſs the whole to me, and prayed me to go to her aſſiſtance.... I told him.... that I would go, and do as much for her, as if ſhe was my Daughter*; *that in the mean time he ſhould go a hunting, and carry all the People abroad, that no Body might hear of it. I quickly had her removed from the Maids of Honour's Chamber, and put her into a remote Chamber, with my Phyſician and Women to aſſiſt her, and had her well taken care of: And God would have it, that ſhe only brought a Daughter, and that Still-born. Being delivered, ſhe was carried back to her Chamber*; *where, though all imaginable Diſcretion was uſed, we could not prevent the report from being ſpread all over the Caſtle. The King my Husband returning from Hunting, went to ſee her, as he uſed to do: She deſired him that I would come and viſit her as I uſed to do all my Maids when they were ſick, thinking by that means to ſtifle the report. The King coming into my Chamber found me laid upon the Bed, being weary with riſing ſo early, and with the pains I had taken to aſſiſt her. He deſired me to riſe and go and ſee her: I told him, that I did this when ſhe had occaſion for my help, but that at preſent there was no more to do*; *that if I went I ſhould rather diſcover than conceal the Matter, and that all the World would point at me. He was very angry with me*; *and that which diſpleas'd me moſt was, that I did not deſerve this Recompence for what I had done in the Morning. She often put him into ſuch Humours as theſe againſt me.*

(*a*) Queen Margaret's *Memoirs*, pag. 314.

† *Ibid.* p. 321.

(*b*) *Ibid.* pag. 322.

(*c*) *Ibid.* pag. 345.

(*d*) *Ibid.* pag. 347.

(*e*) *Ibid.* pag. 350.

(*f*) *It ſhould be at* Bagnieres.

(*g*) *Id. ib.* pag. 352.

(*h*) *Id. ib.* pag. 353.

(*i*) *Id. ib.* pag. 354.

(*k*) *Id. ibi* pag. 356.

We have ſeen elſewhere, that *Andromacha*, the valiant Hector's Wife, was ſo complaiſant and debonaire, as to give ſuck to her Husband's Baſtards. But here you ſee a Queen of *Navarre*, who was almoſt as good-natur'd, being, as it were, the Mid-wife to her Husband's Miſtreſſes. We muſt ſay, that thoſe who have ſo much blamed this Prince: Conjugal Patience, ſhould have conſidered that he, the leaſt of all Men, deſerved a faithful Spouſe, and that his Conduct would

ing this Secretary's Disgrace deserves to be known (G), and will give occasion to observe the unjust extravagance of those that are against Toleration. The War began again against the Protestants, and was not very advantageous to the King of *Navarre*. The Queen his Wife obtained, that the City of *Nerac*, where she resided, † *should have a Neutrality, and that War should not be made within three Leagues of it*: She obtained this, I say, *provided the King her Husband was not in the Town*. This exception caused the Marshal *de Biron* to cannonade the Town one Day that the King of *Navarre* came into it. This extremely displeased (H) the Queen of *Navarre*. She had still farther Mortifications from that time to

† *Ib. pag.* 332.

have been able to spoil the best Dispositions to Virtue in his Wife. Some one has said (m), *that in the ordinary Causes of Separation, the blame is laid upon the Wife, but that the Husband is commonly the Cause of the Woman's blame.* This agrees in part to *Henry* IV. How little is he in this place of Queen *Margaret*'s Memoirs! much more little than he is great in some other occasions. For a King, who is the Leader of a great Party, that makes Head against the *Guises*, and all the Court of *France*, to go to the Bath with a young Lady he has got with Child; to be angry with his Wife, who was willing to inform her self of this big Belly, the better to conceal it; to cry it is a Calumny against a Maid, whose Innocence time would discover; to go and humbly entreat his Wife to assist her in her Travel, are meannesses below a Tradesman.

(m) *Serious and Comical Amusements, pag.* 56. *Amsterdam Edit.* 1699.

(G) *The Reason of her demanding this Secretary's Disgrace deserves to be known, and will give occasion.*] This is her Relation: '(n) We returned to *Pau* in *Bearn*, 'where having no exercise of the Catholick Religion, 'I was only permitted Mass in a little Chappel, not above 'three or four Paces long, which was filled with seven 'or eight People. At the time we went to Mass we 'took up the Bridge of the Castle, for fear the 'Catholicks of the Country, who had no exercise of 'their Religion, should hear it: For they were infinitely desirous to be present at the Holy Sacrifice; of 'which they had been deprived many Years. Led 'with this holy and just Desire, the Inhabitants of '*Pau* found means on *Whitsunday*, before the Bridge 'was taken up, to enter the Castle and creep into the 'Chappel, where they were not discovered till towards 'the end of the Mass, when half opening the Door to 'let in one of my Domesticks, some Huguenots, who 'were spying there, perceiv'd 'em, and went and told '*du Pin* my Husband's Secretary, (who had an entire 'command of his Master, and great Authority in his 'House, managing the Affairs of the Protestants) who 'sent my Husband's Guards; who, drawing 'em 'out, and beating them in my presence, carried 'em 'to Prison, where they were a long time, and paid a 'great Fine. This Indignity was infinitely resented 'by me, who expected nothing like it. I went to com'plain to the King my Husband, beseeching him to 'release these poor Catholicks, who had not deserved 'such a Punishment, for desiring, after being so long 'deprived of the exercise of their Religion, to take 'advantage of my coming, and hearing Mass on so 'good a Festival. *Du Pin* puts in without being call'ed; and, without respect to his Master in suffering 'him to answer, replies himself, and tells me, that I 'ought not to importune the King my Husband with 'this Affair: For whatever I could say, it would not 'be remedied; that they had well deserved what they 'had suffered, and that my Discourse could signify 'nothing one way or other; that I ought to be content'ed with the Liberty of having Mass for my self and 'my Domesticks. This Discourse highly offended 'me from a Man of his quality; and I beg'd the 'King, if I was so happy as to have any share in his 'Favour, to let me see that he resented the Indignity 'I received in his Presence from this mean Man, and 'that he would do me Justice. The King seeing me in 'so just a passion, ordered him to depart the Room, 'telling me, he was very sorry for *Du Pin*'s Indiscre'tion, that it was his Zeal for Religion that had thus 'transported him, and that he should make me what 'satisfaction I pleas'd; that as for the Catholick Pri'soners, he would advise with his Counsellors of the 'Parliament of *Pau*, what was to be done to content 'me. Having said this he went to his Closet, where 'he found *du Pin*, who having spoken with him, en'tirely chang'd him again: So that, fearing lest I 'should desire his dismission, he shunn'd my Com'pany, and put on an angry look. At last, seeing that 'I obstinately persisted to desire, he would either dis'miss *du Pin* or Me, which he thought most agreeable; 'all that were present and hated *du Pin*, told him, that 'he ought not to discontent me for such a Man, who 'had so much offended me; that if this came to the 'Knowledge of the King, and the Queen my Mother, 'they would highly resent it, that he suffer'd him any 'longer: Which obliged him at last to dismiss 'him. But he continued to use me ill, and to give 'me bad looks." I believe she made infinite Reflections upon this, for 'twas a Case that must seem very strange and perfectly injurious to her: But I believe, that the most natural, lawful and reasonable Reflection that could offer it self, was the only one she never thought on. She ought above all things to have considered the inexcusable Injustice of her Grand-father, her Father and her Brothers in their barbarous Edicts against the Protestants; which, doubtless, she was far from thinking on. And 'tis very probable, that the Catholicks of *Bearn*, who had been beaten and imprison'd, persisted in believing, that it was just to persecute the Huguenots, and to deprive 'em of the Exercise of their Religion; for 'tis likely, they said, the Court of *France* is Orthodox, and that of *Navarre* Heretical; the former therefore ought to persecute and not the latter (†). Go and represent your fine Reasons to the Sieur *du Pin*, (it might have been said to them) he'll only convert the Propositions: The Court of *Navarre* is Orthodox, that of *France* is Heretical; the former therefore ought to forbid going to Mass, and the latter ought to permit going to Sermons. Wretched Persecutors! Your Disease must needs be extravagant, which can't be cured by Retaliation.

(n) *Memoirs of Queen* Margaret, *pag.* 315, *&c. seq.*

† *See the Philosophical Commentary upon* compel them to come in. *part* 1. *pag.* 187. *&c. seq. &c. part* 3. *p.* 122, *&c. seq.*

(H) *This displeased the Queen of* Navarre.] I would make no comment upon these Words, did not I find occasion to shew, that the best Historians deceive us. This is the Queen of *Navarre*'s Account. (a) *The Marshal* de Biron *discharged seven or eight Volleys of Cannon upon the Town, one whereof reached even to the Castle; which having done, he retires, sending me a Trumpeter to excuse himself to me, saying, that if I had been alone he would not for all the World have done this; but that I knew it had been concluded in the Neutrality,* &c. *Margaret* was not satisfied with these Excuses, but answered the Trumpeter (b), that she was highly affronted with the Marshal *de Biron*'s Conduct, and that she would complain of it to the King. The Duke of *Alençon* went into *Guienne* some time after, and having ended the Civil War, induced the Marshal *de Biron* (c) *to take the Command of his Army in* Flanders: He reconciled the King of *Navarre* and the Marshal *de Biron*, and would have this Marshal at the *first sight* give Queen *Margaret* Satisfaction *by a modest excuse of what was done at* Nerac, *and commanded* this Queen *to use him with all the rude and disdainful Words imaginable: I made use of this passionate Command of my Brother*, says she, *with the discretion that is requisite in such cases, as knowing that he one Day would be sorry for it, since he may hope much from the assistance of such a brave Gentleman.* This is the Rule by which we must compare the Accounts of other Historians, which can be true only in proportion to their Conformity with Queen *Margaret*'s; for she knew the Matter better than any Body, and nothing oblig'd her to disguise it. Let us see what *Brantome* says: (d) For the greater Bravado, 'the Marshal discharged some Volleys of Cannon a'gainst the Town; so that the Queen, who was walk'ing upon the Walls for her Diversion, had like to 'have had her share of 'em; for a Ball happen'd to 'fall hard by her, which extremely provok'd her, 'both for the little respect the Marshal had shewn 'her, to come to brave her in her Town, and because 'he was commanded by the King not to make War 'five Leagues round the Place where the Queen of *Na'varre* was, which he did not then observe; for which 'she conceiv'd such a Resentment and Enmity 'against the Marshal, that she resolv'd to be re'veng'd of him. A Year and a half after she came 'to Court, where the Marshal was, whom the King 'had recall'd from *Guienne*, for fear of new Com'motions; for the King of *Navarre* threatn'd to Arm, 'if he did not remove him. The Queen of *Navarre*, 'still resenting the Marshal's Affront, gave him no 'respect, but scorn'd him, every where vilifying him 'and

(a) *Queen* Margaret's *Memoirs, pag.* 336.

(b) *Ibid. pag.* 338.

(c) *Ibid. pag.* 343.

(d) Brantome *of Illustrious Ladies, p.* 264, 265.

to the Journey she made to the Court of *France* in 1582. 'Tis with this Journey she ends the Memoirs she has left us of her Life (*I*), from which I have taken what we have seen before. There was Reason to say, that she address'd them to *Brantome*, and not to *Charles de Vivonne*, Baron *de la Chastaignerave*, or to Monsieur *de Rendan*. 'Tis a Work that deserves to be read, containing some things that are curious enough; and 'tis to be wish'd, it had reached to the last Years of the Author's Life. It has many Faults of Omission; but could it be expected that Queen *Margaret* would confess things that might stain her Reputation? Those Acknowledgments are reserved for the Tribunal of Confession; they are not designed for History. We need not wonder then, that we don't see in her Work any shadow of the Gallantries, in which she engag'd her self, * and her Maids of Honour, in order to oppose *Catherine de Medicis* with a Counter-battery. But to resume the Thread of the Narration, I must say, that in leaving the Court of *France* in 1583, she received a barbarous Affront (*K*) by order of King *Henry* III. It may be most justly said, that her Husband had so little Delicacy upon the Point of Domestick Honour, that he was not content to shut his Eyes, but proceeded to the Approbation of his Wife's Gallantries. † *The Practice she made of Love was not at all conceal'd, pretending that the publick Profession bespoke some Virtue, and that Secrecy was the sign of Vice.* Henry IV. quickly learnt to caress *his Wife's Gallants, and she to caress her Husband's Mistresses.* But if he was blamable in a thousand Instances for this sordid Complaisance, he discovered in the Juncture here in Question a great deal of Vigour and Sensibility. He pressingly required (*L*) of *Henry* III. either that his Wife's Affront should receive Satisfaction, or that it might be permitted him not to receive her. He obtained neither of these Demands

* *See the Remark* (*I*) *of the Article* Henry IV.

† D'Aubigne, *Universal Hist. Tom. 2. Book* 4, *ch.* 5. *pag.* 988, 989. *ad. ann.* 1579.

(*b*) Varillas *Hist. of* Henry III *Book* 7. *p.* 232, 234. Holl. *Ed. ad ann.* 1584, *wherein he is mistaken, for the thing was done in* August 1583. *See* du Plessis Mornai's *Memoirs, Tom.* 1. *pag.* 275.

(*c*) D'Aubigne *Universal Hist. Tom.* 2. *Book* 5, *ch.* 3. *pag.* 1083.

† D'Aubigné *is mistaken,* Margaret *went thither alone, and without her Mother. See her Memoirs towards the end.*

(*d*) *Id. ib.*

† *He relates it also in* Sanders *Catholick Confession, Book* 2. *ch.* 7. *pag.* 447. *Edit.* 1629.

(*e*) *Mr.* du Plessis Mornai's *Life, pag.* 71.

(*f*) *That is, that Queen* Margaret *had received the Affront mentioned in the preceding Remark.*

(*g*) *That is to say the Queen but Wife*

(*e*) Mezerai *Chron. Abridgment Tom.* 5. *pag.* 246. *ad. ann.* 1580. *He says, pag.* 493. *Tom.* 3. *of his great History,* that a Cannon-shot fell within three foot of her Feet.

(*f*) *See* Colomies, *choice Bibliotheque, pag.* 173. *of the* 2*d Edition.*

(*g*) *Idem Historical Miscellanies, pag.* 86, *& seq.*

(*a*) Mezerai *Hist of France, Tom.* 3. *pag.* 546, 547.

" and aggravating the Injury he had done her. At last " the Marshal, fearing the Fury and Hatred of the " Daughter and Sister of the Kings his Masters; and, " knowing the Temper of this Princess, bethought " himself of waiting on her, and begging her Pardon, " making his humble Excuses; which, as she was of a " generous Temper, she was no ways averse to, but " received him into her Favour and Friendship, for- " getting what was past.' The first Fault of this Author is to say, that the Queen of *Navarre* ran the Risk of her Life upon the Ramparts: She would not have omitted a Circumstance of this Nature if it had been true. The second Fault is, to extend to five Leagues what was but three. The third Fault is an Omission, charging *Biron* with having most unjustly exceeded his Orders. He did nothing but what he might do, conformably to the Instructions he had received from *Henry* III. For the Neutrality granted the Queen of *Navarre* had no place, but in the King's Absence. *Brantome*'s last Error is a Fault of Chronology. The Marshal *de Biron* made his Peace in *Guienne*. 'Tis therefore false that Queen *Margaret* used him ill at the Court of *France* eighteen Months after; and that he then pacified her by his Humiliation. Mr *de Mezerai* is mistaken in two Things. The Marshal *de Biron*, says he (*e*), *discharged some Volleys of Cannon against the Walls, upon which the Queen was beholding the Skirmish, which so offended this Princess, that she never pardon'd him.*

(*I*) *The Memoirs she has left us of her Life .... she address'd 'em to* Brantome.] *Auger de Mauleon*, Sieur *de Granier* publish'd 'em (*f*) at *Paris* in 1628, in 8*vo*. There were some other Editions of 'em afterwards. He says in the Preface, that the Baron *de la Chastaignerave* is the Person, that Queen *Margaret* address'd them to; and that they who *believe, they were address'd to Mr.* de Rendan, do believe a thing not probable. Mr. *Colomies* has very well proved (*g*) that they were address'd to Mr. *Peter de Bourdeille*, Abbot *de Brantome*. You'll see his Reasons in *Moreri*'s Dictionary.

(*K*) *She received a barbarous Affront, by the Order of King* Henry III.] Observe how *Mezerai* relates it: " (*a*) " The King .... banish'd two certain Ladies her Con- " fidents from about her, writing to the King of *Na-* " *varre* with his own Hand, that *he had expell'd 'em* " *as a most pernicious Vermin, and not to be suffer'd near* " *a Lady of such Extraction.* And some Days after he " commanded her to return to her Husband, without " permitting her to take leave of him. His Hatred " went still much further: He sent after her a Captain " of Guards, with sixty Archers, who having stopp'd her " Retinue beyond *Palaiseau*, and rummaged her Lit- " ter, so as to make her pull off her Mask, he seized " her Querry, her Physician and Apothecary, whilst " *Larchant* went to seize these two Ladies another way. " He caused all these Persons to be brought to him in the " Abbey of *Ferrieres* near *Montargis*, separated 'em " into several Chambers, question'd each of 'em a- " part concerning the Life, Morals and Conversation " of his Sister, and would have the Depositions in Writ- " ting; departing from thence, he sent some of 'em " to the *Bastile*, who were examin'd before the Lieu- " tenant of the Provost, and let his Sister go." Mr. *Varillas* (*b*) has related this Adventure with all the same Circumstances, as Mr. *de Mezerai*. I am surpriz'd that a Huguenot Historian, who lived in that time, and whom few such things escap'd, has given a much shorter account, than that which may be read at the beginning of this Remark. Consider, I pray, the Sieur *d'Aubigné*'s Brevity, and the little Agreement betwixt his Narration and that of others, in respect of the Circumstances of place. The Queen of *Navarre*, says he (*c*), *returning to Court* † *with the Queen her Mother, this restless Woman remained not long without offending the King her Brother, and his Favourites, combining at Court, with those that defamed the Prince, imputing to him most filthy Pleasures; in which it seemed, that the Ladies were concern'd. Hereupon this Princess received some Affronts; the last whereof, was, that* Salern, *Captain of the Guards, made her unmask at St.* James's *Gate, as she left* Paris *to return to* Gascogne *with her Husband; with whom, at the same time, she lived a very scurvy Life.*

(*L*) *He pressingly required of* Henry III *either that his Wife's Affront should receive Satisfaction, or that it might be permitted him not to receive her.*] See what *d'Aubigné* relates immediately after the foregoing Passage: " (*d*) The King of *Navarre* taking Advice " of his Council in that Affair, they all unanimously " agreed, that he ought to resent it; and for that " effect to demand of the King a notable Satisfacti- " on; with a Clause that bespoke a Challenge, or " at least a Separation of Friendship in case of " Refusal: All advised to this, and all refused the Ex- " ecution, except *Aubigné*; who, after he had re- " monstrated how he was accus'd of having saved his " Master, and of some free Writings and offensive " Discourses; and that what would be born with from " another, would be mortal in his Mouth; yet seeing " the Passion of this offended Prince, he resolved to " undertake the Journey. He finds the King at *St.* " *Germains*, who having given the Messenger all the " Appearances of Terror, heard him harangue upon " the Interests included in the Injuries of Princes: " How this Act of Infamy had been play'd before " the most magnificent Company, and upon the most " exalted Stage of Christendom .... At last, not up- " on the Refusal of Justice, but upon the Delay which " bespoke a Refusal, the Messenger put into the King's " Hands the Honour of his Alliance and his Friend- " ship." He afterwards relates the Menaces contain'd in the King's Answer, the vigorous † Reply he made to them, his Answer in the same Strain to the Queen-Mother, and the diligence wherewith he returned, and Prevented the Assassins of the Court of *France*. This being so, it can't be deny'd, that *Henry* IV. express'd his Indignation with all the Constancy of a brave and resolute Prince. " (*e*) The King of *Navarre* " having receiv'd this News (*f*) at *Nerac*, concluded " (*g*) that he ought not to receive her, till he knew " the Cause of this Affront, which being offer'd and " receiv'd at Mid-day could not be dissembled: " Therefore, to have it fully explain'd or repair'd, he " resolved to send Mr. *Du Plessis* to the King, who " was gone to *Lions*, where he went to find him in " Post-haste. This thorny Negotiation, and full of

mands, and was obliged to receive *Margaret* (*M*) in *Nerac* with all her Diſgrace. Being ſometime after excommunicated by *Pope Sixtus*, ſhe made uſe of this pretence* to leave him, and make War upon him. She *poſſeſs'd herſelf of* Agenois, *which was given her in Dowry*, but ſhe

* Mezerai *Hiſt. of* France. *Tom.* 3. *pag.* 596.

" Precipices on all ſides, where the Honour of a Wife " and Husband were concern'd, of ſuch a quality; and " wherein two Kings, one his Maſter, and the other " his Prince, were engag'd, is found entire in his " Memoirs: But this is the Sum of it. Having re- " preſented to the King the Heinouſneſs of the Fact, " he demanded two Things, in the Name of the " King of *Navarre*. *One was, that he would pleaſe to* " *declare the Cauſe of his Indignation, that had induc'd* " *him to ſuch Indignities againſt his Wife, who had the* " *Honour to be his Siſter; ſince the meaneſt Woman in* " *the World is not robb'd of her Honour, till ſhe has* " *firſt loſt it herſelf. The other was, that at leaſt, as the* " *Head of the Family, he would do Juſtice; and, as a* " *good Maſter, adviſe him what was to be done in ſo per-* " *plexed an Affair.* The King ſhuffl'd, and perhaps " finding himſelf guilty of too much Precipitation, was " willing to throw the Cauſe upon the Ladies above- " mention'd, whom he accus'd of a bad Life: But Mr. *du* " *Pleſſis* replied to him, *that it was not his Buſineſs to* " *plead their Cauſe, that the King his Maſter did not do* " *him that injury, as to ſend him in their Favour:* " *That the Queſtion was concerning the Queen his Siſter,* " *if ſhe had committed a fault deſerving ſuch an Affront,* " *he demanded Juſtice on her; if not, he deſired him to* " *give her Juſtice upon thoſe, who were Authors of this* " *ill advice to the Diſhonour of the Royal Family, and* " *his own....* (*b*) that he was inſtructed in brief to " tell his Majeſty that he had done too much or too " little; too much, if the Fault was leſs than extreme; " too little, if thinking, ſhe deſerved to loſe her Ho- " nour, he ſuffered her to ſurvive it. Hereupon the " King anſwered, that he was obliged to the King of " *Navarre* for the proceeding he had taken; that he " had a Mother and a Brother intereſted in this Affair, " as well as himſelf, to whom he would communicate " it.... Mr. *du Pleſſis* plainly perceived, that he " could get nothing more of him: But there remain- " ed one ſcruple, that in the mean time the Queen " his Siſter continued her Journey; upon which he " ſaid: *But what will Chriſtendom ſay, Sir, if the* " *King of* Navarre *receives her, embraces her without* " *ſcruple, thus return'd to him ſtain'd and diſhonour'd?* " To which the King replied, *What? but that he'll re-* " *ceive the Siſter of his King; what can he do leſs?* " *But of a juſt and equitable King,* ſays Mr. *du Pleſſis,* " *who would not require this Obedience from ſuch a Sub-* " *ject at the expence of his Honour and Courage.* Hereup- " on the King reſolved to write to the Queen his Mo- " ther, that ſhe ſhou'd cauſe her to ſtay by the way in " ſome Town." The Iſſue of all this was, that *Bellievre* deputed to the King of *Navarre* obliged him at laſt to receive his Wife, without any ſatisfaction to his Demands. Read the Letter that was written (*a*) to Mr. *de Montagne*, by Mr. *du Pleſſis Mornai* in 1584. It begins thus: " (*b*) Sir, we have heard Mr. *de Bel-* " *lievre*. To tell the Truth, he has propos'd no other " ſatisfaction for the Indignity done to the Queen of " *Navarre*, than the Authority and Liberty that a " King has over his Subjects. A Reaſon, as you know, " that has more Vinegar than Oil in it, and improper " for ſo ſenſible a Wound, and in ſo nervous a part: " And I know not whether I may not ſay little ſuitable " to the Grandure of our Princes, who have always " tempered the Sovereign Power with a gracious Equi- " ty, and have never diſpoſed of the Honour of the " leaſt of their Subjects, but with their good liking. " However the King of *Navarre* has been willing to " ſhew, that he choſe rather to give the King ſatisfa- " ction than himſelf; to which purpoſe he is reſolved " to make his Honour buckle under his Reſpect to his " Commands: being determined to go and receive " the Queen his Wife... his Houſe at *Nerac*."

(*a*) Michael de Montagne *Author of the Eſſays.*

(*b*) Du Pleſſis Mornai's *Memoirs. Tom.* 1. *p.* 297, 298.

Behold here a very perplexing Riddle. *D' Aubigné* poſitively affirms, that he was the only Perſon employ'd to demand Reparation for this inſult, all the others having refuſed to undertake ſuch a Commiſſion. *Du Pleſſis Mornai*, affirms as ſtrongly, that he was the only Perſon ſent to the Court of *France*: On this Affair *D' Aubigné* makes no mention of *du Pleſſis*, nor *du Pleſſis* of *D' Aubigné*; but contents himſelf with ſaying, that the King of *Navarre* (*c*) *ſpoke firſt of ſending the Sieur de Frontenac*. It can't be ſuppoſed that there are two Affairs in queſtion; for though we may ſpeak in the plural Number of Affronts received by Queen *Margaret*, it can by no means be pretended, that *D'Aubigné* demanded ſatisfaction for an Affront before or after that, which obliged the King of *Navarre* to depute Mr. *du Pleſſis*. Both theſe Authors, who relate their Commiſſion, have in view the Action of the Captain of the Guards, who ſtopp'd Queen *Margaret*'s Litter, *&c.* He is called *Saliers* in the Life (*d*) of *du Pleſſis*, and *Salern* in the Hiſtory (*e*) of *D'Aubigné*. This ſhews that they mean the ſame Man; but that, by the Error of the Preſs, or by ſome little ſlip of Memory, his Name is differently written or ended. I confeſs, that, according to Mr. *du Pleſſis*, this Captain's Exploit happen'd (*f*) four Leagues from *Paris* (*g*) between *Palaiſeau* and *St Cler*; and, according to *D' Aubigné* at *St: James's Gate*: I confeſs alſo, that in *D' Aubigne*'s Account, the Complaint and demand of Satisfaction was made to the King at St. *Germains*, but at *Lions*, according to *du Pleſſis*. And yet I can't conceive, that in this occaſion the King of *Navarre* ſent two Deputies to *Henry* III. ſince Mr. *du Pleſſis* affirms, that he was the only Perſon charged with this Negotiation: If I were to diſtruſt the Memory or Probity of either of theſe, it would not be Mr. *du Pleſſis*. I ſhould ſuſpect. However, I will not determine to the prejudice of the other. I chuſe rather to ſuſpend my Judgment, being not ſufficiently ſatisfied with my Conjectures to place 'em here. For the reſt, I am not the firſt (*h*) that has been perplexed with the account of this Adventure. Note, that *D' Aubigné*, in the ſecond Edition (*i*) of his Book, might have known what is related contrary to his Narrative in (*k*) *du Pleſſis*'s Memoirs.

(*d*) *In Page* 71.
(*e*) *At Pag.* 1083.
(*f*) Du Pleſſis's *Life, pag.* 71.
(*g*) Du Pleſſis's *Memoirs. Tom.* 1. *p.* 275.

(*h*) *Ibid. pag.* 72.

(*b*) *See the Notes upon* Sanci's *Catholick Confeſſion. Book* 2. *ch.* 7. *p.* 469. *Edit.* 1699.
(*i*) *In* 1626.
(*k*) *Printed in* 1624.

(*M*) *Obliged to receive* Margaret *in* Nerac *with all her Diſgrace.*] Here we may apply to the King of *Navarre*, *Parturient montes, naſcetur ridiculus mus*, if it be true that he ſent a Challenge to the King of *France* (*l*), related above by *D'Aubigné*; but if the Matter be reduced to the Terms of Mr. *du Pleſſis*'s Negotiation, the Fall will appear much leſs Scandalous. The ill ſtate of his Affairs did not permit him to be ſo prepoſterouſly Haughty. *Bellievre* deputed from *Henry* III. ſpoke with ſo much the more Haughtineſs, as the Garriſons placed round about *Nerac* made him believe the King of *Navarre* durſt refuſe him nothing. This Prince therefore was forced to ſubmit whether he wou'd or no: and to ask, as a Favour, that at leaſt the Garriſons might be ſent away. Obſerve the reſt of the Paſſage we have ſeen (*m*) above, I mean the Words of the Letter from Mr. *du Pleſſis Mornai*: " (*n*) Reſolving " to viſit and receive the Queen his Wife, in his " Houſe at *Nerac*, on Condition only, that the Garri- " ſons might be removed that were placed round a " bout; both that this Reception might have no ap- " pearance of force, and for the Security of their ſtay. " You know whether it be civil to receive her in a " borrowed Houſe, or incivil to demand Liberty in " one's own. Mr. *de Bellievre* notwithſtanding made " great difficulty of it: Hereupon, this Day, Mr. *de* " *Clervant* was diſpatch'd to the Queen of *Navarre*; " and from thence will proceed to their Majeſties, who " in my Opinion, conſidering the Matter paſt, and " conſidering it in the Perſon of the King of *Na-* " *varre*, will not refuſe him ſo little an Acceſſory; " ſince in a thing of this Importance he has granted " the principal. Judge in what trouble thoſe People put " us. We had reduced the Matter almoſt to the beſt " Point that could be hoped for; and at preſent they " barter upon a Trifle, and deſtroy our Credit, if " our Sincerity was not well known to our Maſter." Let us once then excuſe the King of *Navarre*, and not ſuffer the Cenſure to fall upon this particular of his Life, related by a Modern Hiſtorian. The *Malicious*, ſays he, (*o*) " ſpared not his Domeſtick Affairs: they high- " ly blamed his Conduct in abandoning Queen *Marga-* " *ret* to her Gallanting Humour; *more patient than the* " *Emperor* Claudius, ſaid they, *he ſuffer'd this new* " Meſſalina, *known to be his lawful Wife, to diſhonour* " *him publickly. Had he a Mind at his own Coſt to teach* " *thoſe, whoſe Wives he debauch'd, to become contented* " *Cuckolds?*" If he had receiv'd with Marks of Eſteem, his Wife, diſhonour'd by the publick Affront the King her Brother had given her, we might reaſonably accuſe him of the moſt cowardly Tameneſs: But he took not that Method; he manifeſtly gave her to underſtand, that he deſpiſed her; and this was one of the Motives that induc'd her to break with him. Read theſe Words of Mr. *du Pleſſis*'s Letter (*p*) Queen Margaret, *whether ſhe could not bear to be* [illegible] *whether*

(*l*) *In the Remark L.*

(*m*) *In the Remark L.*
(*n*) Du Pleſſis's *Memoirs. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 298.

(*o*) *Le Vaſſor Hiſt. of* Lewis XIII. *Book* 1. *pag.* 54.

(*p*) Du Pleſſis's *Life, pag.* 90.

(*c*) *Ibid. pag.* 275.

she found few Grounds of Satisfaction in that War, being obliged (*N*) to leave *Agen* precipitately, and to fly into *Auvergne*, *where she consumed the rest of her Youth in Adventures more becoming a Woman, who had abandon'd her Husband, than a Daughter of* France †. *Lignerac* with some Gentlemen conducted her to the Town of *Carlat*, where his Brother was *Chatelain* ‡. *Henry* III. engag'd the Inhabitants β to prepare to betray her. She smelt the Treachery and escap'd; but she was taken by the Marquis of *Canillac*, and carried to the Castle of *Usson*. He fell in love with her, and suffered himself to be so bewitch'd with her fine Tongue, that she made her self the strongest, and expell'd him thence γ. In this Fortress she lived a Recluse till she came to the Court of *France* in 1605. She had been solicited to consent to the dissolution of her Marriage; but she refused it δ, during the Dutchess of *Beaufort's* Life, but afterwards she gave her consent; and her self began the Process by a Petition presented to this purpose to Pope *Clement* VIII. The best Reason she alledged was the want of Consent, and that was good for nothing; for besides, that this was to declare, that she was guilty of a great Perjury in *Notre Dame* Church in *Paris* ζ where Cardinal *de Bourbon* performed the Nuptial Ceremonies, she manifestly contradicted what she has written in her Memoirs. We there find that she rejected * the Proposal of a Divorce; and that she had nothing more to Heart than to testifie her Passion, Respect and Obedience to her Husband, so far as to be present at the Travel of his Mistrisses π, to assist 'em to her utmost, and to take all possible care of him θ, when his Excesses with other Women cast him into a fainting Fit. Her Marriage having been declared null, *Henry* IV. married *Mary de Medicis*. He, and his second Wife, gave our *Margaret* a very honourable Reception in 1605. ↓ *She was first lodged in the Castle of* Boulogne, *and afterwards in the Palace of* Sens, *which she quitted to go and live in the Subburbs of St.* Germains, *where she built a Palace answerable to the Majesty of the Kings she descended from.* She there led a very odd Life, which was a mixture (*O*) of Gallantry, Devotion and Study. She died the 27th of *March* 1615. We cannot forbear condemning her Panegyrists, who have boldly suppress'd her Faults and ill Actions, notwithstanding they were so publickly notorious; and it seems the Historian, *Scipio Du Pleix*, has not deserved all the Censures, which

† *Id. ibid pag.* 598. *See the Article* Usson.
‡ *Id. ibid.*
β Brantom. *Illustrious Ladies, pag.* 255.
γ *Id. ib. See also* d' Aubigné, *Tom.* 3. *Book* 5. *ch.* 4.
δ D' Aubigné *ibid.*
ζ *Memoirs of Queen* Margaret, *pag.* 40. *n.* 1. *f.* 68.
π *See the Remark* F.
θ *Ibid. pag.* 115.
↓ Hilarion de Coste *Eloges of Illustrious Ladies. Tom.* 2. *pag.* 306.

whether she returned to her old Practices, threw her self into Agen, *and there made War for the League.* After all; it must be remember'd, that there are Princes, that are much more at a loss than other Men, what Resolution to take when they are loaded with Horns. 'Tis a very difficult part to act: Patience and Impatience are equally the Object of Laughter; and 'tis not easie to find a just Medium betwixt the Severity of *Henry* VIII. and the debonaire Humour of *Henry* IV. Let every one in Cases of this Nature remember the old Maxim, *'Tis easie to find Fault, but difficult to do better.*

(*N*) *Being obliged to leave* Agen *precipitately.*] "(*q*) "She was very ill served by means of Madam *de Duras*, "who had a great command over her; and under her "Name made great Exactions and Contributions: "The People of the Town were exasperated, and under-hand contrived their Liberty, and the means of "expelling both their Lady and her Garrisons; upon "which discontent the Marshal *de Matignon* took "occasion to make an Enterprize upon the Town; as "the King, being acquainted with the opportunities, "commanded him with great Joy, to oppress his Sister, "whom he did not love, with more and more Mortifications: Wherefore the Enterprize which miscarried the first time, was so dextrously managed the "second, by the said Marshal and the Inhabitants, that "the Town was taken; and forced in such a manner, "with that suddenness and alarm, that all this unfortunate Queen could do, was to get behind a Gentleman, and Madam *de Duras* behind another, and to "make the best of their way, riding twelve Leagues "the first Day, and as many the next, and to escape "into the strongest Fortress of *France*, which is "*Carlat*." Queen *Margaret* observes in the beginning of her Memoirs, *that there is an Error* in *Brantome's* Relation, but we don't know how she would have rectified it. Let us see how the Author of the *Satyrical Divorce* mkes *Henry* IV. speak: (*a*) *She suffered her self again to be carried away by her Lasciviousness and Debauchery, leaving me without saying a Word, and going to* Agen, *a Town opposite to my Interest, to set up her Trade there, and to continue her Lewdness with greater Liberty: But the Inhabitants presaging horrible Successes from so horrible a Life, gave her occasion to depart in so much haste, that there was scarce found a House to carry her, nor hired or Post-Horses for half of her Maids; many whereof followed one after another, some without Masks, some without Aprons, and some without both; all in so wretched a pickle that they rather resembled the Whores of* Lansquenets *in the March of a Camp, than Women of a noble House. She was attended with some Nobility unequipp'd, who half without Boots, half on Foot, conducted her under the Guard of* Lignerac *to the Mountains of* Auvergne *into* Carlat, *where* * Marie *his Brother was Chatelain, a strong Fort, but more resembling a Den of Thieves, than the Habitation of a Prince, the Daughter, Sister and Wife of a King.* There are some Circumstances in the *Scaligerana*, which are not in the *Satyrical Divorce*: (*b*) *She got behind a Gentlem in without a Cushion; she wore off the Skin of her Thighs; of which she was sick a Month, having a fever. The Physician, who took care of her, was at present with the King, she order'd him to be hang'd .... she was forced to borrow a Smock of a Servant-Maid at a Neighbouring place, until she came to* Usson (*c*) *at the entrance into* Auvergne. Observe by the bye, that too much Liberty is taken in the *general and curious Dictionary*; for 'tis there said (*d*), that *Scaliger* affirms, that the Physician, who had this Princess in cure, when she had lost her Skin, *was hang'd for speaking too freely.* These last Words are not in my Edition of the *Scaligerana*; and I don't believe they are in others, or that *Cæsar de Rochefort* had any reason to add 'em of his own Head, though 'tis probable that *Scaliger* had such a meaning. It is not lawful to cite an Author according to our probable Imaginations of what he meant to say, but according to what he has said: for otherwise things would be quickly multiplied and falsified: Before this came to a fourth or fifth hand, it would import, that the Physician had said this and that, that he had made a Draught and a kind of a Topographical Map.

(*O*) *A very odd Life, which was a mixture of Gallantry, Devotion and Study.*] Mr *de Mezerai* relates, that Queen *Margaret* (e), *having employ'd Intrigues to discover the secret Practices of the Count* d' Auvergne, *gave much intelligence to the King, so that at last he resolv'd to comply with her Request*, that she might come to *Paris*. She arrived there in *August* 1605, "and had the Castle of *Madrid* in the Forest "of *Boulogne*, assigned her for her Lodging. She "lived there six Weeks, afterwards she removed to "the Palace of *Sens*: But there an unfortunate Accident happening to one of her Minions, who was "killed at the Door of her Coach, by a young Gentleman, mad that this Spark had ruined his Family with this Princess, She quitted that unfortunate Palace, and bought another in the Suburbs of *Germain*, near the River, and the *pré aux Clercs*, where "she began great designs of building and Gardening. "Here it was she kept her large Court the rest of her "Days, mixing together Pleasure and Devotion, "the love of Letters, and the love of Vanity, Christian "Charity and Injustice: For as she prided her self in "being seen frequently at Church, entertaining Learned Men, and giving the tenth of her Revenue to the "Monks, she gloried in having still some Gallantry, "inventing new Diversion, and never paying her "Debts."

(*q*) Brantome *Illustrious Ladies, pag.* 254, 255.

(*a*) *Satyrical Divorce, p. m.* 196, 197.

* *Others call him* Marie.

(*b*) Scaliger *ana at the Word* Navarre, *p. m.* 166.
(*c*) Scaliger *is mistaken, she went not to* Usson *till after she had lain a considerable time at* Carlat.
(*d*) Cæsar de Rochefort *general and curious Dictionary, pag.* 415. *Col.* 1.

(e) Mezerai *Chronological Abridgment Tom.* 6. *pag.* 316

(*P*) *He*

which were caſt on him for ſpeaking of this Queen's Baſtards. But this I ſhall examine in another place †, this Article being too long already. I will not conclude without ſaying, that the wiſe and famous *Pibrac* was her Chancellor (P) and Gallant.

† *In the Article* Uſſon, *where I relate many Things which have been ſaid of this Queen's ill Morals.*

NAUCRATIS, a City of *Egypt* upon the *Nile*. Some Authors have placed it upon the moſt Weſtern Branch (A) of that River; but every one (B) is not of their Opinion. 'Twas a Colony (C) of *Mileſians*, if we will believe *Strabo*: He is not the

(P) *The wiſe and famous* Pibrac *was her Chancellor and Gallant.*] See the Remark N of the Article *Henry* IV. I have read in *Thuanus* (f), that in 1582 *Pibrac* communicated to him a Draught of the Anſwer he deſigned to make to a ſmart Letter, which he had received from the Queen of *Navarre*: In which this Princeſs reproach'd him amongſt other things, with being too much addicted to Love, and preſuming to caſt his Eyes even upon her. *Pibrac* recited his deſigned Anſwer, with ſo much heat to *Thuanus* (g), that he gave occaſion to believe that *Margaret*'s Reproach was well-grounded. Truſt after this thoſe venerable Magiſtrates, who make moral Stanza's ſo grave and ſententious, that *Cato* himſelf would be proud of compoſing them. Here is a Paſſage of Queen *Margaret*'s Memoirs: (h) *Monſieur* de Pibrac *play'd a double Game, telling* this Princeſs, *that ſhe ought not to ſuffer her ſelf to be brav'd by ſuch an inconſiderable Man* (i) *as that, and whatever came on it, ſhe muſt get him to be removed; and telling the King of* Navarre, *that there was no probability that ſhe would deprive him of the ſervice of a Man, who was ſo neceſſary to him:* Which he *did to induce* her *by her Diſcontents to return into* France, *where he was fixed in his place of Preſident and Counſellor to the King.* Add, that as he loved the Queen, he could not reſolve to return to *Paris* without her.

(f) *Thuan. de vita ſua, lib.* 2. *p. m.* 1186.

(g) Adeo accuratis verbis, tantaque contentione & affectus vehementia, ut Margaritæ exprobrationi fidem aſtrueret. *Id. ib.*

(h) *Memoirs of Queen* Margaret, *pag.* 321.

(i) *That is to ſay, the Secretary* du Pin, *of whom we have ſpoken in the Remark G.*

(A) *Upon the moſt Weſtern Branch of that River.*] This Branch was that which was called *Oſtium Canopicum*, the Mouth of *Canopus*; near which *Alexander* the Great built the City of *Alexandria*. 'Tis plain, that *Herodotus* has placed *Naucratis* upon this Arm of the *Nile*. See in the Body of the Article what I cite from the 179 Chapter of his ſecond Book. *Salmaſius* (a) embraces this Opinion.

(a) *Salmaſ. Exercit. Plin. in Solin. pag.* 476.

(B) *Every one is not of their Opinion.*] Indeed (b) *Pliny* obſerves that the Arm of the *Nile*, which by reaſon of the City *Naucratis* was called *Naucraticum*, came immediately after that of *Canopus*. *Naucratis unde oſtium quidam Naucratiticum nominant, quod alii Heracleoticum, Canopico, cui* PROXIMUM *eſt, præferentes.* Let there be a Fault, if you pleaſe, in the Word *præferentes*, it will ſtill be true, that, according to *Pliny*, the Mouths of *Naucratis* and *Canopus* are not the ſame. *Tacitus* (c) is perfectly of this Opinion; for after having ſpoken of the Mouth of *Canopus*, he adds, *Inde proximum amnis os dicatum Herculi, quem indigenæ ortum apud ſe & antiquiſſimum perhibent.* *Dionyſius Periegetes* (d) affirms the ſame thing. But let us ſee a little what *Strabo* ſays: He obſerves (e), that the *Bolbitick* Mouth is next to that of *Canopus*; and that the *Sebennytick* immediately comes after the *Bolbitick*. In this he agrees with *Pliny*, *proximo Alexandriæ Canopico*, ſays (f) this latter, *deinde Bolbitino, Sebennytico*; whence we may infer by the bye, that, according to *Pliny*, *Heracleoticum*, *Bolbitinum*, *Naucratiticum ostium* are the ſame Arm of the *Nile*. *Strabo* adds, that the *Mileſians* entred with thirty Sail into the *Bolbitick* Mouth, at the time of *Pſammitichus* and *Cyaxares*, the former King of *Egypt*, the latter King of the *Medes*; and that making a Deſcent they built what was call'd the *Mileſians Wall*, Μιλησίων τεῖχος, a place betwixt the *Bolbitick* and *Sebennytick* Mouths. Another time, continues he, they ſet ſail towards *Sais*, and having obtained a Naval Victory againſt *Inarus*, they built the City of *Naucratis*, a little above *Schedia*. The City *Sais*, was according to him, farther from the *Bolbitick* Arm, than the City *Sebennys*. It ſeems therefore, that ſince they built *Naucratis*, after their conducting their Fleet towards *Sais*, *Naucratis* muſt be imagined pretty near *Sais*; and this would not only refute thoſe, who ſay that *Naucratis* was built upon the moſt Weſtern Arm of the *Nile*, but alſo thoſe that place it upon the ſecond Arm, reckoning from Weſt to Eaſt. But we muſt not fix the true Situation of *Naucratis* by the place where the *Mileſians* ſet Sail, and vanquiſhed *Inarus*, ſince *Strabo* explains himſelf, and gives us another Rule. They built, ſays he, *Naucratis* a little above *Schedia*. The queſtion is at preſent concerning the Poſition of *Schedia*. *Salmaſius* (g) places it upon the Mouth of *Canopus*, but he is miſtaken; for *Strabo* has placed a Canal betwixt this Mouth and *Schedia*; and conſequently a Town might have been built above *Schedia* upon the ſecond Arm of the *Nile*. The diſtance of *Alexandria* from *Schedia* was above twelve (h) or fifteen of our Leagues. Here is a Paſſage of *Strabo* that (i) deſerves to be obſerv'd: They who went up the *Nile* from *Schedia* to *Memphis*, found on their right *Hermopolis*, *Momemphis*, *&c.* with Canals leading to the Lake *Marcotis*; on the left they found *Naucratis* upon the River, in the *Delta* it ſelf, and *Sais* at ſome diſtance from the *Nile*. This is deciſive againſt the Poſition of *Naucratis* upon the moſt Weſtern Arm of this River. I don't think *Salmaſius* thought of this Paſſage of *Strabo*: Nor has he well examin'd the other, but has ill inferr'd from it, that *Naucratis* was where *Herodotus* placed it; namely, upon the Mouth of *Canopus*, the moſt Weſtern of the *Nile*. What he adds, that this *Canopic* Mouth, and the *Herculean* are the ſame in *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Ptolemey*, *Solinus* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, only ſerves the better to convince us of the Confuſion in which the antient Writers have left Geography; ſome ſaying one thing, and others affirming the quite contrary. This is moſt commonly the Fruit we reap, after having labour'd hard to reconcile theſe People; we put their Wanderings and Darkneſs in a great Light.

(g) *Exercit. Plin. p.* 476.

(h) *Of four* Schœni, *according to Strabo; now one* Schœnus *according to* Herodotus, *l.* 2. *c.* 6. *contained* 60 Stadia; *eight* Stadia *a Mile. See* Strabo, *l.* 17. *p.* 553: *who obſerves that this meaſure varied according to the places.*

(i) *Lib.* 17. *pag.* 552.

(C) *'Twas a Colony of* Mileſians.] Here is a Proof of what I have been obſerving: *Herodotus* is ſo far from ſaying with *Strabo*, that the *Mileſians* built *Naucratis* after their Naval Victory over *Inarus*, that he obſerves (k), that King *Amaſis* (l) abounding with Good-will towards the *Greeks*, conſented that ſuch of this Nation, as were willing to live at *Naucratis*, might do it; and that others, who had a more rambling Humour, and loved rather to ſail up and down, might build Temples in certain places. This Hiſtorian adds, that, in purſuance of this Grant, many *Grecian* Cities built a Temple at the common Charge, and that the *Mileſians* in particular built that of *Apollo*. He inſinuates that the places, where theſe Temples were, became ſo many Magazines or Store-houſes, for the Merchandizes of the *Grecians*; and that thus they abridg'd the Priviledges the City *Naucratis* enjoy'd of being the ſole trading Town of *Egypt*. I don't think it eaſie to reconcile with this Paſſage of *Herodotus*, that which I have cited from *Strabo* in the preceding Remark: It would be much if this Geographer could be reconciled with himſelf. He ſpeaks of two (m) Expeditions of the *Mileſians*. The Effects of the firſt were the Building in *Egypt* a City called the *Mileſians Wall*: The Effects of the ſecond were the building the City *Naucratis*. He does not reckon the Years betwixt theſe two Enterprizes; but he places the firſt under *Pſammitichus*, and the ſecond under *Inarus*; and he makes *Pſammitichus* Contemporary with *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*. It follows from hence, that the *Mileſians* made their firſt Expedition into *Egypt*, betwixt the 37 and 40 Olympiad; for (n) that is the time wherein the Reigns of theſe two Princes concur: And perhaps this Expedition ſhould not be diſtinguiſhed from that mention'd by (o) *Herodotus*, when he tells, that *Pſammitichus* having taken the *Ionians* and *Carians*, who landed in his Country, into his Service, by their means overcame all the other Kings of *Egypt*; after which he gave Lands to theſe Foreigners, who had ſo well ſerv'd him: 'Tis true, they were plac'd far enough from the Eſtabliſhment (p) of *Strabo*'s *Mileſians*. As for the Expedition made in *Inarus*'s time, it muſt fall about the 80 Olympiad, being the time in which the *Egyptians* elected him their King, in order to deliver themſelves from the ſevere Yoke of the *Perſians*. But if *Naucratis* was not built till the *Mileſians* had conquered *Inarus*, this City muſt have been founded after *Xerxes*'s Expedition: Whence comes it then, that *Strabo* (q) relates, that *Charaxus*, *Sappho*'s Brother, traded in *Lesbian* Wine at *Naucratis*? Did not *Strabo* know, that *Alcæus* and *Sappho* flouriſhed at the ſame time; that is, one hundred and fifty Years, more or leſs, before the Reign of *Inarus*? It muſt therefore be conteſs'd, that this Geographer's Account of *Naucratis* is undigeſted, and very doubtful. I ſhould rather believe what *Euſebius* ſays of it, namely, that it was built towards the end of the 6th Olympiad, at

(k) *Herodot. l.* 2. *c.* 178.

(l) *He began his Reign* 42 *Years after the Death of* Plammitichus. Helvic. Chron.

(m) *Lib.* 17. *pag. m.* 551.

(n) *See* Helvicus *in his Chronological Tables.*

(o) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 52.

(p) *A little above the Town of* Bubaſtus, *upon the Mouth of* Peluſium, *which is the moſt Oriental of the* Nile. *Herod. ib. c.* 154. *See what ſhall be cited from* Diodorus Siculus *in the Remark D.*

(q) *Lib.* 17, *pag.* 556.

the only one * who has ſaid it, but he is not conſiſtent with himſelf; and there are many Reaſons that oppoſe his Opinion. *Diodorus Siculus* (*D*) do's not favour him. That which is moſt certain is, that *Naucratis* was a very famous City. *Herodotus* β ſays, that it was antiently the only trading City in *Egypt*; and that to continue this Priviledge, no Merchant-ſhip was ſuffered to unlade in any other Port. All that put into any other Mouth of the *Nile*, were obliged to ſwear they did it againſt their Intention, and to ſail for the Arm of *Canopus* in the ſame Veſſel. That if they could not arrive there for contrary Winds, they unloaded their Effects in Barges, which they brought up the *Nile*, through all the Meanders of that River, quite to *Naucratis*. 'Tis not a little ſtep towards the proving the great Wealth of that City, and the mighty Concourſe of Foreigners, to obſerve, as *Herodotus* does †, that the Courteſans took great care there to be charming. Though this Hiſtorian confutes thoſe who have ſaid, that *Rhodope*, by her Proſtitutions, got Wealth wherewithal to build one of the principal Pyramids of *Egypt*; yet he owns ſhe got immenſe Summs, and clearly enough inſinuates, that ſhe carried on her chief Trade at *Naucratis*. *Athenæus* accuſes him of confounding this *Rhodope* with *Dorica*. It was the latter, according to *Athenæus*, who had *Sappho*'s Brother for her Gallant; but, according to *Herodotus*, ſhe that was loved by *Sappho*'s Brother, was called *Rhodope*. Let them diſpute it out. *Athenæus* ‡ ſeems to draw an advantage from this, that *Naucratis*, his Native place, had produc'd moſt famous and moſt handſome Women of Pleaſure. He forgets not to mention γ *Archidice*, who, as *Herodotus* relates δ, had a great Renown throughout all *Greece*. She ought not to be diſtinguiſh'd from her, who had a Suit with her Gallant. I have ſpoken elſewhere ζ of what the Courteſan *Lamia* thought of the Judgment, which was given upon that Cauſe. This City pretended to have a great ſhare in the Protection and Favour of *Venus* η, and boaſted of poſſeſſing a miraculous Image of this Goddeſs, which was conſecrated in her Temple, after it had done a great miracle in a violent Storm. The Story was to be found in a Book compoſed by *Polycharmus*, concerning the Goddeſs *Venus*. If we had this Book, we might ſee perhaps many Things, of which ſome Stories of our Legendaries would ſeem only a Copy; and if we had *Apollonius Rhodius*'s Work concerning the Foundation of *Naucratis*, it would be eaſie to make a long and curious Article concerning this City. *Origen* θ has obſerv'd, that the God *Serapis* was particularly adored there, though antiently they worſhip'd other Gods. *Athenæus* κ relates ſome Cuſtoms that were practis'd there. He is not the only Author that was born in this City: *Polycharmus* λ, *Julius Pollux* μ, *Lyceas* ν, and according to ſome, *Philiſtus* ξ, and *Ariſtophanes* ο, were born there alſo. *Philiſtus* had compoſed χ ſomething concerning this City. It drew infinitely more advantage from its Potters Ware (*E*) and Nitre, than from its ingenious Men, though theſe have moſt contributed to its Glory.

NAUSICAA or NAUSICAE, Daughter of *Alcinous* King of the *Phæaces*, in the Iſle of *Corcyra* *, appears with great Luſtre in *Homer*'s *Odyſſes*. The Poet has been very liberal of his Favours to her, and repreſented her like a Goddeſs † in Soul and Body; and was pleaſed that his Hero, after his Shipwrack, ſhould receive from her the firſt Aſſiſtance he wanted. Naked, as he was born, he was laid upon the Earth in

at the ſame time as *Rome*. I find (*r*) that *Athenæus* upon the Teſtimony of an Author, a Native of *Naucratis*, relates, that in the 23 Olympiad, *Heroſtratus* a Merchant of that City, was wont to trade by Sea in ſeveral Countries. This does not beſpeak a City built but t'other Day. *Scaliger*, who depends rather on *Strabo* than *Euſebius*, accuſes the latter (*s*) of a prodigious Anachroniſm; he finds an *hiatus* of about 150 Years betwixt the Year of the Foundation of *Naucratis*, according to *Euſebius*, and the Year that this Town was actually built; for he believes that the *Mileſians* built it towards the end of *Pſammitichus*'s Reign or the beginning of *Cyaxares*'s. He cites *Strabo*, without pretending to perceive the Victory obtain'd over *Inarus*: He therefore draws a falſe Conſequence from his Citation, ſince 'tis manifeſt, that if *Naucratis* was not built till after the Defeat of *Inarus*, contemporary with *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, 'tis impoſſible that *Scaliger* ſhould have well-fix'd the time of this City's Foundation. But *Salmaſius* (*t*) takes this *Inarus* of *Strabo* for a City: Upon this foot the *Mileſians* might have built *Naucratis*, according to *Scaliger*'s Date. But where ſhall we find the City *Inarus*? what Geographers have ſpoken of it? Let it not be ſaid, that this was a perfectly obſcure City; for *Strabo* in that caſe would not have barely named it: When we ſay briefly that Conquerors have taken ſuch or ſuch a Town, it is ſuppoſed to be known.

(*D*) Diodorus Siculus *does not favour him.*] He tells us (*a*), that *Pſammitichus*, one of the twelve Princes that govern'd *Egypt* for fifteen Years, was oblig'd, in order to maintain himſelf againſt his Partners, to liſt Strangers into his Army; by which means he gained a Battle, which ſubjected the whole Kingdom. Theſe Strangers were *Arabians* or *Carians* or *Ionians*. From that time Strangers were had in great Eſteem, whether they were Soldiers, or came to ſee *Egypt*. He made an Alliance with the *Athenians*, and with other *Grecian* Nations; and was the firſt that permitted Foreigners to traffick in *Egypt*: For in the preceding Reigns all the Strangers, who landed in this Country, were either murther'd or made Slaves. Now, according to *Athenæus*, the City *Naucratis* was already conſiderable in the 23 Olympiad: It is not therefore poſſible, according to *Diodorus*'s Hypotheſis, that it ſhould have been built by the *Mileſians*, ſince by that Hypotheſis no Stranger could ſafely land in *Egypt*, before the Reign of *Pſammitichus*; that is to ſay, before the (*b*) 30 Olympiad more or leſs. Judge whether *Euſebius* could find his account in this Hypotheſis; he will have *Naucratis* to have been built by the *Mileſians* in the 6 Olympiad: There is nothing but Confuſion in all this.

(*E*) *From its Potters Ware and Nitre.*] The Paſſage where *Athenæus* (*c*) ſpeaks of theſe Potters Wares, has not been well tranſlated. Πολλοὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτει κεραμεῖς, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἡ πλησίον θύρα κεραμέων πύλη Κεραμικὴ καλεῖται. His meaning is, that there was a great number of Potters at *Naucratis*, and that the Gate of the City, which was called *Ceramick*, took its Name from its Neighbourhood to the Potteries. Inſtead of this Senſe 'tis turn'd thus, that the Arm of the *Nile*, in the Neighbourhood of theſe Potteries, was called the *Ceramicum oſtium*. *Dalechamp* (*d*) has been ſo fond of this Verſion, as to make uſe of it to change the Word *Canopicum*, in a Paſſage of *Pliny*, into that of *Ceramicum*. It ſhould be read, ſays he, *Naucratu, unde oſtium quidam Naucraticum nominant, quod alii Ceramicum, &c. (non Canopicum.)* If there was any change to be made, it ſhould not have

gins this Reign in the ſecond Year of the 27 Olympiad, excludes not the time that Pſammitichus *reign'd with his Aſſociates.*

(*r*) *Lib. 15. pag. 675.*

(*s*) Μέγα χάσμα ἀναχρονισμοῦ. *Scalig. in Euſeb. Chron. pag. 74.*

(*t*) Expugnata Inaro condiderunt Naucratim. *Salmaſ. Exercit. in Solin. pag. 476.*

(*a*) *Lib. 6. c. 2.*

(*b*) Helvicus *begins* and doubtleſs

(*c*) *Lib. 11. pag. 480.* (*d*) *Not. in Athen. ad pag. 48..*

* *Euſeb. Stephanus Byzantin.* Suidas *alſo ſays it.*

β *Lib. 2. c. 179.*

† Φιλέουσι δὲ πάντες ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτει ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἑταῖραι. Gaudent autem quodam modo in Naucrate proſtibula fieri gratioſa. *Herod. l. 2. c. 135.*

‡ Γνοὺς δὲ ἐπῄνεσας ἐκ τῆς καλλίστης διαφερούσας ἑταίρας ἡ γεγονυῖα καὶ ἡ Ναύκρατις. Celeres quoque meretrices & inſigni forma tulit Naucratis. *Athen. lib. 13. c. 7. pag. 596.*

γ *Id. ib.*

δ *Herod. l. 2. c. 135.*

ζ *In the Article* Lamia *Remark Y.*

η *Athen. l. 15. c. 6. pag. 676.*

θ Contra Celſum, *l. 5. pag. m. 257.*

κ *Pag. 149, 150, 675.*

λ *Athen. p. 675.*

μ *Philoſtr. de Sophiſt. l. 2.* Suidas.

ν *Athen. p. 616.*

ξ Suidas.

ο *Heliodorus Athenienſis, apud Athenæum. l. 6. p. 229.*

χ Suidas.

* Now Corfou.

† A'βανδ τοῦ ὄνου κ' ἐμοῦ. Immortalibus indole & forma ſimilis. *Homer Odyſſ. lib. 6. v. 16.*

† Ἦτοι ὁ μὲν ὣς ἀμφὶ πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς, Αὐτοῦ πὰρ ποταμὸν ἐδήτυος ἔκλιν᾽ ἀπάνευθε. Atque ipse bibebat & edebat prudens divinus Ulyſſes, rapaciter; jampridem enim cibum non guſtaverat. *Id. ibid.* v. 249.

‡ Τῷ κέν τοι καὶ ἔπειτα θεῷ ὡς εὐχετοῶμεν αἰεὶ ἤματα πάντα. Sic enim tibi etiam illi, velut Deo vota faciam ſemper diebus omnibus. *Odyſſ.* 8. v. 467.

γ Spon's *Voyage. Tom.* 1. *p.* 99. *Edit. of* Holland. *There is a Cut of it in* Wheeler's *Travels.*

* *Ariſtoteles de republ. Ithacenſi*; & *Hellanicus apud Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib.* 15. *Dictys Cretenſis lib.* 6. *pag. m.* 204.

† Mr. du Pin *in his new Bibliotheque of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. Tom.* 2. *pag.* 201. *&c. Edit. of* Holland, *and Monſieur* le Clerc *in the beginning of the* 18*th Tom. of the Univerſal Bibliotheque.*

a place, where the buſhy Branches of two Trees ſecured him from the Eyes of the Paſſengers; and he very quietly ſlept by the favour of *Minerva*, when the Cries of ſome Maids awak'd him. They were *Nauſicaa*, and her Maids, who were playing (*A*) at Tennis, waiting till the Linnen, they had waſh'd and hung out, was dried by the Sun. *Ulyſſes* firſt covered his obſcene Parts with Leaves, and then went to ſee what was the matter. The ſight of him put all thoſe poor Girls to flight, except *Nauſicaa*, who had, by Inſpiration, been adviſ'd by *Mercury* to wait the naked Man's coming, and hear what he had to ſay. *Ulyſſes*, fearing to diſpleaſe her if he embrac'd her Knees, made his Complement at a diſtance, telling her, that, perceiving her ſo beautiful, he could not gueſs whether ſhe were a Goddeſs, or a Woman; that her Father, Mother and Brothers were happy in her; but yet more happy would he be that ſhould eſpouſe her: And ſo, after a long Encomium, ſo well contriv'd, implor'd her Aſſiſtance chiefly in Relation to his Nakedneſs, praying the Gods to give her a Huſband, Children, and a Domeſtick Concord. *Nauſicaa* anſwered, as became her, calling back her Servants, and commanding them to give the Man both Meat and Drink, and to waſh his Body. Immediately they led him to the Bath, and brought him both Cloaths and Oil, bidding him to waſh himſelf in the River; but he deſired them to retire at a little diſtance, being aſhamed to appear naked before ſo many young Women: Hereupon they retir'd, and he began to waſh and rub himſelf. When he had done he put on the Cloaths that were brought him, and ſo return'd to *Nauſicaa*, who was ſo well pleas'd with him, that ſhe told her Servants ſhe ſhould be glad of ſuch a Man for her Husband. After he had eaten with all the † Precipitation that a famiſh'd Perſon, who had faſted a long while, could do, ſhe told him he muſt go with her Servants to a certain Cave near the City, and wait there till ſhe ſhould have entered her Father's Palace with all her Attendants. She gave him her Reaſons for this, very frankly; and which were, that ſhe would give no occaſion of babbling to any Slanderers, of whom that City was full, and who would not fail to ſay, in caſe they ſaw her go into that Cave with her Servants, that ſhe went thither in queſt of a Husband; upon which they would make ſo many malicious Reflections, as ſhe her ſelf ſhould be apt to do on another, that before Marriage, and without the Conſent of either Father or Mother, ſhould lie with a Man. *Ulyſſes*, in obedience to theſe Remonſtrances, went to the place appointed him; whence he was afterwards inviſibly conducted by *Minerva* (*B*) to *Alcinous*, who receiv'd him very kindly. He there again ſaw *Nauſicaa* ‡, who deſir'd him to remember when he ſhould be return'd home, how ſhe had ſav'd his Life. He anſwer'd, he would every Day pay his Vows to her as to a Goddeſs. I will ſhow hereafter how I came to enlarge (*C*) upon this Epiſode of *Homer*. There is in the *Muſæum* of the Sieur γ *Nigri* at *Bologna*, an exceeding rare Medal of this Heroine.

There are ſome grave * Authors that affirm *Telemachus*, Son of *Ulyſſes*, was married to our *Nauſicaa*, and that he had a Son by her, whom ſome name *Perſeptolis*, and others *Ptoliportus*.

NAUSITHOUS, King of the *Phæaces*: See the Article ALCINOUS.

NAZIANZEN (GREGORY) one of the moſt famous Fathers of the Church, in the IVth Century. I could make a very long Article of him; but as then I muſt repeat what many † great Authors have ſaid before me, whoſe Works are in every Body's Hands, and ſtill retain the Grace of Novelty, I ſhall be very ſhort. He that cenſur'd *Gregory* (*A*) *Nazianzen* for writing againſt the Emperor *Julian*, has committed

been (*e*) *Canopicum* but *Heracleoticum*, which ſhould be chang'd into *Ceramicum*. But, as *Salmaſius* (*f*) well obſerves, *Athenæus* do's not ſay, that the Arm of the *Nile*, upon which *Naucratis* was built, was called *Ceramick*; I'll ſay, by the bye, that there was in *Athens* a fine Street (*g*) called *Ceramick*, and a Suburb of the ſame Name; and the Street ſtill goes by its antient Name, which it had from a Hero call'd *Ceramus*, the Son of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*: But the Subburb was called ſo from a great Pottery there. It was in the way to the *Academy*. As concerning the Nitre of *Naucratis*, I will content my ſelf with citing *Pliny* (*h*).

(*A*) *Who were playing at Tennis.*] You ſee that *Homer* is contented to ſay, that *Nauſicaa* diverted her ſelf with her Attendants, at this Play: But *Amagallis* (*i*) a Grammarian Woman has made her the Inventor of it. 'Tis true, that *Athenæus* (*k*) contradicts her; and ſuppoſes, that being of *Corcyra*, ſhe was willing to do a Favour to *Nauſicaa* her Countrey-woman.' Tis true alſo, that it ſeems to be rather the Invention of a Dance, than of Tennis, that is aſcrib'd to her: But theſe Things lie too deep concealed in the obſcurity of Antient Times.

(*B*) *By* Minerva *to* Alcinous.] This is what neither *Charles Stephens*, Mr. *Lloyd*, nor Mr. *Hoffman* have taken notice of; for they all make *Nauſicaa* Introduce's of *Ulyſſes* to *Alcinous*. There has been more care taken in *Calepin*; for inſtead of ſaying with others *In Regnum patris ſui eum perduxit*, it is there ſaid, *In Regiam Patris ſui ire juſſit*. The two Verſes of *Martial* which are quoted,

Si mihi Nauſicae patrios concederet hortos,
Alcinoo poſſem dicere malo meos,

are not in the ſecond Book, as has been affirm'd; but in the 31 Epigram of the twelfth Book, where *Martial* commends the Gardens of his Wife. I have reproved an Errour (*a*) in another place much more groſs.

(*C*) *Why I have enlarged upon this Epiſode.*] It was to make every one ſenſible, by touches that are within every Man's Capacity, of *Homer*'s Simplicity, and the Difference there is between the Character of his Age, and this of ours.

(*A*) *He that cenſur'd* Gregory Nazianzen *for Writing againſt the Emperor* Julian, *has committed a great Error in Chronology.*] It was *Cunæus* Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Leiden*, that committed this Error. Theſe are his Words: (*b*) *Fuit profectò, fuit Græcorum quorundam, qui eâ tempeſtate Eccleſiam rexere, magna imprudentia. Etenim, uti cauſæ ſuæ ſervirent, principem Chriſtianis infeſtum laceſſebant, quem tolerare ſatius fuiſſet. Sunt in hominum manibus Orationes eorum, in quibus, tanquam in ſcena, palam eum omnibus ludibrium fecere, & faciem illius, formamque corporis, atque geſtus, tum alia fortuita, quæ vulgus & imperitiſſimus quiſque notat, traxerunt in culpam. Qui viri, ſi meminiſſent temporum, quibus nati erant, ſanè neceſſitati, quæ pertinax regnum tenet, ſine contumacia paruiſſent, & quod magnæ prudentiæ eſt, obſequio mitigaſſent imperia.* This was reproved in a Book that appear'd in 1690. Wherein it is ſaid, that a celebrated Profeſſor is guilty of (*c*) falſifying Hiſtory, by accuſing of

(*a*) *In the Remark* C *of the Article* Alcinous.

(*b*) Cunæus, Prefat. in Juliani Cæſares. *p. m.* 119.

(*c*) *An Important Advice to the Refugees.*

m. 212, 258. (*h*) Nitrariæ Ægypti circa Naucratim & Memphim tantum ſolebant eſſe, circa Memphim deteriores. *Plin. l.* 31. *c.* 10. (*i*) Suidas in Ἀμαγαλλὶς & in Ὀργὰ Cas. (*k*) *Athen. lib.* 1. *c.* 11.

mitted a great Error in Chronology. Some over-nice Criticks have pretended that he has corrupted the Purity of the *Greek* Tongue, (*B*) and given way to the Barbarisms of the *Latin* Divines. They also complain his *Greek* Verses were substituted for the Instruction of Youth, in the Room of the Pagan Poesy, which was burnt (*C*) at the Instigation of the Priests.

NEPHES OGLI. This Name among the *Turks* signifies, *The Son of the Holy Spirit*, and has been given to certain Persons, born after an extraordinary manner; I mean of a Virgin-Mother. There are, tis said, a sort of *Turkish* Women, which live in such Retirement, that they never see a Man. They go very rarely to the Mosques; and when they do, they tarry there from nine a Clock at Night till Mid-night, and join to their Prayers such Contorsions of Body, and so many Howlings, that, by thus weakening themselves, it oftentimes happens they fall down on the Ground in a Swoon. If they find themselves with Child from that time, they give out they are so by the Grace of the Holy Spirit, and thence the Children, they bring forth, come to be call'd *Nephes Ogli* ‡. They are look'd upon as a sort of People that have (*Z*) the Gift of Miracles.

‡ *Georgievitz cap.* 1. *Id mihi narratum est, says he,* rediisse à quis earum, *nam nec ipse vidi, nec alterius visionem coram eadem hujusmodi spectaculo interesse potest.*

NESTORIUS, Bishop of *Constantinople*, was depos'd as a Heretick, by the Council of *Ephesus*, in the Year 431. The Reason of this was, that he maintain'd that the Holy Virgin ought not to be call'd, *The Mother of God.* There are some People, who maintain, that the Sense in which (*A*) he rejected this Epithet was reasonable and

" of a very great Imprudence those Prelates, of whom " we have yet the Invectives against *Julian*. They " had better, says he, have complied with the Neces- " sity of the Times, by an humble Submission, and " born with the severe Humour of that Prince against " the Christians, than to have exasperated him yet " more by their Writings. Now is not this to suppose " that St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and St. *Cyril*, the only " two that *Cuneus* could speak of, published their " Invectives during the Life of that Emperor; which " nevertheless is an apparent Falsity; for St *Gregory* " did not write his till after the Death of *Julian*, and " St. *Cyril* did not live till a considerable time after the " Decease of that Prince: Where was then the great " Imprudence of these two Prelates?" Father *Petau* in his Epistle Dedicatory to his Edition of the Works of *Julian*, is very angry with this *Cuneus*, reproaching him, among other things, with the Error in Chronology before-mentioned. See what he says, after having copy'd the *Latin* Words of *Cuneus*: *Hæc ille non solum imprudenter talibus de viris, sed etiam imperite. Verum Græci illi Patres, quos imprudentiæ arguit: quorumque contra Julianum extare orationes asserit, sunt omnino duo. Gregorius Nazianzenus; & Cyrillus, quorum alter haud paucis post Juliani obitum annis vixit, ac scripsit, alter æqualis quidem fuit illius. Sed eo modo συγχρονικῶς illos duos conscripsit, ex quibus, cæteroquin tale dignioribus liquet; fuisse Imperatorem istum multos, veri pene vitæ præditum,* &c. 'Tis possible *Cuneus* might have reply'd to the other Sarcastick Complaints of Father *Petau*; but he must be contented to undergo Condemnation in regard of this.

(*B*) *He has corrupted the Purity of the* Greek *Tongue, and given way to the Barbarisms of the Latin Divines.*] I have read this Complaint in a Work of *Alcyonius*. You will find there a fine Encomium upon St. *Gregory*; but which concludes with these Words:

(*d*) Petrus Alcyonius in Medice legato prior fol. c. iij verso. (*d*) *Utinam irruptionem Græcæ linguæ integritatem fuisset in tanta rerum silva & tam magna librorum vi, certe sanctissimum illum pontificem omni laude cumulatum judicem.... evellius maxime scriptis barbariem inrepsisse in Theologiam Latinorum doctorum. Nam veteres nostri interpretes mediocris literaturæ, nullius fere judicii homines, cum animadverterent Theologum hunc frequentes usurpare voces quasdam novas eoque non satis apte fictas, se esse sibi esse crediderunt illas Latine reddere, atque hunc in modum sordida barbaries Latinæ infusecata.* 'Tis the Cardinal *John de Medicis*, who speaks here.

(*C*) *In the Room of the Pagan Poesy, burnt at the Instigation of the Priests.*] Let us continue to hear the same *John de Medicis*

(*a*) *Id. ib.* (*a*) *Audiebam etiam puer ex Demetrio Chalcondyla Græcarum rerum peritissimo, pueros Græcos tanta fuisse audacia apud Cæsares Byzantios, ut integros illorum patres complura de veteribus Græcis poemata combusserint in pompæque ea ubi amores, lupes ejus, & reparatæ amantum contumeliæ, atque ita Menandri, Diphili, Apollodori, Philemonis, Alexis fabellas, & Sophas, Eurips, Æschylis, Mimnermi, Homeri, Simonidis, Alcæi carmina interciderint. Eum pro eis substituta Nazianzeni nulla poemata, quæ etsi caruerint animis veterum hominum illa flagrantissimi veluti ingenii cultum, non tamen verborum atticorum proprietatem & græcæ linguæ elegantiam edicent. Tum pater quidem Sacerdotes ista in veteres Græcos in ferula fuerunt sed integritatis, probitatis, & religionis maximam dederint testimonium.*

(*Z*) *Who have the Gift of Miracles.*] A Monk, who liv'd a long while in *Turkey*, assures us, that, as it was said, there was always two or three of these *Nephes Ogli*'s in the City of (*b*) *Brulezia*, whose Hair, and Pieces of their Habits, cur'd all sorts of Maladies. *Dicuntur tales*, adds he, (*c*) *prodigiose nasci, id est sine virili semine, & per consequens tota eorum vita & actio supernaturalis & mirabilis credenda est.*

(*A*) *That the Sense in which he rejected this Epithet was.... Orthodox.*] See after what manner *Nestorius* lays down his Sentiments in a Letter he wrote to *Celestin* Bishop of *Rome*: He says " (*d*) that having met with " some Persons at *Constantinople* that corrupted the " Orthodox Faith, he endeavour'd to reclaim them " by ways of Lenity, although their Heresy came very " near those of *Arius* and *Apollinaris*, because they made " the Union of the two Natures of JESUS CHRIST " to degenerate into Confusion and Commixtion, ma- " king the Divine Nature to be born of *Mary*, and the " Body of CHRIST to be chang'd into his Deity: " That upon this Foundation they gave the Virgin-Mo- " ther of CHRIST the Quality of Mother of God; " that this Term, although most improper, might " be born with on account of the Union of the Word " with the Flesh, did not one understand it of the " Deity, and suppose that the Virgin is the Mother of " the Word of God, which is not to be maintain'd." In another (*e*) Letter he commends St. Cyril for distinguishing between the two Natures in JESUS CHRIST; but he accuses him afterwards of destroying this Truth, by rendering the Deity passible and mortal. He confesses the two Natures are united, but denies, that, by reason of that Union, the Qualities that belong only to one of the two, can be attributed to the other, and says also, that as often as the Holy Scripture speaks of the Passion and Death of JESUS CHRIST, the Human Nature is meant, and not the Divine. St. Cyril acknowledges (*f*), that *Nestorius* owns the Word was incarnate, and has been in the Womb of the Virgin together with the Man who was born of *Mary*; but he says, this Man is not naturally God; and that it was he only that died and rose again. We own, says St Cyril (*g*), the Word of God to be Immortal, and Life it self; but we believe at the same time he became Flesh, and that being united with the animated Body, he has suffer'd in that Body as is said in the Scripture: And, because his Body has suffer'd, we say he has suffer'd likewise, although he be of an impassible Nature; and because his Body was glorified, we say he was risen again also. But Nestorius is not of this Opinion; for he says 'tis as the Man that rose again, and that 'tis the Body of the Man that is proposed to us in the Holy Mysteries: We believe, on the contrary, 'tis the Flesh and Blood of the Word that enlivens all Things.

(*b*) *It was undoubtedly the City of* Prusa *in* Bithynia, *the first Residence which the* Ottoman *Empire had.*

(*c*) *Septemcastrensis de moribus Turcorum, pag.* 47. *apud Hottinger. Histor. Orient. pag.* 295.

(*d*) Du Pin's *Bibliotheque of Ecclesiastical Authors. Tom.* 3. *part* 2. *pag.* 287. *Edit. of* Holland.

(*e*) *This was the second Answer he gave St.* Cyril. See Du Pin *ib.*

(*f*) Du Pin *ibid. pag.* 285.

(*g*) Du Pin *ibid.*

Now 'tis easy to comprehend there was only a dispute of Words between them; for St. *Cyril* did not pretend that the Word, as Word, had suffer'd Death, for he acknowledg'd the Word was of an impassible Nature; but he meant only that inasmuch as a humane Body, united to the Word, died and rose again, it might be said the Word died and rose again. The Contest was then only about a Term of Phrase; the Dispute did not run upon the Thing it self. *Nestorius* and St. *Cyril* agreed, that the Word, as Word, was not born of the Lady of Mercy, and could not die on the Cross; but that he was united with the Flesh, formed in the Womb of the Holy Virgin, and which had been created. They disputed then only whether, by reason of this Doctrine, they could use certain Phrases. *Nestorius* would not consent to it, because he fear'd the Con-

sequences

and Orthodox; and that therefore this pretended Hereſiarch was condemn'd moſt unjuſtly. At leaſt it ought to be owned, that the Proceedings of St. *Cyril* his Adverſary, were altogether irregular. Never was a Judgment (*B*) more precipitate nor more to be ſuſpected of Paſſion, than that given againſt our *Neſtorius* by the Council of *Epheſus*. Nevertheleſs St.

(*b*) *Might they not ſay that, according to the Chriſtians, God has a Father and a Mother, a Grand-father and a Grand-mother, a great Grand-father and a great Grand-mother, and ſo go through all the Degrees of Parentage both Lineal and Collateral? and then ſay with* Cicero, Si (Saturnus) eſt Deus, patrem quoque ejus, Cælum, eſſe Deum contitendum eſt. Quod ſi ita eſt, Cæli quoque parentes Dii habendi ſunt, Æther, & Dies, eorumque fratres, & ſorores, qui à genealogis antiquis ſic nominantur, Amor, Dolus, &c. *De natura Deor. l.* 3. *p. m.* 625.

(*i*) *This is a Figure by which the Name of the Whole is given to the Part, or the Name of the Part to the Whole; that of the Genus to the Species, or that of the Species to the Genus, &c.*

(*k*) *Neſtorius might have ſaid that the Councils never made uſe of the Term Mother of God, yet that Term was in uſe, ſo that the People of* Conſtantinople, *being accuſtom'd to hear it, were extremely diſpleas'd when the* Neſtorians *affirm'd it ought not to be made uſe of.* See du Pin, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 61. (*b*) *'Tis the* 12*th Letter of the firſt Part.* (*c*) *In the Remark L.* (*d*) *See the Remark H.*

ſequences of ſuch Expreſſions; and St. *Cyril* would have it ſo, becauſe he apprehended the Conſequences of rejecting thoſe Phraſes: So that, to judge charitably, they were both truly Orthodox, and animated with a good Zeal; but they had the Misfortune to explain themſelves ill, and not to underſtand one another. Now one that had been accuſtom'd to give Things an ill Conſtruction, would perhaps ſay, they did underſtand each other very well, but that finding themſelves once in the career, like two famous Champions they would not own their Conteſt was grounded on a Trifle. They did like thoſe brave Duelliſts, who, for fear of being ſuſpected of Cowardice, will not own that they have not offended, or that they have not been offended. By giving ſatisfaction they might confeſs a ſort of Deſire not to draw, and they might teſtify the ſame deſire by acquieſcing in the Satisfaction. However it be, the whole Doctrine of the Hypoſtatick Union, may be retain'd, and the Title of *Mother of God*, be nevertheleſs rejected, as well becauſe it may furniſh Infidels with an occaſion of (*b*) Drolling, as the Primitive Chriſtians, though with greater Reaſon, did upon *Cybele*, as, becauſe in a rigorous Senſe, it is not true, that the Holy Virgin is the Mother of God. It is poſſible for an Angel to be united with a Humane Body, at the Time of Conception, in ſuch a manner that that Angel and that Humane Body, may make a Man juſt as the Body and Soul of *Adam* made one. The Woman, that ſhould conceive and nouriſh this Body, to which this Angel was united, would be the Mother of the Perſon that proceeds from this Hypoſtatick Union; but ſhe would not be the Mother of the Angel. We cannot ſay *Eve* was the Mother of the Soul of *Abel*, though ſhe was the Mother of his Body. Let us ſay the ſame of the Holy Virgin: She was the Mother of JESUS CHRIST, but not of the Word; which, by uniting with the Body, formed a Whole, which was called JESUS CHRIST. To ſay that the Holy Virgin may be term'd the Mother of JESUS CHRIST, but not of God, is not therefore an Argument that one rejects the Hypoſtatick Union, but only that one prefers the exact Language of the Philoſophers to that of the Vulgar, and to (*i*) the Synecdoches of Rhetoricians. I am of Opinion nevertheleſs, that *Neſtorius* was blamable for oppoſing the Torrent: He ought to have contented himſelf to make his Adverſaries explain what they underſtood by the Mother of God (*a*). St. *Cyril* on his part was alſo blamable for not making *Neſtorius* explain what he meant by the Mother of CHRIST. They might have ſav'd the Church from a great many Troubles, if they would have underſtood each other. The Buſineſs was only to give reciprocally a right Definition of Words. I here call to mind (*b*) a Chapter in the *Art of Thinking*, where it is ſhown, that a thouſand Diſputes would ceaſe, did but the Diſputants take upon themſelves the trouble of explaining what they meant by the Terms they employ. As for the reſt, it ſeems to me that the Abuſes, in reſpect to the Adoration of the Holy Virgin, were equally to be fear'd, whether ſhe was call'd the Mother of JESUS CHRIST, or the Mother of God: For, doubtleſs, the moſt extravagant Votaries did never believe that the Word, as ſuch, received from the Holy Virgin its Life and Subſiſtence, in like manner as Children receive them from their Mother. And it is certain, that by urging the Conſequences of the Title of Mother of JESUS CHRIST, as much as thoſe of Mother of God have been urg'd, one might as eaſily have introduced the Worſhip of the Holy Virgin, and the *O Felix Puerpera noſtra prans ſcelera, Jure Matris Impera Redemptori.* I ſhall ſpeak of this hereafter (*c*). This refutes thoſe that find in the Conduct of *Neſtorius* (*d*) ſome thing that was capable of preventing Idolatry. What follows may perſwade us that at the bottom, his Opinion was Orthodox; which is, that he offered (*e*) *to call the Virgin* Mary *the* Mother of God, *provided the Error of* Apollinaris *maintain'd by St.* Cyril, *was condemned.*

(*B*) *Never was a Judgment more precipitate, or more ſuſpected of Paſſion.*] But one Seſſion was employ'd in citing *Neſtorius*, examining his Writings with thoſe of St. *Cyril*, hearing Witneſſes, and depoſing him. He that preſided at this Aſſembly was St. *Cyril*, *Neſtorius*'s Adverſary. He made the Council begin to act, without waiting for the Oriental Biſhops, or the Pope's Legates, (*f*) *and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſixty eight Biſhops, who demanded that the Arrival of* John *of* Antioch, *and of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Biſhops ſhould be ſtaid for.* *Candidian*, the Emperor's Commiſſioner, had alſo demanded (*g*) that the arrival of the Oriental Biſhops might be waited for, alledging, *that the Emperor his Maſter's Intent was, that a General Council ſhould be held, and not a particular and factious Aſſembly:* But as his Remonſtrances were taken little notice of, he retir'd, and proteſted againſt the Council. St. *Cyril* having over-rul'd all theſe Proteſtations and Remonſtrances, open'd the Council, and in the firſt Seſſion condemn'd and depos'd his Antagoniſt, altho' he had promis'd to appear *as ſoon as all the Biſhops ſhould be arriv'd.* All this ſhows, that the Emperor did not write to St. *Cyril* (*h*), *that he look'd upon him as the Author of all this Diſturbance*, without a Cauſe. It was not without reaſon that he reproach'd him *with diſturbing the Church, with having a Mind to divide the Imperial Family, by writing ſeparately to the Empreſſes; and in a word, with meddling with what he had nothing to do, and acting with too much Authority and without Prudence.*

Let us make uſe of Monſieur *du Pin*'s Words to ſet forth the Irregularities of St. *Cyril* more at large. (*i*) *There are many Objections made againſt this Council, and the Conduct obſerv'd in it. They ſay, it cannot paſs for any thing but a tumultuous and raſh Aſſembly, where nothing reign'd but Faction and Paſſion, and that it cannot be term'd an Oecumenical Council. Alſo that St.* Cyril *held it in ſpight of the Commiſſioners the Emperor ſent to convene it; That not only* Neſtorius, *and thoſe of his Party, but many other Catholick Biſhops likewiſe oppoſed it; That he reſolved not to wait for the Oriental Biſhops, though they were juſt upon their Arrival, and had requir'd that he ſhould ſtay for them; That he did not in like manner wait for the coming of the Pope's Legats, and the Biſhops of the Weſt; That this Synod was only compoſed of ſome* Egyptian *Biſhops, and others of* Aſia, *all intirely devoted to his Will; That he alone did all, and govern'd all in that Council. As he refus'd* Neſtorius *for his Judge, becauſe he look'd upon him as his Enemy, had not* Neſtorius *the ſame Reaſon to refuſe him? The manner with which he acted againſt* Neſtorius, *and the raſhneſs he condemn'd him with, ſeems to make it plain, that nothing but Paſſion did animate him. He cited* Neſtorius *twice in one Day:* Neſtorius *anſwer'd, he was ready to come, as ſoon as the Biſhops of the Eaſt and Weſt ſhould arrive, and the Council was full, for he did not refuſe to be judged, but did not care to be ſo by his Enemies only: Theſe Excuſes ſeem reaſonable.* St. *Chryſoſtom alledged no other to avoid his Appearance at the Synod of* Theophilus. *Nevertheleſs* St. Cyril, *in imitation of his Uncle and Predeceſſor* Theophilus, *received the Acculation, commenc'd the Proceſs, deliver'd his Opinion againſt his Enemy firſt, and at length condemn'd him. This is what* Iſidorus *of* Damiata *reproach'd* St. Cyril *with; letting him know "* there were many that *"laugh'd both at him and the Tragedy he play'd at E-"* pheſus; *That it was publickly ſaid he ſought only to "* revenge *himſelf upon his Enemy; That he herein imi-"* tated *his Uncle* Theophilus; *and that, although "* there were a great difference between the Parties ac-*"* cus'd, *yet the Conduct of the Accuſers was the ſame; "* That *he would have done better to have ſate down "* quietly, *and not to have reveng'd himſelf for particular "* Offences, *at the Expence of the Church in general, and "* not *to have ſow'd an eternal Diſcord amongſt its Mem-"* bers *under a falſe Pretence of Piety.*" *Theſe are the very Words of* Iſidorus *of* Damiata, *which he ſpake to him as a Friend.* Gennadius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *compares likewiſe the Conduct of St.* Cyril *with that of* Theophilus, *calling him the ſecond Scourge of* Alexandria. *The manner after which this Affair of* Neſtorius *was determin'd*

(*e*) *In a Letter he wrote to the Emperor, during the holding of the Council of* Epheſus. *See* du Pin *pag.* 297.

Neſtorius *was now depoſed by the Biſhops, who adher'd to St.* Cyril; *but the latter was in like manner depoſ'd by thoſe that adher'd to* John *of* Antioch.

(*f*) Du Pin, ubi ſupra. *pag.* 293. *He quotes Collect. of Lupus. Cap.* 7.

(*b*) *Id. ib. pag.* 292. *He quotes* 1. *p. Act. Council. c.* 31.

(*i*) *Id. ib. pag.* 320, *&* 321.

St. *Cyril*, who preſided there, and was the Soul of that tumultuous Aſſembly, has preſerved his Rank (C) and Dignity ever ſince, and throughout all ſucceeding Ages, has been venerated as a Saint; whereas *Neſtorius* ſpent miſerably the remainder of his Days, and his Memory ſtill continues Odious: Nay, ſome have not ſcrupled to ſay, that his Death (D) was occaſion'd by the Divine Curſe and Malediction. His Sect multiplied exceedingly, and ſubſiſts ſtill; which ſome have attributed with great probabi-

termin'd, ſeems to prove plainly it was Paſſion only that influenc'd St. Cyril *and the Biſhops of his Party; that they were reſolv'd, at what rate ſoever, to condemn him, and that they apprehended nothing ſo much as the Arrival of the Oriental Biſhops, for fear of not having then a full Power of doing what they pleas'd; for in the very firſt Seſſion they cited* Neſtorius *twice, read the Depoſitions of the Fathers, the Letters of St.* Cyril, *with his twelve Chapters, and the Writings of* Neſtorius, *and gave all their Opinions. Nothing was ever determined with ſo great Precipitation, ſince the leaſt of theſe Matters requir'd a Seſſion a-part. How could then the twelve Propoſitions of St.* Cyril *be examin'd in ſo ſhort a time, which needed ſo many Explanations, and which have cauſed ſo many Diſputes? How could ſo many Paſſages out of the Sermons of* Neſtorius *be compar'd with thoſe that preceded, and ſuch as follow'd, to find out the true Senſe? How could any one inform himſelf in ſo ſhort a time of the Opinions of the antient Fathers? All theſe Matters required a long and ſedate Examination of many Days; whereas the Biſhops of this Council ſo dreaded the not finiſhing their Matters in this one Seſſion, that they ſhut themſelves up from Morning till Night to judge of that Affair for fear, if they ſhould delay till next Morning, Things might be otherwiſe diſpos'd. The Sentence they notified to* Neſtorius, *ſufficiently ſhows they were wholly animated by Paſſion: it was expreſs'd in theſe Words,* To *Neſtorius* the new *Judas. Was it not enough to condemn and depoſe him, but they muſt alſo injuſt over him with injurious Words? In a word; this Council, very far from procuring Peace, procur'd nothing but Diſturbance, Diviſions, and Scandal to the Church of Chriſt; and there never was any of which it might more truly be ſaid, what St.* Gregory Nazianzen *ſaid of the Councils of his Time;* 'That 'he had never known any Aſſemblies of Biſhops bring 'any thing to a happy Concluſion; (k) That they had 'always rather encreaſed the Malady, than heal'd it; 'That the obſtinate Heats, and Deſire of Conqueſt and 'Dominion, which commonly reign'd amongſt them, ren'der'd them prejudicable; and that for the moſt part 'thoſe that pretended to judge others, did it rather thro' 'ill will, than out of any Inclination they had to 'mend them.' *This ſeems to agree more with the Council of* Epheſus, *than with any other Aſſembly of Biſhops. The Hiſtory of the Troubles that follow'd this Council makes this plain, and it may be ſaid that theſe Troubles were not appeas'd, but when People began to leave off Talking of what was done at this Council.* Monſieur *du Pin* has forgot nothing in order to anſwer theſe Objections; but the Subject was ſo little favourable to him, that it may well be ſaid his Anſwers are extreamly weak.

(k) Compare with this what has been ſaid of the Aſſemblies of the States-General of France in the Remark B. of the Article Marillac.

Why have not we a Hiſtory of this Council, written by a Father *Paul*? And what might not be obſerved in an Hiſtorical Comment on the Words of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*? For it ought not to be imagin'd, that becauſe in other Councils, there has not been ſo great a Precipitation as was that of St. *Cyril*, at the Council of *Epheſus*; there has been leſs Paſſion or Cabalting. 'Tis highly neceſſary the Holy Ghoſt ſhou'd preſide in theſe Aſſemblies, otherwiſe there can be no good expected from them. This extraordinary Aſſiſtance ought to perſwade us firmly that the Holy Ghoſt has done his Work, amidſt the Irregularities of Men, and drawn from the Darkneſs of Paſſions the Light of Truth, not in all the Councils, but in ſome only.

(C) *Preſerved his Rank and Dignity.*] We have ſeen in the foregoing Remark, that he did not wait for the Arrival of the Oriental Biſhops, before he open'd the Council. They arriv'd five Days after the Depoſing of *Neſtorius*, and held a Council, where *John* of *Antioch* preſided, and St. *Cyril* was depoſed. Each Party deputed ſome Perſons to the Emperor, to give him an Account of what had paſs'd. The Oriental Biſhops ſent him a Relation, wherein (a) *they complain'd that the Church of St.* John *had been ſhut upon them; inſomuch that they were forc'd to ſay their Prayers without Doors, and in coming back were ill-treated. They beſeech'd the Emperor to baniſh from* Epheſus St. Cyril *and* Memnon, *the Heads of that Perſecution. A little after they diſpatch'd alſo Count* Irenæus *on the ſame Errand; to whom they gave another Relation againſt St.* Cyril, *pretending they had been hinder'd by Stones thrown at them from entering the Church of St.* Paul. St. Cyril's Party deputed three Biſhops to the Emperor; whereas the Orientals contented themſelves with deputing only Count *Irenæus*, (b) *who play'd his part ſo well, that he perſwaded the Emperor, that the Synod held by St.* Cyril, *ought not to be eſteemed a lawful Council, and had almoſt prevail'd upon him to confirm the Proceedings of the Oriental Biſhops, and to baniſh St.* Cyril. *But* John, *the Emperor's Phyſician, and St.* Cyril's *Friend, intervening, ſoon gave a change to the Face of Things, by gaining the greateſt part of the Miniſters; whereof ſome were of Opinion, that what had been done on both ſides was lawful; others ſaid, all ought to be declar'd void, and that diſintereſted Biſhops ſhould be conven'd to examine the Cauſe of Faith, and what had paſſed at* Epheſus. *In this Confuſion* Theodoſius *was of Opinion to approve the depoſing of* Neſtorius, *St.* Cyril *and* Memnon, *on account of their Factions.... And ſent Count* John *to execute that Order and to re-unite all the Biſhops in one Synod, after having expell'd* Neſtorius, *St.* Cyril *and* Memnon. The Party (c) of *John* of *Antioch*, acquieſced in the Emperor's Pleaſure; but the other Party oppos'd it in ſuch a manner, that Count *John* was obliged to commit *Neſtorius to the Cuſtody of Count* Candidian, *and St.* Cyril *to that of Count* James, and to write to the Emperor, (d) *that he found the Minds of the Biſhops ſo exaſperated againſt each other, that he ſaw no way to reconcile them.* The Emperor ordered, that each Party ſhould ſend him Deputies; to whom (e) he gave Audience at *Chalcedon*, and ſeem'd very favourable to the Oriental Biſhops; nevertheleſs he began (f) *by little and little to be againſt them: His Council had been gain'd.* Acacius *of* Beroea, *in a Letter to be found in the Collection of* Lupus, *chap.* 41. *accuſes St.* Cyril *of having chang'd the Sentiments of the Court, by giving Money to a certain Scholaſtick Eunuch. He ſays alſo that this Eunuch dying, and leaving a great deal of Money, the Emperor found a Note in his Cuſtody, that imported he had received ſeventy Pounds of Gold from St.* Cyril, *which had been paid him by* Paul, *that Saint's Nephew.* Monſieur *du Pin* obſerves, that *there is no reaſon to believe what* Acacius *of* Beroea *ſays, ſince he was none of St.* Cyril's *Friends.* Let it be ſo; But what better reaſon can one give of that ſudden Change of the Emperor? He acknowledg'd for (g) Orthodox the Biſhops of both Parties, and nevertheleſs he pronounces, that (h) *Neſtorius (i) had been juſtly condemn'd*; that St. *Cyril* and *Memnon* ſhould keep their Poſts, and that all the other Biſhops ſhould return in like manner to their Dioceſes: He pronounces, I ſay, all this after he had ſhown himſelf favourable to the Oriental Biſhops that had ſubmitted to his Orders; whereas the Party of St. *Cyril* had altogether refuſ'd to ſubmit to him. This Proceeding ſmelt rank of Money given by St. *Cyril* to the Emperor's Miniſters; and thus in ſome Caſe ſome Perſons have been reputed Orthodox or Heretical, as they had Money or none to give.

(a) Du Pin, ubi ſupra. pag. 297.

(b) Id. ib. pag. 301.

(c) Ibid. pag. 302

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid. pag. 303.

(f) Ibid. pag. 304.

(g) Ibid. p. 5.

(h) Ibid.

(i) He had already received an Order to retire to his Monaſtery. Ibid. pag. 303.

(D) *His Death was occaſion'd by the Divine Curſe or Malediction.*] 'It) After the definitive Sentence of the 'Council, *Neſtorius* durſt not return any more to Conſtantinople; wherefore he retired to his old Monaſtery 'at *Antioch*, whence he was forced four Years after 'in 435, by the Emperor's Orders, and baniſhed to 'Oaſis. But the Barbarians having taken and deſtroyed that City he was obliged to retire to *Panopolis* in *Thebais*; where likewiſe he was not left long 'at quiet, but being ſo often removed from place to 'place, he at length died in a Journey by the Fall of 'a Wall. *Evagrius*, who relates theſe Paſſages, taken out of *Neſtorius*'s own Letter, written during his Exile, ſays, he had found in a certain Author, that, 'before *Neſtorius* died, his Tongue was eaten by 'Worms, as a Puniſhment for the Blaſphemies he had 'uttered. But he does not inſiſt upon that Circumſtance, 'which might very well be the Invention of this A'nonymous Author; ſince it has always been the Cuſ'tom to ſuppoſe, that Hereticks come to a Tragical 'End.

(k) Ibid. p. 52.

bability, to the Kindneſs the Mahometan (E) Princes have had for them. Some ſay that other Infidel Princes had already taken them under their Protection to ſpite (F) the Orthodox. Something ſingular has happen'd in the *Low Countries* ſince the * Year

(E) *To the kindneſs the Mahometan Princes have had for them.*] I have ſaid ſomewhere (l) that they have always had more Humanity for other Religions, than the Chriſtians, and I have added, that the different Communions in the *Greek* Church, which have preſerved themſelves under their Empire, would have ſoon been extirpated, if they had lived under Chriſtian Kings, that were not of the ſame Belief. I ſhould have quoted then a certain Father of the Oratory, who is of the ſame Opinion, but not having then his Book in my poſſeſſion, I referr'd ſpeaking of it to another place; and here I have a very natural occaſion for it. ' (m) It will be concluded alſo from ' thence with the ſame evidence, how neceſſary the Im- ' perial Laws were for the preſervation of the Church, ' ſince *Egypt*, and the Neighbouring Provinces, have ' been ſo over-run and ſubjugated by the *Eutychians*, ' that they have never ſince been well recon- ' cil'd, and re-united to the Catholick Church.... ' (n) If the Emperors had not ſupported the Faith ' againſt the *Eutychians*, the whole World would have ' been over-run by them. They ſpread themſelves ' very much over the Provinces of *Africa* and ' *Æthiopia*, and the Countries moſt remote from ' the Eaſt, becauſe the Emperors were no long- ' er Maſters of them, or had never been ſo. ' I might ſay the ſame thing of the *Neſtorians*: As ſoon ' as they had been fulminated by the firſt Council of ' *Epheſus*, the Emperor *Theodoſius* the younger, made ' very near the ſame Edicts againſt them. They were ' exil'd with *Neſtorius* into frightful Solitudes; never- ' theleſs they multiply'd prodigiouſly towards the ' Eaſt and the North, the Emperors not being able to ' purſue them beyond the Limits of their Empire. ' The *Saracens* or *Mahometans* a little after over-ran ' *Africa* and all *Aſia*, ſeizing upon I know not how ' many Provinces of the *Roman* Empire; and through ' the Favour of the Mahometan Princes, all theſe He- ' reticks gave an incredible Extent to their Sects. ' God preſerved only the Catholick Faith in the *Ro- ' man* Empire; which was done merely by the ' Care and Edicts of the Chriſtian Emperors. With- ' out this Aſſiſtance from Heaven, the *Eutychians*, ' *Neſtorians* and *Arians*, not to mention ſo many other ' antient Sects, would doubtleſs have poſſeſs'd them- ' ſelves of great Part of the Provinces of the *Roman* ' Empire, as they were already in poſſeſſion of thoſe ' that did not belong to it; and the Followers of all ' the new Sects, that have ſprung up only within theſe ' hundred Years, could not have been able to find ' a Church, which they might be born in, and ' afterwards ſeparate from. They muſt have come ' into the World among the *Arians*, *Neſtorians*, or ' *Eutychians*, and would have been infected with the ' ſame Errors from their Birth. They would have ta- ' ken the Word for a meer Creature, as the *Arians* ' did; JESUS CHRIST for a mere Man, with the ' *Neſtorians*; and for them, as well as for the *Euty- ' chians*, JESUS CHRIST would be God, but ' he would not be truly Man. Why do they ' then quarrel with the Chriſtian Emperors, or ' Kings, and their ſevere Laws, for the Antient Re- ' ligion, ſince it is by their Aſſiſtance only that the ' Divine Providence has delivered them from all theſe ' Errors? They ought rather to give Thanks to him ' who has not permitted that they ſhould be ſo far diſ- ' join'd from us, as the antient Deſerters of the Ca- ' tholick Church are, who departed from it above a ' Thouſand Years ago, and are not yet altogether re- ' covered from their Errors.... (o) We muſt not con- ' ceal the Cauſe of the long Delay of the Eaſtern Sects ' to return to the Catholick Church: It is becauſe, as ' we have already ſaid, they are ſo diſpers'd in Pro- ' vinces and Kingdoms, that now belong no more to ' the Chriſtian Empire; but to *Arabian* Princes, ' to the Kings of *Perſia*, the *Moguls*, and the ' *Tartars*. The Catholick Biſhops, whether *Greeks* or ' *Syrians*, but chiefly the Miſſionaries from the Holy ' See, have all along made ſome Converts, and ſome ' Progreſſes among them; but all theſe Efforts having ' been but little ſupported, either by the Power or Fa- ' vour of Temporal Princes, they have ſpread but lit- ' tle, and laſted not long."

When I ſaid the Mahometans had been leſs rigorous to the Chriſtians, than theſe to the Hereticks, I had the Teſtimony of a Miniſter for my Aſſertion. At preſent I have the Authority of a Prieſt; whereby my Opinion will appear the more reaſonable, becauſe it is confirm'd by the Teſtimonies of two Men of ſo oppoſite a Character. Theſe two Teſtimonies agree in another Thing, which is a little ſcandalous; and that is, that if the Chriſtian Princes had not employ'd the rigour of the Laws againſt the Enemies of the Orthodox Faith, falſe Religions would have over-run all the Earth. By this Rule, when our Saviour promis'd he would maintain his Church againſt the Gates of Hell, he only promis'd that he would raiſe up Princes that ſhould ſubdue the Enemies of the Truth, by depriving them of their Eſtates, thruſting them into Priſons, baniſhing them, ſending them to the Gallies, hanging them, and the like. There is no Doctrine, how abſurd ſoever, but by theſe means might brave all the infernal Powers that would injure it. This brings into my mind what has been ſaid of *Mahomet* the Impoſtor: 'Tis reported (c), that when he was upon his Death-bed, he left his Diſciples a Prediction, which ſavours little of a falſe Propher, *viz. My Religion ſhall laſt as long as your Victories.*

I cannot part with *Lewis Thomaſſin* before I ask him upon what Grounds he goes, when he ſays the *Eutychian* Hereſy would have over-run all the World, had not the Emperors ſupported the Faith: What had this Hereſy ſo charming in it? Did it favour the Paſſions of the Heart? Did it enervate the Morality of the Goſpel? Not at all: It was not upon the Doctrine of Morality that this Heretick combated the Orthodox: He contended with them about a Myſtery which Reaſon cannot well comprehend; but he explain'd it after a manner that is leſs to be comprehended than that of the Orthodox, and is manifeſtly abſurd. Father *Thomaſſin* ſays (d); The *Syrians*, the *Jacobites*, the *Armenians*, and all the *Eutychian* Sects, *would let us have no longer the name of Catholicks, but invented for us that of* Melquites; *that is to ſay*, Royaliſts or Imperialiſts, *as if it had not been the ancient Faith of the Church that the Catholicks had defended, but that of the Emperor; and as if it had been only the Imperial Authority, and not that of the Council of* Chalcedon, *compos'd of above ſix hundred Biſhops, that had kept us in the Faith and Union of the Catholick Church.* This ſhows that thoſe Hereticks had imbib'd this ſtrong Perſwaſion, that their Patriarch had been oppreſs'd by the Factions that were form'd againſt him at the Imperial Court. Let us paſs a like Judgment on the Sect of *Neſtorius*. A vaſt number of People embrac'd it thro' the Abhorrence they had for the Injuſtice they believ'd was done *Neſtorius*, by Sacrificing him to the Credit of St. *Cyril*. They could not perſwade themſelves that a Cauſe, which triumph'd by ſuch irregular Ways, and through ſo unjuſt a Partiality of the Emperor, could have any Right on its ſide. We ſhould more clearly ſee into this Affair, if we had the Relations of the *Neſtorians*, and thoſe of other Sects; but we know hardly thoſe Matters any otherwiſe than on the Report of a Victorious Party: Nevertheleſs we know enough to judge, that the Imperial Power has always had too large a ſhare in the Deciſions. See with what Force *Pighius* ſpeaks againſt the Council (e) of *Conſtantinople*, where Pope *Honorius* was condemn'd as a Favourer of *Monotheliſm*: and conſider this Apology. *Pighius* ' (f) ſays nothing a- ' gainſt this Council, but what might have been ſaid ' againſt the firſt Council of *Nice*, and againſt that of ' *Chalcedon*; all his Objections being grounded on this, ' that the Emperor *Conſtantine* aſſiſted at it with his ' Officers, and that he regulated there the Order and ' Manner of Proceeding. It cannot be denied but ' *Conſtantine* did the ſame at the Council of *Nice*, and ' that in that of *Chalcedon* the Emperor's Commiſſioners ' attributed to themſelves more Authority, and med- ' dled more with Affairs belonging to that Council, ' than the Emperor himſelf did in this. Thus one ' muſt not think to give an ill Character of this Coun- ' cil, without reflecting at the ſame time on the others; ' and this is to overthrow the moſt ſolid Foundations, ' on which our Faith is built, in order to maintain a ' pretended Infallibility in the Perſon of *Honorius*.

(F) *To ſpite the Orthodox.*] 'Tis ſaid that *Coſroes* King of *Perſia*, having a mind to vex the Emperor *Heraclius* his Enemy, depriv'd the Catholicks of all the Churches they had in his Dominions, and gave them to the *Neſtorians*. 'Tis further ſaid, that *He-*

(l) *In the Article of* Mahomet.

(m) Thomaſſin *of the Unity of the Church. Tom.* 1. *Part.* 2. *Chap.* 9. *pag.* 374.

(n) *Ibid. pag.* 375 *& ſeq.* 376.

(o) *Ibid. pag.* 376, *& ſeq.* 377.

(c) Veritati maximè conſonum eſt Muhammedis morientis præſagium, quod Ludovicus Vives (*de verit. rel. l.* 4. *in fine.*) citat, tamdiu nempe legem ſuam duraturam, quamdiu victoriam ſuorum. Quod enim lex non in recti perſuaſione ſed violentia conſiſtat, victoriis ceſſantibus, legem quoque ceſſaturam ſati conjicere potuit. *Samuel Sbultetus in Eccleſiâ Muhammedanâ, pag.* 22.

WHETHER Hereticks oppreſſed in the Councils by the Imperial Authority are become more obſtinate by that Oppreſſion.

(d) *Ubi ſupra, pag.* 374.

(e) *Held in the Year* 680. *This is call'd the ſixth Oecumenical Council.*

(f) Du Pin *in his Biblioteque of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, Tom.* 6. *pag.* 67. *Edit. of Holl.*

Year 1690. Almoſt at the ſame time that the Jeſuits accus'd the (G) Fathers of the Oratory at *Mons* of renewing *Neſtorius*'s Hereſy, a Miniſter of *Rotterdam* began the ſame Proceſs againſt a Miniſter (H) of *Utrecht*. The Succeſs of both theſe Accuſati

* *I write this the 10th of February 1696.*

Heraclius finding the *Neſtorians* favour'd by the King, and being willing to give him as much Uneaſineſs as he could, ſhow'd the like favour to the Hereticks that were moſt oppoſite to theſe; and conſequently ſet himſelf about cheriſhing *Eutychianiſm*, not directly; for he durſt not openly oppoſe the Council of *Chalcedon*, but by approving *Monothelitiſm*, which was a Branch of *Eutyche*'s Errors. Read what follows: (g) *Aumentò non poco l' Ereſia de' Monoteliti la ragione politica, che neſciſmi della religione per ordinario vi aſſiſte, poſcia che ſendo Coſroe Re de' Perſi capital nemico di Eraclio, protegeva, e procurava di dilatare la fazzione de' Neſtoriani, e per far coſa di ſommo diſpetto ad Eraclio, levò à Cattolici le chieſe tutte della Perſia, e le diede à Neſtoriani, dal che ſtimolato l' Imperatore Eraclio per render pari diſguſto al Perſiano, ſi moſſe à tutto potere à fomentare la contraria Ereſia di Eutichete, non in quanto alla ſola natura di Criſto, per non opporſi affatto al Concilio Calcedoneſe, che l' havea definito; ma benſi in quanto alla ſola volontà e operazione, errore parimente de gli Eutichiani.*

(g) *The* IX. *Giornale de Letterati* 1678, *pag.* 195. *In the Abſtract of a Poſthumous Book of* John Batiſta Tamagnini *a* Venetian, *printed in* Paris 1678, *and entituled*, Celebris Hiſtoria Monothelitarum atque Honorii controverſia ſcrutiniis octo comprehenſa.

(G) *The Fathers of the Oratory of* Mons *of renewing.*] They (*h*) complaining *to the Arch-biſhop of* Cambray *of a great many Calumnies that had been ſpread againſt them*, that Prelate authorized Monſieur *Steyaert* Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Louvain* (*i*) *to inform himſelf of the Reports ſpread againſt their Doctrine and Conduct.* This Doctor made a juridical inqueſt, *and drew up a Liſt* (*k*) *of about forty Heads of Accuſation*; whereof the eighteenth was, (*l*) *That the Fathers of the Oratory would not allow the Holy Virgin the Quality of Mother of God, but only that of Mother of* CHRIST. Let us ſee the Progreſs of this malicious Slander. " (*m*) It is not to be doubted but it " had its Riſe at *Mons*; but paſſing from thence to " the Jeſuits at *Liege*, it was they that employ'd it " firſt for hindering the Fathers of the Oratory from " being admitted into that City. To oppoſe the " Reſolution of the Chapter, who had agreed to admit them, theſe Jeſuits forged a Memorial againſt " thoſe Fathers, which they feign'd to have been " brought to them by a Perſon worthy of Credit; and " pretending to debate what they ſhould do in the " matter, it was reſolved, that, not being able in " Conſcience to paſs by the Informations it gave them, " they ſhould immediately acquaint the Chapter with " it. Hereupon Father *Iſerin* was ordered to put " it, as he did, into the Hands of the *Scholaſter* " .... They engag'd the Chapter and Burgo- " maſters of *Liege* to write to the chief Magi- " ſtrates of *Mons*, upon all that has been ſaid." The Letter from the Chapter contain'd (*n*), there was a Report *that the Fathers of the Oratory, appointed to come to* Liege.... *made Profeſſion of ſome particular and dangerous Opinions, altogether oppoſite to the Doctrine of the Church*, viz. *That* JESUS CHRIST *was not born for all Men; that, the Holy Virgin is the Mother of Chriſt, but not of God, and the like.* Father *Iſerin* (*o*) went ſoon after to *Mons*; *and ſollicited the Anſwers, which the Magiſtrates of* Mons *were to give to the Letters of the Chapter and Burgomaſters of* Liege. The Anſwer to the Burgomaſters contain'd among other Things (*p*), *As to the Adoration of the Holy Virgin, the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks have ſaid, that the Fathers of the Oratory were Enemies of it, and the common Report is ſuch.* 'Tis not doubted but the (*a*) Anſwer made to the Chapter contain'd the ſame Head: What then became of the whole Buſineſs? Why, the Chapter of *Liege* (*b*) *revok'd the Permiſſion given to the Fathers of the Oratory to eſtabliſh themſelves in that City.* The Impreſſion made *by the Jeſuits Memorial on the Minds of the Chapter, together with its being confirmed by the Anſwer of the Magiſtrates of* Mons, no doubt inclin'd them to this alteration of Opinion; and *there is a great deal of reaſon to believe that that which relates to the Divine Motherhood of the Holy Virgin, is of all others that which gave them moſt Horrour, and contributed moſt to incline them to the Excluſion of thoſe Fathers....* (*c*) *The Jeſuits had ſo violently accus'd the Fathers of the Oratory of Neſtorianiſm, that they omitted nothing that might confirm that Calumny, and ſpread it amongſt the People as well at* Bruſſels *as at* Mons.... *Father* Coemans *a Jeſuit preaching in* (*d*) Flemiſh *in the Church of* Sablon, *during the Octave of the Dedication of that Church, employ'd part of his Sermon to ſtir up the People againſt the Innovators; who, as he aſſur'd them, were then upon receiving the Hereſy of* Neſtorius, *which conſiſted in denying the Holy Virgin to be the Mother of God.* In the Work I have quoted, may be ſeen ample Proofs of the Care the Jeſuits have taken to repreſent the Fathers of the Oratory in *Mons*, as mere *Neſtorians*.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 65. & 66.

(*i*) *Ibid.* pag. 3.

(*k*) *Ibid.* pag. 48.

(*l*) *Ibid.* pag. 64. & 68.

(*m*) *Ibid.* pag. 65.

(*o*) *Ibid.* pag. 67.

(*p*) *Ibid.* pag. 49.

(*a*) *Ibid.* pag. 67.

(*b*) *Ibid.* pag. 68.

(*c*) *Ibid.* pag. 69.

(*d*) At Bruſſels *in the Year* 1690.

(*H*) *A Miniſter of* Rotterdam *began the ſame Proceſs againſt a Miniſter of* Utrecht.] See the Book intituled, *An Apology for the Sieur* Saurin, *Miniſter of the* Walloon *Church at* Utrecht, *againſt the Accuſations of Monſieur* Jurieu. This Book was printed in 1692. In it are to be found three Articles of Accuſation; whereof the firſt contains four Hereſies, *viz.* (*e*) *Pelagianiſm*, (*f*) *Neſtorianiſm*, (*g*) the Civil Toleration of Sects, and (*h*) the Hereſy of the *Sacramentarians*. Now as my buſineſs is only to ſpeak of the ſecond of theſe, I ſhall take no notice of the other three. Let us ſee then what the Perſon accus'd anſwers as to *Neſtorianiſm*. He declares plainly he condemns this Hereſy; but he ſays, he firmly believes *Neſtorius* innocent of it. " In the Aſ- " ſembly, conven'd at the *Hague*, to examine Monſieur " *Jurieu*'s Accuſation of Monſieur *Jacquelot*, I declar'd, " *ſays he* (*i*), for *Neſtorius* againſt St. *Cyril*; but I did " not declare for *Neſtorianiſm* againſt the Sentiments " of the Church. I ſaid *Neſtorius* ſeem'd to me more " Orthodox than St. *Cyril*, becauſe the Doctrine of the " former appear'd more conformable to ours, than " that of the latter. If I err, 'tis plain 'tis an Error in " Fact, and not in Opinion.... (*k*) But, it will be " ſaid, what Reaſon can you give for thus maintain- " ing the Reputation of *Neſtorius*, in oppoſition to a " Father, that has been acknowledg'd for a Saint, and " againſt a general Council? To which I anſwer, " the Reaſon of Truth and Juſtice. I am verily per- " ſwaded, that whoever ſhall read without Prejudice " what remains of St. *Cyril*'s and *Neſtorius*'s Writings, will " be ready to acknowledge that the latter is Orthodox, " and the former an Heretick and an *Eutychian*, or at " leaſt that he will be willing to grant that it is much " more eaſy to give an Orthodox Interpretation to " the Propoſitions of *Neſtorius*, than to thoſe of St. *Cyril*. " I am neither the only one, nor the firſt of this O- " pinion, and when-ever it ſhall be neceſſary, ſome Au- " thors, both antient and modern, can (*l*) be pro- " duced, whoſe Authority ſhall decide the difference " between theſe two Patriarchs. If *Neſtorius* then be " Orthodox and St. *Cyril* an Heretick, my Zeal for the " Truth in general obliges me not to conceal this in " particular: We muſt call Light Light, and Darkneſs " Darkneſs. Moreover this is a Truth from whence " we may draw two great Advantages againſt the " Church of *Rome*. The firſt is, that it annuls the " Authority of St. *Cyril*, one of the chief Introducers " of Idolatry into the Chriſtian Church. And the ſe- " cond, that by convicting the Fathers of the Council " of *Epheſus* of the Eutychian Hereſy, equally con- " demn'd by the Proteſtants and Papiſts, we under- " mine the Foundation of Popery, which is the infal- " lible Authority of General Councils. Likewiſe both " Juſtice and Charity oblige us to defend oppreſſed " Innocence, and to make our Readers ſenſible, that " *Neſtorius* may have been condemn'd by a Council " without being guilty of any Crime; as alſo that our " Modern Divines may take the part of *Neſtorius*, by " rejecting the Errors attributed to him.... (*m*) As " for what regards the Intention of *Neſtorius*, I muſt " conclude him innocent, becauſe I can ſee no reaſon " to judge him guilty. But Monſieur *Jurieu* has cho- " ſen with a great many others, the ſtrongeſt ſide. " *Neſtorius* had neither the Majority nor Authority for " him, and conſequently was ſain to yield to the Op- " preſſion of St. *Cyril*'s Cabal. We muſt then, for " Cuſtoms-ſake, conclude he was an Heretick, tho' " he was none, and go and dive into his Heart " to find there ſome wicked Intentions, where- " of no Foot-ſteps appear either in his Words or Acti- " ons." This ſame Author ſhows in another Book of his, that he is more againſt *Neſtorius* than his Accuſers. " I have prov'd, *ſays he*, (*n*) in my Apology, " that the Title of *Mother of God* is agreeable to the " Holy Virgin, being grounded on the Sacred Writ, " and the Nature of the Myſtery; whereas Monſieur " *Jurieu* in his Paſtoral Letters, flies out with ex- " treme Violence againſt this way of ſpeaking in the " Language of the Church, looking upon it as the " cauſe of the moſt pernicious Hereſy." Some few

(*e*) *The Apology of the Sieur* Saurin, *pag.* 72.

(*f*) *Ibid.* pag. 78.

(*g*) *Ibid.* pag. 88.

(*h*) *Ibid.* pag. 92.

(*i*) *Ibid.* pag. 78.

(*k*) *Ibid.* pag. 79

(*l*) *See the Article* Rodon.

(*m*) *Ibid.* pag. 82.

(*n*) *Examen de la Theologie de Mr.* Jurieu, *p.* 86.

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cuſations has been alike. The Accuſations (*l*) have been brought to nothing, without the Accuſers being cenſur'd for them. Thoſe that concern a certain Tranſlator of the Homilies of St. *Chryſoſtom* in the Year 1693 were better grounded; for he * wrote a Letter to the Arch biſhop of *Paris*, *in which he acknowledg'd that through Inadvertency he had committed ſome Faults in his Tranſlation, which, contrary to his Intention, might ſtrike at the Eſſential Parts of Religion. Wherefore he thought himſelf oblig'd to make a ſolemn Recantation to ſecure*

* Beauval's *Hiſt. of the Works of the Learned*, November 1693. *Tom.* 138.

Pages after he ſets down the Paſſage out of thoſe Letters; which I ſhall ſet down after him, as well for the Information of my Reader, as to let People ſee I have a good Warrant for what I have ſaid of *Neſtorius*. *He was* (*o*) *without doubt unadviſed, and, God forbid, we ſhould fall into the ſame Error, if it be true that he has aſcribed two Perſons to* JESUS CHRIST, *as well as two Natures. Neither do we deny, that the Holy Virgin may rightly be termed the* Mother of God, *ſince ſhe is ſo of Chriſt, who is God. But it was an unhappy Temerity in the Fathers of the* Vth *Century, to introduce new Terms. The Holy Virgin is no where in the New Teſtament called the* Mother of God, *and only the* Mother of Jeſus. *They ought to have ſtopp'd there; for this Title of* Mother of God, *has ſomething in it that ſhocks, it being repugnant to the Nature of God to have a Mother. And indeed God did not think fit to beſtow his Bleſſing on thoſe Fathers, but rather permitted the moſt extravagant and criminal of all Idolatries to take its Riſe from thence.* Let us conclude with the following Words of Mr. *Saurin*. " (*p*) The zealous and " charitable Mr. *Jurieu*, animated by a furious and " turbulent Spirit, will needs have me examin'd upon " this Head. I am contented to be ſo; for I fear not to " come to the Touch as he does. I will not fly, as " he has done, from ſeveral Synods. I will not make " uſe of a Thouſand Fetches, nor have recourſe to Ar" tifice or Violence to exempt my ſelf from a Law, im" poſ'd on all the Faithful, eſpecially upon Divines, to " give an account of their Faith. I'm for an Anathema " with all my Heart, not againſt *Neſtorius*, but a" gainſt *Neſtorianiſm*." I ought not to omit, that be" fore Monſieur *Saurin* obtain'd a Teſtimony of his Orthodoxy from the Synods, the Publick was very well ſatisfied that he was an Anti-Neſtorian. Conſult a Letter which was printed at (*oo*) *Amſterdam* in 1701, under the Title of *The Scrupulous Proteſtant, or an Explanation of the 4th Chapter* of the Adventures of the *Madonna: By way of Anſwer to a Letter, written to* (*pp*) *the Author, by Mr.* Jurieu, *concerning the Title of* Mother of God, *and the Reputation of* Cyril *of* Alexandria, *and the firſt Council of* Epheſus.

(*o*) Jurieu and Saurin, *ibid. pag.* 869. *See the* 16th *Paſtoral Letter of the Year* 1687. *pag.* 361. *Edit. in* 12°. *In the fourth Paſtoral Letter of the following Year, he ſpeaks more ſtrongly againſt thoſe who introduce the Epithet* Mother of God.

(*p*) Saurin's *Examin. of the Divinity of Monſieur* Jurieu. *pag.* 795, *&* 796.

(*oo*) *It contains* 32 *Pages in* 8vo. *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Nov. 1701. *pag.* 578. *&c.*

(*pp*) *He calls himſelf Mr.* Renoul.

(*l*) *The Accuſations have been brought to nothing without the Accuſers*, &c.] The Proofs I ſhall bring, relate only to the Fathers of the Oratory. One of the Articles upon which Monſieur *Steyaert* had a Commiſſion to make a juridical Inqueſt, was that theſe Fathers refus'd to acknowledge the Holy Virgin for the Mother of God. We have ſeen that this Slander contributed very much towards hindering their eſtabliſhing themſelves at *Liege*, tho' that favour had been granted them. The Accuſation in it ſelf was one of the moſt important, according to the Principles and Practices (*q*) of the *Roman* Communion. One may therefore think, that the Commiſſioner neglected nothing to diſcover the Authors of this Accuſation, and yet we ſhall find he never in the leaſt troubled his Head with the Matter. Obſerve how he was treated: ' (*r*) The Buſineſs was to ' know, whether the Fathers of the Oratory were new ' *Neſtorians*, who held and taught thoſe under their ' Inſtruction, that the Holy Virgin was not Mother of ' God, or whether they had been falſely charg'd with ' this Hereſy, as well by publick Sermons as Reports ' ſpread abroad; and who were thoſe that ſo charg'd ' them. What juridical Proceedings have you obſerv'd ' in making an Enquiry, which might give the Arch' biſhop, that commiſſion'd you, an occaſion to puniſh ' the Fathers of the Oratory, if they were convicted ' of this damnable Hereſy; or, in caſe they were ' found innocent, to make 'em Reparation for the ' Slander, and puniſh thoſe that had ſo ſlander'd ' them? But this Enquiry you never made in ' any legal manner, becauſe you could find none ' guilty but the Jeſuits, and ſome Magiſtrates of *Mons*, ' who had lent them their Names, to confirm what the Je' ſuits of *Liege* had made the Chapter of that City believe, ' viz. *That the Fathers of the Oratory in the* Low-Countries, *founded by Cardinal* de Berulle, *held divers Opi*' *nions diſallowed by the Holy Church; and among o*' *thers, that the Holy Virgin is not the Mother of God.*' The Author names afterwards (*a*) a Councellor, who had been conſiderably concern'd in the Accuſation, and who *preſs'd him to proceed againſt him, to the end he might be fully juſtified by the Diſcovery of the firſt Author of this Defamation*; but notwithſtanding divers Inſtances and Requeſts made to him ſeveral times by this Councellor, he obſtinately refus'd to make any Enquiry. Let us hear the Janſeniſt ſpeak: " (*b*) An Accuſation of " Hereſy, and of an Hereſy ſo impious, as that of " *Neſtorius*, may be a good Thing, and alſo neceſſary, " providing it be true and well-grounded; whereas " it muſt be abominable when 'tis falſe. Now being " required by a Man of Honour to do him Juſtice, " upon an Accuſation made againſt him, you told " him that was not neceſſary, aſſuring him, *that the* " *Fathers of the Oratory, nor their Adherents, were not* " *any wiſe charged with the* Neſtorian *Hereſy; and, that* " *the Report that went concerning them, appear'd* " *to you altogether extravagant, in that none of their Ad*" *verſaries had preſum'd to maintain, or attempted to* " *prove what they aſſerted.* Why then was nothing " of this to be found in the Account you gave in of " your Charge (*c*)? Why was no mention made there, " *That you had acknowledg'd, that the* 18*th Article* " *(which was that the Fathers of the Oratory* " *refus'd to allow the Holy Virgin the Quality of* " Mother of God, *being willing to afford her only that* " *of* Mother of Chriſt) *is a manifeſt Calumny a*" *gainſt thoſe Fathers, none of their Adverſaries having* " *dar'd to maintain, or attempted to prove, what they* " *aſſerted.* You could not deny, but there was a great " Noiſe about this *Neſtorian* Hereſy, which was char" ged upon the Fathers of the Oratory: But, being " ſenſible this Report was falſe, you thought fit to tell a " certain Friend of yours, *That it ſeem'd altogether* " *extravagant to you.* Is it then a meer Extrava" gance, which deſerves only to be laugh'd at, and " not a Diabolical Malice, that ought to be puniſh'd " for ſetting abroad a Report, that a Congregation of " Prieſts believe a thing which they could not be" lieve, without having loſt all Senſe of Reli" gion? .... (*d*) A ſort of People being thus found, " that without any Proof would perſwade a thing ſo " little credible, and ſo ſcandalous to the Fathers of " the Oratory; It was ſo abſolutely neceſſary for ap" peaſing the Uproars in the City of *Mons*, and unde" ceiving the common People in the ill Opinion they " had conceiv'd of theſe Fathers, that the Authors of " this Diabolical Calumny ſhould be detected to the " end they might be puniſh'd, purſuant to the Ca" nons; and a ſtop be thereby put to all future " Slanders that occaſion'd the committing of ſo many " Sins. Why then, being legally requir'd to give an " Account of what you had in charge, and which " your Duty oblig'd you to do, did you refuſe it? " Why alſo, not being able to ſay any thing upon this " Accuſation, but what would be to the advantage of " the Fathers of the Oratory, and to the Confuſion of the " Jeſuits, did you chuſe to ſpeak nothing at all of it in " your Memorial? Such is your Juſtice, and pre" tended Exemption from Partiality, in the chief " point of your Commiſſion."

(*b*) *Ibid. pag.* 104.

(*c*) *A Latin Treatiſe of Monſieur* Steyaert's, *where he gives an Account of his Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of* Cambray.

(*d*) *Ibid. Pag.* 106, *&* 107. *See alſo the* 2*d part of the Difficulties, pag.* 161, 163 *& alibi.*

This Author having thus preſs'd hard the Arch-biſhop of *Cambray*'s Commiſſioner, and having ſhown with the utmoſt Evidence the fraudulent manner after which this Commiſſion was executed, points out the true Cauſe of this Obliquity. " Thoſe that know you better, ſays he, (*e*) " than the Arch-biſhop of *Cambray*, who choſe you " for this Employ, expected nothing from you but " what they found. They know your Policy and " Love for your Honour make you act two dif" ferent Parts. You would think your ſelf diſho" nour'd, if in the Poſt you are in, you did not " maintain the ſound Doctrine of your Faculty " againſt the Evil Opinions of their Adverſaries; and " this is what you have done in divers of your Theſes. " But the Apprehenſion of bringing ſuch Troubles upon " your ſelf, as might diſturb your Repoſe, makes " you buckle to thoſe very Perſons, whoſe Opinions " you condemn, leſt they ſhould injure you by their " Credit. Never did this Cunning of yours ſhow it

(*e*) *Ibid. pag.* 107.

" ſelf

sure the Reputation of his Faith; declaring that his Errors are personal, and that they (I△) *ought to be attributed to none but him.* You'll find at large in *Moreri's* Dictionary what relates to *Nestorius*, and his Followers; wherefore I shall say nothing of them. Consult also Monsieur *du Pin*, who brought himself into trouble (K) for acting the part of an unbiass'd Historian. I am willing to believe the Encomium, *Mother of God*, has contributed to the extravagant Honours paid to the Holy Virgin; but it seems to me, that she might have had the same (L) worship only

" self more than on this occasion. The Fathers of the " Oratory had neither the Power, nor the Will to hurt " you; and you could not do them Justice with- " out offending those who would have had both, " if you had not pleased them. You were in a " manner under a necessity of abandoning the " weaker side, that you might not disoblige the " stronger. You were oblig'd, to slight the Proofs " of the former's Innocence, as you did, to favour " the latter, by dissembling their horrible Slanders " and Calumnies. This is to know how to " live according to the Custom of the World: But " ought not you to apprehend the Reproach of the " God of Judges, (1) *usque quo judicatis Iniquitatem & facies peccatorum sumitis?* How long will ye " judge unrighteously? How long will ye have regard " to Sinners, by making them appear innocent while " they are most criminal? This is what that Hebraism, " *facies peccatorum sumere*, signifies: And 'tis this " Acception of Persons, which is so often, and so " severely condemned in the Holy Scriptures; when, " through Timidity, or such like Considerations, the " Balance is made to incline to that side, which " has the greater Power, though the other has the bet- " ter Cause."

(1) *Psalm 82. 2.*

Such is the Character of a great many People; they are sensible of the wrong of a false Accuser; they detest him, and whisper all the ill imaginable of him in their Friends Ears; yet if it be in his Power either to hurt or disserve them, they will be sure, being his Judges, to stand on their guard, and to take care not to say any thing that may disgrace him. They have the Art of finding out a Thousand Tricks to perplex a Cause: Which shows that the Ascendant Self-interest has over Justice, is almost a Malady incurable to Mankind; and therefore Men in Power will never fail to sow profitable Calumnies. You see how a Slander, cunningly manag'd, has shut the Gates of *Liege* against the Fathers of the Oratory.

Note, That the Arch bishop of *Cambray*, did by a definitive Sentence on the 12th of *November* 1692, declare these pretended *Nestorians* innocent; yet he oblig'd no Person by Name to make Reparation. See the 6th Chapter of the 8th Tom. of *The Practical Morality of the Jesuits*.

(f) *Hist. of the Works of the Learned.* Nov. 1693. *pag.* 138.

(I△) *Ought to be attributed to him only.*] The Author who recanted after this manner was call'd (f) Monsieur *Fontaine*, and *had formerly been Secretary to Monsieur* Arnaud *and Monsieur* de Sacy. It was this occasion'd the Jesuit, who publish'd a Book intituled, *Nestorianismus Revivi'd*, to confound the Translator of the Homilies of St. *Chrysostom* with the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*, and that was the Reason which induc'd this Translator to declare publickly there was none guilty but himself.

(g) *Hist. of the Works of the Learned*, Nov. 1692. *pag.* 140, 141, & 142. *and of* May 1693 *pag.* 526, 527, & 528. *See also the Historical Mercury of* June 1693 *pa.* 222, &c. *The Injustice of Monsieur* Lamoignon *Advocate-General, repairing the Suppression of Monsieur* du Pin's *Book, which he maintain'd.*

(K) *Monsieur* du Pin, *who brought himself into trouble.*] I am not very well inform'd of the Particulars of the Matters that have been started against him: and therefore I have touch'd upon them only by the bye: But I refer my Reader to one of our Journalists (g) who has mention'd some of them, and particularly his being accused of too much favouring *Nestorius*.

(b) Baillet *of the Devotion due to the Holy Virgin Part* 3 & 4.

(L) *She might have had the same Worship under the Title of* Mother of Jesus.] I have already spoken of this in my first Remark, but it will not be amiss to touch it over again. I believe I may say the Disputes between *Nestorius* and St. *Cyril*, have not augmented the Honours of the Holy Virgin but by Accident. These two Prelates did not contend about any Point of Devotion: Their Quarrel had no Relation to Worship, and supposing that at that very time the Holy Virgin had been invok'd, *Nestorius* did not pretend to alter that Custom, nor did St. *Cyril* require it might be enlarg'd. The Difference between them was about a Speculative Opinion: One apprehended the confounding the two Natures of JESUS CHRIST; and the other fear'd the Humane Nature of our Saviour wou'd be look'd upon as a Person. Adoration had nothing to do in this Matter: (h) Nestorius, *as opinionated as he seem'd to be, was so inclinable to grant the Holy Virgin Honours that were publickly paid her, that, in his Disgrace, he seem'd disposed to relinquish the Quality of* Mother of God, *rather than give occasion of lessening her Worship by persisting in a Refusal.* These are the Words of a *French* Priest, who wrote a Treatise of the Devotion due to the Holy Virgin, as rationally as any one of his Profession could do. He confesses *Nestorius* requir'd no lessening of her Worship; and he might likewise have acknowledg'd, that this Heretick retain'd all the Foundations of Worship, which St. *Cyril* could have laid: For the Worship of the Holy Virgin cannot be founded but on a Supposition that God has done all for her in Heaven, which an elected King could do for his Mother on Earth, if he should declare and insist that he would have her acknowledg'd for Queen-Mother, in whatsoever Condition she was before; and that he would grant all she should ask of him. From that very minute she would be rais'd to such a Degree, as should place her above all Princesses, Dutchesses, and other Persons of the Kingdom, except the King, and her Interest would have no Bounds. The Honours paid her would exceed all the Submission paid to other Subjects. No Body would go about to amuse himself with Enquiries, whether she is the real Mother of the King's Soul or not: It would be sufficient to know that she is the King's Mother, and in possession of all the Authority due to so high a Rank. The Application of this to *Nestorius* is not very difficult. If in rejecting the Title of *Mother of God*, he retains that of Mother of CHRIST, he retains all the Foundations of Worship; for, he will say, to be the Mother of JESUS CHRIST is the same thing as to be the Mother of him, to whom *all* (a) *Power has been given both in Heaven and Earth*, who reigns over all Things, as well over Angels as Men: And by Consequence, if God has been pleas'd that the Mother of JESUS CHRIST should be invested with the Quality of Queen-Mother and Queen-Regent, and that she should fully enjoy a maternal Authority over her Son; She must be above all other Creatures, and in a Condition to shower down on Mankind whatever Benefits she pleases. I cannot see that St. *Cyril* could give the Worship of the Holy Virgin a more solid Foundation than this (b). 'Twas not on Account of the Divine Nature that JESUS CHRIST, on the Day of his Ascension, declar'd, that all Power was given him; for as he was God he could acquire nothing thereby, being in possession of all Things from all Eternity. It was then on Account of his being Man that he was establish'd Plenipotentiary: It was on his Soul that God conferr'd that Power, inasmuch as it was his Pleasure that all the Desires of his Soul should be efficacious and operative: And consequently, to be the better assur'd of the universal Authority of the Holy Virgin, it is sufficient to believe, that the Humanity of JESUS CHRIST refuses his Mother nothing, and that it is as obedient to her as the best Son could be. If the Devotion of the *Socinians* should ever incline to Festivals, Processions, Images, Pilgrimages, &c. they would do the same for JESUS CHRIST, as the Church of *Rome* practises towards his Holy Mother. It matters not that they do not believe him to be God; for it is enough, if he reigns with full Power, and is the Dispenser of all good Things, through the Divine Institution. If Monsieur *Baillet* will but take the pains to reflect on what I have said, I am satisfied he will alter some thing in the following Passage of his Work. (c) *When the Church maintain'd the Holy Virgin, at the Council of* Ephesus, *in the Quality of* Mother of God, *against the Injustice of the Heretick* Nestorius, *who endeavour'd to take that Glorious Title from her, she did not less design to preserve the Foundation of the Worship, which the Faithful paid to the Holy Virgin, than to establish a Belief of the Unity of the Person of* CHRIST. Perhaps he would furnish me with Views which I have not, and which should make me change my Opinion. Now see how I believe that the Disputes between *Nestorius* and St. *Cyril* have by Accident augmented the Honours of the Holy Virgin upon Earth. The Title, *Mother of God*, contested for some time, and at length Victorious, being confirm'd by the Ca-

(a) *Gospel of St.* Matthew, *chap.* 28. *v.* 18.

(b) *Note these Words of Monsieur* Baillet, *ubi supra, pag.* 1 & 2.

(c) Baillet. *ib. pag.* 3.

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only under the Title of *Mother of Jesus*. Divers Considerations incline me to believe this Thought good; for the more I enquire into the Reasons that could promote the Worship of the Virgin *Mary*, the more I find in the Disposition and Nature of Man (*M*) a Spring to set that Worship at Work, and to encrease it prodigiously: From whence I conclude, that even without the Epithets, which have been very useful to it, it might have increased more and more, and fructified in abundance. I must not forget, that since the first Edition of my Dictionary, there has been publish'd an History of *Nestorianism* †, written by Father * *Lewis Doucin*; in a Marginal ‡ Note whereof, we meet with what I have said above concerning ¶ the Misunderstanding of *Nestorius* and St. *Cyril*. This is there attended with this Remark; that *I grounded my self upon the Authority and Testimony*

† Printed at Paris in 1698. in 4°.

* A Jesuit.

‡ Page 551 & 552.

¶ In the Remark A.

nons of the Councils, made more Impression than it did before: It became a great Affair; The vanquish'd Party was look'd upon as impious, and the Conquerors as the Patrons of Piety. The Victory was cherish'd, and this part of the Faith fortified, as a Breach, whence the Enemy had been repuls'd, and where he might give a second Assault. Run through the whole History of the Church, and you'll find, that in all Ages those Disputes, which have not been victorious, have only served to redouble Abuses. I have given the Reason of it: which calls into my Mind several Cities, that, to preserve their Priviledges, have oppos'd burthensom Edicts. They afford a pretense to the Sovereign for bridling them with Cittadels; which has render'd their Condition yet worse than it was before. The Author of the Maxim, *Nunquam tentabis ut non proficias*, had a good Discernment. See the Margin (*d*).

(*d*) Omittere potius prævalida & adulta vitia, quam hoc adjicere, ut palam fierent quibus flagitiis imparem esse mus. *Tacit. Annal. l. 3. c. 53.*

To confirm what has been said, *viz.* that those who attack old Errors in Religion do but cause them to take, by Accident, deeper Root, I observe that the Followers of a false Worship may be oppos'd either during the hottest Effort of their Zeal, or when a Luke-warm Remissness has brought them to indifference †. Fear in the first Case what may happen, where one is oppos'd in the height of his Anger. The Resistance he meets with does but render him more furious.

† I don't look of the middle Opinions between those two Extreams, it is because every one may apply to them what I say of the Extreams.

(e) Bacchæ hæc tanti si velis advorsarier,
Fit insana insaniorem facies, feriet sæpius:
Si obsequare, una resolvas plagâ.

(e) Plautus in Amphit. Act. 2. Sc. 2. v. 71.

Hunc (ee) avus, hunc Athamas, hunc cætera turba suorum
Corripiunt dictis, fustibus, inhibere laborant.
Acrior admonitu est: irritatúsque retenta,
Et crescit rabies, moderamina, ipsa nocebant.
Sic ego tonantem, quâ nil obstabat eunti,
Lenius, & modico flexerim decurrere vidi:
At quacunque trabes, obstructáque saxa jacebant,
Stomachans, & fervens, & ab obice sævior ibat.

(ee) Ovid. Met. amor. lib. 3. v. 564 pag. m. 75.

In the second Case you ought to fear waking a sleeping Dog, I mean reviving a dying Passion.

Consider a little the Conduct of those Husbands, whose Conjugal Love is almost at an End. They possess their Wives as if they possess'd them not: They have for them a great deal of Indifference, and it may be a great deal of Hatred. But if any one has a Mind to take them from them, or if they hear at their Return home that they have elop'd with some young Gallant, then they lose all manner of Patience, are full of Desires to recover them, and fill the Air with Complaints, exclaiming after this, or the like sort,

My poor Wife, alas! what is become of her (f)?

(f) See the Memoirs of the Dutchess of Mazarin.

Then they presently set the Serjeants or Bailiffs at work, involving themselves in a thousand Suits. There is no more Lukewarmness nor Indifference to be found in them; for, though they were contented to lose their Wives whilst no Body contended with them for them; now, on the contrary, whilst they are disputed, they will by no means part with them (*g*).

(g) Among the Remedies of Love Ovid, de Remedio Amoris, circa fin. forgat not that a Man ought not to think he has any Rival. Ar tu rivalem noli tibi fingere quemquam, Inque tuo solam crede placere toro. Actius Hermonem &c.

(*M*) *I find in the Disposition and Nature of Man a certain Spring to set that Worship at work.*] The Life of Man is nothing but a Theatre of Changes; yet in spite of that Inconstancy there are certain Things, which being once introduced, grow up very fast; and, during many Ages, make continual Progresses. This is what cannot be said of Innovations, which tend to the reforming publick Abuses, or correcting bad manners. Laws made from time to time against Luxury and Gaming are of force only at first; for they soon will be violated. Reformations in Religion will sometimes last long in respect of Speculative Opinions; but as to moral Practice, they come speedily to Perfection; but then quickly succeeds a fresh Lapse, and a corrupted State, which requires a new Reformation. The good Morals of the Primitive Christians, their Sobriety, Chastity, Humility, &c. had their greatest Lustre, during the Lives of the Apostles; but from thence forward degenerated dayly, in such a manner, that in the IVth Century the Morals of Christians differed little from those of other People. The Reformed in *France*, in the XVIth Century, were at first exceeding regular in their Morals: They abstain'd from Gaming, Drinking, Oaths, Dancing, &c. And the Military Laws, which the Prince of *Condé* caus'd to be observ'd in the beginning of the Civil Wars, in the time of *Charles* IX. (*h*) were admirable. The Soldiers were obliged to live in the greatest Regularity imaginable, and their least Faults were punish'd severely: But all these fine Things lasted but little, resembling Children that die in their Cradles, or Plants (*k*), which shoot up prodigiously in a few Days, and dry up before the end of the Summer. It were better they would grow like Trees, by little and little (*l*), that they might last a longer time. The Reason is easily given why a rigid Discipline, and a great Reformation of Manners is like Straw-fire, which quickly blazes, but as quickly loses its Force: It is because too great an Adhesion to Modesty, Temperance, and Austerity is a violent State: Now, according to the Philosophers Maxim, such a State cannot be lasting, *nullum violentum durabile*. They mean, by a (*i*) *violent State*, a State contrary to the Inclinations of Nature, a place of Exile, an external and superiour Force, which detains a Body out of its proper Element; but which can't prevent its Tendency to return to it, and its continual resisting and weakening this external Force, till at last it over-powers it, and then moves to the place, to which its Native Inclination carries it. Heavy Bodies removed from the Earth, which fall again when the removing Impulse hath less force than their own internal Gravity, is the Example the Philosophers employ to explain this Doctrine. We may therefore compare the Reformation of Manners to the Impulse that carries a Stone up-wards. The Passions, naturally incident to Mankind, continually encounter the Practice of a severe Morality; and are a Gravitation that reduces Men quickly to their primitive Condition, if any start of Zeal or Reformation has carried them towards Heaven.

(*h*) See Varillas's Hist. of Charles IX. Tom. 1. p. m. 163. ad. ann. 1562.

(*k*) Gourds for Example.

(*l*) Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo. *Horat. ep. 12. lib. 1.*

(*i*) This is according to the Doctrine of the School-Philosophers.

Quoi (b) qua 'avec fourche on repousse nature,
Elle revient neanmoins à toute heure.

(*b*) Naturam expellas furca, tamen usq; recurret, *Horat. ep. 10. lib. 1.*

Whence we must conclude, that the Innovation, introduc'd into Christianity, by Establishing the Worship to the Virgin three or four hundred Years (*c*) more or less, after the Ascension of our Lord, has been countenanc'd by the natural and machinal Dispositions of Mankind, since it has made a continual and prodigious Progress, and still subsists in all the strength it ever obtain'd. It can't be conceiv'd, that without such great Dispositions in the Humane Passions, it could have met with that prosperous Success, so destitute as it was of the support of Scripture and good Tradition. Which has moved some curious Wits to enquire what those natural Modifications of the Soul of Men might be, which have fomented the Innovation here spoken of; and this is the Result of their Enquiries.

(c) See Mr. Basnage Hist. of the Church. Book 18. ch. 11.

In the Business of Religion, there is nothing that better suits with the gross Genius of the People, than representing Heaven to them like the Earth. Hence the Fancies and Caprices of the Poets, concerning the Marriage of the Gods, their Councils, their Divisions and Intrigues, passed so easily upon the *Greeks*, and afterwards upon the *Romans*, for Articles of Faith. It was impossible to raise Man to the Gods; and therefore they were to be brought down to Man; and thus was form'd the point of Contact and center of Union. Had it been said, that God govern'd the World by simple Acts of his Will; and that he was alone in Heaven: this would not have satisfied the Imagination of the People, who have no Example of such a thing. But, if you tell them that a God, assisted with many other Divinities, governs the World, that the Court of Heaven

CONJECTURES upon the Causes of the Progress of the Worship of the Holy Virgin.

Teſtimony of M. du Pin, *Doctor of the Faculty of* Paris, *who has ſaid, indeed, many ſuch Things; amongſt others,* that *Neſtorius* in his Declaration, *publiſh'd before the Council of* Epheſus, gives a good Senſe to what he had advanc'd in his Sermons. *But that I don't ſay that all theſe Things have been condemn'd in Mr.* du Pin, *and that himſelf has retracted them.*

I will

Heaven is po npous and magnificent, in which every one has his Poſt, and will not ſuffer another to encroach upon his Employ, they'll eaſily believe you; becauſe the Mind of Man is imbued with the like Ideas, borrowed from what they daily ſee in the Government of States, and the Courts of great Kings. Such Courts are not without the Female Sex: We there find a Queen-Mother, and a reigning Queen, whoſe Authority is ſometimes equal to the King's. Thus the People eaſily believed what was told of *Cybele* and *Juno*, and becauſe amongſt Men the Power of a Queen Dowager is generally leſs than that of the Reigning Queen; hence the Worſhip of *Cybele*, Mother of the Gods, was inferiour to that of *Juno*, Siſter and Wife of *Jupiter*. This Wife of *Jove* had abundance of Temples (*d*) under different Titles: And no wonder, ſince ſhe was conſider'd as the Queen of the World, and ſuch a Queen as intereſt'd her ſelf in the Government: And beſides (*e*) 'tis the Cuſtom to pay one's Reſpects to the Ladies, with greater Care and Ceremony, than to Men of equal Quality.

(*d*) See Pauſanias *in the Table of the Contents at the Word* Juno.

By ſuch Prejudices as theſe the Chriſtians have been eaſily perſwaded, without any Example, or order, or permiſſion of Scripture, without any Authority of the Tradition of the firſt Ages, that the Saints in Heaven are continually employ'd in mediatorial Functions betwixt God and Men. We find in the Courts of Princes, and proportionably in thoſe of Governours, and Intendants, that nothing is done without the Recommendation of a Favourite, or a Secretary of State, or a Steward of the Houſhold, or a Waiting-Woman, *&c.* We daily ſee thoſe (*f*) miſcarry who neglect the Interceſſors, and venture to apply directly to the Head, and 'tis of abſolute neceſſity to make choice of ſome Subaltern Patrons. Nothing has contributed more than this to the Cuſtom of Worſhipping the Saints: All the Arguments of a Proteſtant Controverſiſt will hardly have that effect with an Huguenot, as the Parallel made by a Curate betwixt the Mediation of Saints, and the Recommendation of a great Prince's Officers, will have with a Courtier, and in general with thoſe who are anywhit acquainted with the way of the World. Popular Notions do very well ſute with a Celeſtial Court, wherein the Angels, Apoſtles and Martyrs, are perpetually employ'd in recommending Terreſtrial Affairs to God, in ſolliciting the Diſpatch of a Decree, and putting him in Mind of this and that, as is uſual in the Courts of Princes.

(*e*) *See the Remark* L *of the Article* Juno.

(*f*) *See the Remark* E *of the Article* Daſſouci.

But whilſt you only ſtock Heaven with Saints and Angels, Maſculine Sollicitors and Mediators, you come not up to the popular Ideas: Theſe require a Queen as well as a King (*g*). A Court without Women is an abſurd thing, and has Irregularities that ſhock the Natural Taſte: Conſequently the People applauded the new Invention of the Mother of JESUS CHRIST, eſtabliſh'd in Heaven the Queen of Men and Angels, and of all Nature. This Hypotheſis fill'd up the Vacuum that appear'd before in the Celeſtial Court, and corrected all its Irregularity. From hence it follows, that the Peoples Devotion did immediately flame out for this Almighty, and Moſt merciful Queen. 'Tis a general and reaſonable pre-poſſeſſion that Women are more diſpoſed than Men to charitable Actions. They are incomparably more officious towards the poor and ſick, and the Priſoners; and if there be any Favour to be begg'd, as the Life of a Deſerter, they ſollicite, and take upon them to ſoften thoſe in whoſe Power it is to ſave him. A more certain Succeſs was therefore expected from the Invocation of the Holy Virgin, than from any other. We need not wonder that the Honours paid her, exceed thoſe which the Heathens paid to *Juno*: For the Dignity of Queen-Mother and Reigning Queen did not center in *Juno*'s Perſon; and beſides ſhe was look'd upon as proud, moroſe and revengeful: whereas the Holy Virgin was at once Queen-Mother and Wife, free from all Faults, and abounding with unſpeakable Goodneſs. 'Tis well enough known, that Courtiers grow cold and diſcouraged when a Queen has too much Pride, and is too prone to puniſh: And therefore *Juno* could not have ſo many Adorers, as ſhe would have had upon the perſwaſion of her being a Goddeſs, purely beneficent. My Reader already imagines with what Zeal the People contributed to build Chapels and Altars to the Holy Virgin, and to offer her Jewels and Ornaments of all ſorts; for according to the vulgar Notions, theſe are things that pleaſe Women, and by which, in the World, the way is made to their Favour. Let us now ſee a new Contrivance, which thoſe Liberalities and Offerings have occaſioned.

(*g*) *Finally, a Court without Ladies is a Court without a Court, to ſpeak Truth.* Brantome Elogy of *Francis* I. Tom. 1. of the Memoirs of the *French* Captains, *pag. m.* 281, 282.

The Monks and Pariſh Prieſts perceiving that the Devotion to the Holy Virgin brought in a great Revenue to their Cloyſters and Churches; and that it encreaſed in proportion, as the People were more ſtrongly perſwaded of the Authority and Goodneſs of this Queen of the World, labour'd Might and Main to fortify the Notion of her Credit and Inclination to do good. The Preachers employ'd all the Hyperboles and Figures that Rhetorick can afford. The Legendaries heap'd up all ſorts of Miracles: The Poets engaged in the Deſign; and annual Prizes (*b*) were appointed, for thoſe that made the fineſt Poems in praiſe of the Mother of God. What was at firſt an Oratorical Sally, or a Poetical Rapture, became at laſt an Aphoriſm of Devotion. The Divinity Profeſſors bandied theſe Subjects, and did not a little contribute to corrupt them. The Cuſtom aroſe in all deſperate Diſeaſes, and all other Dangers that ſeem'd inevitable, of making Vows to our Lady of ſuch or ſuch a place, as likewiſe out of a Deſire of getting Children, or any other advantage. It happens every where, both amongſt the Faithleſs and Believers, that ſome Patients, given over by their Phyſicians, recover from their Diſtempers againſt all Probability, and others by unforeſeen Incidents, avoid Misfortunes that were thought to be unavoidable. We ſee in all Countries of the World, that Women, who have been barren many Years, at laſt conceive. The Vows I ſpeak of are a wonderful Artifice; for if they effect not a Deliverance, there are a thouſand Evaſions; as that they were not made with a Faith ſufficiently Fervent, *&c.* There is no Regiſter kept of the bad Succeſſes, and People are not allowed to mind them. If the ſick Perſon recovers, if Barren Women become with Child, *&c.* this is attributed to the Vow: The Liſt of Miracles is enlarg'd with it in the new Edition; Offerings are multiplied, and Devotion ſpreads farther and farther. We have lately learnt from the Gazzettes that the King of *Spain*, who was at the very brink of Death, towards the end of *September* 1700, eſcap'd this Danger; and becauſe, amongſt other Objects of Devotion, there was brought to him an Image of our Lady of *Beelen*, which has but lately been in vogue, his Recovery was aſcribed to its Efficacy. If he had not relaps'd ſome Weeks after, and died the firſt of *November* following, this *Notre-Dame* had acquir'd a Reputation that would have eclips'd the reſt; for the Preachers would have ſet off this Miracle with all the Circumſtances that the conjuncture of general Affairs could have furniſhed in abundance. Theſe Gentlemen have been the great Promoters of this Worſhip: 'Twas they, I ſuppoſe, who firſt advanc'd, that JESUS CHRIST had reſerved Judgment to himſelf, and had left to his Mother all the Diſtributions of Graces: A ſure Method to bring over to the Virgin all the Acts of the moſt paſſionate Devotion. This Maxim is no longer a meer flight of a Rhetorician, grown warm in his Pulpit; but it (*a*) has paſs'd into Books that are put into the Hands of the Votaries. Is any thing more likely to ſtrengthen the Worſhip of the Holy Virgin, than to ſay, that (*b*) God gives her *abundance of ſigned Blanks, that ſhe may diſtribute as ſhe pleaſes the things that appertain to God?* The World therefore is indebted to her for Salvation, and all good Things, and not to God; ſince it is She that chooſes the Perſons, and puts them down with what Gratification ſhe thinks fit, in the void Space of the Blank. You'll find infinite ſuch Thoughts in the Book (*c*) I cite. The Heathens did not deal thus with *Jupiter*: They ſaid, that in point of Puniſhment (*d*) he acted by the Advice of the other Gods; but that he conſulted none of 'em in the caſe of Benefits and Rewards. Which Conduct (*e*) wiſe Men have recommended to Monarchs; and we ſee that worldly Kings are the immediate Authors of a Pardon, but they appoint Judges for the Condemnation of Criminals. When we call to Mind, that the Devotion to the Virgin is a fruitful Source of gain to the Churches and Convents, we ſhall eaſily diſcover the Reaſon that has occaſion'd

(*b*) *There are ſome at* Rouen, Caen, *&c.*

(*a*) *See Mr.* Baſnage, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 1082; *and Mr.* Arnauld, *Objections propoſ'd to Mr* Steyaert, *Part* 1. *pag.* 60.

(*b*) *The Jeſuit* Oſorius *ſaid this in a Sermon. See Mr.* Drelincourt's *Reply to the Biſhop of* Belley, *pag.* 374.

(*c*) *See Mr.* Drelincourt, *ibid.*

(*d*) *See* Seneca *Nat. Queſt. lib.* 2. *cap.* 42, 43. *See the Remark* I. *of the Article* Pericles.

(*e*) Ἐγὼ δὲ φημὶ, ἐὰν ἀρχὴν τὸ μὲν ἀνάγκης ἀφεῖναι, ἄλλοις προσαγορεύειν ἄνασσαν καλλίονι, τῷδε τὸ ἄγαν ἀποδοῦναι, ἢ αὐτῷ κυρίῳ. Cenſeo itaque viro principi ſic agendum, ut ſi quis eget coactione, hunc aliis puniendum tradat: cæterum cum præmia reddenda ſunt his qui rem bene geſſerunt, id per ſe ipſum faciat, *Xenophon Hier. pag.* 584.

I will make an (*N*) Obſervation hereupon. It will not be uſeleſs to relate what a Miniſter of *Paris* alledged againſt a Biſhop (*O*), who ſeem'd to accuſe the Proteſtants of renewing the Hereſy of *Neſtorius*, with reſpect to the Epithet *Mother of God*.

NEVERS

a Diviſion ſo different from this, betwixt JESUS CHRIST and his Holy Mother, with reſpect to the Warrant of Juſtice, and the Patents of Grace (†). Nothing is more proper than this to make the Holy Virgin the principal, and almoſt the only Object of Prayers and Vows, and Pilgrimages; and even of Love and Gratitude, and all the internal Acts of Piety. Let us once more conſider the Court of Princes, the great Model of moſt Religions. Some Princes ſuffer themſelves to be ſo engroſs'd by a Favourite, that they beſtow no place but at his Recommendation. Preſent a Petition to them your ſelf; particularize all your Services; humbly beg, but as a juſt Recompence, the Government of a Town, and they'll refuſe you: Let the Favourite ſpeak for you the next Day, and they'll grant it upon the Spot. When things are reduc'd to this foot in a Court, more induſtry is employ'd to gain the good Will of the Favourite, than of the Monarch; and there is Reaſon for this Conduct, which Prudence will juſtifie. I go farther, and ſay, that Juſtice and Reaſon require, that ſuch as have obtain'd the Government of a Town by this way, ſhould think themſelves indebted not to the Prince their Maſter, but to his Favourite for it, and reſerve all their Acknowledgment and Friendſhip for him, as the true Cauſe of their Promotion. The Prince is only a remote and indirect Cauſe, an Accidental, indefinite and general Cauſe. He is the Fountain of Authority, but 'tis another that determines it, and applies it to the Profit and Advantage of ſuch and ſuch People. By this Repreſentation you ſee, that in the Hypotheſis of the Doctors, who ſay, that no Favours are beſtowed upon the Earth, but at the Nomination and Recommendation of the Holy Virgin; it is to her, and not to God, that each Private Man is indebted for his Fortune, and owes his Love and Acknowledgments. He could obtain nothing of God, if the Virgin did not concern her ſelf in it: And therefore to pay one's Devotion to her, is a Duty founded on good Senſe, and the Reaſons of it are demonſtrative ‡. Is it to be wonder'd at after this, that the Acts of Religion have received the Form we find in Popery? Is not this a good Diſcovery of their Foundation? However it be, the Worſhip of the Holy Virgin is grown to ſuch prodigious Exceſſes, and maintains it ſelf with ſo high a hand, that the Janſeniſts, who attempted to give their Advice upon this Subject, gain'd nothing by it: And for one Man that conforms to their Modifications, there are two Thouſand, literally ſpeaking, who follow Father *Craſſet* (*f*). Pray, conſider the Obſtacles met with in the *Sorbonne* (*g*), when the Book of a *Spaniſh* Nun was cenſur'd there. The propereſt means to put a ſtop to the Miſchief, would be to lay an interdict on Panegyricks, and to oblige the Votaries, who deſire to teſtify their Gratitude by their Liberalities, to ſend them not to the Virgin's Chapels, but to the Hoſpitals. A Preacher is not ignorant that his Auditors have been often preſent at the Panegyricks of Our Lady, and have read the fineſt Sermons that have been publiſh'd upon that Subject. If therefore he would be heard and admir'd, he muſt take a new flight, and ſoar higher than all thoſe that went before him; and this is a great Cauſe of Illuſion. The main thing would be to forbid, under the pain of Simony, all thoſe, who ſerve privileg'd Altars, and who preſide over the Worſhip, to receive the value of a Penny from any Votary. This would be the way to drain the Sources of the Legendaries, and Preachers, and of the pretended Miracles: But is not this an impracticable Method? *Hoc Opus, hic Labor eſt.*

(*N*) *I will make an Obſervation* upon a Note of Father *Doucin.*] When I compos'd the Article of *Neſtorius*, I knew in general, that Mr. *du Pin* had been brought into Trouble, amongſt other Reaſons for ſome things he had ſaid concerning this Hereſiarch: But I knew nothing in particular, either concerning the Propoſitions that were condemn'd, or the Recantations he was forc'd to make. I don't know much more at preſent; all my Informations are reduc'd to the Note of Father *Doucin.* However, I ſhall ſay, that to deſtroy the Conſequences of this Doctor of the *Sorbonne*'s Teſtimony, it is not ſufficient to alledge his Retractation; for ſome retract for fear of being oppreſs'd; and others becauſe they have been dazled with ſome Reaſonings, which are weaker than the Proofs of their firſt Opinion. Upon Suppoſition, that Mr. *du Pin* has chang'd his Opinion, it remains to be enquir'd, whether it was, becauſe having examin'd the Controverſy of Neſtorianiſm a-freſh, he was convinc'd by internal Proofs, that he was miſtaken; or becauſe, knowing in general, that *Neſtorius* was condemn'd by an Oecumenical Council, he thought it the Duty of a good Catholick to acquieſce in that. In that caſe, notwithſtanding his Retractation, his firſt Opinion has ſtill ſome force in favour of *Neſtorius*: It may be concluded from it, that an able Divine, who had examin'd the Subject, was convinc'd by internal Proofs (I mean ſuch Proofs as the Proceſs affords) that there was a miſunderſtanding in it: But I confeſs, that this does not come up to what Father *Doucin* relates, concerning the Complaints of *Neſtorius*'s old Diſciples. They maintain'd (*h*), *That the Diſpute betwixt this Prelate and St.* Cyril, *was only about Words, and that the Explication he gave to his firſt Sermons was conformable to what we at preſent believe .... Nay farther, they produced many of his Writings; in which he complains, that his Propoſitions* (1) have been mutilated and falſified; *that eſſential Words have been ſuppreſſed, and others added that were none of his; that a Senſe has been foiſted in quite oppoſite to his own; and that by theſe* deteſtable Artifices *Celeſtin*, and others, *that is, the Fathers of* Epheſus, *were ſurpriz'd; that he makes no ſcruple to give* Mary *the Title of* Mother of God, *provided only it be not taken in the Senſe of* Arius *and* Apollinarius. (2) *What* Neſtorius *ſaid was conſtantly repeated by* Helladius, Theodoret, Ibas, Irenæus, *and others; that a Thouſand Falſhoods had been father'd on* Neſtorius; *that neither he, nor any one that they knew, had ever divided Chriſt, or acknowledg'd more than one only Son of God; that the Term* (3) Hypoſtatick Union, *had indeed been rejected as unknown to the Ancients, and as ſignifying a neceſſary and purely natural Union betwixt the two Natures; but that St.* Cyril *himſelf had yielded to the force of his Reaſons, by ſuppreſſing this Term, when the Peace of the Church was treated of.* 'Tis certain, that to diſ-engage *Cyril* from the burden this lays upon him, we muſt have recourſe to the infallibility of Councils as to the determinations of matters of Fact. See the Obſervations that Father *Doucin* has made to maintain it, and to refute the Diſtinctions of the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal.*

(*O*) *A Miniſter of* Paris *alledged againſt a Biſhop who ſeem'd to accuſe the Proteſtants of renewing the Hereſy of* Neſtorius.] Thus Mr. *le Camus*, Biſhop of *Belley* ſpeaks, addreſſing himſelf to Mr. *Drelincourt*: "(*a*) "You muſt give me leave, by the bye, to tell you, that "I never met with the Term *Mother of God*, in your "Writers; that you your ſelf, who ſeem more favou"rable to this Divine Mother, ſtudiouſly avoid it, as "a Rock; and that in the Conferences and Converſa"tions I have had for thirty Years with thoſe of your "Confeſſion, I have found ſuch an Averſion to this "Title, that they never make uſe of it; inſomuch, "that ſome of them being preſs'd, have denied it "with anger; as if the Mother of Chriſt, and the "Mother of God were two things, or that Chriſt "was not God: Which ſtrikes and oppoſes "the Hypoſtatick Union, and the Communication of "Idioms: You may conſider of it, if you pleaſe." Mr. *Drelincourt* anſwer'd, 1ſt. That (*b*) the belief of the Reform'd Churches is perfectly conformable to that of the Ancient Church, with reſpect to the two Natures of JESUS CHRIST in the Unity of Perſon; 2. *That, though this Term*, Mother of God, *is not found in* Scripture; *the thing ſignified by it is clearly there* (*c*); 3. That above ten Years ago he had printed a little Book, *concerning the Honour that was due to the holy and bleſſed Virgin*; in which Treatiſe are theſe Words, *We make no ſcruple to ſay with the Ancients, that the Virgin* Mary *is the Mother of God* (*d*); 4. That the Biſhop of *Belley* having read this Book, and having notwithſtanding ſaid what he has ſaid, had publiſh'd *a Thing* (*e*), *the contrary whereof is an evident Truth*; 5. That none of the Proteſtant *Doctrines* could be impugn'd (*f*) *by the Title*, Mother of God; and that *no Man well inſtructed in their Religion will refuſe to give it to* the Virgin *Mary*: 6. (*g*) "That if the Title of *Mother of God*, is not "found ſo frequently in our Authors, as that of "*Mother of Jeſus*, it is not that they are ſo ignorant "as to imagine that theſe are two different Things, or "two Expreſſions that do not ſignify the ſame; or "that they are ſo impious as not to believe, that "Jeſus

† Note, *That 'tis pretended that the Holy Virgin not only diſtributes all Graces, but frequently diverts the Acts of the Juſtice of God; and thus ſhe poſſeſſes her own Dominion entire, and beſides extends her Authority to that which* J. CHRIST *has reſerved to himſelf.*

‡ Note, *That a Prince, who gives at the Recommendation of a Favourite, what he would refuſe without this, to a Gentleman, does not give it to the Gentleman, but to the Favourite; therefore the Gentleman's Acknowledgment muſt be to the Favourite, and the Prince has no pretenſions but to the Favourite's Gratitude.*

(*f*) *I make uſe of this Example, becauſe the Jeſuit* Craſſet *is one of thoſe who have moſt highly condemn'd the Author of the* Virgin's wholſome Advice to her indiſcreet Votaries. *See* Mr. Jurieu's *Preſervative, pag.* 108 *&c. and* Mr. Arnauld *in his Reflexions upon* [illegible] *p.* 15.

(*g*) *See the Art.* [illegible]

(*h*) Doucin *Hiſtory of* Neſtorianiſm *pag.* 562.

(1) *Synodic. cap.* 6.

(2) *Synodic. cap.* 3 & 4.

(3) *Oriental. Object. ad Cyril. Anathem.* 3.

(*a*) Le Camus, *Biſhop of* Belley, *anſwer to* Drelinc. *pag.* 85.

(*b*) Drelincourt's *Reply to the Biſhop of* Belley's *Anſwer, pag.* 292.

(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 293.

(*d*) *Id. ib. pag.* 294.

(*e*) *Ibid. pag.* 295.

(*f*) *Ibid. pag.* 296.

(*g*) *Id. ib.*

NEVERS (JOHN of *Burgundy* Count of) in the XVth. Century, was very ill treated by the laſt Duke of *Burgundy* (*A*), though he had the Honour to be his Relation. This Duke oblig'd him to * renounce the Dutchies of *Brabant* and *Limbourg*, and the Lands beyond the *Meuſe*, by a forc'd Contract the 22 of *March* 1465. He degraded him alſo from the Order (*B*) of the *Golden Fleece*. This Count † died at *Nevers* the 25th of *September* 1491, at 76 Years of Age ‖. He was born at *Clameci* the 25th of *October* 1415 ‡. The County of *Eu* deſcended to him by his Maternal ⸸ Uncle in the Year 1472 †. He was married thrice, and (*C*) left but two Legitimate Daughters, and ‡ three Baſtards.

NEUFGERMAIN (LEWIS de) a *French* Poet, ſomewhat mad, to ſay no worſe, lived in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. He ſerv'd for a Diverſion to the Duke of *Orleans*, Cardinal *Richelieu*, and the Wits of that time. He ſtiled himſelf (*A*) *Heteroclite Poet of Monſeigneur only Brother to his Majeſty*. His darling Method was to make Verſes that ended with the Syllables of the Names of thoſe whom he prais'd. 'Twas a Rack that made him invent a thouſand Impertinencies, and ſuch Ridiculous Nonſenſe, that we need not wonder it was a Diverſion to propoſe Names to him that gave him ſome exerciſe. I queſtion too whether he was not made uſe of to intermix ſome Satyrical Touches amongſt his Praiſes, I mean that better Wits ſometimes help'd him to make his Verſes. Thoſe he made for Mr. *Godeau* and Mr. *Conrart*, ſeem to favour this Conjecture. The one was not a Man of a great Mien, and of a tall proper ſize; the other did not underſtand *Latin*: It ſeems then that there was ſomething of Malignity in their Elogy, and that a better Maſter than *Neufgermain* had a hand in it. I leave the Judgment of it to my Readers. They'll find (*B*) below the Verſes I ſpeak of. There are hardly any more ingenious Pieces

* Labbe *Tableaux Genealog. p.* 263. Anſelm *Hiſtory of the Royal Family, pag.* 218.

† Fabert *Hiſt. of the Dukes of* Burgundy, *Tom.* 1. *pag.* 155.

‖ Labbe, *ubi ſupra.*

‡ Anſelm *ubi ſupra.*

⸸ Charles *of* Artois *Brother to* Bonna *of* Artois *Mother to this Count of* Nevers.

† Anſelm, *ib.*

‡ Labbe, *ibid. pag* 264.

" Jeſus Chriſt is God. But they uſe this Method with " an holy Prudence. They conſider, that, God be " thank'd, this Kingdom is not afflicted with the *Ne-* " *ſtorian* Peſt: and that there is no need of ſeeking " Precautions againſt an Error that is aboliſh'd. But " that there are ſuch as *Deify* the Virgin *Mary*, and " make her a *Goddeſs*; and that 'tis to be fear'd, " that the things which are in themſelves moſt true, " moſt holy, and innocent, may help to encourage " them in their Error." At laſt the Miniſter makes this Declaration: (*b*) *I proteſt before God and his Holy Angels, that I firmly believe the Holy Virgin to be* the Mother of God: *And that I am ready to ſign this Truth with my own Blood. Nevertheleſs, I declare with the greateſt Freedom, that, for fear of ſcandalizing ignorant People, I don't delight to make uſe of theſe Terms, without explaining them at the ſame time. For all are not capable of underſtanding what your and our Schools mean by the* Communication of Idioms. *Inſtead of attributing to the Perſon what belongs to the two Natures, whether by Miſtake or groſs Ignorance, they aſcribe to one of the Natures what only agrees to the other. When they hear that the Virgin* is the Mother of God, *they don't preſently comprehend that ſhe is not his Mother, as he is God: But by a confuſed Notion they imagine ſhe is as properly the Mother of his Divinity, as of his Humanity. I have met with thoſe of your Communion, who conceive this Title,* Mother of God, *in the groſſeſt manner imaginable.*

(*b*) *Id.* Dreline. *ib. pag.* 297.

This will ſerve to confirm what has been inſinuated in the Remark *A*, concerning *Nellonius*'s Bear, that this Epithet, *Mother of God*, ſhould be abus'd; and manifeſt at the ſame time the circumſpections of the Miniſters, and their Cauſes.

(*A*) *He was very ill treated by the laſt Duke of* Burgundy.... *his Relation.*] He was Son to *Philip de Bourgogne*, Count of *Nevers*, *Rethel* and *Etampes*, who was kill'd in the Battle of *Azincourt* in 1415, whoſe Father was *Philip* the Hardy, Duke of *Burgundy*, Son of King *John*. This *Philip* Count of *Nevers*, married for his ſecond Wife the Daughter of the Count of *Artois*; by whom he had two Sons *Charles* and *John* (*i*). The former died without Legitimate Poſterity, the latter makes the Subject of this Article. 'Tis eaſy to perceive the degree of his Relation with *Charles* the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, when we remember that *Philip* the Hardy Duke of *Burgundy* was great grand Father to this *Charles*.

(*i*) *Taken from* Pontus Heuterus. *lib.* 6. rerum burgandicarum. *See alſo Father* Labbe *in his* Tableaux Genealogiques, *p.* 262.

(*B*) *He degraded him alſo from the Order of the Golden Fleece.*] *Peter Matthieu* will acquaint us with an important Fact hereupon. *Philip de Crevecœur Lord* of Etquerdes, ſays he (*k*), *receiv'd the Collar of the Golden Fleece, in the firſt Solemnity of the Order that the Duke* Charles *made at* Bruges *after the Death of his Father, when the Count of* Nevers *was degraded more unworthily, than the reſpect due to his Family gave him reaſon to expect from a Prince his near Relation.* His Marginal Note is more valuable than the Text, which is this. " Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy* renewed the Or- " der of the *Fleece* the 7th, 8th and 9th of *May* at *Bru-* " *ges*, and caus'd the place to be colour'd Black, where " the Arms of the Count of *Nevers* were to be plac'd, " with theſe Words, which are found in a M.S. Chro- " nicle of the King's Library. *The Count of* Nevers, *be-* " *ing ſummon'd by the Leters Patents of the moſt high, and* " *moſt excellent Prince, and my redoubted Lord, Mon-* " *ſeigneur the Duke, ſeal'd with his Seal of the Order* " *of the* Fleece, *to appear in Perſon in the preſent Chap-* " *ter, there to anſwer for his Honour, concerning a* " *caſe of Magick, and for abuſing the Holy Sacraments of* " *his Church, has not preſented himſelf nor appear'd;* " *but has made default. And to avoid the* " *Proceſs and Privation of the Order to be made* " *againſt him, has ſent back the Collar; and for that* " *has been, and is declar'd out of the Order, and not* " *invited to the Offering.*" A modern Hiſtorian affirms (*l*), *that* Philip the Good *diſturb'd to ſee* our Count of *Nevers* in the Party of *Charles* VII. King of *France*, caus'd him to *be raz'd out of the Order of the* Fleece. Note, that this Count was made a Knight (*m*) in the ninth Chapter held at the *Hague* the 12th of *May* 1456; and that the firſt Chapter held by Duke *Charles* was the Eleventh: It was held at *Bruges* in 1468 (*n*).

(*k*) Peter Matthieu *Hiſt. of* Lewis XI. *Book* 11. *p. m.* 750.

(*l*) Fabert *Hiſt. of the Dukes of* Burgundy. *Tom.* 1. *pag.* 155.

(*m*) Gollut, *Memoirs of* Franche Comté, *pag.* 738.

(*n*) *Id. ib. pag.* 742.

(*C*) *He was married thrice, and left but two Legitimate Daughters.*] I. In the Year 1435 with *Jacqueline d' Ailli* Daughter to *Raoul*, Vidame of *Amiens* and Lord of *Pequigny*, by whom he had one Daughter, who was Wife to *John* Duke of *Cleves*. II. In 1475 with *Paula de Bretagne* Daughter to *John de Baſſe* Count *de Penthieure*, by whom he had one Daughter, who was married to *John d' Albret* Sire *d' Orval*. III. In 1480 with *Frances d' Albret* Daughter to *Arnauld-Amanjeu* Sire *d' Orval*, (*a*) and Siſter to (*b*) this *John*: She had no Children.

(*a*) *Taken from Father* Labbe *in his* Tableaux Geneal. *p.* 263; *and from Father* Anſelm, *pag.* 218, *&* *ſeq.*

(*b*) Pontus Heuterus, *ubi ſupra.*

(*A*) *He ſtiled himſelf* Heteroclite Poet of Monſeigneur.] Let no one imagine that the Wits, who by his means diverted the Duke of *Orleans*, Cardinal *Richelieu*, &c. gave him this Title without his accepting it. 'Tis certain he took it very ſeriouſly, and made it one of his Titles in the front of his Works. For theſe are the Words of the Licenſe which he obtain'd of the King for the Impreſſion of his Poetry in 1637. *Our well-beloved* Lewis de Neufgermain, *having expreſs'd his Deſire of a ſecond Impreſſion of the firſt and ſecond part of a Book, entituled,* Les Poeſies & Rencontres du Sieur *de Neufgermain*, Heteroclite Poet of our moſt dear and only Brother the Duke of *Orleans*; *and fearing leſt others ſhould print it, which might turn to his prejudice, requir'd our Letters to this purpoſe*: And for theſe Cauſes, *we being willing to gratifie the ſaid* Neuf-germain, *have permitted, and do permit him*, &c.

(*B*) *They'll find below the Verſes I ſpeak of.*] We'll firſt ſet down thoſe he made for Mr. *Conrart*: He calls him *Conrat*, whether the pronunciation of the *Pariſians* † made him miſtake the Orthography of the Name; or that the Syllable *rat* ſeem'd more favourable to him than that of *rart*.

† *That is of many* Pariſians.

To Monſieur CONRAT.
The Syllables of the Name ending the Verſes.

Ainſi (*c*) *que l'on parloit des rats de Taraſcon,*
Quelqu'un me dit, tout mont peut engendrer un rat:

(*c*) Neufgermain, *part* 2. *of his* Poeſies & Rencontres, *pag.* 102, 103.

Pieces in Voiture, than thoſe which he made (C) to ridicule this Heteroclite Poet. *Neufgermain*'s Anſwer ſhews (D) that he was routed; the Blow had ſtunn'd him. He never knew leſs what he ſaid than on this occaſion.

† *Panzirolus, ubi infra, c.* 154.

NEVIZAN (JOHN) a Civilian, born at *Aſti* in *Piedmont*, was Diſciple of † *Francis Curtius* Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Padua*. He publiſh'd amongſt other Works (A) a Tract intituled, *Sylva Nuptialis*; in which he diſcovered his Inclination to vent things of Wit and Humour, and a Learning ſeaſon'd with diverting Curioſities. He interwove

A quoy je reſpondis, excepté Helicon,
Car il eſt ſacré ſainct, autre que (d) Monſerat,
Et c'eſt ſur Helicon que fut nourry Conrat.
Il ſçait parler latin, il ſçait parler gaſcon,
Grave, ſententieux, diſert, nunquam errat,
Juſques-là qu'il vainquit diſputant dans Macon
Un Docteur Maconnois, & l'envoya au grat (e),
Chercher ſon Calepin pour ſe prendre à Conrat.
S'il ne harangue en chaire, il harangue en Balcon,
Zelateur de vertu, contraire au ſcelerat,
Puis boit l'eau d'Hipocrene à plein broc ou flacon,
Aux vivans & defunctz, full-ce au grand Amurat,
Ayant ſoif & ſans ſoif, cet excellent Conrat.
Il ſçait de quel genre eſt dans Deſpautere Icon,
Seigner, tater le poux, appliquer le cerat:
Si quelque belle il voit, il dit, ô bon bocon!
Ses beautez admirant, & ſon bel apparat,
Puis de ſes beaux diſcours les charme ſe Conrat.
Plus qu'Orphee puiſſant, il peut ſans Lexicon
Arreſter de propos le ſoleil, dum migrat,
L'Aigle volant en l'air, le Duc & le Faucon,
Par terre le Lion, & l'eſcumant Verrat,
Baleines prendre en mer par ſes accens Conrat.
Dans un livre il fait voir qu'au pris d'un patacon
Les teſtes des proſcripts mit le Triomvirat:
Et comme il les jouoit à la chance & tycon,
Recompenſant celuy qui hæc attulerat,
Tant eſt ſcientieux & rare ce Conrat.

(d) *It ſhould be* Monſerrat.

(e) Furetiere *at the Word* grat *tells us, that* envoier au grat *ſignifies to give a rebuff, to drive away, to ſend about one's buſineſs.*

Let us proceed to thoſe he made for Mr. *Godeau*. I am perſwaded it will not be taken amiſs that I relate theſe two Examples: For it was neceſſary to relate ſome, ſince otherwiſe in foreign Countries hardly any one could have a juſt Idea of the Character of this Heteroclite Poet.

To Monſieur GODEAU.

The Syllables of the Name ending the Verſes.

La (f) belle & gentille Margo,
Trouvée n'aguere au bord d'eau,
Puiſant, puiſa un eſcargo,
Dont elle fit ſi bon chaudeau,
Qu'il n'en reſta point à Godeau.
Dedans ſon lict en ſon gogo,
Encourtinée d'un rideau,
Remuant la gigue, ou gigo,
Chantoit un air en go, en d'eau,
En faveur de Monſieur Godeau.
Luy ſeul a trouvé le mugo,
D'eloqueme, proſe & rondeau;
Car plus charmant qu'un Larigo,
Meinte fere marche en bedeau;
Portant maſſes devant Godeau.
Venus luy donna ſon mago,
Atlas luy offrit ſon fardeau,
Diane, Taiol & Rago,
Et le beau Phebus, ce blondeau,
Donna ſes (g) chevaux à Godeau:
D'un nom ſi divin, origo
Eſt, que liée d'un cordeau,
Diſoit une pie, ou margo,
Got eo, ſive God eo, (1)
Voyant marcher Monſieur Godeau.
Ses feſtins couſtent un lingo,
En Nectar, lapin, hetondeau,
Puis qu'enſemble à tirlarigo,
Boivent, mangeans le fezandeau,
Apollon, Minerve, & Godeau.

(f) Neufgermain, *ibid, pag.* 125, 126.

(g) *Probably a Fault of the Preſs inſtead of* Cheveux.

(1) Incedo Deus.

(C) *Than thoſe which* Voiture *made to ridicule this Poet.*] He made 1. a Ballad *in favour of* Neufgermain's *Works*. 2. An anſwer to the (h) *complaints of the Conſonants, which have not the Honour to enter into* Neufgermain's *Name*. 3. *A requeſt to Monſieur* de Puylaurens *in* Nenfgermain's *Name*. 4. *Some Verſes after* Neufgermain's *Stile to Monſieur* d'Avaux, *the Letters of the Name ending the Verſes*. All theſe Pieces are full of Wit: The Anſwer to the Complaint of the Conſonants was made under *Jupiter*'s Name. 'Tis an excellent Piece; and yet Mr. *de Girac* found ſome Faults in it, which Mr. *Coſtar* could hardly apologize for with all his Subtilties and Collections.

(h) *Tis amongſt* Voiture's *Poems.* Mr. Patris *the Author of it.*

(D) Neufgermain's *Anſwer ſhews that he was routed.*] Mr. *de Girac*, amongſt other things, criticized as a Falſhood what *Jupiter* affirm'd concerning the Vowels; namely, that they all enter'd into *Neufgermain*'s Name. This can't be true, but by ſuppoſing it written *Nœufgermain*. You'll ſee what ſtrange Nonſenſe this Heteroclite Poet diſcharged upon this Fault of *Voiture*: "(i) Take it which way you will, Mr. *de* "*Voiture* is ſtill to be blamed; for if he did not put "an *o* into the Word *Neufgermain*, he is out in his "reckoning, ſince there wants a Vowel; if he did, "he did amiſs to put it, ſince it ought not to be "there, as *Neufgermain* himſelf urges upon him.

" *Il bâtit en l'air des chaſteaux,*
" *Par diphtongue il fait mots nouveaux,*
" *Par oe de Nœufgermanje,*
" *Et brouillant un nom glorieux*
" *Bedeleufgermicopſantiſe (a)*
" *Au mépris des hommes & Dieux.*
" *Qui deut monſtrer qu'en ce beau nom*
" *Toutes voyelles ſont ſi non*
" *O, qui par ſa forme Spherique*
" *Environnant cét Univers,*
" *Rend le charactere d'Aſrique*
" *Confrere de celui d'Anvers.*"

(i) Girac *Anſwer to the Defence of* Voiture's *Works, Section* 26. *p.* 196.

(a) Note, *That in the Anſwer to the Complaint of the Conſonants,* Jupiter *declares, that this Poet's Name ought to be* Bdeleneufgermicopſant.

(A) *A Tract entituled,* Sylva Nuptialis.] Mr. *Marais* Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, was ſo obliging as to write me Word that he hath a *Gothick* Edition of this Work, Printed at *Paris* by *Kerver* in the Year 1521: That it is not therefore true, that *Nevizan* finiſh'd it in the Year 1522, as Mr. *Simon* (b) affirms, who compos'd a little Bibliotheque of Civilians; that the Title of this *Paris* Edition contains this; *Sylva nuptialis, bonis referta non modicis, nunc te lector obnixe rogat ut je aſpicias, deinde quod ſcriptum eſt legas, & protinus viſis opuſculi annotamentis, cum indice alphabetico contentorum narrativo, lætaberis gaudio maximo*; that the Author has collected all that is ſaid for and againſt Women; that there are many original Things in this Book; that the Author ſays, that God became Man, and pardon'd Mankind, only becauſe the Holy Virgin was handſome. *Imo Deus optimus maximus ob pulchræ & decoræ filiæ Jeruſalem immaculatam virginitatem generi humano ſibi infeſto pepercit & homo factus eſt*; that for this *Romanus*'s Counſels are cited, with the Page, Line and Word; that theſe Words are alſo to be found in it: *ſi mulieri non ſatisfit de veſtibus & carnibus, ipſa ſatisfacit de cornibus*; that God, if we believe *Nevizan*, did not caſt all the bad Angels into Hell, but ſent ſome of them into Womens Bodies to make Men mad. This Compilation, adds Mr. *Marais*, abounds with ſuch Things as theſe.

(b) Counſellor in the preſidial Court of Beauvais. *See the* 15th *Journal of the Learned* 1693. *p. m.* 246. & 1695. *pag.* 270.

I don't think the *Paris* Edition in 1521 is the firſt; and I wonder that *Geſner* and his Continuators have been ſo negligent with reſpect to the *Sylva Nuptialis*: They note no Edition nor any particularity of it, and yet it has been look'd on as a moſt curious Book, and many Editions have been made of it. I have that of *Lions, apud Antonium de Harſy* 1572 in 8vo. The whole Title runs thus: *Sylvæ Nuptialis libri ſex, in quibus ex dictis Moder. materia Matrimonii, Dotium, Filiationis, Adulterii, Originis, Succeſſionis, & Monitorialium pleniſſimè diſcutitur: Una cum remediis ad ſedandum factiones Guelphorum & Giebelinorum. Item modus judicandi & exequendi juſſa Principum. Ad hæc, de authoritatibus Doctorum, privilegiisque miſerabilium perſonarum. Quæ omnia ex queſtione, An nulendum ſit, vel non, deſumpta ſunt. Joanne Nevizano Aſtenſi, Juriſconſulto clariſſimo, Authore. Omnia multo quàm antehac caſtigatiora: Indice etiam locupletiſſimo, ac Argumentis in ſingulos libros additis, auctiora reddita.* The firſt thing we meet with after the Title is a Letter of the Civilian *Achilles Alionius* to the Author: It was written in 1522, and begins thus: *Habuiſti aliquot (c) ante annos, Joh. nes Nevizane vir clariſſime, tuis genialibus atque ingenialibus Nuptiis, in amœniſſua illa tua Sylva, frequentes quotquot palatium habent interioris hominis, literarii p. bulæ, ac*

(c) *This proves that* Nevizan's *Book was printed ſome Years before* 1521.

terwove with it large Collections of Slanders againſt the fair Sex. Some ſay that the Women of *Piedmont*, did not take it as a Jeſt, and that they reveng'd themſelves (*B*) cruelly upon him. He was never married, but he kept a Concubine, and had a Son by her, who was an Advocate, and was deprived of (*C*) all his Eſtate; and as an acceſſion to his Miſery, his extreme Poverty was attended with Madneſs. *John Nevizan* died in 1540. He had taken care to marry his Concubine *.

NICOLLE (PETER) one of the fineſt Pens in *Europe*, was born at *Chartres* in 1625. His Family hath been conſiderable (*A*) there for a long time. He adher'd to the Party of the Janſeniſts, and writ ‡ many Books in concert with Mr. *Arnauld* †, *whoſe Faithful Companion he was in the ten or twelve laſt Years* of his Retreat. 'Twas he who put Mr. *Paſcal*'s (*B*) *Provincial Letters* into *Latin*, and added a Commentary

* *Pancirol. lib. 2. tit. 3. de legum interpret. cap. 155.*

‡ See the Book entituled, *A curious Queſtion wherein Mr. Arnauld* be an Heretick, &c. 1655. *Ejuſd. Edit.* 1656.

† *Ibid.*

verſatili libri gerulæque mentis addictum, atque eductum. Qui, poſtquam abſumpta fames, & amor compreſſus edendi, ita ad unum hilaritus tibi applauſere, ut Alcinoi Phæacum regis epulum à Smyrneo Mævone illuſtratum, & Didonis convivium, à Noſtrate Meleſigene celebratum, longo poſtpoſuerint intervallo. This Letter gives us to underſtand, that *Nevizan* had compos'd many Additions, which he would not publiſh. *Alionus* adviſes him to change his Reſolution, and to give, as ſoon as poſſible, this new Entertainment to curious Readers; and aſſures him, that *Gabriel de Laude*, Chancellor to the Duke of *Savoy*, will be his Patron, and drive into outer Darkneſs, as having not the Wedding Garment, all thoſe, who ſhall ſhew their diſlike of ſuch a Work. *Eh jam fama conſtans, te prioribus nuptiis ampliores ac longè ornatiores (ſi conſummatis atque abſolutis rebus acceſſio fieri potest) ſuperconcinnaſſe: te tamen inaudito conſilio atque inſolenti ad eas neminem admiſſurum . . . . Is* (Gabriel Laudenſis) *tibi aſſertor ac vindex comparatus, ſi quem videnit tuis accubantem Nuptiis, ex his quibus ob ſiomachi moroſitatem, etiam odoratiſſima pigmenta putere ſolent; tanquam non habentem indumentum nuptiale, in tenebras detrudet exteriores. Et tunc te vel rigidi legant Catones.* After this Letter of *Alionus* comes the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Author to the Chancellor of *Savoy*. We there find that *Nevizan* had reſiſted the preſſing Sollicitations of his Friends, and refus'd them the publication of his Supplements, and amongſt other Reaſons that induc'd him to ſuppreſs them, this was none of the leaſt (*d*) *viz.* that, by the ill Reports that were ſpread concerning his Book, many Women had been provok'd againſt him. However he yields to *Alionus*'s Civilities. We'll ſet down the beginning of this Epiſtle Dedicatory; it will conduce to the knowledge of the Hiſtory of the Book: *Petierunt à me, Cancellarie illuſtris, & propè quotidianis convicis efflagitarunt plerique, ut lucubrationes & ſuppletiones quas ad Sylvam meam otioſiori ſtudio commentavi, in publicum ederem. Ingenuè fateor, repugnavi ſemper: adeo ut contra meos mores quibuſdam ſim viſus nimis auſterus. Non quod me pœniteret opus ipſum mutilum eſſe & mancum, quandoquidem impreſſorum incuria recentiùs adeo emerſerit, quod fecit autorum: etſi aliqui, In Sylvam ne ligna feras, quia copioſa videretur, aſſerirent. Ego tamen illam introjicere cogebar dicere, quàm pauper Achaia noſtra eſt. Sed differebam, quia otium non dabatur*, &c. Of ſix Books the Work is compos'd of, the two firſt run upon the Theſis, *that we ought not to marry*; and the two following upon the Theſis, *that we ought to marry*. And therefore it can't be ſaid, that the Author condemns Marriage; he only relates the Arguments *pro* and *con*.

(*d*) Accedebat quorundam ſiniſtra ad mulieres relatio, qui de bono opere & in commendationem matrimonii, excuſo me, nonnullas earum concitaſſe. *Nevizan. epiſt. dedic.*

* *I don't correct the Faults of the Edition I uſe.*

(*B*) *That the Women of* Piedmont . . . . *reveng'd themſelves cruelly upon him.*] I have read this only in *Francis de Billon*'s Book. 'Tis a Book that was printed at *Paris* in 1555, and entituled, *The impregnable Fortreſs of the Honour of the Female Sex*: In which we find theſe Words: "(*e*) To return to my Priſoners, the "ſecond is one Mr. *John Nevizan*, (a Civilian, as "'tis ſaid, but ill adviſed) who in the City of *Turin*, "ſome Years ago, ſhew'd himſelf ſo mad as to medi- "tate a Surprize, afterwards put by him into an open "*Latin* Impreſſion, upon the Honour of the fair Sex, "and eſpecially of the *Piedmontez* Ladies, which was "the Book entituled, *The Forteſt of Marriage*, full of "Detraction. Which Book, being found by the "Ladies of *Turin* to be a diffamatory Libel; its Au- "thor (here a Priſoner) was immediately ſeized, and "by them ſhamefully expell'd. 'Tis true, ſome time "after he obtain'd his Return from Exile, by means "of Submiſſion, and the *Honourable Amende* which "he made them on his Knees. Theſe two *Latin* Ver- "ſes being fix'd to his Fore-head, for an apparent "Sign of Penance.

(*e*) Billon *impregnable Fortreſs. fol.* 17. *recto.*

"*Ruſticus eſt verè qui turpia dixit de Mulere,*
"*Nam ſcimus vere, quod omnes ſumus de Mulere.*
"That is, He's a Ruſtick and a Fool, who diſparage "Women; for we all know we came from a Woman. "This *Latin* Rhyme ought not to be thought ridicu- "lous, for, tho' it was not made by one that was very "wiſe, yet it was made by a Man, (as being very "chaſte) who was capable of an Angelical Mind; "conſidering that after the fore-mentioned Of- "fenſe, he could never meet with a Woman (though "never ſo old) who would make his Bed; and the "noiſe of it is not yet huſh'd up in the Country. Thus "good Mr. *John* receiv'd his juſt Reward; for ha- "ving been at the pains to ſlander the Ladies."

(*C*) *And was deprived* (*f*) *of all his Eſtate.*] *Panzirolus* informs me of this, as alſo that *Nevizan* had a great Suit with *Paul Viſca*, that he died *pendente lite*, and made the Count *de Montafia* his Heir. I doubt not but he was related to this Count; for his Mother was Daughter to (*a*) *Godfrey*, Lord of *Montafia*.

(*A*) *His Family hath been conſiderable there.*] I prove it by the Teſtimony of Mr. *Devizé*. *I mention not*, ſays he, (*b*) *the Family of the* Nicoles. *Every Body will tell you it is very antient at* Chartres, *and has furniſh'd Magiſtrates for above two hundred Years. At preſent its worthy Head is the Lieutenant-General of that Town.* A little before he had ſpoken of our *Nicolle*'s Father, and this is what he ſays of him. I am to tell you (*c*) of the Death of "Mr. *Nicole*, whom the City of *Chartres* "had choſen for its Advocate: 'Tis a conſiderable "loſs to Men of Letters. Though he was of a great "Age, he kept up with equal Conſtancy and Polite- "neſs, the high Reputation, his Pieces of Eloquence "had acquir'd him: He had the Eſteem of ma- "ny Perſons of the nobleſt Extraction. He com- "plimented in the name of the City their Royal "Highneſſes, when they paſs'd through *Chartres*, and "always with a general Applauſe. He was Father to the "illuſtrious Mr. *Nicole*, known to all the World for "his learned and pious Works, which he has pub- "liſh'd for the ſpace of thirty Years; particularly for "his *Perpetuity of Faith*, and lately by his *Moral* "*Eſſays*."

(*a*) Joannes Nevizanus Aſtenſis avum maternum habuit Gotfredum Montafiæ dominum *Id. ibid.* He cites Nevizan *lib. 4. Sylvæ Nuptial. fol. m.* 111.

(*b*) Deviz. *Mercur. Gallant for* October 1678. *pag.* 22 *Edit. of* Holland.

(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 20.

(*B*) *Who put Mr.* Paſcal's *Provincial Letters into* Latin.] We ſhould ſay, *Letters to a Provincial*, and not *Provincial Letters*, if we chuſe rather to conform to exactneſs, than to the Caprice of Cuſtom. But Grammar a part, let us ſay in an Hiſtorical way, that Mr. *Nicolle*, under the falſe Name of *Guillelmus Wendrockius*, is the Author of the *Latin* Tranſlation of Mr. *Paſcal*'s Letters againſt the Jeſuits; to which he added ſome Annotations. The Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, who publiſh'd (*d*) the *Prejugez legitimes contre le Janſeniſm* in 1686, did not know at what time Mr. *Nicolle* had publiſh'd this Verſion. This Ignorance had done him no Injury, had he not grounded the Reaſons of his Conduct upon it: But making that uſe of it, he was ſomewhat ſeverely taken to taſk. We'll relate his Words, and thoſe of his Adverſary: "(*e*) "Theſe Gentlemen have newly compiled in their *Ven-* "*derokius*, all their moſt ſubtil and captious Writings "in Defenſe of *Janſenius*; they have put them in "*Latin* and publiſh'd 'em in *Europe*, without fear of "diſturbing that profound Peace, for which they pre- "tend to be great Zealots, when they are written "againſt. 'Tis therefore juſt, that the Children of "Light ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be excell'd in "Wiſdom by the Children of Darkneſs: They would "doubtleſs be chargeable with a moſt criminal Neg- "ligence, if they had leſs Zeal for the Defenſe of "Truth, than the Church's Enemies have for the De- "fence of Errors." Mr *Arnaud* anſwer'd him as follows; (*f*) *If our Savoy Doctor had himſelf read the Book, of which probably he ſpeaks only from ſome wretched Memorial that has been given him, he would have known that it is not called* Venderokius, *but* Wendrockius, *That*

(*c*) *Prejugez legitimes contre le Janſeniſme, Pref. pag.* ††6.

(*f*) Phantome du Janſeniſme, *chap.* 1. *pag.* 4. *at the* 5 *Th book was printed in* 1686.

tary to them. He did not follow Mr. *Arnauld* when he left the Kingdom in 1679, and he even conſented, as 'tis ſaid, to an Accommodation with the Jeſuits; which conſiſted in engaging to do nothing againſt them, but not to break with his old Friends. One of his fineſt Works is that entituled, *Moral Eſſays*. What he writ againſt the Proteſtants is very ſubtil. Never were the Objections againſt Schiſm more forcibly urged, nor the Difficulties of the way of Enquiry. But many wiſe Men are of Opinion, that he had better have ſuppreſs'd than publiſh'd this: For beſides that the *Romiſh* Church is no Gainer by it, ſince all the Arguments of Mr. *Nicolle* are retorted againſt her; his Works, together with the Anſwers made to them, may unhappily confirm in their evil Depoſitions all thoſe that have a Biaſs (C) towards Scepticiſm; and who conſider

(f) *Printed at* Paris *in* 1671, *and in* Holland *in* 1683.

(m) *Printed at* Paris *in* 1684, *and reprinted in* Holland *the ſame Year. See the News from the Republick of Learning* Nov. 1684. *Article* 1.

(a) *See the ſame News, &c. ubi ſupra, pag.* 888.

(b) *Mr.* Turretin *the Son maintain'd ſome fine Theſes at Leiden* Author & reſpondens, *in* 1692. *intituled,* Pyrrhonismus Pontificius, five Theſes Theologico-Hiſtoricæ de variationibus Pontificiorum circa Eccleſiæ infallibilitatem. *See alſo Mr.* de la Placette's *Book de inſanabili Romanæ Eccleſiæ Scepticiſmo, Printed at* Amſterdam *in* 4°. *The Leipſic Journaliſts give the Extract of it in their Month of* June. 1697. *pag.* 264. *& ſeq. It was printed in* Engliſh *at* London *in* 1688.

(c) *It was printed at* Rouen *in* 1673, *and in* Holland 1682.

(d) *See Mr.* Jurieu's true Syſtem of the Church. *Printed at* Dort *in* 1686. *Chap.* 19. *Book* 2. *p.* 333, *& ſeq.*

That it is not a Compilation of what was moſt ſubtilly written in Defenſe of Janſenius, *but a Tranſlation of the Provincial Letters into Latin, with Notes and Diſſertations, wherein the greateſt Principles of Chriſtian Morality are explain'd in an eloquent, edifying and ſolid manner: And that this Book being written and publiſh'd above ten Years before the Peace, nothing is more ridiculous, than to ſuppoſe it is* NEWLY *that theſe Gentlemen* have compiled and publiſh'd it thro'out *Europe*, without any fear of diſturbing the Peace: *As if there was any danger of troubling the Peace ten Years before it was made. Nevertheleſs he triumphs, after ſo many Falſhoods and Impertinences, and draws this abuſive Concluſion.* 'Tis therefore juſt that the Children of Light ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be excell'd in Wiſdom by the Children of Darkneſs; they would doubtleſs be chargeable with a moſt criminal Negligence, if they had leſs Zeal for the Defenſe of Truth than the Churche's Enemies have for the Defenſe of Error. *We leave it to thoſe who have read* Wendrock, *and the* Savoy *Doctor, to give each of them the place they ſhall think in their Conſcience belongs to them, amongſt the* Children of Light, *or amongſt the* Children of Darkneſs.... *What is certain, is, that the* Savoyard *Doctor reckoning it a piece of Prudence and Zeal to have writ ſince the Peace, without concerning himſelf whether he troubled it, it is moſt falſe that he could be induc'd to this ſort of* Prudence, *by the Example of* Wendrock, *who wrote a long time before the Peace.* Father *Honorat Fabri* a famous Jeſuit anſwer'd this Work of Mr. *Nicolle*: His Anſwer was printed under the fictitious Name (g) of *Bernardus Stubrockius*. He inſerted it afterwards entire (h) in a Book entituled, *R. P. Honorati Fabri Societatis Jeſu Theologi Apologeticus Doctrinæ moralis ejuſdem Societatis*. This Work of *Stubrock* was put into the Index; and, which is ſtrange, that of *Wendrock* was not, though the Jeſuits had endeavour'd it, and the Provincial Letters had been put into it. Which occaſion'd a Janſeniſt to ſay, that they were only put into the Index, becauſe they were in *French*, and without the Name of the Author, *&c.* Theſe are his Words: "(i) The general Applauſe that was, and is ſtill given "to the Provincial Letters, and the Fruit the Church has "reap'd from them, no Body before that Author, having ſo well diſcover'd the pernicious Relaxations of "the modern Caſuiſts, are a juſt Reaſon to believe "they were only put into the Catalogue of prohibited "Books, becauſe they came out without the Author's "Name, without Approbation, or the place of the "Impreſſion; or elſe becauſe, being in the vulgar "Tongue, it was fear'd they might give occaſion to "the People to leſſen their Eſteem for a famous Society; and not becauſe there was any bad Doctrine or "Calumny found in them. An Argument that this "muſt be ſo, is, that the ſame Letters having been "tranſlated into *Latin* by *William Wendrock*, with "Notes, which juſtifie the Citations, though this "Book had been brought to the Inquiſition at the "ſame time with the *Apology of the Caſuiſts*, as Father "*Fabri* witneſſeth in his *Note in Notas*, promiſing himſelf that *Wendrock*'s Book ſhould not eſcape the Cenſure: *Nullus dubito*, ſaid he (ſpeaking to *Wendrock*) "*quin tuus in Catalogum Librorum prohibitorum referendus ſit*: Yet he was found to be a falſe Prophet, "*Wendrock*'s Book having not been cenſur'd, whilſt "that Jeſuit's *Note in Notas* was." 'Tis confeſs'd in the new Anſwer made to the Provincial Letters, that *Wendrock*'s Book had a wonderful Succeſs. (k) *Theſe Letters after the tenth, were not meer Attacks; for* Paſcal *was obliged to ſtand upon the defenſive, becauſe the Jeſuits pretended to have convicted the* Port-Royaliſts *of a great many Impoſtures, about which it had not been honourable to be altogether ſilent. Mr.* Nicolle, *under the Name of* Wendrock, *came ſome time after to his Aſſiſtance; or rather he was let looſe by the Party to compleat the Rout of the Jeſuits. He ſpoke confidently in the* Latin *Commentaries, which he added to his Tranſlation of the Provincial Letters: In which he treats the Jeſuits as wretched Creatures. All this ſucceeded beyond what could be expected.*

(g) *See the 4th Denunciation of the Philoſophical Sin at the end of the Preface.*

(h) *Ibid. pag.* 22.

(i) *Difficulties propoſ'd to Mr.* Steyaert, *part* 9. *pag.* 40, 41.

(k) *Anſwer to the Provincial Letters or Diſcourſes of* Cleandre, *and* Eudoxus, *Preſident, of the Dutch Church at* Paris.

(C) *Confirm .... thoſe that have a Biaſs towards Scepticiſm.*] I have in view only two Works of Mr. *Nicolle*: One (l) is intituled, *Well-grounded Prejudices againſt the Calviniſts*; and the other (m), *the pretended Reformed convicted of Schiſm.* In the firſt I only conſider the fourteenth Chapter, where the Author pretends to ſhew, *That the way propoſ'd by the Calviniſts to teach Men the Truth, is ridiculous and impoſſible.* He ſays there is no Man that can be reaſonably inſtructed this way, without being certain; 1ſt. *That the Scripture Paſſages, alledg'd to him, are taken from a Canonical Book*; 2. *That they agree with the Original*; 3. *That there are not ſeveral ways of reading them which weaken their Authority.* After this Mr. *Nicolle* plays all the Engines of his Rhetorick, to ſhew in particular the Difficulties that are found in the Diſcuſſion of theſe three Points. He drives this much further in another Book, in which he pretends that they who left the Roman Communion in the XVIth Century, could not do it without extream Raſhneſs, unleſs they had an exact Knowledge of the Reaſons for and againſt it; and in general of all the Objections that might be form'd upon the Paſſages of Scripture offer'd on both ſides. He ſhews what they were oblig'd to do in order to have a due Certainty that it was their Duty to leave the Romiſh Church, and come over to the Proteſtants: And he introduces ſo many Diſcuſſions into the Enquiry that muſt lead to ſuch a Certainty, that there is not a Reader but will perceive, that among ten Thouſand Perſons, it would be hardly poſſible to find four capable of this Duty. What Fruit has he reap'd from ſo many Meditations? An Advantage which terminates in himſelf; the Reputation of a ſubtil Diſputant, and of a Philoſophical Divine, who is able to maintain any Cauſe, and to carry Difficulties as far as they will go. But he has done nothing for his Party: For Mr. *Claude*, who has anſwer'd his firſt Book, and Mr. *Jurieu*, who has anſwer'd the other, have manifeſtly ſhewn that a Man is expos'd to all the ſame Difficulties in the Roman Communion: And moreover, that he muſt launch into the Ocean of Tradition, and run thro' all the Ages of the Church, all the Hiſtory of the Councils, and that of the Diſpute concerning the Pope's Authority inferiour to Councils, according to ſome; and Superiour to them, according to others: So that the way of Authority, by which the Roman Catholicks profeſs to guide themſelves, is the high Road to Scepticiſm. A Man who would be juſtly aſſur'd that he ought to ſubmit to the Authority of the Church, is obliged to know, whether to the Scripture will have it ſo. And thus you ſee him expos'd (a) to all the Diſcuſſions of Mr. *Nicolle*: And he muſt know beſides whether the Doctrine of the Fathers, and of all the Ages of Chriſtianity, is agreeable to the Submiſſion he would have. He muſt be ſtrangely indefatigable, if he does not chooſe rather to doubt of every thing, than to engage in ſo many Inquiries; and he muſt be very ſubtil, if taking all the neceſſary pains he at laſt diſcovers the Light: 'Tis therefore the way to (b) Scepticiſm. Mr. *Claude*'s Anſwer to Mr. *Nicolle*, intituled (c), *A Defenſe of the Reformation*, is a Maſter-Piece. He has not only retorted his Adverſary's Objections, but has alſo directly cleared them, in a way that edifies pious Souls, without teaching the Libertines the Method of inſulting Religion. Many would be glad that as much might be ſaid of Mr. *Nicolle*'s other Adverſary: but this can't be done without groſs Flattering. He has not been contented to teach the Jews (d) how to convince their Anceſtors, who embrac'd the Goſpel, and finally declared the Synagogue to be a falſe Religion, of an egregi-

(l) *Printed at* Paris *in* 1671, *and in* Holland *in* 1683.

(m) *Printed at* Paris *in* 1684, *and reprinted in* Holland *the ſame Year. See the News from the Republick of Learning* Nov. 1684. *Article* 1.

(a) *See the ſame News, &c. ubi ſupra, pag.* 888.

(b) *Mr.* Turretin *the Son maintain'd ſome fine Theſes at Leiden* Author & reſpondens, *in* 1692. *intituled,* Pyrrhonismus Pontificius, five Theſes Theologico-Hiſtoricæ de variationibus Pontificiorum circa Eccleſiæ infallibilitatem. *See alſo Mr.* de la Placette's *Book de inſanabili Romanæ Eccleſiæ Scepticiſmo, Printed at* Amſterdam *in* 4°. *The Leipſic Journaliſts give the Extract of it in their Month of* June. 1697. *pag.* 264. *& ſeq. It was printed in* Engliſh *at* London *in* 1688.

(c) *It was printed at* Rouen *in* 1673, *and in* Holland 1682.

(d) *See Mr.* Jurieu's true Syſtem of the Church. *Printed at* Dort *in* 1686. *Chap.* 19. *Book* 2. *p.* 333, *& ſeq.*

ous

sider not with sufficient Attention the Spirit and Character of the Christian Religion. His Treatise concerning the Unity of the Church shews a masterly Hand, and yet he has

ous Rashness; but has forg'd I know not what ridiculous Distinction (c) of an Enquiry of Discussion, and an Enquiry of Attention, as absurd as that of formal Quantity in order to it self, and actual Quantity in order to place; *Quantitas formalis in ordine ad se, & quantitas actualis in ordine ad locum*, which make the Romish Schools ring: And he has granted that the Faithful don't embrace Orthodoxy, by evident Proofs, but by Proofs of Sentiment, and that they discern Truth by Taste, and not by distinct Ideas. This Dispute has had some Consequences: on one hand Mr. *Peliſſon* (f), and the Author of the Commentary on those words, *Compel them to come in*, and Mr. *Papin* (g) have written Books; in which they have shewn more and more inconquerable Difficulties in the way of Examination; and on the other, some Ministers have made smart Complaints of the Answer to Mr. *Nicolle* with respect to the Foundation of Faith. The Author of this Answer, instead of retracting or retreating, has explain'd himself a-fresh more precisely. He has lately made a great Book to maintain not only that the Proofs of the Divinity of the Scripture are not evidently propos'd by the Spirit of God, who converts us; and that it is not evident that God reveals such and such a Mystery in his Word; but also that those who lay the Foundations of Faith upon the evidence of Testimony, teach a pernicious and most dangerous Doctrine (h). There are those who say this is leaving Religion on the Brinks of a Precipice, and that if the *Celſus*'s and *Porphyry*'s had found it in such a post, if they had been to engage with Christian Doctors, who had made so many Advances and Confessions, they could not have stood a quarter of an Hour before them. I don't think them in the right, or that they have sufficiently consider'd the Nature of Christianity. Yet I don't know (i) what may be the result of the Dispute between the two Ministers of *Roterdam* and *Utrecht*: But it seems, that if we lived in a time of a Crisis, and in the conjunctures of the Fermentation of Humours, which have produc'd so many Effects in divers Ages, we should have great changes to apprehend. *Deus omen avertat.*

There are some perhaps who could wish the Minister of *Roterdam's* Doctrine was embrac'd by all the Doctors. They imagine that after this there would be no more disputing, and that it would be the true Grave of Controversies: For as we don't dispute concerning Tastes, we should not dispute concerning Religion, when all Divines should reduce the Analysis of Faith to Taste. I believe, would one say, I am in possession of Truth, because I have the Taste and Sentiment of it; and I do the same, would another say. I don't pretend, would one say, to convince you by evident Reasons; I know you are able to elude all my Proofs: Nor I neither, would another say. My Conscience is convinc'd, would the latter say, it tastes a thousand Comforts, though my Understanding is not clear-sighted in these Matters: And 'tis the same with me, would the former say. I am perſuaded, continues the first, that the internal Operation of the Spirit has led me to Orthodoxy; and so am I, says the second. Let us then dispute no more, let us persecute no more, say they. If I propose any Objections which you can't answer, I have no reason to hope to convert you: For since you don't pretend that Evidence is the Character of Theological Truths; the Obscurity of your Reasons, and the Weakness of your Arguments will never seem to you a Mark of Falshood. In vain then I should endeavour to reduce you to Silence. Your Taste would serve you instead of a Demonstration; just as in point of Eatables, we trust more to our Palates, and the good Effects they have upon our Health, than to the Speculative Reasons of a Cook or a Physician, though we can't give any account how these Meats either please or strengthen us. Let us therefore agree not to disturb one another, but be contented to pray to God for each other's Welfare. Thus you see the Fruit that would spring from this Doctrine, as some pretend, who remember a Maxim of St. *Austin*; which is, That the distinguishing Truth and Falshood, being a very difficult thing, we should not be violent against those that err. *Illi in vos ſeviant*, says he (k) to the Manichees, *qui neſciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, & quàm difficile cavenda errores. Illi in vos ſeviant, qui neſciunt quàm rarum & arduum ſit, carnalia phantaſmata piæ mentis ſerenitate ſuperare. Illi in vos ſeviant, qui neſciunt cum quanta difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis, ut poſſit intueri ſolem ſuum.... Illi in vos ſeviant, qui neſciunt quibus ſuſpiriis & gemitibus fiat, ut ex quantulacumque parte poſſit intelligi Deus.* This, I say, is the Fruit this Doctrine might produce, if we believe some Persons; *Sed non ego credulus illis*: But I am in some doubt of it, when I consider that the Minister of *Utrecht* (l), persuaded that the Scripture contains an evident Testimony of our Mysteries, is against the Persecution of Hereticks; and on the contrary, his Adversary, tho' convinc'd that we can alledge no good (m) Proofs either of the Divinity of the Scripture to Infidels, or of the Testimony of our Mysteries to the *Socinians*, highly approves (n) of the Magistrates persecuting Hereticks. What Contradictions are here! We must depend upon nothing, whilst we suppose that Men will act according to their Principles, and build a coherent System. Not that I pretend the Minister of *Utrecht* Reasons ill, in joyning these, two things together, that there is in the Scripture an Evidence of Testimony for such as God illuminates, and that Punishments ought not to be inflicted upon those who don't believe the Mysteries of the Holy Trinity, and Incarnation, &c. the inconsequence lies only upon his Adversary. This is manifest: For he who owns on one Hand, that there are no good Proofs, that God clearly reveals the Existence of his Mysteries in his Word, is unreasonable to pretend, that a Man, who does not believe them, deserves to lose his Estate, Liberty and Country: For he has the Lights of Reason on his side, and you cannot deny but he acts reasonably in refusing to renounce this Light, unless it appears evidently contradicted by the Testimony of God. He is ready to Sacrifice his most distinct Ideas, when it shall clearly appear that the Authority of God requires it. You own your self incapable of making this appear to him; and say, that Grace indeed may perswade him of it, but not discover it to him evidently. All therefore that Reason and Charity require of you (o) is to pray for him, and by the ways of sober instruction, to let him see that there is a greater probabilty in your Opinions than in his own. If you can't succeed, let him enjoy his Estate and Country, and don't attempt to arm the Secular Power against him. These are natural and clear Consequences, and yet the Minister I speak of separates them from their Principle. So incomparable he is in the contradictory Turn of his Head. For, by the bye, was ever any thing more fantastical than to make such Out-cries as he did against the Philosophical Commentator, and after wards to advance such a System? It might be easily shewn, that his Hypotheses are most (p) admirably fitted to confirm those of the Commentator: But this would carry me too far from Mr. *Nicolle*; to whom I return.

Let it not be said, that this Author has gain'd enough, since his Books have bred such Disputes amongst the Ministers of *Holland*. This is a Chimerical Advantage to his Communion, and has caused a real Mischief to Christianity, by raising Controversies which demonstrate, that neither by the way of Authority, nor of (e) Discussion, a Man can with any satisfaction tell himself he hath made a good use of his Reason: For this good use consists in suspending his Judgment, till the Evidence of Proofs over-powers it. Philosophers would think it a great reproach to them easily to acquiesce in the belief of Truths that should be but obscurely propos'd to them. They would not pardon themselves for giving a right Judgment in a Cause, before a severe Examination of all the Pleas of the contending Parties. They give the contemptible Term of *Opinators* to such as engage on one side, without being as it were forc'd to it, by indisputable Arguments. They maintain, that this produces nothing but a false Science, and they say, "that Ignorance (f) is preferable "by much to this false Science; which makes a Man "imagine he knows what he does not, for, as St. "*Austin* has most judiciously observ'd, in a Book con- "cerning the usefulness of Belief, this Disposition of "Mind is very blameable for two Reasons: One is, "that he who is falsely persuaded he knows the Truth, "thereby renders himself incapable of instruction; the "other, that this presumption and rashness is a sign of "an unroward Mind *Opinari, dum ob res turpiſſimum eſt: quod dicere non poteſt qui ſibi jam ſe ſcire per-*

(c) *Ibid. Chap.* 22. *pag.* 402.

(f) *In his Reflections on the differences of Religion. See the News from the Republick of Learning.* July 1686. *Art.* 1.

(g) *A Minister who turn'd Papist; see his Book call'd*, The Toleration of Protestants, and the Authority of the Church. *Mr.* de Beauval *speaks of it in the Hist. of the Works of the Learned.* Janu. 1693. *Art.* 7.

(h) *See Mr.* Jurieu's Defense of the universal Doctrine of the Church ....against the Imputations and Objections of Mr. *Saurin, Minister of the* Wallon *Church of* Utrecht. *Printed at* Roterdam 1695.

(i) *I spoke this in the first Edition of this Work, when this Dispute was not yet ended; but at the time of the 2d Edit. that is in* December 1700. *I can say, that it is no more talk'd of than the Controversies of* Flaccianism, *forgotten above these hundred Years.*

(k) Augustin. contra Epist. fundam. c. 2.

(l) Mr. Saurin.

(m) *By good Proofs are meant such as lead to Evidence.*

(n) *See his Treatise concerning the Rights of two Sovereigns, and his Letter of the Pulture of Socinianism.*

(o) *See the Preface to the Supplement of the Philosophical Commentary, where 'tis shewn, that the Difficulty of Controversies is an invincible Argument for Toleration: See also the History of the Works of the Learned,* Jan. 1693. *pag.* 25. *&c.*

(p) *The Commentator has shewn in the Preface to the fourth part, that with respect to the Rights of an erring Conscience, Mr.* Jurieu *thinking to confute him has confuted himself: This might be extended to other Articles.*

(e) *His Adversary has renounc'd the way of Discussion, and thinking his pretence to evident Argument.*

(f) *Art.* 3. *pag.* 88.

has not attack'd his Adversary (*D*) in the weakest Parts: Which is a manifest Proof that with all his penetration he did not discover them. He died at *Paris* the 16th of *November* 1695, a few Days after his Treatise of the Quietists was expos'd to Sale. He was well vers'd in polite Learning. The *Delectus* (*E*) *Epigrammatum* is ascribed to him, which

" *persuasit: & per se ipsa temeritas non bene affecti a-*
" *nimi signum est.* For the Word *Opinari*, in the Puri-
" ty of the Latin Tongue, signifies a Disposition of
" a Man, who too lightly assents to uncertain Things,
" and so thinks he knows what he is ignorant of: For
" which Reason all the Philosophers maintain'd, *sapien-*
" *tem nihil opinari*; and *Cicero* blaming himself for this
" Fault, said, he was *magnus Opinator.*" Not only the Philosophers, but all the World in general must acknowlege this Maxim, (*g*) *That speaking the Truth is not sufficient, to avoid the Imputation of Rashness, but a Man must also know that he says Truth. He that should affirm, that the Number of the Sands of the Sea is even, might say Truth; but he would be certainly chargeable with Rashness.* Thus Mr. *Nicolle*'s Book has been only fit to foment the Irresolution of indifferent Persons, and to give new pretences to the Scepticks in Religion. We might say perhaps of the first Work that appear'd upon these Subjects, what the Ancients said of the first Ship: Would to God the Tree that served to build it was still standing! *Cicero* (*h*) applies, that Thought to Reason: *O utinam igitur, ut illa arnus, optat, - - - ne in nemore Pelio securibus Cæsa cecidisset abiegna ad terram trabes: sic istam calliditatem hominibus dii ne dedissent! qua perpauci bene utuntur; qui tamen ipsi sæpe à male utentibus opprimuntur: innumerabiles autem impro'e utuntur.* But as things have two Faces, there is some reason to hope, that well-turn'd Minds will be the better for so unlucky a Controversy. They will learn to keep within due bounds, *Des Cartes*'s Maxim (*i*) concerning the suspension of our Judgment: They'll learn to distrust natural Light, and have recourse to the Conduct of the Spirit of God, since our Reason is so imperfect. They will discover the necessity of adhering to the Doctrine of Grace, and how God is pleased with our Humility, since he has been willing to mortify us even in the possession of his Truths; having denied us the Knowledge of them by the ways of a Philosophical Enquiry, by which we arrive to the Knowledge of some things.

(*D*) *He has not attack'd his Adversary in the weakest parts.*] Mr. *Nicolle* publish'd a Book in 1687, entituled, (*k*) *Of the Unity of the Church, or the Refutation of Mr.* Jurieu's *New System.* He therein manifested his Learning, Wit, and Eloquence; and, like a Man of Parts, took advantage of all the Weakness he found in the particular Opinions of the Author of the New System; but he did not think fit to examine this Minister's strong Objections against the way of Authority: This looks a little like Artifice. One might think that a little Wit might not have known the importance of these Objections, and would have despis'd them by an ill-grounded Pride: But this could not be said of Mr. *Nicolle*; He had too penetrating an Understanding not to comprehend all the extent of the Objections propos'd to him upon this Article, whether by way of retortion or directly. We must say then that his Silence proceeded from his being conscious he should sink under the burden, if he undertook to answer; he well knew that these were insuperable Difficulties, and that his own Reputation, and the Interest of his Church requir'd he should not mention them. Whence we may conclude (*l*), that there are every where such as believe not all they make profession of, or else remain perswaded that their Religion is good, though they are conscious that upon some Capital Points their Adversaries Objections are insoluble. However it be, Mr. *Nicolle* answer'd not all Mr. *Jurieu*'s System: He fix'd (*m*) upon the Parts that seem'd easiest to be master'd, and confin'd his Pains to that, excepting some Objections that could not be separated from it, and which consequently he was obliged to answer. We need not therefore wonder at the advantage he obtain'd, and that his Antagonist did not recover it by his (*n*) Reply. But it is somewhat strange that he was not aware of the greatest Fault in the Book he answer'd.

The Design of it was to prove, that the Protestants deserv'd not to be call'd Schismaticks, and yet there's nothing more proper to prove the contrary: For the Author's Principles necessary lead us to this, *viz.* that the Church of *Rome* did always belong to the true Church. So that the Author, in building his System, destroyed the end for which he built it: What could be worse? Nor did he stop there, but he laid down some Aphorisms and Maxims; from which he drew some Consequences that manifestly prove, a Man may be saved in all Religions. This was a second Essential and Capital Fault, which Mr. *Nicolle* did not perceive. See the Book (*o*) entituled, *Janua Cælorum reserata cunctis religionibus.* You'll there find the Demonstration of what I have just now said, concerning the Faults of this System. The Ministers, who have inform'd against Mr. *Jurieu*'s false Doctrine in the Synods, have not forgotten to complain of some Errors (*p*) found in his System of the Church, but they did not perceive the principal: For Example, they pass'd over this Proposition. (*a*) *God can't permit great Christian Societies to be engag'd in mortal Errors, and to continue in them long; at least, if we judge of Things by Experience, we ought not to believe this possible, since it has never yet happen'd.* This is to throw down with one stroke of a Pen, what *Luther* and *Calvin* have built: For since 'tis certain that all the Doctrines of the *Romish* Communion, for which they thought it necessary to establish the Reformation, have subsisted for many Ages; it evidently follows, that they are not mortal Errors: But they ought not to have separated from that Church, if none of its Errors were mortal. *Larenobius* (*b*) has largely proved this. To see then the Faults and Blunders his System abounds with, you must not only read Mr. *Nicolle*'s Answer, but also the *Janua Cælorum reserata.*

You'll ask, how its possible, that a Work, having so many Imperfections, should yet be look'd upon as the Master-piece of its Author? I refer you to a little Book (*c*) that was printed in 1692, where you'll find the Answer to this Question. The Author having describ'd the shameful Figure *Larebonius* had made the System of the Church appear in, proposes the following Objection: " (*d*) But why then has it been formerly
" own'd that this Book was the Master-piece of this
" Minister? We don't contradict it; we own still
" that this is his chief Book, wherein he has most fig-
" naliz'd the extent of his Imagination and the Faculty
" of inventing Proofs, and urging Difficulties. All this
" may be found in a Work, which has otherwise
" great Faults; and in which the Author, *Giddy*, with
" the great Flight he took, has not observ'd that he
" went too far; that he pass'd into the Enemies Camp,
" and loaded his Edifice with more Materials than the
" Foundations could bear. In a word, there are some
" Men who by Turns afford two very different sorts of
" Admiration: People wonder, that having made
" so many high Discoveries, they should not be aware
" of an hundred Inconveniences, and a thousand Con-
" tradictions that are obvious to the most stu-
" pid: And again People wonder, that wanting Light
" for Things so easy to be observ'd, they should have
" it for great Discoveries. The Minister I speak of,
" might have been usefully employ'd in contributing
" to the Construction of a new System; he might
" have invented a great many Things, and afforded
" many Views: But it required a Man of Judgment
" to separate all the disagreeing Parts, and after a
" skilful choice to joyn the Pieces together."

(*E*) *The delectus Epigrammatum .... and the Learned Preface.*] " 'Tis a Collection (*e*) of *Latin* Epi-
" grams, and *Greek*, *Spanish* and *Italian* Sentences,
" Printed in 12°. at *Paris* in 1659." Before it is plac'd (*f*) *a Latin Dissertation upon Epigrams, which deserves a place amongst the best Pieces written on the Art of Poetry. 'Tis a Treatise concerning* Poetical Beauty; *wherein this Author distinguishes true and solid Beauty from the false and apparent ... (g) In the search of this Beauty he confined himself to the Epigrammatick kind. He treats of the Virtues of the Epigram with great accuracy and judgment. He shews, that the number of excellent Epigrams is much less than many imagine, and he boldly ranks amongst the Vicious such whose subject is false, fabulous, equivocal, hyperbolical, decisive upon a contested Point, foreign, accidental, far-fetch'd, offensive, dishonest, sordid, mean and odious. He puts in the same Rank, those that are virulent, prattling vulgar and trivial, and such as have childish, and ridiculous Subtilties, or affected Allusions, and Quibles. Father* Vavasseur *hath censured several Passages of this Dissertation, and has found fault not only with some of his Sentiments, but also with some* (*h*) *of his Latin*

Words

(*g*) Nicolle's *pretended Reform'd convicted of Schism. lib.* 1. *c.* 2. *p. m.* 15.
(*b*) Cicero de nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 75. *pag. m.* 664.
(*i*) *See the new Letters of the Author of the general and Critical Answer, concerning the fatal Effects of this Maxim introduc'd into Religion. pag.* 779. *& seq. Mr.* Jurieu *true System of the Church. pag.* 373. *& seq. News from the Republick of Learning*, November 1684. *Art.* 1. *p.* 889. *and* July 1686. *Art.* 1. *p.* 745. *See also the Remark of the Article* Pelisson.
(*k*) *See the Article* Comenius.
(*l*) *See the Remark D of the Article* Pelisson.
(*m*) *He found some Errors of Fact, and some pitiful Reasons in it.*
(*n*) *The Reply is entituled*, A Treatise concerning the Unity of the Church and the fundamental Points; *by* Rotterdam 1688. *in* 8vo.

(*o*) *Printed at* Amsterdam 1692. *in* 4°. *To speak of it in the Remark M. of the Article of* Comenius.
(*p*) *See Mr.* Saurin's *Examination of Mr.* Jurieu's *Divinity, pag.* 6. *& seq.*
(*a*) Jurieu's *System of the Church, p.* 236.
(*b*) *This is the distinguish'd name of the Author of* Janua Cælorum reserata.
(*c*) New Advice to the little Author of little Pamphlets.
(*d*) *Ibid. pag.* 60, 61.
(*e*) Baillet's *Judgment upon the Poets. Tom.* 2. *n.* 1080. *pag.* 81.
(*f*) *Id. ib.*
(*g*) *Ibid pag.* 82.
(*h*) *He has tax'd him with some Solecisms. The new Answer to the Provincial Letters in the seventh Discourse says, That* Wendreckius *hath made from time to time some very egregious Faults among those fine Latin Phrases, which made those that are not Judges look upon him as the* Cicero *of his Party.*

which has been several times printed, and the Learned Preface that attends it. I have enlarged * upon the Consequences of one of his Books, since Men of Judgment have assured me that such Facts, accompanied with Reflections, belong to this Dictionary; and that they'll afford Varieties, that will divert the Reader. This is the true Reason why here, and on several other occasions, I use this Method.

* *In the Remark C.*

The Supplement I have to add to this Article concerns only some (*F*) Works of Mr. *Nicolle*, which I have not mentioned.

NIDHARD

Words (1). Mr. *Menage*, speaking of some Criticks who condemn'd the use of Jingles in Verses, adds, "(*i*) that 'tis said that Mr. *Nicolle*, or Mr. *Lancelot*, "was the first that publish'd this Notion against "Jingles, in a Collection of Verses and Epigrams of "the Ancients." Mr. *Menage* therefore did not certainly know that Mr. *Nicolle* was the Author of the Preface before this Collection. *Note*, That the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* have publish'd many Books for the use of Youth. 'Twas principally for their Scholars; for 'tis certain, they had some. *The Latin Method*; *the Greek Method*; *the Garden of Greek Roots*; *the Art of Thinking*; *the* Delectus Epigrammatum, *&c.* are Works they design'd for the Instruction of some Disciples they educated. They had a War to maintain against the Jesuits upon this: So that all the Quarrels of these two Parties, did not turn upon the Doctrines of Grace and loose Morality. We have seen that Father *Vavasseur* criticiz'd Mr. *Nicolle* about the Qualities of the Epigram: He publish'd a very fine Treatise upon this Subject; and we may be sure he did it only to have an opportunity of censuring Mr. *Nicolle's* Dissertation: He well knew that it came from *Port-Royal*. Before him Father *Labbe* made it his Business to contradict the Grammatical Works of these Gentlemens, who used him somewhat roughly (*k*) in a Preface. If he is to be credited, they had several Schools: (*l*) *I was shewn*, says he, *at the same time a little Book, entituled*, The Garden of Greek Roots, put into *French*, with a Tract of Prepositions, and other undeclin'd Particles, and an Alphabetical Collection of *French* Words, derived from the Greek Tongue, *and printed in the Year* 1647, *by the care, as was said, of some Patrons of Jansenism, for the familiar Instruction both of some little Schools, which they then had in three Houses about the Abbey of* Port-Royal des Champs, *and of those that were scatter'd in many Villages and Castles in the Neighbourhood of this great Capital City of the Kingdom, and elsewhere in the Provinces. We have in this College of* Clermont *some Scholars, who have learnt them there, and seen them taught their School-fellows; as also in the College of one of the good Cities of* Picardy, *which is not the most remote from* Paris. Some Pages after he tells us, that the King had lately broke all their Schools. I will relate his Observation somewhat at large; in which we shall see the Effects of Pre-possession and Hatred. Father *Labbe* imagin'd these Gentlemen were capable of causing a thousand Disorders, by this little Collection of *French* Words, derived from the Greek, which they had joyn'd to the Garden of Greek Roots. He represented (*m*) to the *French* Academy the heinousness of this Attempt, and urg'd, that this Sect of new Hellenists ought to be repress'd. *I have called* (*n*), says he, *their Design by the* Name *of a Sect, forasmuch as what has been done by the preceding Hellenists, had no ill Consequence, nor occasion'd much mischief amongst our* French *Youth: But the Enterprize of those* Port Royalists, *who may take for their Motto,* Legio nomen nostrum est, *if it had had all the Success they pretended, would have directly ruin'd the* Latin *and* French *Tongue, and under pretence of teaching their Scholars* Greek, *would have thrown them into intolerable Absurdities and Ignorance, which must at last have made us ridiculous and contemptible to Foreigners and to all their Posterity. They have compos'd this famous Collection pursuant to their riming Roots, and* Greek *and* Latin *Methods, that the Youth they educated (not only, as we have before observed, in the three Houses adjacent to the Abbey of* Port-Royal des Champs, *which we shall name when there is occasion, and in many other little blind Schools in some Villages and Country Castles about this great City of* Paris, *but also at a distance in the Seminaries and Colleges of more remote Cities and Provinces) might draw, as out of a publick Fountain, open to all their Party, the first Principles and the most secret Originals of the* French *Tongue; Learning by Heart with great Diligence the Words they pretend to have been derived from the* Greek *by our Ancestors. But God has oppos'd their pernicious Designs, having inspir'd our most Christian Monarch* Lewis XIV. *with the Resolution of prohibiting and hindering all the unlawful Assemblies of this Sect; in which Youth was instructed in the dangerous Maxims of Jansenism, and suck'd from their Cradle, as we may say, the Milk of one of the most damnable Heresies, that ever attack'd the Church.* This is flying into a Rage for a Trifle, and discovering in the Conduct of one's Enemies a pernicious Enterprize, which is nothing but a Fantome. 'Tis useful to collect Examples of this wretched Pre-possession.

(1) *See Father* Vavasseur. *Tr. concerning the Epigram.*

(*i*) Menagiana, *p.* 301, 302, *of the first Edition of* Holland.

(*k*) *That of the Garden of* Greek *Roots.*

(*l*) Labbe *Preface to the Etymologies of many* French *Words. This Book was printed at* Paris *in* 1661.

(*m*) *In the Epistle Dedicatory of his Etymologies.*

(*n*) *Ibid. Pref.*

(*F*) *Some Works of Mr.* Nicolle *which I have not mentioned.*] "(*a*) The Relation Mr. *de Marca* had "made, in his way, of all that had been done since "the Year 1653, in the Assemblies of the Bishops on "the Subject of the five Propositions, was no sooner "divulg'd in the Name of the Clergy; but Mr. *Nicolle*, surpriz'd to find in it a Compilation of Falshoods and Impostures, thought himself obliged to "make them known, that the World might not be "seduc'd by them." This Piece of Mr. *Nicolle* was entituled, "(*b*) *Belga Percontator: sive Francisci Pro-futuri Theologi Belgæ, super Narratione rerum gestarum in Conventu Cleri Gallicani circa Innocentii X. Constitutionem, Scrupuli, ejusdem Narrationis opifici Propositi, 25. Februarii* 1657. Some Days after appear'd two "*Latin* Disquisitions of the same Author, under the "Name of *Paul Irenæus*; in which he demonstrated "there was no such Thing as a Jansenian Heresy; and "that it was a meer Fiction, which the Jesuits made "use of." These two Disquisitions were followed with (*c*) four others in the same Year. He writ in 1662 against the Thesis in which the Jesuits of *Paris* had maintain'd, the 12th of *December* 1611, (*d*) *that the Pope had the same Infallibility as Jesus Christ, to determine Questions of Fact as well as Questions of Right.* He shew'd "(*e*) how this new Opinion of the "Jesuits was contrary to the Laws and Customs of "*France*. But this Writing falling into the Hands of "one who stuff'd it with Impertinencies, and "being printed with this Title, *A Defence of the* "*Liberties of the Gallican Church against the Theses of* "*the Jesuits of the College of* Clermont *of the 12th of* "*December* 1611, this Work was disown'd and suppress'd by the Jansenists, who substituted in its "Room the first of *February*, *The pernicious Consequences of the new Heresy of the Jesuits against the King* "*and the State*: To which was added, *A Refutation of* "*the Cavils wherewith some Divines endeavour to elude* "*the Authority of the Councils of* Constance *and* Basil." Note, That the (*f*) 18 Letters about the Imaginary Heresy were ascrib'd to him, which came out in 1664, and 1665, (*g*).

(*a*) *History of Jansenism, Tom.* 2. *p.* 329. *Edition of* Amsterdam 1700.

(*b*) *Ibid. pag.* 331.

(*c*) *Ibid. pag.* 334, 335, 371, 374, 375.

(*d*) *Ibid. Tom.* 3. *pag.* 3.

(*e*) *Id. ib. pag.* 6.

(*f*) *Ten of them are entituled,* les Imaginaires, *and eight of them* les Visionaires.

Let us add a Word or two of his *Posthumous* Works. The tenth Tome of his Moral Essays was printed at the *Hague* in 1700, with an Advertisement, *That this famous Author's Executors have in their Hands several of his Writings not yet printed, and that they will take care to have them speedily publish'd.* See Mr. *Bernard* in his *News* (*h*) *from the Republick of Learning*, and Mr. *de Burigni* in his *History of the Works of the Learned* of the Year 1700. I don't know whether they reckon amongst those Writings (*i*) *the interlineary Gloss, and the Greek Notes that Mr.* Nicolle *penn'd upon the Greek Text of Lycophron*: But I believe, that they reckon the Treatise of Grace he compos'd some Years before his Death. 'Tis said in the History of the five Propositions, that he wrote it, "(*k*) *against the System of* Jansenius, *Mr.* Arnauld, "*and Father* Q——; *and that he confutes nothing* "*in all this Treatise, but* Physical *Necessity, that is,* "*the inevitable and absolute Necessity of doing the ill* "*we do: And that to confute it, he acknowledges in* "*all Sinners a sufficient Grace, which delivers them* "*from this Necessity by giving them a* Physical *Pow-*"*er entire and absolute, of avoiding Evil; without* "*which Power they could not be culpable for what they* "*do; and by Vertue whereof it may be truly said of* "*the most Obdurate that they may abstain from Evil;* "*as it is true, that a Man of Honour, who is in his* "*Senses, may, if he pleases, in the face of the World,* "*be guilty of the greatest Extravagances. This is the* "*Instance Mr.* Nicolle *makes use of.*" This Treatise of

(*g*) *See the History of the five Propositions of Jansenism, p.* 293.

(*h*) *August* 1700, *p.* 213, 214.

(*i*) *See the Preface of the* Telemacomanie, *p. m.* 6.

(*k*) *History of the five Propositions. pag.* 139. 140: *Edit. of* Liege 1695.

NIDHARD* (JOHN EVERARD) Confeſſor to the Queen, Mother of *Charles* II. King of *Spain*, was born the 8th of *December* 1607, in the Caſtle of *Falkenſtein* in (A) *Auſtria*. He made himſelf a Jeſuit the 5th of *October* 1631, and having performed all his Studies, taught Morality, Philoſophy, and the Canon Law in the Univerſity of *Gratz*. He had alſo read School-Divinity, if the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. had not ſent for him to (B) his Court. He was at firſt Confeſſor to the Arch-Dutcheſs *Mary Anne*; and afterwards Confeſſor and Preceptor to the Arch-Duke *Leopold* †. He followed this Princeſs into *Spain*, when ſhe went to ‡ marry King *Philip* IV. for the Emperor *Ferdinand* would not ſuffer her to change her Confeſſor. The King of *Spain* had ſuch an Eſteem for this Jeſuit, that he was deſirous to procure him a Cardinal's Hat in 1665; but *Nidhard* beſeech'd him not to think of it. After this Prince's Death he was made Inquiſitor-General by the Queen-Mother ‡, and he had a great ſhare in the Government. The Party that was form'd againſt him, which was headed by *John* of *Auſtria*, natural Son of *Philip* IV. was ſo potent, that in ſpight of the Queen's Protection, her Confeſſor (C) was forc'd to retire. He left *Madrid* in the midſt of the People's Curſes * the 25th of *February* 1669. The Queen † *with a ſteddy Countenance ſign'd* the Decree that was brought her *ready drawn up for this Expulſion.* We ſhall ſee the Contents of it below (C△); and the better to ſalve the Appearances, ſhe gave a Declaration the next Day β, *by which Her Majeſty inform'd the Miniſters of State, that being no longer able to withſtand her Father Confeſſor's Importunities to retire: She had permitted him to go to* Rome *in the Quality of Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and ſhe deſir'd it might be underſtood that he went thither with all the Honours, Penſions, and Employs that he before enjoy'd.* He went to the Court of *Rome* (C△△) where he was γ Ambaſſador Extraordinary of *Spain* to *Clement* IX. In the following Pontificate he was Ambaſſador Ordinary of the ſame Crown; and in order to ſupport the

* *They pronounce it* Nicard.

† *Who was elected Emperor in* 1658.

‡ *In* 1650.

‡ *Taken from* Nathaniel Sotuel Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu, *pag.* 441, 442. *See alſo his Epiſtle Dedicatory.*

* *Bouhours, ubi infra, pag.* 289. *& ſeq.*

† *Relation of the Difference between Don* John *of* Auſtria, *and Cardinal* Nitard, *Tom.* 2. *p.* 13. *Edit. of* Cologne 1677.

β *Father* Nitard's *Departure from* Spain *tranſlated from the* Spaniſh, *by Father* Bouhours. *See his Opuſcules, pag.* 292.

γ Sotuel, *ubi ſupra.*

(kk) *In* March *and* April 1701, *pag.* 182, *&c. of the* Dutch *Edition.*

(l) *That is in the Article of* John Everard Nidhard; *but you'll find at the end of this Remark what he ſays in his Epiſtle Dedicatory.*

(m) *Memoirs of the Court of* Spain, *Part* 1. *p.* 6. Holl. *edit.*

n) *That of Inquiſitor-General.*

o) *Teſte* Father Nitard.

Mr. *Nicolle*, upon Grace, was printed in 1699, and re-printed the Year following: It contains but 105 Pages in 12°. You'll find the Analyſis of it in the (kk) Journal of *Trevoux.*

(A) *Was born in the Caſtle of* Falkenſtein.] The Bibliographer of the Jeſuits does not tell us (l) the Religion of *John Everard Nidhard*'s Parents: He only ſays they were Noble. There are Accounts that ſay they were good *Lutherans.* Madam *d'Aunoi* having ſaid that the Miniſters of State were diſguſted, that the Queen-Mother (m) *had diſpos'd of a moſt important* (n) *Place without them, and in favour of a Stranger* (o), *who was born and bred up till fourteen Years of Age in the Lutheran Religion*, puts theſe Words in the Margin: "(p) Though it was true that he had been a *Lutheran*, "and it was objected to him, yet he ſtoutly denied it, "becauſe that would have excluded him from this "Poſt." Father *Sotuel*, dedicating his *Bibliotheque* to Cardinal *Nidhard*, ſpeaks in a very different (q) manner. *Quando claræ memoriæ*, ſays he, *Genitor Eminentiæ veſtræ à principibus Auſtriacis Commiſſarius Generalis conſtitutus ad expellendos ex hæreditariis ipſorum provinciis hæreticos, id ille ingente animi fortitudine ac zelo præſtitit, quantumvis non ſine diſcrimine vitæ ſuæ, & jactura fortunarum non exigua.*

Father *Baron* relates (r) that he had heard a credible Perſon ſay, that our *Nidhard* had been a Captain of Horſe and that he was a grown Man when he abjur'd Lutheraniſm, which he had imbib'd in his Infancy.

(B) *If the Emperor* Ferdinand III. *had not ſent for him to his Court.*] Madam *d'Aunoi* does not ſpeak in that manner: This is her Account. "(s) Amongſt "ſeveral others that the Emperor appointed to attend "the Queen his Daughter, he choſe Father *John* "*Everard Nidhard*, a *German* Jeſuit for her Confeſſor. "His Birth was obſcure; and his Wit was almoſt the only "thing whereby he raiſed his Fortune: He was ſupple "and complaiſant; he ſtudied the Character of thoſe "he had occaſion for, and never oppos'd their Opini-"ons. He perform'd his Studies in the Jeſuits College "at *Vienna*, where he took the Habit of the Order, "and they ſent him afterwards to ſome of their "Houſes, which he govern'd very well. When he re-"turn'd to *Vienna*, he began to make himſelf known, "and many Ladies of the Court took him for their "Ghoſtly Father. They omitted nothing to do him "good Offices with the Emperor; and they ſpoke ſo "advantageouſly of him, that he was pleas'd the "Queen ſhould take him along with her." There are perhaps ſome Circumſtances in this Account that are not true; I leave the Enquiry to the Reader.

(C) *In ſpight of the Queen's Protection he was forc'd to retire.*] The Accounts of the Differences between Don *John* of *Auſtria* and the Queen-Regent, are ſo common in every Bodies Hands, that I ſhall not give the Particulars. Madam *d'Aunoi*, whoſe Works have been ſo often Printed, has ſpoke very neatly of them: 'Tis pity the Publick can't be perſwaded ſhe deſerves Belief. 'Tis a general Opinion that her Works are a Mixture of Fictions and Truths, half Romance, and half Hiſtory; and there is no other way to diſtinguiſh Fiction from True Matter of Fact, but by comparing hers with other Books. 'Tis an Inconvenience which daily gets Ground by the liberty that is taken to publiſh the Secret Amours, the Secret Hiſtory, *&c.* of ſuch and ſuch Lords famous in Hiſtory. Bookſellers and Authors do all they can to make it believed that theſe ſecret Hiſtories have been taken from ſecret Manuſcripts: They know that Love-Intrigues, and ſuch like Adventures, pleaſe more when they are believed to be real, than when they are thought to be pure Fables. Hence the new Romances keep as far off as poſſible from the Romantick Way: But hereby they involve true Hiſtory in a thick Darkneſs: And I believe the Powers will at laſt be forced to give theſe new Romance-Makers their Option; either to write clean Hiſtory, or pure Romance; or at leaſt to uſe Crotchets to ſeparate Truth from Falſhood (a).

(C△) *We ſhall ſee the Contents of this Decree below:*] The Queen ſign'd it, "(b) ſaying, ſhe never had deſir'd "any thing but what was for the Advantage of the "State; and ſince this was of that Nature, ſhe would have "it executed. This was done very honourably: For "to expreſs her Majeſty's Eſteem for this Jeſuit, the "Decree was form'd in theſe Terms. John Everard "Nitard, *a Religious of the Society of* Jeſus, *my* "*Confeſſor, Councellour of State, and Inquiſitor-*"*General, having intreated me to permit him to leave* "*the Kingdom: Though I am very well ſatisfied of his* "*Vertue, and his other good Qualities, as alſo of his* "*Zeal and Induſtry for my Service; yet having Regard* "*to his Requeſt, and for other Conſiderations, I have gi-*"*ven him the Permiſſion he deſires to retire where* "*he ſhall pleaſe: But deſiring he might do it with all* "*the Decency and Honour that are due to his Dignities* "*and Merit, I have reſolved to give him the Title of* "*Ambaſſador Extraordinary from this Court in* Germany "or Rome, *which he ſhall chuſe, without reſigning* "*any of his Employs or Profits he draws from them.*" Madrid *the* 25*th of* February 1669.

The QUEEN.

(C△△) *He went to the Court of* Rome, *where he was Ambaſſador Extraordinary of* Spain.] Whereas Father *Sotuel*, whom I have followed, has paſs'd lightly over the Condition Father *Nidhard* at firſt found himſelf in at *Rome*, I muſt ſupply what is wanting to his Account. "(c) This Jeſuit flatter'd himſelf that he ſhould no "ſooner come to *Rome* but he would be made a Car-"dinal; but for want of being provided with Creden-"tial Letters for his Embaſſy, he was extremely out "in his Imagination. All that he could do was to "write

(a) *Compare with this what is ſaid in the* News from the Republick of Learning, Octob. 1684. *Art.* 8. *of the Catalogue of New Books.*

(b) *Relation of the Difference of* John *of* Auſtria *with Cardinal* Nitard. *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 13. *Edit. of* Cologne. 1677.

(c) *Ibid. p.* 112.

(p) *Ibid. pag.* 7. (q) Note, *That it may be pretended he is not contrary to Madam* d'Aunoi. *For from* Nitard's *Father's being commiſſioned to proſecute the* Lutherans, *it does not follow that he was not a Lutheran till* 1621, *when his Son was fourteen Years old.* (r) *Vinc. Baronius Apolog. Ord. Prad. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 524. (s) *Memoirs of the Court of* Spain. *Part.* 1. *pag.* 2 *&* 3.

that Character with greater Luſtre, he was promoted to the Dignity ‡ of Arch-Biſhop. At laſt he obtain'd the Cardinal's Hat in 1672 §. He publiſh'd ſome Writings, and prepar'd ſome others for the Preſs, which run all upon the Controverſy (CΔΔΔ) of the immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin ‖.

‡ *He was made Titular Arch Biſhop of* Edeſſa.

§ See Memoirs of the Intrigues of the Court of Rome, from 1669 to 1676, *pag.* 130. *& ſeq.* Paris *Edit.* 1077.

‖ Soturel. *ibid.*

We

" write to *Madrid* about his Arrival at *Rome*, and to de-
" mand Letters, by Vertue whereof he might act.
" Many Meetings were had upon this Account; and
" at laſt, as they knew his Character, they ſent him an
" Order to get the Queſtion of the Conception deci-
" ded, and a Salary of about four thouſand Livres
" was aſſign'd him; with which he was made Ambaſ-
" ſador. But the Marquiſs of *St. Romain*, who
" in that Conjuncture was our Ambaſſador Ordinary to
" his Holineſs, judging the Glory of this Crown was con-
" cern'd in it, aſſiſted him with all his Power, and lent
" him his Train and his Equipage, that he might appear
" with ſome Figure: But this hinder'd not the Court
" of *Rome* from finding out quickly what a ſort of
" Man he was." The Pope having a Cardinal's Hat to
give the *Spaniards*, deſir'd them *(d) to nominate Perſons worthy of it.* The Council of State propos'd three
to him: The Queen pretended to approve the choice,
and ſhe writ her ſelf to the Pope, and the Marquiſs of St.
Romain; but by the ſame Courier *ſhe ſecretly deſir'd
the Pope to beſtow the Hat on Father* Nirard. The Pope
declar'd to this Marquiſs, " *(e)* That Father *Nitard*
" had no Hat to hope for; and that farther, he was
" inſtantly to be diſmiſs'd from his Employ of Inqui-
" ſitor-General, in favour of Don *Diego Sarmiento Val-
" ladares*, Preſident of *Caſtile*, who had been nomina-
" ted to it; which Father *Nitard* would by no means
" conſent to. 'Tis ſaid, that the reaſon of his Obſti-
" nacy proceeded from this, that Father *Salinas*,
" his Confident in this Kingdom, had ſent him
" Word, that Affairs were diſpoſing in ſuch a man-
" ner, that he might promiſe himſelf a ſpeedy Re-
" turn, and ſhould have an Apartment in the Palace,
" with private Stairs, by which he might, when
" he pleaſed, go to the Queen, and govern the
" Monarchy without any trouble; ſo that he would
" do wiſely not to part with his Place of Inquiſitor-
" General. This Letter ſo fondly flatter'd his Imagi-
" nation, that he reſolved to follow that Advice, being
" moreover perſwaded, that he ſhould quickly be a
" Cardinal. But in the interim, the Marquiſs of *St.
" Romain* ſignified his Holineſs's Order to him; which
" ſo ſurpriz'd the poor Man, who flatter'd himſelf
" with being made a Cardinal and Governour of *Spain*,
" that this ſudden Change ſtruck him as cold as Mar-
" ble: 'Tis ſaid too, that he fell into a Swoon, and
" was above an Hour before he came to himſelf. 'Tis
" affirm'd, that the General of his Order, ſeeing
" him deprived of all his Employments, and that
" when he came to *Rome*, he had not acquitted him-
" ſelf of his Duty to his Reverence, order'd him to
" depart from *Rome* immediately, and to retire into
" a Convent, hard by, call'd .... and that whilſt he
" was there he diſmiſs'd all his Domeſticks.... *(f)*
" This News *(g)* ſo ſurpriz'd the Queen, that it gave
" her a tertian Ague, with which ſhe was very ill."

(d) *Ibid. pag.* 113.

(e) *Ibid. pag.* 116, 117.

(f) *Ibid. pag.* 117.

(g) *That is, that the Cardinal's Hat was given to* Don Lewis Fernandes de Portocarrero *Dean of* Toledo.

(CΔΔΔ) *Which run all upon the Controverſy of the immaculate Conception.*] The Author of the Apology of the Nuns of *Port-Royal*, printed in 1665, made a pretty Parallel betwixt the Conduct of Father *Annat*, in the Affair of Janſeniſm, and that of Father *Nidhard* in the Diſpute of the immaculate Conception. He ſhews abundance of Reſemblances betwixt theſe two Fathers Confeſſors, and the two Affairs they proſecuted, one in *France*, the other in *Spain*. The only difference that he finds is, that the Jeſuit *Nidhard*, *(h) did not appear ſo violent as Father* Annat, *(i) and exceeded him in ſubtilty.* The Jeſuits having obtained *of her Catholick Majeſty an Order to ſollicit the Definition of the immaculate Conception at* Rome, *this Propoſal was ſeriouſly* hearken'd to *at* Rome, *but they contented themſelves with putting off the* Spaniſh *Jeſuits, with a Proviſional Bull.* " It is expreſly forbidden by this Bull, upon
" pain of Excommunication, to accuſe of mortal
" Sin or Hereſy, ſuch as did not hold the Opinion of
" the immaculate Conception: And hereby the Domi-
" nicans thought themſelves ſafe from the Inſults of the
" Jeſuits. But Father *Nidhard* .... has found an eaſy
" way of ſhaking off theſe Fetters, and taking the
" Liberty to accuſe the Dominicans of Hereſy and
" mortal Sin. The Pope's Injunction, ſays he, is only
" againſt thoſe who do it *affirmatively*; but he has
" not forbidden to do it *problematically, and ſe-
" veral other ways*: So that when the Dominicans
" ſhall complain, that they are charged with Hereſy in
" a queſtion not ſubject to it, the Jeſuits will be clear,
" by ſaying they don't call them Hereticks *affirmative-
" ly*, but *problematically, and ſeveral other ways.* Af-
" terwards, leſt the Doctrine of the immaculate Con-
" ception ſhould not be thought more certain after the
" Pope's Bull, than it was before, the good Father
" *Nidhard*, has by his Arguments rais'd it to the high-
" eſt Point of Humane Certainty. To maintain it is
" morally certain, he thought a poor Buſineſs, be-
" cauſe thereby it would not be abſolutely impoſſible
" but it might be falſe, which ſeem'd a great incon-
" venience. He therefore goes farther, and maintains
" in the ſecond place, that it is *Phyſically certain.*
" One would think he might have fairly ſtopt there,
" and that there needed no more, than that it was as
" certain the Virgin was conceived without original
" Sin, as it is certain the Sun ſhines. But Father
" *Nidhard* is not contented with this Degree; he will
" have this Opinion to be *Metaphyſically certain*, that
" is, certain as theſe firſt Principles: Every thing is, or
" is not: The Whole is greater than its Parts. What
" could be deſir'd after this? Yet Father *Nidhard* de-
" ſires ſomething more, becauſe there was nothing
" but what was natural in all this Certainty; whereas
" he was willing it ſhould have ſomething ſupernatu-
" ral. For which reaſon he built a fourth Degree,
" which he calls *Infallible Certainty*, pretending
" that this Doctrine was immediately derived from
" a Propoſition of Faith. If you demand of thi
" good Father the Foundation of all theſe Certainties
" *Moral, Phyſical, Metaphyſical*, and *Infallible*, which
" he beſtows upon this Opinion; He will tell you
" plainly *it depends upon the Infallibility of the Pope,
" in the Inſtitution of Feaſts and Fraternities.* From
" whence he concludes, that the Pope permitting or
" ordaining their Inſtitution in Honour of the imma-
" culate Conception, this Doctrine muſt be certain
" all theſe ways." The Nuns Apologiſt adds to this,
that the Jeſuits *have diſtinguiſh'd two Things in this Opinion*, Truth *and* Piety, *or* Laudability. *It doth not belong to Faith, ſay they, that it is true, but it is Matter of Faith that it is Pious and Laudable. And thoſe the Dominicans are Hereticks, not becauſe they don't believe this Opinion true, but becauſe they don't believe it pious.* Father *Nidhard*, continues he, *(a) inforces as much as poſſible the new Article of Faith concerning the* Laudability *of the Opinion of the* Conception. He ſhews, *That the Dominicans were obliged to pronounce the Form (b) whatever internal Notions they had of this Opinion.... He ſuppoſes the Pope to have a right to place Opinions, the Truth whereof he does not yet define, in a certain degree of* Indubitability, *as he calls it, by forbidding to call them in queſtion, directly or indirectly, or by any ſign to teſtify any doubt of them. He ſuppoſes, that by the Bull of the Conception, tho' the Truth of that Opinion be not defin'd as being of Faith, yet it is plac'd in this degree of* Indubirability. The Pope, *ſays Father* Nidhard, will have this Opinion to be Indubitable. VULT illam eſſe indubitabilem, vult ut nemo dubitet. He will have every thing, that might occaſion ſome Doubts about that Privilege of the Holy Virgin, to be ſupreſſed. VULT taceri quodcunque in dubitationem poſſet Virginis privilegium revocare. *This Foundation being laid, he adds, that the Silence of the Dominicans, and their Refuſal to pronounce this Form, brings this priviledge in queſtion Therefore, ſays he, the Dominicans are not only blameable when they ſpeak, but even by their Silence they oppoſe the order of the Pope, ſince there is a* ſpeaking Silence, *which gives as much Scandal as Words.* Non tantùm loquentes culpantur Dominicani, ſed etiam tacentes adverſus totam Pontificis diſpoſitionem obloquuntur. Quapropter eſt loquens ſilentium quod non minus quàm vox ipſa producit ſcandalum. *From all which he concludes, that they commit a mortal Sin by this Silence, and that they ought to be forc'd to pronounce this Formulary.* It cannot be doubted, *ſays he*, but that this Silence violates the Bull, and conſequently that he who violates the Bull by his Silence, is guilty of a mortal Sin. At laſt he undertakes to prove, " *(c)*
" that there is no Lye in the external Pronouncia-
" tion of the Words of the Form, though a Man
" does not believe the Contents of it. He, ſays he,
" that

(h) *Apology for the Nuns of* Port-Royal. *Part* 4. *in the Preface. fol.* †† 3.

(i) *Ibid. fol.* †† 2.

(a) *Ibid. fol.* †† 3.

(b) *That is, to conform to the cuſtom of many* Spaniſh *Preachers, who ſay at the beginning of their Sermons,* Praiſed be the Holy Sacrament of the Holy Altar, and the pure and immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother of God, conceived without Original Sin, in the firſt inſtant of her Being.

Ibid. fol. †† *verſo.*

(c) *Ibid. fol.* †† 3 *verſo.*

We are told a pleaſant Reaſon (*D*) of the Friendſhip the Queen-Mother of *Spain* conceived for this Jeſuit.

NIGIDIUS FIGULUS (PUBLIUS) one of the moſt Learned Men (*A*) of Antient *Rome*, flouriſh'd at the ſame time with *Cicero*. He wrote many Books upon (*B*) diverſe Subjects; but they were found ſo ſubtil and difficult, that (*C*) they were neglected. Some Authors ſay *, he perfectly underſtood Phyſick: I don't find any

* Non humanarum modo literarum, ſed & philoſophiæ, & aſtrologiæ & rei medicæ conſultiſſimus extitit. *Glandorp. Onom. pag.* 625. He has been copied by the Author of the Additions to *Charles Stephens*, and afterwards by *Lloyd* and *Hoffman*.

† 'Tis manifeſt by this Analyſis, that Father Nidhard *was throughly verſed in the moſt abſtract and ſubtil Diſcuſſions of the Schools.*

that ſpeaks conformably to a probable Opinion, tho' "he believes the contrary to be alſo probable, does "not lie. Now 'tis probable that the Virgin was con- "ceived without Original Sin: And therefore the "Dominicans may ſpeak conformably to this Opinion. "But ſuppoſe their Judgment can't comply with the "probability of the Opinion of the immaculate Con- "ception; What is to be done then? wou'd they not "be guilty of a Lye? No, ſays Father *Nidhard*, "becauſe it ſuffices to conform their Affection to the "Words, tho' they don't conform their Underſtanding, "*etiam cum retentione proprii judicii.*"

I thought it would not be a-miſs to give the Reader here an Analyſis of Father *Nidhard*'s Works upon the immaculate Conception. See the Margin †.

But I muſt not paſs over in ſilence, that the Jacobin *Vincent Baron*, having imputed to this Jeſuit almoſt the ſame things that are ſaid above, retracted them in another Work, printed in 1666, and made a moſt reſpectful Reparation to this Father Confeſſor. *Lætor*, ſays he (*d*), *datam mihi occaſionem retractandi quæ temerè de illo ſcripſeram, & quam ex nimiâ credulitate religioſiſſimo viro intuli injuriam ſanè atrocem, quâ poſſum, reſarciendi.* He confeſſes, 1. That he had not read the Book that bore the Name of Father *Nidhard*; 2. That he had truſted to the deceitful Relation of a certain Author, who pretended to have taken from a Book printed at *Douai* the Interpretation this Jeſuit gave to *Alexander* the VII's Bull, concerning the Conception of the Holy Virgin; 3. That he had ſought the Book in queſtion, amongſt the Bookſellers of *Paris*, and had ſollicited the Dominicans of *Douai* to let him ſee a Copy of it, but that he could never obtain it; and therefore his Opinion is, that it is wrongfully imputed to Father *Nidhard*. He gives ſeveral Reaſons for his Thought, which are not very convincing, and which I ſhan't ſtand to conſider: I will only relate one thing, which ſhews, that the Book which he will not attribute to the Queen-Mother's Confeſſor, is the ſame from which the *Port-Royal* Writer has taken what we have ſeen above: (*e*) *Incideram in Authorem neſcio quem: is forte aliorum dictis, ſicut ego ipſe ejus lectione deceptus, quam citato loco adnotavi, Pontificii de Conceptione decreti præpoſteram omninò interpretationem retulit ex libro hujus Authoris, ut narrabat, Duaci edito, aſcitam Conceptionis Immaculatæ* Laudabilitatem *ex Pontificiis ſanctionibus, Catholicis indubitatam, contendebat ad certitudinem fidei proximam, per quatuor gradus ſuprà Moralem, ſuprà Phyſicarum dignitatum, & Metaphyſicarum demonſtrationum, imo ſupra principiorum per ſe notorum, & indemonſtrabilium evidentiam arcanum Immaculatæ Conceptionis proveniſſe: unde inferebat, quamvis ultima Alexandri VII. Conſtitutione cautum ſit, ne ſecùs ſentientes damnentur, aut vexentur aſſertive & ſide certâ, poſſe tamen illis notam erroris inuri, & pœnas problemsticè infligi.*

(*D*) *A pleaſant Reaſon of the Friendſhip the Queen-Mother of* Spain.] This Story I find in a Letter of Mr. *Bourſault*, and I make no alteration in it. "(*f*) Cardi- "nal *Nidhard* (*g*) roſe by a Method, which never be- "fore was taken, and perhaps never will again, and "paſs'd from the Society of JESUS to that of the "Cardinals, which he lik'd better. The late Queen of "*Spain*, Mother to the preſent King, and Siſter to the "Emperor, brought him along with her when ſhe went "to marry *Philip* IV. This Princeſs, who in *Germany* "had a great Liberty, and every thing ſhe deſired, "did not find the ſame Satisfaction in *Spain*. Every "thing there is ſo exactly determin'd, that the Queens "can neither eat nor drink but what is appointed "by the General Officer, to whom that care is com- "mitted, and if they are a thirſt between Meals, they "are treated with a Glaſs of Water. It was difficult for "her to conform to a manner of Life ſo different from "what ſhe had led: Wherefore Father *Nidhard*, who "was a Jeſuit, *ergo* a Man of Addreſs, having "obſerved it, brought her Majeſty every Morning "when he went to Maſs, a Bottle of the beſt Wine "he could meet with, which he committed to a Per- "ſon in the Secret, which the Queen had the pleaſure "to drink of, as often as ſhe had occaſion. This Fa- "ther's Aſſiduity, in doing her this little Service, ſo "affected her, that ſhe reſolved to recompence ſo "great a Zeal, if ever it lay in her Power: And in "effect, being declared Regent after the King's Death, "ſhe rais'd him to ſo high a Pitch, that giving jealouſy "to Don *John* of *Auſtria*, and the Grandees of *Spain* "demanding his Removal, he could not be diſplaced "but by making him (*h*) Cardinal, and Ambaſſador "Extraordinary at *Rome*; where he died." What has been ſaid, that a great Fortune is a great Slavery, (*i*) *magna Servitus, eſt magna Fortuna*, is eſpecially true in a Queen of *Spain*, who has been educated in *France* or *Germany*, or in any other Country where the Women have Liberty.

(*f*) Bourſault New Letters, *pag.* 378. Dutch *Edit.* 1698.

(*g*) That is, *to his Greatneſs.*

(*A*) *One of the moſt Learned Men of Antient* Rome.] *Aulus Gellius* has expreſs'd this Elogy ſeveral ways: He ſays in one place, (*k*) *P. Nigidius homo in omnium bonarum artium diſciplinis egregius*: in another, (*a*) *Verba ſunt hæc ipſa P. Nigidii, hominis in ſtudiis bonarum artium præcellentis*, or (*b*) *in diſciplinis doctrinarum omnium præcellentis*; in another place, (*c*) *P. Nigidius homo impenſe doctus non minus arguto ſubtilique ἐπάμῳ interpretatur.* He ſays ſomewhere (*d*), that next to *Varro*, he was the learneſt Man in *Rome*; but in another place (*e*) he affirms it without Exception. *Servius* has ſo divided the pre-eminence betwixt theſe two, as to give it *Varro* in Theological Matters, and *Nigidius* in Humanity Learning: Both of them, adds he, have writ upon both theſe Subjects. (*f*) *Nigidius Figulus ſolus poſt Varronem: licet Varro præcellat in Theologia, hic in communibus litteris; nam utrque utrumque ſcripſerunt.* I ſhall cite other Elogies in the following Remarks.

(*B*) *He wrote many Books upon diverſe Subjects.*] He wrote ſome *de augurio privato: de animalibus: de extis: de vento*: *Aulus Gellius* has ſometimes cited them, but not ſo often as the great Work of Grammar I ſhall ſpeak of anon. *Macrobius* (*g*) cites *Nigidius*'s 19th Book *de Diis*, who had alſo written *de ſphærâ barbaricâ & græcanicâ*, as *Servius* affirms (*h*). *Pliny* has often cited *Nigidius*, and though he does not note the Title of the Books, yet we know he uſes thoſe *de animalibus*, except in one place (*i*), where 'tis moſt probable, he had a Work of Aſtronomy in view, the ſame perhaps from which the Commentator upon *Aratus* has cited many Paſſages. The Book *de Animalibus* has been honorably cited by *Sammonicus Serenus*. (*k*) *Quod ait Plinius de aciperſeris ſquamis, id verum eſſe maximus rerum naturalium indagator Nigidius Figulus oſtendit, in cujus libro de animalibus quarto ita poſitum eſt.* The Commentary upon *Cicero*'s Epiſtles in *Grævius*'s Edition (*l*) affords a Note aſcrib'd to (*m*) *Paulus Manutius*. 'Tis a learned Note, but an Error to give for *Macrobius*'s Words, thoſe that he has alledged from *Sammonicus*; and the Author ſhould not have conjectured that *Nigidius* has written *de Deis*, and quoted only (*n*) *Arnobius* for it; for we (*o*) have formal Teſtimonies thereupon. 'Tis ſaid in the ſame Note, that *Donatus* teſtifies that *Nigidius* had explain'd *Terence*'s Comedies: *interpretatus eſt Comœdias Terentii teſte Donato.* But *Rutgerſius* (*p*) thinks that all that *Donatus* alleges of *Nigidius* was taken from his Commentaries on Grammar. Note, that *Rutgerſius* (*q*) has collected all the Fragments he could find of *Nigidius*; and has alſo publiſh'd a Greek Tranſlation of a Treatiſe of this Author, done by *John Laurentius* of *Philadelphia*. 'Tis a kind of Almanack, in which are ſhewn day by day the Preſages of Thunder.

(*C*) *They were found ſo .... difficult that they were neglected.*] *Aulus Gellius*'s Words are remarkable: (*r*) *Ætas M. Ciceronis & C. Cæſaris præſtanti facundia viros paucos habuit: doctrinarum autem multiformium variarumque artium, quibus humanitas erudita eſt, columina habuit M. Varronem & P. Nigidium.*

(*h*) Mr. Bourſault *is miſtaken in this; for Father* Nidhard *had not the Hat till three Years after his Departure from the Court of* Spain.

(*i*) *Seneca de Conſol. ad Polybium. Cap.* 26. *pag. m.* 722.

(*k*) *Aulus Gellius noct. attic. l.* 10. *c.* 11. *Macrob. Saturn. l.* 6. *c.* 8. *p. m.* 565, *uſes the ſame Words, citing* Nigidius.

(*a*) *Id. Aul. Gell. lib.* 11. *c.* 13. *cap.* 24.

(*b*) *Id. lib.* 13. *cap.* 10.

(*c*) *Id. lib.* 13. *cap.* 10.

(*d*) Nigidius Figulus homo, ut ego arbitror, juxta M. Varronem doctiſſimus. *Id. lib.* 4. *c.* 9.

(*e*) P. Nigidius civitatis Romanæ doctiſſimus. *Id. lib.* 17. *c.* 7.

(*f*) *Servius in Virgil. Æn. lib.* 10. *ver.* 175.

(*g*) *Macrob. Saturn. lib.* 3. *c.* 4. *p. m.* 391.

(*h*) *Servius in Georg. l.* 1. *v.* 19. *& 43 & 218.*

(*i*) *Plin. lib.* 6. *circa fin.*

(*k*) *Sammonicus Serenus*

apud Macrobium. Saturn. l. 2. *cap.* 12. *p. m.* 364. (*l*) *Page* 217 *of the* 1*ſt Volume ad familiares.* (*m*) *There is at the end of the Note* P. Manutius in argum. ep. (*n*) *Arnobius lib.* 3. *p. m.* 119, 123, 124. *cites* Nigidius *for things relating to the Heathen Deities.* (*o*) *That of* Servius *in eclog.* 4. *v.* 10. *that of Macrob. Saturn. l.* 3. *c.* 4. *and that of Nonius Marcellus at the Word* obſcoundanter, *and at the Word* liba. (*p*) *Janus Rutgerſius variar. lect. lib.* 3. *pag.* 269. (*q*) *Ibid. pag.* 246. *& ſeq.* (*r*) *Aulus Gellius, lib.* 19. *c.* 14.

Sed

any Proofs of it. The other things they ſay of him are atteſted by the Antients, as that he was a good Humaniſt, a good Philoſopher (*D*), and a great (*E*) Aſtrologer. This prevented not his entering into the Government †, and poſſeſſing Employs in the Republick;

† *See the Remark F.*

Sed Varronis quidem monumenta rerum ac diſciplinarum, quæ per litteras condidit, in propatulo frequentique uſu feruntur. Nigidiana autem commentationes non proinde in vulgus exeunt: & obſcuritas ſubtiltaſque earum tamquam parum utilis derelicta eſt. ſicuti ſunt quæ paulo ante legimus in commentariis ejus quos grammaticos inſcripſit. Here you ſee an Example that countenances the Maxim, *qui non vult intelligi debet negligi.* I could eaſily believe that this diſcouraging and dark Subtilty was eſpecially to be found in his Treatiſe of Grammar, divided into many (*r*) Books.

(*r*) Nonius Marcellus *at the Word* nixurire *has cited the* 20th *if we believe* Rutgerſius, *pag.* 265. *But my Edition, which is of* Paris 1614 *has* 25. *Gellius l.* 10. *c.* 5. *has cited the* 29.

(*D*) *He was a good Philoſopher.*] This can't be better proved than by what *Cicero* ſays: (*t*) *Multa ſunt nobis & in Academicis conſcripta contra phyſicos, & ſæpe P. Nigidio Carneadeo more & modo diſputata. Fuit enim vir ille quum cæteris artibus, quæ quidem dignæ libero eſſent, ornatus omnibus, tum acer inveſtigator, & diligens earum rerum, quæ a natura involutæ videntur. Denique ſic judico, poſt illos nobiles Pythagoreos, quorum diſciplina extincta eſt quodammodo, quum aliquot ſecula in Italia, Siciliaque viguiſſent, hunc extitiſſe qui illam renovaret.* This teaches us, that *Nigidius* was the Reſtorer of Pythagoriſm, and that he delighted to treat things in the way of the *Academicks*: He diſcuſs'd them *Pro* and *Con*, but determin'd little. Let us note here a Fault of *la Popeliniere*: (*v*) 'Tis alſo ſaid *that* Nigidius *renew'd in* Sicily *and* Italy *the loſt Sect of the* Pythagoreans. This is miſtaking *Cicero*, who yet ſaid plain enough, not that *Nigidius* reſtor'd this Sect in *Sicily* and *Italy*; but that it formerly had flouriſh'd in *Italy* and *Sicily*. Note, that *Euſebius* has given *Nigidius* the Titles of *Pythagorean* Philoſopher and Magician; *Nigidius Figulus Pythagoricus & Magus in exilio moriturus*(*w*). *Dion* will inform us of ſomething upon the latter; and *Apuleius*, whom I ſhall cite, will tell us ſomething more.

(*t*) Cicero de univerſitate init. *fol. m.* 379. *B.*

(*v*) La Popeliniere *Hiſt. of Hiſtories, B.* 5. *p.* 302.

(*w*) *Euſeb. in Chron. n.* 1973.

(*E*) *And a great Aſtrologer.*] He was ſo perfect in the Knowledge of the Stars, and happy in making Horoſcopes, that he was ſuſpected of being a Magician. I think *Dion*'s Words will bear this Senſe: (*x*) Νιγίδιος Φίγουλος βυλευτὴς παρασχεῖμα αὐτῷ τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἐμαντεύσατο. ἔφησε γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν τήν τε τοῦ πόλου διακόσμησιν, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων διαφοράς, ὅσα τε καθ' ἑαυτὰς γινόμενοι, καὶ ὅσα συμπίγνυντες ἀλλήλοις ἴσχυσι τε ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς διασάσεσιν ἀπολείπουσι, δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τῷ καὶ ἀδίδακτον, ὡς πρὸς ἀπορρήτους διαλεγόμενος τοιοῦτον, ἔστιν. *Infanti recens edito Nigidius Figulus Senator ſtatim imperium vaticinatus eſt, qui ea tempeſtate omnem cæli deſcriptionem, ſiderumque differentias, & eorum proprietates, quæſque coituum, intervallorumve ſuorum ratione effectiones ea edunt, adeo callebat, ut arcanis ſtudiis eum uti crederetur.* The new born Child to whom he predicted the Monarchy, was the Emperor *Auguſtus*. This Hiſtorian reports, that *Nigidius* meeting *Octavius*, ask'd him why he came ſo late to the Senate: Becauſe my Wife, ſaid he, is brought to Bed of a Boy. You have given us a Maſter, immediately cried out *Nigidius*. This Exclamation ſo troubled *Octavius*, as to make him reſolve to kill his Son; but the Aſtrologer prevented him, by telling him it was impoſſible to execute his Deſign. (*y*) 'Tis not poſſible, ſaid he, for the Child to ſuffer any thing like it. I don't believe that *Dion* relates the thing exactly; for 'tis not the way of great Aſtrologers to predict before they have erected their Schemes of Nativity. Now this is a Work of Application. You'll anſwer, that as there are ſome that make Rules of Arithmetick (*z*) by meer ſtrength of Memory, or play at Cheſs without Board or Men, why mayn't an Aſtrologer repreſent a Scheme of Nativity without any ſenſible Object? To which I reply, in the firſt place, that ſuch Arithmeticians, or Cheſs-Players are very rare; and, 2dly. that all theſe Effects of Imagination require time, and a recollected Soul, and can't be done *extempore*, as *Nigidius* gave his Anſwer, if we believe *Dion*. Let us ſay then that the Hiſtorian miſtakes his Narration, and confounds the Circumſtances: We muſt ſuppoſe, that *Nigidius*, finding by *Octavius*'s Anſwer the moment of the Birth, meditated this Horoſcope, or erected it at his Leiſure, and afterwards made the Prediction. *Suetonius* permits us to believe this was not done in ſo much haſte. *Quo natus eſt die* (Auguſtus), ſays he (*aa*), *cum de Catilinæ conjuratione ageretur in curia, & Octavius ob uxoris puerpe i.m ſeriis adfuiſſet, nota ac vulgata res eſt, P. Nigidium comperta moræ cauſa, ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmaſſe, dominum terrarum orbi natum.*

(*x*) Dio *l.* 45. *init. p. m.* 306.

(*y*) Ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἐστ τοιοῦτόν τι αὐτὸ παθεῖν. Quod ei infanti tale quid evenire impoſſibile foret. *Id. ib.*

(*z*) *See the Journal of the Learned of the* 21*ſt of* November 1678. *p.* 416 Dutch Edit.

(*aa*) *Sueton. in Auguſto. c.* 94.

My Objection againſt *Dion* would have leſs force, if he had conſidered *Nigidius* as a Magician; for in that caſe it might be ſaid, that his Dæmon inſtantly reveal'd to him the Deſtiny of *Auguſtus*. And therefore it muſt be obſerved, that I principally inſiſt upon *Dion*'s Obſervation, that *Nigidius* a great Aſtrologer declared not the Prediction without knowing that *Octavius*'s Son was born at ſuch an Hour. But I ought not to paſs over in Silence, that what is told of magical Operations, ſuppoſes generally ſome Application of the Magician to certain Ceremonies; without which it is not pretended he diſcovers Futurities. I might therefore oppoſe *Dion*'s Narrative alſo on that ſide.

I don't examine whether *Nigidius*, making *Octavius*'s Son's Horoſcope at his Leiſure, actually predicted his Acceſſion to the Empire. This Queſtion would draw on another: How a good Aſtrologer can diſcover ſuch Events? This is the Order to be obſerved: We muſt firſt of all lay down the Fact, and afterwards ſeek the Cauſes; for 'tis miſpending time to (*a*) examine how it's poſſible for things to be done, which whether they were done or not is dubious. If we were once ſure, that on the very Day *Auguſtus* was born, his Exaltation to the Empire was predicted, it would be very reaſonable to enquire how ſuch a Prediction could be made, and to ſeek good Anſwers to this queſtion 'Tis true, they don't ſeem poſſible to be found; for, 1. it would be abſurd to ſay, that the Knowledge of the Influence of the Stars can reveal Futurities; 2. It ſeems unworthy of God to reveal himſelf to a Man, who only prepares himſelf for this Favour, by the ridiculous Labour of erecting an Horoſcope; 3. It does not ſeem poſſible for an Angel to reveal ſuch caſual Events; for if he could foreſee them by his natural Science, there could be no Free-will; all our Thoughts would be as Machinal as the Motions of Bodies; and if he foreſaw them by an infus'd Science, God would have revealed them to him to make a wretched Aſtrologer a Prophet; which ſeems utterly unbecoming the Wiſdom of God. If therefore it was true, that *Auguſtus*'s Elevation was foretold the Day of his Birth, the Fact ſhould not be diſputed, much leſs the Poſſibility of Predictions, for there is nothing more fooliſh than to contradict Experience by Arguments *ab impoſſibili*. If we acknowledge the Fact, and afterwards attempt to diſcover its Cauſe, we muſt frankly confeſs, that the manner and ſource of *Nigidius*'s Predictions exceeds the reach of our Underſtanding, and that it is inexplicable. We are not reduced to theſe Terms: *Suetonius*'s *nota ac vulgata res eſt*, is no ſtrong Proof: He does not ſay that this was divulg'd before *Auguſtus* was Emperor. If he had ſaid, I have read Publick and Authentick Acts, dated on his Birth-day, which teſtify that *Nigidius* had made this Prediction, he had alledged a conſiderable Proof; but he is contented to ſay, that it was given out that *Nigidius* did it. I don't doubt of it: I am certain that after *Auguſtus* was ſettled on the Throne, there were ſpread infinite Stories of the Predictions of his Greatneſs. *Nigidius* could not be forgotten, who was the moſt famous Aſtrologer of his Time: He was brought into the buſineſs; and his Diſcourſe with *Octavius* was circumſtantiated. All the City rung with it; Orators, Poets, and even Hiſtorians mention'd it. *Suetonius* found Monuments of it: He has ſpoken of it as of a thing manifeſt; but he has forgotten the Dates, the moſt eſſential thing of all. 'Tis thus Hiſtorians are to be preſs'd: Give us uncontroverted Proofs, that the Aſtrologer's Prediction was current, when there was yet no probability of its Accompliſhment. We ſhall preſently ſee that *Lucan* going only upon a probability tells a great many Stories of *Nigidius*'s Prophetick Talents.

(*a*) *Diverſe Thoughts upon Comets. n.* 49.

Here is another Proof of *Nigidius*'s great Reputation for Aſtrology. *Lucan* reckons him among thoſe who preſaged the Miſeries of the *Roman* People, before the Rupture of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*: He gives him abundance of Speculations hereupon.

At (b) Figulus, cui cura Deos, ſecretaque cœli
Noſſe fuit, quem non ſtellarum Ægyptia Memphis
Æquaret viſu, numeriſque movendus uſtra,
Aut hic errat (ait) nulla cum lege per ævum
Mundus, & incerto diſcurrunt ſidera motu:

(*b*) Lucan. *Pharſal. l.* 1 *v.* 639.

lick; for he was† Prætor and Senator ζ. He ſeconded *Cicero* with great (F) Prudence in ruining *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, and did him many Services in the time of his Adverſity. He betook himſelf to *Pompey*'s Intereſts againſt *Cæſar* *; which reduc'd him to Baniſhment all the reſt of his Days, for he died ‡ in Exile. *Cicero*, who had always a ‖ mighty Eſteem for him, writ a fine Letter of Conſolation to him, in the 707 Year of *Rome*: 'Tis the 13th of the 4th Book *ad Familiares*. We find in St. *Auſtin* the reaſon (G) of his Sir-name *Figulus*. Some Criticks, without any great Grounds, affirm, that *Nigidius* wrote (H) Annals. A certain obſcure Author fathers on him a Treatiſe (I) concerning the

† *Vives in Auguſt. de civit. Dei. lib. 5. cap. 3. Glandorp. ubi ſupra.*

ζ *Dio lib. 45. circ. init.*

* *See* Cicero *Epiſt. 13. lib. 4. ad familiares.*

‡ *Euſeb. in Chron. ad ann. 4. Olymp. 183, that is, in 709 Year of* Rome.

‖ *See the Remark F.*

Aut, ſi fata movent, orbi, generique paratur
Hamano matura lues &c.

Add to this the Paſſage I ſhall relate (c) from St. *Auſtin*.

What *Apuleius* reports is conſiderable. He ſays, that he has read in *Varro*, that the *Trallians* informed themſelves, by Magick, of the Events of the *Mithridatick* War; and that a Child, who beheld the Image of *Mercury* in the Water, repeated a hundred and ſixty Verſes, which contain'd all that was to come to paſs; and that *Fabius*, having loſt five hundred *Denarii*, went to conſult *Nigidius*, who by the Power of Enchantments, made little Children tell where the Purſe was buried that contain'd ſome of them, and how the reſt were diſtributed, and that *Cato* the Philoſopher had one of them: 'Tis added, that *Cato* own'd he had received one of a Servant. (d) *Itemque Fabium, cum quingentos denarios perdidiſſet, ad Nigidium conſultum veniſſe: ab eo pueros carmine inſtinctos indicaſſe ubi locorum deſoſſa eſſet crumena, cum parte eorum, cæteri ut forent diſtributi: unum etiam denarium ex eo numero habere M. Catonem Philoſophum, quem ſe à pediſſequo in ſtipem Apollinis accepiſſe Cato confeſſus eſt.* I would fain know whether *Varro* gave his Judgment of all theſe Stories; for he was a Man whoſe Learning was incomparably greater than his Credulity.

(c) *Cicero Epiſt. 13. lib. 4. ad familiares, pag. 218. Græv. Edit.*

(d) *Apuleius in Apologia. p. m. 301.*

(F) *He ſeconded Cicero .... in ruining* Catiline's *Conſpiracy*, &c.] The Letter he received from *Cicero* in his Exile has theſe Words in it. (e) *Carco cum familiariſſimis multis, quos aut mors eripuit nobis, aut diſtraxit fuga, tum omnibus amicis quorum benevolentiam nobis conciliarat per me quondam,* TE SOCIO, *defenſa reſpublica. Corradus*'s Note upon this Paſſage tells us, that *Nigidius* (f) had written the Interrogatories that were given to the Impeachers of the Conſpiracy. The Letter I have cited ends thus. *Ego quæ pertinere ad te intelligam ſtudioſiſſime omnia diligentiſſimeque curabo: tuorumque triſtiſſimo meo tempore meritorum erga me memoriam conſervabo. Plutarch* obſerves, that *Cicero* was animated againſt the Conſpirators by *Terentia* his Wife, by *Quintus* his Brother, and by *Publius Nigidius* his Companion in Philoſophy, and his Ordinary Councellor in the Affairs of State. (g) Ἡ δὲ Τερεντία .... παρέζυνεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνδρας. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κόϊντος ὁ ἀδελφὸς, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἑταίρων Πόπλιός Νιγίδιος, ᾧ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μάλιστα ἐφρόντιζε τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐχρῆτο πρὸξεως. *Terentia.... in conjuratos incendit: Quintus item ejus frater & in Philoſophia ſocius P. Nigidius, cujus fere graviſſimis in negotiis publicis utebatur conſilio.* Add to this *Plutarch*'s Paſſage (h), in which *Cicero* owns that he concerted with the Philoſopher *Nigidius*, the moſt important Deliberations, that ſaved the Republick in his Conſulſhip. *Aulus Gellius* had reaſon to ſay, that *Nigidius* was much reſpected by *Cicero* for his Senſe and Learning; but he ought to have ſaid, he was ſo for his Services. (i) *Verba ſunt hæc ipſa P. Nigidii, hominis in ſtudiis bonarum artium præcellentis: quem M. Cicero ingenii doctrinarumque nomine ſumme reverſus eſt.* Note, That when *Cicero* went to govern *Cilicia*, *Nigidius* expected him at *Epheſus*, who was returning to *Rome*, after his diſcharge of a publick Employ in this Country. Theſe two Friends joyfully met, and had a large Philoſophical Conference with *Cratippus*, a moſt famous Peripatetick. I obſerve this as a Proof of *Nigidius*'s Intimacy with *Cicero*, and his being employ'd in State-Affairs. (k) *Nigidius quum me in Ciliciam proficiſcentem Epheſi expectaviſſet, Romam ex legatione ipſe decedens, veniſſetque eodem Mitylenis me ſalutandi, & viſendi cauſa Cratippus, Peripateticorum omnium, quos quidem ego audierim, meo judicio, facile princeps, perlibenter & Nigidium vidi, & cognovi Cratippum. At primum quidem tempus ſalutationibus, reliquum pene conſtitutione conſumpſimus.*

(G) *The reaſon of his Surname* Figulus.] St. *Auſtin* confuting Aſtrology by the Argument of the different Fate of Twins, propoſes *Nigidius*'s Anſwer to this Difficulty. This Aſtrologer maintain'd, that the Motion of the Heavens, is ſo rapid, that though there is but a ſmall Interval betwixt the Birth of the firſt and ſecond of the Twins, yet they are born under Celeſtial Points very different from each other: And to prove it, he turn'd with all his Strength a Potter's Wheel, and made two Marks on it whilſt it turn'd: It was thought that the Marks were made upon the ſame part of the Wheel; but when it reſted, they appear'd at a good diſtance from one another. This was the reaſon of his being called the *Potter*, *Figulus*. Theſe are the Words of St. *Auſtin*: (a) *Fruſtra itaque affertur nobile illud commentum de figuli rota, quod reſpondiſſe ferunt Nigidium hac quæſtione turbatum, unde & Figulus appellatus eſt. Dum enim rotam figuli vi quanta potuit intorſiſſet, currente illa bis numero de atramento tanquam uno ejus loco ſumma celeritate percuſſit: deinde inventa ſunt ſigna, quæ fixerat deſiſtente motu, non parvo intervallo in rotæ illius extremitate diſtantia. Sic, inquit, in tanta cœli rapacitate, etiam ſi alter poſt alterum tanta celeritate naſcatur, quanta rotam bis ipſe percuſſit, in cœli ſpatio plurimum eſt. Hæc ſunt, inquit, quæ cunque diſſimillima perhibentur in moribus, caſibuſque geminorum. Hoc figmentum fragilius eſt quam vaſa quæ illa rotatione finguntur.* St. *Auſtin* had reaſon to think this Anſwer as fragil as a Potter's Veſſels. He ſolidly confutes it. See alſo his (b) Commentators.

(a) *Auguſt. de civit. Dei lib. 5. c. 3.*

(b) *Lewis Vives & Leonard Coquæus.*

(H) *That* Nigidius *wrote Annals.*] You'll find ſome Fragments of his amongſt thoſe that *Riccobon* has collected from the Antient Hiſtorians, and which he pretends *Livy* followed. *Voſſius* (c) declares, that he is not of this Critick's Opinion, which yet he ſhould be of, if what *la Popeliniere* affirms was true, that *Nigidius* made Annals. *La Popeliniere*'s Authority deſerves no Conſideration, ſince he has committed ſo many Faults in a few Lines. *Paul Nigidius Figulus*, ſays he, (d) *was in no leſs eſteem in his time for Learning than* Varro. *But the Confuſion and Obſcurity of his Writings deſtroyed their Exiſtence and Credit with Poſterity; which is the reaſon theſe Annals came not down to us.* He adds what I have already confuted (e). What dependance is there upon a Man, who thinks that *Paulus* was a *Prænomen* in antient *Rome*, and knows not that *Nigidius*'s Prænomen was *Publius*? *Plutarch* has given it him (f) twice at length. I queſtion much whether *Aulus Gellius* has been rightly underſtood. He inſinuates that *Nigidius* became obſcure by his Subtilty: His little Grammar Cavils were not underſtood, and were thought uſeleſs; and therefore his Writings were ſuffered to be loſt. There is no likelyhood that his Books *de animalibus* periſh'd on this Account. They doubtleſs contain'd many curious Reſearches, and eaſy to be underſtood; as we may be aſſur'd from what remains of them. And by a ſtronger Reaſon we may believe, that if he had written Annals, they would have been intelligible: Therefore let us reject what *la Popeliniere* has ſaid. We ſhall ſee by and by the (g) Origin of theſe Pretended Annals.

(c) *Voſſius de Hiſtor. Lat. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 56.*

(d) La Popeliniere *Hiſt. of Hiſtories. l. 5. p. 301.*

(e) *In the Remark D.*

(f) *In the Paſſages above cited Remark F.*

(g) *In the laſt Remark.*

(I) *Fathers on him a Treatiſe concerning the Remedies of Love.*] A judicious Reader reaps Advantage from every thing; and therefore I don't think this Remark uſeleſs. It proves by an Example in Print, that there are no Lies, tho' never ſo groſs, extravagant and fooliſh, but ſome Authors ſcruple not to relate ſeriouſly. The Fact is this: "(b) *Nigidius, Ovid* and *Samocratius* writ a great "many Volumes, and ſerious Writings, concerning "the Remedy of Love: But the Jeſt is, that they "found out many Remedies for others, but could find "none for themſelves: Foraſmuch as all three died, "proſecuted and deſtroyed, not for the Evils they "committed at *Rome*, but for their Amours "at *Capua*. Now let *Nigidius* tell his Diſcoveries, and *Ovid* his Thoughts, and *Samocratius* ſay "what he pleaſes; the beſt Remedy at laſt will "be to avoid Converſations, and to ſhun the "Occaſions. For in point of Love, few who "abide will be free from its Bonds; whereas thoſe "that fly, may live at Liberty." You'll find in the Margin the Name and Titles of him who has ſaid this, and

(b) Francis Voilleret, *Sieur* de Florizel, *Counſellor, Notary and Secretary to the King, and the Houſe and Crown of* France. *pag. 83. of the Meadow of mix'd Flowers.*

Nigidius ſtudiis bonarum artium præcellentiſſimus manifeſtiſſime ſeparavit. (k) *Cicero de univerſitate initia. fol. m. 379. B.*

* the Remedies of Love. I will ſumm up in one Remark (*K*) Mr. *Moreri*'s Miſtakes, and thoſe of ſome other Authors: But I will put here Father *Rapin*'s ſtrange Blunder. He ſays in the 13th Paragraph of his Reflections upon Philoſophy, that *Nigidius* was baniſh'd by *Auguſtus* for the Crime of *Magick*. However I don't deny but he paſs'd for a Magician. See the Paſſage of *Apuleius* at the end of the Remark *E*.

NIHUSIUS (BARTHOLD) made a Noiſe by his Works (*A*) in the XVIIth Century; and he may well enough be call'd a *famous Convert*, and a *famous Converter* *. He was born at *Wolpeu* in the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s Territories in 1589, and having ſtudied ſome time in the College of *Verden* and *Goſlar*, he went to the Univerſity of *Helmſtad* about the Year 1607. Being but ill furniſh'd with Money †, he was obliged to ſeek a Maſter for his Subſiſtence. He entered into the Service of *Cornelius Martinus*, who read Logick. He continued there four Years, and made a Progreſs in the Sciences; for his Maſter did not ſo employ him, but that he left him ſome Hours for Study, ‡ and took the pains to inſtruct him. The Youth, obtaining Favour by his good Qualities and Wit, was recomended to the Biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, and had a Penſion from him. To teſtify his Gratitude, he wrote Verſes upon this Prince's Birth-day; but as he was no Poet, he made uſe (*B*) of a borrowed Poem, and publiſh'd it in his own Name. His Patron's Liberality did not prevent his being reduc'd to ſtraits, though he taught in private the richeſt Scholars, after he had taken his Maſter's Degree in Philoſophy in 1612. He waver'd betwixt the Study of Phyſick and Divinity, becauſe he fear'd (*C*) a very potent Faction, which oppos'd *Martinus*'s and *Caſelius*'s Diſciples. He experienc'd the ill-will of this Faction, when he was to maintain Metaphyſical Theſes in 1614. An horrid Affront was put upon him, which began to diſguſt him with the Lutheran Church. Two Years after he was made Tutor to two Gentlemen, whom he brought to the Univerſity of *Jena*: He afterwards obtain'd the like Employ at the Court of *Weimar* *. He

* *See the Remark B. of the Article* Lambecius.

† Tenuis & inops, & ut vitam tolerare poſſet... Cornelio Martino Antwerpio, Logices Doctori, famulitium ſuum addixit. *Calixtus De arte nova. p m. 6.*

‡ Quibus (*diſciplinis*) inter domeſtica miniſteria, ſub tanto hero & magiſtro quantus Cornelius erat, ſatis feliciter imbuebatur. *Ibid. pag. 7.*

* *According to* Voſſius, Epiſt. 380. pag. 349. *He was Preceptor to the ſ mous Duke of* Weimar, *who commanded under* Guſtavus.

and alſo the Title of his Book. I can tell you that he publiſh'd it at *London*, but not in what Year: He dedicated it to *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, only Son to the King of *England*; from whence you may certainly conclude, that he lived in the Reign of *James* I. Is it reaſonable that a Paſſage, which ends with ſo very good a Reflection, ſhould contain ſuch Abſurdities? For the reſt, this Conjunction of *Nigidius* with *Ovid*, puts me in mind that *Pierius Valerianus* aſcribes to them the ſame Poem. (*i*) *Ovidius eo volumine quod Halieuticon inſcribitur, quod opus olim a Nigidio elucubratum ajunt.*

(*i*) Pierius Valerianus hieroglyph. l. 30. apud Rutgerſium, ubi ſupra, *p.* 289.

(*K*) *Mr.* Moreri's *Miſtakes, and thoſe of.*] He is miſtaken in ſaying, *Nigidius* was baniſh'd for Suſpicions of Magick; it being certain his Exile conſiſted in his not daring to return to *Rome*, after *Cæſar* was Maſter. He had followed *Pompey*, and not being able to obtain his Pardon, he was afraid of being ſacrific'd to *Cæſar*'s Reſentment: This was his Exile. The Fact is notorious to any one that reads *Cicero*'s 13th Letter of his fourth Book *ad Familiares*. *Glandorpius* (*k*) does not faithfully report *Aulus Gellius*'s Thought: He makes him ſay, that the Obſcurity and Sublimity of *Nigidius*'s Writings were the reaſon of their being unknown. He adds, that ſome quote the 24th Book of *Nigidius*'s Compoſitions of Grammar. This is an Error: Does he mean that none but that is cited? 'tis a Miſtake. Would he tell us that the Work contain'd at leaſt twenty-four Books; he is equally out. *Aulus Gellius* has cited the 29. Theſe Words of *Glandorpius citantur;... præterea de annalibus*, contain a Fault of the Preſs; which probably was the cauſe that many Moderns have made *Nigidius* an Annaliſt: It ſhould be *de animalibus*, and not *de annalibus*. Laſtly, *Glandorpius* ſays, that *Cicero*, in his ſecond Philippick, obſerves, that *Nigidius* died in Exile. I don't think this is in that Oration. We can only infer from another Book (*l*) of *Cicero*, that *Nigidius* was dead. What *Glandorpius* has ſaid of *Nigidius*, has been inſerted Word for Word in *Charles Stephens*'s Dictionary; and after this Mr. *Lloyd* has alter'd nothing from *Stephens*, nor *Hofman* from *Lloyd*: So true it is, that if you cut not off the Thread of Generations, Faults of Books multiply without ceaſing.

(*k*) Glandorp. Onomaſt. *p.* 525.

(*l*) *That de univerſitate init.*

(*A*) *Made a noiſe by his Works.*] Theſe are what have come to my Knowledge. *Proſphonematicus ad Senatores Brunſwigios & Luneburgicos de Conrado Hornejo*, Cologne 1646. in 8. *Morojophus, ſeu Vedelius in ſuo* rationali *prorſus irrationalis*, Ibidem. *Syntichus*, Ibidem. *Epiſtola de cruce ad Thomam Bartholinum*, Ibidem 1647. *Hypodigma quo diluuntur nonnulla contra Catholicos diſputata in Cornelii Martini tractatu de analyſi logica*, Ibidem 1648 in 8. *Porgrammata duo ad Proteſtantium Academicos*, Moguntiæ 1655 in 8. *Annotationes de communione Orientalium ſub ſpecie unica*, in 4. This Work was printed at *Cologne* in 1648, at the end of *Leo Allatius*'s Book, *De perpetua conſenſione Eccleſiæ Occidentalis & Orientalis*, whoſe Edition was procur'd by *Nihuſius*. He alſo procur'd the Edition of *Allatius*'s *Symmicta* at *Cologne* in 1653 in 8. and of ſome other Pieces of the ſame Author at *Cologne* in 1645; amongſt others a Treatiſe, entituled, *Confutatio fabulæ de Joanna Papiſſa ex monumentis Græcis*; to which he added ſomething. In 1658 was publiſh'd a Book in 8*vo.* with this Title; *Bart. Nihuſii tractatus chorographicus de nonnullis Aſiæ Provinciis ad Tygrim, Euphratem, & Mediterraneum ac rubrum mare* (*m*). I ſhall ſpeak below of his new Method of Controverſy.

(*m*) *The Sieur* Witte in Diario, ad ann. 1657. *makes mention of ſome Tracts of Logick by* Nihuſius.

(*B*) *He made uſe of a borrowed Poem.*] The Biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, who contributed to his Maintenance, entered into his 43d Year the firſt of *July* 1610. He was called *Philip Sigiſmund*, and was of the Houſe of *Brunſwick*. *Calixtus* made this Poem for *Nihuſius*. (*a*) *Natalem ejus principis quadrageſimum tertium carmine celebrare voluit. Sed quum aridiore eſſet venâ, quam ut quicquam inde poſſet elicere, meam qualemcunque operam commodavi, carmenque confeci, quod ipſius nomine typis deſcriptum Principique oblatum fuit.* *Calixtus* tells this himſelf.

(*a*) Georgius Calixtus in digreſſione de arte nova, *pag.* 7.

(*C*) *A very potent Faction, which oppos'd.... Diſciples.*] This Faction conſiſted of ſome People, who would not allow a Divine to be either a good Humaniſt or good Philoſopher: And therefore they prevented the Admiſſion of ſuch to Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, who had ſtudied Humanity-Learning under *Caſelius*, and Philoſophy under *Martinus*. This not a little puzzled young *Nihuſius*; he durſt not ſtudy Divinity, fearing to meet this Faction in his way to Church-Preferment. His Caution was ſo great, that when he maintain'd a Theſis, dedicated to the Biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, and attended with ſome Greek Verſes in praiſe of the Reſpondent, he would not permit the Author of this Elogy to inſert the Name of *Martinus*. He was afraid, leſt the Praiſes of this Philoſopher ſhould provoke theſe Gentlemen: He therefore rather choſe to be ungrateful, than expoſe himſelf to the ill-offices of thoſe, who might one time or other oppoſe his little Fortune. *Calixtus* blames him very juſtly, for this ſelf-intereſted Conduct, and declares this was carreſſing the Favour of a certain Party, which Men of Worth and Honour endeavoured to diſpleaſe. (*b*) *Quod vereretur ne id ſibi ἀνοικείους καὶ μισοσόφους inſciti patronos fraudi eſſet. Tanta erat ejus ſive puſillanimitas, ſive crescendi cupiditas, ut nomen viri eximii, è cujus domo & diſciplina prodiiſſe gloriæ verti oportebat, taceri mallet, quam abjicere qualemcunque ſpem ut placendi, quibus ut diſpliceret recta & præſtantes animæ totâ vitâ ſeſe adlaboraſſe numquam diffitebuntur.* He obſerves, that there are always to be found more or leſs of theſe Capricious Men, who oppoſe the Advancement of Youth, unleſs they ſtudy under ſuch or ſuch Maſters. (*c*) *Non deerant tunc (quamquam vix unquam deſunt, niſi quod alio atque alio tempore plus minuſve poſſant) qui accuratiora literarum & philoſophiæ ſtudia odiſſent, & cum Theologiâ conjungi nollent, ne in eius admixti, quæ in ſe deſiderarent, cogerentur. Et quum inter illos unus prima-*

(*b*) *Ibid. pag.* 9.

(*c*) *Ibid. pag.* 8.

He had there a good Salary, and made an honourable Figure: Nevertheleſs he went off without ſaying a Word, and came to *Cologne*, where he turn'd Catholick about the Year 1622. His firſt Employ was the Direction of the Collede (*D*) of the Proſelytes. He wrote ſome Letters of Controverſy to *Horneius* and *Calixtus* ‡, in which he laid the whole ſtreſs upon the Neceſſity there is that Chriſtians ſhould have an infallible Judge to determine Diſputes *viva voce*. For the Scripture being a Law, which can only ſpeak by the interpretation that is given it, and Controverſies being founded upon the different Meanings, that are given it; it muſt needs be, ſaid he, either that the Diſputes of Chriſtians ſhould never have an end, or that there ſhould be a ſpeaking Authority in the Church, to which all private Perſons ſhould be obliged to ſubmit †. He placed this Authority in the Pope; and when the bad Life of many Popes was objected to him, he had the Confidence to retort this Objection (*E*) againſt the Authors of the Scripture. The Letter he wrote to *Calixtus* has been printed more than once. That celebrated Profeſſor, unwilling to anſwer him in Writing, undertook to refute him in his School; of which he gave notice to the Students, by a written Paper poſted up. This Paper was printed without the Author's Knowledge in 1625; and being pretty ſharp did mightily incenſe *Nihuſius*, who return'd ſome time after to the Country of *Brunſwick*, to be Director of a Convent of Nuns ‡. He was made Abbot of *Ilfeld* in 1629, that Monaſtery being then taken from the Houſe of *Brunſwick*, who had made a School of it; in which *Michael Neander* and his Succeſſours had brought up very good Scholars. The next Year he publiſh'd a Book in *High-Dutch*, in which he inveighed mightily againſt *Calixtus*: At laſt, in 1633, his Darling Work came to Light; namely, a new Method (*F*) to confound the Hereticks †, which was very learnedly refuted by *Calixtus*.

Nihuſius

‡ *Famous Divines at* Helmſtad.

† *See the Article* Maimbourg.

‡ Moniales Cœnobii Haldenſlebienſis præpoſitus eſt. *Calixtus ibid. pag.* 26.

† *Taken from* Calixtus *in his Digreſſion* de arte nova.

primario loco ſederet, iis qui è ſummorum virorum Caſelii & Cornelii diſciplinâ prodierant, aditus ad officia & dignitatem muneris eccleſiaſtici vel omnino intercludebat, vel difficillimum ſaltem reddebat. Quæ res hominem meticuloſum adeo terruit, ut ſacra Theologiæ ſtudia animo diffidente & vacillante tractaret. The unfortunate *Nihuſius* loſt all his Advances; his Policy did him no Service: The Faction for which he had ſo great a regard, gave him a ſevere Mortification, which had unlucky Conſequences; for from thence forward he was diſguſted with Lutheraniſm. (*d*) *Anno* 1614. *inſignis ei illata erat injuria diſputaturo è lumine naturæ principiisque philoſophicis de Deo. Quam tamen è fonte, quem digito ante indicavimus, manaſſe, & intelligentibus ac bonis omnibus, non minus quam ipſi, doluiſſe, nunquam potuit ignorare. Et hæc, niſi vehementer fallor, animum ejus à reformatâ religione primùm cæpit abalienare.*

(*D*) *The Direction of the College of the Proſelytes.*] They educated in this College, at the Charge of the Archfraternity of the Holy *Croſs*, the young People who turn'd Catholicks, but one of their Fraternity (*e*) was to have a hand in their Converſion. The Duke of *Bavaria* was then the Head of this Fraternity: *Albert* of *Auſtria* had been the head of it before him, and Cardinal *de Zollern* Biſhop of *Oſnabrug* had firſt of all this Dignity. (*f*) *Mihi id negatum hactenus, ut pote cujus curæ ac ſollicitudini perpetuæ demandatum Collegium, ubi ſelecti omnium Facultatum ſtudioſi, ad fidem catholicam converſi, jamque à ſuis omni ope deſtituti, aluntur atque ad altiora dirigantur, & quidem ſumptu Archifraternitatis S. Crucis, cujus caput hodie Elector Bavariæ*, &c. Theſe Words are taken from a Letter of *Nihuſius*. By this we perceive with what Vigilance the Church of *Rome* has for a long time minded the Buſineſs of Converſions.

(*E*) *Retort this Objection againſt the Authors of the Scripture.*] A Curſed Effect of Pre-poſſeſſion! A Man that is once engag'd in an Hypotheſis, and has made it his Darling, ſpares nothing Sacred or Profane to maintain it, and get clear of an Objection. He will rather have the Scripture ſuffer, than be found without Reply; and, provided his Opinions be ſecur'd from Inſults, he is little concerned that the Sacred Writers loſe their Credit: He endeavours to ſave himſelf at their coſt; and oppoſes them to the Breach, that they may be trampled on, before the Enemy comes at him, or that the reſpect for them may prevent his being attack'd. He uſes the Stratagem as advantagious to the *Spaniards*, when they re-took *Maeſtricht* in 1576. They placed the Women (*g*) of *Wich* before their Soldiers, ſo that the Inhabitants of *Maeſtricht* durſt not fire upon the *Spaniards*: For they fear'd they ſhould kill their Relations, or at leaſt their Country-women (*h*). 'Tis certain, that when *Nihuſius* was to anſwer *Calixtus*, who ſaid it became not the Divine Wiſdom to eſtabliſh Religion upon the Authority of ſuch Wretches as the Popes had been for many Ages, he urg'd that the Authors of the Bible were very wicked Men, either bare-faced, as *David*, or ſecretly it may be. *Objeceram ego, non eſſe probabile nec divinæ providentiæ, quæ ſuaviter omnia diſponat & gubernet, conſentaneum, certitudinem univerſæ doctrinæ quæ ad pietatem Deique cultum faciat, ab auctoritate & arbitrio hominum impiorum & flagitioſorum, quales aliquando integris ſeculis (audiatur de decimo teſtis Baronius) Romani Pontifices fuerint, ſuſpendere & ab auctoritate inquam & arbitrio hominum, quos ipſi eorum clientes ac patroni, & inter hos princeps Baronius*, monſtra horrenda, apoſtaticos, fures & latrones vitâ turpiſſimos, moribus perditiſſimos, uſquequaque fœdiſſimos *ex re & vero proclament. Ut hoc telum declinet, de auctoritate Sacræ Scripturæ idem pronunciat.* Scripturæ, *iniquit*, conditæ à meris hominibus, & partim apertè, ut erat David, partim forſan etiam occultè facinoroſis (*a*). 'Twas no difficult task for the Profeſſor of *Helmſtad* to confound him (*b*), upon ſuch a falſe and deteſtable Retorſion. There's a great deal of difference between a Holy Man that commits heinous Sins, of which he ſpeedily repents, and thoſe who continue all their Lives in a ſinful Courſe.

(*a*) Calixt. *ib. p.* 15.

(*b*) *Ibid. p.* 20.

(*F*) *A new Method to confound the Hereticks.*] It was printed at *Hildeſheim* with this Title. *Ars nova dicto ſacræ Scripturæ unico lucrandi è Pontificiis plurimos in partes Lutheranorum, detecta nonnihil & ſuggeſta Theologis Helmſtetenſibus, Georgio Calixto præſertim & Conrado Hornejo. Calixtus* did not write a Book on purpoſe to refute it; he contented himſelf with anſwering it by way of Digreſſion, in a Work he had then in the Preſs, namely, an Epitome of Moral Divinity, which was publiſh'd in 1634. This Digreſſion was printed apart by the *Francfort* Bookſellers in 1652, in a Volume of 344 Pages in 4°. The Author addreſſes himſelf to the Profeſſors of the Roman Catholick Univerſities in *Germany*, and all along ſpeaks to them very civilly. He (*c*) obſerves, that *Nihuſius* was not the firſt who had invented a Method of Controverſy; and ſays, that *René Benoit*, Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, propos'd a particular (*d*) Method in 1565. He adds, that this Doctor grew milder afterwards, and publiſh'd a *French* Book (*e*) at *Caen*, to ſhew that the Proteſtants could not be convicted of Hereſy, either as to their Doctrine or their Worſhip; and that the Council of *Trent*, which condemn'd them, is not clear of Faults, neither has it been receiv'd in the Kingdom. *Calixtus* does not doubt but this Book was written by *René Benoit*; For, ſays he, *Thuanus* (*f*) gives us to know that *Henry* IV. being at laſt reſolved to go to Maſs, had a mind to be inſtructed by that Doctor; who, coming to the King, was like to have loſt his Benefice (*g*), as being a Favourer of the Sectaries, and one that had preached what was contrary to the Faith (*h*). Theſe Reaſons ſeem to me not to be of ſufficient force, to make me believe that *René Benoit* was the Author of the Book, printed at *Caen*. Had he been the Author of it, he had never kept his Living of St. *Euſtache*, till the King's Abjuration. The Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, who mov'd to have him excommunicated, when he went to *Paris* to wait on the King of *Navarre*, would have inſiſted chiefly upon this Book, and not upon certain things alledg'd to have been

(*c*) In Digreſſione de Arte nova.

(*d*) *In a Book entituled*, Stromata in univerſum Organum Biblicum, ſeu Panoplia adverſus omnes nunc vigentes Hæreſes.

(*e*) *In the Year* 1590.

(*f*) *Thuan. lib.* 106.

(*g*) *He was Curate of St.* Euſtache.

(*h*) *Thuan. lib.* 107.

ſubeunt
nonrem
muliebri-
er clypea-
i, ſclopos
ubter ca-
um bra-
hia axil-
aſque in
oſtem
collinean-
es. In
quos dum
explodere
ives tre-
pidant, ne
conſan-
guineas
iffineſve,

populares certe ſuas, antequam Hiſpanos, impeterent, audiunt, *&c. Strada de bello Belgico, decad.* 1. *l.* 8. *p. m.* 503. *See alſo* Valerius Maximus, *lib.* 5. *c.* 1. *n.* 5.

Nihuſius knew ſo well how to improve his Intereſt, that he came β to be Titular Biſhop of *Myſia*, and was made Suffragan of the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz*; in the Exerciſe of which Office he died in the beginning of *March* γ 1657. He had got Friends at *Rome*, and he procured in *Germany* the Edition * of ſome Books compoſed beyond the *Alps*. I muſt not forget to acquaint you, that, being driven from his Abbey † by the *Swedes*, he fled to *Holland*, where he continued (G) ſeveral Years. In that Country he converſed frequently with *Voſſius*, and among other things told him, that the principal Reaſon of his adhering to the Communion of *Rome*, was his obſerving that the Sects which had ſeparated from it proved nothing (H) by Demonſtration.

Nicolas

β *Tuldenus, part. 3. Hiſtor. pag. 165. apud Konig Bibl. theca vet. & nova. pag. 577.*

γ *Id. ibid. apud eundem ibid.*

* *See the Remark A.*

† *Voſſius Ep. 228. p. 240.*

(*i*) *Voſſius Epiſt. 228. p. 240. dated from* Amſterdam, *May* 28, 1634.

been ſpoken by him in the Pulpit. I believe therefore, that, by a Trick familiar to the Writers in thoſe Days, ſome Author, who was either a good Huguenot, or out of Policy engaged in the Intereſt of *Henry* IV. publiſhed that Book in *Benoit*'s Name. This I know is not the Opinion of the Author of the Eleventh Volume of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*; for he, without boggling, aſcribes it to the (*i*) Curate of St. *Euſtache*. To return to the Hiſtory of Methods.

(*i*) *See p. 546 of Tome* 11 *of the Bibliotheque Univerſelle. In the ſubſequent Pages you'll find the Title, and the Abſtract of the pretended Book of* René Benoit.

Calixtus (*k*) obſerves, 1. That about forty Years after *René Benoit* had publiſh'd his Method, Father *Gonteri* the Jeſuit appear'd with his, and was followed by Father *Arnoux* and Father *Francis Veron*, both Jeſuits. 2. That *Vedelius* (*l*) is perſuaded that Cardinal *du Perron* drew the Plan of theſe Jeſuits Method; which conſiſts in obliging the Proteſtants to prove what they teach in oppoſition to the Council of *Trent*, not by the aſſiſtance of Conſequences, but by expreſs Words of Scripture. 3. That he can't believe (*m*) that that Cardinal approved this Method, which differs ſo widely from that we meet with in his Controverſy with King *James*. 4. That in 1605 *Antony Faber*, publiſhing a Code, prefixed to it a new Method of overthrowing the Hereticks. (*n*) *Codex Antonii Fabri Sebuſiani Senatoris & Conſiliarii Sabaudici, quem à ſuo nomine Fabrianum inſcripſit, bonum factum exiſtimans, ſi in veſtibulo voluminis hæreticos, quos vocat, inſigni & majore, quam Juriſconſultorum captus eſſe ſolet, audaciâ conficeret. Cui conatui primum librum impendit; eliſo tamen, ut accepimus, alterius Juriſconſulti, Jacobi videlicet Lectii, operâ & oppoſito ſcripto.* All Plaintiffs, ſaid he, are obliged to bring Proof, whether they inſiſt on the Negative or the Affirmative. This is the Maxim of the Law; above all, a Plaintiff is obliged to it, when he diſturbs thoſe who are in a peaceable poſſeſſion of the Eſtate that he Sues for. This Civilian concludes, that the Proteſtants are bound to prove all that they deny; and in caſe of failure of good Proof, ought to be non-ſuited. This is the whole of *Nihuſius*'s Invention, and is nothing elſe but the Method of Preſcription. (*o*) *Primum & præcipuum caput artis Nihuſianæ, aut potiùs Fabrianæ, hoc ipſum eſt, probationem omnium eorum, quæ Pontificii hodie affirmant, declinare & à ſe alienam dicere, atque adeo nihil eorum, quæ de Pontificis principatu & infallibilitate, de ſacrificio Chriſti in Miſſâ quâ ſpeciem & ſubſtantiam iterando, de ſtatuis adorandis, de purgatorio, ſeptem ſacramentis, indulgentiis & plurimis ſimilibus aſſerunt, vel e Scripturâ vel è traditione Eccleſiaſticâ probare velle: nempe quia ipſi ſint in poſſeſſione ſuorum dogmatum; quin, ait, ſe & majores ſuos, cum quibus & noſtri aliquando fecerint, ab aliquot ſeculis in poſſeſſione fuiſſe, ſuaſque adeo de religione opiniones ſive ſententias ufurpaſſe, vel, ut recentiores loquuntur, præſcripſiſſe. Se igitur & ſuos non teneri ad probationem eorum, quæ ipſi docent & affirment, ſed probationis, & quidem prævalidæ vicem eſſe, quod affirment: nos verò teneri, ut quæ negamus, demonſtremus, & quidem demonſtremus è Scripturâ, id eſt, Scripturam continere negantes, ipſorum affirmantibus oppoſitas.* Thus far did Dr. *Calixtus* carry the Hiſtory of theſe Methods. See the Sequel or Continuation in Mr. *Heidegger*'s (*p*) *Hiſtoria Papatus*. *Grotius* was mightily pleas'd with *Calixtus*'s Refutation of *Nihuſius*. (*q*) *Bertholdo Nihuſio de nova illa, qua diſſentientes impetit via, eruditè & prudenter reſpondit Calixtus libro de Arte nova, quem ſubjunxit libro de Theologia moderandi. Hoc anno Helmeſtadii editum id opus. Summa hæc eſt, in iis quæ de rebus ſive humanis ſive divinis credimus nulla eſſe poſſeſſionis privilegia: aſſerentibus incumbere probationem. Probari autem non tantum quod totidem literis oſtenditur, ſed & quod per legitimas & homini non inſano neque pertinaci fidem facturas illationes deducitur.... Calixti librum ut legas rogo: multa ſunt in eo utilia: multa ab aliis dicta quidem, ſed à nemine exactiùs.* I have not ſeen *Nihuſius*'s Reply; all I know, is, that 'tis entituled, (*r*) *Apologia contra Antidabatam Helmeſtetenſem.*

(*k*) *Calixt. ibid. pag.* 129.

(*l*) *In Rationali Theologico.*

(*m*) *Calixt. ibid pag* 130.

(*n*) *Ibid. pag.* 156.

(*o*) *Ibid. pag.* 159, 160.

(*p*) *In Periodo ſeptima, n.* 218.

(*q*) *Grotius Epiſt.* 339. *Partis* 1. *p.* 122. *This Letter is dated Aug.* 2. 1634.

(*r*) *See* Voſſius's 380 *Letter pag.* 349.

(*G*) *He continued ſeveral Years in* Holland.] He was at *Amſterdam* in *May* 1634, and had liv'd there above a Year, if we credit *Voſſius*. (*ſ*) *Jam annus, & credo, ultra eſt, quod in urbe hac degit Bartholdus Nihuſius, vir doctus, & ſubtilis, Lutheranus quondam, & Calixto Theologo perfamiliaris, poſtea Pontificius, atque ad Abbatis dignitatem evectus; ſed ea, bello hoc Suevico exutus, & nunc exterris.* He was ſtill there in 1640, as we are inform'd by the ſame *Voſſius*, who, through the weakneſs of his Memory, which is not at all to be wondred at, thought *Nihuſius* had not ſtaved at *Amſterdam* above three or four Years (*t*). He was ſtill there in 1647 and 1649, as we gather from the date of his Letters (*u*) to Father *Morin*.

(*H*) *Proved nothing by Demonſtration.*] We have ſeen above that *Voſſius* found him a learned and ſubtil Man; to which I add that he found him a very civil and pleaſant humour'd Man. (*v*) *Vir doctus & perhumanus nec infacetus.* *Nihuſius* pre poſſeſs'd with an Opinion of his new Method, and fancying to himſelf that no Body would be able to ſtand it, deſired a Conference with *Voſſius*, and declared to him, that, provided the Lutherans or Calviniſts would give him ſome Proof that was beyond Exception, he would turn Proteſtant again. Let them chooſe, ſaid he, what Head they will, that, for inſtance, upon which they think themſelves ſtrongeſt; I ask but one good Argument of 'em: But if they can offer me nothing but Probabilities, they'll give me leave to maintain, that we ought to return to the Church, from which our Anceſtors ſeparated. (*d*) *Poſcit ἀπόδειξιν, inviſtumque aliquid, quodque animum poſſit, aut debeat reddere, ἀναπόδοτον, & ἀμεταπείθητον. Negat opus de ſingulis diſputare. Eligere ſuos Lutheranos, vel etiam Calvinianos, & quoſvis alios, poſſe, ubi maximè exiſtimet ſuæ Eccleſiæ cauſam triumphare. Si unum viderit argumentum, velle redire ad eos, unde malum pedem extulerit. Sin diſputando intelligant, nihil ſolidi crepare, quicquid hactenus obtenditur, æquum videri, ut redeamus ad Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſinum.* His ſtrongeſt Argument was this: Tell me, Mr. *Voſſius*, why your Father quitted the Church of *Rome*? Give me a juſt Reaſon for it. *Voſſius* inſiſted on the difference between that Church and the Primitive Church; but after ſeveral Diſcourſes he fix'd upon this: The Doctors of the Church of *Rome* interpret Scripture in ſuch a manner, that they put upon it a Senſe manifeſtly forced, and ſometimes Contradictory, and generally widely different from the Doctrine of the Antient Fathers; and not contented with this, they put to Death thoſe who will not adopt ſuch Interpretations: There was a good Reaſon then to come to a Rupture with ſuch Interpreters of the Word of God, and to form new Aſſemblies; both for obtaining a Worſhip agreeable to one's Conſcience, and for preſerving a Life that may be ſerviceable to one's Country, Church and Family. (*e*) *Ille igitur poſcente cauſam patriam, cui parens meus a Romana abierit Eccleſia, reſpondi multa, de veteris, præſentis Romanæ Eccleſiæ diſcrimine. Sed tandem in eo ſedem figebamus; Romanæ Eccleſiæ Doctoribus, ita ſcripturas interpretantibus, ut manifeſta ſæpe vi fiat, planeque abeant à primorum ſeculorum Doctoribus, imo interdum (ut in tranſubſtantiationis dogmate) ſenſus interpretationi reclamet, manifeſtaque ſit contradictio: Nec ſolum ſic interpretantibus, ſed etiam, niſi ſimpliciter (f) interpreteris, ferro te, & flamma perdere paratis: jure ab ejuſmodi Doctoribus receditur, ac ſeorſim cultus Dei celebratur, partim conſentiente ſtudio, partim vitæ conſervandæ, quam Patriæ, Eccleſiæ, Familiæ, & amicis conducibilem exiſtimamus.* Though *Voſſius*'s Anſwer was highly reaſonable, he did not entirely rely upon it; for he deſir'd his good Friend *Grotius* to examine the Caſe and communicate his Thoughts to him. *Si valetudo, ſi otium tibi, ſi res etiam tuæ ſic ferant, ut hujuſmodi tractes, quod arbitror: quæſo paucis ſaltem perlege, quid tibi de hac re videatur, & quam potiſſimum viam, cum ipſius di hominibus inſiſtendam putes.* All the Anſwer that he receiv'd was, that he

(*t*) *Voſſius Epiſt.* 228. *p.* 240.

(*u*) Abiuta ſua à Sueco militie ejectus, ac inde in Bataviam profugus, ubi nunc terrium quartumve annum agit. *Voſſius Epiſtola* 380. *pag.* 349. *dated April* 12. 1640.

(*b*) *See the* 67 *and* 74 *Letters in the Collection, entituled,* Eccleſiæ Orientalis antiquitates.

(*c*) *Idem Voſſius, Ep.* 349.

(*d*) *Idem Epiſt.* 228. *pag.* 240.

(*e*) *Id. ib.*

(*f*) *We ought to read ſimiliter. Several ſuch Faults are ſlipt into* Voſſius's *Letters. They miſtook his Manuſcript, and your Correctors commonly mind nothing but the Orthography. They let one Word paſs for another, provided it does not marr the Senſe quite, or be ſtark ſtaring Nonſenſe.*

Nicolas Ritterſhuſius being charged with Plagiariſm out of *Nihuſius*, gave an Anſwer (*I*) that's worth Conſideration. The Author of *Memorabilia Eccleſiaſtica Sæculi Decimi Septimi*, has not given the right time (*K*) when *Nihuſius* publiſhed a new Notion upon the Invocation of Saints.

NYMPHODORUS

A PARAPHRASE upon *Nihuſius*'s Thoughts.

juſtified the (*g*) ſeparation of the Proteſtants very well.

'Tis plain, that *Nihuſius* had put his Argument thus. When we find our ſelves embarked by Birth and Education in a certain Communion, the Inconveniences we therein undergo are not a warrantable reaſon for quitting it, unleſs we can be Gainers by the change; that is, remove to another where we may be eaſier. For to what purpoſe ſhould we abandon the Communion that gave us Being and Education if in ſo doing we only ſhift the Diſtemper? Let's try this caſe; I agree to a Tryal of it: Let's imitate thoſe poor ſick People, who when weary of the Bed, think to be much eaſier by being ſet in an Elbow-Chair. Let's leave the Church of *Rome*, and cleave to the Proteſtant Church; but then as theſe ſick Perſons are no ſooner undeceived, in finding their uneaſineſs not abated by being in the Chair, but they get to Bed again: So ought we to reſume the Profeſſion of Popery, as ſoon as we find that the Proteſtant Doctors do not remove our Difficulties. They allege nothing to us but diſputable Reaſons; nothing that's convincing; nothing that's demonſtrative; they prove and they object; but both their Proofs and their Objections are anſwered; they reply, and meet with Replies again: So we're never at an end. To what purpoſe then ſhould we form a Schiſm? Did we meet with any thing in the Church, ſince our Birth, that's more inconvenient? We wanted Demonſtrations in it; we had nothing offered to us that could fix our Mind upon a ſure bottom; we ſtill found Objections againſt all the Doctrines, and all the Replies, *in infinitum*. This was our great diſadvantage; and we lye under the ſame among the Proteſtants: We ought not therefore to ſtay among them. Let's return to that Body that has the advantage of poſſeſſion; and if we muſt be ill-lodged, is it not better to be ſo in our own Country, and in our Father's Houſe, than in the Inns of foreign and ſtrange Countries? Beſides, the Controverſy is attended with more inconveniencies on the Proteſtant, than on the Popiſh ſide. The latter has all its Enemies before it; the ſame Arms that ſerve it for attacking and repulſing one, are of uſe for attacking and repulſing others. But the Proteſtants have Enemies both before and behind 'em; they're like a Ship engaged between two Fires; Popery attacks 'em on one ſide, and Socinianiſm on the other. The Arms they make uſe of againſt Popery, are an Annoyance inſtead of doing Service in their Controverſy with the Socinian; for this Heretick diſplays upon them all the Arguments they make uſe of againſt the Church of *Rome*: So that a Proteſtant, coming off from the attack of a Papiſt, and preparing to attack a Socinian, is obliged to change, at leaſt, part of his Armour. Theſe to be ſure were the Chimera's with which *Nihuſius* fed himſelf; and which influenced him to think, that in order to convince the Proteſtants that they did a-miſs in abandoning the Church of *Rome*, 'twas ſufficient to ask 'em a demonſtrative Proof of their Belief: A Proof, I ſay, that's as unexceptionable, as a Mathematical Demonſtration. He knew very well they would never take him at his Word. Moſt Divines agree, that the Controverſies of Religion can't be carried to that height of Evidence. A famous Miniſter has lately inform'd us (*b*) that to aſſert, that the Holy Spirit gives us an evident Knowledge of the Truths of Religion, is not only a dangerous Error, but a Doctrine hitherto rejected by the Proteſtants. He maintains, that a faithful Soul embraces theſe Truths, without the Evidence of Reaſon, and even without knowing that 'tis evident that God has reveal'd 'em; and he ſays, that they are pernicious Innovators, who aſſert, that at leaſt the Holy Spirit makes us ſee evidently the Teſtimony that God has given to theſe Truths. I am very ſure, that *Nihuſius* did not expect to have a demonſtrative Argument offer'd him. But what did he think of, then, when he promis'd to return to Lutheraniſm upon that Condition? Did he act the part of a grave Man? Had he been a Man of Reaſon, he would have fully acquieſced in the Anſwer that *Voſſius* gave him; which is very judicious and very ſolid. But let us confeſs, that *Nihuſius* did not always ground his Thoughts upon Chimera's; he made a bad Application of a good Principle, *viz. We ought not to depart from the place wherein we are, if the Change be uſeleſs.* The Miniſter I mention'd but now, makes uſe of that Axiom. He's a rigid Predeſtinarian, and a great Particulariſt, and groans under a Load of Objections, to which his Syſtem is expoſed; but he does not change his Hypotheſis, becauſe he finds none that reſcues him from the Oppreſſion. He would find nothing to ſatisfie his Reaſon in the Hypotheſis of the Moliniſts, nor in the other looſe ways of explaining Grace; ſo he chooſes to continue where he is, rather than take another ſituation that would not cure him (*i*). This is wiſely done.

(*i*) *See the Book entituled,* Jugement ſur les methodes rigides & relâchées d'expliquer la Providence & la grace, *pag.* 23.

(*I*) *Gave an Anſwer that's worth Conſideration.*] His place (*a*) obliging him to harangue at the Promotion or Graduation of a Doctor, he choſe to harangue upon *Hanno*'s Voyage. He was charged with copying a Letter that *Nihuſius* had writ upon this Subject. He made anſwer that that Letter had ſerv'd him for a Guide nineteen Years before; but that he lay under no obligation to cite *Nihuſius*: For, added he, I do not make uſe of *Nihuſius*'s Words: I take the Terms of the Authors whom I have conſulted, and do accordingly mention their Names; only two indeed I have made uſe of, without the opportunity of peruſing them. (*b*) *Tu Nihuſii ne ſemel quidem mentionem facis. Fateor, nec cauſa fuit, cur allegarem cujus verbis non utor, ſed ſemper auctorum quos ille citat, & illa ipſa verba non ex Nihuſio, ſed ex ipſis auctoribus excripſi, excepto Hieronymo & Tranſylvano anonymo. Illum ad manus non habui, hunc videre nunquam contigit.* We agree, that this Juſtification is very fair in ſome Reſpects. An Author that goes to the Spring Head, and verifies all the Paſſages that others have alledged, becomes a lawful Poſſeſſor. He's not obliged to cite any but the Original Writings that he has conſulted; 'twould be a piece of Injuſtice to call one a Plagiary, upon pretence that he brings in the ſame things with others. But after all, I am of Opinion, that Honeſty, Equity and Gratitude, demand an Acknowledgment of the Obligations we are under to thoſe who directed us to the Sources. When an Author therefore is convinced in Conſcience; that, if he had not read the Diſſertations of ſome Moderns that have quoted ancient Authors, he had not known whom to addreſs himſelf to, to learn the Original Authorities: An Author, I ſay, con'cious of this, would do well to give the Publick to know the good Offices done him by theſe Moderns. Having once done this in a Preface, he may cite of his own Head the Ancients he has conſulted, and act as a true Proprietor. Here I muſt obſerve, by the bye, that your Writers, who religiouſly obſerve the Quotation of the Chapters and Pages, from whence they borrow any thing, have more Honeſty than Politicks: They neglect the Intereſts of Vain-glory; they ſtrip themſelves of the Pleaſure of being cited; for by this means they facilitate the Verification ſo far, that every Writer turns to the reſpective places when he has occaſion for the ſame Proofs, or to mention the ſame Matters of Fact, that are contain'd in their Books; after which he contents himſelf with citing the ancient Author. Whereas, if they brought in curious Things, without telling from whence they have them, and only mentioning the Names of their Vouchers, others would ſcarce dare to vent the ſame things any otherwiſe than under their Authority, unleſs they were Authors of the firſt Rank. By Vertue of this Precaution they would ſee their Names in the Margins of Books; and that Honour would be long paid them. How many Authors do to this Day pay that Honour to *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and to *Cælius Rhodiginus*, who practis'd the Politicks we now ſpeak of?

(*a*) *Thomaſius de Plagio Literario, p.* 239.

(*b*) *Nicol. Ritterſhuſius Epiſt. ad Georgium Richterum, pag.* 206. *Epiſtolarum Richteriarum. See Thomaſius de Plagio Literario, p.* 73. *and* 240.

ARE FLECTION upon a certain way of Quoting.

(*K*) *Has not given the right time when* Nihuſius *publiſh'd a new Notion upon the Invocation of Saints.*] He ſays,

his Maſter and Profeſſor. Upon the firſt Queſtion, 'tis no wonder that Mr. Saurin is miſtaken. There are groſſer Errors than that, though ſcarce any more dangerous: But upon the Queſtion of Fact, we can never wonder enough, that a Man, who ſets up for an Author ſhould fall into ſuch an Error, as to call that a new Opinion, a budding Error, *which is as Antient as the World, and of equal Extent with the Chriſtian Religion; and which, till this our Age, was never attack'd by any but Hereticks.* Jurieu, Defenſe de la doctrine univerſelle de l'Egliſe contre les imputations de Mr. Saurin, pag. 3. *of the* Rotterdam *Edition in* 1695.

NYMPHODORUS of *Amphipolis*, the Author of a Piece twice (*A*) cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and now loſt, flouriſh'd no Body knows when. The Scholiaſt upon *Apollonius* has cited the ſame Work to prove, that the * *Tibarenians*, as ſoonas their Wives were brought to Bed, went to Bed themſelves, and made their Wives ſerve them in every thing after the ſame manner as Women in Child-Bed are elſewhere. *Politian* is very much (*B*) miſtaken upon the Words of this Scholiaſt.

NORADIN, the Son of *Sanguin*, Soudan of *Aleppo* (*A*) and of *Nice*, ſurpaſs'd his Father in every thing, though he had been the beſt accompliſh'd and moſt puiſſant Prince that the *Turks* had in his time †. *Sanguin* being kill'd by ſome of his Eunuchs, while he laid Siege to *Colegembar* upon the *Euphrates*, in γ 1143. *Noradin* divided the Paternal Inheritance with his ‡ Brother; by Vertue of which Diviſion he became Soudan of *Aleppo*, and in a little time one of the moſt powerful Princes in all *Aſia*. He had nothing of the Turk or Barbarian, but the Name; and was poſſeſs'd of all the Qualities of a great General. He was equally prudent, bold and ſucceſsful. the moſt vigilant Man in the World, and the readieſt to lay hold of all Opportunities of putting in execution a brave Action. He was not deſtitute of the Qualities of a Man of Honour. He was good and pious in the way of his falſe Religion. One of his firſt Exploits was the Defeat of *Joſſelin de Courtenai*, Comte of *Edeſſa*, whoſe Troops were ſo routed, that *Joſſelin* had much ado to eſcape almoſt all alone to *Samoſata*. The greateſt part of his Territories fell under the Sovereignty of *Noradin*, who afterwards enlarged his Conqueſts very conſiderably; when the *Cruſade*, to which St.

* *A People that liv'd near the Euxin Sea. See that Article.*

† *Towards the middle of the 12th Century.*

γ *And not in 1145, as Maimbourg has it, Tom. 1. of the Cruſades, pag. 305. Dutch Editor.*

‡ *He was the Eldeſt Brother, and his Name was Corebedin.*

ſays, that about the Year 1614, *Nihuſius* a new Papiſt coined a new Error, *viz.* that the Saints departed, live ſtill in reſpect of their Bodies; and therefore are to be adored in their Reliques. (*c*) *Novum cudit ac profudit Errorem, dum conatu magno quidem, ſed irrito, probare nititur:* Sanctos hac vita defunctos non eſſe mortuos vel quoad corpus, vel quoad reliquias ſeu exuvias corporis. *Formata enim queſtione:* "*An adorandi ſint* "*ſancti ſuis in reliquiis?*" *affirmat, quia, inquit, ſancti in exuviis corporum non ſunt mortui, ſed omnino vivunt adhuc.* The conſequence that this Proſelyte drew from his Hypotheſis, went very deep; for, not contented to prove from thence that the Saints merit our Adoration, he found a ſort of Atheiſm in the oppoſite Opinion, and branded it as ſtriking at the Root of the Reſurrection. (*d*) *Quoniam itaq; Sancti ſuis in corporibus adhuc vivunt, certatim nos illuc agglomeremur, & adoremus amoroſiſſimè, ſpem reſurrectionis noſtræ ſimul quaſi ſatiantes, & mortis metum puerilem abjicentes, nequaquam vero ſuperbe quicquam ejus reſpuentes; hæreſeos ac atheiſmi pars eſt opinio illa feralis & luctuoſa de mortuis ac non viventibus ſanctorum corporibus, utpote reſurrectionem impiè negans in receſſu.* My Author do's not inform me whether theſe Words are taken from a Didactick Piece or from a Harangue; but I fancy *Nihuſius* ſpoke theſe Words in ſome Declamation or other. We are referred to two Authors that (*e*) refuted him; one call'd *Himmelius*, and the other *David Chriſtian*. The latter is cited by my Author when the Death of *Nihuſius*, in 1657, is ſpoken of, and when he repeats that about 1614, he was drawn into the Communion of *Rome*, by the Jeſuit *Martinus Becanus*, and that he taught, that the Saints in Paradiſe live ſtill in their Bodies: A Thought which he call'd a Divine Oracle, and a clear Light into a profound Myſtery, and a ſublimer Philoſophy touching ſleeping and waking, than that of *Ariſtotle* and the other Philoſophers. *David Chriſtian* owns, that 'twas a new Oracle, not Prophetical, but Poetical, and ſo ſubtle that 'twas unknown to all the Fathers, and was not underſtood by *Ariſtotle*, nor *Scaliger*, nor any of the moſt penetrating Philoſophers, unleſs it be perhaps *Rodolphus Goclenius*, who, in ſome place or other, affirms, that certain Portions of Life remain in dead Bodies, of which God will form a new Body at the Reſurrection. (*f*) *Novum hoc eſt, ſed non Propheticum, Poeticum autem ac Nihuſianum, tam ſubtile, ut nulli vel S. S. Patrum, vel Lutheranorum, vel Pontificiorum, viſum fuerit; nec intellectum vel ab Ariſtotele, vel Scaligero, vel à quovis alio, acutiſſimo etiam Philoſopho, niſi forſan à Rudolpho Goclenio, alicubi aſſerente: in humano corpore demortuo quaſdam adhuc vitæ reliquias ſupereſſe, ex quibus in reſurrectione novum corpus formandum ſit.* Here by the bye, we may take notice of a Notion of *Goclenius*, that's very fantaſtical and ſingular: 'Tis good to be inform'd of ſuch Notions, that we may have a fuller View of the extent of the Whims, and Viſions of the Minds of Men. From what I have ſet forth in this Remark, we may conclude, that *Nihuſius* was one of thoſe lively preſumptuous Men, that are eaſily dazzled by the falſe Luſtre of a Paradox, and labour with eagerneſs to communicate to the World the Opinion they're ſo fond of. They magnify the Idea of ſmall things; and recommend 'em with ſuch warmth, as if 'twere a matter of the laſt importance: The true Reverſe of the *Roman* Poet, who ſaid,

Non (g) equidem hoc ſtudeo, bullatis ut mihi nugis
Pagina turgeſcat, dare pondus idonea fumo.

By this ſign we may diſtinguiſh thoſe who enter the Liſts, mounted upon the Chariot of Vanity, (*h*) *Quos tulit in ſcenam ventoſo gloria curru.*

To know the Chronological Error of the Author of the *Memoranda Eccleſiaſtica*, we need only call to mind that *Nihuſius* did not abjure Lutheraniſm till about 1622.

(*A*) *Author of a Piece twice cited by* Clemens Alexandrinus.] (*i*) Νυμφόδωρος ὁ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἐν τρίτῳ νομίμων Ἀσίας. *Nymphodorus Amphipolitanus in tertio de legibus Aſiæ.* (*k*) Νυμφόδωρος ἐν νομίμοις βαρβαρικοῖς. *Nymphodorus in libro de legibus barbaricis.* We can't reaſonably doubt but that both theſe Paſſages relate to the ſame Author; but 'tis not ſo certain, that they refer to the ſame Book. However, I believe with *Voſſius* (*l*) that the Treatiſe of the Laws of *Aſia*, compil'd by *Nymphodorus*, differed from the Books of the Laws of the Barbarians, only as a Part from the Whole. This Work was not ſmall; for the Scholiaſt upon (*m*) *Sophocles* cites the 13th Book of it.

(*B*) Politian *is much miſtaken upon the Words of this Scholiaſt.*] (*n*) Ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν Βαρβήνων γῇ αἱ γυναῖκες ὅταν τέκωσι, τιμελῶσι τὰς ἀνδρὰς ὥσπερ λεχούς. ὡς ἱστορεῖ νομφόδωρος ἐν τοῖς νόμοις. Such are the Words of the Scholiaſt upon *Apollonius*. Now *Politian*'s Words are theſe. (*o*) *Adjunt Interpretes Apollonii ſcriptum id etiam a Nymphodoro in Tiſinomis.* According to this, *Nymphodorus* muſt have writ a Book, entituled, *Titinomi*. But nothing is more ridiculous than that Suppoſition. Doubtleſs this was the occaſion of *Politian*'s Miſtake, *viz.* The Scholiaſt's Manuſcript made but one Word of τοι and νομοις; for if the Tranſcribers had parted theſe two Words, he would readily have ſeen that they ſignify *in quibuſdam legibus*, and ſo would not have fallen into the miſtake that he has been ſo often charged with. *Note*, That *Rutgerſius* (*p*) thinking ἐν τοι νόμοις, ſuppoſes that it ſhould be read ἐν τοῖς νόμοις. The Conjecture is ſo likely, that we may well take it to be juſt. But he is out, when he ſays, that *Politian*'s Error was followed by *John Hartungus*; for all that can be laid to *Hartungus*'s Charge is, that he (*q*) made uſe of the Reading, ἐν τοι νόμοις, which is rare nal enough, and has been adopted by *Hoelzlinus* in his Edition of *Apollonius*, which came out after *Rutgerſius*'s Work. Let obſerve, by the bye, that *Hartungus*, who has diſcovered ſo many falſe Quotations: guilty of one himſelf in the place cited but now. He there affirms, that *Calius Rhodiginus* relates, upon the Teſtimony of the Scholiaſt of *Apollonius*, the modiſh Cuſtom of the *Tibarenians*. Now, this is an Untruth. *Rhodiginus* (*r*) cites only *Nymphodorus*.

(*a*) *Andreas Carolus memor. eccleſiaſt. ſæculi decimi ſeptimi lib. 2. cap. 18. pag. 352 ad ann. 1614.*

(*b*) *Id ib.*

(*c*) *Himmelius in tractatu de Natura Invocationis Religioſæ, pag. 520, 525, ſeq. confer diſputat. inauguralem Dn. Davidis Chriſtiani, de R. Pontificis Infallib. & S. S. Canoniſatione, pag. 66. ſeq.* Id. ib. *pag. 353.*

(*f*) *David Chriſtianus ubi ſupra apud Andream Carolum ib. lib 6. cap. 51. pag. 165. ad ann. 1657.*

(*g*) *Perſius ſat. 5. v. 19.*

(*h*) *Horat. epiſt. 1. lib. 2. pag. m. 284.*

(*i*) *Clemens Alexandr. Stromat. lib. 1. pag. 322.*

(*k*) *Id. in admonit. ad Gentes pag. 43.*

(*l*) *Voſſius de hiſtor. Græcis lib. 3. p. 393*

(*m*) *Schol. Soph. in Oedip. Colon.*

(*n*) *Scholiaſtes Apollonii in lib. 2. Argonaut. v. 1012.*

(*o*) *Angelus Politianus epiſt. 16. lib. 1. fol. m. 26.*

(*p*) *Rutgerſius var. lection. lib. 4. cap. pag. 443*

(*q*) *Joh. Hartungus locorum memorabilium decuria 1. cap. 6. p. 659. Tom. 2. Theſaur. Gruteri.*

(*r*) *Calius Rhodig. in antiq. lectionib. l. 15. cap. 1. p. m. 1. 24.*

(*s*) *Hubertus Goltzius in Fastis Tarſicis* 1. p. 475.

(*t*) *Iſaac*

St. *Bernard* had predicted ſo much Felicity, miſcarried in a diſmal manner in the Siege of *Damaſcus*, *Anno* 1148, and return'd with Diſgrace to *Europe*. *Noradin* knew well how to improve ſuch a promiſing Opportunity. He invaded the Principality of *Antioch* with a powerful Army; gain'd a Victory over Prince *Raimond*, who fell upon the Spot; made himſelf Maſter of the Fortreſs of *Harenc*, and moſt of the other Places of that Principality; took the Count of *Edeſſa* (above-mention'd) by Ambuſcade, and put him to Death in Irons at *Aleppo*; diſlodg'd the Greeks of the whole Country, into whoſe Hands the Counteſs and *Baudouin*, King of *Jeruſalem*, had put it, in order to be protected by them; and conquer'd the City and Territory of *Damaſcus*. *Baudouin* made a very vigorous Oppoſition to ſtop the Conqueror's Progreſs, and defeated him oftner than once; and that in ſuch a manner that his Enemy admir'd him: For we are told for a Certainty, that when *Baudouin* was poyſoned by his Phyſician at thirty-two Years of Age ‡, *Noradin* would never take Advantage of the Conſternation rais'd all over his Kingdom by his Death, and with equal Modeſty and Greatneſs of Soul, ſaid, That *it beboved him to condole with them, and pay a Regard to the occaſion of their juſt Grief, ſince they lamented the Death of a Prince that had not his equal in the World.* Some time after he made himſelf Maſter of the City of *Paneas*. In a word, he poſſeſs'd almoſt all *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, and extended his Conqueſts even beyond *Cilicia* to the States of the Sultan of *Iconium*, whom he defeated in a Battle. Fortune preſented to him a fair Opportunity of carrying his Arms into *Egypt*, when *Sanar*, Soudan of that Kingdom, being diſpoſſeſs'd by *Dorgan*, had recourſe to his Protection. Accordingly he ſent into *Egypt* a numerous Army, under the Command of *Syracon*, General of his (*B*) Forces. *Amauri*, King of *Jeruſalem* (*C*) very indiſcreetly aſſiſted *Dorgan*, ſtipulating from him a large Tribute. *Syracon*, amidſt many Viciſſitudes, was obliged to quit *Egypt* twice, but at laſt carried it, after having caus'd *Sanar* to be aſſaſſinated, and got himſelf to be made Soudan in his room, by the Calif of *Grand Cairo*. *Noradin*, whoſe Creature he was, ſuffer'd all this. This new Soudan died that ſame (*D*) Year, leaving for his Succeſſor the Great *Saladin* his (*E*) Nephew. *Noradin* died likewiſe in 1173. His Widow married *Saladin*, and his Son was diſpoſſeſs'd of his Dominions by the ſame *Saladin* †.

‡ *In* 1163.

† *Guill. Tyrius & alii, apud Maimbourg Hiſtory of the Cruſades, Tom.* 1. *and* 2.

OBSE-

(*B*) *General of his Forces.*] Father *Maimbourg* (*f*) ſays, he was a little Man, and his Merit raiſed him to the higheſt Poſt in the Kingdom, notwithſtanding the Obſcurity of his Birth, and his being a Slave: But *Calviſius* (*g*) aſſures us he was *Noradin*'s Brother.

(*C*) *Very indiſcreetly.*] I made uſe of this Expreſſion out of regard to a great many, who attribute to this the Loſs of *Jeruſalem*. The Grounds they go upon, are, that *Saladin*, who expel'd the Chriſtians from thence, found them and the Saracens link'd together, by reaſon of the Wars that his Predeceſſor *Syracon* carried on in *Egypt* againſt King *Amauri*. However we muſt not forget, that this young Prince met with Succeſs in the beginning of theſe Wars. I find ſome Hiſtorians make him the Cauſe of a more preſent Evil: For they ſay, his Expedition to *Egypt* occaſion'd *Noradin*'s Invaſion of *Antioch*. I mean that Invaſion in which *Boemond*, Prince of *Antioch*, and *Raimond* Count of *Tripoli* were defeated, and taken Priſoners by *Noradin*. *Cluverius* (*h*) puts this Invaſion after *Syracon*'s Expedition; but *Calviſius* ranks it in 1165, and the Expedition in (*i*) 1168.

(*D*) *Died that ſame Year.*] Father *Maimbourg* dates his Death in 1168; but *Calviſius* takes the righter way in dating it in 1170.

(*E*) *His Nephew.*] Or rather his Grand-ſon; *Nepos ex filio*, as *Calviſius* (*k*) aſſures us.

(*f*) *Cruſades, Tom.* 2. *p.* 46.

(*g*) *Ad ann.* 1169.

(*h*) *Jo. Cluverius, Hiſtor. Epitome.*

(*i*) *Vide Calviſium ad ann.* 1169.

(*k*) *Ad ann.* 1170.

O.

OBSEQUENS (JULIUS) a Latin Writer, whoſe Country we are at a loſs to know, as well as the Age he liv'd in. We only conjecture, that he liv'd ſometime before the Reign of *Honorius*. *Scaliger* † inſinuates, that he liv'd before that Period of Time, in which St. *Jerom* ‡ compos'd Supplements to *Euſebius*'s Chronicon. *Friſius* is groſly (*A*) miſtaken. We are likewiſe at a loſs to know what Religion *Obſequens* was of; but the Fragments we have of his Collection of Prodigies ought to perſwade us that he was a Heathen. That Work was chiefly a Liſt (*B*) of the Prodigies inſerted by *Livy* in his Hiſtory. What we have left of it begins with the Conſulſhip of *Lucius Scipio* and *Caius Lælius*, that is, (C) towards the 561 Year of *Rome*. We have ſeveral Editions (*D*) of it. *Lycoſthenes* has indeavour'd to ſupply what is loſt of the Original. Mr. *Moreri*'s Quotation (*E*) upon this Head is a very ſorry one.

† *Scalig. Animadv. in Euſeb. n. 1886. p. m. 147.*

‡ *He compoſed them in the Reign of* Valens *the Emperour. Now* Valens *died in* 379.

OCHINUS (BERNARDIN) was one of the Eccleſiaſticks of *Italy* that fled their Country in the XVIth Century, in order to embrace the Proteſtant Religion. He was a *Sieneſe*. He was firſt a Cordelier, and then a Capuchin *. He continued in the Order of the Capuchins from 1534 to 1542 ‡. They are miſtaken, who ſay he was the (*A*) Founder of the Order, or one of the four that firſt engaged in it; but 'tis certain he was choſen General of the Order. I do not believe he was the Pope's † Confeſſor, as ſome have alledged. He obſerv'd (*B*) the Rules of his Order with wonder-

* *Spond. ad ann.* 1547. *n.* 22

‡ *Idem ad ann.* 1525. *n.* 27.

† *See the Remark D towards the end.*

(*a*) *Joh. Jacobus Friſius in ſua Bibliotheca apud Scheffer. in præfat. in Jul. Obſequentem.*

(*b*) *Balth. Boniface. de Script. Hiſt. Rom. N. B. That* Zeiller *in Hiſtoricis parte* 1. *pag.* 55. *in quoting him puts* 55 *inſtead of* 505.

(*c*) *See what he puts in after his Preface and the firſt of his Remarks.*

(*d*) *In the Preface to his Edition.*

(*e*) *From the Manuſcript that* Jocundus *of* Verona *had given him.*

(*f*) *Voſſius de Hiſt. Latinis, pag.* 711.

(*g*) *Id. ib.*

(*h*) *See Voſſius, ib.*

(*i*) *At* Amſterdam 1679 *in* 8vo.

(*k*) Saris conſtat... eandem loquutum fuiſſe, ſerpentemque latraſſe. *Alex ab Alexandro genial. dier. lib.* 3. *c.* 15. *p. m.* 733.

(*l*) *Tiraquellus not. in hunc locum Alex. ab Alexandro.*

(*A*) Friſius *(a) is groſly miſtaken.*] He ſaid, that this *Obſequens* liv'd in the time of *Panetius* and *Polybius*, 240 Years before CHRIST: Now this can't be, ſince *Obſequens* mentions *Auguſtus*.

(*B*) *A Liſt of the Prodigies inſerted by* Livy.] This we are convinced of by two Reaſons: 1. That Collection ends at the 743 Year of *Rome*, where *Livy*'s Decads end. 2. The Author frequently makes uſe of the ſame Terms with *Livy*.

(*C*) *That is, towards the* 561 Year of *Rome.*] Some Authors place this Conſulate in that Year, others place it in 563. No Body would dare to put it in 505, and yet *Beatus Rhenanus* has put in the Title of his Book, that what we have of *Obſequens* begins with the Year of *Rome* 505. *Balthaſar Bonifacius* has (*b*) copied after him the ſame Error. The Learned *Scheffer.us* was not ignorant (*c*) that theſe two Authors ſaid ſo; and yet he do's not cenſure them, he gives no notice of their miſtake. We likewiſe meet with it in the Epitome of *Geſnerus*'s *Bibliotheca*.

(*D*) *We have ſeveral Editions of it.*] The ſeveral Editions mention'd by *Scheffer.us* (*d*) are theſe. *Aldus Manutius* was the firſt that ſet forth this Work; he publiſh'd (*e*) it at *Venice* in 1508. *Beatus Rhenanus* cauſed it to be printed ſix Years after at *Strasburg*, with ſome other Tracts. *Ajulanus* Father-in-Law to *Aldus Manutius* made a new Edition of it in 1518. Some time after *Robert Stephens* publiſh'd it at *Paris*. *John Oporin* printed it at *Baſil* in 1552, with the Supplements of *Lycoſthenes*, who was (*f*) then Corrector and Overſeer of *Oporin*'s Printing Houſe, and care was taken to diſtinguiſh by Aſteriſms what was added by *Lycoſthenes*. Next Year *John de Tournes* Printer at *Lyons* counterfeited this Edition of *Oporin*'s, and carefully obſerved all the Aſteriſms. But conſidering that *Voſſius* (*g*) ſpeaks of an Edition by *John de Tournes*, where *Lycoſthenes*'s Additions were mingled with what was properly *Obſequens*'s, without any mark of diſtinction, there is room to believe that this Printer was more careleſs in an after Edition. This Careleſneſs has been the occaſion of great Abuſes. The Phraſes of *Lycoſthenes* have been cited (*h*) as thoſe of an ancient Author; his Authority has paſs'd for that of Antiquity. This Diſorder is redreſs'd in Mr *Scheffer.us*'s (*i*) Edition: In which, what is properly *Obſequens*'s is printed in a *Roman* Letter, and *Lycoſthenes*'s Supplement in *Italick*. To give an Inſtance of the Abuſes and Miſtakes that have happen'd: *Alexander ab Alexandro* affirms, that when *Tarquin* was expell'd *Rome*, a Dog (*k*) ſpoke, and a Serpent bark'd. *Tiraquellus* pointing to the Springs from whence this Author drew what he ſays, (*l*) obſerves, that *Livy* ſaid no more, than that a Serpent fell from a wooden Statue. *Julius Obſequens*, adds he, relates the ſame Prodigy, and has all that *Alexander ab Alexandro* has ſaid upon this Head. But *Alexander ab Alexandro* has ſaid upon this Head. But 'tis *Lycoſthenes* and not *Alexander ab Alexandro* that ſays a Dog ſpoke and a Serpent bark'd. Doubtleſs he took this Prodigy from *Alexander ab Alexandro*; and thus by a ſtrange Reciprocation the Copier is made uſe of as a Proof for the Original. Is not this what the Schools call *mutua cauſalitas*?

(*E*) Mr. Moreri's *Quotation upon this Head is a very ſorry one.*] He cites *Sebaſtian, Comad. in Quæſt. p.* 41. This would make one think that we may hear ſome News of *Julius Obſequens* from two Authors, one of whom is call'd *Sebaſtian*, and the other *Comad*. But theſe Authors are not yet born. If he had cited *Sebaſtian Corradus*, he had ſtill led us into an Error; for that Author gives us only the bare Name of *Obſequens*. He cannot be quoted for any other end than to ſhew us, that he was of the Opinion, that *Oroſius* liv'd before *Obſequens*. This is the only uſe that *Voſſius* (*m*) makes of the Citation of *Corradus*.

(*A*) *They are miſtaken who ſay he was the Founder.*] *Zachary Boverius* (*n*) proves it from Authority and by ſome Reaſons. Among other things, he ſays 'tis certain the Order of the *Capuchins* commenced in 1525, and above three hundred Perſons were of it before *Ochinus* entered into it in 1534. Mr. *Varillas* (*o*) imploys theſe Reaſons to confute the Biſhop of *Amelia*, who affirms (*p*), as well as *Theodorus Beza* (*q*), that *Ochinus* was the Founder of that Order. You have this Paſſage of Mr *Varillas* in *Moreri*'s Supplement.

(*B*) *He obſerv'd the Rules of his Order with wonderful Auſterity.*] The Biſhop of *Amelia* in the Chapter above cited of the Hiſtory of Cardinal *Commendon* obſerves, that *Ochinus* was reſpected as a Saint, and practiſed the out-ſide of Mortification very exactly. *His Age*, ſays he, *his auſtere way of Life, his rough Capuchin Habit, his Beard that went below his Breaſt, his grey Hair, his pale meagre Countenance, with a certain appearance of Infirmity and Feebleneſs that was very artfully affected, and an Opinion of his Sanctity ſpread every where, occaſion'd him being look'd upon as an extraordinary Man.... Not only the common People, but great Lords and Sovereign Princes reverenc'd him as a Saint. When he came to their Houſes, they met him and receiv'd him with all Honour and Affection imaginable; and at his Departure they adviſed him in like manner. As for his own part he employ'd all the Artifices that could confirm them in their good Opinion of him. In his Travels he always walk'd on Foot; and, tho' Weakneſs appear'd both in his Age and Complexion, he was never ſeen on Horſeback. When Princes forced him to lodge with them, the Magnificence of Palaces, the Luxury of Tables, and all the Pomp of the Age, could never make him forget his Poverty nor the Auſterity of his Profeſſion. At Meals he never eate but of one Diſh, and that always the ſimpleſt and moſt common; and he ſcarce ever taſted Wine. He was frequently preſs'd to lie in good and rich Beds, for the more convenient refreſhing of himſelf after the Fatigues of his Travels, but he would only ſpread his Cloak, and lay himſelf down upon the Ground. The Reputation he acquired, and the Honour and Reſpect he drew to himſelf over Italy, are incredible.*

(*m*) Sebaſtianus Corradus in quæſtura ſua, p. 41. Videtur in alia fuiſſe ſententia (*quam qua ſtatuit antiquiorem Obſequentem Oroſio*) quia utrumque nominans Oroſium præmittit. *Voſſius ubi ſupra.*

(*n*) *In his Annals of the Capuchins, apud Spondan. ad ann.* 1525. *n.* 27.

(*o*) *Hiſtory of Hereſy. l.* 17. *p.* 59. *of the* Dutch *Edition.*

(*p*) Antonius Maria Graziani's *Hiſtory of Cardinal* Commendon, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 9

(*q*) Bernardinus ille Ochinus maximi prius in Italia nominis monachus, & Capucinorum (quos vocant) Ordinis auctor. *Beza in Icon. in Petr. Martyr.*

(*C*) In

derful Auſterity, and preach'd with (C) incomparable Zeal, and probably he thought of nothing leſs than quitting his Habit and his Church, when ſome Doubts were rais'd in his Mind by converſing with a *Spaniſh* Civilian *, who had imbib'd ſomewhat of *Luther*'s Doctrine in *Germany*. 'Twas at *Naples* that he convers'd with this Civilian, and began to preach up Doctrines (D) that ſeem'd very new; upon which he became ſuſpected and was ſummon'd before the Court of *Rome* †. He ſet out upon his Journey thither, but at *Florence* (E) he met with his good Friend, *Peter Martyr*, to whom he communicated the Advices he had received of the Danger he would incur by ſurrendring himſelf to the Diſcretion of the Pope. After a mature Examination of the Matter, they both reſolved to retire to a ſafe Country. *Ochinus* ſet out firſt, taking the Road of *Geneva*; and two Days after *Martyr* took his Journey towards *Switzerland* ‡. A Continuator of *Baronius* aſſures us, that *Ochinus* carried along with him a Woman that followed him to *Geneva*, and that he married her publickly to give an authentick Proof of his Renunciation of Popery ‡. But if we may judge of this Fact, by others related by the ſame Author, one would not think (F) that he made uſe of good Memoirs.

* His Name was Johannes Valdeſius

† *Spondan. ubi ſupra.*

‡ *Joſias Simler in Vita Petri Martyris apud Melchior. Adam. pag. 36.*

‡ *Spondan. ubi ſupra.*

(C) *He preach'd with incomparable Zeal.*] Let's hear the Biſhop of *Amelia* once more. *We may juſtly ſay (r) he had ſome Knowledge; but he minded Eloquence and the Beauty of Words, more than the force of Reaſon. He knew but little of the Latin; but when he ſpoke in his Mother-Tongue, he explain'd what he knew, with ſo much Grace, Politeneſs, and Fluency, that the ſoftneſs and purity of his Diſcourſes raviſh'd all his Hearers. When he was to preach any where* (the Biſhop of *Amelia* ſtill ſpeaks) *the People flock'd thither; whole Cities came to hear him: Scarce any Church was large enough to contain the Multitude. Commonly the Women were more numerous than the Men. When he was to paſs through any City, an infinite Number of People went to meet him and receive his Inſtructions.* *Bzovius* has winded up a great Encomium in few Words: (a) *In tanta tum erat exiſtimatione* (Ochinus) *ut unus optimus totius Italiæ Concionator haberetur, ut qui admirabili quadam cum actione, tum linguæ facundia auditorum animos quocunque vellet raperet, ac tanto magis quod vita doctrinæ reſonaret.*

(r) *Mr.* Varillas *in his Hiſtory of Hereſy l. 17. p. 59 and 60 has paraphras'd this and the preceding Paſſage with his uſual Liberty.*

(a) *Bzovius ad ann. 1542. n. 34.*

(b) *Supplem. ad Mumbrin. lib. 4. apud Spondanum ad ann. 1547. n. 22.*

(c) Eos ſeminaris ab impio Ochino dum ante aliquot annos publice concionaretur in Eccleſia Metropolitana falſis dogmatibus attribuat, quibus à mentibus & linguis hominum iis infectorum reſecandis, Prorex Inquiſitionis remedium afferre voluerit. *Spondan. ibid.*

(d) *Ant. Maria Gratiani ubi ſupra. pag. 205. according to Mr.* Flechier's *Tranſlation, printed at* Paris *in 120.*

(e) *Ad ann. 1542. n. 34.*

(D) *To preach up Doctrines that ſeem'd very new.*] *Tomaſo Coſto* (b), who wrote the Hiſtory of the Troubles in *Naples*, upon attempting to erect the Tribunal of the Inquiſition in that Kingdom, pretends (c), that *Ochinus*'s Sermons had ſown the Seeds of theſe Commotions. The Biſhop of *Amelia* does not ſay, that this Capuchin was perverted by any Heretick that came from *Germany*, *John Valdés* for Inſtance; he is of the Mind that Vanity ruin'd him, and that the diſſatisfaction of not being preferr'd to a Cardinal's Cap, moved him to *drop very ſmoothly ſome Words and Sentiments in his Sermons, that tended to deny or leſſen the Authority of the Holy See (d). Bzovius* ſays in general that *Ochinus* drop'd ſome odd Words in a Sermon, *quod pro concione quadam ſecus dicta effudiſſet (e)*; and the Comment made upon his Words is this. They pretend that on *Palm-Sunday* he preach'd before the Pope, and cenſured his Pride and Pomp in very lively Terms, by running a Parallel between him and CHRIST JESUS. They add, that when the Sermon was over, one of the Cardinals gave *Ochinus* notice of the Pope's Reſentment, and adviſ'd him to fly forthwith. (f) *Nimirum (prout alii ſcripto conſignarunt) quod in Dominica palmarum faſtum Papæ Romani in ipſius præſentia ex juggeſtu acriter perſtrinxerit (facta comparatione Domini Jeſu in pauperi ſtatu Hieroſolymam ingredientis) & Pontificum Romanorum vitam. Qua concione finita unus Cardinalium Papam offenſum eſſe ipſi ſignificat, atque ut protinus præſenti periculo fuga ſeſe eripiat ſuadet.* Some ſay he propos'd his Cenſures of the Pride and Pomp of the Papal Court, only as Objections ſtarted by the Hereticks; but ſpending all the time allotted for his Sermon upon diſplaying theſe Objections, he concluded without confuting them. The Author to whom I owe this Remark tells us, that *Ochinus* was the Pope's Confeſſor and Preacher. (g) *Fuit is patria Senenſis, conditione monachus, & Pontifici Rom. à ſacris concionibus & confeſſionibus. Is ob parrheſiam qua motus in auribus ſummi Pontificis & totius Aulæ Romanæ Pontificiam arrogantiam & tyrannidem antichriſtianam, velut ex mente Lutheranorum, non addita objectionum, poſtquam eis ſtudio præſtitutam horam impendit, ſolutione, Italiæ cedere.... neceſſe habuit.* I relate theſe ſeveral things without pretending to warrant them to be true; particularly, I have read in the great Volume of the Learned Mr *Seckendorf (h)*, that there were printed in *Germany* twenty Sermons that *Ochinus* had preach'd in his Monk's Habit; in which he came very little ſhort of the pure Doctrine of the Proteſtants, upon Juſtification, good Works, Confeſſion, Satisfaction, Indulgences, Purgatory, and other Points. One Doubt remains, namely, whether theſe Sermons were printed in *Germany*, juſt the ſame as they were preach'd in *Italy*. But let that be as it will, they were printed at *Newburg* in 4to in 1545 in *Latin*, being tranſlated by *Joſeph Hochſteter*.

(h) *In Hiſt. Lutheran. Supplem. indicis 2.*

(E) *But at* Florence *he met with* Peter Martyr.] I believe it muſt be ſo; for what ſhould tempt *Peter Martyr* to give a falſe account of the Circumſtance of the Place? He has certainly given us a faithful relation of it in the Memoirs from which his Life was written. And for that Reaſon *Joſias Simler*, who compiled that Life, is more to be truſted than the Biſhop of *Amelia*, who (i) tells us, 1. That *Ochinus* was at *Verona when the Pope's Orders were brought to him*; 2. That *Matthew Giberti* Biſhop of *Verona* adviſ'd him to go and juſtify himſelf; 3. That *Ochinus*, who complied with his Advice with ſome Reluctancy, *advanced to* Bologna *where he found Cardinal* Gaſpar Contarini *Legate of that place*; 4. That this Legate being ſick, ſo that he could not diſcourſe with him about his Buſineſs, *Ochinus* reſolved to betake himſelf to flight; and *that very Night threw off his Monk's Habit, put on a Secular one, and fled towards the Hereticks.* Mr. *Varillas*, who pretends that *Ochinus* before his Departure from *Verona*, conſulted *Peter Martyr* by Letters, hath probably invented that Circumſtance. This we may reject as a Lie; for there's no room to doubt, but that theſe two Men did in a perſonal Interview at *Florence* concert their Retreat towards the Proteſtants.

(i) *Hiſt. of Cardinal* Commendon, *p. 205, & ſeq.*

(F) *One would not think that he made uſe of good Memoirs.*] In effect, *Spondanus* (k) gives us a very ſorry Recital of the Adventures of *Ochinus*. He makes him in the firſt place an *Arian*, who durſt not diſcover his Arianiſm in a City that had put to Death *Michael Servetus*. We have quoted *Sleidan*, who in things of that Nature ought to paſs for unexceptionable Evidence all the World over: We quoted him, I ſay, upon the aſſurance he gives us that *Ochinus* went from *Geneva* to *Augsburg* before he went to *England*. Now his Voyage to *England* was in 1547; ſo that he could not depart *Geneva* upon the account of the Puniſhment of *Servetus*, for that Heretick was not burnt till 1553. *Spondanus* adds (l), that *Ochinus* concealing his Sentiments, for the Reaſon above-mention'd, left *Geneva*, either of his own accord, or elſe becauſe *Calvin* got him expell'd. But if *Calvin* had been the Author of his Expulſion, he had not given him the good Character that we find he gave him (m) in 1550; for he would have caus'd him to be expell'd before the Year 1547, in which *Peter Martyr* and *Ochinus* went to *England*. The Annaliſt continues thus: *Ochinus* leaving *Geneva* retired to *Zurich*, and ſoon after was likewiſe obliged to depart from thence; the ſame Reception he met with at *Baſil*: Then he went to *England* in Company with *Martyr*; and leaving that Kingdom in the Reign of *Mary*, retired to *Germany*, and after that to *Poland*, and to *Tranſilvania*. Now, here are many Errors. A Man that was forced to leave *England* in the Reign of a Roman Catholick Queen,

(k) *Ad ann. 1547. n. 22.*

(l) Cum non auderet eam ibi profiteri ubi Servetus illam igne luiſſet, ſive ſponte, ſive ut quidam habent, à Calvino pulſus. *Ib.*

(m) Quos hac noſtra ætate monachos habuit Germania, qui vel doctrina vel ſanctitate cum Luthero, Bucero, Oecolampadio & ſimilibus conferre ſe niſi nimis impudenter audeant? Quos Itali Bernardino Ochino & Petro Vermilio opponent? *Calvin. de ſcandalis. Opuſcul. pag. 96.*

FAULTS *in Spondanus.*

apud Bibliothecam Anti-Trinitariorum, p. 3. (f) *Id. ib.* (g) *Staniſlaus Lubieniecius, hiſt. reformat. Poloniæ. l. 2. c. 5. p. m. 110. See likewiſe the Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum, pag. 2.*

moirs. *Ochinus*'s flight made the Pope very (*G*) uneasy. *Ochinus* did not fix at *Geneva*, but went to *Augsburg*, where he publish'd some Sermons. He and *Peter Martyr* made a Voyage to *England* in 1547 †. *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* having invited them both, when upon the Death of *Henry* VIII. he saw every thing making way for a Reformation ‡. But the change of Religion in that Country after the Death of K. *Edward*, obliged these two Doctors to depart *England*. So they repassed the Sea in 1553, and retired (*H*) to *Strasburg* γ. In 1555 *Ochinus* was at (*I*) *Basil*; but that same Year he was called to *Zurich*, to be Minister to an *Italian* Church that was there form'd. This Church consisted of some Refugees of *Locarno* ξ, who could not obtain the Liberty of professing the Reformation in their own Country, by reason of the Opposition of the Roman Catholick Swiss-Cantons. *Ochinus* sign'd the Confession of Faith of the Church of *Zurich*, and found there *Bullinger*, who proved a very good Friend * to him. He officiated to the *Italian* Church at *Zurich* till 1563; at which time the Magistrates expell'd him by reason of some Dialogues printed by him; which contain'd among other Errors (*K*) that of Polygamy. So he retired to *Basil*, and entreated the Ministers and Professors of the place to sollicit leave from the Magistrates for his staying there. Some put Questions to him upon the Doctrine of these Dialogues; and he made Answer that upon these Points he was of the same Opinion with them; nay, he agreed to the Proposal made to him, of giving a clean precise Declaration of his Faith: This he agreed to, upon Condition of obtaining leave for himself and his Children to pass the Winter at *Basil*. But the Magistrates having heard his Demands, and the Report of the Doctors, with reference to his Doctrine, ordered him to be gone immediately.

† *Sleidan. lib. 19. fol. m. 538. vers.*

‡ *Simler ubi supra, pag. 40.*

γ *Sleidan. lib. 25. fol. 721. vers.*

ξ *This is one of the four Bailiwicks that the Swiss possess in Italy.*

* *Josias Simlerus in vita Bullingeri, fol. 28. vers.*

Queen, must doubtless have gone thither while the Government was in Protestant Hands. *Ochinus* must therefore have gone to *England* in the Reign of *Edward*; but before he went to *England*, he had departed *Geneva*, according to *Spondanus*, for fear of undergoing the same Fate with *Servetus*, which at the soonest could not be before 1553. Then, how could he be in *England* in the reign of *Edward*; since that Prince died in *July* 1553, and *Servetus* was not burnt till *October* next ensuing? In this Point the Annalist has been very negligent. Further; 'tis false that *Ochinus* was expell'd *Zurich* and *Basil*, before he left *England* in the Reign of *Mary*. He was not forced out of *Zurich* till 1563. He compiled in *Poland*, says *Spondanus*, a Dialogue against the Sect of the Gods of the Earth, (meaning the *Switzerland* and *Geneva* Clergy) and after that some other Dialogues, cramm'd with Atheism; in which he not only vindicated Polygamy, but likewise attack'd the Holy Scriptures, the Divinity of our Saviour, the Trinity, and even the Deity. This is as loose as the former. The Dialogues he speaks of were the occasion of his Expulsion out of *Switzerland*, and his Removal to *Poland*: So that he did not compile them in *Poland*. Undoubtedly they contain several Errors; but no Instances of Impiety; and it is not true, that *Ochinus*, one of the Interlocutors, always owns (*a*) himself baffled by the Adversary that he brings in. *Bzovius* has committed some Faults like these. He would have it (*b*), that *Ochinus* being forced to depart *Cracow*, fled to *Transylvania*, and there composed Dialogues, and that these Dialogues were afterwards translated into *Latin* by *Castalio*. Here are three Errors: For, 1. These Dialogues were compiled before the Author went to *Poland*; 2. He did not go from *Poland* to *Transylvania*; 3. *Castalio* was dead before *Ochinus* left *Poland*.

(*a*) Ita se iis gerens, ut quamvis omnia Catholica dogmata defendere præ se ferret, demum se tamen adversarii argumentis victum profiteretur. *Spond. ibid.*

(*b*) *Bzovius ad ann.* 1542. *n.* 30. *pag.* 88.

(*c*) *Spondanus ad ann.* 1547. *n.* 22.

(*d*) *History of Heresy, Book* 17. *p.* 64.

(*G*) *His flight made the Pope very uneasy.*] He was so far incensed that he had once a Mind to display his Wrath upon the whole Order of the Capuchins; he would fain have abolished that Order, and 'twas with difficulty that he was appeased, even when he knew it was *Ochinus*'s Personal Fault. (*c*) *Cujus apostasia adeo animum Pontificis perculsus est, ut de extinguendo universo Ordine tractaverit, vixque placari potuerit cognita Ordinis innocentia.* Mr. *Varillas* (*d*) can't believe this, as taking *Paul* III. to have been *a better Politician than to give* Ochinus *the occasion of boasting that the Catholicks had such a regard to him, as to revenge upon the whole Order the loss they sustain'd in his Person.* This Author's Incredulity is more excusable than the Liberty he has taken of paraphrasing *Spondanus*; for we can't doubt but he had that Original before him, when he spoke of *Ochinus*. Do but reflect upon *Spondanus*'s Words that we have cited but now: Can any one find there that the Pope's Anger was occasion'd by *Ochinus*'s Impudence in putting into his Writings *the greatest Affronts imaginable upon the Religion he had renounced, and the most virulent Reflections upon the Holy See in general, and the Person of* Paul III. *in particular?* And yet Mr. *Varillas* has found all these things in them. I do not deny that *Spondanus* observes (*e*) that this Monk's Apology was full of Outrages against the Holy See and the Catholick Church.

(*e*) *I quote his Words in the Remark Q at the Letter m.*

(*H*) *And retired to* Strasburg.] We have here to do with an Historian that's as unexact as *Spondanus*; I mean Father *Maimbourg*. He says (*f*), that *Ochinus* being expell'd from *England*, deserted *Peter Martyr*, and retired to *Poland*, to have the Liberty of professing *Arianism*. 'Twas there, says he, *that he compiled his Dialogues, stuff'd with a thousand execrable Blasphemies against Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost: But having had the Impudence to preach up Polygamy, and to dedicate a Book in Vindication of it to King* Sigismund Augustus, *he was forced to leave* Poland, *the People there being incensed against him. Ochinus* continued in *Switzerland* ten Years after his Return from *England*, and would gladly have ended his Days there, if they would have suffered him to stay, and accepted the Retractation he offered: Which shews, that the free profession of *Arianism* in *Poland* was not much in his View. This Author's second Fault consists in going further than he ought to do, in characterising the Errors with which *Ochinus*'s Dialogues are strewed. In fine, he knew not that this Book of Polygamy was written before his Journey to *Poland*. I doubt much whether *Ochinus* dedicated any Treatise upon that Subject to King *Sigismund*. The Bishop of *Amelia* would not have forgot such a notable Circumstance; the *Socinians* would not have known so little of the Matter; they know nothing of that Book, but what they read in (*g*) *Bzovius*, that *Ochinus* wrote it in *Poland*, and dedicated it to the King. I say once more, I make no doubt but *Bzovius* is a Liar upon that Head; and I do not believe that *Ochinus* ever preach'd up *Polygamy*. If I mistake not he contented himself with writing his Thoughts of it; and if he had preach'd that Doctrine in *Poland*, the Bishop of *Amelia*, who was then upon the place, must needs have known it, and would certainly have publish'd it.

(*f*) *Maimbourg Hist. of Arianism, Tom.* 3. *p.* 358. Dutch *Edition.*

(*g*) Liber de Polygamia in Polonia conscriptus, & Sigismundo II. Regi Poloniæ dedicatus teste Bzovio sub an. 1542. *n.* 3. *Bibliothec. Anti-Trin. pag.* 5.

(*I*) Ochinus *was at* Basil *in* 1555.] This appears by the Letters of *Olympia Fulvia Morata*. *Salutem dicmea verbis tuæ familiæ & D. Bernardino Ochino quem in Christo valde diligo.* This is the Conclusion of a Letter she wrote from *Heidelberg* to *Curio*, *May.* 7. 1555 (*h*). *Curio* liv'd at *Basil*, and writ her an Answer, dated the 26th of next *August*, in which he acquaints her that he had delivered her Commission. (*i*) *Tuo nomine salutavi.... Bernardinum Ochinum fratrem Doctissimum & Sanctissimum.* In another Letter we read: (*k*) *Audio Bernardinum Ochinum Senensem virum sincere Christianum ex Anglia Genevam profugisse.* This Letter is not dated in 1555, as they would have it in the *Bibliotheca* of the *Unitarians* (*l*), but in 1554.

(*h*) *Lib.* 2 *p. m.* 168. *The Date of the Year is not there; but Curio's Answer is dated Aug.* 26. 1555. *shews, that I have added the right Year.*

(*i*) *Curio, ibid. pag.* 159.

(*k*) *pag.* 178.

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(*K*) *Among other Errors that of Polygamy.*] This Work contains thirty Dialogues, the first of which is, that which treats of Polygamy. *Ochinus* wrote and publish'd them in *Italian*, and *Castalio* put 'em into *Latin*, and so printed 'em at *Basil* in 1563. Some of the Senators of *Zurich*, being inform'd by Letters from foreign Countries, that *Ochinus* had publish'd a bad

immediately; and reſolved to take into Conſideration another time the Dialogues themſelves, and the diſhonour he had done their City, in cauſing them to be printed there †. *Andreas Dudithius* complain'd (*L*) to *Theodorus Beza* of their Severity to the old Man, whom they forced in the 76th Year of his (*M*) Age to go and ſeek for Shelter in the hardeſt Seaſon of the Year. He retired to *Poland*, but the Nuncio *Commendon* quickly obliged him to depart that Kingdom, by Vertue of an Edict granted him againſt all foreign Hereticks, who thereupon retired to divers Places. *Ochinus* retired to *Moravia*, and died there ſoon after the Plague, as well as his (*N*) Wife, his

† *Id. ib. fol.* 38. *verſo &* 39.

(*m*) Quod dialogum de polygamia attinet, diſputari in utramque partem, ſed ita ut facile appareat quonam ipſe inclinet, præſertim cum ita concludat, & moneat eum qui plures ducere volebat, ut ſi non poſſit ſe continere & una contentus eſſe, ſequatur inſtinctum ſpiritus in hac re. *Simlerus in vita Bullingeri fol.* 39.

COMPARISON of *Dudithius*'s Objection, with the Anſwer of *Theodorus Beza*.

(*n*) *Id. ib.*

(*o*) *Would they talk after this Rate of that Book, if 'twere ſuch as Father* Maimbourg *repreſents it, who, undoubtedly never ſaw it? See the Remark P, at the end.*

(*a*) *Beza Epiſt. prima Oper. Tom.* 3. *pag.* 190.

(*b*) Delatus ad Magiſtratum, pro e) quod ſeveram pœnam pio tantis ſceleribus meretur, non ſane indicta cauſa (quod qui dicuſt magnam juſto & pio Magiſtratui injuriam faciunt) ſed non ad vivum reſectis omnibus ut cum illo quam clementiſſime ageretur, juſſus eſt è Tigurinorum agro faceſſere. *Beza ibid.* (*c*) At hyems erat: nempe longa fuit non unius integri diei via. *Ibid.* (*d*) At ſenex erat: tanto nocentior veterator. *Ibid.*

Book containing Heretical Doctrines, particularly that of Polygamy: The Senate thereupon ſent for the Miniſters, who declared, that, when they heard that *Ochinus* had ſome Works in the Preſs, which he had better have ſuppreſs'd, they went and exhorted him to be mindful of the Promiſe he had made not to publiſh any thing without the approbation of the Synod. They added, 1ſt. That as ſoon as they knew his Book was actually printed, they charged him with a Contempt of their Remonſtrance; 2. That he pleaded by way of Excuſe that his Book was gone to the Preſs before their firſt Admonition; 3. That, though (*m*) he argues *pro* and *con* upon the Subject of Polygamy, 'tis plain he approves of it: 4. That they had received Letters, complaining of his other Dialogues, and were about a ſtrict Examination of the whole Piece. They exhorted the Author in a particular manner, both before and after the Sentence of the Senate, to give an Orthodox turn to his Sentiments; but they could not prevail with him. The Sentence was this. (*n*) *Quoniam Ochinus contra Leges & Edicta Magiſtratuum librum publicaſſet quem* (*o*) *ſatius erat ſupprimi, & cujus nomine Eccleſia & Reſpublica male audit, ideo ſe velle & jubere ut quam primum ex urbe & agro Tigurino diſcedat.*

(*L*) Andreas Dudithius *complain'd .... of their Severity to the old Man.*] Since this is not a Book of Controverſy, I hope 'twill not be taken amiſs, if I ſay that *Beza* does not give a fair down-right Anſwer to *Dudithius*: He plays only upon Turns of Wit, and indeavonrs to throw Duſt in his Eyes. *Ochinum præterea narras inditâ cauſa, hyeme acri, decurſa jam ætate ſenem cum uxore & liberis Tiguro ejectum.* Thus it is that *Beza* (*a*) repeats the Objection, which renders the Sentence of *Zurich* odious upon three Points; 1. Becauſe the Cauſe was not tried; 2. Becauſe no regard was had to the Rigour of the Seaſon; and, 3. Upon the Score of their having expoſed to the Inconveniences of the Winter a Man loaded with Years, and with a Family. Upon the firſt Head *Beza* makes Anſwer (*b*), that 'tis a falſe and ſcandalous Reflection upon a juſt and pious Senate, to offer to ſay, that *Ochinus*'s Cauſe was not tried: That, 'tis true, they did not narrowly examin every thing; but that was the effect of their great Clemency. Upon the ſecond he anſwers, that (*c*) *Ochinus* had not a Day's Journey to travel; and upon the third (*d*), that the more he was in Years, the more Criminal he was; and beſides that his Wife was dead. Now the firſt Anſwer is very lame; for 'tis certain the Senate of *Zurich* condemn'd *Ochinus*, not only without hearing him, but without ordering a Review of his Dialogues. The Miniſters, queſtion'd by the Senate, were poſitive upon nothing but the Head of Polygamy; they ſaid in general, they had received Letters, complaining of his Dialogues, and promis'd to take a deliberate Survey of 'em: But what did the Senate in the mean time? Why, they injoyn d *Ochinus* to depart the City, and the Canton forthwith. *Simlerus*, who being a *Zurich* Profeſſor, was more intereſted than *Theodorus Beza*, in having the caſe ſmoothly repreſented, relates the Thing exactly as I have done. To ſay, that, if every thing was not canvaſſed narrowly, 'twas the effect of a very great Clemency, is an idle Subterfuge that all the Judges in the World may equally make uſe of, when they condemn Parties without giving them a Hearing. Nor is the third Anſwer better than the firſt. It runs counter to common Senſe, and the general Practice of Mankind. Regard is had to Age, even in Criminal Caſes: If two Men be ſentenc'd to be tortur'd, one of ſeventy, the other of forty Years of Age, the Sentence will be milder to the former than to the latter: So that *Ochinus*'s great Age did not at all juſtify, but expoſed the Sentence very much. And if *Beza* had employed his Wit to the right uſe, he had own'd *Dudithius*'s Plea of Age, and made Anſwer, that in effect the Magiſtrates of *Zurich* had a regard to *Ochinus*'s Years, in only baniſhing him; which would not have ſerv'd, if he had been a young Man. This he ought to have anſwered, and not to have offer'd that the more aged Hereticks are, the more unworthy they are of the Clemency of Judges. The ſecond Anſwer is not ſincere; for it ſuppoſes that all *Ochinus*'s Trouble conſiſted in travelling five or ſix Leagues. That Pretence might have gone down, if he could have found a Retreat in the Neighbourhood; but we know that he could not obtain leave to paſs the Winter there. *Beza* knew this very well; he knew that *Dudithius* could have inforced this Objection by the Uſage *Ochinus* met with at *Baſil*. So that upon the whole we can't take his Anſwer to *Dudithius* to be fair and good. *Dudithius*'s Deſign was only to tax the Proteſtants beyond the *Rhine* with Severity to their Hereticks: And among other Inſtances he brings that of the City of *Zurich* to *Ochinus*, in baniſhing him in the middle of the Winter. The Anſwer given, is, that his Exile expoſed him only to the fatigue of travelling five or ſix Leagues. Why then *Ochinus* muſt have found a Sanctuary at the end of the five or ſix Leagues; for if inſtead of a Retreat there, he found a good Proteſtant Senate to expell him, *Dudithius*'s Objection taken from the Seaſon of the Year, remains in full force, with reference to his Aim, which was to ſhew, that *Ochinus* is a ſignal Inſtance of the ſevere Temper of the *Evangelici*. 'Tis morally impoſſible, but that *Beza* muſt have known all this; and yet he choſe rather to give ſuch an Anſwer, than to ſay nothing. He took care not to ſeem to know any thing of what was done at *Baſil* (*e*): The ſmall extent of the Canton of *Zurich* furniſh'd him with a Spark of Fire, a Stricture of Wit; and he made uſe of it, in hopes, no doubt, to dazzle his Readers with it.

(*M*) *In the 76th Year of his Age.*] *Peter Perna* aſſures us of it in his Letter to *Czechovicius*. This Letter I never read, but have ſeen it quoted (*f*). If this be true, *Gratiani* muſt be miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Ochinus* turn'd Heretick at 60 Years of Age; *Without conſidering*, ſays he (*g*), *either his Age or his Profeſſion, or his Vow of Continence, being a Prieſt, a Capuchin and ſixty Years of Age, he married a young Girl. Ochinus* left his Cloiſter, and retired to *Geneva* in 1542; at which time he was not ſixty, but about fifty-five Years of Age, if it be true that he was but ſeventy ſix in 1563, when he was baniſh'd *Zurich*.

(*N*) *And died .... of the Plague, as well as his Wife .... if we credit the Hiſtory of Cardinal* Commendon.] I put in this Caution, upon the conſideration that he's miſtaken as to his Wife. *Ochinus* was a Widower when he was baniſh'd *Zurich*; and 'tis by no means probable that he married again. 'Tis *Theodorus Beza* that informs me of his being a Widower; nay, he dives into the impenetrable Stroakes of Providence, and aſſures us, in a Theological Style, that the Divine Juſtice purſuing that Wretch in his Family, before his Impiety was laid open, his Wife broke her Neck. Part of *Dudithius*'s Objection, is, *At uxorem & liberos habebat*; to which *Beza* anſwers thus; (*h*) *De uxore falſum eſt, quod ex bono Alcisto ſive quovis alio cognoviſti. Fregerat enim collum horrendo Dei judicio domi impium ſenem perſequente, priuſquam foras produ&um eſſet ipſius ſcelus. Staniſlaus Lubienietski* (*i*) gives the following Account of the latter part of *Ochinus*'s Life. *Ochinus* retired into *Moravia*, and into *Poland*, where he was ſtill within reach of *John Calvin*'s Letters. He return'd from *Poland* to *Moravia*, upon the Edict of King *Sigiſmund*, who in 1564 baniſhed all thoſe that were called Trithei, Arians, &c.

(*e*) *I mean the baniſhing of* Ochinus, *for he own, that the Tenets of this Heretick were condemn'd there.* Baſileam igitur venit, ubi quum itidem ſuos errores damnatos videret, tandem ad ſuos ſive Tritheitas, ſive Arianos, ſive Samoſatenianos ſe contulit. *Would not one be apt to gather from theſe Words that he left* Baſil *of his own accord? And yet he was ordered to depart that City. Can the ſuppreſſing of this Matter of Fact be fair or ſincere?*

(*f*) Anno 1563. natus annos 76. (teſte Petro Perna in epiſtola ad Czechovicium) à Tigurinis pulſus eſt. *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar. p.* 3.

(*g*) *Life of Cardinal* Commendon, *pag.* 208.

(*h*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) *Hiſt. Reformat. Polonicæ, lib.* 2. *c.* 4. *pag.* 110. *See likewiſe* Ludzinius, *Hiſtor. Eccleſiar. Polonicar. MS. cap.* 26. *apud Biblioth. Anti-Trin. pag.* 3.

his two Sons and his † Daughter, if we believe the Hiſtory of Cardinal *Commendon*. The Circumſtances of his Death (O) are variouſly related, and Authors are not agreed upon the Hereſies he embraced after his Departure from *Switzerland*. Some ſay, that after preaching openly the Hereſy of *Macedonius* *, he turn'd Anabaptiſt: Others ſay in general, that he attack'd the Myſtery of the Trinity, and the *Anti-Trinitarians* have him in the Liſt of their Authors. He Writ (P) ſeveral Books; a Liſt of which is inſerted in their *Bibliotheca*: But they have forgot to put into that Liſt his Apology (Q) for changing his Religion, which he inſcrib'd to the Pope; and which is full of things altogether injurious to Popery. This Piece met with an Anſwer. His publick acknowledgement is remarkable: He confeſs'd † in a Preface, that

† *The Life of Cardinal Commendon by Antonius Maria Graſſani. l. 2. c. 9.*

* In Poloniam cum perveniſſet dicitur palam illic oppugnaſſe hypoſtaſim Spiritus Sancti. Sed nec illic ei diutius conſiſtere licuit. Quare ſe in Moraviam ad Anabaptiſtarum conventicula recepit, & illic obiit. *Simlerus ib. fol. 40.*

† Non diſſimulans manere ſe voluiſſe, modo Chriſtum, etſi occultius & veluti obvelatum, prædicare ſibi licuiſſet. *In the Preface to the Sermons he had preached in* Italy, *which were printed in* Germany *in* 1545. *See* Seckendorff *in Supplementis indicis* 1. *Hiſtor. Lutheran.*

ans, *&c.* Some Gentlemen indeavour'd to perſwade *Ochinus* to ſtay; but he replied to 'em, that he was bound to obey the Magiſtrates, and would obey them, even if he were reduced to the neceſſity of dying among the Wolves in the Woods. While he was on the Road, he was ſeized with the Plague at *Pinczow*; where he met with many charitable Offices from one of the Brethren, call'd *Philippovius*. His two Sons (*k*) and his Daughter died of the Plague; but he recovered, and continuing his Journey towards *Moravia* died three Weeks after at (*l*) *Slavonia*. Theſe are all the Circumſtances we have from *Lubienietzki*. I can't find in any good Author that *Ochinus* was ever in *Tranſylvania*: For Father *Maimbourg*, who affirms that he was, is not an authentick Evidence for that. *He was forced*, ſays he (*m*), *to quit* Poland.... *and after wandring ſome time in* Tranſylvania, *he retir'd at laſt, oppreſs'd with Calamity and Poverty, to a Village where he died of the Plague; every body having forſaken him.* Some quote the Biſhop of *Amelia*, who ſpeaks neither of that Poverty, nor of his being forſaken by all; but on the contrary aſſures us (*n*), that he died in one of his old Friend's Houſes. He left a conſiderable Eſtate to his Heirs, if we believe *Theodorus Beza*. (*o*) *Ochinus.... familia non mediocri ſumptu circumducta tandem obiit, tam inops & egens ſcilicet, cui nec petere nec accipere unquam Religio fuerat, ut plus ſane reliquerit hæredibus quam bona collegii noſtri pars poſſideat.* This is the laſt thing he has at him in his Anſwer to *Dudithius*: He never was aſhamed either to ask or receive, and by that means ſcraped together a great deal of Money.

(*k*) Gratiani *ſays, on the contrary,* his 2 Daughters and his Son.

(*l*) *As I take it, we ought to read* Slaucovia.

(*m*) *Hiſtory of Arianiſm, Tom.* 3. *pag.* 352.

(*n*) *Hiſtory of Cardinal* Commendon, *pag.* 213.

(*o*) Beza *in his Epiſtle to* Dudithius, *ubi ſupra.*

(*p*) Eum tamen immenſa Dei benignitate ante mortem reſipuiſſe, & hæreſes abjuraſſe, ac peccata ritu Catholico confeſſum eſſe, denique vere pœnitentem obiiſſe, Annales Capucinorum multis diverſorum teſtimoniis affirmant. *Spondanus ad ann.* 1547. *n.* 22. He quotes the Annals of the Capuchins, ad ann. 1543. *See the Remark AA.*

(*a*) Moreri *is one of 'em.*

(*b*) Intituled, Judæ poſteri, apoſtatæ à religioſis ordinibus.

(*c*) *Such is the Date he gives to the Annals of the Capuchins, compoſed by* Boverius.

(*d*) *Ex Theoph. Raynaudo ſyntagm. de libris propriis, n.* 23. *pag.* 42. *Apoppompai. See the Remark AA hereafter.*

(*e*) *Which were tranſlated out of* Italian *into* High-Dutch, *by* Chriſtopher Wirſungus.

(O) The Circumſtances of his Death are variouſly related.] Of this you have divers Proofs in the foregoing Remark. The Annals (*p*) of the Capuchins affirm, that he died a good Catholick. And on the other hand, others (*a*) make him die, not only *abandon'd by every body, and in extream Miſery*, but likewiſe *an Atheiſt*.

THEOPHILUS Raynaud tells us that ſome were mightily offended at him for writing, that *Ochinus* died miſerably in the Communion of the *Arian* Hereticks, and not a Martyr at *Geneva*, repenting of his Apoſtacy. Theſe People, thus offended, complain'd to *John de Montecalier*, General of the Capuchins. Upon which that General perus'd (*b*) *Raynaud*'s Book, but met with nothing that to his Mind deſerved Cenſure. This is an Inſtance of the extravagant humour of the Capuchins. They're angry if any one will not believe, that *Bernardin Ochinus* had a Mind to return to their Order, and that he was put to Death for that Reaſon. The Author, of whom they complain'd to their General, obſerves, that in relating the unfortunate Exit of this Heretick, he followed the Narration of *Andreas Friſius*, and that the ſame Account of *Ochinus*'s Death is given by *Toſſinian* in the ſecond Book of his Seraphick Hiſtory, by *Artus* of *Munſter* in the Martyrology of the Franciſcans, under the Head of *January* 4, Paragraph 3, and in General by all the Writers that lived before (*c*) the Year 1630 (*d*).

(P) He Writ ſeveral Books; a Liſt of which.] He publiſh'd ſix Volumes of Sermons in *Italian*; an Expoſition of the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*; a Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*; a Treatiſe *de Cœna Domini contra Joachimum Weſtphalum*; *Labyrinthi de prædeſtinatione & libero arbitrio*; Some Apologues (*e*); a Dialogue about Purgatory, *&c.* I don't believe he did any thing in *Latin*; he compiled all his Works in *Italian*, and then found Tranſlators for 'em. 'Tis not above one Day ſince I run over his *Labyrinths* tranſlated into *Latin*; and they ſeem'd to me to ſpeak a clear and penetrating Head. There *Ochinus* ſhews, with great ſtrength of Argument, that thoſe who ſtand up for free Will in the Actions of Men, involve themſelves in four great Difficulties; and that thoſe who make Man a neceſſary Agent are equally gravel'd with other four as great Difficulties: So that he forms eight Labyrinths, four againſt Free-will, and four againſt Neceſſity. He turns and winds all ways imaginable in order to find an Out-let, and finding none, he concludes every time with a fervent Prayer to God, that he would be pleaſed to deliver him from thoſe Abyſſes. However, in the Sequel of the Work, he attempts to furniſh Out-lets from this Priſon; but he concludes, that the only way is to ſay with *Socrates*, *unum ſcio quod nihil ſcio*. We muſt be ſilent, ſays he, and perceive, that in points of that Nature, God requires of us, neither the Affirmative, nor the Negative. The Title of his laſt Chapter is this: *Qua via ex omnibus ſupradictis Labyrinthis cito exiri poſſit, quæ docta ignorantiæ via vocatur.* D'Aubigne mentions a Book of *Ochinus*, which he repreſents as a very curious Piece. His Words are theſe: (*f*) *Firſt, that the Service ſhould be in* French, *provided ſome Jeſts were taken out, that would ſet the People a laughing; as to begin the Maſs by an, &, and other Abſurdities, which are handſomely and ſubtilely written by* Bernard Ochinus *in his Treatiſe* della Nativita della Miſſa: *As for the Ornaments, that the moſt ridiculous ſhould be laid aſide; and as for the reſt, it ſhould be anſwered, ſays* Ochinus, *that 'tis the Lord's Supper diſguiſed, which turn'd a Nun*, per Parer più Santa. To ſpeak properly, I fancy he ought to have ſaid not *Treatiſe* but *Sermon della Nativita della Miſſa*; for in running over *Ochinus*'s twelve Sermons (*g*) upon the Lords-Supper, I find the Title of the 7th runs thus, *Miſſæ tragœdia, ac primum quomodo concepta, nata, baptizata fuerit.* The Title of the 8th is, *Quemadmodum nutrita educataque fuerit Miſſa, adoleveritque, & ornata ditataque ad ſummam dignitatem præſtantiamque pervenerit.* The Title of the 9th is, *Miſſæ accuſatio ejuſdemque reſponſio, & adverſus eam acta.* The Title of the 10th is, *Sententia a Deo contra Miſſam lata.* This Dramatick way of preaching ſavours too much of the Genius of the *Italians*. *Sleidan* obſerves, that in 1549 there was publiſhed a bloody Satyr againſt *Paul* III. which was not compos'd by *Ochinus*, tho' his Name was put to it. He gives the Particulars of it: (*h*) *Prius quam decederet libellus exiit Italicus vehemens in illum atque gravis, titulo quidem Bernardini Ochini, ſed ab aliis, ut creditur, compoſitus cum præfatione ad Aſcanium Columnam quem ille profligarat.* I ſpoke above of the thirty Dialogues that were the Cauſe of *Ochinus*'s Baniſhment: but here I muſt add, that Mr. *Simon* ſpeaks of 'em very (*i*) much to the purpoſe. He owns, that the Author does not openly declare his Anti-trinitarian Hereſies: (*k*) *He does not there declare himſelf altogether an Unitarian; he only brings in the Reaſons* pro *and* con.... In the Dialogue of the Trinity *he muſters up at length the Arguments of the Catholicks and of the Antitrinitarians; thoſe of the latter he puts very cloſe under pretence of anſwering them.* Bullinger aſſures us (*l*), that theſe Dialogues were burnt in a conſiderable City.

(Q) His Apology for changing his Religion.] One of the Continuators of *Baronius* (*m*) ſpeaks of it thus: *Genevam appulſus apologiam de fuga ſua ad Pontificem ſcripſit, maledicentiis & calumniis in ſedem Apoſtolicam & Eccleſiam Catholicam Rom. refertiſſimam.* Cardinal *John Peter Caraffa*, who was afterwards Pope by the Name of *Paul* IV. wrote an Anſwer to *Ochinus*, which was inſerted in the Hiſtory of the *Theatins*. *Contra Ochini apologiam nonnulli ſtylum acu-*

(*f*) *Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy. B.* 2. *c.* 2. *p.* 390, 391 *See likewiſe c.* 6. *of the* 1ſt. *Book p.* 346.

(*g*) *Tranſlated into* Latin, *and printed at* Baſil, *with the Labyrinths of the ſame Author.*

(*h*) *Sleidan. Hiſt. lib.* 21. *fol. m.* 602 *verſo.*

(*i*) *He is miſtaken in dating* Ochinus's *Vocation to* Zurich *from the Year* 1562, *and in attributing the Life of* Bullinger *to* Melchior Adamus; *for that Life was written by* Josias Simlerus. (*k*) *Simon Hiſtoire Critique des Commentat. du Nouv. Teſtam. ch.* 55. *p.* 831.

(*l*) *Apud Bozhorn. Hiſtor. Univerſ. pag.* 74. *ad ann.* 1552. (*m*) *Spond. ad ann.* 1547. *n.* 22.

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that if he could have continued to preach the Truth, as he had done for some time, without the hazard of his Life, he would never have quitted the Habit of his Order; but that finding he had not Courage ‡ enough to expose himself to Martyrdom, he fled to the Protestants. They're mistaken, who assure us he was the (R) Author of the Book *de tribus impostoribus*. 'Tis said he promis'd (S) to Cardinal *de Lorraine* to convict the Protestants of two dozen of Errors. I find that Authors have oftentimes (T) run too much upon Extreams in what relates to *Ochinus*. Mr. *Varillas* tells (V) several

‡ Cum se ad mortem sponte obeundam non satis firmum esse deprehenderet. *In eadem Præfatione.*

erunt; inter quos Joannes Petrus Caraffa Cardinalis Theatinus, qui deinde fuit Paulus Papa IV. paraneticam egregiam scripsit epistolam, quam Joannes Baptista Acerrarum Episcopus Historia Theatinorum inseruit (n).

(n) *Id. ib.* See likewise Varillas *his History of Heresy, Book 17. p. m. 64*

(R) *The Author of the Book* de tribus impostoribus.] He who wrote the Notes upon the *Religio Medici* do's not affirm it; he only doubts of it, (o) *nescio an Bernardinus Ochinus ... an alius hujus auctor sit. Micralius* (p) goes no further; but *Scavenius* affirms it. See what *Rhodius* says upon this Head, (q) towards the end of *Placcius*'s Book *de scriptoribus anonymis*. Among other things he declares he do's not know that ever any Objection was raised against the other twenty-nine Dialogues of *Ochinus*. Now, 'tis strange such a learned Man should say so, since I have (r) given above several Instances of Fact which evince the contrary.

(o) *In Sect. 19. p. m. 126.*

(p) *Syntagm. Hist. Eccles. p. m. 863.*

(q) *Pag. 33.*

(r) *See the Remark F, H and K.*

(S) *He promised to Cardinal* de Lorraine.] The Matter of Fact, as we have it from *Simlerus*, (f) is this. *Ochinus* met the Cardinal upon the Road to *Schaffhousen*, and told him he was so unhappy as to be banish'd for a Book, which he had Writ with intent to vindicate thirty difficult Points of the Reform'd Religion from the Objections of the Adversaries. He presented the Cardinal with some Copies of his Dialogues, and pray'd him to read 'em. *We shall consider 'em*, (replied the Cardinal,) *and if they don't please us, we'll throw 'em into the Fire. Ochinus* added, that he would engage to convict the Reformed Churches of twenty four Errors. *Throw twenty of 'em aside*, replied the Cardinal, *and the Remainder will be but too many. Beza* relates the same thing, and gives it in for a Certainty; but he makes the number of false Doctrines that *Ochinus* promis'd to refute, to be much larger. This Cardinal despis'd a Monk who relaps'd so often to Apostacy. *Vix Basilea egresso (quod nario scito me non ut rumorem incertum, sed ut certam historiam narrare) occurrit Lotharingus Cardinalis ex Italia rediens, cui sese operamque suam omnem obtulit, pollicitus sese centum errores istorum inter quos tamdiu hæsisset hæreticorum demonstraturum. Sprevit hominem toties apostatam Cardinalis (a).*

(f) *Beza ubi supra, fol. 40.*

(a) *Beza ubi supra.*

(T) *Have oftentimes run too much upon Extreams in what relates to* Ochinus.] Over and above what I've hinted in other (b) Remarks, I shall add here, that his Doctrine is not faithfully represented, when with *Gratiani* 'tis alledged, that *he indeavour'd to prove by Examples, and by Reasons taken from Scripture and Politicks, that 'twas proper every one should endeavour to people the World and beget a numerous Family; and that 'tis not only allowable, but a Duty incumbent upon Christians to marry as many Wives as they please* (c). If you read the beginning of his Dialogue *de Polygamia*, you'll find the State of the Question to be this. *A Man that wishes for Children, and is married to a barren Woman that he can't like, may he marry another Wife without a Divorce from the first? Ochinus* supposes himself consulted upon this Case of Conscience, and takes the Negative side: And, after putting into the Mouth of the Person, who consults him, the most plausible Arguments for a plurality of Wives, and faintly giving some pretty good Answers, concludes with advising him to have recourse to Prayer; and assuring him, that, if he prays with Faith to God for the Gift of Continence, he will obtain it; and in fine, by representing to him, that, if God does not grant him Continence, nor the Faith that's necessary for asking it with Success he may, without Sin, follow the Instinct which he will certainly know to come from God. Now, do's this amount to a positive Assertion, that the Gospel commands *Christians to marry as many Wives as they please?* Questionless *Ochinus* is in an Error, and introduces Enthusiasm; but still we must do justice to all the World, and own that there's a great deal of Unfairness in the Writings that mention his Doctrine.

(b) Remarks F *and* H.

(c) *Life of Cardinal* Commendon, *pag. 211.*

(V) *Mr.* Varillas *tells several Lies.*] To draw them up in distinct Articles.

I. I don't doubt but all his Narration of Quarrels between *Calvin* and *Ochinus* is a Romance that he has invented or stole: But I affirm that he's in an Error when he says (d), that at *Geneva* Ochinus *fell upon the Trinity, and renewed the Heresy of the* Arians.... *and that he publish'd upon that Subject an hundred abusive Invectives, in Libels composed by him in* Italian, *and translated by his Friends into* Latin. This I can demonstrate to be false: *Ochinus* left *Geneva* before 1547, as we are assured by the Words of *Sleidan* quoted above. *Calvin* speaks of him with Encomium's in a Book (e) he set forth in 1550. He was not therefore apprised of those horrible Heresies of *Ochinus*; and besides had an Ex-capuchin been known to adhere to Tritheism or Arianism, would he have been sent to *England* in 1547? But we need no other Proof against *Varillas* than the Passages of *Beza*, which testify, that *Ochinus* conceal'd for a long time the Heresies he intertain'd in his Breast, and that they were not discovered till the Impression of his Dialogues. Now this Impression was not before 1562. (f) *Sceleratus hypocrita Arianorum clandestinus fautor, polygamiæ defensor, omnium Christianæ religionis dogmatum impior, quum eo tandem audaciæ erupisset ut sua portenta in publicum ederet (justo sane Dei judicio ne* LATERE *diutius tantum malum posset) delatus ad Magistratum ... Jussus est è Tigurinorum agro facessere.* 'Tis with these Words that *Beza* begins his Answer to *Dudithius*'s Complaints. This Passage is a plain Evidence, that what *Ochinus* intertain'd in his Breast was not discovered till his Dialogues were printed. Another unexceptionable Proof of the same Fact, is the Continuance of (g) *Bullinger*'s Friendship to him till this Edition. *Beza* seldom mentions *Ochinus*, without taking notice that he was a long time a Hypocrite. (h) *Fuit etiam illis, sed* NIMIUM SERO *detectus, Bernardinus ille Ochinus, impurissimus hypocrita.* In relating that *Peter Martyr* made a Voyage to *England*, in 1547, and that *Ochinus* accompanied him, he adds (i) *Maximi prius in Italia nominis monachus & Capucinorum (quos vocant) ordinis auctor, idemque quod* MULTIS *demum* POST *annis patefecit, sceleratus hypocrita.*

(d) *Histor. of Heresy, Book 17. p. m. 65.*

(e) That de Scandalis.

(f) Beza *ubi supra.*

(g) *See his Life done by* Josias Simlerus, *fol. 28. verso. 39. verso.*

(h) *Epist. 81. Oper. Tom. 3. pag. 295.*

(i) *In Iconibus, in Petro Martyre.*

II. Another Fiction is this. (k) "'Tis strange "that *Calvin* contented himself with causing him to "be expell'd *Geneva*, and did not put him into the "Hands of Justice to be burut, as he since did *Ser-* "*vetus* for the same Crime." Mr. *Varillas* gives two or three Reasons for this unevenness in *Calvin*'s Conduct; and then adds, that Ochinus *was banished* Geneva *by the Magistrates, and retired to* Basil. *Varillas* must have had a great deal of leisure time upon his Hands, when he hunted after Reasons to justify a Chimera. He should first have proved the thing and then have look'd for the Causes of it. *Ochinus* was not banished *Geneva*, neither did he divulge his Heresies there.

(k) *Varillas ubi supra.*

III. *At* Basil (continues *Varillas*) *he would have suffered a long Persecution*, Calvin's *Friends having a great Interest there, if* Bucer, *who accommodated himself to all sorts of Heretics, had not procured to him from the Magistrates of* Strasburg, *the offer of a Divinity Chair, which he accepted. The same* Bucer *carried him and* Vermilii *along with him to* England. I have neither time, nor the necessary Books for gathering full Evidence against this Account of *Varillas*; but I assure my self that Men of Reason will be satisfied with *Sleidan*'s Silence. Would that famous Historian, who resided at *Strasburg*, have contented himself, speaking of *Peter Martyr*'s and *Ochinus*'s Voyage to *England*, to say (l) only, that the latter had retired first to *Geneva*, and then to *Augsburg*? Would not he have mention'd something of that Divinity-Chair, *the offer of which* Bucer is said to have *procur'd from the Magistrates of* Strasburg, and which *Ochinus* is said to have *accepted*? He do's not forget to acquaint us in express Terms, that *Peter Martyr* had been Professor in the same City. I have just now met with something that is yet more convincing. *Ochinus* (m) was at *Augsburg* in 1546, and preach'd there in *Italian*. As for *Bucer*'s carrying *Ochinus* and *Vermilli* with him to *England*, 'tis a Falshood; for *Bucer* did not go thither till 1549, whereas the other two went to *England* about the end of 1547.

(l) *Lib. 19. ad ann.* 1547.

(m) *See* Seckendorf. *Hist. of Lutheran. Book 3. p. 613.*

IV. *The Duke of* Somerset (n).... had no reason to *be pleas'd with their Conduct*.... Ochinus *went to*

(n) *Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 65.*

several Lies of this Ex-Capuchin. Mr. *Moreri* (X) has not always spoken justly of him. *Paleanius* * has great Encomiums upon this Monk.

In the first Edition of this Article I said nothing in opposition to *Florimond de Remond*. Yet he's a Writer that has not been exact upon the (Y) Head of *Ochinus*. 'Twas from him that *Bzovius* took the Remark, that this Monk's Wife (Z) was forced to turn Laundress for Bread. But he enriched himself more amply with the Spoils

* *Orat.* 8. *pag.* 91, 92. *edit.* 1696. *See likewise, pag.* 505.

ted under-hand his Notions upon the Mystery of the Trinity. This is said at Random; no Proof can be brought for it, neither is it consistent with the Elogium (o) that one of the warmest Anti-Papists in *England* gives of *Ochinus*.

(o) Deum immortalem, quales illi duo senes peregrini, quos in urbem vestram recepistis (he speaks to the Citizens of Zurich) Petrus Martyr & Bernardinus Ochinus? Quæ duo luminaria? quorum alterum si aliæ haberent Ecclesiæ, magno thesauro & ornamento ditatæ & beatæ viderentur. Felix Anglia dum hæc paria habuit, misera dum amisit. *Baleus Præfat. in Art. Nom. Pontific.*

(X) *Mr.* Moreri *has not always spoken justly of him.*] I. He is out in saying *Ochinus assumed the Monastick Habit among the Capuchins about* 1525 *or* 1526. He should have said 1534. II. 'Twas not in 1543, but in 1542 that *Ochinus* and *Martyr* forsook their Order. III. No Body that ever I heard of ever charged *Ochinus* with justifying Polygamy for his own private Concerns; or because *he was not satisfied with one Wife, and had a mind to marry other Women* IV. 'Tis a false Assertion, *that to justify his Libertinism and Incontinence, he gave out Polygamy to be lawful.* When he set forth his Dialogues he was a Widower (p) and 76 Years of Age. He had then no occasion to preach up Polygamy to gratify his own Passions. Being a Widower he might have married according to Law; and considering he was 76 Years of Age, one Woman would have given him more to do than he cared for. He ought to have sat down contented, and think himself a very extraordinary Man, if, at that Age, he was capable to Answer all the Demands of one Wife: So that 'tis without any manner of Judgment, and with a blind Ignorance of all the Circumstances, that *Moreri* gives out that this Man preach'd up that Doctrine, with intent to justify his Desire to have several Wives. 'Tis said of some loose Catuists, that they did not indulge their own Persons so much as those of others: And this we can affirm of some Authors that have maintain'd Polygamy. One (q) *Lyserus* sacrificed his Time, his Health, and his Life, to the Protection of that Doctrine; and yet had no occasion for a Plurality of Wives, it being generally believed that he would have had enough to do with one. We would be loth to say, that the Author of the *Lettres Pastorales* was of the same Mind with *Lyserus*: 'Tis sufficient to say, that his Morals are too loose upon that Head, and too favourable to Incontinence. I speak of the Morals he set forth, in endeavouring to excuse (r) the Reformers for allowing a Landgrave of *Hesse* to have two Wives at one time. Now, of all Ministers, perhaps this had the least personal occasion for Polygamy. V. 'Tis not true, that *Ochinus* made himself the *Head of those infamous Libertines, that go by the Name of Polygamites*: These People never form'd a Sect; and *Ochinus* left no Sect behind him no more than *Lyserus*. VI. 'Tis a false Assertion, that *Ochinus* retired from *Germany* to *Transylvania*, and yet falser, that he made that Retreat, because he *could not find means in* Germany *to satisfy his Ambition and Vanity.* When he was banish'd *Zurich*, he fled to *Basil*, which he was likewise forced to depart. And the same Usage would he have met with in all the Cities of the World where the Reform'd Clergy had any Interest; so that he had no choice left: His only Resource was to move towards *Poland*, and throw himself into the Arms of the Hereticks in that place of the World. If God has not been merciful to him, those who were so zealous in banishing him and promoting his Exile, are accountable for the lots of his Soul. VII. He should not have quoted *Prateolus V. Polig.* for in that part he says not a Word of *Ochinus*.

(p) See the Remark I. above.

(q) See the Nouv. de la Rep. des lettres, for April 1685 Article 2.

(r) See the Article Luther.

(Y) Florimond de Remond .... *has not been exact upon the Head of* Ochinus.] He says (a) this Monk quitted *Geneva*, and retir'd to *Zurich*, where he was soon after banish'd as well as at *Basil*; *of which* Dudithius *complains in his Letter* to Beza. This Man, adds he, being expell'd *Switzerland*, went from thence to *Germany*, and after that to *Poland*. *He wrote a Book of Polygamy, dedicated to King* Sigismund II. *That Doctrine he preach'd at* Cracow, *as the* Polish Reseius *informs us. Upon this all the female Sex in that Country, took the Alarm, as hot as the* Roman *Dames of old, when cheated by young* Papyrius. *Insomuch, that poor* Ochinus, *whom they charged with having left his Wife at* Geneva, *though indeed she had died of her fall, was constrained to fly the City, and retire to* Transylvania. *He publish'd some Dialogues, that have since appear'd in divers Languages.* Castalio *put 'em into* Latin. Now all this is rank with Anachronisms and Falsities; of which any one may be convinced by reading what I have said, either against *Spondanus* or against *Varillas*, or in opposition to all the other Copiers of *Florimond de Remond*, who is the general Magazine of the Roman Catholick Writers, that speak of the Reformers of the XVIth Century.

(a) Florim. de Remond. Hist. de l'Hereſie. Book 3. ch. 5. pag. m. 293, 294.

(Z) *That this Monk's Wife was .... Laundress.*] There's nothing that *Florimond de Remond* loves so much to banter as Monks Wives. Do but mind how he expresses himself upon the Subject now before us. *Their Arrival at* Zurich *and* Basil, says he (b), speaking of *Peter Martyr* and *Bernardin Ochinus, gave some ground of Suspicion. The People surprized to see these two Preachers, whose Names rung all over* Italy, *fear'd they might be sly* Sinons *that came to creep into their Cities, with intent to rear some treacherous Design, and to seduce the Souls. They were freed from this their Jealousy by* Bernardin Ochinus's *being accompanied with a handsome young* Italian *Girl, whom he had debauched under Promise of Marriage, and by his Habit; for he had exchanged his former hairy Garment for a Soldier's Dress. To enter into a strict and indissoluble Contract with Heresy, he contracted with that Girl, and married her. That's the* Gordian *Knot which ties to Heresy those whom the Transports of Pride and Lust do spew out of our Convents. This* Ochinus *sojourn'd some time at* Geneva, *with his Wife, who was soon after forced to earn her Bread by mean and abject Services; for neither one nor t'other had brought with them much Riches. This was Madam the Laundress.... (c)* Martyr *had brought along with him his Nun (d) to alleviate his Watchings and Fatigues. He had not done like* Ochinus, *who weary of his Laundress, had made away with her: For, though* Beza *says she broke her Neck, calling to witness* Alciatus, *that other* Arian *who did so much Mischief in* Poland, *it was not without the Suspicion of* Ochinus's *having accelerated her end, which they would not enquire narrowly into, because he had not yet declared himself an* Arian, *but behaved himself as a good Brother in Christ Jesus.* This is what *Florimond* has the Assurance to say, without the Allegation of any one Proof, great or small, and without any Quotation whatsoever; which saves me the trouble of any other Criticisms.

(b) *Id. ib. pag.* 293.

(c) *Id. ib. p.* 296, 297.

(d) *That is, when he went to* England.

Bzovius (e) has copied faithfully, and Word for Word almost six Pages of the History of *Peter Martyr* and *Bernardin Ochinus* out of † *Florimond de Remond.* He has not miss'd the Passage which (f) imports, *That* Martyr *was possess'd with the same Passion with* Luther, *fixing his Wishes upon these Nuns, pursuant to the custom of those who forsake their Monastick Habit: And accordingly he ever since sigh'd for these dowdy'd Lasses, who by the help of their Veils preserve the Beauty of their Complexion the better.* But what I wonder at, he has not copied this other Passage: Though *Peter Martyr* (g) "was already stricken in Years, yet not "being able to bridle the Flesh, he went to *Geneva* "to meet with a Nun, whom the same Passion had "drawn out of her Convent; namely, *Catherine Merand*, one that was recommended to him, and "whom according'ly he married. He would have none "else but the Spoil of Monasteries.... *Brentius* attack'd him very roughly; and *Martyr* nettled at "the boldness of *Brentius*, who had used him with "no great measure of Christianity, was preparing a "Reply, when worn out with the Offices he owed to "his new Nun, he sickened and died in the same "City of *Zurich*."

(e) Bzovius *Annal. tom.* 20. *p.* 81. *& seq. ad ann.* 1542. *He cites the Author, whom he copies.*

(f) Florimond de Remond, *ubi supra, pag.* 293.

(g) *Id. ib. pag.* 297.

If 'twas true that *Ochinus* pass'd the *Alps* with the Woman that was afterwards his Wife, we ought to judge charitably, that he only carried her along with him to *Switzerland*, because he was apprehensive she would not meet with an opportunity of getting out of *Italy* for he would have been very simple, and over provident, if he had thought it necessary to provide against the scarcity of Women in a Reformed Country. That Scarcity is not to be fear'd there more than in any other

Spoils of the Annaliſt of the Capuchins; from whom he borrows a long (*AA*) Narrative of the Apoſtacy and pretended Martyrdom of this Man we are now upon: Which is well worth our Conſideration.

OCTAVIA, Grand-Niece * of *Julius Cæſar*, and the Siſter of *Auguſtus*, was one of the moſt illuſtrious Ladies of ancient *Rome*. She was married firſt to *Claudius Marcellus*, who was Conſul in the 704 Year of *Rome*, and died not long after the *Peruſian* War. Soon after his Death ſhe married (*A*) *Mark Antony*, in purſuance of the deſire of both their Friends, † who look'd upon this Marriage as a proper Expedient to eſtabliſh and confirm the Peace that was juſt concluded between *Auguſtus* and *Mark Antony*. This virtuous Lady was very well qualified for producing ſo good an effect; but her Huſband was ſo wrapt up in *Cleopatra*, that nothing could oblige him to give ear to Reaſon. Before he fell to be a Slave to *Cleopatra*, his Lady's Counſels were very ſerviceable ‖. He left her in *Italy* θ, after an Interview with *Auguſtus* at *Tarentum*, *Anno* 717, and return'd to the Eaſt. Some time after ſhe took Journey, in order to meet him, and perceiving from his Letters to her that he wiſh'd ſhe would ſtop at *Athens*, ſhe accordingly ſtopt there, till ſhe ſaw plainly that he made a Fool of her: Upon which ſhe return'd to *Rome*, and would not ſtir out of her Husband's Houſe, which *Auguſtus* would have had her to do. She continued there, and took care of every thing, juſt as if ſhe had been perfectly well ſatisfied with her Huſband ϰ. To the Children of *Mark Antony* and *Fulvia* ſhe ſhewed the ſame Affection as before, and ſtill brought them up with equal Vigilance ʌ. She would not for any thing in the World have a Civil War to be rais'd upon the Affronts ϖ ſhe received from her Huſband; and from thence 'twas, that, when in Obedience to his Orders ſhe removed from his Houſe, ſhe melted into Tears ‡, only becauſe ſhe ſaw ſhe would be look'd upon as one of the occaſions of the War. By this her excellent Conduct ſhe ⸸ did her Husband much Harm

* *She was the Daughter of* Caius Octavius, *and of* Atia *the Daughter of* Atius Balbus *and* Julia *the Siſter of* Julius Cæſar.

† *Plut. in Antonio, pag.* 929.

‖ *See the Remark* A.

θ *Id. Plut.* 932.

ϰ *Id. ib. pag.* 940.

ʌ *Id. ib. pag.* 941.

ϖ *Id. ib. pag.* 940.

‡ *Id. ib. pag.* 942.

⸸ *See the Remark* B. *Letter b.*

(*b*) *Mind this date; 'twould prove that* Ochinus *was kill'd at* Geneva *in* 1557, *or thereabouts; and we can prove, that he was expell'd* Zurich *in* 1563.

(*i*) Quare mox illi arreptis pugionibus quos occultos geſtabant in lecto jacentem & manus ad Cœlos tendentem confodiunt. Alii vero cum Magiſtratus edicto extra Urbem raptatum, lapidibuſque obrutum fuiſſe tradunt. *Bzovius ad ann.* 1542. *n.* 68. *pag.* 96.

(*k*) *Beza in Iconib. in Petro Martyre.*

(*l*) *Bzovius ad ann.* 1542. *n.* 70. *& ſeq.*

(*m*) *Theoph. Raynaud in Syntagm. de libris propriis n.* 23. *p.* 42. *Apopompæi.*

(*n*) *That which he wrote to* Dudithius. *See the Remark* L.

(*AA*) *A long Narrative of the Apoſtacy, and pretended Martyrdom of* Ochinus: *Which is well worth our Conſideration.*] I ſhall here confine my ſelf to what relates to his Martyrdom. *Bzovius* repeating the very Words of *Zacharias Boverius*, the Author of the Annals of the Capuchins, acquaints us, that *Ochinus* continuing at *Geneva* tell ill, and was troubled with violent Remorſes, which obliged him to ſend privately for a Neighbouring Curate; to whom he confeſs'd his Sins, and deſired to be re-united to the Pale of the Catholick Church; as repenting of his Departure from it, and of his having preach'd Hereſy about (*b*) 15 Years. The Curate adminiſter'd to him the Sacrament of Repentance; and ſet forth that it behov'd him to give a publick Retractation of his Hereſies *Ochinus* promiſed to do it as ſoon as he recovered; or if he did not recover, to make a free Declaration of his Converſion to his Diſciples and Viſiters. Upon this Condition he was abſolved and reunited to the Church. He deſired to communicate; but the Prieſt finding it hazardous to carry the Viaticum to him, comforted him with theſe Words of St. *Auguſtin, crede & manducaſti, believe and you have eaten it.* The ſick Man quickly declared his Converſion to the Diſciples that came to ſee him, and earneſtly exhorted them to follow his Example in quitting the Hereſies he had taught 'em. They thought at firſt he was light headed; but finding afterwards that he was in earneſt, they gave notice of it to the Magiſtrates. The Magiſtrates injoyn'd them to obſerve whether he perſiſted in thoſe Sentiments, and if he did, to kill him. The Diſciples executed their Orders: For after hearing the five Diſcourſes (*i*) he made to 'em upon Repentance, they ſtabb'd him in the Bed. Others affirm, that, by Vertue of a Decree of the Magiſtrates, he was drag'd out of the City and ſtoned. The Annaliſt of the Capuchins calls in the Teſtimony of ſeven Perſons, whoſe Names and Stations he ſets down. The firſt of the ſeven is a Doge of *Venice*; and the reſt are Perſons conſiderable, either by Birth or by the Offices they bore in Monaſteries: But not one of 'em affirms any thing otherwiſe than upon Hear-ſay. To theſe Teſtimonies the Annaliſt adds, what *Theodorus Beza* own'd (*k*), that at laſt *Ochinus* ſhewed himſelf a great Hypocrite (*l*); but, as *Theophilus Raynaud* (*m*) has admirably well proved by a Letter (*n*) of *Theodorus Beza*'s, that Hypocriſy did not conſiſt in any return to Popery, but in adopting the Hereſy of the *Anti-Trinitarians*, &c. Pray take notice with how little Judgment the Monks compile the Chronicles of their Orders. There are unexceptionable Proofs that *Ochinus* fled to the Sectaries of *Poland*, and died in thoſe Countries; and yet the Capuchins do not ſcruple to publiſh, that he died a Roman Catholick Martyr at *Geneva*, and think it very ſtrange we ſhould doubt of it; as we have ſeen above (*o*).

(*o*) *In the Remark* O *Letter b.*

(*A*) *Soon after his Death ſhe married* Mark Antony.] The Roman Laws prohibited Widows to marry during the firſt ten Months of their Widowhood; but *Octavia* had a Diſpenſation from that Rule by a Decree of the Senate (*a*) This the Publick Good call'd for; for there was but too much reaſon to fear that *Mark Antony* and *Auguſtus* would quarrel for ever, and perpetuate the Civil War, unleſs Concord were kept up between 'em by ſome good Mediator; and no Expedient appear'd ſo proper to form this happy Mediation, as the Marriage of *Mark Antony* to *Octavia*. With this View the Marriage was haſtened, and they did not ſo much as ſtay till *Octavia* (*b*) was brought to Bed. They hoped for every thing from her Prudence and Beauty. (*c*) Τὴν μὲν πᾶσιν εἰσηγγύησε τὸν γάμον, ἐλπίζοντες τὴν Ὀκταβίαν, ἐπὶ κάλλει τε σωφροσύνῃ καὶ νοῦ μέγεθος, εἰς ταυτὸ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ παραγενομένην, καὶ συνέχειν δύνασθαι, ὡς εἰκὸς, τοιαύτην γυναῖκα, πάντων πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύγκρασιν. *Has Nuptias juſſerunt omnes, quod Octaviam ſperarent, quæ excellentiæ formæ gravitatem & prudentiam habebat adjunctam, ubi Antonio conjuncta eſſet, atque ut talis Femina haud dubiè ab eo adamata, omnium rerum ipſis ſalutem & concordiam allaturam.* This Marriage was in the Year (*d*) 714. Three Years after they ſaw the Accompliſhment of the Hopes they had conceived. *Auguſtus* waged War with the Son of *Pompey*, and wanted Succours from *Antony*. *Antony* came from the Eaſt to *Italy*, with a much greater intent to inform himſelf of the ſtate of Affairs, and to take advantage of this Juncture, than to ſecond *Auguſtus*. Their Correſpondence grew colder and colder every Day: They complain'd one of another, and their Jealouſies were like to run too high; but *Octavia* dexterouſly ſtruck in to reconcile them, and compaſs'd (*e*) her end. *Plutarch* relates this Hiſtory with many more Circumſtances than *Dion*. He ſets forth, that after theſe Triumviri had made Peace with *Pompey*'s Son, one ſtayed in *Italy*, and the other went to *Greece* with *Octavia* his Wife. He paſs'd the Winter with her at *Athens*; and being incenſed againſt *Auguſtus* by ſome ugly Rumours, ſet ſail for *Italy*; and being denied entrance into the Haven of *Brunduſium*, put into *Tarentum*; from whence he ſent *Octavia* to *Auguſtus*. The Lady met her Brother on the Road, and affected him in ſuch a moving manner, that he was appeas'd and went in good Humour to *Tarentum*. The Interview between the two Brothers in-Law was attended

(*a*) *Plut. in Anton. pag.* 929, 930.

(*b*) *Dion, lib.* 48. *p.* 429. *ad ann.* 714.

(*c*) *Plut. ibid. pag.* 929 F.

(*d*) 713 *according to* Calviſius.

(*e*) *See Dion, lib.* 49. *fub finem.*

With

Harm againſt her Will; for the People obſerving that he prefer'd ſuch a Woman (*B*) as *Cleopatra* to her, conceiv'd Indignation againſt him, and thought of him with the laſt degree of Contempt. This War, as every one knows, ended in the entire Ruin of *Mark Antony*. Fortune ſeem'd to promiſe *Octavia* the higheſt Pitch of humane Felicity. She had a very deſerving Son, who married *Auguſtus*'s Daughter, and was look'd upon as the preſumptive Heir of the Empire. But he died (*C*) in the Flower of his Age: which proved ſo ſevere a Blow to the Mother, that ſhe remain'd ever after diſconſolate (*D*); inſomuch that ſhe wrapp'd her ſelf up in Solitude, and ſpent the Remain-

with a thouſand Demonſtrations of Friendſhip. *Plutarch*'s Words are theſe: (*f*) Ἡ δὲ ἀπαλλάξασα καθ' ὁδὸν Καίσαρι, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικήνᾳ ἐνεπύγχανε, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὴν καὶ πολλὰ δ' ὁμοίαν μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ μεγαλοψυχίας γυναικὸς ἀδελφοῦ στέρεσθαι γενομένην. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέπειν, αὐτοκρατόρων δυοῖν, τὸν μὲν γυναῖκα, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὴν ἔσαν. Εἰ δὲ τὸ χεῖρον κρατήσειεν, (ἔφη) καὶ γένοιτο πόλεμος, ὑμῶν μὲν ἄδηλον ὅτῳ κρατεῖν ἢ κρατεῖσθαι πέφυκεν, τὸ ἐμὸν δὲ ἀμφοτέρως ἄθλιον. *Τούτοις ἐπικλασθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἦλθεν εἰρηνικῶς εἰς Τάραντα. Hæc occurrens Cæſari in itinere, adjunctis illius amicis Agrippa & Mæcenate, convenit eum. Multis autem oravit quæſtibus ne permitteret ex fortuniſſima fœmina miſerrimam ſe evadere. Nunc enim omnes mortales ait ſuſpicere ſe duorum Imperatorum alterius Conjugem alterius ſororem. Quod ſi deteriora conſilia, inquit, valuerint, & extiterit bellum: utri victrum, incertum eſt, in fatis ſit vincere an vinci; mea vero ſors utrinque erit miſera. His fractus Cæſar venit pacatus Tarentum.*

(*B*) *That he preferr'd ſuch a Woman as* Cleopatra *to her.*] Thoſe who had ſeen *Cleopatra* deplored *Mark Antony*'s Infatuation more than others, in regard they found her neither ſo young nor ſo handſome as *Octavia*. So that *Antony* ſhewed a great deal of Folly in not giving the preference to *Octavia*, who at the ſame time ſurpaſs'd the other infinitely in Virtue and Wiſdom. (*g*) Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὤκτιρεν ἐκείνην ἀλλ' Ἀντώνιον, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κλεοπάτραν ἑωρακότες, ὅτε καλλος τῆς Ὀκταβίας ὅτε ὥρᾳ διαφέρουσαν. *Populum vero Romanum miſerebat non ita illius, (Octaviæ) ut Antonii, atque impenſius eos qui Cleopatram viderant, neque forma Octaviæ neque ætatis flore præcellentem.* *Octavia*, without reſenting the Affronts put upon her, did all the good Offices ſhe could to her Husband's Children and Friends; and the eſteem that the People had for her thereupon did *Mark Antony* a great deal of Harm; inſomuch, that contrary to her Intention (*h*), that illuſtrious Lady expos'd him very much to the Hatred of the *Romans*. 'Tis likewiſe ſaid that *Auguſtus* conſented to *Octavia*'s Voyage to her Husband, in hopes that he would put ſome great Affront upon her; and he knew very well ſuch an Affront would paſs for a warrantable Ground of renewing the War. Add to this, that he did not doubt but ſhe would ſcrew up the Indignation of the People of *Rome* againſt *Mark Antony* to the full heighth. (*i*) Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ ζηλουμένης Ὀκταβίας πλεῦσαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἐπέτρεψε Καίσαρ, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν ἵνα ἐκείνῃ χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως περιφρονηθεῖσα καὶ καταμισηθεῖσα, πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ εὐπρεπῆ φάσκοι. *Rome inſtituenti ad Antonium navigare Octaviæ annuit Cæſar, non, ut plerique tradunt, quo illi indulgeret: verùm quo contumelia affecta deſpectaque colonem præberet bello movendo honeſtum.* Whatever good Opinion *Cleopatra* might have of her own Charms, ſhe was extremely apprehenſive of thoſe of *Octavia*; and for that reaſon had recourſe to the deepeſt Artifices to hinder *Mark Antony* from ſuffering her to come near him. (*k*) Αἰδομένη δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν Ὀκταβίαν ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ ζοφηθεῖσα μὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τὸ σεμνόπλοκον καὶ τὴν καίσαρος δυνάμει προσκτησαμένη τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν ὁμιλοῦν καὶ θεραπεῦον Ἀντώνιον, ἅμαχον γένηται, καὶ κρείττων παντάπασι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐρᾶν αὐτὴ προσεποιεῖτο τῆς Ἀντωνίου. *At Cleopatra conferre ſecum pedem animadvertens Octaviam, veritaque ne cum gravitate morum & Cæſaris potentia placidam adjungens conſuetudinem & Antonii obſervantiam, inſuperabilis eſſet & ſemel poteretur viro, deperire ſimulabat ſe Antonii amore.* She made her Spark believe that ſhe would die if he left her: She caus'd it to be repreſented to him, that 'twas enough for *Octavia* to be a lawful Wife, while *Cleopatra*, the Queen of ſo great a People, bore only the Name of his Concubine: A Name which ſhe would willingly brook (*l*), provided *Mark Antony*'s Abſence did not run her to Deſpair, and kill her. (*m*) Ὀκταβίαν μὲν . . τὸ τ' γαμεῖσθαι ἕτοιμα προφέρειν· Κλεοπάτραν δὲ, τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύουσαν, ἐρωμένην Ἀντωνίου καλεῖσθαι· καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦτο μὴ φεύγειν μηδ' ἀποξυοῦν ἕως ὀργὴν ἐκείνου ἔχῃ καὶ συζῇν, ἀπαλγουμένην δὲ τοῦτο μὴ περιιδεῖσθαι. *Octaviam enim . . . nomine frui uxoris. Cleopatram vero, tam multorum Reginam mortalium, pellicem Antonii nominari: neque eam hoc deſugere vel dedignari nomen, quoad aſpicere illum & una liceat vivere: quo ſi orbaretur non ducturam ultra ſpiritum.* *Mark Antony*'s Friends adviſed him to ſend *Cleopatra* back to *Egypt*, ſhe having followed him to *Epheſus* when every thing was ripe for the laſt Rupture: But ſhe fearing (*a*) that *Octavia* would once more reconcile her Brother to her Husband found out a Man that perſwaded *Antony* to carry her a long with him wherever he went. Her Emulation was ſo violent that coming to *Athens* where *Octavia* had been receiv'd with very diſtinguiſhing Marks of Honour, ſhe was very liberal to the People in hopes to obtain the like (*b*).

(*C*) Her Son *died in the Flower of his Age.*] His Name was *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; and his Elogy is inſerted in the *Æneids* ſo handſomly, and ſo admirably well turn'd, that the moſt ſtupid Reader muſt needs be moved with it. I've read it above a hundred times, but never without Tranſports of Admiration: And now that I read it once more in tranſcribing it here, I think it finer than ever it appear'd to me before. Several excellent Judges have aſſured me that they are of the ſame Mind. So, I doubt not but I ſhall readily be pardoned for giving it here entire.

Atque (c) hic Æneas (una namque ire videbat
Egregium formâ juvenem, & fulgentibus armis;
Sed frons lata parùm, & dejecta lumina vultu)
Quis, pater, ille, virûm qui ſic comitatur euntem?
Filius? an ne aliquis magnâ de ſtirpe nepotum?
Quis ſtrepitus circa comitum! quantum inſtar in ipſo eſt!
Sed nox atra caput triſti circumvolat umbrâ.
Tùm pater Anchiſes lacrymis ingreſſus obortis:
O nate, ingentem luctum ne quære tuorum.
Oſtendent terris hunc tantùm fata; neque ultra
Eſſe ſinent: nimium vobis Romana propago
Viſa potens, Superi, propria hæc ſi dona fuiſſent.
Quantos ille virûm magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus! vel quæ, Tiberine, videbis
Funera, cùm tumulum præterlabere recentem!
Nec puer Iliacâ quiſquam de gente Latinos
In tantum ſpe tollet avos: nec Romula quondam
Ullo ſe tantùm tellus jactabit alumno.
Heu pietas, heu priſca fides, invictaque bello
Dextera! non illi quiſquam ſe impunè tuliſſet
Obvius armato, ſeu cùm pedes iret in hoſtem;
Seu ſpumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
Heu miſerande Puer! ſi quâ fata aſpera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris: manibus date lilia plenis:
Purpureos ſpargam flores, animamque nepotis
His ſaltem accumulem donis, & fungar inani
Munere.

The Recital (*d*) of theſe Verſes made the Emperor and *Octavia* melt into Tears; and *Virgil* was obliged to acquaint 'em that he was come to the end of the Book, otherwiſe they would have ſtopt his reading. He was liberally rewarded for 'em. Others ſay, *Octavia* ſwoon'd away at the Words, *Tu Marcellus eris*, and was brought to her ſelf again with great difficulty. She order'd the Poet a good round Sum for each Verſe (*e*). *Marcellus* died in the 731 (*f*) Year of *Rome*. All Authors agree that he was very young; but few give his exact Age: *Propertius* indeed (*g*) has done it; and he allots him twenty Years of Age, in which point he is more credible than *Servius* (*h*), who makes him but 18. *Glandorp* (*i*) is miſtaken in affirming that *Servius* makes him 23. In another place (*k*), without citing any Author, he aſſerts, that *Marcellus* died at the Age of 24 Years.

(*D*) *She remain'd ever after diſconſolate.*] The Circumſtances of her Affliction are, to my Mind, well worth

(*a*) Φοβουμένη τὰς δι' Ὀκταβίας πάλιν αὐτοῦ διαλύσεις. Novam interpretè Octavia timens reconciliationem. *Id. ibid. p. 941. E.*

(*b*) *Id. ibid. p. 942. C.*

(*c*) *Virgil. Æneid. l. 6. v. 861.*

(*d*) Et conſtat hunc librum tanta pronuntiatione Auguſto & Octaviæ eſſe recitatum, ut fletu mimo imperarent ſilentium: niſi Virgilius finem eſſe dixiſſet, qui pro hoc are gravi donatus eſt, id eſt, maſſis. *Servius in Virgil. Æn. l 6. v. 862.*

(*e*) Tres omnino libros recitavit, ſecundum videlicet, quartum & ſextum; ſed hunc præcipue ob Octaviam, quæ cum recitationi intereſſet, ad illos de filio ſuo verſus, *Tu Marcellus eris* detecciſſe ferrur, atque ægrè retocillata, dena ſeſtertia pro ſingulo verſu Virgilio dari juſſit. *Donatus in vita Virgilii.*

(*f*) *Dio lib. 53. circa fin.*

(*g*) *Propert eleg. 17. lib. 3.*

(*h*) *Servius ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) *Glandorp Onomaſt. pag. 232*

(*k*) *Ibid. pag. 434*

(*f*) *Plut. in Antonio pag. 931. E.*

(*g*) *Plut. ibid. pag. 942.*

(*b*) Αἴτιον δὲ ἴσλασθαι δοκεῖ τὴν Ὀκταβίαν τοῖς Ἀντωνίου· ἐμισεῖτο γὰρ ἀδίκως γυναῖκα παιδίτην. Enimvero hiſce rebus offecit invita Antonio. Invidia namque flagrabat, quod talem fœminam violaret. *Id. ibid. pag. 941.*

(*i*) *Id. ibid. p. 940. B.*

(*k*) *Id. ibid. C.*

(*l*) *Compare what* Heloiſa *ſaid above, in the Remark V. of her Article.*

(*m*) *Plut. ibid. D.*

Remainder of her Days in diſmal Melancholy. She dyed * in the Year 744 of *Rome*, leaving two Daughters by *Mark Antony*, who married very advantageouſly †. They are in an Error who ſay ſhe was not full Siſter, or Siſter by the Mother's-ſide (*E*) to *Auguſtus*.

* *Dion lib.* 54. *pag.* 625.

† *See the Article of* Antonia

OCTA-

worth the Regard of all Hiſtorians that have occaſion to mention her and her Son: For they have a ſingular Character that carries a perfect Air of Prodigy along with it. *Octavia* became ſuch a Man-Hater that ſhe courted nothing but Solitude; the very Glory of her Brother was a burden to her. The very Character of being a Mother was enough to make one the Object of her Indignation. She kept no Picture of her Son, and would not have any one ſpeak of him: All the Verſes made upon him (*l*) ſhe rejected. *Seneca* is the Author that informs us of theſe Circumſtances. He is ſo particular upon that Matter that 'twill not be improper to tranſcribe his Words *Octavia Marcellum, cui & avunculus & ſocer incumbere expetat, in quem onus imperii reclinare, adoleſcentem animo alacrem, ingenio potentem; ſed & frugalitatis continentiaque in illis aut annis aut opibus non mediocriter admirandum; patientem laborum, voluptatibus alienum; quantumcumque imponere illi avunculus, & (ut ita dicam) inædificare voluiſſet, laturum. Bene legerat nulli ceſſura ponderi fundamenta. Nullum finem, per omne vitæ ſuæ tempus, flendi gemendique fecit: nec ullas admiſit voces, ſalutare aliquid afferentes: ne avocari quidem ſe paſſa eſt. Intenta in unam rem, & toto animo affixa, talis per omnem vitam fuit, qualis in funere: non dico non auſa conſurgere, ſed allevari recuſans: ſecundam orbitatem judicans, lacrimas omittere. Nullam habere imaginem filii cariſſimi voluit, nullam ſibi fieri de illo mentionem. Oderat omnes matres, & in Liviam maximè furebat: quia videbatur ad illius filium tranſiſſe, ſibi promiſſa felicitas. Tenebris & ſolitudini familiariſſima; ne ad fratrem quidem reſpiciens, carmina celebrandæ Marcelli memoriæ compoſita, alioſque ſtudiorum honores rejecit, & aures ſuas adverſus omne ſolatium clauſit, a ſolemnibus officiis ſeducta, & ipſam magnitudinis fraternæ nimis circumlucentem fortunam exoſa, defodit ſe, & abdidit. Aſſidentibus liberis, nepotibus, lugubrem veſtem non depoſuit; non fine contumeliâ omnium ſuorum, quibus ſalvis orba ſibi videbatur* (*m*).

(*l*) *This does not agree with what I mention'd in the preceding Remark.*

(*m*) *Seneca Conſol. ad Marciam, c.* 2. *p. m.* 736, 737.

(*E*) *Who ſay, She was not Siſter by the Mother's-ſide to* Auguſtus.] *Plutarch* is guilty of this miſtake: He (*n*) takes our *Octavia* to have been the Daughter of *Anchiria*, firſt Wife to *Caius Octavius*, and *Atia* the ſecond Wife of *Octavius* to have been the Mother of *Auguſtus*. But there are ſeveral Reaſons to evince the contrary. *Glandorp* (*o*) furniſhes us with two very good ones. The firſt is grounded upon a Paſſage of *Cicero*, and the ſecond upon a Paſſage of *Dion*. The latter ſays, that *Caius Marcellus*, preferr'd to the Conſulſhip in (*p*) 703, was an Enemy to *Julius Cæſar*, though he (*q*) was his Kinſman. Now that Kindred or Relation ſprung from the Marriage of this *Marcellus* with *Octavia*; ſo that his Wife muſt have been the Daughter of *Atia*; for had ſhe been the Daughter of *Anchiria* ſhe had not bore any Relation to *Julius Cæſar*. If *Glandorp* had confirm'd this by a Paſſage out of *Suetonius*, he had rendred his Proof demonſtrative. *Suetonius* tells us *Julius Cæſar* had a mind to give *Octavia*, the Wife of *Caius Marcellus*, and Grand-Child to his Siſter, in Marriage to *Pompey*. (*r*) *Ad retinendam autem Pompeji neceſſitudinem ac voluntatem, Octaviam ſororis ſuæ neptem quæ C. Marcello nupta erat, conditione ei detulit.* As for the Paſſage our of *Cicero*, it imports, That *Lucius Philippus* was married to a Woman of *Aricia*, whoſe Daughter had married *Caius Marcellus*. This Wife of *Lucius Philippus* (*s*) was the Mother of *Auguſtus*; ſo that undoubtedly the Wife of *Caius Marcellus* was Siſter by the Mother-ſide to that Emperor: For, to uſe the Words of a Journaliſt, *It will never enter into any one's Head*, that that *Marcellus*'s Wife was not the Daughter of the Wife of that *Philip, ſince 'tis the Latitat of common Senſe, that* Cicero *would not have mention'd ſuch a thing before the Senate, without being well aſſured of the Truth of it* (*t*). 'Tis in the third Philippick that *Cicero* has that Paſſage; and undoubtedly *Lucius Philippus* and *Caius Marcellus* were preſent when he ſpoke it, as Mr. *Perizonius* (*v*) obſerves. *Sed hoc clariſſimi viri viderint, L. Philippus qui habet Anciniam uxorem, C. Marcellus qui Anicinæ filiam: quos certo ſcio dignitatis optimarum feminarum non pœnitere* (*w*). This is the Concluſion of *Cicero*'s Anſwer to an Objection laid by *Mark Antony* againſt *Octavius*, and grounded (*x*) upon his Mother's being born in *Aricia*. *Suetonius*'s Evidence is poſitive againſt *Plutarch*: (*y*) *Decedens Macedonia* (C. Octavius) *prius quam profiteri ſe candidatum conſulatus poſſet, morte obiit repentina, ſuperſtitibus liberis, Octavia majore, quam ex Ancharia, & Octavia minore, item Auguſto, quos ex Atia tulerat.* See Mr. *Perizonius* (*z*), who has ſet theſe Reaſons in a clear Light, in order to ſhew the Error of *Plutarch*, adopted by *Antonius Auguſtinus*, by *Juſtus Lipſius*, and ſome other Learned Men. The Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, has inſiſted at large upon this Criticiſm, in giving an Abſtract of *Perizonius*'s Book; but he made a conſiderable Blunder in ſaying (*a*) that *Marcellus*'s Wife was *the Daughter of* Aricina. For that Expreſſion imports, that *Aricina* was the Name of that Lady's Family; whereas 'tis an Epither that denotes only her being born in *Aricia*. The Learned *Manutius* alledges, that the Mother of *Octavia* was not born in that Place, and wonders how that Epithet came to be given her. (*b*) *Miror autem Aricinam Atiam eſſe dictam, cum nec ipſa nec pater ejus Balbus Aricia natus eſſet, fuit enim, Suetonio teſte, paterna ſtirpe Aricinus.* But he is under a great miſtake; for if *Atius* and his Daughter had not been of *Aritia*, *Cicero* would not have over-look'd ſuch a fair Plea to diſprove *Mark Antony*, who upbraided *Octavius*'s Mother with being born in that place. He was too well vers'd in the Art of Refuting, and too dexterous in taking advantage of the leaſt Circumſtances, to ſuffer his Adverſary to run away with ſuch a Lye. Seeing then he grants the Matter of Fact, and only refutes the Conſequence which *Mark Antony* drew from it, we need not doubt but that *Manutius* made a very falſe Remark. But then what ſhall we do with the Paſſage of *Suetonius*? I anſwer, that *Suetonius*'s Phraſe in this place is of a piece with a way of ſpeaking uſual among the *French* Writers. They'll ſay ſuch a one is (*c*) *Originaire* of ſuch a Place; by which Expreſſion they mean, that not only his Anceſtors, but himſelf was born there. I own indeed that in this Senſe the Expreſſion is not very clean or exact; ſince *Originaire* in the politeſt Authors relates only to the Country of one's Father or Grand-Father, *&c.* But who ever told us that *Suetonius* was a nice Obſerver of Exactneſs in his Style?

Perizonius has very juſtly cenſured *Triſtan*, who thought, that the Mother of *Marcellus*, *Auguſtus*'s Son-in-Law, was never married to *Mark Antony*. This Thought he grounded upon the Words of *Seneca*, touching that Lady's Affliction upon the Death of her dear Son. (*d*) *All that's here ſaid of* Octavia, ('tis *Triſtan* that ſpeaks after rehearſing the Paſſage of *Seneca*) *can by no means, as I take it, be underſtood of that of the two* Octavia's, Auguſtus's *Siſters, who had* Antony *for her ſecond Huſband. For that wild and wretched way of living, of a Woman that drown'd her Days in Tears, and ſtifled the Splendor and Luſtre of her Family in Darkneſs, in remoteneſs, in flying Society and the Light as much as ſhe could, covering that continual Sorrow with mourning Garments: That way of living, I ſay, can never ſuit with what is ſaid of her Marriage with* Mark Antony, *and what followed after; of the diſtinguiſhing Love and Honour, ſhewn her by* Auguſtus; *of the Marks of Honour paid to her elſewhere, particularly at* Corinth, *where, as* Pauſanias *informs us, in his* Corinthiaca, *a Temple was built to her Honour; of the Reputation ſhe had juſtly merited, as being a ſtout, virtuous, conſtant Lady, who had brought up the ſeven Children which ſhe by* Mark Antony (*e*), *and he by* Cleopatra, *as if they had been her own, notwithſtanding he forſook her; and in fine, of all the other honourable Circumſtances relating to her, recorded by Hiſtorians.* He reckons then, that of *Auguſtus*'s two Siſters, the eldeſt married *Marcellus*, and fell into the Affliction mentioned by *Seneca*; and the youngeſt married *Mark Antony*. Now this is not only falſe, but raiſing Scruples upon nothing. For if he had but call'd to mind, that the Marriage of *Octavia with Mark Antony* was about 17 Years before the Death of young *Marcellus*, he had found no difficulty in reconciling *Seneca* to the other Authors (*f*). In the *Journal des Savans* (*g*) there's a Learned *Diſſer-*

(*n*) *Plut. in Antonio, p.* 929. *D.*

(*o*) *Gland. Enamil. pag.* 82.

(*p*) *Others will have it* 704.

(*q*) Τῷ Καίσαρι γαίμῳ ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας ἀνεψιόν ἐχθρὸς ἦν. Cæſaris quamquam cum eo ipſi affinitas intercedebat, inimicus erat. *Dio lib.* 40. *pag.* 166.

(*r*) *Sueton. in Cæſare, c.* 27.

(*s*) *Sueton. in Auguſt. c.* 8

(*t*) Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres *for* June 1685. *Art.* 1. *p.* 597.

(*v*) *Ubi infra.*

(*w*) *Cicero Philip.* 3. *p. m.* 782.

(*x*) Ignobilitatem objicit C. Cæſaris filio: cujus etiam naturalis pater, ſi vita ſuppeditaſſet, Conſul factus eſſet. Aricina mater. *Id. ib. p.* 781.

(*y*) *Sueton. in Auguſt. cap.* 4.

(*z*) *Jacob Perizonius Animadverſ. hiſtoric. p.* 116. *& ſeq.*

(*a*) Nouv. de la Rep. des Lett. ubi ſupra.

(*b*) *Paulus Manutius in Cicer. Philip.* 3. *p. m.* 782.

(*c*) Moreri *has this Expreſſion often.*

(*d*) *Triſtan. Comment. Hiſtor. Vol.* I. *pag.* 54.

(*e*) *Why does not* Triſtan *take notice of the Children of* Mark Antony *and* Fulvia, *which* Octavia *brought up? How comes he to be ignorant of what* Plutarch *ſays in* Antonio, *pag.* 955. *that of the* 7 *Children left by* Mark Antony, *including the two Daughters he had by* Octavia, *the eldeſt was put to Death by* Auguſtus, *and the other ſix were brought up by* Octavia?

(*f*) *See* Perizonius, *ubi ſupra. p.* 120. *and the* Nouv. de la Repub. des Let tres, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 598.

(*g*) *Of the* 21*ſt of* January 1686, *pag.* 25 *& ſeq. of the* Dutch *Edition.*

the

OCTAVIA, the Daughter of *Claudius* the Emperor, and of *Meſſalina*, was born (*A*) in the 795 Year of *Rome*. She was betrothed very young to *Lucius Silanus*; but that Contract was broke by the ambitious Artifices of *Agrippina*, who had a Mind ſhe ſhould be married to her Son *Nero*. For compaſſing this end, ſome Pretence or other was needful; and that ſhe was not without. *Vitellius* a dexterous Courtier, and a great Flatterer undertook the management of that Affair; and found out ſpecious (*B*) Accuſations, by Vertue of which he got *Silanus* diveſted of the Senatorial Dignity. Soon after *Octavia* was betrothed to *Agrippina*'s Son, whom ſhe afterwards married as ſoon as he arriv'd at ſixteen Years of Age *: But becauſe *Claudius* had adopted him, ſhe † *paſs'd into another Family by a feign'd Adoption*; without which their Marriage had been inceſtuous. She was very unfortunate, her Husband grew (*C*) preſently weary of her, and divorced her under the pretence of Sterility. *Poppæa*, whom he married preſently after, ſuborn'd a Man who accuſed ‡ *Octavia* of having been too familiar with one of her Slaves. The Princeſs's Women Servants were put upon the Rack to oblige them to depoſe againſt their Miſtreſs. Some unable to reſiſt the Violence of the Torture charged her with it; but moſt of them had the Reſolution to declare

* *Tacit. annal. l.* 12. *c.* 58.
† *Dion lib.* 60. *p.* 687. *apud Tillemont, Tom.* 1. *p.* 391.
‡ *Tacit. annal. lib.* 14. *c.* 60.
(*p*) *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 12. *cap.* 4. *ad Ann.* 801.
(*q*) Die Nuptiarum Silanus ſibi mortem conſcivit. ſive eo uſque ſpem Vitæ produxerat; ſeu delectato, die augendam ad invidiam. Calvina ſoror ejus Italia pulſa eſt. Addidit Claudius Sacra ex legibus Tullii Regis piaculaque apud lucum Dianæ per Pontifices danda: iniidentibus cunctis quod pœnæ procurationeſque inceſti id temporis exquirerentur *Id. ib. cap.* 8.

tation upon the true degree of Conſanguinity between Auguſtus *and* Octavia; which was communicated to the Journaliſt by a Learned (*b*) Antiquary, and a very honeſt Gentleman. In that Diſſertation he ſets the Truth in a clear Light, but he repeats *Triſtan*'s Objection ſomewhat amiſs. *Marcellus's Octavia*, ſays he (*i*), *whom* Suetonius *calls the younger* Octavia (1), *had been already propoſed for a Wife to* Pompey *by her Grand Uncle; ſo that ſhe was twice look'd upon as an inſtrument of Reconciliation. And this furniſhes us with an Anſwer to the Objection of ſome Moderns, who finding in* Seneca (2) *that* Marcellus's *Widow was inconſolable upon the Death of her Husband, deny that ſhe was married a ſecond time to* Mark Antony; *for we very well know that Perſons of that Rank are commonly Victims of State.* Octavia, *notwithſtanding her Mourning, was forced to conſent to this ſecond Marriage for the Publick Good, and for her Brother's Intereſt; and 'tis very probable that on* Mark Antony's *ſide, 'twas pure Politicks that moved him to marry a Lady, whoſe Extraction he had decried: And accordingly we ſee he threw her off ſoon after, and ſtuck entirely to* Cleoparra. You ſee he ſuppoſes that *Triſtan* quoted *Seneca*, to prove that this Lady was inconſolable upon the Death of her Husband. But he does not, neither could he quote him for any thing elſe than to ſhew ſhe was mightily afflicted at the Death of her Son. You ſee likewiſe, he ſuppoſes that *Octavia* doing Violence to her ſelf, married *Mark Antony* in the midſt of the Affliction repreſented by *Seneca*. But if you conſult *Seneca*, you'll ſee how groundleſs that Suppoſition is.

(*b*) *Mr.* Rainſſant *Phyſician of* Rheims, *Keeper of the Medals in the King's Cloſet.*
(*i*) Journal des Savans, *voi. ſupra, p.* 27, 28.
(1) *Sueton. Tit.* 29.
(2) *Senec. Conſ. ad Marc.*

(*A*) *Was born in the* 795 *Year of* Rome.] According to *Tacitus*'s Account; but there's ſome Reaſon to think he is miſtaken. He ſays (*k*), ſhe was in the 20th Year of her Age when ſhe was put to Death, and that ſhe was put to Death in the Conſulſhip of *P. Marius*, and *L. Aſinius*; that is, in the Year of *Rome* 815. From whence we compute that ſhe was born in the Year 795. But in regard he has placed her Marriage (*l*) with *Nero* under the Conſulſhip of *D. Junius* and *Q. Haterius*, that is in the Year of *Rome* 806, we muſt conclude ſhe was at leaſt twelve Years of Age then; and conſequently was born in 794. Add to this, that her Father bethroth'd her to *Silanus* (*m*) the firſt Year of his Reign, *i. e.* the Year of *Rome* 793, and that *Suetonius* (*n*) gives us to know that *Britannicus* was born after her. Now *Britannicus* was born (*o*) the 20th Day of his Father's Reign.

(*k*) *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 14. *c.* 64.
(*l*) *Idem Annal. lib.* 12. *c.* 58.
(*m*) *Dion lib.* 60, *pag.* 653. *apud Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empер. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 1019.
(*n*) *Sueton. in Claud. cap.* 27.
(*o*) *Id. ib.*

(*B*) Vitellius *a dexterous Courtier.... found out ſpecious Accuſations.*] One of the happieſt Qualities of a Courtier is to foreſee at ſome diſtance, who they are to whom Fortune prepares the moſt ſhining Favours: For the Services done 'em before hand, while they are yet ſtriving to be great, inſpire 'em with much more Gratitude than thoſe which are done after the actual poſſeſſion of Authority. 'Twas *Vitellius*'s Talent to foreſee the Preferment that was yet in the Womb of Fortune. By this his Talent he knew that the Emperor *Claudius* would marry *Agrippina*, and that ſhe would manage her Husband as ſhe pleas'd. This Prognoſtick was grounded on the Lady's Cunning, and the Husband's Weakneſs: So we muſt not think it ſtrange that *Vitellius* left no Stone unturned to ruin *Silanus*; for *Agrippina*'s Intereſt call'd for that Sacrifice: She wanted to have *Octavia* in a condition to be betrothed to *Nero*, and that could not be done till her Contract with *Silanus* were broke. *Silanus* had a Siſter diſtinguiſh'd by her Beauty and Wantonneſs. They could not convict him of having lain with her: but *Silanus* had not been careful enough to conceal his Paſſion for her; and that gave *Vitellius* a handle to turn him out of the Senate. For *Vitellius* was Cenſor, and his Poſt empower'd him to degrade thoſe who misbehaved themſelves. As ſoon as *Silanus* had received this Mortification, *Claudius* broke off the Contract of Marriage, and obliged him to quit his Prætorſhip. All this we have laid before us by *Tacitus*, whoſe Words are nobler than any I can put in their room. (*p*) *Igitur Vitellius nomine Cenſoris ſerviles fallacias obtegens, ingruentiumque dominationum proviſor, quo gratiam Agrippinæ paravet, conſilia ejus implicari, ferere Crimina in Silanum, cui ſane decora & procax ſoror Junia Calvina haud multum ante Vitellii nurus fuerat: hinc initium accuſationis, fratrumque non inceſtum, ſed incuſſoditum amorem ad infamiam traxit. Et præbebat Cæſar aures, accipiendo adverſum generum ſuſpicionibus caritate filiæ promptior. At Silanus inſidiarum neſcius, ac forte eo anno Prætor, repente per edictum Vitellii ordine Senatorio movetur, quanquam lecto pridem Senatu, luſtroque condito. Simul affinitatem Claudius diremit; adacteſque Silanus ejurare magiſtratum, & reliquus præturæ dies in Eprium Marcellum collatus eſt. Silanus* kill'd himſelf on *Claudius*'s and *Agrippina*'s Wedding-Day: His Siſter was baniſhed, and Expiations were injoin'd for their Inceſt. Every one ridiculed theſe Expiations, upon the Conſideration that the Emperor, who injoyn'd 'em, had ſo lately contracted an inceſtuous Marriage (*q*).

(*p*) *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 12. *cap.* 4. *ad Ann.* 801.
(*q*) Die Nuptiarum Silanus ſibi mortem conſcivit. ſive eo uſque ſpem Vitæ produxerat; ſeu delectato, die augendam ad invidiam. Calvina ſoror ejus Italia pulſa eſt. Addidit Claudius Sacra ex legibus Tullii Regis piaculaque apud lucum Dianæ per Pontifices danda: iniidentibus cunctis quod pœnæ procurationeſque inceſti id temporis exquirerentur *Id. ib. cap.* 8.

(*C*) *Grew preſently weary of her.*] His Friends repreſented to him how much he was in the wrong in contemning his Lady ſo ſoon, and withholding the Careſſes that the ſtate of Matrimony requires. *Let her content her ſelf* (replied he) *with bearing the Name of my Wife; that's an Ornament, that's a Dignity, that ought to ſatisfy her:* What Comfort here is! (*a*) *Octavia conſuetudinem citò ad ſpernatus, corripientibus amicis, ſufficere illi debere reſpondit Uxoria Ornamenta. Eandem mox ſæpe fruſtra ſtrangulare meditatus, dimiſit ut ſterilem: ſed improbante divortium populo, nec parcente convitiis, etiam relegavit. Denique occidit ſub crimine adulteriorum, adeo impudenti falſoque, ut in quæſtione pernegantibus cunctis, Anicetum Pædagogum ſuum indicem ſubjecerit, qui dolo ſtuprat.am a ſe fateretur.* No doubt, but 'twas a freſh Matter of trouble to *Octavia*, to ſee *Nero* paſſionately in Love with a Servant, and the wiſeſt Heads winking at that Diſorder: For they choſe rather to ſee him gratifying his Laſcivious Paſſion with ſuch a Creature as did not meddle with the Affairs of the Government, than to ſee him invade the Honour of the greateſt Ladies; which he would infallibly have done, if he had not been wrapp'd up in this Servant Wench, for he was a Man who had not the Gift of Continence, and he made no uſe of his Wife. He did not love her; whether 'twas that he had ſome natural Antipathy againſt her, or that he preferr'd unlawful Pleaſures to thoſe which are lawful. To ſhew the Antiquity of that curſed Nicety that's now ſo much in faſhion, let's quote a *Roman* Author. (*b*) *Delapſo Nerone in amorem libertæ cui vocabulum Actæ fuit... ne ſeverioribus quidem principis amicis adverſantibus, mulierculæ nullæ cujuſquam injuria cupidines principis explente: quando uxore ab Octavia nobili quidem, & probitatis ſpectatæ, fato quodam, an quia prævalent illicita, abhorrebat*

(*a*) *Sueton. in Nerone cap.* 35.
(*b*) *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 13. *c.* 12.

declare her Innocence; and one of them made uſe (*D*) of a very odd Expreſſion. Notwithſtanding, *Octavia* was confin'd to ſome remote place and kept under a ſtrong Guard. The ordinary People, who are commonly bolder ♦ than thoſe who have Places to loſe, murmur'd to that Degree that *Nero* reſolv'd to bring her back again. No Expreſſion can reach the Joy that appear'd at *Rome* upon her being recalled; nor the Reſpect that the People ſhewed to that Princeſs ‡. *Poppæa* thought her ſelf undone if ſhe did not ruin her; for which Reaſon ſhe threw her ſelf at *Nero*'s Feet, and back'd her Petitions with ſuch political Reaſons, that ſhe obtain'd her Requeſt †. *Nero* engag'd the Man (*E*) who had got him rid of his Mother *Agrippina*, to declare that he had lain with *Octavia*; upon which ſhe was confined to an Iſland, and in a few Days after conſtrain'd to cauſe her Veins to be opened. Her Head was cut off, and preſently carried for a Preſent to her Rival †. *Nero* chang'd his Language ſtrangely; whereas he had complain'd that *Octavia* was barren, he then accuſed her of having made her ſelf (*F*) miſcarry.

♦ Inde crebri queſtus, nec occulti per vulgum, cui minor ſapientia, & ex mediocritate fortunæ pauciora pericula ſunt. *Id. ib.*
‡ *Id. ib. cap.* 61.
† *Ibid.*
† *Tacit. ibid. cap.* 63, 64.

horrebat: mutuebaturque ne in ſtupra feminarum illuſtrium prorumperet, ſi ea libidine prohiberetur.

(*D*) *Made uſe of a very odd Expreſſion.*] *Tigellinus* (*c*), the Man in the World that was moſt devoted to the filthy and cruel Paſſions of *Nero*, aſſiſted at the Torture of *Octavia*'s Servant-Maids; and preſs'd them to confeſs what their Miſtreſs was charged with. One of 'em gave this Anſwer (*d*), *Her private Parts are chaſter than thy Mouth:* and *Dion* tells us this Maid's Name was *Pythias*; but he alledges, that ſhe was the only Servant that continued faithful to *Octavia*, and that all the reſt betrayed her to make their Court to *Poppæa*. He adds, that *Pythias*, ſpeaking the above mentioned Words ſpit in *Tigellinus*'s Face. *Dion*'s Greek Words are full as free as *Tacitus*'s Latin. (*e*) Μόνη δ' ἡ Πυθιὰς κἂν τι κἀξηύρετο αὐτῆς, καίπερ πεφυτα βυσανιζθεῖσα, ἐς τὸν Τιγελλῖνον ἐνέπτυσε αὐτῇ, περοσπίπτοσί τε αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπε, Καθαρώτερον, ὦ Τιγελλῖνε, τὸ αἰδοῖον ἢ διάπυνά μου τὸ σῶμα ἔχει. *Sola Pythias, licet acerrimis tormentis coacta, noluit in eam mentiri: quumque Tigellinus inſtaret vehementius, faciem ejus conſpuit, Mundior eſt, (iniquit) Tigelline, vulva domina mea, quam os tuum.* The Domeſtick Servant, with whom they charged that Princeſs to have been too familiar, was a Player on the Flute. (*f*) *Quemdam ex miniſtris Octavie impulit, ſervilem ei amorem objicere. Deſtinaturque reus cognomento Eucærus, natione Alexandrinus, canere tibiis doctus.* Muſicians are lucky Fellows; and I don't believe that among all the Profeſſions of this Rank, there is any ſo fertile as this, in Inſtances of being ſuſpected by Kings and Princes. However, *Nero* did not think this Adultery of *Octavia*'s likely; the Circumſtances of the Man did not ſeem proper to colour (*g*) the Suſpicion.

(*E*) Nero *engaged the Man, who had got him rid of his Mother* Agrippina.] According to *Suetonius* (*h*) that Man was *Nero*'s Tutor; but *Tacitus* ſays he commanded the Emperor's Fleet at *Miſenum*. After *Nero* had employed him in deſtroying *Agrippina*, he uſed (*i*) him firſt very coldly, and at laſt hated him: For the ſight of thoſe who have been employed by others, for the execution of great Crimes, is not agreeable to them; they are apt to fancy they are continually twitting them. But now, having a freſh occaſion to employ him again, he careſs'd him, taking notice of the former Service he had done, as being of the laſt importance; and told him an Opportunity preſented of doing him another piece of Service that was not leſs neceſſary, and that he required no more of him, but a bare Acknowledgment that he had lain with *Octavia*. He promis'd him a good Reward, which 'twas not proper to give him for the preſent, and threatned to kill him if he refuſed. (*k*) *Accitum eum Cæſar operæ prioris admonet; ſolum in columitati principis adverſus inſidiantem matrem ſubveniſſe: locum haud minoris gratiæ inſtare, ſi conjugem inſenſam depelleret. Nec manu aut telo opus. Fateretur Octavie adulterium. Occulta quidem ad præſens, ſed magna ei præmia, & receſſus amœnos promittit; vel ſi negaviſſet, necem intentat.* This Raſcally Fellow undertook to do what was deſired, and even ſpoke more Lies than what was required of him. He was baniſh'd to *Sardinia* (*l*), for form's ſake, where he lived at his eaſe, and died a natural Death.

Here, I reckon, 'twill not be improper to make ſome Reflections upon the Narrative of *Suetonius*. We can't deny that Author the Glory of a good Abbreviator, but ſometimes he over-does the Rules of Art; by which means it comes to paſs, that the Intervals and Diſtinctions of Events do not always appear in his Work. Of this we have an Inſtance in the caſe now before us (*m*). He carries *Nero*'s Injuſtice to *Octavia* only through three Degrees. She was firſt divorced under pretence of Barrenneſs; then baniſh'd, becauſe the People cryed out againſt the Divorce; and at laſt puniſhed with Death upon pretence of Adultery, though all that were tortured upon that Head denied it, and there was no other Evidence but only *Anicetus*, who falſly own'd he had lain with her. Now, do but conſult *Tacitus*, and you'll preſently perceive that *Suetonius* is faulty. According to *Tacitus*, the Misfortunes of that Princeſs ought to be drawn up in the following Order. *Nero*'s Love for *Poppæa* inſpired that ſqueamiſh Husband with the Thoughts of a Divorce: Accordingly, *Octavia* was divorced, as being barren, and he married *Poppæa*. After that, by Virtue of *Poppæa*'s Intrigues, *Octavia* was charged with Adultery; her Servant-Maids were put upon the Rack; moſt of them maintain'd that ſhe was a Woman of Honour: Yet the Divorce ſtood; and after ſhe had (*n*) accepted ſome Gratifications, ſhe was baniſh'd to *Campania*, and there confined. The Murmurings of the common People, or elſe ſome Remorſe of Conſcience, obliged *Nero* to recall her. This was ſo acceptable to the People, that *Poppæa* did not think her ſelf ſafe, unleſs *Octavia* were made away with. With this View ſhe plaid her Cards ſo dexterouſly with the Emperor, that he engag'd *Anicetus* to declare he had lain with *Octavia*. After that the unfortunate Princeſs was tranſported to the Iſland *Pandataria*, where ſhe was put to Death. It do's not appear that ſhe returned to *Rome* after her Divorce; ſhe was ſtill (*o*) in *Campania*, when the People gave ſuch Expreſſions of Joy upon her being recalled: And in regard theſe Expreſſions of Joy moved *Poppæa* to ſollicit *Nero* to make away with her, and ſhe obtain'd her Requeſt, 'tis not probable that the Order for her Return was ever put in Execution. So that theſe Words of *Tacitus* (*p*) *Conjugem revocanit Octaviam*, are ſomewhat fallacious. But *Suetonius*'s Faults are much more inexcuſable. 'Tis viſible that he has confounded the Events, and omited things, the Supreſſion of which can't be juſtified by deſign'd Brevity. What Probability is there that *Nero*'s Falſe-Witneſs depoſed he had uſed fraudulent Means to compaſs his end with *Octavia*? Was not that the way to extenuate that Princeſs's Crime, which *Nero* did not require? Note, That *Triſtan* (*a*) ſuppoſes *Octavia* came actually back to her Husband's Houſe, and even that ſhe was recalled from the Iſland *Pandataria*; the firſt of which is not likely, and the other is notoriouſly falſe.

(*F*) *Of having made her ſelf miſcarry.*] I have known ſome Perſons who found fault with *Tacitus* for taking theſe two Pretences of *Octavia*'s Diſgrace for a Contradiction. (*b*) *At Nero præfectum in ſpem ſociandæ claſſis corruptum, & incuſata paullo ante ſterilitatis oblitus, abactos partus conſcientia libidinum, eaque ſibi comperta, edicto memorat.* *Nero* grounded *Octavia*'s Divorce upon the Plea of her Barrenneſs; and ſoon after he declared, that, to his certain knowledge, ſhe had taken things to make her ſelf miſcarry. Now, here's no Contradiction. When we do not obſerve that a married Woman comes to be with Child, we have reaſon to take her to be barren: But if we happen to diſcover that ſhe forces her ſelf to miſcarry, we incur no Contradiction in denying her Sterility. Where then is *Nero*'s Contradiction? To theſe Criticks I made anſwer, that the Hiſtorian do's not charge the Emperor with a formal Contradiction; he only alledges, there was a great deal of Imprudence in making uſe of the Plea of Miſcarriage after having inſiſted ſo lately upon that of Barrenneſs. The

Impru-

(*m*) *See his Words in the Remark C.*
(*n*) Domumque Burri, & prædia Plauti, infauſta dona accipit. *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 14. *c.* 60.
(*o*) *This appears from theſe Words of* Poppæa: Vitam ipſam in extremum adductam à clientelis & ſervitiis Octaviæ, quæ plebis ſibi nomen indiderint, ea in pace auſis quæ vix bello evenirent. Arma illa adverſus principem ſumpta. Ducem tantum detuiſſe, qui moris rebus facile reperiretur. Omitteres modo Campaniam & in urbem ipſam pergeret, ad cujus nutum abſentis tumultus cierentur. *Tacit. ibid. cap.* 61.
(*p*) *Ibid. c.* 60.
(*a*) *Triſtan. Comment. hiſtor. Tom.* 1. *p.* 138.
(*b*) *Tacit. ubi ſupra, c.* 63.
(*c*) *Xiphilin. in Nerone p.g. m* 176.
(*d*) Ἀλλὰ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐβασανίζετο περὶ τῶν ἀκολάστων ἐκείνων ἔργων, καὶ ἐμαστίγουτο ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμολογῆσαι ἃ μὴ ἐποίησαν. *Sed nihilominus torquebantur de illis flagitiis, & verberibus cogebantur confiteri quæ non fecerant.* *Dion. Caſſius, lib.* 62.
(*e*) *Xiphil. ubi ſupra.*
(*f*) *Tacit. ubi ſupra.*
(*g*) Parum valebat ſuſpicio in ſervo. *Tacit. ibid. cap.* 62.
(*h*) *I have quoted his Words in the Remark C.*
(*i*) Levi poſt admiſſum ſceleris gratia, dein graviore odio: quia malorum facinorum miniſtri quaſi exprobrantes adſpiciuntur. *Id. ibid.*
(*k*) *Id. ib.*
(*l*) In Sardiniam pellitur, ubi non inops exſilium tolleravit, & fato obiit. *Id. ibid.*

miscarry. This Princess's Lot was scarce any thing else, but a continued Series (G) of Misfortunes.

OENONE, the Daughter of a River in *Phrygia*, call'd *Cebren* ‡, and *Paris*'s Wife, was, according to some, a noted (*A*) Sorceress or Magician. Others content themselves with saying, that she was perfectly well acquainted with the Virtues of Herbs, and that this Piece of Knowledge was imparted (*B*) to her, by way of exchange for her Maiden-head. 'Tis likewise said that she had the Gift of Prophecy *. Having that Advantage of knowing Futurity, she did not fail to foresee that her Husband's Voyage to *Helena* would be the Cause of an Infinity of Mischiefs; and therefore she used her utmost Endeavours to put her Husband off of it. Finding her Remon-

‡ *Apollodor. lib. 3. Parthen. in Eroticis, cap. 4.*
* *Apollodorus & Parthenius, ib.*

Imprudence did not consist in *Nero*'s giving the World ground to believe he was mis-inform'd of *Octavia*'s Carriage when he divorced her; for he might have answered, that the wisest of Princes are often-times not so quick-sighted as to penetrate into all the Secrets of their Wives Chamber, and that sometimes Chance discovers in an Hour what the most vigilant Spies could not observe for many Years: So many are the Tricks of the Sex for concealing their Intrigues. But the imprudent Point was this. He manifestly discovered the Injustice of the Divorce; he gave all the World to know that he had not perform'd the Marriage Duty to *Octavia*; for if he had, she would not have needed to have recourse to Miscarriages to hide her Adultery. Now, is it not a flaming Piece of Iniquity to divorce a Woman upon the Plea of Barrenness, after having liv'd with her without any Conjugal Commerce? Upon this Consideration, *Tacitus* offers nothing unworthy of his good Taste, in pointing to some disorderly Relation between the Emperor's first and second Plea. Another thing that aggravates the Iniquity of the Husband, is, his being convinced of *Octavia*'s Virtue. We have handed down to us the very Words that he uttered, when he thought the opportunity of marrying *Poppæa* was come. *Ipsa principis verba referam*, says *Tacitus* (*d*), *quin inquit Nero deposito metu nuptias Poppææ ob ejusmodi terrores dilatas maturare parat, Octaviamque conjugem amoliri, quamvis modeste agat, & nomine patris, & studiis populi gravem?*

(*d*) *Tacit Annal. lib* 14. *c* 59.

(*G*) *Was scarce any thing else, but a continued Series of Misfortunes.*] The Inhabitants of the Island, to which she was banished, were more affected with her Disgrace, than they had ever been with the Misfortunes of the other Roman Ladies that had been banish'd to the same Place. Those Ladies were more advanced in Years, and consequently more capable to bear the shocks of Fortune, besides they might solace themselves with the Remembrance of their former Felicity. But *Octavia* was scarce above twenty Years of Age, and had always been under Misfortunes. The first Years of her married State were spent in deploring the sad Fate of her Father, and her Brother that were poyson'd. A Whore engross'd all the Affection of her Husband; her self was divorced, and then exposed to the violent Hatred of the new Wife, and at last banish'd for a Crime, the Brand of which was more afflicting than Death it self. Yet, after all, she was very unwilling to resign her Life, though she saw her self in the Hands of Soldiers every Minute; and when she was ordered to put an End to her Life, she pray'd and begg'd incessantly to shun the fatal Hour. But all was to no purpose. They bound her and opened her Veins; but her Fright was so great that the Blood would scarce run, insomuch that they were obliged to stifle her with the Steam of a hot Bath. *Tacitus* is so great a Master for painting out the Passions, that every Line is an inimitable Stroak. Let's therefore copy his Words. (*e*) *Non alia exsul visentium oculos majore misericordia affecit. Meminerant adhuc quidam Agrippinæ, à Tiberio; recentior Juliæ memoria obversabatur, à Claudio pulsæ. Sed illis robur ætatis affuerat. Læta aliqua viderant, & præsentem sævitiam melioris olim fortunæ recordatione* (*f*) *allevabant. Huic primus nuptiarum dies loco funeris fuit, deductæ in domum, in qua nihil nisi luctuosum haberet, erepto per venenum patre, & statim fratre. Tum ancilla domina validior. Et Poppæa non nisi in perniciem uxoris nupta. Postremo crimen omni exilio gravius. Ac puella vicesimo ætatis anno, inter centuriones & milites, præsagio malorum jam à vita exempta, nondum tamen morte acquiescebat. Paucis dehinc interjectis diebus, mori jubetur: cum jam viduam se & tantum sororem testaretur, communesque Germanicos, & postremo Agrippinæ nomen cieret, qua incolumi infelix quidem matrimonium, sed sine exitio pertulisset. Restringitur vinculis, venæque ejus per omnes artus exsolvuntur: & quia pressus pavore sanguis tardius labebatur, præfervidi balnei vapore enecatur.* He forgot to observe, that before she was married, she was witness to the violent Death of *Messalina* her Mother. 'Tis with that that she commences the Recital of her Misfortunes in the Tragedy that goes by her Name, and is printed with those of *Seneca*. From thence she proceeds to the Severity (*g*) of *Agrippina* that was doubly her Mother-in-Law, and in her Temper admirably well qualified for bearing the Character of a Step-mother, and for verifying all that's said of the Antipathy of Women to their Daughters-in Law. Though *Homer* could not say there are any to whom *Jupiter* never fills but out of the bad (*h*) Cask, he might have said at least that *Jupiter* puts but two or three Drops out of the good Cask into the Brimmer of sowr Liquor that he makes some drink off. Such was the Lot of our *Octavia*, and yet she had a mind to live: Death was more frightful to her than all her Calamities; for which false Taste her Youth ought to plead her Excuse.

(*e*) *Id. ib. cap.* 63.
(*f*) *This was pursuant to the Precepts of* Epicurus. *On the other hand, a great many aggravate their Adversity by calling to mind the Prosperity they have been in; and say with one of the* French *Poets*, Felicité passée, Qui ne peus revenir, Tourment de ma pensée, Que n'ai-je en te perdant perdu le souvenir!
(*g*) Tulimus sævæ jussa novercæ, Hostilem animum, vultusque truces. Illa illa meis tristis Erinnys Thalamis Stygios prætulit ignes, Teque extinxit miseranda pater.
(*h*) *See the Article* Manicheans.

(*A*) *A noted Sorceress or Magician.*] By the force of her Enchantments the Moon descended from the Heavens, the Lions became tame and mild as Sheep, and the Rivers flowed towards their Source. *Paris* gives himself out for an Eye-witness of it.

Quod (*i*) *si vertendæ spem mentis concipis hujus;*
Cui cessant herbæ, carmina curve tua?
Nam te nec Phœbi sollertior artibus ulla est;
Phœbeaque Hecates somnia vera vides.
Te cum sideribus, te cum deducere Lunam
Nubibus, & memini surripuisse diem.
Pascebam tauros: interque armenta leones
Obstupui placidos vocibus ire tuis.
Quid retro Xanthum, retro Simoenta vocatum
Adjiciam cursus non tenuisse suos?
Ipse pater Cebren, natæ male tutus ab ore,
Cantatus quoties restitit inter aquas!

(*i*) *In the Letter feign'd by* Sabinus, *as written by* Paris, *in answer to that feign'd by* Ovid *from* Oenone *to him.*

'Tis very probable *Apollodorus* wrote that this Nymph practised Magick; and so the following Words of Book 3. must be a false Reading. (*k*) Ἡ δὲ Οἰνώνη ἰατρικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν ἤσκει, *Siquidem Oenone medendi canendique artem callebat.* Indeed, if you put μαγικὴν in the room of μουσικὴν, 'twill suit very well. The Author was telling, that *Oenone* carried Remedies to *Paris* when dangerously wounded; and if he subjoyns, as the Editions have it, *for she practis'd Physick and Musick*, he loads his Reasoning with a gross Superfluity: but, if he says, *for she practis'd Physick and Magick*, he renders it more persuasive. *Passerat* took the Matter very right; for he turn'd that Passage thus, *For she was perfectly well vers'd in Physick and in the Art of enchanting Diseases* (*l*).

(*k*) *Apollodor. Biblioth. l.* 3. *p.* 227.
(*l*) *See* Meziriac *upon the Epistles of* Ovid, *pag.* 45.

(*B*) *Was imparted to her by way of exchange for her Maidenhead.*] Read the Letter that *Oenone* wrote to *Paris*; and there you'll find this Nymph boasting of being courted by the *Satyrs*, and by *Faunus* himself, and that she baulk'd their amorous Designs. She owns that *Apollo* robb'd her of her Virginity, though she struggled as much as she could and scratch'd all his Face. In fine, she sets forth that she ask'd him no Gold or Jewels, for a compensation; but that *Apollo* communicated to her all the Secrets of Botanicks; insomuch that she could do a thousand wonderful Cures, but could do nothing in the Cure of her Love, there being no Herbs of sufficient Virtue for that end.

Me (*a*) *fide conspicuus Trojæ munitor amavit.*
Ille meæ spolium virginitatis habet.

(*a*) *Ovid in Epist. Oenon. ad Parid.*

Remonſtrances fruitleſs, ſhe (C) foretold him he would be wounded, and forced to have recourſe to her as the only Perſon that could cure him †. When he received a Wound from *Philoctetes* at the Siege of *Troy*, he call'd to Mind *Oenone*'s Prediction, and order'd himſelf to be carried to Mount *Ida*, in order to get the Remedy that ſhe alone could give him; but he died before he could reach ſo far as to be relieved by *Oenone* ‡. And ſome ſay, that in order to have the pleaſure of Revenge, ſhe made ſo little (D) haſte, that ſhe gave Death time to prevent the Remedy; and yet that ſhe made away with her ſelf when ſhe ſaw her Huſband's Corps. This Story is variouſly (E) related, and they have not forgot to inform us, that ſhe apply'd her ſelf betimes to find out means of Revenge. Upon this Project (F) ſhe employed her Son: ſome ſay ſhe ſent him to *Greece*, to excite the Princes to a War againſt the *Trojans*; others ſay ſhe concerted Matters ſo, that he touch'd *Helena*'s Heart, in order to affect *Paris* with the Throwes of Jealouſy.

† *Idem. ib.*

‡ *Idem. ib.*

OKOLSKI (SIMON) a Dominican Friar lived in the XVIIth Century. He wrote a Book entituled *Orbis Polonus*, which is worth reading. Mr. *le Laboureur* quotes it oftner * than once.

* *See his Relation of the Voyage of the Queen of* Poland. *Part.* 2. *p.* 50, 58.

OLEN, a Greek Poet, antienter than ‖ *Orpheus*, was a Native (A) of *Xanthus* a City in *Lycia*. He compos'd ſeveral Hymns, which were ſung in the Iſland of *Delos* at

‖ *Pauſan. lib.* 9. *p.* 802.

Id quoque luctando. rupi tamen ungue capillos;
Oraque ſunt digitis aſpera facta meis.
Nec pretium ſtupri gemmas aurumve poposci.
Turpiter ingenuum munera corpus emunt.
Ipſe, ratus dignam, medicas mihi tradidit artes;
Admiſitque meas ad ſua dona manus.
Quæcumque herba potens ad opem, radixque medendi
Utilis in toto naſcitur orbe, mea eſt.
Me miſeram, quod amor non eſt medicabilis herbis!

Ovid is not over-obſervant of Decorum and Probability. Such Confeſſions are ſeldom made to an Husband, nor was this the ready way to make *Paris* repent of his Inconſtancy. To be told that he was taken for a Cully, and that he amuſed himſelf with a falſe Opinion of having gathered the firſt Flower of the Nuptial-Bed, can be no very agreeable News: The ſcratching of the Spark's Face on one Hand, and the Secrets of Phyſick on the other, can not repair the Breach. What was *Ovid*'s Fancy then? Had he added the Gift of (b) Prophecy to the Knowledge of Herbs, among the Rewards beſtow'd upon her by *Apollo*, he had not gilded the Pill enough. *Clemens Alexandrinus* knew (c) that this Nymph pretended to Propheſy. See a Conjecture upon his Words in the Margin.

(b) *According to* Apollodorus, *l.* 3. *'twas from* Rhea *that* Oenone *learn'd the Art of Divination.*

(c) Ἔλεγος δὲ καὶ Λαοκόων, καὶ Οἰνώνη, καὶ Βρῆνος ἐν Ἰλίῳ. Jam Helenus, & Laocoon, & Oenone, & Brenus in Ilio. *Clemens Alexandr. Strom. lib.* 1. *p.* 334. Inſtead of καὶ Βρῆνος, *Canterus* would read Καὶ Κεβρῆνος. But the better reading would be ἡ Κεβρῆνος, which would ſignifie *Oenone the Daughter of* Cebren. *See* Canterus *upon* Lycophron *v.* 57.

(C) *She foretold him he would be wounded.*] *Conon* by confounding different Periods of Time, has ſunk the Probability of the Fact. He ſuppoſes (d), that *Oenone* did not make this Prediction, nor did ſtir from her Husband's Houſe, till after *Paris* had kill'd her Son *Corythus*. Now we muſt know that *Corythus* the Son of *Paris* and *Oenone*, was ſo great with *Helena*, that *Paris* grew violently jealous of him, and thereupon ſlew him: And 'tis not at all likely, that *Oenone* would continue with her Husband after *Helena* had taken poſſeſſion of the Houſe: So that *Conon* has unluckily intangled himſelf in a Chronology different from that of other Authors.

(d) *Conon apud Photium num.* 186. *pag.* 434, 436.

(D) *She made ſo little Haſte.*] The Meſſenger that went to give her notice that *Paris* had ordered himſelf to be carried to Mount *Ida* for a Cure, was bluntly ſent back with this jealous Anſwer, *That he might go and have his Wound dreſs'd by* Helena (e). But preſently after her tender Thoughts came about her, and ſhe was ſorry ſhe had given ſo harſh an Anſwer. Then ſhe reſolved to go and meet her Husband, with the neceſſary Remedies; but ſhe came too late. The Anſwer ſhe gave to the Meſſenger was faithfully reported to *Paris*; and thereupon (f) he was ſo Thunder-ſtruck that he expired immediately. When *Oenone* arrived, the firſt thing ſhe did was to kill the Meſſenger with the ſhrow of a Stone, for daring to tell her that ſhe was the Cauſe of her Husband's Death. Then ſhe tenderly embraced the Corps of her faithleſs Husband; and after much Lamentation ſtrangled her ſelf with her Girdle (g).

(e) *Conon ibid.*

(f) *Parthen. in Eroticis. cap* 4.

(g) *Conon ubi ſupra.*

(E) *Is variouſly related.*] We told you but now that ſhe ſtrangled her ſelf with her own Girdle. *Apollodorus* ſays (h) barely that ſhe hang'd herſelf. *Parthenius* ſays (i) only that ſhe kill'd her ſelf. *Quintus Calaber* aſſures us (k), that ſhe threw her ſelf into the Funeral Pile upon which her Husband's Corps was burnt. *Lycophron* ſays (l) ſhe threw her ſelf head-long from the top of a Tower. "(m) *Dictys* "*Cretenſis* relates, that *Paris* being dead, his Relati- "ons ordered his Corps to be carried to *Oenone*, be- "fore it was buried, but that *Oenone* was ſo affected "with the ſight of the Corps, that ſhe thereupon loſt "her Senſes, and Sorrow growing gradually upon "her, ſhe died of Grief, and was buried with *Paris*. "This Paſſage of *Dictys* makes me ſuſpect, that the "*Latin* Tranſlation of that Author, though very an- "cient, is not juſt, but corrupt in ſeveral places; "*Tzetzes* upon *Lycophron* ſays plainly, that, accord- "ing to the Opinion of *Dictys*, *Oenone* ſtrangled "her ſelf; and *Cedrenus*, who always follows *Dictys* "in what relates to the Wars of *Troy*, makes *Oenone* "dye the ſame way: From whence I conjecture, "that theſe two Authors had *Dictys* in Greek, and "that the *Latin* Verſion, which we have, does not "always agree with the Greek Text." This is ſo curious a Piece of Literature, that I could not but inſert it, *verbatim*, as we have it in *Meziriac*. In fine, *Quintus Calaber* ſuppoſes, that *Oenone* uſed her Husband with (n) the laſt degree of Inhumanity, when he lay (o) proſtrate at her Feet, and almoſt at the laſt Gaſp (p), imploring her Aſſiſtance, and asking a thouſand Pardons for his faithleſneſs; but that afterwards ſhe was ſo touch'd with his Death, that ſhe threw her ſelf upon the Funeral Pile, and was burnt alive with her Husband's Corps.

(h) *Lib.* 3. *pag.* 227.

(i) *Ubi ſupra.*

(k) *Lib.* 10. *v.* 467.

(l) *In Caſſandra, v.* 61.

(m) Meziriac *upon the Epiſtles of* Ovid. *pag.* 509.

(n) *Quint. Calaber. lib.* 10. *v.* 336. *& ſeq.*

(o) Ὃ δ' ἐπὶ οἱ λίτετο πίσυνος ἔμμεναι ἀνδρὸς πασσυδίῃ γυναικός. Ipſe vero ſtatim ad pedes uxoris ſe abjecit. *Ib. v.* 272.

(p) Καὶ ῥ' ὀλίγου ῥαίων πολὺν μῦθον ἔειπεν. Atque vix trahens animam hoc tandem ſermone illam affatur. *Ibid. v.* 283.

(A) *A Native of* Xanthus *a City of* Lycia.] *Herodotus* and *Pauſanias* inform us, that he was a *Lycian*;

(q) *Meziriac, ubi ſupra. pag.* 508. *quoting the Scholiaſt upon* Lycophron.

(r) *Upon theſe Words of* Lycophron, *v.* 58. Στοίλασα κῦρον ἢ χαλύγοφον χθονός. Miſſo juvene terræ proditore.

(ſ) *Ubi ſupra.*

(t) *Hellanicus in Troicis, & Cephalon Gergithius apud Parthenium. c.* 34.

(v) *Nicander apud Parthenium, ibid.*

(w) *Upon the Suppoſition, that* Corythus *was* Helena's *Son; for if he was only her Son-in-Law, her Crime had been often preſidented.*

at the Grand Religious Solemnities ‡, particularly to the ζ Honour of the Goddeſs *Lucina*, whom he call'd η the Mother of *Cupid*. He was the firſt θ that gave it out for a Certainty, that *Achaia* came from the Country of the *Hyperboreans* to the Iſland of *Delos*. Others ſay τ, he was one of the *Hyperboreans* that founded the Oracle of *Delphos*, and the firſt that perform'd there the Function of *Apollo*'s Prieſt, I mean, that of giving Reſponſes to thoſe who conſulted the Oracle. Theſe he delivered in Hexameter Verſes. He is ſpoken of in a Paſſage of *Pauſanias* (*B*), which *Romulus Amaſeus* has not corrected. Here we muſt make (*C*) ſome Remarks upon *Moreri*'s Supplement.

‡ *Herodot. l. 4. cap. 35.*
ζ *Pauſan. lib. 1. pag. 16.*
η *Id. lib. 9. pag. 302.*
θ *Id. lib. 5. pag. 154.*
τ *Id. lib. 10. p. 320, 321.*

OLYMPIAS, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, gave *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, her Huſband, ſuch violent (*A*) Grounds of Jealouſy, that he divorc'd her. Nay, 'tis alledg'd ſhe own'd to him * that he was not the Father of *Alexander*, and that (*B*) ſhe embraced a Serpent when ſhe conceiv'd of that Son. Nor is ſhe the only Woman † that is ſaid to have received that ſort of Embraces. They are miſtaken who pretend that

* *See the Remark A.*
† *See the Remark H.*

Lycian; but they do not tell us of what City. The Name of the City you have in theſe two Verſes of *Callimachus*.

(a) *Callimachus, hymno in Delum v. 304. pag. 132. Edit. Græv. 1697.*

Οἱ (*a*) μὲν ὑπαὶ Ξάνθοιο νόμον Λυκίοιο γεγῶτα,
Ὃν τοι ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο Στοιχεύτῳ ἤγαγον Ὦλεν.
Namque ſenes Lycii recinunt hi carmina ſacra,
A Xantho quondam quæ vates vexerat Olen.

(*B*) *In a Paſſage of* Pauſanias, *which* Romulus Amaſeus *has not corrected.*] The Paſſage is this: (*b*) Λύκιος δὲ ὃς ἦν ἀρχαιότερος τὸν ἡλικίαν Δήλιος ὕμνοις καὶ ἄλλοις ποιήσας, καὶ ἐς Εἰλειθυίαν τε, ἐυλογόν τε αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον. *At Lycius qui* multo *fuit ætate ſuperior patria Delius hymnis & in alios* deos *& in Lucinam ipſam conſcriptis Eulinon* (quaſi dicas lanificam) *apellat.* *Gregorius Gyraldus* (*c*) conjectures, that we ſhould read ὠλὴν inſtead of Δήλιος, but 'tis not there that the Correction ſhould lie; it ſhould come immediately after Λύκιος δὲ, for inſtead of ὃς ἦν we muſt read ὠλὴν, and then inſtead of Δήλιος, Δηλίδης. This Conjecture came into my Head, before I met with the new Edition of *Pauſanias*, which I have ſince ſeen, and there found a Note of *Kuhnius*'s that offers the ſame Explication of this Paſſage. Here we ſee one of the Cauſes that have produced a great many Chimerical Authors; for here's a very ancient Poet, one *Lycius* of *Delos* that owes his Being only to an Error of the Tranſcriber.

(c) *Vrn Delion Olenæ legendum. Lilius Gregor. Gyraldus de Poetar. Hetor. dialogo 3 init. p. m. 118.*

(*C*) *Some Remarks upon* Moreri's *Supplement.*] I. 'Tis a Fault to ſay barely, that *Olen* was *of the City of* Dyme in *Achaia*; for, though 'tis true, that *Suidas* calls him Δυμαῖος *Dymæus*, yet he adds that 'twould do better to make him a Native of *Xanthus* in *Lycia*, as *Callimachus* and *Polybiſtor* have declared him to be. II. The following Words are ſcarce exact. *The* Hymns of *Olen were ſung in the Iſland of* Delos *during the Ceremonies obſerved for the Sick, by throwing upon 'em Duſt gather'd from the Sepulchre of the Goddeſs* Ops *or* Cybele, *whom the Greeks called* Hecaerge. This ſeems to have been copied from a Book of *Gyraldus*'s (*d*), where we are to'd, that the Hymns of *Olen* were ſung at *Delos*, while the Duſt of the Sepulchre of *Ops*, ſirnamed *Hecaerge*, was thrown on an innumerable Company of ſick Perſons that crowded near the Altar. For this he quotes *Herodotus*, and adds, that *Pauſanias* (*e*) wrote much to the ſame purpoſe: But aſſuredly *Gyraldus* has been impoſed upon by *Laurentius Valla*'s faulty Verſion. The Greek Text of *Herodotus* (*f*) does not ſay this; he is a little intricate, and may be underſtood in a Senſe oppoſite to that of *Laurentius Valla*, as appears by another Tranſlation, that has been put in the Margin. *Herodotus* does not ſay, that *Ops* or *Opis* was ſir-nam'd *Hecaerge*; he do's not ſpeak of *Ops* the Mother of the Gods, but of a young Woman that came from the Country of the *Hyperboreans* to the Iſle of *Delos*, in Company with another called *Arge*. Theſe two young Women had undertook this Voyage to *Delos* with intent to offer to *Lucina* the proper Gifts (*g*) for obtaining a ſpeedy and happy Delivery in Child-birth. *Pauſanias* ſays almoſt nothing of all this; how then can it be ſaid, that he wrote much to the ſame purpoſe with *Herodotus* upon this Head? The Continuator of *Moreri* would perhaps be hard put to it, if he were requir'd to prove, that the Goddeſs *Cybele* was ſir-named *Hecaerge*; that is, one that poſſeſſes the Vertue of operating at a diſtance: But, if the Ceremony he ſpeaks of were true, ſhould we not find an Aſh-Day in Paganiſm as well as in Popery, and that with very ſingular Characters of Superſtition? All ſorts of ſick Perſons would have expected a Cure from the Virtue of the Aſhes taken from the Sepulchre of *Ops*; but ſtill they had been obliged to approach the Altar, and that do's not ſuit with the Epithet of *Hecaerge*. See *Spanhemius*'s Learned Notes upon *Callimachus* (*h*), where you will find ſtrong Proofs that *Hecaerge* was not the Epithet of *Cybele*, or of that *Opis* that was one of the *Hyperborean* Girls that brought Offerings to *Delos*, but the Name of her Companion in the Voyage.

(d) *Gyraldus ubi ſupra.*

(e) *Idem fere ſcribit Pauſanias. Id. ibid.*

(f) *Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 35. p. m. 236.*

(g) Α'πὸ ϗ ὠνῆται. *Pro partu maturando. Id. ib. pag. 235.*

(*A*) *Such violent Grounds of Jealouſy*] *Juſtin* goes no farther (*i*) in the fifth Chap. of his 9th Book; but in another place he aſſures us, that it went as high as Conviction, and that the Divorce was grounded thereupon. (*k*) *Namque mater ejus Olympias confeſſa viro ſuo Philippo fuerat, Alexandrum non ex eo ſe, ſed ex ſerpente ingentis magnitudinis concepiſſe. Denique Philippus ultimo prope vitæ ſuæ tempore, filium ſuum non eſſe palam prædicaverat. Qua ex cauſa Olympiadem, velut ſtupri compertam, repudio dimiſerat.* Some brisk Coquets are ſtill mild and complaiſant to their Husbands; and that atones in ſome meaſure for the Sin: But *Olympias* was croſs (*l*) and peeviſh; ſo that 'twas hard upon *Philip* to bear at once both the ill Humour and Adulteries of his Wife.

(i) Cujus (*Attali*) ſororem nuper expulſa Alexandri matre Olympiade propter ſtupri ſuſpicionem, in matrimonium receperat. *Juſtin. l. 9. cap. 5.*
(k) *Idem lib. 11. cap. 11.*

(*B*) *And that ſhe embraced a Serpent.*] Beſides the Teſtimony of *Juſtin*, mention'd but now, we may bring in *Plutarch*, who ſays, that a great Serpent was found extended upon *Olympias* while ſhe ſlept; that the King ſeeing this through a ſmall Cranny in the Door (*m*) loſt the Eye that he put to the Hole; that from that time he found his Affection for *Olympias* to dwindle, and lay with her but very ſeldom, whether it was that he fear'd ſhe would bewitch him, or that he paid Regard to the Divinity that had thus embrac'd her, under the form of a Serpent. (*n*) Ὤφθη δέ ποτε καθεύδουσα, κοιμωμένης τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεκτεταμένος τῷ σώματι. Καὶ τοῦτο φιλίππου τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὰς φιλοφροσύνας ἀμαυρώσαι λέγουσιν, ὡς μηδὲ φοιτᾶν ἔτι πολλάκις παρ' αὐτὴν ἀναπαυσόμενον· εἴτε δείσαντα πινὰς μαγείας αὐτῷ καὶ φάρμακα τὴν γυναῖκα, εἴτε τὴν ὁμιλίαν, ὡς κρείττονι συνόντα, ἀφοσιούμενον. *Viſus eſt draco etiam ad dormientis Olympiadis corpus exporrectus: idque præcipue Philippi erga eam amorem & familiarem conſuetudinem ajunt extenuaſſe, ut raro cubitum ad illam commearet, quia vel timeret faſcinationes ejus & veneficia, vel conſuetudinem ejus, ut quæ conſueſceret cum majore, devitaret.* We are likewiſe told, that *Eratoſthenes* wrote that *Olympias* diſcovered this fine Secret to none but *Alexander*, and did not truſt him with the Diſcovery till he was going upon his War-like Expedition. Approve your ſelf worthy, ſaid ſhe, of ſo high a Birth. Ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς (ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησὶ) προεπεμψε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι τὴν γενεσίαν, καὶ φράσασα μόνῳ τὸ θεῖον τῶν τέκνων ἀπόρρητον, ἐκέλευεν ἄξια φρονεῖν τῆς γενέσεως. *Olympias* (*ut Eratoſthenes eſt autor*) *quum euntem ad bellum proſequeretur Alexandrum, arcanum ortum ejus ſoli detexit, hortata ut pro natalibus gereret animos* (*o*). Here take notice, that, according to *Juſtin*, the Converſation of the Serpent with *Olympias* was only Fancy. The Queen (*p*) dream'd that a great Serpent enjoy'd her that

(l) Ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς χαλεπότης, δυσζήλου καὶ βαρυθύμου γυναικὸς. *Olympiadis acerbitas ſuſpicioſæ mulieris, & triſtis. Plutarch in Alexandro, p. 669. A.*
(m) Ἀποβαλὼν δὲ τὴν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐτὸν ἐπέσχεν, ἣν τῇ τοῦ θυρεοῦ ἀφεμένῳ σφενδόνῃ βαλὼν ἐπέθηκεν ὁ παῖς τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ διάκοπτον. *Amiſiſſe vero eum alterum oculum, quem rimæ oſtii admovens Deum conſpexit ſerpentis figura cum uxore ſua concubantem. Plut. in Alex. initio, pag. m. 665.*
(n) *Id. ib.*
(o) *Id. ib.*
(p) Qua nocte eum mater Olympias concepit, viſa per quietem eſt cum ingenti ſerpente volutari. (*Others read* voluptari.) *Juſtin. l. 12. c. 16.*

that *Nectanebus* (C), baniſhed from *Egypt*, and taking ſhelter in *Macedonia*, did debauch *Olympias*. She was ſo incens'd againſt her Huſband, when he married another Wife, that ſhe inſtigated *Pauſanias* to kill him. Nay, ſhe was deſirous the World ſhould know what part ſhe acted in the Commiſſion of that (D) Parricide. At firſt ſhe did not take it amiſs † that the World ſhould think that *Jupiter* begot *Alexander* upon her: But afterwards ſhe laugh'd at the Fancy; as appears from a Letter ſhe (E) wrote to *Alexander*, when ſhe hear'd that he openly call'd himſelf the Son of *Jupiter*, and

† *See the Remark A and B.*

Night that ſhe conceiv'd *Alexander*. One of our beſt Criticks, commenting upon this Paſſage of *Juſtin*, obſerves, that there were Serpents or Snakes in *Macedonia* that grew ſo tame and familiar, that the Women put them round their Arms and Necks, like Bracelets and Necklaces, either for Diverſion, or to cool themſelves. To favour this, he alledges the Authority of *Lucian*. (q) *Hoc autem non abs re fuerit meminiſſe, (nam ex nihilo, ut ajunt, nihil) reperiri in Macedonia ſerpentes, qui tam facile manſuefieri poſſint, ut ex iis olim & puellæ & matronæ ſibi armillas, ſibi monilia facerent, vel ut animulas ſuas oblectarent, vel ad corpuſculum figerandum. Hujus rei auctorem ciere poſſum Lucianum in Alexandro, ſive Pſeudomanti.* *Lucian* ſpeaks neither of thoſe Bracelets nor Necklaces; but he ſays what's equally ſtrange. He affirms, that the Women of *Pella* entertain'd ſuch tame great Serpents, that they ſuckled them, and let them lye with the Children. He conjectures, that the vulgar Tradition about *Olympias* was grounded upon this Reaſon. (a) Ἐντεῦθεν λέγοντες δρέκοντας παμμεγέθεις, ἡμέρους πάνυ, καὶ πιθανοὺς, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τρέφεσθαι, καὶ παιδίοις συγκαθεύδειν, καὶ παλαιοῖς ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ θλιβομένοις μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν, καὶ γάλα πίνειν ἀπὸ θηλῆς κατὰ πυτὰ τοῖς βρέφεσι. πολλοὶ δὲ γίνονται τοιοῦτοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος μῦθον διαφοιτῆσαι πάλαι εἰκὸς, ὡπότε ἐκεῖσε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, δρέκοντί που πινὶ τούτῳ συγκαθεύδοντα αὐτῇ, σύριγγα ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, ὀλίγων ὀβολῶν. *Ibi cùm immani magnitudine dracones conſpicerent, cicures ac manſuetos, adeo ut à mulieribus alerentur, & cum pueris cubarent, & ſe conculcari juſtinerent, neque ſe premi indignè ferrent, denique infantum more lac è papilla ſugerent (quales apud illos ſunt permulti) unde veriſimile eſt olim de Olympiade fabulam increbruiſſe, quando concumbente cum illa hujuſmodi puto quopiam dracone, Alexandrum conceperat, unum ex his ſerpentibus, qui eſſet pulcherrimus, paucis obolis emunt.* According to *Plutarch* (b) the Women of that Country made uſe of thoſe Snakes in the Feſtival of *Bacchus*, which they affected to celebrate with all the appearances of the moſt furious Fanaticiſms. They made the Snakes creep upon the *Thyrſus*'s they carried in their Hands, and the Crowns they had upon their Heads; meaning thereby to frighten the Men the more. He obſerves likewiſe, that *Olympias* affected more than all the reſt to be tranſported with Fury at this Anniverſary. (c) Ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς μᾶλλον ἑτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς θοίνας, καὶ τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον, ἔφεις μεγάλους χειροήθεις ἐφείλκετο τοῖς θιάσοις. *Olympias autem, præ cæteris motum lymphaticum æmulans, & fanaticum peragens ritum horridiore ſpectaculo, ſerpentes manſuefactos trahebat thiaſis ingentes.*

(q) *Tanaquillus Faber in Juſtin. pag. 291. edit. Græviana, 1683.*

(a) *Lucianus in Pſeudomanti, p. 863. Tom. 1. edit. Salmurienſis 1619.*

(b) *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.*

(c) *Id. ib.*

(d) *Id. in Ageſilao, pag. 617.*

(e) *See the Article Tachus:*

(f) *We read of a certain Magician, called* Nectanabus, *who having made ſeveral Ships and Galleys of Wax, made his Enemies Ships ſink every time he drown'd his Wax Veſſels in a large Baſin of Water.* Vigenereon the Statue of *Æſculapius* in Philoſtratus, fol. 157. Tom. 2. edit. in 4°.

(g) *Freinſhemius Supplem. in Q. Curtium, l. 1. c. 1. n. 15.*

(C) *That* Nectanebus .... *did debauch* Olympias.] We are inform'd by *Plutarch* (d), that *Nectanebus* or *Nectanabus* abandoning his Kinſman *Tachus*, who had given him the Command of his Army, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of *Egypt* (e); and that *Ageſilaus* ſided with him. The *Perſians* defeated him and drove him out of *Egypt*. Some alledge, he fled to *Æthiopia*; others ſay he went to the Court of *Macedonia*, in hopes of a powerful Aſſiſtance from King *Philip* againſt the *Perſians*; but he was ſo ungrateful to that Prince for his kind Reception, that he left no Stone unturn'd to inveigle *Olympias*; and for that end had recourſe even to the Impoſtures of Magick, of which he was a great Maſter (f). By this means he gain'd the Queen, and begot *Alexander* upon her. They add, that *Philip* ſmelt ſomething of the Matter, and from that time continued jealous of her adulterous Embraces, and that this was the true Reaſon of the Divorce. But this is all fabulous. For Chronology makes it out that *Alexander* was ſix Years old when *Nectanebus* was outed of his Kingdom. This I have from the learned *Freinſhemius*, to whom all the Honour of the Diſcovery is due. *Nec deſunt*, ſays he (g), *qui* fabuloſum id quidem; non tamen adulterium matris falſo iactatum *aſſerant*. Quippe pulſum Ægypti regno Nectanebum, non, ut vulgo arbitrantur, in Æthiopias conceſſiſſe; ſed quum adverſus vim Perſicam in Philippo maxime præſidium ſperaret, in Macedoniam vectum, magicis præſtigiis inluſiſſe Olympiadi, torumque hoſpitis temeraviſſe. Suſpectam quidem exinde Philippo, neque aliam tam intimam divortii, quod inter eos ſequutum eſt, cauſſam, pro comperto poſtea fuiſſe..... (h) *Ceterum Nectanebi fuga temporibus hiſce non congruit: ſexennis enim jam erat Alexander, quum ille ab Ocho victus, avitis opibus excideret.*

(h) *Id. ib. n. 19.*

(D) *Should know what part ſhe acted in the Commiſſion of that Parricide.*] The Scandal of the Divorce and her Huſband's marrying again (i) made ſuch a warm Impreſſion upon her, that ſhe ſollicited the King of *Epirus* her Brother to declare War againſt *Philip*; and had compaſſed her end, if *Philip* had not prevented it by marrying his Daughter to that Monarch (k). She put *Pauſanias* upon the Aſſaſſination of her Huſband; ſhe took care to have Horſes in readineſs for that Aſſaſſin; and the very Night that ſhe return'd into *Macedonia* to aſſiſt at the Funeral of this Prince, ſhe cauſed a Crown to be put upon the Head of *Pauſanias*, who was upon the Croſs. Some Days after ſhe gave him a Funeral, and then built him a Tomb, and inſpired the People with the Religion of an Anniverſary Solemnity to the Honour of the Murderer. After that ſhe cauſed her Huſband's Daughter by *Cleopatra* to be kill'd on her Mother's Lap, and then had the Mother hang'd in her own Preſence (l). In fine, ſhe conſecrated to *Apollo* the Dagger with which *Pauſanias* had kill'd *Philip*, and chriſten'd the Dagger by the ſame Name that ſhe had in her Infancy. All theſe things ſhe did ſo publickly, that one would think her chief Fear was, that there would not be plain Evidence of her being the Author of 'em. See if this be not the Senſe of *Juſtin*. (m) *His ſtimulis iram utrique* (n) *Pauſaniam, de impunitate ſtupri ſui querentem, ad tantum facinus impuliſſe creduntur. Olympias certe fugienti percuſſori equos quoque præparatos habuit. Ipſa deinde, audita regis nece, cum titulo officii ad exequias cucurriſſet, in cruce pendentis Pauſaniæ capiti, eadem nocte qua venit, coronam auream impoſuit: quod nemo alius audere, niſi hæc, ſuperſtite Philippi filio, potuiſſet. Paucos deinde poſt dies, refixum corpus interfectoris ſuper reliquias mariti cremavit, & tumulum ei eodem fecit in loco, parentarique eidem quotannis, incuſſa populo ſuperſtitione, curavit. Poſt hæc Cleopatram, à qua pulſa Philippi matrimonio fuerat, in gremio ejus prius filia interfecta, finire vitam ſuſpendio coegit, ſpectaculoque pendentis ultionem potita eſt, ad quam per parricidium feſtinaverat. Noviſſime gladium, quo rex percuſſus eſt, Apollini ſub nomine Myrtalis conſecravit: hoc enim ante Olympiadis parvulæ fuit. Quæ omnia ita palam facta ſunt, ut timuiſſe videatur, ne facinus ab ea commiſſum non probaretur.*

(i) *He married* Cleopatra *the Daughter of* Attalus, *according to* Juſtin, *l. 9. cap. 5. or Niece, according to* Plutarch *in* Alexandro, *and* Diodorus Siculus, *l. 16. c. 94.*

(k) *Taken from* Juſtin, *l. 9. c. 7.*

(l) Juſtin's *Words will bear this Senſe, but they may likewiſe be underſtood, as if* Olympias *had only ſeen* Cleopatra *hanging.*

(m) *Id. ib. p. m. 204, 205.*

(n) i. e. Olympias *and* Alexander *her Son.*

(E) *From a Letter ſhe wrote to* Alexander.] In writing to his Mother he had taken upon him the Title of the Son of *Jupiter Hammon*; and the Anſwer ſhe ſent him was this, *Pray, my Son, be quiet, do not accuſe me before* Juno, *ſhe'll do me ſome great Miſchief, if you own me for her Rival in your Letters.* The Knowledge of this we owe entirely to *Aulus Gellius*; for we have not *Varro*'s Book, out of which he copied it, nor the ſeveral other Writings in which 'twas mention'd. *Aulus Gellius*'s Words are theſe. (o) *In pleriſque monumentis rerum ab Alexandro geſtarum, & paulo antè in libro M. Varronis, qui inſcriptus eſt* Oreſtes *vel de inſania, Olympiadem Philippi uxorem feſtiviſſimè reſcripſiſſe legimus* Alexandro *filio. Nam quum is ad matrem ita ſcripſiſſet: Rex Alexander Jovis Hammonis filius Olympiadi matri ſalutem dicit. Olympias reſcripſit ad hanc ſententiam:* Amabo, *inquit*, mi fili, quieſcas: neque deferas me neque criminere adverſum Junonem. Malum mihi prorſum illa magnum dabit, quum tu me litteris tuis pellicem illi eſſe confiteris. *Freinſhemius* is miſtaken when he affirms, that *Olympias* wrote to *Alexander*, that ſhe had not deſerved to be expoſed to *Juno*'s Reſentment:

(o) Aulus Gellius, *l. 13. cap. 4.*

(p) *Mu*

and requir'd (F) Divine Honours. In *Alexander*'s Abſence *Antipater* was almoſt always at variance with her; and indeed 'twas very difficult for a Woman of ſuch a jealous † and ſowr Temper to agree with the Governour of *Macedonia*: Which Poſt *Alexander* beſtowed upon *Antipater*, when he went upon the Expedition to conquer *Aſia*. After the Death of this Conqueror ſhe was obliged to retire into *Epirus*; from whence *Polyperchon* recalled her ſix Years after. *Aridæus*, and his Wife *Eurydice*, who then reign'd in *Macedonia*, oppoſed her Return: but their Efforts were in vain; for the *Macedonians* declared for her, and by her Orders made away both with the Huſband and the Wife. She put to Death *Nicanor*, *Caſſander*'s Brother, and having ſingled out a hundred *Macedonian* Nobles that were *Caſſander*'s Friends, caus'd them all to be maſſacred. This Piece of Cruelty quickly loſt her the Affection of her Subjects, and then every Body call'd to mind *Antipater*'s laſt Words; and remember'd, as an Oracle, the Exhor-

† *See the Remark A, at Letter I.*

(p) *Pricianſhem Supplem. l.* 1. c. 1. n. 20. *He cites* Agel. 13. 4.

(q) *Done by* du Rier, *and joyn'd to* Vaugelas's Q. Curtius.

(r) i. e. *thoſe which he applies directly to* Olympias.

(f) Βτιφοι δέ φασιν, αὐτὴν ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τὸ λεγειν, Οὐ παυσῇ με διαβάλλων Ἀλέξανδρῳ πρὸς τὴν Ηραν. Alii hoc illam ajunt abdicaſſe ac dixiſſe, Non deſinet Alexander in crimen me apud Junonem vocare. *Plutarch ubi ſupra.*

(t) *See* Ælian *var. hiſt. lib.* 12. c. 64.

(a) Ælian. *ibid. l.* 13. c. 30.

(b) *Clem. Alexandr. Admonit. ad gentes, pag.* 61.

(c) *Juſtin. lib.* 11. c. 11. *pag. m.* 241, 242. *See likewiſe* Oroſius, *l.* 3. c. 16.

(d) *In the Article* Macedonia, *at the Remark E.*

(e) *Lucian. Tom.* 1. *pag. m.* 256.

(f) Ælian. *var hiſt. lib.* 2. c. 29.

(p) *Miſſaque epiſtola petiviſſe*, ne ſe nihil tale commentam odiis Junonis objectare pergeret. *Moreri*, who never went to the Spring-head, has, by truſting to the Tranſlation of *Freinſhemius* (q), given us a falſe Account of the Tenour of this Letter. I own indeed, that *Olympias*'s Words carry with them an Air of Raillery; but when all is done, if we keep to the literal Senſe of the Words, we muſt hold for a poſitive Truth, that this Princeſs does not deny her former Converſation with *Jupiter*, and only deſires her Son would not boaſt of it; for fear *June*, who perhaps would otherwiſe never hear of it, or not trouble her ſelf about it, while no noiſe was made of it, ſhould call up all the Fury of her Jealouſy, upon ſeeing this her Husband's new Baſtard proclaim all over the Earth the Favours ſhewn to *Olympias*. Upon this Conſideration therefore, that the Literal Senſe of *Aulus Gellius*'s Words imports no more, they ought not to be quoted in *Italick*, as if they contained a formal Declaration of *Olympias*'s Innocence. The (r) Terms that *Plutarch* (f) makes uſe of, import only that ſhe would have her Son hold his Peace: For there's a great deal of difference between ſaying, *I would not have an Accuſation be brought againſt me before* Juno, and ſaying, *I have done nothing to offend* Juno. *Ælian* tells us one thing which ſhews, that one Day ſhe reflected with great Concern upon *Alexander*'s Weakneſs in deſiring to paſs for a God. Hearing that he had died lately and was not yet (t) interr'd, ſhe cry'd out, *Oh, my poor Son! you have uſed all your Efforts to have a place among the Gods, and now you have not the very Honour of a Sepulchre, which is common to all Mortals.* Ἀλλὰ (a) σὺ μὲν ἐρανῷ μετασχεῖν βιάλομαι, καὶ τοῦτο σπεύδων, νῦν δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς νέκυ, οὐδὲν πλέον ἀνθρώποις μετασχεῖν ἔχεις, γῆς τε ἄμοιρος. *Tu vero quum inter cælites locari velueris, & id perficere ſummmo ſtudio conatus ſis, nunc neque illorum quidem, quorum omnibus mortalibus æquale & par jus eſt, particeps fieri potes, terræ ſepulturæque.* This calls into my Memory a piece of Raillery of *Theocritus* the Sophiſt (b), who hearing of *Alexander*'s Death ſaid to his Countrymen, *Take good Heart, Gentlemen, you ſee the Gods dye ſooner than the Men do.*

(F) *The Son of* Jupiter, *and required Divine Honours.*] He had ſeveral Views in this Uſurpation of Divine Honours, and among other things that of vindicating *Olympias*, who was charged with ill Conduct in the way of Chaſtity. For this I ſhall produce you a Witneſs, who at the ſame time will be Evidence of the Venality of the Pagan Oracles: For I am going to ſhew you, that *Alexander* bribed the Prieſts of *Jupiter Hammon*, to engage them to anſwer, as he would have 'em, with reference to the paternal Relation of *Jupiter*. (c) *Igitur Alexander cupiens originem divinitatis acquirere, ſimul & matrem infamia liberare, per præmiſſos ſubornat antiſtites, quid ſibi reſponderi velit. Ingredientem templum ſtatim antiſtites ut Hammonis filium ſalutant. Ille lætus dei adoptione hoc ſe patre cenſeri jubet. Rogat deinde, an omnes interfectores parentis ſui ſit ultus; reſpondetur, patrem ejus nec poſſe interfici, nec mori; regis Philippi peractam plene ultionem eſſe.* I have ſaid elſewhere (d) that 'twas a ſly Piece of Politicks, that moved *Alexander* to deſire to paſs for a God: He owns it to his Father in one of *Lucian*'s (e) Dialogues. I have likewiſe obſerved, that he was more reſerved, touching that Pretenſion to the Greeks than to the Barbarians: But here I muſt add, that at laſt he threw off that Conduct, and would have had the *Grecian* Cities to paſs Decrees relating to his Divinity. The Reſolutions they took upon this Head were different: The Decree of *Lacedæmon* was conceiv'd in theſe Terms; *Since* Alexander *has a mind to be a God, let him.* (f) Ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλα ἐψηφίσαντο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπεῖπαν, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος βέλεται θεὸς εἶναι, ἔστω θεός. *Itaque aliis aliter ſtatuentibus, Lacedæmonii decretum ejuſmodi fecerunt: Quoniam Alexander Deus eſſe vult, eſto Deus.* The Author I here cite, did not know all that the *Athenians* did; he only mentions their oppoſition to the Decree (g) propoſed to 'em by *Demades*, importing, that *Alexander* ſhould be from thenceforth the 13th of the great Gods. He was fined for moving ſuch a piece of Impiety. *Ælian* knew no more; but 'tis very probable *Demades* purſued his Motion further, and the Decree (h) paſs'd at laſt. He repreſented to the *Athenians*, that they ought to take care not to loſe the Earth, in pretending too ſollicitouſly to keep Heaven. *Erafmus* did not take up the right Senſe of this Orator. *Quum Athienienſes*, ſays he (i), *vellent Alexandro divinos honores decernere, videte inquit* (Demades) *ne dum cælum cuſtoditis, terram amittatis. Alexander enim ambiebat monarchiam. Abſurdum autem erat eos ſic alium donare cælo, ut ipſi terra ſua pellerentur.* *Erafmus* ſuppoſes that *Demades* oppoſed *Alexander*'s Divine Honours, and makes him reaſon perplexedly. Here are two Faults. The Truth is, that *Demades* adviſed this Deification, and inſiſted upon this Argument, that 'twas to be feared *Alexander* would conquer *Attica*, to chaſtiſe thoſe who had refuſed him Heaven. See *Diogenes Laertius*, Book 6, *pag.* 345. There you'll find that the *Athenians* decreed to *Alexander* the Divinity of *Bacchus*. Ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρον Διόνυσον, ἐμοὶ, ἔφη Σάραπιν ποίησατε. *Athienienſibus Alexandrum Liberum Patrem decernentibus, & me, inquit* (Diogenes) *Serapin facite.* In the Remark E of the Article of this Conqueror, I offer'd, that there's ſcarce any Probability, that he could be firmly perſuaded of his own pretended Divinity; for he own'd that two things put him chiefly in Mind of his being a Man; he lay with Women, and he ſlept; which two Infirmities he took to be incompatible with the Divinity. How could he then believe that *Jupiter* had begot him? A Wound gave him likewiſe to know that he was a Man, and from thence he took occaſion to rally a little upon the Flatterers that paid him Divine Honours. *'Tis true Blood, and not ſuch Humour as flows from the Immortal Nature of the Gods*, ſaid he (k), ſhewing them what Matter run from his Wound. Some ſay 'twas not he, but *Calliſthenes* that ſpoke this Raillery. See, upon this whole Matter, *Freinſhemius*'s Commentary upon the 7th Chap. of the 4th Book of *Quintus Curtius*. 'Tis not altogether improbable what *Zonaras* ſays, that this Prince finding himſelf at the point of Death, deſired to be thrown into the *Euphrates*, to make the World believe his Tranſlation to Heaven: For what Stratagems did not he uſe, to perſwade the World that he was God, and to eſtabliſh the Worſhip of his pretended Divinity? *Jamque omnibus præparatis quod tam prava mente concepe-rat tunc eſſe maturum, quoniam modo cæleſtes honores uſurparet, cepit agitare. Jovis filium non dici tantum ſe, ſed etiam credi vol hat, tanquam perinde animis imperare poſſet ac linguis. Itaque more Perſarum Macedonas venerandos ipſum ſalutare proſternentes humi corpora (l), &c.*

Here *Naudé* furniſhes me with Matter for a Criticiſm. *Alexander*, ſays he (m), *gave out .... that when he came into the World, the Goddeſs* Diana *aſſiſted ſo aſſiduouſly at his Mother's Delivery, that ſhe forgot to accour the Temple ſhe had at* Epheſus, *which, in that*

(g) *Id. l.* 5. c. 12. *See likewiſe* Athenæus *lib.* 6. *p.* 251.

(h) *See Plutarch* in vita Lycurgi Oratoris, *pag.* 842. *Clem. Alexandr.* Admonit. ad gentes, *pag.* 61. *St. Chryſoſt.* Homil. 26. in poſter. ad Corint. (*where, by an overſight, he attributes to the* Romans *what he ſhould have ſaid of the* Athenians, *as* Salmaſius *obſerves*, in Lamprid. Alexandr. Sever. cap. 63.) *St. Cyril in* Julian. l. 6.

(i) *Erafm. Apophthegm l.* 6. *p. m.* 499.

(k) Τοξυμαλὶς δὲ πληγεὶς εἰς τὸ σκέλος, ὡς πολλοὶ συνέβρεμον τῶν πολιτῶν εἰωθότων αὐτὸν θεὸν προσαγορεύειν, διαχυθείσης τοῦ προσώπου, Τοῦδε μέν, εἶπεν, αἷμα, ὦ ἑταῖροι, ὃ οὐκ ἰχὼρ, οἷος πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν. Jaculo cruſtus multis concurrentibus eorum qui ipſum ſæpenumero ſolebant Deum ſalutare, renidente vultu, hoc quidem, inquit, ſanguis eſt, ut videris, non ille *Humor qui ſuperum manat de corpore divum.* Plut. in Apophthegm. *p.* 180. *D.*

(l) *Q. Curtius, lib.* 8. c. 5.

(m) *Naudé, Coups d' Etat ch.* 2. *p. m.* 218.

Several

Exhortation he made upon his Death-bed (FΔ) never to ſuffer a Woman to mount the Throne. *Olympias*, miſtruſting the Affection of her People, went and ſhut her ſelf up in *Pydna*, as ſoon as ſhe heard of *Caſſander*'s Arrival. There ſhe was beſieged, and obliged by Famine to capitulate. She was promiſed her Life, but *Caſſander* did not obſerve that Article of the Capitulation. He call'd a general Convention of the People, and put the Queſtion to 'em what he ſhould do with that Princeſs. Upon which ſome Perſons, ſuborn'd by him, and the near Relations of thoſe ſhe had put to Death, demanded that ſhe ſhould be brought to condign Puniſhment for her Cruelty. In purſuance of this Demand, ſhe was condemn'd to die *, and bore the Execution (G) with Courage and Marks of Modeſty. I never read, but in a Modern Author, that the Serpent, which lay with her, left upon her Body ſuch Spots as were never (H) defaced. 'Twas of the Mother of *Auguſtus* that this was ſaid.

OREGIUS

* *Taken from Juſtin. lib. 14. cap. 5. & 6. See likewiſe* Diodorus Siculus, *l. 19. cap. 51.*

Interval was intirely conſumed by an (n) accidental Fire..... Some Captives having acquainted him with a Remedy proper to be made uſe of againſt the Indians *poyſon'd Arrows, he gave out, before he publiſh'd it, that God had revealed it to him in a Dream. But this inſatiable Deſire having carried him ſo far as to require Adoration, he was at laſt convinced, by the Remonſtrances of* Callimachus, *by the obſtinacy of the* Lacedemonians, *and the Wounds he received every Day in Engagements, that all his Power would never be ſufficient to eſtabliſh that new Apotheoſis; and that a greater Fortune is required for gaining a ſmall place in Heaven, than for vanquiſhing here below, and lording it over all the Earth.* 'Tis not true that *Alexander* gave out that *Diana*, taken up in aſſiſting at *Olympias*'s Delivery, ſuffered the Temple of *Epheſus* to be burnt. That was the Notion of an Hiſtorian (o) *Plutarch* plays upon: No Body ſays it came from *Alexander*. Did the *Lacedemonians* oppoſe his Deification? Did not they make a Decree (p) in his Favour? And though they gave it an unlucky Turn, we can't ſay they were an Obſtacle to his Deſign.

(n) *'Twas not Caſual; for a Raſcal confeſs'd he had ſet Fire to the Temple to make the World ſpeak of him.*

(o) *See the Article* Fontarabia.

(p) *See* Ælian *above, at Letter f.*

(FΔ) *The Exhortation* Antipater *made upon his Death-bed, never to ſuffer a Woman.*] This Matter of Fact is preſerved to us by (q) *Diodorus Siculus*; and *Lambinus* has inſerted in one of his Books the whole Chapter in which that Ancient Hiſtorian diſplays all the Barbarities of *Olympias*, and queſtionleſs his only end in inſerring it, was to add the greater weight to the Concluſion. (r) *Talibus & tam atrocibus, atque injuſtis facinoribus iram ſuam explens* (Olympias) *eò hoc efficit, ut Macedones ejus crudelitatem abominarentur. Omnes enim Antipatri verba memoriæ repetebant, qui tanquam oracula fundens, & vaticinans, Macedones moriens hortatus eſt,* UT NE UNQUAM MULIEREM SINERENT REGNI CLAVUM TENERE. *Hactenus Diodorus.* Now ſee what he adds to juſtify this Remonſtrance of *Antipater*. *Præclarè vero Antipater. Nam ſi mulieres omnes jure civili propter infirmitatem conſilii in tutorum ſunt poteſtate, neque ſuarum rerum gerendarum ſunt domina aut arbitræ, & quod mulier ſine tutore autore promiſerit, id ratum non eſt, neque debetur, quanto minus debet mulieri reipub. procuratio, & regni adminiſtrandi poteſtas permitti, aut committi? & ſi viri interdum, quorum maximè propria eſt fortitudo, quique ſapientiores & cordatiores ſolent eſſe natura, imperium adepti, tamen licentia corrumpuntur, ac depravantur: quid à mulieribus, quibus nihil natura finxit mollius, neque mobilius, neque infirmius, expectandum?* There can't be a ſtronger Cenſure of thoſe People, who lodge the Sovereign Authority in the Hands of Women; and yet *Lambinus* publiſh'd his Book at *Paris*, by the King's Authority, and dedicated it to *Charles* XI. when *Catherine de Medicis* govern'd all. 'Tis no wonder ſuch Thoughts came into his Head in thoſe Days; for that Queen's ill Conduct was enough to infuſe them into thoſe very People, who were leaſt pre-poſſeſs'd with the Salick Law: But 'tis ſtrange indeed that he had the Courage to publiſh theſe his Thoughts, and that he did not ſuffer by ſo doing. They took no notice of his Reflection, and thence it comes that *Francis Hotomanus* (a) ask'd his Adverſaries why they made ſo much noiſe againſt his (b) *Francogallia* printed beyond the *Alps*, and took no notice of *Lambinus*, whoſe work had been printed at *Paris* it ſelf.

(q) *Dionyſ. Lambin. in Cornel. Nepot. pag. 345. edit. of* Paris, *1569.*

(a) *See* Maragonis de Maragonibus adverſus Italogalliam ſive Antifrancogalliam Antonii Matharelli, *pag. 245, 246.*

(b) *'Tis a piece, in which he condemns the Regency of Women.*

(G) *Bore the Execution with Courage and Marks of Modeſty.*] So true it is, that the moſt reprobate Souls do more readily renounce Virtue it ſelf, than the appearance of Virtue. Here we have a Woman divorced for her adulterous Amours, and otherwiſe loaded with the greateſt Grimes, who takes the utmoſt care to tuck up her Cloaths ſo as to cover what Modeſty refuſes to expoſe to view. (c) *Inſuper exſpirans capillis os, veſte crura contexiſſe fertur, ne quid poſſet in corpore ejus indecorum videri.* The like care is leſs wonderful in *Polyxena*, who was a young Girl and a very virtuous Perſon. *Euripides* has not fail'd to obſerve, that ſhe took the utmoſt care to have her Fall accompanied with Decency (d).

(e) Η' δὲ, ᾗ θνήσκω', ὅμως
Πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν,
Κρύπτουσ' ὅ, ἄρρητ' ἄμματ' ἀρσένων χερῶν.
Hæc vero etiam moriens, tamen
Magnam ſollicitudinem habuit decenter ut caderet,
Et occultaret, quæ occultare oculos virorum convenit.

Pliny the younger makes the ſame Remark upon the great Veſtal Virgin, that *Domitian* condemn'd to be buried alive. (f) *Quinetiam quum in illud ſubterraneum cubiculum demitteretur, hæſiſſetque deſcendenti ſtola, vertit ſe, ac recollegit. Cumque ei carnifex manum daret, adverſata eſt, & reſiluit: fœdumque contactum quaſi planè à caſto puroque corpore noviſſima ſanctitate rejecit: omnibuſque numeris pudoris,* πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν. I paſs over in Silence the *Amazon Penthefilea*; for the Poet obſerving that ſhe fell from her Horſe ſtretch'd out at full length, without making any Diſcovery, gives us ground to believe 'twas the Effect of Chance.

(g) Η' δ' ὅπλα μὲν κονίᾳ, ᾗ ὀλέθρῳ,
Εὐσχήμως ἐκπεσοῦσα κατ' ὄπισθ' ἔβη οἷ αἰδὼς
Η' χρυσῆ δόμοις ἐν πέπλοι δ' ὅπλ' ἦσαν μαστῆρ.
Quæ mox cum pulvere & morte commiſcetur,
Compoſitè cadens ad terram, nec pudor
Formoſum corpus dedecorat, ſed extenditur in latum ventrem.

But what ſhall we ſay of *Cæſar*, the unchaſteſt Man upon Earth, who yet uſed a precaution like that of *Polyxena*? *Utque animadvertit undique ſe ſtrictis pugionibus peti, toga caput obvolvit: ſimul ſiniſtra manu ſinum ad ima crura deduxit quo honeſtius caderet, etiam inferiore corporis parte velata (h).* We muſt needs own, not only that Lewdneſs has bounds in thoſe who harbour it; but likewiſe that there are ſome Perſons very diſſolute and irregular in their Actions, who in their Words and external Demeanour, are religious Obſervers of Decency (i). As for the Courage that *Olympias* ſhewed at her Exit, 'tis handſomly deſcribed in the following Words: (k) *Sed Olympias ubi obſtinatos venire ad ſe armatos vidit, veſte regali, duabus ancillis innixa ultro obviam procedit. Quæ viſa, percuſſores attoniti fortuna majeſtatis prioris, & tot in ea memoriæ occurrentibus regum ſuorum nominibus, ſubſiterunt; donec à Caſſandro miſſi ſunt, qui eam confoderent, non refugientem gladium, nec vulnera, aut muliebriter vociferantem, ſed virorum more fortium, pro gloria veteris proſapiæ, morti ſuccumbentem, ut Alexandrum poſſes etiam in moriente matre cognoſcere.* This ſhews, that thoſe who ſay Cruelty is a mark of Cowardice, and that nothing is ſo mean and cringing as a Barbarous and Criminal Soul when reduced to the laſt Extremity, may be confuted by great Examples.

(c) *Juſtin. lib. 14. ſub finem.*

(d) *She had likewiſe the Courage to ſee the fatal Blow. See* Drelincourt, *p. 126. of* Achilleus *index, the 3d edition. You will there meet with an accurate and extenſive Learning upon* Polyxena.

(e) *Euripides in Hecuba verſ. 568. p. m. 35. See likewiſe* Ovid's Metam. *l. 13. where he ſays of* Polyxena, Tunc quoque cura fuit partes velare tegendas cum caderet, caſtique decus ſervare pudoris.

(f) *Plinius Epiſt. 11. lib. 4. pag. m. 240.*

(g) *Quintus Calaber in Supplem. Homeri, lib. 1. v. 619. p. m. 168.*

(h) *Sueton. in Cæſare, cap. 82.*

(i) *Compare the Article* Naples, *at Remark H.*

(k) *Juſtin lib. 14. c. 6. pag. m. 328, 329.*

(H) *Left upon her Body ſuch Spots as were never defaced.*] The Modern Author I here ſpeak of is *Savaron*, whoſe Words I ſhall inſert after premiſing the Text of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, upon which he has commented.

Magnus

OREGIUS (AUGUSTIN) a great Philoſopher, was ordered by Cardinal * *Barberini* Legate of *Bologna*, to examine whether *Ariſtotle* taught the Mortality of the Soul. The Legate's Intention was, in caſe *Ariſtotle* had been found guilty of that Piece of Impiety, to procure the Pope's Interdict againſt Lectures upon that Philoſopher relating to this Head. But *Oregius* declared him innocent. See his Book † *de immortalitate Animæ*. He wrote a Book, *de Angelis*, and another *de Operibus ſex dierum*, which was printed at *Rome* in 1632.

ORICELLARIUS (BERNARD) a *Florentin*, related to the Houſe γ of *Medicis*, had his ſhare of the beſt Poſts η in his Native Country. He flouriſh'd towards the end of the XV. Century. By what you'll find quoted in the Remarks 'tis evident that his Works are written in a very good Style. He wrote the Expedition of *Charles* VIII. into *Italy* with great ‡ Partiality. I take him to be the ſame Perſon ↓ with *Bernard* OCRICULARIUS, of whom *Eraſmus* ſays one thing (*A*) that's worth knowing. *Picrius*

* *He, who was ſince made Pope by the Name of* Urban VIII.

† *In Chap. 5. Conſult Fromondus* Philoſ. Chriſt. de anima, *pag.* 761.

γ *See the Remark* B.

η Vir conſularis graviſſimus. *Paciantius de Scriptor. Florent. pag.* 32.

‡ Qua in Hiſtoria moderatio ſcriptori probo conveniens, & alienus a ſtudiis partium animus deſiderantur. *Mabill. Muſæi Ital. Tom.* 1. *p.* 169.

↓ Konig makes 'em two ſeveral Authors.

Magnus (l) Alexander, nec non Auguſtus, habentur
Concepti ſerpente Deo: Phœbumque, Jovemque
Diviſere ſibi: namque horum quæſiit unus
Cyniſia ſub Scyrte patrem maculis genitricis.
Alter Phœbigenam ſeſe gaudebat haberi,
Paonii jactans Epidauria ſigna draconis.

(*l*) *Sidon. Apollinaris Carm.* 2. *v.* 121.

Savaron's Remark upon the fourth of theſe ſix Verſes, is this. *Hæc de Alexandro dicta ſunt, non de Auguſto, ut vir* (*m*) *doctus ſcribit, qui quidem Alexander quærebat patrem ſuum inſignitum ſerpentis maculis, quibus inſignita erat Olympias mater, qua cum Jupiter Hammon ſub ſpecie ſerpentis concubuerat, & ſerpentinas maculas inuſſerat ſui concubitus teſtes. Idem, de Accia Auguſti matre, Sueton. cap.* 94. He is in the right to maintain that this Verſe relates to *Alexander*, and not to *Auguſtus*. But where did he read that *Olympias* bore upon her Body the Marks of the Animal, the form of which *Jupiter* aſſum'd? No Author mentions it; ſo that I take the Spots, ſpoken of by the Poet, to be the Blemiſhes of the Queen's Reputation. Doubtleſs, his Meaning is, that *Alexander* ſought for his Father in the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, with intent to wipe off thoſe Spots, that is, to ſcreen his Mother's Honour: The Words of *Juſtin*, quoted above (*n*), lead us to this Senſe. This Obſervation I had made before I conſulted *Freinſhemius*'s Commentary, where I meet with the ſame Cenſure of *Savaron*'s Notion. (*o*) *Neſcio num ita potius accipiendus ſit Sidonius Carm.* 2. 124. *ubi dicit quæſiſſe Alexandrum* Cynifia ſub Syrte patrem maculis genitricis, *quam, ut explicat Vir doctiſſimus, de maculis à concubitu draconis, in matris corpore relictis; ut nimirum Sidonius velit, eum per infamiam matris, quam eo modo adulterii ream agebat, Hammonem ſibi patrem quæſiviſſe. Certe enim de maculis ejus generis ſerpentinis nihil recordor legiſſe, quod ad Olympiadem pertineat.* If *Atia*, the Mother of *Auguſtus*, were our Subject, we muſt ſpeak otherwiſe; for we read in *Suetonius*, that the Spots ſhe had upon her Body after her believing that a Serpent had embraced her, hindered her all the reſt of her Life to go into a Bath: She durſt not appear with ſuch a checker'd Nudity. This Adventure is ſo ſtrange and aſtoniſhing, that, if 'twere certain, 'twould puzzle all our ſtrongeſt Heads. Give me leave to copy the Paſſage. (*p*) *In Aſclepiadis Mendetis Θεολογουμένων libris lego, Atiam, cum ad ſolenne Apollinis ſacrum media nocte veniſſet, poſita in templo lectica, dum cæteræ matronæ dormirent, obdormiſſe, draconemque repente irrepſiſſe ad eam, paullo-que poſt egreſſum, illamque expergefactam quaſi à concubitu mariti purificaſſe ſe, & ſtatim in corpore ejus extitiſſe maculam, velut depicti draconis, nec potuiſſe unquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balneis perpetuo abſtinuerit.* It ſuch Stories had been vented only once, and in a Philoſophical Age, we ſhould leſs dare to deride them: But when we conſider that they began to appear in Fabulous Times, and were revived in divers Ages, we do not ſcruple to affirm, they owe their Being to Poetical Fictions; and that ſeveral Copies of 'em have been drawn by Flatterers, in favour ſometimes of one, ſometimes of another. The *Meſſenians* (*a*) gave out, that *Ariſtomenes* was born of a God, metamorphoſed into a Serpent. The *Sicyonians* declared the ſame thing of *Ariſtodamas*. The *Romans* were willing their *Scipio* ſhould partake of the ſame advantage with *Alexander*; and after that there were Flatterers that gave *Auguſtus* the like Honour. This ſort of Birth appear'd ſo glorious, that the Emperour *Galerius*, the Son of a (*b*) Peaſant (*c*) boaſted of it, to render himſelf wonderful. *Scipio* was willing ſuch a Story ſhould be believed of his Mother; and I do not know whether the wiſer *Romans* did not contribute in ſome meaſure to foment this Opinion: For in the Circumſtances that *Rome* was reduced to by *Annibal*, 'twas convenient that thoſe popular Errors ſhould revive the Hopes of the People, and make 'em look upon *Scipio*, as a Man deſigned by the Gods for great things. Do but mind theſe admirable Words of *Livy*. (*d*) *Fuit enim Scipio, non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, ſed arte quoque quadam ab juventa in oſtentationem earum compoſitus: pleraque apud multitudinem aut per nocturnas viſa ſpecies, aut velut divinitus mente monita, agens: ſive & ipſe capti quadam ſuperſtitione animi, ſive ut imperia conſiliaque velut ſorte oraculi miſſa, ſine cunctatione aſſequeretur. Ad hoc jam inde ab initio præparans animos, ex quo togam virilem ſumpſit, nullo die prius ullam publicam privatamque rem egit, quam in Capitolium iret, ingreſſuſque ædem conſideret: & plerumque tempus ſolus in ſecreto ibi tereret. Hic mos, qui per omnem vitam ſervabatur, ſeu conſulto, ſeu temere, vulgatæ opinioni fidem apud quoſdam fecit, ſtirpis eum divinæ virum eſſe; retulitque famam, in Alexandro Magno prius vulgatam, & vanitate & fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, & in cubiculo matris ejus perſæpe viſam prodigii ejus ſpeciem, intervenuque hominum evolutam repente, atque e oculis elapſam. His miraculis numquam ab ipſo eluſa fides eſt: quin potius aucta arte quadam, nec abnuendi tale quicquam, nec palam affirmandi. Multa alia ejuſdem generis, alia vera, alia aſſimulata, admirationis humanæ in eo juvene exceſſerant modum: quibus freta tunc civitas, ætati haudquaquam maturæ tantam molem rerum tantumque imperium permiſit.* There are great Families in *Europe*, that pretend to be ſprung from the Commerce of a Woman with ſome Spirit. The Marſhal *de Baſſompierre* ſays ſo of the Head of his Race. See his Memoirs and *Le Comte de Gabalis*. See likewiſe the Article of *Plato*.

(*l*) *Sidon. Apollinaris Carm.* 2. *v.* 121.

(*m*) *i. e. Caſaubon in Sueton. Auguſto c.* 94.

(*n*) *In the Remark* F. *letter* c.

(*o*) *Freinſhemius in Q. Curtium, lib.* 4. *c.* 7. *n.* 25.

(*p*) *Sueton. in Auguſto, cap.* 94.

(*a*) Velandæ ignominiæ repetitum ex antiquis fabulis de dracone commentum: idem enim olim de Ariſtomene Meſſenios, de Ariſtodama Sicyonios jactaviſſe. *Freinſhem. Supplem. in Quint. Curtium, lib.* 1. *c.* 1. *n.* 17.

(*b*) *Aurel. Victor. in Epitome, p. m.* 222.

(*c*) Is inſolenter affirmare auſus eſt matrem more Olympiadis Alexandri Magni creatricis compreſſam draconem ſemet concepiſſe. *Id. ibid.*

(*A*) Eraſmus *ſays one thing that's worth knowing.*] He could never engage him to ſpeak *Latin*, not but that *Oricularius* underſtood it, but becauſe he had ſtudied the Delicacy and Beauty of it, and was afraid of ſlipping into Barbariſms, if he ventured to ſpeak it *ex tempore*. This he takes occaſion to tell us from an Apophthegm of *Pollio*. That Orator own'd that, by pleading well, he had acquir'd the Facility of Pleading, and that by pleading often he had rendered himſelf the leſs capable of pleading well. Now, the ſame thing happens to thoſe who ſpeak *Latin* often; they acquire the Facility of Speaking, and loſe the Habit of ſpeaking exactly and politely. (*e*) *Pollio dicebat*, Commode agendo factum eſt, ut ſæpe agerem: ſed ſæpe agendo factum eſt ut minus commode, quia ſcilicet aſſiduitate nimia facilitas magis quam facultas, nec fiducia ſed temeritas paratur. *Quod accurate factum velimus, raro faciendum eſt. Hac ratione dici videntur Itali quidam eruditi, qui licet pulchre calleant Latine, tamen vix unquam adduci poſſunt ut in familiari congreſſu Latine loquantur. At ſi quando compellit neceſſitas, dicunt exacte, quaſique de ſcripto. Novi Venetia Bernardum Oricularium civem Florentinum, cujus hiſtorias ſi legiſſes, diviſſes alterum* (*f*) *Salluſtium, aut certe Salluſtii temporibus ſcriptas. Nunquam tamen ab homine impetrare licuit, ut mecum Latine loqueretur: ſubinde interpellabam, ſurdo loqueris vir præclare, vulgaris linguæ veſtratis tam ſum ignarus quam Indicæ. Verbum Latinum nunquam quivi ab eo extundere.* Thus Precaution of the *Italians* continued a long time; for we learn from *Scoppius* that one could not ſcrew three

(*e*) *Eraſm. Apophth. lib.* 8. *pag.* 634. *edit.* 1556.

(*f*) *Here is what* Poccianti *ſays of* Bernardus Oricellarius, *p.* 33. *de Scriptor. Florent.* Dictavit quinetiam Florentinas hiſtorias, quas adeo phraſi extulit eloquentiſſima, quod (teſte Michaele Urbinate) ipſum Salluſtium ſuperaſſe videatur

‡ *Thuan. lib. 92. pag. 230.*

* *Especially in the Dutch Edition.*

† *See the 247 pag. of an Historical Account of the famous Men of the Academy of Florence printed at Florence in 4°. in the Year 1700, and composed by Jacobo Rilli.*

Pierius Valerianus (B) mentions our *Bernard*, and so does *Petrus* (C) *Crinitus*. *John della Casa* had a Sister that was married to one *Oricellarius*; and her Sons took care of their Uncle's Funeral and Manuscripts. This I only take notice of to have the opportunity of correcting an Error that relates (D) to *Naogeorgus*.

Thuanus mentions one *Horatius ORICELLARIUS*, a *Florentin*, who amass'd vast Riches in managing the Excise of *France*; and perceiving he became odious by reason of his great Profit, return'd to his own Country. The Great Duke sent him as Deputy for his Marriage with one of the Daughters of the Duke of *Lorrain* in 1588 ‡. There was at the same time one *Charles ORICELLARIUS*, a Member of the Academy of *Florence*, and Canon of the Metropolitan Church, very much esteemed by *Peter Victorius* †, who gives him large Encomiums in the Preface to his Commentary on the 3d Book of *Aristotle*'s Morals. *Note*, That the usual Name of that Family is *Rucellai*. I shall prove it not so much to clear a doubtful Case, for this is not so, as to have an (E) Opportunity of mentioning some Persons of that Name.

ORIGEN,

WHY some learned Men decline the speaking of *Latin*.

or four *Latin* Words out of *Paulus Manutius* without a great deal of trouble; by which means it came to pass that the *Germans*, who went to see him, valued their own Learning more than his. They talk'd *Latin* more readily than he, and from thence concluded that he was not equal to them. Father *Maffeus* durst not enter into Conversation with *Scioppius*, because he was obliged to answer him in *Latin*. The Unwillingness of these Gentlemen did not proceed from a Difficulty of explaining themselves, but from the fear of accustoming themselves to Barbarisms, which are almost unavoidable to those who speak *Latin* in Conversation. I assure my self the Reader will be pleas'd to have *Scioppius*'s Words inserted here after that Passage of *Erasmus*, since the Subject is the same. (g) *Nihil non faciunt* (Itali) *ut evitent omnia, unde aliquid infuscandæ & contaminandæ orationis periculi ostenditur. Latine igitur nunquam loquuntur, quod fieri vix posse persuasum habeant, quin quotidianus ejus linguæ usus, ad instar torrentis lutulenti fluat, & cujusquemodi verborum sordes secum rapiat, quæ postea quodam jam hospitii jure, sic se scribentibus ingerant, ut etiam diligentissimos fallant, & haud dubie pro Latinis habeantur. Hoc eorum consilium cum haud intelligant Transalpini, id eorum inscitiæ perperam adsignant. Sic recte Paulo Manutio usu venit, ut quoniam vix tria verba Latina in familiari sermone proferre poterat, eum Germani complures, qui loquentem audituri ad eum venerant, vehementer præ se contemnerent. Huic tamen nemo, qui sanus sit, ad puritatis & elegantiæ latinæ summam quicquid defuisse dixerit .... (h) Mihi quoque Petrus Maffeus Jesuita nomini atque famæ parum respondere visus est, cum ad eum Romæ undeviginti abhinc annis salutatum venissem. Neque enim inducere animum poterat, ut Latine mihi respondendi aleam subiret. Postea vero lecto, relectaque ejus historia, quam de rebus per Lusitanos in India gestis condidit, consilium hominis sibi parum fidentis, laudemque nomini suo metuentis intelligere mihi visus sum, quod etiam facere non potui, quin prudentissimum judicarem.* I believe I may justly say, that *Thuanus* observed the same Conduct with these *Italian* Purists; for in a modern Author I meet with these Words. (i) *The Jesuit* Maffeus .... *said the Breviary in Greek, for fear the Solecisms and the low and simple way of speaking, as* Origen *calls it* (1), *in which the Scriptures are delivered, should alter the Elegancy and Beauty of Style that we admire in his Writings: And for the same Reason,* Thuanus, *who spoke Latin with the Fluency and Majesty of* Livy, *never answered the Harangues and Compliments made to him in that Language, but by an Interpreter.*

(g) *Scioppius in judicio de stilo historico, p. m. 57.*

(h) *Id. ib. pag. 58.*

(i) *Giac, Reponse à la Defense des Ouvres de Voiture, sect. 18. p. 120.*

(1) Περὶ σολοικισμῶν καὶ εὐτελοῦς φράσεως τῆς γραφῆς.

(k) *Hence as Governour of the Castle of St. Angelo under* Clement VII. Pier. Valerian. de literator. infelicitate lib. 2. p. m. 74.

(l) *Id. ib. pag. 73.*

(m) *Id. ib. pag. 74.*

(B) Pierius Valerianus *mentions.*] In speaking of the deceitful Hopes of *John Oricellarius* the Son of *Bernard*. He aspired to a Cardinal's Cap, under *Leo* X. and yet more under *Clement* VII. But after divers Delays, which *fourr'd* him, but did not tire out his Patience, Death came and mow'd down his Fortune (k) both present and to come. (l) *Eodem in albo reponendus Johannes Oricellarius summæ vir integritatis, quique literarum studia vel à teneris unguiculis sectari cæperat, & apud Bernardum patrem eruditissimum virum, & apud Mediceos hujusmodi studiis in ea domo florentibus educatus fuerat. Erat is Leoni Decimo Pont. Max. amitinus frater, neque ullus erat, qui tum morum, tum literaturæ, nobilitatis, & consanguinitatis gratia non eum speraret ad Cardinalatus apicem in horas evehendum. Sed fortuna illi quosdam opposuerat .... (m) Adridere mox Joanni visa fors melior .... Hic igitur Oricellarius, dum se totum litterarum studiis velituit, & fortunæ demum fallacias declinasse haud temerè sibi persuadet, dumque Clemens de more quodam suo cunctator ordinandi hominis diem de die ducit. Ille in rapidissimam illapsus febrem magnæ doctorum hominum spei præreptus est.*

(C) *And so does* Petrus Crinitus.] *Poccianti* (n) having said that the Letters of *Marsilius Ficinus*, and those of *Petrus Crinitus*, attest the Learning and Wit of *Bernard Oricellarius*, adds; *Posteritati transmisit* (teste eodem Crinito) *in primis libros quos de urbe Roma intitularverat, in quibus admodum elaboravit in illustrandis atque observandis antiquorum monumentis.*

(n) *Pocciant. ubi supra, pag. 32.*

(D) *An Error that relates to* Naogeorgus.] By the Inscription (a) upon the Tomb of *John della Casa*, it appears that *Horatius ORICELLARIUS* took care to rear that Monument for his Uncle by the Mother's side. *Horatius Oricellarius avunculo optime merito P.* A *German* Author observes, that the *Latin* Verses that were made by *John della Casa*, against those who accused him of praising Sodomy, are not to be met with in the Collection of his Works, entituled, *Joannis Casæ Latina monumenta*. He believes (b), that *Alexander Strozza*, Inquisitor of the Faith, was the cause of leaving them out; and repeats the Licence for Printing, granted by that Inquisitor *June* 7. 1564, and says, that *Hannibal Oricellarius* was the Collector of these Monuments of *John della Casa*. He gives us the suppress'd Verses; and fancies (c) the Author made 'em, in answer to a Satyr that *Naogeorgus* had added to the second Edition of his *Regnum Papisticum*. But he's mistaken; for *John della Casa* made that Poem, only with intent to take from the *Germans* the bad Impressions that *Vergerio* had given them of him, in charging him with an Elogium upon Sodomy. I shall here subjoyn a Passage that proves manifestly, that he does not complain of a Satyr publish'd by a *German*, but of the Discourse of a Fugitive.

Quare habere transfugæ
De me fidem nolite perditissimo:
Sed enecate cum indies magis fiti,
Pedoribusque & esuritionibus:
Quod belle adhuc feciſſe vos existimo,
Virtute natio & fide atque industria
Et literis clara, ingeniique gloria (d).

Paul Vergerio is the Fugitive he speaks of. See at the end of the *Anti-Baillet* the Discourse in Prose that *John della Casa* made against him.

(a) *Imperialis in Musæo histor. pag. 28. Ghilini Theatr. parte 1. pag. 79.*

(b) *Daniel Francus Disquisit. Academ. de Papistarum indicibus Librorum prohibitorum, pag. 111.*

(c) *Scripserat in istum Casæ juvenilem, ut ipse quidem excusat, librum Thomas Naogeorgus, satyram regno papistico secundæ editionis quæ Basileæ 1559. prodiit, adjectam. In hunc ergo Casæ sequenti quod subjiciemus carmine insurrexit. Id. ibid. pag. 109.*

(d) *These Verses are the Conclusion of the Poem repeated by* Daniel Francus. *'Tis to be met with in Tom. 1.* Delitiarum poetarum Italorum, *pag. 702.*

(E) *The usual Name of that Family is* Rucellai. *I shall prove .... to have an opportunity of mentioning some Persons of that Name.*] Mr. *Rilli* in his History of the Academists of *Florence*, calls the same Learned Man *Carlo Rucellai*, whom *Peter Victorius* names *Carolus Oricellarius*. You have seen in the fore-going Remark one *Horatius Oricellarius*, and one *Annibal Oricellarius*, who were the Sons of a Sister of *John della Casa*. They are called *Rucellai* in Cardinal *D'Ossat*'s Letters. " (b) The second thing wherewith .... " Cardinal *Aldobrandin* charged us, as from the " Pope, was, that the King would be pleased to let " the Bishop of *Carcassone* enjoy the Fruits of the " said Bishoprick, and of an (c) Abbey which he has " in *Champagne*: Adding, That his Holiness acknow- " ledged the said Bishop, and his Brother *Horatio Ru-* " *cellai* for his Friends [illegible] having been always " Friends to his House [illegible] well affected to " *France*." Mr. *Amelot de la Houssaie*, Commenting on this, tells us, 1. That this Bishop of *Carcassone* was

(b) *The 34 Letter of* D'Ossat, *pag. 176. of the 1st Tom.* Paris *Edition, 1698. This Letter is dated the 25 Octob. 1595.*

(c) *'Tis that of* Jard near Melun. Amelot de la Houssaie ubi infra.

ORIGEN, one of the moſt copious Writers, and one of the fineſt Genius's that flouriſh'd in the Primitive Church, liv'd in the third Century. He is diſcours'd of ſo largely in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, and ſo many Authors * are there pointed to which are eaſy to be had, and give the whole Hiſtory of *Origen*, that it behoves me to be but ſhort upon this Article. I confine my ſelf to theſe four things. 1. I point to two † *French* Authors, that give us full information of the Actions and Opinions of *Origen*. In the 2d. place, I ſay that *Dallæus*'s Remark (*A*) upon Mr. *Cottibi*'s Quotation was (*d*) *Annibal Rucellai, a Gentleman of* Florence *heretofore Governour of* Rome, *and known to the* French *Court by the Negotiations in which he had been employed by the Popes*, Paul IV. *and* Pius V. *That in the Year* 1567, *he was ſent by* Charles IX. *to* Venice *to demand of the Senate to borrow ſome Money; but he could not get any by reaſon of the* Turkiſh *War with which the Republick was then threatn'd.* 2. That Horatio Rucellai *was chief Steward to the Grand Duke of* Tuſcany. 3. That *the Aldobrandins and the* Rucellai *were always of that Party which was called in* Florence, the Libertins; *that is to ſay, good Republicans and Anti-Mediceans; who would preſerve the Liberty of their Country. From hence proceeded the great Affection, which* Clement VIII. *had for theſe two Brethren, whoſe Father as well as his own had ſuffered very much under the Pontificate of* Leo X. *and* Clement VII. *by whom the Sovereignty was put into the Houſe of the* Medicis. This Biſhop of *Carcaſſone* dyed the 28th (*f*) of *January* 1601. *Horatio Rucellai* his Brother (*g*) one of *the ableſt Men in the World*, ſent immediately a (*h*) Courrier to the *French* Court. (*i*) *Catel* takes notice that *Annibal d' Orcellai was Biſhop of* Carcaſſone *in the Year* 1569. The Abbot *Rucellai*, who was ſo much ſpoken of in *France*, under the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. was without doubt the Son of this *Horatio*; for *John* (*k*) *della Caſa* was his great Uncle, and (*q*) *he was born of a Father, who enriched himſelf* (*r*) *by the Correſpondence he had with* Zamet, Bandini, Cenami, *and other* Italians, *who then traded in* France. You'll find in (*ſ*) *Vigneul de Marville*, what Mr. *de Baſſompierre*, and the Author of the Duke of *Epernon*'s Life have ſaid that is curious concerning this Abbot. Here is a Paſſage that concerns another of that Family. "(*t*) We are promiſed from *Florence* a "Work, in which the Author, who is named *Ru-* "*cellai*, has included all that the Antients have writ "on that Science, and has collected ſix and thirty "Syſtems of Natural Philoſophy, all different from "each other. As this Work which he writ in *Ital-* "*ian*, containing twelve Volumes, could not appear "before his Death; there is reaſon to fear that it will "not appear too ſoon, after the Loſs which Learning "has had by the Death of Cardinal *de Medicis*, who "alone was capable of advancing the Impreſſion." The Book from whence I take theſe Words was printed in 1676. I don't doubt but that they mean the ſame *Horatio Rucellai*, of whom Mr. *de Creſcimbeni* ſpeaks thus. (*v*) *Il Sonetto moderno lo torremo dal ſecolo del ſecento ora corrente, e da uno de' più illuſtri Letterati, ch'egli abbia annoverato, cioè dalle Rime ſcritte a mano appreſſo di me del leggiadro Poeta, e profondo Filoſofo Orazio Rucellai Florentino Cavaliere, e Priore di ſua Patria, il quale à fiorito a' noſtri tempi, ed à laſciato all'eruditiſſimo Signor Prior Luigi ſuo figlivolo un'opera nobiliſſima di Dialoghi filoſofici, la quale ſe un giorno vedrà la luce, conoſceranno i Poſteri quanto per ſi chiaro intelletto queſto ſecolo ſia degno d'invidia.* The ſame Author tells us, that (*w*) *Giovanni Rucellai* compoſed at *Rome* in 1524, a Poem, entituled, *le Api*, which was printed in the Year 1539, and afterwards at *Florence* by *Philip Giunti* in 1590, with Notes by *Robert Titius*, and the *Coltivazione* of *Lewis Alamanni*. He does not ſpeak of the *Paris* Edition in 1546 by *Robert Stephens*. It is to be found in the Library of (*x*) *Thuanus*. This *John Rucellai* was a *Florentine* (*y*), and we have no reaſon to doubt that he was of the Family of the *Oricellarius*'s.

(*A*) Dallæus's *Remark upon.... St.* Origen.] Mr. *Cottibi* Miniſter of *Poitiers*, having changed his Religion in 1660, wrote a Letter to his Conſiſtory, containing ſome Reaſons for his Change. Thereupon *Dallæus* was deſired to anſwer it, which he did with great Accuracy. His Anſwer was printed in 1660, with the Letter under this Title, *Lettre eſcrite à M. le Coy Sieur de la Ta'onniere ſur le changement de relligion de Monſieur Cottiby.* Among other things he obſerved, that the new Convert, who had pretended to ſpeak of the Fathers, and to cry up the Primitive Church, knew but little of them This he convicts him of by divers Proofs; the ſecond of which is taken from the Epithet of *Saint* that he had given to *Origen* (*e*) *This Language betrays him, and ſhews that he is a Stranger both in the Republick of the Antiquaries, who do not ſpeak in that manner of a Man condemn'd by an Oecumenical Council; and above all in the Archives of the Popes, in which poor* Origen *was ſo far from obtaining the Title of Saint; that from the Year* 494 *he was there ſtiled Schiſmatick; and all his Works, excepting a few, were condemn'd by* Gelaſius (1) *the firſt.* 'Tis ſcarce 200 *Years ſince* Johannes Picus Mirandulanus, *having publiſh'd at* Rome *among his nine hundred Propoſitions, that* 'tis more reaſonable to believe *Origen*'s Salvation than his Damnation, *was thereupon taken up by the Doctors of Divinity, who affirm'd, that* this Concluſion is rath and blame-worthy, that it ſavours of Hereſy, and is contrary to the Determination of the Univerſal Church; *as we have it from himſelf in his Apology* (2). *What would not they have done, if he had claſſ'd* Origen *among the Saints, as Mr.* Cottibi *has done? They who could not ſuffer him to doubt of his Damnation, or to think that his Salvation was more probable than his Damnation?* This is what we call a victorious Criticiſm; and though we did not know otherwiſe that the Miniſter of *Poitiers* knew nothing of the Doctrine of the Fathers, but what he had got by reading ſome Books of Controverſy; This very Remark of *Dallæus* would convince us of it. To continue the Hiſtory of this Cenſure, we learn from hence that an Author catch'd in a Fault, and manifeſtly convicted of being miſtaken, can take no better Courſe than frankly to own it, or at leaſt to ſay nothing; for the Efforts he then makes to juſtify himſelf, are almoſt always down-right Extravagancies. Mr. *Cottibi* (*f*) replied, that perhaps the Title of *Saint* was not in the Original of his Letter, *or that with a Stroke of his Pen he might let it paſs in the Croud,* Origen *being placed among many other ancient Fathers, to whom the Epithet of* Saint *is really due.* Here are two Evaſions which were invincibly refuted. *Dallæus* maintain'd, that the Words, *Saint Origen*, ſtood in the Author's Original Manuſcript, and proved that they cou'd not ſlip in by Over ſight. *Who'll believe*, ſays Dallæus (*g*), *that he did not draw out fair and reviſe oftner than once a Letter written to a Conſiſtory, the Religion and Miniſtry of which he had abanaon'd? A Letter in which he endeavour'd to perſuade them to follow his Example; which he knew affected them both with Grief and Indignation? A Letter, which, by Conſequence, he could not doubt would be narrowly examin'd by Perſons that were provoked and angry with him? Certainly, he either has not common Senſe, or he has carefully poliſh'd and trimm'd this Letter, and reviſed the Copy ſeveral times before he ſent it, that nothing might paſs, to afford diſtaſte to his Friends, or Matter of Deriſion to his Enemies. And yet, after all this,* Saint Origen *ſtands in the Letter, ſuch as he ſent, and ſuch as we ſaw. Aſſuredly the Author was not apprized that Saint-ſhip was not* Origen's *lawful Quality. Had he known that, he would have daſh'd it out of his Letter: And if he was unacquainted with a Secret, that's ſo common among thoſe who frequent the Country of Antiquity, I can't ſee how I can truſt the Promiſes he made me,* &c. The Sequel of Mr. *Cottibi*'s Apology is yet worſe. for he falls into the common Place of the Hatred that Miniſters bear to the Saints, and utters a hundred things that are not to the purpoſe, as appears from the following Paſſage. "(*h*) But, as the Miniſters "ſeem to be hired to make War upon the Saints, ſo "you thought it your Duty to attack this one, tho' he "had only the out ſide and appearance of Sainſhip; "for to appear in that Habit, and bear that Name is "enough to expoſe one to your Blows. If you "deny this Glorious Quality to thoſe who have high-"ly merited it, and whoſe Praiſes are ſung by the "Church every Day, 'tis no wonder you could not

(*d*) Amelot de la Houſſaie's *Notes upon this Paſſage of Cardinal* D Oſſat.
(*f*) D' Oſſat's *Letter* 257, *pag.* 299. *Tom.* 2.
(*g*) *Id. Let.* 267. *pag* 341.
(*h*) *Id. Let.* 257.
(*i*) Catel *Memoirs of the Hiſtory of* Languedoc, *pag.* 1009.
(*k*) *See* Vigneul Marville *in the firſt Tom. of his Miſcellanies, pag.* 173. *of the firſt Edition at* Roan.
(*q*) Vigneul Marville, *pag.* 271. *of the 2d Tom.* Dutch *Edition.*
(*r*) *He got* 1700000 *Livres by the* Gabels *of* France. Scaligerana *at the Word* Rucellai.
(*ſ*) *Tom.* 1 *and* 2. *as above.*
(*t*) Rapin's *Reflections upon Phyſicks, N.* 7. *pag.* 418. Dutch *Edition.*
(*v*) Giovanne Mario de' Creſcimbeni *l'iſtoria della volgar poeſia pag.* 35. *Edit. of* Rome, 1698, 4°.
(*w*) *Id. ib. pag.* 327.
(*x*) *At pag.* 339. *of the 2d part of the Catalogue.*
(*y*) Creſcembeni, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 272.

* *Eſpecially in the* Dutch *Ed.*
† *La Motte*, The Lives of *Tertullian*, and of *Origen*, printed at *Paris* in 1675 in 8vo. *Du Pin* Bibliotheq. des Auteurs Eccleſ. Tom. 1. *pag.* 121, & ſeq. the Dutch Edit. 1690. in 4°. *The* Dutch *Edit. of* Moreri *do's not cite theſe two Authors.*
(*e*) Daille *Lettre a Mr. le Coq. pag.* 70, 71.
(1) *Conc. Rom. Gelaſ. Tom.* 3. *Concil. pag.* 662. *Col.* 2. *B. C.*
(2) *Joan. Pic. Apol. c.* 7. *pag.* 199.
(*f*) Cottibi's *Reply to* Dallæus *pag.* 221, 222.
(*g*) Daillé's *Reply to* Adam *and* Cottibi. *part.* 3. *chap.* 9. *pag.* 190.
(*h*) Cottibi, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 222. *& ſeq.*

Quotation of St. *Origen*, was attended with Conſequences that deſerve our regard. 3. I obſerve,

" bear it in a Man that never had it from " the Church. So that I am not ſurprized at " your Charge againſt me; and I find, in effect, 'tis " highly your Intereſt to oppoſe the Augmentation " of the number of Saints: You very well foreſee, " that the more Saints there are in Heaven, the more " Enemies will you, and the more Interceſſors will " the Church have. I would only have thoſe who " make St. *Paul* ſay (3), *The Children of the Faith-* " *ful are Saints from their Mother's Womb*, not to re- " fuſe this Elogium to him who was the Son of a Fa- " ther and a Mother, that were not only Believers, but " Martyrs; and who, after ſuffering in his own Perſon " in his tendreſt Years, Perſecution for the Name of " Chriſt, gave Teſtimony of ſuch pious and ardent " Deſires to crown his firſt Labours with the Glory " of Martyrdom. (4) That fine Genius, whoſe " Authority you reſpectfully make uſe of, had " ſo much Eſteem for the Wiſdom of *Socrates*, " that, every time he thought of that great Man, he " was not much ſhort of crying out in his Tran- " ſports, *St. Socrates pray for us.* 'Twould not be " therefore an irremiſſible Sin in me, if my Soul had " been touch'd with the Veneration of the Virtues of " a Chriſtian, which are rendred precious by the " Goſpel; ſince the Eyes of your Friend were dazled " by the Actions of a Pagan, which after all were no " more than ſhining Sins (1): Some have found Spots " in the Sun, and therefore I think it not ſtrange that " this Doctor had his; and I ſhall not offer any Apo- " logy for him, ſince the charge is put in by Councils. " However, I ſhall ſay with that noble Writer, (2) " who offered to defend him publickly at *Rome* at " twenty-four Years of Age, that *Origen* was above " ſixty before he determined his Opinions in his " Writings, and that he may have entertain'd Er- " rors without the Imputation of Hereſy, as having " never obſtinately ſtuck to 'em, nor defended 'em " by Rebellion, ſince they were not condemned till " after his Death; and even himſelf had repented " of 'em before he died. You ſtrive in vain there- " fore to raiſe up againſt me all the Doctors of Divi- " nity: That young Count gives me encouragement, " who informs me, that he had the Pope on his ſide " (3), with a great number of the Members of the " Apoſtolical Senate, while ſome envious Heads mut- " ter'd againſt his Propoſitions. But let it be as it " will; if I were to incur the Diſpleaſure of the " Holy Conclave, by your Intereſt and Sollicitations, " I'd rather it ſhould be ſo for innocently putting an " extraordinary Doctor in the Catalogue of Saints, " without their Approbation, than for oppoſing, as " you do, the Glory of thoſe whom they have cano- " nized, and endeavouring by the moſt flaming Sa- " crilege to raze their Names both out of the Calen- " der of the Church, and out of the Memory of " Men." All this deſerves no other Anſwer than what follows. *Teach (a) him what difference there is in the Style of the Roman Court and Church, between a Conſiſtory and a Conclave. This is a pardonable Fault in a Novice. The Miſchief is, that in all theſe wild Digreſſions, into which he falls out of the Road of our Diſpute, he can find nothing to evince that Men Learned in Antiquity call* Origen *a Saint.*

Father *Adam* entered the Liſts upon this Article, in Defence of *Cottibi*, and perform'd it ſo ſorrily, that more impertinent Sophiſtical Turns were perhaps never ſeen. The Paſſage I am going to quote is ſomewhat long, but becauſe it contains ſome Things relating to the Hiſtory of *Origen*, and beſides may ſerve for a Remedy to thoſe Writers that are apt to write at Random, I ſhall give it you entire. *Dallæus*, addreſſing himſelf to the Jeſuit, *John Adam*, ſpeaks thus. " (*b*) Finding this a tickliſh place (*c*), you don't " care to keep in it; and as you are bold and reſolute " as any Man can be in your Coat, you quit that in- " convenient Poſt and fall foul upon me, according " to your wonted Strain, charging me (4) with Igno- " rance, and a *Magiſterial Boldneſs that's only a* " *ſwelling and not real Knowledge and good Plight.* " Then (5) deſiring me to weigh what you're " going to ſay, you give me a Lecture upon the dif- " ference between the Perſons that err, and the Er- " rors, bringing in *St. Auguſtin* and *St. Jerom*, " *Janſenius* and *St. Cyran*, and their Opinions. " Then you fall upon *Origen*, and the Errors of which he " was ſuſpected, particularly *Arianiſm*; from which " you ſay St. *Athanaſius* juſtified him. In the next " place (6) you praiſe the incomparable Innocence " of his Youth, his Chaſtity, his Zeal: You ſay (7) " that, if I have read Hiſtory, I muſt know, that " when he ſaw Martyrs carried out to Execution, he " went out of his Houſe, and throwing himſelf " upon his Knees before the *Executioners*, *conjured* " *them to cut off his Head with the other Chriſtians.* " You ſay again, I know very well, that he fill'd the " World with his Works, that his Father and his " Mother were Martyrs, and *that oftentimes his Mo-* " *ther, drawing the Curtain of his Bed, as he lay* " *aſleep, kiſs'd her Son's Breaſt, with theſe Words in* " *her Mouth*, I kiſs the Temple of the Holy Ghoſt. " You mention St. *Gregory of Neocæſarea*, St. *Chry-* " *ſoſtom* and St. *Baſil*, who had a great Eſteem for " him: (I ſuffer St. *Chryſoſtom*, though younger than " St. *Baſil*, to paſs before him to ſhew I am not ſo " peeviſh as you repreſent me.) You ask me what " Proof I can give that this great Man died without " Repentance, and to refute that Opinion, bring in " an old fabulous Story. This is the Epitome of " your Diſpute upon *Origen*. With Reference to " which, I ſhall tell you in the firſt place, That you " do me wrong in Imputing to me the Knowledge of " his praying the Executioners to cut off his Head. " That I knew nothing of, having read no ſuch thing " in *Euſebius* (8), who in his ſixth Book has the " Hiſtory of *Origen* at large. You charge me again, " with equal Injuſtice, with knowing that his Mother " kiſs'd his Breaſt while he lay aſleep. I learn'd in- " deed from *Euſebius*, that *Leonidas* his Father did " ſometimes careſs him after that rare in his Infan- " cy, kiſſing his Stomach with reſpect, as being the " Sanctuary, within which the Holy Spirit was con- " ſecrated, and call'd himſelf happy for having ſuch " a wonderful Child. Doubtleſs you have met with " theſe Stories in the ſame form as you utter 'em, in " the ſame Author who taught you that *Athanaſius* " was once mightily eſteem'd, and cryed up by the " *Arians*. But the cruelleſt Injury of all that you " have done me, is, that to gain an Opportunity of " venting theſe your Common Places and Hiſtories, " you charge me with (9) believing, and affirming " for a certain Truth, that *Origen* is damn'd. *You* " *make the Errors of his Doctrine* (ſay you (10) to " me) *to affect his Perſon, and ſpeak of his Damnati-* " *on, as if you had been in Hell before-hand, and had* " *found* Origen *there*: And two Pages lower (11), *I* " *can't endure it* (ſay you) *that you ſhould joyn in with* " *thoſe who maintain that* Origen *is damn'd*; and at " the end of the Chapter, *you have taken up* (ſay " you) *the Opinion of thoſe who held that* Origen *is* " *damn'd*. But to wave theſe Sallies of your Paſſion, " who told you that I hold, that *Origen is damn'd*? " Where have I declared that to be my Opinion? " Pray God forbid that ſuch an unjuſt Preſumption " ſhould ever enter into my Mind. I leave to the " Lord his Secrets, and am not ſo raſh as to take " the Liberty to determine what no Man can know " with a Certainty of Faith. But, if 'tis lawful " for us to judge of things by Appearances, I believe " of *Origen* what I wiſh, that God, whoſe Mercies " are infinite, pardon'd his Errors, and did not " ſuffer to periſh among Unbelievers, a Veſſel that " he had adorn'd with ſo many admirable Gifts, " whoſe genuine Works that we have, breath no- " thing but a ſingular Faith and Piety; and in which " the very Errors with which they are ſometimes " ſtain'd (for that's undeniable) are always accom- " panied with a raviſhing Modeſty and Humility; " not to ſpeak of his Virtues, and the Purity of his " Life. This is my Opinion, and I never entertain'd " any other: and thoſe who know me intimately, " know to what degree I have always admired " that great and incomparable Genius; and what I " have wrote in ſome Paſſages of my little Works " may give Teſtimony of it. Though I have rela- " ted (12) what the Count of *Mirandola* wrote, that " the Divines of *Rome* would not ſuffer his Damna- " tion to be doubted of, 'tis manifeſt I did it " only to ſhew, how far the Doctors, whoſe Com- " munion Mr. *Cottibi* has embraced, are from " the Style of calling him *Saint*; and by no means " out of any Approbation of their inhumane Pre- " ſumption. If I took notice of the Quality of " *Saint*, given him by Mr. *Cottibi*, I did it only to ſhew

(3) *In the Form of the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm.*

(4) *Eraſmus.*

(1) *St. Auguſt.* ſplendida peccata.

(2) *Joann. Picus Mirandulæ Comes. in Apolog. concl.* 7.

(3) Summi Pontificis & ex Apoſtolico Senatu complurium judicio conſentus, videbar facile & odium poſſe negligere, & convicia hominum improborum. *In Præfat. Apol.*

(*a*) Dallæus *addreſſing himſelf to Father* Adam, *ubi ſupra. pag.* 191.

(*b*) Dallæus, *ibid.*

(*c*) *That is, the Suppoſition that Mr.* Cottibi *was fallen into an Equivocal Expreſſion.*

(4) *Ad. p.* 267.

(5) *Ibid, p.* 208.

(6) *Pag.* 269.

(7) *Pag.* 270.

(8) *Euſeb. Hiſt. l.* 6. *c.* 2. *pag.* 203. *A.*

(9) *Ad. p.* 267.

(10) *Ad. p.* 269.

(11) *Pag.* 271.

(12) *L. a M. de la Tal. p.* 70, 71.

obſerve, that a Miniſter in *Holland* has lately made a very ſolid (*B*) Obſervation upon one of *Origen*'s Opinions. Had the Author of *Janua Cœlorum Reſerata* (*C*) made uſe of

" ſhew his Ignorance in Matters of Antiquity, and " his Unacquaintedneſs with the way of writing " uſual among thoſe who are vers'd in it. I did " not accuſe him upon that Head of ſinning againſt " Faith or good Manners. The Ignorance of Antiqui- " ty is not incompatible with either one or t'other: I " allow him withal to entertain as advantageous Sen- " timents of *Origen*, as he pleaſes. But the Laws of " your Church, and thoſe of its Style, and the com- " mon and publick Cuſtom of all the Learned, that " is to ſay, the Sovereign Law of their Language, " not permitting him to ſay *Saint Origen*; whatever " Opinion he has of his Perſon, he can't uſe theſe " Words without betraying the Ignorance I've char- " ged him with."

We meet with a thouſand Examples of this Nature in Polemical Writings; and as I have ſaid already, oftner than once, 'twould not be a-miſs to gather them all together. This Collection might be of uſe to check the Liberty that ſome Authors take in ſtraggling to the Right and to the Left from the State of the Queſtion. I can't tell whether other Examples will equal this in vain and impertinent Rambling.

(*B*) *A very ſolid Obſervation upon one of* Origen's *Opinions.*] Before I inſert the Words of the Miniſter, I ſhall firſt give you a Copy of thoſe of his Adverſary, which gave occaſion to his Reflection. (*a*) *'Tis a conſiderable Fault to compare the Opinion of* Origen, *touching the Non-eternity of Pains, with the Doctrine of the* Socinians *upon that Article.* Origen *did not deny the Immortality of the Soul, and never taught that the Wicked ſhould be annihilated. But the* Socinians *believe, that the Wicked periſh, Body and Soul, after Death.* Origen's *Error is dangerous, but at leaſt it has no Impiety in it; but the* Socinian *Opinion is the* Epicurean *Impiety.* Now the Cenſure of this Paſſage is as followeth. " (*b*) There's more Danger, as to the Moral Part, in " ſaying, *The Reprobate ſhall be one Day ſaved*, " than in ſaying, *They ſhall be annihilated*. *Origen* has " put the Devils and the Damned almoſt in the ſame " Claſs as the Papiſts put the Faithful and the Regene- " rate, who die loaded with a great number of Venial " Sins, and have not wherewithal to procure Maſſes " for ſhortening and mollifying their Pains in Pur- " gatory; the Fire of which differs from that of " Hell only in Duration. So that the Libertines " who continue to Death in their Libertiniſm and " Crimes, may, according to *Origen*'s Theology, " have near the ſame Hopes and the ſame Fears, that " the beſt Catholicks have, purſuant to the Doctrine " of their Prieſts and Monks. Time is nothing " in Compariſon to Eternity. A Temporal Hell " can never be made a Parallel to an Eternal Paradiſe. " 'Tis true, preſent Evils deface the Idea of future " Good in the Minds of the People of this World; " and the Senſe of the former is commonly ſtronger " and livelier, than the Deſire and Hope of the latter. " But this proceeds from the Folly and Corruption " of Men, and not from the Nature of the Objects. " Beſides, we muſt know that future Evils are con- " ſidered almoſt after the ſame manner with future " Good; that is, heedleſs and brutiſh People are " ſcarce touched either by one or t'other: But " the wiſe and reflecting part of Mankind take a nar- " row View of the Pains and Joys of the other " Life, and form to themſelves a juſt Idea of 'em. " The Conſequence of which is, that the former " will not be more frighted by the Hell or Purgatory " with which *Origen* threatens them, than they'll be " encouraged and comforted by the End of their " Torments, and the Enjoyment of an Eternal Beati- " tude in Paradiſe, that this Doctor makes them hope " for: And, That, on the other hand, thoſe who " have more ſerious and deeper Thoughts, will " judge of future Eaſe and Torment by their Dura- " tion, and will readily reſolve to paſs through ſome " Ages of Adverſity, if they're aſſured to find after " that an Eternity of Happineſs and infinite Joy. " As for the Doctrine of the *Socinians*, it gives no o- " ther Conſolation to hardned Sinners, but their " Annihilation. But ſuch is the make of Men, that " they had rather be unhappy and happy ſucceſ- " ſively, than not at be all. And 'tis the Dictate " of Right Reaſon, that there is an infinitely great- " er Advantage in being eternally filled with Happi- " neſs, after ſuffering ſome time, than in returning " into Nothing, and ſeeing one's ſelf deprived for e- " ver of infinite Beatitude, the Poſſeſſion of which " might be inſured, and which is only loſt by Neg- " ligence..... (*c*) *Origen*'s Error may inſpire ſome " with a Contempt of Repentance, and that of the " *Socinians* may retain others in Impiety. And yet " both the one and the other is very pernicious. " And 'tis taking a falſe Weight, uſing a falſe Mea- " ſure, and a too viſible reſpect of Perſons, to ſay, " That *Origen*'s Error, though dangerous, has no- " thing of Impiety in it; but that the *Socinian* Error " is the *Epicurean* Impiety. Had *Origen* annihilated " the Reprobate after a long Purgatory, his Theology " had indulged impenitent Sinners leſs than that of " the *Socinians*, who annihilate them without ma- " king them undergo any conſiderable Pain (*d*). " But the Paradiſe which he promiſes to 'em at the " end of their Hell, and which will render 'em for " ever like unto the Apoſtles, the Martyrs, and the " greateſt Saints, is a powerful Counter-balance a- " gainſt the Terrour of a Puniſhment, that is to " give way to Eternal Joy and Felicity."

If you would know the Cauſe of this Reſpect of Perſons, you need only read theſe Words of the ſame Author. (*e*) *The Charity we have for* thoſe who died ſeveral Ages ago *ſcarce coſts any thing; becauſe their Merit does not excite our Jealouſy and Envy, and we do not look upon 'em as our Competitors. But to judge charitably of an Adverſary, who ſpeaks and writes againſt us, and whoſe Reputation clouds our Glory, we muſt mortifie Self-love a little; and that's a Sacrifice we do not eaſily make. Since Mr.* Jurieu *had no Quarrel with* Origen, *and has perſonal Enemies in the* Socinian *Party, we muſt not think it ſtrange if he has more Toleration for the former than for the latter.* This Thought has been ſeveral times made uſe of to account for the Conduct of thoſe who have maintain'd, that *Sophocles, Euripides, Ariſtophanes, Ariſtotle*, &c. did much ſurpaſs *Corneille, Racine, Moliere, Deſcartes*, &c.

(*C*) *Had the Author of* Janua Cœlorum reſerata *made uſe of it.*] This Author ſhews by ſeveral Proofs, that if Mr. *Jurieu* would reaſon conſequentially, he ought to teach that *Socinianiſm* does not merit Damnation. One of his Reaſons is taken from what that Miniſter owns, that the *Arians* belong'd to the Church, in which Salvation is to be obtain'd. Now this would be a weak Reaſon, if the Doctrines of the *Socinians* that were not taught in *Arianiſm*, were mortal. And, accordingly the Author of the *Janua Cœlorum* propoſes that Objection to himſelf, and ſhews, that putting the Caſe the Hereſies, common to the *Socinians* and the *Arians*, were not mortal, we can't reaſonably maintain, that the Doctrines, peculiar to *Socinianiſm*, merit Damnation. In running over theſe peculiar Hereſies, he begins with the Rejection of the Eternity of Hell, and takes it for granted that none would damn *Origen* or *Arnobius*, preciſely upon the Score of that Error. *Quis audiret*, ſays he (*f*), *mortis æternæ addicere Origenem, ideo præciſe quod de divinæ miſericordiæ magnificentiis ſententiæ volens, credulerit tandem fore ut omnes mali, ne Diabolis quidem exceptis, ſatis pœnarum Deo dederint, & Deum placatum experiantur? At hoc multo plus videretur nocere juſtitiæ divinæ quàm dogma Socinianum de annihilatione reproborum poſt longas pœnas, nam deſtructio illa ſi minus pœnæ genus eſt gravius, ut quidam exiſtimant, quàm æternitas infœlix, rationem tamen habet pœnæ, ideoque non officit juribus ſeveri & juſti Legiſlatoris. Quidquid id eſt nemo præjudiciis exutus, & ad rectæ rationis amuſſim rem expendens, doctrinam mortalem judicabit, ſi quis veritus ledere divinas perfectiones, malit ſibi Deum repugnantiæ ut judicem iſti modi ſupplicio rem afficientem, quàm ut judicem vitæ rerum parcentem quo per multos annos exquiſitis cruciatibus & perpetuis eos torquendo, longiore alieni doloris ſpectaculo fruatur: nemo, inquam, ſolide ratiocinatus talem opinionem mortalem crediderit, qui ſemel agnoverit Arianam hæreſim non eſſe mortalem. Quis audiret Arnobium in Inferis collocare, quia credidit animas reproborum flammis ultricibus tandem penitus conſum.* You ſee he obſerves, that *Origen*'s Doctrine confines

(*a*) Jurieu *apud* Saurin, *ubi infra.*

(*b*) Saurin, *Examen de la Theologie de Mr.* Jurieu, *pag.* 688.

(*c*) Saurin *ibid. pag.* 692.

(*d*) Mr. Saurin *ſeems to agree to what his Adverſary advances, that the* Socinians *teach that the Souls of wicked Men are annihilated at the very moment of their Death. But the Doctrine of that Sect is otherwiſe related in the next page, Letter a. At the ſame time 'tis true Mr.* Saurin *expreſſes himſelf after ſuch a manner, as may import that he does not impute that to the Sect.*

(*e*) Saurin, *ib. pag.* 688.

(*f*) Carus Larchomius *in* Janua Cœlorum reſerata, *pag.* 95 97.

of it, he had re-inforced one of his Objections. 4. That there are many Divines in the Communion of *Rome* that believe this Father (*D*) is in Hell.

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary two Pieces have come to Light, which oblige me to add a Supplement to this Article. One of 'em bearing the Title of *Parrhasiana* was publish'd at *Amsterdam* in 1699, by a Learned Person that disguises himself under the Name of *Theodorus Parrhasius*. The other was printed at *Paris* in 1700, and entituled, *Histoire des mouvemens*, &c. i. e. *The History of the Commotions that have happened*

the Divine Justice more than that of the *Socinians*, in regard the latter conclude the Punishment with an Act of Severity, namely, the Annihilation of the Sinner; whereas *Origen* makes it terminate in an Act of Sovereign Bounty, namely, the Transportation of the damn'd Spirits to the Enjoyment of Sovereign Bliss: You see, I say, that he observes this Difference; but he does not lay it open with that Accuracy that Mr. *Saurin* has. Further, he starts an Objection to himself, which he might have overthrown by Mr. *Saurin*'s Remark, and yet he makes use of a quite different Answer. He supposes (*g*), 'twill be offer'd to him that the Rejection of the Trinity is not so pernicious to the Republick, as the Denial of the Eternity of Torments; and contents himself with answering, that we must not judge by that Rule whether an Heresy is fundamental or not; for otherwise it might be alledged (*h*), that the grossest and most scandalous Errors would be but a Trifle, if so be they were proper to keep the Citizens in awe. This is all the Answer he gives. He has forgot the best part of the Reply to this Objection; he has not said that *Origen*'s Opinion is more pernicious to the Republick, than that of the *Socinians*: *Origen*'s Opinion, I say, which *M. Jurieu* (*i*) looks upon as an Error that ought to be excused. Had *Lavelonius* light upon Mr *Saurin*'s Reflection, he had argued Home upon his Adversary. Let's take in one Passage more of the *Utrecht* Pastor. "(*k*) Mr. *Jurieu* would fain *excuse the Errors of* O- " rigen, *by reason of his great Zeal*; *but if any one* " *came now a-days to vent that Antient Author's No-* " *tions*, *Mr.* Juricu *would not think himself obliged* " *to allow him any Toleration.* If these wild Fansies " are Heresies and Instances of Impiety, which " change Hell into a Purgatory, and by that means " annihilate the Fear of Eternal Punishments, and the " fear of God, why should they be countenanced in " *Origen?* Where's that Doctor's great Zeal if he was " an Heretick, and a Teacher of Heresy? If these " Errors were not Fundamental in *Origen*, and in the " third Century, by what Machine are they become " Fundamental in the seventeenth, and in the Mo- " dern Doctors? We shall see presently that there's a " difference between *Origen*'s Opinion, and that of " the *Socinians*, with reference to the Pains of Hell; " and that this Difference, which Mr. *Jurieu* would " turn in favour of *Origen*, is altogether against " him"

As the Author of *Janua Cœlorum* has over-look'd his Advantages; so Mr. *Saurin*, on the other hand, has suffered his Adversary to pass with two gross Faults in his Mouth: One is, charging the *Socinians* with teaching, that the Soul dies along with the Body; and the other is, that their Doctrine of the Destruction of the Soul is the *Epicurean* Impiety. The first of these Faults is a Lie or rather a Calumny (*a*). The second is an inexcusable Ignorance. The *Socinian* Sect do's not teach that the Wicked shall suffer nothing after Death. They only say their Torments will at last terminate in the Annihilation of their Souls. And, granting there were some *Socinian* (*b*) Authors, that taught the Annihilation of the Soul immediately upon its quitting the Body, his Doctrine would not be the same with that of *Epicurus*; for that Philosopher believed, on one Hand, that the Gods had no hand either in the Life or Death of Men; and on the other, that the Soul dies along with the Body, as consisting only of a certain Mixture of Atoms. Now, the *Socinians* we speak of, on the contrary, would maintain, that the Souls of the Wicked are of a Nature suitable to endure after this Life, and that they only cease to be, because God in Punishment of their Faults, annihilates them. The most Orthodox Writers upon the Nature of the Soul, agree, that God can annihilate it every moment. Here take notice, that tis an indispensable Rule of Natural Equity, not to impute to a Sect the Opinions of some particular Persons.

(*D*) *That believe* Origen *is in Hell.*] We have already seen the Complaints given in against *Picus Mirandula*, for maintaining the opposite Sentiment: The Jesuit *Stephen Binet* publishing a Book at *Paris* in 1629, concerning the Salvation of *Origen*, durst not take the affirmative without Trembling. He lays out the Matter in the Form of an Indictment and Trial, and produces the Witnesses, and Pleaders *pro* and *con*, with the Intervention of the *Conclusion of the King of Heaven's Council*. At last he brings in this Verdict. (*c*) *Considering all that has been said on one side and t'other, and the Conclusions of the King of Heaven's Council, 'tis decreed, that the Affair be left to God's Secret Council, to whom the definitive Sentence is reserv'd. Nevertheless, by Provision, and for the benefit of* Origen, *'tis judged, upon the Balance of the whole, that the Proofs of his Salvation are stronger and more conclusive than those of his Damnation; and therefore his Salvation is more probable than his Damnation.* The Witnesses he brings in for *Origen*, are, (*d*) *James Merlin*, and (*e*) *Erasmus*. The Advocates that he sets to plead for that Father, are *Genebrard* (*f*), and *John Picus* (*g*) *Mirandula*. Then Cardinal *Baronius* (*h*), in the Name of Cardinal *Bellarmin* and all *Origen*'s Accusers, harangues the Judges, demanding Sentence against the Person accused, whose Heresies and Crimes he displays. Some of his Heresies are these. 1. That (*i*) Souls sinn'd before they enter'd the Body. 2. That (*k*) after the Resurrection the Bodies of the Saints would be round and luminous like the Sun. 3. That the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars are living. 4. *That* (*l*) *at the Day of Judgment the guardian Angels will be chastized, if they have not done their Duty well in guarding the Men committed to the care of their Charity.* 5. *That* (*m*) *before the Creation of this World there were several others, and when this should be reduced to Dust, several would be created one after another.* 6. That (*n*) the Stars are the Books in which is to be found *the good Fortune of Mankind, that the Angels there calculate the Nativity of Men, and read there their Fortune, and that they have taught Men part of that judicial Astrology, in order to calculate a Man's Nativity, but without restraining Free-will or doing any Violence to the Will.* 7. *That* (*o*) *the Earth is a large Animal capable of Good and Evil, and in the Sequel, worthy of Reward or Punishment; whence it is that God blesses or curses it, according as it behaves it self well, and renders it self capable of the one or the other.* 8. "That after the Day of Judgment " the Women will be transform'd into Men, and " the humane Bodies into very pure Souls, and that " there will be then no more Men compos'd " of glorified Bodies, all being pure Spirits " like the Angels in Heaven." *Baronius*'s Grand Reason is this: "(*p*) The General Council not only " condemn'd his Doctrine after the usual form, but " run the Condemnation even to his Person, up " on which it thunder'd an Anathema, putting " his very Name in the Sentence (*r*), and the " Words of the Holy Council are these. The Em- " peror having required, *ut cum erroribus suis autor* " *ipse Origenes damnaretur.* The Holy Council (*s*) " after a mature Consideration of the Affair, and In- " vocation of the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, did, " in fine, pronounce these Words, or rather these " Claps of Thunder. In the first place, it darted " (*t*) ten Anathema's against the venenous Do- " ctrine of *Origen*; then proceeding said, *Anathema* " *etiam ipsi Origeni qui dicitur Adamantius.* They ad- " ded this last Word on purpose, lest the World should " mistake, as if they spoke of the other *Origen*, and " not of the true *Origen*, whom they cover'd with A- " nathema's as a reprobate, condemn'd and damn'd " Person" Let's see a Touch of the Eloquence of that time. *Binet* supposes, that *Baronius* making use of a Vision that's related in the *Pratum Spirituale*, spoke after this manner. (*u*) *Must we at last come to this Extremity, that I should be forced to open Hell, and shew you that* Origen *is there, otherwise you will*

not

(*g*) *Ibid. pag.* 97.

(*h*) Alioquin mutatis vicibus pro innocuis deberemus habere errores non pauco- raf simos atque ridiffimos, unde multum emo- menti caperet Respublica, in multas perturbationes cadura per introductionem quarumdam veritatum. *Th.* (*i*) *Apud Saurin, ubi supra, pag.* 682. (*k*) *Saurin, ibid. pag.* 683, 684.

(*a*) *The Author was charged with it in* 1690 *in the* Avis sur le tableau du Socinianisme, *p.* 44. (*b*) *There are some such.*

(*c*) Stephen Binet *of the Salvation of* Origen, *pag.* 468. (*d*) *In Præfat. ad Origenem, an.* 1512. (*e*) *In vit. Origenis.* (*f*) *In Origen.* (*g*) *Apologia q.* 7. *de salute Origenis.* (*h*) Binet, *pag.* 155. cites him, Annal. Tom. 3. an. 533. &c. (*i*) *Binet. pag.* 158. ex *S. Leone Epist. decret.* 11. (*k*) *Idem pag.* 160. *& seq. ex Niceph. l.* 17. *c.* 27. *Præf. in Conc.* 5. *Constantinop.* (*l*) *Origen. Hom.* 20. *in Num. apud Binet pag.* 166. (*m*) *Orig. in c.* 1. *Eccl. ex Methodio & Genebr. apud Binet pag.* 168. (*n*) *Origen in Genes. Philocal. c.* 25. *apud Binet, pag.* 168. (*o*) *Origen. hom.* 4. *in Ezech: apud Binet ibid.* (*p*) Binet, *pag.* 191. (*r*) *Baron. an.* 400. *an.* 538. *an.* 553. (*s*) 5. *Synod.* (*t*) *Niceph. lib.* 17. *c.* 27. 28. *Sur.* 11. *Janu. Cedren. in Annal. Cassiod.* 1. *div. inst. Prat. Spirit. c.* 26. *Baron. an.* 532. (*u*) Binet *pag.* 195. *& seq.*

happened in the Church upon the account of Origen and his Doctrine. Father *Doucin* the Jeſuit is the Author of the laſt. In the *Parrhaſiana* we meet with ſome Reflections upon the Controverſy between the *Manichees* and the Orthodox. They are uſhered in with an Obſervation that's as juſt † as could have been hoped for from a very honeſt Man: They are uſhered in, I ſay, with a Judgment every way agreeable to Equity, Truth and Reaſon, with reference to the View or Deſign upon which I took the Liberty to ſet down the Objections of the *Manichees*, and to declare that natural Light does not enable the Chriſtians to reſolve them, whether they follow St. *Auſtin*'s Syſtem, or that of *Molina* and the Remonſtrants, or have recourſe to that of the *Socinians*. *Theodorus Parrhaſius* maintains the contrary, and alledges, that an Origeniſt * may *ſtop the Mouth of the* Manichees.... *If a Man of this Character*, continues he, *can put a* Manichean *to ſilence, what would not they do, who would reaſon infinitely better than the Diſciples of* Origen? I ſhall examine in my Remarks what he (*E*) ſuppoſes an *Origeniſt could ſay after*

† *Parrhaſiana, pag.* 302.

* *Ibid. pag.* 304.

not believe it? Is it not enough that I have ſhewn you his Crimes, his miſerable Death, the Decree of his Condemnation paſs'd by the Emperours, by the Popes, by the Saints, and by the Fifth general Council, beſides others; and as it were by the Mouth of God himſelf? But ſince it remains only to deſcend to Hell to give you a ſight of this reprobate, this damn'd Origen: *Let's go on, Gentlemen, I'm content to do it, to run the Matter to the laſt Concluſion: Let's go, in God's Name, to Hell, to ſee whether he is there or not, and ſo give the laſt Deciſion of the Point. The fifth General Council* (4) *has cited a Book, and in citing it has authoriz'd it, as a Book worthy to afford good and valid Proofs for fortifying the Deciſions of the Council upon the Head of Images. And why ſhould not we make uſe of it after them, to determine this Queſtion, which is already but too plain and determinate? There, it is ſaid, that a good Man, under great concern about the Salvation of* Origen's *Soul, did, after the ardent Prayer of a Holy old Man, plainly ſee a ſort of Hell laid open to him, where he diſtinguiſh'd and knew the Hereſiarchs who were all cal'd over before him by their Names, and in the midſt of theſe he ſaw* Origen, *who lay there damn'd among the reſt, and covered with Horror, Flames and Confuſion.* Now let's inſert part of the Anſwer that was made to this Objection. "(*r*) Do's the "Church ground her Canons upon the Viſions of a "Hermit; ſhe that teaches, that the Viſions of private "Perſons lay no Obligation upon any one to believe 'em, "and that Articles of Faith are never founded upon "ſuch Viſions? The *Pratum Spirituale* tells us, a good "honeſt Abbot ſaw *Origen* in Hell; but is he the firſt "that has been miſtaken? What *Origen* do's he "ſpeak of, our *Origen*, or the other infamous Perſon? "And what Authority, pray, has the *Pratum-Spiri-*"*tuale?* Let's put the caſe, that the 7th General "Council quoted it for ſome one thing, as the point "of Images, does that imply that they canonized all "that is in it? And, pray, how much weak poor Stuff "is there in that Book, which appears ridiculous and "ſcarce credible to the wiſer part of Mankind?" One Word more: (*f*) *Here the Viſion of a ſimple Abbot is alledged, and I alledge the Viſion of a great Saint, called* (5) Mechtildis, *to whom God revealed that he would not have the World to know what was become of* Samſon, Solomon *and* Origen, *with intent to ſtrike the greateſt Terror into the ſtrongeſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt learned Men of this World, by keeping them in Suſpence and Uncertainty.*

(4) *Baron. an.* 532. *Moſch. in Prat. c.* 26.

(*r*) *Binet, pag.* 129.

(*f*) *Idem, pag.* 219.

(5) *Lib. vitæ S. Mechtil, edit. an.* 1627.

NOTE, That *Robert de Corcone* an *Engliſh* Cardinal that flouriſh'd in the Beginning of the XIIIth. Century, wrote a Book upon the Queſtion of *Origen*'s Salvation. *Balæus* ſpeaks of it.

(*E*) *I ſhall examine.... what he ſuppoſes an* Origeniſt *could ſay.*] Though the Arguments he puts into the *Origeniſt*'s Mouth are ſhort and compact, I reckon to keep up all their force in reducing 'em to theſe three Propoſitions. 1. "(*a*) God has made us free, to "make room for Virtue and Vice, for Praiſe and "Diſpraiſe, for Reward and Puniſhment." 2. He *damns* (*b*) *no Body barely for having ſinn'd, but for not having repented.*. 3. *The* (*c*) *Phyſical and Moral Evils* of Mankind are of ſo ſhort a Duration in compariſon to Eternity, that they cannot conclude God to be otherwiſe than a *Benevolent God, and a Friend to Virtue.* 'Tis in this laſt Propoſition that all the Origeniſt's Force is couch'd, and the Reaſon is this; He ſuppoſes that the Torments of Hell are not of eternal Duration, and that God after judging (*d*) that Free Creatures have *ſuffer'd enough, will render 'em eternally happy.* The eternal Happineſs that ſhall be beſtowed upon 'em, makes up the Idea of infinite Mercy, though preceded by ſeveral Ages of Sufferings; for ſeveral Ages are nothing when laid in the Balance with infinite Duration; and (*e*) *there is infinitely leſs Proportion between* the Time of the Duration of this Earth *and Eternity, than there is between a Minute, and a hundred Millions of Years....* (*f*) "Among Men, thoſe who take care of a Child "that's ill of any Diſtemper, and cure him by a bitter "Remedy, do not matter the Complaints that the "Child makes of the Bitterneſs, becauſe they know "that in a very little Time the Remedy will do him "good. Now there is an infinitely greater Diſproportion between God and the moſt knowing Men, "than there is between them and the ſimpleſt Children. So that we can't reaſonably think it ſtrange "that God looks upon the Evils we ſuffer as almoſt "nothing: He, who alone has a compleat Idea of "Eternity, and looks upon the Beginning and End of "our Sufferings as being infinitely nearer together, "than the Beginning and End of a Minute. After the "ſame manner muſt we reaſon about Vices and vicious "Actions, which, with reſpect to God, are of ſhort "Duration, and at the bottom change nothing in the "Univerſe. If a Clock-maker ſhould make a Pendu-"lum, which, when wound up, would go very well for a "whole Year, abating 2 or 3 Seconds, that it would "go unequally in, when it begins to go; could any "one ſay, that this Workman does not pretend to "any exactneſs in his Workmanſhip? In like man-"ner, if God does one Day, for all Eternity, redreſs "the Diſorders that the bad uſe of Liberty ſhall have "cauſed among Men, we can't think it ſtrange that "he ſuffers them to continue, during that Moment "that we ſhall have been upon Earth."

(*e*) *Ibid. pag.* 309.

(*f*) *Ibid. pag.* 310, 311.

Now let's ſee what a *Manichee* could anſwer to this Diſcourſe of an Origeniſt.

I. The firſt thing he could ſay, is, that in our Minds we do not find the Idea of two ſorts of Goodneſs; of which one conſiſts in making a Preſent, the bad Effects of which are fore-ſeen, without preventing them, though it lies in the Power of the Giver to do it; the other in granting a Favour under ſuch Conditions as will always render it advantageous to him who receives it. 'Tis needleſs to acquaint you, that by the Idea of Goodneſs we do not underſtand an imperfect ſort of Goodneſs, ſuch as we meet with in the Heart of a Sinner; but a Goodneſs that in a Logical abſtracted Senſe is clear of all Failure. This ſpecial Goodneſs is not a Genus containing under it the two Species now deſcribed. Its eſſential and diſtinguiſhing Attribute is to diſpoſe its Subject to do good Things, which by the ſhorteſt and certaineſt means that it can make uſe of render the Condition of the Receiver happy. This Ideal Goodneſs eſſentially and neceſſarily excludes all that can ſuit a malicious Being. Now 'tis certain that ſuch a Being would readily incline to diſpenſe the Favours, the uſe of which it knew would prove fatal to thoſe upon whom it ſhould beſtow 'em. We read of a certain Man that preſented very fine Garments to thoſe to whom he meant no good.

(*g*) *Entrapelus, cuicunque nocere volebat,*
Veſtimenta dabat pretioſa: beatus enim jam
Cum pulchris tunicis ſumet nova conſilia & ſpes:
Dormiet in lucem: ſcorto poſtponet honeſtum
Officium: nummos alienos paſcet: ad imum
Thraxerit, aut olitoris aget mercede caballum.

(*g*) *Horat. Epiſt.* 18. *lib.* 1. *v.* 31.

That is to ſay: "(*h*) When *Entrapelus* deſigned to "do any one a Diſkindneſs, he knew no better way

(*h*) *I make uſe of* Dacier's *Verſion.*

(*a*) *Parrhaſiana, pag.* 306.
(*b*) *Ibid. pag.* 307.
(*c*) *Ibid. pag.* 308.
(*d*) *Ibid. pag.* 312.

after having read all the Objections of the Manichees. As for Father *Doucin*'s Book, I ſhall only take notice that it contains a large and curious Diſcuſſion of the Subjects mention'd

" to do it than to ſend 'em magnificent Cloaths; " for, ſaid he, this Man ſeeing himſelf already the " Favourite of Fortune, in having ſuch fine Cloaths, " will form new Deſigns, and conceive new Hopes. " He'll ſleep till Noon, he'll prefer a Miſs to all the " more honourable Duties of Life; he'll take care " to increaſe his Neighbour's Stock at his own Ex- " pence, and at laſt will be reduced to be a Gladia- " tor, or a Gardener's Man, or to lead to Market " a Horſe that carries Roots and Herbs." Bad Princes that hunt after Means to ſatisfie their Paſſion handſomly in ruining ſome great Lord, would gladly give him the Government of a Province, if they knew that by abuſing that Truſt he would render himſelf moſt odious to all Mankind, and worthy of an exemplary Puniſhment; but a Romantick Heroe form'd for a Model of Royal Perfection, a Prince, I ſay, drawn after Ideas even more exactly than (*i*) *Cyrus* by *Xenophon*, will never lay Snares by his Liberality. When he diſpoſes of Places, he pitches upon ſuch as are moſt ſuitable to thoſe he has a mind to gratify, and do's not offer to give them ſuch Places as he apprehends they will miſmanage. He gives readily, out of Hand; that's a Character of Goodneſs that (*k*) multiplies the Good given. He do's not oblige the Suitors to long Sollicitations; that deſtroys the Merit of the Benefit (*l*), and is only ſuitable to ſuch an indifferent ſort of Goodneſs as ſcarce deſerves to be diſtinguiſh'd from Hardneſs. Thoſe who have given us the Character of Cardinal *Mazarin*, have therein taken notice, as of a great Fault, of the cuſtome he had of drilling out the execution of his Promiſes to ſuch a length of time, that all the Pleaſure was waſted in Hopes, and his Favours were all maimed by the Efforts that were neceſſary to be uſed to ſnatch 'em from him. (*m*) *Promiſſis largus, quibus multoties non ſtetit; aut ſi implevit, faſtidio & mora diu libratum beneficium improbe extortum elumbavit, longo voto conſumens gaudia.* Had they deſign'd his Panegyrick, and meant to flatter his Memory with the Character of a Conſummate Liberality, they would have ſaid, that his Readineſs to oblige prevented Sollicitations, and ſpared his Clients the ſhame of putting in Requeſts. (*n*) *Illud atque in vulgus, Principem obiiſſe .... liberalem in primis, & qui raro exemplo huius ævi preces anteverteret, ut conſulveret accipientium pudori.* A Panegyriſt that means to keep cloſe to Ideal Perfection, and attribute it to his Heroes, would not fail to put into the Character of their Liberality, an indiſſoluble Tie between giving the Art of making good uſe of a Favour, and granting the Favour it ſelf.

Thus we ſee what are the Properties of Ideal Goodneſs; what it excludes, what it includes. Now, if we conſider this Idea of Goodneſs, we do not find that God, who is a Principle of Sovereign Goodneſs, could put off the Felicity of his Creatures to the termination of (*o*) ſeveral Ages of Miſery, or beſtow upon them a *Liberum Arbitrium*, which he was ſure they all would uſe to their own Deſtruction. Had his Creature ask'd of him any ſuch thing, he could not have granted it without counteracting his own Eſſence. And much leſs could he give it, when 'twas not ask'd. Would the Creature have willingly taken it, if it had been ask'd the Queſtion? And if it had known the Conſequences of it, would not it rather have cried out (*a*),

May ſuch Preſents fall to my Enemies.

But if the infinite Goodneſs of the Creator did permit him to endow his Creatures with a Liberty of which they might make a bad as well as a good uſe, we muſt at leaſt ſay, that 'twould engage him to watch their Steps ſo as not to ſuffer 'em to be guilty of actual Sin. His infinite Love for Virtue, his infinite Hatred for Vice, in a word, his Sanctity would unite its Intereſts with thoſe of his Goodneſs, and by the Concourſe of thoſe Divine Attributes, the bad uſe of Free-will would be ſet off as often as 'tis ready to break out. The Fathers who can't refuſe their Children leave to go all alone, or to climb a Ladder, or to mount a Horſe, when 'tis viſible they'll fall, if they are not taken care of, never fail to give ſuch Orders, that whatever ſide they lean to, there's always a Support at hand. Now, if a finite Goodneſs, a Goodneſs which cannot inviſibly blend its aſſiſtance with the ſtrength of a little Child, do's always prevent the Child's falling, when it can, or hinder his wounding himſelf with a Knife that muſt needs be given him to ſtop his crying; how much more ought we to be perſuaded that God would have prevented the bad Uſe of Free-will; he who is infinitely Good, infinitely Holy, and can infallibly incline his Creature towards Good, without violating the Privileges of Liberty. Such is the Anſwer that a *Manichee* may give to an Origeniſt, upon the firſt of the three Propoſitions laid down above. One may eaſily apprehend, though I do not ſay it, That he might ſometimes make uſe of what we call *Argamenta ad hominem.*

As for the Reaſon alledged by the Origeniſt, that there's a Neceſſity of allowing the Creature Free-will, in order *to make room for Virtue and Vice, for Praiſe and Diſpraiſe, for Reward and Puniſhment*; it may be eaſily and effectually refuted. 'Twould ſuffice to reply, that ſuch a Reaſon is ſo far from obliging a Being infinitely Holy and infinitely Liberal to grant Free-will to Creatures, that, on the contrary, it ought to move him to do otherwiſe. Vice and Blame or Diſpraiſe ought to have no place in the Works of a Cauſe infinitely Holy; all the Avenues of Vice muſt be ſtopt, all muſt be laudable; all the Poſts ought to be ſo poſſeſt by Virtue, as not to give the leaſt Admiſſion to the oppoſite Quality. And as all muſt be happy in the Empire of a Sovereign Being infinitely Good and infinitely Powerful; ſo Pains or Puniſhments can have no place in the ſame. In travelling through this vaſt Empire, we're to meet with no Valley of Tears, no *Veſtibulum*, ſuch as a great Poet has thus deſcribed to us.

Veſtibulum (c) ante ipſum, primiſque in faucibus Orci,
Luctus, & ultrices poſuêre cubilia curæ:
Pallentesque habitant morbi, triſtiſque ſenectus:
Et Metus, & maleſuada Fames, & turpis Egeſtas,
(Terribiles viſu formæ) Lethumque, Laborque:
Tum conſanguineus Lethi Sopor: & mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverſo in limine Bellum:
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, & Diſcordia demens,
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

(c) *Virgil. Æn. lib. 6. v. 273.*

Without paſſing through Places fill'd with Horror, we ought at firſt ſetting out fall in with the Theatres of Felicity.

Devenêre (d) locos lætos, & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, ſedeſque beatas.
Largior hic campos æther, & lumine veſtit
Purpureo: ſolemque ſuum, ſua ſidera norunt.

(d) *Id. ib. v. 638.*

Virtue, Praiſe and Favours may very well exiſt, tho' Vice, Blame and Puniſhment have no other exiſtence, than what we call Ideal and Objective. This the Origeniſt cannot deny, ſince he acknowledges an eternal Felicity of all Free Creatures, that ſhall ſucceed to ſome Ages of Sufferings. Virtue, Praiſe and Benefits will take place during the infinite Duration of that Happineſs; but Vice, Blame and Puniſhment will there have no Exiſtence out of the Intellect. If the Origeniſt replies, that theſe Benefits would not be a Recompence, if the Creatures had not been endowed with Liberty; we'll anſwer, that there's no Proportion between an eternal Felicity and the good Uſe that Man makes of his Free-will; and for that Reaſon the eternal Happineſs that God beſtows upon a good Man, can't be conſider'd, properly ſpeaking, as a Reward: 'tis a Favour, a free Gift. So that, taking the Terms in a ſtrict Senſe, we can't pretend that Free-will ought to have been given to Men to qualify 'em to merit the Happineſs of Paradiſe, and obtain a Claim to Reward. Such Language might as well take place, if there were only a Subordination between Virtue and eternal Happineſs; that is, a Chain or Connexion of Thoughts neceſſarily virtuous, in which Happineſs would be the conſequent and Virtue the antecedent. Not to mention that the more eternal Felicity were remote from the Notion of Reward, the more 'twould ſuit the Character of infinite Goodneſs.

II. The Anſwer to the ſecond Propoſition can't ſtop us long The *Manichee* would not fail to obſerve, that Impenitence being nothing but the bad uſe

(*i*) Cyrus ille à Xenophonte non ad hiſtoriæ fidem ſcriptus, ſed ad effigiem juſti imperii. *Cicero ad Q. fratrem epiſt. 1. lib. 1. fol. m. 98. D.*

(*k*) Bis dat qui cito dat.

(*l*) Gratia quæ tarda eſt, ingrata eſt; gratia namque Cum fieri properat, gratia grata magis. *Auſonius epigr. 82.* See likewiſe *Epigr. 83.* and the Authors quoted in the Commentary upon theſe Words of *Auſonius* of the *Amſterdam Edit.* 1671.

(*m*) *Prolus de rebus Gallicis lib. 11. ſub fin. pag. m. 392.*

(*n*) *Famian. Strada prolus. 2. lib. 2. p. m. 255.* He ſpeaks of Leo X.

(*o*) Thus we ſhall touch upon in Paragraph II.

(*a*) Hoſtibus eveniant talia dona meis.

mention'd in the Title, and withal an Epitome of the Life of *Origen*. One can't read it without deploring the whimſical Fate of the Minds of Men. *Origen*'s Converſation and Manners were admirably pure: His Zeal for the Goſpel was ardent to the laſt Degree. He ruin'd his Health with Faſts and Watchings. Coveting ‡ Martyrdom, he underwent with incredible Inconſtancy the Torments that the Perſecutors of the Faith

‡ *See before pag.* 2408. *col.* 2.

uſe of Liberty, 'tis all one, whether you ſay that God condemns Men for not Repenting, or that he damns 'em barely for having ſinn'd. I own, that, generally ſpeaking, 'tis an Argument of Mercy, to be ready to remit the Puniſhment of thoſe who are ſorry for their Fault: But when a Promiſe of Pardon, upon Condition of repenting, is made to thoſe whoſe Impenitence we are well aſſured of; properly ſpeaking there's nothing promiſed, and the Reſolution to puniſh them is juſt as firm, as if no Favour had been offered them. If you would in good earneſt exempt them from Puniſhment, you'd hinder their Impenitence, which is a very eaſy Matter to him who is Maſter of Hearts. Here are again *Argumenta ad hominem*.

III. As for the third Propoſition and its Proofs, the *Manichee* might ask in the firſt place, whether the Origeniſt dares determine the Duration of the Torments that precede the happy Eternity. He durſt not determine it, not only becauſe he is ignorant of the Period, but likewiſe out of a fear to make it either too ſhort or too long. If he made it too ſhort, an hundred Years, for inſtance, he would fear the Accuſation of giving a Looſe to Sinners; and if he ſtated it a Million of Years, he would fear to come ſhort of the juſt Image of God's Mercy, and to draw upon himſelf all the Scandal of the pretended Cruelty of the Doctrine of Hell. So, he ſcarce truſts to the Nullity of Proportion between a Million of Years, and an infinite Duration; and the Difficulty do's not ſeem to be removed by ſaying, *There's infinitely leſs proportion between* the Duration of the Earth *and Eternity, than there is between a Minute and a hundred Millions of Years*. What's affirmed of theſe hundred Millions of Years, may be equally affirmed of as many Millions of Ages as there are Drops of Water in the Ocean. This number of Ages multiplied as often as you will, is a finite thing, but there's no Proportion between a finite and an infinite; and conſequently there's none between Eternity and any number of Ages whatſoever. Yet, no Body can forbear judging, that the Divine Juſtice would be leſs ſevere, if it put an end to the Miſery of the Reprobate, and introduced 'em into Paradiſe, at the Termination of an hundred Years, than if it put off that Change till after an hundred thouſand Ages. Lay what Notions you will before a Man, you can never ſatisfy his Reaſon, by telling him, that God will indeed be appeaſed at laſt, but not till the Infernal Puniſhment, ſuch as it is uſually deſcribed, ſhall have laſted as many Millions of Years, as there are Drops of Water in the Sea. That number of Years, which is nothing upon the Compariſon with Eternity, appears nevertheleſs a very long Duration when conſidered by it ſelf, and with reſpect to the Perſon that ſuffers. Let this proceed from what it will, whether it be that our Reaſon is too dull to be put upon, or that there is really ſome Source of Illuſion and Sophiſm in the Ideas of Time; You can never drive it out of the Head of a Philoſopher, that reaſons only philoſophically, that the Puniſhment of a Creature continued for a hundred Thouſand Millions of Ages is incompatible with the Sovereign Bounty of the Creator. We muſt ſuppoſe that an Origeniſt is ſenſible of this, and for that Reaſon he would not venture to ſay, that the Purgatory of the damned ſhall laſt ſo long. But to my mind a *Manichee* might puſh home upon him after this manner. Since you would think ſo long a Puniſhment cruel, take half the time only, and if you find any thing elſe in that Suppoſition, but a Diminution of the Rigour, you impoſe upon your ſelf; for fifty thouſand Millions of Years differ only more or leſs from a hundred Thouſand, and by the bare Diminution or Abatement of Cruelty we can never riſe from Cruelty to Sovereign Mercy or Goodneſs. Qualities (*a*) *in ſummo gradu*, for inſtance Heat do's abſolutely exclude all the Degrees of Cold; ſo that Goodneſs *in ſummo gradu* muſt needs exclude any degrees whatſoever of the oppoſite Quality. You can't therefore riſe to the Supreme Goodneſs of God, but by ſuppreſſing to the laſt Minute the Puniſhments of Hell. For what God can be for a Moment, he may be the ſame for two Hours, and two Ages, and through all Eternity; but whatever would be incompatible with his Nature in the Courſe of his Eternity, would be equally ſo in every inſtant of the Duration of things. The Qualities of a Creature are ſuſceptible of leſs and more, and never reach Perfection; but we call 'em perfect when their Deficiencies are not very ſenſible. We call a Pendulum true and juſt, when it do's not go out of order, above two or three Seconds in a Year: But the juſt Exactneſs of an Artificer of Sovereign Perfection, abſolutely excludes all Exceptions; his Goodneſs, his Holineſs, his Wiſdom, *&c.* are abſolutely ſimple, and without the leaſt Mixture of contrary Qualities: I ſay, the leaſt that either Conception can reach or the Nature of things receive.

IV. The Idea of this Goodneſs excludes all the Faults that are commonly met with in the way in which Men do good to one another. Some take Pleaſure in (*b*) Delays, others can't be ſerviceable without going about; and ſo, in ſpite of their own Wills, they are conſtrain'd to lead thoſe through Evil, whom they mean to lead to Good. Fathers who can't correct the bad Inclinations of a Child without the Laſh of the Rod, make his Body feel the ſmart of it; but this they would be loth to do, were they perſuaded that a boundleſs Complaiſance were the only effectual Means of Correction. They force a Child to ſwallow Medicines, attended with an inſupportable Bitterneſs and Gripings; but this they would not uſe, if they knew how to cure him otherwiſe. They would give Sugar and all things agreeable to the Taſte, if they thought they would prove a better Remedy. The exhibiting of a diſagreeable Potion being unavoidable, they ſweeten and qualify the Bitterneſs as much as they can (*c*) with liquoriſh trifling things; and, though they look upon the Complaints of the diſagreeable Taſte as a ridiculous Piece of Weakneſs, being perſwaded that in a ſhort time the Bitterneſs will diſappear, and the Remedy will give Relief, yet they would gladly ſave the Child this ſhort trouble, and accompliſh the Cure with the moſt palatable Liquors in the World, if they knew but how to do it. One may be ſenſible of ſuch a tender Diſpoſition of a Soul without being a Father. There's no Phyſician nor Apothecary, who do's not make Apologies for the Bitterneſs of his Remedies, and proteſt, that if 'twere poſſible for him to cook 'em up to the Reliſh of the moſt delicious Sauce, he would exert his utmoſt Induſtry to do it; but that a Neceſſity, which all the Art of Man cannot ſurmount, obliges him to inſiſt upon diſagreeable Medicines. Queſtionleſs this Language is ſincere, even when ſpoken in the preſence of Patients he never ſaw before. Put the Queſtion to a Surgeon that ſets the Arm of a Perſon unknown to him, *if you could perform this Operation without cauſing any Pain, would not you do it?* He'll readily reply, that the Queſtion is to no purpoſe, and that it ought to be held for an unqueſtioned Truth, that a Man of his Profeſſion, who knew how to dreſs a Wound two ways, equally good, the one painful and the other eaſy, and ſhould prefer the former to the latter, would be a Monſter of Cruelty, a Tyger, a Cannibal, that ought to be forth-with broken upon the Wheel. Generally ſpeaking, your Schoolmaſters are none of the beſt temper'd Men in the World; and yet I doubt much, if any Pedantry is ſo ſavage as to prefer the Whip to Careſſes, even when they are ſure that Mildneſs and Complaiſance would benefit their Scholars as much as Correction. Do not they give Sugar-Plums (*d*) to little Boys to conquer their Stubbornneſs? To chuſe and to laſh without Neceſſity, without finding that Method more profitable than Careſſes and Preſents, is certainly bruiſh.

This Induction might be amplified out of ſight; and from thence a Conſequence might be drawn that would put the Origeniſt out of Countenance; for one might from thence conclude, that both the Ideas of Experience and metaphyſical Notions conſpire to evince, that to hurt any one for never ſo ſhort a Portion

(*a*) *Of this more hereafter under the Letter c.*

(*b*) *See p.* 2412 *above at the Letter m. Theſe Delays are ſometimes ſo uneaſy, that at laſt a ready Denial is aſk'd as a Favour.* Jam, ſatis eſt, finem O Cæſar pro munere poſco Remque meam ſeu das, perfice, ſive negas. *See Balzac, Entret.* 27. *pag. m.* 276.

(*c*) Pueris abſinthia tetra medentes Cùm dare conantur, priùs oras pocula circùm Contingunt melle dulci flavoque liquore, Ut puerorum ætas improvida ludificetur Labrorum tenùs, interea perpotet amarum Abſinthi laticem, decepta que non capiatur; Sed potiùs tali facto recreata valeſcat. *Lucret. lib.* 1. *v.* 935 *& lib.* 4. *v.* 11.

(*d*) Ut pueris olim dant cruſtula blandi Doctores, elementa velint ut diſcere prima. *Horat. ſat* 1. *lib.* 1.

Faith (*F*) inflicted upon him: Torments ſo much the more inſupportable becauſe they were of long Duration: for the Perſecutors were very careful to prevent *his* † *expiring in the midſt of the Torture.* His Genius was great, fine, and ſublime, his Knowledge and Reading extreamly vaſt; and yet he fell into a *prodigious* * *number of Herſies, the leaſt of which is monſtrous*: And probably he fell into them by endeavouring to ſave the Truths of Chriſtianity from the ‡ *inſults of the Pagans*, and to render 'em *credible even to the Philoſophers, which he deſir'd with the utmoſt Paſſion, not doubting, but that with their aſſiſtance he might convert the Univerſe.* Notwithſtanding ſo many Virtues, ſo many admirable Talents, and a Motive ſo full of Zeal, he dyed a Heretick, and his Memory is abhorr'd by an infinite number of Chriſtians. There are but few in the Communion of *Rome* that dare doubt of his eternal Damnation. And yet how many voluptuous, worldly, lazy and vicious Doctors are there, who being at the ſame time very Orthodox, are daily loaded with thouſands of Benedictions for their unſhaken Firmneſs and Conſtancy in the true Faith? So far the Judgments of God are impenetrable! 'Tis not commonly apprehended that the Errors of *Origen* have a mutual Connexion; they ſeem to be

† *Doucin Hiſtoire de l'Origeniſme, pag.* 81.
* *Id. ibid. pag.* 36.
‡ *Id. ibid. pag.* 37.

Portion of Time, and in order to procure him the greateſt Benefits, is incompatible with Goodneſs, unleſs it be down-right impoſſible to chalk out a ſtrait Path to lead him from Good to Good, in a conſtant and invariable manner. 'Tis needleſs therefore to offer, that the Torments of the damn'd, after laſting for a certain Time, which is ſhort in compariſon with Eternity, ſhall be followed with endleſs Felicity. This is ſtill incompatible with the Goodneſs of God, and ſo much the more, becauſe his Goodneſs is infinite, and of Sovereign Perfection, which can't ſuffer the leaſt Diminution or Interruption without ceaſing to be perfect. Do but call to mind the Doctrine of the Scholaſticks about the Nature of the firſt Qualities. Heat (*e*) *in ſummo gradu*, or *ut octo*, as they expreſs it, ceaſes to be a firſt, ſimple and perfect Quality, as ſoon as 'tis joyn'd to the leaſt degree of Cold that can be: Then it aſſumes the Nature of ſecond or compound Qualities. Eſſences conſiſt *in Indiviſibili*, and if you pare off the leaſt thing that can be, you deſtroy 'em utterly. They muſt have all or nothing; ſo that the ſlendereſt Tincture of a miſchievous Quality, blended with Goodneſs, ſtrips that Goodneſs of the Eſſence of perfect Goodneſs; and makes it ſhift Species, and belong to the Species of imperfect Qualities. A Proof of this you have in the philoſophical Axiom, ſet down in the (*f*) Margin. From this it appears, that if the Origeniſts mean to get clear, they muſt add a new Hereſy to the former; and maintain, that 'twas impoſſible for God to lead free-will'd Creatures to eternal Happineſs, without they underwent firſt the Miſeries of this Life, and then the Torments of Hell for a certain Time. They might plead, that as Fiſh can't live in the Air, nor Men under Water, ſo the Souls of Men can't live in Paradiſe, while they are loaded with the Filth that accrues from their Union with Elementary Matter; and for that Reaſon then there's a Neceſſity of purifying them in the infernal Furnace, after which they are qualified to live happy in the Cœleſtial Regions. Purſuant to this Suppoſition, the Goodneſs of God may be entirely conſiſtent with the Torments of the Creature; as the Friendſhip of an Operator remains entire and unviolated to the Perſon that he cuts, notwithſtanding the violent Pain he puts him to, which 'tis not poſſible for him to prevent. But to have recourſe to this Hypotheſis, is only to adopt part of the Errour of the *Manichees*; to ſave the Goodneſs of God at the Expence of his Power, and to ſay that Matter is an uncreated Principle ſo eſſentially bad that it is not in the Power of God to rectify its Faults. This is the way not to anſwer the Objections of the *Manichees*, but to make 'em triumph. The Remarks made upon the Phyſical Evils, with reſpect to the Goodneſs of God, may eaſily be applied to the moral Evils with reference to the Divine Sanctity.

(*e*) *Compare what is ſaid before at Letter a.*

(*f*) Bonum ex integra cauſa, Malum ex quocunque defectu.

V. We muſt take notice, that, if *Origen* was able to anſwer the Objections of the *Manichees*, it would not follow, that they might be much more reſolved by better and more Orthodox Principles, than his. For all the Advantage he can have in this Controverſy, proceeds from the falſe Poſitions, peculiar to him, which on one hand give a large Extent to the Power of Free-will, and on the other hand ſink everlaſting Miſery, and ſubſtitute in the room of it eternal Bliſs. The ſtrongeſt Argument of the *Manichees* is grounded on this Hypotheſis, that all Men, ſaving a few, ſhall be damn'd for ever.

VI. There's no Sect now a-days, that gives ſo ſmall a handle of Argument to the *Manichees*, as the *Socinian*; and that is only owing to their Departing farther than the reſt from the Hypotheſis of the (*g*) *Particularists*. But if they do not go yet further, they'll ſucceed no better in this Diſpute than the Origeniſts; they muſt ſink under it unleſs they joyn to their other Impieties, this Aſſertion, That Matter is a Principle that God can only diſpoſe of to a certain Point or Degree, beyond which he muſt of Neceſſity yield to its Reſiſtance, and accommodate himſelf to the incorrigible Defects he finds in it. If the *Socinians* do not yet charge themſelves with that piece of Blaſphemy, they ſhall ſee themſelves reduced to an Abſurdity, I mean to deny Truths juſtified by Experience; and that after this manner. They deny the Eternity of Hell, becauſe they can't conceive how it ſhould conſiſt with the infinite Goodneſs of God. They can't conceive that ſuch Goodneſs is compatible with a Hell of a hundred Times a hundred Thouſand Millions of Years. So many Ages of Miſery appear to them a horrible Cruelty. But in regard they'll never riſe from Cruelty to infinite Goodneſs by retrenching (*a*) a Thouſand Ages, and then a Thouſand, *&c.* while they leave any Years of Torment behind: Upon this Conſideration, I ſay, if they mean to avoid the Inconſequency, they muſt plead, that under a God infinitely good there can be no Hell. This proves too much. For then, this Theſis laid down, 'tis not conceivable that Men can be liable to Diſeaſes and Afflictions. So that from ſuch Principles there ariſes a Falſhood, and even the Impoſſibility of a thing that exiſts beyond all Diſpute, its Exiſtence being known to us by too troubleſome Experience. If you offer, that under the beſt Monarchs there are Dungeons, Tortures, Gibbets and Executioners, that frequently execute their Office: I anſwer, that none of theſe things would take place, if 'twere in the Power of thoſe Monarchs to inſpire all the World with a firm Reſolution of demeaning themſelves as they ought to do. How can they get clear of this Labyrinth, if ſo be, that God diſpoſes of Matter as he thinks fit, and is the free Author of the Laws that ſubject Man to ſickneſs and uneaſineſs? They muſt then at laſt be obliged to get off, by pleading, that God can't do whatever he pleaſes; and that Matter contains the Seeds of Evil, which ſhoot up one way or other, whether he will or not, and in ſpite of any Combination or Texture of the Corpuſculum's that he may have made.

(*g*) *They are the Men who inſiſt moſt ſtrictly upon the literal Senſe of St.* Paul, *about the Doctrine of abſolute Predeſtination, the Neceſſity of Grace, and the loſt of Free-Will.*
(*a*) *See the Proofs of this above, pag.* 2413, *Col.* 1. *and*, 2.

VII. This is the way of reclaiming thoſe who mean to ſubject Theology to Philoſophy. You muſt point out to 'em the abſurd Conſequences of their Method, and by that means bring 'em back to this Maxim of Chriſtian Humility, That Metaphyſical Notion ought not to be the Standard, by which we may judge of the Conduct of God; but That it behoves us to conform our ſelves to the Oracles of the Scripture. As for thoſe who may apprehend any Danger to the True Faith, from thus ſhewing, that by the bare Light of Philoſophy we can't make head againſt the Objections of the *Manichees*; I refer them to the Explanations annex'd to the end of this Volume.

(*F*) *The Torments that the Perſecutors of the Faith inflicted upon him.*] Of all the Martyrs that periſh'd under the (*b*) ſeventh Perſecution, (*c*) *none was attack'd with more Obſtinacy than* Origen... *He was thrown into a dark Dungeon* (*d*) *chain'd with a large Collar of Iron round his Neck, extended for ſeveral Days upon a ſort of a Rack, which, by pulling his feet*

(*b*) *That of the Emperor* Decius, *An.* 250.
(*c*) *Doucin Hiſtoire de l'Origeniſme, pag.* 81, *& ſeq.*
(*d*) *Euſeb. l.* 6. *c.* 39. *Niceph. l.* 5. *c.* 22.

to be the Product of a wandring and irregular Mind: But the juſter Aſſertion is, that they (G) ſpring all from one Source; and that they are Falſities of a Syſtematical Order, which form a Chain of Conſequences. Some of his Followers have carried 'em to the Senſualities we have ſince ſeen (H) among the *Molinoſiſts*. But that Carnal ſort of

feet aſunder, diſlocated his Members, in ſuch a manner, that he paſs'd the reſt of his Life in Extremity of Pain. He was then 77 Years old .... Every Day they invented new Cruelties, related by himſelf in his Letters, to which the Ancients refer us, and which are ſince loſt. Oftentimes they threatned to burn him gradually, and at ſeveral times; and, during this cruel and long Martyrdom, which laſted, ſo far as we can judge of it, till the Death of Decius, *he never uttered any thing that was unworthy of a Soldier of Jeſus Chriſt. Happy Man! If giving up his Soul in ſo glorious a Fight, he could have waſh'd off the Errors of his Doctrine with his Blood. But God did not permit it ſo to be.* (2) He ſuffered much, *ſays St.* Epiphanius, and did not arrive at the Point to which Martyrdom leads. *He touch'd the Crown with his Hand, without being able to ſet it upon his Head; and he, who in all appearance was only ſhort of Martyrdom, in not expiring in the midſt of his Torments, the Marks of which he bore to his Death, is an Hereſiarch, rejected and abhorr'd by the Church, for not believing as ſhe does. But this ought not to ſurpriſe us, ſince we read in the Acts of the Holy Prieſt* Pionius, *who ſuffered Martyrdom at that time at* Smyrna, *that a Marcionite was burnt by him, whoſe Sect was not leſs Heretical, though inſpired with a Deſire of Martyrdom; for theſe falſe Martyrs died, adhering to their Errors. What makes the Martyr, ſays St.* Auguſtin *admirably well, is not the Puniſhment, but the Faith that makes him bear it. Now there is no more Faith in him that riſes in oppoſition to the Doctrine of the Church. Where are the Men of this Character, whom they would give us for Saints, tho' we meet with nothing in their Lives that comes near the Virtue, or the Sufferings of the Martyrs; but only a more notorious Stiffneſs and Obſtinacy, than that of the ancient Hereſiarchs?*

I have inſerted this long Paſſage of Father *Doucin*, without ſkipping the Reflection; for I thought 'twould ſerve for a Supplement to what I related above (d) with reference to the Charge laid againſt *Maimbourg*, touching the *Marcionite* Martyrs. I apprehended farther, that this would afford me an Opportunity of remarking, that the eaſieſt Means and Ways of diſcerning a good Cauſe, ſlip from us ſooner or later. 'Twould ſuit the Capacity of the People much more, to diſtinguiſh the true Religion by certain external Marks, than to enter into a ſevere Scrutiny of the Doctrine. Now of all the external Marks, the Conſtancy of Martyrs is moſt capable to make an Impreſſion. 'Twas abſolutely of good uſe in advancing the Chriſtian Faith; the Aſhes of Martyrs were the Seeds of juſt Men, and rais'd an Infinity of Proſelytes to the Goſpel. But this Proof became Equivocal when Chriſtendom was ſplit into ſeveral Communions: each of them had their reſpective Martyrs; and ſo, to avoid the being impos'd upon, there was a Neceſſity of entring into the Diſcuſſion of their Doctrine, and diſclaiming this compendious Rule of Truth: Such a Communion has Martyrs, *Ergo* it is good.

(G) *The juſter Aſſertion is, that they* (the Errors of *Origen*) *ſpring all from one Source.*] 'Tis in his three (e) Books of Principles, that he has (f) *ſet forth and eſtabliſh'd them, and ſo link'd 'em one with another, that one may ſee 'em all ſpring from one ſingle Principle.* " (g) 'Tis eaſy to demonſtrate, in the firſt place, " that what is Heretical and deſerves Cenſure, in his " Books of Principles, is not one or two Propoſitions " foreign to his Subject, but the very Body of the " Doctrine, the Subſtance of the Work, the Funda- " mental Propoſitions upon which the whole Syſtem " bears, and which can't be mov'd without over- " turning the whole Edifice. 'Tis demonſtrable, in " a ſecond place, that the ſame Errors which taint " his Book of Principles, are diſpers'd through all " the other Writings of this Author; inſomuch, that " the ſame Spirit reigns throughout, the ſame Ideas " come up every where. In lopping off his Errors " you muſt deſtroy the very firſt Elements of his Do- " ctrine.... (h) Such is the Condition of any one " that dares to ſteer a new Courſe in religious Mat- " ters: A formidable Series of Abyſſes and Precipi- " ces opens, every ſtep he goes. The more ingenious " he is, the more does the Itch of Reaſoning oblige " him to ſwallow Abſurdities; and that which " at firſt View ſeem'd to be only a ſlight Singularity, " and unworthy of being taken notice of, proves " in the end the general overthrow of all the Chri- " ſtian Doctrines. So fatal 'tis to make uſe of Inven- " tion, where plain Belief is only concern'd. ' The Author from whom I have theſe Words, ſays in another place; " (i) That which principally deſerves " our regard, is the unperceivable, and yet real Con- " nexion of all theſe Errors, one of which drew the " Author into the other, and drove him upon that " fearful Multitude of Novelties, of which his Sy- " ſtem is compos'd. For, as St. *Jerom* has well " ſaid, upon this Head, we muſt not imagine, that " *Origen* was a Fool or a weak Man, (k) and moſt " of thoſe who have read him, wou'd not have " charged him with ſuch frequent Contradictions, if " they had conſidered him more cloſely. 'Tis true, " his Book of Principles, as it now appears, is not " always of a Piece with the reſt of his Works, but " that is not chargeable upon the Author himſelf (l). " We all know what Pains *Rufinus* took in keeping " out of his Tranſlation whatever he thought might " occaſion its being condemn'd in the Weſt. 'Tis by " this means that ſometimes *Origen*, in *Latin*, at- " tacks thoſe very Errors, which in his other Writ- " tings he vindicated in *Greek*. Otherwiſe you'll " find *Origen* clear of Self Contradictions; if you bear " up to the Source of his Ideas, and look for the Key, " ſo to ſpeak, of his Writings, for aſſuredly there is " one, and we muſt not think that ſuch a Train of " Hereſies is any thing elſe, but the Sequel of the " firſt Miſtake; the Diſcovery of which ſeems as yet " not to have been duly purſued. ' Father *Doucin* lays down his Concluſions upon this Head, and gives us his Scheme of the Chain, and Coherency of *Origen*'s Doctrine. This is well worth the reading in the Original.

(H) *To the Senſualities we have ſince ſeen among the Molinoſiſts.*] I ſhall here make uſe of Father *Doucin*'s own Words; which are full of Seeds of Reflection, and point to the uſe we may now make of 'em. ' (a) While thoſe who contemplated without ſtudy ' fell inconſiderately into all the Chimæra's of *Ori-* ' *gen*; others, who ſaw further into 'em, and at the ' ſame time were more corrupted, perceiv'd that they ' afforded Conſequence very favourable to their diſ- ' orderly Lives. ' Upon the Plea, that the Fleſh is ' only the Priſon of the Soul, and by no means any ' part of us ſanctified by the Union with Chriſt or ' appointed to reign with him in Glory: From this ' Poſition, they concluded that the Uncleannels of ' the Fleſh could not taint the Purity of the Spirit, ' or deprive it of the Grace of the Creator. 'Tis ' manifeſt to what Abominations that deteſtable ' Principle did tend, which form'd in the Eaſt a ſe- ' cond ſort of Origeniſts, whoſe Lewdneſs was ſo ' notorious, that they merited the Name of *Infa-* ' *mous* and *Diſſolute* (3). This double Origeniſm, ' the one Carnal, the other Spiritual, is atteſted ' by St. *Epiphanius*, ſo that it ought not to paſs ' for the Invention of an Hiſtorian that would ' find out, in paſt Ages, the Portraiture of what hap- ' pens in our's. And far leſs can it be taken for a de- ' ſign'd Plot to give an Opportunity of ſpeaking of ' the preſent State of Affairs .... It the execrable ' *Molinos*, whoſe Character is the Reverſe of that of ' Chaſte *Origen*, became the Head both of a Spiritu- ' al, and of a Carnal Hereſy, we need not wonder at ' it. (4) The moſt Spiritual Hereſy, if it has ' has any relation to the Rule of Manners and ' Practice, opens the way to the moſt monſtrous ' Diſorders. One groans and accuſes himſelf af- ' ter the Commiſſion of a bad Action, which, ' he ſays, he could not avoid, God having de- ' nied his Grace. Another pleading, that God ' denied him the means of avoiding that Acti- ' on, concludes from thence, that it can't be cri- ' minal, and ſo he commits it without bluſhing. ' The Difference between the one and the other ' lies oftentimes only in the way of ſpeaking: The ' one ſpeaks as he thinks, and the other as he would ' have the World to think of him.'

(d) *In the Remark E of the Article* Marcionites.

(e) *He compoſed 'em An.* 217. *See Father* Doucin, *ubi infra.*

(f) *Doucin Hiſtoir. de l'Origeniſm, pag.* 31.

(g) *Id. ib. pag.* 36.

(h) *Id. ib. pag.* 37.

(i) *Id. ib. pag.* 323. *& ſeq.*

(k) Non eſt tantus Origenes. Ego novi. Contraria ſibi loqui non poteſt. *Hier. apol. I.* 2.

(2) Quæ cum legiſſem contulimque cum Græco, illico animadverti quæ Origenes de Patre & Filio & Spiritu ſancto impie dixerit, & quæ Romanæ aures ferre non poterant, in melioremque partem ab interprete commutata. *Ruffin. Apol. I.* 1. Si dedo intercetera ut eum hæreticum arguas, nihil de Græco mutes. *Ib. lib.* 2.

(3) Doucin *ubi ſupra, pag.* 149.

(4) *Hereſ.* 63 *& 64.* Horum vero hæreſes ad Epiphanis dogma conformata videtur de quo in Gnoſticorum ſecta ſermonem antea fecimus .... nuptias repudiant neque tamen obſcœnum, ſed ſanctificationem dulcem admittunt adhibentque omnigenere ſpurcitiæ & corpus ſuum, & mentem animumque contaminant *Ib.*

(4) *See what* Hucius *ſays to prove, that there was only one* Origen.

(1) That

of Origeniſm was but ſhort-liv'd, and was eaſier pull'd down than the Spiritual Origeniſm that made a ſort of (I) *Quietiſm*. We muſt remember that one thing which gave *Origen*'s Sect the greateſt Run, was this, that his Errors ſeem'd to be of ſufficient Force to refute the (K) *Manichees*, who puzzled the Orthodox very much with their Objections. One of the beſt Books this Author ever wrote, is his Anſwer to *Celſus* the Philoſopher, which was publiſh'd (L) in *French*, *Ann.* 1700. See the Margin *.

OROBIO

* *His Treatiſe of Prayer, never printed before, was printed in* Greek *and* Latin *at* Oxford *in* 1686. *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *for* June 1686. *Art.* 8. *'Tis given out in the Preface, that* Iſaac Voſſius *had bought the Manuſcript at* Stockholm; *but the Truth is, as I've ſince learned from a Letter of* M. Huet *that was ſhewn me, that* Voſſius *carried it to* Stockholm, *having bought it about the Year* 1636 *of* Mr Rums *the Queen of* Bohemia's *Phyſician, who had bought it of the Soldiers who had pillaged the Library of* Worms. *This Manuſcript was conveyed from the Hands of* Iſaac Voſſius *to* Herbert Thorndicius, *and then to Dr.* Gale, *who put it into the Archive of* Trinity-College *in* Cambridge. *See* Dr. Cave, de Script. Eccleſ. Parte 2. pag. 30. Edit. Genev. 1699.

(I) *That Carnal ſort of Origeniſm ... was eaſier pull'd down than the Spiritual that made a ſort of* Quietiſm.] " (*b*) One would not think it, and yet " it ought to be carefully remark'd, that a Carnal " Hereſy (*c*) is leſs to be feared by the Church, than " thoſe which obſerve all the Order and Regularity " of Life. Of this the double Origenism is ſuffi- " cient Evidence. The Carnal laſted but a ſhort " While, and was abhorr'd by all the World; and " even thoſe who were liſted into it did not dare to " produce ſuch a dreadful Doctrine in the face of the " World: Whereas the Spiritual Origeniſm, the " Abettors of which were (5), according to St. *E-* " *piphanius* himſelf, blameleſs as to the Purity of " their Lives, was not extinguiſh'd till two Centu " ries after its firſt Appearance: So effectually did " the Probity of thoſe who profeſs'd it, cover Ob- " ſtinacy and Pride, under the ſpecious Appearance " of Exemplary Piety."

I am ſtill obliged to tranſcribe this other Paſſage of Father *Doucin* (*d*). *Evagrius.... Deacon of the Church of* Conſtantinople *went to* Jeruſalem, *and from thence to* Egypt, *to wrap up himſelf in Solitude.... His Head was full of* Origen.... *He had ſcarce enter'd his Deſart, when the Origeniſt Monks, ſenſible of his Worth, placed him at their Head, and for that reaſon the Church has ſince condemn'd him as one of the Heads of that Sect. He ſpent his Time in Writing Spiritual Books which were mightily eſteem'd, and of which ſome Fragments are preſerv'd to this Day, which indeed are very fine: And by that means the Error did ſpread wonderfully. This was ſoon perceiv'd by St.* Epiphanius, *and St.* Jerome *on his ſide caution'd the Faithful againſt it.* 'Evagrius, *ſaid St.* Jerome, 'that Man who comes from the North, who from his 'Solitude writes Letters all over the World, ſends 'Inſtructions to Virgins, and Monks, and to her 'whoſe Name ſeems to import the Darkneſs and 'Blackneſs of Hereſy (*He ſpeaks of* Melania) that 'Man has thought fit to publiſh a Book of Max- 'ims, by which he pretends to ſtrip Man of all Senſe 'of Paſſions.' *This is juſt the pretended Perfection of the Quietiſts.* 'That is to ſay, *adds St.* Jerome, 'Evagrius *will of his perfect Man make either a God* 'or a Stone.'

(K) *The Errors of* Origen *ſeem'd to be of ſufficient Force to refute the* Manichees.] Upon this Head 'twill be moſt proper to make uſe of borrowed Words (*e*) Palladius *was brought up by* Evagrius *in a Monaſtick Life; and he knew at leaſt as well as he* the Art of ſetting up and ſtrengthening a Sect " The " Women, eſpecially ſuch of 'em as could read, " lov'd to converſe with him, and were eaſieſt gain'd " by his ſmooth Tongue. His Cuſtom was to be- " gin with raiſing a Suſpicion of the Orthodox Be- " lief by repreſenting it as full of Abſurdities, from " which it could not be clear'd but by *Origen*'s Prin- " ciples. He wou'd ask them, for inſtance, (6) " What ill has that Child done, that you ſee ſo tor- " mented and poſſeſs'd by the Devils? At what Age " ſhall we riſe again? Muſt it be the ſame Age at " which we die? *&c.*... (*f*) Thus it was, that " *Palladius* made Origeniſm paſs for a Syſtem ne- " ceſſary to the eaſy and plain Explication of that, " which till then had ſeem'd to be the Stumbling- " Block of our Religion. Now, a Doctrine, thus " ſet forth by the greateſt Men of the Age, could not " but meet with great Reception, eſpecially conſide- " ring the Diſpoſition of the Minds of Men that then " prevail'd. In that Juncture of time their whole Care " was to anſwer the *Manichees*, whoſe Sect was then " become more numerous and more flouriſhing than " ever. Since there is but one God, ſaid thoſe He- " reticks, who is Omnipotent and infinitely Good, " how can he permit this Deluge of Evils that happen " in the World, and in which ſo many are involved " from their Nativity, while others are born in Proſ- " perity and Affluence? Notwithſtanding the appa- " rent Abſurdity of the Doctrine of two Principles, the " one Good, the other Bad, equally powerful and in- " dependent of one another, it found an infinite " Multitude of Followers, who were of the Opinion " that the Evils of this Life could not be ac- " counted for, without it. 'Tis well known what " Efforts St. *Auſtin* made to ſatisfie 'em upon that " Head. And we know likewiſe, that *Pelagius*, who " came after him, and whoſe Doctrine was preſently " received, applyed himſelf in a ſingular manner to " take off that ſort of Scandal, and anſwer the Que- " ſtion that was then ſo toſs'd about, *viz.* Whence " comes Evil? What's the Origin of it? Now this O- " rigin of Evil, and of the Diverſity of what's allotted " to every one's Share, was accounted for by none " with more Probability and Likelihood than by the " Origeniſts."

(*a*) *Doucin, ubi ſupra. pag.* 338.

NOTE, That the Origeniſt of the *Perihaſiana* makes an Eternal Beatitude to ſucceed to the Torments which the damn'd ſhall undergo for ſome Ages. That takes off the moſt ſhocking of all the Difficulties urged by the *Manichees*, namely, the Eternity of the Moral and Phyſical Evil of Hell. But Father *Doucin* gives a different Account of *Origen*'s Doctrine, and makes it leſs appoſite for anſwering theſe Hereticks; for he affirms, that he equally rejected both the Eternity of Bliſs, and that of Miſe- ry. " (*a*) Beſides that the Eternity of future Puniſh- " ments ſeem'd to *Origen* to reliſh of Cruelty; he look'd " upon it as oppoſite to the eſſential Character of all " created things, namely, Inſtability. He was of " the Mind, that foraſmuch as God is uncapable of " Change, the Creature is equally uncapable of be- " ing fixed to any thing that's permanent and eter- " nal, whether happy or unhappy. Accordingly he " alledg'd, that when all the Spirits purified from " their Stains, ſhould have re-enter'd the Divinity " (1) of which they are an Emanation, they would " fly off a freſh from his Womb, like Sparks from a " Furnace, and for a Puniſhment of their Levity (2) " be condemn'd to re-enter new Bodies; for which " there would be a Neceſſity of creating New " Worlds, and ſo through the whole Circle of Eter- " nity there would be nothing but Periodical Revolu- " tions, like to thoſe of the Seaſons." Here Fa- ther *Doucin*'s Marginal Note is worth our Attention, in regard it informs us, that Origeniſm was blended with a Sprig of *Spinoza*'s Tenets, namely, the Identity of all Spirits with the Divinity. After citing *St. Jerome*'s Words, that Author has this Remark. " (*b*) Take notice, That *Ruffinus* has lopp'd off this " Paſſage in his Tranſlation. Read the laſt Chapter " of the third Book, where theſe Words, *& erit Deus* " *Omnia in Omnibus*, are explain'd at large. *St. Jerome* " goes on thus. *Ne parvam eſſe putaremus impieta-* " *tem eorum quæ præmiſerat, in ejuſdem voluminis* " *(quarti) fine conjungit omnes rationabiles naturas,* " *id eſt, Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum, An-* " *gelos, Poteſtates, Dominationes, cæteraſque Virtutes,* " *ipſum quoque hominem ſecundum animæ dignitatem uni-* " *us eſſe ſubſtantiæ..... Et qui in alio loco Filium &* " *Spiritum Sanctum non vult de Patris eſſe ſubſtantia,* " *ne divinitatem in partes ſecare videatur, naturam* " *omnipotentis Dei Angelis hominibuſque Latitur. Ex* " *quo concluditur (inquit) Deum & hæc quodammodo* " *unius eſſe ſubſtantiæ. Unum addit verum, quodam-* " *modo, ut tanti ſacrilegii crimen effugeret.* See l. 3. " cap. XVI."

(1) In libro quoque tertio *περὶ ἀρχῶν* & poſt diſputationem longiſſimam ad extremum intulit, *& erit Deus omnia in omnibus*, ut univerſa natura corporea in eam redigatur ſubſtantiam quæ omnibus melior eſt in divinam ſcilicet, quâ nulla eſt melior. *Origen apud Hier. Epiſt. ad Avit.*

(2) *Hier. ep. ad Avit. & Apol. 2.*

(L) Origen's *Anſwer to* Celſus *the Philoſopher was publiſh'd in* French.] The Author of that Verſion is (*c*) Mr. *Boulhereau* ſo well known by the Learned Let- ters written to him by *Tanaquillus Faber*. The Merit of that Performance being ſufficiently made known (*d*) by our Journaliſts, I ſhall not need to ſpeak of it here. Only one thing I muſt ſay in con- firmation of an Obſervation I have oftentimes made, that we ought not to rely much upon the Diſcourſes that paſs in Converſation. I have heard a great many

(*b*) *Doucin ib. pag.* 141. (*c*) *See the* Penſees Diverſes ſur les Cometes *Sect* 189, 190. (5) Nam licet nullum ſectatoribus ſuis uſum turpitudinis imponat. *Hæreſ.* 64. (*d*) *Doucin ubi ſupra, pag.* 177. *& ſeq.* (*e*) *Id. ib. pag.* 180. (6) *Hier. Ep.* 27. (*f*) *Doucin, ib. pag.* 182.

(*c*) *He's a Native of* Rochel. *In the Epiſtles of* Tanaquillus Faber *he is call'd* Elias Boherellus.

(*d*) *See the* Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans, *Dec.* 1699. *pag.* 515, *and the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, *Jan.* 1700, *p.* 3.

People

OROBIO (ISAAC) a *Jewiſh* Phyſician, died at *Amſterdam* in 1687. See the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle* †.

† *Tom.* 7. *pag.* 289. *& ſeq.*

OROSIUS (PAUL) a *Spaniſh* Prieſt, flouriſh'd in the Beginning of the fifth Century. See *Moreri*; for to avoid the Repetition of what that Author has written, I ſhall not purſue the Hiſtory of *Oroſius*, but ſhall content my ſelf with correcting ſome Errors that relate to it. Thoſe who gave him out for a Monk, and (*A*) dated his Death from 471, are yet more miſtaken than thoſe who made him a (*B*) *Pagan*, and every whit as much as ſome others who made him a Biſhop. 'Tis falſe, that St. *Auſtin* deſir'd him *to compile an Hiſtory* (*C*) *of the moſt Remarkable Events from the*

People ſay, that the greateſt Men in the Reformed Church of *Paris*, and particularly Mr. *Claude*, diſſuaded Mr. *Bouhéreau* from putting that Book into *French*, in regard 'twas not proper all the World ſhould ſee the *Pagan* Philoſopher's Objections, and compare them with *Origen*'s Anſwers. But Mr. *Bouhéreau* ſpeaks otherwiſe. He ſays (*e*) *ſeveral Perſons of diſtinguiſhing Worth, and among others the famous Mr.* Claude, *thought it* (‡) *dangerous to put* Origen *in every one's Hands, by reaſon of ſome peculiar Opinions, that he has been all along charged with.* Here's a mighty Difference between what I have ſo often heard, and what we learn from Mr. *Bouhéreau* himſelf, who knew the Matter of Fact better than any one elſe. And yet, though he does not mention that pretended Reaſon of Mr. *Claude*'s Advice, our Journaliſts (*f*) have repeated and condemned it. Queſtionleſs they have heard it in Converſation, as I did. I was likewiſe told, that the Tranſlator was fully perſuaded, that, if he tack'd together all the Paſſages quoted out of *Celſus* by *Origen*, he ſhould make up *Celſus*'s Book entire. But ſince no ſuch thing is hinted either in his Preface or his Remarks, I give no credit to the Report. Nothing could have been a better Proof of *Origen*'s Fairneſs; and if it had been ſo, why was not it put into the Tranſlator's Preface, as a Recommendatory Inſtance?

(*e*) *In his Preface.* (‡) *See what is offer'd againſt a Thought of the like Nature, in the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, *for* June 1686. *pag.* 691. (*f*) *Ubi ſupra, pag.* 522. *and pag.* 11.

(*A*) *Thoſe who gave him out for a Monk, and dated his Death.*] You'll find their Names in *Philip Elſſius* whoſe Credulity did well deſerve this Cenſure of Father *Labbe*'s. (*g*) *Ut omittam fabuloſos quoſdam Hiſpanos ſcriptores, quos citat ſequiturque Philippus Elſſius, qui Auguſtinianis ſuis Eremitis accenſet, vitamque ejus prorogat uſque ad annum* 471. *quo centenario majorem in Carthagine Spartaria in Hiſpaniis obiiſſe contendit, atque inde Romam aſportatum & in Eccleſia S. Euſebii, ubi partruus ejus jacebat, ſepultum. Sed hæc penitus incerta dubiæque fidei. Quid quod & nonnulli Legionenſem Epiſcopum fuiſſe putent?*

(*g*) *Philippus Labbe, Diſſert. de Script. Eccleſ. Tom.* 2. *pag.* 175.

(*B*) *Who made him a Pagan.*] Father *Garaſſe* has been guilty of this Over-ſight, and that upon the occaſion of endeavouring to convince impious Men from the Teſtimony of Infidels. *The ſecond Wonder of Nature*, ſays he (*h*), *which I ſhall here bring for an Evidence, is the Aſhy Apples of* Gomorhah, *and the Pillar of Salt, two Authentick Actions, atteſted not only by the Sacred Hiſtorians, and the Fathers who have written on the* 19*th Chapter of* Geneſis, *but likewiſe by all the Profane Hiſtorians who ſpeak of the Lake* Aſphaltites, *ſuch as* Joſephus, Solinus, Oroſius, Pliny *and* Tacitus. Here you ſee another Blunder of *Garaſſe*, it being a falſe Aſſertion, that *Solinus*, *Pliny* and *Tacitus* made mention of the Statue of Salt.

(*h*) *Garaſſe, Somme theologique pag.* 192.

(*C*) *Of the moſt remarkable Events from the Death of Jeſus Chriſt.*] " (*i*) The City of *Rome* being taken " in 410 by *Alarick* King of the *Goths*, the Heathens, " to render the Chriſtians odious, charged them with " being the Cauſe of that Affliction, and of all the " other Calamities that weigh'd down the *Roman* " Empire. Now, 'twas in vindication of the Chriſtians " from that Aſperſion, that *Paulus Oroſius*, upon St. " *Auſtin*'s Deſire, undertook to compile an Hiſtory of " the moſt remarkable Events from the Death of our " Saviour to his own Time; in order to ſhew, that " Calamities had always happened from time to time " in the World; and that the *Roman* Empire had " never been freer from them than after the Nativi- " ty of Chriſt." I here repeat Mr. *du Pin*'s Words at length, to give the Readers an Opportunity of knowing the occaſion and ſcope of that Work of *Oroſius*: But they'll give me leave to obſerve, that St. *Auſtin* did not confine himſelf to the Events that appear'd after the Nativity of our Saviour; he deſir'd an Univerſal Collection of the greateſt Calamities that were recorded in Hiſtory. *Præceperas mihi*, ſays *Oroſius* (*k*) to him, *uti adverſus vaniloquam gravitatem eorum, qui alieni à civitate dei, ex locorum agreſtium compitis & pagis pagani vocantur, ſive gentiles, quia terrena ſapiunt: qui cum futura non quærant, præterita autem aut obliviſcantur, aut neſciant, præſentia tantum tempora veluti malis extra ſolitum infeſtiſſima, ob hoc ſolum, quod creditur CHRISTUS, & colitur DEUS, idola autem minus coluntur, infamant: præceperas ergo, ut ex omnibus, qui haberi ad præſens poſſunt, hiſtoriarum atque annalium factis, quæcunque aut bellis gravia, aut corrupta morbis, aut ſanè triſtia, aut terrarum motibus terribilia, aut inundationibus aquarum inſolita, aut eruptionibus ignium metuenda, aut ictibus fulminum plagiſque grandinum ſæva, vel etiam parricidiis flagitiiſque miſera, per tranſacta retrò ſæcula reperiſſem, ordinato breviter voluminis textu explicarem.* Of the ſeven Books of which that Volume of *Oroſius* conſiſts, only the laſt treats of what happened after Chriſt. Beſides, I doubt whether this Author undertook to ſhew, that the *Roman* Empire was never freer from heavy Calamities than ſince Chriſtianity. If he had, he would have found it a difficult Task to prove it. To my Mind *Gennadius* gives us a better Account of that Hiſtorian's Deſign; he makes it appear ſays he, that the Chriſtian Religion is the Cauſe why the *Roman* Republick, that did not deſerve a Duration, continued *ſtill* in being †. I know very well, that *Oroſius* challenges the Infidels to mention any Period of Time in which Men enjoyed ſuch wonderful Proſperity, as under *Honorius*; but that does not guard off the Criticiſm I am now upon. (*a*) *Ex quo utcunque conceſſerim, ut licenter Chriſtiana tempora reprehendantur, ſi quid à conditione mundi uſque ad nunc ſimili factum felicitate doceatur. Manifeſtavimus, ut arbitror, atque oſtendimus non magis verbo pene quàm digito innumera bella ſopita, plurimos extinctos tyrannos, compreſſas, coanguſtatas, additas, exinanitaſque immaniſſimas gentes minimo ſanguine, nullo certamine, ac pene ſine cæde.* Perhaps Mr. *du Pin*, in ſpeaking of *Oroſius*'s Scheme, was thinking of a Paſſage of another Father, which he did not call up ſo diſtinctly as to aſcribe it to the proper Author. 'Tis there taken for granted that the Goſpel abated the Fury of the Wars, which had cauſed ſuch Deſolations in the World before the time of the Apoſtles. (*b*) *Quamquam iſta quæ dicitis bella Religionis noſtræ ob invidiam commoveri, non ſit difficile comprobare, poſt auditum Chriſtum in mundo non tantum non aucta, verum etiam majore ex parte furiarum compreſſionibus imminuta. Nam cum hominum vis tanta magiſteriis ejus acceperimus ac legibus, malum malo rependi non oportere; injuriam perpeti quam irrogare eſſe præſtantius; ſuum potius fundere, quam alieno polluere manus & conſcientiam cruore: habet à Chriſto beneficium jamdudum orbis ingratus, per quem feritatis mollita eſt rabies, atque hoſtiles manus cohibere à ſanguine cognati animantis cœpit.* That Argument of *Arnobius* may be reduced to this: Thoſe who have embraced the Goſpel have learned to bear Injuries, and not to oppoſe Force to Force; they have thrown off the Humour of Violence, and are become meek and peaceable: So that ſince the Publication of the Goſpel, the Effuſion of Humane Blood, and the Rage of War, are leſs than before, in as much as a good Number of People have embraced Chriſtianity. *Arnobius* adds, that the Reaſon why Wars are not altogether at an end, is, becauſe all Men have not followed the Precepts of Chriſt Jeſus. (*c*) *Quod ſi omnes omnino, qui homines ſe eſſe non ſpecie corporum, ſed rationis intelligunt poteſtate, ſalutaribus ejus pacificiſque decretis aurem vellent commodare pauliſper, & non faſtu & ſupercilio luminis, ſuis potius ſenſibus, quam illius commonitionibus crederent: univerſus jam dudum orbis mitiora in opera converſis uſibus ferri, tranquillitate in melliſſima degeret, & in concordiam ſalutarem incorrupta fœderum ſanctionibus conveniret.* Now if an Author took the one for the other, and aſcrib'd to *Oroſius* what is really *Arnobius*'s, he might readily fall into this

† *Oſtendit magis Chriſtianæ obſervantiæ eſſe quod contra meritum ſuum Reſp. Romana adhuc duraret, & pace culturæ Dei pacatum retineret imperium.* *Gennadius in vita Oroſii.*

(*a*) *Oroſius lib.* 7.

(*b*) *Arnobius lib.* 1. *pag.* 5.

(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 6.

(*i*) *Du Pin Nouv. Biblioth. Tom.* 3. *pag.* 156. *Edition of* Amſterdam.

(*k*) *In proœmio libri* 1. *See likewiſe the Concluſion of the Work.*

from the Death of Jeſus Chriſt, and that *Oroſius* compiled that Hiſtory after the (D) Death of St. *Auſtin*. We can give no Reaſonable Exception againſt *Iſaac Caſaubon* for his Contempt (E) of this Performance, though after all 'tis in ſome meaſure uſeful, and has bore ſeveral (F) Editions. The Edition I make uſe of is that of *Cologne*, in 1572, which does not contain ſo many of *Franciſcus Fabricius*'s Notes as I would deſire to have.

'Tis believ'd *Oroſius* entituled his Work *de Miſeria Hominum*; which is a very proper Title, and ſuits Hiſtory in General (G), as a very judicious Author has well obſerv'd.

OSMAN,

this Advance, that *Oroſius* makes it appear, that the *Roman* Empire was never freer from heavy Calamities, than ſince the Nativity of our Saviour. But after all we ought to obſerve, that *Arnobius* does not at all prove that; for, beſides that a ſingle Aſſertion, without any Deduction of particular Inſtances, is not of ſufficient Force to ſatisfy the Complaints then made by the Heathens, we muſt needs ſee, that *Arnobius* here offers but a very ſlender Proof. Suppoſing part of the Inhabitants of any vaſt Empire diſclaim'd all Revenge, and carefully cultivated the meek Spirit of the Goſpel, can that hinder Foreigners to invade and ravage that Empire, and cover it with ſuch Confuſion and Calamity as they did not feel before? Now this is the very Complaint and Allegation that (d) *Arnobius* pretends to refute. He gives other very pertinent Reaſons againſt the ſame Aſperſion of the Heathens, as well as againſt that which was founded upon the Peſtilence and Famine that infeſted the *Roman* Empire: But at the ſame time we muſt acknowledge, that he likewiſe makes uſe of ſuch ſcandalous Arguments, that I do not believe *Epicurus* or *Lucretius* could have attack'd the Divine Providence with greater Force, or have ridiculed thoſe who attribute the Afflictions of Mankind to the Divine Wrath, more than he.

(d) Nam quod nobis objectare conſueſtis bellorum frequentium cauſas, vaſtationes urbium, Germanorum & Scythicas irruptiones, cum pace hoc veſtra & cum bona venia dixerim, quale ſit iſtud quod dicitur, calumniarum libidine non videtis. *Id. ibid. pag.* 5

(D) *After the Death of St.* Auſtin.] *Andreas Schotus*, the Jeſuit, falls into this Error. *Defuncto*, ſays he (e), *hac mortali vita S. Auguſtino Romæ degebat, ubi* ſeptem contra Gentes libris *res Gracorum Romanorumque domi militiaque geſtas fideliter eo potiſſimum conſilio contexuit, quo ethnicorum calumniam quæ Chriſtianis mala calamitatelque temere imputabat refelleret.... florvit autem anno à nato Chriſto* CCCCXL. St. *Auſtin* died in 430. Now, 'tis certain that *Oroſius* (f) finiſh'd his Book, when *Vallia*, King of the *Goths*, was juſt concluding a Treaty of Peace with the Emperor *Honorius*, that is, in 416. The laſt Words of his Hiſtory are addreſs'd to St. *Auſtin*, as being then in perfect Health; and we learn from another Paſſage (g), that St. *Auſtin* had publiſh'd no more than the ten firſt Books of his *de Civitate Dei*, when *Oroſius* was compiling his Work, according to the Scheme laid down to him by that Saint.

(e) *Bibliotheca Hiſpanica*, p. 206.

(f) *See the Concluſion of his Hiſtory.*

(g) *Oroſius in proœmio Hiſtoriæ.*

(E) *Againſt* Iſaac Caſaubon *for his Contempt of this Performance.*] This *Caſaubon* ſhews in very civil Terms, and with great Encomiums on *Oroſius*'s Zeal. (h) *Oroſium ex quo multa in hoc ſermone deſcribit, ſcriptorem alioquin optimum & zelo domus Dei plenum, ſi nimia facilitatis in talibus credendis poſtulaverimus, non deerunt viri præſtantiſſimi, quorum exemplo factum tueamur: non rationes validiſſimæ, caſtigatum virum* αὐχυνωδίας, *& nimiæ credulitatis, reum peragamus. Taceo rerum Romanarum ignorationem aliquando mirificam: etiam Baronio telle non ſemel.* But *Lipſius* has not kept his Temper ſo well; for after taking notice that *Oroſius* thought *Tiberius* poyſon'd *Drusus*, he adds, (i) *At me non valde movent ejuſmodi ſcriptores legitimæ hiſtoriæ (dicam iratis quorumdam auribus) dehoneſtamenta.* And elſewhere, after regreting the loſs of ſome Books of *Tacitus*, he flyes out in an Apoſtrophe. (k) *Adeo bonis illis patribus cura otiumque fuit deſcribere Oroſios & Vopiſcos & hujuſmodi quiſquilias præ tuo auro.* This Sally of *Lipſius* do's not pleaſe me ſo well as *Caſaubon*'s and *Voſſius*'s moderate Cenſure. *Voſſius* only tells us, that *Oroſius* did not underſtand Greek; that he is oftentimes out in his Chronology, and too apt to relye on popular Reports. (l) *Eſt Oroſius ſcriptor planè utilis: ſed qui ſcriptores Græcos non legerit: imo Græcarum literarum expers fuerit. In temporibus etiam crebro fallitur. Ut vel illa oſtendunt, quæ in eo caſtigavit Scaliger in animadverſionibus Euſebianis. Sæpius etiam vulgares jactatur opiniones, quam hiſtoricum (m). Perquirat, cujus eſt omnia ad veritatis trutinam expendere.*

(i) *Lipſius in Tacit. Annal. lib.* 4. *pag. m.* 193.

(k) *Id. in lib.* 5. *Annal. Tacitt, pag.* 232.

(l) *Voſſius de hiſtor. Latinis, pag.* 217.

(m) *Here's a groſs Fault in the Impreſſion: inſtead of* Voſſius *had ſaid* quam Hiſtorici officium requirat, *or ſome ſuch thing. Lower down, as I take it, we meet with another Fault.* Haut inutilis Oroſius. Sed Tranquillus ad Tacitum?

(F) *And has bore ſeveral Editions.*] The Hiſtory of *Paulus Oroſius* was printed by *Petit* at *Paris* in 1506, as Mr. *du Pin* aſſures us (n). *Geſnerus* (o) does not ſpeak of that Edition; the ancienteſt he ſpeaks of, is that of *Paris* in 1524, *apud Johannem Parvum aut Petrum Vidovæum in folio.* He adds, that a correcter Edition was printed at *Cologne* in 1536, *apud Cervicornum in* 8vo. and ſince that another at the ſame Place, *apud Jaſparem Genepæum in* 8vo. in 1542. This laſt I have ſeen; and to it is prefix'd an Epiſtle Dedicatory by *Johannes Cæſarius*, who corrects the Text in ſome places. *Franciſcus Fabricius* of *Duren* publiſh'd this Book in 1561, at *Cologne*, *apud Maternum Cholinum, in* 8vo. and upon that occaſion ſpeaks of two former Editions that were full of Faults; one of which muſt be (q) of 1526, as appears from *Fabricius*'s Words. (r) *Hoc dico, dolendum fuiſſe, tanti viri tam fructuoſam Hiſtoriam adeo mendoſe hactenus in manibus verſari. Contulerat eam cum aliquot manuſcriptis exemplaribus ante annos* XXV *Gerardus Bolſuinge: laboravit deinde in eadem emendanda doctiſſ. vir Johannes Cæſarius: ſed profecto neceſſe eſt, ut vel eorum exemplaria non fuerint diligenter ſatis deſcripta, vel ipſi parum accurate opus perſpexerint. Tot menda relicta ab illis deprehendi, poſtquam eorum libros cum tribus manuſcriptis conferre cœpi.* The Edition of *Fabricius* was publiſh'd again at *Cologne* in 1572, in 8vo. and printed by the ſame Bookſeller; to which (s) was added the Apology *de Arbitrii libertate*. Father *Labbe* (t) ſpeaks of this laſt Edition, as if it had been publiſh'd in 1574. I have a Copy that bears that Date. Mr. *du Pin* (v) dates it from 1582. Father *Labbe* (w) makes mention of an Edition of *Paris* in 1526, and of another at *Mentz* in 1615, *cum notis Latii* † *& Schotte, quam nondum vidi*, adds he. I am apt to believe the Figures are wrong printed, and ſo for one Edition we have two or three. For Inſtance, Mr. *du Pin*'s Edition of 1506, and Father *Labbe*'s of 1526, ſeem to differ only by an Error of the Preſs. But I leave the Determination of this Matter to thoſe who can come at all ſorts of Editions, and have the Opportunity of collating them.

(n) *Du Pin, ubi ſupra.*

(o) *In Biblioth. fol.* 539. *verſo.*

(q) *In effect, 'tis ſo, for I have ſeen and peruſed it. 'Tis printed at* Cologne apud Eucherium Cervicornum in 8. l.

(r) *Franciſcus Fabricius Marcoduranus in Epiſt. nuncupatoria Oroſii*

(s) *See Voſſius de Hiſtor. Lat. p.* 218.

(t) *De Script. Eccleſ. Tom.* 2. *pag.* 176.

(v) *Ubi ſupra.*

(w) *Ubi ſupra, pag.* 178.

† *It ſhould be* Ludovici Lauti & Andreæ Schotti.

Mr. *Van Dale*, Phyſician at *Haerlem*, famous for his Treatiſe *de Oraculis, &c.* has been ſo kind as to acquaint me, that he has an Edition of *Oroſius*, done at *Venice*, *Opera & expenſis Bernardini Veneti de Vitalibus anno ab incarnatione Domini M CCCCC die XII. Menſis Octobris regnante Domino Auguſtino Barbadico.*

(G) *Which is a very proper Title, and ſuits Hiſtory in general, as a very judicious Author has well obſerv'd.*] The Author I here mean is *James Bongars*. See his Preface to his Edition of ſeveral Hiſtorians of the *Cruſades*. He acquaints his Reader, that none but impious and ill Men will give in the Inſtance of the Wickedneſs, Superſtition and Impiety, recorded by thoſe Writers, as a Prejudice againſt Virtue, for Hiſtorians, continues he, do not relate what ought to be done, but what is actually done: *Annalium Conſcriptores*, ſays one of 'em (a), *non qualia optant ipſi, ſed qualia miniſtrant tempora, memorare ſolent literis ex officio.* Hiſtory is the Looking-Glaſs of Man's Life; and the Condition of Humane Life is ſuch, that the number of wicked Men is infinite, as well as that of Fools. Hiſtory is nothing elſe but a Repreſentation of the Miſery of Mankind. (b) *Eſt humanæ vitæ ſpeculum, Hiſtoria: humanæ vero vitæ ea ratio, ut non ſtultorum tantum, ſed improborum etiam atque impiorum infinitus ſit numerus. Itaque recte omnino ſcripſit Paulus Oroſius de* (1) Miſeria hominum *inſcripſit. Etenim quid aliud Hiſtoria? cujus in ipo limine, primi parentis ſtultum cupidinem, impium animum horreas: mox madefactam ſanguine fraterno magnam Matrem: inde in omne ſcelus præcipitatum genus humanum.... Itaque, ex uſu & multitudine qui patrocinium vitiis quærit, is omnium ætatum, omniumque gentium biſtoriographos, is hodie hominum univerſitatem, à ſe habeat. Idem vero ſciat: cum de Veritate, cum de Virtute quæritur, illud diſceſſionum locum non habere:* Hæc pars major eſſe videtur;

(a) *Guilelmus Tyrius.*

(b) *Bongarſius, præfatione ad geſta Dei per Francos, in fine.*

(1) *Ita in antiquiſſimo libro inſcriptam Oroſii Hiſtoriam vidimus.*

ideo

OSMAN, Emperor of the *Turks*, was excluded the Succeſſion to *Achmet* his Father, by reaſon of his Non-Age: But *Muſtapha*, his Uncle, who mounted the Throne after the Death of the Sultan *Achmet*, in *November* 1617 †, having ſhewn himſelf unworthy of ſo high a Poſt, he was remitted to his Cell, and *Oſman* placed at the Head of the *Empire*. He propoſed to ſignalize his Reign by a great Expedition againſt *Poland*; but it prov'd Unfortunate. Upon that he took up an Averſion to the Janiſſaries; and 'twas believ'd that under the Pretence of a religious Journey he ſought for a ready Opportunity of diſbanding that Militia. But they prevented him; for in 1622 they mutinyed (*A*) to that Degree that they turn'd him out of his Throne, *non ſine Theſeo*, I mean not without the Intervention of Religious Concerns *. *Muſtapha* being reſtor'd, put him to Death, and govern'd ſo fooliſhly, that he † was once more depos'd. This ſecond Depoſition ought to be imputed to (*B*) the *Alcoran*; for it was effected in purſuance of a Decree of the Turkiſh Pope: ſo the *Mufti* may be properly call'd.

† *See the* Mercure François, *Tom.* 5. *p. m.* 185; *of the Year* 1617. *and p.* 211. *of the Year* 1518.

* *See the Remark* A

† *Note, That the firſt Depoſition conſiſted in forcing him to ſay, that he voluntarily reſign'd the Empire. Oſman, in the Letter he wrote to* Lewis XIII. *ſays, that* Muſtapha *had laid aſide his Dignity and deſpiſed it. That Letter is inſerted in the* Mercure François, *ad ann.* 1618. *pag.* 208, 209.

"OSSAT

ideo enim pejor, quia major. Obſerve carefully what *Bangars* ſays, that at the firſt Entry of Hiſtory we meet with the Folly and Impiety of the firſt Man; that's the firſt Stage the Reader goes: the next Stage is the Earth ſoak'd with the Blood of one Brother, ſhed by the other. What Conformity is here to be ſeen between the Foundation of the Univerſe, and that (*c*) of *Rome*! I have taken notice elſewhere (*d*) of *Malherbe*'s Reflection on that Action of *Cain*.

(*c*) Fraterno primi maduerunt ſanguine muri. *Lucan. Pharſ. lib.* 1. *v.* 95.

(*d*) *In the Remark* E, *of the Article* Cain.

(*e*) Nani, *Hiſtory of* Veniec, *Book* 4. *p.* 126, *of the* 2*d Tom. of* Tallemant's *French Tranſlation, the* Dutch *Edition.*

(*A*) *They mutiny'd to that Degree*] The Particulars of that Action, as related by *Baptiſta Nani*, are not ſo long but we may venture to inſert 'em. ' (*e*) 'The *Turks* have nothing of Moderation, either 'they adore their Princes as Gods, or kill them like 'Tyrants. *Oſman*, a very young Man, was Empe'ror of that vaſt State, who by an unhappy Succeſs in 'the War of *Poland*, being fruſtrated of that Glory, 'which he had fancied to himſelf, was much diſſatis'fied with the *Janiſſaries*, to whom alone he impured 'the Fault of his ill Fortune, for having ſhew'd 'themſelves as cowardly in the Field, as they were 'Fierce and Inſolent in *Conſtantinople*. After a 'Peace concluded upon Terms little honourable, he 'publiſh'd, that he would make a Voyage to *Mecca*, 'under a Shew of his Zeal for Religion, which was 'look'd upon by ſome as a vain Diſcourſe, and a 'Pretence to remain longer in the *Seraglio*. Others 'judg'd, that he conceal'd a deeper Deſign, to re'move the *Janiſſaries* from the Capital City, bring 'them into *Aſia*, and there, amidſt a great Force of 'the *Spahi*'s, their Envyers, diſarm and diſband 'them, and form a new Militia. The Baggage was 'ſhipping in the Galleys; Tents and ſtore of Trea'ſure were carried along to ſerve in the Voyage, and 'honour the Sepulchre of that Impoſtor with vaſt 'Preſents; when the *Janiſſaries*, one to another, 'began to diſcourſe of the Fatigue and Hardſhips, 'to which, in ſo long a Pilgrimage, they were going 'to be expos'd, and of the Conveniences they left 'behind: that the farther they went, the more 'they would be expoſed to the Hatred and Cruelty 'of the Emperor, of which they were more ap'prehenſive than of any other Hazard. Upon this, 'from whiſpering in their Quarters, they fell quickly 'into a Tumult; a few beginning, but all following, 'they came into the place of the *Hippodromus* to 'the number of thirty Thouſand. From thence one 'part runs to the Houſe of the *Coza* (ſo they call the 'King's Preceptor, who was thought to be the Pro'moter of the Voyage) but not finding him, ex'poſed it to the Pillage; the reſt haſtened to the '*Seraglio* with loud Cries, requiring the Heads of the 'Viſier, of the *Chiſlar Aga*, and of the *Coza*. They 'within wanted Force, and, had they had it, 'Counſel. The principal Perſons, who with 'Authority, might have oppoſed the inraged Mul'titude, were the very Objects of their Hatred, and 'were demanded that they might tear them to Pieces. 'Nor did the Emperor's Promiſe, to retract the 'Voyage, prevail any thing; for Tumults not ceaſing commonly with thoſe Satisfactions, it had 'been far from diſbanding that People, if a 'great Rain, interpreted by the Superſtitious Rab'ble, for a Siniſter Prediction, had not ſepa'rated them. The Night probably might have 'allayed that Heat, if ſome of thoſe of the Law, ve'nerated with a blind Ignorance by the vulgar, had 'not ſtirred up the Soldiers a-new, declaring *Oſman* 'to have fallen from the Empire; for that, by Sacrile'gious Actions, he had violated the *Alcoran*. The '*Janiſſaries* then caſting off all Reſpect towards their 'Prince, throwing Stones at their *Aga*, who put 'them in Mind of their Oath of Fidelity, deny'ing *Cuſſain Baſſa*, who, to quiet them, offered three 'hundred Thouſand *Sequins*, forcing the *Seraglio*, 'though during that Night extraordinarily guarded, 'kill'd at the firſt Entry ſome Eunuchs, with *Chiſlar* '*Aga* their Chief, and ſought after *Muſtapha*, Uncle 'to *Oſman*, who formerly had ſerv'd for a ſhort 'Space, rather for a Mockery than as Head of that 'Empire. They who would not or could not 'ſhew where he was, had preſently, in Pu'niſhment of Silence, or Ignorance, their Heads 'cut off. Getting down at laſt to a Cellar under 'Ground, they found him there, in a manner 'buried, and little leſs than dead; for they had 'kept him two Days already without Meat: ſo that 'to the Cries of making him Emperor, he anſwe'red, and ask'd a few Drops of Water. But 'he was ſcarce ſettled on the Throne, but he ſhew'ed himſelf equally Thirſty of *Oſman*'s Blood. *Oſ'man* had hid himſelf; but being found when it was 'very late, and committed to the Cuſtody of the '*Buſtangi Baſſa*, he was afterwards conducted to 'the Houſe of the *Aga* of the *Janiſſaries*, where '*Cuſſain Baſſa* was. In many Anger yielded to 'Compaſſion, conſidering that young Prince, King 'by Birth, made ſuppliant to Fortune, and he im'proving that Compaſſion with his Intereſt, offered 'to the *Janiſſaries* fifty *Sequins* a Head. Some now 'relented, and the Chiefs conſulted about the Means 'to preſerve him, and re-eſtabliſh him to the Throne, 'when the furious Multitude taking him out of their 'Hands, preſented him to *Muſtapha* in the *Seraglio*. '*Oſman*, with Tears, begs his Life of his Uncle, put'ting him in Mind of Gratitude for having, contra'ry to the Cuſtom of the *Ottoman* Emperors, pre'ſerv'd him for the Empire. But the *Barbarians* 'making Deſtiny the Author of their Villa'nies, *Muſtapha* excuſed himſelf, ſaying, that he 'knew he had oftentimes decreed his Death, but that 'God would not permit it. Left then in Prey to the '*Janiſſaries*, and conducted to the *Seven Towers*, 'amidſt the Concourſe and Execrations of the Peo'ple, who having, during his Reign, endured all 'kinds of Calamity, Hunger, Peſtilence and War, 'deteſted him, as the fatal Occaſion of their Evils, 'his Head was cut off.' In the *French Mercure* (*a*) we have a much ampler Relation of the Death of *Oſman*, which does not in every point agree with that of *Nani*; and out of it I ſhall only take two things; one is, that the Gentlemen of the Law, and of the Sword (*b*) gave *Oſman* to know, that he could not go to *Mecca*, without violating the Law of *Mahomet*. They had procured this Deciſion in Writing from the *Mufti*; but *Oſman*, paying no regard to it, tore the Paper in Pieces. The other Circumſtance is, that after the Election of *Muſtapha*, there were ſome Perſons (*c*), who cried up and down the City, *Long live* Muſtapha, *Sultan of the* Turks, and read in a Sheet of Paper the Cauſes of the Depoſition of the Sultan *Oſman*, *Setting forth, that he was depoſed for being* Jaour, i. e. *an Infidel, and having a Mind to put the Empire of the Turks into the Hands of the Chriſtian Dogs. This they ſet forth to render him the more odious to the People.*

(*a*) *Tom.* 8. *p.* 357. *& ſeq. ad ann.* 1622.

(*b*) Mercure François, *ibid. pag.* 360.

(*c*) *Ibid. pag.* 366.

(*B*) *Ought to be imputed to the* Alcoran.] *Muſtapha* was a weak Prince, and the Prime Viſier, and other Favourites gave his Weakneſs a pretty ſort of a Name, *viz.* Sanctity, Devotion, Reſignation to the Will of God. They obliged him to lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, when he appear'd in Publick, and forged

"OSSAT (ARNAUD D') was left at nine Years of Age without Father or Mother, or any Eſtate. Some time after he ſerv'd the Lord of *Caſtelnau de Magnoac* in the Dioceſs of *Auch* who was likewiſe an Orphan, and ſtudied along with him, but ſoon ſurpaſs'd him. After their Courſe of Study was finiſhed, the young Lord's (*A*) Guardian thought fit to ſend him to *Paris*; and judged he could not do better than to commit him to the care of *Mr. Arnaud d' Oſſat, his Preceptor and Governour*, as it appears from the Guardian's Account to his Nephew. Thus he became Maſter to his Maſter. They arriv'd at *Paris* on *Friday* the fifth of *May* 1559. After that (*B*) two other Children, that were firſt Couſins to the young Lord, were put under his Care. They continued at *Paris* under the Conduct of Mr. *d' Oſſat* till *May* 1562, and then Mr. *d' Oſſat* ſending them back to *Gaſcogne* wrote to their Uncle in ſuch Terms, as (*C*) are worth knowing. Mr. *d' Oſſat*, applying himſelf to the Law, was known and eſteem'd by many Perſons of Note, and particularly by Meſſire *Paul de Foix*, who was then Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*. His Merit, joyn'd to the Intereſt of his Friends, procur'd him the Poſt of Counſellor in the Preſidial of *Melun*, which he ſtill enjoyed in 1588, as appears from a Letter of Attorney ſent by him to *Paris*, to receive a Gratuity given by the King. In the King's Warrant for that Gratuity, he is ſtyl'd *Abbot de Notre Dame des Varennes*, which is an Abbey in the Dioceſs of *Bourges*. From thence we may readily conclude they are miſtaken, who (*C*△) write that he was Dean of *Varenes* in the Dioceſs of *Rhodez*, when he was made Biſhop of *Rennes*. The reſt of his Life is ſufficiently known *. Several Original Letters of Mr. *d' Oſſat*, written towards the latter End of 1584, are to be ſeen in *M. Colbert*'s Library, which

* *This Article and the Remarks that belong to it, are a Memorial, communicated by the Illuſtrious Mr.* Baluze, *in which we have changed nothing.*

forged ſome Miracles. The *Mufti* was not catch'd in the Noſe. He cauſed a publick Declaration to be made, that the *Alcoran* forbad Obedience to a Fool, and that in the Reign of ſuch a Monarch all Prayers were uſeleſs, all Marriages invalid. So there was a Neceſſity of depoſing *Muſtapha*; and in his place was put *Amurath*, the Brother of *Oſman*. (*d*) *Il qual* (Muſtapha) *era huomo ſtolido, e la ſtolidezza di lui ſi ſpacciava per Santità, e raſſegnatione in Dio da Daret Primo Viſir, e dagli altri corteggiani, facendolo ſempre guardar in cielo, quando uſcìva in publico, e fingendo miracoli: fu depoſto, havendo il Mufti promulgato, che l' Alcorano vietava l' obbedienza ad un Re inſenſato, durante il quale erano inefficaci l' orationi, e invalidi i matrimonii.* There's no Nation in the World ſpeaks more advantageouſly of their Monarchs, and the Obedience due to them, than the *Turks*: They are utter Strangers to the mighty Diſputes of the Weſtern Politicians, concerning the Origin of Sovereignty; they never ſpeak of any Original Contract between the People and the Kings; they do not enquire whether the Right of governing flows from the People; nor how far 'tis communicable. In their way, the beſt Form of Government is the deſpotick Power of a Monarch; to dye in Obedience to the Sultan (*e*), is a Step by which one mounts to the beſt Apartments of Paradiſe. Now, after all this, who would not believe that the Throne of the *Grand Signior* is fixed upon an unmoveable Foundation? And yet, if we conſult Hiſtory, we'll find there are no Monarchs in the World whoſe Authority is more brittle than that of the *Ottoman* Emperors. They are not ſatisfied with mutinying againſt them, dethroning them, ſtrangling them, during the Fury of the Sedition; they likewiſe make uſe of other means: They depoſe 'em very decently by a legal Proceſs; they deliberate with all Tranquillity and Gravity upon their Fate; they put it to the Vote, and condemn them to perpetual Impriſonment. Thus they ſerv'd *Mahomet* IV. in 1687; and we have now ſeen, that in 1622, they paſt the ſame Sentence upon *Muſtapha*. Upon ſuch occaſions the *Alcoran* is conſulted, as the Prophecies of the *Sibyl* were formerly at *Rome*: And if they get the Head of the Religion into their Intereſts they are ſure of Succeſs. If the *Mufti* declares, that the Law of God do's not allow 'em to pay Allegiance to a Prince that is ſick, fooliſh, unhapry, (*f*) a Priſoner, 'tis as much as if the Pope had excommunicated a Chriſtian Prince.

(*d*) *Giornale de Letterati, for* Jan. 28. 1675. p. 3. *in the Abſtract. of the* Memorie iſtoriche de Monarchi Ottomani di Giovanni Sagredo Cavaliere, *printed at Venice in* 1673. *in* 4°.

(*e*) *See* Rycaut's *Preſent State of the* Otto-man *Empire. Book* 1. *ch.* 1. *and* 2.

(*f*) *Ne' libri di Mahometto ſi vieta l' obbedienza à Re fatti prigioni per obligarli à defenderſi.* Giornale de Letterati, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(*A*) *The young Lord's Guardian*] This Pupil of Mr. *d' Oſſat* his Name was *John de Marca*, being deſcended from the Houſe of *Marca* in *Bearn*, by *Jerome de Marca* the Son of *Peter de Marca*, and of *Margaret d' Andoins*. *Jerome* was Captain of fifty Croſs-Bow-Men, and Governour of *Furnes* in *Flanders*, as it appears from his Contract of Marriage with the Lady *Ameline de Riviere*, Dame *de Doublet & de la Paliſſe*, and of ſeveral other Lands in the Neighbourhood of *Caſtelnau de Magnoac*. The ſaid Contract was ſign'd at *Cominges*, *Feb.* 12. 1341; in which, among other things, 'tis agreed, that the ſaid *Jerome* ſhall make his ordinary Reſidence upon the Eſtate of the ſaid Lady. From this Marriage ſprung a Son call'd *Peter de Marca*, who was contracted in Marriage with the Lady *Catherine de Mun*, the Daughter of *Bernard de Mun*, and of *Paula de Sariac*, May 7. 1398. The Sequel of this Genealogy, I do not know: but all that I have here inſerted I have copied (*g*) from the Originals.

(*g*) i. e. *Mr* Baluze: *Apply this Note throughout this Article, where ever there is occaſion for it.*

The Name of *Marca*, which is the true Name of this Family, was changed into *la Marque*, by the Authority of Mr. *d' Oſſat*, and that after this manner. In the Superſcription of the firſt Letter that he ſent to his Pupil's Guardian, who appears by his Letters to have been a very conſiderable Man, he wrote: *A Monſieur Thomas Marca.* But thinking that too Country like, he changed it, and wrote afterwards *Monſieur la Marca*, and at laſt, *Monſieur de la Marque*. And this is the Name they now go by. But the late Madam *de la Marque*, *Margaret d' Eſpenan*, caus'd one of her Sons whom ſhe deſign'd for the Church, to be call'd, *The Prior de Marca*. I have a Letter of that Lady, written to her Son, the Prior, *December* 12. 1659; in which ſhe tells him, that the late Mr. *de la Marque*, her Husband, had often given her a very exact account of the Genealogy of the Family of *Marca* in *Bearn*, and how the Family of *Caſtelnau* deſcended from them; and that her Husband had learned all this from his Father, who was above an hundred Years old when he died. Mr. *d' Oſſat*, being a Cardinal at *Rome*, ſent his Picture to *la Marque*, where it is ſtill.

(*B*) *After that two other Children .... were put under his Care.*] Of whom Mr. *d' Oſſat*, writing to their Uncle, *December* 27. 1559. (himſelf being then 23 Years of Age) ſpeaks thus. *As for me, I promiſe to give your Nephews good Learning, and a good Example, and to furniſh them with any other thing within the compaſs of my Power, as long as my Life continues; which I'd rather part with than ſuffer them to want the leaſt thing that I know to be neceſſary for 'em.*

(*C*) *In ſuch Terms as are worth knowing.*] The Words are theſe: *Laſtly, Sir, as for the Thanks you give me for the Care I have taken of your Nephews, I look upon it as the reſult of your wonted Goodneſs; the Conſideration of which makes me think all the trouble and pains I have been at on that Account well employed: And I do aſſure you, Sir, that my Conſcience ſhall never check me for having fail'd in doing for 'em all that I know or am able to do.* Here you may obſerve the Honeſty, and good Senſe of Mr. *d' Oſſat*, which did already appear in Affairs of ſmall Conſequence.

(*a*) *The Life of Cardinal* d' Oſſat, *prefix'd to the Edition of his Letters publiſh'd by Mr.* Amelot de Houſſaie. *in* 1698.

(*C*△) *They are miſtaken who write, that he was Dean of* Varennes *in the Dioceſs of* Rhodez.] In this part of Mr. *Baluze*'s Memorial there's ſomething to rectify, as I am inform'd by a Book (*a*) that was publiſhed

" which have not yet been printed. They were written to the King and the " Queen, and to others †."

† *Ibid.*

The beſt Edition of this Cardinal's Letters is that of *Paris* in 1698 in 4°. to which Mr. *Amelot de la Houſſaie* has added ſome Notes with the Author's Life, accurately and very judiciouſly written. We are obliged to him for refuſing to follow the bad Counſel of thoſe, who would have (*D*) had him to reform *d' Oſſat*'s Language. 'Tis a Scandal to the Nation that there ſhould be ſo many Perſons in *France*, who can't bear the Style of the XVIth Century; but this bad Reliſh is not ſo univerſal, but that many Readers are to be met with, who are for preſerving the Writings of that Time, ſuch as they were when compoſed by the Authors. This appears from the Fear the *Paris* Bookſellers were in, of not finding their Account in printing *Philip de Comines*'s Memoirs in Modern *French*. See the Remark *D*. I wiſh Mr. *Amelot de la Houſſaie* had likewiſe forbore to alter the Orthography of the Original. 'Tis not likely that Mr. *d' Oſſat* checker'd his Writings with ſo many circumflex Accents, and ſuppreſs'd the Letter *s* in ſo many Places. This want of Likelihood is not agreeable to a Reader that loves exactneſs

(*b*) Amelot de la Houſſaie *his Life of Cardinal* d' Oiſat, *pag.* 5.

publiſhed ſince the firſt Edition of this Dictionary. Mr. *Amelot de la Houſſaie* obſerves (*b*), that the firſt Benefice Mr. *d' Oſſat* ever had, was the Priory of *Saint Martin du Vieux Belleſme*, which was given him by Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, in *January* or *February* 1588. And as to what re'ates to the Abbey of *Notre-Dame de Varennes*, he never was poſſeſt of it, though indeed he was nominated to it by *Henry* III. The Grounds upon which *M. Amelot de la Houſſaie* goes ſeem to be ſtrong. The laſt is taken from the Funeral Oration of this Cardinal; in which 'tis ſet forth, (*c*) *that having, with a good intention, accepted a conſiderable Benefice, that* Henry III. *had given him, and ſome Difficulties being ſtarted about the poſſeſſion, he forthwith reſigned it, without diſputing with any one. 'Tis probably the Abbey of* Varrennes *that's here ſpoken of; and by Conſequence*, adds Mr. *Amelot, they are miſtaken themſelves, who have written, that 'tis an Error to ſay, that Mr.* d' Oiſat *was Dean of* Varen, *in the Dioceſs of* Rhodez, *as he qualifies himſelf in the Petition he preſented to the Pope in the name of* Henry IV. (*d*) *or being his ſpecial Proxy and Deputy in the Affair of his Abſolution.*

(*c*) *Id. ib. pag.* 6.

(*d*) *Id. ib. pag.* 5.

(*D*) *For refuſing to follow the bad Counſel of thoſe, who would have had him to reform Mr* d' Oſſat's *Language.*] In his Preface to the Reader, he expreſſes himſelf thus. " We have not at all altered " the Language, and thoſe who give out otherwiſe " are the very Perſons who would have had it al- " tered; and taking it ill that their Advice " was not taken, have maliciouſly ſpread that Re- " port, with intent to depreciate this Edition in the " Eyes of thoſe who know how to put a value upon " Cardinal *d' Oſſat*, particularly all Stateſ-men. " This ill Counſel I oppos'd the more ſtiffly, becauſe I " always thought 'twould disfigure the nervous Style " of an Author, who was born for Negotiations, " and whoſe Way of ſpeaking is entirely conſecra- " ted to the Cloſet, if any one ſhould attempt to " make him ſpeak otherwiſe than he ſpoke and " wrote. Beſides, no Body would have ſhewn " the ſame Reſpect for my Style that they have for " this great Cardinal's. Witneſs what Mr. *Deſpreaux* " has ſaid of a Member of the *French Academy*, who " had look'd over ſome of Plutarch's Lives tranſlated " by *Amyot*. Witneſs again the Refuſal of ſeveral " of the moſt knowing Bookſellers in *Paris*, about " twelve Years ago, to print the Memoirs of *Comines* " which an ingenious Lady had put into better *French*. " So true it is, that the World is invincibly perſuaded, " that there are ſome Books which can't be new " vamp'd without ſpoiling them; and which reſemble " thoſe natural Beauties that never ſparkle more " than when in a careleſs Dreſs. *Verbum non amplius* " *addam.*" As I take it, *Comines*, *Montagne*, and ſome other Writers, whoſe principal Beauties are inſeparable from their Style, will be a Proof againſt the Encroachments of Tranſlators. I am likewiſe of Opinion, that the *Heptameron* of the Queen of *Navarre*, which is now done into new *French*, will be rejected by Perſons of the beſt Taſte; but at the ſame time I believe the Booktellers will take more liberty with reſpect to many other Books: they'll give reviſed Editions with the Correction of antiquated Phraſes, and by that means will feed more and more the falſe Nicety and Sloth of a great many; for 'tis a ſhame that thoſe who pretend to read Books, ſhould not deſire to know how their Anceſtors ſpoke. This Abuſe increaſes and fortifies it ſelf every Day: Now a-days People do not care to read what was written in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. Such Books will not ſell now, unleſs the Bookſellers get ſome Body to refreſh and renew the Style of the Writings of thoſe times. Thus they ſerved in 1699 the Hiſtory of the laſt Duke of *Montmorenci* (*f*) compoſed by the Sieur *du Cros*. This Practice has been long in uſe. I have ſeen an Edition of *Joſephus* tranſlated into *French* by *Genebrard*, which the *Paris* Booktellers had got purged of ſeveral Words, and ſeveral antique Expreſſions, and yet I do not think *Genebrard* had been dead thirty Years. The ſame Liberty have they taken with reſpect to *Amyot*'s *Plutarch*, which the Sieur *Sorel* very juſtly diſapproves. *'Tis ſufficient*, ſays he (*g*), *to know that* Amyot's *Language was eſteem'd by the briskeſt Wits of his Age. They do him a great deal of Injuſtice in offering to prune ſome of his old Words, and clap others in their room. That's draining him of all his Strength and Simplicity. And yet ſome* Paris *Bookſellers have ſome Years ago publiſh'd an Impreſſion of that ancient Tranſlation in a large Folio, in which they have here and there lop'd off the old Words. Some were of Opinion, that this would make the Book read more agreeably, and thought it well done to allow of it. But others conceive, that we ought to pay more Veneration to good and antient Books, and that 'tis a Sacrilege in him that tranſlates after this manner, eſpecially conſidering that thoſe very Perſons, who were employed in that Work, were but ſorrily qualified for it. They judge it proper to let the old Tranſlation ſtand as it is, or elſe to make another quite new, if we pretend to have a better after the Mode of theſe Times.* Neither do's he approve of the Alteration of the Original of *Joinville*. Theſe are his own Words: " (*h*) 'Tis " true, we find in the Hiſtory of *Joinville* a great " Appearance of the Simplicity of the Age he " liv'd in, and that the Men of his Rank, were " but little acquainted with the way of ordering or " drawing up a Diſcourſe. Nevertheleſs, I think " they have done us an Injury in charging many of " the old Words in his Book, as we ſee they have " done in divers Impreſſions; for at that rate it is " not the ſame Work, but an entire Tranſlation of " the old Language into the modern Language. And " in the end this may occaſion the Loſs of the Ori- " ginal, ſo that we'll be at a loſs to know from any " genuin Draught, how they ſpoke in the time when " it was compiled. 'Twould be much better if they " had left it in its firſt Dreſs, if there are any Paſſages " in it that are not very intelligible, they might have " put an Explication of them in the Margin, or elſe " in Notes annex'd; which Diverſity would have " made an agreeable March." He had ſpoke much to the ſame purpoſe before, in *Pag.* 252, in which place he obſerves withal, that *Commines*'s *Hiſtory*, as well as that of *Joinville* has been printed *ſeveral different ways*, and that *ſuch Words as were taken to be obſolete* were changed. How ancient this Cuſtom has been among the *French*, you'll ſee by the following Paſſage of *Stephen Paſquier*. " (*i*) The like Fault we " meet with in our antient Manuſcripts of our *Ro-* " *man de la Roſe*, in each of which the *French* " Language is ſuch as 'twas ſpoken when the Copies " were taken, except the Rhyme of the Verſes in " which they could make no Alteration. Nay, you'll " there ſee a ſtrange hobbling of what the Copiers " have put in, I mean ſome Words of *Picardy*, *Normandy*,

(*f*) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *Decemb.* 1699. *pag.* 670. *& ſeq.*

(*g*) *Sorel Biblioth. Françoiſe, pag.* 220. *the* Paris *Edition* 1667.

(*h*) *Id. ib. pag* 321, 322.

(*i*) *Paſquier, recherches de la France Book* 8. *ch.* 44. *pag.* 756. *Edition of* Paris 1621 *in fol.*

exactneſs. I can't paſs over in Silence Mr. *de Wicquefort*'s Thoughts (*E*) of *d' Oſſat*'s Merit. See likewiſe Mr. *Perrault*'s ſecond ‡ Part of the Illuſtrious Men of the XVIIth Century.

‡ *Pag.* 12. *& ſeq. of the* Dutch *Edit.*

OTHO III. was not above twelve Years of Age, when he ſucceeded his Father, who died in 983. By this means it came to paſs, that the Beginning of his Reign was not free from Troubles: But all theſe Diſorders were happily redreſs'd; and when his Years qualified him for ruling by himſelf, he ſhewed himſelf richly worthy of the Poſt. His Preceptor was the famous *Gerbert* a Native of *Auvergne* *, whom he made Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, and afterwards Pope by the Name of *Sylveſter* II. The moſt perplexing Affairs he had upon his Hands were at *Rome*, where *Creſcentius* endeavour'd to retain the Sovereign Power, and baniſh'd from thence Pope *Gregory* V. the Emperor's (*A*) near Kinſman. *Creſcentius* made Preparations for a vigorous Defence, upon the News of *Otho*'s March towards *Rome* to puniſh him; but he ſcarce made any Reſiſtance, being obliged in a few Days to ſurrender himſelf and the Anti-Pope he had made. The Anti-Pope was whipt, and had his Eyes put out, and at laſt was kill'd by the Mobb before the (*B*) Emperor had time to condemn him. You'll ſee (*C*) what *Creſcentius*'s Puniſhment was. This happen'd in 998. Pope *Gregory* V. being then reſtor'd, died ſome Months after; and thereupon *Otho* preferr'd *Sylveſter* II. to the Pontifical Chair. The *Romans* embolden'd by the Abſence of the Emperor, upon his Return to *Germany*, made a new Inſurrection; for they did not care to depend on the *Germans*. This laid *Otho* under a Neceſſity of labouring once more to reſtore the Tranquillity of *Rome*; but he took the wrong Courſe. He fed himſelf with Hopes, that if he appear'd *ſola Majeſtate armatus*, every one would reſume their due Allegiance; but he experienced the contrary. He was an exemplary Proof, that

* *Du Cheſne, Lives of the Popes.*

" *Normandy* and *Champagne*. Which are things that " a Reader ought to have a great regard to, before " he interpoſes his Judgment."

(*E*) *Mr.* de Wicquefort's *Thoughts of* d' Oſſat's *Merit.*] In this point he has done a great deal of Honour to his own Judgment. His Words are theſe. (*a*) *I have nothing to ſay of* Arnauld *Cardinal* d' Oſſat, *upon the Conſideration that one can't ſpeak of him without doing him Injuſtice, ſince* Antonius Muretus, *the moſt eloquent Perſon of his Age, comes ſhort in endeavouring to make his Elogy in his Funeral Oration. I ſhall ſay nothing elſe of him, but that never did any Miniſter fill his Place with ſo much Affection, ſo much Zeal, ſo much Application, and ſo much Fidelity for the King his Maſter, as this Prelate did. As for his Capacity, we may judge of that by what we have of his Negotiations; for which, as well as for ſeveral other excellent Treatyes, the Publick is obliged to the late Meſſieurs* du Puy, *who are the Honour and Ornament of our Age. Inſtances of his Addreſs we have in his Negotiation with the Great Duke of* Tuſcany *for the Reſtitution of the Iſland of* Il; *in that with* Clement VIII. *for the Reconciliation of* Henry IV. *to the Church of* Rome, *for the Declaration of the Nullity of that King's Marriage with Queen* Margaret de Valois, *which had ſtood thirty Years, and for the Diſpenſation of the Marriage of* Catherine de Bourbon, *King* Henry's *Siſter, with the Duke of* Bar, *and for ſeveral other very important and very difficult Affairs. His Diſpatches are not leſs neceſſary to an Ambaſſador, that expects to ſucceed in his Poſt, than the Bible and the* Corpus juris *are to the Divines and Lawyers that mean to thrive in their Profeſſion.* This Judgment is given with a *Scientia Cauſæ*; for Mr. *de Wicquefort* underſtood theſe Matters very well; and quotes Mr. *d' Oſſat*'s Letters ſo often, that it appears he had read 'em over and over very attentively. We muſt excuſe his miſtake in ſaying, that *Muretus* made that Cardinal's Funeral Oration. That Orator had been dead a long time before, when the Jeſuit *Gallutius* did in 1604, pronounce at *Rome* the Cardinal's Funeral Oration. We muſt remark, that thoſe very Letters which Mr. *de Wicquefort* valued ſo much, are highly recommended to the Politicians by the Sieur *Naudé*. (*b*) *Omnium meritò centuriæ utiliſſimæ dignitſimaque, quæ Politicorum mentibus atque oculis perpetuo obverſentur,* Cardinalis Oſſati *Epiſtolæ: utpote quæ graviſſimò ac planè ſenili cultu exaratæ ſunt, feraciſſimoque gravitſſimarum rerum ac ſententiarum ingenio, nuſquam laxæ, nuſquam molles, ſemper æquales, ſemper lectoris animum demulcentes, detinentesque jucundiſſimâ rerum ac rationum varietate.*

(*a*) *Wicquefort d' l' Ambaſſadeur, Book* 2. *Sect.* 17. *l. m.* 423, 424. *See likewiſe Sect.* 10 *of the ſame Book, and Sect.* 7. *of Book* 1. *pag.* 573.

(*b*) *Naudæus Bibliogr. Politica, pag.* 558. *Edit. Crenii.* 1692.

(*A*) *The Emperor's near Kinſman.*] His Name was *Bruno*; he was the Son of *Otho* of *Saxony*, Duke of *Franconia* and *Suabia*, which *Otho* was the Son of *Ludolphus* and Grand-ſon of *Otho* I. So that *Bruno* was great Grand-ſon to *Otho* I. Grand-father to *Otho* III. Thoſe who make him the Preceptor of *Otho* I (*c*) have been ſeverely taken up for it. Some may doubt whether the Critick be in the right in giving the Quality of Duke of *Bavaria* to *Otho* the Son of *Ludolphus*; for 'tis certain on one hand that *Bavaria* being given by *Otho* I. to his Brother *Henry*, continued in the poſſeſſion of the Deſcendants of that *Henry*; and on the other, that *Otho* the Son of *Ludolphus* was Duke of *Suabia* after his Father: But at the ſame time 'tis equally certain, that *Otho* II. did, in the time of a War he had with *Henry* II. Duke of *Bavaria*, give *Bavaria* to *Otho* the Son of *Ludolphus* (*d*).

(*c*) *See the* Specimen Errorum *publiſh'd by* Perizonius *in* 1693. *pag.* 119.

(*d*) *See the Hiſtory of* Bavaria, *by* Blanc, *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 138.

(*B*) *Before the Emperor had time.*] Some ſay (*e*) the Mobb ſeiz'd upon the Anti-Pope before *Otho* was receiv'd in *Rome*; that they pull'd his Eyes out; that they cut his Ears and his Noſe off; that they ſet him upon an Aſs, with his Face to the Aſſe's Tail; and that *Otho*, to whom they afterwards opened the Gates, baniſh'd him to the remoteſt parts of *Germany*, where he dyed of Grief ſoon after. Thus you ſee ſome apply to the Anti-Pope part of what others ſay of *Creſcentius*. Some will have (*f*) it, that 'twas *Otho* who ordered the Anti-pope's Noſe to be cut off, his Eyes to be put out, and his Body to be thrown Head-long from the top of the Caſtle of *Saint Angelo*. Theſe Variations give a cruel diſreliſh to the Study of Hiſtory and are the Diſhonour of Mankind; for if Men were good for any thing, there would be a perfect Uniformity among Hiſtorians upon ſuch ſignal Matters of Fact as theſe are. But how can we expect that ſeveral Hiſtorians ſhould jump, when we find very often one and the ſame Hiſtorian is not of a Piece with himſelf? Do but turn to *Matthias*'s *Theatrum*, and there you'll find in *page* 688 (*g*), *That the Anti-pope was whipp'd, blinded, and at laſt kill'd by the Pope before* Otho *had condemn'd him*; and in the very next *page* you have it, *That the Emperor having caus'd the Anti-Pope's Noſe to be cut off, and his Eyes put out, threw him Head-long to the Foot of the Capitol. Imperator anno Chriſti* 998 *Romam profectus eſt, Antipapam naſo & oculis privavit, & de capitolio præcipitem dedit, uti ſupra prolixius diximus* Theſe laſt Words are very odd; the Author makes a falſe Quotation of himſelf, for he had given a quite different Account from what he gives here.

(*e*) *Petr. Damian. ep.* 2. *ad Cad. Ciaconius, Sigonius apud Maimbourg, Decad de l' Empire, lib.* 2.

(*f*) *Heiſs Hiſtory of the Empire, Tom.* 1. *p. m.* 122.

(*g*) Anti-papa à vulgo virgis cæſus, oculis privatus, & demum conſoſſus, priuſquam de eo Ottо ſententiam tulit. (*h*) *Ex Setho Calviſio.*

(*C*) *What* Creſcentius's *Puniſhment was.*] They mounted him upon an Aſs, with his Face to the Aſs's Tail, and in that Poſture carried him through the City; then they diſmembred him in ſeveral Places, and hang'd him. His Accomplices were puniſhed, ſome one way, ſome another (*h*). Some Writers give the following (*i*) Account of this Matter. *Creſcentius* having defended himſelf as long as he could in the Fortreſs of *Rome*, endeavour'd to prevent his Deſtruction by going to throw himſelf at *Otho*'s Feet; but that Prince ordered him to be carried back to the

(*i*) *Glaber, lib.* 1. *& Ditmar. lib.* 4. *apud Maimb. Decad. de l' Empire, lib.* 2.

that no Prince ought ever to expoſe his Majeſty unguarded, to the Diſcretion of a mutinous Mobb. The People of *Rome* took this advantage of *Otho*'s having no Troops about him, that they block'd him up in his Palace; and if *Hugh* Marqueſs of *Tuſcany*, and *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, had not ſpeedily repair'd to *Rome*, and amus'd the People with divers Propoſals of Accommodation, till they concerted proper Means for the Emperor's Eſcape, 'tis not known what might have become of him in that his unavoidable Captivity. This happen'd in 1001. But this Prince having a Body of good Troops in *Italy*, whither he had return'd, only to expel the *Saracens*, from whom he retook *Capua*, was not long in returning to (D) *Rome*, with ſuch a Force that he puniſh'd them at Pleaſure. In the Beginning of 1002 he ſet out upon his Return to *Germany*, but died at *Paterno*, before he got out of *Italy*, on the 28th of *January* in the ſame Year. His Death was attributed to poiſon'd Gloves, that *Creſcentius*'s Widow, one of the handſomeſt Women of that Age, gave him to revenge his Breach of Promiſe. He enjoy'd her upon Promiſe of Marriage, and after he had gratified his Paſſion, he ſlighted his Promiſe *. He was not happy in his Adventures (E) with Women; for the Lady whom he married †, joyn'd to her unchaſte Embraces another Crime, for which he caus'd her to be burnt; and this Lady (F) whom he did not marry was the Author of his Death. Thoſe, who ſay that the College of the ſeven Electors was erected in his Time, are β miſtaken; let the Erection be attributed either to *Otho* himſelf, or to Pope *Gregory* V. We may ſay with more Reaſon, that *Poland* was made a Kingdom by this Emperor, as I have obſerved in the Article of *Boleſlaus* I. We have a wonderful Account handed down to us of this *Otho*'s (G) Penitence. He was ſo very devout γ as to undertake Pilgrimages; nay, they tell you δ he made a Promiſe to turn Monk. As for his Garment, upon which the whole ‡ *Apocalypſe* was embroider'd, I ſhall not bring it in for a ſign of his Devotion.

OTTOBONI (PETER) a Native of *Venice*, was Pope in the XVIIth Century, under the Name of *ALEXANDER* VIII. *Mark* Ottoboni, his Father, Grand Chancellor of *Venice*, bought a Patent of Nobility, which coſt him an hundred thouſand Ducats, in 1646. *Peter Ottoboni* having purſued his Studies firſt at *Venice*, and then at *Padua*, took the Degree of Doctor of Law at *Padua*, and ſo went to *Rome* at the Age of twenty. Under Pope *Urban* VIII. he had the Government of *Terni*, *Rietti* and *Citta-Caſtellana*, and the Poſt of Auditor of the *Rota*. He receiv'd the Cardinal's Cap under *Innocent* X. in 1652. Two Years after he was made Biſhop of *Breſcia*. He was Datary under *Alexander* VII, and at laſt was choſen Pope *October* the 6th 1689 in the room of *Innocent* XI. ‡. The War that flamed furiouſly between the Houſe of *Auſtria* and *France*, contributed not a little to the Election of *Ottoboni*; for the Neutral Cardinals did juſtly fear they would expoſe the Catholick Religion too much, if they created a Pope that was born a Subject of the King of *Spain*, as the late Pope had been, whoſe Partiality againſt *France* had done infinite Service to the Proteſtants. With this View they concluded, that *Ottoboni*, who was qualified for the Chair, would be a more proper Perſon than any other in that juncture, in regard he was a *Venetian*. The only Advantage that *France* reap'd from this Election, was, that Pope *Alexander* VIII. did ſo ſtrenuouſly animate the *Venetians* to wage War with the *Turks*, and encouraged them with ſuch effectual Aſſiſtance, that the Hopes of a Peace with the *Turks*

* *Taken from* Maimbourg *Decad. de l' Empire. l.* 2.

† Mary *of* Arragon. *See her Article.*

β *See the Proofs for it in* Maimbourg *Decad. de l' Empire, l.* 2.

γ *See the Article* Boleſlaus I.

δ *Calviſ. ad ann.* 1001. *Chriſti.*

‡ *Matthias Theatr Hiſtor. p. m.* 886.

‡ Mercure Gallant *for* October 1689.

the Caſtle, that he might take him by main force. There *Creſcentius* held out to the laſt Extremity; at laſt the Place was taken by Storm, and all was put to the Sword, *excepting* Creſcentius, *who was taken much wounded, thrown Head-long from the higheſt place of the Fortreſs, dragg'd through the Dirt, and then hang'd upon ſo high a Gibbet* (k), *as to be expos'd to the View of all the City* (l). According to *Moreri* he was only Beheaded; but *Heiſs* (m) ſays, that both he and twelve of his Accomplices were hang'd upon the higheſt Tree that could be found

(k) *See the Remark* B, *in the Article* Babelon.

(l) *Maimb. ibid. p. m.* 123.

(m) *Hiſt. de l' Empire, Tom.* 1. *p. m.* 122.

(D) *Was not long in returning.*] After weighing maturely the Narrative of ſeveral Hiſtorians, it ſeems evident to me, that *Matthias* is miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Otho* deſign'd to retire to *Germany* with intent to raiſe an Army there, that might inable him to puniſh the Rebellion of the *Romans*; but that he died by the way. At that rate he muſt have died without being revenged; which is inconſiſtent with good Authors (a). But after all, 'twould argue a great deal of Raſhneſs to give in this for a Fault; for the Hiſtory of thoſe middle Ages is ſo perplexed, and has paſſed through ſo many bad Hands, that we meet with Authorities *pro* and *con*, and for a thouſand ſorts of Variations. This curs me ſhort of a large Field of Materials; for if I ſhould venture to cenſure thoſe who relate Matters of Fact one certain way, there would be Witneſſes found to confront me. 'Tis almoſt impoſſible to lye (b) upon theſe Centuries. Do but tell the Circumſtances of any Fact, according to your Humour or at Random, you'll ſeldom be without an Author to favour your Relation.

(a) *See Ditmar. apud Calviſ. ad ann.* 1001, 1002.

(b) *That is, to advance things without Proof or Authority.*

(E) *Not happy in his Adventures with Women.*] It ſeems the Sex in general was unlucky to him; for beſides what I hinted of his Wife and his Miſtriſs, I have read ſomewhere (c), that 'twas for the Love of this Miſtriſs (I ſpeak of the Widow of *Creſcentius*) that he entered *Rome* with ſo ſorry a Retinue, as to run the Riſque of a perpetual Priſon. Add to this, that *Theophania* (d) his Mother, the Daughter of an Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, render'd him odious to many of the Grandees; and that after the Death (e) of his Mother, being bred up by *Adelais* his Grandmother, he thought himſelf obliged to ſend her from Court. Now, 'tis probable he did this, not by Advice of the wiſe Men of his Court, but out of an Opinion, that 'twas neceſſary for the Succeſs of his Affairs. But this did not hinder him from giving Governments to Women: During his Expedition to *Rome* in 996, he gave the Government of *Saxony* to *Mathilde* his Mother's Siſter, and after her Death to his Siſter *Adelaid*.

(c) *Huber. Hiſtor. Civil. Tom.* 1.

(d) *Cluver. Univerſal Hiſtory in Othone III.*

(e) *Which happened according to* Cluverius *in* 989. *or according to* Calviſius, Marcellinus, *&c. in* 995.

(F) *This Lady whom he did not marry.*] A certain Hiſtorian, whoſe Name is *Glaber*, ſays, *Otho* did marry her. But this we know for certain, that after he had admitted her into his Bed, he diſliked her and put her off.

(f) *Ditmar. l.* 4. *apud* Maimb. *ubi ſupra. pag.* 128.

(G) *Of this* Otho's *Penitence,*] 'Tis given out that he ſometimes faſted the whole Week, excepting *Thurſday*, and that he cried bitterly to expiate the Guilt of his Sins. The *Latin* will expreſs it beſt; (f) *Plurima ingemiſcens facinora noctis ſilentio, vigiliis & orationibus intentus, lacrimarum quoque rivis abluere non deſtitit, ſæpenumero omnem hebdomadam excepta quinta feria jejunium producens, in eleemoſynis valde largus.* Add to this what is related elſewhere (g) of his Pilgrimages.

(g) *In the Remark* I. *of the Article* Boleſlaus I.

(A) *Mind'd*

Turks vaniſh'd, which the Emperor earneſtly deſired in order to draw all his Troops againſt *France*. Beſides this, *Alexander* VIII. minded nothing (*A*) but the aggrandizing of his Family. He ſcarce troubled his Head (*B*) with the Difference between *France* and the Court of *Rome*. He only amuſed the Miniſters of *Lewis* XIV. and all on a ſudden by the Publication of (*C*) a Bull before his Death, he ſhew'd, that he had only made Fools of them. *France* changed her Style, in hopes to procure his Favour; for ſome time they had ſaid but little in praiſe of *Innocent* XI. and after that they had vented a great many hard things of him: The Poets and the Orators began to cry up his Succeſſor. But they found by Experience that the ſureſt Game would be, with reference to Encomiums, to obſerve *Solon*'s Maxim (*D*) for determining the Felicity of a Man. Cardinal *Peter Ottoboni* was ſo old when he came to the Chair, that 'tis no wonder his Reign was ſo ſhort. He enjoyed the Papal Dignity but fifteen or ſixteen Months; for he dyed on the firſt of *February* 1691. A Prediction (*E*) relating to his Death was handed about, which looks very like an Impoſture.

OVIDIUS NASO (PUBLIUS) a *Roman* Knight, was one of the beſt Poets of *Auguſtus*'s Age. I have a great Collection of Materials upon this Article, but can't publiſh 'em at preſent; ſo I ſhall ſingle out a ſmall part. Nature endowed

(*b*) Ut quam maxime mortiferi eſſe morſus ſolent morientium beſtiarum, ſic plus negotii fuit cum ſeminuda Carthagine quam in integra. *Florus l.* 2. *c.* 15. *Add to this theſe Words of* Seneca *Controv. epit.* 9. In gladiatoribus quoque conditio dura victoris eſt cum moriente pugnantis. Nullum magis adverſarium timeas quam qui vivere non poteſt, occidere poteſt. Concitatiſſima eſt rabies in deſperatione, & morte ultima in furorem animus impellitur.

(*A*) *Minded nothing but the aggrandizing of his Family.*] What is commonly ſaid of Beaſts (*b*), That they are never more dangerous than in their dying Bites, may very properly be applied to the Nepotiſm. As it ſtood upon its laſt Legs, under *Alexander* VIII. ſo it gathered together all its Strength, to be the more capable to devour. It might have been ſaid of the Uncle, he is old, he makes haſte, knowing that he has but a ſhort time to ſtay. Mr. *Menage* told a Story, that will come in here patly. (*i*) *Alexander* VIII. (ſaid he) *being choſen Pope at 79 Years of Age, and having preferr'd all his Nephews in three Weeks after, aſk'd one of his Domeſticks, what People ſaid of him. The Domeſtick made anſwer, That People ſaid he loſt no time in the Advancement of his Family.* Oh, *ſaid the Pope*, Oh! ſono vinti tre hore e mezza, *'tis half an hour after three and twenty.* To behave himſelf, as he did, with reſpect to an Abuſe that his Succeſſor ſhould have aboliſhed, was giving it an honourable Funeral. Perhaps Pope *Ottoboni*'s great Age is not the only Reaſon that obliged him to ſuch quick Diſpatch in loading his whole Family with Riches; he conſider'd perhaps, that *Rome* had had time to forget in ſome meaſure the Diſorders of the Nepotiſm, which had been ſunk in the long Reign of *Innocent* XI. Upon this Conſideration the Complaints of the People might be fainter, and he had to do with Subjects, that had enjoyed a leiſurely time of Repoſe after their ancient Fatigues. This calls to my Mind the ſharping Tricks of Flatterers, and the Suppleneſs with which, like true Jugglers, they whirl about the moſt ſacred Things. But that this Criticiſm, which does not grow upon my own Bottom, may have more weight and Authority, I borrow it from a Book printed and licenſed at *Paris*. "Among (*a*) the Encomiums he (*b*) beſtows upon "*Innocent* XI. that which is moſt diſtinguiſhing, is, "that he kept his Nephews in a private Station, in "imitation of our Saviour, who knew no other Re-"lations, but thoſe who did the Will of his Father. "*Alexander* VIII. having Views oppoſite to thoſe "of his Predeceſſor, *Palatio* falls upon a way to "juſtify his Solicitouſneſs in loading his Relations "with Riches and Honours; and maintains, that in "that Point the Pope imitated the Example of our "Saviour, who honour'd his Relations according to "the Fleſh, with the Participation of his Prieſthood, "and entruſted them with the Diſpenſation of his "Gotpel: So fertile is Eloquence in Inventions, when "'tis employed in flattering the Paſſions of Gover-"nours, and excuſing the greateſt Irregularities in "their Conduct."

(*B*) *He ſcarce troubled his Head with the Difference between* France *and the Court of* Rome.] And yet that Affair was of ſuch Conſequence as to require a ſpeedy Concluſion; and if *Alexander* VIII. had had as much Zeal for the Intereſts of St. *Peter*'s Chair, as he had for his Relations, his Mindfulneſs of the ſhort time he had to live, would have influenced him much more to make a ſpeedy Accommodation of the Difference with *France*, than to enrich his Family without loſs of Time. By his Delay he left to his Succeſſor the Glory of re eſtabliſhing the Authority of the Pope in *France* upon the ancient Foot; which it had been impoſſible to effect, had they tarried till the King of *France* was at Peace with his Neighbours. True Policy required, that the Court of *Rome* ſhould make the beſt uſe of the entangled State of *France*; and that *Innocent* XII. did very dexterouſly. Some Fanaticks who had conceived Hopes, that the League form'd againſt *France* in 1688, would be fatal to the Papacy, and that the approaching Ruin of Catholiciſm would begin with the Reformation of the Court of *France*, were very much out in their Meaſures; for that League has made *France* more Popiſh than it was in 1682 and 1688, and conſequently occaſion'd the Reparation of one of the Breaches of Popery. What Fools they are that mind ſuch Creatures.

(*C*) *By the Publication of a Bull before his Death.*] The Bull was quite ready *Aug.* 4. 16 . for it bears date on that Day; but was not publiſhed till *January* the 30th 1691. It thunders upon all that had been done to the Prejudice of the Pope's Authority in the Aſſembly of the Clergy of *France* in 1682. 'Twas not publiſhed ſooner, becauſe the Pope had a mind to amuſe *Lewis* XIV. and gain ſome Advantages by the Delay; but when he ſaw himſelf at the Edge of the Grave, he obſerved no further Meaſures, but let fly his Bull. This was of very good uſe to the Expounders of St. *Malachy*; they did not know how to apply to *Peter Ottoboni* the Symbol *Pœnitentia Gloriosa*, which concerns him in the Predictions of that pretended Prophet. They were not contented with ſaying, that the Election of this Pope was made on St. *Bruno*'s Day, or that he bore the Name of *Peter*, though the Penitence of theſe two Saints was altogether glorious: This they looked upon as too forced and far-fetched: But the Bull gave 'em occaſion to ſay that *Alexander* VIII. had gloriouſly repented of his Indulgence for the Court and Clergy of *France* (*c*). Here I obſerve, that the Decree of the Inquiſition of *December* 7. 169 , againſt thirty-one Propoſitions, vexed the Divines of the *Gallican* Church. See the Letter (*d*) of an Abbot to a Prelate of the Court of *Rome*.

(*D*) *To obſerve* Solon's *Maxim.*] The Maxim is, That we can form no Judgment of a Man's Happineſs before he is dead; for thoſe who appear happy to us, may perhaps be plunged into the deepeſt Miſery, before they are diſmiſs'd from this World. *Ovid* (*e*) has expreſs'd this Thought of *Solon* very happily. The Inſtability or Obliquity of the Heart of Man ought to induce us to delay the giving of Encomiums, till the reſpective Perſon is no more. By this Caution we ſhall ſpare our ſelves the altering of our Language, and a great many other Things. *Salvian* was not unacquainted with this Maxim. (*f*) Sapientia, *inquit ſeimo diviuus*, in exitu canitur. *Cur eam non dixit cani in pueritia, non in juventute, non in ſtatu rerum incolumium, non in proſperitatibus ſecundorum? Scilicet quia in his omnibus quicquid laudatur incertum eſt. Quàm diu enim quis ſubjacet mutationi, non poteſt cum ſecuritate laudari. Et ideo, ut dixi, ſapientia in exitu canitur. Exiens enim quis de incertis periculorum, certum meretur evaſa omni rerum varietate ſuffragium: quia tunc ſtabilis & firma laus eſt, quando meritum non poterit jam perire laudati.* Sapientia, *inquit*, in exitu canitur.

(*E*) *A Prediction was handed about.*] A *French* Man, whoſe Name I conceal, had writ from *Geneva* to his Friends in *Holland*, towards the beginning of the Winter of the Year 1690, that at *Milan* a Man had been at his Confeſſor's, to acquaint him That

(*c*) *See the* Leipſick *Journal for* 1691. *pag.* 151.

(*d*) *It contains* 65 *Pages in* 12°. *in my Edition, which is the* 2*d. The Title bears*, according to the Edition of *Toulouſe.*

(*e*) Sed ſcilicet ultima ſemper Expectanda dies; homini: dicique beatus Ante obitum nemo ſupremaque funera debet. *Ovid Metamorph. l.* 3.

(*f*) *Salvianus contra avaritiam. l.* 4. *p. m.* 145.

(*i*) *See the* Menagiana, *p.* 208. Dutch *Edit.*

(*a*) *Journal des Savans, Decemb.* 15. 1692. *pag.* 711. Dutch *Edit.*

(*b*) *i. e.* John Palatius, *Author of a Book in* 5 *Vol. in folio, printed at* Venice *in* 1691, *and entituled*, Geſta Pontificum Romanorum.

ed him with ſuch a ſtrong Diſpoſition to Poetry, that, out of Love to the Muſes, he laid aſide the Cares and Projects that are neceſſary for arriving at Places of Dignity. But as his Inclination to Poetry extinguiſh'd in him all the Fire of Ambition, ſo on the other hand it fed and enflam'd that of Love. He was furiouſly (A) addicted to loving and making Conqueſts in the way of Gallantry; but likewiſe taught the Public Conſiſtence of a Syſtem a pernicious Science, of which Nature gives us but too many Leſſons; and which only tends to the Diſhonour of Families, and eſpecially of the poor Huſbands. He was baniſh'd for writing ſuch Books; but in all appearance, that was rather the Pretence than the true (A) Cauſe of his Exile. He employed in vain all the Turns of his Wit to pacify the Emperor, whoſe Favour nothing could procure. He dyed in the Country of the *Getæ*, where he had been confined. He married three Wives, the two firſt of which * he divorced, and the third he praiſed very much †. Some Critics

* *Ovidius lib. 2. Triſtium, eleg. 10.*

† *Id. ib. l. 4. eleg. 3, & alibi*

That he found his End approaching, that he ſhould die in two Days, his Brother in four, the Pope at Chriſtmaſs, *and the King of* France *at* Eaſter. The News-Monger added, that the two Brethren died at the time pointed to. As ſoon as they had Intelligence that the Pope was not dead at *Chriſtmaſs*, the News was dropt; but at the Siege of (g) *Mons* 'twas popp'd up again: And to give it the more weight, the Pope's dying at *Chriſtmaſs* was ſuppreſs'd, and 'twas given out, that the Man at *Milan* ſaid only the Pope would die in a few Weeks. 'Twere to be wiſhed, that ſome Body had given himſelf the Trouble of keeping a Regiſter of theſe idle Predictions. Had they been mark'd down Year after Year in our Chronicles, we ſhould perhaps have been leſs ſubject to be impoſed upon by 'em.

(g) *In the Month of* March 1691.

(A) *Furiouſly addicted to the Venereal Pleaſure.*] He informs us himſelf of the Qualifications with which Nature had endowed him for that Exerciſe, and the uſe he had made of 'em.

(b) *Ovid. Amor. lib. 3. Eleg. 7. p. m. 146.*

Exigere (b) à nobis anguſta nocte Corinnam,
Me memini numeros ſuſtinuiſſe novem.

He found himſelf freſh and gay in the Morning, after paſſing a whole Night in amorous Embraces, and wiſh'd to die in the actual Fruition of that Pleaſure. Nothing ſeem'd to him more ſuitable to the Life he had led, than to make his *Exit* in the like Exerciſe.

(i) *Id. ib. lib. 2. eleg. 10. pag. 126.*

Sæpe (i) ego, laſcivæ conſumto tempore noctis,
Utilis & ſorti corpore mane fui.
Felix, quem veneris certamina mutua perdunt!
Di faciant, leti cauſa ſit iſta mei!
Induat adverſis contraria pectora telis
Miles, & æternum ſanguine nomen emat.
Quærat avarus opes; & quæ laſſarit arando
Æquora, perjuro naufragus ore bibat.
At mihi contingat Veneris langueſcere motu;
Cùm moriar, medium ſolvar & inter opus:
Atque aliquis noſtro lacrymans in funere dicat,
Conveniens vitæ mors fuit iſta ſuæ.

What can one ſay, what can one conceive more proper to expreſs the Fury of a Temperament that's laſcivious to the laſt Degree? I do not believe that *Lais* the Courtezan, who died in the manner that *Ovid* calls ſo happy; I do not believe, I ſay, that ſhe deſired that Fate. This Poet's Writings of Love are the obſceneſt Pieces we have of Antiquity: not that we meet in them with the rank Expreſſions of *Catullus*, *Horace* and *Martial*, and the Scandals of the Sin againſt Nature, of which theſe three Poets ſpeak ſo freely; but the Quaintneſs, the Choice of Terms, that *Ovid* has affected, render his Works the more dangerous, in regard they give a very intelligible and very handſome Turn to all the moſt laſcivious Tricks and Impurities of Love. He do's not ſpeak upon the Credit of others, but as having practis'd thoſe things himſelf. 'Tis true, in his Apology, which he drew in the Place of his Exile, he proteſts he had not committed the Actions he deſcribed, and that his Head had a greater ſhare in thoſe Deſcriptions than his Heart. He boaſts that he had engaged in no Love Intrigues that could give occaſion for Detraction, and that among the common People he had given none of 'em occaſion to doubt their being the Fathers of their Wives Children.

(b) *Id. lib. 2. Triſt. pag. 156.*

Sed (b) neque me nupta didicerunt furta magiſtro:
Quodque parum novit, nemo docere poteſt.

Sic ego delicias, & mollia carmina feci,
Strinxerit ut nomen fabula nulla meum.
Nec quiſquam eſt adeo medià de plebe maritus,
Ut dubius vitio ſit pater ille meo.
Crede mihi; mores diſtant à carmine noſtro.
Vita verecunda eſt, Muſa jocoſa mihi.
Magnaque pars operum mendax & ficta meorum
Plus ſibi permiſit compoſitore ſuo.
Nec liber indicium eſt animi, ſed honeſta voluptas,
Plurima mulcendis auribus apta ferens.

(c) *Idem. Amor. lib. 2. eleg. 19. in fine pag. 130.*

To reconcile this with the 19th Elegy of the ſecond Book *de Amoribus*, we muſt conceive that what he ſays there of himſelf, is a Fiction of the Mind. He there exhorts his She-Friend's Husband to be jealous, and not to rob him by his Indolence of the choiceſt Sweets of his good Fortune. He would have that Man not to be a contented Husband, but a Rival.

Quid (c) mihi cum facili, quid cum lenone marito?
Corrumpis vitio gaudia noſtra tuo.
Quin alium, quem tanta juvet patientia, quæris?
Me tibi rivalem ſi juvat eſſe, veta.

It is certain, that a great many Poets repreſent their fortunate Adventures of this Nature, which are only Fictions of the Brain; but we are at a loſs to know whether this is *Ovid*'s Caſe or not. We live at too great a diſtance from the Age in which he lived, and we can't doubt but that ſome People, when call'd in queſtion (d), will boaſt of their Innocence, though they are guilty.

(d) *Ibid. in the Poems they had then own Poems brought in as Evidence againſt them.*

(A) *Rather the Pretence than the true Cauſe of his Exile.*] He owns in ſeveral Places of his Works, that the two Cauſes of his Miſery, were, that he had compiled Books of the Art of Love; and had ſeen ſomething. He does not tell us what it was that he ſaw, but gives us to know, that his Books contributed leſs to his Diſgrace than that did; for he ſuppoſes, that upon his complaining to Love that, after labouring to enlarge its Empire, he could obtain no other Reward but that of being baniſh'd into a Country of *Barbarians*; He ſuppoſes, I ſay, that upon this his Complaint, Love made anſwer, You know very well that was not the thing that did you moſt harm.

(e) *Ovidius de Ponto lib. 3. epiſt. 3.*

Utque (e) hæc, ſic utinam defendere cætera poſſes.
Scis aliud quod te læſerit, eſſe magis.

He compares himſelf to unfortunate *Actæon*.

(f) *Ovid. lib. 2. Triſtium.*

Cur (f) aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi eſt?
Inſcius Actæon vidit ſine veſte Dianam,
Præda fuit canibus non minus ille ſuis.

(g) Inſcia quod crimen viderunt lumina plector: Peccatumque oculos eſt habuiſſe meum. *Id. ib. lib. 3. eleg. 5.*

He repeats in ſeveral places (g) the ſame Complaint of having ſeen, without Deſign, the Crime of another, and declares (h), that 'tis not lawful for him to reveal the Myſtery. Offers have been made to conjecture what it was; and the more ſilent *Ovid* was, the greater Itch there has been to penetrate into the Secret. Some perſuade themſelves, that he ſurpriſed *Auguſtus* in the flaming Crime of lying with *Julia* his Daughter, and confirm this their Thought by a Paſſage of *Suetonius*, from which they pretend to gather, that *Caligula* deſpiled his Mother, as being ſprung from *Auguſtus*'s Inceſt with *Julia*. *Alteram ſubjiciunt alii, nempe eum vidiſſe Auguſtum turpiter cum Juliâ filiâ jacentem.... Cui opinioni favere viſus eſt Caligula, dum matrem ſuam ſperneba[t], quaſi ex inceſto concubitu Auguſti, cum filia ſua Julia, prognatam (i).* Certain it is, that *Suetonius* (k) relates, that *Caligula* would

(h) Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen & error, Alterius facti culpa ſilenda mihi eſt *Id. ibid.* Ut quid præterea peccarim quærere noli, Ut pateat ſola culpa ſub arte mea. *Id. lib. 2. de Ponto epiſt. 9.*

(i) *Rictius de poet. Latin.*

(k) *Sueton. in Caligula, c. 23.*

ticks (*B*) have contemn'd his *Latin*; they would have met but with a sorry Reception from (*C*) *Alphonso* King of *Naples*. I refer several Things to the Place (*D*) where I censure *Moreri*.

The

would not own *Agrippa* for his Grand-father by the Mother-side: He thought he was of too mean a Rank for that Character, and affirm'd, that his Mother was the Daughter of the Emperor *Augustus* and *Julia*: which did not move him to any dis-regard to his Mother *Agrippina*; for on the contrary, he would have despised her, if he had thought she had been lawfully born. The Abbot *de Marolles* (*l*) having said, that *Ovid surprised* Augustus *using his Daughter* Julia *with too great Privacy*, adds, upon the Testimony of *Suetonius*, that 'twas believed, that the Mother of *Caligula* sprung from the incestuous Embraces of *Julia* and *Augustus*. But, after all, *Suetonius* says no such thing; he only says *Caligula* gave it out so. The same Abbot (*m*) tells us, that *Ovid* was banish'd for having read to *Julia*, *Augustus*'s Grand-Daughter, the last Verses of his Book *de Arte Amandi*, and for having *surprised* Augustus, *using* that young Princess *with too great Privacy*. But there's room to doubt of all these Conjectures; for *Ovid* having, in the Verses he composed in his Exile, and sent to *Rome*, omitted no manner of Submission and Flattery that might seem capable to mollify *Augustus*, we can't think that he would affect to insert in them what was most proper to feed the Emperor's Displeasure. Now, if we suppose the Emperor's Displeasure to have been grounded upon the Poet's seeing his infamous Embraces, we must likewise suppose, that *Ovid* could not but offend him grievously by the Affectation of saying, that his Eyes, being the Witnesses of a Secret he durst not reveal, were the Cause of his Exile. But I confess, that this is not a convincing Reason.

(*B*) *Some Criticks have contemned his* Latin.] *Passerat* owns, that he had profess'd the *Belles Lettres* a long time before he explain'd any of *Ovid*'s Pieces; and that because he found a reigning Prejudice against that Poet. (*n*) *Inveteravit enim opinio, vulgique famæ percrebuit, eum poetam esse non multæ doctrinæ, humilisque & nimium luxuriantis stili; atque etiam, si dis placet, Latinæ linguæ elegantiam nitoremque in eo requiri: adeo ut Italus quidam vel hac re inprimis nobilis, cum humanioribus literis unicum gnatum imbueret, illa mira artificio contexta mutatæ ter quinque volumina formæ in patrium sermonem converterit, ne, si Latine legeret, ex Ovidii scriptis sordes & barbariem colligeret beata pueri vena, quæ jam tum ad exemplum Maronis properabat.* *Balzac* was not ignorant of the whimsical Taste of this *Italian*. *I knew*, (*o*) says he, *that under the Pontificate of* Leo X. *a* (*p*) Venetian *Gentleman that was much esteem'd by* Fracastor, *and by whose Name he call'd his Dialogue of Poesy, had a Custom on his Anniversary Birth-Day of solemnly burning the Works of* Martial, *as an annual Sacrifice to the Manes and Memory of* Catullus. *And I knew equally well, that another nice Spark of the same time maintain'd, that the Corruption of the* Roman *Language commenced in the Person of* Ovid, *whose* Metamorphosis *he translated on purpose for the use of his Son, that he might learn the Fables without the Danger of adopting* Ovid's *way of speaking, and that in seeking out the Riches of Poetry he might not endanger the Nobleness of his own Style by a contagious reading.* *Scaliger* observes (*a*), that *Peter Victorius* and *Lambinus* contemn'd *Ovid* extremely. Another Learned Critick complains upon the same Strain (*b*), without mentioning any Body.

(*C*) *With a sorry Reception from* Alphonso *King of* Naples.] When that Prince was with his Army in the Neighbourhood of *Sulmo*, he ask'd if 'twas certain, that *Ovid* was born there; and the People answering, that he certainly was, he saluted that Town, and pay'd his Acknowledgments to the Genius of the Country who had produced so great a Poet. He added, that he would willingly resign part of his Territories, to call to Life again that Man, whose Memory was dearer to him than the possession of *Abruzzo*. *Urbem salutavit, gratiasque genio loci egit, in quo tantus olim poeta genitus esset, de cujus laudibus cum non pauca disseruisset, tandem famæ ejus magnitudine commotus: Ego inquit hanc regionem quæ non parva regni Neapolitani, nec contemnenda pars est, libenter cesserim, si temporibus meis datum esset hunc poetam ut haberent, quem morsuum pluris ipse faciam, quam omnis Aprutii dominatum* (*c*).

(*D*) *To the place where I censure* Moreri.] I. His first Fault is a Misrepetition of the Distich, in which our Poet declares, that he will do Honour to his Country.

Mantua (*d*) *Virgilio gaudet, Verona Catullo,*
Peligna (*e*) *dicar gloria gentis* (*f*) *ego.*

II. In the second place 'tis a fearful Barbarism to say he was (*g*) *of the* Equestrian *Family*. III. 'Tis not true, that *Ovid* in the second Elegy of the first Book *Tristium*, says, that *when he was young he bore Arms under* Marcus Varro, *when he travelled to* Asia. The two Verses that *Moreri* cites do not imply that. The Verses are

Non peto quas quondam petii studiosus Athenas,
Oppida non Asiæ, non mihi visa prius.

The best Editions put it *non loca visa prius*, instead of *non mihi visa prius*; which two Readings are much the same, so that I can't see how *Ciofanus*, who follows the second Reading, could find in this Distich a Proof, that *Ovid* bore Arms under *Marcus Varro*, that he went with him to *Asia*, and after his Return from thence made a Voyage to *Athens* to study there. *Sub M. Varronne, qui cum Asiam petiit militavit: inde reversus studii causa Athenas se contulit. Qua de re sic lib. 1. Trist.* Non peto quas quondam, *&c.* (*h*). Any one may see, that this Distich proves, neither that *Ovid* bore Arms under *Marcus Varro*, nor that he went with him to *Asia*, nor that he went to *Asia* before he went to *Athens*. The Poet, praying the Gods to put an end to the Storm, sets forth among other Things that he was come to Sea upon an afflicting occasion, *viz.* to go to *Scythia*, and not to *Greece* or any other place he had seen before. IV. That *Seneca was of Opinion that he pleaded some Causes at the Bar*, is a false Assertion. When *Seneca* is cited short without any additional Term, we take it for *Seneca* the Philosopher, and without doubt Mr. *Moreri* meant it so; and yet we meet with nothing in *Seneca* the Philosopher that can prove, that *Ovid* pleaded at the Bar. 'Tis more likely to be found in *Seneca*'s Father; but neither is it there; for there we only find, that our Poet studied the Art of Oratory under *Arellius Fuscus*, and declamed very successfully in his School. (*i*) *Hanc controversiam memini me videre* Nasonem *declamare apud Rhetorem Arellium Fuscum cujus auditor fuit ..... Oratio ejus jam tum nihil aliud poterat videri quam solutum carmen. Adeo autem studiose Latronem audivit, ut multas ejus sententias inversus suos transtulerit .... Tunc autem cum studeret, habebatur bonus declamator. Hanc certe controversiam ante Arellium Fuscum declamavit, ut mihi videbatur longe ingeniosius, excepto eo quod sine certo ordine per locos discurreret.* 'Tis probable Mr. *Moreri* owes this Fault to the Abbot *de Marolles* (*k*), who has cited *Seneca* to prove, that *Ovid* pleaded at the Bar. The Fact is certain, but instead of having recourse to the pretended Testimony of *Seneca*, he should have cited *Ovid* himself, who affirms, that he has pleaded for People, arraign'd at the Tribunal of the *Centumviri*, and that being chosen Arbitrator upon some Law-Suit, he decided it like a Man of Honour.

Nec (*l*) *male commissa est nobis fortuna reorum*
Usque decem decies inspicienda viris.
Res quoque privatas statui sine crimine judex;
Deque mea fassa est pars quoque victa fide.

V. *Moreri* should not have said, that, *after the Death of his Father he applied himself entirely to Poetry*; for in reciting his own Conduct he mentions no such Circumstance. He only says (*m*), that out of deference to the Remonstrances of his Father, he check'd in his Infancy his Inclination to versifying, and applied himself to such Offices as were proper for a young Person of his Station. He (*n*) takes notice of the Death of his eldest Brother, as preceding his Return to *Parnassus*; but he says no such thing with reference to the Death of his Father. And indeed how could he have said any such thing, since he declares, that he soon re-imbarked in Poetry, and that his Father (*o*) lived ninety Years? VI. The Emperor did not banish him *to the Province of* Pontus *in* Asia. He was banish'd to *Tomi* an *European* City upon the *Euxin* Sea, towards the Mouths of the *Danube*. VII.

He

(*l*) *In the Life of* Ovid.
(*m*) *In his Notes upon the last Verses of the third Book*, de arte Amandi, *which are* (*sic*) *that he did not translate em into* French.
(*n*) *Quid vetat*, Ovid. *& præfat. pag. m.* 218, 219.
(*o*) *Oeuvres diverses, p. m.* 406.
(*p*) *His Name was* Andreas Naugerius. *See* Strada *Prolus. 5. lib. 2. p. m.* 334, 335.
(*a*) Petrus Victorius de Ovidio non veritus sit dicere, eum ut oratione & versibus, ita vita & moribus enervatum ... Non longe ab hac temeraria sententia discedit Dionysius Lambinus, qui impertitissime eum malum Latinitatis auctorem vocat.
Grotius in Conf. ad fabulæ Burdonum pag. 217.
(*b*) *Moretus in Senec. Quæst. Nat. l. 3. c.* 27.
(*c*) *Jovianus Pontanus de Principe, fol.* 54. *verso oper. Tom. 1. edit. Florent.* 1520. *in 8vo.*
(*d*) *Ovid amor. l. 3. eleg.* 15.
(*e*) Ovid *was born at* Sulmo *in the Country of the* Peligni.
(*f*) Moreri *has* ero *instead of* ego.
(*g*) *This is corrected in the* Dutch *Edition.*
(*h*) *Hercules Ciofanus in vita Ovidii.*
(*i*) *Senec. pater, controvers.* 10. *sive* 2. *libri* 2. *p. m.* 153.
(*k*) *In the Life of* Ovid.
(*l*) *Ovid. Trist. lib.* 2. *pag. m.* 150.
(*m*) Sæpe pater dixit studium quid inutile tentas? Mæonides nullas ipse reliquit opes. Motus eram dictis, totoque Helicone relicto, Scribere conabar verba soluta modis. Sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos. Et, quod tentabam scribere, versus erat. *Ovidius, Trist. l.* 4. *eleg.* 10.
(*n*) *Id. ib.*
(*o*) *Id. ib.*

The beſt of *Ovid*'s Pieces is his *Metamorphoſis*. This was the Judgment of the Author himſelf; and 'twas from thence chiefly that he expected his Name would be immortalized. He foretold that that (*E*) Performance would be Proof againſt Sword, Fire, Thunder, and the Injuries of Time; and that Prediction has not yet prov'd falſe. The Exordium or Beginning of that Poem is one of the fineſt Parts in the Whole. 'Tis a Deſcription of the Chaos, and the manner in which the Univerſe was form'd out of it. Nothing can be cleaner or more intelligible than that noble Deſcription, if we confine our ſelves only to the Poetical Phraſes; but if we ſift his Doctrines, we find them incoherent and contradictory, and a more frightful Chaos than that which he deſcribes. This gives me the Opportunity of performing a Promiſe I have * made; by enquiring whether the Idea's (*F*) of the Ancients that ſpoke of the Chaos were juſt; and whether they

* *In the Remark H of the Article* Anaxagoras.

(p) *Carm. ad. v.* 157. varon *pose of is Opere , not. in. in epiſt. v. l.* 2.) In vi- Ovidii.) *See the emark A, etter j nd g.*) *He itter'd mſelf ith the pinion of ing the ather of he Child ith which e was big.* tamen ut ex me ceperet, aut go credo. ſit mihi ro facto ope, quod ſic poteſt: *Ovid. Amor. l* 2. *leg.* 13. t) *Ovid Amoribus ib.* 1. *eleg.* 5. v) *Id. ib.* 4. *Triſt. eleg.* 10. w) *It hould be* Iiow *or* Iiovia. lofman *as like- iſe call'd it* Kiour. *Mr.* de Marolles *in the Life of* Ovid *calls it* Xiovia. (x) Ne timeam gentes quas non bene ſubmovet Iſter. *Id. ib. lib.* 2. *See likewiſe lib.* 3. *eleg.* 10. (y) *Hercules Ciofanus in vita Ovidii. pag. m.* 29. (a) *Ovid. Metam. lib.* 15. *in fine.*

He ſhould not have mention'd without Cenſure the Opinion of thoſe, who ſay he was baniſhed *for having made love to* Julia *the Daughter of* Auguſtus, *whom he loved under the Name of* Corinna. This Opinion is very ancient; *Sidonius Apollinaris* approves of it.

Et (p) te carmina per libidinoſa
Notum Naſo tenet, Tomoſque miſſum,
Quondam Cæſaree nimis puellæ
Falſo nomine ſuditum Corinne.

But *Aldus Manutius* (q) refutes it with three Reaſons. The firſt is, that *Ovid* inceſſantly repeats, that his Exile was only owing to two Cauſes, namely, his Writing amorous Verſes, and a Fault that he does not reveal, (r) which was fortuitous and involuntary. Now, that can be ſaid of his Amours with *Auguſtus*'s Daughter, carried to the Pitch of Enjoyment. Our Poet did go that length with *Corinna*, as he tells us himſelf (ſ).

Singula (t) quid referam? nil non laudabile vidi:
Et nudam poſſi corpus ad uſque meum.
Cætera quis neſcit? Laſſi requievimus ambo.
Proveniant medii ſic mihi ſæpe dies.

Aldus Manutius's ſecond Reaſon is borrowed from *Ovid*'s being very young when he ſerv'd his *Corinna*.

Carmina (u) cum primùm populo juvenilia legi,
Barba reſecta mihi bis ſemelve fuit.
Moverat ingenium totam cantata per Urbem
Nomine non vero dicta Corinna mihi.

Theſe Verſes import, that *Ovid* was but about twenty Years of Age when he ſung his Amours for his pretended *Corinna*. Now, when *Auguſtus* baniſh'd him he was fifty Years old: And, pray, what probability is there that the Emperor would be ſo ſlow in diſcovering the Commerce of his Daughter with a Poet, and in puniſhing him? In fine, *Manutius* obſerves, that *Ovid* wou'd not have mention'd his *Corinna* in his Verſes with ſo much Complaiſance, if ſhe had been the Cauſe of the Diſgrace, that he deplores ſo heavily. VIII. I do not know any that ſay he *addreſs'd himſelf to* Livia, Auguſtus's Wife, and *that he compoſed his Books* de arte Amandi, *for her*. If there are any ſuch, they deſerve to be refuted more ſeverely than *Sidonius Apollinaris*. IX. Thoſe who ſay, that the City *Tomi*, near which *he was buried*, is now call'd (w) *Kiour*, are as groſly miſtaken as thoſe who ſay 'tis call'd *Tomiſuar*. And upon that conſideration Mr. *Moreri* ſhould not have mention'd theſe things, without acquainting his Reader that they are falſe. The Town of *Tomi*, to which *Ovid* was baniſh'd, was (x) on this ſide the *Danube*, with reſpect to *Italy*; which does not ſuit either with *Kiovia* upon the *Boryſthenes*, or *Temiſwar* a City in *Tranſylvania*. X. What *Moreri* relates of *Ovid*'s Tomb its being found at *Sabaria*, *or the* Auſtrian Stainen, *upon the* Save, is altogether falſe, as I ſhall make it appear ſometime or other. XI. 'Twas in 1540, and not in 1548, that the Queen of *Hungary* ſhew'd our Poet's Pen. (y) *Iſabella Pannoniæ Regina circiter annum* M. D. X L. *Ovidii calamum ex argento Tauruni, quæ eſt urbs inferiora Pannoniæ, oſtendit Petro Angelio Bargæo, qui hoc ipſum mihi narravit, cum hac inſcriptione* OVIDII NASONIS CALAMUS; *qui non multo ante id tempus ſub quibuſdam antiquis ruinis fuerat repertus. Eum Regina ipſa plurimi faciebat, & velut rem ſacram, carum habebat.* Under the Article of this Queen, I have taken notice of her Learning.

(*E*) *He foretold that that Performance would be Proof againſt Sword and Fire.*] The nine Verſes which make the Concluſion of it are theſe.

Jamque (a) opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.

Cum volet illa dies, quæ nil niſi corporis hujus
Jus habet, incerti ſpatium mihi finiat ævi:
Parte tamen meliore mei ſuper alta perennis
Aſtra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile noſtrum.
Quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
Ore legar populi: perque omnia ſecula famâ,
Si quid habent veri vatum præſagia, vivam.

(*F*) *By enquiring whether the Idea's of the Antients that ſpoke of the Chaos were juſt, and whether they could ſay, that that ſtate of Confuſion was no more.*] To proceed methodically in this Task, I muſt firſt of all give you *Ovid*'s Deſcription of the Chaos; which is only an Imitation, or rather a Paraphraſe of what he had met with in the Writings of the ancient Greeks.

Ante (b) mare & terras, & quod tegit omnia cœlum, (b) *Ibid. lib.* 1. *v.* 5.
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,
Quem dixêre Chaos; rudis indigeſtaque moles:
Nec quicquam, niſi pondus iners, congeſtaque eôdem
Non bene junctarum diſcordia ſemina rerum.
Nullus adhuc mundo præbebat lumina Titan,
Nec nova creſcendo reparabat cornua Phœbe,
Nec circumfuſo pendebat in aere tellus,
Ponderibus librata ſuis, nec brachia longo
Margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite.
Quâque erat & tellus, illic & pontus, & aer.
Sic erat inſtabilis tellus, innabilis unda,
Lucis egens aer: nulli ſua forma manebat.
Obſtabatque aliis aliud: quia corpore in uno
Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia ſiccis,
Mollia cum duris, ſine pondere habentia pondus.

You ſee, that by the Chaos they underſtood a ſhapeleſs Maſs of Matter, in which the Seeds of all particular Bodies were jumbled together with the greateſt Confuſion. The Air, the Water, and the Earth, were together all over it; each part oppos'd each part; the Cold and the Heat, Moiſture and Dryneſs, Lightneſs and Ponderoſity ſtruggled one with another in one and the ſame Body all over the vaſt extent of Matter. Now let's ſee how *Ovid* ſuppoſes that this ſtate of Confuſion was unravelled.

Hanc (c) DEUS, & melior litem natura diremit. (c) *Id. ib. v.* 21.
Nam cœlo terras, & terris abſcidit undas,
Et liquidum ſpiſſo ſecrevit ab aere cœlum.
Quæ poſtquam evolvit, cæcoque exemit acervo
Diſſociata locis concordi pace ligavit.
Ignea convexi vis & ſine pondere cœli
Emicuit, ſummâque locum ſibi legit in arce.
Proximus eſt aer illi levitate, locoque.
Denſior his tellus, elementaque grandia traxit,
Et preſſa eſt gravitate ſui. Circumfluus humor
Ultima poſſedit, ſolidumque coercuit orbem.
Sic ubi diſpoſitam, quiſquis fuit ille DEORUM,
Congeriem ſecuit, ſectamque in membra redegit:
Principio terram, &c.

You ſee he ſays this War of the confuſed and entangled Elements was determined by the Authority of a God that parted them, and aſſign'd to each their proper place; placing Fire in the uppermoſt Region, the Earth in the lowermoſt, the Air immediately below the Fire, and the Water immediately below the Air; and then forming a Bond of Friendſhip and Concord between the four Elements thus poſted in ſeparate Stations. By Conſequence the Analyſis of our Poet's Diſcourſe may be reduced to theſe ſix Propoſitions.

I. Before there was an Heaven, an Earth, and a Sea, Nature was an Homogeneous (*d*) *Totum*.

II. This *Totum* was only a (*e*) heavy lumpiſh Maſs, in which the Principles of things were heap'd up

(*d*) Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe.

(*e*) Nec quicquam niſi pondus iners &c.

they could ſay that that State of Confuſion was no more. I ſhall make it appear, that

up confuſedly without any Symmetry, and after a jarring manner.

III. Heat ſtruggled with Cold in the ſame Body; Moiſture and Dryneſs had the ſame Quarrel; and Levity and Gravity had no leſs.

IV. God put an end to this War by parting the Combatants.

V. He aſſign'd 'em diſtinct Habitations according to the reſpective Levity or Gravity ſuitable for 'em.

VI. He form'd a ſtrict Alliance between 'em.

Here are in general the Faults we meet with in that Doctrine of *Ovid*. I do not know whether it was ever criticized upon, or whether the Commentators have ever examin'd this part of the *Metamorphoſis*, Philoſophically: But methinks they might eaſily have perceived,

In the I. place, That the firſt Propoſition is ſcarce conſiſtent with the ſecond; for if the parts of a *Totum* are compos'd of contrary Seeds or Principles, that *Totum* can't paſs for *Homogeneous*.

In a II. place, That the ſecond Propoſition is not of a Piece with the third; for we can't call that *Totum* a meer heavy Maſs, in which there is as much Lightneſs as Gravity.

In the III. place, That this heavy Maſs can't be look'd upon as inactive, *pondus iners*, ſince contrary Principles are blended in it without Symmetry; whence it follows, that their actual Struggle muſt terminate in the Victory of one or t'other.

In the IV. place, That the firſt three Propoſitions being once true, the fourth and fifth are ſuperfluous; for the Elementary Qualities are a Principle of ſufficient force to diſentangle the Chaos without the Intervention of another Cauſe, and to place the Parts at a greater or leſſer Diſtance from the Center, proportionably to their Gravity or Lightneſs.

In the V. place, That the fourth Propoſition is falſe upon another Score; for, ſince the Production of the Heavens, Air, Water and Earth, the Struggle of Cold and Heat, Moiſture and Drought, Gravity and Lightneſs, is as great in the ſame Body as ever it could be before.

In the VI. place; That for the Reaſon laſt mention'd the ſixth Propoſition is falſe.

From whence 'tis manifeſt, That the Deſcription of the Chaos and its being unfolded, is compoſed of Propoſitions more oppoſite to one another, than the Elemenrs were during the Chaos.

'Tis needleſs to enlarge upon each of theſe falſe Doctrines of *Ovid*; but there are ſome of 'em which require a pretty long Illuſtration.

REFUTATION of the Doctrine of the Chaos, ſo far as 'tis ſuppoſed to have been *Homogeneous*.

I. Then, I ſay, nothing can be more abſurd than to ſuppoſe a Chaos that has been *Homogeneous* during all Eternity, notwithſtanding it had the Elementary Qualities, both thoſe call'd *Alteratrices*, *viz.* Heat, Cold, Moiſture and Drought, and thoſe call'd *Motrices*, *viz.* Lightneſs and Ponderoſity, the former cauſing Motion upwards, and the other downwards. A Maſs of this Nature can't be *Homogeneous*, but muſt neceſſarily contain all ſorts of Heterogeneity. Heat and Cold, Moiſture and Drought can't be together, but that their Action and Re-action muſt temper 'em and convert 'em into other Qualities which make the form of mixt Bodies: And foraſmuch as this Temperament may ariſe, purſuant to the innumerable Diverſities of Combinations, the Chaos muſt have contain'd an incredible number of Species of Compounds. The only way to conceive an *Homogeneous* Chaos, would be to ſay, that the altering Qualities of the Elements would modify themſelves to the ſame Degree in all the *Molecula* or ſmall parcels of Matter, inſomuch that there would be all over preciſely the ſame Luke-warmneſs, the ſame Softneſs, the ſame Smell, the ſame Taſte, *&c.* But that would be pulling down with one Hand what's built with the other; 'twould be a *contradictio in terminis*, calling a Chaos the moſt regular Work, the moſt marvellous in its Symmetry, and the moſt admirably well proportion'd, that can be conceived. I own, that a diverſifyed Work ſuits better with the Fancy and Reliſh of Mankind, than what is uniform; but at the ſame time our Idea's teach us, that the Harmony of contrary Qualities preſerved uniformly all over the Univerſe, would be a Perfection as wonderful as the unequal Partition that ſucceeded to the Chaos. What Knowledge, what Power, would not that uniform Harmony, ſpread all over Nature, require? To clap into each mixt Body the ſame Quantity of each of the four Ingredients, would not ſuffice; ſome would require more, ſome leſs, according as the Force of ſome is greater or leſſer for acting (*a*) than for reſiſting; for 'tis well known, that the Philoſophers diſtribute Action and Re-action to the Elementary Qualities in a different Degree. Upon the whole, every thing conſider'd, 'twould be found that the Cauſe which metamorphoſed the Chaos, would have taken it not out of a ſtate of War and Confuſion, as is here ſuppoſed, but out of a ſtate of Regularity which was the moſt accompliſhed thing in the World, and by reducing the contrary Forces to an *Æquilibrium*, kept them in a Repoſe equivalent to Peace. 'Tis therefore manifeſt, that if the Poets would ſave the Homogeneity of the Chaos, they muſt ſtrike out all that they add concerning that phantaſtical Confuſion of contrary Seeds, and that indigeſted Mixture, and perpetual War of jarring Principles.

II. But to wave this Contradiction, we have opportunity enough to attack 'em elſewhere; particularly upon the point of Eternity. Nothing can be more abſurd than to admit the Mixture of the ſenſible Parts of the four Elements for an infinite time: For ſince you ſuppoſe in thoſe Parts the Activity of Heat, the Action and Re-action of the four firſt Qualities, and beſides that, the centripetal Motion of the Particles of Earth and Water, and the Motion of thoſe of Fire and Air towards the Circumference, you at the ſame time eſtabliſh a Principle, which will neceſſarily ſeparate thoſe four Species of Bodies, one from another, without any other aſſiſtance, but a certain limited Time. Do but reflect a little upon what we call the Vial of the four Elements. In that Vial we put up little metallick Particles, and then three Liquors much lighter one than another: Jumble all theſe together, and you'll diſcern none of the four Mixtures, the Parts of each being blended one with another; but then let the Vial ſtand ſtill, and you'll find each of them reſume their proper Stations: All the metallick Particles will meet at the Bottom, and thoſe of the lighteſt Liquor in the uppermoſt Station; the Particles of the Liquor that's heavier than the laſt and lighter than the firſt, will poſt themſelves in the third; as thoſe of the Liquor that's heavier than the two laſt, but lighter than the Metallick Particles, will in the ſecond Story: And thus you recover the diſtinct Situations that were confounded by ſhaking the Glaſs. In making this Experiment, you do not need much Patience; a ſhort ſpace of time will ſerve for recovering the Repreſentation of the Situation that Nature has given to the four Elements in the World. Now, comparing the Univerſe to this Vial we may conclude, that if the Earth, reduced to Powder or Duſt, had been mix'd with the Subſtance of the Stars, with that of the Air, and with Water, ſo that the very inſenſible Parts of each of thoſe Elements had been blended together, all of 'em would preſently have ſtrove to be diſentangled, and after a prefix'd time, the Parts of the Earth would have form'd a Maſs, thoſe of Fire another, and ſo on, in proportion to the weight and lightneſs of each Species of Bodies.

REFUTATION of the Chaos, ſo far as 'tis ſuppoſed to have contiued an infinite ſpace of Time.

(*a*) Calor, qui maximè eſt activus, minimus eſt in reſiſtentia; è contrario autem ficcitas minor in activitate, major in reſiſtentia; frigus, quod ſecundo loco eſt activum, tertio eſt reſiſtitivum: humor denique penultimo loco activus, ſecundo reſiſtitivus *Arriaga diſputat. 3. de generat. ſect. 11. n. 178. p. m. 500.*

We may likewiſe take in another Compariſon, and ſuppoſe the Chaos like new Wine fermenting. That's a State of Confuſion, in which the Spirituous and Terreſtrial Particles are jumbled together, inſomuch that neither Sight nor Taſte can diſtinguiſh what is properly Wine, and what is Tartar or Lees. This Confuſion excites a furious ſtruggle between the divers Parts of Matter; which attack one another with ſuch violent Shocks that ſometimes the Veſſel is not able to ſtand 'em: but after about two or three Days the inteſtine War ceaſes; the groſs Parts diſengage themſelves, and ſink by Vertue of their weight. The ſubtiler Parts get likewiſe looſe, and (*b*) evaporate by their Lightneſs; and thus the Wine comes to its natural State. Now, the ſame thing would have happened in the Poetical Chaos. The Contrariety of the Principles confuſedly jumbled together, would have produced a violent Fermentation, which at the end of a certain ſpace of Time would have cauſed the Precipitation of the Terreſtrial Bodies, and the Exaltation of the ſpirituous Parts; and in a word, the proper rangiug of each Body according to their Gravity and Lightneſs. So that nothing

(*b*) *We always find an empty ſpace in the Cask after the fermentation is over, which is an evident Proof, that ſeveral Parts evaporated thro' the Pores or Chinks of the Cask.*

is

that the Struggle of the four Elements did not ceaſe at the Production of the World, as

is more inconſiſtent with Reaſon and Experience than a Chaos of eternal Duration, though ſtrenghen'd with all the Force that Nature had after the Formation of the World. For you are carefully to take notice, that, what we call the general Laws of Nature, the Laws of Motion, the Mechanical Principles, is the very ſame thing with what *Ovid*, and the Peripatericks call Heat, Cold, Moiſture, Drought, Ponderoſity, Lightneſs. They pretended, that all the Force and all the Activity of Nature, all the Principles of the Generation, and Alteration of Bodies, were comprehended in the Sphere of theſe ſix Qualities. And foraſmuch as they admitted them in the Chaos, they neceſſarily own'd them to be poſſeſt of the ſame Virtue that in the World makes Generations and Corruptions, Winds, Rains, *&c.*

WHETHER 'TWAS a conſequential way of Reaſoning to have recourſe to God for diſentangling the Chaos.

III. From hence ſprings another Objection of near an equal Solidity with the two foregoing *Ovid*, and thoſe whoſe opinions he has paraphras'd, had recourſe, without any preſſing neceſſity, to the Miniſtry of God for diſentangling the Chaos; for they acknowledg'd, that it included all the internal Force, that was capable to ſeparate the Parts, and allot each Element its proper Situation; and what occaſion then was there for calling in an external Cauſe? Was not that imitating the bad Poets, who brought in upon the Stage a God to remove a very ſmall Perplexity? If we reaſon right upon the Production of the World, we muſt conſider God as the Author of Matter, and as the firſt and ſole Principle of Motion. If we can't carry our Thoughts to the Idea of a Creation, properly ſo called, we ſhall never get clear of all the Difficulties that ſurround that Subject; and whatever ſide we take up with we muſt inſiſt upon things that our Reaſon can't brook: For if Matter is Self exiſtent, we can't well conceive, that God either could or would have given it Motion. 'Twould be independent of any other thing, as to the Reality of its Exiſtence, and why ſhould it not have the Power to exiſt always in the ſame place with reſpect to each of its parts? Why ſhould it be conſtrain'd to change its Situation at the Pleaſure of another Subſtance? Add to this, that if Matter had been moved by an external Principle, 'twould be a ſign that its neceſſary and independent Exiſtence are ſeparate and diſtinct from Motion; the reſult of which is, that its natural State is that of Reſt, and conſequently God could not move it without diſordering the Nature of Things, there being nothing more ſuitable to Order, than to follow the eternal and neceſſary Inſtitution of Nature. Of this I ſpeak more at large in other places. But of all the Errors that Men fall into, when they go aſtray in rejecting the Creation, there's none, to my Mind, ſo little, as that of ſuppoſing, that if God is not the Cauſe of the Exiſtence of Matter, he is at leaſt the firſt Mover of Bodies, and in that Quality the Author of Elementary Properties, the Author of the Order and Form we ſee in Nature. The Suppoſition of his being the firſt Mover of Matter, is a Principle that naturally gives this Conſequence, *viz.* that he form'd the Heavens and the Earth, the Air and the Sea, and is the Architect of this great and marvellous Edifice which we call the World. But if you ſtrip him of that Quality, of firſt Mover, if you affirm, that Matter moved it ſelf independently of him, and had the Diverſity of Forms of it ſelf; that, with reſpect to ſome of its Parts, its Motion tended to the Center, and with reſpect to others, made towards the Circumference; that it contain'd Corpuſculums of Fire, Corpuſculums of Water, Corpuſculums of Air, and Corpuſculums of Earth: If with *Ovid*, I ſay, you affirm all theſe things, you employ God needleſly and to no purpoſe in the Conſtruction of the World. Nature might at that rate do very well without the Miniſtry of God, it had ſufficient Power to ſeparate the Particles of the Elements, and to aſſemble thoſe of the ſame Claſs. *Ariſtotle* apprehended this Truth very well, and had a much juſter Notion of it than *Plato*, who admitted a diſorderly Motion in the Elementary Matter, before the Production of the World. *Ariſtotle* ſhews, that that Suppoſition deſtroyed it ſelf, ſeeing unleſs we have recourſe to a Progreſs *in infinitum*, Motion in the Elements muſt have been natural; and if 'twas natural ſome tended to the Center, and others to the Circumference; and, in fine, they took ſuch Parts as we were neceſſary for forming the World that we now behold: So that, during the time of that diſorderly Motion, there was a World antecedent to the World, which is a Contradiction. Here I am obliged to inſert *Ariſtotle*'s Words, to give the Reader an opportunity of conſidering whether I take his true Senſe or not. The Words are theſe: (a) Τὰ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον· κἂν εἰ καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ γέγραπται, πρὶν γενέσθαι τὸ κόσμον, ἐκινεῖτο τὰ στοιχεῖα ἀτάκτως· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἢ βίαιον εἶναι τὴν κίνησιν, ἢ κατὰ φύσιν· εἰ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκινεῖτο, ἀνάγκη κόσμον εἶναι, ἐάν τις βούληται θεωρεῖν ἐπιστήμας. τί, τὰ γὰρ πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀνάγκη κινεῖν αὐτὸ, κινούμενον κατὰ φύσιν· ἢ τὰ κινούμενα μὴ βίᾳ, ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἠρεμοῦντα τόποις, ποιεῖν ἴσπερ ἔχειν νῦν τάξιν. τὰ μὲν βάρη ἔχοντα, ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον· τὰ δὲ κουφότητα, ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου τούτων δ' ὁ κόσμος ἔχει τὴν διάταξιν. *Hoc idem accidat neceſſe eſt, &c. ſi, ut in Timæo eſt ſcriptum, elementa inordinatè movebantur antèquàm mundus ortus eſſet. Motum etiam aut violentum, aut ſecundum naturam eſſe, neceſſe eſt. Quod ſi ſecundum naturam movebantur, Mundum eſſe neceſſe eſt, ſi quilpiam velit cum diligentia contemplari. Primum namque movens movere neceſſe eſt, ipſum ſecundum naturam ſubiens motum, &c ea, quæ moventur non vis in ſuis quieſcentia locis, cum, quem nunc habent ordinem facere: ea quidem, quæ pondus habent, ad medium: ea verò, quæ levitatem habent, à medio ſponte pergentia nutu. Hunc autem ordinem Mundus habet.* He obſerves conſequentially to this, and very juſtly, that *Anaxagoras* who admitted no Motion antecedent to the firſt Formation of the World, had a clearer Idea of this Matter than the reſt.

(a) *Ariſt. de Cœlo lib. 3. cap. 2. p. m. 370. G.*

The modern Peripatericks, who are moſt zealous for Evangelical Orthodoxy, can find no Fault in theſe Words of *Ariſtotle*'s; for they own, that the altering and moving Qualities of the four Elements are ſufficient for the Production of all the Effects of Nature. They only bring in God as the Preſerver of theſe Elementary Qualities, of which he is the firſt Cauſe, or elſe bring in only his general Concourſe; and they agree, that abating of that they do all, and in the quality of a ſecond Cauſe, are the compleat Principle of (c) all Generations. So that a Scholaſtick Divine would readily own, that if the four Elements had exiſted independently of God, with all the Faculties they are now poſſeſt of, they would have form'd of themſelves this Machine of the World, and keep it up in the State in which it now appears. He muſt therefore acknowledge two great Faults in the Doctrine of the Chaos: one, and indeed the principal one, is, that it takes from God the Creation of Matter, and the Production of the Qualities peculiar to Fire, to the Air, to the Earth, and to the Sea. The other, is, that after taking that from God, it brings him without neceſſity upon the Stage of the World to adjuſt the Places of the four Elements. Our new Philoſophers, who have rejected the Qualities and Faculties of the Peripatetick Philoſophy, would find the ſame Faults in *Ovid*'s Deſcription of the Chaos: For what they call general Laws of Motion, Principles of Mechaniſm, Modifications of Matter, Figure, Situation and Order of the Corpuſculums, import nothing elſe but that Active and Paſſive Virtue of Nature, which the Peripatetick underſtand, under the Terms of Alterative and moving Qualities of the four Elements. Since therefore, by the Doctrine of the Peripatericks, the four Bodies, placed according to their Lightneſs and Ponderoſity, are a Principle that's ſufficient for all Generations, the *Carteſians*, the *Gaſſendiſts*, and the other Modern Philoſophers, muſt maintain that the Motion, Situation and Figure of the Parts of Matter are ſufficient for the Production of all Natural Effects, without excepting even the general Order or Poſition given to Water and Stars. Thus, the true Cauſe of the World, and of the Effects produced in it, is not diſtinct from the Cauſe that gave Motion to the Parts of Matter, whether it be that at the ſame time it gave to each Atom a determinate Figure, as the *Gaſſendiſts* will have it, or that it only gave the Parts of Duration of Motion reduced to certain Laws, which afterwards make 'em aſſume all ſorts of Figures, purſuant to the Hypotheſis of the *Carteſians*. Both the one and the other muſt conſequently agree, that if Matter had been ſuch before the Generation of the World, as *Ovid* gives it in, it had been capable to diſengage it ſelf from the Chaos by its own Power,

(c) *We muſt except the Soul of Man.*

as they ſuppoſe it did; and I ſhall ſhew, that however they ſhould have excepted

and to aſſume the Form of the World, without the Aſſiſtance of God. They muſt therefore charge *Ovid* with two Blunders; one in ſuppoſing, that Matter, without the Aſſiſtance of the Deity, contain'd the Seeds of all the mixt Bodies, Heat, Motion, *&c.* And the other in ſaying, that without the Intervention of the Divine Hand, it could not have overcome the State of Confuſion. This is giving too much and too little; 'tis refuſing Aid when 'tis moſt wanted, and asking it when 'tis not neceſſary.

REFLECTION upon *Deſcartes*'s Notion of the manner in which the World might have been made.

I know ſome do not approve of *Deſcartes* (*d*) Fiction concerning the manner how the World might have been form'd. Some ridicule it, and cry out upon it, as injurious to God; others charge it either with Falſities, or with Impoſſibilities. To the former it may be anſwered, that they do not underſtand the Subject, and that, if they did, they would own, that nothing is more proper to give a lofty Idea of the infinite Wiſdom of God, than to affirm, that out of a ſhapeleſs Matter, he could make this World in a certain time, by the bare Preſervation of the Motion once given, and reduced to a few ſimple and general Laws. As for thoſe who reject *Deſcartes*'s Syſtem, as containing ſome things contrary to the Laws of Mechanicks, and the actual State that Aſtronomers have diſcovered in the *Vortices* of the Heavens, I ſhall only reply to them, that this does not argue but that the Bulk of his Hypotheſis may be juſt and reaſonable; and I am fully perſuaded, that Mr. *Newton*, the moſt formidable of all that criticize upon *Deſcartes*, does not doubt but that the actual Syſtem of the World might be the Production of a few Mechanical Laws, eſtabliſhed by the Author of all things: For in ſuppoſing Bodies determin'd to move in ſtreight Lines, and to tend either towards the Center, or towards the Circumference, as often as the reſiſtance of other Bodies obliges 'em to a circular Motion, you eſtabliſh a Principle that will neceſſarily produce great Varieties in Nature; and if it does not for mthis Syſtem, it will at leaſt form another.

(*d*) See Deſcartes's Principia, *Part.* 3. *n.* 46. *&c ſeq.*

OBSERVATION upon *Epicurus*'s Hypotheſis.

The very *Epicurean* Hypotheſis, though ſo fooliſh, and extravagant, does not want Materials to make a World of. Do but once allow the *Epicureans* the different Figures of Atoms, with the inalienable Power of moving themſelves, according to the Laws of Ponderoſity, and mutually repulſing one another, and reflecting in ſuch or ſuch a manner, according as they ſtrike in perpendicular or oblique Lines: Grant 'em but this, and you can't deny that the fortuitous Concourſe of theſe Corpuſculum's may form Maſſes, containing hard and fluid Bodies, Cold and Heat, Opacity and Tranſparency, Vortices, *&c.* All that can be denied 'em, is, that Chance could produce ſuch a Maſs of Bodies as our World is; in which there are ſo many things that perſevere ſo long in their Regularity, ſo many Machines of Animals, a thouſand times more induſtrious than thoſe of Humane Art, which neceſſarily require an intelligent Direction.

Here we'll examine, by the Eye, a Notion of the Sieur [illegible]ni, Doctor of Phyſick at *Paris*, who is as great a Stickler for Atoms, as he is an Adverſary of the Peripateticks, and of *Deſcartes*'s; as it appears by his Work *de principiis rerum*. He gives the following Anſwer to an Objection that's commonly ſtarted againſt *Epicurus*'s Hypotheſis, which runs upon this Compariſon: The fortuitous Junction of Letters would never compoſe *Homer*'s *Iliad*, and ſo the caſual Concourſe of Atoms could never compoſe a World. His Anſwer, is, that there's a great Difference between theſe two things. The Poem of the *Iliad* can't be form'd but by a preciſe and determin'd Junction of a certain number of Letters; the Method of the Compoſure, i. e. one, out of an infinite number of various ways of ranging and adjuſting Letters; ſo that we muſt not think it ſtrange, that Chance could never hit upon this one way among an Infinity of others. But in making a World in general, this or another, there's no neceſſity that the Atoms ſhould meet and combine in one certain, preciſe, determin'd manner; for whatſoever Way they grapple together they will neceſſarily form Heaps of Bodies, and conſequently a World. Nay, this is not all, he gives the Compariſon another Turn: Let the Junction of ſeveral Letters, ſays he, be never ſo caſual, they will neceſſarily form Syllables and Words, and ſo the fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms will neceſſarily form Bodies. If you offer to him, that theſe Words, form'd by Chance, will have no Signification, his Anſwer will be that that is owing to Words their ſignifying nothing but what Man pleaſes; and that thence it comes, that in order to be ſignificative they muſt be ranged in Conformity to Humane Inſtitution: But that the Vertue of Atoms being independent of Man, they produce conſiderable Effects that merit his Admiration in any Order or Poſition whatſoever (*a*). There's no great neceſſity of diſcuſſing all this: We may grant part of his Advances, and at the ſame time deny that our World, in which there are ſo many regular things tending to certain Ends, can be the Effect of Chance. Obſerve, that *Epicurus* found himſelf obliged to own a ſtroke of Chance, at leaſt as wonderful as the *Iliad* would be, if produced by the fortuitous Concourſe of certain Letters. He aſſign'd to the Gods the Figure of Man, and believed them to be eternal: So that he was under a neceſſity of owning, that the fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms, of which the firſt Men were compos'd, was a faithful Copy of a certain determinate and ſingular Original, namely, the Figure that the Gods bore. Let's ſee what *Cicero* ſays on this Head. (*b*) *Hoc dico, non ab hominibus formæ figuram perveniſſe ad Deos: Dii enim ſemper fuerunt, & nati nunquam ſunt, ſiquidem æterni ſunt futuri. At homines nati: antè igitur humana forma, quàm homines eâ quâ erant formâ Dii immortales. Non ergo illorum humana forma, ſed noſtra divina dicenda eſt. Verùm hoc quidem, ut voletis: illud quæro, quæ fuerit tanta fortuna, (nihil enim ratione in rerum naturâ factum eſſe vultis) ſed tamen quis iſte tantus caſus, unde tam felix concurſus atomorum, ut repentè homines Deorum formâ naſcerentur? Semina Deorum decidiſſe de Cælo putamus in terras, & ſic homines patrum ſimiles extitiſſe? vellem diceretis: Deorum cognationem agnoſcerem non invitus. Nihil tale dicitis: ſed caſu eſſe factum ut Deorum ſimiles eſſemus.* This Reſemblance between the Gods and Men, form'd by Chance, is more ſurprizing and wondertul, than 'twould be to ſee a Child, by running a Pencil upon a Piece of Paper, according to its little Humours, draw a Picture of *Cæſar*, as good and as like, as the beſt that ever *Michael Angelo* could draw of him.

(*a*) *Taken from the 39th Chap. of the 3d Book of* William Lami, *de rerum Principiis.*

(*b*) *Cicero de naturâ Deorum, lib.* 1. *pag. m.* 132.

IV. The Fourth Obſervation that remains to be illuſtrated, relates to what *Ovid* ſays, that the War of the four Elements having been continual in the Chaos, was put to an end by the Authority of God who form'd the World. Is it not to ſay, that ſince that time the Elements are at Peace one with another? And does not Experience contradict that? Did ever the War ceaſe between Heat and Cold, Moiſture and Drought, Lightneſs and Ponderoſity, Fire and Water, *&c.*? Since *Ovid* took in the Hypotheſis of the four Elements, he ought to have known, that the Antipathy of their Qualities never dies, and that they never agree to either Peace or Truce; no, not even when they compoſe a Temperament of mixt Bodies. They never enter ſuch Compoſures, but after they've reciprocally ſtruggled one with another; and if their Fight happens to be interrupted for ſome Moments, it proceeds from this, that the Reſiſtance of ſome is preciſely equal to the Activity of others. When they can do no more, they take Breath again, being always ready to haraſs and deſtroy one another, as their Strength permits. The *Æquilibrium* can't laſt long, for every Minute there comes an Aſſiſtance to one or t'other ſide; and of neceſſity the one muſt loſe what the other gains. *Ovid* might be ſenſible, that in his time, as well as in the time of the Chaos, their War flam'd every where, and in the ſmalleſt Receſſes of the ſame Mixed Bodies: (*c*) *Corpore in uno frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia ſiccis, mollia cum duris, ſine pondere habentia pondus.* The Laws of this Engagement, are, that the weakeſt muſt be entirely ruined, according to the full extent of the Power of the ſtronger. Clemency or Pity have there no Place; no Propoſals of Accommodation are there liſtned to. This inteſtine War makes way for the Diſſipation of the Compound, and ſooner or later compaſſes that end. Living Bodies are more uſed to the ſhock of this War than others, and recruit quickly ſink under it, if Nature did not re-; but at laſt the Conflict of natural Heat, and

REFUTATION of the Doctrine of *Ovid*, ſo far as it ſuppoſes the War of the four Elements, to have ceaſed when the Chaos was cleared.

(*c*) *Ovid Metam. lib.* 1.

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(*e*) *The Acta Eruditorum, for* 1682, *pag.* 155. *contain an Abſtract of it, and obſerve, that it was printed at* Paris, *in* 1680: *But that was a new Impreſſion, for I read it in* 1678, *and then 'twas no new Book.*

excepted the Humane Race from their General (G) Rule, ſince 'tis ſubject to the moſt formi-

Radical Moiſture proves mortal to 'em. The Power of Time, which conſumes all, and which *Ovid* deſcribes (d) ſo well in the fifteenth Book of his *Metamorphoſis*, has no other Foundation, but the Conflict of Bodies. In making that Deſcription, our Poet had forgot what he had advanced before in the Chapter of the Chaos: So that to convict him of Contradiction, we need only collate the Beginning of his Work with the End of it. In the firſt Book he affirms, that a ſtop was put to the Diſcord of the Elements; and in the 15th he tells us they deſtroy one another by Turns, and that nothing perſeveres in the ſame State.

Hæc (e) quoque non perſtant, quæ nos elementa vocamus.

. . . . . .

. . . . . (f) *Omnia fiunt*
Ex ipſis, & in ipſa cadunt: reſolutaque tellus
In liquidas rareſcit aquas; tenuatus in auras
Aeraque humor abit; dempto quoque pondere rurſus
In ſuperos aer tenuiſſimus emicat ignes.
Inde retro redeunt, idemque retexitur ordo:
Ignis enim denſum ſpiſſatus in aera tranſit;
Hic in aquas; tellus glomerata cogitur undâ.
Nec ſpecies ſua cuique manet: rerumque novatrix
Ex aliis alias reparat natura figuras.

In the Sequel he brings in ſeveral Inſtances of the Conqueſts made by the Water upon the Earth, and by the Earth upon the Water, *&c.* Where is this Pacification then, that he was ſo full of, in his firſt Book? See the Margin †.

Nay, though this were not a Self-contradiction, we might cenſure the Poet with a great deal of Reaſon; for the World being a Stage of Viciſſitudes, nothing could be more improper than to give Peace to the four Elements; and the Ceſſation of the Chaos ſhould be ſo far from putting an end to their Quarrels, that on the contrary, they ſhould have been ſet one againſt another, if, during the Chaos, they had been in mutual Peace. 'Tis by their Conflict that Nature becomes fruitful; their Concord would keep her barren, and without an implacable War that makes them fall on where-ever they come, we ſhould have no Generations. The Production of one thing is always (g) the Deſtruction of another: *Generatio unius eſt corruptio alterius*, is a Philoſophical Axiom. So that *Ovid* ſhould have preſuppoſed, that the God, who allotted diſtinct Stations to the four Elements, enjoyn'd them to fight without Quarter, and to act the part of ambitious Conquerors, that leave no Stone unturn'd to invade the Poſſeſſions of their Neighbours. The Orders given 'em ſhould have been like *Dido*'s Wiſh.

Nunc (h), olim, quocunque dabunt ſe tempore vires,
Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
Imprecor, arma armis, pugnent ipſique nepotes.

And, in effect, they act juſt as if they had received ſuch Orders, and as if they were inſpired with the warmeſt Paſſion to put 'em in full Execution. Cold enlarges its Sphere as much as ever it can, and there deſtroys its Enemy: Heat does the like; and theſe two Qualities are by Turns Maſters of the Field, the one in Winter, the other in Summer: They imitate thoſe victorious Armies, which, after the Victory of a deciſive Battle, conſtrain their Enemy to fly to his Citradels, and purſuing him thither, lay Siege to him, and reduce him to Extremity. In the Summer, Cold flies to Caverns and Subterraneous Cavities; and to prevent its being entirely ſunk, redoubles the Efforts of its Reſiſtance, and fortifies it ſelf in the beſt manner that it can, by the Virtue called *Antiperiſtaſis*: And in Winter Heat takes the ſame Courſe. The Elementary Philoſophers, who give this Explication of the Effects of Nature, tell us, that each Quality ſtrains it ſelf ſo much to vanquiſh its Enemies, that, not ſatisfied with making them its Vaſſals, and ordering them to wear its Livery, it endeavours to tranſmute 'em into its State; *omne agens*, ſay they, *intendit ſibi aſſimilare paſſum.* Can one meet with a more Hoſtile, and more ambitious Animoſity than this? *Empedocles* was out in his Meaſures, when he aſſociated to the four Elements Amity and Enmity (i), the one for Union, and the other for Diſunion. 'Tis granted, that the Union and Diſunion of Parts are highly neceſſary for the Productions of Nature; but certain it is, that Amity has no hand in 'em: The ſole Diſcord, the ſole Antipathy of the Elements aſſembles Bodies in one part, and diſperſes them in another. Theſe two Qualities of *Empedocles* can be attributed at moſt but to Living Bodies; but Air and Fire, Water and Earth, have no other Aſſociate, than Enmity.

The Animate Bodies act conformably to the Order that *Ovid* ſhould have ſuppoſed to be given, by the Author of the Diſentangling of the Chaos, *viz.* that of mutual Deſtruction; for, 'tis literally true, that they feed only upon Deſtruction: Whatever ſerves for the ſupport of their Life, loſes its form, and changes both its State and its Species. The Vegetables deſtroy the Conſtitution and Qualities of all the Juices they can come at: And the Animals commit the ſame Ravages upon all that ſerves them for Food. They eat up one another, and there are ſeveral Kinds of Beaſts that War only to devour the Enemies they kill. In ſome Countries Men follow the ſame Courſe; and every where they are great Deſtroyers. I do not ſpeak of the Slaughter ariſing from Ambition, Avarice or Cruelty, or from the other Paſſions that give Riſe to War: I ſpeak only of the Effects of the Care we take to feed our Bodies. Upon this Score Man is ſuch a ruining deſtroying Principle, that if all other Animals deſtroyed as much in proportion, the Earth would not be able to furniſh 'em with Proviſions. When we ſee in the Streets and Markets of great Cities, ſuch a prodigious Multitude of Herbs and Fruits, and of an infinite number of other things allotted for the Food of the Inhabitants, would not one be ready to ſay, there's enough for a Week? Would one imagine, that this Shew is to be renewed every Day? Would one believe, that ſo ſmall a Slit, as the Mouth of a Man, were a Gulf, an Abyſs, to ſwallow up all that in a little time? If 'twere not for Experience we could not believe it. The *Sainteveremoniana* being lately publiſh'd, I met with theſe Words: (a) *'Tis ſaid, that at* Paris *there is four Thouſand Sellers of Oyſters, and that fifteen Hundred large Oxen, and above ſixteen Thouſand Sheep, Calves or Hogs, beſides a prodigious Quantity of Poultry, and wild Fowls, are eat there every Day.* Judge you what may be conſumed in thoſe Countries, where they eat more and feed more upon fleſh.

Now, ſuch being the Condition of Nature, that Beings are produced and preſerv'd by the Deſtruction of one another, our Poet ſhould not have affirmed, that the War of the Elements was pacified when the World began †, and the Chaos was at an end. It had been enough to have ſaid, that the Situation and Power of the Combatants were regulated and ballanced in ſuch a manner, that their continual Hoſtilities ſhould not produce the Deſtruction of the Work; but only the Viciſſitudes that are its Ornaments, *per queſto varia natura è bella*, as the *Italians* ſay. Perhaps ſome will imagine, that the War, not ceaſing upon the Regulation of the Principles, 'twas not ſo much a Ceſſation of the Chaos, as a rough Draught of the Diſentanglement; and that after this rough Draught, that is, the World we live in, ſhall have continued a certain number of Ages, 'twill be ſucceeded by a much finer World; from which Diſcord will be baniſh'd: And they'll alledge, perhaps, that St. *Paul* (b) confirms this Opinion, in ſaying, That all Creatures groan for their Deliverance from the State of Vanity and Corruption in which they find themſelves. But let them ſay as they pleaſe, I ſhall not amuſe my ſelf with the Examination of their Thoughts.

'Tis to be obſerv'd, that by the Principles of the Mechanicks, by which the new Philoſophers explain the Effects of Nature, 'tis eaſier to comprehend the perpetual War of Bodies, than by the Phyſicks of the four Elements. For all the Action of the ſix Elementary Qualities, being nothing elſe, according to the new Philoſophy, but local Motion, 'tis manifeſt each Body attacks every thing in its way, and that the Parts of Matter tend only to knock, break and preſs one another, with all the Rigor of the Laws of ſuperior Strength.

(G) *Excepted the Humane Race from the General Rule, ſince 'tis ſubject to the .... Confuſions.*] If we ſet aſide the Arguments produced in the fore-go-

(d) *Tempus edax rerum, tuque invidioſa Vetuſtas Omnia deſtruitis, vitiataque dentibus ævi Paulatim lenta conſumitis omnia morte.* *Ovid Metam. lib.* 15. *v.* 234.

(e) *Id. ib. v.* 237.

(f) *Ibid. v.* 244.

† *It can't be ſaid, to avoid the charge of Contradiction, that he brings in the Philoſopher* Pythagoras *ſpeaking; for moſt of the things he puts into his Mouth, are either Hiſtories or Sentiments agreeable to the Hypotheſis of thoſe, who explain'd Generation and Corruption by the Qualities of the Elements.*

(g) *Nam quodcunque ſuis mutatum finibus exit, Continuo hoc mors eſt illius quod fuit ante.* *Lucret. lib.* 1. *v.* 671.

(h) *Virgil. Æn. lib.* 4. *v.* 627.

(i) *See* Ariſtotle, *book* 8. *of his Phyſicks. chap.* . *and* Diogen. *Laert. lib.* 8. *n.* 76. *&* *bi Aldorandinus & Menagius.*

(a) *Pag.* 293. *of the* Dutch *Edit in* 1701.

† *See in the* 18*th Tome of the* Biblioteque Univerſelle *pag.* 23. *a Remark in oppoſition to what* Gregory Nazianzen *ſaid in his* 12 *Oration, that the Univerſe is kept by Peace.*

(b) *Epiſtle to the Romans. ch.* 8 *v.* 19. *& ſeq. This is a Paſſage that puzzles the Commentators very much*

formidable Confusions and Contrarieties that could have been in the Chaos. They must

ing Remark, and grant, that *Ovid* might affirm, generally speaking, that the Creatures sprung from the Chaos, yet we might say, that he could not particularly include Man in that Assertion. Here I only consider what Views we can have when destitute of the Light of Revelation: And if we can put the case so, who can forbear thinking that the Horrors of the Chaos are still in being with reference to Man? For, not to mention the perpetual Conflict of the Elementary Qualities, which reigns somewhat more in his Machine than in most of the other Material Beings, what Fury of War is not there between his Soul and his Body, his Reason and his Senses, his Sensitive and his Reasonable Soul? Reason should calm this Disorder, and pacify those intestine Jars; but 'tis both Judge and Party, and its Verdicts are not executed; nay, they do but inflame the Evil ‡. The Consideration of which obliged one of the most solid and most shining Genius's of the XVIIth Century, to prefer the Condition of Sheep before that of Men. Do but read what follows.

‡ *Touching the Complaints made against Reason, See the new Letters against* Maimbourg, *pag.* 755. *& seq. and here after in the Remark F of the Article* Paulicians, *some Passages of* Cicero.

Cependant (c) nous avons la raison pour partage
Et vous en ignorez l'usage.
Innocens animaux ne'en soiez point jaloux,
Ce n'est pas un grand avantage.
Cette fiere raison dont on fait tant de bruit
Contre les passions n'est pas un seur remede,
Un peu de vin la trouble, un enfant la seduit,
Et dechirer un cœur qui l'appelle à son aide,
Est tout l'effet qu'elle produit.
Toujours impuissante & severe
Elle s'oppose à tout, & ne surmonte rien.
Sous la garde de votre chien
Vous devez beaucoup moins redouter la colere
Des loups cruels & ravissans,
Que sous l'autorité du'une telle chimere
Nous ne devons craindre nos sens.

(c) *Madam des Houlieres.* Idylle des Moutons, *pag.* 32, 33 *edit. de Amsterdam*, 1694.

This we meet with in the Poems of Madam *des Houlieres*; where we likewise find, that she took the Condition of inanimate Creatures to be preferable to ours. Hear what she says, addressing her self to a Brook.

(d) The same in the Idylle du Ruisseau, *pag.* 119, 120.

Avec (d) tant de bonheur d'où vient vôtre murmure?
Helas vôtre sort est si doux!
Taisez-vous ruisseau, c'est à nous
A nous plaindre de la nature.
De tant de passions que nourrit nôtre cœur
Apprennez qu'il n'en est pas une
Qui ne traine après Soi le trouble, la douleur,
Le repentir ou l'infortune.
Elles dechirent nuit & jour
Les cœurs dont elles sont maitresses
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
De toutes sortes d'unions
Que nôtre vie est éloignée!
De trahisons, d'horreurs & de dissensions
Elle est toûjours accompagnée.
Qu'avez-vous merité, ruisseau tranquille & doux
Pour être mieux traité que nous
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Enfin dans cet horrible gouffre
De misere & de vanité
Je me perds; & plus j'envisage
La foiblesse de l'homme & sa malignité,
Et moins de la divinite
En lui je reconnois l'image.

The Verses I am going to quote furnish us with a fresh Proof of the Chaos, in which Humane-kind remain'd: The two most opposite things in the World, Light and Darkness, continue in Man; in him they follow one another: The less Men know, the more they think they do know; and the more they really know, the more they are sensible of their own Ignorance, the more they are in danger of straggling out of the right Road. Now, can anything be the Subject, or the Stage of a more capricious Conflict?

(e) The same in the Reflexions diverses. *P.* 94, 95.

Que (e) l'esprit de l'homme est borné!
Quelque tems qu'il donne à l'étude,
Quelque penetrant qu'il soit né
Il ne sait rien à fond, rien avec certitude:
De tenebres pour lui tout est environné;
La lumiere qui vient du savoir le plus rare
N'est qu'un fatal éclairs qu'un ardent qui l'égare.
Bien plus que l'ignorance elle est à redouter.
Longues erreurs qu'elle a fait naître
Vous ne prouvez que trop que chercher a connoître
N'est souvent qu'aprendre à douter.

I should never have done, if I mean to heap up together all the good things that have been said of the Contrariety of the Parts of which Man is composed. The Count *de Bussi Rabutin* tells us, "(f) That he "always keeps in Mind what Father *Senault* said; "That the Soul and Body are under very "great mutual Ties, and yet they are always at "variance: And, in a word, they are two Enemies "that cannot part, and two Friends that can"not abide one another. Nothing can be better "said; nothing is truer." There's more Boldness or more Briskness, but not so much strong Sense, though indeed there is a great deal, in this Passage of *Balzac*: (g) *But who d'ye think, good Reverend Father, was the Author of these Words?* "We are "compounded of two Enemies that never agree; "the sublime part of our Soul is always at War with "the inferior part. Let's add to this, That MAN "IS MADE OF A GOD AND A BEAST, "TIED TOGETHER. *If you guess out the Au*"*thor of these four Lines, I shall esteem you as great a* "*Magician, as those who foretold the Birth of King* "Sapores."

(f) *Bussi Rabutin, Letter* 31, *of the* 4th *part, pag.* 53 *of the* Dutch *Edition.*

(g) Balzac *his Dissertation to the Reverend Father,* Dom Andrew de St. Denis, *of the Order of St.* Bernard, *at the end of his* Socrate Chretien, *p. m.* 193, 194.

There are excellent Touches upon this Subject, in two Harangues of *Gregory Palamas*, Archbishop of *Thessalonica* in the XIVth Century. *They are written by way of Dialogue, and Pleading, and of a definitive Sentence; the Soul accusing the Body, and the Body on the other Hand giving in its Defence, and not barely denying but colouring the Fact, after which follows the Sentence of the Judges.* I use the words of *Claudius Esperncus*, who made a *French* Translation of these two Declamations and publish'd it at *Paris* in 8vo. in 1570; and *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* (a) has some Scraps of it. I shall here present you with a long Passage, in which there are some very good things and some Faults. "(h) "The Philosophers.... were unacquainted with the "Disposition of the Springs which put the Heart of "Man in Motion, and had no Knowledge, no Sus"picion of the strange Change wrought upon him, by "which his Reason became a Slave to his Passions.... "'Tis true, they are excusable for not knowing the "Cause of this Change, but they can plead no Excuse "for not perceiving the Change it self. For, tho' "some Persons, who live without Thinking and Re"flexion are pardonable, for not knowing what "passes within 'em, 'tis unconceivable that the cu"rious Observers of Nature, Men who bend their u"most Application upon studying and knowing them"selves, should not have observ'd, that Man is no "more govern'd and conducted by Reason. In ef"fect, how can we conceive that quick-sighted Men "should not have discovered, by their Knowledge "and their own Experience, that Reason, with all "its Power and its Industry, can't destroy one "Passion that's rooted in the Heart of Man, neither "by the help of Age, nor by the Influence of Ex"amples, nor by the Fear of Evil; and that they "should not have seen what the dullest Persons see "and are sensible of? A small measure of Attention "to what they experienced in themselves, was ca"pable to give 'em to know the State of Reason, to "convince them of its Weakness, and to make 'em "apprehend, that Man who was seated in the most "elevated part of the Soul, who inhabited that se"rene and luminous Region, from whence he saw "and regulated his own out side and in-side, is now "plunged into the Senses, the Pleasures of which he "sucks, as if he was born for 'em. By the same "means they might have perceived, that, though "Reason has lost the Power it had in Man, yet its "Light is not quite extinguish'd, but some Glimme"rings are left sufficient to point out his Duty." The Author who speaks after this manner, is Mr. *Esprit*, in a Piece that he publish'd in 1678. All that he offers upon the Weakness and Slavery of Reason is very true; but he is in the wrong in charging the Philosophers in general with the being Strangers to that Servitude, and entertaining no Suspicion of the Occasion of it; for undoubtedly several Pagans had some Knowledge upon that Head which he supposes they had not. I know very well, that the Stoicks spoke too pompously of the Empire of Reason, and that

(a) See *pag.* 175. *& seq. of the* Bibliotheque Françoise.

(h) Esprit's Preface to his Book of the Deceit fulness of Humane Virtues.

must be very silly that take a certain Poem *de Vetula* (H) to be *Ovid*'s Performance. I shall

that the Idea of their Wise-man did warm their Imagination to that Pitch, that some things drop'd from them that approached very near to Extravagance; not in supposing that Reason, freed from Passions, would constantly and invariably observe the Laws of Order and Honesty, but in supposing that for Men 'twas possible to extirpate all vicious Passions. That was their grand Error; 'twas there that they betrayed their Ignorance of the State of Mankind. The other part of their Doctrine was good, *viz.* that if Man had once subdued and extirpated (c) his Passions, he would find no difficulty in practising Virtue and attaining to Perfection. However, Mr. *Esprit* should have confined his Censure to them, and not have given it so large a sweep. Who told him that the Philosophers did not know that the Soul of Man is plunged into the Senses? Was *Cicero* ignorant of that, when he spoke these Words of the third Book of his Republick, which St. *Augustin* has preserv'd to us, and which contain so lively a Description of the Slavery of the Soul under the Empire of the Passions? (d) *Homo non ut a matre, sed ut a noverca natura editus est in vitam, corpore nudo, & fragili & infirmo, animo autem anxio ad molestias, humili ad timores, molli ad labores, prono ad libidines, in quo tamen inesset tanquam* OBRUTUS *quidam divinus ingenii & mentis.* Had this Author no Knowledge, no Suspicion of the strange Change of Man by which his Reason was enslaved to the Passions? What then is the import of the Words handed down to us by the same St. *Augustin*, in which *Cicero* seems to approve of the ancient *Pagan* Prophets, who believed, that the Nativity of Man was a Punishment (e) of some Sin, committed in another Life? Do's not he applaud a Thought that he had met with in *Aristotle*, *viz.* that the Union of the Soul with the Body was a Punishment like unto that inflicted by some ancient Robbers, who tied living Bodies to dead Corps, Mouth to Mouth, Belly to Belly, and so on in all the other Parts? Was not that owning, that the Soul is, by its Sins, reduced to the miserable Condition it finds in the Body? Was not this a Consideration of Sin, as being the Cause that had degraded the Soul from its natural State, and Primitive Nobility? Let's insert that fine Passage of *Cicero*. (g) *Ex quibus humana vita erroribus, & erumnis fit, ut interdum veteres illi sive vates, sive in sacris, mystisque traden-dis divinæ mentis interpretes, qui nos ob aliqua scelera suscepta in vita superiore, pœnarum luendarum caussa nati esse dixerunt, aliquid videre videantur; verumque sit illud, quod et apud Aristotelem, simili nos affectos esse supplicio, atque eos, qui quondam, cum in prædonum Etruscorum manus incidissent, crudelitate excogitata necabantur: quorum corpora viva cum mortuis, adversa adversis accommodata, quam aptissime colligabantur: ita nostros animos cum corporibus copulatos, ut vivos cum mortuis esse conjunctos.* In fine, I do not conceive how Mr. *Esprit* comes to affirm, that the Philosophers were ignorant that the Power of Reason is lost, and yet its light is preserved. Did not *Euripides* the Dramatick Philosopher say, that after meditating a long time upon the Corruption of Men, he found that 'twas not in the Eyes of their Understanding that they sinn'd, but in knowing the Right, and swerving from it, some through Sloth, others thro' the love of Voluptuousness. He puts these fine Maxims into *Phædra*'s Mouth.

(c) *See the Nouvelles Lettres against* Maimbourg. *pag.* 758.

(d) *See the Fragments of* Cicero, *collected by* Andreas Patricius, *p.* m. 70. *He quotes this, as taken from St.* Augustin, *lib.* 4. *contra Pelagium.*

(e) *See the Treatise of* R. Tamd.

(g) *Cicero in Hortensio apud Augustinum ubi supra. See the Fragments collected by* Andreas Patricius, *p.* m. 102, 103.

(h) *Euripides in Hippolyto.* v. 375. *p.* m. 359. *Note, That* Barnaby in Ovid. Metam. lib. 7. v. 11. *falsly attributes this to* Euripides's *Medea.*

"Ηδη (h) ποτ' ἄλλως νυκτὸς ἐν μακρᾷ χρόνῳ
Θνητῶν, ἐφεύρισκ', ἡ διάνοια βίῳ,
Καί μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ κατὰ γνώμης φύσιν,
Πεφυσσον ἡμῶν. Ἔστι γὰρ τὸν εὖ φρονεῖν
Πολλοῖσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷδ' ἀθρήσαντα πάθη.
Τὰ χρὴς ἐπισκοπεῖν, ἢ γιγνώσκομεν,
Οὐκ ἐκπονοῦμεν δ'. οἱ μὲν ἀργίας ὕπο,
Οἱδ' ἡδονὴν προθέντες ἀντὶ τοῦ καλοῦ
Ἄλλην τιν'.

Jam sæpe mecum aliàs noctis in longo tempore
Cogitavi, quomodo corrupta sit hominum vita.
Et mihi videntur non secundum animi naturam: at præter eam
Deterius facere: est enim recta rerum cognitio
Multa. Sed sic spectanda sunt hæc.
Bona quidem tenemus, & novimus:
Sed non facimus: alii quidem propter ignaviam,
Alii vero anteponentes voluptatem honesto,

What can out-do these Words of *Ovid*, in setting forth the Incapacity of Reason to make us do what she approves of?

Concipit (i) interea validos Æetias ignes,
Et luctata diu, postquam ratione furorem
Vincere non poterat; Frustra Medea repugnas,
Nescio quis deus obstat, ait.
. . . . . .
Excute (k) virgineo conceptas pectore flammas,
Si potes, infelix. Si possem, sanior essem;
Sed trahit invitam nova vis: aliudque Cupido,
Mens aliud suadet. Video *(l)* meliora, proboque,
Deteriora sequor.

(i) *Ovid Metam. lib.* 7. v. 9.

(k) *Id. ib.* v. 17.

(l) *She owns in* Euripides *that she knows very well what Crimes she is about to be guilty of, but that her Passions are stronger than her Knowledge.* Καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα πλημμονήσω κακά, Θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων. Ex intelligo quidem qualia sint ea mala, quæ sum aufura. Sed ira est potentior meis consiliis. *Euripid. in Medea,* v. 1078. *pag.* 319.

Here observe, that she imputes this irresistible Impulse to some God. That was the usual Refuge of the Heathens (m) in the Passions that dragg'd a Man in spight of the Light of his Mind and the Knowledge of his true Interest. They look'd upon it as having something Divine in it, and most times as a Punishment of some antecedent Sin: which shews that they were not so ignorant as Mr. *Esprit* makes 'em, and that they smelt in some measure what the Divines teach us of the loss of Free-will, occasion'd by Sin, and of the forsaking of those who abuse the Favours of God.

Instead of *Ovid* I could have cited several Writers that were Philosophers by Profession: But I thought that Quotation much fitter to shew Mr. *Esprit*'s Error; for 'tis less excusable to be ignorant of what we meet with in such a Poet, than of what is contain'd in *Greek* Authors. I could likewise have muster'd up several Testimonies of sufficient Credit to convince us, that 'twas very well known that Mankind grovell'd still in the Chaos: But the most nervous Descriptions of the *Pagan* Orators, Poets or Philosophers, can't give us so lively an Idea of this Matter, as what St. *Paul* has left us. So we need only cast our Eyes upon the Picture which that great Apostle under the Direction of the eternal Truth, lays before us in his Epistle to the *Romans*. *That which I do,* says he, (a) *I allow not; for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that do I. If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the Law that it is good. Now then it is no more I that do it, but Sin that dwelleth in me: For I know that in me (that is, in my Flesh) dwelleth no good thing: For to Will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good, I find not. For the Good that I would, I do not: but the Evil which I would not, that I do. Now, if I do what I would not, it is no more I that do it, but Sin that dwelleth in me. I find then a Law, That when I would do Good, Evil is present with me: for I delight in the Law of God, after the inward Man. But I see another Law in my Members, warring against the Law of my Mind, and bringing me into Captivity to the Law of Sin, which is in my Members. Oh wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver me from the Body of this Death!*

Here 'tis to be observed, that I have considered the Chaos in Man, only with respect to the intestine War that every one feels within himself. Had I taken into Consideration the Differences between Nations, nay, between one Neighbour and another, with all the Hypocrisies, Frauds, and Acts of Violence that attend 'em, I had launch'd into a large Field that affords plentiful Confirmations of what I propos'd to prove.

(H) *Very silly that take a certain Poem* de Vetula *to be* Ovid's.] 'Tis alledged, that *Ovid*, despairing of being recall'd from his Exile, composed this Book, and ordered it to be laid in the Grave by him (b). They add, (c) that this Poem being found in a publick Burying-place in the Suburbs of the City of *Dioscurias*, was carried to *Constantinople*, by the Order of the King of *Colchis*, and published by *Leo*, Protonotary of the sacred Palace, and Secretary to the Emperor *Vatatius* (d). 'Tis divided into three Books, and is said to bear the Title *de Vetula*, upon account of the Adventure related by the Author in the second. He was passionately in Love with a young Girl, that was a finish'd Beauty; and by Presents had engaged an old Woman to carry on the Intrigue. The old Woman had been the young Lady's Nurse, and after making several Representations of the Difficulty of the Enterprize, at last assured the Lover, that at such an Hour he would find his Mistriss in Bed in [illegible] him to enter softly and

(b) *Leo Protonotarius in præfatione librorum de Vetula.*

(c) *Glossator ejusdem operis de Vetula*

(d) *Alias* John Ducas. *He was Emperor from* 1222 *to* 1255.

I ſhall here inſert * ſome Verſes out of it, that thoſe who have not the Book may judge of the Author's Vein.

* *In the Letter e of this Page.*

PACHECO

and without a Light. *Ovid* tranſported with the moſt violent Sallies of Love, ſlipp'd to the Place appointed; but ſo ſtrange a Change as he there met with is not to be parallel'd in all his *Metamorphoſes*; for inſtead of that Mirrour of Beauty, that his Fancy was ſo full of, he found nothing but the Wrinkles of old Age, the Perſon in Bed being the Nurſe her ſelf. Upon this he fretted and ſtorm'd to the laſt degree, as you have it expreſs'd in the following Lines.

(e) *Ovidius de Vetula, lib. 2. c. 30 & 31. pag. m. 48.*

Heu (e) mihi! tanta meis regnans dulcedo medullis
Quam modicum manſit! Reperi contraria votis.
Vertitur in luctum cytharæ ſonus, inque ſtuporem
Deliciarum ſpes, moritur fax ignis amoris.
Si quid erat, quod ſpar, ventoſo turbine miſſo,
Fecerat arrectum, ſubitò languetque caditque:
Sopitur virtus, frigeſcunt omnia membra.
Credere quis poſſet, quod virgo, quattuor implens
Nuper Olympiades, adeò citò conſenuiſſet?
Nunquam tam modico Roſa marcuit. In nova formas
Corpora mutatas cecini, mirabiliorque
Non reperitur ibi mutatio, quàm fuit iſta:
Scilicet, ut fuerit, tam parvo tempore talis,
Taliter, in talem vetulam mutata puella!
Heu quàm diſſimiles ſunt, Virginis artubus, artus!
Accuſant Vetulam, membrorum turba ſenilis,
Collum nervoſum, ſcapularum cuſpis acuta,
Saxoſum pectus, laxatum pellibus uber,
Non uber, ſed tam vacuum, quàm molle; velut ſunt
Burſæ paſtorum: Venter ſulcatus aratro,
Arentes clunes macredine, crudaque crura,
Inflatumque genu, vincens adamanta rigore.
Accuſant vetulam membrorum marcida turba.
Concitus exurgo, cæpi firmare, quod illam
Appeterem ferro: ſed mens ad ſe revocavit
Virgineam famam, quæ ſcandala ne pateretur,
Continui; quamvis omnis ſpes ejus habenda
Jam diſceſſiſſet. Sic dextra quievit, amorque
Extinctus, vivum potuit ſuperare dolorem.

(f) Poſtquam viginti circiter annos cum ſponſo fuerat, parumque efficta frequenti & ſua jam facies diſpendia parturiendi ſenſerat. *Id. ib. cap. 34. pag 30.*

The young Laſs married, and became a Widow twenty Years after (*f*), after many frequent Lyings-in which had ſadly maul'd her Beauty. Then ſhe ſhew'd a Diſpoſition to marry *Ovid*, who agreed to it; but when all came to all, he found it no great favour that he had obtain'd, by reaſon of her advanced Years. This put him upon a Reſolution to change his Courſe of Life, and apply himſelf to ſolid Studies.

This Poem, and another, entituled, *Brunellus Vigelli, ſeu ſpeculum ſtultorum*, were printed at *Wolfembuttel*, in 1662. And the Editor affirms in his Preface, dated the 13th of *December* 1661, that they had been printed at *Cologne* almoſt two hundred Years before. *Naudæus* knew nothing of this firſt Edition; for he tells us, that this pretended Poem of *Ovid* (*g*) *had been twice printed, firſt ſeparately, and without the Name of the Place or Printer in* 1534, *and a ſecond time* inter Ovidii erotica & amatoria opuſcula, *publiſh'd at* Francfort *in* 1610, *with a Preface that's not contemptible.* He obſerves (*h*), that *Robert Holcot* has repeated *ſeveral Verſes of this Piece in his Commentary upon the Book of Wiſdom, Lecture* 60 *of the old* Venice *Edition, and the* 61*ſt of that at* Baſil, (*i*) without affirming or denying, that *Ovid* was the genuine Author of it. *An ſit liber Ovidii, Deus novit, quamvis à Leone Protonotario Sacri Palatii Vaſtaſii Principis, referatur liber ille extractus de ſepulchro Ovidii, unde teſtamentum Ovidii nuncupatur; dicit enim quod inventus fuit in cæmiterio Publico, in quodam ſepulchro, in ſuburbano Dioſcori Civitatis, quæ eſt caput Regni Colchorum; & quia ibi non erat copia Latinorum, eo quod Armenici linguam Latinam non intelligunt, Rex Colchorum miſit illum librum Conſtantinopolim, ubi erat copia Latinorum. Refert etiam quod inter antiquorum ſepulchra unum inventum eſt, in quo epigramma fuit ſcriptum litteris Armenicis, cujus inſcriptio ſic ſonabat, Hic jacet Ovidius ingenioſiſſimus Poetarum, obiit autem anno Chriſti* XVIII. *ſicut refert Guillelmus de Euange in Chronico ſuo, tertio anno, unde conſtat quòd ſi veraciter liber ſuus erat, fuit pulcherrima prophetia de Chriſto.* A Man needs not be a great Conjurer, to ſwear, without the leaſt ſhadow of Temerity, that *Ovid* never compiled ſuch a barbarous Poem as this, and that it is the Production of ſome Chriſtian of the Lower-Empire.

(g) *Naudæi Dialogus de Maſcurat. p. 226.*
(h) *Ibid. pag. 223.*

(i) Now, That Naudæus conjures Selden, who in his Treatiſe de Diis Syris, *pag. m. 31 quotes for this the 21ſt Lecture of* Holcot, *upon the Book of Wiſdom.*